

## Jerusalem and the Landscape of Sacred Geography in the Sermons of Augustine

### *Introduction*

From the time of Constantine when the church functioned as a centre of liturgical, spiritual, and pastoral life in the Mediterranean world, as many scholars have observed, the religious landscape of the Christian world was clearly changed: in particular, the emergence of Christian sacred geography and pilgrimage served as an important factor in the development and refinement of the religious identity and behaviour in the late antique society.<sup>1</sup> It is interesting to note that, while Augustine did not show a strong interest in the religious function of the holy places in the huge corpus of his work, he made frequent references to the “mother church” of Christianity, Jerusalem, in the various contexts: Jerusalem, defined as the “city of peace,” has Christ as its foundations, thus standing in opposition to Babylon as the city of the devil and powers against God.<sup>2</sup> Although he did not pay particular attention to holy places for faith and the growing phenomenon on sacred mobility in the fourth and fifth centuries, Augustine’s concern for the spiritual dimension of Jerusalem is explicit. In what ways does the sacred geography play its primary role for his congregation? In this paper I shall focus on the *Sermones ad populum* of Augustine,<sup>3</sup> thereby coming to some understanding of the correlation between the landscape of the holy land, the allegorical interpretation of scriptural texts, and the shaping of Christian identity in the community of faith.

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<sup>1</sup> See Othmar Perler, *Les voyages de saint Augustin*, en collaboration avec Jean-Louis Maier, Collection des études augustiniennes. Série Antiquité 36 (Paris: Études augustiniennes, 1969); Linda Ellis and Frank L. Kidner, eds., *Travel, Communication, and Geography in Late Antiquity: Sacred and Profane* (Aldershot, Hants, England and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2004); Bruria Bitton-Ashkelony, *Encountering the Sacred: The Debate on Christian Pilgrimage in Late Antiquity*, The Transformation of the Classical Heritage 38 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005).

<sup>2</sup> For the general survey of Augustine’s references to Jerusalem in his works, see Frederick Van Fleteren, “Jerusalem,” in *Augustine through the Ages*, ed. by Alan D. Fitzgerald (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1999), 462-463; Johannes van Oort, “Hierusalem (Hierosolyma),” in *AL 3* (Basel: Schwabe, 2004-2010), cols. 336-339.

<sup>3</sup> For the chronological survey of Augustine’s sermons, see Adalbero Kunzelmann, “Die Chronologie der Sermones des Hl. Augustinus,” in *MA 2* (Rome: Tipografia poliglotta vaticana, 1931), pp. 417-520; Perler, *Les voyages de saint Augustin*, 1969; Pierre-Patrick Verbraken, *Études critiques sur les sermons authentiques de saint Augustin*, Instrumenta Patristica, 12 (Steenbrugis/Hagae Comitibus: In Abbatia S. Petri, 1976), pp. 53-196; *The Works of Saint Augustine*, A translation for the 21st Century, Sermons, III/1-11, ed. by John E. Rotelle, trans. by Edmund Hill, Brooklyn (New York: New City Press, 1990-1997); Éric Rebillard, “Sermones,” in *Augustine through the Ages*, 1999, pp. 773-792; Pierre-Marie Hombert, *Nouvelles recherches de chronologie augustiniennes*, Collection des études augustiniennes. Série antiquité, 163 (Paris: Études Augustiniennes, 2000); Roger Gryson, *Répertoire général des auteurs ecclésiastiques latins de l’antiquité et du haut Moyen Âge*, 5th edn., t. I: Introduction: Répertoire des auteurs: A-H, *Vetus Latina*, Die Reste der altlateinischen Bibel, 1/1 (Freiburg: Herder, 2007), pp. 231-269; François Dolbeau, *Augustin d’Hippone: Vingt-six sermons au peuple d’Afrique*, 2nd edn., Collection des études augustiniennes. Série antiquité, 147 (Paris: Institut d’Études Augustiniennes, 2009).

### *The realities of the earthly Jerusalem*

Augustine does not overlook the realities of the city of Jerusalem as both the historical one recounted in scripture, in particular at the time of Jesus and his disciples, and the earthly one in Palestine of his own day.

