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Studies in Sacred Theology

No. 91

The Doctrine of St. Augustine
on Sanctity

BY

EDWARD J. CARNEY, O.S.F.S., S.T.L.

A DISSERTATION"

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE SCHOOL OF SACRED THEOLOGY OF THE
CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA, IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF SACRED THEOLOGY

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PREFACE

When the subject of the doctrine of St. Augustine on sanctity was first proposed to the writer, the original purpose included a consideration of both ontological and moral sanctity. However, since it was soon realized that the scope was too broad in view of the work required and the time allotted, it was decided to confine the study to ontological sanctity, since this was really first in time and the basis of moral sanctity. The only references to moral sanctity were to be those needed to give a better understanding of the particular phase of ontological sanctity under discussion.

The first chapter deals with the doctrine of Augustine as evidenced by his writings against the Manicheans, Donatists, and Pelagians. Each heresy is treated separately and is followed by Augustine's answer. In the second and third chapters an attempt is made to unite these separate refutations of Augustine into a composite view prescinding from any polemical issues. For this purpose use has been made of other writings of Augustine not concerned with the three enumerated heresies.

One idea prominent throughout Augustine's writings is that in the union of many members in the Body of Christ each one not only shares in the life of the Body but also contributes something toward the sanctification of the whole. In making acknowledgments for help received in this study the writer has such an idea in $\pi\delta\eta\varphi$. The whole work is a unit springing from many sources—from the major and local superiors, Dr. J. Francis Tucker and Dr. Francis E. Fox, who presented the opportunity for this advanced study; from the major professor, Dr. Stanley Grabowski, who suggested the subject of the research and guided it to its completion; from Dr. Pascal Parente, who acted as reader; and finally from the work of the writer himself. Just as all these elements contributed toward the whole, so it is hoped that the doctrine of Augustine on sanctity may in turn have an influence on them.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Augustine's Works

- Brevic. collât, cum Donat., *Breviculus Collationis Cum Donatistis.*
Conf., *Confessiones.*
Contra Adimant., *Contra Adimantum.*
Contra Crescon., *Contra Cresconium.*
Contra duas epist. Pelag., *Contra duas Epistolas Pelagianorum.*
Contra epist. Man., *Contra Epistolam Manichaei.*
Contra epist. Parm., *Contra Epistulam Parmeniani.*
Contra Faust., *Contra Faustum.*
Contra Felic., *Contra Felicem.*
Contra Fortunat., *Contra Fortunatum.*
Contra Gaudent., *Contra Guadentium.* K
Contra Jul., *Contra Julianum.*
Contra litt. Petil., *Contra Litteras Petilianî.*
Contra Mendae., *Contra Mendacium.*
Contra part. Donati, *Contra Partem Donati.*
Contra part. Donati post gesta, *Contra Partem Donati Post Gesta.*
Contra Secund., *Contra Secundinum.*
Contra sernu arian., *Contra Sermonem Arianorum.*
De ag. chr., *De Agone Christiano,*
De anima et ejus origine, *De Anima et Ejus Origine.*
De bapt., *De Baptismo.*
De civ. Dei, *De Civitate Dei.*
De cons, evang., *De Consensu Evangelistarum.*
De continent., *De Continentia.*
De corrept. et gratia, *De Correptione et Gratia.*
De divers, quaest., *De Diversis Quaestionibus ad Simplicianum.*
De doct. christ., *De Doctrina Christiana.*
De duabus animabus, *De Duabus Animabus.*
De Gen. ad litt., *De Genesi ad Litteram.*
De Gen. contra Man., *De Genesi Contra Manichaeos.*
De gestis Pelagii, *De Gestis Pelagii.*
De grat. Christi, *De Gratia Christi.*
De grat. Christi (De pecc, orig.), *De Peccato Originali.*
De grat. et lib. arb., *De Gratia et Libero Arbitrio.*
De haer., *De Haeresibus,*
De lib. arb., *De Libero Arbitrio.*
De mor. eccl., *De Moribus Ecclesiae.*
De mor. Man., *De Moribus Manichaeorum.*

- De nat. boni, *De Natura Boni*.
 De nat. et gratia, *De Natura et Gratia*.
 De nupt. et concup., *De Nuptiis et Concupiscentia*.
De pecc. meritis, *De Peccatorum Meritis et Remissione*.
 De perf. iust. hominis, *De Perfectione Iusitiae Hominis*.
 De praed. sanct., *De Praedestinatione Sanctorum*.
 De praesent. Dei, *De Praesentia Dei*,
 De spir. et litt., *De Spiritu et Littera*.
 De symbolo, *De Fide et Symbolo*.
 De Trin., *De Trinitate*.
 De unico bapt., *Liber de Unico Baptismo*.
 De util, credendi, *De Utilitate Credendi*.
Enchiridion, *Enchiridion de Fide, Spe, et Charitate*.
Epist., *Epistula*.
Epist. Secund., *Epistula Secundini*.
In epist. Jo. ad Parthos, *In Epistolam Joannis ad Parthos*.
In Jo. Ev., *In Joannis Evangelium*.
Op. imp. contra Jul., *Contra Secundam Juliani Responsionem Imperfectum Opus*.
Ps., *Ennarratio in Psalmum*.
Ps. contra part. Donati, *PSalmus Contra Partem Donati*.
Retract., *Retractationum Libri Duo*.
Serm., *Sermo*.

Other Works

- CSEL, *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*.
 DTC, *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*.
Nouv. Rev. Théol., *Nouvelle Revue Théologique*.
 PML, Migne, *Patrologiae Cursus Completus*.
Rech. Sc. Rel., *Recherches de Science Religieuse*.
Rech. Théol. Ane. et Méd., *Recherches de Théologie Ancienne et Médiévale*,
Rel. Y Cuit., *Religion Y Cultura*.
Rev. Hist. Eccl., *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique*.
Rev. Hist. et Litt. Rel., *Revue d'Histoire et de Littérature Religieuse*.
Rev. Sc. Rel., *Revue des Sciences Religieuses*.

CHAPTER I

The Doctrine of Augustine Against the Heresies

The chronological order of Augustine's writings treated in this chapter are represented by the following dates: against the Manicheans, 388-406; against the Donatists, 400-412; against the Pelagians, 412-430. No attempt has been made to trace a temporal sequence either in the statement of the heretical doctrine or of Augustine's rebuttal. Instead an endeavor has been made to present the position of the saint and his opponents as a logical whole. Until the complete view of Augustine's doctrine on sanctity is presented in the later chapters, ontological sanctity will be treated here as involving union with God through the destruction of original sin and the infusion of sanctifying grace.

AUGUSTINE AND MANICHEAN SANCTITY

The Manichean Teaching

Fundamentally the Manichean system was based on two false premises, the principal one being the arbitrary pronouncement on two opposed principles as a double source of life? Intermingled with this error was also an inability to understand the difference between God's generation of His divine Son from His own essence and the creation of the world from nothing.¹

¹ *De duab. animabus*, 16 (CSEL 25 I, 71 ; PML 42, 105) : "duo animarum genera esse dicunt: unum bonum, quod ita ex deo sit, ut non ex aliqua materia vel ex nihilo ab eo factum, sed de ipsa eius omnino substantia pars quaedam processisse dicatur; alterum autem malum, quod nulla prorsus ex parte ad deum pertinere credunt credendumque commendant. Et ideo illud summum bonum, hoc vero sumnum malum esse praedicant."

•*Contra Felic.*, 2, 19 (CSEL 25 II, 849; PML 42, 549): "omnipotens deus et de se potuit generare et de nihilo facere et ex eo, quod iam fecerat, aliquid formare: de se filium aequalem sibi; de nihilo mundum et universam creaturam; ex aliquo de* terra hominem, quia omnipotens est. quod ergo de se ipso est, pollui numquam potest quomodo ipse; quod autem ab illo factum est, non de illo, et pollui potest per liberum arbitrium et mundari per ipsius misericordiam condemnando, quod peccavit, et agnoscendo, qui eum creavit."

In attempting to explain the problems of evil the Manicheans necessarily denied God as the source of all life. God's nature was that of light, and He was the Author only of good? The prince of the nether-world was represented as having a nature of darkness or of matter and was the source of all evil? Though these two principles were originally separated and independent? yet through a mythical warfare some of God's light particles were conquered and devoured by the satellites of the kingdom of darkness.⁸ Then through a series of generations, births, and abortions the world in all its manifold variety of plants, animals, and men was formed from this mixture? Though immersed in matter the light particles

* *Contra epist. Man.*, 13, 16 (PML 42, 182) ; "Et luminis quidem imperium tenebat Deus Pater, in sua sancta stirpe perpetuus, in virtute magnificus, natura ipsa verus, aeternitate propria semper exsultans, continens apud se sapientiam et sensus vitales."

* *Ibid.*, 15, 19 (PML 42, 184) : "Juxta unam vero partem ac latus illustris illius ac sanctae terrae erat tenebrarum terra profunda et immensa magnitudine, in qua habitabant ignea corpora, genera scilicet nescifera. . . . Parim more introrsum gens caliginis ac fumi plena, in qua morabatur immanis princeps omnium et dux, habens circa se innumerabiles principes, quorum omnium ipse erat mens atque origo." Cf. G. Bardy, "Manichéisme," *DTC*, IX (1927), 1873. "Le prince des ténèbres n'est pas un second Dieu. Son propre nom c'est la matière."

⁸ *De duab. animabus*, 16 (CSEL 25 I, 71; PML 42, 105-106) "atque ista duo genera fuisse aliquando discreta, nunc esse commixta."

* *Contra Faust.*, 2, 4 (CSEL 25 I, 256-257; PML 42, 211) : "Iamvero illa sacrilega deliramenta quis audiat, quod primum hominem vestrum dicitis secundum hostium voluntatem, quo eos caperet, elementa, quae portabat, mutasse atque vertisse, ut regnum, quod dicitis falsitatis, in sua natura manens non fallaciter dimicaret, et substantia veritatis mutabilis adpareret, ut fallicheret?" Cf. F. Burkitt, *The Religion of the Manichees* (Donnellan Lectures for 1924). Cambridge, 1925, p. 25. "However this may be, the Primal Man, armed or clothed with his Five Bright Elements and preceded by an angel called Nohashbat, bearing a crown of victory, went forth to repel the King of the Dark. But the result was disaster. The Primal Man was left lying unconscious on the field of battle, and the Five Bright Elements were swallowed up by the Dark."

⁷ *De nat. boni*, 46 (CSEL 25 II, 884-885-886; PML 42, 569-570): "ita scripsit Manichaeus: inquis igitur commentis ad eos, qui aderant, ait: quid vobis videtur maximum hoc lumen, quod oritur? intuemini, quemadmodum polum movet, concutit plurimas potestates, quapropter mihi vos potius aequum est id, quod in vestris viribus habetis, luminis praerogare: sic quippe illius

were not defiled by it.⁸ The misfortune of their condition consisted merely in this unnatural mixture or imprisonment. Thus Manichean sanctity was centered in the attempts to liberate these light particles from the envelope of matter.⁸ Several imaginary creations succeeded in freeing some of the particles enclosed in plants and animals,¹⁰ but the most important means was that de-

magni, qui gloriosus adparauit, imaginem fingam, per quam regnare poterimus, tenebrarum aliquando conversatione liberati, haec audientes ac diu secum deliberantes iustissimum putaverunt id quod postulabantur praebere, nec enim fidebant se idem lumen jugiter retenturos: unde melius rati sunt principi suo offerre, nequaquam desperantes eodem se pacto regnaturos, quo igitur modo lumen idem, quod habebant, praebuerint, considerandum est. . . . quoniam eorum, qui convenerant, frequentia promiscua erat, feminarum scilicet ac masculorum, inpulit eos, ut inter se coirent, in quo coitu alii seminarent, aliae gravidae effectae sunt, erant autem partus his, qui genuerant, similes vires plurimas parentum uti primi obtinentes, haec sumens eorum princeps uti praecipuum donum gavisus est. et sicuti etiam nunc fieri videmus corporum formatricem naturam mali inde vires sumentem figurare, ita etiam ante dictus princeps sodalium prolem accipiens habentem parentum sensus, prudentiam, lucem simul secum in generatione procreatam comedit; ac plerisque viribus sumptis ex istius modi esca, in qua non modo inerat fortitudo, sed multo magis astutiae et pravi sensus ex fera genitorum mente, propriam ad se coniugem evocavit ex ea, qua ipse erat, stirpe manantem; et facto cum ea coitu seminavit ut caeteri abundantiam malorum, quae devoraverat, nonnihil etiam ipse adiciens ex sua cogitatione ac virtute, ut esset sensus eius omnium eorum, quae profuderat formator atque descriptor; cuius compar excipiebat haec, ut semen consuevit culta optime terra percipere, in eadem enim construebantur et contexebantur omnium imagines coelestium ac terrenarum virtutum, ut pleni videlicet orbis, id quod formabatur, similitudinem obtineret."

⁸ *De mor. Man.*, 2, 11, 22 (PML 32, 1355); "nec renovatur anima per veram religionem, quia inveterata non est."

⁹ Burkitt, *op. cit.*, pp. 39-40. "A Man was not a simple unit, much less an elemental unit, but a particle of Light enclosed in an alien and irredeemable envelope: there is no hope for a Man as such, for he is essentially a fortuitous conglomeration. The hope is that his Light-particles—roughly speaking, very much what we mean by his 'better self'—may escape at death from the dark prison-house of the body."

¹⁰ *De nat. boni*, 44 (CSEL 25 II, 881; PML 42, 567-568): "dicunt enim virtutes lucis transfigurari in masculos pulchros et obponi feminis gentis

vised to aid the particles existing in man. This had knowledge as a requisite, and as soon as the light particles were made cognizant of their present state of misery in comparison to their former happy state, salvation became possible.¹¹

This knowledge was revealed to the ancient patriarchs by an angel.¹² Later on it was made known in India by Buddha, in Persia by Zoroaster, in Palestine by Christ, and finally in all its purity by Mani in Babylonia. From this latter country it spread to the rest of the world.¹³ Though the other prophets in Mani's system stood on an equal level, Jesus was divine, and Mani regarded himself as His apostle. Through an application of the moral teachings of Jesus as interpreted by Mani not only the light particles in man

tenebrarum, et easdem rursus virtutes lucis transfigurari in feminas pulchras et obponi masculis gentis tenebrarum, ut per pulchritudinem suam inflammet spurcissimam libidinem principum tenebrarum et eo modo vitalis substantia, hoc est dei natura, quam dicunt in eorum corporibus ligatam teneri, ex eorum membris per ipsam concupiscentiam relaxatis soluta fugiat et suscepta vel purgata liberetur."

¹¹ Bardy, *op. cit.*, coi, 1877. "La renaissance s'opère lorsque l'esprit déchu retrouve la mémoire de son premier état et se rend *compte* de son actuelle misère. Le salut a la science pour condition essentielle."

¹² P. Alfaric, *Les Écritures Manichéennes* (Paris, 1918) I, 123. "Ainsi firent plus tard Seth, Henoch, Noé et les justes des âges suivants, à qui les anges avaient aussi révélé la véritable science du salut."

¹³ Alfaric, *op. cit.*, pp. 45-46. "Une histoire toute tissée de légendes racontait comment la science du salut avait été révélée à diverses époques par le Christ, le Fils du Premier Homme, qui avait pris les apparences de la chair pour nous en dénoncer la malice. Elle montrait l'humanité divisée de l'origine en deux partis rivaux, dont l'un, marchant sur les traces d'Adam et sur celles de Seth, se conformait aux prescriptions divines, tandis que l'autre, suivant les pernicieux exemples donnés par Eve et par Caïn, se laissait conduire par le Diable. Elle expliquait comment ce dernier avait tour à tour imaginé trois fausses religions, celle des Païens, celle des Juifs et celle des Chrétiens vulgaires ou Catholiques, qui s'accordaient à n'admettre qu'un seul Principe, à confondre Dieu avec l'auteur du Mal. Et elle enseignait comment la fois dualiste, la seule véritable, prêchée dans l'Inde par le Bouddha, en Perse par Zoroastre, en Palestine par le Christ, avait été exposée enfin dans toute sa pureté en Babylone et de là dans l'univers entier par Manî, ses douze Apôtres et leurs nombreux disciples."

were freed!¹⁴*but also whatever ones still existed in the vegetable and animal world.¹⁶

The Manicheans had no conception of Jesus as a single divine Person in whom two natures were hypostatically united. They *taught that Divine Wisdom accidentally assumed a human person.*¹⁷ As an emanation from the Light Jesus was divine, but due

¹⁴ Burkitt, *op. cit.*, p. 38. "They imply a doctrine of a succession of Prophets of the Truth at divers times and in many countries, men with whose doctrine Mani believed himself to be in essential accord. He, of course, was the last and final mouthpiece of Revelation. . . . But it is most important to notice that whereas Hermes and Plato and Buddha, and also Zoroaster, stand more or less on a level with a more or less ethnic and geographical significance, Jesus in Mani's system occupies a peculiar position. He was the last of the series before Mani, but he is more than that. To Mani Jesus was a Divine Being, Who appeared on earth but was never born of woman; the Christians believed that Jesus had been really crucified, but that was their carnal error. And further, Jesus was not merely the last of the Prophets before Mani and Mani's immediate predecessor; Mani regarded himself as the apostle of Jesus." Cf. Alfaric, *op. cit.*, pp. 124-125. "Son discours inaugural ne fait que formuler la somme des préceptes divins qui sont, pour nous, la condition indispensable du salut. Manichée les a exposés après hui, en termes plus précis, au cours d'une de ses Épitres, où l'âme qui aspire à la perfection trouve une règle de vie tout à fait appropriée. C'est à les connaître et à les mettre en acte que nous devons nous appliquer surtout. Placés au milieu des temps, nous n'avons à étudier le passé de l'humanité et à remonter aux premières origines du monde que pour nous rendre un compte exact de nos devoirs présent et pour atteindre ainsi notre dernière fin."

