

# The Theory and Practice of the Scriptural Exegesis in Augustine

EDITED BY

Naoki Kamimura

RESEARCH REPORT

GRANT-IN-AID FOR SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH

(C) 23520098



tare coepi, utrumnam tolerent pueri in aliquo ge-  
nere ludendi cantitare tale aliquid : nec occurre-  
bat omnino audivisse me uspiam. Repressoque im-  
petu lacrymarum surrexi, nihil aliud interpretans,  
nisi divinitus mihi juberi, ut aperirem codicem &  
legerem quod primum caput invenissem. Audie-  
ram enim de Antonio, quòd ex evangelica lectione,  
cui fortè supervenerat, admonitus fuerit, tamquam  
sibi diceretur quod legebatur: *Vade, vende omnia* *Matth.*  
*D* *quæ habes, & da pauperibus, & habebis thesaurum in* *21.*  
*cælis; & veni sequere me: & tali oraculo confestim*  
*ad te esse conversum. Itaque concitus redij ad*  
*eum locum ubi sedebat Alypius: ibi enim posue-*  
*ram codicem Apostoli cùm inde surrexeram. Ar-*  
*ripui, aperui, & legi in silentio capitulum, quò pri-*  
*mum coniecti sunt oculi mei: Non in comessationibus* *Rom.*  
*& ebrietatibus, non in cubilibus & impudiciis, non in*  
*contentione & æmulatione: sed induite Dominum Ie-*  
*sum Christum, & carnis providentiam ne feceritis in*  
*E concupiscentiis. Nec ultra volui legere. nec opus*  
*erat. Statim quippe cum fine hujusce sententiæ*  
*quasi luce securitatis infusa cordi meo, omnes du-*  
*bitationis tenebræ diffugerunt*

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Tokyo 12 March 2014

N. K.



## ABBREVIATIONS

### Titles of individual works by Augustine

<i>C. Acad.</i>	<i>Contra Academicos</i>
<i>C. Adim.</i>	<i>Contra Adimantum Manichaei discipulum</i>
<i>Beata vita</i>	<i>De beata vita</i>
<i>Civ. dei</i>	<i>De civitate dei</i>
<i>Conf.</i>	<i>Confessiones</i>
<i>Dial.</i>	<i>De dialectica</i>
<i>Div. qu.</i>	<i>De diversis quaestionibus octoginta tribus</i>
<i>Doc. chr.</i>	<i>De doctrina christiana</i>
<i>Ep(p).</i>	<i>Epistula(e)</i>
<i>Ep. Rom. inch.</i>	<i>Epistulae ad Romanos inchoata expositio</i>
<i>Exp. Gal.</i>	<i>Expositio epistulae ad Galatas</i>
<i>Exp. prop. Rom.</i>	<i>Expositio quarundam propositionum ex epistula apostoli ad Romanos</i>
<i>Gen. adv. Man.</i>	<i>De Genesi adversus Manicheos</i>
<i>Gen. litt.</i>	<i>De Genesi ad litteram</i>
<i>Gen. litt. imp.</i>	<i>De Genesi ad litteram imperfectus liber</i>
<i>Mag.</i>	<i>De magistro</i>
<i>Mor.</i>	<i>De moribus ecclesiae catholicae et de moribus Manichaeorum</i>
<i>Mus.</i>	<i>De musica</i>
<i>Op. mon.</i>	<i>De opere monachorum</i>
<i>Ord.</i>	<i>De ordine</i>
<i>Quant.</i>	<i>De animae quantitate</i>
<i>Retr.</i>	<i>Retractationes</i>
<i>Serm.</i>	<i>Sermo(nes)</i>
<i>Serm. dom. mont.</i>	<i>De sermone domini in monte</i>
<i>Sol.</i>	<i>Soliloquia</i>
<i>Vera rel.</i>	<i>De vera religione</i>

Titles of reference works, series of critical editions and translations, and scholarly periodicals

ACW	Ancient Christian Writers (Westminster MD: Paulist Press)
AL	C. Mayer et al. (eds.), <i>Augustinus-Lexikon</i> (Basel: Schwabe)
ATA	A. Fitzgerald (ed.), <i>Augustine through the Ages: An Encyclopedia</i> (Grand Rapids MI: Eerdmans)
<i>AugStud</i>	<i>Augustinian Studies</i> (Charlottesville VA: Philosophy Documentation Center)
BA	Bibliothèque Augustinienne (Paris: Institut d'Études Augustiniennes)
CCSL	Corpus Christianorum Series Latina (Turnhout: Brepols)
CSEL	Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum (Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften)
FC	The Fathers of the Church (Washington DC: The Catholic University of America Press)
<i>REAug</i>	<i>Revue des Études Augustiniennes</i> (1955–2003); <i>Revue des Études Augustiniennes et Patristiques</i> (2004–) (Paris: Institut d'Études Augustiniennes)
PL	J.-P. Migne (ed.), <i>Patrologiae cursus completus. Series Latina</i>
<i>RechAug</i>	<i>Recherches Augustiniennes</i> (Paris: Institut d'Études Augustiniennes)
<i>StudPatr</i>	<i>Studia Patristica</i> (Leuven: Peeters)
WSA	The Works of Saint Augustine: A Translation for the 21st Century (Hyde Park NY: New City Press)







# 1

## Introduction

NAOKI KAMIMURA

### 1 BASIC INFORMATION OF THE RESEARCH PROJECT

Research Title The Theory and Practice of the Scriptural Exegesis in Augustine

Principal Investigator Naoki Kamimura (Research Fellow in Philosophy, Department of Philosophy and Ethics, Tokyo Gakugei University)

Principal Collaborator Makiko Sato (Adjunct Lecturer in the Faculty of Letters, Keio University)

Overseas Collaborator Pauline Allen, FAHA (Director of the Centre for Early Christian Studies, Australian Catholic University)

Term of Project FY 2011–FY 2013 (28 April 2011–31 March 2014)

Research Field History of Thought

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### Budget Allocation

	DIRECT	INDIRECT	SUBTOTAL
FY 2011	¥ 1,700,000	¥ 510,000	¥ 2,210,000
FY 2012	¥ 1,200,000	¥ 360,000	¥ 1,560,000
FY 2013	¥ 1,100,000	¥ 330,000	¥ 1,430,000
TOTAL	¥ 4,000,000	¥ 1,200,000	¥ 5,200,000

## 2 BACKGROUND TO THE RESEARCH PROJECT

After the end of World War II, an increasing number of patristic scholars turned their attention to an exploration of patristic exegesis as a distinctive field of historical research.<sup>1</sup> Their focus was on the tradition of early Christianity around the ancient Mediterranean world, which dates from the first century to the seventh in the Western Church or to the ninth century in the Eastern Church. Although, these initial studies were immediately followed by a series of collections of primary sources and critical studies, still in the first half of the 1950s, there was no attempt to publish a handbook or companion volume in the field of patristic exegesis. This might be because of the impossibility of providing a balanced and consistent assessment of a copious growth of relevant studies. It must also be admitted that a critical agreement about the ancient interpretation of the scriptures was not reached among scholars who themselves were inclined to reflect the negative attitude in contemporary scholarship. However, it is remarkable to note that during the second and third decade after World War II, paying considerably more attention to the continuity between the classical and the post-classical world, some scholars focused on the heritage of late antiquity from economic, social, religious, cultural, and artistic aspects.<sup>2</sup> The study of patristic exegesis became the privileged mode of exploring the cultural and intellectual unity and uniqueness of antiquity. Hence, through scholarly achievements of over fifty years, together with analysing relevant sources, a comprehensive survey of patristic interpretation of the scriptures would respond to the demand of a handbook.<sup>3</sup> This is the same case with

<sup>1</sup> For the surveys of patristic studies in the second half of the twentieth century, see, B. de Margerie, *Introduction à l'histoire de l'exégèse*, 3 vols. (Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1980–1983); C. Kannengiesser, 'Fifty Years of Patristics', *Theological Studies* 50 (1989) 633–656; E. A. Clark, 'From Patristics to Early Christian Studies', in S. A. Harvey and D. G. Hunter (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Early Christian Studies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) 7–41.

<sup>2</sup> P. Brown, *The World of Late Antiquity: From Marcus Aurelius to Muhammad* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1971). See also G. Bowersock, P. Brown and O. Grabar (eds.), *Late Antiquity: A Guide to the Postclassical World* (Cambridge MA: Belknap Press, 1999); S. Johnson (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Late Antiquity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

<sup>3</sup> See C. Kannengiesser et al., *Handbook of Patristic Exegesis: The Bible in Ancient Christianity* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2004). For the significance and limits of Kannengiesser's achievement, see also J. van Oort, 'Biblical Interpretation in the Patristic Era, a "Handbook of Patristic Exegesis" and Some Other Recent Books and Related Projects', *Vigiliae Christianae* 60 (2006) 80–103.

the studies of Augustine of Hippo (354–430), who has been regarded as one of the most influential of the ancient Christian interpreters of the scriptures. Not only did he enhance the intensity of his understanding of scriptural messages, along with the life-long spiritual quest for wisdom, but expressed a genuine enthusiasm about learning the necessary procedures for its interpretation from his predecessors. As with many other topics in his thought, Augustine's appropriation of the scriptures is tagged with both the profound dynamics of the discourse and practice and the creative process to the synthesis of late-antique culture with the heritage within the church. Therefore, to provide an exhaustive and valuable survey of Augustinian studies centred on biblical exegesis must be considered as a *tour de force*.<sup>4</sup>

In Augustinian scholarship during the last century, the nature and consequences of his conversion (386) have received much scholarly attention, as it deserves: in particular, his earliest dialogues (386–387) have been studied and interpreted from philosophical, theological, and historical perspectives. Some discrepancies between the conversion narratives in the *Confessions* and those depicted in both his philosophical dialogues of Cassiciacum and some other writings in dialogue form were crucial for our understanding of his early thought and the investigations in question.<sup>5</sup> Thus, in order to do justice to the problematics of the development of his thought, scholars of Augustine were required to be involved in the discussions that led to the consideration of another transition from his early thought. In the chapter of his biography of Augustine entitled 'The Lost Future', Peter Brown has claimed a fundamental dis-

<sup>4</sup> Although highly selective for a comprehensive overview of Augustinian exegesis, the followings are some useful references: I. Bochet, « *Le Firmament de l'Écriture* » : *L'hermétique augustinienne* (Paris: Institut d'Études Augustiniennes, 2004); M. Cameron, *Christ Meets Me Everywhere: Augustine's Early Figurative Exegesis* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012); M. Fiedrowicz, *Psalmus vox totius Christi: Studien zu Augustins Enarrationes in Psalmos* (Freiburg: Herder, 1997); G. Partoen, 'Augustin als Prediger', in V. H. Drecoll (ed.), *Augustin Handbuch* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2007) 242–247; and, for individual topics, we should consult both *ATA* and *AL*. See also the latest companion books, both of which include a valuable survey of this topic: M. Vessey (ed.), *A Companion to Augustine* (Chichester, West Sussex: Blackwell, 2012); C. C. Pecknold and T. Toom (eds.), *The T & T Clark Companion to Augustine and Modern Theology* (London: Bloomsbury, 2013).

<sup>5</sup> For a helpful survey of his writings in dialogue form, see Th. Fuhrer, 'Frühschriften', in V. H. Drecoll (ed.), *Augustin Handbuch* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2007) 261–275; eadem, 'Conversationalist and Consultant: Augustine in Dialogue', in M. Vessey (ed.), *A Companion to Augustine* (Chichester, West Sussex: Blackwell, 2012) 270–283.

continuity in the first decade of Augustine's early works.<sup>6</sup> According to the splendid illustration, the young Augustine, Platonically inspired and having high hopes for attaining perfection in this life, was drastically changed into the older Augustine, expressing confidence in both human deficiency and the need for divine grace, with the latter being inspired primarily by the reading of Pauline epistles in the 390s. It seems quite probable that these are two different and independent persons: 'Augustine the new convert' and 'Augustine the new bishop'.<sup>7</sup> More recently, against those who place a sharp distinction between the early and middle stages of his works, some scholars have argued convincingly that there is only one Augustine.<sup>8</sup> They have challenged long-held assumptions about the development of his thought. Despite of their closely argued reading of his intellectual development until the mid-390s, there still remains the necessity of revisiting his investigations and understanding of Pauline theology.

This research project examines the factors involved in his exegetical treatises and commentaries in such a short period of time, that is, during the several years before Augustine started writing *On Christian Teaching* in 396. The project leader, Naoki Kamimura, has published articles already, on the topic of the continuity of Augustine's hermeneutical method in his earliest commentaries on Genesis: 'Augustine's First Exegesis and the Divisions of Spiritual Life', *Augustinian Studies* 36 (2005) 421–432; 'Augustine's Scriptural Exegesis in *De Genesi ad litteram liber unus imperfectus*', *Studia Patristica* 49 (2010) 229–234. The principal collaborator, Makiko Sato, has published several articles ('"os cordis" in Augustine's *De mendacio*', *Veritas: Kyodai Studies in Mediaeval Philosophy* 26 (2007) 62–73, and research reports issued from 21st Century Centres of Excellence Programme: 'Toward an Integrated Methodology for the Study of the Mind' organised by the Global COE Programme, Keio Uni-

<sup>6</sup> P. Brown, *Augustine of Hippo: A Biography*, new edn. with an epilogue (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000) 139–150.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. C. Harrison, *Rethinking Augustine's Early Theology: An Argument for Continuity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007) vi.

<sup>8</sup> On this See e.g. G. Madec, *La patrie et la voie: Le Christ dans la vie et la pensée de saint Augustine* (Paris: Desclée, 1989); C. Harrison, *Rethinking Augustine's Early Theology*; B. Dobell, *Augustine's Intellectual Conversion: The Journey from Platonism to Christianity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009); R. Topping, *Happiness and Wisdom: Augustine's Early Theology of Education* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2012). See also P. Brown, 'New Directions', in *Augustine of Hippo*, 489–490.

versity), in which she focussed upon the development of the language theory of Augustine in his early treatises and detected a significant correlation with his view of original sin in the commentaries on Pauline epistles.

### 3 OBJECTIVES OF THE RESEARCH

The overall objective is to attend to a crucial question fundamental to the contemporary scholarship of Augustine. How did Augustine interpret and explain the scriptures, particularly the Pauline epistles, during the period between his conversion in Milan (386) and his ordination as bishop in Hippo (396)? Hence, the proposed project aimed to explore the details of the scriptural exegesis in Augustine's early treatises (including his philosophical and theological tractates, exegetical commentaries, letters, and sermons) on both Genesis and the Pauline epistles. As mentioned above, what is still to be done in Augustinian scholarship is a more intensive assessment of his writings in this period. The project does not concentrate on what is often called 'Ancient Christian exegesis' in a broader currency: instead, the solid model for interpreting and preaching the scriptures in the context of contemporary philosophical, theological, and pastoral thinking of Augustine is chosen to indicate a much clearer spectrum of this project. Since the cooperative projects were undertaken by an effort to consider the problems of Augustinian exegesis and the language theory from complementary viewpoints, this project intends to advance the preceding research achievements, one of which, by Kamimura, has considered his earliest Genesis commentaries: *On Genesis, Against the Manicheans* and *On the Literal Interpretation of Genesis, an Unfinished Work*, thereby contributing a significant study to the question, and the other research, by Sato, has examined the early stage of his linguistic thought in *On Lying* and *On Christian Teaching*, and offered the possibility of an integrated approach between the language theory and the scriptural exegesis of Augustine.

### 4 RESEARCH APPROACH

During several years prior to his ordination as bishop, not only did Augustine engage in his anti-Manichaean works, such as *On the Catholic and the Manichean Ways of Life*, *On the Two Souls*, and *Debate with Fortunatus*,

a *Manichean*, but was forced to become much acquainted with the scriptures, thereby fulfilling the demanding role of bishop in one of Africa's major sees. Indeed, something of those pastoral responsibilities were reflected clearly in his works. Some scholars have shared the idea of a revolution in his thought in the mid-390s. This implies that these years of careful and thoughtful reading of Pauline epistles and the pursuit of a pastoral and monastic life concluded with his response *To Simplicianus* in 396. Hence, by reading some of his philosophical and theological treatises, exegetical commentaries, letters, and sermons around the 390s and examining the significance of this idea in the light of these works themselves, we identify diverse strategies employed by Augustine, in order to meet the obligation to perform his pastoral, charitable, and administrative duties, instead of expanding a planned series of treatises on liberal arts and defending against the Manichaean attack. In order to achieve the objectives the research undertaken attempts to resolve three key questions: (a) How did Augustine interpret the book of Genesis and the Pauline epistles?; (b) what was the evolution of his language theory in this period?; (c) what was the evolution of his anthropological reflection in this period?

#### FY 2011

For the purpose of analysing and understanding the nature of the texts of Augustine, with its chronological matters, especially of the letters and sermons, Kamimura and Sato prepared an electronic database of patristic texts and surveyed the relevant secondary literature. In May 2011, the principal investigator, Kamimura presented a paper on how, in his earliest commentaries and related writings, Augustine made sense of difficult passages from Genesis, at the annual meeting of the Canadian Society of Patristic Studies [11]. In August, a paper on the consultation of sacred books [12], read at the International Conference on Patristic Studies and submitted to Peeters Publishers for publication in *Studia Patristica* [7], dealt with the significance of the conversion narratives in the tradition of ancient astrological predictions, thereby preparing for the further investigation of his conversion. In September, the Principal Collaborator, Sato, published a peer-reviewed paper based on her preceding research programme, in which she pointed out the indispensable correlation between the concept of 'lying', conditions of human fallenness, and the Christol-



ogy of Augustine [3]. In November, Sato proceeded to the analysis of Augustine's interpretation of the Gospel of John in the *Confessions* and presented a paper on the interdependence of the language theory and the problem of creation in the early writings, via his understanding of Christology [13]. In March 2011, the Principal investigator attended the annual meeting of the Centre for Early Christian Studies, held at the Brisbane campus of Australian Catholic University, and, with the Overseas investigator, Pauline Allen, discussed the current state of the research project [14].

### FY 2012

An analysis of the texts of Augustine based on the articles and presented papers in year one continued. In May, Kamimura presented a paper on the problem of Augustine's reading of Pauline epistles in the 390s at the meeting of the Canadian Society of Patristic Studies. Towards the end of his priesthood, how did Augustine work to show his readers the schematic layout of human perfection? Kamimura focussed on the spiritual sensitivity of Augustine and considered one of the graded frameworks of his reading—the ages of human history and the stages of human spiritual development—which would answer the key question whether he still expressed the hope and confidence of wholeness and fulfilment in this life. In July, the 7th conference of Asia-Pacific Early Christian Studies Society, a regional meeting for scholars of the early Christian and late-antique studies in the Asia-Pacific area was held in Seoul, where both researchers delivered their papers and discussed with the overseas investigator and shared questions and issues that arose in the process of undertaking the research in year two. Kamimura presented a paper concerning the scope and significance of Augustine's reading of Pauline passages depicted in the conversion narratives in his early writings [17]. Sato presented a paper on the soteriology of Augustine, which was formulated by his language theory, thereby showing the importance of the Johannine word [16]. At the end of year two, the principal investigator have created a website for this research project, and the principal collaborator published a paper on Augustine's *Commentary on the Letter to the Galatians* in the Journal of the Keio Institute of Cultural and Linguistic Studies [6].

## FY 2013

An analysis of the texts of Augustine, especially of his interpretation of the Pauline epistles and relevant early writings, based on the articles and presented papers in year two continued. In May, at the annual meeting of North American Patristics Society, Kamimura presented a paper concerning the form of literary dialogues and the dramatic settings in his early works and reconsidered the programme of education directed towards his friends and students [18]. In June, at the annual meeting of Canadian Society of Patristic Studies, Kamimura presented a paper on the problem of the soul, immortality, and the beings in his early writing and suggested that a solution of the serious problem for the mature Augustine was already offered in a fragmentary tractate [19]. These papers sought to demonstrate that there existed a consistency and continuity in Augustine's early thought regardless of his commitment to the diverse and multifaceted activities in the ecclesial community. In October, both researchers attended the 1st conference of Early Christian Centuries, held at the Melbourne campus of Australian Catholic University, and delivered their papers. Sato concentrated again on Augustine's interpretation of Genesis, from the soteriological point of view, in his early commentaries [20]. Kamimura examined again on the conversion narratives in the *Confessions*, thereby considering his encounter with some of the monastic literature and the importance of the problem of human perfection [21]. In the latter part of year three, both researchers engaged in the publication of the research report. In March 2014, the principal investigator participated in the annual meeting of Centre for Early Christian Studies, held in Brisbane, read a paper on the research findings [22], and shared the future research potential with the overseas collaborator.

