

転換期における「貧困」に関する
アウグスティヌスの洞察と実践の研究

Augustine's Understanding and
Practice of Poverty in an Era of Crisis

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凡例 Abbreviations

<i>AL</i>	<i>Augustinus-Lexikon</i>
<i>AugStud</i>	<i>Augustinian Studies</i>
BA	Bibliothèque Augustinienne
CCL	Corpus Christianorum Series Latina
CSEL	Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum
ÉAA	Collection des Études Augustiniennes: Antiquité
<i>REAug</i>	<i>Revue des études augustiniennes</i>
NBA	Nuova Biblioteca Agostiniana
<i>RAug</i>	<i>Recherches augustiniennes</i>
WSA	The Works of Saint Augustine: A Translation for the 21st Century

はじめに

出村和彦

研究課題情報

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研究の要旨

本研究は、人間の生にとって「貧困」とは何かを問い直すとともに、それぞれの時代のなかでの問題の所在、展開を明らかにする思想史研究の視点からこの問題の思想的多面性を捉えることをその目的とする。この目的に向かって、本研究は平成19-20年度日豪二国間交流事業（日本学術振興会）「転換期における「貧困」への取り組み—初期キリスト教をモデルにして」の共同研究を発展的に継承し、4世紀後半から5世紀前半の転換期に生きたアウグスティヌスの貧困に関する理解と貧困への実践的取り組みを培った彼の思想的展開を解明することに集中する。本研究は、世代を異にする二人の研究者による相補的共同研究として平成21年度から23年にわたり遂行された。出村はアウグスティヌスの中期著作や『説教』『修道規則』を、上村は彼の初期著作や『詩編注解』『神の国』を詳しく分析することを通して、その思想的展開を正確に把握する作業を行う。これによって、アウグスティヌスがいかなる基本的理解のもとに「貧困」の問題に取り組もうとし、いかなる仕方でも「貧困」の問題について語っているのかを明らかにした上で、どうしてそのような理解のもとに「貧困」についてそのような語り方をするのかに注視することを通じて、「貧困」に関わるアウグスティヌスの洞察と実践に現れている彼の「貧困」理解の中心的思想を解明し、古代末期という「転換期」におけるその思想史的意義を明らかにすることを目指すものである。

研究の学術的背景

古代的な相互扶助、また公共的、私的な慈善活動を通して解消されようと試みられていた「貧困」の問題は、帝国末期の社会、経済の揺らぎによってふたたび深刻さを増してくる4世紀後半から6世紀という転換期に、ようやく「可視化」されることになる（R. Finn, 'Portraying the poor: descriptions of poverty in Christian texts from the late Roman empire', in M. Atkins and R. Osborne (eds), *Poverty in the Roman World* (Cambridge 2006) 130頁を参照）。

そのような状況で、初期キリスト教共同体に参加した人々は、彼らの經典である聖書解釈を通して、従来とは異なる「貧困」についての言説を構築することを出発点にして、新たな自己理解と社会的活動に取り組みはじめていた。その際のキリスト教司教の役割にはめざましいものがあり、彼らこそ「貧者を愛する者」であるとともに「貧者を治める者」であるというヨーロッパ中世に通

ずるキリスト教司教の役割を築く転換点をもたらした者であるという考えが、Peter Brown によって提示された (P. Brown, *Poverty and Leadership in the Later Roman Empire* (Hanover, NH 2002))。これに対して、オーストラリアカトリック大学の Pauline Allen 教授を中心とするオーストラリア学術会議の創発研究プロジェクト (ARC Discovery Project 2006–2008: *Poverty and Welfare in Late Antiquity*) は、4世紀から6世紀の代表的司教たち (クリュソストモス、アウグスティヌス、レオ1世) を取り上げ、彼らの慈善救貧活動喜捨清貧等「貧困」に関わる言説と行動を考察した結果、事柄はそう単純なものではないことを明らかにしてきた。

本研究の研究代表者である出村和彦は、先にこの創発研究プロジェクトに連携する平成19–20年度日豪二国間交流事業 (日本学術振興会) の共同研究「転換期における「貧困」への取り組み—初期キリスト教をモデルにして」を組織して、この転換期に先行する3–4世紀の初期キリスト教の思想家アレキサンドリアのクレメンス、オリゲネス、砂漠の修道士アントニオス、ポントスのエヴァグリオス、カイサレイアのバシレイオス等の思想について考察する研究者との意見交換を行ってきた。出村はアウグスティヌス (354–430) の中期の作品『告白録』と『修道規則』における「貧困」に関する理解を彼の同時代の伝記と付き合わせて解明することとし、また、研究分担者上村直樹はアウグスティヌスの初期著作に現れた「貧困」概念を精査することで、この共同研究に加わることとなった。その成果は後に手を加えて論文 [1] [2] として公刊されている。

従来、欧米でアウグスティヌスは研究し尽くされているかに見えるが、しかし不思議なことに、アウグスティヌスの「貧困」理解やこれへの実践的関わりを包括的に解明したモノグラフは出ていない (P. Brown, 'Augustine and a crisis of wealth in late antiquity', *Augustinian Studies* 36 (2005) 6頁を参照)。本研究はそのような学問的空白を埋めるべく立ち上げられたものである。

研究計画

貧困の問題に関して先駆的であったオーストラリアの創発研究プロジェクトと私たちの二国間交流事業共同研究を出発点として、本研究ではアウグスティヌスに対象を絞り込み、アウグスティヌスの原典テキストを精査することによって、彼の「貧困」理解と実践の解明に集中する。

ここで問題となるのは、アウグスティヌスにおいては、「貧しい者 (*pauper*)」の

捉え方が歴史的に大きな転換点を迎えていたということである。それは以下の三点に要約される。

- 1) 「貧しい者」が社会の成員として、たんに軽蔑、排斥の対象と見なされるのではなく、むしろ救済されるに「ふさわしい」者であるという聖書の観点と、現実には「富者であっても救われる」必要があるという共同体的観点とを、アウグスティヌスがいかに共同体メンバーに向かって説得的に呈示しようと試みたか。
- 2) 「貧困」は、単なる社会経済的困窮を指す概念ではなく、あらゆる階層において「富める者」「貧しい者」がいると考えるアウグスティヌスにおいて、貧富を分ける基準はどこにあったか。
- 3) 聖書を字義どおり解して財産を放棄する行動を、「貧しくなることこそ富むことである」という逆説として英雄的に賞賛する社会の中で、これに一定の理解を示しながらも、どのように急進的に実践する行動に対しては、なんとか押しとどめようと腐心していたことにとどのような一貫性があるのか。

以上のような問題意識の下に、

出村はアウグスティヌスの中期著作や『説教』を、上村は彼の初期著作や『詩編注解』を詳しく分析することを通して、その思想的展開を正確に把握する作業を行う。これによって、アウグスティヌスがいかなる基本的理解のもとに「貧困」の問題に取り組もうとし、いかなる仕方で「貧困」の問題について語っているかを明らかにした上で、そのような理解のもとに「貧困」についてそのような語り方をするアウグスティヌスの基本的な人間理解の中心的思想を解明することが可能になる。出村はそれを「心」(*cor* = 心臓)という概念と関係づけ、アウグスティヌスの「貧困」の問題が「心」の問題に収斂することを明らかにする、これを第一の課題とする。

さらに、この出村の研究とリンクして上村は、『詩編注解』における「貧困」の全容解明を行うとともに、初期の発想が晩年の大作『神の国』にまで通じていることを証明する。「心」における高慢 (*superbia*) と謙遜 (*humilitas*) という二つの意志のあり方が共同体 (*civitas* = 国) の存立と歴史的展開の源泉であるという有名な『神の国』の理論が、実はアウグスティヌスの「貧困」の問題への関わりに淵源を持っていることを思想的に明らかにする。これが第二の課題である。その際、私たちは強引に仮説を証明するという方法は採らず、あくまでもテキストにあらわれた多様なアウグスティヌスの「貧困」に関する言説から、時代の転換期において彼に何が見えていて何が見えていなかったかをできる限り明確にすることを目指した。

研究の経過

平成21 (2009)年度

研究初年度に当たり、両研究者は緊密な連絡の下に基本的なテキスト資料・データベースの整備に当たり、両名とも、9月に「アジア環太平洋初期キリスト教学会 (APECSS) 国際研究集会」(仙台) で発表し、研究協力者 Pauline Allen 教授 (オーストラリアカトリック大学初期キリスト教研究センター所長) との意見交換を行った。さらに、11月に中世哲学会 (富山) で打ち合わせを行い、また両名とも2010年3月に第1回韓国教父学会国際研究集会 (ソウル) にて発表し、オーストラリアチームによって公刊された共同研究書 *Preaching Poverty in Late Antiquity* (2009) の成果を批判的に検討することに着手した。

具体的には、出村は、アウグスティヌスの「貧困」に対する洞察の基本的前提となる彼の修道生活における「貧困」の自己理解のあり方を検討した論文を公表した [02]。ついで、貧困への洞察の神学的基礎となる彼の『パウロ書簡』解釈の発展を跡づける試みを APECSS 研究集会で発表した [10]。さらに、『説教』や『詩篇注解』の精査を通じて、貧しい他者への施しなどの実践的関わりを唱道するアウグスティヌスの論述の理論的根拠を提示し彼のキリスト教倫理の特徴の解明を試みた [13]。上村は、計画全体の基盤となるアウグスティヌス初期の「貧困」を包括的に検討した論文を公表した [01]。また、アウグスティヌスの宗教的な言説の典型といわれる「霊的な修練 (*exercitatio animi*)」の実態を検討することによって、宗教に対してとるべき態度がいかに形成されているかを解明することに着手した。「霊的な修練」のアウグスティヌス「書簡」全般での実態を検討した成果を、9月に APECSS 研究集会で発表し [11]、ついで、「霊的な修練」の始まりを解明した成果を10月の国際教父・中世・ルネッサンス学会 (フィラデルフィア) にて発表した [12]。さらに、次年度以降の研究の中心となる『神の国』での「貧困」の問題圏における社会性の実態について、韓国ソウルでの国際研究集会にて発表し [14]、課題となるべきテーマを絞りこむことを試みた。

平成22 (2010)年度

本研究の2年目において、既に入手した古代末期の貧困に関するデータベースを活用しつつ、前年度の研究から明らかになった課題を検討することに着手した。また、幾つかの学会において研究成果を発表すると共に、共同セミナー等で

オーストラリアの研究チームとの討議を進め、最終年度に作成する予定の報告書の内容について、具体的な検討を行った。

具体的には、出村は国際学術誌に前年度9月のアジア環太平洋初期キリスト教会での発表を論文に練り上げたものを掲載するとともに [04]、「貧困」と「心」についての序論的な論文を発表した [03]。上村は、前年度末3月に韓国ソウルで開催された国際学会での発表を再考することによって、「貧困」の問題圏における社会性の実態を初期著作に遡って考察した成果を、北米教父学会（米国シカゴ）において発表した [15]。そして、アウグスティヌスの宗教的な言説の典型である「霊的な修練 (*exercitatio animi*)」の実態を、「説教」において検証した成果をカナダ教父学会（モントリオール）において発表した [16]。さらに、『神の国』において検証した成果をメルボルンの国際学会において発表した [18]。この場で、出村は古代末期の危機的状況における「著作」の贈呈先への効用を論じる発表を行い [17]、上村とともにオーストラリアの研究チームとの討議を行った。さらに、上村は、2011年7月に英国リーズで開催される予定の国際中世会議が学会統一テーマを「貧者と富者」と決定したことに合わせて、本研究全体の成果を発表するべく準備を進めた。

両名は本年度末3月にオーストラリアカトリック大学初期キリスト教研究センターでオーストラリアの研究チームとの共同セミナー (Joint Japanese-Australian Seminar on Crisis in Late Antiquity) を開催し、そこでオーストラリア側との意見交換を行うと共に [19] [20]、最終研究成果報告書の内容や構成について綿密に検討した。

平成23 (2011)年度

本研究の最終年度において、これまでの研究成果をまとめ、さらなる発展を展望した。

具体的には、上村は7月に英国リーズで開催された「貧者と富者」国際中世会議で本研究全体の成果を発表した [21]。また、出村は、8月オックスフォードでの第16回国際教父学研究集会に参加し、「心」の概念についてプレナリー・レクチャーを講じた [22]。さらにシドニーで、オーストラリアカトリック大学とマッコーリー大学との共同セミナー Epistolary Conversations II: Opening the letter of Classical and Late Antiquity に出席し、書簡を資料にしてアウグスティヌス研究を進める方法的問題点について情報を収集した。以上を踏まえ、出

村は単著『アウグスティヌスの「心」の哲学：序説』岡山大学文学部研究叢書 33 (平成23 (2011)年12月20日) を刊行し [05]、とりわけその第4章において、これまでの研究成果を反映した考察を展開している。また、上村は、本報告書の別冊資料アレン・モーガン『「貧困」についてのアウグスティヌスの洞察』を翻訳刊行する [06] に至った。

研究成果一覧

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- [10] DEMURA, Kazuhiko, 'On the context and development of Augustine's early commentaries on the Pauline letters', Asia-Pacific Early Christian Studies Society 5th Conference, 2009年9月10日、東北学院大学.
- [11] KAMIMURA, Naoki, 'Spiritual Exercises in the Letters of Augustine', Asia-Pacific Early Christian Studies Society 5th Conference, 2009年9月10日、東北学院大学.
- [12] KAMIMURA, Naoki, '*Christianae vitae otium* in Augustine's *De Academicis* (or *Contra Academicos*)', The 34th International Patristic, Medieval, and Renaissance Studies Conference, 2009年10月17日, Villanova Conference Center, Pennsylvania, USA.
- [13] DEMURA, Kazuhiko, 'Christian Ethics of St. Augustine on Poverty', The First International Conference of the Patristic Society in Korea, 2010年3月19日, Presbyterian College and Theological Seminary, Seoul, South Korea.
- [14] KAMIMURA, Naoki, 'The Use of the Poor and Poverty in Augustine's City of God', The First International Conference of the Patristic Society in Korea, 2010年3月19日, Presbyterian College and Theological Seminary, Seoul, South Korea.
- [15] KAMIMURA, Naoki, 'The Evolving View of the "religion" in Augustine's Early Works', North American Patristic Society 20th Annual Meeting, 2010年5月28日, Holiday Inn Chicago Mart Plaza, Chicago, Illinois, USA.
- [16] KAMIMURA, Naoki, 'Spiritual Exercises in the Sermons of Augustine', Annual Meeting of the Canadian Society of Patristic Studies, 2010年5月30日, Concordia University, Montréal, Canada.
- [17] DEMURA, Kazuhiko, 'Politics of Dedicating a Book: A Case of Augustine to Flavius Marcellinus and Manlius Theodorus', Prayer and Spir-

- ity in the Early Church, 6th International Conference, 2010年7月9日, Australian Catholic University, Melbourne, Australia.
- [18] KAMIMURA, Naoki, 'The *exercitatio animi* (or *exercitatio mentis*) of Augustine in the *City of God*', Prayer and Spirituality in the Early Church, 6th International Conference, 2010年7月9日, Australian Catholic University, Melbourne, Australia.
- [19] DEMURA, Kazuhiko, 'Augustine's heart-centered anthropology and the psychological reconfiguration of the community dealing with poverty', Joint Japanese-Australian Seminar on Crisis in Late Antiquity, 2011年3月3日, Australian Catholic University, Brisbane, Australia.
- [20] KAMIMURA, Naoki, 'Augustine's Spiritualisation of the Poor in an Era of Crisis', Joint Japanese-Australian Seminar on Crisis in Late Antiquity, 2011年3月3日, Australian Catholic University, Brisbane, Australia.
- [21] KAMIMURA, Naoki, 'Augustine's Spiritualisation of the Poor in an Era of Crisis', The 18th International Medieval Congress, 2011年7月12日, Weetwood Hall, The University of Leeds, Leeds, United Kingdom.
- [22] DEMURA, Kazuhiko, 'The Concept of Heart in Augustine of Hippo: Its Emergence and Development', Plenary Lecture, The 16th International Conference on Patristic Studies, 2011年8月12日, Oxford, United Kingdom.

本報告書の構成

本報告書には、上記研究成果のうち、論文 [03]、3篇の発表原稿 [13][14][21] に加筆修正を加えたもの、ならびに本研究計画に先行して発表し、研究計画を通して再考した [07] の計5篇の論文を収録し、別冊として上村直樹訳によるアレクサンダー・モーガン 「「貧困」についてのアウグスティヌスの洞察」を付している。

出村 [03] はアウグスティヌスの『説教』に表れた「貧困」に関する洞察を概観する。上村の [07] と [14] はアウグスティヌスの著作に於ける「貧困」に関する言説のレトリカルな性格を詳しく分析し、さらに、上村 [21] はアウグスティヌスに見られる「貧困の精神主義化 *spiritualisation*」といった相に光を当てる。さ

らに出村 [13] は [3] を再考し倫理的な考察を加えている。なお、読者の便宜をはかり、聖書章句とアウグスティヌスの著作についての「原典索引」を作成した。

結び

もとより科研費基盤研究の研究成果は、研究期間終了後に総括的に電子媒体で報告し、日本学術振興会のホームページにおいて公開される。本研究も例外ではない。加えて本冊子と別冊からなる報告書を刊行するのは、アウグスティヌスの「貧困」への洞察と実践が極めて独特であり、これを明らかにする私たちの古代思想史研究の研究過程・方法論を審らかにすることで、私たちの同時代の「貧困」や「危機」に関して、これらをいかに取り組むべきものとして考え、いかに語るかについて、批判的に再考する際に何らかの示唆を与えることになるのを望んでのことである。多方面の応答と今後の共同研究の試みを期待するものである。

本研究遂行に当たっては、多くの方々のご協力を得ている。まず、日豪二国間交流事業共同研究以来、古代末期における「貧困」に関する研究を分かち合い、さらにその成果 (*Preaching Poverty in Late Antiquity: Perceptions and Realities*) の翻訳を許可して下さった Pauline Allen 教授および、共同編著者である Bronwen Neil, Wendy Mayer, Edward Morgan, Silke Sitzler 博士たちに感謝する。また、Allen 教授が所長を勤める Centre for Early Christian Studies, Australian Catholic University のメンバー、とりわけ、年次会合や国際研究集会での私たちの発表のうちに貴重なコメントを下さった、Geoffrey D. Dunn, Raymond Canning, Stephen Lake, David Luckensmeyer の皆さんに感謝する。

また、アジア環太平洋初期キリスト教会での交流を通じて親交を深めている韓国の Wonmo Suh 博士は、ソウルの Presbyterian College and Theological Seminary (長老會神学大学校) での The First International Conference of the Patristic Society in Korea で発表の機会を与えて下さった。ここに感謝を表す。