^vContra Faust., 2, 5 (CSEL 25 I, 258; PML 42, 211-212): "unde et ista sacrilega deliramenta vos cogunt non solum in caelo atque in omnibus stellis, sed etiam in terra atque in omnibus, quae nascuntur in ea, confixum et conligatum atque concretum Christum dicere, non iam salvatorem vestrum sed a vobis salvandum, cuin ea manducatis atque ructatis." De nat. boni, 45 (CSEL 25 II, 884; PML 42, 569) : "Per electos autem suos purgari dicunt eandem ipsam commixtam partem ac naturam dei manducando scilicet et bibendo, quia eam in alimentis omnibus dicunt ligatam teneri: quae cum ab electis velut sanctis in refectionem corporis manducando et bibendo adsumuntur, per eorum sanctitatem solvi, signari, et liberari."

M Contra Faust., 2, 4 (CSEL 25 I, 256-257; PML 42, 211): "Iamvero illa sacrilega deliramenta quis audiat, quod primum hominem vestrum dicitis secundum hostium voluntatem, quo eos caperet, elementa, quae portabat, mutasse atque vertisse, ut regnum, quod dicitis falsitatis, in sua natura manens non fallaciter dimicaret, et substantia veritatis mutabilis adpareret,

to the assumed material element He had within Himself the principle of the Dark, which would ultimately be punished with eternal damnation.¹⁷ In denying the hypostatic union the Manicheans denied Christ's true sanctity, and consequently their system had no place for the Catholic conception of the holiness of Christ as the basis of the sanctification of all the faithful. But this position was also due to their inability to distinguish between divine generation and creation. They saw no essential difference between Christ and man.¹⁸ Since each was a divine light particle enveloped in matter, each was equally holy.

Nor did Mani ever attribute any sanctifying power to Christ's passion, death, and resurrection. By maintaining that the light particles in matter were undefiled, and by considering evil as being caused by the powers of darkness, the Manicheans certainly denied original sin and its transmission. Hence Christ's mission as a physician healing wounded nature never entered into their reasoning.¹⁹ As a matter of fact they even denied the reality of Christ's passion and death.²⁰ Thus Manichean sanctity dealing only with the liberation of the light particles from matter began from a state

ut falleret? huius primi hominis filium credi vultis dominum Iesum Christum," *De ag. chr.*, 20, 22 (CSEL 41, 122; PML 40, 301) : "Nec eos audiamus, qui sic dicunt ab illa aeterna sapientia susceptum esse hominem, qui de virgine natus est, quomodo et alii homines ab ea sapientes fiunt, qui perfecte sapientes sunt."

¹⁷ *Contra Faust.*, 32, 22 (CSEL 25 I, 783; PML 42, 510) : "ille deum ipsum per se ipsum in tenebrarum contaminatione submersum nec totum emersurum, sed quod eius mundari non potuerit aeterna damnatione puniendum."

"*Ibid.*, 2, 5 (CSEL 25 I, 258; PML 42, 211) ; "unde ista sacrilega deliramenta vos cogunt non solum in caelo atque in omnibus stellis, sed etiam in terra atque in omnibus, quae nascuntur in ea, confixum et conligatum atque concretum Christum dicere."

¹⁹ *De mor. Man.*, 2, 11, 22 (PML 32, 1355): "nec renovatur anima per veram religionem, quia inveterata non est; nec signaculis vestris perficitur, quia perfecta est; nec ei Deus opem fert, quia non indiget; nec medicus est Christus, quia sana est."

²⁰ *Contra Faust.*, 5, 5 (CSEL 25 I, 277; PML 42, 223) : "et istum Christum, qui dicit: ego sum veritas, speciem carnis, mortem crucis, vulnera passionis, cicatrices resurrectionis mentitum esse suadetis?"

I of perfection.²¹ As such it limited Christ's influence only to revealing the knowledge whereby this freedom might be obtained, and it rejected the Holy Spirit and His internal mission by denying His divinity and identifying Him with Mani.²²

The Reply of Augustine

J In answering the Manicheans Augustine undermined the two principal errors. Once their falsity had been shown Mani's system would collapse in the face of the Catholic teaching on sanctity. The source of all good was God, and everything that He made was good.²³ Evil was not a personal principle as God, but it was caused by a morally bad will²⁴ which rejected God, the Supreme Good, for a lesser good.²⁵ Then turning to the theory of emanationism St. Augustine pointed out that God could generate from His own substance and also create something from nothing. From His own substance He generated a Son equal to Himself; from nothing He created the world and *every* creature. That which was generated from His divine substance was an inviolable as God Himself; that which was made from nothing could sin through free will.²⁶

• , " II I *sDe mor. eccl.*, 1, 35, 80 (PML 32, 1344) : "Apostolus de die in diem interiorum hominem renovari dicit ut perficiatur, et vos a perfectione vultis incipiat."

"*De mor. Man.*, 2, 11, 22 (PML 32, 1354-1355) : "nec Spiritus est necessarius, qui animam in veritatem inducat, quia stulta non est." *Contra Faust.*, 13, 17 (CSEL 25 I, 398-399; PML 42, 292) : "cum enim Christus promiserit suis missurum se paracletum . . . per hanc promissionis occasionem hunc paracletum dicentes esse Manichaeum vel in Manichaeo subrepunt in hominum mentes ignorantes, ille a Christo promissus quando sit missus."

***Contra epist. Man.*, 34, 38 (PML 42, 200) : "Sed quid ego istud quaeram, cum utrique fateamur, omnia quaecumque et quantacumque bona sunt, ab uno Deo esse; qui summe bonus est?" *Ibid.*, 25, 27 (PML 42, 191) : "omnes naturas quas fecit Deus et condidit, excellentiae gradibus ordinatas, a summis usque ad infimas, omnes bonas, sed alias aliis esse potiores."

? *De lib. arb.*, 3, 17, 48 (PML 32, 1295) : "Ergo improba voluntas, malorum omnium causa est."

Mibid., 2, 19, 53 (PML 32, 1269) : "sed malum sit aversio ejus ab incomutabili bono, et conversio ad mutabilia bona."

§*Contra Felic.*, 2, 19 (CSEL 25 II, 849; PML 42, 549): "omnipotens deus et de se potuit generare et de nihilo facere et ex eo, quod iam fecerat,

With these two principles firmly established Augustine then delineated the true nature of God, of Christ, and of man. His frequent insistence on God's inviolability and incorruptibility²⁷ was his reaction against the Manichean myth of the defilement of the Elements of Light by the Dark. This inviolability, however, was not the only aspect of God's nature. He was the highest good, the *summum bonum*, to which every other good had to be referred,²⁸ and just as He was sufficient for His own happiness, so He could make others happy.²⁸

In the beginning man was made to the image of God,³⁰ and endowed with free will he could either serve God and merit eternal life, or he could rebel and be subject to eternal punishment.³¹

aliquid formare: de se filium aequalem sibi, de nihilo mundum et universam creaturam, ex aliquo de terra hominem, quia omnipotens est. quod ergo de se ipso est, pollui numquam potest quomodo ipse; quod autem ab illo factum est, non de illo, et pollui potest per liberum arbitrium et mundari per ipsius misericordiam condemnando, quod peccavit, et agnoscendo, qui eum creavit."

²⁷ *Contra Fortunat.*, 11 (CSEL 25 I, 89; PML 42, 116) : "deum esse inviolabilem, incorruptibilem et inpenetrabilem et incoinquabilem, et qui nulla ex parte corrupti potest, et cui nulla ex parte noceri possit." Cf. J. Tixeront, *Histoire des Dogmes* (4th ed. Paris: 1912), II, 370. "Il montra quelle contradiction c'était d'admettre un être positif mauvais par essence, et tel sur-tout que le concevait les manichéens; quelles absurdités supposait aussi la prétendue lutte des deux principes telle que la secte la racontait."

De mor. eccl., 1, 14, 24 (PML 32, 1321) : "quod sit hominis summum bonum, quo referenda sunt omnia. . . . nihil aliud quam ipsum Deum." Cf. Tixeront, *op. cit.*, p. 372. "Ainsi donc, en somme, la présence du mal dans le monde s'explique par l'infirmité même inhérente à toute créature, et par le jeu de la liberté des êtres supérieurs qui, pouvant éviter le péché, ne le font pas. Il est vrai qu'alors le mal moral est puni par un mal physique; mais ainsi l'exigent l'ordre et la justice auxquels la volonté de Dieu ne saurait que se conformer: 'Peccantes igitur in suppliciis ordinantur: quae ordinatio, quia eorum naturae non competit, ideo poena est; sed quia culpae competit, ideo iustitia est.'

²⁸ *Contra Faust.*, 22, 9 (CSEL 25 I, 597; PML 42, 404-405): "Sicut enim sibi sufficit ad aeternam beatitudinem et ex hac abundat ad faciendo beatos."

²⁹ *Contra Adimant.*, 5 (CSEL 25 I, 125; PML 42, 136): "Ad imaginem autem dei factum hominem non tantum genesis sed etiam apostolus clamat."

A Contra Felic., 2, 3 (CSEL 25 II, 831; PML 42, 537): "in quibus rationalem creaturam etiam ipsam factam sive in angelis sive in hominibus accepisse liberum arbitrium: quo libero arbitrio si deo servire vellet, secun-

Through disobedience man sinned and deserted God. Thus the original cause of evil was man's will.³² This evil, voluntary in Adam, passed on to all those who participated in Adam's nature.³³ With this teaching on man Augustine countered that aspect of Manichean sanctity which held that since the light particles enclosed in matter still retained their pristine perfection, sanctification began with absolute perfection and consisted only in freeing the particles from matter. While admitting that the original state of man was one of perfection, Augustine insisted upon the Fall due to free will. Consequently his conception of sanctity began with man's attempt to rid himself of sin and return to his first state. For the Manicheans the light particles were separated from matter by a system based upon the revelations of Jesus and Mani. Relying on Catholic tradition Augustine saw man's return to sanctity as the work of Christ the Redeemer³⁴

Because the Manicheans had seen fit to destroy Christ's true nature and sanctity, Augustine necessarily dwelt on the relation between Christ's nature and holiness. Christ was both true God and true Man?³⁵ His divine nature in which He was equal to the Father remained unchanged; his human nature was taken from the virginal flesh of Mary.³⁶ This was no accidental assumption of human nature, but the two natures were hypostatically united in

dutn voluntatem ac legem dei haberet apud eum aeternam felicitatem ; si autem legi eius subdi noluisset, sed potestate sua usa contra eius fecisset imperium, secundum eius iustitiam poenae debitae subiaceret."

³⁷ *Contra Secund.*, 19 (CSEL 25 II, 935; PML 42, 595) : "cum vero eum contumaci inobedientia deserit, per suum liberum arbitrium peccatis se involvit, per illius autem justum judicium subplicio misera afficitur; et hoc est totum malum, partim quod injuste facit, partira quod juste patitur."

Contra Adimant., 21 (CSEL 25 I, 180; PML 42, 166) : "tali enim cruce vetus homo, id est vetus vita perimitur, quam de Adam traximus, ut quod in illo fuit voluntarium, in nobis fieret naturale,"

Contra Fortunat., 11 (CSEL 25 I, 89; PML 42, 116): "animam vero videmus et peccatricem esse et in aerumna versari et veritatem quaerere et liberatore indigere."

³⁸ *Contra Faust.*, 2, 4 (CSEL 25 I, 257; PML 42, 211): "quapropter dominus et salvator noster Iesus Christus, verus et verax dei filius, verus et verax hominis filius,"

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 3, 6 (CSEL 25 I, 267; PML 42, 218) ; "illa enim natura, qua in forma dei aequalis est patri, incommutabiliter permanente suscepit mutabilem nostram, per quam de virgine nasceretur."

the one, divine Person of the Word.³⁷ Having thus established the real constitution of Christ, Augustine assigned to Him a super-eminent sanctification.⁸⁸ And whereas the Manicheans admitted that Christ's flesh could be soiled and ultimately would be consigned to eternal damnation, Augustine insisted that Christ sanctified His flesh,³⁹ that He neither inherited original sin,⁴⁰ nor committed any other sin.⁴¹ This brings out another point of difference between the Manicheans and Augustine. The Manicheans taught that there was no such thing as sin; everyone was guiltless.⁴² Augustine held that Christ alone was free from sin.

Christ communicated this sanctity to men through His death, which was not fictional but real.⁴³ Just as all men received life

"De ag. chr., 20, 22 (CSEL 41, 123; PML 40, 302) : "sapientia dei et verbum in principio, per quod facta sunt omnia, non sic adsumpsit illum hominem ut ceteros sanctos, sed multo excellentius multoque sublimius. . . . homo Christus Iesus, qui sapientiae ipsius, per quam sapientes fiunt quicumque homines, non solum beneficium habet, sed etiam personam gerit, de ceteris enim sapientibus et spiritualibus animis recte dici potest, quod habeant in se verbum dei, per quod facta sunt omnia; sed in nullo eorum recte dici potest, quod verbum caro factum est, et habitavit in nobis, quod in solo domino nostro Iesu Christo rectissime dicitur."

"*CoWra Faust.,* 13, 7 (CSEL 25 I, 386; PML 42, 286); "illum itidem psalmum, ubi deus unctus a deo dicitur et utique Christus ipsa unctione declaratur idemque Christus deus apertissime ostenditur." *Ibid.,* 22, 85 (CSEL 25 I, 689; PML 42, 457) : "tunc venit cui repositum erat, expectatio gentium, et unctus est sanctus sanctorum oleo exultationis p[re] participibus suis." *Ibid.,* 16, 15 (CSEL 25 I, 457; PML 42, 325) : "in quantum et ipse ex femina natus est, cui dictum est: quod nasceretur ex te sanctum, vocabitur filius dei."

**Serm.* 12, 12, 12 (PML 38, 106) : "Et Dominus noster Jesus Christus Verbum Patris. . . . sanctificaret carnem, nec inde pollueretur."

⁴⁰*Contra Faust.,* 14, 3 (CSEL 25 I, 405; PML 42, 296) : "illud itaque peccatum, quo reus esset mortis, non commisit Christus."

⁴¹*De Gen. contra Man.,* 2, 8, 10 (PML 34, 201) : "Dominum Jesum Christum, qui peccatum non fecit."

⁴²*Contra Felic.,* 2, 8 (CSEL 25 II, 836; PML 42, 541) ; "secundum vos autem' nulla peccata sunt, gens enim tenebrarum non peccat, quia suam naturam facit; natura lucis non peccat, quia quod facit, facere cogitur, nullum ergo invenis peccatum, quod damnet deus, nullum invenis peccatum, quod paenitentia possit sanari."

