

THE DEVELOPMENT OF ST. AUGUSTINE'S

IDEA OF GOD

-:-

A Thesis

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements of the Degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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by

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Abbreviations Used

Brit., Encyclopedia Britannica.

CSEL., Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum
Latinorum.

DCD., De Civitate Dei.

DND., De Natura Deorum.

Dict. Chr. Biog., Dictionary Christian Biography.

HERE., Hastings Encyclopedia of Religion and
Ethics.

ISBE., International Standard Bible Encyclopedia.

NPNF., Nicene Post Nicene Fathers.

ZNTW., Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche
Wissenschaft und die Kunde der
Älteren Kirche.

Significant Events in the Life of St. Augustine

- 354 Augustine born at Tagaste, Nov, 13.
- 369 or 370 Returned from Madaura.
- 370 Went to Carthage, distinguished himself in the school
of rhetoric.
- c.371 Death of Patricius, his father.
- 373 Reading of the Hortensius of Cicero
Repelled from the Scriptures by the plainness of
their style.
- 374 Became a Manichaeian auditor.
- 375 Taught as a 'Grammaticus' at Tagaste.
- 376 Returned to Carthage where he taught rhetoric.
- 383 The conference with Faustus failing to clear up his
defficulties, he inclined to the New Academy.
- 383 (?) Went to Rome. Still resided with the Manichaeians.
- 384 Appointed teacher of Rhetoric at Milan. Separated
from the Manichaeians. Came under the influence of
Ambrose.
- 385-386 Studied Neoplatonic books.
Began study of Pauline Epistles.
- 386 September (?).His conversion.
- 386-387 Retirement Cassiacum.
- 387 Apr.24 Baptized by Ambrose at Milan.
Set out for Africa with Monica his mother, who died
at Ostia. After her death, returned to Rome.

- 388 Went to Africa.
- 388-391 Literary retirement with a few friends at Tagaste.
- 391 Ordained presbyter at Hippo.
- 392 Held public disputation with Fortunatus, a Manichaeian.
- 393 Delivered an exposition on the Apostle's Creed to
the council of bishops assembled at Hippo.
- 395 Ordained "Coepiscopus".
- 396 c. Death of Valerius, the Bishop of Hippo.
Augustine became sole Bishop.
- 400 c. Wrote Confessions.
- 400 Began polemics against the Donatists.
- 399-416 De Trinitate
- 410 Rome sacked by the Visigoths.
- 412 Began polemics against the Pelagians
- 412-426 De Civitate Dei.
- 430 August 28 St. Augustine died at Hippo, in the third
month of the seige by the Vandals.

(The above outline in general follows the Table of
Dates given by Gibb and Montgomery in The Confessions
of Augustine, pages lxvii-lxix.)

CHAPTER I
THE UNFOLDING IDEA OF GOD

I God--the Father

- 1 Among primitive people
2. The pre-prophetic period in Israel
- 3 The prophetic period
- 4 The period of the exile
- 5 The Greek period
- 6 The New Testament period

II The Logos Idea

- 1 The Hellenic logos
- 2 The Hebrew logos
- 3 Philo
- 4 The Gospel of John

III Christology

IV Trinity

CHAPTER I

THE UNFOLDING IDEA OF GOD

Among primitive people, states Ames, (1) religious observances and beliefs were concerned with the vital interests of the group. Social life was more nearly a single process than in the more advanced stages, and it is quite impossible to distinguish sharply 'between law, morality, art and religion.' Religion reflected the fundamental experiences and the driving impulses in these experiences were the most elemental instincts. (2) Moreover, the origin of religion is in the origin of social consciousness, and the religious consciousness is identified with the consciousness of life's greatest values. Religion is "constituted by the deepest, most vital interests and ideals". It is most manifest in what is defended with the greatest devotion. (3)

(1) Ames: Psychology of Religious Experience, p.33.

(2) Ibid, p. 50.

(3) Ibid, p168. "The origin of religion, as has been shown, is to^{be} sought in the origin of the social consciousness. In other words the religious consciousness is identified with the consciousness of the greatest values of life. The sense of value, as Crawley contends, is the feeling of the worth of life, which expresses itself in the demand for self preservation. Self preservation is not an individual matter simply, but at every point it involves the welfare of the group. In the early stages no pronounced distinction is

Central and fundamental in religion is a belief in deity and an experience with deity. As defined by Hume, in 'The World's Living Religions', deity has five essential characteristics: it is superhuman in character and power; it is supersensuous although it may be represented in material ways; it is believed to exercise control over the natural world and over the affairs of men; it is worshipful; and it is responsive to man's worship. (1)

As to the source of the idea of God and the method of its disclosure, the following statement of Jevons (2) will be accepted as our standard: "The Godhead has been in common consciousness, from the beginning, a being, a personal being greater than man and it is as such that He has manifested Himself in common consciousness, from the beginning

- (1) Hume: The World's Living Religions, p. 3.
- (2) Jevons: The Idea of God in Early Religions, p. 27 ff.
- (3 from preceding page continued) 'made between the individual and the social phases of experience, and the values which are felt to be the greatest are in reality these social interests in which the individual also finds his fullest life. Primitive religion is therefore social, and is of tribal or group concern. Indeed religion consists in the social consciousness. Religion is constituted by the deepest, most vital interests and ideals. It is most manifest in what is prized highly, in what society maintains with the greatest energy and caution; in what is defended with the most devotion and with the heaviest penalties. The original and perpetual spring of religion is therefore the life activity itself involved in procuring food, caring for young, acquiring and defending property, and in furthering social welfare. The vital impulse increases with its satisfaction."

until the present day. To this personality as to others, attributes and qualities may be falsely ascribed, which are inconsistent with one another and are none of His. Some of the attributes thus falsely ascribed may be discovered in the course of the history of religions, to have been falsely ascribed; and they will then be set aside... Thus fetishism, anthropomorphism and polytheism ascribe qualities to the Godhead which are shown to be attributes assigned to the Godhead and imposed upon it from without, for eventually they are found by experience to be incompatible with the idea of God as it is revealed in the common consciousness... (28)

The attribution to the divine personality, of qualities, which are eventually found incompatible with it, may prove the occasion for the more precise and definite manifestation; we may say that action implies reaction, and so false ideas may provoke true ones, but the false ideas do not create the new ones. The false ideas may stimulate closer attention to the actual facts of the common consciousness and thus may stimulate the formation of the truer ideas about them, by leading to a concentration upon the actual facts. But it is from this closer attention, that the newer and truer knowledge comes and not from the false ideas. What we speak of, from one point of view, as closer attention, to the facts of (29) common consciousness, may from another point of view, be spoken of as an increasing manifestation, or a clearer relation, of the divine personality, revealed or manifested

to the common consciousness. These are two views or two points of view, of one and the same process,... If we choose to speak of this unfolding or disclosure as evolution, the process, ~~the process~~ which the history of religion undertakes to set forth, will be the evolution of the idea of God. But, in that case, the process which we designate by the name of evolution, will be a process of disclosure and revelation. Disclosure implies that there is something to disclose; revelation that there is something to be revealed to the common consciousness--the presence of the Godhead, of divine personality".

In this discussion we are not concerned primarily with the validity of the idea of God, neither would we leave the impression that God is merely a verbal, intellectual presupposition or a figment of the imagination. "God then is immediately known, and permanently known, as the Other Mind, which in creating Nature is also creating me. Of this knowledge nothing can despoil us; this knowledge has never been wanting to the self-knowing mind of man". (1)

(1) Hocking: Meaning of God in Human Experience, p. 297.

Preprophetic Period

We are the heirs of all ages, of centuries of speculation regarding God, and this generation thinks of him in abstract and general terms. The Hebrew mind is intuitive, imaginative, and truth comes to it in a series of vivid flashes of insight. The Hebrews started from the assurance of the existence of God, whom they considered in close relation with their life. The Old Testament assumes that the knowledge of God is due to his manifestation of himself and not to man's achievement.

"But the historical method of study," according to Kohler, "seems to indicate that various cosmic potencies were worshipped in primitive life either singly or collectively under the name of Elohim, 'divine powers', or Zibeoth Elohim, 'hosts of divine powers'. With the acceptance of the idea of divine omnipotence, these were united into a confederacy of divine forces under the dominion of the one God, the 'Lord of Hosts'. Still these powers of heaven, earth and the deep, by no means surrendered their identity. Most of them became angels, 'messengers' of the omnipotent God, or 'Spirits' roaming in the realms where once they ruled, while a few were relegated as monsters to the region of superstition. The heathen deities, which persisted for a while in the popular belief, were also placed with the angels as 'heavenly rulers' of their respective lands or nations about the throne of the Most High. At all events, Israel's God

was enthroned above them all as Lord of the universe." (1)

He further states that the Jewish God-idea went through many stages before it reached the concept of a transcendental and spiritual God. Centuries of effort by sages and prophets were required to remove the anthropomorphic and anthropopathic notions of God. (2)

The primary idea of God in the Shemitic mind was power, El, the strong one; El Shaddai, God Almighty; El Elyon, Most High God. (3) To the Hebrew, God and the world were always distinct. The processes of nature were caused by God, but were quite distinct from God. (4) A pantheistic conception of nature is always foreign, God is always personal. (5) With this personal power, the Lord of men and ruler of nature, fellowship is possible. (6) The covenant relationship with God was the essence of the Hebrew religion. In this period, God is God of the Hebrews only, with them only He makes a covenant. He is faithful to his promises and covenant in his relations to his people. The God of the Hebrews is ethical. He is the self-existent one, he alone has true being and can truly say, 'I am that I am.' (7)

(1) Kohler: Jewish Theology, p. 91.

(2) Ibid, p. 74.

(3) Davidson: Theology of the Old Testament. p. 85.

(4) Ibid. p.32.

(5) Ibid. p.97.

(6) Rees in ISBE vol IV article 'God' Ibid. p.98.

(7) Davison, in HERE vol VI p.252

Prophetic Period

In this period the unity of God is definitely taught. "Jehovah our God is one Jehovah." (1) "Monotheism appears established beyond question in the double sense of the word, that God of Israel is one being and that beside him there is no other God." (2) God is supreme over the whole world as well as over Israel, Omniscience in the full sense of the term was not taught until this period. Righteousness is an outstanding characteristic of God in Amos, Micah and Isaiah. To Amos' message of uncompromising justice of God, Hosea adds "the very earliest declaration among the religions of the world, that God loves human beings." (3) In Deuteronomy righteousness and love are blended. (4) Ezekiel preached the sovereignty of God along with divine mercy. (5) And in Isaiah, God is unique in his majestic holiness.

Exile

Until this period God is represented as the ultimate source of everything, including evil. But with the exile there is a distinct change. A comparison of the post-exilic 1Chronicles 21:1 with the pre-exilic 2Samuel 24:1 shows that the word Satan is substituted for the word Jehovah. Satan

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- (1) Deut. 6:4; Isa. 44:8-20.
 - (2) Rees in ISBE, vol II, article 'God'.
 - (3) Hume: The World's Living Religions, p.177.
 - (4) Davidson: in HERE Vol. VI, p. 252.
 - (5) Hume: The World's Living Religions, p. 179.

is not an original feature of the Bible but is introduced from the dualism of Zoroastrianism. (1) Kohler calls attention to the deeper meaning attached to the doctrine of God's unity, under the Persian rule, in contact with the religious system of Zoroaster. (2) Also during this period the Divine Wisdom is partially hypostatized. (3) And according to Davison there is an increased spiritualization of the idea of God. (4)

Post-Exilic Period

In this period God is described as eternal and unchangeable. (5) He is omniscient and omnipotent. (6) His most exalted attribute is holiness. (7) God is righteous. (8) The Psalms praise his loving-kindness, but his mercy is manifest in individual acts and is not the natural outflow of his nature as revealed in the New Testament where God is declared to be love. The anthropomorphisms decrease. God no longer dwells in Mt Zion. His throne is in the heavens. God is now apart from the world. In the Wisdom literature there is a definite search after God. Men become conscious that God is incomprehensible and remote. (9)

- (1) Hume: The World's Living Religions, P. 191.
- (2) Kohler: Jewish Theology, p.85.
- (3) Ibid, p. 140.
- (4) Davison: in HERE Vol.VI, p. 252.
- (5) Ps.90:1,2; Ps.102:27; Mal.3:6.
- (6) Ps.139; Job 26:6.
- (7) Ps.99:3,5,9.
- (8) Ps.119:137.
- (9) Rees: In ISBE vol. II article 'God'

The New Testament Period

Jesus Christ and his followers inherited the idea of God as taught in the Old Testament, particularly in the later prophets and in the Psalms. To them God is "One, supreme being, personal and spiritual, holy, righteous and merciful". We find no formal proof of God's existence in the New Testament. Nor are the metaphysical attributes of God, His infinity, omnipotence, and omniscience defined as in systematic theology. The ground for all these deductions is provided in the religious experience that finds God in Christ all-sufficient. Two new elements raise the whole content to a new plane, the Fatherhood of God by Christ and the growing conviction of the Church that Christ himself was God. (1) "One word, not entirely new, acquires so predominate, so consummate a place in the conception of God that henceforth surpasses and encompasses all the rest-- God is love." (2) Ames states that "two conceptions which had long been forming, found revival, purification and increment in the teaching of Jesus. These were the ideals of a divine kingdom and of inward ethical character. Both were directly related to the prophetic conception of God as the God of all nations and as the God of infinite justice and mercy."

(3)

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- (1) Rees: in ISBE vol.II, article 'God'.
 - (2) Davison: in HERE vol VI, p.258.
 - (3) Ames: Psychology of Religious Experience, p.185.

The Logos Idea

(a) The Hellenic Logos.

" The delicate moonlit web of poetic fiction which the Greek imagination had woven around the crude naturalism of pre-historic religion, insensibly softening, colouring, and idealizing it, could not maintain itself in the daylight of a critical age." (1)

The Greek philosopher looked upon the world as an ordered whole, as the product of reason and reason as its ruling principle. The logos idea appears in physical speculation and then passes over into the realm of ethics and theology. There are three distinct stages; Heraclitus, the Stoics, and Philo.

The rational and unchangeable law in nature, Heraclitus called, sometimes, justice or harmony, but more often 'logos' or reason; twice he calls it God. The 'logos' is in the world, neither above it nor prior to it. It is the inner, pervasive energy, sustaining, relating, and harmonizing its endless variety. Man's soul is a part of the 'logos'. It is objective, not subjective reason.

Anaxagoras introduced the idea of a supreme intellectual principle. This principle though independent of the world, governed it. This vague conception he calls not 'logos'

(1) Caird: The Evolution of Theology in the Greek Philosophers, Vol. I, p 41.

but 'nous'. The distinction between 'logos' as 'ratio' and 'logos' as 'oratio', so much used later by Philo and the Church Fathers, was anticipated by Aristotle's distinction between the 'exo logos' and the 'logos in psyche'. This is the point of attachment by which the logos doctrine connected itself with Christianity.

In Plato there is no definite expression of the 'logos' doctrine unless perhaps in Timaeus.

The Stoics thought of the world as a single living connected whole and that all particulars are the determinate forms assumed by the primitive power, which they conceived as a never-resting, all-pervading fire. This divine world-power which contains the conditions and the processes of all things, they called 'logos' or God. As a productive power the deity is called 'logos spermatikos' or the generative principle of the world. The logos of the Stoics is a reason in the world, gifted with intelligence, and analagous to reason in man. (1)

(b) Salmon next discusses the Hebrew 'logos'. The earlier anthropomorphic conception of God with its sense of divine nearness was succeeded in later Judaism by the belief that God ~~that~~ God was separated from man and was at a remote distance. Various attempts were made to bridge this chasm by angels and by other hybrid forms such as Wisdom,

(1) Salmon: article, Logos in Brit. vol.16, p.919 ff.

the Shekinah, or the Glory and the Spirit of God, and the Law as a spiritual entity. Among these conceptions, particularly the creative word of Genesis 1:1 held an important place. It is difficult to determine whether the Word is an attribute or an activity of God or is an independent being, though there is a tendency toward the latter. This uncertainty is due to a two-fold purpose, first to establish communication with God and second to prevent direct connexion between God and the world. The word of God is represented as the creative principle, (1) the executor of divine judgments (2), as possessed of almost personal qualities (3). In Job and Proverbs we find the doctrine of Wisdom. In Prov. 3:19 Wisdom appears as an attribute of God and in Prov. 8:22-31 Wisdom is personified.

The Book of Wisdom, written about 100 B.C. deals with both wisdom and the 'logos' but does not hypostatize either. Wisdom is represented as the framer of the world, as the power or spirit of God active in physical, intellectual and ethical matters. It is apparently objective to God. (4)

(1) Gen. 1:3; Ps. 33:6.

(2) Hosea 6:5.

(3) Isaiah 55:11; Ps. 147:15.

(4) Davies: article 'Book of Wisdom' in ISBE vol. V, p. 3092.

(c) Philo (c.20 B C --c.50 A D) the outstanding representative of the Alexandrian philosophical school blended the Platonic, Stoic and Hebrew elements, thus shaping a new career for the 'logos' idea. He detaches the idea from the Stoic materialism and combines it with Plato's idea of God regarded as creatively active. In this way the 'logos' has an independent existence and is not merely immanent. The 'logos' theory becomes a bridge between Judaism and Greek philosophy. The monotheistic idea is maintained but affords a description of divine activity in terms of Hellenic thought. The Word of the Old Testament becomes one with the 'Logos' of Greek thought. Philo conceives the 'Logos' as the principle of reason, informing the infinite variety of things, and so creating the world-order. It is also the divine dynamic, the energy and self revelation of God. Failing to completely fuse the Hebrew and the Hellenic conception, Philo accorded the 'Logos' of Hellas "a semi-independent position beside the supreme God of Judea." (1)

(d) The influence of Hellenic thought is evident in Ephesians, Colossians, Hebrews and the Gospel of John but in the latter it reaches a climax. Salmon notes three profound modifications of the 'Logos' idea as taught by Philo.

(1) Salmon: article 'Logos' in the Brit. vol.16, p.920.

1) Instead of an abstraction or the semi-personification of Philo, the 'Logos' becomes fully personified.

"The Word that became flesh subsisted from all eternity as a distinct personality within the divine nature."

2) The creative function becomes secondary and emphasis is placed upon the redemptive function. The creative function in the Gospel of John is not of first importance. It is merely mentioned to make a link with earlier speculation. The author is concerned with the redemptive function, the spiritual life which resides in the Son and is communicated by him to man.

3)"The idea of 'Logos' as reason becomes subordinated to the idea of the 'Logos' as word, the expression of God's will and power, the outgoing of divine energy, life, love and light". (1)

Christology

To his followers Jesus appeared to have been like themselves and at the same time superhuman. Their belief that he was both human and divine was not the result of metaphysical reasoning but was a conviction born of experience. (1) In the epistles of Paul, the gospel of John and the book of Hebrews Greek terms and ideas are used in an effort to explain this mystery.

The Gnostics with their claim of superior knowledge, refused to believe that his human form was real, for they held that matter is inherently evil. To them "Jesus was a heavenly spiritual being, not really God but a spirit emanating from him, and he took the appearance of a human nature, a phantom flesh". (2)

On the other hand many Jewish Christians, known as Ebionites, while affirming that Jesus was the Messiah, shrank from seeing in him the actual presence of God. They denied the divinity of Christ and considered him as a mere man. (3)

Polycarp (d.155) represents the unreasoned faith of the Christians in 'Ad Ephes'. 7,2: "He is at once flesh and

- (1) More: Christ the Word, p.3,4.
(2) Pullan: The Church of the Fathers, p.132.
(3) Ibid. p.10.

Spirit, begotten and unbegotten, God come in the flesh, ^{the real life,} both from Mary and from God, at first passible and then impassible". Irenaeus (d.202) ably defended the conception that Jesus is the Word made flesh, who is from all eternity the Son of God, but did take a complete human nature. (1) The double nature of Christ was an unsolved problem. The situation was further complicated by the charge of the pagans that the Christians had two Gods, or counting the Spirit, three Gods. Hence there was a special need to define how Christ a man could become an object of worship for sincere monotheists. (2)

Monarchianism became the catchword for those who under the pressure of logic went beyond the reasonable defense of the faith and merged together the Father and the Son in the conception of indivisible, impersonal and all-embracing deity. Monarchianism again was divided into two major groups. The Adoptionists taught that Jesus is essentially man, the Modalists that he is essentially God. (3) The Adoptionists held that Jesus was a human Messiah anointed at his baptism by the Holy Spirit so as to become the adopted Son of God, and that at the resurrection he became semi-divine. Sabellius in the first half of the third century is the most noted of Modalistic Monarchians. He called God 'Huiopater', Son-Father,

(1) Pullan: The Church of the Fathers, p. 132.

(2) Mackenzie: article 'Jesus Christ' in HERE vol.7, p.534.

(3) Pullan: The Church of the Fathers, p.133.

and held that as Father, God is Creator; as Son, He is Redeemer; and as Spirit, He is the giver of holiness. Thus Jesus was the Father in visible form. He was only a mode of the Father's existence. (1)

The teachings of Origen was ^a blow to both types of Monarchianism. "That the Word of God is eternally the Son of God, ever being begotten from the Father and issuing from the Father's own spiritual life, made clear two facts, The first is that the Son is as divine as the Father and that in Christ we behold more than a mere influence of the Father; and the second is that the Son is as personal as the Father, and that in Jesus Christ we do not behold a fictitious Son, who is really the Father in the mask of human flesh". (2)

Arianism represents a reaction from the tendency to make Christ an abstract being remote from human interests. Pullan summarizes his teachings as follows:

1) "A father must exist before his son. Therefore the Son of God, whom S. John calls his Word did not exist eternally with the Father.

2) "The Word, not being eternal, was created before all other creatures, in order that He might be the agent of God in creating the world.

3) "The Word, being a creature, is in all things unlike the Father, He might have sinned, and He does not know the

 (1) Pullan: The Church of the Fathers, p. 133, 136.
 (2) Ibid. p. 151.

Father perfectly."

4) "The body of Christ had no human soul; the place of the soul was taken by the Word". (1)

In 325 the emperor Constantine called a general council to establish a canon of orthodoxy. The Nicene Creed is the result of their deliberations. (2) The deity of Christ was definitely affirmed and in succeeding years was defended and interpreted by Athanasius and the Cappadocian theologians.

The next problem was the humanity of Christ and a solution was proposed by Apollinarius (310-390). "Origen had suggested that Christ had a human soul, while Arius had declared that the 'logos' was joined to a human body only. Apollinarius believed that man is a trichotomy (body, soul and spirit) and asserted that Christ had a human body and soul, while the place of the human spirit was supplied by the 'logos', thus denying the completeness of his humanity."

(3)

(1) Pullan: The Church of the Fathers, p. 243.

(2) The Nicene Creed as give by Pullan, p.245, " We believe in one God the Father Almighty, Maker of all things, visible and invisible.

"And in one Lord, Jesus Christ the Son of God, begotten of the Father, only begotten, that is of the substance of the Father, God of God, Light of Light, very God of very God, begotten not made, of one substance (homo-ousios) with the Father, by whom all things were made, both the things in heaven and the things on earth; who for us men and for our salvation came down and was incarnate, and suffered, and rose on the third day, ascended into heaven, and cometh to judge the living and dead.

"And in the Holy Ghost".

(3) McGlothlin: A guide to the Study of Church History. p. 57, quoted by Stevens: Notes on Junior Church History, p. 79.

Apollinarianism was condemned by the council of Constantinople, 381, and the humanity of Christ was affirmed.

Shedd names four necessary factors in the complete conception of Christ's person: first, true and proper deity; second, true and proper humanity; third, the union deity and humanity in one person; and fourth, the distinction of deity from humanity, in the one person, so that there is no mixture of natures. (1) The Protestant Dictionary, as quoted by Stevens summarizes the doctrinal teachings of ~~The~~ Councils of Nicea, 325, Constantinople, 381, Ephesus, 431, and Chalcedon, 451, by saying that they declared Christ to be truly God, perfectly man, indivisibly God-man, and distinctly God and man. (2)

The Doctrine of The Trinity

The determining impulse in the formulation of the doctrine of the Trinity was the church's conviction of the deity of Christ. "This Christian faith in the incarnation of the divine Word (logos, ratio, sermo) in the man Christ Jesus, with whom the believer is united through the fellowship of the Holy Spirit, constitutes the distinctive basis of the Christian doctrine of the Trinity." (3)

- (1) Shedd: History of Christian Doctrine, Vol.I, p.392.
- (2) Stevens: Notes in Junior ~~History~~ ^{Scripture}, p. 98.
- (3) Fulton: article 'Trinity' in HERE vol.12, p.458 ff.

The guiding principle was provided by the baptismal formula as found in Matt.28:19. A similar trinitarian formula is found in a benediction of Paul, 2Cor.13:14, which book was written within thirty years after the death of Christ.

Fulton designates five stages in the development of the theological statement. (1)

1) The formal identification of the pre-existent Christ of Pauline and Johnine theology with the 'logos' of the Greek philosophy.

2) The doctrine of the eternal fatherhood of God, the eternal generation of the Logos or Son. This doctrine developed by Origen, entered into the theology of Athanasius. On the one hand this doctrine conserved the distinction between the Father and the Son as against the Sabellian view. On the other hand the subordination it implied was used to support the Arian view.

3) The Council of Nicea, 325, affirmed against the Arian position the doctrine of the consubstantiality of the Son with the Father. Athanasius maintained that there "is an absolute likeness between the Father and the Son, and also a mutual co-inherence or mutual immanence of their persons".