## 5 PUBLICATIONS

*Books*

- [1] KAMIMURA, N. (trans.), S. A. Cooper, *Augustine for Armchair Theologians*, Louisville KY: Westminster John Knox, 2002 (Tokyo: Kyobunkwan, 2012).
- [2] KAMIMURA, N. (ed.), *Research Report Grant-in-Aid for Scientific Research (C) 23520098: The Theory and Practice of the Scriptural Exegesis in Augustine* (Tokyo, 2014).

## Articles

- [3] SATO, M., 'The Understanding of Self-Deception in Augustine's *Confessiones*' (in Japanese), *Studies in Medieval Thought* 53 (Japanese Society of Medieval Philosophy, 2011) 59–75.
- [4] KAMIMURA, N., 'Friendship and Shared Reading Experiences in Augustine', *Patristica*, supplementary volume 3 (Japanese Society for Patristics Studies, 2011) 69–83.
- [5] KAMIMURA, N., 'La exégesis bíblica de Agustín en "De Genesi ad litteram liber unus imperfectus"', revista *AVGVSTINVS* 57 (Madrid: Editorial Augustinus, 2012) 137–142.
- [6] SATO, M., 'Truth and Man in Augustine's *Commentary on Galatians*' (in Japanese), *Reports of the Keio Institute of Cultural and Linguistic Studies* 44 (Keio Institute of Cultural and Linguistic Studies, Keio University, 2013) 87–103.
- [7] KAMIMURA, N., 'The Consultation of Sacred Books and the Mediator: the *Sortes* in Augustine', in J. Baun, A. Cameron, M. Edwards, and M. Vinzent (eds.), *Studia Patristica* 70 (Leuven: Peeters, 2013) 305–315.

## Reviews

- [8] SATO, M., Review of Phillip Cary, *Outword Signs: The Powerlessness of External Things in Augustine's Thought* (Oxford, 2008); (in Japanese), *Studies in Medieval Thought* 53 (Japanese Society of Medieval Philosophy, 2011) 197–200.
- [9] KAMIMURA, N., 'On the Japanese Society for Patristic Studies and the *Patristica*', *Patristica*, supplementary volume 3 (Japanese Society for Patristics Studies, 2011) 85–89.
- [10] KAMIMURA, N., Review of Brian Stock, *Augustine's Inner Dialogue: The Philosophical Soliloquy in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge, 2010); (in Japanese), *Studies in Medieval Thought* 55 (Japanese Society of Medieval Philosophy, 2013) 134–138.

## Presented Papers

- [11] KAMIMURA, N., 'The Exegesis of Genesis in the Early Works of Augustine', Annual Meeting of the Canadian Society of Patristic Studies, St. Thomas University, Fredericton, Canada, on 31 May 2011.

- [12] KAMIMURA, N., 'The Significance of the *Sortes* in Augustine', 16th International Conference on Patristic Studies, Oxford University, Oxford, UK, on 9 August 2011.
- [13] SATO, M., 'The Word and Salvation: Augustine's Understanding of Christ' (in Japanese), Japanese Society of Medieval Philosophy 60th Conference, Seinan Gakuin University, Fukuoka, Japan, on 5 November 2011.
- [14] KAMIMURA, N., 'Augustine's Early Commentaries on the Pauline's Epistles: Outline of the 2011–2013 Grants-in-Aid for Scientific Research Project', Annual Meeting of the Centre for Early Christian Studies, Australian Catholic University, Brisbane, Australia, on 2 March 2012.
- [15] KAMIMURA, N., 'Augustine's Evolving Commentaries on the Pauline Epistles', Annual Meeting of the Canadian Society of Patristic Studies, Wilfrid Laurier University, Waterloo, Canada, on 29 May 2012.
- [16] SATO, M., 'The Word and Our Words: Augustine's Understanding of Christ as Divine Word', Asia-Pacific Early Christian Studies Society 7th Conference, Presbyterian College and Theological Seminary, Seoul, South Korea, on 6 July 2012.
- [17] KAMIMURA, N., 'Augustine's Interpretation of a Passage from Romans in His Early Works', Asia-Pacific Early Christian Studies Society 7th Conference, Presbyterian College and Theological Seminary, Seoul, South Korea, on 6 July 2012.
- [18] KAMIMURA, N., 'What Augustine Suggested: The *dramatis personae* of the Cassiciacum Dialogues', North American Patristics Society 22nd Annual Meeting, Holiday Inn Chicago Mart Plaza, Chicago, USA, on 24 May 2013.
- [19] KAMIMURA, N., 'Augustine's Understanding of the Soul, the Immortality, and the Being in *De immortalitate animae*', Annual Meeting of the Canadian Society of Patristic Studies, University of Victoria, Victoria, Canada, on 5 June 2013.
- [20] SATO, M., 'The Role of Eve in Salvation in Augustine's Interpretation of Genesis Chapter 3', Early Christian Centuries 1: Men and Women in Early Christianity, Australian Catholic University, Melbourne, Australia, on 3 October 2013.
- [21] KAMIMURA, N., 'Augustine's Quest for Perfection and the Encounter with *Vita Antonii*', Early Christian Centuries 1: Men and Women in

Early Christianity, Australian Catholic University, Melbourne, Australia, on 4 October 2013.

- [22] KAMIMURA, N., 'Funded Grant-in-Aid for Scientific Research (*Kakenhi*) Project: Scriptural Exegesis in Augustine', Annual Meeting of the Centre for Early Christian Studies, Australian Catholic University, Brisbane, Australia, on 7 March 2014.

## 6 ARRANGEMENT OF THE REPORT

The papers included in this volume are revised and enlarged from the original ones presented by the authors at international and regional conferences referred to above in the list of '5 Publications'.

In Chapters 2–3, the authors discuss issues pertaining to the commentaries on Genesis, first Augustine's reading of Genesis 1: 26–27 in his early works, and second the interpretation of the story of Adam and Eve in Genesis 3. In Augustine's exegesis of John 1: 3, Sato investigates the concept of the Word in Creation and explains the sustained reading of the scriptural passage in Chapter 4. In Augustine's encounter with a hagiographical text, Kamimura considers the question of the conversion narratives and describes Augustine's continuous concern for the spiritual quest for perfection in Chapter 5. In Chapters 6–7, Kamimura turns his attention to the interpretation of the Pauline epistles in his early works and examines the issues in question.





## 2

# The Exegesis of Genesis in the Early Works of Augustine\*

NAOKI KAMIMURA

### 1 INTRODUCTION

Augustine planned and wrote commentaries on Genesis at least five times during the approximately forty years of his writing career.<sup>1</sup> He started writing the first of these, *On Genesis, Against the Manicheans*, around 388/389, after his return to Thagaste in order to establish a small (monastic) community in his hometown.<sup>2</sup> He began writing the second one, *On the Literal Interpretation of Genesis, an Unfinished Work*, around 393/394, after his ordination to the priesthood.<sup>3</sup> Later in *Reconsiderations at length*,<sup>4</sup> Augustine explained the method, origin, and end of these first exegetical writings: in the former commentary, by employing the method of the allegorical interpretation on the Genesis-Creation Story (Gen. 1–3),

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<sup>1</sup> M.-A. Vannier, *Creatio, conversio, formatio chez s. Augustin* (Fribourg: Editions Universitaires, 1991) 83–94; G. Pelland, 'Augustin rencontre le livre de la Genèse', in G. Pelland et al. « *De Genesi contra manichaeos* » « *De Genesi ad litteram liber imperfectus liber imperfectus* » di Agostino d'Ippona (Palermo: Augustinus, 1992) 15–53; Y. K. Kim, *Augustine's Changing Interpretations of Genesis 1–3* (Lewiston NY: Mellen, 2006) 4–7.

<sup>2</sup> *Retr.* 1.10(9).1. Concerning the 'monastic' character of the community established by Augustine, see G. Lawless, *Augustine of Hippo and His Monastic Rule* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987); D. C. Alexander, *Augustine's Early Theology of the Church: Emergence and Implications*, 386–391 (New York: Peter Lang, 2008) 179–243 and 245–318.

<sup>3</sup> *Retr.* 1.18(17).

<sup>4</sup> *Retr.* 1.10(9) and 1.18(17).

he intended to refute Manichaeism criticism of the Old Testament; and in the latter commentary, unlike the first one, a literal reading of the six days of Creation was designed for the audience. Yet, this approach was unsuccessful. He stopped writing because of his inexperience as an exegete.<sup>5</sup> Although he realised the necessity of interpreting the scriptures literally,<sup>6</sup> Augustine made his third attempt to show the reader the figurative exegesis of the creation narrative in Genesis 1. The last three books of the *Confessions* appeared about seven years after his first commitment to the literal reading. It might seem that the figurative interpretation on the *Hexameron* relates to the fulfilment of the confessions of his spiritual pilgrimage. Consequently, after about fifteen years had passed, he could finish writing a literal interpretation of the first chapters of Genesis by his comprehensive commentary, *On the Literal Interpretation of Genesis*, which was probably completed in 415.

It is interesting to note that Augustine reverted again and again to the exposition of the beginning of Genesis. He could not lose concentration and focus on the task. We may assume, then, that his effort had been made to continue to treat some difficulties involved in Genesis, even when he did not get to work on his commentary. In fact, before the publication of Augustine's first commentary, some explications of Genesis can already be seen in his earliest works. Although to understand Augustine's early views on Genesis, we must consider his early commentaries (*On Genesis*, *Against the Manicheans* and *On the Literal Interpretation of Genesis, an Unfinished Work*), is there any significant tendency towards a comprehensive interpretation? How did he make sense of difficult texts from Genesis? In this paper, the investigation of this topic will principally focus on Augustine's early works around the time, in 393/394, before he gave up on his plan of writing the first literal interpretation. What I intend to do is, first, to examine some difficulties Augustine faced in providing a first literal reading of Genesis 1:26–27 in *On the Literal Interpretation of Genesis, an Unfinished Work*.<sup>7</sup> Second, I

<sup>5</sup> See R. J. Teske, 'The Image and Likeness of God in St. Augustine's *De Genesi ad litteram liber imperfectus*', *Augustinianum* (1990) 441–451; B. Neil, 'Exploring the Limits of Literal Exegesis: Augustine's Reading of Gen 1:26', *Pacific* 19 (2006) 144–155 at 148 n. 21.

<sup>6</sup> *Retr.* 1.18(17).1.

<sup>7</sup> For the incompleteness of *Gen. litt. imp.*, see R. J. Teske (trans.), *Saint Augustine on Genesis*, FC 84 (1991) 36–9; M. Marin, 'Il "De genesi ad litteram imperfectus liber"', in G. Pelland et al. « *De Genesi contra manichaeos* » « *De Genesi ad litteram liber imperfectus liber im-*

shall turn to some interpretations in his early works. For the sake of clarity, I have divided these writings along chronological lines into two groups, and within each group, I shall consider the status of the topic. Finally, I shall venture an explanation for the change in the way in which Augustine dealt with the difficult passages, which is surely tied to the significance of his early exegesis of Genesis.

## 2 AUGUSTINE'S LITERAL READING IN *ON THE LITERAL INTERPRETATION OF GENESIS, AN UNFINISHED WORK*

When Augustine started writing *On the Literal Interpretation of Genesis, an Unfinished Work*, as he tells us in *Reconsiderations*, he seemed to appreciate the importance of the exegetical method of his present commentary. He considered it as a challenging programme for his ability:

that is, how what was said there could be understood in keeping with its historical character. In this very arduous and difficult work as well I wanted to get a sense of what I was capable of, ...<sup>8</sup>

When he exerted himself to comment on Genesis 1:26, he would not resort to an allegorical way of reading. In his former commentary, *On Genesis, Against the Manicheans*, which was written about four or five years before, he would rather have had recourse to an allegorical interpretation. A literal interpretation could not have avoided the serious danger with which the Manichaeans condemn the ordinary believers of the Catholic faith to accept what they consider blasphemy.<sup>9</sup> Yet, the present commentary, *On the Literal Interpretation of Genesis, an Unfinished*

*perfectus* » (1992) 117–151 at 118f.; E. Hill (trans.), *On Genesis*, J. E. Rotelle et al. (eds.), WSA I/13 (2002) 110f.; P. Monat, M. Dulaey, M. Scopello, and A.-I. Bouton-Touboul (eds. and trans.), *Sur le Genèse contre les manichéens; Sur la Genèse au sens littéral livre inachevé*, BA 50 (2004) 387–92; N. Kamimura, 'Augustine's Scriptural Exegesis in *De Genesi ad litteram liber unus imperfectus*', in J. Baun, A. Cameron, M. Edwards, and M. Vinzent (eds.), *StudPatr* 49 (2010) 229–234.

<sup>8</sup> *Retr.* 1.18(17); CCSL 57,54: 'hoc est quemadmodum possent secundum historicam proprietatem quae ibi dicta sunt accipi, uolui experiri in hoc quoque negotiosissimo ac difficillimo opere quid ualerem; ...'. English trans. in B. Ramsey (trans.), *Revisions*, R. Teske (ed.), WSA I/2 (2010) 78.

<sup>9</sup> See J. J. O'Meara, *The Creation of Man in St. Augustine's De Genesi ad Litteram* (Villanova PA: Villanova University Press, 1980) 14.

*Work*, remains incomplete. It can be seen how in this treatise, the literal interpretation comes to be more highly demanded and more closely linked to, and not in conflict with, his understanding of that Genesis story. Augustine firmly adhered to its exegetical method in this commentary.

In *On the Literal Interpretation of Genesis, an Unfinished Work*, Augustine managed to deal with the first chapter of Genesis up to Genesis 1:26: 'And God said: Let us make man to our image and likeness (Gn 1:26).'<sup>10</sup> At this point, he left the passage unfinished (16.55–60). When he was revising his writings in *Reconsiderations*, Augustine found this work among them and hesitated over whether to destroy it. But he did not abandon the commentary. Finally, in 427, he complemented his explanation of the verse 26 (16.61–62) and published it as 'an indication of [my] early attempts'.<sup>11</sup> Why, then, did Augustine stop interpreting the following verses in Genesis? Both in the passages (16.55–60) and its supplementary part (16.61–62), he tried to expound on the phrase 'to our image and likeness' (*ad imaginem et similitudinem dei*) and summarised his view as follows:

in which we read that *God said Let us make man to our image and likeness*, insofar as the likeness of God to which man was made can be taken to be the very Word of God, that is to say, the only-begotten Son; nor of course that man himself is that same image and likeness, equal to the Father.<sup>12</sup>

It is noteworthy that without any hesitancy, Augustine considered the human likeness to God in relation to the participation in the Likeness, who is the Word and the Son of the Father. Although in additional sections (16.61–62), he quoted a passage from 1 Corinthians 11:7 that urges the reader to reconsider the words 'to our image' as 'to his own image, and that is the Trinity itself',<sup>13</sup> there would be no reason why his first literal exposition was discontinued altogether. Thus, it may be seen

<sup>10</sup> *Gen. litt. imp.* 16.55; CSEL 28/1,497: 'Et dixit deus: faciamus hominem ad imaginem et similitudinem nostram.' English trans. in E. Hill (trans.), WSA I/13 (2002) 146.

<sup>11</sup> *Retr.* 1.18(17); CCSL 57,54: 'index ... rudimentorum meorum'.

<sup>12</sup> *Gen. litt. imp.* 16.61; CSEL 28/1,501: 'in quibus legimus dixisse deum: faciamus hominem ad imaginem et similitudinem nostram, ut similitudo dei, ad quam factus est homo, ipsum dei uerbum, hoc est unigenitus filius accipi possit: non utique ut ipse sit eadem imago et similitudo aequalis patri.' English trans. in E. Hill (trans.), WSA I/13 (2002) 150.

<sup>13</sup> *Gen. litt. imp.* 16.61; CSEL 28/1,502: 'ad imaginem suam, quod est ipsa trinitas'. English trans. in E. Hill (trans.), WSA I/13 (2002) 151.

that the serious difficulty Augustine faced was the literal interpretation of the next verse 27, particularly, the phrase: 'male and female he created them'. Since he saw the humanity created by God as an incorporeal soul with a spiritual body, it would seem to be impossible to think about the 'male and female' who had not fallen into their mortal body.

### 3 AUGUSTINE'S EARLIEST REFERENCES TO GEN. 1:26–27

We have seen that in his first literal exegesis, the problems Augustine encountered when interpreting Genesis were, first, that Genesis 1:26 speaks of human nature as the image and likeness of God and, second, that the verse 27b might demand of him a literal interpretation of 'male and female'. I shall turn to some citations of these verses found in his earliest works, and in the next section, examine some works written around the same period when Augustine began *On the Literal Interpretation of Genesis, an Unfinished Work* around 393/394.

Augustine cited the verse 26 of Genesis 1 as early as the Cassiciacum dialogues (386–387). In *Soliloquies*, the citation is found in the prayer to the whole Trinity, the one God, "who made man to your own image and likeness", which he who knows himself recognises'.<sup>14</sup> This is the fourth part of the prayer that draws explicit attention to God's governing of the universe and concludes with the text of Genesis 1:26.<sup>15</sup> Yet, Augustine did not give any explanation for the verse, apart from a kind of Delphic oracular phrase: 'know thyself'. And in *On the Catholic and the Manichean Ways of Life* (388), we find an allusion to Genesis 1:26,<sup>16</sup> in which he argues for the necessity of a divine precept to love one's neighbour as oneself. But here, he also left the text open to the explanation. In *On Genesis, Against the Manicheans* (388/389), when he dealt with the first

<sup>14</sup> *Sol.* 1.1.4; CSEL 89,9: 'qui fecisti hominem ad imaginem et similitudinem tuam, quod qui se ipse novit, agnoscit'. English trans. in G. Watson (trans.), *Saint Augustine: Soliloquies and Immortality of the Soul* (Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 1990) 29.

<sup>15</sup> For the structure of the prayer at the beginning of *Soliloquies*, see O. Du Roy, *L'Intelligence de la foi en la Trinité selon saint Augustin* (Paris: Études Augustiniennes, 1966) 196–206; D. Doucet, 'Recherche de Dieu, Incarnation et philosophie: *Sol.* I, 1, 2–6', *REAug* 36 (1990) 91–119; H. Stirnimann, *Grund und Gründe des Alls: Augustins Gebet in den Selbstgesprächen* (*Sol.* I, 1, 2–6) (Freiburg, Schweiz: Universitätsverlag, 1992).

<sup>16</sup> *Mor.* 1.26.49; CSEL 90,53: 'non enim contentus fuit uno, qui sciret aliud deum esse aliud hominem; atque interesse tantum, quantum inter eum qui creavit et id quod ad creatoris similitudinem creatum est.'

chapter of Genesis, Augustine's primary concern with the Manichaean anthropomorphic interpretation directs the audience to read it for spiritual insights. Augustine thought of the image and likeness of God in the 'interior man' in terms of the expression of human superiority to the other animals.<sup>17</sup> In Book 1, he expounded on the verse 27b, 'Male and female he made them', and the subsequent divine blessing in Genesis 1:28, thereby indicating 'a chaste coupling of male and female' and 'a spiritual brood of intellectual and immortal joys'.<sup>18</sup> Again in Book 2, Augustine offered an allegorical interpretation that describes their union as the superior (rational) and the inferior (appetite) aspects of the soul.<sup>19</sup> Hence, in his first commentary on Genesis, he did not yield a literal interpretation of these verses.

In *On True Religion* (written in c. 390 at Thagaste), which is the last of his works prior to his ordination to the priesthood, there are several citations of Genesis 1:26. It is evident from these that Augustine regarded the soul's complete transformation into the eternal life within the septenary ascending stages toward God as its being made according to the image and likeness of God.<sup>20</sup> He also defined the image and likeness as the Son.<sup>21</sup>

[T]he Father of Truth is supremely the One, the Father of his own Wisdom, which is called his likeness, in no respect at all unlike him, and his image because it is from him. And so the Son is rightly said to be *from* him, everything else to be *through* him.<sup>22</sup>

Thus, among his earliest works, Augustine viewed God's image and likeness as the Son of God. But he had not yet worked out a literal interpretation of Genesis 1:27b.