⁴³*Contra Faust.,* 14, 2 (CSEL 25 I, 404; PML 42, 296) : "si enim Christus peperdit in ligno, clavis utique adfixus est: unde etiam ipsas cicatrices post resurrectionem discipulo minus credulo demonstravit, quod si ita est, utique vulnerabile atque mortale corpus habuit, quod isti nolunt fateri."

through descent from Adam, a common father, so a second Adam became the source of a new life.⁴⁴ The Church was formed from Christ; Christ was the Head, the Church His Body.⁴⁵ Due to this position as Head of the Body Christ communicated His holiness to the members of His Body.⁴⁶ Augustine compared the relation of Christ to His Church as that of husband to wife, and from this subjection he derived the Church's inviolability.⁴⁷

Though potential membership in Christ was granted to all men through His redemptive death, yet each man obtained actual membership by receiving baptism,⁴⁸ the sacrament of Christ's passion and resurrection.⁴⁹ So contrary to Manichean teaching Christian sanctity began with the renewal of fallen man in baptism.⁵⁰

^{**} *Contra Admant.,* 21 (CSEL 25 I, 180; PML 42, 166) : "tali enim cruce vetus homo, id est vetus vita perimitur, quam de Adam traximus, ut quod in illo fuit voluntarium, in nobis fieret naturale. . . et quoniam a mortiferis cupiditatibus per fidem sanamur crucis domini qua cruce mors ligno suspensa est."

⁴³ *De Gen. contra Man.,* 2, 24, 37 (PML 34, 215-216) : "et adhaesit uxori suae, id est Ecclesiae, ut sint duo in carne una. Dicit enim Apostolus ipsum esse caput Ecclesiae, et Ecclesiam corpus ejus (Coloss. I, 18). . . Formata est ergo ei conjux Ecclesia de latere ejus, id est de fide passionis et Baptismi."

⁴⁴ *Contra Faust.,* 12, 16 (CSEL 25 I, 346; PML 42, 263) : "quia omnia et in omnibus Christus est tamquam nos uno cubito desuper caelesti unitate consummans."

⁴⁵ *Ibid.,* 22, 38 (CSEL 25 I, 632; PML 42, 424) : "est enim et sancta ecclesia domino Iesu Christo in occulto uxor, occulte quippe atque intus in abscondito secreto spiritali anima humana inhaeret verbo dei, ut sint duo in carne una: quod magnum coniugii sacramentum in Christo et in ecclesia commendat apostolus, proinde regnum terrenum saeculi huius, cuius figuram gerebant reges, qui Saram polluere permissi non sunt, non expertum est nec invenit ecclesiam coniugem Christi, id est, quam fideliter illi tamquam principio viro suo subdita cohaereret, nisi cum violare temptavit et divino testimonio per fidem martyrum cessit correptumque in posterioribus regibus honoravit munere, quam correptioni suae subdere in prioribus non evaluit."

⁴⁶ *Ibid.,* 22, 93 (CSEL 25 I, 700; PML 42, 463) : "et comminutum in aquam mittitur, ut eos Israhelitae, id est evangelii praedicatores, ex baptismo in sua membra, hoc est in corpus dominicum, transferant."

⁴⁷ *Ibid.,* 19, 10 (CSEL 25 I, 509; PML 42, 354) : "venit enim consepelire nos sibi per baptismum in mortem, ut, quemadmodum Christus resurrexit a mortuis, sic et nos in novitate vitae ambulemus."

⁴⁸ *De mor. eccl.,* 1, 35, 80 (PML 32, 1344) : "Et illo sacrosancto lavacro inchoatur innovatio novi hominis."

Against the heresies of Donatism and Pelagianism Augustine develops the position of the Holy Spirit, charity, and grace in sanctification. These elements are not prominently brought forth in his teaching against the Manicheans. There are, however, certain salient points. The Manicheans denied the divinity of the Holy Spirit and identified Him with Mani, Augustine replied that the Holy Spirit sanctified men because He was a divine Person, whose nature was inviolable.⁶¹ Moreover, He was Charity or Sanctity, whereby the Father and Son were joined in the Trinity.⁶² Through this Spirit charity was communicated to men.⁶³ Here Augustine inserted a telling blow against the moral precepts of the Manicheans. He could not deny that some of these were good, but he pointed out that with all their maze of ritualistic observance the Manicheans neither possessed nor admitted charity, and consequently their sanctity not only could not equal Catholic sanctity but was not the same as it.⁶⁴

AUGUSTINE AND DONATIST SANCTITY

The Donatist Teaching

The point at issue between Augustine and the Donatists was the Church as the Body of Christ. To Augustine's view of the catholicity of this Body, the Donatists opposed a particularism,¹

"*Ibid.*, 1, 13, 23 (PML 32, 1321): "Nullo modo autem redintegrari possemus per Spiritum sanctum, nisi et ipse semper et integer et incommutabilis permaneret. Quod profecto non posset, nisi Dei naturae esset ac ipsius substantiae, cui soli incommutabilitas atque ut ita dicam, invertibilitas semper est."

"*De ag. chr.*, 16, 18 (CSEL 41, 119; PML 40, 300) : "et ipsam caritatem et sanctitatem, qua generator et generatus ineffabiliter sibi copulantur."

** *Contra Faust.*, 17, 6 (CSEL 25 I, 489; PML 42, 344): "caritas dei diffusa est in cordibus nostris per spiritum sanctum, qui datus est nobis."

M Ibid., 20, 23 (CSEL 25 I, 566; PML 42, 386-387) : "maneantque ad formandam vitam fidelium tria haec : fides, spes, caritas ; unde fieri potest, ut pares cum aliquo mores habeat, qui haec tria cum illo paria non habet? qui enim aliud credit, aliud sperat, aliud amat, necesse est, ut aliter vivat."

l Contra litt. Petii., 2, 78, 174 (CSEL 52, 108; PML 43, 312) : "et cum dominus dixerit: ager est hic mundus, messis autem est finis saeculi, cum de frumentis et zizaniis dixisset: sinite utraque crescere usque ad messem, tu laboras verbis tuis, ut frumenta iam per totum agrum defecisse et ad exiguum particulam vestram remansisse credantur."

which had its historical beginning in the consecration of Cecilian as bishop of Carthage in the year 311. Cecilian had been consecrated by Felix of Aptonga, who according to an unfounded charge of the Donatists had delivered the Holy Scriptures to the pagans during Diocletian's persecution. Through this consecration received from Felix not only Cecilian but also his successors, the Church of Carthage, and every other Church maintaining communion with this Church and its rulers was contaminated and consequently could no longer be the Body of Christ. Since this included all Churches except the Donatist sect, then this Church alone was unspotted and holy.² Everywhere else the true Church had perished,³ and only the Donatists remained as the undefiled Body of Christ.⁴ Consequently to protect this sanctity they withdrew from communion with the other Churches.

¹ É. Mersch, *Le Corps Mystique Du Christ* (2nd ed.; Bruxelles, 1936), II, 45-46. "Le mal venait d'une consécration d'évêque, irrégulière, assuraient-ils : en 311, l'évêque de Carthage, Cécilien, avait été consacré par un évêque, Félix d'Aptonge, qui, selon eux aurait été traditeur, c'est-à-dire que, pendant la persécution de Dioclétien, il aurait livré aux païens les saintes Écritures. Les Catholiques affirmaient le contraire, le prouvaient même par des pièces officielles. Mais rien n'y faisait. L'Église de Carthage était souillée par ce mauvais pasteur et par ceux qui avaient ensuite accepté sa place; et toutes les Églises du monde, en demeurant en communion avec les coupables, s'étaient déshonorées à leur tour. Tout-ce clergé séparé de Dieu et dépourvu de sainteté était incapable de conférer de vrais sacrements. Seule L'Afrique, et en Afrique eux seuls, étaient le pur et glorieux corps du Christ." Cf. J. Tixeront, *Histoire des Dogmes* (4th ed.; Paris, 1912) II, 223. "Ce parti, qui avait à la tête l'évêque de Casa Nigra, Donat, et celui de Tigisis, Secundus, se trouva assez fort pour provoquer, à Carthage même, en 312, une réunion de 70 évêques de Numidie dans l'intention de juger Cécilien. On lui reprochait, entre autres choses, de s'être laissé ordonner par Félix d'Aptonge, lequel, ayant été *iraditeur* pendant la persécution—c'est-à-dire ayant livré aux païens les livres saints—était déchu par là même de l'épiscopat et n'avait pu validement ordonner Cécilien. La fait imputé à Felix était faux, comme la suite le démontra."

² *Epist. 93, 10, 37* (CSEL 34 II, 481-482; PML 33, 339) : "si enim sacramenta cum peccatoribus communicando, sicut putatis, periit ecclesia, quae fuerat in orbe terrarum."

³ *Epist. 105, 1, 2* (CSEL 34 II, 596; PML 33, 396) : "vos enim eis dicitis propter tradidores, quos non ostendistis, remansisse ecclesiam Christi in sola Africa partis Donati."

The basis of this manner of acting was the Donatist contention that manifest sinners, especially members of the hierarchy, could not belong to the Church, and therefore separation from them was necessary to prevent contamination and to preserve one's own sanctity.⁵ To prove their point they resorted to Holy Scripture. Characteristic texts quoted by them were, *Depart, depart, go ye out from thence, touch no unclean thing: go out of the midst of her, be ye clean, you that carry the vessels of the Lord* (Isa. 52:11);⁶ and *What hath the chaff to do with the wheat* (Jer. 23:28).⁷ To these and other texts they added the argument that the sanctity of the individual depended on the sanctity of the sect to which he adhered.⁸ The inevitable conclusion was that since no other Church was innocent and the Donatists alone were the holy Body of Christ, sanctity in all its forms was their peculiar property.

Though the Donatists admitted that before the affair at Carthage the entire Church could and did sanctify,⁹ yet after the schism they maintained that while a minister separated from their sect retained his own baptism, he no longer had the power of ad-

B Tixeront, *op. cit.*, pp. 224-225. "Toute leur doctrine parvenus à son développement repose sur ces deux assertions: 1° Les pécheurs publics et manifestes, et notamment les évêques et les prêtres prévaricateurs, n'appartiennent pas à l'Église. 2e Hors de la vraie Église les sacrements ne sauraient être validement administrés. Ils justifiaient leur premier principe par cette considération que l'Église visible doit être sainte et immaculée, et qu'elle serait souillée par l'existence en elle de membres évidemment pervers et corrompus." Cf. P. Batiffol, *Le Catholicisme de Saint Augustin* (3rd ed.; Paris, 1920), pp. 260-261. "À les en croire, en effet, il faut rompre avec les méchants pour n'être pas souillé par leur péchés, et l'on doit renoncer à l'unité pour préserver sa sainteté individuelle."

⁶ *Contra epist. Farm.*, 3, 4, 20 (CSEL 51, 125; PML 43, 98): "recedite recedite, exite inde et immundum nolite tangere, exite de medio eius et separamini, qui fertis vasa domini."

⁷ *Ibid.*, 3, 3, 17 (CSEL 51, 121; PML 43, 96): "quid paleis, inquit, ad triticum?"

⁸ *Contra Crescon.*, 3, 37, 41 (CSEL 52, 448; PML 43, 518): "et post haec quasi in extremo concludis: non potest innocens esse qui sectam non seqititur innocentis."

⁹ *De unico bapt.*, 14, 24 (CSEL 53, 26; PML 43, 608): "restat ut fateantur bonos cum malis in sacramentorum Christianorum communione sine ulla sua labore mansisse et usque ad tempus Caeciliani perseverasse ecclesiam Christi non sine ullis hominibus malis tamquam in horreo iam reconditam,"

ministering it to others.¹¹ Behind such a statement was the reasoning that just as Christ was one and indivisible so also the Church.¹¹ Thus the Church, the Holy Spirit, and baptism were inseparable. One alienated from the Church could not receive the Holy Spirit and baptism.¹² Since association with the Church at Carthage prevented union with the Donatist sect, a person baptized in such communion really received neither baptism nor the Holy Spirit. But because of the necessity of this sacrament for sanctification, the Donatists insisted on rebaptizing anyone converted to their sect,¹³ on the ground that as members of the true and holy Body of Christ they alone could minister it validly and fruitfully.

The dispute was not confined exclusively to the Body of Christ. It reverted ultimately to Christ the Head. Augustine, as will be seen, taught that the Body was holy in its members and sacraments due to the sanctifying influence of Christ the Head. The Donatists made the sanctifying power of the sacraments, and the sanctity of the one receiving the sacraments depend on the worthiness of the minister. The sacraments could sanctify if the administrator was good.¹⁴ If the one dispensing the sacrament was

M Contra epist. Parin. 2, 13, 30 (CSEL 51, 81; PML 43, 72) : "recedens ab ecclesia baptismum quidem non amittit, ius dandi tamen amittit."

L'ixeront, *op. cit.*, p. 225. "En tout cas, ils reproduisaient ses arguments et demandaient, comme lui, s'il était possible, puisque l'Église était une et le Christ indivisible, de recevoir le baptême en dehors de cette Église et de ce Christ"

De bapt., 5, 23, 33 (CSEL 51, 290; PML 43, 193) : "ecclesiam et spiritum et baptismum dixit ab invicem non posse separari et ideo, qui ab ecclesia separati sunt et a spiritu sancto, etiam a baptismo vult intellegi separatos."

w Contra Crescon., 1, 26, 31 (CSEL 52, 351; PML 43, 462) : "tu quare tamquam certissimum et consequentissimum concludebas in parte Donati esse hominem baptizandum, quia nos etiam ibi esse concedimus baptismum." *Contra Part. Donati*, 207 (CSEL 51, 11; PML 43, 30) : "Rogo, respondete nobis, quid vultis rebaptizare."

¹⁴ *In Ps.* 10, 5 (PML 36, 134) : "Non enim confidunt in Domino, qui tunc esse dicunt sancta sacra menta, si per sanctos homines dentur." *Contra litt. Petii.*, 2, 35, 81 (CSEL 52, 68; PML 43, 287) : "Neque enim spiritus sanctus in quemquam manus impositione pontificis poterit inseri, nisi aqua purae conscientiae praecesserit generatrix." *In Jo. Ev.*, Tr. 4, 9 (PML 35, 1410) : "quomodo habent humiliari, qui dicunt: Nos baptizamus, nos quod damus nostrum est, et quod nostrum est, sanctum est."

unworthy, the recipient was not sanctified but shared in the guilt of the minister.¹⁵

The Donatists then drew the logical conclusion from such a teaching. If the sanctity of the sacraments depended on the sanctity of the minister, and each one receiving baptism from such a minister was good,¹⁶ then in the Donatist Church there was no evil. Christ's parable relating to the mixture of the wheat and the chaff was not to be applied to the Church but to the world.¹⁷ Thus the Donatist Church was not only the true Church, but its holiness was the same as that of the future glorious Church.¹⁸-No member of this Church was stained with any sin or vice;¹⁹ there were only holy, just, and chaste members.²⁰

As -the controversy with Augustine progressed the Donatists admitted that if evil members did exist in their Church, they were hidden,²¹ but the majority of the members were just.²² This new view modified somewhat their position on the sacraments. By

¹⁵ *Contra Iilt. Petit.*, 1, 5, 6 (CSEL 52, 6; PML 43, 248) : "qui fidem a perfido sumpserit non fidem percipit sed reatum."

¹⁶ *Contra Crescon.*, 1, 27, 32 (CSEL 52, 351; PML 43, 462) : "sed ipsam quidem legem et scientiam et sacrificium corporis et sanguinis Christi talia bona esse, quae possint homines et habere et mali esse, baptismum vero tale bonum esse, quod quisquis habuerit necessario bonus sit?"

¹⁷ *Brevic. collat.*, cum *Donat.*, 8, 10 (CSEL 53, 60; PML 43, 629) : "etiam ipsi fassi sunt in ecclesia esse permixtos saltem occultos malos, zizania vero inter triticum non in ecclesia, sed in ipso mundo permixta dixerunt, quoniam dominus ait: ager est hic mundus."

¹⁸ *Contra epist. Farm.*, 3, 3, 17 (CSEL 51, 121; PML 43, 95): "unde persuaderet hominibus caecis communionem Donatistarum non solum ecclesiam veram esse, sed etiam talem iam hoc tempore, qualis post ultimam ventilationem ecclesia sancta futura est."

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 2, 7, 13 (CSEL 51, 57-58; PML 43, 58) : "Omitto dicere quam scelerata superbia dicatur neminem esse inter collegas suos vel se ipsum non esse cum aliqua macula et vitio non membrorum, sed quod peius est morum."

²⁰ *In Io. Ev.t Tr.* 6, 12 (PML 35, 1431) : "Non sunt apud nos, dicant, nisi sancti, justi, casti, sobrii; non adulteri, non feneratores, non fraudatores, non perjuri, non vinolenti."

²¹ *Contra part. Donati post gesta*, 8, 11 (CSEL 53, 108; PML 43, 659): "victi evidentia veritatis malos in ecclesia usque in finem saeculi permixtos esse confessi sunt, sed eos occultos esse dixerunt."