4) To the Cappadocian theologians, Basil, Gregory of Nazianzum, and Gregory of Nyssa, we owe the development and

(1) Fulton: article 'Trinity' in HERE vol.12, p.458.

interpretation of the formula, "three Hypostases in one Ousia or Substance (ΤΡΕΙΣ ὑποστάσεις, μία οὐσία)" :
 'Hypostasis' signifies a real principle of distinction within the divine nature, and 'ousia' signifies the divine nature or substance itself. On the one hand there is an effort to avoid the Sabellian modalism, which recognized no true distinction between Father, Son and Holy Spirit, and on the other hand to keep clear of the error of tritheism. The Cappadocians also gave definite place and character to the Holy Spirit, as the third member of the Trinity, "Consubstantial with the Father and proceeding from the Father through the Son".

5) The last step was the addition by the Western Church, to the Niceano-Constantinopolitan Creed, the doctrine of the double procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father and the Son. This doctrine was adopted to counteract the possibility of subordination of the Holy Spirit and under the influence of St. Augustine found its way into the so-called Athanasian Creed. The Greek Church found unity in the Father, the fountain head of deity, but the Western Church found unity in the divine nature or substance. (1)

(1) Fulton: article 'Trinity' in HERE vol.12, p.458.

Orr: article 'Trinity' in ISBE vol.5, p.3021,3022.

Chapter II

St. Augustine's Available Literary Sources

1. The Bible

2. The Catholic System of Faith

3. Ecclesiastical Writers

Ambrose	Jerome
Athanasius	Lactantius
Basil	Novatian
Cyprian	Optatus
Didymus	Origen
Eusebius	Rufinus
Gregory of Nazianzum	Tertullian
Gregory of Nyssa	Victorinus
Hilary	

4. The Neoplatonists

Apuleius	Amelius
Plotinus	Victorinus
Porphyry	

5. Other Philosophers and Poets

Aristotle	Varro
Cicero	Homer Virgil
Labeo	Virgil
Plato	The Sibylline Oracles

6. St. Augustine's Attitude toward the Sources

7. The Extent of his use of the Ecclesiastical

Writers

CHAPTER II

ST. AUGUSTINE'S AVAILABLE LITERARY SOURCES

1. The Bible

The Septuagint translation was recognized by Augustine as the authoritative version of the Old Testament. He used it frequently in his exegetical treatises. The *Italia*, a Latin translation from the Septuagint, was the accepted version in common use. The Vulgate, translated from the Hebrew by Jerome, and completed in c.386 superseded these former versions. "For while there were other interpreters who translated ^{these} ~~the~~ sacred oracles out of the Hebrew tongue into Greek, as Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotian, and also that translation which, as the name of the author is unknown, is quoted as the fifth edition, yet the Church has received this Septuagint translation just as if it were the only one; and it has been used by the Greek Christian people, most of whom are not aware that there is any other, from this translation there has also been made a translation in the Latin tongue, which the Latin churches use. Our times, however, have enjoyed the advantage of the

presbyter Jerome, a man most learned, and skilled in all three languages, who translated these same Scriptures into the Latin speech, not from the Greek, but from the Hebrew."

(1)

In regard to the Gospels, Augustine used the Italia until about 400. His quotations are chiefly from the manuscripts known as 'k' and 'e'. 'k' was written not later than 400 and corresponds with the quotations of Cyprian. This old African text shows a preference for 'sermo' as a rendering for 'λόγος' rather than 'verbum', for 'felix' as a rendering for 'μακάριος' rather than 'beatus'. 'e' is regarded as a revision of 'k' dating from the fifth century. 'k' is now at Turin and 'e' at Vienna. (2) But after 398 the quotations of Augustine show a marked correspondence with the Vulgate, and in 403 he wrote a letter of approval to Jerome. Augustine compared frequently with the Greek text of the New Testament and used his own renderings. (3)

The canon of the Bible was settled by the councils held at Hippo in 393 and at Carthage in 397. The apocryphal books of the Old Testament were included. (4)

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- (1) De Civitate Dei XVIII 43. NPNF ser.1, vol.2, p. 386.
 - (2) Souter: Text and Canon of the New Testament, p.37.
 - (3) Milne: Old Latin Texts of the Gospels used by St. Augustine, p. ix-xiii. Milne reviewed 1941 quotations from the Bible made by Augustine previous to 401.
 - (4) Schaff: History of The Christian Church, Vol.3, p.609.

Augustine made prominent use of the Pauline Epistles. Of the Gospels, John was his preference, no doubt because it, like Paul's writings, had been influenced by Greek thought. He made little use of Mark or of the book of Revelation. In the Old Testament, the Psalms were a favorite source. The Book of Wisdom in the Apocrypha was often used, for in it the Greek thought was manifest and the texts were readily accommodated to the Neoplatonism of Augustine.

2, The Catholic System of Faith

The Nicene Creed was used almost exclusively in the Eastern Church and influenced Augustine very little except through Ambrose. In the Western Church the Apostles' Creed was the resume of the catholic faith next in importance after the New Testament. Catechumens were required to recite it before baptism. It was current in North Africa toward the close of the fourth century. It was termed the 'rule of faith' by Tertullian. Augustine delivered an exposition on this creed before the North African Episcopate assembled at Hippo Regius in 393. This discourse is extant in the 'De Fide et Symbolo'. (1)

(1) Monceau: *Historie de la Litterature Latine Chretienne*,
p. 20.

The Faith of the Catholic Church was also expressed in the proceedings of the church councils, the discipline, the dogma and the record of the struggles with their rivals. The series of records in Africa was very complete, dating from the time of Cyprian. Sufficient interest was taken in these records so that they were codified in 419. Quite complete records are also extant of the Conference held in Carthage in 411, in which Augustine took an important part.(1)

3, Ecclesiastical Writers

1) Ambrose, 340-397.

Ambrose read Philo, Hippolitus, Origen and Basil., making extracts of them in Latin. His real teacher in doctrine was Basil. (2)

Ambrose wrote six commentaries on the Hexameron, two on the Gospel of Luke, five Letters to Gratian upon The Faith, treatises on the Holy Spirit, the Incarnation, the Mysteries, Noah and the Ark, Abraham and other Old Testament themes. (3) Ambrose was a source for Augustine through his preaching, his songs, his personal counsel, and his writings. The songs expressed the theology of the Church in regard to the nature of God and the Trinity.

- (1) Monceau: Hist. de la Litterature Latin Chretienne, 23, 24.
- (2) Tixeront: History of Dogmas, vol.2, p.251.
- (3) Monceau; p.87.
Sheldon: History of Christian Doctrine, p. 176.

2) Athanasius, c.296-373.

The most important writings of Athanasius are "On the Incarnation", a Discourse against the Arians and his correspondence. Augustine quotes indirectly Athanasius in Letter 148. His teachings reached Augustine principally through Hilary. (1) Harnack summarizes his teaching as follows: "The Son is coeternal with the Father. The Son is the same substance with the Father. The Son is in all points similarly constituted as the Father. The Son together with the Father constitutes a unity." (2)

3) Basil, c.329-379.

Basil wrote a treatise on the Holy Spirit, and homilies on the Hexameron. His ideas reached St. Augustine through Ambrose. (3) Basil was a pioneer in formulating the doctrine of the Trinity. To him is due the definition of the terms 'ousia' and 'hypostasis' and the beginnings of the attempt to discover characteristics of each of the 'hypostasis' and their relations to one another in the Godhead. (4)

4) Cyprian, c.200-258.

Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, derived most of his theology from Tertullian. His works written in polished and masculine Latin, were held in great esteem by western Christ-

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- (1) Tixeront: History of Dogmas, vol.2, p.251.
 - (2) Harnack: History of Dogma. vol.4. p. 32, 33.
 - (3) Article 'Basil' in Brit.
 - (4) Sprawley: Cappadocian Theology in HERE vol.3, p.214.

endom for two centuries. He planted firmly "legal relationship" and "satisfactory expiation by Christ". He wrote a treatise on the Unity of the Catholic Church and many Epistles. Augustine studied his writings carefully. (1)

5) Didymus, 308-395.

Didymus, the blind teacher of the catechetical school in Alexandria, revived the study of Origen's works. He wrote a treatise on the Holy Spirit, a commentary on the De Principiis of Origen, and two books against the Arians. The Book on the Holy Spirit was made available to Augustine by Jerome's Latin translation of it. Jerome and Rufinus were both pupils of Didymus. He was a loyal follower of Origen and stoutly opposed to the Arians. (2)

6) Eusebius, c.260-c.340.

The Church History of Eusebius was translated by Rufinus. This book was carefully studied by Augustine, being a source not only of historical facts but also of theological concepts. Eusebius also wrote Contra Hieroclem, a reply to a lost work against the Christians, the Praeparatio Evangelica and the Demonstratio Evangelica, which together formed the most elaborate and most important apologetic work of the early church. The subject of the Theophania

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- (1) Pullan: The Church of the Fathers. p.160.
 - (2) Monceau: Historie de la Littérature latine Chrétienne, 94. article 'Didymus' in the Brit. vol.8, p.208.

is the manifestation of God in the incarnation of the Word. He also wrote commentaries on the Psalms and on the prophecy of Isaiah. (1)

7) Gregory of Nazianzen, 329-390.

Gregory wrote five discourses on the Trinity. These orations are the finest exposition of the Catholic Doctrine of the Trinity as conceived by the orthodox teachers of the East. One of these discourses was translated by Rufinus. Augustine quoted from Gregory in Letter 148. (2)

8) Gregory of Nyssa, c.335-c.395.

Gregory of Nyssa, a younger brother of Basil the Great, wrote against Eunomius in twelve books, his subject being the divinity and consubstantiality of the Word. He also wrote To Ablavus against the Tritheists, and On Faith against the Arians. (3)

9) Hilary of Poitiers, d. 368.

Hilary followed Origen in Exegesis and derived his trinitarian and Christological conceptions (incarnation) from Athanasius. Hilary's book on the Trinity is quoted by St. Augustine in his book by the same title. Hilary wrote a book named Synods relative to the Arian controversy, a

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(2) article Gregory in Brit. vol.XII p. 563.

Monceau: Hist. de la Litterature Latine Chretienne, 91.

(3) article Gregory of Nyssa in Brit.

(1) Mc Giffert: article Eusebius in Brit.

Response to Criticism, a treatise Against the Arians and several Hymns. There are also extant commentaries on the Gospel of Matthew and on the Psalms. (1)

10) Jerome, 345-420.

Jerome translated the De Principiis of Origen, some of his homilies on the prophets, on Canticles, and on St. Luke, the Onomasticon of Eusebius and the treatise of Didymus on the Holy Spirit. He wrote commentaries on Ecclesiastes, the Psalms, the prophets, the Epistles of Paul, the Gospel of Matthew and the Apocalypse. His greatest work was the revision and translation of the Bible known as the Vulgate. Augustine carried on correspondence with Jerome and read many of his books. (2)

11) Lactantius, c.260-c.340.

Lactantius, designated by the humanists as "the Christian Cicero", wrote 'Divinarum Institutionum Libri vii', an apology for and an introduction to Christianity. It is written in exquisite latin but lacks precision of thought. It lacks a grasp of Christian principles and reveals very little knowledge of the Scriptures. Among other subjects, Lactantius deals with the unity of the God of creation, of providence, and of the union of true wisdom and true

(1) article 'Hilary' in Brit. vol. 13 p.458,459.

(2) Monceau: Historie de la Litterature latine Chretienne, 94.

religion made real in the person of Christ. In Christian Doctrine II 61, Augustine implies acquaintance with his teachings. (1) He is mentioned by name in the De Civitate Dei IX 1, and Angus believes that Augustine uses him as a source in at least three other instances. (2)

12) Novatian (in the third century)

Novatian was the author of De Trinitate, an eloquent and learned commentary, in vigorous logic, which has influenced succeeding treatises on this subject. He criticised the teaching of Sabellius the Monarchian. (3) Tertullian had outlined the original scheme of the doctrine of the Trinity and of Christology which was developed by Novatian. (4)

13) Optatus, (wrote about 370)

Optatus, bishop of Mileve in Numidia, was the author of De Schismate Donatistarum and Adversus Parmenianum. These books were known by Jerome and Augustine also implies acquaintance. They prepared the way for Augustine's doctrine of the church. (5)

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- (1) Article in Brit. vol. 16, p. 55-56.
 - (2) Angus: Sources of the first Ten Books of Augustine's De Civitate Dei, p.50.
 - (3) Monceau: Hist. de la Lit. latine Chretienne, p. 44,45.
 - (4) Harnack: History of Dogma, trans. by Buchanan, vol.5, p. 26.
 - (5) Phillott: article 'Optatus' in Dict of Chr. Biog. vol. 4 p.90-93.

14) Origen, 185-254.

Origen studied Plato, Nichomachus, and the Stoics. He had been a pupil under Ammonius Saccas, the founder of Neoplatonism, and also under Clement, a teacher in the Christian school at Alexandria. (1) Augustine learned much of him through the treatises of Jerome. (2) Jerome translated the De Principiis, seventy-eight homilies on the prophets on Canticles and on the Gospel of Luke. Rufinus also translated the De Principiis and one hundred ~~twenty~~-eight homilies upon the Scripture. (3) Augustine refers to the De Principiis using the Greek title. (4)

15) Rufinus, 345-410.

Rufinus translated the De Principiis and many homilies and commentaries of Origen, the first book of the Apology for Origen by Pamphylus, the Church History of Eusebius, the Lives of the Fathers, a discourse by Gregory of Nazianzen and another by Basil. He wrote a commentary on the Apostles Creed and an apology for his own faith to pope Anastase. (5) Augustine read the church history of Eusebius in the translation of Rufinus. (6)

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- (1) Uberweg: History of Philosophy, vol.1, p.315.
 - (2) Letter 28,2, NPNF ser.1, vol.1, p.251.
 - (3) Monceau: Hist. de la Lit. latine Chretienne, p. 94.
 - (4) De Civitate Dei XI 23, NPNF ser.1, vol.2, p. 217.
 - (5) Monceau: op. cit. p. 91.
 - (6) Angus: Sources DCD, p.242, quotes from De Haeresibus 83.

16) Tertullian, 155-222.

Tertullian gave to western theology certain terms such as "the Unity in Trinity", "one substance" in which different "persons" share. His doctrine of the Trinity is modified by influence of Stoicism and Neoplatonism, speaking sometimes of the Son and the Spirit as if they were only administrators acting temporarily for the Father. In regard to the Incarnation, he maintains that Christ is both God and man, "the peculiar character of each substance being preserved".(1)

Augustine was familiar with the writings of his fellow-countryman. Angus gives the following references to his treatises: Epistle 190 4 14, De Haeresibus 86, Contra adversum Legis et Prophetarum 2 9, 32, De Genesi ad Litteram 25 and 26, De Bono Viduitatis 4 6 and 5 7, De Anima et eius Origine 2 5 9 and one reference in the De Civitate Dei VII 1. (2)

Tertullian's work "On the Flesh of Christ" was against the Docetic theories of the Gnostics. The quotation in the De Civitate Dei is from the Apology or To the Nations. Tertullian was accepted by succeeding generations in the reduced and modified version of Cyprian. (3)

(1) Pullan: The Church of the Fathers, p. 120.

(2) Angus: The Sources of the First Ten Books of Augustine's De Civitate Dei, p.39.

(3) Harnack: History of Dogma; translated by Buchanan; vol. V, p. 15 and 24.

17) Victorinus, d.371.

As an ecclesiastical writer, Victorinus was the author of commentaries on Galatians, Ephesians, and Philippians, treatises on the Trinity and on the True Flesh of Christ, a defence Against the Arians and hymns about the Trinity. Victorinus preceded Augustine in the use of analogies of the Trinity. (1)

4 The Neoplatonists

1) Apuleius

Augustine frequently uses the De Deo Socrates for data about Neoplatonism in books eight, nine and ten of the De Civitate Dei. In chapter seven of Book IX he uses Apuleius for distinction of functions of gods and demons. (2) The Doctrine of Plato is accepted as genuine by Monceau and may have been a source for Augustine. (3)

2) Plotinus

The Enneades in the translation of Victorinus was an important source for Augustine, both for phraseology and for content of thought. (4) A chapter is given to the discussion of Neoplatonism.

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- (1) Monceau: *Historie de la Litterature latine Chretienne*, p.121
 (2) Angus: *Sources De Civitate Dei* p.14.
 (3) Monceau: *La Litterature Latine de Afrique*, p.285.
 (4) Angus: *op.cit.* p.36.

Amelius, a pupil of Plotinus and a skilled author, may have been a source for Augustine's knowledge of Neoplatonism. Only a few quotations from his writings are extant.

3) Porphyry.

Porphyry is the chief source for the tenth book of the *De Civitate Dei*. He is also mentioned in the seventh and eighth books. Augustine no doubt read his books in the translations of Victorinus. Porphyry wrote the *Life of Plotinus*, *Aids for the Study of the Intelligibles*, the *Isagoge* and the *life of Protagoras*, four volumes dealing with the philosophers to the time of Plato. (1)

4) Victorinus.

The first contribution of Victorinus to Augustine was not as a theologian but as a translator of certain Neoplatonic books. These included the *Enneads* of Plotinus and without doubt some of the writings of Apuleius, Porphyry and Amelius. (2)

5 Other Philosophers and Poets

1) Aristotle

Augustine apparently knew little of Aristotle except the Ten Predicaments attributed to him. (3)

2) Cicero

The *Natura Deorum* is based on an Epicurean work by

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- (1) Angus: *Sources De Civitate Dei*, p.37.
 - (2) Monceau: *La Litterature latine de Afrique*, p.405.
 - (3) De Wulf: *History of Mediaeval Philosophy*, p.90.

Philodemus. The criticism of that viewpoint is based on a book by the Stoic, Posidonius. The second part is founded on works of Cleanthus and Chrysippus, and the third part on books by Carneades and Clitomachus, both Academicians. Cicero translated part of Plato's Dialogues. A portion of his translation of the Timaeus is extant and it is known that he translated the Protagoras. (1)

The Hortensius made a profound impression upon Augustine. (2) To judge by the fragments that have been preserved and by Cicero's estimate of it, it must have been the most complete philosophical treatise of the day. In Tusc. 2 24, he says, "Nos autem universae philosophiae vituperationibus respondibus in Hortensio", and in 3 36, "de unversa philosophia quanto opera et extectenda esset et colenda, satis, ut arbitrior, dictum est in Hortensio." and in De Divinatione II 1 1, we see that he wrote with devotion to his subject, "cohortati sumus, ut maxime potuimus, ad philosophiae studium, in eo libro, qui est inscriptus Hortensius." (3)

3) Labeo.

Labeo, a very voluminous writer, among other things wrote on Roman religion. Augustine specifies no work of his nor gives direct citations. Nevertheless in four instances in the De Civitate Dei he gives Labeo credit for information. (4)

(1) Uberweg: History of Philosophy, vol.1, p.219.

Sandy's: History of Classical Scholarship, p.114,182.

(2) De Beata Vita I 4. (3) Angus: Sources DCD p.23.

(4) Angus: Sources DCD, p.26.

4) Plato

In the books of Augustine there are many passages holding Plato in high esteem, among them the statement that he "was justly preferred above all the other philosophers of the Gentiles." But Augustine's knowledge of Plato in many instances is general rather than specific. In the Soliloquia I 9, Augustine indicates that Plato remained to him a mystery. However the knowledge of Plato was available from many sources, from the lectures of the professors in the University of Carthage, from the introductory lectures to Neoplatonism, from the philosophies of Plotinus, Apuleius, Varro and Cicero. In the De Civitate Dei, Augustine quotes^{from} the Timaeus six times. The following references are given by Alfaro:

- DCD X 29, Timaeus 30b ;
- DCD XI 21, Timaeus 37c;
- DCD X 31, Timaeus 41b;
- DCD XII 25,27, Timaeus 41c;
- DCD XIII 18, Timaeus 45b;
- DCD XII 27, Timaeus 52b.

The quotations are in Latin, and one in DCD XIII 16 is definitely stated to be from Cicero's translation. There are two quotations from the Phaedo; DCD X 30, Phaedo 70c; DCD XIII 19, Phaedo 108c. There is no indication that

Augustine read Plato in the original. (1)

5) Varro

The first chapters of the nineteenth book of the De Civitate Dei show that Augustine was acquainted with the De Philosophia of Varro. No doubt some knowledge of Plato came to Augustine through his philosophy. (2)

6) Homer

Homer was always quoted in the latin translation. He was one of Augustine's sources for classical theology. (3)

7) Virgil

The Aeneid was the most important source for the classical or pagan theology. (4)

The Sibylline Oracles

The Sibylline Oracles, one of the curiosities of ancient literature, were written in Greek hexameter. Though the reputed author was never worshipped as a goddess, yet she was regarded with reverential awe. In the Christian Sibyllines there are three elements: first, fragments of unknown antiquity; next Jewish oracles dating from about 200 B.C. to 200 A.D., dealing partly with history put in

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- (1) Alfarc: Evolution Intel. d.s. Augustin, p.231.
 - (2) Angus: Sources De Civitate Dei, p. 40.
 - (3) Ibid. p. 13.
 - (4) Ibid. p. 12, 13.

the form of prophecy, partly with Jewish teaching, and partly with eschatological passages; the third element was Christian writings, often inserted between pagan or Jewish oracles, dealing largely with the life of Christ. Many of the Church Fathers quoted freely from them, particularly Clement of Alexandria and Lactantius. (1) Augustine finding nothing in them promoting the worship of the non-Christian deities, accepted their testimony as confirming the ideas received from other sources. (2)

6 St Augustine's Attitude toward the Sources

1) The Bible

The canonical books of the Scripture were held to be supreme in authority. But their validity must be assured by the church. "The authority of the canonical books of the Old and New Testaments has come down to us from the apostles through the successions of bishops and the extension of the church, and from a position of lofty supremacy,

- (1) Lanchester: article Sibylline Oracles in HERE vol. X, p. 496-498.
- (2) Augustine: De Civitate Dei XVIII 23, NPNF ser. 1, vol. 2, p. 372-373.

claims the submission of every faithful and pious mind.... we are bound to receive as true whatever the canon shows to have been said even by one prophet, or apostle, or evangelist." (1) But for his part he would not believe the gospel except as moved by the authority of the church. (2) Of the many latin translations the Italia is to be preferred above the others and in case of perplexity, final authority must be granted to the Greek manuscripts and especially to those that are found in the churches of the greater learning and research." (3)

2) The Catholic Faith.

"We have the catholic faith in the Creed, known to the faithful and committed to memory, contained in a form of expression as concise as has been^{rendered} admissible by the circumstances of the case." (4) This venerated creed was the so-called Apostles' Creed; the Nicene Creed was little used in the Western Church. The sacraments bound the membership in fellowship and were 'in significance most excellent.'

"He (Christ) has bound his people under the new dispensation together in fellowship by sacraments, which are in number very few, in observance most easy, and in significance most excellent, as baptism solemnized in the name of the Trinity, the communion of His body and blood, and such other things as are prescribed in the canonical Scriptures, with

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- (1) Contra Faustum XI 5, NPNF ser.1, vol.4, p.180.
 - (2) Ibid. V 5 6, p.131.
 - (3) De Civitate Dei XVIII 43. NPNF ser.1, vol.2, p.386.
 - (4) De Fide et Symbolo 1 1, NPNF ser.1, vol.3, p.321.

the exception of those enactments which were a yoke of bondage to God's anicient people, suited to their state of heart and to the times of the prophets, and which are found in the five books of Moses. As to those other things which we hold on the authority, not of Scripture, but of tradition, and which are observed throughout the whole world, it may be understood that they are held as approved and instituted either by the apostles themselves, or by plenary councils, whos authority in the Church is most useful, e.g. the annual commemoration, by special solemnities, of the Lord's passion, resurrection, and ascension, and of the descent of the Holy Spirit from heaven, and whatever else is in like manner observed by the whole Church wherever it has been established." (1)

Tradition that is universally observed and the enactments of Plenary Councils is here stated to be binding in authority.

3) Ecclesiastical Writers

Augustine read all non-canonical books critically, his policy being " to approve and commend what we find right and true and reject what we find false and mischievous." (2)

4) Other Writers

The contributions of the philosophers are not to be avoided but are to be claimed for the catholic faith. Augustine recognized the Neoplatonists as having a nobler conception of God than other philosophers. "If those who are called philosophers, and especially the Platonists,

- (1) Letter 54 1, NPNF ser.1, vol.1, p.300.
- (2) Letter 40 5v9, p. 274.

have said aught that is true and in harmony with our faith, we are not only not to shrink from it, but to claim it for our own use from those who have unlawful possession of it." (1) "Let those two theologies, then, the fabulous and the civil, give place to the Platonic philosophies, who have recognized the true God as the author of all things, the source of the light of truth, and the bountiful bestower of all blessedness." (2)

7. The Extent of his Use of the Ecclesiastical Writers.

1) Augustine was aware that "not many Latin writers but innumerable Greek have examined the sacred Scriptures most attentively." (3)

2) Augustine had studied especially Ambrose, Cyprian, (4) and Jerome. (5)

3) He had read some of the "Catholic exponders of the divine Scriptures.....concerning the Trinity." (6) He quoted from Hilary's treatise on the Trinity. (7)

4) He had read some translations from the Greek. (8)

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- (1) Christian Doctrine II 40 60, NPNF ser.1, vol.2, p.554.
 - (2) De Civitate Dei VIII 5, NPNF ser.1, vol 2. p.148.
 - (3) Contra Faustum 3 2, NPNF ser.1, vol.4, p 159.
 - (4) Letter 82 24; NPNF ser.1, vol.1, p. 358.
 - (5) letter 40 1 1, NPNF ser.1, vol.1, p. 272.
 - (6) De Trinitate I 4 7, NPNF ser.1, vol. 3, p. 20.
 - (7) Ibid VI 10 11, p. 102.
 - (8) Letter 148 15, NPNF ser.1, vol.1, p.502.

