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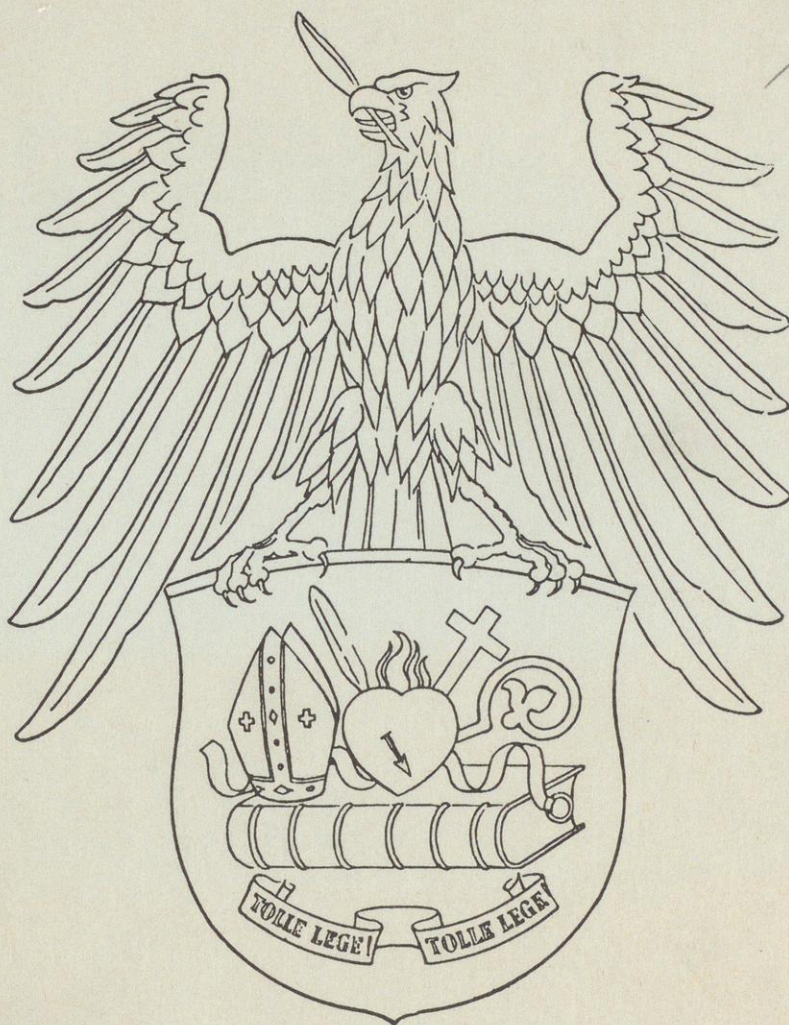
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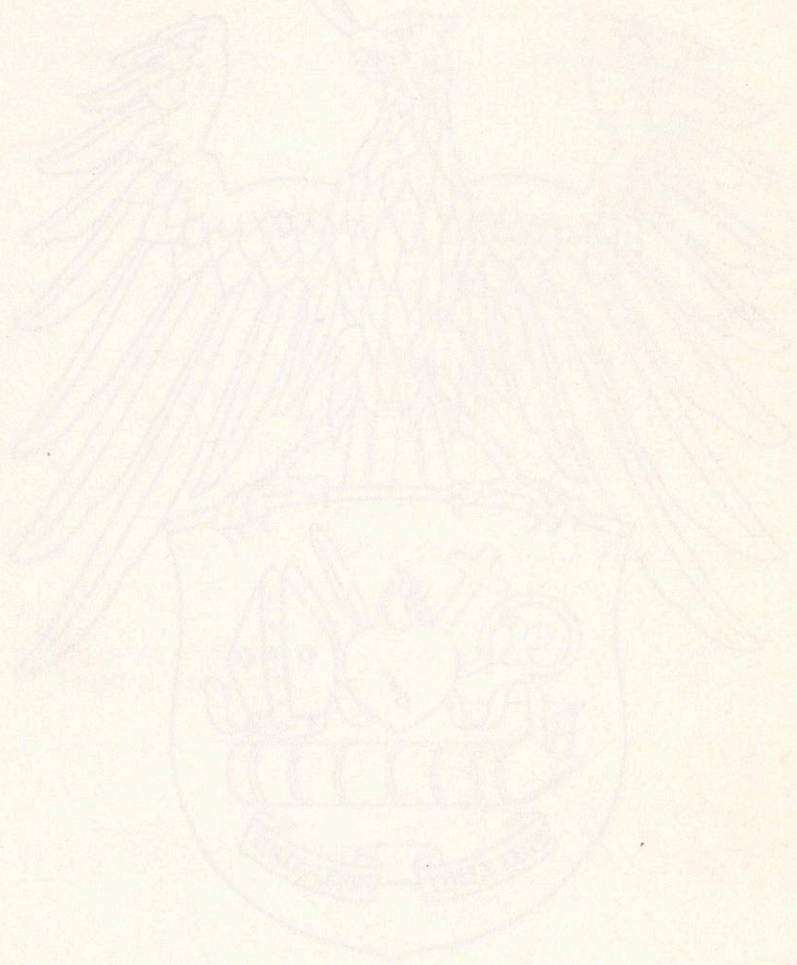
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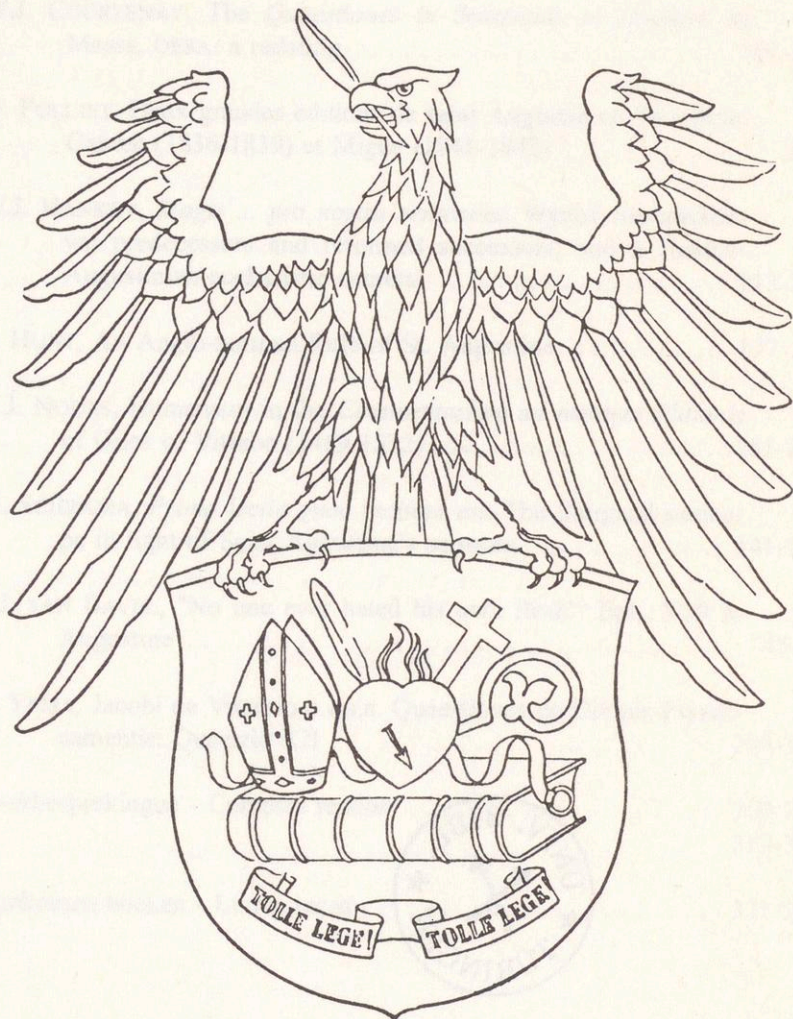
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DEUX GRANDES ÉDITIONS DE SAINT AUGUSTIN AU 19^E S.: GAUME (1836-1839) - MIGNE (1841-1842)

Il est courant de considérer l'édition des Oeuvres de saint Augustin insérée par Migne aux tomes 32 à 46 de la *Patrologia Latina*, comme la seule édition du 19^e siècle qui nous ait transmis le texte authentique des *Opera Sancti Augustini* publiés à Paris par les Bénédictins de Saint-Maur entre les années 1679-1700. C'est de fait à cette édition que recourent communément gens d'Église, historiens, hommes de lettres; et même parmi les éditeurs récents des textes d'Augustin nombreux sont ceux qui se contentent du texte de la P. L. pour signaler dans leurs apparats critiques une leçon propre à l'édition des Mauristes, alors qu'il suffit de collationner quelques pages de ces derniers avec leur correspondant dans Migne pour s'apercevoir des divergences tant dans le texte que dans les notes. Et en poussant ce travail de comparaison avec d'autres éditions, on se rend compte que l'édition de Migne (Paris, 1841-1842) est étroitement dépendante d'une édition parue antérieurement à Paris, en 1836-1839, chez les éditeurs Gaume: le texte avec la ponctuation révisée, les leçons ainsi que les notes nouvelles de cette édition se retrouvent à peu près tels quels dans l'édition de Migne. Il convient donc tout d'abord de caractériser l'édition de Gaume, d'en connaître les artisans, pour préciser ensuite le propre travail de Migne opéré cinq ou six ans après.

I. L'ÉDITION GAUME (1836-1839)

Cette édition publiée par les frères Gaume, Jean-Baptiste, dit l'aîné, et Jean-Pierre-Clément, le cadet, éditeurs-libraires à Paris au 19^e siècle¹,

¹ Les renseignements concernant les deux frères libraires-éditeurs, moins connus que leurs deux frères prêtres, sont fort rares. C'est dans une notice nécrologique rédigée à la mort du frère cadet, en 1873, dans la *Bibliographie de la France*, II Chronique, n° 11 du 15 mars 1873, p. 48 que nous avons trouvé quelques précisions que nous jugeons utiles de donner ici. À cette date l'aîné Jean-Baptiste est encore en vie, "âgé de plus de 80 ans" (il serait donc né vers 1793). C'est lui qui vint se fixer à Paris, après les guerres d'Allemagne, et fit venir son frère Clément pour fonder en 1820, 5 rue du Pot-de-Fer, la maison

est sans doute de valeur inégale, mais elle ne peut pour autant être négligée. L'initiative en est due aux éditeurs eux-mêmes qui voulaient faire pour les Pères de l'Église ce que Firmin-Didot réalisait pour les auteurs classiques. C'est ainsi qu'ils publièrent à Paris, 5 rue du Pot-de-Fer, en peu d'années, les Oeuvres complètes de saint Jean Chrysostome (1834-1839), de saint Basile (1839), de saint Augustin (1836-1839), et de saint Bernard (1839). Pour mener à bien leur entreprise les Gaume bénéficièrent tout d'abord de la précieuse collaboration de l'un de leurs deux frères prêtres, l'abbé Jean-Alexis Gaume (1797-1869), qui après onze années d'enseignement au grand séminaire de Besançon (1823-1834), s'installa à Paris, où il exerça certaines fonctions à l'archevêché au titre de vicaire général et chanoine². Ils firent également appel à un érudit parisien de

connue sous le nom de Gaume Frères. Un incendie détruisit les magasins de dépôt le 12 décembre 1835. En 1844 le siège de la librairie fut transféré au 4 rue Cassette. En 1850 Clément Gaume se retire des affaires et une nouvelle société est formée par MM Gaume l'aîné, Alexandre Gaume, le fils de Clément, et J. Duprey, depuis douze ans employé dans la librairie. En 1857, M. Jean-Baptiste Gaume se retire à son tour, passant ses parts à son fils Émile, et à son gendre Arthur Murder, M. Duprey demeurant associé. Ce dernier est mort en 1873 peu avant Clément Gaume, qui était né le 22 novembre 1799. La maison dénommée désormais Gaume et Cie fut transférée en cette année 1873 au 3 rue de l'Abbaye, où l'on trouve trace de ses activités jusqu'à l'acquisition vers 1900 du fonds par la maison Vitte de Lyon. Dans un catalogue daté de janvier 1903, la librairie Emmanuel Vitte, ayant son siège social à Lyon, annonce l'établissement de sa succursale à Paris au 14 rue de l'Abbaye, et à la p. 1 on lit: "On trouvera dans ce catalogue, avec nos nouvelles publications, tous les ouvrages de l'ancienne librairie Gaume frères (X. Rondellet et Cie), acquise récemment par notre maison". Et dans ce catalogue de 64 pages on trouve en effet l'annonce de plusieurs titres édités par les Gaume (entre autres, 5 livres écrits par Jean-Alexis Gaume, 42 livres de son frère Jean-Joseph, les grandes éditions patristiques dont nous parlerons de S. Augustin, de S. Jean Chrysostome, de S. Basile, S. Bernard). Au dire de l'auteur, E. B^e, de la notice nécrologique concernant M. Clément Gaume "si M. Jean-Baptiste Gaume ... a été le fondateur véritable, le chef de maison pendant trente ans, M. Clément Gaume fut un administrateur de haute capacité ... Son concours a puissamment contribué jusqu'en 1850, à asseoir cette honorable maison sur des bases solides".

² Sur les deux abbés Gaume, Jean-Alexis (1797-1869) et Jean-Joseph (1802-1879), issus d'une famille de neuf enfants, on trouvera des notices bibliographiques sous leurs noms respectifs ou parfois conjoints, dans les encyclopédies *DTC*, *DHGE*, *D.Spir.* qui se répètent. Voir aussi Ch. PERRIN, *Notice nécrologique sur M. Gaume (Jean Alexis), chanoine de Paris*, Paris 1869, et A. RICARD, *Études sur Mgr. Gaume (Jean-Joseph)*, Paris, s.d. (1972). Il est dit ici et là que J.-Alexis Gaume publia des "traductions d'extraits de S. Basile, de S. Jean Chrysostome, de S. Augustin, de S. Bernard, le tout édité chez ses frères", en fait l'abbé J.-A. Gaume n'a jamais publié de traduction des Pères, mais il a étroitement collaboré aux éditions patristiques publiées par ses deux frères éditeurs, cf. PERRIN, p. 25. On lui doit par contre des ouvrages de piété, mais dans le catalogue de la B.N. ses propres publications sont mises sous le nom de son frère plus connu par suite de sa controverse avec Mgr Dupanloup sur l'éducation et l'instruction chrétiennes.

l'époque, Frédéric Dübner, savant helléniste, connu surtout par les nombreuses éditions classiques parues chez Firmin-Didot³. Et c'est au travail conjoint de ce savant et de l'abbé J.-A. Gaume que cette nouvelle édition complète des *Oeuvres de saint Augustin* publiée à Paris entre 1836-1839 doit toute sa valeur.

F. Dübner publia en 1841 dans la revue *Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie und Paedagogik oder Kritische Bibliothek*, 11^e année, Vol. 32, 1^e partie, p. 46-71, une relation à la fois très documentée et très détaillée sur les quatre éditions patristiques imprimées par les Gaume dans les années 1834-1839, où sont indiquées les diverses contributions à l'entreprise et les particularités propres à chaque édition, voire à tel ou tel volume. En début d'article, après l'annonce bibliographique qui reproduit les intitulés de ces *Oeuvres* tels qu'ils sont donnés par les Bénédictins de Saint-Maur, Dübner précise les intentions des nouveaux éditeurs:

"Ces titres à eux seuls montrent déjà que d'aucune façon on a visé à de nouveaux textes revus des quatre Pères de l'Église nommés. L'intention n'était que de reproduire des éditions indispensables mais devenues de nos jours très rares, et cela d'une manière non indigne de notre temps. Quant à expliquer comment cela s'est fait, et quelles corrections les nouveaux éditeurs ont introduites, voilà ce qu'est l'intention de ce présent article. Car la description et l'appréciation de ce que dans le passé les nommés Bénédictins avec leurs compagnons ont fourni serait trop long et inutile pour la plupart des lecteurs. Je me limite à ce qui dans les nouvelles éditions est nouveau et je toucherai d'ici de là, à l'occasion, à quelques points qui peuvent donner une impulsion à des recherches ultérieures de quelque intérêt. En même temps j'indique à l'avance que pour éviter des longueurs, les remarques des *nouveaux Éditeurs* dans leur préface ont été confondues (unies) sans mot dire avec les miennes dans le cas où je les ai trouvées acceptables".

Cette dernière précision est très indicative, car aucun des compléments introduits dans les préfaces ou dans les notes n'est signé, sinon çà et là des initiales N.E. (Novi Editores).

En tant qu'helléniste F. Dübner apporta un concours particulier aux éditions de Jean Chrysostome et de Basile, ce qu'il relate longuement aux p. 47-63. Et l'on sait par ailleurs que les Bénédictins de Solesme contribuèrent à la rédaction des Tables qui sont insérées au dernier volume des *Oeuvres* de Jean Chrysostome⁴. De l'édition de saint Bernard il n'en est

³ Voir Frédéric GODEFROY, *Notice sur J.-Fr. Dübner*, Paris (1867), et les articles fort documentés parus dans les encyclopédies *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, Bd 5, s.n., *Dübner Johann Heinrich*, Neudruck Berlin 1968, et *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, Bd 4, s.n., Berlin 1959; et *Nouvelle biographie générale*, t. 23-24, s.n., Paris 1965.

⁴ Cf. Louis SOLTNER, *Migne et Dom Guéranger. La collaboration solesmienne aux débuts de la Patrologie latine*, dans *Revue des études augustinienes*, t. 21, 1975, p. 317-343, voir p. 319, n. 14.

question que brièvement, aux pages 70-71. Mais à l'édition de saint Augustin sont consacrées pas moins de sept pages, p. 63 à 70, qu'il est impossible de résumer, aussi en donnerons-nous une traduction littérale⁵, avec des précisions à l'appui. Dans ce compte rendu on constatera que Dübner s'exprime très souvent à la première personne.

Le titre donné à cette édition est quasi identique à celui qui figure au tome 1^{er} de l'édition des Mauristes: *Sancti Aurelii Augustini Hipponensis episcopi Opera omnia* [Maur. *Operum Tomus Primus*] *post Lovanien-sium theologorum recensionem castigata* [Maur. *castigatus*] *denuo ad manuscriptorum codices Gallicanos, Vaticanos* [Maur. *add. Anglicanos*]⁶, *Belgicos etc, necnon ad editiones antiquiores et castigatores, opera et studio Monachorum Ordinis Sancti Benedicti e Congregatione S. Mauri*. Editio Parisina altera, emendata et aucta. Tomus Primus. Pars prior. Parisiis, apud Gaume fratres, Bibliopolas, via dicta Pot-de-Fer, n° 5, 1836.

F. Dübner rend tout d'abord hommage au travail des Bénédictins:

"Le soussigné a eu l'occasion de comparer, à travers tout un volume [certainement le vol. 7 des *Opera S. Augustini*, dont il sera question plus loin], tant les meilleurs manuscrits utilisés par les Bénédictins que les meilleurs textes courants avant leur édition, et il se doit de dire publiquement son admiration pour leur travail. Toutefois, chaque époque pose d'autres exigences à la science et on ne peut, sans injustice, juger les Bénédictins en suivant la méthode actuelle qui consiste à fonder les textes, *dans toutes leurs parties*, directement sur les sources reconnues pour les plus authentiques après examen. Cependant la comparaison [de l'édition bénédictine] avec les éditions plus anciennes montre que l'établissement d'un texte attesté par les meilleurs témoins, grâce à leurs efforts conjugués, a beaucoup gagné, dans une mesure à peine croyable, et *beaucoup plus* que ne le laissent soupçonner les variantes avec les éditions antérieures qu'ils signalent. En effet j'ai trouvé en des centaines de passages le texte modifié sans mot dire, d'après les meilleurs manuscrits. De plus ma lecture des mêmes témoins pour le septième volume en entier [*De civitate Dei*], m'a fait constater que relativement *peu d'éléments importants* [de ces sources] leur ont échappé. Cette constatation, je dirais sur documents, de leur manière d'agir, si on la place en regard des habitudes d'autres savants de la même époque et, si vous voulez bien, de la manière que nous avons dû critiquer précédemment l'édition de Chrysostome, devra suffire à assurer à leurs mérites de grandes louanges justifiées. Je le dis parce que de nos jours beaucoup sont portés à mépriser totalement les travaux plus anciens, quand selon l'épaisseur de ces volumes, ils y trouvent dix ou cent passages à corriger. Dans la partie exégétique, les Bénédictins ont gardé à bon escient une grande

⁵ Nous tenons à remercier très amicalement Madame et Monsieur Vincent Zarini qui ont revu avec soin la traduction que nous donnons du compte rendu de F. Dübner.

⁶ On ne comprend pas cette omission, dans le titre, des mss. anglais, omission qui se retrouve dans l'intitulé des *Opera S. Augustini* de la P.L. de Migne, car dès le t. 1^{er}, in fine "Syllabus codicum", dans la liste donnée des manuscrits ayant servi à établir le texte des *Retractiones*, sont signalées 6 mss. anglais.

réserve, et sur ce point il reste à faire des remarques nouvelles".

Il en vient alors à préciser le rôle joué pour la nouvelle édition par l'abbé J.-A. Gaume, mais sans le nommer:

"La présente édition est due aux soins d'un homme, qui unit à la science théologique la plus étendue une rare prudence et clarté de jugement. C'est pourquoi elle a été établie du début jusqu'à la fin d'après un plan déterminé et scrupuleusement suivi. L'Éditeur [J.A. Gaume] avait constaté au cours de ses précédentes études que tous les volumes [de l'édition des Bénédictins] n'avaient pas été travaillés avec le même soin. Il prit donc pour base les parties de l'oeuvre que les Bénédictins avaient travaillées avec une prédilection manifeste, jusque dans les détails, avec grande précision, et en transportant la méthode suivie par eux sur l'ensemble. En relisant avec soin et intelligence il a fixé pour plusieurs milliers de passages une ponctuation plus ou moins négligée [jusque-là]".

Ce jugement reparait dans le *Monitum* sur cette nouvelle édition, en tête du t. 11, p. 59, l. 20 sv., sous la signature N.E.:

"Quare, ubicumque deprehendimus tutam hanc et firmam intelligendi viam non satis fuisse ab illis viris munitam, nos hoc praestareategimus, magno quidem, ut nobismet conscii sumus, labore nostro, sed quem parum animadvertent lectores. Atqui hoc minime aegre ferimus: imo in eo ipso affirmamus situm esse laboris nostri praemium, ut omnis illa cura, qua sententiis recte distinguendis invigilavimus, lectorem prorsus praetereat: haec enim est optima distinctio, quae verbis ita sit accomoda, ut non sentiatur".

- Dès les premières pages du texte, dans le Prologue et le premier chapitre des *Retractationes* on note pas moins de huit modifications dans la ponctuation: col. 21, l. 1 *dispono quod* [Maur. *dispono, quod*]. - l. 11 *etiam displicerent*; *verum etiam* [Maur. *displicerent: verum*]. - l. 15 *Sed, ut volet, quisque* [Maur. *Sed ut volet quisque*]. - etc. Modifications parfois discutables, par exemple, fin du ch. 1, col. 26 fin: *Illud etiam quod in comparatione argumentorum Ciceronis, quibus in libris suis Academicis usus est mea, nugas esse dixi, quibus argumenta illa certissima ratione refutavi; quamvis jocandos dictum sit* [Maur. *Illud etiam ... usus est, mea nugas esse dixi, ... refutavi, quamvis ...*, où la virgule placée avant 'mea' nous paraît meilleure]. L'utilisation du point virgule au lieu des deux points est heureuse. Autres modifications dans ce premier chapitre: l'emploi des minuscules au lieu des majuscules pour les adjectifs 'christiana doctrina', col. 23, l. 12, ou de la majuscule au lieu de la minuscule pour le mot 'Scriptura sancta', col. 21, l. 26.

F. Dübner passe à l'appréciation des variantes:

"Quand le texte offrait des difficultés ou des passages douteux, il [le réviseur] a eu recours à des éditions anciennes et nouvelles, tout en reconnaissant que ces dernières suivent en général les Bénédictins même en reproduisant des fautes manifestement typographiques, les premières au contraire permettent de

découvrir dans la plupart des cas l'origine des confusions. Les éditions anciennes employées pour tous les volumes sont l'édition chez Froben d'Érasme de 1529, l'édition de Lyon de 1561, l'édition de Venise de 1584, la seconde de Louvain de 1662".

- Cette liste des éditions utilisées est sommaire. Il faut se reporter pour plus d'informations à la fin de chacun des tomes où sont signalées sous le titre *Syllabus codicum*, dans le détail, et pour chacun des traités, les éditions d'ensemble ou particulières, auxquelles les nouveaux éditeurs ont eu recours.

Viennent à la suite, à la fin de chaque volume, les *Lectiones variantae*, auxquelles nous renvoyons en les désignant du mot *apparatus*, suivi de leur pagination en chiffres romains.

"Monsieur l'Éditeur et les correcteurs très zélés et très méticuleux ont emprunté à ces éditions, et pour quelques passages à beaucoup d'autres, pour la plupart anciennes, plusieurs milliers de leçons, et les ont introduites dans la collection des variantes des Bénédictins; ils ont fourni ainsi au critique un matériau précieux, tant pour apprécier le travail accompli par les Bénédictins, que pour être utilisé à d'autres fins".

- Vérifications faites pour les leçons nouvelles signalées dans l'apparat des *Retractiones*, nous notons seulement deux compléments aux variantes fournies par les Mauristes: col. 52, l. 15 (Retr. I,14,2) *beatissimos*: Er. Lug. Ven. *sed quia tantum non est quidquid est, ut nos faciat beatissimos*; col. 87, l. 1 (Retr. II,4,2) *Jesus Sirach*: Am. Lugd. Ven. *Jesus filius Sirach* [Leçons reprises par Migne, avec le sigle M au lieu de G.]. Mais dans le *De Musica* et le *De Civitate Dei*, comme on le verra, les corrections seront nombreuses.

"Pour des ouvrages entiers, et pour certains passages, on a utilisé souvent des manuscrits que j'indiquerai à l'endroit voulu. Par ailleurs j'ai rencontré des passages, où la leçon des Bénédictins, remplacée par une autre, se laisserait justifier. Si parfois le texte des Bénédictins a été changé réellement à tort, ce que je ne veux directement prétendre, il ne s'en est pas suivi un mal réel: car tout changement, même le plus petit, que l'éditeur a introduit dans le texte, est signalé parmi les variantes avec indication de la leçon primitive".

- Toutes les variantes complémentaires introduites dans l'apparat sont suivies du sigle †.

"Je dois encore signaler un livre très peu connu, auquel ont été empruntées un nombre important de corrections pour la plupart excellentes, soit qu'on les ait en partie introduites dans le texte, soit qu'on les ait seulement signalées, c'est celui de l'Abbé Morel, *Éléments de critique, ou Recherches des différentes causes de l'altération des textes latins, avec les moyens d'en rendre la lecture plus facile*, Paris 1766. Matériellement on n'apprend rien de vraiment nouveau dans ce livre, mais la méthode par laquelle l'Auteur, en beaucoup d'exemples pris pour la plupart des éditions bénédictines, fait reconnaître les erreurs et

déduit leurs corrections les plus simples, en général avec évidence, d'éléments clairement développés, sa méthode a quelque chose de très suggestif, et je ne peux pas m'imaginer que la lecture de ce livre resterait sans influence salutaire sur de jeunes philologues".

- Dans les *Retractiones* à propos d'un passage col. 37, l. 25 (Retr. I,9,2) *proposita quaestione*, est introduite dans le Syllabus Codicum (t. 1, fin, col. III), une note absente des Mauristes: "Mss. aliquot cum Am. et Er. *propter hanc propositam quaestionem*. - Multo melius *praeter*, legeretur: *De gratia vero Dei ... nihil in his libris disputatum est, praeter hoc proposita quaestione*. Vid. Morel, *Elément. Critic.* pag. 225. Nisi fortasse legendum est, *propter non propositam quaestionem* + [Migne col. 595, n. 1 ne retient que le début, mais sans signaler l'emprunt à Gaume]. Dans les annotations de Dübner au *De civitate Dei*, on retrouve mentionné à quatre reprises le livre de Morel.

"De plus on a contrôlé toutes les citations bibliques, complété méthodiquement et corrigé les références. De même les citations d'auteurs profanes qu'Augustin avance, ont été pour la plupart des cas répertoriées sur les éditions plus récentes".

- Sur ce point dans les *Retractiones*, nous avons constaté pas moins de treize rectifications, la plus importante, col. 81, n. 6: "in eadem imaginem transformamur", II Cor. 3,18 chez les Mauristes (t. 1, col. 40), retenue par Migne col. 628, lin. 24; et trois références nouvelles: col. 102, n. 5, Matth. 13,36-42, dans Migne col. 642, lin. 34; col. 112, n. 4 Jac. 2,10, dans Migne col. 649, lin. 12; col. 117, n. 4 Luc. 23,43, dans Migne col. 653, lin. 2.

"Après ces rappels généraux, je veux maintenant indiquer ce qui a été fait dans chacun des volumes de cette édition, correcte presque au point de n'avoir pas d'autre exemple".

"Dans le 1er volume, les *Confessions* ont obtenu un très grand ajout de variantes et ont pu plus souvent être améliorées que bien d'autres pièces. Après les Bénédictins qui avaient d'ailleurs utilisé déjà 31 mss., en partie collationnés par eux-mêmes, en partie par d'autres, ces *Confessions* furent éditées par Dom J. Martin "ad antiquam editionis Vlimmeri, necnon ad duodecim manuscriptos (Paris 1741); par Fr. Archangelus a Praesentatione "ad tredecim Etruriae manuscriptos" (Florence 1757), par L. St. Rondet, "collata cum sexdecim Mss." (Paris 1776). Ces éditions, à en juger d'après les très nombreuses citations de leur texte et leurs variantes, ont été utilisées avec diligence; je ne peux assurer que cela ait été fait exhaustivement".

- Au t. 1, Syllabus codicum, p. VII-VIII, après la mention des mss. et éditions signalés par les Mauristes, sont de fait indiquées plusieurs autres éditions: "Praeter editiones modo allatas quibus solum usi fuerant RR. PP. Benedictini, his iterum emendandis Confessionum libris adhibiti sunt a

nobis castigatiores editi tum veteres tum recentiores: Lugduni 1561, Venetiis 1584, Sommalii 1629, Antverpiae 1662, Dubois 1687, Antverpiae 1700, Martin 1741, Fr. Archangeli a Praesentatione 1757, Rondet 1776". - On retrouve chez Migne cette même liste avec la signature M.

"A propos des Livres *C. Academicos* et de quelques autres livres, a été utilisée une ancienne édition de Paris de 1520 que les Bénédictins ne semblent pas avoir connue".

- Cette édition in-4°, de 5 ff. n. ch. et 178 ff. est une reproduction du t. 2 des *Opuscula* ..., éd. J. Bade, publiés par Jean Petit en 1502, déjà repris en 1513, et qui comprend les traités suivants: *Contra Academicos*, *De ordine*, *Soliloquia*, *De immortalitate*, *De moribus ecclesiae cath.*, *De quantitate animae*, *De lib. arbitrio*, *De magistro*, *De opere monachorum*, *De bono perseverantiae*, *De visitatione infirmorum*, *De filio prodigo*, *De bono conjugali*, *De adulterinis conjugii*, *De bono virginali*.

Dübner en vient à plus de détails sur le *De Musica*:

"Les six livres *De Musica* ont été comparés avec deux mss.: Regius 7200 et 7231, ensuite avec l'extrait édité par Mai d'après un très ancien Vaticanus. On a reconstitué beaucoup de choses justes grâce à ces auxiliaires, spécialement ce qui a été extrait du Vaticanus a de l'importance [il s'agit de l'épitomé figurant dans le ms. Vat. lat. 4929, édité par A. Mai, *Scriptorum Veterum Nova Collectio* ..., t. 3, 1828, xxx-264 + 288 + 218 p.; pars 3, p. 116-134]. Restent beaucoup de choses, poursuit F. D., pour lesquelles on désirerait encore d'autres témoignages comme ceux du Corbeiensis que les Bénédictins appellent *optimae notae* et qui se trouve probablement aujourd'hui dans la Bibliothèque Royale [il s'agit du Parisinus latinus 13955, 9^e-10^e s.]".

- Cette nouvelle édition du *De Musica* a fait l'objet d'une édition à part, la même année que le tome 1, en 1836, chez le même éditeur, sous le titre: *S. Aurelii Augustini ... De Musica libri sex, post recensionem Monachorum Ordinis S. Benedicti ... ad mss. Bibliothecae Regiae codices et veteres editiones novis nunc curis recogniti atque emendati*, VIII-269 p. où le texte est imprimé en pleine page. Après les pages titres, est inséré p. V-VIII, un avis aux lecteurs, "Lectori erudito Novi editores" qui ne se trouve pas dans le tome 1; par contre en sont repris, p. 1-10, l'"Admonitio" et le "Monitum de nova huius operis recensione" venant en tête du traité, puis p. 253 à 269, le "Syllabus codicum" et les "Lectiones variantes". On relève trente-trois leçons nouvelles dans ce traité, lesquelles seront reprises par Migne, sans indication de leur provenance.

Commentant son appréciation du ms. Corbeiensis utilisé pour le *De Musica*, F. D. précise:

"En général les mss. du couvent de Corbie encore conservés sont à utiliser avant tous les autres parce qu'ils proviennent la plupart d'exemplaires excel-

lents. De plusieurs exemples je présente seulement celui-ci. Dans l'ancien manuscrit oncial des *Quaestiones in Heptateuchum* se trouve [t. 3] p. 643 B, en plein milieu du texte courant les mots *abhinc scribendum*, et justement là commence aussi un *excerptum* recueilli par Eugippus dans son Thesaurus. Par conséquent ce manuscrit a été copié sur celui que l'Abbé sus-nommé, entre 500 et 520, donc 70 ou 60 ans après la mort d'Augustin, a utilisé pour faire les extraits de ce livre".

- Renseignement précieux, que l'on peut vérifier sur le Parisinus latinus 12.168, du 8^e s., provenant de l'abbaye de Corbie, le plus ancien témoin des *Questiones in Heptateuchum*, dont tout un passage, liv. 1, ch. 117, 4-5: "Nulla est facilior solutio ... in Mesopotamia Syriae", repris d'un manuscrit encore plus ancien des *Excerpta* d'Eugippius, LXXXV (cf. CSEL 9,1, p. 338-339). Migne (t. 3, col. 578,2) emprunte sa note à Gaume.

"Dans le 2^e volume, la collection des *Lettres*, les deux lettres éditées à Vienne en 1732 [par l'abbé Godefroy von Bessel] ont été insérées à leur place [après les *epist.* 184 et 202], et les préfaces et introductions de Bessel et de Dom Jacques Martin⁷ reproduites en entier, p. XXXVIII-XLVI. Dans la première, la leçon du codex, à un endroit précis et important, est défendue contre un changement inintelligent [Gaume, col. 963, A, § 4, *qui profecto ...*, edd. *quem profecto*; cf. *Syllabus codicum*, 1522; Migne, t. 2, col. 791, n. 1, reprend la note de Gaume]. La comparaison de l'ordre ancien des lettres avec le nouvel ordre chronologique des Bénédictins, inséré à la fin du volume, est indispensable pour se retrouver dans les anciennes citations".

"Les 3^e et 4^e volumes ont été, de la manière que nous avons indiquée plus haut, améliorés à partir des anciennes éditions mentionnées, quelquefois aussi d'après les manuscrits, notamment vol. 4, p. 2077 A, où la suppression de plusieurs mots dans toutes les éditions rendaient le passage inintelligible [*En in ps.* 129, 5, "idolatriam non est inventurus", correction de la ponctuation donnée par les Mauristes] chose maintenant corrigée d'après le Regius [Parisinus lat. 1981, 11^e s.]".

Le 5^e volume a suscité une querelle, car les Éditeurs Gaume refusèrent de prendre en compte bon nombre des 99 nouveaux sermons récemment édités, dont 25 trouvés par Denis, 6 par Frangipane et 68 du Mont-Cassin que Caillau et Saint-Yves avaient retenus pour authentiques et insérés à ce titre dans leur *Collectio Patrum Selecta*, vol. 130 et 131, soit les t. 23 et 24 des *Op. S. Aug.*

⁷ Dom J. Martin a publié à part ces deux lettres: *S. Augustini, episc. Hip., epistolae duae, recens in Germania repertae, notis criticis, hist. chronol. illustratae, ac juxta nov. edit. omnium eiusdem S. Doctoris operum a Bened. concinnatae tersae atque adornatae*. In-fol., Paris, Mazières, 1734.

"Pour le nouvel éditeur [J.-A. Gaume]⁸ il s'agissait donc d'une part de n'omettre rien d'authentique dans son édition, d'autre part de ne pas augmenter la masse déjà très écrasante des sermons inauthentiques après une bonne centaine d'autres. Il étudia donc avec toute l'attention nécessaire les sermons nouvellement édités, étant - sans parler de son savoir par ailleurs - préparé par la lecture qu'il venait d'achever de tous les sermons authentiques. Il examina d'abord les 68 copiés, de la Bibliothèque de Monte-Cassino, et parus en 1836 [*Col. Patr. Sel.*, vol. 130, ou t. 23, qui comporte de la p. 7 à 23, une Préface justifiant l'insertion des nouveaux Sermons] et montre dans un traité détaillé et fort bien écrit. [cf. t. 5, pars prior, post Praefationem: *De sermonibus qui tamquam augustiniani nuper e codicibus prolati sunt, disquisitio critica*, col. XXXIII-XCII], qu'ils sont tous ensemble inauthentiques et pour une part très misérables. Un seul, le 57^e, *De Johanne Baptista* [col. LXXVIII-LXXX] porte des traces indubitables du vrai Augustin, mais [ce sermon] n'est qu'un fragment et comporte plusieurs lacunes. Pour tous les autres, en raison en partie de la langue, en partie du dogme, en partie du témoignage des pièces qui ont servi de modèle à une piètre imitation, les preuves évidentes d'inauthenticité sont données en abondance. L'Abbé Caillau, qui a fait l'édition de ces 68 sermons et a sans aucune recherche défendu témérairement leur authenticité, annonça dès la parution de ce volume en 1837 une réfutation de ce traité, dont cependant jusqu'à ce jour [mars 1841] rien n'a paru".

- En fait la réplique aux démonstrations d'inauthenticité produites par J.-A. Gaume dans ce t. 5, pars prior, a bien été publiée par Caillau sous le titre *Vindiciae Sermonum sancti Augustini ineditorum*; on la trouve en tête du *Supplementum II, Sermones inediti*, série in-folio, Paris 1839, et également dans *Collectio selecta SS. Eccl. Patrum*, en début du volume 131, soit le t. 24 des *Op. S. Aug.*, paru la même année. F. Dübner semble aussi ignorer l'intervention dans cette controverse de Mgr Marie-Nicolas-Silvestre Guillon, qui à la parution en 1836 du vol. 130 de la *Col. sel.* où figurait le premier Supplément des *Sermones inediti*, reprit à son compte les critiques de l'abbé Gaume mais en des termes virulents dans un livret de 27 pages: *Observations présentées par Monseigneur l'évêque de Maroc, M. N.-S. Guillon, Auteur de la bibliothèque des Pères grecs et latins, Au sujet des nouveaux sermons publiés sous le nom de saint Augustin*. Paris, imp. de Decourchant (1838), in-8°. Comme Guillon avait été avec Caillau à l'ori-

⁸ On attribue couramment à F. Dübner la rédaction des deux préfaces critiques du tome 5 concernant les nouveaux sermons proposés par Caillau [E. MILLER, dans *Journal des Savants*, septembre 1853, p. 564-579, compte rendu du T. 1, *Novae Patrum bibliothecae tomus primus continens sancti Augustini novos ex Codicibus Vaticanis sermones* ..., ed. A. MAI, Romae, 1852, et F. GODEFROY dans sa *Notice sur J.-Fr. Dübner*, Paris (1867), p. 12], mais il ressort clairement de ce que relate ici Dübner lui-même que l'Éditeur dont il parle est l'abbé Jean Alexis Gaume, d'autant que, pour son concours plus particulier à l'édition du *De civitate Dei* au t. 7, il n'hésite pas à parler de son intervention personnelle.

gine de la *Collectio selecta*, et que son nom figurait en tête de chacun des volumes, il fut sans doute provoqué par l'abbé Gaume pour qualifier sommairement d'inauthentiques les nouveaux sermons Denis, Frangipane et ceux produits par Caillau et Saint-Yves, car outre les arguments repris de Gaume, on y lit une grande louange pour la nouvelle édition. L'abbé Caillau répliqua sans attendre, avant même la publication du second volume des sermons inédits, vol. 131, ou t. 24, et de ses *Vindiciae* ..., où il renvoie à ce factum ("quid amplius dicamus non superest, cum jam objecta omnia in pulverem redegerimus in nostra *responsione*, edita Parisiis, apud Parent-Desbarres, anno 1838, quam videas"), opuscule de 49 pages intitulé *Réponse à Mgr. Guillon, évêque de Maroc, au sujet de ses observations sur les nouveaux sermons de saint Augustin*, in-8°, Paris 1938. Cf. l'article de E. Mangenot, sous le nom *Caillau Armand-Benjamin*, dans *D.T.C.*, t. 2, c. 1304-1306.

"Après cette masse [des 68 sermons] l'Éditeur [J.-A. Gaume] s'occupe [ibid. col. LXXXVI-XCII] des cinq sermons que le P. Frangipane a également tirés de la Bibliothèque de Monte-Cassino, dont il prouve aussi l'inauthenticité. De quatre autres sermons déjà connus, que le même Père a fait imprimer en même temps, en partie avec beaucoup de divergences dans le style, en partie avec *remplissage* de lacunes supposées, on en parle à l'endroit voulu dans les variantes. L'un de ces sermons, le 339° chez les Bénédictins, comporte un passage où les mots de tous les autres manuscrits, *Natalis Domini imminet* font défaut et à partir de cela le *dénommé* Père argumente que jusqu'ici on a en général faussement indiqué le mois d'ordination d'Augustin. Cette hypothèse a été examinée dans une note très étendue à la fin du volume [post Lectiones variantes, col. CXV-CXVIII: *Supplementum variae lectionis in sermonem CCCXXXIX*] et à cette occasion a été mise en lumière une particularité du *Chronicon* de Prosper qui est très importante pour son emploi historique et cela, pour autant que je le sache, pour la première fois avec clarté".

"Finalement l'Éditeur a également soumis à l'examen les 25 sermons de Denis et montré de 16 sermons [col. 3225-3232] que non seulement ils sont inauthentiques mais également très insignifiants. Il en a fait imprimer ici 9, et corrigés [col. 3233-3288], parce qu'ils ne sont pas en soi sans valeur, mais ce n'est que pour deux d'entre eux qu'on peut penser à Augustin: ils ne sont certes pas tout à fait indignes de lui, cependant ils ne sont pas constitués de telle sorte qu'il fût possible d'en affirmer l'authenticité".

"À propos d'un travail semblable des Bénédictins à séparer les authentiques des inauthentiques, je [F.D.] crois pouvoir oser communiquer ce qui suit des affirmations orales de M. l'Éditeur [J.-A. Gaume]: d'après son jugement, les Bénédictins n'ont exprimé le moindre doute à propos d'aucun sermon qui peut être considéré authentique; par contre ils ont laissé parmi les authentiques un nombre important de compositions plus ou moins douteuses. De plus, dit-il, plusieurs sermons sont sans aucun doute partiellement authentiques, mais d'ici de là ont été interpolés avec des pièces rapportées que le Bénédictins n'ont pas indiquées. D'autres encore reflètent bien les pensées et la manière de parler

d'Augustin, mais ont été plus ou moins retravaillés quant au style. - Pour certains détails on a aussi utilisé, à part les éditions déjà indiquées plus haut, celle de Sirmond (*S. Aurelii Augustini Hipponensis episcopi Sermones novi numero XL, ex diversis antiquis exemplaribus collecti Studio et opera Jacobi Sirmondi ...*, Parisiis, S. Cramoisy, 1631), et ici et là des conjectures ont été proposées".

- Au terme de ce compte rendu de la controverse suscitée par la publication de ces nouveaux Sermons d'Augustin par les soins de Caillau et Saint-Yves, il faut reconnaître que F. Dübner a pris partie un peu aveuglément pour l'abbé J.-A. Gaume en adoptant systématiquement tous ses arguments (M. 407, lin. 5). Quelques cent années plus tard la critique s'est finalement prononcée pour l'authenticité de vingt-cinq sermons Denis, de neuf sermons Frangipane, et de sept sermons Caillau et Saint-Yves⁹.

"Dans le premier écrit du volume 6, *De diversis quaestionibus 83 liber*, tous les Éditeurs, même les Bénédictins donnent les *quaestiones* elles-mêmes en marge, où on a l'habitude de lire dans les Oeuvres complètes seulement les sommaires des nouveaux éditeurs. On paraît justifier cette façon de faire d'après les paroles d'Augustin, *Retractationes* I,26: 'Hoc opus incipit: Omne verum a veritate verum est'. Seulement les Bénédictins ont trouvé dans leurs meilleurs manuscrits: '*incipit: Utrum anima a se ipsa sit*', et ils auraient dû alors mettre ces *questions* dans le texte. Voilà ce qui a été fait par le nouvel Éditeur qui pour plus ample confirmation se rapporte à onze manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Royale, dans lesquels sans distinction toutes les *questions* se trouvent à leur endroit parfois un petit peu abrégées. Les autres traités pour la moitié inauthentiques ont été examinés au moyen des éditions déjà mentionnées".

"La rédaction du 7^e volume, les livres *De civitate Dei*, M. l'Éditeur l'avait confié au soussigné [F. Dübner]. Comme à cette occasion j'avais le désir de mettre le texte des Bénédictins à l'épreuve et de collationner à nouveau les meilleurs manuscrits je posais comme condition d'avoir la plus grande liberté pour tous les passages qui concernent l'antiquité païenne, afin que les philologues n'aient pas à chercher dans les variantes et les annotations tout l'utilisable que je pourrais trouver. D'autre part beaucoup de notes d'explication étaient à écrire parce que les Bénédictins n'ont presque rien fait pour l'explication, parce que à leur époque les éditions de Vivès et de Coquaeus se trouvaient entre les mains de tous les savants. La préface donne un compte rendu précis des mérites des éditeurs antérieurs, et de la manière dont celles-ci sont utilisées. Mes nombreuses annotations ne sont pas séparées de celles des autres commentateurs, mais le lecteur trouvera facilement à distinguer entre ce qui a été écrit il y a cent ans et plus, et ce qui a été écrit récemment. De plus il va de soi que les annotations d'autrui que j'ai dû tisser dans les miennes ont été attribuées à leur vrai responsable. En ce qui concerne la critique, toutes les

⁹ Voir G. MORIN, *Sancti Augustini sermones post Maurinos reperti*, in *Miscellanea Agostiniana*, vol. 1, Romae 1930; et P.-P. VERBRAKEN, *Études critiques sur les sermons authentiques de saint Augustin*, Steenbrugge, 1976.

pièces qui touchent à l'antiquité païenne et avant toute chose les citations d'auteurs profanes ont été traitées sévèrement d'après les meilleurs manuscrits. Dans les parties chrétiennes de l'ouvrage, n'a été modifié que ce qui choquait ou ce qui était condamné par la totale unanimité des manuscrits. De plus les variantes plus importantes ont été partout ajoutées dans les parties païennes d'une manière exhaustive. J'ai collationné 1° l'excellent codex oncial du 7^e siècle, le Corbeiensis n. 766 parmi les Sangermanenses¹⁰, lequel ne contient que les neuf premiers livres [Paris lat. 12214, mais Dübner n'avait pas encore connaissance de l'existence du livre 10, dont les folios ont été volés à la Révolution, et sont actuellement conservés à Saint-Petersbourg sous la cote Q. I. 4]; 2°, du 10^e s., le Regius [Paris lat.] 2050 déjà souvent interpolé; 3° le Regius [Par.lat.] 2051 de la même époque, avec un texte assez bien conservé; 4° le Regius [Paris lat.] 2052, avec seulement dix livres, moins bon que le précédent, mais meilleur que le 2050; 5° le Regius [Paris lat.] 2053, avec seulement huit livres, très bon et copié d'après un des premiers originaux; 6° le Corbeiensis 258 [Paris lat. 11638], le meilleur après le premier, libéré de toutes les falsifications courantes; je l'ai comparé seulement dans les derniers livres, après la fin du Corbeiensis 766, mais je l'ai consulté très souvent également dans les premiers livres à l'occasion de correction; 7° le Corbeiensis 767 [Paris lat. 12215] contient les sept derniers livres et il est pour le moins aussi excellent que le précédent, s'il n'est pas encore plus fidèle; 8°, du 11^e s., le Corbeiensis 253 [Paris lat. 11637] contient les douze derniers livres, assez bon, mais bien inférieur aux deux précédents. Des passages ont été également examinés dans le Regius [Paris lat.] 2055, du 12^e siècle. En plus de cela la Bibliothèque Royale possède encore quelques cinquante manuscrits plus récents que je n'ai pas jugé nécessaire d'utiliser après les documents précédents¹¹. Des nombreux volumes dans lesquels Hardouin a critiqué d'un bout à l'autre Augustin, j'ai pris les deux qui traitent de la *Civitas Dei*; je me suis trouvé trompé quand même dans mon attente de trouver de ci de là quelque chose de digne de l'érudition de cet homme¹². Par des combinaisons singulières et for-

¹⁰ Lorsque F. Dübner rédige son compte rendu sur l'édition des frères Gaume, en 1841, les manuscrits provenant de Saint-Germain-des-Prés déposés à la B.N. de Paris n'étaient pas encore joints aux fonds déjà subsistants, d'où les cotes anciennes du catalogue de 1740 de St.-Germain: 766, 258, 767, 253, qu'il donne, avec l'indication de leur provenance, Corbie.

¹¹ On retrouve cette liste des manuscrits en fin de volume, aux colonnes 1193-1194, sous le titre *Syllabus codicum ad quos de novo recognitum est Augustini opus De civitate Dei*.

¹² Dans le fonds latin de la Bibliothèque Nationale sont conservés vingt-neuf volumes, n. 2745-2767, sous le titre *Censura librorum Augustini*, contenant les notes du Père Jean Hardouin sur chacun des traités attribués à saint Augustin. Pour chaque traité, Hardouin a retranscrit des passages qu'il fait suivre d'observations philologiques, théologiques et critiques. Des tables des matières et des citations bibliques ont été dressées pour chacun des volumes. Les deux volumes consacrés au *De civitate Dei* portent la cote 2757¹⁻². On est vraiment surpris de lire en tête du premier volume, dans l'index, p. 6: "Augustinus (hoc est, pseudo-Augustinus, sic enim in his libris volumus hoc nomen intelligi) [suivent des références aux pages] ludit in verbis pueriliter ... Falsatius secum pugnat in ratione temporum ... mendaces et timet rogam ... superbe adversarios spernit ... affectat modes-

cées qui sont nulle part ingénieuses, de temps à autre aussi par des trivialités et des mensonges, il cherche à prouver que cette oeuvre a été faussement attribuée à Augustin. J'ai fait imprimer textuellement quelques trois ou quatre annotations utilisables, le reste peut sans doute tomber dans l'oubli. Par contre toutes les annotations qui ont été écrites par Larcher sur son exemplaire, en général des annotations justes et pleines de sens, ont été recueillies sans changement¹³. Ce qui par ces ressources et par ces annotations auxquelles maintenant après trois ans je trouve pas mal de choses à ajouter ou à corriger, a été apporté, que d'autres en décident. Ce volume, ainsi que les *Confessions* et le *De Musica* ont été vendus séparément¹⁴.

- Pour compléter cette présentation du tome 7, il n'est pas inutile de revenir sur la Préface, à laquelle il est fait allusion, et qui est insérée en tête du volume, à la suite de la Préface des Mauristes, col. XV-XXIII, sous le titre *Editionis novae praefatio*, préface qui, bien que signée N.E., fut rédigée par F. Dübner; on y trouve quelques informations complémentaires. Les deux premières pages sont consacrées à une appréciation des anciens commentaires sur la *Cité de Dieu* et qui ont eu leur heure de gloire, comme Thomas Wales († 1349), Nicolas Triweth († 1334), Jacopo Passavanti († 1357), Ludovicus Vivès (1493-1540), Léonard Coquée ou Co-

tiam ... simulator pudoris ... dicit ineptias ... Fingit impurissima et obscenissima ... plenus obscenitatibus ... Scurra et minus impurissimus ... mentitur citans Apuleium, Ciceronem, Hippocratem, etc ... corrumpit Scripturam ... etc.", et p. 7, ces lignes: "Famosissimum pseudo-Augustini opus, quod de Civitate Dei contra Paganos inscripsit, excutera cum Dei ope aggredimur; operis et scriptoris impietate patefacta ... Pro paganis igitur, non contra paganos, inscribendum hoc opus fuisse nec proinde fetum eum esse Doctoris Ecclesiae ... nihil ut omnino in his libris sanum, nihil catholicum, nihil non fidei quam profitemur, contrarium sit ...". En trois passages de la *Cité de Dieu*, Dübner fait allusion à Hardouin dans ses notes: Liv. 10, ch. 27, Ea quippe dixit, quae etiam ... F.D., col. 1237, 421 C "Hard.: lege *quia* etiam, quo minime necessarium, *quae* refertur ad scelera" (cf. Hardouin, vol. 1, p. 165); note non retenue par Migne. - Liv. 16, cap. 17 fin, à propos de la naissance d'Abraham, F.D. col. 687 n.f. "Reipsa annus 1244 ante Urbem conditam. Hard." (cf. Hardouin, vol. 2, p. 345); note non retenue par Migne. - Liv. 18, cap. 42, sur l'origine de la Septuaginta, F.D. col. 843, n.b. "Fabula haec de 70 interpretibus jamdudum est ab eruditibus explosa. "Graecae versionis, inquiunt Sengenovefani in suis Thesibus, die 23 julii, 1704, non eos auctores dicimus quos venditat ementitus Aristaeas. Hard." (cf. Hardouin, vol. 2, p. 445); note reprise par Migne col. 603, n. a.

¹³ Comme F. Dübner fait grand cas des annotations de Pierre-Henri Larcher, nous avons jugé utile de les examiner attentivement dans notre article *L'helléniste Pierre-Henri Larcher (1726-1812) annotateur de la Cité de Dieu*, à paraître dans *Wiener Studien* en 1995.

¹⁴ F. Dübner se trompe lorsqu'il dit que les *Confessions* ont fait l'objet d'une édition à part, seuls le *De Musica*, voir plus haut, et le *De Civitate Dei* ont bénéficié de ce double traitement. Le volume du *De Civitate Dei* édité à part ne diffère en rien du t.7 de la collection, hormis la page titre sur laquelle figure après le titre *S. Augustini ... De Civitate Dei Libri viginti duo ...* la précision *separatim excusi ex operum omnium Editione Parisina altera, emendata et aucta*.

quaeus († 1615), Jean Leclerc dit Phereponus (1657-1736). Ces commentaires dont ont tenu compte les Mauristes dans leurs notes, et çà et là Dübner, ne suffisent plus à ses yeux, les sources historiques doivent être examinées plus à fond. Après avoir fait mention des apports plus récents d'Hardouin et tout particulièrement de P.-H. Larcher dont le nouvel éditeur fait grand cas, par contre à son jugement le travail de C.H.J. Francken, *Fragmenta Varronis, quae inveniuntur in libris S. Augustini de civ. dei*, Lyon 1836, n'apporte rien de neuf. Il est un autre auteur, qui n'est signalé ni dans la Préface ni dans le compte-rendu de son édition, et auquel Dübner porte une certaine attention, puisqu'il le cite en trois endroits de ses *Lectiones variantes*, il s'agit de l'érudit hollandais Jean Frédéric Gronovius (1611-1671)¹⁵. Ce qui a fait aussi l'objet d'un nouvel examen de la part de Dübner, et dont il rend compte seulement dans la Préface, c'est le problème de l'authenticité des *Capitula* que les Mauristes n'ont pas hésité à placer en tête de leur édition du *De Civitate Dei*; finalement il reconnaît que la tradition manuscrite est en faveur de l'attribution à Augustin lui-même des divisions en livres et chapitres de la *Cité de Dieu*, ainsi que les intitulés des *capitula*. Précisons enfin combien la collation faite par Dübner sur les manuscrits a été appréciée par les éditeurs ultérieurs B. Dombart, Leipzig 1863, et ses rééditions, E. Hoffman, Wien 1899-1900 (CSEL 40¹⁻²); les cent soixante douze leçons nouvelles qu'il a apportées, et qui sont indiquées par le sigle † ont à peu près toutes été retenues.

"Les 8^e, 9^e et 10^e volumes ont été révisés suivant la méthode indiquée plus haut avec un emploi constant des anciennes éditions nommées. Celles-ci furent, selon que cela parut nécessaire, en partie consultées pour des passages précis, en partie comparées pour l'ensemble. Le grand nombre de variantes qui en furent signalées paraissent souvent être importantes. Ont été également ici et là imprimées des annotations pleines de sens des éditeurs précédents ainsi que des passages du texte des anciennes éditions que les Bénédictins ont omis sans rien dire. Les corrections de Morel sont particulièrement nombreuses dans

¹⁵ Deux renvois très précis, avec indication de la page, sont faits à l'ouvrage *Johannis Frederici Gronovii Observatorum in Scriptoribus ecclesiasticis quibus tamen passim et aequales illis et vetustiores utriusque linguae auctores interpositi et illustrantur et emendantur, Monobiblos*, Daventriae, 1651, cf. Liv. 1, ch. 9, 2 (col. 13C) le mot *consulentes* "abest ab Am. Er. ac. mss ... refertur ad verba, sese abinent ... In eadem sententia est Fridericus Gronovius, in Observationibus ..., pag. 184, ubi conferuntur similia". - Liv. 21, ch. 24,1 (col. 1027 C) le mot *in melius* "Gronovius, Observatis in Scriptores ecclesiasticos, cap. 6, pag. 66, correxit in *mollius*. Quod non necessarium." - Un troisième renvoi est fait à un autre ouvrage *Frederici Gronovii Observationum libri tres*, Leyde 1662, cf. Liv. 3, ch. 10 (col. 100 B), les mots *succedentibus bellis* "sic omnes nostri mss. Gronovius, Observationum libro 3, cap. 16, [on peut préciser: p. 575] in suis membranis non invenerat verbum *succedentibus*; et conjicit legendum, *continuis bellis*. Sed nostrorum codicum testimonium hic posuimus ..."

le 10^e volume. Du *Psaume abécédaire* contre les donatistes, les Bénédictins n'ont pas trouvé de manuscrits, et le nouvel éditeur pas davantage dans collections rassemblées à la Bibliothèque du Roi. Le *Psaume* a été fait pour être chanté, dit Augustin (*Retract.* I,20): "*ideo non aliquo carminis genere id est fieri volui* (et non *nolui*), *ne me necessitas metrica ad aliqua verba quae vulgo minus sunt usitata compelleret*", car il voulait que par ce *Psaume* "*causa Donatistarum ad ipsius humillimi vulgi et omnino imperitorum et idiotarum notitiam pervenire* (et non *perveniret*)". La modulation est la suivante:

- v - v - v - v | - v - v - v - v

sans quelque part tenir compte de la prosodie des mots, comme dans les vers politiques des grecs. Pour cette raison pas mal de choses se laissent voir dans ce passage sur la prononciation de ce temps. Par exemple *tous les i* placés devant des voyelles deviennent des *j*, *audiunt*, *nesciunt*, *hodie* toujours deux syllabes, *Christianus*, *traditio*, *sententia*, *Macarius* trisyllabiques, etc. Dans plus de 200 vers je n'ai trouvé qu'une seule exception à cette règle.

Dans le 11^e volume a été couramment utilisé pour la *Vita Augustini* de Possidius l'édition de Salinas, Naples 1731¹⁶, et toutes les variantes qui se séparent de celles des six manuscrits utilisés par les Bénédictins ont été indiquées avec précision dans leur source. Salinas disposait de deux manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Christine [mss. 541 et 1025], et de trois autres du Vatican [précision: mss. 1188 f. 202-207, 1190 f. 88v-97, 1191 f. 198-203v]. Les Index qui occupent plus de 1200 pages, texte serré sur deux colonnes, ont été régulièrement augmentés et mieux organisés que ceux de l'édition bénédictine. Comme tout fut ramené à la nouvelle pagination, chaque passage a dû être contrôlé, en même temps fut entreprise une lecture de tout Augustin lui-même pour compléter les indices. Ce travail a occupé, presque deux années pleines, l'homme qui en reçut la charge".

Après les vingt-deux lignes consacrées à l'édition de saint Bernard, F. Dübner conclut son compte-rendu:

"... j'ai donné ici une relation que personne d'autre n'aurait pu donner avec plus de certitude: car dans tout le Chrysostome il n'y a pas un mot que je n'ai pas lu, ayant le manuscrit à côté; d'Augustin et de Basile, j'ai lu, avant ou pendant l'impression, de grandes parties, et pendant tout ce temps, j'ai été en relation personnelle avec MM les Éditeurs et les correcteurs, qui m'ont souvent entretenu de leur travail".

Paris Fr. Dübner.

¹⁶ F. Dübner commet ici une petite erreur, en indiquant que la *Vita Augustini* éditée par J. Salinas a été publiée à Naples, en réalité comme il est bien précisée au t. 11, pars prior, col. 869, le volume préparé par J. Salinas, qui était originaire de Naples, a paru à Rome en 1731 (... editionem datam Romae, anno 1731, opera et studio D. Joannis Salinas Neapolitani, canonici regularis lateranensis ...)

Résumons brièvement ce que Gaume apporte de nouveau par rapport à l'édition des Bénédictins. On compte au total 370 à 380 leçons nouvelles, dont 35 dans le *De Musica* et 185 dans le *De civitate Dei*, ces deux traités ayant fait l'objet d'une recension nouvelle. Dans les notes de bas de page ou les apparats nous avons relevé près de 2.500 notes ou références ajoutées à celles des Mauristes; dans les apparats ces adjonctions sont facilement repérables car elles se terminent par le signe †. Leur répartition est inégale, mais il est un traité qui a fait l'objet d'un commentaire incomparablement plus riche que celui des Bénédictins, à savoir le *De civitate Dei*. Il faut aussi faire état de certaines Préfaces ou notes critiques en tête des *Sermons*, du *De civitate Dei*, des *Lettres*, où se manifeste l'érudition des éditeurs. Cette édition soigneusement revue et enrichie n'est pas parfaite pour autant. Dans la confrontation entre l'édition Gaume et celle de Migne, sur laquelle nous allons longuement nous étendre, nous relèverons un certain nombre de déficiences de cette édition type dont Migne a été parfois victime, mais aussi auxquelles celui-ci a parfois remédié. Néanmoins nous croyons pouvoir dire que les apports dans cette édition Gaume sont tels, qu'on ne peut la considérer pour une simple reproduction de l'édition originale des Mauristes, et d'autre part, comme nous allons le voir, que l'édition Migne ne serait pas ce qu'elle est si elle n'avait bénéficié de cette précédente édition¹⁷.

II. L'ÉDITION MIGNE (1841-1842)

C'est dans le cadre des publications de la Bibliothèque universelle du Clergé, inaugurée en 1837 avec les Cours d'Écriture sainte et de théologie, que l'abbé Migne eut l'idée de publier les oeuvres complètes des Pères de l'Église grecque et latine¹⁸. Mais avant d'annoncer la publica-

¹⁷ La maison Gaume ne paraît pas avoir fait une bonne affaire en publiant les éditions d'Augustin, de Basile, Bernard de Clairvaux, Jean Chrysostome car à la reprise par E. Vitte du fonds des Frères Gaume, on trouve encore au catalogue de janvier 1903 toutes ces éditions. Les éditions diffusées par Migne ont dû leur causer un grave préjudice. Les 22 vol. de s. Augustin sont alors vendus 240 frs, alors que les 16 vol. de Migne valaient 86 frs en 1865.

¹⁸ Sur l'entreprise d'édition de Jacques-Paul Migne, comme sur le personnage lui-même, on a beaucoup écrit. Nous renvoyons à deux publications assez récentes où l'on trouvera l'essentiel des renseignements bibliographiques: le livre de A.-G. HAMMAN, *Jacques-Paul Migne. Le retour aux Pères*, Paris 1975; *Migne et le renouveau des études patristiques*. Actes du colloque de Saint-Flour. 7-8 juillet 1975, édités par A. MANDOUZE et J. FOUILHERON, Paris 1985.

tion d'ensemble, il donna en 1841-1842 une première édition des oeuvres de saint Augustin et de saint Jean Chrysostome en traduction latine.

L'édition d'Augustin porte en tête du premier tome un titre à peu près identique à celui de l'édition Gaume *Sancti Aurelii Augustini Hippo-nensis episcopi Opera omnia, post Lovaniensium theologorum recensio-nem, castigata denuo ad manuscriptos codices Gallicos* [Maur., Gaume *Gallicanos*¹⁹], *Vaticanos* [Maur. add. *Anglicanos* déjà omis par Gaume], *Belgicos etc. necnon ad editiones antiquiores et castigatiores, opera et studio Monachorum Ordinis sancti Benedicti e Congregatione S. Mauri*. Editio novissima, emendata et auctior [Gaume: Editio Parisina altera, e-mendata et aucta], accurante M****, Cursuum completorum Editore. Dans les rééditions, on lit: accurante J.-P. Migne, Bibliothecae cleri universae, sive Cursuum completorum in singulos scientiae ecclesiasticae ramos editore, 16 vol. Prix: 85 fr. Tomus primus. Parisiis, venit apud Editorem in Vico dicto Montrouge, juxta *Portam inferni*, gallice: Près la Barrière d'Enfer. 1841. Sur certains exemplaires le nom de Migne est en toutes lettres, et n'y figurent pas le nombre de volumes, ni le prix. En réalité cette première édition ne comporte que 11 tomes distribués sur 15 volumes, les tomes 3, 4, 5, 10 comprenant deux parties, comme dans l'édition des Mauristes. C'est cette édition princeps qui sera reproduite telle quelle en 1845-1846, puis en 1861-1862 pour constituer les volumes 32 à 46 de la P.L., auxquels sera annexé en 1849 un 16^e volume intitulé *Supplementum*, soit un tome 12, ou volume 47 de la P.L., avec les seuls changements sur la page titre du premier volume: Tomus primus, Parisiis, excudebatur et venit apud J.-P. Migne editorem.

Au début de ce premier tome est inséré un *Monitum de hac benedictinae editionis nova recensione*, sur 2 pages, dont voici l'essentiel. Bien qu'il paraisse téméraire de prétendre faire mieux que les Bénédictins, quelques améliorations ont été apportées, plus particulièrement dans le signalement des anciennes éditions, en portant dans les notes de bas de pages des apostilles qui étaient insérées dans les marges ainsi que les *addenda* et *corrigenda*. Le souci majeur du nouvel éditeur a été non seulement de ne rien omettre de ce qui a été précédemment édité, mais d'apporter des compléments strictement utiles. - 1°, Quand on s'écarte des Bénédictins, les corrections sont établies à partir des manuscrits ou des sources autorisées. - 2°, On a évité de surcharger les apparats, pour ne pas tomber dans des excès, et sans prétendre apporter une réponse à tous les problèmes philologiques. Et pour ce qui concerne la distinction entre les écrits

¹⁹ Cette substitution de *Gallicos* à *Gallicanos* peut s'expliquer par l'emploi spécifique à l'époque du mot *Gallicani* pour désigner les défenseurs de l'église gallicane.

authentiques et les inauthentiques, on s'en est tenu aux classements des Mauristes. Ont seulement été insérés en complément (à la fin du t. 11, après l'Index) des Sermons récemment trouvés, soit les collections Denis et Frangipane. - 3°, À la différence de certains éditeurs parisiens récents (nuperrimae extant editiones Parisienses), allusion directe à l'édition Gaume, les appareils critiques insérés par ceux-ci en fin de volume, ont été portés en bas de page. - 4°, L'ordre chronologique ou thématique adopté par les Mauristes pour leur édition a été dans l'ensemble respecté, quelques changements ont été opérés, permutation qui à vrai dire ne se justifie pas à notre sens car elles sont contraires à l'ordre des traités tel qu'il est donné dans les *Retractationes*: par exemple les *Soliloquia*, rangés normalement par leur date après trois autres traités de Cassiciacum, sont reportés par Migne après les *Confessiones* "quibuscum ob manifestam argumenti similitudinem apprimè conveniunt", de même le *De Genesi c. Manichaeos*, regroupé, malgré l'ordre chronologique, au t. 3 avec les *De Genesi ad litt. imp.*, et *De Genesi ad litt. lib. XII*, et le *De vera religione*, écrit vers 390, est reporté après le *De doctrina christiana* (397 et 426), "cuius absque dubio complementum cuique legenti apparebit", argument sans valeur. - 5°, Migne a cru bon de donner en tête du tome 1, après son Monitum, la dédicace des Mauristes au Roi Louis XIV et la Préface Générale des Bénédictins, les *Vitae S. Augustini*, celle de Possidius, et celle de Tillemont en latin, lesquelles avaient été éditées par les Bénédictins au dernier tome, avant les Tables et l'Index. - Enfin sont données trois précieuses précisions sur la signification des sigles: entre crochets les leçons nouvelles; *In B.* leçon propre aux Bénédictins; *M.*, signature abrégée de Migne, pour tout complément à l'édition des Mauristes.

Si l'on examine maintenant de plus près cette édition de Migne, on découvre très vite quelques caractéristiques qui lui sont propres et en font son originalité.

1. L'édition Gaume-Dübner, texte de base repris par Migne

Il suffit de comparer quelques pages de cette nouvelle édition avec les pages correspondantes de l'édition Gaume pour se rendre compte que celle-ci lui a servi de prototype: le texte avec sa ponctuation, les notes augmentées ou originales, les leçons ou corrections, tous ces apports nouveaux de Gaume par rapport à l'édition originale des Bénédictins se retrouvent à peu près tels quels chez Migne. Mais pour éviter sans doute l'accusation de plagiat, ce dernier n'hésite pas à démarquer plus ou moins les notes propres à l'édition Gaume. Prenons la première note des *Confessiones* dans G. 133 A "resistis", note en appareil col. VIII "Somm. Lov.

quinque mss. apud Mart. laudati, necnon Rond. cum tribus mss. *superbis, Deus, resistis.†.*", cette note se retrouve dans M. 661, n. 1 "Sommali., Lov., Mart., ex quinque Mss.: *Superbis, Deus, resistis. M.*" C'est ainsi que la plupart des notes et des leçons nouvelles propres à Gaume se retrouvent chez Migne, nous disons bien la plupart, car on constate que parfois celui-ci, tout en adoptant une leçon propre à Gaume et différente de celle des Bénédictins, n'en donne pas la justification en note²⁰. Le repérage de ces notes et leçons est assez facile, car elles se terminent par le sigle M. qui indique la plupart du temps des notes reprises à Gaume²¹, où elles étaient indiquées par un obèle †. Les notes non signées chez Migne comme chez Gaume figuraient déjà dans l'édition originale des Bénédictins.

Alors que nombreux sont chez Migne les emprunts à Gaume, rares sont les allusions faites nommément, on en relève seulement six plus ou moins transparentes:

- T. 2, 407, 5, "de quo non ago", sic in Ben. 306, dernière ligne. Mais au t. 11, Addenda et corrigenda, les Bén. notent "non ago, lege *nunc* ago", correction adoptée par G. 458 C lin. 10; M. reprend à tort la leçon *non*, et porte n. 2 avec allusion directe à Gaume: "Una e recent. Paris. Edit. legit, *nunc*, corrupte. M.". Dans l'éd. bén. d'Anvers, que M. suit habituellement, col. 232 "non ago", mais en marge: f. (forte) *nunc*. Dans CSEL, 34, 2, p. 616, 115 "*nunc* ago".

- T. 2, in 1a ed. 752 bis, n. a; in 2a ed. 751, n. b. "Hoc D. Augustini ad Maximum epistolae fragmentum in tomo tertio apud PP. Benedictinos et in tomo octavo editionis GG. inopportune relegatum invenitur ...". Cf. G. t. 8, 1517-1520, n. a "In hanc epistolam, a RR. PP. Benedictinis in tertio volumine editam, incideramus quum alterum volumen, cui cum reliquis Epistolis debebat inseri, jam typis esset exscriptum. Suo loco exclusae, haec pagina post libros de Trinitate non aegre concedetur. N.E."

- T. 5, 2136, n. 1 "Editio GG. subjicit hanc notam: "Apud Rabanum, *nulla honoris pulsat et potestatis ambitio* M.". Cf. G., t. 5, 2889 C lin. 3, en apparat (c. CVII).

- T. 6, 655, n. 2 "non mugitus". "Suspiciantur GG. forte hic legendum, *vagitus*, quae vox reipsa puerulis melius congruit. M.". Cf. G., t. 6, 956 B

²⁰ M. t. 7, 660, lin. 21 "immatura morte *rapiaur*", éd. Ben. "*rapiantur*", G. 924A "*rapiaur*", et en apparat "Sic plane codices nostri universi ut oportebat ... Benedictini cum aliis editionibus ... *rapiantur*, sententia perversa". Note non reprise par Migne qui adopte pourtant la leçon de Gaume.

²¹ Cela est annoncé sans réserve par Migne, 662, à la suite de l'énumération des éditions auxquelles Migne dit avoir eu recours, et dont il donne les sigles d'abréviation: "Duae etiam nuperrimae extant editiones, P. Desb. et GG., id est, altera apud Parent-Desbarres, altera apud Gaume fratres Bibliopolas Parisiis vulgatae. Utamque contulimus. M."

lin. 7, n. en bas de page, où l'on ne lit que le début de la note.

- Ibid. 920, n. 4 "*Qui scientem cuncta sciunt, quid nescire nequeunt*. Apud omnes editos, excepta GG. editione, versus ille interrogationis puncto concluditur; corrupte. M.". Cf. G., t. 6, 1341, dernière ligne où la phrase se termine par un point, et non un point d'interrogation, comme le laisserait penser l'observation de Migne, lequel a certainement mal compris la note correspondante de G. en apparat (c. LXVII) où on lit: "Er. Lugd. Ven. Lov. et editio Benedictina hic habent interrogationis signum quod mendosum nobis videtur, cum sensus sit: *Qui sciunt scientem cuncta, nequeunt nescire aliquid*".

- T. 7, 836, "Villici" n. a "Addit hic editio GG. Nomen proprium hoc loco esse videtur ... poterat puerum. M.". Cf. G., t. 7, 1166, n. a, reprise littéralement par M.

- T. 10, 201, n. 4: où est repris une note des Mauristes, avec complément entre crochets. "Nec aliter ... cap. 4", et la précision "Uncis haec inclusa habet sola editio GG.". Cf. G., t. 10, 311 B, lin. 2, en apparat (c. XII).

Mais le plus grand nombre d'emprunts directs à l'édition Gaume, pour la plupart littéraires, sont anonymes. Nous ne pouvons donner ici les 298 passages qui, redisons-le, sont tous repérables par le sigle M. en fin de note. Voici les deux premiers exemples:

- *Retractationes* I,14,2: "Sed quia tantum est quidquid est, ut *non* faciat beatissimus". Gaume t. 1, 52 B lin. 2, avec note en apparat: "Er. Lugd. Ven. *sed quia tantum non est quidquid est, ut nos faciat beatissimos*"; Migne t. 1, 606, n. 1 "Er. Lugd. Ven.: sed quia ... beatissimos M.

- Ibid. II,4,2 "Jesus Sirach". Gaume t. 1, 87 A lin. 1, avec note en apparat: "Am. Lugd. Ven. *Jesus filius Sirach*", Migne t. 1, 631, n. 1 "Jam. Lug. Ven. *Jesus filius Sirach* M."

Dans les deux cas Migne reprend donc littéralement et sans plus les notes de Gaume, sans oublier d'y ajouter l'initiale de son propre nom pour signature, et non celle de Gaume, ce qui aurait été plus correct.

Quel est donc l'apport propre de Migne? Après examen de l'ensemble de l'édition nous pouvons affirmer qu'en tout et pour tout il se réduit à 58 notes et 7 leçons nouvelles, apport bien maigre en définitive.

Les 58 notes propres à Migne, que l'on ne peut distinguer de la masse des notes signées M. mais communes avec G., sont pour la majorité soit des conjectures (25) du type "Forte legendum ..." ²², ou des apprécia-

²² Voir entre autres T. 2, 98, n. 1 "ne forte", Sic omnes edd., obscure. Forte pro, *ne*, legendum, *an*, vel *num*. M." Goldbacher, CSEL, 34,1, maintient *ne*. - Ibid. 411, n. 2 "soli concessum", sic in Ben., Anv., G. avec n. "Lov., *solicitum*. Forte legendum est, *soli licitum*. M." Goldbacher, CSEL 34,2, p. 623, l. 17, adopte cette conjecture. - T. 4, 263, n.

tions "Sensus hic claudicat" sans incidence sur le texte, soit des références à des éditions (Er.-Guillard, Lov.-Par., Anvers) que n'avait pas retenues Gaume (23 notes de ce type)²³. Dans six notes seulement que nous avons données plus haut, Migne dit explicitement prendre ses distances par rapport à Gaume, avançant en ces cas une nouvelle conjecture.

Quant aux leçons nouvelles proprement dites elles apparaissent dans la statistique globale que nous présentons sous forme de tableau. Pour les repérer au cours du texte, il suffit de se reporter aux notes de bas de page signées M., mais commençant par les mots: *In B...* (dans les Bénédictins)²⁴...

1) leçons différentes de B,
mais communes G et M

2) leçons propres à M

Tome 1	66 (de musica 35)	1
Tome 2	24	3
Tome 4	31	0
Tome 5	6	2
Tome 6	16	0
Tome 7	124 (de civ. Dei)	0
Tome 8	13	0
Tome 9	2	0
Tome 10	16	1

Comme on le voit les leçons nouvelles données par Migne dans sa propre édition sont peu nombreuses, et nous verrons plus loin que sur les sept repérées, deux seulement sont vraiment nouvelles, quant aux leçons

1 "Forte, et cui, vel, cuique. M."; ibid. n. 2 "Forte pro, autem, legendum tamen. M."; ibid. 314, n. a "Forte, Et. M." - T. 6, 1166, n. 3 "Certe legendum est, tumulum M." - T. 8, 33, n. 1 "Forte pro, et centum, legendum est, centum et M." - T. 9, 566, n. 2 "pisces boni esse" "Melius legeretur, bonos. M.", cette correction ne s'impose pas. - T. 10, 1607, n. 1 "Sic omnes editi; at sensus requirit ut sic legatur iste locus: "aliis quoque additis multiplicatus, nec lege sancta et justa et bona quivit auferri". M.; ibid. 1674, n. 3 "Locus mendosus; certe legendum est, aegrotabant ... jacebant. M."

²³ Premier exemple, M., t. 1, 583, première note des *Retractationes*. Après avoir cité la note figurant dans Bén., et reprise par G. 21 A, apparat col. 1, Migne ajoute "Er. Guill., jam diu istud, ut Lovanienses. M." - Au t. 8, col. 220, aux n. 1 et 2, deux renvois à l'éd. Louvain; en effet dans l'éd. Paris, t. 8, 1648, col. 94¹ C, lin. 4 "quia sit natus Deus", in margine "Jesus", et lin. 12 "quod [au lieu de quia] accipias". Dans le cas M., en recourant à l'éd. Louvain 1651, rectifie heureusement les notes correspondantes de G. 330 D, 331 A, apparat XIX où les notes sont interverties.

²⁴ Premier exemple, M., t. 1, 662, pour justifier la leçon *qui* (au ch. 3, lin. 10, *qui implet*), on lit à la n. 2 "In Ben., quae; at Somm. Dub. Mart. Rond., qui M.", note reprise à G. 135 B, en apparat "qui - ita Somm. Dub. Mart. Rond. In P. Ben quae. †".

reprises de Gaume, ce sont surtout à l'occasion des deux traités substantiellement revus, comme nous l'avons fait remarquer, que les emprunts sont le plus nombreux.

Migne est d'ailleurs à ce point tributaire de Gaume qu'il en reproduit parfois même les erreurs ou les coquilles. En quelques cas, s'apercevant des incorrections, Migne complète ou corrige alors Gaume, voici quelques exemples:

- T. 1, *Retractationes*, I, prol. 2 "quia de tam multis", sic in Ben. 1^e éd., 2, lin. 1, in Ben. 2^e éd. et Anvers 1 C lin. 1 *quia et de tam multis*; G. 21 C lin. 2 et M 584, lin. 3 *quia de*, certainement une coquille de G. reproduite par M.; dans CSEL 36, p. 8, lin. 10 *quia et de*.
- Ibid., I, 4, 2 n. 2 la référence *C. Acad.* III, 17, Ben., 7 n. a et G. 29 B "*noluisti*" en apparat, lisent "*Qui nisi paucis sapientibus ignotae ...*", M. 589, n. 2 corrige heureusement: *Quae ... ignotae ...*, probablement à partir d'Anvers 5, n. a.
- Ibid., I, 5, 2 "quod aliquanto superius", sic Ben., mais G. 31 B lin. 1, et M. 591 lin. 4 *quod aliquando ...* sans note.
- Ibid., I, 11, 4 "ut etiam in ipsum"; Ben. 1^e et 2^e éd., Anv. en apparat: "*Lov. in idipsum. Alii Codices in ipsum*"; G. 46A en apparat, et M. 601, n. 1: *Lov. idipsum. Alii Edit., in ipsum*". Erreur de G. reprise par M.
- Ibid., I, 21, 1 "contradicimus in hoc libro. In quo dixi...", in Ben. 1^e éd., 795, *cui nos contradicimus. In hoc libro dixi ...*, mais in Syllabo, 795, correction demandée "Cui nos contradicimus in hoc libro: In quo dixi ... Sic legendum cum mss. anglicanis et aliquot e nostris". Mais dans Ben. 2^e éd., et Anvers, col. 23, on lit "cui nos contradicimus. In quo dixi in quodam", et sans note dans le Syllabus. Gaume, 67 C imprime "in hoc libro. Dixi in quodam loco", à partir de la note des Ben. 1^e éd. qu'il reproduit en l'interprétant erronément dans son apparat: "Sic legendum cum mss. angl. et aliquot e nostris (cui nos contradicimus. In hoc libro dixi). M. 618, et n. 1 reprend le texte et la note de G. Dans CSEL 36, p. 97: "in hoc libro. In quo dixi ..."
- Ibid. II, 4, 2 "sanctum Ambrosium", Ben. en apparat "Editi: secundum Ambrosium"; at Mss: sanctum Ambrosium"; G. 87 A en apparat "sanctum ... sic mss At edd. *sanctum* (au lieu de *secundum*) ..." M. 632, n. 1, reprend heureusement la note de B.
- Ibid. II, 15, 1 "quibus resistere non valui", Ben. 1^e éd., *qui ...*, sans note, in Ben. 2^e éd. *quia resistere ...* en n. "non eis valui", leçon reprise par Anvers 34, avec la note, mais dans G. 93 A, lin. 8 "*quibus resistere ...*" sans note, de même dans M. 636, lin. 4.
- Ibid., II, 22, 1: "non potuisse cum laude", Ben. en apparat: "Editi *non posse*. Mss. *non potuisse*"; G. 98 A, lin. 9 en apparat "Sic mss. At edd.

non potuisse"; M. 639 n. 2: "Mss. *non posse*. At edd. *non potuisse*", erreur de G. reprise par M.

— T. 2, *Epist.* 17, 2 "*tamquam numinum*", Ben. 22, *tamquam nimium* avec note en apparat "Mss. octo *tamquam nimium* ... Editi. *numinum*", G. 31 C *tamquam numinum* en apparat "Sic ex octo mss. [*nimum*]", note erronée reprise par M. 84, n. 2.

- Ibid. 176, 5 "*exaudire dignetur*", sic Ben. 1^e éd. 622, mais in fine, Errata: "leg. cum omnibus editis et plerisque Mss. *exaudire dignatur*, et ad marg. scribe Mss. al. '*dignetur*', unus e Vat. '*dignabitur*'. In Ben. 2^e ed. et Anvers *exaudire dignatur*, in marg. al. *dignetur*. Dans G. 928 D, lin. 4 *dignetur* sans note, l'omission de cette correction se retrouve dans M. 764 lin 24, également sans note. In CSEL 44,667 *dignatur*, en note "*dignetur, m. I corr. dignatur A dignetur Migne*".

— T. 3, *Tract. in Ia* 47, 9, où apparaît une preuve manifeste de l'emprunt de Migne à Gaume, ce dernier par inadvertance intervertit deux notes du Syllabus des Bén., col. LXXX 2150 D dominico ..., D. ponit ..., ce même accident se retrouve en M. 1737 n. 1 est en fait n. 2, et n. 2 est n.1.

— T. 4, *Enar. in Ps.* 32, S. 2, 13 "*cessaverunt*", M. 292 n. a "*In Mss., cesserunt*" note absente de G., mais qui figurait dans Ben. 201 n. 1, et Anvers 150 n. e.

- *Enar. in Ps.* 93, 1 "*possidet*", M. 1191 n. 1 "*Lov., si quid aliud possit. Caeteri libri, si quid aliud possidet*", note absente de G., mais qui figurait en B. 999, in Syllabo 1708, et Anvers 750, in Syllabo 1271.

- *Enar. in Ps.* 96, 16 "*catasta*", M. 1249, n. 1 "Mss., *catista*, et *cataesta*, vel *cathasta*, sed plerique *catasta*. Isidoro lectus ferreus est, in quo martyres subjecto igne torquebantur: aliis etiam, machina proprie seu locus, in quo servi vincti exponebantur venditioni, aut etiam operi faciendo includebantur", note absente de G. mais qui figurait dans Ben. 1051, n. 1 et Anvers 789 n.a.

- Ibid. 17 "*animas servorum suorum*", M. 1249, n. 2 "*Vetus cod. Corb. hoc tantum loco, animas justorum suorum*", note absente de G., mais qui figurait dans Ben. 1053, in Syllabo 1708, et Anvers 790, in Syllabo 1271.

- Ibid. 18 "*nemo vos terreat* ...", M. 1250, n. 1 "*Am. Er. et aliquot Mss., nam non vos terreant potentiores: qui vos vocavit omnipotens est*", note absente de G., mais qui figurait dans Ben. 1052, in Syllabo 1708, et Anvers 790, in Syllabo 1271. Tous ces compléments relevés dans ce t. 4 Migne les emprunte directement à l'éd. d'Anvers.

— T. 6, *De cat. rud.* 9 "salutantis", M. 316, n. 1 "Quidam (codices) *sal-tantis*", sic Ben. 268 n. e, et Anvers 124, n. c, mais dans G. 458 A. *corpo-ris* en apparat "... Quidam *saltant* ...", certainement une coquille typogra-phique.

- *De op. mon.*, 1 "in interiori tuo", M. 549, n. 1 "Sola editio Lov., *in inte-riori homine tuo*", sic Ben. 475 a, Anvers 347 a "... *in interiore* ..." En G. 799 A lin. 5 "interiori", en apparat "Sola editio Lov. *in interiore* (au lieu de *interiori* ...) *homine tuo*", mauvaise lecture de G.

- Ibid., 27 "repositoria", M. 569, n. 3 "In plerisque Mss. *repostoria*", sic in Ben. 493 n. b, Anvers 361 n. a, mais G., 824 B, lin. 3 en apparat "in ple-risque mss *reposteria*", certainement une faute typographique.

— T. 10, *De anima et eius origine* 1, 23 "actum et ipse spiritum" seule-ment dans G. 708 D et M. 487 lin. 9 sans justification, mais in Ben. 348 F "actum, ipse vobis spiritum", de même en CSEL 60, p. 322.

Il faut enfin signaler des rapports importants de Gaume par rapport à l'édition des Bénédictins, que Migne a repris, voire complétés, dans son édition. D'abord l'*Epistola Ad Maximum*, extraite du Commentaire de Primasius sur l'Apocalypse et insérée au t. 2 après une autre lettre au même Maxime, *Epist.* 171. Les Mauristes l'avaient placée à la fin du Tome 3 qui comprenait les Commentaires scripturaires d'Augustin, après les Indices. Gaume, ayant trouvé ce texte alors qu'il avait déjà composé le volume des lettres, reporta la lettre au vol. 8 de son édition après le *De Trinitate*, col. 1517-1520. Par suite de ce décalage, Migne à son tour décou-vrit ce texte alors qu'il avait déjà composé l'ensemble du volume des Lettres. Mais il s'arrangea dans sa première édition pour l'imprimer au recto et verso d'un folio non paginé qu'il inséra entre les colonnes 752 et 753. Dans les éditions suivantes il composa en corps plus petits une partie de la lettre 170, ainsi que la lettre 171, la 171 b, et le début de la 172 de telle manière que la 8^e ligne de cette dernière corresponde exactement avec le début du folio suivant 753-754 antérieurement composé. Cette astu-cieuse recomposition de 4 colonnes seulement, soit d'une page recto et verso, que l'on retrouve dans toutes les rééditions de ce tome 2, évitait une recomposition de près de la moitié du volume. Deux autres lettres éditées pour le première fois à Vienne en 1732, et insérées par Gaume sous les numéros 184 altera, et 202 altera, se retrouvent dans le même ordre chez Migne, ep. 184 bis (col. 789-792), et ep. 202 bis (col. 929-938).

Les *Sermons* constituent essentiellement le Tome 5, divisé en deux parties, où sont repris tous les sermons figurant déjà au même tome de l'édition bénédictine. Les Sermons découverts et édités postérieurement,

couramment appelés "post Maurinos", ont été en partie reportés au t. 11, col. 813-1004, de l'édition de 1841-42, et des éditions suivantes, après l'Index generalis, où l'on trouve, après trois pages d'introduction, les 25 sermons édités par Michael Denis à Vienne en 1792, et les 10 sermons publiés à Rome en 1819 par O.-F. Frangipane. Mais dans le t. 47 de la P.L., volume *Supplementum ad opera S. Augustini*, édité pour la première fois en 1849, on trouve douze autres sermons complémentaires, tous reconnus aujourd'hui inauthentiques: col. 1113-1140, quatre sermons édités à Florence en 1793 par F. Fontani; col. 1141-1148, quatre sermons édités par A. Mai en 1842; col. 1151-1156, quatre Sermons, soit Caillau II, 53, et Mai 154 mais avec un autre développement, puis les deux sermons publiés par F. Ravaisson en 1841. Rappelons ce que nous avons dit à propos de ces Sermons et leur insertion dans l'édition Gaume: au tome 5, 2^e partie, col. 3225-3288, n'ont été reproduits que neuf sermons sur les 25 de la collection Denis, les autres étant jugés inauthentiques, alors qu'aujourd'hui l'authenticité de 22 d'entre eux est reconnue²⁵; quant aux Sermons Frangipane à l'authenticité douteuse aux yeux de Gaume, mais dont neuf sur dix sont aujourd'hui acceptés²⁶, il en était question, en début du tome 5, col. XXXIII-XCII, et en fin de volume, col. CXV-CXVIII, dans la *Disquisitio critica*, consacrée d'abord aux 68 Sermons nouveaux publiés par Caillau dans la *Collectio Patrum Selecta*, vol. 130 ou t. 23²⁷.

Dans ce volume 47 de la P.L. donné en *Supplément* aux Oeuvres de saint Augustin, Migne a inséré des compléments littéraires fort utiles pour une meilleure connaissance des Oeuvres de saint Augustin: col. 9-198, "Notitia litteraria de vita, scriptis et editionibus sancti Augustini", tiré de C. T. G. Schoenemann, *Bibliotheca Historico-Literaria Patrum Latinorum a Tertulliano* ... (t. 2, p. 8-363, Lipsiae, 1794); puis col. 197-570, "Variorum exercitationes in S. Augustini opera", constitués à partir de l'*Appendix Augustiniana* de Jean Le Clerc dit Phereponus, (Amsterdam, 1703); col. 571-884, *Vindiciae Augustinianae* a Henrico Noris, *Historia Pelagiana*, (Louvain 1702); col. 883-1114, P. Merlin, *Véritable Clef des Ouvrages de saint Augustin contre les Pélagiens; Examen des critiques répandues dans le Dictionnaire de Mr Bayle sur divers endroits des Écrits de saint Augustin; Dissertation sur la nature de la loi de Moïse: Sentiments de saint Augustin à cet égard*; col. 1113-1140, *Opuscula quatuor sancti Augustini* edita a Fontani. Et en fin de volume, col. 1157-1256, les

²⁵ Cf. P.-P. VERBRAKEN, *Études critiques sur les sermons authentiques de saint Augustin*, p.160-165.

²⁶ Ibid. p. 166-167.

²⁷ Voir ci-dessus les p. 13-15.

Lectiones variantes Sermonum genuinorum S. Augustini a Benedictinis editorum, collectae ex Codd. Cassinensibus et Florentinis ab A.B. Caillau et B. Saint-Yves, notes inédites jusqu'à cette date, que Migne a dû obtenir directement de Caillau. Sur la série de 68 sermons édités dans la *Collectio Patrum Selecta*, et fortement critiqués dans l'édition Gaume, Migne curieusement ne dit pas un mot.

Si ce *Supplementum* n'enrichit pas à proprement parler la collection des Oeuvres de saint Augustin, il fournit un certain nombre de pièces non négligeables pour une meilleure appréciation de ces oeuvres.

2. Migne tributaire de l'édition d'Anvers

Notre seconde constatation est que Migne, lorsqu'il en appelle à l'édition Bénédictine, se réfère non pas à l'édition proprement dite des Mauristes publiée à Paris, chez Muguet, entre 1679-1700, mais à une reprise de cette édition publiée à Anvers, plus exactement à Amsterdam chez Pierre Mortier, entre 1700-1707 (cf. tome 1, dès le premier traité, c. 583, parmi les éditions de références, est signalée expressément cette édition: n° 6 Benedict., *id est Benedictinam Antverpiae recusam* 1700-1702), édition dont on a plus d'une fois signalé les imperfections, et à laquelle on ne peut faire confiance. Aussi remarque-t-on çà et là dans les notes de Migne des omissions ou des adjonctions données comme figurant dans l'édition originale des Bénédictins, alors qu'elles ne figurent à proprement parler que dans l'édition d'Anvers.

— T. 1, 791, n. 2. *Conf.* 10,28 in fine *quod vel jam oblitos*. "In Ben. legitur *eam*, corrupte. M." En fait si l'on se reporte l'éd. Ben. de 1679, 1^e éd., ou de 1689, 2^e éd., col. 181, lin. 2, on lit *quod vel oblitus*, repris par G. 306 C, lin. 4. Mais dans éd. Anvers 136 D, lin. 5 on trouve *quod vel eam oblitos*, sans justification; M. reproche donc à tort aux Bénédictins l'adjonction *eam*, qu'il corrige en *jam* tout aussi arbitrairement, et aucune édition critique ne fait état de *eam* ou de *jam* en ce passage.

— T. 2, 211, *Epist.* 55,14, lin. 6 *voluerint nos*, sic in Ben. 1^e éd. et Ben 2^e éd., mais Anvers 100 F lin. 7 *voluerint et nos*. G. 199 C lin. 3, *voluerint nos*, sic Migne, mais n. 1 "In Ben. est hic vocula, *et*, qua carent caeteri editi", reproche qui aurait dû être fait à l'éd. Anvers, et non aux Bénédictins.

- Ibid. 407, 6 lin. avant la fin. *Epist.* 108,5 *de quo non ago*. Les Bénédictins au t. 11, in fine: *Addenda et corrigenda*, "*lege nunc ago*"; 2 éd. Ben. in marge, "*forte nunc*"; G., t. 2, 458 C lin. 10 *nunc ago*. Mais dans An-

vers 232 D lin. 6 *non ago* in marg. "forte *nunc*". M. s'en tient à tort à la leçon *non*, et de plus en n. 2 reproche à G. une incorrection "Una e recent. Paris. Edit. legit *nunc* corrupte". Dans CSEL 34,2, p. 616, 14 *de quo nunc*. - Ibid. 414, lin. 13. *Epist.* 108,14 *quasi voces*. Dans Ben., t. 11 in fine: Add. et corr. "lege *quas voces*", leçon adoptée par G. 466 C lin. 12; mais dans Anvers 236 E lin. 8 et Migne "*quasi voces*". Dans CSEL 34,2, p. 628, 9 *quas voces*.

- Ibid. 643, *Epist.* 149,31, lin. 3 *in eodem corpore surrexerit*, sic Ben. 1^e 515 B lin. 3. En Ben. 2^e éd. et Anvers 390 E lin. 9 *surrexit*. G. 770 lin. 1, et M. ont *surrexerit*, mais M. n. 1 "Sic juxta omnes editos. In Ben. (plus exactement Anvers) *surrexit*".

— T. 5, 143, lin. 38. *Sermo* 21,2 fin *bonum beneficium*, in Ben. 111 E lin. 9 *bonum beneficium*, mais Anvers 78 D *b. beneficium*, de même G. 160 D dernière lin. dans le texte, mais dans l'apparat "*beneficium* (ita enim excudi debebat pro *beneficium*)". M. reprend la leçon d'Anvers et G., et reproduit, n. 1, littéralement la note de G. tout en reprochant à tort aux Bén. et non à éd. Anvers la leçon *beneficium* "Complures editi et ipsi PP. BB. legunt, *beneficium*: minus bene. M."

- Ibid. 798, 9 lin. ante finem. *Sermo* 147,3 *pro Christo fuerat crucifigendus*, sic in Ben. 703 A lin. 3. Dans Anvers 489 E lin. 13 *pro Christo erat* ... Dans G. 1014 A lin. 8, et M. *fuerat*, mais M. n. 2 "Sic plerique editi; in Ben. *erat*", en fait dans l'éd. Anvers et non chez les Bénédictins.

- Ibid. 847, 10 lin. ante finem. *Sermo* 156, 13, *Vivis utique* in Ben. 747 E lin. 6 et en G. 1079 C lin. 2. Dans Anvers 520 E lin. 8 *Vivit*, mais en M. *Vivens* et n. 1 "Sic Edd. plerique; in Ben. *vivit*, forte *vivis*". M. corrige d'après éd. d'Érasme (p. 191, l. 4), mais le reproche fait aux Bénédictins s'adresse à éd. Anvers.

— T. 6, 1023, n. 1. *De cognitione verae vitae* 32, "In Ben. *sed est simplex naturae* ... Er. Lugd. Ven et Lov. secuti sumus, quos et ipsa secuta est PP. Benedictinorum Antverpiae editio. M." Le début de la note est empruntée à G. 1490 A, apparat, la finale est de Migne qui indirectement affirme avoir sous les yeux l'éd. d'Anvers où l'on lit *natura*, leçon qu'il adopte.

— T. 7, 96, lin. 35. *De Civitate Dei*, 3,17,2 "*diis inutilibus sine remedio populus*", sic in Ben. 74 E, mais dans la note correspondant dans le Syllabus, col. 704, note que reproduit M., ibid. n. 3, est demandée l'omission de *sine remedio*, ce que fait G. 116 C, lin. 12. Mais M. reprend aveuglément le texte de l'éd. Anvers, 52 B lin. 1, où la correction demandée col. 532, n'est pas faite; dans CC 47, p. 83, l. 64, *sine remedio* est omis.

— T. 8, 81, lin. 32. *De util. cred.* 10,23 *aperire possis*, sic in Ben. 60 A lin. 8, en G. 118 A lin. 2, et M., mais dans Anvers 44 B lin. 5 *possit*, et c'est à tort que G. en apparat, ainsi que M., en se référant à éd. d'Anvers porte en note 1 "In Ben., *possit*".

-Ibid. 317, lin. 26 C. *Faustum*, lib. 16,4 début *Quid ergo ostendemus*, sic Ben. 284 G lin. 3, de même en G. 457 C lin. 6 et en M., mais dans Anvers 203 C lin. 1 on lit *ostendimus*, et c'est à tort que déjà G., en apparat, et M. porte en note "In Ben. (au lieu de Anvers) *ostendimus*".

-Ibid. 727, lin.32. *Col. cum Maximino*, 9, n. 3 "In Ben. *possumus dicere* ...", en Ben. 1^e éd. on lit *possimus*; G. 1023 C lin. 10 et M. se réfèrent à la réédition d'Anvers où l'on lit "possumus".

— T. 9, 256, l. 27. *C. litt. Pet.* 1,24 *saltem obmutescatis*, in Ben. 215 A lin. 9, mais dans Anvers 145 D lin. 11, G. 354 C, lin. 9 et M., *obtumesca-tis*, avec la note "Sic editi. Forte *obmutescatis*". La mauvaise leçon d'Anvers a été reprise par G. et M. Dans Érasme, Louvain, CSEL 52, p. 19, lin. 3 *obmutescatis*.

— T. 10, 918, lin. 24. *De cor. et gr.* 4: *illi a quo agunt*, in Ben. 1^e éd. 752 A lin. 7 *illi a quo aguntur*, mais Ben. 2^e éd ... *agunt*, accident typographique dont est tributaire éd. Anvers 496 B lin. 16, ainsi que G. 1284 B lin. 5 et M.

- Ibid., M. 954, lin. 27. *De cor. et gr.* 30: *ut nulli justitiae*, in Ben. 1^e éd. 766 E lin. 10 *ut nullis* ..., mais Ben. 2^e éd ... *ut nulli*, accident typographique dont est tributaire éd. Anvers 506 E lin. 1, ainsi que G. 1304 C lin. 1 et M²⁸.

Dans tous les cas cités, Migne induit donc son lecteur en erreur en le renvoyant au texte des Mauristes, alors qu'il s'agit en fait d'un texte imparfait. Mais il faut reconnaître que Migne ne méconnaît pas totalement la première édition des Bénédictins puisqu'il la signale au moins à deux reprises à propos du *De Trinitate*, liv. 15, au t. 8, 1078, n. 1 "Si ita ... Sic editio PP. Benedict. Antverpiana cum nonnullis editis; at in priori editione Benedictina (985 D) legitur, *sit ita*. M."; et 1087, n. 2 "ita in aeternum ... Sic nonnulli editi et ipsa PP. Benedictin. editio Antverpiana; at in priori Bened. editione (993 G), *ita aeternum*. M." Il aurait donc pu s'y référer régulièrement au lieu de recourir à l'édition d'Anvers.

²⁸ Sur ces accidents typographiques voir notre article *Les méthodes d'éditions aux XVI^e et XVII^e siècles à partir des éditions successives du 'De correptione et gratia'*, dans *Troisième centenaire de l'édition mauriste de saint Augustin*, Paris 1990, p. 96-97.

3. Leçons propres à Migne

Mises à part la bonne douzaine de bévues que Migne introduit dans son texte en se référant à l'édition imparfaite d'Anvers, la quasi totalité des leçons nouvelles, par comparaison avec l'édition authentique des Bénédictins, que l'on découvre chez lui, ont été empruntées à Gaume ainsi que nous l'avons dit, sept seulement lui sont plus ou moins propres.

— T. 1, 609, *Retrac.* I,15,3, lig. 8 "*quia et scientes*", sic Ben. 2^e éd. 24 E, éd. Anvers 17 F, et Knöll dans CSEL 36, p. 74 lin. 11, *Retr.* I,14,4 "*quia et scientes*" sans note. Mais en Ben. 1^e éd. 24 E, Gaume 56 A lin. 4 "*quia scientes*" également sans note. Migne emprunte sa leçon à éd. Anvers; il aurait pu signaler en note: Érasme "*quia et sciendo*" avec note en marge "*scientes*". Lovan. "*quia et scientes*".

- Ibid. 1016, n. 1. *De ordine II*, 46 "*dominaretur*", sic G. 580 C lin. 6. M. insère une note "*In Ben. domitaretur. Sic etiam Er. Guill., at Lov. Par. dominaretur*". En CSEL, 63, p. 179, l. 11, et CC 29,2, p. 132, 34 *domaretur*. Nous avons là un exemple d'une correction de Migne, déjà introduite par Gaume, que Migne signale du mot *Par.* (Parisiensis).

— T. 2, 123 lin. 12. *Epist.* 31,3 "*Agnoscit enim, credo ...*" avec note 1 "*Omnes Edd. ferunt, agnoscis, corrupte profecto. M.*" De fait toutes les éditions antérieures ont *agnoscis* sans la moindre réserve. Goldbacher, dans le CSEL 34,2, p. 3, lin. 12, retient la leçon de Migne avec la note en apparat: "*Agnoscis MACP⁹RK edd. praeter Migne*".

- Ibid. 534, 3 lin. avant la fin. *Epist.* 138,20 "*vel eis quos licet ...*", avec la note "*Omnes Edd., qui, absque dubio corrupte. M.*" Goldbacher dans CSEL 44, p. 148, lin. 2, rétablit *qui*, et signale ici une lacune dans le texte "*vel eis, qui vel ... tardiore ingenio divina non valent adsequi, vel eis, quos, licet ...*", et dans l'apparat une double note "*vel post qui m. 2 exp. M om. edd.; lacunam significavi.*" - "*qui H⁹MACP edd. praeter Mign.*" La correction de Migne ne s'impose donc pas.

— T. 5, 634, lin. 3. *Sermo* 108, 3 "*quasi una gutta ...*", avec la note 1 "*Sic Lov. et Bened.; at Er. Lugd. et Ven., quasi si una gutta ad universum mare comparetur. M.*" Migne reprend la leçon des Lovanienses t. 9, p. 58, 2, mais il a tort d'en appeler à l'éd. Bénédictine, où l'on lit (555 D, lin. 3) *quasi si una gutta*, comme G. 797 D lin. 6, et en apparat l'enregistrait: "... in P. B., "*Quasi si una*".

- Ibid. 847, 10 lin. avant la fin. *Sermo* 155, 13 "*Vivens utique in hoc corpore ...*", et en note 1 "*Sic Edd. plerique; in Ben., vivit. Forte vivis. M.*"

Plus précisément en Ben., 747 E, on lit *vivis*, leçon adoptée par G. 1079 C lin. 3, mais dans l'édition d'Anvers, 520 E, *vivit*. Migne reprend la leçon *vivens* figurant dans les éd. d'Érasme, t. 10, 191, et de Louvain, t. 10, 106-2A.

— T. 8, 538, lin. 28. *De actis cum Felice*, II,4 "tanquam Deus", sic Ben. 1^e éd., Er., Lugd., Ven., Lov.; "*Deum*" éd. Anvers 347 A lin. 10 et G. 749 C lin. 3, cf. apparat, M. revient à la leçon de Ben. 1^e éd. sans note.

- Ibid., 585, 5 lin. avant la fin. *C. Secundinum*, 10, "*qui ad amorem*", sic. Ben. 1^e éd. 532 A lin. 7, Anvers 377 E lin. 1. Dans G. 821 C, lin. 11 s'est glissée une coquille "*quid ad ...*" que M. corrige, en signalant en note 3 "*qui ... sic editi. At Mss., quae*", en fait *quae* se lit dans les éd. Amerb. Er. Lugd. Ven. *quae ad morem*. Lov. *quae ad amorem*, cf. G. apparat. CSEL 25,2, p. 919, 9 *qui*.

— T. 10, 923, note a. *De cor. et gratia*, 11 fin "perseverares si velles", M. reprend en note a le commentaire que les Bénédictins, 1^e éd. (1690), col. 755, avaient donné en n. f. "*Si velles, id est, si eadem voluntas maneret, ut dicit infra, n. 17; seu, nisi voluntate mala, id relinqueres quod tenebas*", mais tombée dans la 2^e éd. (1696), ce dont les Mauristes ne se rendirent compte que trop tard, cf. t. 11 (1700) Addenda et corrigenda in fine, col. 3. Note absente dans l'éd. d'Anvers ainsi que dans l'éd. de Gaume, mais réintroduite par M. sans signature²⁹.

- Ibid. 940, lin. 2. *De cor. et gratia*, 38, le choix par Migne de la leçon *inseparabiliter* de préférence à *insuperabiliter* dans le passage "*ut divina gratia indeclinabiliter et inseparabiliter ageretur*", est longuement expliqué dans la note 1, après rappel de la leçon préférentielle chez les précédents éditeurs. Les Mauristes, t. 10, 771 F "*ut divina gratia indeclinabiliter et insuperabiliter ageretur*", et in Syllabo, 1407 "Am. et Er. et *inseparabiliter ageretur*: mendose ac dissidentibus Mss". Les Lovanienses, t. 7, p. 539 col. 1, adoptent la leçon *insuperabiliter*, que reprennent les Mauristes. Gaume, t. 10, 1310 D dernière ligne, et en apparat col. LXXI: "Antiquiores editiones, *inseparabiliter*. At editio Lovaniensium Theologorum, quae prodit anno 1577, praebet, *insuperabiliter*, cum hac adnotatione: Ita recte manuscripti omnes pro, *inseparabiliter*. Non sentit autem Augustinus electos a via recta declinare et superari a tentatione non posse; sed tam potentem eis dari gratiam, ut quantumvis infirmi, et imbecilles, tamen nec declinent nec superentur: ut non neganda peccandi impotentia, sed eventus tantum significetur. Id quod sequentia verba satis indicant: *et ideo quamvis*

²⁹ Notre article signalé à la note 28, voir p. 97.

infirmis, non tamen deficeret neque adversitate aliqua vinceretur. Et infra: infirmis servavit, ut ipso donante invictissime quod bonum est vellent, et hoc deserere invictissime nollent". Recentiores editiones ut editio Lovaniensium. Quidam manuscripti, *inseparabiliter*. At antiquiores manuscripti bibliothecae Regiae a nobis inspecti, praebent *insuperabiliter*". Migne justifie sa préférence pour la leçon *inseparabiliter* comme suit: "Vocem *insuperabiliter* nihilominus expunximus, utpote novis erroribus faventem. M." Ce passage du *De correptione et gratia* a déjà fait l'objet de très nombreuses remarques³⁰.

De ces sept corrections introduites par Migne dans son édition, en fait deux seulement sont vraiment nouvelles, *Epist.* 31,3, et *Epist.* 138,30, les autres reprennent des leçons anciennes déjà attestées par les éditeurs.

4. Errata repérés dans Migne

Il nous reste à signaler un certain nombre d'errata que nous avons relevés au long de notre pratique de l'édition de Migne, des années durant. Il ne s'agit pas du tout de leçons nouvelles possibles, mais vraiment d'erreurs survenues par suite d'inattention ou d'accidents typographiques.

