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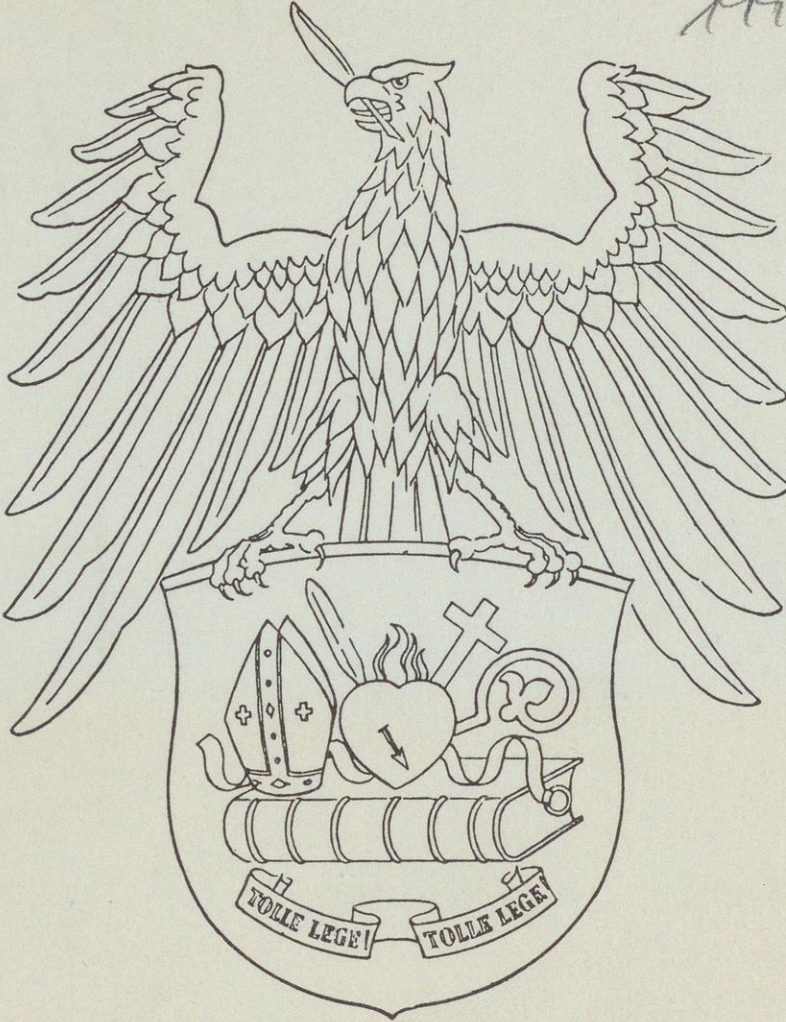


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# AUGUSTINIANA

TIJDSCHRIFT VOOR DE STUDIE    REVUE POUR L'ÉTUDE DE  
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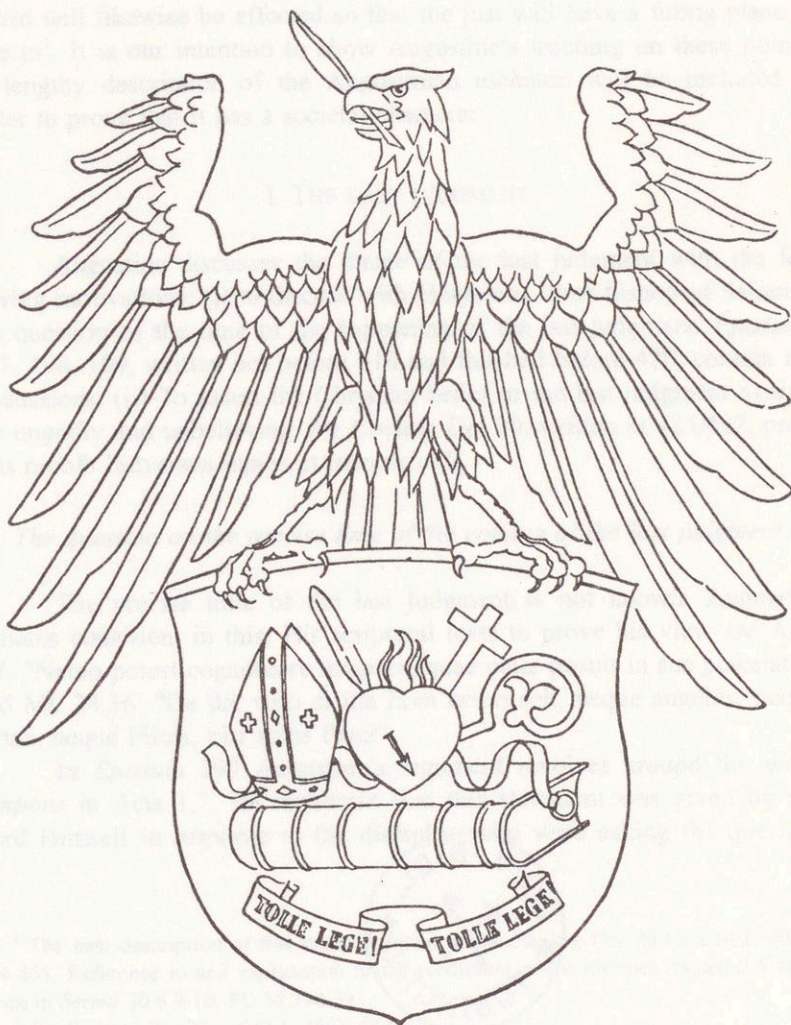


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# THE COMING OF THE NEW COSMOS

## 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 in<sup>1</sup>. 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"<sup>2</sup>.

### *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

<sup>1</sup> 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.

<sup>2</sup> *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"<sup>3</sup>.

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"<sup>4</sup>.

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 9,24-27<sup>5</sup>. 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".

<sup>3</sup> "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.

<sup>4</sup> "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.

<sup>5</sup> 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 opinions<sup>6</sup>.

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 come<sup>7</sup>. 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

<sup>6</sup> *Epistula* 197,5, CSEL 57,234.

<sup>7</sup> *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 world<sup>8</sup>. 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"<sup>9</sup>.

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.

<sup>8</sup> *De Civitate Dei* 20,16, CSEL 40(2),465.

<sup>9</sup> "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)<sup>10</sup>.

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 wicked<sup>11</sup>.

### *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)<sup>12</sup>. That judgment will take place at the time of the rising of the dead (Mt. 12,41.42; Rev. 20, 11f.)<sup>13</sup>. 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)<sup>14</sup>. '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-

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

<sup>11</sup> *De Civitate Dei* 20,1, CSEL 40(2),425.

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

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

<sup>14</sup> 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"<sup>15</sup>.

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)<sup>16</sup>.

Jesus will come to judge in the body in which he was judged (Jo. 5,27-29)<sup>17</sup>. 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 punishment<sup>18</sup>.

Judgment will be passed both on those found alive by Christ and on those who have died and risen (Rev. 20,13 and 14)<sup>19</sup>. 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 found<sup>20</sup>. 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)<sup>21</sup>.

<sup>15</sup> "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.

<sup>16</sup> 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.

<sup>17</sup> *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.

<sup>18</sup> *De Civitate Dei* 20,8, CSEL 40(2),444.

<sup>19</sup> *De Civitate Dei* 20,15, CSEL 40(2),463.

<sup>20</sup> "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.

<sup>21</sup> "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)<sup>22</sup>. 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)<sup>23</sup>. The transformation of the present world will bring them also liberation from the presence of the wicked (2 Pet. 3,3-13)<sup>24</sup>.

*c. On the coming of the Antichrist*

Paul calls the day of judgment 'The day of the Lord' (2 Thes. 2,2)<sup>25</sup>. Prior to this day the Antichrist<sup>26</sup>, 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"<sup>27</sup>.

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

<sup>23</sup> *De Civitate Dei* 20,16, CSEL 40(2),466.

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

<sup>25</sup> *De Civitate Dei* 20,19, CSEL 40(2),471.

<sup>26</sup> 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.

<sup>27</sup> "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-corpus* unity in the Total Christ<sup>28</sup>. 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)<sup>29</sup>. Then all will rise, some to eternal life and others to shame and eternal disgrace (Dan. 12,1-3)<sup>30</sup>. In the words of Isaiah, some will rise to perfect health (Is. 26, 19,LXX)<sup>31</sup> 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)<sup>32</sup>, 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)<sup>33</sup>.

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.

<sup>28</sup> 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*".

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

<sup>30</sup> *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.

<sup>31</sup> *De Civitate Dei* 20,21, CSEL 40(2),479.

<sup>32</sup> *De Civitate Dei* 20,21, CSEL 40(2),481.

<sup>33</sup> *De Civitate Dei* 20,21, CSEL 40(2),482.



execute judgment both on the just and the unjust (Ps. 49,3-5,LXX)<sup>34</sup>. 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"<sup>35</sup>. This sort of punishment resembles that one described in Is. 4, 4<sup>36</sup>. 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 sins<sup>37</sup>. 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)<sup>38</sup>. 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

<sup>34</sup> *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.

<sup>35</sup> *De Civitate Dei* 20,25, CSEL 40(2),496.

<sup>36</sup> *De Civitate Dei* 20,25, CSEL 40(2),496.

<sup>37</sup> *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?*".

<sup>38</sup> *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)<sup>39</sup>. 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"<sup>40</sup>.

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 Christ<sup>41</sup>. 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 Jerusalem<sup>42</sup>. 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

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

<sup>40</sup> "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.

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

<sup>42</sup> *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)<sup>43</sup>.

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"<sup>44</sup>.

## 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 new<sup>45</sup>. Augustine maintains that this world will be transformed in order to provide a fitting place for spiritual man to live in<sup>46</sup>.

### 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"<sup>47</sup>. 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

<sup>43</sup> "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.

<sup>44</sup> *De Civitate Dei* 20,30, CSEL 40(2),509.

<sup>45</sup> 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.

<sup>46</sup> The reader is referred to note 1, p. 5.

<sup>47</sup> *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*<sup>48</sup>.

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"<sup>49</sup>.

He defends this position later against Porphyry's denial<sup>50</sup>. 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 return<sup>51</sup>. 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

<sup>48</sup> "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.

<sup>49</sup> "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.

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

<sup>51</sup> 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 integrity<sup>52</sup>."

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

<sup>52</sup> 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"<sup>53</sup>. 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"<sup>54</sup>.

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"<sup>55</sup>.

<sup>53</sup> 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.

<sup>54</sup> "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 credibilis, vel in isto imo caelo futurum sit, utique mirabilis quam nunc fit". *De Civ. Dei* 20,24, CSEL 40(2),492.

<sup>55</sup> "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)<sup>56</sup>.

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 collective<sup>57</sup>. 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?"<sup>58</sup>.

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

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

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

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 155-156. Emphasis added.



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

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"<sup>60</sup>. 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 Milan<sup>61</sup>.

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,

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

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 145. R.J. O'CONNEL maintains that Augustine could have read Plotinus in a translation by MARIUS VICTORINUS AFER. 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.

<sup>61</sup> 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"<sup>62</sup>.

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 gods<sup>63</sup>.

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"<sup>64</sup>.

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

<sup>62</sup> W.R. INGE, *The Philosophy of Plotinus*, p. 161.

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

<sup>64</sup> 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 body<sup>65</sup>. That intermediary state is the society of souls hoping to be reunited with their bodies<sup>66</sup>. 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"<sup>67</sup>.

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

<sup>65</sup> B. DE MARGERIE, *Futura Vita Aeterna Sanctorum*, p. 146.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 143-144.

<sup>67</sup> *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"<sup>68</sup>.

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"<sup>69</sup>. 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 mother<sup>70</sup>. 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"<sup>71</sup>.

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

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 157.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 162.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 163.

<sup>71</sup> "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.



dus. 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 woman<sup>72</sup>. 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)"<sup>73</sup>.

<sup>72</sup> B. DE MARGERIE, *Futura Vita Aeterna Sanctorum*, p. 163-164.

<sup>73</sup> "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"<sup>74</sup>. 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)"<sup>75</sup>.

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.

<sup>74</sup> *De Bono Coniugali* 1,1, CSEL 41,187.

<sup>75</sup> "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)"<sup>76</sup>.

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.

<sup>76</sup> "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 ..." <sup>77</sup>.

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!" <sup>78</sup>.

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

<sup>77</sup> "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*.

<sup>78</sup> "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"<sup>79</sup>.

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

<sup>79</sup> "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.*



Plotinus<sup>80</sup>. 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 remain<sup>81</sup>, 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

<sup>80</sup> 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.

<sup>81</sup> *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"<sup>82</sup>.

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"<sup>83</sup>.

### 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

<sup>82</sup> "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.

<sup>83</sup> "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) ..." <sup>84</sup>.

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 ..." <sup>85</sup>.

<sup>84</sup> "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.

<sup>85</sup> "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 cantici 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 power<sup>86</sup>. 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) ..."<sup>87</sup>.

*Tractatus* 65,1, CCL 36,491.

<sup>86</sup> 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.

<sup>87</sup> "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)"<sup>88</sup>.

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?"<sup>89</sup>.

<sup>88</sup> " ... 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.

<sup>89</sup> "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)"<sup>90</sup>.

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 eternity<sup>91</sup>. 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.

<sup>90</sup> "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.

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



love and we shall praise"<sup>92</sup>.

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 ...

<sup>93</sup>

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,

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

<sup>93</sup> "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)<sup>94</sup>.

## 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

<sup>94</sup> "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"<sup>95</sup>.

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"<sup>96</sup>.

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-

<sup>95</sup> "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.

<sup>96</sup> *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 sacrifice<sup>97</sup>. 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 implens 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

<sup>97</sup> "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"<sup>98</sup>.

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

<sup>98</sup> "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 habitat 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'.<sup>99</sup>

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 ..."<sup>100</sup>

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)"<sup>101</sup>.

<sup>99</sup> *De Civitate Dei* 20,17, CSEL 40(2),466.

<sup>100</sup> "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.

<sup>101</sup> "Quando ergo absorpta fuerit mors in victoriam, non erunt ista; et erit pax plena et aeterna. Erimus in quadam 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"<sup>102</sup>.

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.

<sup>102</sup> "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 sinners<sup>103</sup>. 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!"<sup>104</sup>.

<sup>103</sup> 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.

<sup>104</sup> "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* 1,6.25<sup>105</sup> Augustine appeals to the support of John Chrysostom<sup>106</sup> 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"<sup>107</sup>.

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?"<sup>108</sup>.

Iloilo City

Mamerto ALFECHE, O.S.A.

<sup>105</sup> *Contra Julianum* 1,6.25, PL 44,657.

<sup>106</sup> See *In Genesim I, Homilia* 9.4, PG 53,78-79.

<sup>107</sup> "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.

<sup>108</sup> "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.



## LE "MODICUM LUMEN" ET L'ÉTINCELLE

‡ 335 Lecture de "Confessions" X,23,33

À la fin du livre X de ses *Confessions*, méditant sur la mémoire, son rôle dans l'existence humaine, sa relation à Dieu, Augustin en vient à considérer les liens qu'elle entretient avec la vie heureuse. Constatant que la quête de Dieu (X,20,29) est identique à l'universelle recherche du bonheur (X,20,31), il s'interroge alors sur les erreurs d'appréciations des hommes sur ce sujet, en ces termes:

"Pourquoi ne sont-ils pas heureux? C'est que d'autres choses les accaparent plus fortement et les rendent plus malheureux que ne les rend heureux le faible souvenir de la vérité. *Il y a encore, en effet, un peu de lumière sur les hommes; qu'ils marchent, qu'ils marchent de peur que les ténèbres ne les saisissent*"<sup>1</sup>.

Les éditeurs des *Confessions* renvoient à un passage de l'*Évangile de Jean*: 12,35<sup>2</sup>. Cependant le texte grec de l'*Évangile*, ainsi que la traduction communément reçue ne donnent pas le même sens pour ce passage:

"Εἶπεν οὖν αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἔτι μικρὸν χρόνον τὸ φῶς <ἐν ὑμῖν> ἐστίν. περιπατεῖτε ὡς τὸ φῶς ἔχετε, ἵνα μὴ σκοτία ὑμᾶς καταλάβῃ καὶ ὁ περιπατῶν ἐν τῇ σκοτίᾳ οὐκ οἶδεν ποῦ ὑπάγει."

La Vulgate traduit quant à elle:

"Dixit ergo eis Jesus: Adhuc modicum, lumen in uobis est. Ambulate dum lucem habetis, ut non uos tenebras comprehendant: et qui ambulat in tenebris,

<sup>1</sup> *Conf.* X,23,33, trad. E. TRÉHOREL et G. BOUISSOU, B.A. 14, p. 203: "Cur ergo non de illa gaudent? Cur non beati sunt? Quia fortius occupantur in aliis, quae potius eos faciunt miseros quam illud beatos, quod tenuiter meminerunt. Adhuc enim modicum lumen est in hominibus; ambulent, ambulent, ne tenebrae comprehendant".

<sup>2</sup> Les autres traducteurs des *Confessions* hésitent entre plusieurs possibilités. Par exemple, certains renvoient directement au texte de l'*Évangile de Jean*, interprétant comme celui-ci: *encore un peu de temps*; V. J. BOURKE, *Saint Augustine Confessions*, New York, 1953, traduit: "Yet a little while the light is [John 12:35] in men..."; A. Augustinus *Bekenntnisse*, trad. K. FLASCH, Stuttgart, 1989: "Noch ist das Licht für eine kleine Weile bei den Menschen". D'autres suivent le sens retenu par la B.A.; *Obras de San Agustín*. Edición crítica y anotada por el R.P. A. C. VEGA, Madrid 1946: "Pues todavía hay un poco de luz en los hombres..."; C. J. PERL, *Dreizehn Büchern Bekenntnisse*, München-Paderborn-Wien, 1964: "Denn es ist anfangs nur ein schwaches Licht bei den Menschen...". Le sens de ce passage semble donc bien être reçu différemment par les traducteurs.



nescit quo uadat<sup>3</sup>.

La *vetus italica* donne l'interprétation suivante:

"Dixit ergo eis Jesus: Adhuc modicum tempus, lux in uobis est. Ambulate dum lucem habetis, ut non tenebrae vos comprehendant. Si quis ambulat in tenebris, nescit quo vadat"<sup>4</sup>.

En outre dans ses *Homélies sur l'Évangile de saint Jean*, Augustin suit le texte de la *Vulgate* qu'il interprète en ce sens:

"*Jésus leur dit donc: Pour un peu de temps encore la Lumière est parmi vous (Io. 12,35). C'est par elle que vous comprenez que le Christ demeure éternellement. Marchez donc tant que vous avez la Lumière pour que les ténèbres ne vous saisissent pas (Io. 12,35). Marchez, avancez, comprenez tout ensemble et que le Christ mourra et qu'il vivra éternellement, qu'il va verser son sang pour nous racheter et qu'il va monter au ciel pour nous y conduire. Mais les ténèbres vous saisiront si vous croyez à l'éternité du Christ en niant en lui l'humilité de la mort*"<sup>5</sup>.

Si, en outre, l'on remarque que le texte de *Conf. X,23,33* et celui de *In Iohan. ev. LII,13* représentent les seules citations de la première partie du verset 35 du chapitre 12 de l'*Évangile de Jean*, dans toute l'oeuvre d'Augustin<sup>6</sup>, le sens du passage proposé par les *Confessions* prend alors un relief particulièrement important. Deux solutions seraient alors possibles. Soit il faudrait interpréter le texte conformément au passage de l'*Évangile de Jean* et rendre à *modicum* son sens adverbial, ce que la structure même de la phrase ne semble pas pouvoir permettre<sup>7</sup>; soit il faut

<sup>3</sup> *Novum Testamentum Graece et Latine*, édition E. NESTLE, 22<sup>e</sup> éd. Londres 1963/1969.

<sup>4</sup> *Biblorum sacrorum latinae versiones antiquae seu vetus italica*. D. Petri SABATIER, Paris, 1751, Tome 3, p. 451.

<sup>5</sup> *Homélies sur l'Évangile de Saint Jean*, LII,13, B.A. 73b, p. 341-342, traduction, introduction et notes par M. F. BERROUARD, Études Augustiniennes, 1989: "Dixit ergo eis Jesus: Adhuc modicum lumen in uobis est. Hinc est quod intellegitis quia Christus manet in aeternum. Ergo ambulate dum lucem habetis ut non tenebrae uos comprehendant. Ambulate, accedite, totum intellegite et moriturum Christum et uicturum in aeternum et sanguinem fusurum quo redimat et adscensurum in sublimia quo perducatur. Tenebrae autem uos comprehendunt si eo modo credideritis Christi aeternitatem ut negetis in eo mortis humilitatem". Le même passage sera repris en résumé *tract. LIII,1*, pour le sens qu'Augustin donne à ce texte voir B.A. 73A, 1989, p. 50 et sq.

<sup>6</sup> La succession des termes *modicum* et *lumen* ne se retrouve que trois fois dans l'oeuvre d'Augustin: *Conf. X,23,33*, *In Iohan. Eu. LII,13* et *LIII,1*; textes que nous venons de citer. Voir *Thesaurus Patrum Latinorum*, *Thesaurus Augustinianus*, Brepols-Turnhout, 1989.

<sup>7</sup> Je tiens à remercier mon collègue Chr. Fournier pour les remarques suivantes qu'il m'a aimablement communiquées: "En reprenant dans *Confessions X,23,33* la formulation de l'*Évangile de Jean* 12,35: "ἔτι μικρὸν χρόνον τὸ φῶς ἐν ὑμῖν ἔστιν", Augustin fait subir à la traduction usuelle latine du groupe nominal "ἔτι μικρὸν χρόνον" une



conserver l'interprétation proposée par E. Tréhorel et G. Bouissou et reprise par d'autres traducteurs<sup>8</sup>. Dans ce cas il est nécessaire de s'interroger sur le sens de ce "peu de lumière" qui se trouve encore "dans les hommes", étant donné qu'il s'écartere de la lecture classique du passage évangélique. Si le sens que lui donne Augustin est facile à saisir, le contexte dans lequel il se trouve est sans doute riche en réminiscences pouvant nous renseigner sur la manière dont les schémas de pensée augustiniens se constituent.

### I. SITUATION DANS LE LIVRE X

La citation donnée dans le livre X des *Confessions* se caractérise par deux changements par rapport au texte évangélique. D'une part *modicum* se rapporte à *lumen*, ensuite ce "peu de lumière" n'éclaire pas les seuls disciples, mais se répand *in hominibus*. Ceci implique que la lumière ne se rapporte plus seulement à Jésus présent à ses disciples et leur annonçant sa montée à Jérusalem et sa passion; mais confère à *lumen* une dimension universelle. Ce *modicum lumen* est présent sur ou dans tous les hommes. La citation évangélique prend, dès lors, une nouvelle dimension. La lumière continue de porter une valeur sotériologique, mais celle-ci est

modification syntaxique et stylistique intéressante. L'expression *adhuc modicum* est en effet largement attestée pour traduire à elle seule le groupe nominal grec correspondant "ἐτι μικρὸν χρόνον"; elle constitue même un tour courant et répandu de la latinité chrétienne: Blaise la cite en exemple à l'article *modicum* de son *Dictionnaire des auteurs chrétiens* en faisant référence à Jérôme. Or cette expression ne paraît exister dans ce sens, ni dans aucun autre, à travers l'oeuvre d'Augustin: ainsi sur un bref ensemble de 44 emplois de *modicum* relevés dans des ouvrages différents, dont 20 dans les *Sermons*, on observe aucune occurrence d'une succession *adhuc modicum* à valeur circonstancielle ou adverbiale. Mais surtout, ici, ce tour usuel, donc quasiment figé, est en quelque sorte brisé par la place de la conjonction de coordination *enim*: celle-ci en effet, selon une règle stylistique et grammaticale constante que rappelle la *Syntaxe latine* de ERNOUT-THOMAS (éd. Klincksieck, 1953, § 435, p. 453), ne vient pas d'ordinaire s'insérer entre des "termes étroitement unis et formant des groupes difficiles à dissocier"; dans ce cas, elle ne peut qu'occuper "la troisième place". Une expression courante telle que *adhuc modicum* n'échapperait pas à cette règle. On est donc en droit d'estimer que si Augustin avait voulu user du tour *adhuc modicum* avec son sens habituel, il n'en aurait pas dissocié les deux "termes étroitement unis" par une conjonction de coordination et ce en raison d'une règle stylistique à l'usage bien établi. Il s'ensuit alors que le terme *modicum* n'a plus rien à voir ici, pour la syntaxe et pour le sens, avec l'adverbe *adhuc*. D'adverbe qu'il était lui-même, *modicum* devient adjectif qualificatif, épithète du nom neutre *lumen*, ce qui crée ainsi un tour personnel à l'auteur.

<sup>8</sup> Voir note 2; la même traduction est retenue aussi par P. DE LABRIOLLE: "faible lumière", Les Belles Lettres, 1961, ou encore J. B. COIGNARD, Paris, 1687.



étendue à toute l'humanité et semble plus appartenir à la nature humaine qu'au petit nombre de disciples. La métaphore n'est plus seulement liée à Jésus, en son humanité, cheminant avec ses disciples et se révélant comme Fils du Père avant de souffrir l'humiliation de la crucifixion comme l'interprète Augustin dans le *tractatus* LII; mais elle semble englober aussi le maître intérieur, le *logos* qui "illumine tout homme venant en ce monde". La lumière dont il est ici question reprend à la fois une dimension sotériologique et philosophique.

Sa situation dans le livre X permettra d'en mieux saisir la saveur. Augustin se trouve à la fin de sa méditation sur la mémoire, qui n'est en fait qu'une ample remontée vers Dieu à travers les puissances de l'esprit<sup>9</sup>, en particulier celle de la mémoire. Celle-ci joue un rôle important car Augustin non seulement s'interroge sur sa puissance (*Conf.* X,8,15 et sq.), l'assimile à l'esprit (*Conf.* X,14,21), mais encore se demande quelle est sa relation à Dieu. La mémoire joue enfin un rôle essentiel en ce qu'elle introduit le passage de l'*Évangile de Jean* et qu'elle est particulièrement liée à la vérité. Lumière<sup>10</sup>, mémoire<sup>11</sup>, recherche de la vérité<sup>12</sup>, remontée vers Dieu<sup>13</sup>, quête de la vie heureuse<sup>14</sup>, autant de thèmes qui tissent autour de ce passage un contexte platonicien qui n'est pas explicitement affirmé mais qui reste cependant réellement présent.

Enfin les lignes qui précèdent l'allusion à la lumière semblent bien en donner un résumé particulièrement significatif. Augustin y évoque d'une part la tension vécue par l'homme entre la vérité et "ces autres choses" qui accaparent son attention: les réalités sensibles<sup>15</sup>; d'autre part il précise qu'en l'homme se trouve un "faible souvenir", allusion qui semble reprendre le thème de la réminiscence platonicienne, qu'il "corrige", en quelque sorte, par une citation évangélique situant ce faible souvenir en son ordre propre: celui de l'illumination, que le *De magistro* a déjà très clairement et fortement élaborée. Ensuite l'allusion au pèlerinage inachevé de l'homme reprend à la fois le thème de la remontée vers Dieu et la métaphore du chemin. Enfin la suite immédiate de ce passage fait allusion à l'orgueil de ceux qui ne veulent pas être jugés par la Vérité, mais préten-

<sup>9</sup> Voir *Conf.* X,6,8-7,11.

<sup>10</sup> Voir par exemple PORPHYRE, *Ad. Marc.* 13, 20, 26; *Sent.* 29.

<sup>11</sup> Voir par exemple PORPHYRE, *Ad. Marc.* 10, 20.

<sup>12</sup> Voir par exemple PORPHYRE, *Ad. Marc.* 14, 20, 24, 26.

<sup>13</sup> Voir par exemple PORPHYRE, *De abstinencia* I,30.

<sup>14</sup> Voir par exemple PORPHYRE, *Ad. Marc.* 39, 30, 33; *De abstinencia* I,29.

<sup>15</sup> Voir sur ce point P. HADOT, *Porphyre et Victorinus*, I, Études Augustiniennes, 1968, p. 89-91.



dent porter sur elle un jugement définitif: reproche qu'Augustin fait de manière constante aux philosophes<sup>16</sup>.

Ainsi trois images évangéliques classiques qui forment le centre de la prédication augustinienne, le *chemin*, la *vérité*, la *vie heureuse*, se trouvent de manière très fine et élégante associées à des souvenirs philosophiques. La lumière est bien celle du Verbe, mais elle vient assumer et conforter celle qui se trouve en (ou sur) chaque homme par sa nature. Ce *modicum lumen* par son caractère unique dans l'oeuvre d'Augustin présente, semble-t-il, un cas assez exceptionnel permettant de saisir *in uiuo* la manière dont il pense et travaille.

## II. DE VERA RELIGIONE XLII,79 ET LII,101

Si ce passage des *Confessions* semble se référer à *Jn.* 12,35 dans son ensemble, Augustin fait, par ailleurs, référence à la seconde partie de ce verset en l'associant à d'autres citations évangéliques. Par exemple en *De vera religione*, évoquant le retour à Dieu grâce à la raison, il écrit:

"Marchons donc, tant qu'il fait jour, c'est-à-dire qu'il nous est loisible d'user de la raison pour nous tourner vers Dieu et mériter l'illumination de son Verbe, qui est la vraie lumière, afin que '*la nuit ne nous saisisse pas*'" (*Jean* XII,35). Le jour, c'est la présence de cette lumière '*qui illumine tout homme venant en ce monde*' (*Id.* I,9). Le texte porte: '*homme*', c'est-à-dire capable de se servir de sa raison et de prendre appui pour se relever sur la place où il tombe"<sup>17</sup>.

L'intérêt de ce texte est multiple. D'une part il évolue dans un contexte proche de celui des *Confessions*: un retour vers Dieu, à travers la raison, alors que le texte des *Confessions* évoque la mémoire. Plus précisément, Augustin s'intéresse ici aux trois concupiscences fondamentales<sup>18</sup>: la sensualité, l'orgueil, la curiosité, qui nourriront sa méditation dans la suite du livre X. Dans le texte du *De vera religione*, l'activité de la raison se présente comme étant le meilleur remède contre la sensualité. Le second inté-

<sup>16</sup> Voir par exemple le récit de la conversion de Marius Victorinus, *Conf.* VIII,2,3, *B.A.* 14 p. 15 et sq.; et aussi G. MADEC, *La délivrance de l'esprit (Confessions VII)*, dans *Le Confessioni di Agostino d'Ippona, Libri VI-IX*, Palerme, 1985, p. 45-69.

<sup>17</sup> *De vera religione* XLII,79, *B.A.* 8, 1982, introduction, traduction et notes par J. PEGON, mise à jour par G. MADEC: "Ambulemus ergo dum diem habemus, id est, dum ratione uti possumus, ut ad Deum conuersi, Verbo eius, quod uerum lumen est illustrati, mereamur, ne nos tenebrae comprehendant (*Joan.* XII,35). Dies est enim praesentia illius luminis quod 'illuminauit omnem hominem uenientem in hunc mundum' (*Id.* I,9). 'Hominem' dixit, quia ratione uti potest, et ubi cecidit, ibi incumbere ut surgat" (142).

<sup>18</sup> Voir O. DU ROY, *L'intelligence de la foi en la Trinité selon saint Augustin, genèse de sa théologie trinitaire jusqu'en 391*, Études augustinienes, 1966, p. 343 et sq.



rêt de ce passage est de venir éclairer le sens de *modicum lumen*. La lumière dont parle Augustin en *Conf.* X,23,33 participe à l'illumination du Verbe sur les créatures<sup>19</sup>, en particulier grâce à la raison qui, en se tournant vers Dieu, mérite l'illumination, ainsi que le note ce passage. En outre la précision qu'apporte Augustin à propos de *hominem* indique bien qu'il envisage ici la spécificité de l'homme par rapport à l'animal: son caractère raisonnable. Ainsi se comprend mieux le motif pour lequel dans le passage des *Confessions* il remplace le *uobis* qui désignait les apôtres par un *in hominibus* s'adressant à l'ensemble de l'humanité. Dès lors le *modicum lumen* dont l'homme dispose semble bien désigner la raison en ce qu'elle peut participer à l'illumination du Verbe.

Dans la suite du texte du *De vera religione*, à propos de la curiosité, Augustin fera de nouveau allusion à la seconde partie de *Jn.* 12, 35.

"Or si, comme tout le monde l'admet, ce spectacle (beauté des choses) est perçu par le moyen du corps et que l'âme est supérieure au corps, ou bien l'âme d'elle-même, ne percevra rien, ou bien ce qu'elle percevra ne pourra être que plus parfait et supérieur de beaucoup, n'est-ce pas? Bien plus, les objets que nous jugeons nous invitant à considérer ce qui fait la règle de nos jugements, nous nous tournerons des oeuvres d'art vers la norme de l'art et contemplerons cette beauté auprès de laquelle ces objets, beaux par sa bienveillance, ne sont plus que laideur. 'Car les perfections invisibles de Dieu, son éternelle puissance et sa divinité, sont rendues visibles à l'intelligence par le moyen de ses oeuvres' (*Rom.* I,21). Voilà le retour du temporel à l'éternel, la transformation vitale du vieil homme en l'homme nouveau. Qu'y-a-t-il donc qui ne puisse inviter l'homme à la poursuite des vertus, puisque les passions mêmes en sont capables? Que veut la curiosité, sinon la connaissance, laquelle ne peut-être certaine que si elle porte sur des objets éternels et toujours pareils à eux-mêmes? Que veut l'orgueil, sinon la puissance, laquelle a pour but la liberté d'agir, que seule atteint l'âme parfaite, soumise à Dieu et vouée à son règne dans une parfaite charité? Que veut le plaisir charnel, sinon le repos, lequel ne se trouve que là où il n'y a plus aucun besoin ni aucune altération. Evitons donc l'enfer inférieur, ces durs châtiments d'après cette vie, là où tout rappel de la vérité est impossible, parce qu'il n'y a plus de réflexion et plus de réflexion parce qu'il n'y a plus pour la répandre la vraie lumière qui illumine tout homme venant en ce monde. Hâtons-nous donc et marchons tant qu'il fait jour, de peur que l'obscurité ne nous saisisse. Hâtons-nous de nous libérer de

<sup>19</sup> *Jean* I,9 revient souvent dans l'oeuvre d'Augustin, à propos de l'illumination. Dans les *Confessions* il est au moins cité cinq fois: *Conf.* IV,15,25; VIII,6,9; VIII,10,22; IX,4,10; XIII,10,11. Voir aussi la note de F. M. BERROUARD, *La lumière et les lampes*, in *B. A.* 72, p. 762-763.; ou celle de G. MADEC, *La lumière intérieure de la Vérité*, in *B. A.* 6, p. 543-545.



la seconde mort, où il n'est plus personne qui se souviennne de Dieu, et de l'enfer, où personne ne rendra hommage à Dieu"<sup>20</sup>.

Ce texte particulièrement riche<sup>21</sup> appelle plusieurs remarques. D'une part il apparaît comme la conclusion de ce paragraphe et par l'allusion à deux versets évangéliques, il vient en donner le résumé. Comme dans le passage antérieur du *De vera religione*, Jean 12,35 est associé à Jean 1,9. D'autre part les réflexions qu'il contient sont marquées par une influence néo-platonicienne qu'il est possible de préciser. Ainsi le fait que les oeuvres d'art dues à la bienveillance de la Beauté apparaissent comme laides en face de la Beauté elle-même, dresse une opposition entre ce qui vient de l'homme et ce qu'est Dieu lui-même. Ce qui vient de l'homme est beau par la bienveillance divine, mais il apparaît comme laid en face de la norme suprême. Cette affirmation du caractère transcendant de la norme suprême en face de laquelle tout semble laid, liée au fait que tout ce qui possède beauté le tient de la bienveillance de cette norme, se retrouve de manière caractéristique dans la pensée de Porphyre et forme même la question centrale de sa métaphysique: la coordination et l'inco-

<sup>20</sup> *De vera religione* LIII,103, B.A. 8,: "Si autem omnes fatentur per corpus ista senti-ri, et animum meliorem esse quam corpus, nihilne per se animus ipse conspiciet, aut quod conspiciet potest esse, nisi multo excellentius longeque praestantius? Immo uero commemorati ab iis quae iudicamus, intueri quid sit secundum quod iudicamus, et ab operibus artium conuersi ad legem artium, eam speciem mente contuebimur, cuius comparatione foeda sunt quae ipsius benignitate sunt pulchra. 'Inuisibilia enim Dei, a creatura mundi, per ea quae facta sunt, intellecta conspiciuntur, et sempiterna eius uirtus et diuinitas' (Rom. I,20). Haec est a temporalibus ad aeterna regressio, et ex uita ueteris hominis in nouum hominem reformatio. Quid est autem unde homo commemorari non possit ad uirtutes capessendas, quando de ipsis uitis potest? Quid enim appetit curiositas nisi cognitionem, quae certa esse non potest, nisi rerum aeternarum et eodem modo se semper habentium? Quid appetit superbia nisi potentiam quae refertur ad agendi facilitatem, quam non inuenit anima perfecta nisi Deo subdita, et ad eius regnum summa charitate conuersa? Quid appetit uoluptas corporis nisi quietem, quae non est nisi ubi nulla est indigentia et nulla corruptio? Cauendi sunt ergo inferiores inferi, id est post hanc uitam poenae grauior- res, ubi nulla potest esse commemoratio ueritatis, quia nulla ratiocinatio: ideo nulla ratio- cinatio, quia non eam perfundit lumen uerum, quod illuminat omnem hominem uenientem in hunc mundum. Quare festinemus, et ambulemus cum dies praesto est, ne nos tenebrae comprehendant. Festinemus a secunda morte liberari, ubi nemo est qui memor Dei sit, et ab inferno, ubi nemo confitebitur Deo". Les éditeurs ne signalent pas le renvoi à Jean 12, 35 à propos de *ne nos tenebrae comprehendant*, il serait nécessaire de le rajouter en note d'autant qu'il est renforcé par le *ambulemus cum dies praesto est* qui le précède. Il en va de même pour le rappel de Jean 1,9.

<sup>21</sup> Ce passage ne semble pas avoir retenu l'attention de O. Du roy, il n'apparaît pas dans l'index relatif au *De vera religione*, voir *L'intelligence de...*, p. 512-513.



ordination du principe<sup>22</sup>. Ainsi la norme du jugement de la beauté des oeuvres d'art apparaît comme transcendant ces oeuvres qui deviennent laides en comparaison avec elle, mais ces mêmes oeuvres apparaissent belles en tant qu'elles le sont par sa bienveillance, en ce qu'elles sont engendrées par elle. Ainsi la Beauté est incoordonnée, séparée, au-dessus des oeuvres, mais celles-ci apparaissent comme liées à elle en ce qu'elles sont belles par la bienveillance de cette norme. Ainsi que l'écrit P. Hadot:

"Cette doctrine [de la coordination et incoordination du principe] a des conséquences diamétralement opposées. Elle semble d'abord conduire à une affirmation vigoureuse de la transcendance divine: Dieu est sans relation aux choses, nous sommes néant par rapport à Lui, il ne peut y avoir qu'ignorance totale et réciproque entre l'homme et Dieu. Mais en même temps elle permet toute une théologie affirmative: tout ce qui est relatif dans les choses "engendrées" peut être conçu comme existant déjà en Dieu, mais sous un mode absolu. On peut alors imaginer avant l'étant déterminé, l'être pur et absolu, avant la connaissance, une connaissance pure et absolue. Il y aura cette fois continuité entre Dieu et les choses qui viennent après lui"<sup>23</sup>.

C'est sans doute pour cette raison qu'immédiatement vient à l'esprit d'Augustin le verset de l'*Épître aux Romains* qui résume et illustre parfaitement ce point. Les perfections invisibles de Dieu qui manifestent sa transcendance sont rendues visibles à l'homme par les oeuvres même de la divinité. Ainsi tout homme possède en lui une puissance intellectuelle lui permettant d'accéder à cette norme suprême. La même thématique dans le texte précédent du *De vera religione* (XLII,79), et dans *Conf.* X,23,33 se retrouve donc. Le *modicum lumen* représente la capacité intellectuelle de l'homme. La liaison entre ce passage et ce qui précède, n'est pas anodine. Elle résume l'ensemble de l'attitude d'Augustin en face des platoniciens: ils ont une bonne théologie, mais ils n'ont pas su rendre à Dieu la gloire qui lui revient<sup>24</sup>. Ce point est à la fois celui qui est développé par l'Apôtre dans le passage du *De vera religione* (LIII,103) et dans ce qui est développé en *Confessions* X,23,34.

<sup>22</sup> Voir P. HADOT, *La métaphysique de Porphyre*, in *Porphyre*, Entretiens sur l'Antiquité classique, Tome XII, Vandoeuvres-Genève, 1966, p. 128-157.

<sup>23</sup> P. HADOT, *Porphyre et ...* I, p. 140.

<sup>24</sup> Voir sur ce point G. MADEC, *Connaissance de Dieu et action de grâces. Essai sur les citations de l'Ép. aux Romains I, 18-25 dans l'oeuvre de saint Augustin*, dans *Recherches Augustiniennes*, II, 1962, p. 273-309; et aussi sur les relations avec le platonisme, Augustin et le néoplatonisme, dans *Revue de l'Institut Catholique de Paris*, 19, 1986, p. 41-52; Augustin et Porphyre, ébauche d'un bilan des recherches et conjectures, in *SOPHIES MAIETORES, Chercheurs de sagesse, Hommage à Jean Pépin*, Institut d'Études Augustiniennes, Paris, 1992, p. 367-382.



De la sorte Augustin peut montrer quel est le véritable retour vers le principe. Il le fait en incluant la problématique platonicienne dans une formulation chrétienne. La remontée du temporel à l'éternel<sup>25</sup> et la transformation du vieil homme en l'homme nouveau, reprennent la nécessité qu'il y a pour un platonicien de remonter du sensible vers l'intelligible. Le fait qu'Augustin utilise ici le terme *regressio*, la manière dont il le présente: *voilà la remontée*, peut être une réponse discrète, mais non moins ferme, au *De regressu animae* de Porphyre qu'il connaît et qu'il cite dans le *De ciuitate Dei* (X,29). Ainsi l'ensemble de la recherche platonicienne trouve sa réalisation dans l'attitude chrétienne en face du monde et de son Créateur.

Par la suite ce passage retrouve des thèmes présents dans celui de *Conf.* X,23,33: le rappel de la vérité, le rôle de la mémoire et la place qu'y tient la raison. Il est nécessaire pour l'homme de marcher tant qu'il fait jour, car alors il est encore possible de se souvenir de la présence de la vérité en soi, et ceci ne peut se faire que dans l'exercice de la raison (*ratiocinatio*) qui est éclairée par la lumière du Verbe, ce que la citation de *Jean* I,9 montre bien. Ainsi la raison se présente comme cette "petite lumière" qui guide l'homme et se trouve renforcée par la bienveillance du Verbe.

### III. MODICUM LUMEN ET SCINTILLA

À la fin du *De vera religione* LIII,103, Augustin évoque la seconde mort qu'il faut absolument éviter. Une allusion identique se retrouve dans un autre passage associé à un thème proche du *modicum lumen*, celui de l'étincelle (*scintilla*)<sup>26</sup>. Le terme *scintilla* apparaît 13 fois dans l'ensemble de l'oeuvre d'Augustin<sup>27</sup>. Il y est utilisé dans son sens propre<sup>28</sup>, ou de

<sup>25</sup> Voir Th. CAMELOT, *À l'éternel par le temporel*, dans *Revue des Études Augustiniennes*, 3, 1956, p. 163-172.

<sup>26</sup> En *Sermon* 344, *P.L.* 39,1513-1514, Augustin écrit: "Vide ergo, si aliquantum in corde tuo amore euigilauit, si scintilla de cinere carnis emicuit, si aliquid roboris in corde tuo comprehendit, quod uento tentationis non solum non exstinguatur, sed etiam uehementius accendatur: si non ardes ut stupa, quae uno leui flatu exstinguaris; sed ardes ut robur, ardes ut carbo, ut flatu potius exciteris: uide duas mortes, unam temporalem, eandemque primam; alteram sempiternam, et eandem secundam. Prima mors omnibus praeparata est: secunda solis malis, impiis, infidelibus, blasphemis, et quidquid aliud sane doctrinae aduersatur". Le point important de ce passage se trouve dans l'opposition qu'il y a entre l'étincelle et la chair, opposition qui retrouve celle entre le sensible et l'intelligible.

<sup>27</sup> Voir *Thesaurus Patrum Latinorum*, *Thesaurus Augustinianus*, Brepols-Turnhout, 1989. Ces passages sont les suivants: *De ver. Rel.* 38,69; *Sermo* 178 [*P.L.* 38,966 (deux fois)]; 334 (*P.L.* 39,1553); 357 (*P.L.* 39,1584); *In Iohan. eu.* 3,21; 20,12; *Epist.* 118,12,



manière métaphorique. Dans ce cas il peut signifier deux choses. Premièrement la présence au cœur de l'homme d'une étincelle d'amour qu'il doit entretenir et surtout faire grandir. L'étincelle est alors liée au thème du feu, elle est la source de la flamme:

"Si ergo sermo meus inuenit in cordibus uestris aliquam scintillam gratuiti amoris Dei, ipsam nutrite: ad hanc augendam uos aduocate prece, humilitate, dolore poenitentiae, dilectione iustitiae, operibus bonis, gemitibus sinceris, conuersatione laudabili, amicitia fideli. Hanc scintillam boni amoris flate in uobis, nutrite in uobis: ipsa cum creuerit, et flammam dignissimam et amplissimam fecerit, omnium cupiditatum carnalium fena consumit"<sup>29</sup>.

Deuxièmement, l'étincelle caractérise en l'homme la présence de la raison qui doit, elle aussi, non seulement être entretenue en tant que telle, mais croître afin d'atteindre son plein accomplissement et le terme en vue duquel elle a été créée. Le sens de ce mot est alors plus particulièrement lié à la lumière, il signifie alors: un petit éclat de lumière.

Augustin développe cette comparaison en trois occasions. Le premier texte associe encore le thème de l'amour divin avec celui de la raison. L'évêque d'Hippone y tisse une comparaison au sujet du baptême des petits enfants. Lorsqu'ils sont baptisés, l'Esprit Saint est présent en eux, bien qu'ils l'ignorent; tout comme l'est la raison, "petite étincelle", qui sera appelée à se développer:

"Dicimus ergo in baptizatis paruulis, quamuis id nesciant, habitare Spiritum sanctum. Sic enim cum nesciunt quamuis sit in eis, quemadmodum nesciunt et mentem suam; cuius in eis ratio, qua uti nondum possunt, uelut quaedam scintilla sopita est, excitanda aetatis accessu"<sup>30</sup>.

Le second texte se présente en une ambiance qui retrouve celle développée dans le passage des *Confessions* ou dans ceux du *De uera religione*. Lors d'une exhortation à remonter vers Dieu, Augustin passe en revue le corps, les facultés sensibles, et les corps célestes à propos desquels il développe cette comparaison:

"Sans contredit, l'âme par laquelle tu as considéré tout cela est supérieure à tout ce que tu as considéré. Cette âme est donc un esprit, non un corps; dépasse-la elle aussi. Compare d'abord cette âme, pour voir jusqu'où il te faut passer, compare-la à la chair. Mais non, repousse une telle comparaison. Compare-la à la lumière du soleil, de la lune, des étoiles; la lumière de l'âme est

34; 187,26,57; *En. in psal.* 51,7,10; *De ciu. Dei* 22,24,44; *Spec.* 23,129,15b; *Contr. Iul. imp. lib.* 6, 1526, 49A.

<sup>28</sup> Par exemple en *De uera religione* XXXVIII,69, B.A. 8; *En. in Psal.* 51,7.

<sup>29</sup> *Serm.* 178, P.L. 38,966; voir encore *In Johan. eu.* 3,21,2.

<sup>30</sup> *Epist.* 187,26, P.L. 33,841.



supérieure. Considère en premier lieu sa rapidité. Examine si l'éclair (*scintilla*) de l'âme qui pense n'est pas plus vif que la splendeur du soleil qui brille"<sup>31</sup>.

Par la suite, il développe une "dialectique des degrés"<sup>32</sup> fort proche de celle qu'il a plus largement élaborée dans les premiers chapitres du livre X des *Confessions*.

Le troisième texte non seulement identifie l'étincelle à la raison, mais encore précise que par elle, l'homme est image de Dieu.

"Car, depuis que l'homme est déchu par sa désobéissance de cet état de gloire où il avait été créé, il est devenu semblable aux bêtes et engendre comme elles; et toutefois il lui est toujours resté quelque étincelle de raison, par laquelle il a été fait à l'image de Dieu".

Un peu plus loin il précise:

"C'est donc lui [le Créateur] qui a donné à l'âme humaine l'entendement, où la raison et l'intelligence sont comme assoupies dans les enfants, pour se réveiller et s'exercer avec l'âge, afin qu'ils soient capables de connaître la vérité et d'aimer le bien, et qu'ils acquièrent la sagesse et les vertus nécessaires pour combattre les erreurs et les autres vices, et les vaincre par le seul désir de plaire à Dieu"<sup>33</sup>.

D'une part ces courts passages reprennent et résument l'ensemble des éléments liés à la notion d'étincelle. Celle-ci est, soit identique à l'amour de Dieu présent en l'homme, lui permettant de pratiquer les vertus avec l'âge; soit égale à la raison qui assoupie dans l'enfant se réveille avec le temps, devenant capable d'accéder à la vérité et aux réalités intelligibles. Il reprend ainsi les points essentiels que *Conf. X*,23,33 résume de manière lapidaire. D'autre part il se situe dans un environnement nettement lié au

<sup>31</sup> Homélies sur l'Évangile de Saint Jean, XX,12, B.A. 72, p. 258-259, traduction, introduction et notes par M. F. BERROUARD, Études Augustiniennes, 1977: "Sine dubio melior est animus quo ista omnia cogitasti, quam ista omnia quae cogitasti. Animus ergo iste spiritus est, non corpus: transi et ipsum. Compara ipsum animum primo, ut uideas quo transeas, compara illum carni. Absit, ne digneris comparare. Compara illum fulgori solis, lunae, stellarum: maior fulgor est animi. Primo celeritatem animi ipsius uide. Vide si non uehementior scintilla est animi cogitantis quam splendor solis lucentis".

<sup>32</sup> Voir M. F. BERROUARD, note complémentaire 22, p. 753, B.A. 72, dans laquelle il signale les liens que ce passage entretient avec le néoplatonisme.

<sup>33</sup> *De ciu. Dei* XXII,24: "Ex quo enim homo in honore positus, posteaquam deliquit, comparatus est pecoribus, similiter generat: non in eo tamen penitus extincta est quaedam uelut scintilla rationis, in qua factus est ad imaginem Dei". Et plus loin "Ipse itaque animae humanae mentem dedit, ubi ratio et intelligentia in infante sopita est quodammodo, quasi nulla sit, excitanda scilicet atque exserendae aetatis accessu, qua sit scientiae capax et doctrinae, et habilis perceptioni ueritatis et amoris boni: qua capacitate hauriat sapientiam uirtutibusque sit praedita, quibus prudenter, fortiter, temperanter, et iuste, aduersus errores et caetera ingenerata uitia dimicet, eaque nullius rei desiderio nisi boni illius summi atque immutabilis uincat".



néoplatonisme. Augustin y développe l'un des thèmes essentiels de l'Incarnation: la résurrection des morts. Ce point est l'un de ceux sur lesquels il entre volontiers en discussion avec les néo-platoniciens notamment Porphyre qui sera cité en *De civ. Dei* 25.

Ainsi les thèmes liés à l'image utilisée en *Conf. X,23,33 (modicum lumen)*, sont fort proches de ceux développés par celle de l'étincelle. La remontée vers la vérité, la pratique des vertus, le souvenir de ce qui en l'homme le caractérise et fait de lui l'image de Dieu, la nécessité dans laquelle il est de devoir marcher et progresser afin de faire croître en lui cette étincelle, ce "peu de lumière".

#### IV. CICÉRON, SÉNÈQUE ET MARIUS VICTORINUS

L'image de l'étincelle est classique et appartient à la tradition philosophique. Ainsi que le fait remarquer P. Hadot<sup>34</sup>, elle se retrouve non seulement chez Cicéron<sup>35</sup>, mais encore chez Sénèque<sup>36</sup>. Elle est encore présente chez Marius Victorinus dans un passage appartenant au dossier porphyrien que celui-ci utilise en rédigeant son *Adversus Arium*<sup>37</sup>. Cependant une différence existe entre l'utilisation stoïcienne faite par Cicéron ou par Sénèque de cette image et l'enjeu qu'elle recouvre dans la pensée porphyrienne. Comme l'écrit P. Hadot:

"Dans les textes de Cicéron ou de Sénèque, l'image de l'étincelle est rapportée aux 'semences' des vertus innées dans l'âme ou encore à l'origine astrale de l'âme. Chez Victorinus et Synésius, il s'agit de l'étincelle de l'intelligence, demeurant dans l'âme tombée, lui permettant de remonter vers la lumière"<sup>38</sup>.

Ainsi dans l' *Adversus Arium* I,61, Marius Victorinus présente son explication du verset de Gn. I,26: *iuxta imaginem et similitudinem dei*, thème qu'Augustin lie aussi à celui de l'étincelle dans le passage de *De civ. Dei* 22,24 cité antérieurement. Marius Victorinus montre que l'âme créée à l'image de la vie, se détourne du *Noûs*:

"Mais si elle incline vers le bas et se détourne du *Noûs*, c'est elle-même et son

<sup>34</sup> P. HADOT, *Porphyre et ...*, I, p. 184-185.

<sup>35</sup> *De finibus* V,15,43; *Tuscul.* III,1,2; *De leg.* I,12,33; voir P. HADOT, *Porphyre et...*, I, p. 184.

<sup>36</sup> *Epist.* 94,29; *De otio* 5,5; voir P. HADOT, *Porphyre et...*, I, p. 184.

<sup>37</sup> Voir MARIUS VICTORINUS, *Traité théologique sur la Trinité*, S.C. 68, 1960, p. 378-379 et S.C. 69, 1960, commentaire de P. HADOT, p. 882-885. et P. HADOT, *Porphyre et...*, I, p. 184-185.

<sup>38</sup> P. HADOT, *Porphyre et...*, I, p. 184-185; dans les textes d'Augustin précédemment cités, celui-ci associe bien le thème de la "semence des vertus" à celui de l'étincelle identifiée à la raison. Cela montre bien ce qu'il doit à cette double filiation.



propre *Noûs* qu'elle entraîne alors vers le bas: elle devient alors seulement intellectuelle, et n'est plus, comme auparavant intelligible et intellectuelle. Si par contre elle demeure en cet état, elle est la mère des choses qui sont au-dessus du ciel, elle est lumière, non pas la lumière véritable, et pourtant lumière, grâce au *Noûs* qui lui est propre"<sup>39</sup>.

Ainsi l'âme apporte bien en sa descente une lumière qui n'est pas la lumière véritable mais une lumière identifiée à son *noûs* propre. Des thèmes semblables à ceux qu'Augustin développera en *Conf.* X,23,33, se retrouvent donc ici, mais dans un contexte différent. Les hommes attirés par "d'autres choses" et "accaparées par elles", oublient la vérité qui seule peut les rendre heureux. La même descente, le même détournement par rapport au principe se retrouvent. Marius Victorinus reprend un thème porphyrien, Augustin dans une structure parallèle disserte sur la recherche de la vie heureuse et de la vérité. Une même image demeure: celle de la lumière. La lumière véritable dont parle Victorinus se retrouve en écho dans la citation de *Jean* I,9 qu'Augustin associe à la seconde partie du verset de *Jean* 12,35 (*De vera religione*, XLII,79, LII,101); quant au *modicum lumen* de *Conf.* X,22,33, il peut lui aussi renvoyer à cette lumière qui, n'est pas lumière véritable mais est "pourtant lumière", selon l'expression de Victorinus. Par la suite, montrant la puissance vivificatrice de l'âme il poursuit en ces termes:

"En effet puisque l'âme est un *logos*, mais non le *Logos*, puisqu'elle est placée au milieu, d'un côté, des esprits et des intelligibles, d'un autre côté, de la matière, son *Noûs* propre lui permettant de se tourner vers les uns comme vers l'autre, l'âme ou bien devient divine, ou bien descend au plan des seulement intellectuels. En effet, elle ne dépend que de sa propre liberté, et, après avoir été privée de la vraie lumière, elle est ramenée vers elle, grâce à la faible étincelle qui lui en reste: son *Noûs* propre; car elle reste pour le moins, un seulement *existant*"<sup>40</sup>.

<sup>39</sup> MARIUS VICTORINUS, *Traité théologiques sur la Trinité*, S.C. 68, 1960, p. 376, 10-14, trad. P. HADOT: "Vergens autem deorsum et auersa a nôî et se et suum nôun trahit deorsum, intelligens tantum effecta, non iam ut intelligens et intellegibile. Sed si sic perseveraverit, eorum quae super caelum sunt, mater est, lumen, non uerum lumen et quidem cum suo proprio nôî lumen".

<sup>40</sup> Voir MARIUS VICTORINUS, *Traité théologiques sur la Trinité*, S.C. 68, 1960, p. 378, 18-23, trad. P. HADOT: "Etenim cum quidam *logos* sit anima, non *logos*, cumque in medio spirituum et intellegibilium et *tês hulês*, proprio nôî ad utraque conuersa, aut diuina fit aut incorporatur ad intellegentia. Etenim suae licentiae est, et privatione ueri luminis, propter scintillam tenuem proprii *tou nou*, rursum uocatur, quoniam quidem solum *<on>* est". En ce qui concerne les relations entre la hiérarchie des êtres chez Porphyre et la hiérarchie des degrés de la vérité chez Augustin, voir, D. DOUCET, *La vérité, le vrai et la forme du corps. Lecture de saint Augustin: Soliloques II*, 18,32 dans *Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques*, 77 (1993), p. 547-566.



Ce passage vient en quelque sorte compléter les éléments communs entre les textes d'Augustin et ce que Victorinus a déjà écrit. Il parle non seulement de la situation médiane de l'âme, thème classique chez Augustin<sup>41</sup>, mais encore fait mention de l'étincelle qui permet à l'âme de remonter vers la lumière. Cette étincelle est identifiée au *logos*. Chez Augustin, l'étincelle est identifiée à la *ratio*, elle est image de Dieu. Comme le précise le *De vera religione* LII,101, l'activité rationnelle (*ratiocinatio*) qui se souvient de la vérité retrouve le rôle du *modicum lumen* qui est enfoui en chaque homme.

La multiplicité des thèmes communs en des contextes différents peut donc laisser penser qu'Augustin dans le traitement de *Jean* 12,35 en *Conf.* X,23,33, ou encore en *De vera religione* XLII,79 et LII,101, utilise tant ses souvenirs classiques, ses lectures de Cicéron<sup>42</sup> et de Sénèque que des thèmes qu'il a rencontrés lors de sa lecture des *libri platoniorum*<sup>43</sup>.

Ainsi le sens du passage de *Conf.* X,23,33 peut être le témoin de l'ensemble de l'évolution d'Augustin. Ayant rencontré le thème de l'étincelle associé aux "semences de vertus" lors de ses lectures de jeunesse, en particulier Cicéron; ayant retrouvé ce thème associé à la présence en l'homme du *logos*, assimilant ce dernier à une lumière présente en l'homme et lui permettant de remonter vers le principe, lors de sa fréquentation des *libri platoniorum*, ayant en outre lu dans le prologue de l'*Évangile de Jean* que le Verbe est la lumière véritable venue parmi les siens qui ne surent le recevoir selon sa gloire; c'est naturellement que ces thèmes apparentés se recourent et se retrouvent à l'occasion d'une citation évangélique faisant allusion à la lumière présente chez les hommes.

Tout semble pousser Augustin pour qu'il associe *modicum* à *lumen*<sup>44</sup> lors d'un rappel d'une citation évangélique. Citant le texte de mémoire il ne le suit pas à la lettre, mais il retrouve les grandes étapes de sa libération: la lecture de l'*Hortensius*, celle des *libri platoniorum*, sa dé-

<sup>41</sup> Voir G. J. P. O'DALY, *Anima, animus*, dans *Augustinus Lexicon*, Basel, 1988, p. 315-339, en particulier p. 330-331.

<sup>42</sup> Ces différents thèmes se retrouvent dans l'*Hortensius* [ed. A. GRILLI, Milano-Varese, 1962]: la lumière en GRILLI, *frag.* 53; la recherche du bonheur en GRILLI, *frag.* 58-59; celui de la recherche de la vérité en GRILLI, *frag.* 107 à 109.

<sup>43</sup> Nous ne voulons pas ici affirmer qu'Augustin a lu ce passage de Marius Victorinus, mais qu'il a fréquenté des textes développant une même problématique. Ce qui laisserait supposer que les *libri platoniorum* peuvent se présenter sous la forme d'un dossier semblable à celui que P. Hadot a su isoler dans l'oeuvre de Marius Victorinus.

<sup>44</sup> Le *tenuem scintillam* de Marius Victorinus est en tout cas bien proche du *modicum lumen* d'Augustin qui dans la ligne précédente note que les hommes se souviennent de la vérité *tenuiter*.



couverte du Christ. Dès lors réfléchissant sur la quête de la vie heureuse en l'homme, il perçoit les échos de sa propre recherche qu'il unifie et ainsi s'approprie. Les semences des vertus, l'étincelle de la *ratio*, deviennent ce *modicum lumen* que l'homme doit savoir entretenir et faire croître. Il est en l'homme le témoin permanent de son humanité, lui rappelant qu'il ne peut voir son bonheur qu'à la clarté de la véritable lumière.

## V. CONCLUSION

Ce court passage des *Confessions*, apparaît donc comme remarquable à plusieurs points de vues. D'une part, il est isolé dans l'ensemble de l'oeuvre d'Augustin et se présente comme une interprétation unique de la première partie du verset de *Jean* 12,35. Augustin cite sans doute de mémoire le texte et en donne un sens qui n'est pas directement celui du texte évangélique. Cette "citation manquée" prend alors une valeur particulière. D'autre part cette interprétation dévoile de manière très condensée les étapes de la progression d'Augustin. En rapprochant *modicum* de *lumen*, il retrouve en quelque sorte le développement de cette petite lumière présente en lui de par sa nature: la raison, mais aussi grâce à l'éducation maternelle. Augustin avoue en effet avoir connu le nom du Christ dès sa petite enfance<sup>45</sup>. La référence à la marche nécessaire de l'homme pour ne pas se laisser vaincre par les ténèbres évoque sans doute sa propre errance à travers le manichéisme et sa lente sortie vers la véritable lumière à travers une courte adhésion au scepticisme de la nouvelle académie jusqu'à sa rencontre avec les textes platoniciens.

Ainsi le thème de l'étincelle, — Marius Victorinus écrit même une petite étincelle —, se retrouve dans l'évocation d'Augustin d'un *modicum lumen*. Il vient recueillir l'héritage qu'Augustin a puisé dans ses lectures classiques: Cicéron aussi bien que Sénèque; il s'est trouvé renforcé par sa répétition au plan noétique dans les écrits des platoniciens, il s'accomplit enfin dans la lecture de l'apôtre Jean. Car cette lumière de *Jean* I,9, qui *illumine tout homme venant en ce monde*, associée à la seconde partie du verset de *Jean* 12,35, est la même que celle qui est présente *in hominibus*, qu'elle soit celle du Verbe ou encore celle de la raison qui présente en tout homme le guide vers sa source. C'est en définitive le maître intérieur qui assure la cohésion de cette image, il est à la fois celui qui mène vers la vérité, celui qui assure en l'homme le souvenir de cette vérité et celui à la lumière duquel nous voyons la lumière.

Nantes

Dominique DOUCET

<sup>45</sup> Voir *Cont. acad.* II,2,5; *Conf.* I,11,17; III,4,8.







## AUGUSTINE, SERMON 80,7:

*"Quando dormitat oratio?"*

Jerome's *Libellus de virginitate servanda* (Epist. 22) affirms that *sanctis etiam ipse somnus oratio sit* (37,1). In a discussion of this passage evidence has recently been adduced to show that the idea in question was something of a commonplace<sup>2</sup>. In the same connection it was suggested *en passant* that Augustine may also have had the concept of "sleep as prayer" in mind when he asks: *quando dormitat oratio?* (serm. 80,7). This suggestion has now been rejected by Petitmengin<sup>3</sup>: "Augustin n'y fait pas allusion en *serm.* 80,7; il y vise ceux qui s'endorment en priant (cf. *serm.* 362,29: *in ipsis vocibus dormitabit*)". The purpose of the present article is to argue that in neither of these two passages from his sermons is Augustine talking about those who fall asleep while praying; in the first of them the reference would accordingly appear to be to "sleep as prayer" after all.

It will be appropriate to begin with the text adduced by Petitmengin as a putative parallel to the question Augustine asks at *serm.* 80,7; attention can then be devoted to the elucidation of this question itself. When in *serm.* 362,29 Augustine declares that *in ipsis vocibus dormitabit*, Petitmengin supposes a reference to falling asleep at prayer. *Dormitare* can certainly denote "sleep"<sup>4</sup>. However it is equally possible for this verb to have the meaning "to allow one's energy or attention to flag"<sup>5</sup>. In the passage of *serm.* 362 adduced by Petitmengin it can be shown that *dormitare* does indeed bear this second sense.

<sup>1</sup> Works are cited according to *Thesaurus linguae latinae: Index librorum scriptorum inscriptionum*<sup>2</sup>, Leipzig, 1990; the editions used are those in H. J. FREDE, *Kirchenschriftsteller: Verzeichnis und Sigel* [=Kirch.] (*Vetus Latina*, 1/1), Freiburg, 1981, and its *Aktualisierungshefte* (1984 and 1988).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the present writer, *Tertullian in Jerome* (Epist. 22,37,1f.) [=Tert.], in *Symbolae Osloenses* 68 (1993), 129-143 (131f.).

<sup>3</sup> P. PETITMENGIN, rev. of ADKIN, *Tert.*, in *Revue des Études Augustiniennes* 40 (1994), 494f. His reference to "DS, 10, c. 1037-38" (495) should read instead "DS, 14, c. 1037-38".

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *TLL* V, 2034,83f. (1: "fere i. q. dormire"); *OLD* 573 (a: "to feel sleepy, drowse").

<sup>5</sup> So *OLD* 573 (s. v.: b); cf. *TLL* V, 2035,47f. (2a: "ignavum, otiosum, hebetem esse, cessare") and 2035,83 (2b: "incuriosum, neglegentem esse").



There Augustine is describing the after-life. The point is made explicitly that in this resurrectional state there is no such thing as sleep:

"ibi ergo non erit (sc. *somnus*). ubi enim non est mors, nec imago mortis erit".

On the contrary the listener is assured that *semper vigilabit*; his sole occupation will be to utter "Amen" and "Alleluia". Augustine then anticipates a possible misgiving on the part of his audience:

"sed nolite iterum carnali cogitatione contristari, quia si forte aliquis vestrum steterit et dixerit quotidie, Amen et Alleluia, taedio marcescet, et in ipsis vocibus dormitabit, et tacere iam volet".

Here the meaning of *dormitare* is determined by the context. On the one hand "sleep" has been expressly excluded from the after-life. On the other the two formulations which immediately surround the verb provide further evidence for the alternative sense "to allow one's attention to flag". The phrase *taedio marcescet* precedes: while *taedium* denotes "ennui", *marcescere* signifies "to become apathetic"<sup>6</sup>. *Dormitare* is then followed by *et tacere iam volet*. *Tacere* shows that the person in question is still talking, while *volet* indicates an act of volition: both rule out the meaning "sleep" for the antecedent *dormitare*. Here the verb must accordingly refer to inattentiveness, not to those who "s'endorment".

It is true that earlier in the same long paragraph Augustine had employed *dormitare* with the sense of "sleep":

"illud scio, fratres, quod non sumus dormitaturi vacando, quia et ipse somnus subsidium defectionis datus est animae".

There however the reference was specifically to sleep as a characteristic of earthly life; the point was made above that Augustine then proceeds to eliminate it categorically from heaven<sup>7</sup>. Such use of the same term with a different meaning is unexceptionable, since an exact parallel is provided by the same paragraph of this sermon: while in the sentence *non sonis transeuntibus dicemus Amen et Alleluia*, *sed affectu animi* the noun *affectus* denotes "sincerity"<sup>8</sup>, it is employed shortly afterwards with the neutral sense of "frame of mind" or "attitude" in the phrase *longe alio et ineffabi-*

<sup>6</sup> Cf. OLD ss. vv.

<sup>7</sup> H. LACKENBACHER in TLL V, 2035,28-31 rightly assigns this first instance of *dormitare* to the sense "fere i. q. dormire"; however he is wrong to link it with the second one. Lackenbacher is also mistaken (ib. 2035,8f.) in giving the same meaning to Cyprian, *epist.* 11,5,1: *quod dormitemus in precibus*. While the adjacent *vigilanter* shows that Cyprian is also playing on the literal sense of the verb, the whole letter is a castigation of ecclesiastical indiscipline: accordingly *dormitare* signifies "inattentiveness" here as well.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. A. BLAISE, *Dictionnaire latin-français des auteurs chrétiens* [=Dict.], Strasbourg, 1954, 49 (s. v. 4); OLD 77 (s. v. 6f.).



*liter alio affectu*<sup>9</sup>. The number of lines separating these two occurrences of *affectus* is far smaller than that between the two instances of *dormitare*.

Finally two roughly contemporaneous texts may be adduced to illustrate Augustine's use of *dormitare* in the clause *in ipsis vocibus dormitabit*: both concern prayer. The first comes from Marius Victorinus' commentary on Ephesians:

"potest tamen ad intentionem mentis hoc accipi "vigilantes semper" ut in omni oratione non veluti dormientes, quod patiuntur illi qui ea, quae nota sunt, recitant vel legunt vel memoria pronuntiant; quid dicant et quemadmodum dicant paene non sentiunt (6,18)".

The second occurs in Jerome's *Vita Hilarionis*:

"orabat semel fixo in terram capite et, ut natura fert hominum, abducta ab oratione mens nescio quid aliud cogitabat; insiliit dorso eius festinus agitator, et latera calcibus, cervicem flagello verberans: 'eia', inquit, 'cur dormitas?' (3,12)".

This text is particularly significant, for on the one hand the term *dormitare* itself is employed, while on the other Hilarion is explicitly described as *not* being asleep: *abducta ab oratione mens nescio quid aliud cogitabat*.

If then Petitmengin is wrong to affirm that the passage he cites from *serm.* 362,29 deals with falling asleep at prayer, there is no presumptive evidence for his contention that the same reference is to be found in *serm.* 80,7, for which the other text was adduced as an alleged parallel. Careful examination of the context in which Augustine has embedded his question *quando dormitat oratio?* in fact demonstrates that here too Petitmengin is mistaken to postulate an allusion to those who fall asleep while praying. The full text of this passage of *serm.* 80,7 runs as follows:

"haec beneficia toto ardore desideremus, omni perseverantia petamus, non sermone longo, sed teste gemitu. desiderium semper orat, etsi lingua taceat. si semper desideras, semper oras. quando dormitat oratio? quando frigerit desiderium".

The *beneficia* to which Augustine refers (l. 1) are *aeterna* in contradistinction to *temporalia*: such a sublime theme might alone be thought to preclude mention of anything as humble as nodding off. The next sentence introduces the idea of incessant prayer (*semper orat*; l. 2); it is said to continue *etsi lingua taceat*. Since the prayers of those who fall asleep do stop at the same time as their tongues, this statement is a further indication that such people are not in Augustine's mind. With these words he is in fact reverting to a subject broached at the start of the sermon, where Luke 18,1 had been quoted: *oportet semper orare* (80,2). There the verse

<sup>9</sup> Cf. BLAISE, *Dict.*, 49 (s. v. 2); OLD 77 (s. v. 1a).



had been linked to Matthew 6,7 (*nolite multum loqui*), which is also echoed in the passage currently in question (*non sermone longo*; ll. 1f.). The biblical injunction to "pray unceasingly" is regularly associated with the idea of sleep as prayer; this is the case in the text of Jerome's *Libellus de virginitate servanda* with which the present article began. An allusion to the same idea would accordingly be no surprise in *serm.* 80,7.

The theme of unceasing prayer continues in the final section of the passage quoted above (ll. 2-4); it is here that Augustine asks *quando dormitat oratio*? The four clauses at issue are in fact closely interrelated by a carefully chiasmic arrangement: *desideras ... oras ... oratio ... desiderium*<sup>10</sup>. Since *quando dormitat oratio*? is immediately preceded by mention of continuous prayer (*semper oras*), the audience will inevitably have understood this question as having the same reference: here Augustine is not speaking of those who fall asleep while praying, but of prayer which continues during sleep. Confirmation is supplied by the very next clause, which affirms that such prayer only ceases with the discontinuance of desire: *quando frigerit desiderium*.

Further corroboration comes from two other passages of Augustine's *oeuvre*. *Epist.* 130,18, which was written shortly after *serm.* 80<sup>11</sup>, again links continuous prayer with continuous desire: *semper...desideremus et semper oremus*. This time explicit reference is made to I Thessalians 5,17 (*sine intermissione orate*), which had similarly been adduced in Jerome's *Libellus*. Augustine also reproduces his sermon's application of *frigescere* to *desiderium*<sup>12</sup>. The second passage is in *psalm.* 37,14; since the treatment here is far more substantial, the text may be cited *in extenso*:

"ipsum enim desiderium tuum oratio tua est; et si continuum desiderium, continua oratio. non enim frustra dixit apostolus: 'sine intermissione orantes' (I Thess. 5,17). numquid sine intermissione genu flectimus, corpus prosternimus, aut manus levamus, ut dicat: 'sine intermissione orate'? aut si sic dicimus nos  
5 orare, hoc puto sine intermissione non possumus facere. est alia interior sine intermissione oratio, quae est desiderium. quidquid aliud agas, si desideras illud sabbatum, non intermittis orare. si non vis intermittere orare, noli inter-

<sup>10</sup> Each of these four words occupies the final position in its respective clause: two nouns balance two verbs, which are also marked by homoeoteleuton. The parallelism is further enhanced by the twofold anaphora of the temporal adverbs (*semper ... semper ... quando ... quando ...*). The whole of this section accordingly evinces an exactly symmetrical structure: both clauses of its first half follow adverb with verb, while in those of the second the sequence is each time adverb, verb, noun.

<sup>11</sup> A date "intra annum 411 et 413" is assigned to *epist.* 130 by A. GOLDBACHER, *S. Aureli Augustini...epistulae V* (CSEL, 58), Vienna-Leipzig, 1923, 36. *Serm.* 80 belongs "um 410" (FREDE, *Kirch.*, 137).

<sup>12</sup> In addition the letter follows *serm.* 80,7 in mentioning both *multiloquium* and *gemitus* (130,19f.; cf. l. 2 above).



mittere desiderare. continuum desiderium tuum continua vox tua est. tacebis, si amare destiteris. qui tacuerunt? de quibus dictum est: 'quoniam abundavit iniquitas, refrigescet caritas multorum' (Mt. 24,12)<sup>13</sup>.

From the detailed argumentation of the foregoing it is clear that Petitmengin is wrong to maintain that in the briefer treatment of the same topic at *serm.* 80,7 Augustine is concerned with the sort of prayer to which falling asleep can put a stop. In both instances we are dealing instead with *alia interior sine intermissione oratio, quae est desiderium* (ll. 5f.); such prayer is only silenced *si amare destiteris* (ll. 8f.). The wording employed here to define those who do stop (*refrigescet caritas multorum*; l. 10) also makes clear that *quando frigerit desiderium* in *serm.* 80,7 (ll. 3f.) is in fact an echo of Matthew 24,12<sup>14</sup>.

The date of this *Enarratio* on Psalm 37 is contested. Zarb placed it in 395<sup>15</sup>. However Rondet then proposed a date after 415<sup>16</sup>. He acknowledges that "il n'est pas facile de dater ce sermon" (ib.). The evidence adduced above would nonetheless seem to provide a clue. This *Enarratio* deals at great length with material which is presented in summary form at

<sup>13</sup> *Gemitus* is also present here, since the verse on which Augustine is commenting (Ps. 37,10) runs: *gemitus meus non est absconditus a te*. No light is shed on the point at issue in the present article by the treatment of this passage in M. VINCENT, *La prière selon saint Augustin d'après les 'Enarrationes in Psalmos'*, in *Nouvelle Revue Théologique* 110 (1988), 371-402 (391).

<sup>14</sup> At in *psalm.* 118, *serm.* 10,4 (for the date "nach 422" cf. FREDE, *Kirch.*, 132) Augustine links *refrigescere* to *dormitare*; here he is commenting on Ps. 118,28 (*dormitavit anima mea prae taedio*). This verse had been combined with direct quotation of Mt. 24,12 at *un. eccl.* 15,38 (for the date of 405 cf. FREDE, *Kirch.*, 159). A *propos* this treatise Frede (ib.) observes: "in der Umgebung von AU(gustinus) oder von AU selber verfasst". This combination of texts would seem to be an argument in favour of Augustinian authorship. At *serm.* 80,7 Augustine employs *frigescere* instead of *refrigescere*. Use of this shorter form in Mt. 24,12 is attested only at Hilary, in *Matth.* 25,2 according to P. SABATIER, *Biblorum sacrorum latinae versiones antiquae* III, Rheims, 1743, 145. However Augustine can be shown to employ it with some frequency; cf. *epist.* 140,55; *epist. Divj.* 13,3,5; ib. 18,3,3; in *evang. Ioh.* 48,3; ib. 57,5; ib. 94,2; in *Iob* p. 595,19; ib. p. 610,7; in *psalm.* 118, *serm.* 19,4; in *psalm.* 147,23; *serm.* 350A,3 coll. Morin p. 294,23. Finally it may be noted that a striking parallel to Augustine's formulation at *serm.* 80,7 is found later in Fulgentius of Ruspe, *serm.* 3,4 F.: *nec cum videt correptionem aliqua verborum austeritate fervere, existimet caritatem in corde frigescere. sic enim vigilet in ore correptio ut in corde non dormitet oratio*. Fulgentius was deeply influenced by Augustine; cf. O. BAR-DENHEWER, *Geschichte der altkirchlichen Literatur* V, Freiburg/B., 1932, 306. Perhaps there is a specific debt here.

<sup>15</sup> S. M. ZARB, *Chronologia Enarrationum S. Augustini in Psalmos*, Valetta, 1948, 253 (cf. 257 for references to Zarb's discussion, which is scattered throughout his monograph).

<sup>16</sup> H. RONDET, *Essais sur la chronologie des "Enarrationes in Psalmos" de saint Augustin*, in *Bulletin de Littérature Ecclésiastique* 65 (1964), 110-136 (126).



serm. 80,7. Since the latter was composed around 410, Augustine's *Enarratio* on Psalm 37 would appear to have been produced before that date.

Lincoln (NE)

Neil ADKIN



## SOURCES TO MARTYRS OF THE ORDER OF ST. AUGUSTINE

# 135

Since the Great Union (1256)

### PREAMBLE

*Martyrem non facit poena sed causa.*

Augustinus, Ep. 85,2

"Since Jesus, the Son of God, manifested his charity by laying down his life for us, no one has greater love than he who lays down his life for Christ and his brothers (cf. *I John* 3:16; *John* 15:13). From the earliest times, then, some Christians have been called upon — and some will always be called upon — to give this supreme testimony of love to all men, but especially to persecutors. The Church, therefore, considers martyrdom as an exceptional gift and as the highest proof of love.

By martyrdom a disciple is transformed into an image of his Master, who freely accepted death on behalf of the world's salvation; he perfects that image even to the shedding of blood. Though few are presented with such an opportunity, nevertheless all must be prepared to confess Christ before men, and to follow him along the way of the cross through the persecutions which the Church will never fail to suffer"<sup>1</sup>.

Consequently we can say that a martyr is the person who has offered his life for Christ or for the sake of a truth within the realm of the Christian revelation. Martyrdom is the free acceptance of death for the sake of the faith. It appears thus as the highest act of Christian love and as the fortitude by which the believing human being surrenders himself entirely into the hands of God. "This, in fact, is", says St. Peter, "what you were called to do, because Christ suffered for you and left an example for you to follow the way he took" (*I Pe* 2:21). Thus a man cannot follow the Lord more closely than by giving his life for him. No one can give a greater sign of his love. Because they loved Christ with a glowing love, which was stronger than death, hundreds of our brethren accepted death,

<sup>1</sup> II Vat. Council, *Lumen Gentium*, 42; English translation W.M. ABBOTT, S.J., *The Documents of Vatican II* (New York 1966).



for they felt certain that behind the gates of death there was a more perfect and happier world of life and light than earth will ever be able to offer. Martyrdom was forced upon them as a witness to the truth of the Christian faith and the Church.

True martyrdom means the offering of the life for the defence of the faith which one professes. God values this total obedience very highly, not only because it proves that he who obeys stakes his all on God's word, but also because it is a witness in the eyes of all. Thus the death of the martyrs was esteemed since the days of the early Church as the closest and most intimate union with Christ. It meant sharing Christ's perfect love for God and his death on the Cross. Because the martyr shares the mystery of Christ's death, he will also, according to the faith of the Church, participate in the power of the resurrection and be, like the thief on the cross, with Christ in Paradise. Therefore, until this day martyrdom is called the Baptism of Blood and is also considered a proof for the divine origin of the Church. Because of its frequency and constancy in the history of the Church martyrdom is considered a miracle, as it surpasses the normal strength of man.

The most striking witness which the Christians could bear to their faith was to die rather than deny it. We could say that there are two classes of martyrs. To the first group belongs he, who when placed in a clear and evident way to deny his faith or to die, prefers the second choice. To the second type belong all those, whom circumstances brought death. This especially is the case of the missionaries.

With the expansion of Christendom in the sixteenth century persecution was a steady companion of the mission work of the Church. The readiness to suffer martyrdom was, therefore, considered a necessary ingredient of the missionary vocation, which in individual cases grew even to a desire for martyrdom. Our missionaries knew the delicate situation into which they dared to advance. They were aware of the risks they took, but when they compared them with the demands of the kingdom of God, they decided to stay on their assigned station and gave there their witness for Christ and the Church. Though in certain cases violation of native religious sentiment or culture may have lead to the killing of missionaries or political motives may have played a part, this did not exclude real martyrdom, especially when the alternative was offered between giving up one's faith and saving one's life, or confessing one's faith and dying. In the missions in many cases persecutions were a sign of the reactions of the pagan religions. But, as in the early Christian days, also in the mission countries the blood of the martyrs was seed for new Christians.

In compliance with the degrees of Pope Urban VIII and with the



degrees of the Sacred Congregation of the Causes of the Saints, we hereby assert that we do not intend to attach to the miraculous facts narrated in this collection of sources, which are not expressly approved by the Church, any value other than that belonging to historical facts. Nor do we wish to anticipate the judgment of the Church as to the character of the death of the martyrs mentioned here.

This catalogue of the martyrs of the Augustinian Order is arranged according to the alphabet. It is an enumeration of the Order's martyrs without hagiographical details. It is published to help interested brethren to know when and where the Augustinians, who gave their lives while serving God and the Church in the Order, lived and the cause for which they died. It is the user's personal obligation to pursue *sine ira et studio* the fine ramifications of the reasons for their acting the way they did.

This list is also intended to be a monument in commemoration of our brethren, who did not hesitate to pledge their lives for the freedom of conscience, for the freedom to practice their faith, and for the freedom to make their own decisions. It is to remind us of the fact that the profession of faith cannot be suppressed by the severest persecutions and that members of the Augustinian Order were in sublime courage, in endurance and self-effacement, in tenacious holding on at exposed solitary posts equal to the martyrs of earlier times. A good many brethren have given luminous witness to this truth and continue to do so. A man does not just happen to prove a hero in the supreme test of life, nor are martyrs the products of chance.

Many brethren have contributed to this collection of sources, especially the more recent and locally limited ones. I gratefully acknowledge their help. To them all my enduring thanks are due. It should be said that without their support, interest and, above all, their belief that this lucubration could be of some service to its users, it would not have been written.

Würzburg

Arnulf HARTMANN O.S.A.



## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- \* MS of Fr. Luis CAMBLOR OSA, "Patres ac Fratres O.N. occisi ab ecclesiae inimicis, quorum Processus Beatificationis est iam in Sacra Rituum Congregatione".
- + MS Religiosos Agustinos de la Provincia del Ssmo. Nombre de Jesús de España.
- AA *Analecta Augustiniana* (Romae 1905ff.).
- AAS *Acta Apostolicae Sedis*.
- AHHA *Archivo Histórico Hispano-Agustiniano / Archivo Agustiniiano* (Madrid/Valladolid).
- Alonso Carlos ALONSO OSA, *Los Agustinos en la Costa Suahili (1598-1698)* (Valladolid 1988).
- Aparicio Teófilo APARICIO LÓPEZ OSA, *La Orden de San Agustín en la India (1572-1622)* (Valladolid 1977).
- Arpe Agostino ARPE OSA, *Pantheon Augustinianum* (Genuae 1709).
- Arr. Diego DE ARRILUCEA OSA, *HONREMOS SU MEMORIA* (Escorial 1943).
- Aug<sup>a</sup> *Augustiniana* (Heverlee-Leuven 1951ff.).
- Aug<sup>m</sup> *Augustinianum* (Roma 1961ff.).
- BIM *Boletín Informativo de la Provincia Agustiniiana Matritense*.
- BNL Biblioteca Nacional Lisboa.
- Boxer Charles BOXER, *The Christian Century in Japan 1549-1650* (Berkeley, California 1951).
- Brevilogio Faustino DA GRAÇA OSA, *Brevilogio de noticias das couzas, e dos sujeitos da Congregação da India Oriental dos Eremitas Augustinhos*. MS Biblioteca da Ajuda de Lisboa 49/I/51.
- Brulius Joachim BRULIUS OSA, *Historiae Peruanae Ordinis Eremitarum S.P. Augustini Libri XVIII* (Antwerp 1652). It is the Latin translation of Calancha, *op.cit.*
- Burón Claudio BURÓN OSA, *Los Mártires agustinos de Huéicija*, in: *Archivo Agustiniiano* 64 (1980) 327-406.
- Calancha Antonio DE CALANCHA OSA y Bernardo DE TORRES, OSA, *Crónica moralizada de la Orden de San Agustín en el Perú* (Barcelona 1638). Our quotations are from



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- Cent. Jeronimo ROMÁN OSA, *Crónica de la Orden de los Eremitaños del glorioso Padre Sancto Agustín dividida en doze Centurias* (Salamanca 1569).
- Claver Martín CLAVER OSA, *El admirable y excelente martirio en el reyno del Japon de los Benditos Padres Fray Bartolomé Gutiérrez, Fray Francisco da Gracia, y Fray Tomás de S. Agustín....* (Manila 1638).
- Conyngham D.P. CONYNGHAM, *Lives of the Irish Martyrs* (New York s.d.).
- Crus. Nicolaus CRUSENIUS OSA, *Monasticon Augustinianum* (Munich 1623). The later volumes (*Additamenta* by LANTERI) appeared in Valladolid 1890.
- CU *Cor Unum* (Würzburg 1936ff.).
- Els. Philippus ELSSIUS OSA, *Encomiasticon Augustinianum, in quo homines Ordinis Eremitarum S. P. N. Augustini Sanctitate, Praelatura, Legationibus, scriptis etc. praestantes enarrantur* (Brussels 1654).
- Flos Sanctorum JOSEPHUS A SANCTO ANTONIO OSA, *Flos Sanctorum Augustiniano* (Lisbon 1721).
- Fueyo Amador DEL FUEYO OSA, *Los Agustinos en la Revolución y en la Cruzada* (Bilbao 1947).
- Goa Arnulf HARTMANN OSA, *The Augustinians in Golden Goa*, in: AA 30 (1967) 5-147.
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- Maigr. Georgius MAIGRETIUS OSA, *Martyrographia Augustiniana* (Antwerp 1625) here quoted from the German translation by Theodorich DEGEN OSA (München 1628).
- Manoel *Manual Eremitico da Congregação da India Oriental dos Eremitas de N.P.S. Agostinho ... pelo Pe. Me. Fr. MANOEL DA AVE MARIA ... actual Provincial da Mesma* (1817), in: *Documentação para a Historia do Padroado Português do Oriente. India*. Vol. 11 1569-1572 (Lisboa 1955).
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- Positio *Congregatio de Causis Sanctorum, Positio super martyrio Avellini Rodríguez et Sociorum* (Roma 1993).
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- de son Ordre des Hermites* (Toulouse 1641).
- San Agustín      GASPAR DE SAN AGUSTÍN OSA, *Conquistas de las Islas Filipinas ...* (Madrid 1698) 2<sup>nd</sup> vol. by Casimiro DÍAZ OSA (Valladolid 1890).
- Sangu. Erem.      *Sanguinea Eremus, a MS of 1655*, published by Francis Xavier MARTIN OSA, in: *Archivum Hibernicum* XV (1952) 74ff.
- Santiago Vela      Gregorio DE SANTIAGO VELA OSA, *Ensayo de una Biblioteca Ibero-Americana de la Orden de S. Agustín* 8 vols. (Madrid 1913-1931).
- Sanz      Atilano SANZ PASCUAL OSA, *Dolor Agustiniano* (Madrid 1947).
- Sic.      José SICARDO OSA, *Christiandad del Japón...* (Madrid 1698).
- Silva Rego XII      *Documentação para a historia das missões do Patroado Portugues do Oriente, India XII* (Lisboa 1958).
- Swahili      Arnulf HARTMANN OSA, *The Augustinians in the Land of the Swahili*, in: AA 25 (1962) 326-339.
- Tabularium      *Ex Tabulario Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide, Miscellaneae Diverse*, vol. 20, *Relatio di varie Missioni*, ff. 413-416. This is a letter written on August 14, 1657 in Rome by magister Fr. Jacobus Cartheus, provinciae Hiberniae Procurator in Curia.
- Tor.      Luigi TORELLI, *Secoli Agostiniani* 8 vols. (Bologna 1659-1686).
- Van den Born      Alipius VAN DEN BORN OSA, *St. Augustinus en de Augustijnenorde* (Gent 1945).
- Vic.      Carlos VICUÑA OSA, *Mártires Agustinos de El Escorial* (Escorial 1945).
- Villarejo      Avencio VILLAREJO OSA, *Los Agustinos en el Peru y Bolivia* (Lima 1965).



1. ABELLA PARRA Pedro, born at Belorado (Burgos) on Apr. 21, 1890, contributed many articles on the History of the Order in *España y América* and *Archivo Agustiniano*. He was shot through the eye at Tejar de Sixto, on Aug. 6-8, 1936.  
Sources: Fueyo 79; Sanz 111; Positio 72, 488. +
2. ABIA MELENDRO frater Luis, born at Abia de las Torres (Palencia), on Feb. 8, 1919, had two great aspirations: to be a missionary and a martyr. God gave him the second. He was shot at Paracuellos on Nov. 30, 1936.  
Sources: AA 17 (1941) 309; Arr. 125; Fueyo 147; Ll 30; Mont. 343; Necr.; Vic. 283; Positio 132-134, 404, 482. \*
3. ACHATIUS was in 1570 at Huécija sewn into the skin of a pig and roasted on a spit by the moriscos.  
Sources: Josephus 42; Els. 9; Maigr. 102; Lant. II 385.
4. AGUADO Lorenzo died with Juan Pérez on May 24, 1707 in the war of succession at Játiva.  
Sources: AHHA 8 (1917) 277.
5. AGUADO DE VALDEZ Andreas, a Spaniard, was by Philip IV appointed bishop of Ariano (Italy). He was murdered on July 10, 1645.  
Sources: Els. 49; J.J. Vallejo, *Fray Andrés Aguado de Valdez OSA* in: AHHA 73 (1989) 209-227; Her. I 48; Pius Gams OSB, *Series episcoporum Ecclesiae catholicae* (Regensburg 1873) 853; Lanteri (Erem) I (Romae 1874) 31.
6. AGUILAR Francisco de, the prior of Huécija, was killed in 1579 at Aguas Claras by the moriscos together with John Muñoz.  
Sources: Lanteri II 407; Crus. I 664; Her. I 231 + 405; Her. (Sal) 363; Els. 201; Josephus 192.
7. AGUSTÍN DE SANTA MARIA. He was Irish by birth and received the habit in San Felipe el Real, Madrid. After one or two years of theology at Burgos he was sent to Salamanca. In 1625 he returned to his country. Betrayed by his enemies he was arrested and brought before the governor of the city. He was sent from Ireland to the court of Charles I in England. Condemned to exile he was taken to Flanders. After a few months he returned to England



and began to preach. He was arrested again and hanged, drawn and quartered.

Sources: Quijano Juan, OSA, *Memorias para la Historia de la Provincia de Castilla de N.P. San Agustin*, in : Archivo Agustiniiano 57 (Valladolid 1963) 30 ff.

8. AIMILIO Philip. While he preached to the troops on the island of Rhodos in 1522 the Turks pierced his throat with an arrow.

Sources: Maigr. 59; Her. II 249; Crus. I 567; Els. 586; Mün. 24<sup>y</sup>; SSM 673; Naevius 310; Hörmönseder II 47.

9. ALCALDE GONZALES Benito, born at Villayermo Morquillas (Burgos) on Jan.12,1883, was shot at Paracuellos on Nov. 28, 1936.

Sources: AA 17 (1941) 307; Arr. 156; BIM 11/99 (1993) 163f.; Fueyo 152; Ll 29; Llordén 424; Mont. 341; Vic. 281; Positio 132, 381, 404.

10. ALIPIUS DE SAN JOSÉ, Brother ORSA. He was stoned to death at Tripoli on Feb. 17, 1645.

Sources: *Martyre que deux autres Religieux Augustins ont n'a guerre souffert en Barbarie*. Add. to: *Histoire de Peru par un P. de la Province de Tolose du mesme Ordre*. J. T. Medina, *Biblioteca Hispano-Americana (1498-1810)* (Santiago 1898-1907) n. 977; Els. 33; Arpe 58f; Gutiérrez 147; Hörmönseder I 112.

11. ALONSO MARTÍN Brother Domiciano, born at Muñeca (Palencia) on Jul. 1, 1914, died in San Anton prison of Madrid from maltreatment on Dec. 15, 1936.

Sources: AA 17 (1941) 312; Arr. 103; Fueyo 154; Ll 32; Necr.; Vic. 225.

12. ALONSO RUIZ Florencio, born at Osorno (Palencia) on Feb. 22, 1889, was shot on Aug. 28, 1936 at Tragamon.

Sources: Fueyo 105; Sanz 138, 141; Positio 794-796, 803f.; 814f.

13. ALONSO Pedro, born at Villayermo (Burgos) on Aug. 1, 1888, was shot on July 28, 1936 at 3.00 in the afternoon at the ten Km marker on the highway Madrid-Valencia.

Sources: Fueyo 50; Sanz 58; Mont. 319. \*



14. ALONSO CADIerno Pedro Nolasco, born at Molina Ferrera (León) on Jan 31, 1906, was shot at Paracuellos on Nov. 7, 1936.  
Sources: AA 17 (1941) 306; Arr. 142; Fueyo 33, 138; LI 31; Mont. 336; Necr.; Vic. 281.
15. ALONSO LÓPEZ frater Ramiro, born at Pozuelo de Tábara (Zamora) on March 26, 1915, was shot at Paracuellos on Nov. 30, 1936.  
Sources: AA 17 (1941) 309; Arr. 51; Fueyo 147; LI 30; Mont. 141, 343; Necr.; Vic. 168, 283; Positio 236, 404, 462.
16. ALPHONSUS A S. AUGUSTINO ORSA a mauris de Mindanao captus et 26 vulneribus confossus mortuus est feria VI 20. maii 1637.  
Sources: Els. 37; Her. I 36.
17. ALPHONSUS OF THE CROSS ORSA was together with Bartholomew of the Angels at Uraba near Carthagena in Colombia on Feb. 13. 1630 pierced with lances and poisoned arrows. This happened in the church after Mass while he was distributing ashes to the faithful. With them died Miguel de la Magdalena.  
Sources: Flos Sanctorum 471; Gutiérrez 146: Alphonsus de la Cruz ORSA and 12 Recollects slain in Uraba in 1633. According to the date of Ash Wednesday on Feb. 13 it must have been in 1630, as Her. I 35 correctly states. Cf. A. Cappelli, *Cronologia* etc. (Milano 1983) 54; Hörmönseder I 110.
18. ALPHONSUS A S. JOSEPH ORSA. Ab Indis in Philippinis lancea transfixus est anno 1631.  
Sources: Her. I 35; Els. 38.
19. ALVARES Rafael da Madre de Deos was dragged and trampled to death by elephants at Jori near Malacca in the province of Sunda on Oct. 3, 1605 because he preached the faith.  
Sources: Manoel 358; Els. 599; MS BNL FG 177, 38f. gives the date as 1606; Maigr. 173; Her. II 335; Crus. I 686; Rod. da Cunha, *Historia Ecclesiastica Braccarensis* II cap.101 447; Mün 66<sup>f</sup>; Campos do Ermo 294ff.; Brevilogio 512-15 has 1606; See, however, Goa 132f.
20. ÁLVAREZ RABANAL Agustín was born at Villalón (Valladolid)



- on July 8, 1861. He disappeared from Barcelona the night of Oct. 11, 1936.  
Sources: Fueyo 55; Sanz 89; Mont. 229; Merino 482.
21. ÁLVAREZ Bartholomew (companion of Ibañez) was killed by poisoned arrows in Peru on July 18, 1629.  
Sources: Villarejo 221; Calancha II 351-375; Her. I 101; Els. 112; Lant. II 172; Tor. VIII 392; Gutiérrez 146.
  22. ÁLVAREZ MELCÓN Bernardino, born at Rosales (León) on Aug. 31, 1903, was shot at Paracuellos on Nov. 28, 1936.  
Sources: AA 17 (1941) 307; Arr. 135; Fueyo 147; Ll 30; Llordén 237; Mont. 341; Vic.281; Positio 39, 142, 153, 328, 404.
  23. ÁLVAREZ CAÑAS José María, born at León on June 6, 1877, was shot on July 26, 1936 in the outskirts of Madrid.  
Sources: AA 17 (1941) 305; Arr. 88; Fueyo 59, 152; Ll 32; Llordén 235; Mont. 772; Vic. 284.
  24. ÁLVAREZ REGO DE SEVES Manuel, born at Sésamo (León) on Sep. 15, 1908, was shot at Paracuellos on Nov. 28, 1936.  
Sources: AA 17 (1941) 307; Arr. 143; Fueyo 147; Ll 29; Llordén 236; Mont. 341; Vic. 281; Positio 135, 145, 404, 483.
  25. ANDRADA Rodrigo de, fell 1588 into the hands of the English. With him 9 Spanish and 12 Portuguese Augustinians who were chaplains on the Armada (Cf. Silva Rego XII) 135. They all were beheaded in London.  
Sources: Maigr. 148; Her. (Sal) 300, 429; Lant. II 446; Els.607.
  26. ANGLADA Raymond, because he did not wish to renounce the faith, was after many tortures sawed in two on July 27, 1617 by the pirate Pérez together with John Graels.  
Sources: Bibl. Nac. Madrid MS of 1619: *Cuatro presas y victorias por los nuestros en el estrecho y costas*; Els. 378; Crus. I 688; Lant. II 313; Maigr. 236; Her. II 335f.
  27. ANTÓNIO DA CONCEIÇÃO was murdered by Kafirs on March 15, 1700 at Rios de Senna because he defended a Portuguese whom the Kafirs were about to kill.  
Source: Silva Rego XII 61.



28. ANTONIO DA NATIVIDADE, prior of Mombasa, was killed with the sword at Mombasa in 1631 by the apostate Yusuf Ahmed Chingulia.  
Sources: AA 5 (1913-1914) 40; Manoel 169f., 396f.; Sic. 21,1; Her. I 35; Silva Rego 41f.; Els. 80; Crus.II 530; Swahili 334f.; Paulo da Trindade OFM, *Conquista espiritual do Oriente II* (Lisbon 1964) 13 ff.; AA 25 (1962) 302; Josephus 499; Alonso 94; G. Freeman-Grenville, *The Martyrs of Mombasa*, in: *Afer IX* (Oct. 1967) 356; Brevilogio 516; Mombasa Rising 17, 81, 117, 149; a detailed report on Antonio's death is in AA 48 (1985) 189-195. It states that Antonio was hanged at the fortress wall.
29. ARAICO LANA Lucio, born at Manzanos (Alava) on Sept. 13, 1889, dis-appeared from Barcelona the night of Oct. 12-13, 1936.  
Sources: Fueyo 55; Sanz 89; Mont. 775.
30. ARBAIZAR TREPIANA Fidel, born at Bayas (Burgos) on Apr. 25, 1913, was a student of theology and died serving in the national army.  
Sources: Fueyo 375, 432. +
31. ARCONADA MERINO Dámaso, born at Carrión de los Condes (Palencia) on Aug. 17, 1904 was shot at Paracuellos on Nov. 30, 1936.  
Sources: AA 17 (1941) 309; Arr. 126; BIM 11/100 (1993) 217f.; Fueyo 147; Mont. 343; Vic. 282; Positio 142, 238, 332f., 404, 487.
32. ARDILLA Juan de (deacon) was burnt at Huécija on Christmas in 1568.  
Sources: See Quéjica and Her. (Sal) 336; Buron 352.
33. AREVALO Francisco professed in Mexico City on Sept. 4, 1554. He was a companion of Diego Herrera.  
Sources: See there.
34. ARIAS Joseph, born at Sevilla came in 1646 to the Philippines. In 1660 the apostate Magsanop had him stripped, the skin pulled off his head and thus led through the streets. Then he had him tied to a stake, killed with arrows and had his head cut off. The skull was then used in a drinking bout.  
Sources: San Agustín II 608; Osario 179; Pedro de Vivar OSA,



*Biblioteca Histórico Filipina* vol. IV pars II (1893) 282-478; Pérez 121; Merino 60.

35. ARIAS Michael, a native of Villarrodrigo (León), was taken prisoner by the moors and killed in Tayabas (Phil) in 1764.  
Sources: Pérez 262; Crus. III 550; Martínez 188; Merino 8.
36. ARRIAGA ANDUIZA Frater Antonio María, born at Busturia (Viscaya) Dec. 15, 1903, was shot at the estate called 'El Tomelloso' in the environment of Madrid on Aug. 30, 1936.  
Sources: AA 17 (1941) 306; Arr. 154; Fueyo 147; Ll 32; Llordén 262; Mont. 778; Vic. 168, 284; Positio 48, 293, 478.
37. ARRIBAS PALACIOS Lorenzo, born at Arconada de Bureba (Burgos) on Aug. 10, 1880, was shot on July 28, 1936 at the 10 Km marker on the road Madrid-Valencia.  
Sources: Fueyo 51; Sanz 58; Mont. 318; Positio from 526 passim until 745. +
38. ARROYO ROS Pedro born at Palencia on Aug. 5, 1881 fled to the home of his sister in Madrid, was betrayed and shot at the side of the Road of Vicálvaro near Madrid on Sept. 15, 1936.  
Sources: AA 17 (1941) 306; Arr. 118; Fueyo 29, 33; Ll 32; Llordén 267; Mont. 776; Vic. 72, 257, 284.
39. ARRUFATE DÍEZ Andrea de. His real name was DE RUFAS. He was martyred in 1617 in Mericao near Jiraras (Venezuela).  
Sources: AHHA 17 (1930) II 353; Archivo S. Agustín de Bogotá 6, 60<sup>v</sup>; J. Pérez Gómez, *Apuntes Históricos de las misiones Agustonianas en Colombia* (Bogotá 1924) 50, 104; Description of martyrdom in P. Simon, *Noticias Historiales de las conquistas de Tierra Firme* IV (Bogotá, 1953) 302 f.; F. Campo del Pozo, *Informe sobre la misión y mártires de Aricagua* (AHHA 74 [1990] 245-247); and: *Los mártires agustinos en Aricagua*, in: *Agustinos en América y Filipinas* II (Madrid-Valladolid 1990) 934.
40. ASTORGA DIEZ Antolín, born at Aquilar de Campo (Palencia) on Feb. 16, 1906, was shot on July 26, 1936 at Emes de Belinchón (Cuenca).  
Sources: Fueyo 50; Sanz 44 ff., 81; Positio from 524 passim until 744. \* has July 27; +



41. ATHANASIUS DE JESU born at Arronjes no Alentejo came 1573 to Minas. While standing on the sand bar he was taken by pirates on March 19, 1575, cruelly whipped and drowned. See 164.  
Sources: *Flos Sanctorum* 686 ff.; Hörmonseder I 377; Aparicio 48.
42. AUGUSTINUS DE BOHEMIA episcopus ad oppidum Venzone die 22. iunii 1392 a sacrilego proditore interfectus est.  
Sources: Lanteri (Erem) I 72; P. Keller, OSA, *Index episcoporum OSA Germanorum* (Münnerstadt 1876) 6; Kunzelmann III 31. Sed vide: Her. I 39.
43. AYALA blessed Ferdinand beheaded on June 1, 1617 on Takashima Island in the bay of Omura.  
Sources: Sic. 130 ff.; San Agustín II 76 ff.; Her. I 234; Osario 129; Els. 193; Maigr. 211; Lant. II 268; Japan 43 ff.; *Katorikku Dai Jiten* (Jap. Cath. Enc.) I 825, 829; Josephus 135f.; Hörmonseder I 377; Naevius 339; *Japan-Handbook* (Berlin 1941) 372.
44. AZCÚNAGA LANDÁBURU Venancio, born at Urrúnaga (Álava) on Apr. 1, 1874, worked for years for the perpetual adoration of the Bl.Sacrament. He was condemned on Dec. 8, 1936 and was most likely shot in the surroundings of Madrid on Dec. 14, 1936.  
Sources: AA 17 (1941) 308; Arr. 53; Fueyo 147; Ll 31; Llordén 267; Mont. 149; Vic. 42, 50, 284.
45. BADOER Card. Bonaventura de Peraga was killed on June 10, 1389 with an arrow while crossing the Angels Bridge in Rome.  
Sources: D. Perini OSA, *Il beato Bonaventura Baduario-Peraga* (Rome 1912); Maigr. 49; Crus. I 369; Mün. 18<sup>v</sup>; Campos do Ermo 389; *Cassiciacum* XIX (Würzburg 1965) 61 ff.; SSM 671; Arpe 186 has death in 1388; Lanteri II 66 and Lanteri (Erem) has Aug. 1 as death date; the registers of Bartholomew of Venice call him under date of March 30, 1386 "bonae memoriae mag. Bonaventura". Therefore the date of 1385 seems to be the correct date of his death. See AA 5 (1913-1914) 83. Bartholomew, the prior general, did not have the news of his death on June 25, 1385. At that date he quotes the cardinal as living; D. Perini OSA, *Bibliographia Augustiniana* I (Firenze 1929) 75 ff.; U. Mariani OSA, *Il Petrarca e gli Agostiniani* (Roma 1959<sup>2</sup>) 79-91; Torelli VI 228f.; J. Panfilo OSA, *Chronica Ordinis Fratrum Eremitarum S. Augustini* (Rome 1581) 67<sup>v</sup>. See, however, R. Arbesmann OSA, *Der*



- Augustinerorden und der Beginn der humanistischen Bewegung*, in: Aug<sup>a</sup> 24 (1964) 312. Also D. Gutiérrez OSA, *Die Augustiner im Spätmittelalter* (Würzburg 1981) 18 denied this martyrdom.
46. BADRENA Isidro was killed with lances on Mt. Bulabago in the Philippines on Apr. 9, 1874 while trying to persuade his faithful not to take part in pagan sacrifices which were offered on the mountain.  
Sources: Pérez 552; AHHA 15 (1928) I 338 f.; Crus. II 364; Merino 156.
  47. BALDAJOS PÉREZ Brother Juan, born on March 30, 1872 at Palencia, was shot at Paracuellos on Nov. 28, 1936.  
Sources: AA 17 (1941) 307; Arr. 215; Fueyo 148; LI 29; Mont. 431; Necr.; Vic. 281; Positio 120, 399, 404, 430.
  48. BALTEZAR Father OSA was murdered in 1631 with two servants by Mohammedans in the monastery of Aspan because he preached the Gospel.  
Sources: Silva Rego XII 45; Simão da Graça, *Breve Relazione*, in: AA 5 (1913-14) 41; Campos do Ermo 289; Brevilogio 516.
  49. BARBA CHAMORRO Felipe born at Pozo Antiguo (Zamora) on Feb. 5, 1872, was a missionary in the Philippines (Pérez 698). He was shot at Fuente la Higuera on Aug. 5, 1936.  
Sources: Fueyo 57, 64; Mont. 271; Sanz 103; Positio 1191, 1202ff., 1256. +
  50. BARBAUT Nicholas, conventual of Bruges. There is a report based on Crus. 212 taken from Nic. of Brabant that B. "direpto monasterio Brugensi ab haereticis 1578 gloriosum martyrium subiit."  
Sources: Her. II 176; Van den Born 89; Maigr. 126 has: he died 98 years old at Brussels. However A. Keelhoff OSA, *Histoire de l'ancien couvent des Ermites de St. Augustin à Bruges* (Brussels 1869) 229f. states that Barbaut died peacefully on March 21, 1602. Kunzelmann VII 133; Crus. 112; Repert. 20f. (died on May 21, 1602).
  51. BARTHOLOMEW OF THE ANGELS ORSA was on Feb. 13, 1630 pierced with poisoned arrows at Uraba in Peru and remained seven days alive. See Alphonse of the Cross.



Sources: Els. 112; Hörmonseder I 110f.

52. BAZTAN Josephus in rebellione in civitate Cebu in hebdomada sancta Apr. 4, 1897 ab insurgentibus crudeliter necatus.  
Sources: AA 10 (1923-1924) 471; Merino 149f.: Le asesinaron los rebeldes cebuanos en la plaza pública de Opon y arrojaron después su cadáver al mar.
53. BEDOYA Pedro, a son of the province of Mexico, came to the Philipines in 1590. In 1606 he was stoned by the natives on Mariveles and died in consequence in Manila.  
Sources: Pérez 40; Merino 136.
54. BELLO Francisco, companion of Diego Herrera.  
Sources: See there.
55. BELO BOTELHO Manoel da Conceição was cruelly killed by the Kafirs on Zanzibar in Feb. 1694.  
Sources: Manoel 571.
56. BERMEJO MORILLO Carlos, born at Belver de los Montes (Zamora) on Nov. 4, 1874, was shot near Madrid on Aug. 24, 1936.  
Sources: AA 17 (1941) 312; Arr. 131; Fueyo 33; LI 31; Llordén 271; Mont. 781; Vic. 230, 255, 284.
57. BERMEJO VALENCIANO Brother Tomás, born at Anguita (Guadalajara) on March 7, 1892, was killed by the revolutionary hordes most likely on April 26, 1936.  
Sources: AA 17 (1941) 312; Arr. 66; Fueyo 164; LI 32; Mont. 781; Necr.; Vic. 261, 284, 295.
58. BESURTEN Dominicus de, was pierced with a sword on a sick call in Peru.  
Sources: Els. 173; Brulius I 16, c. 11, no. 4.
59. BLANCO ÁLVAREZ Brother Luis, born at Ayoo de Vidriales (Zamora) on Nov. 20, 1888, was shot at Fuente la Higuera on Aug. 5, 1936.  
Sources: Fueyo 58, 64; Mont. 271; Sanz 95; Positio from 1191 to 1264 passim. +



60. BONAFE was killed at Pamiers on March 26, 1563.  
Sources: See William of Pamiers.
  
61. BONIS Anthony, prior of Monflanquin, was drawn and sold by weight in a butchershop 1569.  
Sources: SSM 694; Crus. I 651; Tor. VIII 521; Els. 70; Lant. II 391; D. Gutiérrez OSA, *De statu ordinis Augustiniani in Gallia saeculo XVIII*, in: AA 24 (1961) 231; Arpe 235-236; Hörmönseder I 433.
  
62. BOYER Antoine, conventual of Toulouse. We have two versions of his death. Guillon II 296: He was killed on the guillotine on May 9, 1793 in the City Hall of Chinian with three other priests because he refused the oath on the Constitution. F. Saurel, *Histoire religieuse du Département de l'Hérault pendant la Révolution* (Montpellier-Paris 1895) II 25f. says he was killed by the populace of St. Chinian with blows of sticks and stones.  
Other sources: Arch. de la Comm. de Saint-Chinian: Registre des délibérations Proc. Verbal du 9 mai: Lettre de la Municipalité au Cit. Rouyer, Représentant du peuple 10 Mai; Lettre à la Mun. d'Albi 12 mai; Lettre au Proc. Gén. Syndic. du Dép. de l'Hérault; — J. Maffre, *Nos martyrs* (Albi 1890) 150f.
  
63. BURGOS ORTEGA Frater Eugenio, born at Villabermudo (Palencia) on Sept. 9, 1903. No details on the manner of his death.  
Sources: Fueyo 122; Mont. 785; Sanz 160.
  
64. BURGOS ANTÓN Quirino was born at Abastillas (Palencia) on March 30, 1871. For many years he had done parish work in Mexico. He was murdered by the revolutionary hordes of Mexico at Tenancingo on March 23, 1915.  
Sources: Arr. 81; Llordén 288; Alipio Ruiz Zavala, *Historia de la Provincia Agustiniense del Ssmo. Nombre de Jesús de México* II 332, 438; Agustín Renedo Martino, *Escritores Palentinos* 3 vols. (El Escorial 1919-1926) I 99; Santiago Vela OSA I 467, VIII 309; Julian Zarco OSA, *Escritores Agustinos de El Escorial (1885-1916)* (Madrid 1917) 58.
  
65. CAECILIUS. In 1570 the moriscos of Huécija cut the form of the cross in his body by cutting him open from the forehead to the navel and from the right hand to the left.



Sources: Crus. I 726; Lant. II 400; Maigr. 97; Els. 133; Hörmon-seder 441f.

66. CALLE Bernardo, protomartyr of the Amazonas missions, was killed in Aguarunas on June 4, 1904 with more than 60 christians. Sources: B. Martínez OSA, *Apuntes Históricos de la provincia Agustiniiana del Ssmo. Nombre de Jesús* (Madrid 1909) 131ff.; AHHA 1926 II 207ff.; AA 1 (1905-1906) 38, 189; *Misiones Agustinas* (Loreto 1951) 36ff.; Merino 250; *Anales de Propagación de la Fe en el Oriente de Perú* (Lima, March 1951) 31-41, *Relación de la muerte del P. Bernardo Calle y del Hermano Villajoli asesinados por los salvajes de Huabico*; A. Lozano OSA, *Dos mártires españoles en Iquitos*, in: *España y América VIII* 181; M. Rodríguez OSA, *El protomartir de Iquitos. Reseña biográfica del M.R.P. Bernardo Calle misionero del oriente de Perú* (Barranquilla 1905); Santiago-Vela I 501-503; A. Villarejo 391f.; J.Gavigan OSA, *Geschichte des Augustinerordens* (Würzburg 1988) 291.
  
67. CALLE FRANCO Frater Bernardino, born at Itero Seco (Palencia) on May 17, 1916, was shot at Paracuellos on Nov. 30, 1936. He was a nephew of Father Bernardo Calle. His uncle's example had attracted him to the Order. He always spoke of death as a great adventure. Sources: AA 17 (1941) 309; Fueyo 148; LI 30; Mont. 343; Vic. 224, 283; Positio 20ff., 231, 404, 464.
  
68. CALLEJA DEL HIERRO José, born at Melgar de Fernamental (Burgos) on Oct. 15, 1901, was shot at Emes de Belinchón (Cuenca) on July 28, 1936. Sources: Fueyo 50; Sanz 44, 81; Positio from 522 until 743 passim.  
\* +
  
69. CAMERON Brother Michael, born at Vez de Marban (Zamora) in 1720, fell into the hands of the natives of Mindanao, while he accompanied Frs. Matias Carbajal and Lorenzo de Silva to Cebu. He was killed at Jolo in 1769. Sources: Pérez 290; Crus. III 551; Merino 486.
  
70. CAMINO NOVAL Emilio, born at Valdesoto (Asturias) on Oct. 9, 1877, was shot near Fuente la Higuera on Aug. 5, 1936.



Sources: Fueyo 58, 64; Mont. 271; F. Sala Selva<sup>2</sup> 135; Positio from 1192 to 1268 passim.

71. CANDENAS Domingo, born at Ocaña on March 11, 1865, was imprisoned at the beginning of the Philippine insurrection and tortured to death on March 28, 1897.  
Sources: Pérez 508, 645; *Relación de los sucesos ocurridos en Talisay (Batangas) hasta el fusilamiento del P. Domingos Candenias*, MS Arch. de Valladolid, leg. 2.704; AHHA 53 (1959) 253ff.; *Relación de la muerte que dieron a tres Padres misioneros Agustinos los insurrectos de Filipinas*, in: *La Ciudad de Dios* 48, 73-78; Merino 135.
72. CARBAJAL PEREDA Frater Pedro, born at Peñacastillo (Santander) on July 16, 1912, was shot at Paracuellos on Nov. 30, 1936.  
Sources: AA 17 (1941) 309; Arr. 107; Fueyo 148; Ll 70; Mont. 343; Necr.; Vic. 224, 283, Positio 38f., 404, 460f.
73. CARVALHO Domingos de Sto. Agostinho, prior of Mombasa, was killed by Arabs in Feb. 1661.  
Sources: AA 5 (1913-1914) 40; Manoel 169f., 436f.; Sic. 21,1; Swahili 336f.; AA 4 (1911-1912) 388; Alonso 135; Mombasa Rising 148.
74. CASAS Juan de las, born in Mexico, made his profession in 1591. The Zambales killed him with arrows in 1607 in the Philippines, because he preached against idolatry, sodomy and cannibalism. His brother San Felipe had died a martyr in Japan in 1597.  
Sources: Pérez 44; Her. I 423; Osario 168; B. de Medina OFM, *Crónica de la provincia de San Diego de México* (Mexico 1682) 114; Els. 354; Sic. 47, 133; Lant. II 415; Merino 178.
75. CASOTTI Andreas, founder of the hermitage of the Madonna della Stella in 1308, became a martyr among the infidels.  
Sources: M. Franceschini, *Memorie Storiche di Cascia* (Cascia 1913) 50; *Beato Simon Fidati* (Cascia 1985) 17.
76. CASTRO MANCEBO Frater José, born at Peñaranda de Braca-

<sup>2</sup> This manuscript must be in the former augustinian monastery of Selva, near Tarra-gona, but I could not get a confirmation of this.



monte (Salamanca) on Aug. 27, 1870, was assassinated between Fugas and Massanet (Barcelona) after Aug. 28, 1936.

Sources: Fueyo 116; Mont. 791 has it that he died at Tordera.

77. CASTRO Norbertus, born at Dordrecht, prof. at Herenthals on June 9, 1624, died a martyr at Schijndel near Bois-le-duc 1637.  
Source: N. Teeuwen, *Naamlijst der Augustijnen van Herenthals*, in: *Bijdragen tot de Geschiedenis* reeks III, I (1949) 112; Repert. 85 (died in Jan. 1637).

78. CEREZAL CALVO Miguel, born at Cerezal (León) on Dec. 12, 1871, was shot at Paracuellos on Nov. 30, 1936.  
Sources: AA 17 (1941) 308; Arr. 207; Fueyo 148; Ll 29; Llordén 295; Mont. 343; Vic. 224, 282; Positio 98, 404, 460f.

79. CERNUDA FEBRERO Eugenio, born at Zaratán (Valladolid) on Nov. 15, 1900, was murdered by the checka of Neila at Santander after Dec. 17, 1936.  
Sources: Fueyo 128; Sanz 178; Mont. 791; El *Diario Montanes* affirms that he and San Román were taken to Sariego and murdered there; *Boletín ConCordis de la Provincia de España* 21 (1995) 44; Vic. 47; Positio from 801 passim until 851. +

80. CLARET frater Raymond, a conventual of Geaune (Prov. Tol.), had one of his eyes torn out with fingernails and was pierced with swords and halberds.  
Sources: Her.II 335: ab Hugonotica turba comprehensus in puteum aquis praefocandus crudeliter praeceps agitur anno 1570; Maigr. 131; Els. 599; Poeydevant I 422; SSM 696; Josephus 420; Naevius 318.

81. CONIL Francis died from pestilence while administering the sacraments to the dying in 1564 at Huesca (Aragon).  
Sources: Her. I 228; Els. 355.

82. CORRAL John de, was on his way to the Philippines captured by the moors near the Fortunate Isles. They took him back to Marocco and beheaded him on March 12, 1628.  
Sources: Her. I 422; Her. (Sal) 359ff.; Els. 355; Gutiérrez 146; Flos Sanctorum 679; Hörmonseder I 173ff.; Arpe 88-89: Profectus est ad insulas Philippinas praedicare evangelium. Vix attigit insulas



- Canarias, factus est mancipium maurorum et captivus ductus est Marochium. Oblatus propterea tyranno, ut fidei renuntiaret, semper intrepidus, quamquam esset septuagenarius, in illa persistit. Anno 1629.
83. CORREA Francisco da Graça entered the Order in India and joined the Philippine province on July 10, 1632. He died on Aug. 16, 1634 at Nagasaki in the pit.  
Sources: Claver 33f.; Pérez 182; Osario 103; Sic. 288; San Agustín II 134; Her. I 237; Crus. III 33; Silva Rego XII 42; Els. 204, 211; Josephus II 474; Japan 140ff.; AA 5 (1913-1914) 41; Campos do Ermo 302; Brevilogio 519; Hörmönseder II 129ff., 318ff.; on the unfinished letter he left with names of benefactors see: C. Boxer, *The Great Ship of Amacon* (Lisbon 1959) 128f.; — *The Christian Century of Japan* 369, 497; Manoel 400; *Avisos del estado de las Christiandades de Japon y China y sucesos de la India Oriental y destas Islas Filipinas* (Manila July 25, 1633), in: Colin-Pastells S.J., *Labor evangélica de los obreros de la Compañía de Jesús en las Islas Filipinas* (Barcelona 1903-1904) III 517; *Diario do 3º Conde de Linhares* (March 21, 1634) 26 of the 1937 edition.
84. CRONDIUS was killed by the moriscos at Huécija in 1570.  
Sources: Els. 158; Lant. II 401.
85. CUADRA Juan de la, burned on Christmas, 1568 at Huécija.  
Source: Her. I 289, 402; Els. 354; Burón 352.
86. CUESTA VILLALBA Frater Victor, born at Mantinos (Palencia) on May 13, 1917, was shot at Paracuellos on Nov. 30, 1936.  
Sources: AA 17 (1941) 309; Arr. 72; Fueyo 148; LI 30; Mont. 343; Necr.; Vic. 225, 283; Positio 231, 397, 404, 467.
87. DA COSTA Domingos do Nascimento martyred in Mombasa by Yusuf Chingulia on Aug. 21, 1631.  
Sources: AA 5 (1913-1914) 40; Manoel 169, 420; Silva Rego XII 41; Sic. 21; Swahili 335; Alonso 95; Her. I 195; Campos do Ermo 299; Brevilogio 517; Josephus 499; Mombasa Rising 117ff., 123, 149.
88. DA COSTA Francisco da Apresentação was killed by the Arabs on Quiloa when Mombasa was taken on Apr. 25, 1729.



Sources: Manoel 675; Swahili 339.

89. DA COSTA Lourenço da Conceição, born at Baçaim was killed in Mangalor in 1618.

Sources: Manoel 377; Silva Rego XII 187.

90. DALMAU REGÁS Brother José María, born at Calella (Barcelona) on Dec. 16, 1886, was in charge of the printing shop of the Escorial monastery and was shot at Paracuellos on Nov. 30, 1936.

Sources: AA 17 (1941) 309; Arr. 209; Fueyo 148; LI 31; Mont. 343; Necr.; Vic. 168, 283; Positio 99, 283, 404.

91. DAMORIN Juan died in 1610 pierced with lances while disembarking in the harbor of Nagasaki.

Sources: Boxer, *Christ. Cent.* 277ff.; Japan 48; Pérez 39; Osario 170; San Agustín I 494, II 84; Sic. 50; Lant. III 395; J. L. Álvarez, *Don Rodrigo de Vivero et la destruction de la Nao 'Madre de Deos' (1609-1610)*, in: *Monumenta Nipponica* II (Tokyo 1939) 174 note 67. See also: OSORIO Francisco.

92. DANIELS (or DANNEELS) Brother Nicholas, a conventual of Ghent, was burned June 28, 1578. Most Aug. sources have July 4 by wrongly translating 4. Cal. Julii.

Sources: Van den Born 89; Her. II 176; Els. 504; Maigr. 119: he makes reference to Em. Meteranus and Francis Petit, *History of the Netherlands* (Duaci 1626) 110ff.; Josephus 260; N. Teeuwen OSA, *Figuren uit de geschiedenis van Augustijns Vlaanderen. De martelaren Joos van Dijke en Clays Danneels*, in: O.L.Vrouw van Goeden Raad 19 (April 1947) 14ff. See also: Keelhoff (Gent) 102-3; Repert. 124.

93. DE AGUIRRE Luis of the isle of Teneriffe was burned at Huécija on Christmas 1568.

Sources: Her. I 289; Lant. II 432; Els. 438; Burón 352.

94. DE ARAUJO Gonçalo da Graça was in March 1661 beheaded for the faith by Arabs in Mombasa together with André de San João and Domingos de S. Agostinho.

Sources: Manoel 170, 502; Silva Rego XII 44; Swahili 337; Campos do Ermo 305; Brevilogio 521; Alonso 135; AA 4 (1911-1912) 388; Mombasa Rising 148.