He had not read Didymus in 404, (1) but the De Trinitate was not completed until more than ten years later. He quoted from Athanasius in the Latin, (2) and from Chrysostom in the Greek. (3) He quoted from Gregory of Nazianzen. (4)

5) Failure to understand the distinction between substance and essence indicates that he had not read the treatise of Gregory of Nyssa. (5)

6) In 393 Augustine did not know of any discussion setting forth the proper individuality of the Holy Spirit. (6) But in the first book of De Trinitate he speaks of "evidence collected concerning the Holy Spirit, of which those who have discussed the subject before ourselves have most fully availed themselves." (7)

(1) De Trinitate 3 1 NPNF ser.1, vol. 3. p. 55.

(2) Letters 148 10, NPNF ser.1, vol. 1. p.501.

(3) Ibid. Letter 148

Contra Iulianum Pelagianum 1 6 22 and 1 6 26

(4) Letter 148 10, NPNF ser.1, vol.1, p. 501.

(5) De Trinitate V 9 10, NPNF ser.1, vol. 3, p. 92.

(6) De Fide Et Symbolo 9 19, NPNF ser. 1, vol.3, p. 329.

(7) De Trinitate I 6 13, NPNF ser 1, vol. 3. p. 23.

7) That it was the policy of the Christian faith to select, to adopt and to synthesize, was recognized by St. Augustine. "And what else have many good and faithful men among our brethren done? Do we not see^{with} what a quantity of Gold and silver and garments Cyprian, that most persuasive teacher and most blessed martyr, was loaded when he came out of Egypt? How much Lactantius brought with him? And Victrinus, and Optatus, and Hilary, not speak of living men! How much Greeks out of number have borrowed! And prior to all these, that most faithful servant of God, Moses, had done the same thing; for of him it is written that he was learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians." (1)

(1) On Christian Doctrine, II 40 61, NPNF ser.1, vol.2, p. 554.

Chapter III

The Writings of St. Augustine

Autobiographical

Philosophical

Apologetic

Dogmatic

Antimanichaean

Antidonatist

Antipelagian

Exegetical

CHAPTER III

THE WRITINGS OF ST. AUGUSTINE

No other Latin church Father wrote so extensively as did St. Augustine. Possidius, (vita 18) a friend who wrote his biography, ventures to say that Augustine dictated so much that no one is hardly able to read all his writings. (1) Nearly all these works, the composition of which extended over a period of forty-four years, are extant. The classification given follows in general that of Bardenhewer..

I Autobiographical

The Confessions, written about 400, is the first autobiography written in the form of a praise and thanksgiving to God. "Der Ganze ist ein Gebet, ein einziges, groszes Lob- und Dankgebet. Der Inhalt der neun ersten Bucher, welche den Kern des Werkes bilden, ist gelentlich der Darlegung des Lebenslaufs Augustins in groszen wiedergegeben worden." In the Retractions Augustine recognizes it to be (2) a praise unto God. "Confessionum mearum libri tredecim et de malis et de bonis meis Deum laudant iustum et bonum atque in eum excitant humanum intellectum et affectum." (3)

(1) Bardenhewer: Geschichte der Altkirchlichen Literatur, 441

(2) Ibid. p. 251. (3) 2 6 1.

In the *Retractions*, which he dictated about 427, Augustine reviewed a large number of his writings. He considered the occasion, the purpose and the content of these. He made corrections, cleared up obscurities and often defended his position. But the work was not finished. He states that his aim was to criticise his books, letters and tracts, but he completed only the first group. (1)

Two hundred and seventy Letters, including letters to Augustine, are given in the Benedictine edition. They are arranged in chronological order from 386 to 429. They discuss the important questions of the time, reveal his responsibilities and fidelity, and give us an insight into his growing concept of God. (2)

II Philosophical

'*De pulchro et apto*' was written by Augustine when he was about twenty-six years of age. The book is lost but its Manichaeian tendencies are evident from Augustines references to it in the *Confessions* (4 13-15, 20-27)

When in the quiet retreat at Cassiacum with his friends after his conversion, Augustine wrote the three following books which are without doubt quite precise reports

- (1) Bardenhewer, p.449.
 (2) Ibid.

of their discussions. 'Contra Academicos', 386, in three books combats the scepticism of the New Academy, whose doctrine was that man never attains truth, but at best only probability. 'De Beata Vita' teaches that the truly blessed life consists in the knowledge of God. 'De Ordine' discusses order in the universe and the place and significance of evil in the divine plan. (1)

The 'Soliloquia' in two books, was composed during sleepless nights and transcribed during the day. The theme is the means of elucidating or exploring spiritual truth. In this treatise he communes with his own soul concerning God, the highest good, the immortality of the soul and the knowledge of the truth. 'De Immortalitate Animae' is a continuation of the Soliloquia. 'De Magistro', written in Africa in 389, is the report of a discourse with Adeodatus, his brilliant son. Its conclusion is expressed in the Retractions (1 6): 'magistrum non esse qui docet hominem scientiam nisi Deum.' (2)

After his baptism about the beginning of 388, Augustine wrote 'De quantitate animae' in which he discusses the size, origin and incorporeity of the soul. (3)

(1) Prologomena p.13, NPNF ser.1, vol.1,

(2) Bardenhewer: Geschichte der Altkirchlichen Literatur, vol.4, p.454.

(3) Ibid. p.455.

About this time Augustine began an exhaustive treatment of the seven liberal arts. While in Italy he finished one part, 'De grammatica'. 'De musica' and at least the beginning of 'de rythmos' was finished later in Africa. 'De dialectica', 'De rhetorica', 'De arithmetica' and 'De philosophia' were never carried beyond the first sketches.

(1)

III Apologetic

'De Civitate Dei' in twenty-two books, was begun in 413, after the occupation of Rome by Alaric the Goth, and not finished until 426. This is the first attempt at a comprehensive philosophy of universal history under the dualistic view of two antagonistic currents. (2) Labriolle describes the book as follows: "Il serait difficile d'en rencontrer une plus ample, plus riche d'idees, que la Citie de Dieu. De 412 a 426, ce livre, qui n'etait a l'origine qu'un ecrit de circonstance ou de polemique, s'est developpe au point de devenir une puissante synthese doctrinale ou a trouve place toute l'histoire de l'humanite, tout le systeme des croyances chretiennes, tout le drame a grand spectacle qui nous met sous les yeux la lutte seculaire de la 'Citie divine' contra la 'Citie terrestre', jusqu'a l'ap-

(1) Bardenhewer, vol. 4 p. 454-5.

(2) Prologomena, NPNE ser. 1, vol. 1, p. 15.

otheose finale de l'une et jusqu'a l'engloutissement de l'autre dans les abimes de la gehenne." (1)

IV Dogmatic

'De diversibus quaestionibus', 388, answers dogmatic and exegetical questions proposed by various men.

'De fide et symbolo', 393, is an exposition on the Apostles Creed before a synod of African bishops.

'De diversibus quaestionibus ad Simplicianum' was written about 397. The first part answers two questions on the Epistle to the Romans and the latter part five questions on the books of Kings.

'De trinitate' was begun about 399 and not completed until 416. Augustine states in Letter 174 to Aurelius, "De trinitate libros iuvenis inchoavi, senex edidi." The first eight books develop the teaching of the Trinity according to the Scriptures, and in the last six books he attempts to justify his teaching, especially by analogy.

The 'Enchiridion' ad Laurentium sive de fide, spe et caritate' was written 421. (2)

(1) Labriolle: *Historie de la Litterature Latine Chretienne* p.546.

(2) Bardenhewer, vol.4, p.461,462.

V Antimanichaeae

388, 'De moribus ecclesiae catholicae' and 'De moribus Manichaeorum', both highly Neoplatonic in character.

388-395, 'De libero arbitrio', is a criticism of the Manichaeae doctrine of evil as a substance, and as having its seat in matter instead of free will.

389, 'De Genesi contra Manichaeos' is a ^{fe}dense of the Bible doctrine of creation.

390, 'De vera religione' supports the thesis that the true religion is found only in the Catholic Church and not with heretics and schismatics.

391, 'De utilitate credendi' ad Honorat~~um~~

391, 'De duabus animabus contra Manichaeos' is against the psychological dualism of the Manichaeans.

392, 'Acta seu disputatio contra Fortunatum, Manichaeum' is the record of the triumphant refutation of Fortunatus, the Manichaeae priest.

394, 'Contra Adimantum Manichaei discipulum'.

397, 'Contra epistolam Manichaei quam vocant fundamenti' .

400, 'Contra Faustum Manichaeum'.

404, 'De natura boni contra Manichaeos'.

405, 'Contra Secundiam Manichaeum'. (1)

(1) Bardenhewer: Altkirchlichen Lit. vol.4,p.465,466.

VI Antidonatist

These writings argue against divisions, and set forth Augustine's doctrine of church and church discipline and of the sacraments.

400, 'De baptismo contra Donatistas' sets forth the emptiness of the arguments for the repetition of baptism.

401-403, 'Contra litteras Petiliani Donatistae Cirtensis episcopi' is against the view of Cyprian and the Donatists that the efficacy of the sacraments depends upon the worthiness and status of the officiating priest.

402, 'Ad Catholicas epistola contra Donatistas'

406, 'Contra Cresconium grammaticum partis Donati'

411, 'Breviculus collationis cum Donatistis' is a brief account of a three days conference with the Donatists.

417, 'De correctione Donatistarum'

420, 'Contra Gaudentium Donatistarum episcopum' was the last of the Antidonatist works. (1)

VII Antipelagian

These books were written between 412 and 429 when Augustine was in his intellectual and spiritual prime. In them he develops his system of anthropology and soteriology. (2)

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- (1) Bardenhewer: Altkirchlichen Lit. vol.4, p.469-472.
 (2) Prologomena NPNF ser.1, vol.1, p. 17.

412, 'De peccatorum meritis et remissione et de baptismo parvulorum ad Marcellinum'.

412, 'De spiritu et littera'.

415, 'De natura et gratia'.

417, 'De gestis Pelagii'.

418, 'De gratia Christi et de peccato originali'.

419, 'De anima et ejus origine'.

420, 'Contra duas epistolas Pelagiorum'.

421, 'Contra Iulianum haeresis Pelagianae defensorum'.

426, 'De gratia et libero arbitrio'.

426 or 427, 'De correptione et gratia'.

428, 'De praedestione sanctorum'.

428 or 429, 'De dono perseverantia'.

421-429, 'Contra secundam Iulianum responsionem'.

(1)

VIII Exegetical

'De doctrina christiana', begun 397, finished 426.

'De Genesi ad litteram', 401-415, is an extended exposition of the first three chapters of Genesis.

'Locutionum (in Heptateucum)' is a brief exposition of the first seven books of the Old Testament. (2)

(1) Bardenhewer: Altkirchlichen Lit. vol.4, p.474-478.
 (2) Ibid. p.480-482.

'Enarrationes in psalmos' is composed mostly of sermons.

'De concensu evangelistarum', 399 or 400.

'De sermone Domini in monte secundiam Matthaeum', 393.

'In Iohannis evangelium tractatus 124', 416-417.

'In epistolam Iohannis ad Parthos tractatus 10'

'Epistolae ad Galatas expositio', 394.

(1)

The ethical treatises and aescetic works form another large group, but they provide little data for the subject under discussion.

(1) Bardenhewer: Altkirchlichen Lit. vol.4, p.484-486.

A brief sketch of the principal editions of the works of Augustine, and of the most important Manuscripts will be given as a conclusion to this chapter.

The first edition of St. Augustine's works was by Amerbach (Basle, 1506). The MSS used are not now considered the best and they were closely related.

In 1576-77 the theologians of Louvain (Antwerp), corrected Amerbach with the aid of a few MSS of Flemish origin.

Sixtus V (1585-1590) undertook an edition using the Vatican MS as a basis. This work was not completed but the results of their study was used by the Benedictine editors.

For the Benedictine edition (Tome I, Paris 1679), MSS were sought throughout France and also abroad. In some instances however, it is now impossible to determine whether the collocations were made by competent scholars or by untrained assistants. But the best MSS were in the hands of the foremost scholars of the day as they pursued their work in Paris. It is believed that they had the advantage of high grade MSS which have since been lost.

The edition prepared in 1838 for the Oxford Bibliotheca Patrum follows in most instances Migne's reprint of the Benedictine edition, but using in addition three MSS from the library of Merton and Brasenose, and two from the Boleian.

In the edition of the Vienna Academy, *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, (Vienna 1887-1900) Ed, P. Knoll confined himself to MSS of the seventh, eighth, ninth and tenth centuries with two from the eleventh, making fourteen in all. Because of certain corruptions common to all of them Knoll believed them to ^{be} from a single Manuscript of the fifth or the sixth century. Of this archetype he beleieved the best representative to be the Codex Sessorianus, dating from the end of the seventh or the beginning of the eighth century. Two other MSS are of high rank: Parisinus n.12224, formerly Sangermanensis n.736, of the ninth century, which was the primary authority of the Benedictine editors; and Vindobonensis n.712, of the late eleventh century. It is of importance because it agrees with Sessorianus against the rest of the MSS. (1)

Labriolle, in the Introduction to text of the Con-

(1) Gibb and Montgomery: *The Confessions of Augustine*,

fessions (1), believes that Knoll has given undue preference to the Sessorianus. The MSS are named and dated by him as follows:

		Century
S	Sessorianus 55	VII/VIII
U	Vaticanus Eugippii 3375	VII
C	Parisinus 1913	IX
F	" 10862	IX
G	" 12193	IX
H	" 12224	IX
B	" 1912	IX
P	" 1911	IX
B	Bambergensis B.23	X
D	Parisinus 1913 A	X
E	" 12191	X
M	Monacensis 14350	X
V	Vaticanus 5756	X
Q	Cheltenhamensis 1678, now	
	Berolinensis 19	XI
W	Vindobonensis lat, 712	XI

The English translation of the Nicene Post Nicene Fathers, 1892, edited by Philip Schaff has been chiefly used in this study. It is based primarily upon the text of the Benedictine edition.

The Benedictine edition complete has been available.

(1) Labriolle: Saint Augustin-Confessions vol.1 xxvi-xxxv.

For the DeoCivitate Dei the most recent critical text available is that of Welldon 1924, and for the Confessions, that of Labriolle, dated 1925.

Chapter IV

The Historical Value of the Confessions

The Question raised by Pherpon

Developed by Bossier and Harnack

The Criticism Augmented by

Loofs
Gourdon
Thimme
Alfaric
Bohmer

The Historicity Defended and Defined by

Windelband
Grandgeorge
Portalie
Tixeront
Gilson
Boyer
Martin
Labriolle

CHAPTER IV

THE HISTORICAL VALUE OF THE CONFESSIONS

The historical value of the writings of Augustine has not been questioned except that of the Confessions and incidentally the philosophical dialogues. Few books have been so cherished by succeeding generations as a frank and precise revelation of spiritual conflict as the Confessions. Typical of the confidence placed in its accuracy is the following statement: "Primus inter biographos occurrit ipse sanctus Doctor, qui in diversis scriptis acta quaedam sua posteritati reliquit; nam in libris Confessionum distincte narrat ea, quae ab exordio vitae usque ad trigessimum tertium aetatis suae gessit." (1)

Less than a generation before ^{the above words were written,} the first known doubt as to the reliability of the Confessions had been expressed. As stated by Boyer, Jean Pherpon, 1657-1736, in his annotations to the books of St. Augustine and particularly to the Confessions expressed a doubt as to their value. In

(1) Acta Sanctorum Augustini, Venitiis 1753, p. 213.

regard to the garden scene, he writes, "Sed rhetor noster, quod cum pace ejus dictum sit, omnia exaggerat, quibus persuadere poterat non agi hic de homine vulgari sed singulari vocatione divinitus ad Ecclesiam allecto; quae tamen ex alio calamo rectius fluxissent." (Migne P.L.t.XLVII col.210) Speaking of the reasons which render the Confessions doubtful, he states: "Quae suspiciones, quamvis forte iniquiores sunt, ex inustata tamen nascuntur ratione qua Augustinus cum Deo garrit atque argutatur, rhetoricoque fuco quo picta sunt hae Confessiones." (ibid col.213) (1)

A century and a half later the doubt was taken up independently by two scholars, and they stated their position so definitely that the trustworthiness of the Confessions became an open question. In 1888, Gaston Bossier made a study of Augustine in the retreat at Cassiacum and he strongly opposed the idea of the penitent pictured in the Confessions to the philosopher as revealed in the dialogues written at the time. His article, "La conversion de saint Augustin" was published in the *Revue des Deux-Mondes*, Jan. 1888, and reprinted without the conclusion in 'La fin du paganisme', Hachette, 3d edition, 1898, p.291-325. Labriolle quotes a characteristic statement from the article. "Est-il

(1) Boyer: *Christianisme et Neo-platonisme dans la Formation de saint Augustin*, p.2.

possible d'admettre que cet homme que les Confessions nous montrent terrassé par la grâce, pleurant et gémissant sur ses fautes, abîmé dans sa douleur, soit le même qui entretient ici paisiblement ses élèves de problèmes de morale et de métaphysique, qui se met sous la direction de la philosophie avec une confiance si sérieuse et promet de lui consacrer sans réserve toute son existence? Et puisque les deux personnages diffèrent entre eux, pouvons-nous savoir, du pénitent ou du philosophe, lequel est le véritable?" (1)

In the same year, A. Harnack published a treatise stating that even after the so-called conversion, Augustine was entirely engaged in philosophical problems, and that this experience was not the radical change as pictured in the Confessions;

"Sie sind zwölf Jahre nach dem grossen Umschwung geschrieben. Vieles von dem, was erst während dieser Zeit in Augustin zur Reife gekommen ist, hat er unbewusst in dem Moment des Umschwungs versetzt. Damals war er noch kein kirchlicher Theologie, vielmehr lebte er trotz der Entschlossenheit, sich der Kirche zu unterwerfen, noch ganz und gar in den philosophischen Problemen. Der grosse Bruch bezog sich lediglich auf den äusseren Beruf und auf die geschlechtliche Entsagung, nicht auf den bisherigen Kreis seiner Interessen. So ist es nicht schwer, Augustin aus Augustin zu widerlegen und zu ziegen, dass er in den Confessionem sehr Vieles anticipirt hat. Aber in letzten Grunde hatte er ein Recht dazu; denn sein Leben hatte wirklich nur zwei Perioden--die eine, die er mit den Worten schildert: 'In der Zerstreuung zerfiel ich stückweise und verlor mich selbst in das Viele', und die andere, in welcher er Kraft und Einheit seines Wesens in Gott gefunden hatte." (2)

(1) Labriolle: Confessions vol.I, p.xii.

(2) Harnack: Augustins Confessionem, p.15.

This tendency was further augmented by Loofs in an article on Augustine in the 'Realencyclopädie für prot. Studien', in 1897. To him the 'conversion experience' was not a change to Christianity but only to Neoplatonism. "Den Kern des Christentums, die Bedeutung der Person Christ, verstand er freilich noch nicht, so sehr er durch Tradition und Pietät sich zu Jesu hin gezogen fühlte." (1) He is more explicit in the 'Leitfaden zum Studium der Dogmengeschichte', published in 1906. "Der Genesis der Bekehrung Augustins entspricht das Christentum des Neubekehrten, das in seinen Schriften aus der Zeit in Cassiciacum und aus der nächsten Folgezeit mit urkundlicher Deutlichkeit uns entgegentritt. Der Gedanke, dass Gottes Gnade um Christi willen den Menschen ihre Sündenschild vergiebt, spielt hier keine Rolle. Augustin wusste sich befreit von den niederen Begierden; und die Erfahrung, der den entscheidenden Entschluss zu verdanken sich bewusst war, war, dass er im Licht des Neuplatonismus Gott erkannt und die Überzeugung gewonnen hatte, dass das, was die kirchliche Autorität lehrt, mit der Philosophie Einklang sein, in der Hafen er eingelaufen war." (2)

- (1) Loofs: article Augustinus in Realencyclopädie, third edition, 1897, vol. II, p. 266.
- (2) Loofs: Leitfaden zum Studium der Dogmengeschichte, Halle 1906, p. 348.

On a following page Loofs continues, "Denn bis zu der Zeit, da er Presbyter in Hippo ward (Anfang 391) und als solcher in kirchliches Denken mehr hineingezogen und zu ernstlicherem Schriftstudium getrieben wurde, ist sein Christentum im wesentlichen ein fortschreitend mehr christlich farbender Neuplatonismus erinnernden christlichen Einschlage gewesen.--Die Kenntnis der Grundgedanken dieses christlichen Neuplatonismus Augustins ist eine Vorbedingung für die unten zu gebende Beantwortung der Frage, inwieweit auch später noch der Neuplatonismus für Augustins Theologie von Bedeutung gewesen ist." (1)

In 1900 M. Louis Gourdon presented to the Faculty of Protestant Theology of Paris an "Essai sur la Conversion de saint Augustin". He says clearly that in the Dialogues and in the Confessions, "nous sommes en presence de deux conversions et de deux hommes differents", and that "les Dialogues sont bien contradiction flagrante avec les Confessions." (2) "La conversion de saint Augustin, intimement liée au développement général de sa pensée et de tout son être spirituel, a eu effectivement son terme dans les quelques années qui précèdent l'an 400. Tandis qu'il nous disait

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- (1) Loofs: *artiele-Augustinus in Realencyclopädie*, vol. II
Loofs: *Leitfaden zum Studium der Dogmengeschichte*, p. 348.
(2) Gourdon: *Essai sur la Conversion de saint Augustin*,
p. 46, 51.

lui-même, dans les Confessions, que sa conversion avait été parfaite d'un seul coup, en 386, nous disons qu'elle s'est lentement, graduellement effectuée, qu'elle s'est peu à peu complétée, pour n'être parfaite qu'en l'an 400."...."En 386, Augustin passa par une crise qui le convertit: 1, aux bonnes moeurs; 2, à la philosophie néo-platonicienne, Ce fut tout." (1)

H. Becker, in 1908, states plainly that the development of Augustine did not follow the course given in the Confessions. (2)

Boyer also quotes from Thimme: "Die Confessionen sind rein historisch betrachtet keine Geschichtsquelle." (3)

In his thorough-going treatise of the "evolution" of ^{Alfaric} Augustine, concludes that Augustine was converted in 386 to Neoplatonism rather than to the Gospel. "Dans les neuf premiers livres de ses Confessions, il raconte en détail l'existence agitée qu'il a longtemps menée hors du Catholicisme. Mais il procède en théologien bien plus qu'en historien. D'ailleurs, il n'a écrit ses Confessions que vers sa quarante-sixième année, longtemps après les faits qu'il raconte, à une époque où il ne pouvait en garder qu'un

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- (1) Gourdon: Essai sur la Conversion de saint Agustin, p.87, 51; quoted by Boyer: La Formation de s.Augustin, p.4
 - (2) Boyer: La Formation de saint Augustin, p.4, quoting from Becker: Augustin, Studien zu seiner geistigen Entwicklung, Leipzig 1908.
 - (3) Boyer: La Formation de saint Augustin, p.5.

souvenir très vague. Inconsciemment il reporte à certaines périodes de sa vie divers états d'âme qu'il n'a éprouvés que plus tarde Il anticipe sur le cours normal de son évolution." (1) "C'est dire que, pour connaître l'état d'âme dans lequel il se trouvait quand il les a rédigés, nous devons faire appel à eux (Soliloquia) bien plus qu'aux Confessiones. A le considérer bien moins comme un catéchumène. Ainsi nous sommes amenés, presque uniquement occupé de l'idéal chrétien que comme un disciple de Plotin avant tout soucieux de conformer sa vie à la doctrine du Maître. Moralement comme intellectuellement c'est au Néoplatonisme qu'il s'est converti, plutôt qu'à l'Evangile. (2)

One of the most extreme evaluations of the historical value of the Confessions is quoted with approval by Max Wundt in a study on 'Augustins Confessionen'. (3) "Mit klarem Blick hat H. Bohmer die Unzulänglichkeiten aller bisherigen Deutungen erkannt und überhaupt zum ersten Male die Frage nach der eigentlichen Bedeutung der Konfessionen entscheiden gestellt. (4) Erfasst sein Ergebnis in folgenden Satz (S 438). 'Die Konfessionen sind sonach keine Autobiographie, keine Beichte, -- überhaupt in keinem irgend möglichen Sinne des Wortes ein historisches Werk. Sie sind nach

(1) Alfarié: L'Evolution Intellectuelle de saint Augustin, p.v and vi. (2) Ibid p.399.

(3) Max Wundt: Augustins Konfessionen in Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der Älteren Kirche, 1923, p.161 ff.

(4) H. Bohmer: Die Lobpreisung des Augustinus in der Neuen Kirchlichen Zeitschrift, Bd.26, 1915, p.419 and 487 ff.

nach Form, Zweck, Plan, Inhalt und Darstellungweise von Anfang bis zu Ende nichts weiter als ein groszes Lob- und Dankgebet....Will man den Titel einigermaßen zutreffend übersetzen, dann wird man mithin kaum einen besseren Ausdruck finden können als die Lobpreisung Augustins!"