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アウグスティヌスの「貧困」への関わりと「心」*

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問題の所在

アウグスティヌスの場合、「貧困への関わり」の具体的実相は捉えにくい。同時代東方主教バシレイオスらはキリスト教的「救貧活動」として病院や孤児院をつくったし、ニュッサのグレゴリオスは現実のうち捨てられている病者に注意を喚起してその救済を説いている事実が知られている¹。これに対し、アウグスティヌスでは状況の中で社会経済的に特定できる「貧者」を具体的に取り上げることは全くなく、「貧しい者」は聖書に言及されるイメージを通して言及されるのが常である²。例えば何度か街頭で寝泊まりし物乞いする乞食が言及されるが、いつどこ誰と特定したりその原因に具体的に触れたりすることはなく、かえって、無一文でありながらその日の暮らしに自足している様を（地位を求めてあくせく日々を送っている自分の教師としての境遇と比べる記述（『告白』6.6.9）や乞食の自己放下して他者により頼む姿を取り上げて、たとえば、主の祈りの「われらの日用の糧を今日も与え給え」に寄せてアウグスティヌスは、（当時乞食は礼拝堂には入れず門の外にいたことは間違いないにもかかわらず）教会に集う会衆に向かって端的に「あなたの富はどこにあるのでしょうか。見よ、皆さんは乞食なのです」（『説教』114.5）とも言っているほどである。

* 本論文は、東北学院大学キリスト教文化研究所2009年度キリスト教文化講座（2009年5月30日）の原稿に加筆したものであり、科学研究費助成金（基盤研究C「転換期における「貧困」に関するアウグスティヌスの洞察と実践の研究」課題番号：21520084；研究代表者：出村和彦）による研究成果の一部である。

¹ 桑原直己「バシレイオス・解説」『中世思想原典集成 3：盛期ギリシア教父』（平凡社、1992）172-174頁及び、土井健司『司教と貧者：ニュッサのグレゴリオスの説教を読む』（新教出版社、2007）を参照せよ。

² アウグスティヌスの「貧困」の捉え方についての最新の先駆的研究は、P. Allen, B. Neil, and W. Mayer (eds), *Preaching Poverty in Late Antiquity: Perceptions and Realities, Arbeiten zur Kirchen- und Theologiegeschichte* 28 (Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2009) chap. 4 (119-170); P. Allen and E. Morgan, 'Augustine on Poverty' を参照せよ。

しかし他方、乞食のように貧しければそれ自身神に近い聖なるものであるように神聖視して彼らを絶対化固定化することも断固退けている。なるほど彼自身は修道士として、家族を持つことも財産を所有することもなく、いわゆる「清貧」のうちに修道的共有の下に共同生活をする修道院に住まい司教という聖職者の生涯を送った。しかしその修道生活は、東方の砂漠の師父たちのように日々断食と祈りと籠作りのような労働によって半年ごとにパンと水の差し入れだけで暮らすような徹底したものではなく、「彼の食卓には質素でつましいものが載せられたが、ときには、客や病人のために、野菜の他に肉すらも供されることもあった。そのうえ、ぶどう酒はいつも用意されていた」（『アウグスティヌスの生涯』 22; 熊谷賢二訳）のである。アウグスティヌスの暮らしぶりは、

アウグスティヌスの衣服、はきもの、核などは、質素ではあったが適当な外観を保って、ぜいたくすぎるものでも、貧弱すぎるものでもなかった。その理由は、人間というものは、この両者によって、あるいは高慢に自己を固持するか、あるいは卑屈になってしまうからである。これらのどちらの場合においても、イエス・キリストでのことではなく自分自身のことを求めることになるからである。しかしアウグスティヌスは、上述したように、中道を保ち、右にも左にもそれなかった。…彼の匙は銀製であったが、食物を入れる容器は土か木か大理石でつくられていた。アウグスティヌスがこんなものを使ったのは、貧窮に迫られたからではなく、彼自身の自由な選択によったことである。彼はこのように質素に暮らしていたが、いつも客を優遇していた。その食卓で彼が好んだのは、ただ食べたり飲んだりすることだけではなく、朗読を聞いたり討論したりすることであった。

と、同僚のポッシディウスが『伝記』で伝えるとおおり、適度の快適さを保ったものであった。国連機関の統計が露わにしているような今日の「貧困」の客観的尺度がなかったことを度外視してもなお「貧しい・富んでいる」の用法は線引きが難しくときに矛盾して見えるように見える。アウグスティヌスは「貧困」という事態をどのように捉えていたのであろうか。

1 古代末期北アフリカのアウグスティヌスの教会：

アウグスティヌスの『民衆向け説教』 *SERMONES AD POPULUM*

この問題の資料として、ヒッポやカルタゴで北アフリカの会衆に彼が語りかけた『説教』、またその説教の準備として書きためた『詩編注解』 *Enarrationes in Psalmos* から、「貧困」「貧者」はいかなるものとして現れるのかを見ていこう。生涯3,000篇とも6,000篇とも言われる彼が行った説教の内、現存するのは600篇

足らずである³。これら説教の中でアウグスティヌスは「貧困」にどのようにに関わりこれをどのように捉えているのだろうか。その際、(A)〈「貧しい」他者に関わり〉、(B)〈みずから「貧しい者」となる〉という、自他の両面について彼が求める「貧しさ」の視点を確認していきたい。

まず、アウグスティヌスが強調するのは、「貧しい」他者への視点として、彼らへの喜捨・施しをすることである。彼はその実践を会衆に強く求めている⁴。その際、施しを受ける「貧しい者」は誰なのか、なぜ「貧しい者」に施しをしなければならないのか。施しをする会衆自身は貧しいのか、それとも富んでいるのか。

ここでは特に、「マタイ福音書」19章の「金持ちの青年」の例をアウグスティヌスがどのように取り上げているか考察しよう。「もし完全になりたいのなら、行って持ち物をすべて売り払い、貧しい人々に施しなさい。そうすれば天に富を積むことになる。それから、私に従いなさい...」(19:21)という主のメッセージを含むこの箇所は、最初の修道者エジプトのアントニオスが、これを聞いて文字通り一切を棄てて清貧の修道生活を始めさせるきっかけになった聖句であり(『アントニオス伝』3)アウグスティヌスも『告白』(8.6.14-15)で回心直前の状況を語る一エピソードの中で印象的に用いている。現存の『説教』84、『説教』85、『説教』86は、それぞれ「マタイ福音書」19:17、「マタイ福音書」19:17-25、「マタイ福音書」19:21-26を扱う⁵。そのうち『説教』85ではしかし、この聖書のエピソードによって会衆に修道生活に入ることを勧めるようなことはしていない。アウグスティヌスは、「それを聞いて弟子たちは暗然とさせられて『それでは、誰が救われるのでしょうか』と言った」(19:25)という引用を終えて直ちに、

誰が富める人でしょうか。貧しい人たちよ、耳を傾けてキリストに聴きなさい。わたしは神の民に語りかけているのです。皆さんの多くは貧しい人たちです。ですから特に皆さんはこのことを理解しなければなりません。そこで念を入れて聴きなさい。あなた方は貧し

³ 速記者たち (*notarii*) の手により記録され残されて現存している説教からアウグスティヌスの思想を汲み取る際の固有の困難として、説教をした時と場所の同定が極めて難しく、諸研究者の提案は蓋然性の域を出ないものが多いことがある。とは言え、会衆に語りかける彼の肉声を知る絶好の資料である。

⁴ 古代末期のキリスト教的 *Eleemosyne* (施し、喜捨) の一般については、R. Finn, *Almsgiving in the Later Roman Empire. Christian Promotion and Practice (313-450)* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006) 参照。Finn によれば、567篇現存するアウグスティヌスの真正説教中、何らかの形で施しについて言及するものが113篇にもなると言う(147-8頁)。アウグスティヌスの実践と論法については、特に、Allen and Morgan, 'Augustine on Poverty', 130-146, 150-157頁を見よ。

⁵ 以下『説教』の引用は、『共観福音書説教』茂泉昭男訳「アウグスティヌス著作集」22(教文館、2001)所収による。ただし、表現の一部を改めた。

いことを誇る傾きがあります。富んではいるが謙遜な人たちがあなたがたに勝ることのないように自らの自負心を警戒しなさい。富を持つてはいるが敬虔で信仰深い人たちがあなたがたに勝ると言うことのないようにあなたがたの不信仰を警戒しなさい。富んではいるが素面な人たちがあなたがたより優れているということのないようにあなたがたの酪酊を警戒しなさい。もし彼らが富について誇るべきでないならば、あなたがたは貧困について誇ってはならないのです。(『説教』85.2)

というように、なによりもまず高ぶり・高慢 (*superbia*) を警戒し、へりくだり・謙遜 (*humilitas*) を身につけるように勧めるのである。この勧告をまず会衆の中の「貧しい」人々に向かって発していることは逆説的に聞こえるかも知れない。聖書は金持ちの青年の対する勧告として書かれているのに、アウグスティヌスの説教においては、貧乏な人々に対しさらにその貧しさ故にそれを誇る気持ちを持つ傾向を糾弾しているからである。「貧しさを誇る」とはどういうことなのか。これを会衆に考えさせるところにアウグスティヌスの挑戦があるとも言えよう。

もちろん富んでいる人に対しても、アウグスティヌスは続けて、「この世で富んでいる人々に命じなさい。高慢にならないように」(1テモ 6:17) を引いて、「不確かな富に望みを置くのではなく、(使徒の言うように) 生ける神に望みを置くように」と諭す。そのうえで、富についてどのように解すべきかという問いには、「良い行いに富むように」と言う意味で「富む」ことを勧め、そのような富者でこそ「喜んで分け与えよ」すなわち「喜んで分け与え、物惜しみしないで気前よく共有する」者となることが大切なのである。つまりアウグスティヌスは、すべてを失ってしまえというのではなく「十分なだけ保有し十分以上のものを保持しその中からある部分を分かち与えるべき」と言っている。ここでは、富んでいる人々を非難するのではなく「むしろそのことだけでも実行してくださいと申しているのです」というトーンが見られ、また「富」ということについて、現実の物質的金持ちのあり方から精神的靈的に富んだ者のあり方へのシフトが見いだされる。その上でさらに「貧しい人々」に向かって、

貧しい方々、どうか耳を傾けてください。皆さんも支出しなさい。あなたがたも盗んではなりません。あなたがたも貯えを分かちなさい。あなたがたも邪欲を抑制しなさい... みなさんは富んだ人々と世界を共有しています。確かにあなた方は家を富んだ人たちと共有してはいません。しかし、彼らと天を共有し光を共有しているのであります。ただ十分な量だけを求めなさい。充足するだけのものを求めなさい。

と述べて、現存の貧富の秩序を固定化する中で「貧しい」人々に自足とさらなる分かち合いを求めているのである。

『説教』86では、アウグスティヌスは「マタイ福音書」19章の主の命令を単に財産すべてを放棄せよとの命令と解するのではなく、かえて「わたしたちの神はわたしたちの持ち物を失うことを望みたもうたというのではなく」「(富を)どこに置くべきか、その適正な場所をわたしたちに示しておられる」(『説教』86.1)と解している。

誰一人として自分の宝について考えなかったり、いわば心の旅程の中でそれを追求しなかったりすることはできません。もしそれらが地下に埋められているなら、わたしたちの思いは低いところにそれを求め、もし天に貯えられているなら、わたしたちの思いは上方に向かうこととなります (*sursum erit cor*)。... もし本当に心を上に向けようと望んでいる人がいるならば、その人はその場所に、まさにそのところに愛しているものを置きなさい (*qui ergo vult cor sursum habere, ibi, ibi ponat quod amat*)。そして今は肉をとって地上にありますが、心の中ではキリストと共に住みなさい。また、教会の頭 (=キリスト) が教会に先立って天へと前進されたように、キリスト者の心がキリスト者に先立って天へと行くようにさせなさい。頭であるキリストが先立って行かれたところに、その肢体 (であるキリスト者の教会) も行くであろうように。... わたしたちが行こうとあらかじめ準備しているところへ、わたしたちの貴重な資産をあらかじめ移しておこうではありませんか。

と勧めるのである。

このような文脈で、アウグスティヌスはしきりに施しを勧める。そもそも貧富の問題は、人間にとってどこに幸福を見いだすかという究極関心と密接不可分である。アウグスティヌスはこれを「心」(*cor*)の在処として把握する。「心を上方に保つか」、「下方にとらわれたままにしておくか」が峻別され、さらに、この世とあの世、地上と天の国との対比の下に、捉え返されている。続いて「私の兄弟である最も小さい者の一人にしたのは、私にしてくれたことなのである」(マタイ 25:40)の聖句を核として、

誰も貧しい人々のために支出することを恐れるべきではありません。誰も、受け取ろうとしてその人が差し出す手を現に見ているまさに当の人がそれを受け取ると考えるべきではありません。施すことを命じておられるその方 (=キリスト) が受け取られるのです。

というように、この世の財をこの世の貧者に施すことによって、その施しの受取主は、実はキリストに他ならないと強調するのである。

物乞いする人は貧しい人ですが、しかし受ける人は富んでいるのです。あなたは消費する人に与えるのですが、その方は受け取って返済するのです。彼は受けたものを返済するだけではありません。彼は高利でそれを借りて、与えた以上の返済を約束するのです。... 神に与えなさい。そして神に返済を求めなさい。神に貸しなさい。そうすればあなたは返済を受け取るように促されることでしょう。... ですから、あなたは貸し付ける人を持ってい

るのです。キリストに貸しなさい。キリストは、あなたからかにかを受けたゆえに、驚くべき物をあなたが受け取るよう、自由にあなたに返済されるのです... (つまりキリストは) 「わたしはわたし自身で直接受けたのではなく、わたしの民を通して受けたのです。彼らに施されたものはわたしのもとに達するのです。安心なさい。あなたがたはそれを失うことはありません。あなたがたは地上におけるほとんど支払う能力のない人たちに注意を向けているが、あなたがたは支払う能力のある者を天上に持っているのです。私は受けるが、また、私は返済もするのです」。(『説教』86.4)

というように、この世において貧しい者に施すことは、そのまま、天国への財の移動させることであり、神に財を預けることとして、神からのより多くの返済が約束されるような、来るべき世の報酬を得るための最も確実な投資先として捉える考え方を開陳している。このような施し主にとって、この世での施しの受取主は同時に、財を天上に運ぶ運び役 (*laturaii*) というように位置づけられることになり、そうすることで、アウグスティヌスは施し主にプレッシャーをかけて彼らの「終末論的な自己利益 (*eschatological self-interest*)」を目指す気持ちに訴えているとも考えられるのである⁶。

このようなアウグスティヌスの、貧者への関わりの方にはいろいろ批判もあろう。眼前の貧困の現実が見据えられていないとか、貧者のためではなく、結局自分の(救済の)ための打算であるとも受け止められよう。施し・喜捨 (*eleemosune, almsgiving*) の理論構築は教父たちがさまざまになしており、たとえば、人類愛とも訳される慈善 (*philanthropia*) として理解したり、一種のノブレスオブリジェ *noblesse oblige* としての善行 (*euergesia benefaction*) というギリシア・ローマ的伝統に訴える向きもあった。ただアウグスティヌスにあって、評判を得るためとか自己満足のために施しをするという動機は介在する余地はないであろう。そんなちっぽけなことを言っているのではなく、キリスト中心の大きな恵みと救済のドラマの下に自他の具体的な行為を位置づけているのである。『説教』60「マタイ福音書 6:19-21」で次のように説いているとおりでである。

「誰のために財を積んでいるのか」と神が問われるとすれば、わたしたちは何と答えるでしょう。あなたは—それゆえ、おお、人間よ、すべての人間よ、あくせくと宝を空しく積んでいるあなたは—あなたと共に論じ、あなたと共に共通の問題に対して助言を求めている私に、どのように答えるのでしょうか? ... わたしたちは共に探求もし、また助言も乞うべきであります。わたしたちは知恵のある人ではなく、知恵そのものである方に助言を得る可能性を持っています。共にキリストに聴こうではありませんか。「... 神の力、神の

⁶ Allen and Morgan, 'Augustine on Poverty', 151-2.

知恵であるキリスト」(1 コリ 1:24) に聴こうではありませんか。なぜあなたはあなたの富を守る防壁を準備しているのですか。(『説教』60.4-5)

2 アウグスティヌス自身の貧しさについて

そのように会衆に貧しくあることを説くアウグスティヌス自身が「貧者」でなかったら著しく説得力を欠く。ただその「貧しさ」はすでにポッシディウスの伝記に見たように、単に「極貧」というのではなく、共有ということを核としていた。それがゆえにまた、私有財産を隠し持つことについては厳しく当たった。何よりも神と隣人に不誠実なその心根が許せなかったのであろう。古代末期は人生が外見にも露わにされる世界であった。

最晩年の426年1月(71歳)の『説教』356で、彼は、会衆を前にして、自分の同僚の助祭ラザルスに「使徒言行録」4:31-35を朗読させ、自らもこれを改めて朗読するというパフォーマンスから説教を始めている。この聖書では周知の如く「信じた人々の群れは心をも思いも一つにして、一人として持ち物を自分のものと言う者はなく、すべてを共有していた... 信徒たちの中には、一人も貧しい人がいなかった。土地や家を持っている人が皆、それを売っては代金を持ち寄り、使徒たちの足もとに置き、その金は必要に応じて、おのおのに分配されたからである」という初代教会の財産共有の共同体生活(いわゆる使徒的生活)の多分に理念化された様子が描かれているのだが、アウグスティヌスは、会衆を前にするこの説教という場で、彼と共同生活を営んでいる司祭や助祭の名指ししながら、この聖書に照らして、一人一人の生活を質しているのである。それというのもヤヌアリヌスという司祭が自分の財産を密かに保留して遺書で自分の娘の取り分として指定していたという事実が発覚していたからであった。アウグスティヌスはこれを執拗に糾弾するのである。

アウグスティヌスは『説教』355でこのことに触れ、そもそも自分がどのようにしてヒッポに来て司祭に挙げられ司教として今日まで活動してきたか、その生活の場は修道的な共同生活であることを会衆に想い起こさせている。

私は神の恩恵によりあなたがたの前に司教として立っていますが、多くの方々がご存じの通り、私は若者であったときにこの町にやってきました。修道院を建ててそこで兄弟たちと共に暮らす場所を求めてのことです。というのも、私はこの世的な望みをすべてうち捨て、私になれたであろうところの〔この世の栄達の〕境遇は求めなくなりましたが、しかし、私が今ある〔司教としての〕境遇を求めていたわけでもなかったのです。... しか

し私は捕らえられ、司祭にあげられ、さらに司教となって今日に至っているのです。私は何も持たずにやってきました。私はこの教会にその時着ていたものだけをまとめてやってきました。私が計画していたのは同志たちと修道院を作ることでしたが、司教ヴァレリウスは私の望みと計画を受け入れ、今修道院が建っている一区画を提供してくれたのです。私は善意の兄弟たちを集め始めました。かれらは私と貧しさを分かち合う者たちであり、私と同様に何も所有しない生活を模倣する者たちでした。私がこの貧しい男の（故郷の）ちっぽけな土地財産を売り払い貧者たちに分け与えてしまったように、私と共に生活することを望む者たちは同様に、私たちは共有のものによって生活することになったのです。しかし私たちが本当に共有している偉大で有益な財産とは、他ならぬ神ご自身であります。