<sup>17</sup> *Gen. adv. Man.* 1.16.25–26 and 2.7.9. At this point Augustine's dependance on Ambrose's *Hexaemeron* is clearly admitted: see R. Teske, *Augustine of Hippo: Philosopher, Exegete, and Theologian* (Milwaukee WI: Marquette University Press, 2009) 277.

<sup>18</sup> *Gen. adv. Man.* 1.19.30; CSEL 91.97–98: 'casta coniunctio masculi et feminae ... et spiritalis fetus intellegibilium et immortalium gaudiorum'. English trans. in E. Hill (trans.), WSA I/13 (2002) 58.

<sup>19</sup> *Gen. adv. Man.* 2.12.16.

<sup>20</sup> *Vera rel.* 26.49.

<sup>21</sup> *Vera rel.* 43.81–44.82.

<sup>22</sup> *Vera rel.* 43.81; CCSL 32.241: 'summe unus est pater ueritatis, pater suae sapientiae, quae nulla ex parte dissimilis similitudo eius dicta est et imago, quia de ipso est. Itaque etiam filius recte dicitur ex ipso, cetera per ipsum.' English trans. in E. Hill (trans.), *On Christian Belief*, B. Ramsey (ed.), WSA I/8 (2005) 85.

#### 4 AUGUSTINE'S REFERENCES TO GEN. 1: 26–27 AROUND 393/394

I now consider the second group of his works which, written around the same period *On the Literal Interpretation of Genesis, an Unfinished Work* was started, contains *Sermon 1* and 259, *Letter 23, On the Lord's Sermon on the Mount* and *Against Adimantus, a Disciple of Mani*.

The first to be considered is *Sermon 1*, dating from 391–393 (394–395 or before 396),<sup>23</sup> against the Manichaeans, in which Augustine compared the passage of Genesis 1: 1 with the opening of the Gospel of John<sup>24</sup> and interpreted the 'beginning' as the Son of God through whom all things are made. With reference to the doctrine of the Trinity, that is, the three persons in God, it is interesting that in the last part of this sermon,<sup>25</sup> Augustine assumed that the Manichaeans had also accepted the doctrine, despite their consistent rejection of the God of the Old Testament. For this, a passage of Genesis 1: 26–27 is crucial: 'Let us make man to our image and likeness'; and 'God made man to the image of God'.

Though even if it was not plain, and trinity were not being suggested to perceptive readers under the naming of unity, that is no reason why the beginning of the gospel should strike careful readers as contradicting the beginning of Genesis.<sup>26</sup>

The approach that the Christian should discern the inner harmony of the scriptures is essential to Augustine's theory of biblical exegesis. Hence, not only did he imply that the image of God the Trinity is the only Son,

<sup>23</sup> For information on chronological matters of the sermons, see most recently J. J. O'Donnell, 'Envoi: After Augustine?', in M. Vessey (ed.), *A Companion to Augustine* (Chichester, West Sussex: Blackwell, 2012) 512–513; P.-M. Hombert, *Nouvelles recherches de chronologie augustinienne* (Paris: Institut d'Études Augustiniennes, 2000); H. R. Drobner, *Augustinus von Hippo: Sermones ad populum. Überlieferung und Bestand* (Leiden: Brill, 2000); F. Dolbeau, *Augustin et la prédication en Afrique: Recherches sur divers sermons authentiques, apocryphes ou anonymes* (Paris: Institut d'Études Augustiniennes, 2005). For a chart listing of the sermons, see E. Rebillard, 'Sermones', in *ATA* (1999) 774–789; 'Chronological Table', in J. E. Rotelle (ed.), *Sermons*, WSA III/1 (1990) 138–163; P.-P. Verbraken, *Études critiques sur les sermons authentiques de saint Augustin* (Steenbrugge: Martinus Nijhoff, 1976). Concerning the chronology of *Serm. 1*, see also E. Hill (trans.), WSA III/1, 172 n.1.

<sup>24</sup> *Serm. 1.1*.

<sup>25</sup> *Serm. 1.5*.

<sup>26</sup> *Serm. 1.5*; CCSL 41.5: 'Quamquam etiam si non appareret, et sub unitatis appellatione trinitas intellegendis insinueretur; non ideo contrarium principio Geneseos, euangelii principium uideri debuit prudentibus.' English trans. in E. Hill (trans.), *Sermons*, WSA III/1 (1990) 171.

but he also spoke of the Son in such other texts as Matthew 5: 34–35 and Romans 11: 33–36.

Next, *Sermon* 259, preached around 393 (394 or circa 400) at the Basilica of Peace in Hippo Regius,<sup>27</sup> contains the exposition of the words from the Gospel of John 20: 19–29. In this sermon, after clarifying how the ‘eighth day, octave, day represents the new life at the end of the age’,<sup>28</sup> Augustine showed his congregations the seventh day as the future rest the saints will have on Earth. He also talked about the sixth day and, with the citation of Genesis 1: 27a: ‘in the image of God’, offers a spiritual interpretation of this sixth day:

... in this age, as in the sixth day of the whole course of time, we are made new in baptism in order to receive the image of our maker.<sup>29</sup>

*Letter* 23, dating from between 391 and 395, addressed to Maximinus, the Donatist bishop on Siniti in Numidia,<sup>30</sup> provides a passage from Genesis 1: 26 in its opening, in which Augustine explained the reason why he showed proper respect and consideration for the addressee at the time of his first contact with the Donatist bishop.

I, therefore, willingly call you ‘honourable’ on the basis of that rule by which I know that you are a human being and know that a human being has been made

<sup>27</sup> Concerning the chronology of *Serm.* 259, see E. Hill (trans.), *Sermons*, WSA III/7 (1993) 181 n.1.

<sup>28</sup> *Serm.* 259.2; PL 38,1197: ‘Octavus ergo iste dies in fine saeculi novam vitam significat’. English trans. in E. Hill (trans.), WSA III/7, 175.

<sup>29</sup> *Serm.* 259.2; PL 38,1198: ‘in isto tempore, quasi sexto die totius saeculi, renovamur in Baptismo, ut recipiamus imaginem Conditoris nostri.’ English trans. in E. Hill (trans.), WSA III/7, 176.

<sup>30</sup> For the letters of Augustine (with chronological issues), see F. Morgenstern, *Die Briefpartner des Augustinus von Hippo: Prosopographische, Sozial- und Ideologiegeschichtliche Untersuchungen* (Bochum: Universitätsverlag Dr. N. Brockmeyer, 1993); R. B. Eno, ‘*Epistulae*’, in *ATA* (1999) 298–310; J. Divjak, ‘*Epistulae*’, in *AL* 2:5/6 (2001) 893–1057; W. Löhr, ‘Die Briefsammlung’, in V. H. Drecoll (ed.), *Augustin Handbuch* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2007) 416–427; S. Lancel, ‘Introduction’, in S. Lancel and E. Bermon (eds. and trans.), *Lettres 1–30*, BA 40/A (2011) 159–175. See in general also L.-J. Wankenne, ‘La langue de la correspondance de saint Augustine’, *Revue Bénédictine* 94 (1984) 102–153; P. Allen, ‘The Horizons of a Bishop’s World: The Letters of Augustine of Hippo’, in W. Mayer, P. Allen, and L. Cross (eds.), *Prayer and Spirituality in the Early Church* 4 (Sydney: St Pauls Publications, 2006) 327–337; eadem, ‘How to Study Episcopal Letter-writing in Late Antiquity: An Overview of Published Work on the Fifth and Sixth Centuries’, in V. Baranov, K. Demura, and B. Lourie (eds.), *Scrinium. Revue de patrologie, d’hagiographie critique et d’histoire ecclésiastique* 6 (Piscataway NJ: Gorgias Press) 142–154.



to the image and likeness of God and placed in a position of honour by the very order and law of nature, ...<sup>31</sup>

Yet, he did not offer a further explanation for the verse 27. And this is the only example found in his letters written before 393/394.

I shall turn to his citations from his writing, *On the Lord's Sermon on the Mount*, written in c. 392/396. Since Augustine was concerned with the study of Scripture after his ordination,<sup>32</sup> in the first part of the book 1,<sup>33</sup> we read Augustine's first extended exegesis on the New Testament, in which he interpreted the eight maxims (Matth. 5: 3–10) in terms of the ascent of the soul. With regard to the seventh step, he explained twice as follows:

'Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called the children of God.' Where there is no contention, there is perfect peace. And, because nothing can contend against God, the children of God are peacemakers; for, of course, children ought to have a likeness to their father.<sup>34</sup>

Finally, the seventh maxim is wisdom itself; it is the contemplation of truth, making the whole man peaceful, and taking on the likeness to God. It is summed up in this way: 'Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called the children of God.'<sup>35</sup>

There is an interesting element in his interpretation of the Sermon on the Mount that should be indicated, such as the point that the human likeness to God is clearly defined as the Son. He previously commented on Genesis 1: 26 in *On True Religion*;<sup>36</sup> there he was also concerned with

<sup>31</sup> *Ep.* 23.1; CCSL 31,61: 'Honorabilem igitur ex ea regula te libenter appello, qua noui te esse hominem, et noui hominem ad imaginem dei et similitudinem factum, et in honore positum ipso ordine et iure naturae, ...'. English trans. in R. Teske (trans.), *Letters 1–99*, WSA II/1 (2001) 63.

<sup>32</sup> *Serm.* 355.2; *Ep.* 21.3–4. See also S. Lancel, *Saint Augustine*, A. Nevill (trans.) (London: SCM Press, 1999) 152.

<sup>33</sup> *Serm. dom. mont.* 1.2.4–4.12.

<sup>34</sup> *Serm. dom. mont.* 1.2.9; CCSL 35,6: 'BEATI PACIFICI, QVONIAM IPSI FILII DEI VOCABVNTVR. In pace perfectio est, ubi nihil repugnat; et ideo filii dei pacifici, quoniam nihil resistit deo et utique filii similitudinem patris habere debent.' English trans. in D. J. Kavanagh (trans.), FC 11 (1951) 23.

<sup>35</sup> *Serm. dom. mont.* 1.3.10; CCSL 35,8–9: 'Postrema est septima ipsa sapientia, id est contemplatio ueritatis, pacificans totum hominem et suscipiens similitudinem dei, quae ita concluditur: BEATI PACIFICI, QVONIAM IPSI FILII DEI VOCABVNTVR.' English trans. in D. J. Kavanagh (trans.), FC 11, 26.

<sup>36</sup> *Vera rel.* 43.81.

the soul's ascension toward God. At this point, Augustine consistently regarded the likeness as lying in the human soul by virtue of which 'this same pre-eminent faculty of man [scil. mind and reason] is itself subject to a still higher power, which is Truth Itself, the only begotten Son of God'.<sup>37</sup>

The last work examined in this section is *Against Adimantus, a Disciple of Mani*, written around 392 (or 394) when he was still a priest, addresses the Manichaean criticism of the incompatibility of the Old and the New Testament.<sup>38</sup> The procedure of this work is to cite passages from a work of Adimantus, which came into Augustine's hands, and show them to the reader with his comments.<sup>39</sup> Since this work follows the sequence of the Old Testament, in its first part, we read the Manichaean oppositions to Genesis and Augustine's responses.<sup>40</sup> First, Augustine identified the Manichaeans' claim that the words in Genesis 1:26, 'Let us make man to our image and likeness', were opposed to the words of Christ, who called the Jews children of the devil (John 8:44) and a brood of vipers (Matth. 3:7, 23:33). Then, he marked a significant difference in these verses as follows:

They do not understand that the former statement, that man was made to the image and likeness to God, was said of man before he sinned, but that the latter statement in the gospel, *You are from your father, the devil*, is said to sinners and unbelievers.<sup>41</sup>

Although, later in *Reconsiderations*, he mentioned another use of the term 'sons' in the scriptures,<sup>42</sup> it is clear that he regarded the image and likeness to God as the Son of God. It is noteworthy that in the next section of this chapter (5.2) Augustine cited another passage necessary to comprehend the meaning of the text in Genesis.

<sup>37</sup> *Serm. dom. mont.* 1.2.9; CCSL 35,6: 'id ipsum quod excellit in homine ... subiciatur potiori, quod est ipsa ueritas unigenitus dei filius.' English trans. in D. J. Kavanagh (trans.), FC 11, 24.

<sup>38</sup> *Retr.* 1.22(21).1.

<sup>39</sup> See N. Baker-Brian, *Manichaeism in the Later Roman Empire: A Study of Augustine's Contra Adimantum* (Lewiston NY: Edwin Mellen, 2009) 25–26.

<sup>40</sup> *C. Adim.* 1–5.

<sup>41</sup> *C. Adim.* 5.1; CSEL 25,124: 'non intellegunt illud dictum esse de homine antequam peccaret, quod factus est ad imaginem et similitudinem dei, hoc autem, quod in euangelio est, *uos ex patre diabolo estis peccatoribus et infidelibus dici*.' English trans. in R. Teske (trans.), *The Manichean Debate*, WSA I/19 (2006) 181.

<sup>42</sup> *Retr.* 1.22 (21).3.

*A man certainly ought not to veil his head since he is the image and glory of God, but a woman is the glory of her husband. (1 Cor 11:7)*<sup>43</sup>

And Augustine advised the audience as follows:

And in order that we might clearly understand that man was made to the image of God, ... according to his spiritual formation, the same apostle admonishes us that, having stripped off the habit of sin, that is, our old self, we should put on the new life of Christ, which he calls our new self.<sup>44</sup>

With regard to his view of the renewal of the self, it was confirmed by the addition of relevant messages from Colossians 3:9–10<sup>45</sup> and John 1:12.<sup>46</sup> Thus, it may be that, at this point of the work, Augustine had in mind that the words ‘made to the image of God’ are understood as the Son of God in terms of the spiritual transformation into ‘our new self’.

## 5 CONCLUSION

I have shown, in this paper, that Augustine’s view of Genesis 1:26 evolved gradually during about several years between the Cassiciacum dialogues (387) and *On the Literal Interpretation of Genesis, an Unfinished Work* (393/394). In the third section of this paper, I have offered certain signposts that enable us to understand more clearly what he was speaking of in a difficult passage of Genesis, how he was shaping the interpretation of Genesis 1:26–27a and not interpreting the verse 27b (‘male and female he created them’) at all. In fact, as shown in the first section, he could expound on the words, ‘to our image and likeness’ in *On the Literal Interpretation of Genesis, an Unfinished Work* and could understand the human likeness to God in terms of the participation in the Likeness, who is the Word and the Son of the Father. Yet, no doubt it was not only able to be achieved through Augustine’s effort in this commentary, but also

<sup>43</sup> C. Adim. 5.2; CSEL 25,125: ‘uir quidem non debet uelare caput. cum sit imago et gloria dei, mulier autem gloria uiri.’ English trans. in R. Teske (trans.), WSA I/19, 182.

<sup>44</sup> C. Adim. 5.2; CSEL 25,125: ‘et ut manifeste intellegatur ... secundum spiritalem conformationem factum esse hominem ad imaginem dei, item apostolus monet, ut exuti consuetudine peccatorum, id est uetere homine, induamus nouam uitam Christi, quem nouum hominem appellat.’ English trans. in R. Teske (trans.), WSA I/19, 182.

<sup>45</sup> Col. 3:9–10: ‘Stripping off your old self with its actions, put on your new self that is being renewed in the knowledge of God in accord with the image of him who created it’.

<sup>46</sup> John 1:12: ‘He gave them the power to become sons of God’.

by the continued commitment to the text in another works. In the case of Genesis 1: 27b, after offering an allegorical interpretation in *On Genesis, Against the Manicheans*, there were no citations in his writings before 393/394.

Why did Augustine continue the interpretation of Genesis 1: 26, while passing over Genesis 1: 27b? It is interesting to note that the same passage from 1 Corinthians 11: 7 is found in both *Against Adimantus, a Disciple of Mani* and the complementary part of *On the Literal Interpretation of Genesis, an Unfinished Work* (written in 427). From this verse, Augustine would proceed with the literal interpretation and show the reason why Genesis 1: 26 (Let us make man to our image and likeness) uses the plurals 'faciamus' and 'nostram' if God made man in the image of the Son. It would, thus, seem reasonable to suppose that Augustine did anticipate the complementary reading in showing the reader its passage in *Against Adimantus, a Disciple of Mani*. The subset of relevant material for the interpretation of Genesis 1: 26 has been referred to and, indeed, texts such as the emphasis on the whole Trinity, the expression of human superiority to other animals and the spiritual transformation of the soul were explicitly repeated in his early works. Despite the fact that he did not do a literal reading of these works, these elements contribute to the understanding of Genesis 1: 26 in both *Against Adimantus, a Disciple of Mani* and *On the Literal Interpretation of Genesis, an Unfinished Work*. An important factor that can be said to have combined these elements is Augustine's primary concern for the internal unity and harmony of the scriptures. Some biblical texts were persistently charged by Manichaeans with the conflict between the Old and the New Testaments. Hence, particularly after his ordination to the priesthood in 391, together with his spending much more time on the study of the scriptures, Augustine would consider this Genesis text in the context of their relation with one another, pointing out that it referred to a correlation between the image and likeness of the Son and its spiritual implications. While almost ignoring Genesis 1: 27b, the Manichaeans, at least in the works of Augustine, have been of particular interest to the opposition between the words of Genesis and those of Christ. This is the case, too, with Augustine's special concern.

### 3

## The Role of Eve in Salvation in Augustine's Interpretation of Genesis 3\*

MAKIKO SATO

The story of Adam and Eve in Genesis chapter 3 has been a foundation for understanding the aspects of humans' inner nature. Augustine's interpretation of this story is no exception. He interprets that Adam, who has free will, committed sin, and attributes the origin of human weakness of will to the original sin. Why did Adam's will run counter to the ideal will which wants to obey the law of God? Eve committed sin earlier before he did it, and encouraged him to do with her. Is the significance of Eve's existence only to induce Adam to sin? Augustine does not show his thoughts about this problem clearly in his commentary on Genesis. He, however, deals with the problem when he examines his own sin in early adolescence in *Confessions* book 2. It is important that how he understands the reason Adam committed sin and how he interprets the existence of Eve is discussed based on the argument of *Confessions* book 2.

In this paper, it will be shown that Augustine finds positive significance in Eve for human salvation. Augustine finds the meaning of cooperation among humans in Adam and Eve's minds. It also will be shown that the motive of God's call to Adam is reflected in *Confessions*.

\* This article is a reworking of my 'Why did I commit a sin?: Augustine's reflection on his own evil', *Sanshokuki* 788 (Tokyo: Keio University Press, 2013) 4–9. Revised and presented at the Conference 'Early Christian Centuries 1: Men and Women in Early Christianity', held at Australian Catholic University, Melbourne, on 3 October 2013.

## 1 A DESIRE TO REJOICE TOGETHER

Augustine wrote three commentaries on Genesis: *On Genesis, Against the Manicheans* (388–9), *On the Literal Interpretation of Genesis, an Unfinished Work* (393), and *On the Literal Interpretation of Genesis* (401–414). Also in the final three books of *Confessions* (397–401), he shows his interpretation of Genesis. Of these, *On Genesis, Against the Manicheans* and *On the Literal Interpretation of Genesis, an Unfinished Work* deal with chapter 3 of Genesis: the story of Adam and Eve in Eden.<sup>1</sup> In these two commentaries, Augustine considers the reason Adam and Eve committed their crime and offers his view that they had a love of their own and haughtiness by which they betrayed God's law.<sup>2</sup>

In *On the Literal Interpretation of Genesis*, Augustine points the different reason between Adam and Eve, not mentioning it in *On Genesis, Against the Manicheans*. According to this text, Eve had inferior intelligence (*parvus intellectus*), and was living according to the spirit of the flesh. She was deceived by the snake because she was not living according to the spirit of the mind. On the other hand, Adam, who was the image and glory of God, had a spiritual mind. Therefore, he could not be deceived like Eve. Despite this, he ate of the forbidden fruit as well, when Eve offered it to him. Why did he do this? Augustine shows his interpretation as follows:

He did not wish to make her sad, fearing she would waste away without his support, alienated from his affections, and that this dissention would be her death.<sup>3</sup>

Augustine thinks that Adam accepted Eve's temptation, in that he did not wish to make her sad.<sup>4</sup> This interpretation does not mean that Adam

<sup>1</sup> Augustine refers to the transgression of Adam and Eve also in other books not in the style of running commentary (see e.g. *Civ. dei* 14). I will mention them only when it can be read peculiar interpretation unlike the two commentaries.