Such briefly is the account of the criticism of the historicity of the Confessions. In the next place we will trace the defence.

Nourrisson in his elaborate treatise 'La Philosophie de saint Augustin' is representative of the confidence placed in the Confessions before its historicity became an open question. In his comment upon Augustine's conversion he states, "C'en était fait, la grace avait triomphe, la nature était vaincue, les deux amis étaient chrétiens." (1)

Windelband recognizes the problem and discovers two elements in the thought of Augustine. "As theologian Augustine throughout all his investigations keeps the conception of the Church in mind as criterion, as philosopher he makes all his ideas center about the principle of the absolute and immediate certainty (Selbstgewissheit) of consciousness. For their double relation to these two fixed postulates, all questions come into active flux. Augustine's

(1) Nourrisson: La Philosophie de saint Augustin, Vol.I p.15.

world of thought is like an elliptic system which is constructed by motion about two centers, and this, in its inner duality, is frequently that of contradiction." (1)

Grandgeorge is more explicit as to the relation of Neoplatonism and the Christian faith. "So long therefore as his philosophy agrees with his religious doctrines, St. Augustine is frankly Neo Platonist; as soon as a contradiction arises, he never hesitates to subordinate his philosophy to religion, reason to faith. He was, first of all, a Christian; the philosophical questions that occupied his mind constantly found themselves more and more relegated to the background." (2)

Portalie (3) answers the charge of Harnack that the sentiments of the bishop of 400 were projected upon the recluse of 386. "How can it be admitted", he asks, "that the scene in the garden, the example of the recluses, the reading of St. Paul, the conversion of Victorinus, Augustine's ecstasy in reading the Psalms with Monica were all invented after the fact? Again it was in 388 that Augustine wrote his beautiful apology, "On the Holiness of the Catholic Church", how is it conceivable that he was not a Christian at that date? To settle the argument however it is only

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- (1) Windelband: A History of Philosophy, trans, by Tufts, p.276.
 - (2) M. Grandgeorge, St. Augustin et le Neoplatonisme, p.155,
quoted in Cath. Enc. vol.II p.86. 1896 AD
 - (3) Portalie: article Augustine in Catholic Encyclopedia,
vol.II, p.86. 1910 A.D.

necessary to read the Dialogues themselves. They are certainly a purely philosophical work--a work of youth, too, not without some pretension as Augustine ingenuously acknowledges (Conf ix 4); nevertheless they contain the entire history of his Christian formation. As early as 386, the first work written at Cassiacum reveals to us the great underlying motive of his researches. The object of his philosophy is to give authority the support of reason, and 'for him the great authority, that which dominates all others, and from which he never wished to deviate, is the authority of Christ'; and if he loves the Platonists it is because he counts on finding among them interpretations always in harmony with his faith. (Con Acad. III 10) To be sure, such confidence was excessive, but it remains evident that in these 'Dialogues' it is a Christian and not a Platonist that speaks. He reveals to us the intimate details of his conversion, the argument that convinced him (the life and conquest of the Apostles), his progress in the Faith at the school of St. Paul (ibid. II 2), his delightful conferences with his friends on the Divinity of Jesus Christ, the wonderful transformations worked in his soul by faith, even to that victory of his over the intellectual pride which his Platonic studies had aroused in him (De Beata Vita I 2), and at last the gradual calming of his passions and the great resolution to choose wisdom for his only spouse."

Gibb and Montgomery in the Introduction to a critical text of the Confessions, 1908, maintain:

1. That the theory that Augustine partly unconsciously and partly by design represented himself in the Confessions not as he really was, can be refuted from the Dialogues themselves.

2. That at the early period Augustine believed that only unimportant differences separated Neoplatonism from Christianity. Hence he had no compunction in using Neoplatonic rather than Christian terms.

3. Being a catechumen only, he would refrain from assuming the position of a Christian teacher to the group, several of whom were devoted only to philosophy but had little interest in Christianity. Nor was he then willing to unveil his past life to the gaze of all.

4. That at this time he was living a double life--that of philosophical discussion in which his friends shared, and that of private devotion. The Dialogues emphasize the former, the Confessions the latter. (1)

(1) Gibb and Montgomery: The Confessions of Augustine
p. lx-lxiii.

In his article on Augustine in the Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge, Loofs in 1908 gives an interesting evaluation. "In his thirty-first year Augustine was strongly attracted to Neoplatonism by the logic of his development, also by its exposition of pure intellectual being and the origin of evil. These doctrines brought him closer to the church though he did not yet grasp the full significance of its central doctrine of the personality of Christ." (1) If Neoplatonism was the major factor in his thought why did he not identify himself with it rather than with the Church? As to the central doctrine of Christianity, Augustine believed according to his earliest extant treatises in the incarnation of the Christ and that somehow his death was of peculiar efficacy.(2) These characteristic beliefs are not Neoplatonic and I believe are sufficient to class one as a Christian.

Tixeront states the relation of philosophy to faith in in the system of Augustine. (3) "St. Augustine made frequent

- (1) Vol.I, p.365.
- x (2) 'God deemed worthy to assume this body of our race on account of us and to act the part, by so much as he seemed the more vile, even by so much his grace seemed more full from a certain loftiness of ingenuousness and more exalted.' Contra Acad. III 19 42. CSEL vol.63, p.79, (translation from)
- (3) Tixeront: History of Dogmas, vol.II. p.359.
- * (2) Jesus Christ "took on Himself the evil of death, wishing to free us from it". De Moribus Ecclesiae Catholicae 2 3, NPNF ser.1, vol. 4, p.42. (written in 388)

use of it (philosophy) to throw light upon certain mysteries; for instance that of the Trinity. A Platonist, or rather an enthusiastic Neo-Platonist, while subordinating philosophy to faith and to the teachings of the church, he endeavored to show the agreement between that philosophy and certain Gospel truths, and even thought that in it were to be found several of our mysteries, that of the Christian Word in particular (Con.Acad.3 43) Later on his enthusiasm waned and toward the end of his life retracted several of his philosophical views which he had before advanced." (De Civ. Dei XXII 28 Retract. I 1 4; 4 2; 11 4)"

Boyer gives a sketch of Gilson's answer to Alfarié. The following reservations are worthy of consideration:

"1, L'Augustin que M.Alfarié dépeint critiquant pour la première fois le manichéisme 'est un personnage historique possible et vraisemblable, nous ne sommes pas sûr qu'il ait été réel.'

2, Pour l'histoire du scepticisme d'Augustin, M. Alfarié semble avoir 'conclu de ce qui pouvait être à ce qui a été.'

3, 'Pendant quelque temps, Augustin crut avoir retrouvé une seule et même vérité dans Plotin et dans le christianisme, mais cette confusion féconde ne fut possible que parce que, dès le début, il lut les Ennéades en chrétien.'" (1)

(1) Gilson: in Revue philosophique, nov-dec, 1919, p.497-505 the quotations cited from p.502, 503, by Boyer, p.5.

Boyer enumerates several marks of historicity that are characteristic of the Confessions. "A cet endroit, l'auteur des Confessions ne donne nullement l'impression d'hésiter ou de s'embrouiller dans ses souvenirs. Il précise, il détaille, il atteste. Comme il est sûr de n'avoir éprouvé tel sentiment qu'en lisant la Bibel et de n'avoir auparavant puisé dans Plotin que le sentiment contraire." (1) "Elle présentait d'exceptionnelles garanties de vérité: l'autorité du narrateur, le ton religieux du récit, la précision des détails." (2) "Saint Augustin s'est converti comme il l'a écrit ex professo dans cet ouvrage, sans le contredire jamais. Il a été aidé par le néo-platonisme; mais le secours principal et décisif lui est venu du christianisme; et dans le jardin de Milan, c'est à vivre l'idéal chrétien qu'il s'est décidé." (3)

In his discussion of 'Saint Augustin' in 1923, Martin gives little consideration to the Neoplatonic factor. "Enfin la conviction chrétienne est totalement formée. Saint Augustin acquerra bientôt toute la force de volonté qui lui est nécessaire pour mener la vie parfaite secrètement et ardemment désirée. Et lorsque la voix se fera entendre, lorsque le tolle, lege, sera prononcé, ce qui en résultera ce sera uniquement une décision de vivre en parfait religieux;

 (1) Boyer: *Christianism et Neo-Platonisme dans la Formation de Saint Augustin*, p.139.

(2) Ibid p.192.

(3) Ibid. p.145.

car, pour la conviction doctrinale, elle était, depuis quelque temps, bien définitive. On vient de voir récit des Confessions. Neuf ans plus tôt, saint Augustin en avait fixé un abrégé vivant." (1)

L. T. More has studied St. Augustine to discover his significance for the scientific thought of the Middle Ages, weighing the opinions of such men as Osborn and Aubrey Moore who declare that Augustine rejected the doctrine of special creation, and on the other hand, men such as Lasswitz who states that, "In the mind of Augustine the miraculous overshadows all." Dean More concludes that, "To estimate Augustine's attitude toward science we must keep constantly in mind his purpose of life. His engrossing aim was to induce the world to repent and to lead the religious life. He was not a philosopher elucidating abstract principles; he was first and last a priest exerting all his powers to influence men to choose the Christian rule of conduct, and he used philosophy only as an aid to his purpose." (2)

(1) Martin: Saint Augustin, p.16.

(2) More, L.T: Dogma of Evolution, p. 89-91.

One of the most complete defenses is that by Labriolle, 1925, in the introduction to his critical text of the Confessions. First, he attempts to discover the purpose of the Confessions. According to Possidius, his biographer, Augustine after the humble manner of the apostle Paul wished to give a public testimony of his own deliverance and of the divine grace that he had enjoyed. (1) This purpose is confirmed by Augustine in Letter 231. "Accept", he says to Darius, "the books containing my Confessions which you desired to have. In these behold me that you may not praise me beyond what I am; in these believe what is said of me, not by others, but by myself; in these contemplate me, and see what I have been in myself; and if anything in me please you, join me because of it, in praising Him to whom, and not to myself, I desire praise to be given." (2) A similar idea is expressed in the Confessions. (3) "To whom do I narrate this? Not unto Thee, my God; but before Thee unto my own kind, even to that small

- (1) Migne's Patrology. XXXII 3.
- (2) Letter 231 6, NPNF ser.1, vol.1, p.584.
- (3) Confessions II 3 5, NPNF ser.1, vol.1, p.56.

part of the human race who may chance to light upon these my writings. And to what end? That I and all who read the same may reflect out of what depths we are to cry unto Thee. For what cometh nearer to Thine ears than a confessing heart and a life of faith?"

Wundt reminds us that the Donatists brought all kind of charges against not only the church but against him personally. (1) Labriolle gives the following references indicating how his Donatist adversaries used against him his former frailty: (Contra Litt. Pet. III 1 1 ; III 10 11; III 16 19; Contra Cresconium III 91 and 92; IV 79) The third sermon on Psalms 36 , paragraph 19, pronounced at Carthage in 403, indicates that some of the citizens still remembered his disorders. (2) To clear himself of their accusations he saw no better means than to write the Confessions. Hence the Confessions is more than an autobiography, it is both a confession of sin and a confession of praise to God.

The fundamental reason for thinking that Augustine read into the narration of his early biography the sentiments of his later life is the difference in the tone of the

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- (1) Wundt: Augustins Konfessionen, ZNTW 1923, p.175-177.
 - (2) Labriolle: Saint Augustin Confessions, vol.1, p.xi.

Confessions and of the Dialogues. The former is by no means in a peaceful spirit. The emotions are intensely wrought up throughout. The Dialogues on the other hand, composed within three months and a half after his conversion, express a spirit of serenity and calm gaiety. Does not this contrast, many say, show that Augustine unconsciously dramatized the account of his conversion? And did he not give a prominence and a romantic color to an event of little significance?

Labriolle suggests that if the events did occur as related in the Confessions, Augustine would not normally, at the early date of the philosophical treatises, have emphasized his conversion. And also the calm reflected in the Dialogues is only the reaction which naturally would succeed moral agitation such as related in the Confessions.

Then in his day the form for the Dialogue was more rigorous than today. A technique very strict had been established by Cicero, and when Augustine chose this type, he was obliged to conform to the elements of its tradition; a delicate urbanity in the setting of the scene, of the pleasantries of the friends and even of their gaiety. These Dialogues may hence reflect not so much the mood of Augustine as the required spirit of that literary type. (1)

(1) Labriolle: Saint Augustin, Confessions, vol.1, p.xiv-xvi.

Nevertheless here and there are snatches of monologue revealing his inner life, a life of devotion and mysterious anxiety all but unknown to his companions. (1)

Labriolle suggests that the obscure points should be cleared up and interpreted in the light of evident and certain data. On April 24, 387, Augustine received Christian baptism from Ambrose, the bishop of Milan. If he were still sceptical or only a Neoplatonic neophyte why should he submit to this Christian rite and identify himself with this group? (2)

Possidus states (Vita II) that Augustine after his baptism renounced all his former ambitions and zealously put into practice the rigorous counsels of the Gospel. For Possidus, a well-informed witness, the conversion of Augustine was truly a conversion. (3)

A careful reading of the Dialogues themselves reveals rudiments the vestiges of authentic Christianity: a knowledge of the Scripture, particularly the letters of Paul and the Gospels, a summary of theology, a respect for St. Ambrose, his bishop, and a pledge of loyalty to the authority of Christ. These data will be considered in detail in a later chapter. (4)

- (1) De Ordine I 10 29; I 3 6.
- (2) Labriolle: Saint Augustine, Confessions vol.I, p.xviii.
- (3) Ibid. p.xix.
- (4) Ibid. p.xix.

When Augustine evaluates these writings in the *Retractions*, he says of the *Dialogues* that he was then a catechumen, and had only recently surrendered his worldly hopes, and was still puffed up with long familiarity with the classic literature. Then follows a list of the errors as he finds them in philosophy and he regrets in particular that he had spoken so highly of the Neoplatonists. (1) In regard to the *Confessions* he criticises but two expressions; a comment in regard to the death of his friend he regrets as "a light declamation rather than a grave confession, and an inference in regard "to the creation made without due consideration." (2) They are a work of praise unto God, he says, and stimulate the mind of man to approach Him. But he puts his approval upon them as being in harmony with the truth.

The *Dialogues* are a record of the intellectual development of St. Augustine. They were written at once and gave no time for the errors of memory. However they are dialogues and permit the liberties of that kind of literature. St. Augustine states that they were written at the time of the conversations. "Adhibito itaque notario, ne

- (1) I-III, CSEL vol. 36-38, p. 11-22.
 (2) *Retractions* II 6 NPNF ser. 1, vol. 1, p. 33.

aurae laborem nostrum discerperent, nihil perire permisi."

(1) Yet this statement is within the body of the Dialogues.

Hirzel according to Boyer contends that they are only fict-

(2) ion. But in the Retractions (1 2) they are referred to as records of actual conversations. "ex occasione quippe ortus est diei natalis mei et tridui disputatione completus, sicut satis ipse indicat." This view is also supported by D. Ohlmann in 'De Augustini dialogis in Cassiaco scriptis' and by van Haeringen, in 'De Augustini ante baptismum rusticantis operibus'. (3) Thimme and Becker accept the Dialogues as historical. (4) Nevertheless, they are Dialogues, and this type of literature permits of idealization.

Boyer has worked out parallel accounts (5) showing the substantial agreement of the Confessions with the earlier writings, especially with the Dialogues. He includes such events as the Christian influence during childhood, the reading of the Hortensius, his experience with the Manichaeans, the influence of the New Academy, his admiration for Ambrose, his consideration of communism, the reading of the Neoplatonists, the reading of the Scriptures, and allusions to his conversion.

(1) Contra Acad. 1 4.

(2) R Hirzel, Der Dialog, 2 Bde. Leipzig 1895, IIBd. S. 376. referred to in Boyer: La Formation de s. Augustin, p.17

(3) D. Ohlmann, De Augustini dialogs in Cassiaco scriptis, Argentorati, 1897, p.8-17.

van Haeringen, De Augustini ante baptismum rusticantis operibus, Groningue 1917, pp.22,23.

(4) Weinand: Die Gottesidee der Grundzug der Weltanschauung, 5.

(5) Boyer, Op. cit. p.197-202.

After this review of arguments pro and con, it appears evident that the Confessions fully as much as the Dialogues have the characteristics of authenticity and historicity.

Moreover, there is substantial agreement between the two sources.

The precise, objective, statement of present day science was not to be found in Augustine's writings; however very few would claim absolute truth for even the most carefully worded document of today.

If religion be reduced to philosophy, and conversion be denied. the Confessions is hardly worthy of consideration. But if we accept the terms, neither attempting to establish nor to deny their validity, but only try to discover their significance for Augustine and his generation, the Confessions is found to be a rich treasure of data for the fields of psychology, philosophy and theology.

The Confessions is accepted in this study as an historical document, whose data ^{are} ~~is~~ to be accepted subject to the same care employed in weighing the testimony of any careful observer and conscientious reporter.

Chapter V

Childhood Impressions

Characteristics of the North African People

His Native Town

His Parents

Their Interest in His Education

The Import of Monica's Life

His Religious Training

CHAPTER V

CHILDHOOD IMPRESSIONS

The earliest known race in the land of Augustine's birth was the Numidians. In the inaccessible places some of their descendents still lived guarding jealously their rudimentary language and their naturalist religion. At an early day came the Phoenecians and were so firmly established that their language was still used in the days of Augustine. Then came the Romans, first as conquerors, then as colonists, and the natives forgetting their hostility mingled with them. Gradually the Lybians and Phoenecians identified their divinities with the great gods of Rome. (1) The people became a combination of the three races, having the turbulence of the first, the prudence of the second, and the longing for action of the third. Living under a sun of fire in an unsettled atmosphere, the people were characterized by rude and abrupt manners, alert senses, a lucid intelligence and a passionate and tenacious ardor. (2)

- (1) Alfarc: L'Evolution Intellectuelle de S. Augustin, p.3,4.
 (2) Ibid. 4,5. "Les habitants de Thagaste, comme ceux des villes voisines, n'étaient plus, en apparence, ni des Numides, ni des Phéneciens, mais des Romains. A vrai dire, pourtant, ils offraient plutôt comme un mélange de ces trois races

Tagaste in the days of Augustine was of little importance, though well situated, the homes being scattered upon a large plateau in the northern part of Numidia. Two great highways permitted communication with the seacoast and with the interior, one of them being the great inland road from Carthage to Cirta. (1)

Monica, his mother, was a child of Christian parents, her training being largely entrusted to a faithful servant. (2) She had contracted the love of wine but renounced the habit when reproved by the servant with the taunt of "wine-bibber." (3) She was "modestly and soberly trained", patient and amiable towards her husband whom she determined to win to the church. (4)

Patricius, his father, was a "poor freeman." (5) Possidius (Vita Aug. 1) states that he was a 'decurion' which position was reserved for the elite. His possessions were "a few small fields" (6) and a "vineyard." (7)

 "si disparates. Ils associaient la turbulence volontiers combattive de la première, l'esprit avisé de la seconde, et le besoin d'action de la troisième. La fusion de ces éléments fort dissemblables s'était produite en eux sous l'influence prolongée de leur terre natale."

(1) Alfarc: Saint Augustin, p.1,2.

(2) Confessions IX 8 17, NPNF ser.1, vol.1, p.135.

(3) Ibid. IX 8 18, p.136.

(4) Ibid. IX 9 19, p.136.

(5) Ibid. II 3 5, p. 56.

(6) Letters 126 7, vol.1, p.457.

(7) Confessions II 4 9, p.57.

Patricius was earnest in friendship but violent in anger. (1) Both parents were anxious that he secure learning, "he because he had little or no thought of Thee, and but vain thoughts for me--she because she calculated that those usual courses of learning would not only be no drawback, but rather a furtherance towards my attaining Thee." (2) Patricius "went even beyond his means to supply his son with all the necessities for a far journey for the sake of his studies." (3) In Augustine's eleventh year, Patricius became a catechumen, this being but a short time before the father's death. (4)

Parents so opposite meant for Augustine questioning, the weighing of values, and reflective thought. Watson states that "The son of a heathen father and a Christian mother, there was from his very earliest days a contradiction in his mind which must needs, in a man of such veracity and sincerity, lead in the course of his development to disturbance and unrest." (5) Alfarié expresses the same idea, "Cependant ils étaient loin de se ressembler. Ils représentaient, au contraire, deux tendances opposées qui devaient longtemps se combattre dans l'âme d'Augustin." (6)

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- (1) Confessions IX 9 19, NPNF ser.1, vol.1, p.136.
 - (2) Ibid. II 3 8, p.57.
 - (3) Ibid. II 3 5, p. 56.
 - (4) Ibid, II 3 6, p. 56.
 - (5) Watson: Philosophical Basis of Religion, p.299.
 - (6) Alfarié: Saint Augustin, p. 8,9.

Of his parents, his mother had the greater influence upon him. She lived in the life of her son and grew in nobility of character because of her devotion. In one of his earliest treatises Augustine recognizes the heritage received from her. "nostra mater, cuius meriti credo esse omne." (1)

Monica instilled in Augustine an abiding reverence for the name of Christ. This he relates as follows in the Confessions, "this name of my Savior, Thy Son, had my tender heart piously drunk in deeply treasured with my mother's milk, and whatsoever was without that name, though never so erudite, polished and truthful took not complete hold of me." (2)

In his early school days he conceived God "to be some great one, who was able (though not visible to our senses) to hear and help us." (3) Even as a boy, he "had heard of eternal life promised to us through the humility of the Lord condescending to our pride." Thus even in childhood he was beginning to get a faint idea of divine grace coming to aid feeble humanity. He was signed with the cross, was

 (1) De Beata Vita 6, CSEL vol.63, p.93. Idibus Novembris mihi natalis erat. post tam tenue prandium, ut ab eo nihil ingeniorum impediretur, omnes qui simul consedendum uocaui; nam si tempori aptus locus secretus occurrerat. erant autem-- non enim uereor eos singulari benignitati tuae notos interim nominibus facere--in primis nostra mater, cuius meriti credo esse omne, quid uiuo. Nauigius frater meus, Trygetius et Licentius ciues et discipuli mei..Adeodatus filius meus."

(2) Confession III 4 8, NPNF ser.1, vol.1, p.62.

(3) Ibid. I 11 17, p.50.

"seasoned with salt", a rite in the Western Church, and when seriously ill asked for baptism though it was deferred.

"Thus I at that time believed with my mother and the whole house except my father." (1) Again he refers to his boyhood when he was "already a Catholic Christian." (2) In the *Contra Academicos* he refers to the "religion which was inculcated during our youth and inoculated even to the marrow; moreover in truth this (religion) drew me unknowing to itself." (3) This instruction was derived from his mother and from the catechumen class to which he belonged. (4) The childhood impressions were no doubt indefinite, and in young manhood not adhered to. Nevertheless "the true religion was to him as seed" able to lie dormant many years and then spring up into vigorous development. (5)

As analyzed by Weinand, three elements date from his childhood days. "Als Augustinus im Jahre 400 auf sein Leben zuruckblickte, konnte er sich das Zeugnis geben, dass drei religiose Gedanken, die er im Elternhause empfangen, sich starker erweisen hatten als alle Sturme seines Lebens: der Glaube an das Dasein Gottes, der Glaube an Gott als den ewigen Vergelter, der Glaube an Jesus Christus, den Erloser."

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- (1) Confessions I 9 17, NPNF ser.1, vol.1, p.50
 - (2) De Utilitate Credendi 2, NPNF ser.1, vol. 3, p. 348.
 - (3) Contra Academicos II 2 5, translation from CSEL vol.63. p.27.
 - (4)
 - (5) De Duabus Animabus 1 1, NPNF ser.1, vol.4. p. 95.
 - (6) Weinand: Die Gottesidee der Grundzug der Weltanschauung des hl. Augustinus, p.10.

Chapter VI

Polytheism

I Madaura

Their Worship

Their Schools

II Carthage

The Glory of the City

The Religious Condition

The University of Carthage

Reading of the Hortensius

Augustine's Reaction to Paganism

CHAPTER VI

POLYTHEISM

Madaura, the neighboring city whither Augustine went to learn grammar and rhetoric, (1) was located in central Numidia upon a prominence from which Augustine could see the hills of his native country to the north and to the south the border hills of the Sahara Desert. (2) Occupied first by the Numidians, later by the Romans, this place was finally transformed into a flourishing colony. (2)

There were sufficient Christians in Madaura so that in the middle of the fourth century they had their own bishop. But as a people they were hostile to Christianity holding tenaciously to polytheism. In their market place were the statues of the principal divinities of Olympus. (3)

"Mars was represented in two images, one unarmed, the other armed, and that a statue of a man placed over against these restrains^{with} three extended fingers the fury of their demonship from the injuries which he would willingly inflict on the citizens." (4) Among their deities was the Phenecian

(1) Confessions II 3 5, NPNF ser.1, vol.1, p.56.

(2) Alfarcic: L'Evolution Intellectuelle de S. Augustin, p.13.

(3) Ibid. p.13,14 and Letter 16 1 p.233.

(4) Letter 17 1, p.234.

Abaddir and among their priests were the Eucaddires.(1)
 In the celebration of their rites the magistrates and the
 chief men became intoxicated and raged along the streets.(2)

The emperor Julian was restoring the pagan worship
 between 364 and 367, and the worship of the Olympic deities
 was being reestablished with zeal. Under such circumstances
 Christianity was regarded as inferior to the classic worship.
 (3) Augustine could not fail to come under the influence
 of this enthusiastic restoration of paganism.