私は（ヴァレリウスの後を襲って）司教になりました（396年）。私は司教という職務上、訪問者や旅人を親切にもてなす態度を示さねばならないことに気づきました。実際、もし司教がそのように振る舞わなかったらそのような司教は人間性を欠いていると見なされることでしょう。しかしそのような振る舞いを修道院の中に持ち込むとそれは不調和になります。そこで私は司教館のなかに「聖職者たちの修道院」を作った〔そこに移り住んだ〕のです。このようなやり方が私たちの生活です。私たちの仲間は誰一人私有財産を持つことがありません。（『説教』 355.2; 出村和彦訳）

このような文脈で、引き続き、『説教』 356では、

わたしに関して言えば、ご存じの通り、私の持っているものは何でも共有のものとしようとしているのであり、私物化して私だけが用いることができるようなものを皆さんからいただきたいとは決して思わないのです。たとえば、たいへん高価な上着が贈呈されているのですが、それを着るのは司教に相応しいものでしょう。しかし、このアウグスティヌス、すなわち、貧しい両親から生まれた貧しい人間であるこのアウグスティヌスが着るには相応しくないのです。（『説教』 356.13; 出村和彦訳）

と述べられている。

アウグスティヌスはしかし、「アフリカ州のタガステ市において、市議員をつとめていたキリスト教徒で、人々から尊敬されていた両親から生まれた」（ポッシディウス『アウグスティヌスの生涯』 1）ことは会衆にも周知のことであつたらう。中流の小土地所有者でローマ市民として一定の名誉ある地位を保ちそれゆえの公共の義務も負いつつも自己の資産および知己の有力者の後ろ盾でアフリカの首都カルタゴで勉学に励むことができた身分であつた。けっして「貧しい出自」とは言えないのだが、彼自身は自分の家を「貧しい」と言って問題なく、これを貴族的な高位身分に属すると期待されている司教の地位に対峙させているのである。彼はかつて教師として働かなければならず栄達はまさにその勉学で磨いた弁論の力に頼るしかなかった。大土地所有者や名門貴族なら基本的に働かなくても

暮らしていけるのが当然の後期ローマ社会の北アフリカにあって、彼の立場は会衆とそれほど隔たったものではなかった。しかし他方、知恵であるキリストを愛することを中心とした生き方への改革に専念する限り、彼の尺度は社会とは別のところにあったのであり、これを会衆に理解させようとたゆまず説いていた。

以上のことからアウグスティヌスの言う「貧しさ」というのは両義的というか融通無碍な用法であり、彼に考える「貧困」は社会経済的に特定できるものではないことが理解されよう。

3 『詩編注解』における「貧困」

彼は生涯を通じて『詩編注解』を完成させたが、彼が司祭になってはじめてのまとまった聖書注解の仕事も『詩編注解』であり150編ある詩編の最初の32編については集中して391年から393年頃順次注解している⁷。

さて、詩編に聞く中で、アウグスティヌスは「貧しい者」「富んだ者」「貧困」や「施し」についてどのような理解を示しているだろうか。周知のように詩編にはヘブライ語の 'anawim に由来する「貧しい者たち *pauperes*」という表現がたくさん出てきており、彼らを公平に扱う正しい裁き主が期待されている。しかし注意しておかなければならないのは、そのようなイスラエルの民の旧約の状況は、総じて、アウグスティヌスにおいて、今まさにキリストに関わる一人一人新約の民へのメッセージとして、キリストへ向かっての声 *vox ad Christum*、キリストについての声 *vox de Christo*、教会についての声 *vox de ecclesia*、キリストの上げる声 *vox Christi*、教会の声 *vox ecclesiae*、そして全体的キリスト（頭キリスト+肢体である教会の全体）の声 *vox totius Christi*、として受け止められている⁸。彼のような積義の伝統では詩編の語り手がダビデであると明記されている場合でもそこで語られていることは「キリストの名において受け取られるべき」（『詩編』3「注解」1）であり⁹、詩編のなかで「主」なる神に呼びかける「わたし」は優れて「人間となった神＝御子イエス・キリスト」であり、また、キリストを頭としてキリストの肢体を形成する教会が一体化し人間全体をも包摂して「全体としてのキリスト」とあるとする「キリスト中心主義」の読解が遂行されてい

⁷ 以下、『詩編注解』の訳は、「アウグスティヌス著作集」18/1-II（教文館、1997-2006）所取による。ただし表記の一部を変えたところがある。

⁸ Cf. M. Fiedrowicz, 'General Introduction', *Expositions of the Psalms*, in WSA 3/15 (2000) 44 ff.

⁹ 佐々木勝彦『まだひと言も語らぬ先に：詩編の世界』（教文館、2009）78頁参照。

ることである。ここには彼の受肉理解がはっきりとみられる。

「貧しい者の叫びをお忘れになることはない」（詩篇 9:13）とされている。…ところで、主が忘れない貧しい人々の叫びとは何であろうか。「憐れんでください、主よ、ご覧ください、私に的が私を辱めているのを」（詩篇 9:14）という言葉の叫びであろうか。ではなぜ、多くの貧しい人たちが叫んでいるようにではなく、「憐れんでください、主よ」とあたかも一人であるように叫ぶのか。富んでいたにもかかわらず、わたしたちのために最初に貧しい者となった一人の方（2コリ 8:9）が聖徒のために仲保者となり、そして「シオンの娘の門で私があなたの賛美をことごとく語り告げるように、死の門から私を引き上げられる」（詩篇 9:15）と言われるからであろうか。実際、彼において、たんに彼がまとった人間のみが教会の頭として引き上げられるのではなく、他の体の部分である私たちも全員引き上げられる。またあらゆる邪な欲望からも引き上げられるのである。それらの欲望は、それをくぐれば死に至るのであるから、死の門なのである。（『詩編注解』 9.14）

また『詩編注解』 11では、「乏しい者たちの悲惨と貧しい者たちの呻きのために、今私は立ち上がろうと、主は言われる」（詩篇 11(12):6）に注釈して、

父なる神は乏しいものと貧しい者のために、つまり霊的な善いものの欠乏と困窮で必要に迫られている者たちのために、御子を使わすことをよしとくださったのである。それゆえ、マタイによる福音書の山上の説教は「心の貧しい者は幸いである、天の国はその人たちのものである」（5:3）と始まっているのである。…ここでは乏しい者、貧しい者と見られた者が、そこでは豊かなもの、富んでいる者と見られるのである。（『詩編注解』 11.6-8）

という形で、貧しい者と富んだ者との逆転とその対峙がレトリカルに示されている。さらに、『詩編注解』 21 IIでは、

富む者は自分を賛美し、貧しい者は主を賛美する。なぜ貧しい者なのか。彼らは主を賛美し、主を求めるからである。主は貧しい者の富である。それゆえ、家に何もなくても、心はその富で満ちている。豊かな者には、その金庫を満たすものを探させよう。貧しい者にはその心を満たす者を探すのだ。そして満たされたなら、主を求めていた者たちは主を賛美する。さあ兄弟たち、見なさい。本当に貧しい者がどのようなもので豊かなのか。それは金庫にも穀倉にも倉庫にもない。（『詩編注解』 21 II.27）

として、貧しさとは何なのかの反省を迫るのである。その中で、施しの実践を勧める。そして、『詩編注解』 37では、

あなたもまた神の賜物を喜ぶためには、施しをし、罪を償い、欠乏している人があなたの贈り物を喜ぶようにしなさい。彼は欠乏しており、あなたも欠乏している。つまり、彼はあなたに欠乏し（その施しを必要としており）、あなたは神に欠乏している。あなたはあなたに乞う者を蔑むが、神は神に乞う者を蔑むだろうか。それゆえ、神があなたの内的な者を満たすために、乞う者の必要を満たしなさい。（『詩編注解』 37.24）

と強調し、こうして、『詩編注解』40によれば、

「あなたたちが乏しくて貧しい者について理解する」(詩編 40:2) というのは「主は富んでいたのに貧しくなった。それは自身の貧しさによってあなたたちが富まされるためである」(2コリ 8:9) といわれているからである。… キリストは別の詩編で「しかし、私は乏しくて貧しい、主が私の世話をしたもう」(39:18) と語っている。… 彼は御父のもとでは富んだ方であり私たちのもとでは貧しい方である。… しかしながらその方の貧しさが私たちの豊かさである。その方の弱さが私たちの強さである。… 貧しくされた方が貧しい者たちを満たすために来たのである。あなたがたが貧しい者のままに留まらないように、貧しい方を受け取りなさい。… 「乏しくて貧しい者について理解する人は幸いである」(詩編 40:2)。貧しい者たち、困窮している者たち、飢え渴く者たち、旅する者たち、裸の者たち、病んでいる者たち、牢獄にいる者たちを顧みなさい。そのような貧しい者たちについても理解しなさい。なぜなら、あなたがそのような者について理解するならば、「私は飢え、渴き、裸であり、旅する者であり、病気であり、牢にいた」(マタイ 25:35-37) と言われた方についても理解するからである。(『詩編注解』40.2)

というような見方を打ち立てるように、詩編を新約——とりわけ受肉した神の知恵キリスト——とのつながりで読んでいくのである。

4 私たちの「心」CORの問題としての「貧困」

これらを、アウグスティヌスは人間論的にどのように統一して捉えているのだろうか。『説教』102に着目しよう。そこで彼は会衆に呼びかける。

ですから、あなた方の心に帰りなさい (*Redite ergo ad cor*)。もし皆さんが信仰者であるなら、そこにキリストを見出すことでありましょう。キリストご自身がそこどころであなた方に語っておられるからです。ゆえに私は叫ぶのです。キリストは沈黙の中でこそむしろ大いに語りたもうのです。私は言葉の音を通して語るのですが、キリストは内的に思惟の恐れを通して語られるのです。それゆえ、キリストご自身が私の言葉を皆さんがたの心の中に浸透させてくださるのです。… 信仰は皆さんの心の中にあり、そこにはキリストがいらして、キリストご自身が、私が声を出して響かせようとしている事柄を教えられます (Ecce quoniam fides est in cordibus vestris, et ibi est Christus, et ipse habet docere quod ego cupio personare.)。

と述べて、「心に立ち返る (*Redite ergo ad cor*)」ことの重要性を告げる¹⁰。

続けて、「ルカ 16:19-31の金持ちとラザロのエピソード」を取り上げて、富んだ者や貧しい者の人生について、心 (*cor*) の中のキリストに尋ねるような仕方

¹⁰ この「イザヤ」46:8の引用の重要性については S. Deleani, 'Un emprunt d'Augustin à l'Écriture: «Redite, praeuaricatores, ad cor» (Isaie 46,8b)', *REAug* 38 (1992) 29-49 が精査している。

反省してみよと勧めるのである。

思い出してください。福音書の中に出てくるあの富める人と貧しい人とを。富める人は紫色の衣と上布で身をまとい、毎日のように美食をして肥満になり、他方、貧しい人は富める人の門の前に横になって空腹を抱え飢えており、富める人の食卓からこぼれ落ちるパン屑を乞い、潰瘍がいつぱいできて、犬どもがそれをなめております。思い出してください。キリストが皆さんの心の中におられないなら、どこから想い起こすのでしょうか。皆さんは内奥に住みたまうキリストに何を尋ねたのでしょうか。語ってください。そして彼があなたがたになんと答えたもうたか。...〔そして死後この金持ちが苦しみにさいなまれ貧しいラザロが天使たちの宴席に連なっている箇所を示して〕こうした二人のうちどちらがよい死に方をしどちらが悪い死に方をしたか、言ってください。目に尋ねないで、心に帰りなさい。もし目に尋ねるならば、偽りの答えが返ってくるでしょう。なぜなら、かの富める人々が死に際して示すことのできるものは華麗なものであり、世俗的な虚飾であるからです。...〔そのような人々を〕もし目に尋ねたらそれはよい死に方であったと言うことでしょう。しかし、もし内なる教師（キリスト）に皆さんが尋ねるとしたら、たいへん悪い死に方だと言われることでしょう。自分の持ち物を誇り高く誇示しそれを保持する人々、しかも何物も貧しい人たちに施ししない人々が、そのような死をとげるとしますと、他人のものを略奪し盗む人々はどのような死に方をするのでしょうか...

と問うている。社会の常識では貧しい者たちは蔑まれ汚れて目を背けたくなるような有様をしている者たちと描写されていることを乗り越えるべく、信仰の目をもって、心によって見よと勧めるのである。その心に語りかけてくるのが内なるキリストに他ならないと言うところにアウグスティヌスの人間論の要がある。この考えは初期の哲学的著作（『教師』）でも深遠な神学的著作（『三位一体』）でも一貫し、会衆向けの『説教』でもまったく程度を落とすことなく告げられていることは興味深い。

あの貧しい人に注目してください。感覚的な目で見てもなりません。それらは謬るからです。信仰によって注目するとよいのです。心が見るようにさせればよいのです。地上に横たわっているできものだらけの人、そのできものを犬がやってきてなめているそうした人をあなたがたの目の前に想像してください。そうした人を皆さんが、皆さんの目の前に想い起こすとき、皆さんはすぐさま吐き出してしまい、顔をそむけ、鼻をつまむことでしょう。心で見なさい...。兄弟姉妹の皆さん、この箇所は皆さんに語られるのに相応しい箇所なのです。貧しい人たちに心を向けなさい。彼らがそこに横たわっているようにあるいは歩いていようと、貧しい人たちに心を向けなさい。そして良い働きを行いなさい (*attendite pauperes, facite opera bona*)...

と強調して、感覚を離れた心の目で見ることによって実践へと踏み出すことを求めているのである。

本論で最初に検討した『説教』85は心の一致 *concordia* を強調して

... あなたがたすべての皆さん、どうか神の言葉に〔聴き従うことに〕よって心をつつ (concordate) にしてください。富んでいる人たちも貧しい人たちも共に神に造られたからであります。... 確かにこの世においては一方は困窮し、他は多くを持っていることでしょう。しかし「主はどちらも造られたのです」。多く持っている人たちを介して神は困窮している人たちを助け、持っていない人たちを介して神は多く持っている者を吟味し試されるのです。わたしたちはこれまでそのことを聴き、語りました。ですから、それを心にしっかりと留めましょう。援助しましょう。祈りましょう。そうしたことを達成しましょう。(『説教』85.7)

と結ばれている。

施しをする際の慮りとして、何か自分の救済を求めるという目的の下に施しをするエゴイズムの延長にある神学的功利主義ではなくて、いかにそのエゴの高ぶりから離れうるか、まさに謙遜さこそが優先して求められていることが読みとれる。そこでは施しの大小ではなく、どういつもりで施すかが問われ、その際に常に視野に入れるべきなのは、キリストの姿である。ただしアウグスティヌスにおいては史的イエスがどのように振る舞ったかはほとんど視野に入らない。彼の貧しさはガリラヤの民衆とともにいた貧しさではなく、神であったのに人となったこと自身の貧しさであり謙遜さの極みとしてのケノーシスに尽きている¹¹。そのように、富んだ人も貧しい人も自我を空しくして一歩謙遜になることであの知恵をまず愛する「心」を受け入れよ、その「心」に立ち戻れと説いているのである。

アレン-モーガンは次のように結論する。

彼の唱導は一般的に考察された人間の条件に対する唱導であって、貧困と富に関する枠組みは、すべて、物質的なものは永遠的なものに比して二次的であるという人間論を土台として持っていた。それは正確な意味での社会革命ではなく、おそらく施しと教会への参加を一続きに関連付けるという極めて狭いものの見方の影響を受けていたのである。アウグスティヌスの貧困の取り扱いが社会的共同体的アイデンティティをレトリカルに再分節化することに支えられた心理的な再設定 (psychological re-configuration) に集中しているのである¹²。

何によって人が本当に幸福になるのかは永遠のテーマである。「貧者」と「富者」において可視的となっている困窮した生活と贅沢な暮らしぶりとの格差は、

¹¹ とりわけ、『詩編注解』40.1-2を参照。

¹² Allen and Morgan, 'Augustine on Poverty', 164.

幸福の所在をいやが上にも見せつける。アウグスティヌスはしかし、人間として「貧者」にも「富者」にもみいだされる高ぶり・高慢に着目して、これを心底から逆転させて、神の下に謙遜な生き方へと仕立て直すことを急務とした。それは、謙遜になってみずからを与えてこそ、神の愛するあり方を神の恩恵として与えられるという逆説を見抜いていたゆえである。アウグスティヌスの「心」を中心とした人間論は貧困への関わりの独自の視点を提供するものである。

Rhetorical Approach to the Poor and Poverty: A Case Study of Augustine's *Enarrationes in Psalmos**

Naoki Kamimura

1 INTRODUCTION

Augustine wrote, preached, and dictated, for nearly thirty years, all 150 Psalms in the form of homilies, known as the *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, which, together with his homiletic commentaries as the Johannine tractates, were neither entitled nor mentioned in his *Retractationes*. Based on the *Vetus Latina* version of the Psalms, these expositions were preached to his congregations in a number of different places, whether at Carthage, Hippo, Thagaste, or elsewhere, within a wide range of liturgical cycles. Some of these were delivered on Vigils or festivals of the African martyrs. Many were given at Vespers, and eventually also at Matins, while 'relatively few' arose from eucharistic celebrations, or in Lent and Eastertide, including one in Holy Week.¹ With regard to questions of the chronological preci-

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¹ On the *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, see most recently M. Fiedrowicz, *Psalmus vox totius Christi: Studien zu Augustins 'Enarrationes in Psalmos'* (Freiburg i.B., Basel, and Vienne: Herder, 1997); H. Müller and M. Fiedrowicz, 'Enarrationes in Psalmos', in C. Mayer et al. (eds), *AL*, vol. 2 (Basel: Schwabe, 1996–2002) 804–858; C. Weidmann, 'Praefatio', in CSEL 93/1A (*en. Ps.* 1–32 (expos.)) (2003) 7–66; H. Müller, 'Einleitung', in CSEL 94/1 (*en. Ps.* 51–60) (2004) 7–47; F. Gori, 'Praefatio', in CSEL 95/3 (*en. Ps.* 119–133) (2001) 7–33; idem., 'Praefatio', in CSEL 95/4 (*en. Ps.* 134–140) (2002) 7–19; F. Gori and A. I. Spaccia, 'Praefatio', in CSEL 95/5 (*en. Ps.* 141–150) (2005) 7–20; M. Dulaey et al. (eds), *Les Commentaires des Psaumes. Ps 1–16, Œuvres de saint Augustin*, BA 57/A (Paris: Institut d'Études Augustiniennes, 2009); M. Dulaey et al. (eds), *Les*

sion of individual *Enarrationes*, indications, which are sporadically given in Augustine's letters, would collaborate with internal signs as the cases of self-quotation, parallel texts, and classification of the Psalms. Although the assignment to definite dates is a matter of educated guesses and largely hypothetical,² it is readily apparent that, shortly after his ordination to the priesthood in the year 391, the exegesis of the first thirty-two Psalms took the form of brief explanatory notes. As is evident from his letter written in 415, the final expositions on Psalm 118 was begun to complete the whole project of his homiletic commentary, which was concluded with more extensive expositions in the year 421 or 422. His *Enarrationes* are indeed, touching on a wide range of pastoral, apologetic, philosophical, and theological issues, the most comprehensive and sophisticated exegetical commitment to the book of Psalms wherein a single word might hide the secret passage to several others, all together fixed upon the mystery of Christ.