²² *In Ps.* 10, 1 (PML 36, 131) : "qui commemorando et exaggerando multorum in Ecclesia peccata, quasi apud ipsos justi aut omnes aut plures sint."

baptism Christ became the Head of the Christian through an unfaithful minister but more excellently through a faithful one.²³

The Reply of Augustine

In combating the Donatist view of sanctity Augustine did not directly oppose to it the sanctity of the Catholic Church. To have proclaimed without any further proof that the Catholic Church was holy because it was the Body of Christ would have been futile, since with equal vigor the Donatists asserted this privilege for their own sect. Moreover outwardly there seemed to be no difference between the two Churches.²⁴ Augustine's method of attack had to seek other channels.

Since the adversaries disputed only about the Church as Christ's Body, but were in agreement about the person of Christ, Augustine appealed to Christ the Head for knowledge about His Body.²⁵ Such information he found in the Scriptures. From the Old Testament there were applied to Christ such texts as—*And He shall rule from sea to sea, and fro-m the river unto the ends of the earth* (Ps. 71:8). *I will give thee the Gentiles for thy inheritance, and the utmost parts of the earth for thy possession* (Ps. 2:8).

* *Contra Crescon.*, 4, 20, 23 (CSEL 52, 523-524; PML 43, 561): “fit Christus origo Christiani et per dispensatorem infidelem, sed melius per fidelem, christianus radicem figit in Christo etiam per colonum reprobum, sed melius per probum, potest Christus caput esse Christiani et per Felicianum, sed melius existimas per Primianum.”

Ibid., 2, 4, 6 (CSEL 52, 364-365; PML 43, 470) : “item tu dixisti nobis et vobis unam esse religionem, eadem sacramenta, nihil in Christiana observatione diversum.” W. J. Simpson, *St. Augustine and African Church Divisions* (London, 1910), pp. 55-56. “In almost every town and village dwelt in resolute antagonism and' watchful jealousy the Catholic and Donatist Churches. They were identical in organization, and originally identical in faith.”

26 Simpson, *op. cit.*, p. 71, “This Catholic Church is the Body of Christ. Entire Christ consists of Head and Body. Donatists do not dispute concerning the Head, that is the Person of our Lord, but concerning His Body, which is the Church. Augustine therefore appeals to the Head, concerning Whom we agree, to inform us as to the Body, concerning which we differ. Now, argues Augustine, the Head informs us through prophet and psalmist that the obvious characteristic of the Body of Christ would be its worldwide extension, or catholicity.”

And in thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed (Gen. 22:18).²⁸ In the New Testament Augustine found the Church compared to a field world, wide in extent (Matt. 13:38).²⁹ Thus catholicity was an evident characteristic applied by the Head to His Body. Since the Donatist Church flourished only in Africa, it did not have this catholicity of extent.³⁰

To the argument from catholicity Augustine added one from unity. Just as Christ was one, so also His Body, and the crime of separation from the Catholic Church consisted in the fact that it was an attempt to divide Christ's Body.³¹ Anyone not united to this Body was outside the Church of Christ.³² The cumulative

* *Contra lift. Petit.*, 3, 50, 62 (CSEL 52, 214; PML 43, 380) : "propter ipsius vero ecclesiae unitatem, quae in omnibus dilatatur, cui vos non communicatis, haec testimonia posui de Christo esse praedicta, quia dominabitur a mari usque ad mare et a flumine usque ad terminos orbis terrae, et: dabo tibi gentes hereditatem tuam et possessionem tuam terminos terrae, et quod testimonium dei factum ad Abraham pro nostra, hoc est catholica communione, recitetur, ubi scriptum est: in semine tuo benedicentur omnes gentes, quod semen interpretatur apostolus dicens: et semini tuo quod est Christus, unde apparet in Christo non solum Afros aut Africam, sed omnes gentes habituras benedictionem, per quas catholica dilatatur ecclesia, tanto ante promissum."

"*Ibid.*, 2, 78, 174 (CSEL 52, 108; PML 43, 312) : "cum dominus dixerit: ager est hic mundus, messis autem est finis saeculi, cum de frumentis et zizanis dixisset; sinite utraque crescere usque ad messem."

²⁸ *Epist. 49, 3* (CSEL 34 II, 142; PML 33, 190) : "etenim ecclesia catholica est etiam in Africa, quia per omnes terras eam deus esse voluit et praedixit, parts autem vestra, quae Donati dicitur, non est in illis omnibus locis."

"*Contra Gaudent.*, 1, 36, 46 (CSEL 53, 245; PML 43, 734) : "habetis enim res magnas, quas inter vestras iustitias ventiletis, divisionem Christi, rescissionem sacramentorum Christi, desertionem pacis Christi, bellum contra membra Christi, criminationes in coniugem Christi, negationem promissorum Christi, hae sunt iustitiae vestrae." Cf. Mersch, *op. cit.*, p. 56. "C'est même là qui rend si énorme le crime des schismatiques : ils ont divisé le Christ, alors que les Juifs eux-mêmes n'ont pas osé lui briser les os; ils ont mis le Christ en lambeaux, alors que les bourreaux ont respecté sa robe ; ils l'ont réduit à n'être qu'un petit parti, alors que Satan n'a pas eu l'audace de le jeter en bas du temple."

³⁰ Tixeront, *op. cit.*, p. 385. "De cette Église le premier caractère est l'unité. Il n'y a qu'une vraie Église, cela est clair, puisqu'il n'y a qu'une épouse du Christ; mais dans cette Église même règne l'union, l'unité, et quiconque est hors de cette unité est hors de l'Église."

force of the two arguments resolved into the following dictum: Christ the Head speaking of His Body showed that it was both catholic and united. Therefore the Donatist Church, particular and separated, could not be the true Body of Christ.

It is true that against the Donatists Augustine demanded union with the Church as a visible and hierarchical entity. However, he regarded this external communion as a necessary condition for participating in the inner life or holiness of Christ's Body,³¹ since whoever was not in Christ's Body could not have Christ as his Head. Between Christ the Head and His Body Augustine saw what might be classed as a sort of personal union—the Head spoke in the person of the Body. Thus when the Head said that He was holy, the Body constituting one person with Him was holy also.³² In this union the Head communicated to His members the Holy Spirit,³³ charity,³⁴ and grace.³⁵ Since the Donatists were not in external union with this Body they did not participate in its inner

³¹ Mersch, *op. cit.*, p. 56. "L'unité, dit-il, mais elk est ce qui nous sanctifie et ce qui nous sauve. Il n'y a qu'elle qui prie vraiment, il n'y a qu'elle qui puisse être agréable à Dieu; parce que, encore une fois, l'unité, c'est le corps du Christ, c'est le Christ."

³² *In Ps.* 85, 4 (PML 37, 1084) : "Neque enim . . . caro sola erat et Verbum, sed et caro, et anima, et Verbum: et totum hoc unus Filius Dei, unus Christus, unus Salvator; in forma Dei aequalis Patri, in forma servi caput Ecclesiae. Ergo *Quoniam sanctus sum*, cum audio, vocem ejus agnosco; et hic separo meam? Certe inseparabiliter a corpore suo loquitur, cum sic loquitor."

³³ *Epist.* 185, 10, 46 (CSEL 57, 40; PML 33, 813) : "sed multo magis isti eum non acceperunt, ubi a corporis compage divisi, quod solum corpus vivificat spiritus sanctus, extra ecclesiam et contra ecclesiam ecclesiae sacramenta tenuerunt."

³⁴ *In Ps.* 98, 4 (PML 37, 1261): "Qui ergo plenus est charitate, plenus est Deo; et multi pleni charitate, civitatem faciunt Deo."

³⁵ *Contra part. Donati post gesta*, 21, 34 (CSEL 53, 136; PML 43, 674) : "nunc adtendamus verba illa, quibus Corinthiorum ecclesiam in epistulae principio sic laudat, ut dicat: gratias ago deo meo semper pro vobis in gratia dei quae data est vobis in Christo Iesu, quia in omnibus divites facti estis in illo, in omni verbo et in omni scientia, sicut testimonium Christi confirmatum est in vobis, ita ut nihil vobis desit in ulla gratia, ecce sic erant ditati in Christo in omni verbo et in omni scientia, ita eis nihil deerat in ulla gratia, ut in illis essent, qui resurrectionem mortuorum adhuc usque non crederent."

life.³⁶ Only by rejecting their error and returning to Catholic unity could they share in the life of Christ's Body.³⁷

This teaching of Augustine that no one outside the Body of Christ could have Christ as his Head became the essential note of distinction between Augustinian and Donatist sanctity. For Augustine the sanctity of the Body was due to a vital influence emanating from the Head. On the contrary the Donatists cut off both from the Head and Body relied on a self-sanctification which left them no other alternative than to separate themselves from sinners out of fear of contamination. Such a problem did not exist for Augustine. Since Christ was one with His Body,³⁸ there was no reason to fear that this inner divine life of the Body could ever be contaminated by the sins of man, and consequently there was no need of divorcing one's self from the external unity of the Church.³⁹

Thus Augustine conceived the visible Church as a mixture of good and evil. To illustrate this he compared it to a net holding good and bad fishes,⁴⁰ to a harvest of wheat and chaff,⁴¹ to the

w Epist. 141, 5 (CSEL 44, 238; PML 33, 579) : "Quisquis ergo ab hac catholica ecclesia fuerit separatus, quantum libet laudabiliter se vivere existimet, hoc solo scelere, quod a Christi unitate disiunctus est, non habebit vitam."

Contra Crescon., 2, 15, 18 (CSEL 52, 377; PML 43, 477) : "ad illum fontem signatum, hoc est ad spiritus sancti donum, quo caritas dei diffunditur in cordibus nostris, nullus istorum nisi mutatus accedit, ita omnino mutandus, ut non sit alienus, sed sit caelestis particeps pacis, sanctae socius unitatis."

In Ps. 39, 28 (PML 36, 451) : "Quasi enim unus homo rogit Deum, membra Christi, corpus Christi ubique diffusum, unus mendicus, unus pauper."

³⁸ *Contra epist. Parm.*, 2, 17, 36 (CSEL 51, 91; PML 43, 78) : "quoniam dominus, qui ait: sancti estote, quia et ego sanctus sum, ita inviolabiliter facit sanctos suos versari inter malos, si custodiant eam quam accipiunt sanctitatem, quemadmodum ipse dominus Iesus nulla contagione malignitatis in Iudeorum gente pollutus est." *De bapt.*, 5, 4, 4 (CSEL 51, 266; PML 43, 179) : "ac per hoc simul oportet intellegatur eos, quos nulla zizania, nulla palea, si ipsi frumenta esse voluissent, in societate ecclesiae toto orbe diffusae poterant maculare et ideo nulla existente causa se ab eodem unitatis vinculo dirruperunt."

³⁹ *Epist.* 93, 9, 34 (CSEL 34 II, 480; PML 33, 338) : "Ipsa est ergo ecclesia, quae intra sogenam dominicam cum malis piscibus natat."

⁴⁰ *a Contra Crescon.*, 3, 35, 39 (CSEL 52, 447; PML 43, 517) : "ecclesiam teneo plenam tritico et palea."

Ark in which were clean and unclean animals,⁴² and to a lily among thorns.⁴³ Just as in these enumerated cases the good element was not harmed by the evil, so too in the Church the wicked did not defile the good.⁴⁴

By distinguishing the interior and exterior elements of the Church Augustine reconciled the seeming contradiction between his statement that the Church was spotless and at the same time was composed of good and evil. In assigning an unparalleled sanctity to her he was dealing with those belonging to her inner life of charity. When he spoke of the composition of good and evil, he had in mind also the mere external union of the evil with the Church.⁴⁵ This mixture of good and evil had to be tolerated until a final and definitive separation would be made between them at the Last Judgment.⁴⁶ Until that time the only separation allowed and even counselled was an internal withdrawing of the heart from

⁴² *Epist.* 108, 7, 20 (CSEL 34 II, 633-634; PML 33, 417); "agnoscamus arcam Illam, quae praefiguravit ecclesiam; simul illic munda animalia simus nec in ea nobiscum etiam immunda portari usque in finem diluvii recusemus."

⁴³ *Epist.* 93, 9, 28 (CSEL 34 II, 472-473; PML 33, 335) : "sed in scripturis divinis quaerit ecclesiam et, ut promissa est, reddi conspicit, ipsa est enim de qua dicitur: Sicut lilium in medio spinarum ita proxima mea in medio filiarum, quae nec spinae dici possent nisi malignitate morum nec filiae nisi communione sacramentorum."

⁴⁴ *De unico bapt.* 14, 23 (CSEL 53, 24; PML 43, 607): "quoniam non se arbitrabantur in unitate et communione sacramentorum Christi alienis malis posse maculari."

⁴⁵ *De bapt.*, 6, 3, 5 (CSEL 51, 301; PML 43, 199) : "quos non pertinere ad sanctam ecclesiam dei, quamvis intus esse videantur, ex hoc apertissime apparet, quia isti sunt avari raptiores faeneratores invidi malivoli et cetera huiusmodi, illa autem columba unica pudica et casta, sponsa sine macula et ruga, hortus conclusus, fons signatus, paradisus cum fructu pomorum et cetera quae de illa similiter dicta sunt, quod non intellegitur nisi in bonis et sanctis et iustis, id est non tantum secundum operationes munera dei bonis malisque communes, sed etiam secundum intimam et supereminenter caritatem spiritum sanctum habentibus."

⁴⁶ *Contra epist. Parm.*, 2, 4, 9 (CSEL 51, 55; PML 43, 56) : "sed istorum populorum atque civitatum tunc erit aperta separatio, cum ista messis fuerit ventilata." *Ps. contra part. Donati*, 204, 205 (CSEL 51, 11; PML 43, 30) : "sed nobis exemplum datum est malos fratres tolerare, ut, cum non possunt excludi, solo separemur corde."

the sin of the evil members.⁴⁸ This did not mean that these holy members of Christ's Body were themselves without sin. The axiom—the Church is holy in her saints—had to be understood in a two-fold sense. On earth the saints sinned either venially or mortally, but as long as they were joined to Christ's Body they could be cured.⁴⁹ In heaven- the saints could not sin, and so only in this final stage would the Church be without spot or stain.⁵⁰

It must be remembered that in distinguishing in the Church an interior and exterior union Augustine was not teaching that the two elements were to be separately conceived. For him the Church was an institution communicating divine life to its adherents. The sacraments in the Church were the means to this end ; divine life or holiness the end itself.⁵¹ Thus the essential holiness of the

Contra epist. Parm., 2, 18, 37 (CSEL 51, 93; PML 43, 79) : “et exeunt de medio malorum atque separantur interim corde, ne forte, cum id facere per seditionem schismatis volunt, prius a bonis spiritualiter quam a malis corporaliter separantur” *Ibid.*, 3, 1, 2 (CSEL 51, 99; PML 43, 83) : “ut, si forte non possent auferre malos a congregazione sua, auferendo malum ex se ipsis, id est non cum eis peccando nec eis ad peccandum consentiendo aut favendo.”

Batiffol, *op. cit.*, pp. 262-263. “Les saints mêmes pèchent chaque jour, mais leurs péchés sont sans gravités, et il suffit pour les effacer chaque jour de la prière quotidienne: Remettez-nous nos dettes. Toute l’Église dit chaque jour à Dieu dans l’oraison dominicale: Remettez-nous nos dettes, et Dieu les remet, en effet. Puis, il y a les pécheurs coupables de fautes grièves, mais qui les reconnaissent et qui en font pénitence: ils sont des membres infirmes dans le corps du Christ, ils sont guérissable, à condition de n’être pas amputés.”

⁴⁸ *Brevic. collât, cum Donat.*, 3, 10, 20 (CSEL 53, 69; PML 43, 635) : “sed eandem ipsam unam et sanctam ecclesiam nunc esse aliter, tunc autem aliter futuram, nunc habere malos mixtos, tunc non habituram.”

⁴⁹ Batiffol, *op. cit.*, pp. 266-267. “On ne peut donc pas dire, comme Reuter, que nous surprenons dans la pensée propre d’Augustin une double idée de l’Église, l’une ‘acatholique/ sinon même ‘anticatholique/ selon laquelle l’Église est une pure *communio sauciorum*; l’autre catholique et même ‘vulgarkatolisch/ selon laquelle l’Église est une société hiérarchique et une *communio sacramentorum*. Cur d’abord concevoir l’Église comme une société de saints n’est une conception anticatholique que si on conçoit l’Église uniquement comme une société des saints. D’autre part, concevoir l’Église comme une empirique *societas sacramentorum*, et rien que cela, est une conception, non pas catholique, mais acatholique. Les deux conceptions ne sont donc justes qu’à la condition de n’être pas exclusives l’une de l’autre. . . . Et, au fond, il n’y a pas de Catholicisme sans cette conciliation de la sanctification qui est la fin et de la *societas sacramentorum* qui est le moyen.”