— T. 1, 594, lin. 1. *Retrac.* I,7,6 "Non enim *recurrunt* ad Deum", lire *re-current*, en accord avec le verbe au futur *punientur* qui suit.

- Ibid. 696, fin § 7. *Confessiones*, IV,4,7 "in amicitia mea, *suavi* mihi", erreur dans la n. 4 "Er. Lugd. Ven. Lov., *suavi*", lire *suavis*, cf. G. 179 D, apparat "Er. Lugd. Ven. Lov. *suavis*".

- Ibid. 901, dernière ligne. *Soliloquia*, 2,19,33 "nisi oblitum te *sese*", lire "te *esse*".

- Ibid. 1256, lin. 22. *De lib. arb.* II,10,28 "Item iuste esse *videndum*", lire *vivendum*.

— T. 2, 78 avant dern. ligne *Epist.* 13,4 "illud etiam *perfectum* puto", lire *perspectum*. En Ben. 1^e 17 E "*perfectum*", sic in Ben. 2^e éd. et Anvers 13 D lin. 3, correction demandée par les Mauristes t. 11, Addenda et corrigende "p. 17, lin. 41 *perfectum leg. perspectum*", correction dont a tenu compte Gaume 24 C lin. 6, mais qui n'est pas retenue par Migne ni curieusement par Goldbacher CSEL 34,1, p. 32, lin. 1.

- Ibid. 100, lin. 1. *Epist.* 24,3 "quos *indices* charitatis", lire *indice*. En Ben. 1^e éd. 35 C lin. 8 *indices*, mais correction demandée t. 3, in fine: éd. Anvers 26 E lin. 5 *indices*, en marge "F(orte) *indice*"; Gaume 51 C lin. 10

³⁰ Notre article signalé à la note 28, voir p. 88-89.

indices sans note, mais Goldbacher CSEL 34,1, p. 75, lin. 18 *indice*, et en note "indices" *MACP¹RK edd*".

- Ibid. 386, lin. 14. *Epist.* 103, dans le titre "*Epist.* 97", lire "*Epist.* 91"; Ben. 287 F, Anvers 218 C, Gaume 430 ont tous la référence erronée "*Epist.* 97".

- Ibid. 407, 6 lin. avant la fin. *Epist.* 108,5 "de quo *non* ago", lire "de quo *nunc* ago". M. en n. 2 "Una e recent. Paris. Edit. legit, *nunc*, corrupte. M". En Ben. 1^e éd. 306 G lin. 4 "de quo *non* ago", mais au T. 11, Addenda et corrigenda: "306 lin. ult. *non* ago leg. *nunc* ago"; éd. Anvers 232 D lin. 6 "de quo *non* ago", mais en marge "f(orte) *nunc*". Gaume 458 C lin. 10 "de quo *nunc* ago" sans note, tenant compte de la correction demandée par les Bénédictins. Migne qualifie à tort d'incorrecte la leçon *nunc* adoptée par Gaume. Goldbacher, CSEL 34,2, p. 616, lin. 15 adopte la leçon *nunc*, avec justification en note "de quo non ago *VU edd. addita in m (Mauristes) coniectura nunc*".

- Ibid. 414, lin. 13. *Epist.* 108,14 "*quasi* voces", lire "*quas* voces". En Ben. 1^e éd. 312 D lin. 6 *quasi*, mais au T. 11, Addenda et corrigenda: "312 lin. 36 *quasi* leg. *quas*. Ed. Anvers 236 E lin. 8 *quasi*, Gaume 466 C, lin. 12 *quas*. Goldbacher, CSEL 34, p. 628, lin. 9, adopte la leçon *quas* avec justification "*quasi VU edd.*".

- Ibid. 764, lin. 24. *Epist.* 76,5 "*dignetur*", lire "*dignatur*". En Ben. 1^e éd. 622 A lin. 4 *dignetur*, mais au t. 3 in fine, corrigenda "622 l. 4 exaudire *dignetur*, leg. cum omnibus editis et plerisque Mss. exaudire *dignatur*. Et ad marg. scribe, Mss. al. *dignetur*, unus e Vat. *dignabitur*". Ed. Anvers 473 B, l. 11 *dignatur* in margine "Mss. al. *dignetur*, unus e Vat. *dignabitur*". Gaume, 928 D lin. 4, ne s'est pas aperçu de la correction demandée, et a avec Migne la leçon *dignetur*. Goldbacher, CSEL 44, p. 667, lin. 17 "exaudire *dignatur*", et en apparat "*dignetur, m(auristes) 1 corr. dignatur A dignetur Migne*".

- Ibid. 766, dern. ligne *Epist.* 177,5 "*ubi dicitur: Sint lumbi vestri praecincti ...*", lacune après "*dicitur*" dans les mss. mais comblée par les Mauristes avec le verset de Luc. 12,35 *Sint ...*, dans Ben. 624 B, lin. 1, et n. c, éd. Anvers 475 A, lin. 8. Gaume 931 D lin. 4, et Migne reprennent la conjecture et la note des Mauristes, mais A. La Bonnardière propose de préférence: "*ubi dicitur Contine teipsum* (I Tim. 5,22), cf. *Rev. ét. augustin.*, 1969, p. 63-65.

— T. 3, 1306, lin. 7. *De serm. Dom. in monte*, II,79 fin "*aut certe de vite*", M. adopte la leçon *aut* des Ben. 233 D ou Anvers 167 D, au lieu de *ut* chez Ér., que retient G. 1591, lin. 4, avec la note en apparat "*Sic Er. In Ben., aut certe de vite*"; M. reprend la note de Gaume laquelle devient

erronée puisqu'il a la leçon *aut* et non *ut* d'Ér. et de Gaume.

— T. 4, 1842, n. 1. *En. in ps.* 141,16 "Er. Lugd ... sursum cor *habitate*", lire *habet*, cf. G. 2259 C lin. 11 en apparat col. XCI.

— T. 5, 126, lin. 10. *Sermo* 17,3 "cum vos *ipsas*", lire *ipsos*; Ben. 1^e éd., 95 F "ipsas", in Syllabo 1256 "editi "cum vos ipsi". At Mss. "vos ipsos"; Ben. 95 F "ipsos"; Anvers 67 C "ipsos"; Gaume 137 C "ipsos"; CC 41, p. 239, 79 ipsos.

- Ibid. 1370, n. b. *Sermo* 299,6 "Haec lacuna ... Additur ad calcem tomi quinti PP. Benedictorum: Lacuna ...". Migne interprète mal l'indication que donne G. pour ce même passage, où on lit col. 1784 n. c "... Inter addenda et corrigenda haec habent RR. PP. Benedictini *ad calcem* suae Editionis ...", c'est-à-dire au tome 11 in fine, et non 5, où l'on trouve bien cette note.

— T. 6, 177, lin. 35. *De fide rerum quae non videntur*, 7 "aspicitis *ut* si adhuc", lire "*et* si adhuc"; Ben. 146 E, lin. 6 "etiam si adhuc", mais en apparat 632 "Legendum cum Sorbonico ms. *et si adhuc*"; Anvers 107 D, lin. 11, "etiam si adhuc"; Gaume 249 B, lin. 10 "et si adhuc"; CC. 46,13, 53 "et si adhuc".

- Ibid. 202, n. 1. *De fide et operibus* 7 "Mss. atque *utore*", lire "tutore", cf. Ben. 169 n. a "Mss. atque *tutore*"; Anvers, 124 n. c, idem; Gaume 295 C, lin. 10, en apparat "Mss atque *tutore*".

- Ibid. 341, n. 1. *De catech. rudibus* 42, un accident typographique à la fin de la note, lire "plerique autem *qui eos*".

- Ibid. 1132, n. 3. *De antechristo*, M. a mal interprété la note de G. 1648 C lin. 8, où on lit "Er. Lugd. Ven. Lov. (et non pas B.) omisso *et circumcidet se*".

— T. 7, 66 et 67. *De civ. Dei*, II,21,1 "suscepit deinde *Philus*" et 14 lin. plus loin "*Philus ipse*", en 66 n. 2, cette note empruntée à Gaume est transcrite d'une manière erronée: G. 74 C "suscepit deinde *Philus* ...", en apparat "Nostri codices hic et infra, *Pilus*, ut ediderunt P. Benedictini (48 F.). Sed satis constat nomen fuisse, *L. Furius Philus*, ut scriptum est etiam in Fastis Capitolinis aeri incisis". Note qui devient chez M. "*Philus*. Sic etiam Mss. nostri omnes. Forte legendum *Philus*", ce qui se comprendrait si M. avait adopté la leçon *Pilus*. Dans CC. 47, p. 53, l. 27 et 37 l'éditeur adopte *Philus*, et dans l'apparat "*Pilus* mss ed. princ. Arg."

- Ibid. 186, *De civ. Dei* VI,8,1, lin. 13 "*Sicut enim sunt terrigenae, sic eis*"; Ben. 155 D, lin. 4 "Sic enim ... sicut eis" et note en apparat "Omnes mss.

Sic enim sunt ..., sic eis"; Anvers 120 B idem; M. reprend la note de B ou Anvers, mais sans en tenir compte puisqu'il imprime *Sicut* sans justification; Gaume 250 B "*Sic enim ... sic eis*", et en apparat "*Ita omnes ms. Editi vero sicut*". CC 47, p. 177, lin. 11 "*Sic enim ... sic eis*".

- Ibid. 189, lin. 41. *De civ. Dei* VI,9,5 "*sicut est victus, vestitus et quaecumque ...*", sic Ben. 158 D lin. 8, éd. Anvers 122 C lin. 8 *victus, vestitus*", mais lire "*victus atque vestitus*", avec G. 255 C, et en apparat "*Sic omnes manuscripti*", idem en CC 47, p. 180, lin. 113.

- Ibid. 249, fin § 3. *De civ. Dei* VIII,23,3 "*religionem quam* (lire *quem*) *postea confitetur, errorem*"; Gaume 342 A lin. 10 "*religionem quem ...*", en apparat: "*Ita Vind. Am. Er. et omnes mss. - Etiam nostri. Ediderant Patres Benedictini (212 B lin. 8; Anvers 162 E), quam*". Dans M. est bien portée la note 4, justifiant la leçon *quem*, et non *quam* qui est maintenue, de plus l'appel de note ne figure pas dans le texte. CC 47, p. 142, lin. 99 "*quem*".

- Ibid. 575, 3, lin. 7. *De civ. Dei* XVIII,18,3 "*Ulysssei*", lire "*Ulyxi*"; Gaume 801 C, lin. 3, "*Ulyxi*" en apparat "*Sic nostri codices et antiqui Vergiliani, praeter unum B (Paris B.N. 2051), qui praebet, Ulyxis. Patres Benedictini, Ulyssis*". CC 48, p. 609, l. 70 "*Ulyxi*".

— T. 9, 492, l. 38 C. *Cresconium*, II,43 "*Non est Ecclesia deseranda ... tamquam domum magnam*". M. n. 2 "*Sic editi, mendose: nam verborum structura postulat ut legatur nominative casu, domus magna M.*". En réalité la correction qui s'impose est de relier cette phrase à la précédente, avec virgule après "*corporaliter debitas separabantur ad poenas*", et à l'accusatif "*non esse Ecclesiam deserendam tamquam frumenta ... tamquam domum magnam ...*", cf. CSEL 52, p. 403, lin. 22.

— T. 10, 378, l. 37. *De gratia Christi et de pec. originali*, I,33,38 "*quod aliquod* (lire *aliquot*) *suorum opusculorum*"; Ben. 246 D., lin. 6 "*aliquot*"; idem éd. Anvers 165 D, lin. 9 et G. 552 D. lin. 4.

- Ibid. 407, lin. 5. Idem. II,38,43 "*non suparatur ad malum*", lire *supatur*.

Ce relevé d'errata pourra être complété par d'autres utilisateurs de l'édition Migne. Il n'est surtout pas une détraction de l'éditeur de ces 12 volumes de quelques 600 pages chacun, où la proportion des fautes repérées est somme toute minime et pourrait être passée sous silence. Mais compte tenu de l'omniprésence de cette édition dans nos bibliothèques, il convient que les familiers de l'oeuvre de saint Augustin en soient avertis et en tiennent compte.

5. Les collaborateurs de Migne à son édition de saint Augustin

On aimerait évidemment connaître, comme pour l'édition de Gaume, quels ont été les véritables artisans auxquels Migne confia la préparation de son édition. La révision des notes, des emprunts, et les leçons nouvelles proposées dont deux leçons caractéristiques révèlent l'intervention de plusieurs mains, deux au moins, voire même plus. Ces notes sont plus nombreuses et plus judicieuses pour certains traités, mais quasi insignifiantes pour d'autres. Celles des trois premiers tomes sont enrichies de références à une ancienne édition parisienne de 1541, qui reproduit celle d'Érasme, l'édition Guillard dont il n'est plus question dans les tomes suivants. Cet anonymat des annotateurs ou correcteurs pourra difficilement être éclairci. Il est bien ici et là fait allusion aux collaborateurs (correcteurs, réviseurs, secrétaires) plus ou moins proches de Migne³¹, mais on ne peut déterminer qui parmi eux préparait les textes. Toutefois l'examen de la correspondance de Migne qui subsiste nous a permis de découvrir deux lettres assez révélatrices sur la manière de faire de Migne et plus particulièrement sur le collaborateur auquel il eut recours pour le volume de la *Cité de Dieu*, peut-être pour d'autres. Ces deux lettres, aujourd'hui conservées à la B. N. de Paris, Nouvelles acquisitions françaises 6143, feuillets 238 à 241, sont adressées à Frédéric Dübner, qui eut une part prépondérante dans la préparation de l'édition Gaume comme nous l'avons vu. En automne 1841, on voit donc Migne solliciter le concours du même Dübner pour sa propre édition du *De civitate Dei*.

La première lettre suppose déjà un précédent échange de correspondance entre Migne et DÜPNER, une demande de Migne et la réponse de Dübner, documents que nous n'avons pas retrouvés.

En date du 27 août 1841, Migne écrit à Dübner sur papier à l'entête des "Ateliers catholiques", Petit-Monrouge (cf. Paris B.N., Ms. Nouv. acqu. fr. 6143, feuillet 238^{r-v}).

"Monsieur DUPNER [sic], 3 rue du Dragon. - J'approuve tout le contenu de votre lettre, sauf trois points: 1° Je désirerais que dans notre édition de St Augustin il ne fut nullement question de celle de MM Gaume³². - 2° Il faudrait que votre travail fût prêt fin septembre. - 3° Je ne pourrais, vu le bon marché excessif de notre édition, payer ce travail que 100 francs en argent ou 200 fr. en livres. Je sais d'ailleurs que les notes pour peu nombreuses et longues quelles [sic] soient, m'obligeront à une dépense de composition, de cor-

³¹ A. G. HAMMAN, *Jacques-Paul Migne. Le retour aux Pères de l'Église*, voir p. 132-133.

³² Ibid. p. 77-78 où il est question des procès auxquels Migne dût répondre pour contrefaçon, usurpation, démarquage. L'éditeur cherchait avant tout et par tous les moyens de ne pas payer des droits de reproduction.

rection, de stéréotypie, de papier, de tirage, de satinage, de brochure et de transport, assez considérable pour m'engager sans trop de déplaisir à imprimer tout simplement les Bénédictins, si vous ne croyez pas pouvoir accepter mes offres. J'irais cependant jusqu'à 120 francs si vous pouviez vous passer d'abymer [sic] un volume de l'édition Bénédictine. Je regrette beaucoup, Monsieur, de ne pouvoir vous rémunérer d'une manière proportionnée à votre talent et à votre érudition; mais je suis [f. 238^v] obligé à une prudence tout à fait méticuleuse pour pouvoir faire honneur à mes affaires. Peut-être serai-je plus puissant pour d'autres travaux. Agréez, Monsieur, la nouvelle assurance de mes sentiments distingués. - Pour M. L. Migne, Alf. Bichard".

Et vingt jours après, soit le 14 septembre 1841, nouvelle lettre de Migne à Dübner (Paris, B.N., Ms. Nouv. acqu. Fr. 6143, feuillets 240^r-241^v). Lettre sans en-tête.

"Monsieur, j'ai la douleur de vous faire savoir que mes 60 compositeurs manqueront de copie, jeudi ou vendredi prochain, au plus tard, si vous ne venez à leur secours avec la *Cité de Dieu* de St. Augustin. Veuillez, Monsieur, me faire connaître par le porteur la partie de cet ouvrage que vous pourrez leur donner jeudi soir en pâture, ainsi que les heures et les jours auxquels il faudra après cela envoyer chez vous pour entretenir cette nuée dévorante, sans la laisser manquer de copie. Agréez, Monsieur, la nouvelle assurance de mes sentiments distingués. - L. P. Migne. 14.7^{bre} 1841. [Feuillets 240^v-241^r blancs, sur le feuillet 241^r:] Monsieur Dübner / Homme de Lettre / rue du Dragon, 3."

Ces deux lettres se passent de longs commentaires, elles sont suffisamment éclairantes, sur la précipitation du travail, et sur l'exploitation des collaborateurs, voire les méthodes de contrefaçon de la part de Migne. Il est évident que l'édition du *De civitate Dei* au t. 7 de Migne n'est qu'une réédition du même traité paru quelques années auparavant chez Gaume et avec la collaboration du même réviseur, Frédéric Dübner. Il suffit de confronter par exemple le *Syllabus codicum* placé en fin de volume chez Gaume, col. 1193, et chez Migne, col. 11-12, pour découvrir l'identité des éditions et des manuscrits de base. De même en est-il pour les leçons nouvelles adoptées, et pour les notes, toutefois celles-ci sont chez Migne comparativement abrégées.

Migne reviendra à la charge auprès de Dübner pour sa Patrologie grecque et dans le même esprit, ce que confirment deux autres lettres qui viennent à la suite des deux précédentes dans le même recueil de lettres manuscrites à l'adresse de F. Dübner; pour en saisir un peu la portée, voire le cynisme, il faut savoir qu'à cette date Dübner pour vivre avait ouvert une institution libre d'enseignement, avec des moyens financiers réduits, d'où ses besoins d'argent pour le quotidien.

N. acqu. fr. 6143, f. 242-243, sur papier avec en-têtes, à gauche "Mr. l'abbé Migne est visible tous les jours et à toute heure, sauf de onze heures et demie à une heure, sauf aussi dimanches et fêtes", à droite "Tous les volumes des Ateliers catholiques se vendent séparément":

"27 août 1855, Mon cher M. Dubner [sic] - Comment allez-vous? Comment vont vos affaires? Si vous n'avez pas d'argent, au lieu de vous en demander, j'ai à vous en donner, ainsi que des vol. Et voici comment. Ma *patrologie* latine étant finie, je vais attaquer ma *patrologie* grecque. Persévérez-vous dans votre promesse de m'aider pour la correction? En cas d'affirmative, comme je l'espère, vous serez encore assez bon pour vous mettre à ma portée en fait d'honoraires. Vous savez à quel prix je livre mes divers volumes. Toujours tout votre L.P. Migne - Pouvez-vous m'indiquer quelques bons correcteurs en dehors de vous et de M. Beyerlé? [f. 242"] Monsieur Dubner, chef d'institution, Place de la Mairie 3 à Sablonville par Neuilly".

- Ibid. f. 244-245 sur papier en-tête Ateliers catholiques ... Petit Monrouge, 31 janvier 1856:

"Mon cher Dubner. Je vais vous donner une grande preuve de confiance. J'ai près de 6 vol. de ma *patrologie* grecque composés, corrigés et stéréotypés, mais non tirés. Or, avant de procéder à cette dernière opération, après laquelle il n'y a plus de remèdes une pensée m'est venue, c'est de vous donner les bons à cliquer à relire pour le grec du Texte et des notes. Vous sentez que ces épreuves étant au net, je ne pourrai vous les payer qu'au temps, non aux pièces; mais je vous les paierai noblement et en proportion du service rendu. Du reste voyez le travail et fixez-en vous-même les honoraires. Ce que vous trouverez de défectueux sera corrigé immédiatement sur cliché, après quoi on tirera. Toutefois, pendant que vous réviserez le grec, un autre savant révisera le latin, afin que je sois irréprochable dans l'une et l'autre langue. Appliquez-vous donc; car vous allez vaquer à une véritable oeuvre. L. P. Migne. [f.244^v, 245^r blancs, f. 246^v] M. Dubner chef d'Institution, 3 place de la Mairie, Sablonville par Neuilly".

Cette seconde lettre manifeste clairement que Dübner, en homme averti, n'a pas encore répondu à la sollicitation de Migne d'apporter son concours à l'édition de la *Patrologie* grecque³³. Finalement F. Dübner n'ap-

³³ Par souci d'économie, Migne a exploité au maximum les bonnes volontés. Une lettre de l'un de ses collaborateurs, E. Pion, adressée à F. Dübner, au moment où le projet de la *Patrologie* grecque prenait forme, trahit bien le malaise. Cf. Paris B.N., Nouv. ac. Fr., 6142, f. 420^v : "9 avril 1856. Monsieur. Je vous remercie du fond du coeur de l'intérêt que vous voulez bien prendre avec moi. J'ai proposé à M. Migne de lui faire gagner 400 frs par volume en sauvegardant ma santé et lui garantissant la pureté de ma correction par l'engagement de payer la correction sur cliché ... M. Migne a toujours eu peur de conclure des marchés dont le résultat fût une position honorable pour un homme de lettre une fois attaché à son établissement. Un correcteur ne sera jamais pour lui qu'un ouvrier, quelle que puisse être d'ailleurs sa capacité exceptionnelle ... Je prévois que la *Patrologie* grecque aura le sort de sa *patrologie* latine; c'est à dire qu'une fois qu'il aura pu rassembler 7 ou 8 correcteurs (habiles ou non) il supprimera les correcteurs du dehors, excepté vous, et confondra dans un même système d'administration les ânes et les savants, c'est précisément ce système d'administration astreignant à rendre compte d'une minute qui m'humilie et me décourage ...". M. Pion avise Dübner, quinze jours plus tard, qu'il a obtenu certains arrangements. Mais on apprend par une lettre de Pitra (ibid. fol. 461), datée du 22 nov. 1857, que finalement ce correcteur est rentré chez Firmin-Didot, proba-

portera qu'une contribution limitée, probablement sur les instances de Dom Pitra, avec lequel il eut des relations amicales et scientifiques excellentes³⁴.

Au terme de cet article dont l'intention était de situer en toute objectivité les deux principales éditions des Oeuvres de saint Augustin publiées en France au XIX^e s., celle des Éd. Gaume (1836-1839) et celle de Migne (1841-1842), éditions qui ont largement contribué à la diffusion de la pensée du grand docteur d'Hippone, il apparaît clairement que l'une et l'autre ne sont pas des rééditions pures et simples de l'édition originale des Mauristes réalisée entre 1679-1700, elles comportent des leçons nouvelles, et des notes complémentaires, plus particulièrement pour deux traités, le *De musica* et le *De civitate Dei*, qui ont fait l'objet d'une révision

blement sur recommandation de M. F. Dübner.

³⁴ Nous ne pouvons que signaler ici l'existence d'une correspondance suivie et amicale entre Dübner et Pitra, comme l'attestent les lettres conservées de ce dernier à l'adresse de Dübner et datées des années 1848-1861, dans le Ms. Paris B.N., Nouv. acq. fr. 6142, f. 420 et 494. En mars 1857 (f. 443^v), soit deux ans après les sollicitations de Migne à collaborer à la Patrologie grecque on lit sous la plume de Pitra: "Je n'ai pas vu dans votre lettre un refus formel sur ma proposition de revenir à la patrologie ... pour que vous nous rendiez à tous le grand service de présenter l'éd. de S. Cyrille d'Alexandrie, à mon avis le plus utile, le plus riche et le plus latin des Pères grecques". Par contre Dübner apporte un concours très étroit à l'édition des quatre volumes du *Spicilegium Solesmense* de Pitra, qui lui rend un fervent hommage dans les Prolegomena, t. 1 (Paris 1852), p. LXXVII: "Quid vero eloquar de optimo illo ac eruditissimo Fr. Dübner, quem ignorat nemo, qui graecas latinave litteras excoluit? Omni prorsus iure postulat aequitatis officium, ut magnopere praedicem quanti ego illi debeam ...". Et dans une lettre à Dom Guéranger, en date du 3 octobre 1852, où il lui fait part de la précieuse collaboration de F. Dübner à cette édition, Pitra écrit en des termes vibrants: "Mr. Dübner est l'une des plus belles conquêtes que nous ayons faite en ces derniers temps sur le Protestantisme. À peine converti, il voulut expier le bien qu'il avait fait à l'université, en se vouant à un enseignement chrétien. Il s'associa à un ecclésiastique qui exploita sa confiance et disparut un beau jour, laissant retomber sur la tête du néophyte la honte et la ruine de sa maison. M. Dübner, sans rien dire à personne, excepté à moi seul qu'il avait rencontré par hasard, subit la honte et paya tout. Les épargnes de 20 années de travaux y passèrent. Il se remit à la besogne, de jour et de nuit, et sans prévoir la controverse du *Ver rongeur* (publication de Mgr Jean-Joseph Gaume, parue en 1851) il s'occupa, un peu sur mon conseil, de préparer des éditions classiques des Pères, c'est au milieu de ce travail d'urgence, et après avoir rompu avec tous ses amis de l'Institut et d'ailleurs qui n'imprimaient pas une ligne de latin ou de grec sans recourir à lui, c'est alors qu'il s'offrit spontanément de voir toutes les épreuves du Spicilegium, auquel il a rendu généreusement les plus grands services. C'est un véritable devoir pour moi de faire connaître ses excellentes éditions et c'est en toute sûreté de critique que je puis en parler comme étant de cent pieds supérieures à toutes les autres. Je ne puis mieux vous faire connaître le mérite de cet homme éminent qu'en vous apprenant que c'est d'après ses notes que Veuillot et Dulac ont si bien écharpillé un discours latin d'un pauvre M. Misard. Vous aurez remarqué cet article".

substantielle. Mais de plus ces deux éditions ont une étroite relation, car il s'avère que Migne, sans l'avouer, reproduit en 1841-1842, à peu de chose près, l'édition revue et enrichie que les Frères Gaume avaient réalisée entre 1836-1838 avec le concours de l'abbé Jean-Alexis Gaume et Frédéric Dübner. Cette édition aurait pu avoir une large diffusion, si elle n'avait été supplantée par l'entreprise de Migne qui allait englober les Pères de l'Église dans les publications de sa *Bibliothèque ecclésiastique* et qui a quasiment réduit à l'anonymat, par absorption, le propre travail des Gaume et de leurs savants collaborateurs.

Paris

Georges FOLLIET

"NO ONE EVER HATED HIS OWN FLESH" EPH. 5:29 IN AUGUSTINE

I. AUGUSTINE'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE BODY IN HIS EARLIEST WRITINGS

Augustine himself admits that he discovered the world of the spirit only shortly before his conversion: "Often I noticed in the discourses of our priest (= Ambrose), and sometimes in yours, that when there was consideration of God or of the soul, which is nearest to God, there was to be no thought at all of anything corporeal"¹. He also avows that he was not able, during the period he was a Manichaean, to make a distinction between sensible and spiritual things, i.e. between the carnal and the spiritual domain, although the Manichees carefully warned him to beware of the beauty of a spouse, the pomp of riches, empty honours, and pernicious pleasures².

When we look at the evolution of his concept of God, as described in his *Confessions*, we see that he never felt doubts about the existence of God, but, at the same time, that he did not know how to think about God's nature³. There are good grounds for assuming that his concept of God developed in three phases. The first was that as an adherent of Manichaeism. At that moment he thought that the whole of creation depended on two separate principles: a good and an evil eternal principle. He considered God as imprisoned and included in the human body, and therefore here greater and elsewhere smaller⁴. In a second phase his concept of God acquired a stoic colour. He thought of God as an immense corporeal and local mass; the world is impregnated by God in a more or less pantheistic

¹ *De beata vita* 1,4. CCL 29,67: "Animadverti enim et saepe in sacerdotis nostri et aliquando in sermonibus tuis, cum de deo cogitaretur, nihil omnino corporis esse cogitandum, neque cum de anima; nam id est unum in rebus proximum deo".

² *De duabus animabus* 12. CSEL 25/1,66: "Verum esto: non poteram illo tempore sensibilia ab intellegibilibus, carnalia scilicet ab spiritualibus diiudicare atque discernere. Non erat actatis, non disciplinae, non cuiusdam etiam consuetudinis, non ullorum denique meritorum - non enim parvi gaudii felicitatisque res est". *De utilitate credendi* 1,3. CSEL 25/1,6: "Fateor enim et illos sedulo monere, ut ista caveantur".

³ *Confessiones* VI,5,7. CCL 27,78.

⁴ Ib. V,10,19. VI,3,4. Ib. 68. 76.

way. If God were not a spatial entity, even though an infinite spatiality, He would coincide with non-being⁵. A complete break-through came about by listening to the sermons of Ambrose and the reading of Neoplatonic books: his materialistic conception of God was replaced by a spiritual view of God⁶. This meant a change from God as an undetermined, cosmic power to the personal God of the Bible.

We find a similar evolution regarding his view of the human soul. Augustine's earliest letters, especially those written to Nebridius, treat almost exclusively the problem of the spirituality of the soul, and the necessity of abandoning the world of the senses⁷. He stresses in one of his earliest works that the greatness of the soul should not be thought of as a corporeal quantity. Such a quantity, mass (*moles*) or swelling (*tumor*) is by definition something belonging to the corporeal world: in that case, an elephant would possess more soul and intelligence than a human being, and a donkey would be cleverer than a bee, which is, according to Augustine, evidently not true. Therefore, we have to turn away, in as far as possible in this life, from our custom to think in corporeal terms⁸.

The discovery of the spiritual world undoubtedly meant something overwhelming for Augustine. There is no question that he reckoned himself as one of the masses of which he says: "Through the familiarity with corporeal things the masses believe easily that all things are corporeal" and "Through love of material things people are deceived, and begin to think that there is only matter (*corpus*)"⁹. Ascending from the outward things to

⁵ Ib. VII,1,1-2. VII,14,20. Ib. 92-93. 106. See also CH. BAGUETTE, *Une période stoïcienne dans l'évolution de la pensée de saint Augustin*, in: *Revue des Études Augustiniennes* 16(1970), 47-77.

⁶ Ib. VII,10,16. Ib. 103-104. See O. DU ROY, *L'intelligence de la foi en la Trinité selon saint Augustin. Genèse de sa théologie trinitaire jusqu'en 391*. Paris, Etudes Augustiniennes, 1966, p. 29-37. 45-47. 53-57.

⁷ *Epist.* 1-4. 7-14. CSEL 34/1,1-11. 13-35.

⁸ *De quantitate animae* 14,24. CSEL 89,160-161: "... tumor enim non absurde adpellatur corporis magnitudo ... Magna quaedam, mihi crede, magna, sed sine ulla mole de animo cogitanda sunt ... Quod facilius contingit his, qui ... ab omni corporum consuetudine, quantum in hac vita permittitur, semet avertunt". Ib. 16,25. Ib. 127: "sine tumore ullo localis magnitudinis ...". Concerning *δορυκος* in Porphyry, see J. PÉPIN, *Une nouvelle source de saint Augustin: le ζήτημα de Porphyre "Sur l'union de l'âme et du corps"*, in: *Ex Platonicorum persona. Etudes sur les lectures philosophiques de saint Augustin*. Amsterdam, Hakert, 1977, p. 244-245. For *tumescere* of the soul (Eccli 10,9-10), see O. DU ROY, *o.c.*, p. 84 and in this article note 35.

⁹ *C. Academicos* III,17,38. CCL 29,58: "... turba sit praeior et consuetudine corporum omnia esse corporea facillime sed noxie credatur ...". *De moribus ecclesiae catholicae* 21,38. CSEL 90,43: "Tali enim amore (sc. vanae cognitionis) plerumque decipitur, ut aut nihil putet esse, nisi corpus ...". *Epist.* 1,1. CSEL 34/1,1: "Quid enim convenientius pecori

the inward mind, and from the inward domain to superior reality, or from the earthly things to God, is a description of Augustine's own vital and mystical experience. Thus love is given the opportunity to depart from the creature by which it is bound, to divine wisdom from which all other delights derive. However, Augustine's enthusiasm about the spiritual world has beyond any doubt resulted in an underestimation of the body and the senses. The question is: To what extent? We ask this question with regard to his first books, including *De Genesi contra Manichaeos*, dating from 388/389, where we find an allusion to Eph. 5:29 for the first time.

1. The relationship between soul and body

Our starting point will be the human being after the Fall¹⁰. That the human being consists of soul and body is stressed by Augustine from his earliest works on¹¹. He describes the union of soul and body as a *mix-*

est quam putari animam corpus esse?"

¹⁰ It would lead us too far to treat the difficult question of the pre-existence of soul and body (the soul in its pre-fallen state is 'invisible' and yet 'embodied'), fallen from a state of bliss; the soul's fall was that of a 'celestial' body into the 'mortal' bodies of our present experience; originally, God created Adam and Eve as part of the 'invisible creation'; they were created as embodied and as individual man and woman, as referring to their subsequent penal condition. See the last and most clear article of R.J. O'CONNELL, *The 'De Genesi contra Manichaeos' and the Origin of the Soul*, in: *Revue des Etudes Augustiniennes* 39(1993), 129-141. As presented here, this theory is plausible. See for further discussion: G. MADEC, *La condition malheureuse*, in: *Bibl. Augustinienne* 6, 3e éd., Paris 1976, p. 578-583. P. AGAËSSE-A. SOLIGNAC, *La préexistence des âmes*, in: *Bibl. August.* 48, Paris 1972, p. 714-717. G. O'DALY, *Did St. Augustine Ever Believe in the Soul's Pre-existence?*, in: *Augustinian Studies* 5(1974), 227-235. R.J. TESKE, *St. Augustine's View of the Original Human Condition in De Genesi contra Manichaeos*, in: *Augustinian Studies* 22(1991) 141-155. As appears from *C. Julianum* IV, 15, 78 and 16, 83 (PL 44, 778 and 782), Augustine knew Cicero's opinion, expressed in the book *Hortensius*, about a fall of the individual souls: "...nos ob aliqua scelera suscepta in vita superiore poenarum luendarum causa natos esse". See J. DOIGNON, *Souvenirs cicéroniens (Hortensius, Consolation) et virgiliens dans l'exposé d'Augustin sur l'état humain d' "ignorance et de difficulté"* (Aug., lib. arb. 3, 51-54), in: *Vigiliae Christianae* 47(1993), 131-139. The important idea for this article is that Augustine did not consider the body "as such" as a punishment.

¹¹ *De beata vita* 2,7. CCL 29,68-69: "... ex anima et corpore nos esse compositos ... cum fateamur cuncti neque sine corpore neque sine anima esse posse hominem ...". *De ordine* II, 11, 31. CCL 29,124: "homo est animal rationale mortale". *Soliloquia* I, 12, 21. CSEL 89,33. *De quantitate animae* 1,2. CSEL 89,132. *Epist.* 3,4. CSEL 34/1,8. *De moribus ecclesiae catholicae* 4,6. CSEL 90,8: "Quamquam enim duo sint anima et corpus et neutrum homo vocaretur, si non esset alterum - nam neque corpus homo esset, si anima non esset nec rursus anima homo, si ea corpus non animaretur - fieri tamen potest ut unum horum et habeatur homo et vocetur". *De div. quaestionibus* 83, q. 7. CCL 44/A,15:

tura so that the soul is able to experience bodily pleasure¹², or as a *contemperatio* (the adaptation of one thing to another, to be distinguished from *temperatio* as balance)¹³. I think J. Pépin is right in considering Augustine's view on the union of soul and body in the line of Porphyry: it is neither a unity, nor a juxtaposition, nor a strict mixture, but rather a union or mixture in which the substantial difference of soul and body is maintained¹⁴. How intimate this union is follows from the fact that a human being without body is unthinkable, and that without a body it ceases simply to be a human being¹⁵. Strictly speaking, neither the soul alone nor the body alone can be called a human being. But the soul is, as the seat of

"Anima aliquando ita dicitur, ut cum mente intellegatur, velut cum dicimus hominem ex anima et corpore constare". See G. O'DALY, *Augustine's Philosophy of Mind*. Berkeley-Los Angeles, Univ. of California Press, 1987, p. 54-57. See J. PÉPIN, o.c., p. 230-231.

¹² *De ordine* II,11,34. CCL 29,126: "... anima eo ipso, quod mixta est corpori, percipit voluptatem". *De Genesi contra Manichaeos* II,7,9. PL 34,201: "... si ergo, ut dixi, hominem hoc loco ex corpore et anima factum intelligamus, non absurde ipsa commixtione limi nomen accepit. Sicut enim aqua terram colligit, et conglutinat, et continet, quando ejus commixtione limus ejus efficitur; sic anima corporis materiam vivificando in unitatem concordem conformat, et non permittit labi et resolvi".

¹³ *De quantitate animae* 30,59. CSEL 89,206: "... corpus ... propter quandam cum anima contemperationem ...". The French and the German translation render *contemperatio* as "a happy union", which is a bit too optimistic. This terminology is preserved in Augustine's later works: cf. *De Trinitate* XI,2,2-3. CCL 50,335-336: "... anima tamen commixta corpori per instrumentum sentit corporeum et idem instrumentum sensus vocatur ... ex corpore sentientis animantis cui anima suo quodam miro modo contemperatur ...". For *contemperatio* see R.J. O'CONNELL, *St. Augustine's Early Theory of Man, A.D. 386-391*. Cambridge Mass., Harvard University Press, 1968, p. 140-142 and G. MADEC, *Une lecture de Confessions VII,IX,13-XXI,27. Notes critiques à propos d'une thèse de R.J. O'Connell*, in: *Revue des Etudes Augustiniennes* 16(1970),79-137, esp. p. 121. However, the soul is not the balance or harmony of the body, for then it would be a part of the body: *De immortalitate animae* 10,17. CSEL 89,118: "Quod si temperatio corporis esset animus, non utique id posset accidere (sc. removere intentionem mentis a corporis sensibus)". See J. PÉPIN, o.c., p. 243.

¹⁴ J. PÉPIN, o.c., p. 252-254. About this *unio inconfusa* see also: E.L. FORTIN, *Christianisme et culture philosophique au cinquième siècle. La querelle de l'âme humaine en Occident*. Paris, Et. Augustiniennes, 1959, p. 111-125. 155-159. L. HÖLSCHER, *The Reality of the Mind. Augustine's Philosophical Arguments for the Human Soul as a Spiritual Substance*. London-New York, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1986, p. 182-212. E. DINKLER, *Die Anthropologie Augustins*. Stuttgart, Kohlhammer, 1934, p. 202 translates wrongly the text of *De immortalitate animae* 2,2: "... corpus nostrum nonnulla substantia est et melius est esse substantiam quam nihil" by saying: "Da er dem Leib jedoch in jener neuplatonischen Periode kein bonum esse zugestehen kann, so spricht er ihm einfach die Substantialität ab". *Nonnulla*, however, does not mean "no", but "a certain substantiality" in a positive sense.

¹⁵ *Contra Academicos* III,9,20. CCL 29,46: "... animus tuus ea (sc. sapientia) post hanc vitam, id est cum homo esse desieris, facile perfruetur ...".

reason, better and higher than the body¹⁶. This standpoint has far reaching consequences, which we can summarize in the following points:

a) The soul has to govern the body with all its limbs, and the body has to be submitted to the soul. Augustine refers in this context to the Platonic image of the charioteer to describe the soul controlling the body. This is the order willed by God¹⁷. The lordly authority of the soul does not apply only to the body, but also to the lower irrational soul as principle of life; the latter also should be subject to the rational soul¹⁸. Anyone who lives according to the most spiritual, even divine, part of the soul is happy. But Augustine rejects from the beginning the Manichaean thesis of the divinity of the soul; the soul is not a part of God¹⁹. Consequently, Augustine defines the activity of the soul with regard to the body as *uti*: the human being is a rational soul that uses the body²⁰.

b) Augustine describes the striving or longing (*appetitus*) of the soul for the body from four angles:

- in order to possess the body;

¹⁶ *Soliloquia* I,12,21. CSEL 89,33: "... quarum prior (sc. animus) melior, deterius corpus est". *De immortalitate animae* 2,2. CSEL 89,102: "Melior autem ratio nostra quam corpus nostrum".

¹⁷ *De quantitate animae* 13,22. 14,23. 36,80. 36,81. CSEL 89,158. 159. 229. 230. See J.K. COYLE, *Augustine's "De moribus ecclesiae catholicae". A Study of the Work, its Composition and its Sources*. Fribourg Sw., University Press, 1978, p. 317-319.

¹⁸ *De immortalitate animae* 16,25. CSEL 89,127: "Hoc et de irrationali anima vel vita, quod nec in eam rationalis anima convertitur, dici potest. Et ipsa enim, nisi inferiore ordine rationali subiceretur, aequaeumeret speciem et talis esset".

¹⁹ *C. Academicos* I,2,5. CCL 29,6: "Quis, inquam, dubitaverit nihil esse aliud hominis optimum quam eam partem animi, cui dominantem optemperare convenit cetera quaeque in homine sunt? Haec autem, ne aliam postules definitionem, mens aut ratio dici potest". Ib. I,1,1. Ib. 3, Augustine even declares: "... divinum animum mortalibus inhaerentem ...". In *Retractationes* I,1,2. CCL 57,8 he remarks, however, that the mind or the reason are indeed the highest in human being, but that one should not live according to reason in order to be happy, but according to God. I agree with J.J. O'MEARA, *St. Augustine against the Academics* (A.C.W. 12). Westminster (Maryl.), Newman Press, 1950, p. 170: "The epithet 'divine' used with 'spirit' is not employed in its strict sense", because this would be in contradiction with his refusal of the Manichaean position. Augustine stresses the distinction of the substance of the soul and the substance of God: *De ordine* II,11,31. II,17,46. CCL 29,124. 132. *De quantitate animae* 34,77. CSEL 89,225. *De Genesi contra Manichaeos* 26,40. PL 34,217. See J. PÉPIN, a.c., p. 233-236.

²⁰ *De moribus ecclesiae catholicae* 27,52. CSEL 90,45: "Homo igitur, ut homini apparet, anima rationalis est mortali atque terreno utens corpore". *De immortalitate animae* 14,23. CSEL 89,125: "... tali conmutatione corporis, qualis somnus est, usum eiusdem corporis animae, non vitam propriam, posse minui". The same applies to the senses: *De ordine* II,2,6. CCL 29,109: "... non solum ex corpore et anima, sed etiam ex anima tota constare sapientem, si quidem partem istam, qua utitur sensibus, animae esse negare dementis est"; cf. ib. II,3,10. ib. 113. *Soliloquia* I,7,14. CSEL 89,22.

- in order to give life to the body;
- in order to give it its form somehow;
- in order to help the body in every possible way²¹.

The endeavour of the mind is to act, to know, to sense and to live. The mind is a kind of life²². Because it is giving life to the body, it is its highest good²³. Almost the same scheme recurs in *De quantitate animae* when Augustine speaks of the first three degrees of the soul in its relationship with the body: *de corpore, per corpus, circa corpus*:

- the soul enlivens the body, it brings it together into a unity, and preserves its unity;
- the soul experiences and distinguishes everything through the five senses; it approves and desires what suits the nature of its body (even procreation), and shuns and rejects what is unsuited.
- the soul improves life on earth in a creative way through culture, art and science.

To these three one can add also the fourth degree, insofar as the soul dares to rank itself not only before its own body, but even before the whole corporeal or material universe²⁴.

c) It is striking how often Augustine in his first writings speaks about death. A wise person fears neither death nor pain, but it would be stupid not to avoid them if he or she is able to do so²⁵. In order to achieve that the soul adheres totally to the truth, one should yearn for death as the greatest boon, for death, which was initially an object of fear, means the sheer flight (*fuga*) and escape (*elapsio*) from this body²⁶. Also the man Jesus teaches this²⁷. Augustine praises his mother Monnica because she no longer fears death, and he considers this as the highest form of philosophy²⁸. Leaving the body means an easier or more difficult

²¹ *De immortalitate animae* 13,20. CSEL 89,122.

²² Ib. 9,16. ib. 117: "Est autem animus vita quaedam ...".

²³ *De moribus ecclesiae catholicae* 5,7. CSEL 90,10.

²⁴ *De quantitate animae* 33,70-73. 35,79. CSEL 89,217-222. 228.

²⁵ *De beata vita* 4,25. CCL 29,79.

²⁶ *De quantitate animae* 33,76. CSEL 89,225: "Tanta autem in contemplanda veritate voluptas est ... ut neque quicquam praeterea scisse se aliquando aliquis putet, cum sibi scire videbatur, et quo minus impediatur anima toti tota inhaerere veritati, mors, quae antea metuebatur, id est ab hoc corpore omnimoda fuga et elapsio, pro summo munere desideretur". In the same passage the resurrection of the flesh is explicitly mentioned.

²⁷ *De div. quaestionibus* 83, q. 25. CCL 44/A,31: "Pertinet autem ad vitam rectam, ea quae non sunt metuenda non metuere. Mors autem metuenda non est".

²⁸ *De ordine* I,11,32-II,1,1. CCL 29,105-106.

liberation according to the degree one has lived more or less virtuously²⁹. But in spite of the fact that Augustine sees the absence of fear of death as an ideal³⁰, he is conscious of not yet having realized it³¹. He wishes to remain alive, not for the sake of life itself, but he fears death because he has not yet attained wisdom³². He fears especially the loss of three objects: a) the persons he loves; b) his health and, consequently, he is scared of grief and pain; c) his life in this body and, therefore, he dreads dying³³.

2. Negative valuation of the body and senses

According to Plotinus, we should transcend the sensible world, otherwise we will not reach the deepest meaning of human existence. However, the senses are necessary, but not sufficient³⁴. The body and the sensory world are intimately connected in Augustine's earliest works, and, as it seems, in a more negative way than in Plotinus. Everything that is sensory is corporeal, and everything with which the senses come into contact is sensory. If one wishes to know oneself thoroughly, one must obtain the habit of withdrawing oneself from the senses, for these plunge the human being in the fragmented and dispersed domain of the sensory world³⁵. For this reason, one should look down with disdain upon human

²⁹ Ib. II,9,26. ib.122: "... tamen inconcusse credo, mox ut hoc corpus reliquerint, eos, quo bene magis minusve vixerunt, eo facilius aut difficilior liberari". *Epist.* 10,2. CSEL 34/1,23.

³⁰ *De quantitate animae* 33,73. 33,76. CSEL 89,221-222. 225. And within the context of the resurrection of the body: *De moribus ecclesiae catholicae* 22,40. CSEL 90,46: "... his cognitio mortem non modo contemnet, verum etiam desiderabit". See J.K. COYLE, o.c., p. 366-368.

³¹ *Soliloquia* II,13,23. CSEL 89,78: "O multum beatos, quibus, sive ab ipsis sive abs quolibet, non esse metuendam mortem, etiamsi anima intereat, persuasum est! At mihi misero nullae adhuc rationes, nulli libri persuadere potuerunt. R. Noli gemere, immortalis est animus humanus".

³² Ib. I,12,20. ib. 32: "R. Non igitur et vitam istam propter seipsam, sed propter sapientiam vis manere. A. Sic est".

³³ Ib. I,9,16. ib. 25.

³⁴ See M.R. MILES, *Augustine on the Body*. Missoula Montana, Scholars Press, 1979, p. 9-22.

³⁵ *De moribus ecclesiae catholicae* 12,20. CSEL 90,24: "... animum atque mentem creaturam esse. Alia ergo creatura corpus est ... alia creatura est omne sensibile". cf. ib. 20,37. ib. 41: the *illecebrae corporis* are related to the *sensibilia*. *De ordine* I,1,3-2,3. CCL 29,90: "Qui tamen ut se noscat, magna opus habet consuetudine recedendi a sensibus et animum in se ipsum colligendi atque in se ipso retinendi ... idcircoque illam (sc. pulchritudinem) videre non licet animae, quae in multa procedit sectaturque aviditate paupe-

affairs. The word *despicere*, however, has here a special meaning. The matter is not to be shocked by questions beyond our capacity, such as: why a human being wants to have children and does not have them, while another is worried over the excessive fecundity of his wife; why he who is ready to bestow gifts lavishly is in need of money, while the mean and miserly usurer carefully watches over his hidden treasure; why extravagance spends and wastes an ample inheritance, while the tearful beggar hardly gets a coin; why undeserved honour exalts somebody, and a blameless life passes unobserved in the crowd. Such questions lead easily to the loss of belief in divine providence³⁶. The Christian mysteries command that a person who wishes to be in the likeness of God and to find there the salvation of his soul, must renounce the world (cf. Luke 14:33)³⁷ and despise all that is corporeal. Faith alone can purge us from desire of mortal things³⁸. In the expressions "to leave behind the delights of the body", "to withdraw oneself from the corporeal senses", "the more the soul transcends the body, the more it is wiser" or "we should crucify the lusts and evil desires which tear the mind apart and dissipate it" (referring to Gal. 5:24 "Those who belong to Jesus Christ have crucified their flesh with its

riem, quam nescit sola segregatione multitudinis posse vitari. Multitudinem autem non hominum dico sed omnium, quae sensus attingit". *De div. quaestionibus* 83, q. 9. CCL 44/A,17: "... non est constitutum iudicium veritatis in sensibus. Quamobrem saluberrime admonemur averti ab hoc mundo, qui profecto corporeus est et sensibilis, et ad deum converti". In his *Retract.* I,3,2. CCL 57,12 Augustine remarks that he had better said "the senses of the body" in stead of *sensus* without further specification (probably because he accepts a bit later also a *sensus interior*: see G. O'DALY, o.c., p.102-105). cf. *De quantitate animae* 19,33. CSEL 89,173: "... anima ... quia neglecta mente defluxit in sensus, nihil aliud quam tumuisse ... iudicanda est". See also J. DOIGNON, *État des questions relatives aux premiers Dialogues de saint Augustin*, in: *Internationales Symposium über den Stand der Augustinus-Forschung*. Hrsg. von C. MAYER u. K.H. CHELIUS. Würzburg, Augustinus-Verlag, 1989, p. 62-63. 68-70. 72.

³⁶ *De ordine* II,5,14-15. CCL 29,115: "... unde iam, dum ipsis humanis rebus teneatur, sic eas despiciat cunctaque discernat, ut nullo modo eum moveat, cur alius optet liberos habere nec habeat, alius uxoris nimia fecunditate torqueatur ...".

³⁷ *De quantitate animae* 3,4. CSEL 89,135: "Ideoque bene praecipitur etiam in mysteriis, ut omnia corporea contemnat universoque huic mundo renuntiet - qui, ut videmus, corporeus est - quisquis se talem reddi desiderat, qualis a deo factus est, id est similem deo; non enim alia salus animae est aut renovatio aut reconciliatio auctori suo". *De Genesi contra Manichaeos* I,17,28. PL 34,187: "... propter intellectum ... quamvis etiam corpus nostrum sic fabricatum sit, ut indicet nos meliores esse quam bestias, et propterea Deo similes".

³⁸ *Soliloquia* I,6,12. CSEL 89,20.

perturbations and lusts")³⁹, we should take into account a strong moral component. However, I do not at all deny, that Augustine, in his earlier writings, displays an exaggerated optimism regarding the role of reason and wisdom reserved to an elite. We see that this optimism decreases more and more in Augustine's later works. But even at the moment of writing his first works, he avows that a human being is not able to transcend the body totally: "The human soul, by means of reason and knowledge, withdraws itself *as far as it can* from the body and gladly enjoys the delights of the interior life. The more it stoops to the senses, the greater its similarity to the animal... The soul should not pour itself out in the senses *beyond the measure of necessity*, but rather should collect itself from the senses and become a child of God again, that is, become a new human being after having put off the old" (cf. Eph. 4:22-24)⁴⁰. In this period, Augustine has clearly a predilection for the Neoplatonic terminology "escape-flight" (*fuga*). We should flee from the lusts and the perishable things, from the mortal goods to the immortal⁴¹. We must flee entirely

³⁹ C. *Academicos* III,9,19. CCL 29,46: "... relictis saltem voluptatibus corporis ...". *De immortalitate animae* 10,17. CSEL 89,119: "... animus, cum se avertit a corpore ..." in order to attain true knowledge. *De moribus Manichaeorum* 17,55. CSEL 90,138: "Animam autem hominis, quanto sapientior corpore excesserit, tanto utilius excedere veritas docet ...". *De Genesi contra Manichaeos* I,20,31. PL 34,188: "... conscindunt et dissipant animum ... perturbationes, et libidines, et concupiscentiae malae. De quibus jam nobis praecipitur, ut eas cum quanto possumus labore crucifigamus in nobis, donec absorbeatur mors in victoriam (1 Cor. 15,54)". *De ordine* I,11,32. CCL 29,106: "Esse autem alium mundum ab istis oculis remotissimum, quem paucorum sanorum intellectus intuetur, satis ipse Christus significat, qui non dicit 'Regnum meum non est de mundo', sed: *Regnum meum non est de hoc mundo* (Joh. 18:36)". See the correction in *Retract.* I,3,2. CCL 57, 12-13: the Platonic intelligible world is not identical with the Reign of Christ (Mt. 6:10).

⁴⁰ *De quantitate animae* 28,54-55. CSEL 89,200-201: "Humana vero anima ... suspendit se a corpore, quantum potest, et ea quae intus est, libentius fruitur voluptate; quantoque in sensus declinat magis, tanto similior hominem pecori facit ... Quamobrem ... libenter tamen in eo sermone demoror, quo admonetur anima, ne se ultra quam necessitas cogit, refundat in sensus, sed ab his potius ad seipsam conligat et repuerescat deo; quod est novum hominem fieri vetere exuto".

⁴¹ *De ordine* II,16,44: "... vel adhuc servus cupiditatum et inhians rebus pereuntibus vel iam ista fugiens casteque vivens ...". II,19,50: "... a deteriore ad melius, a mortali ad immortale fugiendum est". II,11,31: "... admonendus erat homo, et quo sibi redeundem esset et unde fugiendum". CCL 29,131. 134. 124. But this is also the teaching of the Bible: *De libero arbitrio* I,15,32. CCL 29,233: "Iubet igitur aeterna lex avertere amorem a temporalibus et eum mundatum ad aeterna convertere ...", although the material things as such are good (ib. 33. ib. 234). *Epist.* 2. CSEL 34/1,3: "Horum itaque amorem perniciosissimum...vera et divina philosophia monet frenare atque sopire, ut se toto animus, etiam dum hoc corpus agit, in ea, quae semper eiusdem modi sunt ... feratur atque aestuet". *De moribus ecclesiae catholicae* 21,39. CSEL 90,44: "Huic ergo auctoritati novi testamenti, qua iubemur nihil huius mundi diligere (1 Joh. 2,15), illa maxime sententia qua dictum est

from things of sense for they are like glue on the wings and keep us shut up in the cage (*cavea*) of sensible things⁴². Whereas Augustine uses here the term "cage", elsewhere he speaks of the body as "a very heavy chain" (*gravissimum vinculum*) because of "the old sin", by which he certainly means original sin⁴³. Neither the body nor sense perception are sufficient to know God, although human reason is not even able to know all the corporeal or sensible things⁴⁴.

With regard to marital love we find, on the one hand, the very negative statement that there is nothing which demeans a man's mind more than bodily contact between man and woman⁴⁵, an idea widely spread in many ancient philosophical circles, and, on the other hand, protests raised against the Manichaeans' disdain for marriage. Augustine blames them for considering sexual intercourse as the filthiest thing, because flesh is formed out of this, and flesh displeases the Manichaeans because it is formed from the union of father and mother, by which souls are bound up in the flesh⁴⁶. But Augustine argues that Paul in 1 Cor. 7:1-7 has explicit-

Nolite conformari huic mundo (Rom. 12,2) ... multa inveniuntur pernecessaria iis qui hunc mundum fugere et refugere in Deum desiderant". See J.K. COYLE, o.c., p. 365-366. O. DU ROY, o.c., p. 132-133.

⁴² *Soliloquia* I,14,24. CSEL 89,37: "Penitus esse ista sensibilia fugienda cavendumque magnopere, dum hoc corpus agimus, ne quo eorum visco pennae nostrae impediuntur ... ut ad illum lucem ab his tenebris evolemus, quae se ne ostendere quidem dignatur in hac cavea inclusis ...". In *Retract.* I,4,3. CCL 57,15, Augustine admits that he should have avoided these words because they give the impression that he held the opinion of Porphyry: "Omne corpus esse fugiendum". He justifies himself by declaring that he did not say "all" sensible things but "these" sensible things, meaning corruptible things. *Contra Academicos* II,3,7. CCL 29,21: "... illa (sc. philosophia) visco libidinis detracta caelo suo et inclusa cavea populari ...". See P. COURCELLE; Flügel, in: *Lexikon f. Antike u. Christentum* VIII (1969), 29-65, esp. 56-60. See for *cavea* and *viscum* id., *Connais-toi toi-même de Socrate à Saint Bernard*. Paris, Etudes Augustiniennes, 1975, II, p. 331-342. 381-392. III, 606-615. Courcelle shows also the continuity of this theme in Augustine's later works. J.K. COYLE, o.c., 376-379.

⁴³ *De moribus ecclesiae catholicae* 22,40. CSEL 90,45: "Sed inter omnia quae in hac vita possidentur, corpus homini gravissimum est vinculum ... propter antiquum peccatum ...". The text continues with the theme of resurrection. See J.K. COYLE, o.c., 368-370.

⁴⁴ *Soliloquia* I,3,8. II,4,6. CSEL 89,14. 53. *De immortalitate animae* 1,1. CSEL 89,102.

⁴⁵ *Ib.* I,10,17. *ib.* 27: "... nihil mihi tam fugiendum quam concubitus esse decrevi. Nihil esse sentio, quod magis ex arce deiciat animum virilem, quam blandimenta feminea corporumque ille contactus, sine quo uxor haberi non potest".

⁴⁶ *De moribus Manichaeorum* 15,37. CSEL 90,122: "... quiddam sordidissimum remanet, unde per concubitus caro formetur". *Ib.* 16,49. *ib.* 132: "Nam si vobis propterea displiceret caro, quae patris atque matris commixtione formatur ...". *Ib.* 18,65. *ib.* 146: "Nonne vos estis qui filios gignere, eo quod animae ligentur in carne, gravius putatis esse peccatum, quam ipsum concubitus?". Cf. *De Genesi c. Manichaeos* 26,38. PL 34,217.

ly permitted the begetting of children⁴⁷.

3. Positive approach of the body and the senses

God created the world out of nothing and made it most beautiful. All things came not only into existence, but also in such a way that they cannot be better⁴⁸. Not one single being is evil in itself, for all things made by God are good: bodily strength, sight, hearing, persuasive speech, fecundity, native soil, freedom and life⁴⁹. The more a body is impressive and beautiful, the more it is a body (= the more it participates in being)⁵⁰. The body must be healthy; it is necessary not to be blind or deaf in order to be able to live among human beings, but even being deaf or blind, one can acquire wisdom⁵¹. Therefore, it is a duty to care for the body, although Augustine himself leaves the health of his mortal body in the hands of God, because he does not know how long to stay alive in this body will be useful to him, or to those whom he loves (cf. Phil. 1:21-25)⁵². In this context he quotes Rom. 13:14: "Do not care for the flesh (*carnis curam*) by lusts"⁵³. The better the soul governs the body, the better the body will feel. Thus, the good of the body is integrated into the good of the soul. This principle governs Augustine's view of asceticism

⁴⁷ *De moribus ecclesiae catholicae* 35,78. CSEL 90,83-85.

⁴⁸ *Soliloquia* I,1,2. CSEL 89,4: "Deus, qui de nihilo mundum istum creasti, quem omnium oculi sentiunt pulcherrimum". *De quantitate animae* 33,73. CCL 89,222: "... qua etiam factum est, ut non modo sint omnia, sed ita sint, ut omnino melius esse non possint". Ib. 35,76. ib. 224: "... ista omnia deo auctore creata ... per se autem considerata mira atque pulchra". The idea that God created the best possible world, is also stressed by Plotinus: see E.P. MEIJERING, *God Cosmos History. Christian and Neo-Platonic Views on Divine Revelation*, in: *God Being History*. Amsterdam-New York, North-Holland Publ.-American Elsevier Publ., 1975, p. 250-254. For a discussion about Plato's view, see A. EHRHARDT, *The Beginning. A Study in the Greek Philosophical Approach to the Concept of Creation from Anaximander to St John*. Manchester, University Press, 1968, p. 98-108.

⁴⁹ *De moribus Manichaeorum* 2,2. 4,6. 9,15. CSEL 90,89. 92. 101.

⁵⁰ *De immortalitate animae* 8,13. CSEL 89,114.

⁵¹ *C. Academicos* III,2,3. CCL 29,36: "... quamvis putetur indigere quibusdam rebus ad corporis valetudinem pertinentibus, illud tamen constat, non his opus esse, ut sapiens sit, sed ut inter homines vivat".

⁵² Ib. III,7,15. CCL 29,43: "... ne concitatus rapiar animo, quam cura corporis poscit". *Soliloquia* I,1,6. CSEL 89,10-11: "Ceterum de salute huius mortalis corporis mei, quamdiu nescio, quid mihi ex illo utile sit vel eis, quos diligo, tibi illud committo, pater sapientissime ...".

⁵³ *De moribus Manichaeorum* 14,31. CSEL 90,114-115.

from his early statements on⁵⁴. In this period, Augustine expresses the value of the body in the following way: "The body is a kind of image of the truth"⁵⁵.

He affirms also the value of the senses by saying that in them vestiges of the human reason are found⁵⁶. Moreover, the senses have the important task of inviting us to grasp the higher and deeper ground of the things we perceive⁵⁷. They function as a ship or as an *admonitio veritatis* for our intellect⁵⁸.

4. Christian aspects in Augustine's view of the body

Although, according to the *Confessions* (IX,4,7), Alypius considered unfitting to mention the name of Christ in the (philosophical!) Dialogues, there are references to the Mystery of the Incarnation in Augustine's earliest works. He describes the Incarnation as follows: "For that philosophy is not of this world which our sacred mysteries most justly detest, but of the other intelligible world. To which intelligible world the most subtle reasoning would never recall souls blinded by the manifold darkness of error and stained deeply by the slime of body, had not the most high God, because of a certain compassion for the masses, bent and submitted the authority of the divine intellect even to the human body itself. By the precepts as well as deeds of that intellect souls have been awakened, and were able, without the strife of disputation, to return to themselves and to become conscious again of (or: to regret - *resipiscere*)

⁵⁴ *De moribus ecclesiae catholicae* 5,7-8. CSEL 90,9-11: "Corporis autem si quaerimus quid optimum sit, id certa ratio cogit fateri, per quod fit ut sese corpus quam optime habeat ... Quod si est consequens sicuti est, ut ipsum corpus cum ab anima regitur, quae virtutis compos est, multo et melius regatur et honestius eoque optime sese habeat quo est optima illa ... id erit hominis optimum quod animam optimam facit, etiamsi hominem corpus vocemus". This idea occurs also in later texts: *De disciplina christiana* 4,4. CCL 46,211: "Si animam odit, carnem quomodo diligit?". *Sermo* 128,3,5. PL 38,715: "Si autem odisti animam tuam, quid tibi prodest quia diligis carnem tuam?". *Sermo Lambot* 2, in: *Rev. Bénéd.* 46(1934) p. 405: "Corpora pulchra et carnem diligis, deus creavit ... Sic diligere ut illum (sc. deum) plus diligas".

⁵⁵ *Soliloquia* II,18,32. CSEL 89,90: "... corpus ... quasi quaedam imago veritatis".

⁵⁶ *De ordine* II,11,32 ss. CCL 29,125 ss.

⁵⁷ *Ib.* I,8,26. *ib.* 101: "... quid rursum, quod ipsorum sensuum invitatione caperetur".

⁵⁸ *Soliloquia* I,4,9. CSEL 89,16: "Immo sensus in hoc negotio quasi navim sum expertus". *De Genesi contra Manichaeos* II,20,30. PL 34,211: "Et quoniam necessitate jam per hos oculos et per has aures de ipsa veritate admonemur ...".

their fatherland"⁵⁹. In his clemency God has for our sake deigned to take up a body of our kind and to dwell in it⁶⁰. The divine authority not only exceeds human power in its sensible signs, but also, as human being, it shows to what extent it has debased itself. It is fitting that by deeds it teaches its power, by humility its clemency, and by commandment its nature. All this is delivered to us by the initiation-sacraments⁶¹. The Lord deigned to assume "the cloud of our flesh", and poured out most abundantly "the torrent of the holy Gospel". The word "cloud" has here no negative meaning for it functions as a symbol of divine fecundity, corresponding to the water springing up unto eternal life (John 4:14)⁶². The coming of Christ in this world (John 16:28) means that Christ appeared to human beings in a human being when the Word became flesh (John 1:14). The Incarnation, however, did not involve a change in the nature of God, but the assumption of the nature of an inferior, that is, a human person. The

⁵⁹ *Contra Academicos* III,19,42. CCL 29,60. Regarding the authority of Christ which is stronger than that of the Platonici: ib. III,20,43. ib. 61. O. DU ROY, o.c., p. 162-163 holds that it is the Holy Spirit who brings us back to the highest God through the Intellect, his Son. Augustine does not yet link the Incarnation with the mission of the Holy Spirit. Admonition is here the task of the Holy Spirit, whereas later it becomes the task of the divine Wisdom. I prefer, however, the christological interpretation of D. DOUCET, *Recherche de Dieu, Incarnation et philosophie: Sol. I,1,2-6*, in: *Revue des Études Augustiniennes* 36(1990), 91-119. See also G. REMY, *Le Christ médiateur dans l'oeuvre de saint Augustin*. Paris, Librairie H. Champion, 1979, p. 16: "Cette 'admonitio' ne signifierait-elle pas plus simplement une incitation ou une motion intérieures (dont l'Esprit n'est pas exclu), suffisantes pour les 'spirituels', par opposition au 'doctor', c'est-à-dire au pédagogue (et non pas à l'Intellect incarné) dont les charnels ont besoin?"

⁶⁰ *De ordine* II,5,16. CCL 29,116: "Quantum autem illud sit, quod hoc etiam nostri generis corpus, tantus propter nos deus adsumere atque agere dignatus est, quanto videtur vilius, tanto est clementia plenius et a quadam ingeniosorum superbia longe lateque remotius".

⁶¹ Ib. II,9,27. ib. 122: "Illa ergo auctoritas divina dicenda est, quae non solum in sensibilibus signis transcendit omnem humanam facultatem sed et ipsum hominem agens ostendit ei, quo usque se propter ipsum depresserit ... Doceat enim oportet et factis potestatem suam et humilitate clementiam et praeceptione naturam, quae omnia sacris, quibus initiamur, secretius firmitusque traduntur". Cf. ib. I,10,29. ib. 103. Also in the first part of *De div. quaestionibus* 83, whose dates are uncertain, but may be contemporary to some of the texts quoted here, the Incarnation is presented as a way to the spiritual world and as an example of how to live rightly: q. 11: "Sapientia ergo et virtus dei, qui dicitur unigenitus filius, homine suscepto liberationem hominis indicavit"; q. 25: "Sapientia dei hominem ad exemplum quo recte viveremus suscepit"; q. 36,2; q. 43; q. 44. CCL 44/A,18; 31; 56; 64; 65.

⁶² *De Genesi contra Manichaeos* II,5,6. PL 34,199: "Nam propter illam Dominus noster nubilum carnis dignatus assumere, imbrem sancti Evangelii largissimum infudit, promittens etiam quod si quis biberit de aqua ejus, rediet ad illum intimum fontem, ut forinsecus non quaerat pluviam".

self-emptying of Christ (Phil. 2:7) and his union with the Church as two in one flesh (cf. Gen. 2:24) are based upon the Incarnation. The Church is formed from out of Christ's pierced side on the Cross, that is, through the faith in his passion (= the eucharist) and in baptism⁶³. Augustine despises those who ridicule the assumption of the human being by the almighty, eternal, changeless Son of God, his birth of the Virgin, and the other marvels of this story. They are compared to boys who, since they see a painter painting from other drawings which he placed before him, think that a human person cannot be painted unless the painter see another picture⁶⁴. He calls Christ the physician and liberator⁶⁵.

Faith in the resurrection is also present in Augustine's earliest works. In the vision of God, after this life, faith and hope will no longer be there; only love will never come to an end (cf. 1 Cor. 13:8. 13). Although in this text of the *Soliloquia* the resurrection of the body is not explicitly mentioned, it might be presupposed, because Augustine adds that

⁶³ Ib. II,24,37. ib. 215-216: "... *Verbum caro factum est* ... Quod ipsum non commutationem naturae Dei significat, sed susceptionem naturae inferioris personae, id est humanae. Ad hoc valet etiam quod dicitur *Semetipsum exinanivit* ... Ergo et ipse soporatus est dormitione passionis, ut ei conjux Ecclesia formaretur ... Formata est ergo ei conjux Ecclesia de latere ejus, id est de fide passionis et baptismi. Nam percussus latus ejus lancea, sanguinem et aquam profudit (Joh. 19:34)". The cross is also mentioned ib. II,22,34. PL 34,214: "Manus autem porrectio bene significat crucem, per quam vita aeterna recuperatur".

⁶⁴ *De quantitate animae* 33,76. CSEL 89,225: "Iamvero eos, qui ad exemplum salutis nostrae ac primitias a filio dei potentissimo, aeterno, incommutabili susceptum hominem eundemque natum esse de virgine ceteraque huius historiae miracula inrident, sic contemnens tamquam eos pueros, qui, cum pictorem propositis tabulis, quas intueatur, pingentem viderint, non putent posse hominem pingi, nisi aliam picturam, qui pingit, aspexerit". The meaning of these last words about painting is not an easy one. The following interpretation seems to me the most plausible: in line with *De ordine* II,5,16. CCL 29,116 "non contemnere illa mysteria", Augustine states that the human life of the incarnate Son of God does not detract from his immutable divinity, and not should be despised as if it would destroy the original image. I know only one parallel: *De Trinitate* II,1,3. CCL 50,83 where Augustine explains the text "Neque enim potest filius a se facere quidquam nisi quod viderit patrem facientem" (Joh. 5:19). This means that the Son's power to work is given to Him by the Father, but not that the acts of the Son in the flesh, mentioned in the Gospel, are as such to be attributed to the Father: "Neque enim alia similiter, sicut pictor alias tabulas pingit quemadmodum alias ab alio pictas vidit". *De moribus ecclesiae catholicae* 7,12. CSEL 90,14-15: "... non deseruerimus viam quam nobis deus et patriarcharum segregatione et legis vinculo et prophetarum praesagio et suscepti hominis sacramento et apostolorum testimonio et martyrum sanguine et gentium occupatione munivit". J.K. COYLE, o.c., p. 326-328 stresses the anti-manichaean character of this text, but also the focal point of the Incarnation in salvation history.

⁶⁵ *De moribus Manichaeorum* 11,22. CSEL 90,108. God also is called *liberator*: *De quantitate animae* 34,78. CSEL 89,227.

all bodily troubles and burdens will cease after death⁶⁶. The first explicit mention of the resurrection of the body is found in *De quantitate animae*. When this corporeal nature observes the laws of God, we see so great changes and vicissitudes in it that we hold even the resurrection of the flesh to be as certain as the rising of the sun after it has set. Augustine refers here to the Son of God as *exemplum salutis nostrae ac primitiae*, in which I see a reference to Christ as *primitiae* of the resurrected ones in Paul (1 Cor. 15:20 and 23). But is this not in flagrant contradiction with the Neoplatonic statement *ab hoc corpore omnimoda fuga et elapsio* in the same text?⁶⁷ The body is like a bond or chain that does not wish to be taken away and destroyed, and it vexes the soul by fear of death. The soul loves this bond by force of habit, and it does not realize that the resurrection and transformation of the body will put the latter under its control, without burdening it and by the power and decree of God, if the soul uses

⁶⁶ *Soliloquia* I,7,14. CSEL 89,23: "... sperandum est ei (sc. animae) post mortem omnia ista incommoda (sc. corporis) non futura ... Sed cum post hanc vitam tota se in Deum conlegerit, caritas restat, qua ibi teneatur". Concerning the theme that only love remains in eternity, see ib. I,6,12-13. ib. 20-22. This idea occurs frequently in Augustine's later works; see my article: *Il primato dell'amore in Agostino*, in: *Ripensare Agostino: Interiorità e intenzionalità* (Atti del IV Sem. internaz. del Centro di Studi Agostiniani di Perugia). Roma, "Augustinianum", 1993, p. 87-98.

⁶⁷ *De quantitate animae* 33,76. CSEL 89,224-225: "Videbimus etiam naturae huius corporeae tantas commutationes et vicissitudines, dum divinis legibus servit, ut ipsam etiam resurrectionem carnis, quae partim tardius, partim omnino non creditur, ita certam teneamus, ut certius nobis non sit solem, cum occiderit, oriturum". M.R. MILES, o. c., p. 108: "His thought is ambiguous, if not contradictory". J.K. COYLE, o. c., p. 372 referring to *De quantitate animae* 33,76, contends that Augustine "explicitly says that he does not understand it". But Augustine does not say this explicitly; he affirms only his absolute certainty regarding his belief in the resurrection of the body. COYLE hardens here the standpoint of R.J. O'CONNELL, o. c., p. 204: "The Dialogues of Cassiciacum regularly refer to death as the moment when the soul is liberated from the toils of the body. The *De Quantitate Animae* still refers to it as the soul's 'complete escape and acquittal from this body' ... Little wonder, then, that the same paragraph shows Augustine boggling at the first mention of the body's resurrection ... yet he cannot offer a shred of 'understanding' of it. A study of Augustine's resurrection theory ... would be far more sharply focused if it started from the difficulties that belief presented to his Plotinian 'understanding' of Christian truth, rather than beginning with the faintly anachronistic assumption that ... he must have understood the body's resurrection exactly as we today find it necessary to understand (however, be it quickly added, *that* may be)". But does Augustine contradict himself so flatly, if one lays more stress on the word *hoc* in the expression *ab hoc corpore omnimoda fuga*, i.e. the body like it is now with all its toils? Nevertheless, I admit that Augustine had at this moment no clear idea of the continuity of the body in the resurrected state.

the body well and prudently⁶⁸. We notice that Augustine quotes in this book two Pauline texts: "All human beings die in Adam and all will be resurrected in Christ" (1 Cor. 15:22) and "The body is not meant for fornication, but for the Lord, and the Lord for the body. God, however, raised the Lord from the dead, and will by his power raise us up too" (1 Cor. 6:13-14)⁶⁹. In *De Genesi contra Manichaeos* Augustine speaks of "heavenly bodies" in which no acts of the soul are hidden⁷⁰. By this he means not only the bodies of Adam and Eve before the Fall, but also our bodies in their future resurrected state. Those who hate lying will merit (*merebuntur*) that dwelling and transformation in *angelicam formam* (cf. Mt. 22:30) for there will come a time that everything now hidden will be made manifest (Mt. 10:26). Changing into an angelical form is a description of the resurrection in the earlier works of Augustine. At this moment, he holds a too spiritualized concept of the resurrected body, for he finds it necessary to give a more detailed explanation in his *Retractationes* in order to avoid any misinterpretation⁷¹.

⁶⁸ *De moribus ecclesiae catholicae* 22,40. CSEL 90,45-46: "Hoc ergo vinculum ne concutiat atque vexetur, laboris et doloris; ne auferatur autem atque perimatur, mortis terrore animam quatit. Amat enim illud vi consuetudinis, non intelligens, si eo bene atque scienter utatur, resurrectionem reformationemque eius ope ac lege divina sine ulla molestia iuri suo subditam fore". Cf. *De Genesi c. Manichaeos* I,20,31. PL 34,188: "De quibus (sc. concupiscentiis malis) jam nobis praecipitur, ut eas cum quanto possumus labore crucifigamus in nobis, donec absorbeatur mors in victoriam (1 Cor. 15:54)".

⁶⁹ *De moribus ecclesiae catholicae* 19,35. 35,78. CSEL 90,40. 83-84.

⁷⁰ See R.J. O'CONNELL, o.c., p. 163-166.

⁷¹ *De Genesi contra Manichaeos* II,21,32. PL 34,213: "Neque enim in illis corporibus coelestibus sic latere posse cogitationes credendum est, quemadmodum in his corporibus latent ... in illa perspicuitate ac simplicitate coelestium corporum omnes omnino motus animi latere non arbitror. Itaque illi merebuntur habitationem illam et commutationem in angelicam formam, qui etiam in hac vita ... mendacia oderunt ...". *De div. quaestionibus* 83, q. 47. CCL 44/A, 74: "... angelica corpora, qualia nos speramus habituros, lucidissima atque aetherea esse credendum est ... nullus motus animi latebit, cum totum fuerit corpus aethereum, in cuius comparatione isti oculi caro sunt". *Retract.* I,26. CCL 57,80: "... si hoc sine membris quae nunc habemus et sine substantia quamvis incorruptibilis tamen carnis accipitur, erratur". The expression *angelica forma* is still found in *De Genesi ad litteram* IX,10,(17) and XII,35,(68). CSEL 28/1,279. 433. See also the remark in *Retract.* I,17. CCL 57,53 with regard to *De fide et symbolo* 10,24. CSEL 41,30, in which he nuances the expression *commutatio in angelicam formam*: "... corpus terrenum, quale nunc habemus, in corpus caeleste resurrectione mutari, ut nec membra ista nec carnis sit futura substantia, procul dubio corrigendus est". However, in *De fide et symbolo* 10,23. ib. 29-30 Augustine expresses his belief that this body will be resurrected, but he does not know how: "et ideo credimus et in carnis resurrectionem ... sed haec etiam visibilis caro, quae naturaliter est caro ... haec ergo visibilis quae proprie dicitur caro sine dubitatione credenda est resurgere. Videtur enim Paulus apostolus eam tamquam digito ostendere, cum dicit: Oportet corruptibile hoc induere incorruptionem (1 Cor. 15:53)". We have here a clear

Regarding love of neighbour, we find very intellectualist texts of Augustine. He asserts that he does not love his friends because they are living beings (*animalia*), but because they are human beings, that is, because they have rational souls. The better they use their rational soul, the more he loves them. They will be his friends more intensely when love of wisdom is shared in common⁷². In *De Genesi contra Manichaeos* as well as in *De moribus ecclesiae catholicae*, Augustine connects already more intimately wisdom with love; we can adhere to God only through love (*dilectione, amore, caritate*), and the four cardinal virtues are nothing other than forms of love, each with its own character⁷³. In *De Genesi contra Manichaeos*, he mentions for the first time the double commandment of love of God and of neighbour (Mt. 22:37-40)⁷⁴, referring to the Pauline texts that charity is the fullness of the Law (Rom. 13:10) and that the human being without charity is nothing (1 Cor. 13:2). Therefore, love is the fullness of knowledge (*plenitudo scientiae caritas*)⁷⁵. In Adam we all received the commandment to enjoy the fruits of every tree in Paradise, except from the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, because each Christian bears quite appropriately the person of Christ, according to Jesus' saying: "What you did to one of the least of mine, you did it to me" (Mt. 25:40). These spiritual fruits are: charity, joy, peace, tolerance, kind-

affirmation of the identity of our earthly body with the resurrected body. See E.P. MEIJERING, *Augustine: De fide et symbolo. Introduction, translation, commentary*. Amsterdam, Gieben, 1987, p. 147-158. G. BARDY, *Le corps des anges*, in: *Bibliothèque Aug.* 10, Paris 1952, p. 728.

⁷² *Soliloquia* I,2,7. CSEL 89,12. I,3,8. Ib. 14: "Sensu quidem quod in eo (sc. amico) novi, si tamen sensu aliquid noscitur, et vile est et satis est. Illam vero partem, qua mihi amicus est, id est ipsum animum, intellectu adsequi cupio". Ib. I,12,20. ib. 31. I,13,22. ib. 34: "Ego autem solam propter se amo sapientiam, cetera vero vel adesse mihi volo vel deesse timeo propter ipsam: vitam, quietem, amicos". Wisdom entails for Augustine knowledge of the highest reality: God and the human soul. Moreover, Augustine identifies the Son of God with the divine Wisdom (1 Cor. 1:24): J.K. COYLE, o.c., p. 341-342. O. DU ROY, o.c., p. 154-155.

⁷³ *De Genesi contra Manichaeos* II,23,36. II,10,13-14. PL 34,214-215. 203-204. *De moribus ecclesiae catholicae* 14,24-18,34. PL 32,1321-1326. See J. DOIGNON, *La problématique des quatre vertus dans les premiers traités de Saint Augustin*, in: *L'umanesimo di Sant'Agostino* (Atti del Congresso Internaz. Bari 28-30 ottobre 1986). Bari, Levante ed., 1988, p. 169-191. Already in *De immortalitate animae* 11,18. CSEL 89,120 Augustine wrote: "animus veritati divino amore coniunctus".

⁷⁴ Although Augustine elaborated both books at the same time, he published *De Genesi c. Manich.* before the *De mor. eccl. cath.*: see J.K. COYLE, o.c., 66-76. This is also the opinion of P. ABULESZ, *S. Aurelii Augustini De Genesi contra Manichaeos libri duo. De octo quaestionibus ex Veteri Testamento*. Dissertation Universität Wien, 1972, p. II.

⁷⁵ *De Genesi contra Manichaeos* II,23,36. II,27,41. PL 34,214-215. 218.

ness, goodness, faith, gentleness and continence (Gal. 5:22-23)⁷⁶. One can compare the expression *Christi personam sustinere* with the quotation of 1 Cor. 6:15-20 in *De moribus ecclesiae catholicae*: "Do you not know that your bodies are members of Christ?...Bear God in your body"⁷⁷.

In *De moribus ecclesiae catholicae*, Augustine investigates more closely the meaning of love for neighbour (*vinculum amoris*) for nothing is nearer to a human being than another human being. To do no harm to the neighbour and to help him or her as much as possible are for the recently baptised Augustine "a cradle" of the love of God⁷⁸. At this moment, the role of the body comes more into prominence, because love of neighbour encompasses not only care for the soul of the neighbour but also for his or her body. Care for the body can be termed *medicina*⁷⁹, care for the soul *disciplina*⁸⁰ (in the sense of instruction or education). To the care for the body belongs anything that preserves or restores the health of the body, like food and drink, clothing and shelter, liberation of the oppressed, burying the dead, in short: all those things that preserve the body from external blows or spills; anything that protects it against threats caused by hunger and thirst, cold and heat, or any injury inflicted from without. Persons who love others in this way are called merciful, for the term mercy implies heart-felt distress over the suffering of another⁸¹. Hence, it is no surprise that Augustine reproaches the Manichaeans that they show more compassion for a cucumber than for a fellow human being, or that they are more concerned about the preservation of a melon than of a human person ruined by a burden of debt⁸².

⁷⁶ ib. II,25,38. ib. 216: "Nam praeceptum quod accepit, nos accepimus in illo, quia unusquisque christianus non incongrue sustinet personam Christi, dicente ipso Domino: *Quod fecistis uni ex minimis meis, mihi fecistis*".

⁷⁷ *De moribus ecclesiae catholicae* 35,78. CSEL 90,84.

⁷⁸ Ib. 26,48-51. ib. 55-57.

⁷⁹ With the use of the term *medicina* Augustine is asserting the basic goodness of the body against Manichaeism, which denied the use of medicine to its *electi*, see J.K. COYLE, o.c., p. 390-391.

⁸⁰ *De quantitate animae* 34,78. CSEL 89,227: "Errantibus vero cognatis animis et laborantibus, quantum licet atque praeceptum est, opem ferendam esse sciamus ita, ut hoc ipsum, cum bene agitur, deum per nos agere intellegamus".

⁸¹ *De moribus ecclesiae catholicae* 27,52-54. CSEL 90,55-57: "Homo igitur, ut homini apparet, anima rationalis est mortali atque terreno utens corpore. Partim ergo corpori, partim vero animae hominis benefacit qui proximum diligit. Ad corpus quod pertinet, medicina nominata est, ad animam autem disciplina". Cf. ib. 28,56. ib. 59: "Qui ergo diligit proximum, agit quantum potest ut salvus corpore salvusque animo sit, sed cura corporis ad sanitatem animi referenda est".

⁸² *De moribus Manichaeorum* 16,53. 17,62. CSEL 90,135. 144.

II. THE FIRST ALLUSION TO EPH. 5:29

In *De Genesi contra Manichaeos* II,12,17 Augustine comments on Gen. 2,21 how God made the woman from one of the ribs of Adam, and filled the place of the rib with flesh. He writes: "God rightly filled the place of the rib with flesh so that this term might convey the affection of love by which each one loves his own soul and is not so insensitive as to despise it. For each one loves that over which he presides"⁸³. R. Teske rightly considers the words "the affection of love by which each one loves his own soul" as a first allusion to Eph. 5:29 "Nobody ever hated his own flesh", a text that was already familiar to Augustine at that moment (the years 388/389), for later in this booklet he quotes the subsequent verses Eph. 5:31-32⁸⁴.

Augustine himself points out that he uses the term "flesh", that fills the place of the rib, in the way in which the prophet says that a heart of stone is taken away and a heart of flesh is given to the people (Ezek. 11:19. 36:26. 2 Cor. 3:3). He does not give here a deeper explanation of what he means by "a heart of flesh", but he does so in his later works in which he combines the texts of Ezekiel and Paul. He explains there that a heart of stone is a heart without sensitivity or feeling, whereas a heart of flesh is a heart gifted with sensory life that is needed in order to understand something⁸⁵.

But there is still another obscure element in this text. By reason of

⁸³ *De Genesi c. Manich.* II,12,17. PL 34,205: "Sane in locum illius costae carnem adimplevit, ut hoc nomine insinuaretur dilectionis affectus, quo diligit unusquisque animam suam, et non est durus ut eam contemnat; quod diligit quisque cui praeest. Non enim sic nominata est caro isto loco, ut carnalem concupiscentiam significet; sed isto modo potius quo propheta dicit auferri populo cor lapideum, et dari cor carneum. Hoc modo enim dicit et apostolus: *Non in tabulis lapideis, sed in tabulis cordis carnalibus*. Aliud est quippe propria locutio, aliud figurata, qualis ista est quam tractamus modo".

⁸⁴ R.J. TESKE, *Saint Augustine on Genesis: Two Books on Genesis Against the Manichees and On the Literal Interpretation of Genesis: an Unfinished Book*. Washington D.C., The Catholic University Press, 1991, p. 113.

⁸⁵ *Contra Faustum* XV,4. CSEL 25/1,421-422: "... sed quia in comparatione lapidis, qui sine sensu est, caro sentit, per lapidis insensualitatem significatum est cor non intellegens et per carnis sensualitatem significatum est cor intellegens". The same interpretation: ib. XVIII,4. ib. 493. *Quaest. in Heptateuchum* V,11. CCL 33,282. *De doctrina christiana* III,34,48. CCL 32,108-109. *De gratia et libero arbitrio* 14,29. PL 44,898. Cf. *De Genesi ad litt.* VII,16(22). CSEL 28/1, 213-214: "Non mihi ergo videtur dictum: *factus est homo in animam vivam* (Gen. 1,21), nisi quia sentire coepit in corpore.

the fact that the word "flesh" occurs no less than four times in the context⁸⁶, one would expect in Augustine's commentary rather the words "the love by which each one loves his own flesh". This would correspond better to Eph. 5:29. Then arises the question: Why does Augustine speak here of soul, and not of flesh? And how do we have to interpret the word "soul"? L. Carrozzi, in his Italian translation, gives *anima* the meaning of "life". Although Augustine is acquainted with this meaning through the Bible and the philosophy, Carrozzi's translation does not seem appropriate to me. It is not in Augustine's line to assert that the human being presides over life in the strict sense. For this reason Carrozzi translates the verb *praeest* in the following way: "the human being *protects* his life", though the first meaning of *praeesse* is "to take the lead, to rule over"⁸⁷. *Anima* cannot have the meaning of carnal lust (*concupiscentia carnalis*) because this is explicitly denied by Augustine: *non enim sic nominata est caro isto loco, ut carnalem concupiscentiam significet*. Seen from a moral point of view, carnal lust has too negative a meaning.

Nevertheless, something higher that rules over something lower within the human being must be the issue at stake, namely the rational part that rules over the animal part which is ruled, corresponding to the distinction between *rationale* and *animale*⁸⁸. Teske believes that Augustine "avoids the word 'flesh' and substitutes 'soul', (because) Augustine's attitude toward the body was quite negative"⁸⁹. This is not excluded as we have

⁸⁶ "carnem adimplevit"; "non enim sic nominata est caro"; "carnalem concupiscentiam"; "cor carneum". P. ABULESZ, o.c., p. 78 knows only one manuscript which has the reading *diligit carnem suam*: Firenze Biblioteca Laurenziana XII, XXVI, saec. XI.

⁸⁷ *Opere di Sant' Agostino IX/1, La Genesi difesa contro i Manichei*. Roma, Città Nuova Editrice, 1988, p. 145: "... il sentimento dell'amore con cui ciascuno ama la propria vita e non è talmente insensibile da disprezzarla, poiché ciascuno ama ciò che protegge". Cf. *De beata vita* 2,7. CCL 29,69: "Ergo iam scis te constare ex corpore et vita". *De immortalitate animae* 16,25. CSEL 89,127: "Hoc et de irrationali anima vel vita ... dici potest". See J. PÉPIN, a.c., p. 76-80.

⁸⁸ *De Genesi c. Man.* II,11,16. PL 34,205: "... in seipso aliud esse rationale quod regit, aliud animale quod regitur".

⁸⁹ R.J. TESKE, o.c., p. 113, n. 81. However, I wonder whether Augustine excludes radically love for the body. In *Epist.* 3,4. CSEL 34/1,8 we read: "Unde constamus? Ex animo et corpore. Quid horum melius? Videlicet animus ... Animus igitur *magis* amandus est quam corpus". *Soliloquia* I,9,16. CSEL 89,25: "Amas ergo ... vitam ipsam tuam in hoc corpore. Fateor, ita est". ib. II,1,1. ib. 46: "Vivere igitur amas? Fateor". In *De Genesi c. Manich.* I,20,31. PL 34,188 Augustine asserts: when we hold in subjection all the affections and emotions of the soul and of the flesh that we have in common with the animals, and they will be in harmony with our reason, then they are called "gaudia, et amores sancti, et casti et boni". ib. II,26,38-39. ib.,217 Augustine reproaches the Manichees: "... etiam corpora sua *displicent*, non propter poenalem mortalitatem, quam peccando merui-

seen already. However, I think that there can be another reason, namely the context itself. From chapter 11,15 on, Augustine deals with the creation of the woman. She is made as helper of the man so that she might bring forth spiritual offspring, that is, good works, while the man rules and she obeys (cf. 1 Cor. 11:3). It is not enough to demonstrate that the soul has to rule over the body (*ut non solum anima corpori dominaretur*: Augustine supposes the subordination of the body as something self-evident!), but it has to be demonstrated that the virile reason (*ratio*) holds subject to itself also its *pars animalis*, for by the help of this animal part reason commands the body⁹⁰. We have here clearly a tripartite distinction: *ratio*, *pars animalis*, *corpus*. The *pars animalis* is that part which is nearest to the body⁹¹. The relationship between man and woman is an

mus; sed ita ut negent Deum esse corporum conditorem ...; cum sibi displicet caro quasi nuditas sua". In a rather negative sense we read in *De moribus eccl. cath.* 22,40. CSEL 90,46: "*Amat* (sc. anima) enim illud (sc. corpus) vi consuetudinis ...". Ib. 24,48. ib. 52-53 Augustine treats the theme of self-love. Moreover, he does not hesitate to use in his christological texts the words *caro* and *corpus*.

⁹⁰ *De Genesi c. Man.* II,11,15. PL 34,204: "Adhuc enim erat quod fieret, ut non solum anima corpori dominaretur, quia corpus servilem locum obtinet, sed etiam virilis ratio subjugaret sibi animale partem suam, per quod adiutorium imperaret corpori. Ad huius rei exemplum femina facta est, quam rerum ordo subjugat viro". Do we find here a certain influence of the allegorical explanation of Origen (*Hom. in Gen.* 1,15. S.C. 7bis, p. 66-68) who identifies the male with the higher reason and the female with the soul: "Interior homo noster ex spiritu et anima constat. Masculus spiritus dicitur, femina potest anima nuncupari. Haec si concordiam inter se habeant et consensum, convenientia inter se ipsa crescent et multiplicantur generantque filios sensus bonos et intellectus vel cogitationes utiles ... Iam vero si anima coniuncta spiritui atque eius, ut ita dixerim, coniugio copulata declinet aliquando ad corporeas voluptates sensumque suum delectationi carnis inclinet ... talis anima velut adulterio corporis maculata neque crescere neque multiplicari legitime dicitur ..."? H. CROUZEL, *Théologie de l'image de Dieu chez Origène*. Paris, Aubier, 1956, p. 152-153 explains that Origen speaks of male and female with regard to the first creation, and of man and woman with regard to the second. See R.J. TESKE, *Origen and St. Augustine's First Commentaries on Genesis*, in: *Origenista Quinta*. Leuven, Peeters, 1992, p. 180-186. B. STUDER, *Zur Frage des westlichen Origenismus*, in: *Studia Patristica IX* (Berlin 1966), p. 270-287. Cf. Marius Victorinus, *In Ep. Pauli ad Ephesios*, verses 29. 32. PL 8,1288-1289: "Confirmat, quod secundum naturam est hic amor, ut carnem nostram diligamus. Si autem caro nostra foemina est, et prima foemina de carne viri, et ... cum nemo suam carnem oderit ... debet ergo et uxorem sic diligere, ut suam carnem, sicut et Christus Ecclesiam ... Sed quoniam magnum mysterium dixit altius intelligendum ... Ego arbitror accipi istud, ut vir et uxor sint sibi invicem juncti spiritus et anima. Hoc enim Adam et Eva, ut spiritus sit Christus, Ecclesia sit anima".

⁹¹ *Partes animae* in Augustine's writings do not mean two independent realities, but two different capacities or activities of one and the same reality. See R. FERWERDA, *Two Souls. Origen's and Augustine's Attitude towards the Two Souls Doctrine. Its Place in Greek and Christian Philosophy*, in: *Vigiliae Christianae* 37(1983), 360-378, p. 366: "For,

illustration of a process that takes place in each single human being: the impulse of the soul (*appetitus animae*)⁹² which is operating through the bodily limbs, should be subject to the interior mind (*mens interior*). In 12,16 Augustine argues that we need perfect wisdom to rule correctly the *pars animalis* and should have with it a marital bond, as it were, so that the flesh does not lust against the spirit (Gal. 5:7)⁹³. In that case, the *concupiscentia carnalis* ceases to be *carnalis* by obeying. The marital union between reason and lower part of the soul is symbolized by the fact that the woman is made from the rib of the man. In 12,17-13,19 we read that each one loves his own soul, which is applied in a figurative sense to Gen.

from the meaning the word 'image' has in his (=Plotinus') philosophy we may infer that this does not mean that there are really two independent entities called soul; rather there is only one soul whose image or reflexion is simply the intermediary between higher and lower entities which has no existence of its own". According to D. DOUCET, *Soliloques II, 13,23 et les magni philosophi*, in: *Revue des Études Augustiniennes* 39(1993), 109-128, Augustine's distinction between *anima rationalis* and *anima irrationalis* or *vita* is dependent on Plato, Plotinus and especially on Porphyry, but he interprets it nevertheless in a personal way: "Les interrogations et les distinctions antérieurement établies par Augustin se retrouvent donc bien. Le fait de considérer que l'âme apporte la vie est insuffisant pour assurer son immortalité, car la vie peut être considérée comme liée à la partie inférieure de l'âme qui est transmise par les parents, mais se distingue de l'âme rationnelle qui advient de l'extérieur, et dont l'union avec le corps réalise un 'mélange total'" (p. 125).

⁹² *De Genesi c. Man.* II,11,15. PL 34,204: "Ad hujus rei exemplum femina facta est, quam rerum ordo subjugat viro; ut quod in duobus hominibus evidentius apparet, id est in masculo et femina, etiam in uno homine considerari possit: ut appetitum animae, per quem de membris corporis operamur, habeat mens interior tanquam virilis ratio subjugatum". Ib. 12,16. ib. 205: "... ut caro non concupiscat adversus spiritum ... id est concupiscentia carnalis non adversetur rationi". Ib. 14,21. ib. 207: "... si autem (sc. cupiditas nostra) mota fuerit, quasi mulieri jam persuasum erit". I think that the three expressions *appetitus animae*, *concupiscentia*, *cupiditas* designate the striving function of the soul, which as such are not negative. See W.S. BABCOCK, *Cupiditas and Caritas: The Early Augustine on Love and Fulfillment*, in: *Augustine Today*, ed. by R.J. Neuhaus, Grand Rapids (Mich.), Eerdmans, 1993, p. 1-34: "Cupiditas is for Augustine also a form of love; therefore it is not to be translated as passion, lust or desire". We find the same idea of *De Genesi c. Man.* also in *De opere monachorum* (dating from 401) 32,40. CSEL 41,594: "Illam quippe significant partem eo ipso, quo mulieres sunt, quae concupiscentialis dici potest, cui mens dominatur ... Quod ergo est in uno homine mens et concupiscentia ... hoc in duobus hominibus, viro et muliere, secundum sexum corporis figuratur ... Tanto enim gloriosius mens ad superiora promovetur, quanto diligentius ab inferioribus concupiscentia cohibetur; donec totus homo cum ipso etiam mortali nunc et fragili corpore in resurrectione novissima incorruptione atque immortalitate induatur ...".

⁹³ *De Genesi c. Man.* II,12,16. PL 34,205: "Ipsa enim cognitio, qua intelligitur in nobis aliud esse quod ratione dominetur, aliud quod rationi obtemperet; ipsa ergo cognitio veluti effectio mulieris est de costa viri, propter conjunctionem significandam. Deinde, ut quisque huic suae parti recte dominetur, et fiat quasi conjugalitatis in seipso, ut caro non concupiscat adversus spiritum, sed spiritui subjugetur ... opus habet perfecta sapientia".

2:23 "Now this is bone from my bones, and flesh from my flesh". Augustine sees in "bone" a symbol of fortitude, and in "flesh" a symbol of temperance which both belong to the lower part of the soul. Notice that the text of Gen. 2:23 "Bone from my bones, and flesh from my flesh" occurs also in Eph. 5:30, just as Gen. 2:24 "They will be two in one flesh" occurs in Eph. 5:31, where they are used to describe the union between Christ and the Church. The conclusion of this section of *De Genesi contra Manichaeos* follows in 14,21. Seen from a moral point of view, the following process takes place in each human being:

- a) First there is the bad suggestion through thought or through the bodily senses, but we are able to resist this suggestion. The serpent functions as symbol of such suggestions⁹⁴.
- b) If the desire toward sinning is aroused, it is as if the woman were already persuaded, but even then the reason can resist sinning. The woman functions here as symbol.
- c) However, if the *ratio* consents to evil, then there is sin, in the full sense of the word, by which the human being is expelled from paradise. Here the man functions as symbol.

In the text *dilectionis affectus, quo diligit unusquisque animam suam*, *anima* has definitely the meaning of *pars animae* or *animi*, term which elsewhere in *De Genesi contra Manichaeos* is used still five more times by Augustine⁹⁵. The lower part of the soul is the part that can be tempted and can fall under the spell of carnal joys⁹⁶, but it is also that part which is the basis of our good works. This is the reason why Adam

⁹⁴ Augustine refuses to consider the woman as *figura* of the senses, for bodily sense does not express the spiritual equality between male and female; the serpent is a much more appropriate symbol for bodily sense. See *De Trinitate* XII,13,20-15,25. CCL 50,373-380. *De Genesi ad litt.* III,20(34) and VI,7(12). CSEL 28/1,88-89. 178. ib. XI,42(58). ib. 377: "propterea mulier addita est, quae ... adhuc fortasse secundum sensum carnis ... viveret" is no exception, because it is the description of a possible concrete situation. See T.J. VAN BAVEL, *Woman as the Image of God in Augustine's "De Trinitate XII"*, in: *Signum Pietatis*, Festgabe für C.P. Mayer. Würzburg, Augustinus-Verlag, 1989, 267-288, and: *Augustine's View on Women*, in: *Augustiniana* 39(1989), 5-53.

⁹⁵ *De Genesi c. Man.* I,25,43 (here in an implicit way). II,10,14. II,18,28. II,19,29. II, 21,31. II,26,40. PL 34,194. 204. 210. 211. 212. 218. Even before this book Augustine had used the expression *pars animi*: *C. Academicos* I,2,5. III,12,28. CCL 29,6. 51. *De ordine* II,2,6-2,7. CCL 29,109-110. *Soliloquia* I,3,8. CSEL 89,14. *Epist.* 3,4. CSEL 34/1,8.

⁹⁶ *De Genesi c. Manich.* II,18,28. PL 34,210: "... non posse nos a diabolo tentari, nisi per illam animale partem, quae quasi mulieris imaginem vel exemplum in uno ipso homine ostendit". Augustine observes that this applies also to men.: "Numquid quia viros non decipit et tentat?". Ib. II,19,29. ib. 211: "... illa pars animae, quae carnalibus gaudiis tenetur".

calls his woman "Life" and "The mother of the living"⁹⁷. Thus the woman is the image of action, an idea that we find also in Augustine's later works⁹⁸. If we take into account the wish of Augustine to present a figurative explanation of the book Genesis, we understand better that he considers the woman as an image of the subordination of the *animalis pars* to the *virilis ratio* as something that takes place within the psyche of each human being. This does not mean Manichaean dualism, for Augustine stresses that there must be love for the lower part. Precisely, against the Manichaeans he maintains that each part of the human person, the body as well as the *pars animalis*, has God as its creator; there is no part that is originating from the power of darkness, and he quotes 1 Cor. 11:7-12: "As the woman is from the man, so the man is through the woman, but all things are from God". He rejects the Manichaean question: Why did God make the woman?; he answers with the words of Paul: The woman is so great a good that she is called the glory of the man (1 Cor. 11:7)⁹⁹.

That Eph. 5:29 plays an important part in this whole section appears from the context, though there is not yet question of a literal citation. We will examine how Augustine explains Eph. 5:29 in his later works, paying attention as much as possible to their chronological order¹⁰⁰.

⁹⁷ Ib. II,21,31. ib. 212: "Quem autem non moveat, quod post peccatum et sententiam iudicis Dei vocat Adam mulierem suam *Vitam* ... ? ... Quare ergo non animalis illa pars nostra, quae tamquam viro debet obtemperare rationi ... appelletur vita et ... mater vivorum vocetur, id est recte factorum?". Cf. ib. II,10,14. ib. 204: "... iustitia enim ad omnes partes animae pertinet".

⁹⁸ Ib. I,25,43. ib. 194: "... homo ... masculus et femina, id est intellectus et actio, quorum copulatione spiritualis fetus terram impleat, id est carnem subiciat ...". This idea is elaborated by Augustine in *Confessiones* XIII,32,47 and 34,49. CCL 27,270-272: "... corporaliter feminam, quae haberet quidem in mente rationalis intellegentiae parem naturam, sexu tamen corporis ita masculino sexui subiceretur, quemadmodum subicitur appetitus actionis ad concipiendam de ratione mentis recte agendi sollertiam". In *De Trinitate* XII, 13,20-15,25 (CCL 50,373-380) he describes the functions of the soul as action and contemplation, or as science and wisdom. The woman is the symbol of action and science.

⁹⁹ *De Genesi c. Man.* II,26,40. PL 34,217-218: "Tunc enim potest cognosci non aliam partem in nobis pertinere ad auctorem Deum, et aliam ad gentem tenebrarum, sicut isti dicunt, sed potius et illud quod regendi habet potestatem in homine, et illud inferius quod regendum est, ex Deo esse, sicut dicit apostolus ...". See also II,28,42. ib. 219: "... quia et ipsa utique aliquod bonum est, et tantum bonum, ut apostolus eam gloriam viri esse dicat".

¹⁰⁰ R.J. TESKE, *Love of Neighbour in St. Augustine*, in: *Congresso Internaz. su S. Agostino nel XVI Centenario della Conversione*. Atti III. Roma, Institut. Patristicum "Augustinianum", 1987, p. 81-102 has dealt with the following texts: *De sermone Domini in monte*, *De continentia*, *De utilitate ieiunii* and *De doctrina christiana*.

III. THE FIRST LITERAL QUOTATION

The first literal citation is found in *De sermone Domini in monte*, written in between 392 and 396. Eph. 5:29 is quoted within the ascetic context of fasting: "But when you fast, anoint your head and wash your face" (Mt. 6:17). Washing the face was still a daily custom in Augustine's time, but not the anointing of the head. This is one of the reasons why he gives a figurative interpretation of this text. Both actions, anointing and washing, are regarded as said of the interior human being. "Head" means in the first place that what is the highest in the soul. What is highest should guide and govern all the rest. Consequently, the flesh should be held subject, for it is not the "head" of the whole human nature. After this statement, the text takes an unexpected turn: Augustine asserts that this does not mean that one has to hate one's own flesh, for no one ever hated his own flesh. If he wished to stress only the subjection of the flesh, he needed not to quote Eph. 5:29. The reason of the quotation is that he understands it in the literal sense attached to these words by Paul when the latter commands that the husband should love his wife. Augustine does not yet speak of love for the own body as such.

This leads him immediately to the second meaning of the word "Head", namely Christ, according to the text "A woman's head is man, a man has Christ for his Head" (1 Cor. 11:3). To find an interior joy in fasting means to turn away from the pleasures of this world in order to be subject to Christ, because the anointing of the head consists in that submission to Christ, and this makes our heart and our love of neighbour pure¹⁰¹.

IV. THE TEXTS BETWEEN 397-401

In 397/398, Augustine contends against the Manichaean Faustus that the higher things are better than the lower things, but that the lower are also good. He illustrates this with the example of the animals: there is no animal, not even the most insignificant little animal, that hates its own flesh, but it feeds and cherishes it, gives it vitality and guidance. In the

¹⁰¹ *De sermone domini in monte* II,12,42. CCL 35,133: "Caro enim, quae subiecta esse debet, nullo modo est totius naturae humanae caput. Nemo quidem umquam carnem suam odio habuit, sicut apostolus dicit, cum de diligendo uxore praecipit; sed caput mulieris vir, cui viro caput est Christus". In II,11,38. ib. 129 Augustine states that there is no reason for grief if there is peace between body and spirit; a deplorable conflict arises only when the body resists the law of the spirit. See also the continuation of this text in II,12,43. ib. 134 about the theme that authentic love of neighbour should not be egocentric.

same way, the soul chastises its body in order to control the unrestrained desires for earthly things (otherwise the soul cannot acquire wisdom), but in spite of this it loves its flesh. Even a Manichaean cannot but love his flesh; he cares for the health and the integrity of his body, he avoids blows, spills and mishaps which can injure him. Such is the law of nature¹⁰². A bit further Augustine quotes Eph. 5:28-29: "He who loves his wife, loves himself. No one ever hates his own body; on the contrary he feeds and cherishes it. And that is the way Christ treats the Church". To show that there has to be a holy love of the men for their wives, Paul referred to the example of a lover's soul. Human beings should display harmony with their bodies and affection for them by curbing the carnal impulses and by submitting them to the good use by the *ratio*. A similar process takes place in animals; they too flee pain and death, they flee the dissolution of the union between flesh and soul. This is the power that the creature received from its Creator¹⁰³.

In *De doctrina christiana* (397), we meet Eph. 5:29 within the context of morally good behavior, that is, in the context of *frui-uti*. There also Augustine treats the theme of restraining the body by continence. We should not love all the things which we use, but only those which, on the basis of a certain affinity with us, have a relationship with God such as the human being, or like those things which, in intimate union with us, need God's blessing through our mediation, like the body. Consequently, there are four objects that we should love: God, ourselves, the neighbour, and

¹⁰² *Contra Faustum* XXI,5. CSEL 25/1,574-575: "Verumtamen adtendite et date mihi unum quamlibet abiectissimum animal, cuius anima oderit carnem suam, ac non potius nutriat et foveat eam motuque vitali vegetet et regat et quodam modo administret pro sui generis exiguitate quoddam universum suum ad incolumitatem tuendam ... Quod enim rationalis anima castigat corpus suum et servituti subicit, ne immoderate adpetitu terreno inpediatur perceptio sapientiae, etiam sic utique diligit carnem suam, quam sibi ad obediendum legitime subdit atque ordinat. Postremo vos ipsi quamvis carnali errore carnem detestemini, non potestis nisi diligere carnem vestram eiusque saluti et incolumitate consulere, omnes ictus et casus et intemperiem, qua laeditur, devitare ... ita ostenditis praevalere naturae legem contra erroris vestri opinionem".

¹⁰³ Ib. XXI,7. ib. 575-576: "Apostolus enim cum de sancta dilectione praeciperet, qualis esse debeat virorum in uxores, ex anima amantis sumpsit exemplum. *Qui diligit, inquit, uxorem suam, se ipsum diligit; nemo enim unquam carnem suam odio habet, sed nutrit et foveat eam tamquam Christus ecclesiam*. Ecce in conspectu vestro est carnalis universa substantia! Videte quemadmodum in omne animal sibi ad salutem conciliatum portendat naturae ista communio, ut diligit carnem suam; neque enim hoc in hominibus tantum est, qui cum recte vivunt, non solum consulunt saluti carnis suae, verum etiam carnales motus ad usum rationis edomant et refrenant, sed etiam bestiae fugiunt dolorem, formidant interitum ... nutriendas etiam ipsae ac fovendas carnem suam. *Nemo enim unquam carnem suam odio habet* ...".

the body. Love of ourselves and of our body are so natural that there is no need to give explicit commandments about them¹⁰⁴. No one hates himself or his own body, and the statement "No one ever hated his own body" is beyond any discussion. When some say that they would prefer to be without body, they deceive themselves profoundly. They do not hate their bodies as such, but they hate the corruptibility and the toils of the body. One can train the body and restrain it by continence and exertion, but those who do this in the right way, do it not in order to be without body, but to have the body subject and ready to perform the necessary activities. They combat the bad desires, but do not kill themselves; on the contrary, they care for their health¹⁰⁵. A bit further in this book, Augustine draws the conclusion: "If you understand yourself as a whole, that is, your mind and body, and also your neighbour as a whole, that is, his mind and body (for the human being consists of mind and body), not one category of things we should love is left out in these two commandments"¹⁰⁶.