95. DE GALARZA Matthaeus burned at Huécija on Christmas 1568.  
Sources: Her. I 289 and II 62; Lant. II 437; Els. 477; Burón 352.
96. DEGUISIANY Bernardino died in April 1606 in Barbary.  
Sources: *Martyre que deux autres religieux Augustins ont n'a guerre souffert en Barbarie*, in: *Addition à l'Histoire de Peru par un de la province de Tolose du mesme Ordre*; Gutiérrez 146. See however Maigr. 160.
97. DEIR Brother Thomas was found covered with wounds inflicted by the heretics in 1652. He was thought dead, but received the sacraments before he died.  
Sources: Sangu. Erem. 88; B. Hackett OSA, *The Tirry Documents*, in: *Arch. Hibern.* 20 (1957) 115; *Irish Good Counsel*; MS Prop. Fidei (Tirry) 10; AAS 6 (1914) 72, 7 (1915) 125; Conyngham 194; Ronan 212; Tabularium sub No. 10.
98. DE LA HERA CABEZA Brother Mateo, born at Baños (Palencia) on Sep. 21, 1904, was shot near Paredes (Cuenca) on July 28, 1936.  
Sources: Fueyo 41, 50; Mont. 818; Sanz 59, 81.
99. DELGADO GARCÍA Frater Daniel, born at Tuiza (Asturias) on Aug. 19, 1910, was shot by the militia while attempting to flee near Villena (Alicante) on July 23, 1936.  
Sources: Fueyo 64; Mont. 270.
100. DE MIER FRANCISCO Francisco, a twin brother of Nicolas, born at Redondo (Palencia) on Dec. 4, 1903, was shot on Aug. 6, 1936 at Tejar de Sixto.  
Sources: Fueyo 67, 79; Sanz 110; Mont. 838.
101. DE MIER FRANCISCO Nicolas, born at Redondo (Palencia) on Dec. 4, 1903, was killed with 14 others at Cuenca on Sep. 21, 1936.  
Sources: Fueyo 42, 46, 50; Sanz 64; Mont. 838; Positio from 255 until 745 passim.
102. DE TORRES Diego was burnt at Huécija on Christmas 1568.  
Sources: Her. I 289; Els. 165; Lant. II 404; Burón 352.

103. DE VALLE Alphonse was burnt at Huécija on Christmas 1568.  
Sources: Her. I 289; Els. 38; SSM 702; Crus. I 648; Lant. II 388; Tor. VIII 531; Burón 352; Hörmonseder 481f.
104. DE VILLEGAS Pedro, prior of Huécija, was burnt on Christmas 1568.  
Sources: Her. I 289; Her. (Sal) 201; Burón 351.
105. DE WILDE Adrianus, born at Heusden on Sept. 17, 1729, was during the French Revolution imprisoned and died in prison on March 27, 1799.  
Sources: Van Baveghem, *Het martelaarsboek of heldhaftig gedrag der Belgische geestelijkheid ten tijde der Fransche Omwenteling* (Ghent 1875) 255; J. Meerbergen, *Priesternamen uit de Geuzentijd, de Belokentijd en de Boerenkrijg* (Tongerlo 1951) 131; Keelhoff (Gent) 268 and Repert. 515: died on March 27, 1798.
106. DÍEZ DÍEZ Fernando +.
107. DÍEZ DÍEZ Brother Gumersindo, born at Villapodambre (León) on Jan. 12, 1880, disappeared from Barcelona the night of Oct. 12, 1936.  
Sources: Fueyo 55; Merino 468; Mont. 225; Sanz 88.
108. DÍEZ FERNÁNDEZ Jenaro, born at Prioro (León) on Apr. 8, 1911, was ordained on July 13, 1936, but was unable to say his first Mass. He was shot at Paracuellos on Nov. 7, 1936.  
Sources: AA 17 (1941) 306; Arr. 59; Fueyo 33, 138; LI 31; Mont. 336; Necr.; Vic. 78, 122, 262; Positio 397. \*
109. DÍEZ FERNÁNDEZ Frater Nemesio (deacon), born at Prioro (León) on Feb. 20, 1913, was shot at Paracuellos on Nov. 30, 1936.  
Sources: AA 17 (1941) 306; Arr. 35; Fueyo 148; LI 30; Mont. 343; Necr.; Vic. 224, 283; Positio 279ff., 397, 404, 481. \*
110. DÍEZ GARCÍA Anastasio, born at Quintanilla de Vivar (Burgos) on Jan. 21, 1877, was shot at Fuente la Higuera on Aug. 5, 1936.  
Sources: Fueyo 58, 64; Mont. 271; Sanz 104; Positio 1151, 1210, 1259. +



111. DÍEZ GUTIÉRREZ Brother Victoriano, born at Riosequino (León) on May 12, 1909, was shot at Pradera (Barcelona) on Oct. 30, 1936.  
Sources: Fueyo 115; Sanz 150; Mont. 797: died at Olot (Gerona).
112. DIOGO of the Mother of God (Oblate Brother) was killed on Aug. 16, 1631 by the Arabs at Mombasa.  
Sources: Silva Rego XII 42; Swahili 335; G. Freeman-Grenville, *The Martyrs of Mombasa*, in: *Afer* IX (Oct.1967) 357; Mombasa Rising 23, 82. Campos do Ermo 300; Alonso 119; Brevilogio 518.
113. DIXEN Christopher made his studies in Salamanca (Spain), was seven times exiled and then hanged, drawn and quartered at London in November 1616.  
Sources: Els. 144; Lanteri II 249; Maigr. 206; Naevius 314; SSM 721; Her. I 144; Hörmonseder 366ff.
114. DOMINGOS DE S. AGOSTINHO was beheaded by the Arabs in 1661 at Mombasa.  
Sources: See GONZALO DA GRAÇA.
115. DOMINGOS DE SANTA MARÍA martyr in Mina.  
Sources: Aparicio 47f.
116. DONADO Frater Benedicto intended to escape in a small boat into France. He was captured near Gerona by the border police. He died 1936 from mistreatment in prison at Barcelona.  
Sources: Fueyo 42, 51; Sanz 81.
117. DUPONT Maximilian Joseph, a former provincial, was drowned in the night of December 9/10, 1793 at Nantes.  
Sources: F. Uzureau, *Les prêtres morts à Nantes (1793-1794)*, in: *L'Anjou historique* 5 (1904) 166-189.
118. DURÁN MAYOL José, born at Sabadell (Barcelona) on Nov. 11, 1872, was assassinated in Guimardo on Aug. 28-29, 1936.  
Sources: Fueyo 114, 116; Mont. 789.
119. DUVAL Walter, an Irish martyr, was hanged after a long imprisonment on Oct. 21, 1655.  
Sources: Tabularium sub No. 9; CU (1950) 106; *The Monican* 6

(Villanova 1931) 25-33.

120. EGIDIO DE SAN ROQUE was killed by the Malabars on the way from Chaul in Oct. 1621.  
Sources: Manoel 365.
121. ELVAS Antonio de, a Portuguese Augustinian who returned from Florence, where he had made his studies, died from dagger wounds and had his throat cut at Lunel in Languedoc on March 17, 1561.  
Sources: SSM 697; Crus. I 670; Tor. VIII 426; Els. 72, 317; Maigr. 86; Mün. 40<sup>r</sup>; a fragment of a Martyrology, MS 1269 Bibl. Nac. Madrid denied this martyrdom on the grounds that the Portuguese province did not have at that time any students in Italy. Yet J. San Román says in his *Centurias* under 1561 (130<sup>r</sup>): En esto mesmo año a 17 Marzo venian dos rel. nuestros Port. Esto me fué dicho en nuestro convento de Harles por el P. Prior y convento de aquella ciudad, y era voz publica y noticia averiguada en todo el convento: dijeronmelo siete días despues que acaccia, porque ellos fuéron avisados de ello a tres días despues del hecho. See also: *Registrum Christophori Pat.* Dd 26 (Rome 1992) doc. 293; Dd 29 96<sup>r</sup> and 109<sup>r</sup>; *Flos Sanctorum* 684; Lanteri II 232; Her. I 400; in urbe Lunelensi; Naevius 315; Hörmonseder I 185ff.
122. EMINIUS one of the martyrs of Huécija in 1570.  
Sources: Els. 183; Lant. II 405.
123. ENRÍQUEZ Andrés was murdered in Tanauan on May 13, 1763, when he wished to restrain the people who sided with the English.  
Sources: Merino 214.
124. ESCROZAILLES Anthony, a conventual of Figeac in Quercy, was burned with hot frying pans and had hot fat dripped over his shoulders and legs Dec. 21, 1576.  
Sources: SSM 704; Crus. I 690; Tor. VIII 622; Els. 81; Lant. II 392; P. Salies, *Les Augustins de Figeac*, in: *Bulletin des Études Littéraires et Artistiques du Lot* 91 (1970) 193-196.
125. ESNAOLA URTEAGA José Joaquín, born at Idiazábal (Guipuzcoa) on Feb. 8, 1898, was found shot in the meadows of the rivulet Butarque near Leganes on July 24, 1936.  
Sources: AA 17 (1941) 304; Arr. 110; Fueyo 29ff.; Ll 31; Mont.



- 800; Múgica Iparraguirre Pedro M<sup>a</sup>, *Los ocho Santos de Idiazabal* (Donostia-San Sebastian 1994) 128-131; Necr.; N. Urteaga OSA, *El Martir de Leganés* (El Escorial 1963); Vic. 72, 247ff.; Positio 41f. passim until 488.
126. ESPEJO SOBRON Tomás died in a hospital in Madrid on Aug. 22, 1938.  
Sources: Fueyo 51, 72, 79, 339. +
127. ESPESO CUEVAS Matías, born at San Martín de Valdetuéjar (León) on Feb. 22, 1901, was shot at Paracuellos on Nov. 30, 1936.  
Sources: AA 17 (1941) 305; Arr. 35; BIM 10/95 (1992) 403-05; Fueyo 152; Ll 29; Llordén 325; Mont. 342; Vic. 282; Positio 30f., 141f., 447f.
128. ESPINOLA Juan, the youngest on the mission of D. Herrera.  
Sources: Same as Herrera.
129. EUGENIO DE S. AGOSTINHO da Serra, born at Coimbra, made his profession in Goa on March 16, 1604 and was decapitated in Mangalor in 1618.  
Sources: Silva Rego XII 187; Manoel 373f.; Campos do Ermo 324; Brevilogio 460, 505.
130. FARIÑA CASTRO José, born at Valladolid on March 18, 1879 was the editor of Vergel Agustiniano and a famous preacher and retreat master. He was shot at Paracuellos on Nov. 30, 1936.  
Sources: Fueyo 148; Vic. 282; Mont. 149, 343; AA 17 (1941) 308; Positio from 30ff. until 481.
131. FENELL Gerardus of the Irish province entered the Order in Salamanca. After two years incarceration he died in prison.  
Sources: Crus. II 366; Hackett, *The Tirry Documents*, in: *Archivum Hibernicum* 20 (1957) 116; Sangu. Erem. 89.
132. FERNÁNDEZ DÍAZ Brother Eladio, born at Calamocos (León) on Dec. 14, 1905, was shot near the highway of Andalucía on Sep. 7, 1936.  
Sources: AA 17 (1941) 306; Arr. 207; Fueyo 152; Ll 32; Mont. 803; Necr.; Vic. 168, 252, 284.

133. FERNÁNDEZ Diego was burned at Huécija on Christmas 1568.  
Sources: Her. I 289; Els. 166; Burón 352.
134. FERREIRA Antonio da Paixão, a former subprior of the convent of Hormuz, was martyred in Mombasa on Aug. 21, 1631 by the apostate Yusuf.  
Sources: AA 5 (1913-1914) 40; AA 25 (1962) 302; AA 48 (1985) 191; Manoel 169, 368; Silva Rego XII 41; Crus. II 530; Sic. 21; Campos do Ermo 299; Brevilogio 517; Josephus 499; Swahili 335; Her. I 35; Mombasa Rising 44, 87ff.; Alonso 95.
135. FERREIRA Antonio da Piedade was poisoned in Ampora in 1659.  
Sources: Manoel 461; Brevilogio 518; Josephus 499.
136. FERRER Rafael worked in 1602 in Amazonia and was murdered there in March 1610.  
Sources: Villarejo 382.
137. FERRERO Vincente, born at Vegalatrava (Zamora) on Nov. 2, 1878, disappeared from Barcelona on the night of Oct. 11, 1936.  
Sources: Fueyo 51, 55; Sanz 89; Mont. 229 has July 36.
138. FLORES Brother Antonio de, was martyred in Ternate (Maluco) in 1626.  
Sources: San Agustín II 237; Portillo II 227ff. See however Osario 33f. and Merino 160.
139. FORMIGO GIRÁLDEZ Manuel was born at Pazos Hermos (Orense) on Nov. 13, 1894. He left on Aug. 15, 1936 with a pix filled with hosts on usual sickcalls, but did not return. He was shot at Lagunillas in Malaga on Aug. 15, 1936 not far from his convent.  
Sources: AA 17 (1941) 305; Arr. 178; BIM 10/90 (1991) 141, 142-43; Fueyo 84-86; Ll 31; Mont. 143; Necr.; Vic. 80ff.; Positio 927, 1001, 1078, 1098.
140. FRANCISCUS Brother, a Japanese catechist of Francisco Correa, made his profession in prison. He died in the pit on Aug. 17, 1633.  
Sources: Sic. 292; San Agustín II 316; Pages I 787; Profilet II 197; Japan 141, note 67.
141. FRANCISCUS DE JESU-MARIA was captured in 1636 by the



natives of Mindanao. He continued to preach. When the Spaniards defeated the natives, he was shot with four bullets in the form of the cross on his breast and died on Dec. 21, 1636.

Sources: Her. I 238; Els. 204.

142. FRANCUS François, a conventual of Geaune, so called because he was a Frank, was in 1570 by the Huguenots dragged through the cloister of Geaune and had his breasts and other parts cut off.

Sources: Crus. I 668; Lant. II 409; Maigr. 138; Els. 210.

143. FRIEDEBERG martyrs of. The heretics conquered the convent of Friedeberg in 1548. They burnt the town with the Church and the Augustinian monastery. They vented their rage upon the religious. The prior found his death in the flames, the rest of the brethren, ten altogether, were slain.

Sources: Königsberg, Ostpreußisches Staatsarchiv: *Repertorium der Urkunden zur Geschichte der Neumark* 132 + 149; G. Uth OSA, *Die Augustiner in Polen*, in: AA 33 (1970) 266; Her. I 261.

144. FRITSCHÉ Nicholas, a conventual of Thionville, was imprisoned at Metz and placed on the prisonship Washington, where he died of hardship in August 1794.

Sources: Guillon III 132; R. Paquet, *Bibliographie analytique de l'histoire de Metz pendant la Révolution 1789-1800*. I 182-205.

145. FUENTE PUEBLA Frater Francisco, born at Buena Vista de Val-davia (Palencia) on Oct. 17, 1916, was shot at Paracuellos on Nov. 30, 1936.

Sources: AA 17 (1941) 309; Arr. 163; Fueyo 148; LI 30; Mont. 343, Necr.; Vic. 168, 283; Positio 175f., 404, 465f.

146. FULGENTIUS saved himself from the burning tower of Huécija, but was forced to carry the moors through the icecold river and was then immersed until he died in 1570.

Sources: A. Foerimayolus, *Vita Pii V*; Maigr. 107; Els. 220.

147. FURLONG Thomas a S. Cruce, born at Wexford, Ireland, made his profession at Salamanca on April 5, 1614. Her. II 447: In eius subscriptione ad professionis instrumentum duplicata annotatione titulo martyris insignitur.

Sources: Els. 659; Her. (Sal) 415.

148. GACZEK William, Commissary Provincial of the Polish Province, perished in Auschwitz in 1941.  
Sources: *Hieronimus Struszczyk OSA*, in: *Słowo Powszechne* (a Warsaw newspaper) Aug. 1973; AA 18 (1941) 283; *Nacht des Grauens*, in: CU 33 (Würzburg 1975) 46-49.
  
149. GAITERO GONZÁLEZ Victor, born at Valdemora (León) on Oct. 18, 1871, came to the Philippines during the rebellion. He was shot at Fuente la Higuera on Aug. 5, 1936.  
Sources: Fueyo 58, 64; Mont. 271; Positio 1191f. until 1267. +
  
150. GALLEGO ABAD Abilio was brutally beaten and had his throat cut on Aug. 22, 1933 at the Tungting Lake in China.  
Sources: T. Aparicio López OSA, *Abilio Gallego Abad (1895-1933)*; A. Hartmann OSA, *The Martyr of the Tungting Lake*, in: *The Tagastan* 18 (1955) no. 2, 23-33.; CU 13 (1955) 19-21, 55-59, 90-96; *Maria vom Guten Rat Kalender* (1957) 46-49; A. Cerezal OSA, *El Martyr del Tungting. Vida y Martirio del misionero Agustino P. Abilio Gallego Abad* (Valladolid 1939).
  
151. GAMUCCI Michelangelo (deacon), a member of the Etruscan province, was in 1526 impaled by the Turks among whom he had preached the Gospel with Joseph a S. Geminiano.  
Sources: Her. II 60; Crus. I 565; Els. 486; Lant. II 183; Ángel Rodríguez OSA, *La Orden Agustiniiana durante quince siglos* (Pamplona 1927) 127.
  
152. GANDO UÑA frater José (subdeacon), born at Villageriz de Vidriales (Zamora) on July 17, 1910, was shot at Paracuellos on Nov. 30, 1936.  
Sources: AA 17 (1941) 306; Arr. 149; Fueyo 148; LI 30; Mont. 343; Necr.; Vic. 168, 282; Positio 38f. passim until 488.
  
153. GARCÍA CANO frater Adolfo was born at Felechares de la Valdería (León) on Dec. 20, 1914. He was imprisoned at San Antón at Madrid. After getting unexpectedly free, he became on account of the aftereffects of the war seriously ill. He received the last rites secretly in the hospital, where he died "viribus fractus" on Feb. 12, 1939.  
Sources: AA 17 (1941) 307; Arr. 312; Fueyo 137, 154; LI 32; Necr.; Vic. 210, 260f., 285.



154. GARCÍA Marcos, a companion of Father Ortiz, was drowned in 1569.  
Sources: Ignacio Monasterio OSA, *Datos para la historia de los Agustinos en el Perú*, in: *Recuerdo de la Inauguración del Templo de San Agustín* (Lima 1908) 235f.; Villarejo 145ff.; Brulius fol. 91; Her. I 193; Els. 454; Calancha 76f.
155. GARCÍA FERRERO Joaquín, born at Morales de Valverde (Zamora), on Aug. 21, 1884, was shot at Paracuellos Nov. 30, 1936.  
Sources: AA 17 (1941) 308; Arr. 160; Fueyo 149; Ll 30; Llordén 361; Mont. 343; Vic. 119, 224, 282; Positio 330, 404, 486.
156. GARCÍA HERRERO Santiago was assassinated in Candon in the Philippines on March 25, 1898.  
Sources: Pérez 525; Merino 130f.
157. GARCÍA DE LA FUENTE Arturo, born at Madrid on June 19, 1902, doctor Lovaniensis, was shot at Paracuellos on Nov. 30, 1936.  
Sources: AA 17 (1941) 309; Arr. 105; Fueyo 145, 149; Ll 30; Llordén 363; Mont. 343, 619; Vic. 191, 282; Positio 30f. passim until 485.
158. GARCÍA GONZÁLEZ Senén, born at Villarín (León) on July 15, 1905, was shot at Paracuellos on Nov. 28, 1936.  
Sources: AA 17 (1941) 309; Arr. 107; BIM 11/97 (1992) 70-72; Fueyo 152; Ll 29; Llordén 371; Mont. 147, 341; Vic. 102, 261; Positio 143, 388, 404, 483.
159. GARCÍA GUTIÉRREZ Brother Ángel, born at Barriosuso (Palencia) on May 27, 1913, died at Madrid on July 25, 1936.  
Sources: Fueyo 33; Arr. 84; Ll 32; Mont. 809; Necr.; Vic. 230, 261, 284.
160. GARCÍA RUBIO Nemesio (deacon), born at Vegapujín (León) on Apr. 17, 1912, was shot at Paracuellos on Nov. 30, 1936.  
Sources: AA 17 (1941) 306; Arr. 61; Fueyo 135, 149; C. Heras, *Fr. Nemesio Garcia Rubio*, in: *El Buen Consejo* 111 (1955) 94; Ll 29; Mont. 343; Necr.; Vic. 188, 282; Positio from 37 passim to 488.

161. GARCÍA SAN ROMÁN Claudio, born at Puebla de Sanabria (Zamora) on Jan. 9, 1904, was assassinated by the checka of Neila towards the end of Oct. 1936.  
Sources: Fueyo 128; Sanz 176; Mont. 809; *Boletín ConCordis de la provincia de España* 21 (1995) 46; Positio 824, 834, 843. +
162. GARCÍA SUÁREZ Esteban, born at Canales (León) on Aug. 1, 1891, was shot at Paracuellos on Nov. 30, 1936.  
Sources: AA 17 (1941) 308; Arr. 117; Fueyo 152; Ll 29; Llordén 358; Mont. 343; Vic. 168, 282; Positio 30f., 404, 486.
163. GARNELO ÁLVAREZ Benito, born at Carracedo del Monasterio (León) on Jan. 12, 1876, was editor of *Religión y Cultura* and *La Ciudad de Dios*. He was shot at Paracuellos on Nov. 30 1936.  
Sources: AA 17 (1941) 308; Arr. 87; Fueyo 149; Ll 34; Llordén 372; Mont. 343; Vic. 132, 282; Positio passim from 30 to 485. \*
164. GASPAR DOS ANJOS, born at Lisbon, came 1572 to Mina. In 1575 he was taken prisoner by pirates from La Rochelle, cruelly whipped and drowned on March 19, 1575.  
Sources: Flos Sanctorum 686ff.; Hörmonseder I 204f.; Aparicio 47.
165. GASPAR DE S. AGOSTINHO was killed by an apostate while serving as chaplain to the troops which tried to recapture Mombasa in 1632.  
Sources: AA 5 (1913-1914) 40; Sic. 29; Crus. II 244; Manoel XI 284; Campos do Ermo 327; Brevilogio 507; Simon da Graça AA 4 (1911-1912) 388; Swahili 335; Alonso 127f.; Mombasa Rising 151.
166. GASPAR MALESIUS of Silesia, prior of Schopka, was killed by Hussites in Bohemia about 1529.  
Sources: SSM 712; Her. II 290; Crus. I 229; Kunzelmann III 146.
167. GIBESMAYR Brother Johannes was during the siege of Vienna in 1683 killed by the Tartars.  
Sources: Österr. Nationalbibl. MS B 8466 215<sup>v</sup>; Aug<sup>um</sup> 6 (1966) 271 note 24<sup>a</sup>.
168. GIL Antonio, a conventual of Játiva, was killed with two shots at Gorga on April 27, 1679.  
Sources: AHHA 8 (1917) 401f.



169. GIL GARCÍA Mariano, born at Carrión de los Condes (Palencia) on Oct. 9, 1876, was shot in the neck by the guards who had arrested him and was found dead at Madrid on July 20, 1936.  
Sources: Fueyo 18, 28; Mont. 813; Sanz 23ff.; Vic. 47.
  
170. GIL LEAL Gerardo, the social apostle of El Escorial, born at La Vid (Burgos) on Oct. 3, 1871, was shot at Paracuellos on Nov. 30, 1936.  
Sources: AA 17 (1941) 308; Arr. 154; BIM 11/106 (1994) 541-52; Fueyo 133, 149; Gonzalez Velasco M: *Labor social del padre Gerardo Gil en El Escorial*, in: *Anuario Juridico Económico Escripturalense*, época II, n. 24 (1992) 575-630; Ll 29; Llordén 377; Mont. 343; Vic. 186, 200, 282; Positio from 30f. passim until 484.
  
171. GOBIERT Gaspar, a conventual of Tournai, died by the guillotine on Nov. 9, 1794 at Brussels 59 years old.  
Sources: Guillon III 208; Crus. III 37; Van den Born 100; J. B. Van Baveghem, *op.cit.* No. 105, 283; Aug<sup>a</sup> 4 (1954) 94; Repert. 184.
  
172. GOCIEK Joseph of the Polish Province, died in Auschwitz on Nov. 4, 1941 beaten to death by the guards of the concentration camp by orders of the camp's commandant, Siebert, before the eyes of the other Augustinians in the camp. He had been the librarian and theologian of St. Catharine's at Cracow.  
Sources: Boniface Wozny, an eye witness, in the *Polish daily Slowo Powszechnie* of Aug. 1973; CU 33 (Würzburg 1975) 48.
  
173. GÓMEZ ALVARO Epifanio, born at Lerma (Burgos) on March 7, 1874, was drowned in the ocean on flight after Dec. 22, 1936.  
Sources: Fueyo 126, 128; Sanz 179; Mont. 814; *Boletín ConCordis de la Provincia de España* 21 (1995) 47 has: he was thrown from the lighthouse into the ocean his hands tied to his cincture and a rock to his neck. Positio 824, 829, 835, 846. +
  
174. GONZÁLEZ ARTURO died in the Ebro river. He was a soldier with the national army.  
Sources: Fueyo 434. +
  
175. GONZÁLEZ FERNÁNDEZ Eliseo, born at Murias de Aller (Asturias), died in the battle of Bilbao as a soldier with the national

- army.  
Sources: Fueyo 375, 432, 433. +
176. GONZÁLEZ FERNÁNDEZ José Maria was shot in the battle of Madrid.  
Sources: Fueyo 434. +
177. GONZÁLEZ GARCÍA Bernardino, born at Las Veguillas (Salamanca) on Jan. 13, 1916, died in the battle of Lérida.  
Sources: Fueyo 434. +
178. GONZALO DE S. MIGUEL (seems to be the same as 94) martyred by the Arabs in Mombasa.  
Sources: AA 5 (1913-1914) 40; Sic. 21; compare Mombasa Rising 148 with Manoel 170.
179. GRAELS John was with his companion Raymond de Anglada sawed in two by the pirate Juan Pérez on July 27, 1617.  
Sources: Els. 378; Crus. I 688; Maigr. 236 says that he was pressed to death between two planks; Lant. 313; Her. I 415.
180. GUARIN Augustine, prior of Montpellier and Rector of the university, was killed by poison. His entrails were carried through the town in 1568.  
Sources: SSM 689; Her. I 22, II 114; Els. 98; Crus. I 652; Tor. VIII 479; Maigr. 93; Mün. 45<sup>v</sup>; Cent. 130<sup>v</sup>; Josephus 93; Lanteri II 226, 395; Naevius 318.
181. GUARRIGES Johannes, martyr of Montpellier in 1568.  
Sources: See Montpellier.
182. GUERRERO PRIETO Frater Marcos, born at Fuente Encalada (Zamora) on May 12, 1915, was shot at Paracuellos on Nov. 30, 1936.  
Sources: AA 17 (1941) 309; Arr. 71; Fueyo 149; Ll 30; Llordén 390; Mont. 343; Vic. 224, 283; Positio 38f., 404, 458.
183. GUTIÉRREZ COSTA Brother Antonino, born at Ventanilla (León) on Sept. 2, 1881, was shot on the highway of Rubi Farrasa (Barcelona) on July 27, 1936.  
Sources: Fueyo 55; Mont. 818; Sanz 89.



184. GUTIÉRREZ Bl. Bartholomew, born in Mexico City on Aug. 28, 1580, was for 31 days tortured in the hot springs of Unzen, then burnt at slow fire at Nagasaki on Sep. 3, 1632.  
Sources: *Jap. Cath. Encycl.* I 824, 839; M. Claver OSA, *El admirable y excelente martirio ...* (Manila 1638); Gregorio Ochoa del Carmen ORSA, *Dos Heroes* (Zaragoza 1934); Els. 116; Sic. 239ff.; San Agustín II 272; Osario 49; Pérez 78; *Compendio de la vida y martirio del glorioso martir mexicano, el P. Bartolomeo Gutiérrez de la Orden de S. Agustín* (San Luis de Potosí 1931); J. Eguira y Eguren, *Biblioteca Mexicana* (Mexico 1755) I 387ff.; Japan 107ff.; Flos Sanctorum 35ff.; *Report of Diego Pardo*, in: *Recollectio* 7 (Roma 1984) 192-194; 196-197; VIII 230-238; *Japan-Handbook* (Berlin 1941) 373.
185. GUTIÉRREZ ARRANZ José, chaplain of the Seminary and College of Uclés, born at Zuzones (Burgos) on March 14, 1883, was shot at Emes de Belinchón (Cuenca) on July 28, 1936.  
Sources: Fueyo 50; Sanz 54ff.; Mont. 318; Positio from 521 passim until 742. \* +
186. GUTIÉRREZ CALVO Brother Luis, born at Melgar de Abajo (Valladolid) on Jan. 29, 1888, was tortured and bayoneted in prison. As it seems he was then shot in Callejón de la Pellejera at Málaga on Aug. 25, 1936.  
Sources: AA 17 (1941) 305; Arr. 131; BIM 10/90 (1991) 141f., 337ff.; Fueyo 79, 86; Ll 31; Llordén 394; Mont. 142, 581; Vic. 80, 283; Positio 943, 1069, 1094, 1101f.
187. GUTIÉRREZ ORTÍZ Frater Teodosio, born at Zuzones (Burgos) in May 1915, died in the battle of Aguaviva (Teruel).  
Sources: Fueyo 434. +
188. HAENS Georges, born at Aarschot Nov. 19. 1726, died in consequence of serious wounds received when the French revolutionaries entered Belgium the first time on Apr. 9, 1793.  
Sources: Van Baveghem, *op.cit.* in No. 105, 291; J. Wils, *Obituaire des Augustins de Louvain*, in: *Analectes pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique de la Belgique* 30 (1903) 380f.; Repert. 201.
189. HARDER Heinrich von Rattenberg was hanged on Sunday, May 11, 1480 at Fürstenfeld in Steiermark by heretical Hungarians.

Sources: Els. 99 + 277 + 522; Crus. I 491; Tor. VII 317; Maigr. 57; has Friday after the Ascension; Lant. II 177ff.; Kunzelmann III 18; AA 2 (1907/08) 174; CU 18(1960) 96f. ; Hörmonseder I 322ff.; F. Rennhofer, *Augustinerklöster in Österreich*, in: Aug<sup>a</sup> 6 (1956) 523; Martinus Rosnak OSA, *De Monasteriis Provinciae Austriae et Hungariae Ordinis Fratrum Eremitarum S. Patris Augustini succincta notitia* (Viennae 1776) 18; Josephus 47; SSM 672; Maigr. 57.

190. HERIA LUIS Eustaquio, born at Grases (Asturias) on Sept. 20, 1862, was murdered in the night of Oct. 12, 1936 at Barcelona.  
Sources: Fueyo 41, 54; Sanz 81, 89; Mont. 229.

191. HERRERA Diego, first provincial of the Philippines, came with Legazpi to the Isles in 1565. He was killed with nine companions by lance thrusts on the Island of Cantanduanes in March 1576.  
Sources: San Agustín I 330; Pérez 3, 17; Els. 163; Osario 64; Grijalva 422, 501; Her. I 191 + II 570; Portillo I 251; Mün. 49<sup>r</sup>; Maigr. 109; Martínez 37; T. Aparicio López OSA, *Misioneros y Colonizadores Agustinos en Filipinas* (Valladolid 1965) 63; Merino 531f.; I. Rodríguez OSA, *Historia de la Prov. Ag. del Ssmo. Nombre de Jesús de Filip.* I (Manila 1965) 211ff.; Naevius 316.

192. HERRERA Brother Diego de, was killed by the rebellious Chinese in 1640.  
Sources: Merino 183; Osario 36.

193. HEYTOR DA MADRE DE DEOS was murdered by Mohammedans at the fortress of Soar in 1630, because he refused to accept the Koran.  
Sources: Manoel 412; Silva Rego XII 45; Brevilogio 207.

194. HIERONYMUS DE CRUCE was chaplain on the Armada.  
Sources: Crus. I 733ff., especially I 763.

195. HIERONYMUS AB INCARNATIONE, Lusitanus, died a martyr after 1572 in Mina.  
Sources: T. Aparicio López, *Expansión de la Orden de San Agustín por la India*, in: *Missionalia Hispanica* 28 (Madrid 1971) 282; Aparicio 47f.; Her I 322; Flos Sanctorum 686.



196. HIERRO Francisco was killed by the partisans of the English at the capture of Manila in 1762 at San Pablo de los Montes. Afterwards they mutilated his body.  
Sources: Merino 428.
  
197. HIGGINS Augustine was slain by parliamentary troops under Coote on Oct.24, 1645. He was hewn to pieces by the soldiers claymores.  
Sources: *Irish Good Counsel* (Dec. 1943) 6f.; Els. 98; Lant. II 396; Causae introductio AAS 6 (1914) 72 and AAS 7 (1915) 125.
  
198. HOMPANERA PARÍS Brother Diego, born at Muteca (Palencia) on Nov. 13, 1915, was shot at Málaga on Sep. 21, 1936 in the cemetery of St.Rafael near Málaga.  
Sources: AA 17 (1939-1940) 306; Arr. 147; BIM 10/90 (1991) 142f., 337f.; Fueyo 87, 161; Ll 31; Mont. 143; Necr.; Vic. 80, 88, 183; Positio 959ff., 1069f., 1103f.
  
199. HORTA Luis da Madre de Deos, a native of Goa and prior of Mascate, was beheaded at Mascate on Oct. 31, 1647 with Thomas de Villanova.  
Sources: Silva Rego XII 43f.; Manoel 167, 469; AA 5 (1913-1914) 41; Brevilogio 520; Aparicio 81; Gutiérrez 260.
  
200. HURTADO DE IBARGUEN Agustín, born at Lima, was killed with arrows by Indians and then his face was crushed with stones. With him five members of the Confraternity of the Cincture were killed on Apr. 2, 1702.  
Sources: Villarejo 225ff.; a pencil note on the first volume of Juan Teodoro Vázquez OSA, *Crónica continuada de esta provincia del Perú de N.P.S. Agustín*, MS Arch. Hist. Nac. (Lima 1725), ed. T. Aparicio López (Valladolid, 1991); AHHA 1921 II 369; Crus. II 521.
  
201. HYACINTHUS de Jesu Maria was tied to a tree and killed with arrows in 1631 in the Philippines.  
Sources: Els. 303; Hörmonseder II 431f.
  
202. IBÁÑEZ ARGONDOÑA Dionisio, born at Orenín (Álava) worked as missionary in the Philippines and Colombia, and was murdered the night of Oct. 12, 1936 at Barcelona.

Sources: Fueyo 55; Sanz 89; Pérez 595, 625; Merino 483; Mont. 229.

203. IBÁÑEZ Laureano was killed with poisoned arrows at Chipillosani in Perú on July 17, 1629.

Sources: Villarejo 221; Crus. II 62; Lant. II 172; Calancha 351ff.; Her. II 8 and with him Gutiérrez 146 have wrongly 1556; Els. 424.

204. IGNOTUS, the last Augustinian at Soar on the Arabian coast was killed by Arabs.

Sources: Her. I 421; Silva Rego XII 19.

ILDEFONSUS HISPANUS is Pedro de Montejo see: Osario 493f.

205. INNOCENT LUSITANUS, companion of De Elvas, died of beatings and dagger wounds on March 17, 1561.

Sources: See Elvas; Tor. VIII 426; Lant. II 232; Hörmönseder I 185f; Flos Sanctorum 684 calls him Innocent de Barcellos.

206. ITURRARÁN LAUCIRICA Frater Miguel, born at Marquina (Vizcaya), on Sept. 28, 1918, was shot at Paracuellos on Nov. 30, 1936.

Sources: AA 17 (1939-1940) 309; Arr. 124; Fueyo 135, 149; Llamas 30; Mont. 343; Necr.; Vic. 183; Positio 85, 179, 397, 404, 470.

207. JACQUEMIN Nicolas of the monastery of Paris. He was imprisoned in 1793. Together with Fr. Fritsche he was put aboard the ship "Washington", where he died of tortures on Oct. 2, 1794 at the age of 55.

Sources: Guillon, III 335. He gives the name as Jacquemard. C.E. Aimond, *Histoire religieuse de la Révolution dans le Département de la Meuse et le Diocèse de Verdun (1789-1802)* (Bar le Duc 1949) 489. He gives his age as 63.

208. JANIN Joseph Adalbert, prior of Lyons, historian, archivist, was deported on Aug. 26, 1792 and guillotined on Jan. 3, 1794 as 'prêtre fanatique et prêchant la contre-révolution'. He was 78 years old.

Sources: Guillon III 346; MS 1050 du Fonds Coste of the Bib. Nat. de Lyon, where he is called: Aldeboeuf.



209. JIHIOYE Thomas of St. Augustine, the first Japanese priest of the Order, died in the pit Nov. 6, 1637 at Nagasaki.  
Sources: Information Process of Macao AHHA 17 (1930) 57ff.; his letter to the General AHHA 23 369f.; M. Claver OSA, *El admirable y excelente martirio ...* 43ff.; Sic. 300; San Agustín II 362; Martínez 118; Japan 126f.; Boxer, *The Great Ship of Amacon* (Lisbon 1959) 152ff.; M. Anesaki, *Concordance to the History of the Kirishitan Missions*, in: *Proceedings of the Imperial Academy of Tokyo*, suppl. to vol. VI (Tokyo 1930) 70; *Kat. Dai Jitan* I 791 + II 44; Kataoka Yakichi, *Nagasaki no Junkyosho* 62ff.; extensively treated in the old Nagasaki MS Nagasakikoso, Omurake Ki and Omura Kembunshu; Hörmonseder II 362ff; Thomas Purcell OSA, *Father Thomas of Omura*, in: *The Japan Missionary Bulletin* (Tokyo June 1962); Tomino Minakuchi, *Kintsuba* (Kyoto 1995).
  
210. JIMÉNEZ Thomas assassinated on April 4, 1898 on the highway del Pardo to Talisay by the insurgents of Cebu.  
Sources: Pérez 656; AA 10 (1924) 471; Merino 150.
  
211. JOHANNES Brother, catechist of Francisco Correa, died in the pit Aug. 17, 1633.  
Sources: Sic. 292; Pages 787; Profilet II 260; San Agustín II 316; Japan 141 note 67.
  
212. JOHANNES de Fano, baccalaureus, captured by Mohammedans he was stoned to death in 1423.  
Sources: Her. I 372; Els. 352; Lant. I 373.
  
213. JOHANNES DE MADRE DEI, ORSA was killed in 1625 in the Philippines, 39 years old, by the lance thrusts of a relapsed convert whom he had reprehended.  
Sources: Els. 356; Her. I 421.
  
214. JOHANNES DE S. NICOLAO, born at Alba (Cuneo), made his profession in the Genovese Congregation, but then transferred to the Augustinian Recollects. During the war between Savoy and the Republic of Genoa he noticed a few French soldiers, perhaps heretics, torment some Catholics. When he reproved them, the evildoers wounded the faultfinding priest mortally. He died the day afterwards in the monastery of Triole on Aug. 24, 1625.  
Sources: Els. 365; Her. I 423.

215. JOHANNES DE S. NICOLAO, ORSA Matritensis, was in the Philippines on March 19, 1637 thrown head-on from a rock.  
Sources: Her. I 422; Els. 356; Hörmonseder I 188f.
  
216. JOHANNES DE S. THOMA, ORSA Hispanus, prior of the convent of Tanda in the Philippines, was on July 19, 1631 pierced with a javelin.  
Sources: Her. I 423; Els. 366.
  
217. JOÃO André de São João, born at Lisbon in 1630, was beheaded by Arabs at Mombasa in 1661.  
Sources: AA 5 (1913-1914) 40; Manoel 170, 496; Sic. 21; Swahili 337; AA 4 (1911-1912) 388; Alonso 135; Mombasa Rising 149.
  
218. JORDAN Fulgentius, a conventual of Ballyhaunis, was in 1652 shot in a sandquarry near the monastery, when he refused to renounce the faith.  
Sources: Sangu. Erem. 87; *Irish Good Counsel* has a different version: he was torn from the pulpit by heretical soldiers and hanged on a nearby tree in 1642. Tabularium sub No. 6; Anonymous, *Father Fulgentius Jordan OSA, the martyr of Ballyhaunis*, in: *The Western People* (Ireland) Oct. 28, 1961, 5; B. Hackett OSA, *The Tirry Documents*, in: *Arch. Hibern.* 20 (1957) 115. In note 1 Hackett affirms that 1642 must be a mistake for 1652. Cf. Irish Provincial Archives: Hughes Papers. Also Conyngham 192 has 1652; Ronan 212. *Causae introductio* signed by Benedict XV on Feb. 12, 1915 in: AAS 6 (1914) 72 and AAS 7 (1915) 125.
  
219. JOSEPH Brother, companion of William of St. Augustine, was killed with arrows in Persia on Jan. 15, 1612.  
Sources: See WILLIAM, esp. MS 1269 No.37 Bibl. Nac. Madrid.
  
220. JOSEPH OF ST. GEMINIANO, a priest of the Etruscan province, was impaled in 1524 by the Turks to whom he preached the Gospel.  
Sources: Crus. I 563; Her. I 395; Els. 414; Ambrosius Landucci OSA, *Sacra Ilicetana Sylva, sive Origo, et Chronicon Breve Coenobii et Congregationis de Iliceto in Hetruria Ord. Erem. S.P. Augustini in Tuscia* (Senis 1653) 124; Lant. II 183.



221. JUAN DE LA CRUZ wounded to death by moors in Ugulim in 1632.  
Sources: Sic. 30; AA 25 (1962) 299; however see Manoel 184, 359f.
222. JUAN DE SANTA CRUZ, a companion of Diego de Herrera, was killed with arrows in 1576.  
Sources: See HERRERA.
223. KAHIOYE Bl. Brother Thomas, a catechist of Bl. Bartholomew, was beheaded at Nagasaki with two Brothers, John Shozuburo and Mancius Saizaemon, on Oct. 28, 1630.  
Sources: Sic. 236; Osario 167 (has wrongly Sep. 8 as date of death); Pérez 182, note 1; Japan 115, note 48; *Katorikku Dai Jiten* I 839.
224. KUHIOYE Bl. Peter, Oblate, dojuku of bl. Bartholomew, was beheaded on Oct. 28, 1630 at Nagasaki.  
Sources: Same as 223.
225. LANERO VILADANGOS Froilán, born at Villadangos (León) on Oct. 3, 1910, was shot on the highway Madrid-Valencia on July 26, 1936.  
Sources: Fueyo 50; Sanz 58; Mont. 318; Positio from 528 to 746 passim. \* +
226. LARGO MANRIQUE Jesús, born at Los Molinos (Palencia) on July 13, 1912, was shot at Paracuellos on Nov. 30, 1936.  
Sources: AA 17 (1941) 306; Arr. 116; Fueyo 149; C. Heras OSA, *P. Jesús Largo Manrique*, in: *El Buen Consejo* (1954) 216; Ll 30; Llordén 406; Mont. 343; Vic. 224, 282; Positio 37f., 144ff., 404, 487.
227. LA ROCHELLE 19 Augustinian Martyrs of 1567. The Calvinists or Huguenots occupied in 1557 La Rochelle for five years. Then they were driven out, but returned in 1567. They arrested all the priests and destroyed the monastery except the refectory. Together with others some of the Augustinians were precipitated from the lighthouse into the ocean.  
Sources: SSM 683ff.; Lant. II 226 mentions as probable names: Pierre de Ronce, Jean Rousseau, Jean de Lare; Her. II 364; Tor.

- VIII 478; Amos Barbot, *Inventaire des titres ... concernant le couvent des Augustins de la Ville de la Rochelle*, in: *Archives historiques de la Saintonge* XIV, XVII 259, XVIII 271; Benigno Van Luijk OSA, *L'ordine Agostiniano e la riforma monastica* (Heverlee-Leuven 1973) 114f.
228. LAURENS Jacques, conventual of Montpellier, murdered 1568.  
Sources: SSM 688; Her. II 114; Tor. VIII 479.
229. LE CLERQ Frater Nicholas, baccalaureus, conv. of Geaune, in 1570 had his tongue cut out, his breasts and other parts cut off.  
Sources: SSM 696; Her. II 180, 385; Tor. VIII 534; Maigr. 131; Els. 505; Poeydevant I 422; Crus. (1623) 236; Naevius 316.
230. LEITÃO Bernard of Jesus, Vicar of Angelim, was murdered during the siege of Hugli 1632.  
Sources: AA 25 (1962) 299; Manrique, *Itinerario...* (J Rome 1649) chap. 82 (Hakluyt II 336): the moors of Daga entered our monastery and beat Fr. Fray Bernardo de Jesus so unmercifully that after two days he died; Manoel 413 says that he died on flight near Sagor from poisoned water; Silva Rego XII 48 has the same.
231. LE MERCIER Athanasius, conventual of Tournai, guillotined at Brussels on Nov. 9, 1794 by the French Revolution.  
Sources: same as GOBIERT; Repert. 316.
232. LESMES Santiago de, companion of Diego Herrera, shot with arrows on Santanduanes in April 1576.  
Sources: see HERRERA Diego.
233. LINDENBERGER Bonaventura creditur aegrotus a Tartaris in lecto occisus fuisse mense Julio 1683.  
Sources: Österreichische Nationalbibl. MS 10214 fol. 28<sup>r</sup>, in: Aug<sup>um</sup> 6 (1966) 285 note 59.
234. LIPKA Brother Kasimir, sacristan of Cracow, was killed at Auschwitz in the last days of Feb. 1942 by an injection of Phenol.  
Sources: Fr. Boniface Wozny OSA, who had the same morning heard the Brother's last confession, in the report of H. Struszcak OSA in *Slowo Powszechne - Warszawa* Aug. 1973.; CU (Würzburg 1975) 49.



235. LOPES Agostinho do Rozario was beheaded by the moors near the isle of Tremapatam in Cochin China on Oct. 2, 1598.  
Sources: Goa 64ff. (has Sep. 2); AA 5 (1913-1914) 41; Manoel 351; Silva Rego XII 37; Els. 95; Maigr. 118; Mün. 57<sup>r</sup>; Campos do Ermo 292f.; SSM 709; Lant. II 395; A. de Vasconcellos, S.J., *Anacephalaeoses, id est summa capita actorum regum Lusitaniae* (Antwerp 1621) 492f.; A. de Gouvea OSA, *Jornada do Arcebispo de Goa, Dom Frey Aleixo de Menezes...* (Coimbra 1606) 27<sup>v</sup>-28<sup>r</sup>.
236. LOPES Gregorio dos Anjos animated the people at the destruction of Hugli to resist the profanations of the Mohammedans and was killed with arrows in 1632.  
Sources: Manoel 419; AA 4 (1911-1912) 410 + 5 (1913-1914) 41; Sic. 30; Silva Rego XII 42; Campos do Ermo 301; Brevilogio 518; A. Hartmann OSA, *The Augustinian Mission in Bengal*, in: AA 41 (1978) 181; Manrique II 367-369. According to him the date of Gregorio's death cannot have been June 24, as most Augustinian writers have it, as it was after the siege, when the fleet tried to escape to the isle of Sangor at the mouth of the Ganges. The siege of Hugli began on June 24 and lasted three months. Therefore Gregorio was killed with arrows while swimming in the river, after he had been knocked off the boat, at the end of September.
237. LÓPEZ GARCÍA Frater Leoncio, born at Tordomar (Burgos) on Apr. 24, 1902, was assassinated by the checka of Neila towards the end of Oct. 1936.  
Sources: Fueyo 128; Sanz 176; Mont. 826; *Boletín ConCordis* 21 (1995) 48; Positio 824, 834, 846. +
238. LÓPEZ PITEIRA Frater José (deacon) was born at Arroyo Blanco, Jatibonico, prov. of Camagüey, Cuba, on March 27, 1913. He was shot at Paracuellos on Nov. 30, 1936.  
Sources: AA 17 (1941) 306; Arr. 128; Fueyo 150; Ll 30; Mont. 108, 343; Necr.; Vic. 282; Positio 38f., 395, 404, 423.
239. LÓPEZ DE VILLEGAS Gaspar, companion of Fr. Hurtado, a priest of the Aug. III order, died with him in the mountains.  
Sources: Villarejo 227; González la Rosa, *Calendario Peruano* 1869 (under Jan. 29).

240. LORCA Frater Jacinto, conventual of Alcoz, was killed during the capture of Játiva on May 24, 1707.  
Sources: AHHA 8 (1917) 277.
241. LOZANO PASCUAL Teófilo, born at Brazacorta (Burgos) on Feb. 27, 1910, was a chaplain and killed in the Ebro battle on Sep. 10, 1938.  
Sources; Fueyo 366 ff.; Sanz 198ff. +
242. LUMBRERAS bl. Martin of St. Nicholas ORSA, was burnt at slow fire at Nagasaki on Dec. 11, 1632.  
Sources: Els. 472; Japan 137f.; Romualdo Rodrigo ORSA, *Fuentes sobre los mártires agustinos recoletos del Japon*, in: *Recollectio* (Roma 1984-1987).
243. MADRID Pedro of, subdeacon of Montilla, burned at Huécija Christmas 1568.  
Sources: Her. I 289; Burón 352.
244. MALESIUS Gaspar, prior of Stockau, was shot on July 29, 1606 by a Hussite.  
Sources: Kreybich 46-47; SSM 712; Her. I 290; Crus. I 147; Els. 232; Naevius 318.
245. MALLO GUTIÉRREZ Plácido, a pioneer of the Amazonas mission, born in Lazado (León) on May 10, 1877, was killed in July 1936 at Talavera de la Reina (Toledo).  
Sources: Fueyo 34ff.; Sanz 35, 39; Pérez 750; B. Martínez OSA, *Apuntes históricos de la prov. Ag. del Ssmo. Nombre de Jesús* (Madrid 1909) 134ff. +
246. MALUMBRES FRANCÉS Constantino, born at Frómista (Palencia) on March 11, 1872, was shot at Paracuellos on Nov. 30, 1936.  
Sources: AA 17 (1941) 308; Arr. 141; BIM 11/100 (1993) 215f.; Fueyo 64; Ll 30; Llordén 431; Mont. 343; Vic. 224, 282; Positio 97, 198, 380, 404, 486.
247. MANOEL DAS CHAGAS died from blows received in the prison of Bengal in Dacca after 1635.



- Sources: Silva Rego XII 43; Campos do Ermo 303; Breviloquio 520; Manoel 437f.
248. MANOEL DA CONCEIÇÃO was poisoned by Hindus at Dianga in East Bengal, because on occasion of a Hindu festival he forbade the Christians to lend carpets to the temple. He was a companion of Seb. Manrique.  
Sources: *Itinerario de Seb. Manrique* (Salamanca 1653) 34, new ed. by Luis Silveira (Lisbon 1956) 78; Manoel 432; M. Collins, *The Land of the Great Image* (New York 1943) 86.
249. MANOEL DE JESUS, the last prior of Mombasa, was murdered during the loss of Mombasa by the Arabs on Dec. 13, 1698.  
Sources: Manoel 575f.; Campos do Ermo 329f.; Brevilogio 510; Swahili 338; Alonso 136.
250. MANOEL DE SÃO JOÃO, while he was in 1667 on his way to be ordained at Cochín, he was taken by the Malabars and died in captivity from illtreatment.  
Sources: Manoel 520; Brevilogio 487.
251. MARCOS DEL RIO Francisco, editor of *La Ciudad de Dios*, born at Lodoso (Burgos) on Jan. 27, 1874, was shot at Paracuellos on Nov. 30, 1936.  
Sources: AA 17 (1941) 308; Arr. 20; Fueyo 149; LI 30; Llordén 436; Mont. 343; Vic. 151, 282; Positio 144, 204, 486. \*
252. MARCOS MANRIQUE Frater Gervasio (novice), born at Buenavista de Valdavia (Palencia) on June 19, 1920, ousted from the convent of Leganés he was shot in the outskirts of Madrid on July 24, 1936.  
Sources: AA 17 (1941) 309; Arr. 127; Fueyo 33; LI 32; Mont. 831; Necr.; Vic. 230, 284.
253. MARCOS REGUERO Brother Ricardo, born at Villanueva de las Manzanas (León) on July 9, 1891, was shot at Paracuellos on Nov. 30, 1936.  
Sources: AA 17 (1941) 309; Arr. 89; Fueyo 150; LI 31; Mont. 343; Necr.; Vic. 225, 285; Positio from 37 passim until 588.
254. MARCOS RODRÍGUEZ Frater Julio (deacon), born at Carrizal

- (León) on March 16, 1914, was shot at Paracuellos on Nov. 30, 1936.  
Sources: AA 17 (1941) 306; Arr. 118; Fueyo 150; Ll 30; Mont. 343; Necr.; Vic. 230, 282; Positio 38f., 404, 457.
255. MARECHAL Augustinus, Prior of Montpellier in 1561, was martyred there in 1568.  
Sources: SSM 669; Her. I 21, 289; Crus. I 652; Lant. II 226; Naevius 316; Josephus 93; Els. 98.
256. MARÍA FINCIAS Frater Julio, born at Santa Eulalia de Tábara (Zamora) on Sept. 29, 1916, was shot at Paracuellos on Nov. 30, 1936.  
Sources: AA 17 (1941) 309; Arr. 151; Fueyo 148; Ll 30; Mont. 343; Necr., Vic. 225, 295; Positio passim from 151 until 465.
257. MARÍN Andrés, companion of Diego HERRERA.  
Sources: See Herrera.
258. MARÍN Esteban, a Mexican, came to the Philippines in 1584. He was tied to a tree and shot at with arrows. Then his head was cut off and his body burnt in Nov. 1601.  
Sources: Els. 638; Santiago Vela V 163; Osario 85; San Agustín I 496; Her. II 387; Merino 16; T. Aparicio López OSA, *Misioneros y Colonizadores Agustinos en Filipinas* (Valladolid 1965) 181.
259. MARTIANUS was burned at Huécija in 1570.  
Sources: Els. 468.
260. MARTIN Hugo, conventual of Figeac, was about the middle of June 1580 beaten with sticks and killed with halberds.  
Sources: SSM 705; Crus. I 690; Els. 673; Salies (see 124).
261. MARTIN OF LONDON was executed with Paulus a S. Gulielmo in 1544 in England.  
Sources: Els. 471; Roth II 503 has him among uncertain martyrdoms; Her. II 59; Hörmonseder II 461ff.
262. MARTÍN GAGO Victorio, born at Guaza de Campos (Palencia) on Nov. 15, 1872, was shot at Paracuellos on Nov. 7, 1936.  
Sources: AA 17 (1941) 306; Arr. 182; Fueyo 138, 156; Ll 31;



- Llordén 444; Mont. 336; Vic. 162, 281, 295.
263. MARTÍN MATA Frater Román, born at Buenavista de Valdavia (Palencia) on May 22, 1918, was shot at Paracuellos on Nov. 30, 1936.  
Sources: AA 17 (1941) 309; Arr. 80; Fueyo 150; LI 30; Mont. 343; Vic. 225, 283; Positio 391, 404, 488.
264. MARTÍNEZ Juan Baptista was killed on the ocean by the Dutch in July 1611.  
Sources: Merino 287.
265. MARTÍNEZ ANTUÑA Melchior born at San Juan de Arenas de El Coto, Siero (Asturias) on Apr. 7, 1889, studied at Cairo and was shot at Paracuellos on Nov. 30, 1936.  
Sources: AA 17 (1941) 309; Arr. 197; Fueyo 147; LI 30; Llordén 449; Mont. 343; Vic. 186, 282; Positio 98, 142, 330, 404, 485.
266. MARTÍNEZ AYUELA Jacinto, born at Celadillo del Río (Palencia) on July 3, 1882, was assassinated at Cuenca on Sept. 21, 1936, while he attended the prov. chapter as Com. Prov. of Brazil.  
Sources: Fueyo 46, 50; Sanz 80; Mont. 834; Positio from 524 passim until 744. +
267. MARTÍNEZ DE VIEDMA Francisco, a companion of Diego Herrera, was on his way to Japan.  
Sources: San Agustín I 337; Calancha 622 ; Brulius II 2 no. 4; Grijalva 501; Pérez 17; Her. I 229; Crus. I 663; Osario 96; Villarejo 134; Colin, *Labor Evangelica* (see No. 83) 26; Merino 532. See also Diego Herrera.
268. MARTÍNEZ ORTIZ Frater Felipe, born at Horcajo de Santiago (Cuenca) on May 26, 1915, was a soldier with the red army. When he intended to cross the line of fire to join the nationals, he was killed near Madrid in May 1937.  
Sources: Fueyo 64, 419. +
269. MARTÍNEZ PEÑA Eulogio, born at Arroyal de Vivar (Burgos) on March 10, 1873, was shot on Aug. 22, 1936 at the side of the Andalucía highway near Madrid.  
Sources: AA 17 (1941) 306; Arr. 129; Fueyo 153; LI 31; Llordén

446; Mont. 835; Vic. 251, 284.

270. MARTÍNEZ RAMOS Pedro, born at Figueruela de Arriba (Zamora) on Oct. 23, 1902, was shot at Paracuellos on Nov. 30, 1936.  
Sources: AA 17 (1941) 309; Arr. 167; Fueyo 152; Ll 30; Llordén 448; Mont. 343; Vic. 282; Positio 198, 404, 487. \*
271. MARTÍNEZ VÉLEZ Damaso, born at Peñaranda de Duero (Burgos) on Dec. 11, 1895, was shot at Paracuellos on Nov. 7, 1936.  
Sources: AA 17 (1941) 306; Arr. 175; *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité* 10 (1973) 715-16; Fueyo 146, 153; A. González Niño, *El P. Damaso Martínez Vélez, poeta místico de la escuela agustiniana*, in: *Revista Agustiniana* 2 (1961) 203-09; Ll 31; Llordén 466; Mont. 336; Sanz 34; Vic. 151, 281.
272. MARTÍNEZ VÉLEZ Pedro, born at Peñaranda de Duero (Burgos) on Oct. 10, 1869, was shot in Madrid on July 27, 1936.  
Sources: Fueyo 28; Pérez 668.
273. MASCATE Four Augustinian Martyrs of, were killed on Oct. 31, 1647 when Mascate was lost. One, who was sick, was thrown out of the window, the other three were kneeling before the altar of our Lady when the Arabs cut them to pieces. One of them was the prior (Luis da Madre de Deos, see 199).  
Sources: AA 5 (1913-1914) 41; Manoel 167, 469; Silva Rego XII 43f.; Brevilogio 520.
274. MATTHAEUS DE GALARZA of the province of Castilia, was burnt at Huécija on Christmas 1568.  
Sources: Her. II 62; Burón 352.
275. MECHELEN two friars of, were hanged in 1579.  
Sources: Van den Born 89.
276. MEDIAVILLA CAMPOS Brother Isidro, born at Villasur (Palencia) on May 12, 1913, was shot at Paracuellos on Nov. 30, 1936.  
Sources: AA 17 (1941) 309; Arr. 173; Fueyo 150; Ll 31; Mont. 343; Necr.; Vic. 283; Positio 99, 142, 404, 488. \*



277. MELO Nicholas was burned in Astrakhan in Jan. 1615.  
Sources: A. Hartmann OSA, *Father Nicholas Melo and Brother Nicholas of St. Augustine*, in: Aug<sup>a</sup> IX (1959) 118ff., 277ff.; Els. 507; Maigr. 187; Osario 246; Lant. II 346; Merino 455; Naevius 340; Hörmonseder I 21.
278. MENDIGUCHÍA OYARBIDE Facundo, provincial of the Prov. of España, born at Vergara (Guipuscoa) on Aug. 14, 1908 , was murdered at Tejar de Sixto on Aug. 6, 1936.  
Sources: Fueyo 78, 114; Sanz 108, 110; Mont. 837. +
279. MENDIZÁBAL ROMILLO Jesús, born at Vitoria (Álava) on Jan. 15, 1866, was assassinated at Guiscardo (Barcelona) the night of Aug. 28-29, 1936.  
Sources: Fueyo 114, 116; Mont. 837.
280. MERINO GONZÁLEZ Nicolás, born at Velilla de Tarilonte (Palencia) on Dec. 12, 1870, died in prison toward the end of 1938.  
Sources: Fueyo 122; Sanz 160. +
281. MERINO MERINO Heliodoro, born at Puebla de Valdavia (Palencia) on Feb. 26, 1901, was shot at Paracuellos Nov. 30, 1936.  
Sources: AA 17 (1941) 309; Arr. 170; Fueyo 54, 150; Ll 30; Mont. 343; Necr.; Sanz 89; Vic. 119, 224, 282; Positio 238, 404, 487.
282. MERINO ORTEGA Brother Jesús (novice), born at Puebla de Valdavia (Palencia) on Apr. 17, 1917, was shot most likely near Madrid on July 24, 1936.  
Sources: AA 17 (1941) 310; Arr. 163; Fueyo 33; Ll 32; Mont. 838; Necr.; Vic. 261, 284.
283. MERINO ORTEGA José, born at Villaviudas (Palencia) on Apr. 20, 1875, died after a long and painful imprisonment surrounded by guards in the prison of the Niño Jesús at Madrid on Feb. 3, 1938.  
Sources: AA 17 (1941) 312; Fueyo 154; Ll 32; Mont. 838; Necr.; Vic. 225, 285.
284. MERINO RODRÍGUEZ Nicéforo, born at Puebla de Valdavia (Palencia) on Feb. 9, 1897, disappeared during the night of Oct. 12, 1936.  
Sources: Fueyo 55; Mont. 229.

285. MERINO VEGAS Fortunato, born at Itero Seco (Palencia) on Oct. 10, 1892, was tortured, bayoneted and was finally shot most probably in Callejón de la Pellejera at Málaga on Aug. 25, 1936.  
Sources: AA 17 (1941) 305; Arr. 159; BIM 10/90 (1991) 141, 142f.; Fueyo 79f., 87; LI 31; Mont. 143, 581; Necr.; Vic. 80, 91; Positio 924ff., 1061ff., 1105ff.
286. MESA Francisco, born in Mexico, professed in 1644 in St. Paul at Manila and was killed with lances in the cemetery of Malonor in 1663.  
Sources: Pérez 199; Crus. II 520; Osario 108; Merino 208; A. Sanz Pascual OSA, *Historia de los Agustinos españoles* (Madrid 1948) 444; San Agustín II 641.
287. MESTRE Y CORDA Brother Joseph was killed during the massacre which the troops of general Ashfield caused in the Augustinian monastery of Játiva on May 24, 1707.  
Sources: AHHA 8 (1917) 276.
288. MESTRE Y CORDA Brother Vicente was killed with his brother.  
Sources: As above.
289. MÉZIN. Nine Augustinian martyrs of the monastery Mézin of the province of Toulouse in the Gascogne were killed by the Calvinists.  
Sources: Van den Born 73; *La documentation catholique* (1930) col. 304 + 307.
290. MICHAEL OF ST. JOSEPH died in the pit in Japan toward the end of 1637.  
Sources: Process of Macao, AHHA 16 (1921) 54; Pérez 195 has wrong death date; Her. II 70; Els. 489 (like Her. he gives 1632); Sic. 314; San Agustín II 371; Osario 232; Japan 135.
291. MICHOA Brother Luis was beheaded on Nov. 22, 1613. Ferdinand Ayala sent the report of his martyrdom to Manila.  
Sources: Pérez 74 note 1; Osario 132; Crus. II 64; San Agustín II 209; *Katorriku Dai Jiten* 839; Japan 55.
292. MIRESSOU Sylvester, prior of Geaune, was on June 6, 1570 dragged on the ground until he was dead.



- Sources: Josephus 156, 420; SSM 696; Maigr. 135; Els. 625; Crus. I 688; Her. II 66f., 385; Poeydevant 422f.
293. MONEDERO FERNÁNDEZ Juan, prior of El Escorial 1930-1936, was born at Roa de Duero (Burgos) on Sept. 11, 1881. He was shot at Paracuellos on Nov. 30, 1936.  
Sources: AA 17 (1941) 308; Arr. 188; Fueyo 150; Ll 29; Llordén 479; Mont. 343; Vic. 62f., 208, 282; Positio from 30f. to 484 passim. \*
294. MONSALVE Pedro of Córdoba was burned at Huécija on Christmas 1568.  
Sources: Her. I 289 + II 250; Lant. II 443; Els. 567; Burón 352.
295. MONTALVO GONZÁLEZ Juan, born at Pontejos del Vino (Zamora) on June 24, 1893, was killed in Talavera de la Reina (Toledo) in July 1936.  
Sources: Fueyo 34, 36; Sanz 35; Mont. 842. +
296. MONTEJO Pedro, master of novices in Manila, went in 1607 to Japan. On his return trip his ship was seized by the Dutch who tied him to the gun of their ship, so that the attacking Spaniards would not shoot. When the Dutch ship was captured on Apr. 24, Pedro was found dead.  
Sources: Pérez 71; Osario 257, 493; San Agustín I 529; Sic. 46; Els. 40; Her. II 29; Crus. III 685; Mün. 63; Japan 48; Archivo Geral da Indias MS 67-6-2; I. Rodríguez OSA, *Historia de la Provincia del Ssmo. Nombre de Jesús de Filipinas*, vol. I (Manila 1965) 429f.; Ventura del Arco, *Documentos, Datos, y Relaciones para la historia de Filipinas etc.* (Madrid 1859) 273-340; Naevius 339; Maigr. 169; Hörmonseder I 280.
297. MONTE POLITIANO Philippus de, suffered martyrdom in Spain in 1359.  
Sources: Els. 588; Her. II 244.
298. MONTES Ricardo was assassinated in Candon on Mar. 25, 1898.  
Sources: Pérez 678; Merino 131; AHHA 53 (1959) 254.
299. MONTES FERNÁNDEZ Severiano, born at San Julián de Bimenes (Asturias) on Mar. 14, 1887, was shot at Hotsprings of Oviedo on

Aug. 14-15, 1936.

Sources: Fueyo 97; Sanz 130; Mont. 841; Positio 805, 813, 853, 856.

300. MONTPELLIER martyrs of, the prior Augustine Guarin and ten brethren. Among them: Maréchal, Nicholas of Narbonne, Noubélet, Jacques Laurens, Garrigues in 1568.  
Sources: Her. II 114; SSM 689; F. Saurel, *L'ancien clergé du diocèse de Montpellier*, in: *La Bibl. Historique de l'Hérault, collection des érudits* 4<sup>e</sup> fasc.: *Les Martyrs et Confesseurs de la Foi* (1902); J. Baumel, *Montpellier au cours des XVI<sup>e</sup> et XVII<sup>e</sup> siècles*. (Montpellier 1976); Lanteri II 226. Also: William of Lyons. The names of the four others are unknown.
301. MOYA Eugenio, made his profession in Mexico in 1749, came to the Philippines in 1752. In 1763 he was shot by an English sentinel at the wall of Manila.  
Sources: Osario 88; Pérez 294; Merino 49 (has 1764).
302. MÚGICA OCHOTORENA Juan, born at Beasain (Guipúscoa) on June 23, 1879, was killed at Madrid, Fuencarral 10, mistaken for his brother, a bishop, on July 29, 1936.  
Sources: AA 17 (1941) 305; Arr. 98: Fueyo 153, 186, 188; Ll 31; Llordén 497; Mont. 582; Vic. 76, 284.
303. MUÑOZ Juan, the prior of Jerez, was killed by the moriscos in 1579 in the Sierra Nevada on the way from Córdoba to Huécija to hold canonical visitation for the provincial.  
Sources: Her. (Sal) 363; Els. 390; Her. I 405; Lant. II 428; SSM 694; Portillo 402f.; B. Estrada Robles OSA, *Los Agustinos Ermitaños en España hasta el siglo XIX* (Madrid 1988) 404; Josephus 192.
304. NAUTONIER Nicholas, conventual of Montflaquin, killed in 1569.  
Sources: SSM 694; Els. 515; Hörmonseder I 433ff.; Lant. II 392; D. Gutiérrez, *De statu ordinis Augustiniani in Gallia saeculo XVII*, in: AA 24 (1961) 231.
305. NICHOLAS OF ST.AUGUSTINE Brother, companion of Melo. He was beheaded 1611 in Nishni Novgorod, Russia.  
Sources: See Melo. Els. 502; Maigr. 179; Osario 247; Naevius 340;



Hörmonseder II 415ff.

306. NICHOLAS OF NARBONNE, conventual of Montpellier, victim of the Huguenots in 1568.  
Sources: See Montpellier.
307. NICHOLAS OF ST. MARIA was pierced with a lance in 1592 by the Indians of Malabar.  
Sources: Manoel 347; Her. II 179; Crus. I 682; Els. 510.
308. NICOLAUS DE TOLENTINO, a Spaniard, was cruelly beaten by the Turks on the Peloponnesus in 1538, had his hands and feet and rest of his members cut off.  
Sources: J. Román, *Centurias* XII 120<sup>v</sup>; Crus. 567; Her. II 175; Her (SAL) 272; Maigr. 80; SSM 678; Mün. 36<sup>f</sup>; Naevius 314; Hörmonseder I 126ff.
309. NIETO RODRÍGUEZ José, born at Cernadilla (Zamora) on Aug. 24, 1904, was murdered in Madrid in mid-August 1936.  
Sources: Fueyo 122; Sanz 160. +
310. NIEVES Elías was shot on March 10, 1928 at La Canada, Mexico.  
Sources: Nicolas Navarrete OSA, *Semblanza biográfica del siervo de Dios R. P. Fr. Elías del Socorro Nieves OSA 1882-1928* (Mexico 1960); — *Un mártir agustino de Cristo Rey* (Querétaro QVO 1928); — *Historia de la Provincia agustiniana de San Nicolás de Tolentino de Michoacán*, in: *Album del Primer Centenario de Morelia como Arquidiocesis* (Morelia s.d.) 17; Tomas Orduña OSA, *Un mártir agustino de Cristo Rey. R. P. Fr. Elías del Socorro Nieves*, in: AHHA 34 (1930) 142; J. F. Blethen OSA, *An Aug. martyr of the 20th Century*, in: *The Tagastan* 9 (1946) 15Off.; A. Hartmann OSA, *A Martyr for Christ the King*, in: *Irish Good Counsel* (March 1950) 22ff.
311. NÎMES two friars of, subjects of Quatiebras, were in 1567 thrown into a well.  
Sources: SSM 686; Pastor, *Geschichte der Päpste* VIII<sup>10</sup> (Freiburg 1928) 361.
312. NIÑO Augustinus was beheaded in 1591 by the Zambales.  
Sources: San Agustín I 382, 451; Els. 100; Her. I 30; Osario 37f.

- calls him Miño; Merino 107; Lant. II 395; Josephus I 94.
313. NOGUEIRA Manoel da Nazareth was killed at Zanzibar in 1649 by the Arabs.  
Sources: AA 5 (1913-1914) 40; Manoel 170, 473; Silva Rego XII 44; Sic. 21; Swahili 336; Alonso 134; Campos do Ermo 304f.; Brevilogio 521; AA 4 (1911-1912) 389; Mombasa Rising 152.
314. NORIEGA GONZÁLEZ Frater José, born at Barriosuso (Palencia) on Feb. 10, 1915, was shot at Paracuellos on Nov. 30, 1936.  
Sources: AA 17 (1941) 309; Arr. 184; BIM 10/90 (1991) 207-09; Fueyo 150; Ll 30; Mont. 343; Necr.; Vic. 210, 283; Positio 172ff., 420, 461. +
315. NOUVELET Anthony of Auvergne, martyr of Montpellier in 1568.  
Sources: Her. II 114; SSM 689; Lant. II 226; Tor. VIII 479.
316. NUÑEZ Rodrigo, companion of Herrera.  
Sources: See Diego Herrera.
317. O'CONNEL Thaddeus, companion of A. Higgins, was slain on Sunday, Oct. 24, 1645 by parliamentary troops under Coote.  
Sources: Sangu. Erem. 87; Tabularium sub No. 3; *Irish Good Counsel* (Dec. 1943) 6; Els. 641; F.X. Martin OSA, *The Chalice of two Martyrs*, in: *Irish Good Counsel* (Autumn 1961); *Causae introductio* AAS 6 (1914) 72 + 7 (1915) 125; B. Hackett OSA, *The Tirry Documents*, in: *Archivium Hibernicum* XX (1957) 114.
318. O'DRISCOLL Denis died on Nov. 29, 1654 as a result of the hardships endured during the Cromwellian persecution.  
Sources: Tabularium sub No. 11; *Documenta Beatificationis seu declarationis martyrii servorum Dei* 2vls. Dublin 1908; MS Prop. Fidei (see Tirry) 11.
319. O'KENNEDY Donagh was hanged in 1652 for his fearless eloquence against the heretics.  
Sources: Tabularium sub No. 4; Sangu. Erem. 87; *Irish Good Counsel* (Sep 1944) 10; Conyngham 194; AAS (1914) 72 + AAS 7 (1915) 125.
320. OLASO ZABALA Gabino, prior of Caudete, born at Abadiano



(Vizcaya) on Feb. 18, 1869, was shot near Fuente la Higuera (Valencia) on Aug. 5, 1936.

Sources: Fueyo 58, 63; Pérez 670; Mont. 271; Sanz 103; Positio from 1191 passim until 1266.

321. O'MALLY Raymond died while being scourged until his bones were bared in 1651.

Sources: Tabularium sub No. 7 and same as O'Kennedy.

322. ORTÍZ RUIZ Diego, the Protomartyr of Perú, was after many tortures impaled in Vilcabamba in 1568.

Sources: Villarejo 144ff. has as death date: 1571; Els. 167; Brulius II 66; Calancha 812f. (new ed. by M. Merino [Madrid 1972]) I 69ff.; Maigr. 164; Lant. II 259; B. Hospital OSA, *El Ven. P. Fr. Diego Ruiz Ortiz Agustiniano, Protomartyr del Perú* (Lima 1924); Her. I 192f.; Her. (Sal) 195; Tor. VIII 497-500; Hörmönseder I 291; Fulgentius Baldani OSA, *Vita del Fra Diego Ortiz protomartire nel Regno del Peru* (Genua 1645); Juan del Álamo OSA *Crónica de la provincia Peruana de los Eremitaños de San Agustín* 37; Arpe 311f.; Santiago Vela V 432, note 11; Naevius 317; A. Sanz Pascual, *Historia de los Agustinos Españoles* (Madrid 1948) 133ff.; T. Aparicio López OSA, *Fray Diego Ortiz, misionero y mártir del Perú* (Valladolid 1989); B. Uyarra OSA, *Fray Diego Ortiz OSA, Misionero, Testigo de la Resurrección, Protomártir del Perú* (Lima 1992).

323. OSORIO Francisco was pierced with lances while landing at Nagasaki in the affair of the Nossa Senhora da Graga.

Sources: Pérez 33; Lant. III 395; Merino 10; however, see Japan 48, note 46.

324. O'SRYNAN Donagh was killed by heretics in 1651.

Sources: Tabularium sub No. 5 and same as O'Kennedy.

325. OTÁLORA Josef de, was martyred in Aricagua (Venezuela) in the first half of the 18th century.

Sources: F.Campo de Pozo, *Informe sobre la misión y mártires de Aricagua*, in AHA 74 (1990) 254f.; — *Los Mártires Agustinos en la misión de Aricagua*, in: *Agustinos in América y Filipinas* (Madrid 1990) 939ff.

326. OTERO DíEZ Pedro, born at Oterico (León) on Sep. 23, 1885, was found shot at Madrid on Aug. 30, 1936.  
Sources: Fueyo 120, 122, 402; Sanz 157; Mont. 847. +
327. PACHECO Francisco dos Anjos received on Jan. 6, 1663 two canonshots, when the city of Cochín was lost to the Dutch.  
Sources: Manoel 513.
328. PACO John was burned at Huécija on Christmas 1568.  
Sources: Her. I 289, 402; Lant. II 428; Els. 391.
329. PAJARES GARCÍA Samuel, born at Roscales (Palencia) on July 26, 1907, was shot at Paracuellos on Nov. 28, 1936.  
Sources: AA 17 (1941) 307; Arr. 112; BIM 11/99 (1993) 165-66; Fueyo 150; Ll 29; Llordén 515; Mont. 341; Vic. 281, 286; Positio from 71 passim until 482.
330. PALACIOS JIMÉNEZ Cleto disappeared from Barcelona in the night of Oct. 11, 1936.  
Sources: Fueyo 55; Sanz 89; Mont. 229.
331. PALACIOS GONZALO Rufino, born at Medinilla (Burgos) on Nov. 16, 1909, was shot in one of the "sacas" at Paracuellos on Nov. 18, 1936.  
Sources: AA 17 (1941) 309; Arr. 181; Fueyo 153; Ll 31; Llordén 518; Mont. 149; Vic. 171f., 286.
332. PANTOJA Bartholomaeus was burnt at Huécija on Christmas 1568.  
Sources: Crus. I 726; Her. I 101, 289; Els. 116; Lant. II 399; Tor. VIII 521; Burón 352.
333. PARDO DE LA IGLESIA Brother Zacarías, born at Arroyal de Vivar (Burgos) on March 15, 1902, died in the Hospital del Rey in the Tetuán district of Madrid on Oct. 21, 1938.  
Sources: AA 17 (1941) 312; Arr. 168; Fueyo 142, 154; Ll 32; Necr.; Vic. 225, 285.
334. PASCUAL MATA Brother Gerardo, born at Cereza (León) on Sept. 25, 1915, was shot at Paracuellos on Nov. 30, 1936.  
Sources: AA 17 (1941) 309; Arr. 148; Fueyo 33; Ll 31; Mont. 343; Necr.; Vic. 283; Positio 99, 142, 488.



335. PASTOR APARICIO Brother Paulino, born at Buenavista de Val-  
davia (Palencia) on Jan 26, 1885, died at Madrid. Date unknown.  
Sources: Fueyo 122; Mont. 850; Sanz 160. +
336. PATIÑO Francisco was stabbed to death with a dagger by a man  
whom he reproached for his bad life in 1691 in the church of  
Bolhoon (Philip.).  
Sources: San Agustín II 832; Osario 110; Pérez 142; Merino 255.
337. PAULUS A S. GUILLELMO was beheaded in England in 1644.  
Sources: Her. II 249; Els. 550ff.; Roth II 503f. has him under  
uncertain martyrdoms.
338. PAZ Felipe de was killed by the chief of the Sutiranos in 1673  
near the shores of the Rio Chapare in Bolivia.  
Sources: *Anuario Eclesiástico de Bolivia* 226; Villarejo 222.
339. PEÑAS Juan de las, was in 1587 at Decapulhuacan (Mexico) killed  
with arrows by the natives.  
Sources: Els. 354; Lant. II 428; Her. I 405.
340. PEQUE IGLESIAS Frater José, born at Rosinos de Vidriales  
(Zamora), was shot at Paracuellos on Nov. 30, 1936.  
Sources: AA 17 (1941) 307; Arr. 28; Fueyo 150; LI 29, Mont. 341;  
Necr.; Vic. 223, 281; Positio 144, 204, 404. \*
341. PÉREZ Juan was shot on Aug. 26, 1936 at Gijón.  
Sources: Fueyo 105, 109; Sanz 138; Mont. 851; a biography is in:  
*El Colegio de San Luis Gonzaga de Ayacucho* (Buenos Aires  
1924); Positio 794f., 803f., 819f. +
342. PÉREZ Brother Juan was killed with ten other Augustinians in the  
capture of Játiva by the French on May 24, 1707.  
Sources: AHHA 8 (1917) 277.
343. PÉREZ ANDRÉS Brother Marcos, born at Villasarracino (Palencia)  
on June 18, 1917, was shot at Paracuellos on Nov. 28, 1936.  
Sources: AA 17 (1941) 307; Arr. 195; Fueyo 150; LI 30; Mont.  
343; Necr.; Vic. 223, 282; Positio 110, 117, 144, 177.
344. PÉREZ DE CELIS José, born at Cantoral de la Peña (Palencia) on

- March 15, 1860, was shot near Fuente la Higuera on Aug. 5, 1936.  
Sources: Fueyo 58, 63; Pérez 630; Mont. 271. +
345. PÉREZ GARCÍA Frater José Antonio, born at Villapodambre (León) on Apr. 9, 1918, was shot at Paracuellos on Nov. 30, 1936.  
Sources: AA 17 (1941) 306; Arr. 59; Fueyo 150; Ll 30; Mont. 343; Necr.; Vic. 283; Positio 231, 404, 421.
346. PÉREZ GÓMEZ Santiago, born at Socalina (Asturias) on Dec. 29, 1866, was murdered in the night of Oct. 12, 1936 at Barcelona.  
Sources: Fueyo 54; Sanz 82 + 89; Mont. 229.
347. PÉREZ PASCUAL Eudoxio, born at Espinosa de Cerrato (Palencia) on March 1, 1876, was shot near Madrid on Aug. 28, 1936.  
Sources: AA 17 (1941) 306; Arr. 133; Fueyo 153; Ll 31; Mont. 852; Necr.; Vic. 119, 284; \*
348. PÉREZ SANTOS Angel, born at Villaherreros (Palencia) on Nov. 1, 1877, was shot at Fuente la Higuera on Aug. 5, 1936.  
Sources: Fueyo 58, 64; Sanz 752; Mont. 271; Positio from 1191 passim until 1267. +
349. PETRUS A S. ANTONIO 1631 ab Indis lancea confossus in Philippinis.  
Sources: Els. 569.
350. PETRUS OF MADRID, subdeacon of Montilla, was burnt on Christmas 1568 at Huécija.  
Sources: Her. II 250; Burón 352.
351. PETRUS A PURIFICAÇÃO was murdered by the Malabars in Travancor.  
Sources: Manoel 355.
352. PIERNAVIEJA Antonio was shot near Maragondon in March 1897.  
Sources: Pérez 507; AHHA 53 (1959) 253; Merino 135; I. Rodríguez OSA, *Historia de la Prov. Ag. del Ssmo. Nombre de Jesús de Filip.* (Manila 1965ff.) IV 395f.; M. de Caria, *El P. Antonio de Piernavieja*, in: *Pol. Esp. en Filipinas* VII (Madrid 1897) 153; Santiago Vela VI 313; Díez Aguado OSA, *Un recuerdo*



- a los misioneros Agustinos que han sucumbido en Filipinas víctimas del separatismo de la masonería*, in: *Mis. Catol.* VI (Barcelona 1898) 49ff.
353. PISONERO PISONERO Federico, born at Villalba de la Loma (Valladolid) on Aug. 9, 1915, served as a student of theology in the national army. He was killed in the battle of the river Segre.  
Sources: Fueyo 434. +
354. PLACENTINUS PHILIPPUS martyrii gloria insignis.  
Sources: Els. 591; Her. II 241.
355. POLANCO FONTECHA bl. Anselmo, bishop of Teruel, was murdered on Feb. 7, 1939 at "Can Tretze" near Pont de Molins.  
Sources: Amador del Fueyo OSA, *El Obispo de Teruel* (Barcelona 1941); Sanz 13: he was burnt alive; Cambor 142: he was first shot; Fueyo 221: in doubt; Mont. 421; Report by Don Jaime Oliva, *Un testigo de ultima hora*, in: *Boletín de la provincia de España* XIX (1990) April No. 139; Luis Cambor OSA, *Artículos de prueba testifical en el proceso ordinario sobre la fama del martirio de los siervos de Dios Exmo. y Revmo. P. Anselmo Polanco Fontecha y muy illustre Sr. Don Felipe Ripoll Morata su Vicario General* (El Escorial 1950); Jeronimo Beltrán, *Tras las huellas del Padre Polanco* (Teruel 1989); Positio super martyrio. Congregatio de Causis Sanctorum (Roma 1992); Relatio et Vota; Congressus peculiaris super martyrio (Roma 1994); T. Aparicio López OSA, *Anselmo Polanco al servicio de Dios y de la Iglesia* (Madrid 1995).
356. POLO GARCÍA Cipriano, born at Mayorga (Valladolid) on Nov. 16, 1880, was shot at Fuente la Higuera on Aug. 5, 1936.  
Sources: Fueyo 58, 64; Pérez 759; Mont. 271; Sanz 104; Positio from 1191 passim until 1268. +
357. PORTU URRIOLABEITIA Estéban, born at Ondárroa (Vizcaya) on Dec. 25, 1904, was murdered at Madrid in Aug. 1936.  
Sources: Fueyo 122; Sanz 160; Mont. 855. +
358. POVEDA GONZÁLEZ Mariano was master of novices in Uclés. When the priests of the monastery were sent to their death he was sick in bed, where he died one or two days later.  
Sources: Sanz 80. +

359. PRUCHA Procopius was in 1946 because of his zeal for the faith beaten to death by the enemies of the Church near our monastery of St. Benigna in Bohemia.  
Sources: P. Sladek OSA, *P. Bernard bei den Augustinern*, in: *P. Bernard Tonko, Ein Priester unserer Zeit* (Wien 1983) 44.
360. QUATIEBRAS Andrew, prior of Nîmes, was flayed alive and beheaded with two subjects on Sept. 30, 1567.  
Sources: Pastor, *Gesch. der Päpste VIII*<sup>10</sup> (Freiburg 1928) 361; SSM 686; Her. I 21 & II 203; Lant. II 225; Crus. I 649; Tor. VIII 477; Maigr. 88; Van den Born 73; Menard, *Histoire de Nîmes* V 16ff.; Els. 57; *Inventaire des Archives des Augustins de Nîmes*: Arch. de Guard 184, 1567; Mün. 42<sup>r</sup>; Cent. 135<sup>r</sup>; Arpe 302ff.; Naevius 315.
361. QUÉJICA (Huécija) Martyrs of. They were burnt on Christmas 1568.  
Sources: Els. 38; Her. (Sal) 336ff.; SSM 702; Tor. VIII 521; Burón 351f; F.A. Hitos S.J., *Mártires de la Alpujarra en la rebelión de los Moriscos 1568* (Madrid 1933) 194-195; A. C. Hess, *The Moriscos, an Ottoman fifth column*, in: *American Historical Review* (Oct. 1968) 1ff. On the precise date of the Christmas festivities see Burón 349-351.
362. RAMIREZ Miguel "Mártir de la caridad en Riobamba". He died in flames administering the sacrament of Confession in 1609.  
Sources: Els. 492; Victor Maturana OSA, *Historia General de los Ermitaños de San Agustín* 4 vols. (Santiago 1913) IV 204; Brulius I. 14, c. 3, n. 8.
363. RAMOS DEL VALLE Eulogio, born at Castrofuerte (León) on March 11, 1877, was shot between Fugas and Massaret (Barcelona) on Aug. 28, 1936.  
Sources: Fueyo 116; Mont. 858.
364. RAMOS VILLAFRUELA Brother Luciano, born at Villahoz (Burgos) on Oct. 17, 1884, was shot at Fuente la Higuera on Aug. 5, 1936.  
Sources: Fueyo 58, 64; Sanz 95; Mont. 271; Positio passim from 1191 to 1264. +
365. REDONDO Rafael was murdered on March 25, 1898 in the envi-



- ronment of Candon in the Philippines.  
Sources: Pérez 525; Villarejo 427; Merino 131.
366. REGIDOR ALCALA Ángel, born at Zamora on May 10, 1868, died in the Porlier prison on Sept. 22, 1936.  
Sources: Fueyo 79; Sanz 124. +
367. REISONIERS Michael, lived in retirement at Montbrison. He was guillotined on March 15, 1794. He was 51 years old.  
Sources: Guillon IV 432.
368. RENEDO MARTINO Agustín, born at Baños de la Peña (Palencia) on Aug. 28, 1890, was shot at Paracuellos on Nov. 30, 1936.  
Sources: AA 17 (1941) 307; Arr. 168; Fueyo 150; Ll 29; Llordén 545; Mont. 343; Vic. 132, 282; Positio 30f., 404, 486.
369. RENEDO Francisco was stabbed to death in the railway station St. Guguinto on May 27, 1898.  
Sources: Pérez 621, note 1; AHHA 53 (1959) 253f.; Merino 235.
370. REVILLA RICO Mariano, Assistant General, born at Buena Vista de Valdavia (Palencia) on Dec. 12, 1887, attended the provincial chapter of the province of Madrid in 1936 as president. The Papal Nuncio did all he could to get him out of prison. But he said: 'My place is at the side of my brethren'. He was shot with fifty of them at Paracuellos on Nov. 30, 1936.  
Sources: AA 17 (1941) 307; Arr. 191; Fueyo 150; Ll 29; Llordén 547; Mont. 343; Vic. 186, 207, 282; Positio from 23ff. passim until 483. \*
371. REVILLA RODRÍGUEZ Brother Ubaldo, born at Buenavista de Valdavia was shot at Fuente la Higuera on Aug. 5, 1936.  
Sources: Fueyo 64; Sanz 95; Mont. 271; Positio from 1191 passim until 1265. +
372. RIDDERE (or RUDDERE) Frater Gerardus de, was on Jan. 23, 1587 by the Geuse whipped, kicked and beaten and finally pierced with a sword in the Soignes woods near Brussels.  
Sources: Maigr. 142; Van den Born 89; Els. 239; Mün. 52; *Ad Natales Sanctorum Belgii Johannes Molani auctarium* (Duaci 1626) 110ff.; Lant. II 278; SSM 707; Hörmonseder I 122ff; Repert. 409.

373. RIOJA Félix de, was killed by his servant with a lance on June 29, 1734 at Bugason (Phil).  
Sources: Osario 109; Pérez 221; Merino 281; Antonio Mozo OSA, *Noticia historico-natural de los adelantamientos de las misiones de Filipinas* (Madrid 1763) 142.
374. RÍOS Frater Bernardin was killed by a mortar shot in the battle of the Ebro 1938.  
Sources: Fueyo 50; Sanz 81.
375. RIVERA OZORES Ramón was assassinated in the night of Oct. 12, 1936.  
Sources: Sanromá Sanabre, *Martirologio de la Iglesia en la diócesis de Barcelona durante la pasada persecución religiosa* (Barcelona 1943) 114, 387; Fueyo 51 says that he died in a pension on the plaza del B. Oriol in March 1938; Mont. 229, note 13 agrees with Sanabre.
376. RIVERO Brother Matias, born at Segovia on Feb. 24, 1837, was shot near Maragondon by the rebellious Tagalos in 1897.  
Sources: Pérez 508, 598; Merino 135.
377. ROBLA CORDERO Brother Amador, born at Curueña (León) on Nov. 19, 1891, was last seen alive in Madrid on Aug. 30 or Sept. 1, 1936.  
Sources: Fueyo 122; Sanz 155; Mont. 860. +
378. ROCH Jean, conventual of Geaune was in 1570 mutilated in various ways and thrown into a well.  
Sources: Her. I 385, 403; SSM 696; Josephus 420; Els. 398; Poeydevant I 422.
379. RODRIGO DE JESÚS (Rodrigo de Almeida y Vasconcellos) was killed in 1622, when Hormuz was taken, while as chaplain he encouraged the soldiers.  
Sources: Crus. I 687; Silva Rego XII 176; Manoel 397.
380. RODRIGO FIERRO Sabino, born at Cerezal (León) on Dec. 7, 1874, was shot at Paracuellos on Nov. 28, 1936.  
Sources: AA 17 (1941) 307; Arr. 203; Fueyo 153; Ll 29; Llordén 557; Mont. 341; Vic. 124, 281; Positio 134, 388, 404, 422. \*



381. RODRÍGUEZ ALONSO Avelino, provincial of the province of Madrid, born at Santiago Millas (León) on Nov. 9, 1879, was shot at Paracuellos on Nov. 28, 1936.  
Sources: AA 17 (1941) 306; Arr. 186; Luis Camblor OSA, *P. Avelino Rodríguez* (El Escorial 1953); Fueyo 153; Ll 29; Mont. 147, 341; Necr.; Vic. 40, 104, 274ff.; Positio from 39 passim until 481.
382. RODRÍGUEZ GÓMEZ Emeterio, born at Riego del Camino (Zamora) on Oct. 31, 1870, was shot most likely close to Madrid on Aug. 28, 1936.  
Sources: AA 17 (1941) 305; Arr. 171; Fueyo 33; Ll 32; Llordén 580; Mont. 861; Vic. 119, 256, 283.
383. RODRÍGUEZ GONZÁLEZ Benito, born at Armellada (León) on March 18, 1873, was shot at Paracuellos Nov. 30, 1936.  
Sources: AA 18 (1943) 308; Arr. 45; Fueyo 34; Ll 30; Llordén 573; Mont. 343; Vic. 282; Positio 30ff., 269, 404, 485. \*
384. RODRÍGUEZ GUTIÉRREZ Conrado, born at Villanueva de la Peña (Palencia) on Nov. 24, 1901, was shot at Paracuellos on Nov. 30, 1936.  
Sources: AA 17 (1941) 309; Arr. 184; Fueyo 133, 146, 151; Ll 30; Llordén 575; Mont. 343; A. C. Vega, *El P. Conrado Rodríguez OSA*, in: *La Ciudad de Dios* 155 (1943) 5-44; Vic. 262; Positio from 30ff. passim until 485. \*
385. RODRÍGUEZ GUTIÉRREZ Fulgencio, born at Celada de la Torre (Burgos) on Jan 16, 1871, disappeared from Barcelona the night of Oct. 11, 1936.  
Sources: Fueyo 51, 55; Sanz 89; Mont. 229.
386. RODRÍGUEZ NUÑEZ Diego de, companion of Diego Herrera.  
Sources: See Diego Herrera.
387. ROSA George, member of the monastery of Rye, was martyred in England in 1537.  
Sources: Els. 235; Maigr. 77; Mün. 34<sup>r</sup>; Her. I 289; Cent. 134; SSM 674ff.; Roth 500ff.; Naevius 313; Hörmönseder II 178.
388. ROUX Jean-François-Xavier died at Lyons on the guillotine on

- Sept. 16, 1793.  
Sources: Guillon IV 539f.
389. RUBIO FERNÁNDEZ Frater Manuel, born at Posada de Omaña (León) on July 30, 1918, was compelled to serve in the Red Army and was killed in action near Teruel.  
Sources: Fueyo 51; Sanz 81. +
390. RUIZ Juan ab Indis 1616 occisus.  
Sources: Her.I 424; Her.(Sal) 179; Lant. II 250; Els. 398.
391. RUIZ DE MORA Juan de Santa Cruz, companion of Diego Herrera.  
Sources: See Herrera.
392. RUIZ VALLEJO Vidal, born at Carrión de los Condes (Palencia) on Nov. 3, 1892, was found assassinated at Gijón (Asturias) in the Piles River on Sep. 6, 1936.  
Sources: Fueyo 106, 109; Sanz 138; Positio 788f., 801ff., 819f. +
393. RUIZ VALTIERRA Frater Lucinio, born at Villanueva de Odra (Burgos) on Feb. 12, 1915, was shot at Paracuellos on Nov. 28, 1936.  
Sources: AA 17 (1941) 307; Arr. 159; Fueyo 151; Ll 29; Mont. 341; Necr.; Vic. 223, 281; Positio 404, 483. \*
394. SAINSON Brother Pierre, conventual of Périgueux, died on the guillotine on July 2, 1794.  
Sources: Guillon IV 558.
395. SAINT SAVINIEN eight Aug. martyrs of the Huguenots in 1568. Their bodies were thrown into a well and covered with rocks.  
Sources: SSM 691; Her. II 423; Tor. VIII 501.
396. SAN ANDRÉS José de, was killed by the English, when they took Bulacan on Feb. 4, 1763.  
Sources: Merino 54.
397. SÁNCHEZ SÁNCHEZ Juan, born at Diego Álvaro (Ávila) on Jan. 27, 1882, was shot at Paracuellos on Nov. 30, 1936.  
Sources: AA 17 (1941) 308; Arr. 72; Fueyo 153; Ll 30; Llordén



- 610; Mont. 343; Vic. 224, 282; Positio 112, 142, 404, 486. \*
398. SÁNCHEZ Leocadio was horribly mutilated by the Katipunán in the RR. Station Guiguinto on May 27, 1898.  
Sources: Report by Fr. F. Giron, in: Pérez 621, note 1; AHHA 53 (1955) 253f.; Merino 234.
399. SÁNCHEZ blessed Melchior de S. Augustino ORSA, was burnt at slow fire at Nagaski on Dec. 11, 1632.  
Sources: Els. 485; Japan 139f.; Rodrigo (see 242).
400. SÁNCHEZ LÓPEZ Brother Macario, born at Hoyocasero (Ávila) on Feb. 29, 1884, was shot at Paracuellos on Nov. 30, 1936.  
Sources: AA 17 (1941) 309; Arr. 36; Fueyo 151; Ll 31; Llordén 611; Mont. 343; Vic. 175, 283; Positio 99, 111, 142, 404. \*
401. SÁNCHEZ LÓPEZ Brother Tomás, born at Hoyocasero (Ávila) on Sept. 18, 1890, was tortured in prison, then shot at Paracuellos on Nov. 30, 1936 with his brother (Br. Macario).  
Sources: AA 17 (1941) 309; Arr. 146; Fueyo 151; Ll 31; Mont. 343; Necr.; Vic. 283; Positio 169f., 404, 488.
402. SANDÍN MIÑAMBRES Primitivo, born at Santibañez de Tera (Zamora) on Jan. 25, 1893, was shot on the Highway Madrid-Valencia at Vallecas on July 28, 1936.  
Sources: Fueyo 50; Sanz 58; Mont. 318; Positio from 526 passim to 745. \*
403. SANMIGUEL DÍEZ Cándido, born at San Román (Asturias) on Jan. 7, 1854, died in a hospital on July 11, 1938.  
Sources; Fueyo 56, 64; Sanz 101; Mont. 270. +
404. SAN ROMÁN FERNÁNDEZ Miguel, born at Tábara (Zamora) on Aug. 11, 1879, was murdered at Sariego (Santander) after Dec. 17, 1936.  
Sources: Fueyo 126, 128; Sanz 178; Positio from 821 passim until 849.
405. SANTA MARÍA José de, prior of Santo Domingo de Ilocos, was killed by the insurgents of the region on May 21, 1662.  
Sources: Merino 226.

406. SANTOS Moisés died of wounds received by an assassin in the monastery of Barasoain (Phil) on March 31, 1898.  
Sources: Pérez 602; Merino 140.
407. SANZ Y PERACLES, writer of books for office and choir, was killed by the soldiers of Philip of Anjou with ten other Augustinians during the sack of Játiva on May 24, 1707.  
Sources: AHHA 8 (1917) 276.
408. SÃO ROQUE Egidio de, was killed by the Malabars, when he came from Chaul in Oct. 1621.  
Sources: Manoel 365.
409. SCHUBERT Augustin died on July 28. 1942 in Dachau.  
Sources: A. Franke OSA and W. Sedlacek, *KZ-Häftling 27127. Zum Gedenken an P. Dr. Augustin Schubert*, in: CU 20 (1962) 56; A. Franke OSA, *Prag: Häftling 27127 in Dachau. Leben und Tod des P. Augustin Schubert OSA*, in: *OSA Internationalia* 14 (Rome 1988).  
SCHWAB Hermannus of Mindelheim, see: SWAB.
410. SECO ARRIZABALAGA Agustín, born at Frómista (Palencia) on Aug. 9. 1882, was imprisoned at Ventas in Madrid, but was freed on Dec. 11. As he left the prison a few militia men shot him at Galapagar near the highway Madrid-Escorial Dec. 11, 1936.  
Sources: AA 17 (1941) 310; Arr. 214; Fueyo 153; Ll 32; Llordén 615; Mont. 870; Vic. 237, 284.
411. SERRA CHORRO Enrique, born at La Barraca (Valencia) on Dec. 3, 1899, was shot at Emes de Belinchón on July 28, 1936.  
Sources: Fueyo 40, 50; Sanz 44, 81; Mont. 318; Positio from 523 passim until 743. \* +
412. SERRA COMELLAS Ramón, born at Olván (Barcelona) on July 17, 1867, broke in prison one of his legs. In the General Hospital he was recognized as a priest and suffered in consequence various kinds of illtreatment by the militia and the nurses. Transferred to the Riesgo Sanatorium he died shortly afterwards assisted secretly by his confreres on July 5, 1937.  
Sources: AA 17 (1941) 312; Arr. 108; Fueyo 142, 155; Ll 32; Necr.; Vic. 284.



413. SHOZUBURO Brother John, the catechist of Bl. Bartholomew Gutiérrez, was beheaded at Nagasaki with eight Tertiaries on Oct. 28, 1630.  
Sources: Sic. 124; Els. 236, 250; Her. I 423; Pérez 196; Osario 167; *Katorikku Dai Jiten* I 839; Japan 113, 115; Martínez 124f.
414. SILVENTE Alphonse of Granada fled from the burning tower at Huécija in 1568 and had his head bashed in by the moriscos.  
Sources: Her. I 22, 289; Els. 40; Her.(Sal) 336 ff.
415. SIMOENS Vicente blessed ORSA was burnt at Nagasaki on Sept. 3, 1632.  
Sources: Ochoa; Japan 124f.; Rodrigo (see 242).
416. SIMON Jean, prior of Arthez, was shot with seven conventuals in 1570 while preaching against the Huguenots in Béarn.  
Sources: SSM 698; Lant. II 429; Her. I 398; Crus. I 673; Els. 400; Tor. VIII 534; Van den Born 73; A. Cardier, *Observations critiques sur l'histoire de l'Église réformée d'Osse dans la vallée d'Aspe*, in: *Études hist. et relig. du Dioc. de Bayonne* II (1893) 151; Poeydevant I 381ff.
417. SIMON Remigius, baccalaureus and conventual of Girouet at the Meuse, was cut to pieces with swords by the Huguenots in 1615.  
Sources: Van den Born 73; *Documentation Catholique* (1930) 304, 307; Her. II 335; Crus. I 686; Els. 600; Maigr. 201.
418. SIMÓN FERRERO Frater Pedro, born at Fuente Encalada (Zamora) on Oct. 22, 1916, was shot at Paracuellos on Nov. 30, 1936.  
Sources: AA 17 (1941) 309; Arr. 166; Fueyo 148; Ll 30; Mont. 343; Vic. 168, 283; Positio from 58 passim until 488. \*
419. SONNEREYTER Thomas, pastor of a parish near the monastery of Stockau, refused to hand over the treasures of his church to the rebelling protestants in Bohemia, who consequently set his bedroom on fire in 1621. Severely burnt he was taken to a neighboring priest, where he died after a few days of unspeakable torments.  
Sources: Els. 663; Maigr. 246; Her. II 447; Crus. 259.

420. STONE S. John was hanged, drawn and quartered on Saturday, Dec. 27, 1539 at Canterbury (according to L. Torelli OSA, *Hist. eccl. della Rivoluzione d'Inghilterra* [Rome 1594] on May 12, 1537).

Sources: Roth II 494ff.; B. Hackett OSA, *Bl. John Stone, Austin Friar and Martyr* (London 1963); MS Canterbury vol. XIII no. 1058 has Dec. 1538; Stanton, *Menology of England and Wales* (London 1887) 228 + 647; N. Harpsfield, *Dialogi sex contra Summi Pontificatus ...* (Antwerp 1573) 733; Bede Camm OSB, *Lives of the English Martyrs* (London 1914) I 264ff.; Her. I 396; Els. 403; Crus. I 563; SSM 676; Tor. VIII 209; Josephus 49; Maigr. 73; AHHA (1920) I 236; Mün. 32'; Naevius 313; Hörmönseder I 325; R. Colantuoni, *Martirio del B. Giovanni Stone* (Roma 1887); J. Spillman SJ, *Die Blutzeugen unter Heinrich VIII.* (Vol I Freiburg 1910) 207ff.; D.W. Wuerl, *The Forty Martyrs* (Huntington 1971) 78.

421. SUÁREZ VALDÉS DÍAZ DE MIRANDA Luis, a veteran of the Cuban war, born at Ciaño de Santa Ana (Sama de Langreo, Asturias) on June 19. 1874, was shot at Paracuellos on Nov. 30, 1936.

Sources: AA 17 (1941) 308; Arr. 94; Fueyo 151; Ll 30; Mont. 343; Necr.; Vic. 224, 282; Positio 142, 404, 486. \*

422. SWAB (SCHWAB) Bishop Hermannus of Mindelheim, Magister and professor in Prague, titular bishop of Nicopolis and auxiliary of Prague. He was suspended because he ordained some priests for the Hussites in Prague, probably under duress. Reconciled with the Church he was drowned by the Taborites in the Sazawa river on July 27 (Kadlec), or Nov. 13, 1420 with two chaplains.

Sources: Pius Keller, *Index Episcoporum OESA Germanorum*, (Münnerstadt 1876) 31; A. Neumann, *Augustiniana Hermana 'Lektura na apoklypsu'*, in: *Hlidka* 42 (1925) 247-251; F. M. Bartos, *Doktor Herman z Mindelheimu, Obet Tàboru*, in: *Jihocesky sbornik historicky* 12(1939) 17f.; AA 3 (1909-10) 376; Her. I 342; Hoehn, *Chronologia Provinciae Rheno-Suevicæ* 88; Weiss, *Weltgeschichte* (1868) III 942; Lanteri (Erem) 57f.; P. Sladek OSA, *700 Jahre Augustinerkloster St. Thomas in Prag*, in: CU 43 (Würzburg 1985) 116; Jaroslav Kadlec, *Hermann Schwab von Mindelheim und sein Apokalypsekommentar*, in: *Scientia Augustiniana* (Würzburg 1975) 276-288; — *Das Augustinerkloster*



*St. Thomas in Prag* (Würzburg 1985).

423. TAAFFE Peter Patrick was tortured for two days in Sept. 1649 at Drogheda to obtain Royalist secrets. Then he was used as a target for shooting practice until his body was riddled.  
Sources: Tabularium sub No. 2; *Letters and speeches of Oliver Cromwell* ed. T. Carlyle (London 1846) I 54; *Irish Good Counsel* (June 1943) 12; Els. 583; Sangu. Erem. 87; O'Mahony's report to the Prior General, Gen. Arch. Rome, Dd 89 207-10; Conyngham 168; Causae introductio signed by Benedict XV on Feb. 12, 1915, AAS 7 (1915) 125; Ronan 208.
424. TAYEMON Bl. Brother Michael, a professed oblate, was dojuku of Bl. Bartholomeo Gutiérrez. He was beheaded at Nagasaki on Oct. 28, 1630.  
Sources: Sic. 236; Osario 176; Pérez 182, note 1; *Katorikku Dai Jiten* I 839; Japan 115.
425. TEIXEIRA Francisco de Nazareth was shot at Hugli in Bengal on Oct. 16, 1713 by a Portuguese whose son he had baptized that day.  
Sources: Manoel 605.
426. TEJEDOR Hipólito while going to a mission of the village of Sta. Isabel in the Philippines he was taken by the insurgents on Apr. 6, 1898. They tortured him until he died.  
Sources: Pérez 648; Merino 152.
427. TERCEÑO TEJEDOR Frater Vicente (deacon), born at Congosto de Valdavia (Palencia) on May 25, 1912, was shot at Paracuellos on Nov. 30, 1936.  
Sources: AA 17 (1941) 306; Arr. 176; Fueyo 151; Ll 30; Mont. 343 (has: Dionisio Terceño Vicente); Vic. 224, 282; Positio 38f., 143, 404, 456.
428. TERRERO blessed Franciscus ORSA was burnt at Nagasaki on Sept. 3, 1632.  
Sources: G. Ochoa del Carmen ORSA, *Dos Héroes o admirable Vida de los PP. Francisco de Jesús y Vicente de San Antonio Agustinos Recoletos* (Zaragoza 1934); Japan 124f.; Rodrigo (see 242).

429. THOMAS DE VILLANOVA (was Fr. Valentim Pinheiro SJ) entered the Order in 1634 and was beheaded at Mascate on Oct. 31, 1647 by the Arabs.  
Sources: Silva Rego XII 43f.; Manoel 466; Campos do Ermo 397; Brevilogio 232, 520.
430. TIRRY blessed William was publicly hanged at Clonmel on May 2, 1654.  
Sources: Tabularium sub No. 1; Sangu. Erem. 74ff.; F.X. Martin, *The Tirry documents in the Archives of France*, in: *Arch. Hib. XX* (1957) 69ff.; *Irish Good Counsel* (1943) 8; O'Leary and Hughes, *Father William Tirry and the Augustinian Abbey of Fethard Co. Tipperary* (Waterford 1932) 8ff.; O'Mahoney's report to the General, Gen. Arch. Rome, Dd 89 207-10; T. Whelan OSA, *Unless the seed die*, in: *The Tagastan XXII* (1960) 35ff.; J. O'Connor OSA, *A Ballad of William Tirry (1609-1654)*, Galway Aug. community 1976; — *A Priest on the Run* (Dublin 1992); A. De Romanis OSA, *Pagine del martirologio agostiniano*, in: *Bolletino Storico Agostiniano* 7 (1930) 153ff.; Ronan 213; F.X. Roth OSA, *P. Wilhelm Tirry OESA, Martyrer in Irland*, in: CU 8 (Würzburg 1950) 106ff.; Acta Beatificationis AAS 85 (1993) 312.
431. TORMOS Y FORT Cristóbal, lector, was killed by French soldiers during the sack of Játiva on May 24, 1707.  
Sources: AHHA 8 (1917) 276.
432. TORRES Diego de, was burnt at Huécija on Christmas 1568.  
Sources: Her. I 289; Els. 165; Lant. II 404; Burón 352.
433. TULLY Thomas of the convent of Dunmore was shot near Cloughnakillibeg near Dunmore 1651.  
Sources: Neary, *On the history of Dunmore*, in: *Galway Arch. Society Journal VIII* (1914) 104; *Irish Good Counsel* (March 1944) 8; Els. 664; O'Mahoney's letter to the General (see Tirry) is printed in Hackett OSA, *The Tirry Documents*, in: *Arch. Hib. XX* (1957) 108 ff.; a biography *ibid.* 111ff.; Tabularium sub No. 8; Causae Introd. signata a Benedicto XV AA 6 (1915-1916) 72 + AAS 7 (1915) 125; Conyngham 194.
434. TURRADO CRESPO Eleutério, born at Penilla de Valdería (León) on Apr. 15, 1910, was shot at Paracuellos on Nov. 7, 1936.



- Sources: AA 17 (1941) 307; Arr. 60; Fueyo 138, 154, 158; Ll 31; Llordén 623; Mont. 336; Vic. 102, 281, 286.
435. TURINDIUS was killed 1570 at Huécija.  
Sources: Els. 665.
436. URRIBARRÍ Vicente was killed in the beginning of the 17th century in Aricagua (Venezuela).  
Sources: F. Campo del Pozo, *Informe sobre la misión y mártires de Aricagua*, in: AHHA 74 (1990) 254ff.; — *Los Mártires Agustinos en la misión de Aricagua*, in: *Agustinos en América y Filipinas* (Valladolid-Madrid 1990) 937.
437. VALENZUELA Pedro was beheaded by Zambales in Feb. 1648 while on the way to canonical visitation.  
Sources: San Agustín II 513, 821; AHHA (1924) I 236; Pérez 100; Sanz, *Hist. de los Agustinos Españoles* 440; Osario 269; Merino 87.
438. VALLE GARCÍA frater Máximo, born at Villanueva de Abajo (Palencia) on Dec. 30, 1915, was shot at Paracuellos on Nov. 30, 1936.  
Sources: AA 17 (1941) 309; Arr. 219; Fueyo 151; Ll 30; Mont. 343; Necl.; Vic. 199, 283; Positio 144, 404, 462.
439. VAN GRAMB Camillus, conventual of Brussels was killed by the Hussites in Bohemia on May 20, 1628.  
Sources: Crus. II 462; Lant. II 400; Aug<sup>a</sup> 3 (1953) 267; Els. 135; N. de Tombeur OSA, *Prov. Belgica* 64; Repert. 190.
440. VAN DER ZILLE (CILIUS) Paul, conventual of Brussels, was according to Her. II 250 killed in prison in 1578.  
Sources: Kunzelmann VII 133; A. Keelhoff OSA, *Histoire de l'ancien couvent des Ermites de St. Augustin à Bruges* (Bruges 1869) 225-227, where his death date is established on December 30, 1584 and that he died after many sufferings in the monastery of Brussels; Crus. 211f.; Maigr. 124, who quotes writings of Adrian Pelsmacker OSA, an eyewitness; Josephus 260; Van den Born 89; Repert. 531 (died 30-12-1584).
441. VAN DIJCKE Justus (subdeacon), conventual of Ghent, was burnt

on June 28, 1578 on the public execution ground in Ghent. In order to defame the Church he was with Nicolas Daniels accused of immorality. He admitted it under torture, but then denied.

Sources: SSM 706; Van den Born 89; Her. I 404; Maigr. 114; Crus. 202; Josephus 260; Lant. II 430; Els. 418; *Ad natales sanctorum Belgii Joannes Molani auctarium* (Duaci 1626) 110ff.; N. Teeuwen OSA, *Figuren uit de geschiedenis van Augustijns Vlaanderen*, in: *O.L.Vrouw van Goeden Raad* XIX (Apr. 1947) 14ff.; Keelhoff (Gent) 103ff., which also contains the attempt of Jan Hembyze to seduce Van Dijke and proves that he confessed only to be freed; Hörmonseder I 453ff.; Repert. 135.

442. VARGA DELGADO Pedro de la, choir director of the Escorial, born at Valladolid on July 30, 1904, was shot at Paracuellos on Nov. 30, 1936.

Sources: AA 17 (1941) 309; Arr. 115; Fueyo 151; LI 30: Llordén 647; Mont. 343; Vic. 224, 282; Positio 144, 404, 488.

443. VELASCO MARTÍNEZ Valentín, born at Arroyal de Vivar (Burgos) on Feb. 14, 1892, was shot at the edge of the Andalucía highway near Madrid on Aug. 22, 1936.

Sources: AA 17 (1941) 306; Arr. 32; Fueyo 154; LI 31; Llordén 660; Mont. 879; Vic. 251, 295.

444. VELASCO VELASCO Benito, born at Arroyal de Vivar (Burgos) on March 20, 1864, was shot at Paracuellos on Nov. 30, 1936.

Sources: AA 17 (1941) 308; Arr. 47; BIM 10/95 (1992) 401-02; Fueyo 151; LI 30; Mont. 343; Necr.; Vic. 282; Positio 142, 404, 486.

445. VÉLEZ Gonzalo was burnt at Huécija at Christmas 1568.

Sources: Her. I 289; Her.(Sal) 338; Lant. II 415;

446. VERA Miguel, born at Villanueva (Jaén) on May 2, 1864, was stabbed to death in the railroad station of Guiguinto on May 27, 1898.

Sources: Pérez 621, 653; AHHA 53 (1959) 253; Merino 234.

447. VICENTE DE S. AGOSTINHO, chaplain in the fleet of Telles de Meneses against the Dutch, was killed by a shell after absolving a dying soldier on January 1637.



- Sources: Manrique I 187; Sicardo Chap. III.
448. VICIOSO CORRALIZA Francisco, born at Villanueva de la Serena (Badajoz) on Oct. 21, 1883, was shot on July 25, 1936 at Villanueva de la Serena.  
Sources: AA 17 (1941) 305; Arr. 111; Fueyo 170; Ll 31; Llordén 662; Mont. 880; Vic. 250, 286.
449. VICUÑA MURGUIUNDO Joaquín, born at Idiazábal (Guipúscoa) on Feb. 16, 1903, was taken severely ill from hospital to hospital by the C.N.T. and died at Valencia on Oct. 27, 1938.  
Sources: AA 17 (1941) 312; Arr. 34; Fueyo 33, 163; Ll 32; Necr.; Vic. 59, 258, 285.
450. VIESCA Felipe of the province of Perú was killed by savages with harpoons at Moxos in the 17th century.  
Sources: I. Monasterio OSA, *Datos para la historia de los Agustinos en el Perú*, in: *Ricuerdo de la Inauguración del Templo de San Agustín* (Lima 1908) 235f.; Villarejo 223.
451. VIGNANESI Philip of Montepulciano was in 1359 assassinated by the moors in Spain.  
Sources: Her. II 244; *San Agustín y su Obra* (Belgodere, México 1945) 197; Lanteri I 377 (1359 in Hispania).
452. VILAJOLI Miguel, an Oblate brother, was a companion in martyrdom of B. Calle on June 3, 1904.  
Sources: AA I (1905-1906) 38f.; see also Bernardo Calle.
453. VILLAR DE SAZ Bernardino de, was a companion of Diego Herrera.  
Sources: See Herrera.
454. VILLARROEL VILLARROEL Balbino, born at Tejerina (León) on March 30, 1910, was shot at Paracuellos on Nov. 28, 1936.  
Sources: AA 17 (1941) 307; Arr. 110; BIM 9/84 (1990) 304-05; Fueyo 151; Ll 29; Llordén 678; Mont. 147, 341; Vic. 102, 281; Positio from 105 passim until 483.
455. VILLEGAS Pedro de, prior of Huécija, was burnt on Christmas 1568.

- Sources: Her. I 289 + II 250; Burón 350.
456. WALL Walter, eximius theologus et praedicator, was after a long period of starvation hanged on Oct. 21, 1655.  
Sources: *Irish Good Counsel* (Sep. 1944) 10; MS Prop. Fidei (See Tirry) 9.
457. WIELUCKI Edmond, a newly ordained priest of the Polish province died in Dachau.  
Sources: See Gociek.
458. WILLIAM OF ST. AUGUSTINE was killed with arrows in Persia, or better, Greater Armenia on Jan. 15, 1612.  
Sources: John Thaddeus of St. Eliseus OCD, MS Congr. Prop., Lett. Ant. 189, fol. 280-281; Bibl. Nac. Madrid, MS 1269 No. 19 fol. 132f.; Inquisition by Bp. Gouvea *ibid.* fol. 189-190; Silva Rego XII 39; Maigr. 174; Goa 111, 120; A. Hartmann OSA, *William of St. Augustine and his Time*, in: *Aug<sup>a</sup> 20* (1970) 181ff.; Campos do Ermo 296f.; *Flos Sanctorum* 211ff.; *Documents of the Inquisition at Ormuz of March 30-31, 1615*, in: *AA 28* (1965) 223ff.; letter of Jude Thad. *ibid.* 228; report of Agostino Basrei OP, archbishop of Naxivan, on death of William *ibid.* 263; Els. 260; Naevius 310; SSM 717; Hörmönseder II 292.
459. WILLIAM MARTYR OF PAMIERS was killed on March 26, 1563.  
Sources: Thomas Bouges OSA, *Histoire Ecclésiastique et civile de la ville et diocèse de Carcassone* (Paris 1761) 330; J. M. Vidal, *Schisme et hérésie au diocèse de Pamiers 1467-1626* (Paris 1931) 213, note 1; Porte in: *Bulletin historique du Diocèse Pamiers* (1930) 276f.; Jacques Ourgand, *Notice historique sur la ville et le pays de Pamiers* (Pamiers 1865).
460. WILLIAM OF LYONS was killed by the Huguenots in Montpellier in 1597 with some confreres.  
Sources: Her. I 289; Crus. 286; Els. 264.
461. YOSHIDA Andreas and Hikojiro Gaspar, catechists of Ferdinand Ayala and members of the Confraternity of the Cincture, were beheaded on Oct. 1, 1617.  
Sources: Els. 57; *Kat. Dai Jiten* I 837; Kataoka, *Nagasaki no*



- Junkyosha* 119f.; Japan 72; Joseph Schütte S.J., *Monumenta Historica Japoniae* I (Rome 1979) 702; Manuel Jimenez OSA, *Mártires Agustinos del Japón* (Valladolid 1867) 65.
462. ZARCO CUEVAS Julián, born at Cuenca on July 27, 1887, was shot at Paracuellos on Nov. 30, 1936.  
Sources: AA 17 (1941) 308; Teófilo Aparicio OSA, *Agustinos españoles en la vanguardia de la ciencia y la cultura* I (Valladolid 1988) 380; Arr. 113; Fueyo 151; Ll 30; Llordén 680; José M<sup>a</sup> Martín Sánchez, *La obra historiográfica del P. Julián Zarco Cuevas*, in: *La Ciudad de Dios* 198 (1985) 791-829; Mont. 343, 620; Carlos de la Rica, *Retrato apasionado y fantasmal del P. Julian Zarco, natural de Cuenca ...*, in: *Religión y Cultura* 34 (1988) 407-13; Vic. 186, 207, 282; Positio from 52 passim to 485.
463. ZEGHERS Brother Henry, a conventual of Ghent, was on Jan. 23, 1587 in the woods near Brussels tied to a tree by the Calvinists and stabbed to death with daggers together with Gerard de Riddere.  
Sources: See de Riddere and Maigr. 145; Els. 279; Mün. 54<sup>f</sup>; Flos Sanctorum 305; Hörmönseder 122; Repert. 530.
464. ZENZANO Francisco was in 1728 provincial and went after his term of office to the isle of Panay, where he was killed with lances at Bugason (Phil) in 1734.  
Sources: Pérez 179; Crus. III 36; Merino 281.
465. ZUÑIGA bl. Peter was burnt at slow fire on Aug. 19, 1622 at Nagasaki, with him bl. captain Joachim Firajama and bl. Luis Flores OP.  
Sources: Letter of Bartholomew Gutiérrez in: San Agustín II 211; Sic. 164-219; Engl. translation in: *The Tagastan* 19 (1956) 5ff.; San Agustín II 136, 299; Her. II 255; Pérez 82; Osario 261; Els. 573; Maigr. 248; Josephus 493; *Katorikku Dai Jiten* II 817; Japan 75ff.; Naevius 340; *Japan-Handbook* (Berlin 1941) 372.

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JACOBI DE VITERBIO O.E.S.A.  
 "QUAESTIONES DE DIVINIS PRAEDICAMENTIS":  
 QUAESTIO XXIII

La question XXIII<sup>1</sup> est libellée ainsi: *Utrum potentia conveniat Deo proprie*. Elle manque dans le manuscrit de Bordeaux, mais se trouve bien dans les manuscrits de Naples (N), de Rome (R), de Toulouse (T) et de Padoue (P). Elle couvre les feuillets 92<sup>vo</sup>a-96<sup>vo</sup>a en R, les ff. 167-176<sup>a</sup> en T, les ff. 36<sup>a</sup>-37<sup>b</sup> en P et les ff. 60<sup>vo</sup>-69<sup>a</sup> en N. Dans les marges de T et de P se trouvent quelques corrections; des notes techniques ont été ajoutées dans les marges de T et de P et surtout de R.

Puisque cette question ne figure pas dans le manuscrit bordelais, nous nous sommes servis des manuscrits N, R et T, tout en consultant P, pour rétablir le texte.

La question a été rédigée de la façon habituelle. Une vingtaine d'arguments répondent négativement à la question posée, et un autre positivement. L'exposé qui suit est divisé en deux parties principales, suivies des réponses aux arguments préalables. Au cours de l'exposé l'auteur se réfère à Aristote et à son Commentateur Averroès, à Algazel, à Augustin, à Boèce, à Jean Damascène, à Pierre Lombard et à Proclus, et aussi aux questions précédentes<sup>2</sup>. Pour ces références nous renvoyons aux mêmes éditions que dans les questions éditées avant. Quant à Proclus, nous utilisons aussi l'édition de Boesse, pour Pierre Lombard celle de Migne et pour Algazel celle de Muckle.

<sup>1</sup> Voir: Jacobi de Viterbio o.e.s.a. *Quaestiones de Divinis Praedicamentis*. Quaestio XVIII. *Augustiniana* 38 (1988), 67-98; Quaestio XIX. *Ib.* 39 (1989), 154-185; Quaestio XX. *Ib.* 42 (1992), 351-378; Quaestio XXI. *Ib.* 44 (1994), 177-208; Quaestio XXII. *Ib.* 45 (1995), 299-318.

<sup>2</sup> ALGAZEL, *Algazel's Metaphysics*. A medieval translation. ed. J.T. MUCKLE C.S.B., Toronto 1933. ARISTOTELES et AVERROES, *Aristotelis omnia quae extant opera, selectis translationibus ... illustrata ... Averrois Cordubensis in ea ... Commentarii*. ed. Venetiis 1562/74; re-ed. Frankfurt 1963. Vol. V, VIII, etc. AUGUSTINUS, *De Trinitate*. PL 42; CCL 50 (1). BOETIUS, *De Persona et Duabus naturis*. PL 164. JOHANNES DAMASCENUS, *Dialectica*. PG 94. PETRUS LOMBARDUS, *Libri IV Sententiarum*. PL 192. PROCLUS, *Elementatio Theologica*. ed. H. BOESE, Leuven 1987; ed. C. VANSTEENKISTE, in: *Tijdschrift voor Philosophie* 13 (1951), 263-302; 491-531. THOMAS AQUINAS, *Quaestiones Disputatae ad fidem optimarum diligenter ... nova editio*. ed. P.F. MANDONNET O.P., III vol., Paris 1925.



## DE PRAEDICAMENTIS IN DIVINIS QUAESTIO XXIII

Quaestio est: Utrum potentia conveniat Deo proprie.

- (1) Et videtur quod non, quia, si in eo esset potentia vel esset finita vel infinita, sed neutra esse potest; finita quidem non, quia tunc sequeretur quod potentiae divinae ad potentiam creatam esset aliqua proportio, cum  
5 finiti ad finitum sit proportio.

Item, sequeretur quod Deus potest producere creaturam quae suam potentiam exhauriret, et sic producere posset creaturam sibi aequalem. Haec autem sunt inconvenientia. Ergo, et cetera.

- Infinita vero potentia in Deo non est, quia tunc moveret in non  
10 tempore, quia maior virtus semper movet in minori tempore; ergo infinita in non tempore. Ergo, et cetera.

(2) Praeterea, opposita non possunt simul eidem convenire, sed actus et potentia sunt opposita; cum ergo actus conveniat Deo, ut supra dictum est, videtur quod potentia ei convenire non possit. Ergo, et cetera.

- (3) Praeterea, si potentia esset in Deo, vel esset idem cum actu, et hoc  
15 non potest esse. Philosophus enim, in IX Metaphysicae, probat opinionem dicentium quod tunc dicitur aliquid posse quando operatur. Isti enim idem faciunt potentiam et actum; quo posito sequuntur multa inconvenientia, ut ibi ostendit. Vel esset divisa ab actu, et hoc similiter non potest esse, quia  
20 tunc in Deo esset compositio et diversitas. Ergo, et cetera.

