

THE COMING OF THE NEW COSMOS

INTRODUCTION

There will be a new heaven and a new earth. Before the coming of this new world the last judgment will take place. The purification of this world will likewise be effected so that the just will have a fitting place to live in¹. It is our intention to show Augustine's teaching on these points. A lengthy description of the Augustinian eschaton will be included in order to prove that it has a societal character.

I. THE LAST JUDGMENT

Augustine discusses the theme of the last judgment with the following motivations: (i) to discuss with Hesychius, then bishop of Salonita, the question of the time of the happening of the last judgment. *Epistulae* 197, 198, 199, written not before 418 and finished before 420, contain the discussions. (ii) To assert the Christian belief in the last judgment against the ungodly and unbelieving. *De Civitate Dei* 20, written in 425/427, presents proofs "adversus impios et incredulos"².

A. The question on the precise time of the coming of the last judgment

The precise time of the last judgment is not known. Augustine remains consistent in this. His scriptural texts to prove his view are Acts 1,7: "Nemo potest cognoscere tempora, quae pater posuit in sua potestate", and Mt. 24,36: "De die vero et illa hora nemo scit, neque angelus, neque virtus, neque Filius, nisi solus Pater".

In *Epistula* 197 Augustine's argument revolves around the word *tempora* in Acts 1,7. He maintains that this statement was given by the Lord Himself in response to the disciples, who were asking the question

¹ The best description of this event is found in *De Civitate Dei* 20,16, CSEL 40(2), 464-465. Reference to and explanation of the prediction of the prophet Haggai 2,7-10 is given in *Sermo* 50,6.9-10, PL 38,330-331.

² *De Civitate Dei* 20,1, CSEL 40(2),424.

not with reference to the last day or the last hour but to the opportune time for the last judgment to take place. In order to prove this Augustine points to the Greek reading for *tempora*, which is χρόνους ἢ καιρούς. According to him the Greek reading points to different interpretations of the apostles' question.

"And certainly the apostles themselves did not ask this as though they wanted to know the latest part of the day or hour, that is to say, the exact part of the day, but whether it was already the opportune time for the kingdom of Israel to be restored. They then heard: 'No one can know the time that the Father has fixed by his own authority' (Acts 1,7), that is to say the χρόνους ἢ καιρούς"³.

Earlier in the same context Augustine points out that the distinction between χρόνους and καιρούς is not to be disregarded. Καιρούς refers to the opportuneness or inopportuneness of events. Χρόνους are periods of time.

"However, they (*sc.* the Greeks) call each word of ours either χρόνους or καιρούς, since these two words have difference that ought not to be ignored. The Greeks certainly call καιρούς 'tempora'. Nevertheless these (*sc.* tempora) do not pass away in long intervals. They rather refer to events like harvest, reaping, heat, coldness, peace, and the like, that are inopportune or opportune for something. However, they call χρόνους the periods of time themselves"⁴.

The opportune time will come after the Gospel has been preached all over (cf. Mt. 24,14). When this will be accomplished is not, however, known by any one of us. Augustine mentions Jerome's information given in *Commentaria in Daniele* 3,9,24 on several attempts to compute the exact day of the happening of the last judgment from the data given in Daniel 9,24-27⁵. As pointed out by Jerome, Eusebius came to an inconclusive result, while Hippolytus thought that the day would fall in the 'seventieth week', that is 'in the year 6.000': "Novissimam quoque hebdomadam ponit in consummatione mundi, quam divisit in Heliae tempora et Antichristi".

³ "Et certe hoc ipsi apostoli non ita quaesiverunt, quasi unum novissimum diem vel horam, id est exiguum diei partem scire voluissent, sed utrum iam esset opportunum tempus, quo regnum repraesentaretur Israel, tunc audierunt: *Nemo potest cognoscere tempora, quae pater posuit in sua potestate*, id est χρόνους ἢ καιρούς". *Epistula* 197,3, CSEL 57,233.

⁴ "Nostri autem utrumque hoc verbum tempora appellant sive χρόνους sive καιρούς, cum habeant haec duo inter se non neglegendam differentiam. quippe appellant Graeci tempora quidem, non tamen quae in spatiorum voluminibus transeunt, sed quae in rebus ad aliquid importunis vel opportunis sentiuntur sicut messis, vindemia, calor, frigus, pax, bellum et si qua similis; χρόνους autem ipsa spatia temporum vocant". *Epistula* 197,3, CSEL 57,232-233.

⁵ JEROME, *Commentaria in Daniele* 3,9,24, CCL 75A,876-878. Augustine's recommendation of this work is found in *De Civitate Dei* 20,23, CSEL 40(2),488.

Those computations were considered by some as a basis for predicting the coming of the last judgment. Augustine rules them out, and he tells us to take them as opinions⁶.

A shift in attention is made in *Epistula* 198. Besides pointing out the idea rendered by the two Greek words, namely, χρόνους and καιρούς, Augustine calls Hesychius' attention to the reading found in the books of old churches. What is written is not "Nemo potest cognoscere tempora" but "Non est vestrum nosse tempora et momenta". If this old reading is to be considered and if the following verse "Sed eritis mihi testes in Hierusalem en in Judaeam et in Samariam et usque ad ultimum terrae" (Acts 1,8b), is taken to complete the sense, Augustine argues that it would follow that it was Christ's wish that the apostles should not give witness to the end of the world history but to His name and resurrection. In this letter Augustine appears to maintain his old position expressed in *En. in Ps.* 6,1, a work written in 392. In this earlier work Augustine says that there are some commentators who interpret Ps. 6,1: "In finem, in hymnis de octavo, psalmus David" as referring to the day of judgment when the Lord will come⁷. They attempt to compute the days according to their interpretation that seven thousand years counted from the time of Adam stand for seven days of creation and in the last thousand years, taken as the eighth day, the final judgment will take place. Augustine warns against accepting this interpretation by arguing on the basis of Acts 1,7. Here, however, in this last mentioned work the reading he uses is "Non est vestrum scire tempora". Moreover, he juxtaposes with this reading Mt. 24,36: "De die vero et illa hora nemo scit, neque angelus, neque virtus, neque Filius, nisi solus Pater" in order to bolster his argument against those who claim that they possess knowledge of the time of the last judgment: "satis aperte ostendit neminem sibi oportere arrogare scientiam illius temporis, computatione aliqua annorum". He argues that this is impossible since not even the Son knows the time: "Ubi erit ergo, quod nec Filius hoc novit?"

The proofs given in *Epistulae* 199 are even more closely reasoned. Augustine interchanges Acts 1,7 with the reading "Non est vestrum nosse" with another reading of the same vers, "Non est vestrum scire". The first reading, as he points out in *Epistulae* 198, means that it was not possible for the apostles to give witness to the end of the world since the text was not meant to signify this. The second reading means that it was not possible for the apostles even to know the time of the end of the world. By

⁶ *Epistula* 197,5, CSEL 57,234.

⁷ *En. in Ps.* 6,1, CCL 38,27.

combining the two meanings one is bound to accept that it was not possible for the apostles both to be witnesses to the end of the world and to know the time of the end of the world. It is to be noted that the end of the world for Augustine is associated with the last judgment. The last judgment will take place right after the end of this world⁸. Now, if it was not possible for the apostles to be witnesses and to know, how could they teach the doctrine? Augustine later argues that possession of an ability to teach presupposes knowledge. But this was impossible for the apostles since the Lord did not teach it to them. It is all the more impossible for anybody else.

"I don't understand yet how your statement should be taken concerning what the Lord said to the apostles: 'It is not for you to know the time and moment which the Father has set by His own power' since he continued: 'But you shall be my witnesses in Jerusalem and in all Judea and Samaria and to the end of the world' (Acts 1,7 & 8). You explain the thought of the scripture as follows: 'He (sc. the Lord) therefore did not intend that the apostles would be witness of the end of the world but of his name and resurrection'. He certainly did not say: 'It is not for you to preach the time' but 'It is not for you to know'. But if you want his statement, 'It is not for you to know' to be understood as if he said: 'It is not for you to make others know', that is to say, it is not for you to teach this, who of us may dare to teach or may presume to know, since God the teacher did not teach those disciples who actually asked Him when he was in their midst, nor could those holy and great learned persons teach it to the church"⁹.

For Augustine what matters most is not the possession of knowledge of the time but the belief in and the preparation now for the time of the last judgment. This appears to be his primary concern in *De Civitate Dei* 20.

⁸ *De Civitate Dei* 20,16, CSEL 40(2),465.

⁹ "Nondum sane intellego, quonam modo accipi debeat, quod scripsit sanctitas tua propterea dixisse dominum apostolis: *Non est vestrum nosse tempora vel momenta, quae pater posuit in sua potestate*, quoniam secutus adiunxit: *Sed eritis mihi testes in Hierusalem et in Iudaeam et in Samariam et usque ad ultimum terrae*. Quem scripturae sensum sic exponis, ut dicas: 'Non ergo apostolos testes consummationis mundi sed nominis et resurrectionis suae voluit intellegi'. Non quidem ille ait: 'Non est vestrum praedicare tempora' sed: *Non est vestrum nosse*. Verum si ita vis intellegi, quod ait: *Non est vestrum scire*, ac si diceret: Non est vestrum scientes facere, id est non est vestrum hoc docere, quis nostrum docere audeat vel se scire praesumat, quod deus ille magister nec eos discipulos docuit, a quibus praesentibus interrogatus est praesens, nec illi tam sancti magnique doctores ecclesiam docere potuerunt?". *Epistula* 199,2.4, CSEL 57,247-248.

B. Preliminary questions on the last judgment

Why is the final judgment called the 'last' judgment? It is to distinguish it from the judgment God makes now and those made in the past. In the past His judgment resulted in the punishment of the first human beings (cf. Gen. 3,8f.); and another judgment resulted in the condemnation of bad angels (cf. 2 Pet. 2,4)¹⁰.

Why is the last judgment *the* judgment in the proper sense? Augustine's reason is that there will be no room for complaint against the verdict given. It will be made clear that true and complete happiness belongs to all the good, supreme infelicity to all the wicked¹¹.

C. The eventual coming of the last judgment and its description

The last judgment will inevitably come. Augustine's bases are purely scriptural prophecies.

1. New Testament prophecies

a. On the destiny of the wicked

The savior himself predicted the inevitable coming of the final judgment (cf. Mt. 11,22.24; 12,41.42; Jo. 5,22-24)¹². That judgment will take place at the time of the rising of the dead (Mt. 12,41.42; Rev. 20, 11f.)¹³. Everybody will be subject to it, and Jesus himself will be the judge. All his disciples will join him coming from all over the world. Augustine presents here the idea of the universal reign of Christ. This is symbolized by the 'twelve thrones' and the 'twelve tribes' (Mt. 19,28)¹⁴. 'Twelve' is a symbol for universality.

"For a kind of universality in the number of those judging is symbolized by the number twelve. For the numbers three and four are parts of seven; and seven is a common symbol of universality. And the multiplication of three and four makes twelve, for three fours are twelve, as four threes; and there may be other explanations of the number twelve which would give the same signifi-

¹⁰ See *De Civitate Dei* 20,1, CSEL 40(2),425.

¹¹ *De Civitate Dei* 20,1, CSEL 40(2),425.

¹² *De Civitate Dei* 20,5, CSEL 40(2),431 and 435.

¹³ *De Civitate Dei* 20,5 and 14, CSEL 40(2),431 and 461.

¹⁴ Other references to Mt. 19,28 are found in the following works, disclosing the identity of those who will judge with Christ: *Epistula* 157,37, CSEL 44,484: the *pauperes Christi*; *De Genesi ad Litteram* 11,22, CSEL 28(1),355: the just; *In Iohannis Evangelium Tractatus* 28,6, CCL 36,280: the suffering (*plebs Dei*); *En. in Ps.* 44,23, CCL 38,510: all those reborn by the preaching of the Gospel; *En. in Ps.* 49,10, CCL 38,584: *omnes sancti*; *En. in Ps.* 74,5, CCL 39,1028: *Totus Christus*.

cance"¹⁵.

The wicked and the good who are mixed now as wheat with tares will be separated (Mt. 13,37-43). The separation will be made instantaneously: "per iudicium praesentissimum adque novissimum Christi". Many will be condemned for their failure to help the poor (Mt. 25,34-35)¹⁶.

Jesus will come to judge in the body in which he was judged (Jo. 5,27-29)¹⁷. Augustine is recalling here the idea of the glorification of Jesus' body and the Christian doctrine of the resurrection of the body. The devil and all the wicked will be flung into 'the lake of fire and sulphur' (Rev. 10,10-14). This phrase expresses the severity of the punishment¹⁸.

Judgment will be passed both on those found alive by Christ and on those who have died and risen (Rev. 20,13 and 14)¹⁹. The verb 'gave up' (*exhibuit*) in the phrase "the sea gave them up" points to those who will be found alive. 'Sea' symbolizes this age (*hoc saeculum*). The whole phrase means that this age will present those alive in the condition in which they will be found²⁰. The verb 'gave back' (*reddiderunt*) in "And Death and Hades gave back the dead whom they had in their keeping" points out those who have died and will rise. Death and Hades will recall them to life, from which they had departed (Rev. 20,13)²¹.

¹⁵ "Duodenario quippe numero universa quaedam significata est iudicantium multitudo propter duas partes numeri septenarii, quo significatur plerumque universitas; quae duae partes, id est tria et quattuor, altera per alteram multiplicatae duodecim faciunt, nam et quattuor ter et tria quater duodecim sunt, et si qua alia huius duodenarii numeri, quae ad hoc valeat, ratio reperitur". *De Civitate Dei* 20,5, CSEL 40(2),432-433.

¹⁶ In the seventh chapter of *The Unity of Love for God and Neighbour in Saint Augustine*, Leuven, Augustinian Historical Institute, 1993, p. 331-420, R. CANNING includes a detailed study of these passages.