Between 401-403, during the Donatist controversy, Petilian reproaches Augustine that the Catholics seek peace in a hypocritical way through crime and war. Augustine responds that their war is based on Mt. 5:43 "Love your neighbour as yourself" and on Eph. 5:29 "No one ever hated his own flesh". But this does not prevent the flesh lusting against the spirit, and the spirit against the flesh (Gal. 5,17). Augustine applies this last text to the conflict with the Donatists: the restoration of unity is sought by war, so that the chastised body be brought to subservience. However, that what the spirit does against the body is waging war, not out of hatred, but out of love. Human beings who live according to the spirit,

¹⁰⁴ *De doctrina christiana* I,23,22. CCL 32,18: "Non autem omnia, quibus utendum est, diligenda sunt, sed ea sola, quae aut nobiscum societate quadam referuntur in deum, sicut est homo, vel angelus, aut ad nos relata, beneficio dei per nos indigent, sicuti est corpus ... Cum ergo quattuor sint diligenda, unum quod supra nos est, alterum quod nos sumus, tertium quod iuxta nos est, quartum quod infra nos est, de secundo et quarto nulla praecepta danda erant".

¹⁰⁵ *Ib.* I,24,24. *ib.* 19: "Nemo ergo se odit. Et hinc quidem nulla cum aliqua secta quaestio fuit. Sed neque corpus suum quisquam odit; verum est enim quod ait apostolus: *Nemo unquam carnem suam odio habuit*. Et quod nonnulli dicunt, malle se esse sine corpore omnino, falluntur; non enim corpus suum, sed corruptiones eius et pondus oderunt ... Quod autem continentia quadam et laboribus quasi persequi videntur corpora sua, qui hoc recte faciunt, non id agunt, ut non habeant corpus, sed ut habeant subiugatum et paratum ad opera necessaria. Libidines ... per ipsius corporis laboriosam quandam militiam extinguere adfectant. Nam non se interimunt et curam suae valetudinis gerunt". This text is probably meant as a refutation of some Neoplatonici.

¹⁰⁶ *Ib.* I,26,27. *ib.* 21: "Quod si te totum intelligas, id est animum et corpus, et proximum totum, id est animum et corpus eius - homo enim ex animo constat et corpore -, nullum rerum diligendarum genus in his duobus praeceptis praetermissum est".

do not only wage war against themselves out of love, but also against others who live according to the flesh, because all who live according to the spirit love their neighbours as themselves. The war of spiritual persons is an admonition inspired by love, and their sword is the Word of God¹⁰⁷.

V. THE TEXTS BETWEEN 406-413

In 406/407, explaining the verse of John 1:13 "They are not born out of blood, or out of the desire of the flesh, or out of the will of man, but of God himself", Augustine says that John used the word "flesh" to designate the woman. Because she was made from the rib of the man, Adam exclaimed: "This is bone from my bones, and flesh from my flesh" (Gen. 2:23). For the same reason Paul writes: "Who loves his wife, loves himself", for no one ever hates his own flesh" (Eph. 5:28-29). Then Augustine gives his usual figurative explanation: the man is the image of the mind (*spiritus*) and the woman of the flesh (*caro*). The first has to govern and to command, the latter to be ruled and to serve. Otherwise the householding will be upside down¹⁰⁸.

In 412, Augustine comments on Gen. 3:15 "The brood of the woman shall threaten your head, and you shall threaten their heel". The brood of the woman are all who live righteously. But why did God say this to the woman? The reason for this is the fact that the human being is unstable because of the flesh. The flesh is our interior Eve. The apostle Paul says: "Who loves his wife, loves himself", and "himself" means: "No one ever hated his own flesh" (Eph. 5:28-29). Like the devil was the cause of Adam's Fall through the mediation of Eve, so the devil wishes our Fall through the mediation of the flesh. But we have the power to avoid

¹⁰⁷ *Contra litteras Petiliani* II,68,154. CSEL 52,100: "Quodsi nemo carnem suam odio habet et tamen adversus carnem suam concupiscit, ecce bello unitas quaeritur, ut corpus servituti subiciatur. Quod autem spiritus facit adversus carnem non odio, sed dilectione belligerans, hoc spiritales faciunt adversus carnales, ut, quod agunt erga se, agant et erga illos, quia diligunt proximos tamquam se ipsos".

¹⁰⁸ *In Johannis evangelium* tr. 2,14. CCL 36,18: "Carnem pro femina posuit, quia de costa cum facta esset, Adam dixit: *Hoc nunc os de ossibus meis, et caro de carne mea*; et apostolus ait: *Qui diligit uxorem suam, seipsum diligit; nemo enim unquam carnem suam odio habet*. Ponitur ergo caro pro uxore, quomodo et aliquando spiritus pro marito. Quare? Quia ille regit, haec regitur: ille imperare debet, ista servire. Nam ubi caro imperat, et spiritus servit, perversa domus est".

iniquity through Christ¹⁰⁹.

In *De utilitate ieiunii* (about 411), Augustine contends against the Manichaeans that one cannot conclude from the opposition between spirit and flesh that the flesh as such is inimical to the spirit as though there would be one Creator of the spirit and another Creator of the flesh. They base their opinion on Gal. 5:17: "The flesh desires against the spirit, and the spirit desires against the flesh". Augustine responds with the question: Why do you not pay attention to that other text: "Nobody ever hates his own flesh" (Eph. 5:29), in which as it were a marital union is expressed? How to handle then the opposition between both texts? Augustine declares that he accepts both, and sees no opposition between them. We should not undervalue Eph. 5:29, for the attitude of the feeding and cherishing human being towards his flesh is the image of Christ's attitude towards the Church. One cannot love truly the body, if one considers it as a prison or a fetter, for everyone hates a chain or a punishment. Just as there is only one and the same Creator of the mind and of the body, so there is not one Father of the Church and another Father of Christ, as the Manichaeans believe¹¹⁰. Consequently, everyone loves his flesh. Not only Paul says this, but also daily experience testifies to it, for who does not close his eyes when he or she sees a blow coming along. In the next section Augustine stresses again that the flesh has to obey the mind like the woman the man. But obedience does not mean that they do not love one another. Nevertheless, by renouncing the pleasures of the flesh, one acquires the joys of the spirit¹¹¹.

¹⁰⁹ *En. in psalmum* 48, s.1,6. CCL 38,556: "Quare autem Evae hoc dixit? Quia per carnem labitur homo. Eva nobis interior caro nostra est. *Qui diligit*, inquit, *uxorem suam, seipsum diligit*. Quid est: *seipsum*? Sequitur, et dicit: *Nemo enim umquam carnem suam odio habuit*. Quia ergo quomodo illum hominem Adam per Evam supplantavit, sic diabolus per carnem vult nos supplantare; praeceptum est Evae ut observet caput diaboli, quia diabolus calcaneum ipsius observat".

¹¹⁰ Compare this idea with that in *De continentia* 9,23. CSEL 41,170: "Quid est ergo, quod vos vera dementia et christianos esse iactatis ... et Christum asserentes in falsa carne apparuisse mortalibus et ecclesiam in anima ad Christum, in corpore ad diabolum pertinere et sexum virilem atque muliebrem diaboli opera esse, non dei et spiritui carnem tamquam malam substantiam bonae substantiae cohaerere?"

¹¹¹ *De utilitate ieiunii* 4,4-5,6. CCL 46,234-236: "Ne ergo arbitretur dilectio vestra, quod inimica sit caro spiritui, quasi alter sit auctor carnis, alter sit auctor spiritus ... Utuntur autem quasi testimonio apostolico, quod non intelligunt: *Caro concupiscit adversus spiritum, et spiritus adversus carnem*. Hoc verum est; sed quare et aliud non adtendis: *Nemo enim umquam carnem suam odio habet; sed nutrit et fovet eam, sicut et Christus ecclesiam*? ... Interim ego ambas (sc. sententias) accipio ... Tu autem ... de illa quid agis? *Nemo enim umquam carnem suam odio habet, sed nutrit et fovet eam, sicut Christus ecclesiam* ... Compedem putas carnem. Quis amat compedem suam? Carcerem putas car-

In letter 130, Augustine quotes Paul: "Do not care for the flesh by lusts" (Rom. 13:14). He interprets the Pauline text as follows: we have to care for the flesh, but on the condition "as far as the care for our health urges us to do so", for no one ever hated his own flesh. He refers also to the example of Paul who advises Timothy to drink a little wine for the sake of his digestion and his frequent ailments (1 Tim. 5:23)¹¹².

In another letter, written about 412, Augustine speaks of the fact that hardly anyone wishes death. He attributes this to the great power of the sweet union between flesh and soul. Eph. 5:29 is a proof of this. Therefore, the soul does not want to be separated from the weakness of the flesh, not even for a little while, although the soul trusts in God that it will get back from Him the body without any weakness for eternity. Though the human being who serves God wishes to die and to be with Christ (Phil. 1:23), everyone refuses and flees this because of the affection (*sensu*) for the flesh¹¹³.

In a sermon (preached about 412), Augustine addresses people who do not believe in the resurrection of the flesh. They feel an aversion to their bodies in spite of Paul's assertion that no one ever hated his own flesh. Augustine wonders what the reason is for that aversion. It is clearly due to the corruptibility and mortality of the flesh which, however, will be taken away in the resurrected state; one should trust in God's promise (1 Cor. 15:42-53). Those who feel an aversion to the coming resurrection of the body, should, strictly speaking, feel such an aversion already in this life, but they contradict themselves for they cherish, protect, feed and

nem. Quis amat carcerem suum? *Nemo enim unquam carnem suam odio habet*. Quis non oderit vinculum suum? Quis non oderit poenam suam? ... Tu ergo qui alium auctorem ponis carni, alium auctorem spiritui, alium positurus es ecclesiae, alium Christo ... Diligit ergo unusquisque carnem suam. Apostolus dicit, et praeter apostoli dictum unusquisque in se probat ... nescio utrum non claudes oculum, si aliquis ictus immineat ... Est ergo quasi quoddam coniugium spiritus et carnis ... Numquid ergo odimus, quem nobis cupimus obedire?"

¹¹² *Epist.* 130,3,7. CSEL 44,48: "Omnino haec (sc. delicias) in te despice atque contemne, ne in his quicquam requiras praeter integram corporis valetudinem ... Nam et ipse apostolus: *Carnis*, inquit, *providentiam ne feceritis in concupiscentiis*, quia gerimus curam carnis, sed ad necessitatem salutis, *Nemo enim unquam carnem suam odio habuit*".

¹¹³ *Epist.* 140,6,16. CSEL 44,167: "Ideo mortis diem ... omnes aut paene omnes differre conantur ... tantam habet vim carnis et animae dulce consortium. *Nemo enim unquam carnem suam odio habuit* et propterea non vult anima vel ad tempus ab eius etiam infirmitate discedere, quamvis eam se sine infirmitate in aeternum recepturam esse confidat ... mentis quidem ratione concupiscit homo pius *dissolvi et esse cum Christo*, sed id sensu carnis recusat et refugit ...".

preserve the integrity of their bodies. Who would do all these things for something he hates?¹¹⁴

VI. A CRUCIAL TEXT FROM *DE CONTINENTIA*

We call this text crucial because Augustine treats here our theme in the most profound and extensive way. The date of this book, however, is very controversial. Mostly it is dated in 395, but recent research has shown that it is of a much later date, namely the years 416-418¹¹⁵. I agree with a later date; it seems certainly written after 412. The purpose of this treatise is to show that continence is needed not only with regard to the lower parts of the body, but also with regard to the *libidines* of the interior human being, specifically the *motus et perturbationes animi*. *Carnalis concupiscentia* has a much wider meaning than only the sexual domain. Besides fornication, impurity, indecency, we find mentioned idolatry, sorcery, quarrels, contentious temper, envy, fits of rage, selfish ambitions, dissensions, party intrigues, jealousies, drinking bouts, orgies, and the like (Gal. 5:19-21)¹¹⁶. The peculiar thing about this passage is that Augustine considers talking about flesh and mind as *partes hominis* rather as a theme for philosophical schools; he himself prefers to follow biblical language in which "flesh" designates the whole human being. In Holy Scripture *secundum carnem vivere* means: *secundum hominem vivere*.

¹¹⁴ *Sermo Mai* 87,3. MA I,329: "Quid enim, obsecro te, qui non vis credere futuram carnis resurrectionem, quid te movet? quid tibi in corpore displicet? Quis unquam carnem suam odio habuit? dicit apostolus ... Quid tibi in corpore displicet? Ego dico, corruptio, mortalitas ... Si displicet tibi resuscitari corpus, displiceat tibi et modo corpus. Quid foves quod displicet? quid tueris quod displicet? quid nutris quod displicet? cur optas incolume? An placet?"

¹¹⁵ See A. M. LA BONNARDIÈRE, *La date du "De Continentia" de saint Augustin*, in: *Revue des Études Augustiniennes* 5(1959), 121-127 adduces good arguments for a later date than usually accepted. The date circa 426, proposed by D. FAUL, *The Date of the De Continentia of St. Augustine*, in: *Studia Patristica* VI (Berlin, 1962), 374-382 seems to me exaggerated.

¹¹⁶ *De continentia* 1,2-3,9. CSEL 41,142-151: "Et ne in sola inferiorum partium carnis libidine continentia necessaria videatur ... Ac per hoc illa, quae in genitalibus membris pudicitia refrenatis solet maxime ac proprie continentia nominari, nulla transgressione violatur, si superior continentia, de qua iam diu loquimur, in corde servetur ... audiamus scribentem ad Galatas et dicentem: manifesta autem sunt opera carnis, quae sunt fornicationes, immunditiae, luxuriae, idolorum servitus, veneficia, inimicitiae, contentiones, aemulationes, animositates, dissensiones, haereses, invidiae, ebrietates, comestiones et his similia ...".

Therefore, we may never blame the nature of the flesh¹¹⁷; the flesh as such is good and it does not lust for something except through the soul¹¹⁸. We ourselves are a unit of flesh and spirit. At the moment of our death we do not relinquish our flesh by escaping from it, but we abandon it in order to get it back. This is the reason why Paul calls his flesh "himself". The flesh itself cannot be hostile to us. Precisely by resisting to the shortcomings of the flesh we love it, because then we are healing it, and no one ever hated his own flesh. It is true that Paul declares in Rom. 7:25 that he serves the law of sin with his flesh, but this does not mean that he consents to carnal concupiscence; it means that he experiences involuntary impulses and desires¹¹⁹. The tension between flesh and spirit should not be considered as a tension between two natures originated from two opposite principles, as the Manichaeans believe, but it is to be seen as a consequence of sin. Our body is dead because of sin (Rom. 8:10). Not one single substance is bad in itself. Therefore, Paul says that no one ever hated his own flesh¹²⁰. The Manichaean contempt of the flesh and their denial that the flesh of Christ was real flesh, means at the same time the negation of the union between Christ and the Church, for they contend that the Church belongs to Christ only as regards the human souls; as regards

¹¹⁷ Ib. 4,11. ib. 152-154: "... caro autem est infirma et terrena pars hominis ... propter quod ille, qui secundum hominem vivit, non utique secundum carnem, sed potius secundum eam partem hominis vivit, qua homo est, hoc est secundum spiritum mentis ... Verum haec disputatio valet fortassis aliquid in scholis philosophorum; nos autem ... libri christiani ... debemus advertere ... Noli carnis accusare naturam, quando audis: *si secundum carnem vixeritis, moriemini*. Sic enim dici potuit ...: si secundum vos vixeritis, moriemini".

¹¹⁸ Ib. 8,19. ib. 163: "Caro enim nihil nisi per animam concupiscit".

¹¹⁹ Ib. 8,19-20. ib. 163-164: "Totum hoc nos sumus. Et caro ipsa, quae discedente anima moritur ... non fugienda dimittitur, sed recipienda reponitur ... Non enim alterum eorum putare debemus inimicum, sed vitium, quo caro concupiscit adversus spiritum ... Audiamus apostolum, *scio*, inquit, *quia non habitat in me, hoc est in carne mea, bonum* ... Se itaque dicit (sc. apostolus) esse carnem suam. Non ergo ipsa est inimica nostra; et quando eius vitiis resistitur, ipsa amatur, quia ipsa curatur. *Nemo enim umquam carnem suam odio habuit*". ib. 8,20. ib. 164: "... neque hic dicit (sc. apostolus): *concupiscentias carnis* ne habueritis, sed *ne perfeceritis*".

¹²⁰ Ib. 7,18. ib. 161: "Absit, ut credamus, quod Manichaeorum credit insania, duas hic demonstratas esse naturas ex contrariis inter se principiis confligentes, unam mali, alteram boni. Prorsus ista duo ambo sunt bona: et spiritus bonum est et caro bonum. Et homo, qui ex utroque constat, uno imperante, alio serviente, utique bonum est ... Verum in hac bona hominis ... natura nunc bellum est". Cf. ib. 9,22. ib. 167-168: "Deinde subiunxit, quod iam commemoravimus: *Nemo enim umquam carnem suam odio habuit, sed nutrit et fovet eam sicut Christus ecclesiam* ... quid ad haec dicitis, Manichaei?".

the human bodies the Church belongs to the devil¹²¹.

Thus, we can distinguish three unions: that between Christ and the Church, that between man and woman, and that between spirit and flesh. Christ cares for the Church, the man cares for the woman, and the spirit cares for the flesh. This is also true in the following way: the Church is the model and the rule of conduct for women; Christ is the model for men. Moreover, the lower thing, that is, the body is also a rule of conduct for men: they have to love their wives as their own bodies (*corpora*), for the higher things as well as the lower things are good. But Paul does not prescribe the body as a rule of conduct for the woman, because she should be subject to the man like the flesh to the spirit. Why does Paul not prescribe the body or the flesh as rule of conduct for the woman? Is there for her no obligation to love her body? Augustine answers this question in the following way: either Paul takes it for granted that she loves her flesh, or he does not want to mention the flesh as rule of subservience for the woman, because the flesh lusts against the spirit during this mortal life (Gal. 5:17). Augustine finds that Paul could hardly prescribe something so ambiguous as the flesh as rule of conduct for the woman. On the other hand, he prescribes the flesh as rule of conduct for the man, because the spirit ought to lust against the flesh and, in doing so, to care for the flesh. This is made possible by the fact that the spirit as well as the flesh, the virile sex as well as the female sex have God as their Creator. Sexuality is not the work of the devil¹²². Although the concupiscence of the flesh in a Christian is not yet healed, he feeds and cherishes nonetheless the good nature of his flesh, for no one ever hates his own flesh. The same does Christ for the Church¹²³. God will save the whole human being, spirit and flesh, at the end of time¹²⁴.

¹²¹ Ib. 10,24. ib. 171: "De ecclesia quid dicit deceptor hominum in mortifero errore? Quod ex parte animarum pertineat ad Christum, ex parte corporum ad diabolum".

¹²² Ib. 9,23. ib. 169: "*Viri debent diligere uxores suas sicut sua corpora*, quod est ab inferiore: quia et superiora et inferiora bona sunt omnia. Nec tamen mulier a corpore vel carne accepit exemplum, ut ita esset subdita viro, sicut spiritui caro; sed aut consequenter apostolus intellegi voluit, quod dicere praetermisit, aut forte quia caro concupiscit adversus spiritum in huius vitae mortalitate atque languore, ideo de illa noluit mulieri exemplum subiectionis adhibere".

¹²³ Ib. 11,25. ib. 172-175: "Tunc finem accipiet omnis haec pugna, tunc ambarum substantiarum erit summa concordia, tunc usque adeo ibi nullus erit carnalis, ut etiam ipsa caro sit spiritualis. Quod ergo nunc agit cum carne sua quisque secundum Christum vivens, cum et concupiscit adversus eius malam concupiscentiam, quoniam sanandam continet, quam nondum sanatam tenet, et tamen eius bonam nutrit fovetque naturam, quoniam *nemo umquam carnem suam odio habet*".

¹²⁴ Ib. 12,26. ib. 175.

VII. TEXTS FROM THE PERIOD BETWEEN 414-421

In 414/415, we find again an ascetic line of thought. Someone who chastises his body does not necessarily hate his body. Our flesh is so intimately united with us like a husband with his wife: your flesh is like your wife, for no one ever hated his own flesh, but feeds and cherishes it like Christ feeds and cherishes the Church. Nevertheless, the apostle Paul says elsewhere that the flesh lusts against the spirit (Gal. 5:17). Bear your flesh, educate it, chastise it; at the end of time it will be restored. Because no one ever hated his own flesh, it, too, will be raised up¹²⁵.

In *De patientia* (about 417), Augustine refers to the promise of Jesus to the martyrs that not a hair of their head will be lost (Luke 21:18). Then Augustine quotes Eph. 5:29 to teach that the believer should keep watch over the situation of his flesh with patience rather than with impatience. Thus the believer will outweigh the present sufferings by the invaluable boon of the coming incorruptibility¹²⁶.

Also the following text from a sermon preached about 415 concerns martyrdom. The martyrs of Christ did very wisely not despise their bodies, for contempt for the body is part of a perverse and profane philosophy of people who do not believe in the resurrection of the body. These nonbelievers consider their bodies as prisons in which their souls are thrown down because they have sinned previously elsewhere. Our God, however, created both body and spirit, and He is the Creator as well as the Re-creator of both. This is the reason why the martyrs did not despise their bodies as something inimical. Indeed, no one ever hated his own body. That what is a burden now, will be a honour at the resurrection¹²⁷.

¹²⁵ *En. in psalmum* 140,16. CCL 40,2037: "Numquid qui castigat corpus, odit corpus? ... Si quis verberat filium, odit filium? Et ut aliquid coniunctius eloquamur, caro tamquam coniux tua est. Hoc ipse apostolus dicit: *Nemo umquam carnem suam odio habuit; sed nutrit et fovet eam, sicut et Christus ecclesiam*. Certe caro tamquam coniux est, et nemo carnem suam odio habet. Tamen quid alio loco? *Caro concupiscit adversus spiritum* ... Non te deponat, non te abrumpat; porta, erudi, castiga; reparabitur in fine. Et quia *nemo umquam carnem suam odio habuit*, resurget et caro. Sed quomodo?"

¹²⁶ *De patientia* 8,7. CSEL 41,669: "Unde dominus Iesus ad patientiam exhortans martyres suos etiam ipsius corporis integritatem futuram sine cuiusquam ... membri ... amissione promisit ... ut quoniam *nemo umquam*, sicut apostolus dicit, *carnem suam odio habuit*, magis homo fidelis per patientiam quam per impatientiam pro stratu suae carnis invigilet ...".

¹²⁷ *Sermo* 277,3,3-4,4. PL 38,1259: "Ergo prudenter martyres Christi non sua corpora contempserunt. Perversa est ista, et mundana philosophia, eorum qui non credunt corporum resurrectionem. Videntur enim sibi quasi magni corporis contemptores, quia ipsa corpora quasi pro carceribus se habere arbitrantur, quo detrusas putant animas, quod alibi ante peccaverunt. Deus autem noster et corpus fecit et spiritum; et utriusque creator est, et

In another sermon from 418/419, Augustine argues with reference to Rom. 7:24 "I, miserable human being! Who will rescue me out of this body doomed to death?", that there is at present mournfulness because of our mortal body, but also that no one ever hated his own flesh. We would prefer that our bodies were mere life, but this is impossible on earth. Therefore, let us take care that our mind or soul dwell in Him who is Life. Then, the Holy Spirit will give life to our mortal bodies at the resurrection, for the resurrection will not take place without the body neither in another body. It is a human error to think that God wishes that we should be without body. Though Paul says that our body is dead (Rom. 8:10), take death away and the body will be entirely good. When death is eliminated as our last enemy, my flesh will be for ever my friend, for no one ever hated his own flesh¹²⁸.

About 418-419 in *De civitate Dei*, Augustine rejects the opinion of Plato¹²⁹ that the souls of the deceased begin again to long for bodies, because they have forgotten their previous miserable situation. The deceased saints, on the contrary, long for their bodies because they remember God's promise. They did not hate their flesh when it resisted in its weakness the spirit, and when they still had to restrain their flesh. How much more must they now love it, since itself is to become spiritual and

utriusque recreator ... Non ergo tanquam inimicam, vel contempserunt, vel persecuti sunt martyres. *Nemo enim unquam carnem suam odio habuit* ... Quod nunc est onus, erit honor". Ib. 8,8. ib. 1261 Augustine says: "et tamen mori nolumus". This text belongs to the period in which Augustine rejects explicitly the opinion that human souls have fallen or been cast down from heaven, and thrust into these mortal bodies (*carceres*) by reason of their sins committed in a previous life without bodies, as taught by some Neoplatonists, Origen and Priscillian. See R.J. O'CONNELL, *The Origin of the Soul in St. Augustine's Later Works*. New York, Fordham University Press, 1987. For Origen see H. CROUZEL, *Origène*. Paris-Namur, Lethielleux-Culture et Vérité, 1985, p. 267-284. Cf. notes 10 and 143-144.

¹²⁸ *Sermo* 155,13,14-14,15. PL 38,848-849: "Quid de illo gemitu, *Miser ego homo?* ... Remansit tristitia de nostro corpore. *Nemo autem carnem suam odio habuit* ... Vellem quidem et corpus meum esset in vita: sed quia non potest, sit vel spiritus meus, sit vel anima mea. Exspecta, noli esse sollicitus ... Si enim non adderet (sc. apostolus), *mortis hujus*, et diceret, *Quis me liberabit de corpore?* forte suggeretur error cogitationi humanae, et diceretur: Vides quia non vult Deus nos esse cum corpore? ... Mortem tolle, et bonum est corpus. Detrahatur mors novissima inimica, et erit mihi in aeternum caro mea amica. *Nemo enim unquam carnem suam odio habuit* ... Absit, fratres mei, absit ut spiritus concupiscendo contra carnem oderit carnem. Vitia carnis odit, prudentiam carnis odit, contentionem mortis odit".

¹²⁹ *Phaedrus* 248A ss.

will be better than the bodies of Adam and Eve¹³⁰.

In another section of the same work, written after 420, Augustine, explaining the story of Cain and Abel, repeats the thesis that sin should not lord it over the human being, that is, the carnal part should be ruled by the mind. Augustine's arguments are based on Paul's description of the inner struggle in the human being (Gal. 5:17. Rom. 7:17. Rom. 6:13). At the same time he refers to philosophers who, too, hold that the carnal part of the soul is depraved and thus should not drag the mind after it, otherwise one will fall into evil. He reads the words of Gen. 3:16 spoken to Eve: "And you shall turn yourself to your husband and he shall be your master" as an image of the subjection of the carnal part. These words are to be understood in this way: the man, in order to rule his wife, should resemble the mind that rules the flesh. This is why Paul says: "He who loves his wife, loves himself. For no one ever hated his own flesh". We should cure the faults of the flesh as being our own, and not condemn them as though they were foreign to us¹³¹.

During the Pelagian controversy in the years 418/419, Augustine deals again with the text of Paul "I, miserable human being!" (Rom. 7:24). Both the mind and the flesh constitute the one human ego, and do not form two opposite natures. But a human being is more ego in his mind than in his flesh, because the mind rules and the flesh is ruled. The flesh is always my flesh. The flesh is not brought about by another substance or by another principle. It is not true that the soul is created by God, but the

¹³⁰ *De civitate Dei* XIII,20. CCL 48,403: "Non enim, sicut Platoni visum est, corpora oblivione desiderant, sed potius, quia meminerunt (sc. sanctorum animae defunctorum) quid sibi ab eo sit promissum, qui neminem fallit ... Si enim *carnem suam non oderant*, quando eam suae menti infirmitate resistentem spiritali iure cohercebant, quanto magis eam diligunt etiam ipsam spiritalem futuram! Sicut enim spiritus carni serviens non incongrue carnalis, ita caro spiritui serviens recte appellabitur spiritalis, non quia in spiritum convertetur, sicut nonnulli putant ... Non solum enim non erit tale, quale nunc est ... sed nec tale quidem, quale fuit in primis hominibus ante peccatum ...".

¹³¹ *Ib.* XV,7. *ib.* 461-462: "Cum enim commota fuerit pars ipsa carnalis, quam peccatum appellat apostolus, ubi dicit: *Non ego operor illud, sed quod habitat in me peccatum* (quam partem animi etiam philosophi dicunt esse vitiosam, non quae mentem debeat trahere, sed cui mens debeat imperare eamque ab illicitis operibus ratione cohibere) ... ad mentem domita et victa convertitur, ut subditae ratio dominetur ... Quod dictum est ad Cain de peccato vel de vitiosa carnis concupiscentia, hoc isto loco de peccatrice femina; ubi intellegendum est virum ad regendam uxorem animo carnem regenti similem esse oportere. Propter quod dicit apostolus: *Qui diligit uxorem suam, se ipsum diligit; nemo enim umquam carnem suam odio habuit*. Sananda sunt enim haec sicut nostra, non sicut aliena damnanda".

flesh by the powers of darkness¹³². Even though Paul is not miserable in his mind, he is miserable in his flesh. However, we should not think that Paul was a human being only in his mind and not in his flesh. One cannot split up the human being in this way, for "whoever hated his own flesh?". Although Paul sighs "I, miserable human being! Who will rescue me out of this body doomed to death?" he does not at all wish to be without his body. These considerations of Augustine form an introduction to the theme of the resurrection, in which he emphasizes that each one will get back his body, either as punishment or as eternal bliss¹³³.

In 421, the Pelagian Julian of Eclanum uses the text "No one ever hated his own flesh" against the proposition found in Gal. 5:17 that the flesh lusts against the spirit, a viewpoint fully subscribed to by Augustine. Julian thinks to gain an advantage from the fact that no one ever hated his own flesh, for his opinion that human nature in itself is good. But Augustine responds: "Who is denying this? But even you are asserting that the flesh should be kept under control by hard discipline. Again you tell the truth, but you do not wish to listen to yourself". Even after baptism control of the flesh is necessary for the faithful, according to Augustine. By this answer he intends to undermine the Pelagian thesis of the natural goodness of the human being¹³⁴.

VIII. TEXTS FROM AUGUSTINE'S LAST YEARS OF LIFE

In his writing on the care for the burial of the deceased (424/425), Augustine argues that this care is based on natural love (*affectus*) for our own body. Because of the love which makes that no one ever hates his own flesh, people are sad when they know that something which is

¹³² *Sermo* 154,7,9-9,12. PL 38,837-839: "Non enim ego in mente, et alius in carne ... Non enim duae naturae contrariae, sed ex utraque unus homo: quia unus Deus, a quo factus est homo ... Sed quia ego sum in carne, ego sum in mente; sed magis ego sum in mente, quam in carne ... mens enim regit, caro regitur ... Non enim caro non mea, aut de alia substantia caro, aut de alio principio caro, aut anima ex Deo, et caro de gente tenebrarum".

¹³³ Ib. 10,15. PL 38,839: "*Miser ego homo*: etsi non in mente, tamen in carne miser homo. Non enim in mente homo, et in carne non homo. *Quis enim unquam carnem suam odio habuit?*". Cf. ib. 12,17. ib. 840: "Habebis (sc. corpus), sed jam non mortis hujus. Ipsum erit, sed non ipsum erit. Ipsum erit, quia ipsa caro erit: non ipsum erit, quia mortale non erit".

¹³⁴ *Contra Julianum* VI,15,47. PL 44,849: "Iterum dicis: quod *carnem suam nullus oderit*. Quis enim hoc negat? Sed tamen disciplinae rigore asseris conterendam. Iterum ergo pro veritate loqueris, et audire te non vis. Cur enim caro conteritur a fidelibus, si nihil remansit in baptismo quod adversus spiritum concupiscat?".

required by the ceremony of burial will lack to their bodies. Love of the own body is natural, although the martyrs overcame this love¹³⁵. Burying the dead is a praiseworthy work; it is a work of mercy. The hearts of those who show compassion, are deeply impressed and deplore it, when they see bad things done to dead bodies of others; things that they do not wish to happen to their own bodies, for no one ever hates his own body¹³⁶. All that one spends on the burial of a body, is no aid to obtain salvation, but it is a duty of humanity, corresponding to the state of mind through which no one ever hates his own body. This is especially true of persons who believe in the resurrection of the flesh and bear witness to their faith in this way¹³⁷.

In a sermon that is to be dated in 428 at earliest, Augustine discusses at length the resurrection of the body with references to 2 Cor. 5:1-4 and John 5:28-29. After having dealt with Jesus' fear of death at Gethsemane (Mt. 26:39), he addresses the faithful in the following way: "I know it: you want to live, you do not want to die...It is the soul itself that wants and desires this; how, I do not know. Because the soul loves life, it hates death. And because of the fact that it does not hate its flesh, it does not want that happens to the flesh what it hates, for no one ever hated his own flesh". This text shows clearly how natural human love for the body is¹³⁸.

A last quotation that has to be mentioned, occurs in the *Retractationes* (about 427). Augustine corrects there a text from *De diversis quaesti-*

¹³⁵ *De cura pro mortuis gerenda* 7,9. CSEL 41,634-636: "Et tamen ex illo humani cordis affectu, quo nemo unquam carnem suam odio habet, si cognoscant homines aliquid post mortem suam suis corporibus defuturum, quod in sua cuiusque gente vel patria poscit sollemnitas sepulturae, contristantur ut homines et quod ad eos post mortem non pertinet, ante mortem suis corporibus timent ... ex hoc igitur, quod carnem suam quisque naturaliter diligit ...".

¹³⁶ Ib. 9,11. ib. 639: "... cur ergo illi, qui Saulem et filium eius sepelierunt, misericordiam fecisse dicuntur ... nisi quia bene afficiuntur corda miserantium, quando ea dolent in mortuorum corporibus alienis, quae illo affectu, quo nemo unquam carnem suam odio habet, nolunt fieri post mortem suam corporibus suis".

¹³⁷ Ib. 18,22. ib. 658-659: "Corpori autem humano quidquid inpenditur, non est praesidium salutis, sed humanitatis officium secundum affectum, quo nemo unquam carnem suam odio habet ... Et si haec faciunt, qui carnis resurrectionem non credunt, quanto magis debent facere qui credunt ...".

¹³⁸ *Sermo* 344,3-4. PL 39,1513-1514: "Et ipse tibi Salvator tuus, quamvis in carne Deus, quamvis cum carne Deus, humanum tamen demonstravit affectum, ubi ait: *Pater, si possibile est, transeat a me calix iste* ... Scio, vivere amas, mori non vis ... Hoc velles, hoc habet humanus affectus; hoc ipsa anima nescio quo modo habet in voluntate et cupiditate. Quoniam diligendo vitam, odit mortem: et quoniam carnem suam non odit, nec ipsi vult accidere quod odit. *Nemo enim unquam carnem suam odio habuit*".

onibus 83, q. 36,1 in which he pointed out that love (*caritas-dilectio*) consists in loving those things which one should not value inferior than the person who loves. In that case only eternal objects remain as objects of our love, namely God and the human mind through which we are able to love the eternal God. If we love nothing else than these two, our love can be called totally pure and perfect in the true sense of the word. But in his *Retractationes* he makes the following remark: "If this were true, how can the apostle Paul say 'No one ever hated his own flesh' (Eph. 5:29), by which the apostle exhorts husbands to love their wives?". Consequently, there are more objects that we ought to love. Augustine justifies himself by saying that he had added "in the true sense of the word", for one has to love the own flesh, but not for its own sake; one should love the flesh for the sake of the soul to which it is submitted and by which it is used. Moreover, it is wrong to consider the beauty of the flesh as something independent; its beauty has to be seen in relation to the source of all beauty, that is, to God¹³⁹.

IX. CONCLUSION: FROM SUBJECTION TO LOVE

Augustine's evolution is sometimes described as having taken place especially in two respects. In his earliest writings Augustine held that beatitude is in principle accessible for the human being in this life, and that this beatitude consists in the realization of wisdom. Later he abandons these views: longing for beatitude can only be satisfied after this life, and it is achieved not in a disembodied mental state, but also in a resurrected body. However, Augustine's evolution has more facets; also with respect to our topic we find an undeniable evolution in Augustine's attitude towards the sensible and corporeal reality. I would like to describe this evolution as a decrease of 'concrete dualism'. Dualism is a very complicated notion. L. Hölscher mentions no less than eight meanings of dualism¹⁴⁰. I consider duality not identical with dualism. Duality originates from the power of discernment of the human mind and is part of the great-

¹³⁹ *Retract.* I,26. CCL 57,78: "Quod si verum est, quomodo ergo apostolus ait: *Nemo unquam carnem suam odio habuit*, et ex hoc admonet ut diligantur uxores? Sed ideo dictum est *proprie dilectio dicitur*, quoniam caro diligitur quidem, nec tamen proprie sed propter animam cui subiacet ad usum. Nam et si propter se ipsam videtur diligi, cum eam nolumus esse deformem, ad aliud referendum est decus eius, ad illud scilicet a quo decora sunt omnia".

¹⁴⁰ L. HÖLSCHER, o.c., p. 321, n. 6. S. PÉTREMENT, *Dualisme*, in: *Encyclopedia Universalis* Corpus 6, Paris 1984, p. 444-447. She does not consider Augustine as a dualist in the strict sense.

ness of the human being. On the contrary, dualism supposes a certain exclusivity and hostility between two principles. Regarding Augustine's view on the relationship between soul and body, one brings up an ontological, an epistemological and a moral dualism. With respect, however, to an ontological dualism between soul and body, everyone will agree that this cannot be attributed to Augustine in the sense of Manichaean dualism. One can dispute about the question whether Augustine's concept of the union between soul and body is to be qualified as accidental¹⁴¹, semi-accidental or substantial, but one thing is certain: from the very beginning on of his writings, he describes the human being as consisting in soul and body, even though his insights are not to be compared with our modern ones. In any way his thought on this theme has undergone an important development. I cannot pass judgement on his dualism in the epistemological sphere; this would require a study in itself, but it is quite possible that here, too, we come across a certain development¹⁴². Augustine's evolution in the moral sphere is much more clear. Not without reason he saw a resemblance between the Neoplatonic and the Christian thought on the duality of soul and body. Nonetheless, we see here a strong Christianization of his earlier ideas that I like to describe as an evolution from subjection to love. Subjection of the body remains always necessary, but it is less and less based on philosophical arguments and more and

¹⁴¹ H.R. DROBNER, *Person-Exegese und Christologie bei Augustinus. Zur Herkunft der Formel una persona*. Leiden, Brill, 1986, p. 117 writes: "In seinem Frühwerk lehrt er, wie dargestellt, eine (neuplatonisch begründete) akzidentelle Einheit von Leib und Seele im Menschen. Vor dem Jahre 411 ist in den Werken Augustins keine Stelle nachzuweisen, die dieser Auffassung widersprechen würde. Mit dem Jahr 411 setzt die zweite Periode im anthropologischen Denken Augustins ein". I think that this evolution took place earlier. E. MASUTTI, *Il problema del corpo in S. Agostino*. Roma, Borla, 1989, p. 213 and 218 attributes even a nihilistic concept of the body to Augustine: "La riduzione dell'essenzialità dell'uomo all'anima fa sì che il corpo non sia visto come parte costitutiva dell'essenza dell'uomo ... La strumentalità del corpo, così come è stata elaborata da Agostino, rivela una concezione del corpo prettamente nichilista". For a diverging view, see J. PÉPIN, *Idées grecques sur l'homme et sur Dieu*. Paris, Les Belles Lettres, 1971, p. 65-69. 183, n. 4. 198.

¹⁴² L. HÖLSCHER, o.c., p. 270-271, n. 210 thinks that Augustine rejected in the beginning any witness of the senses, but that he changed his mind since *De Genesi ad litt.* See also his exposition about sense-perception, p. 91-103. C.P. MAYER, *Die Zeichen in der geistigen Entwicklung und in der Theologie des jungen Augustinus I-II*. Würzburg, Augustinus-Verlag, 1969. 1974. J. PÉPIN, *Une curieuse déclaration idéaliste du "De Genesi ad litteram" (XII,10,21) de saint Augustin, et ses origines plotiniennes ("Ennéade" 5,3,1 et 5, 5,1-2)*, in: *Ex Plotinorum persona* (o.c.), p. 183-210, esp. 191-199, shows the strong influence of Plotinus on Augustine. Cf. G. VERBEKE, *L'évolution de la doctrine du pneuma du stoïcisme à s. Augustin*. Paris, Desclée De Brouwer - Louvain, Inst. Sup. de Philosophie, 1945, p. 489-510.

more on Christian, especially Pauline, ideas.

A diagonal reading of the texts related to Eph. 5:29 yields the following analysis. In order not to repeat myself too much, I refer to the quotations of the texts in the notes.

1) *The human being as one unit*

In his earliest works Augustine emphasizes strongly the distinction between mind and body, even with dualistic terms such as *alia creatura* (n. 35), and also the necessity to break away from sensible and bodily reality. He talks about *ista sensibilia fugienda* so long as we are in this body (n. 41. 42). But later he will say that we leave our flesh at the moment of death *non fugienda* (n. 119) and that the wish to be without body is nothing other than self-deception (n. 105. 128). From 397 on, the dichotomy between mind and body is taken up in the awareness of the oneness of the human being: mind and body form one unit, one *totum*; we ourselves are that unit of mind and body, for our *ego* consists in flesh and mind (n. 106. 119. 132. 133). The expression "to love oneself" is even used to demonstrate that bad desires are our own and are not foreign to us. Talking about the flesh as *pars hominis* is, according to Augustine, fit for philosophers (n. 117), although he, after 420, still appeals to the philosophical distinction of *partes hominis* in order to support his conviction that the mind has to rule the lower part of the human being (n. 131). Neither in his earlier nor in his later works, Augustine considers the body as *carcer*. He avoids this Manichaean term always¹⁴³. Where he speaks of the body as a *carcer*, he does not mean the body as such, but *ignorantiae tenebrae*, *umbra mortis*, and *corruptio corporis*¹⁴⁴. In the beginning he

¹⁴³ See P. COURCELLE, *Gefängnis (der Seele)*, in: *Reallexikon f. Antike u. Christentum* IX (1973), 294-318. ID., *Connais-toi toi-même de Socrate à saint Bernard*. Paris, Etudes Augustiniennes, 1975, p. 345-370. *Carcer* occurs only in the mouth of Licentius in *C. Academicos* I,3,9. CCL 29,8. That the body is not a *carcer* as the result of a sin committed by the soul in another life, is stressed in: *Sermo* 240,4,4. 165,5,6. PL 38, 1132. 905-906. *Epist.* 164,7,20. 166,9,27. CSEL 44,539. 583. See other references in R.J. O'CONNELL, *The Origin of the Soul in St. Augustine's Later Works*, o.c.

¹⁴⁴ *Epist.* 164,5,16. CSEL 44,535. *De civitate dei* XIV,3,2. CCL 47,417. *En. in psalmum* 141,17-19. CCL 40,2057-2058, commenting on the verse of ps. 141(142),8 "Educ de carcere animam meam": "... id est, de laboribus et de pressuris huius saeculi. Non enim caro quam tu fecisti, sed corruptela carnis, et pressurae, et tentationes carcer mihi sunt. Aliqui autem dixerunt carcerem istum et speluncam corpus hoc esse ... Sed et iste intellectus vacillat aliquantum ... Posset dici et corpus nostrum carcer, non quia carcer est quod fecit Deus, sed quia poenale et mortale ... Ergo si caro tibi carcer est, non corpus est carcer tuus, sed corruptio corporis tui ... Si sic intellegamus, non est blasphemia". Therefore, Augustine prefers the explanation: "Educ ab angustia". *Sermo* 256,2. PL 38,1191-1192: "Alius dicit: Corpus mortis huius non ad me pertinet: carcer meus est ad tempus,

considered the body as *gravissimum vinculum* (n. 43. 68); later, with reference to Eph. 5:29, he rejects that the body would be a *compes*, *vinculum* or *carcer* (n. 111. 127), in which the soul would be shut up because of a sin committed elsewhere (n. 127).

2) *The subjection of the body in a moral-ascetic context*

From his earliest works on, Augustine states that the body must be subject to the mind. Even though already there a certain influence of Pauline texts is undeniable (n. 39-41), this statement gets from 392 on a strong Christian character, in particular there where Augustine speaks about the Christian practices of fasting and continence (n. 101. 111. 116). Since subjection of the flesh is also an element of Christian ethics, we find till the end of Augustine's life terms like *belligerans* (n. 107: the only quotation of Eph. 5:29 in an anti-donatist context)¹⁴⁵, *edomare*, *refrenare* (n. 103), *castigare* (n. 125), *cohercere* (n. 130), *conterere* (n. 134), *cohibere*, *domare* (n. 131).

3) *The body is not created by the powers of darkness*

It has been always Augustine's conviction, after having left the Manichaean sect, that the body is created by God and that it is beautiful (n. 48. 49). From 388/389 on, we find passages in which he rejects the Manichaean opinion that the higher part of the human being is created by God, but the lower part by the race of darkness (n. 89). This theme is repeated regularly (n. 111. 120. 127. 132). Moreover, Augustine points out the pernicious consequences of this Manichaean standpoint for the ecclesiology: he denies explicitly that the Father of the Church is another than the Father of Christ (n. 111) and that the souls of the faithful within the Church belong to Christ, but their bodies to the devil (n. 110. 121).

catena mea est ad tempus: in corpore mortis sum ego; non corpus mortis sum ego ... Non sum ego caro, sed spiritus sum. In carcere meo gemo: quando fuerit hoc vinculum et hoc ergastulum dissolutum, ego liber abscedo ... Sed non es tu ipse corpus mortis hujus? ... Redeo quidem ad corpus, sed jam non mortis hujus ... Non quia aliud erit corpus, sed quia oportet corruptibile hoc induere incorruptionem ... Non, inquit (sc.Paulus), pono corpus terrenum, et accipio corpus aereum, aut accipio corpus aethereum. Ipsum accipio, sed non jam mortis hujus". Already in *De Genesi c. Man.* II,7,8. PL 34,200 Augustine made a distinction between *corpus de limo* and *corpus mortalitatis*: "... potuit ab omnipotente artifice tale fieri, ut nulla molestia, nulla indigentia cruciaret hominem ante peccatum, et nulla corruptione tabesceret".

¹⁴⁵ *Bellum* as indicating the inner war within the human person occurs in n. 120, and later e.g. in *En. in ps.* 75,4. CCL 39,1039-1040: "Adhuc enim habes adversum te bellum".

4) *Love for one's own flesh as love of the husband for his wife*

Augustine uses in his earliest writings the relationship between man and woman in a figurative sense. It is an image of the ruling reason vis-à-vis the lower part of the human being. Nonetheless, both live in union and the *coniunctio* between man and woman is an image of the union between the reason and the lower functions of the mind (n. 93). But, shortly after the year 392, Augustine reads Eph. 5:29 as an explicit commandment that the husband ought to love his wife (n. 101), though this idea was already present implicitly in *De moribus ecclesiae catholicae* 30,63. From 397 on, we see that Augustine adds Eph. 5:28 "Who loves his wife, loves himself" to Eph. 5:29 (n. 103. 108. 109. 131). A radical statement like *concubitum fugiendum* (n. 45) is no longer found in Augustine's later works.

5) *Love for the own flesh as a natural phenomenon*

In Augustine's earliest writings care for the own body (n. 52. 53) and for the bodies of others (n. 79. 81) are mentioned a few times. Although care for the body is in itself an aspect of love for the body, it is only from 397 on that Augustine speaks explicitly of love for the own body or flesh (n. 102. 104). He considers this love as a natural phenomenon that is also found in animals (n. 102. 135). The example he gives of such a natural love, is the fact that everyone tries to avoid a blow or a mishap (n. 102. 111). Even the presence in us of *concupiscentiae*, understood in a negative sense, is something "natural" (n. 119). Because nature in itself is something good, one should never accuse the flesh of evil (n. 117. 123).

6) *Eph. 5:29 in the context of death and resurrection*

Whereas Augustine in his earliest treatises considered the absence of fear of death as an ideal (n. 25. 26. 27. 30. 31), he changed his mind about the year 397 - after some timid affirmations in 387/388 (n. 31. 68) - and was convinced, from then on, that fear of death is a natural feeling¹⁴⁶. Ani-

¹⁴⁶ For later texts see H.-G. SURMUND, "Factus eram ipse mihi magna quaestio" (*Conf. IV,4*). *Untersuchungen zu Erfahrung des Todes bei Augustinus, unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des Problems der "mors immatura"*. Münster 1977, p. 362-383. E. REBILLARD, *La détresse du mourant: sa valeur dans les sermons de saint Augustin*, in: *Revue des Études Latines* 69(1991), 147-165. J.-M. GIRARD, *La mort chez saint Augustin. Grandes lignes de l'évolution de sa pensée, telle qu'elle apparaît dans ses traités*. Fribourg S., Ed. Universitaires, 1992. In my *Recherches sur la christologie de saint Augustin*. Fribourg S., Éd. Universitaires, 1954, p. 137, I thought that this evolution regarding the fear of death took place about 415, but I see now that it happened much earlier. The strongest text is found in *De civitate dei* XIII,6. CCL 48,389: "Quapropter quod adinet ad corporis mortem, id est separationem animae a corpore, cum eam patiuntur, qui morientes

mals, too, do not want to die (n. 103). From 412 on, he repeats often that no one wishes death (n. 113. 138, with a reference to Christ's agony). The death of the martyrs is not to be aligned with contempt for their bodies (n. 127).

Belief in the resurrection of the flesh is already expressed in the earlier works (n. 66-71). But this theme was not yet elaborated there. Augustine had not yet reflected upon the question how the flesh would rise. This is not surprising, for even in his later works he confesses his ignorance about the how of the resurrection¹⁴⁷. In his later texts he formulates two insights: a) the flesh will be restored without any loss of its limbs (n. 125. 126); and b) we will get back our flesh without any weakness, that is, without corruptibility and mortality (n. 113. 114. 128), for the struggle between spirit and flesh will be over (n. 123). Consequently, we have to affirm two things regarding the resurrection of the body: it is the same body that will be resurrected, and at the same time it is not the same body. The resurrected body will no longer need any food and no longer be mortal, and thus it will be better than the body of Adam and Eve in paradise (n. 133. 130). The philosophy of this world does not believe in the resurrection of the body (n. 127), but the Christians do, and because of their faith they take more care for the deceased (n. 137).

7) *The coming of Christ in the body*

The earlier texts of Augustine regarding the Incarnation are situated within a context that has been called an "intellectual moralism"¹⁴⁸. I think that this expression has to be nuanced. It is true that Augustine emphasizes particularly the authority and the example of the incarnate Christ. Christ teaches us through his words and deeds the moral way to attain God himself. One should, however, not underestimate Jesus' authority neither his example. C. Walter reproaches me, that I, in my article on the humanity of Christ as *lac parvulorum* and as *via*, start from Augustine's early christology as genuine Christian, which does not allow me anymore to clarify the

appellantur, nulli bona est. Habet enim asperum sensum et contra naturam vis ipsa, quod utrumque divellitur, quod fuerat in vivente coniunctum atque consertum, quamdiu moratur, donec omnis adimatur sensus, qui ex ipso inerat animae carnisque complexu".

¹⁴⁷ *Sermo* 277,13,13. PL 38,1264: "Quales erimus, sciemus cum fuerimus. Antequam simus, temerarii non simus, ne illud non simus". *Sermo* 362,25,27. PL 39,1630: "Jam ergo, fratres, nemo quaerat perversa subtilitate cuiusmodi figura erit corporum in resurrectione mortuorum ...". See also *De civitate dei* XXII,30 en 21. CCL 48,862. 841.

¹⁴⁸ J.-A. BECKAERT, *Un moralisme intellectualiste*, in *Bibl. August.* 10, Paris 1952, p. 704.

positive influence of the philosophical tradition¹⁴⁹. But even now, after forty years of enormous progress in Neoplatonic studies, I believe that Augustine's early christology is orthodox. It is good to remember that Augustine, shortly before his conversion, believed that Christ was only a man of an extraordinary wisdom who by God's caring for us seemed to have merited such a great authority as teacher (Conf. VII,19,25). Is this still the case in his earliest works? I don't think so. According to O. du Roy, after his conversion Augustine holds firmly: a) the reality of the Incarnation; b) the divinity of Christ sent to us by the Father; c) the Father as origin of the Son who is the truth and wisdom born from Him, and also the Father as origin of all things; d) the divinity of the Holy Spirit as admonition for us¹⁵⁰. That Augustine was convinced of the divinity of Christ at that moment, is also the opinion of O'Connell, but he finds that Augustine does not know how to cope with Christ's humanity: "The man Jesus falls readily into the Plotinian matrix, and substantially under the indictments leveled in the *Confessions*"¹⁵¹. According to this author, Augustine makes a Plotinian distinction between Christ as divine truth or wisdom and Christ as man; the authority of Jesus transcends the wisdom of other people only through a greater participation in God's wisdom and has only a provisional character. Authority is here no more than an external admonition.

I think, nevertheless, that for Augustine Jesus' authority is the norm according to which he judges his Neoplatonic insights. He asserts clearly: "In order to learn there is a twofold force, that of authority and that of reason. I, therefore, am resolved in nothing whatever to depart from the authority of Christ, for I do not find a stronger authority"¹⁵². Authority is partly divine and partly human, but divine authority is the true, the firm and the highest¹⁵³. When Augustine compares the incarnate Christ with a cloud, he calls the Gospel a most abundant torrent (*imber*) distinct

¹⁴⁹ C. WALTER, *Der Ertrag der Auseinandersetzung mit den Manichäern für das hermeneutische Problem bei Augustin*. Inaugural-Dissertation. München, Schön, 1972, p. 112, n. 13. (Otherwise a very good study). T.J. VAN BAVEL, *L'Humanité du Christ comme "lac parvulorum" et comme "via" dans la spiritualité de saint Augustin*, in: *Augustiniana* 7(1957), 245-281.

¹⁵⁰ O. DU ROY, o.c., p. 112-113.

¹⁵¹ R.J. O'CONNELL, *St. Augustine's Early Theory* ... o.c., p. 267.

¹⁵² *Contra Academicos* III,20,43. CCL 29,60-61. See G. MADEC, *Une lecture de Confessions* ... a.c., p. 123-130.

¹⁵³ *De ordine* II,9,27. CCL 29,122: "... sed vera firma summa ea est, quae divina nominatur".

from human teaching that is only like rain (*pluvia*)¹⁵⁴. The most subtle reasoning, that is, the Neoplatonic philosophy, would never recall the blinded souls of the masses to the spiritual world, if God had not bent the authority of the divine Intellect to the human body¹⁵⁵.

The expression *populari quadam clementia* of the last text leads us to Augustine's statement that the Incarnation is necessary for the little ones (*parvuli*), because philosophy frees scarcely a very few; therefore, it is not permitted to despise the Christian mysteries¹⁵⁶. From this it appears that Augustine still believes that a small elite is able to see the divine Word. Consequently, he explains the words "He emptied himself" (Phil. 2:7) in the sense that the Word of God did not appear in his divine dignity, but treated courteously (*blandiens*) the weakness of those who did not yet have a clean heart whereby they might see the Word¹⁵⁷. Once we see the Truth, we will realize how full of truth are the things we are commanded to believe, how excellently and healthy we were nourished by Mother Church, and how valuable is that "milk" which Paul declared he gave as drink to the *parvuli* (1 Cor. 3:2)¹⁵⁸. R. Teske rightly draws attention to the fact that *parvulus* is a term of endearment¹⁵⁹. It looses more and more its intellectual overtones in Augustine's writings. But even in his earliest texts Augustine admits that the *intellegentes*, too, need some faith (*fides*) as long as they are in this body, and a bit later he declares that nobody can say with certainty whether or not he belongs to the *intellegentes*¹⁶⁰. Afterwards, we see that Augustine counts himself more and more

¹⁵⁴ *De Genesi c. Man.* II,5,6. PL 34, 199: "Nam propter illam Dominus noster nubilum carnis nostrae dignatus assumere, imbrem sancti Evangelii largissimum infudit, promittens etiam quod si quis biberit de aqua ejus, rediet ad illum intimum fontem, ut forinsecus non quaerat pluviam".

¹⁵⁵ *C. Academicos* III,19,42. See text, note 59. O. DU ROY, o.c., p. 117-119.

¹⁵⁶ *De ordine* II,5,16. CCL 29,115: "Philosophia rationem promittit et vix paucissimos liberat, quos tamen non modo non contemnere illa mysteria ... cogit ... veneranda mysteria, quae fide sincera et inconcussa populos liberant ...".

¹⁵⁷ See text, note 63, and A. VERWILGHEN, *Christologie et spiritualité selon saint Augustin. L'hymne aux Philippiens*. Paris, Beauchesne, 1985, p. 253.

¹⁵⁸ *De quantitate animae* 33,76. CSEL 89,224.

¹⁵⁹ R. J. TESKE, *A Decisive Admonition for St. Augustine?*, in: *Augustinian Studies* 19 (1988), 85-92. ID., *Spirituals and Spiritual Interpretation in Augustine*, in: ib. 15(1984), 65-81. He corrects my opinion (*L'humanité du Christ ...*, a.c., p.267-276) that *stulti* is replaced by *parvuli* from 391 on. Indeed, one finds *parvuli* already in 388: *De quantitate animae* 33,76 and *De Genesi c. Manichaeos* I,23,40. I agree also with J. DOIGNON, *État des questions ...*, a.c., p. 75-76 that I did not enough stress the Incarnation as giving access to the intelligible world through the true philosophy.

¹⁶⁰ *Soliloquia* I,7,14. CSEL 89,22. *De utilitate credendi* 10,24. CSEL 25/1,29-31.

as one of the *parvuli*¹⁶¹. Let us not forget that the adaptation of Christ to the weakness of the masses is an expression of the universality of salvation, and that the Christian message is substantially the same for all human beings.

The notion *exemplum* is intimately connected with authority. Jesus must be an authoritative teacher before he can be an example¹⁶². Augustine speaks of the incarnate Son of God as *exemplum, primitiae* and *via* (n. 64). *Exemplum* has not only an educational dimension, but also the dimension of invitation to imitate the model. The question is: is Jesus as model only an exterior admonition without any spiritual effectiveness; is he only one human model among many others? If we take into account Augustine's references to certain New Testament texts around 388, we cannot but accept that the man Jesus is a very special model¹⁶³. His resurrection of the flesh, his birth of the Virgin and his miracles are considered as elements of Jesus' history, and presented as the milk for the little ones. But at the same time these are also examples and first-fruits (*primitiae*) of our salvation¹⁶⁴. Augustine joins also together the spiritual Adam, that is our Lord Jesus Christ, and the man Jesus who committed no sin (1 Pet. 2:22); re-created and brought to life by Him, we will be restored to paradise¹⁶⁵. Even if we are re-created by Christ as God, "He who committed no sin" can only be said of Jesus as man. The same process of joining together Jesus' humanity and divinity appears when Augustine says that the new man (cf. Col. 3:9-10) is assumed in a holy mystery by the Son of God in order to liberate us. Here too we have a clear reference to the

¹⁶¹ In Joh. evang. tr. 23,11. CCL 36,241. *Sermo* 53,15,16 and *Sermo* 117,5,7-8. PL 38,372 and 665-666.

¹⁶² See W. GEERLINGS, *Christus Exemplum. Studien zur Christologie und Christusverkündigung Augustins*. Mainz, Matthias-Grünewald, 1978, p. 155-158 and B. STUDER, "Sacramentum et exemplum" chez saint Augustin, in: *Recherches Augustiniennes* X, 1975, p. 87-141, esp. p. 108-109 and 127-129.

¹⁶³ In an early text, which is difficult to date, *De div. quaestionibus* 83, q. 36,2. CCL 44A,56, we read: "Hic praestantissimum illud et unicum exemplum dominici hominis proponendum est ...".

¹⁶⁴ *De quantitate animae* 33,76 (see text, n. 64). J. PÉPIN, "Primitiae spiritus". *Remarques sur une citation paulinienne des "Confessions" de saint Augustin*, in: *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* 140(1951), 155-202, p. 176: "Une page difficile du *De quantitate animae* ... associe *primitiae* et *exemplum* : l'incarnation du Fils de Dieu nous a apporté l'*exemplum* et les *primitiae* de notre salut; emploi obscur de *primitiae*, mais qui ne doit pas être éloigné du sens classique dégagé par les *Locutiones* et les *Quaestiones*, si l'on songe que la signification originelle d'*exemplum* est celle d'échantillon prélevé sur une masse (*eximere*)".

¹⁶⁵ *De Genesi c. Manich.* II,8,10. PL 34,201.

Incarnation¹⁶⁶. Perhaps the same idea lies behind Augustine's statement, speaking about baptism, that the believers have been washed clean, and sanctified, and justified through the name of the Lord Jesus Christ and by the Spirit of our God (1 Cor. 6:11)¹⁶⁷. A clearer reference to the activity of the man Jesus is found in the following text: the meekness of the Lord Jesus Christ has 'put on' the evil of death from which he wished to 'strip' us¹⁶⁸. Finally, two references to the cross should be mentioned: eternal life is recovered by the cross¹⁶⁹; Christ was put to sleep by the sleep of the Passion in order that the Church might be formed as his wife¹⁷⁰.

Therefore, if one asserts that for Augustine Jesus is 'only' an example, as E. Dinkler does¹⁷¹, one gives easily a false impression of Augustine's thought. Seen in the light of faith, according to Augustine, the Lord is the visible apparition of the Invisible Truth¹⁷². It is true that Augustine maintains a transcendental distinction between God and the world, between Christ as the Truth and Wisdom of God and Christ as a human being. But does modern theology not do the same? I admit also without difficulty that the early reflections of Augustine on the man Jesus take place within the Plotinian scheme of the fall and the return of the soul. But is this not also an essential aspect of the Christian doctrine of salvation? Even in his later works, Augustine maintains that Jesus is *luc et via humilitatis*, and when we have attained the vision *facie ad faciem*, we do not need anymore the milk and the way. The visible apparition of Jesus is referring and temporary, for his words and deeds refer to God himself, to his and our Father. This is in itself not in contradiction with Christian doctrine; the transcendence of God and the Christian eschatological hope form the background of Augustine's theological view. To be sure, this view is elaborated with the help of the Neoplatonic philosophy, just as our modern theological reflections are based upon modern philosophical and cultural insights. No wonder, then, that also Augustine's texts reflect his ontology, his gnoseology, and his conception of language and of the world of the senses. One can call the christology of his earliest works one-sided.

¹⁶⁶ *De moribus ecclesiae cath.* 19,36. CSEL 90,40.

¹⁶⁷ *Ib.* 35,78. *ib.* 83.

¹⁶⁸ *Ib.* 2,3. *ib.* 6. J.K. COYLE, o.c., p. 307-308 has some doubts about the authenticity of this passage, but his only argument is that it fits badly into the context.

¹⁶⁹ *De Genesi c. Manich.* II,22,34. PL 34,214.

¹⁷⁰ *Ib.* II,24,37. *ib.* 216.

¹⁷¹ E. DINKLER, *Die Anthropologie Augustins*. Stuttgart, Kohlhammer, 1934, p. 176.

¹⁷² *De Genesi c. Manich.* I,25,43. PL 34,194: "... propter quam fidem Dominus visibiliter apparere dignatus est". *Ib.* II,24,37. *ib.* 215: "Non loco reliquit, quia Deus loco non continetur ... sed apparendo hominibus in homine, cum Verbum caro factum est".

Indeed, themes like Christ as our brother, as physician, mediator, priest, or those of the personal unity of the divine and the human in Christ¹⁷³, of justification and salvation are not yet worked out. The further development of Augustine's christology owes certainly, among other factors, to his higher appreciation of the body, as appears from his explanation of Eph. 5:29. It is also obvious that the Incarnation drew his attention more and more to the value of the body¹⁷⁴.

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Tarsicius Jan VAN BAVEL O.S.A.

¹⁷³ W. GEERLINGS, o.c., p. 84 is opposed to my interpretation of the expression *hominem agere* as a description of the Incarnation; it should simply be translated: "Christ as human being". But even in this way I consider it as describing the Incarnation, for it makes no sense to say that a human person speaks "as human being". When Jesus speaks "as human being", it indicates that he is more than merely human. *Corpus agere* occurs about ten times in Augustine's earlier works, and even in *De praedestinatione sanctorum* 17,34. PL 44,985, from the year 428 or 429, he writes: "Elegit (sc. Dominus) ergo eos de mundo cum hic ageret carnem". One can translate these difficult formulations with *agere* as "living in the flesh or the body", but one should not forget its literal meaning: "activating the flesh or the body".

¹⁷⁴ R. J. TESKE, *Love of Neighbour in St. Augustine*, a.c., p. 98: "My suggestion is that Augustine came to realize that the authority of Christ demanded a much more positive view of the body ... Specifically, I want to suggest that it may have been his reading of Eph. 5,29 that triggered the change of mind and heart".

AUGUSTINE'S DISCUSSIONS WITH PHILOSOPHERS ON THE RESURRECTION OF THE BODY

INTRODUCTION

In this article we attempt to show how Augustine reconciles the teaching of the philosophers, eclectically put together, on the resurrection of the body with that of the Christians.

J. O'Meara has published two excellent works which are pertinent to the theme of our investigation. In *Porphyry's Philosophy from Oracles in Augustine* he attempts to identify Porphyry's *Philosophy from Oracles* and his *De regressu animae*, which work(s), whether taken as one or separately, Augustine assesses in encounter with the Platonists of his time with respect to the question of the resurrection of the body. In "Augustine and Neo-Platonism" O'Meara gives us in a scheme a list of the points of contact between Augustine and Porphyry.

We limit our field of investigation to the following works of Augustine: *Sermones* 240-242 and *De Civitate Dei* 10,24,30,31,32; 12,27; 13,16,17,18,19,20; and 22,25-28. We consider only these works to be relevant to our purpose.

I. DISCUSSION WITH PHILOSOPHERS IN *SERMONES* 240-242

In this section we attempt: (i) to identify the philosopher opponents of the resurrection of the body in *Sermones* 240-242; (ii) to show the similarity and the continuity of the discussions in the three *Sermones*; and (iii) to show the points of conflict and of reconciliation between Augustine and the philosophers.

A. Sermo 240, 4 and 5: The argument from the incarnation of Christ, by which He became the Mediator between God and men, bolsters the argument for the resurrection and the transformation of the body

In *Sermo* 240,4 and 5, written between 405 and 410, Augustine gives us clear indications that the philosophers with whom he differs on

the question of resurrection and transformation of the body are followers both of Plato and Porphyry, although these names are not mentioned. In *Sermo* 240,4 he describes them as holding the following views¹: (i) there is a sort of afterlife; this is proved by the immortality of the soul; (ii) the souls are in bodies as in prisons, as a consequence of sinning in the previous life; (iii) the souls of the unjust, when they leave the body, immediately return to other bodies, and suffer by bearing these bodies; (iv) the souls of the just, when they leave the body, return to their respective stars and stay there for a long time; however, after having forgotten the miseries of the past life, they delight in reassuming bodies and again undergo sufferings. These doctrines are clearly what Plato teaches both in *Timaeus* and in *Phaedrus*. Plato ascribes the immortality of the soul to a combined work by God and the deities². The soul is sown by God as a seed; and God hands it to the deities for them to weave it with a mortal body. Thus, the immortal element of creatures comes from God, whereas the mortal element and the work of weaving both the immortal and mortal constituents come from and is done by the deities³. Plato also teaches that souls are imprisoned in bodies as a consequence of some mishap; because of this they sink beneath the burden of their forgetfulness and wrongdoing; and thus they lose their wings and fall to earth⁴. In the first fall they do not assume bodies of beasts; they enter, however, into bodies of infants with different categories of potentialities⁵. These differences depend on their degree of vision of reality in their previous journey to a region above the

¹ "Philosophi saeculi huius, qui magni fuerunt et docti, et caeteris meliores, animam humanam immortalem esse senserunt: nec solum senserunt, sed quantis potuerunt argumentationibus defenderunt, et ipsas defensiones suas conscriptas posteris reliquerunt ... Hi ergo qui senserunt atque dixerunt animas humanas immortales, de malis hominum, de aerumnis erroribusque mortalium quaesierunt causas, quantum homines potuerunt; et dixerunt, sicut potuerunt, praecessisse nescio quae in alia vita peccata, quorum peccatorum merito ista corpora velut carcerem animae mererentur ... Et hic contriverunt ingenia sua; et laboraverunt, quantum potuerunt, reddere hominibus rationem, vel sibi, vel aliis: et dixerunt, animas hominum male viventium immundas pessimis moribus, cum exierint de corporibus, rursus continuo revolvi ad alia corpora, et poenas hic luere quas videmus; eas vero animas quae bene vixerunt, cum exierint de corporibus, ire ad superna coelorum, requiescere ibi in stellis et luminibus istis conspicuis, vel quibuscumque coelestibus abditisque secretis, oblivisci omnium praeteritorum malorum, et rursus delectari redire ad corpora, et venire iterum ad ista patienda". *Sermo* 240,4, PL 38,1132.

² See PLATO, *Timaeus* 41b, *Platon, Oeuvres complètes*, (A. RIVAUD, ed.), Paris, 1956, p.156.

³ PLATO, *Timaeus* 41c-d, p. 157.

⁴ See PLATO, *Phaedrus* 248a-b, *Platon, Oeuvres complètes*, (L. ROBIN, ed.), Paris, 1954, p. 39-40.

⁵ PLATO, *Phaedrus* 248a-b, p. 39-40.

skies which is the abode of reality. Only true knowledge is concerned with this reality and only the intellect, which is the pilot of the soul, can apprehend it⁶. The first group, namely, those who were most perceptive of that reality in the first journey, are destined to become seekers of wisdom, followers of Muses and lovers; the second most perceptive are to become law-abiding monarchs, or warriors or commanders; the third are to become men of affairs, managers of households, or financiers; the fourth, to be lovers of physical activities, or trainers, or physicians; the fifth, to be soothsayers or officials of mysteries; the sixth, to become poets, or practitioners of some other imitative art; the seventh are destined to be artisans or farmers; the eighth are to be popular teachers or demagogues; and the ninth are to become tyrants. In the second incarnation, however, the physical form that souls assume depends on the goodness and the badness of their previous life⁷. At this time human souls may enter into bodies of beasts; and souls which originally were human may change from beasts back into men⁸. Plato teaches that the return into bodies is a punishment⁹. For the philosophers it involves undergoing a slow and painful process of growing wings¹⁰ in order to reach once more the height of wisdom¹¹. For those who assume bodies of beasts it would mean being deprived of seeing truth again¹².

Porphyry follows several of Plato's doctrines. He rejected, however, Plato's teaching of the return to bodies of beasts, and taught the return to other new human bodies instead¹³.

In *Sermo* 240,5 Augustine gives us more information about the position of these philosophers. They deny Christ to be the mediator between God and men. Augustine reacts to this denial. He calls them "fool" while acknowledging them to be wise at the same time. Accordingly he considers it proper to apply to them the words of the apostle in *1 Cor.* 1,20: "God has made foolish the wisdom of this world". He does this in order to put them in contrast to Christ who is truly the wisdom of God. In doing this and by further referring to the following verses, namely 21-

⁶ PLATO, *Phaedrus* 247c, p. 38.

⁷ PLATO, *Phaedrus* 248e, p. 41.

⁸ PLATO, *Phaedrus* 249b, p. 41.

⁹ PLATO, *Phaedrus* 250c, p. 44: PLATO teaches that the return to the body is a deprivation of the pure light enjoyed at the beatific vision in the first journey by following Zeus. The body is a walking sepulchre to which we are bound like an oyster to its shell.

¹⁰ PLATO, *Phaedrus* 248e-249a, p. 41.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² PLATO, *Timaeus* 42c, p. 158.

¹³ See *De Civitate Dei* 13,19, CSEL 40/1, 642.

24, he reenacts not only the conflict between Paul and the Jews and the Gentiles, but also introduces a revolutionary Cristian teaching that would bring those philosophers to acknowledge that the incarnate Christ is equal to the Father with respect to divine nature, that Christ in His crucifixion showed Himself to be the power and the wisdom of God.

"The great philosophers said much about this. The philosophers of this world, of whom our Scripture says: 'God has made foolish the wisdom of this world' (1 Cor. 1,20) could not discover something more than this. If God has made foolish the wisdom of this world, how much more has he made foolish foolishness? If wisdom of the world, is foolishness in God's eyes, how far from God is the real foolishness of this world? There is, however, a certain foolishness of this world which reaches God, of which the Apostle says: 'Since in the wisdom of God, the world did not know God through wisdom, it pleased God through the folly of what we preached to save those who believe'. And he adds: 'Since the Jews ask for signs, the Greeks seek wisdom; we, however, preach Christ crucified, a stumbling-block to the Jews, a foolishness to the Gentiles; but to those who are called, Jews and Greek themselves, Christ is the power of God and the wisdom of God' (1 Cor. 1,21-24)"¹⁴.

The statement "There is, however, a certain foolishness of this world which reaches God"¹⁵, which clearly refers to Christ, is made in opposition to the denial of Christ as the Mediator by the philosophers. It is an assertion of a belief.

Although in this paragraph Augustine does not specify further whom the philosophers were following, it is clear enough that he is referring to them as followers of Porphyry. J. O'Meara would agree with this. In his work, *Porphyry's Philosophy from Oracles in Augustine*, he points out that Porphyry's main attacks against Christianity are on the following points¹⁶: (i) the equality of Christ with the Father; (ii) the resurrection of Christ's body; (iii) Christ's truthfulness in prophesying the belief of men in Him and the resurrection of the body; and (iv) the resurrection of all

¹⁴ "Hoc dixerunt valde magni philosophi. Isto plus invenire nihil potuerunt philosophi mundi hujus, de quibus dicit Scriptura nostra: *Stultam fecit Deus sapientiam hujus mundi*. Si sapientiam, quanto magis stultiam? Si sapientia mundi stultitia est apud Deum, vera stultitia mundi quam longe est a Deo? Est tamen quaedam stultitia mundi hujus, quae pervenit ad Deum, de qua dicit Apostolus: *Quoniam in sapientia Dei non cognovit mundus per sapientiam Deum, placuit Deo per stultitiam praedicationis salvos facere credentes*. Et dicit: 'Quoniam Judaei signa petunt, et Graeci sapientiam quaerunt: nos praedicamus Christum crucifixum; Judaeis quidem scandalum, Gentibus stultitiam; ipsis autem vocatis Judaeis et Graecis Christum Dei virtutem et Dei sapientiam' (1 Cor. 1,20-24). *Sermo* 240,5, PL 38,1132-1133.

¹⁵ "Est tamen quaedam stultitia mundi hujus, quae pervenit ad Deum". *Sermo* 240,5, PL 38,1132.

¹⁶ J.O'MEARA, *Porphyry's Philosophy from Oracles in Augustine*, Paris, 1959, p. 72-83.

bodies. These four points are not distinctly put in *Sermo* 240. However, they are put clearly in *De Civitate Dei* 22,25-28; and there it is expressly said that they are held by followers of Porphyry. Thus, in the light of *De Civitate Dei* 22,25-28 We may say that in *Sermo* 240, 4 and 5 those philosophers who reject the teaching that Christ is the Mediator between God and men are followers of Porphyry.

By asserting that Christ is the Mediator between God and men, Augustine also asserts the equality of Christ with the Father. And on account of this he also asserts the truthfulness of what Christ declares¹⁷. Therefore, what Christ declares with respect to belief in Him and to ordering of life according to this belief, and finally what he declares with respect to the resurrection of the body of the believers and their transformation to a better state should consequently be true.

"The Lord Christ, who is the wisdom of God, came. Heaven sounds; let the frogs keep silent! What the truth says is true. What He said, that is, that the human race is in the condition of sin, is clear. But he who has believed in the Mediator, who is the intercessor between God and men (between the righteous God and the sinful men, an intercessory holy man, assuming humanity from below and holiness from above, and therefore he is the Mediator; from above He is united with the Father, from below He is united with us, since if He were wholly from there, He would be completely only there; and if He were wholly from here, He would be completely here lying down [= miserably] living with us, and therefore could not be a Mediator); he, therefore, who has believed in the Mediator, and has lived faithfully and righteously, he will surely leave behind his body and will attain rest. However, later he will receive his body, not in order that it will be for him a source of suffering, but a source of beauty, and he will live with God forever"¹⁸.

B. Sermo 241,4: Plato maintains that it is because of memory that the souls take delight in going back to the bodies in order to suffer

In *Sermo* 241,4 Augustine contends that instead of making forgetfulness the cause for the souls' return to the bodies, Plato in fact makes memory the cause. Plato's followers, in Augustine's explanation, describe

¹⁷ "Quod dixit veritas, hoc est verum". *Sermo* 240,5, PL 38,1133.

¹⁸ "Venit Dominus Christus, sapientia Dei: coelum tonat; ranae taceant. Quod dixit veritas, hoc est verum. Quod dixit, in mala quidem esse genus humanum causa peccati, manifestum est. Sed qui crediderit in Mediatorem, qui constitutus est medius inter Deum et homines (inter Deum justum et homines injustos, medius homo justus, humanitatem habens de imo, justitiam de summo; et ideo medius: hinc unum, et inde unum; quia si utrumque inde, ibi esset; si utrumque hinc, nobiscum jaceret, et medius non esset): qui ergo crediderit in Mediatorem, et fideliter ac bene vixerit, exiet quidem de corpore, et erit in requie; vivet cum Deo in aeternum". *Sermo* 240,5, PL 38,1133.

their position in the following manner: the souls, after a long rest, forget past miseries; as a result they again begin to long to be united with bodies.

"But they say that after a long period of time, and once they have forgotten the miseries of the previous life, the souls begin to long to return to bodies"¹⁹.

In Augustine's interpretation this Platonic teaching would mean that the souls come back precisely to suffer again in the bodies, to forget God, to blaspheme against him and to struggle against lust. Plato would attribute the return of this desire, according to Augustine, to the souls' forgetfulness. Augustine, however, rejects this explanation on the grounds that if the souls forget past miseries, they will surely forget the desire of the flesh²⁰. However, it is well known that Augustine considers the desires of the flesh to be evil. Plato maintains the same²¹. Thus, if Plato condemns the desires of the flesh as well, he would surely have condemned the idea that it is the memory of the desires of the flesh which induces the souls to come back to the bodies. But in fact he does not, by saying that the souls take delight in coming back to bodies.

"And it will delight the souls to come back, and again they will come back to bear the bodies, to suffer miseries, to forget God, and to blaspheme against God, to follow the desires of the body, and to struggle against lust. From where and for what reason do they come back to those miseries? Tell me why. It is because they forget. If they forget all evils, let them also forget the desire of the flesh. They remember only this evil, by which they have fallen"²².

In the statement "They remember only this evil, by which they have fallen"²³ Augustine clearly expresses his interpretation that for Plato and his followers it is none other than memory of delights that causes the souls to delight in coming back to bodies.

¹⁹ "Sed, inquiunt, post longa tempora, facta penitus oblivione veterum miseriarum, incipiunt velle reverti in corpora". *Sermo* 241,4, PL 38, 1135.

²⁰ "Si omnia mala obliviscuntur, obliviscantur et delectationem carnis". *Sermo* 241,4, PL 38,1135.

²¹ See PLATO, *Timaeus* 42b, p. 158: mastery of desires would lead to good life; subjection to them would lead to wicked life.

²² "Et delectabit eas venire, et rursus veniunt ad ista patiendā, ad ista toleranda, ad obliviscendum Deum, ad blasphemandum Deum, ad sequendas corporis voluptates, ad pugnas contra libidines. veniunt ad istas misérias, unde, et quo? Dic mihi, quare? Quia obliviscuntur. Si omnia mala obliviscuntur, obliviscantur et delectationem carnis. Hoc solum malo suo meminerunt, unde ruerunt". *Sermo* 241,4, PL 38,1135.

²³ "Hoc solum malo suo meminerunt, unde ruerunt". *Sermo* 241,4, PL 38,1135.

"They come back. Why? It is because it is a delight to dwell in the bodies. Where does that delight come from, except from memory, because they formerly lived there in the bodies?"²⁴.

C. Sermo 241,5: The souls of the just in heaven cannot be truly happy if the teaching of the followers of Plato is to be accepted

Augustine argues that even the souls of the just cannot be truly happy after life if the philosophers' teaching is to be accepted. He shows this, first by appealing to the statement of Virgil on Plato's teaching on the return of the soul. In the judgement of Virgil the Platonists' teaching would mean that the souls desire what is miserable: "tam dira cupido"²⁵. Second, he shows that, if one has to analyze the philosophers' teaching, it would be impossible to maintain that the souls of the just can really be happy. Why? No matter whether the souls remember or do not remember their past miseries either because of memory or of forgetfulness, they will surely suffer once they come back to assume bodies. In either way they cannot be happy. For if they know, how could they be free from worries when they think of their future miseries? Worries reflect insecurity²⁶. Or, if they do not know, how can they be really happy, since they are deceived, for in fact they will again suffer misery²⁷. To have enjoyment through a mistake, according to Augustine, is not to be really happy²⁸.

"Then, I ask you, do these souls in heaven know or not that they will again suffer the miseries of this life? choose what you would ... If they know that they will suffer such great misery, how are they happy worrying about their future misery? How are they happy there where they are without security? If they do not know, and therefore do not think that they will suffer, then they are happy by mistake, for they shall suffer, although they think that they shall

²⁴ "Veniunt: quare? Quia delectat, nisi per memoriam, quia ibi aliquando habitaverunt?". *Sermo* 241,4, PL 38,1135.

²⁵ "O pater, anne aliquas ad caelum hinc ire putandum est sublimes animas iterumque ad tarda reverti corpora? quae lucis miseris tam dira cupido?". VIRGIL, *Aeneid* 6,719-721, (H.Goelzer, ed. & A.Bellesort, transl.), Tome I, Paris, 1970, p. 190-191. Quoted by AUGUSTINE in *Sermo* 240,5, PL 38,1136.

²⁶ "Si sciunt se passuras esse tantas misérias, quomodo sunt beatae, misérias suas futuras cogitantes? quomodo sunt beatae, ubi sunt sine securitate?". *Sermo* 241,5, PL 38,1136.

²⁷ "Si nesciunt, et non se putant esse passuras, errando sunt beatae". *Sermo* 241,5, PL 38,1136.

²⁸ "Erunt ergo errore felices; erunt beatae; non aeternitate, sed falsitate". *Sermo* 241,5, PL 38,1136.

not suffer. What is to think wrongly but to err? They will, therefore, be happy through error; they will be happy, not eternally but falsely"²⁹.

In opposition to the philosopher's concept of happiness, which in his analysis is not really happiness, Augustine posits true happiness in being liberated from falsehood and in possessing the truth. This is achieved through Christ's work of redemption.

"May the truth liberate us in order that we can truly be happy because the words of our Redeemer are not ineffective: 'if the Son would set you free, then you will be truly happy'. For He Himself has said: 'If you remain in my words, you will truly be my disciples; you will know the truth, and the truth will set you free'" (*Jo.* 8,36, 31, 32)³⁰.

This reference to Christ as the Redeemer and as the Truth, is of paramount importance to Augustine's point. It asserts his belief in Christ as equal with the Father, and in the truthfulness of His statements against the denials of Porphyry. Accordingly, the philosophers whom Augustine is confronting are also followers of Porphyry. Thus, while in paragraph four Augustine's description of the beliefs of these philosophers demonstrates that they are followers of Plato, although Plato's name is not expressly mentioned, in paragraph five his description of the same philosophers' other belief shows that they are likewise followers of Porphyry, although the name of Porphyry is not mentioned. This shows that *Sermo* 241,4 and 5 is a doublet of *Sermo* 240,4 and 5.

That these philosophers are indeed followers of Plato and at the same time of Porphyry is expressly indicated in paragraph 6. Here Pythagoras' name is included. This inclusion gives evidence of the influence of Pythagoras on the later philosophers. It is to be noted that Plato was much influenced by the Pythagoreans and by the Orphics, especially with respect to the fall of the souls and their reincarnation³¹.

²⁹ "Deinde, rogo te, sciunt se istae animae in coelo, passuras esse rursus hujus vitae miserias, an nesciunt? Elige quod volueris. Si sciunt se passuras esse tantas miserias, quomodo sunt beatae, miserias suas futuras cogitantes? quomodo sunt beatae, ubi sunt sine securitate? ... Si nesciunt, et non se putant esse passuras, errando sunt beatae. Quod enim passurae sunt, putant se non passuras: quod falsum putare, quid est aliud quam errare? Erunt ergo errore felices; erunt beatae; non aeternitate, sed falsitate". *Sermo* 241,5, PL 38, 1136.

³⁰ "Liberet nos veritas, ut vere beati esse possimus: quoniam non vacat sermo Redemptoris nostri, Si vos Filius liberaverit, tunc vere liberi eritis. Ipse enim dixit: Si manseritis in verbo meo, vere discipuli mei eritis; et cognoscetis veritatem, et veritas liberabit vos". *Sermo* 241,5, PL 38,1136.

³¹ See note 1 in D. LEE, (ed.), *Plato, Phaedrus & Letters VII & VIII*, Harmondsworth, 1981, p. 54.

D. Sermo 241,6: The teaching of the philosophers on hope for a happy life involves a contradiction

In paragraph 6 Augustine becomes even more aggressive and sharp against the philosophers. He invites his listeners to share the same attitude with him towards them: "Then, listen to another point which is worse, another point to be sorry about, or, rather to be ridiculed"³².

Why does Augustine say this? He explains that for these philosophers, for example, Pythagoras, Plato, Porphyry, and anybody else of their kind, to seek wisdom is to seek happy life³³. In my judgement this points to a certain measure of gnosticism among these philosophers. A happy life, however, can be more fully attained when a just soul leaves behind its body on earth. Why? Because on earth while we bear bodies we bear miseries. Yet, as they say, here on earth there is hope for a happy life: a happiness in heaven, which is reached after the soul leaves behind the body it had assumed. It is on this point that Augustine reacts. For as he already pointed out in paragraph 5, in an analysis of the teachings of the philosophers, even the souls of the just which have departed from the bodies can not truly be happy. Whether they know it or not, these souls will surely either worry about their future misery or else when they are in heaven, and can be presumed to be happy, but are, in fact, unhappy, since they are 'happy' there by mistake (*errando*), these souls will eventually come back to assume bodies and live in misery. This would mean that the just souls here on earth hope for a life happier than the life itself hoped for by the same souls already in heaven.

"You who are wise here, you who are a philosopher here, that is to say, on earth (for example Pythagoras, Plato, Porphyry, and anybody else of their kind), why do you philosophize? He says, in order to obtain a happy life. When will you have this happy life? When I leave this body behind on earth, he answers. Now, we, indeed, lead a miserable life; but there is hope for a happy life. There (in the heavens) we enjoy a happy life; but there is hope for a miserable life. Thus, the hope in our unhappy condition is to be happy; and the hope in our happy state is to be unhappy"³⁴.

³² "Deinde audite aliud pejus, aliud dolendum vel potius irridendum". *Sermo* 241,6, PL 38,1136.

³³ "... quare philosopharis? Propter vitam, inquit, beatam". *Sermo* 241,6, PL 38,1136.

³⁴ "Hic sapiens, hic philosophe, hoc est, in terra (verbi gratia, Pythagoras, Plato, Porphyrius, et nescio quis alius ipsorum), quare philosopharis? Propter vitam, inquit, beatam. Quando habebis istam vitam beatam? Cum hoc corpus, inquit, reliquero in terra. Modo ergo misera vita geritur, sed spes est beatæ vitæ: ibi beata vita geritur, sed spes est miseræ vitæ. Ergo spes nostræ infelicitatis est felix, et felicitatis infelix". *Sermo* 241,6, PL 38,1137.

At the end of paragraph 6 Augustine reexpresses both his ridicule and sorrow for the position of the philosophers; ridicule, because it is incorrect³⁵; sorrow, because their teachings are esteemed by many and mislead them³⁶. He shows concern for other's welfare. Yet he pinpoints their absurdities, and persuades his listeners to reject the position of the philosophers outright. In Augustine's interpretation the hope of the just souls, according to the teaching of the philosophers, is in the last analysis nourished by a love for baseness.

"Let us reject these; and either let us scoff at it because they are incorrect; or, let us be sorry for them, since they are esteemed great. Sisters and brothers, these are remarkable absurdities of great and learned people. How much better do we regard the great mysteries of the great saints? They say that the purified souls, cleansed, and wise, out of love for the bodies, will return to assume them; they say that the purified souls, out of love for bodies, will return to assume bodies. Does a purified soul, therefore, love in this manner? Is this love not a great baseness?"³⁷

E. Sermo 241,7: Not all sorts of bodies are shunned

Augustine's discussion in paragraph 7 is limited to the statement: "Corpus est omne fugiendum". This statement is attributed to Porphyry and appears here six times. Augustine considers Porphyry as the bitterest enemy of the Christian faith ("fidei christianae acerrimus inimicus"). Yet, he tempers this portrayal by saying that Porphyry, besides having been embarrassed by the absurdities of his predecessors, was to a certain extent corrected by some Christian teachings: "Porphyrius, fidei christianae acerrimus inimicus, qui iam christianis temporibus fuit; sed tamen ab ipsis deliramentis erubescendo, a Christianis ex aliqua parte correptus". The word *correptus* here suggests more the idea of "being caught" in a discussion and consequently "corrected" than simply "being caught". This is borne out by Porphyry's partial denial of Plato's harsh concept of reincarnation, a denial which partially favors Christian teaching.

³⁵ "... vel rideamus quia falsa sunt, vel doleamus quia magna existimantur". *Sermo* 241,6, PL 38,1137.

³⁶ "... doleamus quia magna existimantur". *Sermo* 241,6, PL 38,1137.

³⁷ "Abjiciamus haec, et vel rideamus quia falsa sunt, vel doleamus quia magna existimantur. Sunt enim ista, fratres mei, magna magnorum deliramenta doctorum. Quanto melius tenemus magna magnorum sacramenta sanctorum? Amore corporum dicunt redire animus purgatas, mundatas, sapientes, purgatas animas amore corporum redire ad corpora. Ergo anima purgata sic amat? Nonne amor iste magnae sunt sordes?". *Sermo* 241,6, PL 38,1137.

Porphyry reacts against Plato by postulating the statement: "Any kind of body should be fled from, for a soul to be happy". But Augustine reacts against this statement and engages in discussions Porphyry himself and the philosophers who follow Porphyry. We shall present their discussions in a scheme:

PORPHYRY

Discussion I:

All bodies should be shunned.

Reason:

All bodies are like a chain for souls.

Discussion II:

There is no reason to praise bodies⁴⁰.

Reason:

Bodies are a source of misery⁴¹.

AUGUSTINE

Discussion I:

Not all kind of bodies are to be shunned.

Reason:

Christian faith and God Himself praise bodies³⁹.

Discussion II:

There are reasons to praise bodies.

Reasons:

1. Human bodies, even in physical stature, have a dignity, although we bear its weakness as a consequence of sin such that it weighs upon the soul (*Wis.* 9,15)⁴².

2. Human bodies will be transformed at the resurrection into immortal, incorruptible, agile, bodies, and they will have facility in movement⁴³.

³⁸ "Omne dixit, quasi omne corpus vinculum aerumnosum sit animae" *Sermo* 241,7, PL 38,1137.

³⁹ "Deo docente fides nostra laudat corpus"; *ibid.*

⁴⁰ "Sine causa mihi laudas corpus"; *ibid.*

⁴¹ "Quaecumque sit corpus, si vult esse beata anima, corpus est omne fugiendum"; *ibid.*

⁴² "Quia et corpus quod habemus, quamvis habeamus hinc poenam de peccato, et corpus quod corrumpitur, aggravet animam (*Sap.* 9,15); tamen habet corpus istud speciem suam, dispositionem membrorum, distinctionem sensuum, erectam staturam, et caetera quae bene considerantes stupent"; *ibid.*

⁴³ "Verumtamen illud omnino incorruptibile, omnino immortale, omnino ad movendum agile et facile erit"; *ibid.*

Discussion III:

For a soul to be happy, it should leave any kind of body.

[N.B. Here Porphyry is represented by the philosophers⁴⁴].

Reason:

Augustine does not specify the reason given by the philosophers; it seems that he implies the reason given previously in paragraph 6: with the body we bear the misery of life here on earth

Discussion III:

A soul of a just man will be happier after it has been united with his body⁴⁵.

Reasons:

1. As it is the nature of the soul to be the prior element (*praedicatum*) in man, it always seeks for something (*subditum*) subject to it, and this is the body⁴⁶.

2. You, philosophers, teach that the world is an animal. Its soul is Jupiter or Hecates. This soul is always and will always be united with the world; thus the world will have no end. Since this is your belief, then not all bodies are or should be fled from. Otherwise, let Jupiter abandon the world⁴⁷.

⁴⁴ "Sed ait Porphyrius: Sine causa mihi laudas corpus; quaecumque sit corpus, si vult esse beata anima, corpus est omne fugiendum. Hoc dicunt philosophi: sed errant, sed delirant"; *ibid.* A. TRAPÈ, *Escatologia e antiplatonismo di sant' Agostino*, in: *Augustinianum* 18 (1978) 237-244, p. 239-240, underlines the conflicting concept of Porphyry and his followers and Augustine on death and resurrection. For Porphyry and his followers death which is the separation of the soul from the body is good. Resurrection which will result to the union of the soul with the body is evil. For Augustine death came as a punishment for sin. Resurrection is good; it is the last victory over evil.

⁴⁵ "Ego dico beatas animas incorruptibilia corpora semper habituras". *Sermo* 241,7, PL 38,1137-1138.

⁴⁶ "Duo enim sunt invicem sibi connexa, praedicata et subdita. Superat omnia Deus: huic cuncta sunt subdita. Et anima si habet aliquem honorem apud Deum, debet habere aliquid subditum": *ibid.*, PL 38,1137.

⁴⁷ "Totum hoc, universumque corpus, quod ex his elementis omnibus constat, dicitis esse animal magnum, id est, habere animam suam, sed sensus corporis non habere; quia extrinsecus nihil est quod sentiri possit: habere tamen intellectum, haerere Deo: et ipsam animam mundi vocari Jovem, vel vocari Hecatem, id est, quasi animam universalem mundum regentem, et unum quoddam animal facientem. Eundemque mundum aeternum esse dicitis, semper futurum, finem non habiturum. Si ergo aeternus est mundus, et sine fine manet mundus, et animal est mundus; anima ista semper tenetur in mundo: certe corpus est omne fugiendum? Quid est quod dicebas, Corpus est omne fugiendum? Ego dico beatas animas incorruptibilia corpora semper habituras. Tu qui dicis, Corpus est omne fugiendum, occide mundum. Tu dicis ut fugiam de carne mea: fugiat Jupiter tuus de caelo et terra". *ibid.*, PL 38,1137-1138.

F. Sermo 241,8: Porphyry's statement is refuted by Plato's statements on the constitution of the world

In paragraph 8 Augustine continues his treatment of Porphyry's statement: "Corpus est omne fugiendum". He refutes this with two arguments deduced from Plato's account of the constitution of the universe. It is to be noted that the force of Augustine's argument centers not only on their content but also on the authority of Plato himself. He refers to Plato as the *magister istorum omnium*, a title which gives Plato precedence in authority over all philosophers even over Porphyry himself. In fact Augustine not only corroborates but even justifies Paul's statement in *1 Cor.* 15,40-42 on the basis of Plato's statements. The first argument is: deities and heavenly bodies have physical bodies. Therefore, not all bodies are shunned.

"What do we find but that Plato himself, the master of all these, in a certain book of his on the constitution of the universe, says that God, the maker of deities, makes these heavenly deities, all the stars, the sun and the moon? He, therefore, says that God is the maker of all the heavenly deities. He says that the stars themselves have intelligent souls that comprehend God; they have visible bodies which we actually see. I tell you in order that you may understand: the sun itself, which you see, would not be seen unless it had a body; this is true. Any star or the moon would not be seen unless it had a body; this is true. Therefore, also the Apostle says: 'There are both celestial bodies and terrestrial bodies'. And he continues: 'the glory of the celestial bodies and the glory of the terrestrial are different'. And again speaking of the glory of these heavenly bodies, the apostle continues with the words: 'The glory of the sun, and the glory of the moon, and the glory of the stars are different. For a star differs in glory from another star; so it is at the resurrection of the dead'" (*1 Cor.* 15,40-42)⁴⁸.

Although Augustine does not mention here which book of Plato he is referring to, it is certainly *Timaeus* 38c-38e, where Plato speaks of the structure and the role of the planets and of the heavenly bodies. Here Plato says that God made the sun, the moon and the five planets in order to

⁴⁸ "Quid quod invenius eundem Platonem, magistrum istorum omnium, in libro quodam suo quem scripsit de constitutione mundi, inducere Deum fabricatorem deorum, facientem scilicet deos coelestes, stellas omnes, solem et lunam? Dicit ergo Deum opificem deorum coelestium: dicit ipsas stellas habere animas intellectuales, quae intelligunt Deum, et corpora visibilia quae cernuntur. Dico, ut intelligates: Sol iste quem videtis, non videretur, nisi corpus esset: hoc verum est. Stella ulla vel luna non videretur, nisi corpus esset: verum dicit. Ideo dicit et Apostolus: *Et corpora coelestia, et corpora terrestria*. Et sequitur: *Alia gloria coelestium, alia et terrestrium*. Et rursus dicens de gloria coelestium corporum Apostolus adjunxit, et ait: *Alia gloria solis, alia gloria lunae, alia gloria stellarum. Stella enim ab stella differt in gloria; sic et resurrectio mortuorum* (*1 Cor.* 14,40-42)". *Sermo* 241,7, PL 38,1138.

define and to preserve the measures of time. God gave a physical body to each of them and placed the seven heavenly bodies in the seven orbits of the circle of the Different. In the text quoted above it is important to note that Paul's statement on the difference in glory and on the nature of bodies is made under the influence of Platonic thought. For this reason Augustine himself, who was also to a great extent a loyal follower of Paul, was similarly greatly influenced by Plato with respect to the difference of the glory of the resurrection-life bodies. This shows in his thought that glories of the resurrection-life bodies will vary according to the degree of merit earned here.

"You see that glorification has been promised to the bodies of the saints; and there are different degrees of glorifications, since there are varying degrees of merits for charity"⁴⁹.

It appears, however, that with the first argument Augustine does not convince his philosopher-opponents: "But what do they say?" This question indicates their reluctance, in Augustine's eyes, to admit his point. In fact they present another difficulty which makes the status of the heavenly bodies an exception.

"But what do they say? These stars which you see are, indeed, bodies; but they have intelligent souls; and they are gods"⁵⁰.

The phrase "they have intelligent souls" apparently is the main reason *in contra* presented by the philosophers. Augustine dismisses this argument, and takes no interest in making a rebuttal⁵¹. Instead, he proceeds to give the second argument *in contra*. Although the *Timaeus* (ps. 40-41) is not expressly mentioned, this time he uses Plato's statements on the constitution of the gods, explaining its connotations and implications. He arrives at the conclusion that in Plato's account God has willed the soul not to leave the bodily world behind. This second argument is thus an argument from the will and omnipotence of God.

In Plato's account gods were made by God with corporeal and incorporeal substances. Being created, gods are not immortal and indissoluble. This means that according to Plato to be composed both of corporeal and incorporeal substances and to have a beginning is to be mortal. But in Plato's account this mortality is overcome. He explains this in the follow-

⁴⁹ "Videtur quia promissa est sanctorum corporibus claritas, et diversa species claritatis, quia diversa sunt merita charitatis". *Sermo* 241,7, PL 38,1138.

⁵⁰ "Sed illi quid dicunt? Stellae istae quas videtur, corpora quidem sunt, sed habent suas animas intellectuales, et sunt dii". *Sermo* 241,7, PL 38,1138.

⁵¹ "Interim de corporibus, quia corpora sunt, verum dicunt: sed utrum habeant animas suas, utquid discutio?". *Sermo* 241,7, PL 38,1138.

ing manner: God addresses the deities in order to make them conscious of their dissoluble constitution. At this they shiver in fear, for they do not want to die but to be immortal. God, however, assures them that they will not perish. He wills that they should not die. This is now the case with these gods. The will of God has given them the security of remaining immortal because His will is a stronger and a more sovereign bond than those with which they are bound at birth. In Augustine's interpretation of Plato's account it is within the will of God to free these gods from dissolution. In fact God has willed that the soul will not leave the physical world behind. This proves that not all sorts of bodies should be shunned.

"Let us come now to the point. Plato himself imagines God addressing the gods, whom He has made from corporeal and incorporeal substances; among other things He says to them: 'since you were created, you cannot be immortal and indissoluble'. At this utterance they could tremble in fear. Why? Because they wished to be immortal; and they did not wish to die. Therefore, in order to remove their fear he goes on to add the words: 'But you will never disintegrate, nor will disasters of death fall upon you; they will not be stronger than my will, which is a stronger bond for your perpetuity than those with which you are bound'. See, God gives security to the gods He has made. He gives them the security of immortality; He gives them the security that they will not leave the physical masses of their bodies. Is it really true that every kind of body should be shunned?"⁵²

At the end of *Sermo* 241,8 Augustine considers the objection of the philosophers as answered, their contentions as defeated⁵³; not, however, in every respect since he promises to take up the rest of the objections in the following sermon. He does this in *Sermo* 242,7-10.

⁵² "Modo veniamus ad rem. Inducitur Deus a Platone ipso alloqui deos, quos fecit de corporali et de incorporali substantia, atque inter caetera dicere illis: 'Quoniam estis orti, immortales esse et indissolubiles non potestis'. Jam ad istam vocem illi intremiscere poterant. Quare? Quia immortales esse cupiebant, et mori, nolebant. Ergo ut eis auferret timorem, secutus adjunxit atque ait: 'Non tamen dissolvemini, neque vos ulla mortis fata periment, nec erunt valentiora quam consilium meum, quod majus est vinculum ad perpetuitatem vestram, quam illa quibus colligati estis'. Ecce Deus dat securitatem diis a se factis: securitatem illis dat immortalitatis: securitatem illis dat, quod non relinquunt globos corporum suorum. Certe corpus est omne fugiendum?" *Sermo* 241,7, PL 38,1138.

⁵³ "Quantum existimo, responsum est illis, sicut intelligere potestis: sicut et nos loqui possumus, quantum hora sermonis permittit, quantum vestra capacitas sinit, responsum est eis". *Sermo* 241,7, PL 38,1138.

G. Sermo 242,7: It is within the will of God to raise up bodies

The philosophers contend that bodies made of earth cannot exist in heaven⁵⁴. Here Augustine does not give explicitly the reason why for these philosophers bodies made of earth cannot exist in heaven. However, in the following paragraph, he gives *weight* as a reason; and another reason is the irreversibility of the order of the four elements of the universe, namely, earth, water, air and fire. Meanwhile in paragraph 7 Augustine continues to refute them on the basis of God's power and will, which these philosophers themselves acknowledge. This argument is no more than a repetition of the argument given in the previous homily, although this time this argument from God's will is applied to a different problem. In *Sermo* 241,8 Augustine applies the argument to the dwelling of the souls of the gods in the physical heavenly bodies in accordance with Plato's teaching. Here he applies the same argument to the power of God to make solid bodies rise.

"But they say that a body made of earth cannot exist in heaven. What if God were to will it? Contradict God, and say: 'God cannot do it'. It is not that you just as every pagan say that God is omnipotent? Is it not that in a book of Plato, as I demonstrated yesterday, one reads that the uncreated God said to the gods He made: 'Since you have been created, you certainly cannot be immortal and indissoluble. But you will not disintegrate nor will disasters of death fall upon you; they will not be stronger than my will, which is a stronger bond than those with which you are bound'. God has brought everything under His will. He is able to do even what apparently is impossible. For what does it mean, you cannot be immortal, but I make it possible that you will not die, except that I make possible even what apparently cannot be done?"⁵⁵

Augustine's question, "for what does it mean, you cannot be immortal, but I make it possible that you will not die, except that I make possible even what apparently cannot be done?", indicates that from Pla-

⁵⁴ "Sed non potest, inquit, esse terrenum corpus in coelo". *Sermo* 242,7, PL 38, 1141.

⁵⁵ "Sed non potest, inquit, esse terrenum corpus in coelo. Quid, si hoc velit Deus? Responde contra Deum, et dic: Non potest Deus. Nonne et tu quicumque paganus, dicis omnipotentem Deum? nonne in libro Platonis, quod hesterno die demonstravi, legitur dixisse Deus non factus diis a se factis: 'Quoniam estis orti, immortales quidem esse et indissolubiles non potestis; non tamen dissolvemini, neque ulla vos mortis fata periment; nec erunt valentiora quam consilium meum, quod majus est vinculum ad perpetuitatem vestram, quam illa quibus estis colligati?' Totum ad voluntatem suam redegit Deus, qui potest et quod impossibile est. Nam quid est aliud, non potestis esse immortales, sed ut non moriamini ego facio; nisi, et quod fieri non potest, ego facio?". *Sermo* 242,7, PL 38, 1141.

to's account it can be deduced that it is by the will of God that bodies are made to rise. He bolsters this argument in the following paragraphs.

H. Sermo 242,8-10: Weight is not an argument against the resurrection of the body

In paragraph 8-10 Augustine demonstrates how bodies, although made of earth and solid, can rise up. He gives the following examples: a block of wood rises up to the surface of the water⁵⁶, a concave vessel made of lead can float⁵⁷. By giving these examples, it is apparently his intention to oppose the theory of the philosophers of the school of Plato that the order of the four elements in the physical universe is irreversible⁵⁸. We wonder, however, whether Plato himself, when speaking of the order of the elements of the universe, means to apply it also to particular substances in the universe. In *Timaeus* 42 Plato speaks vaguely of the sufferings of the souls in their association with the four elements, but there is no mention whatsoever of the inability of bodies to rise up because of their association with the four elements. In fact in *Timaeus* 49c Plato admits a process of cyclical transformation of the four elements. Because of this transformation Plato hesitates to call any of these elements by a fixed name. For example, water solidifies into a stone and earth, and it evaporates and dissolves into wind and water. It may therefore be said that the idea of the impossibility of particular solid substances to rise may possibly have been conceived only by those other philosophers. Augustine refutes this in paragraph 10 by a comparison, among many others, between a thin but sickly man and a robust but healthy man. The former, although thin, can hardly move because of ill-health; the latter, although heavy, can easily and swiftly move because of good-health. This proves that good health is the reason for facility in movement. From this he concludes that if here good health facilitates movement, then after resurrection immortality will facilitate it even more so. This deduction points to Augustine's concept of the quality of the transformed resurrection-life bodies, although this concept is not explicitly mentioned here.

"Which body moves more easily? Which body runs faster? Is it the one with a heavier body, or, the one with a lighter body? Won't everybody answer: the lighter? For lighter bodies move easily; they act more quickly; heavier bodies move with more difficulty; they act more slowly. You rightly fix the norm. You have reckoned it well indeed, and after having considered all aspects you

⁵⁶ "Quare lignum natat super aquam?". *Sermo* 242,8, PL 38,1141.

⁵⁷ "Aliquid vas concavum, et natat plumbum super aquam". *Sermo* 242,9, PL 38,1142.

⁵⁸ See PLATO, *Timaeus* 31-32.

answered that lighter bodies move more easily and act more quickly than heavier bodies. Yes, you say. Answer me then. Why is it that the lightest spider moves slow, and a heavier horse runs fast? I will speak about men themselves: a man with a bigger build is heavier; and a man with a shorter build is lighter. This is normally the case, but only when someone else carries them. But if each person carries his own body, the bigger and healthier runs, while the shorter, unhealthy man hardly walks. Weigh a thin and a robust man; the thin and unhealthy weighs hardly a few pounds; the robust and healthy man weighs many pounds with his flesh. Try to remove both from the weighing scale. The heavy one is the healthy; the lighter one is thin. Take away the one who carries them; let them walk; leave them to themselves; let them move their bodies. I see that the thin one hardly makes a step; whereas I see the healthy and robust one running. If health can achieve this, how much more will immortality do so?"⁵⁹

II. DISCUSSIONS WITH PHILOSOPHERS IN *DE CIVITATE DEI*

In *De Civitate Dei* 22,25 Augustine specifies his main point of conflict with the philosophers.

"Now there is no dispute between us and the well-known philosophers about the blessings that the soul will enjoy in perfect felicity after this life. But they quarrel with us about the resurrection of the body; in fact they strenuously deny it"⁶⁰.

In this section we attempt to expose the several discussions between Augustine and those philosophers in detail, as found in *De Civitate Dei*. We are, however, going to exclude some points which we judge

⁵⁹ "Quid facilius movetur, quid velocius agitur, gravius corpus, an levius? Quis non respondeat, Levius? Leviora enim corpora facilius moventur, velocius aguntur: graviora difficilius atque tardius. Certe regulam fixisti, certe considerasti, et circumspicisti omnibus respondisti quia facilius moventur et velocius aguntur corpora leviora, quam graviora. Ita est, dicis. Responde ergo mihi. Quare levissima aranea tarde se movet, et gravis equus velociter currit? De ipsis hominibus loquar: majus corpus hominis gravius est; brevius corpus quod minus habet ponderis, levius est. Ita vero est, sed si alius portet. Si autem ipse homo corpus suum portet, validus currit, macer languore vix ambulat. Appende macrum et robustum hominem; illum languore vix paucas libellas appendentem, illum salubritate corporis multa pondo in carne sua gerentem: tenta tu ambos tollere; gravis est validus, levis est macilentus. Recedat portator, appareat ambulator; ipsos dimitte sibi, agant corpora sua; video macrum vix passum moventem, video validum robustumque currentem. Si hoc valet sanitas, immortalitas quid valebit?". *Sermo* 242,10, PL 38,1142. See also *De Civitate Dei* 13,18, CSEL 40(1), 640: similar examples are given.

⁶⁰ "Verum de animi bonis, quibus post hanc vitam beatissimus perfruetur, non a nobis dissentiunt philosophi nobiles: de carnis resurrectione contendunt, hanc quantum possunt negant". *De Civitate Dei* 22,25, CSEL 40(2),650. Transl. by H.BETTENSON, *City of God*, p. 1076.

only to be remotely connected with the main theme of resurrection or transformation of the body. For our purpose we limit ourselves to the following books and chapters: Book 10,24,29,30,31,32; Book 13,16,17,18,19,20; Book 22,25-28.