Yet, with regard to the city of Jerusalem of his age, only a few brief references are given in his sermons. In *Sermon 348A* (Dolbeau 30), preached in Hippo in the end of May or the beginning of June 416,<sup>4</sup> Augustine begins by telling his congregation the Christ *medicus* theme and the grace of Christ's incarnation and death on the cross. Then he warns them that the unity of Christian faith would be threatened by the Pelagian movement. Based on new information he has just known from the east with a leaflet including Pelagius's reply to him, Augustine reports the event in Jerusalem: "Because there have been, heaven knows, how terrible a disturbance in Jerusalem, and the very sad news has also been reported to us, that the rioting populace is said to have burned down two monasteries in Bethlehem."<sup>5</sup> And he immediately turns the audience's attention to a criticism of Pelagianism. Around the same time, in *Sermon 19*, preached in Carthage in December 417,<sup>6</sup> Augustine encourages the congregation to think about the necessity of the change of their way of life. Then he provides a report of the event in Jerusalem:

Colossal earthquakes are reported from the eastern provinces. Several great cities have all of a sudden been laid in ruins. Everyone staying in Jerusalem was so terrified—Jews, pagan, catechumens—that they were all baptized. It's said that possibly 7,000 people were baptized. The sign of Christ appeared on the clothes of the Jews who were baptized. These details are mentioned with the utmost regularity in the reports of the faithful, our brethren.<sup>7</sup>

He warns the congregation that "this life is under daily threat from enormous dangers."<sup>8</sup> But no further information of Jerusalem after the earthquakes was disclosed.

While the limited evidence of the status quo of this city available in his sermons, Augustine consistently indicates the historical Jerusalem, in conjunction with stories of Jesus and his

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4. *Serm. 348A* (= Dolbeau 30): Dolbeau: the end of May or very early of June, 416, Gryson: 15. Mai/Anfang Juni 416, Hill: 416, Rebillard: 416.

For the dating of *serm. 348A*, see Anthony Dupont, *Gratia in Augustine's Sermones ad Populum during the Pelagian Controversy: Do Different Contexts Furnish Different Insights?*, Brill's Series in Church History, 59 (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2012), p. 318, n. 65.

5. *Serm. 348A.7*; Works (NY) III/11, p. 313: "Quia nescio qua magna perturbatio Hierosolymis facta est nobisque nuntiata plena tristitia, ut etiam tumultu populari duo monasteria in Bethlehem incensa esse dicantur."

6. s. 19: Gryson: Dezember, wohl 417, Hill: 419, Hombert: décembre 417, Kunzelmann: 419, Perler: décembre 419, Rebillard: December 419. See Hombert,  *Nouvelles recherches*, pp. 547-549.

7. *Serm. 19.6*; Works (NY) III/1, pp. 383-384: "Terrae motus magni de orientabilibus nuntiantur. Nonnullae magnae repentinis collapsae sunt civitates. Territi apud Hierosolimam qui inerant Iudaei, pagani, catechumini, omnes sunt baptizati. Dicuntur fortasse baptizati septem millia hominum. Signum Christi in vestibus Iudaeorum baptizatorum apparuit. Relatu fratrum fidelium constantissimo ista nuntiantur."

8. *Serm. 19.6*; Works (NY) III/1, p. 383: "Accedunt etiam ipsius fragilis vitae tanta et tam cotidiana pericula."

apostles. In *Sermon* 89, preached in 397 during a Council of African bishops in Carthage,<sup>9</sup> he makes a distinction between the proper sense and the symbolic meaning in the scriptures and takes a passage from Galatians 1:18, “the apostle went up to Jerusalem to see Peter. The apostle did this, it happened, that’s what it means.”<sup>10</sup> At the same time between Ascension and Pentecost in 403-404,<sup>11</sup> he delivered *Sermon* 101 in Carthage. Before entering into the interpretation of divine harvests in Luke, he reminds the congregation of Paul’s mission to the gentiles and his own words from Galatians 2, “after he had already been called by the Lord Jesus he went to Jerusalem and discussed the gospel with the apostles, ...”.<sup>12</sup> Not only in the story of his disciples but in the story of Jesus, Augustine points to the historical Jerusalem in the same way. Both in *Sermon* 301A (Denis 17; c. 401) preached in Bulla Regia and in *Sermon* 218 delivered as a series of detailed notes for Good Friday,<sup>13</sup> Augustine tells the story of Christ’s passion and simply mentions the name of the city: “The very people who had slain the Lord did this. There in Jerusalem, when the Lord had ascended into heaven, and after ten days had fulfilled his promise and sent the Holy Spirit, the disciples were filled with the Holy Spirit and spoke in the tongues of all nations.”<sup>14</sup> It is interesting to note that, in *Sermon* 265 preached on Ascension day in 412,<sup>15</sup> Augustine’s interpretation of Acts 1:8 appears to centre around the significance of Jerusalem as a historical testimony of Jesus message: “But you shall receive the power of the Holy Spirit coming down upon you, and you shall be witnesses to me. ... Where? In Jerusalem, where I was killed, and in the whole of Judea and Samaria, and as far as the ends of the earth.”<sup>16</sup> The focus at first may be on the place of divine revelation. Augustine proceeds, however, to interpret the latter part of the passage and emphasises the universal significance of the Church: “You shall be, he says, witnesses to me in Jerusalem. ‘That’s not enough: you didn’t pay such a