Then the grammarians devoted the greater portion of
 their time in explaining the pagan authors. The Greek
 being distasteful to him, Augustine spent most of his time
 with the Roman authors: Cicero, whose letters formed the
 highest model; Varro, of encyclopedic knowledge; Sallust,
 the ancient governor of Numidia, author of history of Jugur-
 tha; and Virgil, the ideal poet author of the Aeneid.
 Beside these Augustine was familiar with Horace, Ovid,
 Perseus and others.(4) These authors determined his liter-
 ary taste, furnished his mental training and almost obscured
 the Christian faith instilled by his mother.

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- (1) Letter 17 2, NPNF ser.1, vol.1, p.234.
 - (2) Ibid. 17 4. p.235.
 - (3) Alfarc: Saint Augustin, p.13.
 - (4) Ibid. p.17-19.

"Ainsi, il se détachait progressivement du dogme catholique. Il devait d'autant moins y tenir que les lettrés affectaient volontiers d'ignorer l'Eglise et gardient à son sujet un dédaigneux silence." (1) Moriarty states that of his early faith nothing was left but a vague unexplained sentiment together with an affectionate respect for the name of Jesus Christ:

"The faith of childhood died out; he no longer believed the teaching of Christianity. His soul, it is true, preserved an affectionate respect for the name of Jesus Christ, but this fruit of his early education found no support in his understanding, and subsisted only as a vague, unexplained sentiment. With virtue and innocence, every Christian idea faded from his mind, so that instead of receiving the much-desired truth from the church, he entertained the most incredible prejudices against its creed. He even attributed the most extravagant doctrines to Christians." (2)

Augustine himself informs us that the passionate and intriguing deities made an ineffacable impression upon his adolescent imagination. (3)

In his seventeenth year, funds having been provided "rather by the ^{te}dermination than by the means of his father", (4) and by the generosity of Romanianus, (5) Augustine went to Carthage to pursue his studies "which were directed towards the courts of law." (6)

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- (1) Alfarc: L'Evolution Intellectuelle de Saint Augustin, p.21
 - (2) Moriarty: The Life of St. Augustine, p.51.
 - (3) Confessions I 16 25, NPNF ser.1, vol.1, p.52.
 - (4) Ibid II 3 5, p.56.
 - (5)
 - (6) Confessions III 3 6, p.61.

Roman Carthage, built upon the ruins of that of Hannibal was enclosed upon one side by the sea and on the other by powerful ramparts. Mc Cabe vividly pictures the city:

"The two harbors were again lit up with the colour and echoed with the light of merchant galleys and Roman triremes. The neighboring hill, the Byrsa, was crowned once more with a great temple of Aesculapius. The forum rang again with the jokes of idlers and the swift rush of chariots; the 'street of bankers' was a sight of the world in its glory of marble and gold; the 'esplanade' drew crowds of wandering rustics to its famous mosaics, representing the giants and pygmies, the one-eyed, dog-headed, immense-footed, and otherwise abnormal races that lived beyond the hills.

The temple of Saturn (formerly Baal-Hammon, or Moloch) was rebuilt; though it contained no longer the cruel image that had once received the babes of the citizens into its furnaces. The temple of Astarte, or Tanit, was rebuilt on a magnificent scale, and was girt about with a vast zone of minor temples within its two-mile enclosure. For the Carthaginians were an intensely religious people. Their ardent and sensual temper had found, or shaped, a religion in which their strongest impulses were consecrated, and they clung to its spectacular ceremonies with a not unnatural zeal." (1)

To the north was great covered theatre where Apulius had delivered his celebrated discourse, and an Odeon entirely covered which had been constructed in 210, A.D. at the time of Tertullian. At the west, a colossal amphitheatre where formerly martyrs had been exposed to beasts. (2)

(1) Mc Cabe: St Augustine and His Age, p.28,29.

(2) Alfarcic: L'Evolution Intellectuelle de Saint Augustin, p.23,24.

All races were there represented and all religions lived side by side. Christianity had long been established and the city was divided into ecclesiastical districts, each with its own organization. They possessed a great number of churches and chapels and could have formed an imposing group. But they were divided between the Donatists and the Catholics, and each group was too much occupied by the ensuing strife to promote the faith. Hence the great mass of the people were pagan. (1)

In such an atmosphere was located the University of Carthage, one of the outstanding institutions of that generation. It not only served to develop a characteristic genius of the people, but was also a clearing-house for ideas from other cities. "Devenue la capitale intellectuelle de toute la region d' l'Atlas, Carthage l'a mise en relations constantes avec de Rome, d'Alexandrie, l'Italie et avec l'Orient. Elle importait les ouvres et les idees de Rome, d'Alexandrie, d'Antioche, et elle exportant celles des provinces africaines." (2)

(1) Alfarc: L'Evolution Intellectuelle de saint Augustin,
p.25,27

(2) Monceau: Les Africains--Les Paiens, p.490.

In the course of his study, he read the Hortensius of Cicero. This book changed his affections, turned his desires toward God, and caused him to yearn for the immortality of wisdom, so he states in the Confessions. (1) This occurred in his nineteenth year. (2) "Worthless became every vain hope to me," he said. (3) But this is an illustration of Augustine's over-statement. Perhaps for the time being he did renounce the sense pleasures but in either case he did not long hold to that purpose. In the Soliloquies he states that for a long time after reading the Hortensius he continued to enjoy the honors and pleasures of sense. (4) In the De Beata Vita he says that the Hortensius inspired him to an ardent love for philosophy. (5)

Augustine remained nominally a Christian. But he took so little interest in his religion that at the time of reading the Hortensius, in his nineteenth year, he knew almost nothing of the Bible. (6)

Mc Cabe calls attention to the fact that it was in "the midst of full and alluring charms of paganism that the intellectual eyes of Augustine were opened. Here the Roman poets thrilled him and the Hortensius roused him to the love of philosophy. (7)

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- (1) Confessions III 4 7, NPNF ser.1, vol.1, p.61
 - (2) Ibid. VIII 7 17, p. 123.
 - (3) Ibid. III 4 7, p.61.
 - (4) Soliloquia I 17 and I 25, vol.7,

"Paganism was to him, in his rationalist mood, merely an outworn, tinselled garment, clothing a dead idol. He turned perforce from Christianity to Manichaeism, a religion which had a considerable and a cultured following in Africa."

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- (5) De Beata Vita I 4, CSEL vol.63, p.91.
 - (6) De Utilitate Credendi, 2, NPNF ser.1, vol.4.p.348
Confessions III 5 9, p.62.
 - (7) McCabe: St Augustine and his Age, p.21.
 - (8) Ibid. p.58.

CHAPTER VII

MANICHAEISM

- 1 Relation to other faiths
- 2 Cosmology
- 3 Theology
- 4 Dualism
- 5 Appeal to Reason
- 6 Augustine's devotion to the system
- 7 His difficulties in comprehending God
- 8 His conference with Faustus

CHAPTER VII

MANICHAISM

In St. Augustine's time the Manichaeans were well established in North Africa and were particularly numerous in Carthage. They were an intellectual and cultured people, and very zealous in propagating their faith. Mani did not⁽¹⁾ begin the proclamation of his doctrines in Turkestan, India, and China until nearly the middle of the third century, and St. Augustine implies that within a few years his disciples were promoting the new religion in Africa.⁽²⁾ They made an appeal to pure reason and criticised the catholic church for depending upon authority. ⁽³⁾

(1). Alfarié: L'Evolution Intellectuelle de Saint Augustin, du Manichéisme au Neoplatonisme, pp. 73, 74.

(2). Reply to Faustus the Manichaean, XIII 4; "for it is well known that this heresy began not only after Tertullian (155-222), but after Cyprian (200-258)!" NPNF ser.1, vol. 4, p.200.

(3) On the Profit of Believing, 2; "For you know, Honoratus, that for no other reason we fell in with such men, than because they used to say, that, apart from all terror of authority, by pure and simple reason, they would lead within to God," NPNF ser.1, vol. 3, p.348.

Though antagonistic to the Hebrew faith, Manes acknowledged the divine origin of the teachings of Zoroaster, of Buddha, and of Jesus, but reserved that he himself be regarded as the paraclete, which signified little more than that he was the divine ambassador to complete their teaching.(1) They profess to believe in Christ as the Savior of mankind, but state that in many points the doctrine has been corrupted. They accepted the New Testament with reservations,(2) For them the Old Testament is the work of the devil. (3) The works of Manes were greatly prized in Africa. "See, says Augustine, the worthlessness of your boasted manuscripts, numerous and valuable as you say they are." (4) And again, "By this principle you should throw away the books of Manichaeus Burn all your parchments with their highly ornamented binding," (5) A part of one of these books, known as the Fundamental, St. Augustine takes up section by section and criticises.

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(1) Legge: Forerunners and Rivals of Christianity, p. 315, 316.

(2) Reply to Faustus the Manichaean, XXXII 7, "we receive nothing in the New Testament but what we find said in honor and praise of the majesty of the Son, either by Himself or the by His apostles"; NPNF ser.1, vol. 4, p 334

(3) De Genesi contra Manichaeos, 1, 2.

(4) Reply to Faustus, XIII 6; NPNF ser.1, vol 4, p.201.

(5) Ibid. XIII 18; NPNF ser.1, vol.4, p.206.

All the sources (1), whether Augustine in Africa or the penitential litany of China, agree that fundamental in the Manichaeian system are the two 'Roots', the Light and the Dark, and the three 'Moments', the Past, the Present and the Future. Both the Light and the Dark are eternal and in the beginning were separate, but the Dark invaded the Light and became mingled with it. The Light signifies all that is good, orderly, peaceful, intelligent; The Dark includes the base, anarchic, turbulent, material. "In the realm of Light dwelt the Father of Greatness, with His Light, His Power and His Wisdom, forming a sort of Quaternality which the Greek Manichees called the 'Four-Faced' Mani represents the Father of Greatness as occupying five dwellings: we should say five attributes, for the word is the Syriac form of the Hebrew word Shekinah. These five are Sense, Reason, Thought, Imagination, Intention--the qualities of a sane and intelligent mind'. (2)

(1) The chief sources: a. In the West.
St. Augustine: Anti-Manichaeian Writings
Evodius: De Fide
Epiphanius: Panarion

b. Syriac.

St. Ephraim: d. 373, Anti-Manichaeian Writings; a part of which made available in 1921 by C.W. Mitchell's decipherment.
Theodore bar Khoni: Book of Scolia; quotes direct from Manichaeian sources. Published 1908 by Franz Cumont

c. Arabic.

Al-Biruni.

An-Nadim: Fihrist. Translated by Gustav Flügel 1862.

d. Chinese Turkestan.

Manichaeian fragments.

Prosper Alfaric's *Ecritures Manicheennes*, 1918, is a guide to all that was accessible at that date

(Burkitt: Religion of the Manichees, p 12-16)

(2) Burkitt: Religion of the Manichees, p 17-19, 1925.

Opposite the blissful realm of Light was the realm of the Dark with its restless inhabitants groping about in aimless anarchy at enmity with each other. The Ruler of the Dark came up out of his domain to invade the realms of Light. There was consternation, for the Father of Greatness saw that his existing manifestations could not resist the enemy. The primal man was called into being and armed for the struggle with the five bright elements. Thus armed and preceded by an angel bearing a crown of victory, he went forth to the combat, but suffered defeat and lay unconscious. The Five Bright Elements were swallowed by the Dark. Recovering from his swoon, the primal man entreated the Father of Greatness for aid. A second creation of Light-Powers came into being, the Great Ban and the Living Spirit; and then the primal man was restored to his divine energy. He had lost his equipment and was swallowed by the region of the Dark but was unharmed. Descending to the depth of the abyss he cut the Roots of the Five Dark Elements, so that they could never increase. Then on the field of battle, he took the Powers of Darkness prisoner. The dark Archons were defeated but they had absorbed the Five Bright Elements. The problem then was to inclose the region of darkness with an impenetrable wall and also to extract the absorbed light from the Archons. Our world, they say, is the result of this process.

A great portion of the light substance was disgorged by the Archons and of this were made the Sun and Moon. The

primal man then flayed the Archons, made the sky from their skin, the earth from their excrements and the mountains from their bones. To extract the remaining particles of Light from the Archons, the Messenger (Izgadda) in the form of the opposite sex stood before each of them. Becoming enamoured, they emanated the light particles which were now ingrained with sin particles. The former were rescued and taken up to the Sun and Moon. The sin fell to earth, that falling in the sea turned into a horrible monster, the image of the King of the Dark, but was at once transfixed. That which fell on dry land turned into trees and living plants. The creation of the animals followed in a similar manner. Then the King of the Dark caused his infernal spouse to give birth to another being in which was hidden most of the absorbed light. This being was Adam. Eve was produced from the same parents but she possessed less of the Light.

Then Jesus, called Friend by the Manichees, was sent to earth, where he roused Adam from a deep sleep, and revealed to him how the light in this world is exposed to all sorts of dangers, always being mixed with impure and foul substances. Jesus made the man stand up and taste of the Tree of Life, and Adam in anguish said, "Woe, woe, to the Creator of my body! Woe to him who has bound my soul to it and to the rebels who have brought me to servitude". (1)

(1) Burkitt: Religion of the Manichees, p.19-32

To free man from Satan's rule prophets were sent, including Noah, Abraham, Jesus, Paul and Mani. Mani claimed to be the Paraclete sent by Jesus, the messenger of light. (1)

The cosmology is a necessary introduction to the theology of the Manichaeic system. That Mani taught an unqualified dualism is evident in the Fihrist. "Mani teaches: Two substances form the beginning of the world, the one light the other darkness; the two are separated from each other. The light is the first most glorious being, limited by no number, God himself, the King of the Paradise of Light. He has five members: meekness, knowledge, understanding, mystery, insight; and five other spiritual members: love, faith, truth, nobleness, and wisdom. He maintained furthermore that the God of light, with these his attributes, is without beginning, but with him two equally eternal things likewise exist, the one the atmosphere, the other the earth. Mani adds: and the members of the atmosphere are five (the first series of divine attributes mentioned above are enumerated); and the members of the earth are five (the second series). The other being is the darkness and his members are five: cloud, burning, hot wind, poison, and darkness. Mani teaches: that the light subsistence borders immediately upon the dark subsistence, without a dividing wall between them; the light touches with its (lowest) side the darkness, while upwards to the right and left it is unbounded. Even so the darkness is endless downwards^{and} to the the right and left." (2)

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- (1) Watson: Philosophical Basis of Religion, p 306.
 (2) Newman: Int. Essay, NPNF ser.1, vol.4, p 11.

In the epistle called Fundamental, quoted by Augustine, elements of the Christian system are characteristic. In the first sentence Mani claims to be an apostle of Jesus Christ by the providence of God. (1) Then God the Father is 'perpetual ^{holy} in _Λ origin, magnificent in virtue, true in his very nature, rejoicing in his own eternity ^{and} _Λ possesses in himself wisdom and the vital senses'. He is chief in praise, incomprehensible in greatness and no poverty or infirmity is admitted in his magnificent realms. (2) However on the border of this bright and holy land there is a land of boundless darkness deep and vast in extent. (3) Thus we see that these two principles are rival, the land of Light is not infinite for it is bordered, limited, by the realm of darkness.

Then it is not clear whether ^h the Father of Light be a quaternity or a trinity. Burkitt disagrees with Alfarić; Alfarić believing him to be a trinity. But Burkitt recalls how the Greek spoke of the Father of Greatness as the Four-Faced; (4) and refers to the Fihrist, how "Mani enjoined belief in the four great things--God, His Light, His Power, His Wisdom." (5)

- (1) Against the Epistle of Manichaeus, 5,6; NPNF ser.1. vol.4, p. 131.
- (2) Ibid. 13,16; p.135.
- (3) Ibid. 15,19; p 136.
- (4) Burkitt: Religion of the Manichees, p.18,19.
- (5) Ibid. p.50.

But when in contact with Christianity, Manichaeism adopted at least the terminology of the trinity, as we see in the words of Faustus quoted by St. Augustine: " We worship, then, one deity under the threefold^e appellation of the Almighty God the Father, and his son Chrst, and the Holy Spirit. While these are one and the same, we believe also that the Father properly dwells in the highest or principal light, which Paul calls 'light inaccessible', and the Son in his second or visible light. And as the Son is himself twofold, according to the apostle, who speaks of Christ as the power of God and the wisdom of God, we believe that His power dwells in the sun, and His wisdom in the moon. We also believe that the Holy Spirit, the third majesty, has His seat and His home in the whole circle of the atmosphere. By His influence and spiritual infusion, the earth conceives and brings forth the mortal Jesus, who, as hanging from every tree, is the life and salvation of men. my belief is that God is the principle of all good things, and Hyle (matter) of the opposite. Hyle is the name given by our master in divinity to the principle or nature of evil." (1)

Here again we see that dualism is related to every problem; as Ermoni states, it is the foundation principle of the Manichaean system. "Le dualisme est la base principe du système manichéen; il existe deux principes supremes, deux

(1)
Reply to Faustus the Manichaean, XX 2; NPNF ser.1, vol.4,
p. 253.

'éternels, égaux, opposés l'un à l'autre: l'un bon, l'autre mauvais; le bon s'appelle lumière et le mauvais tenebris. Il est facile de avoir que c'est là une simple transposition du dualisme zoroastrien; Ormuzd et Ahriman; l'analogie se poursuivra encore plus; dans le zoroastrisme, Ormuzd avait un cortège d'Ameschachentes et d'Idzeds, et Ahriman un cortège de Dews; les deux principes de Manès ont aussi leurs suordonnes. Chacun des deux principes avait son royaume à part; mais l'ambition et les emfielments occasionerent la lutte." (1)

To Augustine, Manichaeism was attractive for he found it difficult to accept the catholic doctrines and this faith appeared to solve his most serious problems. He agreed with them in their criticism of the anthropomorphic conception of God in the Old Testament and of the failure of the patriarchs to measure up to a high standard of morality. The Manichaeans appeared to solve the problem of evil without attributing it to God. The reputation of holiness of Mani and his followers made a strong appeal, and by its system of the 'elect' and the 'auditors', it continued to hold up the ideal and still permit a life of indulgence. Since the Manichaeans spoke so highly of Christ, he did not feel that he was forsaking Christianity. (2) The Manichaeans

(1) V. Ermoni: Manes et le Manichéisme, p 343; in *Revue des Historiques*, tome XXX, 1903, p.337 ff.

(2) Watson: *The Philosophical Basis of Religion*, p.307,308.

claimed that their doctrines were rational. And to this brilliant youth, the promise of evidence instead of authority was a challenge. He himself says that this was the final argument winning him to the faith. (1)

As to the nature of the Manichaeism of St. Augustine, we will follow the plan of Alfarc in 'L'Evolution de Intellectuelle de Saint Augustin'. (2) Augustine does not claim full knowledge of the system, for he was only an 'auditor' and not one of the 'elect'. (3) But for the space of nine years, from his nineteenth to his twenty-eighth year, Augustine "went on seducing and seduced, deceived and deceiving, in divers lusts; publicly, by sciences which they style 'liberal' --secretly with a falsity called religion". (4) He was acquainted with the 'Fundamental Epistle', the 'The-saurus', (5) and numerous letters. (6) In his reply to Faustus, he implies a fairly complete knowledge of their oral tradition and of their books. (7) In De Moribus Manichaeorum he speaks with confidence of his knowledge of a theological point. (8)

(1) De Duabus animabus, 1; NPNF Ser.1, vol. 4. p.95.

(2) p.215-225.

(3) Acts or Disputation against Fortunatus, 3; NPNF ser.1, vol.4, p.114.

(4) Confessions IV 1 1, NPNF ser. 1, vol. 1, p. 68.

(5) Nature of the Good, 44; NPNF ser.1, vol.4, p.362.

(6) Against the Epistle of Manichaeus 6 7; NPNF ser.1, vol.4, p.132.

(7) Reply to Faustus, XX 21, 'Do you then believe in shades? We never heard you speak of such things, nor have we read of them in your books.' NPNF ser.1, vol.4, p.262.

(8) De Moribus Manichaeorum, 12 25: "This is not what we find in the Manichaean books: there it is constantly implied and constantly asserted that God guarded against an invasion of his enemies." NPNF ser.1, vol.4, p.76.

He questioned their chief interpreters, particularly Faustus, who was chief among them, and from him he was not able to get further information. (1) So well did he understand their system that he was almost always victorious in argument with Christians who attempted to defend their faith. (2) Of all the writers Augustine has no doubt furnished the most numerous and the most reliable teachings of Manichaeism. (3)

Not only did he understand, but he accepted and believed their characteristic doctrines. In regard to the "five elements, variously painted, to answer to the five caves of darkness.....those things I did believe." (4) He believed that the fig-tree wept when its fruit was plucked, that the particles of God ^{were set free} in the digestive processes of an elect saint, and that the food eaten by non-Manichaeans was dishonored." (5) That he might be purged from his faults, he

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- (1) Confessions V 6 10; NPNF ser.1, vol.1, p 82.
 - (2) De Duabus Animabus 9 11; NPNF ser.1, vol.4, p.101.
 - (3) Alfarc: L'Evolution de Intellectuelle de s. Augustin, 218
 - (4) Confessions III 6 11; NPNF ser.1, vol.1, p.63.
 - (5) Confessions III 10 18: "little by little, led on by those follies, as to credit that a fig-tree wept when it was plucked and that the mother tree shed milky tears? Which fig notwithstanding, plucked not by his own but another's wickedness, had some saint eaten and mingled with his entrails, he should breathe out of it angels; yea, in his prayers he shall assuredly groan and sigh forth particles of God, which particles of the most high and true God should have remained bound in that fig unless they had been set free by the teeth and belly of some 'elect saint'! And I, miserable one, believed that more mercy was to be shown to the fruits of the earth than unto men, for whom they were created; for if a hungry man--who was not a Manichaean--should beg for any, that morsel which should be given him would appear, as it were, condemned to capital punishment." NPNF ser.1, vol.1, p,66.

had carried food to the 'elect', that in the laboratories of their stomachs angels and gods might be formed to deliver him.

(1) When about to compete for a theatrical prize, he refused the services of a soothsayer who would offer living creatures as sacrifices. So thoroughly was he Manichaeism that the thought of sacrifices filled him with horror. (2) Though the practice was condemned by Christianity, he freely consulted the astrologers, for they offered no sacrifices. (3) He himself studied their books. (4) Nor did he give up the practice until he repudiated Manichaeism. (5)

So great was the devotion of Augustine, that he gave himself to enthusiastic defense and proclamation of Manichaeism. He "diligently examined, and attentively heard, and too easily believed, and commended at every opportunity to the belief of others, and defended with determination and boldness." (6) He "was almost always noxiously victorious in arguing".... "By frequent success the ardor of youth was kindled,....Accordingly from their speeches ardor in disputation was daily increased," (7)

(1) Confessions IV 1 1; NPNF ser.1, vol.1, p.68.

(2) Confessions IV 2 3; NPNF ser.1, vol.1, p.68,69.

(3) Ibid. IV 3 4; p.69.

(4) Ibid. IV 3 5; p.69.

(5) Ibid. VII 6 8; p.105.

(6) Against the Epistle of Manichaeus called Fundamental 3 3; NPNF ser.1 vol.4, p.130.

(7) De duabus Animabus 9 11; NPNF ser.1, vol.4, p.101.

When Augustine began teaching rhetoric in Thagaste, his native town, he formed through the association of studies a very affectionate friendship with a youth of his own age. This youth he won from the Catholic faith to Manichaeism. (1) Romanianus, to whom he dedicated the *Contra Academicos*, and at a later date the *De Vera Religione*, he persuaded to become a follower of Mani. (2) Alypius, beginning to hear Augustine, was 'involved in the same superstition.' (3) He composed poems by their fanciful arrangement. (4) At the age of twenty-six or twenty-seven Augustine wrote ^a books on 'the fair and the fit' in which the uncompromising dualism and thorough-going materialism of Manichaeism are manifest. He failed to recognize the spiritual nature of God. But in virtue he distinguished unity which he called a Monad, and in that unity he conceived a rational soul and the nature of truth, the chief good, to consist. The living substance of discord or division he termed a Duad. The supreme deity, or Monad, he contended erred by constraint. (5)

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(1) *Confessions* IV 4 7; NPNF ser.1, vol.1, p.47.

(2) *Contra Academicos*: "ipsa (philosophia) me penitus ab illa superstitione, in quam te mecum praecipitem dederam, liberavit." CSEL vol.63, p.5.

(3) *Confessions* VI 7 12; NPNF ser.1, vol.1, p.95.

(4) *Ibid.* III 7 14; p.64.

(5) *Confessions* IV 15 24: But not yet did I perceive the hinge on which this impotent matter turned in Thy wisdom, O Thou Omnipotent, "who alone doest great wonders;" and my mind ranged through corporeal forms, and I defined and distinguished as 'fair' that which is so in itself, and the 'fit', that which is beautiful as it corresponds to some other thing; and this I supported by corporeal examples.