Keep in mind all the poor, needy, hungry and thirsty people, travelers far from home, the ill-clad, the sick, the prisoners. Try to understand about a poor person of this sort, because if you do, you will understand about him who said, I was an hungry, I was thirsty, naked, a stranger, sick and in prison (Matth. 25:35–36).³

Bearing in mind the prevalence of the descriptions of the poor, it is not astonishing that in the *Enarrationes* Augustine develops various modes of

Commentaires des Psaumes. Ps 17–25, Œuvres de saint Augustin, BA 57/B (Paris: Institut d'Études Augustiniennes, 2009).

² For the chronology of the *Enarrationes*, see also S. M. Zarb, *Chronologia Enarrationum S. Augustini in Psalmos* (Valetta, Malta: St. Dominic's Priory, 1948); H. Rondet, 'Essais sur la chronologie des *Enarrationes in Psalmos* de saint Augustine (1)', *Bulletin de littérature ecclésiastique* 61 (1960) 111–127; idem., 'Essais sur la chronologie des *Enarrationes in Psalmos* de saint Augustine (2)', *Bulletin de littérature ecclésiastique* 61 (1960) 258–286; A.-M. La Bonnardière, *Recherches de chronologie augustiniennes*, ÉAA 23 (Paris: Études Augustiniennes, 1965); F. Dolbeau, *Augustin d'Hippone, Vingt-six sermons au peuple d'Afrique*, ÉAA 147 (Paris: Institut d'études augustiniennes, 1996). P.-M. Hombert, *Nouvelles recherches de chronologie augustiniennes*, ÉAA 163 (Paris: Institut d'études augustiniennes, 2000).

³ *en. Ps.* 40.2; CCL 38,450: 'Respice et pauperes, egentes, esurientes et sitientes, peregrinantes, nudos, aegrotos, in carcere constitutos; intellege et super talem pauperem, quia et si super talem intellegis, super illum intellegis qui dixit: Esuriui, sitiui, nudus, peregrinus, aeger, in carcere fui.' English translations of the *en. Ps.* are taken from M. Boulding (trans.), WSA 3/15 (2000); 16 (2000); 17 (2001); 18 (2002); 19 (2003); and 20 (2004).

expression that seem to explicit his intention of bridging social gulf between the poor and the rich. In a recent article entitled 'Portraying the Poor: Descriptions of Poverty in Christian Texts from the Late Roman Empire',⁴ Richard Finn claims that the extended descriptions of the poor in the *Enarrationes* should not be overestimated, and that attention ought to be focused on the instances in which much about the poor remains unreasonably hidden. Finn argues about the way in which Augustine forms the theological basis for placing the poor and the rich equally and side by side before God, so too, encouraging his hearers to give alms. With regard to his rhetorical reframing of the poor, some indication of the compelling evidence may be given more.

Examples showing how he concentrates on the themes relating to poverty and the poor would be taken from many of Augustine's *Enarrationes*. Patristic preachers in the fourth and fifth centuries gave various reasons why Christians should give alms by calling together well over one hundred scriptural passages. And in fact some advocates did appeal to rhetorical strategies in their promotion. Did Augustine pursue the adoption of its strategies by which he promoted almsgiving to his congregations? What was the adaptability of established linguistic technique to the social realities in late antique society? Our attention, thus, has to be focused on to the cases in which Augustine highly develops the rhetorical device for describing the poor in the exegesis of Psalms. In this paper I will be dealing in brief the way in which Augustine draws themes to the poor and the rich into relationship with their spiritual value, thereby holding a figurative meaning of the verses of Psalms to the light of 'Christ and his Church, that total mystery with which all the scriptures are concerned'.⁵ I shall restrict my consideration to his early expositions in the period between 394–395 and around 400, when Augustine has just begun working as a newly ordained priest, then as a bishop of a North African church.

⁴ R. Finn, 'Portraying the Poor: Descriptions of Poverty in Christian Texts from the Late Roman Empire', in M. Atkins and R. Osborne (eds), *Poverty in the Roman World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006) 130–144.

⁵ *en. Ps.* 79.1; CCL 39,1111: 'totum omnium Scripturarum mysterium Christum et Ecclesiam'.

First I shall approach to his concise notes and some longer expositions on the first thirty-two psalms, looking at how Augustine uses the rhetorical device for the description of the poor. Then I consider his interpretation of some expositions up to the year around 400. Finally I suggest even tentatively his ways by which the representation of the poor would rather serve as the feasibility of transcending the social realities than being worthy beneficiaries of his audience.

2 FIRST DESCRIPTIONS OF THE POOR IN THE DESK COMMENTARIES

My first account of the poor begins by relating Augustine's earliest and concise notes dated as early as 394–395, and proceeds with the prolonged explanations of the first written series of his *Enarrationes*.

Throughout his *Enarrationes*, Augustine enters into the discussion of symbolic meaning in various numbers, which was admittedly influenced by Alexandrian allegorical and mystical exegesis. At the beginning of his expounding Psalm 11, (in 395), Augustine interprets the meaning of 'octave', the number eight, in accord with his explanation of the title of Psalm 6: 'To the end, for the eighth, a psalm of David'.⁶ As shown in the *Enarrationes* 6.2, the 'octave' signifies the day of judgement, since all time is a sequence of weeks, seven days, the eighth would mean that which comes after this sequence, that is the 'eternal age' (*aeternum saeculum*) which will be awarded to the saints. Augustine's conviction is, thus, that Psalm 11 was devoted to addressing those who was suffering from shortage of saints, thereby applying his recognition to the Psalms, which was totally to be regarded as prophetic: he names the psalmist a prophet.⁷ This clear view has exegetical consequences. Augustine describes the pity for 'the needy' by the Lord himself as follows: 'This, however, should be taken as spoken in the person of God the Father who deigned to send his Son for the sake of

⁶ *en. Ps. 11.1*; CSEL 93/1A,236: 'IN FINEM PRO OCTAVO, PSALMUS IPSI DAVID.' For the dating, see H. Müller, 'Enarrationes in Psalmos: A. Philologische Aspekte', in *AL* 2,806–807; É. Rebillard, 'Datation', in *BA* 57/A (2009) 41–51 at 46–47.

⁷ See *en. Ps. 11.7*; CSEL 93/1A,238: 'Haec persona ipsius prophetae est.'

the poor and needy, that is, those who suffered need and poverty in lacking spiritual good things.⁸

The words of the Psalm relevant to the economy of salvation explicitly exclude the literal poor from reflection in his explanation of Psalm 11.6. It appears that Augustine is trying to bring together as many scriptural texts concerning spiritualised poverty as he can, for he immediately moves on to quote Matthew 5:3–9, introducing it with the words, ‘Blessed are the poor in spirit’. This Matthaean text is of course one which is referred to the blessed in the beatitudes, pointing as it does to a correlation between spiritual value of the poor and the promise of a heavenly reward. This is something emphasised by him. It seems, therefore, that Augustine does feel a need to justify for the discourse of poverty in an eschatological dimension and he does so by means of the figurative interpretation that the poor are modelled on the rich in terms of spiritual and heavenly reward.⁹

The first exposition of Psalm 21 (in 394–395) comprises two main parts. It is its first part (§ 3–22) where Christ was envisaged as speaking about his passion, abandonment, and resurrection in his own name. Then, the latter part (§ 23–32) shows that the fate of the Church was already manifested in the impetus of Christ’s prayer, in which Augustine has the reference to the poor twice. An indispensable part of this brief commentary is that the cry of Christ on the cross was not only raised ‘in the guise (*persona*) of Adam’, but also takes on a soteriological aspect, in that Christ directed those words to the Father ‘in my own person as Jesus Christ’: ‘for I thought that human pride would then deign to imitate my own humility.’¹⁰

As the voice of Adam and that of the old self is adopted as his own, so too could the whole of humanity be included in those words of Christ to the Father. Yet, the voice of Christ in his totality also confirms that it would be taken as an exemplary form of the prayer into which the poor

⁸ *en. Ps.* 11.6; CSEL 93/1A,238: ‘Hoc autem ex persona dei patris accipiendum, qui propter inopes et pauperes, id est inopia et paupertate bonorum spiritualium egentes’.

⁹ See *en. Ps.* 11.8; CSEL 93/1A,240: ‘hic tamquam inopes et pauperes, ibi tamquam opulentos et divites.’

¹⁰ *en. Ps.* 21.1.7; CSEL 93/1A,321: ‘non iam ex persona loquens Adam, sed ego proprie Iesus Christus ... dignaretur imitari humana superbia humilitatem meam’.

can place themselves, and follow the right attitude towards God in this action: 'The prayer God did not disdain is not the prayer of those who cry to him in sinful words, hoping that their empty life may not pass away, but the prayer of a poor person, one not swollen with transient ostentation.'¹¹ Asserting the lesson for the poor on humility, Augustine uses the imagery of comparing the nourishment of the heart with food. Since the poor feeds on the food, they attain the wealth. This imagery of eating the food will be shown in the second expositions of Psalm 21 more in detail.

Next, I would like to consider the more detailed and desk commentaries on Psalms 9 and 10 (in 394–395). At the beginning of his *Enarrationes* 9, Augustine interprets the theme of 'the hidden things of the son' in Psalm 9. With the combination of the complaints and the praise for God, and that of God as the refuge of the oppressed and God as the judge of the enemy, he discloses the two comings of Christ, the one already past and hidden, and the other future and open. He then begins by being concerned primarily with the 'hidden things of the Son, that is, both his coming in humility, ... and the punishment which now is being meted out secretly'.¹²

*The Lord has become a refuge for the poor. ... To such a pauper as this the Lord has become a refuge, a helper at times when he is needed, in tribulation. He makes people poor, inasmuch as he scourges every son whom he receives. (Hebr. 12:6) ... for the soul is not turned to God except while it is turning away from this world. There is no more appropriate time for it to be turning away from this world than when toils and tribulations are mixed in with in its futile, harmful and dangerous pleasure.*¹³

Such a view is characteristic of his descriptions of the poor consequent on

¹¹ *en. Ps.* 21.1.25; CSEL 93/1A,327–329: 'quoniam non spreuit precem non illius qui verbis delictorum clamans ad deum vitam vanam transire nolebat, sed precem pauperis non tumentis in pompis transeuntibus.'

¹² *en. Ps.* 9.1; CSEL 93/1A,187: 'occulta filii, id est et humilis eius adventus, ... et poena, quae nunc occulte agitur'.

¹³ *en. Ps.* 9.10; CSEL 93/1A,196–197: 'ET FACTUS EST DOMINUS REFUGIUM PAUPERI. ... tali enim pauperi refugium factus est dominus, ADIUTOR IN OPPORTUNITATIBUS, IN TRIBULATIONE. Sic pauperes facit, quoniam flagellat omnem filium quem recipit. ... Non enim convertitur anima ad deum, nisi dum ab hoc saeculo avertitur; nec opportunius ab hoc saeculo avertitur, nisi nugatoriis eius et noxiis et perniciosis voluptatibus labores doloresque misceantur.'

a total commitment to the eschatological message for the oppressed in this world. In this passage, however, it might seem that the Lord is described as looking kindly on the poor¹⁴ only if they complete the separation of their mind from temporal things, in other words, follow the rule of faith and moral duties. These notes on the poor appear, without elaboration, to be predominantly didactic for present readers.

How then does Augustine provide the result in the eschatological assertions to be found in this expositions? It is noteworthy that in the spiritualization of the poor he often sets side by side a statement that the hostile against God persecute the poor.

But, I ask, what is this lament of the poor which God does not forget? Is it the cry, *Have mercy on me, Lord, see how I have been humbled by my enemies?*¹⁵

*His [scil. Antichrist] eyes look toward the poor, for he will persecute most of all those righteous people about whom the Lord said, Blessed are the poor in spirit, because the kingdom of heaven is theirs.*¹⁶

Most inclusively, perhaps, Augustine does not stop using the word 'enemy' in expounding the lament and thanksgiving in the Psalmist's words.¹⁷ And here the pictures which emerge are more varied ones, in general as sinner, or according to the contemporary accounts as the heretics and false brethren, or spiritually as the devil and Antichrist. Augustine's words can act to be more and more acutely as conscious of the distance between those who separate 'a great number of poor people' (*multi pauperes*) from God and the one 'who first was made poor for our sakes, although he was rich'.¹⁸ But Augustine is equally aware of the acclamation by a psalmist: 'in happiness shall I be held fast by your salvation, which is our Lord Christ, God's

¹⁴ See *en. Ps.* 10.5; 45.2.

¹⁵ *en. Ps.* 9.14; CSEL 93/1A,200: 'Sed quaero quis clamor pauperum sit quem deus non obliviscitur. An iste clamor est, cuius haec verba sunt: MISERERE MEI, DOMINE, VIDE HUMILITATEM MEAM AB INIMICIS MEIS?'

¹⁶ *en. Ps.* 9.27; CSEL 93/1A,211: 'oculi eius in pauperem respiciunt. Iustos enim maxime persecuturus est, de quibus dictum est: Beati pauperes, quia ipsorum est regnum caelorum.'

¹⁷ See *en. Ps.* 9.4; 9.8; 9.10; 9.14; 9.23; 9.32; 9.35.

¹⁸ *en. Ps.* 9.14; CSEL 93/1A,200: 'qui primus pauper pro nobis factus est, cum esset dives'. See also 2 Cor. 8:9.

power and wisdom'.¹⁹ Augustine's thinking is increasingly concerned with the correlation between the long-suffering poor and the poor in heaven. Hence, the inclination in his interpretation which focuses on eschatological realities—the ultimate mode of existence of the poor in eternity—is the exegetical consequence of this insight on Christ's two comings.

Augustine's observations on the poor in the *Enarrationes* 10 (in 394–395) begin by expounding the lament for the poor, similar to the preceding interpretation of Psalm 9, in which the psalmist affirmed the Lord 'who has become a refuge for the poor'.²⁰ He shows an awareness of their hope for divine assistance and the persecution and oppression of the heretics. The poor have experienced from all sufferings. It is to be noted in this connection that he poses the question of whether among a crowd of rich people God will be able to discern a few poor ones in order to bring them up in the bosom of the Church. Although such doubt is quickly dispelled, it appears to correlate closely with his explanation of the intention of Psalm 10.

It seems to me that it [scil. Ps. 9] should be sung against the heretics. By rehearsing and exaggerating the sins of many in the Church, as if either all or the majority of the just were with them, they struggle to turn us aside and tear us away from the breasts of the one Church, the true mother, asserting that Christ is with them.²¹

The heretics are the Donatist schism. And a handful of the poor already mentioned are designated as the 'poor of Christ'.²² Accordingly the poor, who are nevertheless interpreted as those looking for Christ in terms of spiritual need, might be identified with Augustine's readers who are to resist the temptation of the Donatists and to be comforted by the words of their reject. Since, in Hippo Regius, the Donatists were in a majority in the late fourth century, these texts might provide a contemporary and vivid ac-

¹⁹ *en. Ps.* 9.15; CSEL 93/1A,202: 'cum beatitudine continebor a salutari tuo, quod est dominus noster Iesus Christus, virtus et sapientia dei'. See also 1 Cor. 1:24.

²⁰ *en. Ps.* 10.8; CSEL 93/1A,231: 'qui factus est refugium pauperi.'

²¹ *en. Ps.* 10.1; CSEL 93/1A,219: 'qui mihi videtur adversus haereticos canendus, qui commemorando et exaggerando multitudinem in ecclesia peccatorum, quasi apud ipsos iusti aut omnes aut plures sint, ab unius ecclesiae verae matris uberibus nos avertere atque abripere moliantur affirmantes, quod apud ipsos sit Christus'.

²² *en. Ps.* 10.8; CSEL 93/1A,231: 'pauperes Christi'.

count of the church in Hippo, in which Augustine has battled the Donatists with their schismatic tendencies. However, the concrete identification of the poor remains limited.

3 SECOND DESCRIPTIONS OF THE POOR IN THE SERMONS

We shall now turn to the texts in the next stage, in which Augustine starts preaching a series of homilies to his congregations in Hippo and seems to set out the spiritual and theological aspects of being poor more clearly.

The second exposition of Psalm 21 (in April 407), explicating more carefully and thoroughly than does the first exposition and being intended for the Donatists who were accused of the significance of the Lord's passion, speaks about the prayer of the truly poor in its latter part.²³ An even more affectionate look at the poor is expressed at Psalm 21:25: 'For he has not rejected or scorned the prayer of the poor'. With regard to the remark that the poor do not rely upon themselves, it seems to be closely related with the interpretation of the first exposition, in which he considers the lesson for the poor as requiring them humility. And then, apparently and severely alluding to the arrogance of the Donatists' self-appreciation (Ps. 21:26), Augustine proceeds to comment on the next verse, Ps. 21:27: 'The poor shall eat and be satisfied',²⁴ taking it as a starting-point for his descriptions of the poor, those descriptions in which he also quotes the latter part of the same verse: 'Those who seek the Lord will praise him' in support of his view.²⁵ He appears to be concerned with enumerating the behaviours of the poor, using the imagery of eating the food.

they eat seeking to be satisfied.

The poor will eat heartily.

And they suffered like him on whom they fed.

²³ On the dating see H. Müller, 'Enarrationes in Psalmos: A.IV.2. *Die Predigten über die <Psalmi graduum>*', in *AL* 2,825; M. Dulaey, 'Psaume 21. Seconde explication', in *BA* 57/B (2009) 151–156 at 151.

²⁴ *en. Ps.* 21.2.27; *BA* 57/B,186: 'Edent pauperes et saturabuntur.'

²⁵ *en. Ps.* 21.2.27; *BA* 57/B,186: 'Et laudabunt Dominum qui requirunt eum.'

it is the one who imitates him who is filled. The poor have imitated him.²⁶

In the process of these actions (seeking, eating, being suffered, and imitating), we find the original intention of the poor. They eat the food, because they hope that their hearts will be satisfied with the food which has been already realised as the nourishment by themselves. And, with an expression of deep satisfaction: 'the poor praise the Lord',²⁷ we find here the end result of their doings. Augustine, in the last part of the interpretation, recapitulates the steps taken by the poor as follows:

the poor look for what can fill their hearts: and when their hearts are full they who seek the Lord praise him. Take a good look, brothers and sisters, at what kind of wealth they have, these people who are truly poor.²⁸

In fact, Augustine's conviction in which he speaks of the Lord as fulfilling the spiritual need, that is, 'the Lord himself is the wealth of the poor',²⁹ is crucial for our understanding of the fate of the poor who have been moved by their plight and who, in turn, praise the Lord sought for. Hence, the descriptions of the poor in a spiritualizing manner, in order to point out the exemplary function of the prayer of the poor, would involve the correlating and mutually associating speeches referring to the poor and riches:

*And those who seek the Lord will praise him, for the praise of the Lord is the belching out of that fullness. Their hearts will live for ever and ever, for that food nourishes the heart.*³⁰

At the beginning of his first exposition of *Psalm 101* (in April 395), Augustine raises the question as to whether 'one single poor man' praying

²⁶ *en. Ps. 21.2.27*; BA 57/B,186: 'edunt ut saturentur; ... Comedent pauperes: ... talia passi qualia manducaverunt. ... ille saturatur qui imitatur.'