- (4) Praeterea, arguebatur specialiter quod potentia activa non conveniat Deo, quia, aut esset semper coniuncta actui; et hoc non videtur, quia tunc non esset potentia, — sicut enim illud quod semper est, non habet potentiam ad esse, ita quod semper agit non habet potentiam ad agendum  
25 —, aut esset non semper actui coniuncta; et tunc sequeretur in Deo variatio. Omnis enim potentia vel naturalis vel rationalis est; naturalis coniungitur actui per approximationem, rationalis per novum appetitum. Et sic semper potentia, quae aliquando est non coniuncta actui, coniungitur ei per variationem sui. Ergo, et cetera.

---

2 videtur *add.* primo T eo/Deo N 6 creaturam/potentiam N 11 ergo, et cetera *om.* NR; et cetera *om.* P 14 ergo *om.* T 15 actu *add.* in Deo N 16 esse *om.* N; potest esse/est R opinionem/oppositionem T 17 aliquid/ad TR 19 ibi/ibidem N similiter/ simpliciter N 20 ergo *om.* N 24 ad esse ... habet potentiam *om.* TPR agendum *corr.* essendum R1 in marg. 26 est *om.* R 27 rationalis *add.* autem N novum *om.* N

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13. voir Quaestio XXII, III, l. 345 sqq.

16. Vol. VIII 229F; Bekker 1046b.



30 (5) Praeterea, si in Deo esset potentia activa vel esset respectu actionis intrinsecae vel extrinsecae. Sed non respectu intrinsecae, quia talis operatio in Deo non est nisi intelligere et velle; respectu autem horum in Deo non ponitur potentia, ut a pluribus dicitur.

Item, nec respectu extrinsecae, quia actio extrinseca praesupponit  
35 intrinsecam; quare et potentia ad actionem extrinsecam praesupponit potentiam ad intrinsecam. Cum ergo non sit potentia ad intrinsecam, sequitur quod nec ad extrinsecam. Ergo, et cetera.

(6) Praeterea, secundum Philosophum, in IX Metaphysicae, quaecumque dicuntur secundum posse, idem est potens contraria, ut idem est  
40 potens laborare et convalescere, moveri et quiescere, aedificare et corrui. Sed hoc Deo non convenit, scilicet posse contraria, cum semper unum contrariorum dicat imperfectionem. Deo autem non convenit potentia in comparatione ad aliquod imperfectum. Ergo, et cetera.

(7) Praeterea, illud quod dicit perfectionem, limitatam non convenit  
45 Deo nec dicitur de ipso proprie. Sed potentia dicit perfectionem limitatam. Probatio. Quia illa est potentia limitata quae non includit in se omnem perfectionem; multae autem sunt perfectiones quae non includuntur in potentia. Ergo, et cetera. Et simili ratione arguebat de aliis perfectionibus, scilicet sapientia et huiusmodi.

50 (8) Praeterea, potentia activa non est substantia activa, sed aliquid superadditum substantiae. Sed in Deo nihil est superadditum substantiae eius. Ergo, et cetera.

(9) Praeterea, si esset potentia in Deo, maxime esset respectu intelligere et velle. Sed respectu horum non est, quia in eo essent plures  
55 potentiae; quod non videtur. Una enim sola potentia in eo ponitur respectu productorum quae comprehendit et intellectum et voluntatem.

(10) Praeterea, in Deo non differt actus et potentia nisi ratione. Ergo potentia non dicitur realiter in Deo, et per consequens nec proprie.

(11) Praeterea, potentia activa est principium transmutationis in aliud.  
60 Sed Deus agit sine transmutatione et motu, ut patet in rerum creatione. Igitur saltem respectu actionis talis non est in Deo activa potentia.

(12) Praeterea, potentia est medium inter substantiam et operationem.

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30 esset *om.* N 33 ponitur/ponit N 35 extrinsecam *corr.* T1; *om.* T 36 non *om.* P  
Cum ergo ... ad intrinsecam *om.* T 38 (philosophum) in *om.* N 40 potens/posse N  
corruiere *mss.* construere 42 dicat/dicit N 44 perfectionem/imperfectionem N 56  
productorum/praedictorum N 57 differt/esset N 59 aliud/alio N 61 in Deo *post*  
activa potentia T



Sed in Deo non est substantia et operatio quae sunt extrema; quare nec medium, scilicet potentia. Minor probatur. Quod enim in Deo non sit  
 65 substantia, patet per Augustinum, VII De Trinitate, caput 5, qui dicit quod Deus abusive dicitur substantia.

Quod autem operatio non sit in Deo, patet primo auctoritate Magistri, in II Sententiarum, qui dicit quod Deo non convenit agere; secundo ratione, quia non convenit ei actio intrinseca, quia in eo esset  
 70 receptio, nec extrinseca, quia secundum Commentatorem nullum immateriale transmutat materiale.

(13) Praeterea, si in Deo esset potentia, illa esset infinita. Sed hoc non potest esse, quia tunc esset frustra dum non reduceretur ad actum, quia non potest ab eo produci effectus infinitus, et cetera.

(14) Praeterea, potentia activa est eiusdem generis cum actione. Unde ex hoc probant quidam quod potentiae animae sunt accidentia. Sed actio Dei extrinseca non potest esse eiusdem generis cum eo quod in Deo est, cum talis actio sit ipsa creatura. Igitur respectu talis actionis non est in Deo  
 75 potentia activa.

(15) Praeterea, omne agens per potentiam activam agit applicando potentiam suam ad aliquid, sicut patet in omnibus potentiis tam naturalibus quam rationalibus. Sed Deus cum creat non applicat potentiam suam ad aliquid, cum nihil praesupponat. Ergo non creat per potentiam, et sic  
 80 respectu creationis non est in ipso potentia.

(16) Praeterea, cum potentia dicat habitudinem, aut dicit habitudinem secundum rem, et hoc non est verum, aut habitudinem secundum rationem, et hoc etiam non videtur, quia relatio Dei ad creaturam est sicut mensura ad mensuratum; mensura autem non refertur ad mensuratum nisi quia mensuratum refertur ad mensuram. Sed creatura non semper refertur ad  
 85 Deum, quia non semper est; quare nec Deus semper ad creaturam refertur. Sed si Deo conveniret potentia ab aeterno, ei conveniret semper. Igitur potentia non est in Deo.

(17) Praeterea, quia Respondens dicebat quod potentia activa est in Deo,

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64 scilicet potentia *om.* N sit/est NR 65 caput 5 *om.* N 68 (Deo) non *om.* TP 71  
 transmutat *add.* per T materiale *add.* ergo N 72 infinita/finita T 73 dum/cum N  
 75 Unde/et non N ex hoc *add.* quod N 76 quidam/aliqui T quod/quia N 83  
 praesupponat/supponat N 84 ipso/eo N 86 est/potest esse N 93 dicebat/dicit N

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65. PL 42, 942; CCL 50, 261.

68. Distinctio I (2); PL 192, 652-653.

70. in IV Metaphys. Vol. VIII 67<sup>o</sup> LM; 94<sup>o</sup> AB.



non autem passiva, arguebatur multipliciter quod in Deo sit potentia  
95 passiva. A Deo enim removetur omnis impotentia, quare sibi convenit  
omnis potentia; quare potentia passiva.

(18) Praeterea, sicut illud quod potest generare habet potentiam activam,  
ita illud quod potest generari habet potentiam passivam. Sed Filius Dei  
potest generari; igitur habet potentiam passivam, et sic est in eo potentia  
100 passiva.

Quod autem Filius Dei potest generari videtur. Constat enim quod  
potentia generandi non solum est in Patre, sed etiam in Filio, tamen sub  
opposito respectu, quia in Patre est ut generet, in Filio ut generetur. Cum  
ergo potentia generandi in Patre sit activa, videtur quod in Filio sit  
105 passiva.

(19) Praeterea, ubi est passio, ibi est potentia passiva. Sed in Deo est  
passio; ergo, et cetera. Probatio Minoris. Quia passio non importat  
imperfectionem secundum rationem suam essentialem, nam secundum  
rationem suam essentialem dicit habitudinem quandam secundum quam  
110 dicitur aliquid esse ab alio. Licet autem haec habitudo interdum fundetur  
in motu, tamen motus non pertinet ad rationem essentialem passionis  
propter hoc. Unde et in alio praedicamento est motus et passio. Sed  
habitudo haec, quae est esse ab alio, non dicit imperfectionem, nec ex eo  
quod habitudo est, nec ex eo quod talis habitudo scilicet ab alio esse;  
115 igitur est in Deo, ubi est aliquid ab alio, ut Filius a Patre.

(20) Praeterea, sicut se habent ad invicem actio et passio, ita potentia  
activa et passiva, cum potentia activa dicatur ex actione, passiva vero ex  
passione. Sed actio et passio sic se habent quod ubi est una, et alia, quia  
unus motus sunt. Quare similiter potentia activa et passiva sic se habent  
120 quod ubi est una, et alia erit. Cum ergo in Deo sit potentia activa, erit in  
eo et passiva.

In contrarium arguebatur scilicet quod potentia sit in Deo, scilicet  
activa, quia ab eo egreditur actio; igitur in eo est aliqua potentia activa.  
125 Ergo, et cetera.

I Ad huius quaestionis evidentiam primo considerandum est quot et

---

94 passiva/positiva N passiva *add.* contra hoc N; *add.* contrarium hoc R; *add.* hoc  
autem T 95 impotentia/potentia T 97 Praeterea *om.* T 108 nam secundum ...  
essentialem *om.* T 111 pertinet *add.* et N 113 nec/sed T 115 Patre *add.* ergo, et  
cetera T; *add.* ergo P 116 ita/sic se habet NR 118 Sed/quod P et alia *add.* et T  
119 (motus) sunt/est N Quare/Et T similiter/simpliciter N; simul P potentia *om.* T  
sic *om.* R; sic se habent *om.* T 123 In/Item in T 124 (potentia) activa/passiva N



quibus modis potentia dicitur. Constat enim quod est nomen multipliciter dictum, sicut et alia nomina communia consequentia entis. Ideo oportet  
130 accipere modos potentiae.

II Secundo vero videndum est, singillatim discurrendo per illos modos, an Deo conveniat potentia.

I Quantum ad primum sciendum quod, licet possibile videatur dici a  
135 potentia, tamen possibile in plus est quam potentia, quia non quodlibet possibile dicitur secundum potentiam. Est enim quoddam possibile sumptum in mathematicis secundum metaphoram, sicut cum dicitur quod ternarius potest in novenarium, quia constituitur ex ductu vel multiplicatione ternarii; et quod linea potest in quadratum, quia constituitur  
140 ex ductu lineae in se.

Est enim mathematica sicut abstracta a motu et actione non est ibi potentia agendi nec patiendi, nisi metaphorice. Unde in eis dicitur aliquid possibile non secundum potentiam.

Alio modo dicitur possibile in propositionibus, quod dicit quoddam  
145 modum habitudinis terminorum; et sic sumitur in propositionibus modalibus. Et idem etiam dividitur, quia quoddam quod sequitur ad necesse ut dicitur possibile, quia non est impossibile. Aliud vero dividitur contra necesse et dicitur possibile, quia nec ex necessitate verum, nec ex necessitate falsum, sed est contingens, et cetera.

150 Quia ergo possibile praedictis modis non dicitur secundum aliquam potentiam, ideo non facit ad propositam quaestionem, in qua quaeritur de potentia.

Quarto modo dicitur possibile secundum aliquam potentiam, et hoc facit ad propositum, et dividitur sicut et potentia. Unde et dicendum est  
155 nunc de divisione potentiae.

Secundum Philosophum, in V et IX Metaphysicae, potentia dicitur

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129 communia *om.* N 131 singillatim/sigillatim NP; *om.* R 135 (quia) non/quod T  
137 mathematicis/ metaphysicis N metaphoram *lect. inc.* NT 138 constituitur/con-  
struitur T ductu/ducta T 141 sicut/sic N; sive R abstracta *lect. inc.* N 142 nec/et  
N; neque R metaphorice/mathematicae N 146 sequitur/consequitur N 147 ut/non T  
impossibile/possibile R Aliud vero ... possibile *om.* N 148 ex necessitate *lect. inc.* T;  
est necesse R necessitate *add.* haec N ex necessitate (falsum)/necesse R 151 de  
*add.* Dei N 154 (sicut) et/a N 156 Secundum *add.* vero N; *add.* ergo P  
(Philosophum) in *om.* NR et IX *om.* N

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156. Vol. VIII 121 DEF; Bekker 1019<sup>a</sup>.

156. Vol. VIII 226 CD; Bekker 1046<sup>a</sup>.



uno modo quae est principium transmutationis in aliud secundum quod aliud, ut ars aedificativa; et haec dicitur potentia activa, quia transmutare est agere.

160 Alio modo dicitur potentia principium transmutationis ab alio vel secundum quod aliud; et haec dicitur potentia passiva, secundum quam patiens patitur.

Ideo autem dicit ab alio in quantum aliud, quia quandoque idem est agens et patiens, sed non secundum idem, ut patet in his quae moventur ex  
165 se, quae secundum aliud moventur.

Utraque autem distinguitur, quia potentia activa vel simpliciter dicitur quia potest agere aliquid secundum ipsam, vel cum additione eius quod bene, ut quia potest bene agere et perfecte.

Similiter potentia passiva vel dicitur quia simpliciter aliquid  
170 secundum eam patitur, vel quod bene patitur, idest quod patitur ad melius.

Alio modo dicitur potentia non quia sit principium agendi vel patiendi, sed quia est habitus secundum quem aliquid dicitur impassibile vel immobile, vel non facile in peius mobile; et haec potentia pertinet ad secundam speciem qualitatis.

175 In Praedicamentis tamen plenius assignat illum modum potentiae, quia potentia dicitur hoc modo non solum illud secundum quod aliquid non est de facili passibile, sed etiam illud per quod facile potest agere.

Sumitur autem hic facile aliter quam in habitudinibus vel potentiis activis perfectis. In his enim sumitur facile quia perfecte; ibi autem  
180 sumitur facile quia talis potentia dicit praeparationem et idoneitatem ad potentiam activam perfectam. Unde talis potentia est quaedam potentia activa imperfecta, ut pugillativa potentia perficitur per artem. Dicitur etiam facile, quia non quaecumque idoneitas erit huiusmodi potentia, sed idoneitas propinqua. Unde, ut dicit Commentator in V, talis potentia quae  
185 est in secunda specie habet aliquid de potentiis activis et passivis, tamen potentia activa et passiva est in plus, quia non solum se extendit ad secundam speciem sed ad primam ut artes, et ad tertiam ut qualitates activae, ut calor et huiusmodi.

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157 quae/quo T; *om.* P aliud *om.* T; alio *text.* Moerbeke 163 dicit/dicitur N 166  
Utraque *lect. inc.* T quia/vel T simpliciter *lect. inc.* T 167 potest/potentia ad T  
aliquid *om.* T 168 agere/facere T perfecte/perfectione T 169 Similiter *add.* et T  
quia/quod N 171 quia/quod N 172 impassibile/impossibile T 175 plenius/melius R  
assignat *om.* N 177 de facili/de facile T 179 enim *om.* N 182 perficitur/dicitur N

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175. Vol. I pars 1. 42B sq.; Bekker 9<sup>a</sup>.

184. Vol. VIII 123-124.



Unde et Philosophus, in V, illam secundam speciem qualitatis  
 190 comprehendit sub activa et passiva quantum ad aliquam partem illius  
 speciei; quantum autem ad aliam partem distinctum modum ponit, scilicet  
 quod potentia dicitur secundum quam aliquid est impassibile.

Cuilibet autem modo potentiae respondet sua impotentia; tamen  
 secundum tertium modum illud quod dicitur impotentia, possit dici  
 195 potentia et econverso. Durum enim habet potentiam ut non sicco dividatur,  
 et habet impotentiam ut sicco dividatur. Similiter molle habet impotentiam  
 ut non sicco dividatur, et habet potentiam eiusdem.

Hi sunt igitur modi potentiae quos Aristoteles assignare videtur.

200 Sed haec distinctio non est sufficiens, nec comprehendit omnem  
 potentiam; nam actus potentiae opponitur. Invenitur autem aliquis actus qui  
 nec opponitur potentiae activae nec passivae, scilicet forma, sive sit  
 materialis et inhaerens, sive immaterialis et subsistens; et ideo oportet  
 sufficientius assignare distinctionem potentiae.

205 Dicendo quod quaedam est potentia secundum motum, accipiendo  
 motum communiter pro actione et passione quacumque, quaedam vero est  
 secundum esse.

Illa quae est secundum motum vel operationem, distinctio sumitur  
 modo supradicto. Omnes enim dictae potentiae, vel omnes dicti modi  
 210 potentiae, dicunt aliquo modo secundum motum, ut patet; nam ille motus  
 patet per distinctionem secundum quod aliquid dicitur habere potentiam.  
 Quare impassibile dicitur secundum motum privative; et sic non omnis  
 actus est motus, ut patet per distinctionem actus supra positam a  
 Philosopho, et cetera, in IX.

215 Ideo non omnis potentia dicitur secundum motum. Sed sicut aliquis  
 actus est qui dicit esse vel formam, ita oportet quod sit quaedam potentia  
 secundum esse. Verum est etiam quod ipse motus dicitur actus qui est esse

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190 aliquam/illam N 191 autem *om.* N 195 enim/autem T sicco/cito R; *mss.* sico  
 196 impotentiam/potentiam NR sicco/cito R Similiter/simpliciter T 197 sicco/cito  
 NR 198 Aristoteles/Philosophus N 201 opponitur/apponitur N 202 (qui) nec/non N  
 (activae) nec/neque N scilicet/sed TR 203 inhaerens sive immaterialis et *om.* T  
 205 dicendo/dicendum N 208 (motum) vel/ut NT operationem/opposita N; operatio  
 T 210 dicunt/dicuntur R 211 patet *lect. inc.* N per distinctionem *om.* N 212  
 impassibile/impossibile NR 216 ita/itaque T; *add.* quod N 217 motus *om.* T actus  
 qui est esse/esse qui est actus T Verum est etiam ... et esse *om.* N

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189. Vol. VIII 121D sq.; Bekker 1019<sup>a</sup>.

213. voir Quaestio XXII, I, l. 140 sqq.

214. Vol. VIII 235 sq.; Bekker 1048<sup>a/b</sup>.



prout motus dicit formam aliquam et esse, vel prout dicit ordinem; et secundum propriam rationem differt motus ab esse.

220 Licet enim motus sit quaedam entitas, aliud tamen est considerare ipsum ut esse quoddam est, et aliud ut tale esse, quod est moveri. Unde et potentia, quae est secundum esse etiam respicit motum ut est quoddam esse; potentia vero activa et passiva respicit motum ut motus est.

225 Quod autem haec distinctio potentiae sic sit conveniens et vera, patet per Philosophum in IX Metaphysicae. Nam, postquam posuit distinctionem de potentia in modos supra dictos, et prosecutus est multas alias distinctiones de potentiis activis et passivis, sic ait: «Quoniam autem de potentia quae secundum motum <dicitur>, dictum est de actu, determinemus quid est actus, et quale quid. Etenim possibile simul  
230 manifestum erit dividendum, quia non solum hoc dicimus possibile quod aptum natum est movere aliud aut moveri ab alio, aut simpliciter aut modo quodam», scilicet bene.

«Sed aliter» scilicet dicitur possibile; «quapropter quaerentes de» actu et de huiusmodi possibili «superveniemus».

235 Similiter et in principio IX, antequam distinguat modos potentiae supra dictos, dicit sic: «Quoniam ... ens ... aliud secundum potentiam, aliud secundum actum dicitur ..., de potentia et actu determinabimus. Et primum quidem de potentia quae dicitur quidem maxime proprie, non tamen utilis est ad quod nunc volumus. In plus est enim potentia et actus  
240 eorum quae dicuntur secundum motum solum. Sed cum dixerimus de hac, scilicet de potentia secundum motum, in determinationibus de actu, ostendemus et de aliis». Hoc autem facit in eodem IX ubi incipit determinare de actu, ut iam dictum est.

245 Similiter et Algazel, in primo tractatu Metaphysicae, plane distinguit potentiam essendi a potentia agendi vel patiendi.

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221 (ipsum) ut/non T (aliud) ut/non T quod/quae N 222 etiam/et N 224 sic/si N 225 (Philosophum) in om. NR posuit/possuit T 228 quae post secundum T; om. R 229 (quale) quid/quidem N; quid est R 231 natum om. T moveri corr. P; movere T (alio) aut om. TR 232 quodam/quoddam TR 233 scilicet om. N 234 possibili om. N 238 (quidem) de om. T 239 (utilis) est om. N 242 ostendemus/ aut domus N (eodem) IX om. NR 244 Algazel/Agazel TP

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225. Vol. VIII 235EF; Bekker 1048<sup>a</sup>.

235. Vol. VIII 225<sup>vo</sup>HJ; Bekker 1045<sup>b</sup>, 1046<sup>a</sup>.

242. Vol. VIII 235 sq.; Bekker 1048<sup>a/b</sup>.

243. voir l. 227-232, 236-242.

244. I, 7; ed. Muckle p. 43.



Differt autem potentia secundum motum a potentia secundum esse:

Primo quidem, quia potentia secundum motum dicitur ad actum qui est motus, ideo dicitur secundum motum; potentia secundum esse ad actum  
250 qui est esse, ideo dicitur potentia secundum esse.

Secundo, quia ea quae est secundum motum est res alicuius praedicamenti cum respectu ad motum, et praecipue qualitas, quia in prima specie artes dicuntur potentiae activae.

Item, quae in secunda specie, et etiam quae in tertia, qualitates  
255 activae vel passivae.

Utrum autem scientiae specificent virtutes dici possint potentiae activae, nihil nunc.

Constat quod interdum vocantur potentiae a Philosopho, sed si sunt potentiae activae, alius modus actionis est; substantia vero potest dici  
260 potentia activa et passiva, scilicet forma substantialis et materialis, licet non immediatum, sed mediatum; tamen potentiae vere dicuntur, licet magis usitate ea quae sunt principium immediate agendi vel patiendi, et talia sunt qualitates. Et sic ratio potentiae huius proprie convenit qualitati.

Et sic huiusmodi potentia, scilicet activa et passiva, non sunt de  
265 consequentibus ens.

Et ideo dicit Philosophus, ut iam inductum est, quod talis potentia quae est secundum motum, non est utilis ad quod volumus nunc, quia determinat in Metaphysica proprie de potentia et actu secundum quod sunt  
270 consequentia entis in quantum ens; ideo determinat de potentia secundum esse.

Ad metaphysicum autem non spectat secundum quod huiusmodi agere de potentia secundum motum, nisi quantum pertinet ad eum distinguere de potentia ut eligat motum et ad ipsum pertinet.

Haec est igitur duplex differentia inter potentia secundum motum et  
275 secundum esse.

Alia differentia est, quod potentia secundum motum dicit aliquam

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254 (etiam) quae *om.* T 256 possint/possunt N 257 nihil/vel N 258 constat *add.* enim N 259 (actionis) est *om.* N vero/non N 261 tamen/cum T vere/vero *ante* potentiae TR 262 (usitate) ea *om.* N (agendi) vel *om.* N 263 (et) sic *om.* N Et sic ratio potentiae ... qualitati *om.* R 264 huiusmodi *add.* scilicet N 265 ens/entis NT 266 ut/non T inductum/dictum N 267 quia/quod N 268 in Metaphysica/immediate TR 269 ideo/id N 271 metaphysicum/metaphysicam T 272 nisi *add.* in R 273 eligat/eligitur T; elicit N ipsum/eum N 274 igitur *om.* N

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266. voir l. 227-232, 236-242.



rem absolutam cum respectu ad motum; potentia vero secundum esse dicit  
modum quemdam essendi, scilicet defectum essendi et actus  
280 complementum dicit, et cum hoc dicit quemdam respectum ad actum.

Alia differentia est quia potentia, ut agitur secundum esse, est fun-  
damentum potentiae passivae et ei praesupponitur, sicut actus est funda-  
mentum potentiae activae, et rationaliter, quia motus praesupponit esse.

285 Unde primo intelligitur aliquid esse actu, et ex hoc habere  
potentiam activam, et post intelligitur esse potentia, et sic habere  
potentiam passivam. Unde unum et idem dicitur de potentia ad esse et  
potentia passiva.

Sed prius dicitur in potentia ad esse, et ex hoc est potentia passiva;  
290 et sic etiam idem est actus et qui dicit modum essendi completum; et sic  
sequitur quod illud sit in potentia activa.

Ideo etiam communiter dicitur quod potentia activa consequitur  
actum, passiva vero potentiam; quod non potest intelligi de actu, quem  
potentia activa respicit dupliciter.

295 Sed duplex actus essendi quem praesupponit similiter nec  
intelligitur de passiva vel activa, cum dicitur quod potentia passiva  
sequitur potentiam.

Intelligitur ergo de potentia essendi, et propter hanc connexionem  
potentiae essendi ad potentiam patiendi solet etiam ipsa potentia ad esse  
300 vocari potentia passiva.

Et verum est quod in uno et eodem potest esse hic duplex modus  
potentiae, ut puta in materia, ita quod duplici ratione dicitur materia  
potentia.

Sed potentia essendi dicit modum essendi, et cum hoc respectum ad  
305 actum essendi; potentia passiva dicit substantiam ipsam materiae cum  
respectu ad motum.

Hinc est quod quidam dicunt quod potentia activa respicit actum  
qui est motus vel operatio; passiva vero respicit actum qui est forma. Hoc  
enim non est verum, scilicet quod potentia passiva respiciat actum qui est  
310 esse vel forma, nisi ratione potentiae essendi quam consequitur, non autem

279 (et) actus/actum T 280 complementum om. T cum hoc/tamen N; hoc om. T  
284 rationaliter/rationabiliter T motus/actus N 285 primo/prius R aliquid om. N  
286 post om. N; lect. inc. R 287 Unde om. T unum om. N (esse) et add. de N  
289 (dicitur) in/de N; om. T (ex hoc) est/dicitur N 290 etiam lect. inc. T; et N  
293 passiva vero potentiam; quod non/potentia passiva non. Potentia enim quod non N  
quem/quam NT 295 (actus) essendi om. T similiter/simpliciter N 296 (passiva)  
vel/nec N 305 materiae om. N 308 motus vel operatio; passiva vero respicit actum  
qui est om. TR Hoc lect. inc. T 310 consequitur/sequitur N



in quantum potentia passiva est, immo utraque, scilicet tam activa quam passiva, respicit actum qui est motus, et eundem motum respicit utraque qui in subiecto est in patiente, idest in eo in quo est potentia activa, scilicet in agente; nam secundum Philosophum, in IX, potentia passiva est  
 315 in agente, passiva in patiente.

Tamen sciendum quod illa potentia quae est secundum motum, est aliquo modo secundum esse, et illa quae est secundum rem, aliquo modo est secundum motum, quia motus est quoddam esse; tamen potest considerari ut esse quoddam, vel ut actus est, et sic ad ipsum est potentia  
 320 secundum esse, vel ut motus, et sic est ad ipsum proprie potentia activa et passiva, idest ut dicit actum imperfectum qui est fieri.

Potentia ergo activa et passiva respicit motum ut motus est et ut via ad esse; ex consequenti respicit ipsum esse in quod motus est et ut via. Potentia vero secundum esse et secundum quod motus est.

325 Patet igitur quot modis dicitur potentia et quomodo modi adinvicem differunt, scilicet potentia quae ad motum et quae ad esse.

Sed circa hoc potest addi quod potentia quae est secundum motum, duplex est, scilicet activa et passiva, quia, ut dicit Proclus, LXXIX  
 330 Propositione, quod «omne quod fit, ex duplici fit potentia», scilicet activa et passiva, ut declaratur in commento. Haec est etiam sententia Aristotelis.

Item addendum est, cum dictum sit quod potentia activa sequitur actum, potentia passiva potentiam, hoc potest declarari, quia potentia activa perfecta est, ideo sequitur actum qui dicit completionem in esse;  
 335 passiva vero, quia imperfecta est, sequitur potentiam quae dicit incompletionem vel defectum essendi.

Unde dicit Proclus, LXXVIII Propositione, quod «omnis potentia aut perfecta aut imperfecta est». Activa perfecta quia alii exhibet perfectionem; passiva imperfecta quia ab alio suscipit perfectionem.

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311 immo/ymo NR (*ac ita deinceps*) tam activa quam passiva/quam passiva tam activa  
 T 313 (subiecto) est *om.* T potentia *add.* passiva; nunc autem in eo in quo est  
 potentia N 315 passiva/passive N 318 tamen/cum N 320 motus *add.* est NR  
 (sic) est *post* ipsum NR proprie/propria T 321 (et passiva) idest *om.* N; *lect. inc.* T  
 322 (et) ut *om.* N via *lect. inc.* T 330 Propositione *om.* TR quod *om.* P (duplici)  
 fit *ante* ex N 331 est etiam/et est N 334 ideo/non T 337 LXXVIII/LXX NTR  
 potentia/propositio N 338 exhibet *mss.* exhibit; exhibit R 339 suscipit *add.* in R  
 perfectionem *om.* N

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314. Vol. VIII 226EF; Bekker 1046<sup>a</sup>.

329. ed. Boese p. 42; ed. Vansteenkiste p. 295.

337. ed. Boese p. 41; ed. Vansteenkiste p. 294.



340 Sed ulterius videndum de quo dicitur potentia per prius inter hos  
modos. Et dicendum quod secundum Philosophum, in V et in IX, primo et  
principaliter dicitur de potentia activa et de aliis per attributionem ad hanc.

Unde consequenter dicitur de potentia passiva. Et quia haec  
sequitur imperfectum esse, ideo ens imperfectum et defectum habens  
345 entitatis dicitur potentia.

Licet enim esse sit prius quam motus, tamen, quia potentia habet  
rationem principii, prius dicitur de potentia activa, quae dicitur secundum  
motum, quam de aliis.

Si quis autem quaerat an sit potentia aliqua absoluta et aliqua non,  
350 sicut de actu dicebatur, potest dici quod potentia secundum esse non est  
absoluta, sed semper est perfectibilis per actum. Unde est ante actum et est  
etiam cum actu.

Et similiter de potentia passiva quae sequitur potentiam dicendum  
est.

355 Potentia vero activa, cum sequatur actum, numquam est absoluta ab  
actu quem sequitur. Ita etiam nec aliquis actus absolutus est a potentia  
activa quantumcumque sit absolutus.

Unde Deus est actus absolutus et tamen habet rationem potentiae.

Ad actum autem ad quem dicitur, potentia activa potest dici  
360 absoluta in quantum non perficitur per illum actum, nec est in eodem  
potentia activa et actus ad quem dicitur.

Verumtamen, bene convenit aliquando quod in uno et eodem est  
potentia activa et passiva; et hoc vel respectu eiusdem motus, ut in his  
quae moventur a se, vel respectu diversorum motuum, ut cum aliquid  
365 secundum unum movet et secundum aliud movetur, ut cum aliquid  
calefacit aliud et ipsum frigescit ab alio, sicut omnia agentia naturalia  
agendo patiuntur.

Potentia ergo quae motui coniungitur in eodem, sive respectu  
eiusdem motus sive respectu diversorum, non est omnino absoluta; illa  
370 vero quae numquam motui coniungitur in eodem, illa est potentia absoluta.

Hoc tamen convenit potentiae activae secundum quod huiusmodi

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344 sequitur/consequitur N (ens) imperfectum/imperfectionem T 345 potentia/in  
potentia N 346 habet/secundum N 347 prius dicitur de *lect. inc.* T 351 (perfectibi-  
lis) per actum *om.* T 353 de *om.* T 358 (Deus) est *om.* T 362 verumtamen/verump-  
tamen TR aliquando *lect. inc.* T 363 (hoc) vel/nihil T ut *lect. inc.* T 365 aliud/  
aliquid T ut/unde N 370 illa *om.* R

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341. Vol. VIII 120 DEF; Bekker 1019<sup>a</sup>.

341. Vol. VIII 226 CDE; Bekker 1046<sup>a</sup>.



quod numquam perficitur per motum ad quem dicitur et quem causat.

Et hoc verum est de potentia activa; potentia autem quae habet sibi oppositam activam.

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Est autem alius modus potentiae activae de quo potest dici quod perficitur per motum cuius est causa; et huic potentiae activae non respondet passivum. Haec autem est potentia quae est respectu actionum quae dicuntur manentes; quae, si vere actiones sunt, necessario sunt ex  
380 potentia activa; et haec non habet sibi oppositam passionem.

Quomodo autem talis dicatur actio et qualis actio sit, et quod vere possit dici actio, alias dictum fuit et alibi forte dicitur.

Tamen ad praesens est videndum hic de huiusmodi potentia activa, quod, ubicumque est talis activa potentia in creaturis, habet coniunctam  
385 potentiam ad esse, cum sit perfectibilis secundum esse per actum cuius est principium.

Item habet coniunctam potentiam illam quae pertinet ad secundam speciem qualitatis quae est praeparatio quaedam et exordium; habet etiam coniunctam potentiam passivam, ita quod in uno et eodem fundatur ratio  
390 omnium harum potentialium, ut puta in intellectu.

In quantum enim est principium actus intelligendi, sic dicitur potentia activa; in quantum vero est quid imperfectum secundum esse et defectivum, sic erit ibi potentia secundum esse; in quantum est exordium et praeparatio actus, sic erit ibi potentia quae ad secundam speciem  
395 qualitatis pertinet; in quantum vero potest ab alio transmutari ut ab obiecto sive fantasmate, sic est potentia passiva.

Tamen, ut dictum est, prout est potentia activa, non respondet sibi potentia passiva, et cetera. Sed hoc alias declarabitur.

Unde, secundum hoc potest videri qualis potentia est intellectus,  
400 quia omnibus dictis modis potest dici potentia.

Sic igitur patet de distinctione potentiae et aliis circa hoc.

II Tunc est secundo videndum ex his, an potentia sit in Deo,

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373 (activa) potentia autem *om.* N 374 activam *om.* N 378 passivum/passiva N; passivam R 380 (potentia) activa *om.* N 381 Quomodo autem ... potentia activa *om.* R quod/et R 382 dicitur *lect. inc.* P 385 ad esse *om.* N 388 (habet) etiam *om.* N 397 ut/prout N (dictum) est *om.* N prout/ut N 398 et cetera *om.* N declarabitur/declaratur R

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382. voir Quaestio XVI, IV. ed. Ypma pp. 298 sqq.

398. voir infra l. 538 sqq.

discurrendo per modos potentiae praeassignatos.

405 Et primo considerandum, an in ipso sit potentia ad esse; quod patet ex supra dictis in quaestione de actu. Cum sit actus absolutus, nullo modo est in eo potentia ad esse; et hoc potest declarari per contrarium, sicut supra declaratum fuit quid sit actus. Potentia enim haec dicit defectum essendi et non esse. Unde illud quod est ipsum esse et nullum non esse,  
410 non est potentia hoc modo.

Item, ex proprietatibus, quia illud cui haec potentia convenit secundum quod huiusmodi, praesupponit aliquid prius, ut aliquem actum. Deo autem nihil prius, nec duratione nec natura nec dignitate. Dico autem natura, quia, dato quod mundus fuisset ab aeterno productus, adhuc Deus  
415 est prior mundo duratione, non actu sed natura.

Item, potentia dicit aliquid indistinctum, quod Deo non convenit quia est maxime distinctus.

Item, cui convenit potentia huiusmodi est mutabile. Deus est omnino immutabile.

420 Item, cui convenit talis potentia necessario habet causam. Deus autem non est huiusmodi, cum sit omnium causa.

Item, cui convenit haec potentia habet aliquam privationem, saltem communius dictam, et sic malum.

Deus autem est pura bonitas in quo nulla privatio, nisi privatio  
425 imperfectionis; et haec privatio est bonum, non malum.

Item, quod est sic potentia, deficit a cognoscibili in quantum huiusmodi; Deus autem perfectissime cognoscibilis, et cetera.

Sed hic statim incidit dubitatio. Videtur enim quod in Deo sit  
430 potentia quae est secundum esse, et tamen in eo non erit aliqua imperfectio. Est enim aliqua potentia ad esse quae importat perfectionem; quare Deo attribuenda.

Dicit enim Philosophus, in I Caeli et mundi, quod caelum habet virtutem ut sit semper; quare similiter de Deo dicemus hoc.

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408 supra om. R fuit/est T 409 (nullum non) esse/est TR 413 Dico/Dicimus N; quia R 416 Item potentia dicit ... cum sit omnium causa om. N 417 quia/qui R 419 immutabile/immutabilis R 421 (Deus) autem lect. inc. TP 422 haec/talis R aliquam lect. inc. TRN 424 est/et N 427 huiusmodi om. N cognoscibilis/cognoscibile quid R et cetera om. P 429 hic statim ... dubitatio om. R 434 (virtutem) ut/quod T similiter/simpliciter N

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406. voir Quaestio XXII, I, II, l. 91 sqq.; l. 504 sq.

432. Vol. V 70<sup>vo</sup> HJ; 85<sup>vo</sup> JH; Bekker 279<sup>b</sup>; 282<sup>a</sup>.

434. ed. Boese p. 44; ed. Vansteenkiste p. 296.



435 Sic etiam Proclus, LXXXIV Propositione, «omne semper ens infinitae potentiae est», et exponit quia habet infinitam potentiam ad essendum.

Et sic dicendum quod, sicut secundum motus est duplex potentia, scilicet passiva quae est imperfecta et activa quae est perfecta, sic potentia  
440 quae est secundum esse duplex est.

Una quae dicit imperfectionem et defectum entitatis, alia quae dicit perfectionem; et haec potentia uniuscuiusque rei ad durandum, quae in aliquibus est maior, in aliquibus minor, secundum quod magis et minus durant, in aliquibus vero infinita, ut in his quae semper sunt, ut dictum est.

445 Ad hoc autem dicendum est secundum quosdam, quod bene haec potentia est ad essendum, cum dicitur quod aliquid habet virtutem ut tantum duret vel ut semper duret.

Sed, licet dicatur ad essendum, tamen haec potentia est quasi activa; potentia autem activa bene est in Deo, ut patebit iam.

450 Sed illud non videtur, quia potentia activa est respectu motus vel operationis, non respectu esse.

Praeterea, hoc non est secundum intentionem Aristotelis, qui vult quod quidquid est potentia ad esse, habet etiam potentiam ad non esse. Talis autem potentia necessario est quid imperfectum, et ideo, cum dicitur  
455 caelum habere potentiam ut sit semper, hoc non videtur esse potentia essendi.

Et ideo potest aliter dici secundum intentionem Commentatoris, quod caelum dicitur habere potentiam ad semper essendum, non per potentiam aliquam positivam quae sit ad esse, sed per privationem  
460 potentiae, quia non habet potentiam illam quae est ad esse et non esse. Et ideo ex hoc solvitur quaestio qua dubitatur.

Cum in corpore non sit virtus infinita quomodo caelum est incorruptibile et habet potentiam ut sit semper, tunc enim videtur quod in corpore finito sit virtus infinita. Et respondet Commentator, in fine De  
465 Substantia Orbis, quod, licet in corpore finito non sit virtus infinita, sed

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435 Propositione *om.* T 442 et haec *add.* est N 444 (durant) in *om.* N (infinita) ut/non T ut dictum est *om.* R 446 (virtutem) ut/non T 447 (vel) ut/non TR 449 iam *om.* N 453 est potentia/habet potentiam N ad esse *om.* P 454 autem/etiam N 455 caelum *mss.* celum hoc/haec N 459 positivam/passivam N (sed) per *om.* NT privationem *lect. inc.* T 460 (non esse) et *om.* T 461 ex *om.* P dubitatur/dubitabatur N 462 Cum *add.* enim N 464 finito/infinito N fine *om.* N 465 sed/tamen bene potest esse in ipso ut est privatio infinita scilicet N



potentia quae est ad corruptionem, et in IV dicit quod incorruptibile non dicit potentiam, sed privationem potentiae.

Deus igitur habet potentiam ad essendum semper non per potentiam ad essendum, sed per privationem potentiae ad non essendum, et talis  
470 privatio non est imperfectio sed perfectio.

Et sic patet de potentia secundum esse.

Est igitur consequenter videndum de potentia activa, an sit in Deo.

Et universaliter loquendo, dicendum quod convenit Deo quia dicit  
475 perfectionem, quia consequitur actum; ideo dicitur potentia perfecta.

Item, alia ratio quia Deus est causa essendi aliis. Hoc autem est potentia, scilicet principium agendi in aliud secundum quod aliud, et cetera.

Item, Deus agit, ergo in eo est potentia activa, quia quod non habet  
480 potentiam activam, non potest agere.

Et ad evidentiam huius tertiae rationis est sciendum quod potentia, supra illud de quo dicitur, addit habitudinem; et haec habitudo videtur esse de genere actionis, nec differt nisi quia actio dicit habitudinem actualem, potentia vero habitudinem potentialem vel habitualement.

485 Unde habens potentiam dicitur activum; et hoc patet, quia in illo modo relativorum, qui sequitur actionem et passionem, quaedam attenduntur secundum activum et passivum, quaedam secundum agere et pati actu, quaedam secundum egisse.

Verum est quod secundum habitudinem actionis sumitur etiam  
490 habitudo relationis inter agens et patiens. Unde duplex habitudo importatur in potentia.

Et sciendum quod triplex est habitudo actionis; habitualis actualis in creaturis fit per mutationem a causa creaturae, et non est ibi habitudo realis, et etiam quia est coordinata ei quod agit; in Deo autem est sine  
495 mutatione.

Ideo potentia activa creata perficiatur aliquo modo per hoc quod

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468 igitur/autem N (essendum) semper non ... ad non essendum om. N 469  
essendum/esse T sed add. nunc T 470 imperfectio sed om. N 476 ratio add. est N  
477 (agendi) in aliud om. T (aliud) et cetera/est N; om. R 479 eo/ipso T 481 Et  
om. R huius/istius N 482 supra/sive R habitudinem add. potentialem vel  
habitualement R 486 sequitur/consequitur N 487 attenduntur/activae dicuntur N  
activum lect. inc. T passivum lect. inc. T 489 est om. N actionis om. N 493  
fit/sit T 494 quia/quae N (ei) quod/quid T 496 perficiatur/perficetur N



agit et aliquam perfectionem, non quod perficitur per illud quod agit. Sed oportet quod aliquid ei adveniat quod non habebat prius, sive illud sit absolutum aliquid sive habitudo aliqua propter quod non agebat; in Deo  
500 autem non sic.

Unde potentiae creatae si non agunt, hoc est propter aliquid quod deficit possibile vel locus debitus, ut in potentiis naturalibus quae agunt ut approximata, vel in rationalibus determinatio appetitus.

Deus autem semper habet potentiam perfectam et semper eodem  
505 modo se habet; in Deo ergo est alia habitudo potentiae et actionis, non per mutationem in ipso, sed per mutationem in alio. Qualis autem sit haec habitudo, patebit infra in argumentis.

Sic ergo patet de potentia activa in generali.

510 Sed oportet magis in speciali dicere. Cum enim potentia activa sit illud quo agens agit, in Deo autem duplex est actio, scilicet manens et transiens, videndum est utrum in Deo sit potentia activa quantum ad utramque actionem.

Circa hoc autem quidam sic dicunt quod sic, scilicet respectu  
515 actuum intrinsecorum qui dicuntur notionales, ut generare et spirare, non autem respectu essentialium, ut intelligere et velle.

Et dicunt sic: potentia significat principium; principium autem distinctionem importat ab eo cuius est principium.

Consideratur autem duplex distinctio in his quae dicuntur de Deo,  
520 una secundum rem, alia secundum rationem tamen.

Secundum rem quidem Deus distinguitur per essentiam a rebus quarum est principium per creationem, sicut una persona distinguitur ab alia cuius est principium secundum actum notionalem.

Sed actio ab agente non distinguitur in Deo nisi secundum rationem  
525 tantum, alioquin actio esset accidens in Deo, et ideo respectu illarum actionum secundum quem aliquae res procedunt distincte a Deo vel essentialiter vel personaliter, potest Deo attribui potentia secundum rationem propriam principii.

Ideo, sicut ponimus potentiam creandi in Deo, ita possumus ponere

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497 (quod agit) et om. NR    501 si ante potentiae N    502 possibile *lect. inc.* N    503 approximata *lect. inc.* T    505 (potentiae) et om. N    511 est ante duplex N; om. TR  
514 sic om. N    515 (generare) et om. N    517 autem/vero N    520 (rationem) tamen om. N  
525 actio om. N    in Deo ante esset N    et om. T    respectu om. N    529 Ideo/item T

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507. voir Ad quartum, l. 749 sqq.; Ad decimum quartum, l. 856 sqq.

530 potentiam generandi vel spirandi. Sed intelligere et velle non sunt tales  
actus qui designent processionem alicuius rei distinctae a Deo vel  
essentialiter vel personaliter.

Unde respectu horum actuum non potest salvari ratio potentiae in  
Deo, nisi secundum modum significandi et intelligendi tantum, quia  
535 intelligere et intellectus in Deo idem est, scilicet ipsa Dei substantia; tamen  
differunt secundum modum intelligendi.

Sed circa hunc modum dicendi occurrit duplex dubium.

Primo, quia generare non est alius actus quam velle, nisi cum  
540 connotatione respectus. Si ergo nihil addit nisi respectum generare supra  
intelligere, videtur quod sicut in Deo est potentia generandi, ita et  
intelligendi.

Praeterea, si potentia generandi est potentia activa, videtur ut  
dicunt, oportet necessario quod ei correspondeat potentia passiva, quia, ut  
545 supra dictum est, «omne quod fit ex duplici fit potentia». Vel ergo in Deo  
erit potentia passiva, quod tamen ipsi non concedunt, vel, si non est  
passiva, nec ergo erit aliqua activa.

Ad hoc ergo dicendum est quod verum est quod in Deo est potentia  
respectu actuum notionalium, et quod ista potentia est activa, ut dicunt.

550 Sed, ut melius hoc pateat, sciendum quod, si potentia activa  
sumatur ut Philosophus sumit, quod est principium transmutandi vel agendi  
in aliud secundum quod aliud, non potest salvari quod potentia generativa  
sit activa potentia, quia tunc responderet ei potentia passiva.

Item, quia hoc non videtur aliquibus inconueniens, quod in Deo sit  
555 potentia passiva, ideo hoc aliter hic ostenditur; nam productio in Deo  
attenditur secundum actus manentes. Potentia autem respectu talium  
actuum non est activa hoc modo ut Philosophus accipit, immo secundum  
quosdam pure passiva est, licet in Deo concedant ipsam esse activam.

Sed potest dici quod in nobis et in Deo activa est et secundum

533 horum/harum T 534 et intelligendi ... modum intelligendi om. P et intelligendi  
om. T significandi et intelligendi/intelligendi et significandi R 535 intelligere et  
intellectus/intellectus et intelligere R (idem) est/sunt N 544 correspondeat/respondeat  
N 545 fit *lect. inc.* T 546 tamen om. R concedunt/dicunt R 547 ergo om. R;  
*add.* in Deo N aliqua om. NR 549 ista/illa N 550 (pateat) sciendum *lect. inc.* T;  
om. N 553 (activa) potentia *add.* scilicet N passiva/privativa RT 555 (aliter) hic  
om. N productio/ductio T 559 (potest) dici *lect. inc.* T dici quod *add.* et R in  
nobis et in Deo/in Deo et in nobis N est/erit T secundum om. N



560 eundem modum actionis, licet quantum ad aliqua differat. Sed quantum ad hoc non differt quia utrobique sit activa, non sicut Philosophus sumit potentiam activam modo dicto, sed alio modo.

Quomodo autem alio modo patet, quia, sicut aliter dicitur actio manens et transiens, sic aliter oportet quod dicatur potentia activa.

565 Et, sicut alias declaratum fuit, actio manens dicitur absoluta nec habet sibi correspondentem passionem, nec talis activa potentia habet sibi correspondentem passivam. Quomodo autem hoc esse possit, alias dictum fuit et alias dicitur.

Quantum ergo ad hoc eodem modo est in Deo et in nobis potentia 570 huiusmodi, sed quantum ad aliud differt, quia in nobis huiusmodi potentia activa est, et etiam passiva, et est potentia ad esse et potentia quae est exordium et praeparatio. Haec autem non conveniunt Deo.

Ideo in Deo talis potentia non dicitur perfectibilis sicut in nobis, immo aequae perfecta est potentia sicut illud quod producitur intra per 575 huiusmodi potentiam.

Item, utraque est subsistens in Deo, et in nobis non. Unde Pater non perficitur per Verbum genitum, sed uterque est perfectus Deus, quia unus et idem Deus. Potentia enim activa non dicit imperfectionem, nisi ratione modi producendi.

580 Sed tunc videndum est, quare potentia dicitur respectu eius quod est generare, non autem respectu eius quod est intelligere.

Circa quod sciendum quod, sicut dictum est supra, potentia importat respectum et actio dicit respectum, et eundem respectum dicunt in 585 Deo, quia posse et agere ibi idem est.

Unde respectus qui est de genere actionis est in Deo; istius respectus non est principium potentia ipsa, sed respectus consequitur illud quod dicitur potentia.

Unde potentia in Deo non est principium respectu huius quod est

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560 differat/ differant R 563 Quomodo/Quod N; quo R alio modo *om.* R 564 aliter *post* quod T 565 sicut/similiter P 567 esse *om.* T 571 (est) et *om.* NR etiam *om.* T et est/et etiam N 573 Ideo *add.* Deo N in Deo *post* talis potentia N 574 intra *lect. inc.* N 576 Pater *om.* N 578 enim/autem T 583 Circa quod/ubi R 584 dicit/dicitur T respectum/respectus T 586 istius/alius aut N 589 huius/eius N quod/qui R

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565. voir Quaestio XVI, IV. ed. Ypma pp. 298 sq.

567. voir Quaestio XVI, IV. ed. Ypma pp. 298 sqq.

568. voir l. 281 sqq.

583. voir l. 281 sqq.



590 generare, cum generare sit respectus ipse actionis qui est in potentia.

Unde non dicitur potentia generandi, quia sit principium habitudinis huius quae est actio, sed dicit respectum actionis consequentem potentiam. Illud ergo cuius principium est potentia, est aliquid ad quod refertur habens potentiam generandi, non autem refertur ad generare, sed ad  
595 productum per generationem. Hoc autem non est Verbum vel Filius; quare igitur dicitur potentia generandi et non intelligendi, quia generare dicit respectum secundum quem potentia respicit illud quod per potentiam producit, non sic intelligere; in intelligere non importatur respectus potentiae producentis ad productum. Unde generare est respectus  
600 specificativus illius respectus qui importatur per potentiam in generali.

Intelligere autem dicit aliquid absolutum et non dicit respectum; illud, cuius principium dicitur esse potentia activa, dicit respectum ad productum. Sic generare dicit respectum potentiae ad productum, intelligere autem non.

605 Unde, quia non connotat respectum, ideo non potest dici quod sit aliquid productum. Sed Verbum dicitur quid productum, quia connotat respectum.

Item, intelligere non dicit respectum potentiae ad productum; potentia autem dicitur alicuius, vel quia specificat respectum potentiae ad  
610 productum ut potentia generandi, quod dicit respectus et dat intelligere productum. Unde generare non dicit ipsum productum, sed respectum ad productum.

Alio modo dicitur potentia alicuius ut producti; neutrum autem ut importat intelligere, quia nec dicit productum nec dicit respectum potentiae  
615 ad productum, sed dicit simpliciter actum; dicere autem importat respectum ad productum.

Per dicta vero patet responsio ad alia duo obiecta, et patet quomodo in Deo est potentia activa respectu actionis intra.

Unde bona est ratio supra dicta quorundam, quare respectu

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590 qui/quae N 591 quia/quod NT 592 consequentem/consequentis N 594 non  
autem refertur ... et non intelligendi *om.* T autem/quae N 598 in *om.* P  
(intelligere) non/ut R in intelligere non importatur respectus *om.* T 600  
specificativus *lect. inc.* P; productus R qui/quae T 601 dicit/dicitur N  
respectum/respectus P 602 illud/illius N esse *om.* R dicit *corr.* T1; dicitur T  
603 Sic generare ... ad productum *om.* R 604 (autem) non *lect. inc.* T 608 (non)  
dicit/dicitur T 610 quod/quae N respectus/respectum N; *add.* ad intelligere N 613  
dicitur *lect. inc.* T; divina N 617 vero/autem T 619 (bona) est *om.* N



620 intelligere et velle in Deo non est potentia activa, nisi secundum rationem, quia non accipitur ibi realis distinctio, cum sit utrumque absolutum. Patet ergo quod potentia activa est in Deo.

Et est sciendum quod non est de ratione potentiae activae  
625 secundum quod activa est, quod habeat potentiam sibi oppositam, sicut de actione et passione dictum est, sed hoc convenit alicui potentiae activae.

Item, non est de ratione eius absolute quod sit perfectibilis, cum ipsa de se dicat perfectionem, sed in quantum coniungitur alteri potentiae.

Item, non est de ratione eius quod illud quod per eam producitur,  
630 sit secundum essentiam diversum; sufficit enim quod sit diversum existentiae modo, semper tamen debet esse re diversum.

Item, non est de sui ratione quod per sui mutationem exeat in actum.

Item, non est de sui ratione quod vel semper sit coniuncta actui, vel  
635 quod aliquando sit separata ab actu, quia utroque modo invenitur. Aliqua enim semper est actui coniuncta in Deo, ut potentia generandi, aliqua non semper actui coniuncta, ut potentia creandi, sed sine sui mutatione.

Sic ergo patet quid dicendum sit de potentia activa in Deo.

640 Nunc videndum de passiva. Et dicendum quod non est in ipso.

Primo quidem quia, ut dictum est, sicut activa fundatur super actum, sic passiva super potentiam, quia utraque potentia praesupponit esse in potentia; in Deo autem non est potentia ad esse. Ergo, et cetera.

Secundo quia potentiae passivae respondet activa, licet non  
645 e converso. Sed nihil quod est extra Deum potest habere rationem potentiae activae respectu Dei, nec etiam in Deo, quia in Deo non est potentia activa nisi respectu illorum actuum respectu quorum est talis potentia activa cui non respondet passiva.

Tertio quia, ut dicit Damascenus in Logica sua, facere est in se ipso  
650 habere causam operationis, pati autem in se ipso et in alio habere causam

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620 in Deo *om.* NTR est/sit P potentia *add.* productiva N 624 (quod non) est *om.*  
TP 629 illud quod per eam *om.* T 630 (essentiam) diversum *add.* sed NT enim  
*om.* N 631 existentiae/essentiae T 634 semper/per se N 636 in Deo, ut potentia ...  
actui coniuncta *om.* TRP 640 in *om.* P ipso *add.* quod probatur P 641 quidem *om.*  
P ut/sicut N ut dictum est *om.* R 645 quod *om.* NT; *post* Deum R 647  
(quorum) est *om.* N 649 Logica/loyca R

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641. voir l. 282 sqq.

649. Dialectica cap. 52. PG 94, 639A.

eius quod est pati, ut conditor et conditum.

Conditor enim quidem in se ipso habet causam conditionis; conditum autem in conditore quidem principium conditionis; in se ipso autem aptitudinem passionis.

655      Conditorem enim hic artificem dicimus; conditum autem materiam subiectam artifice. Sed hoc non potest salvari in Deo. Non enim dicimus quod Filius habet causam generationis communis in se et in alio, quia non fit ex materia praesupposita, immo nihil habet Filius nisi natum.

Item, nec habet causam in alio, nisi secundum relationem et  
660 existentiae modum. Pati autem est habere causam in eo quod essentialiter est aliud. Ex quo patet quod etiam actio quae est creatio, non habet proprie passionem oppositam.

Unde passio, proprie sumpta, est solum aliquo praesupposito; minus proprie potest salvari in creatione in quantum creatura habet causam  
665 creationis in alio essentialiter.

Minime autem proprie in Deo, ubi est alietas solum secundum existentiae modum, ut dictum est.

Si quis ergo velit extendere nomen passionis, potest concedi, sed hoc est improprie. Unde Boetius omnino negat pati a Deo proprie, et  
670 cetera.

Praeter hoc videndum est, utrum in Deo sit potentia quae est in secunda specie qualitatis.

Circa quod sciendum est quod illa potentia proprie reddit ad  
675 activam et passivam, ut supra dictum est; tamen potest etiam pertinere ad potentiam secundum esse, prout dicit praeparationem et exordium, et sicut quid perfectibile Deo proprie non potest convenire.

Si autem aliquo modo haec species qualitatis Deo conveniret, hoc esset secundum quod in hac specie dicuntur esse habitus, secundum quos  
680 aliqua dicuntur impassibilia, et cetera.

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654 autem *om.* N 655 artificem *lect. inc.* N 657 habet/habeat N; *post* communis R; *om.* T communis *om.* N 659 relationem/ rationem N et *om.* NTR 660 autem *corr.* T1; *om.* T 661 (creatio) non/ut T 667 ut dictum est *om.* R 669 et cetera *om.* R 672 Praeter hoc/Nunc R (videndum) est *om.* R 674 est *om.* NR reddit/reducitur N 675 supra *om.* R 676 exordium *add.* essendi in actu. Haec autem potentia est praeparatio et exordium N sicut/sic NR 677 perfectibile/perfectibilis TR Deo proprie *post* convenire potest N; convenire *post* potest T

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669. De Trinitate c. IV, PL 64,1253 C; De Persona et Duabus Naturis cap. 1. PL 64,1341 C; cfr. Gilbertus Porretanus, Commentaria. PL 64,1291 A; 1363 CD.

675. voir l. 156 sqq.



Sed dicendum quod nec secundum hoc convenit ei, quia tales habitus non sunt secundum quos omnino sit res impassibilis. Hoc enim non est per virtutem positivam, ut supra dictum est, sed secundum huiusmodi habitus dicitur res non de facili passibilis.

685 Unde tales habitus locum habent solum in rebus quae possunt pati; ideo, et cetera.

Et sic patet quae potentia dicitur de Deo proprie et quae non, et per quem modum, quia potentia activa proprie dicitur de Deo.

690 Si autem ulterius quaeratur, an potentia activa dicatur realiter de Deo, dicendum quod potentia activa dicit rem aliquam absolutam et respectum quendam superadditum ad actum.

Secundum ergo quod potentia dicit absolutum aliquid, sic omnis potentia in Deo activa realiter ei convenit, quia quaecumque potentia in 695 ipso est eius essentia ut habet rationem qualitatis, praecipue eo modo quo qualitas dicitur de ipso, quamvis dici possit potentia.

Secundum vero quod potentia importat cum hoc respectum, sic dicendum quod potentia respectu actus extrinseci non convenit Deo realiter nisi sicut termino, non autem sicut subiecto.

700 Potentia vero respectu actus intrinseci realiter dicitur de ipso, quia dicit respectum realem.

Qualis autem sit ille respectus, dicunt quidam quod nullus respectus realis est in Deo, nisi relatio. Sed potest dici quod est ibi respectus actionis, ut supra in quaestione de actione dictum fuit.

705 Respectus autem quem potentia importat, eiusdem generis est cum respectu importato per actionem. Et hoc patet, quia dicimus quod agere consequitur actum et potentia activa consequitur actum.

Unde utrumque perfectionis est, scilicet potentia et agere. Sed tamen unum horum se habet ad aliud ut perfectius ad imperfectius, scilicet 710 actus ad potentiam, et sunt eadem habitudo re, differens modo sicut esse

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682 omnino/non N 683 supra *om.* R 685 possunt/possent N; possint T 687 et quae non ... de Deo *om.* T 690 autem ulterius *om.* R 692 superadditum *corr.* T1; additum T 693 Secundum/Si T aliquid/quid *ante* absolutum N; *om.* T sic *add.* autem T 694 ei *om.* T 695 ut/et N eo/hoc N 696 possit/possint T potentia/quod etiam ut substantia est quia in substantia potest dici substantia N 697 (quod) potentia/substantia N cum hoc/est hic T 698 extrinseci/intrinseci N 700 vero/autem N 701 realem/talem N 704 supra in quaestione de actione *om.* R fuit/est R; *et add.* quod de actione R 706 quod/quia T 708 utrumque/utroque N 710 (actus) ad/et N

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683. voir II, l. 403 sqq.

704. voir Quaestio XVI, II ed. Ypma pp. 289-295.

potentia et actu.

Tamen, quia potentia et actus dicunt diversos modos reales eiusdem rei, potest dici quod potentia et actio dicunt eundem respectum, sed diversos modos reales illius respectus. Et ideo aliquo modo sunt diversi  
 715 respectus realiter, et unus habet rationem principii et causae respectu alterius, sicut esse potentia est principium eius quod actu.

In Deo autem potentia et actus dicunt respectum solum ratione differentem. Ideo bene dicunt quidam quod in Deo non est principium potentia actionis, nisi secundum rationem. Sed est ibi potentia respectu  
 720 producti; et hoc verum est tam de potentia activa quam de potentia passiva, quia potentia passiva dicit respectum qui pertinet ad genus passionis, nec differt nisi sicut potentiale et actuale, ut supra dictum est.

Sed sciendum quod respectus potentiae in Deo, quae est respectu actionis manentis, omnino est idem cum respectu qui est actio, quia ibi  
 725 non differt agere et posse, nec umquam est posse sine agere.

Differunt autem ratione, quia in Deo non est aliquid ut possibile. Sicut ergo in eo non est potentia ad esse, sic nec potentia ad agere quae sit differens ab agere.

Respectus vero potentiae quae est respectu actus non manentis, sed  
 730 transeuntis, differt a respectu actionis, quia uterque convenit Deo sicut termino. Unde aliter creatura terminatur ad Deum ut possibilis est, aliter ut in actu. Sed hoc non est per mutationem Dei sed creaturae.

1. Ad primum ergo dicendum quod in Deo est potentia infinita, nec  
 735 tamen movet in non tempore, quia est agens libere et non necessitate naturae. Illud autem intelligitur de potentia infinita in agente per necessitatem naturae, si esset.

2. Ad secundum dicendum quod actus non opponitur potentiae quae est in Deo, scilicet activae, immo consequitur talis potentia actum.

740 3. Ad tertium dicendum quod potentia activa Dei est idem cum actu quem consequitur; non autem est idem cum actu cuius est principium, idest cum ipso producto. Tamen haec diversitas productionis a producente

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712 modos/respectus R    714 illius/eiusdem R    715 realiter/reales N    717  
 respectum/eundem N    722 passionis/et rationis T    sicut/ut N    potentiale et  
 actuale/actuale et passionale N    supra post dictum est R    723 quae/qui T    res-  
 pectu/respectus N    724 actionis/rationis N    omnino post est idem N    725 sine lect.  
 inc. N    726 (non) est om. T    727 eo/Deo N    (nec potentia) ad om. T    732 creaturae  
 add. et cetera R    735 (et) non om. N    740 idem om. T    741 autem/tamen T

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722. voir l. 524 sqq.



potentia non est secundum essentiam in Deo, sed secundum essendi modum; et haec diversitas sufficit ad potentiam, et haec non facit  
745 compositionem.

Hic et dicendum est illud quod supra dictum fuit, scilicet quomodo sumitur actio, et cum dicitur quod potentia est principium actionis, et cetera.

4. Ad quantum dicendum quod non est simile de potentia ad esse et ad  
750 agere.

Primo enim differt, quia potentia ad esse est etiam ad non esse, secundum Philosophum. Unde, quod potest esse, potest etiam non esse, et ideo quod semper est, non habet potentiam ad esse; sed potentia ad agere non est etiam ad non agere, quia potentia activa semper de se agit, nisi  
755 aliquid prohibeat. Ideo, etiam cum agit, adhuc est potentia.

Secundo differt, quia potentia ad esse opponitur actui; potentia vero activa consequitur actum. Ideo haec potest semper coniungi actui, non autem illa.

Tertio, quia potentia ad esse perficitur per actum, ideo adveniente  
760 actu cessat potentia. Sed potentia activa secundum quod huiusmodi non perficitur per actum; ideo, cum est in suo actu, non cessat potentia, sed cum agit, etiam tunc potest agere.

Potest tamen aliter dici quod, si potentia et actio dicerent diversos respectus, haberent rationem, quod dictum est. Nunc autem, ut supra  
765 dictum est, potentia et actio dicunt eundem respectum, sed differunt secundum actuale et potentiale. Ideo, sicut idem quandoque dicitur albedo in actu, quandoque in potentia, sic eadem habitudo quandoque est actu, quandoque potentia; et quando est potentia, tunc dicitur potentia; quando est actu, tunc dicitur actio.

770 Unde ab actu recipit nomen actionis; sicut ergo quod actu et quod potentia ad idem genus pertinet, sic habitudo potentiae et actionis.

Et hoc etiam patet auctoritate, nam, ut dictum est, potentia activa

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746 et/etiam N est om. P illud om. N 749 (et) ad om. T 752 (non esse) et om. T  
753 potentiam ad add. non N 755 aliquid corr. N1; illud N 757 potest post semper  
coniungi semper add. per T 758 autem/tamen N 766 dicitur add. ab eodem T  
767 (albedo) in/et N (in actu) quandoque/quando T 768 quandoque add. est N (di-  
citur) potentia add. et N 770 recipit/recipit N; accepit P 771 ad/et T 772 est om.  
T; add. supra N

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746. voir l. 171 sqq.

764. voir l. 282 sqq.

772. voir l. 156 sqq.

est principium et per consequens causa; ut autem dicit Simplicius, capitulo de actione, speculatio de facere est speculatio de causa. Nam, ut dicit, 775 faciens proprie dicitur causa. Materia enim et forma magis sunt concausa et non causa; exemplar autem et finis non sunt causa ipsius effectus proxime ... sed sunt causa ipsi facienti ipsius facere.

Unde concludit proprie «igitur utique faciens erit quod maxime causa, quare certa ratione quae de facere speculatio de causa est», et, ut 780 dicit, secundum divisionem causarum accipitur differentia eius quod est facere.

Si ergo respectus potentiae activae et actionis non differt nisi secundum potentiale et actuale, videtur quod in Deo non sit ille respectus ut potentia est, sed ut actio est.

785 Et ideo secundum hoc dicendum est quod potentia activa non convenit alicui quando agit, sicut nec potentia ad esse quando est; et procedit similitudo de utraque potentia, quia potentia activa ut dicitur potentia est, quasi quaedam potentia ad esse non absolute, sed ad esse 790 habitudinis in actu, quia actus et potentia sunt in actione, sicut et in aliis praedicamentis.

Et secundum hoc videtur dicendum quod, licet dictum sit quod potentia activa est in Deo, hoc non est accipiendum ut potentia est, sed ut activa est, loquendo de potentia ad intra, quae semper coniuncta est actui.

795 Unde, cum dicitur quod potentia generandi est in Deo, intelligitur de habitudine actionis quae tamen non est in eo ut potentia, sed ut actio; tamen significatur nomine potentiae etiam sicut in creaturis.

De potentia vero Dei respectu exterioris potest dici quod magis proprie dicitur potentia, cum quandoque haec habitudo sit in habitu, quandoque in actu, non tamen ex mutatione sui sed creaturae. Ideo potest 800 dici quod ad intra non est potentia ut potentia in Deo.

Et potest ulterius dici secundum hoc quod potentia primo dicitur de potentia ad esse, consequenter de potentia activa, et post de passiva, et ultimo de ea quae est in secunda specie qualitatis. Et quod dicit Philosophus, et quod supra dictum est, quod primo dicitur de potentia

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773 autem om. T Simplicius add. in N 774 (facere) est/et R 775 enim/autem N concausa/ cum causa NT 779 quae de/quod est N 786 ad lect. inc. T 789 actione add. simul N 795 tamen/ cum N 800 dici om. P ad om. N Deo add. et cetera NT 801 quod ante secundum hoc NT 803 est/sunt T 804 et quod/ut N

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773. ed. Pattin II, 447.

778. ibidem.

804. voir l. 156 sqq.



805 activa, verum est in terminis quos ibi in V ponit et in principio IX; sed ibi non facit mentionem de potentia ad esse, sed post agit de illa.

Haec igitur dubitando dicta sunt.

5. Ad quantum patet quid dicendum sit.

6. Ad sextum dicendum quod posse contraria secundum potentiam  
810 passivam, non potest esse sine imperfectione, cum talis potentia perficiatur per ea respectu quorum est principium, sed posse contraria secundum activam non dicit imperfectionem, quia potentia activa non perficitur per illa quorum est principium secundum quod huiusmodi.

7. Ad septimum dicendum quod limitatio dupliciter potest accipi.

815 Uno modo quantum ad rationem perfectionis, et hoc modo aliqua dicunt in Deo perfectionem limitatam, ut sapientia, quia dicit determinatam rationem perfectionis, distinctam a iustitia; et hoc intelligendum est secundum quod distinguuntur, quia ratione unius rei in qua sunt, una dicit quidquid dicunt omnes.

820 Alio modo quantum ad modum habendi, et sic nihil in Deo dicit perfectionem limitatam, quia sapientia non habetur a Deo limitate sicut a creatura.

8. Ad octavum dicendum quod, dato quod in creaturis substantia non sit immediatum principium actionis, ac per hoc non dicatur potentia, tamen  
825 in Deo aliter est; de hoc tamen est dubium, an etiam in creaturis substantia possit esse immediatum principium actionis. De hoc autem alibi dictum est.

9. Ad nonum dicendum quod in Deo ad intra sunt plures potentiae, scilicet spirandi et generandi; non tamen dicitur intelligendi et volendi, nisi  
830 secundum rationem. Similiter in respectu ad creaturas sunt in Deo plures potentiae, tamen, etiam dato quod respectu intelligere et velle essent potentiae in Deo et essent duae potentiae, adhuc non sequitur inconveniens, scilicet quod tunc esset duplex potentia respectu creaturae.

Est enim sciendum quod potentia in Deo uno modo sumitur, ut est

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806 sed/ et NT    807 dubitando/dubitata N; dubitanda T    sunt/sint N    808 quid dicendum sit *om.* R    810 imperfectione *add.* et N    811 sed posse contraria ... est principium *om.* NT    813 huiusmodi *add.* est T    814 dicendum quod *om.* R    816 sapientia/supra T    818 una *om.* N    823 dato quod/licet N    824 ac per hoc ... principium actionis *om.* N    dicatur/ dicitur T    825 tamen/etiam R    est *om.* TR etiam *om.* R    826 esse immediatum/ mediatum T; esse *om.* R    de hoc autem dictum est *om.* R; ac T    830 Similiter/ Simpliciter N

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805. voir l. 156 sqq.; l. 189 sqq.

826. voir Quaestio XVI, IV. ed. Ypma pp. 342 sqq.



835 speciale attributum Dei, sive contra intellectum; et sic dicit virtutem naturae. Et sic est una potentia respectu creaturae, licet diversificetur secundum connotata, idest secundum effectus.

Alio modo sumitur pro omni eo quod est principium actionis, et sic multa sunt in Deo quae habent rationem potentiae, nec est inconueniens  
840 quod multae potentiae concurrant in productione creaturarum, sicut in artifice creato, ad hoc quod producat unum opus, requiritur multiplex potentia, ut intellectus, voluntas, potentia motiva, et cetera.

10. Ad decimum dicendum quod patet ex dictis quomodo idem et quomodo aliud, et cetera.

845 11. Ad undecimum dicendum quod non est de ratione activae potentiae quod agat per motum, sed alicuius potentiae activae non creatae.

12. Ad duodecimum dicendum quod in Deo est substantia, non ut a substando dicitur.

Item, in eo est operatio; et quod dicit Magister, ipse exponit se,  
850 quia non est in Deo actio per quam ipse agitur, quod dicit Commentator; quod dictum Commentatoris non est verum de Deo.

Quidam autem dicunt quod Deus est materialis, non actu sed virtute.

13. Ad decimum tertium dicendum, require in quaestione de potentia  
855 Dei, articulo primo.

14. Ad decimum quartum dicendum quod, si actio sumatur pro respectu, verum est quod potentia est eiusdem generis cum actione, quia respectus, quem potentia dicit, pertinet ad genus actionis, sicut potentia et actus ad idem genus.

860 Si vero sumatur pro eo quod producitur per activam potentiam, sic non oportet potentiam et actum esse eiusdem generis.

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835 Dei/Deo N intellectum *add.* et voluntatem N 837 idest/scilicet N 838 omni  
om. N 842 intellectus *add.* et N voluntas *add.* et R et cetera/et huiusmodi R 843  
Ad decimum dicendum ... et cetera om. N dicendum quod om. R ex dictis *post* aliud  
R 844 et cetera om. R 845 dicendum quod *add.* ut dictum est NT 846 (potentiae)  
quod/ut R activae om. N non/ut R 847 dicendum *add.* est T dicendum quod om.  
R substantia/potentia N 849 Item/ideo R quod/quia T ipse exponit se ... ipse  
agitetur/et N 850 quod/quia T Commentator *add.* dicimus N 851 quod dictum  
Commentatoris om. R 852 Quidam/qui T 854 (dicendum) require/respondere P; quod  
NT require om. T 856 (quartum) dicendum om. NR quod om. R 860 sic non  
oportet potentiam om. N 861 oportet/dicitur T generis om. T

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849. II Sententiarum. Dist. I (2). PL 192,652,653.

850. in IV Metaphys. vol. VIII 67<sup>o</sup>LM; 94<sup>o</sup>AB.

854. Thomas. De potentia I, art. 1. ed. Mandonnet II, pp. 2, 3.



Vel potest dici quod actus et potentia, quae sumuntur secundum esse, sunt eiusdem generis, non autem illa quae sumuntur secundum motum; sed primum melius est.

865 15. Ad decimum quintum dicendum quod non est verum de potentia activa communiter, sed de aliqua, ut patet supra.

16. Ad decimum sextum dicendum quod potentia respectu creaturae dicit in Deo respectum sicut in termino, sed aliquando habitualement, et tunc dicitur potentia; quandoque actuali, tunc dicitur actus. Sed idem

870 respectus est, ut dictum est, et cetera.

17. Ad decimum septimum dicendum quod Deo convenit impotentia patiendi, quia hoc est perfectionis, sicut impotentia procreandi.

18. Ad decimum octavum dicendum quod quando potentia generandi sit in Filio, diversus est dicendi modus; tamen potest nunc dici quod sicut

875 eadem ratio, sic eadem potentia est per quam dicitur Filius generari et Pater generare.

Require de hoc supra, in quaestione de actione et passione.

19. Ad decimum nonum dicendum quod de ratione passionis est non solum habere causam in alio, sed etiam in se ipso, et tamen ratione

880 principii potest concedi passionem esse in Deo, quia est quid ab alio.

20. Ad vigesimum dicendum quod verum est de actione quae respicit passionem; tamen potentia activa et passiva non sunt in eodem ut in subiecto, sicut nec actio et passio. Require supra.

Eindhoven

Eelcko YPMA, O.S.A.

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868 habitualement/habitudinem T 872 sicut *add.* et N procreandi *lect. inc.* N 873  
 quando *om.* N 875 ratio/actio N 878 dicendum *add.* est N dicendum quod *om.* R  
 879 et tamen ... ab alio *om.* N ratione *lect. inc.* T 880 quia /qui P quid/qui R  
 883 supra *add.* et sic patet P

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866. voir l. 583 sqq.

870. voir l. 510 sqq.

877. voir Quaestio XVI, V. ed. Ypma pp. 316, 317.

883. voir l. 307 sqq.

## LA SECONDE INTRODUCTION DU FORMULAIRE MALINOIS EN BELGIQUE (1697)

Les mesures romaines de 1694 devaient apparemment faire échouer définitivement ce formulaire malinois, tout particulier, introduit en 1692, et aussitôt supprimé<sup>1</sup> provisoirement.

Mais ces mesures étaient exprimées si obscurément, que les évêques qui avaient introduit le formulaire, les interprétaient en un sens particulier à eux et énoncé très clairement dans leurs additions au formulaire pontifical.

Convaincus d'avoir raison contre Rome, ils continuent donc leur action antijanséniste et vont même essayer de faire remplacer ces documents de 1694 par d'autres plus clairs et plus favorables aux antijansénistes. Ils auront à parcourir un long chemin, et dans cette étude nous allons suivre leurs traces, autant que possible<sup>2</sup>. Ces traces, ce seront surtout celles de Humbert Précipiano, archevêque de Malines, antijanséniste fougueux et initiateur du formulaire malinois, qui va prendre la direction de cette "marche sur Rome".

<sup>1</sup> Voir mes études: *L'Introduction du formulaire antijanséniste en Belgique. Premier essai (1692-1694)*, dans ma collection *Jansénistica. Études*, IV, Malines, 1962; *L'Accueil des documents romains de 1694*, dans *Augustiniana*, 45 (1995) 247-283.

<sup>2</sup> Nous utiliserons les sigles et abréviations suivants: *AAM* suivi d'un chiffre = Archives de l'archevêché de Malines, d'après C. VAN DE WIEL, *Jansenistica te Mechelen. Het archief van het aartsbisdom*, Louvain, 1988; *NF*, = Nunziatura di Fiandra, sous-division du fonds des Nonciatures aux Archives du Vatican; *OBC* = Fonds de la Oudbisschoppelij-ke Clerezie, conservé aux Archives du Royaume à Utrecht; *W* = L. WILLAERT, *Bibliotheca Janseniana Belgica*, 3 vol., Namur-Paris, 1949-1951. *Commonitorium* = JEAN OP-STRÆT, *De commonitorio ad orthodoxos commonitorium orthodoxum*, Liège, 1702; *Du Pac* = GABRIEL DU PAC DE BELLEGARDE, *Mémoires historiques touchant l'université de Louvain et des églises des Pays-Bas [catholiques] surtout depuis 1680-1713*, manuscrit Port-Royal, n° 2593, *OBC*; *Synodicon* = P.F.X. DE RAM, *Nova et absoluta collectio synodorum ... archiepiscopatus Mechliniensis*, 4 vol., Malines, 1828-1839; *Vescovi* = L. JADIN, *Relations des Pays-Bas ... avec le Saint-Siège d'après les Lettere di Vescovi*, Bruxelles, 1952. Pour les rendre plus brèves, ligibles et compréhensibles, mes citations des sources (déjà imprimées en traduction) ne seront pas toujours et partout textuelles, bien que fidèles.



*Le point de départ*

Précipiano est certainement un chef qualifié, car d'après son conseiller le chanoine Dominique a Malo<sup>3</sup>, il est profondément convaincu que:

1° en tant qu'archevêque, il a plus d'autorité doctrinale que ces cardinaux romains [qui favorisent les jansénistes];

2° d'après les principes des apôtres, il doit plutôt obéir à Dieu qu'aux hommes [même s'ils sont Romains];

3° ayant autrefois, durant 18 ans, tenu le coup de l'excommunication, il se sent capable d'en supporter encore<sup>4</sup>;

4° puisque les Romains détruisent le catholicisme, il doit les en empêcher. [il s'y acharnera, même quand la situation devient intenable].

Lisons comme confirmation la terrible lettre, non datée, que vers 1696 il adressera à Charles II, roi d'Espagne:

"L'impossibilité d'extirper le jansénisme dans les Pays-Bas persistera, à moins que le Roi ne le fasse de son autorité royale, en châtiant et éloignant de ces provinces les chefs et les protecteurs de cette pernicieuse secte.

De Rome il n'y a rien à espérer sous le pape d'à présent (Innocent XII), parce qu'il ne fait rien de soi-même et renvoie tout aux congrégations, où le cardinal Casanate<sup>5</sup> prédomine avec l'assesseur Bernini<sup>6</sup>, qui sont notoirement protecteurs déclarés des jansénistes. Le cardinal d'Aquien<sup>7</sup>, depuis qu'il est à Rome,

<sup>3</sup> OBC, 1017. Il s'agit d'une lettre de Jean Opstraet à un collègue, en date du 7 août 1694, où il y a ce passage: "Quae narravit nobis D. Malo in rhedula, haec sunt ...". Le 3 septembre, dans une lettre à Hennebel à Rome, le Prof. Van Espen confirme l'historicité de cette conversation. VAN ESPEN, *Opera*, Cologne, 1722, V, *Epistolae*, 267. Sur Hennebel et son journal paraîtra bientôt une étude dans *Bulletin de l'Institut historique belge de Rome*.

<sup>4</sup> Pour son attitude antipontificale lors d'une promotion au chapitre de Besançon (en Bourgogne, encore espagnole, d'où il était originaire), le jeune abbé Précipiano avait été personnellement excommunié par un bref pontifical du 28 décembre 1661. Sans se soumettre, l'excommunié avait "croupi" (expression des jansénistes) dans l'excommunication à Madrid, où il s'était abrité, jusqu'à sa soumission en 1689, en vue de devenir évêque de Bruges; L. CEYSENS, *H.G. de Précipiano vóór zijn archiepiscopaat*, dans ma collection *Jansenistica. Studiën*, II, Malines, 1953, 7-124.

<sup>5</sup> Jérôme Casanate, cardinal très connu, très cultivé, très thomiste, très proche des jansénistes; cf. les ouvrages de consultation, entre autres *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, XXI, 144-147.

<sup>6</sup> Pierre-Philippe Bernini, assesseur, appartenait au groupe de Casanate. Il mourut en 1698.

<sup>7</sup> Il pourrait s'agir du cardinal Henri de La Grange d'Arquin, promu en 1695, veuf, ex-militaire, sans culture ecclésiastique; ou plutôt de Joseph Saenz d'Aguirre (1630-1699), bénédictin espagnol, écrivain, promu en 1686, très proche des théologiens augustinis; *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, I, 639-641.



les protège aussi, et le cardinal Judici<sup>8</sup>, qui fait la fonction de protecteur d'Espagne, n'a encore rien fait en faveur du bon parti, et a suivi les sentiments du duc de Medinaceli<sup>9</sup>, qui les a protégés à Rome pendant son ambassade; et ce même cardinal Judici a toujours entretenu correspondance avec le prêtre Ernest Ruth d'Ans<sup>10</sup>, qu'il a aussi protégé. Lui, le nonce d'Espagne et l'internonce de Bruxelles ont travaillé conjointement à le faire retourner à Bruxelles, sur un ordre subreptice du Roi.

À Bruxelles, la cour et tous les consorts protègent les novateurs en toutes occasions et matières, même purement spirituelles; usurpent, à tout bout de champ, la juridiction ecclésiastique, et détruisent entièrement l'autorité des évêques.

À Madrid, le Conseil suprême de Flandre est uni à ceux de Bruxelles, et ils agissent de concert. Les évêques n'y sont point écoutés. Les représentations que lesdits évêques y font ne sont ni considérées ni vues dans le Conseil même d'État, comme il [est] arrivé à toutes celles qu'a faites l'archevêque de Malines depuis deux ans en ça, qui demeurent ensevelies à la secrétairerie d'État, sans que l'on les y ait vues ni délibéré là-dessus.

Quasi la plus grande partie du clergé séculier dans les Pays-Bas est corrompue des nouveautés du jansénisme; plusieurs ordres séculiers<sup>11</sup> en sont aussi infectés.

L'université de Louvain l'est aussi au point que nous le voyons, et les jansénistes y sont les plus forts et prédominants, et y corrompent la jeunesse qui y étudie.

C'est la conscience du Roi qui est la plus chargée de ces désordres, puisque lui seul y peut remédier et ne le fait pas<sup>12</sup>.

Dans une situation aussi désastreuse, Précipiano se voit obligé de réagir énergiquement et de mettre à profit tous les moyens qu'il a à sa disposition. Il fait entre autres appel au général des jésuites, Thyse Gonzalez, son ami et protecteur depuis 1674, et qui va engager le Père François La Chaize, confesseur de Louis XIV, à une croisade antijanséniste<sup>13</sup>.

<sup>8</sup> François Giudice, Napolitain (1647-1725), promu en 1690, plus politicien que théologien; *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*, XXI, 43-49.

<sup>9</sup> Ce duc de Medinaceli était ambassadeur d'Espagne à Rome.

<sup>10</sup> Ernest Ruth d'Ans, verviétois (1653-1728), janséniste assez remuant, lié à Bruxelles avec Arnauld et Quesnel, avait été, sous inculpation de Précipiano, expatrié par le roi d'Espagne, mais le gouverneur Maximilien de Bavière, son protecteur, avait adouci cette mesure. *Biographie nationale de Belgique*, I, 319-323.

<sup>11</sup> Il faut sans doute lire réguliers, mais peut-être Précipiano entend-il spécialement les norbertins, dont plusieurs abbés étaient tenus pour favorables à l'augustinisme, saint Augustin étant leur patron.

<sup>12</sup> Texte reproduit dans L.P. GACHARD, *Histoire de la Belgique au commencement du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Bruxelles, 1880, 99, avec une référence aux Archives générales du Royaume à Bruxelles; probablement *Papiers d'État et d'audience*, n° 1453-1455: *documents diplomatiques sur le jansénisme, 1695-1700*.

<sup>13</sup> L. CEYSSENS, J.A.G. TANS, *Autour de l'Unigenitus. Recherches sur la genèse de la constitution*, Louvain, 1987, 406-407; G. GUITTON, *Le réveil du jansénisme, Pasquier Quesnel et le Père de la Chaize (1696)*, dans *Nouvelle revue théologique*, 29 (1957), 388.



En effet le zèle de Précipiano ne se limite pas à son seul archevêché, mais s'étend à toute l'Église, particulièrement à celle d'Utrecht, où il veut faire remplacer le vicaire apostolique Pierre Codde, oratorien et janséniste, par un prélat vraiment antijanséniste<sup>14</sup>. Pour soutenir son action, Précipiano cherche appui auprès des cours de Paris, de Vienne et surtout de Madrid, où il a résidé longtemps et a toujours ses protecteurs.

Son zèle extraordinaire ne se dirige pas seulement contre la dogmatique janséniste, mais aussi contre la morale rigoriste. Il fait recueillir et dénoncer à Rome de nombreuses propositions, dont il exige instamment la condamnation. Il s'oppose aussi aux nombreuses publications jansénistes, et puisque Rome tarde à les condamner, il publie lui-même, le 15 janvier 1695, son *Index librorum prohibitorum*<sup>15</sup>, où il proscriit entre autres la *Fréquente communion* d'Arnauld et le *Methodus absolvendi et retinendi* du professeur Huygens, ouvrages que Rome n'a pas voulu censurer.

Persécutant, sans aucune forme de procès, ceux qu'il soupçonne d'être jansénistes, il se crée des difficultés avec les Conseils de justice; il en viendra même en 1700 à excommunier Philippe Du Jardin, procureur général du Grand Conseil de Malines, mesure imprudente qu'il devra révoquer à sa honte. C'est cet archevêque hardi que nous allons suivre dans sa marche sur Rome en réaction contre les mesures de 1694.

### *La marche sur Rome*

Certes, de nombreux partisans rejoignent ses rangs, mais Précipiano reste le seul conducteur, ou du moins se comporte comme s'il l'était. Il n'y a pas de doute, il se laisse lui-même conduire par les nombreux conseillers qui l'entourent. Toutefois c'est avant tout lui qui apparaît dans les documents, et il en sera nécessairement ainsi dans les pages qui suivent.

Vers le même moment le cardinal Casanate, à Rome, fait appel à la Cour de France pour obliger le P. Gonzalez à imposer le silence aux siens; B. DÉSIRANT, *Diarium romanum*, dans *Bulletin de l'Institut historique belge de Rome*, 21 (1941), 55. Voir notre étude Gonzalez-Précipiano dans *Bulletin de l'Institut historique belge de Rome*, 65 (1995), 89-117.

<sup>14</sup> Voir par exemple *Vescovi*, 252-254. On avait notamment l'intention de déposer Pierre Codde, vicaire apostolique de la Mission hollandaise, pour le remplacer par un prélat plus moliniste; on pensait, entre autres, à Henri van Susteren, le coopérateur de Précipiano; cf. F. CLAEYS-BOUAERT, *Inventaire de pièces d'archives provenant de l'ancienne université de Louvain*, dans *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, 89 (1959), 82, n° 271. Cf. L. CEYSSENS et J. TANS, *Autour de l'Unigenitus*, Louvain, 1987, 238-264.

<sup>15</sup> Pour tous les détails voir P. CLAESENS, *Histoire des archevêques de Malines*, 2 vol., Louvain, 1881, et CH. DE CLERQ, *Cinq archevêques de Malines*, 2 vol., Paris, 1974, où t. I, 124-132 on trouvera cet Index.



Déjà vers la fin de 1694, il adressa ses doléances directement au cardinal Fabricio Spada, cardinal secrétaire d'État, et ainsi indirectement au pape lui-même:

"... Je me réjouis de montrer mon zèle ... mais les remèdes à nos maux ont été si longtemps différés par la Curie romaine que ce qui nous était facile d'arracher autrefois, ne peut maintenant l'être que par la violence. Ceux qui sont placés devant le formulaire d'Alexandre VII, ne peuvent plus y ajouter expressément des subtilités. Mais ce genre d'hommes, les jansénistes, n'est pas facile à convertir. Certes, ils se soumettent aux constitutions, condamnent et rejettent les cinq propositions tirées de *l'Augustinus*, mais tous ceux qui jurent ainsi n'avaient jamais voulu jusqu'à présent avouer que le livre de Jansénius contenait quelque chose de condamnable et ne le reconnaîtront jamais. Ceux qui récemment ne voulaient prêter le serment qu'avec addition "selon le sens exprimé par le pape actuel dans son bref aux évêques de Belgique", estiment actuellement que ce sens est assez indiqué et omettent d'exprimer cette addition dans le serment. Les évêques ont reçu l'ordre de s'en déclarer satisfaits, et de ne pas interroger davantage. Nous sommes ainsi forcés d'ordonner des prêtres sacrilèges et hérétiques pertinaces et de leur confier les paroisses ..." (*Vescovi*, 250-251).

1695

Le 15 janvier, ayant été, pour plusieurs motifs, invité par le cardinal Alderano Cibo, à ne plus utiliser son mandement (imprimé, du 15 juillet précédent) Précipiano s'explique volontiers à ce prélat qu'il lui sait favorable. Il relève trois points:

1° il n'y a pas lieu de modérer notre zèle à cause des circonstances de guerre; le mal de l'Église et le danger du jansénisme sont trop grands; 2° pour introduire le formulaire, nous n'étions pas obligés d'obtenir l'assentiment préalable du Saint-Siège, car notre charge épiscopale et les saints canons nous forcèrent à recourir au formulaire, puisque les hérétiques s'opposaient à un *fait* défini par l'Église; 3° même nos additions au formulaire étaient nécessaires, car ces "fils de l'iniquité" prétendaient que Clément IX avait permis la "distinction" relative au *fait* et à la définition d'Alexandre VII, laquelle était par là nettement niée. En effet, que vaut cette définition pontificale si les propositions doivent seulement être condamnées dans le sens arbitraire d'un chacun?

"Réfléchissez donc s'il faut souffrir que les bulles pontificales soient décriées par ces sectaires obstinés; s'il ne faut pas combattre telle témérité; si Rome doit protéger les évêques belges contre les insultes d'hommes si téméraires ?" (*Synodicon*, I, 596-598).

Le 18 mars au cardinal Albani (futur pape Clément XI):

"... Je ne puis espérer la fin du mal et des nouveautés, ni aucune solidité de la religion aussi longtemps que le Saint-Siège continuera à préférer la douceur et



à différer le remède efficace. La nouveauté fait chaque jour des progrès étonnants; quoiqu'elle soit dénoncée si souvent par les évêques, elle n'est pas condamnée à Rome. Peut-on tolérer qu'en face du peuple, les novateurs interprètent ce silence comme une approbation? Je répète de nouveau ... ce que j'ai écrit cent fois à Rome: toute l'autorité du Saint-Siège et de la Congrégation se perdra ici, avec la foi et la religion, si elle n'est pas secourue par Rome d'une façon plus énergique, et si ces nouveautés ne sont pas condamnées par des constitutions plus claires. Qu'on ordonne donc aux novateurs de souscrire les condamnations pontificales dans le sens entendu par leurs auteurs ou leurs livres" (*Vescovi*, 252).

Le 15 avril au cardinal Spada, secrétaire d'État:

"... J'ai laissé plusieurs courriers sans vous écrire, non parce que la situation était meilleure ici, mais parce que je ne voulais pas vous importuner davantage. Cependant la malice des adversaires rendrait tout remède inefficace, s'il est différé davantage. Je ne puis exposer tant d'âmes à leur perte, ni permettre la ruine de la religion. Il n'est aucun point de la doctrine de Jansénius, ni aucune proposition de son livre que ces théologiens acceptent de condamner dans le sens où il est défendu dans l'*Augustinus*. Ils condamnent seulement le sens obvie qu'à leur guise ils prétendent s'y trouver, et qui est étranger à la doctrine de Jansénius. Ils soutiennent qu'Innocent XII a corrigé les constitutions d'Alexandre VII et son formulaire ... C'est clair, on se joue des prescriptions contre le livre et la doctrine de Jansénius; le jansénisme n'a nullement été supprimé par le bref d'Innocent XII.

À l'entendement du pape, les adversaires opposent le leur, prétendant que les mesures des évêques [belges] ont été prises artificieusement et ont déplu à Rome. Là en effet, ces adversaires trouvent de puissants protecteurs contre les évêques, ou plutôt contre le pape Alexandre VII. Toute l'autorité de l'Église sera ruinée, si on n'y remédie pas..." (*Vescovi*, 254-256).

À de telles plaintes le Saint-Office suggère au secrétaire d'État de répondre:

"Quoi qu'il en soit, ceux qui ont à souscrire le formulaire ne doivent être interrogés sur aucun point particulier, ni astreints à autre chose qu'à souscrire simplement" (*Vescovi*, 257-258).

Néanmoins l'internonce à Bruxelles eut de plus amples instructions à communiquer à l'archevêque. Vers le 9 mai, celui-ci lui répond longuement. La Congrégation veut que:

1° je publie encore le décret et le bref de 1694. C'est sans doute pour me vexer, car je l'ai fait depuis longtemps, de la manière ordinaire;

2° les décrets royaux que j'ai obtenus contre les jansénistes soient appliqués dans l'esprit de charité des documents romains; mais ceux-ci sont si obscurs qu'il m'est presque devenu impossible de prendre des mesures répressives contre les jansénistes, surtout puisque je dois le faire *servato juris ordine*, par où j'ai immédiatement les juges civils sur le dos;



3° je révoque ma censure contre la thèse du Prof. Jean Sullivane<sup>16</sup>, que Rome trouve irrépréhensible! Or je n'ai pas censuré cette thèse, mais j'en ai défendu seulement la soutenance. C'est bien étonnant: Hennebel et C<sup>ie</sup> obtiennent tout à Rome, tandis que nos instances y restent vaines. "Je termine, non parce que je n'ai plus rien à dire, mais pour ne pas vous incommoder davantage" (AAM, n° 1076; NF, 86, f°297-299).

Le 25 septembre, dans un long écrit (15 p.) *Responsum Archiepiscopi Mechliniensis ad accusationes nomine Curiae Romanae adversus eum in aula Madritensi dissimintas* (AAM, n° 1081) Précipiano étale largement ses doléances. Selon Rome, il serait le seul évêque à s'opposer aux documents romains de 1694. Ses suffragants s'y soumettraient volontiers. Certes, ceux-ci n'ont qu'à suivre leur conscience, mais l'archevêque n'ignore pas qu'avec lui ils se sont adressés au pape pour obtenir des remèdes. Pour se justifier davantage, il relève les torts qu'il a dû successivement assumer de la part de Rome.

Cette *Apologia pro vita sua* a probablement été aussi envoyée à Rome, entre autres au P. Gonzalez, général des jésuites, mais il est à croire que celui-ci, par prudence, l'ait tenue secrète, sinon elle aurait confirmé l'entourage du pape dans la conviction d'avoir à faire à un Bourguignon entêté.

Le 16 décembre, Précipiano s'adresse de nouveau au secrétaire d'État:

"... Nos malheurs croissent de jour en jour, alors que le Saint-Siège pourrait facilement y porter remède. Quels désavantages le pape et la Congrégation craignent-ils de mesures plus efficaces ? Que peuvent ces quelques clercs simples alors qu'ils déplaisent tant au roi que, sur son ordre, ils sont privés de la protection des ministres et des juges laïcs ? Auprès du peuple, des magistrats, des grands, ils ne jouissent d'aucun crédit, sinon celui que dans sa bonté le Siège apostolique veut leur prêter d'accord avec quelques personnages romains.

Si, comme de juste, ils étaient forcés d'abjurer sans ambages la doctrine de Jansénius et l'*Augustinus* dans le sens voulu par l'auteur, ils opposeraient peut-être quelque brochure anonyme, mais sur l'ordre du roi, les magistrats y veilleraient davantage, et l'anathème frapperait bientôt les auteurs, sans conséquence ultérieure ... Enfin cette faction, qui jusqu'ici s'est montrée si dangereuse pour l'Eglise, serait bientôt privée de protecteurs et de disciples, et s'éteindrait progressivement. C'est ce que j'attends de la sollicitude de Sa Sainteté et de la prudence des cardinaux..." (*Vescovi*, 263-264)..

Le même 16 décembre au pape:

"... Après avoir si souvent dénoncé le péril, je pensais pouvoir désormais garder le silence. Mais j'ai peur de me voir attribuer la perte de tant d'âmes...

<sup>16</sup> Jean Sullivane, professeur à Louvain, fit défendre vers le mois d'août, à l'abbaye de Sainte Gertrude, une thèse dont Précipiano a interdit la soutenance; NF, 86, f° 297-299; AAM, n° 1076.



Ici toutes les condamnations auront peu d'effets ... aussi longtemps que l'*Augustinus* sera retenu comme une doctrine catholique et augustinienne. Si les novateurs peuvent éluder les bulles d'Urbain VIII, d'Innocent X, d'Alexandre VII, que pourra-t-on définir à l'avenir dont ils ne se moqueront point?... Les réfractaires donneront plus de crédit aux brefs et décrets d'Innocent XII qu'aux bulles de ses prédécesseurs...? Mais dès que ces clercs seront forcés à reconnaître comme condamnée et condamnée à bon droit, la doctrine ... de Jansénius ..., Votre Sainteté aura d'un seul coup détruit l'hydre janséniste..." (*Vescovi*, 264-265).

Précipiano ne manque pas de communiquer cette lettre courageuse au Général des Jésuites, dont nous lisons la réponse, pour cause dans sa langue originale. Rome, le 7 janvier 1696:

"Quas Illustrissima Vestra Dominatio ad me dignata est dare litteras 16a Decembris, cum copia earum quas scribit Suae Sanctitati, accepi hieri; et pro hoc beneficio impense gratias ipsi habeo maximas. Litterae sunt efficacissimae, et rationes continent, quibus nescio quid possit responderi, quod animo praeoccupatione vacuo satisfacere valeat. Utar illis diligenter, quantum agnovero posse causae prodesse; et secreto communicabo viris aliquibus primariis, qui illis accendantur ad defensionem veritatis, a Sancta Sede per tot pontifices declaratae. Semper miratus sum illorum hominum pertinaciam, qui, ne fateantur errasse Jansenium, volunt errasse Urbanum VIII, dum confixit eius *Augustinum*; calumniatores fuisse 80 episcopos Galliae, dum accusarunt apud Innocentium X illas quinque propositiones; errasse Innocentium qui illas damnavit et Alexandrum VII qui declaravit eas damnatas fuisse in sensu intento ab auctore. Et cum certissimum sit Ecclesiam non finxisse illas propositiones ut damnaret, sed illas damnasse quia eas invenit in aliquo libro, et manifestum sit hunc librum, unde extractae sunt, esse *Augustinum Cornelii Jansenii*, indubitatum est illas esse haereticas in sensu intento ab auctore, id est in sensu genuino, proprio et obvio quem habent in illo libro cui titulus *Augustinum*, ac proinde compellendi sunt fateri librum illum continere propositiones haereticas. Illustrissima Dominatio Vestra agit causam Ecclesiae catholicae adversus quam portae inferi praevalere non possunt; et certissime confidat tandem victuram, quamvis nunc tot contradictiones patiatur. Apprecor Illustrissimae Dominationi Vestrae felicissimos annos eiusque SS. Sacrificiis me impense commendo. P.S. Hasce litteras meo impolito stylo concepi, sed describendas dedi alteri ut commodius possent legi"<sup>17</sup>.

1696

Au début de l'année, Précipiano reprend ses lamentations auprès du cardinal secrétaire d'État qui, naturellement, les passera au Saint-Père et à ses collègues du Saint-Office:

"Je suis heureux d'apprendre qu'à Rome on nous plaint de ce qui se passe en

<sup>17</sup> AAM, n° 55. Cette lettre marque le début de la croisade antijanséniste que nous avons déjà mentionnée.



Belgique, mais je regrette d'autant plus que là personne n'avise à prendre des mesures efficaces. On semble y craindre que le remède ne rende la plaie incurable et que le mal ne se répande dans d'autres contrées. Les novateurs sont-ils si puissants et si nombreux? Ici on croit que ce sont plutôt eux qui persuadent le pape qu'il n'y a pas de jansénistes et de novateurs. Comment se convainct-on à Rome que désormais tout est arrangé en Belgique, et que le bref d'Innocent avec le décret annexé a été efficace et qu'il n'y a plus besoin de rien d'autre? Je ne puis assez m'étonner d'une telle crédulité... Dans mon diocèse je ferai ce que je pourrai et ce que me dictera ma conscience. Je ne cherche pas les éloges de la curie, mais l'intégrité de mon troupeau. Votre Éminence pourra, autant qu'elle le peut, inciter les cardinaux et le pape surtout, à nous tendre une main secourable, et à soutenir la religion menacée ici, avant qu'elle soit abattue ..." (*Vescovi*, 266-7).

Mais se défiant depuis longtemps de cet archevêque déséquilibré, Rome n'a pas manqué de charger l'internonce à Bruxelles, de s'informer "avec toutes les diligences possibles, de découvrir ces jansénistes prétendus". S'étant informé "en conséquence de tous les évêques des Pays-Bas pour savoir si eux avaient trouvé des jansénistes, c.-à-d. de ceux qui enseignent l'erreur des cinq propositions, la plupart des évêques firent connaître qu'ils n'avaient trouvé dans leurs diocèses aucun janséniste. M. Piazza, tout prévenu qu'il était par ailleurs, rendit un compte fidèle à Rome ..." (*Du Pac*, f°369). Nous en entendrons encore des échos lointains.

Le 19 juillet, Précipiano, avec ses suffragants (le nouvel évêque de Gand et Steyaert y compris), décrit la témérité de ces jansénistes que Rome protège.

"... Aussi, le mal croissant de jour en jour, venons-nous vous demander une nouvelle intervention contre les jansénistes. L'archarnement qu'ils manifestent dans leurs brochures l'exige d'urgence. Ces sectateurs de Jansenius disent que rien dans l'*Augustinus* n'a été condamné par le Saint-Siège. Ils prétendent qu'Innocent X et Alexandre VII avaient pensé que le livre de Jansénius contenait une doctrine mauvaise, sans l'avoir examiné<sup>18</sup>, étant trompés par le témoignage d'autres, et que les cinq propositions avaient été prosrites alors qu'elles n'étaient tenues par aucun théologien. Les papes s'étaient agités tout ce temps en combattant des fantômes. Aussi, en jurant le formulaire, condamnent-ils les cinq propositions dans le sens obvie qu'ils y mettent eux-mêmes, sans égard au sens obvie du formulaire, et tiennent tout l'*Augustinus* pour

<sup>18</sup> Rome, ou plutôt l'assesseur Albizzi, avait empêché, lors de l'examen des cinq propositions, qu'on s'occupe de l'authenticité de ces propositions. Voir mes études autour d'Albizzi: *Le cardinal François Albizzi (1593-1684). Un cas important dans l'histoire du jansénisme*, Rome, 1977; *La relation de François Albizzi sur la condamnation des cinq propositions*, dans *Augustiniana*, 21 (1971), 216-266, 702-724; *Le fait dans la condamnation de Jansénius et dans le serment antijanséniste*, dans *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, 69 (1974), 697-734; *Les cinq propositions de Jansénius à Rome*, ibidem, 66 (1971), 448-501; *L'Authenticité des cinq propositions condamnées de Jansénius*, dans *Antonianum*, 55 (1980), 368-424.



catholique et augustinien. Le Saint-Siège se contente de ce serment, disent-ils ... De la sorte la doctrine janséniste triomphe des constitutions apostoliques..." (*Vescovi*, 268-269).

Ainsi donc, comme de vulgaires antijansénistes sans responsabilité, nos évêques refusent les directives d'Innocent XII, alors qu'eux-mêmes exigent une réelle obéissance, même aveugle, de ceux qui ne peuvent accepter le *fait*. Pour ces évêques, l'augustinisme dont l'Église a vécu tant de siècles, est une hérésie en face du molinisme "nouveau et contraire à la tradition" mais qui pour eux représente la seule orthodoxie. En somme, le pape n'a qu'à obéir aux évêques belges !

Certes, Innocent XII ne se laisse pas en imposer par ce Bourguignon entêté, mais devant l'ensemble des évêques belges il recule. Du moins, il suit le principe *Roma lenta*, même si lente que trois mois plus tard déjà, le 23 octobre, trois des six évêques exprimeront leur impatience au pape :

"... On nous écrit de Rome que Votre Sainteté a reçu notre lettre du 19 juillet, et nous n'en doutons pas que vous la faites examiner attentivement. Mais à notre avis, après les constitutions claires d'Innocent X et d'Alexandre VII, cela ne prendra pas beaucoup de temps; il n'y a qu'à empêcher dorénavant tout faux-fuyant. Il n'est pas difficile non plus de reconnaître le délit que le délégué Hennebel a commis dans sa lettre du 20 février 1694<sup>19</sup>. Entre-temps, le retard du remède et du châtement augmente le scandale des faibles et l'audace des révoltés..."<sup>20</sup>.

Entre-temps, la lettre commune des évêques a été réellement soumise à l'examen du Saint-Office. Déjà au début d'août, celui-ci y a consacré deux sessions, et s'est étonné de voir cette lettre signée par les évêques d'Anvers et de Bruges, qui pourtant ont fait savoir de ne pas avoir des jansénistes dans leurs diocèses<sup>21</sup>.

Le 1<sup>er</sup> septembre, l'agent romain Valentini espère obtenir au moins la déclaration pontificale que les documents de 1694 n'altèrent en rien les bulles antérieures (*AAM*, n° 1858).

Pendant le 13 septembre, le cardinal secrétaire d'État est laconique: la

<sup>19</sup> Cf. art. cit. note 1, dans *Augustiniana*, 45 (1995), 277-283.

<sup>20</sup> *Vescovi*, 269-270. La lettre est signée des évêques de Malines, d'Anvers et de Gand. Pourquoi pas des deux autres?

<sup>21</sup> Lettre de Valentini en date du 13 août: *AAM*, n° 1858, *Du Pac*, f° 369, écrit: "Le pape avait donné des ordres très pressants à son internonce de Bruxelles pour l'obliger à faire des informations avec toutes les diligences possibles, afin de découvrir ces jansénistes prétendus. Les ministres du Saint-Siège s'informèrent en conséquence de tous les évêques des Pays-Bas [catholiques] pour savoir s'ils avaient trouvé des jansénistes ... c.à.d. de ceux qui enseignent les cinq propositions. La plupart des évêques firent connaître ... qu'ils n'avaient trouvé dans leur diocèse aucun janséniste. M. Piazza, tout prévenu qu'il était d'ailleurs, rendit un compte fidèle à Rome..."



lettre commune a été reçue avec bienveillance (*perhumaniter*) et la réponse ne se fera pas attendre longtemps (*AAM*, n°17).

Le 6 octobre Valentini annonce la mort du cardinal de Goes, ce protecteur fidèle, et aussi que la réponse à la lettre commune se prépare sérieusement (*AAM*, n° 1858).

Dans une lettre postérieure, non datée, Valentini communique à l'évêque de Bruges:

"... La réponse qu'on prépare ici pour les évêques, va par les mains de ceux de la Congrégation afin qu'elle soit examinée d'un chacun; si l'on veut croire le P. Désirant, ce sera une pièce achevée et de toute satisfaction de ceux du bon parti; mais ceux qui connaissent le penchant de la Congrégation et qui ne sont pas si faciles que ce bon religieux à se flatter de belles apparences, ont pris le parti de différer d'en dire leur jugement jusqu'à ce qu'ils aient vu le contenu de cette fameuse réponse, car elle peut avoir été décrétée forte dans la Congrégation, et ensuite l'on peut y avoir apporté un notable changement qui détruise tout le bien qu'on avait médité pour le soulagement de la bonne cause ..."<sup>22</sup>.

En octobre (date non précisée), les évêques réunis, impatients, insistent une nouvelle fois à Rome:

Les dissensions religieuses sont pires que jamais. Quant au formulaire, chacun interprète à son avantage les mesures de 1694. Quant aux points de la morale rigoriste, les évêques sont au désespoir, car devant les propositions dénoncées, si nombreuses et si pernicieuses, le Saint-Siège évite de se prononcer, vraisemblablement en vue d'en venir à une paix. Or cet étrange silence est tenu pour une approbation de l'erreur. En attendant, la pire des choses échappe à la condamnation, notamment cette affirmation hardie de Hennebel, le délégué romain, qui ose prétendre que l'Église n'est pas infaillible dans la *fait*. Une paix qui blesse la vérité, prépare la guerre la plus cruelle. Ceux qui osent, comme les évêques, défendre la vérité sont plongés dans l'amertume (*AAM*, n° 1091).

Mais le 10 novembre, Valentini communique la bonne nouvelle qu'il vient d'apprendre de l'assesseur Bernini: pour préparer la réplique à la lettre commune du 19 juillet, la Congrégation a tenu cinq sessions, outre celle en présence du pape. Sous peu cette réponse suivra. Mais, assez réservé comme toujours, Valentini ajoute que le P. Désirant se prépare à quitter Rome définitivement:

"... Le P. Désirant tient la chose dans ses mains, suivant le langage qu'il m'en a fait auparavant ... Il ne tient pas dans sa peau pour la victoire qu'il dit d'avoir obtenue..." (*AAM*, n° 1858).

<sup>22</sup> Bruges, Archives de l'évêché, Correspondance de Bassery.



Le 24 novembre, Valentini annonce à Précipiano: "... Ce soir la réponse à la lettre commune sera expédiée à l'internonce". Cependant, par une voie secrète, Valentini lui-même envoie

"un discours que m'a fait une personne de la Congrégation, qui regarde Votre Grandeur, mais je vous en demande le secret qui est nécessaire, autrement je pourrais courir un grand risque. Cependant j'ai cru vous devoir donner cette connaissance, afin que vous puissiez vous donner de garde et examiner s'il y a des gens capables de faire des actions si peu louables que de signer une chose en commun et puis la révoquer en particulier, ou bien si c'est une méchanceté des adversaires? Cette pièce est en italien ... J'avoue que ce sont des emportements, mais il est raisonnable que Votre grandeur en soit en plein informée

...<sup>n23</sup>

Enfin, le 24 novembre le pape donne le bref suivant. Lisons-en le texte étonnant:

"Nous avons reçu avec plaisir les lettres que vous nous avez écrites le 19 de juillet, parce que nous y avons trouvé la prière que vous faites au Saint-Siège, de vous mander notre sentiment pour régler dans vos diocèses la saine doctrine. Nous avons aussi connu évidemment par ces mêmes lettres, que les maux que le jansénisme y produit, ne viennent pas de ce que notre bref du 6 février 1694 n'y a pas assez bien pourvu, mais plutôt de ce que ce même bref n'est peut-être pas exécuté comme il faut. Car de lui-même il n'a besoin d'aucune explication, et pourvu qu'on garde tout ce qui y est ordonné, il est très propre et très efficace pour remédier au mal. Que si les prétendus jansénistes en eux-mêmes seulement, et sans en donner aucune marque extérieure, quand ils jurent le formulaire, ne condamnent point autrement les cinq propositions que dans le sens qui se présente à leur esprit, et non pas dans le sens que le formulaire présente de lui-même, et si eux-mêmes se forment autrement dans leur esprit ce sens qui se présente, l'Église ne juge point des pensées cachées qui ne sont connues qu'à Dieu, le seul scrutateur des coeurs. Que si ces mêmes prétendus jansénistes font paraître, de vive voix ou par écrit, ces sens qu'ils donnent aux Constitutions Apostoliques, et qui sont contraires au vrai sens de notre bref, les évêques doivent procéder contre eux selon que le droit le prescrit. Non seulement par leur pouvoir ordinaire; mais encore par le pouvoir spécial qui leur a été donné par les Constitutions de nos prédécesseurs d'heureuse mémoire Innocent X et Alexandre VII, que nous confirmons de notre part, en sorte que gardant les formes du droit, ils les punissent; parce qu'il sera aisé de prouver qu'ils le méritent, puisqu'il sera alors question des actions extérieures. Au reste nous avons appris avec étonnement qu'il s'en trouve quelques-uns dans vos diocèses qui ont osé assurer de vive voix et par écrit, que par notre susdit bref nous avons altéré ou reformé la Constitution d'Alexandre VII du 16 octobre 1656, ou le formulaire que lui-même a dressé, puisqu'au contraire ce bref confirme spécialement l'un et l'autre, et que nous entendons, et avons toujours entendu nous y attacher, et ne permettre jamais qu'on y ajoute, ou

<sup>23</sup> AAM, carton *Boonen*. Ce discours secret, dont le texte n'a pas été retrouvé, se rapportait sans doute à l'attitude équivoque des évêques de Gand et de Bruges, peu enthousiastes quant au formulaire.



qu'on en retranche quoique ce soit, par où il soit altéré dans la moindre de ses parties; comme nous avons ordonné et ordonnons encore qu'il soit ponctuellement observé... <sup>24</sup>

### *Le contenu de ce second bref*

Dans une phrase introductrice, Innocent déclare recevoir avec plaisir la prière des évêques pour obtenir une décision pontificale, servant à conserver la saine doctrine dans leurs diocèses.

Les évêques vont interpréter cette phrase comme si le bref n'est qu'une réponse provisoire, leur annonçant une constitution pontificale conforme à leurs désirs. Cependant, le second bref n'entend que réaffirmer le premier, qui suffit pleinement aux nécessités. En effet, il est suffisamment clair et efficace. Il s'agit seulement de bien l'interpréter et de bien l'appliquer. Et le souverain pontife fait sous-entendre qu'en ce point les évêques eux-mêmes ont manqué à leur devoir.

Quant à ces adversaires, les *jansénistes*, le pape les nomme deux fois de suite *prétendus jansénistes*, car il croit qu'ils rejettent réellement les Cinq propositions prises dans leur sens obvie, naturel, ce qui suffit, le *fait* restant désormais hors de considération théologique.

Quant à l'attitude à prendre à l'égard de ces prétendus jansénistes:

1° s'ils jurent *avec une restriction mentale* relative au sens du formulaire, il ne faut pas s'en occuper; Dieu seul est juge des intentions;

2° si en jurant ils manifestent extérieurement une restriction, relative à la doctrine des cinq propositions [c'est moi qui souligne], il faut passer aux châtiments, mais *servatis servandis*, c.-à-d. *servato juris ordine*, c.-à-d. à la suite d'un procès, et non pas sur simple soupçon, selon la teneur du premier bref.

En somme donc, le second bref ne fait que maintenir et confirmer le premier. Mais ayant entendu "avec admiration" que certains prétendent que ce premier a altéré les bulles pontificales précédentes, le pape se justifie. Il assure s'être toujours attaché au *sens* de ces constitutions et de n'avoir pas voulu toucher au formulaire; rien en ôter, rien y ajouter. Cette phrase est facile à comprendre: Innocent XII et ses conseillers sont convaincus que les papes précédents n'ont mentionné le *fait* que comme un adjectif pour désigner que dans leur condamnation il ne s'agit pas de propositions quelconques, mais bien des cinq dites janséniennes, sans vouloir attribuer une importance ultérieure à ce *fait*. Toutefois, en se justifiant, Innocent, lié par

<sup>24</sup> Le texte latin se retrouve entre autres, dans *Synodicon*, I, 600-601. Notre traduction française est reprise de M. LE TELLIER, *Recueil historique des Bulles ... et autres actes*, 4<sup>e</sup> édition, Mons, 1704, 325-330.



ses prédécesseurs, recourt à des expressions si obscures et embrouillées que son second bref, plus encore que le premier, donne lieu à des interprétations contradictoires. Cependant à Rome, Hennebel, le délégué de Louvain, est si bien persuadé que le second bref ne change rien au premier, que dans son *Journal romain* et dans sa correspondance il n'en parle guère.

Au contraire, Désirant, le délégué des évêques, sur le point de quitter Rome définitivement, était d'après Valentini si heureux "qu'il ne tenait pas dans sa peau, convaincu d'avoir remporté une nouvelle victoire"<sup>25</sup>.

Opstraet (*Commonitorium*, 19) fait remarquer la déconvenue des évêques belges en recevant la réponse à leur lettre commune. Ils reprochaient au bref:

1° de n'être pas assez efficace; réponse: appliqué comme il faut, il l'est certainement;

2° de permettre aux jansénistes de forger leur propre sens obvie; réponse: l'Église ne s'occupe pas des intentions secrètes;

3° d'être obscur; réponse: il est assez clair pour n'avoir pas besoin d'explication.

S'appuyant sur Hennebel, le délégué romain, Du Pac (f° 369-370), est pleinement convaincu que le second bref ne modifie en rien le premier; mais il reconnaît que les ennemis de la paix, par leurs artifices et intrigues, ont réussi à arracher au pape des expressions qui obscurcissent les dispositions du premier bref. Il sait aussi que les principaux théologiens, dont Quesnel et Opstraet, partagent son avis.

Le P. Le Tellier, dans son *Recueil* (p. 330-331), prévient les novateurs ne pas se prévaloir de l'expression *prétendus jansénistes* qui revient dans le second bref, car effectivement celui-ci "condamne toutes les souscriptions du formulaire qui ne sont pas pures ... selon le sens de la constitution d'Alexandre VII qui déclare expressément que les cinq propositions sont dans Jansénius et condamnées dans le sens de Jansénius. Car c'est là le point essentiel...".

L'Assemblée du Clergé de 1700 (Bossuet, XXII, 748) et d'Avrigny, *Mémoires*, (IV, 69) jugent que le second bref a "mitigé" ou "renversé en partie" le premier.

Mais qu'en pensent les évêques belges? Précipiano, leur chef, le premier intéressé, n'est pas enthousiaste quand l'internonce lui remet le texte. Il se borne à dire que si le document doit être publié, ce sera au ministre apostolique d'obtenir le placet nécessaire (*NF*, 87, f° 544). Ensuite il prie ses suffragants de se réunir en consultation et de rédiger une réponse com-

<sup>25</sup> Voir plus loin la lettre de Valentini, datée de Rome le 10 novembre.



mune au pape (*Synodicon*, I, 604, 606-609, 612).

En effet, à peine de retour de Rome, le P. Désirant parcourt la Belgique pour y communiquer son enthousiasme. Il rend courage aux évêques<sup>26</sup>.

Le 26 décembre, se déclarant prêt à rendre visite à l'archevêque, le nouvel évêque de Gand Philippe Erard van der Noot (1694-1730), prélat de haute noblesse bruxelloise, profite de l'occasion pour se justifier:

"... J'ai toujours eu le même but que vous. C'est pourquoi je ne comprends pas comment on ose dire à Rome, que séparément j'aurais déclaré le contraire. Rappelez-vous comment j'ai parlé et agi sur cette matière dans nos assemblées, et en particulier avec quel zèle j'ai soussigné les lettres écrites à Sa Sainteté et au roi ... Vraiment le prince de l'iniquité ne cesse de traverser nos bons desseins en vue de déraciner le mal contre lequel nous cherchons des remèdes efficaces..." (*Synodicon*, I, 602-603).

### 1697

Le 4 janvier déjà, Précipiano ébauche une lettre de remerciement au pape: Le bref lui a été une consolation, surtout puisqu'il prouve irréfutablement que vous allez confirmer les constitutions d'Innocent X et d'Alexandre VII, sans y apporter aucun changement ni altération et que vous nous reconnaissez l'autorité d'exiger le formulaire alexandrin, pris dans son sens obvie, qui est celui que vous mentionnez dans votre bref de 1694, où vous disiez à bon droit *que les cinq propositions ont été tirées de l'Augustinus dans leur sens obvie*. [C'est moi qui souligne]. Cela nous permet de prendre des mesures contre ceux qui veulent jurer dans un autre sens (*AAM*, n° 13).

Malgré les instances de Précipiano et du P. Désirant, les évêques ne purent s'assembler à Bruxelles qu'après Pâques. Ils y furent rejoints par les Pères Harney O.P. et Désirant O.A.

### *L'assemblée des évêques belges (16 avril-23 mai 1697)*

À partir du 16 avril, ces prélats sont actifs à Bruxelles pendant plusieurs jours, de sorte qu'ils suscitent la méfiance du gouvernement civil. Priés de s'expliquer, ils répondent par un mensonge évident: ils ne se sont pas réunis, mais se sont rencontrés par hasard (*Synodicon*, I, 612-

<sup>26</sup> J. OPSTRAET, *Lettre à Monsieur Steyaert*, Delft, 1697, 14-15, écrit: "Lui [Désirant] n'ayant pu rien obtenir à Rome avec ses artifices, est venu les employer dans nos provinces... Il a couru tout le pays pour solliciter les évêques, il leur a communiqué son projet, il les a fait pénétrer dans ses pensées... Ce député [romain] qui n'a pu faire parler saint Pierre à Rome, l'a fait parler à Bruxelles..."



613).

Ils adressent des lettres communes au pape, au roi, au gouverneur général, aux Conseils privé et d'État. Ils prennent des mesures graves contre les réunions indécentes de la jeunesse, les abus dans l'administration des sacraments, les publications malsaines. Nous négligerons ces matières pour en rester au seul formulaire. Ils s'en occupent du 21 au 24 avril, assez laborieusement, semble-t-il.

En premier lieu, ils rédigent leur lettre commune de remerciement au pape. Cette lettre n'est pas enthousiaste; cela appert dès la première phrase où les évêques affirment se réjouir du second bref parce qu'il renferme l'annonce [trompeuse] d'une nouvelle bulle définitive, dans leur sens. N'est-ce pas avouer que le bref comme tel ne leur satisfait pas, et qu'ils attendaient mieux?

En effet, tout en étant eux-mêmes forcés au silence, ils ont dû souffrir que les jansénistes proclament impunément, ici et même à Rome, qu'Innocent XII et le Saint-Siège ont réformé les constitutions des papes, ce que, par ailleurs, ces adversaires ont osé écrire au pape, et mettre en pratique, interprétant méchamment le bref de 1694 comme si les cinq propositions n'étaient plus condamnées dans le sens de Jansénius, selon la définition d'Alexandre VII, mais dans un sens obvie, différent du sens de l'auteur. Le nouveau bref, heureusement, prouve que le précédent ne réforma pas les constitutions pontificales, et qu'Alexandre VII revit dans Innocent XII (*Vescovi*, 270-271; *Synodicon*, I, 624-626).

On le voit, les évêques eux-mêmes continuent à mal interpréter le premier bref, et par là sont conduits à mal comprendre également le second. Aussi, dans leur conviction opiniâtre que le *fait* appartient à la foi, rendent-ils le 23 avril leur décret relatif au formulaire (*Synodicon*, I, 616-619).

Il s'agit d'un document long et étrange, qui pour cause évite de reproduire le texte du second bref, encore peu connu. S'il en cite quelques passages, c'est vraisemblablement pour en cacher le vrai sens: la confirmation du bref précédent. Les évêques mentionnent:

"... Nous [le pape] avons appris avec étonnement qu'il s'en trouve quelques-uns dans vos diocèses qui ont osé assurer de vive voix et même par écrit que dans notre premier bref nous avons altéré ou réformé la constitution d'Alexandre VII... et le formulaire... alors que le premier bref confirme spécialement cette constitution et ce formulaire; et que nous entendons et avons toujours entendu nous y attacher et ne jamais permettre qu'on y ajoute ou en retranche quoique ce soit pour l'altérer dans la moindre de ses parties, et nous ordonnons encore qu'il soit ponctuellement observé".

Cette mention est correcte, mais les évêques méconnaissent ou cachent que les documents de 1694 interprètent précisément la bulle et le formulaire



d'Alexandre VII dans un sens raisonnable: le *fait*, dans la pensée pontificale, ne fut qu'un incident, un adjectif, sans signification doctrinale, à laquelle pourtant, les évêques, peu dociles, continuent de croire éperdument. Alors que le second bref parle deux fois de suite, intentionnellement, de *prétendus* jansénistes, nos évêques se taisent là-dessus et préférèrent citer la bulle d'Alexandre VII (1656):

"...Nous avons appris que certains *filis d'iniquité* osent, au grand scandale des fidèles, affirmer que les cinq propositions sont introuvables dans le livre de Jansénius, mais ont été feintes et fabriquées arbitrairement, et ne pas avoir été condamnées dans le sens de Jansénius ... nous ..."

Dans le contexte du décret épiscopal, ces mots sévères semblent venir d'Innocent lui-même.

En conclusion, les évêques belges imposent le seul formulaire pontifical, certes sans additions, mais l'entourent d'expressions choisies pour prévenir "le parjure de ceux qui ne veulent condamner les Cinq propositions que dans leur sens obvie", littéraire, naturel. Ceux qui jurent avec une restriction mentale c.-à-d. purement intérieure, ils les abandonnent nécessairement au jugement divin. Mais avec ceux qui manifestent extérieurement des restrictions, les évêques useront prudemment de leur autorité épiscopale et pontificale déléguée pour passer aux châtiments, car d'après l'expression du Saint-Père, il n'y a pas de remède plus efficace pour réprimer le grand mal qui menace l'Église". À bon droit, Du Pac (*Mémoires*, f° 382) fait remarquer:

"Pour corrompre le sens du second bref, on recourt à la méthode que Précipiano avait déjà suivie pour le premier, c.-à-d. qu'on en supprime, en tronque, en falsifie les dispositions pour les interpréter dans un sens évidemment contraire à l'intention du Saint-Père ..."

Ainsi donc, le 22 avril 1697, le formulaire est réintroduit dans les diocèses belges, sans les additions de 1692, il est vrai, mais leur sens y reste présent, malgré Innocent XII.

#### *Après la réintroduction*

Quelques jalons seulement. Signé par les évêques le 22 avril, le décret est publié le 23 mai d'une manière spéciale afin d'éviter le placet, du moins d'après Du Pac (f° 388).