And I turned my attention to the nature of the mind, but the

But in Manichaesim St. Augustine had difficulty in finding any satisfying conception of God. Instead of God they served up the sun and moon, His beauteous works; but Augustine hungered not for these first works but for God the Truth. Supposing these works to be God he fed upon them, but was not nourished by them. (1) He knew not God to be a Spirit. (2) "In my thoughts of Thee, he states, Thou wert not any solid or substantial thing to me. For Thou wert not Thyself, but an empty phantasm, and my error was my god. If I attempted to discharge my burden thereon, that I might rest, it sank into emptiness, and came rushing down again upon me, and I remained to myself an unhappy spot, where I could not stay or depart from." (3) He chose to think of God as mutable, rather than to think of his nature as differing from God's nature. He "contended that God's immutable substance erred of constraint rather than admit that his own mutable substance had gone astray of free will," (4)

false opinions which I entertained of spiritual things prevented me from seeing the truth. ...And whereas in virtue I loved peace, and in viciousness I hated discord, in the former I distinguished unity, but in the latter a kind of division. And in that unity I conceived the rational soul and the nature of truth and the chief good to consist. But in this division I imagined I know not what substance of irrational life, and the nature of the chief evil, which should not be a substance only, but real life also, and yet not emanating from Thee...The first I called a Monad, as if it had been a soul without sex, but the other a Duad,--anger in deeds of violence, in deeds of passion, lust--not knowing of what I talked." NPNF ser.1, vol.1, p.75,76.

(1) Confessions III 6 10; NPNF ser.1, vol.1, p.63.

(2) Ibid. III 7 12; p.64.

(3) Ibid, IV 7 12; p.72.

(4) Ibid. IV 15 26; p.76.

When scarce twenty years old, The Ten Predicaments, attributed to Aristotle, fell into the hands of Augustine. He read and understood it with ease, but it was of no ^{immediate} value to him, rather it was a hindrance, for he tried to comprehend in those categories God himself. (1) He supposed that God was a bright body and he a piece of that body. (2) The Manichaeans did not know the Word by whom things were made. (3) Even to the last it seemed to Augustine, the Manichaean auditor, that it is not man that sins, but some other nature in him. It gratified his pride to be freed from any blame. (4)

In Augustine's twenty-ninth year, there came to Carthage Faustus, a bishop of the Manichaeans, for whom Augustine had anxiously waited. Many questions had been raised in the mind of Augustine by comparing "the injunctions of the philosophers" with the "fables of the Manichaeans", but Faustus was unable to solve these perplexities. No other teacher more proficient being accessible, Augustine's eagerness for the writings of Manichaeus thus received a check.

- (1) Confessions IV 16 28; NPNF ser.1, vol.1, p.77.
- (2) Ibid, IV 16 31; p.77.
- (3) Ibid, V 3 5; p.80.
- (4) Ibid, V 10 18; p.86.

Not separating himself entirely from the Manichaeans, Augustine determined to be content with whatever favorable thing presented itself. (1) Leaving Carthage he went to Rome to teach, where he 'held loosely and negligently' to the Manichaeans though still associating with their 'Elect'.
(2)

(1) Confessions V:6 10--7 13; NPNF ser.1, vol.1, p.82,83.

(2) Ibid, V 8 14 and 10 19; p. 84, 86.

CHAPTER VIII

SCEPTICISM

- I Rejection of Manichaeism
 - 1 Intellectual Factors
 - 2 Moral Factors
 - 3 Social Factors
- II Nature of Augustine's Scepticism
- III His Conception of God

CHAPTER VIII

SCEPTICISM

Manichaeism stimulated mental activity and forced its disciples to reflect upon the origin of the world, the nature of man and his destiny. (1) Such problems Augustine approached with a penetrating mind. He "read and understood unaided all the books he could get of the so-called liberal arts". (2) He read the encyclopedia of Celsus, the *Disciplines* of Varro and also his "*Antiquities human and divine*". Other historical information he derived from Livius, Florus and Eutropus. (3)

In the field of philosophy, he read Cicero's *Hortensius* in his nineteenth year. (4) He implies a knowledge of other philosophical books, for he "had read and retained in memory many injunctions of the philosophers, and used to compare some teachings of theirs with the long fables of the Manicaeans." (5)

- (1) Alfarc: *L'Evolution Intellectuelle de S. Augustin*, p.229.
- (2) *Confessions*, IV 16 30; NPNF ser.1, vol.1, p 77.
- (3) Alfarc: op. cit. p.230.
- (4) *Confessions*, III 4 7; NPNF ser.1, vol.1, p.61.
- (5) *Confessions*, V 3 3, p.80.

Augustine was not well acquainted with the Greeks. He did not read their language with ease and few of their books had been translated into latin. The Phaedo had been made accessible by the translation of Apulius. The Timaeus had been translated in part by Cicero and entire by Chalcidus. He had studied the Categories of Aristotle and perhaps also the 'De Interpretatione' and 'Topics' in a translation of Victorinus. (1)

But astronomy most effectively revealed^e to Augustine the inconsistency of the Manichaeian system. This information was available in the sixth book of the Disciplines of Varro which is quite complete, in the Dream of Scipio by Cicero, very precise, and in the astronomy of Apulius which is no longer extant. "Many truths, however," he says, "concerning the creature did I retain from these men, and the cause appeared to me from calculations, the succession of seasons, and the visible manifestation of stars; and I compared them with the sayings of Manichaeus, who in his frenzy had written most extensively on these subjects, but discovered not any account of the solstices, or the equinoxes, the eclipses of the luminaries, or anything of the kind I had learned in the books of secular philosophy. But therein I was ordered to believe, and yet it corresponded not with those rules acknowledged by calculation and by my own sight

(1) Alfarc: L'Evolution Intellectuelle de S. Augustin, p.231, 232.

but was far different." (1)

Moral factors also contributed to the scepticism of Augustine. The ostentation of continency, which he had at first believed to be unfeigned, was found to be but a shadowy veneer. (2) In 'De Moribus Manichaeorum' many acts of indecency are charged even against the 'Elect'. (3) In 'De Moribus Ecclesiae Catholicae' two of their most used methods are pointed out, first that of questioning the Scriptures, and second that of making a show of chastity. (4) In the Reply to Faustus the Manichaean Faustus is said to use the language of 'over-weening arrogance'. (5) But finding nothing better he remained with them. (6)

Social factors were not lacking. His mother with confidence told of the dream of the joyous youth returning to her and to her faith. This she interpreted to be an answer to her prayers for his return to the catholic church. Augustine states that even then he was moved by her unwavering faith. (7) Such an attitude would create a profound impression upon her son. Then Nebridus used to propound, "at which all

(1) Confessions, V 3 6; NPNF ser.1. vol.1, p.81.

(2) Ibid VI 7 12; p.95.

(3) De Moribus Manichaeorum, 68-74; NPNF ser.1, vol.4, p 87-89

(4) De Moribus Ecclesiae Catholicae 2; NPNF ser.1, vol.4, p.41.

(5) Reply to Faustus the Manichaean V 5 7; NPNF ser.1, vol.4, p.165.

(7) Confessions III 11 19-20; NPNF ser.1, vol.1, p.66, 67.

(6) Ibid. V 7 13; p.83.

who heard it were disturbed: 'What would that reputed nation nation of darkness, which the Manichaeans are in the habit of setting up as a mass opposed to Thee, have done unto Thee, hadst Thou objected to fight with it?' (1) Nor could any answer be discovered. (2) Helpidus, disputing with the Manichaeans had begun to move him even while at Carthage. (3) Vindicianus, 'an acute old man', Nebridus a talented young man, and Firminius, ~~being~~ well educated, all being his friends tried to show him the folly of discovering the future by astrology. (4) But it gratified his pride to be freed from any blame if he had committed a fault; therefore he was still united with the 'Elect'. (5)

"Hopeless of making proficiency", he "was half inclined to believe that those philosophers whom they call the 'Academics' were more sagacious than the rest, in that they held that we ought to doubt of everything, and ruled that man had not the power of comprehending any truth; for so not yet realizing their meaning, I also was fully persuaded that they thought just as they are commonly held to do. (6)

- (1) Confessions, VII 2 3; NPNF ser.1, vol.1, p.103.
- (2) De Moribus Manichaeorum, 12 25; NPNF ser.1, vol.4, p.76.
- (3) Confessions, V 11 21; NPNF ser.1, vol.1, p.87.
- (4) Ibid. VII 6 8; p.105.
- (5) Ibid. V 8 18; p.86.
- (6) Ibid. V 8 19; p.86.

Neither paganism nor Judaism had any attraction for Augustine. With his education and his state of mind, he could be devoted only to Catholicism. But he thought that the Scriptures could not be defended against the attacks of Faustus and the other Manichaean teachers. (1) Being turned aside by them he was "hopeless of finding truth". (2) Though forsaking the church of Mani, he was still far from the Catholic faith. He had accepted the teaching of the "De Natura Deorum" in which Cicero contends that if we are not able to deny the existence of God, neither can we be certain of his nature. (3) In the 'Tusculanes', which Augustine quotes often in the 'De Civitate Dei', Cicero maintains that certain doctrines are more true than others, but none are absolutely true. (4) In the 'De Civitate Dei' Augustine refers to Cicero as "academic philosopher who argues that all things are uncertain." (5) That he passed through a real crisis of doubt leaving an indelible impression upon his memory is evident from his earliest writings. In the 'De Beata Vita' he states "while winds from all quarters were beating on my helm the Academicians long held me in the midst of the waves." (6)

(1) Alfarié: L'Évolution Intellectuelle de S. Augustin, 260

(2) Confessions, V 10 10, NPNF ser. 1, vol. 1, p. 86.

(3) Alfarié; op. cit. p. 266

(4) Ibid. p. 267.

(5) De Civitate Dei, IV 30, ser. 1, vol. 2, p. 80.

(6) De Beata Vita I 4 CSEL vol. 63, p. 91. "diu gubernacula

mea repugnantia omnibus uentis in mediis fluctibus Academici tenuerunt."

But after hearing from Ambrose the allegorical interpretation of parts of the Old Testament, the catholic faith no longer appeared vanquished, neither did it seem to him victorious. Not being able to realize a spiritual substance, doubting and fluctuating after the manner of the Academicians, he decided to abandon Manichaeism. But he went on considering and comparing, judging that the greater part of the philosophers held the more probable opinions. (1)

Christianity to him was no more than a survival of childhood training, the vision inspired by the reading of the Hortensius was always beyond his reach, Manichaeism had proved insufficient, his faith was no longer positive, the doubt of Academic Scepticism appeared to him the only reasonable course. "It may be noted that even in this seemingly negative attitude Augustine never lost his faith in the majesty of God." And the deepest element in his faith was reverence for God. In so far as he believed in God, the concept is that of the Manichaeans. When he "tried to revert to the Catholic faith" he could not for what he held to be that faith was not so. (2) That God had the form of human flesh, as he understood the catholic faith, he rejected as unbecoming. Yet the "chief cause of his error" was

- (1) Confessions V 14 24,25; NPNE ser.1, vol.1. p.88.
- (2) Watson: Philosophical Basis of Religion, p.311
- (3) Confessions, op.cit. V 10 20, p.86,87.

thinking of God as a mass of bodies, for only matter seemed to him to exist. Thus he conceived God as matter, not spirit; as complex, not one. (1) He could not believe that the good God created any evil nature so he conceived two masses, opposed to each other, "both infinite" (?) but God however limited on the side next to the evil. The "Savior he believed to have been reached forth out of the effulgent mass of God." (2)

(1) Confessions, V 10 19; NPNF ser.1, vol.1, p.86.

(2) Ibid. V 10 20; p.87.

Chapter IX

Ambrose - the Christian Bishop

- 1 His Life
- 2 His Writings and Theology
- 3 His Influence upon Augustine
- 4 Augustine's Resulting Conception of God
- 5 His Three Immediate Problems
- 6 His Moral Difficulties

CHAPTER IX

AMBROSE--THE CHRISTIAN BISHOP

Ambrose was the son of Ambrosius, a prefect of the Gauls, having jurisdiction over Spain, Britain, and Cis-ly and Trans-Alpine Gaul. St. Ambrose was like^{ly} born 340 at Treves, the official residence. (1) Ambrose was trained in jurisprudence, literature and philosophy. In 373 he was appointed governor of upper Italy with his residence at Milan. His skill, justice and courtesy made him so popular that both Arians and Catholics united in making him bishop when the office was made vacant by the death of Auxentius in 374. (2) He had been but a catechumen until the time of his election but within eight days he was baptized and consecrated bishop. This irregular election met the approval of the bishops in both the East and the West. (3) "He united orthodoxy with culture, and a zeal for Christian virtue with the dignity of a Roman gentleman. He is one of the few Christian bishops of whom it can be said that he was the adviser of three emperors and yet never became a

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- (1) NPNF ser.2, vol.10, introduction, p.xv.
 - (2) Pullan: The Church of the Fathers, p.286.
Schanz: Geschichte der Romischen Litteratur, vol.4,
part 1, p.286.
 - (3) Workman: article Ambrose in HERE vol.1, p.373.
Basil: Epistle CXCVII, NPNF ser. 2, vol.8, p.234-235.

courtier-bishop." (1) Nor did he hesitate to reprove emperors. In 383 Valentinian II, influenced by his Arian mother, asked for the Portian Basilica outside the walls of Milan. Ambrose refused and the emperor asked for the newer and larger church within the walls. To this request Ambrose replied, "The emperor has his palaces, let him leave the churches to the bishop." When soldiers were sent to take the church by force, Ambrose and his loyal friends, remained in the church singing hymns until the soldiers retired. Twice he frustrated efforts to restore, the Altar of Victory. In 390 Theodosius, the repentant emperor, publicly stripped off his ornaments and prostrated himself before the bishop upon the church floor. But so noble was the conduct of Ambrose that Theodosius declared that he alone deserved the title of bishop. (2)

To rectify the lack of early theological training, Ambrose studied diligently the Scriptures, Origen, Basil, Athanasius, Didymus, and Gregory of Nazianzen. He appears not to have studied Tertullian. (3)

- (1) Pullan: The Church of the Fathers, p.286.
- (2) Ibid. p.287.
- (3) Loughlin: article Ambrose in Cath. Enc. vol.1, p.387.
 Labriolle: Histoire de la Littérature Latine Chrétienne, p.358 "C'est aux Orientaux qu'allèrent ses sympathies et sa curiosité. Il avait senti leur supériorité au point de vue de la spéculation, et qu'il trouverait chez eux toutes prêtes les armes dont il avait besoin pour lutter contre l'hétérodoxie contemporaine. C'était faire court que de s'orienter tout de suite de leur côté. Philon et Origène furent ses maîtres en fait d'exégèse, Pour l'enseignement moral et dogmatique, il s'adressa

He made extracts from Hippolitus, Origen and Basil and edited them in latin.(1) Jerome in Epistle 41 says that he is a "disciple of Origen, but after the modifications in that manner, due to St. Hippolitus of Rome and St Basil the Great."

Between 377 and 380 at the request of emperor Gratian, Ambrose wrote the 'De Fide', vindicating the divinity of Christ. In 381 he wrote the 'De Spiritu Sancto' showing that the Holy Spirit is God and of one nature and substance with the Father and the Son. (2) For the former treatise he was guided by the Greek theologians, especially Didymus. (3) For the latter treatise his sources were Didymus, whose treatise on the Holy Spirit was later translated into latin by Jerome; Athanasius' Letter to Serapion; and Basil on the Holy Spirit. (4) Labriolle states that Ambrose also used Cyril of Jerusalem, Gregory of Nazianzen and Epiphanius of Salamis. (5)

"aux plus notoires parmi les écrivains ecclésiastiques grecs de son temps Athanase, Basil, Cyrille de Jérusalem, Didyme, Epiphane, Grégoire de Nazianze, s'empareant avec avidité de leurs ouvrages, même de ceux qui n'avaient paru que de la vieille. Ne le voit-on pas utiliser dans son De Spiritu Sancto, qui est de la première moitié de 381, les discours théologiques de Grégoire de Nazianze, prononcés à Constantinople en 380?"

(1) Harnack: History of Dogma, vol.V, p 31.

(2) Bardenhewer: Geschichte der Altkirchlichen Literatur, vol. p. 533-535. NPNF ser.2, vol.10, p.xvii

(3) Schanz: Geschichte der Römischen Literatur vol.4, part 1, p.316.

(4) Bardenhewer: op. cit. p.535.

(5) Labriolle: Histoire de la Litterature Latine Chretienne p.379.

Jerome criticises Ambrose for the free use of these sources, in Ruf. Apol. adv. Hier. II 23-25.

The tireless activity and brilliant success of Ambrose are fittingly portrayed by Chateaubriand; "

" Rien de plus complet et de mieux rempli que la vie des prélats du quatrième et du cinquième siècle. Un évêque baptisoit, confessoit, prêchoit, ordonnoit des pénitences privées ou publiques, lançoit des anathèmes ou levoit des excommunications, visitoit les malades, assistait les mourants, enterroit les morts, rachetoit les captifs, nourrissoit les pauvres, les veuves, les orphelins, fondeoit des hospices et des maladreries, administroit les biens de son clergé, prononçoit comme juge de paix dans causes particulières ou arbitroit des différends entre villes: il publoit en même temps des traités de morale, de discipline, de théologie, écrivoit contra les hérésiarques et contre les philosophes, s'occupoit de science et d'histoire, dictoit des lettres pour les personnes qui le consultoient dans l'une et l'autre religion, correspondoit avec les églises et les évêques, les moines et les ermites, siégeoit à des conciles et à des synodes, étoit appelé aux conseils des empereurs, chargé de négociations, envoyé à des usurpateurs ou à des princes barbares pour les désarmer ou les contenir; les trois pouvoirs religieux, politique et philosophique s'étoient concentrés dans l'évêque. Saint Ambroise va en ambassade auprès de Maxime, fait sortir Théodose du sanctuaire, réclame les cendres Gratien, ne peut sauver Valentinien II, et refuse de communiquer avec Eugène: au milieu de ces grandes occupations, il compose tous ouvrages qui nous restent, introduit la musique dans les églises d'Occident, et laisse des chants si renommés que, dans les siècles suivants, le mot hymne et le mot Ambrosianum devinèrent synonymes." (1)

How appropriate for Augustène to say, "to Milan I came, unto Ambrose, the bishop known to the whole world as among the best of men," (2) At first he attended the services as

(1) Chateaubriand: Oeuvres Complètes, vol.V, p.268,269.

(2) Confessions, V 13 23, NPNE ser.1, vol.1, p.88.

a "careless and contemptuous spectator" interested only in the eloquence of the address, but soon he began to love Ambrose as a friend and later as a teacher of truth. When Augustine left Rome he separated himself from his Manichaeian friends with their fanciful system; at Milan the most significant factor for Augustine was Ambrose, the Christian bishop. (1)

Under the influence of Ambrose Augustine made certain definite advances. When he first came to Milan he despaired of finding truth in the church. (2) But after hearing Ambrose "every Lord's day" he conceived that the catholic faith might be ~~maintained~~ without presumption. (3) After hearing parts of the Old Testament explained allegorically he was "killed spiritually" (occidebar). The accusations of the Manichaeans against the Law and the Prophets he learned could be refuted. (4) By the science of the exegetical speculation learned from Ambrose was he delivered from Manichaeism. (5) He became convinced that all the calumies against the divine books could be unravelled. (6) Things in the ecclesiastical books (libris ecclesiasticis) which previously appeared absurd, he now saw could be honestly interpreted. (7)

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- (1) Confessions, V 13-23-14 24, NPNF ser.1, vol.1, p 88
 - (2) Ibid. V 13 23, p.88.
 - (3) Ibid. V 14 24, p 88.
 - (4) Ibid. V 14 24, p.88.
 - (5) Harnack: History of Dogma, vol.V p.29.
 - (6) Confessions VI 3 4, NPNF ser.1, vol.1, p 91.
 - (7) Ibid. VI 11 18 p.98.

He discovered that the catholic church did not think of God as bounded by human form as the Manichaeans misrepresented their faith. (1) He came to see "that we were too weak by unaided reason to find out the truth, and for this cause needed the authority of the holy writings, and the authority of the Scripture seemed venerable and worthy of religious belief. (2) In his reflections concerning evil he "was cast down^{and}, stifled; yet not plunged into that hell of error.. to think that Thou dost suffer evil, rather than ^{man} that[^] doth it." (3) Though unable clearly to discern it, he perceived that free will is the cause of our doing evil. At first he "despaired of a way accessible for man to God". (4) Under the preaching of Ambrose it^{was} [^]immoveably settled in his mind that in Christ and the Holy Scriptures God had planned the way of man's salvation. (5) The faith of Christ, as held by the Catholic church, was fixed firmly in his ^{though} heart,[^] unformed in many points, and diverging from doctrinal rules. (6) He also learned from Ambrose that the world, and especially man was not the blind result of two opposite forces, but the free creation of God, and that man was not bound in the iron chains of necessity, but was the free author of his acts. (7)

(1) Confessions VI 3 4, NPNF ser.1, vol.1, p.91.

(2) Ibid. VI 5 8, p.93.

(3) Ibid. VII 3 5, p.104.

(4) Ibid. V 14 24, p.88.

(5) Ibid. VII 7 11, p.106.

(6) Ibid. VII 5 7, p.105.

(7) Watson: The Philosophical Basis of Religion p.313.

Confessions VII 5 7, p.104.

Though not comprehended by him at this time, the teaching of Ambrose concerning spiritual nature, became to him a pole star, guiding him to the final solution of this difficulty. (1) Had there been some one to teach him in this critical moment he would have been fervently disposed and apt to learn. (2) But no opportunity could he find of consulting Ambrose unless the matter be considered briefly. (3) Though Augustine came often to the study, he never found Ambrose at leisure to talk the difficulty through. (4) Augustine was still in the grip of the materialism of Manichaeism, he could not conceive the nature of spiritual substance. (5) But nothing could wring from him the belief of the existence of God and that the government of human affairs belongs to him. (6) And amid all the fluctuations of opinion the fear of God's future judgment never left his breast. (7) But in his 'inmost heart' he believed that God was "incorruptible, inviolable and unchangeable". Though not thinking of God under the form of a human body, he still imaged Him as "something corporeal in space, either infused into the world or infinitely diffused beyond it. (8)

(1) De Beata Vita, I 4, CSEL vol.63, p.92. "septentrionem

cui me crederem didici. animaduerti enim et saepe in sacerdotis nostri.. de deo.. nihil corporis esse cogitandum."

(2) De Utilitate Cred.20, NPNF ser.1, vol.4, p.356.

(3) Confessions, VI 3 4, NPNF ser.1, vol.1, p.91.

(4) Ibid. VI 3 3 p.91. (5) Ibid. V 14 25, p.88.

(6) Ibid. VI 5 7, p.93. (7) Ibid. VI 16 26 p.100.

(8) Ibid. VII 1 1, p 102.

Augustine worked out a cosmology, in which he attempted to state the relation of God to the world. The finite creation he saw to be good, and created by God, infinitely better than his work. This creation he saw to be encircled, penetrated and filled by the infinite God.

"And I set in order before the view of my spirit the whole creation, and whatever we can discern in it, such as earth, sea, air, stars, trees, living creatures; yea, and whatever in it we do not see, as the firmament of heaven, all the angels, too, and all the spiritual inhabitants thereof. But these very beings, as though they were bodies, did my fancy dispose in such and such places, and I made one huge mass of all Thy creatures, distinguished according to the kinds of bodies--some of them being real bodies, some what I myself had feigned for spirits. And this mass I made huge,--not as it was, which I could not know, but as large as I thought well, yet every way finite. But Thee, O Lord, I imagined on every part environing and penetrating it, though every way infinite; as if there were a sea everywhere, and on every side through immensity nothing but an infinite sea; and it contained within itself some sponge, huge, though finite, so that the sponge would in all its parts be filled from the immeasurable sea. So conceived I Thy creation to be itself finite, and filled by Thee, the Infinite. And I said, Behold God, and behold what God hath created; and God is good, yea, most mightily and incomparably better than all these; but yet He, who is good, hath created them good, and behold how He encircleth and filleth them." (1)

(1) Confessions, VII 5 7, NPNF ser.1, vol.1, p.104,105.

For Augustine there could be no clear and satisfying concept of God until the problem of evil were definitely solved.

"Where then is evil, and whence, and how crept it in hither? What is its root, and what its seed? Or hath it no being at all? Why, then, do we fear and shun that which hath no being? Or if we fear it needlessly, then surely is that fear evil whereby the heart is unnecessarily pricked and tormented,--and so much a greater evil, as we have naught to fear, and yet do fear..... He, indeed, the greatest and chiefest Good, hath created these lesser goods; but both Creator and created are all good. Whence is evil? Or was there some evil matter of which He made and formed and ordered it, but left something in it which He did not convert into good? But why was this? Was He powerless to change the whole lump, so that no evil should remain in it, seeing that He is omnipotent? Lastly why should He make anything at all of it, and not rather by the same omnipotency cause it not to be at all? Or could it indeed exist contrary to His will?n.... Or if it were not good that He, who was good, should not also be the framer and the creator of what was good, then that matter which was evil being removed, and brought to nothing, He might form good matter, whereof He might create all things. For He would not be omnipotent were He not able to create something good without being assisted by that matter which had not been created by Himself. Such like things did I revolve in my miserable breast."
(1)

Three problems were troublinⁿg Augustine. First, we see his inability to break with Manichaeism. This brought him face to face with the problem of the true nature or substance of God.

The second problem, what is the nature of truth, was aroused by the reading of the Hortensius in his nineteenth year. (2) Nebridus had come from Carthage, leaving his fine

- (1) Confessions, VII 5 7, NPNF ser.1, vol.1, p.105.
- (2) De Beata Vita I 4, CSEL vol.63, p.91,1.13 ff.

paternal estate that he "might live with Augustine in a most ardent search after truth and wisdom". (1)

The third problem was, what is evil, whence is it, what is its root, was God powerless to prevent it, and could it exist contrary to his will.