Church as a sacramental communion did not consist in the absolute holiness of all its members, but in that the means towards this holiness—the Church's sacraments, ministry, and existence should have sanctification as their aim and effectively realize it.⁵¹

The Sanctity of the Sacraments

It has been shown that the Donatists in not having Christ as their source of sanctity placed it in the individual. That is why in their doctrine on the sacraments they insisted on the innocence and holiness of the minister lest the sacrament be defiled, Augustine's teaching with its emphasis on the influence of Christ the Head placed the sanctity of the sacraments not in the minister but in Christ and God.

In the sacraments Augustine distinguished a visible element—the *sacramentum* or sacramental sign—and an invisible element—the *res* or *virtus sacramenti*⁵²—which consisted in grace.⁶¹ This *virtus sacramenti* was an objective reality independent of the dispositions of the dispenser or recipient of the sacrament.⁶⁴ The *sacramentum* and the *virtus sacramenti* were united by the form

⁶¹ Tixeront, *op. cit.*, pp. 386-387. "Au reste la sainteté de l'Église comme corps social consiste essentiellement non en ce que tous et chacun de ses fidèles soient saints, mais en ce que sa doctrine, ses sacrements, son ministère, son existence même ont pour but la sanctification des âmes, et réalisent effectivement cette sanctification par la diffusion de la vérité et la transformation des moeurs. De cette sorte, tout ce qu'il y a eu et ce qu'il y a de saint sur la terre vient de l'Église et lui appartient; en elle et par elle seule on peut arriver à la perfection et pratiquer les vrais vertus: Omnes quotquot fuerunt sancti ad ipsam Ecclesiam pertinent." 'Non ubicunque turtur inveniat nidum sibi, ubi ponat pullos suos: in fide vera, in fide catholica, in societate unitatis Ecclesiae pariat opera sua.'

⁶² In *Io. Ev.*, Tr. 26, 11 (PML 35, 1611) : "Nam et nos hodie accipimus visible cibum: sed aliud est Sacramentum, aliud virtus Sacramenti."

⁶³ In *Ps.* 77, 2 (PML 36, 983-984): "gratia, quae sacramentorum virtus est."

⁶⁴ J. Pourrat, *Theology of the Sacraments*, Authorized translation from the third French edition (2d ed.; St. Louis, 1914), p. 27. "According to St. Augustine, a spiritual gift is joined with the sacramental sign; this gift is objective; it is not created by the faith of the subject, since children receive it, and yet are unable to make acts of faith. Some dispositions however are required in an adult, that he may share in the 'virtus sacramenti.'

of the sacrament which deriving its value from God was likewise something objective and independent of any human disposition.⁵⁵

To this distinction there must be added Augustine's conception of the Church as a prolongation of the Incarnation. He maintained that Christ worked through the Church and her ministers in such a way that an action of the Church or of the minister really was an act of Christ. Thus a sacrament was an act of Christ through His Church and minister.⁵⁶ The minister administered the sacramental sign or the visible element, but the sacramental rite did not produce grace. This came from Christ alone.⁵⁷ Consequently the dispositions of the minister who was merely concerned with the visible part could in no way harm the invisible element.

Augustine well illustrated this sanctifying influence of the Head on the sacraments of His Body in the case of baptism. Although Christ baptized through His ministers, He reserved for Himself

"Pourrat, *op. cit.*, pp. 29-30. "As we have seen, an objective spiritual gift is united with the sacramental sign; it is also the word of blessing that brings about this union and thus constitutes the sacrament in all its reality. Baptismal water could not purify, unless it had been 'consecrated' by the sign of the cross, in the name of Christ, and unless it was accompanied by the words of the Gospel. . . . That action of the word in the making of the sacrament is objective, since it unites the spiritual gift to the water of Baptism, to the oil of Confirmation, and to the Eucharistic bread and wine. . . . The sacrament holds its value from God. Therefore, whatever may be the state of the minister's soul, the blessing he utters is valid."

⁵⁶ *Contra epist. Parm.*, 2, 15, 34 (CSEL 51, 88-89; PML 43, 76) : "sed quod pertinet ad baptismi sanctitatem, adest deus qui det et homo qui accipiat, sive per se ipsum deo dante sive per angelum, sive per hominem sanc-tum (sive per Petrum) sive per hominem iniquum, sicut per tam multos vel latentes vel manifestos." Cf. Pourrat, *op. cit.*, p. 28. "When the minister performs the external rite, Christ or the Holy Ghost produces infallibly in the soul of the subject, grace and other effects of the sacraments. . . . The sanctification that takes place in the soul when the minister performs the rite is so truly the result of the divine action, that St. Augustine looks upon the sacrament as the work of Christ himself, acting through His Church, and sanctifying the faithful."

⁵⁷ *Contra Crescon.*, 2, 21, 26 (CSEL 52, 385; PML 43, 482) : "baptizant ergo, quantum attinet ad visibile ministerium, et boni et mali, invisibiliter autem per eos ille baptizat, cuius est et visibile baptisma et invisibilis gratia, tingere ergo possunt et boni et mali, abluere autem conscientiam non nisi ille, qui semper est bonus."

alone the power of sanctifying through the sacrament.⁵⁸ Through the corporal action of the minister He communicated grace and the Holy Spirit.⁵⁶ It was this grace and not the minister's action which sanctified.⁶⁰ Since Christ instituted the sacrament,⁶¹ His divine power was ever present in it and effectively prevented its impairment through an unworthy minister.⁶³ Even when such a minister baptized, God gave the Holy Spirit through him.⁶³ Thus if one received baptism from an unworthy minister, the minister's unworthiness would not be communicated but only the sanctity of the sacrament.⁶⁴

Augustine also showed the absurdity of the Donatist view on the minister's sanctity determining the sanctity of the sacrament. The Donatists maintained that each one was reborn in the same state of grace as the one from whom baptism was received. If it should not be known that the minister was a sinner—because he

⁵⁸In *Jo. Ev.*, Tr. 6, 6 (PML 35, 1428) : “Per hanc enim potestatem, quam Christus solus sibi tenuit, et in neminem ministrorum transfudit, quamvis per ministros suos baptizare dignatus sit, per hanc stat unitas Ecclesiae.”

& *Contra liti. Petii.*, 3, 49, 59 (CSEL 52, 211; PML 43, 379): “cum enim dicimus: ‘Christus baptizat,’ non visibili ministerio dicimus . . . sed occulta gratia, occulta potentia in spiritu sancto.”

00 *Contra Crescon.*, 4, 18, 21 (CSEL 52, 521; PML 43, 560): “nec innocentem facit quemquam qui ei ministrat baptismum, sed dantis dei gratia et percipientis bona conscientia.”

8l *Contra liti. Petii.*, 2, 35, 82 (CSEL 52, 68; PML 43, 287) : “proinde aut omnis aqua in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti consecrata purae conscientiae est—non propter eos a quibus ministratur vel a quibus acci-

Ipitur, sed propter illum qui hunc baptismum immaculatus instituit.”

“*De bapt.*, 3, 10, 15 (CSEL 51, 205; PML 43, 144): “baptismus vero Christi verbis evangelicis consecratus et per adulteros et in adulteris sanctus est, quamvis illi sint inpudici et inmundi, quia ipsa eius sanctitas pollui non potest et sacramento suo divina virtus adsistit sive ad salutem bene utentium sive ad perniciem male utentium.”

“*Ibid.*, 5, 20, 28 (CSEL 51, 286; PML 43, 190-191) : “cum dare nemo possit quod non habet, quomodo dat homicida spiritum sanctum? et tamen etiam intus ipse baptizat: deus ergo dat etiam ipso baptizante spiritum sanctum.”

“*Ibid.*, 4, 12, 18 (CSEL 51, 244; PML 43, 166) : “sed cum baptisma verbis evangelicis datur, qualibet ea perversitate intellegat ille per quem datur vel ille cui datur, ipsum per se sanctum est propter illum cuius est. et si quisque per hominem perversum id accipiens non accipiat tamen ministri perversitatem, sed solam mysterii sanctitatem.”

was a latent one—then Christ baptized secretly in his place and became the Head of the Christian. Augustine remarked that it would always be better to have an evil minister, since Christ then would always baptize.⁶⁵

The reason why the Donatists taught that the sacramental efficacy depended on the minister's disposition was to show the invalidity of baptism conferred in the Catholic Church. The ministers of this Church had been defiled by the sins of the *tradidores*, and though they retained their own baptism and Orders, they lost the power of conferring the sacraments on others. Thus the Donatists insisted on a repetition of baptism when any Catholic joined their sect. By showing that Catholic sanctity, whether for the sacraments or for individuals, was dependent on Christ the Head, Augustine proved that in neither case was there any defilement. Consequently since the ministers of the sacraments had not lost their power and baptized validly, there was no necessity of the Donatist rebaptism. But Augustine went further. He asserted that baptism existed even among the Donatists and did not need to be repeated when any of them returned to Catholic unity. All that the Catholic Bishop demanded was that the sacramental form be applied in its integrity.⁶⁶ If this were done, then it had to be admitted that not only baptism but also the other sacraments and rites which existed among the schismatics were valid.⁶⁷

“Contra lift. Petit., 1, 6, 7 (CSEL 52, 7-8; PML 43, 249) : “alioquin si talis quisque in gratia spiritali renascitur, qualis est ille a quo baptizatur, et, cum manifestus est qui baptizat homo bonus, ipse dat fidem, ipse origo et radix caputque nascentis est, cum autem latet perfidus baptizator, tunc quisque a Christo percipit fidem, tunc a Christo ducit originem, tunc in Christo radicatur, tunc Christo capite gloriatur, laborandum est omnibus qui baptizantur, ut baptizatores perfidos habeant et ignorant eos. quamlibet enim bonos habuerint, Christus est utique incomparabiliter melior, qui tunc erit baptizati caput, si perfidus lateat baptizator.”

“De bapt., 3, 15, 20 (CSEL 51, 211; PML 43, 147): “Quamobrem si evangelicis verbis in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti Marcion baptismum consecrabat, integrum erat sacramentum.” Cf. Batiffol, *op. cit.*, p. 159. “Il suffit que la formule soit prononcée littéralement pour que le sacrement soit, peu important le sens que le ministre donne aux termes qui la composent.”

Epist. 61, 2 (CSEL 34 II, 223; PML 33, 229): “Itaque cum ad nos veniunt ex parte Donati . . . et amplectimur fratres . . . agnoscentes in eis

To prove the existence of the sacraments among schismatics Augustine showed that between Christ and the Church there was a certain identity. The minister—whether in unity or in schism—by the indestructible character of his ordination was a representative of the Church. Consequently Christ still acted through a minister in schism.⁶⁸

For the non-repetition of the sacrament Augustine developed the teaching on the character imprinted by the sacrament. Baptism imprinted a character, whether it was given in Catholic unity or in schism, and it was because of this character that the sacrament was not repeated.⁶⁹ The experimental proof of this statement rested on the fact that the Church did not rebaptize those returning to her fold from schism.⁷⁰

Yet even though baptism existed among those in schism and was holy, it had no sanctifying power among them.⁷¹ The Donatists had maintained that the Church, baptism and the Holy Spirit were inseparable. Augustine admitted that baptism could be bona dei, sive sanctum baptismum sive benedictionem ordinationis sive continentiae professionem sive consignationem virginitatis sive fidem trinitatis et si qua alia sunt."

⁶⁸In *Ps.* 39, 28 (PML 36, 451): "Quasi enim unus homo rogit Deum, membra Christi, corpus Christi ubique diffusum, unus mendicus, unus pauper." *Contra Crescon.*, 2, 21, 26 (CSEL 52, 385; PML 43, 482) : "baptizant ergo, quantum attinet ad visibile ministerium, et boni et mali, invisibiliter autem per eos ille baptizat, cuius est et visibile baptisma et invisibilis gratia, tingere ergo possunt et boni et mali, abluere autem conscientiam non nisi ille, qui semper est bonus."

⁶⁹De *bapt.*, 6, 1, 1 (CSEL 51, 298; PML 43, 197): "per quos postea plenarii concilii auctoritate originalis consuetudo firmata est, etiam ovem, quae foris errabat et dominicum characterem a fallacibus depraedatoribus suis foris acceperat, venientem ad christiana unitatis salutem ab errore corrigi . . . characterem tamen in ea dominicum agnosci potius quam improbari."

⁷⁰De *bapt.*, 1, 1, 2 (CSEL 51, 145; PML 43, 109): "sic et illi, qui per sacrilegium schismatis ab ecclesiae communione discedunt, habent utique baptismum, quem priusquam discederent acceperunt, nam si et ipsi redeant, non eis iterum datur; unde ostenduntur illud, quod acceperant in unitate positi, non potuisse amittere separati."

⁷¹Contra *Gaudent.*, 1, 12, 13 (CSEL 53, 207; PML 43, 711): "ecce quemadmodum possunt, quos non oportet baptizari, ipsa catholicae unitatis caritate mundari, ut non incipiat eis inesse intus quod et foris inerat, sed incipiat eis prodesse intus quod foris Oberat." ♦

The Doctrine of Augustine Against the Heresies

separated from the Church and the Holy Spirit, but the latter two were inseparable. Thus the one baptized in the Donatist schism received the sacrament, but he had to return to the Catholic Church to receive the Holy Spirit.⁷² In terms of the sacrament itself Augustine explained that the *sacmentum* could be separated from the *res* or *Artus sacramenti*.⁷³ Baptism existed among the heretics, but its *virtus* or effect—grace and the remission of sins—did not exist.TM Yet the sacramental integrity of baptism was not impaired by the perversion of schism, nor was it rendered better by conversion to Catholic unity. In both cases the sacrament was holy.⁷⁶⁷⁸

TM*De bapt.*, 5, 23, 33 (CSEL 51, 290; PML 43, 193): “quemadmodum autem spiritum sanctum, sicut habent filii dilecti, non habent filii maligni et tamen baptismum habent, sic et ecclesiam, sicut habent catholici, non habent haeretici et tamen baptismum habent, nam sanctus spiritus disciplinae fugiet factum nec tamen eum fugiet baptismus, itaque sicut potest baptismus esse et unde se aufert spiritus sanctus, ita potest esse baptismus ubi non est ecclesia.”

⁷² Pourrat, *op. cit.*, p. 27. “The distinction between the ‘sacmentum’ and the gift connected with it, is such that sometimes the two may be completely separated. We may have the ‘sacmentum’ without the ‘virtus sacramenti.’”

⁷³*De bapt.*, 6, 1, 1 (CSEL 51, 297-298; PML 43, 197) : “nee . . . visum est quibusdam etiam egregiis viris antistitibus Christi . . . non esse posse apud haereticos vel schismaticos baptismum Christi, nisi quia non distinguebatur sacramentum ab effectu vel usu sacramenti; et quia eius effectus adque usus in liberatione a peccatis et cordis rectitudine apud haereticos non inveniebatur, ipsum quoque sacramentum illic non esse putabatur.” Cf. Pourrat, *op. cit.*, p. 227. “St. Augustine was equally convinced that Baptism, when received outside the Catholic Church, does not remit sins nor impart grace: it obtains these results, only when the culprit repents, enters the Catholic unity and receives the rite of reconciliation.”

⁷⁸*De bapt.*, 5, 21, 29 (CSEL 51, 288; PML 43, 192): “per se ipsum quia dei est sanctum esse cognoscimus et, sive tradatur sive accipiatur a talibus, nullorum perversitate violari sive intus sive foris.” *Ibid.*, 6, 2, 4 (CSEL 51, 300-301; PML 43, 199) : “dico sacramentum baptismi et bonos et malos posse habere, posse dare, posse accipere, et bonos quidem utiliter ac salubriter, malos autem perniciose adque poenaliter, cum illud tamen in utrisque sit aequaliter integrum, adque nihil interesse ad eius aequalem in omnibus integratatem, quanto peior id habeat inter malos, sicut nihil interest, quanto melior id habeat inter bonos, ac per hoc nihil etiam interest quanto peior id tradat, sicut nihil interest quanto melior; adque ita nihil interest quanto peior id accipiat, sicut nihil interest quanto melior, illud enim per se ipsum et in eis qui non aequaliter iusti sunt et in eis qui non aequaliter iniqui sunt aequaliter sanctum est.”

but its sanctifying effect was realized only through incorporation into the Catholic Church.⁷⁸

AUGUSTINE AND PELAGIAN SANCTITY

The Pelagian Teaching

The Pelagian doctrine on sanctity sprang from a false idea of human liberty, the essence of which consisted in an equal possibility of choosing between good and evil. It was as if the will were perfectly balanced between these two extremes, tending neither to one side nor to the other.¹ This state of equilibrium was disturbed when the will chose between one or the other, but it was not permanently destroyed. After such selection the will reverted to its former state ready to make its choice again. Thus both virtue and sin were acts of the will, but they were isolated and had no organic unity either with the will or with any kindred subsequent act.²

¹ *Op. imp. contra Jul.*, 3, 117 (PML 45, 1297) : "An hic libra tua, quam conaris ex utraque parte per aequalia momenta suspendere, ut voluntas quantum est ad malum, tantum etiam sit ad bonum libera, vergendo in unam partem te indicat delirantem?"