<sup>9</sup> *Serm.* 89: Gryson: 405, Hill: 397, Hombert: 405, Kunzelmann: 396, Perler: 397, Rebillard: Lent 397. See Hombert, *Nouvelles recherches*, pp. 355-358.

<sup>10</sup> *Serm.* 89.4; Works (NY) III/3, p. 443: “Ascendit Apostolus Ierosolymam videre Petrum, fecit hoc Apostolus, factum est, ipsius proprium est.”

<sup>11</sup> *Serm.* 101 (= Wilmart 20): Gryson: Winter 403/404, Hill: 397, Hombert: hiver 403-404, Kunzelmann: 396, Perler: entre le 14 et le 22 mai 397, Rebillard: May 14-22 397. See Hombert, *Nouvelles recherches*, pp. 235-242.

<sup>12</sup> *Serm.* 101.1; Works (NY) III/4, pp. 64-65: “vocatam se iam a Domino Iesu venisse Ierosolymam, et Evangelium cum Apostolis contulisse”.

<sup>13</sup> *Serm.* 301A (= Denis 17): Gryson: 1 Aug. 399, Hill: 399, Kunzelmann: 1 Aug. before 400, Perler: 1 Aug. 399, Rebillard: 1 Aug. before 400. For the dating of *serm.* 301A, see also É. Rebillard, “Late Antique Limits of Christianness; North Africa in the Age of Augustine”, in É. Rebillard and J. Rüpke (eds.), *Group Identity and Religious Individuality in Late Antiquity*, CUA Studies in Early Christianity (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2015), pp. 293-318 at p. 298 n. 2.

*Serm.* 218: Hill: before 420, Kunzelmann: before 420.

<sup>14</sup> *Serm.* 301A.4; Works (NY) III/8, p. 293: “Ipsi hoc fecerunt, qui Dominum occiderunt. Ibi in Ierusalem, cum Dominus ascendisset in caelum, et post decem dies misso Spiritu Sancto impleret promissum, impleti Spiritu Sancto discipuli linguis omnium gentium locuti sunt.”

<sup>15</sup> *Serm.* 265: Gryson: Himmelfahrtstag 23.5.412, Hill: 412, Hombert: 23 mai 412, Kunzelmann: 23.5.412, Rebillard: Ascension 412.

<sup>16</sup> *Serm.* 265.6; Works (NY) III/7, p. 236: “Sed accipietis virtutem Spiritus Sancti supervenientem in vos, et eritis mihi testes. ... Ubi? In Ierusalem, ubi occisus sum: et in tota Iudaea et Samaria, et usque in fines terrae.”

huge price just for that, just to buy that only: in Jerusalem. Say some more.’ And as far as the ends of the earth.”<sup>17</sup>

### *Spiritual interpretation of Jerusalem*

Augustine’s reflections on the spiritual meaning of Jerusalem are explicit in his sermons. Although it may be impossible to offer a coherent argument for his interpretation, it is primarily connected with some passages in scripture.