²⁷ *en. Ps. 21.2.27*; BA 57/B,186: 'pauperes Dominum laudant.'

²⁸ *en. Ps. 21.2.27*; BA 57/B,188: 'pauperes quaerunt unde cor impleant et, cum impleuerint, laudant Dominum qui requirunt eum. Et uidete, fratres, qui uere pauperes sunt, cuius rei diuites sint.'

²⁹ *en. Ps. 21.2.27*; BA 57/B,186: 'Dominus est diuitiae pauperum.'

³⁰ See *en. Ps. 21.1.27*; BA 57/B,144 and 146: 'Et laudabunt Dominum qui requirunt eum; nam laus Domini est eructatio saturitatis illius. Viuent conrda eorum in saeculum saeculi; nam cibus ille cordis est.'

here would be Christ.³¹ After considering in detail its possibility, the very concept of the identification of Christ with the poor makes a decisive move on to the explanation of its title: *'The entreaty of a poor man when he was wrung with pain, and pours out his prayer in the presence of the Lord'*,³² thereby sharing the same thing with the recognition of a suppliant revealed in Psalm 60:3: *'From the ends of the earth I have called to you, as my heart was wrung with pain'*.³³ Here he makes reference to these texts, together with a verse from Isaiah 61:10: *'He has adorned me like a bridegroom with his wreath, and decked me like a bride with her jewels'*, in which Augustine accepts the possibility of denominating him, that is Christ, inclusively both bride and bridegroom. From such texts, therefore, it becomes clear that Augustine's sentiments concerning the prayer in the words of lament are tempered in a spiritualising and united manner by christological and ecclesiological perspective: not only this poor prayer is defined as the true messenger of the pray in a prophetic dimension but understood as the one human being, the whole Christ (*Christus totus*): *'One voice only, then, because only one flesh'*,³⁴ in so far as a foreshadowing of the true unity of Christ and the church to come.

It is noteworthy that this passage of Isaiah seems to be one of his earliest quotations, with which he shows a picture of bridegroom and bride, the formula taken as the relevance either to Christ as head of a body, or to the Church, through an organic unity of head and body in corporeal personality. Although his treatment does not give us the same explanation as in the second redaction of *De doctrina christiana*, in which he adds a second text from Galatians 3:29,³⁵ in order to illustrate the first Tyconian Rule of the Lord and His Body, it might seem that already in the mid 390's, possibly after the time he begged his bishop Valerius to grant him for studying the scriptures, Augustine is devoting himself to reading the Donatist exegete

³¹ Dating: see H. Müller, 'Enarrationes in Psalmos: A.IV.1. *Datierung und Lokalisierung der einzelnen Predigten*', in *AL* 2,821; M. Boulding, in *WSA* 3/19 (2003) 45 n. 1.

³² *en. Ps.* 101.1.2; CCL 40,1427: *'Oratio inopis, ... cum angeretur, et in conspectu Domini effudit precem suam.'*

³³ *en. Ps.* 101.1.2; CCL 40,1427: *'A finibus terrae ad te clamaui, cum angeretur cor meum.'*

³⁴ *en. Ps.* 101.1.2; CCL 40,1427: *'Vox ergo una, quia caro una.'*

³⁵ See *doctr. chr.* 3.31.44; CSEL 80,106: *'Ergo Abrahae semen estis.'*

for his christological interpretation of the Psalms.³⁶

Another texts which are important to Augustine's view of the poor prayer are 2 Cor. 8:9 and Ps. 101:10. When we look at the expositions where he interprets the poor as standing for Christ himself, it is clear that it is often connected in his explanation with some scriptural texts such as the words of Paul to the Corinthians³⁷ and again with Matthew 25 and Luke 19. Notwithstanding the significance of the Corinthian passage in identifying Christ with the poor, the deep despair and 'in such penury'³⁸ in Psalm 101:10:

The bread I ate was ashes, and my drink I would dilute with weeping', is essential in Augustine's eyes as an idea of corporeal personality. It appears to be seen not only as his assumption of human nature, but as the utterance of those inclusively through membership of Christ's body, so too, 'he must be our head and we his members.'³⁹

Indeed, Augustine repeats the verse of Psalm 101 three times within this exegesis and considers human corporeality. Hence, the combination of his lexical imagination about the destitution in Ps. 101 and the identification of the poor would bring his understanding of the poor prayer to its christological dimension.

In his interpretation of Psalm 145:2 (in April 395),⁴⁰ first Augustine deals with the prosopological question about the prayer's address and looks at the self-regulating entity of the soul as the speaker of the praise, then turns his attention to the temporality of the praise in this world. So too, he expounds the phrase from Ps. 145:2: 'throughout my life', as offering the pos-

³⁶ Another references of Augustine to Isaiah would be found in the following works as: *s.* 91.7.8 (after 400); *s.* 341.9.11 (403 or 417); *ep. Io. tr.* 1.2 (406/407); *en. Ps.* 30.2.4 (411, 412/7); *en. Ps.* 74.4 (411/412); *ep.* 140.6.18 (411/412).

³⁷ 2 Cor. 8:9: 'the one of whom the apostle wrote, Though he was rich, for your sake he became poor, so that by his poverty you might be enriched.'

³⁸ *en. Ps.* 101.1.2; CCL 40,1426: 'in hac egestate'.

³⁹ *en. Ps.* 101.1.2; CCL 40,1426: 'Cinerem sicut panem manducaui, et potum meum cum fletu miscebam. Addat ergo paupertatem paupertati, et transfiguret in se corpus humilitatis nostrae: sit caput nostrum, simus membra eius, sint duo in carne una.'

⁴⁰ Dating: see H. Müller, 'Enarrationes in Psalmos: A.IV.1. *Datierung und Lokalisierung der einzelnen Predigten*', in *AL* 2,824.

sibility of wholeheartedly praising the Lord by living in hope of the world to come. Here Augustine presents a picture of a pauper lying at a gate of a rich man that would call to mind immediately the Dives and Lazarus story in Luke 16:19–31. Although in the end of this interpretation the text is quoted from Luke 16:26, the parable given here indicates only the name of Abraham. And there is no reference to the particular circumstances, Lazarus' feelings, and the conversation between Abraham and the Dives to point to more effective way of simplifying the story, so that the hope with which the life in the future is promised would be further emphasised by Augustine. Setting the poor against the rich from the eschatological viewpoint, therefore, he has no intention of giving his congregations the detailed imagery of the poor.

The second exposition of Psalm 33 (in 395–405),⁴¹ subsequent to the first one in the previous day, was delivered in Hippo, in which Augustine, after recapitulating the interpretation of the title briefly, attempts to understand the figurative meaning of the verses. First, approaching to the verse of Psalm 33:2: *'I will bless the Lord, at all times'*, he poses the question of *'When are you to bless the Lord?'* to his audience.⁴² Immediately provided an answer: *'at all times'*, he then defines those blessing the Lord as being *'humble of heart'*.⁴³ And, quoting from Psalm 33:7: *'this poor man cried out, and the Lord hearkened'*,⁴⁴ Augustine describes those crying to the Lord as the poor in terms of spiritual need.

Cry to him in such a way that even if you have possessions, you do not trust in your own resources, cry to him in a fame of mind that understands your need, cry to him in the knowledge that you will always be a pauper as long as you do not possess him who makes you rich.⁴⁵

⁴¹ Dating: see H. Müller, 'Enarrationes in Psalmos: A.IV.1. *Datierung und Lokalisierung der einzelnen Predigten*', in *AL* 2,812.

⁴² *en. Ps.* 33.2.3; CCL 38,284: *'Quando benedicam Dominum?'*

⁴³ *en. Ps.* 33.2.3–4; CCL 38,284: *'in omni tempore ... humilis corde'*.

⁴⁴ *en. Ps.* 33.2.11; CCL 38,290: *'Iste inops clamauit, Et Dominus exaudiuit eum'*

⁴⁵ *en. Ps.* 33.2.11; CCL 38,290: *'Vt etsi habes aliquid, non inde praesumas de uiribus tuis: ut intellegas te indigentem, ut intellegas te tamdiu esse pauperem, quamdiu non habes illum qui facit te diuitem.'*

His assimilation of the humble and the poor has positive aspect with regard to their spiritual qualification. Augustine shows the distinction from the viewpoints of receiving God's eternal salvation, for those poor who are humble and fear God, whereas those rich who are proud and do not fear God will not receive the true recompense in heaven. It is a process of transposing the verses from the material and bodily realm into the spiritual dimension that includes some reinterpretations of Psalms in the New Testament:

the weakness of God is stronger than mortals. (1 Cor. 1:25)⁴⁶

When the men who had crucified him came and found he had already expired, they did not break his legs, though they did break the legs of the thieves ... (John 19:32–33)⁴⁷

I am the living bread which has come down from heaven. (John 6:41)⁴⁸

Bless are those who hunger and thirst for righteousness, for they shall be satisfied. (Matth. 5:6)⁴⁹

Augustine furthermore suggests his hearers to turn their attention to the Gospel story of the rich and the pauper in Luke 16:19–31, thereby drawing a sharp distinction of two types of human beings, the one lying in the arms of Abraham and the other being tormented in hell. Although he does not call the name of Lazarus, his concentration on vividly detailed narrative of the poor and the rich, mostly at the time of death, would rather sharpen the disparity between their lives in this world and the future fate in heaven.

At this point we find that, in his interpretation of the verses of Psalm 33:10: '*Fear the Lord, you his saint, for they who fear him lack for nothing*',⁵⁰ those who accept the necessity of cheating others in their handicrafts emerge, and

⁴⁶ *en. Ps.* 33.2.4; CCL 38,284: 'infirmum est Dei, fortius est quam homines'.

⁴⁷ *en. Ps.* 33.2.7; CCL 38,284: 'et uenerunt illi qui eum suspenderant, et inuenerunt eum emisisse spiritum, et non illi fregerunt crura: latronibus autem adhuc in cruce uiuentibus fregerunt ...'.

⁴⁸ *en. Ps.* 33.2.15; CCL 38,288: 'Ego sum panis uiuus, qui de caelo descendi'.

⁴⁹ *en. Ps.* 33.2.15; CCL 38,288: 'Beati qui esuriunt, et sitiunt iustitiam, quoniam ipsi saturabuntur.'

⁵⁰ *en. Ps.* 33.2.14; CCL 38,288: 'Timete Dominum, omnes sancti eius, quoniam nihil deest timentibus eum.'

express anxiety about losing their wealth, probably in their small business. Similar picture, then, shown by Augustine in connection with the heavenly reward is their last days among material abundance and the funeral conducted for the riches luxuriously. Thus, with using this visual imagery of the rich which must have been seen by some of his congregations and could have corresponded to some of them, in his preaching, our life would become the central point in its eschatological dimension.

4 CONCLUDING REMARKS

Augustine's earliest commentaries and sermons in the *Enarrationes* seem to hold the resonance of the word power found in the Psalm interpretation. Not only does he offer a variety of interpretations on the verses of a Psalm at hand, but he finds the parallel passages in some other Psalms and the New Testament, so that he gets together many scriptural texts concerning the descriptions of the poor, thereby showing the spiritual, christological, eschatological, and ecclesiological aspect of the problematic. Augustine's exposition is frequently able to get the literal sense of the words as a starting point, and with resorting to any figurative interpretation to grow it purposefully, so that the illustrations of the poor are understood in the light of the exemplary behaviour towards the faith. The rhetorical approach to these passages may range widely. It expands from the lamentation and cry of the long-suffering poor, through the prayer of the poor awaiting for heavenly reward and praising the Lord, all the way to an instance of the poor prayer identified with Christ in corporeal personality which represents the intermingled layer of christological and ecclesiological interpretation. Although he could describe the graphic and full picture of those who were worried about their financial management and business, and expressed concern about their own burial, Augustine's continual and consistent messages to his reader and congregation are not confronted with their social realities in late antique society. In his earliest expositions, indeed, he excludes the literal poor from his explanations of the verses, and does not promote actively almsgiving to his congregations. Even in the parable of

the Dives and Lazarus in Luke's Gospel, without turning their attention to the poor around his church, Augustine is rather concerned with the future fate of people in heaven. And, under threat of the schismatic Donatists, the identification of the poor remains restricted. In accordance with the themes of the Psalms explicated at an early stage of his activities, it is his focal point of the rhetorical approach to the descriptions of the poor that, by fitting with a safety device, makes plain the exemplary form of the prayer and the comfort of the oppressed. Augustine's thought is, thus, increasingly marked by the basic conviction about the poor in terms of spiritual qualification.

Poor and Poverty in the Earthly City: A Case Study of Augustine's *De ciuitate dei**

Naoki Kamimura

1 INTRODUCTION

Augustine's *De ciuitate dei* is one of the most comprehensive treatises in his corpus, setting out a systematic critique of pagan thought and an elaborate apologia of the theology of sacred history. Begun in late 413 or early 414, the 'great and arduous'¹ work of the twenty-two books was to take Augustine about fourteen years, even sporadically, to fully complete in 427.² It seems natural that the reader is led astray by the seemingly recursive and complex structure of the massive work. But two pieces of evidence for the retrospective summary of the work show the existence of a well-planned scheme. First, in the *Retractationes*, written after the completion of the *De ciuitate dei*, Augustine explains the overall structure of the work.³ Second, the same account is taken from the *Epistula 1A** written to Firmus at around

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¹ *ciu. dei* 1 praef.; CCL 47,1: 'magnum opus et arduum'. English translation of the *ciu. dei* is taken from R. W. Dyson (trans.), *Augustine: The city of God against the Pagans*, Cambridge Texts in the History of Political Thought (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

² For the genesis of the *ciu. dei*, see G. Bardy, 'Introduction générale à *La Cité de Dieu*', in G. Combès and G. Bardy (eds), *La Cité de Dieu, Œuvres de saint Augustin*, BA 33 (Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, 1959), 22–35; J. van Oort, *Jerusalem and Babylon: A Study into Augustine's City of God and the Sources of his Doctrine of the Two Cities* (Leiden: Brill, 1991) 62; and G. O'Daly, *Augustine's City of God: A Reader's Guide* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 34–36.

³ See *retr.* 2.43(69).1–2; CCL 57,124–125.

the same time.⁴ Augustine clearly articulates the work which falls into two main parts. The argument of the first part (Books 1–10) is directed against the claim that the cult of pagan deities is necessary for Rome’s prosperity and well-being. The second main part (Books 11–22) deals with the origin, growth, and destined end of the two cities (*ciuitas*): one is the city of God and the other the secular city.

I have been concerned with examining the use of the poor and poverty in the writings of Augustine, the subject which has recently received considerable interest, especially when we appreciate the outcome of the Australian team’s *Preaching Poverty in Late Antiquity* which ‘considers the plight of the poor and responses to them from the early Roman empire through to late antiquity and Byzantium.’⁵ In the chapter 4 entitled ‘Augustine on Poverty’, Prof. Pauline ALLEN and Dr. Edward MORGAN, along with no modern study of Augustine’s view into poverty, poor relief, and voluntary poverty, investigate the issues within his huge amount of texts thoroughly. Most of the material examined is from his sermons. Some of other discourses are under consideration, including the *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, about 300 letters, the *Regula*, and theoretical writings as *De trinitate*, *De ciuitate dei*, and *Confessiones*. Although this valuable and illuminating study concludes that ‘Augustine’s treatment of poverty concentrates on psychological reconfiguration assisted by a rhetorical re-articulation of social and communal identity’,⁶ it may seem to be legitimate to revisit the subject in the *De ciuitate dei* which was written for the purpose of responding to the concerns of pagans who had given overwhelming support to the proper functioning of civil society. Since there emerged a series of crises in the late antiquity, how did he attempt to reflect on the problem?

In this paper, therefore, I shall examine the use of the poor and poverty

⁴ See *ep.* 1A*.1; BA 46B,54 and 56. For the process of drawing up the plan for the *ciu. dei* revealed in the letters between Augustine and Marcellinus, see *ep.* 136, 138, and 139; G. Bardy, ‘Introduction générale’, in Combès and Bardy, BA 33 (1959) 17–19.

⁵ P. Allen, B. Neil, and W. Mayer (eds), *Preaching Poverty in Late Antiquity: Perceptions and Realities*, *Arbeiten zur Kirchen- und Theologiegeschichte* 28 (Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2009) 15.

⁶ Allen and Morgan, ‘Augustine on Poverty’, 164.

to the extent that these references include the way to clarify the dimensions of the poor and the significance for people living in this world. For the sake of clarity and argument, I have divided them into two groups according to the structure of the work, and in each group I will consider them thematically as far as possible.

2 THE POOR AND POVERTY IN THE FIRST PART OF *DE CIUITATE DEI*

In the first five books of the work, which Augustine himself defines as a particular part of the work,⁷ we find occasional references to the poor and poverty. Most obviously, in the Book 1.10–12, Augustine's discourse on poverty tends towards a psychological and spiritualised analysis which also penetrates the imagery of the poor in his other writings.

Or are we to conclude that the utterance of the apostle was in vain when he said, 'We know that all things work together for good to them that love God?' (Rom. 8:28) They lost all they had. Their faith? Their godliness? The goods of the inward man who is rich before God? These are the riches of the Christians, ...⁸

Augustine begins by posing a question, 'whether any evil has befallen the faithful and godly that was not turned to their good.'⁹ In fact, the apparent subject of sufferings has been derived from the sack of Rome by the Goths (410). He intended to answer the charge of pagans who were blaming Christianity for the disaster and its aftermath.¹⁰ But he does not remain consumed with the vulnerability of material and physical things in this world. It can be seen that the emphasis on the proper attitude to things is taken seriously by Augustine. This is the most fundamental element of the 'poor without but rich within'¹¹ which will have an important part to play

⁷ See *ciu. dei* 5.26 and 6 praef.

⁸ *ciu. dei* 1.10.1; CCL 47,10: 'forte putandum est apostolicam illam uacare sententiam, ubi ait: Scimus quia diligentibus Deum omnia cooperatur in bonum. Amiserunt omnia quae habebant. Numquid fidem? numquid pietatem? numquid interioris hominis bona, qui est ante Deum diues? Hae sunt opes Christianorum'.

⁹ *ciu. dei* 1.10.1; CCL 47,10: 'utrum adliquit mali acciderit fidelibus et piis, quod eis non in bonum uerteretur'.

¹⁰ See *ciu. dei* 1.1.