² B. Warfield, *Augustine and the Pelagian Controversy* (New York, 1897), p. 10. "The peculiar individualism of the Pelagian view of the world comes out strongly in their failure to perceive the effect of habit on nature itself. Just as they conceived of virtue as an agglomeration of virtuous acts, so they conceived of sin exclusively as an act, or mass of disconnected acts. They appear not to have risen above the essentially heathen view which had no notion of holiness, except as a series of acts of holiness, or of sin except as a like series of sinful acts. Thus the will was isolated from its acts, and the acts from each other, and all organic connection or continuity of life was not only overlooked but denied. After each act of the will, man stood exactly where he did before*, indeed, this conception scarcely allows for the existence of a 'man'—only a willing machine is left, at each click of the action of which the spring regains its original position, and is equally ready as before to perform its function." Cf. R. Heddé et E. Amman, "Pélagianisme," *DTC*, XII (1933), 684. "De même que la volonté libre n'a aucune inclination pour le péché *avant d'entrer en exercice*, de même elle n'est ni affectée, ni affaiblie par le péché actuel. Tout acte n'étant qu'une sortie de la possibilité ; la volonté, après cette perturbation, rentre immédiatement dans son équilibre absolu antérieur. Le péché est une chose purement actuelle, isolée, indépendante ;*la liberté morale n'est pas influencée à son détriment ou affaiblie par le fait du péché."

The source of all sin, then, was the will and not human nature,⁸ which was created good by God.⁹ Since the will of the sinner was not weakened by his sin, which remained only as a past event,^{5*} certainly his nature could not be affected by it. The logical conclusion was that if personal sin did not injure the nature of the one sinning, it could not injure another person's nature. By this reasoning the Pelagians denied the transmission of original sin from Adam to his progeny.⁸ Each child born into this world was in the same state as Adam before his fall.⁷⁸ Consequently the Pelagians considered the inception of sin in each man as a personal act which was later followed by a series of isolated sinful acts.

The next logical step was to deny the solidarity of the human race in good.⁸ Since human nature was not soiled by original sin but existed in a natural state of holiness, Christ's death was not necessary.⁸ This eliminated the idea of sanctity as an incorporation of the human race into Christ's Body by His death. Instead Pela-

⁸ *Contra duos epist. Pelag.*, 4, 2, 2 (CSEL 60, 520; PML 44, 609) : "peccatum omne non de natura, sed de voluntate descendat."

⁹ *De nupt. et concup.*, 2, 3, 9 (CSEL 42, 260; PML 44, 441) : "Pelagiani et Caelestiani dicunt naturam humanam a bono deo conditam bonam."

⁸ *Op. imp. contra Jul.*, 3, 187 (PML 45, 1326) : "Omne enim peccatum antequam fiat, non est; et post factum, memoria sola ejus operis, non ipsa species manet."

^a *De gestis Pelagii*, 35, 65 (CSEL 42, 120; PML 44, 357) : "quod peccatum Adae ipsum solum laeserit et non genus humanum."

⁷ *Ibid.*, 35, 65 (CSEL 42, 120; PML 44, 357) : "quod infantes nuper nati in illo statu sint, in quo Adam fuit ante preevaricationem."

⁸ É. Mersch, *Le Corps Mystique du Christ* (2d ed.; Bruxelles, 1936) II, 66. "Bref, on a enlevé un mystère de solidarité dans le mal et dans la mort, et un mystère de solidarité dans le bien et dans la vie."

• *Contra duas epist. Pelag.*, 1, 7, 12 (CSEL 60, 432-433; PML 44, 556) : "isti autem inimici gratiae dei, quae data est pusillis et magnis per Iesum Christum dominum nostrum, ideo dicunt antiquos homines dei perfectae fuisse iustitiae, ne Christi incarnatione, passione, resurrectione, cuius fide salvi facti sunt, credantur eguisse." Cf. Heddé et Amman, -*op. cit.*, col. 684. "On aboutit à abolir la notion chrétienne de la rédemption. Sans doute, les pélagiens parlent beaucoup de rédemption; ils ont conservé le mot, non la chose. Ils parlent de la remission des péchés, fondée sur la mort du Christ, mais leur façon de comprendre le péché et l'effet du péché sur l'homme les constraint à entendre cette remission dans le sens nominaliste de *non-imputation* des péchés commis; elle n'est qu'une justification extérieure."

gian sanctity was a series of disconnected acts of holiness each stemming from the will's choice of good, and it was to be attributed not to God but to man himself.¹⁰

In explaining sanctification through Christ's Body Augustine attributed a super-eminent sanctity to the Head of the Body. The Pelagians, however, denied Christ's nature its proper dignity.¹¹ They admitted that in His birth Christ was free from sin, but only because His nature was the same as that of other children. There was no question of sanctity due to Christ's own excellence or to a singular grace. The soul of every child was equal in sanctity to the soul of Christ, because it too was born free from sin.¹²

By the complete denial of original sin and the necessity of Christ's death to destroy such a sin, the Pelagian conception of the sanctifying power of baptism, the sacrament of Christ's passion and death, differed from Augustine's position.¹³ They regarded the sacrament as having only a quasi-necessity. Since children had no sin, the sacrament could only confer on them a right to enter the kingdom of heaven. Adults, however, received a remission of their personal sins through it.¹⁴ In addition, some Pelagians held that the sacrament was necessary both for adults and children in

¹⁰ *De grat. Christi* 1, 42, 46 (CSEL 42, 159; PML 44, 381) : "quod qui ista sentiunt ignorantes dei justitiam suam volunt constituere."

Contra duas epist. Pelag., 2, 2, 3 (CSEL 60, 463; PML 44, 573) : "Pelagiani vero nullam carnem peccati nasci asserentes auferunt carni Christi propriam dignitatem."

¹² *Ibid.*, 4, 2, 2 (CSEL 60, 521; PML 44, 609) : "huic laudi adiungunt et quod dominum Christum nulla dicunt macula peccati fuisse respersum, quantum adtinet ad eius infantiam, quia eius carnem ab omni peccati contagione purissimam non excellentia propria et gratia singulari, sed communione naturae' quae omnibus inest infantibus adseverant."

¹³ *Contra Jul.*, 6, 24, 81 (PML 44, 872) : "necesse tamen non sit ad Christum pro aeterna salute transire: eo quod per sacramentum mortis et resurrectionis ejus (si tamen vel hoc putatis) commodior via sit, non quod alia via esse non possit,"

¹⁴ *Contra duas epis. Pelag.*, 4, 2, 2 (CSEL 60, 522; PML 44, 610) : "Laude sanctorum sese contegunt dicentes baptisma perfecte homines innovare." *Ibid.*, 3, 6, 12 (CSEL 60, 139; PML 44, 193) : "non ideo parvulos baptizari, ut remissionem accipient peccatorum, sed ut sanctificantur in Christo."

order that they might receive divine adoption.¹⁸ But as if to insist on the non-essential character of the sacrament, the Pelagians maintained that even without it and consequently without divine adoption children could have eternal life outside the kingdom of heaven,¹⁹ and adults could have other possible ways of insuring their sanctification.²⁰

Through this rejection of the necessity of baptism the Pelagian system had no place for sanctification by the Holy Spirit and charity given in this sacrament.²¹ And whereas Augustine attributed a sanctifying power to the grace given in baptism, the Pelagians denied the whole structure of the doctrine on grace. In opposition to Augustine's teaching on the gratuitous character of grace, the Pelagians admitted the following types:

- 1) Grace was nature endowed with free will (*liberum arbitrium*) with which each one was created.²² In a free

"Ibid., 4, 2, 2 (CSEL 60, 520; PML 44, 609) : "quod omnibus aetatibus dicunt esse baptismum necessarium, ut scilicet illa creatura in dei filios adoptetur, non quod aliquid ex parentibus trahat, quod sit lavacro regenerationis expiandum,"

¹⁹*Ibid.*, 1, 22, 40 (CSEL 60, 457; PML 44, 570): "parvulis videlicet baptismum necessarium non propter remissionem peccatorum, sed tantummodo propter regnum caelorum, datis enim eis extra regnum dei locum salutis et vitae aeternae, etiamsi non fuerint baptizati."

²⁰*Contra Jul.*, 6, 24, 81 (PML 44, 872): "necesse tamen non sit ad Christum pro aeterna salute transire: eo quod per sacramentum mortis et resurrectionis ejus (si tamen vel hoc putatis) commodior via sit, non quod alia via esse non possit."

²¹*De grati. Christi*, 1, 39, 43 (CSEL 42, 157; PML 44, 380) : "ecce quomodo vult intellegi adiuvari eos qui sub lege peccant, ut per gratiam Christi iustificati liberentur, tamquam eis non sufficiat sola lex propter nimiam peccandi consuetudinem, nisi Christi accedat non inspiratio caritatis per spiritum sanctum, sed intuendum et imitandum in doctrina evangelica virtutis eius exemplum." *Ibid.*, 1, 40, 44 (CSEL 42, 157; PML 44, 380) : "manifestum est ita eum velle nos adiuvari gratia spiritus sancti, non quia sine illo etiam per solam naturae possibilitatem non possumus resistere temptatori, sed ut facilius resistamus." *De haer.*, 88 (PML 42, 48) : "charitatem autem dari negant, qua pie vivitur."

²²*De grat. et. Hb. arb.*, 13, 25 (PML 44, 896) : "Nam et hoc Pelagiani ausi sunt dicere, gratiam esse naturam, in qua sic creati sumus." *De gestis Pelagii*, 35, 65 (CSEL 42, 120; PML 44, 357) : "quod gratia dei et adiu-

act the Pelagians distinguished the capacity (*posse*) of man to perform the act, the choice of his will (*velle*), and the act itself (*facere*). Once God had given the creature the capacity, due to the grace of free will man could both will and perform the act.²⁰ Since this free will was entirely independent of God, all merit, all moral value or holiness had to be attributed to the creature.²¹ The will was such that in itself it was sufficient to perform everything required of it.²² Yet the Pelagians did admit that man could be helped by the grace of God, not for the essential performance of the action but only for a certain facility.²³ This grace was given when man made a good

torium non ad singulos actus detur, sed in libero arbitrio sit et in lege atque doctrina." Cf. E. Neveut, "Rôle de Saint Augustin dans les Controverses Pélagiennes," *Divus Thomas*, XXXIII, Piac. (1930), 34. "Pelage, sous le nom de 'grâce,' n'entendait autre chose que la 'nature,' en possession d'elle-même, c.à.d. créée avec son libre arbitre, à laquelle il ajoutait quelquefois en passant, et d'une manière assez obscure, le secours de la loi et la rémission des péchés."

³⁰*De grot. Christi* 1, 4, 5 (CSEL 42, 127-128; PML 44, 362): "nos, inquit, sic tria ista distinguimus et certum velut in ordinem digesta partimur. primo loco posse statuimus, secundo velle, tertio esse; posse in natura, velle in arbitrio, esse in effectu locamus, primum illud, id est posse ad deum proprie pertinet, qui illud creaturae suae contulit, duo vero reliqua, hoc est velle et esse ad hominem referenda sunt, quia de arbitrii fonte descendant?" Cf. Warfield, *op. cit.*, p. 6. "Man is thus a machine, which, just because it is well made, needs no Divine interference for its right working, and the Creator, having once framed him and endowed him with the *posse*, henceforth leaves the *velle* and the *esse* to him."

> ^a*De gestis Pelagii*, 35, 65 (CSEL 42, 120; PML 44, 358): "quoniam propriam voluntatem habeat unusquisque aut facere aliquid aut non facere. quod Victoria nostra ex dei non sit adiutorio, sed ex libero arbitrio."

^b*De grat. Christi*, 1, 41, 45 (CSEL 42, 159; PML 44, 381): "ut videlicet tamquam via demonstrata, qua ambulare debeamus, iam viribus liberi arbitrii adiutorio nullo alterius indigentes sufficiamus nobis, ne deficiamus in via, quamvis et ipsam viam contendat etiam sola inveniri posse natura, sed facilius, si adiuvet gratia."

^c*Contra duas epist. Pelag.*, 2, 8, 17 (CSEL 60, 479; PML 44, 583-584): "Pelagius enim 'facilius' dicit inpleri quod bonum est, si adiuvet gratia, quo additamento, id est addendo 'facilius,' utique significat hoc se sapere, quod etiamsi gratiae defuerit adiutorium, potest quamvis difficilis inpleri bonum per liberum arbitrium."

use of his free will,²⁴ and consequently it did not precede but was merited by an act of the will.²⁶

2) The second type of Pelagian grace consisted in the Law and revelation. This was merely a grace whereby God, without any internal influence upon the action, revealed what man had to do.²⁸ It was given only to facilitate the action.²⁷

3) The final type of grace centered around the example of Christ and the remission of sins. The Pelagians taught that those men who lived before the Law were saved by their own nature; those under the Law were saved by it in the manner already discussed; those living under Christ were in a sense saved by Him,²⁸ not as a Priest offering Himself in spotless oblation but as an example of virtue proposed for man's consideration and imitation.²⁸ Since

1, 24, 42 (CSEL 60, 458-459; PML 44, 570-571): "tantumque constituant in libero arbitrio, quo in profundum demersus est homo, ut eo bene utendo dicant hominem mereri gratiam."

¹⁰ *De grat. et lib. arb.*, 14, 27 (PML 44, 897): "Etsi non datur secundum merita bonorum operum, quia per ipsam bene operamur; tamen secundum merita bona voluntatis datur: quia bona voluntas, inquiunt, praecedat orantis, quam praecessit voluntas credentis, ut secundum haec merita gratia sequatur exaudientis Dei."

**De grat. Christi*, 8, 9 (CSEL 42, 132; PML 44, 364): "Hinc itaque apparet hanc eum gratiam confiteri, qua demonstrat et revelat deus quid agere debeamus, non qua donat atque adiuvat, ut agamus." Cf. J. Tixeront, *Histoire des Dogmes* (4th ed.; Paris, 1912), II, 445. "En résumé donc, les pélagiens admettaient des grâces extérieures d'instruction et d'exemples, peut-être même des grâces intérieures d'illumination; ils n'admettaient pas la grâce prévenante, intérieure, de la volonté: l'activité divine ne pénétrait pas au cœur même de la nôtre pour l'élargir et la transformer."

•*De grat. Christi*, 1, 41, 45 (CSEL 42, 159; PML 44, 381): "quamvis et ipsam viam contendat etiam sola inveniri posse natura, sed facilius, si adiuvet gratia."

•*Contra duas epist. Pelag.*, 1, 21, 39 (CSEL 60, 457; PML 44, 569-570): "et ante legem dicitis salvos factos esse natura, deinde per legem, postremo per Christum, quasi hominibus duorum superiorum temporum, ante legem scilicet et in lege, sanguis Christi non fuerit necessarius, evacuantes quod dictum est; unus enim deus, unus et mediator dei et hominum homo Christus Iesus."

•*De grat. Christi*, 1, 39, 43 (CSEL 42, 157; PML 44, 380): "ecce quomodo vult intellegi adiuvari eos qui sub lege peccant, ut per gratiam Christi iustificati liberentur, tamquam eis non sufficiat sola lex propter nimian peccandi consuetudinem, nisi Christi accedat non inspiratio caritatis per spiri-

children were entirely free from sin, they had no need of this type of grace.³⁰ Adults, however, through faith in Christ received grace which destroyed their past sins but acted as no guarantee against future sins.³¹ Yet since this faith was an act of man's free will, it had to be attributed to man and not to God.³² Consequently Christ was not the efficient cause of human sanctification but only the exemplary cause.³³

turn sanctum, sed intuendum et imitandum in doctrina evangelica virtutis eius exemplum." Cf. Warfield, *op. cit.*, p. 11. "Christ could forgive us the sins we had committed, He could teach us the true way, He could set us a holy example; and He could exhort us to its imitation. But He could not touch us to enable us to will the good without destroying the absolute equilibrium of the will between good and evil." Cf. Tixeront, *op. cit.*, pp. 448-449. "Cette vie nouvelle d'ailleurs, la grâce de Jésus Christ n'en était pas le principe intime et profond. La grâce pélagienne agissait sur le chrétien par le dehors, si l'on peut parler ainsi : elle ne l'animait pas ni ne le fortifiait pas intérieurement. Le Christ restait bien le maître qu'il fallait écouter et le modèle qu'il fallait imiter; il n'était plus la force qui soulevait l'âme et la flamme qui entretenait sa charité. Le vivit in me Christus de saint Paul n'avait aucun sens."