Moral difficulties complicated the situation. Ambition and vanity still led him "to recite a pangyric on the emperor wherein he was to deliver many a lie, and lying was applauded by those who knew he lied. He longed for honors, gains, wedlock". (2) He was "enamoured of a happy life, yet feared it in its own abode..he conceived that he would be unhappy if deprived of the embracements of a woman". (3) Urged by his mother to marry, he was betrothed to a maid who lacked two years of marriageable age. (4) His mistress, the mother of Adeodatus, was dismissed as being an impediment, "but being not so much a lover of marriage as a slave of lust", he procured another mistress. (5)

- (1) Confessions VI 10 17, NPNF ser.1, vol.1, p. 97.
- (2) Ibid. VI 6 9, p.93,94.
- (3) Ibid. VI 11 20, p.98.
- (4) Ibid. VI 13 23, p. 99.
- (5) Ibid. VI 15 25, p.100.

Chapter X

Neoplatonism

- 1 The Historical Setting
- 2 The Theological System
- 3 Comparisons with Christianity
- 4 Augustine's Sources
- 5 The Significance for Augustine
- 6 His New Problem

CHAPTER X

NEOPLATONISM

Ammonius Saccas (175-242), the founder of Neoplatonism, left no writings. Plotinus, born 204 in Lycopolis, Egypt, took a passionate interest in philosophy, but turned away disappointed from the reputed philosophers of Alexandria. When he heard Ammonius Saccas, he exclaimed, "This was the man I was looking for."⁽¹⁾ For eleven years he studied philosophy under Ammonius Saccas. In 243 he went to Rome and established a school to which flocked men of power and learning.

(2)

"Like other masterful mystics Plotinus appeared as a prophet of things forgotten, a discoverer of things unknown, a guide in the spiritual way, a preacher of a new Evangel. The empire in those troubled days of Gallienus was almost at its lowest ebb; faction and treason were rife in the Capital; the barbarians were pressing in from all sides; pestilence and poverty swept through the lands; some terrible and final catastrophe seemed to be immanent over society. In such a world and such an age, it is not strange that the call of peace, the annunciation of a security that no present calamities could shake, the promise of liberty for the soul, should have appealed to many as a true voice from heaven. Men of power and learning flocked to the school of this teacher out of Egypt. One of these, the Senator Rogatianus, went so far as to surrender his property, emancipate his slaves, renounce his political honours, and practice a life

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- (1) Porphyry: On the Life of Plotinus; in Plotinus, The Ethical Treatises, translated by Mackenna, vol.1, p.3.
 (2) Thilly: History of Philosophy, p.127.

"religious abstinence. The house of Plotinus was filled with boys and girls who had been intrusted to his care by their dying parents. The emperor and his wife so venerated him that they planned to restore an old ruined city, once according to tradition the home of (Pythagorean) philosophers, and in his seat, rechristened Platonopolis, to establish Plotinus and his friends under a constitution modeled upon Plato's 'Laws'. The scheme fell through, from jealousies and intrigues at court as Porphyry believed." (1)

Thus graphically does Paul Elmer More portray the success and significance of Plotinus. Typical of his life were his dying words, "I am striving to give back the divine in myself to the Divine in the All." (2) Other pupils of Ammonius Saccas were Porphyry, Amelius, Origen the theologian and another Origen. (3)

Amelius, or Amerius, surpassed all his associates in diligence, transcribing and arranging nearly all the works of Numenius. He also took notes of the conferences and wrote them out in one hundred treatises. (4) Plotinus entrusted to him the task of clearing up certain difficulties concerning the intellectual principle. (5) Porphyry states that "Plotinus and Gentilianus Amelius alone display the true spirit of authorship; they treat of a great number of questions and they bring a method of their own to the treatment." Amelius set himself to walk in the steps of Plotinus and adopted most of his opinions. (6) After the death of Plotinus

(1) P.E. More, Hellenistic Philosophies, p.176,177.

(2) Plotinus' Enneads trans. by Mackenna, p.2, Life of Plot. I 2.

(3) Ueberweg: Hist.Phil. vol.I

(4) Plotinus Enneads, op.cit. p.4, Life Plotinus I 3.

(5) Ibid. p.17, I 18.

(6) Ibid. p.20, I 20.

269, Porphyry arranged the manuscripts of his teacher in six Enneads of nine writings each. (1)

Weber states that "in Neoplatonism and particularly in the philosophy of Plotinus, the Greek mind seem to make a final serious attempt to formulate the result of ten centuries of reflection and to express its final convictions concerning God, the world and the human soul". (2)

Plotinus considers himself the interpreter of Plato. He follows in Plato's footsteps and like him passes beyond the phenomenal world to an archetypal order, eternally creating and sustaining it. But as an intermediary step, he makes use of the world-soul of the Timaeus. Matter and body cannot perceive, or think or practice virtue, and what life they possess is due to the presence within them of a foreign principle. These activities require a separate metaphysical principle called by Plotinus the 'ψυχή' or Soul. (3)

The Soul is not the ultimate principle, for her content is many and she is irrational and full of errors. By means of discursive thought she can at best bring things to a synthetic unity. Such a condition requires further explanation. Truth must exist, a higher principle in which the ideal

- (1) Thilly: History of Philosophy, p. 127.
- (2) Weber and Perry: History of Philosophy, p 128.
- (3) Fuller: The Problem of Evil in Plotinus, p.46-47.

object of her thought finds expression. This is 'ΝΟῦΣ', the Mind, the Rational Principle. In this manner Plotinus arrives at the Platonic ideas. "In them the confused variety of the sensible world is reduced to order and rationality in a harmoniously related system of universals". This system is the intelligible universe. (1)

But the logical unity of a self-consistent system is insufficient for his mystic spirit. So Plotinus rejects the idea that Soul may be the first principle. The first principle is "simple and different from anything that comes after it. It must be absolute, and pure from the things that proceed from it, and yet at the same time capable of being present in things in some other way. It must also be essentially one,--that is, it must not be primarily something else and one only secondarily... For were it not simple, free from all arrangement and composition, and essentially one, it would not be a first principle. Moreover, because it is simple, it is self-sufficient, and the first of all things. For what is not first stands in need of what is prior to it, and what is not simple stands in need of the simple factors within it, so that it may be composed of them." (2)

(1) Fuller: The Problem of Evil in Plotinus, p. 50, 51.

(2) Ibid. p. 55, and Plotinus: Enneads, V 4 1

Neoplatonism is a system of necessary emanation or irradiation accompanied by reversion to source, All forms of existence flow from the divinity and tend to return thither. The Divinity is a graded triad. The First Existent if considered logically is The One; if morally, The Good; or it may be recognized as the Simple, the Transcendence, the Infinite, the Unconditioned or as the Father. It transcends the knowable, the good and even the quality of being. It is not the Creator, nor properly the First Cause, Nevertheless we may say "in an ineffable, Supra-Existence, it exists, that in an ineffable Super-Act, it acts, that it is everywhere, in the sense that without it its Supra-existence nothing could be, that it is nowhere in that it is loftily alien from all else". (1)

He is the origin of all things though he is really above origin. As every perfect earthly being seeks to bring forth another, so the Most Perfect, of which the earthly is a faint image, must likewise beget, giving himself without envy. And as God is eternal, so the offspring of his nature is eternal. (2)

(1) Plotinus: Enneads, translated by Mackenna, vol.1,
page 119, notes on The One.

(2) _____, The Philosophy of Plotinus, Dunlap Printing Co.
Philadelphia, 1896.

Since the most perfect form of expressive act is thought, the First Existent produces a Divine Thought, or Intelligence or Intellectual-Principle. This is a mediation to us of the Unknowable One, the offspring and image of the First. It is the totality of the divine thoughts, or in a Platonic term, the ideas, and with it begins complexity and multiplicity. These divine thoughts are the archetypes of all that exist in the lower spheres. "The Divine Thinking engenders a power apt to the realization of its thought", and this third hypostasis is the Universal Soul. This All-Soul is the eternal cause of the cosmos of the sense world. It is the vital principle of all that is lower than the Divine Triad. (1)

In this dynamic pantheism all things are divine so far as they have being. "The Primeval Being is perpetually producing something else without alteration or motion or diminution of itself". This process is not physical but an emission of force. Existence is subject to the law of diminishing completeness. We may think of the whole of being as a series of concentric circles fading away toward the verge of non-existence, Each lower stage is united to the One by the succeeding higher stages and in turn its share of reality is transmitted through them. (2)

 (1) Plotinus: Enneads, trans. by Mackenna, vol.1, p.120.
 notes by the author on Terminology.

(2) Harnack-Mitchell: article Neoplatonism in Brit. vol.
 19, p.372 ff. 4375a

In the words of Harnack, "The Original Being first of all throws out 'nous' which is a perfect image of the One and the archetype of all existing things. It is at once being and thought, ideal world and idea. As image the 'nous' corresponds perfectly to the One, but as derived it is entirely different. The image and product of the motionless 'nous' is the soul, which according to Plotinus, is, like the 'nous', immaterial. Its relation to the 'nous' is the same as that of the 'nous' to the One. It stands between the 'nous' and the phenomenal world, permeated and illuminated by the former, but is also in contact with the latter. The 'nous' is indivisible; the soul may preserve its unity and remain in the 'nous', but at the same time it has the power of uniting with the corporeal world and thus being disintegrated. It therefore occupies an intermediate position. As a single soul (world soul) it belongs in essence and destination to the intelligible world, but it also embraces innumerable individual souls; and these can either submit to be ruled by the nous, or turn aside to the sensual and lose themselves in the finite. Then the soul, a moving essence generates a corporeal or phenomenal world." (1)

In Neoplatonism, the One transcends all thought and intellectual activity and hence¹⁹ without consciousness. The Christian Church held fast to the conception of God as a

(1) Harnack-Mitchell: article Neoplatonism in Brit. vol. 19, p.375b.

spiritual personality. (1)

In Neoplatonism there is a graded triad, but Ambrose teaches the christian doctrine of the Trinity in which equality excludes confusion and unity excludes separation.

(2) And the Trinity is of one nature, one Lordship and one power. (3)

As to the relation of deity to the world, in Neoplatonism we find the doctrine of emanation or the streaming forth of things from the original Power as an eternal necessity; and this process is unconscious and without design. (4)

Harnack terms it a species of dynamic pantheism. (5) But in sharp contrast, Christianity teaches that creation is an act of will and not an eternal process. As such, this free creative action occurred once for all. The world is a production of the will of God; it is created out of nothing. (6)

(1) Windelband: Hist. of Phil. trans. by Tufts, p.237,238.

(2) Ambrose De Spiritu sancto, III 116, NPNF ser.2, vol.10

"For when He says 'I and the Father' equality is revealed; when He says 'are one' Unity is asserted. Equality excludes confusion; Unity excludes separation. Equality distinguishes between the Father and the Son; Unity does not separate the Father and the Son."

(3) Ibid. III 158 "The Holy Spirit therefore shares in the kingdom of the Father and the Son, and He is of one nature with them, of one Lordship, and also of one power!"

(4) Windelband, op.cit. p.250.

(5) Harnack-Mitchell: article Neoplatonism in Brit. vol.19, p.375a.

(6) Windelband, Op.cit. p.252.

There is also a contrast in the relation of man to deity. In Neoplatonism "the highest achievement is elevation to God, where the consciousness of personal identity is drowned in the beatific contemplation of the Supreme." (1) And in the words of Windelband, "The salvation and blessedness of the individual is his sinking into the All-One." The individual personality vanishes as a subordinate particular phenomenon. (2) On the other hand, Christianity teaches "a personal relation of man to the ground of the world conceived of as a supreme personality, and it expresses this demand in the thought of the divine sonship of man." (3)

The Neoplatonic books, read by Augustine in the translation of Victorinus (4) were a momentous factor in the development of his conception of God. In them he read that the Word (verbum) is eternal, is with God, is God, is the agent of creation and enlightens (inluminat) every man coming into the world. But he did not find the Christian doctrine of the privilege of becoming sons of God. (5) There he read that God, the Word, was born of God but no statement of the incarnation. There he found stated in many and various ways that the Son was in the form (forma) of the Father and thought it not robbery to be equal with God for that he naturally was of the same substance (non rapinam

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- (1) Fisher: Beginnings of Christianity, p.179.
 - (2) Windelband: History of Philosophy, p.249,250.
 - (3) Ibid. p.238.
 - (4) Confessions, VV 9 13, NPNE ser.1, vol.1, p.107.
 - (5) Ibid. VII 9 13 p.108.

(3)

arbitratus esse aequalis deo, qui naturaliter id ipsum est). But there was nothing about the self-humiliation, incarnation, atoning death and resurrection of the Christian faith. In these books he read that the Son is co-eternal with the Father and that of his fulness (de plenitudine) souls receive. But that the death of the Son has significance was not there. (1) And there also he read that they changed the incorruptible divine nature into idols and forms but on these he did not set his mind. (non attendi in idola) (2)

These data suggest some other source beside the Enneads. Idols and images of men and beasts are not discussed there. And it is contrary to the whole trend of the system of Plotinus to speak of the Logos as equal with God, because of the same substance. The comparison with the prologue of John indicates the lost treatise of Amelius, of which a brief quotation is preserved by Eusebius. (3) Watson states that Amelius (Aurelius) is probably the writer who had the greatest direct influence on Augustine. "He modified the doctrine of Plotinus in some points, and endeavored to show that the prologue of John's Gospel was in harmony with the Neoplatonic philosophy." (4)

- (1) Confessions, VII 9 14, NPNF ser.1, vol.1, p.108.
- (2) Ibid. VII 9 15, p.108.
- (3) Praeparationis Evangelicae XI 18 26 and 19 1. x
- (4) Watson: The philosophical Basis of Religion, p.322.

- (3) Eusebii Caesarienis Opera, edited by G. Dindorfius
vol. 2, p. 42,43.

The "most illustrious philosophers who have chosen to follow Plato", Augustine names in the *De Civitate Dei* as Plotinus, Jamblichus, Porphyry and the African Apuleius. (1) There is no indication that Augustine had read Jamblichus, though he had written a treatise on Deity. Porphyry, a defender of the pagan religion, was an important source for the *De Civitate Dei*, but there is no indication that he is a source for the conception of God as held by Augustine. Perhaps he had read *The Return of the Soul to God*^{or} *Principles of the Theory of Intelligibles* by Porphyry. (2) From the praise ascribed to Plotinus in the *Contra Academicos*, we may be sure that he was one of the Platonists referred to. (3) Comparisons noted by Alfarić show that the *Enneades* of Plotinus were familiar to Augustine and were freely used. (4) In *De Beata Vita* two manuscripts of the seven read 'Plato' instead of 'Plotinus'. Even if this reading were correct, it would not require the study of Plato's works themselves, but rather the works of those writers teaching his doctrine. However, the weight of the five manuscripts against the two is sufficient to establish the reading 'Plotinus'. Plotinus claims for himself to be the interpreter of Plato. (5) The other writer referred to must have been Apuleius, who was born at Madaura where Augustine attended high school.

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- (1) *De Civitate Dei* VIII 12. NPNF ser.1, vol. 2, p. 152.
 - (2) Alfarić: *Le Evolution Intellectuelle d.s. Augustin*, p.375.
 - (3) *Con. Acad.* 3 41; "os illud Platonis, quod in philosophia purgatissimum est et lucidissimum, dimotis nubibus erroris emicuit maxime in Plotino."
 - (4) Alfarić: *op.cit.* p.375 ff.
 - (5) *Enneades*: V 1 8.

In regard to the three perplexing problems of the preceding chapter, Augustine now discovered solutions. God is found to be not infinitely extended light as the Manichaeans taught, but His nature is incorporeal. God, as the Neoplatonists teach, is spirit. God is not matter, but being.(1) Following the course pointed out by Ambrose, he proceeded step by step to the solution as presented by the Neoplatonists. "But having read those books of the Platonists, and being admonished by them to search for incorporeal truth, I saw Thy invisible things, understood by those things that are made; and though repulsed, I perceived what that was, which through the darkness of my mind I was not allowed to contemplate,--assured that Thou wert, and wert infinite, and yet not diffused in space finite or infinite; and that Thou truly art, who art the same ever, varying neither in part nor motion; and that all other things are from Thee, on this most sure ground alone, that they are. Of these things was I indeed assured, yet too weak too enjoy Thee." (2)

As to the knowledge problem, he discovers that the Word of God is the true light, and through Him men are enlightened. Above his changeable mind, he discovered that God is the unchangeable author of truth. "inquiring then, whence I so judged...I found the unchangeable and true eternity of

(1) Confessions, VII 10 16 & 17, NPNF ser.1, vol.1, p.109, 110.

(2) Ibid. VII 20 26 p.114.

Truth, above my changeable mind. And thus, by degrees, I passed from body to the soul, which makes use of the senses of the body to perceive; and thence to its inward faculty.. again to the reasoning faculty.... And thus with the flash of a trembling glance, it arrived at that which is. And then I saw Thy invisible things understood by the things that are made." (1)

The nature of evil he ascertained to be not a substance as the Manichaeans had taught, but a perversion of the will, bent aside from God, the Supreme Substance, towards the lower things. (2) God is One and Infinite. This excludes a second being evil in its nature as taught by the Manichees. Every substance then is good in so far as it realizes its own essence, God alone is self-existent. He is the only being who exists in an absolute sense. All created things have an element of negation, and hence they are not perfectly good. But nothing is absolutely evil. And if we view the universe as a totality, it is perfectly good and reveals the wisdom of the Supreme Good. (3)

These three problems solved, he felt that he had a worthy conception of things. But his difficulties were not over. According to the Neoplatonic method, "he entered into his inward self" and "with the eye of his soul" saw "the

(1) Confessions, VII 17 23, NPNF ser.1, vol.1, p.111,112.

(2) Ibid. VII 16 22, p.111.

(3) Ibid VII 11 17--16 22, p.110-111.

Watson: The philosophical Basis of Religion, p.324,325.

Unchangeable Light" but he found himself too far away from God "in the regions of dissimilarity". He learned that God convicts men for their iniquity. (1) Though he was transported to God by His Beauty, he was torn away by his own weight of carnal custom. (2) Nor was he able to enjoy God "until he embraced the Mediator between God and man, the man Christ Jesus." (3) At this time he thought of Christ only as a "man of excellent wisdom to whom no one else could be equalled". He could not even imagine the mystery of the incarnation. Somewhat later, he learned how in the sentence, "The Word was made flesh", the Catholic truth can be distinguished from the falsehood of Photinus". (4)

As a philosophy, Neoplatonism could answer nearly all the intellectual difficulties of Augustine, but it failed to satisfy the longings of his religious nature. In recent years P.E. More has pointed out the insufficiency of the system. "The consequences of this metaphysical abuse of an experience questionable in itself are written at large through the Enneads and the literature derived from them. As a protest against the material monism of Epicurus and Zeno the spirituality of Plotinus has a lasting religious

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- (1) Confessions, VII 10 16 NPNF ser.1, vol.1, p.109.
 - (2) Ibid. VII 17 23 p.111
 - (3) Ibid. VII 18 24 ,p.112.
 - (4) Ibid. VII 19 25, p.112.

value; but as a spiritual monism it cannot avoid the charge of running out into a mockery of tantalizing paradoxes. Evil in this actual life has been virtually juggled out of existence. In the noetic heaven, conceived as a universal Nous lost in the contemplation of its own thoughts, there is no place for memory of our lessons in the phenomenal world, no continuity of moral responsibility, no spiritual adventure in a new world of veritable Ideas, no place for the soul as an enduring and individual entity, no immortality that corresponds to the craving of human nature. In the final stage of absorption there is nothing, no approach to a divine Ruler consciously engaged in the tasks of providence, no communion with a personality who can feel as man feels,--there is only the oblivion of a perfection that annihilates what is perfected, In a universe so constituted worship becomes a vapid form, faith loses its substance, hope is emptied of comfort." (1)

(1) P.E.More: Hellenistic Philosophies, p.258,259.

Chapter XI

The Theology of Paul in the Light of Greek Philosophy

I The Greek Background of the New Testament

Socrates
Plato
Aristotle
The Stoics
The Redemption or Mystery Religions

II Greek Elements in Paul's Theology

God--His Absolute Attributes
The Trinity--the Logos
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God in His Relation to Man

III The Use of Greek Philosophy in the Interpretation of Christianity

By Justin Martyr
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Augustine's Reaction to Paul's Epistles

CHAPTER XI

THE THEOLOGY OF PAUL
IN THE LIGHT OF GREEK PHILOSOPHY

At this stage in his development, Augustine took up the Epistles of Paul in a latin translation differing little so far as text was concerned from the Vulgate still in use today. But the close association of these letters with Greek culture gave them a far different connotation and significance to Augustine than to the average reader of the present day.

Paul was of "the stock of Israel, of the tribe of Benjamin, a Hebrew of the Hebrews, as touching the law a Pharisee." (1) He was trained "at the feet of Gamaliel, instructed according to the strict manner of the law of his fathers." (2) As to nationality, he was a Roman, free-born. (3) As to culture, he was a native of Tarsus, "a citizen of no mean city." (4)

When Paul was a youth, Tarsus was^a free city at the entrance of the greatest Roman province of the East . So enthusiastically did it take up Greek education and civili-

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- (1) Phil. 3 5.
 - (2) Acts 22 3.
 - (3) Acts 22 8.
 - (4) Acts 21 39.

zation, that it became one of the three great university cities of the Roman world, and according to Strabo in some particulars surpassed those of Athens and Alexandria. Among the distinguished professors of philosophy who went out from the school were Athenodorus, the Stoic, a companion of Cato the younger, Athenodorus Kananites the teacher of Augustus, Nestor who taught young Marcellus and Tiberius the emperor, and Antipater who became head of the Stoic school in Athens. It is very probable that Paul listened to Nestor-~~who~~ succeeded Athenodorus as governor of the city. The doctrines of the latter were most renowned in Tarsus in the time of Paul and were likely taught in the schools. (1) Though strict Jewish families held aloof from the Greek schools, and Paul's citations (2) from Greek philosophers are only of the proverbial and popular type, he could not but receive intellectual stimulus, if only by aversion, from such a theatre of intellectual activity. (3) But a brief review of the development of theological concepts in Hellenic culture will show ^{the theology of} Paul to be a stage fitting ~~into the~~ stream of Greek thought.

In our sketch we must pass Xenophanes, "the real creator of philosophical monotheism" with his criticism of

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- (1) Ramsay: Article Tarsus in Hast. Dict of Bib. vol.4 p.687.*
 - (2) 1Cor.15 32; Titus 1 12; Acts 17 28.
 - (3) Findlay: article 'Paul the Apostle', in Hast.Dict. of Bible, vol.III,p.699a.

† (1) Geography of Strabo, XIV 5 12-15, translation by Hamilton and Falconer vol.III.p.57-59.

the anthropomorphic and anthropopathic conceptions of God, (1) and Anaxagoras who conceived an intelligence, endowed with spontaneous activity, ruling the universe with order. (2)

Socrates may truly be said to stand at the head of the Hellenic theological and moral movement. (3) Socrates according to Xenophon, "would hold discourse from time to time on what concerned mankind, considering what was pious, what impious; what was becoming, what unbecoming; what was just, what unjust; what was sanity, what insanity; what was fortitude, what was cowardice." (4) Socrates did not deny polytheism but he believed in one supreme personal being to whom the deepest reverence was to be paid. He developed the design argument for the existence of God, referring to the human body and particularly to the eye. (5) "He considered that the gods know all things, both what is said and what is done and what is mediated in silence, and are present everywhere, and give admonitions to men concerning everything human." (6)

(1) Weber: History of Philosophy, p.12

(2) Ibid. p.32

(3) Fisher: Beginings of Christianity, p.140.

(5) Memorabilia. I-4-6, "In addition to these things, does it seem to you like the work of forethought, to guard the eye, since it is tender, with eyelids, like doors, which when it is necessary to use the sight, are set open, but in sleep are closed?... can you doubt whether such a disposition of things is the result of chance or of intelligence?" I-4-17 "do not think that while your eye can extend its sight over many furlongs, that of the divinity is unable to see all things at once, or that while your mind can think of things here or there...the mind of the deity is incapable of regarding everything at the same time." Everyman's Library, Socratic Discourses by Plato and Xenophon, p.24,27.

(4) Ibid. I-1-16, p 5. (6) Ibid. I 1 19, p.5.

In the Phaedo, he states that "God is our guardian, and we are his possessions". (1) He is confident that he will "not be neglected by the gods". (2) And the word of God, he thought, should be considered first. (3)

We cannot separate the ideas of Socrates from those of his speculative disciple Plato. In the Republic, Plato says "that God is not the author of evil but of good only," (4) "that God and his attributes are absolutely perfect" (5), "Then God cannot be willing to change; being as is supposed, the fairest and best that is conceivable, he remains absolutely and forever in his own form." (6) "God is perfectly simple and true both in deed and word; he changes not; he deceives not, either by dream or waking vision, by sign or nod." (7) If as Zeller affirms, the idea of Good and God are identical, then a statement from the Sixth Book of the Republic should be added. "In like manner the good may be said to be not only the author of knowledge in all things known, but of their being and essence, and yet the good is not essence, but far exceeds essence in dignity and power." (8) In the Philebus we read "in the divine nature of Zeus would you not say that there is the soul and the mind of a king, and that the power of the cause engenders this? ...