"... On s'avisa de publier solennellement le décret en le faisant afficher et exposer en vente chez un libraire public qui s'autorisait dans le frontispice de l'ordre exprès des révérendissimes évêques ... sans avoir obtenu l'agrément ou le placet du souverain ..."

Néanmoins, d'après Précipiano, son décret fut reçu avec l'approbation du



peuple (*Synodicon*, I, 636; *AAM*, n° 1093). Certes, les fidèles ordinaires ne se seront pas particulièrement intéressés au formulaire et au décret épiscopal, mais il n'aura pas manqué de prédicateurs, pour monter en chaire le décret en main, et pour l'annoncer à haute voix.

Plus important pour les évêques était le fait que le 10 juin le Conseil privé approuve leur décret et promet son appui pour l'application. Les évêques ne manquent pas de le remercier (*Synodicon*, I, 636-637). Ils croient donc que, sans entraves de la part du pouvoir civil, ils pourront appliquer leur décret, et même passer aux châtiments annoncés. Sur la manière dont ils procèdent nous sommes mal informés, mais nous apprenons qu'ils étaient divisés entre eux. Si la plupart continuent à renseigner les clercs sur le sens du serment à faire, celui de Bruges au contraire maintient son mandement de 1694, n'exigeant que la répudiation des cinq propositions prises dans leur sens naturel, sans relation à Jansénius (*AAM*, n° 1093).

Cependant, même dans les autres diocèses, on ne signale pas des cas de refus, de restrictions ou de parjure. Il est à croire que ceux qui devaient signer, le faisaient la conscience tranquille, suffisamment au courant des mesures d'Innocent bien comprises.

Cependant, le décret bruxellois comme tel fut soumis à la critique. Du mois de mai datent des *Observationes in decretum episcoporum*, manuscrites (*AAM*, n° 1093) qui relèvent neuf raisons suffisantes pour conclure qu'il faut insister pour que le décret bruxellois soit révoqué.

De fait à Rome, le délégué Hennebel montre bientôt au pape que ce décret bruxellois ne fait que décliner ses mesures de 1692, 1694, 1696. Il y consacre douze considérations pour conclure à son tour:

"... Eo modo per decretum aequivocum et dolose fabricatum illudetur Sedi apostolicae, reddeturque inutile quidquid hactenus factum est cum tanta prudentia ac sapientia et cum applausu episcoporum Galliae, omniumque hominum qui praeoccupati non sunt, et ab affectibus liberi, ut simul et semel disputationes omnes, quae alioquin aeternae forent, terminarentur, et ecclesiae belgicae atque etiam gallicanae aliisque pax vera et solida procuraretur" (*Commonitorium*, 23-32).

Quelle fut la réaction de Rome? C'est curieux, Hennebel lui-même et Du Pac n'en parlent pas. Valentini, l'agent romain et le correspondant de Précipiano, ne s'en inquiète pas, car il entend dire à Rome qu'Innocent XII a donné ses brefs seulement pour empêcher les jansénistes de se séparer de l'Église (7 juillet; *AAM*, n° 1858). Le 27 juillet (*ibidem*) il mande:

"Si le docteur Hennebel a fait présenter à la Congrégation l'écriture ... pour porter les cardinaux à révoquer ou du moins à modérer et à réformer les décrets ... je n'en ai aucune connaissance, sinon celle que le bruit commun m'en a fourni, auquel j'ai peine d'ajouter foi ..."



Si Rome semble ne plus s'intéresser au problème du formulaire, en Belgique les disputes continuent. Aux affirmations audacieuses qu'à Louvain les professeurs François Martin<sup>27</sup> et Martin Steyaert se permettent, Quesnel, sous le pseudonyme de l'abbé du Manoir, oppose sa *Défense de deux brefs de ... Innocent XII ... contre le docteur Martin, au sujet de deux décrets qui concernent le formulaire et la morale*, Douai et Delft, 1697, in-12°, 418 p.; (*W.*, n° 6016, 6021 et 6040); suivi de *Lettre à M. Steyaert, pour servir de supplément à la défense des deux brefs*, Delft, 1697, 48 p.; (*W.*, n° 6095).

Mais ces deux écrits n'entravent pas les évêques qui se savent appuyés des Cours, sinon de Rome, au moins de celles de Bruxelles, de Madrid, de Paris et même de Vienne. Ils poursuivent donc imperturbablement leur entreprise et avec un certain succès même, car en 1703 ils réussissent à faire arrêter Quesnel à Bruxelles et confisquer ses papiers et ceux d'Arnauld qu'il conserve<sup>28</sup>.

Ils n'échouent qu'à Louvain, où ils ne parviennent pas à priver l'université de ses privilèges, à la faire visiter par des commissaires royaux et à y substituer leur formulaire à l'ancien serment académique. Hennebel, le délégué romain, s'y oppose trop énergiquement (*Commonitorium*, 32-34).

Cependant Du Pac (f° 400) affirme: la Belgique fut "en combustion depuis l'époque de cette fatale assemblée" (d'avril-mai 1697). Il dit vrai: en vertu de leur autre décret, contre la morale en déclin, les évêques molestent de nombreux jansénistes, surtout les plus importants, les privant de leur juridiction et si possible de leurs charges, et en les empêchant d'acquérir des bénéfices. De cette façon ils auront, Précipiano en tête, à endurer beaucoup d'ennuis de la part du pouvoir judiciaire, ce qui ne nous intéresse pas ici.

Quant au formulaire, d'après une note du *Synodicon*, I, 696, il est resté en usage continuel jusqu'à "notre temps", c.-à-d. jusqu'en 1828. Cependant il faut noter que le cardinal d'Alsace introduisit son formulaire propre en 1718<sup>29</sup>.

Sint-Truiden

Lucien CEYSSENS

<sup>27</sup> Voir sur ce professeur une étude à paraître prochainement dans *Augustiniana*.

<sup>28</sup> L. CEYSSENS, *Les papiers de Quesnel saisis à Bruxelles et transportés à Paris*, dans *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, 44 (1949), 518-551 (repris dans *Jansenistica minora*, I, fasc. 5); *Suites romaines de la confiscation des papiers de Quesnel*, dans *Bulletin de l'Institut historique belge de Rome*, 29 (1955), 5-31 ((repris dans *Jansenistica minora*, III, fasc. 26).

<sup>29</sup> Sur le cardinal d'Alsace, archevêque de Malines, cf. L. CEYSSENS, *Le sort de la bulle Unigenitus*, Louvain, 1993, 567-603.











## 'NATURAL' and 'SPIRITUAL' RELATIONSHIPS IN AUGUSTINE

Is there in Augustine a contrast between the general commandment "You shall love your neighbour as yourself" (Mt 22:39) and the text "If anyone comes to me without hating his father, mother, wife, children, brothers, sisters, and even his own life, he cannot be my disciple" (Lk 14:26)? More than one author is perplexed by Augustine's comments on these texts. O. O'Donovan writes: "A characteristic difficulty for any theory of universal love is that of 'proximate relationships': friends, family, colleagues, fellow-Christians, and others. If we are to extend our love to all on the basis of humanity alone, irrespective of how they are related to us, do we not declare any preferential attachment illegitimate? At the time of *De vera religione* Augustine seems to have thought so, or at least, if not illegitimate, to have thought that they were forced upon us *faute de mieux* by the conditions of human fallenness. This opinion he later withdrew, recalling that even if man had remained in his Paradisal state, he would still have had wives and children, some of whom, by being his own and not other men's wives and children, would have made special claim on his regard. How could such claims be justified in terms of universal neighbor-love? And how could such a love tolerate the special requirements of 'love for the brethren'?"<sup>1</sup>

There are more biblical texts connected to this question, which in itself is about the relationship between love of neighbour and love of God. Thus we have to take into consideration: Ex 20:12 (Eph 6:2-3 with the addition: *quod est mandatum primum in remissione*): "Honour your father and your mother so that you may have a long life in the land that your God has given to you"; Mt 12:46-50 (Mk 3:31-35. Lk 8:19-21): "He was still speaking to the crowds when his mother and his brothers appeared; they were standing outside and were anxious to have a word with him. But to the man who told him this Jesus replied 'Who is my mother? Who are my brothers?' And stretching out his hand towards his disciples he said 'Here are my mother and my brothers. Anyone who does the will of my Father in heaven, he is my brother and sister and mother'"; Mt 10:34-37

<sup>1</sup> O. O'DONOVAN, *The Problem of Self-love in St. Augustine*. New Haven - London, 1980, p. 122.



(Lk 12:51-53): "Do not suppose that I have come to bring peace to the earth: it is not peace I have come to bring, but a sword. For I have come to set a man against his father, a daughter against her mother, a daughter-in-law against her mother-in-law. A man's enemies will be those of his own household. Whoever loves father or mother more than me, is not worthy of me. Whoever loves son or daughter more than me, is not worthy of me".<sup>2</sup>

What I intend to do in this article is to demonstrate that, although there is a clear evolution in Augustine's comments, there are also constant doctrinal aspects in his interpretation which he maintains till the end of his life. For the sake of convenience, I have followed the chronological order of the texts, although the dates of many texts remain uncertain.

### I. TEXTS OF THE EARLIEST PERIOD

That Augustine appreciated good relationships based on love with his disciples appears from a text of *De ordine* (d. 386): "I beg you, if you owe some love to me, some intimate relationship (*necessitudo*)<sup>3</sup>, if you understand how much I love you, how I hold you in great esteem, how much the care for your behaviour harasses me, if I am worthy of not being neglected by you, if finally I am not lying ... by saying that I do not want more for myself than for you, give me your favour in return for all this".<sup>4</sup> There he asserts moreover that we should hate nobody, and that we have to put into practice this rule: Do not do to another what you do not wish

<sup>2</sup> Other texts are: Jn 2:4 "Woman, what have I to do with you?"; Mt 23:9 "Call no one father upon earth, since God is your only Father"; Lk 9:59-60 "I will go and bury my father first"; Dt 33:9 "He who says to his father or mother: I do not know you, and does not recognize his children, he acknowledges your covenant"; Mt 19:29 "Everyone who has left his house, spouse, parents, brothers, or children for the sake of the heavenly kingdom will be repaid a hundred times over"; 1 Tm 5:8 "Anyone who does not look after his own relations, especially members of his own household, denies the faith, and is worse than an unbeliever".

<sup>3</sup> The term *necessitudo* in the sense of "persons with whom one is closely connected" contains something from its original meaning "necessity, inevitableness", and is, as it were, a necessary connection.

<sup>4</sup> *De ordine* I,10,29. CCL 29,104: "Nolite, obsecro vos, si quid mihi amoris, si quid necessitudinis debetis, si intellegitis, quantum vos diligam, quanti faciam, quantum me cura exagitet morum verstrorum, si dignus sum, quem non neglegatis, si denique deo teste non mentior, nihil me plus mihi optare quam vobis, rependite mihi beneficium ...".



to be done to you. He stresses also the importance of friendship.<sup>5</sup> Interrogated by his own reason whether he loves his friends, Augustine answers: "Augustine: I said I love the soul, not animals. — Reason: Either your friends are not human beings or you do not love them, for the human being is an animal, and you said you did not love animals. — A.: Indeed they are human beings and I love them, not because they are animals but because they are human beings, that is, they have rational souls which I love even in robbers. I can love reason in any human person even while I justly hate the person who misuses what I love. I love my friends the more, the better they use their rational souls, or at all events the more they desire to use them well".<sup>6</sup> This text reveals clearly intellectual or spiritual overtones because Augustine stresses that sense-knowledge of his friend Alypius is insignificant and that he desires by intellect a knowledge of his mind, where he is truly his friend. But there is also some truth in Augustine's statement, for friendship goes deeper than outward appearances. To his friend Nebridius he writes in 387: "If it is due to good fortune that a human being loves a human being, see how blessed I am in having these additional joys, and I hope such great goods will be richly increased. Truly, wise persons are the gift of fortune, the only ones who can rightly be called happy".<sup>7</sup> In *De quantitate animae* (d. 387-388), we read that another human being, be it the most wise and perfect, should only be loved, imitated, and respected according to his merits and the right order. For we must only adore and worship God the creator.<sup>8</sup> At the same time,

<sup>5</sup> Ib. II,8,25. ib. 121: "In omni vero contractu atque conversatione cum hominibus satis est servare unum hoc vulgare proverbium: nemini faciant, quod pati nolunt ... In omni autem vita loco tempore amicos aut habeant aut habere instent".

<sup>6</sup> *Soliloquia* I,2,7. CSEL 89,12. (d. 386-387): "R. Non igitur amas amicos tuos? A. Quo pacto eos possum amans animam non amare? R. Hoc modo ergo et pulices et cimices amas? A. Animam me amare dixi, non animalia. R. Aut homines non sunt amici tui aut eos non amas; omnis enim homo animal et animalia te non amare dixisti. A. Et homines sunt et eos amo, non eo quod animalia, sed eo quod homines sunt, id est ex eo quod rationales animas habent, quas amo etiam in latronibus ... Itaque tanto magis amo amicos meos, quanto magis bene utuntur anima rationali, vel certe quantum desiderant ea bene uti".

<sup>7</sup> *Epist.* 3,5. CSEL 34/1,9: "At si in potestate fortunae est, ut hominem amet homo, vide quam beatus sim, qui de fortuitis tam multum gaudeo et talia bona, fateor, desidero mihi ubertim adlescere". In *Retractationes* I,1,2 and I,3,2. CCL 57,7 and 12, Augustine regrets his use of the word *fortuna* in his earliest works.

<sup>8</sup> *De quantitate animae* 34,78. CSEL 89,227: "Homo autem quilibet alius, quamquam sapientissimus et perfectissimus, vel prorsus quaelibet anima rationis compos atque beatissima amanda tantummodo et imitanda est eique pro merito atque ordine, quod ei congruit, deferendum. Nam *Dominum deum tuum adorabis et illi soli servies*".



Augustine stresses that human fellowship or community should be highly valued.<sup>9</sup>

In *De moribus ecclesiae catholicae* (d. 388) we find a reflection on the relationship between soul and body: "Of the two which I have mentioned, is the human being body alone or soul alone? For although they are two things, soul and body, and neither could be called human being were the other not present (for the body would not be human being if there were no soul, nor would the soul be human being were there no body animated by it), it might happen, nevertheless, that one of these would be looked upon and be spoken of as human being". Though Augustine does not wish to solve this difficult problem, he declares that neither the soul nor the body is our supreme good, but only God.<sup>10</sup> The commandment to love God and ourselves does not exclude that there ought to be a bond of love among human beings. There is no surer step to or cradle of the love of God. Our Lord was not satisfied with giving only one commandment. Therefore, He gave us also the commandment of love of neighbour. Just as we ought to love God more than ourselves, so we must also lead our neighbours to God as the supreme good which we are pursuing. From the commandment of love of neighbour arise many obligations pertaining to the human community, about which it is difficult not to err.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Ib. 33,73. ib. 221: "... societatem humanam magni pendere nihilque velle alteri, quod sibi nolit accidere". Cf. *De diversis quaestionibus* 83, q. 30. CCL 44/A,39: "... utitur etiam ceteris rationalibus animantibus ad societatem".

<sup>10</sup> *De moribus ecclesiae catholicae* 4,6. CSEL 90,8-9: "... cum inter omnes paene constet ... ex anima et corpore nos esse compositos, quid est ipse homo utrumque horum quae nominavi, an corpus tantummodo an tantummodo anima. Quamquam enim duo sint anima et corpus neutrum homo vocaretur, si non esset alterum - nam neque corpus homo esset, si anima non esset nec rursus anima homo, si ea corpus non animaretur - fieri tamen potest ut unum horum et habeatur homo et vocetur ... Difficile est istam controversiam diiudicare ... quod aut corpori simul et animae aut soli animae optimum est, id est hominis optimum". As appears from *De civitate dei* XIX,3. CCL 48,662, this text goes back to a lost work of Varro; see J.K. COYLE, *Augustine's "De moribus ecclesiae catholicae"*. Fribourg (Sw.) 1978, p. 312-315.

<sup>11</sup> *De moribus ecclesiae catholicae* 26,48-50. CSEL 90,53-55: "Quid? Inter ipsos homines nullumne esse amoris vinculum debet? Immo vero ita debet, ut nullus certior gradus ad amorem dei fieri posse credatur quam hominis erga hominem caritas. Promat nobis ergo alterum praeceptum ipse dominus, de vitae praeceptis interrogatus: non enim contentus fuit uno, qui sciret aliud deum esse, aliud hominem; atque interesse tantum, quantum inter eum qui creavit, et id quod ad creatoris similitudinem creatum est. Dicit ergo secundum praeceptum esse: *Diliges proximum tamquam te ipsum*. Te autem ipsum salubriter diligis, si plus quam te diligis deum. Quod ergo agis tecum, id agendum cum proximo est; hoc est, ut ipse etiam perfecto amore diligat deum ... Ex hoc praecepto nascuntur officia societatis humanae, in quibus non errare difficile est ... Quis ignorat quam multa, et quanti ponderis, verba in illis libris de caritate proximi usquequaque



Augustine described love of neighbour in this passage as *gradus* (step, stage, degree) and *cunabula* (cradle) of the love of God.<sup>12</sup> But does this mean that these terms signify that love of neighbour is no more than a human preparation or means to the love of God? It seems to me that they indicate a certain participation in the love of God. This can be deduced from Augustine's statement in the same context that he does not know which of these two loves comes first to the fullness of perfection, or whether they do so together. But for him the main point is that no one who despises the neighbour, will arrive at God.<sup>13</sup> Here, we must take into account that Augustine maintains that there are degrees in virtue, which would be impossible if the virtue would not yet exist. Moreover, the image of a cradle indicates that the newborn is already really present, but should still grow.<sup>14</sup> There are still other texts suggesting that love of neighbour and love of God are more closely connected than a means completely different from its end. Love of neighbour demands great understanding and prudence which are not based on our own power, but given by God (*qua nemo uti potest nisi deus tribuerit*).<sup>15</sup> God is said to be perceived acting through us when we love the neighbour as we should (*deum per nos agere intellegamus*).<sup>16</sup> If we see that the same charity (*eandem charitatem*) is

diffusa sint? ... ista sunt quasi cunabula caritatis dei, quibus diligimus proximum".

<sup>12</sup> The same statement is found in *De musica* VI,14,46. PL 32,1187 (d.391): "A dilectione autem proximi ... certissimus gradus fit nobis, ut inhaereamus Deo" and in *Contra Adimantum* 6. CSEL 25/1,126: "dilectio proximi certus gradus est ad dilectionem dei". After that date (about 393), this formulation does no longer occur. In the earliest writings, *cunabula* in a similar sense occurs only once more as a description of the authority of Holy Scripture or Christ (*auctoritatis cunabula*) in *De ordine* II,9,26. CCL 29,122.

<sup>13</sup> *De moribus ecclesiae catholicae* 26,51. ib. 55: "Sed nescio quomodo aut pariter ista in plenitudinem perfectionemque consurgunt, aut inchoatur prius dei amor, et prius perficitur proximi ... Quoquo modo autem res se habeat, illud maxime tenendum est, ne si quisquam credat, contempto proximo, ad beatitudinem et ad deum quem diligit esse venturum".

<sup>14</sup> The emphasis on degrees in virtue is probably directed against the stoic contention that all virtue (and consequently all vice) is equal. Cf. *De moribus ecclesiae catholicae* 14,24. ib. 28: "Quanto enim melius atque diffusius diffamatur (sc. gloria dei), tanto diligitur et amatur ardentius. Quod cum fit, nihil aliud ab humano genere quam certo et constanti gradu in optimam vitam et beatissimam pergatur". Ib. 28,56. ib. 59-60: "Agit ergo his gradibus, quod ad animum pertinet, ut primo timeat deinde diligit deum". See also *De diversis quaestionibus* 83, q. 53,1. CCL 44/A,85-87. *De sermone domini in monte* I,21,70. CCL 35,78-79. Regarding *cunabula*, J.K. COYLE, o.c., p. 388-389 remarks that this expression forms part of Augustine's view of himself as newborn in the faith. Cf. *Confessiones* V,5,9. CCL 27,61: "... sed etiam talis infirmitas in fidei cunabulis caritate matre sustinetur".

<sup>15</sup> *De moribus ecclesiae catholicae* 26,51. CSEL 90,55.

<sup>16</sup> *De quantitate animae* 34,78. CSEL 89,227.



contained in the double commandment, we understand that one comes to the tree of life not only by the endurance of temporal troubles, but also by the fullness of knowledge, that is, by charity.<sup>17</sup> If we want to be unconquered, we ought to love even our enemies, for a human being is not unconquered by himself, but by the unchangeable law.<sup>18</sup>

We should do no evil to a neighbour, for nothing is nearer to a human being than another human being. Good will alone does not suffice, love demands also corporeal works of mercy. "The human being as it appears to us is a rational soul, making use of a mortal and earthly body. Therefore, the person who loves the neighbour does good partly for the body and partly for the soul of the human being. What benefits the body is termed medicine<sup>19</sup>, and what benefits the soul, instruction. But I call here medicine anything which preserves or restores the health of the body. It includes not only what pertains to the art of those properly called physicians, but also food and drink, clothing and shelter, and all those things that protect the body against external blows or mishaps. For hunger and thirst, cold and heat, and every injury inflicted from without threaten the bodily health that we are now considering." There might exist so wise persons, however, that they are free from all painful emotion. At this moment, being free from emotions is for Augustine an ideal situation, but the control of emotions should never lead to insensitivity: "Some foolish individuals shun the exercise of mercy as though it were a vice because the sense of duty does not sufficiently move them if they are not, at the same time, moved by emotion. Consequently, they become frozen in a state of rigid insensitivity rather than serene in the tranquillity of reason". Love of neighbour consists in making others healthy in both body and soul, but the care of the body is always ordered to the health of the soul.<sup>20</sup> Speaking

<sup>17</sup> *De Genesi contra Manichaeos* 23,36. PL 34,215.

<sup>18</sup> *De vera religione* 46,87. CCL 32,244. See R. CANNING, *The Unity of Love for God and Neighbour in St. Augustine*. Heverlee-Leuven 1993, p. 35-55. D. DIDEBERG, *Saint Augustin et la première épître de saint Jean. Une théologie de l'agapè*. Paris 1975, p. 138-139 criticizes rightly some of my earlier publications in which I have undervalued the significance of *gradus* and *cunabula*.

<sup>19</sup> The stress on corporeal works of mercy (*medicina*) can be intended to refute the asceticism of the manichaeans forbidding all physical activity to the perfect. See J.K. COYLE, o.c., p. 347. 389-391. 415-416.

<sup>20</sup> *De moribus ecclesiae catholicae* 27,52-28,56. ib. 55-59: "Homo igitur, ut homini apparet, anima rationalis est mortali atque terreno utens corpore. Partim ergo corpori, partim vero animae hominis benefacit qui proximum diligit. Ad corpus quod pertinet, medicina nominata est, ad animam autem disciplina. Sed medicinam nunc voco, quicquid omnino corporis vel tuetur vel instaurat salutem. Ad hanc itaque pertinent non ea tantum quae ars eorum exhibet, qui proprie medici vocantur, sed etiam cibus et potus, tegmen et



about the teaching of the church, Augustine writes: "You set men over their wives, not to make playthings of the weaker sex, but in accordance with the laws of pure and honest love. You bind children to their parents in a kind of free servitude, and give parents a pious rule over their children. You unite brother to brother in a religious bond stronger and closer than that of blood. While preserving the ties of nature and free will, you unite all those related by kinship or marriage in a bond of mutual love ... In recollection of their first parents, you join citizen to citizen, nation to nation, and all human beings to each other, not merely in society, but in a kind of brotherhood".<sup>21</sup>

As a conclusion from the preceding texts, we can say that Augustine speaks clearly of a spiritual love for neighbour commanded by Christ and preached by the church, and not only of a purely human love as such. In this sense, I would like to correct Hultgren's affirmation that "l'amour du prochain ne s'élève jamais au-dessus la sphère humaine".<sup>22</sup> It

tectum, defensio denique omnis atque munitio, qua nostrum corpus adversus etiam externos ictus casusque servatur; nam et fames et sitis et frigus et aestus et quicquid extrinsecus graviter infligitur salutem, de qua nunc agitur, manere non sinunt ... Stulti vero cum misericordiam quasi vitium devitant, quia officio satis moveri nequeunt, si nec perturbatione commoventur, congelascunt potius rigore inhumanitatis quam rationis tranquillitate serenantur ... Qui ergo diligit proximum, agit quantum potest ut salvus corpore salvusque animo sit, sed cura corporis ad sanitatem animi referenda est". My interpretation of the *stulti* differs a bit from that of G. HULTGREN, *Le commandement d'amour chez Augustin. Interprétation philosophique et théologique d'après les écrits de la période 386-400*. Paris 1939, p. 72 who writes: "Mais il est évident qu'il ne s'agit en la circonstance que d'une concession qu'il fait aux 'insensés' et aux 'indoctes'. A ses yeux, l'idéal est représenté par le 'sage' qui doit garder son calme et dont l'amour doit uniquement être dicté par le devoir" et p. 181: "Il est vrai qu'Augustin admet la douleur comme moteur de l'amour du prochain, mais seulement chez les 'insensés'". But in this way, the aspect of a reproach directed against the *stulti* is not done enough justice. Cf. *De vera religione* 47,91. CCL 32,247: "Et si quando forte alicuius periculo vel errore vel dolore commovetur, usque ad illius auxilium aut correctionem aut consolationem, non usque ad suam subversionem valere patitur". *De diversis quaestionibus* 83, q. 71,2. CCL 44/A,202: "Et ideo in huiusmodi affectionibus suscipienda est aliquantulum ipsa aegritudo, de qua vis per te alium liberari, et sic suscipienda, ut ad auxilium non ad aequalitatem miseriae valeat, quemadmodum se inclinat, qui manum iacenti porrigit".

<sup>21</sup> *De moribus ecclesiae catholicae* 30,63. ib. 66-67: "Tu viros coniugibus non ad illudendum imbecilliores sexum sinceri amoris legibus praeficis. Tu parentibus filios libera quadam servitute subiungis, parentes filiis pia dominatione praeponis. Tu fratribus fratres religionis vinculo firmiore atque artiore quam sanguinis nectis. Tu omnem generis propinquitatem et affinitatis necessitudinem, servatis naturae voluntatisque nexibus, mutua caritate constringis ... Tu cives civibus, gentes gentibus et prorsus hominibus homines primorum parentum recordatione, non societate tantum sed quadam etiam fraternitate coniungis".

<sup>22</sup> G. HULTGREN, o.c., p. 70.



is true that Augustine does not yet explicitly base love of neighbour on the gift of the Holy Spirit, so that we love God and the neighbour with the same divine love<sup>23</sup> (as will be the case a few years later), but Hultgren does not pay attention to the role and grace of Christ, whose example we should follow. And what Christ revealed has become the teaching of the church. In this sense, Augustine can say that human love nourishes and fortifies the soul clinging to the breast of the church, and makes it ready to follow God. Then, there can be a beginning of the revelation of God's majesty.<sup>24</sup> All things considered, love of God as the highest good does not exclude love of neighbour, but, on the contrary, includes it.

The first references to texts of the gospel (Mt 12:46-50; Jn 2:4; Lk 14:26) regarding human relationships are found in *De vera religione* (d. 390). To illustrate how the whole life of Jesus as a human being on this earth was a *disciplina morum*, reference is made to Mt 12:46-50: "Speaking to the multitudes as God, He refused to recognize his mother when her coming was announced, and yet, as the gospel says, He was obedient to his parents (Lk 2:51) ... When, as God, He was about to turn water into wine, He said: Woman, depart from me; 'What have I to do with you? My hour has not yet come' (Jn 2:4). But when his hour had come at the moment He should die as a human being, He recognized his mother from the cross and commended her to the disciple whom He loved more than the others (Jn 19:26-27) ... All the things we desired to possess, but prevented us to live in the right way, He did without and so made them of little value".<sup>25</sup>

<sup>23</sup> Rom 5:5 "Caritas dei diffusa est in cordibus nostris per spiritum sanctum" is quoted in *De moribus eccl. cath.* 13,23; 16,29 but only to demonstrate the divinity of the Holy Spirit. However, in *De Genesi contra Manichaeos* 25,38. PL 34,216, charity is mentioned as the first among the fruits of the Holy Spirit (Gal 5:22-23), and this in a context dealing with love of neighbour, for just before this text Mt 25:40 "What you did to one of the least of mine, you did to me" is quoted.

<sup>24</sup> *De moribus ecclesiae catholicae* 30,64. CSEL 90,67: "Iam vero cum haec humana dilectio inhaerentem uberibus tuis nutraverit et roboraverit animum, sequendo deo factum idoneum; ubi eius maiestas ex tanta parte quanta homini, dum terrae huius inhabitator est, sufficit, aperire se coeperit ...".

<sup>25</sup> *De vera religione* 16,31. CCL 32,206: "Ita loquens ad turbas ut deus annuntiatam sibi matrem negavit et tamen, ut evangelium loquitur, puer parentibus subditus erat ... Item aquam in vinum conversurus ut deus dicit: Recede a me, *mulier*, *mihi et tibi quid est? Nondum venit hora mea*. Cum autem venisset hora, qua ut homo moreretur, de cruce cognitam matrem commendavit discipulo, quem prae caeteris diligebat ... omnia quae habere cupientes non recte vivebamus, carendo vilefecit".



A bit further in the same book, we find in the words *istas carnales necessitudines oderit* an allusion to the text of Lk 14:26, followed by an explanation in the same line as the text just quoted. "A human being is not to be loved by another human being like one loves corporeal brothers, sons, wives, kinsfolk, relatives, or fellow citizens. For this love is temporal. We would have no such relationships as are contingent upon birth and death, if our nature by remaining faithful to the commandments and in the image of God, would not have been relegated to the present corruption. Therefore, the Truth itself calls us back to the former and perfect nature and orders that we resist carnal habit<sup>26</sup> by teaching that nobody, who does not hate these carnal relationships, is fit for the Reign of God. It is not becoming that one considers this inhuman. It would be more inhuman not to love in a human being that he is a human being, but (only) to love that he is a son. This means not to love in him what belongs to God, but to love what belongs to oneself. What marvel if he who loves a private good instead of the common good, does not reach the Kingdom?<sup>27</sup> ... No one

<sup>26</sup> With regard to the expression "carnal habit", one must take into account that "habit" (*consuetudo*) is an augustinian term that draws the attention away from the "thing" to the "soul", from the "object" to the "person", for it is in the person that habit dwells. The human race has formed a habit of immersing in the world of the senses, often to the exclusion of the eternal world. See J.G. PRENDIVILLE, *The Development of the Idea of Habit in the Thought of Saint Augustine*, in: *Traditio* 28(1972) 29-99.

<sup>27</sup> Loving a private good instead of the common good means not reaching the Kingdom. The content of this idea is present in Augustine's writings from the very beginning, be it not always in the same wording. It plays a very important role in his theology. The opposition between *privatum* (*proprium*) and *commune* has clearly a theological meaning: to turn in on oneself, to become proud and selfsufficient, turning away from God. *De vera religione* 55,112. CCL 32,259: "Quisquis vero angelus excessus suos diligit et veritati esse subditus non vult et privato suo laetari cupiens a communi omnium bonorum et vera beatitudine lapsus est". What is true of some angels, is also true of human beings, fallen prey to pride: *De musica* VI,14,48 and 16,53. PL 32,1188 and 1190: "... universali lege neglecta in agenda quaedam privata cecidisse, quod dicitur apostatare a Deo". *De libero arbitrio* II,19,53. CCL 29,272: "Voluntas autem aversa ab incommutabili et communi bono, et conversa ad proprium bonum aut ad exterius aut ad inferius, peccat". Among the many later texts, see the beautiful passage from *De Genesi ad litt.* XI,15. CSEL 28/1,347-348: "Hi duo amores quorum ... alter socialis, alter privatus, alter communi utilitati consulens propter supernam societatem, alter etiam rem communem in potestatem propriam redigens propter adrogantem dominationem". Cf. *De civitate dei* XIV,28. CCL 48,451. According to R.J. O'CONNELL, *St. Augustine's Early Theory of Man, A.D. 386-391*. Cambridge (Mass.) 1968, p. 56, this theme is inspired by Plotinus, *Ennead* VI,4,12-5,10. W. THEILER, *Porphyrios und Augustin*, in: *Forschungen zum Neuplatonismus*. Berlin 1966, p. 195-196 and 207 believes in an influence of Porphyry without much evidence. About the theme *proprium* - *commune*, see also: R.J. TESKE, *The Aims of Augustine's Proof That God Truly Is*, in: *International Philosophical Quarterly* 26(1986), 253-268, especially p. 263-266. Cf. G. MADEC, in: *Bibliothèque Augustinienne* 6, 3e éd., Paris 1976, p. 544-545.



can perfectly love that to which we are called, if he does not hate that from which we are called back. We are called to the perfect human nature as God has created it before our sin. We are called back from love of what we deserved by sinning".<sup>28</sup>

The *De vera religione* was addressed to Augustine's maecenas Romanianus in order to stimulate him to leave the manichaean sect and to return to the Christian religion, which is the only true religion. The purpose of this writing explains, I think, to a great extent its radical tone. Augustine is in the first place concerned about refuting manichaeism. Therefore, he defends strongly the goodness of all the creatures, from the lowest to the highest. God is the creator of the body and it possesses concord, peace, and beauty, although it is less than life. Before the human being sinned, it was *in suo genere optimum*, but became weak and mortal after the sin.<sup>29</sup> Even loved by a soul that neglects God, does not make the corporeal creature evil in itself. It is very easy to execrate the flesh, but very difficult not to be carnally minded.<sup>30</sup> The body of a newborn child is called beautiful and keenly loved by those who love it. Nevertheless, its mobile shape is not more pleasing than the life which causes the mobility. For if this living being loves us, it attracts us more strongly. If it were not

For the social interpretation of *privatum - commune*, see later when we deal with *De libero arbitrio*.

<sup>28</sup> *De vera religione* 46,88. CCL 32,244-245: "Sed nec sic quidem ab homine homo diligendus est, ut diliguntur carnales fratres vel filii vel coniuges vel quique cognati aut affines aut cives. Nam et ista dilectio temporalis est. Non enim ulla tales necessitudines habemus, quae nascendo et moriendo contingunt, si natura nostra in praeceptis et in imagine dei manens in istam corruptionem non relegaretur. Itaque ad pristinam perfectamque naturam nos ipsa veritas vocans praecipit, ut carnali consuetudini resistamus, docens neminem aptum esse regno dei, qui non istas carnales necessitudines oderit, neque hoc cuiquam inhumanum videri decet. Magis enim est inhumanum non amare in homine quod homo est, sed amare quod filius est. Hoc est enim non in eo amare illud, quod ad deum pertinet, sed amare illud, quod ad se pertinet. Quid ergo mirum, si ad regnum non pervenit, qui non communem, sed privatam rem diligit ... Nemo enim potest perfecte diligere quo vocamur, nisi oderit unde revocatur. Vocamur autem ad perfectam naturam humanam, qualem ante peccatum nostrum deus fecit. Revocamur autem ab eius dilectione, quam peccando meruimus". See *Retract.* I,13,8. CCL 57,40: "Hunc sensum prorsus improbo, quem iam et superius inprobavi in primo libro de Genesi contra Manicheos. Ad hoc enim ducit, ut credantur illi coniuges primi non generaturi posteros homines nisi peccassent".

<sup>29</sup> *Ib.* 11,21-23. 15,29. 45,83. CCL 32,200-201. 205. 242.

<sup>30</sup> *Ib.* 20,40. CCL 32,211-212: "Si autem diligatur ab anima, quae neglegit deum, ne sic quidem malum fit ipsa, sed quoniam peccatum malum est, quo ita diligitur ... Sed facillimum est execrari carnem, difficillimum autem non carnaliter sapere".



subject to corruption, it would be considered as the supreme beauty.<sup>31</sup>

Moreover, as a whole *De vera religione* reflects Augustine's experience of his own conversion. O. du Roy states: "Il faut se rappeler que c'est par une expérience personnelle et à la lumière seulement d'écrits néoplatoniciens qu'Augustin a découvert l'intériorité véritable et dépasse ainsi son impuissance à penser le spirituel".<sup>32</sup> True religion consists in rejecting the world of the lower things of the senses, and orientating oneself to the highest spiritual good, namely God. This main idea is based upon the Pauline warning: Not to worship and serve creatures instead of the creator (cf. Rm 1:25). Thus Augustine proclaims the Christian doctrine using aspects of the best philosophy of his time, i.e. neoplatonism, which is not so surprising, because Augustine saw a concordance between some (not all) teachings of the neoplatonists and Christian doctrine, just as modern theologians use philosophical concepts to clarify the doctrine of faith. It is undeniable that Augustine refers to the ontological order as established by neoplatonist philosophers, but at the same time he sees here no contrast with the evangelical claim that God should be loved above all created things. In order to show this claim, in 16,31 (see text note 25, with references to Mt 12:46-50 and Jn 2:4), Augustine bases himself also on the example of Jesus. He explains these texts by making a distinction between the actions of Jesus as human being and as God: as God He did not recognize his mother (*ut deus matrem negavit*); as human being He did. But does this distinction not show a certain underdeveloped idea of the personal union of the two natures in Christ?<sup>33</sup> In the same way, it cannot be denied that Augustine's view on the relationship between soul and body in the human being, is not yet elaborated as it will be later. The soul possesses a body rather than that the person as a whole *is* body and soul, "Bodies are not what we are ... Human nature is to be loved without any condition of carnal relationship". What matters is the spiritual relationship as expressed by Mt 12:46-50: "All who love God and do his will, are

<sup>31</sup> Ib. 40,74. CCL 32,236: "... nascitur corpus, quod formosum vocatur et a suis dilectoribus amatur acerrime. Non tamen in eo plus placet forma, quae movetur, quam vita, quae movet. Nam illud animal si nos amet, allicit violentius, si oderit autem, suscensemus et ferre non possumus ... Subiacet enim corruptioni. Quod si non esset, summa putaretur".

<sup>32</sup> O. DU ROY, *L'intelligence de la foi en la Trinité selon saint Augustin*. Paris, Etudes Augustiniennes, 1966, p. 366. See the whole section, p. 309-408. W. DESCH, *Aufbau und Gliederung von Augustins Schrift 'De vera religione'*, in: *Vigiliae Christianae* 35(1980) 263-277. F. VAN FLETEREN, *Augustine's 'De vera religione'. A New Approach*, in: *Augustinianum* 16(1976) 475-497.

<sup>33</sup> I think so, because the natures in Christ are more or less considered as independent principles of action. See T.J. VAN BAVEL, *Recherches sur la christologie de saint Augustin. L'humain et le divin dans le Christ d'après saint Augustin*. Fribourg 1954, p. 6-7.



related to one another under one God and Father. They are all fathers to one another when they take care for one another, they are sons to one another when they obey one another, and above all they are brothers because one Father by his testament calls them to one inheritance".<sup>34</sup>

Although the text "Bodies are not what we are" can be explained in a benevolent way — for it is evident that we are more than bodies alone — such a statement remains very ambiguous, as appears from the following affirmation: "The human being cannot lose his neighbour whom he loves as himself, for he does not love even in himself the things that appear to the eyes or to any bodily sense. So he has present to himself the one he loves as himself".<sup>35</sup> R.J. Teske comments on this text: "As we shall see, Augustine interprets loving one's neighbor as oneself, not as meaning that one loves one's neighbor as much as oneself, but as meaning that one loves his neighbor as the sort of reality that one is, namely, a soul".<sup>36</sup> However, one can ask the question: what is here the meaning of the word "soul"? It seems neither to mean simply the natural principle of life nor its rational nature as such. It connotes rather the soul as related to the transcendent divine order. It is the soul that loves God, the unconquerable nature of our mind subject to God in whose image we are made, the soul that worships the most high God, and not itself.<sup>37</sup> Is this not the sense of Augustine's specification of the text "There could have been no error in religion, had not the soul worshipped in place of God either soul or body or its own phantasms" in his *Retractationes*? Augustine says that he meant by "soul" the whole incorporeal creation, and that this is expressed better a bit later "Let us not serve the creature rather than the

<sup>34</sup> *De vera religione* 46,89. CCL 32,245: "Qui ergo diligit aliquem tamquam se ipsum, hoc in eo debet diligere, quod sibi ipse est. Corpora vero non sunt, quod nos sumus. Non ergo in homine corpus est expetendum aut desiderandum ... Ipsa igitur natura humana sine carnali condicione diligenda est ... Omnes sub uno deo patre cognati sunt, qui eum diligunt et faciunt voluntatem ipsius, et invicem sibi sunt et patres, cum sibi consulunt, et filii, cum sibi obtemperant, et fratres maxime, quia eos unus pater testamento suo ad unam hereditatem vocat".

<sup>35</sup> *Ib.* 46,86. CCL 32,244: "Nec potest amittere proximum, quem diligit tamquam seipsum, quia neque in se ipso ea diligit, quae oculis subiacent aut ullis aliis corporis sensibus. Ergo apud se ipsum habet, quem diligit tamquam se ipsum".

<sup>36</sup> R.J. TESKE, *Love of Neighbor in St. Augustine*, in: *Atti III dello Congresso Internazionale su S. Agostino nel XVI centenario della conversione*, Roma 1987, p. 85.

<sup>37</sup> *De vera religione* 20,40. 45,85. 47,90. CCL 32,211. 243. 246: "corporea creatura, si tantummodo possideatur ab anima, quae diligit deum"; "habet enim hoc animi nostri natura post deum, a quo ad eius imaginem factus est, sed eius erant praecepta servanda"; "in eo nihil praeter hominem diligit, id est creaturam dei ad eius imaginem factam". One should not consider the intellectual soul as divine neither adore the soul as the highest good: *ib.* 37,86. *ib.* 231.



creator ... By 'creature' I indicated by one word both spiritual and corporeal creation".<sup>38</sup> The true being of the human person consists in clinging to God.

The question is whether this would prevent us from loving our neighbour as he should be loved. According to G. Hultgren, in such a view love of neighbour not only completely loses its sensual, but also its individual and personal character.<sup>39</sup> It is true that Augustine employs in *De vera religione* a very spiritualized concept of love: "We should love a wise and perfect soul because it is wise and perfect, and a foolish soul not like it is, but because it has the possibility to become wise and perfect".<sup>40</sup> There is no stress on corporeal works of mercy. Some texts, however, point in that direction. Are such works implicitly presupposed? Augustine clearly rejects any merely utilitarian concept of love of neighbour: he who loves another as a beast of burden, or as the baths, or as a colourful or garrulous bird, does not love the other as a human being ought to be loved. He refers to the rule of love that one should wish that the other has the good things one wants to have oneself, and that the evils one wants to avoid oneself do not befall the other. This attitude must be observed towards all people, for no evil should be done to any and "love of neighbour cannot do any harm" (Rm 13:10).<sup>41</sup> The most concrete text is the following one: "This person ... uses those whom he can for exercising beneficence to them, and uses all for exercising benevolence. Though he does not love temporal things, he himself uses rightly temporal things, and helps human beings according to

<sup>38</sup> *Retractationes* I,13,2. CCL 57,36-37: "Hic animam pro universa creatura incorporali posui non loquens more scripturarum ... Creaturam quippe uno nomine utramque, id est spiritalem corporalemque, significavi".

<sup>39</sup> G. HULTGREN, o.c., p. 175: "La notion d'amour devient ici extrêmement atténuée. La négation de la valeur éternelle des liens naturels a pour effet non seulement d'ôter à l'amour du prochain tout élément sensuel mais de lui enlever encore tout caractère individuel. Il y a lieu de se demander si l'on peut encore parler dans ce cas d'un amour personnel avec une personne comme sujet et une autre comme objet et s'il reste encore en lui quelque chose de la communauté naturelle. La communauté naturelle ... devient une forme vide de substance".

<sup>40</sup> *De vera religione* 48,93. CCL 32,248: "Sapientem animam atque perfectam talem diligit, qualem illam videt, stultam non talem, sed quia esse perfecta et sapiens potest, quia nec se ipsum debet stultum diligere".

<sup>41</sup> Ib. 46,87. ib. 244: "Nam si vel ipsum hominem homo dilexerit non tamquam se ipsum, sed tamquam iumentum aut balneas aut aviculam pictam vel garrulam, id est ut ex eo aliquid temporalis voluptatis aut commodi capiat, serviat necesse est non homini, sed, quod est turpius, tam foedo et detestabili vitio, quo non amat hominem sicut homo amandus est".



the lot of each person, if he cannot treat them all alike".<sup>42</sup> The reason why we cannot treat all our neighbours alike, is that in Augustine's thought material goods as well as the world of the senses are by nature limited. Therefore, they are intimately connected with the idea of *proprius* and *privatus*.

Although Augustine says that we should hate temporal relationships, he considers it as an injustice not to benefit those who are more closely related to us. Although we might more readily speak to an intimate (*familiarem*), it is because there is more trust and more time in such relationships (*apertiore temporis ianuam*), but not necessarily more love. If we understand "love" here in the strict sense Augustine attaches to this word, namely wishing and working for the total well-being of the other, I would not disagree with him.<sup>43</sup> The foregoing considerations, however, cannot prevent the impression of a serious underestimation of corporeal relationships. One aspect of this underestimation is corrected by Augustine himself in the *Retractationes* where he strongly disapproves that kinships and relationships between brothers, sons, spouses, relatives, and citizens would not have existed, if humankind had not sinned and had not be punished with death.<sup>44</sup>

In *De musica* VI (dating in all probability from 391), Augustine writes that divine law forbids to lord it over other rational souls, which are nearest to us, and are associated to us and sharing the same condition with us under the same divine law.<sup>45</sup> There is an order of being imposed on us by God, and we have to keep that order. Consequently, there is a difference between kept by order and keep order. In other words: there is an objective and a subjective aspect in the realization of our love of God and

<sup>42</sup> Ib. 47,91. ib. 246-247: "Hic vir ... utitur quibus potest ad beneficentiam, utitur omnibus ad benevolentiam. Et quamquam temporalia non diligit, ipse recte utitur temporalibus et pro eorum sorte hominibus consulit, si aequaliter non potest omnibus". *Consulo* has the meaning of performing actions for the good of another person.

<sup>43</sup> Ib. 47,91. ib. 247: "Quare si aliquem familiarium suorum promptius quam quemlibet alloquitur, non eum magis diligit, sed ad eum habet maiorem fiduciam et apertiore temporis ianuam ... Cum itaque omnibus, quos pariter diligit, prodesse non possit, nisi coniunctionibus prodesse malit, iniustus est". The same idea returns in later texts: *De doctrina christiana* I,28,29. CCL 32,22: "Omnes autem aequae diligendi sunt, sed cum omnibus prodesse non possis, his potissimum consulendum est, qui pro locorum et temporum vel quarumlibet rerum opportunitatibus constrictius tibi quasi quadam sorte iunguntur". *Epist.* 243,4 (see note 62) and *De civitate dei* XIX,14 (see note 110).

<sup>44</sup> *Retractationes* I,13,8. See text note 28.

<sup>45</sup> *De musica* VI,13,41. PL 32,1185: "Iste autem animae (sc. superbae) appetitus est sub se habere alias animas ... rationales, id est proximas suas, et sub eadem lege socias atque consortes".



of neighbour. In this way, a person can choose his or her body's health in order not to be hindered, and refer his or her actions to the benefit of the neighbour he or she has been invited to love as him or herself by virtue of the natural tie of equal right (*communis iuris*).<sup>46</sup> That soul keeps order that, with its whole self, loves God above itself, that is God and fellow souls (*socias animas*) as itself. But from the love of our neighbour, to so great extent as is commanded, arises a most certain degree to inhere in God, and not only to be kept by God's ordering, but also to keep our own order firm and sure.<sup>47</sup>

## II. THE TEXTS BETWEEN 391 AND 396

In *De libero arbitrio* (d. 388, but only completed about 395), Augustine deals with the tension between the eternal and the temporal law. The eternal law orders us to turn our love away from temporal things and to turn it to the eternal. The temporal law commands to possess these things in such a way that the peace and human society (*societas*) can be preserved. The body and its goods, such as good health, keen senses, strength, beauty and the like, occupy the first place among the temporal goods. Next there is freedom. And then there are parents, brothers, husband or wife, children, kindred (*propinqui*), relatives, friends (*familiares*), and those who are bound to us by a close connection (*necessitudo*). The person who uses these temporal goods rightly, proves that they are indeed goods; nevertheless, he or she should not be attached to them, and must be ready to possess and control them, and even more ready to lose and to do

<sup>46</sup> Ib. 14,45. ib. 1187: "Quandoquidem et salutem corporis ut non impediatur eligit, et omnes eas actiones ad utilitatem proximi revocat, quem propter communis juris naturale vinculum tanquam seipsum diligere iussus est". G. HULTGREN, o.c., p. 41 comments: "Cet amour des prochains n'est nullement motivé, comme pourraient le faire croire les termes de cette déclaration, par la parenté qui unit la race humaine ou par un lien analogue, mais il s'agit du droit à l'amour qui leur est dû à un degré égal en leur qualité d'âmes douées de raison". However, I think that we may not forget that this right comes from God as Augustine stresses in the context. Moreover, in *De moribus ecclesiae catholicae* 30,63 (see text note 21), we find expressions such as: "preserving the ties of nature" and "in recollection of their first parents".

<sup>47</sup> Ib. VI,14,46. ib. 1187: "Tenet ordinem, seipsa tota diligens quod supra se est, id est Deum, socias autem animas tanquam seipsam ... A dilectione autem proximi tanta quanta praecipitur, certissimus gradus fit nobis, ut inhaereamus Deo, et non teneamur tantum ordinatione illius, sed nostrum etiam ordinem inconcussum certumque teneamus".



without them. Neglecting eternal goods means behaving badly.<sup>48</sup> In the same work, Augustine repeatedly makes a distinction between private and common goods, an idea that plays an important role in his thought till the end of his life. Private is that which belongs to each of us alone, and which each of us perceives in himself, because it properly belongs to his nature. Common is that what is perceived by all perceivers with no corruption or change of the common good itself. When the will turns from an immutable, common good (in the strict sense of the word: God) to a changeable, private one, it is a sin.<sup>49</sup> Besides this theological interpretation of private and common good, we find a social interpretation that refers to the building up of human community. In order to exist a nation or a people needs that an individual prefers the public good to the private good.<sup>50</sup>

In this period, the most extensive text is found in *De sermone domini in monte* (d. between 392-396). Augustine is at odds with the question how to reconcile Lk 14:26 "Whoever comes to me and does not hate his father and mother and wife and children, and brothers and sisters, and

<sup>48</sup> *De libero arbitrio* I,15,32-16,34. CCL 29,233-234: "Quid deinde censes temporalem iubere, nisi ut haec, quae ad tempus nostra dici possunt, quando eis homines cupiditate inherant, eo iure possideant quo pax et societas humana servetur, quanta in his rebus servari potest? Ea sunt autem primo hoc corpus et eius quae vocantur bona, ut integra valetudo, acumen sensuum, vires, pulchritudo et si qua sunt cetera ... deinde parentes, fratres, coniunx, liberi, propinqui, adfines, familiares et quicumque nobis aliqua necessitudine adiuncti sunt ... eis totus superferatur, et habere illa atque regere, cum opus est, paratus et amittere ac non habere paratior ... Quocirca licet nunc animadvertere et considerare utrum sit aliud male facere quam neglectis rebus aeternis ...".

<sup>49</sup> *Ib.* II,7,19-8,20. CCL 29,250: "Proprium ergo et quasi privatum intellegendum est quod unusquisque nostrum sibi est et quod in se solus sentit quod ad suam naturam proprie pertinet; commune autem et quasi publicum, quod ab omnibus sentientibus nulla sui corruptione atque commutatione sentitur ... Age, nunc attende, et dic mihi utrum inveniat aliquid quod omnes ratiocinantes sua quisque ratione atque mente communiter videant, cum illud quod videtur praesto sit omnibus nec in usum eorum quibus praesto est commutetur quasi cibus aut potio ...". See the whole passage till 15,39, *ib.* 263.

<sup>50</sup> *Ib.* I,6,14. CCL 29,219: "Ergo, si populus sit bene moderatus et gravis communisque utilitatis diligentissimus custos, in quo unusquisque minoris rem privatam quam publicam pendat ...". Cf. *De opere monachorum* 25,32. CSEL 41,579 (d. about 401): "Si enim huius terrenae rei publicae antiqui principes praeclarissimo litteratorum suorum eloquio praedicari solent, quod rem communem universi populi suae civitatis privatis suis rebus sic anteponebant, ut quidam eorum (sc. Scipio) Africa edomita triumphator quid nubenti filiae daret non habuerit, nisi ex senatu consulto de publico dotaretur: quo animo esse debet in republica sua civis aeternae illius civitatis Hierusalem caelestis ...". See CICERO, *De officiis* I,7,20: "Sed iustitiae primum munus est ut ne cui quis noceat ..., deinde ut communibus pro communibus utatur, privatis ut suis. Sunt autem privata nulla natura ...".



moreover his own life (*animam*), cannot be my disciple" with the prohibition of divorcing (Mt 5:32) and the commandment to love even one's enemies. The answer is: because the eternal kingdom does not have temporal relationships (*necessitudines temporales*) as appears from texts such as "There is male nor female" (Gal 3:28), "There Christ is all things and in all" (Col 3:11), "In the resurrection they will neither marry nor be given in marriage" (Mt 22:30). Therefore, it is necessary that anyone who wishes to exercise oneself in the life of the kingdom here on earth, should hate not the persons themselves but those temporal relationships (*necessitudines*) by which this transitory life, that is traversed by being born and dying, is sustained. Whoever does not hate this life, does not yet love that life where there will be no situation of being born and of dying, that joins together earthly marriages. If I ask, Augustine says, a true Christian whether he wishes to have a spouse in the eternal kingdom, he will answer with some hesitation out of love, that he does not wish this. If I ask, on the contrary, whether he wishes to be there together with his wife, he will reply that he wishes this ardently. A good Christian loves in one and the same woman the creature of God, and hates in her the corruptible and mortal intercourse, that is, he loves in her that she is a human being, and hates that she is a spouse. This applies also to father and mother, and all the other ties of blood. "Therefore, let us love ... what can be taken with us to that kingdom where nobody says 'my father' but where all say 'our Father' to the one God, and nobody says 'my mother' but where all say 'our mother' to that Jerusalem, where nobody says 'my brother' but all say 'our brother' with regard to all people ... It is necessary that the disciple of Christ hate the transient things in those whom he desires to come with him to the things that will always remain". In his commentary, Augustine now includes also the last part of Lk 14:26 *non oderit insuper et animam suam*, and he interprets *anima* as referring to this life, because it is for this life that food is needed, and the Lord says: "Is not the soul more than food?" (Mt 6:25). In his *Retractationes*, Augustine corrects, as he did for *De vera religione*, his opinion that relations of kinship are due to original sin. Moreover, he specifies there the term *oderit* as meaning "in the case that such relationships become an obstacle to reach the kingdom of God".<sup>51</sup> In

<sup>51</sup> *De sermone domini in monte* I,15,40-42. CCL 35,45-47: "Sic invenitur bonus christianus diligere in una femina creaturam dei, quam reformari et renovari desiderat, odisse autem coniunctionem copulationemque corruptibilem atque mortalem, hoc est diligere in ea quod homo est, odisse quod uxor est ... Hoc et de patre et de matre et de ceteris vinculis sanguinis intellegendum est, ut in eis oderimus quod genus humanum nascendo et moriendo sortitum est, diligamus autem quod nobiscum potest ad illa regna perducere, ubi nemo dicit pater meus, sed omnes uni deo pater noster; nec mater mea, sed



Augustine's commentary on the Sermon on the mount, the role of the Holy Spirit and the unity between love of God and love of neighbour are stressed in a special way.<sup>52</sup>

In *De fide et symbolo* (d. 393), the manichaeian interpretation that Jesus had not an earthly mother, a conclusion they drew from Jn 2:4 "Woman, what have I to do with you? My hour has not yet come" is rejected. Jesus said this to let us know that he had no mother so far as his divinity is concerned (*secundum deum*). But when he was crucified *secundum hominem*, he recognized his earthly mother by commending her most considerately to his beloved disciple (Jn 19:26-27). Otherwise, the manichaeians must admit also that the apostles had no fathers, because Jesus said "Call no one father upon earth, since you have only one Father, and He is in heaven" (Mt 23:9). The text continues with a reference to Mt 12:48 "Who is my mother? and who are my brothers?". This passage is explained in the sense that Jesus taught us that we ought not to recognize our parents if they hinder our ministry of the word of God.<sup>53</sup> The same

omnes illi Hierusalem mater nostra; nec frater meus, sed omnes de omnibus frater noster ... Pro hac enim vita posita est anima, de qua ibi dictum est: *Qui non oderit insuper et animam suam, non potest meus esse discipulus*". See *Retractationes* I,19,5. CCL 57,57-58: "Ita sonat, quasi non essent futurae istae necessitudines, si nullo naturae humanae praecedente peccato nemo moreretur, quem sensum iam superius improbavi ... Ac per hoc aliter solvenda quaestio est ... sicut eam posterius saepe solvimus ... et oderimus in propinquis si impediunt a regno dei". The date of the text of *De serm. dom. in monte* I must be nearer to the year 392 than to 396 because of what is said in *Retract.* Indeed, Augustine's 'new' interpretation is found from 393 or 394 on.

<sup>52</sup> Ib. I,20,64. ib. 74: "Itaque posteaquam eos docuit, quid esset diligere proximum tamquam se ipsum, infuso etiam spiritu sancto ...". Ib. II,22,75. ib. 173: "Videtur autem hoc praeceptum ad dilectionem proximi pertinere, non etiam ad dei, cum alio loco duo praecepta esse dicat in quibus tota lex pendet et omnes prophetae. Nam si dixisset: Omnia quaecumque vultis fieri vobis, haec et vos facite, hac una sententia utrumque illud praeceptum complexus esset; cito enim diceretur diligere se velle unumquemque et a deo et ab hominibus".

<sup>53</sup> *De fide et symbolo* 4,9. CSEL 41,12-13: "Detestandi autem etiam illi sunt, qui dominum nostrum Iesum Christum matrem Mariam in terris negant habuisse, cum illa dispensatio utrumque sexum, et masculinum et femininum honoraverit ... Nec nos ad negandam Christi matrem cogit, quod ab eo dictum est: *Quid mihi et tibi est, mulier? nondum venit hora mea*, sed admonet potius, ut intellegamus secundum deum non eum habuisse matrem, cuius maiestatis personam parabat ostendere aquam in vinum vertendo ... Tunc enim ut homo crucifixus cognovit hominem matrem et dilectissimo discipulo humanissime commendavit. Nec illud nos moveat, quod, cum ei nuntiaretur mater eius et fratres, respondit: *Quae mihi mater aut qui fratres* et cetera? Sed potius doceat ministerium nostrum, quo verbum dei fratribus ministramus, parentes cum impediunt, non eos debere cognosci. Si propterea quisque putaverit non eum habuisse matrem in terris, quia dixit: *quae mihi mater?* cogatur necesse est et apostolos negare habuisse patres in terris, quoniam praecepit eis dicens: *nolite vobis patrem dicere in terris; unus est enim pater*



combination of both scriptural texts within an anti-manichaean context occurs in Sermon on ps. 9,31 (d. about 394). Explaining that God becomes the Father of the little ones, Augustine refers to the example Jesus has given by saying "Who is my mother? and who are my brothers?" (Mt 12:48).<sup>54</sup>

About 394 (because of the use of the term *gradus* applied to love of neighbour I think this work must be dated a bit earlier than 394), Augustine refutes the manichaean thesis that there is a contrast between the commandment "Honour your father and your mother" (Ex 20:12) and the New Testament text "I will go and bury my father first. But He answered: Leave the dead to bury their dead; you must come and proclaim the kingdom of God" (Lk 9:59-60). Augustine shows that we find in both Testaments a recommendation of loving our parents as well as despising them. Regarding the latter idea, he refers to Dt 32:9: "He who says to his father or mother: I do not know you, and does not recognize his children, he acknowledges your covenant". In spite of the fact that love of neighbour is a sure step (*gradus*) towards love of God, it is not loveless to consider parents less important than the proclamation of the kingdom of God, especially when the parents constitute a hindrance to it. We find a similar reasoning with regard to love of one's spouse. There are many texts in the New Testament which command this love. Nevertheless, it is said: "Everyone who has left his house, spouse, parents, brothers or children for the sake of the heavenly kingdom will be repaid seven times as much in this world, and also inherit eternal life in the coming world" (cf. Mt 19:29 and parallels). Here, too, there is no contradiction between the fact that the union of husband and wife comes from God, and that one leaves his wife for the sake of the kingdom of heaven.<sup>55</sup>

*vester, qui in caelis est*".

<sup>54</sup> *En. in ps. 9,31*. CCL 38,72: "Docet quippe Dominus pupillos fieri discipulos suos, quibus dicit: *Ne vobis dicatis patrem in terris*. Cuius rei exemplum prae-buit prior ipse dicendo: *Quae mihi mater, aut qui fratres?* Unde volunt quidam perniciosissimi haeretici asserere, non eum habuisse matrem; nec vident esse consequens si haec verba attendant, ut nec discipuli eius patrem habuerint". See also *Sermo 14,10*. CCL 41,191. (d. 418).

<sup>55</sup> *Contra Adimantum 6*. CSEL 25/1,126-127: "*Si vis venire ad vitam, serva mandata: in quibus etiam illud commemorat Honora patrem et matrem*. Quibus mandatis perfectis etiam ad dilectionem dei crescitur, in qua est tota perfectio. Nam dilectio proximi certus gradus est ad dilectionem dei ... De eo quod scriptum est in exodo: *honora patrem tuum et matrem tuam*. Huic etiam loco, ubi de honorandis parentibus deus praecepit, illum evangelii locum Manichaei dicunt esse contrarium. Ubi dominus cuidam dicenti: *ibo primum, ut sepeliam patrem meum* respondit: *sine mortuos, mortuos suos sepeliant; tu autem veni et adnuntia regnum dei* ... quia et parentes honorare debemus et eos tamen propter adnuntiationem regni dei nulla impietate contemnimus ... Ex quo manifestum est et



Augustine's commentaries on the letter to the Romans and that to the Galatians (d. 394) form a crucial moment in the evolution of his thought. The relationship between love of God and love of neighbour reaches its definitive formulation remaining consistent till the end of his writings. Love of neighbour is quite plainly described as a gift of God so that we can love others with the love of the Holy Spirit. All our good works are performed by love, and that love is poured into our hearts by the Holy Spirit (Rm 5:5).<sup>56</sup> We find no trace any more of the ideal that *misericordia* should be free from emotions, as was the case in *De moribus ecclesiae catholicae*, but he writes that no one can be merciful (*misericorditer operatur*) without the love given to us by the Holy Spirit.<sup>57</sup> And in the commentary on the letter to the Galatians Rm 5:5 is explained in the sense that the Holy Spirit is the source not only of justice and good works, but also of the love of neighbour. Augustine asks the question why Paul mentions sometimes only the precept of love of neighbour. The reason is that people can deceive themselves about the love of God, for this love is not so frequently put to the test. Self-deception is much more difficult in love of neighbour, since there we can be easily convinced that we fail in loving God, every time that we behave wrongly towards other people. Therefore, since both precepts are such that neither can be kept without the other, it is normally sufficient to mention just one of them when it is a matter of the works of justice.<sup>58</sup>

honorem parentum in gradu suo esse servandum et eos tamen in divini amoris comparatione, praesertim si impedimento sunt, nulla dubitatione oportere contemni. Nam et in scripturis veteribus habes positum: *qui dicit patri aut matri: non novi vos, et filios suos non agnoscit, ipse cognovit testamentum tuum*. Ergo si in novo testamento commendatur parentum dilectio et in vetere commendatur parentum contemptus, ex utroque capite duo sibi testamenta consentiunt". Ib. 3. ib. 120: "Fides autem vera et ecclesiae catholicae disciplina utrumque verum et a domino dictum esse confirmat et nullo modo esse contrarium, quia et coniunctio mariti et uxoris a domino est et relictio uxoris propter regnum caelorum a domino est".

<sup>56</sup> *Expositio quarundam propositionum ex epistola ad Romanos* 52,60. CSEL 84,34: "Propterea ergo intelligendum est opera bona per dilectionem fieri, dilectionem autem esse in nobis per donum spiritus sancti". Ib. 2,2. ib. 3. Ib. 53,61. ib. 36. Cf. ib. 67,72. ib. 47: "Qui ergo diligit alterum, legem implevit (Rm 13:8)".

<sup>57</sup> Ib. 53,61. ib. 36: "Nemo ergo sibi audeat tribuere, quod misericorditer operatur, quia deus illi per spiritum sanctum dedit dilectionem, sine qua nemo potest esse misericors".

<sup>58</sup> *Expositio epist. ad Galatas* 44-45. CSEL 84,118-120: "Plenitudo enim legis caritas, et, quoniam fides impetrat spiritum sanctum, per quem caritas dei diffusa est in cordibus operantium iustitiam, nullo modo quisquam ante gratiam fidei de bonis operibus gloriatur ... Quaeri autem potest, cur apostolus et hic solam commemoravit proximi dilectionem, qua legem dixit impleri, et ad Romanos ... Cum ergo nonnisi in duobus praeceptis dilectionis dei et proximi perfecta sit caritas, cur apostolus et in hac et in illa epistola solam



## III. THE TEXTS FROM 396 TILL 400

In his work *Contra Faustum* (d. 397-398), Augustine refutes again the contention that Jesus had no earthly mother, a conclusion drawn by the manichaeans from the text "Who is my mother? and who are my brothers?" (Mt 12:48). If they deny that Jesus had an earthly mother, they must also deny that Jesus' disciples had earthly fathers, for the Lord has also said: "Call no one father upon earth, since God is your only Father" (Mt 23:9). Jesus said these words in order to give us an example of despising the relationship based upon earthly family ties (*terreni generis necessitudinem*) for the sake of the kingdom of heaven. Further in this work, Augustine emphasizes again the excellence of the relation, which is not of the temporary nature of earthly descent, but of divine grace that is everlasting. When Christ calls us into another life in which there is no death, he teaches us, instead of acknowledging, to deny the earthly relationship (*cognitionem terrenam*). He refers to God as our only Father (Mt 23:9) and to the spiritual relationship based on the words "Whoever does the will of my Father, is my brother, and sister, and mother" (Mt 12:48-50). This is as much as to say, I derive this relationship from God my Father, not from the Synagogue my mother. I call you away from this mortal life to eternal life.<sup>59</sup>

proximi dilectionem commemorat, nisi quia de dilectione dei possunt mentiri homines, quia rariores temptationes eam probant, in dilectione autem proximi facilius convincuntur eam non habere, dum inique cum hominibus agunt? ... Cum ergo utrumque praeceptum ita sit, ut neutrum sine altero possit teneri, etiam unum horum commemorare plerumque sufficit, cum agitur de operibus iustitiae, sed opportunius illud, de quo quisque facilius convincitur ... Quomodo autem ista (sc. vitia) vitare possunt, nisi spiritu ambulent et concupiscentias carnis non perficiant? Primum enim et magnum munus est spiritus humilitas et mansuetudo". Cf. ib. 20. ib. 78-79. ib. 49. ib. 125-126. ib. 61. ib. 137. Later texts emphasizing that to mention only the commandment of love of neighbour is sufficient: *Sermo de dilectione dei et proximi* 13, ed. F. DOLBEAU, *Revue Bénédictine* 102(1992), p. 73. *De disciplina christiana* 5,5. CCL 46,212. In *Johannis epist. tr.* 8,4. PL 35,2037. *De Trinitate* VIII,8,12. CCL 50,287-288.

<sup>59</sup> *Contra Faustum* VII,2. CSEL 25/1,303-304: "Quodsi propterea putant eum non habuisse in terra matrem vel genus, quia dixit: *Quae mihi mater vel qui fratres?* superest ut etiam discipulos eius, quibus hoc exemplum in se ipso praeбuit, ut terreni generis necessitudinem propter regnum caelorum contemnerent, adfirmant non habuisse patres, quia dixit eis: *Ne vobis dicatis patrem in terra; unus enim est pater vester deus.* Quod ergo istos de patribus docuit, hoc ipse de matre et fratribus prior fecit". Ib. XXII,39. ib. 632-633: "Neque enim hanc gratiam de synagoga matre Christi secundum carnem, sed de deo patre percepimus. Hanc vero cognitionem terrenam, quae ad mortem temporaliter generat vocans in aliam vitam, ubi nullus moritur, negare nos Christus docuit, non fateri



Letter 243 (d. 397<sup>60</sup>) is written to Laetus who claimed to be a recruit of Christ, but was on the verge of leaving the camp because of his mother. Augustine starts with the warning: "If anyone comes to me without hating his father, mother, wife, children, brethren, sisters, and even his own life, he cannot be my disciple" (Lk 14:26-27), followed by the story of the man intending to build a tower, but seeing if he had enough to complete it, and the king marching to war and considering whether with ten thousand men he could stand up to another king (Lk 14:28-33).<sup>61</sup> All these relationships are private possessions which can prevent from attaining the universal goods which remain forever. Your mother is not my mother, but as a sister in Christ she belongs to you and to me and to all the brethren. The opposition between the transitory private and the everlasting common good plays an important part in the argument. The private love of your mother is limited to your house; it must have the strength for creating the condition of speaking with her in a more intimate way and a greater openness for counsel, so that she gives up her private love in favour of the general love in the house of God. We have to become one soul toward God (cf. Acts 4:32), the single soul of Christ. Let parents not be angry because the Lord says to hate them, since He commands the same about our own life (*adhuc et animam suam*). Indeed, elsewhere we read: "Anyone who loves his life loses it" (Jn 12:25). This does not mean that we should kill ourselves, but that we ought to kill our worldly love for this life (*carnalem animae affectum*) in as far as it is to the detriment of the life to come. In like manner, we have to kill, with the spiritual sword of the word of God, our carnal affection for those who try to bind both themselves and their offspring with the fetters of this world. We should bring to life what makes us brothers in God and the Church as our eternal parents.<sup>62</sup> Augustine refers to the heroic example of the mother of the

... Cuius rei prae-buit exemplum, quando et ipse dixit: *Quae mihi mater aut qui fratres?* ... Et ne quisquam in hoc vocabulo terrenam cognationem cogitaret, adiunxit: *Et quicumque fecerit voluntatem patris mei, ipse mihi frater, et mater, et soror est*, tamquam diceret: de deo patre hanc cognationem appello".

<sup>60</sup> See A. GABILLON, *Pour une datation de la lettre 243 d'Augustin à Laetus*, in: *Revue des Etudes Augustiniennes* 40(1994) 127-142.

<sup>61</sup> This story is recurring in *Epist.* 157,4,33-34. See text, note 95.

<sup>62</sup> *Epist.* 243,3-5. CSEL 57,570-573: "Omnia enim haec propria eius sunt, quae plerumque implicant et impediunt ad obtinenda non ista propria temporaliter transitura sed in aeternum mansura communia... Nam ex quo soror est omnibus, quibus est pater deus et mater ecclesia, tam te non impedit quam neque me neque omnes fratres nostros, qui eam non privata sicut tu in domo vestra sed publica in domo dei caritate diligimus. Quod ergo tu illi etiam carnali necessitudine adnecteris, ad sortem valere debet familiarius conloquendi et apertiora ianua consulendi, ut hoc ipsum, quo te privatim diligit, interficiatur in ea ...



Maccabean martyrs. To be sure, we should pay our filial duty, we should be grateful to our parents and repay earthly favors by spiritual ones, but let these things keep their position in that place where higher duties do not call. At the same time, Augustine implores Laetus not to let him be perverted by his possessive mother, for a man has to guard against Eve in every woman. Augustine illustrates his view by referring to Mt 12:47-50 "Who is my mother? and who are my brothers?". This does not mean that He had no earthly mother, as some think. But Jesus gave priority to the spiritual relationship with those who do the will of his Father. He included graciously his mother Mary in this number, but rejected the name of mother which they had announced to Him as his private and own possession, because it was an earthly name in comparison to heavenly kinship. Thus Jesus gave his disciples an example of despising such relationships (*necessitudines*).<sup>63</sup>

From the same year dates Augustine's sermon *De honorandis vel contemnendis parentibus*, preached on the feast of a martyr. It is an explanation of the text "Who will separate us from the love of Christ?" (Rm 8:35). If the sword of the executioner cannot separate us from that love, perhaps the *carnalis adfectus* can do so. Therefore, we should take to heart the words of the Lord: "If anyone comes to me without hating his father, mother, spouse, children and brother, he cannot be my disciple" (Lk 14:26). A father, a mother, a spouse, children, and brothers are all alluring, agreeable and delightful. But are they more delightful than God or Christ? No. Nevertheless, we must ask the question how to reconcile Lk 14:26 with the command "Love your father and your mother, which is the first commandment with a promise attached in the words: that it may be well with you and that you may live long in the land" (Eph 6:2-3)". The same must be asked with regard to Mt 19:6 about the dismissal of a spouse:

Sicut ... hoc praeceptum quo perdere iubemur animam nostram, non ad id valet ut se quisque interimat ... et tamen valet ut interimat in se carnalem animae affectum ... ita de parentibus rectissime dicitur ut, qui eos amat, perdat eos non more parricidarum interficiens, sed spiritali gladio verbi dei carnalem affectum eorum, quo et seipsos et eos quos genuerunt implicamentis huius saeculi obligare conantur, pie fidenter percutiens et occidens, illud in eis vivere faciat, quo fratres sunt, quo cum filiis suis temporalibus, parentes aeternos deum ecclesiamque cognoscunt". Concerning the expression "apertiore ianua consulendi" see *De vera religione* 47,91, text note 43, and *De civitate dei* XIX,14 "oportuniorum facilioremque aditum", see text note 110.

<sup>63</sup> Ib. 9. 576: "Ita optimus magister atque divinus, et maternum nomen, quod ei quasi privatum propriumque nuntiaverant, quia terrenum erat, in comparatione caelestis propinquitatis abiecit; et eandem caelestem propinquitatem in discipulis commendans, quo sibi rursum consortio generis cum caeteris sanctis virgo illa cohaereret, ostendit". Regarding the mother of the Maccabean martyrs, see also *Sermo* 300,7,7. PL 38,1380. (d. ?).



"What God has united, human being must not divide". Wife and husband consider themselves rightly as members of one body, and the rights of the wife with respect to her husband surpass those of the parents. She has not the right, however, to separate him from Christ. In order to show against the manichaeans that the one God is the giver of both Testaments and of the two commandments (of loving and despising), Augustine refers again to Dt 33:9 saying that children must reject their parents, and parents their children for the sake of the covenant. At the end of this sermon, Augustine emphasizes the last part of Lk 14:26 *oderis insuper animam tuam*; if parents, spouse, children, or brothers may be filled with indignation, they should not forget that even the person has to despise his or her own life and soul (*anima*) in such cases.<sup>64</sup>

In another sermon of the same year, we read that we have to begin with love of neighbour in order to attain God. Human beings favour the presence of each other; they like mutual love. But this is also found among irrational animals such as birds, beasts of burden, or tigers. They care for their young. Only the human being, however, is made in the image of God. Therefore, Augustine declares: "I do not say just like that: Love your child, your spouse, your close friend, your acquaintance as yourself (cf. Mt 22:40). You answer perhaps: I love them. I ask first: Do you love yourself?", and by true self-love Augustine understands a love that includes love of God, our supreme good. It does not matter what kind of love we choose: if we choose love of neighbour, it will be only true love if we love God; if we choose love of God, it will be only true love of God if the neighbour is implied.<sup>65</sup>

<sup>64</sup> *Sermo de honorandis vel contemnendis parentibus*, ed. F. DOLBEAU, *Revue Bénédictine* 102(1992) 288-297. "Nam contra blandimenta deceptionis de affectu carnali ait: *Si quis venit ad me et non odit patrem et matrem, uxorem, filios et cetera ... Cupiditatis ianuam pulsant pater, mater, uxor, filii, fratres: omnia blanda sunt, suavia sunt, dulcia sunt. Sed numquid suaviora quam deus? numquid dulciora quam Christus?*" (ib. 2-3, p. 289). "Non te (sc. uxorem) separaverunt pater et mater viri tui a marito tuo: non separabis virum tuum a deo tuo ... Timet vir in articulo martyrii ne sit illi uxor Eva, timet et uxor in articulo martyrii ne sit illi maritus serpens" (ib. 9 and 13, p. 294 and 296).

<sup>65</sup> *Sermo de dilectione dei et proximi*, ed. F. DOLBEAU, *Revue Bénédictine* 102(1992) 66-74. Ib. 7, p. 69-70: "Haec est regula: *Diliges proximum tuum tamquam teipsum*. Iam non dico: *Filium, coniugem, vicinum amicum, vicinum notum diliges tamquam teipsum*. Forte respondes: 'Diligo'. Prius quaero an diligas teipsum ... Vis audire quid dicit qui te fecit? Vide tantum quomodo bene valde te diligis: utrum iniquitatem non diligas. *Qui enim diligit iniquitatem, odit animam suam* (Ps. 10:6)". The date of 397 given to this sermon by Dolbeau can perhaps be confirmed by what I have considered as a kind of turning point in Augustine's view on love of neighbour, namely his commentaries on the Pauline letters from 394. In these commentaries, we find some ideas which return in *Sermo Dolbeau: verbum consummans et brevians* (Rm 9:28) in *Exp. q. prop. ex ep. ad Rom.* 59,67



Emphasizing that love is "the fulfilling and summarizing word of God" (Is 10:23), Augustine states that we should not understand "neighbour" to refer in the first place to a brother or sister, to a blood relation, or relation by marriage, for each person is next of kin to every other person. Usually we call *proximi* father and son, fathers-in-law and sons-in-law. But not only children of the same parents are next of kin, for in Adam and Eve we are all brothers and sisters. By the very fact that we are human beings, we are one another's brothers and sisters. But this is still much more true by the fact that we are Christians, born from our one Father-God and one mother-church.<sup>66</sup>

Shortly before 399, the theme of the spiritual sword recurs in a sermon explicitly referring to the text: "I did not come to bring peace to the earth, but a sword" (Mt 10:34). Take a look at that sword which separates children from parents; perhaps you wish to serve God, but your father forbids it.<sup>67</sup> And about 400 Augustine repeats his interpretation of Jn 2:4 "Woman, what have I to do with you?". This text does not mean a rejection of Jesus' mother *de qua suscepit carnem*, but is a reference to his divinity.<sup>68</sup>

#### IV. TEXTS FROM 400 TILL 415

An important text, in which Augustine underlines the role of belief and trust in human relationships, belongs to this period, certainly after 399, though its exact date is unknown. If we do not believe in love, which is in itself invisible, mutual affection becomes impossible. The consequence will be a great disorder and fearful confusion within the state of human affairs. No friendship, no bonds of marriage, of kindreds or relations will be pre-

(CSEL 84,42); *non adulterabis* etc. (Rm 13:9) in *Exp. ep. ad Gal.* 45 (ib. 119); *etiam unum horum commemorare plerumque sufficit* (ib. 119); *qui enim non diligit fratrem suum quem videt* (1 Jn 4:20) (ib. 119-120).

<sup>66</sup> *De disciplina christiana* 3,3. CCL 46,210. (possibly dating from 398): "Non enim primo sic debes intellegere proximum, vel fratrem, vel cognatum, vel affinem. Proximus est omni homini omnis homo. Proximi sibi dicuntur pater et filius, socer et gener. Nihil tam proximum, quam homo et homo. Sed si putamus non esse proximos, nisi qui de eisdem parentibus nascuntur, Adam et Eva attendamus, et omnes fratres sumus. Et quidem fratres secundum quod homines sumus, quanto magis secundum quod christiani sumus? Ad id quod homo es, unus pater fuit Adam, una mater Eva; ad id quod christianus es, unus pater est deus, una mater ecclesia".

<sup>67</sup> *Sermo Denis* 18,4. MA I,94: "Audistis evangelium: Non veni pacem mittere in terram, sed gladium. Dixit se separaturum filios a parentibus. Ergo attende machaeram. Forte vis deo servire, et pater prohibet?".

<sup>68</sup> *De consensu evangelistarum* IV,10,11. CSEL 43,407.



served, for all are based on a friendly unanimity (*amica consensio*). If the love of parents for their children and of children for their parents becomes uncertain and the will suspected while due benevolence is not rendered, then this has also consequences for the relationships (*necessitudines*) between brothers, sisters, sons-in-law, fathers-in-law, and those who are joined together by any kindred or affinity.<sup>69</sup>

About 401, Augustine declares that the passage "Who is my mother? and who are my brothers?" (Mt 12:46) teaches us that we ought to prefer our spiritual descent to carnal relations. Human persons are not blessed because they are united with just and holy people by nearness of flesh, but by obeying and following their teaching and conduct. Therefore, Mary is more blessed in receiving the faith of Christ than in conceiving his flesh: "Happy the womb that bore you and the breasts you sucked. But he replied: Still happier those who hear the word of God and keep it" (Lk 11:27-28). What profit was there to his brothers after the flesh who did not believe in him? Christ has holy men and women as brothers and sisters because they are coheirs in the heavenly inheritance. Every pious soul doing the will of his Father is very fertile through love because of those it gives birth, until Christ himself is formed in them. All faithful dedicated to God are mothers of Christ in a spiritual sense.<sup>70</sup>

In two sermons on the psalms (d. 399? or 403), we find the first longer commentaries on Mt 10:34-35: "Do not suppose that I have come to bring peace to earth: it is not peace I have come to bring, but a sword. For

<sup>69</sup> *De fide rerum invisibilium* 2,4. CCL 46,4-5: "Si auferatur haec fides de rebus humanis, quis non attendat, quanta earum perturbatio et quam horrenda confusio subsequatur? ... Porro amicitia pereunte neque conubiorum neque cognationum et affinitatum vincula in animo servabuntur; quia et in his utique amica consensio est ... Quid iam de ceteris necessitudinibus dicam, fratrum, sororum, generorum atque socerorum et qualibet consanguinitate et affinitate iunctorum, si caritas incerta voluntasque suspecta est et filiis parentum et parentibus filiorum, dum benevolentia non redditur debita, quia nec deberi putatur, quando in alio quae non videtur esse non creditur?"

<sup>70</sup> *De sancta virginitate* 3,3. CSEL 41,237: "Quid aliud nos docens nisi carnali cognitioni genus nostrum spiritale praeponere nec inde beatos esse homines, si iustus et sanctis carnis propinquitatem iunguntur, sed si eorum doctrinae ac moribus oboediendo atque imitando cohaerescunt? Beatior ergo Maria percipiendo fidem Christi quam concipiendo carnem Christi ... Denique fratribus eius, id est secundum carnem cognatis, qui non in eum crediderunt, quid profuit illa cognatio?". Ib. 5,5. ib. 239: "Fratres et sorores habet sanctos viros et sanctas feminas, quoniam sunt illi in caelesti hereditate coheredes ... Item mater eius est omnis anima pia faciens voluntatem patris eius fecundissima caritate in his quos parurit, donec in eis ipse formetur". Concerning the virgins, cf. *Sermo* 92,2,2. PL 38,1012. (d. ?): "Verumtamen si verbi ejus memineritis sicut meminisse debetis, estis etiam vos matres ejus, quia voluntatem facitis Patris ejus. Ipse enim dixit: *Quicumque facit voluntatem Patris mei, ipse mihi frater et soror et mater est*".



I have come to set a man against his father, a daughter against her mother, a daughter-in-law against her mother-in-law (cf. Mt 7:6)". The sword is the word of God. It does not only separate us from bad habit, but also it separates a faithful from his father or mother who do not believe in Christ; or if someone is born from Christian parents, it separates him or her certainly from the ancestry. The same is true when a son or daughter want to serve God against the will of their parents. This is not an injury done to the parents; only God is preferred to them. The spiritual sword is stronger than the bond of the corporeal nature. Thus Jesus left his mother, the Synagogue, and a sign of this is the text "Who is my mother? or who are my brothers?" (Mt 12:48).<sup>71</sup> About the year 412, Augustine treats the same topic in three other places. In the first, he says about the apostle Paul that he was sent out of spiritual affection to carnal people. The sword separates from a carnal affection, whereas the fire takes it completely away. This sword is the word of God, and this fire is the Spirit of God.<sup>72</sup> He speaks further of a beneficent sword with a double acuteness, that of the Old Testament and that of the New Testament. It separates believers from unbelievers, and breaks off all other connections of this sort. This sword is for the members of Christ a healing sword. In the third text, it is called a double-edged sword (Hebr 4:12) for it refers to temporal as well as to eternal things, to the promises of this life and to those of the life to come, to temporal consolations and to enjoyment of eternal things. This sword separates the person, who is hit by it, from the world. It divides the saints and the wicked; it removes from you what hinders you. The word of God divides children from their parents; a son or daughter wants to serve God, but the parents disagree with them. Let yourself not be kept back from Him who wishes to keep you back. Let a father, mother, sister, spouse, or a friend not keep you back, and the two-edged sword will be

<sup>71</sup> *En. in ps.* 96,7. CCL 39,1359: "Gladium enim adtulit, et separavit unumquemque fidelium aut a patre suo qui in Christum non crediderat, aut a matre similiter infideli; aut certe, si de parentibus christianis natus est, saltem a progenie sua priore". *En. in ps.* 44,11-12. CCL 38,502: "Non sibi putet pater factam iniuriam; Deus solus illi praeferatur; et tamen litigat cum filio volente servire Deo. Sed fortior est ille gladius spiritualis separans, quam copulans natura carnalis. Fit hoc et de filia adversus matrem ... Quomodo dimisit et matrem? Gentem Iudaeorum synagogam illam haerentem veteribus sacramentis. Ad ipsam figuram pertinet quod ait *Quae est mihi mater, aut qui fratres?*".

<sup>72</sup> *Enarr. I in ps.* 103,16. CCL 40,1488-1489: "De spiritali quadam affectione missus est ad carnales ... Gladius dividit affectum carnalem, ignis absumit. Totum in verbo Dei intellege, totum in spiritu Dei cognosce".



useful.<sup>73</sup> In 412, another scriptural text is used to deepen the argument, namely, "If my father and mother deserted me, the Lord, however, has taken me up" (Ps 26/27:10). We must make ourselves like little children just as parents take up their babies. For children who are not accepted by their parents, are abandoned, but those who are accepted, are nourished. Nevertheless, there remains a difference between God and an earthly mother, for God accepts us to all eternity.<sup>74</sup> And a few years later, Augustine says that the children separated from their parents, or the wives separated from their husbands by the sword of God's word may not be considered desolated, for they find consolation in the words of Psalm 26/27:10.<sup>75</sup>

In the first sermons on the Gospel of John (d. 406-407), Augustine comments on the wedding at Cana. Jesus did not come to this wedding in order to condemn marriage, neither to despise mothers. Marriages are celebrated and women get married in order to have children who are ordered by God to honour their parents. Therefore, we have to ask in which sense Jesus said: "Woman, what have I to do with you? My hour has not come yet" (Jn 2:4). First, Augustine maintains against the manichaeans that Jesus had a real mother on earth. He continues by giving his explanation of these strange words. As if not recognizing the human womb, Jesus indicated that He had to perform divine works, which are not

<sup>73</sup> *En. in ps.* 143,17. CCL 40,2084-2085: "Procul dubio est gladius benignus. Quis est gladius benignus? De quo Dominus dicit: *Non veni pacem mittere in terram, sed gladium*. Separaturus enim erat fideles ab infidelibus, filios a parentibus, et ceteras necessitudines diremturus, gladio putredinem abscondente, membra autem Christi sanante". *En. in ps.* 149,12. CCL 40,2185-2186: "Sermo ergo Dei, gladius bis acutus. Unde bis acutus? Dicit de temporalibus, dicit de aeternis. In utroque probat quod dicit, et eum quem ferit, separat a mundo. Nonne ipse est gladius, de quo Dominus dicit: *Non veni pacem mittere in terram, sed gladium?* ... Disiungit sanctos, disiungit impios, separat a te quod te impedit ... Filius vult servire Deo, pater non vult; venit gladius, venit sermo Dei: dividit filium a patre. Filia vult, mater non vult: gladio dividuntur ab invicem ... Habes spem futurarum rerum, habes consolationem praesentium; noli retrahi ab eo qui vult retrahere: pater, mater, soror, uxor sit, amicus sit, non te retrahat; et utilis tibi erit gladius bis acutus".

<sup>74</sup> *En. in ps.* 45,11. CCL 38,525: "Fac te infantem parvulum omnino, quales a parentibus suscipiuntur. Qui enim non suscipiuntur, exponuntur; qui suscipiuntur, nutriuntur. Putasne sic te suscepit Deus, quomodo infantem te suscepit mater tua? Non sic, sed in aeternum". Cf. the same idea with the word *pupillus*: *Sermo* 14,10. CCL 41,191. (d. 418).

<sup>75</sup> *En. in ps.* 67,6. CCL 39,871: "Desolatos enim putant, a quibus plerumque gladio verbi Dei, et parentes a filiis, et mariti ab uxoribus separantur ... habent eius consolationem qui ei dicunt: *Quoniam pater meus et mater mea dereliquerunt me; Dominus autem assumpsit me*". See also the interpretation of Ps 26/27:10 in: *Sermo* 216,8,8. PL 38,1081. (d. 391 or later). *En. 2 in ps.* 26, 18. CCL 38,164-165. (d. 411-412). *S. Wilmart* 13,6. MA I,715. (d. about 410-412). *S. Mai* 130,3. MA I,379. (d. ?). *Sermo* 14,10. CCL 41,191 (d. 418) together with the text *Ne vobis dicatis patrem in terra* (Mt 23:9).



based on what Mary has brought forth, but on his divinity. He was at the same time the Lord of Mary and the son of Mary. The hour at which He recognizes her as his earthly mother, has still to come when He would hang on the cross.<sup>76</sup> The text "Who is my mother? and who are my brothers?" is interpreted in two phases. If we do not recognize Christ as our brother and teacher, it is meaningless to call other people our brothers. Moreover, the Lord praised in Mary that she did the will of the Father, not that her body brought forth the body of Christ, as we read in Lk 11:27-28 "Happier are those who hear the word of God and keep it".<sup>77</sup>

About 412, Augustine asks the question how the church formed by converted gentiles can be called the mother of Christ. He replies that this is only possible on account of Mt 12:46-50.<sup>78</sup> According to sermon on Ps. 127 (d. 412 or 407), the church is presented as spouse and sons, as brothers, sisters, and mother of Christ at the same time. His earthly mother and brothers standing outside are an image of the Synagogue. But by performing the will of the Father they are no longer outsiders, but they belong to Christ as appears from his answer to the question "Who is my mother? and who are my brothers?". It is a mistake to draw from this text the conclusion that Jesus had no mother, just as it is a mistake to say that the apostles had no father on account of the text "Call no one father upon earth". The Lord desired that we set God above blood relationships. Fathers should not be angry for that; on the contrary, they should be glad that they are honoured so greatly. We are Christ's brothers because of the male sex in the church; Christ's sisters because of the women among the members of Christ; Christ's mothers because of the presence of Christ in

<sup>76</sup> *In Joh. evangelium tr.* 8,5-9. CCL 36,84-88: "Quid est hoc? ideone venit ad nuptias, ut doceret matres contemni? ... Ille ergo venerat ad nuptias ut exhonoreret matrem, cum propter filios habendos, quibus reddere honorem parentibus imperat Deus, ipsae nuptiae celebrentur, et ducantur uxores? ... Miraculum ergo exigebat mater; at ille tamquam non agnoscit viscera humana, operaturus facta divina, tamquam dicens: Quod de me facit miraculum, non tu genuisti, divinitatem meam non tu genuisti; sed quia genuisti infirmitatem meam, tunc te cognoscam, cum ipsa infirmitas pendeat in cruce ... Commendat homo homini hominem". See T.J. VAN BAVEL, o.c., p. 60.

<sup>77</sup> *In Joh. evang. tr.* 10,3. CCL 36,101: "... quia et illi cognati fratres non essent, si discipuli non essent, et sine causa fratres, si magistrum non agnoscerent fratrem ... Hoc in ea magnificavit Dominus, quia fecit voluntatem Patris, non quia caro genuit carnem".

<sup>78</sup> *Sermo* 10,2. CCL 41,154: "Et de gentili quidem fornicatione veniens ecclesia manifestum est quod non occiderit Christum. Sed quomodo mater Christi etiam ipsa sit, cogitandum est. Attende evangelium, et audi dominum dicentem: *Qui fecerit voluntatem patris mei, hic mater mea et frater et soror est*".



the Christians, to whom the church gives birth every day.<sup>79</sup>

When the donatists asked the question: Whom do you call your father?, the catholics answered that there is no contradiction between the texts "Call no one father upon earth; only God is your Father" (Mt 23:9) and "You may have many tutors in Christ, but you have not many fathers. For it was I who begot you in Christ Jesus through the preaching of the gospel" (1 Cor 4:15). Augustine remarks that one must make a distinction between what is to be attributed to the grace of God, and what is said as a mark of honour.<sup>80</sup> Calling God our only Father does not mean that the name father given to human beings should be erased from our usual way of speaking, but Mt 23:9 is said lest the grace of God through which we are regenerated unto eternal life, should be ascribed to the nature, power, or even sanctity of a human being. With this restriction, we may call the patriarchs of the Old Testament fathers for the sake of human honour because of their age and their concern for piety towards God. In the same sense, Paul calls himself father.<sup>81</sup> Paul is at the same time father and mother, not by himself but because of the gospel he preached.<sup>82</sup>

We see in these years that Augustine highlights more and more the value of human relationships as such, albeit always with the same reservation. The human race is created from one single human being in view of

<sup>79</sup> *Enarr. in ps.* 127,12. CCL 40,1876-1877: "Ergo ipsa coniux, et ipsi filii. Mirum dico, fratres mei. In verbis Domini invenimus ecclesiam et fratres ipsius esse, et sorores ipsius esse, et matrem ipsius esse ... Quia foris stabant, typum gerebant. Quis typus matris? Synagoga. Quis typus fratrum carnalium? Iudaei foris stantes ... Hoc enim respondit Dominus et ait: *Quae mihi mater, aut qui fratres?* ... Vult enim Dominus ut consanguinitatibus terrenis praeponamus Deum. Defer patri, quia pater est; defer Deo, quia Deus est ... Puta *frater*, propter sexum virilem quem habet ecclesia, *soror*, propter feminas quas hic in membris habet Christus; *mater* quomodo, nisi quia ipse Christus est in christianis, quos christianos per baptismum quotidie parit ecclesia?"

<sup>80</sup> *Breviculus collationis cum Donatistis* III,7,8. CCL 149/A,277. (d. 411-412): "Neque enim posset contrarium Christo apostolus loqui ut, cum ille diceret: *Ne vobis dicatis patrem in terra; unus enim pater vester Deus*, contra apostolus tamquam resistens verbis Christi patrem se diceret eorum quibus annuntiaverat evangelium, nisi esset utique distinguendum quid divinae gratiae, quid humanae honorificentiae causa diceretur".

<sup>81</sup> *Enarr. in ps.* 77,11. CCL 39,1077. (d. 414-416): "*Ne vobis dicatis patrem in terra; unus est enim Pater vester Deus*. Quod non ideo dictum est, ut hoc vocabulum honoris humani de loquendi consuetudine tolleretur; sed ne gratia Dei qua in aeternam vitam regeneramur, naturae, vel potestati, vel etiam sanctitati cuiusquam hominis tribueretur".

<sup>82</sup> *Enarr. I in ps.* 101,8. CCL 40,1431. (d. 395): "Paulus et pater est et mater est; non per seipsum, sed per evangelium: pater ubi dicit: *Etsi habeatis multos paedagogos in Christo, sed non multos patres; in Christo enim Iesu per evangelium ego vos genui*". Cf. *Contra litteras Petiliani* III,55,67. CSEL 52,221-222. (d. 398-401).



the closer relationship of kindred and the bond of unity.<sup>83</sup> Some of God's gifts are earthly, others heavenly. But let us not forget that the natural earthly gifts are also due to the mercy of God. That we have being, are distinguished from animals, are rational beings able to understand God; further, that we enjoy this light, this air, rain, fruits, diversity of seasons, earthly comforts, health of the body, as well as the affection of friends and the well-being of our family, all those things are good and God's gifts. But also wicked people enjoy these earthly goods, and, therefore, we must pay attention to the eternal and heavenly mercy of God who promises a good that is not temporal.<sup>84</sup> "Honour your father and your mother" is the first commandment of the seven relating to the love of neighbour. Augustine notices nicely that the reason for this lies in the fact that, when a human being opens for the first time his or her eyes, the child sees its parents, and with their friendship this life begins. Whoever fails to honour his or her parents, how will this person be able to spare others?<sup>85</sup> Advocating a selfless and sincere love of children for their parents and of parents for their children, the bishop describes a very concrete situation, and speaks of *amabilis pietas*. Children of poor parents love their parents often in a more sincere way than children of rich parents, because the motive of children of poor parents is love, and not a material reward. Poor children expect nothing from their father, for he has nothing that he can leave them. On

<sup>83</sup> *De Genesi ad litt.* IX,9. CSEL 28/1,277-278. (d. 415): "Hic vero cum inplenda esset hominibus terra et eam propter cognationis artiolem necessitudinem et unitatis vinculum maxime commendandum ex uno oporteret impleri ...". *De bono coniugali* 1,1. 3,3. CSEL 41,187. (d. 401): "Prima itaque naturalis humanae societatis copula vir et uxor est ... Bonum ergo coniugii ... quod mihi non videtur propter solam filiorum procreationem, sed propter ipsam etiam naturalem in diverso sexu societatem". *De civitate dei* XII,22. 28. CCL 48, 380. 384. (d. 417-418): "Unum ac singulum creavit, non utique solum sine humana societate deserendum, sed ut eo modo vehementius ei commendaretur ipsius societatis unitas vinculumque concordiae, si non tantum inter se naturae similitudine, verum etiam cognationis affectu homines necterentur ... factus est unus, sed non relictus est solus".

<sup>84</sup> *Enarr. in ps.* 35,7-8. CCL 38,326-327. (d. 412-413): "Est enim misericordia Domini et in terra ... Munera Dei partim temporalia sunt atque terrena, partim aeterna et caelestia ... Quis non habet istam misericordiam Dei, primo ut sit, ut discernatur a pecoribus, ut rationale sit animal, qui possit Deum intellegere, deinde frui ista luce, isto aere, pluvia, fructibus, diversitate temporum, solatiis terrenis, salute corporis, affectu amicorum, salute domus suae? ... Vident ista omnia bona terrena, habere atque abundare impios et iniquos ... Misericordia quaedam quam donas sanctis tuis, caelestis est, non terrena; aeterna est, temporalis non est".

<sup>85</sup> *Sermo* 9,7. CCL 41,120-121. (d. ?): "Nam ipse numerus septenarius ... incipit ab honore parentum ... Ad parentes enim suos homo aperit oculos, et haec vita ab eorum amicitia sumit exordium. Quisquis autem suis parentibus non defert honorem, quibus parcere poterit?".



the other hand, rich parents sometimes are suspicious of their children when they think that it is only for their money that their children are considerate to them.<sup>86</sup>

In sermon 349 (d. about 412), Augustine makes a distinction between a human and a divine kind of love. Within human love, he makes another distinction between a lawful and an unlawful love. It is right to love your wives, to love your children, to love your friends, to love your fellow citizens with human love. All these names imply a bond of relationship (*necessitudinis vinculum*) and, in a special way, the glue of love. But also unbelievers love their wives, children, brothers, neighbours, relations, friends, and so on. This love is human love. Without this love of children and wives, there would be the loss of the human feeling of love, and one would end in cruelty, and be no longer worthy to be counted among human beings. Elsewhere, not acknowledging the own parents is even called "the behaviour of dogs, because the puppies are born blind".<sup>87</sup> A person who loves his children is not particularly praiseworthy, but who does not love them is to be condemned. However, also wild beasts like adders, tigers, or lions love their young. A human being who does not love his or her children is worse than a lion. These loves are human, but lawful.<sup>88</sup> It is allowed to love wives and children albeit in a worldly way. But there is one restriction: to love in the highest sense of the word is to love with reference to Christ and to God. We should love Christ in them, and hate in them the fact that they do not want to possess Christ. "Still, when you love them in a human way, love Christ more. I am not saying: you should not love your wife, but love Christ more. I am not saying: you should not love your father, I am not saying you should not love your children, but love Christ more. Do not think that these are just my words; listen to Christ saying: *Whoever loves father or mother more than me, is*

<sup>86</sup> *Sermo* 45,2. CCL 41,517. (d. 408-411?).

<sup>87</sup> *Sermo* 8,7. CCL 41,85-86. (d. 411): "Quartum praeceptum est *Honora patrem tuum et matrem tuam* ... Caninum est parentes non agnoscere; nihil tam caninum, quam cum illi qui genuerunt non agnoscuntur".

<sup>88</sup> *Sermo* 349,2,2. PL 39,1530: "Liceat vobis humana charitate diligere conjuges, diligere filios, diligere amicos vestros, diligere cives vestros. Omnia enim ista nomina habent necessitudinis vinculum, et gluten quodam modo charitatis. Sed videtis istam charitatem esse posse et impiorum, id est, Paganorum, Judaeorum, haeticorum. Quis enim eorum non amat uxorem, filios, fratres, vicinos, affines, amicos, etc.? Haec ergo humana est. Si ergo tali quisque crudelitate effertur, ut perdat etiam humanum dilectionis affectum, et non amet filios suos, et non amet conjugem suam; nec inter homines numerandus est. Non enim laudandus est qui amat filios suos; sed damnandus est qui non amat filios ... Amant filios et ferae ... Ergo qui non amat filios suos etiam leone peior est. Humana sunt ista, et licita sunt".



not worthy of me" (Mt 10:37)".<sup>89</sup>

In sermon 90 (d. 412-416), Augustine tells how sparrows and swallows love their mates, how they sit on the eggs (*foveant*), feed the chicks together, out of a gratuitous and natural goodness, without a thought of any reward. The male shows a parental affection and does not expect any reward. Augustine applies this example to his audience by saying: "I know, I am sure, you love your children in the same way ... But extend this love, let it grow, because loving children, wives and husbands is not yet that wedding garment. Have faith in God. First love God. Extend yourselves toward God, and carry along toward God whom you can". This applies not only to children, wife and slaves, but also to strangers and enemies. The wedding garment is for Augustine: "*Love from a pure heart, a good conscience, and a sincere faith*" (1 Tm 1:5).<sup>90</sup>

The text of Mt 10:37 is again the subject of a sermon edited by R. Etaix (d. 414-418?<sup>91</sup>). Father or mother are making a just demand when they say "Love me", for a father begot and reared us, and a mother bore and nourished us. But we should answer that we love them in Christ, and not instead of Christ. When they declare not to want Christ, we have to

<sup>89</sup> Ib. 7,7. ib. 1532: "Amate filios vestros, amate conjuges vestras, etsi saeculariter. Nam secundum Christum amare debetis, ut secundum Deum illis consulatis, et non in eis nisi Christum diligatis, et oderitis in vestris si Christum habere noluerint. Ipsa enim est charitas illa divina. Nam quid eis proderit transitoria et mortalis charitas vestra? Tamen quando et humanitus diligitis, plus Christum amate. Non dico ut non diligas uxorem: sed plus diligite Christum. Non dico ut non diligas patrem, non dico ut non diligas filios; sed plus dilige Christum. Audi illum dicentem, ne mea putes ista verba: *Qui amat patrem aut matrem plus quam me, non est me dignus*".

<sup>90</sup> *Sermo* 90,10. PL 38,566: "Scitis istos passeres et hirundines quemadmodum diligant conjuges, simul ova foveant, simul pullos nutrant, grata quadam et naturali bonitate, nulla cogitata mercede ... affectum parentis exhibet, retributionem non requirit. Et nos, novi, scio, sic amatis filios vestros ... Sed extendite dilectionem, crescat ista dilectio: amare autem filios et conjuges, nondum vestis illa nuptialis est. Habete fidem ad Deum. Prius diligite Deum. Extendite ad Deum; et quod poteritis, rapite ad Deum".

<sup>91</sup> This is the date proposed by R. Etaix. O. O'DONOVAN, *The Problem of Self-Love in St. Augustine*, p. 174, note 53, proposes the date 397-398, because of the use "of the verb 'uti' expressing God's love for man. This sermon now affords the only parallel to *De doctr. Christ.* I on this point, and should accordingly be dated to 397 or 398". But the question is whether the text refers to God's love for the human being or to the way human beings have to use material goods such as gold. I prefer the following translation (supposing that the text is not corrupt): "What does gold say to me? 'Love me'. But what does God say to me? 'I shall use you (that is, gold), and so use you that you do not hold me fast and (but) detach (me) from you'" (*Quid mihi dicit aurum? Ama me. Sed Deus mihi quid? Utar te, et sic utar te ut non teneas me et separe a te. Quidquid aliud mihi dicit: Ama me, creatura est*). It seems to me that the large number of biblical quotations is also an indication of a later date than 397.



want Christ more than them. In support of his view, Augustine refers to Mt 23:9 "Call no one father upon earth, since God is your only Father" combined with Mt 6:9 "Our Father who is in heaven". This seemed harsh if Jesus had imposed a rule without giving himself an example. The example can be found in Mt 12:48-50 where Jesus affirms that whoever does the will of his Father, is his brother and sister and mother. If He would have broken off his proclaiming of the message, and gone to his mother, He would have strengthened in his heart a human affection instead of an affection for God. Thus He rejected the synagogue He was born from, and found those to whom He gave a new birth. His brothers and sisters are those who love with Him the paternal inheritance; his mother is she who conceives in her heart what Mary conceived in her womb. Human affection in corporeal relationships between parents, brothers, and sisters is limited. Nobody can be brother and mother of the same person. Spiritual love, on the contrary, is not so limited. Here Augustine refers to the church which is the spouse, the bride, and the mother of Christ (with quotations from Gn 2:24. Eph 5:31-32. 1 Cor 12:27). Parents should not be angry; they are respected highly, for only God is preferred to them. We do not neglect the divine commandment "Honour your father and your mother" (Ex 20:12). We most certainly love them, but not more than Him.<sup>92</sup> Here Augustine quotes for the first time, within this context at

<sup>92</sup> *Sermo Etaix* 1,5-7. *Revue Bénédictine* 86(1976),43-45: "Pater dicat: Ama me. Mater dicat: Ama me ... Nonne iustum est quod exigunt? ... Respondeamus patri et matri iuste dicentibus: Ama nos; respondeamus: Amo vos in Christo, non pro Christo amo ... Sed nos - inquit - nolumus Christum. Sed ego plus quam vos volo Christum ... *Nolite*, inquit, *vobis patrem dicere in terra, unus est enim Pater vester Deus*. Durum videbatur si imponeret praeceptum et non praeberet exemplum. Aiente quaedam de regno caelorum cum discipulis suis, mater stabat foris, stare foris nuntiata est ... Ille itaque si praetermissis quae aiebat ad illam procederet, non divinum in corde suo, sed humanum aedificaret affectum ... Quid ille respondit? *Quae est mater mea et qui sunt fratres mei? Et extendens manum in discipulos suos: Hii sunt fratres mei. Quisquis facit voluntatem Patris mei qui misit me, ipse mihi frater et soror et mater est*. Synagogam respuit unde generatus est, invenit quos regeneravit ... Habes unde sis frater Christi, ama cum illo paternam hereditatem. Habes unde sis soror Christi, ama cum illo eandem hereditatem. Habes unde sis mater Christi, si quod illa utero, tu corde conceperis. In huiusmodi necessitudinum nominibus humanus angustatur affectus. In carnali propagatione non potest quisque unius hominis esse frater et mater ... Sed caritas non angustatur ... Non irascantur parentes. Multum enim eis defertur quibus solus Deus praefertur ... *Honora patrem tuum et matrem tuam*. Agnosco, Deus mihi dixit ... Amo, amo omnino, amo et te. Sed qui me docuit ut amem te, melior te est ... mecum ama illum qui me docuit ut amem te sed non plus quam illum".



least, Sg 2:4 "Set love in order in me".<sup>93</sup> We must love in the right order, so that we ourselves may be rightly ordered. We are guilty if we despise our parents, but we ought to honour them in due order, that is, according to their place within the order of things. This does not mean, however, that Augustine completely passes over human love, as appears from the following remarks: "Someone has a spouse, someone has children. They cry out: Love us. Answer them: I love you. Say to your spouse: If I did not love you, I would not have married you. Say to your children: If I did not love you, I would not have begotten you, I would not have brought you up". Then, Augustine refers to the example of the martyrs, declaring that it is more difficult for a martyr to leave his spouse than his children. The spouse may appeal to the text "What God has united, a human being must not divide" (Mt 19:6). The conclusion of this sermon is: We should love father, mother, children, and spouse in a right and affectionate way, and it would be a sin not to do so. But none of us should love them more than Christ.<sup>94</sup>

A certain Hilarius asked Augustine how to understand the text that the rich cannot enter the kingdom of heaven unless they sell all they own (cf. Mt 19:21). Augustine makes a distinction between selling and letting go (or: giving up, renouncing). With regard to the text: Everyone who has left all things for my sake, will be repaid hundred times over in this world, and possess eternal life in the world to come (cf. Mt 19:29), Augustine remarks that even a wife is mentioned, from which it appears that a human person sometimes has to make a choice between leaving a wife or leaving Christ. And this applies also to children, parents, brothers and sisters in case of imperative necessity where a choice is inevitable. Just as in letter 243, Augustine refers to the man intending to build a tower, but first has to work out the cost to see if he has enough to complete it, followed by the admonition that nobody can be a disciple of Christ unless he gives up all his possessions (Lk 14:28 and 33). Therefore, if we have to suffer the loss of our riches for the sake of faith in Christ, we hate our riches; if this

<sup>93</sup> It goes without saying that the idea of the order of love is present in Augustine's works from the very beginning.

<sup>94</sup> Ib. 8-11. ib. 45-47: "Dilige, inquit, parentes, sed non plus me. Clamat tibi sponsa eius: *Ordinate in me caritatem*. Ama ordinate, ut sis ordinatus ... Paululum ergo de medio parentes non spreti sed ordinate honorati discedant. Uxor est cuiquam; filii sunt cuiquam. Clamant: Ama nos. Responde: Amo. Dic uxori: Si non amarem, non ducerem. Dic filiis: Si non amarem, non generarem, non educarem ... De filiis facile est. Plus urget uxor: Noli me, inquit, dimittere. Discedes et vidua remanebo. *Deus nos coniunxit, homo non separet* ... Nemo ergo diligit plus quam Christum patrem, matrem, filios, uxorem. Ea ipsa quae recte diliguntur, quae pie diliguntur, in quibus peccatum est si non diligantur, nemo diligit plus quam Christum".



world threatens us with bereavement or separation from our families for the sake of Christ, we hate our parents, brothers, children, wives; we have even to go so far as to hate our own life, rather than being forsaken by a forsaken Christ (cf. Lk 14:26). We find here again a reference to martyrdom.<sup>95</sup>

#### V. TEXTS FROM 415 TILL 428

In the last part of Augustine's life, we find rather an affirmation of what we have seen before. Some texts, however, express his ideas more explicitly. In 417 or 418, Augustine preached a sermon on Mt 12:46-50. Augustine faced there the problem: how could Christ, with any sense of filial duty, say this, whereas He was fully aware of the greatness of his mother? The answer is that human affection may not keep from the divine work that ought not to be delayed. Christ did not condemn maternal affection, but He gave a great example that mothers must be ignored for the sake of God's work. And this can even be done out of love. Christ teaches us to ignore our parents, and at the same time to love our parents. We love them in the right order and devotedly (*ordinate et pie*) when we do not put them before God, for "Whoever loves father or mother more than me is not worthy of me" (Mt 10:37). If we pay careful attention to Jesus' words "more than me", He urges us rather to love our parents, and He does in no way deny the commandment "Honour your father and mother". He taught us the right order (*ordinem*) of love, not the subversion of filial love. We should love, honour, and submit to our parents, but if God calls us to a greater work, which could be hindered by parental affection, we must keep the right order, and not turn love upside down. Here we discover an impli-

<sup>95</sup> *Epist.* 157,4,31-35. CSEL 44,478-482 (d. 415): "*Quicumque dimiserit omnia sua propter me, accipiet in hoc saeculo centuplum et in futuro vitam aeternam possidebit. Aliud est 'dimiserit' aliud 'vendiderit': nam in his, quae dimittenda mandavit, etiam uxor commemorata est ... Quid sibi ergo volunt ista praecepta ... nisi quia incurrit aliquando necessitatis articulus, ubi aut uxor dimittatur aut Christus ... Hoc et de filiis atque parentibus, hoc et de fratribus ac sororibus intellegitur propter Christum esse omnes dimittendos, cum proponitur ista condicio ... adprehendet potius turrem fortitudinis a facie inimici, quia, cum eam in sua aedificaret fide, computavit sumptus, quibus perfici posset ... Et si forte pro fide Christi pecuniaria damna perpetienda sunt, oderunt divitias suas; si suorum orbitates vel separationes pro Christo minatur hic mundus, oderunt parentes, fratres, filios, uxores; postremo si de ipsa huius corporis vita cum adversario paciscendum est, ne desertus deserat Christus, oderunt insuper et animam suam".*



cit reference to Sg 4:2 *Ordinate in me caritatem*.<sup>96</sup> In the following paragraphs, Augustine deals at great length with the manichaean objection that Jesus had no human mother; if this were true, the manichees must also admit that the disciples had no father. Then follows an explanation of the text "Blessed the womb that bore you ... Rather blessed are those who hear the word of God and keep it" (Lk 11:27-28), with the famous passage "Mary is part of the church, a holy member, a quite exceptional member, a supremely wonderful member, but still a member of the whole body".<sup>97</sup> The sermon ends with the emphasis on the fact that we all are members of Christ. It is not so difficult to understand that we are brothers and sisters of Christ, for the only Son did not wish to be alone, but wished us to be heirs of the Father. It is more difficult to understand how we are mothers of Christ. We can become mothers of Christ by bringing whomever we can along to the bath of baptism, that is, by bringing others along to be born.<sup>98</sup>

The following of the Lord wherever He goes, and the answer of someone: "I will go and bury my father first" (Lk 9:57-59) is the theme of sermon 100 (d. 417 or 395?). When the Lord destines people for the gos-

<sup>96</sup> *Sermo Denis* 25,3-4. MA I,158-159: "Hoc enim, quod modo proposui, multos habet sinus nodosque quaestionis; quomodo pie dominus Christus contempserit matrem, non qualemcumque matrem ... Talem matrem ille contempsit, ne operi, quod agebat, maternus se insereret, eumque impediret affectus ... Non ergo dominus Christus maternum damnavit affectum, sed contemnendae matris pro opere dei magnum in se ipso demonstravit exemplum ... Docet ergo te Christus contemnere parentes tuos, amare parentes tuos. Tunc enim ordinate et pie amas parentes, quando deo non praeponis parentes: *Qui amat* - domini verba sunt - *qui amat patrem aut matrem plus quam me, non est me dignus*. His verbis quasi videtur admonuisse ne amares: immo, si attendas, admonuit ut amares. Potuit enim dicere, *Qui amat patrem aut matrem, non est me dignus*. Non hoc dixit, ne loqueretur contra legem quam dedit, ipse enim legem illam per Moysen famulum suum dedit, ubi scriptum est: *Honora patrem tuum et matrem tuam*. Non contrariam legem promulgavit, sed illam commendavit; et ordinem te docuit, non pietatem subvertit: *Qui amat patrem aut matrem, sed plus quam me*. Amet ergo, sed non plus quam me: deus deus est, homo homo est. Ama parentes, obsequere parentibus, honora parentes; sed, si te deus ad aliquid amplius vocat, ubi possit impedimento esse parentalis affectus, serva ordinem, noli evertere caritatem".

<sup>97</sup> Ib. 5-6. ib. 160-162: the discussion with the manichaean interpretation: "Non patres non habebant: sed ubi venturum est ad regenerationem, quaeratur patrem regenerationis; non damnetur pater generationis, sed ei praeponatur pater regenerationis". Ib. 7. ib. 162-163: the laudation of Mary.

<sup>98</sup> Ib. 8. ib. 163-164: "Intellego ergo fratres nos esse Christi, sorores Christi esse sanctas et fideles feminas. Matres Christi quomodo possumus intellegere? ... Fuistis filii, estote et matres. Filii matris, quando baptizati estis, tunc membra Christi nati estis: adducite ad lavacrum baptismatis quos potestis; ut, sicut filii fuistis quando nati estis, sic etiam ducendo ad nascendum matres Christi esse possitis".



pel, he does not accept any excuse based on natural and temporal love, which is an obstacle to his call. It is true that the commandment "Honour your father and your mother" is the first one with a promise (Eph 6:2). However, every thing has its own place, its own time, its own reality. One must honour a father, one must obey God. One must love a parent, but prefer the creator. Jesus says as it were: I am calling you to the gospel; I need you for another task; and this task is greater than the one you wish to perform. Augustine founds his viewpoint on Sg 2:4 "*Ordinate in me caritatem*" and on the example of the mother of the Maccabees (2 Mc 7:22). Therefore, love your parents, but put God before your parents. What the mother of the Maccabees taught her sons is what Jesus was teaching with the words *Sequere me*.<sup>99</sup> In 420, the bishop refutes an anonymous author who holds that Christ and the God of the law and the prophets are opposed to each other. This foolish author, Augustine remarks, can maintain that Christ himself is opposed to himself or that they were two different persons, not one Christ, namely, the one who said "Peace I leave you" (Jn 14:27), and the other who said "I did not come to bring peace to the earth but a sword" (Mt 10:34). Augustine refers to his books against Faustus and Adimantus in which he has already refuted a similar opinion.<sup>100</sup>

Just before and after the year 420, there are some texts dealing with Jesus' words: *Quid mihi et tibi est, mulier?* (Jn 2:4). Augustine's interpretation remains the same as he had given in *De vera religione* dating from 390. Only the way he expresses himself is more refined, e. g. by speaking explicitly of human affection. Jesus spoke these words, for He had not taken from Mary what he had in his divinity. But He showed his human affection for his mother when He committed Mary to the care of his dis-

<sup>99</sup> *Sermo* 100,1,2-2,2. PL 38,603-604: "Dominus autem Christus quando parat homines Evangelio, nullam excusationem vult interponi carnalis hujus temporalisque pietatis ... Et Paulus apostolus in Epistola sua posuit et dixit: *Hoc est mandatum primum in repromissione*. Quod? *Honora patrem tuum, et matrem tuam*. Deus utique dixit. Volebat ergo iste juvenis obtemperare Deo, et sepelire patrem suum: sed est locus, et est tempus, et est res, quae huic rei, huic tempori, huic loco serviat. Honorandus est pater, sed obediendum est Deo. Amandus est generator, sed praeponendus est Creator. Ego, inquit, ad Evangelium te voco, ad aliud opus mihi necessarius es: majus est hoc, quam quod vis facere ... Quid est *Ordinate in me caritatem*? Facite gradus, et cuique quod debetur, restituite. Nolite anteriora posterioribus subdere ... Attendite matrem Machabaeorum ...".

<sup>100</sup> *Contra adversarium legis et prophetarum* II,12,38. CCL 49,128. (d. 420): "... potest vanus dicere ipsum Christum sibi esse contrarium aut duos fuisse, non unum, inter se scilicet repugnantes; alium, qui dixit *Pacem do vobis*; et alium, qui dixit *Non veni pacem mittere in terram, sed gladium*".



ciple John (Jn 19:26-27).<sup>101</sup> The words "human affection", with regard to putting Mary under the care of John, are also used in the last part of his commentary on the gospel of John (d. after 419).<sup>102</sup> Augustine emphasizes now that on the cross Jesus taught us an important moral lesson, namely that children ought to take care of their parents. He refers then to 1 Tm 5:8, a text not yet quoted explicitly in our context: "Anyone who does not look after his own relations, especially members of his own household, denies the faith and is worse than an unbeliever". Nothing belongs more to the household than parents in relation to their children, and children in relation to their parents.<sup>103</sup> We find this text also in a letter dated vaguely after 395. A married woman, Ecdicia, had given away a quantity of goods without the knowledge of her husband. Augustine reproaches her that parents may not wish a child to be stripped of the means of support in this life, otherwise the father could be blamed of neglecting the care of his household.<sup>104</sup>

An important text about the natural goodness of God's creatures, namely infants, is found in a work against the pelagians (d. 420). To criticize Augustine's concept of original sin, the pelagians appealed to a text of Cyprian (*Epist.* 64,4) who wrote that people kiss a newborn child, even before it is born again through the sacrament of baptism. Augustine answers them that Cyprian is right in arguing to do so. This kiss is rather a restraint and correction of the horror of human feeling regarding kissing infants fresh from the womb. However, this does not mean at all that Cyprian denied the existence of original sin. Kissing a baby is praising the creator and the creature, the workman and the work. In the kiss of infants the hands, recently at work, of God are considered and venerated. He who

<sup>101</sup> *Sermo* 218,10,10. PL 38,1086: "... congruenter tunc humanum affectum, quando ut homo moriebatur, ostendit".

<sup>102</sup> *In Joh. evang. tr.* 119,1. CCL 36,658: "Tunc ergo divina facturus, non divinitatis, sed infirmitatis matrem velut incognitam repellebat; nunc autem humana iam patiens, ex qua fuerat factus homo, affectu commendabat humano".

<sup>103</sup> *Ib.* 119,2. *ib.* 658: "Moralis igitur insinuat locus. Facit quod faciendum admonet, et exemplo suo suos instruxit praeceptor bonus, ut a filiis piis impendatur cura parentibus; tamquam lignum illud ubi erant fixa membra morientis, etiam cathedra fuerit magistri docentis. Ex hac sana doctrina didicerat Paulus apostolus quod docebat, quando dicebat: *Si quis autem suis, et maxime domesticis non providet, fidem negavit, et est infideli deterior. Quid autem tam cuique domesticum quam parentes filiis, aut parentibus filiis?*".

<sup>104</sup> *Epist.* 262,8. CSEL 57,627. Cf. *Sermo* 356,3. ed. LAMBOT, *S. Aur. Augustini Sermones selecti duodeviginti*. Ultraieci 1950, p. 134. (d. 426), where Augustine considers the monks living in the same monastery as *domestici*.



believes in original sin, does not condemn either nature or marriage.<sup>105</sup>

In the commentary on the gospel of John (but also written after 419), it is said that the commandment of love of neighbour is a very old one. But how can Jesus say: "I give you a new commandment: love one another" (Jn 13:34)? In order to distinguish it from carnal love, He added "just as I have loved you". For husbands and wives love one another, as well as parents and children, and all people bound together by human relationship (*necessitudo humana*). Christ's love, however, renews us, makes us new beings, heirs of the New Testament, singers of the new song. It was this love that renewed already the righteous, the patriarchs and the prophets, during the period of the first covenant. Therefore, we should not love one another, simply because we are human beings, but because we are God's and sons of the Highest. This love means death to the world and life with God.<sup>106</sup> According to Augustine, a merely natural love is not enough for a Christian. If we love our neighbour in a human way only, we easily neglect God as our supreme good. Therefore, to love our neighbour as ourselves means desiring that the neighbour may find his or her good where we ourselves find it, namely in God. By saying "Love one another just as I have loved you", Jesus distinguishes his love from that with which human beings love one another as human beings. Jesus loved us in order to lead us to God, his Father. Not everyone has this kind of love. Augustine remarks that only a few people love one another with the intention that God may be all in all.<sup>107</sup>

<sup>105</sup> *Contra duas epistulas Pelagianorum* IV,8,24. CSEL 60,547: "Nempe ille, qui sic laudat creatorem atque creaturam, opificem atque opus, ut humani sensus horrorem quo dedignantur homines recentes ab utero parvulos osculari, creatoris ipsius interposita veneratione conpescat et corrigat dicens in illius aetatis osculo recentes dei manus esse cogitandas. Numquid ergo confitens originale peccatum aut naturam damnavit aut nuptias?". Speaking of Gen 29:11: "Jacob kissed Rachel and burst into tears", Augustine remarks that in ancient times it was a custom that neighbouring people (*propinqui*) kissed one another, and that this is still so in many places: *Quaest. in Heptateuchum* I,87. CCL 33,32-33.

<sup>106</sup> *In Joh. evang. tr.* 65,1. ib. 490-491: "... ista dilectio quam dominus ut a carnali dilectione distingueret, addidit: *sicut dilexi vos*. Nam diligunt invicem mariti et uxores, parentes et filii, et quaecumque alia inter se homines necessitudo humana devinixerit ... Dilectio ista nos innovat, ut simus homines novi ... *Mandatum novum do vobis, ut vos invicem diligatis* non sicut se diligunt ... homines, quoniam homines sunt; sed sicut se diligunt, quoniam dii sunt et filii Altissimi omnes ... Immo ipsa dilectio est mors nostra saeculo et vita cum Deo".

<sup>107</sup> Ib. 83,3. ib. 536: "Discernitur quippe ista dilectio ab illa dilectione qua se invicem diligunt homines sicut homines; nam ut discerneretur adiunctum est: *sicut dilexi vos*. Utquid enim diligit nos Christus, nisi ut regnare possimus cum Christo? ... Qui autem se propter habendum Deum diligunt, ipsi se diligunt; ergo ut se diligant, Deum diligunt. Non



In the City of God (d. about 426), Augustine praises the consolation of the sincere faith and mutual affection of true and good friends. We are worried that no evil things may befall them. Their death brings us sadness. Who forbids such sadness must forbid, if he can, all friendly conversation, all friendly affection, must break with harsh heartlessness all bonds of human relationships (*necessitudinum*), or decree that one must relate to one's relatives (*eis utendum*) in such a way that no pleasure may be derived from them.<sup>108</sup> Relationships are necessary for building up social life. Love is accorded its due importance so that human beings, for whom harmony is useful and honourable, may be bound by ties of various relationships (*necessitudinum*). This is the reason why the human race had to increase so that love could extend over a greater number of people.<sup>109</sup> The person who loves God does not err in loving him or herself. From this it follows that one should be concerned that also the neighbour loves God. Thus one ought to be concerned (*consulat*) for wife, children, household, and for other people as far as possible, and one should wish that they take the same care of us. The order of peace among human beings consists first in doing no harm to others, and, secondly, in doing good to others. In the first place, then, we have to care for our own household, inasmuch as the order of nature or of human society provides us with a readier and easier access to the members of our household for seeking their interests (*consulendi*). Within this context, Augustine refers again to 1 Tm 5:8: "Anyone who does not look after his own relations, especially members of his own household, denies the faith and is worse than an unbeliever".<sup>110</sup>

Another important text is found in the same work. Speaking of two

est haec dilectio in omnibus hominibus: pauci se propterea diligunt, ut sit Deus omnia in omnibus".