¹⁷ *De Civitate Dei* 20,6, CSEL 40(2),437. The following references to the administration of judgment by Jesus are useful: *In Iohannis Evangelium Tractatus* 19,16, CCL 36, 199: on Jo. 5,25-30; *Sermo* 50,7.10, PL 38,330-331: on Haggai 2,6-7. Christ's coming is called the coming of the desired one (*Desideratus*); *En. in Ps.* 71,2, CCL 39,972: on Jo. 5,22; *En. in Ps.* 85,21, CCL 39,1193: on Acts 1,11 and Mt. 25,34.41.46; *En. in Ps.* 109,12, CCL 40,1612: on Acts 1,11.

¹⁸ *De Civitate Dei* 20,8, CSEL 40(2),444.

¹⁹ *De Civitate Dei* 20,15, CSEL 40(2),463.

²⁰ "Hos ergo mortuos exhibuit mare, qui in eo erant, id est, exhibuit homines hoc saeculum, quicumque in eo erant, quia nondum obierant". *De Civitate Dei* 20,15, CSEL 40(2),463.

²¹ "Mare exhibuit, quia sicut inventi sunt, adfuerunt; mors vero et infernus reddiderunt, quoniam vitae, de qua iam exierant, revocarunt". *De Civitate Dei* 20,15, CSEL 40(2),463.

b. On the destiny of the just

The just will go into eternal life (Mt. 25,46)²². They will dwell in 'the new heaven and the new earth' (Rev. 21,1). Living as a community, all and everyone will enjoy in common the full presence of God, while enjoying as well full freedom of suffering (Rev. 21,2-5)²³. The transformation of the present world will bring them also liberation from the presence of the wicked (2 Pet. 3,3-13)²⁴.

c. On the coming of the Antichrist

Paul calls the day of judgment 'The day of the Lord' (2 Thes. 2, 2)²⁵. Prior to this day the Antichrist²⁶, who is an 'apostate' from God (*refuga a Domino Deo*) will come. 'Apostate' applies to all the wicked and much more to their prince, the devil. They form a kind of unit similar to that one of the Total Christ.

"No one doubts that he (*sc.* Paul) said this (*sc.* 2 Thes. 2,1-12) concerning the Antichrist, telling us that the day of judgment — for he calls this the day of the Lord — will come unless he (*sc.* the Antichrist) has come beforehand. Paul calls the Antichrist an apostate, that is, from the Lord. But if his appellation (*sc.* *Antichristus*) can be rightly said of all the wicked, so much the more of him (*sc.* the devil). But there is uncertainty as to the question, 'in which temple of God will he (*sc.* the devil) take his seat?'. Will it be in the ruins of the Temple built by king Salomon? Or will it be actually in the Church? For the apostle would not call the temple of God the temple of some idol or of the demon. For that reason some would have it that Antichrist here means not the leader himself but what we may call his whole body, that is to say, the multitude of human beings who belong to him together with their leader himself. And they think that instead of the Latin reading it would be more correct to say not 'he takes his seat *in* the temple of God' but, as in the Greek version, 'he takes his seat *as* the temple of God', as if he himself is the temple of God which is the Church, just in the same way as we say, 'He sits as a friend' meaning 'like a friend' or like other customary expressions of this kind"²⁷.

²² *De Civitate Dei* 20,16, CSEL 40(2),464-465.

²³ *De Civitate Dei* 20,16, CSEL 40(2),466.

²⁴ *De Civitate Dei* 20,18, CSEL 40(2),468-470.

²⁵ *De Civitate Dei* 20,19, CSEL 40(2),471.

²⁶ Augustine mentions that some people thought that Paul identified the Antichrist with Nero. They believed that Paul did not speak explicitly of him for fear of being accused of slander in wishing ill to the Roman Empire. Augustine expresses astonishment at this opinion. *De Civitate Dei* 20,19, CSEL 40(2),472-473.

²⁷ "Nulli dubium est eum de Antichristo ista dixisse, diemque iudicii (hunc enim appellat diem Domini) non esse venturum, nisi ille prior venerit, quem refugam vocat, utique a Domino Deo. Quod si de omnibus impiis merito dici potest, quanto magis de isto! Sed in quo templo Dei sit sessurus, incertum est; utrum in illa ruina templi, quod a Salomone rege constructum est, an vero in ecclesia. Non enim templum alicuius idoli aut daemonis templum Dei apostolus diceret. Unde nonnulli non ipsum principem, sed universum quodam modo corpus eius, id est ad eum pertinentem hominum multitudinem, simul

The statement "Unde nonnulli non ipsum principem, sed universum quodam modo corpus eius, id est ad eum pertinentem hominum multitudinem, simul cum ipso suo principe hoc loco intellegi Antichristum volunt" ("But some would have it that Antichrist here means not the leader himself but what we may call his whole body, that is to say, the multitude of human beings who belong to him together with their leader himself") is a presentation of an image of the unity between the head and the body: "universum corpus eius simul cum ipso suo principe". This seems parallel to the *caput-corporis* unity in the Total Christ²⁸. If this interpretation is valid, then we can say that there will be a Total Antichrist. It is to be noted, however, that Augustine is simply stating others' interpretation of "ita ut in templo dei sedeat, ostentans se tamquam sit Deus" in the pericope 2 Thes. 2,1-12. But even then, it may be attributed to Augustine too since he shows the inclination to approve of this interpretation.

2. Old Testament prophecies

There will be a reign of the Antichrist immediately before the coming of the Son of God in His glory (Dan. 7,23-28)²⁹. Then all will rise, some to eternal life and others to shame and eternal disgrace (Dan. 12,1-3)³⁰. In the words of Isaiah, some will rise to perfect health (Is. 26, 19,LXX)³¹ and joy not only of soul: "Your hearts will rejoy" (Is. 66,14) but also of body: "And your bones will rise up like the grass" (Is. 66, 14)³², but some will rise to punishment: "For see, the Lord will come like a fire, and his chariot like a tempest, to wreak vengeance in his indignation and devastation with the flames of fire. For the fire of the Lord all the earth will be judged and all mankind by his sword. Many will be wounded by the Lord" (Is. 66,16)³³.

It is prophesied that Christ will come in manifest presence to

cum ipso suo principe hoc loco intellegi Antichristum volunt; rectiusque putant etiam Latine dici, sicut in Graeco est, non *in templo Dei*, sed *in templum Dei sedeat*, tamquam ipse sit templum Dei, quod est ecclesia; sicut dicimus: 'Sedet in amicum', id est velut amicus, vel si quid aliud isto locutionis genere dici solet". *De Civitate Dei* 20,19, CSEL 40(2),471-472.

²⁸ A clearer description is found in *De Genesi ad Litteram* 11,22, CSEL 28(1),354: "*mali homines, vasa eiusdem diaboli et tamquam capitis corpus*".

²⁹ *De Civitate Dei* 20,23, CSEL 40(2),487-489.

³⁰ *De Civitate Dei* 20,23, CSEL 40(2),490. Augustine considers the passage as parallel to Jo. 5,28f., which he discusses in 20,6 of the same work.

³¹ *De Civitate Dei* 20,21, CSEL 40(2),479.

³² *De Civitate Dei* 20,21, CSEL 40(2),481.

³³ *De Civitate Dei* 20,21, CSEL 40(2),482.

execute judgment both on the just and the unjust (Ps. 49,3-5,LXX)³⁴. In Augustine's interpretation, while in the past Jesus remained silent when subjected to the imperial judges (cf. Is. 53,7; Mt. 26,63f.; 27,14; Jo. 19,9), in the future he will make his presence known by the voice of his judgment (Ps. 49,3-5,LXX).

From the prophecy of Malachy (Mal. 3,1-6) it seems that the punishment of some will be purificatory: "ex his quae dicta sunt videtur evidentius apparere in illo iudicio quasdam quorundam purgatorias poenas futuras"³⁵. This sort of punishment resembles that one described in Is. 4, 4³⁶. The Church, assembled not only from the Hebrews but from all other nations, will be purified by the last judgment as the threshing floor is purified by the winnowing wind, such that there will be no one who still has to offer sacrifice for his sins³⁷. After the judgment has been executed it will be revealed that there is a wide gulf separating the good and the wicked. This gulf exists even now, but we are not able to discern it (cf. Mal. 3,17 - 4,3)³⁸. There was then a good reason to believe that Elijah would come before the judgment-seat in order to expound the Law to the Jews with the aim of converting them to believe in Christ and to love Him

³⁴ *De Civitate Dei* 20,24, CSEL 40(2),493: Ps. 49,3f. is associated with Is. 53,7 and Mt. 26,63. A similar connection is made in *Sermo* 17,1, PL 38,124: Ps. 49,3f. is seen in the light of 1 Cor. 2,8 and Is. 53,7. And in *En. in Ps.* 49,5, CCL 38,578-579 the discussion on this theme is amplified.

³⁵ *De Civitate Dei* 20,25, CSEL 40(2),496.

³⁶ *De Civitate Dei* 20,25, CSEL 40(2),496.

³⁷ *De Civitate Dei* 20,25, CSEL 40(2),497. The idea of persons as sacrifice is recalled. It is presented in the image of an offering: "*Hostiae porro in plena perfectaque iustitia, cum mundati fuerint, ipsi erunt. Quid enim acceptius Deo tales offerunt quam se ipsos?*".

³⁸ *De Civitate Dei* 20,27, CSEL 40(2),501. A similar thought is expressed in the following works: *Sermo* 47,56, PL 38,298-299: on the separation between wheat and darnels (cf. Mt. 13,30; 37-40); "between sheep and sheep, rams and he-goats" (Ez. 34,17; Mt. 25,32-33); *Sermo* 48,5,7, PL 38,319: on Ps. 72,15-18; *En. in Ps.* 49,12, CCL 38,585: on Ps. 49,5 in association with Mt. 25,32, Mt. 6,12, Ps 40,2-3, Os. 6,6 or Mt. 9,13; *In Iohannis Evangelium Tractatus* 19,18, CCL 36,201: on Jo. 5,29 as related to 1 Cor. 15,24. The manner of separation is explained as follows: "Nam et modo separamur non locis, sed moribus, affectibus, desideriis, fide, spe, caritate. Simul enim cum iniquis vivimus; sed non una vita omnium; in occulto dirimimur, in occulto separamur; quomodo grana in area, non quomodo grana in horreo. Et separantur grana in area, et miscentur; separantur, cum a palea exspoliantur; miscentur, quia nondum ventilantur. Tunc aperta erit separatio, sicut morum, sic et vitae; sicut sapientia, ita et corporum. Ibunt qui bene fecerunt, vivere cum angelis Dei; qui male egerunt, torqueri cum diabolo et eius. Et transiet forma servi. Ad hoc enim se praesentaverat ut faceret iudicium; post iudicium perget hinc, ducet secum corpus cui caput est, et offeret regnum Deo". *In Iohannis Evangelium Tractatus* 122,7, CCL 36,671-672: on Jo. 21,4-6. The mixture/separation between the good and the wicked is symbolized by the catch of different fish.

(Mal. 4,5f.). Augustine says that there was a belief that Elijah still lives, since it is narrated that he was carried up from the world of men in a fiery chariot (cf. 2 Kg. 2,11)³⁹. The bishop also thinks that the Jews hated Christ, alleging that the Jews believed that the Father turned his heart away from His Son.

"However, another and preferable meaning can be found in the words of the seventy interpreters who interpreted in the manner of the prophets. This meaning is that Elijah will turn the heart of God the Father towards the Son, not, of course, by causing the Father to love the Son, but by teaching that the Father loves the Son, in order that the Jews will also love the same (*sc.* the Son), who is our Christ, whom they first hated. For now, in the thoughts of the Jews, God turns his heart away from our Christ"⁴⁰.

Although, as Augustine admits, that prophecies of judgment in the Old Testament do not mention that Christ is the judge, there are, however, some passages which show that where God is the speaker He is identified with Christ⁴¹. For example, in Is. 48,12-16, verse 16: "And now the Lord God and His Spirit has sent me" makes clear that Christ is speaking. Without this statement it would appear that it is the Father who administers judgment. Yet, as Augustine argues, it is Christ who will do so. Why? Because in the pericope the speaker speaks 'in the form of a servant' by using the past tense 'has sent' for a future event. Augustine has observed that this is a usual way of making a prophecy. A similar manner of expression is found in Is. 53,7: "He was led like a lamb to be slaughtered". Zech. 2,8 and 9 is another example. There is a mention of 'the Almighty sending the Almighty'. Christ himself is this Almighty, sent to his beloved people who are symbolized by 'the pupil of God's eye'.

It is within the power of God to remove all hostile nations from the new city of Jerusalem⁴². But it is Christ who will achieve this (Zech. 12, 9-10). Verse 10 shows this.

"Certainly this is God's act, and the words are spoken from the person of God through the prophet. And yet Christ demonstrates that he is the God who achieves these great and divine acts by saying further: 'Then they will look at me because they gloated over me, and they will mourn for him as for one very

³⁹ *De Civitate Dei* 20,29, CSEL 40(2),503-504.

⁴⁰ "Quamquam in verbis septuaginta interpretum, qui prophetice interpretati sunt, potest alius sensus idemque electior inveniri, ut intellegatur Helias cor Dei Patris conversurus ad Filium; non utique agendo ut Pater diligat Filium; ut et Iudaei, quem prius ode-rant, diligant eundem, qui noster est, Christum. Iudaeis enim nunc aversum cor habet Deus a Christo nostro, quia hoc putant". *De Civitate Dei* 20,29, CSEL 40(2),504.

⁴¹ The entire *De Civitate Dei* 20,30 is aimed at showing this.

⁴² *De Civitate Dei* 20,30, CSEL 40(2),508.

dear, and they will grieve as men grieve for an only begotten son'" (Zech. 12,10)⁴³.

Augustine remains consistent in teaching that even when the prophetic books state that it is God who will come at the last judgment, nevertheless it is to be interpreted that Christ is meant. The Bishop appears committed to teach this because of Jo. 5,22: "The Father does not judge any one; He has given all judgment to the Son"⁴⁴.

II. THE TRANSITION FROM THE OLD WORLD TO THE NEW

While the human body undergoes transformation from *corpus animale* to *corpus spiritale* the material world changes too from the old to the new⁴⁵. Augustine maintains that this world will be transformed in order to provide a fitting place for spiritual man to live in⁴⁶.