K Contra Jul., 1, 4, 14 (PML 44, 649): "ut ad regenerandos parvulos tantummodo Christus sit, ad majores autem Christus Jesus; quia scilicet Jesus Salvator interpretatur: quod eum parvulis esse non vultis, qui nihil eos habere, unde illos salvos faciat, praedicatis."

De grat. et lib. arb., 13, 26 (PML 44, 896-897) : "Dicunt etiam gratiam Dei, quae data est per fidem Jesu Christi, quae neque lex est neque natura, ad hoc tantum valere, ut peccata praeterita dimittantur, non ut futura vitentur, vel repugnantia superentur."

"Heddé et Amann, *op. cit.*, col. 684. "Sans doute, les pélagiens reconnaîtront que la rédemption est réalisée dans l'homme par la foi, mais la foi est l'oeuvre de l'homme, non de Dieu, elle est le fruit de la liberté. C'est donc l'homme qui se justifie lui-même, ce n'est pas Dieu qui le justifie."

** *Contra Jul.*, 4, 3, 23 (PML 44, 750) : "introducens hominum genus, quod Deo placere possit sine Christi fide, lege naturae." Cf. Heddé et Amann, *op. cit.*, col. 684. "Ainsi, le Christ n'est plus un principe vivant, créateur et sanctificateur; il est simplement un *modèle* qui nous encourage à nous perfectionner dans la justice et à devenir meilleurs que les hommes antérieurs à lui. Le Christ est le prototype de la moralité, c'est par la méditation et l'imitation de sa vie, c'est-à-dire par nous-mêmes, non par lui, que nous parvenons à la sainteté parfaite. Donc tout est le fait de l'homme, l'oeuvre de l'homme; la grâce n'est pas autre chose que l'influence exercée sur l'homme par l'exemple du Christ."

Since in the Pelagian system free will was all sufficient, it followed that through it each one could be entirely free from sin and easily keep God's commandments, if he willed to do so.⁸⁴ This desire for sanctity (perfect sinlessness) was entirely within the compass of man's free will. By choosing it the will merited God's grace as an affi towards this desire, which, however, could be attained without God's help.⁸⁵ Lest this seemed to be a mere possibility incapable of fulfillment, the Pelagians pointed to saints whose sinlessness was such that it was not necessary for them to ask God's pardon.^{86*} Because God had given men the power to share in His divine nature,,then even as God they could be without sin, for it was only when they were in such a condition that they were really the children of God.⁸⁷ Consequently the Pelagians defined the Church as a society of perfect beings and excluded from it anyone stained with sin.⁸⁸

TM *De gestis Pelagii*, 45, 61 (CSEL 42, 116; PML 44, 355) : "posse enim hominem esse sine peccato et mandata dei facile custodire, si velit." Cf. Neveut, *op. cit.*, p. 36. "Pelage était subtil. Pour lui la possibilité de ne pas pécher dépendait non de notre volonté, mais de la condition de notre nature. Or, tout ce qui constitue la nature humaine, appartient évidemment à son auteur, à Dieu. Donc il n'excluait pas la grâce dans une oeuvre qu'il présentait comme l'oeuvre de Dieu."

^x *Contra Jul.*, 4, 3, 29 (PML 44, 753) : "Perfacile igitur studio sanctitatis, quod Deus adjuvat, potest homo carere peccatis. . . . Nam et studium sanctitatis sine adjutorio Dei vultis in hominis voluntate praecedere, quod merito Deus debeat adjuvare, non gratis : et sic creditis hominem in hac aerumnosa vita posse carere peccatis, ut non in se habeat quare dicat, *Dimitte nobis debita nostra.*"

^{*} *Contra duas epist. Pelag.*, 4, 2, 2 (CSEL 60, 522; PML 44, 611): "quicquid de laude sanctorum, ad hoc, ut vita mortal is in sanctis videatur non habere peccatum nec sit eis necessarium pro dimittendis debit is suis precari deum."

["] *De gestis Pelagii*, 35, 65 (CSEL 42, 120-121 ; PML 44, 357-358) : "quod filii dei non possunt vocari, nisi omnino absque peccato fuerint effecti. . . . quod ex illo, quod ait Petrus divinae nos esse consortes naturae, consequens sit, ut ita possit esse anima sine peccato quemadmodum deus."

^x *De haer.*, 88 (PML 42, 48) : "In id etiam progrediuntur, ut dicant vitam justorum in hoc saeculo nullum omnino habere peccatum, et ex his Ecclesiam Christi in hac mortalitate perfici, ut sit omnino sine macula et ruga."

The Reply of Augustine

Augustine opened his attack not by immediately countering the Pelagian doctrine on free will but by undermining their estimation of human nature. Once it had been admitted that the nature of each man soiled by a sin inherited from Adam and unable to help itself needed the healing power of a Redeemer,” then the Pelagian system would disintegrate. Since in the physical sense all men ultimately had Adam as their generator, they constituted with him a single man. In him all sinned and suffered the consequences of this sin—death. Opposed to this physical birth was a spiritual rebirth in the second Adam, Christ. All partaking in this rebirth were justified and restored to life in Christ.⁴⁰ This was merely the enunciation of the traditional Catholic doctrine of the transmission of original sin through Adam and the destruction of this sin by Christ. In this teaching were two opposed concepts—sin and justification, spiritual death and spiritual life.

Christ was the only means whereby the human race could be freed from original sin.⁴¹ This liberation by Christ was not that of an exemplary cause as the Pelagians wished, but Christ’s death became the essential condition of that freedom. Though Augustine taught that Christ was made Head of the human race in His Tn-

**De pecc. meritis*, 2, 30, 49 (CSEL 60, 120; PML 44, 180-181) : “quod apostolus sine ambiguitate locutus est: quia per hominem mors et per hominem resurrectio mortuorum, sicut enim in Adam omnes moriuntur, sic et in Christo omnes vivificabuntur? . . . omnium ergo corporis mortem factam per unum hominem dixit et omnium corporis resurrectionem in vitam aeternam per unum Christum futuram esse promisit. . . . nostrum ergo corpus mortuum est propter peccatum, Christi autem corpus solum mortuum sine peccato, ut fuso sanguine sine culpa omnium culparum chirographa delerentur, quibus debitores, qui in eum credunt, a diabolo antea tenebantur, ideo hic est sanguis meus, qui pro multis effundetur in remissionem peccatorum.”

⁴⁰*Zbid.*, 1, 28, 55 (CSEL 60, 54; PML 44, 140): “quemadmodum enim omnes omnino pertinentes ad generationem voluntatis carnis non moriuntur nisi in Adam, in quo omnes peccaverunt, sic ex his omnes omnino pertinentes ad regenerationem voluntatis spiritus non vivificantur nisi in Christo, in quo omnes iustificantur, quia sicut per unum omnes ad condemnationem sic per unum omnes ad iustificationem.”

⁴¹*De nupt. et concup.*, 2, 11, 24 (CSEL 42, 277; PML 44, 450) : “quia omnes sub peccato nascimur et per unum solum, qui sine peccato natus est, liberamur.”

carnation,⁴² yet his intention was to show that at the moment of the Second Adam's death on the cross Christ the Head entered into definitive possession of His Body or Church, and thereby communicated to it the grace of sanctification and life.⁴³ Therefore, baptism, the sacrament of incorporation into Christ's Body,⁴⁴ the sacrament of Christ's death,⁴⁵ destroyed in each one original sin,⁴⁶ and became *absolutely necessary* for salvation.⁴⁷

The teaching of Augustine on the solidarity of the human race in evil and good destroyed the Pelagian teaching that all sin was a personal, isolated occurrence, and that each man sanctified himself by a series of individual acts of holiness. It reaffirmed the necessity of Christ's death for sanctification and conceived all Christianity as a single body sanctified through the life-giving impulse of the Head, It showed that the sanctification merited by the cross of Christ was communicated to the Christian through baptism,⁴⁸ and therefore the Cross and baptism were necessary to destroy original sin.

"In Ps. 118, Senn. 19, 6 (PML 37, 1556): "Quia factus est particeps mortalitatis nostrae, ut et nos participes divinitatis ipsius fieremus."

aDe pecc. meritis, 1,26, 39 (CSEL 60, 37; PML 44, 131) : "quibus apparet dominum Iesum Christum non aliam ob causam in carne venisse ac forma accepta factum oboedientem usque ad mortem crucis, nisi ut hac dispensatione misericordissimae gratiae omnes, quibus tamquam membris in suo corpore constitutis caput est ad capessendum regnum caelorum, vivificaret, salvos faceret, liberaret, redimeret, inuiminaret."

***Contra Jul., 6, 9, 27 (PML 44, 838) : "Non autem habere parvulos vitam, nisi habeant Christum (quem procul dubio habere non possunt, nisi induerint eum, eo modo quo scriptum est, Quotquot in Christo baptizati estis, Christum induistis."*

48De spir. et liti., 6, 10 (CSEL 60, 162; PML 44, 205) : "conseptuli ergo sumus illi per baptismum in mortem."

***Contra Jul., 2, 10, 33 (PML 44, 697) : "sed primorum hominum peccatum, in posteros propagatione trajectum. Etiam hujus mali reatus, Baptismatis sanctificatione remittitur."*

47De pecc. meritis, 1, 23, 33 (CSEL 60, 32; PML 44, 128) : "in cuius regnum non intrabit nisi qui renatus fuerit ex aqua et spiritu."

48De nat. et gratia, 7, 7 (CSEL 60, 237; PML 44, 250) : "tanto et multo ardentiore zelo nos oportet accendi, ne evacuetur crux Christi, evacuat autem, si aliquo modo praeter illius sacramentum ad iustitiam vitamque aeternam pervenire posse dicatur."

Thus the Pelagian view of baptism's sanctifying power as entailing divine adoption together with either a remission of personal sin in the case of adults, or a title to enter the kingdom of heaven in the case of children had to be discarded in favor of the Catholic teaching which demanded both a destruction of original sin and an infusion of a new life. How this was effected Augustine explained through the action of the Holy Spirit, the Sanctifier,⁴⁰ giving charity⁸⁰ and grace.⁶¹

In the Pelagian controversy Augustine dwelt especially on grace. First of all he distinguished exterior and interior grace. Under exterior graces he placed the Gospels and the Law, and to these he attributed only an extrinsic value in sanctifying in so far as man reminded of his weakness by them sought the grace of justification.⁶³ In itself obedience to such a Law without interior grace was not sanctity,⁶⁸ and as a matter of fact it was an impossible burden.⁶⁴

⁴⁶ *De spir. et lift.*, 3, 5 (CSEL 60, 157; PML 44, 203) : "Nos autem dicimus humanam voluntatem sic divinitus adiuvari ad faciendam iustitiam, ut praeter quod creatus est homo cum libero arbitrio praeterque doctrinam qua ei praecipitur quemadmodum vivere debeat accipiat spiritum sanctum." *Ibid.*, 16, 28 (CSEL 60, 181-182; PML 44, 218); "hic autem spiritus dei, cuius dono iustificamur. . . . digitus dei est spiritus dei, per quem sanctificamur."

⁶⁴ There seems to be no direct mention of charity being given in baptism. It is implied from the fact that the Holy Spirit is given in this sacrament and that He is the giver of charity. *Op. imp. contra Jul.*, 2, 165 (PML 45, 1212) : "Justificat quippe impium Deus, non solum dimittendo quae malo facit, sed etiam donando charitatem, ut declinet a malo, et faciat bonum per Spiritum sanctum."

"*De pecc. meritis*, 1, 39, 70 (CSEL 60, 70; PML 44, 150) : "In parvulis certe gratia dei per baptismum eius, qui venit in similitudine carnis peccati, id agitur, ut evacuetur caro peccati."

M De spir. et lift., 34, 60 (CSEL 60, 220; PML 44, 240) : "verum etiam quod visorum suasionibus agit deus, ut velimus et ut credamus, sive extrinsecus per evangelicas exhortationes, ubi et mandata legis aliquid agunt, si ad hoc admonent hominem infirmitatis sua, ut ad gratiam iustificantem credendo confugiat, sive intrinsecus, ubi nemo habet in potestate quid ei veniat in mentem, sed consentire vel dissentire propriae voluntatis est."

M Contra duas epist. Pelag., 3, 7, 23 (CSEL 60, 515; PML 44, 605-606) : "Quamobrem qui secundum iustitiam, quae in lege est, sine fide gratiae Christi vivit . . . nullam veram putandus est habere iustitiam."

64 De spir. et litt., 19, 32 (CSEL 60, 185; PML 44, 220) : "illa enim sine adiuvante spiritu procul dubio est littera occidens."

For Augustine interior grace was a free gift of God given without any reference to preceding merits.⁵⁸ By considering Augustine's teaching on Adam's condition before the fall a better appreciation is had of this interior grace. Adam had the power not to sin and by means of a special grace (*auxilium sine quo non*) he could do good. This was the essence of true liberty. With the fall man lost grace and his will was weakened, so that his fallen state was one in which without grace he could neither avoid evil nor do good.⁵⁸ The will was still free to do evil, but not to do good unless liberated by the grace of God.⁵⁹ So in the process of sanctification God antecedently every action of man⁶⁰ and gave grace which destroyed original sin,⁵⁹ restored the freedom of the will,⁶⁰

"*Ibid.*, 10, 16 (CSEL 60, 168; PML 44, 210) : "per ipsam quippe iustificatur gratis, id est nullis suorum operum praecedentibus meritis."

"Tixeront, *op. cit.*, pp. 478-479. "On a vu que notre auteur faisait du *Posse non peccare* un privilège d'Adam innocent. Adam avait le pouvoir d'éviter le mal et, moyennant une grâce dont il sera question plus loin (*auxilium sine quo non*), de faire le bien. C'est ce que saint Augustin appelle proprement *la liberté*. Cette liberté a été perdue par le péché d'origine. Nous ne pouvons plus, sans la grâce, éviter le mal, ni, sans une grâce plus spéciale, faire le bien. Ce n'est pas à dire que nous fassions nécessairement le mal que nous accomplissons : non, nous le faisons librement, et en cela consiste précisément le *libre arbitre* qui nous reste et qu'il faut bien distinguer de la liberté."

m Contra duas epist. Pclag., 1, 3, 7 (CSEL 60, 428-429 ; PML 44, 553-554) : "sed haec voluntas, quae libera est in malis, quia delectatur malis, ideo libera in bonis non est. quia liberata non est. nec potest homo boni aliquid velle, nisi adiuvetur ab eo, qui malum non potest velle, hoc est gratia dei per Iesum Christum dominum nostrum." Cf. Neveut, *op. cit.*, p. 37. "Vaincu par le péché, l'âme a perdu de sa liberté, elle est tombé sous la dure nécessité d'avoir le péché, jusqu'à ce qu'elle soit guérie de toute infirmité."

& *De nat. et gratia*, 31, 35 (CSEL 60, 259; PML 44, 264): "praevenit autem, ut sanemur, quia et subsequetur ut etiam sanati vegetemur; praevenit, ut vocemur, subsequetur ut glorificemur; praevenit, ut pie vivamus, subsequetur ut cum illo semper vivamus, quia sine illo nihil facere possumus, utrumque enim scriptum est et : deus meus, misericordia eius praeveniet me, et : misericordia tua subsequetur me per omnes dies vitae meae."

"*De nupt. et concup.*, 2, 27, 46 (CSEL 42, 301; PML 44, 463) : "gratia vero ideo ex multis delictis in iustificationem, quia non solum illud unum solvit, quod originaliter trahitur, sed etiam cetera, quae in unoquoque homine motu propriae voluntatis adduntur."