First, I focus on the interpretation of Galatians 4 in his sermons. Although an implicit association of Jerusalem with the passage from Galatians is found in some earliest sermons delivered from 391 to 394 (*Serm.* 216, 259, and 353),<sup>18</sup> in the sermons preached around 403 or 404 Augustine deals with Paul’s calling Jerusalem, “mother of us all” in Galatians 4:26. In *Sermon* 360A (Dolbeau 24),<sup>19</sup> where Augustine is exhorting pagans and Donatists to convert themselves, he turns their attention to the message of Jeremiah (16:19), “Lord, my strength, and my help and refuge in the day of evils,” and interprets the “day of evils” as “the day of trials and temptations, ... the day of this heavy labor, ... the day of sickly life, ... the day of sighing with longing for the *Jerusalem that is above*.” He has in mind the heavenly Jerusalem, that is, “we are not where we are eager for to be”.<sup>20</sup> In *Sermon* 198 (Dolbeau 26),<sup>21</sup> Augustine also opposes the pagan claim that Christians participate in idolatry and the traditional exchange of gifts. Paul’s teaching of shared possessions and the offering for the poor (Acts 4:32-35) is foundational in imitating the angelic mode of life. He comments on this, “those angels, who are of course more perfect, serve on the heavenly staff and in the great house and the heavenly city Jerusalem, *the mother of us all*, want nothing to be shown them as their personal and private honor, ...”.<sup>22</sup> It does not seem to be a coincidence that in these sermons he imparts a way of dealing with the spiritual interpretation of Jerusalem. His negative perception of paganism is closely correlated with the dichotomy between the spiritual and the material, the earthly and the heavenly element. In *Sermon* 10, preached

<sup>17</sup>. *Serm.* 265.6; Works (NY) III/7, p. 237: “Eritis, inquit, mihi testes in Ierusalem. Parum est. Non pro hoc tantum pretium dedisti, ut hoc solum emereres. In Ierusalem. Dic adhuc: Et usque in fines terrae.”

<sup>18</sup>. *Serm.* 216: Gryson: a week before Easter, 391, Hill: 391, Kunzelmann: two weeks before Easter 391, Perler: second moitié de mars 391, Rebillard: 1 week before Easter, 391.

*Serm.* 259: Gryson: Sonntag nach Ostern, 393/400, Hill: 394, Kunzelmann: around 393, Rebillard: Sun. after Easter, near 400.

*Serm.* 353: Gryson: Sonntag nach Ostern, 391/6, Hill: 394, Kunzelmann: 391-396, Rebillard: Sun. after Easter, 391-96.

<sup>19</sup>. *Serm.* 360A (= Dolbeau 24): Gryson: “Ausserhalb von Hippo in der Proconsularis, zwischen 399 und 405; Karthago, 30. 6. 404?”, Hill: 403.

<sup>20</sup>. *Serm.* 360A.9; Works (NY) III/11, pp. 360-361: “Domine, virtus mea et auxilium et refugium meum in die malorum. ... in die temptationum, in die laboris huius, in die infirmae vitae, in die suspensorum ex desiderio supernae Hierusalem. Quamdiu enim non sumus ubi esse cupimus”.

<sup>21</sup>. *Serm.* 198 (= Dolbeau 26): Dolbeau: le 1er janvier 404, Gryson: 1. 1. 404, Hill: 404, Rebillard: Jan. 1, 404.

<sup>22</sup>. *Serm.* 198.48; Works (NY) III/11, p. 218: “illi angeli utique perfectiores, qui in caelestibus apparatibus et in domo magna et civitate caelesti Hierusalem, matre omnium nostrum, concordissima caritate Deo serviunt, nihil sibi honoris privatim et proprie volunt exhiberi”.

around 412,<sup>23</sup> Augustine directs the reader's attention to the story of two women on the judgement of Solomon (1 Kg. 3:16-27) and, in the opposition between the mother with the dead child and the mother with the living child, between the Jews and the converted Gentiles, he quotes the passages from Galatians 4. Then he contrasts the Jerusalem below with the Jerusalem above: "hell is sown below, where the dead belong; and heaven above, where the living belong."<sup>24</sup> In *Sermo* 152, preached in Carthage in 419,<sup>25</sup> Augustine provides an explanation of the passage from Romans (7:25-8:3). His focus is on the contrast between the law of sin and death and the law of the spirit of life. It leads to the examination of "the two testaments or covenants, the old and the new."<sup>26</sup> He states on the basis of Galatians 4 (21-24 and 26) that Jerusalem is defined as the heavenly one and "that is our mother", thus belonging to "the law of the spirit of life in Christ Jesus."<sup>27</sup>