¹¹ *ciu. dei* 1.10.2; CCL 47,10: 'ab isto foris paupere, intus diuite'.

in his eschatological view of poverty.

With regard to the individual behaviour during the sack, he feels no need to provide in detail for the harsh realities of the catastrophe which were indeed informed both by letters from Italian bishops and by the influx of refugees into North Africa. It seems to be the conviction of Augustine that it is required not to condemn the victims clung to their properties, but to consider the true moral status in their disposition. How should not good Christians be affected by misfortunes? The prescription follows by his use of the scriptural language and, in answer to the question of whether 'the faithful and godly' has been overcome by afflictions, Augustine quotes a passage from the First Epistle to Timothy 6:6–10 as follows:

But godliness with contentment is great gain. For we brought nothing into this world, and it is certain we can carry nothing out. And having food and raiment let us be therewith content. But they that will be rich fall into temptation and a snare, and into many foolish and hurtful lusts, which drown men in destruction and perdition. For the love of money is the root of all evil; which while some coveted after, they have erred from the faith, and pierced themselves through with many sorrow.¹²

This view of the bond between the transiency of temporal riches and the greed for them is put immediately in line with the distinction between temporal and eternal goods.

They are more gladdened by those spiritual things which they have preserved all the more securely by freely giving of their earthly goods, than saddened by the loss of those things which they would have lost anyway, even had they fearfully withheld them.¹³

¹² *ciu. dei*, 1.10.1; CCL 47,10: 'Est autem quaestus magnus pietas cum sufficientia. Nihil enim intulimus in hunc mundum, sed nec auferre aliquid possumus. Habentes autem uictum et tegumentum his contenti sumus. Nam qui uolunt diuites fieri, incidunt in temptationem et laqueum et desideria multa <stulta> et noxia, quae mergunt homines in interitum et perditionem. Radix enim est omnium malorum auaritia, quam quidam adpetentes a fide pererrauerunt et inseruerunt se doloribus multis.'

¹³ *ciu. dei*, 1.10.2; CCL 47,11: 'plusque laetati ex his, quae facile tribuendo tutius seruauerunt, quam contristati ex his, quae timide retinendo facilius amiserunt. Hoc enim potuit in terra perire, quod piguit inde transferre.'

Such is the way Augustine defines the difference of inner disposition in the opposite direction. The order is based on the security of possessing the things which 'could lose nothing on earth.'¹⁴ Thus, he presents the description of the poor, that is 'the inward man who is rich before God' as possessing spiritual things which purify and nourish the appropriate attitude to the indiscriminate sufferings.

After quoting two passages from 1 Tim 6:17–19 and Matth 6:19–21, Augustine combines the renunciation of temporal goods with the example of voluntary poverty.

Charge them that are rich in this world, that they be not high-minded, nor trust in uncertain riches, but in the living God, Who giveth us richly all things to enjoy; that they do good, that they be rich in good works, ready to distribute, willing to communicate; laying up in store for themselves a good foundation against the time to come, that they may lay hold on eternal live.¹⁵

Augustine speaks with approval of the idea of expecting the future harvest 'in the time to come', supporting the self-interested behaviour by reference to Paul's precept to the 'rich in this world' to distribute generously and share their goods. This is the case that Paulinus, Augustine's friend and the bishop of Nola, distinguished by the radical voluntary poor, was not troubled with his possessions after captivated by the Gauls in the sack. It was the outcome of his self-deprivation. Again, referring to others who obeyed the precept, he makes similar observations.

Another point to be made is that, in the first main part (Books 1–10), Augustine often recalls the dignity of Roman virtues in the history of Rome. In the Book 1.24, the story of Marcus Regulus is shown as: 'He was neither corrupted by good fortune, for he remained entirely poor even after his great victories'.¹⁶ Again in the Book 2, Regulus appears as being 'tor-

¹⁴ *ciu. dei*, 1.10.2; CCL 47,11: 'Hoc ... potuit in terra perire'.

¹⁵ *ciu. dei*, 1.10.2; CCL 47,11: 'Praecepte diuitibus huius mundi non superbe sapere neque sperare in incerto diuitiarum, sed in Deo uiuo, qui praestat nobis omnia abundanter ad fruendum: bene faciant, diuites sint in operibus bonis, facile tribuant, communicent, thesaurizent sibi fundamentum bonum in futurum, ut adprehendant ueram uitam.'

¹⁶ *ciu. dei*, 1.24; CCL 47,25: 'neque felicitas corruperit, nam in tanta uictoria mansit pauperimus'.

mented by captivity, servitude, poverty, sleeplessness and pain'.¹⁷ In a series of examples in Book 5, the voluntary poor of Lucius Valerius and Quintius Cincinnatus is referred to:

How will a Christian dare to praise himself for the voluntary poverty which enables him to walk more lightly, during the pilgrimage of this life, on that path which leads to the country where God Himself is the true riches?¹⁸

Here Augustine is full of admiration for these honourable representatives of the Roman past and their virtues. These examples which reveal the remarkable human achievement in the society appear to have the effect of inspiring Christians. Yet, not only does he give the praise to the nobility of the ancient Romans, but expresses his disillusionment with the society and the status of the poor: according to the hedonistic opinion of pagans, 'Let the poor serve the rich because of their abundance, and let them enjoy under their patronage a senseless idleness; and let the rich abuse the poor as their clients and the appendages of their pride.'¹⁹ Again, in correspondence with the absence of social justice in the state, quoting a passage from Sallust (e.g. *Bellum Catilinae* 52.19–24), he introduces the reader Marcus Cato's address on the critical situations: 'we have luxury and avarice; the public purse is impoverished while private citizens grow rich; we praise riches, but we follow idleness'.²⁰

3 THE POOR AND POVERTY IN THE LATTER PART OF *DE CIUITATE DEI*

In the second main part, Augustine's use of the poor and poverty might be divided into two groups: first, he occasionally interprets the meaning of the poor appeared in some scriptural passages; second, he focuses on the

¹⁷ *ciu. dei*, 2.23.1; CCL 47,57: 'captiuitate seruitute inopia, uigiliis doloribus excruciarī'.

¹⁸ *ciu. dei*, 5.18.2; CCL 47,153: 'Quo modo se audebit extollere de uoluntaria paupertate Christianus, ut in huius uitae peregrinatione expeditior ambulet uiam, quae perducit ad patriam, ubi uerae diuitiae Deus ipse est'.

¹⁹ *ciu. dei*, 2.20; CCL 47,51: 'Obsequantur diuitibus pauperes causa saturitatis atque ut eorum patrociniis queta inertia perfruantur, diuites pauperibus ad clientelas et ad ministerium sui fastus abutantur'.

²⁰ *ciu. dei*, 5.12.5; CCL 47,145: 'habemus luxuriam atque auaritiam, publice egestatem, priuatum opulentiam; laudamus diuitias, sequimur inertiam'.

eschatological dimension of the poverty.

Augustine's scriptural interpretation appears first in the Book 14, in which he investigates the function of emotions in this world and concludes as follows:

good and evil men alike feel desire, fear and joy. But the good feel these emotions in a good way, and the bad feel them in a bad way, just all the will of men may be righteous or perverse.²¹

Augustine does not accept the Stoic view which advocates the freedom from passions (*apatheia*). He nevertheless admits that 'to the life to come for which we hope'²² the condition of neither being terrified nor tormented will belong. His concern is to understand the experience of the fear (2 Cor 11:3) which 'is clean, enduring for ever'. (Psalm 19:9) Will it endure for ever? He explicitly appeals to Psalm 9:18 'The patience of the poor shall not perish for ever' as a proof text to sustain the correlation between the patience and the fear, which cannot be existed 'in that most secure state of perpetual and happy joy'.²³ Thus, he interprets the poor as those possessing the secure state of emotions in the life expected to come.

Next in Book 17, we find a commentary on the prophecy of Samuel's mother Hannah in 1 Samuel 2:1–10. He has already started considering the course of the two cities in Book 15, and arrives at the age of the prophets (*ciu. dei* 17.1). Within the interpretation is focused on the veiled meanings of her words, passages concerned with Christ reveal us the eschatological dimension of the poverty:

The Lord maketh poor, and maketh rich: He bringeth low and lifteth up. He raiseth up the poor out of the dust, and lifteth up the beggar from the dung-hill, to set them among the princes of the people, and to make them inherit the throne of glory (1 Samuel 2:7–8 (LXX)).²⁴

²¹ *ciu. dei*, 14.9.3; CCL 48,427: 'cupiunt timent laetantur et boni et mali; sed illi bene, isti male, sicut hominibus seu recta seu peruersa uoluntas est.'

²² *ciu. dei*, 14.9.4; CCL 48,428: 'illius, quam futuram speramus'.

²³ *ciu. dei*, 14.9.5; CCL 48,429: 'in illa certissima securitate perpetuorum felicitumque gaudiorum'.

²⁴ *ciu. dei* 17.4.1; CCL 48,555: 'Dominus pauperes facit et ditat, humiliat et exaltat. Suscitatur a terra pauperem et de stercore erigit inopem, ut conlocet eum cum potentibus populi, et sedem gloriae

Plainly in his explanation we encounter the voluntary poverty of Christ who made himself poor so that 'the poor' might become rich. While the rich humble people will be given grace, the poor proud will be resisted.²⁵ Furthermore, he refers to the passage from 2 Cor 8:9: 'Who for our sakes became poor so that, through His poverty, we might be enriched',²⁶ in which the humility and the spiritual wealth is closely correlated. It follows that he identifies 'the beggar' with 'the poor' who 'might sit among the princes of the people, to whom He says, 'Ye shall sit upon twelve thrones' (Matth. 19:28).²⁷ It can thus be seen how the poor in its eschatological dimension will be brought from the eternal salvation of Christ.

Augustine's interpretation in Book 18 provides the focus for the later prophets from Hosea to the Maccabees, in which two short commentaries are related to the poor and poverty. From the prayer and song of Habakkuk (*ciu. dei* 18.32), the spiritual understanding of the poor is explicit.

They shall open wide their mouths to bite, like a poor man eating secretly (Hab. 3:14).²⁸

Augustine regards the poor as those who are earnestly in search of Christ's teaching, with reference to the Gospel (John 3:2 and 19:38). For it is not unusual for him to use the imagery of food as the doctrine of Christianity. Among the commentaries on three minor prophets (*ciu. dei* 18.35), he introduces Zechariah's words on Christ and the Church, and regards the 'lowly' as the Lord Christ whose journey is expressed in the Gospel as the fulfilment of this prophecy.

In the last four books of the work, Augustine's discourse tends towards the 'ends' of the two cities in the history, although these books have their own topics respectively. There emerges no scriptural interpretation related to the poverty, but seems to be two compelling references to the problem-

hereditatem dans eis'.

²⁵ See Psalm 16:10.

²⁶ *ciu. dei* 17.4.6; CCL 48,559: '*qui propter nos pauper factus est, cum diues esset, ut eius paupertate, ... ditaremur.*'

²⁷ *ciu. dei* 17.4.6; CCL 48,559: '*Sedebitis super duodecim sedes.*'

²⁸ *ciu. dei* 18.32; CCL 48,625: '*Adaperient morsus suos, sicut edens pauper absconse.*'

atic. First, in Book 20, in which he considers the last judgement and final separation of the two cities, Augustine faces the difficulty of showing the evidences of divine judgement about human affairs. It is plainly confessed as follows:

For we do not know by what judgment of God this good man is poor, while that wicked man is rich. We do not know why this man is joyful even though, as we judge the matter, his abandoned morals render him worthy to be tormented with grief.²⁹

Augustine's main concern is to prove that human beings will arrive at the last judgement and to provide proofs of this judgement from scriptural texts. The question of whether or not God's behaviour ensures the consistency is simply resolved: this is a consequence of knowing only a part of God's intention by the limited ability of human beings. What is crucial is to accept and bear the inscrutability of the divine judgement—'for God is judging even now'³⁰—and not to adhere to the absurdity in this world. From the viewpoint of eschatological expectation, the designation of the poor and the rich is conditionally and provisionally given in the society, yet the serious unfairness and imbalance should not be evaluated as a radical change will be required.

it is salutary for us to learn not to attach great value to those things which, whether good or evil, we see to be common to good and evil men alike; but to seek instead those good things which belong only to good men, and especially to shun those evils which belong only to evil men.³¹

It is remarkable that in Book 21 he clarifies the point that the behaviour of mercy would be defined as a means of both realising the future benefit and improving the inner disposition. In the case of Paulinus and other persons referred to in Book 1 (1.10.2), the former reward was plainly stated,

²⁹ *ciu. dei* 20.2; CCL 48,700: 'Nescimus enim quo iudicio Dei bonus ille sit pauper, malus ille sit diues; iste gaudeat, quem pro suis perditis moribus cruciari debuisse maeroribus arbitramur'.

³⁰ *ciu. dei* 20.1.2; CCL 48,699: 'et nunc iudicat'.

³¹ *ciu. dei* 20.2; CCL 48,701: 'salubriter tamen discimus non magnipendere seu bona seu mala, quae uidemus esse bonis malisque communia, et illa bona quaerere, quae bonorum, atque illa mala maxime fugere, quae propria sunt malorum.'

but the latter, that is the inner improvement seems to be obscure. Here Augustine agrees with those who claim the suitable act of mercy must be done in order to atone their sins. Yet, it is increasingly difficult to gain the divine forgiveness by virtue of their alms. How could they know their own appropriate level? Augustine, then, turns to consider the disposition of the almsgiver.

Therefore, anyone who wishes to perform acts of mercy worthy of his sins must first begin with himself. For it is unworthy not to do for oneself what one does for one's neighbour, since we hear God say, 'Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself'; and, again, we hear 'Have compassion on thy soul, and please God.' How, then, can he who does not have compassion on his soul—that is, who does not please God—be said to perform works of mercy worthy of his sins?³²

Not only does he regard the almsgiving as an expression of alleviating the punishments in this life but it should be primarily advocated for taking care of the poor disposition of the individual giver. Augustine puts the moral progress of the donor before the expected favour of both the receiver and of the donor of the almsgiving.

4 CONCLUDING REMARKS

In the *De ciuitate dei* of Augustine, the discourse on poverty and the poor is not so much a matter of devoting much thought to show the comprehensive understanding of the problem, still less of drawing out the social and economic realities of the late antique society from it. In this work his use of the poverty occurs sporadically, and within at least eight books of the work there does not emerge any clear reference to the poverty. However, among these limited examples, the mention of poverty is naturally induced by his interest in approaching the main topic. Augustine's apologetic way of dealing with the sufferings caused by the sack of Rome moves the discussion

³² *ciu. dei* 21.27.2; CCL 48,801: 'Qui ergo dignas pro suis peccatis elemosynas facit, prius eas facere incipiat a se ipso. Indignum est enim, ut in se non faciat, qui facit in proximum, cum audiat dicentem Deum: Diliges proximum tuum tamquam te ipsum; itemque audiat; Miserere animae tuae placens Deo. Hanc elemosynam, id est, ut Deo placeat, non faciens animae suae quo modo dignas pro peccatis suis elemosynas facere dicendus est?'

to the point where the vulnerability of temporal things enables us to examine the disposition of people's soul living in this world. The distinction between the poor and the rich becomes insignificant, thereby clarifying the spiritualising dimension of poverty. Again, under the consideration of the last judgement of God and of the proofs of this judgement, the difference between the poor and the rich should not be regarded as being remained in the time to come. It will be out of human affairs. Thus, the eschatological view of poverty is firmly rooted in the future hope in which any tension and conflict inherent in the society will be resolved thoroughly.

Some descriptions of poverty seem to be definite and enlightened on the fact in which people were involved and embedded, simply because they show us the names of who were, and have been, the models for the behaviour of contemporary people: first, Paulinus of Nola who abandoned immense wealth is the example of voluntary poverty; and second, Marcus Regulus, Lucius Valerius, and Quintius Cincinnatus are the representatives of Roman virtues. Augustine is quite proud of both the Christian present and the Roman past. As to the former, he suggests the possibility of those who were put to torture in order to make reveal their properties. While as to the latter, he speaks clearly of their prize: 'They were honoured among almost all the nations; they imposed the laws of their empire upon many races; and they are glorious among almost all peoples to this day, in literature and history.'³³ Although there appears to be a sharp contrast between sufferings and glories, another difference is revealing:

the confessor of holy poverty could not be tortured without a heavenly reward.³⁴

They have no reason to complain of the justice of the highest and true God: 'they have received their reward'.³⁵

This is the way Augustine highlights the transient and passing nature of

³³ *ciu. dei* 5.15; CCL 47,149: 'honorati sunt in omnibus fere gentibus, imperii sui leges inposuerunt multis gentibus, hodieque litteris et historia gloriosi sunt paene in omnibus gentibus'.

³⁴ *ciu. dei* 1.10.3; CCL 47,12: 'non potuit tamen sanctae paupertatis confessor sine caelesti mercede torqueri.'

³⁵ *ciu. dei* 5.15; CCL 47,149: 'non est quod de summi et ueri Dei iustitia conquerantur; per ceperunt mercedem suam.'

these consequences and proceeds to the expectation of receiving future reward. By virtue of their honours, the Roman accomplishment has been rewarded: despite their misfortunes, the Christian accomplishment will be rewarded. It does not depend on our esteem of human perfection in this world. It can thus be seen that, again, the foundation of his view of voluntary poverty is the invisibility of the eschatological categories in these realities.

Augustine's Spiritualisation of the Poor in an Era of Crisis*

Naoki Kamimura

1 INTRODUCTION

Examples showing how Augustine refers to the theme of poverty and the poor from his youth onwards would be found not only in his early writings but in many of his later works, and the subject has recently received considerable interest, especially when we appreciate the work of Australian research group, *Preaching Poverty in Late Antiquity*, which 'considers the plight of the poor and responses to them from the early Roman empire through to late antiquity and Byzantium.'¹ In its chapter 4, entitled 'Augustine on Poverty', Prof. Pauline ALLEN and Dr. Edward MORGAN, along with comprehensive study of Augustine's view into poverty, poor relief, and voluntary poverty, have investigated the issues within his huge amount of text thoroughly. It may be tempting to take the simple view of poverty and the poor, because of the various genres of his writings, such as sermons, letters, theological, exegetical, and theoretical tractates. However, this valuable and illuminating study has sought to set out the framework

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¹ P. Allen, B. Neil, and W. Mayer (eds), *Preaching Poverty in Late Antiquity: Perceptions and Realities*, *Arbeiten zur Kirchen- und Theologiegeschichte* 28 (Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2009) 15.

for his discourse within which both types of his caritative model, flesh-and-blood and theological ones, have been found to occur. In his sermons and letters, they have shown that 'the most important part of his caritative programme was constituted by almsgiving'.² In addition to its efficacious and practical advantages on the part of the donees, Augustine encouraged his congregations to give alms, so that they would develop a sense of commitment and solidarity among them. Efforts are, thus, focused on largely rhetorical constructs of the poor in his works that contribute, not to the illusional character of Augustine and his hearers as 'social revolutionaries',³ but to the limited advocacy for the common humanity, along with 'psychological, social, and eschatological dimensions'.⁴ Throughout his discourse on the spiritualising of poverty, the issue of almsgiving is accompanied by his prescription for communal behaviour and solidarity.