<sup>108</sup> *De civitate dei* XIX,8. CCL 48,672: "... quid nos consolatur in hac humana societate erroribus aerumnisque plenissima nisi fides non ficta et mutua dilectio verorum et bonorum amicorum? ... Quam qui prohibet, prohibeat, si potest, amica conloquia, interdicat amicalem vel interdicat affectum, humanarum omnium necessitudinum vincula mentis inimiti stupore dirumpat aut sic eis utendum censeat, ut nulla ex eis animum dulcedo perfundat".

<sup>109</sup> *Ib.* XV,16. *ib.* 477. (d. 420): "Habita est enim ratio rectissima caritatis, ut homines, quibus esset utilis atque honesta concordia, diversarum necessitudinum vinculis necterentur".

<sup>110</sup> *Ib.* XIX,14. *ib.* 681: "... atque ille in se diligendo non errat qui Deum diligit: consequens est, ut etiam proximo ad diligendum Deum consulat, quem iubetur sicut seipsum diligere (sic uxori, sic filiis, sic domesticis, sic ceteris quibus potuerit hominibus), et ad hoc sibi a proximo, si forte indiget, consuli velit ... Primitus ergo inest ei suorum cura; ad eos quippe habet oportuniorem facilioremque aditum consulendi, vel naturae ordine vel ipsius societatis humanae. Unde apostolus dicit: *Quisquis autem suis et maxime domesticis non providet, fidem denegat et est infideli deterior*".



sorts of sins, Augustine makes a distinction between grave sins which prevent from having Christ as a foundation, and forgivable sins which do not constitute an absolute obstacle to have Christ as a foundation (cf. 1 Cor 3:11-13). If someone places earthly love in a human and carnal way before Christ, he or she can neither be saved through fire nor be saved at all, for this person cannot be with the Saviour, who speaks most clearly on this point: "He who loves father or mother more than me is not worthy of me, and he who loves son or daughter more than me is not worthy of me". But if one loves them in a corporeal way (*carnaliter*), not putting them before Christ and preferring to lose them rather than Christ, this person will be saved through fire. Augustine underlines that he is not speaking here only of sexual intercourse used for carnal pleasures, but of all the things which bear the names of dutiful love (*nomina pietatis*). On the other hand, those who love in the Spirit of Christ, have a perfect love, and there is nothing in them that has to be consumed as wood, hay, or stubble.<sup>111</sup>

In *De cura pro mortuis gerenda* (d. 424-425), the bishop speaks of the relationship with his mother. He applies to her the text "My father and my mother have abandoned me, but God has taken me up" (Ps 26:10). If his mother would still be here on earth, she would never abandon him in difficult circumstances; she would console him always in his sadness, that mother who by land and sea followed him, and loved him with a wonderful love. But she is no longer here, and can no longer take part in his cares and affairs. Our consolation now is that God is our Father.<sup>112</sup>

In a sermon dating from about 426, Augustine admonishes children to do what scripture says, namely, to pay due honour to their parents, but at the same time he warns parents not to take revenge on their children,

<sup>111</sup> *De civitate dei* XXI,26(4). CCL 48,799. (d. about 426): "Quicumque autem, non dico uxorem, cuius etiam commixtione carnis ad carnalem utitur voluptatem, sed ipsa quae ab eius modi delectationibus aliena sunt nomina pietatis humano more carnaliter diligendo Christo anteponit, non eum habet in fundamento ... quia esse cum Salvatore non poterit, qui de hac re apertissime loquens ait: *Qui amat patrem aut matrem plus quam me, non est me dignus* ... Verum qui has necessitudines sic amat carnaliter, ut tamen eas Christo Domino non praeponat, malitque ipsis carere quam Christo ... per ignem erit salvus ... Porro qui patrem, matrem, filios, filias secundum Christum dilexerit, ut ad eius regnum obtinendum eique cohaerendum illis consulat ... absit ut ista dilectio reperiat in lignis, feno et stipula consumenda". What Augustine means by "saved through fire" is not clear; some think that he is speaking of the fire of purgatory.

<sup>112</sup> *De cura pro mortuis gerenda* 13,16. CSEL 41,647-648: "Si rebus viventium interessent animae mortuorum ... me ipsum pia mater nulla nocte desereret, quae terra marique secuta est, ut mecum viveret. Absit enim, ut facta sit vita feliciore crudelis usque adeo ut, quando aliquid angit cor meum, nec tristem filium consoletur, quem dilexit unice, quem numquam voluit maestum videre. Sed profecto quod sacer psalmus personat, verum est: *Quoniam pater meus et mater mea dereliquerunt me, dominus autem adsumpsit me*".



when they are offended, but to remember that they are parents.<sup>113</sup> A last text, dating from about 428, deals with Mt 10:37: "Whoever loves father or mother more than me, is not worthy of me". Christ came to change our love, and to make lovers of the heavenly life out of earthly lovers. However, he did not abolish love of parents, wife, children, but put them in the right order (*ordinavit*), according to the Song of Songs 2:4 "He put love in order in me". Love your father who begot you, but not above the one who created you. Love your mother, but not above the church, who bore you to eternal life. From the love you have for your parents weigh up how much you ought to love God and the church. Love your wife, love your children according to the will of God, in such a way that you take care that they worship God with you. Here also Augustine is referring to the example of the martyrs.<sup>114</sup>

### CONCLUSION

Taking into consideration the different periods which we have distinguished in a more or less artificial way, we see clearly a certain evolution in Augustine's thought.

In the first period before his priesthood, there seems to be a difference between texts in which he is speaking in a concrete experiential way and those expressing his abstract theoretical insights. He emphasizes that human relationships, especially friendship, should be orientated towards the rational soul of the beloved person. A human being is to be loved as a human being, that is, as a rational being created in the image of God. The world of the senses and human affection are still underestimated. Human relationships are private goods, and as such do not belong to the essence of human nature, because they are due to the Fall. Although care for the body of the neighbour is not passed over, it is not much stressed, for it should be directed towards the health of the soul. Love of neighbour is still described as *gradus* and *cunabula* which will be no longer the case after

<sup>113</sup> *Sermo* 323,1,1. PL 38,1445: "Discite, filii, quod dicit Scriptura, reddere honorem parentibus debitum. Sed et vos, parentes, quando offendimini, parentes vos esse recordamini".

<sup>114</sup> *Sermo* 344,2. PL 39,1512: "Amorem parentum, uxoris, filiorum, non abstulit, sed ordinavit: non dixit, Qui amat; sed, *qui amat super me*. Hoc est quod Ecclesia loquitur in Canticis Canticorum: *Ordinavit in me caritatem* ... Ama ergo patrem, sed noli super Deum tuum. Ama matrem, sed noli super Ecclesiam, quae te genuit ad vitam aeternam. Denique ex ipsorum parentum amore perpende quantum diligere debeas Deum et Ecclesiam ... Ama uxorem, ama filios secundum Deum, ut consulas eis ad Deum colendum tecum".



393. One should not interpret, however, these terms as referring to purely human effort. Love of neighbour is based on the authority of the Bible and Christ. Augustine quotes in this period only three scriptural texts: Mt 12:46-50, Jn 2:4, and Lk 14:26. Nevertheless, we find here the nucleus of his principles which will be elaborated and nuanced in the following periods.

In the second period, Augustine's main concern (especially against the manichaeans) is to show that there is no contradiction between the positive precepts and the negative prohibitions in the Bible regarding human relationships. However, a new aspect comes now clearly to the fore when he mentions explicitly that a choice imposes itself if love of human beings is a hindrance or obstacle to the ministry of the divine word or to reaching the kingdom of God. In his *Retractationes* (see note 51), Augustine indicates that this was his usual later interpretation of Lk 14:26. But in this period human relationships are still spoken of in a rather negative way. One should love the persons as such, but not the relationships with them. After *De sermone domini in monte*, we find no longer texts asserting that human relationships are a consequence of original sin. The most important evolution is clearly due to the study of the Pauline theology. The influence of Paul makes itself strongly felt in Augustine's emphasis on the unity between love of God and love of neighbour. The scriptural orchestration is considerably enlarged in comparison with the three texts of the preceding period. No less than six new quotations are added: Mt 23:9, Lk 14:26b (one should hate *insuper animam suam*), Ex 20:12, Lk 9:59-60, Deut 33:9, and Mt 19:29.

In the third period, the distinction between private and common goods, already present during the second period, is largely elaborated. The limitations inherent to private love ought to be transcended by the greater openness of spiritual love. On the other hand, the delightfulness of loving natural relationships is recognized, although this sort of love is not a specifically human feature, for irrational animals love their young as well. Carnal affection ought to be hated in as far as it to the detriment of the life to come. There is also the assertion that wife and husband have more rights to each other's presence than parents have vis-à-vis their children. Regarding the biblical texts, we find implicit references to the mother of the Maccabean martyrs (2 M 7:22-23) and to Mt 10:34 with the words "the spiritual sword of the word"; moreover, a literal quotation of Eph 6:2-3 is given.

The fourth period is characterized by a greater development of the text that Jesus did not come to bring peace, but a sword (Mt 10:34-35), and still more by the distinction between lawful and unlawful human love.



It is a moral duty to love wife, children, parents, and friends, which is impossible without faith in love. There where this love is lacking, the human being would fall into indifference and cruelty. Natural affection and care for the well-being of the own household or family are gifts of God's mercy. Nevertheless, relatives or friends may not be loved more than Christ. "Not more than Christ" is now based on a literal quotation of Mt 10:37. Another new quotation within the context of this period is Sg 2:4: "Set love in order in me".

The continued effect of the text of the Song of Songs can be seen as the characteristic of Augustine's texts in his last writings. Here we find expressions such as "human affection, maternal affection, parental affection". The statement that we should not love human beings more than Christ (Mt 10:37) is considered as a confirmation of the commandment to love our parents. Good human relationships are a necessity for the human race, and even corporeal love does not necessarily separate people from loving Christ. At the same time, it is emphasized that a merely human love is not enough for a believer; for we ought to love just as Christ has loved us (Jn 13:34). Although the dates of the texts are very uncertain, 1 Tm 5:8 which commands us to pay particular attention to the members of our household, may possibly be considered as a new scriptural quotation.

From all this it appears that there is a constant in Augustine's thought, namely, that preference should be given to spiritual relationships over corporeal or natural (without denying their limited goodness<sup>115</sup>) relationships. With the progress of the years, however, Augustine's views became more and more concrete and nuanced. The scriptural orchestration grew steadily. Natural love was considered as a moral obligation. But natural love had to be transcended by loving human beings in God and

<sup>115</sup> The same applies to Augustine's attitude towards natural virtues. See J. WANG TCH'ANG-TCHE, *Saint Augustin et les vertus des païens*. Paris 1938. C. MAYER, 'Pietas' und 'vera pietas quae caritas est'. Zwei Kernfragen der Auseinandersetzung Augustins mit der heidnischen Antike, in: *Augustiniana Traiectina* (ed. J. DEN BOEFT et J. VAN OORT). Paris 1987, 119-136: "Nicht dass diese Güter (= natürliche Tugenden) schlecht wären! Im Gegenteil, die christliche Ethik bejaht sie, allerdings im Rahmen einer sie zugleich transzendierenden Zielsetzung". In the context of this article, we must take into account the biblical extension of the notion *proximus* as Augustine describes this, for example, in *Sermo Denis* 16,2. MA I,76: "*Quis est mihi proximus? Putabat dicturum dominum: Pater tuus et mater tua, coniux tua, filii tui, sorores tuae. Non hoc respondit, sed qui volebat commendare omnem hominem omni homini proximum, instituit narrationem* (Lc 10:29-37)".



Christ.<sup>116</sup> Only in that case love reaches its Christian fullness. At their deepest level, Augustine's texts must be seen in the light of God's absolute transcendence.

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<sup>116</sup> In spite of the fact that we may not put our final hope on a human being, here on earth there is a certain anticipation of the eschatological *frui*, in other words: in this life we possess an imperfect fruition of the neighbour. Cf. *De doctrina christiana* I,33,37. CCL 32,27. (d. 397): "Cum autem homine in deo frueris, deo potius quam homine frueris ... Inde ad Philemonem Paulus: *Ita frater*, inquit, *ego te fruar in domino*. Quod si non addidisset *in domino* et *te fruar* tantum dixisset, in eo constitueret spem beatitudinis suae". See L. VERHEIJEN, *Le premier livre du De doctrina christiana d'Augustin. Un traité de "télécologie" biblique*, in: *Augustiniana Traiectina* (ed. J. DEN BOEFT - J. VAN OORT). Paris 1987, 169-187.



## JULIAN AND AUGUSTINE ON THE ORIGIN OF THE SOUL

In *Contra duas epistulas pelagianorum* III,26<sup>1</sup>, Augustine remarks that the Pelagians raise the superfluous matter of the origin of the soul in their controversy. This is a rather surprising remark for everyone who knows how he was himself at odds with the problem of the soul's origin. They do this, according to Augustine, in order to cause confusion in matters which are clear. The Pelagians accuse me of linking up the transmission of the soul with the transmission of the sin.<sup>2</sup> Augustine asks himself amazedly where they ever read this in the writings of orthodox authors. He continues saying that original sin is one of the essential issues of the debate. Its existence is clearly affirmed in Holy Scripture, and the church has of old and with authority defended the tradition that children are baptized because of original sin, and this practice is known all over the world. In this case it is not fitting, according to Augustine, to raise such an obscure problem in relation to so a just, well-founded and well-known doctrine.<sup>3</sup> Everyone knows that Augustine found the question of the soul a very difficult one, and he did so till the end of his life.<sup>4</sup>

For Julian the question of the origin of the soul is very important, as appears from the fact that in his work *Ad Florum* he accuses Augustine to have not dealt with this particular part of his work *Ad Turbantium*. Julian is here referring to Augustine's first answer to *Ad Turbantium*, namely, *De nuptiis et concupiscentia* II.<sup>5</sup> Augustine reacts by saying that he

<sup>1</sup> CSEL 60, p. 518: "Addunt sane ad latebrarum suarum nebulas Pelagiani de origine animae non necessariam quaestionem ad hoc, ut res manifestas aliarum rerum obscuritate turbando moliantur latendi locum." Cf. Julianus, *Epistula ad Rufum*, frg. 11.16, CCSL 88, p. 338.

<sup>2</sup> *Contra duas epistulas pelagianorum* III,26, CSEL 60, pp. 518-519: "Aiunt enim 'nos animarum traducem cum peccati traduce contueri.'"

<sup>3</sup> *Contra duas epistulas pelagianorum* III,26, CSEL 60, p. 519: "Quapropter quisquis vel de anima vel de quacumque re obscura id adstruit, unde hoc quod verissimum, fundatissimum, notissimum est destruat, sive sit ille filius sive inimicus ecclesiae, aut corrigendus est aut cavendus."

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Retractationes* II,45, CCSL 57, p. 127.

<sup>5</sup> *Ad Florum* II,25, CSEL 85,1, p. 179: "Nam et commemoratam a me formationem corporis et ingressum animae, quam novam in unoquoque a Deo conditam tam ratio quam legis sacrae ecclesiaeque catholicae confirmat auctoritas, ut spero, arte praeteriit."; see also II,28, CSEL 85,1, p. 182; II,61, CSEL 85,1, pp. 207-208; IV,5, PL 45, 1340.



received only a summary of Julian's work *Ad Turbantium*, and that in this summary nothing about the problem of the soul was found.<sup>6</sup> Nevertheless, Augustine has to defend himself, the more so because Julian raises the question again in *Ad Florum*.

In the first part of this article, I will treat Julian's view on the creation of the soul and his criticism of Augustine. Then I will examine Augustine's answers to the objections of Julian. Finally, by way of a conclusion, I will evaluate the arguments of both authors.

### I. JULIAN'S VIEW ON THE SOUL

As I have demonstrated in another article, one of Julian's most important thoughts about God is his emphasis on the universality of God's creative activity; Julian continually underlines that the created things deserve the predicate "good" because they are created by a good God.<sup>7</sup> One can even say that this fundamental insight is one of the main reasons why Julian opposes Augustine.<sup>8</sup> For Julian God is the creator of the human being, soul and body. God's permanent creative activity manifests itself, in the most evident way, precisely in creating the soul. Each soul is created anew by God for every human being. Therefore, this soul is in no way indebted to the flesh or to the human seed as such and has nothing to do with them.<sup>9</sup> Speaking about the soul, Julian uses particularly the terms *anima* and *animus*. Although one does not find in Julian a systematic exposition of this theme, one can globally say that Julian uses the word *anima* when he deals with the soul as opposed to the body. In this case what matters is the soul as it is created by God. When Julian uses the term *animus*, he is dealing with the soul as the seat of thinking and of the will. He speaks, e.g., of *animus rationabilis*, which is for him the source of all virtues and the instrument of controlling the body, for the soul is equipped for this task.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *Opus imperfectum* II,25, CSEL 85,1, p. 179.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. M. LAMBERIGTS, *Julian of Aeclanum: a Plea for a Good Creator*, in *Augustiniana* 38 (1988) 5-24.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. *Ad Turbantium*, frg. 1.15.16.20.23-26.28-30.33.35-36.45.55 etc., CCSL 88, pp. 340; 344-348.351.353-354.

<sup>9</sup> *Ad Turbantium*, frg. 28, CCSL 88, p. 347; frg. 75, CCSL 88, p. 359; *Ad Florum* II,25, CSEL 85,1, p. 179; II,28, CSEL 85,1, p. 182; III,44, CSEL 85,1, p. 384.

<sup>10</sup> "Cunctarum origo virtutum in rationabili animo sita est, et affectus omnes, per quos aut fructuose aut steriliter boni sumus, in subiecto sunt mentis nostrae: prudentia, iustitia, temperantia, fortitudo."; *Ad Turbantium*, frg. 108, CCSL 88, p. 365; "Administrationem corporis (...) animo esse commissam"; frg. 282, CCSL 88, p. 388.



Besides these terms, one finds in Julian also the word *mens* to designate thinking as such. Here again we find a relationship with the virtues, which are submitted to the *mens*, or better, which find their origin in the rational mind.<sup>11</sup>

The rational aspect of the *animus* can also be represented by the term *ratio*. The *ratio* is to be considered as a gift of God, impressed on the *animus*. Through the *ratio* we learn, e.g., that we are the image of God because of our soul.<sup>12</sup> Nevertheless, we may not make too great a distinction between these different terms. There is no problem for Julian to speak of the distinction between soul and body and to use the term *anima* in the first part of his discussion, thereafter continuing with the word *animus* in order to vary his style.<sup>13</sup>

The virtues, according to Julian, have their origin in the rational mind; they are congenital.<sup>14</sup> In this sense Julian can declare that there is an innate excellence<sup>15</sup> in all human beings, thus taking over a well-known idea of stoic philosophy which he has probably found by reading Cicero; this idea, however, remains rather general and is not elaborated in a personal way by Julian.<sup>16</sup>

With regard to Julian's discussion with Augustine, one must emphasize that for Julian sexual reproduction is only limited to the body.<sup>17</sup> In other words: soul and body possess a different substance,<sup>18</sup> and at the level of the soul only God is actively creative. The human being is *imago Dei*<sup>19</sup> on account of the gift of the soul; the human person is a rational being that transcends all other living beings, plants and animals, because of this rationality. Rationality is for Julian one of the manifestations of the

<sup>11</sup> See in addition to the in n. 10 already quoted text from *Ad Turbantium*, frg. 108, CCL 88, p. 365, also *Ad Florum* I,37, CSEL 85,1, p. 27; VI,26, PL 45, 1562.

<sup>12</sup> "Secundum, quod ut viventibus sensu ita sentientibus ratione praestamus, quae impressa est animo, ut conditoris imago doceretur, ad cuius aequae respicit dignitatem arbitrii concessa libertas."; *Ad Florum* I,94, CSEL 85,1, p. 109.

<sup>13</sup> See *Ad Florum* II,61, CSEL 85,1, p. 207.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. *Ad Florum* IV,129, PL 45, 1426; see also *Expositio libri in Iob XXXI*,18, CCL 88, p. 85.

<sup>15</sup> *Ad Turbantium*, frg. 85, CCL 88, p. 362.

<sup>16</sup> Concerning Cicero, see *Paradoxa Stoicorum* 22: "Virtus est consentiens cum ratione et perpetua constantia." Also F. REFOULÉ, *Julien d'Éclane, théologien et philosophe*, in *Recherches de science religieuse* 52 (1964) 233-247, p. 237 admits this, although he thinks that Julian, in his concrete application of this stoic idea, departs from it.

<sup>17</sup> *Ad Florum* II,61, CSEL 85,1, p. 207.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. *Ad Turbantium*, frg. 75, CCL 88, p. 359; *Ad Florum* II,28, CSEL 85,1, p. 182; III,44, CSEL 85,1, p. 384.

<sup>19</sup> *Ad Florum* IV,39, PL 45, 1359.



*multiplex gratia Christi*,<sup>20</sup> it is something extremely important because it enables the human being to know and to follow God's will. The human being, as an image of God, knows what God demands of the human person, who is, so to speak, "at home" in God's commandments. As rational beings, human persons possess a "point of contact" with God that is given by Him, and they know what God expects from them. The innate human reason<sup>21</sup> belongs to their nature,<sup>22</sup> distinguishing them from the animals, which they surpass because of their reason.<sup>23</sup> By virtue of this "surplus value", it belongs to the task of the soul to govern the body, which is the slave of the soul.<sup>24</sup> The soul is the better part and is enabled to control the body with all its impulses and cupidities.<sup>25</sup> The gift of the soul is not something negligible, rather it is a gift of God, and so great a gift cannot be so insignificant that the human being would not be able to restrain its lower part, that is, the body. What would be the value of this gift, if it could not make us capable of controlling our desires in conformity with what the generous God has ordered us?<sup>26</sup>

It is right to emphasize that Julian's view of the creation of a new soul for every human being lies in the line of the tradition of creationism, which is also found in Lactantius, Hilary, Ambrose and Jerome.<sup>27</sup> The

<sup>20</sup> *Ad Florum* I,94, CSEL 85,1, p. 109.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. *Ad Florum* II,151, CSEL 85,1, p. 274; II,185, CSEL 85,1, p. 302.

<sup>22</sup> *Ad Florum* IV,43, PL 45, 1361; IV,59, PL 45, 1374.

<sup>23</sup> *Ad Florum* V,38, PL 45, 1473; concerning the stoic background of this idea, see M.L. COLISH, *The Stoic Tradition from Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages. I. Stoicism in Classical Latin Literature* (Studies in the History of Christian Thought, 34), Leiden, 1985, p. 129.

<sup>24</sup> *Ad Florum* VI,26, PL 45, 1562; in the writings of Julian, the expression *imago Dei* can refer to the human soul in general, as well as to a part of the soul, namely the *mens*; in this case, the rational capacities of the soul are understood; cf. *Ad Florum* I,37, CSEL 85,1, p. 27.

<sup>25</sup> *Ad Turbantium*, frg. 116, CCSL 88, p. 366: "Quoniam ex imparibus bonis compositi sumus, animum corpori debere dominari, quorum 'alterum nobis cum diis, alterum cum beluis (...) esse commune' (Sall., *Cat.* I,2); et ideo id quod est melius, id est animum, virtute praeditum (...) et membris corporis bene et cupiditatibus imperare."

<sup>26</sup> Here we must take into account Julian's refusal to admit that the human being by nature, from the very beginning, would be handicapped in his ethical task as a consequence of Adam's Fall, and therefore unable to accomplish God's commandments; cf. *Ad Florum* I,79, CSEL 85,1, p. 94; IV,38, PL 45, 1357-1359.

<sup>27</sup> With regard to the problem of the origin of the soul in general, see P.F. BEATRICE, *Tradux peccati. Alle fonti della dottrina agostiniana del peccato originale* (Studia Patristica Mediolensia, 8), Milaan, 1978, p. 99 ff; creationism is here understood to mean that God created from nothing a new soul for every individual human being at the moment of the conception, or in the womb of the mother, or at the moment of being born; see P.B.J. BICHANIUK, *Creationism*, in *The New Catholic Encyclopedia* IV, p. 428; cf. also A.



following arguments play a role for the adherents of this view: as a spiritual reality, the soul cannot originate from something material; at the same time, the soul cannot belong to God's essence since it is created; therefore, the soul is the result of God's each time newly creating activity. This view means the rejection of emanatism, and such a rejection is related to the reverence for the divine transcendence. Indeed, the nature of God as a perfect, unique, spiritual substance which is indivisible, gets into difficulties in the doctrine of emanatism. Moreover, the human soul lacks several characteristics which are specific to God's nature, such as immutability and eternal *esse a se*.<sup>28</sup>

Julian places sin radically on the level of the soul: sin is always the result of the moral action of a rational being. Committing sin is due to one's own responsibility; it is the consequence of a bad use of reason and will. This bad use, however, must be situated on the level of morality and not on that of the created reality.

In the light of this context Julian's criticism of Augustine becomes perhaps clear. According to Julian, it is immediately evident that the *novitas* of the soul proves that one cannot speak of any guilt, spot or stain on this level. That which the soul is, it is this thanks to God. Julian cannot accept that God's image, which the human being is by virtue of his soul, would be born in guilt because of the sins of other human beings, especially the sin of Adam, for, strictly speaking, the soul is separated from the creation of the body.<sup>29</sup> It is Julian's conviction that God's dignity itself guarantees human innocence,<sup>30</sup> for there is no iniquity in God.<sup>31</sup>

It is for Julian inconceivable that a human being can be born with an original sin, for in that case original sin would belong to the created nature, especially on the level of the soul which is pre-eminently God's

MICHEL, *Traducianisme*, in *DThC* XV, 1353-1354; G. ROTUREAU, *Ame*, in *Catholicisme* I, 430-434; V. GROSSI, *Anima umana*, in *Dizionario patristico e di antichità cristiane* I, 206-209.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. J.E. ROYCE, *Origin of Human Soul*, in *New Catholic Encyclopedia* XIII, p. 471; MICHEL, *a.c.*, 1350-1365, who offers a concise, but clear survey of the various theories of the origin of the soul.

<sup>29</sup> "Cum anima, inquit, patris mea sit et anima filii mea sit, quo testimonio ut multis aliis docetur animam nihil debere seminibus, quam Deus iuri suo vindicat, iniquissimum, inquit, et stolidum est, ut mea res, mea imago alienis gravetur operibus."; *Ad Florum* III,44, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 384.

<sup>30</sup> "Deum vero nascentium conditorem ita dicimus, ut quoniam certum est Deum catholicorum, qui verus est, nihil facere posse, quod malum est, ipsius opificis dignitate homines, qui ab eo fiunt, ante voluntatis usum de manibus eius iniqui et rei nullo modo exire credantur ..."; *Ad Florum* III,124, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 440; cf. III,162, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 467.

<sup>31</sup> *Ad Florum* III,136, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 443.



gift. Augustine should draw the logical conclusion that God himself is responsible for the fact that the human being is born with original sin.<sup>32</sup>

As is well-known, there was a vehement discussion about the nature and place of the *concupiscentia* in the controversy of Julian with Augustine.<sup>33</sup> Julian counts *concupiscere* as belonging to the realm of bodiliness. He rejects Augustine's interpretation of the *concupiscentia carnis* as sinful desire, as irrationality and as movement carrying away from God. Julian's experience of sexuality must not have constituted a great problem in his own life.<sup>34</sup> According to Julian, *concupiscere* belongs to the created order, or to the nature willed by God. In contrast with Augustine, he considers *concupiscentia* as a natural quality, on a par with, e.g., seeing, hearing, feeling and so on.<sup>35</sup> The assertion that we have control of our other senses, but not of *concupiscentia*, is for Julian unacceptable,<sup>36</sup> the more so because it is a necessary condition for procreation:<sup>37</sup> without *concupiscentia* procreation becomes impossible; however, it is the soul, *imago Dei*, which has control of the whole process.

Julian's protest against the so-called lack of control of this *concupiscentia* is strongly linked to his ethics: human persons who defend this idea do this only in order to have an excuse for an amoral life.<sup>38</sup> According to Julian's ethical concepts, this desire should be under the control and the command of the reason: "When the mind of a wise person who submits pleasure to the dignity of love, rouses the desire and sets it in order, he never exceeds the limits of this task ...".<sup>39</sup>

It does not hold true to consider Julian as a 'laxist' theologian who extols sexuality into the skies, as has been done sometimes in the past, in imitation of Augustine.<sup>40</sup> Julian's concern and protest against Augustine is

<sup>32</sup> Cf. *Dicta in quadam disputatione publica*, CCSL 88, p. 336; cf. *Ad Florum* III, 159, CSEL 85,1, p. 463.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. G. BONNER, *Concupiscentia*, in *Augustinus-Lexikon* I, 7/8, 1113-1122, especially 1119-1122 (with bibliography).

<sup>34</sup> See P. BROWN, *Sexuality and Society in the Fifth Century A.D.: Augustine and Julian of Eclanum*, in *Tria corda*. Scritti in onore di A. Momigliano a cura di E. Gabba (Biblioteca di Athenaeum, 1), Como, 1983, 49-70.

<sup>35</sup> *Ad Turbantium*, frg. 294, CCSL 88, p. 390.

<sup>36</sup> *Ad Turbantium*, frg. 173, CCSL 88, pp. 375-376.

<sup>37</sup> *Ad Turbantium*, frg. 177, CCSL 88, p. 376.

<sup>38</sup> *Ad Turbantium*, frg. 85, CCSL 88, p. 361; frg. 86, CCSL 88, p. 362-363.

<sup>39</sup> "Cum igitur sapientis animus, qui voluptatem subicit dignitati amoris et incitat et ordinat appetitum, numquam fines transit officii ..."; *Commentarius in canticum canticorum*, frg. 6, CCSL 88, p. 400; cf. frg. 3, CCSL 88, p. 399; *Ad Turbantium*, frg. 233, CCSL 88, p. 383.

<sup>40</sup> See LAMBERIGTS, *Julian of Aeclanum*, 18-19.



directed against the idea that the control of lust would escape us;<sup>41</sup> Julian is taking very seriously one's own responsibility on the level of guilt: what we do and who we ethically are belong both to our own responsibility, because God, the good Creator and righteous Judge, has created us so that we are able to do what we should do, and He supports our good intentions with his grace.<sup>42</sup> If Julian appeals to the argument for the creation of the soul, he does so, in my opinion, because of several very important reasons:

1. respect for the good Creator;
2. nature cannot contain (moral) evil, for in that case human responsibility would be undermined;
3. taking seriously personal responsibility.

Undoubtedly, it is clear that God's creative goodness and the human ethical responsibility urge Julian, relying on his view of the soul, to react against Augustine. Augustine's statement that the Pelagians raise the question of the soul in order to create confusion might seem reasonable in the framework of the controversy, but Julian forces *de facto* Augustine to answer.

## II AUGUSTINE'S ANSWER

How does Augustine answer Julian's arguments? These arguments are: a) the soul is for every human being created anew by God; b) therefore, the soul owes nothing to the body; c) the powers of reason and will must be situated on the level of the soul; d) consequently, sin must be related to reason and will; e) the whole construction of original sin is built on sand, since it is impossible that a sin can be transmitted by physical way.<sup>43</sup>

Julian's argument is all the more powerful because Augustine has been troubled by the problem of the creation of the soul during his whole

<sup>41</sup> Regarding Augustine's position, see e.g. *De nuptiis et concupiscentia* I,7, CSEL 42, p. 219; regarding Julian's reaction, see *Ad Turbantium*, frg. 175, CCSL 88, p. 376; *Ad Florum* III,187, CSEL 85,1, p. 485-488.

<sup>42</sup> See M. LAMBERIGTS, *Julian of Aeclanum on Grace. Some Considerations*, in E. LIVINGSTONE (ed.), *Studia Patristica* 27. Papers presented at the Eleventh International Conference on Patristic Studies held in Oxford 1991, Leuven, 1993, 342-349.

<sup>43</sup> One finds this objection also repeatedly in modern literature; see e.g. K. SCHEFFCZYK, *Urstand, Fall, und Erbsünde. Von der Schrift bis Augustinus* (Handbuch der Dogmengeschichte, II, 3a.1), Freiburg-Basel-Wien, 1981, p. 218; K. FLASCH, *Augustin. Einführung in sein Denken*, Stuttgart, 1980, p. 205; G. BONNER, *Adam*, in *Augustinus-Lexikon* I, 1/2, Basel-Stuttgart, 1986, 63-87, col. 83 (he poses only the problem); cf. also G.J.P. O'DALY, *Anima, animus*, in *Augustinus-Lexikon* I,1/2-3, Basel-Stuttgart, 315-340, especially 319-322.



life, and even at the end of his life in the *Retractationes* he admits that he still understands so little of this question.<sup>44</sup> The great problem for Augustine lies in the fact that Holy Scripture gives no decisive answer about this difficult question. Already in *De libero arbitrio* III,56-59,<sup>45</sup> Augustine has examined several possible interpretations related to the origin of the soul, namely: traducianism, pre-existence and creationism. He does not arrive at a satisfactory answer, although he admits in III,56 that the theory of traducianism would mean a good solution to the problem of original sin. Nevertheless, he remains reserved with this solution.<sup>46</sup> He rejects in *Epistula* 143,5-6, the opinion of Origen who holds that the soul dwells in the body as a punishment because of a pre-existent sin.<sup>47</sup> Also in *De Genesi ad litteram* VII,1<sup>48</sup> and the following chapters the problem is dealt with thoroughly, but again Augustine does not find an answer. Only Tertullian's view of a bodily traducianism is rejected.<sup>49</sup> The origin of the human soul is also the theme of *Epistula* 166 (415), addressed to Jerome; there Augustine puts the question when and how children, in a creationist perspective, can commit sins which are forgiven through baptism (166,10).<sup>50</sup> This question recurs in *Epistula* 180,2 (416)<sup>51</sup> and *Epistula* 190 (418), in which Augustine remains undecided between traducianism and creationism. Augustine is still uncertain and ignorant at the moment that Julian uses the doctrine of creationism against the doctrine of original sin.<sup>52</sup>

In his discussion with Julian Augustine recognizes that the creation of the soul is an obscure matter for him and that he likes more to be instructed about it than to instruct others; he does not dare to say anything

<sup>44</sup> *Retractationes* I,1,3, *CCSL* 57, p. 10: "Nam quod attinet ad eius originem, qua fit ut sit in corpore, utrum de illo uno ait qui primum creatus est, quando factus est homo in animam vivam, an similiter fiant singulis singuli, *nec tunc sciebam, nec nunc scio*." For a good survey of Augustine's struggle with this problem, see G.J.P. O'DALY, *Augustine on the Origin of Souls*, in *Platonismus und Christentum. Festschrift für H. Dörrie* (Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum, 10), Münster (Westfalen), 1983, 184-191.

<sup>45</sup> *CCSL* 29, pp. 307-310.

<sup>46</sup> Cf. *Epistula* 98,1 (408-410), *CSEL* 34, pp. 520-521; 143,5-6 (dating from 412), *CSEL* 44, pp. 255-256; cf. O'DALY, *a.c.*, 184-186.

<sup>47</sup> In this context, see W. THEILER, *Augustin und Origenes*, in *Augustinus* 13 (1968) 423-432.

<sup>48</sup> *CSEL* 28, pp. 201ff.

<sup>49</sup> Cf. *De Genesi ad litteram* X,25-26, *CSEL* 28, pp. 328-332; O'DALY, *a.c.*, 189.

<sup>50</sup> *CSEL* 44, pp. 560-561.

<sup>51</sup> *CSEL* 44, p. 698.

<sup>52</sup> With respect to Augustine's hesitation and its influence on later writers, see G.R. EVANS, *Augustine on the Soul: the Legacy of the Unanswered Questions*, in *Augustinianum* 25 (1985) 283-294.



about this question that he does not know himself.<sup>53</sup> He endorses generally "the thesis of our faith that the good God is the creator of souls and bodies".<sup>54</sup> In a certain sense, this sounds as a preference for creationism, but one can not call it a real affirmation.

It is true that Augustine rejects explicitly the reproach of defending a *tradux animarum*-doctrine like the Manichees. Thus he reacts in *Contra duas epistulas pelagianorum* III,26 to the thesis that he would be asserting that the transmission of the souls is intimately linked up with the transmission of sins.<sup>55</sup> It is interesting, in my opinion, to see how Augustine by this reaction makes things more difficult for himself: if one cuts the ties between the two sorts of transmission, it becomes more difficult to find a solution to the problem of the transmission of original sin, for Augustine explicitly believes that the sin of Adam is transmitted to his descendants.

Augustine radically rejects also the idea of an emanation of the soul from God. Therefore, he does not accept the idea of a progressive darkening of a divine part by successive procreations, as, according to Augustine, is the case, e.g., in Manicheism. Basing himself on his knowledge of Manicheism, Augustine does not refrain from correcting Julian's presentation of the Manichean doctrine of the soul.<sup>56</sup> Thereby, Augustine propo-

<sup>53</sup> It shows at least the intellectual honesty of Augustine that he never keeps silent about this argument of Julian, even if it puts him into an awkward position; cf. *Contra duas epistulas pelagianorum* II,11, CSEL 60, p. 471; IV,2, CSEL 60, p. 521; IV,24, CSEL 60, p. 549; *Contra Iulianum* V,17, PL 44, 794; *Opus imperfectum* II,62, CSEL 85,1, p. 208; II,178, CSEL 85,1, p. 299; IV,104, PL 45, 1400.

<sup>54</sup> "Fides nostra bonum Deum creatorem et animarum et corporum novit."; *Opus imperfectum* III,174, CSEL 85,1, p. 475; cf. *Contra Iulianum* III,13, PL 44, 709: "Deus enim qui est animarum, ipse est etiam corporum conditor ..."; V,26, PL 44, 800: "Ego enim secundum catholicam fidem, totum hominem, totam scilicet animam totumque corpus eius Deo summo et vero tribuo creatori ..."; see also *Opus imperfectum* III,46, CSEL 85,1, p. 387; IV,125, PL 45, 1422. On the basis of these texts, I do not understand how one can say that Augustine relapses into Manicheism; cf. W. GEERLINGS, *Zur Frage des Nachwirkens des Manichäismus in der Theologie Augustins*, in *Zeitschrift für Katholische Theologie* 93 (1971) 45-60, p. 57.

<sup>55</sup> "Quod ubi et quando in eorum qui defendunt adversus istos catholicam fidem, vel sermonibus audierint vel litteris legerint nescio."; CSEL 60, p. 519; cf. also *Opus imperfectum* III,174, CSEL 85,1, p. 475.

<sup>56</sup> In *Opus imperfectum* VI,6, PL 45, 1510, Augustine makes the following remark: if he would not have known that Julian had read his *De duabus animabus*, he would have concluded that Julian was ignorant about Mani's teachings of the mixture of the good and the evil substances; Julian refers to Augustine's work in *Ad Florum* I,44, CSEL 85,1, p. 31; V,40, PL 45, 1476.



ses his own view on the two souls in Manichean doctrine.<sup>57</sup> According to the Manichees, there are two souls: one proper to the flesh, which is by nature evil because it has emanated from an evil substance *coeterna Deo*, and another soul which is a part of God (*particula Dei*) and, consequently, good by nature but defiled by the mixture with the evil substance. In the struggle between both substances what matters is the liberation of the good soul. If the latter does not succeed in liberating itself, it will be stricken by the globe of darkness, and it will be in all eternity detained by it as a punishment. The good soul is not destined for the eternal fire, as Julian asserts, but shut up in the globe of darkness as punishment, just as the prince

<sup>57</sup> According to R. FERWERDA, *Two Souls. Origen's and Augustine's Attitude towards the Two Souls Doctrine. Its Place in Greek and Christian Philosophy*, in *Vigiliae Christianae* 37 (1983) 360-378, especially pp. 360-364, Augustine's view on the two souls would be an incorrect representation. Ferwerda follows here H. PUECH, *Les sources de Plotin. Entretiens sur l'antiquité classique* V, Vandoeuvres-Genève, 1957, p. 39. He bases himself also on J.P. ASMUSSEN, *Die Gnosis* III. *Der Manichäismus*, München, 1980. Ferwerda states that Augustine is the only author to speak about two souls in one person (pp. 360-361). The Manichees just believed in a (good) soul and an (evil) body; the soul descended from God into the body. Augustine would have used the gnostic distinction between soul and mind - namely, that the pneuma is the higher, and the psychè the lower soul - in order to accuse the Manichees of a theory of two souls (p. 362). The reason for doing so would be that God's justice is at stake. Ferwerda refers here to Origen.

I admit that in Manicheism (with the exception of Augustine) the theory of two souls in one body is never mentioned. Nevertheless, Ferwerda's explanation of Augustine's talk about two souls is, in my opinion, not entirely satisfactory. According to me, the reproaches leveled by Augustine at the Manichees are the following ones: *primo*, their view on the good soul as a part of God detracts from God's immutability; *secundo*, their radical condemnation of bodiliness as such runs counter Augustine's belief in the resurrection of the body which is also created by God; *tertio*, their 'substantiation' of evil means for Augustine a detraction of the Christian idea of *sanatio* and salvation, and this idea is contradicted by the Manichean doctrine of *separatio*. God's justice only indirectly gets into difficulties, namely where, according to Augustine, God's omnipotence has something to do with evil, and his justice permits evil on account of his justice because of the historical sin of Adam. When Augustine speaks of two souls in the Manichean doctrine, it seems to me that this is in a certain sense the logical deduction of the radical opposition between the substance of evil and the divine soul in the human being, which take action against each other. With regard to this objection, see also the restriction made by G. Madec in his review of Ferwerda's article (*Revue des études augustiniennes* 30 (1984) 370). After all, even apart from the question of the two souls, Augustine censures the Manichees for their oppositional dualism. Even if Augustine would have invented the theory of the two souls, it remains true that this is for Augustine only a deduction from their condemnable view on created reality *in toto*. Concerning Augustine's view on the Manichean doctrine of soul as such, see also F. DECRET, *Aspects du manichéisme dans l'Afrique romaine. Les controverses de Fortunatus, Faustus et Felix avec saint Augustin*, Paris, 1970, pp. 210-212; 218-219; 255-257.



of darkness is shut up.<sup>58</sup> Augustine emphasizes that for the Manichees the whole human being is evil and belongs to an evil creator,<sup>59</sup> except this small divine part, which alone has to suffer by the agitation flowing from the power of darkness.<sup>60</sup>

Augustine's basic thesis always remains: any explanation of the origin of the soul which does not do justice to original sin cannot be true because the doctrine of original sin is attested by Holy Scripture as well as by the tradition of infant baptism. An obscure question may not destroy what is *verissimum, fundatissimum, notissimum*.<sup>61</sup> Augustine admits fully that he knows no answer to the problem of the creation of the soul. He does not know whether the soul is corrupted by the contact with the flesh or is already corrupted in Adam, but he finds that our first care must concern the healing of the soul, for it is unquestionable that the soul is wounded.<sup>62</sup>

While admitting that he has no satisfactory explanation concerning the "origin" of the soul, Augustine appeals to two basic principles in order to justify his position, namely, Holy Scripture and experience. With respect to experience, Augustine points out that the soul, which is the ground of our being in the image of God,<sup>63</sup> is weighed down by the mortal body<sup>64</sup>,

<sup>58</sup> *Opus imperfectum* VI,6, PL 45, 1510: "Manichaeus ergo duas animas, sive spiritus, sive mentes, unam propriam carnis, eandemque non accidentem vitio, sed coaeternam Deo naturam malam, alteram vero naturam bonam tanquam Dei particulam, sed illius malae permixtione maculatam, in homine uno esse contendit; et hinc vult fieri, ut caro concupiscat adversus spiritum, utique bonum, per animam suam malam, ut eum teneat implicatum; spiritus autem adversus carnem, ut ab illa commixtione liberetur. Quod si nec ultima mundi conflagratione potuerit, tunc eum dicit affigi tenebrarum globo, atque in aeternum tali supplicio detineri."

<sup>59</sup> "Hoc autem totum opificium, quod est homo, et malum et mali esse dicit auctoris."; *Opus imperfectum* III,155, CSEL 85,1, p. 461.

<sup>60</sup> "Non corpora, sed animas aucupari diabolus potuit dicere Manichaeus; corpora enim dicit ad gentis tenebrarum naturam, unde est et diabolus, pertinere. Proinde secundum Manicheum non corpora, quae ipsius sunt, sed animas bonas, quae ipsius non sunt, dicitur diabolus aucupari..."; *Opus imperfectum* III,174, CSEL 85,1, p. 475.

<sup>61</sup> *Contra duas epistulas Pelagianorum* III,26, CSEL 60, p. 519; cf. *Retractationes* II,45, CCSL 57, p. 127 about *Epistula* 166 to Jerome. See also *Contra Iulianum* V,17, PL 44, 794.

<sup>62</sup> See *Contra Iulianum* V,17, PL 44, 794; V,53, PL 44, 814; *Opus imperfectum* II,178, CSEL 85,1, p. 299; M.-M. LABOURDETTE, *Le péché originel dans la Tradition vivante de l'Eglise*, in *Revue Thomiste* 84 (1984) 357-398, p. 392.

<sup>63</sup> "... anima, hoc est Dei imagine ..."; *Opus imperfectum* IV,39, PL 45, 1360. Concerning Augustine's texts about *imago Dei* in the discussion with Julian, see J. HEIJKE, *St. Augustine's Comments on 'Imago Dei'* (Classical Folia, Supplement III), 1960, pp. 82-86. As regards Augustine's view on the human soul as *imago Dei* we refer to H. SOMERS, *Image de Dieu. Les sources de l'exégèse augustinienne*, in *Revue des études augustinienne*



something that everyone experiences (inside oneself or in others) through all sorts of physical suffering, which weigh down our mind.<sup>65</sup> Human

nes 7 (1961) 105-125; J.F. SULLIVAN, *The Image of God. The Doctrine of St. Augustine and its Influence*, Dubuque, Iowa, 1963, pp. 42-53; A. SOLIGNAC, *Image et ressemblance II. Pères de l'Église*, in *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité* VII, 1971, 1418-1422; T.A. FAY, *Imago Dei: Augustine's Metaphysics of Man*, in *Antonianum* 49 (1974) 173-197; BONNER, *Adam*, 83.

<sup>64</sup> For Augustine, just as for Julian, the human being is God's image through his soul, and especially through the most excellent part of the soul, namely, the *mens* or the *intellectus*. Because the human being, according to Augustine, was created initially as serving the rational soul, it becomes understandable why Augustine, in his discussion with Julian, mentions the weighing down of the soul by the mortal body because of the breaking of the harmonious subordination of the body to the soul by Adam's Fall, that is, by Adam's rational choice against God. Until 412, Augustine thought that the image of God in the human being was destroyed completely. However, from *De spiritu et littera* 48 (CSEL 60, p. 202) on, he believed rather that it was deformed; see his correction concerning *De Genesi ad litteram* VI,38 (CSEL 28, p. 199) in *Retractationes* II,24, CCSL 57, p. 110: "In sexto libro quod dixi Adam imaginem Dei secundum quam factus est, perdisse peccato, non sic accipiendum est tamquam in eo nulla remanserit, sed quod tam deformis ut reformatione opus haberet." Only because God loves us, the image of God is rediscovered, reformed, renovated, that is, again orientated towards God. The potential relationship with God is again actualized by God's merciful help. Consequently, the human being retains, even after the Fall, his intellectual capacities, but has lost, as it were, their orientation. It is this idea which we meet also in the controversy. Indeed, Augustine declares in *Contra Iulianum* IV,15, PL 44, 744: "Bonum dicis hominum naturam, quae talis gratiae opitulationem meretur. Quod gratanter audirem, si hoc propterea quia rationalis natura est diceres, neque enim gratia Dei per Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum lapidibus, aut lignis pecoribusque praestatur; sed quia imago Dei est, meretur hanc gratiam; non tamen ut eius bona voluntas possit praecedere praeter gratiam, nec vel ipsam prior det ut retribuatur illi, ac si gratia iam non sit gratia, dum non datur gratuita et redditur debita."; cf. SULLIVAN, *The Image of God*, p. 53.

<sup>65</sup> *Opus imperfectum* VI,27, PL 45, 1572. It might be tempting to link Augustine's statement about the corruptibility that weighs down the soul with the platonic theme of the body as a prison of the soul. In this point, however, I think that we should be cautious, for Augustine ascribes the creation of the body also to God; see *Opus imperfectum* III,176, CSEL 85,1, p. 476. Moreover, he always emphasizes the resurrection of the body, and from then on all the corporeal imperfections will be taken away. In addition to this, Augustine considers the weighing down of the soul as a punishment of Adam's sin; in this sense, he interprets this fact in a theological way. And finally, Augustine follows Ambrose in rejecting the platonic idea that God would be only the Creator of the soul, whereas the body would be created by lesser gods; cf. *Contra Iulianum* II,19, PL 44, 686; *Opus imperfectum* I,116, CSEL 85,1, p. 133. P. COURCELLE, *Connais-toi toi-même: de Socrate à Saint Bernard*, t. II, Paris, 1975, pp. 368-371 has sufficiently demonstrated that Augustine, in his later writings, rejected this platonic opinion: "Cet appesantissement est l'effet du péché originel, non la cause de ce péché. C'est l'âme pécheresse qui a rendu la chair corruptible." (p. 370) See in particular *De civitate Dei* XIV,3, CCSL 48, pp. 416-417; cf. also XII,27, CCSL 48, pp. 383-384; cf. A. ADAM, *Das Fortwirken des Manichäismus*



beings are essentially marked by mortality, and this mortality is due to the fact that we have been procreated, that is, because we are children of parents. Whereas Julian stands up for our own responsibility, Augustine will underline our being in the world thanks to and together with others, in order to affirm that our soul is hindered by our body and that this is caused by others.

In other words, Augustine proposes from experience the *discordia carnis et spiritus*: the tension between flesh and mind. That the soul dwells in a mortal body and that the latter constitutes a serious obstacle for the soul, particularly with respect to its rational capacities, is for Augustine an important fact.<sup>66</sup> To be sure, Augustine admits fully that the human person as rational being is superior to the animals, but he relativizes immediately this superiority by comparing it with God, the highest and immutable good.<sup>67</sup> Augustine's great concern is his experience that our mortal body weighs down the human soul, *imago Dei*, and he seeks an explanation of this fact.<sup>68</sup> It may be fine that the human being because of his rational superiority is to be situated on a higher level than the animals, but at the same time it cannot be denied that only the human being - precisely by virtue of his rationality - suffers from the pain of mortality.<sup>69</sup> Augustine

*bei Augustin*, in *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 69 (1958) 1-25, p. 4.

<sup>66</sup> "Numquid enim caret corruptione corporis? Annon est malum quod aggravat animam? (*Sap.* 9,15) Numquid caret ignorantiae malo, per quod a nescientibus innumerabilia perpetrantur mala?"; *Contra Iulianum* VI,49, *PL* 44, 851; "Quare ergo grave iugum super eum a die exitus de ventre matris eius? Cur tanta corruptibilitas corporis, ut hac aggravetur anima eius? (*Sap.* 9,15) Cur tanta mentis optusio, ut etiam plagis erudiatur tarditas eius?"; *Opus imperfectum* I,54, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 51; see also III,44, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 385; V,11, *PL* 45, 1441; VI,20, *PL* 45, 1546.

<sup>67</sup> "Sed ut tibi sic loquar tanquam homini homo, et talis homo cuius terrena inhabitatio deprimit sensum multa cogitantem (cf. *Sap.* 9,15), nihil est in creaturis quod attinet ad institutarum divinitus merita naturarum, rationali mente praestantius. Unde fit consequens ut mens bona magis sibi placeat, magisque se ipsa delectet, quam quaelibet alia creatura. Quam vero periculose, immo perniciose sibi placeat, cum per hoc tumescit typho et morbo inflationis extollitur, quamdiu non videt sicut videbit in fine summum illud et immutabile bonum, in cuius comparatione se spernat, sibique illius caritate vilescat, tantoque spiritu eius impleatur, ut id sibi non ratione sola, sed aeterno quoque amore praeponat..."; *Contra Iulianum* IV,28, *PL* 44, 752-753.

<sup>68</sup> "Quid igitur meruit imago Dei ut ad impedimentum rerum sciendarum corruptibile corpore gravetur, si nullum est originale peccatum?"; *Opus imperfectum* III,44, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 385; cf. III,45, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 386; IV,43, *PL* 45, 1363; IV,75, *PL* 45, 1381; V,3, *PL* 45, 1434; VI,9, *PL* 45, 1516 etc. See F. REFOULÉ, *Misère des enfants et péché originel d'après saint Augustin*, in *Revue Thomiste* 63 (1963) 341-362, p. 351.

<sup>69</sup> "Nempe corruptibile corpus est et asini et hominis et tamen non asini aggravat, sed hominis animam; ... sic ergo et in libidine agnosce et pecoris naturam et hominis poenam, si animam non habes asininam"; *Opus imperfectum* IV,56, *PL* 45, 1373; see Y. DE MONT-



states that it costs a lot of trouble before people become scholars, and that, when one compares their knowledge to that of Adam,<sup>70</sup> even the few that can be termed as wise are *plumbei*, because, in contrast with Adam, the perishable body weighs down their souls. Therefore, human beings must put in great efforts in order to learn something.<sup>71</sup>

Against Julian's thesis that we all as rational beings know what we should do on account of innate virtues, Augustine holds that *all* human beings are born with a certain slowness of mind. Even those persons who are called acute thinkers, must always exert themselves in order to learn. Moreover, we know that there are physically and mentally handicapped persons<sup>72</sup>. According to Augustine, the only explanation for this lies in the Fall of Adam. In his *Confessiones*, Augustine has described in a penetrating way the difficulties of the process of learning. And even in his old days, he remembers this. He describes in *Opus imperfectum* III,154<sup>73</sup> the life of a little child: first weeping, then laughing, then learning to speak, then going to school in order to become able to read and to write. All

CHEUIL, *La polémique de saint Augustin contre Julien d'Éclane d'après l'Opus imperfectum*, in *Recherches de science religieuse* 44 (1956) 193-218, in particular pp. 217-218.

<sup>70</sup> Concerning Augustine's view on Adam in this period, see M. LAMBERIGTS, *Julien d'Éclane et Augustin d'Hippone. Deux conceptions d'Adam*, in *Collectanea Augustiniana. Mélanges T.J. van Bavel*, publiés par B. BRUNING, M. LAMBERIGTS, J. VAN HOUTEM (BETL, 92 A-B), Leuven, 1990, 373-410, especially pp. 382-409.

<sup>71</sup> "Nunc de plumbeo ad intellegendum acumine, haeretice verbose, responde. Nemo est certe qui nollet, si id esset in hominis potestate, ingenio vividus atque ad intellegendum acutissimus nasci; et quam rari sunt quis ignorat? Qui tamen omnes ipsi paucissimi, si hominis, qui primus est factus, comparentur ingenio, plumbei iudicantur. Non enim tunc, sicut nunc corpus corruptibile aggravabat animam (*Sap.* 9,15)."; *Opus imperfectum* IV,75, PL 45, 1381; V,1, PL 45, 1432; V,3, PL 45, 1434; V,11, PL 45, 1442; VI,9, PL 45, 1515; VI,13, PL 45, 1525; VI,29, PL 45, 1578.

<sup>72</sup> "Omnibus congenita est quaedam etiam tarditatis mentis, qua et hi qui apellantur ingeniosi, non tamen sine aliqua laboris aerumna (...) discunt ... Quidem etiam corpore et aliquando monstroso, multi obliviosi, multi ad intellegendum tardi et obtunsi, multi iracundi, multi libidinosi, nonnulli etiam omnino excordes fatiueque nascuntur. Quid aliud catholica respondet fides, nisi haec omnia mala, ex natura quae peccato contagione vitata est, exoriri?"; *Opus imperfectum* VI,9, PL 45, 1515-1516; cf. *Contra Iulianum* V,18, PL 44, 795; *Opus imperfectum* I,54, CSEL 85,1, p. 51. It is obvious that *mortalitas* in Augustine's writings has a broader meaning than the biological death; it means also a psychological and intellectual deficiency, inherent to our mortal existence. See in this respect F. FLOËRI, *Remarques sur la doctrine augustinienne du péché originel*, in *Studia Patristica* 9 (TU, 94), Berlin, 1966, p. 416-421, especially p. 416; cf. J. CLÉMENCE, *Saint Augustin et le péché originel*, in *Nouvelle Revue Théologique* 70 (1948) 727-745, p. 739.

<sup>73</sup> CSEL 85,1, p. 459; see also I,4, CSEL 85,1, p. 8; III,155, CSEL 85,1, p. 461; VI,13, PL 45, 1525; cf. DE MONTCHEUIL, *La polémique de saint Augustin contre Julien d'Éclane d'après l'Opus imperfectum*, p. 198-199; REFOULÉ, *Misère des enfants et péché originel d'après saint Augustin*, pp. 349-350.



those things are not performed without difficulty: the slaps are inversely proportional to the progress of the intellect. Meanwhile, one can become sick or has to suffer another harm. One makes great efforts but does not always succeed: *Volens tenere nec valens*.<sup>74</sup> The experiential reality proves sufficiently that a theoretical discourse about innate knowledge is *de facto* ineffective.<sup>75</sup> To reinforce his thesis Augustine points to the *moriones*, the mentally handicapped, who are so foolish that one scarcely attributes to some of them the intelligence of animals.<sup>76</sup>

The strength of Augustine's argument consists in the fact that, even if one chooses radically the solution of creationism as answer to the problem of the creation of the soul, one is confronted with the bare reality of perceiving little of the *imago Dei* in, e.g., mentally handicapped people. That which chiefly should refer to God and reflect, as it were, God's permanent creative activity seems to be fundamentally darkened in many persons. Proposing that the virtues are impressed on the human mind so that everyone knows what should be done may be a beautiful theoretical ideal, but this theoretical concept proves to be untenable when confronted with our actual experience. In its extreme form this "evil" can only be adequately explained, according to Augustine, within the framework of God's omnipotence and justice, if one admits that something went wrong at a certain moment of our history, and this moment was the Fall of Adam. In other words: something wrong happened to the human being as *imago Dei*. Augustine notices that *all sorts of suffering* on the level of the soul are irreconcilable with an unquestioning acceptance of the soul as the image of God.<sup>77</sup>

<sup>74</sup> *Opus imperfectum* VI,13, PL 45, 1525; see J. DOIGNON, *Clichés antiques sur l'âme "enténébrée" de l'enfant dans les écrits anti-pélagiens d'Augustin*, in *L'etica cristiana nei secoli III e IV: eredità e confronti. XXIV Incontro di studiosi dell'antichità cristiana* (Roma, 4-6 maggio 1995) (Studia Ephemeridis Augustinianum, 53), Roma, 1996, pp. 409-412.

<sup>75</sup> Augustine acknowledges of course that the human being is able to gradually diminish his ignorance, but however much he knows, there always remains a relative ignorance which only will end at the final fulfilment; see *Opus imperfectum* I,36, CSEL 85,1, p. 27.

<sup>76</sup> "Quis autem nesciat, quos vulgo moriones vocant, natura ita fatuos, ut quibusdam eorum pene sensus pecorum conferatur?"; *Contra Iulianum* III,10, PL 44, 707; cf. already *De peccatorum meritis et remissione* I,32, CSEL 60, p. 31; *Epistula* 166,17, CSEL 43, p. 570; see also *Contra Iulianum* V,18, PL 44, 795; VI,1, PL 44, 821; *Opus imperfectum* III,155, CSEL 85,1, p. 462; III,161, CSEL 85,1, pp. 466-467; III,198, CSEL 85,1, pp. 497-498; IV,75, PL 45, 1381; IV,125, PL 45, 1422; IV,134, PL 45, 1429.

<sup>77</sup> See *Contra Iulianum* III,9, PL 44, 706; III,10, PL 44, 707; III,12, PL 44, 708; V,4, PL 44, 784; VI,67, PL 44, 864; *Opus imperfectum* I,40, CSEL 85,1, p. 30; I,49, CSEL 85,1, p. 42; II,117, CSEL 85,1, p. 249; II,178, CSEL 85,1, p. 299; III,110, CSEL 85,1, pp.



Julian rejects the idea of transmission and punishment with regard to the *peccatum originale*. He does so on account of his conviction that the soul is created by God, as well as on account of his distinction between the order of willing and of being created. Augustine, on the contrary, refers to the fact that we find deficiencies, even there where God's permanent creative activity must be situated first and foremost, namely, in the creation of the soul. And the same is true of the body. In so far as body and soul are nature, they are God's work; but in so far as they are vitiated, they point to punishment.<sup>78</sup>

In any case, he who chooses creationism as the explanation of the origin of the soul in every human being should also account for the fact that the soul of many people is fundamentally vitiated. The theoretical ideal of innate virtues and knowledge is in flat contradiction with experience.

In addition to the weighing down of the soul by our perishable body<sup>79</sup> and to the rational and psychological deficiencies of the soul, Augustine points to a third aspect, namely, to the *vanitas* which characterizes our earthly existence. It plays an important role in his *Opus imperfectum*. Here Augustine refers often to Psalm 143:4: "*Homo vanitati similis factus est, dies eius velut umbra praetereunt*".<sup>80</sup> He attaches so great an impor-

431-432; III,161, *CSEL* 85,1, pp. 466-467; IV,39, *PL* 45, 1359-1360; IV,75, *PL* 45, 1381-1382; IV,123, *PL* 45, 1420-1421; V,1, *PL* 45, 1433; V,11, *PL* 45, 1441-1442; VI,17, *PL* 45, 1540; VI,20, *PL* 45, 1546-1547; VI,26, *PL* 45, 1565-1566; VI,36, *PL* 45, 1594; VI,37, *PL* 45, 1596. Cf. in particular DE MONTCHEUIL, *La polémique de saint Augustin contre Julien d'Éclane d'après l'Opus imperfectum*, p. 216-217; and REFOULÉ, *Misère des enfants et péché originel d'après saint Augustin*, pp. 346-347; 350-351.

<sup>78</sup> "Tu autem, qui propterea malos nasci posse non putas, quia Deus bonus eos creat, contendere, si potes, nec corpora nasci posse vitiosa, quia et ipsa Deus integer creat, contendere postremo sicut malos, quia bonus eos creat, ita nec tardos ingenio nec fatuos homines nasci, quia sapiens eos creat. An non est malum fatuitas, cum scriptura dicat incomparabiliter amplius fatuum lugendum esse quam mortuum? Sicut ergo nobiscum non dicitis Deum fatuitatis auctorem, cum tamen nasci fatuos homines Deo creante fateamini, sic nos auctorem malitiae non dicimus Deum et tamen originalis obligatione peccati malos homines nasci non nisi creante ipso, qui non creat homines nisi ipse, recte possumus dicere."; *Opus imperfectum* III,155, *CSEL* 85, pp. 461-462; "Ita constat Deum bonum malos non creare, quemadmodum constat Deum sapientem fatuos non creare."; III,161, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 466; see also IV,75, *PL* 45, 1381 and *Contra Iulianum* III,10, *PL* 44, 707.

<sup>79</sup> Needless to say that Augustine repeatedly refers to Wisdom 9,15: "Corpus enim quod corrumpitur aggravat animam et deprimit terrena inhabitatio sensum multa cogitantem."; for a survey, see A.-M. LA BONNARDIÈRE, *Biblia Augustiniana. A.T. Le livre de la Sagesse* (Études augustiniennes), Paris, 1970, pp. 289-292; one can add to her list: *Opus imperfectum* IV,67; VI,13; VI,17.

<sup>80</sup> See *Opus imperfectum* I,4, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 8; I,5, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 8; I,36, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 26; I,63, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 60; I,92, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 104; II,178, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 299; II,110, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 431; V,1, *PL* 45, 1433; V,11, *PL* 45, 1441; VI,20, *PL* 45, 1547;



tance to this text that some authors have written "[ceci] devient comme le point d'appui de la théologie d'Augustin sur la déchéance de l'homme créé dans la vérité et désormais soumis à la vanité, à la condition d'une créature qui change et qui passe".<sup>81</sup> This verse expresses for Augustine the idea that, since the Fall of Adam, the original creation *ad similitudinem Dei* has been lost, and, consequently, the human being no longer lives in the light of the truth.<sup>82</sup> The human being was *similis veritati*, but became *similis vanitati*,<sup>83</sup> which is only understandable if God permits it on account of his justice (*non creante*) because of original sin, for this is in contrast with the original situation of the first human beings.<sup>84</sup> Augustine's point is a theologically interpreted intellectual depravation, which is situated in the present vale of tears<sup>85</sup> where our nature *in ipsam mortalitatem lapsa est*; this is the reason why our days pass away as a shadow and mortality is, as it were, attached to us.<sup>86</sup> In other words, this *vanitas* shows a (theological) loss of perspective inherent to our dark earthly existence. Our existence would be "hopeless", if we were not liberated by Christ, the *veritas* (John 14:6), who is the only one to liberate us really (John 8:32; 8,36).

VI,27, PL 45, 1572.

<sup>81</sup> L. CHEVALIER & H. RONDET, *L'idée de vanité dans l'oeuvre de saint Augustin*, in *Revue des études augustiniennes* 3 (1957) 221-234, p. 232.

<sup>82</sup> Cf. *Opus imperfectum* I,5, CSEL 85,1, p. 8; I,63, CSEL 85,1, p. 60. For Augustine, the *similitudo* is lost through the Fall, but not the *imago Dei* as *capacitas Dei*. Through grace the human being will be put back in a relationship of *similitudo*; this means that one is again in the right perspective of faith: directed towards God; then, in a dynamic process, and thanks to the permanent action of divine grace, one begins more and more to bear a likeness to God: "Similitudo quae per Dei gratiam renovatur de die in diem."; *Opus imperfectum* III,110, CSEL 85,1, p. 431. In respect to the distinction *imago-similitudo*, see R.A. MARKUS, "Imago" and "Similitudo" in Augustine, in *Revue des études augustiniennes* 10 (1964) 125-143; T.E. CLARKE, *The Eschatological Transformation of the Material World according to Saint Augustine*, Woodstock (Maryland), 1956, pp. 23-29.

<sup>83</sup> "Dic mihi, quare 'homo' etiam 'vanitati similis factus est' (Ps. 143:4), qui factus fuerat similis veritati."; *Opus imperfectum* I,36, CSEL 85,1, pp. 26-27.

<sup>84</sup> "Ex qualibet ergo et quantalibet parte omnes, qui ex illo (Adam) nati sunt, ille unus fuerunt sive secundum solum corpus sive secundum utramque hominis partem, quod me nescire confiteor nec me pudet, et vos, fateri nescire quod nescio, nec ideo tamen nescio de omni homine scriptum esse: 'Homo vanitati similis factus est, dies eius velut umbra praetereunt' (Ps. 143:4), quia et alibi eadem sancta scriptura dicit: 'Verum tamen universa vanitas omnis homo vivens' (Ps. 38:6), quod iusto Deo creante non fieret, si peccatum originale non esset."; *Opus imperfectum* II,178, CSEL 85,1, p. 299; cf. V,11, PL 45, 1441; VI,20, PL 45, 1547; *Contra Iulianum* VI,33, PL 44, 783.

<sup>85</sup> Cf. *Opus imperfectum* V,1, PL 45, 1433; *Contra Iulianum* VI,39, PL 44, 843.

<sup>86</sup> See *Opus imperfectum* V,11, PL 45, 1441; VI,27, PL 45, 1572.



Thus we are released from the bonds of suffering and sin.<sup>87</sup>

One must admit that Julian's theory is not always consistent. I have stressed enough that, according to him, human beings know what they should do on account of their innate virtues. But he himself complains consistently of the fact that only a few people are wise or courageous and, distinguishing themselves from the ignorant masses, really are seeking the truth. Augustine does not deny this, but he will use Julian's complaint to make him face the fundamental question: what is the cause of the fact that the human being, originally so well created, experiences so great difficulty to learn useful and salutary things and prefers to avoid this effort? Julian's theoretical sketch of the human capacities fails when confronted with practice.

It is undeniable that Augustine cannot offer a satisfactory answer to the question of the creation of the soul and that the thesis of creationism causes him problems regarding the transmission of original sin. In this sense, one must admit that Julian reveals a weak point in Augustine's view on original sin. But, at the same time, one must recognize that the creationist concept of the creation of the soul causes a number of fundamental problems. How can one explain that so many and serious deficiencies exist within the rational capacities of the soul if they are the result of God's actual and creative activity? Therefore, Augustine does not doubt that we all are marked by Adam's sin, since we belong to his descent. Because of Adam we are, from our birth on, sinners, alienated from God, beings who need salvation and whose existence is marked by mortality and imperfection.

When two clever persons discuss with one another, probably both are often partly right. This is also the case with Julian and Augustine. Theoretically speaking, Julian is right in asserting that it is difficult to defend a transmitted original sin on the basis of creationism. On the other hand, Augustine is right in observing that concrete experience shows clearly that the theory of creationism offers no answer to the problem of mental deficiencies.

Leuven

Mathijs LAMBERIGTS

<sup>87</sup> "Unde (sc. miseria) non liberat nisi qui dixit: 'Veritas liberabit vos' (Joh. 8:32); et 'Ego sum veritas' (Joh. 4:6); et 'Si vos filius liberaverit, tunc vere liberi eritis' (Joh. 8:36). Non enim a vanitate nisi veritas liberat; sed secundum gratiam, non secundum debitum; per misericordiam, non per meritum. Sicut enim iudici fuit ut vanitati subicere-mur; ita misericordiae est ut veritate liberemur, et ipsa bona merita nostra nonnisi Dei dona esse fateamur."; *Contra Iulianum* VI,39, PL 44, 843; cf. CLARKE, *The Eschatological Transformation of the Material World according to Augustine*, pp. 34-40.



# POPE BONIFACE I, THE PELAGIAN CONTROVERSY AND THE GROWTH OF PAPAL AUTHORITY

## BONIFACE I AND CELESTINE I

The feast of Christmas was but one day old in the year 418 when Pope Zosimus (whose *Tractoria* issued several months previously had officially condemned the Pelagian movement) departed this life and was buried a day later, most likely in the basilica of St Lawrence on the Tiburtine Way.<sup>1</sup> The most immediate legacy bequeathed the Roman Church with his death, however, was schism. Whether or not this division within the clergy of Rome was an immediate result of the late pope's management of the Pelagian affair is a question to which no certain answer is readily available. Nonetheless, it is a point worth querying, and shall be examined in due course. The facts are that the two contenders for the vacant See were Eulalius (who enjoyed the support of the strong College of Roman deacons) and Boniface, the eventual victor. The *Liber Pontifi-*

<sup>1</sup> "Qui etiam sepultus est via Tiburtina, iuxta corpus beati Laurenti martyris, VII kal. Ianuar." (L. DUCHESNE, *Le Liber Pontificalis* II, Paris, 1886, p. 225.) Duchesne notes that there had been some discussion in the latter part of the nineteenth century as to the exact burial place of this pope, whether he was entombed within close proximity to the body of the martyr or in an ordinary catacomb. It was Duchesne's final opinion, based on certain archaeological evidence, that the late pope was interred in the basilica itself and not in some obscure catacomb (p. 226). Duchesne also notes that with Zosimus' we encounter the first time that a papal date of burial is *not* recorded in the Hieronymian martyrology, a fact which he finds rather astonishing. Although the 27 December marked the feast of Sts John and James, it was hardly unusual to note such a significant event in the church's history as the passing of a Roman bishop, and therefore presumes an oversight. Given St Jerome's rather strong feelings on the recent proceedings at Rome (assuming him to be the actual author of the martyrology which is not beyond dispute), and Caelestius' short-lived victory there before this pope, it is perhaps not quite as surprising as Duchesne might think. The author of the *Liber* seems to be indicating that the burial occurred on the seventh kalends of January (26 December) 418 which was actually the date of Zosimus' death. In fact he was buried on the sixth kalends (December 27), the same day on which Eulalius was elected pope in Rome immediately following the papal funeral rites.



*calis*, though of a later date<sup>2</sup>, describes the contest between them thusly:

"He and Eulalius were ordained in rivalry on the same day and the clergy were divided 7 months 15 days. Now Eulalius was ordained in the Constantinian Basilica, whereas Boniface was ordained in that of Julius. On hearing this the emperor Valentinian [III], then residing at Ravenna, reported it to the Emperor Honorius in residence at Milan. The two emperors sent a warrant ordering that both men should leave the city".<sup>3</sup>

Eulalius had been an archdeacon in Rome during the reign of Zosimus. Whatever his favour had been with the late pontiff, he and his party apparently wasted no time in placing him on Peter's Chair, having proceeded to his election immediately from the funeral rites. The reason for such apparently indecorous haste, however, may have been rooted in some of Zosimus' unresolved difficulties with regard to the presbyters of Rome. Pietri feels that Zosimus and the priests of the city had been at odds with one another, though no concrete reason for the contention is yet forthcoming.<sup>4</sup> Their motivation may have been as simple as a perception of Eulalius associating him with the established and centralized power of the increasingly influential Roman "curia". In the end, the archdeacon's election was hardly convincing. Although perhaps theoretically better placed within the old papal "household" to assume the position, he gleaned the support of but seven deacons and some three priests associated with their number<sup>5</sup>.

His contender, Boniface, was a member of a clerical family, his father Iocundus having been a leading presbyter during the reign of Pope Innocent. Indeed, that pope had employed Iocundus as his envoy on sever-

<sup>2</sup> Duchesne claims that the *Liber* dates from the early sixth century. In its earliest form, Manuscript 22 from Verona clearly indicates a date from about 555. The problem with this manuscript, however, is that only the ending is extant, and so it is not possible to tell if it is actually identical with the *Liber* as it has come down through history. The Verona manuscript, in fact, begins with the reign of Anastasius II, post-dating our period of interest by half a century. (L. DUCHESNE, *Étude sur le Liber Pontificalis*, Paris, 1877, p. 24.)

<sup>3</sup> "Hic sub intentione cum Eulalio ordinatur uno die et fuit dissensio in clero mens. VII d. XV. Eulalius vero ordinatur in basilica Constantiniana, Bonifatius autem in basilica Iuliae. Eodem tempore audiens hoc Placidia Augusta cum filio suo Valentiniano Augusto, dum sederent Ravenna, retulit Honorio Augusto Mediolano sedenti. Eodem tempore ambo Augusti missa auctoritate hoc praeceperunt ut ambo exirent civitate." (DUCHESNE, p. 227; Eng. trans. in R. DAVIS, *The Book of Pontiffs*, Liverpool, 1989, p. 33.)

<sup>4</sup> C. PIETRI, *Roma Christiana. Recherches sur l'Église de Rome, son organisation, sa politique, son idéologie de Miltiade à Sixte III (311-440)* (Bibliothèque de l'École française d'Athènes et de Rome 224), Rome-Paris, 1976, p. 456.

<sup>5</sup> *Exemplum relationis Symmachi praef. urb. ad Honorem principem Rauennae constitutum*, Coll. Avel. 14,5, CSEL 35, p. 59,25 - 60,1.



al important missions to the court at Constantinople.<sup>6</sup> Also during Innocent's reign Boniface had himself served as papal envoy to the Court of Constantinople<sup>7</sup>. It would seem likely, owing to his missions, that he had spent little time in the papal court itself, and so was probably not closely associated with the decisions of his predecessor. On the day after Eulalius' election, December 28, the majority of presbyters, numbering seventy men, and a great number of the laity assembled in the church of Theodora and elected Boniface in opposition to the action of the college of deacons. On Sunday, December 29, both men were consecrated "bishop of Rome", Eulalius in the Constantinian Basilica, and Boniface in the church of St Marcellus – by no less than nine bishops.

Whatever the effect of the Pelagian controversy on the outcome of this election, it would appear from Augustine that partisans of the recently condemned "heretics" had indeed perceived the schism as a judgment upon the Church of Rome for its "prevarication" under Pope Zosimus.<sup>8</sup> The late pope and his clergy, who may have regrettably acted out of force and fear with regard to the Pelagians, could not be acquitted so easily of their treachery against the truth, believed Julian of Aeclanum, and the confusion which followed the disputed papal vote was but the punishment of God for their offences.<sup>9</sup>

On the day of the double papal consecrations, the prefect of Rome, Symmachus the Younger,<sup>10</sup> sent a report to the Emperor Honorius showing definite favour toward Eulalius.<sup>11</sup> Given the latter's position in

<sup>6</sup> Cf. J.N.D., *The Oxford Dictionary of the Popes*, Oxford, 1986, p. 40.

<sup>7</sup> Α λαβόντες as described by PALLADIUS, *Dial.* IV.

<sup>8</sup> AUGUSTINE, *C. Iul.* 6,37, *PL* 44, c. 842; cf. also G. DE PLINVAL, *Pélage, ses écrits, sa vie et sa réforme. Étude d'histoire littéraire et religieuse*, Lausanne, 1943, p. 341.

<sup>9</sup> "Quale est autem, quod beatae memoriae Zosimum Apostolicae Sedis episcopum, ut in tua pravitate persistas, praevericationis accusas? Qui non recessit a suo praecessore Innocentio, quem tu nominare timuisti; sed maluisti Zosimum, quia egit primitus lenius cum Coelestio: quoniam se in his sensibus vestris si quid displiceret, paratum esse dixerat corrigi, et Innocentii litteris consensurum esse promiserat. Memento sane quemadmodum de constituendo episcopo dissensionem populi Romani insultabundus objectas." (AUGUSTINE, *C. Iul.* 6, 12, 37-38, *PL* 44, c. 842.)

<sup>10</sup> Aurelius Anicius Symmachus, a distant relation to the powerful Anicii family, was Prefect of the city of Rome from 418-20, assuming that office only two days before the death of Pope Zosimus. He is the author of several letters in the *Collectio Avellana*, all dealing with the disputed papal election of Christmastide 418, those being *Epp.* 14, 16, 19, 29, 32 and 34 (*CSEL* 35/1). Martindale expresses uncertainty about the possibility of his embracing Christianity. (J.R. MARTINDALE, *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire* II, Cambridge, 1980, pp. 1043-44.)

<sup>11</sup> PIETRI, p. 453; G. BARDY, *Boniface in Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques* 9, Paris, 1937, cc. 895-97, c. 895.



the Roman establishment during the reign of Pope Zosimus, it is perhaps not surprising that he should have enjoyed the support of powerful figures like Symmachus and others who represented the establishment of the city. Of course, there is no way, other than by inference, to determine the particular reasons for the support which certain members of the Roman aristocracy provided the archdeacon. What does become clear is that the Roman church, in order to resolve the crisis, had to pay a certain price in terms of power-sharing to assure aristocratic support. It was imperial power and local authority which, in the end, intervened to bring about the peace of the Church again.<sup>12</sup> The resolution of the schism, therefore, also serves to highlight the fact that any disagreement within the Roman church now involved the whole society of Rome, and that society was already quite fractured.

At first, Honorius continued to support Eulalius, as evidenced in the following rescript sent by the Emperor to Symmachus on 3 January 419:

"Therefore Your Sublimity should know by our Clemency's present authority that our wish and interest are agreed in respect to Eulalius as bishop of the sacred law, on whom a competent number of ordainers, the customary procedure of a legitimate time and place, the character of a rightly venerated name have conferred the highest honour. Moreover, since it is agreed that all things have been lacking to Boniface, we deem that our decision has been awaited unnecessarily, because those who had presumed seem to have condemned their own ordained bishops by presentation of their prayers. Accordingly, by an absolute command we ordain that, when the extraordinary audacity has been dispelled and interdicted, Boniface forthwith should be debarred from the city. It will be a display of modesty on his part for him, accommodating himself to heavenly institutions, to depart voluntarily; but we order him to be expelled, if too stubbornly resisting and unwilling".<sup>13</sup>

<sup>12</sup> As Pietri observes, "Le pouvoir impérial, après quelques hésitations, a dirigé avec ses lois et sa police l'offensive contre l'hérésie et le paganisme, mais pour imposer plus efficacement son autorité centralisatrice l'épiscopat a trouvé l'appui, dès la fin du IV<sup>e</sup> siècle, des puissants zelanti et de pieux cénacles. Un siècle plus tard, dans la Rome définitivement conquise à la foi nouvelle, la noblesse entend faire payer sa collaboration à l'oeuvre chrétienne en faisant plier sous son contrôle l'autorité pontificale." (PIETRI, p. 460)

<sup>13</sup> "Conuenire ergo uotum et studium nostrum circa Eulalium sacrae legis antistitem sublimitas tua clementiae nostrae auctoritate praesenti cognoscat, cui competens numerus ordinatum, legitimi sollemnitas temporis locique qualitas recte uenerandi nominis apicem contulerunt. Cum autem Bonifatius constet omnia defuisse, superflue expectatam sententiam nostram esse censemus, cum factum suum episcopum, qui praesumpserant, ammotis damnasse precibus uideantur. Absoluta itaque decernimus iussione extraordinaria praesumptione sumnota Bonifatium interdicta confestim urbe prohiberi: erit uerecundiae eius, ut morem gerens caelestibus constitutis sponte discedat; pertinacius resistentem inuitum praecipimus expelli." (*Exemplum sacrarum litterarum*, Coll. Avel. 15,3-4, CSEL 35, p. 61,5-16; Eng. trans. in P.R. COLEMAN-NORTON, *Roman State and Christian Church*. A



It is not clear how well-informed the Emperor had been concerning the election and ordination. Although no figures are mentioned, he seems unaware of the fact that Boniface appeared to enjoy greater popular support, both among the clergy and the laity of Rome. His concern appears to have been primarily the maintenance of peace and good order, considering the matter merely a question of an illegitimate yet ambitious party claiming power which it did not truly deserve.<sup>14</sup>

In keeping with the imperial order, Boniface left the city, but remained on the outskirts, possibly in the vicinity of St Felicity's cemetery on the Via Salaria.<sup>15</sup> Had it not been for the fact that Boniface's partisans petitioned Ravenna for redress of the grievances almost immediately, the matter would most certainly have dropped. As it was, however, some seventy presbyters appealed to Honorius to reconsider the matter. Pietri feels that the petition itself smacks of presbyterianism, over-emphasising the role of the priests in papal elections, and asserting that the divine judgment is to be found in the poll of their number.<sup>16</sup> Honorius must have been persuaded by their appeal for a second rescript was sent to Symmachus on January 15 stating:

"Your illustrious and exalted Grandeur, after all previous decrees have been suspended and with no interim prejudgment arranged, by the authority of the present rescript, shall summon with suitable urgency both most religious men, that is Boniface and Eulalius, that before 8 February they should not delay to expedite their presence at the city of the Ravennates - with all who are performers of each ordination ... By our Serenity's writings we are summoning also from different provinces a suitable number of bishops, that the discussion of very many persons in our presence may put an end to the matter which has been brought into doubt".<sup>17</sup>

*Collection of Legal Documents to A.D. 535*, 2, London, 1966, p. 587.)

<sup>14</sup> Cf. PIETRI, p. 459.

<sup>15</sup> "Qui cum pulsi exissent, habitavit Bonifatius in cimiterio sanctae Felicitatis martyris, via Salaria, Eulalius vero in civitate Antio, ad sanctum Hermen." (DUCHESNE, *Liber Pontificalis*, p. 227.) The expulsion of Eulalius appears to be conflated here with that of Boniface, when in fact it was not until after an unsuccessful attempt to resolve the schism in February that the emperor ordered both contestants to remain outside of the city for the duration of Easter. The fact that Boniface built an oratory in honour of the saint, and was finally buried there all contribute to the likelihood that it was there that he took refuge during his exile. ("Hic fecit in cimiterio sanctae Felicitatis, iuxta corpus eius, et ornavit sepulchrum sanctae martyris Felicitatis et sancti Silvani ... Qui etiam sepultus est via Salaria, iuxta corpus sanctae Felicitatis martyris, vii Kal. Novemb." DUCHESNE, pp. 227-28.)

<sup>16</sup> PIETRI, p. 456.

<sup>17</sup> "Ob quam rem illustris et praecelsa magnitudo tua suspensis omnibus, quae superius sunt decreta, nullique hoc est Bonifatium et Eulalius religiosissimos uiros instantia digna conueniet, ut intra diem sextum Iduum Februariarum Rauennatum ciuitatem praesentiam



The Roman presbyters had claimed, probably quite accurately, that Symmachus had not been impartial in reporting the situation to Ravenna.

To redress the situation, a Synod was called for 8 February 419 in Ravenna. In attendance were the contenders and a company of bishops who had not been personally involved in the conflict. The Synod, however, achieved nothing, adjourning for Easter, with the intention that their meeting should resume on 13 June in Spoleto, to which the bishops of Africa and Gaul would be summoned. On the 15 March, the emperor further commanded that neither Eulalius nor Boniface could enter Rome to celebrate the Easter mysteries. It was left to the bishop of Spoleto, Achilleus, to perform the paschal rites in the absence of a legitimate bishop.<sup>18</sup>

suam maturare non differant, omnibus aequae admonitis, qui auctores utriusque ordinationis existunt... Nos quoque ex diuersis prouinciis competentem numerum sacerdotum scriptis nostris serenitatis accimus, ut remeductam in dubium absoluat nobis coram disceptatio plurimorum." (*Ad petitionem presbyterorum huiusmodi sacrum rescriptum imperator P.U. Symmacho destinavit*, *Coll. Avel.* 18, *CSEL* 35/1, pp. 65,18-66,1; 8-11; Eng. trans. in COLEMAN-NORTON, p. 589.) The suspension of the original decree may have been brought about as much by the influence of the Emperor's sister, Galla Placidia, as it was by clerical pressure. Both she and the Count Constance were known to have supported one of the papal candidates actively, Kelly believing it to have been Boniface (KELLY, *The Oxford Dictionary of the Popes*, Oxford, 1986, p. 40). Given the emperor's rather rapid capitulation on this point, especially after so strongly-worded a rescript as the previous dated 3 January, it would seem appropriate that the strongest influence should have come from the highest places. It would be interesting here to know whether the Pelagian controversy did play a role in the resolution of the schism. The fact is that Galla Placidia had certainly been friendly to the African cause in the recent strife. It is also known that she sent a letter to Aurelius of Carthage summoning him to a council at Spoleto to help in the resolution of the electoral dispute (A. MANDOUZE, ed., *Aurelius in Prosopographie de l'Afrique chrétienne* (Prosopographie chrétienne du Bas-Empire 1), Paris, 1982, pp. 105-27, p. 123). Did she throw her weight behind Boniface, knowing that he would continue the policies opposing Pelagianism begun under his predecessor? The answer to this question must unfortunately remain in the realm of speculation, since Eulalius was never given the opportunity to air his views on the matter. His association with Zosimus' household in life, however, could easily have made him suspect in the eyes of both the Africans and their patrons in Ravenna.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. "Quoniam de Romano sacerdotio propter angustias temporis, quas dierum sollemnitas fecit, quae abesse episcopos a suis ecclesiis non sinebat, dilatum constat esse iudicium, recte nostra serenitas credidit ordinandum, beatitudo tua ad <urbem> uenerabilem congrua ueneratione festinet, quatenus sanctae paschae dies ea qua conuenit quiete cum sollemnitate consueta populis repraesentes nec consuetudini obsit, quod differri synodum multiplex necessitas fecit. Illud sane in primis ac praecipue commonemus, ne umquam ulla illorum mentio fiat, de quibus constat suspensos esse iudicio." (Honorius to Achilleus of Spoleto, *Coll. Avel.* 22, *CSEL* 35/1, p. 69,16-25; cf. also *Epp.* 21, *ibid.*, pp. 68,17-69,12; 23, *ibid.*, pp. 69,28-70,16; 24, *ibid.*, pp. 70,19-71,17.)



It was Eulalius' transgression of this order which eventually resolved the crisis. The papal contender entered Rome on 18 March, purportedly in response to the demands of the faithful, before Symmachus had been able to receive the imperial order forbidding this action. Pietri feels that the Emperor probably would not have intervened had it not been for the riots which erupted in the city when the bishop of Spoleto entered to fulfil his appointed duties.<sup>19</sup> On the 29 March, Holy Saturday, Eulalius occupied the Lateran Palace, refusing to submit to the imperial order.<sup>20</sup> The response to his recalcitrance was swift, with the "pope" being expelled by the *maiores regionum* that same day and chased from Rome itself by Symmachus.<sup>21</sup>

Thus did the favour of the emperor finally turn against the first elected successor of Zosimus - the candidate who, it should be recalled, initially enjoyed imperial favour. The resolution of this conflict is significant on a variety of levels. Firstly, as far as can be determined, no one theological issue was held responsible for the inauguration of the schism. The very fact that Julian of Aeclanum and his friends considered the situation *itself* a sign of God's wrath without supporting one candidate over the other would seem to indicate that Pelagianism was not a prominent theological factor in the election.

Secondly, the role of the papacy was obviously beginning to have relevance both politically and spiritually well beyond the borders of the Italian paeninsula. If this were not the case, there would have been no summons given to the bishops of North Africa and Gaul to attend a synod to resolve the problem, nor would Galla Placidia have contacted the

<sup>19</sup> PIETRI, p. 457.

<sup>20</sup> The account in the *Liber Pontificalis* reads as follows: "Veniens autem dies proximus Paschae praesumpsit Eulalius, eo quod ordinatus fuisset in basilica Constantiniana, et introivit in Urbem et baptizavit et celebravit Pascha in basilica Constantiniana; Bonifatius vero, sicut consuetudo erat, celebravit baptismum Paschae in basilica beatae martyris Agnae. Hoc audientes Augusti utrumque miserunt et erigerunt Eulalius et missa auctoritate revocaverunt Bonifatium in urbem Romam et constituerunt episcopum; Eulalius vero miserunt foris in Campaniam." (DUCHESNE, p. 227.) The account here does not seem to be completely accurate in Eulalius' regard. The use of the perfect *baptizavit* and *celebravit* would indicate an accomplished action, which in fact, was not the case. Eulalius was prevented from celebrating the Easter mysteries in the end.

<sup>21</sup> "Sed Eulalius ea obstinatione, qua sine praecepto sacro urbem ingressus est, etiam egredi constrictus per omnes potestates pari pertinacia detrectavit." (*Exemplum relationis Symmachi praef. urbis ad uirum inl. com. Constantium patricium*, Coll. Avel. 32,2, CSEL 35, p. 78,19-21.)



African bishops for their assistance in the matter<sup>22</sup>.

Thirdly, it was political exigency which finally settled the matter, not concern for the religious welfare of the church of Rome. When Honorius finally supported Boniface, it was because Eulalius had challenged the imperial authority, thereby disqualifying himself, not because one man was more suitable for the position. Although the emperor had initially thrown his support behind Eulalius, who appears to have represented the party of the Roman establishment, Honorius could not ignore the impertinence of any of his subjects, especially a claimant to the papal throne whose political influence was becoming more marked.

Lastly, it should be noted that the 'success' of the schism was largely determined by the activity of the various factions in the controversy to which Eulalius and Boniface were forced to appeal for support. In the end, it was this popular backing which made much of the difference, leading to acrimonious charges and counter charges that it was the ignorant common folk, and not God's divine will, who had ensured the success of one or other candidate.<sup>23</sup> In the end, the active recruitment of consecrating bishops, supporting clergy, and a very partisan laity indicated weaknesses rampant in the Roman church, relics of Zosimus' administration. Not surprisingly, such deficiencies did not disappear immediately. A year after his election, as Boniface lay deathly ill<sup>24</sup>, the pope beseeched the Emperor for a decree disqualifying any who should conspire in a future papal election. Looking over his shoulder, Boniface must have seen that the threat had not yet disappeared.

#### CONSOLIDATION OF AUTHORITY AND FIRST DECISIONS

Having taken possession of the papal throne, it was essential that Boniface show extreme tact in restoring the fragile unity of the divided Church, and garner the support of the deacons who had been Eulalius' chief supporters.<sup>25</sup> In his relations with the provincial churches, he showed himself more judicious than his predecessor, restoring the ancient rights of the metropolitans of Gaul, settling an African appeal regarding an

<sup>22</sup> *Coll. Avel.*, 28, CSEL 35, pp. 73-74; 26, p. 72; 35,3, p. 82,6-13. Bardy maintains that Galla Placidia was in the presbyters' camp, supporting Boniface's election, although he gives no evidence to support this position. (Cf. BARDY, c. 895.)

<sup>23</sup> Cf. PIETRI, p. 456.

<sup>24</sup> An illness, by the way, from which he would recover.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. O. WERMELINGER, *Rom und Pelagius: Die theologische Position der römischen Bischöfe im pelagianischen Streit in den Jahren 411-432* (Päpste und Papsttum 7), Stuttgart, 1975, pp. 241-42.



intransigent priest<sup>26</sup>, and successfully negotiating the prefecture of Illyricum with the Eastern Emperor, in favour of Rome.

Leery of changes in the Roman See, the African episcopate apparently looked carefully for any signs of modification in the policy of the new Roman bishop. Aurelius of Carthage, for example, encouraged a new intervention at Ravenna - not Rome - to punish every bishop with the loss of his office who had escaped condemnation for supporting the heretics. That Africa would admit no compromise was certainly brought home to Boniface by the imperial Act of 9 June 419 which was largely influenced by Aurelius and his brother bishops.<sup>27</sup> This imperial rescript which extended the bann against the Pelagians also stated that the original action of the government had followed the judgment of Aurelius.<sup>28</sup>

At first blush, the African action may seem to be a threat to the importance of Rome as a judicial and administrative power. Wermelinger, however, maintains that judging from Boniface's reaction, it was not really problematic at all. In fact, he was thus able to maintain for himself, in those early days, a certain conscientious detachment.<sup>29</sup> In 419 and probably 421, the bishop Alypius of Thagaste, acting as emissary for the

<sup>26</sup> M. WOJNOWYTSCH, *Bonifatius episcopus Romanus in Augustinus-Lexikon* I, Basel, 1992, cc. 655-58, c. 655.

<sup>27</sup> The following excerpt from the emperor's June letter to Aurelius appears to have as its principal concern Julian and the recalcitrant "Pelagian" bishops. What is most interesting is that it is to *Aurelius'* authority that reference is made, and not the bishop of Rome who surely should have had more influence over the bishops of Italy. If anything, this indicates that the influence of Africa at Court was still strong during the early reign of Pope Boniface, and may further demonstrate that uncertainty continued to surround the new pope's allegiance with regard to Pelagianism. "Praecipue tamen ad quorundam episcoporum pertinaciam corrigendam, qui prauas eorum disputationes uel tacito consensu adstruunt uel publica oppugnatione non destruunt, pater carissime atque amantissime, sanctitatis tuae auctoritatem manere conueniet, quatenus in abolitione praeposterae haeresis omnium deuotio Christiana consentiat. Religio itaque tua compententibus scriptis uniuersos faciet admoneri scituros definitione sanctimonii tui hanc sibi definitionem esse praescriptam. Ut, quicumque damnationi supra memoratorum, quo pateat mens pura, subscribere impia obstinatione neglexerint, episcopatus amissione multati interdicta in perpetuum expulsi ciuitatibus communione priuentur." (AUGUSTINE, *Ep.* 201,2, *CSEL* 57, pp. 297,6-98,5; cf. also WERMELINGER, p. 243.)

<sup>28</sup> Cf. AUGUSTINE, *Epp.* 200 & 201; J. PATQUT BURNS, *Augustine's Role in the Imperial Action against Pelagius* in *Journal of Theological Studies* 30, 1979, pp. 67-83, p. 77.

<sup>29</sup> WERMELINGER, p. 243. Too much ought not to be made of Prosper of Aquitaine's remark that Boniface enforced the apostolic decrees and imperial decisions against the Pelagians. While it is certainly true to say that Boniface could not very well set himself up against the decisions of his predecessors, nonetheless he appears not to have been eager to engage in theological dispute himself.



Africans,<sup>30</sup> succeeded in convincing ecclesiastical and imperial officials, including Pope Boniface, of the need to continue the fight against Julian and the remaining Pelagians<sup>31</sup>. At this point, at any rate, Boniface did not

<sup>30</sup> As Thonnard notes, the exact date of these visits is unclear, although they certainly took place during the reign of Pope Boniface I (419-22). Because of the quality and quantity of works written by Augustine, the amount of time it would take to complete the books, the journey back and forth across the Mediterranean and between courts, Thonnard suggests 419 and 421 as an appropriate time frame for the two journeys, allowing Augustine the winter of 420-21 to compose the *De nuptiis et concupiscentia II* and the *Contra duas epistolas Pelagianorum* (F.J. THONNARD, E. BLEUZEN and A.C. DE VEER, *Premières polémiques contre Julien. De nuptiis et concupiscentia, Contra duas epistulas Pelagianorum* [Oeuvres de Saint Augustin 23], 1974, p. 25).

<sup>31</sup> Alypius is known to have taken part in the first session of the Council of Carthage of 25 May 419, and so it was some time after this that he would have departed for Italy. (Cf. *Conciliae Africae*, CCSL 149, p. 150,4; also, pp. 91, 103, 161, 229, 233). The opening sections of the *Contra duas epistolas pelagianorum II* and the *De nuptiis et concupiscentia* both inform that Alypius spent an extended period of time in Ravenna before returning to Africa. He was accused by Julian of being the one who brought the bribe of eighty African horses to sweeten the decision of the imperial court against the Pelagians (AUGUSTINE, *Op. imp.* 1,10, CSEL 85, pp. 10-11). Alypius himself informs us in his *Commonitorium* of October 419 that he was in Ravenna, near the Imperial Court, and had been in contact with Imperial officials (AUGUSTINE, *Ep.* 15\*). It is also clear from Letter 22\* of the following March that Alypius was still at Court, and that he was in the company of one Bishop Peregrinus. Berrouard quite reasonably maintains that, since only one of the Divjak letters pertaining to Alypius' work in Ravenna concerns the Pelagians (*Ep.* 16\*) it is not fair to say, as Julian alleged, that Alypius was only working to fight the heretics at the Court. (JULIAN, *Ad Florum in Op. imp.* 1,42, CSEL 85, p. 30; 3,35, *ibid.*, pp. 374-75). While he probably did discuss this matter with Count Valerius, the evidence does not justify seeing Alypius' trip in 419 as motivated by the combat of Pelagianism alone (M.-F. BERROUARD, *Un tournant dans la vie de l'Église d'Afrique: les deux missions d'Alypius en Italie à la lumière des Lettres 10\*, 15\*, 16\*, 22\* et 23\*A de saint Augustin* in REA 31, 1985, pp. 46-70, p.51; also, THONNARD *et al.*, p. 23, fn. 36). Mandouze, however, definitely places the Pelagian affair as the primary, if not the only motive, for the mission (MANDOUZE, p. 63). The content of the so-called "Divjak letters" demonstrate that the point of Alypius' journey was apparently two-fold. One purpose of the visit appears to have been to confirm the rights of sanctuary for the Carthaginian churches. The other was an unspecified matter concerning the people of Carthage, whatever that was. The affair concerning all of Carthage may have been a fiscal one. The reason why it may have been fiscal is that we are told that he obtained an *indulgentia* which often refers to finances (*indulgentia debitorum*). On the other hand, it could also have been a criminal matter (*indulgentiae criminum*). Whichever, it is likely that the matter was probably secular in nature (Cf. BERROUARD, p. 54). Berrouard speculates (p. 56) that, encouraged by his success Alypius may have remained longer in Ravenna, attempting to accomplish more tasks for the African Church. Augustine's *Ep.* 10\*, however, indicates that there was other business which Alypius had been charged to accomplish by the Council of Carthage held in late summer 419, but which he failed to do. Unfortunately, Augustine does not reveal the nature of these affairs. A third reason for



hesitate to comply. In fact, on one trip from Ravenna to Rome, Alypius was given two letters by Boniface, both from the recalcitrant pens of the Pelagian bishops (though likely inspired and edited by Julian). One was addressed to Rufus of Thessalonica and the other to the pope himself, though intended for public distribution among the Pelagians still living in Rome<sup>32</sup>. The letter to Rufus was probably penned with a view to finding

Alypius' trip to Ravenna was probably to deal with a concern related to taxation, and its fair distribution in the colony so that the poor would not bear the burden of the payment (AUGUSTINE, *Ep.* 22\*). There is still disagreement among some modern scholars over the question of a second journey by Alypius to Italy in 420. Julian of Aeclanum maintained that Alypius came to Ravenna and Rome twice during the reign of Pope Boniface, on the second occasion bearing with him the second volume of Augustine's *De nuptiis* to Valerius, along with the four books of the *Contra duas epistolas Pelagianorum* for Boniface (JULIAN, *Op. imperf.* I,7; I,52,1, CSEL 85, p. 9, 45; AUGUSTINE, *De nupt. et con.* II,1,1, CSEL 42, p. 253, 1-6). Berrouard does not believe that such a visit ever took place because of Augustine's silence concerning the emissary; that it is merely the accusations of a polemicist attempting to present Augustine as an intrigant with Alypius as a servile valet. Berrouard claims that it would be strange for Augustine to pass over in silence the performer of such good service, especially when he holds so dignified a position as bishop of Thagaste. Mandouze, however, takes Julian at his word, saying that it is the very venomous reaction of the former bishop of Aeclanum which could only have been aroused by such a second instance of interference. While Berrouard's point is well-taken, there seems to be no legitimate reason for doubting Julian's evidence, and certainly Alypius' role was never denied by Augustine. As Peter Brown notes, the bishops had become the courriers *par excellence* by this period in late Roman history. (P. BROWN, *Augustine of Hippo*, London, 1967, p. 420.)

<sup>32</sup> Cf. THONNARD *et al.*, pp. 20-24. It was also while he was *en route* from Ravenna to Rome that Alypius apparently came into possession *via* the Count Valerius of a work of Julian's which came to be known as the fourth book of his *Ad Turbantium*, refuting Augustine's *De nuptiis et concupiscentia* I. (Cf. M.-F. BERROUARD, *Un tournant dans la vie de l'Église d'Afrique: les deux missions d'Alypius en Italie à la lumière des Lettres 10\*, 15\*, 16\*, 22\* et 23\*A de saint Augustin* in *REA* 31, 1985, pp. 46-70, p. 62; L. DE CONINCK, *Introduction*, CCL 88, p. viii.) Concerning the work which Valerius forwarded, Augustine wrote, "Et quia non tantum relatu memorati mei fratris id didici, uerum etiam prolatas ab eo chartulas legi, quas post eius de Rauenna profectionem Roman mittere ipse curasti, ubi aduersariorum potui uaniloquia reperire, ad ea respondere adiuuante domino quanta possum ueritate et scripturarum diuinarum auctoritate proposui. Chartula, cui nunc respondeo, hoc titulo praenotatur: "capitula de libro Augustini quem scripsit contra quae de libris pauca decerpsi." (AUGUSTINE, *De nupt. et con.* 2,1,1-2,2.) It was these letters from Julian's party to Rufus of Thessalonica and Boniface however, which first prompted the pope to seek Augustine's assistance against the movement. The "Letter to the Romans" (also known as the "Declaration of Aquileia") was written in late 419 or early 420 and, although intended for public dissemination in the City to encourage popular support for their cause, it was also sent directly to Boniface himself. De Plinval maintains that the text was also meant to provide partisans with a text or manifesto around which to rally, which the text, as preserved in *Contra duas epistolas Pelagianorum* I certainly bears out in its clarity of expression. (Cf. DE PLINVAL, *Pélage*, p. 336.)



a suitable refuge for the exiled bishops. Its theological import, however, was to demonstrate the perceived Manichaean tendencies inherent to the African doctrine with which the Pelagians contrasted their own "orthodox" teachings, whereby they attempted to safeguard the glory of creation, marriage, the Law and the free will of the saints.<sup>33</sup> The letter also deplores the cowardice of the Roman clergy and demands that a council be convened<sup>34</sup> to settle the matter.<sup>35</sup> The letter to the Romans,<sup>36</sup> which is the subject of Augustine's Book One of the *Contra duas epistulas Pelagianorum*, shares the similar doctrinal concerns of Julian's *Libri ad Turbantium* as well as the aforementioned letter to Rufus of Thessalonica.<sup>37</sup>

Through Alypius, Boniface apparently begged Augustine's help, talent and theology to refute them, the result being the *Contra duas epistolas Pelagianorum*.<sup>38</sup> It may legitimately be said, therefore, that at the theological level, he left it to Augustine to refute the remnants of the "heretical" movement. The preface to this work, dedicating it to Pope

<sup>33</sup> Cf. AUGUSTINE, *C. duas ep. pel.* 2,1,1-2,2,2, CSEL 60, pp. 459-63.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. AUGUSTINE, *C. duas ep. pel.* 2,3,5, CSEL 60, pp. 463-65.

<sup>35</sup> The fragments of the *Epistula ad Rufum* may be variously found in Augustine's books 2-4 of the *C. duas ep. pel.*, although the exact order of the bishops' argumentation is not preserved, as Augustine himself admits. Cf. also DE CONINCK, pp. viii and xxxi.

<sup>36</sup> The authorship of the *Epistula ad Romanos* has at various times been disputed by scholars, such as A. BRUCKNER in his *Julian von Eclanum. Sein Leben und seine Lehre. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Pelagianismus* (Texte und Untersuchungen 15/3), Leipzig, 1897, p. 36, fn. 2; Augustine himself appeared to have experienced a certain hesitation in ascribing the work to Julian, stating "Haec autem quae duabus epistulis eorum respondeo, uni scilicet, quam dicitur Romam misisse Iulianus - credo, ut per illam quos posset suos aut inuenerit aut faceret." (AUGUSTINE, *C. duas ep. pel.* 1,1,3, CSEL 60, p. 424,17-19.)

<sup>37</sup> Cf. DE CONINCK, pp. ix-x.

<sup>38</sup> "Haec autem quae duabus epistulis eorum respondeo, uni scilicet, quam dicitur Romam misisse Iulianus - credo, ut per illam quos posset suos aut inuenerit aut faceret, alteri autem, quam decem et octo uelut episcopi participes eius erroris non ad quoslibet, sed ad loci ipsius episcopum sua calliditate temptandum et ad suas partes, si posset fieri, traducendum ausi sunt Thessalonicam scribere, haec ergo, quae istis, ut dixi, duabus epistulis illorum ista disputatione respondeo, ad tuam potissimum dirigere sanctitatem non tam discenda quam examinanda et, ubi forsitan aliquid displicuerit, emendanda constitui. Indicauit enim mihi frater meus, quod eas illi dare ipse dignatus es, quae in tuas manus nisi uigilantissima diligentia fratrum nostrorum filiorum tuorum uenire non possent. Ago autem gratis sincerissimae in nos beniuolentiae tuae, quod eas me latere noluisti litteras gratiae Dei, in quibus repperisti meum nomen calumniose atque euidenter expressum." (AUGUSTINE, *Contra duas ep. pel.* 1,1,3, CSEL 60, pp. 424,17-25,6.) "Sequuntur libri quattuor, quos contra duas epistolas Pelagianorum ad episcopum Romanae Ecclesiae Bonifacium scripsi, quia cum in manus eius venissent, ipse mihi eas miserat, inueniens in illis calumniose interpositum nomen meum." (*Retract.* II,61, CSEL 36, p. 200.)



Boniface is written in a very friendly tone<sup>39</sup>. All the devoted and humble formulae, however, cannot conceal a certain reproachful undertone in the address to the Roman Church. Augustine would not in any ill-mannered way state that, in the past, cautious steps had been disregarded by Boniface's predecessor; but he could let it be understood that the prudence of an episcopal shepherd must never tire.

"For you, who mind not high things, however, loftily you are placed, did not disdain to be a friend of the lowly and to return the love bestowed upon you.<sup>40</sup> For what else is friendship which has its name from no other source than love, and is nowhere faithful but in Christ, in whom alone it can be eternal and happy? Whence, also, having received a greater assurance by means of that brother [Alypius], through whom I have learned to know you more familiarly, I have ventured to write something to your blessedness concerning those things which at this juncture are claiming by a later stimulus the episcopal care, as far as we are able, to vigilance on behalf of the Lord's flock".<sup>41</sup>

<sup>39</sup> In fact, this is the only work, among all of Augustine's treatises which is actually dedicated to a pope.

<sup>40</sup> De Veer feels that this sentence may contain a veiled reference to the late Pope Zosimus who, upon attaining papal authority, could have been described as disdaining his simple brother bishops. (A.C. DE VEER, *Note complémentaire 23, Premières polémiques contre Julien. De nuptiis et concupiscentia, Contra duas epistulas Pelagianorum* [Oeuvres de Saint Augustin] 23, 1974, p. 749.) Indeed, as is evident from his letters, Zosimus assumed a highly critical attitude with regard to the Africans verging on arrogance. (Cf. M. LAMBERIGTS, *Augustine and Julian of Aeclanum on Zosimus in Augustiniana* 42, 1992, pp. 311-30.)

<sup>41</sup> "Neque enim dedignaris, qui non alta sapis, quamvis altius praesideas, esse amicus humilium et amorem rependere impensum. Quid est enim aliud amicitia, quae non aliudne quam ex amore nomen accepit et nusquam nisi in Christo fidelis est, in quo solo esse etiam sempiterna ac felix potest? Unde accepta per eum fratrem, per quem te familiarius didici, maiore fiducia ausus sum aliquid ad tuam beatitudinem scribere de his rebus, quae hoc tempore episcopalem curam, si qua in nobis est, ad uigilantiam pro grege dominico stimulo recentiore sollicitant." (AUGUSTINE, *C. duas ep. pel.* 1,1,1, CSEL 60, p. 423, 10-18; Eng. trans. in SCHAFF, p. 377; cf. also WERMELINGER, pp. 243-44.) As de Veer notes, the emphasis in this section, and in the following one, is on the collegiality of *all* the bishops, whose common concern must be with the flock and its protection. The fact that Augustine above uses the expression *in nobis* (1,1,1) communicates the collective effort which, Boniface must remember, is the hallmark of the successors of the apostles, and not merely the prerogative of the bishop of Rome (DE VEER, n.c. 23, p. 749). Augustine continues, as if attempting to dispel the ghosts of the previous administration. He writes, "Cum uero non desinant fremere ad dominici gregis caulas atque ad diripiendas tanto pretio redemptas oues aditus undecumque rimari communisque sit omnibus nobis qui fungimur episcopatus officio - quamvis ipse in ea praemineas celsiore fastigio - specula pastoralis, facio quod possum pro mei particula muneris, quantum mihi dominus adiuvantibus orationibus tuis donare dignatur, ut pestilentibus et insidiantibus eorum scriptis medentia et munientia scripta praetendam, quibus rabies qua furiant aut etiam ipsa



The fact that Augustine emphasizes papal attentiveness in matters of heresy does raise certain questions concerning Boniface's level of commitment to supporting the anti-Pelagian cause. A similar anxiety, as we shall see, is also communicated in Jerome's letters written on the occasion of Boniface's installation (*ordinatio*) as bishop of Rome.

Jerome's *Ep.* 153 is a rather curious expression of congratulations. He accomplishes his felicitous business within the first sentence<sup>42</sup> and proceeds essentially to eulogize his late companion and disciple, the virgin Eustochium<sup>43</sup>. What seems to be the pensive meanderings of a grieving friend actually provide the scholar with certain biographical information on Boniface's life and the circles in which he travelled. It would seem that Boniface had been a friend to Eustochium and her family, conceivably even acting as her spiritual father at one time.<sup>44</sup> He is also credited with the education and, perhaps, raising of Paula, Eustochium's niece.<sup>45</sup> These

sanetur aut a laedendis aliis repellatur." (AUGUSTINE, *C. duas. ep. Pel.* 1,1,2.) While Augustine grants the pride of place to the Petrine office, the picture he paints is finally one of cooperation in prayer and action between him who is privileged to hold the See of Rome and other Catholic bishops. This may explain why Augustine plays here with the meaning of the Greek word ἐπίσκοπος which, prior to meaning "bishop" had the sense of a curator, guardian or superintendent. Together, all the bishops are "overseers" of the watchtower, from which the flock and the faith are protected. Despite the courteous expressions, therefore, one cannot help but feel that Augustine is only lightly concealing a warning to the successor of Zosimus, as well as Peter's heir to remain on his guard at all times, and depend upon the fellowship of his brothers in office. De Veer also notes the rather didactic quality to be found in Augustine's style of address here. He is writing Boniface "*non tam discenda*", indeed, but "*discenda*" nonetheless (I,1,3; DE VEER, n.c. 23, p. 749). The work before the new pope is still for his instruction - though not *just* for that. This very construction continues to raise the question: how much did the Africans know about Boniface *prior* to his election, and to what extent did the Pelagian controversy actually affect the decision of the Roman electorate?

<sup>42</sup> "Quantum gaudii super ordinatione pontificatus tui sancto Innocentio presbytero et nuntium et litteras tuae beatitudinis perferente suscepim, ambigere non potest tua reverentia, cum olim mutuo iungamur affectu et ante coeperimus nos amare quam nosse interiorque homo ita sibi coniunctus sit, ut exterioris hominis damna non sentiat." (JEROME, *Ep.* 153, *CSEL* 56, pp. 365,18-366,1.)

<sup>43</sup> Eustochium probably died toward the end of 419.

<sup>44</sup> "Quo enim illa, si hoc in corpore constituta audire meruisset, gestisset gaudio, quibus precibus et gratiarum actione Christi clementiam flagitasset, quod sanctum ac venerabilem parentem suum apostolicae cathedrae successorem esse didicisset!" (JEROME, *Ep.* 153, *CSEL* 56, p. 366,4-8.)

<sup>45</sup> "Infans Paula, quae in tuis nutrita est manibus, quasi pignus sanctae ac venerabilis memoriae Laetae nostris est inposita ceruicibus." (JEROME, *Ep.* 153, *CSEL* 56, p. 366,8-10.) Laeta was the wife of Toxotius, the only son of Paula of Rome. From this reference it would seem that Boniface had served as something of a spiritual father, perhaps teacher, to their daughter, the young Paula, perhaps in keeping with the advice given by Jerome to



were no ordinary women, but had descended from one of the noblest Christian families of Rome, that of Paula<sup>46</sup> and her husband Toxotius<sup>47</sup>.

Eustochium was but one of five distinguished children of these aristocratic parents. What is interesting for our purposes with regard to Boniface is that her eldest sister Paulina was also the wife of Pammachius, the Roman senator in whose home Rufinus the Syrian found shelter in the late fourth and early fifth centuries. It would be most interesting to know if Boniface had also been welcome in their home through Eustochium or Toxotius the younger. If so, it is quite possible that he had encountered the Syrian, Caelestius and Pelagius there at the beginning of their Roman careers and may thereby have had first-hand exposure to their nascent doctrines. The record of history is, unhappily, quite silent on these details. It would seem rather improbable, however, that Boniface, having come from a "good" Roman family himself, with access to the aristocracy, would have been barred from Pammachius' home, even after Paula's departure for Palestine in 385, following Jerome.

Indeed, Eustochium accompanied her mother that year, demonstrating that whatever the nature of her relationship with Boniface, it must certainly have been an old and well-founded one to have survived the intervening thirty-five years. Interestingly enough, Jerome indicates that he himself was not personally acquainted with the new pope, though they enjoyed friends in common, and thus "knew" each other in this manner.<sup>48</sup> This is not an overly surprising revelation, in spite of the fact that the two men travelled in such remarkably similar circles. Jerome, it must be remembered, departed Rome, never to return, in 385. It is most likely that

Laeta in *Ep.* 107. Written in 403, the letter concerns the girl's education as a consecrated virgin in Rome. "Magister probae aetatis et uitae atque eruditionis est eligendus nec, puto, erubescit doctus uir id facere uel in propinqua uel in nobili uirgine, quod Aristoteles fecit in Philippi filio, ut ipse librariorum uilitate initia ei traderet litterarum. Non sunt contemnenda quasi parua, sine quibus magna constare non possunt. Ipse elementorum sonus et prima institutio praeceptoris aliter de erudito, aliter de rustico ore profertur." (JEROME, *Ep.* 107,4, *CSEL* 55, pp. 294,23-295,6; Eng. trans. in SCHAFF, p. 191.) If Jerome's suggestions were taken at face value, Boniface may have had an incredibly important role to play in the development of the child, bordering on fostering. Cf. fn 55 *infra*.

<sup>46</sup> Paula was the daughter of Blaesilla and her husband Rogatus. Jerome tells us that the mother was a descendent of the Scipios. (Cf. F. LAGRANGE, *Histoire de sainte Paule*, Paris, 1931; G. DEL TON, *S. Paola Romana*, Milan, 1950; D. GORCE, ed., *Vie de sainte Mélanie*, SC 90, 1962.)

<sup>47</sup> "Tali igitur stirpe generata iunctaque viro Toxotio, qui Aeneae et Iuliorum altissimum sanguinem trahit." (JEROME, *Ep.* 108,4, *CSEL* 55, p. 309,12-13.)

<sup>48</sup> "Cum olim mutuo iungamur affectu et ante coeperimus nos amare quam nosse interiorque homo ita sibi coniunctus sit." (JEROME, *Ep.* 153, *CSEL* 56, p. 365,20-22.)



Boniface's acquaintance with the noble families of Rome post-dates this period.

In terms of Boniface's approach to Pelagianism, it is the postscript to *Ep.* 153 which deserves notice. He states:

"What I have written with my own hand I write for your Beatitude. May the heretics discern in you the enemy of error in the matter of the faith, may they detest you, so that the Catholics may love you more. Execute and complete the sentence of your predecessors, and do not suffer supporters and allies of the heretics in the ranks of the episcopate".<sup>49</sup>

The allusion in the last sentence is clearly to Julian and the eighteen Italian bishops who did not subscribe to Zosimus' *Tractoria* of 418, and found themselves under censure<sup>50</sup>. Two rather engaging questions, however, are raised by Jerome's slightly cryptic remarks. Firstly, does the fact that he must offer encouragement to the new pope indicate uncertainty in any way over his commitment to the "orthodox" path of Innocent and Zosimus? If this is indeed the case, then a further question may be raised over what, if any, role Pelagianism had played in the contested papal election<sup>51</sup>. Secondly, in the light of this postscript, what role would there be for the presbyter Sixtus in the new administration? As it stands, there is no record of Sixtus' activities during the reign of Boniface. Was he considered too great a risk to hold higher office for the moment?

Jerome's *Ep.* 154 to Donatus also indicates that the new pope was originally something of an enigma. Encouraging Boniface in letter 153 to deal sharply with the heretics, he here makes allowances for unexpected papal leniency in their regard. All that is left for Jerome is to trust that everything will work out as God wills - and Jerome determines:

"We have confidence in the mercy of Christ: my holy and venerable Lord, the Bishop Boniface, will uproot them by the spirit of Christ. We ought to excuse him if, in the beginning, he offers them his charity and strives to save them by

<sup>49</sup> "Propria manu quod scribo, beatitudini tuae scribo. Sentiant heretici inimicum te esse perfidei et oderint, ut a catholicis plus ameris, et executor atque completor sis sententiae praecessorum tuorum nec patiaris in episcopali nomine hereticorum patronos atque consortes." (JEROME, *Ep.* 153, *CSEL* 56, p. 366,20-24.)

<sup>50</sup> For some reason, Bardy interprets this passage to refer to Pelagians holding firm in Africa, though what grounds he makes for such an allegation are unknown (BARDY, c. 896).

<sup>51</sup> The fact that Boniface appears to have been something of an unknown quantity to both Augustine and Jerome could lead one to speculate that the Pelagian affair was not a burning issue in the minds of the Roman electorate. Had it been, surely a better-known opponent of the heresy would have been selected and received imperial approval. The fact that Eulalius originally enjoyed imperial support, which could subsequently and so easily have been transferred to his rival would merely indicate that neither man was known to have Pelagian tendencies.



his forbearance and his gentleness, but never will they be cured.<sup>52</sup> I will frankly say what I think; with regard to these heretics, it is necessary to put into practice this programme of David: 'In the morning, I will kill all the sinners of the land.' It is necessary to destroy them, to kill them spiritually, better: to decapitate them by the sword of Christ since they cannot recover their health by plasters and soothing medications".<sup>53</sup>

From this letter to Donatus, it would appear that Boniface was not as intolerant of the Pelagians as might be expected. Cavallera claims that in the first weeks of his administration the new pope attempted to restore

<sup>52</sup> It is worthy of note that Jerome here uses the same rationalization for Boniface's actions as Augustine did to justify Zosimus' earlier leniency. Augustine wrote, "Nunc uero cum primitus beatissimi papae Innocentii litterae episcoporum litteris respondentis afrorum pariter hunc errorem, quem conantur isti persuadere, damnauerint, successor quoque eius sanctus papa Zosimus hoc tenendum esse, quod isti de paruulis sentiunt, numquam dixerit, numquam scripserit, insuper etiam Caelestium se purgare molientem ad consentiendum supra dictis sedis apostolicae litteris crebra interlocutione constrinxerit, profecto quidquid interea lenius actum est cum Caelestio seruata dumtaxat antiquissimae et robustissimae fidei firmitate correctione fuit clementissima suasio, non adprobatio exitiosissima prauitatis." (AUGUSTINE, *C. duas ep. pel.* 2,3,5, *CSEL* 60, p. 465,11-21.) Earlier, Augustine had similarly stated that "Immo uero Pelagiani spe falsa putauerant nouum et execrabile dogma Pelagianum uel Caelestianum persuaderi quorundam Romanorum catholicis mentibus posse, quando illa ingenia quamuis nefando errore peruersa, non tamen contemptibilia, cum studiose corrigenda potius quam facile damnanda uiderentur, aliquanto lenius, quam seuerior postulabat ecclesiae disciplina." (AUGUSTINE, *C. duas ep. pel.* 2,3,5, *CSEL* 60, p. 463,21-26.) Again, with reference to Caelestius, Augustine writes in a rather historically revisionist style, "Atque ita uelut phreneticus, ut requiesceret, tamquam leniter fatus a uinculis tamen excommunicationis nondum est creditus esse soluendus. Sed interposito duorum mensium tempore, donec rescriberetur ex Africa, resipiscendi ei locus sub quadam medicinali sententiae lenitate concessus est, quoniam reuera, si deposita peruicaciae uanitate quod promiserat uellet attendere et easdem litteras quibus se consensurum esse responderat diligenter legeret, sanaretur." (AUGUSTINE, *De pec. orig.* 7,8, *CSEL* 42, p. 171,13-21.)

<sup>53</sup> "Credimus in Christi misericordiam, quod dominus meus sanctus et venerabilis episcopus Bonifatius eradicet eos spiritu Christi, cui debemus ignoscere, si in principiis suis offert caritatem et per clementiam suam et mansuetudinem servare conatur, qui tamen numquam curandi sunt. Vere dicam, quod sentio: in his hereticis illud exercendum est Davidicum: "in matutinis interficiebam omnes peccatores terrae". Delendi sunt, spiritualiter occidendi, immo Christi mucrone truncandi, qui non possunt per emplastra et blandas curationes recipere sanitatem." (JEROME, *Ep.* 154,1, *CSEL* 56, p. 367,12-21.) The syntax and style here are quite reminiscent of Augustine's apology for Zosimus' forbearance in dealing with the Pelagians in the early part of that pope's reign. To take the parallel to one logical conclusion - is it possible that Jerome was actually warning the pope *sub laudibus* in *Ep.* 153 against a sympathy which he may have enjoyed with the Pelagians in earlier days? Of course, this is a matter for academic speculation but one which cannot be proven from the extant texts. Cf. fn. 47 *supra*.



those who had "gone astray" through mercy.<sup>54</sup>

Such an interpretation is, of course, quite possible. It is certainly the one to which Augustine and Boniface would have held. It is equally likely, however, that given the disruption of the Roman church subsequent to Zosimus' death, it was necessary for Boniface to tread lightly, and attempt to mend the divisions which remained within the community in order to consolidate his power. This particular approach to Pelagianism may not only have been a hallmark of the beginning of his reign. His choice to have Augustine confront Julian and his supporters, rather than assume the burden himself, supports the view that Boniface preferred more subtle tactics in approaching the controversy. His actions certainly do not place him in the Pelagian camp itself, but depict him as a man well-aware of the ravages of schism and not desirous of courting more problems personally<sup>55</sup>.

#### BONIFACE'S ANTI-PELAGIAN ACTIONS

Evaluating Boniface's relationship with the Pelagians is not an easy task. As de Plinval notes, the difficulty lies in the fact that the pope neither initiated nor was subject to any *direct* contact with the dissidents.<sup>56</sup> In general, he appears to have been content to have allowed others to act on his behalf in their regard - the emperor in matters of legality, and Augustine in affairs of theology.

<sup>54</sup> F.S. CAVALLERA, *S. Jérôme, sa vie et son oeuvre* (Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense. Études et Documents 2), Louvain-Paris, 1922, p. 59.

<sup>55</sup> Whether those problems would come to him instead, however, is another matter. Indeed, it should not be forgotten that, at first, beyond turning Julian's letters over to Augustine, the pope did nothing more against the Pelagians. Boniface, however, could certainly neither ignore the issue indefinitely or completely. This same letter to Donatus reveals that Marius Mercator was in Rome at the time of Boniface's election. He is encouraged by Jerome who writes, "sanctum filium meum Mercatorem ut meo obsequio salutes precor et moneas, ut non ostendat ardorem fidei et detestetur eos, qui suscipione aliqua Pelagianae hereseos maculati sunt." (*Ep.* 154,3, *CSEL* 56, p. 368,3-5.) It seems superfluous to urge Mercator on in such wise, but its reinforcement would certainly have made it difficult for Boniface to examine seriously any other course of action besides that of Africa. Wermelinger notes that Mercator was certainly at Rome from 418- 419, during the final phase of the Pelagian controversy. His emphasis at the time, as his writings indicate, was on the mystery of death as the natural result of original sin. Jerome indicates in *Ep.* 154,3 that he was counted among a group of Roman theologians who prepared documents which would eventually form the foundation of such decrees as the *Tractoria*. (O. WERMELINGER, *Marius Mercator* in *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité* 10, 1977, cc. 610-15, c. 610.)