<sup>2</sup> See *Gen. adv. Man.* 2.15.22; CSEL 91,143: 'suam potestatem nimis amarent et, cum esse deo pares volunt': *Gen. litt.* 11.30.39; CSEL 28/1,363: 'inesset menti amor ille propriae potestatis et quaedam de se superba praesumptio': *Gen. litt.* 11.42.59; CSEL 28/1,378: 'uirum propter aliquam mentis elationem . . . sollicitauit aliqua experiendi cupiditas'.

<sup>3</sup> *Gen. litt.* 11.42.59; CSEL 28/1,378: 'noluit eam contristare, quam credebatur posse sine suo solatio contabescere, si ab eius alienaretur animo, et omnino illa interire discordia'. English trans. in J. H. Taylor (trans.), *St. Augustine: The Literal Meaning of Genesis*, vol. 2, ACW 42 (1982) 176.

<sup>4</sup> Also in *City of God* (14.11), Augustine shows his interpretation that Adam did not want

committed the crime unwillingly because he cherished her. In this statement's argument, Augustine mentions the love of King Solomon, who has excellent wisdom, toward women, and the kind friendship (*amicalis benevolentia*) that a person has toward friends generally. Both are minds that a person has when he or she loves people. If Adam is concerned that he may make her sad when he declines her temptation, as Augustine says, he should know her affection for him and should also know his affection for her. Augustine takes note of the mind that is born when people love each other.

If such a state of mind is what allowed to be tempted, is the mind bad and should it not be followed? And is Eve only a seducer causing Adam's love? Augustine does not show his thoughts about such questions in this Genesis commentary. But it is possible to read his thoughts from the argument examining his own theft in *Confessions* book 2. According to the argument, he, who was sixteen years old, came back home from a school in the town far from his home, because of the economical circumstances and spent time with friends. One night he and his friends stole fruit. It is not that Augustine wanted the fruit. Augustine explains that he wanted to enjoy the excitement of thieving and the sin itself. Why does such a desire come about? Augustine reflects on his mind at that time and assumes that he attempted to imitate God.

Augustine's thoughts are as follows: a theft is not a crime because human law forbid it. In fact, no thief can with equanimity endure being robbed by another thief. This fact reflects that theft is considered to be evil by the laws written in our hearts. The law against thievery is, so to speak, one made by God who created human beings. Therefore, when we want to enjoy thieving itself, we are acting against God and attempting to take alternative law of our hearts, such that theft is good for us to do. This is an imitation of God, in that we attempt to gain the deific freedom by deciding good and evil. However, even if we attempt to gain such a freedom, men cannot do that in the same way as God. Augustine analyzes his own mind and says 'Acting like a prisoner, I

to break off the unique alliance with Eve. For the development of Augustine's vision of marriage based on such exegesis, see E. A. Clark '«Adam's Only Companion»: Augustine and the Early Christian Debate on Marriage', *RechAug* 21 (1986) 139–162. See also E. A. Clark (ed.), *St. Augustine on Marriage and Sexuality* (Washington DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 1996).

imitated a maimed freedom (*manca libertas*).<sup>5</sup> Even when we want to enjoy thieving, we are under the dominion of God's law, in that we agree that thieving is evil. Augustine points out the powerlessness of men captured by God's law and lacking the power to decide good and evil absolutely.

The argument similar to this which points out the powerlessness of men going to imitate God has been already made in *On Genesis, Against the Manicheans*.<sup>6</sup> What is to be noted in the text in *Confessions* is that Augustine regards this desire to imitate God as a necessary condition to commit evil, but does not regards it as sufficient alone. He says that if he had been alone, he would not have stolen.<sup>7</sup> It had been fun because he did it with friends. When as soon as his friends proposed, 'Let us go and do it', he was ashamed not to be shameless. Why does the mind enjoying thieving arise from being with friends? 'To be shameless' is to not thief in this case. He was ashamed in that he identified with the good and evil law settled by friends—it is no more than one made by imitating a 'maimed freedom'. By the result that he judges his act based on this law, he becomes ashamed to not thief and becomes pleased with friends when he thieves. It is nothing but that one chooses to be pleased with it to consider something to be good. To rejoice with someone connects to accept his law.

Now it is clear that Augustine takes the story of Adam and Eve into account, when he writes about his own evil act. These two stories agree at the following points: (1) One took fruits from forbidden tree, (2) one commits the sin with friends when encouraged by them, and (3) the sin is regarded as turning away from God. It is also clear that Augustine's viewpoint, attaching importance to his desire to rejoice with his friends reflects on the interpretation of Adam's state of mind. Augustine thinks that Adam wanted to rejoice with Eve whom he loved. This point was not mentioned in *On Genesis, Against the Manicheans*, but, as noted above, is mentioned in *On the Literal Interpretation of Genesis* written after *Confessions*. It can be presumed that his consideration of reflecting on his own act let him deepen the interpretation of the story of Adam and Eve.

<sup>5</sup> *Conf.* 2.6.14: BA 13,354: '*mancam libertatem* captius imitarer'. Italics mine.

<sup>6</sup> See *Gen. adv. Man.* 2.15.22; CSEL 91,144: 'Non enim accepit hominis natura, ut per suam potestatem deo non regente beata sit; quia nullo regente per suam potestatem beatus esse solus deus potest.' Cf. n. 2 above.

<sup>7</sup> See *Conf.* 2.8.16.



## 2 THEFT AS FORNICATION

The desire to rejoice with people itself necessarily should not be blamed. Indeed, Augustine describes an experience of conversion as an experience that was had with his friend and that they enjoyed together. Also the mysticism in Ostia is described as an experience that was had with his mother. These descriptions show that Augustine recognizes positive meaning in the desire to rejoice with people. This desire is necessary for salvation. He pays attention to the fact that the same desire can make man turn away from God and plunge him into evil.

Before the story about his act of theft, Augustine talks that his father was pleased to know about his son's awakening of sexual desire, and that his mother worried about that.<sup>8</sup> His mother advised him not to fall into fornication, and above all not to commit adultery with someone else's wife. Young Augustine, however, thought that it was shameful to accept his mother's advice. This topic about fornication and the topic about the theft are not clearly related to one another. But Augustine mentions the idea of fornication one time when he wrote about the act of theft.

So the soul fornicates when it is turned away from you and seeks outside you the pure and clear thing which are not to be found except by returning to you.<sup>9</sup>

Some interpret that the story of Augustine's act of theft is really a metaphorical explanation of his act of adultery with someone else's wife. The fact that he felt ashamed to accept his mother's advice may indeed show that Augustine had been pleased with fornication. But as we see above in *On the Literal Interpretation of Genesis*, Augustine identifies with Adam's mindset toward Eve, with the love toward women and warm friendship. Augustine calls reader's attention to the common mindset between fornication and theft, not that one is the fact and the other is a metaphor.<sup>10</sup> What is the common mindset between fornication and theft? In the above citation, Augustine calls the mind turning away from

<sup>8</sup> See *Conf.* 2.3.6.

<sup>9</sup> *Conf.* 2.6.14; BA 13,354: 'Ita fornicatur anima, cum auertitur abs te et quaerit extra te ea quae pura et liquida non inuenit, nisi cum redit ad te.' English trans. in H. Chadwick, *Saint Augustine: Confessions*, Oxford World's Classics (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998) 32.

<sup>10</sup> James J. O'Donnell points out that 'the pear-theft is transgression pure and simple, of the fundamental kind that explains and reenacts the fall into sexual concupiscence'. See *Augustine: Confessions*, vol. 2: Commentary on Books 1–7 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992) 127.

God 'fornication'. Fornication is certainly to turn away from a person whom we should love and seek and turn toward another person, and try to be pleased with this person, just like adultery with someone else's partner. In our love for our own partner, the act is not evil. Therefore, the mind loving someone itself is not evil and the person whom we love is not evil. Rather, when we turn love in the wrong direction, fornication is executed as sin.

Augustine's act of theft is, as we see above, considered to be the act of turning away from God and wanting to rejoice with friends not with God. The theft resembles fornication, because love is directed wrongly.<sup>11</sup> The sin of Adam was also fornication, in that Adam turned away from God and wanted to be pleased with Eve. Augustine's mention of fornication is a symbolic expression that focuses on the situation that a necessary component of salvation can bring about an evil act. Then, how is it possible for men to love both God and other people? How is it possible for Adam to love both God and Eve?

Let us see the argument that Augustine reflects on his act of confession, after he confessed his past acts in *Confessions* books 1–9. In book 10, he expects readers to rejoice on his account when they approve of him, and to grieve when they disapprove of him.<sup>12</sup> He says that is to love him. Readers approve of his not turning away from God, and disapprove of his turning away from God. Augustine thinks that people should rejoice with others only when he or she does not turn away from God, and should grieve when he or she turns away.

Regarding grief and sadness, we already see Augustine's interpretation that Adam did not want to make Eve sad. In both texts, Augustine mentions that this is the mind that arises when people cannot rejoice together. People can feel sad, because they have the desire to rejoice together. Augustine calls this desire, giving rise to rejoicing and grieving, love. It therefore can be said that the act of confession is regarded as a place where human can rejoice and grieve together. Even when we or a partner turn away from God, Augustine thinks that, people can avoid compounding their sin as Adam did, by grieving, not rejoicing. The act

<sup>11</sup> See G. Clark (ed.), *Augustine: Confessions Books I–IV* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995) 106: Gillian Clark notes a reflection of an Old Testament image in 'fornicatio'. Cf. Ps. 72: 27: 'perdidisti omnem qui fornicator abs te'.

<sup>12</sup> *Conf.* 10.4.5; BA 14,148: 'sed fraternus ille, qui cum approbat me, gaudet de me, cum autem improbat me, contristatur pro me, quia siue approbet siue improbet me, diligit me.'

of the confession itself is seen as the practice for salvation.

### 3 SHAME AND CONFESSION

Now let us consider again that Augustine mentions the consciousness of shame when he writes about his thieving. According to the argument, Augustine feels ashamed if he does not accept his friends' law. Man feels ashamed when he does not execute the law made by a person with whom he wants to rejoice. Augustine mentions this again when he writes about his mother's advice. Because he wanted to rejoice with his friends at that time, he was ashamed to accept the law that his mother recommended.

If man lives absolutely alone, he cannot feel ashamed whatever he does. The existence of other people with whom he wants to rejoice gives him consciousness of shame. Because of the existence of other people, man can know the condition of his desire. Because of them, man can know himself.

The reason Augustine mentions the concept of shame in *Confessions* book 2 is that Genesis chapter 3 tells us that Adam and Eve felt ashamed after they ate the fruit. Augustine interprets that they were shamed because they were conscious of their sexual desire.<sup>13</sup> According to Augustine's interpretation, sexual desire was brought about as punishment, because this desire signifies human mortality. Adam and Eve could know themselves when they felt ashamed. Because of Eve's existence, Adam can know himself. It was the tree by which one can know good and evil that they ate the fruit.

Adam and Eve felt ashamed once more when God called them in the evening. They heard God's calling and hid themselves. God knows everything, but God let them confess their sin. Adam and Eve's answer to God was not honest. Augustine criticizes their insincerity.

*And Adam replied, 'The woman whom you gave to be my companion gave me fruit of the tree, and I ate.'* What pride! Did he say, 'I have sinned'? He has the deformity of confusion, not the humility of confession.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>13</sup> See *Gen. litt.* 11.31.41–42.

<sup>14</sup> *Gen. litt.* 11.35.47; CSEL 28/1.369: 'et dixit Adam: mulier, quam dedisti mecum, haec mihi dedit a ligno, et edi. superbia! numquid dixit: peccaui? habet deformitatem confusionis et non habet confessionis humilitatem.' English trans. in J. H. Taylor (trans.), *St. Augustine:*

Augustine also criticizes Eve's reply for God and says, 'She too fails to confess her sin'. It is clear that Augustine thinks that to God demanded the humility of confession when He called Adam. To confess is to reply to God's calling. When Augustine makes his own confession in *Confessions*, he must regard the act as his reply to the voice of God calling him.

We feel ashamed before people whom we love, but ultimately we must feel ashamed before God, because God's law is the only law we should follow. Augustine's act of confession in the *Confessions* is done before both God and people. This book, as we considered above, is the practice salvation. Augustine's intent when he confesses his sin in this book is to avoid compounding Adam's sin when Adam tried to hide himself from God.

## 4

# The Word and Our Words: Augustine's View of Words Based on John 1:3\*

MAKIKO SATO

### 1 INTRODUCTION

The Greek word 'λόγος' primarily means 'word,' in that it comes from 'λέγειν' which means 'to say'. Since Heraclitus drew special attention to 'λόγος', many philosophers have considered the relationship between the hidden order of the cosmos and our human words. The opening of the Gospel of John is a leitmotif in which one considers the concept of 'λόγος', the Word. John describes, in John 1:1-3, the Word as God in God, through which all things were made. It is not necessarily clear what John intends to indicate in the verses. Church fathers interpret his verses by connecting them with the first verse of Genesis. They think all things in the world, including us, are made through the Word. What kind of meaning did they think it had for us to be made through the Word?

This paper focuses on the Latin Father Augustine (354-430), especially on his early and middle periods. In these periods, he produced several writings and discussions on language.<sup>1</sup> Much attention has been given to his philosophy of language, but little study has been done on his understanding of our word based on the creation theory, as Augustine does not explicitly and systematically express it. But that does not mean

\* A draft of this study was presented at the 7th conference of Asia-Pacific Early Christian Studies Society, held in Presbyterian College and Theological Seminary, Seoul, on 6 July 2012.

<sup>1</sup> See *Dial.* (386/7), *Mag.* (389), *Doc. chr.* (396-426/427), and *Conf.* (397-400/1).

that he does not consider it. In order to elucidate his thought, first I shall examine Augustine's interpretation of John 1:3 based on Platonism. Second, I shall examine the concept of the Word based on his semiotics. And finally, I shall consider what kind of meaning he finds in that we humans were made through the Word.

## 2 THE WORD AS FORM

We can presume how Augustine understood John 1:3 before his conversion (386) from his *Confessions* (397–400/1).<sup>2</sup> In Book 4 and 5, Augustine explains that he could not understand God as creator of all things, when he was a Manichee.<sup>3</sup> Manicheism taught him that evil was a material substance and was not made by God. Such understanding that all things are made by God, as John 1:3 represents, was not plainly acceptable for Augustine at that time. After his leaving Manicheism, Augustine encountered 'some books of the Platonists'.<sup>4</sup> Augustine says in Book 7 that he read the same ideas in these books as he read in the Bible, including John 1:3. Augustine learned the Platonic notion of evil as privation of being, and accepted that God made all things. How then did he interpret the Word in John 1:3 through which God made all things? Although he does not explicitly explain it in Book 7, Augustine must have gained some kind of understanding. He says after his reading of the Platonic books: 'I inspected the other things below you (God), and I saw that they neither completely are, nor completely are not.'<sup>5</sup> The term 'completely (*omnino*)' indicates the level of the fulfilment of being. Augustine expresses his agreement with the Platonic thinking that divides all things according to hierarchy of being.

Let us pay attention to the term '*omnino*' in other writings to clarify his understanding of the Word. In one case, Augustine uses it as a term

<sup>2</sup> Augustine started his writings after his conversion (386). As Hugh Houghton points out, 'there are few citations of the Gospel according to John in Augustine's writings before his ordination in 391.' (H. A. G. Houghton, *Augustine's Text of John: Patristic Citations and Latin Gospel Manuscripts* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) 139.)

<sup>3</sup> Augustine was a Hearer of Manicheism for about ten years: from his 19th year to his 28th year, that is 372–c. 381. Cf. *Conf.* 3 and 4.

<sup>4</sup> This occurred in 386, just before his conversion to Christianity.

<sup>5</sup> *Conf.* 7.11.17; BA 13,618: 'Et inspexi cetera infra te et uidi nec omnino esse nec omnino non esse'.

to indicate the level of the fulfilment of being is in *The Soliloquies* (387). Augustine argues in the second book that a false thing has similarity to a true thing and does not 'completely' be as the true thing.<sup>6</sup> As another example, in *On True Religion* (390) Augustine offers the relation of similarity depending on the difference of the level of fulfilment of being, similar to his argument in *The Soliloquies*, and further relates it to the phrase of John 1: 3.

[W]e are given to understand that there is something which is so like that one and only One (the Beginning from which anything is one that is a unit in any way at all) that it is altogether perfectly realizes this likeness and is exactly the same. And this is Truth, and the Word in the Beginning, and the Word, God with God.<sup>7</sup>

Anything in the world is one thing, as far as it is. As far as it is one thing, it has similarity to the supreme one. In the above citation, Augustine relates the concept of 'One' in Neoplatonic thought with the 'Beginning' in John 1: 1, and relates something that is completely similar to that one with the Word of God. Immediately after the citation, Augustine says that 'since things are true insofar as they are, while they are insofar as they are like the original One, she [scil. Truth] is the form of all things'.<sup>8</sup> Augustine regards the Word as the form of all things. It seems clear that this is his understanding of the Word that he acquired through Platonic books.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>6</sup> See *Sol.* 2.9.10.

<sup>7</sup> *Vera rel.* 36.66; CCSL 32,230: 'datur intellegi esse aliquid, quod illius unius solius, a quo principio unum est, quidquid aliquo modo unum est, ita simile sit, ut hoc omnino impleat ac sit id ipsum. Et haec est ueritas et uerbum in principio et uerbum deus apud deum.' English trans. in E. Hill (trans.), *On Christian Belief: True Religion*, B. Ramsey (ed.), WSA I/8 (2005) 74.

<sup>8</sup> *Vera rel.* 36.66; CCSL 32,231: 'quoniam uera in tantum uera sunt, in quantum sunt, in tantum autem sunt, in quantum principalis unius similia sunt, ea forma est omnium'. This understanding that truth is the form of true things was declared also in *Sol.* It was accepted from Plato. Also the word 'truth' is seen in John 1: 17, suggested the relation to the Word. On the basis of Platonic concept of being, Augustine interpreted the formation of the world presented in the beginning of John 1.

<sup>9</sup> Actually, in Platonism, God is not described as creator. It can be said that Augustine regards the formation of all thing from the one in the same light as God's creation.

### 3 CREATION AS GOD'S SPEAKING

Let us further examine Augustine's interpretation of the Word. In Book 11 of *Confessions*,<sup>10</sup> Augustine interprets the first verse of Genesis, relating it to Psalm and the Gospel of John. He says that the Word that is with God is God's speaking and All things were made by speaking.<sup>11</sup> And then Augustine considers why all things in the world are not eternal, while the Word by which they were made is eternal. His interpretation at the time is that:

Everything which begins to be and ceases to be begins and ends its existence at that moment when, in the eternal reason where nothing begins or ends, it is known to that *it should begin and end*. This reason is your Word.<sup>12</sup>

Augustine attributes the cause of everything's non-eternity to the determination by rational existence. The word '*debuisset*' indicates Augustine's interpretation that the eternal reason has will to determine something to be or not to be.<sup>13</sup>

In Book 12, Augustine argues the concept of form in creation. According to his account, he had not been able to imagine completely formless matter, regarding it as less beautiful shapes.<sup>14</sup> He afterwards advanced his consideration, inspired by Neoplatonic books. He paid attention to the change in things, and thought that their mutability was formless matter, for 'mutability' meant acceptability of form. Based on this concept of formless matter that Augustine finds, it can be said that the change in a thing indicates the receipt of a form. Moreover, the fact that all things in the world are continuing to change indicates that the creation of the world is continuing. Augustine says in Book 10 and 11 that all things in

<sup>10</sup> Augustine interprets the first chapter of Genesis concerning the days of creation in Book 11–13 of *Conf*.

<sup>11</sup> See *Conf*. 11.7.9. Augustine cites Ps. 32:9: 'dixisti et facta sunt'.