But how precisely did Augustine think about almsgiving and what did he consider to be the characteristics of the inner disposition of the almsgiver? Augustine was concerned with giving alms as a means of stimulating the solidarity in the community. All the same, it is interesting to note that an innovative approach to almsgiving was expressed with regard to its intention: the cultivation of the donor's disposition ought to precede the relief of the actual poor. Did Augustine primarily aim to achieve psychological improvement of the donor's soul? Did he encourage his hearers to use the poor as the instrument of the giver's salvation? It is my intention in this paper to consider his view of almsgiving and of the disposition of the giver, a deliberation which might help to construct a more holistic picture of almsgiving. For the sake of clarity and argument, I shall first examine the passages focused on the self-interest of the almsgiver, and proceed to consider the issues thematically as far as possible.

² Allen and Morgan, 'Augustine on Poverty', 163.

³ Allen and Morgan, 'Augustine on Poverty', 162.

⁴ Allen and Morgan, 'Augustine on Poverty', 163.

2 THE PROBLEMATICS OF ALMSGIVING

My first account of the almsgiving begins by examining Augustine's references to the inner state of the almsgiver found in both Book 21 of the *De ciuitate dei* and Chapter 20 of the *Enchiridion de fide spe et caritate*. Since these texts were written around the same time (the former finished by 426/427, and the latter composed between 420 and 422),⁵ we find a similar concern with respect to the issue of almsgiving.

In the second main part (Books 11–22) of the *De ciuitate dei*, Augustine's representation of the poor and poverty-related themes may be divided into two groups: first, he occasionally interprets the meaning of the poor appeared in some scriptural passages;⁶ second, he focuses on the eschatological dimension of poverty.⁷ It is remarkable, then, that in Book 21 he clarifies the point that the behaviour of mercy would be defined as a means of both realising the future benefit and improving the inner disposition of the almsgiver.⁸ Augustine agrees with those who claim the suitable act of mercy must be done in order to atone their sins. It is increasingly difficult to gain the divine forgiveness by virtue of their alms. For how could they know the appropriate level of the practice? Augustine turns his attention to consider the disposition of the giver.

And yet if they had distributed all their goods to the needy members of Christ in atonement for just one sin, this could not have been of any service to them, if they had abandoned such practices by the acquisition of the 'love which does no evil' (cf. 1 Cor. 13:4). Therefore, anyone who would perform acts of mercy in adequate proportion to his sins *should begin with himself* [my italics] in their performance. For it is wrong not to do to oneself what one does to one's neighbour, since we have

⁵ For the chronological evidences of these tractates, see G. J. P. O'Daly, 'Ciuitate dei (De –)', in C. Mayer et al. (eds), *AL*, vol. 1 (Basel: Schwabe, 1986–1994) 969–1010 at 970–976; E. TeSelle, 'Fide spe et caritate (De –)', in C. Mayer et al. (eds), *AL*, vol. 2 (Basel: Schwabe, 1996–2002) 1323–1330 at 1324.

⁶ See *ciu. dei* 14.9.5 (Matth. 24:12, 10:22); *ciu. dei* 17.4 (1 Samuel 2:1–10); *ciu. dei* 18.32 (Habakkuk); *ciu. dei* 18.35 (Zechariah).

⁷ See *ciu. dei* 20.1–2.

⁸ See *ciu. dei* 1.10.2.

heard God saying 'You shall love your neighbour as yourself'; and we have been told to 'have compassion on your own soul by pleasing God' (Lev. 19:18; cf. Matt. 22:39; Ecclus. 30:24). If anyone does not show this mercy to his own soul, that is, by pleasing God, how can he be said to perform acts of mercy in adequate proportion to his sins?⁹

It is not only in the *De ciuitate dei* referred to above that a set of scriptural passages: 'You shall love your neighbour as yourself' (Matth. 22:38; Mark 12:31; Luke 10:27) and 'Have compassion on your own soul by pleasing God' (Ecclus. 30:24) occur; indeed, these are the passages which are common in Augustine's writings, applied to his idea of the properly ordered love such as the soul's movement towards the self rather than outwards.

A person who wishes to give alms as they should be given must begin from himself and *give them first to himself*. [my italics] Almsgiving is a work of mercy, and the saying is very true: *Have mercy on your soul and please God* (Eccl 30:24). ... The Pharisees, having neglected the justice and the love of God, used to tithe the tiniest items of their produce for the alms they gave, and so they did not begin from themselves when giving alms or *show mercy first to themselves*. [my italics] Because of this order of love it is said: *You shall love your neighbor as yourself* (Lk 10:27). So, after rebuking those who washed themselves outside but were full of greed and wickedness within, he taught them to purify themselves within by giving alms of the kind that a man *should give himself first of all* [my italics]; he said, *But for the rest give alms and see, everything is clean for you* (Lk 11:37–41).¹⁰

⁹ *ciu. dei* 21.27.2; CCL 48,801: 'Qui si pro uno scelere omnia sua distribuerent indigentibus membris Christi, nisi desisterent a talibus factis habendo caritatem, quae non agit perperam, aliquid eis prodesse non posset. Qui ergo dignas pro suis peccatis elemosynas facit, *prius eas facere incipiat a se ipso*. [my italics] Indignum est enim, ut in se non faciat, qui facit in proximum, cum audiat dicentem Deum: *Diliges proximum tuum tamquam te ipsum*; itemque audiat; *Miserere animae tuae placens Deo*. Hanc elemosynam, id est, ut Deo placeat, non faciens animae suae quo modo dignas pro peccatis suis elemosynas facere dicendus est?' English translation of the *ciu. dei* is taken from H. Bettenson (trans.), *Saint Augustine: Concerning the City of God against the Pagans*, Pelican Classics (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1972).

¹⁰ *ench.* 20.76; CCL 46,90–91: 'Qui enim vult ordinate dare eleemosynam a se ipso debet incipere et *eam sibi primum dare*. [my italics] Est enim eleemosyna opus misericordiae, verissimeque dictum est: *Miserere animae tuae placens Deo*. ... Quod iudicium et caritatem Dei cum pharisei praeterirent decimabant quidem propter eleemosynas quas faciebant etiam quaecumque minutissima fructuum suorum, et ideo non dabant eleemosynas a se *incipientes secumque prius misericordiam facientes*. [my italics] Propter quem dilectionis ordinem dictum est: *Diliges proximum tuum tamquam te ipsum*. Cum ergo increpasset eos quod forinsecus se lavabant, intus autem rapina et iniquitate pleni erant, admonens quadam eleemosyna quam *sibi*

Not only does he regard almsgiving as an expression of alleviating the punishments in this life, thereby expecting his hearers to provide for the future repose, but it should be predominantly and primarily advocated for taking care of the individual giver. Augustine shows a clear preference for the moral and spiritual development, rather than the expected favour of both the receiver and the donor of alms. His interest here is revealed in the coherent expressions of temporal sequence: 'should begin with himself ... give them first to himself ... show mercy first to themselves ... should give himself first of all'. In its psychological dimension, therefore, almsgiving has to be conducted first by looking after a defective, poor status of the donor's soul.

Augustine's conviction that it is necessary to perform a work of mercy which should give alms first to the individual's own self, thereby purifying the inner aspects of the soul, is relevant to his emphasis on the necessity to attend to both the intention of the giver and the power of spiritual alms. He recapitulates precisely what he says with some examples of the donor such as the Pharisees and 'a man of great wealth' as follows:

God is not concerned about the recipient of a gift, but about its motive.¹¹

We are reborn in order to please God, ... These are the first alms we gave ourselves.¹²

Augustine's primary concern is with the intention of the giver that serves as a driving force to the spiritual giving. Although he does not decrease the value of material alms (and 'describes almsgiving as having two poles, the spiritual and the material'¹³), it is clear that almsgiving of this kind opens the way for a transformation of the self.

homo debet primitus dare, [my italics] interiora mundari: Veruntamen, inquit, quod superest date eleemosynam et ecce omnia munda sunt vobis.' Eng. trans., in B. Harbert, WSA 1/8 (2005).

¹¹ *ciu. dei* 21.27.3; CCL 48,801: 'Deus, non cui detur, sed quo animo detur, adtendit.'

¹² *ench.* 20.76; CCL 46,90: 'Propter hoc nascimur, ... Haec est prima eleemosyna quam nobis dedimus'.

¹³ Allen and Morgan, 'Augustine on Poverty', 141.

3 THE PROBLEM OF THE INNER DISPOSITION

We shall now turn to some texts in Augustine's homiletic and theological works in which the question of almsgiving and of the inner disposition of almsgiver is prominent. I shall begin with his remarks about the issue found in *Sermones ad populum* and *Enarrationes in Psalmos*.

In fact it is noteworthy that, within his discourse on almsgiving, Augustine repeatedly expresses concern about the intention of the almsgiver. At the beginning of the first exposition of Psalm 48, while directing his hearers' attention to the opening addresses repeated, he focuses on those to whom the utterance is addressed. And he juxtaposes the contrast between the 'earthlings' (sinners) and the 'sons of men' (the faithful and just) with the difference of the 'hearts' between the rich and the poor:

The word *rich* applies to the earthlings, and *poor* to the sons of men. Take the rich to be the proud, the poor to be the humble. Someone may have plenty of money and resources, and yet not be haughty about it, and then he or she is poor. Another may have nothing, yet be covetous and puffed up, and then God classes him or her with the rich and reprobate. God questions both rich and poor in their hearts, not in their treasure-chests or their houses.¹⁴

This view of the opposition between humility and pride lies at the heart of Augustine's view of the inner intention. It is a desirable attitude in relation to God. The poor are seen not as a worthy recipient of material alms but as an exemplar of the spiritually poor who 'remain immovably attached to him who created the whole'.¹⁵ It is not 'their treasure-chests or their houses' but the nature of people's disposition in which God examines both the poor and the rich.¹⁶

¹⁴ *en. Ps.* 48, s. 1.3; CCL 38,552: 'Quod ait dives, ad terrigenas pertinet; quod ait, pauper, ad filios hominum. Divites intellege superbos, pauperes humiles. Habeat multas facultates pecuniarum; si in eis non extollitur, pauper est: non habeat aliquid, et cupiat et infletur; inter divites et reprobos eum deputat Deus. Et divites et pauperes in corde interrogat Deus, non in arca et domo.' English translations of the *en. Ps.* are taken from M. Boulding (trans.), WSA 3/15(2000); 16(2000); 17(2001); 18(2002); 19(2003); and 20(2004).

¹⁵ *en. Ps.* 48, s. 1.3; CCL 38,553: 'illi inhaereat qui totum creavit.'

¹⁶ See s. 105A.1; *en. Ps.* 36, s. 1.4.

A sinner borrows on interest, but will not repay. He or she receives, but will not give back. Give back what? Gratitude. What does God want of you, what does God demand of you, except what it profits you to give? ... Contemplate poverty on the other hand, plenty on the other. The first receives, but will not pay his debt; the second is merciful and lends, and yet is wealthy. What if the merciful person is poor? He or she is rich nonetheless. Direct those God-fearing eyes of yours at his riches.¹⁷

In the second exposition of Psalm 36, in which he shows both the will of God and the mixture of different types of people in this life, the just and the unjust, Augustine expects his congregations to give alms as much as they can and yet not to make a total renunciation of personal property. When he describes what it is that he values in the act of almsgiving, the emphasis not on their amount of such as money, food, clothing, and other supplies but on a compassionate sharing of their possessions in proportion to their capacity is evident. Thus, good intentions of the almsgiver should be highly honoured.¹⁸

Cleanse the things within, he advised them, *and then things without will be clean too* (Mt 2:26). In another place the Lord says, *Give alms, and everything will be clean for you* (Lk 11:41). But where does almsgiving spring from? From the heart. So true is this that, if you open your hand but have no compassion in your heart, you have done nothing, whereas, if you have nothing in your hand to give but have merciful intentions in your heart, God accepts your alms.¹⁹

Such is the way Augustine describes the intention of the almsgiver as the psychological, proper rationale of almsgiving, and appreciates the crucial importance of compassion in the act of almsgiving. If there exists no 'mer-

¹⁷ *en. Ps. 36, s. 2.13; CCL 38,561: 'Feneratur peccator, et non solvet. Accipit, et non reddet. Quid non reddet? Gratiarum actionem. Quid enim a te vult Deus, aut quid exigit Deus, nisi quod tibi prosit? ... Videte egestatem, videte divitias. Ille accipit, et non solvet: iste miseretur, et commodat; abundat illi. Quid si pauper est? Etiam sic dives est. Tu tantum ad divitias eius pios oculos intende'.*

¹⁸ See, e.g., *en. Ps. 49.13; en. Ps. 67.41; s. 39.6; s. 42.2; s. 86.14.17; s. 107A.8.*

¹⁹ *en. Ps. 125.5; CSEL 95/3,170: 'Mundate, inquit, quae intus sunt, et quae foris sunt munda erunt. Ipse dominus dicit alio loco: Verum date eleemosynas, et ecce omnia munda sunt vobis. Unde autem procedit eleemosyna? De corde. Si enim manum porrigas, nec in corde miserearis, nihil fecisti; si autem in corde miserearis, etiamsi non habeas quod porrigas manu, acceptat deus eleemosynam tuam.'* See also *en. Ps. 125.11.*

ciful intentions in your heart', then the alms diminish its value.

But apart from these homiletic texts, it is noteworthy that, in one of his early works, Augustine explicitly identifies the merciful intentions as a crucial source of almsgiving and shows a method of improving the inner disposition. In the work *De moribus ecclesiae catholicae et de moribus Manichaeorum* (written in the years 387–389), in which, while portraying the poor and needy only in the most general terms (e.g. *pauper, mendicans, egentes, indigens, or inops*), Augustine's primary concern was to characterise the donor's attitude as well as practice of almsgiving. It should be classified under mercy (*miser cordia*).²⁰

Hence, those who dutifully and humbly provide all these means by which such evils and difficulties are warded off are called merciful [*miser cordis*], ... For who can fail to know that mercy [*miser cordia*] received its name because it makes miserable the heart of a person who suffers along with another's woes?²¹

Augustine states that the wise is totally free from an emotional response to the sight of misfortune, 'when he helps someone in need, when he offers food to someone hungry and drink to someone thirsty'.²² The most important feature of almsgiving is, thus not the deep affection for the poor, but the tranquillity of mind of the donor, in which the person rightly judges the intention and integrates it with proper behaviour. Confronted with the most pressing necessity to the donor of almsgiving, Augustine strongly emphasises the need of pedagogical discipline for the health (*sanitas*) of soul.

when we exhort and teach people to give to the needy [*indigens*] those things that we said should be provided for the body. For, when we do these things, we assist

²⁰ P. M. Blowers, 'Pity, Empathy, and the Tragic Spectacle of Human Suffering: Exploring the Emotional Culture of Compassion in Late Ancient Christianity', *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 18.1(2010) 1–27.

²¹ *mor.* 1.27.53; CSEL 90,56: 'Quare illa omnia, quibus huiusmodi malis incommodisue resistitur, qui officiose atque humiliter praebent, misericordes uocantur, ... nam quis ignoret ex eo appellatam esse misericordiam, quod miserum cor faciat con dolentis alieno malo?' Eng. trans., in R. Teske, WSA 1/19 (2006).

²² *mor.* 1.27.53; CSEL 90,56–57: 'cum subuenit inopi, cum esurienti cibum praestat potumque sitienti'.

the body with help, and when we teach people to do them, we assist the mind with instruction [*disciplina*].²³

The passage again suggests that the beneficiary is understood as being needy in general arising from material deprivation. My interest is, however, in the phrase 'when we do...we assist' that is repeated. The almsgiving is clearly promoted in the double context of the recipient and the donor. The motivation for this is not merely an attempt to improve physical conditions for the donee; it apparently helps the giver to impose 'instruction' upon their mind. Thus, to be so indefinite and abstract would be Augustine's design that almsgiving sets a frame of instruction on the part of the donor. The almsgiver's respected virtue can be secured only by responding to the exhortation to exercise their state of mind in the practice of almsgiving.

4 CONCLUSION

Within the limitations of this investigation, it can be seen how, in Augustine's discourse on almsgiving, the giver's merciful intention and psychological transformation of the individual self continued to be an appropriate focus for the evaluation and to serve as the basis for an act of charitable giving. According to Allen and Morgan's paper, as well as a dispositional element to his view of almsgiving, Augustine was seen as a staunch advocate for almsgiving in order to develop a sense of solidarity in the community. Also, he made an attempt to confirm his congregations in the view that, while the poor will not be necessarily exalted to heaven in proportion to the extent of their possessions, some humble rich persons will be. Attention should shift to the nature of inner disposition. Indeed, as we have shown in this paper, together with other set of social and eschatological dimensions that would help to appreciate the strategic, even if sporadic, approach to this matter, the very fact that he regarded almsgiving in terms of its inner intention indicates that Augustine used almsgiving as a means

²³ *mor.* 1.28.55; CSEL 90,58: 'cum hortamur et monemus, ut haec ipsa indigentibus exhibeantur quae corpori exhibenda esse diximus. Cum enim haec facimus, ope corpori, cum autem docemus ut fiant, disciplina animo subuenimus.'

of securing the support for the improvement of the giver's soul.

Although Augustine's concern with almsgiving was subsidiary to his reflections on theological and spiritual problems both more extended and more elaborately constructed in his corpus, there did nevertheless maintain a significant relationship with the theme of the spiritual and gradual ascent to God. This leads to some understanding of how the spiritual alms for the poor status of almsgiver would be interwoven with one of seven steps of the ascent to true wisdom. Augustine had often concentrated on this issue in his early works. A passage such as the following is crucial:

When he beholds this light (as far as he is able to), shining as it does even into remote places, and realizes that because of the weakness of his vision he cannot bear its brilliance, he is at the fifth stage—that is, in the resolve of compassion [*consilium misericordiae*]²⁴—and purifies his mind, which is somehow turbulent and feuding with itself because of the impurities accumulated by its desire of what is inferior. Here he strenuously occupies himself with the love of his neighbour and becomes perfect in it.²⁴

We find a clear preference for the spiritual improvement of the almsgiver, as has been already seen in my first account of the passages from the *De ciuitate dei* and *Enchiridion*. His audience was encouraged to show mercy first to their own soul, and to fulfil the divine commandment to love your neighbour as yourself only for the sake of their own salvation. This could not deflect criticism from some scholars. For example, in the words of John BURNABY, 'we are making not only the love of neighbour but the love of God a 'means' to our own advantage: we are attempting to 'use' not our neighbour only, but God Himself'.²⁵ Despite of the seemingly self-seeking approach to charitable giving, however, in the context of the maturing of

²⁴ *doctr. chr.* 2.7.11; CSEL 80,39: 'Quam ubi aspexerit, quantum potest in longinqua radiantem suiue aspectus infirmitate sustinere se illam lucem non posse persenserit, in quinto gradu, hoc est in consilio misericordiae, purgat animam tumultuantem quodam modo atque obstrepentem sibi de appetitu inferiorum conceptis sordibus. Hic vero se in dilectione proximi gnaviter exercet in eaque perficitur'. English translation of the *doctr. chr.* is taken from R. P. H. Green (trans.), *Augustine: De doctrina Christiana*, Oxford Early Christian Texts (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995).