<sup>56</sup> DE PLINVAL, *Pélage*, p. 343.



The relative calm during his reign, however, does not mean that Boniface had inherited a tranquil situation. Before his death, Zosimus had excommunicated Julian and the eighteen non-juring bishops, a decision which remained without effect during the period of the schism which followed the elections of Eulalius and Boniface. After the latter secured Peter's chair for himself, apprehension appears to have grown in Rome that Boniface might agree to new negotiations or seek a settlement with those who had already been condemned. Such appears to be the context for Donatus' lost letter to Jerome, penned shortly after Boniface's election. If the new pope indeed attempted to respond to the renewed overtures of the Pelagians, he would be acting contrary to the terms of the *Tractoria* as far as Africa and their supporters would view the matter. Wermelinger feels that this may indeed be the *paenitentia* exhibited by the Pelagians, to which Jerome refers in his letter to Donatus - a *paenitentia* which ought not to be trusted.<sup>57</sup>

It would not be possible for Boniface to remain forever straddling the proverbial theological fence, if that indeed was what he was doing. The indulgence which the Africans and Jerome displayed in his regard would last only as long as their resolve were not tried by papal actions to the contrary. The city of Rome was apparently not yet completely free of the Pelagian threat, all imperial rescripts notwithstanding. Hedde and Amann feel that some time after the Imperial Letter of 9 June 419, Boniface may have made an intervention against the Pelagians at a semi-official level. The prefect of the City just prior to Zosimus' death had been Rufius Antonius Agrypinus Volusianus, the uncle of Melania the Younger, a pagan who was rumoured to have dealt favourably with the Pelagians.<sup>58</sup> It could have been through his indulgence that the "heresy" was indeed

<sup>57</sup> "Hereticorum autem pectora non posse purgari ego testis sum, cui decretum est numquam paenitentiae eorum credere. Ad hoc enim simulant caritatem, ut, quos per inimicitias occidere non potuerint, per fictas amicitias interficiant. Pectora eorum plena sunt venenis et - secundum quod optime locutus es - 'nec Aethiops mutare pellem, nec pardus varietates suas.'" (JEROME, *Ep.* 154,1, *CSEL* 56, p. 367,6-12; cf. WERMELINGER, p. 242.)

<sup>58</sup> That Volusianus was a pagan is attested to by Augustine in the *Epp.* 132, 135 and 137, although it is also certain he was born of a Christian mother. Augustine refers to her as "holy" which would be unthinkable should she have been a pagan. His salutation to *Ep.* 132 reads, "De salute tua, quam et in hoc saeculo et in Christo esse cupio, sanctae matris tuae uotis sum fortasse etiam ipse non inpar." (AUGUSTINE, *Ep.* 132, *CSEL* 44, p. 79,10-12.) Volusianus was also the uncle of Melania the Younger, as the *Vita Melaniae* indicates (cf. GENNADIUS, *Vita S. Melaniae* 50, *SC* 90, p. 224). In the years 411-12, he was in Carthage and had correspondence with Augustine, on the subject of Christianity as Augustine, *Ep.* 161,1, *CSEL* 44, p. 507,3-8 indicate. He finally did receive baptism in early 437, at the behest of his niece. (Cf. MARTINDALE, pp. 1184-85.)



tolerated in Rome well into Boniface's reign. Hedde and Amann maintain that it may also have been Boniface who encouraged Constans, the emperor's brother-in-law to instruct Volusianus himself to remove the remaining Pelagian heretics from Rome, among whose number was rumoured to be Caelestius, which he finally did.<sup>59</sup> This thesis, however, is not without its problems, among which is a distinct lack of sources.<sup>60</sup> It may be to just such an intervention, however, that Prosper of Aquitaine refers when he writes that,

"Boniface of saintly memory directed the Catholic zeal of pious emperors and countered the enemies of God's grace not only with apostolic but also with imperial decrees".<sup>61</sup>

Boniface remained circumspect in all of his personal dealings with the condemned and excommunicated members of the movement. In fact, apart from passing the Pelagian letters on to Alypius for Augustine's response, it is not known that he actually had any intimate contact with the deposed bishops.<sup>62</sup> The frustration for the student of the Pelagian movement during this papacy is that so much must remain in the realm of speculation. As we have seen, the only certain action on Boniface's part concerns the

<sup>59</sup> Volusianus' edict reads thusly: "Hactenus Caelestium divinae fidei, et quietis publicae turbatorem, iudiciis, amica reis secreta subduxerunt. Jam leges et jam edicta persequuntur absentem: cui, quod primum est, aeternae urbis negatur habitatio, ut si vel in proximis fuerit diversatus, debitum non evadat exitium, pro merito temeritatis atque ausus sui. Cunctos etiam hujus edicti cautione praemonemus, ne quis iniquus noxio latebram putet esse praebendam; ne, cum hujusmodi sit posita poena, supplicium ac stylum necesse sit proscriptionis incurrere, quisquis legibus divinis humanisque reum apud se putaverit occultandum." (*Constitutio* 6, *PL* 48, cc. 408-09.)

<sup>60</sup> R. HEDDE and E. AMANN, *Pélagianisme* in *DTC* 12, Paris, 1933, col. 675-715; c. 707. Unfortunately, the authors of this article do not provide any citation to support their claims on Boniface's behalf. They also date this event to 421 which is somewhat problematic where Volusianus is concerned since he was not prefect of the city of Rome in that year, his term of service having concluded in mid-418. (MARTINDALE, p. 1184.)

<sup>61</sup> "Quando sanctae memoriae papa Bonifacius piissimorum imperatorum catholica devotione gaudebat, et contra inimicos gratiae Dei non solum apostolicis, sed etiam regiis utebatur edictis." (PROSPER C. *Coll.* 21,1, *PL* 51, c. 269; Eng. trans. in J. QUASTEN and W. BURGHARDT eds., *Prosper of Aquitaine: Defense of St Augustine* [Ancient Christian Writers 32], London, 1963, pp. 133-34.)

<sup>62</sup> Y.-M. DUVAL, *Julien d'Éclane et Rufin d'Aquilée. Du Concile de Rimini à la répression pélagienne. L'intervention impériale en matière religieuse* in *REA* 24, Paris, 1978, pp. 243-71, p. 256. As the general introduction to *Premières polémiques contre Julien* notes (pp. 19-20), Julian actually addressed his letter to the Romans to Zosimus' successor when the outcome of the schism was still unknown. In the *Lib. subn.* 6,10 Mercator tells us that it was written in that way so as to be adaptable to either man being victorious. If this is true, it once again indicates that strong Pelagian sentiment was not a quality possessed by either man.



two Pelagian letters which he forwarded to Augustine for reply. These letters, which concisely enunciate the basic tenets of the Pelagian movement, were probably largely directed against Zosimus' *Tractoria* by affirming the value and integrity of human nature as created by a good God.<sup>63</sup> Julian's own letter to Boniface asserted that humanity continued to be created by him and blessed in his own image. The letter also asserts that there can be no *peccatum naturale* in human nature<sup>64</sup> or the divine institution of marriage<sup>65</sup>. Furthermore, the righteous of the old covenant were justified by their own merits and faith in Christ.<sup>66</sup> He continues to oppose the teachings of all opponents vilifying their doctrine as "Manichaeian".<sup>67</sup>

The "Letter to Rufus of Thessalonica" is what de Plinval calls a *contre-encyclicque*, refuting what Julian designates "Manichaeian theses", whilst at the same time offering an *apologia* for Pelagian principles. Hav-

<sup>63</sup> Augustine quotes Julian's opinion which states that, "Contra haec, inquit, nos cotidie disputamus et ideo nolumus praeuicatoribus adhibere consensum, quia nos dicimus liberum arbitrium in omnibus esse naturaliter nec Adae peccato perire potuisse, quod omnium scripturarum auctoritate firmatur." (AUGUSTINE, *C. duas ep. pel.* 1,15,29, CSEL 60, pp. 449,21-450,1.)

<sup>64</sup> "Homines, inquit, Dei opus esse defendimus nec ex illius potentia uel in malum uel in bonum inuitum aliquem cogi, sed propria uoluntate aut bonum facere aut malum, in bono uero opere a Dei gratia semper adiuuari, in malum uero diaboli suggestionibus incitari." (AUGUSTINE, *C. duas ep. pel.* 1,18,36, CSEL 60, p. 452,19-23.)

<sup>65</sup> "Dicunt etiam, inquit, istas, quae modo aguntur, nuptias a Deo institutas non fuisse; quod in libro Augustini legitur, contra quem ego modo quattuor libellis respondi. Cuius Augustini dicta inimici nostri in ueritatis odium susceperunt." (AUGUSTINE, *C. duas ep. pel.* 1,5,9, CSEL 60, pp.429,21-430,1.) "Dicimus, inquit, has, quae nunc aguntur in orbe terrarum, a Deo nuptias institutas nec reos esse coniuges, sed fornicatores et adulteros condemnandos." (*Ibid.*, 1,15,30, CSEL 60, p. 448,6-8.) "Motum, inquit, genitalium, id est ipsam uiriliteriam, sine qua non potest esse commixto, a Deo dicimus institutam." (*Ibid.*, 1,15,31, CSEL 60, p. 448,12-13.)

<sup>66</sup> "Dicunt, inquit, sanctos in uetere testamento non caruisse peccatis, id est nec per emendationem a criminibus fuisse liberos, sed in reatu a morte fuisse deprehensos." (AUGUSTINE, *C. duas ep. pel.* 1,6,12, CSEL 60, p. 432,9-10.) "Dicimus, inquit, sanctos ueteris testamenti perfecta hinc iustitia ad aeternam transisse uitam, id est studio uirtutis ab omnibus recessisse peccatis, quia et illi, quos legimus aliquid peccasse postea tamen eos emendasse cognouimus." (*Ibid.*, 1,21,39, CSEL 60, p. 456,14-17.)

<sup>67</sup> "Dicunt etiam, inquit, motum genitalium et commixtionem coniugum a diabolo fuisse repertam et propterea eos qui nascuntur innocentes reos esse et a diabolo fieri, non a Deo, quia de hac diabolica commixtione nascuntur. Hoc autem sine aliqua ambiguitate Manicheum est." (AUGUSTINE, *C. duas ep. pel.* 1,5,10, CSEL 60, p. 431,1-5.) "Nemo ergo uos seducat nec se negent impii ista sentire, sed, si uerum dicunt, aut audientia detur aut certe isti ipsi episcopi, qui nunc dissident, damnent quae supra dixi cum Manichaeis ista tenere, sicut nos ista damnamus quae de nobis iactant, et fit plena concordia. Quod si nolunt, scitote eos esse Manicheos et ab eorum uos abstinete consortiis." (*Ibid.*, 1,24,42, CSEL 60, p. 458,16-21; cf. also DE PLINVAL, *Pélage*, pp. 337-8.)



ing attacked the Manichaean tendencies in the views of his opponents, Julian proceeds to expose the Pelagian belief in the glory of creation, marriage, the law, free will and the sanctity of the church itself. Augustine responds to these positions in books two to four of the *Contra duas epistulas Pelagianorum*.<sup>68</sup>

#### BONIFACE AND THE *CONTRA DUAS EPISTULAS PELAGIANORUM*

What, if anything, may be learned of Boniface himself and his relationship to the Pelagian movement from this Augustinian treatise? Beyond the introduction, which is specifically addressed to the pope, nothing is actually directed by Augustine to Boniface with the exception of the expression *praecessor tuus*. This phrase is employed twice within a short space of verses dealing with Zosimus' earlier treatment of Pelagius and Caelestius in Rome.<sup>69</sup> The choice of this particular expression may not reveal anything startling about Boniface's personal involvement with the heresy itself, but it does help scholars gain insight into Augustine's own perception of the new bishop of Rome. The intent here appears to be to associate Boniface with the final, definitive actions of his predecessor, with a view to seeing that pattern followed in a new papal administration.

The rest of the work may be applied to Boniface only by inference. That Augustine was somewhat wary of the pope's own stance may be indicated from his statement in the introduction wherein he writes:

"I have ventured to write something to your blessedness concerning those things which at this juncture are claiming by a later stimulus the episcopal care, as far as we are able, to vigilance on behalf of the Lord's flock".<sup>70</sup>

Several questions are raised here. Who is meant by "we"? Is it merely the African councillors, or is the pope included? Is it possible that Augustine is in fact recalling Boniface to his own episcopal duty? Whichever the case may be, it is obvious that Augustine's great concern is to summon the pa-

<sup>68</sup> DE PLINVAL, *Pélage*, pp. 339-40.

<sup>69</sup> "Interrogationibus enim sancti praecessoris tui et Caelestii responsionibus, quibus se beati papae Innocentii litteris consentire professus est." (AUGUSTINE, *C. duas ep. pel.* 2,4,6, CSEL 60, p. 465,28-466,3.) "Huic se Caelestius consentire professus est, quando, cum illi a sancto praecessore tuo dictum esset: illa omnia damnas quae iactata sunt de nomine tuo? Ipse respondit: Damno secundum sententiam beatae memoriae praecessoris tui Innocentii." (*Ibid.*, p. 466,17-21.)

<sup>70</sup> "Maiore fiducia ausus sum aliquid ad tuam beatitudinem scribere de his rebus, quae hoc tempore episcopalem curam, si qua in nobis est, ad uigilantiam pro grege dominico stimulo recentiore sollicitant." (AUGUSTINE, *C. duas ep. pel.* 1,1,1, CSEL 60, p. 423, 16-18; Eng. trans. in SCHAFF, p. 377.)



pal attention to attend to a threat which he perceives as being far from over<sup>71</sup>. That such an anxiety even need be expressed may indicate that, as far as Augustine was concerned, the new pontiff may not have been working with as much haste or attentiveness as the Africans would have preferred. While it is true that Boniface himself had initiated the present conversation with the Africans thereby appearing rather proactive, surely the very fact that Julian had the misplaced confidence to appeal to the pope at all would have been sufficient to raise the concerns, if not the suspicions of Augustine and his colleagues that the condemned bishops may have indeed hoped for a favourable hearing.<sup>72</sup> After all, and as noted previously, beyond turning the letters over to the Africans, Boniface had actually done nothing else and, indeed, had showed himself rather tolerant of the religious "miscreants".

Augustine also begins his introduction to the letter with the phrase, *I had learned how full you were of the grace of God* which could, of course, bear many different interpretations, some of them merely diplomatic in nature. In the light section 2,6, however, Augustine's effusiveness may also be understood differently. In this particular paragraph, Augustine emphasizes that grace is not given according to any merits. It is freely obtained, and beyond earning. One of his most penetrating analogies for the gratuitous nature of divine election and mercy is saved for the third book of the treatise, wherein Augustine writes,

"For what is more perfect, or what was more excellent, than the holy priests among the ancient people? And yet God prescribed to them to offer sacrifice first of all for their own sins. And what is more holy among the new people than the apostles? And yet the Lord prescribed to them to say in their prayer, 'Forgive us our debts.' For all the pious, therefore, who lie under this burden of a corruptible flesh, and groan in the infirmity of this life of theirs, there is one hope: 'We have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous: and He is the propitiation for our sins'."<sup>73</sup>

<sup>71</sup> Augustine tells us, for example, that "Noui quippe heretici, inimici gratiae Dei, quae datur pusillis et magnis per Iesum Christum dominum nostrum, etsi iam cauendi euentius apertiore inprobatione monstrantur, non tamen quiescunt scriptis suis minus cautorum uel minus eruditorum corda temptare. Quibus utique respondendum esset." (AUGUSTINE, *C. duas ep. pel.* 1,1,2, CSEL 60, p. 424,1-5.)

<sup>72</sup> Augustine's use of *iste* in the following passage has a pejorative ring in this particular case. He writes, "Non itaque, sicut dicunt nos quidam dicere et iste audet insuper scribere, 'omnes in peccatum' uelut inuiti 'carnis suae necessitate coguntur', sed si iam in ea aetate sunt, ut propriae mentis utantur arbitrio, et in peccato sua uoluntate retinentur et a peccato in peccatum sua uoluntate praecipitantur." (AUGUSTINE, *C. duas ep. pel.* 1,3,7, CSEL 60, p. 428,17-21.)

<sup>73</sup> "Quid enim excellentius in ueteri populo sacerdotibus sanctis? Et tamen eis praecepit Deus sacrificium pro suis primitus offerre peccatis. Et quid sanctius in nouo



The recent history of the bishops of Rome had seen them portray themselves as high-priests, the fountain of divine teaching and unity itself<sup>74</sup>. By emphasizing the gracious character of election of ancient priests and apostles, however, Augustine was putting the papal office in a different perspective. If the apostles, whom Boniface and his predecessors claim to succeed, were in need of grace to avoid error, and in need of mercy when they failed in their endeavour, how much more so mortals who daily operated beyond the physical realm of the ascended Saviour? The weakness of the apostles could also stand as a tacet but firm reminder to Boniface of Zosimus' halting effort to fulfil his Master's charge to tend the sheep.

Augustine, however, is not so bold as to cast aspersions upon the late pontiff himself. He contents himself, instead, to interpret Zosimus' actions for Boniface's benefit and enlightenment:

"The Pelagians had conceived, with a false hope, that the new and execrable dogma of Pelagius or Caelestius could be made acceptable to the catholic intelligences of certain Romans, when those crafty spirits - however perverted by a wicked error, yet not contemptible, since they appeared rather to be deserving of considerate correction than of easy condemnation - were treated with somewhat more of lenity than the stricter discipline of the Church required. For while so many and such important ecclesiastical documents were passing and repassing between the Apostolical See and the African bishops, - and, moreover, when the proceedings in this matter in that see were completed, with Caelestius present and making answer, - what sort of a letter, what decree is found of Pope Zosimus, of venerable memory, wherein he prescribed that it must be believed that man is born without any taint of original sin? Absolutely he never said this - never wrote it at all."<sup>75</sup>

populo apostolis? Et tamen praecepit eis Dominus in oratione dicere: dimitte nobis debita nostra. Omnia igitur piorum sub hoc onere corruptibilis carnis et in istius uitae infirmitate gementium spes una est, quod aduocatum habemus apud patrem Iesum Christum iustum; et ipse est exoratio peccatorum nostrorum." (AUGUSTINE, *C. duas ep. pel.* 3,5,15, *CSEL* 60, p. 504,8-16; Eng. trans. in SCHAFF, p. 409.)

<sup>74</sup> Cf. AUGUSTINE, *Ep.* 181,1, *CSEL* 44, pp. 702,11-703,5; *Ep.* 182,2, *CSEL* 44, p. 717,6-8.

<sup>75</sup> "Immo uero Pelagiani spe falsa putauerant nouum et execrabile dogma Pelagianum uel Caelestianum persuaderi quorundam Romanorum catholicis mentibus posse, quando illa ingenia quamuis nefando errore peruersa, non tamen contemptibilia, cum studiose corrigenda potius quam facile damnanda uiderentur, aliquanto lenius, quam superior postulabat ecclesiae disciplina, tractata sunt. Tot enim et tantis inter apostolicam sedem et afros episcopos currentibus et recurrentibus scriptis ecclesiasticis, etiam gestis de hac causa apud illam sedem Caelestio praesente et respondente confectis quatenus tandem epistula uenerandae memoriae papae Zosimi, quae interlocutio repperitur, ubi praeceperit credi oportere sine ullo uitio peccati originalis hominem nasci? Nusquam prorsus hoc dixit, nusquam omnino conscripsit." (AUGUSTINE, *C. duas ep. pel.* 2,3,5, *CSEL* 60, pp. 463,21-64,6; Eng. trans. in SCHAFF, p. 393.)



Given the rather open nature of letters written during this period of antiquity, it is obvious that this "instruction" to Boniface is meant to benefit a wider, more unsuspecting audience. Augustine had, however, addressed this work to Pope Boniface personally, and while setting the record straight for the whole Christian world, he was also indicating to the new bishop of Rome himself the manner in which Zosimus' actions ought to be regarded and properly evaluated. By understanding the *true* intent of Zosimus' actions, Boniface could avoid repeating the unmentioned errors.

To make the matter perfectly clear, Augustine continues at the end of the third book to enunciate what *must* be done in the Pelagian affair.

"Whoever builds up, either concerning the soul or any other obscure matter, any edifice whence he may destroy this, which is true, best founded, and best known, whether he is a son or an enemy of the Church, must either be corrected or avoided."<sup>76</sup>

If the letter were intended for the general public, such an exhortation would be superfluous, since there would be little that individuals might do. If the work were intended for imperial officials, it would certainly be useful and directive. In a letter addressed to the bishop of Rome, however, such a statement was actually quite bold in its rather imperious tone. Perhaps this style, more than anything else, indicates the anxiety which still haunted Augustine and his brethren as they recalled Rome's recent handling of the whole unhappy affair, and their strong intention to ensure that such an eventuality should never occur again.

Augustine closes the whole treatise with one more observation which could be interpreted as an indictment of those who have not followed the demands of Zosimus' *Tractoria*; it could equally stand, however, as an indictment of Zosimus himself, and his resistance to the original judgment of Carthage. He writes:

"They endeavour, forsooth, to disturb the catholic world, because, the Lord being against them, they are unable to pervert it; when rather they ought to have been trodden out wherever those wolves might have appeared, by watchfulness and pastoral diligence, after a competent and sufficient judgment made concerning them; whether with a view of their being healed and changed, or with a view of their being shunned by the safety and soundness of others, by the help of the Shepherd of the sheep, who seeks the lost sheep also among the little ones, who makes the sheep holy and righteous freely; who both providently instructs them, although sanctified and justified, yet in their frailty and infirmity to pray for a daily remission for their daily sins, without

<sup>76</sup> "Qua propter quisquis uel de anima uel de quacumque re obscura id adstruit, unde hoc quod uerissimum, fundatissimum, notissimum est destruat, siue sit ille filius siue inimicus ecclesiae, aut corrigendus est aut cauendus." (AUGUSTINE, *C. duas ep. pel.* 3,10,26, *CSEL* 60, p. 519,11-15.)



which no one lives in this world, even although he may live well; and mercifully listens to their prayers."<sup>77</sup>

As Peter's successor - the one specifically charged to feed the lambs and tend the sheep<sup>78</sup> - the *double-entendre* of this passage and its concomitant challenge could not have been lost on Boniface. Indeed, this passage forms rather a remarkable literary *inclusio* with the introduction which specifically refers to the episcopal vigilance on behalf of the Lord's flock.<sup>79</sup> The Good Shepherd protects the sheep from the wolves and their misguided teaching and heretical notions. Unhappily, pastoral diligence has not been sufficient to bring about the destruction of the wolf-pack; it has merely dispersed it, and as a result the threat remains, demanding the full attention and commitment of the Shepherd's vicars, among whom the bishop of Rome enjoys a particular pre-eminence.<sup>80</sup> The message to Boniface is, in a sense, *caveat episcopus*.

One question naturally arises. Why, out of his whole pontificate, did these letters alone evoke the papal response against Pelagianism? The answer is, on one level, quite simple. Boniface, who to this point had been rather inconspicuous on the Pelagian matter, could not ignore a direct and publically-known address from the leading member of the dissenters. It was imperative that some response be given, even if it had been somewhat forcefully elicited. Secondly, Julian's attack was principally aimed at Zosimus' *Tractoria* and the "prevarication" of the Roman Church,<sup>81</sup> which essentially amounted to an assault against the papacy itself. Boniface could certainly not allow such a challenge go unanswered which questioned the very right and ability of the bishop of Rome to teach, judge

<sup>77</sup> "Orbem quippe catholicam quoniam domino eis resistente peruertere nequeunt, saltem commouere conantur, cum potius uigilantis et diligentia pastorali post factum de illis competens sufficiensque iudicium, ubicumque isti lupi apparuerint, conterendi sunt, siue ut sanentur atque mutantur siue ut ab aliorum salute atque integritate uidentur, adiuuante pastore pastorum, qui ouem perditam et in paruulis quaerit, qui oues sanctas et iustas gratis facit, qui eas quamuis sanctificatas et iustificatas, tamen in ista fragilitate atque infirmitate pro cotidianis peccatis, sine quibus hic non uiuitur, etiam cum bene uiuitur, cotidianam remissionem et ut petant prouidenter instruit et petentes clementer exaudit." (AUGUSTINE, *C. duas ep. pel.* 4,12,34, CSEL 60, p. 570, 12-22; Eng. trans. in SCHAFF, p. 434.)

<sup>78</sup> Jn 21,15-17.

<sup>79</sup> AUGUSTINE, *C. duas ep. pel.* 1,1,1-2, CSEL 60, pp. 423-24.

<sup>80</sup> AUGUSTINE, *C. duas ep. pel.* 1,1,2, CSEL 60, p. 424,10-11.

<sup>81</sup> "Quin etiam Romanos clericos arguunt scribentes 'eos iussionis terrore percussos non erubuisse praeauaricationis crimen admittere, ut contra priorem sententiam suam, qua gestis catholico dogmati affuerant, postea pronuntiarent malam hominum esse naturam'". (AUGUSTINE, *C. duas ep. pel.* 2,3,5, CSEL 60, p. 463,21-23.)



and determine the law. What was perhaps even more preferable, however, was that such papal prerogative should be defended by someone other than the pope himself. The force of an illustrious provincial bishop's word against an Italian dissenter could not be underestimated and added to the lustre of Rome. Augustine, therefore, offers a fervent *apologia* on behalf of both Innocent and Zosimus, although it is clear that his preference was for the former.<sup>82</sup>

### CONCLUSIONS

In the end, Boniface unwittingly presided over a major alteration in the original character of Pelagianism. De Plinval maintains that, from the date of publication of the *Tractoria* in 418 until Boniface's death in September of 422, the movement evolved from simple asceticism into a more organized intellectual religious expression.<sup>83</sup> The earlier, more simple membership was perhaps even overwhelmed by younger associates whose knowledge of letters and philosophy exerted tremendous impact on the direction the movement would take, consequently losing some of the older adherents along the way.<sup>84</sup>

<sup>82</sup> Augustine makes the following defence against Julian's charge of prevarication, which *in fine* is actually little more than a rationalization of Zosimus' actions. He writes, "Nunc uero cum primitus beatissimi papae Innocentii litterae episcoporum litteris respondentis afrorum pariter hunc errorem, quem conantur isti persuadere, damnauerint, successor quoque eius sanctus papa Zosimus hoc tenendum esse, quod isti de paruulis sentiunt, numquam dixerit, numquam scripserit, insuper etiam Caelestium se purgare molientem ad consentiendum supra dictis sedis apostolicae litteris crebra interlocutione constrinxerit, profecto quidquid interea lenius actum est cum Caelestio seruata dumtaxat antiquissimae et robustissimae fidei firmitate correctionis fuit clementissima suasio, non adprobatio exitiosissima prauitatis. Et quod ab eodem sacerdote postea Caelestius et Pelagius repetita auctoritate damnati sunt, paululum in intermissae iam necessario proferendae ratio seueritatis fuit, non praeuaricatio prius cognitae uel noua cognitio ueritatis. (AUGUSTINE, *C. duas. ep. pel.* 1,3,5, CSEL 60, p. 465,11-25.) Augustine's reasoning is not so much convoluted as it is tortuous in its expression. His effort here is to demonstrate that, despite recent vicissitudes, the Roman bishops had truly acted in a manner consistent with the judicial and administrative power which they enjoyed. This reality may not be perceived accurately - or appreciated - by detractors like Julian, but that does not alter the fact that they had acquitted themselves appropriately in the face of the Pelagian threat. Given that Boniface had first-hand acquaintance with the difficulties which Zosimus' *volte-face* had created for him and the church in Rome, he really could have asked for no finer testimony to the authority of his office.

<sup>83</sup> DE PLINVAL, *Pélage*, p. 344.

<sup>84</sup> De Plinval cites Augustine's *C. Iul.* 5,4 to support this particular claim, though this author is not convinced it need necessarily bear this interpretation. More persuasive is his quotation from *C. Iul.* 2,37 wherein it is written, "milites, scholastici auditoriales... de



Perhaps de Plinval is correct with reference to the lower classes who were willing to battle in the streets of Rome in 418, but many of the nobles, who had been with Pelagius from the very beginning, transcended the "mob mentality". They were themselves steeped in the Roman philosophical tradition as well as the scriptural roots of the teaching. It must be borne in mind that one of Jerome's earliest criticisms was that Pelagius and his followers were much too indebted to the Stoics and Pythagoreans.<sup>85</sup> Whether or not these specific accusations were accurate does not alter the fact that philosophy and letters had always played a role in the development of Pelagian thought.

That is not to say, however, that de Plinval is wrong in recognizing an evolution in the movement throughout Boniface's reign. It is more likely, however, that Pelagianism developed as a result of repression, as any outlawed movement is bound to do. If membership indeed declined or changed during Boniface's reign, this phenomenon could just as easily be explained by the fact that individual ascetic needs were being met by the institutions approved by the official church, or by the fact that the spiritual leaders of the movement had been exiled to the East. In the end, one could indeed live the life that Pelagius, Caelestius or Rufinus espoused without being threatened with censure by assimilating into the victorious faith-community itself.

In the final analysis, did this phase of the Pelagian controversy add to or detract from the growth of papal authority? In one sense, this question is quite unanswerable because of the dearth of information. In large part, however, Boniface's particular contribution to the extension of papal influence is bound to what could be popularly described as "damage control". He steered a cautious course, making no statements himself, but allowing Honorius and Augustine to act on his behalf. Thus he regained the trust of the victors in the recent strife - a trust which had been shaken by Zosimus' actions, all Augustine's justifications notwithstanding<sup>86</sup>. As

qualicumque clericorum turba..., quia non possunt secundum categorias Aristotelis de dogmatibus iudicare", although even this does not indicate a widespread discontent precipitous to abandoning the movement.

<sup>85</sup> Jerome, for example, saw a direct link between the Pelagian notion of *impeccantia* and the Stoic ἀπαθεία, maintaining that the former was but Stoicism writ piously. Cf. for example *In Hierem.* I,17, CSEL 59, p. 20,5-7.)

<sup>86</sup> Pietri declares that it was largely Boniface's rigor, with regard to the Pelagians which helped to restore the confidence of Africa in the papacy (C. PIETRI, *Les lettres nouvelles et leurs témoignages sur l'histoire de l'Église romaine et de ses relations avec l'Afrique* in *Les lettres de Saint Augustin découvertes par Johannes Divjak*, Paris, Études Augustiniennes, 1983, pp. 343-54, p. 352). This author, however, would take exception to the use of "la rigueur" by Pietri and would suggest that, given the facts of Boniface's



for the papal mind on the outstanding issues of transmitted sin and the fate of unbaptized infants who die before their time, no statement was clearly forthcoming from Rome. Had Boniface provided an articulate declaration on these contentious matters, the position of Rome could have been clarified for history. Instead, he offered an enigmatic silence leaving the scholar only to wonder, did such silence really betoken consent?

Toronto

Pearce J. CAREFOOTE

"Nous célébrons deux-vingt-huit le centenaire de saint Augustin" avait consacré l'Assemblée générale de la Société canadienne de la Patristique. Cette seule phrase résume la fin d'une évolution qui peut être caractérisée comme la tendance historique dans la suite ou l'œuvre de l'œuvre liturgique et l'origine la période après Vatican II. L'Assemblée générale de la Société canadienne de la Patristique a été une occasion unique de voir les premières communautés chrétiennes célébrer le Mystère paschal dans sa totalité: la résurrection, les apparitions aux disciples, l'Ascension, la venue de l'Esprit-Saint et le retour du Seigneur. Au cours de l'Assemblée, cependant, on a noté des distinctions plus marquées dans la période de ses cinquante jours. Il n'est pas clair si cette modification a eu lieu sans l'influence de la liturgie de Jérusalem ou sous l'influence de la réforme du rite de la Messe et de la Résurrection du Nouveau Testament. En tout cas, le vingt-huitième jour, c'est-à-dire le jour des femmes, a été le jour de la célébration de la venue de l'Esprit-Saint.

Du temps de saint Augustin, cette célébration était réservée aux régions méridionales, ce qui explique la présence de la Pentecôte dans les textes respectivement de quatorze et de cinquante jours de la période pascale. Dans ce liturgie, on a noté la présence de la Pentecôte à la fin. "Le centenaire de saint Augustin a été pour nous un jour précieux de réflexion, de méditation, de prière, de louange et de gratitude." C'est ainsi que l'Assemblée a été une occasion de se souvenir de la liturgie de saint Augustin.

Saint Augustin, 354-430, a été un des plus grands théologiens de l'Église. La tradition liturgique des siècles 167-171 est celle de l'Assemblée générale de la Société canadienne de la Patristique. L'Assemblée générale de la Société canadienne de la Patristique a été une occasion de se souvenir de la liturgie de saint Augustin. L'Assemblée générale de la Société canadienne de la Patristique a été une occasion de se souvenir de la liturgie de saint Augustin.

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actual dealings with the question, a word like "la docilité" would be far more appropriate.







# LES SERMONS DE SAINT AUGUSTIN POUR LE JOUR DE LA PENTECÔTE

## I. INTRODUCTION

"Nous célébrons donc aujourd'hui la venue du Saint-Esprit"<sup>1</sup>. Voilà comment Augustin introduit un de ses sermons pour la Pentecôte. Cette seule phrase marque la fin d'une évolution qui peut être caractérisée comme la tendance historisante dans la mise en forme de l'année liturgique. À l'origine la période après Pâques, la Cinquantaine pascale, fut célébrée comme un *laetissimum spatium*<sup>2</sup>, où les premières communautés chrétiennes célébraient le Mystère pascal dans sa totalité: la résurrection, les apparitions aux disciples, l'ascension, la venue de l'Esprit-Saint et le retour du Seigneur. Au cours du IV<sup>e</sup> siècle cependant on a introduit des distinctions plus marquées dans la période de ces cinquante jours. Il n'est pas clair si cette modification a eu lieu sous l'influence de la liturgie de Jérusalem ou sous l'influence de la relecture du récit de la Passion et de la Résurrection du Nouveau Testament. En tout cas le cinquantième jour, clôture de la fête des semaines, héritée des juifs, avait lieu la commémoration de la venue de l'Esprit-Saint.

Du temps de saint Augustin cette évolution était achevée: ses sermons montrent clairement que l'Ascension et la Pentecôte étaient fixées respectivement au quarantième et au cinquantième jour de la période pascale. Dans un de ses sermons pour la Pentecôte il dit: "La venue du Saint-Esprit a fait pour nous un jour solennel de ce jour, le cinquantième des

<sup>1</sup> *Sermo* 267.1; PL 38, 1230: "Celebramus hodie adventum Spiritus sancti". La traduction française des sermons 267-271 est celle - légèrement corrigée - de M. PÉRONNE, *Oeuvres complètes de saint Augustin évêque d'Hippone. Tome 18: Sermons au peuple*. Paris, 1872, 375-398. Au lieu de la traduction "la descente du Saint-Esprit" que Péronne donne pour *adventus Spiritus sancti*, nous préférons la traduction plus neutre "la venue du Saint-Esprit".

<sup>2</sup> C'est ainsi que Cabié, suivant en cela Tertullien, parle de cette période dans son ouvrage de base sur la cinquantaine pascale et la Pentecôte (voir surtout la 1<sup>e</sup> partie, p. 35-113): R. CABIÉ, *La Pentecôte. L'évolution de la Cinquantaine pascale au cours des cinq premiers siècles*. Paris, 1965. Voir aussi: H.A.J. WEGMAN, *Riten en mythen. Liturgie in de geschiedenis van het christendom*. Kampen, 1991, 135-140. K.H.W. KLAASSENS, *De vijftigdagentijd. De bijbelse gegevens, de uitwerking in de vroege kerk en de hedendaagse liturgische vernieuwing*. Brussel, 1993, 83-85.



jours qui suivent la résurrection de Notre-Seigneur"<sup>3</sup>. Dans le même sermon il fait mention de l'Ascension du Christ qui a eu lieu dix jours avant la Pentecôte: "Il vécut avec eux quarante jours, et, avant de monter au ciel, il leur recommande de nouveau son Église"<sup>4</sup>. D'ailleurs, le fait qu'Augustin a rédigé des sermons différents pour les fêtes de l'Ascension<sup>5</sup> et de la Pentecôte prouve déjà qu'il ne considérait plus la Cinquantaine comme une période où le Mystère pascal était célébrée dans sa totalité.

Malgré le fait que l'Ascension et la Pentecôte ont reçu une place fixe dans l'ordre de l'année liturgique, la manière dont le contenu propre de ces fêtes était exprimée, n'était pas fixée. Dans cet article nous voulons examiner de quelle façon saint Augustin a donné forme à la célébration de la Pentecôte. En même temps cette étude veut être une contribution aux études sur l'évolution de la fête de la Pentecôte depuis le IV<sup>e</sup> siècle<sup>6</sup>.

Jusqu'à maintenant les sermons de saint Augustin pour la Pentecôte n'ont pas beaucoup retenu l'attention des spécialistes. W. Roetzer, qui se sert de l'oeuvre de saint Augustin comme source de l'histoire de la liturgie, fait brièvement mention de la fête de la Pentecôte: "Augustinus erwähnt es als von alters her bestehend, als eingeführt zur Erinnerung an die Ausgießung des Heiligen Geistes über die Apostel und Gläubigen und preist sein hochfestliche Begehung". Pour illustrer ce fait Roetzer ne cite pas les sermons pour la Pentecôte mais l'*Epistula* 54 et le *Contra Faustum*<sup>7</sup>. V. Saxer mentionne explicitement les sermons de saint Augustin

<sup>3</sup> *Sermo* 268.1; PL 38, 1231-1232: "Propter adventum Spiritus sancti hodiernus dies solemniss est nobis, a resurrectione Domini quinquagesimus".

<sup>4</sup> *Sermo* 268.4; PL 38, 1233: "Fecit cum illis quadraginta dies: ascensus in caelum ipsam rursus Ecclesiam commendavit".

<sup>5</sup> *Sermones* 261-265. Voir: P.-P. VERBRAKEN, *Études critiques sur les sermons authentiques de saint Augustin*. Steenbrugge, 1956, 121-123.

<sup>6</sup> Pour l'évolution de la fête de la Pentecôte aux trois premiers siècles, voir (à côté de l'ouvrage déjà citée de Cabié, note 2) O. CASEL, Art und Sinn der ältesten christlichen Osterfeier, in: *Jahrbuch für Liturgiewissenschaft* 14 (1938), 1-78; A. DOHMES, Pentekoste und Pfingsten, in: *Trierer Theologische Zeitschrift* 58 (1949), 129-137; J. BOECKH, Die Entwicklung der altkirchlichen Pentekoste, in: *Jahrbuch für Liturgie und Hymnologie* 5 (1960), 1-45.

<sup>7</sup> W. ROETZER, *Des heiligen Augustinus Schriften als Liturgiegeschichtliche Quelle*. München, 1930, 26-27. *Epistula* 54; CSEL 34/II, 159-160: "Illa autem, quae non scripta, sed tradita custodimus, quae quidem toto terrarum orbe servantur, datur intellegi vel ab ipsis apostolis vel plenariis conciliis, quorum est in ecclesia saluberrima auctoritas, commendata atque statuta retineri, sicuti quod domini passio et resurrectio et ascensio in caelum et adventus de caelo spiritus sancti". *Contra Faustum* 32, 12; CSEL 25/I, 770-771: "Pentecosten etiam, id est, a passione et resurrectione domini quinquagesimum diem celebramus, quo nobis sanctum spiritum paracletum, quem promiserat, misit. [...] Ea quippe anniversarie in ecclesia celebrantur, quae insigniter excellentia certis diebus facta sunt, ut



pour la Pentecôte. Outre la datation et la localisation il prête aussi attention aux péricopes récitées dans la liturgie de la Pentecôte<sup>8</sup>. G. Willis aussi aborde cette dernière question<sup>9</sup>. J. Stoop, auteur sud-africain, étudie les thèmes traités par Augustin dans ses sermons pour la Pentecôte. Son article est plutôt descriptif qu'analytique et a surtout pour but d'inspirer les prédicateurs d'aujourd'hui<sup>10</sup>.

D'une façon différente de celle des auteurs cités, cet article voudrait étudier les sermons pour la Pentecôte dans trois perspectives différentes. D'abord nous essayons d'avoir une vue d'ensemble sur les thèmes traités par Augustin dans ses sermons pour la Pentecôte (§ II). Ensuite nous établirons une comparaison entre ces thèmes et les thèmes qui se présentent dans les sermons pour la Pentecôte de quelques prédicateurs contemporains de saint Augustin (§ III). Le paragraphe IV examine l'utilisation des textes de l'Écriture dans les sermons d'Augustin pour la Pentecôte. Finalement il est question de l'authenticité du sermon 378, un cas douteux parmi les sermons pour la Pentecôte (§ V).

## II. LES THÈMES

Six sermons de saint Augustin pour la Pentecôte nous ont été transmis<sup>11</sup>: les *Sermones* 267 jusqu'à 271<sup>12</sup> et le *Sermo* 272B<sup>13</sup>. Il n'est pas

eorum necessariam salubremque memoriam festivitas concelebrata custodiat".

<sup>8</sup> V. SAXER, *Saint Augustin. L'Année Liturgique*. Paris, 1980, 21-23. Voir § 4 concernant la question des péricopes utilisées dans la liturgie de la Pentecôte.

<sup>9</sup> G. WILLIS, *St Augustine's Lectionary*. London, 1962, 68-69 et 29 (table).

<sup>10</sup> J. STOOP, Die pinksterprediking van Augustinus, dans: *Kerk en Eredienst* 7 (1952), 67-72.

<sup>11</sup> VERBRAKEN, *Études critiques*, 123-125. Seuls les sermons dans lesquels il y a une référence directe à la fête de la Pentecôte, ont été retenus. En outre cet article se limite aux sermons qui ont été prononcés le dimanche de la Pentecôte. Les sermons suivants ne sont donc pas pris en considération: *Sermo* 29; CCSL 41, 372-376: sermon de la vigile de la Pentecôte; *Sermo* 29A = Denis 9; CCSL 41, 377-380: sermon peut-être prononcé la vigile de la Pentecôte; F. DOLBEAU, Sermons inédits de saint Augustin prêchés en 397, dans: *Revue Bénédictine* 101 (1991), 244-249: sermon de la vigile de la Pentecôte; *Sermo* 266; PL 38, 1225-1229: sermon de la vigile de la Pentecôte; F. DOLBEAU, Nouveaux sermons de saint Augustin pour la conversion des païens et des Donatistes, dans: *Revue des Études Augustiniennes* 37 (1991), 42-52: ce sermon ne renvoie pas expressément à la fête de la Pentecôte; *Sermo* 272; PL 38, 1246-1248: sermon prononcé peut-être à la fête de la Pentecôte; *Sermo* 272A; PL 39, 1729: fragment, dans lequel il n'y a pas de référence explicite à la fête de la Pentecôte.

<sup>12</sup> PL 38, 1229-1246.

<sup>13</sup> *Sermo* 272B = Mai 158: PL supplément 2, 522-527.



certain que saint Augustin soit l'auteur du sermon 378<sup>14</sup>. Ce sermon sera traité dans le paragraphe V. D'abord nous donnerons un sommaire de chaque sermon. Ensuite nous traiterons les thèmes d'une manière systématique.

*Sermo 267*: Dans ce sermon saint Augustin joue sur trois images. D'abord les disciples qui à la Pentecôte sont remplis de l'Esprit-Saint, sont "des outres neuves", qui sont remplies du vin nouveau (= l'Esprit). Les disciples sont devenus "des outres neuves" par leur désir spirituel et par la grâce. "Vous venez d'entendre ce que dit Notre-Seigneur dans l'Évangile: 'Personne ne met du vin nouveau dans de vieilles outres'; c'est-à-dire: l'homme charnel ne peut comprendre les choses spirituelles. L'homme charnel, c'est le vieil homme; c'est la grâce qui nous donne une sainte nouveauté de vie. Plus ce renouvellement de l'homme est parfait, plus aussi il devient capable de recevoir avec abondance la vérité qu'il goûte"<sup>15</sup>. La deuxième image dont se sert Augustin, c'est le don des langues. Il interprète Ac 2 de telle manière qu'une seule personne parle toutes les langues du monde. C'est une préfiguration de l'Église du temps présent où toutes les langues sont présentes. "L'Église était alors renfermée dans une seule maison, lorsqu'elle reçut l'Esprit-Saint; elle était composée d'un petit nombre d'hommes, mais elle parlait déjà les langues de tous les peuples. Voilà donc ce que figurait ce prodige. Cette Église si peu nombreuse qui parlait toutes les langues, était le symbole de cette grande Église qui s'étend du lever du soleil à son coucher, et parle les langues de tous les peuples"<sup>16</sup>. Augustin emprunte la troisième image à saint Paul (1 Co 12): l'âme est dans le corps, ce que l'Esprit est dans l'Église. Les membres ont des tâches différentes, mais grâce à l'âme, la vie leur est commune. Retranchés du corps les membres n'ont pas de vie. Pour Augustin ceci se rapporte aux hérétiques. "Il arrive quelquefois qu'on retranche quelque membre dans le corps, ou, plutôt, du corps de l'homme; c'est la main, le doigt ou le pied; or, l'âme suit-elle ce membre retranché? Lorsqu'il faisait partie du corps, il était vivant; il perd la vie aussitôt qu'il en est retranché. Il en est de même

<sup>14</sup> PL 39, 1673-1674. Traduction française: SAXER, *Saint Augustin. L'Année*, 103-105.

<sup>15</sup> *Sermo 267.2*; PL 38, 1230: "Audistis cum Evangelium legeretur 'Nemo mittit vinum novum in utres veteres': spiritualia non capit carnalis. Carnalitas vetustas est, gratia novitas est. Quotcumque homo in melius fuerit, innovatus, tanto amplius capit, quod verum sapit".

<sup>16</sup> *Sermo 267.3*; PL 38, 1231: "Ecclesia tunc in una domo erat, accepit Spiritum sanctum: in hominibus paucis erat, in linguis totius orbis erat. Ecce quod praetendebat modo. Nam quod illa Ecclesia parva linguis omnium gentium loquebatur, quid est, nisi quod Ecclesia ista magna a solis ortu usque ad occasum linguis omnium gentium loquitur?"



pour tout chrétien catholique: il vit tant qu'il est uni au corps de l'Église; dès qu'il s'en sépare, il devient hérétique; l'esprit n'anime plus ce membre retranché"<sup>17</sup>.

*Sermo* 268: Comme dans le sermon 267 l'unité de l'Église est le thème principal<sup>18</sup>. Augustin l'explique en utilisant trois images: le don des langues, la relation corps-âme, et la création de l'homme. Les deux premières images il les traite de la même façon que dans le sermon 267. En ce qui concerne la création de l'homme à partir d'un seul être humain originel, cela montre, dit Augustin, que l'unité est imposée expressément au genre humain. "Pourquoi un seul homme est-il la souche de tout le genre humain? N'est-ce point pour relever aux yeux des hommes l'importance de l'unité? Et Notre-Seigneur Jésus-Christ lui-même a voulu naître d'une seule femme. La Vierge est la figure de l'unité, et, en demeurant vierge, l'unité conserve son incorruptibilité"<sup>19</sup>. Saint Augustin ajoute encore une quatrième image qui est aussi en rapport avec le thème de l'unité, fût-ce d'une manière un peu moins prononcée: les amis de l'Époux (= le Christ) doivent veiller sur l'Épouse (= l'Église) afin qu'Elle seule aime l'Époux. "Ce divin Époux, sur le point de quitter la terre, recommande son Épouse à ses amis, non pour qu'elle s'attache à quelqu'un d'entre eux; c'est lui seul qu'elle doit aimer comme son Époux; pour eux, elle ne doit les aimer que comme les amis de l'Époux, et nul d'entre eux à l'égal de son Époux"<sup>20</sup>. Il est possible que par ce thème saint Augustin vise certains groupes d'hérétiques. La citation qui suit ce passage (1 Co 11,18: 'J'entends dire qu'il y a des divisions entre vous, et je le crois en partie') en est une indication. Peut-être Augustin a-t-il subi ici l'influence d'une plus vieille tradition: dans la célébration primitive de la Cinquantaine comme un *laetissimum spatium*, le précepte de ne pas jeûner pendant cette période a été lié au thème de la présence de l'Époux (voir Lc 5,34-35). Du temps

<sup>17</sup> *Sermo* 267.4; PL 38, 1231: "Contingit ut in corpore humano, imo de corpore aliquod praecidatur membrum, manus, digitus, pes; numquid praecisum sequitur anima? Cum in corpore esset, vivebat; praecisum amittit vitam. Sic et homo christianus catholicus est, dum in corpore vivit; praecisus haereticus factus est, membrum amputatum non sequitur spiritus".

<sup>18</sup> Concernant le thème de l'unité dans la pensée de saint Augustin voir: T.J. VAN BAVEL, *Augustinus. Van liefde en vriendschap*. Baarn, 1970, 37-47.

<sup>19</sup> *Sermo* 268.3; PL 38, 1233: "Quare ab uno genus humanum inchoatur, nisi quia generi humano unitas commendatur? Et Dominus Christus ex una, unitas virgo est; tenet virginitatem, servat incorruptionem". Péronne traduit *ex una* comme "d'une femme seulement".

<sup>20</sup> *Sermo* 268.4; PL 38, 1233-1234: "Sponsus profecturus sponsam suam amicis suis commendavit: non ut amet aliquem ipsorum; sed ipsum tanquam sponsum, illos tanquam amicos sponsi, neminem eorum tanquam sponsum".



de saint Augustin, cette relation ne se faisait plus parce que la célébration de la fête de l'Ascension au quarantième jour entraînait l'absence de l'Époux<sup>21</sup>. On devait donc chercher d'autres arguments pour justifier l'absence du jeûne pendant la Cinquantaine. Le fait que saint Augustin utilise l'image de l'Époux sans référence au jeûne nous indique qu'il donne une signification nouvelle à un vieux thème.

*Sermo 269*: Dans ce sermon aussi, l'unité de l'Église est le thème principal. Le don des langues est une préfiguration de l'unité de l'Église. Où il y a unité, là est l'Esprit<sup>22</sup>. Les hérétiques n'ont donc pas l'Esprit, même s'ils ont été baptisés. "Cette distinction clairement établie entre la réception du baptême et la réception de l'Esprit-Saint, suffit pour nous convaincre qu'il ne faut pas reconnaître la présence de l'Esprit-Saint dans ceux qui, même de notre aveu, sont en possession du baptême. (...) Ainsi, de même que le don des langues était alors, dans un seul homme, un signe de la présence de l'Esprit-Saint, ainsi maintenant sa présence est attestée par l'amour que nous avons pour l'unité qui existe entre tous les peuples"<sup>23</sup>. Saint Augustin nous explique que les hérétiques n'ont pas l'Esprit, même s'ils confessent le Christ. Car celui qui dit 'Seigneur Jésus', mais ne se joint pas à l'unité, ne peut pas posséder l'Esprit.

*Sermo 270*: Par le don de l'Esprit les disciples sont devenus des hommes spirituels. Ceci n'a été possible qu'après que l'homme Jésus (dans son corps charnel) s'en fut allé. Le don de l'Esprit est l'accomplissement de la Loi. Augustin nous explique tout cela par la symbolique des nombres: "(Le) nombre quarante, qui comprend quatre fois dix, me paraît donc être la figure de ce monde que nous traversons, que nous parcourons". C'est dans ce monde "qu'est annoncée la Loi de Dieu, figurée par le nombre dix. C'est pourquoi le Décalogue a été recommandé dès le début. En effet, la Loi est renfermée dans dix préceptes, parce que le nombre dix figure une certaine perfection". Après l'Ascension au quarantième jour "dix autres jours s'étant écoulés (...) dix jours simplement, et non multipliés par qua-

<sup>21</sup> CABIÉ, *La Pentecôte*, 80-83 en 222-223.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. VAN BAVEL, *Augustinus*, 123: "De norm voor het behoren tot de kerk is [...] de eenheid met Christus. Men mag ook zeggen - want dat komt op hetzelfde neer - de eigenlijke norm is de liefde of het bezit van de Geest." (La norme pour être membre de l'Église est [...] l'unité avec le Christ. On peut dire aussi - car cela revient au même - la véritable norme est l'amour ou la possession de l'Esprit).

<sup>23</sup> *Sermo 269.2*; PL 38, 1235: "Haec itaque distinctio inter acceptionem Baptismi, et acceptionem Spiritus sancti, satis nos instruit, ne habere hos continuo Spiritum sanctum putemus, quos habere Baptismum non negamus. [...] Quamobrem sicut tunc indicabant adesse Spiritum sanctum in uno homine linguae omnium gentium; sic eum nunc charitas indicat unitatis omnium gentium".



tre, l'Esprit-Saint descendit du ciel, afin que la Loi s'accomplisse par la grâce. (...) L'Esprit-Saint a donc été envoyé pour faire accomplir la Loi<sup>24</sup>. Ensuite Augustin explique comment l'amour qui est donné avec l'Esprit, accomplit la Loi. Se référant au récit de la création, Augustin nous montre que le nombre sept doit être mis en rapport avec l'Esprit. La fête de la Pentecôte célébrée le cinquantième jour ( $=7 \times 7 + 1$ ) exprime que l'Esprit ( $7 \times 7$ ) nous amène à l'unité ( $+1$ ). Le don des langues est un signe de cette unité. Augustin applique la symbolique des nombres, qui occupe une place importante dans ce sermon, aussi à l'explication de Jn 21,1-14: dans ce récit les disciples prirent 153 poissons. Si on fait la somme de tous les nombres de 1 jusqu'à 17 ( $1+2+3...+17$ ), on obtient un total de 153. Le nombre 17 c'est  $10+7$  = la Loi+l'Esprit. "Le nombre dix représente la Loi, le nombre sept l'Esprit saint. Or, quelle vérité nous est enseignée par là? C'est que ceux-là seuls feront partie de l'Église de la résurrection éternelle, où il n'y aura plus de schismes, où la mort ne sera plus à craindre, puisque cette vie suivra la résurrection; ceux-là seuls, dis-je, en feront partie et vivront éternellement avec le Seigneur, qui auront accompli la Loi par la grâce de l'Esprit-Saint, et avec l'assistance de ce don divin dont nous célébrons aujourd'hui la fête"<sup>25</sup>.

*Sermo 271*: Le thème de ce court sermon est l'unité de l'Église. Cette unité est exprimée par le don des langues, qui est en opposition avec la confusion des langues de Babel. "De même donc qu'après le déluge, lorsque l'orgueilleuse impiété des hommes voulut construire contre le Seigneur une tour élevée, le genre humain mérita de voir son langage confondu par la division des langues, et chaque peuple eut sa langue particulière, qui n'était pas entendue des autres; ainsi, l'humble piété des fidèles soumit

<sup>24</sup> *Sermo 270.3*; PL 38, 1240-1241: "Numerus ergo iste quadragenarius, quater habens decem, significat, ut mihi videtur, saeculum hoc, quod nunc agimus et peragimus; [...] praedicatur lex Dei, tanquam denarius numerus. Unde et Decalogus primitus commendatur. In decem enim praeceptis lex constituta est: propterea quia videtur in isto denario numero quaedam perfectio. [...] Impletis ergo post quadraginta dies aliis decem diebus, denario numero semel, denario numero simpliciter, non quadrupliciter, venit Spiritus sanctus, ut lex impleatur per gratiam. [...] Ergo missus est Spiritus sanctus, ut lex impleretur". Péronne traduit *Unde et Decalogus primitus commendatur* par "et appelée dans le principe le Décalogue". Il traduit *In decem enim praeceptis lex constituta est* en ajoutant "comme [renfermée dans dix préceptes]". Il traduit *ut lex impleatur per gratiam* par "pour nous faire accomplir la Loi par la grâce".

<sup>25</sup> *Sermo 270.7*; PL 38, 1245: "Decem, lex; septem, Spiritus sanctus. Unde quid intelligimus, nisi eos futuros in Ecclesia resurrectionis aeternae, ubi schismata non erunt, ubi mors non timebitur, quia post resurrectionem futura est; eos ergo ibi futuros, et cum Domino victuros in aeternum, qui legem impleverint per gratiam Spiritus sancti et Dei donum, cuius festa celebramus?"



toutes ces langues diverses à l'unité de l'Église"<sup>26</sup>. Seul celui qui fait partie de l'unité, possède l'Esprit. L'Esprit n'est pas présent dans les hérétiques. Saint Augustin use ici de l'image connue de l'Église comme un seul corps avec le Christ qui en est le chef (1 Co 12,12-30; Ep 4,11-16).

*Sermo 272B*: Dans ce sermon saint Augustin explique que la Pentecôte, qu'il appelle une fête de l'unité, est l'accomplissement de la grâce préfigurée dans l'Ancien Testament. Les juifs commémorent à la Pentecôte la réception de la Loi. De cette Loi il est dit qu'elle a été écrite par le doigt de Dieu. Augustin nous montre, en se référant au texte de l'Évangile, que le doigt de Dieu doit être compris comme le Saint-Esprit<sup>27</sup>. À la Pentecôte juive comme à la Pentecôte chrétienne l'Esprit joue donc un rôle important. "Le jour de la Pentecôte ils reçoivent la Loi qui a été écrite par le doigt de Dieu, et le jour de la Pentecôte c'est le jour de la venue de l'Esprit-Saint"<sup>28</sup>. La Loi qui a été écrite sur des tables de pierre, est valable aussi pour les chrétiens. Mais chez eux la Loi peut atteindre son accomplissement. "C'est déjà, comme dit l'apôtre, 'non sur des tables de pierre, mais sur des tables de chair, les coeurs'. Or ceci est la différence parce que cette Loi a été écrite dans leurs coeurs durs et qu'elle n'est pas encore accomplie. Cette Loi a été donnée dans les coeurs des croyants et elle est facile et éternelle pour les chrétiens. C'est pour cette raison qu'il y avait d'abord cette pierre, mais les coeurs des chrétiens sont de la terre fertile qui produira des fruits"<sup>29</sup>. Ensuite Augustin nous montre que la Pentecôte juive est célébrée le cinquantième jour après la Pâque. Finalement il explique ce que l'Esprit-Saint réalise en nous: "Nous serons remplis en profondeur par l'Esprit-Saint et par l'Esprit-Saint nous serons remplis d'amour. Comme nous sommes déjà enivrés par le vin nouveau et en état d'ébriété par le calice qui enivre et qui est excellent, nous oublions

<sup>26</sup> *Sermo 271*; PL 38, 1245: "Sicut enim post diluvium superba impietas hominum turrim contra Dominum aedificavit excelsam, quando per linguas diversas dividi meruit genus humanum, ut unaquaeque gens lingua propria loqueretur, ne ab aliis intelligeretur: sic humilis fidelium pietas earum linguarum diversitatem Ecclesiae contulit unitati".

<sup>27</sup> Cet élément fait partie de la tradition. Voir l'hymne de la Pentecôte *Veni Creator*, strophe 3: "Tu septiformis munere, dextrae Dei tu digitus".

<sup>28</sup> *Sermo 272B.4*; PL suppl. 2, 525: "Die pentecostes acceperunt legem digito dei scriptam, et die pentecostes venit Spiritus sanctus".

<sup>29</sup> *Sermo 272B.5*; PL suppl. 2, 525-526: "Sed iam, sicut dicit apostolus, 'non in tabulis lapideis, sed in tabulis cordis carnalibus'. Hoc ergo interest, quia ipsa scripta est in duris cordibus illorum, et non est impleta: ipsa data est in iam credentia corda et facilis et sempiterna Christianorum. Ideo ergo ille lapis erat: corda vero Christianorum terra fructifera erat, quae possit fructum adferre".



toutes les choses terrestres qui nous retenaient"<sup>30</sup>.

Les sermons d'Augustin pour la Pentecôte peuvent être divisés en deux groupes d'après leur thème principal. Le premier groupe (sermons 267, 268, 269 et 271) a comme thème principal l'unité de l'Église. Le deuxième groupe (sermons 270 et 272B) traite de la relation entre la Loi juive et la grâce de l'Esprit-Saint. Peut-être cette division trouve-t-elle son origine dans les différentes controverses qui ont marqué la vie d'Augustin. Pendant la période qui va de 400 à 412 environ, il a combattu les Donatistes. Ceux-ci constituaient une menace pour l'unité de l'Église et c'est à eux qu'Augustin s'oppose dans le premier groupe de sermons<sup>31</sup>. Cela ressort, entre autres, du sermon 269 dans lequel saint Augustin semble se référer, à la fin du sermon, à la prochaine 'collatio cum Donatistis' (juin 411)<sup>32</sup>. Sur la base de cette référence Kunzelmann date ce sermon de l'an 411. Cette année-là la Pentecôte tombait le 14 mai<sup>33</sup>. En ce qui concerne les autres sermons du premier groupe, le sermon 267 peut être daté de l'an 412 (Pentecôte le 2 juin)<sup>34</sup>; en raison de son contenu anti-donatiste, le sermon 268 peut dater de la période 400-412<sup>35</sup>; quant au sermon 271, il

<sup>30</sup> *Sermo* 272B.7; PL suppl. 2, 527: "Magnopere inplebimur Spiritu sancto, et per Spiritum sanctum erit in nobis caritas, iam cum fervefacti fuerimus vino novo, et inebriati calice illius inebriante et praeclaro, ita ut saecularia illa quae nos tenebant obliviscamur".

<sup>31</sup> Pour la datation des sermons voir: VERBRAKEN, *Études critiques*. Parmi les auteurs cités par Verbraken c'est surtout Kunzelmann qui apporte des arguments pour la datation. Pour éviter tout cercle vicieux, surtout les arguments qui ne se basent pas sur les thèmes, sont de grande importance. En effet, si la datation des sermons en question est basée sur le thème, il est assez évident que la dualité thématique nommée dans les sermons pour la Pentecôte découle du cours de la vie d'Augustin, avec ses différentes controverses. Cependant trouver des arguments autres que les thèmes est plutôt difficile.

<sup>32</sup> *Sermo* 269.4; PL 38, 1237: "Si ergo unitati non accesseritis, segregantes vosmetipsos, animales eritis, Spiritum non habentes. Si autem fide accesseritis, 'Spiritus sanctus disciplinae effugiet fictum' (Sg 1,5)".

<sup>33</sup> A. KUNZELMANN, Die Chronologie der Sermones des hl. Augustinus, dans *Studi Agostiniani (Miscellanea Agostiniana 2)*. Rome, 1931, 417-520. Pour le sermon 269 voir p. 445-446: "Der Hinweis auf die bevorstehende Collatio sichert zudem als Tag des Sermones das Pfingstfest (14. Mai) des Jahres 411" (p. 446).

<sup>34</sup> KUNZELMANN, Die Chronologie, 449: "In *Serm.* 267, 3, einer Pfingstpredigt, weist Augustin, wie die Mauriner schon angaben, auf *Serm.* 265, 4-6, gehalten am Feste Christi Himmelfahrt, zurück. *Serm.* 267 kann aber, da die Pfingstpredigt des Jahres 411 in *Serm.* 269 erhalten ist, nur an Pfingsten, 2. Juni, 412 und mithin *Serm.* 265 am Himmelfahrtstag (23. Mai) des Jahres 412 gehalten sein."

<sup>35</sup> KUNZELMANN, Die Chronologie, 440-441.



est certain qu'Augustin doit l'avoir prononcé avant l'année 412<sup>36</sup>.

Les sermons 270 et 272B datent du temps qu'Augustin combattait les Pélagiens<sup>37</sup>. La doctrine de la grâce étant le thème central dans ce combat, Augustin souligne dans ces sermons que la Loi s'accomplit par la grâce. Ainsi Augustin s'opposa à la conception de Pélage que l'homme avait le pouvoir de choisir par ses propres forces entre le bien et le mal: "Puisqu'ils pensent qu'ils peuvent accomplir de leurs propres forces ce qui a été commandé, ils n'accomplissent pas ce qui a été prescrit"<sup>38</sup>.

Le thème principal dans les sermons 267, 268, 269 et 271 est, comme on l'a déjà dit avant, l'unité de l'Église. Ce thème a été élaboré dans plusieurs images:

- Une seule personne parlait beaucoup de langues. C'est l'image de cette seule Église où tous les peuples seront rassemblés. "Un seul homme parlait les langues de tous les peuples, et l'unité de l'Église se trouvait figurée par toutes ces langues parlées par un seul homme"<sup>39</sup>.
- L'Église mène une vie commune grâce à l'Esprit. Ceci est comparable à la relation entre l'âme et le corps. L'âme "donne la vie et le mouvement à tous les membres (...). Les fonctions sont diverses, la vie est commune à tous. Il en est ainsi de l'Église de Dieu"<sup>40</sup>.
- Le récit de la création nous montre que le genre humain naît d'un seul homme. Cela est un signe d'unité<sup>41</sup>.
- La Pentecôte comme le cinquantième jour (7x7+1) révèle que c'est l'Es-

<sup>36</sup> Le 30 janvier 412 les églises des Donatistes avaient été confisquées. Cependant saint Augustin mentionne encore des réunions solennelles des Donatistes (PL 38, 1246: "Licet enim etiam ipsi hodie solemner congregentur, licet istas audiant lectiones, quibus Spiritus sanctus est promissus et missus: ad iudicium audiunt, non ad praemium"). Cela prouve que le sermon 271 doit en tout cas avoir été prononcé avant l'an 412. Voir aussi KUNZELMANN, *Die Chronologie*, 437.

<sup>37</sup> Se basant sur le contenu du sermon, Kunzelmann suppose que le sermon 270 doit dater des environs de l'an 416 (KUNZELMANN, *Die Chronologie*, 482). *Sermo* 272B (= Mai 158) aussi ne peut être daté qu'en se basant sur le contenu: "Mit der Gegensatz zwischen Gesetz und Gnade befassen sich auch die Serm. Morin 4 und Mai 158 (Pfingsten). Sie fallen darum auch in das Jahr 417" (KUNZELMANN, *Die Chronologie*, 471). "Um das Jahr 417 beschäftigt Augustin vor allem das Verhältnis zwischen dem Gesetz des Alten Bundes und der Gnade des Neuen" (idem, 459).

<sup>38</sup> *Sermo* 272B.3; PL suppl. 2, 524-525: "cum putant enim se viribus suis posse implere quod iussum est, non impleverunt quod praeceptum est".

<sup>39</sup> *Sermo* 268.1; PL 38, 1232: "Loquebatur unus homo linguis omnium gentium: unitas Ecclesiae in linguis omnium gentium".

<sup>40</sup> *Sermo* 267.4; PL 38, 1231: "Omnia membra vegetat [...]. Officia diversa sunt, vita communis. Sic est Ecclesia Dei".

<sup>41</sup> Voir *Sermo* 268.3.



prit (7x7) qui nous rassemble (+1).<sup>42</sup>

Le thème principal des sermons 270 et 272B est la relation entre la Loi et la grâce. Saint Augustin croit que la grâce qui est donnée par l'Esprit, est l'accomplissement de la Loi. Il explique cela dans le sermon 270 en se servant de la symbolique des nombres. Dans le sermon 272B il y revient et l'explique tout en mettant en parallèle la Pentecôte juive et la Pentecôte chrétienne<sup>43</sup>. Le lien qui rattache ces deux fêtes est le 'doigt de Dieu'. Se référant à l'Évangile Augustin identifie le *digitus Dei* avec le *spiritus Dei*: "Ce qui est 'le doigt de Dieu', nous le chercherons dans l'Évangile (...). Il y a un endroit dans l'Évangile où les Juifs dirent du Seigneur que c'était par Bêlzeboub qu'Il expulsait les démons. Mais le Seigneur répondit: 'Si c'est par le doigt de Dieu que j'expulse les démons, c'est que le Royaume de Dieu est certainement arrivé pour vous' (voir Lc 11,14-20). Un autre évangéliste explique le même passage en disant: 'Si c'est par l'Esprit-Saint que je le fais, c'est qu'alors le royaume de Dieu est arrivé pour vous' (voir Mt 12,22-28). Tandis qu'un évangéliste parle du 'doigt de Dieu', l'autre l'explique en nous montrant que l'Esprit-Saint est 'le doigt de Dieu'"<sup>44</sup>.

<sup>42</sup> Voir *Sermo* 270.6.

<sup>43</sup> Le même choix de thèmes pour la fête de la Pentecôte se retrouve dans la lettre à Januarius (*Epistola* LV; PL 33, 218): "Sed dies quinquagesimus et in Scripturis commendatur; et non tantum in Evangelio, quia tunc Spiritus sanctus advenit, sed etiam in veteribus Libris. Nam et ibi posteaquam Pascha occiso agno celebraverunt, dies quinquaginta numerantur usque ad diem quo Lex data est in monte Sina famulo Dei Moysi, digito Dei scripta: in libris autem Evangelii apertissime declaratur, digitum Dei significare Spiritum sanctum". De la même façon saint Augustin voit un parallèle entre la Pentecôte juive et chrétienne dans les œuvres suivantes: *Enarrationes in Ps.* 90, sermo 2, par. 8; CCSL 39, 1273-1275; *Sermo* 8, 18; CCSL 41, 99; *Sermo* 155, 5; PL 38, 843; *Sermo* 156, 13; PL 38, 857; *De civitate Dei* XVI, 43; CCSL 48, 549; *Contra Faustum* liber XV, par. 4; CSEL 25.1, 423 et *De Spiritu et Littera* cap. 16, par. 28-29; CSEL 60, 181-183. Voir aussi: J. DANIELOU, *The Bible and the Liturgy* (*Liturgical Studies* III). Notre Dame, 1956, 330-332: "When Pentecost became for the Christians a special feast of the fiftieth day, they began to look for its prefiguring in Judaism, and so they came to relate it to the promulgation of the Law on Sinai. This appears first of all in St. Augustine [...]. We remarked that Augustine pointed out that 'the Law was written with the finger of God'. This is actually the characteristic by which the gift of the Law on Sinai became the figure of the coming of the Holy Spirit" (p. 331).

<sup>44</sup> *Sermo* 272B.4; PL suppl. 2, 525: "Quid sit autem digitus dei, quaeremus in evangelio [...] Est in quodam loco evangelii, ubi dixerunt Iudaei de domino, quod in nomine Belzebub eicit daemonia. Respondens autem dominus: 'Si ego in digito dei eicio daemonia, certe supervenit in vos regnum dei.' Alius evangelista sic exponit ipsum locum, dicens: 'Si ego in Spiritu sancto, igitur supervenit in vos regnum dei.' Cum ergo unus evangelista dicit digitum dei, alius exponit illud, ut nobis ostendat quia Spiritus sanctus digitus dei". L'identification de *digitus Dei* avec *Spiritus Dei* en se basant sur l'Évangile se retrouve



### III. LES SERMONS POUR LA PENTECÔTE D'AUTEURS CONTEMPORAINS D'AUGUSTIN<sup>45</sup>

Après avoir relevé les thèmes qui se présentent dans les sermons de saint Augustin pour la Pentecôte, il est possible d'établir une comparaison avec les sermons de ses contemporains.

De Jean Chrysostome (ca. 350-407) nous ont été transmis deux sermons pour la Pentecôte<sup>46</sup>. Dans le deuxième sermon Chrysostome appelle la Pentecôte le point culminant de l'année liturgique, parce qu'alors toutes les promesses du Seigneur trouvent leur accomplissement. Le thème principal de ce sermon est la divinité de l'Esprit. Chrysostome combat ici un groupe d'hérétiques qui n'est pas mentionné explicitement et qui niait la nature divine de l'Esprit. Il interprète le don des langues de la même façon que saint Augustin: c'est un signe de l'unité en contraste avec le récit de la tour de Babel. Chrysostome ajoute que le don des langues doit aussi se comprendre comme le commandement de prêcher l'Évangile dans toutes les parties du monde. Le sermon se termine par un exposé sur les fruits de l'Esprit, dont l'amour est le plus important.

De Pierre Chrysologue (ca. 380-450) il n'a été transmis qu'un seul sermon pour la Pentecôte<sup>47</sup>. Après quelques mots sur la symbolique des nombres, il dit que la venue de l'Esprit a restauré la liberté de l'homme. L'Esprit vient là où sont réunis des hommes de tous les rangs et de toutes les conditions. "Selon les Écritures divines la foi trouve vraiment son ac-

dans les ouvrages suivants: *Quaestionum in heptateuchum libri septem*, lib. 2, quaestio 25; CCSL 33, 79-80; *Enarrationes in Ps.* 90, sermo 2, par. 8; CCSL 39, 1274; *Sermo* 8, 18; CCSL 41, 99; *Sermo* 155, 3; PL 38, 842; *De Catechizandis rudibus* XX, 35; CCSL 46, 159; *De civitate Dei*, liber XVI, 43; CCSL 48, 549 et *De Spiritu et Littera* cap. 16, par. 28; CSEL 60, 182.

<sup>45</sup> CABIÉ, *La Pentecôte*, 222-237. Dans son livre sur la Pentecôte Cabié fait mention de trois thèmes traditionnels dans la prédication: le vin nouveau dans des outres neuves, la tour de Babel et la relation Loi - Esprit. Le premier thème se présente maintes fois dans les sermons d'Augustin pour la Pentecôte. Dans le sermon 272B.1 et 7 ce thème trouve son élaboration la plus ample. Le thème de la tour de Babel ne se présente qu'indirectement dans le sermon 271. Cabié établit un lien entre ce thème et l'image de 1 Co 12 (Corps - âme = Église - Esprit). Il n'est pas clair cependant si Augustin a mis cette image en relation avec le thème de la tour de Babel. Cabié suggère cette relation mais ne donne pas d'arguments. Le troisième thème traditionnel selon Cabié se présente dans les sermons 270 et 272B. Mais une comparaison avec des sermons d'auteurs contemporains montre clairement que les thèmes mentionnés par Cabié sont en fait moins traditionnels qu'il ne le suggère. On dirait même que Cabié les appelle traditionnels justement parce qu'il les retrouve chez Augustin!

<sup>46</sup> PG 50, 453-470.

<sup>47</sup> *Sermo* LXXXVter: CCSL 24A, 528-529.



complissement dans cette maison où une diversité de peuples et d'hommes, où princes, autorités, toute grandeur et pauvreté - sans mépris - sont rassemblés en un seul lieu"<sup>48</sup>. Les thèmes qui se présentent dans les sermons d'Augustin ne se retrouvent pas dans ce sermon de Pierre Chrysologue.

De Maxime de Turin († ca. 420) deux sermons pour la Pentecôte ont été conservés<sup>49</sup>. Le thème principal du sermon XL est la question pourquoi le Christ est assis maintenant à la droite de Dieu. Du sermon XLIV ressort que Maxime a été influencé par l'ancienne tradition qui considérait la Cinquantaine comme un *laetissimum spatium*. Se servant du thème traditionnel de la présence de l'Époux, il nous explique pourquoi la Cinquantaine n'est pas un temps de jeûne. "Celui qui est désaltéré par la grâce du Rédempteur, ne peut pas être à jeun"<sup>50</sup>. Suivant la plus ancienne tradition, il traite la Pentecôte plutôt comme la fin de la Cinquantaine, la période pendant laquelle on célébrait le Mystère pascal dans sa totalité. Cette conception explique pourquoi Maxime s'arrête sur le mystère de l'Ascension et sur la valeur égale de Pâques et de la Pentecôte.

De Léon le Grand (évêque de Rome de 440 à 461) trois sermons pour la Pentecôte et quatre sermons pour les journées de jeûne après la Pentecôte nous ont été transmis<sup>51</sup>. Seul le premier de ces trois sermons pour la Pentecôte traite d'une façon plus précise du mystère de la Pentecôte. Les deux autres traitent presque exclusivement de la Trinité. Dans le premier sermon nous trouvons les thèmes qui se présentent aussi dans la prédication de saint Augustin: l'accomplissement de la Loi par la grâce et le don des langues comme signe d'unité. Le thème principal de ce sermon de saint Léon est la nature divine de l'Esprit, thème qui ne se rencontre pas dans les sermons d'Augustin, mais qui est bien présent dans les sermons de saint Jean Chrysostome. En traitant ce thème, Léon s'insurge contre l'hérésie des Macédoniens, qui croient que l'Esprit possède une nature inférieure. "Nous confessons, en effet, que cette bienheureuse Trinité est un seul Dieu, parce que, dans ces trois Personnes, il n'y a aucune diffé-

<sup>48</sup> CCSL 24A, 529: "In hac vere domo scripturae divinae fides impletur, in qua diversitas gentium atque populorum, in qua principes, potestates et omnis sublimitas et sine despectione paupertas congregatur in unum".

<sup>49</sup> *Sermo* XL: CCSL 23, 159-162; *Sermo* XLIV, *ib.*, 177-180.

<sup>50</sup> *Sermo* XLIV; CCSL 23, 178: "Non potest enim esse ieiunus qui reficitur gratia salvatoris".

<sup>51</sup> Sermons de la Pentecôte: *Sources Chrétiennes* 74, 144-161. Sermons sur les jours de jeûne après la Pentecôte: *ib.* 200, 24-46.



rence ni de substance, ni de puissance, ni de volonté, ni d'opération"<sup>52</sup>. Finalement saint Léon souligne l'importance des jours de jeûne après la Pentecôte.

La comparaison avec des sermons pour la Pentecôte d'auteurs contemporains d'Augustin montre que les thèmes traités dans les sermons d'Augustin sont surtout déterminés par l'actualité: la lutte contre les hérésies donatiste et pélagienne. À côté d'Augustin, seul saint Léon met l'accent sur la relation entre la Loi et la grâce. L'unité de l'Église se retrouve chez Jean Chrysostome et chez Léon le Grand, mais aucun des deux auteurs n'en parle aussi souvent et traite ce thème avec autant de profondeur qu'Augustin.

#### IV. L'USAGE DES TEXTES BIBLIQUES

Les citations bibliques et les allusions à certains textes bibliques que saint Augustin insère dans ses sermons pour la Pentecôte auraient pu nous donner une idée des péripécies qui ont été lues dans la liturgie de ce jour-là<sup>53</sup>. Malheureusement dans ses sermons pour la Pentecôte Augustin ne donne aucune référence directe au texte de ces lectures. Il est vrai que dans le sermon 267.1 il cite littéralement Jn 7,39<sup>54</sup>, mais il n'est pas certain qu'il s'agit ici d'une lecture de la liturgie de la Pentecôte. Il peut s'agir aussi d'une référence à l'Évangile en général ou d'une lecture personnelle de saint Augustin lui-même. Comme l'image du vin nouveau dans des outres neuves revient fréquemment, il est possible que Mt 9,17 ait été utilisé comme péripécie. On n'en trouve aucune indication dans les textes

<sup>52</sup> *Sources Chrétiennes* 74, 147: "Ideo enim hanc beatam Trinitatem unum confitemur Deum, quia in his tribus personis nec substantiae, nec potentiae, nec voluntatis, nec operationis est ulla diversitas".

<sup>53</sup> Une méthode bien argumentée pour la recherche des péripécies dans les sermons de saint Augustin se trouve dans M. SCHRAMA, *Prima lectio quae recitata est. The liturgical pericope in light of saint Augustine's sermons*, dans: *Augustiniana* 45 (1995), 141-175 (surtout p. 156-161). La méthode proposée par Schrama comprend deux étapes: d'abord la recherche des indications explicites et implicites (citations bibliques et allusions); ensuite l'élimination d'indications sur la base de quelques lignes (par exemple, s'il paraît que chez Augustin la citation x est généralement associée à la citation y, il est peu probable que la citation y sera une indication sérieuse permettant d'identifier la péripécie lue le jour auquel le sermon se rapporte).

<sup>54</sup> *Sermo* 267.1; PL 38, 1230: "Legimus enim in Evangelio 'Spiritus enim nondum erat datus, quia Jesus nondum fuerat glorificatus'".



de saint Augustin<sup>55</sup>. L'étude de toutes les citations et allusions bibliques dans les sermons de saint Augustin pour la Pentecôte (voir appendice<sup>56</sup>) montre qu'Augustin ne cite aucun texte avec une fréquence inhabituelle ou frappante. Ce qui est à remarquer, c'est qu'il ne cite guère de textes de l'Ancien Testament<sup>57</sup>.

La relation que saint Augustin établit entre Ac 2,13 et Mt 9,17 est une de ses plus belles trouvailles<sup>58</sup>. La relation entre vin nouveau/outres neuves d'une part et la Pentecôte d'autre part se retrouve non seulement dans ses sermons pour cette fête, mais aussi dans quelques autres ouvrages. Ainsi, dans le sermon 299B pour la fête de Pierre et Paul<sup>59</sup>, il cite le texte de Mt 9,17 immédiatement après avoir parlé de la venue de l'Esprit.

<sup>55</sup> SAXER, *Saint Augustin. L'Année*, 21-23. Il semble que Saxer choisit Ac 2 et Mt 9,17 comme péripopes, mais il ne donne pas d'arguments convaincants: "Ac 2 était la lecture obligée de la Pentecôte, encore que le récit de celle des Actes ne soit jamais déclaré par Augustin lecture liturgique [...] La lecture liturgique portait sur Mt 9,17: 'vous l'avez entendu quand on lisait l'évangile' (267.2). Cette lecture concernant le vin nouveau dans les outres neuves a sans doute été choisie pour correspondre au verset Ac 2,15. Les deux lectures conviennent au thème traditionnel de la 'sobre ivresse', ici entendue de l'infusion de l'Esprit de Dieu" (p. 22-23). Le thème de la relation Loi-Esprit (sermons 270 et 272B) n'est pas soutenu selon lui par des péripopes correspondantes: "Quant à l'antinomie Loi-Esprit, elle est sûrement un thème de la prédication augustinienne, mais elle ne semble pas avoir dicté le choix de lectures bibliques correspondantes" (p. 23). WILLIS, *St Augustine's Lectionary*, 68-69, retient trois péripopes: "The Feast of Pentecost has an Old Testament lesson from Tobias, of which it is difficult to see the suitability, unless it be the isolated phrase in verse 1 [...]. For the Epistle Acts 2 is a natural choice. Matt. 9 including at least verse 17, about putting new wine into old skins, is a curious choice for the Gospel, when there are so many fine passages about the Holy Spirit to be found in St John's Gospel". Comme Saxer, Willis ne donne pas d'arguments. Il en a l'air que les deux auteurs, sur la base de la présence de quelques citations bibliques, retiennent certaines péripopes. Vu que le style oratoire d'Augustin est bourré d'allusions bibliques, on ne peut pas en tirer de conclusions décisives sans alléguer d'autres arguments.

<sup>56</sup> Pour cet article seules les indications explicites et implicites ont été décélées. On n'a pas appliqué la méthode d'élimination proposée de Schrama, puisque les sermons pour la Pentecôte, à mon avis, n'offrent pas assez de certitude pour déterminer les péripopes lues ce jour-là.

<sup>57</sup> Cf. SCHRAMA, *Prima lectio*, 147: "The New Testament is quoted more often than the Old Testament".

<sup>58</sup> Il faut remarquer qu'il n'est pas sûr que saint Augustin se réfère à Mt 9,17. Il pourrait aussi bien avoir pensé aux passages parallèles dans Mc 2,22 ou Lc 5,37-38.

<sup>59</sup> *Miscellanea Agostiniana* 1. Rome, 1930, 518: "quia resurrexit Christus, et ascendit in caelum, et misit quod promisit Spiritum sanctum, et impleti sunt illo tamquam vino novo utres novi. Dixerat enim Dominus: Nemo mittit vinum novum in utres veteres". Voir aussi VERBRAKEN, *Études critiques*, 186.



Le même rapport est établi dans les *Quaestiones Evangeliorum*<sup>60</sup>. En outre, dans d'autres ouvrages, il associe le texte de Mt 9,17 à l'attitude correcte pour la réception des sacrements<sup>61</sup> ou à l'attitude correcte quand on jeûne<sup>62</sup>.

Une autre belle trouvaille c'est l'usage de 2 Co 3,6 ("La lettre tue, mais l'Esprit vivifie"). Saint Augustin découvre dans ce verset les nombres 10 (la lettre = la Loi) et 7 (l'Esprit). Dans le sermon 270.7 il met ces nombres en rapport avec Jn 21,1-14. Dans le récit de la pêche miraculeuse les apôtres prennent 153 grands poissons. Ce nombre est en rapport avec 10 et 7: le total de tous les nombres de 1 à 17 est 153 (1 + 2 + 3 ... + 17 = 153). Il est à remarquer que saint Augustin dans les deux sermons qui traitent de ce récit de l'Évangile de Jean met, de manière identique, un rapport direct entre 10 + 7 et 153 au moyen de 2 Co 3,6<sup>63</sup>.

## V. L'AUTHENTICITÉ DU SERMON 378

En général on accepte que saint Augustin est l'auteur du sermon 378<sup>64</sup>. Dans ce petit sermon pour la Pentecôte saint Augustin parle, après une brève introduction, de la venue de l'Esprit selon la promesse du Christ. "Ce qu'il avait promis, alors qu'il était encore sur terre, il l'envoya, une fois monté aux cieux"<sup>65</sup>. Ensuite en parlant de l'Esprit, il l'appelle *arrha*: l'Esprit, c'est les arrhes de la vie éternelle et l'Esprit donne force et persévérance aux fidèles pendant leur voyage vers la cité paternelle, la cité céleste. "Qu'a-t-il donc promis? La vie éternelle. Il nous en a versé les arrhes en nous donnant le Saint-Esprit. La vie éternelle est la possession de

<sup>60</sup> *Quaestiones Evangeliorum*, lib. 2, quaestio 18; CCSL 44B, 61: "Dicit etiam similes eos esse veteribus utribus, quos vino novo, id est spiritalibus praeceptis, facilius dirumpi quam id posse continere dicit. Erant autem iam utres novi, cum post ascensum Domini desiderio consolationis eius orando et sperando innovabantur. Tunc enim acceperunt Spiritum sanctum, quo impleti, cum omnium qui de diversis gentibus aderant linguis loquerentur, dicti sunt musto pleni. Novum enim vinum iam novis utribus venerat".

<sup>61</sup> *De fide et operibus* cap. 6, par. 9; CSEL 41, 45.

<sup>62</sup> Voir par exemple *Sermo* 210, sermon pour le début du carême (VERBRAKEN, *Études critiques*, 103). PL 38, 1049.

<sup>63</sup> *Sermones* 250 en 251. Texte latin: *Sources Chrétiennes* 116, 322 (*sermo* 250) en PL 38, 1171 (*sermo* 251).

<sup>64</sup> Voir VERBRAKEN, *Études critiques*, 154. Verbraken renvoie aux études de Wilmar, de Morin, de Lambot, de La Bonnardière, de Perler et de Bouhot. Voir aussi: SAXER, *Saint Augustin. L'Année*, 103 note 1: "Son authenticité, mise en doute par les Mauristes, est généralement admise aujourd'hui". Saxer ne donne pas d'arguments qui permettent d'attribuer ce sermon à Augustin. Cette question reste à étudier.

<sup>65</sup> PL 39, 1673: "Quod cum in terra esset promisit, in coelum ascendit et misit".



ceux qui sont établis à demeure, les arrhes sont la consolation de ceux qui sont encore en voyage"<sup>66</sup>. Les thèmes de l'Esprit comme *arrha* et du voyage vers le ciel ne se présentent pas dans les autres sermons pour la Pentecôte. D'autre part, les thèmes fréquents dans ces sermons-ci comme l'unité de l'Église, le don des langues, la référence à 1 Co 12 et l'accomplissement de la Loi par la grâce, ne se retrouvent pas dans le sermon 378. En me basant sur ces arguments, je suis d'avis que saint Augustin n'est pas l'auteur du sermon 378. À côté de l'absence des thèmes nommés, il y a quelques autres arguments qui pourront appuyer cet avis:

- Le sermon 378 fait mention de 120 personnes qui étaient réunies en un même lieu. "La venue du Saint-Esprit a donc rempli cent vingt hommes réunis en un même lieu"<sup>67</sup>. Dans les sermons 267.1 et 268.1 aussi saint Augustin nous parle de 120 personnes. Mais dans ces deux derniers sermons il fait preuve d'être sensible à la symbolique des nombres en disant que 120 est le décuple du nombre des apôtres. Cette remarque n'apparaît pas dans le sermon 378.

- Dans le sermon 378 la promesse du Christ ne renvoie pas tellement à la venue de l'Esprit-Saint, mais à la vie éternelle. "Qu'a-t-il donc promis? La vie éternelle. Il nous en a versé les arrhes en nous donnant le Saint-Esprit"<sup>68</sup>. Cette présentation diffère de la façon dont Augustin parle de la promesse du Christ. Dans les sermons 267.1, 271 et 272B.1 la promesse du Christ, selon Augustin, ne concerne pas la vie éternelle, mais la venue de l'Esprit même.<sup>69</sup>

- Dans le sermon 378 saint Augustin établit une différence entre *arrha* et *pignus*. "Les deux termes paraissent semblables; il y a néanmoins entre eux une différence non négligeable. Que l'on donne un gage ou que l'on donne des arrhes, on le fait en vue d'accomplir une promesse. Mais en donnant un gage, on rend ce qu'on a reçu, une fois conclue l'affaire en vue de laquelle le gage avait été donné. Quand on donne des arrhes, en revanche,

<sup>66</sup> PL 39, 1673: "Quid promisit? Vitam aeternam, cujus arrham Spiritum sanctum dedit. Vita aeterna possessio habitantium: arrha consolatio est peregrinantium".

<sup>67</sup> PL 39, 1673: "Adventus ergo Spiritus sancti uno in loco centum viginti homines constitutos implevit".

<sup>68</sup> PL 39, 1673: "Quid promisit? Vitam aeternam, cuius arrham Spiritum sanctum dedit".

<sup>69</sup> *Sermo* 267.1; PL 1230: "Dominus enim Spiritum sanctum de coelo misit, quem in terra promisit". *Sermo* 271; PL 1245: "Restabat ergo ut clarificato Jesu, cum resurrexit a mortuis et ascendit ad coelos, jam daretur Spiritus sanctus, ab eo missus, a quo promissus". *Sermo* 272B.1; PL suppl. 2, 522: "Promisit enim dominus missurum se sanctum Spiritum apostolis suis, et secundum fidelissimam pollicitationem suam utique quod promisit implevit".



on ne reçoit rien, on ajoute au contraire au premier versement pour le compléter<sup>70</sup>. Il ne fait pas cette distinction dans d'autres sermons dans lesquels il est question de l'Esprit comme *arrha*<sup>71</sup>.

- Enfin on peut dire que le sermon 378 contient peu de citations bibliques. Contrairement à ce qu'Augustin a l'habitude de faire, l'affirmation importante que l'Esprit-Saint est l'*arrha* de la vie éternelle n'est pas appuyée par des citations scripturaires, par exemple en se référant à 2 Co 5,5.

#### CONCLUSION

Dans cet article nous avons essayé de donner une réponse à la question de savoir comment saint Augustin a donné forme et contenu à la fête de la Pentecôte. Ses sermons traitent de deux grands thèmes: l'unité de l'Église et la relation entre la Loi et la grâce. Peut-être le choix de ces thèmes a-t-il été déterminé par la situation dans laquelle il a prononcé ses sermons. Contrairement à ce que croit Cabié, le thème de la relation entre la Loi et la grâce ne me semble pas être un thème traditionnel: l'analyse de sermons pour la Pentecôte d'auteurs contemporains a prouvé que ce thème ne se présente que dans les homélies de saint Léon. Par contre, le thème de l'unité de l'Église peut vraiment être nommé traditionnel: nous le rencontrons dans les sermons de saint Jean Chrysostome et de saint Léon, soit moins expressément que dans les sermons de saint Augustin. Les textes bibliques dont se sert saint Augustin, font preuve parfois d'une grande inventivité. À mon avis cependant, il n'est pas possible de préciser, en se basant sur les citations et les allusions bibliques rencontrées dans ses sermons, quelles péripécies ont été lues dans la liturgie de la Pentecôte. Dans ce domaine Saxer et Willis arrivent à des conclusions trop hâtives. Je mets en doute l'authenticité du sermon 378, généralement considéré comme authentique par d'autres auteurs, parce que la façon dont l'auteur de ce sermon a élaboré les thèmes se rapportant à la Pentecôte, diffère trop de celle d'Augustin dans d'autres sermons pour la même fête.

Tilburg

Martin J.M. HOONDERT

<sup>70</sup> PL 39, 1673: "Haec enim duo similia videntur inter se; sed tamen habent aliquam differentiam non negligendam. Et pignus quando datur, et arrha quando datur, ideo fit, ut quod promittitur impleatur: sed quando datur pignus, reddit homo quod accepit, re completa propter quam pignus accepit; arrha autem quando datur, non recipitur, sed superadditur ut impleatur".

<sup>71</sup> Voir les œuvres suivantes: *Contra duas epistulas Pelagianorum libri quattuor* III, 4; CSEL 60, 490: "iam tamen filii dei facti pignore spiritus sancti". *Confessiones* VII, 21, 27; CCSL 27, 111: "arram spiritus sancti". *De spiritu et littera liber unus* XVIII, 31; CSEL 60, 185: "deus qui dedit nobis pignus spiritus".



## Appendice

Aperçu des citations et des allusions bibliques<sup>72</sup> dans les sermons d'Augustin pour la Pentecôte. Les allusions sont précédées d'un \*. Le numérotation des Psaumes suit celle de la Vulgate.

|              |               |               |                |
|--------------|---------------|---------------|----------------|
| *Gn 1-2      | 268.3, 270.5  | *Jn 5, 2      | 272B.3         |
| *Gn 11, 7    | 271           | Jn 7, 37-39   | 270.2, 271     |
| Ex 19, 1     | 272B.6        | Jn 7, 39      | 267.1          |
| *Ex 31, 18   | 272B.3        | Jn 8, 7       | 272B.5         |
| Lv 23, 7     | 270.5         | Jn 8, 10-11   | 272B.5         |
| *Tb 2, 1     | 270.6, 272B.2 | Jn 8, 34      | 270.5          |
| Ps 18, 4-5   | 269.1         | Jn 13, 34     | 269.3          |
| Ps 44, 11    | 267.3         | Jn 16, 7      | 267.1, 270.2   |
| Ps 110, 10   | 270.5         | Jn 21, 4.11   | 270.7          |
| Ps 118, 96   | 269.3         | *Ac 1, 3-4    | 270.3          |
| Sg 1, 5      | 269.4         | Ac 1, 7-8     | 267.3, 268.4   |
| Is 9, 2      | 270.5         | *Ac 1, 15     | 267.1+2, 268.1 |
| Mt 5, 17     | 270.3         | *Ac 2, 1-13   | 269.2, 272B.1  |
| Mt 5, 19     | 270.7         | Ac 2, 2-4     | 269.1, 271     |
| Mt 7, 7      | 270.1         | Ac 2, 13      | 267.2          |
| Mt 7, 21     | 269.4         | *Ac 3, 11     | 272B.3         |
| Mt 9, 17     | 267.2, 272B.1 | *Ac 4, 32     | 272B.2         |
| Mt 11, 28-30 | 272B.7        | *Ac 8, 17     | 269.2          |
| Mt 12, 28    | 272B.4        | *Ac 8, 30     | 269.2          |
| Mt 16, 15-23 | 270.2, 272B.1 | *Ac 10, 44-48 | 267.2, 269.2   |
| *Mt 22, 10   | 270.7         | Rm 4, 15      | 270.3          |
| Mt 23, 3     | 269.4         | Rm 5, 5       | 269.2+3, 270.4 |
| Mt 23, 8     | 270.1         | *Rm 7-8       | 272B.3         |
| Mt 24, 3     | 268.4         | *Rm 7, 5-6    | 267.2          |
| Lc 5, 4      | 270.7         | Rm 7, 24-25   | 272B.3         |
| *Lc 11, 15   | 272B.4        | Rm 8, 9       | 269.3          |
| Lc 11, 20    | 272B.4        | Rm 8, 15      | 269.2          |
| *Lc 24, 36ss | 268.4         | Rm 13, 9-10   | 269.3          |
| Lc 24, 38-39 | 268.4         | 1 Co 1, 11-13 | 268.4, 269.3   |
| Lc 24, 44-47 | 268.4         | 1 Co 2, 14    | 269.3          |
| Jn 1, 29     | 272B.2        | 1 Co 8, 1     | 270.3          |
| *Jn 3, 29    | 268.4         | 1 Co 11, 18   | 268.4          |

<sup>72</sup> Concernant la distinction entre citation et allusion voir SCHRAMA, *Prima lectio*, 160.



|             |              |              |        |
|-------------|--------------|--------------|--------|
| *1 Co 12    | 267.4, 268.2 | *Ep 4, 22-24 | 272B.1 |
| 1 Co 12, 3  | 269.4        | * Ph 2, 6-11 | 272B.1 |
| 2 Co 3, 3   | 272B.5       | Ph 2, 7      | 270.2  |
| 2 Co 3, 6   | 270.3        | 2 Tm 3, 5    | 269.3  |
| *Ga 3       | 272B.3+4     | Tt 1, 16     | 269.4  |
| Ga 3, 21-22 | 270.3        | Jc 4, 6      | 270.6  |
| *Ga 5, 14   | 269.3        | 1 P 2, 21    | 269.3  |
| Ep 4, 2-3   | 270.6        | 1 Jn 4, 18   | 270.4  |
| *Ep 4, 3    | 269.2        | Jude 1, 19   | 269.3  |
| Ep 4, 4     | 268.2        | *Ap 14, 4    | 270.7  |



# LES TRADUCTIONS LATINES DU *LIBER ASCETICUS* (CPG 7692) DE SAINT MAXIME LE CONFESSEUR\*

Parmi les œuvres de Maxime le Confesseur le *Liber asceticus* est sans doute une des plus populaires: une centaine de manuscrits ont été conservés. Seul son *De caritate* (CPG 7693) peut se réjouir d'un intérêt encore plus grand (quelque 140 manuscrits)<sup>1</sup>. Ces deux ouvrages ont aussi un caractère nettement différent des autres ouvrages du Confesseur, qui sont des ouvrages de théologie spéculative. Le *Liber asceticus* et le *De caritate* par contre, sont des manuels de piété destinés à un grand public, et c'est ce qui explique aussi leur diffusion plus large.

Ce n'est pas le lieu, ici, de reprendre la question de la datation du *Liber asceticus*<sup>2</sup>. Ce qui est important pour nous, c'est le fait que ces deux ouvrages ont aussi reçu le plus d'attention en Occident<sup>3</sup>. La traduction la plus connue est sans doute celle du *De caritate* par le moine "hongrois" Cerbanus (XII<sup>e</sup> s.), mais il n'a pas été le seul à traduire cette œuvre. Il en existe une autre, anonyme, et encore une troisième, faite par l'évêque Bal-

\* Cet article formule une partie des résultats d'un projet de recherche, accepté par le F.K.F.O. (Fonds voor Collectief Fundamenteel Onderzoek) et présenté par le prof. H. Hauben (K.U. Leuven), que je tiens à remercier ici.

<sup>1</sup> Nombre cité chez A. CERESA-GASTALDO, *A proposito della nuova edizione critica dei Κεφάλαια περὶ ἀγάπης* di S. Massimo Confessore, dans F.L. CROSS (éd.), *Studia Patristica* vol. III. (...), Part I. *Introductio, Editiones, Critica, Philologica* (= *Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur*, 78), Berlin, 1961, 44-46.

<sup>2</sup> Cet ouvrage semble devoir être daté vers 626. Pour tout ce qui concerne la datation des œuvres maximiennes, voir Dom Polycarpe SHERWOOD, *An Annotated Date-List of the Works of Maximus the Confessor* (= *Studia Anselmiana*, 30), Rome, 1952, 26.

<sup>3</sup> Les traductions latines des œuvres de Maxime sont présentées par Dom E. DEKKERS dans *Maxime le Confesseur dans la tradition latine*, dans C. LAGA, J.A. MUNITIZ et L. VAN ROMPAY (éds.), *After Chalcedon. Studies in Theology and Church History offered to Professor Albert Van Roey for his Seventieth Birthday* (= *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta*, 18), Leuven, 1985, 83-97 (ci-après: DEKKERS, *Tradition*); cf. aussi M.L. GATTI, *Massimo il Confessore. Saggio di bibliografia generale ragionata* (...) (= *Pubblicazioni del Centro di Ricerche di Metafisica. Sezione di Metafisica del Platonismo* (...). *Studi e testi*, 2), Milan, 1987, 110-115.



bi. Tout cela est bien établi<sup>4</sup>. Les traductions du *Liber asceticus*<sup>5</sup>, par contre, n'ont jusqu'à présent guère été étudiées, même si elles sont plus nombreuses que celles du *De caritate*. Nous avons saisi l'occasion de l'édition de cette œuvre dans un avenir très proche (dans le *Corpus Christianorum - Series Græca*, par les soins des professeurs Laga et Van Deun [Leuven]<sup>6</sup>), pour étudier de près ces traductions latines. Trois d'entre elles, inédites, sont d'ailleurs publiées en appendice à cette édition. Puisque nous avons eu accès à la tradition manuscrite grecque<sup>7</sup>, connue maintenant grâce aux recherches exigées pour ladite édition, nous sommes à même d'identifier exactement les modèles grecs des traductions latines.

Nous avons construit notre étude de la façon suivante. La première partie présentera - de façon succincte - les traducteurs et leur œuvre. Ce premier pas sera d'autant plus utile que de ces auteurs il existe encore d'autres traductions (pour la plupart inédites et peu étudiées) de textes, aussi bien de l'Antiquité païenne que chrétienne, et notre contribution s'avérera peut-être utile à l'étude de ces autres textes. L'étape suivante de notre travail sera celui d'identifier le manuscrit qui est à la base de chacune de ces traductions. Enfin, dans la dernière section nous comparerons les différentes traductions à l'aide de quelques extraits.

<sup>4</sup> Voir DEKKERS, *Tradition*, p. 90-93. On ajoutera un autre manuscrit de la traduction par Cerbanus à la liste donnée p. 90: le *Par.*, *Nouv. Acq.* 2627, s. XIV ex., ff. 42v-58v (provenant du Sud de l'Allemagne, comme plusieurs autres); voir *Nouvelles acquisitions latines et françaises du Département des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale pendant les années 1958-1964*, dans *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, 124 (1966), 137-272 (p. 153-154).

<sup>5</sup> La plupart d'entre elles sont signalées chez DEKKERS, *Tradition*, p. 92-93. Nous ne traiterons pas ici de la traduction de l'édition princeps: *Sancti Maximi Confessoris, græcorum theologi eximiique philosophi, operum tomus primus, (...) opera et studio FRANCISCI COMBEFIS* (...), Paris, A. Cramoisy, 1675, p. 367-394: *Sermo ad pietatem exercens* avec des *Notæ* 695-696 [repris dans *P.G.* 90, 911-958 *Liber asceticus* (...)].

<sup>6</sup> Je tiens à remercier ici ces deux éditeurs, qui ont si généreusement communiqué les résultats de leurs recherches et qui par maints conseils ont contribué à améliorer de façon substantielle ces pages. Je voudrais également exprimer ma gratitude à J. Noret (Leuven), pour ses conseils avisés.

<sup>7</sup> On trouvera une description des manuscrits grecs cités dans cette étude dans l'édition des professeurs C. Laga et P. Van Deun. Les sigles sont également repris à cette édition. — Le *Liber asceticus* est citée d'après le texte - provisoire - de l'édition critique pour le *Corpus Christianorum - Series Græca*. En attendant cette publication, nous reprenons les références de la *Patrologia Græca* 90, 912-956. Mais l'édition de l'abbé Migne (qui reprend celle de Combefis) est très défectueuse, par endroits. On trouvera donc un chiffre suivi par un astérisque pour les mots et les passages qui ne se lisent pas, ou se lisent de manière incomplète dans la *P.G.*



I<sup>ÈRE</sup> PARTIE: PRÉSENTATION DES TRADUCTIONS

## 1. La traduction la plus ancienne: une œuvre anonyme au Mont-Cassin (vers 1000?)

On a découvert à une époque récente la traduction latine des *Quæstiones ad Thalassium* de saint Maxime par Jean Scot Erigène dans la bibliothèque de l'abbaye du Mont-Cassin<sup>8</sup>. Mais cette bibliothèque conserve aussi une traduction anonyme du *Liber asceticus* dans son codex *Cassinensis* 324 (f. 207-225), manuscrit en écriture bénéventine qui date du début du onzième siècle (1000-1020)<sup>9</sup>.

La datation de cette traduction ainsi que l'identification de son auteur s'avèrent difficiles sinon impossibles, puisque le seul point de repère sûr dont on dispose est la date du manuscrit. On ne sait donc pas si la traduction elle-même est contemporaine du manuscrit ou si elle remonte à une époque encore plus ancienne, ni si elle fut réalisée au Mont-Cassin<sup>10</sup>. Même une tentative pour préciser l'origine de cette traduction par la voie du modèle grec est vouée à l'échec, car la nature sélective de cette traduction (voir plus loin) n'offre pas de variantes qui pourraient contribuer à identifier ce modèle. Il n'y a que deux indices plutôt généraux: la date relativement ancienne du *Cassinensis*, qui exclut des manuscrits grecs plus récents, et la traduction "*et sit digne virgis ceditur*" (p. 321; cf. *παρὰ ῥάβδον* [929 A 3]), une leçon variante qui suggère un manuscrit italo-grec. Nous osons néanmoins avancer une hypothèse. Le manuscrit *Cryptensis* B.α.IV (avant 991) (= G) pourrait bien être le modèle cherché. Dans ce manuscrit en effet, les ouvrages de saint Maxime (parmi lesquels se trouve

<sup>8</sup> Pour plus de détails, voir *Maximi Confessoris Quæstiones ad Thalassium. I, Quæstiones I-LIV, una cum latina interpretatione Ioannis Scotti Eriugenæ iuxta posita*, edd. C. LAGA - C. STEEL (= *Corpus Christianorum. Series Græca*, 7), Turnhout - Leuven, 1980, xcii-xcvi.

<sup>9</sup> Voir surtout la description de ce manuscrit donnée par Dom M. INGUANEZ dans son *Codicum Cassinensium manuscriptorum catalogus cura et studiorum monachorum S. Benedicti Archicoenobii Montis Cassini*, vol. II, Pars I-II. *Codd.* 201-400, Mont-Cassin, 1928, 163-165. N'ayant pu obtenir un microfilm de ce manuscrit, malgré nos demandes répétées, et malgré les insistances d'autres personnes encore, nous étions obligés d'étudier cette traduction d'après le *Florilegium Cassinense* (...), vol. V (appendice à la *Bibliotheca Cassinensis seu Codicum Manuscriptorum qui tabulario Cassinensi asservantur* (...), vol. V), Mont-Cassin, 1894, 316-325.

<sup>10</sup> Sur les traductions au Mont-Cassin à cette époque, voir p.ex. H. HOUBEN, *Die "Passio SS. Senatoris, Viatoris, Cassiodori et Domitiani". Ein Beitrag für griechisch-lateinische Übersetzertätigkeit in Montecassino im 11. Jahrhundert* dans *Litteræ Medii Ævi. Festschrift für Johanne Autenrieth zu ihrem 65. Geburtstag*, hrsg.v. M. BORGOLTE und H. SPILLING, Sigmaringen, 1988, 145-160 (p. 145-152).



le *Liber asceticus*) sont précédés d'un obituaire d'un higoumène, appelé Luc, du monastère de San Michele à Vallelucio, une *cella* (ou μετόχιον) du Mont-Cassin<sup>11</sup>. Quoi de plus tentant que de supposer que ce manuscrit ait servi de base à la traduction du *Liber asceticus*? Une indication en faveur de cette hypothèse est l'ajout de δέ après ὑποτάγη (925 A 2) (cf. *resistite autem* [p. 319 B]), ajout qu'on rencontre notamment dans le manuscrit G<sup>12</sup>.

Enfin, cette traduction présente une particularité qu'on ne rencontre pas dans les autres traductions: il s'agit d'une version abrégée. Comme l'a déjà relevé Dom Siegmund<sup>13</sup>, les principaux raccourcissements sont constitués par des omissions de passages tirés (sinon exclusivement ou du moins pour la plus grande partie) de la Bible, éléments pourtant essentiels dans l'original grec<sup>14</sup>.

Nous devons conclure que nous ne sommes malheureusement pas capables d'affirmer beaucoup de choses avec précision, ni sur la traduction ni sur la date du manuscrit.

*Note: Un lecteur médiéval du 'Liber asceticus'?*

Avant de présenter la première traduction complète du *Liber asceticus*, signalons encore que dans une de ses œuvres, frère Angelo Clareno (1250/55 - 1337)<sup>15</sup> semble faire allusion à cet opuscule du Confesseur.

<sup>11</sup> Sur ce monastère où fut accueilli (de 981 à 994/995 environs) saint Nil de Rossano (vers 910 - 1004) en fuite de la Calabre après des incursions des Sarracènes, et sur la visite du saint homme au Mont-Cassin, voir J.-M. SANSTERRE, *Saint Nil de Rossano et le monachisme latin dans Miscellanea di studi in onore di P. Marco Petta per il LXX compleanno*, a cura di A. ACCONCIA LONGO, S. LUCÀ e S. PERRIA (= *Bolletino della Badia greca di Grottaferrata* N.S. 45 (1991 [1992])), 339-386 (p. 344-373).

<sup>12</sup> Signalons toutefois que cette traduction contient aussi des leçons qui ne se lisent dans aucun manuscrit grec conservé, ce qui laisse la porte ouverte à la supposition qu'il s'agit parfois d'interventions de la part du traducteur.

<sup>13</sup> *Die Überlieferung der griechischen christlichen Literatur in der Lateinischen Kirche bis zum zwölften Jahrhundert* (= *Abhandlungen der bayerischen Benediktiner-Akademie*, 5), Munich - Pasing, 1949, p. 180. Précisons toutefois que cette version abrégée ne correspond à aucun manuscrit grec connu, contrairement à ce qu'avait suggéré Dom Siegmund (*ibid.*, n. 2).

<sup>14</sup> On trouvera deux exemples frappants de ces raccourcissements (avec omission de nombreuses citations) plus loin p. 15-19. Ajoutons que, comme ce manuscrit est le seul témoin de cette méthode, il est impossible de déterminer la source de ces interventions: il n'est pas du tout exclu que ce soit le traducteur.

<sup>15</sup> Sur Angelo Clareno / Da Chiarino (nom de religion de Pierre de Fossombrone), voir p.ex. L. VON AUW, *Angelo Clareno et les spirituels italiens* (= *Uomini e Dottrine* 25), Rome, 1979 et G.L. POTESTÀ, *Gli Studi su Angelo Clareno. Dal ritrovamento della raccolta epistolare alle recenti edizioni*, dans *Rivista di storia e letteratura religiosa*, 25



Pendant un exil en Grèce, Angelo avait appris le grec et acquis une bonne connaissance de la patristique en cette langue. Ses œuvres montrent qu'il s'était aussi familiarisé avec les ouvrages de saint Maxime: on y rencontre des allusions aux *Quæstiones ad Thalassium* (*quæstio* 4)<sup>16</sup> et au *Liber asceticus*<sup>17</sup> ou des citations des deux *Ambigua*<sup>18</sup>. Par ailleurs, il semble aussi avoir été le traducteur des *Auctoritates s. Maximi* (une sélection d'extraits des *Ambigua ad Ioannem* traduits en latin, circulant sans nom de traducteur vers la fin du Moyen Age<sup>19</sup>).

## 2. La traduction anonyme du Vat. lat. 1889 (vers 1450?)

La première traduction intégrale du *Liber asceticus* est celle qui est transmise dans le Vat. lat. 1889<sup>20</sup>, traduction anonyme, comme celle du

(1989), 111-143.

<sup>16</sup> Voir V. DOUCET [éd.], *Angelus Clarinus ad Alvarum Pelagium, Apologia pro vita sua*, dans *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, 39 (1946), 63-200 (p. 126 et 142-143) et L. OLIGER (éd.), *Expositio regulæ fratrum minorum auctore Fr. Angelo Clarenio (...)*, Quaracchi, 1912, p. 68-69.

<sup>17</sup> C'est du moins ainsi que nous interprétons, à la suite de Doucet, un passage de son *Apologia pro vita sua* (éd. V. DOUCET, p. 188). Clarenio y écrit: "Ista eadem s. Maximus ad monachos scribit et sanctus Ioannes Climacus et Iohannes Spartiata et sanctus Dyadocus, et ab actionibus peccatorum recedere et cum amantibus relaxationes et mundanas occupationes non conuersari, sed elongari ab eis et adherere perfectionem in ueritate querentibus et ab inopugnantibus eam operibus et sermone summe cauere docent omnimodis a spirituali fraternitate recedere illicitum asserentes et ab iis qui ad peccatum impellunt persuadentes recessum. (...)" Bien qu'on ne puisse parler ici d'une traduction, Clarenio reprend des thèmes essentiels du *Liber asceticus*. Il y a encore une autre allusion - plus discrète - à cet opuscule, lorsqu'on trouve le nom de Maxime à la fin d'une liste de Pères qui ont montré "quod Christus et apostoli et perfectionis eorum imitatores non habuerunt neque in speciali neque in communi"; voir *Epist.* 44 (*Angeli Clarenii Opera*, I. *Epistole a cura di L. VON AUW* [= *Fonti per la Storia d'Italia* (...), 103], Rome, 1980, p. 211-213).

<sup>18</sup> Voir *Epist.* 44 (éd.cit., p. 224-225). Il ne s'agit pas d' "affirmations semblables", comme il est dit dans cette édition, mais de traductions littérales, à savoir: 224, 19-25 (*Omnia que ... colunt mysterium*): *Ambigua ad Thomam*, P.G. 91, 1053 C 12 - D 4; 224, 25-30 (*Quis enim ... ratio nulla*): *Amb. Th.*, 1057 A 1-7; 224, 30-34 (*non secundum ... conversatus est*): *Amb. Th.*, 1056 B 5-11; 225, 3-7 (*Hinc David ... operibus sectabantur*): *Ambigua ad Ioannem*, P.G. 91, 1152 B 14 - C 5, cf. *Maximi Confessoris Ambigua ad Iohannem iuxta Iohannis Scotti Eriugene latinam interpretationem*, éd. É. JEAUNEAU [= *Corpus Christianorum. Series Græca*, 18], Turnhout - Leuven, 1988, p. 74 (VI, 902-907). Nous n'avons pas pu identifier le passage 224, 34 - 225, 3 (*Intellexerunt, inquit ... tradiderunt sancti*).

<sup>19</sup> Sur cet opuscule et son auteur, voir DEKKERS, *Tradition*, p. 86, 97.

<sup>20</sup> On trouvera une description de ce manuscrit de papier en écriture gothique cursive dans *Codices Vaticani Latini*, III. *codd. 1461-2059 recensuit B. NOGARA* (= *Bibliothecæ Apostolicæ Vaticanæ codices manuscripti recensiti*), Rome, 1912, 338-339.



Mont-Cassin. Dans ce manuscrit de contenu très varié, on rencontre la traduction des deux ouvrages populaires de saint Maxime<sup>21</sup>, le *Liber asceticus* (f. 41-52) et le *De caritate* (f. 52-70<sup>v</sup>)<sup>22</sup>.

Les éléments qui permettent de dater ou d'identifier l'auteur de cette traduction ne sont pas plus nombreux que dans le premier cas. Le texte le plus récent qui se lit dans le manuscrit, la traduction par Gian Pietro d'Avenza (da Lucca) (1404-1457)<sup>23</sup> des *Quæstiones romanæ et græcæ* (= *Moralia* 263 D - 304 F) de Plutarque, est à dater de 1453<sup>24</sup>, et il pourrait donc nous aider à préciser le temps de l'exécution du codex, en nous fournissant un *terminus post quem*. Seulement, cette traduction de Plutarque fut copiée par une main différente de celle qui copia la traduction du *Liber asceticus*. Sa date ne s'applique donc pas nécessairement à la traduction du *Liber asceticus*<sup>25</sup>. De plus, l'étude du manuscrit que nous entreprenons, montrera qu'il s'agit d'une copie, peu soignée d'ailleurs, d'une traduction latine existante<sup>26</sup>.

Une préface ou d'autres pièces liminaires faisant défaut, il est impossible de préciser pourquoi le traducteur anonyme a choisi cet opuscule de Maxime. Par contre, le modèle grec peut être identifié grâce à deux

<sup>21</sup> Ces deux traductions ont été signalées dans DEKKERS, *Tradition*, p. 92-93. L'édition moderne du *De caritate* par contre ne mentionne pas cette traduction; cf. Massimo Confessore, *Capitoli sulla carità, editi criticamente con introduzione, versione e note* da A. CERESA-GASTALDO (= *Verba Seniorum*, 3), Rome, 1963, p. 42-43.

<sup>22</sup> Traduction incomplète (jusqu'à III, 90 [éd. cit., p. 186 (= P.G. 90, 1044 C-D)]).

<sup>23</sup> Sur la vie et les activités de ce professeur humaniste et traducteur d'auteurs grecs, voir particulièrement les contributions de M. CORTESI: *Libri e vicende di Vittorino da Feltre*, dans *Italia medievale e umanistica*, 23 (1980), 77-144 (p. 83-88); *Un allievo di Vittorino da Feltre: Gian Pietro da Lucca*, dans N. GIANNETTO (éd.), *Vittorino da Feltre e la sua scuola: umanesimo, pedagogia, arti* (= *Civiltà veneziana. Saggi*, 31), Florence, 1981, 263-276 et *Alla scuola di Gian Pietro d'Avenza in Lucca*, dans *Quellen und Forschungen aus italiensichen Archiven und Bibliotheken*, 61 (1981), 109-167.

<sup>24</sup> Le manuscrit qui nous occupe est un des cinq témoins de cette traduction, voir CORTESI, *Libri e vicende*, p. 86 et *Un allievo*, p. 273-274.

<sup>25</sup> Ayant étudié le manuscrit sous forme de microfilm, il nous a été impossible d'identifier les filigranes. Il est pourtant possible de déduire une datation approximative à partir du modèle grec de cette traduction; voir ce qui suit.

<sup>26</sup> Dans notre édition de cette traduction, nous espérons montrer que le modèle latin était écrit dans une écriture par endroits difficile à lire, et que cette déficience du modèle latin fut encore aggravée par un copiste peu attentif (fautes mécaniques, lectures trop hâtives, résolutions fautives d'abréviations ou de combinaisons supposées telles, etc.) Comparez aussi nos constatations à celles de Goetz à propos d'un autre texte dans ce manuscrit: les *Glossæ Placidæ* (f. 91-108<sup>v</sup>), qui, bien qu'écrites par une autre main, sont également une copie de mauvaise qualité (du *Vat.lat.* 1552); voir son édition *Placidus liber glossarum. Glossaria reliqua* (= *Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum*, 5), Leipzig, 1894, p. ix.



éléments: la date approximative du manuscrit (vers 1450) et la traduction *consolationem non recipit* (f. 45)<sup>27</sup> (cf. 929 A 3 παράκλησιν οὐ λαμβάνει), leçon qui suggère un manuscrit d'une branche bien définie. Une enquête plus poussée montre que ce modèle grec doit avoir été un manuscrit de Ferrare: le codex de la *Bibl. Communale Ariostea 144* (= Φ), qui date du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle. Qu'il s'agit bien de ce manuscrit, les traductions suivantes, qui reprennent les leçons particulières de ce manuscrit (ce sont les leçons qui suivent les crochets), le prouvent:

924 D 9 ... ὁ ἀδελφός σου πειράζεται, ...] σου *om.* Φ - f. 44 ... frater temptatur ...; 940 A 7-8 ... δυνάμεθα ἀκούειν ...] ... δ. λέγεσθαι ... Φ - f. 47<sup>v</sup> ... possumus ... dici ...; 944 B 15 - C 1 ... ὅμοιοι τῶν ἀποκτεινάντων αὐτοῦς;] ... υἱοὶ τ.α.α. ... Φ - f. 48<sup>v</sup> ... filii ... occidendum eos ...; 948 A 1 ... ἔσται τὸ ὄνομά σου ἐν τοῖς ἐπεναντίοις.] ... ε.τ.ο.σ. ἐν αὐτοῖς. Φ - f. 49<sup>v</sup> ... erit nomen tuum in illis ...; 949 C 10 ἐν τῷ προτειχίσματι τοῦ Ἰσραήλ] ... ε.τ.π. τῆς Ἱερουσαλήμ Φ - f. 50 ... in premenibus Iherusalem ...; 949 D 8 ... καὶ ἐν κατακλυσμῷ ...] ... πλὴν ε.κ. ... Φ - f. 50<sup>v</sup> ... verumptamen in diluvio ...; 953 A 4-6 τῶν παθῶν τῆς ἀτιμίας ἐλευθερούμεθα καὶ πάσης ἀρετῆς πληρούμεθα καὶ τῇ δόξῃ τοῦ θεοῦ καταλαμπόμεθα] καὶ πάσης ἀρετῆς πληρούμεθα *om.* Φ - f. 51 ... et ab affectibus liberabimur turpitudinis et gloria clarificabimur Dei ...

Il est vrai qu'il n'est pas possible d'imputer toutes les fautes au manuscrit de Ferrare. Il y a des traductions particulières qui semblent plutôt dues à une certaine liberté du traducteur ou, tout simplement, à la distraction du copiste de la traduction latine<sup>28</sup>. Mais ceci ne change rien à nos constatations de dépendance.

Après ces deux traductions anonymes il est temps de mentionner celle du pisan Pietro Balbi, réalisée quelques années plus tard.

<sup>27</sup> Nous indiquons ici (ainsi que pour les autres traductions conservées sous forme manuscrite) les folios du manuscrit; ceci en attendant la parution de notre texte.

<sup>28</sup> Il s'agit de divergences comme 913 B 12 ... τὸν κύριον μιμήσασθαι; ... - f. 41<sup>v</sup> ... Christum imitari ... ou 945 C 4 Ναί, δέσποτα παντοδύναμε κύριε, ... - f. 49 Ita, Pater omnipotens Domine, ... Mais on rencontre également des omissions, par ailleurs plus nombreuses que les "variantes". Il n'est malheureusement pas possible d'établir dans quelle mesure ces pertes sont dues à la négligence du copiste (de la traduction). Dans des cas comme: 917 C 2-3\* ... τοῖς μισοῦσιν ὑμᾶς· εὐλογεῖτε τοὺς καταρωμένους ὑμᾶς· προσεύχεσθε ... - f. 42<sup>v</sup> ... hiis qui oderunt uos, orate ... ou 948 A 8-11 Ἰδοὺ σὺ ὀργίσθης καὶ ἡμεῖς ἡμάρτομεν. Μᾶλλον δὲ ἡμεῖς ἡμάρτομεν καὶ σὺ ὀργίσθης. Διὰ τοῦτο ἐπλανήθημεν καὶ ἐγενήθημεν ὡς ἀκάθαρτοι ... - f. 49<sup>v</sup> Ecce tu iratus es et facti sumus tamquam immundi ...



### 3. La traduction de Pietro Balbi (1471-1479?)

Pietro Balbi (1399-1479)<sup>29</sup> étudia à Padoue, puis à Mantoue sous la direction de Vittorino da Feltre (1378-1446). Après ses études, il s'établit à Rome, où il fréquenta des cercles humanistes comme ceux du cardinal Nicolas de Cuse [Kues/Cusanus] (1401-1464) et du cardinal Bessarion (1399/1400 (?) - 1472). Pie II (1458-1464) le nomma évêque de Tropea en Calabre en 1463, siège que notre homme semble avoir quitté quelques années plus tard (début de 1468?).

L'activité principale de Balbi semble avoir été de traduire des textes grecs. La traduction la plus connue est sans doute celle de la *Théologie platonicienne* de Proclus<sup>30</sup>. J. Monfasani a publié récemment deux textes<sup>31</sup> et on peut encore y ajouter quelques autres traductions qu'on a déjà présentées de manière succincte<sup>32</sup>. Mais la plupart des traductions de Balbi sont encore inédites<sup>33</sup> ou n'ont guère été étudiées. Ainsi il reste encore

<sup>29</sup> Sur la vie et les œuvres de Balbi, voir J. MONFASANI, *Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite in Mid-Quattrocento Rome*, dans J. HANKINS, J. MONFASANI et F. PURNELL jr. (éds.), *Supplementum festivum. Studies in Honor of Paul Oskar Kristeller* (= *Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies*, 49), Binghamton (N.Y.), 1987, 189-219 (p. 193-196).

<sup>30</sup> Sur cette traduction (terminée en 1462 et "publiée" en juin-juillet 1466), voir particulièrement H.D. SAFFREY, *Pietro Balbi et la première traduction de la Théologie platonicienne de Proclus*, dans P. COCKSHAW, M.-C. GARAND et P. JODOGNE (éds.), *Miscellanea codicologica F. Masai dicata MCMLXXIX* (= *Les Publications de Scriptorium*, 8), Gand, 1979, t. II, 425-437.

<sup>31</sup> Il s'agit de la traduction de l'*edictum contra Origenem* (de 543) (CPG 6880) de l'empereur Justinien et de deux extraits du Prologue aux scolies sur le *Corpus Dionysiacum*, l'un d'un anonyme (P.G. 4, 21 C - 24 A), l'autre attribué à Maxime le Confesseur (CPG 7708) (P.G. 4, 21 A-C); voir MONFASANI, *Ps.-Dionysius* (cit. n. 29), p. 197-205, 215-219.

<sup>32</sup> Voir Alcinoos, *Enseignement des doctrines de Platon*, introduction, texte établi et commenté par J. WHITTAKER, et traduit par P. LOUIS (= *Collection des Universités de France*), Paris, 1990, p. xlix, lix-lx (avec bibliogr.; ajoutez encore le ms. de New Haven, Yale Univ. Library, Marston 72, f. 132-151 [cf. P.O. KRISTELLER, *Iter Italicum* (cit. n. 33), vol. V, p. 285 B]); A.C. WAY, *S. Gregorius Nazianzenus*, dans P.O. KRISTELLER e.a. (éds.), *Catalogus translationum et commentariorum: Medieval and Renaissance Latin Translations and Commentaries, Annotated Lists and Guides*, Washington (D.C.), II (1971), 43-192 (p. 138-140); H. BROWN WICHER, *Gregorius Nyssenus*, *ibid.*, V (1984), 1-250 (p. 65-66, 181) et *Gregorius Nyssenus. Addenda et corrigenda*, *ibid.*, VII (1992), 301-323 (p. 314-315).