A. Book 10, 24 and 29: Porphyry's refusal to believe in the resurrection of the body originates from his refusal to acknowledge Christ as the "principle"

In Book 10,23, which is an introductory chapter to the discussions in chapters 24 and 29, Augustine opens his discussion with Porphyry on the question of purification. The main question to be tackled is: Who effects purification in us? Porphyry's reply to this — in the account of Augustine — is not the initiatory rites of the sun and the moon but the "principles". Porphyry's motivation in giving this answer, according to Augustine, is "to prevent the belief in the efficiency of the rites of any other god, among the crowd of divinities"⁶¹.

In Augustine's interpretation, the term "principles" in Porphyry refers to God the Father and God the Son, whom he (Porphyry) calls in Greek the Intellect or Mind of the Father⁶². Augustine bases his interpretation on Porphyry's being a Platonist. From this basis he proceeds to explain why Porphyry does not make any statement — or at least no clear statement — about the Holy Spirit. Porphyry disagrees with Plotinus on the category of the soul. Porphyry infers from Plotinus' discussion on the "principal substances" that the third entity is the natural substance of the soul, and this soul occupies the middle position *between* God the Father and God the Son, but not a position *below* them which Plotinus reserves for the soul. Augustine claims that on the question and nature of the third entity in the Trinity Porphyry refers exactly to our belief concerning the nature of the Holy Spirit: the Holy Spirit is not only the Spirit of the Father or only the Spirit of the Son, but of both⁶³.

⁶¹ "Denique eodem dicit oraculo expressum principia posse purgare, ne forte, cum dictum esset non purgare teletas solis et lunae, alicuius alterius dei de turba valere ad purgandum teletae crederentur". *De Civitate Dei* 10,23, CSEL 40(1),484. See also G. FAGGIN, "S. Agostino e Porfirio", in *S. Agostino e le grandi correnti della filosofia contemporanea*, Tolentino (1956) 376-382, p. 381.

⁶² "Quae autem dicat esse principia tamque Platonici, novimus. Dicit enim Deum Patrem et Deum Filium, quem Graece appellat paternum intellectum vel paternam mentem". *De Civitate Dei* 10,23, CSEL 40/1,484.

⁶³ "Postponit quippe Plotinus anima naturam paterno intellectui; iste autem cum dicit medium, non postponit, sed interponit. Et nimirum hoc dixit, ut potuit sive ut voluit, quod nos sanctum Spiritum, nec Patris tantum nec Filii tantum, sed utriusque Spiritum dici-

From the discussion in chapter 23 on the nature of the "three principles" Augustine continues in chapter 24 to show how these three could be taken only as one, "the principle", when we speak of God. He does this through two illustrations. First, he points out that when we speak of God, we do not speak of two or three principles as we do not speak of two or three gods, although in taking each of them as a Person, we acknowledge that each of them is God. Second, he contrasts our concept of the Trinity with that of the Sabellians. The Sabellians identify the Father and the Son. We, however, believe that the Father is the Father of the Son, the Son is the Son of the Father, and the Holy Spirit is the Spirit of both the Father and the Son, but the Holy Spirit is not identical with either. Thus the three could be taken as one principle.

Further in chapter 24 Augustine gives the reason why Porphyry refuses to admit Christ as the principle: Porphyry is subject to "envious powers" (*invidis potestatibus*); he is ashamed of his subjection; yet he is afraid to contradict these envious powers. It is difficult to understand here what Augustine means in his rendering of Porphyry's attitude towards Christ; Augustine does not give any further explanation. However, in *Adversus Libros Athei Juliani* 8,271⁶⁴, Cyril of Alexandria († 444) refers to Porphyry's concept, following Plato, of the three principles or of the Trinity, found in the fourth book of Porphyry's *Philosophicae Historiae*: the substance of God issues from three subsistences: the Supreme God being the Good; next to Him is the Creator; and in the third place is the soul of the World. In the Trinity of Neoplatonism the Creator is represented by the Demiurge. Given this view and representation it now becomes understandable why Augustine says that Porphyry was ashamed of being in subjection to these "envious powers" because of the nature of Demiurge; and yet Porphyry was afraid to contradict them. Insofar as Porphyry believes that purification is effected by the principles, and insofar as we Christians, as Augustine claims, believe that Christ, by virtue of his oneness in divine nature with the Father, is the Son of God, whereas Porphyry does not, it is logical that Porphyry denies Christ to be the principle by whose incarnation we are purified. For the same reason Porphyry despises Christ because He appeared in His flesh.

"But Porphyry, being subject to the envious powers, because of which he was both ashamed and at the same time afraid to contradict them openly, refused

mus". *De Civitate Dei* 10,23, CSEL 40/1,484.

⁶⁴ CYRILLUS ALEXANDRINUS, *Adversus Libros Athei Juliani* 6,271, PG 76,916.

to acknowledge the Lord Christ to be the principle by whose incarnation we are purified. In fact he despised Him in His appearance in the flesh"⁶⁵.

Augustine rebukes Porphyry for failing to see Christ as the principle. In Augustine's teaching it is not the flesh of Christ which is the principle — this is what Porphyry thinks that Christians hold — nor the human soul, but the Word through whom everything was created. The flesh does not purify us by itself; it purifies us through the Word that became incarnate.

"This Platonist did not know Him (Christ) to be the principle; otherwise he would know him as a means of purification. For it is not the flesh or the human soul that is the principle, but the Word through whom everything was created. It is therefore not that the flesh purifies us by itself; it purifies us through the Word by which it has been assumed, when 'The Word became flesh and dwelt among us'" (*Jo. 1,14*)⁶⁶.

In chapter 29 Augustine recalls his discussion with Porphyry in chapter 24; and he interchanges Porphyry himself with the Platonists with whom he was discussing, thus identifying these Platonists' teaching with that of Porphyry with respect to the subject of purification. Augustine starts by indicating a point of similarity between these Platonists and Christianity. He illustrates that in asserting with Porphyry the truth of the Trinity even when this does not correspond exactly to the teaching of Christianity, because of the use of irregular terminology ("etsi verbis indisciplinatis utimini"), they have a certain intuition of the goal Christianity must strive for. Yet they deviate from the way that Christianity follows⁶⁷. Augustine wants to bring these Platonists to the acknowledgement of Christ's incarnation and its effect of purification. At the same time, he wants to prevent the audience who holds them in high esteem for their love of wisdom from being misled. Therefore he exploits further another point of similarity. The next point he brings out is the fact that Porphyry acknowledges the existence of grace and its being granted to few to reach

⁶⁵ "Sed subditus Porphyrius invidis potestatibus, de quibus et erubescibat, et eas libere redarguere formidabat, noluit intellegere Dominum Christum esse principium, cuius incarnatione purgamur. Eum quippe in ipsa carne contempsit". *De Civitate Dei* 10,24, CSEL 40/1,485.

⁶⁶ "Hunc ille Patonicus non cognovit esse principium; nam cognosceret purgatorium. Neque enim caro principium est aut anima humana, sed Verbum per quod facta sunt omnia. Non ergo caro per se ipsam mundat, sed per Verbum a quo suscepta est cum Verbum caro factum est et habitavit in nobis". *De Civitate Dei* 10,24, CSEL 40/1,486.

⁶⁷ "Itaque videtis utcumque, etsi de longinquo, etsi acie caligante, patriam in qua manendum est, sed viam qua eundem est non tenetis". *De Civitate Dei* 10,29, CSEL 40/1,496.

God by virtue of their intelligence⁶⁸. Augustine focuses the attention of the Platonists on this particular point in their teaching and in Porphyry's: grace is "granted" (*esse concessum*). For Augustine this concept is of key importance; it is a confession also, from the part of the Platonists, of the grace of God and of the insufficiency of man⁶⁹. Further, this shows that for the Platonists the grace of God makes possible the fulfillment or the perfection of the life of wisdom, since they believe, in following Plato⁷⁰, that the life of wisdom is not perfectly attainable here but only in the afterlife.

"Nevertheless you acknowledge the existence of grace, when you say that it has been granted to few to reach God through the virtue of their intelligence. For you do not say: it has pleased few, or few have wished it. But when you say 'it has been granted', without doubt you acknowledge the grace of God and the insufficiency of man. You also use this word (grace) more openly, when, following Plato's opinion, you yourself do not doubt that man in no way in this life reaches the perfection of wisdom; nevertheless all that is wanting can be granted for their fulfillment by the providence and grace of God after this life to those who live according to their intelligence"⁷¹.

It is in connection with the point of similarity in the concept of grace that Augustine brings into his theology of resurrection the role of Christ's incarnation in all its aspects, namely, His love expressed in mediation, His birth from a virgin, and finally His death and resurrection. Augustine calls the incarnation of Christ "the supreme instance of grace" (*summum exemplum gratiae*). The grace of God cannot be shown more clearly than in the mediation of the only Son of God through incarnation. Incarnation gave to men the hope of love (*spem dilectionis*), by which men would come to God through Christ. The Son of God implanted in our

⁶⁸ "Confiteris tamen gratiam, quando quidem ad Deum per virtutem intellegentiae pervenire paucis dicis esse concessum". *De Civitate Dei* 10,29, CSEL 40/1,496.

⁶⁹ "Sed cum dicis esse concessum, procul dubio Dei gratiam, non hominis sufficientiam confiteris". *De Civitate Dei* 10,29, CSEL 40/1,496.

⁷⁰ See PLATO, *Phaedrus* 249e-250a, p. 42-43: Plato speaks of those possessed by the divine. Cf. *De Civitate Dei* 10,29, CSEL 40/1,496.

⁷¹ "Confiteris tamen gratiam, quando quidem ad Deum per virtutem intellegentiae pervenire paucis dicis esse concessum. Non enim dicis: Paucis placuit, vel: Pauci voluerunt; sed cum dicis esse concessum, procul dubio Dei gratiam, non hominis sufficientiam confiteris. Uteris etiam hoc verbo apertius, ubi Platonis sententiam sequens nec ipse dubitas in hac vita hominem nullo modo ad perfectionem sapientiae pervenire, secundum intellectum tamen viventibus omne quod deest providentia Dei et gratia post hanc vitam posse compleri". *De Civitate Dei* 10,29, CSEL 40/1,496.

nature the desire for blessedness and immortality⁷². By His sufferings and death Christ taught us to look beyond our own sufferings.

"If only you had recognized the grace of God through Jesus Christ our Lord and His incarnation itself, in which he assumed a human soul and body! If only you could see the supreme instance of grace! ... The grace of God could not be more gratefully emphasized than when the only Son of God himself, while remaining unchangeable Himself, clothed Himself in humanity and gave the hope of His love to men by the mediation of a man, so that by his hope of love they would come to him, who was formerly so far from mortals in His immortality, far from the changeable in His unchangeableness, far from the wicked in His righteousness, far from the wretched in his blessedness. And because He has implanted in us the desire to be happy and immortal, He assumed a mortal [*sc.* flesh], while remaining in his blessedness, in order to give us what we love; and by suffering He taught us to look beyond what we dread"⁷³.

Augustine does not consider that the birth of Christ from a virgin poses a great difficulty to the Platonists. He does not discuss it with them; he simply justifies it by saying: "a wonderful being was born in a wonderful way"⁷⁴. The case, however, is different with the death, resurrection, and the transformation of the body of Christ. This was the main difficulty for the Platonists; and Augustine discusses this with them critically. The discussion of Augustine with the platonists on the death, resurrection, and transformation of the body of Christ, centers on resolving the difficulty of the Platonists in accepting resurrection and transformation of the body of Christ, which, as Augustine points out is possibly (*fortasse*) influenced by Porphyry's theory: "one must escape any kind of body in order for the

⁷² "Et quia naturaliter indidit nobis, ut beati inmortalesque esse cupiamus...". *De Civitate Dei* 10,29, CSEL 40/1,496.

⁷³ "O si cognovisses Dei gratiam per Iesum Christum dominum nostrum ipsamque eius incarnationem, qua hominis animam corpusque suscepit, summum esse exemplum gratiae videre potuisse ... Gratia Dei non potuit gratius commendari, quam ut ipse unicus Dei Filius in se incommutabiliter manens indueretur hominem et spem dilectionis suae daret hominibus homine medio, qua ad illum ab hominibus veniretur, qui tam longe erat immortalis a mortalibus, incommutabilis a commutabilibus, iustus ab inpiis, beatus a miseris. Et quia naturaliter indidit nobis, ut beati inmortalesque esse cupiamus, manens beatus suscipiensque mortalem, ut nobis tribueret quod amamus, perpetiundo docuit contemnere quod timemus". *De Civitate Dei* 10,29, CSEL 40/1,496-497.

⁷⁴ "... mirabilis mirabiliter natus est". *De Civitate Dei* 10,29, CSEL 40/1,498.

soul to dwell with God in blessedness"⁷⁵. It is from this point that Augustine begins his discussion with the Platonists.

First he contends that Porphyry's theory has to be corrected. It can be corrected by means of the Platonists' theory, which Augustine calls an "incredible notion", taken from Plato, concerning the soul of the visible world. Plato teaches that the world is a living being; it has a soul. The world is the happiest living being⁷⁶. And the Platonists wish it to be eternal. This would mean that for these Platonists the soul of the world never departs from the physical constitution of the world; yet it is very happy. According to Augustine, this goes contrary to the Platonists' theory, and for that matter contrary to Porphyry's theory, that any kind of body should be abandoned in order that the soul may be happy.

"But he himself [Porphyry], by holding this opinion, stood in need of correction particularly in view of the quite incredible notion of this vast corporeal mass which you share with him concerning the soul of this world. For you say, on the authority of Plato, that the world is a living being and a very happy living being, which you wish to be eternal. How, therefore, on the one hand the soul never departs from the body, and on the other hand always enjoys happiness, if for the soul to be happy every body is to shunned?"⁷⁷

In the second place Augustine confronts the Platonists with their own belief that the sun and planets are bodies; these are living beings of utter blessedness; and they are eternal in their corporeal forms.

"You also confess in your books that this sun and other planets are bodies. All mankind try to join and concur with you in this conviction. Moreover with lofty thinking, as you think, you consider these living beings to be very happy and eternally united with their corporeal forms"⁷⁸.

⁷⁵ "An vero quod ipsum corpus morte depositum et in melius resurrectione mutatum iam incorruptibile neque mortale in superna subvexit, hoc fortasse credere recusatis intuentes Porphyrium in his ipsis libris, ex quibus multa posui, quos de regressu animae scripsit, tam crebro praecipere omne corpus esse fugiendum, ut anima possit beata permanere cum Deo?" *De Civitate Dei* 10,29, CSEL 40/1,498.

⁷⁶ See PLATO, *Timaeus* 30f.

⁷⁷ "Sed ipse potius ista sentiens corrigendus fuit, praesertim cum de anima mundi huius visibilis et tam ingentis corporeae molis cum illo tam incredibilia sapiatis. Platone quippe auctore animal esse dicitis mundum et animal beatissimum, quod vultis esse etiam sempiternum. Quo modo ergo nec umquam solvetur a corpore, nec umquam carebut beatitudine, si, ut beata sit anima, corpus sit omne fugiendum?" *De Civitate Dei* 10,29, CSEL 40/1,498.

⁷⁸ "Solem quoque istum et cetera sidera non solum in libris vestris corpora esse fatemini, quod vobiscum omnes homines et conspiciere non cunctantur et dicere; verum etiam altiore, ut putatis, peritia haec esse animalia beatissima perhibetis et cum his corporibus sempiterna". *De Civitate Dei* 10,29, CSEL 40/1,498.

This would argue against the Platonists themselves; and Augustine tries to bring this to the attention of the Platonists, who, he thinks, pretend not to have knowledge of their usual way of discussing or of their usual teaching; or else they simply forget, when presented with the Christian teaching or the resurrection and the transformation of the body.

"Why, therefore, is it that when the Christian faith is urged upon you, at once you forget, or you pretend not to know your usual argument and teaching?"⁷⁹

After confronting the Platonists with their own teachings Augustine claims that discussion on the question of resurrection is only within the competence of those who are well-instructed in the Scriptures⁸⁰. He does not give here the reason for this claim. In Book 22,25, however, he insinuates that these Platonists consider scriptural evidence to be nonsense⁸¹. Against this background Augustine, we may suspect, wants to assert the truth of Holy Scriptures; and it is because of this that he makes this claim, not only in order to assert the authority of Christianity to establish as true the doctrine of the resurrection of the body, but also in order to persuade the Platonists to accept humbly Christian teaching. For the second aim, that is, in order to persuade the Platonists, Augustine repeatedly brings to their notice their proud attitude in not acknowledging Christ⁸². For the first aim, that is, to establish as true the resurrection of the body, he appeals to the fact of Christ's resurrection, which he takes as *the* example which demonstrated the truth of Christian teaching on the future resurrection and transformation of our bodies. But even this Christian teaching has its parallel, as Augustine points out, in the teaching of the Platonists on the presence of immortal bodies in the celestial sphere where they are immortally happy⁸³. Thus, as Augustine says, there is no basis for them to say that one has to flee from any kind of body in order that one's soul may be happy.

"What the qualities of the bodies of the saints at the resurrection will be can be discussed in more detail among those who are more learned in the Chris-

⁷⁹ "Quid ergo est, quod, cum vobis fides Christiana suadetur, tunc obliviscimi, aut ignorare vos fingitis, quid disputare aut docere soleatis?". *De Civitate Dei* 10,29, CSEL 40/1,498.

⁸⁰ "Qualia sanctorum corpora in resurrectione futura sint, potest aliquanto scrupulosius inter Christianorum scripturarem doctissimos disputari...". *De Civitate Dei* 10,29, CSEL 40/1,498.

⁸¹ "Si vana dixerunt esse conscripta". *De Civitate Dei* 22,25, CSEL 40/2,650.

⁸² "Quid causae est, quor propter opiniones vestras, quas vos ipsis obpugnatis, Christiani esse nolitis, nisi quia Christus humiliter venit et vos superbi estis?". *De Civitate Dei* 10,29, CSEL 40/1,498.

⁸³ See PLATO, *Timaeus* 30-34 and 41, p. 142-147 and 156-157.

tian Scriptures. Of this, however, we have no doubt: the future resurrected bodies will be eternal; their qualities will be like that example which Christ gave at his own resurrection. But, whatever the qualities of those bodies may be, the fact is that when Christian teaching is that these bodies will be incorruptible, and will not be an obstacle to contemplation by the soul, in which it is fixed on God, you also say that in the heavens there are immortal bodies of the immortally blessed. What then is the basis of your thinking that for us to be happy we should shun every kind of body, so that you seem to shun as it were rationally the Christian faith. Or, if you have a reason, is it not what I repeatedly say: Christ is humble, whereas you are proud? Or is it possibly because you are ashamed of being corrected? And this is a vice of none other than the proud"⁸⁴.

Chapter 29 ends with a direct quotation of *John* 1,1-5: "In the beginning was the Word and the Word was with God, and God was the Word. This was with God in the beginning. All things were created through Him; and nothing that was created came into being without Him. In Him was life; and that life was the light of men. The light shines in darkness, and the darkness did not overwhelm it". Augustine cites this text not only to emphasize the humility of the Son of God, "who by His Spirit taught a fisherman [John] wisdom in order to know and to say" the words cited above, but also and foremost in order to bring to their knowledge that in fact in Christian belief, Christ is the principle. This principle, with His life, sufferings, death, resurrection and ascension, all taken interconnected, effects in righteous believers all that pertains to and leads towards their resurrection and transformation for the better.

B. Book 10,30: Plato's teaching suffers from flaws. Porphyry corrects them

There are several points in the teachings of Plato which Porphyry does not agree with. The first is: after death the souls of men return to earth, and enter into the bodies even of beasts⁸⁵. This is also held by Plo-

⁸⁴ "Qualia sanctorum corpora in resurrectione futura sint, potest aliquanto scrupulosius inter Christianarum scripturarum doctissimos disputari; futura tamen sempiterna minime dubitamus, et talia futura, quale sua resurrectione Christus demonstravit exemplum. Sed qualiacumque sint, cum incorruptibilia prorsus et immortalia nihiloque animae contemplationem, qua in Deo fugitur, inpedientia praedicentur vosque etiam dicatis esse in caelestibus immortalia corpora immortaliter beatorum: quid est quod beata simus, omne corpus fugiendum esse opinamini, ut fidem Christianam quasi rationabiliter fugere videamini, nisi quia illud est, quod iterum dico: Christus est humilis, vos superbi? An forte corrigi pudet? Et hoc vitium non nisi superbiorum est". *De Civitate Dei* 10,29, CSEL 40/1,498-499.

⁸⁵ See PLATO, *Phaedrus* 249b, p. 41; *Republic* 10,619d-620b, p. 121-122; *Timaeus* 42, p. 158.

tinus⁸⁶. The second is: just as the dead came from the living, so the living always come from the dead⁸⁷. The third is: out of forgetfulness of past miseries the souls take delight in coming back to earth in order to assume bodies⁸⁸. The fourth is: there is a kind of inevitable cycle of departure from evil followed by return to evil.

Augustine states that Porphyry refuses to accept the first point; and Porphyry, as Augustine comments, does this quite rightly. In Augustine's supposition Porphyry's reason is this: he was ashamed to hold Plato's teaching because "he fears that a mother might come back as a mule and be ridden by her son"⁸⁹! For this reason Porphyry proposes another theory: human souls return into men's bodies, but not into the same bodies which they have left behind; they come back to assume other new human bodies. Augustine criticizes this theory. For, as Augustine points out, it would be in accordance with Porphyry's theory that a mother would return as a girl and possibly marry her own son⁹⁰.

"If after Plato has said something it would be thought improper to correct it, then why did Porphyry offer corrections on some, and not a few, points? For it is very certain that Plato wrote that after death the souls of men return even to bodies of beasts. Even Plotinus, the teacher of Porphyry, held this opinion. However, Porphyry rightly did not care for it. He thought that souls of men return into the bodies of men, not, however, their own, which they have abandoned, but into new bodies. It clearly made him blush to believe it, lest a mother who possibly turned into a mule would be ridden by her son; however, it did not make him blush to believe this: a mother who has turned into a daughter would possibly marry her son"⁹¹.

With this text Augustine renders Porphyry's theory ridiculous, although he points out its partial correctness, i.e., that souls will return

⁸⁶ PLOTINUS, *Enneades* 3:4,2; PLOTIN, *Enneades* III, (É. BRÉHIER, ed.), Paris, p.65.

⁸⁷ PLATO, *Phaedrus* 70c f.; cf. *De Civitate Dei* 10,30, CSEL 40/1,501.

⁸⁸ PLATO, *Phaedrus* 249a, p. 41; *Republic* 10,619f., p. 120f.; see also VIRGIL, *Aeneid* 6,751, Paris, Les Belles Lettres, p. 192. The text from VIRGIL is quoted directly in *De Civitate Dei* 22,26, CSEL 40/2,653.

⁸⁹ "Puduit scilicet illud credere, ne mater fortasse filium in mulam revoluta vectaret..." *De Civitate Dei* 10,30, CSEL 40/1,500.

⁹⁰ "... et non puduit hoc credere, ubi revoluta mater in puellam filio forsitan nuberet". *De Civitate Dei* 10,30, CSEL 40/1,500.

⁹¹ "Si post Platonem aliquid emendare existimatur indignum, quid ipse Porphyrius nonnulla et non parva emendavit? Nam Platonem animas hominum post mortem revolvī usque ad corpora bestiarum scripsisse certissimum est. Hanc sententiam Porphyrii doctor tenuit et Plotinus; Porphyrio tamen iure displicuit. In hominum sane non sua quae dimiserant, sed alia nova corpora redire humanas animas arbitratus est. Puduit scilicet illud credere, ne mater fortasse filium in mulam revoluta vectaret; et non puduit hoc credere, ubi revoluta mater in puellam filio forsitan nuberet". *De Civitate Dei* 10,30, CSEL 40/1, 500.

only into human bodies⁹². With this he likewise praises the Christian doctrine taught by the prophets: "The belief that souls return only once to their own bodies is more honorable than that they return time and again to different bodies"⁹³.

With respect to the second point in Plato's teaching, to wit, just as the dead came from the living so the living always come from the dead, Porphyry says that God has placed the soul in this world in order that it may realize the evils of material world and from here go back to the Father, never again to be drawn back into contact with evil. For Porphyry the souls of the thoroughly purified do not come back to assume bodies. Augustine, however, sees an incorrectness in this theory of Porphyry. For Augustine the soul is given to the body in order to do good. Evil is only recognized by man when he does good.

"Porphyry also says that God had given a soul to the world for this purpose: in order that the soul, realizing the evils of the material world, would hurry to the Father and would no longer be held back once again by the pollution of such evils. Here, though, Porphyry is inconsistent with the facts; for the soul is given to the body in order that it may do good; it would not know evil if it did not do evil. Nevertheless in this [theory] he corrected the opinion of other Platonists, and he did so on an important question, because he admitted that the soul after it has been purified from all evils and has been established with the Father will never suffer the evils of this world. With this opinion he did away with a principal Platonic theory which stated that just as the dead come from the living so the living come always from the dead"⁹⁴.

On the third point, namely, out of forgetfulness of past miseries the soul takes delight in coming back to assume a body, Augustine corrects Porphyry's position by reference to Virgil's poetical description of the joys of the blessed after their purification:

⁹² "Verum tamen, ut dixi, ex magna parte correctus est in hac opinione Porphyrius, ut saltem in solos homines humanas animas praecipitari posse sentiret, beluinos autem carceres evertere minime dubitaret". *De Civitate Dei* 10,30, CSEL 40/1,500.

⁹³ "Quanto, inquam, honestius creditur reverti animas semel ad corpora propria quam reverti totiens ad diversa"! *De Civitate Dei* 10,30, CSEL 40/1,500.

⁹⁴ "Dicit etiam ad hoc Deum animam mundo dedisse, ut materiae cognoscens mala ad Patrem recurreret nec aliquando iam talium polluta contagione teneretur. Ubi etsi aliquid inconvenienter sapit (magis enim data est corpori, ut bona faceret; non enim mala disceret, si non faceret), in eo tamen aliorum Platoniorum opinionem et non in re parva emendavit, quod mundatam ab omnibus malis animam et cum Patre constitutam numquam iam mala mundi huius passuram esse confessus est. Qua sententia profecto abstulit, quod esse Platonicum maxime perhibetur, ut mortuos ex vivis, ita vivos ex mortuis semper fieri". *De Civitate Dei* 10,30, CSEL 40/1,500-501.

"So that, forgetful, they may seek again The vault of heaven, and once more desire To take a mortal body"⁹⁵.

Virgil, following Plato, describes that after their purification, the souls are sent to the Elysian Fields and are called to the river of Lethe, which means that they are summoned to forgetfulness of the past such that they again desire to go back to mortal bodies⁹⁶. Augustine shows agreement with Porphyry's refusal to accept this idea of Virgil. Just as Augustine does not accept the original version of Plato for this theory, so he rejects that of Virgil. Here in chapter 30 he repeats his argument given in *Sermo* 240,5 and 6:

"Porphyry rightly did not like this, since it is really absurd to believe that from that other life, which could not be completely happy unless there were complete assurance of its eternity, the souls would desire the taint of corruptible bodies and to return thence to those bodies. It is as if final purification is achieved in order that the soul may long for renewed defilement. For if, when they are perfectly purified, the result is that they forget evil, the forgetfulness of evils nevertheless produces a longing for the bodies, in which the souls will again be implicated in evils, it follows that supreme felicity is the cause of infelicity, the perfection of wisdom is the cause of folly, and perfect cleansing is the cause of uncleanness. And there the soul, however long it may stay, will not be happy on the basis of truth, since it is in a state where it must be deceived in order to be happy. For it will not be happy unless it has security; however, in order to have security, it will believe that it will always be happy; but this is false, since sometimes it will come even to misery. how then will it enjoy in truth when its joy will depend on false believe? Porphyry saw this, and for this reason he said that after it has been purified the soul returns to the Father so that it may not at some stage be held back any more by the pollution of these evils"⁹⁷.

Augustine turns to the fourth point, that is, that there is an evitable cycle of departure from evil which is followed by a return to evil. In order

⁹⁵ "Scilicet inmemores supera ut convexa revisant Rursus et incipiant in corpora velle reverti". VIRGIL, *Aeneid* 6,750 f., p.192. This is directly quoted in *De Civitate Dei* 10,30, CSEL 40/1,501.

⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁹⁷ "Merito displicuit hoc Porphyrio, quoniam re vera credere stultum est ex illa vita, quae beatissima esse non poterit nisi de sua fuerit aeternitate certissima, desiderare animas corruptibilium corporum labem et inde ad ista remeare, tamquam hoc agat summa purgatio, ut inquinatio requiratur. Si enim quod perfecte mundantur hoc efficit, ut omnium obliviscantur, ubi rursus implicantur malis; profecto erit infelicitatis causa summa felicitas et stultitiae causa perfectio sapientiae et immunditiae causa summa mundatio. Nec veritate ibi beata erit anima, quamdiucumque erit, ubi oportet fallatur, ut beata sit. Non enim beata erit nisi segura; ut autem segura sit, falso putabit semper se beatam fore, quoniam aliquando erit et misera. Cui ergo gaudendi causa falsitas erit, quo modo de veritate gaudebit? Vidit hoc Porphyrius purgatamque animam ob hoc reverti dixit ad Patrem, ne aliquando iam malorum polluta contagione teneatur". *De Civitate Dei* 10,30, CSEL 40/1,501.

to reject as false this theory of Plato, he applies Porphyry's theory that perfectly purified souls do not return to bodies⁹⁸.

C. Book 12,27: Augustine refutes both Plato and Porphyry

In Book 12,27 Augustine becomes even more severe with the Platonists. Whereas in Book 10,29 and 30 he expresses fear concerning the influence which the Platonists had on many who were attracted to their search for wisdom, here in Book 12,27 he takes an aggressive position against those Platonists, commanding them to stop threatening with their teachings and branding their opinions as entirely false (*falsissimum*).

There are two points against which Augustine reacts strongly. The first is the teaching of Plato that the lesser gods, who themselves were created by the Supreme God, are the makers of other living creatures. These gods, however, took the soul from God, and what they did was just to fashion the physical frame⁹⁹. The second point is the theory of Porphyry that souls should flee from all kinds of bodies in order to be purified. However, Porphyry agrees with Plato that those who lived an unrighteous life return to assume bodies as a punishment, although Porphyry rejects the idea of a return to bodies of beasts, and admits that of a return only to new human bodies. Augustine concludes from these two opinions that the two thinkers are in fact asserting that their gods are makers of our chains and prison cells instead of being our creators ("fabros conpedum carcerumve nostrorum, nec institutores"). Let us take note of Augustine's words in the description. The words "fabros carcerumve nostrorum, nec institutores" are said not only in order to accuse the Platonists of teaching a negative conception of the bodies, but also in order to deny their belief in gods. This second intention is of importance to our understanding of Augustine's strong reaction. In Book 12,25 he says that these philosophers not only worship these gods¹⁰⁰ but are also active in dragging others to worship them together with them. It is thus because of both fear for influence on others and for the negative conception of bodies that he commands them to stop in their belief and in dragging others to worship their gods with them.

⁹⁸ "Vidit hoc Porphyrius purgatamque animam ob hoc reverti dixit ad Patrem, ne aliquando iam malorum polluta contagione teneatur. Falso igitur a quibusdam est Platonicis creditus quasi necessarius orbis ille ab eisdem abeundi et ad eadem revertendi". *De Civitate Dei* 10,,30, CSEL 40/1,501.

⁹⁹ See PLATO, *Timaeus* 41c, p. 157.

¹⁰⁰ Augustine identifies these gods with angels. See *De Civitate Dei* 12,25, CSEL 40/1,608.

"The Platonists should either cease threatening us with punishments for souls coming from these bodies or they should not preach to us to worship those gods, while urging us to flee from and to shun as much as possible their handwork [sc. the body] in us. Both in fact are entirely false"¹⁰¹.

The statement "Both in fact are entirely false" is not just a denial of the two positions mentioned above, namely, bodies are fetters and prison cells, and gods are to be worshipped. It is rather a means of showing the truth of the contrary statements in Christian teaching: (i) souls do not return to earthly bodies for punishment, and (ii) there is only One Creator of all living things either in heaven or on earth; He who created both heaven and earth.

"For it is not that souls so expiate for their punishment when they are sent back anew to this earthly life; and there is no other Creator of all living things, either in heaven or on earth, except the One who made heaven and earth"¹⁰².

These two statements serve to demonstrate Augustine's double intention. The first demonstrates that even on the basis of Plato's opinion, that is, "the world could only have reached the highest beauty and worth by being filled with living beings of all kinds, that is, with immortal and mortal beings"¹⁰³, we can claim that it is not a punishment to return to bodies, since our being created, even though we were made mortal, is a gift of God. The second serves to show that even on the basis of Plato's teaching, that is, "God's eternal understanding contains the form of the whole universe and also the forms of all living creatures"¹⁰⁴, we can conclude that all living creatures, without exception, were created by God, and that therefore they all are good. We say "even" above because it seems that Plato himself or the Platonists, in the interpretation of Augustine, seem unaware of their inconsistency, namely, while on the one hand he or they teach that the world, which is the principal creature for them, could only have reached the highest beauty and worth by being filled by all kind of living creatures, both mortal and immortal, on the other hand they contra-

¹⁰¹ "Aut ergo desinant Platonici poenas animarum ex istis corporibus comminari, aut eos nobis deos colendos non praedicent, quorum in nobis operationem, ut quantum possumus fugiamus et evadamus, hortantur, cum tamen sit utrumque falsissimum". *De Civitate Dei* 12,27, CSEL 40/1,612-613.

¹⁰² "Nam neque ita luunt poenas animae, cum ad istam vitam denuo revolvuntur, et omnium viventium sive in caelo sive in terra nullus est conditor, nisi a quo facta sunt caelum et terra". *De Civitate Dei* 12,27, CSEL 40/1,613.

¹⁰³ See PLATO, *Timaeus* 30d and 90-92, p. 143 and p. 225-228.

¹⁰⁴ PLATO, *Timaeus* 30d, p. 143; 32c-33a, p. 145.

dict this by saying that a return to bodies is a punishment. Augustine will remain consistent in bringing this to their notice.

"In fact, if there is no other cause for living in this body except that we should pay our punishment, how is it that Plato himself says that the world could not have become other than being the most beautiful and the best, unless it were filled with all kinds of living creatures, that is, both immortal and mortal? If, however, our creation, by which we have been made mortal, is a gift of God, how could it be a punishment to return to these bodies, that is, to these blessings of God? And if, as Plato repeatedly insists, God contained in His eternal understanding the forms of the whole universe as well as all living creatures, how did He himself not create all? Or, would He refuse to be the craftsman of some, when the art of producing them is in His mind that is beyond our comprehension and ineffably praiseworthy?"¹⁰⁵

D. Book 13,16: It is not the body as such but the corruptible body that is a burden to the soul

In Book 13,16 the discussion between Augustine and the Platonists is focused more on the word and dignity of the body. The exchange of arguments becomes colourful and full of ridicule. The Platonists seem to laugh at (*videntur inridere*) the Christian teaching that death is to be reckoned among the punishments for the soul. For them by its separation from the body by death the soul becomes perfectly happy and returns to the father. Augustine defends the Christian position. Hesitantly he presents arguments first from Catholic teaching: "Ubi si nihil, quo ista refelleretur opinio, in eorum litteris invenirem, operosius mihi disputandum esset". This statement is put in an hypothetical form. With it Augustine indicates not only his hesitation to confront them at the outset with Christianity's teaching for fear that he would not be effective in this manner, but also to point out clearly to them that in their very own account of their own doctrine there are elements that defeat their own position. Accordingly, reference to *Wis.* 9,15 is made without any exception of being accepted by the Platonists.

"But the philosophers, against whose attacks we defend the City of God, that is His church, think that they are wise in laughing at us because we say that

¹⁰⁵ "Nam si nulla causa est vivendi in hoc corpore nisi propter pendenda supplicia: quo modo dicit idem Plato aliter mundum fieri non potuisse pulcherrimum adque optimum, nisi omnium animalium, id est et immortalium et mortalium, generibus inpleretur? Si autem nostra institutio, qua vel mortales conditi sumus, divinum munus est: quo modo poena est ad ista corpora, id est ad divina beneficia, remeare? Et si Deus quod adsidue Plato commemorat, sicut mundi universi, ita omnium animalium species aeterna intelligentia continebat: quo modo non ipse cuncta condebat? An aliquorum esse artifex nollet, quorum efficiendorum artem ineffabilis eius et ineffabiliter laudabilis mens haberet?". *De Civitate Dei* 12,27, CSEL 40/1,613.

the separation of the soul from the body should be reckoned among the soul's punishments. They think that the soul becomes perfectly happy when it has been completely stripped of the body and returns to God, simple and alone, and, in a manner of saying, naked. On this point, if I had not found anything in their own writings with which I could refute their opinions, I should have engaged in more laborious arguments, with which I would prove that it is not the body but the corruptible body which is a burden to the soul. It is for this reason that in the previous book we quoted the statement: 'For the corruptible body weighs down the soul' (*Wis.* 9,15). By adding the word 'corruptible' the author meant that the soul is weighed down not by some kind of body but by a body that has changed quality because of sin and its consequent punishment. even if he had not added this, we ought to understand it in no other way"¹⁰⁶.

It is, however, from their very own teaching that Augustine deduces arguments with which to confront them: "Sed cum apertissime Plato deos a summo Deo factos habere immortalia corpora praedicet". With these words, with the use of the word in its superlative form *apertissime*, Augustine expresses his intention of drawing the attention of the Platonists to facts found in their own doctrine. These facts are found in Plato's accounts, first, of the creation of deities with physical bodies¹⁰⁷, and second, of the constitution of the heavenly bodies with physical forms¹⁰⁸. These two are acknowledged by the Platonists as Augustine points out to them. We have shown this already in our analysis of Book 10,29. This makes the last part of Book 13,16 appear as a doublet of Book 10,29. But here in Book 13,16 Augustine adds another reason why these Platonists are ashamed of joining the rank of Christians: they are afraid to be ranked among the ordinary people by joining them; and they think that it will cheapen the value of their *pallium* (a conventional garb of philosophers). Thus the reason is to protect their pretentious social and academic status.

"I thought it right to mention this only against those who pride themselves on being called or on being Platonists, who because of their pride in this name are ashamed to be Christians, lest by joining them the ordinary name may

¹⁰⁶ "Sed philosophi, contra quorum calumnias defendimus civitatem Dei, hoc est eius ecclesiam, sapienter sibi videntur inridere, quod dicimus animae a corpore separationem inter poenas eius esse deputandum, quia videlicet eius perfectam beatitudinem tunc illi fieri existimant, cum omni prorsus corpore exuta ad Deum simplex et sola et quodam modo nuda redierit. Ubi si nihil, quo ista refelleretur opinio, in eorum litteris invenirem, operosius mihi disputandum esset, quo demonstrarem non corpus esse animae, sed corruptibile corpus onerosum. Unde illud est quod de scripturis nostris in superiore libro commemoravimus: *Corpus enim corruptibile adgravat animam*. Addendo utique *corruptibile* non qualicumque corpore, sed quale factum est ex peccato consequente vindicta, animam perhibuit adgravari. Quod etiamsi non addidisset, nihil aliud intellegere deberemus". *De Civitate Dei* 13,16, CSEL 40/1,634.

¹⁰⁷ See PLATO, *Timaeus* 38c, p.152.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

cheapen the value of the wearers of the pallium; which value is inflated more when it is more rare. These philosophers, trying to find something to criticize in Christian doctrine, attack the immortality of the body, as if there were a contradiction between our seeking for happiness for the soul and our wish to have it always in our body, bound to the body as though to a burdensome fetter. And yet their own founder and teacher Plato says that a gift has been granted by the Supreme God to the gods made by Him that they would not someday die, that is, they would not be separated from the bodies with which He had linked them"¹⁰⁹.

E. Book 13,17: It is within the will of God to raise up human bodies

Augustine's purpose in Book 13,17 is similar to that in *Sermo* 242, 7-10. In both he attempts to show to the Platonists that weight is not an obstacle to the resurrection of the body. It is within the will of God that human bodies, despite of their weight, should rise. In each of these two places, however, Augustine uses different approaches. In *Sermo* 242,7-10 he refutes the Platonists on the basis of examples. In Book 13,17 he refutes them on the basis of their own account of the constitution of the universe and on the nature of the gods as willed by God. Augustine's point of departure is the Platonists' own concept of the whole earth. For them the whole earth is a part (*membrum*) of their great God, which is the whole universe¹¹⁰. The whole universe has four elements¹¹¹, which are distributed and ordered each in its own place. In order to ensure that the whole universe, which is a living being and a great god, will not die the Supreme God has *willed* that the conjunction of these elements should be indissoluble and everlasting¹¹². Given this belief of the Platonists

¹⁰⁹ "Hoc tantum contra istos commemorandum putavi, qui se Platonicos vocari vel esse gloriantur, cuius superbia nominis erubescunt esse Christiani, ne commune illis cum vulgo vocabulum vilem faciat palliatorum tanto magis inflatam, quanto magis exiguum paucitatem; et quaerentes, quid in doctrina Christiana reprehendant, exagitant aeternitatem corporum, tamquam haec sint inter se contraria, ut et beatitudinem quaeramus animae et eam semper esse velimus in corpore, velut aerumnoso vinculo conligatam; cum eorum auctor et magister Plato donum a deo summo dis ab illo factis dicat esse concessum, ne aliquando moriantur, id est a corporibus, quibus eos conexuit, separentur". *De Civitate Dei* 13,16, CSEL 40/1,636.

¹¹⁰ See PLATO, *Timaeus* 40b; *Phaedrus* 246b: the soul taken as a whole traverses the whole universe. Earth is symbolized by Hestia.

¹¹¹ PLATO, *Timaeus* 31b-32c: the four elementary constituents are earth, water, air, and fire; two of these are bonds, namely, water and air. The unity of the bonds and the terms they are combining is effected by a continued geometrical proportion.

¹¹² PLATO, *Timaeus* 33a: God made the universe free from any decay through age and diseases that could arise from heat and cold and other factors.

Augustine sees an apparent inconsistency on their part in their denial that earthly bodies can be immortal? Why? It is because they say that the earth, being the "central member" (*medium membrum*) of the whole universe, is animated by the universe itself such that it is immortal, while at the same time they deny earthly bodies the possibility of being immortal. In his analysis Augustine takes note of the account of the Platonists. All their gods owe their immortality to the will of the Supreme God. Gods are immortal because God has willed it. Thus the universe, the earth, and all the other heavenly bodies are immortal because God has willed and established them to be immortal. If this is so, then, Augustine asks, why make other living bodies an exception? Would it not be possible for human bodies to be immortal if God has willed them to be immortal in the future?

"[These Platonists] contend that terrestrial bodies cannot be immortal, when they do not doubt that the whole earth itself is a part of their god, who is not supreme, but nevertheless great, that is, the whole of this universe. When, therefore, that Supreme God created for them another being whom they regard as god, that is, this universe, and this should be ranked above all other gods which are under him, they suppose that this same god is an animating agent; that is to say, God has implanted in it a soul that is rational or intelligent, which is enclosed in the quite vast mass of its body; God has also established the four elements of the same body to be its parts that are placed and arranged in their proper places. The Platonists would wish that the junctures of these four elements be indissoluble and everlasting, lest their great god die. On this assumption that the earth, a central member in the body of the great animate god, is immortal, what reason is there that the bodies of other living beings on earth cannot also be immortal, if God wills that likewise?"¹¹³

The next difficulty that the Platonists present is the impossibility of earthly bodies to be immortal on the basis that earth, of which they have been made, will eventually disintegrate and perish, and that they will finally return to earth, their origin. Augustine wonders why Platonists attribute this nature only to earth and not to the other elements. Why not apply it

¹¹³ "Contendunt etiam isti terrestria corpora sempiterna esse non posse, cum ipsam universam terram dei sui, non quidem summi, sed tamen magni, id est totius huius mundi, membrum in medio positum et sempiternum esse non dubitent. Cum ergo deus ille summus fecerit eis alterum quem putant deum, id est istum mundum, ceteris dis, qui infra eum sunt, praefendum, eundemque esse existiment animantem, anima scilicet, sicut adserunt, rationali vel intellectuali in tam magna mole corporis eius inclusa, ipsiusque corporis tamquam membra locis suis posita adque digesta quattuor constituerit elementa, quorum iuncturam, ne umquam deus eorum tam magnus moriatur, insolubilem ac sempiternam velint: quid causae est, ut in corpore maioris animantis tamquam medium membrum aeterna sit terra, et aliorum animantium terrestrium corpora, si Deus sicut illud velit, aeterna esse non possint?". *De Civitate Dei* 13,17, CSEL 40/1,637.

also to fire, he asks. Supposing this is applied to the element of fire, would Plato's account of God's promise of immortality to the gods not fall a victim? Or, is it because this does not apply to fire on the basis that God has not willed it? If so, then it is again, Augustine points out, because of God's will that earthly bodies can rise.

"But they say that earth has to return to earth from where the earthly bodies of animals have been taken. This is the reason why they say, it is necessary that they disintegrate and perish, and, in this way, they are restored to the enduring and everlasting earth from where they have been taken. If someone makes a similar assertion also about fire and says that bodies which have been taken from the universal fire should return to the universal fire in order to become heavenly living beings, would the immortality which Plato promised, as though speaking for the supreme God, to those gods not fall by the violence of this argument? Or does this not happen because God does not will it, whose will, as Plato says, no force can conquer? What then prevents the will of God from effecting this also in earthly bodies, seeing that Plato admits that God is able to ensure that things which have come to existence should not perish, things which have been bound together should not be surrendered, things which have been taken from the elements should not return to them, and that souls established in bodies should not ever forsake them but should enjoy with them immortality and everlasting happiness?"¹¹⁴

The last argument that Augustine uses against the Platonists is no longer directly connected with their position. He rather questions their authority to speak on God's affairs. He denies the validity of their claim; and he asserts the prophets' authority, claiming for them the guidance of the Spirit.

"Why should not God be able to ensure that earthly bodies do not die? Are we to suppose that God is not powerful to the extent that Christians believe, but only as far as the Platonists believe? Those philosophers, to be sure, could know the purpose and the power of God, and the prophets could not? In fact the contrary is true. As far as He deigns to reveal, the Spirit of God has taught

¹¹⁴ "Sed terrae, inquiunt, terra reddenda est, unde animalium terrestria sumta sunt corpora; ex quo fit, inquiunt, ut ea sit necesse dissolvi et emori et eo modo terrae stabili ac sempiternae, unde fuerant sumta, restitui. Si quis hoc etiam de igne similiter adfirmet et dicat reddenda esse universo igni corpora, quae inde sumta sunt, ut caelestia fierent animalia: nonne immortalitas, quam talibus dis, velut deo summo loquente, promisit Plato, tamquam violentia disputationis huius intercideret? An ibi propterea non fit, quia Deus non vult, cuius voluntatem, ut ait Plato, nulla vis vincit? Quid ergo prohibet, ut hoc etiam de terrestribus corporibus Deus possit efficere, quandoquidem, ut nec ea quae orta sunt occidunt nec ea quae sunt vineta solvantur nec ea quae sunt ex elementis sumta reddantur adque ut animae in corporibus constitutae nec umquam ea deserant et cum eis immortalitate ac sempiterna beatitudine perfruantur, posse Deum confitetur Plato?". *De Civitate Dei* 13,17, CSEL 40/1,637.

the prophets to make known His will. The philosophers, however, are deceived by human speculation when they tried to know this [will]"¹¹⁵.

F. Book 13,18: The natural heavy weight of the body will be transformed

Book 13,18 stand even closer to *Sermo* 242,7-10. In both works Augustine refutes the argument from natural weight presented by the Platonists in order to dismiss the possibility of human bodies to resurrect and exist in heaven. To this end he cites different examples. Here, however, in Book 13,18, he adds *the* example, which is the resurrection and the ascension of Christ's body. He posits this as a well-measured opposition to the argument given by the Platonists. These Platonists point to the situation of our first parents in their primitive state. They argue that the first couple, because of the natural weight of their bodies, lived on earth, which was given the name "paradise".

"But, they say, it is necessary that natural weight either holds earthly bodies down on earth or forces them down to earth, that therefore, they could not exist in heaven. Indeed, those first human beings lived on earth, in a wooded and fruitful land which was given the name "paradise". But because they insist on the weight of earthly bodies we should reply to this objection either in view of the body of Christ, with which He ascended into heaven, or in view of the sort of bodies that the saints will have at the resurrection"¹¹⁶.

Augustine's choice of the example set by Christ's ascension, and, by extension, of our own future resurrection is not a mere presentation of a contrary example against the example of our first parents in their primitive happy state. It is to illustrate as well the effect that the resurrection will bring about to the transformation of our *corpus animale* to *corpus spiritale*. In paradise Adam and Even bore a *corpus animale*. At the resurrection the just will bear a *corpus spiritale*. This discussion is continued in the next chapter.

¹¹⁵ "Quir ergo non possit, ut nec terrestria moriantur? An Deus non est potens quo usque Christiani credunt, sed quo usque Platonici volunt? Nimirum quippe consilium Dei et potestatem potuerunt philosophi, nec potuerunt nosse prophetae; cum potius e contrario Dei prophetas ad enuntiandum eius, quantum dignatus est, volutatem Spiritus eius docuerit, philosophos autem in ea cognoscenda coniectura humana deceperit". *De Civitate Dei* 13,17, CSEL 40/1,637.

¹¹⁶ "Sed necesse est, inquit, ut terrena corpora naturale pondus vel in terra teneat vel cogat ad terram et ideo in caelo esse non possint. Primi quidem illi homines in terra erant nemorosa adque fructuosa, quae paradisi nomen obtinuit; sed quia et ad hoc respondendum est vel propter Christi corpus cum quo ascendit in caelum vel propter sanctorum qualia in resurrectione futura sunt, intueantur paulo adtentius pondera ipsa terrena". *De Civitate Dei* 13,18, CSEL 40/1,639.

G. Book 13,19: Souls of the just will live better with their transformed bodies

Augustine asserts a Christian teaching: Death could not have befallen on human beings if sin had not been committed. Despite death, however, the souls of the just live at rest after they have departed from this life. Yet it is true that they will live in a better state after they have been united again with their bodies in perfect health: "*eis melius esset cum suis corporibus bene valentibus vivere*". The opinion that the souls of the just live in a better state in union with their bodies in perfect health is better, in Augustine's observation, than the opinion that souls stripped of the bodies and lived in the height of happiness. He finds this true even among the Platonists themselves: "*ut etiam illi, qui omni modo esse sine corpore beatissimum existimant, hanc opinionem suam sententia repugnante convincant*". The phrase "*hanc opinionem suam sententia repugnante convincant*" shows that in Augustine's judgement even among the Platonists themselves there are divergent opinions regarding their own teaching (*hanc opinionem suam*). Thus he disproves their theory that the souls are in the height of felicity when stripped of the bodies, while, on the other hand, he favors to a certain extent the Christian teaching that the souls are in a better state when they are united with their bodies in a better condition.

The conflicting opinions are shown by the opposition in the theories of Plato and Porphyry, which, as Augustine recalls here, he has already demonstrated in Book 10,30. For Plato both the souls of the just and the unjust, after differing periods of time, will come back to assume bodies in order to undergo sufferings again. Porphyry, however, reacts to the harshness of Plato's theory, in denying the return of souls into the bodies of beasts, but accepts a return to other new human bodies until finally they are completely released from every kind of body and enter into everlasting felicity, and will no longer return to misery. There is, however, in the teaching of both Plato and Porphyry, and for that matter in that of Platonists themselves, an aspect which, according to Augustine, favors the Christian teaching that union with bodies in perfect state is better than disjunction from bodies. Augustine has perceived this as becomes clear from the following passage.

"For no one of them will rank wise men, whether those who are still to die or those who are already dead, that is to say, whether those who are without bodies or those who will leave behind their bodies, above the immortal gods, to whom the Supreme God, according to Plato, promises an inestimable gift,

namely, an indissoluble life, that is, an everlasting union with their bodies."¹¹⁷

Here Augustine indicates that union with bodies which are immortal is a better state than the state of the souls in separation from the bodies. He argues that this opinion is even deductible from Porphyry's position.

"Therefore, lest he would appear conquered by Christ, who promises eternal life to His saints, Porphyry also established purified souls in a state of everlasting happiness, without any return to their former miseries; and in order to contradict Christ he denies the resurrection of the incorruptible bodies, and asserts that souls will live for eternity without any sort of body. However, with this opinion, whatever its worth may be, he taught that souls must submit themselves even to gods with bodies in religious homage. Why was this, unless it was because he believed that those souls, although not associated with bodies, are not superior to the deities"¹¹⁸.

His aim in this text is clear: to show that the souls of the just are in a better state when they are in union with their bodies in perfect health¹¹⁹. This could have happened with the first human beings had they not sinned. They would have been rewarded with transformed immortal bodies, with which they would have been united and lived forever. This will also happen to the just at the resurrection. They will be united with their former bodies, but then already free from any sort of corruption; there will be no instance where something will interfere with their perfect felicity.

"Therefore, if those Platonists will not dare, as I do not think they will, to rank human souls above the gods who are in the height of happiness and yet incorporated in eternal bodies, why is it that it seems ridiculous for them that the Christian faith teaches that the first human beings were so created that, if they had not sinned, death would not have sundered them from their bodies, but for their merits in observing obedience they would have received the gift of immortality of bodies with which they would have lived for ever; and that

¹¹⁷ "Neque enim quisquam audebit illorum sapientes homines, sive morituros sive iam mortuos, id est aut carentes corporibus aut corpora relicturos, dis immortalibus antepone, quibus Deus summus apud Platonem munus ingens, indissolubilem scilicet vitam, id est aeternum cum suis corporibus consortium pollicetur". *De Civ. Dei* 13,19, CSEL 40/1,641.

¹¹⁸ "Itaque ne a Christo vinci videretur vitam sanctis pollicente perpetuam, etiam ipse purgatas animas sine ullo ad miseras pristinas reditu in aeterna felicitate constituit; et ut Christo adversaretur, resurrectionem incorruptibilium corporum negans non solum sine terrenis, sed sine ullis omnino corporibus eas adseruit in sempiternum esse victuras. Nec tamen ista qualicumque opinione praecepit saltem ne dis corporatis religionis obsequio subderentur. Quid ita, nisi quia eas, quamvis nulli corpori sociatas, non credidit illis esse meliores?". *De Civitate Dei* 13,19, CSEL 40/1,642-643.

¹¹⁹ "Licet enim iustorum ac piorum animae defunctorum quod in requie vivant dubitare fas non sit, usque adeo tamen eis melius esset cum suis corporibus bene valentibus vivere ...". *De Civitate Dei* 13,19, CSEL 40/1,641.

at the resurrection the just will inhabit the same bodies in which they lived in hardship on earth; yet these bodies will be such that no trace of corruption and hardship will affect their flesh, nor will any sort of sorrow or pain interfere with their happiness?"¹²⁰

The words "no trace of corruption and hardship will affect their flesh, nor will any sort of pain and sorrow interfere with their happiness" serve to describe the total transformation of the just, both in their physical constitution and in their psychological and spiritual condition.

H. Book 13,20: The flesh of the saints "rests in hope"

There is a further point in the teaching of the philosophers which Augustine opposes in Book 13,20, namely: it is through forgetfulness that souls long to have their bodies again. This time, however, he no longer challenges them with arguments that could be deduced from their own teaching but with the teaching of the Christian faith. For Augustine the flesh of the just whose souls have already departed rests in hope.

"Accordingly now the souls of the departed just do not find death grievous, when they are separated from their bodies, because their flesh rests in hope."¹²¹

The expression "the flesh of the just rests in hope" is a surprising one in Augustine. One would rather expect from him "the souls of the just rest in hope". He says, however, the former. We suspect that he means that even after death the souls of the just still retain a certain kind of relationship with their bodies. Even when already separated from each other by death, the soul and the flesh still retain the longing to be united someday with each other. We notice this theme at once in this chapter. Augustine easily interchanges the soul and flesh with respect to hope. Thus, from saying that the "flesh rests in hope" he at once shifts to saying that the souls "look for the resurrection of their bodies with patient longing". In this chapter Augustine is motivated in depicting the continued relationship

¹²⁰ "Quapropter, si non audebunt iste, sicut eos ausuros esse non arbitror, dis beatissimis et tamen in aeternis corporibus constitutis humanas animas antepone: quor eis videtur absurdum, quod fides Christiana praedicat, et primos homines ita fuisse conditos, ut, si non peccassent, nulla morte a suis corporibus solverentur, sed pro meritis oboedientiae custoditae immortalitate donati cum eis viverent in aeternum; et talia sanctos in resurrectione habituros ea ipsa, in quibus hic laboraverunt, corpora, ut nec eorum carni aliquid corruptionis vel difficultatis nec eorum beatitudini aliquid doloris et infelicitatis possit accidere?". *De Civitate Dei* 13,19, CSEL 40/1,643.

¹²¹ "Proinde nunc sanctorum animae defunctorum ideo non habent gravem mortem, qua separatae sunt a corporibus suis, quia caro eorum requiescit in spe". *De Civitate Dei* 13,20, CSEL 40/1,643.

between the soul and the flesh by the wish to oppose Plato's teaching that the flesh is a source of misery and that the soul, because of forgetfulness of past misery which it shared with the flesh, wishes to return to a body. Thus, by presenting both the soul and the flesh as continually longing for each other, Augustine attempts to overcome both of Plato's teachings, namely, his negative concept of the flesh and his theory of forgetfulness. For Augustine the flesh in itself is good and an integral part of human beings, and, therefore, it is only when they are united again with their bodies in perfect health that human beings can be more perfectly happy; and it is not because of forgetfulness but because of memory (*meminerunt*) of the promise of Christ, "who never deceives any one", expressed in *Lk.* 21,18: "even the hairs would remain intact", that the soul longs to be united with the flesh. This is again, in my opinion, anti-Platonic, directed especially against Porphyry.

"Accordingly now the souls of the just who have departed do not find death grievous, when they have been separated from their bodies, because their flesh rests in hope, whatever may be the indignity it received after it was already bereft of sensation. For it is not, as Plato imagined, that they long for their bodies through forgetfulness, but rather, because they have remembered what has been promised to them by him, who deceives no one, and who also gave them the assurance of the integrity even of their hairs (*Lk.* 21,18), they hope for the resurrection of the bodies with patient longing, for though they suffered much hardship in those bodies, they will experience nothing of the kind hereafter"¹²².

The object of hope is the transformed bodies, which will have qualities even better than those enjoyed by our first parents in their primitive life of happiness. Augustine mentions here their several different and better qualities. The transformed bodies will not have the possibility of dying, in contrast to the pristine bodies which could not have died; they will not have any need of nourishment, in contrast to the pristine bodies which needed food and drink in order to survive. The transformed bodies will be much better than the animal bodies now and in paradise¹²³. They will be

¹²² "Proinde nunc sanctorum animae defunctorum ideo non habent gravem mortem, qua separatae sunt a corporibus suis, quia caro eorum requiescit in spe, quaslibet sine ullo iam sensu contumelias accipisse videatur. Non enim, sicut Platoni visum est, corpora oblivione desiderant, sed potius, quia meminerunt quid sibi ab eo sit promissum, qui neminem fallit, qui eis etiam de capillorum suorum integritate securitatem dedit, resurrectionem corporum, in quibus multi dura perpassi sunt, nihil in eis ulterius tale sensuri desiderabiliter et patienter expectant". *De Civitate Dei* 13,20, CSEL 40/1,643.

¹²³ "Non solum enim non erit tale, quale nunc est in quavis optima valetudine, sed nec tale quidem, quale fuit in primis hominibus ante peccatum, qui licet morituri non essent, nisi peccassent, alimentis tamen ut homines utebantur, nondum spiritalia, sed adhuc animalia corpora terrena gestantes". *De Civitate Dei* 13,20, CSEL 40/1,644.

spiritual; the flesh will be in perfect obedience to the spirit in such a manner that the relationship between them will be so complete so as to bring assurance of indissoluble immortality¹²⁴. These thoughts appear repeatedly like a refrain in Augustine's discussions whenever he speaks of the antithesis of suffering now and of resurrection and transformation of bodies later.

I. Book 22,25-28: The problem in the discussion on the resurrection with the philosophers can be tackled and resolved

Chapters 25 to 28 can be taken as one unit. Referring to the texts he assembled from the four chapters, J. O'Meara, in *Porphyry's Philosophy from Oracles in Augustine*, puts it as follows:

"This whole passage, excerpted from four of the concluding chapters of the *civ. Dei*, deals with the resurrection of the flesh: the theme is introduced at the beginning of 25: *de carnis resurrectione contendunt*, and completed with the last words of 28: *tota quaestio de carnis resurrectione solvetur*"¹²⁵

The discussion is not held with Porphyry himself but with the obstinate deniers who represent Porphyry. The main question to be tackled is given in chapter 25: If many have come to believe in the prediction of God (who is Christ for the Christians), whom also Porphyry acknowledges as God such that he calls Him Father and King, why not believe the prediction of Christ Himself on the resurrection of the bodies, when Christ Himself demonstrated it with His own resurrection? From this question we can see that for Augustine the prediction extends from the Old Testament to the New Testament. In his exposition, however, he is apparently inclined to show only the prophecy and its fulfillment in the New Testament.

The question covers two main difficulties: (i) the difficulty of proving the credibility of Christ, and (ii) the difficulty of proving that Christ truly rose from the dead. Concerning the first difficulty, Augustine presents the fact of the fulfillment first of the prophecy of belief in Christ. This point is not made clear in chapter 25; but, because of the hint given that this is to counteract an invented story that Peter's witchcraft compelled God to make a prediction¹²⁶, one can easily see that Augustine is

¹²⁴ *De Civitate Dei* 13,20, CSEL 40/1,644: The flesh will be spiritual but not spirit. Here Augustine warns against a wrong interpretation of *1 Cor.* 15,44.

¹²⁵ J. O'MEARA, *Porphyry's Philosophy from Oracles in Augustine*, Paris, 1959, p. 74.

¹²⁶ "Neque enim Petri maleficiis eam cum laude credentium tanto ante prenuntiare compulsus est". *De Civitate Dei* 22,25, CSEL 40/2,650. This passage is about a false oracle on the duration of the Christian religion.

referring to the fulfillment of the prophecy of belief in Christ. This is made clear in Book 18,53, where Augustine contradicts pagans who "go on to say that Peter used sorcery to ensure that the name of Christ should be worshipped for 365 years, and on the completion of that number of years it should come to an immediate end"¹²⁷.

With respect to the second difficulty, Augustine insists on the correctness of the belief of Christians, on the basis that God Himself has approved it, that He Himself has fulfilled it¹²⁸.

The followers of Porphyry react to this insistence by Augustine. They say that those predictions should be understood in another way. Whichever is this other way is not specified by Augustine. However, Augustine quite clearly is referring to the opposition of these philosophers to the teaching of the Christians that Christ resurrected, who for them (the Christians) is equal with the Father despite of His incarnation. It is to be noted that Porphyry himself was a bitter opponent to the teaching that God became incarnate in Christ¹²⁹. This is illustrated in Book 10,24 and 29, as we have already shown. And in Book 22,25 Augustine stamps his seal on the teaching of the Christian religion on the truth of Christ's own prediction and its fulfillment by Himself on the basis of the truthfulness of God himself. Christ, he claims, truly rose from the dead; and by extension of the truth of His prediction, there will also be a resurrection of the bodies. Thus, in order to put clear his point, addressing the philosophers, Augustine says that "if they want to discover something that the Almighty cannot do, it is this: God cannot lie".

"For are we to suppose that God cannot affect the flesh to rise and to live an eternal life, or, are we to believe that He will not do it because it is evil and unworthy of Him? But as for God's omnipotence, by which he makes many and great marvels, we have already said much. If they want to discover what the Almighty cannot do, here they have it; I will say: He cannot lie"¹³⁰.

¹²⁷ "Petrum autem maleficia fecisse subiungunt, ut coleretur Christi nomen per trecentos sexaginta quinque annos, deinde completo memorato numero annorum, sine mora sumeret finem". *De Civitate Dei* 18,53, CSEL 40/2,358.

¹²⁸ "Si enim propterea dicunt alio modo esse credenda, ne, si dixerint vana esse conscripta, iniuriam faciant illi Deo, cui tam magnum perhibent testimonium: tantam prorsus ei vel etiam graviolem faciunt iniuriam, si aliter dicunt esse intellegenda, non sicut mundus ea credit, quem crediturum ipse laudavit, ipse promisit, ipse conplevit". *De Civitate Dei* 22,25, CSEL 40/2,650-651.

¹²⁹ "Eum quippe in ipsa carne contempsit". *De Civitate Dei* 10,24, CSEL 40/1,485.

¹³⁰ "Utrum enim non potest facere ut resurgat caro et vivat in aeternum, an propterea credendum non est id eum esse facturum, quia malum est adque indignum Deo? Sed de omnipotentia eius, qua tot et tanta facit incredibilia, iam multa diximus. Si volunt invenire quod omnipotens non potest, habent prorsus; ego dicam, mentiri non potest". *De Civitate Dei* 22,25, CSEL 40/2,651.

This idea of prediction and fulfillment by God can even be reconciled with the teaching of Plato. Augustine points this out in chapter 26, where he again takes up the philosophical appeal to Porphyry's rejection of resurrection of the bodies on the basis that souls should avoid any contact with bodies if they are to be in bliss. Augustine's appeal to Plato is presented forcefully. He suggests that Plato, whom they consider to have the highest authority, should correct his teaching if Porphyry is to be followed: "Emendet libros suos istorum omnium magister Plato". In Augustine's understanding of Plato the raising up of bodies must be possible while God promised to perform an apparently impossible deed. Referring to Plato's account of the cause of immortality of the deities, Augustine addresses the philosophers as follows:

"If those who hear these things are not only stupid but not deaf, they will surely not doubt that according to Plato what is impossible has been promised to the deities to be so made by the God who created them. For He who says: 'It is true that you cannot be immortal, but by my will you will be immortal', what does He mean but that 'Nevertheless, by my act you will become something that cannot be done'? Therefore, He, who according to Plato has promised to do what is impossible, will raise the flesh up incorruptible, immortal and spiritual. Why do these philosophers still cry out that what God has promised is impossible, when the world has believed in God's promise, as it was promised that the world itself will believe, and when we cry out that it is God who will do it, who, as even Plato declares, does the impossible?"¹³¹.

In chapter 27 Augustine is apparently no longer debating with the philosophers. Thus, instead of his usual way of refuting them on the basis of the contradictory opinions of Plato and Porphyry, he now attempts to reconcile both, if their theories are combined, with Christianity. From Plato this is the point of possible reconciliation: no soul can exist for ever in a bodiless state. From Porphyry the point is this: the soul which is completely purified and has gone back to the Father will never return to the evils of this world. Augustine thinks that if Plato and Porphyry had communicated with each other and had combined the truth which each one of them had seen, they would have come to the same conclusion: souls would

¹³¹ "Si non solum absurdi, sed surdi non sunt qui haec audiunt, non utique dubitant dis factis ab illo Deo qui eos fecit secundum Platonem quod est impossibile fuisse promissum. Qui enim dicit: 'Vos quidem immortales esse non potestis, sed mea voluntate eritis', quid aliud dicit quam 'id quod fieri non potest me faciente tamen eritis'? Ille igitur carnem incorruptibilem, immortalem, spiritalem resuscitabit, qui iuxta Platonem id quod impossibile est se facturum esse promisit. Quid adhuc, quod promisit Deus, quod Deo promittenti credidit mundus, qui etiam ipse promissus est crediturus, esse impossibile clamant, quando quidem nos Deum, qui etiam secundum Platonem facit impossibilia, id facturum esse clamamus?". *De Civitate Dei* 22,25, CSEL 40/2,652-653.

return to bodies and would receive bodies in which they might live immortally in happiness.

"Plato and Porphyry each made certain statements, which, if they had exchanged them, could have possibly made them Christians. Plato said that souls could not exist forever without bodies; for that is why he said that even the souls of the wise, after no matter how long, will nevertheless return to bodies. Porphyry, on the other hand, said that the perfectly purified soul, after it had gone back to the Father, will never return to these evils of the world. And by this means, that is, if Plato had communicated the truth which he saw to Porphyry, namely, that even the completely purified souls of the just and of the wise will return to human bodies, and, similarly, if Porphyry had communicated to Plato the truth that he saw, namely, that the holy souls will never return to the misery of the corruptible body, such that both would not say singly but jointly would say both things, then I think that they would have already seen this to be the conclusion: that souls would return to bodies and would receive the kind of bodies in which they would live happily and immortally"¹³².

In chapter 28 Augustine moves further in order to see how he may more exactly reconcile the philosophers' standpoint with that of Christianity. The only remaining aspect of the question is to show that it is the very same souls and the very same bodies which will unite again and live immortally in happiness¹³³. He does this by integrating the teaching of Marcus Varro, found in his book *De gente populi Romani*, on the re-union of the same soul and of the same body. Augustine thought it best to quote Varro's own words:

"Some 'genethliaci' [*sc.* astrologers], he said, have written that for men who are to be born again there is what the Greeks call *παλιγγενεσία*; with this, they write that rebirth takes place after four hundred and forty years. Its effect

¹³² "Singula quaedam dixerunt Plato adque Porphyrius, quae si inter se communicare potuissent, facti essent fortasse Christiani. Plato dixit sine corporibus animas in aeternum esse non posse. Ideo enim dixit etiam sapientum animas post quamlibet longum tempus, tamen ad corpora redituras. Porphyrius autem dixit animam purgatissimam, cum redierit ad Patrem, ad haec mala mundi numquam esse redituram. Ac per hoc, quod verum vidit Plato, si dedisset Porphyrio, etiam iustorum adque sapientum purgatissimas animas ad humana corpora redituras; rursus quod verum vidit Porphyrius, si dedisset Platoni, numquam redituras ad miseras corruptibilis corporis animas sanctas; ut non singuli haec singula, sed ambo et singuli utrumque dicerent: puto quod viderent esse iam consequens, ut et redirent animae ad corpora et talia reciperent corpora, in quibus beate adque immortaliter viverent". *De Civitate Dei* 22,27, CSEL 40/2,653-654.

¹³³ Here Augustine asserts a theory of a permanent union of souls and bodies against a theory of temporary union which also Cicero and Labeo held. See *De Civitate Dei* 22,27, CSEL 40/2,655.

is to bring into conjunction again the same soul and the same body which formerly were united in a human being"¹³⁴.

Augustine does not confirm this to be right, for the reason that Christianity does not teach temporary re-union of bodies at the resurrection. However, he calls it meritorious for two reasons: (i) it overthrows and destroys arguments which deny the possibility of resurrection of bodies, and (ii) it teaches re-union of the same souls and bodies at the resurrection¹³⁵.

With the teaching of Plato on the return of souls of the just to bodies, together with that of Porphyry on non-return to the misery of corruptible bodies, and finally together with that of Varro on the return of the same souls and of the same bodies to each other, Augustine considers the difficulty about the resurrection of the flesh has been solved for the philosophers.

"Therefore if Plato and Porphyry, or, rather, those who love them and are still alive, agree with us that even the holy souls will return to bodies, as Plato says, but that they will not return to any evil, as Porphyry says, the consequence of these premises would be what the Christian faith teaches: souls will receive the kind of bodies in which they may live happily forever without evil. Let them also assimilate this from Varro: that souls will return to the same bodies in which they were formerly united; and then the whole question about the resurrection of the flesh to eternal life will be solved for them."¹³⁶

This shows that the philosophers' teaching on the resurrection of bodies can be reconciled with that of Christianity. The transformation of the body is also included in their teaching.

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Mamerto ALFECHE, O.S.A.

¹³⁴ "Genethliaci quidam scripserunt, inquit, esse in renascendis hominibus quam appellant *παλιγγενεσιάν* Graeci; hac scripserunt confici in annis numero quadringentis quadraginta, ut idem corpus et eadem anima, quae fuerint coniuncta in homine aliquando, eadem rursus redeant in coniunctionem". *De Civitate Dei* 22,28, CSEL 40/2,655.

¹³⁵ "Iste Varro quidem sive illi genethliaci nescio qui (non enim nomina eorum prodidit, quorum commemoravit sententiam) aliquid dixerunt, quod licet falsum sit (cum enim semel ad eadem corpora quae gesserunt animae redierint, numquam ea sunt postea relicturae), tamen multa illius impossibilitatis, qua contra nos isti garriunt, argumenta convellit et destruit". *De Civitate Dei* 22,28, CSEL 40/2,655.

¹³⁶ "Quapropter Plato et Porphyrius, vel potius quicumque illos diligunt et adhuc vivunt, si nobis consentiunt etiam sanctas animas ad corpora redituras, sicut ait Plato, nec tamen ad mala ulla redituras, sicut ait Porphyrius, ut ex his fiat consequens, quod fides praedicat Christiana, talia corpora recepturas, in quibus sine ullo malo in aeternum feliciter vivant, adsumant etiam hoc de Varrone, ut ad eadem corpora redeant, in quibus antea fuerunt, et apud eos tota quaestio de carnis in aeternum resurrectione solvetur". *De Civitate Dei* 22,28, CSEL 40/2,655-656.

PRIMA LECTIO QUAE RECITATA EST.

THE LITURGICAL PERICOPE IN LIGHT OF SAINT AUGUSTINE'S SERMONS

In this study we wish to bring together a number of facts about the liturgical pericopes that were read in Hippo, the see of Saint Augustine¹. In our research we are particularly interested in the development of a reliable method using implicit and explicit evidence in Augustine's sermons, from which conclusions can be drawn regarding the question which liturgical readings were used. In this study, by way of example, we will pay attention to Augustine's Christmas sermons.

AUGUSTINE'S WORK AS A PREACHER

Augustine was ordained a priest at Hippo². Valerius, who was then bishop of the city and who himself spoke Latin poorly, assigned to him the task of preaching, a task in those days reserved to the bishop³. By the time Augustine himself became a bishop, his fame as a preacher had already been well established⁴. Because of this Paulinus of Nola († 431) could write to their common friend Romanianus that he was happy not only because Augustine had become a bishop but also because the churches of Africa would now be able to hear the heavenly words of Augustine's mouth⁵.

¹ I would like to thank Piet van der Heijden and Sister Bernard Marie O.S.C. for help with the translation.

² A harbour on the North African coast with 40.000 inhabitants.

³ "... narrabat, ut sibi divinitus homo concederetur talis, qui posset verbo Dei et doctrina salubri ecclesiam Domini aedificare, cui rei se homo natura Graecus minusque Latina lingua et litteris instructus minus utilem pervidebat" (POSSIDIUS, *Vita*, 5,2).

⁴ Augustine himself describes the obligations and necessary skills a preacher should possess in his *De Doctrina Christiana* IV.

⁵ "Non autem tantum hoc scribimus gratulandum, quod episcopatum Augustinus acceperit, sed quod hanc Dei curam meruerint Africanæ ecclesiae, ut verba caelestia Augustini ore perciperent" (*Ep.* 32,2-3, Letter from Paulinus of Nola and his wife Theresa to Romanianus, in the year 396).

For almost 40 years Augustine as bishop delivered his sermons⁶, every Saturday⁷ and every Sunday⁸, as well as on feast days, during the celebration of the Eucharist⁹. He also delivered his sermons during other services, both in his own diocese and elsewhere¹⁰, sometimes even preaching in several churches on the same day. The Eucharist was usually celebrated in the morning and in the evening a prayer service was held. Scholars have estimated the total number of sermons delivered by Augustine at about 7000. More than twelve percent of these estimated 7000 sermons have been preserved.

Augustine's sermons reveal several genres: 205 *Enarrationes in psalmos* as conferences¹¹; 124 tractates on the Gospel of Saint John¹²

⁶ "Praedicabat ... libris confectis et repentinis sermonibus" (POSSIDIUS, *Vita* 7,1).

⁷ "Vacat nobis, matutina coepimus, hora prandii non urget; ad istum diem, id est sabbatum, maxime hi assolent convenire, qui esurient verbum dei" (S. 128,4,6).

⁸ "Saepius enim ista lectio repetitur in auribus vestris, quam noster de illa tractatus. Nam si legatur quando sabbatum non est, aut quando dies dominicus non est, sermo de illa non redditur" (S. Mai 125,1 in: *Miscellanea Agostiniana. Sancti Augustini sermones post maurinos reperti*, ed. G. MORIN. Roma, 1930, tom. I, p. 353 = MA I, 353).

⁹ The Eucharist was probably celebrated every day by Augustine. "Ceterum peccata si tanta non sunt, ut excommunicandus quisquam homo iudicetur, non se debet a quotidiana medicina dominici corporis separare" (Ep. 54,3,4). "Veniet enim lupus, non homo, sed diabolus, qui plerumque fideles apostatos esse persuasit, quibus quotidianum ministerium dominici corporis defuit" (Ep. 228,6). "Huius rei sacramentum, id est, unitatis corporis et sanguinis Christi alicubi quotidie, alicubi certis intervallis dierum in dominica mensa praeparatur, et de mensa dominica sumitur" (Tract. Joh. Ev. 26,15). "Cuius rei sacramentum quotidianum esse voluit ecclesiae sacrificium, quae eum ipsius capitis corpus sit, se ipsam per ipsum discit offerre" (De Civitate Dei 10,20). For more extensive textual fragments see: T. VAN BAVEL, *Dagelijkse eucharistieviering? Een oud antwoord*, in: *Tijdschrift voor Liturgie* 57 (1973) 123-129.

¹⁰ In Hippo 146 sermons, 109 sermons in Carthago, about a dozen elsewhere, 188 sermons without any reference.

¹¹ In print the term *enarratio* is used for the first time in Erasmus' edition of Augustine's *Opera*, see: *Espozizioni sui Salmi* (Opere di Sant'Agostino 25). Roma, 1967, I, p. VII-VIII. "Quosdam enim psalmos Augustinus sermonibus ad populum exposuit, alios scriptis explicavit, sive breviter verba commentando, sive fusius penitusque psalmi sententias explanando, interdum in formam sermonis ficti. Quosdam etiam psalmos bis explicuit, semel nempe singulis supra memoratis modis" in: *Sancti Aurelii Augustini Enarrationes in Psalmos, I-L* (CC 48). Turnhout, 1956, p. V. A. WILMART, *La tradition des grands ouvrages de saint Augustin*, in: MA II, 299 (p. 257-315).

¹² J. HUYBEN was the first to make a distinction between sermons actually given and tractates that were composed in his study: *De sermoenen over het evangelie van Johannes. Bijdrage tot de chronologie van Augustinus' werken*, in: *Miscellanea Augustiniana*. Rotterdam, 1930, p. 265-267 (p. 256-274). F. BERROUARD gives a *status quaestionis* of the problem and follows the conclusion of A.-M. La Bonnardière "... des exposés faits devant un petit groupe de moines ou de prêtres et qui auraient été accompagnés ou suivis d'une mise par écrit d'un texte destiné à ceux qui prêcheraient

and 10 tractates on the Epistle of Saint John as exegetical commentary; and finally more than 540 popular sermons¹³.

Augustine was skilled in preaching sermons on special occasions such as the consecration of a church or the anniversary celebration of his episcopal ordination or that of a colleague. This occurred for example when Aurelius of Carthage († 430) invited his friend Augustine to preach. In Carthage the bishop of Hippo regularly treated themes, discussed at the African ecclesiastical councils relating to the controversy with Donatism and Pelagianism. In those instances he often used a psalm verse as starting point for his sermon¹⁴.

In the offices of the diocese of Hippo there existed an almost complete collection of Augustine's sermons. With this collection at hand the *Indiculum librorum* was compiled and copies of the sermons were sent to those requesting them. African bishops fleeing from the invading Vandals brought their collections of Augustine's sermons with them to Europe. There, in Europe, the sermons led a life of their own in Italy, South-Gaul and Spain. In Campania Quodvultdeus († 454) was the greatest advocate of Augustine's sermons, imitating even Augustine's style of preaching¹⁵. Fulgentius of Ruspe († 527/533) quoted from Augustine's sermons in his letters¹⁶. Also Cassiodorus († ca. 580) cited parts of Augustine's sermons in his letters¹⁷. But the conservation and spread of Augustine's sermons was mainly due to Caesarius of Arles († 452), who distributed numerous collections of sermons to be read in the Gallic

devant le peuple", in: *Homélie sur l'évangile de Saint-Jean, LV-LXXIX* (Bibliothèque augustinienne 74A). Paris, 1993, p. 14.

¹³ POSSIDIUS gives in the *Indiculum*, probably drafted by Augustine himself, the contents of 278 sermons. See A. WILMART, *Operum S. Augustini elenchus a Possidio eiusdem discipulo Calamensi episcopo digestus*, in: *MA* II, 158 (p. 149-233). During the 4th century the term *sermo* became the general term for a sermon. The term *popularis* indicates the pastoral intention.

¹⁴ For example: S. 23 on the celebration of the ordination as bishop of Aurelius of Carthage, held in Carthage on January 20th in 413; S. 105 after the sacking of Rome in 410; S. 339 on the occasion of the celebration of Augustine's own ordination as bishop; S. 357 at the beginning of the great meeting between Catholics and Donatists in 411.

¹⁵ D. FRANCES, *Die Werke des heiligen Quodvultdeus*. München, 1920; A. DI BERARDINO, *Patrology*, vol. IV. Westminster (Maryland) 1986, p. 501-503.

¹⁶ M. PONTET, *L'exégèse de saint Augustin, prédicateur*. Paris, [1944], p. 7-13; C. MOHRMANN, *Sint Augustinus. Preken voor het volk*. Utrecht, 1948, p. XVIII; H. DIESSNER, *Fulgentius von Ruspe als Theologe und Kirchenpolitiker*. Stuttgart, 1966.

¹⁷ M. PONTET, o.c., p. 10: Cassiodorus in *De Incarnatione*, c. 7 and in *Complexiones in Psalmos*.

churches. In this way about 30 of the old collections of Augustine's sermons are preserved¹⁸.

PREPARATION FOR A SERMON

Augustine often selected his own readings for the liturgy, unless local tradition had already assigned specific readings to that day. After a short preparation in prayer and meditation, Augustine improvised his sermon during the liturgy. Very often wealthy people commissioned their *notarii* to write down his sermon¹⁹.

The texts of the sermons that were delivered by Augustine in Carthage are written remarkably more carefully than those delivered elsewhere; possibly because of more capable *notarii*²⁰. Their writings, perhaps corrected by the preacher himself, could then be copied and distributed by the *librarii*²¹. In this way the sermons were already familiar to a large audience during Augustine's own lifetime. The sermons delivered within his own circle were in many cases corrected by the

¹⁸ The collection of CAESARIUS that was most spread is the *Quinquaginta Homiliae*. Also important is the *Codex Sessorarius* from the 9th century, which included a collection of sermons from Africa and was kept in Campania. See A. WILMART, *Remarques sur plusieurs collections des sermons de saint Augustin*, in: *Casinensia*. Monte Cassino, 1929, I, 217; A. WILMART, *La collection tripartite des sermons de saint Augustin*, in: *Miscellanea Augustiniana*. Rotterdam, 1930, p. 418 (p. 418-449); A. WILMART, *La tradition ... a.c.*, in: *MA II*, 295-315. The first printed collections of sermons were published in Cologne in 1470 and in Augsburg in 1475. See C. MOHRMANN, *Preken ... o.c.*, p. XX. For a practical overview of Augustine's oeuvre, especially his sermons, we refer to H. VAN REISEN, *Met Augustinus aan de slag. Beknopte handleiding bij de studie op Augustinus*. Eindhoven, Augustijns Instituut, 1994, 62 pp.

¹⁹ "Et quisquis, ut voluit et potuit, notarios adhibentes, ea quae dicebantur excepta describentes" (POSSIDIUS, *Vita* 7,3). "... quandoquidem placuit fratribus non tantum aure et corde, sed et stilo excipiendae quae dicimus; ut non auditorem tantum sed et lectorem etiam cogitare debeamus" (*En. in Ps.* 51,1).

²⁰ On Augustine's preaching and style, see C. MOHRMANN, *Preken ... o.c.*, p. XXVII-XLVII.

²¹ R. DEFERRARI, *St. Augustine's method of composing and delivering sermons*, in: *American Journal of Philology* 43 (1922) 97 and 193 states that Augustine never checked these writings. On the other hand, the bishop himself was in any case in possession of similar writings: "antequam epistulas atque sermones ad populum, alios dictatos, alios a me dictos, retractare coepissem" (*Retractationes* II,67). See also *Ep.* 224,2 to Quodvultdeus: "Restabant epistulae, deinde tractatus populares quos Graeci homilias vocant". H. MARROU, *La technique de l'édition à l'époque patristique*, in: *Vigiliae Christianae* 3 (1949) 205-224.

bishop himself. This, for example, is the case with the *Enarrationes in psalmos*.

The way Augustine prepared himself appears clearly from his conference on Psalm 138: "I had prepared myself for a short Psalm and had arranged for the lector to sing it"²². Elsewhere he even hints at the fact that he was not planning on delivering a sermon at all: "We had not prepared a sermon for Your Grace, for it was not we who told the lector to sing that Psalm, but he decided in his youthful heart what he considered beneficial to let you hear"²³. And once, when he was in Carthage, Augustine, to his dismay, was commanded by bishop Aurelius to deliver a sermon spontaneously on Psalm 86²⁴.

CLOSING PRAYER AFTER THE SERMON

Many of Augustine's sermons end with the words *Conversi ad Dominum*, some were also followed by a prayer. Augustine in this way invited the congregation after the sermon to turn to the east in order to pray to God, since the people listening to the sermon in the Basilica Pacis in Hippo always stood facing the west. The prayer after the *Conversi ad Dominum* seems to have been, at least according to its phrasing, a prayer that terminated the sermon; it cannot be compared with the general intercessions (the prayers of the faithful) or to the *oratio communis*²⁵.

Although the terms *general intercessions* or *prayer of the faithful* occur nowhere in Augustine's works, one can, however, deduce from them the actual existence of such a prayer within the liturgy of Hippo. Zwinggi situates the closing prayer immediately before the dismissal of the catechumens, although in the prayer itself the catechumens are not specifically mentioned. While the closing prayer after the sermon mentions only those present, the general intercessions also pay attention to those

²² "Psalmum nobis brevem paraveramus, quem mandaveramus cantari a lectore, sed ad horam, quantum videtur, perturbatus alterum pro altero legit" (*En. in Ps. 138,1*).

²³ "Unde cum sermonem ad vestram caritatem non praeparavimus, hinc nobis esse tractandum Domino imperante cognovimus. Volebamus enim hodierna die vos in ruminatione permittere ... Neque enim nos istum psalmum cantandum lectori imperavimus; sed quod ille censuit vobis esse utile ad audiendum, hoc corde etiam puerili imperavit" (*S. 352,1*).

²⁴ "Hic nobis, quantum Dominus donare dignatur, cum vestra caritate tractandus, modo est propositus a beatissimo praesente patre nostro. Repentina propositio me gravaret, nisi me continuo proponentis oratio sublevaret" (*En. in Ps. 86,1*).

²⁵ "... aut antistes clara voce deprecatur, aut communis oratio voce diaconi indicitur" (*Ep. 55,18,34*).

who are not present. The general intercessions take place at the altar, before the offertory and the eucharistic prayer. It seems very likely, therefore, that the prayer after the sermon is intended as a prayer for the catechumens and the other participants before sending the catechumens away²⁶.

PREACHING AND HOLY SCRIPTURE

The way in which Augustine preached differs in more than one aspect from that of our time. Characteristic for him is the fact that he lived by Holy Scripture in such a way that a word-association would suffice for him to place unexpectedly a deeply concealed, not very evident, word of the Bible at the center of attention²⁷.

In the complete works of Augustine two thirds of the terms and subjects can be found in Holy Scripture²⁸. In Augustine's sermons, however, many of these scriptural quotations are a repetition of the same passage. The total number of differing quotations is relatively few. From the book of Isaiah a few verses only are repeatedly quoted, and the same applies to almost all the books of the Prophets, except the book of Job, from which many texts are used repeatedly. The quotations from Proverbs, Wisdom, Ecclesiastes and Ecclesiasticus, on the other hand, are rare²⁹.

²⁶ "Ecce post sermonem sit missa catechumenis: manebunt fideles, venietur ad locum orationis" (S. 49,8); cf. A. ZWINGGI, *Der Wortgottesdienst bei Augustin*, in: *Liturgisches Jahrbuch* 20 (1970) 104-112; F. DOLBEAU, *Sermons inédits de saint Augustin prêchés en 397*, in: *Revue Bénédictine* 104 (1994) 72-76; P. DE CLERCK, *La prière universelle dans les liturgies latines anciennes* (Liturgiegeschichtliche Quellen und Forschungen 62). München, 1977. Testimony from Augustine's letters on the existence of general intercessions: "... aut communis oratio voce diaconi ..." (Ep. 55,18,34); "... ut preces accipiamus dictas, quas facimus in celebratione sacramentorum, antequam illud, quod est in domini mensa, incipiat benedici" (Ep. 149,2,16); "... pro omnibus hominibus, pro regibus et his, qui in sublimitate sunt ..." (Ep. 149,2,17); "... quando audis sacerdotem dei ad altare dei exhortantem populum dei orare pro incredulis, ut eos deus convertat ad fidem, et pro catechumenis, ut eis desiderium regenerationis inspiret, et pro fidelibus, ut in eo quod esse coeperunt eius munere perseverent ..." (Ep. 217,1,2). Cf. P. DE CLERCK, o.c.

²⁷ D. RANDOLPH, *Augustine's theology of preaching*. Boston, 1962 (diss); A. POLMAN, *Het woord Gods bij Augustinus*. Kampen, 1955, p. 125-188; F. SCHNITZLER, *Zur Theologie der Verkündigung in den Predigten des heiligen Augustinus*. Freiburg, 1968.

²⁸ C. MOHRMANN, o.c., p. XLVIII; H. VOGELS, *Die Heilige Schrift bei Augustin*, in: *Aurelius Augustinus. Festschrift der Görres-Gesellschaft*, hrsg. M. GRABMANN - J. MAUSBACH. Köln, 1930, p. 413 (p. 411-421).

²⁹ M. PONTET, o.c., p. 581-583.

From the Song of Songs Augustine chooses some verses to clarify the unity of the Church³⁰.

Augustine focuses his attention especially on the book of Psalms. It is possible that the bishop limited himself deliberately within these confines in view of the little knowledge of Scripture he presumed his audience to have³¹. The New Testament is quoted more often than the Old Testament, but also large parts of the former remain unmentioned, while a relative few number of passages occur time and again. The section *De scripturis* of the edition in which the Maurini published Augustine's sermons on Holy Scripture consists of 50 sermons on the Old Testament and 123 sermons on the New Testament.

Augustine favoured preaching under guidance of the liturgical readings. There is no sermon in which he does not establish some connection with the Epistle, the Psalm, the Psalm response, or the Gospel³². Sometimes Augustine comments on all three readings in his sermon³³, as for example in sermon 165: "We heard from the Apostle, we heard the Psalm, we heard the Gospel; all these divine readings agree in their invitation to us not to found our hope upon ourselves but on the Lord"³⁴. Augustine often selected the three readings in such a way that they would provide texts on one theme³⁵.

In regard to Augustine's flexibility to actualize Scriptural texts, the Church father apparently possessed a great capability to adapt himself. He liked to address actual problems in his sermons and chose applicable

³⁰ According to some authors, the two books of the Maccabees are absent in the sermons. But in sermon 300, on August 1st during the celebration of the Maccabean martyrs, 2 Macc. 7:27 is quoted, which appears to have been part of the scriptural reading.

³¹ C. MOHRMANN, o.c., p. XLVIII-XLIX.

³² W. ROETZER, *Des heiligen Augustinus Schriften als liturgisch-geschichtliche Quelle*. München, 1930, p. 303. "In memoria retinentes pollicitationem nostram, congruas etiam ex evangelio et apostolo fecimus recitari lectiones" (S. 362,1); "Beati apostoli epistola cum legeretur de constituendis episcopis, commemoravit nos sine dubio respicere in nos" (S. 178,1).

³³ "Primam lectionem audivimus apostoli ... Deinde cantavimus psalmum ... Post haec, evangelica lectio ... Has tres lectiones, quantum pro tempore possumus, pertractemus, dicentes pauca de singulis; et quantum conari possumus ... non in aliqua earum sic immorantes, ut aliis duabus impedimentum afferamus," (S. 176,1), which deals with 1 Tim. 1:15, Ps. 94:6 and Lk. 17:32.

³⁴ "Apostolum audivimus, psalmum audivimus, evangelium audivimus. Consonant omnes divinae lectiones, ut spem non in nobis, sed in Domino collocemus (Eph. 3:14)" (S. 165,1).

³⁵ F. VAN DER MEER, *Augustinus de zielzorger. Een studie over de praktijk van een kerkvader*. Utrecht, 1947, p. 367.

liturgical readings. Augustine wanted to educate and arm his listeners with the readings from Sacred Scripture for the discussions with the heretics and the pagans³⁶.

Pellegrino doubts whether all of the listeners could grasp fully the contents of Augustine's sermons³⁷. Mohrmann, on the other hand, thinks they could. Augustine's sermons were characterized by every day examples and by a great feeling for concreteness, which ordinary people could easily grasp³⁸.

Augustine wanted to recall to his listeners those passages from the Old and the New Testament which most accurately describe the history of salvation, and which most clearly illustrate the way to the Kingdom of God. Because of this, it becomes possible to reconstruct Augustine's pastoral Bible from his liturgical Bible.

NUMBER AND ORDER OF THE READINGS

In Augustine's time the liturgy of Hippo did not yet include an introitus. Immediately after the entrance procession the liturgy began with the readings³⁹. Before the beginning of the service, it could be quite tumultuous in church. In order to quiet the churchgoers, the readings began with a greeting by the celebrant: "The Lord be with you"⁴⁰.

The readings were read by lectors, the Psalms sung by youths with a clear voice⁴¹. In Rome, as well as in Hippo, the reading of the Gospel was a prerogative of the deacon. Augustine, as a bishop, never himself read the scriptural texts. On the other hand, it happened that he repeated a

³⁶ A. ZWINGGI, a.c., p. 98.

³⁷ An excellent introduction to the sermons of Augustine in: *The works of Saint Augustine. A translation for the 21st century*, intr. M. PELLEGRINO, transl. E. HILL. New York, 1990, part III: Sermons, vol. I, p. 13-137, especially p. 84-96.

³⁸ C. MOHRMANN, o.c., p. LIX-LXVIII.

³⁹ For this part we consulted: W. ROETZER, o.c.; F. VAN DER MEER, o.c.; A. ZWINGGI, a.c., p. 92-113; A.-M. LA BONNARDIÈRE, *La Bible liturgique de saint Augustin*, in: *Jean Chrysostome et Augustin*, ed. C. KANNENGIESSER. Paris, 1975, p. 147-160.

⁴⁰ "Procedimus ad populum, plena erat ecclesia ... nemine tacente hanc atque inde clamantium. Salutavi populum, et rursus eadem ferventiore voce clamabant. Facto tandem silentio scripturarum divinarum sunt lecta sollemnia" (*De Civitate Dei* 22,8); "Quod autem audistis ad mensam Domini "Dominus vobiscum", hoc et quando de abside salutamus dicere solemus, et quotienscumque oramus hoc dicamus" (*S. Guelf.* 7,3. MA I, 463).

⁴¹ E. PAOLI-LAFAYE, *Les lectures des textes liturgiques*, in: *Saint Augustin et la Bible*, ed. A.-M. LA BONNARDIÈRE. Paris, 1986, p. 59-74.

part of the scriptural text read during the liturgy at the beginning of his sermon⁴².

Already Justin Martyr testified that during the celebration of the Eucharist the readings were taken from the Prophets or the New Testament⁴³. Originally in Rome three readings were used, but these soon were reduced to two. In Egypt, on Saturdays and on Sundays as well as during the whole of Eastertide, the two readings were taken from the New Testament.

In Hippo the decrease from three to two readings was still taking place during the time of Augustine's episcopate. On a great feast day, like Easter morning, a reading would be taken from the Old Testament, on other days this was no longer the case⁴⁴. In sermon 45 a reading from the Old Testament and one from the New Testament, but none from the Gospel, are mentioned⁴⁵. Four readings can be assumed in sermo Denis 13, because there Augustine not only refers to three passages from Holy Scripture but also to a letter from Cyprianus⁴⁶.

In sermon 341 the bishop says: "Our Lord Jesus Christ is understood and proclaimed in three ways: either through the preaching of the Law and the Prophets, or through the preaching of the Epistles of the Apostles, or through faith in historical facts known to us via the Gospel". We may presuppose that in this case he did not insist on the liturgical order of Epistle, Psalm and Gospel⁴⁷. Willis's suggestion that Augustine on occasion had two readings from the Apostles during the celebration of

⁴² "Postea ... lectum est illud in evangelio ubi Dominus ..., quod capitulum, cum eos intentos proposita vinolentiae quaestione feci, et ipse quoque recitavi" (*Ep.* 29,3).

⁴³ JUSTINUS, *Apologia* I,67,3-5. Cf. J. SALZMANN, *Lehren und Ermahnen. Zur Geschichte der christlichen Wortgottesdienstes in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten*. Tübingen, 1994, p. 247.

⁴⁴ G. WILLIS, *St. Augustine's Lectionary*. London, 1962, p. 22-57 indicates in his overview several Old Testament readings.

⁴⁵ "In omnibus lectionibus quas recitatas audivimus" (*Is.* 57); "Deinde ascendit apostolica lectio" (*2 Cor.* 7); "factum est, ut se lectiones sic sequerentur, ut in Isaiam promittentur nobis aliquid, in apostolo autem diceretur ... quasi una lectio esset prophetae et apostoli ... Ubi enim finivit prophetica lectio ibi est promissio; unde coepit apostoli lectio ubi est operis indicio" (*S.* 45,1).

⁴⁶ See for *S. Denis* 13,2 footnote 61 below. "Certe modo in evangelio dominus alloquebatur Judaeos" (*Mt.* 23); "Paulum apostolum, cum legeretur, audistis" (*2 Cor.* 1:5-14); "Ecce timor et tremor venerunt super eum et contexerunt eum tenebrae, sicut audistis cum diceretur in psalmo" (*Ps.* 54:6), (*S. Denis* 13,3).

⁴⁷ "Dominus noster Jesus Christus tribus modis intelligitur et nominatur, quando praedicatur sive per legem et prophetas, sive per epistulas apostolicas, sive per fidem rerum gestarum quas in evangelio cognoscimus" (*S.* 341,1).

the Eucharist, one after the other, cannot be corroborated on the basis of the example he uses to prove his suggestion⁴⁸.

It became customary in Hippo to sing a Psalm between the two readings⁴⁹. In the case of three readings during the service, the Psalm was not placed between the reading of the Old Testament and that of the Apostle, but immediately before the reading of the Gospel, possibly as a result of Augustine's preference for a christological interpretation of the Psalms⁵⁰. In the days of Augustine, in Hippo as well as in Carthage, the liturgy of the Word consisted sometimes in a reading from the Old Testament, a reading from the Epistles or the Acts, a Psalm and a reading from the Gospel. In Africa as well as in Rome there was a growing tendency towards the omission of the reading from the Old Testament⁵¹.

THE LECTIONARY

The early church was not yet familiar with a fixed schema of reading in relation to the liturgical year as we now know it. The officiant was free to choose the pericopes to be read on a great number of days, according to his own understanding. He could choose the liturgical

⁴⁸ G. WILLIS, o.c., p. 47 mentions for S. 128,3,5-4,6 the reading of Gal. 5:14-17 and Rom. 13:9. But in fact Rom. 13:9 does not occur there. "Pugnam nostram, modo cum apostolus legeretur, audistis: Omnis, inquit, lex in uno sermone impletur (Gal. 5:14)" (S. 128,3,5); "Apostoli verba dico, quae modo recitata sunt de epistola ipsius: Dico autem (Gal. 5:15)" (S. 128,4,6).

⁴⁹ H. LEEB, *Die Psalmodie bei Ambrosius*. Wien, 1967, p. 53-89; A. VERHEUL, *De antwoordpsalm in de eucharistieviering*, in: *Tijdschrift voor Liturgie* 76 (1992) 155-176.

⁵⁰ "Et ad hoc pertinet quod etiam apostolica lectio ante psalmi canticum praesignavit ... In illa parte corpus diaboli, in ista praefiguratio Domini Jesu Christi" (S. 32,4.) "Terribilis lectio ante psalmum sonuit in auribus nostris (James 2)" (S. *Wilmart* 2. MA I, 673). "... sicut praecedens hunc psalmum lectio" (*En. in Ps.* 31,II,1). The custom of placing the Psalm directly before the Gospel was already in use in Milan during the time of Ambrose; see H. LEEB, o.c., p. 80-82.

⁵¹ W. ROETZER, o.c., p. 100 maintains two readings for most occasions, (if one does not consider the Psalm a reading) sometimes three readings. "In omnibus lectionibus, quas recitatas audivimus, si animadvertit Caritas Vestra primam lectionem Isaiae prophetae ... Deinde ascendit apostolica lectio (Is. 57 and 2 Cor. 7:1)" (S. 45,1.) "Lectio prima prophetica quid nobis commendaverit (Micha 6:6 and Ps. 72)" (S. 48,2). "Cum ergo ultimum sit sanctum evangelium recitatum ... Sed ego memini superiore dominico quid promiserim. Cum enim de sancto propheta quod lectum fuerat aliquid exponere voluissem (Micha 6:6 and Mt. 20)" (S. 49,1). "Prima lectio quae nobis hodie recitata est apostoli Jacobi (James 5:12)" (S. 180,1). *Sermo* 176,1 mentions 1 Tim. 1, Ps. 94, Lk. 17. Cf. A. MARTIMORT, *A propos du nombre des lectures à la messe*, in: *Revue des sciences religieuses* 58 (1984) 42-51.

readings in such a way that they would conform to the occasion. "True to our promise, we ordered suitable readings from the Gospel and from the Apostle to be read"⁵². "In response to this solemn celebration appropriate readings have been read"⁵³.

Although complete lectionaries were only known from the seventh century onward, the development of a fixed lectionary had already begun in Augustine's time. In this respect, the period of Lent, — a period in which the catechumens were educated, — contributed to a fixed pattern of scriptural readings. The same applied to the feasts of Easter, Ascension and Pentecost, on which there existed essentially fixed listings for the liturgical readings. The first elements of what later was to be a lectionary emerged more and more clearly in the fifth century. They were related to feasts and not to ordinary days. Apart from the feasts the bishop could choose the readings in the liturgy according to his own discernment⁵⁴.

As appears clearly from the sermons of Augustine, in Africa a rudimentary lectionary functioned in the beginning of the fifth century. This lectionary was obligatory for many Sundays of the liturgical year as well as for the feasts of the Saints. At the same time Augustine preached on Psalm texts and New Testament passages which do not fit in with the framework of the liturgical year. Those sermons dealt with a more personal or more local feast, with the consecration of a church or the ordination of a bishop, or dealt with the explanation of a well chosen pericope⁵⁵.

Every diocese had its own list of readings, because every local church had its own liturgical practices. Thus the list of Milan differed from that of Hippo. The liturgy as such was based on local customs and not so much on centrally decreed ecclesiastical legislature⁵⁶.

Because the celebrant on most occasions was free to choose the readings, often Augustine, by way of *lectio continua*, acquainted his listeners with a complete book of the Bible. He chose this approach in order to be able to explain a certain book of the Bible in its entirety

⁵² S. 362,1, see footnote 32 above. A. MARTIMORT, *Les lectures liturgiques et leurs livres* (Typologie des sources du Moyen Âge occidental 64). Turnhout, 1992.

⁵³ "Huic solemnitati sanctae lectiones congruae sonuerunt" (S. 302,1).

⁵⁴ Two examples from Augustine: "Hesterno die qui adfuitis promissionem nostram tenetis (Mt. 25)" (S. 93,1). "Habet ergo et fides ipsa quoddam lumen suum in scripturis, in prophetia, in evangelio, in apostolicis lectionibus. Omnia enim ista quae nobis ad tempus recitantur, lucernae sunt in obscuro loco, ut nutriamur ad diem (John 5)" (S. 126,1).

⁵⁵ A.-M. LA BONNARDIÈRE, a.c., p. 157-158.

⁵⁶ G. WILLIS, o.c., p. 75-93 discusses the relations between the reading schemas of the different patriarchates.

during a number of consecutive days, mostly during conferences in the afternoon⁵⁷. On these occasions his pastoral concern played an important role in opposing the two factors that endangered the ecclesiastical life in Africa: paganism and heresy. Thus, in the tractates on the Gospel of St. John he argues against Donatism⁵⁸.

THE FEAST OF A MARTYR

The African councils between 390 and 427 show by their decrees, that in the time of Augustine a venerable African tradition concerning the liturgical readings had already grown. From 393 the episcopate jointly tried to safeguard this tradition by obliging all members of the clergy to read only canonical books during the celebrations. Regarding this obligation a list was made of canonical books and of regulations concerning the reading of a *passio* of a martyr. The bishops even introduced certain biblical books into the liturgy, for example, the book of Wisdom and the Letter to the Hebrews⁵⁹.

The fact that the faithful valued their tradition appears from a remark made by Augustine during a sermon. During Holy Week he allowed Passion accounts to be read other than the regular one of St. Matthew. Because of the consternation among the faithful then present, he refrained from further experimenting and kept himself to the traditional readings⁶⁰.

⁵⁷ AUGUSTINUS VAN HIPPO. *Preken over de Eerste Brief van Johannes*, transl. T. VAN BAVEL. Leuven, 1992, p. VII; S. POQUE, *Lectures de l'octave pascale à Hippone d'après les traités de saint Augustin sur la première épître de saint Jean*, in: *Revue Bénédictine* 74 (1964) 217-241. A. ZWINGGI, *Die fortlaufende Schriftlesung im Gottesdienst bei Augustinus*, in: *Archiv für Liturgiewissenschaft* 12 (1970) 85-129 presupposes that the *lectio continua* in Augustine's choice of pericopes played a secondary role.

⁵⁸ A. KUNZELMANN, *Augustins Predigtätigkeit*, in: *Aurelius Augustinus*, hrsg. M. GRABMANN - J. MAUSBACH. Köln, 1930, p. 164.

⁵⁹ The Council of Hippo (393) stated in canon 36: "Ut praeter scripturas canonicas nihil in ecclesia legatur sub nomine divinarum scripturarum ... Liceat etiam legi passionem martyrum, cum anniversarii dies eorum celebrantur", in: *Concilia Africae* (345-525), ed. C. MUNIER (CC 149). Turnhout, 1974, p. 43. R. HENNINGS, *Der Briefwechsel zwischen Augustinus und Hieronymus und ihr Streit um den Kanon des Alten Testaments und die Auslegung von Gal 2,11-14*. Leiden, 1994, p. 200-217. There is also the issue of the influence of Cyprian on the organisation of the sanctoral in the liturgy of Africa, see A.-M. LA BONNARDIÈRE, a.c., 148-150 and 157.

⁶⁰ "Volueram aliquando, ut per singulos annos secundum omnes evangelistas etiam passio legeretur. Factum est, non audierunt homines quod consueverant et perturbati sunt" (S. 232,1).

At the end of the fourth century in Africa the custom emerged of reading the act of a martyr during the liturgy on his feast day⁶¹. By means of conciliar decrees the African bishops tried to situate the popular veneration of the martyrs within a liturgical framework. It was prescribed that during the liturgy on the feast of a martyr the specific *passio* ought to be read. Augustine also reveals his commitment to this decree in his sermons⁶². A Psalm verse was chosen that was related to the *passio* being read, whereas the text of the Gospel was very often the same, taken from St. Matthew⁶³. La Bonnardière attempts to explain the diminishing number of Old Testament readings during the liturgy as being a result of the emergence of the *passio* during the liturgy⁶⁴. Should we suppose, however, as was observed by Zwinggi, that the readings from the Old Testament occurred mainly during the services in which the catechumens were instructed?⁶⁵

⁶¹ Sometimes Augustine even allows miracle stories to be read: "Hesterno die libellum promissimus Caritati Vestrae ubi de illo sanato audire etiam possitis, quae videre non potuistis" (S. 322,1); and once from a letter of Cyprian: "Audistis beatum Cyprianum martyrum et exemplum et tubam ..." (S. Denis 13,2. MA I, 56). Augustine refers here to Cyprian's *Liber ad Fortunatum* (c. 253/257), a collection of scriptural passages to strengthen Christians during the persecutions. Cf. B. DE GAIFFIER, *La lecture des Actes des martyrs dans la prière liturgique en occident*, in: *Analecta Bollandiana* 72 (1954) 134-166.

⁶² "Beata filia eius in hoc ordine constituta, cuius inter ceteras celebramus hodie passionem, paulo ante audivimus confessionem" (S. 37,23). "Quando audimus quomodo passi sunt martyres, gaudemus" (S. 273,2). "Beati quorum passio recitata est" (S. 273,6). "Longam lectionem audivimus, brevis est dies, longo sermone etiam nos tenere vestram patientiam non debemus" (S. 274, fine). "... sed plane utilissimam et fructuosissimam voluptatem oculis interioribus hausimus, cum beati Vincentii gloriosa passio legeretur" (S. 275,1). "In passione quae nobis hodie recitata est" (S. 276,1). "Quis autem hodie Daciani vel nomen audisset nisi Vincentii passionem legisset?" (S. 276,4). "Delectat autem piam mentem, tale spectaculum contueri, quale sibi beata Perpetua de se ipsa revelatum esse narravit" (S. 281,2). "Quid autem attinet ad istas quarum sunt ista vocabula, sicut audivimus, cum earum passio legeretur ..." (S. 282,2). "Istum diem nobis solemnem gloria Machabaeorum fecit, quorum mirabiles passionem, cum legerentur ..." (S. 300,1).

⁶³ Mt. 5, Mt. 10 or Mt. 19. The Epistles also show little variation: 1 John 3:16 or 2 Tim. 3:12.

⁶⁴ A.-M. LA BONNARDIÈRE, a.c., p. 155-157 mentions, in addition to the texts mentioned above in footnote 61 and 62: S. 309,3, S. Lambot 9, S. Denis 14, S. Denis 16,1, S. Guelf 27,2, S. Guelf 28,6 and S. Guelf 30,2.