A passage from the gospel of Luke is also crucial to the spiritual interpretation of the heavenly Jerusalem in his sermons. Augustine's allegorical treatment of Luke 24: 44-47 repeatedly directed the attention of his audience to the union and marriage between Christ and the church. He referred to this spiritual marriage and confirmed that Christ is the bridegroom and the church is the bride. In *Sermon* 116, preached probably in 416,<sup>28</sup> the case is clear that, first, his focus is on Luke 24: 46, "For the Christ to suffer, and to rise again from the dead on the third day"<sup>29</sup> and then, on Luke 24: 47, "And for repentance and forgiveness of sins to be preached in his name throughout all the nations, with their beginning from Jerusalem."<sup>30</sup> While "they saw him, ... the bridegroom, the bride was still concealed."<sup>31</sup> His disciples "couldn't yet see the Church throughout all the nations, with their beginning from Jerusalem. They could see the head, and about the body they could believe the head."<sup>32</sup> He explains the correlation that "the sight of Christ helps them to believe in the Church that is to be; the sight of the Church helps us to believe that Christ has risen."<sup>33</sup> His approach to the Jerusalem is determined by the

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<sup>23</sup>. *Serm.* 10: Gryson: 412, Hill: 412, Kunzelmann: June 411, Rebillard: near 412.

<sup>24</sup>. *Serm.* 10.2; Works (NY) III/1, p. 284: "inferi deorsum sunt quo pertinent mortui; superi autem sursum, quo pertinent vivi."

<sup>25</sup>. *Serm.* 152: Hill: 419, Kunzelmann: the beginning of October 418, Perler: between the beginning and 13th October, 419, Rebillard: Oct. 417.

<sup>26</sup>. *Serm.* 152.7; Works (NY) III/5, p. 52: "Duo sunt Testamenta, Vetus et Novum."

<sup>27</sup>. *Serm.* 152.7; Works (NY) III/5, p. 52: "Lex Spiritus vitae in Christo Iesu".

<sup>28</sup>. *Serm.* 116: Gryson: probably 418, Hill: 418, Kunzelmann: On Tuesday or Wednesday after the Easter 400-405, Rebillard: Easter week: 400-405? or 418.

<sup>29</sup>. *Serm.* 116.6; Works (NY) III/4, pp. 205-206: "Christum pati, et resurgere a mortuis tertio die."

<sup>30</sup>. *Serm.* 116.6; Works (NY) III/4, p. 206: "Et praedicari in nomine eius poenitentiam et remissionem peccatorum per omnes gentes, incipientibus ab Ierusalem."

<sup>31</sup>. *Serm.* 116.6; Works (NY) III/4, p. 206: "Illum videbant, ... Sponsum, sponsa adhuc latebat."

<sup>32</sup>. *Serm.* 116.6; Works (NY) III/4, p. 206: "Ecclesiam per omnes gentes, incipientibus ab Ierusalem, nondum videbant. Caput videbant: et de corpore capiti credebant."

<sup>33</sup>. *Serm.* 116.6; Works (NY) III/4, p. 206: "Adiuvat eos visus Christus, ut futuram Ecclesiam crederent: adiuvat nos visa Ecclesia, ut Christum resurrexisse credamus."

spiritual contract and the Christ-centred understanding of the church with which his congregation was encouraged to protect the church from the fear of heretics.

Augustine referred to the same passage in his preaching against Donatists. For example, in *Sermon 162A* (Denis 19), preached in Carthage in 404,<sup>34</sup> he takes up the passage when he intends to dismiss the claim of Donatists that the true Church is limited to Africa. In the face of their view of complete sanctity, his message of the ecclesial unity of the church is directed to his congregation: “Are you communion with that Church which is spread throughout all nations, beginning from Jerusalem? If you are in communion with it, then you are there, ... which has grown and filled the whole wide world, the body of Christ, the Church of Christ, whose head is in heaven.”<sup>35</sup> *Sermon 46*, delivered probably in 414,<sup>36</sup> also deals with the issue of the unity of the Church and introduces the ridiculous claim of Donatists that is based on their understanding of Hebrew 3: 3, “‘The prophet,’ says he, ‘says: *God will come from the Afric*, and now of course where the Afric is, there is Africa.”<sup>37</sup> Here Augustine reproaches the Donatists by showing the combination of scriptural texts (Luke 24:46, Joshua 15: 8 “Jebus from the Afric, which is Jerusalem”, and Acts 1: 7-8, “you will be witnesses to me in Jerusalem”) and offers an overview of the universal significance of Jerusalem. In *Sermon 359B* (Dolbeau 2), delivered in 404 in Carthage,<sup>38</sup> Augustine considers the problem of obedience and the martyrdom, in particular of Vincent as a true martyr and the Donatist as a false martyr. Here he explores the cause of true martyrs and defines it as “justice”,<sup>39</sup> that is, “I do it for Christ.”<sup>40</sup> Then he focuses on the spiritual marriage between bridegroom and the bride, referring to the passage from Luke 24:46. A true martyr confesses Christ and his bride, the Church, thus hoping for maintaining the unity and peace with his brother, but the Donatists refuse the reconciliation of Christians in the Church.