<sup>12</sup> *Conf*. 11.8.10; BA 14,286,288: 'omne, quod esse incipit et esse desinit, tunc esse incipit et tunc desinit, quando *debuisset incipere uel desinere* in aeterna ratione cognoscitur, ubi nec incipit aliquid nec desinit. ipsum est uerbum tuum'. English trans. in H. Chadwick, *Saint Augustine: Confessions*, 226. Italics mine.

<sup>13</sup> Augustine offers this understanding not as fully apprehended one. He does not follow the Bible or Neoplatonic books blindly, but try to know by observation and consideration of this world's temporality.

<sup>14</sup> It seems to be presumed that it was before his reading of Platonic books that he could not imagine but some substantial matter.



his external environment cried out that God made them. He thinks that God's 'speech' as the act of creation appears in all things.

As far as these explanations, there seems to be no differences between the form and the reason. In fact, in question 46 of *On Eighty-Three Varied Questions* (388–395), Augustine argues that the ideas can be called either forms or species, and it is the reasons in the divine intelligence. In this context, the form seems to be compatible with the reason. In question 63, however, he mentions John 1: 1, and says as follows:

'In the beginning was the Word.' The Greek word *logos* signifies in Latin both 'reason' and 'word.' However, in this verse the better translation is 'word,' so that not only the relation to the Father is indicated, but also the efficacious power with respect to those things which are made by the Word. Reason, however, is correctly called reason even if nothing is made by it.<sup>15</sup>

Augustine pays attention to the efficacious power (*operatiua potentia*) of words to things that reason does not have. Augustine rarely uses this adjective *operatiuus*, but, for example, in *On Genesis, Against the Manicheans* (388), *operator* is used many times to signify God<sup>16</sup> and *operatio* to signify the creative act. In what kind of meaning is word creative, and reason is not? It should be noted that he writes *On the Teacher* (389) at about the same time, or perhaps earlier than, the writing of the above citation. In this article, Augustine discusses the role of signs, of which words are one example.

#### 4 THE PURPOSE OF SPEECH

At the beginning of *On the Teacher*, Augustine examines with his son, Adeodatus, the purpose of speech, and concludes that its purpose is to teach. They argue that anything can be shown without a sign, but we do not learn through signs; signs only prompt the learner to consult the truth, and the teacher who provides us with knowledge is Christ,

<sup>15</sup> *Div. qu.* 63; CCSL 44A,136: 'In principio erat uerbum. Quod Graece logos dicitur Latine et rationem et uerbum significat. Sed hoc loco melius uerbum interpretamur, ut significetur non solum ad patrem respectus, sed ad illa etiam quae per uerbum facta sunt operatiua potentia. Ratio autem, et si nihil per illam fiat, recte ratio dicitur.' English trans. in D. L. Mosher (trans.), *Saint Augustine: Eighty-Three Different Questions*, FC 70 (1982) 127.

<sup>16</sup> See *Gen. adv. Man.* 1.2.3; 1.10.16.

who is said to 'dwell in the interior man'<sup>17</sup> and is the truth itself.<sup>18</sup> It is important that Augustine does not necessarily consider signs as useless thing to learn. He identifies outward signs, such as spoken words, as things that have power to turn us to the truth. It seems right to presume that Augustine takes this power which words have into account, when he says 'the efficacious power' in the above citation. As he recognizes the same power in the Word of God as he recognizes in our words, it can be said that Augustine sees the creation as God's speech with the purpose to teach. God's purpose in creation can be said to be salvation, for, when we learn the truth completely, our salvation is completed.

The Book 11 of *Confessions* has similar arguments to *On the Teacher*.<sup>19</sup> And the interpretation of Genesis 1:1, connecting to Psalms 32:9, such as in *Confessions*, has not been done in his preceding exegesis of Genesis. The semiotics in *On the Teacher* contributes to the understanding that, like the speaker prompting the listener, God the creator prompting the created thing is creation. Moreover, as stated above, Augustine regards God's creative act is continuous. That means God's speech is continuing. 'I' who is 'a little piece of God's creation'<sup>20</sup> is spoken to by God continuously. Based on this understanding, Augustine may call God 'you' in *Confessions*. Although the expression that creation is God's act is also seen in other Church Leaders' treatises, for example, Origen, the understanding that God is speaking to 'me' with the intention of salvation is unique to Augustine.

Then, what kind of conclusion about our way of life can we draw from such a view of creation? First, for our salvation, we should accept and try to know what God has said and is saying, because to know that is to return to God. Exegesis of the Bible is one way. Our existence itself is a manifestation and a result of God's speech. To know ourselves is the way to know what God speaks to us. In *Confessions*, Augustine is trying to do these very things. Second, if we not only listen to the God's speech, but also speak what we have heard, our words will serve as a way to know what God speaks to. As we listen to God inside ourselves, what we hear should be told as it is, in order to communicate correctly to

<sup>17</sup> Ephesians 3: 16–17.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. *Mag.* 11.38 and 12.40.

<sup>19</sup> See e.g. *Conf.* 11.3.5; 11.8.10.

<sup>20</sup> *Conf.* 1.1.1; BA 13,272: 'aliqua portio creaturae tuae'.

other people. To confess is to communicate. Augustine sees confession as the imitation of God's Word. The *Confessions* was written as imitation of God's creation. Third, when we listen to other people's speech, the words do not teach us whether they talk honestly. Thus we have to believe other people's word. Augustine says explicitly in the Book 10 of *Confessions*.

'Love believes all things,' at least among those love has bonded to itself and made one. I also, Lord, so make my confession to you that I may be heard by people whom I cannot prove that my confession is true. But those whose ears are opened by love believe me.<sup>21</sup>

## 5 CONCLUSION

Augustine's interpretation of the verse of John 1:3 'all things were made through the Word' changed, at least until he wrote *Confessions*. Platonism taught him that God had made all things, and they were made when they accepted their form. The verse of Psalm and the semiotics discussed in *On the Teacher* brought Augustine to the understanding that the creation through the Word is nothing but the speech of God, and thus God has the desire to save those who listen to the Word. Augustine concludes that to believe and to accept the Word, and to confess what he accepts, serve as ways to salvation. *Confessions* was written based on his interpretation of the Word.

In the Gospel of John, it is said that the Word has been incarnated.<sup>22</sup> Christ is thought of as a man. In order to clarify Augustine's interpretation of the Word furthermore, one needs to investigate his understanding of Christ.

<sup>21</sup> *Conf.* 10.3.3; BA 14,144: 'quia caritas omnia credit, inter eos utique, quos conexos sibi met unum facit, ego quoque, domine, etiam sic tibi confiteor, ut audiant homines, quibus demonstrare non possum, an uera confitear; sed credunt mihi, quorum mihi aures caritas aperit.' English trans. in H. Chadwick, *Saint Augustine: Confessions*, 180.

<sup>22</sup> See John 1:14.



## Augustine's Quest for Perfection and the Encounter with the *Vita Antonii*\*

NAOKI KAMIMURA

### 1 INTRODUCTION

Before narrating the *tolle lege* incident in a Milanese garden in Book 8 of *Confessions* (400–402), Augustine explains how he had become familiar with the Latin version of the *Life of Antony* by Athanasius of Alexandria.<sup>1</sup> In the summer of 386, Augustine and his friend Alypius were visited by a fellow countryman and servant of the emperor, Ponticianus, who told them the story of Antony, an Egyptian monk already well respected in ascetic circles. To his surprise, Ponticianus learned that Augustine and Alypius had not known about the existence of a monastery in Milan under the care of Ambrose.<sup>2</sup> Ponticianus then proceeded to tell another story in which two members of the emperor's court at Trier were led to denounce worldly ambition by their reading of a manuscript of the *Vita*.<sup>3</sup> After Ponticianus took his leave from their house, Augustine, who was already involved in violent inner conflict, agonised over his own indecision, his fluctuated and divided will.<sup>4</sup> The climax to this narrative came after he reminded himself of the episode that Antony's

\* A draft of this study was presented at the conference, Early Christian Centuries 1: Men and Women in Early Christianity, held at Australian Catholic University, Melbourne, on 4 October 2013.

<sup>1</sup> *Conf.* 8.6.14–16. English trans. in P. Burton (ed. and trans.), *Augustine, The Confessions* (New York: Everyman's Library, 2001).

<sup>2</sup> *Conf.* 8.6.15.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> *Conf.* 8.8.19–10.24.

monastic vocation happened to be caused by hearing a passage from the gospel. Augustine heard a child's voice chanting *tolle lege*, decided to imitate Antony, and read a passage from Romans. He committed himself to the ascetic life and to the church.<sup>5</sup> After he was ordained to the priesthood in Hippo in 391 and engaged in studying the scriptures to prepare for this new role as a cleric,<sup>6</sup> Augustine started work on *On Christian Teaching*, by which he intended to offer a guide to the scriptural interpretation. Hence, approximately a decade after this first encounter with Antony in the preface to *On Christian Teaching*,<sup>7</sup> Augustine briefly referred to the Egyptian monk as an exemplar for readers of the scriptures. Augustine was particularly impressed with a passage from the *Life of Antony* (3.7) in which Antony is described as having a formidable memory which enabled him to remember the scriptures even though he lacked any knowledge of letters.

Outside these two texts—the preface to *On Christian Teaching* (396–397) and Book 8 of *Confessions* (400–402)—references to the monk Antony are hard to find in Augustine's works. Therefore, it is highly likely that, for some time after his conversion (386) and before his episcopal ordination in Hippo in around 395,<sup>8</sup> Augustine could read a Latin version of the *Life of Antony* and be inspired by the ascetic legacy, mostly under the authority of the scriptures.<sup>9</sup> Much ink has been spilt over these texts in

<sup>5</sup> *Conf.* 8.12.29.

<sup>6</sup> *Ep.* 21.3. The importance of this letter as the testimony of Augustine's debt to Valerius, especially about a scriptural framework for ministry is discussed in M. Cameron, 'Valerius of Hippo: A Profile', *AugStud* 40 (2009) 5–26.

<sup>7</sup> *Doc. chr.* pref. 4. English trans. in R. P. H. Green (ed. and trans.), *Augustine, De Doctrina Christiana* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995).

<sup>8</sup> Indeed, with respect to the precise date of the crucial event in Augustine's life, there is still uncertainty among scholars: see S. Lancel, *Saint Augustine*, A. Nevill (trans.) (London: SCM Press, 1999) 184–185.

<sup>9</sup> It is very likely that Augustine came to read the *Vita Antonii*, written by Athanasius in 357, in one of the Latin translations made by Evagrius of Antioch (from before 368 to around 388), which is often evaluated as loose one, while another, anonymous version is closer to the original work written in Greek. See on this P. F. Beatrice, 'Augustine's Longing for Holiness and the Problem of Monastic Illiteracy', in J. Baun, A. Cameron, M. Edwards, and M. Vinzent (eds.), *StudPatr* 49 (2010) 124–130; pace P. Monceaux, 'Saint Augustin et Saint Antoine: Contribution à l'histoire du monachisme', in *Miscellanea Agostiniana* 2 (Rome: Tipografia Poliglotta Vaticana, 1931) 61–89. For ancient translations of the *Vita*, see also H. Hoppenbrouwers, *La plus ancienne version latine de la vie de s. Antoine par s. Athanase: étude de critique textuelle* (Nijmegen: Dekkers and Van De Vegt, 1960); A. de Vogüé, *Histoire littéraire du mouvement monastique dans l'antiquité* 1 (Paris: Cerf, 1991)

the effort to assess the significance of Antony for Augustine, who propounds the utility of guidance in interpreting the scriptures and speaks about an iconic figure of the monastic tradition in reference to his own conversion.<sup>10</sup> How does Augustine evaluate the influence that the hagiographic text exerted both on the practice of biblical exegesis and on the determination of his way of life? More interesting and significant, though, is the process by which it would be necessary to undertake such an evaluation. Thus, we may ask, in what process did Augustine place Antony in the development of his early thought? In this paper, I have confined myself, first, to Augustine's description of the Egyptian monk in those two texts and, second, to the process of his consideration. Finally, I shall venture an explanation for its significance.

## 2 THE PREFACE IN *ON CHRISTIAN TEACHING*

Some scholars have attempted to explain the actual horizon of *On Christian Teaching*, thereby considering the problem of its intended audience. One would suppose that the purpose of this work is to construct the model for a widely recognised 'Christian culture', while the other claims that it should be regarded as the manual for the activity of preaching on biblical texts.<sup>11</sup> Those have entered into an agreement with the ab-

chap. 1 'La Vie de saint Antoine'; K. S. Frank, 'Antonius Aegyptius monachus', in *AL* 1 (1986–1994) 381–383 at 381–382; G. J. M. Bartelink (ed.), *Athanasius: Vie d'Antoine*, Sources chrétiennes 400 (Paris: Cerf, 1994); D. Brakke, *Athanasius and Asceticism* (Baltimore MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998) 201–265; Ph. Rousseau, 'Antony as Teacher in the Greek "Life"', in T. Hägg and Ph. Rousseau (eds.), *Greek Biography and Panegyric in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2001) 89–109; J. W. Harmless, 'Monasticism', in S. A. Harvey and D. G. Hunter (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Early Christian Studies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) 493–517 at 498–501; Ph. Rousseau, *Ascetics, Authority, and the Church in the Age of Jerome and Cassian*, 2nd edn. (Notre Dame IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2010) 248–250.

<sup>10</sup> P. Monceaux, 'Saint Augustin et Saint Antoine', in *Miscellanea Agostiniana* 2; P. Courcelle, *Recherches sur les confessions de saint Augustin*, 2nd edn. (Paris: De Boccard, 1968) 181–187; A. Zumkeller, *Augustine's Ideal of the Religious Life* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1986); G. Lawless, *Augustine of Hippo and His Monastic Rule* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987); S. Rubenson, *The Letters of St. Antony: Monasticism and the Making of a Saint* (Minneapolis MN: Fortress Press, 1995) 163–184; A. de Vogüé, *Histoire littéraire du mouvement monastique* 2 (1993) and 3 (1996).

<sup>11</sup> Concerning the debate about the purpose and the characteristics of his treatise on biblical hermeneutics, see R. P. H. Green, *Augustine, De Doctrina Christiana*, ix–xxi; C. Schäublin,

stract aspect of his language,<sup>12</sup> and the issue is still open to dispute. It is because, in the prologue to this work, neither does Augustine dedicate it to a particular person nor refer to a specific reader by proper name. Instead, Augustine shows the three categories of possible critic, with which he replies beforehand to the objection that could be set against his undertaking. There are those who will reject his endeavour clearly because they could not understand what he has shown;<sup>13</sup> those who might understand it, but not able to follow the 'rules for interpreting the scriptures',<sup>14</sup> thus regarding his exposition as useless;<sup>15</sup> and those who would declare that their ability in interpreting obscure passages has no need of the precepts Augustine is explaining as follows:

A third class of critic consists of those who either interpret the divine scriptures quite correctly or think they do. Because they see, or at least believe, that they have gained their ability to expound the holy books without recourse to any rules of the kind that I have now undertaken to give, they will protest that these rules are not needed by anybody, and that all worthwhile illumination of the difficulties of these texts can come by a special gift of God.<sup>16</sup>

It is admitted that the position of these critics is a challenge that troubles him much more than the previous categories. Augustine does indeed give a lengthy and detailed reply to this class of objectors. Who does

'*De doctrina christiana: A Classic of Western Culture?*', in D. W. H. Arnold and P. Bright (eds.), *De doctrina christiana: A Classic of Western Culture* (Notre Dame IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1995) 47–67; K. Pollmann, 'Doctrina christiana (De –)', in *AL* 2 (1996–2002) 551–575 at 554–555; T. Toom, *Thought Clothed With Sound: Augustine's Christological Hermeneutics in De doctrina Christiana* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2002) 71–74; K. Pollmann, 'Augustine's Hermeneutics as a Universal Discipline?', in K. Pollmann and M. Vessey (eds.), *Augustine and the Disciplines: From Cassiciacum to Confessions* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005) 206–231; E. Morgan, *The Incarnation of the Word: The Theology of Language of Augustine of Hippo* (London: Bloomsbury, 2010) 43–45.

<sup>12</sup> See K. Pollmann, 'Augustine's Hermeneutics', 209; J. J. O'Donnell, 'Doctrina Christiana, De', in *ATA* (1999) 278–280 at 279.

<sup>13</sup> *Doc. chr.* pref. 2.

<sup>14</sup> *Doc. chr.* pref. 1; CSEL 80,3: 'praecepta quaedam tractandarum scripturarum'.

<sup>15</sup> *Doc. chr.* pref. 2.

<sup>16</sup> *Doc. chr.* pref. 2; CSEL 80,3–4: 'Tertium genus est reprehensorum qui divinas scripturas vel re vera bene tractant vel bene tractare sibi videntur. Qui quoniam nullis huiusmodi observationibus lectis quales nunc tradere institui, facultatem exponendorum sanctorum librorum se assecutus vel vident vel putant, nemini esse ista praecepta necessaria, sed potius totum quod de illarum litterarum obscuritatibus laudabiliter aperitur, divino munere fieri posse clamitabunt.'



belong to this class? Despite of the elusive expression in his response, there have been serious attempts to specify the third group. An interesting effort to identify them is that of Ulrich Duchrow:<sup>17</sup> according to him, those mentioned in the preface were the body of 'charismatics' mentioned in the writings of John Cassian, which he composed at the monastery in Massilia about in the 420s.<sup>18</sup> A monk replied to a question, for instance, from his brothers that they should not depend on secular erudition. These monks devoted all their energy to the biblical exegesis, but only through divine illumination in their prayers. However, since there exists a similarity between the 'charismatics' and the third objectors, the other possibility should not be ignored. In *On the Work of Monks*, written in ca. 401 by Augustine, the presence of these 'charismatics' is shown: they claim for their scriptural interpretation depend on a putative revelation obtained by divine gift through their prayers.<sup>19</sup> The relation between the preface in *On Christian Teaching* and the reference in his monastic booklet seems to be more proximate in its chronological context.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>17</sup> 'Zum Prolog von Augustins "De doctrina christiana"', *Vigiliae Christianae* 17 (1963) 165–172. His arguments are also discussed in I. Opelt, 'Materialien zur Nachwirkung von Augustins Schrift "De doctrina christiana"', *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum* 17 (1974) 64–73; G. J. M. Bartelink, *Athanasius: Vie d'Antoine*, 41; pace C. P. Mayer, "'Res per signa'". Der Grundgedanke des Prologs in Augustins Schrift *De doctrina christiana* und das Problem seiner Datierung', *REAug* 20 (1974) 100–112. See also E. Kevane, 'Paideia and Anti-Paideia: The Prooemium of St. Augustine's *De doctrina christiana*', *AugStud* 1 (1970) 153–180; K. B. Steinhauser, 'Codex Leningradensis Q.v.I.3: Some Unresolved Problems', in Arnold and Bright (eds.), *De doctrina christiana*, 33–43; I. Bochet, 'La date de composition du prologue et les adversaires visés', in M. Moreau, I. Bochet, and G. Madec (eds.), *La doctrine chrétienne*, in BA 11/2 (1997) 429–433.

<sup>18</sup> Cassian, *De institutis coenobiorum* 5.33–34 and *Colationes* 14.9–10. See U. Duchrow, 'Zum Prolog von Augustins', 165–169; P. Brunner, 'Charismatische und methodische Schriftauslegung nach Augustins Prolog zu "De doctrina christiana"', *Kerygma und Dogma* 1 (1955) 85–89; P. F. Beatrice, 'Augustine's Longing for Holiness', 120–122.

<sup>19</sup> *Op. mon.* 1.2; 17.20, are keen to emphasise that these Carthaginian monks only focus on scriptural reading and prayers with psalms, hymns, and spiritual canticles.

<sup>20</sup> See P. F. Beatrice, 'Augustine's Longing for Holiness', 122–124: Dependent on some similarities between the third group and 'charismatic' monks is Duchrow's opinion that becomes the focus of Augustine's direct dependence of this preface on Cassian's writings, thereby claiming that the preface was published only in 426–428 with the completion of *On Christian Teaching*. But, the matter can be settled by the fact that the preface, along with the the first two books of the work, was circulated long before as an unpublished manuscript (the so-called St Petersburg Q.v.I.3, written around 400) among the reader. Consequently, it is more reasonable that Augustine was not obliged to read Cassians treatises to ac-

Although these efforts to the identification of possible critics have not resolved the problem, through their investigations, I may rather realise the mutually exclusive ways of interpreting difficult passages in the scriptures: one is the way of exegesis, which does not require any need of the kind of guidelines, yet inspired by the outpouring of divine gift, thus being properly designated as 'charismatic'; and the other is the way which is delivered by human teachers systematically, being appropriate for the methodical and technical practice of exegesis.