⁶⁵ A. ZWINGGI, o.c., p. 98; T. AUDET, *Les catéchèses baptismales de saint Augustin*, in: *Augustinus Magister*. Paris, 1954, I, 157. In the works of Augustine there is no indication that during the weekdays mainly the Old Testament was read.

THE PSALM AS CHANTED READING

In 400 of the approximately 900 sermons ascribed to Augustine he explains one or more Psalm texts. He apparently had a preference for the Psalms⁶⁶ and advocated the singing of a Psalm at the altar during the offertory and communion, a practice that was emerging at that time in Carthage⁶⁷.

When Augustine became bishop of Hippo the Psalm was sung only by the cantor. It was Augustine who introduced singing by the congregation. In his works there is no indication that this congregational singing was by means of two semi-choirs⁶⁸. It would seem, rather, that what he introduced was responsorial singing, that is, singing the response.

Those who read the *Confessiones* may conclude that the bishop became familiar with the practice of the congregational singing of the Psalms in Milan. Augustine tells us that the practice of congregational singing originated from the East⁶⁹.

The *Ordo Monasterii*, which is of Eastern origin but known in Augustine's milieu, is not intended for the church community, but for a community of religious⁷⁰. Although it does speak about the *antiphona* as a specific form of singing the Psalms, Augustine himself never uses the term *antiphona*⁷¹.

⁶⁶ G. KNAUER, *Psalmzitate in Augustins Konfessionen*. Göttingen, 1955, p. 24-30.

⁶⁷ "... morem, qui tunc esse apud Carthaginem coeperat, ut hymni ad altare dicerentur de psalmorum libro, sive ante oblationem sive cum distribueretur populo quid fuisset oblatum" (*Retractiones* 2,11). A. ZWINGGI, o.c., p. 100-103.

⁶⁸ A. ZWINGGI, o.c., p. 101. "Deinde cantavimus psalmum, exhortantes nos invicem, una voce, uno corde dicentes: Venite adoremus (Ps. 94:6)" (S. 176,1).

⁶⁹ "Tunc hymni et psalmi ut canerentur secundum morem orientalium partium ... institutum est; ex illo in hodiernum retentum multis iam ac paene omnibus gregibus tuis et per cetera orbis imitantibus" (*Conf.* 9,7,15). Cf. H. LEEB, o.c., p. 53-62, 85-87.

⁷⁰ Possibly the *Ordo Monasterii* was compiled by Augustine's friend Alypius: "Sommes-nous trop optimiste si nous pensons qu'il faudrait désormais parler de la Règle d'Alypius, comme on parle de la Règle d'Augustin, tout en précisant que la première a été approuvée par l'auteur de la deuxième, par une phrase de sa propre main, et mise sur un plan moins technique, par une autre phrase de sa propre main?"; see L. VERHEIJEN, *La Règle de saint Augustin*. Paris, 1967, II, p.171. See also A. DE VOGÜÉ, *L'horaire de l'Ordo monasterii. Ses rapports avec le monachisme égyptien*, in: *Homo Spiritualis. Festgabe für L. Verheijen*. Hrsg. von C. MAYER u. K.H. CHELIUS. Würzburg, 1987, 240-258.

⁷¹ The *Ordo Monasterii* prescribes three Psalms for morning prayer (*in matutinis*): 62, 5 and 89; for Terce a Psalm with response (*ad respondendum*) and two other Psalms (*antiphonae duae*); for evening prayer (*ad lucernarium*) a Psalm with response (*psalmus responsorius*), four other Psalms (*antiphonae quattuor*), and a Psalm with response; for prayer during the night (*nocturnae orationes*) both *antiphonae* as well as *psalmi*. L.

The Psalm singing in Milan was not exactly the same as the monastic way of reciting the Psalms. In the monasteries all the Psalms were recited, which would pose an insurmountable problem for a large crowd. Furthermore the monastic melodies were too austere to compete with the popular melodies. Augustine suggests, on more than one occasion, that the singing was not executed with austere, but with sweet melodies⁷².

From Augustine's remarks it becomes clear that certain Psalm texts required certain melodies. Possibly their melodies were written down in *troparia* or in what we now call *antifones*. These were used as a tuning fork; in addition to the pitch they indicated the psalmodic mode⁷³.

In any case, Augustine, as bishop, encouraged the practice of singing. The singing of the response was already customary in Carthage, where for the first time in the Church of Africa this kind of large group singing was carried out⁷⁴. The Catholic Christians of Africa were not particularly oriented in those days to singing⁷⁵. But Augustine himself held the conviction: When there are no readings, sermons or prayers, what better can the people do than sing?⁷⁶

VERHEIJEN, *La Règle*, I, p. 148-152; II, p. 137, 149-151. Cf. H. LEEB, o.c., p. 63-68.

⁷² "Nihil enim aliud dicebat, quoniam ipsum cantilenae modum nuper hauserat, et amabat, ut fit, melos inusitatum" (*De Ordine* 1,8,22); "Ita sonus iste dulcis est, ut et qui psalterium nesciunt, ipsum versum cantent" (*En. in Ps.* 132,1); "Quantum flevi in hymnis et canticis tuis suave sonantis ecclesiae tuae vocibus commotus acriter" (*Conf.* 9,6,14). The last text indicates that Augustine was not moved by sober but by sweet melodies. Possibly they were so sweet because the melody came from outside the Church, and while its original worldly text was still current.

⁷³ H. NOLTHENIUS, *Muziek tusssen hemel en aarde. De wereld van het gregoriaans*. Amsterdam, 1981, p. 35-43.

⁷⁴ F. VAN DER MEER, o.c., p. 288. "A Carthago même l'initiative d'Aurelius n'alla pas sans résistance; il rencontra l'opposition d'un certain Hilarus et demanda à Augustin de se charger de le convaincre. Augustin écrivit le *Contra Hilarum*, recensé dans les *Retractationes* II,11": A.-M. LA BONNARDIÈRE, o.c., p. 149.

⁷⁵ "... sicut de hymnis et psalmis canendis, cum et ipsius Domini et apostolorum habeamus documenta et exempla et praecepta. De hac re tam utili ad movendum pie animum, et accendendum divinae dilectionis affectum, varia consuetudo est, et pleraque in Africa ecclesiae membra pigriora sunt; ita ut donatistae nos reprehendant, quod sobrie psallimus in ecclesia divina cantica prophetarum ..." (*Ep.* 55,18,34).

⁷⁶ "Quando autem non est tempus, cum in ecclesia fratres congregantur, sancta cantandi, nisi cum legitur aut disputatur, aut antistes clara voce deprecatur, aut communis oratio voce diaconi indicitur?" (*Ep.* 55,18,34). "Aliis vero particulis temporum quid melius a congregatis christianis fiat, quid utilius, quid sanctius, omnino non video" (*Ep.* 55, 19,35).

Roetzer and La Bonnardière produce some examples of a response⁷⁷. The response was first sung by the cantor and then repeated by the people and repeated again every time the cantor completed the next psalm verse. The singing of the Alleluia could also serve as a response⁷⁸. Sometimes the performance of the cantor was interpreted as reading, at other times it was considered singing⁷⁹.

RECONSTRUCTION OF READING LISTS

From the text of Augustine's sermons, Willis reconstructed a reading list that might have been used in Hippo. Because the bishop was a typical liturgical preacher, Willis considers this reconstruction possible. Augustine's sermons contain more material in connection with liturgical practices than those of any other western Church father, in particular concerning important feasts like Christmas, Epiphany, Easter, Ascension and Pentecost. Information about the second half of the ecclesiastical liturgical year is more limited.

What method does Willis use to determine the pericopes? He nowhere explains specifically how he concludes from the sermons which pericopes were used. He does, however, consider as a reasonably reliable indication the fact that certain scriptural passages occur frequently in sermons that belong to one liturgical-thematic group⁸⁰. Other writers have

⁷⁷ W. ROETZER, o.c., p. 101-102; A.-M. LA BONNARDIÈRE, a.c., p. 157. For example: "Videte quomodo impleverit quod omnes cantant sed pauci faciant: Benedicam dominum in omni tempore, semper laus eius in ore meo (Ps. 33:2)" (S. 359A,6); "Memento quid in psalmo cantaveris: Inquilinus ego sum in terra (Ps. 118:19)" (S. 359A,8).

⁷⁸ "Brevis psalmus est et valde utilis, quem modo nobis cantatum audivimus et cantando respondimus" (En. in Ps. 119,1); "Itaque in hoc psalmo quem cantatum audivimus, cui cantando respondimus" (En. in Ps. 46,1). Verse 6 of Psalm 40 "Inimici mei dixerunt mala mihi" serves as response: "Primo quo legenti respondentes cantavimus" (En. in Ps. 40,1 and 7). The Alleluia serves as response: "Quod nos voce psalmi spiritus sanctus hortatus est, cui ore uno et corde uno respondebamus Alleluia" (S. Denis 9,1, MA I, 39). All sing together: "... de quibus audivimus et cantavimus, quod in omnem terram exivit sonus eorum (Ps. 18:5)" (S. 299,1); "Hunc psalmum sicut vobiscum cum exultatione cantavimus" (En. in Ps. 44,1, in Carthage).

⁷⁹ "Primo quod legenti respondentes cantavimus, quamquam de medio psalmo sit, hinc tamen sermonis ducamus exordium" (En. in Ps. 40,1); see also En. in Ps. 46,1, footnote 78 above. Cf. H. LEEB, o.c., p. 80-84.

⁸⁰ "Augustine very frequently refers to Isa. 53:8 ... in sermons preached on Christmas Day. He nowhere states explicitly that this lesson was read, and the fourth Servant Song is not very suitable for the Nativity, except for this verse, nor does this lesson occur in later lectionaries for Christmas Day. Nevertheless, Augustine's references to it in Christmas sermons are so frequent that it is possible that it was read at Hippo at that

also occupied themselves, using the sermons of Augustine as point of departure, with the listing of the liturgical Scripture readings in the church of Hippo⁸¹. In the following paragraphs we will summarize the different methods used by Susanne Poque, Anne-Marie La Bonnardière and Victor Saxer⁸².

Susanne Poque, who discusses the pericopes of the liturgical celebrations during Holy Week and Easter week, usually does not explain how she determined the pericopes. Frequently she considers the scriptural reading as probable⁸³. She summarizes the scriptural texts that occur in the respective sermons⁸⁴, and sometimes adds a suggestion for a possible pericope⁸⁵. Thus she deals with the pericopes in Easter week without explaining her method of deduction⁸⁶.

season. It is probable that the Epistle was from Romans 5, which is also unparalleled elsewhere; and certain that the psalm was 84 ... There is no trace whatever in Augustine ... of the prologue to Saint John's gospel, the *In principio*, nor of the Matthaean account of the Nativity": G. WILLIS, o.c., p. 58.

⁸¹ For example W. ROETZER, o.c., p. 14-54; P. ROUILLARD, *Les sermons de Noël de saint Augustin*, in: *La vie spirituelle* 41 (1959) nr.101, p. 479-492; G. HUDON, *Le mystère de Noël dans le temps de l'église d'après saint Augustin*, in: *La Maison Dieu* 59 (1959) 60-84.

⁸² In his introduction (see footnote 37 above) M. PELLEGRINO refers with approval to the work of Willis (p. 26); he himself provides many examples of sermons of which the pericope or pericopes can be deduced from mainly explicit indications (p. 26-32). He thus discusses the readings of: S. 6, 13, 14, 16A, 27, 29, 32, 33A, 36, 43, 47, 61, 67, 68, 69, 70, 80, 81, 101, 112, 113, 117, 125, 131, 150, 160, 162A, 163B, 165, 174, 176, 223A, 229B, 306C, 307, 308, 313B, 339, 340A, 392. Furthermore, he states that Augustine uses the term *capitulum* to indicate *pericope* and that *dictum* can imply that which has been read or chanted (p. 29-30).

⁸³ "D'après *En. in Ps. 21,II,1* on peut supposer que la lecture prophétique était Jérémie 9,1 et l'évangile Mt. 26,1-16": S. POQUE, *Augustin d'Hippone. Sermons pour la Pâque* (SC 116). Paris, 1966, p. 70. "Sed quid modo ait propheta? Quis dabit capiti meo aquam et oculis meis fontem lacrimarum ... Verba quae modo audivimus, fratres, ubi ponimus?" (*En. in Ps. 21,II,1-2*). If one reads this *enarratio*, it becomes clear that Augustine comments on a number of verses of Mt. 26.

⁸⁴ S. POQUE, o.c., p. 76-77.

⁸⁵ "Ps. 18,6 était-il liturgiquement associé au jour de Pâques?": S. POQUE, o.c., p. 83; "Une double référence au Ps. 35 laisserait supposer que, au moins selon Ordo IV, ce psaume était lu ou chanté": *ib.* p. 92. She refers to S. 233,1: "Audisti lectionem sancti evangelii de resurrectione Christi ... Ait enim, sicut audistis quando loquebatur: Qui crederit et baptizatus fuerit salvus erit (Mk. 16:16)"; and to S. 233,2: "Audi: Filii autem hominum sub tegmine alarum tuarum sperabunt (Ps. 35:8)"; "Quoniam apud te est fons vitae (Ps. 35:10)"; "Homines et iumenta salvos facies (Ps. 35:7)".

⁸⁶ S. Poque seems to take over without investigation the pericopes from C. LAMBOT, *Les sermons de saint Augustin pour les fêtes de Pâques*, in: *Revue des sciences religieuses* 30 (1956) 230-240, 31 (1957) 263-278. See S. POQUE, o.c., p. 86-89. "A partir

Anne-Marie La Bonnardière, who is particularly interested in more general rules considering the lectionary of Hippo, claims that the fact that a certain scriptural passage occurs more than once can be interpreted as an indication of an original scriptural reading. Like Willis, she asserts that the method of concluding from scriptural indications which pericopes Augustine used is a reliable method⁸⁷.

Although in an earlier work she presents scriptural readings for Epiphany only as a possibility⁸⁸, she justifies her conclusions in a later study⁸⁹. Mt. 2:1-12 must have been the Gospel reading, since Augustine gives a recognizable commentary on this text. As psalm response, Ps. 18:2 (*caeli enarrant*) is suggested, because this verse occurs in six of the nine sermons on Epiphany⁹⁰, although Augustine nowhere states that the verse had actually been sung. *Caeli* is associated here with *stella*, and this association is only made in sermons on Epiphany. Augustine explains the star as a celestial sign or as divine communication; in other instances *caeli* often indicates the apostles or the saints. The reading from the Epistles is Eph. 2:11-22, because he cites this text specifically in sermons on Christmas and Epiphany in order to be able to relate the two feasts together. The passage lends itself very well for this purpose.

Saxer in his attempt at reconstructing uses indications in the sermon that specifically denote the scriptural reading⁹¹.

We can conclude that, according to the authors mentioned above, the numerous occurrences of a certain scriptural passage in a specific sermon can form a reliable indication of the use of a particular liturgical pericope. In order to be able to interpret these indications, the scriptural texts must be identified and summed up for each sermon. When the same scriptural passage occurs in sermons that belong to one liturgical-thematic group, this can indicate a fundamental pericope, presuming that this

de cette date, vendredi de Pâques 410, il semble, que ce fut toujours le récit de la pêche miraculeuse (Joh 21,1-14)", *ib.*, p. 100.

⁸⁷ "L'oeuvre homilétique de saint Augustin, complétée quelquefois par une allusion recueillie en d'autres de ses oeuvres, permet de retrouver les lectures bibliques et le répons psalmique du jour donné où fut prêché tel ou tel sermon. C'est là une donnée de base": A.-M. LA BONNARDIÈRE, a.c., p. 153.

⁸⁸ "Les homélies d'Augustin révèlent qu'il commentait la page d'adoration des mages, le verset 2 du psaume 18, la péricope paulinienne de l'Épître aux Ephésiens. [Ps 18:2] Le verset est cité; il n'est pas dit explicitement qu'il ait été chanté, mais on peut le présumer": A.-M. LA BONNARDIÈRE, a.c., p. 154-155.

⁸⁹ *Saint Augustin et la Bible*, ed. A.-M. LA BONNARDIÈRE. Paris, 1986, p. 83-86.

⁹⁰ S. 199-204 and 373-375. On the other hand, Psalm 18:6 occurs also in a number of Christmas sermons.

⁹¹ V. SAXER, *Saint Augustin. L'année liturgique*. Paris, 1980.

specific scriptural passage does not occur, or at least rarely occurs, in other sermons. A pericope can also be determined when Augustine comments on it recognizably.

METHOD OF ELIMINATION

In this article we would like to determine on the basis of a number of sermons that belong to one liturgical-thematic group what the corresponding pericopes were. In our example we proceed from Augustine's Christmas sermons. Such a departure point is not always possible. The advantage of our example is the fact that the sermons are comparable. It is our presupposition that every explicit indication is preferable to an implicit indication.

Here a problem arises: what do we mean by explicit indication? Is this a proposition in which the term *cantare* or *dicere* occurs?⁹² Or one in which the verb *audire* plays a role?⁹³ Or are we to pay attention to terms like *psalmus*, *evangelium*, *propheta*, *apostolus*?⁹⁴ It appears that *ait*, *dixit*, *cantat*, *canitur* are hardly clarifying with regard to the pericope used; that *audire* in combination with *legere* renders an immediate explicit indication; that one can sometimes obtain further indications through interpreting terms like *psalmus*.

Here we can introduce some other remarks and principles. We presume that as a rule a scriptural quotation will more clearly refer to a pericope than a scriptural allusion. In our research, therefore, quotations

⁹² "Christus qui dixit" (185,2); "hinc enim dictum est" (185,3); "Neque enim ait evangelium: Caro Verbum facta est; sed ait: Verbum caro factum est ... unde ait" (186,2); "quomodo dicit apostolus ad romanos" (186,3); "Neque enim quia dictum est" (187,3); "verum dixit" (187,4); "de quo psalmus cantat" (189,1); "in alio psalmo canitur" (189,1); "Si Maria terra, agnoscamus quod cantamus: Veritas" (189,2); "de quo alibi dicitur" (190,4); "Agite quod ait apostolus" (191,4); "Ipse enim dixit" (192,2); "dicamus ergo ei" (193,2); "quod ait idem Johannes" (194,1).

⁹³ "Audistis cum evangelium legeretur" (189,4); "Merito psalmi eius tamquam voce tubae caelestis accendimur, ubi audimus: Cantate" (190,4); "Et modo cum evangelium legeretur, audivimus" (190,4); "angelorum vocem ... cum evangelium legeretur audivimus" (193,1); "audistis modo cum evangelium legeretur" (196,2).

⁹⁴ "Diem qua impleta est prophetia dicens" (185,1); "His, fratres, quae mecum recognoscitis, paucis apostolicis verbis, pauca verba psalmi huius admiscere delectat, et consonantiam reperire" (185,3); "praeconium vocis angelicae factum est" (185,3); "Praedictum enim fuerat per prophetam" (190,3); "sanctis instructa lectionibus" (193,2); "quo die, sicut istum sermonem exorsi sumus: Veritas ... Iam enim et quod in eodem psalmo sequitur" (192,3); "Ipsorum enim angelorum vere hodierna vox est" (194,2); "Proinde quod de illo propheta praedixit" (195,1); "Quod ait sanctus Isaia propheta" (196,1).

have priority over allusions. The fact that the same allusion occurs in several sermons does not necessarily mean anything special. Often the allusion functions as an underscoring of a theme. It is, however, also possible that the preacher larded his exposition with allusions taken from one pericope only. In that case, several allusions from the same biblical context could converge in one pericope.

When one concludes from sermons that belong to one group in which particular pericopes are used, one never has, unless there are explicit indications, the certainty that precisely that pericope was used for precisely that sermon. One will only be able to determine roughly that — in our example of the Christmas sermons — Augustine made use of those specific pericopes on a certain feast.

When Augustine quotes only a few scriptural texts in a sermon, one can conclude with less difficulty which liturgical pericope was used than when he uses quotations from several Epistles, Psalms or Gospels. In the latter case, it becomes much more difficult to determine which quotations did or did not originate from the scriptural passage that has been read. Here a method of elimination could be useful. We will subsequently formulate some basic characteristics of this method. Our observations on the Christmas sermons will clarify the value of this method.

In the first place, one should register accurately the occurrences of scriptural quotations and allusions in each sermon and should differentiate between them. Scriptural quotations are more or less word for word repetitions of propositions from the Scripture. Allusions are smaller fragments from the Scripture — of only one, two or three words — that together do not, or only minimally, form a proposition, and are only detached expressions. Allusions in general will not be obtained by the preacher from the pericope that was read in the liturgy.

In the second place, one should determine, within the context of the sermon, those scriptural texts that serve only as a elucidation of a single thought. These texts are to be conceived as incidental. In general, if they do not belong to the theme as a result of their own context, they will not originate from the pericope. They can, however, belong to a cluster of scriptural texts.

In the third place, within a collection of sermons belonging to one liturgical-thematic group, one can discern scriptural texts that repeatedly form a cluster together with other scriptural texts. Augustine knew clusters of scriptural passages even apart from liturgical themes. To be able to determine clusters of scriptural texts, the references should be listed in *chronological* order for each sermon. The scriptural text that belongs to a

certain cluster can then be studied in the rest of Augustine's works. It then becomes possible to determine whether Augustine included the scriptural text because it fitted in with the cluster or because it suited to the liturgical celebration⁹⁵. La Bonnardière has analysed extensively the clusters of scriptural texts⁹⁶.

In the fourth place, the immediate biblical context of the quotation can be a reason for dismissing a scriptural passage as not being suitable for a pericope.

Lastly, one should consider that local traditions were fundamental to the choice of the pericopes. The presumed scriptural readings can be checked through the occurrence in the liturgical listings of adjacent churches. These readings can also be tested by other liturgical-historical criteria.

CHRISTMAS PERICOPES IN HIPPO. THE OLD TESTAMENT⁹⁷

Apart from the Psalms which are frequently quoted in the Christmas sermons, one may assume, just from the scarcity of Old Testament quotations, that on Christmas there was no pericope from the Prophets. Thus, neither Rouillard, nor Saxer, nor Hudon mention a reading from the Prophets. Hudon follows Roetzer in his reasoning. Our presupposition can furthermore be substantiated by the fact that Christmas was at that time a new feast; only the older established feasts in the liturgy retained Old Testament pericopes as an inheritance.

Is. 53:8 is quoted quite often⁹⁸. Willis suggests this prophetic text at least to be considered as part of the pericope that lies at the basis of S. 196. We fail to see why that understanding should only apply to S. 196. Moreover we are of the opinion that Is. 53:8 simply serves as an un-

⁹⁵ Ps. 18:6 is — compared to Ps. 84:12 (S. 185 and 191) — more frequently combined with John 1 (S. 187, 188, 191, 194 and 195).

⁹⁶ A.-M. LA BONNARDIÈRE, *Biblia Augustiniana. Ancien Testament: Livres historiques*. Paris, 1960; *Les Douze Petites Prophètes*. Paris, 1963; *Le Deutéronome*. Paris, 1967; *Le Livre de la Sagesse*. Paris, 1970; *Le Livre de Jérémie*. Paris, 1972; *Le Livre des Proverbes*. Paris, 1976; IDEM, *Nouveau Testament: Les Epîtres aux Thessaloniciens, à Tite, à Philémon*. Paris, 1964. IDEM, *Recherches de chronologie augustinienne*. Paris, 1965; IDEM, *Tu es Petrus. La péricope Mt 16,13-23 dans l'oeuvre de Saint Augustin*, in: *Irenikon* 34 (1961) 451-499.

⁹⁷ We will limit ourselves to the discussion of S. 184-196, because the authenticity of S. 396 and 370 is disputed, see P. VERBRAKEN, *Etudes critiques sur les sermons authentiques de saint Augustin*. Den Haag, 1976, p. 151-152.

⁹⁸ In S. 184,3, 188,2, 195,1 (4x) and 196,1 (3x).

derscoring of both nativities: the divine and the human. The immediate biblical context of Is. 53:8 has little in common with the theme of Christmas, as little as does the context of Acts 8:33 where the Isaiah text is quoted by the sacred writer. In addition to the Christmas sermons, Is. 53:8 often occurs in other parts of Augustine's oeuvre: repeatedly, when the divine generation of the Son by the Father is concerned, and where the text applies to the Servant of the Lord, the Isaiah text is quoted more extensively⁹⁹. We can furthermore determine that in Augustine's Christmas sermons there are no explicit indications of a pericope from the Prophets.

Is. 1:3, quoted in *S.* 189,4 and 190,3, is used as the image or the foreshadowing of the unity between the Christians coming from Judaism and the Christians from paganism. Both peoples come to Christ and lie at his feet like two beasts of burden. Neither Is. 1:3 nor *puer natus est* from Is. 9:6 could have belonged to a pericope from the Prophets. Here we are dealing with a very restricted quotation. Also, the other quotations from the Old Testament¹⁰⁰ cannot indicate an appropriate pericope, because of their immediate biblical context.

On the basis of the following argumentation we have excluded Is. 1 and Is. 53 as pericope. Liturgical-historically speaking, Christmas was a recent feast in Augustine's time. It did not include a reading from the Prophets because of the tendency in the African liturgy to omit the Old Testament readings during the celebration of the Eucharist. Apart from the Psalms the scriptural texts from the Old Testament in comparison with those from the New Testament not only are restricted in number, but because of their immediate biblical context, could hardly be used in a Christmas pericope. Although Is. 53:8 is quoted several times in Augustine's early works, it cannot be claimed for the Christmas liturgy. The texts of Isaiah that have been discussed indeed serve to underline images or single thoughts.

THE EPISTLES

Willis presumes, apparently from *S.* 185,3, that Rom. 5:1-2 was read as pericope, but he fails to argue his case. Saxer, on the other hand,

⁹⁹ As for example in *De Civitate Dei* 18,29, *De Consensu Evangelistarum* I,31,17, *De symbolo ad catechumenos* 3, *De peccatorum meritis et remissione* I,27,54.

¹⁰⁰ Gen. 2:19-20, Sap. 8:1, Eccli. 3:20.

does give an argumentation. He chooses for Rom. 5:1-2¹⁰¹ on the basis of the explicit indication *His, fratres, quae mecum recognoscitis, paucis apostolicis verbis, pauca verba psalmi huius admiscere delectat, et consonantiam reperire* (S. 185,3). Hudon reasons that Rom. 1:1-17 could have served as reading¹⁰². These authors consider the passage from the Epistle to the Romans as pericope. With the exception of Saxer, however, they do not present arguments for their selection.

Noteworthy are the numerous occurrences of texts from the Epistle to the Romans¹⁰³. Although Rom. 8:3 occurs in S. 184,2, 185,1 and 192,3, we are dealing here with an allusion: *similitudo carnis peccati*. Rom. 10:3 is used in S. 185,2 and 189,2. The manifold occurrences of texts from the Epistle to the Romans can be an indication of Augustine's inclination towards the theme of justification (*iustitia* in Rom. 1:17, Rom. 10:3 and Rom. 10:10; *lex* in Rom. 7:18.22.25), with which he explicitly deals in S. 185.

2 Cor. 11:2¹⁰⁴ does not form a cluster with any other text from the Epistles and can possibly be considered as a pericope. Therefore, one can choose 2 Cor. 11:2 as pericope, although the biblical context of 2 Cor. 11:2 can only be applied to Christmas with great difficulty. In general, one can say little about the clusters with which texts from the Epistles are associated. It is, however, remarkable that Phil. 2:6ff. is combined in a number of Christmas sermons with texts from John 1¹⁰⁵. Although, absolutely speaking, Augustine often quotes texts from the Epistles, in several cases this is a matter of identical texts.

It is our opinion that a pericope from the Epistle to the Romans indeed is the most likely choice. From S. 185,3 at least it becomes clear that Rom. 5:1-2 was read. Augustine often quotes from the Epistle to the Romans in his Christmas sermons, and in the same S. 185 the theme of justification is explicitly dealt with. According to our criteria of exclusion Rom. 1:17, Rom. 8:3, Rom. 10:3, Rom. 10:10 and Rom. 7,18.22.25 cannot

¹⁰¹ As pericope Rom. 5:1-11 does not seem to be confirmed by S. 193,2, which ends with an allusion to Rom. 5:5.

¹⁰² On the other hand, according to Hudon 1 Cor. 1:30-31, 2 Cor. 4:16, 2 Cor. 8:9, Gal. 4:4, Eph. 2:14, Eph. 5:8, Eph. 5:14, James 1:17 of 1 John 3:2 can also refer to a pericope, G. HUDON, a.c., p. 65.

¹⁰³ Other texts from the Epistles that occur several times are: 2 Cor. 11:2 in S. 188,4, 191,3 and 195,2; Eph. 2:14 in S. 185,3 and 193,2; Eph. 5 verse 8 in S. 195,3 and verse 14 in S. 185,1; Phil. 2:6-7.8 in S. 186,3, 187,4 and 196,1.

¹⁰⁴ S. 188,4, 191,3 and 195,2.

¹⁰⁵ S. 186, 187 and 196.

be considered as a pericope. In that case Rom. 1:1-3, Rom. 5:1-5 (S. 185 and S. 193) and Rom. 13:12-13 remain as possible readings.

THE READING FROM THE PSALMS AND THE RESPONSE

Willis suggests Psalm 84 as pericope from the book of Psalms because this particular Psalm is still used in the rites of different churches during the Christmas liturgy. Rouillard believes that there are three possibilities: either Ps. 84 with the response: *Veritas de terra orta est*; or Ps. 95 with the response: *Bene nuntiate diem de die salutare eius*; or Ps. 18 with the response: *Tamquam sponsus de thalamo suo*. Hudon — indicating that in the oeuvre of Augustine the relation between the Book of Psalms and the other quoted books of the Old Testament equals 31:12 — is right in his deduction that within the Christmas sermons the texts from the Psalms occupy a very dominant place. According to him, Ps. 95 must have been sung because this Psalm is quoted by Augustine in three sermons, and sometimes quite extensively. Furthermore Augustine states: *Merito psalmi eius tanquam voce tubae caelestis accendimur, ubi audimus: Cantate ...* (S. 190,4). Referring to our discussion on explicit indications above, one should investigate if *Merito* etc. may indeed be interpreted as an explicit indication. Saxer indicates that Psalm 84:12 served as response because Augustine states: *Si Maria terra, agnoscamus quod cantamus, Veritas de terra orta est* (S. 189,2). On the basis of S. 185, Saxer is also convinced that this response was used, because there it is quoted *passim*¹⁰⁶.

Among the different authors, Willis, Rouillard and Saxer choose Ps. 84 because this Psalm is adopted within the liturgical tradition of many churches; because the verse in S. 185 is quoted *passim*; and because of the explicit indication in S. 189,2. Rouillard and Hudon choose Ps. 95 because of its frequent use; because Ps. 95 is quoted more extensively in S. 189,1; and because of an explicit indication in S. 190,4. Finally, Rouillard also chooses Ps. 18, however without any argumentation.

One should perhaps take into consideration the fact that every sermon can have another pericope as its basis. In many sermons Ps. 84:12 appears¹⁰⁷. Although Ps. 18:6 is quoted in many of the other Christmas sermons¹⁰⁸, one should not come too hastily to the conclusion that Ps.

¹⁰⁶ Furthermore he refers to this quotation in S. 184,1, 191,2, 192,1/3 and 193,2. His reference to S. 189,1 should be S. 189,2.

¹⁰⁷ S. 184,1, 185 *passim*, 189,2, 191,2, 192,1/3 and 193,2.

¹⁰⁸ S. 187,4, 188,2, 191,2, 192,3, 194,4 and 195,3.

84:12 is the response in S. 184, 185, 189 and 193; and that Ps. 18:6 is the response in S. 187, 188, 194 and 195. This reasoning is countered by S. 191 and 192 where Ps. 18:6 is linked with Ps. 84:12¹⁰⁹. Ps. 84:12 also occurs together with Ps. 95:2¹¹⁰. This last Psalm also appears in S. 194,4 whereas, Ps. 117:24 is quoted in two sermons¹¹¹.

S. 196 offers no Psalm text at all; S. 186 and 188 offer only one. S. 195, on the other hand, offers much more Psalm texts than the other Christmas sermons. But of all the Psalm texts that occur in S. 195 only Ps. 18:6 is quoted in other sermons. The remaining Psalm texts in S. 195 are only found once within the context of the Christmas sermons.

It is difficult to discover some system in Augustine's use of Psalm texts. We may, however, conclude that both Ps. 84:12 and Ps. 18:6, because of their frequent use, can be regarded as response. Furthermore, we assume that Ps. 95:2, although it is quoted in three sermons, is introduced by the preacher mainly because of the terms *dies* and *salutare*. This verse, therefore, does not necessarily indicate a pericope, even if Ps. 95 could have been the pericope for S. 190, as Ps. 18 and Ps. 84 are not mentioned there. Because Ps. 117:24 (*Haec est dies quam fecit dominus*) only occurs in combination with Ps. 84:12 or with Ps. 18:6, we assume that this Psalm verse was not used as response, but as an underscoring text; in this case — as well as in Ps. 95:2 — to emphasize the term *dies*.

In our own argumentation both Ps. 18:6 and Ps. 84:12 can be considered as response, since they are frequently used and because of the exclusion of Ps. 95 and 117 which serve as a explanation of the terms *dies* and *salutare*. We accept as explicit indications the texts in S. 189,2 and S. 190,4, as claimed by our authors, only for the designated sermons. Therefore, we conclude that Ps. 95 served as pericope for no other sermon than for S. 190.

THE READING FROM THE GOSPEL

On the basis of *Angelorum vocem ... pastoribus nuntiatus est, cum evangelium legeretur, audivimus: Gloria* (S. 193,1), Roetzer proposes Lk. 2:8-14 as Gospel reading. Both on the basis of *Et modo cum evangelium legeretur, audivimus* (S. 190,4), and on the basis of *Audistis modo cum evangelium legeretur* (S. 196,2), he also proposes the pericope Lk. 2: 25-

¹⁰⁹ Moreover, both Psalms are absent in S. 186, 190 and 196.

¹¹⁰ S. 184,1 and 189,1.

¹¹¹ S. 184,1 and 187,4.

30, 36ff. Willis suggests as pericope Lk. 2:1-39¹¹². His argument is that this pericope occurs on Christmas in the lectionaries of many churches. Finally, he states that with Augustine there is no trace to be found of the first chapter of the Gospel according to Matthew or of that according to John¹¹³. Rouillard follows Roetzer: Lk. 2:1-38 was read every time.

Hudon argues for the existence of a midnight mass in Hippo because some sermons refer to Lk. 2 (S. 189 and 193), while other sermons quote John 1 (S. 186, 187, 188, 191, 195 and 196). But we ask ourselves what one should decide when in one sermon both chapters are quoted (S. 185, 190, 193 and 194); or when neither of them is quoted (S. 184 and 192)?¹¹⁴ Saxer proposes Lk. 2:14 (Lk. 1-end?) as pericope on the basis of two explicit indications¹¹⁵. On the basis of *Audistis modo cum evangelium legeretur, quod esset sancta prophetissa* (S. 196,2) he also proposes the pericope Lk. 2:26-30. Furthermore, on the basis of *Hinc enim et nato ex virgine domino, cuius diem natalem hodie celebramus, praeconium vocis angelicae factum est: Gloria* (S. 185,3) and on the basis of *Et modo cum evangelium legeretur, audivimus Simeonem* (S. 190,4), he refers to the pericope Lk. 2:26-30.

Willis transmits the argument of tradition. Hudon arrives at the conclusion of the existence of a midnight mass and a mass during the day at Hippo because of the separate frequent occurrences of Lk. 2 and John 1. Roetzer gives three explicit indications for Lk. 2: S. 190,4, 193,1 and 196,2. In this he is followed by Rouillard. Saxer gives five explicit indications for Lk. 2: S. 185,3, 190,4, 193,1, 194,2 and 196,2.

The number of texts from the Gospel according to John is remarkable, especially from John 1¹¹⁶. Texts from John 1 are used several times

¹¹² S. 185,3, 190,3 (presumably because of *nuntiatur pastoribus* and *praesepe*), 193,1, 194,2 and 196,2.

¹¹³ See the text in the title of our contribution: S. 359A,11. As appears from our appendices, texts from Mt. 1 and John 1 are indeed found.

¹¹⁴ Apart from the history of the origin of the midnight-mass in Rome, one can already deduce from the text itself of Augustine's Christmas sermons, that he held his sermons during the day. This is indicated by the frequent occurrence of the terms *hodie*, *hodiernus* and *dies*: S. 184,1, 185,1, 185,2, 185,3, 186,3, 187,1, 188,2, 188,4, 189,3, 190,1, 190,2, 190,3, 191,3, 192,1, 192,3, 194,1, 194,2, 194,4, 195,3, 196,1 and a clear indication in 196,4. Augustine speaks always about the day of the birth, once only there occurs an allusion to the night of the birth: "Nondum contemplari possumus quod genitus est ante luciferum a patre, frequentemus quod nocturnis horis est natus ex virgine" (S. 194,4).

¹¹⁵ "Cum evangelium legeretur, audivimus: Gloria in excelsis" (S. 193,1); "Ipsorum enim angelorum vere hodierna vox est ... Gloria" (S. 194,2).

¹¹⁶ In fact texts from John 1 do not occur in S. 184, 189, 192 and 193.

times in one sermon. Furthermore, from the Gospel according to St. John verses 27 and 30-31 of chapter 3, and verses 4,6,18-19, 21 and 28 of chapter 14 are well represented¹¹⁷. Mark does not occur at all. From the texts from Matthew only Mt. 1:23 implies the nativity, whereas Mt. 5 is represented by two verses¹¹⁸.

It is possible to denote two clusters of gospel texts. Lk. 2 and John 1 appear together in *S.* 185, 190 and 194, twice linked with John 14:6¹¹⁹. John 1 and John 14 form a cluster in *S.* 185, 187, 190, 194 and 195. Research to determine the place of John 14:6 within the works of Augustine could show itself valuable with regard to his Christmas sermons.

For some sermons we propose parts of Lk. 2 as pericope, and for others parts from John 1.

CONCLUSION

With regard to the question which pericopes were read at Hippo in Augustine's time, we have gathered several facts about Augustine's sermons: his preparation of the sermon, the closing prayer after the sermon, preaching and Holy Scripture, number and order of the pericopes in a celebration of the Eucharist at Hippo, the lectionary, the feasts of martyrs, the Psalm as chanted reading, and attempts to reconstruct the reading list of Hippo by Willis, Poque, La Bonnardi re and Saxer, with which also theories of Roetzer, Rouillard, Hudon and Pellegrino were linked.

When one considers the results of the method of elimination, it is evident that this method can help in determining which scriptural texts quoted by Augustine are definitely not to be considered as pericopes. Of course, elimination will not flawlessly lead to the pericopes that actually were read. With a number of scriptural texts this method can not give a decided result. Whereas the explicit indication only applies to the sermon wherein it occurs, the method of exclusion can however elucidate more general principles in the use of Scripture within the liturgical-thematic analogous sermons.

For the Epistle we found a clear indication in *S.* 185,3 (Rom. 5:1-2); for the Psalm in *S.* 189,2 (Ps. 84:12), *S.* 190,4 (Ps. 95) and *S.* 192,3 (Ps. 84:12); for the Gospel in *S.* 186,2 (John 1:14), *S.* 189,4 (Lk. 2:7), *S.* 190,4 (Lk. 2:26), *S.* 193,1 (Lk. 2:14), *S.* 194,2 (Lk. 2:14) and *S.* 196,2 (Lk.

¹¹⁷ John 14 in *S.* 185, 187, 190, 194 and 195.

¹¹⁸ Mt. 5:6 and 5:8.

¹¹⁹ *S.* 185 *veritas*; *S.* 190 *via*.

2:36-37)¹²⁰. From this it becomes clear that Augustine pays particular attention to the words of the Gospel in his Christmas sermons.

Combining the evidence with the results of the method of exclusion, we understand that the following sermons contain references to the following pericopes¹²¹:

S. 184:	<i>Ps. 84:12</i>	
S. 185: Rom. 5:1-2	<i>Ps. 84:12</i>	<i>Lk. 2:14</i>
S. 186: <i>Phil. 2:6-8/Rom. 1:1-3</i>		<i>John 1:14</i>
S. 187: <i>Phil. 2:6-7</i>	<i>Ps. 18:6</i>	<i>John 1:14</i>
S. 188: 2 Cor. 11:2	<i>Ps. 18:6</i>	<i>John 1:14</i>
S. 189:	<i>Ps. 84:12</i>	<i>Lk. 2:7</i>
S. 190: Rom. 13:12-13	<i>Ps. 95:1-2</i>	<i>Lk. 2:29-30</i>
S. 191: 2 Cor. 11:2	<i>Ps. 84:12</i>	<i>John 1</i>
S. 192:	<i>Ps. 84:12</i>	
S. 193: <i>Eph. 2:14</i>	<i>Ps. 84:12</i>	<i>Lk. 2:14</i>
S. 194: Gal. 2:20	<i>Ps. 18:6</i>	<i>Lk. 2:14</i>
S. 195: 2 Cor. 11:2	<i>Ps. 18:6</i>	<i>John 1</i>
S. 196: <i>Phil. 2:6-7</i>		<i>Lk. 2:36-37</i>

At the end of our contribution we give three appendices. The first appendix clarifies how the indications relate to the results of the method of elimination. Indeed, the result of the method of elimination can be confronted with the list of indications. The first appendix provides after the first words of every sermon also the quotations and allusions in the order they appear in each sermon. The numbers that are printed in *italics* indicate — based on the method of elimination — that the scriptural text could have served as pericope, whereas the numbers that are printed in **bold** indicate the pericopes that can be deduced from the indications. When a bold reference is not printed in *italics*, this means that in this case our method has not lead to any result. The second appendix supplies the total number of scriptural quotations and allusions that are used by Augustine in his Christmas sermons. They are arranged according to the order of the books of Holy Scripture. The third appendix gives a complete classification of indications.

Eindhoven

Martijn SCHRAMA O.S.A.

¹²⁰ A complete classification of indications follows in appendix III.

¹²¹ The references printed in *italics* have been determined by the method of elimination; those that are printed in **bold** have been determined by indications. Both can be combined in a reference, in that case it is printed in **bold italics**.

Appendix I

SERMO 184: Natalis domini et salvatoris nostri Jesu Christi, quo veritas de terra orta est, et dies ex die in nostrum natus est diem, anniversario reditu nobis hodie celebrandus illuxit: exsultemus et iucundemur in eo.

Ps. 84:12, Ps. 117:24, Ps. 95:2, Mt. 11:25, Rom. 8:3 and Is. 53:8.

SERMO 185: Natalis domini dicitur, quando dei sapientia se demonstravit infantem, et dei verbum sine verbis vocem carnis emisit.

Ps. 84:12, Eph. 5:14, Rom. 8:3, 1 Cor. 1:30-31, Rom. 10:3, Ps. 84:12, John 14:6, John 1:14, James 1:17, John 3:27, Rom. 5:1-2, Ps. 84:11, Rom. 5:1, Ps. 84:12, 1 Cor. 1:30-31, Lk. 2:14, Eph. 2:14, 2 Cor. 1:12, Ps. 3:4.

SERMO 186: Gaudeamus, fratres, laetentur et exsultent gentes. Istum diem nobis non sol iste visibilis, sed creator ipsius invisibilis consecravit.

Ps. 66:5, John 1:14, Mt. 26:38, John 1:14, John 1:1, John 1:14, Phil. 2:6-7, Phil. 2:8, Rom. 1:1-3, Gal. 4:4, 2 Cor. 4:16.

SERMO 187: Laudem domini loquetur os meum; eius domini per quem facta sunt omnia et qui factus est inter omnia.

Ps. 144:21, John 1:1, Sap. 8:1, Ps. 33:9, John 1:1, John 1:14, John 1:1, Mt. 1:23, 1 Peter 1:25, Ps. 18:6, Phil. 2:6-7, John 14:28, John 10:30, Phil. 2:6-7, Is. 9:6, 1 Peter 1:25, John 1:14, Mt. 1:23, Ps. 117:24, 1 John 1:7, Ps. 117:24.

SERMO 188: Filium dei sicuti est apud patrem aequalis illi et coaeternus, in quo condita sunt omnia in coelo et in terra, visibilia et invisibilia, verbum dei et deum, vitam et lucem hominum, si laudare moliamur; non mirum est quod nulla humana cogitatio, nullus sermo sufficiat.

Mt. 5:8, John 1:1, John 1:14, Is. 53:8, Ps. 18:6, Gen. 2:19-20, 2 Cor. 11:2.

SERMO 189: Sanctificavit nobis istum diem dies, qui fecit omnem diem, de quo psalmus cantat: Cantate domino canticum novum, cantate domino omnis terra, cantate domino et benedicite nomen eius, bene nuntitate diem de die salutare eius.

Ps. 95:1-2, Ps. 5:5, Ps. 84:12, Rom. 10:3, Rom. 1:17, Ps. 84:12, Ps. 84:12, Lk. 2:7, Is. 1:3.

SERMO 190: Dominus noster Jesus qui erat apud patrem antequam natus esset ex matre, non solum virginem de qua nasceretur, sed et diem quo nasceretur, eligit.

Rom. 13:12-13, *John 1:14*, *John 1:*, **Is. 1:3**, **Ps. 95:1-2**, *Ps. 66:2-3*, *John 14:6*, **Lk. 2:29-30**, *Ps. 95:2*, *Ps. 95:2-3*.

SERMO 191: Verbum patris per quod facta sunt tempora, caro factum, natalem suum nobis fecit in tempore.

John 1:14, **Ps. 84:12**, *Lk. 24:39*, *Ps. 18:6*, **2 Cor. 11:2**, *1 Cor. 7:32-34*, *Rom. 10:10*.

SERMO 192: Hodie veritas de terra orta est, Christus de carne natus est. Gaudete solemniter, et sempiternum diem hodierno quoque admoniti cogitate, aeterna dona spe firmissima concupiscite.

Ps. 84:12, *Mt. 12:50*, **Ps. 84:12**, *John 3:31*, *John 16:8-10*, *Ps. 18:7*, *Ps. 18:6*, *Ps. 18:7*, **Ps. 84:12**, *Ps. 18:6*, *Ps. 18:7*, *Rom. 8:3*.

SERMO 193: Angelorum vocem, per quam dominus Jesus Christus natus virginis partu, pastoribus nuntiatus est, cum evangelium legeretur, audivimus: Gloria in excelsis deo et in terra pax hominibus bonae voluntatis.

Lk. 2:14, *Ps. 33:13-15*, *Lk. 2:14*, *Ps. 101:28*, *Rom. 7:18.22*, *Rom. 7:25*, *Gal. 5:17*, *Eph. 2:14*, *John 8:31-32*, *Ps. 84:12*, *Lk. 2:14*, *Ps. 118:106*, *Rom. 7:22*, *Ps. 118:107*, *Rom. 7:18*, *Ps. 118:108*, *Lk. 2:14*, *Rom. 5:5*.

SERMO 194: Audite filii lucis, adoptati in regnum dei, fratres carissimi, audite; audite et exsultate iusti in domino, ut vos rectos possit decere laudatio.

Ps. 32:1, **John 3:30**, *2 Cor. 5:15*, **Gal. 2:20**, *John 3:30*, *John 1:*, *Lk. 2:14*, *Ps. 94:7*, **Lk. 2:14**, *John 1:*, *John 1:*, *Col. 2:3*, *2 Cor. 8:9*, *Ps. 30:20*, *1 Cor. 13:9*, *1 John 3:2*, *John 14:8*, *Ps. 16:15*, *John 10:30*, *John 14:9*, *Ps. 23:10*, *Ps. 79:4*, *Ps. 26:8-9*, *John 14:21*, *1 Cor. 2:9*, *2 Cor. 5:9*, *Mt. 5:6*, *Ps. 71:17*, *Ps. 109:3*, *Ps. 18:6*.

SERMO 195: Filius dei idemque filius hominis, dominus noster Jesus Christus, sine matre de patre natus, creavit omnem diem; sine patre de matre natus, consecravit hunc diem; divina nativitate invisibilis, humana visibilis, utraque mirabilis.

Is. 53:8, *Is. 53:8*, *Is. 53:8*, *Is. 53:8*, *Ps. 44:3*, **2 Cor. 11:2**, *Gal. 4:26-27*, *John 1:11*, *John 1:5*, *Eph. 5:8*, *Ps. 18:6*, *John 1:14*, *John 14:4*.

SERMO 196: Hodiernus dies natalis domini nostri Jesu Christi nobis festus illuxit. Natalis dies quo natus est dies. Et ideo hodie, quia ex hodierno crescit dies.

Is. 53:8, *John 1:*, Is. 53:8, *Phil. 2:6*, *Phil. 2:7*, *Phil. 2:6*, Is. 53:8, **Lk. 2:36-37**, Eccli. 3:20, *John 1:*.

Appendix II

OLD TESTAMENT

Gen. 2:19-20: S. 188

Is. 1:3: 189, 190

Is. 9:6: 187

Is. 53:8: 184, 188, 195, 196

Wisdom. 8:1: 187

Eccli. 3:20: 196

PSALMS

Psalms that occur several times:

Ps. 18:6/7: 187, 188, 191, 192, 194, 195

Ps. 84:11/12: 184, 185, 189, 191, 192, 193

Ps. 95:1-3/2: 184, 189, 190

Ps. 117:24: 184, 187

Ps. 118:106-108: 193

Psalms that occur only once:

Ps. 3:4: 185

Ps. 5:5: 189

Ps. 16:15: 194

Ps. 23:10: 194

Ps. 26:8-9: 194

Ps. 30:20: 194

Ps. 32:1: 194

Ps. 33:9: 187

Ps. 33:13-15: 193

Ps. 44:3: 195

Ps. 66:2-3: 190

Ps. 66:5: 186

Ps. 71:17: 194

Ps. 79:4: 194

Ps. 94:7: 194
Ps. 101:28: 193
Ps. 109:3: 194
Ps. 144:21: 187

GOSPEL

Mt. 1:23: 187
Mt. 5:6: 194
Mt. 5:8: 188
Mt. 11:25: 184
Mt. 12:50: 192
Mt. 26:38: 186

Lk. 2:7: 189
Lk. 2:14: 185, 193, 194
Lk. 2:29-30/36-37: 190, 196
Lk. 24:39: 191

John 1:...: 186, 187, 188, 190, 194, 196
John 1:5/11: 195
John 1:14: 185, 186, 187, 188, 190, 191, 195
John 3:27: 185
John 3:30: 194
John 3:31: 192
John 8:31-32: 193
John 10:30: 187, 194
John 14:4: 195
John 14:6: 185 (*veritas*), 190 (*via*)
John 14:8-9.21: 194
John 14:28: 187
John 16:8-10: 192

EPISTLES

Rom. 1:1-3: 186
Rom. 1:17: 189
Rom. 5:1-2: 185
Rom. 5:5: 193
Rom. 7:18/22/25: 193
Rom. 8:3: 184, 185, 192
Rom. 10:3: 185, 189

Rom. 10:10: 191

Rom. 13:12-13: 190

1 Cor. 1:30-31: 185

1 Cor. 2:9: 194

1 Cor. 7:32-34: 191

1 Cor. 13:9: 194

2 Cor. 1:12: 185

2 Cor. 4:16: 186

2 Cor. 5:9: 194

2 Cor. 5:15: 194

2 Cor. 8:9: 194

2 Cor. 11:2: 188, 191, 195

Gal. 2:20: 194

Gal. 4:4: 186

Gal. 4:26-27: 195

Gal. 5:17: 193

Eph. 2:14: 185, 193

Eph. 5:8: 195

Eph. 5:14: 185

Phil. 2:6-7: 186, 187, 196

Phil. 2:8: 186

Col. 2:3: 194

James 1:17: 185

1 Peter 1:25: 187

1 John 1:7: 187

1 John 3:2: 194.

Appendix III

The indications that are marked with an * we consider certain, those marked with a ? we consider doubtful. Other indications of a less explicit nature are stated in footnote 92, 93 and 94 above.

- ?185,1 (Ps. 84:12) qua impleta est prophetia *dicens*: Veritas
 ?185,2 (Ps. 84:12) propterea cum *dixisset*: Veritas ... mox *addidit*: Et iustitia
 *185,3 (Rom. 5:1-2) His fratres ... paucis apostolicis verbis
 ?185,3 (Lk. 2:14) praeconium vocis angelicae *factum est*: Gloria
 ?185,3 (Ps. 3:4) Hinc enim *dictum est*: Gloria mea et exaltans caput meum
 *186,2 (John 1:14) Neque enim ait evangelium: Caro
 ?186,3 (Rom. 1:1-3) quomodo *dicit* apostolus ad romanos: Segregatus in evangelium dei
 ?187,3 (John 1:14) Neque enim quia *dictum est*: Deus erat verbum
 ?187,4 (John 14:28/30) verum *dixit*: Pater maior me est ... verum *dixit*: Ego et pater unum sumus
 ?188,2 (John 1:14) Huc itaque paululum *aures et animos advertamus* si forte valeamus aliquid congruum dignumque dicere, non ex eo quod in principio erat verbum, sed ex eo quod verbum caro factum est
 ?188,4 (2 Cor. 11:2) Huic enim *dicit* apostolus: Aptavi vos
 ?189,1 (Ps. 95:1-2) de quo psalmus *cantat*: Cantate
 *189,2 (Ps. 84:12) Si Maria terra, agnoscamus quod cantamus: Veritas
 *189,4 (Lk. 2:7) Qui deus erat, homo factus est. Angustum erat diversorium involutus pannis, in praesepe positus; audistis cum evangelium legeretur
 ?190,1 (Rom. 13:12-13) Sic enim *dicit* apostolus: Nox praecessit
 ?190,3 (Is. 1:3) *Praedictum* enim fuerat per prophetam: Agnovit
 *190,4 (Ps. 95:1-2) Merito psalmi eius tamquam voce tubae caelestis accendimur, ubi audimus: Cantate
 *190,4 (Lk. 2:26.29-30) Et modo cum evangelium legeretur, audivimus: Simeonem
 ?191,2 (Ps. 84:12) Sic adimplendum est quod *praedixerat* psalmus: Veritas
 ?191,3 (2 Cor. 11:2) Desponsavi enim vos, *inquit*
 ?192,3 (Ps. 84:12) quo die sicut *istum sermonem* exorsi sumus: Veritas
 ?192,3 (Ps. 84:12) Iam enim et quod in eodem psalmo sequitur, *factum est*
 *192,3 (Ps. 84:12) Quod ergo audis: Veritas

*193,1 (Lk. 2) Angelorum vocem ... cum evangelium legeretur, audivimus:
Gloria

?194,1 (John 3:30) quod *ait* idem Johannes: Illum oportet crescere

?194,1 (Gal. 2:20) et dicat unusquisque nostrum quod *dicit* apostolus: Vivo
autem iam non ego

*194,2 (Lk. 2) Ipsorum enim angelorum vere hodierna vox est: Gloria

?195,1 (Is. 53:8) proinde quod de illa propheta *praedixit*: Generationem

?195,2 (2 Cor. 11:2) Ad hanc quippe *dicit* apostolus: Aptavi

?196,1 (Is. 53:8) Quod *ait* sanctus Isaias propheta: Generationem

*196,2 (Lk. 2:36-37) Audistis modo cum evangelium legeretur prophetissa.

AN ANGLO-NORMAN RULE OF ST. AUGUSTINE

The last few decades have witnessed a marked revival of interest in the origins and evolution of monastic rules, including the *Regula Magistri*, now seen as a forerunner of the Rule of St Benedict, Caesarius of Arles's *Regula ad virgines* and *Regula monachorum*, St Leander of Seville's *De institutione virginum*, the *Regula Pauli et Stephani*, the *Regula monasterii Tarnatensis* and Isidore of Seville's *Regula monachorum*. The textual history of such rules is of intimidating complexity and that of the Rule of St Augustine is, as we shall see, no exception. With the Gregorian reforms came important changes in dispositions of the *vita communis* for canons with the emphasis on the example of the early Christians in their acceptance of poverty, celibacy and chastity. Despite a reference in Rheims in 1067 to a *Regula beati Augustini* it seems clear that the early communities living according to the Rule, who became known as "regular canons"¹ had little or no knowledge of the actual text of the Rule, witness the difficulty that Gerhoh of Reichersberg experienced in locating a copy c. 1120. It was some time before it may be said with Dickinson² "Thus the Rule of St Augustine achieved the same preeminence amongst regular canons that the Rule of St Benedict had long enjoyed among monks". But it is certainly true that the need for such a rule was the more strongly felt for the disputes which arose with the Benedictines and their frequent charge that the canons lacked a founder. It was considered an approved rule by the Fourth Lateran Council and was adopted by St. Dominic and his friars.

The text of the Rule of St. Augustine as printed in Migne³ comprises three texts⁴. The first (PL 33, 958-65) is a letter (no. 211) address-

¹ See HUGH OF ST VICTOR, PL 176, 881A: "Et quod nos dicimus regulam, Graeci canonem appellant. Unde etiam Graeco nomine canonici, id est regulares, appellati sunt hi qui in monasteriis constituti iuxta regularia praecepta sanctorum Patrum canonice atque apostolice vivunt ...".

² J.C. DICKINSON, *The Origins of the Austin Canons and their Introduction into England* (London, 1950), p. 66. Dickinson covers the history of the Rule in the twelfth century on pp. 59-90.

³ PL 32 & 33.

⁴ For a summary of scholarship on their history see DICKINSON, *op. cit.*, pp. 255-72 (Appendix One).

ed to a religious community of women founded by St Augustine and consists of a brief admonition (c. 1-4) followed by a *Regula sororum* (c. 5-19). It is usually thought to have been written c. 423. The second text (PL 32, 1449-52), often known as the *Regula secunda*, is a short composition, probably not the work of Augustine himself. The major document is the so-called *Regula tertia* or *Regula ad servos Dei* (PL 32, 1377-84), an adaptation for men of Letter 211, possibly made in Italy in the fifth century, and which was joined to the *Regula secunda* by the early sixth century. In the course of the twelfth century, however, it was gradually shorn of the *Regula secunda* to become itself what was generally regarded as the 'Rule of St. Augustine'. The apparent straightforwardness of this view, however, was shaken by the work of L. Verheijen who published his researches and an edition of the component texts in 1967⁵. Verheijen charted the genesis and evolving relationships of four texts addressed to men and five addressed to women and showed how they were transcriptions and combinations of the three documents identified above which he called the *Objurgatio* (part of Letter 211 edited on pp. 105-7 of t. 1), the *Ordo monasterii* (edited on pp. 148-52), and the *Praeceptum* (edited on pp. 417-37).

In the thirteenth century an Anglo-Norman translator naturally took the *Regula tertia* / *Praeceptum* as his text. His aim was to produce an accurate translation without commentary and exegetical remarks. Thus the influential commentary attributed to Hugh of St Victor⁶ has left no trace in his treatment, nor, unsurprisingly, has the extensive *Colloquium magistri et discipuli in regulam beati Augustini de vita clericorum* found in MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, lat. theol. d. 17 (s. xii) ff. 3r-97v and attributed to Robert of Bridlington⁷. Nevertheless, the Anglo-Norman translation is an important testimony to the diffusion of the Rule in England in the thirteenth century and may be interestingly compared with the Norman translation of the Rule of St. Benedict published by Ruth Dean and Domi-

⁵ L. VERHEIJEN, *La Règle de saint Augustin*, t. 1 *Tradition manuscrite*; t. 2 *Recherches historiques* (Paris, 1967).

⁶ The *Expositio in regulam beati Augustini* was printed amongst the works of Hugh in Migne, PL 176 col. 881-924 and considered as probably authentic by R. BARON, *Hugues de Saint-Victor est-il l'auteur d'un commentaire de la Règle de saint Augustin?* in *Recherches de science religieuse* 43 (1955), 342-60. The attribution is also accepted by R. GOY, *Die Überlieferung der Werke Hugos von St. Viktor* (Stuttgart, 1976) who shows (pp. 457-78) that it survives in 128 MSS, though only 32 date from the twelfth or thirteenth century.

⁷ See B. SMALLEY, *Gilbertus Universalis, Bishop of London (1128-34) and the Problem of the 'Glossa Ordinaria'* in *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* 7 (1935), 235-62, pp. 248 & 251, and *The Bridlington Dialogue, an exposition of the Rule of St Augustine*, translated and edited by a Religious of C.S.M.V. (London, 1960).

nica Legge⁸, which is so expanded as to constitute an adaptation, and the *Regula monialium beate Marie de pratis translata in Gallicum* found in MS B.L. Cotton Nero D 1 (s. xiii) ff. 174ra-175vb⁹.

The translation is found in MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 57 (S.C. 2004) ff. 2r-4r. The manuscript is written in a variety of hands of the second half of the thirteenth century and very early fourteenth century. It consists mostly of religious and didactic pieces in Latin but there are some vernacular items in verse and prose and these were the subject of a study published by Paul Meyer in 1906¹⁰. There are English verses on f. 102v¹¹ and in "versus de gula" on f. 65v we read "Et si dominus vobiscum sonat 'in weseheil' / quid nisi et cum spiritu tuo 'in dringkeheil'". Fragments of Alexander Nequam's *Corrogationes Promethei*, which contains French glosses¹², are found on ff. 11r/v, 20v, 53r/v, 81r-83v, 94r/v. Not recorded by Meyer are the lines at the bottom of f. 73v:

Salomon: En tuz vos mos, dit il, penseez

Ta mort, e ja ne peccherez.

and two Christian charms on f. 101v, the second of which runs:

Benedictio ordei contra tac et talon et furiam et glet.

Conjuro te, ordeum, et benedico te per Patrem et per Filium
et per Spiritum Sanctum, per Marcum, per Matheum, per Lucam,
per Johannem, per .xii. prophetas, per .xii. apostolos, per
centum .xl. quatuor milia innocentes martyres, ut illa
animalia que de te manducabunt nullum malum habeant nec de
tac, nec de talon, nec de furia, nec de ulla glet. Sanctus
Job sedebat tristis super petram marmoream. Tunc venit dominus
Jhesus Christus [et] ait illi: 'Job, cur sedes et es tristis
'? 'Domine, iube me quid faciam animalibus meis que mihi
donasti. Tulit ea glet'. 'Accipe ordeum quod creavi ad opus
tuum et da animalibus tuis'.

Istud carmen debet legi a tribus sacerdotibus, tribus vicibus
vel ab imo sacerdote novies. Pater Noster et Credo dicatur
totum et Quicumque vult totum et illud ewangelium 'In

⁸ R.J. DEAN & M. D. LEGGE, *The Rule of St Benedict, a Norman Prose Version* (Oxford, 1964).

⁹ I intend to publish this in a second article.

¹⁰ *Notice du ms. Bodley 57 (Oxford, Bodléienne)*, in *Romania* 35 (1906), 570-82. Meyer's transcriptions contain a fair number of errors, including half a dozen in the opening of the text of the Rule which he prints on p. 571.

¹¹ Printed, with some errors, by MEYER p. 580.

¹² See T. HUNT, *Teaching and Learning Latin in Thirteenth-Century England* (Cambridge, 1992), vol. 1, pp. 245f.

principio erat verbum'. Et postea faciant crucem ex cunctis digitis suis in ordeo et postea aqua benedicta despergatur desuper et postea detur animalibus¹³.

In the edition below the divisions of the text follow the edition of Verheijen, where they have genetic significance, while the rubrics are supplied from the edition in Migne simply for the convenience of the reader who may not have easy access to Verheijen's work. The small explanatory additions to the Latin which the translator has occasionally made are printed between «...». Other information is furnished in the notes. One feature of the translation deserves special mention and that is the use of binary expressions to render single words in the original. These occur as follows:

I,5 ne deivent mie *demander ne querre* - non quaerant
 I,5 a lur meseise e a lur enfermeté - eorum infirmitati
 I,5 lur poverté ne lur [...] - paupertas eorum

III,3 si eus aient e usent - sumunt
 III,5 lur force e lur sancté - vires
 III,5 ke delit demande ne tenge mie - nec teneat
 III,5 a plus bonurez e a plus riches de buntez - ditiores
 III,5 suffrir meseise e mesure - in sustinenda parcitate

IV,6 vostre honesteté e vostre netteté - vestram pudicitiam
 IV,8 veer u trover - invenire
 IV,8 dunc serreit ço cruelté e mal - crudeliter
 IV,8 le mal de vostre frere et la folie - vulnus

¹³ The first is headed *Contra infirmitatem carmen bonum que dicitur lonchot optimum et expertum* and runs "Primitus dicatur letania, postea fiat aqua benedicta, deinde celebratur missa rogationum et fiat commemoratio sancte crucis et sancti Ypoliti. Dehinc etiam sacerdos cum aqua benedicta et stola indutus eat ad ovile et illud circuendo dicat psalmos .s. Benedicite omnia deus, Te deum laudamus, Quicumque vult, aspergendo animalia aqua benedicta. Postea versus occidentem in primo angulo animalibus ante eum astantibus legat ewangelium 'In principio', in secundo angulo 'Cum esset desponsa[ta]', in tertio angulo 'Recumbentibus', in quarto angulo 'Respiciens Jhesus Cristus', quod legitur in vigilia omnium sanctorum. Postea revertatur sacerdos ad priorem angulum et di??eat ante animalia exire de ovili aspergendo ea aqua benedicta. Et postea istam dicat orationes 'Domine Jhesu Criste, fili dei qui liberasti tres pueros de camino ignis ardentis, Sidrac, Misac, Abdenago, precamur te, fili gloriose virginis Marie et matris tue et omnium sanctorum et electorum tuorum exoratus sis ut salves et liberes has bestias ab omni malo et peste. Amen'.

V,2 *seinement et entierement* - sane

VI,3 *ne seit lessé ne depescé* - frangatur

[f.2r]

Le Reule Seint Austin

I.

Devant toutes choses, cher freres, seit Deu amé entre nus, e après lui nostre prosme, kar icez commandementz nus sunt principalement donez¹⁴. [1] Iço sunt ke nus comandun ke vus, [2] ke estes assemblez e establez en seinte Eglise, pur ço que en un estes assemblez, gardez tut premerement ke vus uniement habitez en meisun e seit a vus un alme e un quor en Dampne-deu¹⁵. [f.2v] [3] E ne diez e nen aiez nule chose propre: tutes seint communes tutes choses a vus e seit liverét a chescun de vus de vostre prior vostre vivre e vostre vesture, nient uelement a tuz, kar tuz ne poez mie [valer] uelement, (tuz) meis a chescun solun ço que bosoin averat. Issi pur veir lisez in Actibus Apostolorum *ke tutes choses lur erent communes e estait livré a chescun sicum il aveint bosoin*¹⁶. [4] E ceus que acune chose aveient al secle quant eus vindrint a religiun, doivent volenters vuler ke ço seit en cummun. [5] E ceus ke reint ne nen aveint el secle, ne doivent mie demander ne querre en seinte eglise ke eus ne porreient la fors aver, mes nequedent a lur meseise e a lur enfermeté seit liveré ço ke mester serra, ja seit iço ke lur poverté ne lur [...] poeit trover lur estuver la fors¹⁷. Pur sul itant ne se quident eus mie estre benurez si eus unt trové vivre e vesture meldre ke eus poient la fors trover.

[De humilitate]

[6] Ne pur ço ne eslievent eus mie par orguil¹⁸ lur testes¹⁹, pur ço ke eus sunt acompainnez a ceus ke eus ne oserent aprismer la fors, mes en Deu aient lur quer e ne quergent mie terrienes choses²⁰, ke lur assemble ne commence mie sulement a estre profitable as riches e nient as po-

¹⁴ This opening entered the *Praeceptum (Regula tertia)* from the *Ordo monasterii (Regula secunda)*, see VERHEIJEN p. 148.

¹⁵ Acts 4,32a.

¹⁶ Acts 4,32b, 32c, 35b.

¹⁷ "etiam si paupertas eorum, quando foris erant, nec ipsa necessaria poterat invenire".

¹⁸ Cf. HUGH OF ST VICTOR, PL 176, 887D "Cervicem erigere signum superbiae est".

¹⁹ "nec erigant cervicem".

²⁰ Coloss. 3,1-2.

vres, si les riches sunt la enhumiliez e les povres sunt la plus enflez, «ço est asaver si eus sunt la plus enorguiliz». [7] E iceus ki estoient veus de acun valur al secle nen aient a desdein lur freres ki de poverté vindrent a cele seinte société. E eus ne deivent mie penser de la digneté de lur riches parenz, mes deivent melz glorifier en Deu de [la] société de lur povres freres. E(n) ne se enorguillissent mie si eus unt aporté de lur aver u de lur richesses aucune chose a lur commune vie sustenir²¹ plus ke si eus les usasent al secle. Certes quelequemkes felunie escherche les males overaignes, que eles soient fetes vraiment, e agauite orguil les bones overaignes, ke eles perissent. E que profite almone a doner as povres e estre fet povre, quant la chaitive alme est fet plus orguillus quant el ad guerpie les richesses ke quant ele les out?²² [8] Tuz derechef uniement e concordamment vivez, e honurez entre vus e en vus Deu le ki temple vus estes fet.

II.

[De oratione et divino officio]

[1] En oreysuns estez as ures establies e as tens. [2] En oratorie nul ne face chose fors a quei il est fet e dunt il ad pris sun nun. E si eus aucune chose aient loisir, e eus estre lur ures establies volent ourer, ne lur seit empeschement a ceo²³ ke eus deivent fere. [3] Quant vus par salmes u par ymnes Deu ourez, ço pensez el quer que vus dites par²⁴ buche. [4] E ne chantez mie fors ço que vus avez oï que est a chanter e ço que est escrit; ke ne deit estre chanté ne seit de vus chanté.

III.

[De jejunio et refectione]

[1]²⁵ Quant aucun de vus ne pot juner, nepurhuc ne devez viande guster fors a ure de manger, si vus ne seiez malade. [2] Quant vus seez a la table a vostre manger, senz noise e senz estrif oiez ço ke l'um vus lit, sicume custume est, ke vus sulement ne mangez de vostre buche, mes vos oreilles aient faim, «ço est asaver vostre oïe ait entente a la parole Deu».

²¹ Omits after "de divitiis" "quia eas in monasterio partiuntur".

²² *I Cor.* 13,3.

²³ MS = *coo*.

²⁴ MS = *par dites*.

²⁵ Omits "Carnem vestram dōmate jejuniis et abstinentia escae et potus, quantum valetudo permittit".

[De indulgentia erga infirmos]

[3] Ceus ke sunt malades acustumeement, si eus autrement sunt treitez en lur vivre «ke les senz», ne deivent pur ço les seins aver moleste ne nent ne lur deit [f.3r] sembler tort, kar alcune feiz unt eus esté plus fors. Ne pur ço ne quident eus estre plus bonurez si eus aient e usent ço ke les autres ne usent mie, mes plus se deivent esjoir de ço ke eus poent melz que les autres. [4] E si hom dune alcune chose a ceus ki de plus deliciuses custumes vindrint a religiun que hom ne dune as autres, ki sunt plus forz e pur ço plus bonurez, u de vivre u de vesture, penser deivent icés a ki hom ne l'ad duné, de quele richesse [...] ²⁶ de la seculere vie a religiun, ja seit iço ke eus ne poent venir al profit des autres ki sunt de cors plus puissanz. Ne deivent mie voler tuz ço ke poie veient ke eus seient plus des autres honurez, mes deivent meilz estre suffranz, ki la maldite perversité ne vienge en seinte eglise, ke la u, tant cum eus poent, les riches sunt fez plus travaillanz, la ne deivent mie les povres estre fet plus delicius. [5] Sicum les malades unt mester a prendre meins des autres, ke eus ne seient grevez, issi deivent eus estre traitez après lur maladie, ke eus puissent le plus tost estre recriez «e esforcez al servise Deu», ja seit iço ke eus seient venuz de tres humble poverté, si unkore lur cundune lur nuvele maladie, ço ke as riches cunduna lur ancienne custume. Mes si tost cum eus unt recouvé lur force e lur sancté, deivent eus repaier a lur custume plus bonuree, la quele cuveint as servis Deu tenir tant meilz cum eus mei[n]s unt ²⁷. Ke delit demande ne tenge mie iceus ke sunt ja seins, par bosoin sunt levez de maladie. Iceus deit hom tenir a plus bonurez e a plus riches de buntez ki sunt plus fort a souffrir meseise e mesure. Meilz est certes a aver mesurablement poverté ke a aver trop «dunt hom n'ad mester».

IV.

[De habitu et exterioris hominis compositione]

[1] Ne seit mie vostre abit notable, «ço est a entendre» ne seiez mie a male suspeciun a la gent par bele vesture, mes par bones murs. [2] Quant vus alez acune part, aleiz ensemble, e quant vus reveneiz, seez ensemble. [3] En vostre aler e en vostre muver e en vostre esteir ne seit fet nule chose ke puisse offendre la veue de nul ne de nule, mes iço faciez

²⁶ A blank in the MS. The Latin has "quantum de sua seculari vita illi ad istam descenderint".

²⁷ The Latin has not been properly understood: "quae famulos Dei tanto amplius decet, quanto minus indigent".

ke afiert a vostre seinteté. [4] Si vus par aventure de vo(i)z oilz esgardez nule femme, nepurhoc en nule ne devez ficher «ne lungement esgarder». E quant vus alez entre femmes, vus ne est mie defendu a ver femmes «ne de estre veu de femmes», mes desirer femme u estre desiré de femme est criminale chose. E nent sulement par teisible desir²⁸, mes par fals reguarz e par voler aveient la coveitise de femme. E ne diez pas ke vus aiez les curages nez, si vus avez les oilz nent nez, ço est a entendre si vus avez fole reguardure, kar li nient net oil est demustrance al nient net quer. E quant les quors de ambesdous se entrenuncient neient nettes choses senz parole e sulung cuveitise de la char, se delitent en ardur de desir, ja seit ço ke il ne se entrecuchent mie²⁹, fuit de eus la chasteté de bone murs. [5] Ne ne quidez mie icil ki volenters eguarde femme e ki aime (e) ke fiche son oil en lui, ke il ne seit veu des autres, kar sovent est il de teus veu ke il ne quide mie. E si il ne est de alcun veu, ke frat il de celui ke del cel veit³⁰, a ki nule chose ne pot estre celé? Mes pur ço ne deit mie quider ke il ne seit de lui veu «s'il le soffre», kar tant cum plus il patiemment le veit, tant le soffre il plus sagement. [f.3v]³¹ Li seinte hume ait poür de desplaisir a Deu pur ço ke il voille a femme malement plaisir. E il deit penser ke Deu veit tutes choses, ke il de femme ne voille estre malement veu. La poür de Deu deit il aver en ceste achesun dunt il est escrit Abhominatio est domino defigens oculum³², «ço est a entendre» 'Abhominable chose est a nostre Seignur figchant le oil', «ço est a entendre ki de sun oil garde folement». [6] Quant vus estes ensemble en seinte eglise e u ke unkes estes u femmes seint esemble, gardez entre vus vostre honesteté e vostre netteté. E Deu ke meint en vus en ceste manere vus garderat chescun de vus par vus.

[De fraterna correctione]³³

[7] E si maveisté de fole guardure³⁴ seit en alcun aparceu, hastivement seit celi amonesté, ke il mes ne face, mes seit par sun frere amendé. [8] E si vus après le amonestement³⁵ altre feiz le verreiz meimes ço fere ke il

²⁸ This represents the reading "affectu tacito" (as in MS Paris, B.N. lat. 5256) as opposed to the standard "solo tactu et affectu".

²⁹ The Latin has "etiam intactis ab immunda violatione corporibus".

³⁰ The Latin reads "de illo desuper inspectore".

³¹ The top line of f.3v runs "Li seint home cum plus il pacienement le veit, tant le souffre il plus sagement" above which the scribe, realizing his error, has written 'vacat'.

³² Prov. 27,20 sec. LXX.

³³ See *Matth.* 18,15-17.

³⁴ "oculi petulentiam".

³⁵ Om. "vel alio quocumque die".

einz fit, seit tost musturé, sicume plaié ad mester a estre sané(e), qui ke unkes purrat primes ço veer u trover; nequedent primes a dous u a treis ke il puisse estre streint e cuvent e ataint par cuvenable destresce³⁶. E ne vus jugez mie a male voillance quant vus ço jugez³⁷. Mes certes vus ne estes mie neient nusanz si vus soffreiz a perir vos freres par teisir, les quels vus poez adreecer par demustrer lur fesances. Si vostre frere ad une plaie en sun cors, ke il voille celer pur ço ke il creint a trencher, dunc serreit ço cruelté e mal si vus le celissez, e misericorde si vus le mustrissez. Mut meilz devez vus mustrer le mal de vostre frere e la folie, ke ne li purisse pis el quer. [9] Mes devant ço ke il seit musturé as altres, par les quels il est a coveintre, si il le nie, deit il estre musturé a vostre prelat, si il [ne]³⁸ volt estre amendé par amonestement, ke il ne seit descuvert as altres si il priveement poet estre chastié. E dunc si il le nie, deit [on]³⁹ altres ajuster, ke il puisse nient sulement devant tuz de un testimonie estre destreint, mes de dous u de treis estre convençu. E si il est convençu, il deit volenters soffrir la venjance e la peine a la voluté de sun suverein⁴⁰. E si il le refuse de soffrir, si il ne est departi⁴¹, seit remué de vostre compaignie. E quant ço est fait, ne est mie fet par cruelté, mes est par misericorde, ke mauveise ordure de peché⁴² ne mene les altres a perdiciun. [10] E ço ke jo ai dit del oil nient ficher en femme, en altres pecchez ki sunt a defendre e a mustrer e a cunveintre e ki sunt a juger a peché⁴³, ameement e feelement seit tenu e gardé od verrai amisté de nos promes e od hair de vices. [11] Qui ke unkes seit chaét en tant de mal ki priveement de acun hume u de femme ait receu lettres u alcun altre dun, si il de gré le cunust «e se repent (e)», perduné li seit e les altres deprient Deu pur lui. E si il est entrepris e par testimonies convençu, seit plus greffment amendé sulun la voluté de sun suverein⁴⁴.

³⁶ "prius tamen et alteri vel tertio demonstratum, ut duorum vel trium possit ore convinci et competenti severitate coherceri".

³⁷ "indicatis", var. "iudicatis".

³⁸ Following the Latin "si admonitus neglexerit corrigi".

³⁹ "tunc nescienti adhibendi sunt alii".

⁴⁰ "secundum praepositi, vel etiam presbyteri ad cuius dispensationem pertinent, arbitrium".

⁴¹ "si ipse non abscesserit".

⁴² "contagione pestifera".

⁴³ "vindicandis", var. "indicandis", "iudicandis".

⁴⁴ "secundum arbitrium presbyteri vel praepositi".

V.

[De vitio proprium aliquam rem sibi vindicantium]

[1] Vos dras aiez uniement, desuz une garde u desuz dous u desuz tantes guardes ki puissent suffire a escure les de vermine [ke] ne blescent⁴⁵. E si vus estes puüz⁴⁶ de un celeir, si seiez vestuz de un sartriner⁴⁷. E si il estre poet, ne vus afierge mie a recevoir vostre vesture pur feste ne pur bealté del tens ke chescun ne receive, si mester est, ço ke il ad einz lessé u ço ke altre ad eu; quant a nul nequident ne seit veé ço dunt il ad mester. Si il avient ke tençon u murmure [f.4r] seit entre vus de ço ke alcun se pleint ki il ait pis receu ke ainz out e desdeing li semble ke il ne seit si vestu cum sun altre frere esteit vestu, de ço pense e prove sey de cumbien lur desceit⁴⁸ en icel seint abit de quer ki estrivent pur le abit de cors. E si feblesce le poet souffrir, ke vus ainz avez lessé, aiez le nekement desuz cumune garde [2] issi «seinement e entierement, ke nul ne face rien seinz cummandement»⁴⁹, mes tutes vos uveraignes uniement [seient] «seinz faintise» par greignur entente⁵⁰ ke si chescun de vus feir⁵¹ la sue propre chose a li meime. Charité, certes, de la quele il est escrit ke ele ne quert propriété⁵², deit estre entendu issi, ke ele est fait de propres choses communes e nient de communes propres⁵³. E pur ço tant cum vus miel-dre garde prendrez de vos communes choses, tant vus iert ço greinnur profit, ke en tutes choses trepassables ke vus ici usez seit esaucié la charité ke parmeint tuz jurs. [3] Saver devez ke si alguns hum u aucune femme par busing enveie ki est rendu en religiun vesture u alcun altre chose dunt il en ad mester, nel deit mie prendre celeement, mes seit en la poesté de sun suverieint, ke ço soit mis en commune, e puis seit livré a celui ke greinnur busuing averat. E si alcun ceile ço ki li est doné, seit jugé cume larrun⁵⁴.

⁴⁵ The Latin has "ad eas excutiendas ne a tineas laedantur". As the text stands one might understand "[ke] ne [les] blescent" with the plural verb governed by the collective "vermine".

⁴⁶ = *peüz* (Latin "pascamini").

⁴⁷ A hapax rendering Latin "ex uno vestiario". Cf. the *Anglo-Norman Dictionary* which records *sartrin* as 'tailor's workshop'.

⁴⁸ Latin "desit".

⁴⁹ Cf. V,2 "ut nullus sibi aliquid operetur".

⁵⁰ Latin "maiore studio et frequentiori alacritate".

⁵¹ MS = *seit*. The Latin has "quam si vobis singulis faceretis propria".

⁵² *I Cor.* 13,5 "non quaereat quae sua sunt".

⁵³ The Latin has "communia propriis, non propria communibus anteponit".

⁵⁴ This sentence is added in a number of Latin MSS, "Quod si aliquis rem sibi conlatam celaverit, furti iudicio condemnatur".

[De vestium lotione, de balneis, deque aliis curandis fratrum necessitatibus]

[5]⁵⁵ Bain⁵⁶ ne seit veé a nul ki busuing averat pur enfermeté. Conseil de medicine sait fet seinz murmure e si le malade nel volt, par commandement de sun suverein face ço ke mester est pur salu. E si alcun le volt e ne ad mester, ne deit hom obeir a son voler. [6] Si le serf Deu ad dolur en son cors, ke seit celé e il die ki il li doille, sanz dutance seit creu, mes nequedent si ço ne seit certe chose a warir cele dolur u nun, par conseil de mire seit ouvré. [7] E cil ki ad mester a aler aucune part deit aler od lui ki son souverain commanderat⁵⁷. [4] Vos draps soient lavé solung la voluté de vostre souverain, de vus meimes u de lavanderes⁵⁸, si nequedent ke le trop grant desir de nette vesture ne attrie mie la ordure de l'alme. [5] La cure «del manger» de ceus ke malade sunt u de aucune feblesce u de ceus ki de fevre travaillent a acun deit estre enjuent⁵⁹, ke il querge del celer ço ke il verra ke mester seit a chescun. [9] E ces ke sunt el celer u ces ke la vesture oint en garde ou les livres, sanz murmure deivent lur freres servir. [10] Chascun jur a certain hure seint lur livres demandé. E si alcun les demande a nient asise hure, nes prenge mie. [11] Vesture u chalçure, quant iert bosoin a ceus ki ne l'unt, seit demandé a ceus ki les oint en garde.

VI.

[De petenda venia et offensis condonandis ex charitate]

[1] Tençuns nules ne seient entre vus u hastivement seint finees, ke ire ne cresse en haunge e faciez tref de un festu⁶⁰ e facez vostre alme homicide. En⁶¹ sainte Escripiture lisez vus ke 'cil ke het son frere est homicide⁶². [2] Qui ke unkes par laidure u par maldire u par reproce de crime blesme altre, pens[e] del amender cum il ainz poet par satisfaciun ço ke il

⁵⁵ Section 4 is placed later.

⁵⁶ MS = *Eain*.

⁵⁷ The Latin has "Nec eant ad balneas, sive quocumque ire necesse fuerit, minus quam duo vel tres. Nec ille qui habet aliquo eundi necessitatem, cum quibus ipse voluerit, sed cum quibus praepositus iusserit, ire debet".

⁵⁸ Latin "fullonibus".

⁵⁹ The Latin has "Aegrotantium cura, sive post aegritudinem reficiendorum, sive aliqua imbellicitate, etiam sine [var. sive] febribus, laborantium, uni alicui debet injungi".

⁶⁰ *Matth.* 7,3-5.

⁶¹ MS = *Ee*.

⁶² *I John.* 3,15.

ad mesfait. E cil ki blesmé est, seinz contredit le pardoinst. E si de ambe parz se blement, de ambe parz seit pardoné pur vos oreisuns, les queles tant cume vus plus sovent orez, tant les devez plus seinement e plus sage-ment urer. Meulz valt icil, ja seit ço ke il seit suvent tempté de ire e il se haste a demander pardun a celui ke il averat tort fet, ke cil ke plus tart se curuce e plus tart requiert pardun⁶³. Celui ke ne volt pardonner a son frere ço ke il li ad mesfait «u mesdit», ne deit mie [f.4v] esperer sa oreisun estre oïe⁶⁴. E cil ke ne volt requere pardun u si il nel requert de curage, seinz profit est en seinte eglise, tut ne seit il egeté de sainte eglise. Pur ço vus gardeiz de dure paroles e si malveise parole it de vostre buche, ne vus enpeist⁶⁵ de fere amendement de ço dunt vus avez fet empeirement. [3] Quant vus estes custreinz a dire dures paroles par destresce de discipline⁶⁶, ja seit ço ke vus sentez trespasé mesure, ne devez pardun [demander] a voz subjeez, ke pur humilité ne seit lessé ne depescé la auctorité de gouverner. Mes nequedent vus devez requere pardun a seigneur de tutes choses ki conuist iceus, ke vus par aventure par greinnur dreit adreciez par quele benivoillance vus les amez⁶⁷. Nient charnel amur, mes espiritel, deit estre mis.

VII.

[De obedientia praeposito exhibenda]

[1] A vostre priur ensement cum a vostre pere porterez obedience e mult plus vostre abbé ki la cure ad de vos almes⁶⁸. [2] E ke cestes choses seint ben gardees e si aucune chose seit meins gardee ke il ne dust⁶⁹, a vostre priur mei[me]ment u a vostre abbé, ki de greignur auctorité est estre vus, apartaint ço ke seit amendé e adrescé ço ke vus avez de(s) ses comandementz trespasé. [3] Icil certes ki sur vus est ne se quide mie par poesté de seignurie estre honuree, meis par serirr⁷⁰ en charité⁷¹. Par ho-

⁶³ The Latin has "quam qui tardius irascitur et ad veniam petendam difficilius inclinatur", with some MSS substituting *tardius* for *difficilius* as the Anglo-Norman does.

⁶⁴ This sentence is found in some Latin MSS only: "Qui non vult dimittere fratri non speret accipere orationis effectum".

⁶⁵ Latin "non pigeat ex ipso ore proferre medicamenta, unde facta sunt vulnera".

⁶⁶ The Latin adds "minoribus coercendis".

⁶⁷ The Latin has "Sed tamen petenda venia est ab omnium domino, qui novit etiam eos, quos plus justo forte corripitis, quanta benivolentia diligatis".

⁶⁸ Follows the text in PL rather than in Verheijen by omitting "honore servato, ne in illo offenditur deus".

⁶⁹ Omits "non neglegenter praetereatur".

⁷⁰ Latin "servientem".

nur seit devant vus e par poür devant Deu e prostrat seit a vos pez. Entur tuz se doinst essample de bones overaignes: adresce les nient peisibles, conseille les ydioz, receive les malades, souffrant seit il a tuz⁷². De sun gré dit il en sei meime discipline, par poür mette discipline. E ja seit iço ke l'un e le altre seit necessarie, nequedent plus deit il desirer de estre amé ke estre cremu, pensant tuz jurs ke il ad a rendre raisun a Deu pur vus. [4] S[i?] vus de plus obeissance aiez pité e merciment [non] sulement de vus meismes, meis altresi de li, kar cum il est entre vus en plus haut degré, tant est il en greignur peril.

VIII.

[1] Deu⁷³ vus amoneste ke vus gardez tutes ces choses sicume amanz les spiriteles bealtez et sicum flairanz de bone odor Jhesu Crist de bone conversaciun, nient sicume serfs desuz lien⁷⁴, meis sicume franc par grace⁷⁵. [2] Que vus en cest livret sicume en mirur puissez esgarder e ke vus par obliance negligusement rien trepassez, une feiz en la semaine a vus seit leu. E la [u] vus vus trovez fesanç ço ke est escrit, rendez graces a Deu le donur de(s) tuz biens. E la u vus veez alcune chose faillir en vus, de ço ke vus avez trespasé doillez e ke mes ne trespassez eschivez⁷⁶, e orez ke vus ne seeiz mené en temptacion.

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⁷¹ *Luke* 22,25-26.

⁷² *I Thess.* 5,14,

⁷³ MS = *Sen.*

⁷⁴ Latin "sub lege".

⁷⁵ *Rom.* 6,14-22.

⁷⁶ Latin "doleat de praeterito, caveat de futuro".

THE *QUAESTIONES IN SENTENTIAS* OF MICHAEL DE MASSA, OESA

A Redating

Michael de Massa's *Quaestiones in Sententias* remain one of the richest unedited and, for the most part, unstudied texts of the fourteenth century. The preliminary ground work was laid by Damasus Trapp almost a half century ago, but very little use has been made of Massa's work since then¹. This is due in part to the fact that Massa was rarely cited in medieval texts and therefore is thought to be a relatively minor figure. A more important inhibiting factor, however, comes from the fact that Trapp's attribution to Massa of the anonymous *Quaestiones* on book II of the *Sentences* contained only in one manuscript, Vat. lat. 1087, has not been universally accepted, thus calling into question what texts actually belong to Michael de Massa². This doubt has been generated not by stylistic differences but by the fact that several medieval authors cited Michael de Massa's questions on book I of the *Sentences*, but no one ever cited his questions on book II³. Moreover, the content of some of the

¹ A. D. TRAPP, *Augustinian Theology of the 14th Century*, in *Augustiniana* 6 (1956), 146-274, at 163-75; *Notes on some Manuscripts of the Augustinian Michael de Massa* († 1337), in *Augustinianum* 5 (1965), 58-133.

² For questions on the authenticity of Vat. lat. 1087, see W. COURTENAY and K. H. TACHAU, *Ockham, Ockhamists, and the English-German Nation at Paris, 1339-1341*, in *History of Universities* 2 (1982), 53-96, at 73; TACHAU, *Vision and Certitude in the Age of Ockham* (Leiden, 1988), 318.

³ E.g., GREGORY OF RIMINI, *Lectura super primum et secundum sententiarum*, ed. D. TRAPP and V. MARCOLINO, vol. I (Berlin and New York, 1981), 85; ALFONSUS VARGAS OF TOLEDO, *In primum sententiarum* (Venice, 1490; rpr. 1952), cols. 18, 75, 111, 152, 160, 188, 251, 288, 335, 445, 535, 572, 576, 579, 585. Massa's commentary on book I survives in several manuscripts: Bologna, Collegio di Spagna 40; Bologna, Bibl. Univ. 2214; Florence, Bibl. Naz., conv. soppr. C.VIII.794; and the first eight distinctions in Naples, Bibl. Naz., VII.C.1. It was also abbreviated twice in the early 15th century, once by Andrea [de Biglia?] OESA of Milan (Oxford, Bodl. Lib., Canonici misc. 276, and the prologue in Vatican, Vat. lat. 1084, ff. 144-152), and by Johannes de Marliano OESA of Milan between 1410 and 1430 (Bergamo, Bibl. civ. A.3.21; Pavia, Bibl. Univ. 226). On Biglia see J. C. SCHNAUBELT, *Andrea Biglia (c.1394-1435). His Life and Writings*, in *Augustiniana* 43 (1993), 103-160.

questions in Vat. lat. 1087, especially the physical theories of the *Occamistae*, would appear to belong chronologically closer to the debates that erupted over Ockham's thought at Paris at the end of the 1330s, while Massa's commentary on the *Sentences* has been dated by Trapp to 1325-26, a decade and a half earlier. Apart from the fact that it completely escaped contemporary notice, the major problem with Massa's authorship of the text in Vat. lat. 1087 is this: if a group known as the *Occamistae* were active at Paris by 1325, and if their views on physics were already controversial at that time, why is there no other mention of that group or those issues at Paris between 1326 and 1339?

The following re-examination of the evidence will concentrate on three points: the authenticity of Vat. lat. 1087 as a work of Michael de Massa; the dating of Massa's time as *sententiarius*; and the origin and assembling of the questions included in Vat. lat. 1087.

THE AUTHENTICITY OF VAT. LAT. 1087

The first task is, of course, to establish whether the commentary on book II of the *Sentences*, found only in Vat. lat. 1087, is unquestionably by Michael de Massa. Much of the evidence on which Trapp based his conclusion that Michael de Massa was the author of this text is, upon examination, suggestive but ultimately inconclusive. The fact that Vat. lat. 1087 was copied by the same scribe and belonged to the same owner as Bologna Univ. 2214, a manuscript of Massa's commentary on book I, does not prove that the same person 'authored' both works⁴. Moreover, the cross-references in book II to that author's commentary on book I are too general or too standard to establish that they refer specifically to Massa's commentary on book I and to no one else's⁵.

⁴ Both manuscripts are copied in a fourteenth-century *textualis* hand common to university book production. Neither hand could be characterized as *Littera Parisiensis*. That the hand of the two manuscripts is identical is established by the common formation of letters and by the frequent use of elongated, archaic (Uncial and Caroline) initial letters, especially the 'N', 'A', and 'E'. These paleographical characteristics suggest Italian provenance. Both manuscripts were in the possession of Thomas Parentucelli de Sarzana (later Pope Nicholas V), who gave Bologna, Univ. 2214 to the Bologna convent of the Augustinian Hermits on behalf of Nicholas Alberghi, Cardinal protector of the Augustinians. Vat. lat. 1087 remained in the papal library.

⁵ For example, Vat. lat. 1087, f. 58r refers to the author's earlier treatment on the subject of theology, a standard topic of many prologues on the *Sentences* (Trapp, 105). The same is true for references to discussions in his Prologue of Aureoli's theory of *experientiae* and *notitia abstractiva* (Vat. 183r-v, 191v, 214v; Trapp, 127, 130), whether the existence of God is *per se nota* in dist. 2 (Vat. 179v; Trapp, 69, 127), of the

At two points, however, the parallels seem closer. The author of the commentary on book II, as Trapp already noted, refers several times to his discussions of *creatio actio* in distinctions five and nine of book I, and although there are no verbatim parallel passages that would establish positive proof, Massa does discuss that issue in distinctions five and nine of book I more than would be true for most authors⁶. More telling, however, is a reference in Vat. lat 1087, f. 182r, that identifies its author as a member of a religious order ("omnes doctores nostri") and which appears to be a reference back to the question contained in Bologna, Univ. 2214, f. 50v⁷.

Univ. 2214, f. 50v

De quarto articulo ubi restat inquirendum: Utrum Deus ut est subiectum habitus theologici contineatur sub obiecto adaequato nostrae potentiae et sub obiecto adaequato habitus metaphysicae, patet ex dictis quid sit tenendum.

Vat. lat. 1087, f. 182rb

... dictum fuit in prologo libri Sententiarum in quaestione illa: Utrum subiectum theologiae contineatur sub obiecto adaequato metaphysicae. Tamen omnes doctores nostri

A subsequent user of Univ. 2214, believing the text in Vat. lat. 1087 to be by the same author as Univ. 2214, noted in the margin of Univ. 2214, f. 134va: "De tota materia istius quaestionis quaere in additionibus secundi proprii [sic]," referring to the question "Utrum creatio actio sit realiter idem quod actus aliquis absolutus intrinsecus ipsi Deo" in the Vatican ms, f. 17v. All references, however, in the text (as opposed to the margin) of Univ. 2214 to matters treated in book II as well as to books III and IV are all in the future tense, describing an as-yet unrealized plan, and

augmentation and diminution of qualities in dist. 17 (Vat. 72v, 91vb; Trapp, 109, 112), on numerical form in dist. 24 (Vat. 69v, 88v; Trapp 109, 110), of cause and effect in dist. 36 (Vat. 48r, Trapp, 101). In some cases, an earlier treatment of a topic appears in Univ. 2214 in a different distinction from the one referred to in Vat. lat. 1087; cf. Trapp, 106, 109.

⁶ See, for example, Vat. lat. 1087, ff. 11v, 18r, 19v, 20r, 21r, 21v, 22r, 23r.

⁷ If this particular wording is more common than I think it to be, then the evidence for attributing Vat. lat. 1087 to Michael de Massa would be weakened. Similar language does occur in other authors in the body of a question, but not as a question title; see, e.g., SCOTUS, *Ordinatio*, Prol., pt. 3, q. 3 in *Opera omnia*, vol. I (Rome, 1950), pp. 98, 114; OCKHAM, *Ordinatio*, Prol., q. 9, in *Opera theologica*, vol. 1 (St. Bonaventure, 1967), 230-31; THOMAS OF STRASBOURG, *In primum Sententiarum*, Prol., q.3 (Venice, 1564), f. 13v.

are not cross-references to the text of Vat. lat. 1087⁸. Similarly, the references in Univ. 2214 to *sexterni extraordinarii* are not references to the *additiones* found in book II, but are references to missing sections that were to have been inserted into or attached to book I⁹. Thus, despite the fact that some of the evidence and argumentation of Trapp does not prove his case, the evidence isolated here makes it almost certain that Vat. lat. 1087 was indeed written and edited by the same author as that of the commentary found in Bologna, Univ. 2214. Moreover, Michael de Massa's authorship of the commentary found in Bologna, Univ. 2214 is beyond question. He is mentioned in the colophon of that manuscript as the author¹⁰. And the numerous citations of the opinions of Michael in the *Sentences* commentaries of Gregory of Rimini and Alfonsus Vargas of Toledo mentioned above — all references to book I — can be found in this work.

⁸ E.g., Univ., f. 220vb: "sicut patebit in secundo libro"; Univ. 223va: "sicut videbitur in secundo libro de gravi movente se"; Univ. 226ra: "... pertranseo tum quia pro parte tetigi superius aliquas de gravioribus difficultatibus circa istam materiam, d.31, tum etiam quia istam quaestionem et alias duas sequentes intendo diffuse a proposito resumere in secundo libro ..."; Univ. 226rb: "Respondeo quia materiam istam intendo magis a proposito determinare in secundo libro ..."; Univ. 225va: "licet in hoc falsum dicant sicut videbitur, Deo duce, in tertio libro." The same holds true for most of the text in the Vatican manuscript. Vat., f. 15ra: "Et quia non intendo hic deducere quaestionem sub isto sensu: Utrum de potentia dei absoluta possit alicui creaturae communicari a deo potentia creandi, nam ista quaestio locum habebit circa principium quarti libri sententiarum"; Vat. 17va: "quaere in quaestione illa: Utrum Deus possit quodcumque ens corruptum reparare, libro quarto f." (the 'f' probably a scribal misreading of '[sententiarum]'); Vat. 17vb: "de quibus videbitur quia principium quarti libri sententiarum"; Vat. 66rb: "probam in prima quaestione quarti libri" Vat. 69vb: "Hoc locum habet tractari in quarto libro et de hoc ibi videbitur"; Vat. 73vb: "Sed de hoc videbitur in quarto libro"; Vat. 77va: "Sed de ista materia nihil dico ad praesens definitive, dicam de hoc in quarto libro sententiarum"; Vat. 94ra: "Sic implicaretur difficultas Utrum Deus posset facere motum in instanti. Et de ista difficultate videbitur in quarto loco, et ideo pertranseo" (again, 'loco' probably a scribal misreading of 'libro'); Vat. 94va: "... quia dicunt aliqui quod entitas aevi, de facto contingenter intrinsece successio, potest fieri a Deo tota simul. Sed de hoc videbitur in quarto libro"; Vat. 175va: "Et de istis quattuor quaestionibus agetur in tertio libro in tractatu de partibus imaginis." Ibid.: "Et de istis quattuor quaestionibus agetur in quarto libro in tractatu de beatitudine."

⁹ Univ. 198ra: "De aliis vero tribus quaestionibus motis circa istam distinctionem require in sexternis extraordinariis in quibus tetigi succincte puncta difficultatum."; Univ. 210vb: "De ultima quaestione, scilicet Utrum verbum in divinis dicatur notionaliter, dicitur in sexterno extraordinario ubi patet quod dicitur notionaliter." It should be noted, however, that some questions in the *additiones* to book II are also called *quaestiones extraordinariae*.

¹⁰ Bologna, Univ. 2214, f. 234vb: "Hic liber est scriptum in primum Sententiarum Michaelis de Masa"

THE DATE OF MICHAEL DE MASSA'S PARISIAN BACCALAUREATE

But did Michael de Massa lecture on the *Sentences* at Paris in 1325-26? We have very few biographical details for Michael de Massa. We know that he came from Massa in the region of Siena and belonged to the Beccucci family. We also know that he was *definitor* for his province at the General Chapter of the Augustinian order at Venice in June 1332, and that he died at Paris in May 1337 while still a bachelor of theology and was buried with copies of his writings at the Augustinian convent in Paris¹¹. The dating of his *Sentences* commentary to 1325-26 was proposed by Trapp on two pieces of evidence. Michael's opinions are cited in a quodlibetal question of the Augustinian, James of Pamiers (de Appamiis)¹², thought to have been given early in 1326 on the basis that some of the authors cited were active in 1325-26 and that Durand of St. Pourçain is cited in the Quodlibet as bishop of Le Puy, a position he ceased to hold in 1326. Secondly, Trapp introduced supporting information that Massa in his commentary on book I (Univ. 2214, f. 130r-v) referred to Alexander of S. Elpidio as prior general of the Augustinian order — an office Alexander ceased to hold in February 1326 when he became bishop of Amalfi. Since Massa frequently cites his fellow Augustinian, Gerard of Siena, who read the *Sentences* at Paris c.1322-23, Massa's commentary on book I of the *Sentences* would seem to have been written between 1323 and 1326.

The evidence for a *terminus ante quem* of 1326 based on James of Pamiers and Alexander of S. Elpidio is not as certain as has been assumed. First, the Quodlibetal question of James of Pamiers, contrary to what has been said of it, was probably not composed in 1325-26, nor was it necessarily held at Paris. The *terminus post quem* for the quodlibet is 1324, since in one of the questions James refers to a *quaestio* that master Francis of Marchia determined at Avignon, and Francis was *lector* at the Franciscan convent in Avignon from 1324 to 1328¹³. The fact that James also cites

¹¹ D. A. PERINI, *Bibliographia Augustiniana* II (Firenze, 1931), 191-92.

¹² F. PELSTER, *Zur ersten Polemik gegen Aureoli: seine Quästionen und sein Correctorium Petri Aureoli, das Quodlibet des Jacobus de Apamiis O.E.S.A.*, in *Franciscan Studies* 15 (1955), 30-47, at 44: "Quantum ad primum respondet frater Michael de Massa nostri ordinis quod sine aliqua repugnancia essencia et relatio vel quecunque alia, nisi aliud repugnet, possunt esse vere duo positiva et habere per consequens veram dualitatem sine omni distincione et non-ydemptitate et negacione unius ab alio, servatis propriis positivis."

¹³ *Ibid.*, at 44: "Contra istas rationes arguit magister Franciscus de Ma[rchia] in quadam questione, quam determinavit in curia ..."

the views of Giral Ot (Gerard Odonis) on the distinction of essence and relation, and the latter completed his lectures on the *Sentences* in 1326, suggests a *terminus post quem* of 1325 or 1326¹⁴. But 1326 is not the *terminus ante quem*. The reference to Durand as bishop of Le Puy is found only on the margin of the Leipzig manuscript of the quodlibet in a later hand that also describes James of Viterbo as "doctor inventivus"¹⁵. If a later owner of the Leipzig manuscript remembered Durand for his eight years as bishop of Le Puy rather than his last years as bishop of Meaux, it has no bearing on the *terminus ante quem* of James' Quodlibet. Nor is it the case that those whose opinions are cited in the Quodlibet need have been present at the disputation. If the Quodlibet was determined at Paris, it must date to around 1332. Only regent masters could determine such disputations at a *studium generale*, and James was still a bachelor at the general chapter at Paris in 1329 but was a doctor of theology by the time of the general chapter at Venice in 1332¹⁶.

What is certain is that at the time Jacques de Pamiers wrote his quodlibetic question, Michael de Massa views had come to his attention. And apart from the approximate date of Pamiers' regency, the only secure *terminus ante quem* for his Quodlibet is that provided by Alfonsus Vargas of Toledo's citation of Pamiers' *Quaestiones quodlibetales et ordinariae* in the former's *Super primum Sententiarum* given at Paris in 1344-45¹⁷.

Trapp's other piece of evidence for the 1325-26 date is more sub-

¹⁴ Ibid., at 42: "Ad idem arguunt quidam alii, Rand Geroldus Odonis". The date for Odonis' *Sentences* commentary, his earliest known work, is given in the colophon to Madrid, Bibl. Nac., Ms. lat. 65, f. 203v. James of Pamiers apparently also refers to Thomas de Fabiano as "quidam doctor nostri ordinis" (TRAPP, *Augustinian Theology*, 174), and Fabiano was fulfilling his one- or two-year term as regent when, in May 1328, he is so addressed by John XXII (*Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis*, edited by E. CHATELAIN and H. DENIFLE (hereafter cited as CUP), vol. II (Paris, 1891), 310-12, #875).

¹⁵ Ibid. at 42: "L Rand in Hand des 14/15 Jahrh. Dominus Durandus episcopus Aniciensis de ordine predicatorum et Iacobus de Viterbio doctor inventivus." See Leipzig, Univ. Bibl., ms 529, f. 102. There were at least two Augustinian theologians by the name of James of Viterbo. The reference is undoubtedly to the famous successor of Giles of Rome at the end of the thirteenth century, not the bachelor of theology who read the *Sentences* in 1328-29 (CUP II, 310-12, #875).

¹⁶ D. TRAPP, "J. von Pamiers," *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, V (1960), col. 835; see also: *Antiquiores quae extant definitiones capitulorum generalium Ordinis*, in *Analecta Augustiniana* 4 (1911-1912) 81 and 108. Formed bachelors could determine Quodlibetic disputations at a lesser *studium* of the order, but if that is the context of Pamiers' Quodlibet, it would still be dated closer to 1330.

¹⁷ J. KÜRZINGER, *Alfonsus Vargas Toletanus und seine theologische Einleitungslehre*, Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie und Theologie des Mittelalters, XXII, 5-6 (Münster i.W., 1930), pp. 84-87.

stantive but also more complicated. Toward the beginning of question three of distinction eight on the problem of divine attributes, Michael introduces in succession the opinions of Henry of Ghent, Thomas Aquinas, "our father general" (meaning the prior general of the Augustinian order at that time), followed by Godfrey of Fontaines. These citations, all of which mention specifically (although not always correctly) the title and question of each author's work being cited, are indicated in the margin of Bologna, Univ. 2214, f. 130ra, in the same scribal hand as "O.H.", "O.T.", "O.G.", and "O.Goth", respectively. Three columns later Michael refers to "magister Alexander," meaning Alexander of S. Elpidio, who is frequently cited in Michael's commentary on book I as "magister Alexander" or occasionally "frater Alexander". The marginal reference to "O.G." opposite the textual identification of "a certain venerable doctor, namely our father general in his first Quodlibet, q. 2" could stand for "opinio Generalis," but it could also stand for the first name of the authority cited, as in every other case in the margins of this manuscript, except for Scotus, who is cited by last name or as Johannes Scotus¹⁸. If Alexander was the prior general in question, it is surprising that the marginal abbreviation, which Massa himself created, was not "O.A." or "O.Alex," just as was done later when "op. mgri. Alex." in the margin identifies "op. alterius doctor" in the text. Consequently, the question needs to be explored whether the general referred to by Massa was Alexander of S. Elpidio or, possibly, William of Cremona (i.e., "O[pinio] G[uillelmi]), who became the Augustinian general immediately after Alexander in 1326 and remained so until his death in 1342.

The position of Alexander (de Marchia) of S. Elpidio on the divine attributes was cited and discussed by at least two authors apart from Michael de Massa. As described by Gerard of Siena and Thomas of Strasbourg, Alexander agreed with Henry of Ghent that the distinction of attributes in God was a distinction of reason "ad intra" that did not entail any comparison in the created order, "ad extra". Alexander modified Henry's position by insisting that the distinction of attributes "ad intra" was not based on any internal comparison or negotiative act but by a

¹⁸ It should be noted that the scribe was not simply transferring to the margin what he read in the text. As with many fourteenth-century *Sentences* commentaries, these marginal notes in Michael de Massa's commentary often identify authors (usually more contemporary authors) who are not referred to in the text by name (e.g., "quidam." "alii," "quidam alius doctor").

simple awareness or intuition¹⁹. Gerard of Siena added the further information that Alexander's position was put forward in the second question of his first *Quodlibet*²⁰.

In addition to Michael de Massa's reference to the position of the Augustinian general on the divine attributes, Michael also refers three columns later to the position of Alexander of S. Elpidio on the same issue as if the position of Alexander is being introduced for the first time. His description of Alexander's position at this point coincides with the position attributed to Alexander by Gerard of Siena and Thomas of Strasbourg²¹. When that position is compared to the position of the Augustinian general described earlier by Massa, the positions are similar but not identical. The general's position, as described by Massa, does reject any internal comparative ratiocination and does employ the distinctive "Alexandrine?" phrase "per simplicem intuitum", but in place of a distinction "secundum rationem," Massa attributes to the Augustinian general a distinction "actualiter et complete" — language that does not appear in any of the three descriptions of Alexander's position, but which Massa did apply in

¹⁹ GERARD OF SIENA, *In primum Sententiarum*, dist. 2, q. 2, a. 3 (Chicago, Univ. lib. Ms 22, fol. 38rb): "Ideo sit alius modus dicendi quem ponit magister Alexander [marg.: Opinio magistri Alexandri de Marchia] 1 suo quodlibet, q. 2, dicens quod distinctio attributorum sumitur per intellectum divinum ad intra, non quod per actum negotiativum, sicut probat praefata opinio, sed per simplicem intuitum. ... Talis distinctio rationis in essentia divina est prior distinctione reali in creaturis; ergo distinctio attributorum in essentia divina non sumitur ex creaturis; et per consequens ab intra. ... Ergo per simplicem intuitum illam distinctionem reducit in actum sine omni comparatione ad extra." THOMAS OF STRASBOURG, *Commentaria in IIII Libros Sententiarum*, I, d. 6, a. 3 (Venice, 1564), p. 45: "Dicit ergo ille doctor [marg.: Alexander ordinis S. Augustini], quod rationes attributales sunt potentia distinguibiles in essentia divina, et per hoc differt ab aliis de formalitatibus, qui dicunt, quod sint actu formaliter distinctae. Per hoc autem, quod dicit intellectum divinum ea distinguere ab intra, differt ab illis, qui ponunt talem distinctionem fieri solum in ordine ad creaturas. Et addit tertio, quod talis distinctio fiat per simplicem intuitum, et non per intellectum comparante divinam essentiam sub ratione unius attributi ad seipsam sub ratione alterius attributi: quia eo ipso, quod potentialiter sunt in divina essentia quantum ad istam distinctionem rationis per simplicem intuitum intellectus perfecte essentiam cognoscentis, talis distinctio reducitur in actum, et per hoc differt ab illis, quorum rationes adduxi proxime ante istum."