A. Not the nature but the form of this world will pass away

The main argument Augustine gives in order to prove that it is the form and not the substance of the world that will change is the word *figura* that Paul uses in 1 Cor. 7,31: "Praeteribit enim figura huius mundi"⁴⁷. He believes that other scriptural texts on the transformation of the world are to be seen in the light of this Pauline text. Thus 1 Jo. 2,17: "The world passes away", Mt. 24,35: "Heaven and earth will pass away" are to be interpreted as having been said in reference to the partial transformation of the world.

"It is true that in the sacred books, which are properly ours and which are not common to the Hebrews and to us, namely, the Gospels and the apostolic writings, the following statements are read: 'The form of this world is passing away' (1 Cor. 7,31), 'The world passes away' (1 Jo. 2,17), 'Heaven and earth

⁴³ "Hoc utique Dei est, et ex persona Dei dicitur per prophetam; et tamen hunc Deum haec tam magna et tam divina facientem se Christus ostendit adiungendo adque dicendo: 'Et adspicient ad me pro eo quod insultaverunt, et plangent super eo planctum quasi super carissimum (sive dilectum) et dolebunt dolore quasi super unigenitum'". *De Civitate Dei* 20,30, CSEL 40(2),508.

⁴⁴ *De Civitate Dei* 20,30, CSEL 40(2),509.

⁴⁵ T.E. CLARKE's *St. Augustine and Cosmic Redemption*, in *Theological Studies* 19 (1958) 133-164, is an excellent article on this theme. His doctoral dissertation *The Eschatological Transformation of the Material World According to Saint Augustine*, Rome, 1954, is of the same value. Chapter 6 of this work has been published.

⁴⁶ The reader is referred to note 1, p. 5.

⁴⁷ *De Civitate Dei* 20,24, CSEL 40(2),461-462. A comparison to the partial destruction of the material world by flood is made.

will pass away' (Mt. 24,35). But I consider *praeterit* (1 Cor.7,31), *transit* (1 Jo. 2,17), and *transibunt* (Mt. 24,35) as milder expressions than *peribunt*⁴⁸.

In *De Civitate Dei* 20,14 Augustine sees the future change of the material world as a transformation and not an annihilation.

"After judgment has been made, then, this heaven and this earth will cease to exist, when a new heaven and a new earth begins to appear. For it is by transformation of things and not by complete destruction that this world will pass away. For this reason the apostle says: 'For the form of this world will pass away. I want you to have no dealings with it' (1 Cor. 7,31). Therefore it is not the nature (or substance) but the form that will perish"⁴⁹.

He defends this position later against Porphyry's denial⁵⁰. Porphyry and his followers deny the future destruction of the world on two grounds: (i) on statements from the oracles of the god: "si haec sententia Iovi displicet, cuius, ut scribit iste philosophus, velut gravioris auctoritatis oraculo in Christianorum credulitate culpatur". (ii) On belief that neither water nor flame can ever wipe out the whole of human race: "qui nullis aquis, nullis flammis totum genus humanum perire posse contendunt". Augustine accuses these neo-Platonic philosophers in return⁵¹. He argues as follows: (i) If Porphyry acknowledges the God of the Hebrews then he should believe the statement on the perishability of the universe because it is addressed to God: "The heavens are the works of your hands. They will perish" (Ps. 101,26-27). (ii) If Porphyry approves of Hebrew wisdom, then

⁴⁸ "Et in litteris quidem sacris, quae proprie nostrae sunt, non Hebraeis nobisque communes, id est in evangelicis et apostolicis libris legitur: *Praeterit figura huius mundi*; legitur *Mundus transit*; legitur: *Caelum et terra transibunt*. Sed puto, quod *praeterit*, *transit*, *transibunt* aliquanto mitius dicta sunt quam *peribunt*". *De Civitate Dei* 20,24, CSEL 40(2),491-492.

⁴⁹ "Peracto quippe iudicio, tunc esse desinet hoc caelum et haec terra, quando incipiet esse caelum novum et terra nova. Mutatione namque rerum, non omni modo interitu transibit hic mundus. Unde et apostolus dicit: *Praeterit enim figura huius mundi, volo vos sine sollicitudine esse*. Figura ergo praeterit, non natura". *De Civitate Dei* 20,14, CSEL 40(2),461.

⁵⁰ *De Civitate Dei* 20,24, CSEL 40(2),490-493.

⁵¹ J. O'MEARA maintains that the discussion in *De Civitate Dei* 20,24 "owes its inspiration to the *Philosophy from Oracles*", *Porphyry's Philosophy from Oracles in Augustine*, Paris, 1959, p. 65. It appears that Porphyry's defense of the indestructibility of the material world is based on Plato's theory. Plato considers the universe as a god (cf. *Timaeus* 34). However, Augustine's teaching is implicitly Platonic too. His idea of the transformation of the universe is based on its natural goodness, which is taught by Plato on the basis that it is a creation of the good God (cf. *Timaeus* 28-30). It is surprising that Augustine and Porphyry happen to disagree when both believe that the universe is good. Porphyry holds that the highest parts of the universe are ethereal and animated. Augustine maintains that they are not animated.

he should not condemn the statement that belongs to that wisdom which says that the heavens are doomed to perish. (iii) It is because Porphyry has not read Ps. 101 and that he hates Peter that he and his followers deny the future transformation of the world.

In defense of Peter, Augustine proceeds to explain the apostle's statements which are as follows: "They deliberately ignored before this fact, that by the word of God heavens existed long ago, and an earth formed out of water and by means of water, through which the world was deluged with water and perished. But by the same word the heavens and earth that now exist have been stored up by fire, being kept until the day of judgment and destruction of ungodly men" (2 Pet. 3,5-7). And, "But the day of the Lord will come like a thief, and the heavens will pass away like a loud noise, and the elements will be dissolved with fire, and the earth and the works that are upon it will be burned up. Since all these things are thus to be dissolved, consider what kind of people you ought to be" (2 Pet. 3,10 and 11). According to Augustine, these two statements testify to a partial destruction of the world.

"Likewise, in the epistle of the apostle Peter where it is narrated that the world which existed then perished under the flood of water, it is clear enough what part of the world is signified by the whole, and to what extent it (*sc.* that part) is said to have perished, and what heavens were kept in store to be reserved for the fire until the day of judgment and of the perdition of the ungodly men (*cf.* 2 Pet. 3,6f.). And in a later statement, 'The day of the Lord will come as a thief, and then the heavens will pass away with a loud noise, and the elements will be dissolved with fire, and the earth and the works that are upon it will be burned up'. And he later added: 'Since all these things are thus to be dissolved, consider what kind of people you ought to be' (2 Pet. 3,10 and 11). Those heavens which will perish could be understood as those which the apostle says are kept in store to be reserved for the fire, and those elements that will burn up can be taken to be those stormy and turbulent elements which exist in the lowest section of the world, in which he says those same heavens are kept in store, while the higher heavens, in whose vaults the planets are established, remain unharmed and continue in their integrity⁵²."

Augustine bolsters his proof with Mt. 24,29: "the stars are to fall from

⁵² In epistula quoque apostoli Petri, ubi aqua inundatus qui tunc erat perisse dictus est mundus, satis clarum est, et quae pars mundi a toto significata, et quatenus perisse sit dicta, et qui caeli repositi igni reservandi in diem iudicii et perditionis hominum impiorum; et in eo quod paulo post ait: *Veniet dies Domini ut fur, in quo caeli magno inpetu transcurrent, elementa autem ardentia resolventur, et terra et quae in ipsa sunt opera exurentur*; ac deinde subiecit: *His omnibus pereuntibus quales oportet esse vos?* possunt illi caeli intellegi perituri, quos dixit repositos igni reservandos, et (ea) elementa accipi arsura quae in hac ima mundi parte subsistunt procellosa et turbulenta, in qua eosdem caelos dixit esse repositos, salvis illis superioribus et in sua integritate manentibus, in quorum firmamento sunt sidera constituta". *De Civitate Dei* 20,24, CSEL 40(2),492.

heaven"⁵³. The future falling of the stars, if it happens, demonstrates that the higher heavens will remain.

"This statement which says that the stars will fall from heaven (cf. Mt. 24,39), leaving aside the fact that it can be more plausibly understood in another sense, shows the more that these heavens will remain, if the stars indeed fall from them. This statement can be taken in this sense because either this expression is metaphorical, which is more probable, or it means that an event that is certainly more amazing than that which happens now will take place in this lowest heaven"⁵⁴.

But does Ps. 101,26 and 27: "The heavens are the works of your hands. They will perish" not suggest logically that nothing of the heavens will escape the scope of future destruction? Is it not contrary to the previous scriptural texts, namely 2 Pet. 3,6-10 and 11, and Mt. 24,39, which describe only a partial destruction? Augustine considers these questions. It is his opinion that had Porphyry and his followers referred only humbly to Peter they would have been bound then to admit at least a partial destruction of the material world even if they still denied its total destruction.

"However, what I have quoted from the Psalm seems to say that none of the heavens, which he (sc. Porphyry) had said would not perish, will remain. For the statement reads: 'The heavens are works of your hands; they will perish' (Ps. 101,26-27). As none of them is out of the scope of God's work, so none of them is withdrawn from the scope of destruction. For they (sc. the philosophers) will not deign to defend the piety of the Hebrews with a statement from the apostle Peter whom they hated bitterly, in order that they would believe at least that is not the whole world that will perish, since in the words, 'they shall perish' the whole stands for the part, because it is only the lowest heavens that will perish. This would be in line with the apostle's use of 'the whole stands for the part' in his epistle where he says that the world perished in the flood, although only its lowest part perished together with its own region of the heavens"⁵⁵.

⁵³ A line from Virgil is referred to: "Unde et illa stella Vergiliana *facem ducens multa cum luce cucurrit*, et Idaea se condidit silva". *De Civitate Dei* 20,24, CSEL 40(2),492.

⁵⁴ "Nam et illud quod scriptum est, *stellas de caelo esse casuras*, praeter quod potest multo probabilius et aliter intellegi, magis ostendit mansuros esse illos caelos, si tamen stellae inde casurae sunt; cum vel tropica sit locutio, quod est credibilius, vel in isto imo caelo futurum sit, utique mirabilius quam nunc fit". *De Civ. Dei* 20,24, CSEL 40(2),492.

⁵⁵ "Hoc autem quod de psalmo commemoravi, nullum caelorum videtur relinquere, quod perituum esse non dixerit. Ubi enim dicitur: *Opera manuum tuarum sunt caeli, ipsi peribunt*, quam nullum eorum ab opere Dei, tam nullum eorum a perditione secernitur. Non enim dignabuntur de Petri apostoli locutione, quem vehementer oderunt, Hebraeorum defendere pietatem, deorum suorum oraculis adprobatam, ut saltem, ne totus mundus periturus esse credatur, sic a toto pars accipiat in eo, quod dictum est: *Ipsi peribunt*, cum soli caeli infimi perituri sint, quem ad modum in apostolica illa epistula a toto pars accipitur, quod diluvio perisse dictus est mundus, quamvis sola eius cum suis caelis pars ima perierit". *De Civitate Dei* 20,24, CSEL 40(2),492-493.

For Augustine therefore there will only be a partial destruction of the universe. According to him it will be, properly speaking, a way of purifying it.

III. AUGUSTINE'S IDEA OF THE ESCHATON

Perhaps it is possible to accuse Augustine of teaching an individualistic conception of the eschaton. The idea that Augustine was influenced by Plotinus' 'individualistic' thinking may arouse suspicion. For example, B. De Margerie, in *Futura Vita Aeternum Sanctorum*, says ambiguously that the dialogue at Ostia lacks a reciprocal desire of the son and mother to see each other later in the after-life, because it was the influence of Plotinus that dominated the mind of Augustine and not the influence of Ambrose, who taught a collectivistic conception of the eschaton. However, the same author tones down his criticism by saying that a conception of the social character is presumed in the dialogue. Notwithstanding, this conception has to be attributed to the influence of Ambrose. De Margerie seems to maintain the opinion that Plotinus was an obstacle to Augustine, but an obstacle which Augustine overcomes clearly in his writing after the *Confessiones*.

We address this section to whoever contends that Augustine introduced an individualistic conception of the eschaton. We shall refer to other texts besides the one concerning the event of Ostia, since we believe that it alone can not be presented as a fair proof for a collectivistic character of Augustine's idea of the eschaton.

A. Before and during the time of the 'Confessiones'

The book *Confessiones* was written from 397 to 400. The author speaks on an occasion of his experience of ecstasy together with his mother at Ostia. Augustine and Monica received instruction on eschatology from Ambrose, then Bishop of Milan, according to De Margerie. Ambrose, who wrote *De Bono Mortis* under the inspiration of the fourth book of Esdras, taught that the eschaton has a social character. But, as De Margerie thinks, Augustine's writings and experiences before and during 397/400 do not reflect this teaching.

"In any case one thing cannot be denied: the preacher and teacher of Augustine and Monica does not propose a desire of a solitary contemplation of God and of the eternal life, but a vision in which the just are in union as rewarded by God in the various mansions prepared by Jesus.

It is known that Ambrose in these passages from *De bono mortis* was inspired

by the fourth book of Esdras. He cites it in order to justify his social conception of the eschatological kingdom. And it appears well that the thought of Augustine has not given attention to this source and reference. At the same time the influence of Plotinus did not orient him toward a consideration of the social aspect of the bliss of the saints.

Neither Augustine's writings nor his experiences prior to the redaction of the *Confessiones* show this horizon. What he was looking for was the ecstasy, the union, although brief, of the eternal God and not that one of others in God. Moreover, his search seems to be not accompanied with a desire to die in order to see Him face to face. This differs from the case of Monica who simultaneously foresaw and desired her imminent death (*Conf.* 9,11,26-27)⁵⁶.

There is one point in the text which we would like to discuss, namely, that Plotinus, according to De Margerie, "did not orient Augustine toward a consideration of the social aspect of the bliss of the saints". This statement presupposes that Plotinus' concept of the life of the just after death is not collective⁵⁷. This seems to be the position of De Margerie, as shown later in his indirect statement on the fundamental question: "qualis futura esset vita aeterna sanctorum?"