²⁵ J. Burnaby, *Amor Dei. A Study of the Religion of St. Augustine*, The Hulsean Lectures for 1938 (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1960) 134.

the spiritual life, we read that Augustine's concern is primarily with the gradual, mutually cooperated ascent to the One, accompanied by the 'resolve of compassion'. Indeed, it is clear, through the seven stages of ascent to wisdom, he continuously encourages his reader to engage in strenuous exercise of both loving their neighbour and purifying the inner state of their soul: those who read the scriptures exert themselves and find the divine commandment to love God and the neighbour; after extricating themselves from all temporal things, they proceed to those final grades (fifth and sixth steps) as phases of the purification of soul. The diligent exercise of the works of mercy (*misericordia*), as required for those who give alms, is incorporated into a grade that introduces its final stage, and not only a duty but an essential phase of the spiritual life in which his congregations are mutually led to the delights of contemplation in God.

[Fifth step] Here he strenuously occupies himself with the love of his neighbour and becomes perfect in it ... [Sixth step] he does not give a higher priority than the truth, or indeed an equal one, even to his neighbour; nor does he give such precedence to himself, since he does not give it to the one whom he loves as himself.²⁶

²⁶ *doctr. chr.* 2.7.11; CSEL 80,39: 'Hic vero se in dilectione proximi gnauiter exercet, in eaque perficitur. ... veritati ne ipsum quidem praeferat aut conferat proximum; ergo nec seipsum, quia nec illum quem diligit sicut seipsum.'

Christian Ethics of St. Augustine on Poverty

Kazuhiko Demura

In Australian pioneering monograph on poverty and the riches in late Antiquity, Pauline ALLEN and Edward MORGAN concluded:

His [=Augustine's] advocacy is restricted to an advocacy for the human condition generally considered, and his entire framework concerning poverty and wealth has an underpinning anthropology in which material goods are secondary to eternal ones. While it is not exactly social revolution and possibly suffers from an excessively narrow focus on the nexus between almsgiving and being joined to the church, Augustine's treatment of poverty concentrates on psychological reconfiguration assisted by a rhetorical re-articulation of social and communal identity.¹

The fruit of this Australian multifaceted and critical research on Augustine's works stimulates our funded research project 'Augustine's Insight and Practice of poverty in an Era of Crisis' (2009.4–2012.3). Because why he took such strategy to deal with the poverty and wealth and to what extent Augustine's advocacy was persuasive to the congregations in the late antique North Africa, seems to require further careful considerations. Dr. KAMIMURA Naoki has been investigating Augustine's rhetorical techniques and his thought on history in his letters and the *City of God*. I myself am surveying his sermons and exegetical works in order to clarify his philosophical and theological perspective.

This project is a part of following-up from our bilateral 'Joint Studies in the Perspectives on Poverty in an Era of Crisis-Testing Some Social Models of Early Christianity' (2007.4–2009.3), which examined the earlier (i.e. from the 2nd to 4th century) stage of Christian commitment into the poverty in

¹ P. Allen and E. Morgan, 'Augustine on Poverty', in P. Allen, B. Neil, and W. Mayer (eds), *Preaching Poverty in Late Antiquity: Perceptions and Realities*, *Arbeiten zur Kirchen- und Theologiegeschichte* 28 (Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2009) 119–170 at 164.

order to complement the Australian research project on the three bishops from 4th to 6th century. And we are very happy that Korean research project on this topic got a governmental fund and join to cooperate with us. I express my warmest thanks again to Dr. SUH Wonmo and the Presbyterian College and Theological Seminary to invite us to this first international conference of Patristic Society in Korea to give us a privileged opportunity to cooperate with you in Patristic studies.

As Allen–Morgan pointed out in the conclusion above, it is true that Augustine’s advocacy is restricted to an advocacy for the human condition generally considered. Augustine does not treat the poverty of the real social problem that might confront his congregations nor direct any concrete measures to rescue the poor so as to solve the issue, even if he encourages the people to give alms to the poor in general.

I would like to investigate what Augustine’s primary concern about the poverty and the riches was. With what intention did he concentrate on ‘psychological reconfiguration’ and what perspective did he have towards the ‘social and communal identity’? Our three year project is just progressing on the one-third way so far, here I will just reconsider a few of his sermons and try to show that Augustine’s effort to persuade his congregations for the adequate treatment with the poverty and the riches is towards not only psychological reconfiguration but also moral reformation more deeply rooted upon Christian central identity of their heart (*cor* in Latin).

First of all, let us examine how he interprets Matthew’s Gospel 19:21–25. He comments in *Sermon 86* on this famous episode of a young rich man:

The gospel that was read just now prompts me to speak to your graces about the nature of this treasure in heaven. For you see, it’s not the case, as grasping unbelievers suppose, that our God wanted us to lose our fortunes. If you understand correctly what we have been told to do, and trust it loyally, and accept it seriously, then he wasn’t telling us to lose our capital, but showing us the best place to invest it. (*Serm. 86.1; NBA 30/2,8*)²

He seems to understand the practice in Mt. 19:21 ‘Sell what you possess

² I use the English translation by E. Hill, in WSA 3/3 (1991).

to the poor, and you shall have treasure in heaven' as something like a transmission or investment of the possessions, relocating them from this unsecured place to that safer place.

And in another Sermon, reading how difficult it is for anyone who has riches to enter the kingdom of heaven! And when the disciples were saddened, and said, If that is so, who ever can be saved? (Mt. 19:23–25), Augustine continues to say to his congregations:

Who among the rich? You that are poor, listen to Christ. I'm speaking to the people of God. Most of you are poor; you at least must try to understand. Anyway, listen. Any of you inclined to boast about your poverty, beware of pride, or you may be beaten to the post by the rich who are humble; beware of irreverence, or the rich who are religious may beat you to it; beware of drunkenness, or the rich who are sober will beat you to it. Don't boast about your poverty, if they ought not to boast about their riches. (*Serm.* 85.2.2; NBA 30/1,650)

This sounds quite paradoxical. While the rich is rejected in the Gospel, Augustine directly criticizes the poor people and their tendency towards pride. He then turns to the rich among the congregations and says:

The rich should listen too, if there are any here...let the rich of this world listen to the Apostle: Command the rich of this world, he says, not to have proud thoughts. The primary worm in the apple of riches is pride....So, command them not to have proud thoughts, nor set their hopes on the uncertainty of riches, but on the living God. (*Serm.* 85.3.3; NBA 30/1,650)

He repeatedly worries about the proud thoughts. Both the poor and the rich have to be humble and abolish their proud tendency. From Augustine's view point, both of them are quite equal with regard to the danger of self-pride tendency. In order to avoid this danger he encourages the rich to share:

Let them give readily. And what does Let them give readily means? Is that not understood? Let them give readily, let them share (1 Tm. 6:18) You've got something, someone else hasn't; share, so that other things may be shared with you. (*Serm.* 85.4.4; NBA 30/1,652)

And then turning to the poor congregations, on the basis that they have the world in common with the rich Augustine claims them to look for

sufficiency and repeats warning against the avarice:

Poor people, you listen too. You should pay out too. You shouldn't go plundering either. You should give of your means too, you too curb your greed. Listen, you poor...You have the world in common with the rich; you don't have a house in common with the rich, but you do have the sky, you do have the light in common with them. Just look for a sufficiency, look for what is enough, not for more than that. Anything more is a weighing down, not a lifting up of the spirit; a burden, not a guerdon....For the root of all evils is avarice (1 Tm. 6:7-10). Avarice means wanting to be rich, not already being rich. (*Serm.* 85.5.6; NBA 30/1,654)

Such order of Augustine's claims to the poor and the rich may betray his primary concern. As I mentioned at first, Augustine understands Mt. 19:21 as a relocation of possessions. But associating with Mt. 6:19-21 'Lay up for yourselves treasures in heaven.... For where your treasure is, there will your heart be also', the relocation of their possessions will make the owners themselves be relocated from here to there. The poverty and the riches make a strong influence on not only an external condition of human life but also an internal way of life itself. It is not only a political-economical issue but also ethical and philosophical issue of human existence. Because they are rooted deeply in the human desire and will. Ancient moral philosophers presupposed that every human being wants to be happy. The poverty and the riches inevitably will reveal where he or she finds happiness. Stoic philosophers found the happy life in the state of detachment from the emotions and desires and Platonists intended to get an enlightenment transcending towards the intellect and the one. Christian monasticism dealt with the poverty and the riches from the ascetic view point.

Dealing with the problem, Augustine stands in the midst of the congregations and colleagues in North African cities. When he preaches to these people, he accepts the Biblical framework of world view of the contrast between on earth and in heaven; here and there; below in this world and up in heaven. He uses this contrast in some rhetorical way:

Share here, and you will share there. Share bread here, you will receive bread there....You are rich here, but you are poor there. You've got gold but you don't yet possess Christ present with you. Pay out what you've got, in order to receive what

you haven't got. Let them be rich in good works, let them give readily, let them share. (*Serm.* 85.4.4; NBA 30/1,652)

Generally speaking, Augustine understands the word 'rich' in two ways; one is rich of this world and the other rich of the other world. Accordingly, the 'poor' and 'beggar' also means twofold, that is, materially and spiritually. And he succinctly asserts, 'The poor are the rich of the other world. The apostles are the rich of the other world, who could say, As having nothing, and possessing everything (2 Cor. 6:10).' (*Serm.* 85.3.3; NBA 30/1,650)

Let the Apostles alone, as a matter of fact, the poor among the congregations or the beggar on the street are not (spiritually) rich just because of their economical situation of material poverty. And naturally, all the rich men and women in this life will not automatically suffer from the miserably needy life in the other life. What is the criterion?³ When Augustine pays attention to the parable of the rich man and Lazarus (Lk. 16:19–24), he concludes that 'Proud in time, a beggar in hell.' (*Serm.* 102.3.4; NBA 30/2,256)

As Allen–Morgan clearly pointed out, 'consistently in Augustine's discourse on almsgiving we encounter a decided emphasis on the disposition of the giver, in which humility is crucial' (p. 132), of course, 'while the rich are not necessary proud, the poor are not *ipso facto* humble either and cannot count on being saved simple because of their poverty.' (p. 163)

The difficulty to define Augustine notion of poverty and the riches requires careful analysis on his advocacy for almsgiving. He claims the congregations to give alms to the poor, but the poor who receive the alms he mentions are highly abstract figures. He appears to hesitate to specify the recipient. All the more, he emphasises the disposition of the giver.

Inner disposition of a person is hardly discerned from outside. The practice of almsgiving may be its test case. Augustine claims for giving

³ The poor = the Son incarnate is the most important implication. See his *Exposition on Psalms*, 'Try to understand about the needy, poor person that is, about Christ. Understand the riches hidden in him whom you see as a poor man, for in him are hidden as the treasures of wisdom and knowledge (Col 2:3).' (*En. Ps.* 40.2)

in some sermons using the image of the narrative in Matthew's Gospel 25:34-40:

If you pay in here, you will draw out there and you will receive it from the one to whom you have given it. Don't now call to mind any old ragged beggar man; call to mind instead when you did it to one of the least of mine, you did it to me (Mt. 25:40) In the person of the poor man it's the one who made the poor man that receives. (*Serm.* 114A.4; NBA 30/2,470-2)

And also,

Give to God, and serve a summons on God. Or rather, give to God and you will be summoned, to be paid back....Give to Christ; he freely serves you with a summons, to be paid back, you being quite astonished all the while that he ever got something from you. (Mt. 25:34-37)... When you did it to one of the least of mine, you did it to me (Mt. 25:40). (*Serm.* 86.4.4; NBA 30/2,10-12)

He says more directly in Christ's person:

(Christ says) I received earth, I will give heaven; I received temporal things, I will return eternal things, I received bread, I will give life, or rather, let's even say this: I received bread, I will give bread; I received a drink, I will give a drink; I received hospitality, I will give a home; I was visited in sickness, I will give health; I was visited in prison, I will give freedom. The bread which you gave to my poor has been eaten up; the bread which I will give both fills, and never fails. (*Serm.* 86.4.5; NBA 30/2,12)

In the arguments for almsgiving, Augustine identifies the poor receiver with Christ. And the donations here in this world will be paid back there in the other world. It is nothing but a good investment. The poor who receive the alms in this world are regarded as porters (*laturarii*) to the heaven and in doing so, 'Augustine's appeals place the onus on the rich by way of their eschatological self-interest.' (Allen-Morgan, p. 151)

There might be some oversimplifications in Augustine's arguments for giving and receiving, in order to persuade the congregations rhetorically. But if he would evoke eschatological self-interest from the givers, such account for practice of almsgiving will clash with Augustine's theology of grace and predestination. Because such expectation for satisfying the self-interest in the future can only be realized on the ground of the causal re-

lation between the practice of merit and the result of its award, but Augustine's theory of grace uncompromisingly cuts away the relationship between merit and award. Concerning the predestination, we need more discussion from the view point of the ecclesiastical history. We cannot forget that in the context of the late antique society, the practice of the 'rich' givers for giving alms may be affected by their civic paternalistic sense of duty as *noblesse oblige*.⁴ If so, it will still room for them to do it from their proud motivation, no matter how effective the rhetorical discourses based on their common sense function. I think Augustine's primary concern does not depend on this common topos but beyond its scope. Why he so attentively claims both the poor and the rich to avoid proud thoughts and to live humbly? Is it an advocacy for a negative resignation of this world and an uncertain preparation for the other world? I do not think so.

It is interesting to note that for Augustine these two worlds are not only vertically separated spheres but always linked within the human heart (*cor*) and expressed as the dynamism of the direction of the heart.⁵ He says:

Go back, therefore, to the heart (Is. 46:8) (*redite ad cor*), and if you are believers, you will find Christ there; he himself is speaking to you there. Yes, here am I, shouting my head off; but he, in silence, is doing more teaching. I am speaking by the sound of these words; he is speaking inwardly by the dread of your thoughts. So may he infiltrate my words into your minds. (*Serm.* 102.2; NBA 30/2,254)

'Go back to the heart' is a motto of Augustine's turn inwards and the heart is the place where people can hear to follow the word of God.⁶

In *Serm.* 86 also,

⁴ We can pay attention to the fact that in order to rescue the poor and the sick, Basil of Caesarea, who was born from a noble rich family, is said to build some instruments, and Gregory of Nyssa advocated saving the miserable people who suffered from bad diseases (GNO, IX,111–127). See Kenji DOI 土井健司, *Shikyo to Hinjya* 『司教と貧者』 [Bishop and the Poor] (Tokyo 2007). As far as I know, Augustine, in contrast, does not propose any concrete plan for rescue measures.

⁵ See C. H. Gowans, *The Identity of the True Believer in the Sermons of Augustine of Hippo: A Dimension of His Christian Anthropology* (New York 1998).

⁶ See S. Deleani, 'Un emprunt d'Augustin à l'Écriture: «Redite, praeuaricatores, ad cor» (Isaie 46,8b)', *REAug* 38 (1992) 29–49.

If you understand correctly what we have been told to do... then he wasn't telling us to lose our capital, but showing us the best place to invest it. None of us, after all, can help thinking about our treasure, or following its fortunes on a kind of mental journey in our heart (*cordis itinere*). So if our fortunes are buried in the ground, our thoughts will drag our heart downward (*ima petit cor*). But if they are in a heavenly savings deposit, our heart will be lifted upwards (*sursum erit cor*)...so if any of you really want to lift up your heart (*cor sursum habere*), then it's up there, that you must deposit what you love. Placed on earth in the flesh yourselves, live with Christ in your heart (*cum Christo habitet corde*); and just as the Church has been preceded into heaven by its head, so let Christians be preceded by their heart (*cor eius*). (*Serm.* 86.1; NBA 30/2,8)⁷

According to Augustine, human behaviour is caused fundamentally by the direction of his or her own heart.⁸ And the disposition of a person is constructed from the bottom of heart. He says:

You weed out thistles by the root from your field, and aren't you prepared to weed out greed from your heart (*cor*) by the roots? You clean up your field, so that your belly may derive fruits from it; and aren't you prepared to clean up your heart, so that your God can live in? (*Serm.* 85.6.6; NBA 30/1,654)⁹

If people wipe away their greedy desire from their heart, he says that God will live in their heart. This is not to make it empty through the practice of detachment from this world symbolized as giving possessions to the poor, but just enjoyment of the fruit that God gives. So we can say, quite paradoxically, that Augustine observes in the humble disposition of the giver the very image the receiver of the Grace.

In the closing passage of this sermon, he sees both the poor and the rich walking together on the journey in this world towards the final destination.

⁷ Here I changed *hearts* in Hill's translation into *heart*, because Augustine expresses this heart of Christians always in a singular except Biblical citations.

⁸ See Kazuhiko DEMURA, "Sursum cor' in the Sermons of St. Augustine", in B. Neil, G. Dunn, and L. Cross (eds), *Prayer and Spirituality in the Early Church*, vol. 3 (Sydney 2003) 75–81.

⁹ See also, 'for the Lord himself is the wealth of the poor. This is why their houses are empty, so that their heart (*cor*) may be full of riches. Let the wealthy strive to fill their treasure chests, but the poor look for what they can fill their heart (*cor*); and when their heart (*cor*) is full they who seek the Lord praise him,' (*En. Ps.* 21 11.27), and 'If you have sinned, mourn the loss of your interior treasure. Perhaps your house has been stripped, but you your heart (*cor*) may be empty still. But if your heart (*cor*) is full of its true wealth.' (*En. Ps.* 37.24)

Augustine thinks that the acceptance of the word of God makes the concord between the poor and the rich possible.

All of you be of one mind and one heart together in the word of God (*Omnes in verbo Dei concordate*). God made both the rich and the poor. Scripture speaks: The rich man and the poor have met each other, but the Lord made them both (Prv. 22:2). The rich man and the poor man met each other. On what road, if not in this life?... You have met each other, walking together along the road. Don't you squeeze him, don't you cheat him. This one is in dire need, that one has plenty. But the Lord made them both,...let us finally arrive. (*Serm.* 85.6.7; NBA 30/1,656)

Such concord is nothing but the unity of the heart among the people. And such unity is possible for human beings by pouring the love of God through the act of the grace, Augustine understands.¹⁰ If so, his prohibition order 'Don't you squeeze him, don't you cheat him' in this sermon above, should be not an expression of the Law, but rather a realization of the Grace. This is Augustine's very 'Christian' Ethics on poverty, focusing on conversion to heart and Grace. But how this ethics affected the late antique society in North Africa needs further research.

¹⁰ Romans 5:5 'God's love has been poured into our hearts through the Holy Spirit which has given to us,' is a key phrase for him to understand the communal dimension of human beings. See *De Spiritu et Littera* 31–32

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