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- (1) Phaedo 62, Jowett: Dialogues of Plato, vol.1, p.388.
 - (2) Apol. 41, p.338. (3) Ibid. Apol. 21, vol.1, p.319.
 - (4) Republic 380C, Jowett, vol.II p.203.
 - (5) Republic 381B, Jowett, vol.II, p.204.
 - (6) Republic 381C, Jowett, vol.II, p.204.
 - (7) Ibid. 382D, p.206. (8) Ibid. 508E, p.337.

these words are in harmony with the testimony of those who said of old time that mind rules the universe." (1) And in the Theaetetus, "Wherefore, also, we ought to fly away thither, and to fly away thither is to become like God, as far as this is possible; and to become like him is to become ~~holy~~ and just and wise.... In God is no unrighteousness at all--he is altogether righteous;" (2) In the Laws we see "God as the old tradition declares, holding in his hand the beginning, middle, and end of all that is, moves according to his nature in a straight line towards the accomplishment of his end. Justice always follows him, and is the punisher of those who fall short of the divine law." (3) "the gods have ~~accared~~ for anyone whose desire is to be just and to be like God." (4) Plato discarded as false impious the myths which attributed to the gods infirmities and crimes. (5)

To Aristotle God is the universal mover, transcendent above the world, and indifferent as to the welfare of humanity, yet moving the world as the beloved object moves its lover. God is the eternal first principle, unmoveable, impassive and indivisible. "And since that which is moved and moves is intermediate, there is a mover which moves without being moved, being eternal substance and actuality." (6)

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- (1) Philebus 30, Jowett, vol. III, p. 166
 - (2) Theaetetus 176A, Jowett, vol. III p. 378.
 - (3) Laws 715E, 716A, Jowett, vol. IV, p. 243.
 - (4) Republic 613, Jowett, vol. II, p. 444.
 - (5) Republic 391D, Jowett vol. III, p. 214.
 - (6) Aristotle: Meta. 1072a, line 20 ff. Ross edition, Vol. VIII

"For the final cause is (a) something for whose good the action is done, and (b) something at which the action aims, and of these the latter is immoveable though the former is not. The final cause, then, produces motion by being loved, and by that which it moves, it moves all other things." (1) The first mover then of necessity exists; and in so far as it is necessary, it is good, and in this sense a first principle." (2) "If then God is always in that good state in which we sometimes are, this compels our wonder; and if in a better this compels it yet more. And God is in a better state. And life also belongs to God; for the actuality of thought is life, and God is that actuality: and God's essential actuality is life most good and eternal. We say therefore that God is ~~a~~ living being, eternal, most good, so that life and duration continuous and eternal belong to God; for this is God." (3) Aristotle continues that it "is clear then that there is a substance which is eternal and immovable and separate from sensible things. It has been shown also that this substance cannot have any magnitude, but is without parts and indivisible. For it produces movement through infinite time, but nothing finite has infinite power. And while every magnitude is either infinite or finite, it cannot for the above reason, have finite magnitude, and it cannot have infinite magnitude, because there is no infinite magni-

 (1) Aristotle: *Metaphysics* 1072b 1.2 ff. in *Works of Aristotle*, translated and edited by Smith and Ross, vol. VIII.

(2) *Ibid.* 1072b, 1.10 ff.

(3) *Ibid.* 1072b, 1.23 ff.

tude at all. But it is also clear that it is impassive and unalterable; for all the other changes are posterior to change of place. It is clear then why the first mover has these attributes." (1)

For the Stoic conception of God we will quote the statement of Thilly:

"The forces in the universe form one all-pervasive force or fire (Heraclitus), and this principle is rational, the active soul of the world. It must be one, because the universe is a unity, because all its parts are in harmony; it is conceived as fire, because he produces everything and moves everything, is the giver of life. It is reason,--intelligent, purposeful, and good,--because the universe is a cosmos, a beautiful, well-ordered, good, and perfect whole, (teleological argument). All life and movement have their source in it: it is God. It is related to the matter of the world as the human soul is related to its body: the world is the body of God, a living organism. It is the soul or logos ($\lambda \acute{o}γος$) of the universe; in it are contained all the germs or seeds (spermata) of life; in it the whole cosmos lies potential, as the plant in the seed. This is pantheism.

The universal reason or soul pervades the whole world, just as the human soul is everywhere present in the body. But just as the governing part of the soul is situated in a particular place or centre, so the ruling part of the world-soul, the Deity, or Zeus, is seated at the outermost circle of the world, whence it spreads through the world. The two parts, however, from one single godhead, one of them assuming the form of the world, the other retaining its original shape. God, the father of all things, the perfect and blessed being, has provision and will, is a lover of man, benevolent, cares for everything, punishes the wicked and rewards the good. In these respects the Stoic god is like the God of theism. But there is a difference. He is not, after all, taken as a whole, a free personality, a free creator of the world, but, as we have seen, the substance from which everything proceeds with the necessity of a process of nature. The Stoics assign will and forethought to him, but they likewise, identify him with necessary law.

(1) Aristotle: Metaphysics 1073a, line 3 ff. Works of Aristotle, trans. and ed. by Smith and Ross, vol.VIII.

"The fact is these notions are not consistently carried out; pantheism and theism dwell together in the system, unconscious of one another, as in many modern systems." (1)

To the Stoics, all men possess a spark of the deity--the rational soul or 'logos'. And because of this rational soul every man is a child of God. The connection between man and God as well as the bond between all men is the 'logos'.

(2) In later Stoicism there is a recognition, though not distinct and uniform of the personality of God. (3)

In 'De Natura Deorum' written by Cicero but a generation before the birth of Paul, we learn that Stoics consider the question of the immortal Gods under four heads: first they prove their existence, secondly, they discuss the nature of the Gods, thirdly, prove that the universe is governed by them, and lastly, that they exercise a superintendence over human affairs. (4) Balbus the spokesman for the Stoics also maintains that "everything in this world of use to us was made designedly for us". (5) "The Gods provide not only for mankind universally, but for particular men." (6)

The marked agreement both in content and form of many New Testament passages with statements in Stoicism has been the subject of many interesting studies. (7)

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- (1) Thilly: History of Philosophy, p.109.
 - (2) Case: The Evolution of Early Christianity, p.269.
 - (3) Fisher: Beginnings of Christianity, p.165.
 - (4) De Natura Deorum, II,1.
 - (5) Ibid, II 62, translation by Yonge, p.106.
 - (6) Ibid. II 65, p.109
 - (7) Arnold: Roman Stoicism, p.408-36: Clemen: Primitive Christianity; p.41-77: Winckler: Der Stoicismus eine Wurzel des Christentums, p.41-77.

Havet and Bruno maintain that Christianity has borrowed from Stoicism. (1) Zahn and Kuiper make Epictetus a debtor to the New Testament. (2) Bonhoeffer finds no relationships. (3) Lightfoot in his Commentary on the Philippians states the various phases. (4) Seneca's earlier writings antedate the circulation of the New Testament books. Some of the sentences reminding us of Christian teaching, we find to have their source in Plato. But we may reasonably assume that Paul was familiar with Stoic ideas and phrases, for Tarsus, as we have seen, was a prominent seat of Stoic teaching. (5) The studies by Case appear to remove all doubts, and he concludes that:

"The notion of universal brotherhood, having its basis in God's fatherhood; the idea that man has a God-given mission in life to work for the salvation of his fellow-man's soul; emphasis upon the supremacy of divine will to which all men should strive to conform; the wise man's sense of soul-freedom and his disregard for temporal things; the cultivation of positive social virtues and spirit of loving forbearance among brothers; implicit trust in Providence; rigid self-scrutiny of one's own life; the use of allegorical interpretation as a means of conserving the religious ideas of the past; a willingness to read the will of the Deity in the 'signs of the times'; the necessity of worshipping God with adoration and praise from the heart

- (1) Havet: Le christianisme et ses origines; Bruno Bauer: Christus und die Caesaren; Steck: Der Galaterbrief.
- (2) Zahn: Der Stoiker Epiktet:
Kuiper: Epictetus en de Christlijke.
- (3) Bonhoeffer: Epiktet und das Neue Testament.
- (4) Lightfoot: Commentary on the Philippians, p.270-333.
- (5) Fisher: Beginnings of Christianity,

rather than in any formal manner: these are some of the things which the early Christian missionaries found already inculcated by their Cynic-Stoic predecessors and which they in turn took pains to preserve."(1)

Two distinct contrasts appear between the two systems: Stoicism is concerned only with this life, Christianity is concerned also with immortality; in Stoicism man depended upon his own efforts, in Christianity he believed in a God-sent deliverer. (2)

Two types of religion were current in the Graeco-Roman empire; the "attainment-religion" and the "redemption-religion". Of the former Stoicism is an example. Salvation was concerned with the present and was attained by man's own efforts by virtue of the divinity within him. But many were unable to experience the Stoic serenity and turned to the mystery religions, which emphasized salvation for the individual rather than the nation and was accomplished by direct aid of the Deity. (3) Case states that according to Cicero (De Leg. II 14) no contribution of Athens was more excellent or divine than the mysteries. (4) Cicero says that even "the most distant nations initiated into the sacred and august Eleusinia." (5) In their initiating service which is typical of that of other mystery religions, "participation in the life of the god was realistically

(1) Case: The Evolution of Early Christianity, p. 280.

(2) Ibid. p.283. (3) Ibid. p.286,7.

(4) Ibid. p.295.

(5) De Natura Deorum, I 42; translation by Yonge, p.43.

attained by drinking the blood and eating raw the flesh of the sacred victim, in which the god was assumed to be incarnated. Haste had to be made in devouring the victim lest the divinity should escape and this gave the feast its frenzied character." (1) But the mystery religions received only those who had lived nobly, while Christianity received the unrighteous to make them moral.(2)

In the Egyptian mystery-religion, which was widely disseminated over the Graeco-Roman world, the central theme is the death and resurrection of Osiris. Osiris, the dying and rising God, was the prototype of the virtuous man seeking the assurance of immortality. (3) Greek, Phrygian and Syrian cults also impersonated the "hope of triumph in the ever present human struggle of life over death." (4) From Persia came Mithraism, one of the strongest redemption-religions that appeared in the empire. Mithra, a mighty hero, mediated between the god of heaven and mortals, leading the forces of good against the forces of evil. After a last supper celebrating his redemptive labors, he ascended into heaven. So firmly was this cult established in Cilicia, that his worship continued at Tarsus, Paul's native city, until the end of the imperial period. (5)

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- (1) Case: The Evolution of Early Christianity, p.299.
 - (2) Ibid. 295.
 - (3) Ibid. 315-317.
 - (4) Ibid. 320.
 - (5) Ibid. 310-313.

Not only of Athens, but of the whole Graeco-Roman world, Paul could have truly said, "I perceive that ye are very religious." (1) Moreover, in this review we have seen many of the elements of Christianity taking form. In his letter to the Romans, Paul recognized that he was indebted to the Greeks, "I am debtor both to the Greeks and the barbarians." (2) As previously indicated, he quoted three times from Greek sources. In an address delivered in Athens, he quoted a line found in a hymn of Cleanthes and also in a poem of Aratus, who had been connected with Tarsus. (3)

Many parts of the letters of Paul have little meaning apart from their background of Hebrew Scripture, but it is no less true that one cannot grasp their significance apart from the background of Greek philosophy and Hellenic culture.

The theological statements of Paul we will group under the four heads of our classification:

- I The Absolute Attributes of God.
- II The Trinity--including the Logos.
- III God in his relation to the Universe.
- IV God in his Relation to Man.

- (1) Acts 17 22.
- (2) Rom. 1 14.
- (3) Quotations in 1Cor. 15 32; Titus 1 12; and Acts 17 28. the latter is found in Aratus: Phaenomena 5. and in Cleanthes: Hymn in Jov, 5.

As to absolute attributes, "God is one", (1) "there is no God but one," (2) "the same Lord is Lord of all", (3) He is eternal, (4) incorruptible, (5) invisible, (6) He cannot lie, (7) He is the living God, (8) He dwells in light unapproachable, (9) and he is ineffable, "the things of God none knoweth but the Spirit of God." (10)

In regard to the Trinity, we do not find the term used by Paul, nor elsewhere in the Bible. Nor is there a ~~formal~~ technical statement of the doctrine of the Trinity. God, the Father, the Son and Holy Spirit are named coordinately in a benediction in the second Letter to the Corinthians. (11)

The most complete statement of the 'logos' doctrine is found in Colossians. The Son is "the image of the invisible God, the firstborn of all creation;" he is the agent of creation, "in him were all things created, in the heavens and upon the earth, things visible and things invisible, whether thrones or dominions or principalities or powers; all things have been created through him and unto him;" He preceded all things and in him they inhere or hold together.

- (1) Rom. 3 30.
 (3) Rom. 10 12.
 (5) Rom. 1 22.
 (7) Titus 1 2.
 (9) 1Tim 1 16.
 (11) 2Cor 13 14.

- (2) 1Cor. 8 4.
 (4) Rom. 16 26.
 (6) 1Tim. 1 17.
 (8) 2 Cor 3 3.
 (10) 1Cor. 2 11.

"he is before all things, and in him all things consist." (1) He is the head of the church, his body, he is the beginning, he is the firstborn from the dead. All these things are for the purpose that he might be the preeminent one. "And he is the head of the body, the church: who is the beginning, the firstborn from the dead; that in all things he might have the preeminence." (1) Again in 2 Corinthians we find that Christ is the image of God. (2) In the first letter to the Corinthians is the statement quoted perhaps most frequently by Augustine, "Christ the wisdom of God and the power of God." (3) In Ephesians there is a reference to "the fulness of Christ that filleth all in all." (4) The Father "purposed" to "sum up all things in Christ, the things in the heavens, and the things upon the earth." (5) "Christ Jesus: who existing in the form of God, counted not the being on an equality with God a thing to be grasped, but emptied himself, taking the form of a servant, and being found in the fashion of man, he humbled himself, becoming obedient unto death, yea the death of the cross." (6) The purpose of the incarnation is briefly stated in a letter to the Corinthian church: "God was in Christ reconciling the world unto himself." (7) Yet Paul is interested not only in the death, but rather in the Christ raised from the dead. (8) In Romans 8 18-22, "Paul

- (1) Col. 1 15-18
- (3) 1 Cor. 1 24.
- (5) Ephes. 1 10.
- (7) 2 Cor. 5 19.

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- (2) 2 Cor 4 1.
 - (4) Ephes. 1 23.
 - (6) Phil. 2 5-8.
 - (8) Rom. 8 34.

clearly teaches that the victory of Christ over sin and death is of import not only to humanity, but to the whole creation." (1) Christ is not subordinate to the Father, he too is infinite: "in him dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead bodily," (2) and in the same chapter Paul speaks of "Christ in whom are all the treasures of knowledge and wisdom hidden." (3)

In regard to the Third Person of the Trinity there is great lack of definiteness. A great variety of names are employed; "Holy Spirit" or "Holy Ghost", "Spirit of God", "Spirit of Christ", and Holy Spirit of God. In one verse three terms are used: "But ye are not in the flesh but in the Spirit, if so be that the Spirit of God dwelleth in you. But if any man hath not the Spirit of Christ he is none of his." (4) The emphasis of Paul's teaching concerning the Spirit relates to the ethical life. The Spirit is holy ($\hbar\upsilon\lambda\acute{o}\varsigma$ $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\iota\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$) and the work of the Spirit is sanctification ($\acute{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\sigma\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$). But, according to Stevens' New Testament Theology, so far as the nature is concerned, texts can be found to support any of the following conceptions: that the Spirit is a name for the divine self-consciousness, for the glorified Christ, or for a distinct divine form. Paul does not furnish us with the data for a precise definition of the Spirit. (5)

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| (1) Inge: Christian Mysticism, p.68. | (2) Col.2 9. |
| (3) Col.2 3. | (4) Rom.8 9. |
| (5) Stevens: New Testament Theology, p.436-444. | |

In relation to the universe "God is the Creator," (1)
 "God created all things." (2) "Every creature of God is
 good." (3) "God gives life to all things," (4) There is
 "one God and Father of all, who is over all and through
 all and in all." (5) "of him (God) and through him and unto
 him are all things." (6) "there are diversities of work-
 ings, but the same God worketh all things in all." (7)
 "The invisible things of him since the creation are clearly
 seen, being perceived through the things that are made,
 even his everlasting power and divinity." (8)

In relation to man, Paul states that "there is one
 God, the Father, of whom are all things, and we unto him;
 and one Lord Jesus Christ, through whom are all things
 and we through him." "Ye are a temple of God and the Spir-
 it of God dwells in you." (10) "We are God's fellow-workers,
 God's husbandry, God's building." (11) Augustine took up
 and developed Paul's theme of divine grace. "By grace have
 ye been saved through faith; and that not of yourselves,
 it is the gift of God." (12) "The grace of God was given
 you in Christ Jesus." (13) The means of grace are more fully
 stated in Romans, "being justified freely by his grace
 through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus, whom God set
 forth to be a propitiation." (14)

(1) Rom. 1 25.

(4) 1Tim. 6 13.

(7) 1Cor. 12 6.

(10) 1Cor. 3 16.

(13) 1Cor. 1 3.

(2) Ephes. 3 9.

(5) Ephes. 4 5.

(8) Rom. 1 20.

(11) 1Cor. 3 9.

(3) 1Tim. 4 4.

(6) Rom. 11 36.

(9) 1Cor. 8 6.

(12) Ephes. 2 8.

Christianity adopted many features from the Graeco-Roman cults.

"From the time when the new religion (Christianity) crossed over into Europe and broke the first mold into which it had flowed, that of Apocalyptic Messianism, its affinity with Platonism was incontestible. St. Paul's doctrines of Christ as the Power and the Wisdom of God; of temporal things that are seen and the eternal things that are invisible; his theory of the resurrection, from which flesh and blood are excluded, since gross matter 'cannot inherit the kingdom of God'; and his psychology of body, soul and spirit, in which as in the Platonists, soul holds the middle place, and spirit is nearly identical with the Platonic 'V O U S' -- all show that Christianity no sooner became a European religion than it discovers its natural affinity with Platonism. The remarkable verse in Second Corinthians, 'We all with unveiled face reflecting like mirrors the glory of the Lord, are transformed into the same image from glory to glory,' is pure Neoplatonism." (1)

But Christianity has a unique factor. In the words of P.E. More, "the great advance of Christianity over Platonism lies in the addition of a new element of religion,-- faith in the dual nature of a person, which demands no such compromise of the imagination as does faith in the dualism of things." (2) Reconciliation and salvation offered to all on the merits of the sacrifice of God incarnate in human flesh is characteristic of Christianity alone.

Beginning with Justin Martyr (d.165) apologists and theologians made use of philosophy in the development and interpretation of Christian theology. The attitude of Justin is well stated in his Second Apology. (3)

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- (1) Inge: Philosophy of Plotinus, vol.1, p.11.
 - (2) More: Christ of the New Testament, p.207.
 - (3) Justin Martyr: The Second Apology, II 10, Ante-Nicene

Christian Library, vol.II p.79,80.

"Our doctrines, then, appear to be greater than all human teaching; because Christ, who appeared for our sakes, became the whole rational being, both body, and reason, and soul. For whatever either lawgivers or philosophers uttered well, they elaborated by finding and contemplating some part of the Word. But since they did not know the whole of the Word, which is Christ, they often contradicted themselves. And those who by human birth were more ancient than Christ, when they attempted to consider and prove things by reason, were brought before the tribunals as impious persons and busybodies. And Socrates, who was more zealous in this direction than all of them, was accused of the very same crimes as ourselves. For they said that he was introducing new divinities, and did not consider those to be gods whom the state recognized, but he cast out from the state both Homer and the rest of the poets, and taught men to reject the wicked demons and those who did the things which the poets related; and he exhorted them to become acquainted with the God who was to them unknown, by means of the investigation of reason, saying, 'That it is neither easy to find the Father and Maker of all, nor, having found Him, is it safe to declare Him to all'. But these things our Christ did through His own power. For no one trusted in Socrates so as to die for this doctrine, but in Christ, who was partially known even by Socrates (for He was and is the Word who is in every man, for who foretold the things that were to come to pass both through the prophet and in His own person when He was made of like passions, and taught these things), not only philosophers and scholars believed, but also artisans and people entirely uneducated, despising both glory and fear and death; since He is the power of the ineffable Father, and not the mere instrument of human reason."

In the catechetical school at Alexandria the aim was the acquisition of 'γνῶσις'--the higher theology or religion. The preparation consisted of moral discipline and the study of philosophy. Greek philosophy and the Old Testament were placed side by side. Platonists and Stoics were both studied, and none were excluded except the Epicureans.

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(1) Inge: Alexandrian Theology, article in HERE vol.I.
p.313a.

Clement of Alexandria made extensive use of philosophy. Plato's reference to the death of the righteous man he virtually calls a prophecy of the Incarnation. "Is it not similar to Scripture when he says, 'Let us remove the righteous man from us, because he is troublesome to us?' when Plato, all but predicting the economy of salvation, says in the second book of the Republic as follows: 'Thus he who is constituted just shall be scourged, shall be stretched on the rack, shall be bound, have his eyes put out; and at last, having suffered all evils, shall be crucified.'" (1)

P.E. More points out that Clement in referring to Plato's doctrine of ideas in the Phaedrus, declared that "the Idea is God's thought." (Stromata V 3 16) This theory was taken up by Augustine and permeated his theology. (2)

More gives Clement's interpretation of the Laws 896 :
 "And as the soul orders and inhabits all things moving every way, must we not say that she orders also the heavens? Of Course. One soul or more? More than one--I will answer for you; at any rate, we must not suppose that there are less than two--one the author of good, and the other of evil." Clement interprets especially the latter phrase in purely Pauline fashion. (3)

 (1) Clement: Stromata V 14. Ante-Nicene Christian Library, vol. XII, p. 285.

(2) P.E. More: Religion of Plato, p. 29.

(3) Ibid. p. 88.

The phrase in Theaetetus 176A, "becoming like to God" was a favorite with the Fathers. It appears first in First Clement XXXIII. Maximus of Tyre uses it in a little sermon on friendship. "It is connected with the statement in Genesis that man was made in the image of God, and with the command of Jesus, to do good to them that hate us that we may become like to our Father in heaven; and in this form sometimes in the exact phraseology of Plato, it permeates the whole of Christian literature." Clement of Alexandria takes these words as a text and skilfully blends Platonism and Christianity. (1)

A sentence of uncertain meaning from the Timaeus was repeatedly used by the church fathers. "Thus he spoke, and once more into the cup in which he had previously mingled the soul of the universe he poured the remains of the elements, and mingled them in much the same manner; they were not, however, pure as before, but diluted to the second and the third degree." (2) It plays an important part in the theosophies of the second and third centuries. How ~~the development of the technical statement of~~ much the Christian doctrine of the Trinity owes to it is an unsolved problem. (3)

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- (1) More: Religion of Plato, p.37,38.
 - (2) Plato: Selections, edited by Demos, p.406,407; Timaeus 41.
 - (3) More: Religion of Plato, p. 182.

Origen, too, drew heavily from the philosophers. It was he who gave philosophy a recognized place in the church, making the system more attractive to the educated minds than formerly. (1)

Gregory of Nazianzus made use of philosophy to elucidate his theology. He compares the theologian who would approach the deity to the philosopher in Plato's allegory of the cave. The purpose in the Platonic dialogue is the vision of eternal ideas, while the goal of the theologian is the knowledge of God. Gregory recognized a similarity of method and that the one could be used to illustrate the other. (2)

Augustine's two great contemporaries had been trained in philosophy and never departed from it. So imbued with its precepts and ideal was Ambrose, that he modelled his 'De Officiis Ministrorum' after 'De Officiis' by Cicero. (3) Jerome was so delighted with Cicero in his youthful days that the Scriptures seemed crude. He reports that in a dream Christ reproached him for caring more to be Ciceronian than to be a Christian. From that time he resolved to devote himself to the scholarship of the Bible. (4)

- (1) Inge: Alexandrian Theology in HERE vol.I. p.318.
- (2) More: Religion of Plato, p.12,13.
- (3) Introductory article; NPNF ser.2, vol.X, p.xxiii.
- (4) _____ article Jerome in Brit. vol.15, p.327a.

To Augustine religion would not be something separate and apart from philosophy. Rather he would follow the precedent of the preceding generations and think of Christianity as a philosophy. However he makes this distinction; Catholic Christianity was for him "the true philosophy." (1) And also, for him the Scriptures were to be interpreted in the light of philosophy. His education, the precedent of his friends, the ecclesiastical books and the sermons that he had heard, all these contributed to this view of the Christian faith.

The Letters of Paul he read "intently and reverently." (2) He had confidence that "the philosophical books were not incompatible with the Scriptures." (3) And in the Confessions he says that whatever statement he had read in the philosophical treatises were declared in the Scriptures "with the recommendation of God's grace." (4)

But in the Scriptures he found these characteristic elements: "Thy (God's) sacrifice," "the earnest of the Holy Ghost," "the cup of our redemption," and the invitation, "Come unto me all ye that labour." Philosophy had revealed

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- (1) De Beata Vita II 5. 16, CSEL vol. 63, p. 157.
 - (2) Contra Acad. II 5; CSEL vol. 63, p. 27.
 - (3) Ibid. III 20 43, p. 80.
 - (4) Confessions VII 21 27; NPNF ser. 1, p. 114.

the goal of his quest, but was unable to secure it for him.
"For it is one thing from the mountains wooded height to
see the land of peace and not to find the way thither,.....
and another to keep to the way that leads thither, guarded
by the host of the heavenly guard." (1)

(1) Confessions VII 21 27; NPNF ser.1, vol.I, p.115.