"Its (sc. the question's) formulation deserves reflection since Augustine and Monica abstain from specifying or defining the number of those who will possess eternal life. They do not ask explicitly, although they do it implicitly, 'What will be the nature of our eternal life'? On the other hand, does this same formulation not show by itself the influence not of Plotinus and his individualism but of the collectivistic eschatology developed by Ambrose under the Jewish influence of the fourth book of Esdras?"⁵⁸.

We disagree with De Margerie. Unlike him we claim that Plotinus conceives a life of the spirits as having a social character.

In *The Philosophy of Plotinus* W.R. Inge maintains that the neo-Platonic philosopher is strongly collectivistic in his thinking. Plotinus believes that he is not the only one who experiences a vision. To show that it is a common experience he prefers to speak about it with others and puts the experience of others above his own.

"Plotinus is not content to give us his own experience of the beatific vision, nor does he wish us to accept it on his authority. He prefers to appeal to the experience of his readers. He has followed, he says, the guidance of a faculty 'which all have, but few use'; a faculty which, as we shall see, is not anything distinct from normal operations of the mind, but arises from the concentration of these on the return of the Soul to its 'Father'. He assumes that his readers are made like himself, and that many of them followed the same path. 'He

⁵⁶ B. DE MARGERIE, *Futura Vita Aeterna Sanctorum*, in *Augustinus* 26 (1981) 141-176; p. 144-145.

⁵⁷ Another negative statement is explicitly made on p. 153: "Hay, pues, a pesar de Plotino, una mayor felicidad que la del extasis terrestre ...".

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 155-156. Emphasis added.

who has seen it knows what I mean', is his excuse for not attempting to describe the indescribable"⁵⁹.

By allowing Plotinus to speak for himself — and he does this by quoting texts from Plotinus — Inge is able to present the philosopher's description of the life of the spirits in union with the 'Father'. For example, as Inge points out, in *Enneades* 6,9-9 Plotinus pictures the spirits as forming a chorus singing harmoniously and dancing while enjoying vision of the "fountain of life and the fountain of Spirit, the source of Being, the cause of Good, the root of Soul"⁶⁰. This image clearly reflects Plotinus' idea. And this must have influenced Augustine's even in his early writings considering the fact that he had read neo-Platonic philosophy, particularly the philosophy of Plotinus and of Porphyry, as early as 384 in Milan⁶¹.

Thus, when looking for a specific teaching that may prove the compatibility between Plotinus' concept of the social aspect of the eschaton and that of Christianity, W.R. Inge points to Plotinus' teaching on love for God and for man.

"A Christian will press the question asked above (p. 132): Is this 'intellectual love of God' the crown of love to man, or is it sometimes a substitute for it? What would Plotinus have said to the plain question, 'He that loveth not his brother whom he hath seen, how can he love God whom he hath not seen'? I believe that Platonism can answer this challenge better than Indian mysticism, though in practice nothing can be much more beautiful than the gentle and selfless benevolence of the Oriental saint. Love, for Plotinus, passes through a process of purification and enlightenment, like our other affections and faculties. In a sense it becomes depersonalised, more so than many of us would think desirable; but when a Christian teacher bids us to 'love the Christ in our brethren', when he repeats the famous saying, 'When thou sees thy brother thou seest thou Lord', he is saying very much what Platonism says in other words. We begin, St. Paul says, by knowing other men 'after the flesh', and loving them after the flesh; but we end, or should end, by knowing and loving them as immortal spirits, our fellow-citizens in that heavenly country where,

⁵⁹ W.R. INGE, *The Philosophy of Plotinus*, vol. II., London, New York, 1929, p. 145.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 145. R.J. O'CONNEL maintains that Augustine could have read Plotinus in a translation by MARIUS VICTORINUS AFR. See *St. Augustine's Early Theory of Man, A.D. 386-391*, Cambridge (Mass.), 1968. Later he gives a list of the works of Plotinus that Augustine had read, namely, *Enneades*, I,6 "On Beauty", I,8 on "The Nature and Source of Evil", V,1 on "The Three Initial Hypostases", V,2 on "The Origin and Order of the Beings Following on the First", III,2-3 "On Providence". The other works very probably read by Augustine are: *Enneades* V,3 on "The Knowing Hypostases and the Transcendent", VI,6 "On Numbers", and VI,9 "On the Good, or the One", IV,7 on "The Immortality of the Soul". These works of Plotinus are given actually by SOLIGNAC in his *Introduction to Les Confessions*, BA 13, p. 110. For reference in O'CONNEL see the work mentioned above, p. 9.

⁶¹ A. DI BERARDINO, *Patrologia*, vol. III, Madrid, 1981, p. 484.

as Plotinus says, the most perfect sympathy and transparent intimacy exist among blessed spirits. And the doctrine of the One as the supreme object of love really secures this — that human spirits in their most exalted moods may share not only a common life and a common happiness, but a common hope and a common prayer"⁶².

Porphyry, the most clever among Plotinus' students and the closest to the master — at least according to Porphyry's own conceitedness — testifies in his work *On the Life of Plotinus and the Order of His Books* to the sociability of Plotinus while still alive and to what the oracle told about the fortune of Plotinus after death. The god said that Plotinus came to the 'company of heaven'; he joined the other noblest men, like Plato, Pythagoras, and all others who "set the dance of immortal love". Their life there is full of festivity and joy that will last forever, made blessed by the gods⁶³.

In the face of all the testimonies we give above, how could one still maintain that Plotinus teaches an individualistic conception of the eschaton? In fact Plotinus teaches a communion of spirits where unity is strongly guarded against individuality. Unity is the aim of his teaching on the resurrection of the spirit since he believes that here on earth there are always obstacles that bar the spirits from complete union. W.R. Inge shows this.

"It is not easy to answer the question how far individuality is maintained Yonder. For Plotinus unity is the source and highest character of true existence, separation the very sign of imperfection and defect of reality. Soul Yonder, he says explicitly, is undifferentiated and undivided (*Enneades* 4,1.1). Thus individuality in heaven is hardly a prize to be striven for. And yet Souls are Logoi of Spirits, and each represents a distinct entity in the spiritual world. This distinctness can never be destroyed. But the distinctions of Souls, though not lost, are latent in the world of Spirit (*Enneades* 6,4.16). Discarnate Souls are in a sense absorbed into the Universal Soul, and help it to govern the world (*Enneades* 4,8.4; 3,2.4). Plotinus believes in and describes a blessed state in which the Souls of just men made perfect live in joy and felicity; but the condition and crown of this felicity is precisely their liberation from all that here below shuts them off from the most complete communion with each other"⁶⁴.

Therefore, if someone contends that by following Plotinus Augustine proposes an individualistic conception of the eschaton at least in his earlier writings, as B. De Margerie seems to believe, we have some solid grounds for discrediting his position. We have shown sufficiently that

⁶² W.R. INGE, *The Philosophy of Plotinus*, p. 161.

⁶³ PORPHYRY, *On the Life of Plotinus and the Order of His Books* 23, in *Plotinus*, vol. I, Cambridge (Mass.), 1978, p. 71.

⁶⁴ W.R. INGE, *The Philosophy of Plotinus*, p. 22.

Plotinus teaches instead a collectivistic picture of the life of the spirits in the eschaton.

B. De Margerie, however, appears to modify his position in two ways. Firstly he says that the question of the nature of eternal life concerns Monica more than Augustine. This would mean that Monica thought like Ambrose who thought of a society of saints in the afterlife, since the Bishop of Milan believed in an intermediary state after death and resurrection of the body⁶⁵. That intermediary state is the society of souls hoping to be reunited with their bodies⁶⁶. But if B. De Margerie ascribes the concern for the nature of eternal life more to Monica than to Augustine, does this not mean that he has not absolved Augustine of the 'fault' of individualism of which he seems to accuse him, because the man from Thagaste followed Plotinus? Secondly De Margerie avoids being harsh on Augustine by saying that in the dialogue at Ostia there were undertones of Ambrose's thought of a social form of society of saints, and this thought is present not only in Monica's but also in Augustine's mind. This is shown by the form of verbs used by Augustine, namely, the first person and the plural form, which indicate that both the mother and the son wished to continue living together in the afterlife in continuity with their actual dialogue.

"Moreover, if Augustine and Monica do not ask explicitly about their reciprocal relation in this eternal life, the fact itself, which is underlined by the author of the *Confessiones*, that they, united and together, reached in a quickly passing thought the eternal wisdom and talked about it between themselves: *dum loquimur et inhiamus illi, attingimus eam* ... and conceived eternal life according to the image of this moment: *talis sempiterna vita quale hoc momentum intelligentiae*, insinuates that they anticipate and wish to live together this eternal life as a continuation of their actual dialogue"⁶⁷.

Yet despite asserting that Augustine was aware of the social character of the bliss of the saints because of traces of influence by Ambrose, De Margerie seems to blur this by saying later that Augustine's reference to 1 Cor. 2,9: "What no eye has seen, nor ear heard, nor heart conceived in itself" and 1 Cor. 15,51: "When we all rise, but not all will be changed", 'perhaps' are to be understood according to a Plotinian idea which was influencing Augustine at Ostia.

"Perhaps the inclusion of the two verses from Paul's first Letter to the Corinthians that includes three paragraphs of a Plotinian discussion of Augustine at Ostia takes its entire meaning here. 'No eye has seen, nor ear heard, nor heart

⁶⁵ B. DE MARGERIE, *Futura Vita Aeterna Sanctorum*, p. 146.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 143-144.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 156.

conceived it in itself' that thing which it has to see, which it has to hear, which it has to feel, when all bodies rise and all hearts and spirits enter into the joy of the Lord (cf. 1 Cor. 2,9; 15,51). The faith of Augustine and Monica that was enlightened by Ambrose could not ignore the social character of the future eternal life of the saints, nor can it penetrate the supernatural mystery"⁶⁸.

From this statement it appears that while De Margerie is saying that Augustine and Monica were conscious of the social character of the life of the saints, he seems to withdraw his statement concerning this consciousness by maintaining that it was the Plotinian Augustine who is referring to the Pauline texts. But if De Margerie means here that like Plotinus Augustine is speaking of the inexpressibility of God and the joys of the blessed in the eschaton, then he is on the right track.

At this stage we wish to comment on De Margerie's reference to *Confessiones* 3,13.37: "With pious hearts let them remember those who were not only my parents in this light that fails but also my brother and sister, subject to you, our Father, in our Catholic mother the Church, and will be my 'fellow citizens in the eternal Jerusalem' for which your people sigh throughout their pilgrimage, from the time they set out until the time when they return to you"⁶⁹. It seems paradoxical that while De Margerie points to the word: 'my fellow citizens in the eternal Jerusalem' he still does not give weight to this idea in his discussion. Instead he stresses later that Augustine appears unconcerned about his future meeting with his mother⁷⁰. Is this position of De Margerie not questionable? We would like to call his attention to a text in *Confessiones* 9,3.6:

"He (*sc.* Nebridius) now rests in Abraham's bosom. Whatever may be meant by this, there dwells my own Nebridius, my dear friend and your child adopted after having been freed (by baptism). There, he lives on ... He no longer waits for the words from my lips, but his own lips stoop to heavenly springs ... to unending bliss. Yet I do not believe that this will satiate him to the point of forgetting me, since you, Lord, at whose source he drinks, are mindful of us all"⁷¹.

In this text Augustine makes explicit a desire to be reunited with Nebri-

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 157.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 162.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 163.

⁷¹ "Et nunc ille vivit in sinu Abraham (Lk. 16,22). Quidquid illud est, quod illo significatur sinu, ibi Nebridius meus vivit, dulcis amicus meus, tuus autem adoptivus ex liberto filius: ibi vivit. Nam quis alius tali animae locus? ... Iam non ponit aurem ad os meum, sed spiritale os ad fontem tuum et bibit ... Nec eum sic arbitror inebriari ex ea, ut obliviscatur mei, cum tu, domine, quem potat ille, nostri sis memor". *Confessiones* 9,3.6, CSEL 33,200-201. This text is quoted by T.J. VAN BAVEL, in *Christians in the World*, New York, 1980, p. 30, to show the continuity of love in friendship.

dius. If he has this desire for a friend, would it be proper to say that he does not have it for a mother?

After the *Confessiones* however, according to De Margerie, Augustine progresses toward a conception of a contemplation of the life of the saints which has a social character. The author refers to texts found in *De Bono Coniugali*, *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, *De Cura Gerenda pro Mortuis*, and *De Civitate Dei*. We shall refer to the text he chose from *De Bono Coniugali* but will omit the others. Instead we will elaborate Augustine's thought on 1 Cor. 15,28, Is. 65,17, and Is. 66,22. An inquiry into his ideas on 1 Cor. 15,28: "God will be all in all" in all his works will reveal that he holds consistently that the eschaton has a social character.

B. Other earlier works

B. De Margerie points to a text in *De Bono Coniugali* (401), where Augustine speaks of the social character of the eschaton as prefigured by monogamous relationship here in the present life between man and woman⁷². As it is the ideal now that husband and wife "be of one heart and mind intent upon God", so in the afterlife the same ideal will be perfected. Augustine's statement reads:

"But since one city will be formed from various souls of those who have one mind and one heart on the way to God — the perfection of this unity will be achieved after this present pilgrimage when the thoughts of everyone will not be concealed from one another and when they will have no discord — thus the sacrament of marriage of our time has been reduced to the union of one man and one woman so that it is not legal for the Church to ordain one as steward of the Church except one who is a husband of one wife (cf. 1 Tim. 3,2) ... And thus, as the many wives of the old Fathers signified our future churches that came from all nations and made subject to the one husband Christ, so our chief-priest, the husband of one wife, signifies unity out of all nations made subject to Christ, which shall then be perfected when He has unveiled 'the hidden things of darkness' and shall have made manifest 'the hidden things of the heart' that 'each one may be praised by God' (1 Cor. 4,5)"⁷³.

⁷² B. DE MARGERIE, *Futura Vita Aeterna Sanctorum*, p. 163-164.