Yet that would be no good reason for them [scil. those who exult in their divine gift] to feel humiliated by the holy and perfect Egyptian monk Anthony, who, though lacking any knowledge of the alphabet, is reported to have memorized the divine scriptures by listening to them being read, and to have understood them by thoughtful meditation; ...<sup>21</sup>

It is interesting to note that, in his criticism against the third class of objectors, Augustine draws the figure of Anthony. Does the mention of this exemplary character play a particular role in the emphasis not only on the uneducated, but even on the illiterate? Augustine, in fact, claims that those critics should not forget that they learned the alphabet with human help. Thus, I may wonder whether the reference to Antony may serve as a lesson for those who boast of their lack of human teaching. Why does Augustine present the figure in the advocacy of his methodical way of exegesis?

### 3 THE STORIES OF CONVERSION IN CONFESSIONS

In the book 8 of *Confessions*, several years after he wrote the prologue to *On Christian Teaching*, Augustine reminds himself of the first encounter with Antony occurred about fifteen years ago. In Milan, immediately before his final choice of a way of life, a casual guest, a fellow-African,

cess to the information about the activities of these 'charismatics'. For these Carthaginian monks, see also G. Folliet, 'Des moines euchites à Carthage en 400-401', *StudPatr* 2 (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1957) 386-399; A. Zumkeller, *Augustine's Ideal*, 81 n. 33; R. Arbesmann, 'The Attitude of Saint Augustine Toward Labor', in D. Neiman and M. Schatkin (eds.), *The Heritage of the Early Church* (Rome: Pontificio Istituto Orientale, 1973) 245-259.

<sup>21</sup> *Doc. chr.* pref. 4; CSEL 80,4: 'nec propterea sibi ab Antonio sancto et perfecto Aegyptio monacho insulari debere, qui sine ulla scientia litterarum scripturas divinas et momoriter audiendo tenuisse et prudenter cogitando intellexisse praedicatur, ...'.

Ponticianus tells Augustine and his friend, Alypius, the story of two colleagues at Trier. Their sudden experience of reading a manuscript of the *Life of Antony* inspired them to renounce the world. When Ponticianus has finished the story and leaves Augustine standing in the garden with Alypius, Augustine is tormented by interior conflict and starts to talk to himself. This is not the first story of conversion that stimulates his own conversion. What is the initial one? As becomes clear from the preceding passage, Augustine struggled with it, when Simplicianus, a Milanese priest, told him the story of Marius Victorinus' conversion.<sup>22</sup> Since he was a professor of rhetoric at Rome, sometime after his baptism, when a law was passed under the reign of the Emperor Julian that prohibited Christians from teaching literature and rhetoric, 'Victorinus had welcomed that law with open arms, and had chosen to abandon the verbiage of the schools rather than abandon your Word'.<sup>23</sup> After hearing the story of Victorinus, Augustine was keen to imitate him by embracing the happiness he has been looking for so long. Victorinus' immediate resignation becomes an exemplar for Augustine in his hesitation. It is the stimulus which leads him to the renunciation of the world.

Any reader familiar with the story of conversion in *Confessions* would be impressed with their reading of the *Life of Antony* in the story of Ponticianus and regard the Egyptian monk as the prototype of the monastic way of life. Besides, it is easily seen that, within the sequence of the conversion stories, not only two imperial officials at Trier but even Augustine himself, with Alypius in a garden, are affected by a decisive influence that this hagiographic text exerts upon the renunciation of the world. Does the model-monk make the same impact on these conversions? It is noticeable that both the imperial agent and Augustine raises the anxious questions about their situation. One of the officers says to his colleague:

'Tell me this: all these tasks we endure—where are they taking us? What is it we are looking for? For what reason are we in the Imperial Service? Can we have any greater hope at Court than of becoming Friends of the Emperor?'<sup>24</sup>

<sup>22</sup> *Conf.* 8.2.3–4.9.

<sup>23</sup> *Conf.* 8.5.10; BA 14,28: 'quam legem ille amplexus loquacem scholam deserere maluit quam uerbum tuum'.

<sup>24</sup> *Conf.* 8.6.15; BA 14,38: 'dic, quaeso te, omnibus istis laboribus nostris quo ambimus peruenire? quid quaerimus? cuius rei causa militamus? maiorne esse poterit spes nostra in palatio, quam ut amici imperatoris simus?'

In like manner Augustine cries out to his friend:

‘What is it we are enduring? What is it? What have you heard? The untaught arise and *lay hold of heaven* (Matt. 11.12) while we, for all our learning, have no heart—see where we wallow in flesh and blood! Are we ashamed to follow them, merely because they have gone first? Should we not rather be ashamed not to follow them?’<sup>25</sup>

Indeed, all of them are invited to the renunciation of the world. And after knowing and hearing the story of the Egyptian monk, they make their final choice of the monastic life. However, in the exclamation just before the decisive moment, Augustine refers to the conflict between the ignorance and the learning, the latter of which has occupies his mind and turns him into the state of a sinful life. Thus, his encounter with the *Life of Antony* reveals the contrast between himself (and his friends) and the uneducated, the former of whom is anxious that ‘the untaught’ might be led to celestial life without any hindrance.

#### 4 AUGUSTINE’S QUEST FOR PERFECTION

After his resignation from professorship, Augustine withdrew from Milan to the Cassiciacum estate with a group of his friends. During the rural retreat to the villa, he was acutely conscious of his duty as the ‘disciplinary guide’ for pursuing a good life. Thus, in the latter part of the Book 2 of his dialogue, *On Order*, he emphasises the importance of having instruction in the liberal arts.<sup>26</sup> This process of education is considered to be the indispensable preparation for the cognition of truth. Later in *Reconsideration* (written in 427), Augustine re-examines and criticises such heavy emphasis on the disciplines, whereas he confirms that ‘the liberal disciplines, which many holy persons know very little about’.<sup>27</sup> Apart from such an approach, what evidence is there for the fact that Augustine’s view of the ignorance after his encounter with the Egyptian

<sup>25</sup> *Conf.* 8.8.19; BA 14.46: ‘quid patimur? quid est hoc, quid audisti? surgunt indocti et caelum rapiunt, et nos cum doctrinis nostris sine corde ecce ubi uolutamur in carne et sanguine! an quia praecesserunt, pudet sequi et non pudet nec saltem sequi?’

<sup>26</sup> See *Ord.* 2.16.44

<sup>27</sup> *Retr.* 1.3.2; CCSL 57.12: ‘liberalibus disciplinis, quas multi sancti multum nesciunt’. English trans. in B. Ramsey (trans.), *Revisions*, in R. Teske (ed.), WSA I/2 (2010).

monk contained some suggestions while being changed into a distinctively Christian concept? It must be seen that, in the late 380s, Augustine is becoming detached from his zeal for the liberal arts. First, in the earliest commentary *On Genesis, against the Manicheans* (388/389), and second, in the preface of the companion treatise *On Music* (387–390), he states that he should write in a simple way that those ‘weak’ (*informi*) and ‘little’ persons (*parvuli*) could understand without difficulty. They are also called the ‘unlearned’ (*indocti*) and the ‘educated’ (*imperiiti*), who have not been well instructed in the liberal arts. In the former commentary, Augustine exhorts the ‘little’ ones not to be defeated by the Manichaeans who deceive them with false premises of their material way of thinking.<sup>28</sup> An alternative way is suggested based on the biblical exegesis, which should presuppose humble belief.<sup>29</sup> In the latter treatise, he advises the ‘weak’ (*tantillus*) ones not to devote themselves to the secular erudition.<sup>30</sup> Instead, they would imitate those who are purified through their praise for the Trinity, following the authority of the scriptures. Therefore, despite of the difference in these advices, his understanding is that their path towards the one and true God requires the humble search of faith for understanding.

It is evident from the development of his early thought that Augustine repeatedly gave the descriptions of the human perfection from the sensible things to the divine contemplation. With his biblical (*cantica graduum* in Psalms 119–133), classical (Varro’s encyclopaedic work and various doxographies), and Plotinian (*Enneads* 1.6, *On Beauty*) predecessors, he shared the characteristics of the septenary ascending stage of the soul.<sup>31</sup> The enumeration of the seven steps appears first in the earliest treatise

<sup>28</sup> *Gen. adv. Man.* 1.1.1–2. See N. Kamimura, ‘Augustine’s First Exegesis and the Divisions of Spiritual Life’, *AugStud* 36 (2005) 421–432 at 422–423.

<sup>29</sup> *Gen. adv. Man.* 1.1.2; 2.2.3. See F. Van Fleteren, ‘Principles of Augustine’s Hermeneutic: An Overview’, in F. Van Fleteren and J. C. Schnaubelt (eds.), *Augustine: Biblical Exegete* (New York: Peter Lang, 2001) 1–32 at 2 n. 9.

<sup>30</sup> *Mus.* 6.17–59. See D. C. Alexander, *Augustine’s Early Theology of the Church: Emergence and Implications*, 386–391 (New York: Peter Lang, 2008) 264–270.

<sup>31</sup> See O. Du Roy, *L’Intelligence de la foi en la Trinité selon saint Augustin* (Paris: Etudes Augustiniennes, 1966) 256–267, esp. 257 n. 2; G. Madec, ‘Ascensio, ascensus’, in *Petites Etudes Augustiniennes* (Paris: Institut d’Etudes Augustiniennes, 1994) 137–149; F. Van Fleteren, ‘Ascent of the Soul’, in *ATA* (1999) 63–67 at 63–64; N. Kamimura, ‘Friendship and the Ascent of the Soul in Augustine’, in W. Mayer, P. Allen, and L. Cross (eds.), *Prayer and Spirituality in the Early Church* 4 (Sydney: St Pauls Publications, 2006) 295–310.

*On the Greatness of the Soul* (written in 386/387),<sup>32</sup> then in *On Genesis, against the Manicheans* (388/389),<sup>33</sup> in *On True Religion* (390/391),<sup>34</sup> in *On the Lord's Sermon on the Mount* (393/395),<sup>35</sup> and in *On Christian Teaching* (396).<sup>36</sup> According to the diversity of their subjects, the explanation of the seven steps differs respectively. For example, that of *On Genesis, against the Manicheans* is connected with the seven days of creation in Genesis, thus being defined as the temporal process of human perfection, while that of *On True Religion* relates to the two types of spiritual life in the economy of salvation, in which, based on the unity created by the Holy Spirit, the love of neighbour plays an essential role in the human progress. With regard to the issue in question, that is, the conflict between the ignorance and the learning, there has been a consistency in the combination of the humility and knowledge-based activities. Thus, if we pick up the stages in *On the Lord's Sermon on the Mount*, where, in his first extended exegesis on the New Testament, Augustine interprets the eight maxims in Matthew (5: 3–10) and shows the seven gifts for the soul's progress towards its perfection.<sup>37</sup> The first and the third stages are described as follows:

1. 'Blessed are the poor in spirit', the individual, dreading death and punishment, is converted to God through humility = Gift of fear.<sup>38</sup>
3. 'Blessed are those who mourn', he understands the divine commandment of scripture, and laments its loss of the supreme good = Gift of Knowledge.<sup>39</sup>

This correlation between the humility and the learning becomes indispensable for the explanation of human perfection: these stages clarify how the soul directs itself to God and seeks its own purification. Humbly subject to the divine order, the soul undertakes the difficult task of learning to penetrate spiritual realities. Not mutually exclusive way, but through the gradually ascending steps towards the law of God, both the humility and the learning serve as the complementary of its future perfection.

<sup>32</sup> *Quant.* 33.70–76.

<sup>33</sup> *Gen. adv. Man.* 1.25.43.

<sup>34</sup> *Vera rel.* 26.48–49.

<sup>35</sup> *Serm. dom. mont.* 1.2.4–4.12.

<sup>36</sup> *Doc. chr.* 2.7.9–11.

<sup>37</sup> See N. Kamimura, 'Friendship and the Ascent of the Soul in Augustine', 303–305.

<sup>38</sup> *Serm. dom. mont.* 1.1.3.

<sup>39</sup> *Serm. dom. mont.* 1.2.5.

## 5 CONCLUSION

Augustine's approach to the encounter with Antony is influenced by the development of his early thought. His devotion to the liberal arts interacts with his deep concern about the perfection of human soul. The earliest Augustine expressed his positive attitude towards the liberal disciplines from the viewpoint of the constitutive in the philosophical tradition of Late Antiquity. But, through the recurring theme of the human perfection, which lies at the centre of the coenobitic way of life, what Augustine desires for both himself and his small community would be considered not as the conflict between the erudition and the ignorance, but as the spiritual quest of like-minded individuals. The instruction and human teachers is required by the soul to be one of the useful steps of an ascent. Augustine also realises that this dimension of the perfection should be anchored to the humble state of mind in regard to which significance of the faith in Christ would be exposed by the Pauline epistles. Thus, making progress his exegesis, Augustine's motif of the spiritual life is inspired by the immeasurable will of God.

From the description of the Egyptian monk in his conversion, it is quite likely that Augustine does not include him into those whose contempt of the secular erudition does not require any treatment of the precepts and human mediation.

Antony, on chancing to enter church in the middle of the Gospel reading, had taken heed of what was being read as if it were addressed to himself: *Go and sell all that you have; give it to the poor, and you will have treasure in heaven; and come and follow me* (Matt. 19.21). By this divine utterance . . . he was immediately converted to you.<sup>40</sup>

After his monastic calling has been prompted by the hearing of the divine command, without any hesitation and with a humble attitude, Antony was subject to it. Despite of the fact that Antony appears to be an exceptional case of the uneducated, Augustine confirms that there exists no connection with the dangerous appeal of trying to ignore the imperfect condition of human beings, that is, the pride is the beginning

<sup>40</sup> Conf. 8.12.29; BA 14,66: 'de Antonio, quod ex euangelica lectione, cui forte superuenerat, admonitus fuerit, tamquam sibi diceretur quod legebatur: *uade, uende omnia, quae habes, da pauperibus et habebis thesaurum in caelis; et ueni, sequere me*, et tali oraculo confestim ad te esse conuersum.'

of sin.<sup>41</sup> Pride is at the root of disobedience, a falling away from the good.

<sup>41</sup> *Civ. dei* 12.6; CCSL 48,359: 'Initium quippe omnis peccati superbia.' See also *Civ. dei* 14.13; 19.12. For discussions of Augustine's concept of pride, see D. J. MacQueen, 'Augustine on *Superbia*: The Historical Background and Sources of His Doctrine', *Mélanges de science religieuse* 34 (1977) 193–211; R. A. Markus, 'De civitate Dei. Pride and the Common Good', in J. C. Schnaubelt and F. Van Fleteren (eds.), *Collectanea Augustiniana: Augustine, Second Founder of the Faith* (New York: Peter Lang, 1990) 245–259.



## 6

# The Interpretation of a Passage from Romans in the Early Works of Augustine\*

NAOKI KAMIMURA

### 1 INTRODUCTION

In *Confessions*, after describing the now-famous ‘*tolle lege*’ incident in a garden at Milan, Augustine told his readers that he happened to read a codex of Paul’s letters and took the ‘first heading I cast my eyes upon: *Not in riotousness and drunkenness, not in lewdness and wantonness, not in strife and rivalry; but put on the Lord Jesus Christ, and make no provision for the flesh and its lusts* (Rom. 13.13–14).’<sup>1</sup> It is generally admitted that this passage from Romans provides a scriptural basis for his renunciation of the world. His reading, followed by his friend Alypius’ encounter with Paul’s instruction from the immediately next line in Romans 14: 1, may have had considerable significance for his internal struggle with desires. However, prior when Augustine started writing *Confessions*, Augustine’s works are intentionally silent and reveal a remarkable indifference to this crucial passage. Although he wrote different kinds of commentary

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<sup>1</sup> *Conf.* 8.12.29; BA 14,66: ‘quo primum coniecti sunt oculi mei: *non in comessationibus et ebrietatibus, non in cubilibus et impudiciis, non in contentione et aemulatione, sed induite dominum Iesum Christum et carnis providentiam ne feceritis in concupiscentiis.*’ English trans. in P. Burton (ed. and trans.), *Augustine: Confessions* (London: Everyman’s Library, 2001) 183.

on the Pauline epistles shortly before his consecration as bishop,<sup>2</sup> this passage does not feature in any notable way for at least some ten years after Augustine wrote *Confessions*. What does the early Augustine think about this decisive passage? Is there any substantial progress in his understanding of Romans 13: 13–14? Or does he approach this passage from an entirely different viewpoint?

It is my intention in this paper to consider his view of this passage in some of his early writings. To determine the worth and significance of books or articles dealing with the specifics of his reading of this decisive passage, first, I shall focus on some studies on the topic, and then I shall turn to some explanations in his early writings chronologically. Finally, I shall venture to explain the significance of Paul's passage in his thoughts on the retrospective self.

## 2 RECENT CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE PROBLEM OF AUGUSTINE'S USE OF ROMANS 13: 13–14

Many studies on Augustine's conversion scene have not offered a perceptive and constructive discussion of his use of Romans 13: 13–14, of which hardly anything is known in his writings preceding *Confessions*, except for one of his early letters, that is, *Letter 22*.<sup>3</sup> Because of its importance in a consideration of what meaning he gave to this passage before committing himself to his eventual conversion in *Confessions*,<sup>4</sup> some scholars are concerned about discussing the implications of the use of Romans 13: 13–14 in *Letter 22*. Some of the other studies on his conversion prefer to suggest how the problems that Augustine was faced with in Paul's

<sup>2</sup> With regard to the significance of his interpretation of the Pauline epistles, see e.g., R. Markus, 'Augustine's Pauline Legacies', in W. S. Babcock (ed.), *Paul and the Legacies of Paul* (Dallas TX: Southern Methodist University Press, 1990) 221–225 at 224: 'nothing would be more revealing for an understanding of Augustine's theology than a full study of what Paul meant for him'. Indeed, after his first encounter with Paul, as a young Manichaean auditor or hearer, Augustine was tirelessly and continually seeking to express his understanding of Paul's texts, despite of the mutually exclusive readings by Manichaeans and by Christians. See further on this Chapter 7 below.

<sup>3</sup> Probably written between 391 and 393. See R. J. Teske (trans.), *Letters 1–99*, J. E. Rotelle (ed.), WSA II/1 (2001) 59; J. Divjak, 'Epistulae', in *AL* 2:5/6 (2001) 893–1057 at 950; S. Lancel and E. Bermon (eds. and trans.), *Lettres 1–30*, BA 40/A (2011) 361. On this see also Chapter 2.4 above and 18 n. 30.

<sup>4</sup> *Conf.* 8.12.28–30.

admonition in this passage were interwoven with difficulties concerning the renunciation of the world.

Leo C. Ferrari's insightful studies of Augustine's conversion scene have thoroughly attempted to prove that—provided that prior to *Confessions* Augustine was little stimulated by the Pauline passages—the famous conversion scene was 'obviously quite fundamentally fictional in nature'.<sup>5</sup> Ferrari's consideration is led to this idea by his supposition that since Augustine's depiction of the conversion scene of 386 emphasised the divinely inspired reading of Romans 13: 13–14, Augustine must have referred to them in his ensuing writings soon after that date. How did Ferrari approach this problem? It is just through the entire scriptural citations in all of Augustine's works up to the completion date of *Confessions* that Ferrari came to claim that 'no new significant references to either of these verses'<sup>6</sup> were observed in them: accordingly, *Confessions* is a narrative document of the decisive event at a garden. Although Ferrari does not ignore the reference to Romans 13: 13–14 in *Letter 22*, he explains that the use of Romans in this letter would be intended to condemn the moral lapses and the blasphemy of the African church. Therefore, it does not contribute significantly to the consideration of Augustine's use of Pauline texts in the conversion scene.