<sup>33</sup> Faute d'un inventaire détaillé des manuscrits contenant des traductions de la main de Balbi, on consultera avec profit la liste dans P.O. KRISTELLER, *A Latin Translation of Gemistos Plethon's de fato by Johannes Sophianos Dedicated to Nicholas of Cusa*, dans ses *Studies in Renaissance Thought and Letters*, III (= *Storia e Letteratura*, 178), Rome, 1993, 21-38 avec 1 pl. (p. 32 [reprise d'un article de 1970]). Cette liste peut aisément être complétée grâce au précieux répertoire du même auteur, *Iter Italicum* (*Accedunt alia*



beaucoup de travail à faire sur sa traduction des *Dialogues de morts* (11, 13 et 16) de Lucien, sur celle de nombreux *Chrysostomica* (notamment la collection *Ad populum Antiochenum (de statuis)* [CPG 4330], traduction dédiée à Pie II<sup>34</sup>) ou sur celle d'extraits de l'*Exposition de la foi* (CPG 8043) (chap. 86, 88-89) de saint Jean Damascène. Mais revenons à notre évêque comme traducteur de saint Maxime le Confesseur. C'est le sujet qui a déjà été abordé par Dom E. Dekkers<sup>35</sup> et que nous voulons étudier de plus près.

La première traduction "publiée" semble avoir été celle de l'épître de Maxime *ad Ioannem Cubicularium (de dolore secundum Deum)* (CPG 7699/4)<sup>36</sup>. Dans sa préface au recteur de l'église Saint-Bernard à Rome, un nommé Franciscus, Balbi dit que le sermon que ce prêtre venait de prononcer sur les thèmes du *timor Dei* et du *dolor secundum Deum*, "*mihi in memoriam duxit Epistolam quandam sanctissimi Confessoris Maximi, quam inter cetera opera sua teneo*"<sup>37</sup>. Peut-on identifier à ces "*cetera opera*" les autres traductions d'ouvrages de Maxime qui ont été conservées? Ou a-t-il existé d'autres traductions encore? En tout cas, pour l'instant, les seules autres traductions connues sont celles des *Capita de caritate*<sup>38</sup> et du *Liber*

*itineris*). A Finding List of Uncatalogued or Incompletely Catalogued Humanistic Manuscripts of the Renaissance in Italian and Other Libraries, Londres - Leyde, 1977-1993, 6 vols.

<sup>34</sup> Conservée (à l'exception de l'homélie 20) dans les *Vat. lat. 409* et *Vat. lat. 410*. Cette traduction fut ensuite imprimée à Bruxelles en 1479, par les Frères de la Vie Commune. Les deux premières homélies existent aussi dans d'autres manuscrits. Quant aux autres ouvrages de Chrysostome traduits par Balbi, il s'agit des homélies *De Dei Ecclesia deque divinis Sacramentis non contemnendis* (c.-à.-d. *In ss. Petrum et Heliam* [CPG 4513]) et *De Nativitate D.N.I.C.* (CPG 4334), d'une catéchèse *ad illuminandos* (CPG 4464), du traité *De Spiritu sancto* (attribué actuellement à Sévérien de Gabala [CPG 4188]) ainsi que de quatre *eclogæ* (3, 21-22 et 31), assemblages de divers extraits chrysostomiens (CPG 4684).

<sup>35</sup> Voir sa *Tradition*, p. 92-94. On y ajoutera encore la traduction d'un fragment, découvert par Monfasani (voir plus haut n. 31).

<sup>36</sup> Conservée dans les mss. *Flor.*, *Laur. Gadd. plut. 89, sup. 16*, f. 168<sup>v</sup>-170<sup>v</sup> et le *Vat. lat. 5219*, f. 61; cf. DEKKERS, *Tradition*, p. 93-94 (qui l'identifie comme CPG 7703). En combinant les souscriptions de ces deux manuscrits, on peut établir qu'elle fut terminée à Sienne, le jour du martyre de saint Nazaire (28 juillet) 1460. Je tiens à remercier ici le dr. B. Markesinis (Leuven) qui m'a aidé à identifier correctement cette lettre.

<sup>37</sup> Citation d'après le ms. *Flor.*, *Laur. Gadd. plut. 89, sup. 16*, f. 168<sup>v</sup> (cf. BANDINIUS, *Catalogus*, col. 274).

<sup>38</sup> Des quatre manuscrits, transmettant cette traduction, il n'en a été conservé que deux: le *Vat. lat. 3656*, f. 42-114 (seule traduction complète, à la suite du *Liber asceticus*) et le *Flor.*, *Laur. Gadd. plut. 89, sup. 16*, f. 175-176<sup>v</sup>, qui ne donne qu'une partie de la première centurie (I, 1-17, 19), et encore dans une récension différente (remaniée?). On a perdu la trace de deux autres manuscrits: un manuscrit qui aurait appartenu à la *Gaddiana*



*asceticus*.

Cette dernière est transmise par le seul manuscrit *Vat. lat. 3656* (f. 7-41<sup>v</sup>), qui est probablement l'exemplaire offert à Sixte IV, son dédicataire<sup>39</sup>. Elle doit sans doute être située dans la période entre 1471 et 1479<sup>40</sup>. Dans sa préface (f. 2-4<sup>v</sup>), Balbi s'explique sur le choix de cet opuscule. Il raconte d'abord comment il a traduit le *De caritate* (c'est l'autre ouvrage de Maxime dans ce manuscrit) à la demande de son "*compatriota*" le chanoine romain, Marcellus Planca<sup>41</sup>. Après quoi, il s'adresse directement au Pape et explique son choix du *Liber asceticus*, en disant (f. 3<sup>v</sup>-4<sup>v</sup>):

"Uerti non modo quem petebat de uirtute caritatis tractatum, uerum etiam dialogum quendam ab eodem sanctissimo sapientissimoque Maximo compositum, ubi de nostra negligentia nostraque desidia magnopere conqueritur, ac omnes tandem christicolae ammonet atque exhortatur et ad rectam uiam progrediendam et ad mandata Dei pro uiribus amplectenda, ut ipsi salutem eternamque uitam assequamur. Itaque, Patrum Sanctissime, hunc libellum a me de greco in latinum conuersum ad te mittere institui. Nam ut caritas inter uirtutes omnes excellit atque omnium est princeps [cf. 1 Cor. 13, 13], sic tu, Pater Beatissime, inter omnes qui Christum colunt, sublimis es atque altissimus. Ac nemo denique est qui Dei proximique adeo caritatem exercere debeat, ut tu, qui Christi uicarius Deique minyter es. "*Pasce nanque*", inquit Petro summa illa clementia, "*oues meas*" [Io. 21, 17]; cuius tu quam dignissime successor atque imitator electus fuisti. Sed quid plura? Préter consuetudinem meam, ut nouisti, Pater Sanctissime, multa uerba feci. Lege denique hoc tibi dictum sanctissimum opus huius Maximi confessoris, maximi quidem nomine, sed in utraque caritate quam maximi. Ac me qui tuus sum commendatum habeto."

(Florence) et un deuxième manuscrit de Capoue, signalé par un correspondant de l'érudit italien F. Ughelli (1594/95-1670), où on rencontraient le *De caritate* (jusqu'à IV, 30); voir p.ex. DEKKERS, *Tradition*, p. 92 n. 38 resp. p. 93.

<sup>39</sup> On trouvera une description de ce manuscrit chez P. SCARCIA PIACENTINI, *Ricerca sugli antichi inventari della Biblioteca Vaticana. I codici di lavoro di Sisto IV*, dans M. MIGLIO e.a. (éds.), *Un pontificato ed una città, Sisto IV (1471-1484). Atti del convegno Roma, 3-7 dicembre 1984* (= *Istituto Storico italiano per il Medio Evo. Studi Storici*, 154-162), Rome, 1986, 115-178 (p. 169-170). Cette traduction se lisait également dans le manuscrit perdu de Capoue, dont il vient d'être question (voir n. 38); cf. aussi A. SOTTILI, dans *Quaderni per la storia dell'Università di Padova*, 13 (1980), 190-191 (cet auteur semble pourtant identifier ce manuscrit perdu comme le *Vat. lat. 3656*). Précisons enfin que (contrairement à ce qui est indiqué chez DEKKERS, *Tradition*, p. 92 n. 38) le ms. *Flor., Laur. Gadd. plut. 89, sup. 16* ne contient pas de traduction du *Liber asceticus*. C'est du moins notre conclusion, après avoir étudié ce manuscrit sur microfilm.

<sup>40</sup> Voir SCARCIA PIACENTINI, *Ricerca*, p. 139. S'appuyant sur des "*internal references*", Monfasani a suggéré la fin des années 1470 pour la dédicace; voir MONFASANI, *Ps.-Dionysius* (cit. n. 29), p. 195 n. 33.

<sup>41</sup> Balbi lui dédia aussi les extraits de l'*Exposition de la foi* de saint Jean Damascène; voir *Flor., Laur. Gadd. plut. 89, sup. 16* f. 179 (cf. BANDINIUS, *Catalogus*, col. 274-275).



Même si cette dédicace ne contient aucun indice sur le modèle grec de cette traduction, on peut établir, grâce aux recherches sur la tradition manuscrite, que Balbi, comme le traducteur anonyme que nous venons de présenter, lui aussi semble avoir consulté le manuscrit de Ferrare (Φ)<sup>42</sup>. On retrouve dans sa traduction les leçons particulières de ce manuscrit, à savoir:

924 D 9 ... ὁ ἀδελφός σου πειράζεται, ...] σου *om.* Φ - f. 17<sup>v</sup> ... frater tentatur ...; 940 A 7-8 ... δυνάμεθα ἀκούειν ...] ... δ. λέγεσθαι ... Φ - f. 28<sup>v</sup> ... possumus ... uocari ...; 944 B 15 - C 1 ... ὅμοιοι τῶν ἀποκτείναντων αὐτούς; ...] ... υἱοὶ τ.α.α. ... Φ - f. 32 ... filii ... eorum qui eos interfecerunt; 948 A 1 ... ἔσται τὸ ὄνομά σου ἐν τοῖς ἐπεναντίοις] ... ε.τ.ο.σ. ἐν αὐτοῖς Φ - f. 34<sup>v</sup> ... erit in eis nomen tuum; 949 C 11 ... ἐν τῷ προτειχίσματι τοῦ Ἰσραήλ] ... ε.τ.π. τῆς Ἱερουσαλήμ Φ - f. 137 in antemurali Hierusalem; 949 D 8 ... καὶ ἐν κατακλυσμῷ ... ] ... πλὴν ε.κ. ... Φ - f. 37<sup>v</sup> uerumtamen in diluuiο ...; 953 A 4-6 τῶν παθῶν τῆς ἀτιμίας ἐλευθερούμεθα καὶ πάσης ἀρετῆς πληρούμεθα καὶ τῇ δοξῇ τοῦ θεοῦ καταλαμπόμεθα] καὶ πάσης ἀρετῆς πληρούμεθα *om.* Φ - f. 39<sup>v</sup> passionum ignominia liberamur diuinaque gloria illuminamur.

Ajoutons tout de suite que dans cette traduction on rencontre aussi des leçons particulières ("variantes" et omissions), qui ne se déduisent pas du manuscrit de Ferrare (ou d'un autre manuscrit)<sup>43</sup>. On ne peut que supposer qu'il s'agit d'interventions (conscientes ou non) de la part du traducteur. Mais d'autres questions surgissent encore. D'abord, où a-t-il pu consulter ce manuscrit? Il n'est pas possible, pour l'instant, de résoudre cette difficulté, puisque l'histoire du manuscrit n'est pas connue. Une deuxième question est celle de savoir pourquoi Balbi a consulté le même manuscrit que le traducteur anonyme du *Vat. lat. 1889*? Enfin, s'il est vrai que ces deux traductions sont basées sur le même manuscrit, ne dépendent-elles

<sup>42</sup> Par ailleurs, serait-ce une simple coïncidence que Balbi a aussi traduit le *De caritate* et l'épître 4 de Maxime, ouvrages qui se lisent également dans ce ms. de Ferrare (aux f. 20-52 resp. 107<sup>v</sup>-109<sup>v</sup>)?

<sup>43</sup> Comme "variantes" on rencontre p.ex. 932 B 14 ... ἔρημοι ἐσμέν παντὸς ἔργου πνευματικοῦ. - f. 22<sup>v</sup>-23 ... desolati sumus omni spirituali spe; 933 D 11 ... πικρῶς κλαίμεν ... - f. 25 ... nec, ut fieri debet, amare lacrymamus ... Quant aux omissions d'un ou plusieurs mots qui se lisent pourtant dans ce modèle grec, on peut penser p.ex. à 925 B 7-8 ... τοὺς διὰ λογισμῶν πολεμοῦντας αὐτὴν δαίμονας ... - f. 18 ... pugnant contra se demonas ..., ou à 937 B 3-4 ... οὐ πάντες μηνιασταί; οὐ πάντες μνησικάκοι; οὐ πάντες προδότηι πάσης ἀρετῆς; ... - f. 27 ... omnes odiosi? omnes uniuersē uirtutis proditores? ...



pas l'une de l'autre (l'anonyme du Vatican n'est-il pas, par exemple, une première ébauche de la version de Balbi)? L'analyse de quelques extraits dans la deuxième partie de cette contribution montrera qu'il faut répondre d'une façon négative à cette question.

#### 4. La traduction de Willibald Pirckheimer (1530)

Willibald Pirckheimer (1470-1530), un des principaux humanistes allemands, a traduit de nombreux ouvrages grecques, d'auteurs aussi variés que Plutarque, Lucien, Platon ou Grégoire de Nazianze. Cela a déjà été étudié en détail par N. Holzberg<sup>44</sup>, à qui nous devons renvoyer. Quant à la traduction du *Liber asceticus*, elle est la dernière que Pirckheimer a fait paraître pendant sa vie; elle fut publiée probablement au début de l'été de 1530<sup>45</sup>.

En l'absence d'une préface ou autre pièce liminaire, il est difficile de déterminer pourquoi Pirckheimer a traduit cet opuscule. Mais il est évident qu'il choisit un ouvrage qui n'est pas de nature polémique (utilisable principalement contre des théologiens catholiques conservateurs ou des réformateurs radicaux)<sup>46</sup>, comme cela avait été le cas pour plusieurs aut-

<sup>44</sup> Dans son livre *Willibald Pirckheimer. Griechischer Humanismus in Deutschland* (= *Humanistische Bibliothek. Reihe I, Abhandlungen*, 41), Munich, 1981 (ci-après: HOLZBERG, *Pirckheimer*); cf. aussi la synthèse du même auteur, *Willibald Pirckheimer*, dans S. FÜSSEL (éd.), *Deutsche Dichter der frühen Neuzeit (1450-1600). Ihr Leben und Werk*, Berlin, 1993, 258-269.

<sup>45</sup> *Beati Maximi Confessoris, antiquissimi sane et (ut apparet) eruditissimi Theologi, de incarnatione verbi, tum cæteris ad pietatem conducentibus questionibus dialogus*. Interprete Bilibaldo Pirckheimero, Nuremberg (Ioannes Petreius), 1530 [nous suivons l'exemplaire de l'*Universitätsbibliothek* de Nuremberg-Erlangen]; voir HOLZBERG, *Pirckheimer*, p. 351-352. Cette traduction a ensuite été reprise (mais dans une version remaniée) dans les grandes "Bibliothèques" du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle, comme p.ex. *Maxima Bibliotheca Veterum Patrum et antiquorum scriptorum ecclesiasticorum, primo quidem a Margarino de la Bigne (...) in lucem edita (...) ac tandem editione Lugdunensi (...)*, t. XII, Lyon, Anisson, 1677, p. 479 F - 486 D. Elle y est précédée d'une note assurant que, malgré le fait que le traducteur soit un "*hæreticus recentior*", elle peut être considérée comme fidèle et sûre pour la foi, ce qui est visiblement une réponse à des critiques formulées par des censeurs romains sur une réimpression antérieure; voir P. PETITMENGIN, *Deux 'Bibliothèques' de la Contre-Réforme: la 'Panoplie' du Père Torres et la 'Bibliotheca Sanctorum Patrum'*, dans A.C. DIONISOTTI, A. GRAFTON, J. KRAYE (éds.), *The Uses of Greek and Latin. Historical Essays* (= *Warburg Institute Surveys and Texts*, 16), Londres, 1988, 127-153 (p. 142).

<sup>46</sup> Pirckheimer semble plutôt avoir été, comme tant d'autres humanistes, un partisan d'une *via media*, c.-à-d. une réforme modérée au sein de l'Église; voir M. SCHAROUN, "*Nec Lutheranus neque Eckianus, sed Christianus sum*". *Erwägungen zu Willibald Pirckheimers Stellung in der reformatorschen Bewegung*, dans *Humanismus und Theologie in*



res traductions. Si son motif reste obscur, le modèle de sa traduction, par contre, peut être identifié en combinant les éléments suivants.

D'abord ce modèle doit avoir été un manuscrit, puisque le *Liber asceticus* était encore inédit à cette époque (l'édition princeps étant celle de Combefis). Les extraits qui suivent, permettent de préciser quel manuscrit il pouvait avoir consulté. Car dans un passage de la biographie la plus ancienne de Pirckheimer, il est question de ses manuscrits grecs, parmi lesquels se trouvait aussi un *Kirchenväter-codex*, d'après la définition de Holzberg<sup>47</sup>. Le contenu de ce manuscrit est décrit ainsi (il s'agit sans doute du contenu complet):

"Ita sibi comparauit ex græcis (neque enim de latinis auctoribus, qui multo plures sunt, nunc dicemus) Epistolas sanctorum Patrum atque Episcoporum, Basilii Magni et Gregorii Nazianzeni, quibuscum etiam Nili capita gnostica; item Iohannis Damasceni quædam et Maximi Confessoris. Quæ omnia ante aliquot centenos annos in ipsa Græcia scripta sunt, nec unquam antè uiderant lucem, quam ab ipso [c.-à-d. Pirckheimer] fuissent edita. (...)"<sup>48</sup>

Ce fut aussi ce manuscrit-là que Pirckheimer prêta à Vincentius Obsopæus († 1539) pour son édition de lettres de Basile le Grand et de Grégoire de Nazianze<sup>49</sup>, publiée en 1528 à Haguenau (Alsace) chez Johannes Secerius (Setzer). Dans sa préface, Obsopæus décrit ce manuscrit ainsi:

"Cum nuper inspiciendum mihi obtulisset ex bibliotheca tua, Bilibalde clarissime, Georgius Leutius<sup>50</sup>, codicem epistularum Basilii et Gregorii, quem cum ob litterarum characteras, tum ob uetustatem uehementer uidere cupiebam. Est enim, ut mihi conjecturam facienti uisum est, ante ducentos aut amplius annos

der frühen Neuzeit. Akten des interdisziplinären Symposiums vom 15. bis 17. Mai 1992 im Melanchtonhaus in Bretten, hrsg.v. H. KERNER (= *Pirckheimer Jahrbuch*, 8), Nuremberg, 1993, p. 107-147.

<sup>47</sup> Voir HOLZBERG, *Pirckheimer*, p. 90, 176, 227, 351.

<sup>48</sup> Citation de K. RITTERSHAUSEN, *Commentarius de vita Bilibaldi Pirckheimeri, viri illustris*, dans: *V. illustris Bilibaldi Pirckheimeri (...) Opera Politica, Historica, Philologica et Epistolica (...) omnia nunc primum edita ex bibliotheca Pirckheimerana (...) collecta, recensita ac digesta* MELCHIORE GOLDASTO HAIMINSFELDO, Francfort, J. Bringer, 1610 (réimpr.: Hildesheim - New York, 1969), p. 1-39 (p. 14 [ponctuation modernisée])) [= HOLZBERG, *Pirckheimer*, p. 90]. Il est vrai que ce passage pourrait aussi indiquer qu'il y avait deux manuscrits patristiques: l'un contenant des lettres de Basile et de Grégoire et l'ouvrage de Nil d'Ancyre, l'autre des opuscules de Jean Damascène et de Maxime.

<sup>49</sup> Sur cette édition, voir p.ex. I. BACKUS, *Lectures humanistes de Basile de Césarée. Traductions Latines (1439-1618)* (= *Collection des Études Augustiniennes. Série Antiquité* 125), Paris, 1990, p. 29-30. La traduction d'Obsopæus existe aussi dans un ms. zurichois (*Zentralbibl.*, D 210); voir A.C. WAY, *S. Gregorius Nazianzenus. Addenda et corrigenda*, dans *Catalogus translationum (...)* (cit. n. 32), III (1976), 413-425 (p. 418-420; où l'on ne dit rien, pourtant, de la traduction imprimée).

<sup>50</sup> Personnage qu'il nous a été impossible d'identifier.



descriptus, inque regis Ungariæ bibliothecam repositus. (...)»<sup>51</sup>

Même si ce codex du roi d'Hongrie (le roi bibliophile Mathias Corvin [1458-1490])<sup>52</sup> semble s'être perdu, les études de la correspondance des deux évêques permettent d'identifier le texte de ce *Kirchenväter-codex*. On considère généralement, maintenant, que le modèle de l'édition d'Obsopæus était un proche parent de l'actuel *Oxon.*, *Bodl. Corpus Christi 284*, s. XIV (= *Ox*), sinon une copie de celui-ci<sup>53</sup>. Cette identification est confirmée par le seul contenu du manuscrit oxonien: on y lit les lettres des deux Pères mentionnés explicitement, mais aussi le *Liber asceticus*, les *Sententiæ* de Nil d'Ancyre (CPG 6583) et l'opuscule *De octo spiritibus nequitiae* (CPG 8110) attribué à saint Jean Damascène. Rappelons que Pirkheimer avait déjà publié une traduction de ces deux derniers ouvrages au début de 1516, se basant, d'après sa préface, sur un "*codex peruetustus, qui e miseranda Græcia elapsus captiuitatis iugum euaserat*"<sup>54</sup>, que lui avait envoyé le diplomate Jacopo Bannisio († 1532)<sup>55</sup>, et qui n'était autre que ce même manuscrit patristique.

L'étude de la tradition manuscrite du *Liber asceticus* renforce cette identification. Les leçons particulières du manuscrit d'Oxford ne sont pas assez typiques pour trancher la question, mais à l'occasion de l'édition du texte grec, il sera montré que ce manuscrit anglais a une série de leçons communes avec un parent très proche, le ms. *Par. gr. 858*, s. XIV (= *Z*), qui distinguent ceux-ci de tous les autres; les voici:

<sup>51</sup> Citation d'après *Bilibaldi Pirkheimeri (...) Opera* (cit. n. 48), 336-338 (p. 336); cf. aussi *P. G.* 29, p. cclxxvi-cclxxvii (p. cclxxvi).

<sup>52</sup> Plusieurs autres traductions d'Obsopæus sont également basées sur des manuscrits ayant appartenu à ce roi bibliophile, voir p.ex. H. SIMONSFELD, *Einige kunst- und literaturgeschichtliche Funde*, dans *Sitzungsberichte der philosophisch-philologischen und der historischen Classe der k.b. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu München*, 1902, 502-568 avec 1 pl. (p. 561-562).

<sup>53</sup> Voir p.ex. S.Y. RUDBERG, *Études sur la tradition manuscrite de saint Basile. Thèse pour le doctorat présentée à la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université d'Upsal (...)*, Lund, 1953, p. 50-51 et P. GALLAY, *Les manuscrits des Lettres de saint Grégoire de Nazianze* (= *Collection d'Études anciennes*), Paris, 1957, p. 105-107 (reprenant en partie les conclusions de 1912 et de 1946 du savant polonais G. PRZYCHOLI).

<sup>54</sup> Cité d'après *Willibald Pirkheimers Briefwechsel, II. Band in Verbindung mit A. REIMANN* (†) gesammelt, hrsg. und erläutert v. E. REICKE (†) (= *Humanistenbriefe*, 5), Munich, 1956, p. 596-598 [= *Ep.* 377 (29 décembre 1515)]; cf. HOLZBERG, *Pirkheimer*, p. 176, 229. Il s'agit d'une dédicace à la soeur de Pirkheimer, l'abbesse Klara (1481-1533).

<sup>55</sup> Sur ce diplomate au service de Maximilien I<sup>er</sup>, voir la notice de T.B. DEUTSCHER dans P.G. BIETENHOLZ - T.B. DEUTSCHER (éds.), *Contemporaries of Erasmus. A Biographical Register of the Renaissance and the Reformation*, Toronto - Buffalo - Londres, I (1985), p. 90-91.



924 B 9-10 ... ὅλον τὸν κόσμον τῶν δαιμόνων ἀποστήσαντες [...] ... ο.τ.κ.τ.δ. ἀποστατήσαντες Z Ox - f. [6<sup>v</sup>] ... mundum uniuersum à dæmonibus deficientem ...; 940 A 6 ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τούτοις] εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα add. Z Ox - f. [13] ... in hominibus his in æternum ...; 944 C 6-7... γεγόναμεν ὡς Αἰθίοπες [...] ὡς om. Z Ox - f. [15] ... facti sumus Æthiopes ...; 949 C 1-2 ... τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ χρηστότητος φανεροῦσα... τ.υ.τ.τ.θ.χ. φέρουσα Z Ox - f. [18] ... de superabundanti bonitate Dei ita dicitur ...; 952 A 6-8 ... ταλαιπορήσωμεν καὶ πενθήσωμεν καὶ κλαύσωμεν διὰ τὰς ἀμαρτίας ἡμῶν [...] καὶ<sup>1</sup> om. Z Ox - f. [18<sup>v</sup>] ... humiliemur, lugeamus, et propter peccata nostra ploremus ....

La comparaison de ces leçons caractéristiques de la traduction de Pirckheimer, combinée avec les éléments fournis par d'autres écrits de l'humaniste allemand, montrent donc que le modèle grec de sa traduction était un proche parent du manuscrit Ox. Le manuscrit parisien, lui, n'est probablement pas le modèle grec cherché, parce que son contenu, plus varié que celui du *Kirchenväter-codex* de Pirckheimer, pointe vers une autre direction<sup>56</sup>.

##### 5. La traduction de Sir John Cheke (1544-1546?)<sup>57</sup>

John Cheke (1514-1557), *Regius Professor* de grec à l'université de Cambridge (depuis 1540), fut choisi en 1544 comme un des précepteurs du prince-héritier Édouard (le futur roi Édouard VI [1547-1553]), chargé de l'enseignement des langues classiques. C'est surtout dans le cadre de cette activité didactique, qu'il a traduit (entre 1543 et 1546) des textes grecs, qui

<sup>56</sup> On peut également exclure le *Monac. gr. 497*, qui a été suggéré comme modèle de la traduction d'Obsopæus (voir SIMONSFELD, *Funde* [cit. n. 52], p. 550). Celui-ci contient exclusivement des lettres de saint Basile; il ne peut donc s'agir du *Kirchenväter-codex* en question. Par ailleurs l'argument principal en faveur de ce manuscrit bavarois est une note manuscrite affirmant que ce manuscrit a servi de base à la traduction de ... Wolfgang Musculus (1491-1563), parue en 1540! mais de là à suggérer qu'il aurait aussi pu servir à Obsopæus, voilà un grand pas. Sur cette traduction de Musculus, voir particulièrement BACKUS, *Lectures humanistes* (cit. n. 49), p. 35-42, 211-232.

<sup>57</sup> L'étude la plus détaillée reste la thèse de W. L. NATHAN, *Sir John Cheke und der englische Humanismus* (...) (Bonn, Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität, 1928); voir aussi la notice de S.R. J(OHNSON) dans S.T. BINDOFF [éd.], *The History of Parliament. The House of Commons 1509-1558*, I. *Appendices, Constituencies, Members A-C*, Londres, 1982, p. 626-630.



sont tous dédiés au roi Henri VIII<sup>58</sup>. On connaît de lui une traduction des *Tacticæ Constitutiones* de l'empereur byzantin Léon VI le Sage (870/886-912)<sup>59</sup> et du *De superstitione* (Mor. 164 E - 171 F) de Plutarque<sup>60</sup>. Il publia aussi des traductions de sermons de Jean Chrysostome: en 1543 les homélies *Contra eos qui novilunia observant et in civitate choros ducunt* (CPG 4328) et *In dictum Apostoli: "Omnia in gloriam Dei facite"* (CPG 4329: *de Lazaro concio* 5)<sup>61</sup>, et en 1545 les six homélies *De providentia Dei ac fato* (CPG 4367).

C'est dans cette même période que fut réalisée sa traduction du *Liber asceticus* de saint Maxime. Elle est conservée dans un manuscrit de la *British Library* (Old Royal 16.C.IX, f. 39-72<sup>v</sup>) (= r)<sup>62</sup>. Bien que la dédicace au roi Henri VIII (f. 1-3<sup>v</sup>) soit datée de manière incomplète (*Hartfordiæ*<sup>63</sup>, *pridie Kal. Ian.*), on situe cette traduction entre 1544 et 1546<sup>64</sup>. C'est dans cette dédicace que Cheke explique son choix du *Liber asceticus*.

Il commence en indiquant les différentes raisons qu'il peut y avoir

<sup>58</sup> Sur les traductions imprimées de Cheke, voir notamment J.W. BINNS, *Latin Translations from Greek in the English Renaissance*, dans *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 27 (1978), 128-159 (p. 137-139, 152) (repris dans son *Intellectual Culture in Elizabethan and Jacobean England. The Latin Writings of the Age* [= *ARCA Classical and Medieval Texts, Papers and Monographs*, 24], Leeds, 1990, 215-240).

<sup>59</sup> Cet ouvrage, terminé en 1546, ne fut publié que pendant l'exil du traducteur sur le continent, sous le titre de *Leo VI, De apparatu bellico* (...), Bâle, M. Isengrim, 1554 (2<sup>e</sup> éd.: *ibid.*, C. Waldkirch, 1595).

<sup>60</sup> Traduction, réalisée entre 1544 et 1546, transmise dans le seul Oxon., Bodl. 171 (olim *Collegii Universitatis*); voir NATHAN, *Cheke*, p. 33-35; R.W. HUNT, *The Manuscript Collection of University College, Oxford: Origins and Growth*, dans *The Bodleian Library Record*, 3 (1950-1951), 13-34 (p. 26 avec n. 4) et [R.W. HUNT - A.-J. FAIRBANK], *Humanistic Script of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (= *Bodleian Picture Books*, 12), Oxford, 1960, p. 7 avec pl. 18.

<sup>61</sup> Τοῦ ἐν ἀγίοις Ἰωάννου τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου ὁμιλίαι δύο. *Homiliae duæ, nunc primum in lucem æditæ* (...), Londres, Reyner (Reginald) Wolfe, 1543 (édition et traduction latine). Notons en passant que ce livre fut le premier livre grec imprimé en Angleterre.

<sup>62</sup> Pour une description de ce manuscrit, voir notamment G.F. WARNER - J.P. GILSON, *British Museum. Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in The Old Royal and King's Collections*, vol. II *Royal Mss. 12 A.I to 20 E.X and App. 1-89*, Londres, 1921, p. 183. La traduction latine a été copiée par la même main qui copia la traduction du *De superstitione* de Plutarque, mais ce n'est pas celle de Cheke; voir HUNT, *Manuscript Collection* (cit. n. 60), p. 26 n. 24.

<sup>63</sup> C.-à-d. *Hertford Castle*, un des lieux de séjour du jeune Édouard et de ses sœurs royales; voir p.ex. H.M. COLVIN (éd.), *The History of the King's Works*, vol. III. 1485-1660 (*Part I*), Londres, 1975, p. 254-257.

<sup>64</sup> Voir NATHAN, *Cheke* (cit. n. 57), p. 33 (qui a converti cette date en 13 décembre [sic!]); WARNER-GILSON, *The Old Royal and King's Collections* (cit. n. 62), p. 183 et JOHNSON, art. *Cheke, John* (cit. n. 57), p. 627 (qui suggère janvier [sic!] 1546).



pour apprécier un ouvrage: son âge, son auteur, son style agréable, les conseils utiles qu'on y lit, etc. Mais cet ouvrage de Maxime réunit plusieurs de ces qualités:

"Ut autem nihil aliud in Maximo hoc probetur, si quid tamen antiquitas possit, quæ sola apud plurimos plurimum ualet, eo nomine non reiiciendus haberi debet. Cum autem studuerit uitam Christianam et charitatis officia proponere atque ad ea suos hortari, neque studium illius aspernandum neque materia eius e uita expellenda est. Et quanquam non summa cum eloquentia et amplissimis uerborum sententiarumque luminibus uniuersam caussam peroret, tamen ita loquitur, ut non alio modo quam dixit uixisse uideatur, et ita grauis est ut pondus afferant quæ reliquerit, non uehementia scriptorum sed magnitudine conatus." (f. 2<sup>v</sup>-3)

Il continue en promettant une traduction de (Flave ?) Josèphe, s'il en trouve le temps. Pour l'instant, il s'est contenté de la traduction de cet opuscule important, pour s'exercer et pour son propre plaisir. Sa dédicace se termine par la requête au roi de bien vouloir accepter cet ouvrage et une prière pour que Dieu conserve le roi et son prince-héritier.

Le modèle de cette traduction n'est pas difficile à identifier, puisque la traduction est précédée d'un texte grec (f. 4-38 [= r]) qu'elle suit à quelques exceptions près<sup>65</sup>. Mais ce texte principal, qui n'est autre qu'une copie du ms. *Cantabr. Bib. Univ. Dd.II.22* (= e) qui servait donc de modèle, a été corrigé par endroits. Ces corrections, qui se lisent pour la plupart comme des notes marginales, ont été élaborées à l'aide de l'*Oxon., Bodl. Corpus Christi 284* (= Ox), manuscrit dont il vient d'être question<sup>66</sup>. Le catalogue de la collection *Old Royal* affirme qu'elles sont de la main de Patrick Young (Iunius) (1584-1652), érudit et bibliothécaire du Roi<sup>67</sup>. Cette suggestion n'est pas à exclure à priori, parce que Young a

<sup>65</sup> Citons deux exemples d'omissions: 912 C 2-3 ... εἰς οὐράνους ἀνελθὼν καὶ ἐκ δεξιῶν τοῦ πατρὸς καθέσθεις, τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ... - f. 39<sup>v</sup> ... in coelum conscendit. Spiritum sanctum ..., 956 B 6-7 ... καὶ ἐπιθυμίαν σαρκὸς οὐ μὴ τελέσωμεν. Γρηγορήσωμεν, νήψωμεν· ἀποβάλωμεν λοιπὸν τὸν ὕπνον τῆς ῥαθυμίας .... - f. 71<sup>v</sup> ... cupiditatem carnis ne efficiamur. De cætero somnum ignavie abiiciamus ... — Un autre élément un peu curieux sont ces trois confusions de nombre: 924 C 11 ..., καθὼς εἶπας, ... - f. 48<sup>v</sup> ... quomodo dixi ...; 945 D 2-4 ... Τί ἐπλάνησας ...; Τί ... ἐσκήρυνας; - f. 65 quid seduxerat ...? quid obdurauit ... ? et 953 D 6-7 Ἐσωσας ... κατήσχυνας. - f. 71 ... seruauit ... ignominia affecit.

<sup>66</sup> Voir plus haut p. 8-10, à propos de la traduction Pirckheimer.

<sup>67</sup> Voir WARNER-GILSON, *The Old Royal and King's Collections* (cit. n. 62), p. 183 : "Not autograph. A few notes on the Greek text are in Patrick Young's hand." Malheureusement, nous n'avons pas pu trouver des reproductions de la main grecque de Young ou de Cheke. — L'étude la plus importante sur Young reste toujours *Patricius Junius (Patrick Young) Bibliothekar der Könige Jacob I. und Carl I. von England. Mitteilungen aus seinem Briefwechsel*, hrsg. v. J. KEMKE (= *Sammlung bibliothekswissenschaftlicher Arbeiten*, 12), Leipzig, 1898 (réimp.: Nendeln/Lichtenstein - Wiesbaden, 1969); voir en outre



certainement consulté ce manuscrit<sup>68</sup>. De plus, ses *collectanea* prouvent qu'il a aussi lu d'autres œuvres du Confesseur<sup>69</sup>. Mais est-il nécessaire d'introduire Young à cet effet? Nous ne le croyons pas, car la traduction prouve que ces variantes y ont été intégrées, ce qui nous amène à nous demander si elles ne doivent pas être attribuées à Cheke lui-même, qui aurait ainsi préparé sa traduction par une collation du texte à traduire avec une autre tradition manuscrite. Ne citons que quelques exemples:

913 A 12 ... δεῖ τηρεῖν (*add. in mge.*: πάντα) ἀνθρώπων ... - f. 39<sup>v</sup> ... facienda omni homini sunt ...; 920 B 4 ... ἐν ταῖς δυοῖ τοῦ κόσμου (*in mge.*: νόμου) ... ἐντολαῖς ... - f. 44<sup>v</sup>-45 ... ex hiis duobus legis ... mandatis ...; 932 A 8\*... ἡ διωγμός (*add. in mge.*: ἡ λιμός) ... - f. 53 ... an insectatio? an fames? ...; 948 B 2 ... παρέδωκας (*add. in mge.*: ἡμᾶς διὰ τὰς ἁμαρτίας) ἡμῶν - f. 65<sup>v</sup> ... prodidisti nos propter peccata nostra; 956 C 13-14 Σὺν ἀγγέλοις (*add. in mge.*: χορεύσωμεν· σὺν ἀρχαγγέλοις) ὑμνήσωμεν ... - f. 72<sup>r-v</sup> ... cum angelis chororum ducamus, cum archangelis celebremus ...<sup>70</sup>

#### 6. La traduction de Flaminio de'Nobili (1576)

La dernière traduction latine dont nous traitons ici est celle de Fla-

p.ex. BINNS, *Translations from Greek* (cit. n. 58), p. 141-144 et T. WEBBER, *Patrick Young, Salisbury Cathedral Manuscripts and the Royal Collection*, dans *English Manuscript Studies 1100-1700*, 2 (1990), 283-290.

<sup>68</sup> Ceci peut être déduit d'un sceau en forme de bateau en bas du f. 1 de ce manuscrit. On rencontre ce sceau dans des manuscrits que Young avait empruntés à la Bibliothèque du Roi pour ses études; voir p.ex. WARNER-GILSON, *The Old Royal and King's Collections* (cit. n. 62), I, p. xxiii n. 2; K.A. DE MEYER, *Note on a Manuscript Now at Leyden, from the Library of St James's Palace*, dans *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, 1/4 (1952), 358-359 et WEBBER, *Patrick Young* (cit. n. 67), p. 284-285.

<sup>69</sup> Il s'agit des *Lugdunenses* (Batav.): *Voss. gr. Q 54*, ff. 71<sup>v</sup>-76<sup>v</sup>, *Voss. Misc. 3*, ff. 7-14 et *Voss. Misc. 4*, f. 16; voir *Bibliotheca Universitatis Leidensis, Codices Manuscripti*, VI. *Codices Vossiani graeci et Miscellanei*, descripsit K.A. DE MEYER, Leyde, 1955, p. 165, 228 et 230. Le *περὶ ἀσκήσεως* qu'on rencontre dans ce dernier manuscrit n'est pas un extrait du *Liber Asceticus*, mais un *adespoton*, qu'on lit p.ex. aussi dans le *Vat. gr. 653*, ff. 214-218<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>70</sup> Il y a pourtant aussi des notes qui n'ont pas été intégrées dans cette traduction, comme p.ex. 912 A 14-15 ... ὑπὸ τῶν ποικίλων τῆς σαρκὸς (*in mge.*: παρακοῆς) παθημάτων ἀγόμενος ... - f. 39 ... uitē uariis carnis affectionibus permoueri ...; 913 D 6 ... τὴν σάρκα ἐνέκρωσαν (*in mge.*: ἐσταύρωσαν) ... - f. 41 ... carnem suam morti addixerunt ...; 932 B 14 ... ἔργου (*add. in mge.*: ἀγαθοῦ καὶ πνευματικοῦ) - f. 54 ... opere spirituali; 952 A 15 ... πειραζόμενοι (*in mge.*: πολευόμενοι) ... - f. 68<sup>v</sup> ... tentemur ...



minio de'Nobili (1532/1533 - 1591)<sup>71</sup>. C'est d'ailleurs la seule traduction que Combefis signale dans son édition<sup>72</sup>. De'Nobili s'établit à Rome (dès 1575?), où il travailla au moins jusqu'à la fin des années 1580. Il semble avoir été protégé par Grégoire XIII (1572-1585) (et par d'autres membres de la famille Buoncompagni) et fut nommé *corrector auctorum ecclesiasticorum*<sup>73</sup>. Il participa aussi à la révision de la Vulgate<sup>74</sup> et de la Bible des Septante, dont il publia une traduction latine en 1588<sup>75</sup>.

La correspondance de de'Nobili reste pour la plupart inédite, et ses ouvrages philosophiques ou théologiques n'ont guère été étudiés. De son œuvre importante, les traductions latines de textes de Pères grecs ne représentent qu'une partie mineure. Elles ont toutes été effectuées pendant le séjour romain de de'Nobili. Il s'agit des lettres 113 et 114 de saint Basile le Grand<sup>76</sup>, mais surtout de quelques sermons de saint Jean Chrysos-

<sup>71</sup> Une étude sur la vie et les œuvres de cet auteur fait encore défaut; voir en attendant, P. PAGANINI, *Flaminio de'Nobili, studio biografico*, dans *La Sapienza*, 9 (1884), 328-348; É. AMANN, *Nobili, Flaminio*, dans *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, XI.1 (1931), col. 681; C.H. LOHR, *Renaissance Latin Aristotle Commentaries: Authors N-Ph*, dans *Renaissance Quarterly*, 32 (1979), 529-580 (p. 539) ainsi que A.L. BERTINI, *Flaminio de'Nobili*, dans *Actum Luce*, 7 (1978), 115-125 [*non vidimus*; cf. *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 31 (1982), p. 241].

<sup>72</sup> Il la signale d'ailleurs pour la critiquer; voir p.ex. dans ses *Notæ à la fin de son Sancti Maximi Confessoris (...) operum tomus primus* (cit. n. 5), p. 695-696 (= P.G. 90, 927-928 n. b) et p. 696 (= P.G. 90, 929-930 n. c).

<sup>73</sup> Cette charge lui valut une subside mensuelle, payée entre 1576 et le début de 1586; voir J. BIGNAMI ODIER, *La bibliothèque Vaticane de Sixte IV à Pie XI. Recherches sur l'histoire des collections de manuscrits*, avec la collaboration de J. RUYSSCHAERT (= *Studi e Testi*, 272), Cité du Vatican, 1973, p. 87 n. 40.

<sup>74</sup> Des détails précis sur son rôle manquent, comme il a déjà été signalé par P. PETIT-MENGIN (dans *A propos des éditions patristiques de la Contre-Réforme: le "Saint-Augustin" de la Typographie Vaticane*, dans *Recherches Augustiniennes*, 4 (1966), 199-251 [p. 215 n. 3]), mais on sait bien, qu'il a été chargé par Sixte-Quint de chercher des citations de la Bible antérieures à la Vulgate; voir p.ex. H. DE SAINTE-MARIE, *Sisto V e la Volgata*, dans *La Bibbia "Vulgata" dalle origini ai nostri giorni. Atti del simposio internazionale in onore di Sisto V, Grottamare, 29-31 agosto 1985*, a cura di T. STRAMARE (= *Collectanea Biblica Latina*, 16), Rome - Cité du Vatican, 1987, 61-67 (p. 67 n. 20).

<sup>75</sup> *Vetus testamentum secundum LXX Latine redditum et ex auctoritate Sixti V Pont. Max. editum*, Rome, In aedibus Populi Romani, 1588 ("apud Georgium Ferrarium").

<sup>76</sup> Voir *S. Ioannis Chrysostomi Sermones in epistolam divi Pauli Ad Philippenses, multa et pleniores et emendatiores quam antehac impressi fuerant Flaminio Nobilio interprete* (...), Rome, J. de Angelis, 1578, p. 258-260; cf. P.J. FEDWICK, *Bibliotheca basiliana universalis. A Study of the Manuscript Tradition of Basil of Cæsarea, I. The Letters* (= *Corpus Christianorum*), Turnhout, 1993, p. 245-246.



tome<sup>77</sup>. Enfin, et c'est ce qui nous intéresse ici, il traduisit aussi le *Liber asceticus*.

Cette traduction est conservée dans un manuscrit<sup>78</sup> et une édition de la même époque<sup>79</sup>. Elle est dédiée à Giacomo Boncompagni (1548-1612), fils naturel de Grégoire XIII<sup>80</sup>, à l'occasion de son mariage avec Costanza Sforza († 1617) (février 1576). De'Nobili y fait d'abord l'éloge de son protecteur. Il est en premier lieu un excellent militaire, comme en témoigne sa promotion récente par Philippe II d'Espagne (au degré de capitaine-général des armées espagnoles de l'État de Milan [1575]). Mais ce sont tout de même d'autres qualités de Boncompagni qui incitent de'Nobili à lui dédier cette traduction. Il écrit:

"Tamen cœteras etiam bonas artes usque à puero adamasti, atque in iis florentes homines cupidissimè et audis et foues. Pietatem uerò præcipuè colis, quæ una uirtutes omnes continentur, neque arti militari omnium ferè humanarum artium nobilissimæ hanc iniuriam facis - quod multi sunt soliti - ut perpetuas illi cum bonitate ac religione susceptas inimicitias putes; sed persanctè Deum ueneraris, bona quæcumque habes - habes autem plurima, et maxima - Illi accepta refers ac denique Illius mandata omnibus rebus anteponis. Huc accedit me ita cum animo meo cogitasse in tam necessario officio curandum mihi potius esse, ut qualecumque munus offerrem, quàm dum nimis subtiliter, ne inæptus habear mihi prospectio, nihil offerem." (f. 77<sup>r-v</sup>)

De'Nobili ajoute encore que c'est son protecteur, le cardinal Filippo Guas-

<sup>77</sup> Comme p.ex. l'épître *Ad uiduam iuniorem* (CPG 4134) et du *De non iterando coniugio* (CPG 4135) (Rome, 1576) ou les homélies *De Christi divinitate* (CPG 4325), *De diabolo tentatore* III (CPG 4332) et le *De serpente* (CPG 4196; attribué actuellement à Sévérien de Gabala) (Rome, 1589).

<sup>78</sup> Dans le *Vat. Boncompagni A.9*, ff. 72-123; voir p.ex. P. CANART, *Deux manuscrits hagiographiques dans le fonds Boncompagni-Ludovisi*, dans *Analecta Bollandiana*, 87 (1969), 105-108 (p.105-106) [référence aimablement communiquée par le Prof. P. Van Deun].

<sup>79</sup> *S. Ioannis Chrysostomi, Sermones* (...) (cit. n. 76), p. 261 ss. L'exemplaire que nous avons pu consulter (à la *Centrale Bibliotheek* de l'Université de Gand) est malheureusement incomplet: on n'y lit que la Dédicace, tandis que la traduction du *Liber asceticus* qui devrait suivre, manque. Nos références se rapportent donc au manuscrit. — Cette traduction fut ensuite réimprimée dans p.ex. *Maxima Bibliotheca*, vol. XII (cit. n. 45), p. 506 C - 513 H (sans la préface, mais avec des variantes par rapport au texte manuscrit). Ce volume contient également la traduction de cet opuscule par Pirckheimer (voir plus haut n. 45). Les éditeurs de cette collection ne se sont donc pas rendu compte que, malgré un titre différent, il s'agissait du même ouvrage.

<sup>80</sup> Pour plus de détails sur la carrière militaire et la fortune de Giacomo Boncompagni, on se reportera notamment à l'article d'U. COLDAGELLI, dans *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 11 (1969), 689-692. On y trouve aussi quelques éléments sur son mécénat littéraire, mais de'Nobili n'y est pas nommé (*ibid.*, p. 692). Par ailleurs, un nombre assez important d'ouvrages de de'Nobili sont dédiés à des membres de la famille Boncompagni.



tavillani (vers 1540 - 1587)<sup>81</sup>, qui l'a encouragé à dédier cette traduction à Boncompangi (qui avait d'ailleurs introduit le traducteur chez le cardinal), en lui assurant qu'elle serait accueillie favorablement par son dédicataire.

Bien que de'Nobili ne donne pas de précisions quant au modèle grec de sa traduction, il n'est pas à exclure qu'il soit à chercher parmi deux manuscrits romains du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle, les *Vat.Ottob.gr. 319* (= *L*) et *Vat.Barber.gr. 452* (= *Br*). Car on y rencontre en effet deux des leçons communes à *L* et à *Br*:

945 C 7-8 ... πάντες ἐπιζητοῦμεν βοήθειαν ...] πάντες *om. L Br* - f. 113 ... auxilium poscimus ...; 956 C 13-14 Σὺν ἀγγέλοις χορεύσωμεν· σὺν ἀρχαγγέλοις ὑμνήσωμεν ...] Σὺν ἀγγέλοις χορεύσωμεν *om. L Br* - f. 123 ... cum archangelis hymnos canamus ...

Quant aux leçons particulières de chacun de ces témoins, celles de *Br* sont des variantes mineures (fautes d'orthographe, corrections mineures) qu'on ne peut pas reconnaître dans une traduction latine. Mais on y observe deux leçons propres à *L*:

916 B 4 τύπον] καὶ ὑπογραμμόν *add. L* - f. 84<sup>v</sup> ... formulam atque exemplar ...; 917 A 3-4 αὐτοῦ τοῦ σώματος ... προτιμήσαι] παντὸς τοῦ σώματος ... προτιμήσαι *L* - f. 85<sup>v</sup> ... omnibusque corporibus anteferre ...<sup>82</sup>

Le manuscrit *L* semble donc avoir le plus de chances d'avoir servi de modèle grec à de'Nobili.

Après avoir présenté ces six traductions, le moment est venu de regarder de près quelques extraits, pour mieux mettre en lumière les caractéristiques de chacune d'entre elles.

## II<sup>e</sup> PARTIE: ANALYSE DE QUELQUES EXTRAITS

Dans un premier extrait saint Maxime explique comment le diable, dont la tentation au désert s'est soldé par un échec, s'est décidé à attaquer le Christ, en se servant cette fois des juifs et notamment des pharisiens:

Τοῦτο οὖν ἦν [ἦν *om. Φ*] τὸ γνῶρισμα τῆς εἰς θεὸν ἀγάπης· ἥς τὴν ἐντολὴν δι' ὧν ἐπήγγελτο [ἐπήγγελλετο *Φ*, -ελετο *L*] πείσαι αὐτὸν παραβῆναι μὴ δυνηθεῖς, τῆς εἰς τὸν πλήσιον λοιπὸν [*add. in mge. Φ r*] ἀγάπης τὴν ἐντολὴν, εἰς τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐλθόντα, διὰ τῶν

<sup>81</sup> Voir à propos de ce neveu de Grégoire XIII, l'article que R. AUBERT lui consacra dans *Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie Ecclésiastiques*, 22 (1988), col. 577-578.

<sup>82</sup> Précisons encore que les leçons ἄλογον (pour ἄνομον) (929 B 7-8) et πατρός (pour παρὰ ῥάβδον ου παράκλησιν) (929 A 3) que Combefis attribue au manuscrit consulté par de'Nobili ne se rencontrent dans aucun manuscrit connu du *Liber asceticus*.



παρὰ νόμων Ἰουδαίων ἐνεργῶν, παραβαίνειν αὐτὸν δι' ὧν ἐμνηχανάτο ἡγωνίζετο. (920 C 10 - D 1)<sup>83</sup>

*anon. Casin., Florileg. Cass.*, p. 318 A: Ergo ista erat notitia Dei dilectionis cuius mandatum pro quibus uenerat suadere illum ad preuaricandum non poterat. Reliquum uero mandatum proximi[s] dilectionis, cum uenisset ad hominum habitaculum, per praeuaricatores legis Iudeos operabatur, praeuaricari eum omnem malitiam in corde illorum inponens.

*anon. Vat.*, f. 43: Hoc igitur signum caritatis erga Deum; cuius preceptum ut ipse transgrederetur per ea que promittebat, suadere minime potens, ergo quod reliquum erat, preceptum caritatis erga proximum ipsum, in orbem terrarum mouentem, per iniquos Iudeos operans, transgredi ipsum per ea que machinabatur, decertabat.

*Balbi*, f. 13<sup>v</sup>: Cum igitur ei suadere non posset ut hanc caritatis erga Deum cognitionem transgrederetur per ea que promittebat, quia propter mandatum caritatis erga proximum in orbem terrarum uenerat, per iniquos Iudeos agere conatus est quo ipse transgrederetur per ea que moliebatur.

*Pirckheimer*, f. [4<sup>v</sup>]: Hoc igitur specimen erat dilectionis in Deum, cuius mandatum, quum et persuadere nequiret, ut ob ea, quæ illi promittebat, transgrederetur. Reliquum erat mandatum dilectionis in proximum, ac ideo uenientem illum in mundum, per iniquos Iudæos operans contendebat, ut per ea, quæ machinabatur, transgrederetur.

*Cheke*, f. 45<sup>r-v</sup>: Hec igitur nota fuerat amoris erga Deum; cuius mandatum promissis suis, cum ut uiolaret suadere non posset, mandatum de propinqui dilectione, molitionibus suis, iniquorum Iudæorum usus opera, contendebat ut hic in continentem terram ueniens uiolaret.

*de' Nobili*, f. 89: Hoc igitur dilectionis erga Deum indicium est; cuius mandatum cum iis, quibus diabolus sibi pollicitus erat rationibus, Domino, ut transgrederetur persuadere non potuisset; de reliquo, ut in mundum prodiens mandatum dilectionis erga proximum uiolaret, iniquorum Iudæorum opera usus, quibuscumque artificijs potuit, adlaborauit.

<sup>83</sup> Ce passage se lit dans les modèles grecs des traductions aux endroits suivants: *Cryptensis B.α.IV*, p. 4; *Ferrat., Bibl. Commun. Ariost. 144* (= Φ), f. 6; *Oxon., Bodl. Corpus Christi 284* (= Ox), f. 298<sup>v</sup>-299; *Brit. Libr., Old Royal 16.C.IX* (= r), f. 26<sup>r-v</sup> et *Vat.-Ottob.gr. 319* (= L), f. 7<sup>v</sup>-8.



Le contraste entre les deux traductions anonymes est frappant: tandis que la traduction du Mont-Cassin est encore tributaire de la méthode "mot à mot", qui ne donne pas de sens dans ce cas-ci, celle de la Vaticane réussit assez bien à rendre le sens de la phrase. Même les erreurs de l'un et de l'autre sont de nature différente: le premier traducteur semble avoir lu ἐπήρχετο au lieu de ἐπήγγελτο, le sens du mot οἰκουμένη lui est inconnu et surtout la dernière partie de la phrase est plutôt erratique. Quant à la deuxième traduction, elle n'est pas parfaite, mais ses fautes sont plutôt des taches de beauté: ni l'emploi du pronom *ipse* ni le sens de l'adverbe λοιπόν n'ont été bien saisis (les autres traductions n'ont pas beaucoup mieux compris ce mot, d'ailleurs).

Comparée à celle du *Vaticanus*, la traduction de Balbi ne constitue pas un réel progrès. Il est vrai que l'évêque a bien traduit tous les mots (la seule exception notable est la traduction *cognitio* pour γνώρισμα) et il a même essayé de donner à cette phrase l'aspect d'une période classique, mais il s'est égaré dans la syntaxe. La traduction reste donc obscure, notamment dans la première partie. La traduction de Pirckheimer signifie un pas en avant: elle unit une bonne connaissance du vocabulaire à une analyse correcte de la syntaxe. Seule εἰς τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐλθόντα dans une position proleptique n'a pas encore été traduite de manière satisfaisante.

Les deux traductions les plus récentes sont aussi les meilleures. Mais c'est celle de Cheke qui s'approche sans doute le plus de l'idéal d'une traduction parfaite par son latin élégant, celle de de'Nobili ayant parfois tendance à expliciter et à amplifier un peu trop les idées de son original. Voyons maintenant si ces constatations sont confirmées par un autre extrait.

Dans ce deuxième fragment, le Confesseur commence, après avoir indiqué les faiblesses et les péchés du peuple d'Israël et des chrétiens, à implorer le Seigneur afin que dans sa toute-puissance Il prenne pitié de son peuple:

(...)· μνησθεὶς τῆς ἀπαρχῆς ἡμῶν, ἣν ἐξ ἡμῶν διὰ φιλανθρωπίαν λαβὼν ὁ μονογένης σου Υἱός, ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἔχει ἐν οὐρανοῖς, ἵνα ἡμῖν βεβαίαν τὴν ἐλπίδα τῆς σωτηρίας χαρίσῃται, καὶ μὴ διὰ τὴν ἀπόγνωσιν χεῖρους γινώμεθα, διὰ τὸ τίμιον αὐτοῦ αἷμα, ὃ ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου ζωῆς ἐξέχευε, [διὰ τὴν ὑπερευλογημένην θεοτόκον τὴν αὐτὸν ἀρρήτως ὑπερφυῶς τέξασα *add. Φ*] διὰ τοὺς ἁγίους αὐτοῦ ἀποστόλους καὶ μαρτύρας, οἱ ὑπὲρ τοῦ ὀνόματος αὐτοῦ τὸ ἴδιον αἷμα ἐξέχεαν, διὰ τοὺς ἁγίους προφῆτας καὶ πατέρας [καὶ πατέρας *om. Φ*] καὶ πατριάρχας, οἵτινες ἡγωνίσαντο εὐαρεστήσαι



τῷ ἁγίῳ [τιμίῳ *Ox*, *r*<sup>in mge</sup>] σου ὀνόματι. (945 A 7 - B 2)<sup>84</sup>

*anon. Cassin.*: le passage tombe dans une des omissions que présente cette traduction; cf. *Florileg. Cass.*, p. 323 A (saut de 937 C 11 ["(...) et desideria patris uestri uultis facere."] à 941 B 11 ["Porro Esaias uidens nos qui sumus quasi monachi (...)]).

*anon. Vat.*, f. 49: (...); recordare primiciarum nostrarum, quas ex nobis humanitate atque pietate accipiens unigenitus tuus Filius in celis pro nobis habet, <\*\*\*> et ne propter despectionem deteriores simus, propter preciosum eius sanguinem quem effudit pro mundi uita, propter superbenedictam Dei Genitricem que ipsum super naturam ineffabiliter peperit, propter sanctos apostolos et martires qui pro nomine suo proprium sanguinem effuderunt, propter sanctos prophetas et patriarchas qui decertarunt, ut tuo sancto nomini placerent.

*Balbi*, f. 33<sup>v</sup>: Memento, Domine, quesumus, primitiarum nostrarum quas ex nobis ob suam clementiam accepit unigenitus Filius tuus et pro nobis habet in celis, ut nobis firmam salutis spem largiatur ac neque ob desperationem deteriores fiamus, propter preciosum eius sanguinem quem pro mundi uita effudit, propter semper benedictam Dei Genitricem que super naturam eum peperit, propter sanctos apostolos atque martyres qui pro eius nomine proprium sanguinem effuderunt, propter sanctos prophetas ac patriarchas qui pro uiribus conati sunt placere tuo sancto nomini.

*Pirkheimer*, f. [15<sup>v</sup>]-[16]: (...) memor sis primitiarum nostrarum, quas unigenitus filius tuus e nobis, propter humani generis amorem suscipiens, pro nobis habet in cœlis, ut nobis spem firmam salutis donet, ne propter desperationem reddamur deteriores. Propter præciosum sanguinem eius, quem pro mundi uita effudit, propter sanctos apostolos illius et martyres, qui nominis eius gratia proprium sanguinem effuderunt, propter sanctos prophetas et patriarchas, qui decertarunt ut honorando nomini tuo placerent.

*Cheke*, f. 63<sup>v</sup>-64: (...) et memineris primitiarum nostrarum quas a nobis benignitate sua capiens unigena Filius tuus pro nobis habet in cœlis ut firmam nobis spem salutis largiatur, nec propter desperationem deteriores simus. Propter sacrosanctum illius sanguinem quem pro mundi uita profuderat, propter sanctos eius apostolos et martyres qui pro nomine eius san-

<sup>84</sup> Ou Φ, f. 14; *Ox*, f. 316; *r*, f. 26<sup>v</sup> et *L*, f. 23.



guinem suum profuderunt, propter sanctos eius prophetas et patres et patriarchas qui placere sancto tuo nomini contendebant, (...).

de'Nobili, f. 112<sup>r-v</sup>: (...), memor primitiarum carnis nostræ, quam cum ex nobis amore hominum adductus suscepisset unigenitus filius tuus pro nobis in cœlis, ut nobis firmam, ac stabilem salutis spem largiatur, ne desperatione deterius euadamus. Per honoratum ipsius sanguinem, quem pro mundi uita effudit, per sanctos ipsius Apostolos, et martyres, qui pro ipsius nomine sanguinem suum fuderunt, per sanctos prophetas, et patres, et patriarchas, qui omni studio placere tuo sancto nomini contenderunt.

L'omission dans la traduction du Mont-Cassin ne fait qu'illustrer la nature lacunaire de cette traduction déjà connue. L'autre traduction anonyme, celle du *Vaticanus 1889*, s'avère ici aussi de nouveau une traduction un peu littérale, mais de bonne qualité. La traduction de Balbi est cette fois-ci d'une qualité nettement supérieure, combinant connaissance du vocabulaire, analyse correcte de la syntaxe et style agréable. Notons toutefois que sa traduction de l'ajout typique de Φ n'est pas complète<sup>85</sup>. Une fois de plus, les caractéristiques des trois dernières traductions se confirment: la traduction de Pirckheimer est plutôt littérale et les traductions par Cheke et de'Nobili ont une certaine allure littéraire.

Enfin, nous proposons un passage contenant deux citations bibliques, afin de pouvoir établir si les traducteurs ont adopté une méthode particulière pour traduire ces citations. Il s'agit ici du début du livre d'Isaïe (Is. 1, 5-6.8, avec à droite le texte de la *Vulgate*<sup>86</sup>, traduction qui n'est pas restée sans influencer les traducteurs):

Διὰ τοῦτο ἡμᾶς θρηνῶν  
[θρηνῶν ἡμᾶς Φ] ὁ μέγας  
'Ησαΐας κράζει, βοηθήσαι ἅμα  
βουλόμενος τῇ πτώσει ἡμῶν  
[τ.π.η. β. Φ L], λέγων· "Τί ἔτι  
πληγῇτε προστιθέντες ἀνομίαν  
[ἀμαρτίαν L]; Πᾶσα κεφαλὴ εἰς

"Super quo percutiam uos ultra  
addentes præuaricationem? Omne  
caput languidum et omne cor

<sup>85</sup> La traduction *semper benedictam* n'est-elle pas une abréviation (*sprbenedictam*) résolue de manière incorrecte? Et ne faut-il en conséquence pas lire, avec la traduction anonyme du *Vaticanus*, *superbenedictam*?

<sup>86</sup> D'après la *Biblia sacra iuxta Vulgatam versionem* (...) recensuit et brevi apparatu instruxit R. WEBER, editio tertia emendata quam paravit B. FISCHER cum sociis H.I. FREDE [e.a.], editio minor, Stuttgart, 1984.



πόνον καὶ πᾶσα καρδία εἰς  
 λύπην· ἀπὸ ποδῶν ἕως κεφαλῆς  
 οὔτε τραῦμα, οὔτε μῶλωψ, οὔτε  
 πληγὴ φλεγμαίνουσα, οὐκ ἔστι  
 μάλαγμα ἐπιθεῖναι, οὔτε  
 ἔλαιον, οὔτε καταδέσμους."  
 Εἶτα τί ἐπὶ τούτοις;  
 "Ἐγκαταλειφθήσεται ἡ θυγάτηρ  
 [θυγάτηρ in mge. r, μήτηρ in  
 textu r] Σιών ὡς σκηνὴ ἐν  
 ἀμπελῶνι καὶ ὡς ὄπωροφυλάκιον  
 ἐν σικυηλάτῳ [-ράτῳ L], ὡς  
 πόλις πολιορκουμένη." (940 D 3  
 - 941 A 2)<sup>87</sup>.

mærens; a planta pedis usque ad  
 uerticem non est in eo sanitas;  
 uulnus et liuor et plaga tumens non  
 est circumligata nec curata medica-  
 mine neque fota oleo."

"et derelinquetur filia Sion ut um-  
 braculum in uinea et sicut tugurium  
 in cucumerario, sicut ciuitas quæ  
 uastatur."

anon. Cassin.: omis, comme le passage précédent; cf. *Florileg. Cass.*, p.  
 323 B (saut de 944 D 3 ["(...) feralibus dico demoniorum"] à 948 C 14  
 ["Hæc omnia audiens frater (...)"]).

anon. Vat., f. 48: Propter hoc lugens nos magnus Ysaïas clamat, adiuuare  
 simul ruine nostre silicet uolens: "Quid amplius agitis addentes iniqui-  
 tatem? Omne caput in laborem et omne cor in tristiciam, a pedibus usque  
 ad caput; neque uulnus neque cicatrix neque plaga flamati, non est inponi  
 mollificatio neque oleum neque colligamenta." Inde quid post hec? "Dere-  
 linquatur filia Syon tamquam tabernaculum in uinea et tamquam pomorum  
 custos in orto, sicut ciuitas obsessa."

Balbi, f. 29<sup>v</sup>: Quapropter nos deplorans magnus Hesaias clamat, tante nos-  
 tre simul ruine succurrere uolens: "Cur adhuc et plage additis iniquitatem,  
 omne caput in laborem et omne cor in dolorem a pedibus usque ad caput?  
 Neque uulnus neque liuor neque plaga rigens neque medicamentum super  
 ponitur neque oleum neque ligamenta." Deinde quid ultra? "Relinquetur  
 filia Syon ut tabernaculum in uinea, et sicut custos fructuum in ficulnario,  
 ut ciuitas obsessa."

Pirckheimer, f. [13<sup>v</sup>]-[14]: Propter illud et magnus nos deplorans Esaias  
 clamat, simul et casui nostro subuenire uolens dicit: "Super quo percutiam  
 uos ultra addentes præuaricationem? omne caput languidum, et omne cor  
 mærens, à planta pedis usque ad caput non est in eo integrum, uulnus et  
 tumor et plaga putrida non separauerunt et non alligauerunt, et non mollit-

<sup>87</sup> Ou Φ, f. 15<sup>v</sup>-16;; Ox, f. 313; r, f. 29<sup>v</sup> et L, f. 26<sup>v</sup>-27.



tio in Deo [*pro oleo ?*]." Inde quid propter hæc? "Derelicta est filia Sion tanquam tabernaculum in uinea, et tanquam tugurium in cucumerario, tanquam ciuitas obsessa."

*Cheke*, f. 60<sup>v</sup>: Itaque magnus ille Esaias simul nos lamentans et opem ferre ruine nostræ studens, exclamauit hiis uerbis: "Cur adhuc punimini cum adhuc peccare pergatis? omne caput ad languorem et omne cor ad mœrorem datur; a pedibus usque ad caput, non est in illo integritas. Nullum uulnus aut lior aut plaga ardore flagrans est cui uel fomentum uel oleum uel fascias adhibere licet." Sed quid præterea? "Deseretur mater Sion quasi tugurium in uinea et quasi oporotheca in horto olitorio, quasi ciuitas obsessa."

*de'Nobili*, f. 108<sup>r-v</sup>: Ideo uicem nostram plorans magnus Esaias clamat, mederi simul cupiens calamitatibus nostris. "Super quo percutiam uos ultra addentes præuaricationem? Omne caput in laborem, et omne cor mœrens à pedibus usque ad caput; neque uulnus, neque uibex, neque plaga tumens; non est malagma imponere, neque oleum, neque uincula." Deinde quid post hæc: "Derelinquetur filia Sion, ut tabernaculum in uinea, et sicut tugurium in cucumerario, et sicut ciuitas, quæ expugnatur."

En comparant ces traductions, on voit qu'elles ont toutes été influencées par la traduction de la *Vulgate*, mais pas toutes dans la même mesure. Les traductions qui ont subi la plus grande influence sont celle de Pirkheimer et surtout celle de *de'Nobili*; et cette dernière ressemblance ne doit pas nous étonner, puisque *de'Nobili* participait à une nouvelle édition de la *Vulgate*<sup>88</sup>. Dans les autres traductions par contre, on ne peut reconnaître que des éléments séparés, ce qui fait p.ex. que ces traducteurs se sont trompé sur le sens du mot rare - il faut l'avouer - ὀπωροφυλάκιον. Enfin, Pirkheimer et *Cheke* ont intégré dans leur traduction la leçon variante de la Septante (Is. 1, 6), οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν αὐτῇ ὀλοκληρία, qui n'apparaît pas dans leur modèle grec, mais qui semble avoir été reprise à

<sup>88</sup> Ou a-t-il délibérément suivi cette version de la Bible, le seul texte reconnu par le Concile de Trente? Une telle méthode ne serait certainement pas un cas unique à cette époque; voir p.ex. I. BACKUS, *La patristique et les guerres de religions en France. Étude de l'activité littéraire de Jacques de Billy (1535-1581) O.S.B. d'après le Ms. Sens 167 et les sources imprimées* (= *Collection des Études Augustiniennes. Série Moyen âge - Temps modernes*, 28), Paris, 1993, p. 106-108, 125.



la *Vulgate* de saint Jérôme<sup>89</sup>.

### CONCLUSION

En résumé, il faut bien se rendre à l'évidence: seuls les deux traducteurs les plus récents, Cheke et de'Nobili, se sont montrés à la hauteur de leur tâche. Deux traductions, celle de l'anonyme du *Vaticanus* et celle de Pirkheimer, encore que plutôt littérales, atteignent un niveau acceptable. Celle de Balbi par contre s'est avérée de qualité, disons, variable. Enfin, la traduction du Mont-Cassin constitue un cas à part: il s'agit d'une version abrégée de l'original grec, qui de plus est traduit selon la méthode "mot à mot".

Lokeren

Steven GYSENS

<sup>89</sup> Cf. *Vetus Latina. Die Reste der altlateinischen Bibel. Nach Petrus Sabatier neu gesammelt und in Verbindung mit der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften herausgegeben von der Erzabtei Beuron*, vol. XII, *Esaias*, ed. R. Gryson, fasc. 1, Fribourg, 1987, p. 50-51 (*ad locum*). — Combefis ajoutera également ces mots au texte de son édition (cf. P.G. 90, 940 D 7-8).



# JACOBI DE VITERBIO O.E.S.A.

## QUAESTIONES DE DIVINIS PRAEDICAMENTIS

### QUAESTIO XXIV

La question XXIV<sup>1</sup> de Jacques de Viterbe sur les prédicaments divins a été formulée ainsi: "Utrum bonum dicatur de Deo convenienter et proprie". Rédigée de la même façon que les autres questions, elle donne d'abord les arguments, douze au total, montrant qu'on doit y répondre négativement, suivis d'un autre argument montrant qu'il faut, au contraire, répondre dans un sens positif.

Le Maître a divisé son exposé en trois points. Il demande d'abord quelle est la véritable signification du terme "bon"; ensuite, en quel sens on dit "bon" des choses; et troisièmement si l'on peut dire de Dieu qu'Il est "bon", et en quel sens. Finalement il décline l'argumentation négative.

Le texte de cette question se trouve dans le *ms* VII C 4 de la Biblioteca Nazionale de Naples (N) aux feuillets 69<sup>a</sup>-71<sup>a</sup>; dans le *ms* 2006 de la Bibliothèque de l'Université de Padoue (P) aux feuillets 37<sup>b</sup>-38<sup>vo</sup><sup>a</sup>; dans le *ms* 213 de la Biblioteca Angelica à Rome (R) aux ff. 96<sup>vo</sup><sup>a</sup>-100<sup>vo</sup><sup>a</sup> et dans le *ms* 56 de la Bibliothèque de Toulouse (T) aux ff. 176<sup>a</sup>-178<sup>b</sup>. La question ne figure pas dans le *ms* 167 de la Bibliothèque de Bordeaux (B).

Le texte présente les mêmes caractéristiques que nous avons rencontrées dans les questions précédentes, variantes, omissions, tantôt homoiotéleutiques, tantôt faites de propos délibéré en R.

Jacques de Viterbe renvoie à ses propres ouvrages, aux questions précédentes, mais aussi à son premier Quolibet. Il se réfère aussi aux auteurs habituels: Aristote, Averroès, Augustin, Boèce, Denis, Jean Damascène, Simplicius, ainsi qu'à Proclus, Cassiodore et Grégoire<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Voir: Jacobi de Viterbio o.e.s.a. Quaestiones de Divinis Praedicamentis. Quaestio XVIII. *Augustiniana* 38 (1988), 67-98; Quaestio XIX. *Ib.* 39 (1989), 154-185; Quaestio XX. *Ib.* 42 (1992), 351-378; Quaestio XXI. *Ib.* 44 (1994), 177-208; Quaestio XII. *Ib.* 45 (1995), 299-318. Quaestio XXIII. *Ib.* 46 (1996), 147-176.

<sup>2</sup> Nous renvoyons aux éditions suivantes: ARISTOTELES et AVERROES, *Aristotelis omnia quae extant opera, selectis translationibus ... illustrata ... Averrois Cordubensis in ea ... Commentarii*. ed. Venetis 1562/74; re-ed. Frankfurt 1963. Vol. III, VIII, etc. AUGUSTINUS, *De Civitate Dei*. PL 41; CCL 48; *De Natura Boni*. PL 42. BOETIUS, *De Hebdomadibus = Quomodo substantiae Bonae sint*. PL 64. CASSIODORUS = AELRED DE RIEVAULD, *De Speculo Caritatis*. PL 195; CCL, *Continatio Medievalis I*. DIONYSIUS, *De Divinis Nominibus*. ed. PG 3. JACOBUS DE VITERBIO, *Quaestiones de Divinis Praedicamentis I-X*. ed. E. YPMA, Romae 1983; *Disputatio Prima (Secunda, Tertia, Quarta) de Quolibet*. ed. E.



## DE PRAEDICAMENTIS IN DIVINIS QUAESTIO XXIV

Quaestio est: Utrum bonum dicatur de Deo convenienter et proprie.

1. Et arguebatur quod non, quia bonum non praedicat substantiam sed aliquid circa substantiam, ut patet per Damascenum, primo libro. Sed quidquid dicitur de Deo proprie, praedicat eius substantiam. Ergo, et cetera.
- 5 2. Praeterea, quidquid dicitur bonum vel est bonum sicut finis vel sicut illud quod est ad finem. Sed Deus non est bonum quod est ad finem cum ad nihil aliud ordinetur, nec est bonum sicut finis, quia, cum finis sit prima causarum et Deus sit causa efficiens et formalis, tunc in Deo esset prius et posterius; quod est inconueniens. Ergo bonum nullo modo dicitur
- 10 de Deo, et cetera.
3. Praeterea, bono est contrarium malum, ut dicit Philosophus, in Praedicamentis. Sed Deo nullum malum est contrarium. Ergo, et cetera.
4. Praeterea, omne bonum vel est honestum vel est utile vel delectabile. Sed Deus non est bonum honestum, quia talis est virtus vel actus virtu-
- 15 tis. Virtuti enim debetur bonum, et honestum dicitur quasi honoris status, nec etiam bonum utile cum ad nihil referatur; uti autem est referre quod in usum venerit in illud quod fruendum est, nec est bonum delectabile, quia delectabile in hac divisione non accipitur secundum omnem delectationem. Sic enim includit honestum, quia honestum habet delectationem coniunc-
- 20 tam sibi, sed accipitur delectabile vel pro delectabili secundum sensum vel pro illo bono quod nihil in se habet unde appetitur praeter delectationem,

YPMA, 4 vol., Romae-Würzburg 1968-1975. JOHANNES DAMASCENUS, De Fide Orthodoxa. PG 94; De Fide Orthodoxa. Versions of Burgundio and Certaninus. ed. E.M. BUYTAERT, Louvain-Paderborn 1953. PROCLUS, Elementatio Theologica, translata a Guillelmo de Moerbeke. ed. H. BOESE, Leuven 1987; ed. C. VANSTEENKISTE, *Tijdschrift voor Philosophie* 13 (1951) 264-302; 491-531. SIMPLICIUS, Commentaire sur les Catégories d'Aristote, traduction de Guillaume de Moerbeke. ed. A. PATTIN, 2 vol. Louvain-Paris 1971, Leiden 1975.

1 dicatur *post* de Deo N 2 arguebatur/arguitur NR sed aliquid ... ut patet *om.* R; *corr.* R1 4 praedicat/dicat R Ergo/et cetera N; *om.* R 6 illud quod est/illa quae sunt N Sed Deus ... ad finem *om.* N 7 nec/ut N 9 quod est inconueniens *om.* R 10 Deo *add.* ergo N et cetera *om.* RP 11 ut dicit Philosophus *om.* R 13 vel est honestum *om.* NT 15 bonum *add.* et RP; *om.* N 18 delectationem/modum delectationis R 19 includit/concludit N 20 sed/vel N delectabile *om.* R 21 nihil *om.* N praeter/propter N

3. De Fide Orthodoxa I cap. 9. PG 94,834,835; ed. Buytaert p. 48,49.

11. Vol. I 52<sup>o</sup>H; Bekker 11b; Aristoteles Latinus (AL) I 30,31;108.



ut puta operatio ludi vel aliquid aliud huiusmodi.

5. Praeterea, secundum Philosophum, III Metaphysicae, in immobilibus non est finis neque bonum. Ideo in mathematicis non sunt haec, quia  
25 sunt immobilia. Sed Deus est maxime immobilis, ergo.

6. Praeterea, de quibuscumque dicitur bonum, dicitur secundum eandem rationem, quia secundum Boetium, in libro De Hebdomadibus, omnia in quantum sunt, bona sunt; et sic omnia sunt bona per essentiam. Sed nihil dicitur de Deo et aliis secundum eandem rationem. Quare cum alia  
30 bona sint, Deus non erit bonus.

7. Praeterea, bonum et pulchrum idem sunt secundum Dionysium IV De Divinis Nominibus. Sed pulchrum non dicitur de Deo proprie, sed metaphorice, quia "pulchritudo est congruentia partium cum quadam coloris suavitate", ut Augustinus dicit XXII De Civitate Dei capitulo 19; ergo.

35 8. Praeterea, bonum et perfectum idem sunt ut videtur. Sed perfectum non dicitur proprie de Deo secundum Gregorium, libro Moralium capitulo 29, ubi dicit quod idem quod factum non est, perfectum dici non potest. Ergo, et cetera.

9. Praeterea, si bonum diceretur de Deo proprie significaret divinam  
40 essentiam. Et tunc esset nugatio dicendo Deus bonus, nec videlicet, si dicatur quod ibi est differentia rationis, sicut inter hominem et animal.

10. Praeterea, bonum additum bono maius bonum facit. Sed Deus connumeratus creaturae, hic est maius. Ergo, Deus non est bonus.

11. Praeterea, bonum dicitur habitudinem ad appetitum, sicut verum ad  
45 intellectum. Sed verum non est in re sed in intellectu; quare et bonum erit in appetitu; et sic, cum alia Deum appetunt, bonum non erit in Deo sed in aliis.

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23 secundum Philosophum/Philosophus ... dicit quod R; *add.* in P 24 mathematicis/metaphysicis N 25 est *om.* T ergo *om.* R; *add.* et cetera P 26 quibuscumque *lect. inc.* T 27 Hebdomadibus *mss.* ebdomadibus 31 secundum Dionysium/ut dicit dionysius R1; secundum R IV *om.* N 33 coloris/caloris T 34 dicit XXII *om.* R ergo *om.* R; *add.* et cetera P 37 factum/perfectum R 38 Ergo, et cetera *om.* R 39 proprie *om.* NP 40 dicendo *add.* quod N Deus *add.* est N videlicet *lect. inc.* P 41 inter *add.* in T sicut/ut R; *om.* NT et animal. Praeterea, si bonum ... non est bonus *om.* NT 43 hic/hoc R 44 habitudinem *lect. inc.* R 45 (Sed) verum/bonum N (sed) in *om.* T 46 cum *om.* P Deum *lect. inc.* T; *om.* N

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23. cap. 3. Vol. VIII 39<sup>v</sup>LM, 40A; Bekker 996<sup>a</sup>; AL XXV 2, p. 40; XXV 3, p. 50 sq.

27. Quomodo substantiae bonae sint. PL 64,1311-1314; 1311 A.

31. IV, VII. PG 3,703 B.

34. PL 41,782; CCL 48,838.

36. Liber XXIX 1,1; PL 76,477; CCL 143B,1434.



12. Praeterea, bonum est quod omnia appetunt. Sed Deum non omnia appetunt. Cum ergo creatura sit finita, non habet inclinationem ad bonum infinitum quod est Deus. Ergo, et cetera.

In contrarium arguebatur per auctoritatem Dionysii et Augustini, qui dicunt quod bonum maxime et proprie dicitur de Deo.

55 Respondeo dicendum quod veritas huius quaestionis apud catholicos et etiam apud philosophos non est dubia, sed omnes concedunt Deum proprie dici bonum; unde nec in hoc est difficultas. Sed per quem modum et ex qua ratione Deus bonus dicatur, non est omnino manifestum. Unde ad evidentiam huius quaestionis sic est procedendum.

60 I. Primo enim videndum, quae est propria ratio boni.

II. Secundo videndum quomodo iuxta propriam rationem boni bonum diversimode accipitur et diversimode dicitur de rebus.

III. Tertio videndum est ex his quod bonum dicitur de Deo, et quomodo.

65 I. Quantum igitur ad primum sciendum quod ratio boni secundum quosdam est ratio appetibilis; quod probant per Philosophum, I Ethicorum, qui dicit quod Antiqui "bene enunciarunt bonum" dicentes quod bonum est "quod omnia appetunt". Unde dicit quod bonum nihil addit supra ens  
70 nisi ordinem ad appetitum, et hoc est aliquid secundum rationem. Ideo bonum addit supra ens aliquid secundum rationem, non secundum rem.

48 Praeterea/sed T 49 ergo/enim R; cum ergo/quia cum P habet *om.* T; *add.* nec potest habere P 50 infinitum/finitum T et cetera *om.* R 52 arguebatur/arguitur N In contrarium ... dicunt quod/Contra, Augustinus et Dionysius R 53 et proprie *post* de Deo R de Deo *add.* et cetera T 55 veritas huius quaestionis *om.* R 56 etiam *post* philosophos T; *om.* R philosophos *add.* quaestio R non *om.* N sed/enim *post* omnes P; sed omnes concedunt/concedunt enim omnes R 57 nec *om.* P unde nec ... difficultas *om.* R 58 bonus/bonum R Unde ad ... procedendum/Ad cuius evidentiam R 60 enim *om.* R videndum *add.* est NR propria *om.* N boni/obiecti N 61 videndum *om.* R propriam *om.* R boni ante rationem propriam T 62 dicitur *post* de rebus N 63 (videndum) est *om.* T ex his ... et quomodo/quod quaeritur R 66 igitur *post* ad primum N sciendum/dicendum N secundum quosdam *corr.* R1; *om.* R; ante ratioboni T 67 est *om.* N 68 Antiqui/philosophi N enunciarunt *mss.* annunciaverunt 69 addit/ad R 70 ordinem ad appetitum ... supra ens *om.* N

52. De Divinis Nominibus IV. PG 3,698 C sqq.

52. De Natura Boni cap. I. PL 42,551.

67. cap. 1. Vol. III,1; Bekker 94<sup>a</sup>; AL XXVI 3, p. 141.

68. cap. 1. Vol. III,1; Bekker 94<sup>a</sup>; AL XXVI 3, p. 142.



Sed ille modus dicendi habet dubitationem.

Primo quidem quia propria ratio alicuius debet esse convertibilis cum ipso. Esse autem appetibile non convertitur cum bono; licet enim  
75 omne appetibile sit bonum, non tamen omne bonum appetibile, quia aliquid dicitur bonum non solum ex eo quod appetitur, sed etiam ex eo quod appetit. Dicitur enim homo bonus qui vult bonum. Sic bonum secundum Platonicos dicitur de materia, quia appetit bonum.

Secundo quia, dato quod esse appetibile convertatur cum bono,  
80 adhuc non est eius ratio, quia bonum est in rebus secundum Philosophum, VI Metaphysicae. Hoc autem est in ratione tantum.

Tertio quia bonum in eo quod bonum est propria ratio obiecti appetitus. Relatio autem obiecti ad potentiam non potest esse ratio propria obiecti, sed consequitur rationem obiecti. Unde ex hoc dicunt quidam quod  
85 verum non est obiectum intellectus, et bene dicunt secundum quod verum dicit relationem ad intellectum.

Dictum autem Philosophi non obstat, cum dicit quod bonum est quod omnia appetunt. Haec enim notificatio convenit bono, non tamen secundum omnem suam acceptionem, sicut patebit infra.

Item, haec notificatio est a posteriori et ab effectu, non a priori.  
90 Moveri enim appetitus est effectus quidem boni et proprietas consequens, non autem hoc est substantialis eius ratio. Talis enim est haec notificatio, sicut si diceretur color est visibile. Non enim consistit ratio coloris in hoc quod est visibile, sed in hoc quod est extremitas perspicui in corpore terminato; esse autem visibile est effectus coloris.  
95

Unde dicit Philosophus, in II De Anima, quod color est visibile non ratione, idest non quod hoc sit ratio eius definitiva, sed quoniam in se ipso habet causam ut sit visibile; et similiter esset in proposito. Non enim

72 ille/hic R habet dubitationem/dubius est R 74 ipso/eo N 75 omne *om.* N (non) tamen *om.* T 77 enim/etiam et N 79 (Secundo) quia *om.* R 80 secundum Philosophum *om.* R 82 Tertio/item N 83 (obiecti) ad/non N 84 consequitur/sequitur N sed consequitur rationem obiecti *corr.* R1; *om.* R Unde *add.* et RP hoc/hac ratione RP quidam *om.* N 85 secundum quod/ut (*ac ita frequenter*) 87 Dictum/intellectum N Dictum autem ... cum dicit/cum autem Philosophus dicit R 98 enim *om.* R 89 sicut patebit infra/ut dicitur R 92 (hoc) est *add.* essentialis N 93 color/calor T coloris/corporis N; calor T 94 quod est *add.* esse R corpore/calore T terminato *om.* N 95 coloris/caloris T 96 in *om.* R color/calor T non ratione *om.* N 97 (id est) non *om.* N hoc *om.* N sit *add.* eius N

80. cap. 3. Vol. VIII 151<sup>o</sup>HJK; Bekker 1027<sup>b</sup>; AL XXV 2, p. 121; XXV 3, p. 130 sq.

87. cap. 3. Vol. VIII 3 DE; Bekker 983<sup>b</sup>; AL XXV 2, p. 24; XXV 3, p. 130 sq.

96. cap. 7. Vol. I, Suppl. II 83<sup>o</sup>F; Bekker 418<sup>a</sup>.



omnis notificatio et definitio est per substantialia, sed aliqua est per posteriora.

Unde Simplicius, in Praedicamentis, exponens illud, "qualitas est secundum quam quales dicimur", dicit quod quaedam sunt definitiones non substantiales, quae scilicet sumuntur ex quibusdam notis et confessis communiter ab omnibus, ut "bonum est a quo accipit utilitatem habere, anima est a qua inest vivere". Verum est, prout sensibile auditus. Quaedam vero sunt substantiales, quae substantiam, scilicet ipsorum definitorum indicant, ut anima per se est substantia mobilis, vox est aer percussus, et huiusmodi.

Oportet igitur quod bonum praeter relationem ad appetitum dicat aliquid, et quod ratio boni ex alio sumatur quam ex appetibili.

Dicunt autem quidam quod ratio boni est perfectio, ita quod idem est bonum et perfectum; quod patet, quia unumquodque appetit suam perfectionem sicut et unumquodque appetit bonum.

Uterius dicunt quod perfectio sumitur ex actu, ita quod idem est esse perfectum et esse actu; et ex hoc dicunt quod esse actu constituit rationem boni. Et quia ens sumitur ab esse quod dicit actualitatem omnis rei, ideo bonum et ens sunt idem secundum rem. Et ex hoc ostendunt Deum esse bonum, quia maxime perfectus, maxime actu, maxime ens. Sed haec dicta dubitationem habent.

Et ut incipiamus ab ultimis, cum dicitur quod bonum et ens idem sunt secundum rem, hoc uno modo verum est, quia quidquid additur enti non dicit rem aliam ab ente, tamen specificat aliquem modum entis, sive generalem sive specialem. Bonum igitur et ens idem sunt secundum rem, quia eandem rem dicunt, sed non sunt idem secundum rationem, quia aliquem modum realis entis exprimit bonum, qui non exprimitur nomine entis.

101 Simplicius *post* Praedicamentis N 102 dicimur *add.* et T dicit *add.* ipse R  
103 substantiales/speciales NR confessis/concessis N 104 ab omnibus *corr.* R1; *om.*  
R accipit/accidit R habere/accipere P 105 auditus *lect. inc.* R 106 definitorum/distinctorum N 108 praeter/propter N dicat/dicant N 109 appetibili/appetitu NT 113 (sicut) et *om.* N 114 est *om.* T ita quod idem est esse perfectum et esse actu *om.* N 117 ostendunt/ostendit NT 118 Deum *lect. inc.* N quia maxime *add.* per T Sed/et N 119 dicta *om.* N 120 bonum et ens/ens et bonum R ultimis *add.* sequitur N 121 uno *om.* N verum/nostrum T 122 entis sive ... aliquem *om.* N 124 (sed) non *om.* T quia/qui R 125 exprimit bonum qui non exprimitur/et exprimit N qui non exprimitur nomine entis/quem non exprimit nomen entis P 126 entis *lect. inc.* R



Et similiter dicendum de omnibus passionibus entis, et similiter dicendum est de perfectione et de actu.

Si ergo referatur ad rem, idem sunt realiter, si ad modum realem  
130 bonum addit supra ens specificando aliquem modum realem, non sicut differentia specificat genus sed alio modo.

Alioquin essent synonyma ens et bonum, et esset nugatio dicendo ens bonum.

Uterius videtur quod non sequatur quod si bonum sit idem cum  
135 actu, quod sit idem cum ente, quia ens dicitur etiam de potentia cum dividatur per potentiam et actum; tamen hi intelligunt forte de ente prout dicit quod esse actuale non <indicat> essentiam ipsam, quae dicitur esse vel potentia vel actu.

Uterius non videtur quod bonum sit idem quod esse actu, quia cum  
140 dicatur etiam de materia quae est potentia. Unde Platonici dicunt bonum esse communius ente, quia bonum dicitur de materia quae est non ens, quia ens dicitur secundum eos ens actu solum, licet in ordine ad actum.

Sed, dato quod quidquid est bonum sit actu vel dicat ordinem ad actum, adhuc tamen non est idem esse bonum et esse actu. Actus enim  
145 magis habet rationem formae, bonum vero magis rationem finis.

Uterius quod dicunt quod perfectum et esse actu idem sunt, est dubium, quia, ut patebit, differunt multipliciter.

Sic igitur dicendum quod haec differunt ad invicem, bonum et actus et perfectum, non quod dicant diversas res, quia uni et eidem rei convenire  
150 possunt, sed dicunt diversos essendi modos, unde et sunt passionis entis. Ab ente autem differunt non secundum rem, quia nec addunt aliquam rem vel modum realem qui non significetur per ens actu vel ens perfectum, sed

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127 dicendum/dicitur NR    entis *om.* N    128 dicendum est/dicitur N    de perfectione et de actu/de actu et de perfectione N    129 (modum) realem *lect. inc.* R    130 supre/super N    (specificando) aliquem *om.* NT    132 Alioquin/aliter R    134 Uterius/Item R videtur/dicitur N    (quod) si/sit N    135 (quia) ens *om.* T    dividatur *add.* et T    136 intellegunt forte de ente prout dicit quod/dicunt de ente et intelligunt forte potest dici quid N    137 quod esse *corr.* R1; *om.* R    139 Uterius/Item R    non *post* bonum T    quod esse *corr.* R1; *om.* R    140 dicatur *add.* etiam *post* materia N; *ante* de materia T; de materia *om.* P    Platonici/philosophi NP    141 non ens *add.* secundum eos NR; *add.* secundum quod ens P    143 (est) bonum *add.* cum T    144 esse actu/actum N    145 (enim) magis *om.* N    vero /autem R; enim T    146 Uterius/Item R    147 (quia) *add.* aliquid est actu, quod tamen non est perfectum. Unde perfectum addit supra actum. Unde et quod dicitur esse actus perfectus ut forma quidem imperfectum ut motus. Item quod bonum et perfectum idem sunt etiam est dubium quia differunt multipliciter ut dicitur R    148 dicendum/patet N    ad/ab R    et *om.* R    150 (unde) et *om.* N    151 addunt/addant T    152 actu vel ens perfectum *corr.* R1; *om.* R    sed quia specificant ... vel ens perfectum *om.* NT



quia specificant aliquem modum qui non specificatur per ens; et ideo non est nugatio dicendum ens bonum et ens actu vel ens perfectum.

155 Sic igitur ex his adhuc non habetur propria ratio boni.

Et ideo est tertius modus dicendi, quia ratio boni est esse finem, ita quod finis et bonum idem. Hoc autem videtur posse haberi a Philosopho, II et III Metaphysicae. Dicit enim in II quod illi qui faciunt infinitas causas finales, auferunt naturam boni. Quod exponens Commentator ait quod qui  
160 ponunt infinitum in causis finalibus destruunt et tollunt causam finalem, cum finis repugnet infinitati, quia cum tollit finem tollit bonum. Nihil enim dicitur bonum nisi propter causas finales. Et in III dicit quod in mathematicis non est finis, quia nec bonum. Omne enim bonum finis est.

Sed hoc non est verum. Licet enim nihil dicatur bonum nisi propter  
165 causas finales, quia omne bonum vel est ipse finis, vel dicitur bonum quia est propter finem. Non tamen ratio finis et ratio boni est eadem, et tamen ratio boni addit in ratione finis. De cuius ratione tria sunt, scilicet quod sit ultimum, quod sit optimum et quod eius gratia fiant alia. Unde ratio finis secundum quod finis est quod eius gratia fiant alia. Unde semper dicitur a  
170 Philosopho cuius gratia. Sed quia illud, cuius gratia sunt alia, oportet esse bonum, ideo ad rationem finis requiritur quod sit bonum.

Licet igitur sint coniunctae ratio finis et boni, et ratio boni praesupponatur fini, non tamen est eadem ratio utrique; esse appetibile autem convenit fini etiam in quantum includit bonum. Non ergo ratio boni est  
175 esse finem, cum praesupponat finem.

Ideo est quartus modus dicendi, quod ratio boni est esse communicativum et diffusivum secundum Dionysium. Unde dicit ipse, IV De Divinis Nominibus, quod bonum est ex quo omnia substant et sunt sicut ex

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155 adhuc *post* habetur propria/perfecta N 156 tertius/secundus N Et ideo ... dicendi quia/Ideo alii dicunt quod R 158 Dicit enim in II *om.* N 159 Quod exponens/ubi R 161 (finalem) cum/ut N infinitati/infiniti N; infinitas T; infinito R 165 est/dicitur R 166 et tamen/Unde T et ratio boni ... ratione finis *om.* N 167 (scilicet quod) sit *om.* N 168 (ultimum) *add.* et R ratio finis secundum quod finis est quod eius gratia fiant alia. Unde/quod N 169 secundum quod/ut R fiant *add.* omnia N; *lect. inc.* T 170 (Philosopho cuius) gratia/ratio NT sunt/secundum NTR alia/aliam NT 171 bonum *add.* et N 173 esse appetibile *om.* N 174 fini/boni etiam N 176 quartus/quare N dicendi/essendi N Ideo ... dicendi/Alii ideo dicunt R quod/quia NT communicativum/communicatum N 177 diffusivum/diffusum N ipse *om.* N

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158. Vol. VIII 32<sup>o</sup>K; Bekker 984<sup>b</sup>; AL XXV 2, p. 38.

159. in II Metaphys. text. com. 8, Vol. VIII 33 B.

162. Vol. VIII 40 A; Bekker 996<sup>a</sup>; AL XXV 2, p. 44; XXV 3, p. 51.

177. cap. I, PG 3,694 BC.



causa.

180 Sed et illud est dubium, quia esse diffusivum et esse ex quo sunt  
alia, hoc dicit habitudinem causae efficientis; bonum autem habet rationem  
finis, non quod ratio boni sit esse finem, sed convenit rationi finis ut dic-  
tum est.

Quomodo autem dictum Dionysii veritatem habet patebit; per omnia  
185 igitur dicta non habetur propria ratio boni.

Et ideo est aliter dicendum quod ratio boni eadem est et unius, quia  
unum et bonum idem.

Primo ostendendum est quod unum et bonum idem; secundo quae  
sit ratio unius, et per consequens patebit ratio boni.

190 Quod autem bonum et unum sint idem, patet primo auctoritate  
Procli qui dicit, Propositione XIII, sicut "omne bonum unitivum est partici-  
pativum ipso, et omnis unitio bonum est et bonum uni idem". Hoc autem  
declarat in commento, quia illa sunt idem quorum est eadem proprietas.  
Sed eadem proprietas est unius et boni. Ergo, et cetera. Minor sic patet.  
195 Proprietas boni est esse salvativum.

Quod patet, quia malum dicitur corruptio et perditio; ergo bonum  
dicit quid salvativum. Tandiu enim res dicitur bona, quamdiu salvatur in  
propria substantia et continetur; quando autem corrumpitur, dicitur mala.  
Hoc eadem est proprietas unius, scilicet esse salvativum et contentivum  
200 substantiae singulorum. Uno enim omnia salvantur et dispersio unumquod-  
que exire facit a substantia. Et sic bonum cuiuslibet consistit in hoc quod  
esse unum et idem est bonum, et simpliciter bonum et simpliciter unum, et  
privari bono est privari unitate vel recedere a bono est recedere ab unitate  
et e converso. Et sic unitio est bonitas et bonitas est unitio et bonum unum

180 illud/istud R diffusivum/distinctum N 182 finis *add.* ratio finis T 184 per  
omnia ... ratio boni *om.* R 185 igitur dicta *add.* Dei N 186 est *om.* R 188 est *om.*  
N; ostendendum est/ostendam R quae/quid N 189 et per consequens ... sint idem *om.*  
R 190 bonum et unum/unum et bonum N primo *om.* N; patet primo/primum patet R  
191 sicut/quod N; *corr.* R1; *om.* R 192 (unitio) bonum/boni NT (est) et/etiam N  
193 quia *om.* R 194 Sed *om.* N unius et boni/boni et unius TR Ergo/quare N  
Ergo ... sic patet *om.* R 196 Quod patet *om.* R Quod patet ... quid salvaticum *om.* N  
197 (tamdiu) enim *om.* P 198 corrumpitur/corruptio TR 199 eadem/autem N esse  
*post* contentivum N 200 (salvantur) et/etiam T unumquodque/unumque T 201 exire  
*om.* T consistit/existit R 202 (est) bonum/unum N (et) simpliciter/similiter T  
203 (privari bono) est/et NT vel/et R (a bono) est/etiam T ab/a T 204 Et *om.*  
NT unitio/unitas R

183. voir l. 156 sqq.

191. ed. Boese p. 10; ed. Vansteenkiste, *Tijdschrift voor Philosophie* 13 (1951) 270.



205 et econverso.

Similiter et Boetius, III De Consolatione, id ipsum dicit et pulchre ostendit, scilicet quod bonum et unum sint idem tali ratione.

Illa sunt idem quorum non est diversus effectus. Sed idem est effectus utriusque, ergo, et cetera. Probatio. Aliquid dicitur bonum ex unitate. Cum enim aliqua discrepant, non sunt bona; cum enim unum ceperit, bona fiunt. Sed etiam dicitur aliquid bonum ex bonitate. Ergo, idem est effectus bonitatis et unitatis, scilicet esse bonum, quia tam bonitas quam unitas facit bonum esse aliquid.

Unde et ex hoc ulterius ostendit quod bonum est quod desideratur ab omnibus, quia unum omnia appetunt; si ergo idem est bonum et unum, ergo bonum omnia appetunt.

Quod autem omnia appetunt unitatem, sic ostendit. Constat enim quod quaelibet res naturaliter appetit conservationem et permanentiam sui esse et fugit corruptionem. Unde et Philosophus, in II De Anima, dicit quod propter permanentiam essentialium data est virtus generativa rebus ut conservarent se in esse sicut possunt. Non possunt in esse numerali; conservantur per communicationem et generationem in esse specifico. Et sic est de esse quod omnia appetunt illud, et illius causa agunt quaecumque agunt secundum naturam. Sed tamdiu manet et subsistit unumquodque quamdiu est unum, corrumpitur et dissolvitur per hoc quod desinit esse unum, sicut ponit exemplum de animalibus. Quando enim anima et corpus in unum conveniunt et permanent, tunc dicitur animal, et tamdiu est animal quamdiu manet haec principiorum vel partium coniunctio. Cum autem haec unitas et coniunctio tollitur et unum ab alio separatur, non manet animal.

230 Sic ergo patet quod idem est unum et bonum.

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206 pulchre *mss.* pulcre 207 scilicet *om.* R 209 Aliquid dicitur bonum *repetit* T  
 210 (bona; cum) enim/vero R; ergo P ceperit/ceperint R 212 bonitas quam unitas/unitas  
 quam bonitas N 213 (facit) bonum/unum N 214 et ex hoc *om.* N 215 appetunt  
*add.* tunc N 216 (bonum) omnia *om.* T 217 sic *om.* R 218 appetit *add.* suam R  
 et *add.* suam R 219 (Philosophus) in *om.* NR 220 essentialium/entium N; essentialium T  
 221 conservarent se/conservarentur NT (sicut) possunt *add.* si P Non possunt *om.* N  
 (possunt in) esse/essentia TR numerali/naturali NT conservantur *add.* tamen P 253  
 quaecumque/quicumque T 224 Sed/si NT 225 quod/quia T 226 enim *lect. inc.* N

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206. Prosa XI. PL 63,771-774; CCL 94,57-59.

214. *ibidem.*

217. *ibidem.*

219. cap. 4. Vol. I Suppl. II,67; Bekker 415<sup>ab</sup>.



Nunc videndum quae est ratio unius. Circa quod est sciendum quod unum est ens indivisum, et eius ratio <in> indivisione consistit; quare hoc eadem est boni, scilicet esse indivisum. Unde et quidam Antiqui defini-  
 235 runt bonum, quod est indivisio actus a potentia. Unde et quidquid est appetibile ratione indivisionis appetitur, et quicumque aliquid appetit, appetit indivisionem. Ratio ergo boni est esse unum. Et quia similitudo et convenientia est unitas, potest dici quod ratio boni est similitudo et convenientia.

Unde Boetius, in libro De Hebdomadibus, "Omnis diversitas dis-  
 240 cors, similitudo vero appetenda, ... et omne quod appetit aliquid tale ipsum esse naturaliter ostenditur, quale est hoc ipsum quod appetit". Quidquid ergo appetitur, ratione convenientiae appetitur, et quia quidquid appetitur, bonum est, patet ex hoc quod ratio boni in unitate consistit.

Sed tunc incidet dubitatio, quia, cum ratio unius sit indivisio et  
 245 indivisio dicat privationem, non quamcumque sed secundum rationem, videtur quod ratio boni sit privativa et secundum rationem, non autem positiva et realis.

Sed ad hoc dicendum quod ratio unius est positiva et realis; sed ad hoc dicendum quod apprehenditur a nobis per modum privationis. Hoc  
 250 autem quomodo sit, declaratum fuit supra in quaestione de uno, cum quaesitum supra fuit: Utrum dicat aliquid positivum. Require ibi.

Est considerandum quod potest assignari aliqualis differentia inter unum et bonum, quia in communi sermone non pro eodem accipi videtur,  
 255 ut unum dicatur ex eo quod est indivisum absolute; bonum autem dicit indivisionem, ut ex ea habetur salus et consistentia. Unde, licet utrumque, tam scilicet unum quam bonum, dicat indivisionem et etiam quid salvativum, unum tamen magis dicit indivisionem absolute, bonum autem magis

232 quae/quid T (quod) est *om.* R 233 (ratio) in/sine T 234 boni/bonum N; ratio boni P (quidam) Antiqui *om.* N 235 (actus) a *om.* N 238 unitas *add.* non N 239 Hebdomadibus *mss.* Ebdomadibus 240 appetenda *add.* est R omne *om.* ed. PL aliquid/aliud *ed.* PL 241 naturaliter *corr.* R1; similiter R quale est *add.* illud *ed.* PL 242 (et) quia *om.* N 243 ex hoc/ergo N 244 incidet/incidat N tunc incidet dubitatio quia *om.* R; tunc dubitatio *post* sit indivisio *corr.* R1 248 Sed ad hoc *om.* R 249 apprehenditur/apprehendum NT 250 declaratum fuit ... considerandum quod/patet quod de uno supra R 253 potest *add.* tamen R; *add.* autem *ante* considerandum P 254 accipi videtur/accipiuntur R 255 ex/de N 256 ut ex ea/ut ex eo R; secundum quod ab ea NT 257 scilicet unum quam bonum *om.* R

239. PL 64,1311 C.

250. Quaestio V, ed. Ypma, 113-142.



dicit eam ut ex ea sequitur salus rei; et huius signum est quod non eodem  
 260 modo accipiuntur species unius et boni. Sed species unius accipiuntur secundum modos indivisionis absolute, species autem boni accipiuntur secundum indivisionem per ordinem ad rei consistentiam et salutem.

Unde et ratio unius dicitur consistere absolute in indivisione, ratio  
 vero boni in modo, specie et ordine quae concomitantur indivisionem, vel  
 265 dicunt indivisionem, ut respiciunt rei salutem et consistentiam.

Quomodo autem in his consistit ratio boni, patebit infra.

Et sic patet primum principale.

II. Quantum ad secundum dicendum quod ex quo bonum et unum sunt  
 270 idem, ex diverso modo unitatis possumus accipere diversos modos boni.

Unum autem dupliciter dicitur. Uno modo secundum se, prout unaquaeque res dicitur una secundum se.

Alio modo in comparatione ad aliud, prout aliqua res dicitur alteri esse aliquo modo una.

275 Et prima dicitur simpliciter unitas, alia vero est magis conformitas quaedam vel unitas conformitatis.

Sed conformitas duplex est inter aliqua. Uno modo quia unum alteri conformatur, sicut causae; et haec non convertuntur, quia sic dicitur affectus conformis vel similis causae, non autem e converso proprie.

280 Alio modo non, quia unum alii conformatur, sed quia ambo conformantur tertio; et haec convertuntur. Quaecumque enim conformia sunt altero duorum modorum, sunt similia. Et ita conformitas semper attenditur per comparationem ad causam secundum aliquem modum causae.

Eodem itaque modo dupliciter bonum dicitur. Uno modo secundum  
 285 se, prout quaelibet res dicitur secundum se bona, sicut et una; alio modo per comparationem ad aliud et secundum rationem conformitatis, et hoc dupliciter.

Uno enim modo dicitur aliquid bonum, quia natum est ut aliud ei conformetur; alio modo quia ipsum alii conformatur.

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259 sequitur/consequitur R; add. se T rei lect. inc. T; om. N et om. R 262 indivisionem/divisionem N 263 indivisione/divisione NTP 264 quae/qui N concomitantur lect. inc. N 265 respiciunt/recipiunt T; dicunt NR 266 consistit ante in his; in his add. tribus P Quomodo autem ... primum principale om. R 273 (aliqua) res om. R 274 esse/est P aliquo om. N una om. N; ante aliquo modo P 275 simpliciter/similiter T 277 alteri/alii T 278 sicut/ut R et haec non convertuntur ... vel similis causae om. N 279 similis/consimilis P 280 non om. N 282 sunt lect. inc. T 285 quaelibet/aliqua NT res om. T 288 enim om. N aliud/aliquid N

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266. voir l. 421 sqq.; et l. 528 sqq.



290 Dicitur etiam bonum illud secundum quod attenditur conformitas.  
Et sic quatuor modis dicitur quod aliquid dicatur bonum, non solum quia  
aliquid ei conformetur, sed quia ipsum alii.

Patet utrumque per Boetium, De Hebdomadibus, ubi sic dicit: "Ten-  
et communis doctorum sententia omne quod est ad bonum tendere. Omne  
295 autem tendit ad simile; quae igitur ad bonum tendunt bona ipsa sunt".

Et sciendum quod bonum dicitur aequaliter enti, et secundum hoc  
modi unius sunt secundum modos entis; sed secundum quod differt ab  
ente, sic habet suos modos de quibus etiam analogice dicitur.

Et primo quidem bonum dicitur de bono secundum se, prout una-  
300 quaeque res dicitur secundum se bonum; consequenter autem dicitur bo-  
num de bono in comparatione ad aliud, scilicet secundum quod aliquid ei  
natum est aliquid aliud conformari. Huius ratio est quia, sicut prius quaeli-  
bet res et magis dicitur una sibi quam alii, sic et bona. Unde sicut amica-  
bilia quae sunt ad alterum veniunt ex amicabilibus quae sunt ad se, sic  
305 dicendum hoc de uno et bono.

Item, bonum in comparatione ad aliud prius dicitur de illo modo  
secundum quod aliquid dicitur bonum quod ei aliud conformatur quam de  
illo secundum quod alii conformatur, quia ex hoc illud quod alii conforma-  
tur dicitur bonum, quia illud cui conformatur est bonum.

310 Ultimo autem dicitur de illo secundum quod attenditur conformatio.

Et sciendum quod omnes isti modi bonitatis possunt convenire uni  
et eidem rei aliquando, sed non respectu eiusdem.

Ulterius est considerandum quod duplex est conformitas.

315 Una quae attenditur secundum connaturalitatem vel convenientiam  
naturae; et haec pertinet ad rationem boni.

Alia quae attenditur secundum repraesentationem; et haec secundum  
quod huiusmodi non pertinet ad rationem boni.

290 secundum quod/quod secundum se N 291 (dicitur) quod *om.* N aliquid *add.* aut  
T; *add.* autem *ante* aliquid R dicatur *om.* N; dicat T solum *om.* N 292 sed *add.*  
etiam R 295 igitur *add.* tendunt N 298 etiam/est R analogice/analogice R 299  
bonum *add.* quod N (de bono) secundum se prout ... bonum de bono *om.* N 301  
aliquid *om.* N ei natum/ordinatum N; *lect. inc.* T 302 aliquid *om.* P conformari  
*ante* aliquid aliud R; aliud *om.* P; *add.* et *post* conformari P 303 (res) et/dicitur N  
magis *add.* et magis N sic/sicut NT (Unde) sicut/et N; *om.* R amicabilia *post* quae  
sunt R 304 veniunt/venerunt R 305 hoc/est N et *add.* de T 307 aliud/aliquid NT  
308 (alii) conformatur/conformantur T; conformetur P 310 Ultimo autem dicitur/Dicitur  
autem ultimo R 311 isti *om.* N 312 non *om.* N 317 haec *om.* T



Tamen haec duae conformitates aliquando sunt coniunctae. Et quia  
 320 appetitus respicit huiusmodi conformitatem, quae est secundum connaturalitatem, quia simile appetitur, secundum Boetium, sicut cognitio illa quae est secundum repraesentationem, ideo appetitus per se comparatur ad bonum et bonum ad appetitum.

Unde et secundum appetitum possumus accipere modos boni. Primo  
 325 quidem bonum dicitur quod appetitur; et hoc est principalis acceptio. Unde secundum hanc acceptionem dictum est quod bonum est quod omnia appetunt. Et quia illud quod tendit ad bonum est bonum, ideo non solum quod appetitur, sed etiam illud quod appetit bonum dicitur bonum, licet secundum consequentem acceptionem.

330 Uterque autem horum modorum dividitur. Nam bonum aliquod dicitur appetibile vel se ipso vel ab alio; et similiter aliquid dicitur bonum quia appetit vel se vel aliud. Et sic res in duplici ratione dicitur bona.

Primo quidem ex eo quod est appetibilis a se, consequenter ex eo quod appetit se vel amat.

335 Similiter dicitur res bona ut comparatur ad aliud, vel quia est appetibilis ab alio, vel quia appetit aliud.

Sed videndum quid dicit bonum secundum hos omnes modos; secundum quod res est appetibilis a se, sic dicitur bona bonitate reali, quae dicit modum quemdam essendi quem et unum.

340 Appetibile autem dicit respectum quemdam rationis; secundum vero quod res dicitur bona quod appetit se, sic bonum dicit respectum rei ad se, sub alia tamen et alia ratione.

Utrum autem sit relatio realis, videtur quod non, cum sit eiusdem ad se.

345 Similiter dicendum de modis boni prout sumpti sunt supra. Bonum enim ut dicit unitatem rei secundum se, sic dicit modum quemdam realem et absolutum, licet significetur per modum relativum, secundum quod res dicitur una vel eadem sibi; prout vero dicitur bonum ex eo quod aliud ei

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320 (quae) est/sunt N 321 Boetium/bonum N cognitio/ergo N 322 representatio-  
 nem *add.* et T 325 hoc/haec R acceptio *om.* N 326 hanc *om.* RT acceptio-  
 nem/acceptio P dictum *lect. inc.* R bonum est quod *om.* N; est/et P omnia *add.*  
 bonum N 327 solum *add.* illud R 332 quia/quod N in *add.* se R; *add.* in se ipsa P  
 duplici ratione *om.* P 333 a/ad N; a se, consequenter/ex consequenti P 336 ab alio  
*om.* N 337 videndum *om.* R dicit/sit N hos/illos *post omnes* N 338 quod/quos N  
 393 essendi/dicendi NT quem/quam R 342 alia *add.* ratio N 346 ut/prout N dicit  
*add.* bonitatem rei seu N rei *om.* N 348 dicitur/dicit N

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321. De Hebdomadibus. PL 64,1311 C.

326. voir l. 67 sqq.



conformatur, sic dicit relationem secundum rationem, prout vero dicitur  
 350 bonum ex eo quod ipsum conformatur alii, sic bonum dicit relationem  
 realem. Et similiter prout dicitur de illo secundum quod attenditur confor-  
 matio.

Sic patet de modis boni.

355 Sed hic est unum considerandum, quare bonum speciali modo dici-  
 tur in moralibus.

Circa quod sciendum quod bonum est est appetibile, et etiam appe-  
 tens dicitur bonum consequenter. Ubi est igitur specialis ratio appetitus, ibi  
 est specialis ratio boni. Et tertius appetitus est excellentior. Ideo secundum  
 360 talem appetitum speciali modo attenditur bonitas ut dicatur bonum quod  
 appetitur tali appetitu et dicatur bonus qui appetit bonum per voluntatem.

Est igitur sciendum quod, cum in homine sit multiplex appetitus  
 secundum quod supremum dicitur simpliciter bonus, secundum alios se-  
 cundum quid, ideo virtus dicitur facere simpliciter bonum hominem, et  
 365 ipsa virtus dicitur bonum simpliciter, quia est bonum hominis secundum  
 appetitum rationalem, qui est proprius homini.

Et sic patet secundum principale.

Positi enim sunt modi unius prout accipiuntur secundum unitatem  
 370 quae est eius propria ratio, et prout accipiuntur secundum appetibilitatem,  
 quae est effectus boni.

Et sciendum quod isti modi boni per ordinem se habent et se conse-  
 quuntur.

Primo enim aliquid est bonum secundum se. Ex hoc autem quod est  
 375 bonum secundum se, sequitur quod aliquid aliud possit ei conformari; et  
 sic dicitur bonum. Sed haec secunda oritur ex prima, et tertia oritur ex  
 secunda, scilicet quod aliquid dicitur bonum, quia conformatur bono et  
 tendit in bonum; et ex hac quarta, scilicet illud secundum quod attenditur  
 conformitas.

380 Bonum autem, prout dicitur illud cui aliquid conformatur, dividitur  
 in bonum quod est finis et ad finem. Unde haec divisio non comprehendit  
 omnes modos boni. De divisione vero quae est in honestum, utile et delec-

355 hic/hinc R modo/bonum P 357 (Circa quod) sciendum quod *om.* NT 358 igitur  
 specialis ratio appetitus, ibi est/etiam N 360 (ut) dicatur/dicitur N 361 (et) dicatur/di-  
 citur N bonus/bonum N qui/quem N 362 igitur/etiam N; enim T 363 quod *om.*  
 T supremum *mss.* suppreum simpliciter/simplex N 366 rationalem/rationale N  
 qui/quod N proprius/proprium N; prius R 377 quia/quod N 380 autem/aut T; *add.*  
 dicitur NR1 (cui) aliquid *om.* N; aliud R 381 (finis) et/vel T 382 omnes/alios N



tabile, patebit in argumentis.

- 385 III. Nunc videndum de tertio principali, scilicet, an Deus dicatur bonus discurrendo per modos bonitatis supra positos.

Dicitur enim Deus bonus secundum se, quia unus et maxime unus, ut supra ostensum fuit, et ideo maxime bonus; et quia ipse appetit et amat propriam bonitatem, dicitur etiam bonus. Et sic dupliciter dicitur bonus in  
390 se, scilicet ex eo quod unus est, et ex eo quod appetit propriam bonitatem. Sed bonum primo modo dicit modum realem in Deo, sicut et unum; secundo modo dicit habitudinem quamdam secundum rationem, sicut in Deo relatio intellectus et intelligibilis et voluntas et volibilis est secundum rationem, ut communiter ponitur.

395 Ulterius dicitur Deus bonus in comparatione, quia ei nata sunt alia conformari. Et ille modus oritur ex primo, quia quanto magis est in se unus, tanto magis ei nata sunt alia assimilari; et bonum hoc modo dicit in eo respectum causae et est respectus secundum rationem ut in subiecto, realis autem ut in termino. Sicut enim appetit suam bonitatem qua est  
400 bonum secundum se, ita appetit bonitatem suam prout dicitur bonus, ex eo quod alia nata sunt ei conformari. Non solum enim Deus diligit suam bonitatem secundum se, sed etiam diligit eam prout comparatur ad alia, quia diligit se et vult suam bonitatem communicare. Sic ergo Deus quatuor modis dicitur bonus.

405 Uno modo quia est in se bonus.

Alio modo quia ei et suae bonitati alia nata sunt conformari.

Tertio, quia appetit bonitatem suam secundum se.

Quarto, quia appetit eam ut participabilem ab aliis.

Dicimus enim quod Deus bonus in se; dicimus quod est bonus quia alia ei  
410 assimilari possunt; dicimus quod est bonus quia diligit suum bonum in se; dicimus quod est bonus quia diligit bonum suum aliis secundum participationem.

383 patebit/dicetur R; *add.* infra N 385 Nunc/consequenter T principali scilicet *om.* R  
386 per *add.* omnes N 388 appetit et amat/amat et appetit N 390 (et) ex eo quod/quia  
R propriam *om.* T 392 rationem/relationem N in Deo *add.* ponitur T 393 voluntas/voluntatis R volibilis/volubilis 394 ponitur/dicatur N 395 Ulterius/Item R  
Deus *om.* R alia *om.* N 396 ille/iste R 397 ei *om.* N; *post* sunt R alia *ante* nata  
R 398 respectum/rationem R 401 ei/sibi R 402 comparatur/conformatur R 403  
(diligit) se *om.* R; et *om.* T 406 ei/sibi N 408 participabilem *lect. inc.* N 409  
(enim) quod/quia R (bonus in se) dicimus quod est bonus *om.* NR 410 (bonum) in se  
*om.* N



Non autem dicitur bonus quia ipse alicui alteri conformetur.

Ex hoc autem potest considerari quomodo bonum dicitur de creatu-  
 415 ris. Dicitur enim creatura bona in se, et dicitur bona in comparatione ad  
 aliud, et maxime ad causam vel ad illud quod habet rationem causae, et  
 praecipue causae. Unde et, si dicitur bona per comparationem ad aliam  
 causam, hoc est in quantum in ea est virtus causae primae. Nam dicimus  
 quod idem effectus procedit a Deo ut ens, a natura vero ut est tale ens. Sic  
 420 res quaelibet secundum quod est bona in comparatione ad aliud, dicitur  
 absolute bona ex comparatione ad Deum; in comparatione autem ad alia  
 dicitur sic bona, et cetera. Dicitur etiam creatura bona ex eo quod aliqua  
 alia creatura nata est ei conformari.

Sed hic videnda sunt quaedam, scilicet quomodo omnes modi di-  
 425 cendi de bono secundum aliquid veritatem habent, licet non simpliciter.

Quod enim primo dicitur de appetibili, dicendum quod in esse ap-  
 petibile non convenit bono secundum omnem acceptionem, sed secundum  
 quod aliquid dicitur bonum ex eo quod aliquid ei conformatur, vel ipsum  
 sibi.

430 Item, esse appetibile non dicit ipsam rationem boni primo modo  
 dicti.

Quod autem ulterius dicitur de perfecto, dicendum quod bonum non  
 est idem quod perfectum, nisi accipiatur valde large perfectum. Sed acci-  
 piendo prout de eo loquitur Philosophus, differt tripliciter.

435 Primo quia alia est ratio utriusque. Bonum enim dicitur aliquid ex  
 unitate, et praecipue secundum quod ad eam sequitur salus et consistentia  
 rei. Perfectum autem dicitur aliquid ex eo quod nihil ei deficit eorum quae  
 pertinent ad integritatem et bonitatem eius, et quando exercetur (?) ab  
 aliquo. Et ideo ratio boni est prior, et haec est alia differentia.

440 Secundo differunt quantum ad communitatem, quia perfectum prae-  
 supponit et includit bonum, ita quod quidquid est perfectum, est bonum,  
 non autem e converso. Nam aliqua sunt bona, non tamen perfecta in bonita-  
 te. Unde, quia perfectum includit bonum, ideo putatur esse idem quod

414 hoc/his R potest/poterit R 415 in se et dicitur bona om. N 418 causae/tamen  
 R; om. TR Nam/enim R 421 ex/in T aliud/aliam N et maxime ad causam ... autem  
 ad aliam om. N 422 et cetera om. P Dicitur lect. inc. T etiam/autem NT (creatura)  
 bona om. NT 423 nata est add. est T 425 bono/boni R 426 quod add. in NR se-  
 cundum quod/quia N 428 dicitur/dicatur N 432 ulterius om. R 433 (idem) quod/quia  
 T 434 Philosophus add. primo T 435 alia/illo N 440 differunt add. in P quia  
 add. etiam N; add. post perfectum R 442 autem/tamen (perfecta) in add. omni N  
 443 ideo putatur/non reputatur N



bonum, sed non est. Unde et Proclus dicit quod perfectum est pars quae-  
 445 dam boni et imitatur bonum. Unde, sicut bonum est causativum et produc-  
 tivum, sic et perfectum. Tamen Proclus videtur aliter intelligere quod per-  
 fectum est pars boni, quia bonum dicitur tam de eo quod per se est bonum,  
 quam de eo quod est per participationem. Unde dicitur de uno et univoco;  
 perfectum autem solum de bono secundum quod est per participationem; et  
 450 hoc insinuat nomen perfecti, perfectum quasi perfectum et complete fac-  
 tum. Unde secundum hoc Deus dicitur bonus, sed non perfectus. Loquitur  
 ibi de bono secundum quod habet rationem causae, sed hoc est esse perfec-  
 tum bonum, non autem bonum perfectum.

Tertio differt quantum ad causalitatis rationem, quia bonum est  
 455 causa per modum finis; perfectum autem per modum agentis.

Et circa hanc differentiam sciendum, quod tam bonum quam per-  
 fectum habet rationem causae, non tamen bonum secundum omnem suam  
 acceptionem, sed secundum quod dicitur bonum ex eo quod aliquid natum  
 est ei conformari. Prout autem dicitur bonum quia alii conformatur, sic  
 460 magis habet rationem causati. Perfectum etiam habet rationem causae;  
 quando enim aliquid tale est quod non deest ei aliquid de bonitate quae  
 sibi est nata competere, tunc potest aliud causare et esse alterius causa.  
 Ideo puer generare non potest quia aliquid ei deficit, et sic de aliis.

Tamen bonum magis est causa ut finis, et hoc modo dicitur diffusi-  
 465 vum et communicativum, in quantum ei natum est aliud conformari; per-  
 fectum autem magis per modum agentis.

Unde et ex hoc potest alio modo intelligi quod dictum est, quod  
 perfectum est pars boni et quod est in minus quam bonum. Causalitas enim  
 finis et est prior et etiam est communior quam causalitas agentis, genera-  
 470 liter loquendo. Quod enim sit prior satis patet, quia finis est causa causa-  
 rum, et agens non agit nisi ex intentione finis.

Quod autem sit communior patet, quia quidquid est agens est finis,  
 sed non convertitur. Aliquid enim movet ut finis, quod non ut agens; et  
 hoc manifestum est.

444 (dicit) quod *om.* N perfectum/perfectio *ed.* Boese 448 quam *lect. inc.* N univo-  
 co *lect. inc.* N Unde dicitur ... per participationem *om.* R 450 perfectum/per factum  
 R 452 hoc est *add.* esse R 454 causalitatis rationem/causalitatem rerum N 455  
 autem *om.* R 458 aliquid natum est ei/natum est ei aliquid N 459 alii/aliis NT 465  
 ei *post* natum est R 467 (Unde) et *om.* N 468 enim *add.* est N 469 (et etiam) est  
*om.* NR

444. Propositio 25. *ed.* Boese p. 17; *ed.* Vansteenkiste, *Tijdschrift voor Philosophie* 13  
 (1951) 279.

467. voir l. 444 sqq.; l. 446 sqq.



475 Quod autem agens omne sit finis, patet sic secundum Proclum,  
 Propositione XXXV, "Omne causatum et manet in sua causa et procedit ab  
 ipsa et convertitur ad ipsam". Secundum quod manet, sic est quemadmo-  
 dum producit ipsum agens formam producti; secundum quod procedit ab  
 ipso comparatur ad ipsum ut ad agens; secundum autem quod convertitur  
 480 ad ipsam ut ad finem.