⁷³ "Sed quoniam ex multis animis una civitas futura est habentium animam unam et cor unum in deum - quae unitatis nostrae perfectio post hanc peregrinationem futura est, ubi omnium cogitationes nec latebunt invicem nec inter se in aliquo repugnabunt - propterea sacramentum nuptiarum temporis nostri sic ad unum virum et unam uxorem redactum est, ut ecclesiae dispensatorem non liceat ordinari nisi unius uxoris virum ... Ac per hoc sicut plures uxores antiquorum patrum significaverunt futuras nostras ex omnibus gentibus ecclesias uni viro subditas Christo, ita noster antistes unius vir significat ex omnibus gentibus unitatem uni viro subditam Christo, quae tunc perficietur, cum revelaverit *occulta tenebrarum* et manifestaverit *occulta cordis*, ut tunc laus sit unicuique a deo". *De Bono*

We do not question the validity of this text for proving that Augustine is alluding here to the social character of the eschaton, and that this character is presented as similar to the social character in the unity between a husband and a wife. Indeed De Margerie is right. Augustine himself says: "Prima itaque naturalis humanae societatis copula vir et uxor est"⁷⁴. This union reflects the kind of union of the saints in the afterlife as De Margerie maintains, and we agree with him. However, we disagree with him when he says that the text cited above shows Augustine's departure from his position expressed right after or during the time of the *Confessiones*. De Margerie's position would mean that Augustine makes progresses from an implicit (= doubtful) conception of the social character or even from an individualistic conception of the character of the eschaton to a collectivistic one. Unlike De Margerie, we maintain that Augustine always explicitly conceived the eschaton as a society of persons loving one another and God, contemplating and praising Him. Augustine's thought on this is clear. One has just to analyze his interpretations and applications of 1 Cor. 15,28: "God will be all in all". This passage should be considered as the guide to his conception of the eschaton. Had De Margerie referred to it he would have changed his position from ambiguous to clear. It is to be noted that Augustine uses explicitly or implicitly 1 Cor. 15,28 together with other passages on the new world. His statement in *Opus Imperfectum contra Julianum* demonstrates this.

"For surely an evil action is evil, and the good that one wants to do and the evil which one does not want to do but which one does (Rom. 7,19) is a necessity. And on the contrary we shall have also the enjoyable need of virtue when our nature is filled with so much grace, and God will be all in all (1 Cor. 15,28), such that it cannot wish something evilly. Justice is indeed a virtue, and a new heaven and a new earth in which justice dwells is promised to us (2 Pet. 3,13)"⁷⁵.

Let us note that here in *Opus Imperfectum contra Julianum* 5,62 Augustine refers to 2 Pet. 3,13 in connection with 1 Cor. 15,28. Also in earlier works Augustine associates 1 Cor. 15,28 with the parallels of 2 Pet. 3,13, namely, Is. 65,17, Is. 66,22, and Rev. 21,1. This shows that the social character

Coniugali 18,21, CSEL 41,214-215.

⁷⁴ *De Bono Coniugali* 1,1, CSEL 41,187.

⁷⁵ "Neque enim aut actio mali vitium non est: aut bonum quod vult, non facere, et malum nolle, et tamen agere, necessitas non est; aut e contrario non erit nobis etiam virtutis necessitas felix, quando tanta gratia natura nostra replebitur, et Deus erit omnia in omnibus (1 Cor. 15,28), ut male aliquid velle non possit. Virtus est quippe iustitia; et coelum novum et terra nova promittitur nobis, in quibus iustitia inhabitat (2 Pet. 3,13)". *Opus Imperfectum contra Julianum* 5,62, PL 45,1499-1500.

of the eschaton that is conveyed by the idea "God will be all" (1 Cor. 15, 28) always underlay his conception of the new world, even when it is not explicitly mentioned. Let us take the statement in *De Vera Religione* 22, 44, written in 391.

"Every rational soul is made unhappy by its sins or happy by its well-doing. But every irrational soul yields to one that is more powerful, or obeys one that is better, or is on terms of equality with its equals, exercising rivals, or harming any it has overcome. Every body is obedient to its soul so far as permitted by the merits of the latter or the orderly arrangement of things. There is no evil in the universe, but in individuals there is evil due to their own fault. When the soul has been regenerated by the grace of God and restored to its integrity, and made subject to him alone by whom it was created, its body too will be restored to its original strength, and it will receive power to possess the world, not to be possessed by the world. Then it will have no evil. The lowly beauty of temporal changes will not involve it, for it will have been raised above change. There will be, as it is written, a New Heaven and a New Earth (cf. Is. 65,17; Is. 66,22; Rev. 21,1), and there souls will not have to do their part in toiling, but will reign over the universe. 'All things are yours', says the apostle, 'and you are Christ's and Christ is God's' (1 Cor. 3,21-23). And again: 'The head of the woman is the man, the head of the man is Christ, and the head of Christ is God' (1 Cor. 11,3)"⁷⁶.

In the text Augustine speaks of universe-man-God relationship in the new world. He undoubtedly implies also the relationship there between human beings because of his reference to 1 Cor. 11,3: "The head of the woman is the man, the head of the man is Christ, and the head of Christ is God". This reference recalls his early conception of order in society as designed by God.

Let us turn to *En. in Ps.* 101, *Sermo* 2,10-14, written in 395. Augustine juxtaposes 1 Cor. 15,28 with Ps. 101,25: "Your years endure through all generations". He interprets this Psalm-passage as speaking of God's eternal existence which we shall share with Him, as Paul states in 1 Cor. 15,28.

⁷⁶ "Quocirca, cum omnis anima rationalis aut peccatis suis misera sit aut recte factis beata, omnis autem irrationalis aut cedat potentiori aut pareat meliori aut comparetur aequali aut certantem exerceat aut damnato noceat et omne corpus suae animae serviat quantum pro eius meritis et pro rerum ordine sinitur, nullum malum est naturae universae, sed sua cuique culpa fit malum. Porro cum anima per dei gratiam regenerata et in integrum restituta et illi subdita uni a quo creata est, instaurato etiam corpore in pristinam firmitatem non cum mundo possideri sed mundum possidere coeperit, nullum ei malum erit, quia ista infima pulchritudo temporalium vicissitudinum, quae cum ipsa peragebatur, et erit, ut scriptum est, caelum novum et terra nova, non in parte laborantibus animis, sed in universitate regnantibus. *Omnia enim vestra*, inquit apostolus, *vos autem Christi, Christus autem dei*; et *Caput mulieris vir, caput viri Christus, caput autem Christi deus*". *De Vera Religione* 23,44, CSEL 77 pars V,31.

"There is a certain generation of generations; your years will exist in it. What is this? It is something. And if we know it well, we shall be in it and the years of God will be in us. How will they be in us? In the same way as God will be in us when it has been said 'That God may be all in all'? (1 Cor. 15,28). For the years of God and He Himself are not different. But the eternity of God is the years of God. Eternity itself is the substance of God ..." ⁷⁷.

Humanity's participation in eternity starts with God's calling. Augustine shows this later, in the same context, in his interpretation of Ps. 101, 25 as related to Ex. 3,13-15: "Then Moses said to God, 'If I come to the people of Israel and say to them, 'The God of your fathers has sent me to you', and they ask me, 'What is his name'? what shall I say to them'? God said to Moses, 'I am who am'. And he said, 'Say this to the people of Israel, 'I AM has sent me to you'. God also said to Moses, 'Say this to the people of Israel, 'The Lord, the God of your fathers, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob, has sent me to you'". Augustine sees in this pericope an idea of God's nature in relation to Himself and in relation to humanity. In relation to Himself He is pure eternity. In relation to humanity He is the merciful God calling from the beginning all to union with Him in His eternity.

"Human weakness, do not despair. He said: 'I am the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob' (Ex. 3,15). You have heard what I am with myself. Listen also to what I am on account of you. This eternity called us therefore, and the Word burst out of eternity. It was already eternity, already a Word, but time did not exist yet. Why did time not exist yet? Because time was also created. How was time also created? 'Everything was made through him, and without him nothing was made' (Jo. 1,3). O Word, that existed before time, through which time was created, that was born also in time when It was eternal life, calling all who are mortal and making them eternal!" ⁷⁸.

Different generations have succeeded each other. But from them all only one generation will finally be formed that will dwell in the new

⁷⁷ "Est quaedam generatio generationum; in illa erunt anni tui. Quae est ista? Est quaedam, et si bene agnoscimus, in illa erimus, et anni Dei in nobis erunt. Quomodo in nobis erunt? Quomodo ipse Deus in nobis erit: unde dictum est: *Ut sit Deus omnia in omnibus*. Non enim aliud anni Dei, et aliud ipse; sed anni Dei, aeternitas Dei est; aeternitas, ipsa Dei substantia est ...". *En. in Ps. 101, Sermo 2,10, CCL 40,1445*.

⁷⁸ "Noli desperare, humana fragilitas. *Ego sum*, inquit, *Deus Abraham, et Deus Isaac, et Deus Jacob*. Audisti quid sim apud me, audi et quid sim propter te. Haec igitur aeternitas vocavit nos, et erupit ex aeternitate Verbum. Iam aeternitas, iam Verbum, et nondum tempus. Quare nondum tempus? Quia factum est et tempus. Quomodo factum est et tempus? *Omnia per ipsum facta sunt et sine ipso factum est nihil*. O Verbum ante tempora, per quod facta sunt tempora, natum est in tempore, cum sit vita aeterna, vocans temporales, faciens aeternos!". *En. in Ps. 101, Sermo 2,10, CCL 40,1445-1446*.

world as one community.

"There was therefore a generation in the time of Adam, and it passed away. Then some future sharers of the eternity of God were born also at that time: for then came Abel, then Seth, then Enoch. That generation passed away; the flood came; and one house remained. And that generation gave birth to some men: Noe himself and his three sons and their three wives, for in the entire house consisting of eight members only one sinner was found. The number of the foregoing generation increased. Then the earth was filled with persons born from the sons of Noe as if from three measures of flour. Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob were chosen; patriarchs who as holy men pleased God. And that generation brought forth also the subsequent generations which in turn brought forth prophets, and heralds of God. And later our Lord Jesus Christ himself came also. He mixed ferment to the three measures of flour until the whole was fermented. During the time of his existence in the flesh on earth there were apostles and holy men. Other saints came after them. And there are some saints now in the name of Christ; and after us there will be some, until the end of this world. You will gather all holy offspring from all generations and from them you will form one generation: 'Your years will endure through all generations' (Ps. 101,25), that is to say, eternity will exist in that generation which is being gathered from all generations, and it will be reduced to one generation. It will be a sharer of your eternity. Other generations will come as time continues towards fulfillment. From them a generation is being reborn into eternity. After it has been transformed, it will be made alive and it will be fit to bear you, as they receive strength from you"⁷⁹.

In *L'Intelligence de la foi en la Trinité selon Saint Augustin*, O. du Roy maintains that in Augustine the theme of ubiquity of truth and its inability to diminish in a free and loving relation of its possessors was inspired by

⁷⁹ "Ergo fuit generatio sub Adam, transiit. Nati sunt inde quidam futuri participes aeternitatis Dei etiam illo tempore: inde enim Abel, inde Seth, inde Enoch. Transiit illa generatio, venit diluvium, remansit una domus. Et illa generatio dedit aliquos, ipsum Noe et tres filios eius et tres nurus eius; in tota enim domo ista octonaria solus unus peccator inventus est. Accessit numerus superiori generationi. Deinde de tribus filiis Noe, tamquam de tribus mensuris farinae, impletus est orbis. Electus est Abraham, Isaac, et Jacob; sancti viri patriarchae, placuerunt Deo. Dedit et illa generatio sequentes etiam generantes, dederunt prophetas, dederunt praecones Dei. Venit etiam postea et ipse Dominus noster Iesus Christus, misit fermentum in tres mensuras farinae, quousque fermentaretur totum. Temporibus in terra carnis illius fuerunt apostoli, fuerunt sancti; post illos alii sancti; et nunc in nomine Christi quicumque sunt sancti, et post nos quicumque erunt, et usque in finem saeculi quicumque sancti. De tot generationibus colliges omnes sanctas proles omnium generationum, et facies inde unam generationem: *in ista generatione generationum anni tui*, id est: aeternitas illa in illa generatione erit, quae de omnibus generationibus colligitur, et in unam redigitur; ipsa particeps erit aeternitatis tuae. Caeterae generationes implendis temporibus generantur, ex quibus illa in aeternum regeneratur; mutata vivificabitur, erit idonea portare te, vires accipiens a te". *En. in Ps. 101, Sermo 2,11, CCL 40,1446.*

Plotinus⁸⁰. The view of du Roy confirms our position that Plotinus has a conception of the eschaton with a social character. And for that matter Augustine too has the same opinion since he was inspired by Plotinus. This shows further that in his early writings Augustine already had a social conception of the eschaton. This is the point we have been proving.

Let us turn to *De Trinitate* 1,10.20, written in 399. Augustine relates here the story of Martha and Mary in Lk. 10,38f. and connects it with 1 Cor. 15,24: "Christ will deliver the kingdom to God and Father" and to 1 Cor. 15,28: "God will be all in all". This connection of texts indicates clearly that the context of the discussion is Augustine's conception of the eschaton: "... dominus noster Iesus Christus ... perducet credentes ad contemplationem dei ubi est 'finis' omnium bonarum actionum et requies sempiterna et 'gaudium' quod 'non aufertur' a nobis". When commenting on the narration in Lk. 10,38f. about Martha and Mary, and maintaining that Mary in contemplation has chosen 'the best part', since her activity prefigures the contemplating life of saints in the eschaton, Augustine never rules out Martha's concern for practical things as something bad. Thus he suggests that the eschaton will be composed of members prefigured both by Mary and by Martha. In the eschaton need (*indigentia*) will no longer exist among men. Yet concern expressed in terms of love for one another will still remain⁸¹, since God will be all in all persons.