With regard to the indifference to Romans 13: 13–14 in *Letter 22*, Ferrari's view is similar to that of Paula Fredriksen,<sup>7</sup> who explores the possibility of collating Augustine's earlier accounts of his conversion in the

<sup>5</sup> L. C. Ferrari, 'Book Eight: Science and the Fictional Conversion Scene', in K. Paffenroth and R. P. Kennedy (eds.), *A Reader's Companion to Augustine's Confessions* (Louisville KY and London: Westminster John Knox Press, 2003) 127–136 at 135. Ferrari's continued analyses of the conversion scene are found in the following papers: 'Paul at the Conversion of St. Augustine (*Conf. VIII, 12, 29–30*)', *AugStud* 11 (1980) 5–20; 'Saint Augustine on the Road to Damascus', *AugStud* 13 (1982) 151–170; *The Conversions of Saint Augustine* (Villanova PA: Villanova University Press, 1984); 'An Analysis of Augustine's Conversional Reading (*Conf. 8.12,29*)', *AugStud* 18 (1987) 30–51; 'Saint Augustine's Conversion Scene: The End of A Modern Debate?', in E. A. Livingstone (ed.), *StudPatr* 22 (1989) 235–250; 'Truth and Augustine's Conversion Scene', in J. Schnaubelt and F. van Fleteren (eds.), *Collectanea Augustiniana. Augustine: Second Founder of the Faith* (New York: Peter Lang, 1990) 9–19; 'Augustine's "Discovery" of Paul (*Confessions 7.21.27*)', *AugStud* 22 (1991) 37–61; 'Beyond Augustine's Conversion Scene', in J. McWilliam (ed.), *Augustine: From Rhetor to Theologian* (Waterloo ON: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 1992) 97–107.

<sup>6</sup> See L. C. Ferrari, 'Book Eight: Science and the Fictional Conversion Scene', 135.

<sup>7</sup> P. Fredriksen, 'Paul and Augustine: Conversion Narrative, Orthodox Traditions, and the Retrospective Self', *Journal of Theological Studies*, ns 37 (1986) 3–34.

Cassiciacum dialogues with his later explanation in *Confessions*. Fredriksen takes much notice of the Paul illustrated in both Acts and Galatians rather than what Augustine made of his own narrative, thereby, first, showing the close relationship between Luke's account of the Paul in Acts and the Paul in Galatians presented by his first-person narrative. Second, she explores the same parallel between Augustine's earlier observations about his conversion in the Cassiciacum dialogues and his later representation in *Confessions*. Thus, though she devotes much attention to the comparable part of the Paul in both Acts and Galatians, Fredriksen proposes a general theory about what Augustine did in constructing his conversion narrative and encourages us to make sense of 'his description from his reading of Acts 9'.<sup>8</sup> Augustine seems to have given his conversion narrative along with Paul's story in Acts. What Fredriksen claims to be 'a theological reinterpretation of a past event'<sup>9</sup> represented in *Confessions* provides us a clear account of his conversion scene. However, her argument for Augustine's conversion narrative hinges upon the unwarranted assumption of its connection with his reading of Acts. Nowhere did Augustine offer any possible interpretation of Acts 9, which may be stimulus for his idea of the conversion scene.

One of the most thoughtful comments on his use of Romans 13: 13–14 comes from Felix Baffour Asare Asiedu's 'Paul and Augustine's Retrospective Self: The Relevance of *Epistula* XXII'.<sup>10</sup> His attention to Augustine's use of Romans in *Letter* 22 enables us to appreciate the significance of the background for *Letter* 22, thereby apparently giving a positive value to Augustine's Milanese experience. Given the situation of being forcibly ordained as a priest in Hippo (391), around the time when he wrote *Letter* 21 to Valerius, bishop of Hippo,<sup>11</sup> Augustine intentionally stayed away from Hippo. During his absence from the Catholic community of Hippo, not only did he spend his precious time studying the scriptures,<sup>12</sup> but he also entered into the preparation of his new role as

<sup>8</sup> P. Fredriksen, 'Paul and Augustine', 24.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> F. B. A. Asiedu, 'Paul and Augustine's Retrospective Self: The Relevance of *Epistula* XXII', *REAug* 47 (2001) 145–164.

<sup>11</sup> See R. J. Teske (trans.), *Letters* 1–99, 55; J. Divjak, 'Epistulae', 950; S. Lancel and E. Bermon (eds. and trans.), *Lettres* 1–30, 351

<sup>12</sup> See *Ep.* 21.3.

a priest. He also reflected on his past experiences of which he would provide fuller descriptions later in *Confessions*. Consequently, as Asiedu explains, in *Letter 22*, we catch 'a fascinating glimpse into aspects of Augustine's past and his understanding of the inextricable link between his conversion and the vocation he had now entered'.<sup>13</sup> Augustine already suggested the 'inextricable link'<sup>14</sup> between his conversion narrative and the passage of Romans in *Letter 22*.

### 3 AUGUSTINE'S USE OF ROMANS 13: 13–14 REVISITED

In his early writings prior to *Confessions*, despite the fact that Romans 13: 13–14 scarcely appears, a few cases remain in which Augustine made partial quotations from this scriptural verse. What does the scarcity in his use of the passage mean? Did Augustine deliberately refer to Romans 13: 13–14 in his early writings?

With reference to his earlier idea about the Christian life, it is interesting to note that in a significant passage of *On Order* (written in 386), one of the Cassiciacum dialogues, Augustine referred to this view as a double order of the discipline, that is, 'of life' and 'of learning', depending on his interpretation of divine order.<sup>15</sup>

To those who wish to know it, this discipline imposes a double order: of life and of learning. You, its youthful students, must begin by abstaining from sex, from the enticement of gluttony and drunkenness, the immodest undue care of body and dress, vain sports and games, the torpor of excess sleep and laziness, ill-natured rivalry, detraction, envy, ambition for office and power, down to excessive desire for simple praise.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>13</sup> F. B. A. Asiedu, 'Paul and Augustine's Retrospective Self', 164.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

<sup>15</sup> See G. Heidl, *Origen's Influence on the Young Augustine: A Chapter of the History of Origenism*, Eastern Christian Studies 3 (Piscataway NJ: Gorgias Press, 2003) 47–61. For the significance of the discipline in *Ord.*, see also N. Kamimura, 'Self-knowledge and the Disciplines in Augustine's *De ordine*', in K. Demura and N. Kamimura (eds.), *Patristica supplementary* vol. 2 (Tokyo: Japanese Society for Patristic Studies, 2006) 85–109.

<sup>16</sup> *Ord.* 2.8.25; CCSL 29,121: 'Haec igitur disciplina eis, qui illam nosse desiderant, simul geminum ordinem sequi iubet, cuius una pars uitae, altera eruditionis est. Adolescentibus ergo studiosis eius ita uiuendum est, ut a uenereis rebus, ab illecebris uentris et gutturis, ab immodesto corporis cultu et ornatu, ab inanibus negotiis ludorum ac torpore somni atque pigritiae, ab aemulatione obtreactione inuidientia, ab honorum potestatumque ambitionibus, ab ipsius etiam laudis immodica cupiditate se abstineant'. English trans. in S.

The idea of moral prescription being dependent on the immutability of divine order had already been expressed in a similar form in the prefatory letters of the Cassiciacum dialogues,<sup>17</sup> which is why Augustine referred to them here as having a particularly personal resonance for him. If we compare the letters with the passage of Romans 13: 13–14, it is noticeable that all the moral lapses appear, though expressed in a variety of ways:

Not in riotousness and drunkenness [A], not in lewdness and wantonness [B], not in strife and rivalry [C]; but put on the Lord Jesus Christ, and make no provision for the flesh and its lusts [D];<sup>18</sup>

abstaining from sex [B'], from the enticement of gluttony and drunkenness [A'], the immodest undue care of body and dress [D'], ... ill-natured rivalry, detraction, envy [C'], ...<sup>19</sup>

Thus, with further allusions to his struggle against the secular ambitions from his youth—'ambition for office and power, down to excessive desire for simple praise'—, he attempted to read Romans 13: 13–14 as a divine admonition with which Augustine and his friends were exhorted to observe the commandment of love, that is, of God and of neighbours, thereby receiving instructions for their renunciation and exemplary purity of life. He linked his reading of Romans with what his group experienced in Milan: Alypius' renunciation of the world, Augustine's conversion experience and their readings of Romans.

In Book 2 of *On the Catholic and the Manichean Ways of Life* (written in 387/388), as far as I have been able to ascertain, Augustine's direct and the earliest reference to a part of Romans 13: 13–14 is found: 'Do not make provision for the flesh with its concupiscences'.<sup>20</sup> After sketching the contours of the problematics generated by Manichaean asceticism, he

Borruso (trans.), *St. Augustine: On Order* (South Bend IN: St. Augustine's Press, 2007) 83.

<sup>17</sup> *C. Acad.* 2.2.5; *Beata vita* 1.4.

<sup>18</sup> Rom 13: 13–14 in *Conf.* 8.12.29: 'non in comessationibus et ebrietatibus [A], non in cubilibus et impudicitiiis [B], non in contentione et aemulatione [C], sed induite dominum Iesum Christum et carnis providentiam ne feceritis in concupiscentiis [D].'

<sup>19</sup> *Ord.* 2.8.25; CCSL 29,121: 'a ueneriis rebus [B'], ab inlecebris uentris et gutturis [A'], ab immodest corporis cultu et ornatu [D'], ... ab aemulatione obtreactione inuidientia [C'], ...'. See G. Heidl, *Origen's Influence on the Young Augustine*, 55–56.

<sup>20</sup> Rom. 13: 14 in *Mor.* 2.14.31; CSEL 90,114–115: 'Et carnis curam ne feceritis in concupiscentiis'. English trans. in R. J. Teske (trans.), *The Manichean Debate*, B. Ramsey (ed.), WSA I/19 (2006) 82.

described in detail the Manichaeans' moral errors classified under three false symbols:

let us now look at those three seals, which you [Manichaeans] claim with great praise and boasting are found in your conduct. What, then, are these seals? They are, of course, those of the lips, of the hands, and of the breast.<sup>21</sup>

Concerning the seal of the lips, Augustine claimed that the Manichaean 'Elect' who practise abstinence from meat and some wine would satisfy the appetite for further indulgence.<sup>22</sup> Thus, in quoting from both Romans 13:14 and the whole of Romans 14 (and the long passages from 1 Corinthians 8:4–13 and 10:19–11:1), he provided the rationale for abstinence, focusing on the control of the desire for sensual delight.<sup>23</sup> It is also noteworthy that in his other anti-Manichaean treatise, *Against Adimantus, a Disciple of Mani* (394), he criticised Manichaean asceticism and again quoted from both the whole of Romans 14 and 1 Corinthians 10:19–31.<sup>24</sup> It is the harmony and compatibility of the scriptural passages seemingly opposed to one another that are crucial, in contrast with their reading of single passages out of context. These references are inspired by the context of Pauline theology that describes what he takes to be the difficulty with worldly renunciation.

Letter 22 was written in between 391 and 393, before Augustine's return to Hippo to perform his pastoral duties with the congregations of the church. Because Valerius accepted his request for his study of the scriptures, Augustine deepened a sense of his pastoral vocation as a priest.<sup>25</sup> It is generally admitted that in this letter addressed to Aurelius, bishop of Carthage, Augustine managed to face the difficulties of a Christian life in Africa. He says to Aurelius that 'by the heavy sword of councils and by your earnestness the many carnal diseases and ill-

<sup>21</sup> *Mor.* 2.9.19; CSEL 90,104: 'nunc uideamus tria illa signacula, quae in uestris moribus magna laude ac praedicatione iactatis. Quae sunt tandem ista signacula? Oris certe et manuum et sinus.' English trans. in R. J. Teske (trans.), *The Manichean Debate*, 77.

<sup>22</sup> See *Mor.* 2.13.30.

<sup>23</sup> See *Mor.* 2.14.32–34.

<sup>24</sup> *C. Adim.* 14.1–2. See N. Baker-Brian, *Manichaeism in the Later Roman Empire: A Study of Augustine's Contra Adimantum* (Lewiston NY: Edwin Mellen, 2009) 296–298.

<sup>25</sup> S. Lancel, *Saint Augustine*, A. Nevill (trans.) (London: SCM Press, 1999) 151–152. For the increasing concern for priestly ministry in the letters of Augustine, see also E. Plumer (ed. and trans.), *Augustine's Commentary on Galatians* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003) 82–85.

nesses that the African church suffers in many' would be cured.<sup>26</sup> At the beginning of this letter, in the confident hope of receiving Aurelius' reply, Augustine informed him of Alypius' outstanding personality at their monastic community in Thagaste, from which Augustine would move to Hippo. Why did he refer to Alypius' life of renunciation as an example to their fellows? If he did so to draw a sharp distinction between his renunciation and the lack of interest in some of the vices shown by the Africans, this distinction was not made sufficiently clear in what he said about the concurrent action of the African church. It is true that Augustine would rather stress his personal deficiency and compare the limited practice of the African church with what he found in the church of Italy: 'If Africa were first to try to eliminate these practices, it would deserve to be worthy of imitation by the other lands, but since through the greater part of Italy ...'.<sup>27</sup> Augustine appeared to mingle his personal experiences with his solicitude for the troubles in Africa, for which he decided to take on his duties as a priest. Before quoting the passage of Romans 13: 13–14 as a tripartite injunction against the church, he made an illuminating comment: 'the apostle briefly mentioned in one passage three kinds of vices that are to be detested and avoided and from which there arises a crop of countless vices'.<sup>28</sup> This remark represented significantly his own struggle against sensual desires in Milan. It is consequently clear that Alypius' exemplary mode of life, the Christian spirituality Augustine encountered in Italy, his consciousness of moral defects and the passage of Romans 13: 13–14 are the elements teach us about his desire to reveal his state of mind to Aurelius, in which we realise the anticipation of the confessional narrative of his conversion.

Within a relatively narrow range between 394 and 395, Augustine concentrated on writing mutually different kinds of commentary on Pauline epistles: *Commentary on Statements in the Letter to the Romans*, *Commentary*

<sup>26</sup> *Ep.* 22.1.2; CCSL 31,53: 'multas carnales foeditates et aegritudines, quas Africana ecclesia in multis patitur ... conciliorum grauitate et tua uiuacitate'. English trans. in R. Teske (trans.), *Letters 1–99*, WSA II/1 (2001) 59.

<sup>27</sup> *Ep.* 22.1.4; CCSL 31,54: 'Haec si prima Africa temptaret auferre, a ceteris terris imitatione digna esse deberet. Cum uero et per Italiae maximam partem ...'. English trans. in R. Teske (trans.), *Letters 1–99*, 59.

<sup>28</sup> *Ep.* 22.1.2; CCSL 31,53: 'apostolus tria breuiter genera uitiorum detestanda et uitanda uno in loco posuerit, de quibus innumerabilium peccatorum exsurrexit seges, ...'. English trans. in R. Teske (trans.), *Letters 1–99*, 59.



on the Letter to the Galatians, and *Unfinished Commentary on the Letter to the Romans*. Around the same time, he also put together various types of philosophical, theological and exegetical questions posed to him by his monastic confreres, and published *On Eighty-Three Varied Questions* in which some questions addressed passages from the Pauline epistles.<sup>29</sup> It is thus quite strange that, among these exegetical treatises, Romans 13:13 was not selected for comment and that only one reference to Romans 13:14 was found in *Commentary on Statements in the Letter to the Romans*: 'Make no provision for the flesh in its appetites'.<sup>30</sup> from which Augustine chose only the last few words for exegesis. First, he explained the adequacy of some preoccupation with material goods and then remarked on an excessive occupation with them as the nature of concupiscence and, thus, to be censured. It may be difficult to accept that Augustine mentioned this passage very briefly. But if Augustine were to correlate his use of Romans 13:13–14 with the retrospective aspect of his experiences already found in his earlier writings, what room would there be for his reflection in the critical and exegetical commentaries?

#### 4 CONCLUSION

Augustine's use of Romans 13:13–14 in his early writings considered so far gives a brief insight into the development and progress of his understanding of his past experiences. Already in one of his earliest works is an allusion to Romans 13:13–14, where Augustine recalled his small (monastic) community's experiences and provided a reflective account of what he and his friend Alypius did together in the pursuit of the exemplary purity of life. Not only did he interpret Romans 13:13–14 as the basis for his attack on the errors of Manichaean moral discourse, in which he was involved for around nine years as a 'auditor', but when enlisted into the future vocation as a priest in Hippo, he also read the passage as a divine warning against the state of the African church. It

<sup>29</sup> For information on chronological matters of *Div. qu.*, see G. Bardy, J.-A. Beckaert, and J. Boutet (ed. and trans.), *Mélanges doctrinaux*, BA 10 (1952) 11–50. On this see also Chapter 7.3 below and n. 24.

<sup>30</sup> *Exp. prop. Rom.* 69; CSEL 84,47: 'Et carnis providentiam ne perfeceritis in concupiscentiis'. English trans. in P. Frederiksen Landes (trans. and ed.), *Augustine on Romans: Propositions from the Epistle to the Romans, Unfinished Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans* (Chico CA: Scholar Press, 1982) 45.

can be seen that in *Letter 22*, the configuration of both his and his friend's past for a retrospective evaluation is crucial for understanding Romans 13: 13–14: his friend's exemplary mode of life, the Christian spirituality he encountered in Italy and his moral consciousness of moral defects. Augustine took them as the primary motivation for constituting a decisive statement from which his soul goes forth on its another pilgrimage of vocation. His use of Romans 13: 13–14 can be seen, thus, as a prelude to the story that Augustine would show us in *Confessions*.

## Augustine's Evolving Commentaries on the Pauline Epistles\*

NAOKI KAMIMURA

### 1 INTRODUCTION

The late fourth and early fifth centuries' close concern for Paul was appropriately termed by Peter Brown as 'the generation of S. Paul'.<sup>1</sup> Brown was referring to divergent readers and commentators, the Christian Platonist Marius Victorinus, an anonymous layman known to us as 'Ambrosiaster', the Donatist layman Tyconius, Manichaeans and Pelagius, as those who were 'made ... closer to each other than to their predecessors'<sup>2</sup> by their own and common interest in Paul. In the case of Augustine, his continuing and deep attention to Paul is equally explicit: 'nothing would be more revealing for an understanding of Augustine's theology than a full study of what Paul meant for him'.<sup>3</sup> Indeed, after

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<sup>1</sup> P. Brown, *Augustine of Hippo: A Biography*, new edn. with an epilogue (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000) 144.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> R. Markus, 'Augustine's Pauline Legacies', in W. S. Babcock (ed.), *Paul and the Legacies of Paul* (Dallas TX: Southern Methodist University Press, 1990) 221–225 at 224. For the remarkable and outstanding concern for the letters of Paul, particularly in the late fourth century, in the Latin church, see also C. Harrison, *Rethinking Augustine's Early Theology: An Argument for Continuity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007) 115–121; E. Plumer (ed. and trans.), *Augustine's Commentary on Galatians* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003) 5–59.

his first significant encounter with Paul, as a young Manichaean auditor or hearer, Augustine was tirelessly and continually seeking to express his understanding of Paul's texts, despite the mutually exclusive readings by Manichaeans and by Christians.<sup>4</sup> Or, the conflict of interpretations might be a reason for Augustine's continuous commitment to those texts.<sup>5</sup> Several years after his decisive return to Christianity in a Milanese garden, where he was convinced by a passage from Paul's letter to the Romans, in a brief time, between 394 and 395, Augustine concentrated on writing the mutually different kinds of commentary on Pauline epistles:<sup>6</sup> *Commentary on Statements in the Letter to the Romans*, *Commentary on the Letter to the Galatians*, and *Unfinished Commentary on the Letter to the Romans*. Around the same time, he also put together and published various types of philosophical, theological and exegetical questions posed to him by his monastic confreres, that is, *On Eighty-Three Varied Questions*, in which some problems address the passages from Pauline epistles. Toward the end of his priesthood, how did Augustine work to show the readers his reading of Pauline texts?

In this paper, I confine myself to the framework of both the ages of human history and the stages of the individual's spiritual development in some of these expositions.<sup>7</sup> I shall first argue about these descriptions

<sup>4</sup> See *Gen. adv. Man.* 1.2.3. For the Manichaean reading of Paul in the early works of Augustine, see also C. Harrison, *Rethinking Augustine's Early Theology*, 121–126.