²⁰ This information is contained in the Chicago manuscript (see previous note), in Padua, Bibl. Univ., ms. 2229, and probably in other manuscripts of Gerard as well.

²¹ MICHAEL DE MASSA, *In primum Sententiarum*, d. 8, q. 3 (Bologna, Univ. 2214, f. 130vb): "Est autem alia opinio alterius doctoris [marg.: op<inio> mag<ist>ri Alex<andri>] quae dicit quod attributa divina distinguuntur secundum rationem absque omni habitudine ad extra, et hoc per divinum intellectum non quidem collationum vel negotiorum, sed attinentem simplici intuitu essentiam divinam."

his descriptions of the positions of Henry of Ghent and Godfrey of Fontaines²².

On the basis of these passages, it is difficult to determine whether these citations in Michael to the opinion of the Augustinian general and to Alexander represent one and the same person or two different authors. The presence of the phrase "per simplicem intuitum" in both passages does not solve the problem, since William of Cremona, writing after Alexander, might well have adopted that part of Alexander's argument. Yet the matter can be brought nearer to a solution. In 1932 Victorin Doucet described a Naples manuscript (Bibl. Naz. VIII.C.6) that contained, among other works, the first three questions from an anonymous Quodlibet (ff. 7a-10b) which, two years later, he identified as belonging to Alexander of S. Elpidio on the basis of the citation in Gerard of Siena mentioned above²³.

²² Ibid., f. 130ra: "... opinio cuiusdam venerabilis doctoris, scilicet patris nostri generalis, quam ipse ponit primo suo quodlibeto, q. 2, ubi ipsi dicit quod attributa divina distinguuntur actualiter et complete, et fiunt complete plura per actum intelligendi divinum absque omni collatione in composita ad intra vel ad extra, sed per simplicem intuitum intellectus divini." Compare this with Massa's description of Henry of Ghent's position, f. 130ra: "quod attributa divina distinguuntur non quidem actualiter et complete ante omnem actum cuiuscumque intellectus, sed actualiter et complete distinguuntur per actum intellectus divini, non quidem actum simplicem intuitive transeuntem prius quidem super realem distinctionem divinarum personarum ad intra" and Massa's description of Godfrey of Fontaines's position, f. 130ra: "quod attributa divina distinguuntur actualiter et complete" How this is achieved differs between Henry and Godfrey. For a discussion of the last two authors' positions on the divine attributes, see J. F. WIPPEL, *The Metaphysical Thought of Godfrey of Fontaines* (Washington, 1981), pp. 115-123.

²³ V. DOUCET, in his review of Glorieux's *Répertoire des Maîtres en Théologie de Paris*, in *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, 27 (1934), 587: "Le Quodlibet est cité par Gérard de Sienne, I Sent.: *Est alius modus dicendi quem ponit magister Alexander* [en marge: *opinio mag. Alexandri de Marchia*] 1° suo quodlibet, q. 2, dicens quod distinctio attributorum sumitur per intellectum divinum ad intra, non quod per actum negotiativum ... sed per simplicem intuitum (Padoue Univ. 2229, f. 44a). Or cette citation correspond exactement et pour tous les points, au Quodlibet anonyme de MS. de Naples, Nat. VII. C. 6 (f. 7a-10b), que nous avons décrit dans l'AFH XXV, 1932, 520. Il n'y a pas de doute, nous avons là un des quodlibets d'Alexandre de Sant'Elpidio." P. GLORIEUX, *La littérature quodlibétique*, vol. II (Paris, 1935), 302. Question 2: "Utrum distinctio attributorum in essentia divina sumatur per comparisonem ad extra vel ad intra." Only the first three-and-a-half questions of this anonymous Quodlibet appear in the manuscript (ff. 7a-10b), but there is a list in the prologue of all fifteen questions. In the first question the author refers to his third quodlibet, which means that his regency lasted at least two years (i.e., two quodlibets per year). Glorieux refers to the numbering of the questions as a "particularité" which, added to some other "formules de style," initially suggested to him the authorship of Henry of Friemar, OESA or some other Austin Friar. The contents of the full manuscript are described in V. DOUCET, *De Cod. Neapolitano. VII C. 6*, in AFH 25 (1932), 518-24.

Now that we have three descriptions of Alexander's position and supporting argumentation as well as Massa's description of the position of the Augustinian general, the Naples manuscript needs to be rechecked. William of Cremona also authored several quodlibets. Two questions from his third quodlibet appear in that same Naples manuscript, and the first question of the quodlibets attributed to Alexander by Doucet refers to a question in its author's third quodlibet²⁴. In the form in which we have it, the latter text was edited and probably reorganized after later quodlibets were completed. In light of that, it is not impossible that two authors, closely related in time, place, and religious order, might arrange their questions in a similar topical sequence.

There is one other piece of evidence, however, noted but not utilized by Trapp, that does support an early date for the version of Massa's commentary on book I contained in Bologna, Univ. 2214. Throughout that manuscript Aquinas is referred to as "frater Thomas," never "sanctus Thomas," suggesting a date of composition before (or at least not long after) Thomas' canonization in July 1323²⁵. The other Bolognese manuscript of Massa's *In primum sententiarum*, Collegio di Spagna Ms 40, changes almost all these references to "sanctus Thomas". Such a change might seem natural for any scribe copying a text after 1324, but as was noted above, Univ. 2214 itself was copied by the same scribe as Vat. lat. 1087, which refers to Aquinas as "sanctus Thomas". Assuming that these last two manuscripts were copied after 1324, probably after the death of Massa, it is surprising that the scribe remained faithful to his exemplar of book I in this regard and did not correct Thomas' title. Indeed, the change from "frater Thomas" to "sanctus Thomas" in the two Bolognese manuscripts may not be a result of scribal correction but the result of a later redaction. The text of the Collegio di Spagna manuscript differs at a number of points from that found in Univ. 2214 and also has passages not found in the latter manuscript²⁶. But were those changes introduced when Massa revised his text after reading the *Sentences* at Paris, or does the text

²⁴ Naples, Bibl. Naz., VII.C.6, ff. 72vb-73va; cf. GLORIEUX, *La littérature quodlibétique* II, 116. The questions are listed as six and seven in sequence in this Quodlibet, but in reverse order in the manuscript, which indicates they were known by numbers. It may also be that the two questions from "magister Guillelmus" in the Naples manuscript, ff. 10va-14rb, that follows immediately upon the anonymous quodlibetic questions, are also by William of Cremona.

²⁵ The fact that in Univ. 2214 Scotus is cited as "Johannes Scotus" also suggests an early date.

²⁶ Compare, for example, Bologna Univ. 2214, f. 47r and Bologna, Collegio di Spagna 40, f. 38v; Univ., f. 50r-50v, and Spagna, f. 43v-44r; Univ., f. 55v-55v, and Spagna, f. 52r-52v.

found in Univ. 2214 represent a pre-Parisian version?

Trapp was ultimately convinced that 1325-26 was the date for Massa's Parisian baccalaureate, but at various points in his 1956 article he also referred to Massa's commentary on the *Sentences* as a *lectura lectoris*, a series of lectures or questions written during the period of the lectorate, that is the period between the five years initial study in theology and the point at which, if one were fortunate, one was chosen to return to Paris as *sententiarius*²⁷. During these years as *lector*, which could last well over a decade, one taught in the various *studia* of the province. Gregory of Rimini, for example, after his years of initial study at Paris, lectured for twelve years in various *studia* in northern Italy (specifically Bologna, Padua, and Perugia) before being appointed to read the *Sentences* at Paris²⁸. Similarly, the period of lectorate and baccalaureate for Dionysius de Mutina was fourteen years inclusive.²⁹

The *Sentences* of Peter Lombard was one of the major texts on which lectures would be needed in the provincial *studia*, and lectors no doubt fulfilled that task out of curricular need as well as preparation for their time as *sententiarius* in a *studium generale*. This was not a peculiarity of the Augustinian educational system. It became common in the fourteenth century for prospective bachelors to read the *Sentences* at a lesser *studium* of the order before advancing to the level of bachelor at Paris. Pre-university lectures on the *Sentences* have survived for Peter Aureol, Walter Chatton, Adam Wodeham, and the Augustinian John of Burgos³⁰.

It has commonly been assumed that pre-university lectures on the *Sentences* were written within two or three years of becoming a university

²⁷ E. YPMA, *La formation des professeurs chez les ermites de Saint Augustin de 1256 à 1354* (Paris, 1956), pp. 42-45.

²⁸ CUP II, 557 (#1097). For a re-examination of these biographical details, see V. MARCOLINO, "Einleitung," in GREGORIUS ARIMINENSIS OESA *Lectura Super Primum et Secundum Sententiarum*, ed. A. D. TRAPP and V. MARCOLINO, Bd. 1 (Berlin, 1981), pp. xi-xvii.

²⁹ CUP II, 404, #952: "qui tam in Parisiensi quam in aliis studiis generalibus quatuordecim annis legerat et Sententias in dicto studio Parisiensi compleverat"

³⁰ K. H. TACHAU, *French Theology in the mid-fourteenth century*, in *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge* 51 (1984), 41-80, at 55-59. John of Burgos read the *Sentences* at Amiens five years before he revised them for presentation at Paris as *sententiarius*. James of Pamiers's citation of Massa's opinions does not change this picture, since Pamier's *Quodlibet*, as we have seen, could date to the mid-to-late 1330s, after Massa's baccalaureate. Moreover, citing another scholar before the latter's baccalaureate, while unusual, is not unheard of. Walter Chatton cited and discussed the opinions of one of his own precocious theological students, namely Adam Wodeham, some eight or ten years before Wodeham became *sententiarius* at Oxford; see G. GAL, introduction to Ockham, *Summa logicae*, 53*-54*.

sententiarius. But this impression is derived from the fact that all bachelors usually spent the year before their first *sentential* lecture in preparation for that task, and some of the pre-university lectures cited above, most of them Franciscan, can be placed in the years immediately preceding the official university lectures. But no other mendicant order had as long a period of pre-baccalaureate teaching as the Augustinians, and the examination and appointment of lectors within the Augustinian order credentialed them to lecture on any of the required texts of the theological program. Thus, if the text of Bologna, Univ. 2214 is a *lectura lectoris*, as Trapp suspected, then the reference to the opinion of the prior general on divine attributes is just as much a part of the pre-university lectures as referring to Aquinas as "frater Thomas". And in light of the fact that the lectorate credentialed one to lecture on any of the required texts, there is no way of determining at what point in the lectorate one might begin to compose lectures on the *Sentences*.

There is no easy way to determine whether the version of Massa's *In primum sententiarum* belongs to his baccalaureate or to his pre-baccalaureate years as *lector*, and if the latter, when during his lectorate they might have been written. Yet the fact that Michael de Massa died at Paris while relatively young and still a bachelor of theology³¹ — at least twelve years after the text of his commentary on book I in Univ. 2214 — I am inclined to view that text as a pre-Parisian, pre-baccalaureate version of the commentary he later gave as *sententiarius* at the Grands Augustins convent in Paris. That latter event need not have occurred before he was appointed *definitor* for his province at the Venice chapter in 1332. Gregory of Rimini, while lector at the convent of Bologna in 1338 was appointed *definitor* for that province at the General Chapter in Siena, four years before he became *sententiarius* at Paris³². In short, Massa's reading of the *Sentences* at Paris must have occurred after that of Gerard of Siena, c. 1323, and before Massa's death in 1337, but none of the evidence described above requires us to date his Parisian *lectura* at any particular point within that range.

Trapp was inclined to date Massa's baccalaureate early, in 1325-26, and to explain his failure to advance to the doctorate on grounds of his being blocked or delayed for ideological reasons, namely that his supposed adherence to the "ultra-Aegidians" placed him out of favor during the

³¹ PERINI, *Bibliographia Augustiniana* II, 191: "decessit Parisiis die 10 mai anno 1337, cum adhuc esset Baccalaureus et in florida aetate, sepultusque fuit in nostra ecclesia, et in eius sepulchro subsignata volumina a se edita"

³² MARCOLINO, "Einleitung," xii.

generalship of William of Cremona³³. But if one dates his baccalaureate later, in the late 1320s or early 1330s, then what appears to be a delay in promotion to the magisterium becomes more understandable. Parisian statutes in the 1320s and 1330s required a minimum six-year period between reading the *Sentences* and promotion to the magisterium, during which time the formed bachelor was expected to be in residence at Paris and to participate in disputations³⁴. Since there is no evidence that Massa sought or obtained a papal exemption from this rule (i.e., promotion *ex gratia*), as many others did during the pontificate of John XXII, we may assume that the rule applied to him. The normal waiting period may have been delayed even more by papal intervention in the process of appointments to read the *Sentences* and promotion to the magisterium at Paris. Since only one bachelor in a religious order could read the *Sentences* in any one academic year, and since promotion to the magisterium by any means entailed an obligation of regency (at least for the better part of an academic year) and residency (part of which could be fulfilled as *magister non regens*), every papal insertion into the sequence of candidates established by the general chapter of the order meant a delay in the advancement of someone else. Despite the attempts of the Augustinian order to ensure that promotions *per litteram* or *per bullam* did not disadvantage those seeking promotion *rigorose*, these interventions probably did cause delays. The records of the Augustinian general chapters during the later years of John's pontificate attest to the tensions caused by papal intervention. And it was probably to accommodate the needs of candidates in the religious orders that during the 1332-1334 period John attempted to bend Parisian practice by pressuring the chancellor to allow designated mendicants to read the *Sentences* during the summer vacation, beginning as soon as the one reading during the academic year could be persuaded to "complete" his lectures.

Neither the six-year rule nor the interposing of other candidates can explain a delay of more than twelve years between the baccalaureate and

³³ TRAPP, *Augustinian Theology*, 170-73.

³⁴ In a letter of 1323 requesting promotion *ex gratia* of Pierre Roger (later Clement VI), John XXII referred to the six-year rule, CUP II, 272, #822: "Non obstantibus quod a tempore lecture sue libri Sententiarum sex annorum spatium minime sit elapsum, per quorum spatium de consuetudine seu statuto ejusdem studii debent, ut dicitur, bacalarii expectare, priusquam ad magisterium in dicta scientia presententur" And in a similar letter in 1344 from Clement VI on behalf of Bertaud of St. Denis, CUP II, 551-52, #1093: "necnon libros Sententiarum laudabiliter, cum jam sit in secundo anno inclusive post eandem lecturam Non obstantibus quod a tempore lecture sue libri Sententiarum sex annorum spatium minime sit elapsum, per quorum spatium de consuetudine seu statuto ejusdem studii debent, ut dicitur, bacalarii expectare, priusquam ad magisterium in dicta scientia presententur"

Massa's status as bachelor at the time of his death. We are probably looking, therefore, at a textual legacy that includes a pre-Parisian *Lectura lectoris* (c. 1324 sqq.), a Parisian *Lectura baccalarii* (c. 1332 in light of his academic rank and place of residence at the time of his death in 1337), and possibly questions that derive from a later source or revision (c. 1333-37). It is to this last problem that I now turn.

THE CONTENT OF VAT. LAT. 1087

Unlike Massa's *In primum sententiarum*, his commentary on book II of the *Sentences* in Vat. lat. 1087 contains questions derived from different academic occasions or periods in the editorial process. Portions of that manuscript are referred to as his *Lectura ordinaria* or *Opus ordinarium*³⁵, while other sections are designated as *additiones* and, for two questions, *quaestiones extraordinariae*³⁶. Trapp discussed these different text units at some length, believing that Massa intentionally constructed his questions on the *Sentences*, even the pre-Parisian version, as distinct text units. Trapp viewed the term *opus ordinarium* as Massa's title for his *Lectura lectoris*, composed before he became a bachelor at Paris. During

³⁵ The term *lectura ordinaria* appears only once in Vat. lat. 1087, f. 25va ("quia de tali entitate fuit quaestio a proposito in lectura ordinaria super secundum sententiarum quaestione quinta in universo") and refers to q. 5 on f. 34ra, which, although the first question in that section, is the fifth question of those designated as *opus ordinarium*, the first four appearing on ff. 1ra-17vb. The term *opus ordinarium* appears on f. 52rb ("Sed antecedens fuit probatum in opere ordinario circa principium secundi sententiarum quaestione illa: Utrum Deus possit aliquid de novo creare"); f. 53va ("quaere eas in tertia difficultate principalis quaestionis super secundum sententiarum in opere ordinario"); f. 61rb ("expositum fuit circa principium primae quaestionis super secundo sententiarum in opere ordinario"); f. 68va ("et istam difficultatem tractabo in opere ordinario in materia de angelis" — a section that never got added); f. 91vb ("multipliciter probavi quaestione prima difficultate secunda in opere ordinario super secundo libro sententiarum"); f. 94vb ("nec tamen difficultatem istam intendo pertractare nunc ad praesens, sed pertractabo in materia de angelis in opere ordinario super secundum librum sententiarum" — again, in the future tense). All these cross-references, including the reference to the *lectura ordinaria*, are found in the *additiones*, not in the *opus ordinarium* itself.

³⁶ The term *additiones* appears in Vat. lat. 1087, f. 51vb as a cross-reference from a section of the *opus ordinarium* to a question in the *additiones*: "in additionibus, quaestione prima: Utrum creatio actio sit actus aliquis absolutus intrinsecus ipsi Deo". But that title also occurs internally within the *additiones*; e.g. f. 91rb: "quia tamen de ista materia tractavi a materia [sic] et diffuse superius in quaestione 9 in additionibus: Utrum videlicet Deus possit facere creaturam quae duret per unicum instans tantum"; f. 131vb: "Item superius in principio additionum in materia de creatione in quaestione illa: Utrum". Within the sequence of additional questions, the two on duration are called *quaestiones extraordinariae*.

the year before his year or biennium as Parisian *sententiarium*, and probably continuing while he read at Paris, Massa supposedly wrote a series of new questions that became his *additiones*. According to Trapp, the phrases *sexterni extraordinarii* and *quaestiones extraordinariae* are simply other expressions for these *additiones*. The implication of this view is that all text units would have been produced either before Massa became a bachelor of theology or during his year or years as *sententiarium*. At one point, however, Trapp suggested that some of the additional questions might derive from *quaestiones disputatae*³⁷.

Another view is, however, possible. Nowhere does Massa use the phrase *Lectura lectoris*. He does use the expressions *Lectura ordinaria* and *opus ordinarium*. In light of the fact that in university usage *ordinatio* was the term applied to the version of a work revised and edited for publication, it is unlikely that Massa would use such an expression to refer to pre-baccalaureate questions on the *Sentences*. It is more likely that Massa meant by that title either his first revised version of his sentential questions from his Parisian baccalaureate, or at least the "official" version presented as *sententiarium*. It is important to note in this regard that Massa never refers to his commentary on book I as his *opus ordinarium*. Only a substantial portion of his questions on book II are referred to in that manner. And that portion dates after 1326, since Alexander of S. Elpidio is referred to as "reverendus magister bonae memoriae"³⁸.

At the same time, both Massa's commentaries on books I and II refer to text units separate from the main body of those works. In the case of book I, these additional text units are referred to as *sexterni extraordinarii*, presumably meaning quires containing one or more questions that were not part of the original text³⁹. One of these references is to an additional question on the Trinity that was probably to have been part of book I. The other is a reference to questions on motion that may be referring to material eventually included in book II.

The *quaestiones extraordinariae* that survive are found only in book II, belong together with the *additiones*, and may well be chronologically the last questions written, as the name suggests. Whether

³⁷ TRAPP, *Massa*, 111.

³⁸ Vat. lat. 1087, f. 97vb (at the beginning of questions that belong to the *opus ordinarium*). Alexander died in 1326.

³⁹ Bologna, Univ. 2214, f. 198ra: "De aliis vero tribus quaestionibus motis circa istam distinctionem require in sexternis extraordinariis in quibus succincte tetigi puncta difficultatum." Ibid., f. 210vb and Bologna, Collegio di Spagna 40, f. 73vb: "De ultima quaestione, scilicet: Utrum verbum in divinis dicatur notionaliter, dicetur in sexto extraordinario, ubi patet quod dicitur notionaliter."

or not these later questions derive from a different academic context, such as questions on Aristotle's *Physics*, they were written after the initial questions on book II of the *Sentences*⁴⁰. Although in the form in which they survive they were designed or redesigned as additional questions on the *Sentences*, it is unclear whether their fusion into one volume was Massa's plan or was an assembly that took place after his death. All cross-references to the *additiones* that specify a location within the same volume, as indicated by *superius*, are internal to the *additiones* and do not indicate whether the *additiones* were to be bound in with the *opus ordinarium*. In fact, at one point in the *additiones* (Vat. lat. 1087, f. 54vb), those questions are described as a separate work: "sicut dictum fuit superius, quaestione 1 et quaestione 3 istius operis in principio," presumably to distinguish it from his *opus ordinarium*. It should also be noted that the first group of additional questions (ff. 17v-34v) has many internal references to itself as being in different parts of one "sextern". But at the time the additional questions were being edited, the *opus ordinarium* was also undergoing revision, not all of which found its way into the Vatican manuscript. Twice Massa referred to his questions on angels (in the future tense!) that were to have been part of the *opus ordinarium*.

The questions that concentrate on issues in physics, primarily questions on motion and time, all belong to the *additiones* and were written after the sentential questions on book II. It is in these questions that we find the references to the *Occamistae* and to Ockhamist physics. The inclusion or fusion of these questions within the body of Massa's *In secundum sententiarum*, which seems to have been an incomplete process at the time of his death and was left, as Trapp suggested, to a later scribe or editor, makes it likely that these later questions belong to the last years of Massa's life. Dating both the editorial process as well as Massa's questions in *additionibus* to the 1330s helps explain why, apart from the undatable reference to Massa by James of Pamiers, Massa's *In primum sententiarum* is not cited by other authors until Gregory of Rimini did so in 1342, and why Massa's *In secundum sententiarum*, in a state of revision

⁴⁰ It was not unusual for mendicants in the period between the lectures on the *Sentences* and promotion to the doctorate to lecture on Aristotle. Ockham's questions on Aristotle's *Physics* belong to this period in his career, as do those of Hugolino of Orvieto; cf. W. ECKERMANN, *Der Physikkommentar Hugolins von Orvieto OESA* (Berlin, 1972). There are other instances of fourteenth-century authors, for example Walter Chatton, incorporating into their *Sentences* commentaries questions derived from disputations; cf. S. F. BROWN, *Walter Chatton's 'Lectura' and William of Ockham's 'Quaestiones In Libros Physicorum Aristotelis'*, in *Essays Honoring Allan B. Wolter*, ed. W. A. FRANK and G. J. ETZKORN (St. Bonaventure, 1985), 81-115, at 93.

at the time of his death, was never cited by anyone. It also explains why the content of Massa's *In secundum sententiarum*, especially the sections entitled by Massa himself as the *additiones*, reflect controversies that, according to all other evidence, became a concern at Paris in the mid-to-late 1330s. Michael de Massa may still be the earliest evidence of those concerns, but that evidence appears to be much closer to the events of 1339-41 than previously thought.

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BOEKBESPREKING - COMPTE RENDU

Christopher OCKER, *Johannes Klenkok: A Friar's Life, c. 1310-1374*, in: Transactions of the American Philosophical Society vol. 83, part 5, Philadelphia (The American Philosophical Society) 1993, VIII, 116 Seiten.

Diese wohl umfassendste Biographie, die bisher über Johannes Klenkok geschrieben wurde, ist Teil einer "doctoral dissertation", die in den USA bei Professor Karlfried Froehlich vom "Princeton Theological Seminary" erarbeitet wurde. In fünf Kapiteln stellt Ocker das Leben des Klenkok dar, wobei die Überschriften in origineller Weise Klenkoks Werken bzw. den damaligen Bezeichnungen seiner jeweiligen beruflichen Aufgaben entnommen sind. Unter dem Titel "Ich were ein Sasse geboren" wird über Geburt und Leben in seiner niedersächsischen Heimat berichtet. Das folgende Kapitel ist betitelt "Fidei catholice nullatenus repugnantes" und handelt von seinen Studien im Orden und an den Universitäten von Paris und Oxford, sowie von seiner Oxforder Tätigkeit als Magister der Theologie. Der Titel des dritten Kapitels "Sassen nicht schenden" behandelt seine Tätigkeit am "studium generale" der Augustiner zu Erfurt und seinen Kampf gegen den Sachsenspiegel. Das nächste Kapitel berichtet von seinem Wirken in der Diözese Olmütz als "Inquisitor, Familiaris, Domesticus et Commensalis" des Bischofs Johannes von Neumarkt. Im Schlußkapitel erscheint Klenkok als der "Poenitentiarius noster" Papst Gregors XI. in Avignon.

Der Autor hatte Gelegenheit, durch Jahre seine Forschungen in Deutschland zu vervollständigen und sich eingehend mit dem größtenteils nur handschriftlich überlieferten Nachlaß des Johannes Klenkok zu befassen. Dabei ist es ihm auch gelungen, das Verzeichnis der Schriften des Klenkok noch mit bisher unbekannten Titeln zu ergänzen, nämlich einem Kommentar zu dem Buch des Aristoteles "Peri hermenias" (S. 46 Anm. 17), einer "Postilla in evangelium Matthaei" (S. 46 Anm. 20) und einer Schrift mit dem allgemeinen Titel "Sophismata", die Klenkok von Amplonius Rattinck rund 50 Jahre später zugeeignet wurde. Freilich sind alle diese Werke heute verschollen. Auch zur Lebensgeschichte des Klenkok bringt Ocker wertvolle Ergänzungen. So kann er entgegen der bisherigen Annahme, daß Klenkok in Bücken südlich von Hoya (Niedersachsen) geboren wurde, das Schloß von Hoya als Geburtsort nachweisen (S. 8f).

Die ganze Arbeit zeugt von guter Benutzung der gedruckten und ungedruckten Quellen und einer überdurchschnittlichen Kenntnis der einschlägigen Literatur. Allerdings ist dem Autor bei seinen Ausführungen

über das Augustinerkloster in Osnabrück (S. 12-14) die gediegene Arbeit des Thomas Beckmann "Das ehemalige Augustiner-Eremitenkloster zu Osnabrück" (in: Osnabrücker Geschichtsquellen und Forschungen Bd. XIII, Osnabrück 1970) entgangen.

Bei der leider ziemlich lückenhaften urkundlichen Bezeugung des Klenkok und seines Lebenslaufes mußte sich Ocker in nicht wenigen Fällen mit mehr oder weniger begründeten Hypothesen begnügen, die nicht immer überzeugen. Das gilt schon für seine Deutung von Klenkoks Heimatkloster: "conventus Hervordensis" (S. 12 Anm. 20). Ein Blick in die Register des dreibändigen Erfurter Urkundenbuches von Alfred Overmann läßt klar erkennen, daß die lateinische Form für Erfurt im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert keinen "H"-Laut am Anfang und kein "v" für "f" kannte, und daß somit für Schiphower und seine Zeit eine Verwechslung Herfords mit Erfurt nicht anzunehmen ist. Schiphower hat zweifellos in seinem Brief an den Augustinerprior Johannes Velkener vom Jahre 1496 und in anderen seiner Werke Herford als Klenkoks Heimatkloster bezeugen wollen; er dürfte aber dafür ein guter Zeuge sein, auch wenn sein eigenes Profestkloster Osnabrück war. - Unbegründet erscheint ferner die Hypothese, das "studium generale" der Augustiner in Magdeburg sei um das Jahr 1341 eingegangen und erst viele Jahrzehnte später - kurz vor 1391 - wieder zum Leben erwacht (S. 19 Anm. 10, S. 21 und S. 44 mit Anm. 12). Denn ein solches philosophisch-theologisches Studienhaus des Ordens war eine von der Ordensleitung errichtete Institution auf Dauer, deren Fortbestand in diesem Fall gerade auch durch den Ankauf zahlreicher neuer Manuskripte im Jahre 1358 bestätigt wird. Das Fehlen von weiteren Nachrichten über dieses Studienhaus während der genannten 50 Jahre findet seine Erklärung darin, daß für diese Zeit keine Provinzkapitelakten, keine Personallisten, keine Totenbücher oder Ähnliches der sächsisch-thüringischen Augustinerprovinz erhalten sind. Ob Klenkok nach seiner Rückkehr von Oxford um 1361 sofort die Leitung des "studium generale" in Erfurt übernahm, wo er anscheinend als Provinzial in den Jahren ca. 1363-68 seinen Wohnsitz hatte, oder vielleicht zunächst einige Zeit "lector primarius" im Magdeburger Studienhaus war, darüber geben die bis jetzt bekannten Dokumente freilich keine Auskunft.

Wenig glaubhaft erscheint die Annahme, daß Klenkok vom Generalkapitel seines Ordens in Florenz an Pfingsten 1371 nochmals nach Mähren zurückgekehrt sei (S. 76), bevor er sich nach Avignon begab, wo er schon im Sommer 1372 als "poenitentiarius minor" bezeugt ist. Hingegen dürfte die Feststellung von Ocker, daß es bis jetzt keine "evidence" für eine Lehrtätigkeit Klenkoks in Prag gibt, beachtenswert sein. Schließlich sei noch ein kleiner Irrtum berichtigt: S. 14 Anm. 27 ist die Rede

davon, daß Heinrich von Friemar der Ältere im Augustinerkloster Gotha Vorlesungen gehalten habe. Davon ist nichts bekannt; der Wirkungs- und Wohnort des älteren Friemarers war nach seiner Rückkehr aus Paris bis zu seinem Tod im Jahre 1340 nach den urkundlichen Zeugnissen immer das Erfurter Kloster. Vgl. dazu auch den Beitrag des Rezensenten: "Das 'studium generale' der Erfurter Augustiner. Eine Keimzelle der theologischen Fakultät der Erfurter Universität" in: "Denkender Glaube in Geschichte und Gegenwart". Festschrift aus Anlaß der Gründung der Universität Erfurt vor 600 Jahren, her. W. Ernst und K. Feiereis, Leipzig, Benno Verlag 1992, 35-45, hier 38f.

Die erwähnten Bedenken zu einzelnen Hypothesen des Autors schmälern aber in keiner Weise den bleibenden Wert seiner gediegenen Untersuchung. Mit guter Kenntnis der Quellen und Literatur versteht es Christopher Ocker, Gestalt und Wirken des niederdeutschen Augustiners auf dem Hintergrund der Zeitgeschichte und seiner Umwelt dem modernen Leser nahezubringen.

Würzburg

Adolar ZUMKELLER OSA

MAGIS ... PRO NOSTRA SENTENCIA

JOHN WYCLIF, HIS MEDIAEVAL PREDECESSORS AND REFORMED SUCCESSORS, AND A PSEUDO-AUGUSTINIAN EUCHARISTIC DECRETAL

John Wyclif had not a high regard for Lanfranc. There were general grounds: though he lived three hundred years earlier, Lanfranc was on the wrong side of the great millennial divide. For the first one thousand years after the ascension of Christ, Satan, the father of lies had been bound, as the Apocalypse says. Consequently, in that time, there had been a succession of truthful teachers, "correctly logical, philosophers conformed to the faith of Scripture"¹. Ambrose, Augustine and Jerome were the principal of these, and "any of them is one thousand times more valuable than a dozen subsequent doctors and popes, when the enemy of truth is free and sowing lies contrary to the school of Christ"². There were, moreover, particular grounds which moved Wyclif to go far beyond despising Lanfranc's authority. He both made him an object of invective, and also directed reason, as well as, scriptural and patristic authority against him.

There was the manner of Lanfranc's attack on Berengarius, to whom Wyclif had a most ambiguous relation. He was strongly enthusiastic for the decretal *Ego Berengarius* which recorded the confession of Berengar. But this was, after all, an enforced retraction!³ They were, in

¹ IOHANNIS WYCLIF, *De Eucharistia Tractatus Maior*, ed. J. LOSERTH, (London, 1892), p. 286: "Sed pro distincione doctorum in ista materia notandum quod Sathan pater mendacii ligatus est mille annis post ascensionem Domini (ut dicitur Apok. XX, 2). Tempore autem huius ligacionis successerunt doctores veridici, recti loyci atque philosophi conformes fidei scripture".

² IOHANNIS WYCLIF, *Tractatus de Apostasia*, ed. M. H. DZIEWICKI, (London, 1889), p. 50: "unde allegavi sepe pro hoc sensu Ambrosium, Augustinum et Jeronimum doctores precipuos in primo millenario etatis ecclesie, quando ligatus est sathanas, pater mendacii; et quilibet eorum valet mille duodenas doctorum vel paparum sequencium, quando solutus est inimicus veritatis, seminans mendacia contraria scole Christi".

³ M. KEEN, *Wyclif, the Bible, and Transubstantiation*, in A. KENNY, ed., *Wyclif in his Times*, (Oxford, 1985), p. 12: judges that Wyclif misread "the decretal of Nicholas II that embodies Berengar's confession" and gave it "the opposite of its intended sense". See also

Wyclif's view, fellow soldiers in the army of truth. Like the Berengar of the decretal, Wyclif held both that the sacrament of the altar was truly, even, "substantially", the body of Christ, and also that the identity of the sacrament and Christ's body was figurative. The decretal calls the sacrament both bread and wine, and also the true body and blood. Thus, as Wyclif would wish, Berengar seems to stand both for real presence and also against a transubstantiation which would annihilate the bread and wine.

Lanfranc, "though he would be a holy man, had proceeded in another manner in his not artificial but rather inept invective" against Berengar. Not only was the invective inappropriate to saints, but it was merely negative, produced no evidence, and wrongly construed the ancient fathers⁴. Secondly, and fundamentally, Lanfranc was "one of the first cultivators of the theory of accidents"⁵. This theory if maintained, would require the church to canonize Aristotle and Porphyry, detaching substance and accidents so that the consecrated sacrament must be either substantially bread or substantially the body of Christ, not both. Thus it had ruined modern eucharistic doctrine⁶.

Wyclif's opposition to this corrupt doctrine was philosophic, a

A. KENNY, *Wyclif*, (Oxford, 1985), p. 88, G. LEFF, *John Wyclif: The Path to Dissent*, Raleigh Lecture on History, *Proceedings of the British Academy*, vol. 52, 178, *de Apostasia*, p. vii. *De Eucharistia*, p. 225 both affirms the decretal and attacks the gloss on it. On Wyclif's eucharistic theology generally, which seems both to have been the major cause of his conflict with ecclesiastical authorities and to have undergone fundamental development, see the above and J.I. CATTO, *Wyclif and the Cult of the Eucharist*, in Katherine WALSH and Diana WOOD, eds., *The Bible in the Medieval World, Essays in Memory of Beryl Smalley*, Studies in Church History, subsidia 4, (Oxford, 1985), pp. 269-286, G. LEFF, *The Place of Metaphysics in Wyclif's Theology*, in Anne HUDSON and Michael WILKS, eds., *From Ockham to Wyclif*, Studies in Church History, subsidia 5, (Oxford, 1987), pp. 217-232, idem, *Wyclif and Huss: a Doctrinal Comparison*, in A. KENNY, ed., *Wyclif in his Times*, pp. 105-25, Heather PHILLIPS, *John Wyclif and the Optics of the Eucharist*, in Anne HUDSON and Michael WILKS, eds., *From Ockham to Wyclif*, pp. 245-258 and H. B. WORKMAN, *John Wyclif, A Study of the English Medieval Church*, 2 vol. (Oxford, 1926), ii, pp. 30-45. The two sides of his eucharistic doctrine, i.e. desire for real presence and opposition to the doctrine of transubstantiation, may be seen in his *Tractatus de Blasphemia*, ed. M. H. DZIEWICKI, (London, 1893), p. 251.

⁴ *de Eucharistia*, p. 283: "Iste autem Lanfrancus, licet fuerit sanctus, aliunde tamen in sua inveccione inartificiose procedit, quia sine evidencia nunc contendit", see also pp. 225 and 288 and *de Apostasia*, p. 194.

⁵ *de Eucharistia*, p. 9: "Lanfranci qui videtur fuisse unus de primis cultoribus accidentis".

⁶ *de Apostasia*, p. 55: "Si igitur oportet fidelem credere ut fidem catholicam, quod sacramentum altaris sit accidens sine subiecto, et Porphyrius et Aristoteles in isto verissime ac pertinentissime laboravunt, oportet in isto canonisare sententias suos".

consequence of his realism. In his treatise *de Eucharistia*, St. Augustine is first employed as an authority that "no accident is able to exist without an underlying subject", and his early philosophical tract, *de Quantitate Animae*, is quoted often and at length⁷. But later, after an attack on St. Thomas Aquinas' eucharistic doctrine, as an example of this bad teaching without basis in Scripture or the greater part of the doctors, Wyclif comes to that "decretal, which, with its gloss, among all the decretals of the saints, makes most for our position. For [in it] Augustine distinguishes between the sacrifice and the sacraments. ... So he calls the sacrifice an aggregate, not something which results by means of a composition of parts [namely] of sensible sacrament and the body of Christ with his blood. Moreover Augustine approves of figurative speech [in this matter] ..." The bitter and astonishing irony is that what Wyclif quotes as Augustine against Lanfranc and his followers are the words of Lanfranc himself!⁸

⁷ *de Eucharistia*, p. 3: "per multiplex testimonium Augustini quod nullum accidens potest esse sine subiecto" and see pp. 5 and 133. DZIEWICKI, introduction to *de Apostasia*, p. xxi, asserts: "His doctrine of the Eucharist is an evident deduction from his Realism". This is the position also of the introduction to *de Eucharistia*, of WORKMAN, *op. cit.*, ii, pp. 30 ff.; Leff and Phillips in the articles cited in note 3 above, see it arising from Wyclif's realism and the inconceivability of the annihilation of substance for him. M. KEEN, *art. cit.*, treats this view (p. 10) and modifies it; Wyclif was motivated in his campaign against transubstantiation "rather from the point of view of abuse than of a metaphysical system" (p. 11). Keen's view is also that of CATO, *art. cit.* But no one doubts the centrality of his philosophical realism and commitment to the theory of indivisibles for his theology, as Keen makes clear at *The Influence of Wyclif*, in A. KENNY, ed., *Wyclif in his Times*, p. 144. These also determine his view of sin (A. KENNY, *The Realism of the 'De Universalibus'*, in A. KENNY, ed., *Wyclif in his Times*, p. 29, *idem*, *Wyclif*, pp. 10-17), Scripture and church (N. KRETZMANN, *Continua, Indivisibiles, and Change in Wyclif's Logic of Scripture*, in A. KENNY, ed., *Wyclif in his Times*, pp. 31-63, M. TRESKO, *John Wyclif's Metaphysics of Scriptural Integrity in the 'De Veritate Sacrae Scripturae'*, in *Dionysius*, 13 (1989), 153-196, LEFF, *The Place of Metaphysics*, pp. 224-226, 232, and PHILLIPS, *art. cit.*, pp. 249-250).

⁸ The two parts of the quotation are taken from Gratian's *Decretum*, treatise *de consecratione*, distinction 2, chapter 48, with the standard accompanying gloss or explanation, known, from its first words, as *Hoc est*. The best present edition is by A. FRIEDBERG in *Corpus Iuris Canonici*, vol. 1 (Lipsi, 1879 - reprint Graz, 1959) at columns 1331 and 1332. Gratian's title for the decree is *Sacramentum, et res sacramenti sacrificium ecclesiae conficitur* and he credits it to *Augustinus in libro sententiarum Prosperi*. Wyclif's remarks at *de Eucharistia*, p. 224, are: "Doctum est autem quod sententia Thome sit nimis debilis in hac parte; nec dubito quia nulla nova sufficiencia subintrabit, quia non fundatur in scriptura vel maioribus doctoribus ... notandum quod inter omnia decreta sanctorum istud decretum cum glossa sua magis facit pro nostra sententia. Augustinus enim distinguens inter sacrificium et sacramenta dicit quod 'sacrificium conficitur ex sacramento et re sacramenti que est corpus Christi et sanguis', ut est in persona Christi, non quod deitas et humanitas sint partes Christi est eius

More importantly, the passage quoted is inconsistent with the genuine teaching of Augustine, known to Wyclif, and was recognized as such by earlier theologians.

Master Wyclif is quoting a passage which Gratian's *Decretum* falsely attributed to Augustine and falsely labeled as the *Sentences of Prosper*. How Lanfranc came to be credited to Augustine, what Lanfranc's teaching in the passage was, how it is strikingly opposed to Augustine's own teaching on the nature of sacraments, and in what sense earlier mediaevals discerned and indicated that the passage was problematical, we must consider later. We shall discover that, two hundred years after Wyclif, Anglican Reformers of the sixteenth century, despite their advantages relative to Wyclif and other mediaevals in both the availability of genuine texts and the criticism of texts falsely attributed, made the same mistake as Wyclif. We should pause, in consequence, to consider carefully the root of his error, not only for what it reveals about him and his time, but also so that we can compare him to his predecessors and successors.

Wyclif's problem was not excessive gullibility. He neither accepted the doctrine nor the authenticity of what he found in the *Decretum* without question. Indeed, he inveighs against the gloss on 'Ego Berengarius' in the *Decretum*, and, in his eucharistic and other treatises, it is the conception of authority and government which he discerns in them which he opposes above all. He speaks of the "stupid heresy of the decretalists" and opposes their authority⁹. Certainly, he would correct the later decretalists by means of the doctors of the first Christian millenium as found both within and without the *Decretum*. It is part of his pleasure and pride as a dialectician to turn the old against the new from within the same work¹⁰. But, even when citing the fathers, he does not simply accept what he is given. He

quidditates, quarum utraque est totus Christus. Sic sacrificium dicit aggregative et non per viam compositionis ex partibus sacramentum sensibile et corpus Christi cum sanguine. Ulterius Augustinus approbans locucionem tropicam ita scribit: 'Caro Christi et quam sub forma panis operam in sacramento accipimus ... si quod caro est corporis et sanguis est sanguinis sacramentum'. Hic patet quod iste sanctus loquitur tropice ut scriptura et docet quod corpus Christi ibi absconditur sic quod non ibi videtur oculo corporali. Et ... explanat et applicat hunc sensum expressius: 'Panis', inquit, 'celestis qui vere est caro Christi suo modo vocatur corpus Christi cum revera sit sacramentum corporis Christi' quod exponit antea per hoc quod istis signatur vera caro Christi et sanguis". He then quotes the gloss to the effect that the heavenly sacrament is called the body of Christ *improprie* and returns to the decretal where it says that the immolation made by the priest's hands is the passion, death and crucifixion *non rei veritate sed signandi misterio*.

⁹ *de Eucharistia*, p. 126: "stultam heresim decretistarum"; also pp. 172 and 225.

¹⁰ *de Eucharistia*, pp. 23, 35, 163, 221, 288; *de Apostasia*, pp. 57, 64, 85, 109, 213 and elsewhere.

rejects, correctly, a passage ascribed to Augustine as spurious and suggests, incorrectly, a theory for the false ascription — it was by Augustine of Canterbury instead of Hippo. His critical grounds for throwing this text out of the Augustinian *corpus* are broad and sound: there are problems both of style and content, and it opposes what is often taught in his accepted books. "Never were such words or opinions found in Augustine!"¹¹ Moreover, it is clear, both from his long citations of *de Quantitate Animae* and, because of the grounds he used to reject what he takes as spurious Augustine, that he had whole books of the fathers available to him and that he had read many of them.

Why then does Master Wyclif not reject, or at least decline to use the decretal *Hoc est* in which the doctrine of Lanfranc bears the name of Augustine? Three features of his writing are suggestive: he writes polemically and for practical, not theoretical, ends, his view of church history enables him to treat with contempt theologians nearer to him than the fathers, and what he finds in Lanfranc presented as Augustine

¹¹ *de Apostasia*, p. 83: "Et quantum ad allegatum de beato Augustino videtur tam ex stilo quam ex sententia quod numquam erant ista verba vel sententia Augustini, quid nec sunt in legibus vel posterioribus doctoribus communiter allegata, sed eorum opposita in libris Augustini communibus crebrius inculcata". The compilation of the vast quantity of material falsely ascribed to Augustine in the Middle Ages is well underway but remains incomplete. The assessment of the character of the literature and the causes for its existence and quantity has only just begun. The following are recent important contributions which give bibliographic access to earlier still essential work: B. BLUMENKRANZ, *La survie médiévale de saint Augustin à travers ses apocryphes*, in *Augustinus Magister. Congrès international augustinien, Paris, 21-24 Septembre, 1954*, 3 vols., II (Paris, 1954), pp. 1003-1018, M. DE KROON, *Pseudo-Augustin im Mittelalter. Entwurf eines Forschungsberichts*, in *Augustiniana*, 22 (1972), pp. 511-530, E. DEKKERS, *Le succès étonnant des écrits pseudo-augustiniens au Moyen Age* and J. MACHIELSEN, *Contribution à l'étude de la pseudépigraphie médiévale en matière patristique. Problèmes d'attribution et de remaniement des textes homilétiques*, both in *Fälschungen im Mittelalter. Internationaler Kongress der Monumenta Germaniae Historica München, 16.-19. September 1986*, 5 vols., V: *Fingierte Briefe Frömmigkeit und Fälschung. Realienfälschungen*, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Schriften*, 33.5 (Hannover, 1988), pp. 361-368 and 345-359, P.-I. FRANSEN, *D'Eugippius à Bède le Vénérable. A propos de leurs florilèges augustinien*, in *Revue Bénédictine*, 97 (1987), pp. 187-194, J. MACHIELSEN, *Clavis Patristica Pseudepigraphorum Medii Aevi*, Vol. 1: *Opera Homiletica pars A (Praefatio)(Ambrosius-Augustinus)*, *Corpus Christianorum Series Latina* (Turnhout, 1990), E. DEKKERS, *Quelques notes sur les florilèges augustinien anciens et médiévaux*, in *Augustiniana*, 40 (1990), pp. 27-44. It appears that in the pseudépigraphal Augustinian corpus as a whole intentional fraud is rare, but that very often false works were much more popular than comparable genuine ones. Blumenkranz writes: "On vient de dire que l'esprit critique est particulièrement sensible quand ces textes supposés sont employés dans une controverse" (p. 1015).

coincides with his philosophically determined eucharistic theory.

The contemporary reader, like the nineteenth century editors of these texts, is struck by the virulence of the attacks on the opposition¹². The mere fact that two of the treatises in which we find his eucharistic theology are entitled *de Apostasia* and *de Blasphemia* says enough. Both of them begin with, expand upon, and repeat again and again, Wyclif's theories about the wilful and diabolical corruption of the modern church, corruptions he has experienced in terms of personal deprivations and losses at the hands of the ecclesiastical government. His attack on modern eucharistic theology takes place within an attack on the structure and exercise of government in contemporary Christendom. We are told that Wyclif considered some of these treatises to be part of his *Summa Theologica*; if so, its theoretical character is secondary¹³. Certainly mediaeval theology had always to struggle to free itself from the urgent and practical concerns of the church, and its language was often polemical and harsh, but Wyclif's eucharistic treatises belong at the extreme end¹⁴.

Generally among the mediaeval theologians there was a division between the treatment accorded the authorities of the Christian past and contemporaries. The beginnings of Latin eucharistic controversy in the ninth century are characterized by a civility, calm and contemplative freedom which did not last. It seems, moreover, that Paschasius Radbertus and Ratramnus did not directly address one another¹⁵. Panic was first aroused when it appeared that the controversy set the fathers against one another and Augustine against himself¹⁶.

¹² For this and what follows see notes 3 and 7 above, the introductory essays to the treatises cited, and WORKMAN, *op. cit.* He considers "Wyclif on the sacraments" within his chapter on "Wyclif's Concepts of Church and State".

¹³ *de Apostasia*, p. vi and KENNY, *Wyclif*, pp. 82 and 93. The introduction to the *Tractatus de Universalibus*, ed. I. J. MUELLER, (Oxford, 1985) and Ivan J. MUELLER, *A 'Lost' "Summa" of John Wyclif*, in Anne HUDSON and Michael WILKS, eds., *From Ockham to Wyclif*, pp. 179-183 are useful on the structure of his works; KENNY, *Wyclif*, p. 45 gives the point at which his theological *summa* moves from speculation to the practical.

¹⁴ On this problem in relation to Aquinas, see L. BOYLE, *The Setting of the Summa Theologiae of Saint Thomas*, The Etienne Gilson Series 5, (Toronto, 1982). Is Thomas' equanimity and charity in the treatment of those with whom he agrees and those with whom he differs, a result of his success in achieving theoretical freedom and appropriate form for theology?

¹⁵ See Jean-Paul BOUHOT, *Ratramne de Corbie, Histoire littéraire et controverses doctrinales*, (Études Augustiniennes, Paris, 1976), pp. 7-8, 72-4, 125-7.

¹⁶ In the opinion of BOUHOT, *ibid.*, pp. 125-7, Ratramnus did not understand the texts he quoted from Augustine (*de Doctrina Christiana* at chapter xxxiii and *Epistola ad Bonifacium* at xxxv) in his *De Corpore et Sanguine Domini* (ed. J.N.B. VAN DEN BRINK,

The next major round of conflict about the eucharist, between Lanfranc and Berengar, was full of personal animosity, bitterness, and contempt¹⁷. The texts of the venerated fathers were hurled back and forth like spears. The results were opposed. There was both an increased consciousness of the differences between the texts, with the consequent suspicion that some were spurious, and also the desire to accumulate as many as possible "for our position"¹⁸. The concern to amass authoritative

[Amsterdam, 1954], PL 221) as contradicting themselves or the other fathers he cites. Nor is it necessary to regard the Fredugard to whom Paschasius writes as thinking them contradictory. But, at lines 72-4 (*Epistola ad Fredugardum* in PASCHASIUS RADBERTUS, *De Corpore et Sanguine Domini*, ed. B. PAULUS, CCCM 16 [Brepols, 1969], p. 147,) Paschasius asks whether "ipse ... egregius doctor contra se diceret, ut recole in sermonibus ad neophitos?" This sermon is spurious Augustine — see AUGUSTINE, *Sermones post Maurinos reperti*, in *Miscellanea Agostiniana*, vol. 1, ed. G. MORIN, (Rome, 1930), pp. 18-20, *De Sacramentis in die paschae*. RABANUS MAURUS (*De Corpore et Sanguine Domini adversus Ratpertum*, PL 112 at col. 1513) is astonished at what he finds Ambrose to be reported as writing and thinks Augustine to dispute Ambrose; however, Rabanus is already dealing both with the very free handling of Ambrose by Paschasius Radbertus and with texts of Paschasius himself posing as Augustine. HERIGER OF LOBBES, whose treatise *De Corpore et Sanguine Domini* is incorrectly identified as written by Gerbertus (afterwards Pope Sylvester II) in PL 139, is labouring under the same problems as Rabanus but he still thinks the texts can be reconciled "si ad plenum et discrete essent intellectae", col. 179 B-D (see BOUHOT, *op. cit.*, pp. 134-5).

¹⁷ See R. W. SOUTHERN, *Lanfranc of Bec and Berengar of Tours*, in *Studies in Medieval History presented to Frederick Maurice Powicke*, edited by R. W. HUNT, W. A. PANTIN and R. W. SOUTHERN, (Oxford, 1948), pp. 27-48; J. DE MONTCLOS, *Lanfranc et Bérenger. La controverse eucharistique du xie siècle*, *Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense*, 37 (Leuven, 1971) and H. CHADWICK, *Ego Berengarius*, in *Journal of Theological Studies*, 40 (1989), pp. 414-45.

¹⁸ ALGER OF LIÈGE, *Liber de Sacramentis Corporis et Sanguinis Domini* (PL 180) [on which see M. LEPIN, *L'idée du Sacrifice de la Messe d'après les théologiens depuis l'origine jusqu'à nos jours* (Paris, 1926), pp. 791ff.; N. M. HÄRING, *A Study in the Sacramentology of Alger of Liège*, in *Mediaeval Studies*, 20 (1958), pp. 41-78; MONTCLOS, *op. cit.*, pp. 465-71] is the heir to the controversy both in terms of the diverse interpretations of texts and also in terms of the accumulation of pseudo texts. Significantly Alger begins with a view as to the variety in the writings of the saints on the body and blood of Christ and the errors in the tradition. He collects and tries to reconcile the *sententiae* and is an important source for Gratian and the twelfth century collections. He seems to have been influenced by GUTMUND OF AVERSA who labours mightily in his *De Corporis et Sanguinis Christi Veritate in Eucharistia* (PL 149) to save Augustine from the interpretation of *stulte et insipientissime Berengarii* (1457C) and who produces a great range of Augustinian and pseudo-Augustinian texts. Much the same can be said of DURANDUS OF TOURNAY's *Liber de Corpore et Sanguine Christi contra Berengarium et eius sectatores* (PL 149). More briefly, but similarly, there is WILLIAM OF ST. THIERRY's *De Corpore et Sanguine Domini* (PL 180) which recognized the apparent contradictions

texts, harmonized from one's own standpoint, resulted in a development of the *florilegia*. These collections of texts detached from the books to which they belong had existed from the beginning. Indeed, the genuine *Liber Sententiarum* of Prosper of Aquitaine was compiled during Augustine's life or just after. Its *sententiae* are all from Augustine and are all authentic. But the *genre* develops. Next, we get the mixed *florilegia* — a number of fathers and scripture strung together on a matter — and the use of earlier *florilegia* to provide the texts. As in Bede these may serve as a biblical commentary. Then, we arrive at the arrangement of texts from diverse sources for doctrinal argument and polemical assertion. The pseudo *Sentences of Prosper* is just one example of this development¹⁹. The fact that theological argument in this period (as it will be again in the sixteenth century) was so often the polemical interpretation of a patristic text, or an accumulation of texts, made the confusion of ancient and modern authors the more easy.

The next stage in the development of theological forms proceeds naturally from this one. The reconciliation of diverse authorities is the aim of Gratian's *Decretum*, the source for Wyclif of his passage of Lanfranc under the name of Augustine. The *Decretum* is, in fact, entitled: *Concordantia Discordantium Canonum*, i.e., *The Concordance of Discordant Canons*. Reconciliation is the ultimate aim also of Peter Abelard's *Sic et*

and obscurities of the fathers (359C and 360B) and gives a list of *Diversae sententiae sanctorum patrum de corpore domini* beginning at 362D. HILDEBERT OF LAVARDIN is rather an exception with his *Brevis tractatus de sacramento altaris* (PL 171), which produces no massive compilation nor complex theory by which diversity and apparent contradiction are reconciled, but attempts to hold things together with a vague *secundum modum tamen aliquem existendi*. Generally these theologians lead the way to the famous text books which the twelfth century produced for the rest of the mediaeval period and beyond.

¹⁹ See E. DEKKERS, *Quelques notes*, pp. 28 and 34 ff, P.-I. FRANSEN, *D'Eugippius*, P.T.R. GRAY, 'The Select Fathers': *Canonizing the Patristic Past*, in *Studia Patristica* XXIII [for the 1987 Conference], (Leuven, 1989), pp. 21-36, PROSPER OF AQUITAINE, *Liber Sententiarum*, Corpus Christianorum Series Latina LXVIII A, 2 (Turnhout, 1972) for history of the development of Patristic *florilegiae*, and for the genuine *Sentences of Prosper*. In contrast, texts deriving from genuine writings of Augustine, but which have been arranged and explained so as to transform their sources either by development or contradiction and passed on as works of Augustine are reproduced in LEPIN, *op. cit.*, "Extraits de Paschase Radbert", pp. 759-786 and "Extraits de Lanfranc", pp. 786-797; G. MORIN, as cited in note 16 above; G. FOLLIET, *Un abrégé du 'De sacramento corporis et sanguinis Domini' d'Alger de Liège, mis sous le nom de s. Augustin*, in *Recherches augustinienes*, 8, (Paris, 1972), pp. 261-99; J. P. BOUHOT, *Extraits du 'De Corpore et Sanguine Domini' de Paschase Radbert sous le nom d'Augustin*, in *Recherches augustinienes*, 12 (Paris, 1977), pp. 119-73.

Non, of the *Decretum* and *Panormia* of Ivo of Chartres, and of Peter Lombard's *Sententiae*²⁰. But neither in the twelfth nor in the sixteenth centuries can theology remain satisfied with such a form. It proved necessary in both periods to separate *lectio*, the reading, exegesis and commentary on texts, from systematic theology proper²¹. In the thirteenth century, characteristic results of the need for new theological forms appear in the commentaries by Thomas Aquinas on biblical, patristic (he commented on the *Divine Names* of the pseudo-Dionysius), and philosophic texts, in his use of the *quaestio* in the commentary on Lombard's *Sententiae*, and in the existence, independently of these commentaries, of the great *summae*, especially the *Summa Theologiae* which was inspired by the need to unite theological form and content²². With the second stage of

²⁰ For Ivo of Chartres, see PL 161; HÄRING, *art. cit.*, pp. 51-6 and 65 writes that Ivo was a source for Alger and Gratian, see also MONTCLOS, *op. cit.*, p. 461, note 1. Gratian used both Alger and Ivo. The Prologue of PETER ABAILARD, *Sic et Non. A Critical Edition*, edited by B. B. BOYER and R. MCKEON, (Chicago, 1976) as explicated by Jean JOLIVET, *Arts du langage et théologie chez Abélard*, in *Études de philosophie médiévale* 57 (Paris, 1969), pp. 238-51, provides the best statement of what was intended in these collections. The eucharistic section of the sentences is found in *Sententiae in IV Libris Distinctae*, 2 vol., II, (Grotta-ferrata, 1981).

²¹ On the movement by which Scriptural exegesis came to include theological and philosophical questions, see Marcia L. COLISH, 'Psalterium Scholasticorum': Peter Lombard and the Emergence of Scholastic Psalms Exegesis, in *Speculum*, 67, #3, (July, 1992), pp. 531-548: "Gilbert [of Poitiers] is really the first scholastic exegete of Psalms to develop theological *quaestiones* out of the text" (537). The classic work on these developments is B. SMALLEY, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages*, 3rd edn. (Oxford, 1983), pp. 292-94. For a summary, see Richard SOUTHERN, *Beryl Smalley and the Bible*, in K. WALSH and P. WOODS, eds., *The Bible in the Medieval World. Essays in Memory of Beryl Smalley*, p. 12. But she had to revise radically her views on the thirteenth century especially in light of Henri DE LUBAC, *Exégèse médiévale. Les quatre sens de l'Écriture*, 4 vols., Théologie 41, 42 and 59 (Paris, 1959-1964) and of the study of the organization of medieval teaching as reported, for example, in M.-D. CHENU, *Toward Understanding St. Thomas* (Chicago, 1964). She is, however, right about the direction of the developments even if the causes and the stages must be reconsidered. Recently there is M.D. JORDAN, *Ordering Wisdom. The Hierarchy of Philosophical Discourses in Aquinas*, Publications in Medieval Studies XIV, (Notre Dame, 1986), in which the new consensus will be found. See my, 'Secundum dionysium dicendum quod superiores angeli nunquam immediate circa ministerium habent': Aquinas, Proclus and Isaiah VI.6, in *Platonism and Medieval Philosophy*, ed. Robert BERCHMAN, (Albany, New York: SUNY Press, 1996), in press.

²² See my *God In Himself: Aquinas' Doctrine of God as Expounded in the Summa Theologiae*, (Oxford, 1987), pp. 19-35. Brevard S. CHILDS, *Biblical Theology of the Old and New Testaments: Theological Reflection on the Christian Bible*, (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1992), pp. 40-43 still treats Aquinas according to the early views of which Smalley later repented; but, at p. 49, he advances the argument when he notes that, while

reformed theology in the sixteenth century, we come to Richard Hooker's *Laws of Ecclesiastical Politie* and John Calvin's, equally systematic, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*. In both the twelfth and the sixteenth centuries, the scientific logic which forms theological discourse must cease to be hidden assumption. It must come out into the open. Theological science must become itself a theological object. Wyclif can only be understood as part of the late mediaeval development of this philosophical self-consciousness in theology.

This demand, therefore, that the logic through which theology is systematized and its content understood be itself directly a subject for theological reflection is a later mediaeval development, though its necessity rises out of problems in the earlier history. The divisions about which logic is appropriate, and the direct and self-conscious connection of these logics to the theological character of their systems, belong especially to the theologians of Wyclif's own time. But, just as his veneration for authorities from the first Christian millennium enables him to treat moderns and contemporaries with contempt, to feel no need to come to agreement with them even about commonly used texts, so also it forces him and them to misuse these texts and these venerated authorities²³. The ancient texts must answer modern questions posed in modern form, and in the old authorities must be found the philosophical logic for contemporary theological systems.

As already indicated, the first use of Augustine in Wyclif's *de Eucharistia* is of his *de Quantitate Animae*. This early, purely philosophical dialogue is supposed to provide authoritative grounds for rejecting the separation of substance and accidents essential to eucharistic theology after Lanfranc. He finds in it the metaphysic which is generally recognized as determinative of his eucharistic theology, a fiercely anti-nominalist Platonic realism. Michael Tresko's account of Wyclif's "metaphysics of

Calvin, like Aquinas, separates exegesis and theology, he does it for the opposite reason: "Thomas Aquinas wrote a *Summa* to encompass the whole of Christian teaching into which structure the Bible provided building blocks. In striking contrast Calvin reversed the process! The role of theology was to aid in interpreting the Bible. His move was in the direction of dogmatics to exegesis". This contrast is enlightening and it sustains my fundamental point about the necessity of dividing the *genres*, but it is equally true that the fruit of philosophical and theological reflection is for Aquinas gathered back into his commentary on Scripture; see Carmelo PANDOFI, *San Tommaso filosofo nel Commento ai Salmi: Interpretazione dell'essere nel modo 'esistenziale' dell'invocazione*, (Bologna, 1993) and CHENU, *Towards*, pp. 233 - 234 and 242.

²³ For his historical schema, see note 1 above. WORKMAN, *op cit.*, II, p. 35, note 5, indicates that Wyclif divided the history of eucharistic doctrine into three periods: the first millenium, from Berengar to Innocent III, modern doctors of the last 200 years.

Scriptural integrity" discerns a similar relation to the ancient authorities:

"There came a time ... when he experienced a new insight into the way meaning is contained in Scripture ... The turning point that Wyclif describes was his conversion to realism. He came to consider this metaphysics a tradition that had been upheld by the providence of God ... For without universals, he held, there can be no truth, and without a philosophy that relies upon universals there can be no assurance of truth ... He describes this event in *De Dominio Divino*. 'For I cannot demonstrate and understand the creature except through demonstrating and understanding God. I went a long time before I understood this theory of ideas from Scripture. But I discovered it unexpectedly when I received illumination from God, whereupon I gave joyful thanks to him, along with his servant Augustine and all the others, whom God ordains from eternity to minister to me and help me to this understanding'"²⁴.

It is not surprising that Wyclif should give credit to Augustine for helping him arrive at a theory of universals. Augustine understood knowing and reality in a way which owed much to the Platonic tradition, though, importantly, the form and content of his philosophical and theological logic were very different from their character in the fourteenth century. But, as Michael Tresko remarks, "What is most striking here is that Wyclif claims to have found universals in the teaching of Scripture"²⁵.

One half of our own century would have been less surprised than we are. The so-called "biblical theology" and Etienne Gilson's discovery of what he takes to be Aquinas' philosophical logic in Exodus with its "philosophy of *esse*" are positions analogous to those of Wyclif²⁶. But many of the dilemmas of theology in the second half of the twentieth century are owed to the now evident impossibility of reading theology and philosophy immediately into, and, as a result, out of, the Bible. Revelation no more teaches philosophical realism — as opposed to nominalism —

²⁴ TRESKO, *art. cit.*, pp. 160-61. See also LEFF, *The Place of Metaphysics*, p. 224.

²⁵ *Ibid.* On Wyclif's special attachment to Augustine, see KENNY, *Wyclif*, p. 10 and KRETZMAN, *art. cit.*, p. 48.

²⁶ See W.J. HANKEY, *Dionysian Hierarchy in St. Thomas Aquinas: Tradition and Transformation*, in *Actes du Colloque sur Aéropagite et sa postérité en Orient et en Occident*, ed. Ysabel DE ANDIA, série Moyen Âge (Paris: Études Augustiniennes, 1995), 412-445, in press., idem, 'Secundum dionysium'; idem, *Making Theology Practical: Thomas Aquinas and the Nineteenth Century Religious Revival*, in *Dionysius*, 9 (1985), pp. 94-6; idem, *Scripture and Theology: the Current Dilemma*, in *The Scriptures and Modern Christian Teaching*, ed. G.R. BRIDGE (Charlottetown: St. Peter Publications, 1989), pp. 7-21, especially p. 8; Jonathan Z. SMITH, *Drudgery Divine: On the Comparison of Early Christianities and the Religions of Late Antiquity*, (London, 1990), p. 77 and E. ZUM BRUNN, *Le Dieu de Platon et le Dieu de Moïse*, in *Saint Augustin*, ed. P. RANSON, Le Dossiers H, (Girromagny, 1988), pp. 35-39.

than it opposes transubstantiation, as Wyclif claims it does²⁷, because it calls the food of the eucharistic meal "bread". One or another philosophical logic or theoretical construction may be more or less capable of giving rational content to what revelation gives, of enabling us to live in a world that is complete for reflection, and of sustaining itself dialectically. Because the believer would understand, he is far from indifferent to philosophical theory. But the Scripture does not save him from the pain of the labour of philosophic reflection²⁸.

What is the doctrine of *Hoc est*? How does it differ from Augustine's teaching so that some earlier mediaeval theologians either rejected its doctrine as being from Augustine's pen, or indicated that it did not fit his other teaching, or freed themselves from dependence on its authority? Why does Wyclif regard it as above all other decretals *magis ... pro nostra sententia*?

Gratian indicates its purposes for him in the title: "The sacrifice of the church consists in the sacrament and in the reality signified by the sacrament (*res sacramenti*)". And quotes what he designates as Augustine in *libro sententiarum Prosperi* as follows:

"the sacrifice of the church consists of two things: in two it remains: of the visible form of the elements and of the invisible flesh and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ; both of the sacrament and the thing signified by the sacrament: even as the person of Christ stands and consists of God and man, since he is true God and true man, for everything contains in itself the nature and truth of that in which it consists. Now the sacrifice of the church consists of two things: the sacrament and the thing signified by the sacrament, that is, the body of Christ. Therefore there is both the sacrament, and the reality to which the sacrament refers, that is, the body of Christ".

The first part of Wyclif's quotation is drawn from these words.

Gratian goes on to quote, what he supposes are the words of Augustine, further:

"1. There is his flesh, which we receive in the sacrament working in the form of bread, and there is his blood, which we drink under the form and taste of wine. Evidently flesh is sacrament of flesh and blood is sacrament of blood. By flesh and blood, each invisible, spiritual, intelligible is signified the body of our Lord Jesus Christ, visible and palpable, full by grace and by divine majesty of all virtues. 2. As the heavenly bread, which is the true flesh of Christ is called the body of Christ, since in very truth it is sacrament of the

²⁷ For example at *de Apostasia*, p. 181, *de Eucharistia*, pp. 224 and 288; see KEEN, Wyclif, p. 12 and KRETZMAN, *art. cit.* for other philosophical positions derived from "the logic of Scripture".

²⁸ See my *The Bible in a Post-Critical Age*, in *After the Deluge, Essays Towards the Desecularization of the Church*, ed., Wm. ODDIE, (London: SPCK, 1987), pp. 41-92, especially pp. 41-3 and 69-72.

body of Christ, namely of that body which being visible, palpable and mortal was put on the cross; and, as that immolation of the flesh which is made by the priest's hands, is called the passion, death, crucifixion of Christ not in the very truth of the thing but in a signifying mystery, so the sacrament of faith, i.e. baptism, is faith"²⁹.

A gloss — explanation — accompanied this decretal in the form the authors we consider found it:

"The heavenly sacrament, which truly represents the body of Christ, is called Christ's body, but not in plain speech. Therefore [the author] says 'in a certain way', not in the truth of the thing, but by a signifying mystery; so this is the sense: it is called the body of Christ, it signifies it [the body]"³⁰.

Wyclif also used part of the second section of the decretal and its gloss.

In 1926, M. Lepin traced the process by which Lanfranc's *De Corpore et Sanguine Domini* (PL 150,421-425), was chopped up, rearranged, abridged and entered eucharistic controversy for 500 years primarily, but not exclusively, as Augustine's *Sentences of Prosper*. (Parts of it were still

²⁹ For references see note 8 above, the text is: "Hoc est quod dicimus, quod omnibus modis approbare contendimus, sacrificium ecclesie confici duobus, duobus constare: visibili elementorum specie, et invisibili Domini nostri Jesu Christi carne et sanguine; et sacramento, et re sacramenti, id est corpore Christi, sicut persona Christi constat et conficitur ex Deo et homine, cum ipse Christus verus Deus sit et verus homo, quia omnis res illarum rerum naturam et veritatem in se continet, ex quibus conficitur. Conficitur autem sacrificium ecclesie duobus sacramento, et re sacramenti, id est corpus Christi. Item: 1. Caro eius est, quam forma panis opertam in sacramento accipimus, et sanguis eius, quem sub vini specie ac sapore potamus. Caro videlicet carnis, et sanquis sacramentum sanguinis; carne et sanguine, utroque invisibili, spirituali, intelligibili, significatur corpus visibile Domini nostri Iesu Christi, et palpabile, plenum gratia omnium virtutum, et divina maiestate. Item: 2. Sicut ergo celestis panis, qui vere* caro Christi est, suo modo vocatur corpus Christi, cum revera sit sacramentum corporis Christi, illius videlicet, quod visibile, quod palpabile, mortale in cruce est positum, vocaturque ipsa carnis inmolatio, que sacerdotis manibus fit, Christi passio, mors, crucifixio, non rei veritate, sed significanti misterio: sic sacramentum fidei, quod baptismus intelligitur, fides est". The *vere*, to which I have affixed an *, is missing from the editions listed in the following note as well as from B. REMBOLT, Paris, 1507 (CCCCXXXIII verso) and earlier printings. The reformers quote it without the *vere* and their opponents do not protest. I have found it first in a Parisian edition of 1612 which notes: "Haec eadem habentur apud Lanfrancum (ex quo citat Ivo) et apud Algerum (qui itidem ac Gratianus ex libro sententiarum Prosperi) non tamen eodem ordine collocata. Ex quibus quidem auctoribus nonnulla sunt emendata". So it seems that later scholarship added the *vere* when it discovered the source of the text.

³⁰ The gloss reads "Coeleste sacramentum, quod vere repraesentat corpus Christi, dicitur corpus Christi, sed improprie. Unde dicitur, suo modo; sed non rei veritate, sed significante misterio; ut sit sensus, Vocatur corpus Christi; id est, significat" in the following London editions: François Fradin, 1533; apud Hugonem et Haeredes Aemonis à Porta, 1541; I. Ausultus, 1559.

credited in the sixteenth century to Ambrose and Gregory the Great, for example.) This was an ironic twist to give Prosper's faithfully reproduced *Sentences* from Augustine! Subsequent scholarship has only refined the relation between Ivo of Chartres and Alger of Liège in the transmission of the text. In *De Corpore et Sanguine Domini*, Lanfranc is responding to Berengar and in particular to Berengar's citation and interpretation of a portion of Augustine's *Letter to Boniface*³¹. This letter entered eucharistic controversy right at the beginning with Ratramnus' *De Corpore et Sanguine Domini*, and is quoted at length as well as in fragments and abridgements throughout the eight centuries we are considering. In every debate, both sides consider it their own, *pro nostra sententia*. Moreover, since, as interpreted by Berengar and reinterpreted by Lanfranc, it enters collections like Gratian's *Decretum*, Abelard's *Sic et Non* and Lombard's *Sentences*, it is found on both sides of questions! This is, however, another story which I hope soon to tell in another place. While Berengar cites the letter often in his works, he gives only a few words or at most one sentence (always the same words and the same sentence) to make only one point. The sentence is "For if the sacraments had not a certain likeness to the realities of which they are sacraments, they would not be sacraments at all", the point: there is a likeness (*similitudo*) between sacrament and thing, not an identity or equality (*identitas, equalitas*)³².

³¹ *Epistle* 98, 9: PL 33,363-64; CSEL 34/2, ed. A. GOLDBACHER (Vienna, 1898), pp. 530-31; older enumerations designate it as *Epistle* 23, Wyclif cites it both as 12 and 14. For Berengar see *Rescriptum contra Lanfrannum*, ed. R.B.C. HUYGENS, CCCM 84 (Turnhout, 1988).

³² "Si enim sacramenta quandam similitudinem rerum earum, quarum sunt sacramenta, non haberent, omnino non essent" as quoted *Rescriptum III*, 190-192; his point may be found for example at *Rescriptum II*, 2437-2444: "Cum legas in beato Ambrosio 'similitudinem preciosi sanguinis bibis' legas et in beato Augustino in epistola ad Bonifacium episcopum: 'si sacramenta rerum, quarum sacramenta sunt, similitudinem non haberent' (non ait: rerum, quas fuerant), tu vecorditer asseris esse in sacramentis altaris similitudinem panis et vini, ad quod confirmandum similitudinis adverbium non valere ad identitatem vel equalitatem scripsisti, indigne satis tua eruditione". His point here is the same as that made by Ratramnus: there is the same likeness both before and after consecration. Other references to this passage are I, 1526-1528, II, 2866-2868 and 2870-2871 and *La lettre d'Adelman de Liège à Bérengar de Tours*, in R.B.C. HUYGENS, *Textes latins du XIIe au XIIIe siècle*, Studi Medievali, serie terza VIII (1967), pp. 477, 38-40. Berengar and his opponents thought that the treatise by Ratramnus, which formed Berengar's eucharistic views, but which he had only read in part, was by John Scot Eriugena, regarded as a heretic (see note 36, below). Berengar was convinced that if Eriugena was a heretic so indeed were Augustine, Jerome and Ambrose (see texts in Huygen's article at pp. 455 and 456 and *Rescriptum I*, pp. 42-44). On Berengar's partial reading of Ratramnus, see Jean de Montclos at p. 457 of Huygen's article and *Epistola Berengarii ad Ascelium* (PL 150), 66B, lines 15-17. The only longer quotation of *Epistle*

But if Berengar's reaction to Lanfranc's eucharistic theories was conservative, old fashionedly Augustinian and doctrinally simple, the opposite is true of Lanfranc's developments³³. He has convinced Jean de Montclos, in our time, and the arguments of this exact scholar, though complex, also persuade me, that Lanfranc's interpretations and developments of Augustine were necessary both for the reconciliation of the diverse aspects of Augustine's doctrine and also for furthering it in the eleventh century. Moreover, Lanfranc's contemporaries were so convinced of this that they identified Lanfranc's words as those of Augustine and other fathers.

From Rabanus Maurus on, the realist side of the controversy — here 'realist' is opposed not to 'nominalist', the philosophical position opposed to Wyclif's, but to 'figurative' or 'sacramentalist', the position in the eucharist controversy taken by Berengar, Ridley, Cranmer and Jewel, for example, and perhaps by Ratramnus — was also assisted by the identification of texts written by Paschasius Radbertus as the words of Augustine. These, as M. Lepin showed, substituted for Augustine's teaching on the body of Christ a new teaching which is essential for the new doctrinal developments:

"while for St. Augustine there are three manners of understanding 'the Christ': as God, as God made man, and as identified with the entire body of the church, of which he is the Head, Paschasius speaks of three manners of understanding 'the body of Christ', which is entirely different. And the explanation which he gives to his thought is in effect very divergent: the body of Christ is able to be: his natural body, his eucharistic body, his mystical body: the Church"³⁴.

There is nothing more important to the western doctrinal developments than the changes in the understanding of Christ's body³⁵. Finally,

98, 9 by Berengar is in *Un testo inedito di Berengario di Tours e il concilio Romano del 1079*, ed. M. MATRONOLO, *Orbis Romanus Biblioteca di testi medievale*, 6 (Milan, 1936), p. 119; but it extends beyond the portion cited by Ratramnus and this treatise is now regarded as by a disciple of Berengar — see MONTCLOS, *op. cit.*, pp. 7-8. Indeed, many problems surround the authenticity and dating of the remains of Berengar's writings, see O. CAPITANI, *Status quaestionis dei falsi berengariani: note sulla prima fase della disputa*, in *Fälschungen im Mittelalter. II: Gefälschte Rechtstexte der bestrafte Fälscher*, M.G.H. 33, 2 (Hannover, 1988), pp. 191-215.

³³ See Southern and Montclos cited in note 17 above.

³⁴ This is a translation of LEPIN, *op. cit.* at p. 765; for the development, see also HÄRING, *art. cit.*, and MONTCLOS, *op. cit.*, esp. pp. 405 ff. The last thinks Augustine inspired the development.

³⁵ See H. DE LUBAC, *Corpus Mysticum. L'eucharistie et l'Église au moyen âge*, 2nd edition (Paris, 1949); E. KANTOROWICZ, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Medieval Political Theory*, (Princeton, 1957), pp. 194 ff.; Y. CONGAR, *L'Église de saint Augustin à*

however, it is necessary when judging which side, realist or figurative, was most faithful to Augustine to consider a curious fact.

While the words and doctrines of Paschasius and Lanfranc were identified as those of Augustine, Ratramnus' *De Corpore et Sanguine*, more nearly an exegetical *lectio* of Augustine than a dialectical *quaestio*, comes to be identified as written by John Scot Eriugena, regarded as a heretic. Moreover, Ratramnus' treatise disappeared from view until the sixteenth century, except for this brief ignominious appearance in the eleventh century because Berengar had read part of it³⁶. Evidently, the theologians in that Augustinian age of the western church recognized him in the doctrinal developments made by Paschasius and Lanfranc. J.P. Bouhot has made much the same kind of case for Paschasius as true disciple of Augustine that Monclos made for Lanfranc, and regards Lanfranc, not Berengar, as the heir of both Paschasius and Ratramnus. For, with the exception of a piece of deception by Godescalc, we are not confronting intentional fraud, only, what we now call, "communication problems"³⁷.

Just after Berengar's favorite sentence from Augustine's letter to Boniface, the Bishop of Hippo writes:

"From this similitude, commonly they have the names of those things (of which they are sacraments). So therefore in a certain way the sacrament of the body of Christ is the body of Christ and the sacrament of the blood of Christ

l'époque moderne, (Paris, 1970). For a summary of the question in the historical and doctrinal context we are considering, see J. PELIKAN, *The Christian Tradition*, 5 vol., III, *The Growth of Medieval Theology (600-1300)*, (Chicago, 1978), pp. 191-202. Up to date bibliography will be found in G. SABRA, *Thomas Aquinas' Vision of the Church. Fundamentals of an Ecumenical Ecclesiology*, Tübinger theologische Studien 27, (Mainz, 1987), and in J.E. SCULLY, *The Theology of the Mystical Body of Christ in French Language Theology 1930-1950*, in *The Irish Theological Quarterly*, 58 (1992), pp. 58-74.

³⁶ See notes 16, 18 and 32 above; on the fate of Ratramnus' work, essential are the *Notice Bibliographique* by J.N.B. VAN DEN BRINK in his edition of the *De Corpore et Sanguine Domini*, pp. 62-128 and J.P. BOUHOT, *op. cit.*, pp. 83 ff. and elsewhere. At note 50, p. 135, Bouhot tells us that the identification of Ratramnus' work as by Eriugena is a problem "insoluble". Eriugena's sacramental doctrine and what moves him to it are very different from the doctrine and approach of Ratramnus; on the first, see G.S.M. WALKER, *Eriugena's Conception of the Sacraments*, in *Studies in Church History*, vol. 3, ed. G.J. CUMING, (Leiden, 1966), pp. 150-158 and R.U. SMITH, '*Oratio Placabilis Deo*': Eriugena's Fragmentary Eucharistic Teaching in light of the Doctrine of the 'Periphyseon', in *Dionysius*, 13 (1989), pp. 85-114. At J. PELIKAN, *op. cit.*, pp. 185-86, there is a useful summary of the fate of the eucharistic treatises of Paschasius and Ratramnus and references to praise of Paschasius' genuine writings by his successors.

³⁷ On the fraud of Godescalc, see BOUHOT, *op. cit.*, pp. 55-6 and *art. cit.*, pp. 135 ff.

is the blood of Christ, so likewise the sacrament of faith is faith"³⁸.

I think it may be allowed that one does not become a partisan in the centuries long debate over the meaning of this text to say it admits of ambiguity; the *secundum quendam modum* is not specified. The connection made with naming leads Thomas Cranmer and others in the sixteenth century to settle matters by translating it "after a certain manner of speech", but this is an interpretative translation and is both reasonably objected to by his opponents and reasonably justified by him³⁹. Wyclif

³⁸ "Ex hac autem similitudine plerumque iam ipsarum rerum nomina accipiunt, sicut ergo secundum quendam modum sacramentum corporis Christi corpus Christi est, sacramentum sanguinis Christi sanguis Christi est, ita sacramentum fidei fides est". See note 31 above, CSEL, p. 531, lines 5-9.

³⁹ Thomas CRANMER, *Writings and Disputations relative to the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper*, Parker Society (Cambridge, 1844), pp. 124-27; Bishop Gardiner of Winchester objects: "nor St. Augustine hath no such words, but only *secundum quendam modum*, after a certain manner, whereas to put 'of speech' is an addition more than truth required of necessity" (p. 126). Cranmer replies "read the place of St. Augustine who will, and he shall find that he speaketh of the manner of speech, and that of such a manner of speech, as calleth one thing by the name of another, where it is not the very thing indeed" (p. 127). John JEWEL, *The Works of John Jewel*, 4 vols, Parker Society (Cambridge, 1845-50), I, p. 167: has "by a certain manner of speech"; II, p. 570; III, pp. 471 and 602: have "after a certain manner of speech"; but at I, pp. 489 and 503, he omits "of speech". Wm. FULKE, *A Defense of the Sincere and True Translations of the Holy Scriptures into the English Tongue*, Parker Society (Cambridge, 1843), p. 270 also translates "after a certain manner" without "of speech", so E. GRINDAL, *A Fruitful Dialogue between Custom and Verity declaring these words of Christ: "This is my body", The Remains of Edmund Grindal*, Parker Society (Cambridge, 1843), p. 61. But Nicholas RIDLEY, *Treatises and Letters of Dr Nicholas Ridley*, Parker Society (Cambridge, 1843), p. 40, has "after a certain manner of speech". Ridley probably introduced Cranmer to this passage since it seems he had made him acquainted with Ratramnus who quoted it at length and with whom it entered eucharistic controversy. On Ratramnus, Ridley and Cranmer, see J.N.B. VAN DEN BRINK, *op. cit.*, pp. 100-102 and the introduction by J.I. PACKER to *The Work of Thomas Cranmer*, The Courtenay Library of Reformation Classics 21 (Appleford, Berkshire, 1964), p. xvi: "The third milestone was a change in mind about the nature of the eucharistic presence, to which he came in 1546 when 'doctor Ridley did confer with me, and by sundry persuasions and authorities of doctors drew me quite from my opinion'". In the note Packer says: "Ridley reached his new view of the eucharistic presence through reading Ratramnus' ninth-century tract ... printed at Cologne in 1532 and Geneva in 1541 ... This seems to have been in 1545." There is, however, nothing in Ratramnus to justify this translation, and its defect is that, for Augustine, the similitude of the thing and the sacrament is the cause of the common name, but their identity is the work of the divine *Logos* and is not reducible to subjective acts of signifying or naming. What separates the Reformation from Augustine and the mediaevals lies in a difference between them on the relation of subjectivity to God and objective being. We must ask if Cranmer and his companions are capable of understanding Augustine on this matter. They regard reality from another perspective; see note 41 below.

takes the same approach as Cranmer, interpreting the passage thus:

"this mode Augustine explains not according to substance but according to signification. I say then that this ought to be understood according to a certain allegory and figure and not according to identity or nature"⁴⁰.

But there is another side to the passage and, if A. Sage is right, to Augustine⁴¹. The connection between the sacrament of faith, i.e. baptism, and faith is not simply nominal. To quote the Twenty-fifth of the Anglican *Articles of Religion*:

"Sacraments ... be not only badges or tokens of Christian men's profession, but rather they be certain sure witnesses and effectual signs of grace ... by which he [God] doth work invisibly in us ..."⁴²

The sacraments signify a reality which also works through them. In any case, logically, similitude requires some element of identity between the terms compared. For the sacramental realists like Lanfranc and Paschasius, the similitude between the eucharistic sign and the thing it signifies requires real, not merely nominal, identity. The identity is not just in the subjective acts of signifying, rather signifying has itself an objective presupposition. Because, for them, the subjective side is covered by the sacrament as *figura*, i.e. as signifying, *veritas* requires an identity belonging to *essentia*.

Happily, we do not need, for the purposes of this paper, to explain

⁴⁰ "et illum modum explicat Augustinus, non secundum substantiam, sed secundum significacionem. Ego autem dico hoc debere intelligi secundum quendam tropum et figuram et non secundum quendam ydemptificacionem vel naturam"; *de Apostasia*, p. 51.

⁴¹ A. SAGE, *L'Eucharistie dans la pensée de saint Augustin*, in *Revue des études augustinienes*, XV (1969), pp. 209-40: "Le 'secundum quemdam modum' ... n'élimine pas le réalisme de la formule ... Le corps et le sang du Christ sont 'in sacramento' aussi réellement présents que la foi dans le baptême" (p. 219). He makes the necessary point that for Augustine the subjective and objective sides are united by the Logos "incrée" (p. 218) found in Scripture and understood both there and in Augustine's Neoplatonic philosophy as living and active, running through and uniting all things. H. CHADWICK, *art. cit.*, p. 419 says: "Certainly, Augustine used much symbolist language about the eucharist... [but his] doctrine of Eucharistic presence is not merely symbolist".

⁴² I have quoted the edition of the Thirty Nine "Articles of Religion" as printed in *The Book of Common Prayer 1962 Canada*, pp. 707-8; but they may be found generally in editions of *The Book of Common Prayer* and elsewhere. On the sacramental doctrine of the Articles, one might now start with O. O'DONOVAN, *On the Thirty Nine Articles: A Conversation with Tudor Christianity*, (Exeter, 1986), pp. 126ff. and R. T. BECKWITH, *The Doctrine of the Sacraments in the Thirty-Nine Articles*, in *The Thirty-Nine Articles*, ed. G. R. BRIDGE, (Charlottetown, P.E.I., 1990), pp. 68-78. Their doctrine may be called "symbolic instrumentalism", a term used for Calvin's teaching: see P. J. LEITHART, *What's Wrong with Transubstantiation? An Evaluation of Theological Models*, in *Westminster Theological Journal*, 53 (1991), 321, note 96.

the precise logic which compels and gives meaning to the passages which became known as the *Sentences of Prosper*⁴³. We are doubly fortunate in this because not only is this step in the development of eucharistic realism a difficult one, but also even Lanfranc's most sympathetic followers, mediaeval and modern, agree that his philosophical logic is not adequate to his argument. Berengar is simpler, clearer, more intelligible, — his way of using Augustine's *ad Bonifacium* is indicative — which is doubtless why he never really conceded that his position was wrong. He never had reason to think it was! Neither the conceptual language necessary to the doctrine of transubstantiation, nor the term itself, were used by Lanfranc. Moreover, the problems encountered by Lanfranc's successors — for example, Alger of Liège and Guitmund of Aversa — in rendering his statements intelligible and reconciling them with what they took to be the other *dicta* of Augustine and the fathers made it clear not only that he had made a leap forward, but that another leap was required. The Aristotelianisms of the twelfth and the thirteenth centuries and their employment by Aquinas and others in the service of the doctrine of transubstantiation have, in this context, theological necessity, there is no idle or extraneous importation of philosophy into faith⁴⁴.

We must, however, follow Lanfranc this far: the mode of the similitude between the sacrament of the altar and the reality it signifies requires for him both a difference, so that the sacrament remains a signifying *figura* and also an essential identity, so that it is effective *in veritate*. Thus, as the first part of *Hoc est*, quoted above says, the sacrifice of the church is not only of the sacrament as distinguished from its reality, but also of the reality of the body and blood of Christ. The immolation at the hands of the priest is in a signifying mystery, there is no new death of Christ in real fact, but the sacrifice is nonetheless of the reality, not just of the

⁴³ They are explicated in MONTCLOS, *op. cit.*, pp. 404ff.

⁴⁴ See Peter the Venerable as quoted by Montclos at p. 460, the argument from p. 441 of *Lanfranc et Bérenger*, the articles we have cited by Häring and Chadwick, and PELIKAN, *op. cit.*, pp. 202-204. Leithart's negative treatment of Aquinas derives in part from a failure to understand the Aristotelianism of Thomas' predecessors and the unity of theology and philosophy in this period, (*art. cit.*, pp. 296-306). On *transubstantiation*, see Joseph GOERING, *The Invention of Transubstantiation*, in *Traditio*, 46 (1991), p. 158: which offers "the tentative hypothesis that the term 'transubstantiation' was first introduced at Paris around 1140, and that Robert Pullen was its inventor". On Aquinas, see most recently the issue of *Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques* 77, #2 (Avril, 1993) devoted to *Saint Thomas d'Aquin et l'eucharistie: Un cas exemplaire d'échanges entre philosophie et théologie* with articles by R. Imbach, E.-H. Wéber, and P. M. Gy.

sacramental sign⁴⁵. And, as the second part says, the body is a sacrament of itself, an invisible thing is sacrament of another invisible reality. Or, to put it negatively, sacraments are not just outward and visible signs of inward invisible realities. Difficult as the decretal is, it does say something. For Lanfranc, because of the relations to one another of the sacramental, the heavenly, and the earthly bodies of Christ (clearly distinguished for him), and because of the union in the eucharistic sacrifice of the sacramental sign and the reality signified thereby (which remain for Lanfranc distinguished as well as identified), the representative, figurative and mystical immolation in an external liturgical action at the priest's hands makes effective and really present for the ever recurring needs of the sinful world the historical bodily death of Christ without really slaying him again or affecting the impassibility of his glorious and ascended body (this requires a distinction and identity of liturgical mystery and sacramental reality), it must be said both that the church offers as her sacrifice the reality to which the sacrament refers, and also that the body of Christ is a sacrament of itself, signifying and signified; the invisible is sacrament of the invisible.

The assertion in the first part is necessary in order to draw together diverse statements of Augustine. He certainly makes the distinction of sacrament and sacramental reality and he certainly writes of an offering by the church of her own reality in Christ as contained in Christ's offering of himself⁴⁶. But the two are never drawn together in the manner of the so called *Sentences of Prosper*. The second of Lanfranc's assertions clearly

⁴⁵ In so interpreting Lanfranc as teaching a real eucharistic sacrifice, because of the identity of *sacramentum* and *res sacramenti*, yet a sacrifice which is also figurative and not carnal, I follow MONTGLOUS, *op. cit.*, pp. 410-15 who makes the point more strongly than CHADWICK, *art. cit.*, pp. 426-28. Häring is useful at this point, especially in showing how Alger of Liège and Guitmund of Aversa labour to clean up the argument of Lanfranc; Chadwick also makes the point. Guitmund's treatment of the matter is given at PL 149, 1455, which is translated in part by Francis CLARK, *Eucharistic Sacrifice and the Reformation*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1967), p. 406. Clark's general argument about the relation between the doctrines of eucharistic presence and eucharistic sacrifice is instructive, as is his consideration of mediaeval authors (pp. 404-409). PELIKAN, *op. cit.*, pp. 184-204 gives a survey of the teaching and controversies concerning the real presence in this period and points to the emphasis on the sacrifice. Useful on what this means is G.H. WILLIAMS, *The Sacramental Presuppositions of Anselm's 'Cur Deus Homo'*, in *Church History*, (1957), p. 265. I have some remarks in *St. Anselm and the Mediaeval Doctors*, in *Atonement and Sacrifice: Doctrine and Worship*, ed., G.E. EAYRS, (Charlottesville: St. Peter's Publications, 1991), pp. 54-57.

⁴⁶ See AUGUSTINE, *In Iohannis Evangelium* 26.11 (CCSL 36, 265), *Sermon* 292, *Ad Infantes de Sacramento* (PL 38, 1247), *de Civitate Dei* X, 20 (CCSL 47, 294) and XXII, 10 (CCSL 48, 828) as a beginning.

contradicts both words of Augustine well known to our authors⁴⁷, and also the specific character of what we call his Platonism⁴⁸. These points granted, our problem will be to explain how the first part of the decretal could be claimed as authoritative Augustine by the sixteenth century Anglican reformers, for whom the doctrine of eucharistic sacrifice involved was the worst of the "popish" blasphemies, and how anyone could claim the second part belonged to Augustine.

The problem is increased when we recognize, as we must, that not everyone did swallow all of it. Despite its difficulties, the text is sufficiently clear that the problems with the second part became evident very soon. The first indications were in the efforts of Alger of Liège and Guitmund of Aversa to reduce to some logical consistency what they inherited from Lanfranc. But they, like most of their successors on either side of the question, were too absorbed in the exigencies of controversy to inquire into the lineage of their sources. Then, there is the fact that Peter Abelard includes it, along with other, quite different, Augustinian texts in

⁴⁷ For example, "Signum est enim res praeter speciem, quam ingerit sensibus, aliud aliquid ex se faciens in cognitionem venire"; *De Doctrina Christiana* II, 1, 1, (CCSL 32, 32): "A sign is something which over and above the specific form which it impresses on the senses causes some further object to enter our cognition" which is found at LANFRANC, *de Corp. et Sang.* c12, PL 150, 422 B C; IVO, *Decretum* II, 8, PL 161, 148C, *Panormia* I, 131, PL 161, 1074 A; ALGER, *de Sacr.* I, 4, PL 180, 751C; ABELARD, *Sic et Non* CXVII, 112, p. 407; GRATIAN, *Decretum III, de cons.* II, c33 (Friedberg i, 1324); LOMBARD, *Sententiae* IV, 1,3 (Grottaferrata ii, p. 233); AQUINAS, ST III, 60, 1, obj. 2. A similar list could be given for "Sacrificium ergo visibile invisibilis sacramentum, id est sacrum signum est"; *De Civitate Dei* X, 5 (CCSL 47, 277): "The visible sacrifice is the sacrament, i.e. the sacred sign, of the invisible sacrifice". There is an important bibliographical note at p. 232 of Volume 2 of the Grottaferrata edition of Lombard's *Sententiae* (1981) and HÄRING, *art. cit.*, 72 has suggestive remarks on Alger's alteration of this text. Again there is "Sacramentum est invisibilis gratiae visibilis forma": "a sacrament is a visible form of invisible grace", which we find equally well distributed. It becomes the standard definition and derives from AUGUSTINE, *Epistola* 105, 3, 12 (CSEL 34, 604). Important references are ABELARD, *Sic et Non* CXVII, 109, p. 407; GRATIAN *Decretum III, de cons.*, 32 (Friedberg i, 1324); LOMBARD, *Sententiae* IV, 1, 2 and IV 8, 6 (Grottaferrata, ii, pp. 232 and 284). Many others could be supplied.

⁴⁸ On the complexity of Augustine's movement from sensible to intelligible and its relation to his Plotinian Neoplatonism, see my *God In Himself*, chap. 2, especially, pp. 45ff. and Henry Chadwick's introduction to his translation of the *Confessions* (Oxford, 1991), pp. xxi-xxii. Unpublished doctoral dissertations by Robert Dodaro (Oxford, 1992) and M. Carreker (Dalhousie, 1992) draw the sensible and intelligible together more completely than I do.

Sic et Non; this implicitly raises the question of how it fits⁴⁹. The existence of what John Jewel called "the very barbarous gloss" shows that the fit is felt to be tight⁵⁰. The commentator is having trouble with the notion of a self-signifying sacrament, a self-signifying body, indeed, with how, as "heavenly", the body signifies at all. Peter Lombard makes the fact of a problem evident⁵¹. As Nicholas Häring reminds us, the Master of the *Sentences* introduces our passage with a formula which "generally heralds a troublesome text":

"He goes on to tell us that St. Augustine was conscious of the obscurity of his own words (*quia obscure dixerat*), a fact which prompted him (i.e. Augustine) to say that "the bread is called the body of Christ although in reality, it is the *sacramentum* of Christ's Body ... just as the *sacramentum* of faith is called faith"⁵².

Häring draws to our attention the hero, so far as criticism is concerned, of the whole history, Gerhoh of Reichersberg, who, about 1136, wrote in a book whose title is as interesting as its contents — *Libellus de eo, quod princeps mundi huius iam iudicatus sit* or *Liber de simoniaciis* i.e. *A Pamphlet on this: the prince of this world is already judged*, the following:

"Since a sacrament is a visible sign of invisible grace, I dare not apply the word "sacrament" to Christ's body secret and hidden from our sight. I dare not call it a sacrament because it does not signify something sacred unless perhaps it be called sacrament by virtue of its effects as it sanctifies the worthy recipient ... For that reason, I cannot but feel amazed at the view of some masters who affirm that by Christ's body and blood — both of which are invisible, intelligible — is signified the visible and palpable body of Christ. After all, as a rule invisible things are signified by visible things rather than visible things by invisible"⁵³.

⁴⁹ See notes 18 and 45 above; in *Sic et Non* various selections from *Liber Sententiarum Prosperi* are found in the massive Quaestio CXVII: *De sacramento altaris quod sit essentialiter ipsa veritas carnis Christi et sanguinis et contra* (pp. 379 ff.), for example number 46, p. 389.

⁵⁰ JEWEL, i, p. 503.

⁵¹ *Sententiae* IV, 10, 1 (Grottaferrata ii, p. 293).

⁵² HÄRING, *art. cit.*, p. 74.

⁵³ "Cum enim sacramentum sit visibile signum invisibilis gratiae, corpus Christi secretum et nostro visui absconditum non audeo sacramentum appellare, quia non significat rem sacram, sed est res sacra, nisi forte ab effectu dicatur sacramentum, quia digne participantem sacrat ... Unde sententiam quorundam magistrorum affirmantium, quod carne et sanguine Christi utroque invisibili intelligibili significetur corpus Christi visibile ac palpabile, cogor ammirari, cum potius invisibilia per visibilia, quam visibilia per invisibilia soleant significari, quod etiam affirmat auctoritas beati Augustini dicentis 'Signum est res ... [de *Doctrina Christiana* II, 1,1]' in *Libelli de Lite, Imperatorum et Pontificum, saeculis XI et XII*, vol. 3, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* (Hannover, 1897),

He then goes on to quote the "authority of St. Augustine which affirms this" and gives the *locus classicus* from *de Doctrina Christiana* 2.1: "A sign is a thing which beyond the specific form it impresses on the senses causes some further object to enter our cognition". (For latin text see note 47).

By the thirteenth century, a head on confrontation with difficult texts could be avoided because the movement of theology was not from text to text, as in *lectio* or exposition, but from question to question. The logical structure which theology had in the mind of the master begins to dominate. He took up texts and placed them within his questions so as both to form his question as he willed and to bring out only that aspect of the text which served the completeness and movement of theology. A vastly larger and more explicit philosophical logic also served to free the theological argument from the morass which the textual tradition in this area had become. However, despite the use of the *quaestio* in commenting on Lombard's *Sentences*, the problematic texts deriving from Lanfranc had to be dealt with somehow. Aquinas considered them in the *expositio textus* following on his theological questions in proper form, and Bonaventure similarly dealt with them in *dubia*. With the still greater freedom of his *Summa Theologiae*, St. Thomas uses the Lanfranc texts, ascribing their source to Augustine and Gregory, but only so far as they are necessary for the complete formation of the theology of the sacraments⁵⁴.

Bonaventure certainly faces the contradictions squarely; it is wrong to say, he observes, that the flesh is sacrament of the flesh because nothing is a sign of itself and, if you should respond that in diverse states something can be both sign and what is signified (Lanfranc's way of thinking), Bonaventure draws to your attention that a sign must be better known than that to which it points, so what is invisibly in the sacrament can hardly be a sign of the body visible in heaven. Again, if you should say, (as Lombard does), that the flesh signifies flesh in the form of bread, Bonaventure observes that it is the bread which is visible and palpable. However, finally, and determinatively for Bonaventure, Augustine says that the visible flesh is signified by the invisible flesh (our text). Bonaventure answers by a demonstration that there is a double, not a single use of figurative speech; "because what belongs to the sign is attributed to the signified and what belongs to the signified is attributed to

p. 267, lines 21ff. I have followed Häring's translation.

⁵⁴ For the argument here in general, see references at notes 21 and 22 above. Aquinas uses the authority of Lanfranc disguised as Augustine at *ST III*, 60, 3 s.c., *ST III*, 75, 5 s.c., *ST III*, 83, 1, s.c.; at *ST III*, 77, 1, Lanfranc is under the cover of Gregory the Great.

the sign"⁵⁵. The key for him is what is contained in the sacrament. Thus, in the end, his solution is Lanfranc's and all the texts are saved. Bonaventure's determination is different from what we shall find in Aquinas. Paradoxically Bonaventure had proceeded from an Augustinian view of human knowing to a doctrine of the sacraments which contradicts Augustine⁵⁶. Aquinas will do the opposite.

In his *Sentences* commentary, Aquinas gives far less attention than does Bonaventure to addressing and reconciling all the texts. For him there seem to be contradictions in what derives from Lanfranc. In another passage of the old Archbishop of Canterbury, there is the statement that "this is and this is not the body", and the part of our text from which Bonaventure started seems to be "false" because nothing is a sign of itself. Aquinas saves it, not by anything as elaborate as a double allegory, but rather by reference to the same key as Bonaventure used: "these species

⁵⁵ Bonaventure, *Commentaria in quatuor libros sententiarum Magistri Petri Lombardi*, vol. 4 (Quaracchi, 1889), X, 1, dubia 4, pp. 226-27: "Item quaeritur de hoc quod dicit: Caro carnis et sanguis sacramentum est sanguinis. Videtur enim male dicere, quia nihil est signum sui ipsius. Si tu dicas mihi, quod idem sub diversis statibus potest esse signum et signatum, ut caro, prout est sub sacramento, sit signum sui, prout est in caelo, quod videtur dicere littera sequens; contra: signum debet esse notius sensibus quam signatum; sed caro, prout est sub sacramento est invisibilis et impalpabilis, in caelo visibilis et palpabilis; ergo non est signum eius. Si tu dicas, sicut dicit Magister, quod caro accipitur pro signo carnis, scilicet pane; contra: species panis est visibilis et palpabilis; sed Augustinus dicit, quod carne invisibili significatur caro visibilis. Respondeo: Dicendum, quod tropologicus est sermo nec tantum uno tropo, sed duplici, quia quod est signi attribuitur signato et quod est signati attribuitur signo. Species enim panis est signum, quoniam est visibilis, sed caro interior contenta est signatum, quia est invisibilis ... quasi vellet Augustinus dicere: caro Christi visibilis et palpabilis signatur et continetur a specie panis invisibiliter et intelligibiliter".

⁵⁶ The essential difference between Aquinas and Bonaventure which is decisive here is that Bonaventure allows for intellectual intuition for humans, Aquinas does not: see E. H. COUSINS (ed.), *Bonaventure: The Soul's Journey into God, The Tree of Life, The Life of St. Francis*, The Classics of Western Spirituality (New York, 1978), p. 23; in the *Itinerarium*, the first two stages are not strictly required; one may begin, as does Anselm's *Proslogion*, by passing directly into the self. On the complex, unresolved, unsystematic "dualisme" of Bonaventure as compared to Aquinas, see É.-H. WÉBER, *Dialogue et dissensions entre saint Bonaventure et saint Thomas d'Aquin à Paris (1252-1273)*, Bibliothèque thomiste 41 (Paris, 1974), pp. 140-142 and idem, *La Personne humaine au xiii^e siècle. L'avènement chez les maîtres parisiens de l'acception moderne de l'homme*, Bibliothèque thomiste 46 (Paris, 1991), pp. 90-108 and Alain DE LIBERA, *Une anthropologie de la grâce. Sur 'La personne humaine au xiii^e siècle' d' É.-H. Weber*, in *Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques* 77 (1993), pp. 241-254.

[of bread and wine] with the flesh contained are called invisible flesh"⁵⁷. However, in Aquinas, the definition of sacrament is not directly touched. When he takes this up in his *Summa Theologiae*, the changes he carried through in the structure of theological argument show their importance.

In asking "What is a sacrament?" Aquinas seeks first to determine to which genus it belongs, and inquires as to whether it belongs in the category of signs. He introduces, in objection two and the *sed contra*, i.e. on both sides of the question, two of the very well known statements of Augustine which define a sign as sensible and make sacraments visible signs⁵⁸. But, while acknowledging that this creates problems for sacraments insofar as they are also hidden, St. Thomas determines this article by placing sacraments in the genus of signs without stressing their sensibility. The question of the second article is "Whether every sign of a sacred thing is a sacrament?" Here what is essential about signs is not their sensible aspect but rather that they lead us from the known to the unknown, and what he emphasizes about sacraments is that they make men holy⁵⁹. Thomas' use of our decretal in article three as to "whether sacraments are signs of one thing only" is in order to strengthen further this aspect. Augustine's *in libro Sententiarum Prosperi* is the authority in the *sed contra*. The point, taken from what is in fact Lanfranc, is that "in the sacrament of the altar the reality signified is two fold ... the true body of Christ and the mystical"⁶⁰. So, by this means, there is introduced the three fold distinction of the body of Christ necessary to the developments we have been considering: the eucharistic, the historical and the glorified body. The effect of the article is to establish that the sacrament is cause of holiness and in what sense. The sacrament sanctifies because it stands in relation both to the historical body of Christ, in which the passion and death securing our salvation occurred, and also to the glorious body, in mystical union with which lies our hope. The essence of sacramentality is here:

⁵⁷ *Scriptum super Sententiis Magistri Petri Lombardi*, ed. M. F. MOOS, 4 vol., IV (Paris, 1947), IV, dist. x, expositio textus, p. 427: "Videtur hoc esse falsum; quia nihil est signum sui ipsius. Et dicendum quod carnem quae significat, nominat ipsas species quae sunt signum carnis; et hoc tropice, ut Magister dicit. Et ipsae species cum carne contenta dicuntur caro invisibilis quia sub specie illa caro Christi non videtur ..."

⁵⁸ *ST III*, 60, 1, "Quid sit sacramentum", the texts of Augustine are *de Doctrina Christiana* II, 1, 1 and *de Civitate Dei* X, 5; see note 47 above.

⁵⁹ *ST III*, 60, 2: "per nota ad ignota pervenire, ut scilicet proprie dicatur sacramentum secundum quod nunc de sacramentis loquimur, quod est signum rei sacrae in quantum est sanctificans homines". I quote Piana in the Ottawa, 1944 edition.

⁶⁰ *ST III*, 60, 3, s.c.: "quod in sacramento altaris est duplex res significata scilicet corpus Christi verum et mysticum ut Augustinus dicit in libro *Sententiarum Prosperi*".

"The very fact that the term 'sacrament' signifies the reality which sanctifies means that it should signify the effect produced. For this notion is understood in the very concept of sanctifying cause just as sanctifying"⁶¹.

The fourth article of this question, "whether a sacrament is always a sensible thing", makes clear that, by this point, we have established only that a sacrament is a sign of a sacred thing in as much as through it humans are sanctified. The question of its sensibility remains unsettled. It must now be faced. For our purposes, the use of Augustine's authority here is crucial: he once again is found on both sides of the question — in objection three and in the *sed contra*. Moreover, the philosophical authority most important here for understanding the relevant logic is Aristotle; the determining sacred authority is Dionysius the pseudo-Areopagite. The matter in the end turns not on the authority of Augustine, who is represented both as thinking that sensible things are the least of things "without which humans are able to live well", and also that sacraments involve a physical element and the coming of the divine word. These are, the two of them, genuine statements of Augustine difficult to reconcile⁶². Thus the matter turns rather on the question of human nature. If humans have intellectual intuition, then they do not need sensible signs to lead them to the holy. On this aspect of anthropology, Augustine and his followers are at best ambiguous. As heirs of one tradition of Neoplatonism they seem to allow for an intellectual intuition independent of sensation. Dionysius is Aquinas' source for another tradition of Christian Neoplatonism affecting western mediaeval theology. For it we humans cannot come to the intelligible divine realm except through the sensible⁶³. And so, signs which would lead us must be sensible, not because signs are by nature sensible, but rather because what God would use to make us holy must be adapted to our condition. By this route we come back to affirm the genuine text of

⁶¹ *ST III*, 60, 3, ad 2: "Dicendum quod sacramentum in hoc quod significat rem sanctificantem, oportet quod significet effectum, qui intelligitur in ipsa causa sanctificante prout est sanctificans".

⁶² *ST III*, 60, 4, obj. 3: "res sensibiles sunt minima bona sine quibus homo recte vivere potest" and s.c.: "Augustinus dicit super Ioan: 'Accedit verbum ad elementum, et fit sacramentum'".

⁶³ On Augustine and his followers see notes 48 and 56 above; on Dionysius, my *God In Himself*, pp. 48-52. The reference for Aquinas, "Dionysius almost always follows Aristotle", is *Scriptum super Sententiis*, II, dist. 14, 1, 2, (MOOS, p. 350); the most complete consideration of the reason in and for this apparently strange association is E. BOOTH, o.p., *Aristotelian Aporetic Ontology in Islamic and Christian Thinkers*, Cambridge Studies in medieval life and thought (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983). The anthropological implications of the unification are underlined in DE LIBERA, *art. cit.*, pp. 250-254.