"Our Lord Jesus Christ will, therefore, hand over the kingdom to God and Father (1 Cor. 15,24), without excluding Himself nor the Holy Spirit from it, since He will lead the believers to the contemplation of God, where there is the end of all good actions and where there is eternal rest and 'joy' which 'will not be taken away' (Jo. 16,22) from us. For He signifies this in his statement: 'I will see you again, and your heart shall rejoice, and no one will take your joy away from you' (Jo. 16,22). Mary, 'sitting at the feet of the Lord and listening earnestly to his word' (Lk. 10,39) foreshowed a similitude of this joy; that is, she rested from all activities and listening to the truth according to a certain manner of which this life is capable, by which, nevertheless, she prefigures that which shall be for eternity. Martha, her sister, was indeed concerned about necessary activities, which, although good and useful, yet will pass away when rest comes. Mary herself was resting in the word of the Lord. And so when Martha complained that her sister did not help her, the Lord replied to her: 'Mary has chosen the best part, which shall not be taken away from her' (Lk. 10,42). He did not say that Martha was doing the bad

⁸⁰ In *De Libero Arbitrio* 2,14.47 Augustine identifies God with wisdom and truth that attracts everyone and is capable of being possessed by them in common. O. DU ROY says that the statement of Augustine on this in the work mentioned is parallel of that of Plotinus in *Enneades* 6,5,10,7-8. See *L'Intelligence de la Foi en la Trinité selon Saint Augustin*, Paris, 1966, p. 252.

⁸¹ *En. in Ps.* 84,10, CCL 39,1170: "Erit ergo pax purgata in filiis Dei, omnibus amantibus se, videntibus se plenos Deo, cum erit Deus omnia in omnibus".

part, but that (Mary) was doing 'the best part which will not be taken away'. For that part which is occupied in ministering to a need will pass away when the need itself has passed away. The reward of good work that passes away is indeed the rest that remains. Therefore, in that contemplation 'God' will be 'all in all' since nothing else but Himself will be needed, but He alone will suffice for enlightenment and enjoyment"⁸².

The idea of the societal character of the eschaton is expressed even more clearly in *De Virginitate* 29, written in 401. It shows the absence of envy among members even when they differ in glory. For the members, even when they know that they differ, are nevertheless equally secure in the full presence of God. Difference among members exists even with concord. For the members it is not glory which matters most, but the state of being completely possessed by god and possessing Him in reciprocity.

"We are speaking of the Almighty Lamb. He will go ahead of you, and he will not depart from them (sc. the married), when 'God' will be 'all in all' (1 Cor. 15,28). Those who will have less will not turn away in dislike of you. For where there is no envying, difference exists with concord"⁸³.

C. Its social characteristics

1. A community of love

Perhaps the only later work where Augustine gives an implicit description of the social character of the eschaton is *Epistula* 148, written between 413 and 414. In this work he seems to speak more of individuals than of a community. The apparent emphasis on individuals is shown by

⁸² "Tradet itaque regnum deo et patri dominus noster Iesus Christus, non se inde separato nec spiritu sancto, quoniam perducet credentes ad contemplationem dei ubi est finis omnium bonarum actionum et requies sempiterna et gaudium quod non auferetur a nobis. Hoc enim significat in eo quod ait: *Iterum videbo vos, et gaudebit cor vestrum, et gaudium vestrum nemo auferet a vobis*. Huius gaudii similitudinem praesignabat Maria sedens ad pedes domini et intenta in verbum eius, quieta scilicet ab omni actione et intenta in veritatem secundum quendam modum cuius capax est ista vita, quo tamen praefigureret illud quod futurum est in aeternum. Martha quippe sorore sua in necessitatis actione conversante quamvis bona et utili, tamen cum requies successerit transitura, ipsa requiescebat in verbo domini. Et ideo dominus conquerenti Marthae quod eam soror non adiuvaret respondit: *Maria optimam partem elegit quae non auferetur ab ea*. Non partem malam dixit quod agebat Martha, sed istam *optimam quae non auferetur*. Illa enim quae in ministerio indigentiae est, cum indigentia ipsa transierit, auferetur. Boni quippe operis transituri merces est requies permansura. In illa igitur contemplatione deus erit omnia in omnibus quia nihil ab illo aliud requiretur, sed solo ipso inlustrari perfruique sufficiet". *De Trinitate* 1,10.20, CCL 50,56-57.

⁸³ "Omnipotentem agnum loquimur. Et vobis praeibit et ab eis non abibit. Cum erit deus omnia in omnibus. Et qui minus habebunt, a vobis non abhorrebunt. Ubi enim nulla est invidentia, consors est differentia". *De Sancta Virginitate* 29, CSEL 41,267.

the use of *homo* instead of *homines*. For example, in paragraph 17, when he is discussing the question whether the exterior man will enjoy a beatific vision of God, *homo* recurs three times; and thus it appears to us that Augustine is concerned more with an individual than with the community of saints.

"For if a more careful investigation results in finding this: the transformation of the body will be so great that it shall be able to see things that are invisible, I think such power imparted to the body will not take away the vision of the mind so that the external man (*homo*) can then see God and the internal man cannot, as if God were only beside man (*ad hominem*) and not inside him (*in homine*), since it has been clearly said: 'that God may be all in all' (1 Cor. 15,28) ..." ⁸⁴.

However, is there no possibility of considering *homo* as a generic term, and therefore referring to humanity as a whole in the eschaton? Let us note that in the text quoted above Augustine makes an implicit shift from *homo* to *omnes* (*homines*) by making reference to 1 Cor. 15,28: "Ut Deus sit omnia in omnibus (*hominibus*)". If seen in the light of this passage, Augustine's use of *homo* must be taken as a generic term not only because 1 Cor. 15,28 has it in the plural form but also because this passage speaks of individuals as forming a community of saints.

Excepting this statement in *Epistula* 148 Augustine is explicit in his description of the social character of the eschaton. Let us analyze his thought in *In Iohannis Evangelium Tractatus* 65,1, written between 407-416/417.

"Christ has therefore given us a new commandment that we love one another just as He himself has loved us. This love renews us, making us new persons, heirs of the New Covenant, singers of the new song. Most beloved sisters and brothers, this love renewed also men of ancient times, who then were the just, then the patriarchs and prophets, just as later it renewed the holy apostles. It also now renews nations, and from the whole human race that is scattered all over the earth he gathers and forms a new people, a body of the new spouse married to the only begotten son of God ..." ⁸⁵.

⁸⁴ "Si enim hoc invenerit inquisitio diligentior, tantam futuram corporis mutationem, ut possit videre invisibilia, non, ut opinor, talis potentia corporis menti auferet visionem, ut exterior homo deum videre tunc possit, non possit interior, quasi tantum foris sit deus ad hominem et intus non sit in homine, cum apertissime scriptum sit: *Ut sit deus omnia in omnibus*...". *Epistula* 148,17, CSEL 44,346.

⁸⁵ "Mandatum ergo novum dedit nobis Christus, ut diligamus invicem, sicut et ipse dilexit nos. Dilectio ista nos innovat, ut simus homines novi, heredes Testamenti Novi, cantatores canticum novi. Haec dilectio, fratres carissimi, antiquos etiam tunc iustos, tunc patriarchas et prophetas, sicut postea beatos apostolos innovavit, ipsa et nunc innovat gentes, et ex universo genere humano quod diffunditur toto orbe terrarum, facit et colligit populum novum, corpus novae nuptae Filii Dei unigeniti sponsae ...". *In Iohannis Evangelium*

Let us follow the text. The theme of the text is the dynamics of love. The passage being discussed is Jo. 13,34: "I give you a new commandment, that you love one another; love one another also even as I have loved you". Augustine maintains that the love of Christ for humanity has a transforming power⁸⁶. It has renewed it to the effect that from nations scattered and separated by time and places, and for that matter, different in various ways, it has gathered them and formed them into one new people: "ipsa et nunc innovat gentes, et ex universo genere humano quod diffunditur toto orbe terrarum, facit et colligit populum novum". This idea recalls what was expressed in *En. in Ps.* 101, *Sermo* 2,10-14, written in 395, which we have already analyzed. In the same text cited above the phrase "a body of the new spouse married to the only begotten son of God" serves to demonstrate the nature of the close union between the new people and Christ. The new people is taken as one since it is imagined as a spouse. In the image of married relationship Augustine consistently upholds monogamy and the oneness of husband and wife. One has simply to refer to *De Bono Coniugali* 18,21, which we discussed earlier, in order to be clear on this. Thus, by viewing the different nations as forming one body and as the spouse of the only begotten son of God, Augustine stresses the conception of the strongest form of unity possible between humanity and the divine. He shows this in a later statement:

"On account of this (*sc.* commandment) the members are solicitous for each other in love. And if one member suffers, all the other members suffer with it; and if one member is honored, all the other members are honored with it. For they hear and observe this: 'I give you a new commandment that you love one another' (Jo. 13,34) ..."⁸⁷.

Tractatus 65,1, CCL 36,491.

⁸⁶ Several references attest to this. They are as follows: *Sermo* 362,8-9, PL 38,1615-1616: Christ as the head of the Church, His body, remains our foundation even after His ascension to heaven. *Epistula* 121,2, CSEL 34(2),724: reference is made to 2 Cor. 5,17. Other allusions to the same passage are found in the following works: *En. in Ps.* 101, *Sermo* 1,19, CCL 40,1438; *En. in Ps.* 103, *Sermo* 3,26, CCL 40,1521; *En. in Ps.* 38,9, CCL 38,410; *En. in Ps.* 66,6, CCL 39,863; *En. in Ps.* 80,6, CCL 39,1123; *En. in Ps.* 101, *Sermo* 4,3, CCL 40,1523; *En. in Ps.* 71,6, CCL 39,975: on 2 Cor. 5,17-20; *Contra Faustum* 11,8, CSEL 25(1),326. *En. in Ps.* 8,10, CCL 38,53-54: on Ps. 8,5: "Quid est homo, quia memor es eius, aut filius hominis, quoniam tu visitas eum"? Humanity is renewed through Christ by the manifold mercy of God. 1 Cor. 3,1-3 is associated with the passage from the Psalm.

⁸⁷ "Propter quod pro invicem sollicita sunt membra in ea; et si patitur unum membrum, compatiuntur omnia membra, et si glorificatur unum membrum, congaudent omnia membra. Audiunt enim, atque custodiunt: Mandatum novum do vobis, ut vos invicem diligatis ...". In *Iohannis Evangelium Tractatus* 65,1, CCL 36,491.

The unity now between the members of the new people and Christ reflects already their union in the eschaton. Why? Because there will not be any destruction of this present unity in order that later another form of unity may be achieved. There will only be a completion of the present unity. Christ will lead lovers to a full love for one another in the full presence of God.

"... they do not love each other as those who corrupt, nor as men love one another in a human way; but they love one another as gods and all of them as sons of the Most High (Ps. 81,6), in order that they may become brothers of His only begotten Son with the love by which they love each other by which He has loved them, since He will lead them on to that goal that will be sufficient for them since their desire will be satisfied in good things. For then there will be nothing wanting which they can desire, where God will be all in all (1 Cor. 15,28)"⁸⁸.

Love for neighbors never ends at the intervention of bodily death. For love among members in the eschaton is not reached through bodily death. It is rather achieved by love itself among them in the present world. Augustine shows this by his notion of 'death to the world' which is equivalent to love that binds the world. He sees this as an explanation of Col. 3,3: "For you are dead, and your life is hidden in Christ", and a possible meaning of Cant. 8,6: "Love is strong as death".

"Such a goal does not have an end. No one dies there where no one gets to unless he dies to this world, not by the death that all undergo when the body is severed from the soul but by the death of the elect, through which the heart is set on things above even while still remaining in this mortal flesh. Concerning such a death the apostle said: 'For you are dead, and your life is hidden with Christ in God' (Col. 3,3). Perhaps the statement: 'Love is strong as death' (Cant. 8,6) has been said concerning this. Through this love it happens that we die to this world while we still bear this corruptible body, and that our life is hidden with Christ in God. Love itself is indeed our death to the world and our life with God. For if death happens when the soul departs from the body, how can death not happen when our love departs from the world? Love is therefore as strong as death. What can be stronger than that by which the world is conquered?"⁸⁹.

⁸⁸ " ... non sicut se diligunt qui corrumpunt, nec sicut se diligunt homines, quoniam homines sunt; sed sicut se diligunt, quoniam dii sunt et filii Altissimi omnes, ut sint Filio eius unico fratres, ea dilectione invicem diligentes, quia ipse dilexit eos, perducturus eos ad illum finem qui sufficiat eis, ubi satiatur in bonis desiderium eorum. Tunc enim aliquid desiderio non deerit, quando omnia in omnibus Deus erit". In *Iohannis Tractatus* 65,1, CCL 36,491.

⁸⁹ "Talis finis non habet finem. Nemo ibi moritur, quo nemo pervenit, nisi huic saeculo moriatur, non morte omnium, qua corpus ab anima deseritur, sed morte electorum, qua etiam cum in carne mortali adhuc manetur, cor sursum ponitur. De quali morte dicebat apostolus: *Mortui enim estis, et vita vestra abscondita est cum Christo in Deo*. Hinc

Parallel thoughts on the continuity of love for God and for neighbor in the eschaton are found in *In Iohannis Evangelium Tractatus* 83,3, where Augustine discusses Jo. 15,12: "This is my commandment that you love one another". In this work and in *En. in Ps.* 118, *Sermo* 22,2, written in 422, which is a commentary on Ps. 118,98: "Super inimicos meos sapere fecisti me mandatum tuum, quoniam in aeternum mihi est", Augustine argues that love remains forever because the perfect union of lovers and God entails the perfection of love between human beings. This is indicated by the words *in aeternum* in the passage. And Augustine uses the expression *mandatum geminatum* in order to convey the idea of inseparability between love for God and love for neighbor. Both expressions, namely, *in aeternum* and *mandatum geminatum*, taken together in the same text signify the on-going love-relationship that exists between men and God and between men now till life in eternity.

"The ones who interpreted *in aeternum* indeed had a better understanding than those who interpreted it as *in saeculum*, as if no commandment of law were still possible when this world ceases to exist. It is true that there will be none but what has been written in visible tablets and books. However, concerning what has been written in the heart, love for God and for neighbor will remain forever. The whole law of the prophets also depends on the two commandments (*mandato geminato*). And the lawgiver will himself be the reward of the commandment that has been kept, and the loved one will himself be the reward of love, when God will be all in all (1 Cor. 15,28)"⁹⁰.