<sup>5</sup> L. Ayres, 'Augustine', in S. Westerholm (ed.), *Blackwell Companion to Paul* (Chichester, West Sussex: Blackwell, 2011) 345–360.

<sup>6</sup> For the origin of these commentaries, see *Retr.* 1.23(22).1: 'While I was still a presbyter, it happened that the Apostle's Epistle to the Romans was read among us who were together at Carthage, and I was asked some things by the brothers. When I responded to them as well as I could, they wanted what I said to be written down rather than be spoken without being recorded.' See also E. Plumer, *Augustine's Commentary on Galatians*, 76 n. 103.

<sup>7</sup> For Augustine's view of the (four) stages of human history, see esp. A. Luneau, *L'Histoire du salut chez les Pères de l'Église: La doctrine des âges du monde*, *Théologie historique* 2 (Paris: Beauchesne, 1964) 357–383; see also W. S. Babcock, 'Augustine's Interpretation of Romans (A.D. 394–396)', *AugStud* 10 (1979) 55–74 at 59–60; J. M. Rist, *Augustine: Ancient Thought Baptized* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994) 131 n. 5; P. Cary, *Inner Grace: Augustine in the Traditions of Plato and Paul* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) 43–45; P. Cary, *Outward Signs: The Powerlessness of External Things in Augustine's Thought* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) 227–231; P. Fredriksen, *Augustine and the Jews: A Christian Defense of Jews and Judaism* (New York: Doubleday, 2008) 155–189, 197, 240–243.

For Tyconius' significant effect on Augustine's view of salvation history, although it is beyond the scope of this paper to give details, see U. Duchrow, *Christenheit und Weltverantwortung: Traditionsgeschichte und systematischer Struktur der Zweireichelehre* (Stuttgart: Ernst

and then consider Augustine's spiritual sensitivity and the yearning for wholeness and fulfilment.

## 2 FRAMEWORK FOR BOTH AGES OF HUMAN HISTORY AND INDIVIDUAL'S STAGES

After his compulsory ordination to the priesthood in 391 at Hippo, Augustine requested his bishop, Valerius, to give him a sabbatical to concentrate on scriptural studies.<sup>8</sup> Augustine made this request because he would be painfully aware of his own shortcomings. This request seems to have been received. He tells us in his *Reconsiderations*<sup>9</sup> that during the last years (394–395) immediately before his ordination as coadjutor bishop of Hippo, 'the Apostle's Epistle to the Romans was read among us who were together at Carthage'<sup>10</sup> and he turned his attention to 'the same Apostle's Epistle to the Galatians not piecemeal—that is, omitting some thing—but continuously and in its entirety.'<sup>11</sup> Although the third, more ambitious work on Romans was unfinished, three works are available to us.

Among these expositions, *Commentary on Statements in the Letter to the Romans*, *Commentary on the Letter to the Galatians*, and *Unfinished Commentary on the Letter to the Romans*, the first and the second mark Augustine's position on the framework for both ages of human history and the stages of the individual's spiritual development. First, *Commentary on Statements in the Letter to the Romans*, quoting a passage from Romans 3:20 ('For no flesh will be justified before him [God] by the Law, for through

Klett, 1970) 259–261; P. Fredriksen Landes, 'Tyconius and the End of the World', *REAug* 28 (1982) 59–75; W. S. Babcock, 'Augustine and Tyconius: A Study in the Latin Appropriation of Paul', *StudPatr* 17 (1982) 1209–1220; P. Fredriksen, 'Augustine and Israel: *Interpretatio ad litteram*, Jews, and Judaism in Augustine's Theology of History', in W. S. Babcock (ed.), *Paul and the Legacies of Paul* (Dallas TX: Southern Methodist University Press, 1990) 91–110.

<sup>8</sup> See *Ep.* 21.3. See also J. J. O'Donnell, *Augustine: A New Biography* (New York: Harper Collins, 2005) 24–26; E. Plumer, *Augustine's Commentary on Galatians*, 83.

<sup>9</sup> *Retr.* 1.23(22)–25(24).

<sup>10</sup> *Retr.* 1.23(22).1; CCSL 57,66–67: 'apud Carthaginem inter nos qui simul eramus ad Romanos apostoli epistula legeretur'. English trans. in B. Ramsey (trans.), *Revisions*, R. Teske (ed.), WSA I/2 (2010) 91.

<sup>11</sup> *Retr.* 1.24(23).1; CCSL 57,71: 'eiusdem apostoli epistulam ad Galatas non carptim, id est aliqua praetermittens, sed continuanter et totam.' English trans. in B. Ramsey (trans.), *Revisions*, 95–96.

the Law comes knowledge of sin'),<sup>12</sup> Augustine did not hold the view that Paul had denied human free will and had condemned the 'Law'. In reply to this misinterpretation of Paul's texts, Augustine immediately provided a fourfold scheme for understanding both human action and divine grace.

[L]et us distinguish these four stages of man: prior to the Law; under the Law; under grace; and in peace. Prior to the Law we pursue fleshly concupiscence; under the Law, we are pulled by it; under grace, we neither pursue nor are pulled by it; in peace, there is no concupiscence of the flesh. . . . Thus here he [Apostle] shows we still have desires but, by not obeying them, that we do not allow sin to reign in us. But these desires arise from the mortality of the flesh, which we bear from the first sin of the first man, whence we are born fleshly. Thus they will not cease save at the resurrection of the body, when we will have merited that transformation promised to us. Then there will be perfect peace, when we have been established in the fourth stage.<sup>13</sup>

In the first stage, that is, before the law (*ante legem*), people do not know the meaning of sin and unaware that they are sinners. They live according to the flesh, with no experiences of the conflict between the law and their sinful behaviour. In the second stage, under the law (*sub lege*), people acquire the knowledge of sin through the law. But those who wish to live according to the law cannot resist their habitual desires. They are overcome and drawn by their carnal desires knowingly. In the third stage, under grace (*sub gratia*), although their struggle against themselves still continues, people are able to believe that God helps them resist their inertial desires. They now live justly, insofar as they are no longer conquered by their own consent to those perverse desires. The fourth and

<sup>12</sup> *Exp. prop. Rom. 12*; CSEL 84,6: 'Quia non iustificabitur in lege omnis caro coram illo, per legem enim cognitio peccati . . .'. English trans. in P. Frederiksen Landes (trans. and ed.), *Augustine on Romans: Prepositions from the Epistle to the Romans, Unfinished Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans* (Chico CA: Scholar Press, 1982) 5.

<sup>13</sup> *Exp. prop. Rom. 12*; CSEL 84,6-8: 'quattuor istos gradus hominis distinguamus: ante legem, sub lege, sub gratia, in pace. Ante legem sequimur concupiscentiam carnis, sub lege trahimur ab ea, sub gratia nec sequimur eam nec trahimur ab ea, in pace nulla est concupiscentia carnis. . . . Hinc enim ostendit esse desideria, quibus non oboediendo, peccatum in nobis regnare non sinimus. Sed quoniam ista desideria de carnis mortalitate nascuntur, quae trahimus ex primo peccato primi hominis, unde carnaliter nascimur, non finientur haec, nisi resurrectione corporis immutationem illam, quae nobis promittitur, meruerimus, ubi perfecta pax erit, cum in quarto gradu constituemur.' English trans. in P. Frederiksen Landes (trans. and ed.), *Augustine on Romans*, 5,7.

final stage, in peace (*in pace*), comes when their mortal bodies are renewed in the resurrection (Rom. 8:10–11). Consequently, there is no more struggle, because they are not captured by all carnal desires. This cannot be executed in this life, thus being designated as the eschatological perfection of humanity.

The fourfold stages (*gradus*) are formed by the correlation between the different states of humanity corresponding to the morally good and evil, and the scriptural points in the history of salvation. This scheme begins with humanity before the law of Sinai and terminates in the second coming of Christ. The incarnation of Christ is a pivotal moment in salvational history, the point that shifts humanity from the revelation to Israel into the revelation in Christ. Hence, with the sequential and spiritual progress of humanity toward perfection, the crucial point to grasp is that for Augustine, there is a break between the second and the third stages: How do those who, while serving the law of sin, will and do the morally good? What does it make possible for those who wish to liberate themselves from the old disposition of the self? It is clearly admitted that the understanding of this transition requires careful and sustained attention to the readings of Paul's texts, especially those of Romans 7 (24–25) and 9 (11–13), which, after telling us about these stages, Augustine considered in this exposition.<sup>14</sup> Another important point to note is that the decisive transition from the second to the third stage is given by the coming of Christ, that is, the salvational moment in the human history. His understanding of this transition helped him forge a hinge into the problems of divine grace, human will and law. This concern for the individual's interior progress is primarily and continually motivated by his own experience of conversion. However, when configured within the historical and collective experience of a salvational event, it allowed Augustine to see it as the shared incident in the history. The purposeful transition is, thus, moved historically and communally, thereby permitting those who read it to hope and encourage their own steps toward eternal peace.

The second of these expositions, *Commentary on the Letter to the Galatians*, is his 'only complete scientific (as opposed to homiletic) commen-

<sup>14</sup> *Exp. prop. Rom.* 45–46 and 60. See also W. S. Babcock, 'Augustine's Interpretation of Romans', 58–64; P. Fredriksen, *Augustine and the Jews*, 165–169.

tary on any book of the Bible'.<sup>15</sup> When he proceeded with the commentary on Galatians 5 in this exposition,<sup>16</sup> Augustine told the audience about a misunderstanding (by Manichaeans)<sup>17</sup> of Paul's text (Galatians 5: 17): 'People think that the Apostle is here denying that we have free choice of the will. They do not understand that this is said to them if they refuse to hold on to the grace of faith they have received'.<sup>18</sup> Then, associating it with the passages from Romans 7–8, especially quoting Romans 8: 7: 'The wisdom of the flesh is hostile to God, for it is not subject to God's law, nor can it be',<sup>19</sup> Augustine employed a scheme to explain the function of divine grace. As such, the believer's humanity is divided into four stages, which correspond to the four *gradus* of the scriptural history of salvation: 'prior to the law' (*ante legem*), 'under the law prior to grace' (*sub lege ante gratiam*), 'under grace' (*sub gratia*), and 'in ... eternal peace' (*in pace ... aeterna*).<sup>20</sup> Similarly as mentioned previously in the first of his expositions,<sup>21</sup> Augustine designated the stages of humanity in terms of the soul's struggle against carnal desires. Because these (first) two stages ('*ante legem*' and '*sub lege*') represent only the existential dimension of humanity in life, he emphasised the transition from the second stage to the third stage. Not only did he mention the individual, subjective mode of the believers' experiences, but he also revealed the objective and historical epoch through human history, thereby defending the divine dispensation through the history of salvation.<sup>22</sup> These two expositions were written at almost the same time. They share the characteristics of his view of the four-stage scheme, the common vocabularies and the scriptural passages from the Pauline texts.

<sup>15</sup> E. Plumer, 'Expositio epistulae ad Galatas', in ATA, 345.

<sup>16</sup> *Exp. Gal.* 41–55.

<sup>17</sup> E. Plumer, *Augustine's Commentary on Galatians*, 208 n. 224

<sup>18</sup> *Exp. Gal.* 46.1; CSEL 84,120: 'putant hic hominem liberum voluntatis arbitrium negare apostolum nos habere nec intelligunt hoc eis dictum, si gratiam fidei susceptam tenere nolunt'. English trans. in E. Plumer, *Augustine's Commentary on Galatians*, 208.

<sup>19</sup> *Exp. Gal.* 46.2; CSEL 84,121: 'Prudentia carnis inimica in deum, legi enim dei non est subiecta neque enim potest.'

<sup>20</sup> *Exp. Gal.* 46.4–9.

<sup>21</sup> See *Exp. prop. Rom.* 12.

<sup>22</sup> See on this the comprehensive and balanced assessment of the 'pastoral purpose' of the commentary to the Galatians by E. Plumer, *Augustine's Commentary on Galatians*, 71–88 and, for the comparison of the origin of *Exp. prop. Rom.* with that of this commentary, 76 n. 103.



### 3 THE DEVELOPMENT AND CONFIRMATION IN ON EIGHTY-THREE VARIED QUESTIONS, Q. 66

Next, I shall consider this four-stage scheme in the seemingly different structure of work, *On Eighty-Three Varied Questions*, which was composed during the years between his return to North Africa (388) and his ordination as a bishop (396).<sup>23</sup> With regard to the chronological ordering of several groups of questions that Augustine compiled in one volume, it might be difficult to date each of them precisely. Gustave Bardy, an eminent French scholar, edited and translated this work into French in 1952. He examined five groups of these questions and found that the fourth group (qq. 66–75), in which Augustine exhibited the result of his intensive study of the Pauline letters, dates back to the years 394–395.<sup>24</sup> In the first of the fourth group of questions, that is, question 66, after declaring his intention to explicate the texts from Romans 7: 1 to 8: 11,<sup>25</sup> issues of human sin and divine grace come to the fore. Augustine proceeded with an analogical interpretation of these passages, thereby referring to ‘a wife, a husband and the law’<sup>26</sup> as the ‘soul, sin and the law of sin’<sup>27</sup> and revealing the entanglement of the law in sin and death.

From this we understand that there are four phases even in a single person and, when they have been experienced in sequence, eternal life will be attained. . . . we should be born as animals and fleshly beings, there is a first period that is before the law, a second that is under the law, a third that is under grace, and a fourth that is in peace.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>23</sup> For the corresponding setting of these works, that is, *Exp. prop. Rom.*, *Exp. Gal.*, and *Div. qu.*, particularly for Augustine’s intended audience involving his fellow monks, see E. Plumer, *Augustine’s Commentary on Galatians*, 76.

<sup>24</sup> G. Bardy, J.-A. Beckaert, and J. Boutet (ed. and trans.), *Mélanges doctrinaux*, BA 10 (1952) 11–50. Cf. A. Mutzenbecher (ed.), *De diversis quaestionibus octoginta tribus, De octo Dulcissimi quaestionibus*, CCL 44A (1975) xli; D. L. Mosher (trans.), *Saint Augustine: Eighty-Three Different Questions*, FC 70 (1982) 18–19; D. C. Alexander, *Augustine’s Early Theology of the Church: Emergence and Implications*, 386–391 (New York: Peter Lang, 2008) 186 n. 38 and 340–341.

<sup>25</sup> *Div. qu.* 66.2.

<sup>26</sup> *Div. qu.* 66.2; CCL 44A,153: ‘mulierem, uirum et legem’.

<sup>27</sup> *Div. qu.* 66.2; CCL 44A,153: ‘animam, peccatum et legem peccati’.

<sup>28</sup> *Div. qu.* 66.3; CCL 44A,154: ‘Ex quo comprehendimus quattuor esse differentias etiam in uno homine, quibus gradatim peractis in vita aeterna manebitur. . . . animales carnalesque nasceremur, prima est actio ante legem, secunda sub lege, tertia sub gratia, quarta in pace.’ English trans. in B. Ramsey (trans.), *Responses to Miscellaneous Questions*, R. Can-

At the end of this question, he recapitulated the four-stage scheme of humanity as follows:

In the first period, then, which is before the law, there is no struggle with the pleasures of this world. In the second, which is under the law, we struggle but are overcome. In the third we struggle and overcome. In the fourth we do not struggle but rest in perfect and eternal peace, for what is beneath us is subjected to us; ...<sup>29</sup>

With regard to the schematisation of human history and dividing an individual's development into four stages, there might be no difference among the views expressed in these three works: *Commentary on State-ments in the Letter to the Romans*, *Commentary on the Letter to the Galatians*, and the question 66 of his *On Eighty-Three Varied Questions*. In the question at issue, although Augustine would give a detailed description of the inner struggle with fleshly desires in each of the souls, he did not deny the importance of the transition from the second stage to the third stage. He quoted the key passages from Romans 7 at the end of the second stage: 'For when he has been liberated and recognises the grace of his liberator he says, *Wretched man that I am, who will liberate me from the body of this death? The grace of God through Jesus Christ our Lord.* (Rom 7: 24–25)'.<sup>30</sup>

It is interesting to note that in his explanation of the next and third stage, he thought of 'the grace of his liberator' in this key passage as the one who, 'teaching how we should live, ... aflame with the love of eternal things'.<sup>31</sup> This is a moral 'example' to follow that would be taken as the outward, not the inward, exemplar of Christ's death on the cross: 'he [scil. Christ] condemned sin in the flesh itself, so that the spirit, ...

ning (ed.), WSA I/12 (2008) 105.

<sup>29</sup> *Div. qu.* 66.7; CCSL 44A,163: 'In prima ergo actione, quae est ante legem, nulla pugna est cum voluptatibus huius saeculi; in secunda, quae sub lege est, pugnamus sed vincimur; in tertia pugnamus et vincimus; in quarta non pugnamus, sed perfecta et aeterna pace requiescimus. Subiugatur enim nobis quod inferius nostrum est, ...'. English trans. in B. Ramsey (trans.), *Responses to Miscellaneous Questions*, 110.

<sup>30</sup> *Div. qu.* 66.5; CCSL 44A,158: 'Iam enim liberatus agnoscens gratiam liberatoris sui dicit: *Miser ego homo, quis me liberabit de corpore mortis huius? Gratia dei per Iesum Christum dominum nostrum.*' English trans. in B. Ramsey (trans.), *Responses to Miscellaneous Questions*, 108.

<sup>31</sup> *Div. qu.* 66.6; CCSL 44A,159: 'docendo quemadmodum uiueremus, ... aeternorum caritate ... flagrans'. English trans. in B. Ramsey (trans.), *Responses to Miscellaneous Questions*, 108.

would not be taken captive by yielding to lust'.<sup>32</sup> In the *Commentary on the Letter to the Galatians*, he also referred to this example: 'no temporal comfort is preferred to righteousness. This is possible, only through spiritual love, which the Lord taught *by his example* and gave by his grace.'<sup>33</sup> In this regard, Augustine might concur in the view that the teaching and example of Christ are defined externally, not as the divine grace poured into our soul and changing human will from the inside.

#### 4 CONCLUSION

Through the early works before his reading of the scriptures and of Paul, in particular, Augustine continually expounded the seven stages of an individual progress toward contemplation. These stages correspond to soul-centred spirituality (*On the Greatness of the Soul* 33.70–76, written in 387/388), the seven days of the scriptural week of creation (*On Genesis, Against the Manicheans* 1.25.43, in 388/389), the two types of spiritual life in the economy of salvation (*On True Religion* 48–49, in 390/391) and the eight maxims in Matthew 5: 3–10 (*On the Lord's Sermon on the Mount* 1.2.4–4.12, in c. 392/396).<sup>34</sup> These repeatedly expressed schemes seem to indicate his intention to incorporate the discipline of the *artes liberales* into the discipline of divine providence on the whole human race. The former originates in a Platonic view of the ascent through the grades of human growth to perfect fulfilment. The latter derives from a biblical view of the historical education by which God liberates people from the enslavement of the law into the freedom of the spirit. His deep commitment to the ascending scheme is the amalgamation of basically and fundamentally different types of tradition. Thus, a gap would continue to exist in his view of the human desire for wholeness, rest and peace. By his intensive study of the Pauline epistles, he came to articulate this fourfold scheme in the representations of the course of human history. However, the point to emphasise is not if Augustine used the traditional

<sup>32</sup> *Div. qu.* 66.6; CCSL 44A,159: 'peccatum in ipsa carne damnavit, ut ... spiritus ... non duceretur captivus in consensionem libidinis.' English trans. in B. Ramsey (trans.), *Responses to Miscellaneous Questions*, 108.

<sup>33</sup> *Exp. Gal.* 46.6; CSEL 84,121: 'nihil temporalis commodi iustitiae praeponitur, quod nisi caritate spirituali, quam dominus *exemplo suo* docuit et gratia donavit, fieri non potest.' English trans. in E. Plumer, *Augustine's Commentary on Galatians*, 211. Italics mine.

<sup>34</sup> On this see Chapter 5.4 above and 49 n. 31.

septenary scheme. He became aware of the shift in his belief in human behaviour, from the teleological perspective, essentially governed by human rationality. Despite Augustine's immaturity of thinking of divine grace as the inner gift, found in some of his Pauline interpretations of Romans 7, both his spiritual sensitivity and yearning for wholeness and fulfilment are more immediately combined with divine mercy working in mysterious ways.





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