Augustine, the *de Doctrina Christiana* text which appeared in the first objection of the first article in this series:

"And hence what are principally called signs are what are offered to the senses, as Augustine says in the second book of *On Christian Doctrine* "a sign is something which over and above the specific form which it impresses upon the senses causes some further object to enter our cognition". Intelligible effects, however, do not have the essential reason of signs unless they are made known through some sign"⁶⁴.

Because the invisible body is not itself sensible, it could then only be called a sacrament "in so far as it is signified through something sensible" (*quodammodo sacramenta inquantum sunt significata per aliqua sensibilia*). Augustine's definition is saved by means of an Aristotelian and Dionysian philosophical theology.

In sum, the pseudo-Augustinian *Sentences of Prosper* are not rejected as such. But their teaching is not able to overcome Augustine's genuine definitions of sign and of sacrament as visible sign. Theology has freed itself from the confused condition of the Augustinian textual tradition. The theology of the sacraments is determined by Aquinas' fundamental understanding of God and the human. Finally, the theological anthropology which provides a place for Augustine's definitions is very different from that of Augustine. It is likely that Thomas' doctrine of the sacraments also differed importantly from Augustine's; this was certainly the opinion of the sixteenth century reformers. Whether or not they were right is a question too large for us, and even more is the question as to whether Aquinas and Augustine are better or worse at the points where they differ. This, however, I think can be shown: the sixteenth century Anglican reformers were not better than their mediaeval predecessors either in discerning which texts were genuine Augustine and which texts were illegitimately fathered on him, or in their willingness to use texts polemically, tendentiously, and without care for their proper sense⁶⁵.

⁶⁴ *ST III*, 60, 4, ad 1: "Et inde est quod primo et principaliter dicuntur signa quae sensibus offeruntur: sicut Augustinus dicit in II de Doctrina Christiana, quod 'signum est enim res praeter speciem, quam ingerit sensibus, aliud aliquid ex se faciens in cognitionem venire'. Effectus autem intelligibiles non habent rationem signi nisi secundum quod sunt manifestati per aliqua signa".

⁶⁵ I regret to be unable to agree with J. I. Packer's judgement of Thomas Cranmer's method: "having studied Scripture in its 'literal' (i.e. natural, grammatical, intended) sense, letting the one text comment on another and relating each author's statements to his overall scope, as the humanists taught all the Reformers to do, and having studied patristic theology by the same method, he had come to see that what the Fathers said coincided for substance with what the Scriptures said on each point dealt with." *op. cit.*, p. xii, see note 39 above. Nor does the evidence indicate such a method for any of the

Let us not begin with the worst but with the best. The Anglican Bishop John Jewel, the official apologist for the English Reformation⁶⁶, must have some of the praise we have given to Gerhoh of Reichersberg. In the first place, he rejects a passage from the *Decretum* of Gratian with a doctrine like ours - it derives from Paschasius rather than from Lanfranc.

"These words are bastard and misbegotten, as nothing resembling either the sense nor the words of St. Augustine, but rather contrary to them both. They are alleged only by certain late writers, as namely by Gratian, by Peter Lombard, and by Algerius, as other things also be without any great choice or judgement"⁶⁷.

Then, having thrown this text out of the corpus of Augustine on good grounds, he prevents the subversion of Augustine's definition of a sacrament by using it to interpret Tertullian:

"Here is imagined another strange kind of figures. For Christ's body itself is now become a figure ... And St. Augustine saith: *Signum est quod speciem ingerit oculis*: 'A sign is a thing that offereth a sight unto the eyes'. Wherefore, by M. Harding's judgement, Christ's very body appeareth outwardly, and is seen in the sacrament with our corporal eyes. If so, how then is it there secretly, as he said before, and under covert? If not, how then can it be called a figure?"⁶⁸

Finally, having discerned the contradiction involved in the use of figure in this way, his practice has some approximation (at least comparatively) to his understanding. Unlike other Anglican reformers of this period, he does not use the first part of *Hoc est* as the authoritative words of Augustine. And in one case only does he quote a version of the second half of our decretal:

"Which thing may also plainly appear by St. Augustine himself in the same place. For thus he writeth: [and Jewel gives his abbreviated latin text] ... He saith, (not the form, not the shew, not the accident, but) 'The bread, that is the body of Christ (not verily or indeed, but) after a manner, is called the body of Christ; whereas it is indeed a sacrament of the body of Christ ...'"⁶⁹

Anglican reformers' use of *Hoc est*. For another comparison of the treatment of Augustine by English Catholic and Protestant scholars in this period which reaches conclusions comparable to mine see Robert DODARO and Michael QUESTIER, *Strategies in Jacobean Polemic: The Use and Abuse of St Augustine in English Theological Controversy*, in *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 44, #3 (July, 1993), 432-449.

⁶⁶ For the sense in which his *Apology* was official, see *The Anglican Tradition: A Handbook of Sources*, ed. G. R. EVANS and J. R. WRIGHT, (London/Minneapolis: SPCK/Fortress Press, 1991), pp. xv-xvi.

⁶⁷ JEWEL, II, p. 603.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 605.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 794.

So the text as he uses it has been changed to make it conform to his needs — he can use it as he does because he omits *caelestis* from the text. The printers had already dropped the *vere* which, in fact would have made it "verily the body of Christ"!⁷⁰ Elsewhere he quotes only the gloss, which, as we have noted, he calls "very barbarous" but which, at any rate, has a inherent sense closer to the sense in which he uses it and which is not of course ascribed to Augustine⁷¹.

Before leaving Bishop Jewel with our ambiguous praise of his ambiguous position, we should note a point of agreement with Aquinas which I suspect is significant. Jewel, like Aquinas, makes Augustine and the pseudo-Dionysius agree in order to strengthen the union of the sensuous and intelligible sides in Augustine⁷².

What does this history of criticism of *Hoc est* demonstrate? First, perhaps, that there is so little criticism that calling it a history of criticism is too strong. Then, that the meaning of the text is sufficiently clear to make evident its contradiction of genuine texts of Augustine on the sacraments as sensible signs. Again, that those who accommodate the contradictory doctrines to one another recognize the contradiction. Further, that at least from Peter Lombard forward, the authority and the sense of the text and of its sanctified author do not determine by themselves the weight they have in the formation of eucharistic doctrine. Bonaventure, after all, does accept a form of intellectual intuition for humans just where Aquinas does not. Herein lies the weight he gives *Hoc est* in determining the definition of sacrament. Finally, Anglican theologians supporting the reforming position in the sixteenth century look to be no better than their predecessors from the days before Renaissance learning in their judgement about and in their use of this text. But we may be able to conclude more clearly if we return to them and Wyclif to investigate how they used it.

Of the reforming Anglicans who have their works published in the Parker Society collection, beside Jewel, Thomas Cranmer, Thomas Becon and Thomas Cooper employ *Hoc est* as an authority ascribed to St. Augustine. For none of them does it form their doctrine of the sacrifice or the sacrament; indeed, it runs in the opposite direction from their teaching, nonetheless, they find in it what they need.

Thomas Cranmer declares himself exercised "in the study of

⁷⁰ On the printed version he used, see notes 29 and 30 above.

⁷¹ See JEWEL, I, p. 503; III, p. 500; III, p. 602.

⁷² JEWEL, I, p. 476; II, p. 591; III, p. 370. The last instance I have cited is especially curious because neither the Parker Society editor nor I have been able to find the text ascribed there to Augustine.

scripture and divinity" from his youth and therefore able "to go alone, and do examine, judge, and weigh all such weighty matters" himself⁷³. In contrast he characterizes his opponent Bishop Gardiner as "utterly ignorant in holy scriptures and doctors ... obstinately bent to pervert the true doctrine of this holy sacrament"⁷⁴. The Archbishop does "neither willingly go about to deceive the reader in the searching of St. Augustine, (as you use to do in every place)," nor does he trust "man or friend herein". However, he thanks God

"I am neither so arrogant nor so wilful, that I will refuse the good advice, counsel, and admonition of any man, be he man or master, friend or foe"⁷⁵.

And indeed, when he lists the places where Augustine especially teaches that the body of Christ "is not corporally present, and corporally eaten", he displays a wide knowledge of genuine texts of the old bishop of Hippo⁷⁶. Nonetheless, in the debate, he is sometimes the first to introduce texts from the *Decretum* of Gratian, he uses both genuine and spurious texts, and he brings *Hoc est* into the argument of his own accord, not just in order to answer its use by an adversary⁷⁷.

When he introduces and uses both parts of *Hoc est* as an authority with the weight of Augustine behind it, i.e. as a text *pro nostra sententia* (to use Wyclif's phrase,) the Archbishop finds things which are indeed in Lanfranc's teaching, and thus also in the text, but the points he makes with them are other than those at which the text aims. In common with Lanfranc, Cranmer finds in *Hoc est* that there is a difference between the sacrament and what it signifies, and that the connections between sacrament or, in the case of the oblation, liturgical action, and what they signify are "a calling", "mystical", "not in real truth" or "literally", but "figuratively", "in some manner"⁷⁸. For example, he translates them in this way, treating the gloss here as part of the decretal:

"The offering which the priest maketh, is called improperly the passion, death, or crucifying of Christ, not that it is that, but that it signifieth it' and 'the heavenly sacrament which truly representeth Christ's flesh is called Christ's body, but improperly. And therefore is said, after a manner, but not in the truth of the thing, but in the signifying mystery: so that the sense is this, it is called the body of Christ, that is to say, signifieth'"⁷⁹.

⁷³ CRANMER, Parker Society, I, p. 223.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 283.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 223.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 232.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 126, 268-69, 272, 277.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 128, 277, 282.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 282.

For him, "the words of St. Augustine being so plain, that none can be more":

"And this one place is sufficient at full to answer whatever you can bring of the presence of Christ in the sacrament of bread and wine. For after consecration the body and blood of Christ be in them but as figures, although in the godly receivers he is really present ..."⁸⁰

The passages quoted here come from a point in the long debate with Bishop Gardiner where the two really work at this passage. Thomas Cranmer comes close to recognizing that the teaching here is not all the same as his own, for he acknowledges that the comparison in the first part of the decretal with the union of natures in the person of Christ does not serve his interpretation of the relation of sacrament and reality in the sacrifice of the church:

"But yet this resemblance is not altogether like, as you say truly for so much; for the person of Christ consisteth so of his Godhead and manhood, that they be both in him in real presence and unity of person. But in the sacrifice it is otherwise, where neither is any such union between the sacrament and the truth of the sacrament, nor any such presence of the body of Christ"⁸¹.

We may be surprised that the failure (from his perspective) of the simile in the decretal does not alert him to its proper sense, especially as he has grasped, and rejected, the decretal's real point. But in this he is one with Thomas Becon whose uses of the text are comparable to Cranmer's⁸². In relation to the section we are considering, Becon says:

"that as the person of Christ consisteth of two natures, that is to say, of his manhood and of his Godhead; even so the sacrament consisteth of two natures, of the elements of bread and wine, and of the body and blood of Christ. If the elements of bread and wine remain, if that which we see with our eyes be bread, who then perceiveth not evidently the manifest error of the popish transubstantiation ..."⁸³

Thomas Cooper employs the decretal once where in fact he quotes the gloss (acknowledging it as gloss). His purpose is contained within those of Archbishop Cranmer⁸⁴.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

⁸¹ *Ibid.*

⁸² THOMAS BECON, *Certain Articles of the Christian Religion Proved and Confirmed*, Parker Society (Cambridge, 1844), p. 458; the greater use of *Hoc est* is in *The Catechism*, Parker Society (Cambridge, 1844), pp. 250, 268, and 284.

⁸³ *The Catechism*, p. 268.

⁸⁴ THOMAS COOPER, *An Answer in Defense of the Truth against the Apology of Private Mass*, Parker Society (Cambridge, 1850), p. 204.

So by route of what are regarded as his heirs⁸⁵, we return to Master John Wyclif and his employment of this decretal which of them all *magis facit pro nostra sententia*. What did he find in it? How did it match his understanding and his purposes?

We may begin to answer these questions by returning to the point at which we left Thomas Cranmer and Thomas Becon: the comparison in Lanfranc between, on the one side, the union of the sacrament and thing signified in the sacrifice of the church and, on the other side, the union of the two natures of Christ in his person. The aspect of Wyclif, which, with Luther, affirmed *Ego Berengarius* and its eucharistic realism⁸⁶, finds here a way of affirming the coincident presence of the substances of bread and wine and the substance of the body and blood of Christ. As with the natures of Christ, both are wholly and simultaneously present. There is no distinction and separation of accidents from substance, for Wyclif the fatal distinction. In this consubstantiation, related as with Luther to an understanding of the hypostatic union, his Platonic realism and his eucharistic realism are united, his philosophical and theological logics are one. A text which does so much is *magnus* indeed. But there is still more. As Thomas Cranmer put it, "This one place is sufficient at full to answer whatever you can bring...".

Recollect: Wyclif has an ambiguous relation to Berengar. He affirms Berengar's renunciation, *Ego Berengarius*, in order to lay claim to Berengar's demand that "This is my body" be understood allegorically, figuratively. The body of Christ is both really and also figuratively present. For Wyclif, in the second part of *Hoc est*:

"this saint speaks metaphorically as also Scripture does and teaches that the body of Christ is hidden there so that it is not seen there [in the sacrament] with the bodily eye"⁸⁷.

For this Platonic Augustinian, reality is not grasped corporally, sensibly, but inwardly, intellectually. The whole body of Christ is really and substantially present with the whole substance of bread and wine, but the sensible particular is also only figure, the point of departure, not the place of true substantial being. Just so "the codices, the sensible words [of Scripture do]... not possess the truth but point to it...Wyclif accordingly does not allow that the Scripture perceived by the sense is actually

⁸⁵ See LEFF, *Wyclif and Huss*; idem, *The Place of Metaphysics*, p. 231; M. KEEN, *The Influence of Wyclif*; KENNY, *Wyclif*, pp. 100-109; CRANMER, *op. cit.*, p. 14 and a number of essays in Anne HUDSON and Michael WILKS, eds., *From Ockham to Wyclif*.

⁸⁶ See note 3 above and CHADWICK, *art. cit.*, pp. 416 and 443.

⁸⁷ See note 8 above for text.

Scripture... this level of Scripture is only called Scripture metonymically"⁸⁸. This feature it shares with "This is my body".

Michael Tresko draws out this comparison:

"There is a significant correspondence between Wyclif's view of the Bible and his view of the eucharist. In neither case would he allow that the sensible material sign had the capacity to be the divine reality. Neither were themselves the object of veneration. In both cases their sacredness lay for Wyclif in their efficacy, their *utilitas*, for the transformation of the believer ... It is the believer who is changed in the eucharist ... There the believer becomes the body of Christ ... When a Christian reads the Bible he takes on the essential qualities of Scripture"⁸⁹.

In the second part of *Hoc est*, Wyclif discovers a view of the sacrament which coincides with his philosophical realism and the understanding of Scripture coherent with that. Wyclif, like Bonaventure, thinks humans suited for intellectual intuition in this present life and will not be surprised that the saint who helped him to the theory of ideas would teach the view of the sacrament which coheres with it. In the theory of knowledge, in the theology of the eucharistic sacrament, and in the metaphysics of Scripture, freedom from the sensible particular is both the truth and the human goal. Probably, if Wyclif had to choose between this text and the genuine texts of Augustine on the sacrament as sensible sign, he would prefer *Hoc est*. Perhaps also Lanfranc's eucharistic doctrine as found in it is in fact a true and necessary development of Augustine's thought. Either that or Aquinas is an authentic Augustinian and Bonaventure and Wyclif are not. In any case, given the decretal's union for Wyclif of philosophical and theological truth, it is no wonder that he thought it *magis facit pro nostra sententia*⁹⁰.

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⁸⁸ TRESKO, *art. cit.*, pp. 178-79 see G. LEFF, *The Place of Metaphysics*, pp. 219 and 224: "the metaphysical principles of Wyclif's philosophical phase are also integral to his conceptions of the Bible, the Church and the eucharist ... the belief in an eternal archetype in God as the indestructible essence of everything in the world, independently of its temporal manifestations, provided the philosophical framework for Wyclif's concepts of the Bible, the Church and the eucharist", and note 7 above.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 181.

⁹⁰ This paper was initially stimulated by differences with James Doull over the interpretation of Augustine and the nature of the Augustinian tradition in a seminar we taught together almost a decade ago. It has been saved from many follies by the comments of Leonard Boyle, Robert Crouse, Richard U. Smith and Michael Carreker. Its production has been the gift of June Dauphinee. I thank them all.

L'ACCUEIL DES DOCUMENTS ROMAINS RELATIFS AU FORMULAIRE MALINOIS (1694)

Voici¹ dans les grandes lignes les documents à retenir²:

1. Le décret du 28 janvier 1694:

"Innocent XII, après avoir pris les suffrages des cardinaux, afin de prévenir

¹ Nous userons des signes et abréviations suivants: AAM, avec chiffres = Archives de l'archevêché de Malines, C. VAN DE WIEL, *Jansenistica te Mechelen. Het archief van het Aartsbisdom, Louvain* 1938, et n° de celui-ci; AGP, avec chiffre = Archives générales du royaume à Bruxelles, fonds archives de la Compagnie de Jésus, Flandro-belge, et n° d'ordre. N.F. = Fonds de la Nunziatura di Fiandra aux Archives du Vatican; I ou II, avec chiffre = Mme A. LE ROY, *Un janséniste en exil. Correspondance de Pasquier Quesnel*, 2 volumes, Paris 1900, et page; OBC = Archives de la Oudbischooppelijke Clerezie, conservées aux Archives du Royaume à Utrecht, avec n° de l'inventaire. Arnauld = Antoine ARNAULD, *Oeuvres complètes*, édition de Lausanne; *Causa Quesnelliana* = ... sive *Motivum iuris ... contra Paschasium Quesnel*, Bruxelles, 1704; cf. WILLAERT, *Bibliotheca janseniana Belgica*, n° 7232; OPSTRAET, avec chiffre = L. CEYSSSENS, *Lettres de Jean Opstraet, professeur à Louvain, à son collègue Jean Libert Hennebel, en mission à Rome*, dans *Bulletin de l'Institut historique belge de Rome*, 55-56 (1985-1986), 167-206; DE CLERCQ = DE CLERCQ Charles, *Cinq archevêques de Malines*, 2 vol., Paris, 1974; DU PAC = Gabriel DU PAC DE BELLEGARDE, *Mémoires historiques touchant l'Université de Louvain et les églises des Pays-Bas [espagnols] surtout depuis 1680-1713*, ms., OBC, fonds Port-Royal, 2593; JACQUES = Émile JACQUES, *Les années d'exil d'Antoine Arnauld*, Louvain, 1976; Synodicon = P.F.X. De Ram, *Nova et absoluta collectio synodorum ... archiepiscopatus Mechliniensis*, 4 vol. Malines, 1828-1839; Vat. Lat. = *Codex Vaticanus Latinus* de la Bibliothèque du Vatican.

² Le texte de ces documents se retrouve en beaucoup d'endroits, entre autres Synodicon I, 587-588; 593-594; Arnauld, XXV, 360-365; DU PLESSIS D'ARGENTRÉ, *Collectio judiciorum*, 3 vol., Paris, 1733-1736, III, 2, 391-392; cf. infra. Nos sources, pour la plupart inédites, sont surtout: — les correspondances d'Arnauld (Bruxelles), de Du Vaucel (Rome), de Hennebel (Rome), d'Opstraet (Louvain), de Quesnel (Bruxelles), de Ruth d'Ans (Bruxelles); — les Journaux, fort incomplets pour l'époque qui nous intéresse, de Hennebel (OBC, Port-Royal) et du P. Bernard Désirant à Rome; quant à ce dernier: L. CEYSSSENS, *Diarium romanum van P. Bernardus Désirant*, dans *Bulletin de l'Institut historique belge de Rome*, 21 (1941) 237-326. — les ouvrages: DU PAC, *Mémoires*; cf. supra; L. CEYSSSENS, *L'introduction du formulaire antijanséniste en Belgique. Premier essai (1692-1694)*, dans ma collection *Jansenistica. Études-Studien*, IV, Malines 1962; Id., *Innocent XII et le Jansénisme*, dans *Antonianum*, 67 (1992) 39-66; Id., *Thyrse Gonzalez, général des jésuites et Humbert Precipiano, archevêque de Malines. Correspondances*, dans *Bulletin de l'Institut historique belge de Rome*, 65 (1995) 89-119. D'autres études seront mentionnées plus loin.

toutes les occasions des discordes qui troublent la paix du christianisme, tant par les discours que par les écrits qui se font à dessein d'interpréter ou d'expliquer le formulaire d'Alexandre VII pour la condamnation des cinq propositions extraites du livre de Cornelius Jansenius, intitulé *Augustinus* etc., condamnées, a fait inhibitions et défenses d'apporter aucun autre sens du formulaire susdit hors celui qui vient à tout le monde et que les termes du formulaire présentent d'eux-mêmes à l'esprit, de se servir d'aucun autre sens ou d'en disputer, imposant silence pour toujours..."

2. Le bref, ou lettre d'accompagnement aux évêques belges, en date du 6 février suivant:

"Il y a quelque temps nous apprimes pour la première fois qu'il s'était élevé quelques contestations entre les théologiens des Pays-Bas (espagnols), les uns accusant les autres comme sectateurs de nouvelles opinions qui, au grand tort des âmes, tant par leurs discours que par leurs écrits, s'efforcent de rendre en quelque sorte inutiles et sans effet, les constitutions de nos prédécesseurs ... Innocent X et Alexandre VII, contenant la condamnation des cinq propositions extraites du livre de Cornelius Jansenius, intitulé *Augustinus*, et aussi le formulaire du serment qu'on doit prêter pour les condamner. Et comme le gouvernement pastoral que Dieu nous a commis, nous oblige d'avoir un extrême soin que les constitutions de nos prédécesseurs ne perdent rien de leur vigueur dans les choses qui servent à maintenir l'intégrité de la foi orthodoxe; nous, afin d'arrêter tous les différends qui troublent la paix de l'Église et des fidèles, nous attachant inviolablement aux constitutions susdites d'Innocent X et d'Alexandre VII, à l'exemple de nos prédécesseurs, et déclarant qu'elles sont demeurées et demeurent dans toute leur force, nous vous enjoignons ... de procéder contre tous ceux ... qui auront la témérité de soutenir ... les dites cinq propositions ainsi condamnées ... et d'avoir soin de les punir, en observant cependant les règles de droit ... De plus de vous servir tellement ... du pouvoir que vous donne la constitution apostolique [d'Alexandre VII?] d'exiger la souscription ou serment du formulaire, qu'en cela même vous fassiez surtout paraître votre zèle et votre charité, en sorte que la réputation de personne n'en souffre sans sujet, et qu'on ne donne point lieu aux détractations et aux murmures. C'est pourquoi nous ordonnons à la fois: 1° ceux qui doivent prêter le serment, sont obligés de le faire sincèrement, sans aucune distinction, restriction ou explication, condamnant ces propositions extraites du livre de Jansénius, dans le sens qui vient d'abord à tous et que les termes des propositions présentent d'eux même à l'esprit, qui est le sens que les Souverains Pontifes, nos prédécesseurs ont condamné et qu'ils ont voulu qu'il fût tenu par tous les fidèles pour condamné; 2° de votre part vous n'exigerez de ceux qui souscriront le dit formulaire ... pas la moindre déclaration, interprétation ou explication, ni de bouche, ni par écrit ... Au reste, nous imposons silence pour toujours au regard de semblables interprétations du formulaire ... Enfin ... nous vous enjoignons, autant que nous le pouvons... de ne permettre en aucune manière que l'on se serve de cette accusation vague et odieuse de jansénisme, pour décrier ou désigner qui que se soit avant d'avoir constaté légitimement le soupçon d'avoir enseigné ou tenu quelqu'une de ces propositions et qu'aucun sous ce prétexte soit éloigné des charges, emplois ... avant que l'on ait prouvé selon les formes du droit qu'il s'est rendu digne de cette peine, très rude à des personnes qui à moins de cela sont catholiques ..."

Dans le bref, dont il sera surtout question plus loin, il y a deux passages à remarquer:

1° Il faut jurer sincèrement: *damnando eas (quinque) propositiones ex libro Jansenii excerptas (,) in sensu obvio quem ipsamet propositionum verba prae se ferunt*, avec ou sans virgule, réellement exprimée ou à supposer?

2° Défense de disputer ... *super eiusdem formularii interpretatione sicut et praedictarum propositionum in alios sensus praeter eum quem ipsa verba per se exhibent*; or le formulaire oblige de rejeter les cinq propositions *ex Cornelii Jansenii libro cui nomen Augustinus, excerptas, et in sensu ab eodem auctore intento...*

Certes, au fond, ces documents suggèrent une décision doctrinale relative à un fait soi-disant "dogmatique", mais en réalité ils se présentent plutôt comme une mesure administrative visant à apaiser les dissensions religieuses qui troublent les anciens Pays-Bas espagnols (ou la Belgique actuelle), à la suite de certaine "nouveauité": au début de 1692, Humbert Précipiano, archevêque de Malines, avec ses suffragants, a imposé un formulaire (serment) antijanséniste tout particulier. Dans le but de supprimer entièrement le jansénisme qui s'étend — prétend-il — il exige un acte de foi divine sur un "fait", un fait humain (ou de plus il y a un faux): à savoir la présence réelle des Cinq propositions condamnées dans l'*Augustinus*, ouvrage de Jansénius, où ces propositions se trouveraient même dans leur sens hérétique proscrit par les papes.

Tel formulaire, vraiment extraordinaire, provoque aussitôt une vive opposition, avec des recours à Rome. De la sorte, au début de son pontificat, le bon pape Innocent XII (1691-1700) qui n'est nullement théologien, se voit placé devant un problème que ses prédécesseurs ont déjà rendu insoluble: celui du *fait*, du *formulaire*, du *faux* sous-jacent.

En effet, dès le début du jansénisme (1640), la rivalité entre les théologiens a introduit le faux dans l'histoire: Jansénius bon catholique, prêtre, professeur, évêque respectable, théologien d'envergure, a été présenté, après sa sainte mort, comme un hérétique au même degré que Luther et Calvin! On va même lui attribuer spécifiquement cinq propositions erronées, voire hérétiques, même formellement hérétiques, car entendues par lui dans le sens hérétique! On prétend donc que ces cinq propositions sont, même dans leur sens hérétique, présentes dans l'ouvrage principal de Jansénius, son *Augustinus*.

Cette double présence, c'est ce que, dans l'histoire du jansénisme, on appelle le *fait* en opposition à ce qu'on désigne comme le *droit* (terme juridique), c.-à-d. la doctrine contenue dans ces cinq propositions. Ce *fait*, cette présence n'a rien d'un vrai *fait dogmatique*, comme la nativité, la

passion, la résurrection, l'ascension, qui sont à la fois révélées, objets de l'infailibilité, formulation d'une doctrine, un dogme. Ici il s'agit d'une présence quelconque, d'un passage quelconque, dans un livre quelconque. Il n'y a aucune doctrine, aucune infailibilité, mais bien une éventuelle possibilité d'erreur dans la constatation ou l'affirmation.

Le *fait* de l'histoire du jansénisme est-il réel? Les cinq propositions se trouvent-elles véritablement dans l'*Augustinus* et de plus dans un sens hérétique? Voilà le point névralgique, tant discuté, vraisemblablement affirmé par les bulles pontificales, surtout celles d'Alexandre VII.

Sous la poussée du tout-puissant François Albizzi³, assesseur du Saint-Office, bientôt cardinal, Innocent X dans sa bulle *Cum occasione* (1653) n'avait qu'insinué le *fait*. Son successeur, Alexandre VII avait semblé "définir"⁴ le *fait* par ses bulles *Ad sanctam* (1656) et *Regiminis apostolici* (1665). Par la dernière, il imposait même un "formulaire", formule de serment, exigeant vraisemblablement un acte de foi divine non seulement pour le *droit* mais aussi pour le *fait*! Ce serment était-il admissible? On ne prend pas Dieu pour témoin d'un serment téméraire et surtout pas d'un parjure! De là le problème pratique. La plupart de ceux qui doivent jurer ne savent rien du *fait* et se trouvent placés devant un serment téméraire. Ceux qui en savent davantage se trouvent face au parjure, car le *fait* contient du faux: au moins la première proposition, la principale, celle qu'on a prétendu pouvoir localiser dans l'*Augustinus*, ne s'y trouve certainement pas, tandis que la présence des quatre autres reste indémontrable et donc fort douteuse.

À cause du faux, il était évident que la bulle d'Alexandre VII et le formulaire devaient être interprétés et rendus acceptables. C'est à quoi servait la Paix de l'Église concédée par le pape Clément IX en 1668⁵: le formulaire ne porte pas sur le *fait* et le *droit*, mais sur le *droit* seulement. Mais, puisqu'un pape régnant ne peut contredire ouvertement son prédécesseur, Clément a dû agir et s'exprimer obscurément. De là de nouvelles interprétations et controverses, les uns tenant pour le *fait* dogmatisé, les autres pour le *fait* dévalorisé.

Précipiano, l'archevêque de Malines, antijanséniste entêté, a profité de la situation pour introduire en 1692 son formulaire propre, exigeant

³ L. CEYSSENS, *Le cardinal François Albizzi. Un cas important dans l'histoire du jansénisme*, Rome, 1977.

⁴ L. CEYSSENS, *Les cinq propositions de Jansénius à Rome*, dans *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 66 (1971) 449-501; 821-886, repris dans mes *Jansenistica minora*, t. XI, fasc. 94.

⁵ Pour une initiation à cette matière, voir *Paix de l'Église*, dans Fr. BLUCHE, *Dictionnaire du Grand Siècle*, Paris, 1990, 1138-1139.

expressément un acte de foi sur le *fait*, sans même parler du *droit*. De là troubles et recours au Pape Innocent XII. Celui-ci se retrouve, comme Clément IX, devant le problème insoluble du *fait*. Après deux ans de réflexions et de consultations il donne sa solution au début de 1694, par les documents cités plus haut. Ceux-ci, il faut l'avouer, sont obscurs, visiblement à cause des affirmations hasardeuses du pape Alexandre VII. Mais ayant été donnés pour résoudre un problème, ils ont un sens précis, quoique maladroitement exprimé. Pour être bref et clair, ils reprennent la position de Clément, lors de la Paix de l'Église: foi au *droit*, respect au *fait*. Comment seront reçus ces documents pontificaux de 1694? Voilà l'objet de cette étude.

L'ACCUEIL À ROME

Le pape

Le pape, n'ayant pas composés ces documents lui-même, doit les accueillir en premier. Il les a reçus dans la rédaction qui, en dernier lieu, est due au cardinal Casanate⁶. En est-il vraiment content? On sait que, d'abord, en accord avec certains de ses cardinaux conservateurs, il a voulu donner une constitution pour confirmer celles de ses prédécesseurs. Sans doute malgré lui, il s'est contenté d'un décret, dont, en y souscrivant, il a assumé la responsabilité; mais non sans hésitation. Voulant d'abord connaître les réactions à son décret, il ne fait suivre son bref, ou lettre d'accompagnement, que plusieurs jours plus tard. Mais le bref étant attendu, les réactions se sont manifestées surtout après la parution de celui-ci. Et elles étaient surtout négatives.

Dès le 11 février, cinq jours après la parution du bref, Du Vaucel mande de Rome à Mgr Codde, vicaire apostolique de Hollande:

"Les jésuites [de Rome] jettent de hauts cris au sujet du bref. Le Général Gonzalez alla hier pour demander audience au pape, mais un officier du palais, son ami, lui a fait dire aujourd'hui, qu'il ferait une grande sottise de s'engager dans cette affaire" (OBC, 168).

Le 20 février Du Vaucel mande au même que si le général des jésuites n'a pu approcher le pape dès le 6 février, le P. Paul Segneri, un des principaux jésuites de Rome, y a réussi le 9 février. Ses protestations ont bouleversé le pape au point qu'il a fallu appeler l'assesseur Bernini pour venir le consoler.

⁶ Sur ce cardinal (1620-1700), très tiers parti, voir *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, XXI, 144-147. Maria D'ANGELO, *Il cardinale Girolamo Casanate*, Rome, 1923.

Naturellement le pape ne trouve aucun réconfort dans cette Lettre ouverte, émanant de Rome, datée du 13 février et attribuée au jésuite Louis Doucin⁷, qui, très laudative, prouve par son extravagance, l'échec des mesures pontificales: elles peuvent être interprétées dans un sens complètement contradictoire à celui voulu par le pape.

Il ne doit non plus s'attendre à un assentiment cordial de la part de son propre cardinal secrétaire d'État, Fabrice Spada, qui a toujours soutenu la réalité du *fait*⁸.

Puisque chacun a son opinion faite et sa conviction bien établie, les cardinaux ne sont parvenus qu'à un compromis dont chacun devra se contenter mais dont personne n'est entièrement satisfait: on doit observer la bulle et signer le formulaire, sans préciser clairement le *comment*. En passant nous avons déjà entendu des échos de leur désaccord, et nous en entendrons encore davantage plus loin.

Le clergé

Au clergé romain, vu les divergences d'opinions, ces documents obscurs, ne plaisent pas trop, certainement pas à ceux qui désirent sincèrement une solution réelle au problème traînant. Quant aux deux délégués, Hennebel et Desirant⁹, intéressés personnellement, ils se vantent chacun de son côté d'avoir remporté une victoire. À l'avance, dès le 14 novembre 1693, le P. Desirant¹⁰ a déjà annoncé la sienne, mais Hennebel y a aussitôt opposé la sienne¹¹.

Pour mesurer la résonance de ces documents dans le milieu romain, parcourons la correspondance romaine d'un des témoins, celle de Louis du Vaucel, ce prêtre du Midi, journaliste né et victime de la Régale, qui réside à Rome depuis 1682 et fréquente tous les milieux romains¹², mais qui par expérience personnelle se défie de la cour romaine. Le 9 mai 1692 déjà, lorsque le Saint-Office entama l'examen du cas malinois, il fit hautainement remarquer à Mgr Codde: "... Ce sont de grands sots [que les Romains] et ils ne méritent pas le nom de théologiens..." (OBC, 633).

⁷ Cf. *infra*.

⁸ CEYSSENS, *L'introduction*, *passim*.

⁹ CEYSSENS, *Lettres de Jean Opstraet*, 168.

¹⁰ *Nationaal biografisch woordenboek*, IV, 221-227.

¹¹ Voir le *Codex vaticanus* 7405, qui contient beaucoup de pièces relatives aux activités des délégués.

¹² B. NEVEU, *La correspondance romaine de Louis-Paul du Vaucel*, dans *Actes du colloque sur le jansénisme organisé par l'Academia Belgica en 1973*, Bruxelles, 1977, 105-185.

Le 2 janvier 1694, il écrit à Arnould:

"... La congrégation des cinq cardinaux, pour dresser les brefs, doit se tenir demain en huit jours. Le plus grand nombre des cardinaux sont fermes à ne vouloir point déclarer expressément qu'on ne demande plus la créance du fait et à ne point permettre aux particuliers d'ajouter aucune explication à leur signature ... Il est difficile de leur faire entendre raison là-dessus. Je dis *à la plupart*, car pour MM. Albin [Jérôme Casanate] et Benoît [Joseph Aguirre], ils sont fort bien disposés" (AAM, n° 1824).

Le 23 janvier suivant à Codde:

"... L'affaire semble en bon état. Le pape a chargé Albin (Casanate) de mettre la dernière main aux brefs. On espère qu'ils autoriseront suffisamment la distinction entre le *fait* et le droit; particulièrement qu'on rejettera les additions malinoises, non seulement comme superflues et inutiles, mais comme contraires à la vérité et au sens dans lequel le Saint-Siège entend le formulaire ... On pense aussi à un décret spécial pour imposer le silence sur la question du sens de Jansénius pour empêcher qu'on abuse encore à l'avenir de l'accusation calomnieuse du prétendu jansénisme. Le P. Désirant a été fortement réprimandé pour la lettre qu'il a écrite à ses correspondants de Louvain. Il se démène fortement ..." (OBC, 168).

Le même jour, à Arnould:

"... C'est Albin (Casanate) qui est chargé en particulier par le P. Patrice (le pape) de mettre la dernière main aux brefs. Si la chose dépendait absolument de lui, il autoriserait expressément la distinction: *dogmatibus fidem; facto reverentiam* [foi aux dogmes, respect au fait]. *Sic ait* [il en a dit ainsi]¹³. Il est certain qu'il a eu les intentions très bonnes, et que sans lui les choses auraient été bien plus mal. Il a empêché la bulle qui était toute dressée, pour [ne] confirmer et autoriser purement et simplement les bulles précédentes et le formulaire [que] dans le décret et les brefs; c'est qu'il n'y a pas eu moyen de résister au torrent des autres cardinaux, qui étaient pour la signature pure et simple. Mr Tronchoir [le cardinal César d'Estrées] me fit assez connaître qu'il était des plus prévenus et des plus entêtés sur cette matière..." (AGR, 1515).

Le 30 janvier (deux jours après le décret, huit jours avant le bref) à Codde:

"Dimanche passé les cardinaux se réunirent chez le cardinal Carpegna. D'après ce que nous avons entendu, ils ont déclaré que les additions malinoises ne sont pas seulement défendues, mais qu'elles ne sont pas comprises dans le formulaire alexandrin. On y joint beaucoup d'autres clauses qui ne plairont point à Précipiano. Le P. Désirant ne chante plus victoire comme auparavant. Il parle de s'en retourner" (OBC, 168).

Mais bientôt, le décret en main, Du Vaucel perd de son optimisme éphémère. Le 4 février (huit jours après le décret, deux jours avant le bref):

¹³ Voir le *votum* de Casanate en ce sens, AAM, 149.

"Le décret publié, quelques jours passés, nous afflige bien; il reste loin d'enlever la principale difficulté posée par le formulaire; il semble même l'augmenter et créer encore plus de confusion. Cette manière de faire de la Congrégation excite à la pitié" (Rome, Biblioteca nazionale, Fondo jesuitico, 1686).

Le 6 février à Arnould:

"Nous ne sommes pas peu mortifiés d'un décret qui a été affiché ces jours, dont M. Hennebel vous envoie une copie. Toute cette conduite de la Cour de Rome fait pitié" (*Causa quesnelliana*, 213).

Le 13 février au même:

"Le bref touchant le formulaire ne vaut pas mieux que le décret ... Ce qu'il y a de mauvais c'est qu'on autorise l'introduction du formulaire en Flandre, en obligeant de le signer sans exception, *in sensu obvio quem ipsius verba habent*, et en défendant aussi aux évêques d'y joindre de leur côté aucune addition ... La dispute sera toujours de savoir quel est ce *sens obvie* ... ce qu'on s'est bien gardé d'expliquer. On prétend ici que ce sens ne renferme point la croyance ni le jurement sur le *fait*, mais les paroles du formulaire, selon leur signification commune et ordinaire semblent dire le contraire, ce qui suffit pour arrêter ceux qu'on oblige de signer et de jurer, à moins qu'on ne leur permette de marquer dans quel sens ils le font. Or c'est ce qu'on défend par le bref, contre ce qui s'est pratiqué en France [et] qui semblait avoir été autorisé par Clément IX [du temps de la paix clémentine] ... Il paraît cependant que le Mulart [Désirant] et les Rouliers [jésuites] ne paraissent point satisfaits ni du décret, ni du bref" (AGR, 1515).

Le 27 février à Arnould:

"On ne peut espérer de nos Romains quelque chose de meilleur pour les Missions orientales¹⁴ que dans l'affaire du formulaire. Vous aurez vu maintenant le décret imprimé et peut-être aussi les deux brefs [aux évêques et à l'université]. Plus je les relis, plus j'en suis mal satisfait, par rapport surtout du formulaire".

De l'accueil romain, passons à l'accueil en Belgique.

L'ACCUEIL EN BELGIQUE

Le 6 février 1694 les documents romains sont officiellement expédiés par la voie de la correspondance diplomatique¹⁵. L'internonce Giulio Piazza¹⁶ les reçoit vers le 26 du même mois, et les communique aussitôt

¹⁴ Allusion à l'affaire des Rites chinois.

¹⁵ L. JADIN, *Relations des Pays-Bas ... avec le Saint-Siège d'après les "lettere di vescovi"*, Bruxelles, 1952, 366-367. Le 13 février Spada envoya ces documents aussi au nonce de Vienne; Rome, Biblioteca Corsini, ms. 555, f° 69.

¹⁶ Gulio Piazza et son auditeur Antonio Pigliardi ne semblent pas avoir assez favorisé l'affaire du formulaire au gré des antijansénistes qui s'en plaignirent.

aux intéressés, avant tout aux évêques qui sont les destinataires du bref¹⁷. Mais puisqu'il s'agit d'une communication officielle, il les passe aussi au Conseil privé afin d'obtenir le placet obligatoire. L'ayant obtenu le 4 mars, les documents seront imprimés ce même jour à Bruxelles chez Jean Léonard¹⁸. Désormais tous les intéressés peuvent acquérir, lire, étudier ces documents obscurs et en tirer leurs conclusions. Parmi eux, à Bruxelles, il y a surtout Arnauld et Quesnel, déjà prévenus par leurs correspondants romains.

L'accueil par Arnauld¹⁹ et Quesnel²⁰ à Bruxelles.

Nous en parlons d'abord, parce que nous sommes bien renseignés sur l'accueil qu'ils ont réservé aux documents et surtout parce que leur accueil a été important. En effet, il s'agit de deux savants habitués à examiner critiquement les textes, et qui, quant au formulaire, sont mieux au courant que personne grâce à leurs expériences personnelles. Ils en connaissent l'origine malsaine, le faux initial, l'histoire lamentable et les suites encore plus funestes. Depuis longtemps ils en sont eux-mêmes les victimes, innocentes, ils en sont persuadés! Depuis deux ans ils se sont donc bien intéressés à la solution en préparation. Innocent XII saura-t-il, aura-t-il le courage de trancher le noeud gordien? Pourront-ils eux-mêmes bientôt rentrer en France, y vivre normalement parmi les leurs? Les autres victimes, qui leur sont chères, en profiteront-elles aussi? On peut croire aussi que d'avance, par expérience personnelle, ils sont peu confiants.

Quant à Arnauld, vers la fin de février 1694, au reçu du seul décret, il fut profondément déçu. Il le fit savoir à son correspondant romain Du Vaucel, qui répond le 20 mars:

"... Je ne suis pas surpris de la consternation où vous êtes touchant la signature du formulaire *in sensu obvio* etc. Ce sera encore bien pis quand vous aurez vu le bref ..." (AGR, 1515).

Cependant, quand au début de mars, Arnauld, avec l'aide de Quesnel (car très âgé, il voit très mal), peut lire le bref et le comparer avec le décret, il est moins pessimiste que son correspondant romain; il relève des points favorables: le formulaire ne regarde que les choses qui appartiennent

¹⁷ J. LEFEVRE, *Documents relatifs à la juridiction des nonces ... pendant le régime espagnol*, Bruxelles, 1942, 455; NF., 85, f° 115.

¹⁸ DE CLERCQ, *Cinq archevêques*, I, 61.

¹⁹ É. JACQUES, *Les années d'exil d'Antoine Arnauld (1679-1694)*, Louvain, 1976, consacre un chapitre au *Spectre du formulaire*, p. 599-646.

²⁰ Sur Quesnel voir L. CEYSSENS et J.A. TANS, *Autour de l'Unigenitus*, Louvain, 1987, 583-648. Voir aussi mon article: *Quesnel à Bruxelles (1685-1703)*, dans *Augustiniana*, 44 (1994), 137-176.

nent à l'intégrité de la foi; donc le *droit* seul et non pas le *fait*; il faut certes jurer sincèrement, mais seulement sur l'erreur comprise dans les cinq propositions, à comprendre dans leur sens naturel, sans relation avec l'*Augustinus*; on ne peut plus maltraiter personne sur un simple soupçon de jansénisme: il faut prouver légitimement qu'il tient quelque'une des cinq propositions ... (Arnauld, Lettre 1019).

Glanons encore dans sa correspondance:

Le 5 mars, à Du Vaucel à Rome:

"... Nous n'avons pas trouvé que le bref aux évêques ne valût pas mieux que le décret de l'Inquisition ... Car il y a trois ou quatre choses très avantageuses ... Si on en avait pu autant obtenir d'Innocent X, on aurait bien empêché des violences" (Lettre 1020).

Le 14 mars à M. Le Noir, chanoine à Paris:

"... Ne serait-ce point une occasion de représenter à sa Majesté [Louis XIV] qu'il n'y aurait qu'à obéir à cette ordonnance du Saint-Siège pour remédier à tant de maux qu'on a faits et qu'on fait encore, pour n'avoir pas observé ce qu'on dit être un des plus grands fondements du droit divin et humain? Il semble qu'on n'en peut souhaiter de plus favorable ..." (Lettre 1023).

Le 18 mars, à Du Vaucel:

"... Mais ne devrait-on point faire comprendre au bon pape, qu'ayant tant d'affection ... pour le roi chrétien, il ne saurait rien faire de plus avantageux pour son salut et pour sa gloire que de lui faire avoir des scrupules très bien fondés des injustices qu'on lui a fait faire sous l'accusation vague et le nom odieux du jansénisme ..." (Lettre 1024).

Heureusement pour lui, Arnauld mourra le 8 août suivant de sorte qu'il ne verra pas ses espoirs frustrés.

Quesnel

Quant à Quesnel, plus jeune et donc moins assagi que le maître dont il partage l'exil volontaire depuis 1685, est d'avance — à cause de son expérience personnelle — fort méfiant à l'égard de Rome. Le 26 décembre 1692, lorsque le Saint-Office commença l'examen de l'affaire malinoise, il avait écrit:

"Je n'ai eu garde de prétendre qu'on écrivit de but en blanc pour l'abolition du formulaire en France; mais pour des ministres bien intentionnés ils savent bien les manières de s'y prendre quand on veut arrêter la témérité des exacteurs de signatures. Il n'y aurait qu'à faire entendre que ce qu'a fait Clément IX ne doit recevoir aucun préjudice de ce qu'avait fait Alexandre VII" (I, 241).

De la sorte, Rome commence un procès inutile; la Paix Clémentine a tout résolu depuis longtemps.

Le 2 janvier 1693:

"Vous nous faites bien craindre pour le formulaire ..." (I, 243).

Le 9 janvier 1693:

"... Ce que vous nous faites craindre d'une nouvelle bulle et peut-être d'une nouvelle signature, est quelque chose de bien désolant. Est-il possible qu'on ne voie pas à Rome les maux infinis que les contestations [autour du formulaire] ont produits dans l'Église, ou qu'on le voie sans en être touché ...? Pour peu que l'on donne à ceux qui aiment le trouble quelque chose de favorable, on peut compter que ce seront des armes, entre les mains des furieux ... Le pape est à plaindre de ce que sa lumière ne va pas à beaucoup près si loin que son zèle et sa bonne volonté! Car je crois que, s'il connaissait les maux auxquels on veut faire servir son autorité, il se garderait bien de la prêter pour cela ..." (I, 244-245).

Le 10 avril 1693, dix mois avant la décision romaine, Quesnel épanche son coeur à Du Vaucel dans une longue lettre, à lire au moins partiellement.

"Vos Romains feront tout ce qu'il leur plaira sur le formulaire. Ils ne me surprendront point, qu'au cas qu'ils fassent quelque chose de bon; car je prends le parti de ne m'y attendre point. On voit bien qu'il ne faut plus espérer qu'en Dieu et que les Romains ne sont pas dignes de secourir ni la vérité, ni l'innocence opprimées, ni de procurer la paix à l'Église. On commence en ce pays à se repentir fort d'avoir donné les mains à la députation [de Hennebel]. C'est une dépense et beaucoup de peine perdues, et les affaires de l'Église en seront en beaucoup plus mauvais état qu'auparavant. Ce qui afflige encore est que l'on voit que l'on mollit trop et qu'on recule, à mesure que les autres font plus les difficiles. Car, par ce moyen, on leur donne des avantages qu'ils ne laisseront pas perdre, et on reviendra de Rome sans en rapporter aucun. Car, si le formulaire d'Alexandre VII subsiste et que M. Hilaire [Huygens] demeure suspect, comme il paraît que les choses s'y disposent, on pourra se vanter qu'on aura été tondu entièrement. C'est une terrible corruption que celle de ces messieurs, qui connaissent que le *fait* de Jansénius est la source d'une infinité de maux dans l'Église et que, néanmoins, ce *fait* ne peut être matière de foi ni de serment, et de persister avec tout cela à ne le vouloir pas éclaircir, ni dire publiquement ce qu'ils en pensent. N'est-ce pas dire nettement qu'on ne veut point de paix, qu'on veut que la vérité et l'Église périssent, si cela se pouvait, qu'on veut que les plus gens de bien demeurent opprimés. Et tout cela pour sauver l'honneur d'une méchante bulle. Mais ils verront, dans la suite, s'ils en sauveront l'honneur. Car, puisqu'ils ne veulent point de paix, il faudra faire bonne guerre et défendre ouvertement l'honneur d'un saint évêque, qui avait seul plus de piété et de science qu'ils n'en ont tous ensemble, et qui fait plus de bien à l'Église qu'ils n'en font tous en plusieurs siècles.

On comble cependant ces gens-là d'éloges et de louanges, et on trouve à redire que l'on parle avec honneur d'un prince qui ne pèche que par le malheur qu'il a eu d'être mal instruit des affaires de l'Église et d'être environné, depuis cinquante ans, de gens qui ont réputation de science et de piété, et qui ne lui parlent d'autre chose que d'une hérésie et d'une secte dangereuse qu'il n'est pas capable d'examiner par lui-même. Il le faut plaindre et non pas le comparer avec les princes ariens, monothélites, iconoclastes, et avec les meurtriers de saint Thomas de Cantorbéry ..." (I, 256-257).

Plusieurs mois plus tard, quand l'examen romain court à sa fin, Quesnel passe de l'appréhension à la désillusion. Le 26 février 1694, au moment où l'internonce reçoit et expédie les documents, il écrit laconiquement à Du Vaucel:

"Vos lettres sont arrivées [avec le décret]. Elles n'ont pas bonne mine, et je n'attends pas grand'chose du bref. L'obscurité du bref en empêchera tout l'effet ..." (I, 294).

Naturellement, avec Arnauld et d'autres, il discute sur l'interprétation du décret et bientôt aussi du bref. Comme son maître Arnauld, il revient à un optimisme mitigé. Il écrit en ce sens à De Vaucel qui ne partage pas ce jugement et répond le 3 avril:

"... Je souscris volontiers à l'explication favorable que vous avez donnée au bref, quoi qu'à dire le vrai, j'aurais encore de la peine ... à souscrire le formulaire, principalement, qu'il s'agit d'un serment où l'on prend Dieu à témoin de ce que l'on parle d'une manière tout à fait claire et sans le moindre équivoque ..." (*Causa Quesnelliana*, 214).

Le 8 mai:

"... Il faut beaucoup aider à la lettre pour expliquer, comme vous faites, ces paroles du décret: *in sensu obvio quem ipsa formularii verba prae se ferunt* ... C'est tout au plus un sens théologique, et qui demande beaucoup de raisonnements dont ne sont guère capables la plupart de ceux de qui on demande la signature ..." (I.c., 214-215).

Le 16 mars, Quesnel communique son interprétation à Mgr. Codde:

"... Je crois, Monseigneur, que vous aurez reçu le bref aux évêques traduit. Les Majeurs [les théologiens de Louvain] en sont contents de plus en plus. Mr Davy [Arnauld] le croit aussi fort bon et tel qu'on ne doit pas faire difficulté à présent de signer quand on en impose la nécessité ..." ²¹.

Cependant quand en 1702, sous Clément XI, Codde sera à Rome placé devant le formulaire, il refusera de signer, car les documents d'Innocent XII et leur excuse ne comptent plus à Rome. D'ailleurs en mars 1694 déjà Quesnel apprend par la *Lettre* ouverte du P. Doucin quelle interprétation sourde s'est répandue à Rome. Le 26 mars il écrit à Du Vaucel:

"On vous envoie un libelle triomphant des jésuites. Vous verrez par là comme chacun croit avoir gagné le procès, ou fait semblant de le faire ..." (I, 297-298).

Le moment n'est pas loin où Quesnel se verra obligé de prendre lui-même la *Défense des brefs du pape* (Cf. Willaert, n^{os} 5949 et 6016).

²¹ J.A.G. TANS, *Quesnel et les Pays-Bas*, Groningue, 1960, 93.

L'interprétation plutôt favorable de Quesnel et d'Arnauld était naturellement appréciée à Louvain.

L'accueil à Louvain

Louvain, ville universitaire, se trouve dans l'archevêché de Malines, sous l'autorité de Précipiano. Il est vrai, l'université comme telle est exempte, mais le fanatique prélat ne cherche-t-il pas à obtenir une autorisation spéciale pour introduire à Louvain son propre formulaire à la place de l'ancien serment académique, déjà adapté sous Alexandre VII²². C'est d'ailleurs dans cette crainte qu'en 1692 Louvain s'est si fortement opposé à ce formulaire malinois, et a délégué le professeur Hennebel à Rome pour l'y combattre. Mais depuis 1640 déjà l'antijansénisme domine à Louvain, et désormais il y est plus actif que jamais par sa *Société secrète pour l'accusation du jansénisme*²³.

Donc pour commencer, quel accueil les antijansénistes réservent-ils à Louvain aux documents romains? Une réponse partielle se lit p. 16-17 du *Tertium motivum juris* (1712) du professeur Francis Martin, témoin exceptionnel, car d'antijanséniste ardent il est devenu un janséniste bien enthousiaste. Il nous apprend ceci:

"Après l'arrivée du bref à Louvain, les principaux membres de la faction molinienne [Steyaert, Harney, Bouchy, Marcelis, Damen], accompagnés de quelques professeurs jésuites, se consultèrent chez le professeur Du Bois. À la lecture du passage où le pape défend de molester quelqu'un pour jansénisme avant d'avoir établi juridiquement qu'il tient quelque'une des cinq propositions, ils avouèrent d'avoir perdu totalement leur cause (*perditam esse causam nostram*). Dans les suivantes assemblées qui se tenaient fréquemment, aussi en présence de l'archevêque et de quelques jésuites, on déclamaient souvent contre Innocent XII, fauteur manifeste du jansénisme (*velut jansenianae haereseos fautori manifesto*). Dans leur désespoir, ils s'excédaient (*et murmura nostra eousque invaluisse ut desperabundi mussitaremus quae non licet effari*) ... J'écrivis alors une lettre au P. De Reulx²⁴ à Rome pour lui expliquer combien fatal c'est pour nous molinistes, de ne devoir plus croire la nécessité du fait. Il me répondit qu'il partageait entièrement mon avis; que les jésuites étaient tellement odieux à Rome, qu'il suffisait de se mêler dans une cause pour la perdre (*adeo Romae esse exosos, ut cuivis vel aequissimae causae perdendae sufficeret, eam illis a jesuitis commendari*)" (III, 16-17).

²² Voir L. CEYSENS, *La fin de la première période du jansénisme*, 2 vol. Bruxelles, 1963-1965, passim.

²³ L. CEYSENS, *Een geheim genootschap ter bestrijding van het jansenisme*, dans notre collection *Jansenistica. Studiën*, Malines, 1950, I, 343-397.

²⁴ Ce jésuite gantois (1646-1698) professa à Louvain chez les jésuites avant d'être appelé en 1689 à Rome pour y continuer l'histoire de la Compagnie. Il mourut à Rome en 1698; *Biographie nationale*, XIX, 178; CEYSENS, *L'introduction*, passim.

Quant à l'accueil par les augustiniens, nous en sommes informés par la correspondance que Jean Opstraet, un des principaux d'entre eux, entretenait avec Hennebel à Rome. Le 4 février 1694 il lui écrit :

"... Nous nous réjouissons fortement du zèle que le duc de Medinaceli [ambassadeur espagnol] déploie à Rome, et nous espérons de jouir ici bientôt d'une paix clémentine ..." (p. 150).

Le 12 février :

"... À Louvain les professeurs diffèrent dans leur espoir; Steyaert surtout proclame le sien ..." (182-183).

Le 19 février :

"... Ayant appris la fin de l'affaire du formulaire malinois, et le contenu du décret étant connu, nous nous réunirons pour délibérer sur l'attitude à prendre, mais nous attendrons d'abord la venue des brefs qui, espérons-le, marqueront plus clairement la distinction entre le *fait* et le *droit*. L'université pourra-t-elle conserver son propre formulaire? Nous l'espérons" (184-185).

Le 5 mars :

"... Le contenu du décret, que nous connaissons depuis huit jours, nous a fait bien peur; mais maintenant, ayant lu le bref aux évêques, nous revivons, et nous vous félicitons de votre victoire" (184-185).

Le 11 mars :

"... Hélas, les textes romains sont peu clairs et nos adversaires s'en félicitent aussi. En tout cas, pour nous, le résultat est mieux que nous avions osé espérer. Provoquera-t-il aussi des résultats favorables de la part de l'Espagne ... ?" (186-189).

Le 12 mars :

"... La fureur des jésuites confirme notre victoire. L'opposition persiste. Pour nous, nous sommes prêts à jurer selon l'intention du pape Innocent XII ... Avant de remettre votre lettre à l'archevêque, nous délibérerons ..." (190-191).

Le 18 mars :

"... Hier, à Malines, nous avons délibéré avec les amis et examiné les conclusions pratiques à tirer des documents romains. Entre-autres comment remercier le Pape ...". (191-194).

Le 19 mars :

"Nous attendons encore toujours quelque lettre victorieuse de votre part. L'étude des documents vous l'aura empêché. Le vrai sens des documents est clair pour nous tous: il faut condamner les cinq propositions dans leur sens naturel, sans distinction. Il ne reste donc plus aucune difficulté à signer ..." (194-195).

Le 25 mars :

"Nous vous envoyons en trois rédactions différentes une lettre de

remerciement au pape. Nous préférons la plus simple. Remettez au pape celle qui vous semblera la plus adaptée ..." (195-196).

Effectivement nous possédons une lettre datée du 25 mars, dont voici le texte en traduction:

"Après avoir été compulsés par une longue tempête, nous nous jetons aux pieds de Votre Sainteté, centre de l'unité de l'Église, port de la paix. Nous étions agités en tout sens par les vagues, obligés de boire les eaux salées et amères, notamment de subir les invectives d'hérésie, de schisme, de rébellion contre le Saint-Siège. Mais le Dieu de la paix a laissé tomber son regard sur nous, lorsque celui qui le remplace a commandé aux vents et à la mer, et qu'une grande tranquillité s'est produite. Nous remercions autant que possible Dieu et son vicaire; nous embrassons des deux bras, comme il se doit aux fils aimants du Père et de la Paix, le décret et les lettres apostoliques, ancrés très sûrs de paix. De plus nous souhaitons de tout coeur que tous ceux qui, dans leur zèle et leur déférence discordaient jusqu'à présent, puissent embrasser aussi la paix qu'a fixée votre oracle apostolique. Votre Sainteté daignera établir qui sont ceux qui aiment le plus la paix, et ceux qui le firent moins auparavant.

Nous souhaitons pareillement que par cette manifestation de notre obéissance vous puissiez mesurer, en tout autre point, notre déférence, culte et amour envers le vicaire du Christ, le chef de l'Église, le pasteur de tous les chrétiens. Notre obéissance que voici nous dispose, comme nous ne l'avons jamais manqué de l'être, à condamner, même sous serment, s'il le faut, sans aucune distinction, restriction, ou exposition les cinq propositions tirées du livre de Jansénius dans leurs sens obvie comme les Souverains Pontifes les ont condamnées.

Dans la même obéissance, nous nous garderons d'attribuer à ces propositions ou au formulaire tout autre sens que celui que Votre Sainteté, par ces mêmes mots, a clairement et distinctement indiqué. Enfin, dans le même esprit d'obéissance nous conserverons fidèlement le silence imposé" (AAM, 1068).

D'après Du Pac (f° 250), cette lettre fut souscrite par Gommarus Huygens, un des professeurs les plus attaqués²⁵, au nom de plusieurs théologiens de Louvain; par Erasmus Van Geet, chanoine et pénitencier de la cathédrale de Gand, au nom de plusieurs théologiens du diocèse de Gand; par Lambert Baerts, pléban de la cathédrale de Malines, au nom de plusieurs chanoines, théologiens et pasteurs du diocèse; par Rumold Backx, pléban de la cathédrale d'Anvers, au nom de plusieurs chanoines, théologiens et pasteurs d'Anvers; par Guillaume Van de Nesse, au nom de plusieurs théologiens de Bruxelles; par le P. Gilles Gabrielis, commissaire général du Tiers-Ordre (régulier) de saint François dans les Pays-Bas, au

²⁵ L. CEYSSSENS, *Gommarus Huygens in de verwikkelingen van de strijd tussen Kerk en Staat*, dans ma collection *Jansenistica. Studiën*, II, Malines, 1953, 193-229.

nom de sa province²⁶; par le P. Martin De Hondt, prévôt de la congrégation de l'Oratoire de Flandre; par Michael van Oudenhove, provincial des capucins, et le P. Serenus de Saint-Trond, ex-provincial de la même province²⁷.

L'Université

Comme de coutume, à l'égal des évêques, l'Université eut, de la part de l'internonce, communication officielle des nouveaux documents. Au Conseil universitaire donc de les examiner et d'en tirer les conclusions pratiques²⁸. Or, le recteur, président de ce conseil, O.F. Crabbeels, de la Faculté de droit, tiers-parti, et les autres membres, c.-à-d. les doyens des diverses facultés, ne font aucune opposition. Le 5 mars ils décident d'accepter les documents et d'y conformer leur propre serment académique en usage depuis plusieurs siècles, et déjà adapté en 1660 à la bulle de 1656. Du Pac écrit dans ses *Mémoires* (ms. f° 250):

"Le recteur de Louvain se hâta de faire publier authentiquement [le bref] et d'en prescrire l'exacte observation à tous ceux qui étaient soumis à sa juridiction ...".

La Faculté de théologie constitue un cas particulier. Elle n'a pas seulement eu communication du décret et du bref aux évêques; elle a reçu aussi un bref particulier, une réponse directe à sa lettre du 7 mai 1693²⁹, où, vu l'accueil favorable que le pape réservait à son délégué Hennebel, elle avait osé demander une approbation écrite de ses *Censures* contre Lessius, approbation qu'en 1679 Innocent XI n'avait voulu donner qu'oralement, de sorte que par après elle fut mise en doute³⁰. Or Innocent XII,

²⁶ L. CEYSSENS, *Gilles Gabrielis à Rome (1679-1683). Épisode de la lutte entre rigorisme et laxisme*, dans *Antonianum*, 34 (1959) 73-111; repris dans mes *Jansenistica minora*, V, fasc. 40.

²⁷ D'après Du Pac, "il y eut encore d'autres lettres gratulatoires adressées à Sa Sainteté, aux cardinaux, au commissaire de la Congrégation etc., mais plusieurs de ces lettres quoique signées ne furent pas envoyées. Telle fut celle que nous avons sous les yeux, datée du 7 mai et signée par les abbés Norbertins de Heylissem et de Tongerlo ...". Ces derniers signataires se plaignent, se justifient et surtout se soumettent entièrement au décret et au bref, condamnant les cinq propositions dans leur sens obvie. Ils ne font que soutenir la grâce efficace en soi et la prédestination gratuite, et pourtant ils ne cessent d'être noircis comme parjures, hérétiques, transgresseurs des derniers documents romains. Ils prient le pape de faire observer son bref si sage par leurs adversaires et même d'en obtenir du roi d'Espagne l'observance dans ses Pays-Bas (AAM, 148).

²⁸ OPSTRAET, 179, le compte parmi les amis (*rectorem aliosque amicos*).

²⁹ En voir le texte dans F. CLAEYS BOUAERT, *L'ancienne Université de Louvain. Études et documents*, Louvain, 1956, 321-322.

³⁰ Voir mon étude *De Leuvense deputatie te Rome (1677-1679)*, dans ma collection *Jansenistica. Studiën*, I, 167-253, plus particulièrement 219-234.

lui aussi décline poliment cette prière, en citant la vieille réponse du Pape Célestin I, du temps de saint Augustin: inutile de vouloir trop pénétrer les mystères de la grâce, et en renvoyant aux *Congregationes de Auxiliis*, terminées sans décision; en somme une réponse peu favorable³¹. La Faculté a-t-elle exprimé quelque reconnaissance? Elle n'en avait pas plus de raisons que les évêques!

L'accueil par les évêques

Les nouveaux documents concernent avant tout l'archevêque de Malines et ses suffragants. Ils leur sont adressés expressément. Le formulaire spécial qu'ils avaient promulgué en est l'origine et le but. Comment ont-ils réagi? Se sont-ils consultés? L'archevêque a certainement pris contact avec ses conseillers, entre autres avec Steyaert qui est concerné personnellement en tant que vicaire apostolique de Bois-le-Duc.

Il faut nous arrêter un instant auprès de ce dernier, qui est vraiment "un évêque *in partibus*"; il n'a aucune autorité réelle sauf sur quelques paroisses autour de Geel, en territoire belge, qui firent et font alors encore partie du diocèse de Bois-le-Duc qui, à la suite de la Réforme, fut entièrement supprimé en Hollande. Aussi Steyaert réside-t-il toujours à Louvain, où en tant que théologien savant, polémiste productif, professeur remuant, il est le grand homme du moment. Dans sa jeunesse il a passé pour un janséniste ardent, ensuite il est devenu un antijanséniste aussi ardent³² ... et intéressé. À Louvain, ses adversaires — et il en a beaucoup — l'appellent "sac à bénéfices", et de fait, au fil des ans il y a accaparé toutes les charges importantes, la vice-chancellerie y comprise. Depuis 1691 il est vicaire apostolique de Bois-le-Duc, suffragant de Malines, ami et conseiller de Précipiano. Au début de 1692, il est un des inspireurs de ce singulier formulaire malinois; il l'a adopté pour ses quelques paroisses, il en est resté le défenseur acharné, à côté de Précipiano, son archevêque. Parmi les suffragants il est le tout premier à réagir aux documents romains.

³¹ Dans une lettre à Mgr. Codde (OBC, 168), en date du 13 février, Du Vaucel s'en plaint, surtout à cause du renvoi à Célestin I, "qui est le passage dont les molinistes ont toujours abusé pour éluder l'autorité de saint Augustin"; et il s'en prit aussi au cardinal Casanate, rédacteur du bref en question.

³² Voir L. CEYSENS, *De rehabilitatie van Martinus Steyaert (1684-1685)*, dans ma collection *Jansenistica. Studiën*, I, 309-341.

L'accueil par le vicaire apostolique de Bois-le-Duc

Son mandement³³, qui date déjà du 28 février, à peine deux jours après l'arrivée du pli de l'Internonce, veut visiblement prévenir et influencer les autres évêques, et sauver la situation. Adroit, Steyaert ne parle pas du décret romain qui dévalorise tout formulaire et qui par là paralyse toute action antijanséniste, mais s'arrête au seul bref qui, d'après lui, est déjà trop connu pour en publier le texte. Il l'interprète, mais à sa manière:

Finally le pape a fait connaître sa pensée sur le formulaire malinois: il affirme se tenir absolument aux bulles antijansénistes des papes Innocent X et Alexandre VII qui ont été et sont toujours en vigueur.

En vertu de ces bulles, les évêques sont autorisés à introduire le formulaire, mais en l'exigeant ils doivent unir leur charité à leur zèle.

Le pape "nomme" les cinq propositions extraites dans leur sens obvie. C'est pourquoi il ne permet, sous aucun prétexte, d'exiger quelque chose qui va au delà du formulaire pontifical. Mais il défend aussi de l'interpréter dans tout autre sens que le naturel de ses propres termes; et il interdit aussi d'en disputer. Enfin, il veut que ceux qui doivent souscrire le formulaire, le fassent sincèrement, sans distinction, sans restriction, sans explication. Par conséquent, le vicaire apostolique se tiendra désormais au seul formulaire pontifical, sans y rien ajouter, car c'est superflu. Mais avant de prendre la plume, ceux qui signeront, examineront bien devant Dieu quel est le sens propre des paroles du formulaire.

Certes l'interprétation de Steyaert est adroite, mais est-elle correcte et acceptable? Elle fausse le texte: "Propositiones ipsas quinque vocat [breve] ex libro Cornelii Jansenii *exceptas in sensu obvio* [je souligne]", ce qui est même grammaticalement une bévue, alors que le bref s'exprime correctement; une première fois joignant *excerptae et damnatae*; une seconde fois: *Damnando propositiones ex libro Cornelii jansenii excerptae(,) in sensu obvio*. L'omission du verbe *damnano* est une falsification du texte pontifical, ce qui à Rome équivaut presque à un crime et un sacrilège.

De plus, sans ciller, Steyaert omet une partie essentielle du bref: n'incommoder personne pour jansénisme qu'après constatation légitime d'avoir tenu la *doctrine* des cinq propositions défendues! Aussi ce mandement ne manquera-t-il pas d'être examiné sous la loupe. Lisons Du Pac (n° 257):

"... Au lieu d'y autoriser les sages dispositions d'Innocent XII, il [Steyaert] prit le parti de les contredire disertement, sous prétexte de les interpréter, c.à.d.

³³ En voir le texte dans M. LEYDECKER, *Historia Jansenismi*, Utrecht, 1695, introduction; J. OPSTRAET, *De Commonitorio ad Orthodoxos Commonitorium orthodoxum*, Liège, 1702, 8-9.

que, quoiqu'il ne soit fait dans le bref aucune mention du sens du livre de Jansénius et qu'on n'y exige que la condamnation des cinq propositions *dans leur sens naturel*, M. Steyaert, par une transposition des mots qui est une véritable falsification du texte, prétend lui faire décider qu'on doit croire le *fait*, c.à.d. que les cinq propositions condamnées sont extraites dans le sens naturel du livre de Jansénius ... Par une suite des mêmes desseins, M. Steyaert supprime dans son mandement la clause importante du bref qui détermine le sens dans lequel les cinq propositions ont été condamnées ... et il s'y donne la torture pour donner au bref du pape le sens de ses additions, quoiqu'elles y soient évidemment réprochées ...".

Du Pac poursuit:

"M. Steyaert ne se contenta pas de se charger lui-même de l'opprobre d'un si indigne procédé, il fit tout ce qu'il put pour engager les évêques des Pays-Bas à se rendre ses complices, et fut même sur le point d'y réussir à l'égard de l'évêque d'Anvers.."

Naturellement un tel mandement fut envoyé à Rome, d'où le 27 mars, Du Vaucel mande:

"... Nous avons reçu le mandement imprimé du Champion [Steyaert] pour la signature [du formulaire] en exécution du bref. On en sera choqué et nous croyons même de le pouvoir faire condamner ..." (OBC, 168).

En effet, Rome sera bientôt près d'une condamnation. Lisons Du Pac (f° 260):

"... Cependant le placard de M. Steyaert étant arrivé à Rome, et le P. Désirant ayant eu l'audace de le présenter à la Congrégation du Saint-Office, et d'en tirer un sujet de gloire, il eut la mortification de l'y voir universellement condamné. Le Cardinal d'Aguirre déclara que cette pièce ne valait absolument rien (*absolute nihil valere*). Le P. Commissaire qu'elle méritait d'être condamnée; le cardinal Casanate donna encore des marques plus fortes d'improbation. Enfin la Congrégation entière écrivit à l'internonce de Bruxelles sur la fin du mois d'avril que les décrets des évêques d'Anvers et de Bruges [cf. infra] pour la publication du bref avaient été très agréables (*valde placuisse*), mais qu'il s'en faillit de beaucoup qu'elle n'eût eu la même satisfaction de celui du Sieur Steyaert ... C'est ce que l'internonce eut ordre de déclarer à ce docteur ... pour lui faire supprimer son placard, en l'invitant à se conformer à ceux des évêques d'Anvers et de Bruges. L'internonce était pareillement chargé par la Congrégation de lui témoigner qu'elle improuvait également ce qu'il avait fait pour la justification des Additions de l'archevêque de Malines ..."³⁴.

³⁴ En 1697, Quesnel publiera contre le Mandement de Steyaert; voir WILLAERT, n° 6016, 6097, 6121.

L'accueil par l'évêque d'Anvers Jean Ferdinand de Beughem (1679-1699)

Le 4 mars, quatre jours après Steyaert, cet évêque lance un mandement³⁵, qui aussitôt - à cause d'une virgule? - est remplacé par un autre³⁶. Le second ne laisse rien à redire; il est bref et correct; il ordonne de souscrire le formulaire dans le sens indiqué par le pape; c.-à-d. il faut condamner les cinq propositions extraites du livre de Jansénius, (*virgule*) dans leur sens obvie qui est celui que portent leurs termes et qui a été condamné par les papes précédents. En somme le mandement est plus clair que les documents romains eux-mêmes. Aussi est-il loué même à Rome, comme nous avons déjà pu le lire.

L'accueil par l'évêque de Bruges Guillaume de Bassery (1690-1706)

Cet évêque donne son mandement le 8 mars, et l'imprime le lendemain³⁷. Se tenant étroitement au texte pontifical, il exige très correctement de condamner les cinq propositions de Jansénius, dans leur sens obvie, qui est celui de leurs termes. Comme nous l'avons déjà vu, cette interprétation sera louée par le Saint-Office.

L'accueil par l'évêque de Gand, Albert de Hornes (1681-4 juin 1694)

Au moment où l'internonce lui envoie les documents romains, cet évêque fait personnellement la visite d'une partie difficile de son évêché. À leur reçu, comment les accueillit-il? Nous apprenons seulement que

³⁵ En voir le texte, dans LEYDECKER, *Historia*, introduction; OPSTRAET, *Commonitorium*, 10-11.

³⁶ OPSTRAET, 206, écrit le 30 avril 1696 à Hennebel à Rome: "... Vix notum fuit nobis duo decreta edita fuisse ab episcopo Antverpiensi, nec primi exemplar vidimus. Dicitur episcopus mox admonitus fuisse ut illud supprimeret et aliud concinnaret. Quod et fecit ...". DU PAC (f° 257) insinue que l'évêque d'Anvers avait d'abord été influencé par Steyaert. "Ce prélat néanmoins comprit bientôt l'indignité du personnage qu'on voulait lui faire faire, et de concert avec Mr l'Évêque de Bruges, il publia le bref sans aucun correctif ...". Cf. AAM, n° 1191 et 1192; deux textes respectivement du 1^{er} et du 4 mars. Dans sa *Declaratio* (Codex Vaticanus 7405, f° 437) Prépiano observe: "... 1° Quod incuria typographi aut alterius, nescio cuius, irrepsit in breve apostolico ab episcopo Antverpiensi prius impressum, interpunctio seu comma inter *excerptas* et *in sensu obvio*; 2° quod juxta illud comma novatores intelligent breve; 3° sicuti cavillatio circa comma Bani stabilivit baianismum usque hodie, ita intendunt Hennebelliani stabilire jansenismum per comma vel additum vel intellectum". En effet, un exemplaire (AAM, n° 1071), porte cette virgule: "*excerptas, in sensu ab eodem auctore intento, prout per dictas constitutiones...*". Cette virgule devait inévitablement offusquer l'un ou l'autre parti: présente, les tenants de l'archevêque; absente, les adversaires de l'archevêque.

³⁷ Bruges, Archives de l'évêché, reg. 42, entre les pages 427-428.

depuis lors, aux ordinations, il n'exige plus aucun formulaire³⁸. Cela semble indiquer qu'il comprit le vrai sens du décret et du bref³⁹.

L'accueil par l'évêque de Ruremonde, Réginald Cools O.P. (1677-1700)

Le 3 mars, au reçu d'une copie officielle des documents⁴⁰, il répond laconiquement: "... Pour autant que cela dépend de moi, je m'efforcerai de mettre promptement en exécution les instructions pour apaiser les difficultés qui vexent l'Église dans ces pays nordiques ...", comme si la doctrine subjacente du *fait* et de l'infailibilité ne le préoccupent pas. En effet, quoique selon Hennebel, dans son *Diarium* (OBC, 25 novembre 1696) cet évêque soit un antijanséniste ardent, on n'entendra jamais rien d'autre de sa part.

L'évêque d'Ypres, Martin de Ratabon (1693-1713) est laissé de côté, car il est français, nommé par Louis XIV, son évêché étant du moins pour une grande partie devenu français⁴¹. L'évêque de Namur, Pierre van de Perre (1688-1695), qui en 1691 a été le premier à introduire un formulaire particulier⁴², n'a pas été oublié lors de l'expédition des documents, mais se trouvant au centre d'actions militaires, il ne sait sans doute plus s'il est sujet de Louis XIV ou à nouveau de Charles II? En tout cas, le 10 mars, l'internonce reste toujours sans réponse de sa part⁴³.

L'accueil par Précipiano, l'archevêque de Malines (1690-1711)

Certes les documents romains concernaient en premier lieu ce prélat qui surtout a voulu et veut toujours imposer ce malheureux formulaire malinois, cause de tant de troubles. Mais, de caractère hautain et ambitieux, ayant des convictions inébranlables, il est, au reçu des

³⁸ Ruth d'Ans, Verviétois, résidant à Bruxelles, manda le 12 mars à Du Vaucel à Rome: "l'évêque de Gand a procédé à des ordinations sans exiger le formulaire", cf. JACQUES, *Arnould*, 645, n.

³⁹ De fait l'évêque semble avoir simplement publié les textes romains. AAM, Museum Berlarminum, K 2, n° 4; pas mentionné dans VAN DE WIEL, n° 117.

⁴⁰ L'évêque reçut d'abord un texte officiel incorrect, (question de virgule?). Piazza lui écrivit le 4 mars: "Non fuerat Romae correctum exemplum decreti quod ... praeterito hebdomade submisi ..., sed cum postea compertum fuerit esse mendosum, fuit ille castigatum juxta copias impressas quae hisce veniunt acclusae. Favebit igitur Il.ma Dominatio Vestra iisdem uti et remittere alia exemplaria ...; Ruremonde, Archives de l'évêché, *Acta et correspondentia*, 34, fasc. 8.

⁴¹ L. JADIN, *Procès d'information*, dans *Bulletin de l'Institut historique belge de Rome*, 9 (1929) 277-279.

⁴² L. JADIN, *Pierre van den Perre, évêque de Namur*, dans *Augustiniana*, 13 (1963) 120-173.

⁴³ NF. 85, f° 143.

documents, surpris, désillusionné, même choqué, car d'après les nouvelles de son délégué romain, le P. Désirant, il s'attendait à mieux. En effet, le 6 juin 1693, Désirant avait mandé qu'en remettant la lettre des évêques au pape, celui-ci s'était écrié: "Sint isti benedicti et centies benedicti" (AAM, 146). Le délégué vantard avait même ajouté cinq points qui seraient déjà acquis à Rome: 1° Il est certain que le pape concédera *ex cathedra* tout ce que les évêques désirent, à savoir: 2° un formulaire avec des clauses encore plus fortes que les additions malinoises; 3° un serment sans aucune restriction ni distinction; 4° une bulle pour montrer qu'il s'agit bien d'un dogme; 5° la condamnation de nombreuses propositions jansénistes dénoncées par les évêques (AAM, 146).

Précipiano avait alors transmis ces heureuses nouvelles à ses suffragants. À Steyaert il avait écrit:

"Je transmets à vous et aux autres qui ont si glorieusement prêté leur main à la bonne cause, la lettre qui leur est adressée de Rome. Bénissons le nom du Seigneur qui, sur nos prières, a ouvert la bouche de son vicaire sur la terre Innocent XII, pour nous concéder tout ce que nous avons sollicité par notre délégué, notamment une constitution et un bref que nous attendons déjà par le prochain courrier. Entre-temps, avec notre Saint-Père, je répète de tout coeur: soyez béni, cent fois béni ..." (AAM, 146).

Or, après sept mois d'attente impatiente, il n'y a pas de bulle, mais seulement un décret, et quel décret, avec un bref plus décevant encore! Son formulaire, cette arme si puissante, il doit y renoncer, à la joie de ses adversaires, ces hérétiques! Et s'il lit bien, s'il essaie de comprendre ces textes obscurs, ne doit-il pas en conclure que, si invraisemblable que cela paraisse, le *fait* a cessé d'exister; tout formulaire, le pontifical aussi bien que le sien propre, est déclassé, toute l'action antijanséniste est paralysée, car les jansénistes ne refusent pas de rejeter l'erreur des cinq propositions, laquelle, disent-ils, ils n'ont jamais soutenue.

Fort déçu, il avale pourtant sa colère — car il est fort colérique — mais ne cède pas. Aux ordinations des quatre-temps (le 6 mars), il n'exige plus que le formulaire pontifical, sans même l'entourer de questions, mais en y joignant des explications dans le sens de ses additions⁴⁴. Or les

⁴⁴ Opstraet écrit le 11 mars: "... Nuper in ordinatione ita res accidit. Jubebat Arcadius [Précipiano] ordinandos prius apud se legere et expendere decretum Domini Champion [Steyaert], monebat ut serio examinarent quid exigeretur, ac tum formulam Alexandri jurare volebat. Jurarunt omnes, nullo reluctantante ... persuasi in facta non exigere juxta breve apostolicum ... Nunc indictus est concursus [aux charges ecclésiastiques] ... ubi verosimiliter rursus juramentum exigitur, sed instruentur, spero, concurrentes ne amplius juxta decretum Domini Champion jurent ..."; OPSTRAET, 188-189. Martin de Hondt, provincial des Oratoriens, approcha alors Précipiano pour réclamer, mais reçut cette réponse: "Pergam exigere meum programma; inhaereo decretis pontificum praecedentium, neque

ordinands ont déjà appris à jurer selon l'intention du pape, sans faire des distinctions, mais, d'après Précipiano, en commettant des parjures et en mettant leur salut éternel en danger. Quelle situation! Prenons connaissance de la longue lettre que le 1^{er} mars il adresse au cardinal de Goes, qui né belge, sert l'empereur d'Autriche dans l'ambassade de Rome, et jusque-là s'y est montré un protecteur dévoué:

Merci pour l'aide fournie dans l'obtention des documents romains, du moins pour autant qu'ils pourront être utiles. Car pour mettre fin au jansénisme, il aurait fallu une constitution bien claire et efficace. Or à son avis et à celui de ses collaborateurs, le bref s'exprime si obscurément qu'il confirme plutôt les jansénistes dans leur obstination, leur permet de mépriser ouvertement le formulaire et les bulles pontificales, de prétendre qu'on les oblige à condamner un fantôme, à savoir des propositions qui n'ont été soutenues par aucun auteur, pas même Jansénius. De plus le bref nous défend d'exiger des précisions autour de la signature, et par-là nous empêche d'écarter les indignes de l'autel et de la charge d'âmes. De la sorte la dernière erreur devient pire que la première. Efforcez-vous donc d'obtenir quelque nouvelle mesure pontificale, soit bulle, soit bref, mais claire et surtout efficace pour prévenir la ruine qui nous menace⁴⁵.

Le 14 avril, sans examiner sa propre conscience, il envoie tout un dossier (resté inconnu) au pape, auquel il écrit:

"Certes votre bref aurait suffi si on n'avait pas à faire à des gens obstinés et retors qui, loin de chercher la vérité, la repoussent, préférant les ténèbres. Ils prétendent prêter le serment selon l'esprit de Votre Sainteté — ainsi ils s'expriment —, restreignant tellement le formulaire qu'ils ne sont forcés qu'à condamner les cinq propositions prises dans leur sens obvie. Aussi affirment-ils ouvertement ne vouloir signer sincèrement d'après le sens obvie du formulaire. De la sorte vos mesures ne pourront être mises à exécution en Belgique qu'à l'aide du pouvoir séculier. Daignez donc la solliciter du roi d'Espagne. De plus, veuillez déléguer quelqu'un pourvu de pouvoirs spéciaux pour exiger le formulaire des universitaires de Louvain et des religieux exempts"⁴⁶.

Le 28 mai, Précipiano s'adresse au P. François Menegatti S.J., confesseur de l'empereur Léopold I:

Ce qui était craint dès le début, s'avère maintenant. Les documents romains sont loin de pacifier les esprits. Au contraire le jansénisme lève la tête, et il sera désormais difficile de le réduire. Prenez donc connaissance du dossier qu'à ce sujet j'ai adressé au pape. Le confesseur et l'empereur doivent aider,

curo quid Romae Hennebellius quidam cum aliquot cardinalibus molitur; non desinam a meo programme, nequidem propter ipsius Sacrae Congregationis, imo nec propter ipsius Pontificis mandatum, quia procederem contra conscientiam meam" (P. DE SWERT), *Chronicon congregationis Oratorii ... archiepiscopatus Mechliniensis*, Lille, 1740, 155.

⁴⁵ Vienne, Staatsarchiv, Rom., Varia, II.

⁴⁶ L. JADIN, *Relations ... Lettere di vescovi*, Bruxelles, 1952, 248-249.

car dans les circonstances présentes, il n'y a rien à espérer de la curie romaine, où — "nous le savons depuis longtemps", les jansénistes trouvent des protecteurs. Le confesseur engagera donc une fois de plus l'empereur à secourir l'Eglise, qui en ce moment se trouve placée devant un plus grand danger que jamais⁴⁷.

Naturellement Précipiano aura adressé de semblables plaintes à d'autres amis et protecteurs, avant tout au P. Gonzalez, général des jésuites, qu'il sait antijanséniste ardent, capable, influent à Rome et à Madrid. Nous le rencontrerons encore plus tard.

Entre-temps la lettre et le dossier envoyés au pape le 14 avril, n'ont pas l'heur de plaire à Rome. Du Pac (f° 261), qui en apprit par la correspondance de Hennebel, écrit:

"... Cette lettre (du 14 avril) ayant été lue en pleine congrégation, le P. Désirant et l'internonce de Bruxelles reçurent l'ordre de déclarer que sa lettre avait extrêmement déplu à la congrégation (*summopere displicuisse*), surtout à cause de la qualification de novateurs qu'elle renfermait contre les ecclésiastiques qui ne lui étaient pas agréables. Ils furent chargés de lui ordonner en même temps de se borner au soin de ceux qui étaient soumis à sa juridiction et que le Saint-Siège pourvoirait suffisamment à ceux qui en étaient exempts".

Entre-temps, Précipiano dont en premier lieu un mandement d'accueil est attendu, reste en retard. Quand l'internonce le lui rappelle, il répond naturellement dans le même sens qu'en mai 1695 quand il écrira:

C'est épouvantable. Les jansénistes, ces hérétiques, ont plus de crédit à Rome, qu'un archevêque qui défend la foi. L'on s'y en défie! Ses témoignages n'y comptent pas! On l'y tient pour convaincu de fraude et de fausseté (AAM, n° 1076).

Dans une lettre du 26 juin 1694 aux cardinaux (Vat. lat., f° 7405), Précipiano entre dans le détail.

Aussitôt au reçu des documents romains, il a voulu suivre l'exemple du vicaire apostolique de Bois-le-Duc, Steyaert. Il a composé son propre mandement et en a remis le texte à l'imprimeur. Mais à ce moment, il apprend que celui de Steyaert a déplu à Rome. Il fait donc arrêter l'impression et soumet son texte au jugement de Rome. Il n'attend nullement une approbation, mais veut savoir s'il peut procéder à la publication.

Mis au courant par une lettre de Hennebel, le délégué romain, Du Pac écrit (f° 261):

"... L'archevêque de Malines, dans le mois de juin suivant, fit présenter en son nom à la même congrégation par le P. Désirant, un projet de mandement pour la publication du bref, qui ne fut pas plus goûté que ne l'avait été celui de Steyaert. La congrégation lui répondit le 19 juin, qu'il était inutile de lui pré-

⁴⁷ AAM, 1069. Cette lettre a été partiellement reproduite dans DE CLERCQ, *Cinq archevêques*, I, 51, mais sous une fausse date.

senter de nouveaux projets; qu'elle en avait déjà examinés trois; que les mandements d'Anvers et de Bruges lui avaient été agréables, mais que celui de Bois-le-Duc lui avait déplu. Qu'ainsi l'archevêque n'avait qu'à choisir pour modèle un de ceux dont on avait été satisfait, et de se donner bien garde d'accepter celui dont on avait été mécontent".

Citant une lettre de Hennebel, Rome le 19 juin, Du Pac poursuit:

"L'archevêque reçut fort mal cette réponse. Il écrivait une nouvelle lettre à la Congrégation, où il menaçait, si elle ne lui donnait satisfaction, de quitter son archevêché et de s'en aller en Espagne. Cette menace qui n'était point sans doute bien sérieuse et qui ne faisait que manifester la disposition où il était de ne point changer, le fit qualifier d'*obstiné Bourguignon*" (Lettre de Hennebel en date du 3 juillet).

Enfin, le 5 juillet 1694, Précipiano donne un mandement, visiblement inspiré par le médiocre mandement de Steyaert. En voici, en résumé, le texte:

Pour mettre fin aux controverses, le pape a fait savoir par son bref qu'il tient fermement aux bulles toujours en vigueur de ses prédécesseurs Innocent X et Alexandre VII, qui condamnent les cinq propositions extraites du livre de Jansénius et condamnées; et il précise même qu'elles ont été *extraites dans leur sens obvie de ce livre* [je souligne]. Puisqu'il nous permet d'imposer le formulaire pontifical, je veux être le premier à le signer. Ceux qui devront le faire, le feront à mon exemple sincèrement, sans aucune distinction, restriction ou explication, selon le sens obvie des paroles mêmes du formulaire. Si quelqu'un a l'audace de faire autrement, il pourra tromper les hommes, mais non pas le Très-Haut qui scrute les coeurs et ne laissera pas impuni l'horrible crime du parjure⁴⁸.

Ce mandement a été imprimé, mais fut-ce pour être affiché ou seulement pour être envoyé à Rome et contenter le Pape? En tout cas, il ne plut pas à Rome. Lisons le contexte dans Du Pac n° 261:

"En effet, il [Précipiano] continue de donner des preuves de son obstination en signant, le 5 du mois de juillet suivant, son mandement pour la publication du bref qui était précisément dans le goût de celui de Steyaert, supprimé par la Congrégation; on y trouvait les mêmes omissions, les mêmes falsifications, avec un nouveau degré de mauvaise foi. Ce mandement fut concerté avec M. Steyaert de vive voix et par écrit, secondé puissamment par le Sieur Van Susteren, pour lors secrétaire et depuis grand-vicaire de M. de Précipiano. Les lettres originales de ce secrétaire et l'inspection de son registre découvrent les artifices dont il avait fait usage pour fabriquer ce mandement et le faire adopter par ce prélat. On n'osa néanmoins le publier dans le pays, où il demeura fort secret quoique imprimé, mais on l'envoya à Rome où le P. Désirant le présenta à la Congrégation sur la fin du mois de juillet, en lui faisant entendre que l'archevêque l'avait publié dans son diocèse et qu'ainsi

⁴⁸ En voir le texte latin dans OPSTRAET, *Commonitorium*, 9-10. J'en possède moi-même un exemplaire (placard) imprimé à l'époque, signé H.J. Van Susteren, secretarius.

c'était une affaire finie. La Congrégation reçut cette pièce comme elle le méritait. Elle déclarait qu'elle ne pouvait l'approuver, en ordonna même la suppression et menaça de la supprimer si l'archevêque la rendait publique. L'archevêque fut si mécontent de ces dernières résolutions que, pour s'en venger sans doute sur le P. Désirant, son député... il déclara qu'il ne fournirait plus d'argent à ce Père ..."⁴⁹.

Dans son *Commonitorium* (p. 13), Opstraet ajoute: "... Ainsi finalement, vu l'ordre de Rome, Précipiano et Steyaert supprimèrent leurs mandements, mais continuaient d'exiger leur formulaire ...". Cependant l'affaire ne se termina pas si promptement, du moins de la part de Précipiano, car le 30 décembre 1694 celui-ci reçut du Cardinal Cibo [membre important du Saint-Office, nullement favorable aux jansénistes] l'avertissement de ne plus faire usage de son Mandement en exigeant le serment! Le 5 janvier 1695, Précipiano réagit très amèrement, convaincu d'avoir raison et aussi la bonne pratique (AAM, 70).

L'ACCUEIL EN FRANCE

Malgré la paix clémentine, le formulaire n'était nullement oublié en France; il y avait toujours ceux qui en profitaient, mais aussi ceux qui en souffraient. Il suffit de penser aux deux Port-Royal, ou aux deux instituts religieux: la Société et l'Oratoire. Aussi les péripéties du formulaire malinois n'y passèrent-elles pas inaperçues. Les documents romains y furent aussitôt connus, ne fût-ce que par cette lettre ouverte attribuée au P. Doucin, dont nous reparlerons. On y fit même des efforts pour en tirer profit. Le 14 mars 1694, Arnauld ose même espérer que Louis XIV en tirera des conclusions en faveur des victimes innocentes qu'il a déjà faites⁵⁰. Quesnel écrit le 26 mars 1694, de Bruxelles à son correspondant romain Du Vaucel:

"... Je vois par ce qu'on nous mande, que les amis sont partagés à Paris sur les brefs. Les uns les croient pernicioeux, comme M. [Philippe Goibaud] Du Bois, [de l'hôtel de Guise, traducteur de saint Augustin], qui vient de faire imprimer les sermons de ce docteur en deux volumes; M. Nicole⁵¹ les tient avantageux;

⁴⁹ En effet, le 25 mars 1695, le P. Désirant relèvera à l'archevêque plusieurs raisons pour pouvoir rester à Rome (*Diarium*, 315-316).

⁵⁰ Cf. supra p. 256.

⁵¹ Pierre NICOLE, grand écrivain, exprima son opinion à Quesnel: "... Le bref tient lieu de mandement, et l'on signe selon l'intention qui y est exprimée. Après tout, ce bref est plus adroit qu'on ne croit et donne la paix à l'Église par un tour assez ingénieux ..."; citation dans JACQUES, *Arnauld*, 643, n. 198.

M. Angran⁵² est du même sentiment ... Voilà comme on s'expose à éterniser les contestations, quand on les termine par des sentences ambiguës et qui ne disent rien de net. Je crois que M. Hennebel ne doit pas laisser passer le libelle de Paris [du P. Doucin] sans s'en plaindre bien haut" (I, 298).

Le 3 avril, Du Vaucel écrit de Rome à Mgr. Codde:

"Je suis bien aise, Monseigneur, d'apprendre que le décret et le bref touchant le formulaire aient été reçus et expliqués par les Majeurs et nos autres amis d'une autre manière que je ne croyais. Des avis venus de Paris marquent qu'on les y a pris et entendus de la même sorte et qu'on ne croit plus qu'après cela il y ait de difficulté à la signature du formulaire. Ces nouvelles ont plu à cette Cour et en particulier à M. Albin [le cardinal Casanate]. M. du Til [Hennebel] en a donné part à tous les cardinaux du Saint-Office. Il l'aurait fait aussi à l'égard du pape, si Sa Sainteté avait été en état de lui donner audience ces jours-ci passés. Elle en fut aussitôt informée par le cardinal Spada [secrétaire d'État] et a témoigné en être bien satisfaite ... Ce qu'il y a encore de bon en cela, c'est que tout le monde ne faisant plus de difficulté de signer en conséquence du bref, les adversaires de la Mission⁵³ perdront tout envie d'y introduire le formulaire.

J'allai avant-hier donner part à Mr. Albin de l'extrait de la lettre écrite de Paris, où l'on marquait de quelle manière le bref y a été reçue, de quoi il eut grande joie ..." (OBC, 168).

Diversement interprétés en France, les documents y sont aussi contradictoirement enseignés. Gaspard Juenin, oratorien⁵⁴, dans ses *Institutiones theologicae ad usum seminariorum* (1696, plusieurs éditions postérieures) en use pour éclaircir l'infailibilité de l'Église dans les problèmes de la foi, et non dans ceux du *fait*. Au contraire, Henri de Bissy⁵⁵, évêque de Meaux, plus tard cardinal, y revient dans son *Mandement et instruction pastorale ... portant condamnation des Instructions théologiques du P. Juénin*, Paris 1710, pour prouver avec éclat cette infailibilité dans les questions de *fait*. En France, ces documents destinés à la Belgique, entrent dans l'histoire. Michel Le Tellier, S.J., bientôt confesseur de Louis XIV, les introduit, avec une légère amputation et un bout de commentaire dans son *Recueil historique des bulles* (1697; plusieurs éditions). En 1739, le jésuite H. Robillard d'Avrigny consacre dans ses *Mémoires chronologiques*, t. III, les pages 409-420 au sort des documents romains de 1694, surtout en France.

⁵² Cet Angran semble avoir été un fils de Mme de Fontpertuis, correspondante d'Arnauld et de Quesnel.

⁵³ Il s'agit de la congrégation de la Mission ou des Lazaristes.

⁵⁴ Voir *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, VIII, 1719-1721.

⁵⁵ Sur le cardinal de Bissy, voir L. CEYSSENS, *Le sort de la bulle Unigenitus*, Louvain, 1992, 310-351.

En France ces documents sont aussi appliqués par certains évêques. Charles-Auguste Le Tellier, archevêque de Reims, grand adversaire des jésuites, les trouve si avantageux qu'il en fait aussitôt imprimer 2000 exemplaires pour les répandre dans son diocèse⁵⁶. Jacques Nicolas Colbert, archevêque de Rouen, en fait cas dans son ordonnance du 28 mars 1697⁵⁷, et dans sa *Lettre au Sieur Vivant, présentement à Rome auprès du cardinal de Janson Forbin, sur les différends des théologiens de Flandre et sur la dernière déclaration présentée au Saint-Office par M. Hennebel*⁵⁸.

En 1696, dans son *Instruction pastorale portant condamnation du livre intitulé Exposition de la foi touchant la grâce et la prédestination* (de Martin du Barcos), Louis Antoine de Noailles, archevêque de Paris, annonce qu'il va lui-même appliquer ce que le pape vient de prescrire aux évêques belges:

"... Pour achever d'imiter en cette occasion la sage conduite de notre pape Innocent XII, que nous nous proposons pour modèle, il ne nous reste plus que de recommander, comme Sa Sainteté fait dans ses brefs cités, qu'on ne se serve plus de cette accusation vague et odieuse de jansénisme pour décrier personne à moins qu'il ne soit convaincu (légitimement) d'avoir enseigné de vive voix ou par écrit une des cinq propositions ..."59

Enfin, en 1700, l'Assemblée du Clergé, dans sa *Déclaration*, examine cette

"... règle de n'accuser de jansénisme que ceux qui soutiennent quelqu'une des cinq propositions condamnées, comme essentielle à la droiture et à l'équité épiscopale et comme ... confirmée par les brefs du 6 février 1694 du très grand pape Innocent XII, [reçus] avec l'applaudissement de toute l'Église"⁶⁰.

Mais d'autre part, puisque ces documents romains, déclassent le formulaire et privent les antijansénistes de cette arme puissante, le P. La Chaize, prend, sur l'ordre de son général Gonzalez, la direction d'une croisade antijanséniste⁶¹, qui en réalité milite déjà en plusieurs endroits, surtout dans les Pays-Bas espagnols sous le nom de *Société secrète pour l'accusation du jansénisme*, érigée à Louvain vers 1678.

⁵⁶ ARNAULD, lettre 1040.

⁵⁷ SOMMERVOGEL, *Bibliothèque*, II, 341, n° 7.

⁵⁸ WILLAERT, n°s 1690-1691; *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, IX, 455.

⁵⁹ CEYSSENS-TANS, *Autour de l'Unigenitus*, Louvain, 1987, 671.

⁶⁰ BOSSUET, *Oeuvres complètes*, Paris, Vives, XXII, 741.

⁶¹ CEYSSENS-TANS, 406-407. G. GUITTON, *Le réveil du jansénisme, Pasquier Quesnel et le Père de la Chaize (1696-1708)*, dans *Nouvelle revue théologique*, 79 (1957), 388.

L'ACCUEIL PAR LES JÉSUITES

Ces religieux, ayant joué un grand rôle dans l'histoire du jansénisme en général, du formulaire en particulier, et spécialement même du formulaire malinois, ne sont, au début, non moins surpris que l'archevêque initiateur. En passant nous avons déjà pu lire quelques traits significatifs. Dans ses *Mémoires* manuscrits, Du Pac consacre son 45^e chapitre aux *Dispositions des jésuites* (f° 255-257). En passant, nous en avons déjà relevé quelques extraits relatifs à leurs frustrations. En voici encore une: d'après une lettre de Hennebel écrite le 20 février à Rome: "Les jésuites se déchaînent sans ménagement (*non tam declamant quam furiant*) (Du Pac, f° 255).

Incidentement nous avons déjà relevé plus haut, comment aussitôt après le bref, le Général Gonzalez s'était rendu au palais pontifical pour présenter ses protestations au pape en personne, mais ne fut pas reçu. Peu après, le P. Paul Segneri, un des principaux jésuites italiens, réussit mieux; prêchant le carême devant la cour pontificale, il trouva facilement l'occasion d'aborder le pape, son auditeur. Du Pac (f° 255) écrit:

"Le P. Segneri, chef de la faction opposée à ce général, et plus accrédité dans la Société que le général lui-même, s'échappa dans une conversation particulière qu'il eut avec Innocent XII, six jours après la publication du bref, jusqu'à lui déclarer que Sa Sainteté, au lieu de donner la paix, allait y exciter de nouveaux troubles (*nova bella*), surtout en fixant l'hérésie du jansénisme au sens naturel (*sensus obviu*) des cinq propositions. Le bon pape fut fort troublé par ce discours, et qui sait ce que le jésuite lui aurait arraché dans ces circonstances, si le Saint-Père n'eût envoyé chercher le même jour l'assesseur⁶² du Saint-Office, qui le tranquillisa en lui faisant voir la témérité et l'indécence des déclamations de ce jésuite".

Mais malins, les antijansénistes de Rome, savent faire bonne mine à mauvais jeu. Ils réussissent même dans un jeu de faux. Nous en trouvons un spécimen, dans la lettre ouverte, déjà citée en passant: *Lettre écrite de Rome à un docteur de Louvain au sujet du nouveau décret et du bref de N.S. Père le pape Innocent XII aux évêques des Pays-Bas touchant le formulaire contre Jansénius*, s.l.n.d., 18 p. in-12°.

Ce libelle anonyme adressé de Rome à un docteur de Louvain n'émane-t-il pas de ce Père Désirant, Louvaniste lui-même, ce délégué vantard de Précipiano, qui en novembre 1693 déjà avait bruyamment annoncé sa victoire? Pourtant on l'a attribué au P. Louis Doucin⁶³, jésuite

⁶² Pietro Filippo Bernini, assesseur de 1690 à 1698, était un prélat très ouvert, assez loquace, appartenant au parti du cardinal Casanate.

⁶³ CEYSSSENS-TANS, 456-481. Ni le P. Sommervogel, ni ses continuateurs, ni Willaert ne font mention de cette attribution. Du Pac, f° 257, la reconnaît.

français, antijanséniste ardent, qui résidait à Rome vers ce temps-là. S'est-il empressé de rentrer en France pour y publier aussitôt le bulletin de victoire? En tout cas, c'est en France qu'il est répandu et attribué aux jésuites. Le 24 mars, Quesnel reçut à Bruxelles "ce libelle triomphant des jésuites de Paris ... Vous verrez par là comment chacun croit avoir gagné son procès, ou fait semblant de le croire. Les jésuites de Paris se réjouissent du décret et du bref du pape; ceux de Rome en pleurent, ceux des Pays-Bas [Belgique] ne savent s'ils en doivent rire ou pleurer" (I, 297-298). Quant au continu, le libelle reproduit (p. 7-12) le texte (latin-français), des documents romains, qui par là est aussitôt connu en France. Cependant l'auteur s'y permet une légère mais importante amputation du texte original; il supprime notamment le mot essentiel *legitime* dans l'expression du bref: *nisi prius suspectum esse legitime constiterit ...*. Commentant les textes, l'auteur y trouve quatre raisons de se réjouir, car le pape: 1° n'admet pas que le jansénisme soit un fantôme, sans existence réelle; 2° soutient que les cinq propositions ont été condamnées dans le sens de Jansénius et 3° que le vrai sens de Jansénius est celui des cinq propositions prises dans leur sens naturel; 4° ordonne de souscrire le formulaire d'après son sens naturel. L'auteur conclut:

"Par là ces déclarations juridiques [des adversaires du formulaire], méditées avec tant d'art, distribuées avec soin, envoyées même dans les pays étrangers, où elles étaient regardées comme un dernier retranchement pour les partisans de Jansénius, ne sont plus qu'une muraille éboulée qui ne saurait désormais les mettre à couvert. Il leur faut, ainsi que j'ai dit, ou se parjurer, supposé qu'on tienne encore dans le cœur la doctrine du livre de Jansénius, ou déclarer ouvertement qu'on n'obéira pas à l'Église ... Au reste, ces messieurs ne pourront se plaindre d'avoir été maltraités à Rome. Les égards qu'on a eus pour eux ... sont des preuves de ce que le Saint-Père a dit souvent, que moins ils sont dociles, plus il faut faire des choses pour les gagner ...".

Ce libelle bruyant connaît aussitôt une édition latine, même augmentée: *Litterae Romae datae ad doctorem Lovaniensem circa novum decretum et breve S.D.N. Innocentii XII ad episcopos Belgii de formulario contra Jansenium et theologi Lovaniensis ad illas responsio*; s.l.n.d., 20 p. in-fol. (cf. Willaert n° 5824). Comme l'édition française, l'édition latine ampute et interprète captieusement les textes, et devient même plus agressive:

"... Le bref devra servir à faire chasser les jansénistes de l'Église par l'excommunication, ou à les forcer par les mauvais traitements d'en sortir eux-mêmes, soit qu'ils signent le formulaire ou qu'ils ne le signent pas. Il faut les traiter dans le premier cas comme des perfides parjures, et dans le second comme des rebelles à l'autorité de l'Église ...".

La *Lettre* et les *Litterae* seront condamnées à Rome le 19 mai 1694. Néanmoins, malgré la *Lettre* ouverte, les jésuites eux-mêmes ne sont

pas tous très contents des documents romains. Nous l'avons déjà appris en passant. De plus le Codex Vaticanus 7405, f° 430-431, conserve neuf *Difficultates circa breve 6 februarii 1694*, qui semblent de leur inspiration⁶⁴, et surtout ils vont aider Précipiano et ses suffragants à poursuivre leurs instances à Rome pour y obtenir mieux que ces documents de 1694.

INTERMEZZO

La lettre de Hennebel à Précipiano, Rome le 20 février 1694.

Hennebel, le Louvaniste, délégué à Rome par les adversaires du formulaire malinois, ne manquait pas de qualités. Il était assez courageux et n'hésita pas, avant de partir pour Rome, à rendre par deux fois visite à Précipiano et à s'entretenir avec lui⁶⁵. À Rome il s'est démené habilement de sorte qu'à l'égal du P. Désirant, son émule, et du P. Doucin, l'auteur de la *Lettre ouverte*, il croit avoir remporté une victoire complète, qu'il s'empresse audacieusement d'annoncer même à son archevêque de Malines, tout aussitôt après le bref du 6 février 1694. En effet, le 20 février, Louis Du Vaucel, agent à Rome des antijansénistes français, ami et collaborateur de Hennebel, écrit à Arnould:

"... J'ai travaillé toute cette matinée à mettre en état la lettre que M. du Til [Hennebel] envoie pour M. Arcade [Précipiano]. Il n'eut pas le temps [à cause du départ de la poste] de nous communiquer celle qu'il envoya par le dernier courrier, où nous avons trouvé beaucoup de choses à retrancher et à changer. Comme il l'avait envoyée ouverte en la soumettant entièrement au jugement des Majeurs [les Louvanistes], nous nous tenons comme assurés qu'ils ne l'auront pas rendue, et qu'ainsi celle-ci viendra encore à temps ..." (AGR.1515).

Dans une autre lettre, de la même date, à Mgr. Codde, Du Vaucel ajoute que cette lettre de Hennebel "... pourra dans la suite être rendue publique ..." (OBC, 168). Le 27 mars, il écrit à Quesnel:

"... La Lettre de Mr du Til sera bien venue à propos; nous ne doutons pas que les Majeurs ne l'aient rendue. Nous en attendons des nouvelles

⁶⁴ AAM, n° 155 contient un écrit *Delle querele de' Padri Giesuiti contro il decreto emanato adi 28 Gennaio 1694 et alli brevi*, qui pourrait provenir de Hennebel à Rome, au courant des nouvelles courantes. Le Fondo Giesuitico (Rome, Biblioteca nazionale), Dossier 1344, contient un opuscule manuscrit: *Jansenistarum in contemnendis aut re-jiciendis constitutionibus apostolicis pertinax contumacia*, d'après les documents de 1694. Cet écrit est à comparer à d'autres semblables de 1693; cf. WILLAERT, 5722-7530.

⁶⁵ Dans les sources, il en est beaucoup question; voir entre autres: B. DÉSIRANT, *Commonitorium ad orthodoxos*, II, 18-29; OPSTRAET, *Commonitorium*, 15-39; DU PAC, f° 274-278.

par le premier courrier. Ils la pourront ensuite faire imprimer, ce qui achèvera de faire concevoir au public le véritable sens de leur signature" (*Causa Quesnelliana*, 212).

Cette lettre a sa petite histoire, comme nous verrons, mais elle vaut aussi pour son contenu. En voici d'abord le texte original, peu connu:

"Illusterrissime et Reverendissime Domine,

Patiatur Ill.ma ac R.ma Sua Gratia ut his litteris tuo erga pacem studio paternaeque in filios charitati congratuler; jam enim beata spes affulget fore ut praelucente nobis Sedis apostolicae lumine, offusae tam diu nostro Belgio dissensionum nebulae dispellantur, constringantur pacis foedera, idemque dicamus omnes, neque sint amplius schismata.

Confecta res est, Praesul Ill.me, si omnes apostolicis debitam observantiam mandatis exhibentes, quod nuper a Sancta Sede emanavit decretum amplectantur et damnantes quod ipsa damnavit, eius judicium in caeteris de quibus nondum cognoscere vel statuere quidquam voluit, filiali reverentia et, ut catholicae unitatis amantes decet, patienti animo expectetur. Vetat Sedes apostolica ne quis alium damnatis quinque propositionibus sensum affingat praeter obvium et quem ipsa propositionum verba per se exhibent. Nihil certo ad sedanda filiorum suorum dissidia vel sapientius cogitari potuit vel prudentius. Novit namque Ill.ma T.G. non aliunde exortas fuisse plures contentiones quam quod nonnulli Innocentii X et Alexandri VII constitutionibus abuterentur et invereconde jansenistarum nomine notarent theologos aliosque viros apprime catholicos, qui proscriptas a Summis Pontificibus propositiones numquam non damnarunt in sensu obvio et quem ipsa per se propositionum verba exhibent; contendebant quippe inconsiderati illi censores, ab omnibus illum etiam sensum debere damnari qui neque in quinque propositionibus juxta sensum obvium exprimebatur, quemque nefas erat in libro, apostolica auctoritate prohibito, investigare et deprehendere.