### *Spiritual and eschatological dimension of Jerusalem*

Along with the network of scriptural passages concerning the spiritual meaning of Jerusalem, the repeated references in his sermons reveal another aspect of the city. His focus was first on the opposition of the two kinds of human beings, one is the crowd of the impious and the other is

<sup>34</sup>. *Serm.* 162A (= Denis 19): Gryson: 404 before June, Hill: 404, Kunzelmann: 404 just before June, Perler: 404 before June, Rebillard: 404.

<sup>35</sup>. *Serm.* 162A.10; Works (NY) III/5, pp. 161-162: “Communicas ei Ecclesiae, quae diffusa est per omnes gentes, incipiens ab Ierusalem? Si communicas, ibi es, ... quae crevit et implevit totum orbem terrarum, corpus Christi, Ecclesia Christi, cuius caput in caelo.”

<sup>36</sup>. *Serm.* 46: Gryson: 407/408, Hill: 414, Hombert: 407-408, Kunzelmann: 409-410, Perler: vers 410, Rebillard: 410-11. See Hombert, *Nouvelles recherches*, pp. 553-554.

<sup>37</sup>. *Serm.* 46.38; Works (NY) III/2, p. 290: “‘Propheta, inquit, ait: Deus ab Africo veniet; et iam ubi Africus, utique Africa.”

<sup>38</sup>. *Serm.* 359B (= Dolbeau 2): Gryson: 23. 1. 404, Hill: 404, Rebillard: January 23, 404-405. See Dolbeau, *Vingt-six sermons*, pp. 318-327.

<sup>39</sup>. *Serm.* 359B.17; Works (NY) III/11, p. 347: “iustitia”.

the pious dedicated to God, which would be derived from his reflection on the course of human history. Then, this scheme was defined in terms of the two opposing cities, one is called Jerusalem, of the saints, and the other is called Babylon, of the impious. In *Sermon* 110A (Dolbeau 17), preached in 397,<sup>41</sup> Augustine deals with the story in Luke concerning the woman who spent eighteen years in her infirmity. After engaging in the numerological interpretation of the passage, he directs the attention to the two kinds of human desire and the opposing course of human beings:

the whole human race was weighed down by earthly lusts; then one came with the promise of the kingdom of heaven. There is another life, there is the society of the angels, there is a home country ... That country is called Jerusalem, Jerusalem means 'vision of peace.' ... don't have a taste for the earth.<sup>42</sup>

Despite the lack of Babylon in the contrast, the opposition would be stated in terms of the two different countries. In *Sermon* 299A (Dolbeau 4), delivered in Carthage in 404,<sup>43</sup> Augustine clearly refers to the two cities "ciuitates" in the course of human history:

You see, there's a certain godless city, ... and it is mystically called Babylon in the scriptures. Again, there is a certain city, an alien wanderer on this earth, ... and this one is called Jerusalem. Right now both cities are mixed up together, at the end they will be sorted out and separated.<sup>44</sup>

What is especially interesting is the fact that he explains not only an expected future of Jerusalem but also the status quo of the Jerusalem, as "an alien wanderer on this earth."<sup>45</sup> Also in *Sermon* 16A (Denis 20), preached in 411,<sup>46</sup> Augustine reflection on the opposition of two cities is clear:

We end in the place we were going to. So now then, here we all are, engaged in life's pilgrimage, and we have an end we are moving toward. So where are we moving to? To our home country. What is our home country? Jerusalem, mother of the faithful, mother of the living. That is where we are going. That is our end. ... We didn't know

<sup>40</sup>. *Serm.* 359B.18; Works (NY) III/11, p. 347: "Ego pro Christo."

<sup>41</sup>. *Serm.* 110A (= Dolbeau 17): Dolbeau: août 397, Gryson: 403/404, Hill: 397, Hombert: 403-404?, Rebillard: Aug. 10-18, 397. See Hombert, *Nouvelles recherches*, pp. 485-494.