In *The Resurrection and Saint Augustine's Theology of Human Values*, H.I. Marrou points out this idea of continuity. He speaks of contemplation, praise, and love as present human values that will remain up to and beyond eternity⁹¹. Augustine himself says in *De Civitate Dei* 22,30: "There we shall be still and see; we shall see and we shall love; we shall

fortasse dictum est: *Valida est sicut mors dilectio*. Hac enim dilectione fit ut in isto adhuc corruptibili corpore constituti moriamur huic saeculo, et vita nostra absconditur cum Christo in Deo, immo ipsa dilectio est mors nostra saeculo, et vita cum Deo. Si enim mors est quando de corpore anima exit, quomodo non est mors quando de mundo amor exit? *Valida est ergo sicut mors dilectio*. Quid ea validius, qua vincitur mundus?". In *Iohannis Evangelium Tractatus* 65,1, CCL 36,491.

⁹⁰ "Melius quippe intellexerunt qui interpretati sunt *in aeternum*, quam qui *in saeculum*, tamque finito isto saeculo nullum iam legis posset esse mandatum. Ita vero nullum erit, sed in tabulis visibilibus librisque conscriptum; in tabulis vero cordis, dilectio Dei et proximi manebit in aeternum; in quo mandato geminato tota lex pendet et prophetae: eritque praemium custoditi mandati huius ipse mandator, et praemium dilectionis ipse dilectus, quando erit Deus omnia in omnibus". *En. in Ps.* 118, *Sermo* 22,2, CCL 40,1737.

⁹¹ H.I. MARROU, *The Resurrection and Saint Augustine's Theology of Human Values*, p. 31 and 35.

love and we shall praise"⁹².

The conception of the eschaton as a community of love is clearly demonstrated in Augustine's description of it as a city where the citizens share their possessions in common. This is expressed in *En. in Ps.* 105,34, written after 418.

"However, they provoked Him in their counsel' (Ps. 105,42). This is equivalent to his statement above: 'They did not keep his counsel' (Ps. 105,13). But a man's counsel is pernicious to himself as man when he seeks those things which are only his own and not God's (Phil. 2,21). In God's inheritance, which is Himself to us, when He deigns to show Himself for our enjoyment, we shall not suffer fear of society with the saints because of loving our possessions as if they were private. That most glorious city, when it has gained the promised inheritance in which no one will die and none shall be born, will not contain citizens who will rejoice as individuals through their own possessions because God will be all in all (1 Cor. 15,28). Whoever in this pilgrimage has desired this society faithfully and earnestly becomes accustomed to prefer the common to the private by seeking not his own but Christ's ...

⁹³

In *Sermo* 158,9, written between 408 and 419, Augustine enumerates the different possessions that the just will share. They all are signified by *omnia* in 1 Cor. 15,28: "Ut sit Deus omnia in omnibus". *Omnia* stands for everything in perfect form which we seek here. It includes full union with Christ. Augustine recalls here the idea of *Totus Christus* in order to emphasize more the perfection of the love between human beings and God.

"For He (sc. God) has already glorified the head. Christ is our head. But why are you surprised? Because the head is glorified, so also the other members will be glorified. Then God will be all in all (1 Cor. 15,28). We believe this now, we hope for it now. When we get to it, we shall possess it, and it will be a vision, not faith. When we get to it, we shall possess it, and it will be a reality, not hope. What about love? Does it only exist now but will no longer exist later? If we love by believing but not seeing, how shall be love by seeing and possessing? Therefore, there will be love, but it will be perfect. As the apostle says: 'Faith, hope, and love, these three. The greater of these, however,

⁹² "Ibi vacabimus et videbimus, videbimus et amabimus, amabimus et laudabimus". *De Civitate Dei* 22,30, CSEL 40(2),670.

⁹³ "Ipsi autem exacerbaverunt eum in consilio suo. Hoc est quod superius ait: *Non sustinuerunt consilium eius*. Perniciosum autem est consilium hominis ipsi homini, quo ea quaerit quae sua sunt, non quae Dei sunt. In cuius hereditate, quod ipse nobis est, cum ad fruendum se praebere dignatur, nulla patiemur cum sanctis societatis angustias, dilectione rei nostrae quasi privatae. Gloriosissima quippe illa civitas adepta promissam hereditatem, in qua nullus morietur, nullus orietur, non habebit cives qui singuli gaudeant suis rebus, quia Deus erit omnia in omnibus. Cuius societatem quisquis in hac peregrinatione fideliter et flagranter desideraverit, assuescit privatis praeferre communia, non sua quaerendo, sed quae Iesu Christi ...". *En. in Ps.* 105,34, CCL 40(2),1565-1566.

is love' (1 Cor. 13,13)⁹⁴.

2. A home for a family

The eschaton of Augustine is a home. Augustine associates different images in order to show this. In *In Iohannis Evangelium Tractatus* 67, 2 he associates *domus* which is used in Jo. 14,2: "In my Father's house there are many rooms" with *paterfamilias* which is spoken of in Mt. 20,1: "For the kingdom of heaven is like a householder (*paterfamilias*) who went out early in the morning to hire laborers for his vineyard". A fatherfigure in a house is illustrated here. In a true home there is no discrimination of any member. This is signified by the one denarius that each of the laborers received from the householder regardless of the difference in the number of hours that each worked (Mt. 20,9 and 10): "quo utique denario vita significatur vita aeterna, ubi amplius alio nemo vivit, quoniam vivendi non est diversa in aeternitate mensura". In the eschaton the only difference among the members is glory. Augustine finds reason for this difference in 1 Cor. 15,41 and 42. Yet this kind of difference is not essential. Augustine is concerned more with the equality of members in terms of the equal presence of God in every individual member of the family.

"Because even if one is stronger than the other, and another is wiser than the other, and another is more righteous than the other, and another is more holy than the other, 'in my Father's house there are many rooms' (Jo. 14,2). No one of them will be kept away from that house, where each one will receive a room for himself according to merits. All alike receive a denarius which the householder (*paterfamilias*) commands to be given to each one who worked in his vineyard (cf. Mt. 20,9), making no distinction between those who worked less and those who worked longer in it. Eternal life is certainly signified by this denarius. It is there where no one lives any intenser than others since there is no difference in measure for life in eternity. But the many rooms point to a difference in dignity in that one eternal life, a difference which is based on merits. For the glories of the sun, and of the moon, and of the stars, are different: stars differ in glory, so it will also be at the resurrection of the dead (1 Cor. 15,41-42). Like the stars in heaven the saints obtain in the kingdom different rooms of diverse degrees of brightness. But on account of that one denarius no one is cut off from the kingdom. And God will be all in all (1 Cor. 15,28) in such a way that, as God is love, love will bring it about that what is possessed by each one as individual will be common to all. If one loves in another what he himself does not possess, he himself also will possess

⁹⁴ "Jam enim exaltavit caput meum. Caput nostrum Christus est. Sed quid miraris? Quia caput et caetera membra exaltabuntur; tunc erit Deus omnia in omnibus. Hoc modo credimus, hoc modo speramus: cum venerimus, tenebimus; et jam visio erit, non fides: cum venerimus, tenebimus, et jam res erit, non spes. Charitas quid? numquid et ipsa modo est, et tunc non erit? Si amamus credendo et non videndo; quomodo amabimus videndo et tenendo? Ergo charitas erit, sed perfecta erit: sicut Apostolus ait, *Fides, spes, charitas, tria haec; major autem horum charitas* (1 Cor. 13,13)". *Sermo* 158,9, PL 38,867.

it. There will, therefore, be no envying at all amidst diversity of glory because the unity of love will reign in all of them"⁹⁵.

As there is a father-figure in the eschaton, there is also a mother-figure and a child-figure. In *De Civitate Dei* 20,21, written in 425/427, Augustine describes the eschaton as a mother comforting her children according to the description in Is. 66,12-16.

"(12) The Lord says this: See, I am turning towards them like a river of peace and like a torrent that inundates the glory of a nation. Their sons will be carried on the shoulder and will be comforted on the knee. (13) Like a child whom his mother comforts so I will comfort you; and you shall be comforted in Jerusalem, (14) and you shall see, and your heart shall rejoice, and your bones shall rise up like the grass. And the hand of the Lord will be known to those who worship him, and he will threaten the insolent. (15) For see, the Lord will come like a fire, and like a tempest his chariot, to wreak vengeance in his indignation and devastation with the flames of fire. (16) For all the earth will be judged in the fire of the Lord, and all the flesh by his sword; many will be wounded by the Lord"⁹⁶.

The mother-figure is represented by Jerusalem; and the child-figure by all its dwellers. This representation is taken over by Augustine, and in the same context he refers also to Gal. 4,26: "But the Jerusalem above is free, and she is our mother". The entire selves, that is, both soul and body, will benefit from the tender care of the comforting mother, as the prophet speaks of the resurrection of the body in order to join the soul and both as a unity will enjoy it together. Verse 14: "and your bones shall rise up" points to the resurrection of the body.

Augustine's idea of the eschaton as a family home is not presented as something that will come to exist only after the transformation of this present world. It was formed in the beginning when the first just gener-

⁹⁵ "Quia etsi alius est alio fortior, alius alio sapientior, alius alio iustior, alius alio sanctior, in domo Patris mansiones multae sunt; nullus eorum alienabitur ab illa domo, ubi mansionem pro suo quisque accepturus est merito. Denarius quidem ille aequalis est omnibus, quem paterfamilias eis qui operati sunt in vinea iubet dari omnibus, non in eo discernens qui minus et qui amplius laborarunt; quo utique denario vita significatur aeterna, ubi amplius alio nemo vivit, quoniam vivendi non est diversa in aeternitate mensura. Sed multae mansiones, diversas meritum in una vita aeterna significant dignitates. Alia est enim gloria solis, alia gloria lunae, alia gloria stellarum: stella enim ab stella differt in gloria; sic et resurrectio mortuorum. Tamquam stellae sancti diversas mansiones diversae claritatis, tamquam in caelo, sortiuntur in regno; sed propter unum denarium nullus separatur a regno; atque ita Deus erit omnia in omnibus, ut quoniam Deus Caritas est, per caritatem fiat ut quod habent singuli, commune sit omnibus. Sic enim quisque etiam ipse habet, cum amat in altero quod ipse non habet. Non erit itaque aliqua invidia impari claritatis, quoniam regnabit in omnibus unitas caritatis". In *Iohannis Evangelium Tractatus* 67,2, CCL 36,495-496.

⁹⁶ *De Civitate Dei* 20,21, CSEL 40(2),479-480.

ation came to exist and continued until Christ came in order that this house might remain for eternity. There will therefore be no interruption in the existence of this house in its essential nature; there will only be a perfection of it. In *De Civitate Dei* 17,12 Augustine presents this idea, but while in *In Iohannis Evangelium Tractatus* 67,2 he speaks of the eschaton as a place, i.e., as a house of the Father with many rooms, here in *De Civitate Dei* 17,12 he speaks of the dwellers themselves as the house of the Father. We may say that there is no real difficulty in reconciling the two different ideas. Augustine's presentation in *De Civitate Dei* 17,12 is more concerned with showing human race as a temple now of God ('templum Dei de hominibus factum'), yet it does not disregard in any manner that this temple becomes an eternal temple of God that will exist in the new world. Humanity is now both a temple and a sacrifice⁹⁷. It is a dwelling place where humanity offers its life in union with Christ's life to God until that sacrifice is fully consumed at the perfect unity between humanity, Christ, and God. The eternal temple is where the people live with God and with Christ in the closest form of union: "templum ... ubi habitat in aeternum populus cum Deo et in Deo suo, et Deus cum populo adque in populo suo; ita ut Deus sit inplens populum, et populus plenus Deo suo, cum Deus erit omnia in omnibus ..."

"And therefore the concluding statement of the Psalm that follows: 'The blessing of the Lord forever. Let it be! Let it be!' (Ps. 88,50), is eminently suitable for the whole people of God who belong to the heavenly Jerusalem, whether among those who were hidden in the time of the old covenant, before the revelation of the new, or among those who are clearly known as belonging to Christ after the new covenant was already revealed. The blessing of the Lord on the line of David is not to be hoped for at a certain time, like that which appeared in the days of Solomon, but (it must be hoped) to last forever. In this most certain hope the statement: 'Let it be! Let it be!' is made. For the repetition of this word is a confirmation of that hope. David who understands this said therefore in the second book of the Kingdoms (sc. Kings), from we have digressed to deal with this psalm: 'You have spoken on behalf of your servant's house for a distant future'. However, a little farther on he then says: 'Now begin and bless your servant's house for all eternity' (2 Kgs. 7,19-29) and so forth, because he was about to have a son, from whom his posterity

⁹⁷ "Hanc enim domum et nos aedificamus bene vivendo, et Deus ut bene vivamus opitulando; quia nisi Dominus aedificaverit domum, in vanum laborant aedificantes eam (Ps. 126,1). Cuius domus cum venerit ultima dedicatio, tunc fiet illud, quod hic per Nathan locutus est Deus dicens: *Et ponam locum populo meo Israel, et plantabo illum, et inhabitabit seorsum, et non sollicitus erit ultra, et non adponet filius iniquitatis humiliare eum, sicut ab initio a diebus, quibus constitui iudices super populum meum Israel* (2 Kgs. 7,10f.)". *De Civitate Dei* 17,12, CSEL 40(2),244. See also *De Civitate Dei* 20,26, CSEL 40(2),498-500: Humanity is a sacrifice (*hostia*). In *In Iohannis Evangelium Tractatus* 68.2, CCL 36,498 he identifies *domus*, *templum*, *regnum*.

would be traced down to Christ, through whom his house was to become eternal and the very same house of God. It is the very house of David because of its descent from him; however, it is the very same house of God because it is the temple of God built not of stones but of human beings, where the people may live *with* God and *in* their God, and where God may live *with* the people and *in* his people. Thus God will fill his people and the people will be full of their God, when God will be all in all (1 Cor. 15,28), being himself the prize in peace as he is our strength in war"⁹⁸.

We take note of the words 'cum Deo et in Deo suo' and 'cum populo adque in populo suo'. The words *cum* and *in* indicate the double meaning of *templum*, namely, a dwelling place of human beings and the dwelling place which is the human beings themselves. In either consideration Augustine tries to show the degree of the intimacy of union between God and men.

3. A city and a land of the free

Augustine's eschaton is a city and a land of the free. Augustine's images for these are coherent. In *De Civitate Dei* 20,17 he pictures the eschaton as a city that had its beginning in the past and now grows into full perfection, where citizens will be free from suffering. He cites the text of Rev. 21,2-5 to prove this.