In Deo tamen haec duplex ratio causae est aequae communis, quia  
 quarumque est finis, est agens, et e converso secundum veritatem; secun-  
 dum alios philosophos forte non.

Et licet convertatur in Deo, tamen prior est ratio finis. Unde et inter  
 485 nomina divina secundum quod importat causalitatem primum est bonum,  
 deinde ens, quia secundum quod est bonum, sic est causa per modum finis,  
 ut autem est ens per modum agentis.

Primo enim intelligitur Deus esse bonum cui nata sunt alia assimi-  
 lari, deinde quod ex amore huius boni causet alia efficaciter. Ut autem  
 490 haec secundum se considerantur, prius est ens quam bonum, unde et in  
 effectum prius est ratio entis quam boni, et ratio entis in effectum respondet  
 causae agentis in Deo, ratio autem boni causae finali.

Sic enim intelligimus primo quod Deus sit ens in se, deinde quod  
 sit bonum in se, deinde bonum in Deo ut causa finalis, deinde ens in Deo  
 495 ut causa agens, deinde in effectum ratio entitatis quae respondet Deo ut est  
 agens, quia factio terminatur ad ens, postea ratio boni quae respondet Deo  
 ut causa finalis. Ratio autem boni in effectum secundum quod convertatur ad  
 causam, hoc autem est assimilari causae, et in hoc consistit ratio boni in  
 assimilatione scilicet, et ita ultimo in causa respondet primum in effectum,  
 500 scilicet productio causae agentis, quae attenditur secundum entitatem et  
 primo in causa, ultimum in effectum, scilicet assimilatio causae finali quae  
 attenditur secundum bonitatem.

Ulterius patet quomodo bonum se habet ad actum quia non est

475 omne/commune NT 477 est quemadmodum/secundum quod N 478 formam/forma R 479 ad ipsum *post* ad agens P (ut) ad *om.* T convertitur/comparatur R 481 tamen/autem T 482 quarumcumque/quorumcumque N 484 licet *add.* non T Unde/una T; et *om.* NT inter/causantur NT 485 secundum quod/ut R 486 (ens) quia/et NT 488 intelligitur/intelligit N bonum/bonus R 489 (deinde) quod *om.* P 491 prius/prior T est/esset N (et) ratio/ratione P 492 agentis/agentis NT autem/enim N 494 (bonum) in se *om.* P (se) deinde *add.* quod sit NT 495 entitatis/entis N 497 (effectum) secundum *om.* NT; est R convertatur/convertitur NT 498 autem *om.* N 499 (assimilatione) scilicet *om.* N 500 scilicet productio ... in effectum *corr.* P1; *om.* P agentis/agentis N 501 causa *add.* et T scilicet/id est N



eadem ratio utriusque.

505 Unde alia divisio est in unum et multa, alia in actum et potentiam; licet illud quod est bonum sicut appetibile oporteat esse actu vel in se vel in sua similitudine vel in sua causa; tamen aliud est bonum, aliud actus, et praecedit ratio boni, quia hoc quod est bonum sequitur quod sit actu, non autem e converso.

510 Unde unum est prima omnium passionum entis, a qua omnes aliae derivantur ordine quodam et a multo aliae oppositae se habentes.

Quomodo autem bonum se habeat ad ens, patet supra, et cetera; similiter quomodo bonum dicatur communicabile.

Hoc enim pertinet non ad omnem acceptionem boni, sed ad aliam; 515 quam; idem enim est ac si diceretur appetibile. Tamen ille modus oritur ex primo quo dicitur bonum in se; non enim dicitur communicativum per modum agentis, sed ut dictum est supra.

Similiter quomodo se habet ad rationem finis, quia bonum est in plus quam finis. Unde differt a fine primo secundum rationem, quia finis 520 addit supra rationem boni, et sic secundo differt secundum communitatem; et hoc dupliciter. Primo quia non secundum omnem acceptionem boni convenit finis esse bonum, sed prout bonum dicitur cui aliud conformatur.

Item nec est talis, quod est bonum, est finis, sed aliquid est ad finem, nisi forte dicatur finis secundum quid; illud enim quod est ad finem, 525 aliquo modo est finis, vel potest converti bonum hoc modo cum fine, quia illud quod est ad finem dicitur bonum in ordine ad finem.

Ultimo videndum est de quadam alia ratione boni quae assignatur, ut supra fuit posita, et ponitur ab Augustino, in libro De Natura Boni, 530 scilicet quod ratio boni consistit in modo, specie et ordine.

Ad cuius evidentiam primo considerandum est, an haec tria sic se

503 Ulterius/Item R (non) est *om.* RP 504 utriusque *lect. inc.* N 506 sicut/sit R oporteat esse/oportet et P actu/actum R vel in se ... quod sit actu *om.* N 508 praecedit/primo cedit T actu *lect. inc.* T 510 Unde *om.* P; *add.* et T prima/primum T 511 derivantur *add.* in N et a multo *om.* T 512 (supra) et cetera *om.* NR 515 appetibile *om.* R 516 (enim) dicitur *om.* T 518 (est) in *om.* N 519 Unde/quia N quia *add.* ratio P 520 et sic *om.* P 521 Primo *add.* quidem P 522 sed prout bonum ... aliquid est ad finem *om.* P 523 (nec) est/esse R 524 finem aliquo modo ... quod est ad finem *om.* N illud/aliud N 525 vel/ut T converti *add.* hoc T 526 ad finem/bonum R 530 ratio/nature R 531 Ad cuius evidentia/Et hic R est *om.* R

529. voir l. 188 sqq.; l. 263 sq.

529. cap. III. PL 42,553.



habeant ad bonum quod dicant rationem ipsius boni, vel ita se habeant ad bonum quod non dicant ipsam rationem boni, quia verba Augustini et aliorum doctorum aliquando videntur dicere unum quandoque aliud.

535 Si autem ita sit quod ex hoc dicatur bonum, quia habet aliquid quod habent haec tria, nec dicatur bonum si desit aliquid horum, tunc videntur dicere rationem boni.

Si vero quodlibet horum dicatur bonum aliquod, ita quod modus sit bonum rei et ordo sit alius modus boni in re et species aliud bonum, tunc  
540 haec sunt sicut species boni.

Et primum quidem videntur sonare verba doctorum, quia haec tria in qualibet re sunt et ex his dicitur bona.

Secundum videntur magis sonare verba Augustini, qui dicit quod "haec tria ... tamquam generalia bona sunt in rebus a Deo factis" et "ubi  
545 magna sunt, magis bona sunt, ubi parva, parva bona sunt".

Et dicendum ad hoc quod utrumque potest dici, quod haec sunt species et modi boni aliquo modo, et quod in his consistit ratio boni aliquo modo. Quod haec sint species boni, potest haberi expresse a Philosopho, in XIII Metaphysicae, ubi improbat opinionem dicentium quod scientiae mathematicae nullam mentionem faciunt de bono. Unde subdit quod "Species  
550 boni sunt maxime ordo et commensuratio et determinatum", quae maxime ostendunt scientiae metaphysicae. Et haec sunt illa tria quae ponit Augustinus.

Determinatio dicit modum, commensuratio speciem. Haec autem sic  
555 possunt exponi, quia, ut supra dictum est, bonum dicit aliquid vel in se vel in comparatione ad aliud. Bonum ergo in comparatione ad aliud intelligitur

532 (sic se) habeant *add.* sic R ita se habeant ad bonum quod *om.* R vel ita se ... ipsius boni *om.* N 533 ipsam *om.* R; *add.* ipsius *post* rationem T1 534 videntur/videtur T 535 bonum *om.* N; *add.* quod R 536 quod *add.* non P habent/habet T aliquid/aliquid N tunc/tamen R 537 dicere *om.* R boni *add.* quia R 538 ita quod modus ... aliud bonum *om.* N 539 modus *lect. inc.* R 542 (re sunt) et *om.* N 543 secundum *add.* autem N videntur/videtur NT sonare/consonare NT verba/dicto N; *add.* beati P qui/quod P 545 (magis bona) sunt *add.* et R ubi parva *add.* sunt R 547 et quod in his consistit ratio boni aliquo modo *om.* N 548 (Quod) *add.* autem T sint/sunt N Quod haec sint species boni/Item R a Philosopho *om.* N 549 mathematicae/metaphysicae NR 551 determinatum/determinatio N; determinativum T 555 quia ut supra dictum est/nam R 556 (vel in) comparatione/compositione T

543. cap. III. PL 42,553.

548. Vol. VIII 342<sup>ve</sup>I; Bekker 1078<sup>b</sup>; AL XXV 2, p. 231; XXV 3, p. 277.

552. voir l. 529.

555. voir l. 284 sqq.



per ordinem hic secundum quod aliquid inclinatur in finem vel ad locum vel ad sibi convenientia vel ad causam.

Bonum autem dicitur de re secundum se, ex hoc quod est una et  
560 indivisa, et quod ea, ex quibus constat, sunt coniuncta.

Ex hoc autem quod res est indivisa, sequitur quod sit ab alia divisa, et sic in se est terminata, quia ita est hoc quod non aliud; et hoc importat modus secundum Augustinum, vel determinatum secundum Philosophum.

Item, res dicitur indivisa a se, ita quod est in ea apta et congrua  
565 dispositio eorum quae in ipsa sunt coniuncta; et hoc importat species, id est pulchritudo secundum Augustinum, quae est congruentia partium, vel mensuratio secundum Philosophum, quod idem est.

Verum est quod ipsum totum quod dicitur unum, dicitur unum quia in eo partes sunt apte dispositae et quaelibet pars pulchra, quia apte disposita in toto. Unde et quaelibet res dicitur pulchra et in ordine ad universum  
570 in quantum congruit universo. Et sic species dicitur indivisionem cum congruentia partium rei in re vel ipsius rei ad universum vel partes cuiuslibet ad totum.

Sic ergo haec tria sunt species boni et modi boni. Tamen dicitur in  
575 his consistere ratio boni, quia sunt quasi integrantes et complentes bonum, quia, licet ex quolibet horum res dicatur bona, non tamen complete sed diminute.

Dicitur etiam in his consistere ratio, quia quaelibet horum ex ratione boni quod est unitas habet ortum. Nam ordo ad aliud unitas quaedam  
580 est; esse determinatum ex unitate est et exprimit modum unitatis, scilicet cum congrua dispositione et apta.

Ex dictis autem potest videri quomodo bonum se habet ad pulchrum, quia, ut dicit Dionysius, quarto capitulo De Divinis Nominibus, pulchrum et bonum idem sunt. Quidam tamen dicunt quod differunt ratione, quia pulchrum dicitur habitudinem ad vim cognitivum; unde et dicit  
585 magis rationem causae secundum naturam.

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557 hic/hoc *ante* per ordinem R secundum/hoc R in finem/in fine N; ad finem R  
561 (res) est/sit T 562 quod non *add.* est N 563 determinatum/determinationem R  
vel determinatum secundum Philosophum *om.* N 564 (ita quod) est *om.* NT 568  
(unum) dicitur unum *om.* N 569 apte *om.* N et quaelibet pars pulchra, quia apte  
disposita *om.* N 570 Unde et/quia R (pulchra) et *om.* R 574 Tamen/cum N 579  
quod/quae N 580 unitate *add.* non NT 581 congrua/congruentia RT et apta/apti N

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567. cfr. V Metaphys. Vol. VIII 127 F; Bekker 1020<sup>a</sup>, 1021<sup>b</sup>; AL XXV 2, p. 108; XXV 3, p. 112 sq.

583. cap. VII. PG 3,703 B.



Sed tamen Dionysius videtur dicere quod idem sunt et secundum rationem, quia, ut dicit, omnia desiderant pulchrum et bonum, et nihil est quod non participet utroque, etiam materia prima, ut dicit.

590 Item, commensuratio, quae est ratio pulchritudinis, est species boni. Posset tamen dici quod pulchritudo, in quantum dicit commensurationem, sic est idem cum bono, quia quidam modus boni; in quantum vero dicit claritatem, sic refertur ad cognitionem et est idem cum uno. Sed primum, scilicet commensurationem, importat pulchritudo magis essentialiter et  
595 principaliter; ideo dicitur esse idem cum omni bono absolute et simpliciter.

Aliquando tamen a doctoribus inveniuntur haec distingui, scilicet bonum, pulchrum et ordo, ut accipiunt bonum secundum aliquam eius acceptionem.

Unde Cassiodorus dicit, in libro de vera Caritate, quod quae a Deo  
600 creata sunt, dicuntur bona et pulchra et ordinata. Bona quidem sunt in quantum a Deo sunt, idest in quantum Deo conformantur, pulchra sunt in quantum quaelibet pars congruit suo universo, ordinata vero sunt in quantum unaquaeque res in hac universitate congruit sibi locum motum tempus-  
que sortitur.

605 Sed tunc dubitatur, an haec tria sint in Deo, scilicet modus, species et ordo.

Et dicendum quod sunt in eo, cum sit summe bonus, sed longe alio modo quam in creaturis. Est enim in eo modus ac determinatio, non quia sit limitatus, sed quia distinctus; quae distinctio non dicit limitationem et  
610 mensuram, sed per suam immensitatem ab omnibus distinguitur. Unde et ratio est quia omnia in se continet et nihil est aliorum, quia longe alia excellit.

Item, in eo est species, id est pulchritudo, non commensurationis

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588 pulchrum et bonum/bonum et pulchrum N 591 Posset/potest N 593 uno *corr.*  
R1; hoc R Sed *add.* pulchrum T primum *om.* R 594 scilicet *om.* R; secundum N;  
*om.* R 595 cum/omni N 597 (pulchrum) et *om.* R 600 Bona *add.* et N 602  
quaelibet *om.* R 603 motum *add.* et R tempusque/temporis T; et tempus R 605  
tunc dubitatur *om.* R 607 Et *om.* R; sed P 609 distinctio/distinctionem N 610  
(Unde) et *om.* N 611 in se *ante* omnia T aliorum/eorum N; horum P 612 excellit  
*corr.* R1; *lect. inc.* R 613 id est/et N; sive P (pulchritudo) non *om.* NT

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587. *ibidem.*

599. Le passage auquel Jacques de Viterbe se réfère ne se trouve pas chez Cassiodore, mais dans le *De Speculo Caritatis* d'Aelred de Rievauld, Livre I cap. II (4-5). PL 195 BC; CCL, Continuatio Mediaevalis, I, 14.



partium in ipso, qui est impartibilis, nec comparatur natura ipsius ad ali-  
 615 quod totum, cum ipse non sit pars universi, sed extra et supra ordinem  
 universi; sed est in eo pulchritudo per unitatem omnium perfectionum in  
 ipso. Unde pulchrum est quia perfectionum rationes sunt in eo unitive et  
 sine confusione, sed cum omnimoda congruentia, sed divisim, et unitive.  
 Et sic, licet in eo non sint partes, tamen sunt ibi perfectiones. Unde pul-  
 620 chritudo est in sua essentia secundum perfectiones, et in sua sapientia se-  
 cundum ideales, et nihil est in eo quod ei non congruit.

Ordo est in ipso, non quo ipse ad aliud ordinetur, sed quomodo  
 omnia ad ipsum ordinantur. Et sic patet.

Sic igitur ordinetur quaestio a principio, ut primo dicatur de ordine  
 625 huius quaestionis ad praecedentes; quia enim dictum, ens dividitur per  
 unum et multa, et potentiam et actum principaliter. Superius autem, circa  
 principium, statim quaesitum fuit de uno et multo, post vero de potentia et  
 actu.

Restat consequenter dicere de his quae se habent consequenter ad  
 630 unum et multum, et potentiam et actum. Et primo de his quae se habent  
 consequenter ad unum. Hoc autem est bonum, cui etiam proximum est  
 totum, consequenter de his quae pertinent ad multitudinem, ut oppositio  
 postea de eo quod consequitur actum, scilicet verum, et cetera.

Tunc procedendum est ad quaestionem hoc modo.

635 Primo videndum in quo consistit ratio boni et quae est eius ratio;  
 ubi breviter dicendum de diversis modis et post de modo vero.

Secundo de modis boni qui accipiuntur secundum rationem ipsius  
 boni.

Tertio ex his poterit videri quomodo diversi modi dicendi de ratio-

614 (ipso) qui/quo N impartibilis/partibilis NT 616 sed est *add.* ibi N in ipso *om.*  
 T 617 perfectionum/perfectiones N rationes/rationum N; ratione T 618 cum/est R  
 (congruentia) sed/non R (divisim) et/sed PR 619 Et *om.* N sic *om.* NR; *post* licet T  
 620 Unde pulchritudo ... secundum perfectiones *om.* N sapientia secundum *add.* quod N  
 621 eo/ipso T congruit/congruat R; *add.* et R 623 omnia *post* ad ipsum N Et sic  
 patet *om.* R 624 Sic/si N quaestio *om.* N 625 (dictum) ens/est NT 626 (multa)  
 et/per R potentiam *add.* autem R 630 (multum) et *om.* R 631 bonum *add.* bonum  
 N cui/enim NT; *add.* consequentes R etiam/et NR 632 de *om.* T ut/et N 633  
 verum *lect. inc.* T 634 (procedendum) est *om.* TP hoc modo *add.* et N; *add.* quia T  
 Tunc procedendum ... hoc modo *om.* R 635 (quae) est *om.* R 636 ubi/unde N di-  
 cendum *add.* est P diversis *add.* vero T modis *om.* P *post/postea* N ubi breviter  
 ... de modo vero *om.* R vero *add.* et cetera T 639 ex his poterit videri *om.* R



640 ne boni habent veritatem, et quomodo illa quae videntur pertinere ad rationem boni se habent ad bonum.

Quarto et ultimo, quomodo bonum dicitur de Deo, et primo secundum illos modos assignatos de bono ex ratione unitatis, postea vero quomodo illa quae habent convenientiam cum bono et quae videntur dicere  
645 rationem boni, dicuntur de Deo, scilicet esse appetibile, esse perfectum, esse communicabile, esse finem, habere modum, speciem et ordinem. Quae omnia patent ex dictis.

1. Ad primum igitur dicendum quod bonum dictum de Deo quantum  
650 ad rem quam dicit, praedicat eius substantiam, sicut et alia dicta de Deo, sed quantum ad modum dicit aliquid circa substantiam. Substantia enim Dei est eiusdem esse. Bonum autem dicit modum essendi, qui est passio entis modo supra dicto, et cetera.

2. Ad secundum dicendum quod Deus est bonum quod est finis, et  
655 secundum rationem in Deo est prius quam ratio efficientis. Sed de prius et posterius in Deo erit alia quaestio, ubi melius patebit quomodo aliquid in Deo dicitur prius et posterius.

3. Ad tertium dicendum quod proprie sumendo contrarium, secundum  
660 quod contraria sunt in eodem genere et circa idem subiectum, sic Deus non habet contrarium.

Communius autem sumendo, secundum aliquem modorum positorum in V, sic habet quia contraria non semper sunt in eodem genere, immo in diversis generibus, vel ipsa sunt genera, ut dicit Philosophus in Praedicationis.

665 Vel dicendum quod contrarium vel dicitur oppugnativum tantum, vel oppugnativum et peremptivum malum. Igitur est in Deo contrarium secundum oppositionem, non autem secundum peremptionem, ut dicit

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640 (habent) veritatem/rationem NT 642 et ultimo *om.* R et primo secundum ...  
patent ex dictis/secundum omnes modos R 649 igitur *om.* TR dictum *add.* est N  
650 praedicat/protat N substantiam/essentiam N 654 bonum/bonus T 656 aliquid  
*post* in Deo N 657 Sed de prius ... et posterius *om.* R 658 dicendum quod *om.* R  
contrarium/contraria R secundum quod/ut R 662 quia/quod N immo/ymo N; primo  
R 665 (contrarium) vel *om.* N 666 peremptivum/perhemptivum TP 667 peremptio-  
nem/perhensionem T; perhempritionem P

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653. voir I. 503 sqq.

656. voir Quaestio XXVIII, Utrum in Deo sit prius et posterius secundum aliquem modum; voir aussi Quodlibet III, quaestio XXVIII. ed. Ypma 133-134.

663. cap. De oppositis. Vol. I. Pars I 54<sup>vo</sup> KL; Bekker 14<sup>a</sup>; AL I, p. 37; 113.



Augustinus, XII De Civitate Dei capitulo quarto, quod vitium est Deo contrarium tamquam malum bono; et iam est contrarium naturae quam  
670 vitiat. Unde Deo est contrarium sicut malum bono tantum naturae vero quam viciat, non solum sicut malum bono sed etiam sicut nocivum.

4. Ad quartum dicendum quod illa divisio videtur esse boni solum secundum quod ab homine apprehenditur in quantum homo, quia honestum sub hac ratione solum a rationalibus appetitur.

675 Similiter utile, in quantum dicit referre quod est proprium rationis; delectabile etiam non dicitur nisi in habente cognitionem.

Tamen dicunt quidam quod haec divisio potest extendi universaliter ad bonum, quia bonum honestum est, quod propter se appetitur; et sic Deus est bonum.

680 Utile autem quod propter aliud; et sic non dicitur Deus bonum nisi ex perversitate hominum, qui Deum propter aliud diligunt ut mali.

Delectabile autem prout dicitur vel secundum sensum vel quod non habet in se unde diligatur nisi delectationem, unde convenit; secundum autem quod delectabile sequitur honestum, licet ex alia ratione dicatur  
685 honestum et delectabile, sic non convenit Deo. Ipse enim est summe delectabilis, et cetera.

5. Ad quintum dicendum quod in mathematicis est bonum, non quidem bonum quod est in operatione vel quod habet ordinem ad motum, sed alio modo, quia in eis est commensuratio, ordo et determinatio, quae sunt  
690 species boni, ut dicit Philosophus in XIII.

6. Ad sextum dicendum quod bonum non secundum eandem rationem dicitur de omnibus; licet enim omne quod est dicatur bonum in quantum

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668 capitulo quarto/capitulo X T; *om.* P vitium *mss.* viciū vitium est *add.* in N  
669 (contrarium) naturae *om.* N; *add.* secundum R quam/quod NT; quamquam R 670  
vitiat *mss.* viciat (naturae) vero/autem P; non TR 671 quam/quod NT; quamquam R  
vitiat/convitiat N 672 solum/tantum N 673 apprehenditur/deprehenditur T; reprehenditur N  
honestum *add.* solum R 674 rationalibus/rationibus NT 675 referre/differre NT  
677 Tamen dicunt quidam quod *om.* R extendi/accipi N; ostendi T; attendi R  
677 ad/aut N bonum quia *om.* NT quia/quod P (honestum) est *om.* N 679  
bonum/bonus T 681 ut/et N 682 (dicitur) vel *om.* N 683 nisi/non habet R unde  
convenit ... et delectabile *om.* R 685 (sic) non *om.* NT summe delectabilis/supreme  
delectabile R 686 et cetera *om.* RP 687 (quod) in *om.* RT 688 motum *add.* non  
autem modo quod in eis est P sed/vel N 689 est *om.* N 690 in XIII/in III R 691  
dicendum *om.* N dicendum quod *om.* R rationem *om.* N 692 quod est *om.* R

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668. cap. 3. PL 41,351; CCL 48,357.

690. XIII Metaphys. Vol. VIII 342<sup>vo</sup> J; Bekker 1078<sup>ab</sup>; AL XXV 2, p. 231; XXV 3, p. 277.



est, tamen haec ipsa ratio analoga est.

Sed ad evidentiam illius dicti Boetii considerandum est quod res  
695 dicuntur bonum per essentiam vel in quantum sunt, sicut etiam dicuntur  
unum.

Dicitur enim res una per essentiam, quia non per rem superadditam  
enti, et dicitur una per unitatem secundum quod unitas dicit aliquid supra  
ens, modo supra dicto.

700 Et similiter dicendum de bono, quod res est bona per essentiam et  
per bonitatem.

Item, hoc quod dicitur bonum aliquid per essentiam dupliciter po-  
test intelligi. Uno modo ut dictum est, quia non per aliquid superadditum;  
et sic intelligit Boetius quod omnia in quantum sunt, bona sunt.

705 Alio modo secundum quod distinguitur contra bonum per participa-  
tionem, et sic solus Deus est bonus per essentiam, alia non. Ideo dicit ibi  
Boetius quod omnia in quantum sunt, bona sunt, non tamen sunt sub alia  
bona.

Unde nec est proprie dictum quod sint bona per essentiam, licet  
710 dicantur bona in quantum sunt, et ideo Deus est bonus per seipsum, alia  
participatione eius; ideo dicitur ipsa bonitas, non sic alia quia participant  
bonitatem, et cetera.

7. Ad septimum dicendum quod de pulchro dictum est; tamen scien-  
dum quod nihil prohibet unum et idem diversimode dici de alio proprie et  
715 transitive, sicut lux quantum ad illud a quo nomen imponitur, dicitur prop-  
rie in spiritualibus; quantum vero ad illud quod significandum imponitur,  
dicitur non proprie, ut communiter dicitur.

Similiter potest dici de pulchritudine; imposita enim est ad congru-  
entiam et claritatem corporalem, et cetera.

720 8. Ad octavum dicendum quod dictum est de perfecto, verum est  
quod, si attendamus ad ipsam proprietatem vocabuli, non dicitur de Deo  
proprie, sed quantum ad illud quod significare intendimus, dicitur proprie;

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693 haec/hoc NT analoga/anologa NP; analogua T 694 illius/huius R est om. R  
695 bonum/bonae R vel om. R 696 unum lect. inc. R 698 secundum quod/ut R  
(aliquid) supra/super P 705 secundum quod/ut R 707 sub alia/substantia R 711  
non/nec NT sic/sicut R quia/quae NT 712 et cetera om. N 713 quod om. R  
dictum/dicendum N 714 alio ante diversimode R; alioque NT 715 quantum/quam N  
illud/aliud N dicitur om. N 715 de/a N 719 et cetera om. NP 720 dictum est  
post de perfecto R 721 quod om. N ipsam om. R

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694. De Hebdomadibus. PL 64,1311 C.

704. De Hebdomadibus. PL 64,1311 D.



in rebus enim factis, tunc dicitur perfectum, cum nihil restat faciendum, et ideo extenditur ad significandum omne illud quod nihil deesse, et cetera.

725 9. Ad nonum dicendum quod non est nugatio, sicut nec dicendo unum ens, sicut dicit Commentator, in IV Metaphysicae, quia, licet idem dicat quod ens, tamen alio modo, nec est simile de animali et homine, quia unum non se habet ad ens ut species ad genus, cum convertantur, sed magis ut passio ad subiectum.

730 Unde, sicut non est nugatio dicendo nasus cavus, sic non ens unum; tamen dissimile est, quia unum non dicit rem additam sicut simus vel propria aliqua passio specialis.

Sed adhuc est dubitatio, quare magis est nugatio in genere et specie quam in ente et partibus et passionibus entis.

735 Et dicendum quod ens non comparatur ad ea de quibus dicitur ut genus, quasi dicatur [?] illa in potentia sicut genus, sed sicut aequivocum ad sua significata quae significat actu; licet ens non sit pure aequivocum, tamen quantum ad hoc convenit cum aequivoco.

Unde, cum additur sibi aliquid, non determinat ipsum sicut differentia genus, sed solum specificat aliquod eius significatum, quod non specificatur nomine entis.

Unde, sicut non est nugatio dicendo canis latrabilis, sic nec dicendo ens unum, vel ens substantia, et sic de aliis.

745 Vel melius dicendum sicut prius, quod unum et illa quae dicuntur passionibus entis, non sunt significata entis, sed exprimunt modum aliquem essendi, qui non significatur nomine entis nec implicite nec explicite, licet dicant eandem rem quam ens. Et ideo dicuntur passionibus entis, quia sunt extra intellectum entis, sicut passio extra intellectum subiecti; sed X praedicamenta sunt significata entis, et sunt ut partes vel species, et ideo forte 750 nugatio est dicendo ens substantia, non autem est nugatio dicendo ens unum.

Videtur enim quod magis sit nugatio dicendo ens substantia quam

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723 enim/in N factis/perfectis R faciendum/perficiendum P 724 quod/cui NR1 deesse, et cetera/deest N 725 dicendum quod *om.* R dicendo/de deo R 726 ens *om.* N; *ante* unum R sicut/ut R in IV/in X TP; in IV NR; in *om.* R 727 tamen/cum N alio/aliquo N 728 ut/sicut T 730 non est *add.* illud R 731 dissimile *add.* illud R simus/symus R 732 aliqua/alia N 733 adhuc est *om.* R dubitatio *lect. inc.* R quare/quia N in/inter N 734 (partibus) et/vel R 735 Et *om.* R 736 sicut/ut R 737 tamen *om.* R 739 non *lect. inc.* T 742 dicendo *om.* R 744 quae *om.* N Vel melius ... illa quae dicuntur *om.* T 747 quia/quae NT 749 et/sed N ut *om.* N 750 (nugatio) est *post* ens N est nugatio *om.* R dicendo *add.* ens N



animal homo, cum ens actu significet substantiam, animal autem hominem in potentia.

755 Non tamen est nugatio dicendo ens per se, quod exprimit modum entitatis substantiae. Unde praedicamenta non dicunt modos essendi. Unde specificatio entis ad aliquam suam partem non debet fieri per nomen praedicamenti, sed per rationes praedicamenti, sicut specificatio generis fit per differentias.

760 Sic ergo secundum hoc unum et bonum non significantur per ens, sed dicunt rationem superadditam; et hoc est melius dictum quam illud quod fuit dictum supra, quod scilicet significantur per ens implicite. Patet enim quod nec implicite nec explicite. Significant enim eandem; tamen ens non significant illam rem sub illa ratione sub qua significat eam, cum  
765 unum tamen praesupponit significationem vel rationem entis, non autem e converso. Sunt ergo diversae rationes.

Quod autem dicit Commentator, quod ens dicit unum per significationem, unum autem per prolationem, intelligendum est forte ratione rei significatae, quia dicunt eandem rem. Unde, quia dicunt eandem rem, di-  
770 cendo unum, consignificatur aliud, sicut quia duo accidentia sunt in uno subiecto, in uno consignificatur aliud, secundum quod includunt subiectum, scilicet ut sumuntur in concreto. Et quia ens dicit eandem rem quam unum et e converso, ideo dicendo ens consignificatur unum ratione rei, licet ratio utriusque sit alia.

775 10. Ad decimum dicendum quod bonum divinum additum bono creaturae non est maius bonum, sed est pluribus modis bonum. Unde potest dici quod non facit magis sed plus, sicut dicitur de indivisibili addito indivisibili. Unde sunt plura bona, sed magis bonum, quia bonum creaturae excellentius praeexistit, quamvis etiam dici possit quod Deus nec proprie

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753 hominem *post* in potentia N 756 essendi *add.* sed rationes praedicamentorum dicunt modos; passiones autem entis dicunt modos essendi R 757 suam/sui N debet/dicitur N 758 (fit) per *om.* T 762 fuit/est R significantur/significetur N (implicite) patet enim quod implicite nec *om.* NT 763 significant/significat N 764 significant/significat N eam/illam R cum/tamen P cum unum/verum R 765 praesupponit/praesupponat N unum *om.* NR 768 est *om.* N ratione/rationem RT 769 eandem/eadem N 770 consignificatur/quod significatur N 771 consignificatur/significatur N secundum *om.* N; sed T 772 eandem/eadem N 776 bonum/unum N 778 (Unde) sunt *om.* T magis bonum/maius N 779 quamvis/licet R 780

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762. voir l. 744 sqq.

767. Averroes, cfr. in IV Metaphys. text. com. 3. Vol. VIII 67 EF.



780 connumeratur nec additur creaturae, ut alias fuit ostensum.

11. Ad undecimum dicendum quod bonum non secundum omnem sui acceptionem dicitur habitudinem ad appetitum. Vel dicendum quod ratio boni secundum quod bonum non consistit in ordine ad appetitum. Sed talis ordo fundatur in bono sicut in termino, non ut in subiecto, quia est terminus huius ordinis.

Sed antequam intelligatur ordo ad appetitum, intelligitur ordo conformitatis in bono ad rem quae dicitur appetere. Unde ratio boni praecedit ordinem ad appetitum dupliciter, et secundum quod dicitur bonum aliquid in se, et secundum quod bonum dicitur ut natum est ei aliquid conformari. 790 Aliud est enim esse tale cui aliquid conformari possit, et aliud quod appeti possit. Unde est ibi duplex relatio et habitudo, et utraque secundum rationem, scilicet relatio conformitatis et appetibilitatis. Ad hoc enim appetit ut conformetur.

Vel dicendum forte quod idem appetere est conformari, quia appeti- 795 tus et conformitas quaedam est et assimilatio, sed diversimode secundum quod diversum appetitum. Et quod dicitur similitudo est appetenda, intelligendum est quia illud appetitur cui natum est appetens assimilari, et quod ratio appetitus in assimilatione attenditur, quae est secundum connaturalitatem vel convenientiam. Et tunc dicendum quod ratio boni secundum se 800 praecedit rationem appetibilitatis.

Nec est simile de vero, quia verum est in anima, bonum in rebus. Unde bonum secundum principalem suam acceptionem dicitur modum essendi, non respectum ad appetitum; sed de vero patebit infra, utrum de ipso dici possit sicut de bono, et cetera.

805 12. Ad duodecimum dicendum quod omnia Deum appetunt, ut communiter dicitur, in sua similitudine quae finita est. Unde appetere infinitum finite, nihil inconueniens, idest secundum participationem finitam Deum

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780 connumeratur/connumerantur N alias fuit ostensum/dictum fuit alibi R 781 undecimum/duodecimum N dicendum quod om. R non post acceptionem T 782 ad appetitum om. N ratio om. T 788 (dicitur) bonum om. R 789 ut/secundum quod P; quod R 791 est post duplex relatio et om. T rationem/relationem N 794 (dicendum) quod om. N forte ante dicendum N (appetere) est om. N conformari add. et P appetitus add. et N 796 (secundum) quod om. P diversum appetitum/diversos appetitus R 800 appetibilitatis/appetitus N 801 vero/potentia N 804 et cetera om. N 805 Deum/bonum N ut/unde N 806 finita lect. inc. N appetere/appetibile N infinitum/finitum R 807 id(est) om. T

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780. voir Quaestio XXVII. Utrum verum sua veritas Deo convenit et sit in ipso.



appetere est ei assimilari et conformari, vel appetitu naturali vel alio diversimode.

810 Ad ea quae sunt in contrarium de dicto Augustini, dicendum quod est bonum omnis boni, idest causa omnis boni, vel a quo omnia dicuntur bona extrinseca denominatione, vel quia continet omne bonum.

Quod autem dicit Dionysius patet; est enim substantiale bonum, idest per essentiam, non per participationem.

815

Eindhoven

Eelcko YPMA, O.S.A.

Ce professeur ne méritait pas étude que certains auteurs parvenaient à classer académique à Louvain du temps du jansénisme et de l'anti-jansénisme. Il s'agit de la biographie de l'évêque de Louvain, Louis de Boulogne, 1956, p. 362-363 (sous abrégé Clavier). Joseph F. Spelman, *The Irish in Belgium*, VI, *The Irish in Louvain*, Francis Martin, S.I.D., dans *The Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, 2e série, 7 (1884) 110-116 (sous abrégé Spelman). *Dictionary of National Biography*, XXXVI, 274-275. Mais M. de Boulogne a écrit une espèce d'autobiographie, surtout dans son *Oratio in fine mortis in causa Doctoris Martini contra P. Janseni et contra molantes oblationem Urbis et Orbis*, dans priore parte exhibens compendium et instructiolem summam de quibusdam articulis, et inferiori doctorum illius accusantem, qui postea impensis laudantur; posteriori diluendo falsas conclusiones eidem Doctori per eundem articulos, s.l. 1712, 24 p. in 4°, et non *Quarum juris positum in causa Doctoris Martini contra theologiae Sententiam et cunctas eius oblationes a Janseni, oblationem Urbis et Orbis* (les deux ouvrages insignia hétéroclites que Doctor illi quatuordecim eorum propositis illi quatuordecim ac nominantur quae posita est ab illis. *Narratioque Historiae Inferioris* *Haecum illius* *Epistolae* *epistolae* *et* *Epistolae* *Generalis* *Machinatio* *omnis* *illius* *M. de Boulogne* *anno* *1712*, s.l. 24 p. in 4°. Nous cherchons ces deux publications par le chiffre romain III ou IV.

Des documents le concernant sont conservés en beaucoup d'endroits, voir par exemple Catherine Gelin, *Catalogue of Material of Irish Interest in the Manuscripts of the Vatican*, dans *Collectanea Hibernica. Sources for Irish History*, vol. 1, 4 et 5 (1958-1963) (sous abrégé *Collectanea*). Jacques Chénier, *La correspondance de Nicolas Leblond, intendant aux Pays-Bas (1722-1723)*, Bruxelles, 1958 (sous abrégé *Thiébaut*). Clavier-Boulogne, *Biographie de l'évêque de Louvain*, dans *l'Annuaire université*

810 dicendum om. N 811 idest/et N

810. voir l. 52-53.

813. De Divinis Nominibus IV. PG 3,694 B.







## FRANÇOIS MARTIN (1652-1722)

Professeur à l'Université de Louvain

Ce professeur ne mérite une étude que comme témoin particulier du climat académique à Louvain du temps du jansénisme et de l'anti-jansénisme. Il n'existe que de brèves notices biographiques dans F. Claeys-Bouuaert, *L'ancienne université de Louvain. Études et documents*, Louvain, 1956, p. 263-265 [nous citerons Claeys]; Joseph P. Spelman, *The Irish in Belgium*, VI, *The Tribes at Louvain: Francis Martin, S.T.D.*, dans *The Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, 3e série, 7 (1886) 1100-1106 [nous citerons Spelman]; *Dictionary of National Biography*, XXXVI, 274-275. Mais Martin lui-même a écrit une espèce d'autobiographie, surtout dans son *Tertium juris motivum in causa Doctoris Martin contra Patres Jesuitas et ceteros molinistas oblatum Urbi et Orbi, cuius priori parte exhibetur confessio et retractatio erratorum, de quibus tantum abest, ut adversarii doctorem illum accusarent, quin potius impense laudarent; posteriori diluuntur falsa crimina eidem doctori per eosdem objecta*, s.l., 1712, 24 p. in 4°. et son *Quartum juris motivum in causa Doctoris Martin contra theologos Societatis et cunctos eis adhaerentes et faventes; oblatum Urbi et Orbi. Quo exponuntur insignia beneficia quae Doctor ille quibusdam eorum praestitit; Et gravamina ac nocumenta quae passus est ab iis. Narraturque Historia Informationum hisce diebus captarum sub Vicario Generali Mechliniensi contra illum*. Mense Maio anno 1712, s.l., 24 p. in 4°. Nous citerons ces deux publications par le chiffre romain III ou IV.

Des documents le concernant sont conservés en beaucoup d'endroits; voir par exemple Cathaldus Giblin, *Catalogue of Material of Irish Interest in the Nunziatura di Flandria*, dans *Collectanea Hibernica. Sources for Irish history*, vol. 3, 4 et 5 (1960-1963) [nous citerons *Collectanea*]. Jacques Thielens, *La correspondance de Vincenzo Santini, intèrnonce aux Pays-Bas (1713-1721)*, Bruxelles, 1969 [nous citerons Thielens]. Claeys-Bouuaert, *Inventaire de documents relatifs à l'ancienne université de Louvain (Faculté de théologie) conservés au Grand Séminaire de Gand*, dans *l'Université de Louvain à travers cinq siècles*, Bruxelles, 1927, 273-308; id., *Inventaire de pièces d'archives provenant de l'ancienne université de Louvain*, dans *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, 53 (1958) 796-829; 54



(1958) 96-114 [nous citerons *Claeys*, I ou II]); J. Bruggeman et A.J. Van de Ven, *Inventaire d'archives françaises... (Ancien fonds d'Amersfoort)*, La Haye, 1972. H. De Vocht, *Inventaire des archives de l'Université de Louvain (1426-1797) aux Archives générales du Royaume à Bruxelles*, Louvain, 1927, surtout les numéros 72-76: *Acta Universitatis*, et 387: *Acta Facultatis theologiae*; voir aussi les n<sup>os</sup> 461; 1485 et 1496. C. Van de Wiel, *Jansenistica te Mechelen. Het archief van het Aartsbisdom*, Leuven 1988 [nous citons AAM, avec le n<sup>o</sup> correspondant de Van de Wiel].

Pour replacer la carrière de Martin dans son cadre historique, on peut se servir de l'ouvrage d'E. Reusens, *Documents relatifs à l'histoire de l'Université de Louvain (1425-1797)*, 4 vol., Louvain, 1893-1902; avec la *Table des notices* par Jean Buchet, Louvain, 1977. Il y a enfin le livre anonyme *L'État présent de la Faculté de théologie Louvain*, Trévoux 1701, utile quant à la carrière de Martin<sup>1</sup>.

Pour retracer la carrière extraordinaire de cet Irlandais si singulier, nous emploierons une méthode semblable, une espèce de chronique donc, qui nous a semblé la seule possible, tout en citant ses textes dans son latin qui ne souffre pas la traduction.

## 1652

Vers la fin du mois de novembre, François naît à Galway, petit port sur la côte occidentale de l'Irlande. Son père appartient à une des quatorze familles de marchands maritimes dont se fait prévaloir la petite cité. Il est apparenté à d'autres familles, en particulier les Lynch, dont un membre sera bientôt archevêque de Tuam, métropole tout proche, et les Frentz, dont un membre sera dominicain et supérieur du Collège des dominicains irlandais à Louvain (Reusens, V, 521-522). François reçoit sa première

<sup>1</sup> Ce livre curieux mérite un instant notre attention. En voici le titre complet: *État présent de la Faculté de théologie de Louvain, où l'on traite de la conduite de quelques-uns de ses théologiens et de leurs sentiments contre la souveraineté et la sûreté des rois et contre les IV. Articles du Clergé de France, en trois Lettres avec plusieurs pièces curieuses sur ces matières*. A Trévoux, 1701, in-16, XXXII, 318 p. Il y a d'abord l'introduction: *Lettre d'un Docteur de Sorbonne à un chanoine de Tournai*; suivie de trois *Lettres d'un chanoine à un Docteur de Sorbonne*; la première (p.1-25) sur la doctrine de Charles-Ghislin Daelman; la seconde, (p. 26-147) sur le P. Bernard Désirant, augustin, professeur à Louvain; la troisième (p. 148-318) sur François Martin. Vu les nombreux documents qu'il reproduit, l'auteur est bien renseigné. Qui est-il? D'après Felix-Victor GOETHALS, *Histoire des lettres des sciences et des arts en Belgique*, t. IV, 1844, furent désignés Ernest Ruth-d'Ans, chanoine de Tournai, et Nicolaos Petitpied, docteur de Sorbonne, mais il y eut certainement aussi un collaborateur ("licencié") de Louvain pour fournir certains documents.



formation dans sa ville natale; ses études secondaires il les fera à la maison même, au manoir natal, mais, d'après son propre aveu (III,5) "per interval-la ut sese magistri offerebant". Parmi ses maîtres il y a Jacques Lynch, jeune prêtre, apparenté à la famille, qui sera plus tard archevêque de Tuam (1669-1713); *Hierarchia catholica*, (V. 393).

1670

Au terme de sa rhétorique, ne trouvant moyen de poursuivre ses études, François se fait maître d'école:

"Cumque illic nulla esset opportunitas altiora studia capessendi, toto fere trien-nii spatio docendis domi nostrae duobus ex fratre et sorore nepotibus cum vacassem..." (III,5).

1673

Finalement à l'âge de 22 ans, il est envoyé par l'archevêque Lynch à l'université de Louvain, bien catholique, mais où depuis 1640 la querelle entre antijansénistes et jansénistes n'a cessé de s'aggraver et atteindra bien-tôt, en 1678, son point culminant à cause de l'érection d'une Société secrète, très active et très répandue, qui a pour but d'éteindre totalement le jan-sénisme le plus vite possible et par tous les moyens<sup>2</sup>. François est reçu au Collège pastoral irlandais, érigé en 1628 uniquement pour former de jeunes ecclésiastiques en vue du ministère paroissial en Irlande (Reusens, III, 476). À cette époque (1672-1699) ce collège est dirigé par Jean Sullivan (ib., III, 481-482), un éminent irlandais, qui favorisera son nouveau disci-ple, mais n'en recevra pas toujours la reconnaissance due.

En décembre, lors de l'immatriculation, se faisant passer pour "pau-vre", François ne paie qu'une taxe réduite<sup>3</sup>. Il suit les cours des Arts à la "Pédagogie" ou Collège du Lys. Mais bientôt, invoquant sa petite santé, il s'avoue incapable de suivre le régime spartial en vigueur à Louvain, et désire retourner à Galway. Indulgent, son président lui offre de mitiger le régime: le matin il se lèvera plus tard et ne suivra qu'une des quatre leçons

<sup>2</sup> Voir L. CEYSSENS, *Een geheim genootschap ter bestrijding van het jansenisme in België*, dans id., *Jansenistica. Studiën in verband met de geschiedenis van het Jansenisme*, Mechelen, 1950, 343-361. Dans cette Société plusieurs Irlandais jouèrent un rôle, entre autres les deux franciscains Patrice Duffy et François Porter, auxquels nous avons consacré des études: *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*, XIV, 1003-1004 et *Biographie nationale*, XXXIII, 601-603.

<sup>3</sup> Voir A. SCHILLINGS, *Matricule de l'Université de Louvain*, VI, 361, n° 14.



par jour, sans devoir étudier davantage dans la journée (III,5). Néanmoins François passe de bons examens.

1674

Cependant au concours général des quatre collèges des Arts, François est un peu déçu. Il écrira:

"Biennali cursu finito, tametsi professores semper me reputassent "primum" Scholae [du Lys], in examinibus *ad calamum*, ut vacantur, eorum expectationi non correspon-di; quae licet saepius solito repetuissent ac iterassent, explorantes an altius conscendere possem, tribus me juste postposuerunt, sic ut evaserim quartus scholae meae [du Lys] et in generali quatuor paedagogorum promotione tertius in lineae secundae" (III,5).

En somme un bon résultat pour un étranger de Galway, déjà d'âge adulte.

1675

Tout en continuant de résider au Collège pastoral, François commence sa théologie. Dans les cours, ses professeurs l'introduisent surtout dans l'augustinisme. Mais bientôt, sagace, étudiant les *Opuscula theologica* d'Augustin, François fatigue son président par ses questions à propos des difficultés qu'il rencontre dans cette ancienne doctrine, qui lui semble bien étrange: "Nascimur enim omnes Pelagiani" (III,6). Néanmoins dans une de ses thèses de baccalauréat, François défend la grâce efficace augustinienne, mais sans conviction, car il subit déjà l'influence des deux jésuites français François Annat et Étienne de Champs (cf. Sommervogel, I, 399-410 et II, 1863-1869), qui attaquent hardiment l'augustinisme et même le thomisme.

#### I. LES VINGT ANS D'ANTI-JANSENISME (1675-1705)

Sous l'influence d'Annat et de Champs, et sans doute aussi sous d'autres influences plus directes, François commence à se transformer en antijanséniste. Il écrira en 1712:

"Horum ego nihilominus, admiratione commotus, Molinae systema, juvenis tunc incautus et imprudens, avide suscepi tenuique mordicus, et annos circiter viginti pertinaciter asserui, firmissime persuasus istud systema inter et calvinianum seu jansenianum nullum medium systema posse assignari; nec inter calvinianum et jansenianum systema quidquam solidi subesse discriminis (III,6)".

Néanmoins, voulant réussir dans ses études, François cache provisoirement ses nouvelles convictions, au point que même Sullivan, son président, ne s'en aperçoit pas: "Sed hoc nec praeses meus nec alius quis-



quam facile scire potuit, antequam anno 1681 fuissem ad linguae graecae professionem in Collegio Busleidiano seu Trilingui promotus" (III,6).

### 1681

En effet pour pourvoir aux frais de leurs études théologiques, les maîtres des arts cherchaient ordinairement déjà un petit enseignement dans un des collèges des Arts. En 1681 "la leçon de Grec" étant vacante au Collège de Busleiden, François désire obtenir le poste, mais il y a de la concurrence. Chacun des deux proviseurs ont leur candidat: Sullivane donne sa préférence à François qui est son compatriote, le deuxième, Gérard van Vianen, qui passe pour le chef des jansénistes, préfère un certain van der Borgt (a Castro). Pour gagner le parti, François fait appel au Conseil de Brabant, dont le chancelier Simon de Fierlandt (*Biographie nationale*, VII, 57-60) est entièrement vendu aux antijansénistes, même au point de leur prêter son nom pour leurs publications. De plus François se fait défendre par le fameux Nicolas Du Bois également un ardent antijanséniste<sup>4</sup>. Durant les trois ans que traîne le procès François sent son antijansénisme s'accroître:

"... Ego tam eius auctoritate [celle de Du Bois] quam odii Domini Vianen, adversarii mei, in molinistarum doctrina magis, magisque confirmabar omni- que data occasione (ut sum natura promptior et vehementior) in dogmata particularia nostrae Scholae ... palam invehi solebam" (III,7).

### 1683

Le Conseil de Brabant donne une sentence équitable: les deux concurrents passeront un examen. Les examinateurs lui sont favorables; François obtient la leçon de grec, et il la tiendra jusqu'à la fin de sa vie; et en profitera pour expliquer le Nouveau Testament grec dans un sens antijanséniste (III,7).

Entre-temps en 1682, ayant déjà obtenu les premiers degrés en théologie, François a pu s'installer comme lecteur chez les Martinistes, Chanoines réguliers de Saint-Augustin, qui se sont rendus si méritoires dans l'édition des *Oeuvres* de saint Augustin. Il y enseigne à sa façon:

"Canonicos regulares S. Martini ... in molinistarum principiis gnaviter institui. Hinc magnam inivi gratiam apud Patres Societatis omnes et singulariter apud

<sup>4</sup> Voir mon étude *La promotion de Nicolas Du Bois à la chaire d'Écriture sainte à Louvain en 1654*, dans *Bulletin de l'Institut historique belge de Rome*, 489-553, repris dans mes *Jansenistica minora*, t. VIII, fasc. 65). Sur les incidents relatifs à la leçon de grec, voir, III, 6-7; CLAEYS-BOUUAERT, *L'Ancienne université*, 263.



Patres de Reulx<sup>5</sup> et van Outers<sup>6</sup>; (III,7).

1684

Déjà bachelier et prêtre, François oublie de rentrer en Irlande pour y assumer un ministère pastoral. Il continue ses études. Malgré ses tendances molinistes bien connues, il passe sans obstacles les multiples examens de la licence en théologie; preuve qu'au moment voulu, il sait être prudent et qu'il a des protecteurs puissants. Dès lors il n'hésite pas à passer du molinisme doctrinal à l'antijansénisme actif en vue de favoriser ses nouveaux amis et de contrarier ses nouveaux adversaires:

"... Circa illud tempus, ad obsequendum desiderio Patrum Societatis et promerendam benevolentiam Eximiorum Dominorum de Charneux et Sullivane, apud ... Internuntium et quosdam Aulae Bruxellensis ministros, quantum potui laboravi ut demortuis ... Facultatis regentibus Recht, Van Werm, Lupo et Laurent, substituerentur novi doctores Lovinus, de Charneux, Farvacques, Sullivane [le jeune, neveu de Jean], exclusis antiquioribus doctoribus Huygens, Lacman, Steyaert [déjà en voie de passer aux antijansénistes et de devenir leur chef], Hennebel etc<sup>7</sup>. eo quod hi publice haberentur gratiae per se efficacis (adeoque, ut ego cum molinistis putabam) jansenianae haeresis assertores. Hac quidem nos ratione movebamur ..." (III,7).

Mais pour mieux réussir auprès de l'internonce et de Rome qui semblaient peu s'intéresser à la grâce efficace, François et ses compagnons braquaient leurs armes dans une nouvelle direction, accusant leurs adversaires de tenir les Quatre articles gallicans du Clergé de France (de 1682)<sup>8</sup>

"... Eos Internuntio et Summo Pontifici reddimus odiosos aut suspectos, eaque ratione fecimus excludi ... Res illa ex voto (successit), assumptis nimirum ad vacantia loca Facultatis quatuor amicis et patronis meis" (III,7).

1685

"Theses theologicas composui iisdemque praesedi in monasterio S. Martini ... quibus defendendis, voce magis quam scripto, dogmata scholae nostras (augustinianae) rejeci, et S. Augustini auctoritatem, utpote gratiae per se efficacis, et

<sup>5</sup> Le P. Joseph de Reulx, Gantois, mort en 1698, fut professeur de théologie à Louvain, plus tard fonctionnaire à la curie généralice à Rome, antijanséniste décidé; A. PONCELET, *Nécrologe des jésuites*, Wetteren, 1931, 125.

<sup>6</sup> Emmanuel van Outers, Bruxellois, mort en 1693; cf. *ibid.*, 120

<sup>7</sup> Les Louvanistes cités sont assez connus; voir les ouvrages de consultation. Notez que le Sullivane cité, est Florent, le neveu de Jean. Si l'oncle était le protecteur de François, Florent en sera presque la victime.

<sup>8</sup> L. CEYSSENS, *L'ancienne Université de Louvain et la Déclaration du Clergé de France (1682)*, dans *Revue d'Histoire ecclésiastique* 36 (1940) 345-399.



consequenter mea tunc sententia calvinianae et jansenianae haereseos praecipui auctoris, susdeque habui" (III,7-8).

Une telle audace ne restera pas sans conséquences.

1686

Le 24 avril, dans son ardeur antijanséniste, François fait soutenir une thèse excessivement ultramontaine à Saint-Martin (*État*, 251-255). Selon lui, il n'y a pas de limites au pouvoir spirituel et temporel des papes; comme au moyen-âge, ils peuvent toujours déposer les rois; ils sont au-dessus du concile général; ils sont infaillibles même dans des questions de *faits* humains! Cette thèse va provoquer l'*État présent*, cette publication si confondante.

1687

Ambitieux, François, cet Irlandais pauvre, destiné au ministère paroissial dans sa patrie, aspire au doctorat en théologie, un degré extraordinaire correspondant à la maîtrise actuelle, et que par conséquent très peu d'étudiants atteignent, et qui en outre comporte des frais énormes. Grâce à ses protecteurs, il est admis à cette promotion. Pour réduire les frais, il sera promu en même temps que Pierre Marcelis, un antijanséniste étrange, surnommé *Petrus admirabilis*, d'âge déjà avancé<sup>9</sup>. François parvient à se procurer la somme nécessaire<sup>10</sup>.

1688

Les 26, 29 et 31 janvier, François passe des examens oraux publics. Les examinateurs et les objecteurs ne manquent pas de le questionner sur certains points sensibles. Il répond avec hardiesse de sorte que les assis-

<sup>9</sup> Voir L. CEYSSENS, *Pierre Marcelis, la première moitié de sa vie*, dans *Bulletin de l'Institut historique belge de Rome* 38 (1967) 403-473.

<sup>10</sup> Pour ce qui suit, il est important de citer le passage suivant (III,12): "Hinc praesagiens, Britannici imperii statum cito perturbandum, iter quod ad recipiendos a parentibus meis necessarios doctoratui sumptus, in Hiberniam meditatabar, promovere nolui, sed acceptis a quodam mercatore Roterodami 1500 florenos, dato ei syngrapho ad patrem meum, reversus Lovanium, ipsa die solemnitatis et convii doctoralis, allato nuncio Auricae classis in Angliam profectae, quotquot eramus Lovanii Hiberni et Angli supra modum fuimus contristati et afflicti, ac inter alios Eximius D. Joannes Sullivane. Ad illius viri dejectum animum erigendum solandumque dolorem, ipso convivio dixi ei me nonnulla consilia Regi Jacobo II litteris perscripturum quibus res eius restaurari possent ..."



tants et même les professeurs se renfroignent. Déjà le 29, 53 bacheliers protestent devant le Conseil rectoral, exigeant *violenter* de refuser le doctorat à un candidat qui ose soutenir des opinions si contraires à la tradition louvaniste (*État*, 180-182, 263-266). Mais le recteur Steyaert, antijanséniste convaincu, traite ces bacheliers de "séditieux", et de son côté l'internonce fait lever tous les obstacles (*État*, 182). Ces deux nouveaux docteurs, si orthodoxes, pourront occuper les places dont on exclut les "suspects"! Aussitôt, le nouveau docteur en théologie, Irlandais aussi patriote que catholique, se lance dans la politique de son pays natal. Depuis le règne du roi d'Angleterre, Charles II (1660-1685), les circonstances politiques n'ont cessé d'évoluer tant en Angleterre, pays occupant et hérétique, qu'en Irlande occupée depuis longtemps, mais restée si catholique. Comme tous ses compatriotes François ose espérer qu'avec l'aide des catholiques d'Irlande et d'Angleterre, Jacques II réussira à établir une monarchie catholique. À l'automne 1688, quand le Prince d'Orange, Guillaume III, avec son armée, traverse déjà la Manche, François ne manque pas de communiquer ses rêves et ses conseils à un *Illustrissimus et Reverendissimus Dominus*, qui n'est autre que Monsignore Ferdinando d'Adda, nonce apostolique auprès de Jacques II<sup>11</sup>.

Comme il ne reçoit pas de réponse à une première missive, il en envoie une seconde, le 8 novembre 1688. Le politicien amateur y parle rondement. Par exemple, "qu'on entreprenne de massacrer le Prince d'Orange, et que pour cela on choisisse six cents cavaliers: deux cents Anglais, autant d'Ecosais et d'Irlandais; qu'on les arme de toutes pièces, et qu'on les envoie fondre sur ce prince, après leur avoir promis de les combler d'honneur et de récompenses; qu'on ne s'amuse à le vouloir vif; il faut le tuer; si on peut venir à bout, qu'on répande au moins le bruit de sa mort dans l'armée ennemie pour y jeter la confusion" (*État*, 152 et 249). Tout comme la première, cette seconde lettre, inconsiderée, n'a probablement pas reçu de réponse, sauf en 1690, celle du désastre sur la Boyne. Entre-temps, rendue publique, cette lettre ne cessera de gêner François. Encore en 1712, 24 ans plus tard, il se voit obligé de la justifier longuement (III, 12-13).

1689

François passe au collège Hovius, dirigé depuis 1642 par Pierre

<sup>11</sup> *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*, I, 511-512. Sur Jacques II, voir e.a. Bruno NEVEU, *Jacques II médiateur entre Louis XIV et Innocent XI*, dans *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire*, 79 (1957) 699-764.



Marcelis, son co-docteur, pour y commencer avec lui une Nouvelle Sorbonne moliniste: "Illic molinisticae scholae dogmata studiosis alumnis et commensalibus diligenter explicabam" (III,10). Mais sous de tels maîtres, la Nouvelle Sorbonne n'arrive pas à prendre son essor et n'a pas longue vie. François se plaindra plus tard, en 1712, d'avoir favorisé injustement le P. Désirant au détriment de Léonard Gautius dans l'attribution d'une leçon d'histoire au Collège des Trois Langues:

"... De qua turpi collusionione cum injusto raptore lectionis Historiarum, acriter meritoque fui a ... Domino Vianen coram tota Universitate reprehensus. Nihilominus perexi cum ... Dominis Steyaert, du Bois, Harney etc. saltem occulte favere dicto Desirantio contra Dominum Gautium..." (III,15; *Reusens*, IV, 513).

### 1690

Gérard Muel, un des suspects, devient président du Collège d'Arras, (*Reusens*, III, 161). Sur le conseil de Marcelis, François le cite devant le Conseil de Brabant pour un cas de précedence; il perd le procès et a environ 1000 florins de frais à payer, ce qui épuise les ressources du pauvre Irlandais.

En février, dans les "disputes sabbatines", Martin se permet de graves impertinences à l'égard du président Steyaert, pourtant son ami et protecteur. Celui-ci veut d'abord réduire au silence cet inopportun incorrigible, mais après des excuses, l'incident est clos (*AAM*, 1840).

### 1691

Le jésuite Jacques de la Fontaine, homme influent auprès de Précipiano le nouvel archevêque de Malines, fait nommer François professeur de théologie au Grand-Séminaire de Malines. Il commence à y donner des cours le 28 février (cf. *Laenen*, p. 105). Le 26 avril suivant déjà, il fait soutenir une thèse "ridiculisant" l'exégèse de saint Augustin (*État*, 269-270). On comprend la réaction des assistants! Le 9 août, le chapitre métropolitain envoie les chanoines Van der Linden et Ricquaert chez l'archevêque pour exiger l'éloignement de ce professeur pétulant<sup>12</sup>. Les séminaristes eux aussi protestent contre la "tendance hérétique" de leur professeur. L'internonce communique leur plainte à Rome<sup>13</sup>.

Pour justifier sa thèse, François commence une apologie qui prend

<sup>12</sup> J. LAENEN, *Het Mechels seminarie*, 106; C. DE CLERCQ, *Cinq archevêques de Malines*, I, 47.

<sup>13</sup> Archives du Vatican, Nunziatura di Fiandra, t. 83, f° 719-720.



bientôt l'allure d'un livre:

"Ibidem tunc composui opus quatuor libellis distinctum, quo conatus sum ostendere propositiones quinque de haeresi damnatas totidem verbis et obvio sensu in libro Jansenii contineri, illumque Ecclesiae menti, sententiae ac doctrinae esse plane contrarium" (III,10).

À ce moment-là c'est l'ouvrage indispensable pour justifier l'antijansénisme en général et le formulaire extraordinaire que Précipiano vient d'introduire en particulier. François a du mal à l'achever; sans doute a-t-il fait appel à l'aide de quelqu'un d'autre. Bientôt il peut confier "*illud opus ex adversariis meis confuse et obscure descriptum*" à deux amis pour le transcrire au net (III, 19). Il sera dédié à Maximilien de Bavière, le gouverneur général en voie de devenir le souverain des Pays-Bas espagnols (l.c.). L'ouvrage a, sans doute, été mis en forme à l'imprimerie. Mais entre-temps le formulaire de Malines connaît de graves difficultés à Rome, avec la conséquence que l'important ouvrage de François reste - provisoirement - enseveli.

1692/1693

D'après son propre aveu, il commet, pendant son séjour malinois une singulière imprudence envers ses protecteurs les jésuites:

"Dum in Seminario habitarem, Patres Societatis non leviter offendi, palam explodendo eorum inscitiam, et apud Archiepiscopum exprobando eis neglectum studii Sacrae Scripturae, quo ipse candide agnoscens eos laborare, Patrem (Jacobum) Damman et socium eius acriter super eo, me presente, reprehendit" (III,11).

1692

Comme s'il était le président du Séminaire, le professeur renvoie trois séminaristes qui refusent de souscrire au formulaire extraordinaire de Précipiano (III,10).

Sur la fin de l'année, le vieux professeur Nicolas Du Bois, se sentant trop faible pour donner son cours journalier d'exégèse (pour lequel, étant juriste, il n'a jamais eu aucune compétence) veut se faire remplacer par Martin, mais la Faculté de théologie s'y oppose (III,11).

1693

Dans les graves difficultés qu'il rencontre à Rome quant à son formulaire, Précipiano veut tirer profit du livre précieux de François, non encore publié. Le 24 janvier, il s'adresse à son clergé séculier et régulier,



surtout aux supérieurs locaux et provinciaux des ordres religieux:

"Enixe commendamus ut opusculum a R.D. Francisco Martin ... concinnatum adversus dogmata janseniana expendere et de eo quam meretur censuram ferre non gravemini" (AAM, 1881).

Des réponses qu'il recevra, l'archevêque espère profiter pour faire valoriser l'ouvrage capital de François à Rome. Mais l'entreprise n'avance pas par suite des décisions défavorables que Rome va prendre en 1694 et en 1696 au sujet du formulaire. François écrira en 1712:

"... plane desperans, omnem illius operis edendi cogitationem abjeci, donec modernum papam (Clemens XI) anno 1700 apostolicae Sedis fastigium thronumque conscendit" (III,11); [de fait en 1700 Martin a publié son livre sous le nouveau titre: *Infallibilitas Ecclesiae in judicando quis sit sensus alicuius propositionis*; Willaert n° 6616].

Mais dans le tas d'écrits semblables, cet ouvrage passe naturellement inaperçu.

Entre-temps la situation de François au Séminaire de Malines ne s'est pas améliorée, mais il y a une issue à Louvain. Le gouverneur Bedmar a obligé la Faculté de théologie à recevoir Martin comme suppléant du professeur Du Bois. Le suppléant quitte donc Malines le 2 février et le 11 février suivant, il donne à Louvain son premier cours d'exégèse. À cette occasion, pour rassurer ses nouveaux étudiants et d'autres assistants curieux qui sont au courant de son passé, il distribue un imprimé: *Programma de sensu et affectione mea erga S. Augustinum* (III,11), lequel ne plaît pas à tout le monde. En effet, François Pauwens, un augustin connu, ne mord pas:

"Quod cum Eximius P. Pauwens mendacii et imposturae coarguisset, ego die 11 maii eodem anno scripsi ei *Epistolam* impressam, qua licet eius reprehensiones valide conarer confutare, alienati tamen a S. Augustino animi nonnihil suberat ..." (III,11).

Le 18 mai, l'augustin réagit dans une thèse contenant une *Responsio ad Epistolam Domini Francisci Martin* (*Biographie nationale*, XVI, 771-772).

1694

Martin remplace donc du Bois dans le cours d'exégèse, cours important car journalier et donnant droit à une place parmi les Régents. Mais prendra-t-il bientôt la succession de du Bois, à la mort de celui-ci? Il trouvera certainement un concurrent sérieux dans Marcelis, son co-docteur et co-fondateur de la Nouvelle Sorbonne moliniste! Il a même une autre malchance encore: la chaire de la Censure est vacante; elle est sans importance, même sans aucun cours à donner. Mais le magistrat en est le collateur,



et un des principaux magistrats veut absolument l'attribuer à Martin (III, 11). D'après ses propres aveux, celui-ci, sur le conseil de ses amis, se démet aussitôt pour faire attribuer cette fonction mineure à son futur concurrent Marcelis:

"Anno 1694, rogatus et impulsus a Dominis Steyaert, Harney, du Bois, Damen aliisque eiusdem partis, discessi Lovanio Bruxellas et in Flandriam ad impetrandam ab aula regia Censuram librorum ... Eximio D. Marcelis. Aulam inveni in castris prope Aldenardam, ubi tam persuasorie locutus sum, validissimo jansenismi argumento, pro sene illo, licet ingenii ac iudicii viribus tunc effoeto ... ut solutis objectionibus quae contra senis aspirantis idoneitatem ... fiebant, de praefereendo cunctis Eximio Domino Marcelis redierim". Il ajoute ironiquement: "Fallor, si plusquam decem florenos ad itineris ultro citroque expensas ab eodem Eximio Domino acceperim"<sup>14</sup>.

Entre-temps François a aussi posé sa candidature pour à une "leçon ordinaire" de théologie, certes d'une importance mineure, mais donnant droit à une place au Conseil des Régents; cependant ses adversaires ont "la démence" de lui objecter sa lettre de 1688 contre Guillaume d'Orange, et font échouer l'entreprise (III,11).

Malgré tout, vers la même époque François est nommé censeur ecclésiastique des livres et examinateur synodal par Précipiano (*Dictionary*, 1160).

À partir du début de cette année, François, comme ses partisans, est fort gêné par les décisions romaines désavantageuses<sup>15</sup> pour l'affaire du formulaire et même pour l'action antijanséniste en général. François nous le fait comprendre:

"Après l'arrivée du bref à Louvain, les principaux membres de la faction molinienne (Steyaert, Harney, Bouchy, Marcelis, Damen), accompagnés de quelques professeurs jésuites, se consultèrent chez le professeur Du Bois. À la lecture du passage où le pape défend de molester quelqu'un pour jansénisme avant d'avoir établi juridiquement qu'il tient quelque'une des cinq propositions, ils avouèrent avoir perdu leur cause (*perditam esse causam nostram*). Dans les suivantes assemblées qui se tenaient fréquemment, aussi en présence de l'archevêque et de quelques jésuites, on déclamaient souvent contre Innocent XII, fauteur manifeste du jansénisme (*velut jansenianae haereseos fautori manifeste*). Dans leur désespoir, ils s'exaspérèrent (*et murmura nostra eousque invalesce ut desperabundi mussitaremus quae non licet effari*) ... J'écrivis alors une lettre au P. De Reulx<sup>16</sup> à Rome pour lui expliquer combien fatal c'était

<sup>14</sup> III,13-14. Le 8 décembre 1694, François décrit au P. de la Fontaine les démarches qu'il vient de faire pour atteindre son but; AAM, n° 1073.

<sup>15</sup> Il s'agit d'un décret du Saint-Office en date du 28 janvier 1694 et d'un bref aux évêques belges du 6 février suivant; cf. L. CEYSSENS, *L'introduction du formulaire anti-janséniste en Belgique. Premier essai (1692-1694)*, dans mes *Jansenistica, Études*, t. IV, Malines, 1962.

<sup>16</sup> Dans l'ouvrage cité ci-dessus nous avons reproduit quelques lettres romaines de ce religieux.



pour nous molinistes, de voir abolir la nécessité du *fait*. Il me répondit qu'il partageait entièrement mon avis; que les jésuites étaient tellement odieux à Rome qu'il leur suffisait de se mêler dans une cause pour la perdre (*adeo Romae esse exosos, ut cuivis vel aequissimae causae perdendae sufficeret, eam illis a jesuitis commendari*)" (III,16-17).

1695

Repensant à cette année, François vômit ses coupes: oubliant la reconnaissance qu'il doit à son ancien bienfaiteur, Jean Sullivane, président du Collège irlandais, François le contrarie. Sur le conseil de ses amis, il se rend à Malines pour faire interdire la soutenance de la thèse que Florent Sullivane, neveu de Jean, veut défendre à l'abbaye Sainte-Gertrude à Louvain<sup>17</sup>. Et au même moment, il introduit dans son livre *Trutina* (Willært, n° 5879) une "violente" attaque contre une des thèses de Jean Sullivane, l'oncle de Florent: "Sic in duos conterraneos meos immane furore invectus sum" (III,14). Toujours incité par ses amis, il amène l'archevêque de Malines, l'antijanséniste, à priver de leur juridiction le professeur Opstraet et d'autres docteurs tenus pour jansénistes (III,15-16). De plus il fait attribuer au P. Désirant la leçon d'histoire au Collège des Trois Langues, leçon qui revenait à Léonard Gautius: "... De qua collusionione acriter meritoque fui a ... Domino Van Vianen coram tota universitate reprehensus" (III,15).

En effet, François s'est mis à favoriser ce Père Désirant, le député à Rome:

"... Ab anno 1693 ad 1696, pro missione Desirantii ad Urbem ... noctes atque dies vigilavi et desudavi. Argumenta pro infallibilitate Ecclesiae in definiendo quis sit sensus theologicorum librorum; contra Hennebel, collegi, et manuscripta praedicto Desirantio ad Urbem transmissi" (III,15)".

Il s'occupa également d'envoyer à Rome des témoignages sur les 75.000 florins qui auraient été envoyés d'Anvers à Hennebel pour soudoyer les juges romains (III,15).

En ces années, il intervenait dans le choix des recteurs (semestriels) de l'Université:

"Ad eligendos universitatis rectores archiepiscopi et jesuitarum partibus faven-

<sup>17</sup> III,14: "Anno 1695, mense Augusti, rogatus et impulsus a Dominis Steyaert, Harney, du Bois et aliis confoederatis, hinc Mechlineam excurri ut ab archiepiscopo litteras ad Abbatem S. Gertrudis obtinerem quibus impediretur defensio thesium quas tunc ... Dominus Florentius Sullivane, ibidem proposuerat defendendas. Attuli desideratas litteras, et abbate metuente archipraesulis offensam, impedita est thesium defensio, cum magna illius doctoris, quem abbas magnificabat et impensius amabat, ignominia. Theses postmodum, audita archiepiscopi et nostra contradictione, sacra congregatio Sancti Officii nullae theologiae censurae obnoxias esse declaravit".



tibus, non modo laboravi fortissime, sed militari etiam violentia aliquando pugnavi" (III,15).

Il aide les jésuites à soustraire le Grand Séminaire de Liège au Clergé séculier:

"Omnimodo conatus sum adjuvare Patres Societatis in occupando Leodiensis seminarii regimine, collaborantibus DD. Steyaert, Harney, etc." (III,15).

Il ne refusait pas son approbation théologique aux ouvrages extravagants de Désirant:

"Solut ipse (Martin) in Belgio aut alibi repertus est qui infamis Désirantii vindicias et apologias suo calculo et approbet et luce digne censeat..." (III,15).

### 1696

Le 16 mars, à la mort de Nicolas du Bois, titulaire du cours royal d'exégèse, François, son suppléant, profite de la grande influence dont les antijansénistes jouissent en Espagne, surtout depuis le séjour du P. Pierre Cant S.J. à Madrid (1679-1684)<sup>18</sup>. Sans tarder François est imposé comme successeur par lettres patentes du roi et du Conseil privé à Bruxelles (III,16). Il donne sa première leçon le 10 mai. Jusqu'à sa mort en 1722, il aura l'occasion, chaque jour, d'expliquer l'Écriture sainte à sa façon. Grâce à sa chaire, il devient chanoine de Saint-Pierre. Il assiste Martin Steyaert, "son coryphée", président du Grand collège du Saint-Esprit, dans la direction de cet institut, de sorte qu'il se trouve mieux placé pour participer à l'action antijanséniste<sup>19</sup>. Par l'intervention du Conseil privé, il réussit à empêcher le professeur Opstraet de prendre le doctorat, mais il échoue quand il veut jouer le même tour aux professeurs Claes et Verschuieren (III,16).

Surtout après le 6 novembre, il se démène contre le nouveau bref d'Innocent XII, qui confirme les décisions de 1694, mais qu'on veut interpréter dans un sens diamétralement opposé. Sans entrer dans les détails, il s'en repentira en 1712:

"Idcirco Urbi et Orbi confiteor in fide sacerdotis et conspectu Dei nostri, me cum archiepiscopo et quibusdam Patribus Societatis ... detraxisse non semel illi Summo Pontifici velut jansenianae haereseos fautori manifesto; et murmura nostra eousque invaluisse ut desperabundi mussitarem quae non licet effare..."

<sup>18</sup> L. CEYSENS, *Correspondance de Pierre Cant sur les activités antijansénistes à Madrid*, dans *Bulletin de la Commission royale d'histoire*, 118 (1953) 1-114.

<sup>19</sup> "Tunc vero impensus a Rmo Steyaert, qui eodem anno me sibi associavit in regimine Maioris Collegii [Saint-Esprit] multa mala perpetravi"; III, 16.



1697

Le mécontentement de Martin et de ses amis contre le dernier bref romain persiste. François écrit:

"Quam parum reverenti, quamque irreligiose tunc in apostolicam Sedem fuimus animo, molinistarum sequaces vel amici omnes! Deus nobis parcat, et ipse Sancta Sedes, pro consueto suo in filios etiam protervos affectu, condonet" (III,17).

La situation semble si désespérée, que même Steyaert, le grand batailleur, se trouve "pusillanimiter dejectus animo". Martin cherche en vain de lui rendre courage, mais après les belles promesses romaines, qu'avait annoncées Désirant, "auxit spes frustratis dolorem" (III,18).

Heureusement, vers ce temps, le Père Thyrese Gonzalez, général des jésuites, put obtenir de son roi [d'Espagne] des décrets importants contre les jansénistes (III,15), de sorte que François pouvait dire:

"In praetensos certe Jansenistas, conversatione et eruditione me multo praestantiores, simili furore desaeviebam quo Apostolo [saint Paul] ante conversionem..." (III,19).

À la même époque, Martin et ses amis agirent à Rome pour empêcher que le P. Martin d'Hondt, oratorien et tenu pour janséniste, occupe le poste de provincial auquel il avait été élu<sup>20</sup>.

Il intente un procès à Henri Van Ermengen (président du collège Craenen-donck) qui, le 25 février, "introduxit in congregationem universitatis duos hussarios sive executores Concilii Brabantici", mais l'Université n'en fut pas impressionnée et conclut: "relinqui partem contra partem" (*Acta Universitatis*, t. 73).

1698

Steyaert, président du Collège du Saint-Esprit, charge François comme *praefectus* "de donner quelques leçons de théologie et de présider aux exercices spirituels" (Claeys, 263).

1699

"Interdictis [regiis contra jansenistas] palam ego tunc grassabar adversus collegas et sympresbyteros nostros, contra omnem justitiam, putans cum Saulo me insigne obsequium praestare Deo" (III,23).

<sup>20</sup> (P. DE SWERT), *Chronicon congregationis Oratorii Domini Jesu per provinciam archi-episcopatus Mechliniensis diffusae*, Lille, 1740, 132-163.



Avec ses collaborateurs il en veut spécialement à Guillaume Renardi, pourtant un docteur doué de "praeclaris meritis"<sup>21</sup>, que le gouverneur général venait de charger de la chaire royale du catéchisme, chaire bien dotée et très recherchée.

Alors que ses compagnons

"attoniti, nesciebant quo se verterent, in re desperata, destinor ad Electorem [gouverneur général] eique in sylva Soniensi venanti conqueror de promotione Doctoris Renardi ... quem tetrus jansenistae, rigoristae et novatoris coloribus Suae Celsitudinis depingebam et vehementibus assertionibus magni scandali ex illius Doctoris promotione nascituri piissimi Principis animum eousque urgebam et quasi arietebam; donec libello supplici quem paratum habebam, in Castro Bosfortensi sua manu adscripsisset apostillam..." (III,23).

1700

Finalement, dans le climat plus favorable créé par la mort d'Innocent XII et de Charles II, François (nous l'avons déjà relevé) ose publier, mais sous un nouveau titre, son ouvrage de 1691, resté enseveli: *Infaillibilitas Ecclesiae in iudicando quis sit sensus alicuius propositionis* (Willaert, n° 1616).

Toujours au service des antijansénistes en général et surtout des jésuites en particulier, François va se mêler à la polémique suscitée autour de Henri Denys, ex-professeur du Séminaire de Liège lequel vient d'être confié aux jésuites. À ce théologien (cf. *Biographie nationale*, V, 603-608), on reproche surtout huit propositions, qui sont soumises au jugement de la Faculté de théologie de Cologne. Quand le 17 novembre 1699, celle-ci rend un jugement plutôt favorable à l'incriminé et le publie (Willaert, n° 6703), François s'y oppose: *Refutatio justificationis editae pro defendenda doctrina... Henrici Denys*, Louvain, 1700, VIII-115 p. (Willaert n° 6617).

Mais, le 10 décembre 1700, la Faculté de Cologne lui répond sévèrement par une lettre publique: *Obiurgatoria jussu Facultatis Theologicae ... ad Doctorem Lovaniensem Martin, ob petulantiam qua Sacram Facultatem eiusque iudicium ... sugillare ausus est*, s.l., 1701, 10 p. (Willaert n° 6534 et 6741). Elle relève "l'impudence extraordinaire" du docteur privé qui ose attaquer le jugement autorisé d'un corps académique, et qui n'est qu'un aventurier qui n'a rien à perdre en matière d'honneur parmi les théologiens.

<sup>21</sup> III, 23. En effet, ce Renardi était un professeur remarquable, même ultramontain, mais dans l'interprétation des décisions romaines de 1694 et de 1696, il s'est distancié des antijansénistes; voir une notice dans (P. DE SWERT), *Necrologium aliquot utriusque sexus Romano-Catholicorum*, Lille, 1739, 173.



1701

Sous l'instigation du vieux professeur Steyaert, si antijanséniste, François publie ses *Reflexiones ad nuperrimam Declarationem Doctoris Hennebel*<sup>22</sup>. D'après son aveu postérieur (III,25) François y blâme les disciples de saint Augustin, Hennebel en particulier. Ce livre plaît aux jésuites de Rome. Le P. Jacques de la Fontaine écrit de Rome le 27 juillet:

"Reflexiones ... adeo placent Patri Nostro Generali [Thyrso Gonzalez] ut censent singula earum exemplaria mittenda a Vostra Dominatione ... ad singulos cardinales S. Officii" (AAM, n°1398).

C'est un mauvais conseil, car ces cardinaux ont trop bien apprécié Hennebel pendant son séjour romain, pour permettre qu'il soit injustement attaqué. En 1704 ils condamneront les *Reflexiones*.

Marcelin Claeys et François Verschueren qui se croient aussi visés par ces *Réflexions*, entament un procès contre l'auteur, mais après des pourparlers, ils retirent leur plainte (AAM, 1840, n° 8).

Quand le 17 avril le fameux professeur Martin Steyaert, le coryphée de Martin, meurt de scorbut, il dit:

"... Ego schedulam mortuariam concinnavi qua ... Steyaertium quasi maiorem eiusdem sacri belli ducem magnificentius extuli, et jansenistarum falso asserui debellatorem fortunatissimum" (III,25).

En août, il signe avec ses compagnons d'arme un écrit: *De quibusdam doctoribus Lovaniensibus*, dans le but de desservir ses adversaires (AAM, 191).

Le même mois, à la mort du professeur Henri de Charneux, Martin réussit à prendre sa succession et d'entrer enfin dans la Stricte Faculté ou le Conseil des Régents, promotion qu'il attendait depuis longtemps et qu'il considère comme une césure dans sa carrière. Aussi commence-t-il dans son *Motivum juris* un nouveau chapitre: *Acta et errata mea a 30 septembris anno 1701* (III,27-35). Désormais, avec ses nouveaux collègues, il peut "activer la flamme" de l'antijansénisme.

En effet, les circonstances y sont fort favorables. À Rome le nouveau Pape Clément XI, Albani<sup>23</sup>, est un antijanséniste de longue date et s'entoure de gens du même bord<sup>24</sup>. Le nouveau roi d'Espagne et des Pays-Bas espagnols est le petit-fils de Louis XIV et il a comme confesseur Guillaume

<sup>22</sup> Willaert, n° 6760; *L'État*, p. 146-147, en donne des extraits.

<sup>23</sup> Voir mon étude sur ce pape, dans CEYSSSENS-TANS, *Autour de l'Unigenitus*, 737-788.

<sup>24</sup> Ce pape est même dominé par le Cardinal Augustin Fabroni; *ibidem*, 231-282.



Daubenton, jésuite français et antijanséniste acharné<sup>25</sup>. Louis XIV, roi de France dynamique<sup>26</sup>, antijanséniste depuis le début, grand-père de Philippe V, exercera au nom de celui-ci la tutelle sur les provinces belges, et sous le marquis de Bedmar, gouverneur général, il durcit le régime antijanséniste. Néanmoins, par la mort de Steyaert, François lui-même ne perd-il pas de son poids? Ou plutôt ne gagne-t-il pas un poids différent? En tout cas, quand en 1701, à la succession de Steyaert, plusieurs candidats se présentent et que les jésuites et l'archevêque ont leur propre candidat, François va s'imposer:

"Cumque ego ab eis dissentiens, eundem praesulem [Précipiano] adierim ut potius Dominum Daelman ad istam lectionem promoveret, tanquam dignissimum; et praesul meis argumentis permotus, suam in aula operam in favorem dicti Domini Daelman sic impenderit, ut ipse eam lectionem - frendentibus qui alteri favebant - fuerit adeptus" (III,27).

En août, le gouverneur général Bedmar, ayant nommé de sa propre autorité, contre le droit, le Docteur Martin au poste de Régent, la Faculté s'y oppose et fait un autre choix<sup>27</sup>.

Le 30 novembre, Martin souscrit, avec ses collègues Harney, Désirant et Damen, à une longue diatribe contre les docteurs suspects de Louvain (AAM, 191).

## 1702

Martin admet:

"Ab anno 1702 usque ad finem anni 1707 multa errata commisi, quae cum nimis prolixum foret singillatim et minutim recensere, ea strictim raptimque narrabo..." (III,28).

En effet! Quand à la mort de Huygens (1702), la présidence du Collège du Pape est vacante, François, voulant se réserver la succession, cherche à éliminer les candidats en vue, Hennebel et Opstraet. Il fait donc défendre par le Conseil privé que le choix soit proclamé avant son approbation. Néanmoins Daelman est choisi et approuvé, car on prétendit "quod nimium praetensis jansenistis nocuerim" (III,28).

Entre-temps, Damen, depuis peu président du Collège du Saint-Esprit, se sentant incapable, veut un successeur. Martin réussit à faire nommer Parmentier, mais bientôt ils deviendront ennemis, l'antijansénisme de l'un al-

<sup>25</sup> Sur Daubenton, voir *ibidem*, 283-332.

<sup>26</sup> Sur ce roi, voir CEYSSENS, *Le sort*, 3-46.

<sup>27</sup> J. LEFÈVRE, *Documents relatifs à la juridiction des nonces ... des Pays-Bas pendant le régime espagnol*, Bruxelles 1942, 476.



lant en s'accroissant, celui de l'autre en s'affaiblissant.

Martin, qui depuis 1696 vit au Collège du Saint-Esprit, en fait écarter (en 1702) Jacques Verniel et François Vivien, "insignes presbyteri qui multos annos ibidem magna cum pietatis laude habitaverant" (III,28).

Le 11 mai, pour terminer enfin le procès entre François et Hennebel, qui dure depuis si longtemps, le second offre au premier satisfaction quant aux six objections soulevées contre lui (AAM, 1331).

### 1703

Avec l'appui de l'archevêque, François fait écarter de la présidence du Collège de Luxembourg, Alard Van den Steen, pourtant un prêtre "theologica scientia sana solidaque, non tenuiter instructum, aspersa illi temere et falso apud reges Galliae et Hispaniae jansenismi calumnia" (III, 28-29; Reusens, III, 472-473).

Le 4 juin, à l'occasion de la soutenance d'une thèse, François s'oppose violemment au président, le P. Christofle Frentz, dominicain irlandais, supérieur du Collège des dominicains irlandais à Louvain. Celui-ci, se croyant lésé dans son honneur, intente un procès devant le recteur. Mais vingt jours plus tard, François ayant offert ses excuses, la procédure cesse<sup>28</sup>.

Vers le même temps François veut lui-même faire un procès au recteur qui lui a interdit de soutenir une thèse; il se voit soutenu par les Facultés de théologie et de droit, car une telle interdiction ne relève nullement de la compétence du recteur, mais de celle des Facultés (AAM; n° 1840).

### 1704

Comme Censeur des livres, François donne son approbation à la publication du livre excessif: *Quesnel séditieux* de Jacques Philippe Lalleman<sup>29</sup>, jésuite de Paris, polémiste ardent. Le 3 mars, ses *Réflexions* contre Hennebel (de 1701) sont interdites par le Saint-Office qui continue à

<sup>28</sup> AAM, n° 1840. Ici se trouve également un témoignage de nombreux bacheliers, affirmant que Martin a coutume, lors des soutenances de thèses, d'attaquer les présidents d'une manière peu courtoise. Notons en passant qu'en 1704 une thèse de ce Frentz fut condamné par le Saint-Office; Reusch, II, 667.

<sup>29</sup> Sur le P. Lalleman, voir CEYSSENS-TANS, *Autour*, 403-455. Au sujet de cette approbation, Quesnel écrira à Martin, le 30 octobre 1719: "... Je suis bien aise de n'être plus dans votre esprit: un loup caché dans le bois etc. tel que je l'étais il y a quinze ans lorsque vous approuvâtes le *Quesnel hérétique* du R.P. Lallemand jésuite"; TANS, *Pasquier Quesnel et les Pays-Bas*, 568.



témoigner son respect à ce docteur de Louvain qui négocia durant huit ans à Rome (Reusch, II, 665). Martin parvint à faire exiler les professeurs Hennebel et Opstraet, le curé van Nesse et le chanoine Ruth d'Ans (III,30). Il a essayé de faire subir le même sort aux professeurs Claes, Verschueren, Van Espen et au typographe Denique (III,30). Il empêche le juriste Guillaume Leunckens, qu'il tient pour janséniste, d'avoir la leçon royale de droit (III,29).

### 1705

Parmentier, que François a fait nommer président du Collège du Saint-Esprit en 1702, veut écarter de cet institut son bienfaiteur, qui grâce à Steyaert y habite depuis 1696, comme lecteur de théologie. Ses intentions malveillantes semblent aller plus loin, car François affirmera:

"Antonium Parmentier ... omni studio tam apud archiepiscopum ... quam apud internuntium ... per tres menses egisse ... ut ... Martin ... non solo ex illo collegio, sed ex tota etiam universitate expellatur ..." (IV,21).

Naturellement François en appelle au recteur et peut rester, au moins provisoirement (Claeys, 264; Martin, IV,7 et 9).

Martin conclut:

"Ex his tot publicis delictis meis abunde liquet, in me et patres Societatis aliosque nobis confoederatos non inepte quadrare descriptionem Ester, cap. 16: 'Plusieurs, après avoir été comblés de distinctions par la grande bonté des princes, leurs bienfaiteurs, deviennent arrogants. Non seulement ils prennent la tâche d'opprimer nos sujets, mais incapables de porter le poids des honneurs, ils ourdissent des trames contre leurs bienfaiteurs'" (III,31).

Et Martin de passer à un autre sujet:

"Jam tempus est commemorare quibus occasionibus, causis et argumentis studia Patrum Societatis partesque deseruerim" (III,31)!

## II. LA PÉRIODE JANSÉNISTE (1705-1722)

### 1705-1707

Cette défection ne fut certainement pas instantanée, mais plutôt lente, Martin en énumère plusieurs raisons: dans l'affaire *Renardi*, les jésuites ne voulaient pas aller si loin que lui-même; dans l'affaire du formulaire, ils allaient plus loin que lui, voulant même obliger les signataires d'abandonner l'augustinisme pour le molinisme; surtout dans la *fourberie*



du P. Désirant<sup>30</sup>, Martin croit à la réalité et la gravité du crime commis; les jésuites excusent le criminel et continuent à le présenter à Cologne, à Vienne et à Rome comme une innocente victime des jansénistes et le lancent dans une nouvelle carrière.

"... Hoc ego ipsi Desirantio, archiepiscopo et jesuitis saepius exprobravi; iisque silentibus, adjeci: nefariae illius credulitatis agnitae crimen nullis aquis, nullis flammis posse condigne puniri aut satis expiari; hominemque de eo convictum et confessum, ab hominum convictu, commercio et consortio justissime esse removendum et tamquam anathema separandum ... Quis haec sedato animo perpendens, non exhorrescat et execretur? Sed hominem istum, de quo nihil nimium aut satis mali dici protest, relinquentes, ad nostras confessiones redeamus. In dogmaticis etiam coepi a molinistarum recedere" (III,31-34, surtout 32).

Sur le conseil de l'internonce Bussi, François s'informe sur la grâce efficace dans les livres des dominicains: Sébille<sup>31</sup>, Lamos et Bañez<sup>32</sup>: il lit même les *Lettres provinciales* dans l'édition latine de Wendrock<sup>33</sup>, les *Difficultés* par Arnauld opposées à Steyaert<sup>34</sup>, ouvrages que jusque-là il avait considérés comme *stercora* (III,34).

#### 1708-1710

Sous de telles influences, François évolue de plus en plus vers le jansénisme actif.

#### 1708

Damen et Parmentier, ses anciens amis, deviennent ses ennemis déclarés:

"Falsis suggestionibus et accusationibus archiepiscopum et internuntium (apud quos Doctor Martin eousque erat in majori gratia quam ipsi) infensos ei reddiderunt ... Hinc exasperati sunt utrimque animi, et illi apud eosdem illustrissimos faedius ipsum denigrare perexerunt. Doctor Martin, intelligens pronas ab illis illustrissimis aures praeberi iis detractoribus, se non audito aut monito, cessavit eosdem solida ... devotione venerari" (IV,8).

<sup>30</sup> L. CEYSSENS, *P. Bernard Désirant en de "Fourberie" van Leuven*, dans *Jansenistica. Studiën*, t. IV, 231-304.

<sup>31</sup> Sur le P. Alexandre Sébille, voir *Biographie nationale* XXII, 136-137.

<sup>32</sup> Sur ces deux dominicains espagnols voir *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, IX, 210-211 et II, 140-154.

<sup>33</sup> Il s'agit des *Lettres provinciales* de PASCAL, traduites en latin et annotées par Pierre NICOLE, 3 vol., plusieurs éditions; cf. Willaert, passim.

<sup>34</sup> Voir les *Oeuvres complètes* d'ARNAULD, t. IX.



## 1710

Appuyé d'une minorité, François s'oppose dans la Faculté de théologie à la majorité qui défend l'introduction du formulaire alexandrin, (adapté à la bulle *Vineam Domini* de 1705) (IV, 49).

Il publie une thèse contre son ancien ami le P. Désirant qu'il appelle ailleurs "omni Cretensi mendacior" (IV,11; Willaert, n° 7846; Claeys, 264).

## 1711

En mars, des zélés anonymes (François croit que ce sont surtout les professeurs Damen et Parmentier, qu'il venait de favoriser), ont déposé 26 griefs contre lui d'abord devant le Conseil de Brabant, en exigeant une enquête de la part du recteur de Louvain (celui-ci, en effet, y procédera) (IV,12), ensuite devant l'internonce mais sans autre conséquence qu'une exhortation à la prudence.

## 1712, une année très chargée!

En janvier, probablement à l'occasion de quelque séance académique, François prononce deux *Orationes* où, imprudemment, il décerne quelques éloges aux chefs des jansénistes Arnauld et Quesnel, et même au cardinal de Tournon, devenu en Chine "la victime de la fureur des jésuites" (Reusch II, 666). L'internonce le convoque, le réprimande et l'oblige à soumettre le texte de ces discours au jugement de Rome (*Collectanea*, 5 [1962] 31-59).

Le 6 mars, Martin veut faire soutenir une thèse *De reformatione Ecclesiae in capite et membris*, où il relève l'instante nécessité d'un concile général et promet son éventuelle réussite, si du moins les pasteurs de l'Église sont ce qu'ils doivent être (Reusch, II, 666).

Sur les instances de l'internonce, la soutenance est interdite (au dernier moment?). Et en effet, de son côté, H. de Charneux, censeur ecclésiastique, se prononce défavorablement sur cette thèse "téméraire et scandaleuse" (Claeys, 264).

Mais le 21 mars, Martin se défend par un (premier) *Motivum juris in causa thesis Lovanii defensae 6 martii 1712 praeside eodem Doctore. Oblatum Urbi et Orbi*, 25 p. (Reusch, II, 666). Les jésuites de Louvain, surtout le P. Jacques Matin S.J., y réagissent dans leurs thèses à eux (Sommervogel, V, 720-723).

Martin répond par son *Alterum motivum juris in causa Doctoris Martin contra Patres Societatis et eorum asseclas* (Willaert, n° 8009; Reusch, II,



668), "ut Urbs et Orbs dispiceret an in illis Orationibus a me habitis quidquam esset theologiae obnoxium censurae, vel charitati et prudentiae contrarium"! (III,3).

C'est à cette occasion que le 7 mars, Dominique Delbecque, dominicain connu, écrit à Quesnel: "... Martin, il est tous les jours plus zélé, mais il pousse son zèle si loin qu'on n'ose presque pas avoir de commerce avec lui" (Tans, *Quesnel et les Pays-Bas*, 386).

Les *Zelosi anonymi* ne cessent de bouger. Les 26 doléances, qu'en 1711 ils ont soumises au Conseil de Brabant, ils les adressent le 31 mars au Conseil d'État, où siègent avant tout des évêques et des abbés, et prient à nouveau de charger le Recteur de l'Université d'une enquête sur les lieux.

Prenons connaissance de ces nombreux griefs que François lui-même publiera en 1713 dans l'écrit *Articuli*. Ils se présentent comme des "On dit!". "Fertur quod ... Martin, sive in publicis lectionibus sive in privatis colloquiis dixerit...". Ces "on dit" se rapportent aux sujets suivants:

Le formulaire (art. 1-5); cf. III,36-38. La légitimité du Concile de Constance (art. 6); La chute de Pierre (art. 7); L'infailibilité (art. 8-11); Le jeûne à supprimer (art. 12); Le célibat (art. 13); Le chant grégorien (art. 14); Les jésuites: "Certum plures Lutheranos adultos salvari quam Jesuitas" (art. 15); Les jésuites en Chine (art. 16-17); Les indulgences (art. 18); Le Christ pleurerait aujourd'hui sur Rome comme il pleura autrefois sur Jérusalem (art. 19); Parmi les Papes de Rome, très peu avaient fait des études (art. 20); Les évêques de Belgique sont des ignorants, des ânes (art. 21); Les cardinaux seraient même capables de condamner les quatre Évangiles (art. 22); Les conversations légères que François tient même dans la sacristie (art. 25); Le secret de la confession n'est pas obligatoire en toute circonstance (art. 26).

Ayant appris cette dénonciation, François se rend à Bruxelles et plaide sa cause devant quatre conseillers d'État; il veut connaître les noms de ses délateurs et surtout avoir leurs textes. Il laisse même une requête dans ce but, mais en vain (*Articuli*, p. 3-4).

Entre-temps l'internonce, mêlé à cette affaire, en a assez de ces dénonciations. À la fin d'avril, il obtient du Conseil d'État qu'Amé-Ignace Coriache, vicaire capitulaire de Malines, *sede vacante*, soit chargé de faire une enquête à Louvain.

Le 7 mai, ayant appris cela, François proteste devant le Conseil de Brabant:

"Il se voit injustement vexé et attaqué par les intrigues et artifices des jésuites et de leurs partisans: et cela pour aucune autre raison (quelque motif qu'ils puissent alléguer de leur côté) que depuis quelque temps il s'oppose autant qu'il peut, de vive voix et par écrit, aux doctrines des jésuites et de leurs partisans. Pour le perdre, ils ont incité Coriache à prendre des informations sur



divers points de l'accusation proposés par certains délateurs anonymes se disant zélés pour les intérêts de la religion..."<sup>35</sup>..

Ainsi, quand Coriache se présente à Louvain le 10 mai, le recteur Ursmaire Narez, un médecin, (sur la prière de Martin, *Articuli*, p. 3), s'oppose à toute enquête car les sujets de l'Université ne relèvent que de l'autorité académique qui, dans l'occurrence, n'est autre que l'avocat fiscal Henri Malcorps, un juriste. Pourtant Coriache poursuit son investigation jusqu'au 28 mai (IV,19). Mais en juillet, Malcorps commence la sienne (IV,19-20). Entre-temps François a aggravé son cas en publiant au début de juin son *Tertium motivum juris ... Contra Patres Jesuitas et caeteros molinistas*, s.l.; 1712, 44 p. (Willaert, 8056a), et aussitôt après aussi son *Quartum juris motivum contra theologos Societatis et cunctos eis adhaerentes et faventes, oblatum Urbi et Orbi, quo exponuntur insignia beneficia quae Doctor ille quibusdam eorum praestitit, et gravamina ac nocumenta quae passus est ab illis. Narraturque historia informationum hisce diebus captarum sub Vicario Generali Mechliniensi contra illum*, s.l., "mense maio anno 1712, 24 p"<sup>36</sup>.

De la sorte Malcorps n'a pas seulement à s'occuper des 26 anciens griefs, mais également des 25 nouveaux *gravamina*, doléances se rapportant surtout à des incidents locaux; entre autres François a:

1. qualifié, en pleine assemblée de l'Université, les professeurs Damen et Parmentier de "*proditores universitatis*";
2. accusé ces mêmes professeurs de très graves excès et annoncé en public qu'il les expulsera.

Après examen sérieux, François a été convaincu de faux et de mensonge... Finalement le 17 août le fiscal entend François sur toutes les plaintes élevées contre lui, anciennes et nouvelles, et reçoit ses justifications. De plus le 20 septembre, François répond (sous serment) à Bruxelles devant l'inter-nonce à ces mêmes doléances, désirant que ses réponses soient soumises au jugement de Rome. Le 16 novembre, il reconnaît explicitement à Bruxelles que la Faculté a exigé à bon droit la souscription du formulaire dans l'esprit de *Vineam Domini* (*Articuli*, p. 15). Le 19 décembre, François se soumet à la condamnation romaine de son troisième et quatrième *Motivum* (*Articuli*, 13).

<sup>35</sup> *Acta Universitatis*, t. 30, f° 75; cf. l'Inventaire De Vocht, n° 75.

<sup>36</sup> En 1717 Martin annoncera: "Le Cinquième motif de droit paraîtra bientôt et sera suivi d'un sixième et d'un septième; TANS-SCHMITZ DU MOULIN, *La correspondance de ... Quesnel*, III, 682.



1713

Le 1<sup>er</sup> janvier, François signe à Bruxelles une espèce de Confession (en 15 points), où il exprime son repentir et ses bonnes résolutions, qu'il lira devant ses étudiants (*Articuli*, 13-14). Le 11 janvier, il révoque ce qu'il a avancé à l'adresse des professeurs Damen et Parmentier. En juillet, il publie chez Michel Zangrius: *Articuli per anonymos quosdam objecti Doctori Martin cum responsis ad illos ab eo datis Illustrissimo et Reverendissimo Domino apostolico Belgii internuntio*, 15 p. (Willaert 6944, [où la fausse date, 1703, est due à Zangrius lui-même]). Finalement cette affaire sera classée, François est heureux que sa foi n'ait pas été mise en cause (IV,43).

Le 13 septembre paraît la bulle *Unigenitus*<sup>37</sup>, qui condamne sévèrement 101 propositions tirées d'un livre de spiritualité de Quesnel, en vogue depuis des années. Dès le début, cette condamnation entraîne de très grandes difficultés, du moins en France. Mais à Louvain, François n'a qu'à se joindre à ses collègues qui reçoivent "tous ... cette constitution ... purement, simplement, sans hésitation, sans restriction, sans explications"<sup>38</sup>. Toutefois, le 17 octobre suivant, lors de la promotion de deux oratoriens, François prononce une *Oratio de bulla novissima*, mais pour une fois, il a été prudent; d'avance il a laissé lire son texte à l'internonce Santini, qui le 23 novembre écrit au secrétaire d'État:

"Quoique janséniste convaincu, François n'est pas si contraire à la bulle, parce qu'elle n'insiste pas sur le *fait* [la présence réelle des erreurs condamnées de Jansénius, dans son livre *Augustinus*], mais seulement sur la condamnation des erreurs y continues. Toutefois il évite de se prononcer sur l'acceptabilité de la bulle. Il fait même remarquer que le Saint-Siège a trouvé dans les *Réflexions* de Quesnel des erreurs que, jusque-là, personne n'y avait remarquées. À la fin de son *Oraison*, il admet même que malgré tout ces *Réflexions* contiennent, à des exceptions près, une doctrine saine, et pour finir, il ajoute même un mot d'éloge pour Quesnel dont pourtant il connaît le passé (*Collecanea*, 5 [1962] 63-65; Thielens, 63-65).

Mais *verba volant*. Le discours est vite oublié.

1714

Martin publie son principal ouvrage: *Scutum fidei contra haereses hodiernas seu Tillotsonianae concionis sub titulo Strena opportuna contra*

<sup>37</sup> CEYSSENS-TANS, *Autour de l'Unigenitus*, et CEYSSENS, *Le sort de la bulle Unigenitus*.

<sup>38</sup> CEYSSENS, *Le sort*, 564, n. 88



*papismum et refutatio*, Louvain, 228 p. (Willaert, n° 8278a). À cet ouvrage, terminé au Collège du Saint-Esprit le 16 juin, François, Irlandais, attache une grande importance. D'après l'introduction, il veut lui-même le faire paraître en français, en flamand, en anglais et en irlandais. Il aurait voulu le dédier au marquis de Prié, gouverneur général, mais les princes n'aiment pas qu'on parle trop de l'infailibilité, par peur du pouvoir pontifical de déposer les princes.

Il se contenta donc de l'offrir à l'évêque de Bruges Van Susteren, autrefois le principal collaborateur de l'archevêque Précipiano, et son propre bienfaiteur: "De me ipso, quem semel iterumque de laqueo venantium eripuisti et a potentibus adversariis impetum gloriose vindicasti". Dans cet ouvrage François s'oppose assez tardivement au discours<sup>39</sup> qu'en 1710 John Tillotson, archevêque de Cantorbéry avait prononcé et publié contre les catholiques d'Angleterre et d'Irlande dans un esprit anti-romain. François s'adresse aux mêmes catholiques pour réfuter les prétentions anglicanes de cet archevêque, mais aussi, dans un esprit de conciliation, priant ces mêmes catholiques de ne plus réclamer désormais leurs possessions autrefois confisquées en faveur des anglicans.

#### 1715

Au début de l'année, François a annoncé à l'internonce, qu'il va écrire un livre contre les *Réflexions* de Quesnel pour défendre la bulle *Unigenitus*, et il apprend que ce ministre du Saint-Siège veut en être le premier lecteur (Thielens, p. 99).

Dans son *Quartum juris motivum* François n'a pas impunément blâmé son ancien protégé, Parmentier devenu président du Saint-Esprit.

#### 1717

En 1705 déjà, - nous l'avons vu -, François a failli être écarté de ce collège. Mais l'opposition devient plus sérieuse. Avec la promesse de recevoir une pension, François devra le quitter. Mais il refuse et invoque l'appui du J.B. De Smet, président du Séminaire de Malines, qui lui répond d'une manière qui va le dégriser:

"Toutes vos difficultés proviennent de vos intempérances de langage et de votre caractère querelleur. L'habitation au Grand Collège [du Saint-Esprit] fut

<sup>39</sup> François s'en justifie: "... Ego molesta lite pulsatus, otio refellendae isti concioni necessario usque ad finem mensis februarii praesentis anni (1713) carebam"; Spelman, 1103.



souvent pour vous une *lapis offensionis*. Vous devriez vous estimer heureux de recevoir une somme d'argent pour subvenir à votre sustentation hors du collège. C'est ce que l'internonce tâchera d'obtenir de vos adversaires" (Claeys, 265).

En effet, l'internonce peut empêcher que François recoure au Conseil de Brabant (Thielens, 252) et durcisse son opposition.

Le 30 septembre, fête de saint Jérôme, grand jour des nominations, tous les fonctionnaires de l'Université, les professeurs inclus, ont coutume, sûrs d'être renommés, de présenter leur démission. Mais François, moins sûr de son avenir, refuse de se soumettre à cette formalité, "nisi prius alii ipsum certionem redderent continuationis suae, quod recusarunt"<sup>40</sup>. Ce refus fut très mal pris par ses collègues. À cause des troubles qu'il ne cesse de provoquer, ils veulent le priver de son enseignement (Thielens, 246).

Mais François proteste devant le Conseil de Brabant: on lui cherche querelle, uniquement parce qu'il tient que les papes n'ont pas le pouvoir de déposer les rois (Claeys, 265; Thielens, 252).

### III. LA PÉRIODE "ANTICONSTITUTIONNAIRE" (1718-1722).

D'abord antijanséniste déclaré, ensuite janséniste non moins convaincu, François, toujours irlandais et catholique, même ultramontain, se révèle depuis 1715 de plus en plus un vigoureux "constitutionnaire" c.-à-d. défenseur de la constitution *Unigenitus*. Celle-ci, en effet, rencontre les plus grandes difficultés<sup>41</sup>, surtout en France, où elle est née par la volonté de Louis XIV et de son confesseur Michel Le Tellier. D'abord seule une petite minorité de théologiens et d'évêques avait, avant d'accepter ce singulier document doctrinal, désiré des explications, au moins sur certaines propositions qui y sont condamnées. Mais ensuite, cette résistance s'était accrue, et finalement il pleuvait des Appels au concile général contre cette bulle. Même le cardinal archevêque de Paris y participait. Mais n'est-ce pas là une opposition ouverte à l'autorité suprême dans l'Église, donc un schisme? Or ce mouvement schismatique se répand surtout en France, mais ne trouve-t-on pas aussi dans les Pays-Bas autrichiens des nids de résistance?

En France, de nombreux évêques, sous la conduite surtout des cardinaux Bissy et de Rohan, veulent réduire au silence ces "anticonstitutionnaires",

<sup>40</sup> H. DE JONG, *L'ancienne Faculté de théologie de Louvain. Le premier siècle de son existence (1432-1546)*. Louvain, 1911, 53.

<sup>41</sup> Qu'il suffise de renvoyer indistinctement à mes volumes sur la *Genèse* et le *Sort de l'Unigenitus*.



mais n'y réussissent point. C'est pourquoi le Régent encourage un mouvement de pacification, d'accommodement; les deux partis en présence, constitutionnaires et anticonstitutionnaires, doivent arriver à s'entendre.

De son côté, le Pape Clément XI, l'auteur de la bulle, qui se tracasse depuis longtemps, donne en 1718, après bien des hésitations, sa bulle *Pastoralis officii*<sup>42</sup>, où, sans excommunier les anti, il déclare se distancier d'eux, et prie les vrais catholiques d'en faire autant. Thomas-Philippe d'Alsace, archevêque de Malines, le fait de manière exemplaire dans sa lettre pastorale du 17 octobre 1718<sup>43</sup>, exprimant généreusement son adhésion au pape et à la nouvelle bulle, et son aversion radicale des opposants, surtout les Appelants. Il exige que tout son clergé, séculier et régulier, souscrit à cette profession de foi et de fidélité.

En effet, à quelques exceptions près, le clergé belge, tout en étant étranger et même contraire à toute la politique française, y souscrit docilement. Le 4 novembre, François, chanoine de Saint-Pierre, et ses collègues prennent la plume. Il semble le faire avec conviction, car le 1<sup>er</sup> décembre, à l'occasion d'une thèse défendue par John O'Reilly, Irlandais, sous la direction du professeur Parmentier, si hostile à François, celui-ci prononce deux discours pour annoncer la nouvelle direction qu'il va donner à sa vie.

Impressionné par le danger du schisme qui menace l'Église, il veut collaborer à endiguer ce mouvement néfaste, même y consacrer un livre pour démontrer l'orthodoxie de la bulle *Unigenitus*, car les 101 propositions qu'elle condamne, méritent la censure. Donc les deux partis, constitutionnaire et anticonstitutionnaire, doivent s'unir dans l'obéissance. À l'exemple du Régent, il veut donc devenir pacificateur, sauveur de l'Église!

### 1719

Ce nouveau livre se prépare laborieusement, car il n'est pas facile de prouver l'orthodoxie de la bulle, surtout depuis que les *Hexaples ou les six colonnes sur la constitution Unigenitus* (Willaert, n° 8411) ont indiqué les sources scripturaires et patristiques des 101 propositions condamnées.

Comme le P. Le Tellier et le futur cardinal Bissy à Paris, François à Louvain "sue sang et eau" (cf. Ceyssens, *Le sort*, 129). Car il a lu certains livres. Il consulte ses amis autour de lui. Certains jésuites de Louvain sont même priés d'examiner des ébauches de son texte. Il s'adresse par lettre à d'autres personnes, par exemple à l'évêque de Bruges, Van Susteren, au-

<sup>42</sup> L. CEYSSENS, *Autour de la Bulle Unigenitus. La bulle Pastoralis Officii (1718)*, dans *Antonianum* 61 (1986) 340-380.

<sup>43</sup> *Acta ecclesiae Mechliniensis ... circa bullam Unigenitus*, Bruxelles, 1719, 46.



trefois collaborateur de feu Précipiano, et même au P. Quesnel, la victime de la bulle.

Le 1<sup>er</sup> septembre 1719, il adresse à ce dernier une première lettre, annonçant simplement son ouvrage en préparation. Le 15 suivant Quesnel répond d'Amsterdam:

"... Tuum porro ... contra hodiernum schisma opus quod attinet, ac conditionem a me praestandam ut infaustum illud schisma e medio tollatur, nihil a me decerni potest priusquam enigmaticum illud consilium tuum per te nobis explicatur ... Cave tibi, Vir bone, ne forte rebus tuis consulendi cupido te aliorum abripiat, neve temet ipse inter malleum et incudem imprudens inferas ..." <sup>44</sup>.

Quelques jours plus tard, vers le milieu d'octobre, François communique à Quesnel plus de détails sur son projet, qui cependant ne convainquent pas cette victime de la bulle, qui en sait trop, et qui, réaliste, répond le 30 octobre, avant d'avoir reçu le texte:

"... Quant à votre dessein, je voudrais avoir assez d'éloquence ou assez de pouvoir pour vous en détourner, persuadé que je suis que c'est un dessein impraticable de sa nature, et où je crois que personne du monde pût réussir. Ceux qui aiment avec lumière la paix de l'Église ne doivent point s'empresser à ressusciter le fantôme du jansénisme qui a troublé le repos de l'Église assez longtemps..." <sup>45</sup>.

Mais le 25 novembre, trois jours avant sa mort, Quesnel, ayant pu prendre connaissance du texte de Martin, donne une troisième réponse (que Martin reproduira aussi dans son futur *Motivum*, p. 19-20):

"Monsieur notre Maître, La dernière lettre que j'ai eu l'honneur de vous écrire était déjà partie quand je reçus la belle copie que vous m'avez envoyée. Il y a plaisir à lire une si brillante écriture et je suis bien fâché de ne pouvoir entrer dans le dessein que vous y proposez. Je trahirais mes pensées et je croirais abandonner la vérité et mon innocence. Je ne trouverai pas toutefois mauvais que vous fassiez ce que vous croyez propre à réunir les pasteurs dans la vérité et dans l'unité.

Je me tiens même obligé à vous, Monsieur, des bons sentiments que vous avez conçus de l'ouvrage en question [les *Réflexions*], hors les 101 propositions. Mais considérez, s'il vous plaît que c'est beaucoup hasarder que d'en vouloir garantir la condamnation par des subtilités scolastiques ... Prenez garde, Monsieur, qu'une telle entreprise est tout au moins hasardeuse, que le succès en est plus que douteux et que vous courez risque de perdre beaucoup sans rien gagner ...".

Certes cette lettre était peu encourageante. Et aussitôt après, le 28 novembre, Quesnel va encore plus loin. Avant de mourir, il donne une profession de foi en 8 points, dont voici le dernier:

<sup>44</sup> TANS, *Pasquier Quesnel et les Pays-Bas*, 561.

<sup>45</sup> Ibidem, 568-571.



"Enfin je déclare que je déteste tout esprit de schisme et de division. Ce sont les sentiments dans lesquels je veux mourir, dans la communion et unité de l'Église catholique, apostolique et romaine"<sup>46</sup>.

Cette profession de foi, aussitôt largement répandue, enlève en grande partie le motif du livre en préparation: Quesnel, la victime de la bulle, n'a pas été un schismatique; il a toujours voulu éviter le schisme, et rester un fils sincère de l'Église, mais on n'a pas voulu le lui permettre.

1720

Aussitôt François en veut à Quesnel, même au point de lui réserver un sous-titre spécial; son livre sera dirigé "*contra P. Quesnelli litteras morientisque professionem fidei*".

La composition laborieuse du livre touche à sa fin. Mais les difficultés pour la publication commencent. Les jésuites et le censeur ecclésiastique exigent des corrections. Il n'est même pas facile de trouver un mécène qui veuille accepter d'en être le dedicataire.

Le 3 mars 1720, enfin, le livre parût:

*Motivum juris pro bulla Unigenitus orthodoxia; contra novissimas P. Quesnelli litteras morientisque professionem fidei; Et S. Thomae pro infallibilitate pontificis vindicatus contra Natalis Alexandre et Opstratii cavillos, auctore, per efficaciam Dei gratiam [notez-le] Doctore Martin, Ibero Galviensi, seniore S. Th. professore regio et caesario in academia Lovaniensia, Louvain, (1720), 178 p. in-16°; (Willaert, n° 9054).*

Le sous-titre est curieux, même en contradiction avec le but premier du livre: mettre fin au schisme, car François se dresse en premier lieu contre Quesnel, non pas comme auteur des 101 propositions condamnées par la bulle, mais pour les trois réponses privées, manuscrites qu'il a données à François et pour cette ultime profession de foi lors de sa mort. En second lieu il s'oppose à Noël Alexandre, dominicain de Paris<sup>47</sup>, et à Jean Opstraet, professeur de Louvain pour avoir combattu l'infaillibilité de l'Église. Remarquons-le: toute censure ecclésiastique et civile manque, et par ce fait même le livre est à considérer comme illégitime et défendu; donc rien d'étonnant que le censeur, remarquant que ces conditions n'ont pas été remplies, refuse son approbation au dernier moment<sup>48</sup>. Mais en acceptant

<sup>46</sup> Voir le texte dans A. LE ROY, *Correspondance de Pasquier Quesnel*, Paris, 1900, II, 438-440.

<sup>47</sup> Sur Alexandre (Noël), voir *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, I, 769-772; *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*, II, 280-287. A. HÄNGGI, *Der Kirchenhistoriker Natalis Alexander*, Freiburg, 1955.

<sup>48</sup> Cf. *Motivum*, p. 162, 168 et p. 171-172: *Epistola Domini de Quareux, censoris librorum ad me*.



la dédicace, le Conseil d'État, a fourni la sienne, qui est suffisante.

En effet, faute d'autres mécènes, François a offert son livre aux "illustrissimis ... Brabantiae Ordinibus, patriae patribus ... Lovaniensis Academiae patronis et protectoribus maxime propitiis ...", en somme des fonctionnaires à titre honorifique, sans autorité *ad hoc*.

Le contenu est embrouillé. Certes l'idée fondamentale y est: il faut obéir à l'autorité légitime; donc il faut accepter sa bulle, qui est orthodoxe, puisque les 101 propositions qu'elle censure sont légitimement condamnées; elles contiennent réellement des erreurs discernables. Mais ce fil rouge disparaît en cours de route; à certains endroits il semble même brisé. À la p. 162, François admet:

"Aliquot ex 101 damnatis Quesnelli propositionibus obvio sensu, non grammaticali tantum, veras et orthodoxas esse ... signanter illam ordine tertiam ["In vanum, Domine, praecipis, si tu non des quod praecipis ..."]..

Loin de rester dans le domaine doctrinal, François passe son emportement sur les opposants à la bulle; en premier lieu, il en veut à Quesnel, victime de la bulle, non pas parce qu'il a osé propager ces 101 erreurs, mais pour sa "criminosa inobedientia" (*introductio*), c.-à-d. pour les trois réponses privées qu'il a envoyées à François, et pour son ultime profession de foi [dont cependant tout vrai chrétien devrait se réjouir comme les anges du ciel].

À Louis-Antoine de Noailles et ses adhérents, François réserve une "parae-nesis" (p. 155-160), peu bienveillante<sup>49</sup>.

Dès la première page, les thomistes mêmes ne sont pas épargnés:

"... Si thomistae in Congregatione de auxiliis abstinuissent a gratiae ... physice praedeterminantis assertione ... non opus fuisset decem annorum, imo nec decem mensium aut dierum disputatione ut a Sancta Sede definiretur praedestinationis certitudinem in divinae potestatis omnipotentiam, non vero in molinam seu mediam ... ultimate ... refundi debere"..

De plus François avoue "timere me magis a molinistarum secretis machinationibus et clanculis insidiis, quam a theologicis eorum argumentis" (p. 162).

Ces jésuites lui en veulent parce que, fidèle à son serment académique, il n'a pas voulu les aider à introduire le nouveau serment dans la Faculté de théologie (p. 166).

Malgré tout, pour sauver l'Église du grand danger qui la menace par les

<sup>49</sup> François n'a pas compris le cas de Noailles qui, au fond, n'était pas désobéissant, mais mettait une condition à son obéissance (une explication autorisée de certaines propositions condamnées) et qui, en somme, était visé personnellement par la bulle, ayant approuvé les *Réflexions* de Quesnel. François prétend que Noailles réussit à profiter de sa désobéissance, ayant été nommé chef du Conseil de conscience par le Régent.



Appels, François n'envisage pas de moyens extraordinaires: les opposants, les Appelants, comme Noailles, n'ont qu'à faire un acte d'obéissance et à souscrire au singulier formulaire dont François, cet Irlandais de Louvain, leur fournit le texte:

"Nos firma fide credimus et credere sub juramento sancte testamur: interiorem Christi gratiam praevenientem et excitantem ... esse per se resistibilem ... et contrariam doctrinam a nobis rejici ac damnari ut haeticam" (p. 158).

De plus, à la dernière page, François offre à toute l'Église ce formulaire:

"Formularium juramenti pacificum ac dogmaticum, omnis Facti expers, in cunctis Europae theologicis scholis exigendum et subscribendum ab omnibus graduandis et ad cathedras promovendis; en trois points:

1. Sincera fide profiteor superesse in homine lapso libertatem a necessitate, non obstante interiori gratia praeveniente et excitante ...
2. Certitudinem divinae praedestinationis ... refundendam esse in divinae voluntatis omnipotentiam, non autem in molinianam seu conditionatam Dei praescientia ...
3. Me non credere quod Romano Pontifici ulla sit a Christo concessa (potestas) reges ... directe vel indirecte deponendi ...".

Certes, un tel livre ne suffisait pas à arrêter le schisme dans l'Église. François lui-même le pressentait. Car même s'il croyait réellement que son livre, quoique bref, pénétrait jusqu'aux "viscera" du problème (*Introductio*), il ne le considérait que comme le précurseur d'un ouvrage plus important:

"Proinde opus hoc, mole licet exiguum, quasi *Iliadem in nuce conclusum* exhibet, estque prodromum compendium operis grandioris, in quinque tomos distributi, hactenus anecdoti [inédit], quod a biennis compositum, Serenissimus ... Eugenius de Sabaudia per me sibi dedicandum grater admissit; cuius editionem non alio fine protelo differoque, quam ut quidquid in hac illius operis epitome ac synopsi ab ullo theologo oppugnatum perspexero, in majore opere fortius constabilire valeam, atque ita grandius illud opus undequaque perfectum ac tanti Principis dignum patrocinio " (p. 5).

Mais puisque le livre précurseur tardait à être critiqué, le livre postérieur tardait aussi à paraître.

Entre-temps, dans l'été 1720, son caractère irlandais joua à François un mauvais tour. Les circonstances restent assez obscures. Mais d'après les *Collectanea Hibernica*, V, 95, et Thielens, 373-374, François aurait exigé le renvoi de deux jeunes Irlandais du Collège des dominicains irlandais. À cette occasion François aurait roué de coups un dominicain-prêtre, ce qui constituait un acte sacrilège! Il s'ensuit un procès devant le tribunal du Recteur, et une sentence interdisant au coupable de continuer d'enseigner. De la sorte, François jouit de loisirs supplémentaires qu'il pourra consacrer à son grand ouvrage. Mais toujours lutteur, il entame un nouveau procès devant les Cinq juges d'Appel, procès peu prometteur, car Zeger-Bernard



Van Espen, grand canoniste, mais aussi janséniste et même anticonstitutionnaire en est le membre principal. François ne verra pas la fin de cette procédure.

1721

Entre-temps, ne digérant pas la suspension de son enseignement, François recourt au Conseil de Brabant (Thielens, 381), et a la chance de pouvoir reprendre son cours. Le 19 avril, il l'annonce même par un imprimé singulier:

Eximius Dominus Fr. Martin ... jam annis 20 professor regius per efficacem Christi gratiam, suas praelectiones publicas (integri fere nunc spatio, quorundam invidia et violentia conspirante, interruptas) resumptum est ... contra tribunalium ecclesiasticorum iniquas ... machinationes (Claeys, 265).

Commençant sa première leçon, voyant même des collègues curieux prendre place parmi ses étudiants, il fait une allocution tout aussi singulière:

"Eximii Domini atque auditores, scitis de quibus fuerim accusatus et quibus mediis iterum lectioni meae restituar. Quare sequentia vobis praelegam".

Il relève neuf points, dont voici les principaux:

1. Protestatus est D. Martin sese ea quae lecturus esset per compendium, dein longius deducturum per typos publicos quibus jam allaboratur ...
7. Dixit se retractare quidquid adversus personam huius pontificis ac ministrorum eius, adversus Patres Societatis ac suos dominos collegas umquam ore aut calamo effutiisset; sese id etiam imprimi curaturum; concedi aliquid debere exaestuanti suae vehementiae.
8. Addidit ... gaudere se tamen quod de nulla haeresi aut errore contra fidem fuisset accusatus.
9. Promisit se ita stylum linguamque moderaturum ut non dubitaret quin eos experiretur sibi maxime faventes quos habuisset adversarios" (AAM, n° 1840).

Mais désormais François est trop avancé en âge pour vouloir se corriger et gagner ses adversaires. D'ailleurs, il en a à affronter d'autres, plus irrésistibles: les calculs biliaries!

1722

François souffre, mais a le courage de se faire transporter à l'hôpital Saint-Jean à Bruges pour une opération. Le 4 octobre, fête de son patron, il y meurt pendant une intervention. Il est enterré dans la chapelle de l'hôpital lointain, sous cette épitaphe:

Hic jacet  
Admodum Reverendus ac Eximius Dominus  
Franciscus Martin.  
Galviensis Hibernus.



S. Theologiae, dum viveret, doctor et professor, regens  
Strictae facultatis Lovaniensis.

Insignis ecclesiae collegiatae S. Petri Lovanii canonicus,  
Sacrae scripturae et linguae graecae professor publicus,  
erat in Latinis et Graecis versatissimus et doctissimus,

Amplos quos habuit proventus annos

Distribuit inter pauperes Christi

Nihil sibi reservans.

Aetatis suae anno LXX.

Obiit 4 octobris MDCCXXII.

Remarquons les deux lignes: *Amplos quos habuit* ... qui relèvent la charité discrète du querelleur. Il ne dépensait pas son argent seulement aux avocats et aux juges; les pauvres en profitaient aussi, même abondamment semble-t-il. Ils se seront souvenus de lui, plus que ses amis et ses ennemis. Cependant ces derniers ne l'oublièrent pas non plus. Ils lui consacrèrent l'épithaphe brève, mais éloquente et significative, bien exprimant leurs sentiments:

Ex gratia speciali

Mortuus est in hospitali

Doctor F. Martin

4 octobris 1722

Expectans iudicium

R.I.P. (Spelman, 1106).

Le 23 octobre 1722, l'internonce Spinelli lui consacre un *In memoriam*:

"Doctor Martin was always restless by nature, uncertain in doctrine and unstable in character; these traits of his had often caused great harm to the authority of the Holy See in Flanders and had endangered the privileges of the entire University" (*Collectanea*, 5 [1962] 104).

Sint-Truiden

Lucien CEYSSENS



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