Hanc autem omnium quibus jam dudum misere conflictatur Belgium, controversiarum occasionem sublatam esse apostolicae Sedes auctoritate et sapientia, tam gratum erit, quam quod maxime, omnibus quibus cordi est christiana unitas, ac tibi praesertim, Praesul Ill.me, communi nostro pastori, cuius in paterna charitate ac prudentia, jam posita est, post hanc S. Sedis declarationem, eorum omnium malorum apud nos prompta et sanatio certa.

Quidni in formulari idipsum sperare nobis liceat, Ill.me Domine, ubi semel perspexeris quid ea de re judicet apostolica Sedes nostrumque de eodem formulari sensum ab eius mente nullatenus discrepare deprehenderis? Quod ut tibi pateat rem totam prout hic gesta est, breviter enarrantem rogo ut benigne audias.

Tam meo quam eorum quorum hic partes ago nomine, Summo Pontifici ac Sacrae Congregationi Sancti Officii saepe, tam voce quam scripto, exposui nobis persuasissimum esse, nemini ab apostolica Sede extendendi *facti* jansenisiani necessitatem per formularium imponi; quod ut planius Ill.mae S.G. innotescat nonnullarum declarationum mearum verba hic exscribo, ex quibus facile quivis intelligat quo sensu jam antea subscribi a nobis posse formularium existimavimus et in posterum subscribendum esse etiam nunc arbitramur.

In solemni declaratione a me exhibita die 26 octobris anni proximo elapsi haec leguntur:

'Declaro certum prorsus, sub humili correctione, mihi videri quod Sedes apostolica numquam fide tenendum definierit nec proinde unquam fidelibus necessitatem imposuerit credendi ac jurandi quinque illas propositiones ex libro Cornelii Jansenii, Yprensensis episcopi cui titulus *Augustino* excerptas esse, iisdemque contineri sensum in praefato Jansenii libro expressum, quamquam libenter agnoscam hanc fuisse Sedis apostolicae mentem ut vetaret prohiberetque ne quis postea librum Jansenii adversus latam a pontificibus censuram defendat et, dicto scriptove, asserere audeat quod propositiones ex praefato libro non sint excerptae vel quod non contineant sensum in eodem libro expressum'.

In alio vero scripto, postmodum Sacrae Congregationi porrecto haec habentur: 'Quod ad me attinet, aperte declaro persuasum mihi esse quod sensus formularii, quem in processibus suis verbalibus exposuerunt quatuor praefati episcopi [Galli], quemque ego secutus sum in mea declaratione exhibita Sacrae Congregationi Sancti Officii die 26 octobris proxime elapsi, sit sensus verus et legitimus ac Sedis apostolicae menti per omnia conformis'.

Declaro secundo persuasum mihi esse quod quatuor illi episcopi juxta sensum illum subscribentes formulario Alexandri VII, rite, legitime et sincere subscripserint.

Declaro tertio, juxta sensum dictorum episcoporum subscripturos promptissime omnes quos hactenus de jansenismo nonnulli in Belgio accusarunt.

Veritatem dico, Ill.me Domine, non mentior; tibi sancte affirmare possum, non solum hasce declarationes aliasque similes nihil omnino apostolicae Sedi displicuisse, sed etiam cum enixe flagitarem ut quid de iis sentirent, palam omnibus faceret ac declarare vellet, respondisse mihi quotquot sunt in Urbe tum dignitate tum eruditione conspicui, nihil huiusmodi declaratione opus esse. Paucis post diebus quam S. Congregationi sensum hunc nostrum de formulario exposuissem, Sanctitas Sua tam Catholicae Suae Majestati, quam electorali Celsitudini per apostolicum suum ministrum et per regium in hac Urbe oratorem significare voluit, per S. Sedem non stare quo minus ad quascumque Lovaniensis Academiae cathedras aliaque munia promoveri possem, quod quidem, Praesul Ill.me, hic non communicarem nisi inde plane constaret quam aliena fuerit apostolica Sedes ab improbanda hac nostra de formularii sensu expositione. Idipsum adhuc, nisi mea fallat opinio, perspicue liquet tum ex praedicto decreto apostolico, tum ex litteris apostolicis ad Ill.mam V.G. caeterosque R.mos Episcopos scriptis; ex his enim satis manifeste constare videtur S. Sedis mentem non esse, fidem circa factum jansenianum exigere, siquidem in iis declaratur sensum quinque propositionum ab apostolica Sede damnatum, esse sensum obvium quem ipsa propositionum verba per se exhibent, ac propterea eos dumtaxat pro jansenistis et haereticis habendos [esse] qui, servato juris ordine, convicti essent aliquam ex praeominatis propositionibus in sensu illo obvio quem verba ipsa per se exhibent tenere ac docere. Unde evidens fit illos contra fidem minime peccaturos qui propositiones in isto sensu damnare parati sunt, tametsi de *facto* janseniano non ita eis liqueret ut de eo quidquam affirmare aut jurare possent, quamquam lubens agnosco, eos ob reverentiam apostolicis constitutionibus debitam obligari ad non contradicendum, quemadmodum in meis praedictis declarationibus saepe exposui.

Certe, Eminentissimus bonae memoriae Cardinalis Laurea qui, dum formularis negotium sub Alexandro VII et Clemente IX examinaretur, S. Officii primarius

consultor erat, et postea in S. Cardinalium collegium adlectus, tot annos sedit inter Eminentissimos huius S. Tribunalis iudices, in scripto cui titulus est *Discussio formularis*, haec scribere non dubitavit: 'Hucusque non fuit divina fide creditum, aut ab Ecclesia aut Romano Pontifice propositum ad credendum aliquid ex *factis* Jansenii'; idque iterum testificatus est in voto suo, cuius exemplaria pervulgari voluit, ubi etiam addit: falsissimum esse Jansenii factum ab Alexandro VII definitum fuisse.

En Ill.me Domine, meum de formulario sensum, quem coram Summo Pontifice et Em.mis Patribus exposui, quemque apostolicae Sedis iudicio nequaquam improbatum esse ex supradictis constat, juxta quem non ego tantum sed omnes quarum hic causam ago, eidem formulario, cum opus fuerit, subscribere parati sumus.

Compulit me, Antistes R.me, pacis et veritatis amor haec omnia filiali affectu in charitatis tuae sinu effundere, ut status rerum quae Romae geruntur certus tibi innotescat; jam vero si quae forte supersunt quae adhuc apostolica auctoritate declarari indigeant, humiliter ac reverenter ab Ill.ma T.G. postulo, ut ea, dum hic coram adsumus, in Urbem transmittere deque his Summi Pontificis oraculum consulere velit.

Deum optimum maximum oro ... humillissimus, obedientissimus ac devotissimus famulus et filius ..." (AAM, 1117).

En somme, il s'agit d'une lettre convenable, même courtoise, nullement *impudente*, *insolante*⁶⁶ ou interprétant faussement les documents romains. Elle est plutôt véridique, même trop. C'est pourquoi elle va provoquer un coup de théâtre. Elle ne plaît nulle part, même pas à Louvain où on doit juger si elle mérite d'être remis à l'archevêque. Le professeur Opstraet nous en informe:

Le 5 mars:

La Lettre [première rédaction] n'exagère-t-elle pas le sens favorable des documents romains? Ceux-ci affirment-ils si clairement la dévalorisation du *fait*? De plus, les adversaires sont aussi sincèrement convaincus que nous d'avoir raison; il faut en tenir compte. Pour nous, le décret et le bref obtenus, la cause doit être tenue pour close; il ne s'agit pas de la poursuivre (I, 187).

Le 12 mars:

La Lettre a été envoyée aux amis de Bruxelles pour la remettre [éventuellement] à l'archevêque, mais eux aussi, ils ont eu leurs doutes. Certes le bref pontifical nous est assez favorable; il faut en profiter. Mais la Lettre ne permettra-t-elle pas à l'archevêque de prétendre que nous persévérons dans notre désobéissance? (I, 190-191).

Le 18 mars:

⁶⁶ Ce sont des expressions de Du Pac.

Après consultation des amis de Malines, on est convenu de ne pas remettre la lettre telle quelle. Il faut en écrire une autre, sans cette mention de la paix clémentine, pouvant susciter en France des résonances désagréables (I, 291).

Le 23 avril:

À Malines nous étions d'accord pour ne pas remettre ni la première ni la seconde rédaction; mais puisque vous insistez pour que la seconde soit remise, nous verrons (I, 204).

Hennebel est d'accord sur ce retard, car "il vaut mieux que Précipiano ne l'ait point eu avant que de faire réponse au pape touchant le bref" (*Causa Quesnelliana*, 212). Finalement à une date non précisée, la Lettre a été remise à Précipiano, qui l'examine avec ses conseillers. Eux, interprétant les documents romains selon la *Lettre* ouverte de Doucin, se trouvent fort offensés: Hennebel ne reconnaît même pas quelque culpabilité à Jansénius! Ils relèvent six difficultés dont Précipiano sollicite la solution au pape; les trois premières, les plus importantes, afin d'éviter à l'avenir les parjures innombrables qui se commettront dans la signature du formulaire; les trois dernières pour promouvoir la paix et la tranquillité des églises belges. De plus le pape n'oubliera pas de censurer la *Lettre* de Hennebel à l'égale de celle de Doucin, ni de prier le roi d'Espagne de faire punir le coupable dans ses intérêts à l'Université de Louvain⁶⁷. La

⁶⁷ AAM, 1118. Pour mieux comprendre la situation créée par la Lettre de Hennebel, lisons une épître du Père Désirant à l'évêque de Gand en date du 10 juillet 1694: "... Cum vero in praesentiarum res, Deo dante, eo deductae sint ut mihi insinuatum sit Hennebellii artes totas sic tandem purpuratis Patribus innotuisse, ut penitus exciderit fide (*totalmente screditato*), hinc arbitror mei muneris esse Vestrae Illustrissimae Dominationi indicare res nostras esse in bono statu; haereses enim detexisse, evicisse est. Homo est a S. Congregatione Sancti Officii mortificatus pro suo demerito. Quia enim litteras scripsit temerarias ad archiepiscopum ... in quibus temerarius inter alia commentatus est jurandum esse juxta sensum suum; idcirco a canonicatus et censuratus officio suspensus est, si obtinuit, impeditus vero si nondum obtinuit; qua de re ex praescriptione S. Congregationis ad ducem Bavariae [gubernatorem Bruxellensem] et Regem scribitur a legato regio, quemadmodum internuntio Bruxellensi demandatur ut idem officium faciat apud ministrum et rem publicet; totamque ipsorum hominum moralem complexus sum propositionibus 51, quibus adjecti tres alias e Jansenii libro excerptas, et quantum capio, quantum sapio consolationem non levem sperare possumus ex hac parte ..." (AAM, 1077). Le 6 septembre 1696, cet évêque de Gand, voulant écarter Hennebel de son chapitre, informera le roi d'Espagne de cette lettre de Hennebel *temeraria et maligna* dont tous les évêques belges *unanimo consilio* se plaindront au Pape, le priant "ut tam indignum et enorme facinus pro merito punire palam dignaretur ..." (*Synodicon*, 1, 99). Cependant, le 24 octobre 1694, Medinaceli, ambassadeur à Rome, fait savoir à son Roi que Hennebel a donné satisfaction et peut être promu. Ainsi, le 12 janvier 1695, le Conseil d'État à Madrid, priera le gouverneur général à Bruxelles de contribuer à la promotion de Hennebel; Simancas, Estado, 3889.

censure de la *Lettre* par le Saint-Office est aussi demandée par l'intermédiaire du Cardinal secrétaire d'État Spada, cardinal assez abordable (AAM, 1118). Afin d'atteindre ce but, on procédera à une mise en scène: pour prouver l'authenticité de la *Lettre* de Hennebel, un notaire apostolique la consigne officiellement à l'archevêque le 11 juin; le 30 juillet, le Nonce de Paris, J.J. Cavalerini, atteste "qu'on y en voyait diverses copies et que plusieurs personnes, même des docteurs de Sorbonne, y trouvaient fort à redire" (De Clercq, I, 52). À Rome la *Lettre* ne plaît nullement. Du Vaucel écrit le 10 juillet à Quesnel à Bruxelles:

"... Il ne faut que voir le vacarme qu'ils [les cardinaux] ont fait contre la Lettre ... M. Ferrand [Bernini, l'assesseur] envoya quérir M. du Til lundi après-midi, et comme M. du Til eut reconnu la *Lettre* pour sienne, il lui fit une répréhension très sévère, quelque raison que M. du Til alléguât pour sa défense. On ne put pas le jour suivant mettre en état le mémorial qu'on voulait présenter. Ainsi M. du Til écrivit un billet à M. Ferrand, le suppliant qu'on lui donnât du temps pour pouvoir fournir ses défenses. M. Ferrand fit réponse qu'il ne pouvait se dispenser de rapporter l'affaire dans la congrégation du jour suivant ... Hier M. du Til, étant retourné vers lui, il lui dit, que tout d'une voix on avait condamné sa conduite, comme contraire au décret et aux ordres de la Congrégation et comme pleine d'imprudence" (*Causa Quesnelliana*, 212-213).

Certes, imprudente, la *Lettre* l'est! Elle excite les guêpes au moment où Rome essaie d'apaiser les partis! Ne viole-t-elle pas aussi le silence si sérieusement imposé? Quant au contenu, il n'y a pas beaucoup à blâmer. L'interprétation que Hennebel donne des documents romains correspond à celle que la Congrégation (du moins sa majorité) a approuvée elle-même. Mais ici encore il y a une imprudence: la *Lettre* est trop franche, plus que la Congrégation a voulu ou pu l'être! Celle-ci a coutume de s'entourer de secret, ce dont Hennebel fait fi par exemple en citant in extenso un votum du Cardinal Laurea (mort dans l'entretemps, 1693).

Toutefois, le Saint-Office, ne voulant pas renoncer à son interprétation des documents, hésite à prendre des mesures officielles. Et puisque les adversaires de Hennebel ne peuvent pas prouver que sa *Lettre* a été rendue publique, il refuse de la censurer à l'égal de la *Lettre* ouverte de Doucin. Cependant cédant devant la pression, la Congrégation oblige Hennebel à s'excuser par une Déclaration bien plate.

"... Declaro per praesentes quod huic Sacrae Congregationis de Epistola mea iudicio per omnia me submitto, improbens quidquid Eminentissimi Patres in praefata Epistola mea improbandum censuerunt. Epistolam vero ipsam scripsisse multum doleo, neque in posterum simile quid facturum, sed decretum apostolicum [28 januarii 1694], praescriptumque in eo silentium inviolabiliter observaturum promitto, hoc unum in praesentiarum Eminentissimos Dominos rogans humillime, ut mihi culpam ingenue agnoscenti et emendare spondenti pro sua benignitate ac paterna pietate ignoscere ac veniam dare dignentur. Romae 14 septembris 1694" (*Causa Quesnelliana*, 211).

On le voit, Hennebel ne révoque nullement son interprétation des documents romains. Pourtant Rome s'en contente. Pour elle l'incident est clos. Précipiano est prié de s'en contenter aussi. Le 20 août 1694, l'internonce Piazza écrit à Précipiano:

"J'ai envoyé ... votre lettre à Rome pour que la Sacrée Congrégation prit bonne note de votre demande au sujet de Hennebel. Je viens de recevoir la réponse de Rome: tenu compte de la Déclaration et l'humble soumission d'Hennebel ... tout obstacle que celui-ci aurait contracté est enlevé; ledit docteur pourra désormais librement obtenir les offices et les dignités. Nous avons cru devoir vous en informer ..." (AAM, 1155).

Mais comment Précipiano pourrait-il se contenter d'une telle réponse, la fausse interprétation des documents romains n'étant pas révoquée, pire encore n'étant pas retenue par Rome? Aussi ne cesse-t-il de poursuivre Hennebel⁶⁸. La *Lettre* que Rome n'a pas voulu censurer, il l'introduit en 1695 dans son propre *Index* de livres prohibés⁶⁹. C'est sans doute par ses soins que l'humble Déclaration de Hennebel sera répandue.

Le 21 décembre 1696, il se plaint toujours de n'avoir reçu aucune réelle satisfaction de la part de Hennebel "qui avec tant d'irrévérence et de calomnie" l'a desservi auprès des cardinaux (NF, 81, f° 100). Même en 1702, il n'a pas encore digéré le désappointement que cette lettre lui a causé⁷⁰. Surtout, pour la *Lettre* avec son interprétation fausse, voire hérétique des documents romains, reste pour Précipiano un puissant stimulant pour continuer la lutte jusqu'à la victoire finale. Ce sera le sujet d'une autre étude.

Sint-Truiden

Lucien CEYSSENS

⁶⁸ En 1695 Précipiano insiste à Rome sur la fausse nouvelle que Hennebel aurait reçu d'Anvers la somme de 7500 florins pour soutenir son action à Rome; DE CLERCQ, *Cinq archevêques*, I, 54.

⁶⁹ "Cum praeterea intellexerimus spargi hic complura exemplaria duarum Epistolarum quarum altera est Joannis Liberti Hennebel Romae 20 februarii 1694 ad nos data, cuius temeritatem ipse dein auctor agnovit ..."; DE CLERCQ, I, 128-129.

⁷⁰ Le 9 juin 1702, Précipiano écrira au nouveau pape Clément XI [Albani]: "... Dominus Hennebel ... Romae novaturiensium deputatus ac patronus, ausus est mihi scribere epistolam audacem et insolentem, qua ita interpretabatur breve apostolicum ut plane esset ad gustum illorum theologorum qui Jansenio sunt addictissimi ... Debita danda satisfactio promittebatur ... ad me vero ne vel minimum submissionis signum dedit, quodque peius est, neutique retractare iussus est perversam illam suam quam brevi dederat interpretationem in favorem jansenismi ..."; DE CLERCQ, *Cinq archevêques*, 53). L'interprétation de Précipiano reste toujours la seule bonne!

HUMANISM IN THE *COMMENTARIUM AD MENTEM PLATONIS* OF GILES OF VITERBO (1469-1532)*

One of Professor P.O. Kristeller's classic lectures, first delivered in 1959 and republished most recently in 1992, notes the continuation in the Renaissance of three important and familiar genres of medieval scholarly writing: the textbook, the treatise, and the commentary. Of these he names the commentary as "probably ... the most important form of scholarly literature in the Middle Ages From the time of the specialization of learning in the twelfth century, the commentary form was in like manner used in all branches of knowledge and it was cultivated without interruption until the sixteenth century and beyond"¹. He noted that the commentary as a distinct literary form remained visible right into the Renaissance. Furthermore, "commentaries on the works of Aristotle and on the logic of Peter of Spain constitute right into the seventeenth century a broad and important branch of philosophical literature that has not yet been sufficiently explored"².

Kristeller also points out, however, that the continuation of the commentary form notwithstanding, "the methods of explanation and doctrinal content as offered were naturally subject to constant change".

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¹ P.O. KRISTELLER, *The Scholar and His Public in the Late Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, in *Medieval Aspects of Renaissance Learning*, Durham, NC, 1974, repr. New York, 1992, p. 6. Commentaries, as the detailed explication of a text for the purposes of education, are of course still written, but the twentieth century is more familiar with the oral form of commentary, in connection with the class lecture as it has been delivered "day in and day out in the schools and universities throughout the years."

² This observation holds true today despite some important work on the commentary form published in the last thirty years. See, for example, the works listed in KRISTELLER, *The Scholar and His Public*, p. 7 n. 7.

The change that interested him in that article is seen as a major one, which took place during the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries as reflective of the encounter between two intellectual cultures we commonly refer to as scholastic and humanist. Humanist commentaries frequently differ from scholastic commentaries in a basic way, since the humanists and scholastics generally chose to comment on different books. But even when a single work remained the subject of commentary in both cultures, humanist and scholastic commentaries still reveal sharp differences in the method of interpretation the commentators used³. Kristeller notes that with humanist commentaries in general, "grammatical and historical interpretation for the most part takes the place of dialectical analysis and argumentation"⁴. His attempt to trace this distinction back to the rivalry between the professional philosophical tradition and the professional rhetorical tradition of the late medieval universities, however, is only partially successful⁵.

Kristeller intended the observations outlined above as guidelines. He did not fail to appreciate the complexity of the genre and knew that the quality, range, and method of an individual commentary, and the particular way it stands in relation to the commonplace scholastic/ humanist dichotomy, must be determined by detailed examination. This is particularly true of commentaries composed in the watershed period he spoke of.

The *Sententiae* of Peter Lombard was one work of Scholastic culture that continued to be the subject of commentaries even into the sixteenth century, long after Aquinas's *Summa theologiae* had replaced it as the standard textbook in theology. One such commentary is the focus of this study. Giles of Viterbo's *Commentarium ad mentem Platonis*, one of many *Sentences* commentaries produced by friars, remains unpublished except for sections edited in the 1950s by Eugenio Massa, and for sections edited for individual studies⁶.

³ *The Scholar and His Public*, p. 10.

⁴ *The Scholar and His Public*, p. 10. He adds, "more value is placed on style, and the terminology of scholastic learning is rather avoided". Giles states that he will use the standard terminology in his discussion of the respective roles of the intellect and will, a popular issue among scholastics and humanists alike. Before he concludes his discussion, however, he adopts the vocabulary of myth and allegory.

⁵ Kristeller recognized that the university situation in Italy was different from that of other European nations in that philosophy was not connected with a theology faculty.

⁶ A portion of Giles's *Sentences* Commentary is edited by MASSA in *L'Anima e l'Uomo in Egidio da Viterbo e nelle fonti classiche e medioevali* (Egidio da Viterbo - Similitudo vestigio praestantior imago est quae in secundo ordine reperitur), *Testi umanistici inediti sul "De Anima"* (Padua, 1951), and *I fondamenti metafisici della*

The author of this *Sentences* commentary is a problematic figure who has puzzled and divided scholars. The heart of the problem of Giles of Viterbo (as treated in an important article by Francis Martin) contains several additional dichotomies beyond the problem of locating him within the scholastic and humanist paradigm⁷. As with many of his contemporaries, potentially conflicting activities, public and private, active and contemplative, secular and spiritual, reformative and conservative, competed for his attention and variously affected those who knew him. Supporters revered him for his profound learning, both secular and religious. Others considered him for all his erudition as just another paganizer of the Gospel. Similarly, despite evidence that he did take interest in social welfare, as when he preached to the prostitutes of Rome, he has been cast as a man of ivory-tower abstractions, "a polished priest of Renaissance circles"⁸. Significant to us here is that his intellectual and spiritual development as an interpreter of texts was rooted in scholastic culture. But as the descriptive label he gave to his commentary indicates, *ad mentem Platonis*, he wanted to promote quite other than a traditional method of interpretation of Peter Lombard's text. As Massa recognized, by the time Giles was writing the commentary he was intending "to liberate scholastic theology from the textual and systematic structure of Aristotelianism and establish a new humanistic theology based on the texts and philosophy of Plato"⁹.

Rather than oversimplify the situation, then, the contrast between the scholastic and the humanist commentary that serves as our point of departure provides a useful frame of reference for situating Giles's

"*dignitas hominis*", *e testi inediti di Egidio da Viterbo* (Turin, 1954). An interesting study of Giles's relationship to the scholastic tradition is Daniela GIONTA, *Scholastik und Platonismus im Prolog zum Sentenzenkommentar des Aegidius von Viterbo*, in *Augustiniana* 39(1989), 132-153. A critical edition of the entire text is being completed by the author of this essay. All passages from the *Sentences* commentary in this paper have been edited from three of the five mss. that contain the work: Rome, Vat. Lat. 6325; Naples, BN, VIII F 8; Naples, BN XIV H 71. All translations are of the present author unless noted otherwise.

⁷ Francis X. MARTIN, O.S.A., *The Problem of Giles of Viterbo: A Historiographical Survey*, in *Augustiniana* 9 (1959), 357-379; 10 (1960), 43-60.

⁸ *The Problem of Giles of Viterbo*, p. 359. Most portraits of Giles composed before 1900, and several after, speak of "a cultured though virtuous Renaissance prelate, the polished orator, the Ciceronian stylist, and accomplished poet, a pioneer biblical scholar astray in cabalistic literature ... an intellectual jackdaw" (F.X. MARTIN, *Friar, Reformer, and Renaissance Scholar: Life and Work of Giles of Viterbo 1469 - 1532*. Villanova, 1992, p. 123).

⁹ E. MASSA, *I fondamenti metafisici della 'dignitas hominis', e testi inediti di Egidio da Viterbo*, p. 3.

commentary among the many others in this broad genre. His interpretive method reveals a complex thinker with characteristics of both perspectives, but I argue in this paper that a humanist perspective dominates from the outset. 'Humanist' does not mean here a preference for secular themes over spiritual, or 'pagan' over Christian. On the contrary, Giles's method is syncretistic but his viewpoint essentially Christian, like the general culture of 15th and 16th century Italy. 'Humanist' in this context does suggest a greater reliance on classic authority for textual interpretation, but that authority comes from both Christian (biblical and patristic) and Greco-Roman sources. Most important, 'humanist' points to an interpretive method that prefers literature and history, as distinct from the general method of interpretation we call 'scholastic,' which proceeds dialectically and with a greater degree of abstract argument. Another serious student of Giles, John O'Malley, acknowledged the difficulty of categorizing Giles even within the range of humanists. He concluded that "Egidio must be assigned a place closer to the grammarian's end of the spectrum than to the rhetorician's". O'Malley sees in Giles a "passion for texts," and a predilection for allegory¹⁰. Using this definition, Giles's early movement away from scholasticism and toward humanism can be witnessed in his interpretive method.

Giles began the Commentary after having completed studies at the Augustinian *studium generale* at Padua, a center of humanism, Averroistic philosophy, and Thomistic theology¹¹. Since 1436, Thomas Aquinas was the patron saint of the arts faculty. Giles, however, had worked there with Agostino Nifo, the physician and philosopher who taught at Padua from 1492-1499. From Nifo he was already learning to develop a broader philosophical outlook by adopting Platonic and Hermetic concepts, although they did not agree on the merits of Averroes. After publishing an edition of three works of Giles of Rome in 1493¹², he went to study with Marsilio Ficino in Florence during the next winter, and further cultivated the *theologia platonica* against Averroistic Aristotelianism. By 1497, his platonic reading of Christian theology was in evidence at Rome during his examination for the *magisterium* in theology. Thereafter his range of

¹⁰ John W. O'MALLEY, S.J., *Egidio da Viterbo and Renaissance Rome*, in *Egidio da Viterbo, O.S.A. e il suo tempo* (Atti del V Convegno dell'Istituto Storico Agostiniano, Rome, 1983), p. 72.

¹¹ For further background see F. X. MARTIN, *Giles of Viterbo as Scripture Scholar*, in *Egidio da Viterbo, O.S.A. e il suo tempo* (Rome, 1983), pp. 191-221.

¹² *Quaestiones de materia coeli, De intellectu possibili, and Commentaria in VIII libros Physicorum Aristotelis*. See the list in Francis MARTIN, *The Writings of Giles of Viterbo*, in *Augustiniana* 18 (1979), 141-193.

experience grew steadily. He rose to prominence as an orator and preached before Pope Alexander VI in 1498. He was a member of Pontano's literary circle in Naples between 1499 and 1501¹³. On witnessing political intrigue in Naples, he resolved to return to the north of Italy, staying with the friars of Lecceto near Siena in 1503¹⁴. He continued to study the classics, however, and his modern biographer suggests that by this time he was dedicated to scriptural truth but "his thought process and imagery...belonged to the classical world"¹⁵. In 1504, during a retreat on the isle of Martana, he studied the *Iliad* and composed his own *Eclogues*, biblical poems modeled after Virgil's pastoral hexameters. In 1506, after his appointment as vicar general, he again looked to Lecceto, but this time to promote his own reform efforts. Interest in scriptural studies also grew steadily, with his election as prior general in 1507 being pointed to by Francis Martin as bringing about a kind of "conversion" from the study of secular literature.

During and after these experiences Giles devoted himself to writing the lengthy commentary. His particular interest in Peter Lombard's text is also evident in a series of sermons he gave in 1502, where he followed the division of the four books of the *Sententiae*¹⁶. He continued work on the commentary until administrative duties overwhelmed him¹⁷. When he was appointed vicar general in 1506, he may have already sensed that new duties would interfere with his large project. When he became prior general he had to negotiate with Martin Luther during Luther's visit to

¹³ The influence was mutual, as under Giles's influence, Pontano himself may have gained a deeper Christian humanist perspective since on Giles's recommendation Pontano decided to study Augustine's *De immortalitate animae*.

¹⁴ In the late 14th century this monastery had been selected as the flagship for reform in the Augustinian order.

¹⁵ "Giles here shows himself the humanist and neoplatonist, harmonizing the writings of the Grecian and Christian worlds" (MARTIN, *Friar, Reformer, and Renaissance Scholar*, p. 44). When Alexander VI died that same year, for example, and was replaced by Francesco Piccolomini, cardinal of Siena (as Pope Pius III), Giles was called upon by the people of Siena to preach during a celebration in that city. The theme of that sermon, the divine harmony in events, provided Giles with an opportunity to quote liberally from Augustine, Boethius, Ptolemy, and the *Timaeus* of Plato.

¹⁶ See the letter to prior Seraphino dated 20 Sept. 1502 in Anna Maria VOCI ROTH, ed., *Egidio da Viterbo OSA, Lettere Famigliari*, 2 vols. (Rome, 1990), vol. 1, p. 174.

¹⁷ On the dates of composition, John W. O'MALLEY, *Giles of Viterbo on Church and Reform: A Study in Renaissance Thought* (Leiden, 1968), p. 16, says that Giles was working on this commentary at least up into 1512. MARTIN, *Friar, Reformer, and Renaissance Scholar*, p. 161, says that the greater part was written by 1510 and that over the next two years only five additional pages were written because of Giles's growing administrative responsibilities.

Rome in 1511¹⁸. The next year he gave the address that opened the Fifth Lateran Council. When he stopped writing the commentary, having reached only the seventeenth *Distinctio* of Book I, he was well on the way toward his eventual appointment as cardinal. Many considered him as *papabilis*, a prime candidate for the papacy.

Given the range of experiences that led to his rejection of scholastic methods and scholastic doctrines for something he calls the *mens Platonis*, how does Giles proceed as an interpreter of Peter Lombard's *Sententiae*? If the work is only nominally a commentary in the scholastic sense, what is it really? Eugenio Massa considered Giles's withdrawal from scholasticism as gradual and only partially successful, as he judges from changes in the commentary. Massa suggested that its composition falls into three periods, as he saw reflected in the author's style and works cited. The first period would be that of the first chapters. Giles is more elliptical, more concerned with scholastic problems. The second and the third produce the chapters concerning the processions of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, composed between 1509-1512¹⁹. Massa goes on correctly to identify the commentary as a reaction to a method of theological education, the scholastic, in an effort to restore a theology that was literary, alive, ethical, more like that of Augustine, the patron of Giles's order. But his division of the work into three phases is misleading, for Massa's second and third periods concern a very small portion of the large text, only 38 manuscript pages, in fact, out of 411. Giles appears to know what he is about, moreover, as a Christian Platonist and humanist, from the earliest pages of the commentary. Early on there is a conscious application of its title *ad mentem Platonis*, which attests to Giles's commitment to a new method, and one that has a historical emphasis.

Massa did not discuss Giles's handling of the first distinction of Peter Lombard's *Sententiae* but focused instead on a later passage that discusses the human soul. But Giles's new perspective and method can be witnessed even in his treatment of the first distinction. This section in particular deserves attention since it presents important issues that were debated extensively by both medieval and renaissance philosophers.

Book I of the *Sententiae* treats the doctrine of the Trinity. To introduce this major theme Peter Lombard adopted the technical vocabu-

¹⁸ See H. JEDIN, *Die römischen Augustiner-Quellen zu Luthers Frühzeit*, in *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 25 (1928), 266-269.

¹⁹ E. MASSA, *L'Anima e l'Uomo in Egidio da Viterbo e nelle fonti classiche e medioevali* (Egidio da Viterbo - Similitudo vestigio praestantior imago est quae in secundo ordine reperitur, in *Testi umanistici inediti sul "De Anima"*, [Padua, 1951], pp. 37-38).

lary and line of reasoning as set forth in Augustine's *De doctrina Christiana*: namely, that all teaching consists of two parts: things and signs²⁰ and further, that regarding things, we can distinguish them according to another division: things we use and things we enjoy. He set forth these dichotomies because Augustine, after doing the same thing, categorically claimed: "the things to be enjoyed are the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, the very Trinity, one particular thing, the highest of things, the same to all who enjoy it"²¹. Augustine's claim about the Trinity "is not a philosophical proof but an arrogation of ecclesiastical authority based on the principle of revealed truth"²². Using his own dichotomies of thing and sign, and use and enjoyment, Augustine was

"merely trying to provide himself first with a neutral vocabulary with which to describe basic Christian doctrine. The two *a priori* categories provide the framework for a full and comprehensive theoretical description of the Trinity, and essentially of all Christian theology"²³.

When Peter Lombard chose to employ for his *Sententiae* the same distinctions between thing and sign and use and enjoyment, however, he helped bring these concepts deep into the heart of late medieval philosophical debate²⁴. Moreover, he joined to this basic framework five more principles derived from Augustine. First, that enjoyment involves the possession of the object in fact (*in re*) and not merely in hope of some future fulfillment (*in spe*). Second, that, properly understood, people are to be used, not enjoyed in themselves. Proper enjoyment of others entails the enjoyment of them "in God." Third, that God should be understood as using rather than enjoying humanity, since "if he enjoys us, he needs a benefit that is ours — something no sane man would say, because he himself is our every good, or else it comes from him"²⁵. Fourth, that the virtues themselves are to be used toward the enjoyment of God, the highest good, the only thing that is to be enjoyed in itself. No virtue, then, is to be enjoyed unless that virtue is love, since God is love. Fifth, that it is through the function of the will that we enjoy.

²⁰ *De doctrina christiana*, 1.1.2 (PL 34.19, CCSL 32.7).

²¹ *De doctrina christiana*, 1.5.5 (PL 34.21, CCSL 32.9).

²² See James J. O'DONNELL, *Augustine* [Twayne's world authors series 759] (Boston, 1985), p. 15.

²³ O'DONNELL, *Augustine*, p. 15.

²⁴ PETER LOMBARD, *Sententiae* Book 1 (On the Mystery of the Trinity) Distinction 1, Chapter 1. F. STEGMÜLLER's *Repertorium commentariorum in Sententias Petri Lombardi*, 2 vols., (Würzburg, 1947) gives ample evidence of the frequency of production of *Sentences* commentaries.

²⁵ AUGUSTINE, *De doctrina christiana*, 1.31.34 (PL 34.32, CCSL 32.25-6), trans. John J. GAVIGAN, O.S.A., *Writings of St. Augustine*, vol. 4 (New York, 1947), p. 52.

With those concepts, particularly the calling of attention to the virtues, especially love, and to the will as a faculty of the soul, we have the essence of a major issue which scholars debated and developed during the period in question. Generally, while the two sides saw merit in both faculties, adherents to Aristotle saw the highest power of the soul as intellectual, in contemplation of the highest Good. The Platonic revival tended to place greater emphasis on the will. Thus the debate ultimately focused on whether the attainment of the supreme good was primarily an act of the intellect or the will; or, to put it another way, which of the two faculties was superior. Although the debate is implicit in Augustine and Peter Lombard in light of their establishment of the superiority of enjoyment over use, neither treated the question of the superiority of will or intellect directly. Nevertheless, an identification of a particular faculty with enjoyment, that is to say, the attainment of the highest good, naturally raises that faculty to a superior position. But the resolution of this question as a problem in philosophy was imputed to the commentators, who had more of Aristotle to reckon with than did Augustine or Peter Lombard.

Many leading philosophers and theologians of the Middle Ages lectured and wrote commentaries on the *Sententiae*, including Thomas Aquinas, Duns Scotus, and William of Ockham. All participate in the debate surrounding the first distinction. By Thomas' time, the debate was commonly presented as which faculty of the soul, the will or the intellect, showed itself as the more eminent and noble in the act of enjoyment. By the fourteenth century, this debate became commonplace — some have called it sterile — among Dominican and Franciscan theologians. It remained a matter of controversy among later scholars as well, particularly the humanists, and thus serves us as a valuable point of comparison²⁶.

To take a well known Scholastic attempt at mediation as a case in point, Aquinas addressed the issue in detail and tried to find a way to explain how each faculty, the intellect and the will, could be considered superior according to a particular viewpoint. He held that, according to the stronger arguments, the intellect appears as the more eminent. When viewing intellect and will in their essence, for example, the intellect is superior "because the object of the will is comprised and included in that of the intellect"²⁷. This is to point to *the beginning* of the act of enjoying

²⁶ On the continuation of this debate see *The Cambridge History of Renaissance Philosophy* (Cambridge, 1988), pp. 336, 351-353, 643, 658-659.

²⁷ E. GILSON, *The Christian Philosophy of St. Thomas Aquinas*, trans. L. K. SHOOK (New York, 1956), p. 243. Similarly, "if we compare the intellect and will as particular powers of the soul exercising determinate acts, [the intellect is still seen as superior since] the essence of the good which the will desires is precisely that which the intellect

(*secundum originem*) and to claim superiority for the intellect, since it is what drives the will.

But Aquinas acknowledges that there is a way to consider the will so as to make that faculty appear superior to the intellect. This can happen if one looks toward the will's ultimate, universal object, the good²⁸. For with this perspective,

"each individual intellect, all intellectual knowledge, and each object of knowledge constitute particular goods. As such they fall under universal good which is the proper object of the will. Looked at in this way, the will is superior to the intellect and capable of moving it"²⁹.

This points to *the completion* of the act of enjoyment (*secundum perfectionem*). Aquinas makes this case in Distinction I, Question I, article 1 of his Sentence Commentary, as he explains Augustine's framework, which was adopted by Peter Lombard, through Aristotle's ethical categories. Enjoyment is the act of both intellect and will. Intellect, however, is more eminent and is the highest power of the soul. Man reaches his highest state in contemplation. The will he shares with the animals:

"Enjoyment consists in the best operation of man, since enjoyment is man's ultimate happiness. And the best operation of man is the operation of the highest power of the soul, that is, the intellect, toward the most eminent object, which is God"³⁰.

But from the other perspective, the will can be seen as superior:

"Our happiness, which the Lombard calls enjoyment [*fruitio*], is perfected on account of its completion more than on account of its beginning, although it includes in itself a certain delight. And so we say that happiness [*fruitio*] is an act of the will, and according to the disposition of charity, regardless of its order in relation to the preceding powers and dispositions. In response to the first issue it must be said that appetite always follows cognition ... Thus the highest part of the soul has intellect and will, of which

apprehends. Therefore, the object of the intellect appears to be absolute while that of the will appears relative" (ibid.).

²⁸ For Aquinas the will is an innate hunger, a natural appetite for goodness. See Eleonore STUMP, *Faith and Goodness*, in *The Philosophy in Christianity*, ed. Godfrey VESEY, (Cambridge, 1989), p. 168.

²⁹ STUMP, *Faith and Goodness*, pp. 243-244.

³⁰ "Fruitio consistit in optima operatione hominis, cum fruitio sit ultima felicitas hominis ... Optima autem operatio hominis est operatio altissimae potentiae, scilicet intellectus, ad nobilissimum objectum, quod est Deus" (THOMAS AQUINAS, *Commentum in quatuor libros sententiarum magistri Petri Peter Lombardi*, vol. 1 [Parma, 1856, repr. New York, 1948], p. 12).

the intellect is superior according to beginning and the will according to completion"³¹.

In comparing Giles's handling of the issue, one notes that he begins in the customary scholastic manner, by accepting Lombard's/Augustine's dichotomy of use and enjoyment³². In distinguishing these concepts he uses the familiar terms of the subject, as he said he would³³:

"There is a certain highest good which, when we pursue it, we are happy, and, happy, we *enjoy* it. Other goods are not supreme; these are to be loved for the sake of the highest good, so that we *use* them as steps for discovering the highest good, or for attaining it"³⁴.

Giles immediately notes that this is the usual place where the debate over the superiority of intellect or will is conducted and he emphatically states where he stands on the issue:

"Here it is customary for all to ask to which faculty enjoyment belongs. I say that it does not belong to the intellect but to the will"³⁵.

This polemical assertion already signals a departure from Aquinas in its reversal of Aquinas's emphasis whether Giles has him in mind or not. Giles's first proof, considering the question from the viewpoint of the act of enjoyment itself, lays the foundation for the reversal:

"Happiness, although situated as it were at first in the intellect and knowledge, yet has its perfection in the will, as a man in the beginning only perfects the body. In the end when his body becomes exhausted he depends on the power

³¹ "Perficetur nostra felicitas, quam fruitio nominat, ex parte sui complementi magis quam ex parte principii, cum in se includat quamdam delectationem. Et ideo dicimus quod est actus voluntatis, et secundum habitum caritatis, quamvis secundum ordinem ad potentias et habitus praecedentes. Ad primum ergo dicendum, quod appetitus semper sequitur cognitionem ... Ita suprema pars habet intellectum et voluntatem, quorum intellectus est altior secundum originem, et voluntas secundum perfectionem" (THOMAS AQUINAS, *Commentum*, p. 12).

³² Giles's handling of the issue under discussion appears in chapters 16-20 of the *Commentary*.

³³ "Communibus vocabulis artis utar" (*Comm.* ch. 16).

³⁴ "Quoddam est summum, quod cum assequimur beati sumus, et illo beati fruimur. Alia bona non summa sunt, quae summi gratia adamanda sunt, ut illis quasi gradibus ad summum vel inveniendum utamur, vel assequendum" (*Comm.* ch. 17).

³⁵ "Queri hic solet ab omnibus, cuius potestatis sit frui. Dicimus non intellectus esse, sed voluntatis" (*Comm.* ch. 17). In maintaining that it is through the will that we enjoy, Giles echoes Augustine *De Trinitate* 10.10.13 (PL 42.981): "Fruimur enim cognitis, in quibus voluntas ipsa propter se ipsa delectata conquiescit."

of his mind ... Although its origin is in the intellect, enjoyment, which is the most perfect act, must be ascribed to the will"³⁶.

Aquinas made a concession to the superiority of the will *secundum perfectionem*, but his argument more vigorously affirms the superiority of the intellect in contemplation of the highest good. Here Giles, using the same distinction between the impulse that begins a process and that which brings it to completion, stresses the latter and gives only minimal support to the former.

Giles's second proof, considering the question from the viewpoint of the object of the act of enjoyment, reinforces the foundation. Looking toward the attainment of the supreme good, Giles argues that "enjoyment is the final act of the soul, not concerning anything whatsoever, but concerning the end ... Therefore it is the will that enjoys, not the intellect"³⁷.

Despite his disagreement with the line of reasoning adopted by Aquinas and other scholastics, Giles up to this point is still arguing the issue in a scholastic manner. His third and fourth proofs, however, take a slightly different approach featuring linguistic and grammatical analysis. At first he simply points out that "to enjoy something is nothing other than to take delight in it, since we say that no one enjoys hostile and unpleasant things [which means to bring to our attention the fact that we frequently *think* about such things]. Enjoyment therefore finds no other place than in the will"³⁸. Then he calls attention to the etymology of the *fructus* and reflects in an eloquent passage on its association with the end of a natural process that has many earlier steps:

"A tree sprouts, is set in its permanent location, is fed, grows, is ingrafted, becomes mature, flowers and finally bears fruits and produce, which is the reason why it was planted. And so if enjoyment [*frui*] has been derived from *fructus*, it is truly placed at the end. Therefore enjoyment is in the will, which follows as it were and makes its dwelling in the last and final inner rooms"³⁹.

³⁶ "Beatitudo vero, etsi intellectu et cognitione, quasi in principio sita sit, in voluntate tamen perfectionem habet, ut homo in principio corpus tantum perfectum habet. In fine illo fatisciente virtuti mentis incumbit ... Licet origo in intellectu, frui, qui est actus perfectissimus, voluntati ascribi vult" (*Comm.* ch. 17).

³⁷ "Frui est actus perfectus animae, non circa quodcunque, sed circa finem ... Haec igitur est quae fruitur, non intellectus" (*Comm.* ch. 17).

³⁸ "Frui re aliqua nihil aliud est, quam illo delectari, cum neminem adversis et ingratis frui dicamus. Non ergo nisi in voluntate locum invenit" (*Comm.* ch. 17).

³⁹ "Arbor enim oritur, seritur, alitur, augecit, inseritur, pubescit, florescit, ac denique cuius gratia seritur, fructus et poma parit. Frui itaque si a fructu sumptum est, id vero est in ultimo positum. Ergo in voluntate est frui, quae posterior sequens quasi in ultimis et perfectis penetralibus fixit sedem" (*Comm.* ch. 17).

This kind of grammatical and analogical reflection is already less characteristic of scholastic disputation. His fifth and final proof, however, which serves to resolve the debate, moves in one paragraph from a dialectical to a new literary and consciously eloquent style of approach. As the paragraph begins, the point is remade: the will is superior to the intellect because the will is connected to the idea of fulfillment, here called rest (*quies*), while the intellect is connected more with the idea of motion toward that goal (*motus*). Giles makes this point emphatically here and in a manner that effectively repeats the key words often.

"Now rest is not a characteristic of the intellect, because the end and the limit is not a movement of the soul. [Rest] rests in the will. For when the good is absent it moves us; after the good is present we rest. But that movement is characteristic of the appetite, the act is characteristic of the will and of love. Therefore after that movement has departed, rest is characteristic of it"⁴⁰.

Vividly brought to mind here is the principal theme of Augustine's *Confessions*, especially the statement that opens and closes that work and sets both its mood and its theme: You have made us for yourself and *our heart is unquiet till it finds its rest in you*⁴¹. Although there is a long tradition, which includes the Scholastics, of associating man's ultimate enjoyment and happiness, the beatific vision, as loving rest in God, the change here in method is noticeable when it is considered in light of what immediately follows. Giles builds on the idea of divine rest. No longer employing philosophical argument, however, Giles now rather chooses a piece of mythography, allegorically interpreted, calling to mind the banquets of the gods. The nectar and ambrosia they, and restored souls, are served represent first the pleasure of the intellect and finally the repose of the will.

"When the table is first ready, there is pleasure, that is, nectar. When there is rest, there is ambrosia, which signifies stable eternity. For this reason Plato says that all the gods are happy and that love is the medium, as if all power of happiness and perfection is located in the will, where love's court is situated. And the ancients say this about acts of the will, that nectar and ambrosia are set before the gods, that is, the happy. Intoxicating nectar signifies pleasure,

⁴⁰ "*Quies non intellectus est, ad quem finis terminusque motus animae non est, qui in voluntate quiescit. Bonum enim absens movet; quo praesente quiescimus. Sed motus ille est appetitus, actus voluntatis et amoris. Ergo eiusdem est quies abeunte motu*" (*Comm.* ch. 17) [My emphasis].

⁴¹ "Inquietum est cor nostrum, donec requiescat in te" (*Confessiones* 1.1.1 [PL 32.661, CCSL 27.1; cf. 13.37.52 [PL 32.868, CCSL 27.272]]).

but ambrosia signifies a stable and motionless rest in some happy reality and the eternity — or, so to speak, the immortality — of that happiness⁴².

Here Giles is able to touch on his main reason for rejecting Averroean Aristotelianism: its difficulty with the doctrine of personal immortality of the soul. He senses that enjoyment, the attainment of the highest good, requires immortality, for happiness is removed by the fear of dying and of losing it⁴³.

Giles's voluntarism and his method of interpretation using grammar, myth, and allegory thus reflect a humanistic perspective even at this earliest point in the commentary. Ultimately the method he prefers is literary rather than dialectical, humanist rather than scholastic. His use of myth and allegory is significant because it is how he concludes every section of the commentary. Moreover, the allegory of nectar and ambrosia here does far more than illustrate his opinion on the superiority of the will. It joins Giles to a venerable tradition of Renaissance Platonist participation in the debate. Marsilio Ficino, who had made a permanent impression on Giles, reversed his position on the question. Although he first maintained that the *summum bonum* is located in our intellect, as early as 1453, after a discussion with Lorenzo de' Medici, he and his patron came to hold that the will rather than the intellect was more responsible for human happiness. Lorenzo's poem *Altercazione* and Ficino's *Epistola de felicitate* both make this point. Further, both use the images of nectar and ambrosia: the nectar of the will's joy and the ambrosia of the intellect's vision. Knowledge of God was less satisfying than love of God. The same voluntarist view can be found in Nesi and Vieri⁴⁴.

We note that Giles has reversed the images of nectar and ambrosia as symbols, but the approach he takes to the issue is precisely that of his humanist contemporaries.

⁴² "Ubi mensa quae primo instruitur voluptas, nectar. Quies, ambrosia, quae immotam significat aeternitatem. Hinc Plato deos omnes beatos esse dixit, et amorem medium, quasi omnis beatitudinis vis atque perfectio in voluntate collocata sit, ubi amoris est regia. Et de voluntatis actibus ab antiquis dicitur quod diis, hoc est, beatis apponitur nectar et ambrosia. Nectar inebrians voluptatem significat, ambrosia vero, quietem et stabilem immotamque rei felicitis, et felicitatis aeternitatem, et ut ita dicam, immortalitatem" (*Comm.* ch. 17).

⁴³ "Moriendi enim et amittendi metus felicitatem tollere videtur, ut Averroes arguit" (*Comm.* ch. 17). See Averroes's Commentary on Aristotle's *De anima* 1,66 lines 54-55.

⁴⁴ See *Cambridge History of Renaissance Philosophy*, p. 352. Here we can also recall Augustine's caution about the intellect, here alluded to as a mountaintop reached by philosophical activity as a means of reaching god. "It is one thing to see, from a wooded mountain top, the land of peace, and not to find the way to it." (*Confessiones*. 7. 21.27 [PL 32.748, CCSL 27.111]).

The interpretive method adopted in this early section of the commentary, therefore, is appropriate as Giles moves toward an exaltation of Love, a theme that for him is inextricably connected with the Christian doctrine of salvation⁴⁵. There, like his humanist predecessors who draw on Plato's *Phaedrus*, 246-7, Giles will invoke the allegory of the intellect and will as twin wings on which the soul, in love with the divinity, is able to ascend to heaven and experience *fruitio*, *felicitas*, and *quies*. This image complements the previous one. Together they give a highly poetical coloring to the debate by way of myth, much as Plato himself did, although the doctrine of the Forms, which lie behind it are, even in Plato, grounded in dialectical analysis. The major difference here and in the Platonic love dialogues is a matter of literary style.

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⁴⁵ Giles next turns to the question whether humans only enjoy God or use him as well.

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QUAESTIONES DE DIVINIS PRAEDICAMENTIS

QUAESTIO XXII

Le texte de la question XXII¹: *Utrumque Deus vere et proprie dicatur actus*, a été conservé intégralement dans les cinq manuscrits. Il couvre en B, (Bordeaux, Bibliothèque de la Ville *ms* 167) les feuillets 67^{vo}b-69^{vo}a; en N, (Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale *ms* VII C 4) les ff. 58^{vo}b-60^{vo}a; en T, (Toulouse, Bibliothèque de la Ville *ms* 56) les ff. 165^{vo}b-167^{vo}a; en P, (Padoue, Bibliothèque de l'Université *ms* 2006) les ff. 35b-36a; et en R, (Rome, Bibliotheca Angelica *ms* 213) les ff. 87^{vo}b-92^{vo}a.

Rédigée de façon habituelle, la question ouvre par dix arguments affirmant qu'il faut y répondre négativement, et un autre au contraire qu'il faut y répondre dans un sens positif. L'exposé qui suit a été composé en quatre points et se termine par la réfutation des dix arguments négatifs.

On rencontre des omissions plus ou moins importantes dans les différents manuscrits, surtout en B et N², parfois corrigées, mais aussi des additions³.

Dans cette question Jacques de Viterbe renvoie au Philosophe, au Commentateur, à Boèce, à Jean Damascène, à Simplicius et aux questions précédentes et aux Disputes quodlibétiques. En ce qui concerne ces renvois, nous nous référons aux éditions habituelles⁴.

¹ Voir: Jacobi de Viterbio o.e.s.a. Quaestiones de Divinis Praedicamentis. Quaestio XVIII. *Augustiniana* 38 (1988), 67-98; Quaestio XIX. *Ib.* 39 (1989), 154-185; Quaestio XX. *Ib.* 42 (1992), 351-378. Quaestio XXI. *Ib.* 44 (1994), 177-208.

² Voir les notes aux lignes 41, 51, 67, 221, etc.

³ Voir les notes aux lignes 108, 145, 227, 247.

⁴ ALGAZEL, Algazel's Metaphysics. A medieval translation. ed. J.T. MUCKLE C.S.B., Toronto 1933. ARISTOTELES et AVERROES, Aristotelis omnia quae extant opera, selectis translationibus ... illustrata ... Averrois Cordubensis in ea ... Commentarii. ed. Venetiis 1562/74; re-ed. Frankfurt 1963. Vol. IV, IX, etc. AVICENNA, Avicene perhypatetici Philosophi ... opera ... logica ... philosophia prima. ed. Venetiis 1508; re-ed. Frankfurt 1961. BOETHIUS, De Trinitate — PL 64; De Hebdomadibus — PL 64. JOHANNES DAMASCENUS, De Fide Orthodoxa — PG 94; Saint John Damascene. De Fide Orthodoxa. Versions of Burgundio and Certanius. ed. E.M. BUYTAERT, N.Y./Louvain/Paderborn 1955. SIMPLICIUS, Commentaire sur les Catégories d'Aristote, traduction de Guillaume de Moerbeke. ed. A. PATTIN O.M.I., II vol. Louvain/Paris, 1971; Leiden 1975. JACOBUS VITERBIENSIS, Quaestiones de Divinis Praedicamentis. Quaestiones I-X. ed. E. YPMA O.S.A., Romae 1983. Quaestiones XI-XVII. ed. E. YPMA O.S.A., Romae 1986. Disputatio prima (secunda, tertia, quarta) de Quolibet. ed. E. YPMA O.S.A., Würzburg 1968-1975.

DE PRAEDICAMENTIS IN DIVINIS QUAESTIO XXII

Quaestio est: Utrum Deus vere et proprie dicatur actus.

- (1) Et arguebatur quod non. Non enim Deus potest dici actus primus qui est esse, quia affirmationes sunt in Deo incompactae; et quia agere praesupponit esse, ideo nec etiam potest dici actus secundus qui est agere.
- 5 Quare nullus actus de ipso dicitur, quia non dicitur actus nisi vel primus qui est esse, vel secundus qui est agere.
- (2) Praeterea, si actus diceretur de Deo vel significaret substantiam vel accidens. Sed non accidens, quia in Deo non est accidens, nec substantiam, quia dicit Damascenus, Primo Libro, oportet singulum eorum quae in Deo dicuntur non quod secundum substantiam est significare extimare, sed quod non est ostendere. Igitur actus de Deo non dicitur.
- (3) Praeterea, Deo convenit esse primum principium. Sed primum principium non potest esse actus; igitur Deus non est actus. Minor probatur ratione quam Philosophus ponit, III Metaphysicae, ubi quaeritur utrum
- 15 principia sint actu vel potentia. Et arguit quod non sint actu, quia semper actum praecedit potentia et prior est eo naturaliter. Nam prius natura est a quo non convertitur subsistendi consequentia, ut unum est prius duobus. Sic autem se habet potentia ad actum. Sequitur enim si est actu, potuit vel potest esse; non autem sequitur econverso, quod, si est potentia vel si
- 20 potest esse, quod fuerit vel sit actu, et cetera.
- (4) Praeterea, illud quod dicit aliquid additum essentiae, non potest dici de Deo proprie, quia Deus est ipsa essentia et simplex cui nihil est additum.

Sed actus dicit aliquid superadditum essentiae et est praeter ratio-

25 nem eius. Quod probatur, quia actus secundum Philosophum in IX Me-

2 (quod) non *om.* B non enim/non *post* Deus BN 3 qui/quia non N sunt *post* incompactae B 4 praesupponit/supponit BN dici/esse B1N; *om.* B qui/quia T 5 quia non dicitur actus *om.* N nisi *add.* vel T 7 substantiam vel accidens/accidens vel substantiam T 8 non *add.* est N (Deo) non est accidens *om.* N dicuntur *ante* in Deo BN secundum *om.* N est *om.* N 11 (non) est *add.* ex T 12 Sed primum principium/et B; *om.* N 13 Minor probatur ratione quam/Minori ratione erguitur quam B; minorem rationem N 14 quaeritur/quaerit N 16 potentia/potentiam T prius/prior B 17 subsistendi *lect. inc.* BN 18 actu *add.* vel BN potuit *add.* fieri BN 19 quod *om.* BN 20 fuerit *lect. inc.* BN 24 superadditum *add.* et T 25 in *om.* BN IX/IV B

9. De Fide Orthodoxa I. cap. IX. PG 94,835A; ed. Buytaert: p. 48.

14. Vol. VIII. 37^o HIK.

25. Vol. VIII. 230^oB; Bekker 1047 a/b.

taphysicae, est existere rem non potentia sed actu; et sic dicit actualement existentiam. Esse autem actuale est praeter rationem essentiae et superadditur ei. Ergo, et cetera.

Et addebatur quod nihil est in Deo quod sit praeter rationem essentiae, quia secundum Boetium, cum unum aliquod dicitur de Deo omnia significantur. Cum enim Deus dicitur iustus, per hoc intelligitur quidquid est in Deo; non autem sic est in creaturis. Ergo, et cetera.

(5) Praeterea, Philosophus in IX Metaphysicae, ubi determinat sententialiter de actu et de modis omnibus actus, dicit quod quaecumque dicuntur actu, vel dicuntur sicut hoc ad hoc, vel motus ad aliquam potentiam, vel sicut hoc in hoc ut substantia, idest forma ad aliquam materiam, nec tangit alios modos actus. Sed Deus neutro modo est actus, quia nec est motus nec est forma in materia. Ergo, et cetera.

(6) Praeterea, cui non convenit esse in potentia, ei non convenit esse in actu vel actum. Sed Deo non convenit esse in potentia, ergo nec esse actu vel actum. Minor satis patet, cum esse in potentia dicat imperfectionem. Maior declaratur ex eo quod actus et potentia sunt contraria. Contraria vero nata sunt fieri circa idem, quia sicut dicunt idem genus, ita sunt in eodem subiecto.

Quod actus et potentia sint contraria, patet per Commentatorem in III Metaphysicae, et similiter in IX, ubi dicitur quod sunt contraria relata; ideo per aliud invicem definiuntur, quia esse actu est esse in dispositione in qua non est cum fuerit in potentia, et econverso esse in potentia est esse in contraria dispositione.

(7) Praeterea, quia Respondens dixit quod quidquid est in Deo est actus, et ideo vere et proprie est actus, arguebatur: Relatio enim vere et proprie est in Deo, quae non est actus, quia, cum sint in Deo plures relationes, essent in eo plures actus; quod est absurdum dicere.

(8) Praeterea, cui convenit maxime potentia, ei non potest convenire

26 rem *om.* BT 29 addebatur/addebat N essentiae *om.* N 31 significantur/significat BN 33 (Philosophus) in *om.* BN 35 ad hoc vel ... vel sicut hoc *om.* TRP 37 actus/agens N (nec) est *om.* T 39 esse in *add.* nulla BN 41 satis patet ... Maior *om.* BN 42 contraria vero/quia BN 44 subiecto/genere T 45 Quod *add.* autem T in *om.* BN 45 III./nono (?) B dicitur/dicit BN 50 quia/quod B (dixit) quod *om.* BN (quidquid) est *om.* N 51 et ideo ... est actus *om.* B arguebatur *add.* contra T 52 cum/si T 54 convenit *add.* esse BN

30. De Trinitate cap. IV. PL 64,1252 AB.

33. Vol. VIII 235F, 235^oG; Bekker 1048b.

45. Vol. VIII 62^oJK; Bekker 1002b, 1003a; text. com. 19 Vol. VIII 63,B.

46. text. com. 11 Vol. VIII 236^oG; cfr. text. com. 13 Vol. VIII 239 L - 240 D.

55 maxime actus, sed secundum quid, cum potentia opponatur actui. Et cui
convenit maxime unum oppositorum et simpliciter, ei non potest convenire
maxime similiter aliud; sed si convenit ei, hoc est aliquo modo et secundum
quid. Sed Deo convenit maxime potentia, cum ipse sit maxime potens;
ergo actus non convenit ei maxime, sicut dicit Respondens.

60 (9) Praeterea, quia dicit Respondens quod Deus se toto actus, argueba-
tur: sicut se habet materia prima ad rationem potentiae, sic Deus ad ratio-
nem actus. Sed materia prima non se ipsa tota est potentia, quia cum sit
aliquid et non nihil, aliquem actum dicere videtur.

Item, in ea sunt habilitates vel habitudines per formas, ad quas
65 habilitates dicitur esse in potentia. Igitur Deus non se toto est actus.

(10) Praeterea, quod est aliquo modo compositum, non est actus, licet
possit dici in actu. Sed in Deo est compositio aliqua, ergo non est actus;
poterit tamen dici esse in actu. Minor sic probatur. Non enim potest esse
aliquid idem re cum aliquo, et differens re ab illo, per unum et idem re.

70 Sed Pater est idem Filio re, quia sunt unum essentialiter; et est differens ab
illo re, quia sunt distincta personaliter. Igitur non per unam rem est unum
et differt, sed per aliam et aliam. Ubi autem est alia et alia res, ibi est
compositio. Quare in Deo est compositio, quia in qualibet persona divina.

75 In contrarium arguebatur, quia actus videtur importare perfectio-
nem. Quare, et cetera.

Ad huius quaestionis dissolutionem sic procedendum est:

I Primo quidem videndum est quid est actus, et de proprietatibus
80 ipsius actus.

II Secundo videndum est quomodo distinguitur actus. Nam actus,
cum sit de generalibus et consequentibus ens, non definitur, sicut et alia
huiusmodi. Ideo videndum est de modis actus, et quomodo illi se habent
ad nomen et rationem actus.

85 III Tertio videndum, an proprie dicatur de Deo.

IV Quarto ulterius ostendetur ex his, an sit necesse esse. Nam cum
possibili opponatur necesse esse et etiam potentiae actus opponatur, videtur

55 actus *add.* actus T potentia *add.* non BN 56 non potest *add.* factu ei B 57
maxime *add.* ei BN; *add.* et P aliud *om.* B; ei N aliquo modo et *om.* T 59 ei *add.*
et BN 60 se toto *add.* dicitur B 63 non *add.* non T aliquem actum *add.* actum T
65 (non) se *om.* B 67 est/erit BN Sed in Deo ... esse in actu *corr.* B1; *om.* B 69
(idem) re/rei N 70 sed/si B sunt/est BN 72 et differt/et differunt N; differenti B
73 qualibet/aliqua BN 76 quare/ergo B 78 sic/si T 80 ipsius *om.* B 81 est *om.*
T 83 (videndum) est *om.* T et/vel B 86 ex his *post* ostendetur BN

quod necesse esse consequitur actum; ita, sicut se habet aliquid ad actum, ita ad necessitatem essendi.

90

I Quantum igitur ad primum sciendum quod Philosophus in IX Metaphysicae describit actum hoc modo: «Actus est existere rem non ita sicut dicimus potentia». Ad cuius notificationis evidentiam est sciendum quod huiusmodi communia proprie non definiuntur, sed possunt aliququaliter notificari. Oportet autem hoc notificari per ens quod est prius ipsis; sed quia non est genus, ideo non facit definitionem. Unde nec in aliis definitionibus ponitur ens, sicut principia quae dicuntur dignitates, ingrediuntur demonstrationem virtualiter; et similiter ens definitionem.

Quare proprie definitio assignari non potest per ens, quia non est
100 genus, ut probatur per Aristotelem in III Metaphysicae; tamen potest sumi ex ente aliqua notificatio. Unde huiusmodi communia, scilicet partes entis et accidentia per se entis, notificantur per ens et per aliquid quod specificet aliquem modum entis, ut esse per se substantiam, et sic de aliis. Et sic actus notificatur per ens, quia existere rem et per aliquid specificatum,
105 cum subditur, «non sicut dicimus potentia».

Est enim sciendum quod haec specificatio, qua notificantur huiusmodi communia, quandoque accipitur positive, quandoque remotive, idest secundum remotionem oppositi modi. Unde cum dicitur substantia est ens, non in alio est per remotionem; cum dicitur substantia est ens perfectum
110 positive. Specificatio ergo in notificatione actus sumitur per remotionem oppositi modi, quia est esse non sicut potentia.

Sed quia adhuc est ignotum quid est esse potentia, ideo haec definitio vel notificatio non est plene notificans actum.

Ideo Aristoteles subdit alium modum notificandi, scilicet per inductionem sumptam secundum proportionalitatem quandam. Sic enim princi-
115

88 aliquid *ante* se habet B 91 in *om.* BN IX *mss.* V 92 describit/discrit T
94 proprie/propria T 96 definitionem *mss.* diffinitionem (*ac ita deinceps*) 99 assignari *post* potest T 100 in *om.* BN sumi/sui N 102 specificet/specificat BN 105 cum/tamen B subditur/subdit B 106 haec specificatio/notificatio BN notificantur/specificantur BN 108 est ens *add.* nominatio est imperfectionem est dicitur substantia est ens T 111 quia/qui N 112 quid est esse potentia *om.* BN definitio vel notificatio/notificatio vel definitio BN 113 actum *om.* N 114 modum/actum T scilicet/sed B inductionem/inductive B 115 proportionalitatem/proportionem BN sic/sicut BN principium *add.* hoc BN

91. Vol. VIII 235 E; Bekker 1047a.

100. Vol. VIII 47^vHJ; Bekker 998b 20/30.

pium: omne totum est maius sua parte, inductione potest notificari, similiter quid est actus inductive fit manifestum, tamen cum proportionalitate, quia haec inductio est per comparisonem ad potentiam, quae dicit modum oppositum illi modo quem dicit actus.

120 Unde dicit Aristoteles consequenter: «Palam autem in singularibus inductione quod dicere volumus, et non oportet omnis rei inquirere terminum. Sed proportionale conspiciere» ut dicatur quod actus est, qui ita se habet ad proportionem, sicut «aedificans ad aedificabile, et» sicut «vigilans ad dormiens», et cetera.

125 Potest autem specificari modus essendi quem actus dicit aliquo modo positive, ut dicamus quod actus est rem existere complete, potentia autem econtra incomplete, vel actus dicit completionem in esse et determinationem, potentia incompletionem, et defectum et indeterminationem.

Unde Commentator dicit, in VIII, quod «translatio de potentia ad
130 actum non largitur multitudinem, sed perfectionem in esse». Unde actus dicit aliquid completum in esse, potentia vero deficiens ab esse et appropinquans ad non esse.

Unde et secundum Philosophum ens in potentia non est simpliciter ens, cum quaedam non-entia dicantur esse in potentia, et dicuntur non-
135 entia quia non sunt actu; ens autem actu dicitur simpliciter ens. Patet igitur quid est actus.

Ex hac autem notificatione actus possunt considerari eius proprietates. Sicut autem eius notificatio sumitur per comparisonem ad oppositum, sic et eius proprietas.

140 Possumus autem colligere ex dictis Philosophi sex proprietates ipsius actus.

116 inductione/per inductionem *post* notificationem P 117 proportionalitate/proportione
BN 118 quae/qui T modum *lect. inc.* T 120 singularibus/singulis BN 121
inductione/inductionibus BN; inductionem TRP dicere/habere BN inquirere/quere
N; quaerere TRP rei inquirere/requaerere B 122 sed *add.* particularem *lect. inc.* T;
aut per *lect. inc.* R proportionale/proportionalem T qui/quia T 123 proportio-
nem/potentiam BN aedificans/hedificans BR 124 et cetera *om.* BN 128 (incom-
pletionem) et *om.* T 130 non/si T sed/licet BN 134 non *om.* BN esse *post*
potentia BN 135 non *om.* B autem *om.* T 137 hac *om.* N; autem *post* notificatio-
ne BN actus *add.* potest considerari eius proprietas seu BN 138 eius *om.* B 140
colligere *post* philosophi BN sex/quinque BN

120. Vol. VIII 235F, 235^oG; Bekker 1048a/b.

129. text. com. 15 Vol. VIII 224 A.

133. Vol. VIII 116^oGH; Bekker 1017b.

Prima est distinctio. Unde dicit Philosophus, in VII, quod actus separat et distinguit; et ratio huius patet ex dicta notificatione. Distinctio enim non est in non-ente, sed in ente, quia distinctio praesupponit unitatem. Unum autem fundatur in ente, et idem est re quod ens. Actus ergo
 145 qui dicit complementum essendi, dicit distinctionem. Potentia vero econtra, quia recedit ab esse et tendit ad non esse, dicit indistinctionem.

Secunda proprietas est prioritas, quia actus est prior potentia, et perfectione sive dignitate et tempore vel duratione simpliciter loquendo,
 150 licet in eodem quod de potentia procedit ad actum tempore sit potentia prior. Et hoc sequitur etiam ex dicta notificatione. Ens enim simpliciter prius est non ente, licet in eodem non-ens tempore sit prius ente. Actus autem dicit simpliciter entitatem, potentia vero non, sed magis quamdam non-entitatem.

Tertia proprietas est immutabilitas. In quantum enim aliquid est actu, est immutabile, quia actu praesente cessat motus. Mutatur autem unumquodque secundum quod potentia est, cum sit motus actus entis in potentia secundum quod in potentia.

Et haec etiam conditio sequitur ex notificatione praedicta, quia
 160 secundum quod aliquid habet esse, secundum hoc immutabile est. Mutatur autem secundum hoc quod habet de non esse. Unde creatura mutabilis dicitur, ideo quia de nihilo est et in nihilum de se convertibilis est.

Actus autem dicit complementum essendi; potentia autem dicit non-esse quoddam. Ideo, et cetera.

Hinc est quod Philosophus IX Metaphysicae dicit, quod nihil semipiternum est in potentia, sed solum actu secundum quod huiusmodi; et verum est secundum quod huiusmodi. Sed illud est in potentia quod convenit esse et non esse. Et ex hoc probat quod actus est prior potentia, quia

143 huius/eius BN 145 quod ens. *add.* et quia tanto est aliquid magis distinctum ab aliis quanto magis fuerit in se distinctum, ideo actus dicit unitatem; et quia tanto magis unum in se quanto simplicius, ideo dicit simplicitatem. Unde quanto aliqua minus habent de potentia et plus de actu, tanto simpliciora sunt. Et si dicatur de elementis et mixtis, dicendum quod elementa sunt composita, quia sunt componibilia et qui in se composita. BN 146 potentia vero ... dicit indistinctionem *om.* B 149 sive/sui B vel/sive BN simpliciter/similiter T 150 tempore *post* prior BN; *om.* P 153 vero *om.* BN sed magis quamdam non-entitatem/Quare, et cetera BN 155 Tertia *lect. inc.* B enim *add.* est B 158 secundum quod in potentia *corr.* B1; *om.* B 160 quod aliquid/quia N 160 est *om.* P 161 Unde *add.* quia BN 162 de nihilo est *lect. inc.* B; de nihilo ab *corr.* B1 167 huiusmodi *om.* T

142. VII Metaphys. Vol. VIII, 199 AB; Bekker 1039a.

165. Vol. VIII, 242^oKL; Bekker 1050b.

sempiterna quae sunt actu tantum sunt principia corruptibilium quae sunt
170 potentia.

Quarta proprietas est causalitas vel efficientia. Unumquodque enim causat et efficit secundum quod actu est; secundum autem quod potentia est, deficit a ratione causalitatis.

Unde Philosophus, in IX Metaphysicae, ex hoc probat prioritatem
175 simpliciter actus ad potentiam, quia illud quod est in potentia non exit in actu nisi per aliquod ens actu, quod est causa talis exitus de potentia in actu. Et haec proprietas sequitur ex notificatione illa, quia unumquodque est causativum et agit secundum quod est ens, cum actio praesupponat esse. Agere enim est dare alii esse; quod facere non potest nisi ipsum sit;
180 secundum autem quod aliquid non est, secundum hoc deficit ab agendo. Actus autem dicit completionem essendi; potentia vero defectum agendi et quoddam non esse.

Quinta conditio est bonitas. In tantum enim unumquodque dicitur bonum in quantum est actu; secundum autem quod est in potentia recedit a
185 bono et tendit ad malum.

Unde Philosophus in IX Metaphysicae dicit quod actus bonus est melior quam bona potentia. Unde malum semper sequitur potentiam, quia privatio non est sine potentia; quae quidem privatio malum est. Et haec conditio sequitur ex notificatione praedicta, nam, ut dicit Boetius, in Libro
190 De Hebdomadibus, omnia in quantum sunt, bona sunt; econverso vero in tantum mala sunt, in quantum deficiunt ab esse. Actus autem dicit completionem; potentia vero defectum essendi.

Sexta proprietas est cognoscibilitas et veritas. Unumquodque enim dicitur verum et cognoscibile secundum quod actu; in quantum autem
195 potentia, deficit a cognoscibilitate. Ideo etiam quae sunt actu, sunt maxime cognoscibilia; entia vero materialia, quae sunt potentia, sunt parvae cognitionis. Unde Philosophus in IX declarat quod unumquodque cognoscitur secundum quod actu est.

169 corruptibilium/corruptibilia N sunt *add.* in B 170 enim/autem BN 176 actu
om. N exitus/exitu N 178 (quod) est *om.* BN 183 dicitur/est B 184 quod est
add. in BN 186 in IX/in VIII NT 187 semper *om.* BN 190 Hebdomadibus *mss.*
Ebdomedibus (vero) in *om.* BN 191 (Actus) autem/vero BN 192 (potentia) vero
om. B 194 dicitur *om.* T

174. Vol. VIII, 239 EF; Bekker 1049b.

186. Vol. VIII, 244^oKLM; Bekker 1051a.

189. PL 64, 1312A.

197. II Metaphys. Vol. VIII, 28F; Bekker 993b.

Haec autem conditio sequitur ex dicta notificatione, quia unum-
 200 quodque est cognoscibile in quantum est ens, et secundum quod deficit ab
 entitate, deficit a conditione scibilitatis.

Unde dicit Philosophus in II Metaphysicae, quod unumquodque
 sicut se habet ut sit, ita et ad veritatem. Actus autem dicit completionem in
 esse; potentia vero defectum essendi.

205 Sic igitur patet primum principale.

II Nunc videndum est secundo de modis ipsius actus.

Circa quod solet distingui duplex actus, scilicet actus primus qui est
 esse vel forma, et actus secundus qui est agere et universaliter motus et
 210 operatio.

Hanc distinctionem ponit Philosophus, in IX, ubi dicit «dicuntur
 autem actu non omnia similiter, sed aut proportionaliter, ut hoc in hoc, aut
 ad hoc. Hoc quidem ut motus ad potentiam. Illa vero ut substantia ad
 aliquam materiam».

215 In II De Anima distinguit similiter actum primum et secundum;
 primum ut scientia, secundum ut considerare.

Sed si bene consideremus, haec distinctio non comprehendit om-
 nem actum.

Aliquid enim dicitur actus quod nec est in hoc, nec est sicut motus,
 220 ut esse substantiae in corpore actus est, non tamen in alio, neque est mo-
 tus. Et ideo, ut habeamus plenioram distinctionem actus, oportet altius et
 universalius divisionem accipere.

Potest ergo actus dividi in duos modos hoc modo, quia quidam est
 actus absolutus, quidam vero non absolutus. Haec autem absolutio sumen-
 225 da est per comparisonem ad potentiam. Quidam enim actus est absolutus
 a potentia, quia non habet habitudinem et connexionem ad potentiam;

200 secundum quod/in quantum BN 201 conditione *mss.* cognitione scibilitatis *om.*
 B 202 Unde/ut B in II/in IX BN 204 esse/essentia N; *lect. inc.* B 212 simili-
 ter/simpliciter BN aut *mss.* ut (hoc,) aut/ac T 213 (hoc.) Hoc *om.* B; haec *corr.*
 B1 quidem *mss. add.* enim 215 similiter *lect. inc.* N 216 considerare *lect. inc.*
 T 217 consideremus/consideramus B 219 aliquid/aliquis NB1; *om.* B dicitur/est
 BN quod *corr.* B1; *om.* B 220 ut/et BN actus *om.* BN 221 quod nec est in
 ... Et ideo *om.* T altius/alterius B altius et universalis/universalis et altius BN
 222 divisionem/distinctionem B 226 non *om.* T et/etiam T; *add.* compositionem vel
 P connexionem *add.* habet BN

202. II. Metaphys. Vol. VIII, 247^oHIKL; Bekker 1051b/1052a.

211. Vol. VIII, 235^oG; Bekker; 1048b.

215. Vol. Suppl. II 49 A; Bekker 412a.

quidam vero est non absolutus a potentia, quia habitudinem et connexionem habet ad potentiam.

230 Ut autem melius pateat quomodo aliquis actus est absolutus et quomodo non, sciendum quod aliquis actus dupliciter potest esse connexus potentiae vel habere habitudinem ad ipsam.

Uno modo, quia est ex potentia vel post potentiam, sicut forma ignis in actu est post formam ignis in potentia; non quod sit simul, sed quia unum post aliud et ex alio.

235 Et secundum hoc attenditur quilibet motus. Quilibet enim motus vel mutatio est ex eo quod est in potentia et illud quod est in actu. Nec refert utrum forma dicatur de esse actu vel magis compositum quod magis proprie dicitur.

240 Alio modo dicitur aliquis actus connexus cum potentia, quia est cum ipsa potentia simul; ut tamen est aliquid simul, est actu et potentia.

Uterque autem actus dividitur, quia esse post potentiam dupliciter est, secundum quod aliquid dupliciter dicitur possibile, uno modo secundum potentiam materiae, alio modo secundum potentiam Dei.

245 Primo modo dupliciter, aut secundum potentiam naturalem vel obedientialem. Omne autem quod est possibile secundum potentiam materiae, oportet etiam quod sit possibile secundum potentiam alicuius agentis. Secundum ergo potentiam solius Dei omnia dicuntur possible, etiam antequam aliquid esset. Unde hoc modo omne quod est in creaturis actu, fuit prius in potentia; secundum vero potentiam materiae non omnia sunt
250 possible, quia non omnia habent materiam.

Etiam non omnia quae habent materiam, antequam essent actu, et fuerint in potentia materiae, ut corpora caelestia.

255 Quaedam enim sunt actu quae prius fuerunt actu in potentia materiae potentia naturali; et haec reducta sunt in actu per agens naturale, supposita etiam actione primi agentis cuius virtute omne agens agit.

Quaedam vero sunt in potentia materiae obedientiali; et haec reducuntur in actum, non per agens naturale sed supernaturale in quantum huiusmodi, ut est in operibus miraculosis; in quantum tamen in talibus concurrat actio secundi agentis, hoc est ratione potentiae naturalis.

227 quidam vero ... habet ad potentiam *om.* B; quia non habet ... a potentia *om.* T 231
ipsam/potentiam BN 232 ex/in BN 233 actu est *add.* et N 236 quod est *add.* in
BN (potentia) in/et BN 240 ut tamen est/et cum BR; et tamen N; tamen *om.* T
aliquid simul *add.* est in actu et tamen aliquid simul N 241 autem *om.* BN 242
dupliciter dicitur possibile/dupliciter possibile dicitur BT; dicitur possibile dupliciter N
uno/primo T 244 dupliciter aut *lect. inc.* B vel/ut T; aut R 246 etiam *om.* B
alicuius *om.* N 248 etiam antequam aliquid ... sunt possible *om.* BN esset/est P
251 Etiam non omnia/omnia etiam BN et/ac P; *om.* T 253 enim *om.* B; autem N

260 Quaedam vero non praeexisterunt in potentia materiae, nec naturali
nec obedientiali, sed solum in potentia Dei, ut illa quae fiunt a Deo sine
praesuppositione materiae. Nullus autem talis actus est absolutus.

Similiter alius modus actus non absoluti, scilicet esse cum potentia,
dividitur. Nam esse cum potentia potest dupliciter intelligi, vel secundum
265 eandem perfectionem, vel secundum diversas, sicut dicimus quod aliquid
est actu quantum ad unam perfectionem, et est in potentia quantum ad
aliā; sive illae perfectiones sint oppositae et non possint simul stare, ut
cum est potentia aer et actu ignis, et potentia album sed actu nigrum, sive
illae perfectiones possint simul stare, sicut aliquid est actu homo et poten-
270 tia sciens. Et sic de aliis.

Secundum autem perfectionem eandem convenit ut quando perfec-
tio habet gradus, et secundum unum gradum est in actu, secundum aliū
est in potentia, ut est in motu quia motus est actus entis in potentia, et in
eo aliquid est acquisitum et aliquid acquirendum. Unde motus natura, ut
275 Simplicius dicit, est mixta «ex ... potentia et actu, ex determinato et inde-
terminato, ex informi et specie, et <ex> non ente simul et ente».

Secundum hanc autem distinctionem nullus actus creatus est qui sit
omnino absolutus, sed oportet secundum aliquem modum esse connexum
potentiae; aliquis quidem pluribus modis, aliquis autem paucioribus.

280 Sed quia philosophi, et praecipue Aristoteles, non multum fuerunt
locuti de illa potentia, qua dicitur aliquid possibile secundum potentiam
solum Dei agentis, nec etiam de potentia materiae obedientiali, ideo potest
accipi secundum eorum intentionem actus absolutus magis generaliter, ut
dicatur actus absolutus qui non est post potentiam quae sit in materia, nec
285 est etiam cum potentia simul. Et hoc modo omnes substantiae incorporeae
sunt actus absoluti.

Actus autem non absoluti sunt illi qui sunt in materia, sive sit actus
sicut forma, sive ut motus vel operatio.

256 vero *add.* non N 257 actum/actu BN non/nec B sed *add.* per BN 258
tamen/autem BN 265 aliquid/aliquis BN 266 quantum ad/secundum BN 267
illae *om.* BN ut cum/et tamen B; et cum N 269 sicut/scilicet T 272 in actu *add.*
et BT 273 (aliū) est *om.* BR ut est in motu ... entis in potentia *om.* B 274
natura/naturalis T 275 actu/endelichia *ed.* Pattin et indeterminato *om.* TRP; indeter-
minato/determinato B 276 ex informi et specie/et in forma et in specie TR; et informa-
ri et specie P <ex> *om.* BNTR 279 quidem/vero BN aliquis/aliqui N autem
om. B; vero N 282 solum/solius BN potentia *add.* Dei T materiae/materia N
286 actus/alicius B 287 Actus autem ... in materia *om.* T 288 sicut/sive B

Sic ergo declarata est haec distinctio, scilicet quod quidam est actus
 290 absolutus, quidam non absolutus, tam secundum intentionem philosopho-
 rum quam secundum veritatem.

III Nunc de tertio videndum est, an Deus proprie dicatur actus.

Est autem considerandum quod, licet communi nomine tam absolu-
 295 tus quam non absolutus vocetur actus, tamen philosophi, attendentes pro-
 prietatem et rerum et nominum, distinxerunt esse actum et esse actu. Et
 actum absolutum proprie vocaverunt actum, non absolutum autem vocave-
 runt quod actu vel esse actu; tamen unum accipitur indifferenter pro alio.

Sic tamen distinguuntur; ubi est diversitas in rebus, conveniens est
 300 etiam nomina esse propria et distincta.

Unde dicit Simplicius contra quosdam, qui dicebant quod actus est
 genus motus, distinguit actum contra esse actu dicens «quod quidem actu
 opponitur ad illud quod potentia et imperfecti est perfectio habitudinemque
 ad contrarium accepit.

305 Actus vero <hic secundum se> absolutus est ad nullum contrarium
 dictus, qui et ei quod actu est exhibet perfectionem. Multum ergo refert
 actu quidem esse figuram, actum vero non existere».

Et postea infra dicit contra illos: «Turbat autem praesentem sermo-
 nem illud quod actu confusum in actum; quod enim transmutatur ab eo
 310 quod potentia transmutatur in quod poterat»; attenditur enim hoc, «differt
 autem quae actu ab ipso actu secundum quod illud quidem actu ad illud
 quod potentia subsistit».

«Ipse autem actus secundum se est». Et haec nominum distinctio
 consona est intentioni Aristotelis.

315 Aristoteles enim, considerans distinctionem actus absoluti a non
 absoluto, actum absolutum proprio nomine vocavit endelichiam, quod idem

293 Nunc *lect. inc.* B (videndum) est *om.* B 296 distinxerunt/distinguerunt T
 299 distinguunt *lect. inc.* B 300 nomina/nominis BN 303 imperfecti *mss.* imper-
 fectio habitudinemque/habitudinem quia N; habitudinem quod P 304 accepit *mss.*
 prae-accepit 305 nullum/unum BN 306 dictus *om.* T exhibet/exibet BN 307
 figuram *lect. inc.* BT actum/actu BNT; actus vero ut P 308 Turbat/probat BR; *lect.*
inc. T 309 enim/qui BNT transmutatur *lect. inc.* BNT; *mss.* ante ab eo 310 in/ita
 B 311 autem *om.* BN ab/ad *ed.* Pattin quod illud quidem/illud quod BN; illud
 quia qua T 313 autem *om.* N se *om.* B nomen/nomini B 314 consona *lect.*
inc. T

301. *ed.* Pattin II p. 419.

308. *ed.* Pattin II p. 422.

315. Vol. VIII, 231 B; Bekker 1047a.

sonat quod in actu. Unde, cum definit motum, dicit quod motus est endelichia; non dicit quod sit actus.

Similiter, alibi de actibus non absolutis loquens, vocat endelichiam; et quaedam est endelichia perfecta, ut forma, quaedam imperfecta, ut motus. Et nomen proprie Aristoteles invenit, ut Simplicius refert, sic dicens: «Philosophi non solum cognoscere res volentes quae ab aliis ignorantur, quinimo, volentes exprimere his qui desiderant addiscere, aliquando fingere nomina compelluntur, sic ipsemet Aristoteles endelichiae nomen adinvenit».

Ad quid autem ipsum invenit, ostendit alibi, ut iam dictum est propter actus non absolutos.

Unde et, in IX, dicit quod actus nomen endelichia dicitur et de aliis, quod idem est ac si diceretur de actu absoluto et non absoluto.

Unde et, in X, etiam rationem assignat; non dicit actum sed magis illud quod actu, dicens: dicimus autem actu quidem non omnia.

Similiter post vero nomen actus dicit esse commune ad endelichiam et ad alia; translatore nomina communiter tulerunt unum pro alio.

Sic igitur patet distinctio actus in diversos modos. Sed quomodo se habeant hi modi ad nomen et rationem actus, sciendum quod actus analogice dicitur de his, et quantum ad nominis impositionem primo dicitur de motu, consequenter de forma; secundo de substantiis absolutis.

Secundum vero significationem nominis et rationis ad quam significandam ponitur, econverso est. Et ratio est, quia inter actus motus est notior, per quam etiam formam cognoscimus, quia actio fecit scire formam. Tamen motus, cum sit actus imperfectus, non tantum habet de ratione actus sicut forma; et similiter dicendum de his respectu actus absoluti.

Et sic patet secundum principale.

320 (forma) quaedam *add.* et B 321 sic/sicut B 323 quinimo/quin ymo RN; quin *om.* B volentes *add.* actus B 324 ipsemet *ed.* Pattin; ipseque BNTR; ipse P 326 Ad/ab B 331 autem/quidem B quidem *om.* B 333 nomina *om.* BNT tulerunt/transtulerunt BN 335 habeant/habent BN nomen et *add.* ad BNR 336 impositionem/positionem T 337 secundo *add.* vero B 339 ponitur/imponitur BN 341 tantum/tamen B habet/debet habere BN

319. IX Metaphys. Vol. VIII 241°K; Bekker 1050a.

321. *ed.* Pattin I.24.

326. *ed.* Pattin I.24.

328. Vol. VIII, 231B; Bekker 1047a.

330. vide IX Metaphys. Vol. VIII 235°G; Bekker 1048b.

345 III Tunc de tertio videndum est, an Deus proprie actus dicatur.

Et dicendum secundum praedicta quod, si loquamur de actu ut est commune ad absolutum et non absolutum, qui proprie dicitur endelichia, vel loquimur specialiter de actu secundum quod distinguitur contra esse actu vel endelichiam, et ut dicitur solum de non absoluto, vel loquimur de
350 actu secundum quod dicitur solum de endelichia.

Si primo modo sic dicendum, quod actus prout dicitur de Deo et translativae, licet non proprie idest soli. Hoc autem patet ex his quae dicta sunt in primo articulo, de notificatione actus et proprietatibus eius.

Actus enim importat completionem in esse, ut dictum est. Hoc
355 autem convenit Deo proprie, qui est ipsum esse et maxime esse, ita ut proprie dicatur et simpliciter 'qui est'. Unde Boetius, De Trinitate, dicit quod divina essentia «est vere forma, quae est ipsum esse, et ex qua est esse; omne enim esse est a forma». Et hoc supra, in alia quaestione de forma, dictum fuit.

Hoc idem patet ex proprietatibus ipsius actus quae supra dictae sunt. Deus enim est maxime ab aliis distinctus, quia maxime unus et simplex, ut alias declaratum est, in quaestione de uno.

Item, ipse est primum omnium entium et nihil eo est prius. Item, ipse est omnino immutabilis.

365 Item, ipse est causa effectiva, faciens alia actu. Item, ipse est maxime bonum.

Item, ipse est maxime verum et cognoscibile.

Horum autem aliqua declarata sunt, et aliqua declaranda adhuc magis in sequentibus, licet satis nota et a doctoribus sacris sufficienter
370 declarata. Unde auctoritates dimitto causa brevitatis.

348 loquimur/loquamur BN specialiter/simpliciter BN 349 (actu) vel/et BN 350
solum ante de actu B; ante secundum N 351 sic om. BN 352 idest om. T 354
Actus/actio N 355 est om. BNT et maxime esse om. B; et maxime corr. B1 356
simpliciter lect. inc. ante dicatur T 360 ipsius om. P actus om. N 362 ut/nam T
365 effectiva/effective T 367 (ipse) est om. B 368 adhuc/et hoc B 369 sequenti-
bus add. patebit B sacris/satis N 370 dimitto/dimittimus BN

353. in primo articulo l. 93 sqq.

356. PL 64, 1250B.

358. Quaestio II, (II) ed. Ypma, 40-46.

360. l. 140 sqq.

362. Quaestio III, (III,IV) ed. Ypma, 75-80.

Et est sciendum quod hoc est probatio a posteriori, scilicet per proprietates.

A priori autem arguitur quia est actus, ideo conveniunt sibi haec, sed a posteriori e converso, ut si est risibile, est homo; et in huiusmodi oportet uti probatione a posteriori.

Prima vero quae est ex notificatione est quasi argumentum a definitione.

Si vero loquamur de actu, prout accipitur pro absoluto et dividitur contra endelichiam et esse actu, sic convenit Deo, non solum proprie, id est non transsumptive, immo proprie, quia ipsi soli. Solum enim ipse est absolutus, quia nullam potentiam respicit et nulli potentiae connexus; quia neque est actus post potentiam neque cum potentia; tamen secundum philosophos aliquos omnia abstracta sunt absolute actus, id est sine potentia vel praecedente vel coniuncta, sed loquuntur de potentia materiae vel naturali, non de illa qua dicuntur possibilis per potentiam Dei, sed qua dicitur aliquid possibile per principium in ipso.

Avicenna tamen, accipiens communius possibile, dicit quod omnia sunt possibilis praeter unum. Unde omnia alia a primo sunt actus non absoluti.

Si vero loquamur de actu prout accipitur solum pro esse in actu, vel prout est endelichia, sic dicendum quod Deus non est actus proprie sed metaphorice, quia ipse non est actus alicuius subiecti vel materiae sicut forma, quae dicitur perfecta endelichia ut est actus, ut motus, ut satis patet, nec oportet probare.

Et sic patet tertium principale.

IV Quarto videndum, an sit necesse esse. Quod ideo inducitur nunc, ne oporteat facere de hoc quaestionem specialem, quamvis etiam alibi dictum fuit quomodo necessitas est in Deo et quomodo non; tamen quia hoc conexum est actui, ideo dicendum.

371 hoc/haec BR scilicet *om.* BN 373 haec *lect. inc.* T 374 sed/scilicet T; autem
 post posteriori P (et) in/ita B 375 oportet uti *om.* T; *lect. inc.* PR 376 est qua-
 si/equalibet T 380 solum/solus NR 381 quia/qui B nulli/nullus P potentiae
 add. est BN 382 (quia) neque ... neque/nec ... nec B 385 qua/ quae B (sed)
 qua/ quae B dicitur/dicuntur BN 386 possibile/potentiale B 391 prout/potest esse
 N 392 ipse/proprie BN 393 (motus) ut *om.* B 395 tertium *lect. inc.* T; principale
om. TP 397 nunc *lect. inc.* B 398 de hoc ante facere BN specialem/principalem
 BN 399 tamen/tunc B

387. Metaph. II,2,75b; aussi Metaph. VIII,6,99^{vo} ed. Venetiis 1508.

398. Quodl. I ed. Ypma, 84; Quodl. II ed. Ypma, 123-130.

Circa quod sciendum est quod Philosophus definit necessarium, quod impossibile est aliter se habere. Alii enim modi non habent locum in Deo, ut satis patet. Possibile vero quod potest esse et non esse.

405 Avicenna et Algezel dicunt quod necesse esse est quod non dependet ex alio; possibile vero quod ex alio pendet.

Sed licet illae notificationes videantur esse diversae, ad idem tamen tendunt, si bene considerentur. Omne enim quod potest esse et non esse, pendet ex alio. Ergo quod non pendet ex alio, non potest esse et non esse, et sic est necesse esse.

410 Similiter econverso, omne quod pendet ex alio, quantum est de se potest esse et non esse; ex quo a se non habet esse, quia, si aliud non esset, nec ipsum esset; non tamen dicitur possibile esse et non esse, esse principium in se.

Sic accepit Aristoteles, Avicenna vero primo modo. Et licet primo 415 existente, alia semper sint secundum ipsum, tamen si ipsum non esset, nec alia. Ideo, et cetera.

Secundum utramque distinctionem patet quod Deus, ex eo quod est actus absolutus, est necesse esse, quia actus absolutus non pendet ex alio, quia non respicit potentiam.

420 Similiter actus absolutus est omnino immutabilis, quia mutabile potest esse et non esse. Unde eo ipso quod actus absolutus est, non habet potentiam ad esse et non esse, sed semper actu est. Ideo est necesse esse et impossibile non esse, et cetera.

Et sic patet ad quaestionem, qua quaeritur utrum Deus proprie 425 dicatur actus.

Est autem hic una dubitatio circa tertium articulum.

Videtur enim quod nullus actus sit absolutus. Quod patet, quia non potest definiri nisi per comparisonem ad potentiam. Unde Philosophus, ut

405 pendet/dependet BNR (*ac ita deinceps*) 407 potest *corr.* B1; *om.* B 408 Ergo quod non pendet ex alio *om.* T 410 econverso/econtrario B (est) de *lect. inc.* B quantum est de se *post* et non esse P 412 tamen/tantum T 413 (principium) in se *om.* BN 414 vero *om.* BN 415 tamen *om.* T non/nunc *corr.* B1; *om.* T 418 (est actus) absolutus *add.* non B (quia) actus *om.* N 422 esse et *add.* ad BN non *corr.* B1; *om.* B actu est *add.* et BN 424 qua/quae T

401. V Metaph. Vol. VIII, 108°KL; Bekker 1015b; cfr. Averroes Epitomes tract. I Vol.

VIII 363°G; cfr. XII Metaph. 320°KL, Bekker 1072b (cfr. Quodl. II, 123, 124).

404. Cfr. V Metaph. Vol. VIII, 109°LM; text com. 6: 110 AB.

404. Tract. secundus (II.1); ed. Muckle p. 52 sq.

429. IX Metaphys. Vol. VIII, 235E.

430 supra dictum est, dicit quod actus est existere rem, non ita sicut dicitur
potentia. Et Commentator dicit quod sunt relativa contraria. Ideo unum per
aliud definitur. Nullus ergo actus absolutus est, si non potest intelligi sine
potentia nec definiri. Quod etiam patet ex eo quod dividunt ens sicut differ-
rentiae contrariae.

435 Ad hoc dicendum quod non dicitur actus absolutus quia non habet
potentiam sibi oppositam, quia omnis actus habet sibi contrariam poten-
tiam; et verum est quod actus et potentia sunt contraria.

Sed contraria dicuntur multipliciter, ut patet per Philosophum, V
Metaphysicae, quia vel illa quae non possunt simul adesse eidem differen-
440 tium secundum genus et quae plurimum differunt eorum quae sunt in
eodem genere, et quae plurimum differunt eorum quae sunt sub eadem
potestate et quorum differentia maxime ut simpliciter, vel secundum genus
vel secundum speciem.

Secundum autem aliquem horum modorum proprie faciunt contra-
445 rietatem. Non ergo dicitur actus absolutus quia nullo modo habeat poten-
tiam oppositam, sed quia non habet eam oppositam ita quod succedat
potentiae circa idem subiectum, sicut album et nigrum, et sicut ignis in
actu et ignis in potentia se habent; nec etiam coniungitur eidem alicui
potentiae in eodem subiecto, nec secundum unam perfectionem, nec secun-
450 dum diversas.

Et sic patet quartum principale.

1. Ad primum ergo dicendum quod Deus nec est esse nec agere,
accipiendo esse et agere ut actus sunt non absoluti.

455 Secundum autem quod esse et agere dicunt actum absolutum, Deus
est esse et agere, sed haec in eo idem sunt. Sed tamen quomodo Deus
dicatur actio, cum actio respicit potentiam, et Deus sit actus absolutus,
patebit in sequenti quaestione.

Quod autem dicitur, quod affirmationes sunt incompactae, patet
460 alibi quid dicendum.

433 dividunt *lect. inc.* N 436 contrariam/contraria B potentiam *om.* T 339
differentium/differunt BN; *lect. inc.* T 440 plurimum *lect. inc.* T 442 (maxime)
ut/vel BN 446 eam/potentiam B 448 habent/habet T 449 perfectionem/causam
BN 451 quartum principale *om.* TR; principale *om.* P 453 (Deus) nec/non BN
454 (sunt) non/ut BN 455 autem/ergo BN 456 haec *om.* T tamen quomodo/cum
BN Deus *add.* consequentur BN 459 incompactae/compactae BN

431. in IX Metaphys. text. com. 11 Vol. VIII, 236^oG.

438. Vol. VIII, 118^oM; Bekker 1018a.

460. Quaestio VIII ed. Ypma, 230, 258; Quaestio XI, 31, 32.

2. Ad secundum dicendum quod actus in Deo significat substantiam. Dictum autem Damasceni debet intelligi. Hic enim dicit quia non possumus intelligere quid est Deus, tamen vere actus nomen significat substantiam Dei, sicut ipse consequenter dicit de hoc nomine qui est vel esse, de
 465 quo dicit quod significat pelagus substantiae infinitum.
3. Ad tertium dicendum quod sicut in III Metaphysicae, et cetera. Tamen sciendum quod possibile uno modo potest sumi quod sequitur ad necesse esse et similiter ad actum esse, ut dicatur possibile quia non est impossibile; et tale possibile idem est quod actus secundum quod sequitur
 470 ad ipsum.
4. Ad quartum dicendum quod esse actu et potentia sunt accidentia consequentia entis, ideo sunt praeter rationem entis communiter; esse autem actuale est praeter rationem essentiae, ita quod in creaturis differt res ab essentia modo alias dicto; in Deo autem solum ratione.
- 475 Vel potest dici quod postquam ratione, sicut in creaturis esse dicitur res secundum se accepta. Esse vero ut alii coniuncta sine quo non invenitur, ita in Deo res, quae est divina substantia, dicitur essentia ut consideratur. Dicitur autem esse ut est coniuncta suis perfectionibus vel modis essendi, sive absolutis sive respectivis sine quibus non invenitur actu, tamen
 480 sunt praeter rationem essentiae, licet non sint alia res ab essentia, sed differunt ab essentia sicut modus a re.
- Et sic proportionaliter dicendum est de esse et essentia in Deo et creaturis. Talis tamen differentia essentiae et esse in Deo non tollit eius simplicitatem. Sic ergo esse actu est praeter rationem essentiae secundum
 485 quod essentia absolute accipitur, et cetera.
5. Ad quintum patet solutio ex his quae in principali solutione quaestionis dicta sunt, et cetera.

462 dicit/dicitur T 464 vel esse *corr.* B1; *om.* B 465 quod *om.* T significat *add.* substantiae B infinitum/infinite BN 468 similiter/simpliciter BN ad *om.* P; actu/actum BNP 471 esse actu/actus BN accidentia *om.* B 472 consequentia/com-
 473 munia BN communiter *corr.* B1 entis /ens BR entis ... praeter rationem *corr.* B1; *om.* B 475 postquam *add.* in N Vel potest ... postquam ratione *om.* B 477 substantia/essentia B essentia/esse BN 479 (quibus) non *om.* N 480 sed differ-
 481 runt ab essentia *om.* BN 482 (dicendum) est *om.* BN 483 tamen/autem BN essentiae et esse/esse et essentiae N eius *om.* BN 484 Sic/si T; sicut R

462. De Fide Orthodoxa I, cap. IX, PG 94,835 AB; ed. Buytaert, pp. 48, 49.

466. Vol. VIII 62^oJK; Bekker 1002b, 1003a.

474. Quodlibet I quaestio IV ed. Ypma, pp. 43 sqq.

486. Quaestio XXII, III, l. 345 sqq.

6. Ad sextum dicendum quod actus qui Deo convenit, opponitur potentiae large contrariae, non secundum quod contraria sunt circa idem
490 subiectum.

Actus autem et potentia, qui sunt circa idem, prius est in potentia et post in actu. Haec sunt magis proprie contraria, licet et haec non per omnem modum habeant quidquid pertinet ad rationem contrariorum. Et de his loquitur Commentator ut patet ibi. Quod autem dicit Commentator, quod
495 actus et potentia sunt relativa quia in ad aliud est contrarietas ratione fundamenti, vel aliter, secundum quod ipse dicit, in X, contraria relativa sunt illa relativa quae ex aequo ad invicem referuntur similiter, ut duplum et dimidium. Relativa vero non contraria sunt illa quae non sic, ut scibile et scientia.

7. Ad septimum dicendum quod plures relationes sicut non dicuntur plures res sed plures modi reales, nec plures essentiae sed plures modi essendi, sic nec dicuntur plures actus; sed potest concedi quod sunt plures modi essendi actu.

8. Ad octavum dicendum quod Deo convenit potentia, non quae contrariatur actui qui de Deo dicitur, sed quae magis fundatur in actu, scilicet
505 potentia activa, ut patebit infra. Et ideo, sicut dicitur simpliciter potens, ita et simpliciter actus.

9. Ad nonum dicendum quod materia est se tota potentia cum sit substantia simplex.

510 Quod autem dicitur quod est aliquid, dicendum quod non propter hoc sequitur quod sit aliquo modo actu, quia, cum potentia et actus dividant ens, potest dici aliquid ens aliquo modo; quod tamen non est actus.

Quod autem dicitur de habilitatibus, dicendum quod illae habilitates sunt aliquid additum materiae et dicunt respectum solum supra ipsam vel
515 formam ut in inchoatione, quae tamen non dicitur actus sed magis potentia.

491 (potentia) qui/quae BN 492 proprie *om.* N omnem *lect. inc.* B 494 ibi *om.* B 496 (fundamenti) vel *om.* BN 496 X *add.* Metaphysicae N 497 (ex) aequo /quo B ad/ex N similiter/simpliciter BN 501 (essentiae) sed/nec BN 504 (non) quae/quia B 508 materia est *add.* de BN 511 actus/actu T 512 potest *add.* tamen T aliquid *corr.* B1; *om.* B 513 habilitatibus/habitudinibus T 515 (ut) in *om.* T in inchoatione/inclinationem BN

494. in III Metaph. text. com. 19 Vol. VIII, 62^{vo}M 63 AB; in IX Metaph. text. com. 11 Vol. VIII, 236^oG.

496. Cfr. text. com. 13 Vol. VIII 261^oGH.

506. Cfr. Quaestio XXIII.

Tamen, dato quod materia non se tota esset actus, adhuc non sequitur argumentum quod actus secundum quod huiusmodi non dependet a potentia, sicut essentiae potentia ab actu.

520 Unde numquam invenitur potentia quae non sit coniuncta alicui actui. Est tamen aliquis actus qui non est coniunctus alicui potentiae, loquendo de potentia importante imperfectionem.

10. Ad decimum dicendum quod in Deo nulla est compositio. Et quod dicitur de identitate et differentia reali, dicendum quod Pater est idem Filio
525 re absoluta et proprie dicitur res. Distinguitur tamen ab eo re relativa, quae non est res, sed magis circumstantia rei dicitur.

Unde sequitur quod non per unum et idem re sit idem et distinctum; non tamen sequitur compositio, quia relatio et esse dicuntur unum re in quantum dicunt unam essentiam. Dicuntur autem non unum in quantum
530 differt ab essentia relatio, sicut modus rei a re; quae tamen differentia compositionem non facit, etiam in creaturis.

Eindhoven

Eelcko YPMA, O.S.A.

518 dependet/pendeat B 520 invenitur/potest inveniri BN (non) sit/est T 524
identitate mss. ydemptitate Filio *post* re absoluta T 526 dicitur *om.* BN 527 idem
om. T 528 tamen *om.* BN 529 non *om.* N 530 relatio *ante* ab essentia B 531
etiam in *om.* B

BOEKBESPREKING - COMPTE RENDU

R.H. COOPER, L.C. FERRARI, P.M. RUDDOCK, J.R. SMITH (eds.), *Concordantia in libros XIII confessionum S. Aurelii Augustini. A Concordance to the Skutella (1969) edition*. (Alpha - Omega. Reihe A: Lexica - Indizes - Konkordanzen zur klassischen Filologie, CXXIV), Olms - Weidmann, Hildesheim - Zürich - New York, 1991, 2 v.

La présente concordance volumineuse des *Confessiones* d'Augustin est le fruit d'une collaboration étroite entre, d'une part, les sciences humaines (représentées par Ferrari et Smith) et, d'autre part, les sciences de l'informatique (représentées par Cooper et Ruddock). Dans cette concordance on trouve, après les remerciements d'usage, une introduction à caractère de mode d'emploi (pp. V-XI), suivie de la concordance proprement dite (pp. 1-1111) et de deux appendices (resp. pp. 1112-1171 et 1172-1191). Pour la rédaction de la concordance, les auteurs se sont servis de l'édition Skutella, corrigée par H. Juergens et W. Schaub et publiée en 1969¹. Dans les listes de concordance, les lemmes sont toujours situés dans le contexte de quelques mots. L'Appendice A comprend les mots dont la fréquence est telle que, si on les reprenait dans la concordance proprement dite, ils couvriraient plus de vingt pages. Il s'agit, par exemple, des formes de *esse* et d'autres mots pareils. Dans ces cas les auteurs signalent simplement le lieu (page et ligne dans Skutella), donc dégagé de la forme dans son contexte. L'Appendice B présente une liste de tous les mots repris dans la concordance et dans l'appendice A, avec indication de la fréquence de ces termes dans les *Confessiones*.

Il est à regretter que la mise en pages de cet ouvrage, d'une présentation d'ailleurs vraiment soignée, donne à quelques endroits de l'introduction une impression de nonchalance (cfr. p. VII; IX). Ce qui est étrange aussi c'est que les auteurs ne font aucune tentative d'introduire dans leurs listes des lectures éventuellement meilleures comme celles qu'on trouve dans l'édition critique récente des *Confessiones* de la main de L. Verheijen². Il s'agit quand même là d'un total de 178 changements dont la plupart sont en fait un retour à l'édition des Mauristes³. De plus il est à remarquer que Verheijen donne régulièrement une justification bien fondée en

¹ *S. Aurelii Augustini Confessionum libri 13*, edidit M. SKUTELLA. Editionem correctiorem curaverunt H. JUERGENS et W. SCHAUB (Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana), Stuttgart, Teubner, 1969.

² *Sancti Augustini Confessionum libri XIII* quos post Martinum Skutella iterum edidit L. VERHEIJEN (CCSL, 27), Turnholti, 1981.

³ Cfr. l'aperçu dans VERHEIJEN, pp. XXXII-XLIX.

choisissant une lecture qui s'écarte de celle proposée par Skutella.

De plus, une comparaison avec l'édition Verheijen aurait révélé que, chez Skutella, nous avons affaire parfois à un mot qui ne se rencontre nulle part sur le CD-rom de la *Cetedoc Library of Christian Latin Texts* (CLCLT) dans son entier. Là on peut examiner tous les textes d'Augustin basés, si possible, sur des éditions critiques. Or certaines lectures proposées par Skutella comme, par exemple, *dulcitudine* (Conf. IX,6,14) ou *interbui* (Conf. IX,4,9) ne se retrouvent pas du tout sur le CD-rom signalé et sont lues par Verheijen (en se fondant sur des lectures attestées dans les manuscrits) comme *dulcedine* et *inferuui*. D'autres lectures de Skutella ne sont attestées qu'une seule fois ailleurs. C'est le cas de *superuacuanea* (Conf. X,37,60): cette lecture se rencontre encore dans *De consensu evangelistarum* I,28,44. La lecture *supervacanea* choisie par Verheijen est plus fréquente et figure six fois dans l'oeuvre d'Augustin.

Enfin on peut se demander si cette concordance qui, il y a peu, aurait rendu de grands services, trouvera encore le chemin de l'utilisateur à une époque où le marché du CD-rom (aussi en ce qui concerne l'Antiquité et le Moyen Âge) semble, pour ainsi dire, près d'exploser.

Leuven

M. LAMBERIGTS

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