"(2) Then I saw the great City, the new Jerusalem, coming down from heaven from God, made ready like a new bride adorned for her husband. (3) And I heard a great voice from the throne, saying: 'See, the dwelling of God with men; and he will dwell among them, and they will be his people, and God Himself will be with them. (4) And he will wipe away every tear from their eyes; death shall be no more, and there will be no mourning or crying, nor

⁹⁸ "Et ideo quod sequitur, ubi psalmus iste concluditur: *Benedictio Domini in aeternum: fiat, fiat*, universo populo Dei ad caelestem Hierusalem pertinenti sive in illis, qui latebant in testamento vetere, antequam revelaretur novum, sive in his, qui iam testamento novo revelato manifeste pertinere cernuntur ad Christum, satis congruit. Benedictio quippe Domini in semine David non ad aliquod tempus, qualis diebus Salomonis apparuit, sed in aeternum speranda est, in qua certissima spe dicitur: *Fiat, fiat*. Illius enim spei est confirmatio verbi huius iteratio. Hoc ergo intellegens David ait in secundo regnorum libro, unde ad istum psalmum digressi sumus: *Et locutus es pro domo servi tui in longinquum*. Ideo autem post paululum ait: *Nunc incipe et benedic domum servi tui usque in aeternum* et cetera, quia tunc geniturus erat filium, ex quo progenies eius duceretur ad Christum, per quem futura erat domus eius aeterna eademque domus Dei. Domus enim David propter genus David; domus autem Dei eadem ipsa propter templum Dei de hominibus factum, non de lapidibus, ubi habitet in aeternum populus cum Deo et in Deo suo, et Deus cum populo adque in populo suo; ita ut Deus sit inplens populum suum, et populus plenus Deo suo, cum Deus erit omnia in omnibus, ipse in pace praemium, qui virtus in bello". *De Civitate Dei* 17,12, CSEL 40(2),243. For a common conception on this theme during the patristic time, see G. FLOROVSKY, *Eschatology in the Patristic Age: An Introduction*, in *Studia Patristica* II, 1957, p. 235-250.

any pain; for the old order of things has passed away'. (5) And the One who sat on the throne said: 'See, I am making all things new.'⁹⁹

The words "coming down from heaven" signifies the grace that forms the City and makes it grow. Verse 4 points to the future existence of a new world and the fitting quality of the citizens. Augustine guarantees his interpretation to be the right one.

"And in this book called the Apocalypse there are many obscure statements ... But the words in the statement: 'And he will wipe away every tear from their eyes; death shall be no more, and there will be no mourning or crying, nor any pain; for the old order of things has passed away' (Rev. 21,4) have been said with much clarity concerning the future world and on the immortality and the eternity of the saints, for only then and only there will these (*painful things*) cease to exist ..."¹⁰⁰

In *En. in Ps.* 84,10 Augustine describes that city as free from every form of danger, and steadfast as a place in peace. Its citizens will love one another as they enjoy in common the full presence of God. Augustine sees this idea in connection with Ps. 84,9.

"Therefore when death has been swallowed up in victory (1 Cor. 15,54) these things (*sc.* dangers) will cease. There will be full and eternal peace. We shall be in a certain city. Sisters and brothers, when I speak of that city I do not wish to stop especially when causes of offense increase. Who would not long for that city where no friend leaves, where no enemy intrudes, where there is no tempter, no seditious person, no one dividing God's people, no one wearying the Church in the service of the devil, since their prince himself is cast into eternal fire, and together with him those who consent with him and do not want to depart from him? There will, therefore, be a purified peace among the children of God, everyone loving one another, seeing themselves full of God, when God will be all in all (1 Cor. 15,28). We shall see God as our common spectacle; we shall possess Him as our common possession, as our common peace. For whatever He gives us now He Himself will be ours instead of everything that He gives. He will be our perfect and full peace. He says this to His people; he wished to hear this who says: 'Let me hear what the Lord God will speak to me, for He will speak peace to His people, to his saints, to those who turn their hearts to Him' (Ps. 84,9)"¹⁰¹.

⁹⁹ *De Civitate Dei* 20,17, CSEL 40(2),466.

¹⁰⁰ "Et in hoc quidem libro, cuius nomen est apocalypsis, obscure multa dicuntur ... Verum in his verbis, ubi ait: *Absterget omnem lacrimam ab oculis eorum, et mors iam non erit neque luctus neque clamor, sed nec dolor ullus*, tanta luce dicta sunt de saeculo futuro et de immortalitate adque aeternitate sanctorum (tunc enim solum adque ibi solum ista non erunt) ...". *De Civitate Dei* 20,17, CSEL 40(2),468.

¹⁰¹ "Quando ergo absorpta fuerit mors in victoriam, non erunt ista; et erit pax plena et aeterna. Erimus in quadem civitate: fratres, quando de illa loquor, finire nolo, et maxime quando scandala crebrescunt. Quis non desideret illam civitatem, unde amicus non exit, quo inimicus non intrat, ubi nullus tentator est, nullus seditiosus, nullus dividens populum Dei, nullus fatigans ecclesiam in ministerio diaboli; quando ipse princeps ipsorum mittitur

In *De Doctrina Christiana* 3,34.49, using the image *terra* for the new heaven and the new earth, Augustine excludes every possibility for the wicked to dwell in the eschaton. According to him 2 Tim. 1,9-10 expresses an idea of the eschatological world similar to that in Ez. 36,28: "You shall dwell in the land which I gave to your fathers".

"For the Church 'without spot and wrinkle' (Eph. 5,27), gathered from all nations and reigning with Christ forever, is herself the land of the blessed, the land of the living (Ps. 26,13). For this church is to be understood as 'given to our fathers', because it was promised to them with a sure and unchangeable purpose of God (Ez. 36,28). It has been given already by the force of the promise and purpose, though our fathers believed that it would be given only later in due time. This is similar to the statement of the apostle writing to Timothy on the grace which is given to the saints: 'Not by virtue of our works but by virtue of his own purpose and the grace which has been given to us in Jesus Christ ages ago, but which has been manifested now through the coming of our savior' (2 Tim. 1,9f.). He said that the grace was given when those to whom it was to be given did not exist yet, because what was to take place in its own time was already done in the arrangement and purpose of God, and what Paul says is now made manifest. It is possible however that these words may refer also to the land of the coming age, when the 'new heaven and the new earth' (Is. 65,17; Is. 66,22; 2 Pet. 3,13) will come where the unrighteous will not be able to dwell. And therefore it is said rightly to the righteous that the land itself is theirs; no part of this land will belong to the unrighteous. It is itself given in a similar way when its giving is established"¹⁰².

in ignem aeternum, et hic cum illo quicumque illi consentiunt, et recedere ab eo nolunt? Erit ergo pax purgata in filiis Dei, omnibus amantibus se, videntibus se plenos Deo, cum erit Deus omnia in omnibus. Commune spectaculum habebimus Deum; communem possessionem habebimus Deum; communem pacem habebimus Deum. Quidquid enim est quod nobis modo dat, ipse nobis erit pro omnibus quae dat; ipse erit perfecta et plena pax. Hanc loquitur in plebem suam; hanc volebat audire ille qui ait: *Audiam quid loquetur in me Dominus Deus; quoniam loquetur pacem in plebem suam, et super sanctos suos, et in eos qui convertunt cor ad ipsum*". En. in Ps. 84,10, CCL 39,1170-1171.

¹⁰² "Ecclesia quippe sine macula et ruga ex omnibus gentibus congregata atque in aeternum regnatura cum Christo ipsa est terra beatorum, terra viventium. Ipsa intellegenda est patribus data, quando eis certa et immutabili dei voluntate promissa est, quoniam ipsa promissionis vel praedestinationis firmitate iam data est quae danda suo tempore a patribus credita est, sicut de ipsa gratia quae sanctis datur scribens ad Timotheum apostolus ait: *Non secundum opera nostra, sed secundum suum propositum et gratiam, quae data est nobis in Christo Iesu ante saecula aeterna, manifestata autem nunc per adventum salvatoris nostri*. Datam dixit gratiam quando nec erant adhuc quibus daretur, quoniam in dispositione ac praedestinatione dei iam factum erat quod suo tempore futurum fuerat, quod esse dicit manifestatum. Quamvis haec possint intellegi et de terra futuri saeculi, quando erit *caelum novum et terra nova*, in qua iniusti habitare non poterunt. Et ideo recte dicitur piis quod ipsa sit terra eorum quae ulla ex parte non erit impiorum, quia et ipsa similiter data est, quando danda firmata est". *De Doctrina Christiana* 3,34.49, CSEL 80, pars VI, 111-112. See also *Retractationes* 1,3, CCL 57,12-13.

The idea of crushing the wicked is expressed strongly in *Sermo* 161,3. The concept of the wicked is extended to all sorts of sinners¹⁰³. Augustine does this by juxtaposing 1 Cor. 6,9-10: "Do you not know that the unrighteous will not inherit the kingdom of God? Do not be deceived: neither the immoral, nor idolaters, nor adulterers, nor the greedy, nor the drunkards, nor revilers, nor robbers will inherit the kingdom of God", and Ps. 33,16: "The face of the Lord is against the evil doers to cut off the remembrance of them from the earth", and Ps. 141,6: "You are my hope, my portion in the land of the living". This land of the living is already an issue and can be decided at present: "Eligat modo qui talis est, ubi desideret habitare, cum tempus est ut possit mutari".

"What is the meaning of the statement: 'The face of the Lord is against the evil doers to cut off the remembrance of them from the earth?' (Ps. 33,16). There is another land where the unchaste do not dwell; there is another land in the kingdom of God. 'Do not be deceived. No fornicators ... nor evil doers will possess the kingdom of God' (1 Cor. 6,9-10). This means that he will cut off remembrance of them from the earth (Ps. 33,16). For many doing such evil deeds place hope in themselves. On account of those who while living depravedly, place hope in themselves with regard to living in the kingdom of God, where they will not enter, the following statement has been made: 'He will cut off the remembrance of them from the earth' (Ps. 33,16). For there will be a new heaven and a new earth (Is. 65,17; Is. 66,22; 2 Pet. 3,13) which the righteous will inhabit. The ungodly, the evil, and the wicked are not allowed to dwell there. Choose now as you are where you long to live while there is time for you to change!"¹⁰⁴.

¹⁰³ Other related references are the following: *En. in Ps.* 87,15, CCL 39,1220: nulla ibi erit adversitas; *En. in Ps.* 124,8, CCL 40,1842: Ubi destruetur omnis potentatus, et omnis potestas, ut sit Deus omnia in omnibus. *De Civitate Dei* 22,3, CSEL 40(2),585: On Is. 65,17. All the wicked will be excluded from living in the new heaven and the new earth.

¹⁰⁴ "Quid est quod dicitur, quia *Vultus Domini super facientes mala, ut perdat de terra memoriam eorum?* est alia terra ubi non est impudicus, est alia terra in regno Dei. *Nolite errare: neque fornicatores, neque idolis servientes, neque adulteri, neque molles, neque masculorum concubitores, neque fures, neque avari, neque ebriosi, neque maledici regnum Dei possidebunt.* Hoc est, perdet de terra memoriam eorum. Multi enim talia committentes, spem sibi ponunt: propter eos qui perditte viventes spem sibi ponunt in regno Dei, quo non accessuri sunt, dictum est *Perdet de terra memoriam eorum.* Erit enim coelum novum, et terra nova, quam iusti inhabitabunt. Ibi impii, ibi mali, ibi nequissimi habitare non sinuntur. Eligat modo qui talis est, ubi desideret habitare, cum tempus est ut possit mutari". *Sermo* 161,3, PL 38,879. See also *Retractationes* 1,4, CCL 57,13-15.

4. A safe place to live with the beasts

The Augustinian eschaton is a place where human beings live safely together with beasts. Augustine's reasoning is as follows: Before the Fall human beings had a dominion over and a friendly relationship with the beasts. In *Contra Julianum* 1,6.25¹⁰⁵ Augustine appeals to the support of John Chrysostom¹⁰⁶ in order to prove to Julian that beasts became harmful to human beings as a punishment for sin. This presupposes that beasts were friendly to human beings in the beginning. Legend presented Eve as having conversation with a serpent. Adam's naming of the beasts presented to him (Gen. 2,19) signifies friendship. Our first parents shared common food with the beasts.

"For were the beasts already harmful to man unless this happened through sin? As it is related later the man gave names to all the beasts presented to him (Gen. 2,19). And on the sixth day man and beasts received common food by the order of the words of God"¹⁰⁷.

But even after the Fall human beings did not lose the ability to tame beasts. Since they still have this ability, how much more will they possess it when they have been justified fully? Augustine sees the future realization of man's full dominion over the beasts as part of the divine plan.

"If after man's condemnation he still retains dominion over many beasts, although he can be killed by them because he has become physically weak, yet he cannot be dominated by any of them since he is able to tame very many and almost all of them. If, therefore, this condemnation of man has this effect, what is to be expected of dominion that is promised to him after he has been renewed and justified?"¹⁰⁸.

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¹⁰⁵ *Contra Julianum* 1,6.25, PL 44,657.

¹⁰⁶ See *In Genesim I, Homilia* 9.4, PG 53,78-79.

¹⁰⁷ "Numquid enim bestiae iam in hominem saeviebant, quod nisi peccato non fieret? Ipse quippe bestiis omnibus ad se adductis, sicut post commemoratur, nomina inposuit, ipse etiam sexta die lege verbi dei cum omnibus communes cibos accepit". *De Genesi ad Litteram* 8,10, CSEL 28(1),246. A similar idea is expressed in *De Vera Religione* 45,84, CCL 32,243.

¹⁰⁸ "Sed si damnatio ejus tantum valet, ut tam multis pecoribus imperet: quamvis enim a multis feris propter fragilitatem corporis possit occidi, a nullis tamen domari potest, cum ipse tam multas et prope omnes domet: si ergo haec hominis damnatio tantum valet, quid de regno ejus cogitandum est, quod ei renovato et liberato divina voce promittitur?". *De Genesi contra Manichaeos* 1,18.29, PL 34,187.