<sup>42</sup>. *Serm.* 110A.6; Works (NY) III/11, p. 99: "totum genus humanum terrenis cupiditatibus gravabatur; venit qui promitteret regnum caelorum. Est alia vita, est societas angelorum; est patria ... Patria illa Hierusalem vocatur, Hierusalem "visio pacis" interpretatur. ... noli terram sapere."

<sup>43</sup>. *Serm.* 299A (= Dolbeau 4): Dolbeau: le 29 juin 405/406, Gryson: 29. 6. 404, Hill: 404, Rebillard: June 29.

<sup>44</sup>. *Serm.* 299A.8; Works (NY) III/11, p. 270: "Quaedam enim civitas impia describitur ... et haec Babylonia in Scripturis mystice nominatur. Rursus quaedam civitas peregrina in hac terra ... et haec Hierusalem nominatur. Modo ambae civitates permixtae sunt, in fine separabuntur." For the significance of *serm.* Dolbeau 4, see Gerard O'Daly, *Augustine's City of God: A Reader's Guide* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp. 63-64 and n. 22; Johannes Van Oort, *Jerusalem and Babylon: A Study of Augustine's City of God and the Sources of his Doctrine of the Two Cities*, Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae, 14 (Leiden: Brill, 1991), pp. 315-317.

<sup>45</sup>. *Serm.* 299A.8; Works (NY) III/11, p. 270: "quaedam civitas peregrina in hac terra".

<sup>46</sup>. *Serm.* 16A (= Denis 20): Gryson: 18. 6. 411, Hill: 411, Kunzelmann: 411, Perler: 405 or 411?, Rebillard: June 18, 411. See Perler, *Les voyages de saint Augustin*, p. 294.

which way to go. ... We had all gone astray, you see, and though we are citizens of Jerusalem we have become citizens of Babylon, we have become sons of confusion: Babylon means confusion.”<sup>47</sup>

In this vein, he defines the two kinds of human community as those situated in the course of human history in accord with their mutually opposed and ultimately divergent values.

### *Concluding observations*

In his sermons, throughout his career from the early 390's to the mid 420's, Augustine repeatedly focuses on the name of Jerusalem and sometimes explains in detail about the historical, spiritual, and eschatological dimension of the meaning of Jerusalem.

Augustine did not show a particular interest in the realities of Jerusalem of his own day. While only fragmentary information of the city is obtained from his sermons, there are many references to the historical Jerusalem, in collaboration with the story of Jesus and his disciples in the gospels and Acts. But, he did not intend to realise the city as a historical testimony of divine revelation. When he interprets the story of Acts, his focus is naturally turned to the universal significance of the church, not to a particular place in the history of the church. It permits us to assume that this may be the reason why he did not pay any concern for the phenomenon of pilgrimage in the fourth and fifth centuries and for the religious role of a holy place in his sermons. Instead, based on the interpretation of some passages from scripture, he encourages his congregation to impart a way of dealing with the spiritual dimension of Jerusalem: it is the heavenly city and the “mother of us all”, connected with the law of the spirit of life, Christ is the bridegroom and the church is the bride in the spiritual marriage. Also in his preaching against Donatists, Augustine repeats the universality of the Church (not limited to Africa) and the Christ-centred view of the church: Christ is the head and the church is the body of Christ. His sermons encouraged his congregation to focus on the ecclesial unity, with which they could dispel the fear of losing their salvation and protect the foundation of their spiritual mode of life. Along with the dichotomy between the spiritual and the material, the heavenly and the earthly, Augustine directs his attention to the two opposing human desires, thereby in the course of human history situating Jerusalem, home country and the vision of peace, in contrast with Babylon, city of the impious.

Augustine presents the spiritual and eschatological aspect of Jerusalem for the purpose of providing the basis both for the spiritual life of the individual and the ecclesial unity of his congregation. His concerns with the heavenly Jerusalem underlay a wider set of anti-heretical,

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<sup>47</sup>. *Serm.* 16A.9; Works (NY) III/1, p. 355: “Tibi finit, ubi tendebat. Modo ergo in hac peregrinatione constituti, finem habemus ubi tendimus. Ubi ergo tendimus? Ad patriam nostram. Quae est patria nostra? Ierusalem, mater piorum, mater vivorum. Illic tendimus. Finis noster ipse est. ... Nesciebamus qua ire. ... Aberravimus enim, et cum simus Ierusalem cives, facti sumus cives Babyloniae, facti sumus filii confusionis: Babylonia enim confusio est.”

ecclesiological, and Christological concerns, rather than being social and cultural concerns of his own day.