"*Contra duas epist. Pelag.*, 1, 3, 7 (CSEL 60, 428-429 ; PML 44, 553-554) : "sed haec voluntas, quae libera est in malis, quia delectatur malis, ideo

and formed the basis for all justification or sanctification.⁰¹

Though the question of moral sanctity lies outside the scope of this work, a brief statement of Augustine's position as opposed to the Pelagians in that field throws light on the problem of sanctity. The Pelagians had taught that once God gave to human nature the ability to perform a good act, the creature through the natural power of free will could both will and accomplish the act. In addition, if they admitted any grace, it was one merited entirely by an act of man. Thus their moral sanctity was homocentric. Against such a position Augustine quoted St. Paul, *For it is God who of his good pleasure works in you both the will and the performance* (Phil. 2:13).⁰² Consequently the beginning and completion of every act was entirely dependent on God's grace.⁰³ Since this grace was a free gift of God, then all progress in human holiness had to be attributed to Him alone. Yet the creature was not an automaton; he still had free will, and in cooperating with God's grace was sanctified.⁰⁴

libera in bonis non est, quia liberata non est. nec potest homo boni aliquid velle, nisi adfūvetur ab eot qui malum non potest velle, hoc est gratia dei per lesum Christum dominum nostrum."

^{**}*De nat. et gratia*, 9, 10 (CSEL 60, 239; PML 44, 252) : "si autem sine Christi gratia iustificari omnino non potuit." *Ibid.*, 60, 70 (CSEL 60, 286; PML 44, 282) : "nullo tamen modo nisi adiuvante gratia salvatoris Christi crucifixi et dono spiritus eius vel quoslibet ad plenissimam perfectiorem vel quemquam ad qualemcumque provectum verae piaeque iustitiae pervenire qui negaverit, nescio utrum recte possit in qualiumcumque Christianorum numero deputari."

"*De pecc. meritis*, 1, 33, 62 (CSEL 60, 63; PML 44, 146) : "deus est enim, inquit apostolus, qui operatur in nobis et velle et operari pro bona voluntate."

"*Contra duas epist. Pelag.*, 2, 9, 21 (CSEL 60, 483; PML 44, 586) : "si enim sine illo nihil possumus facere, profecto nec incipere nec perficere, quia, ut incipiamus, dictum est: misericordia eius praeveniet me, et ut perficiamus, dictum est: misericordia eius subsequetur"me."

^{**}*De spir. et lift.*, 9, 15 (CSEL 60, 168; PML 44, 209) : "iustificati gratis per gratiam ipsius; non quod sine voluntate nostra fiat, sed voluntas nostra ostenditur infirma per legem, ut sanet gratia voluntatem et sana voluntas impletat legem non constituta sub lege nec indigens lege." *De grat. et lib. arb.*, 16, 32 (PML 44, 900-901) : "Certum est nos facere, cum facimus: sed ille facit ut faciamus, praebendo vires efficacissimas voluntati, qui dixit, *Faciam ut in justificationibus meis ambuleatis, et judicia mea observetis et faciatis.*"

Finally Augustine maintained that no one except Christ was free from sin.⁸⁵ This difference of opinion between him and the Pelagians reverted back to the question of original sin. In denying this sin and in claiming that all nature was without sin, the Pelagians considered concupiscence as something inherent in nature⁸⁸ to which even Christ was subject.^{8*} For Augustine concupiscence was the result of original sin.⁸⁸ Christ, born of a Virgin, was entirely free from concupiscence,⁸⁸ original sin, and personal sin. Yet for the ordinary man the case was different. All his sins were forgiven in baptism, but concupiscence remained. Since it was in the daily struggle against this remnant due to Adam's fall that sin occurred, man could only be sinless when concupiscence was removed by the death of the body.¹² Sometimes the fault com-

"By implication, however, he does except the Blessed Virgin Mary. *De nat. et gratia*, 36, 42 (CSEL 60, 263-264; PML 44, 267): "excepta itaque sancta virgine Maria, de qua propter honorem domini nullam prorsus, cum de peccatis agitur, haberi volo quaestionem."

* *Op. imp. contra Jul.*, 1, 71 (PML 45, 1094) : "Hanc autem voluptatem et concupiscentiam ante peccatum in paradiso fuisse, res illa declarat, quia ad delictum via per concupiscentiam fuit, quae cum pomi decore oculos incitasset, spem etiam jucundi irritavit saporis. Non ergo potuit haec concupiscentia, quae cum modum non tenet, peccat; cum vero intra limitem concessorum tenetur, affectio naturalis et innocens est: non, inquam, potuit fructus esse peccati, quae docetur, non suo quidem vitio, sed voluntatis, occasio fuisse peccati."

"*Ibid.*, 4, 54 (PML 45, 1371) : "ne dices Christi genitalia aliquando . . . et in nonnullos illicitos usus contra ejus sanctum propositum se illam partem sancti ejus corporis erexisse."

"*Ibid.*, 1, 71 (PML 45, 1095) : "Praecessit mala voluntas, qua serpenti subdolo crederetur; et secuta est mala concupiscentia, qua cibo inhiaretur illico."

"*Ibid.*, 4, 58 (PML 45, 1374) : "Natus enim de carne per sanctum concipiente Spiritum, absit ut in se haberet discordiam carnis et spiritus."

^m *De correpi, et gratia*, 11, 30 (PML 44, 934) : "et quae potentior quam Dei unigenitus Filius, aequalis Patri et coaeternus, pro eis homo factus, et sine suo ullo vel originali vel proprio peccato ab hominibus peccatoribus crucifixus?"

¶ *Contra JhL*, 6, 17, 52 (PML 44, 853) : "Sic ergo et concupiscentia, quae manet oppugnanda atque sananda, quamvis in Baptismo dismissa sint cuncta omnino peccata, non solum nem sanctificatur, sed potius ne sanctificatos aeternae morti obnoxios possit tenere, evacuatur."

¶ *Op. imp. contra Jul.*, 6, 8 (PML 45, 1514-1515) : "Non est ergo hujus vitae justitia, vitium non habere, sed vitia non eis consentiendo minuere,

mitted would be grievous; at other times only venial.⁷³ Yet in each case it would be remitted by the grace of Christ the Redeemer and not by the Pelagian grace dependent on man's own will.⁷⁴

It was through this teaching on concupiscence that Augustine explained how one could be a son of God and yet sin. Men did not sin because they were sons of God, but because they were still sons of this world.⁷⁶ In other words, as long as they acted from charity, which made them sons of God, they did not sin. Sin came from being a son of the world or from the remnants of concupiscence.⁷⁸

Thus Augustine evidently held that no one could be so perfect in this life that he would be without sin.⁷⁷ A relative perfection, eisque resistendo, temperanter et juste et pie vivere. Nullum autem cui resistamus habere vitium, posterioris est vitae, quae bene gestae praesentis est praemium?

**Contra duas epist. Pelag.*, 1, 14, 28 (CSEL 60, 446-447; PML 44, 563) : "Hi omnes concupiscentiae partus et ipsius concupiscentiae reatus antiquus baptismatis ablutione dimissi sunt; et quidquid nunc parit ista concupiscentia, si non sint illi partus, qui non solum peccata, verum etiam crimina nuncupantur, pacto illo cotidianaे orationis, ubi dicimus: dimitte sicut dimittimus, et elemosynarum sinceritate mundantur." *De perj. iust. hominis*, 9, 20 (CSEL 42, 20; PML 44, 302): "sed qui ad ipsam perfectionem inreprehensibiliter currit, carens criminibus damnablebus atque ipsa peccata venialia non negligens mundare elemosynis."

"*De nupt. et concup.*, 2, 27, 46 (CSEL 42, 301; PML 44, 463) : "gratia vero ideo ex multis delictis in iustificationem, quia non solum illud unum solvit, quod originaliter trahitur, sed etiam cetera, quae in unoquoque homine motu propriae voluntatis adduntur."

70 *Contra duas epist. Pelag.*, 3, 3, 4 (CSEL 60, 488; PML 44, 589) : "peccant enim et filii dei, quoniam, si dixerint se non habere peccatum, se ipsos seducunt et veritas in eis non est, sed ea condicione peccant, qua sunt adhuc filii huius saeculi; qua vero gratia sunt filii dei, non utique peccant, quia omnis qui natus est ex deo non peccat,"

74 *Ibid.*, 3, 3, 4 (CSEL 60, 489-490; PML 44, 590) : "et tamen eos malos esse dicit et nosse bona dare filiis suis, nupquid inde mali, unde filii dei? absit, sed inde mali, unde adhuc filii saeculi, iam tamen filii dei facti pignore spiritus sancti." *De grat. Christi*, 1, 21, 22 (CSEL 42, 142; PML 44, 370-371): "secundum istam caritatem melius intellegitur dictum: qui natus est ex deo, non peccat et quia non potest peccare, quia caritas, secundum quam natus ex deo est, non agit perperam nec cogitat malum."

77 *Pecc. meritis*, 2, 13, 18 (CSEL 60, 90; PML 44, 162) : "Sunt ergo in terra iusti, sunt magni, fortes, prudentes, continentes . . . , non sunt sine peccato."

however, was possible in so far as in comparison with an evil person another appeared just. Yet even here the just person had to pray daily for a remission of his sins.⁷⁸ No matter how great this relative perfection might be, it could never be equal to that of God.⁷⁸ Even that vessel of election, St. Paul, despised his own justice in considering the incomparable perfection of Christ.⁸⁰

Therefore the Church here on earth was not a society of perfect beings. Just as Christ was not glorious before His resurrection, so the Church, His Body, would not be glorious until it was in heaven. Christ cleansed it in baptism, and in a sense the Church was glorious and without spot in this sacrament, in so far as in it the members of the Church received a remission for all their past sins and a title to a pardon for future sins. In this manner Christ continued to perfect His Church until one day glorious in heaven it would be completely spotless.⁸¹

⁷⁸ *Contra duas epist. Pelag.*, 3, 5, 15 (CSEL 60, 503-504; PML 44, 599) : “unde fieri potest, ut in comparatione iniquorum . . . iustos eos fuisse dicendum sit. . . et tamen praecepit eis dominus in oratione dicere : dimitte nobis debita nostra.”

⁷⁹ *De nat. et gratia*, 33, 37 (CSEL 60, 261; PML 44, 265) : “ego quidem hoc sentio, quia etiam cum fuerit in nobis tanta iustitia, ut ei addi omnino nihil possit, non aequabatur creatura creatori.”

^{*} ⁸⁰ *De pecc. meritis*, 2, 11, 16 (CSEL 60, 88-89; PML 44, 161) : “sed profecto secundum illam iustitiam, qua se noverat iustum, se vituperavit atque distabuit aestimavitque se terram et cinerem mente conspiciens Christi iustitiam, in cuius non tantum divinitate, sed nec in anima nec in carne ullum potuit esse peccatum, secundum quam iustitiam, quae ex deo est, etiam Paulus apostolus illud suum, quod secundum iustitiam, quae ex lege est, fuit sine querella, non solum damna, verum etiam stercore existimavit,”

⁸¹ *De perf. iust. hominis*, 15, 35 (CSEL 42, 36; PML 44, 310) : “cum enim dominus ipse secundum formam servi, per quam se mediator coniunxit et ecclesiae, non fuerit glorificatus nisi resurrectionis gloria . . . quomodo dicenda est ante resurrectionem suam ecclesia eius esse gloriosa? mundat ergo eam nunc lavacro aquae in verbo abluens peccata praeterita et pellens ab ea dominationem malorum angelorum, deinde perficiens eius sanitates facit eam occurrere in illam gloriosam sine macula et ruga.” *Contra duas epist. Pelag.*, 4, 7, 17 (CSEL 60, 540-541 ; PML 44, 622) : “si enim dixerint se non habere peccatum, respondet eis Iohannes, quod se ipsos decipiarit et veritas in eis non sit; si autem confitentur peccata sua, cum se velint esse Christi corporis membra, quomodo erit illud corpus, id est ecclesia, in isto adhuc tempore perfecte, sicut isti sapiunt, sine macula et ruga, cuius membra

non mendaciter confitentur se habere peccata? quapropter et in baptismate dimittuntur cuncta peccata et per ipsum lavacrum aquae in verbo exhibetur Christo ecclesia sine macula et ruga, quia, nisi esset baptizata, infructuose diceret: dimitte nobis debita nostra, donec perducatur ad gloriam, ubi ei perfectius nulla insit macula et ruga." *De nupt. et contup.*, 1, 33, 38 (CSEL 42, 250; PML 44, 435) : "ut eodem lavacro regenerationis et verbo sanctificationis omnia prorsus mala hominum regeneratorum mundentur atque sanentur, non solum peccata quae omnia nunc remittuntur in baptismo, sed etiam quae posterius humana ignorantia vel infirmitate contrahuntur, non ut baptismata quotiens peccatur, totiens repetatur, sed quia ipso quod semel datur fit, ut non solum antea verum etiam postea quorumlibet peccatorum venia fidelibus impetretur, quid enim prodesset vel ante baptismum paenitentia, nisi baptismus sequeretur, vel postea, nisi praecederet."

CHAPTER II

The Uncreated Cause of Sanctification

THE TRINITY

The consideration of the Trinity in sanctification is prompted by the various opinions expressed on God's nature by the proponents of the three heresies concerned. The Manicheans not only rejected the divine authorship of all creation, but they also denied God's real holiness by teaching a pantheistic system of all good emanating from God. Again in one form or other the Manicheans, Donatists, and Pelagians denied God's influence in sanctification. By combining Augustine's replies to these false opinions an idea may be formed of God's own holiness and its communication to others.

Augustine's development of the position of Christ in sanctifying rested on his teaching against the Manichean and Pelagian denial of original sin. With this was linked the character and necessity of Christ's death. The African bishop insisted that man was defiled by the sin of Adam and could only be cleansed by the sanctifying action of Christ as Mediator, Redeemer, and Priest. But not content to portray this real sacrificial act of the natural Christ performed once on Calvary, Augustine also conceived Christ as a continuous, active principle in the sanctification of the members of His Body. Since both the Pelagians and Manicheans denied Christ's sanctity, Augustine established its real nature. Then he showed that this sanctity of the natural Christ was communicated to the members of Christ's Body through Christ's capital grace. Here the saint had the Pelagians in mind and to a lesser degree the Manicheans, but he also was plainly teaching that all sanctity, whether individual, corporate, or sacramental, came from God alone, the Donatist teaching notwithstanding.

As to the Holy Spirit in sanctification Augustine concerned himself with asserting that He was a divine Person and the principle of sanctification both in the Trinity and in men. This teaching was partly occasioned by the Manichean denial of the divinity of

this Person, and partly by the Pelagian contention that man's free will, which could merit the Holy Spirit, was sufficient for sanctification. Since the Donatists separated themselves from the Church, Augustine portrayed the Holy Spirit as the soul of Christ's Body communicating grace and charity only to those united to it.

God, Source of All Sanctification

Though he teaches that God alone can comprehend His own nature,¹ Augustine knew that man could arrive at some understanding, however imperfect,²* of the divinity,³ both by considering God as a being of supreme excellence to whom submission was due,⁴* and also by excluding from Him all imperfection.⁵ By combining this double process Augustine treats of the holiness of God.

In a merely negative sense Augustine conceives God's sanctity not only as infinitely distant from created perfection⁶ but also as something inviolable and incorruptible.⁷ Passing to a positive con-

¹ *Conf.*, 13, 16 (CSEL 33, 359; PML 32, 853) : "Nam sicut omnino tu es, tu scis solus."

² *De Gen. ad litt.*, 5, 16 (CSEL 28 I, 159; PML 34, 333) : "illa substantia ineffabilis sit nec dici utcumque homini per hominem possit nisi usurpatis quibusdam locorum ac temporum verbis, cum sit ante omnia tempora et ante omnes locos."

³ *In Ps.* 134, 6 (PML 37, 1742) : "continuo Deus temperavit laudem suam, et hoc de se dixit quod capi dulciter posset."

⁴ *De doct. Christ.*, 1, 6, 6 (PML 34, 21) : "Et tamen Deus, cum de illo nihil digne dici possit, admisit humanae vocis obsequium, et verbis nostris in laude sua gaudere nos voluit. Nam inde est et quod dicitur Deus. Non enim revera in strepitu istarum duarum syllabarum ipse cognoscitur; sed tamen omnes latinae linguae scios, cum aures eorum sonus iste tetigerit, movet ad cogitandam excellentissimam quamdam immortalemque naturam."

⁵ *In Ps.* 85, 12 (PML 37, 1090) : "Deus ineffabilis est; facilius dicimus quid non sit, quam quid sit."

⁶ *De nat. et gratia*, 33, 37 (CSEL 60, 261; PML 44, 265) : "ego quidem hoc sentio, quia etiam cum fuerit in nobis tanta iustitia, ut ei addi omnino nihil possit, non aequabitur creatura creatori." *Op. imp contra Jul.*, 3, 24 (PML 45, 1257) : "Et tamen sinit haec Deus, incomparabiliter justis omnibus justior."

⁷ *Contra Fortunat.*, 11 (CSEL 25 I, 89; PML 42, 116) : "deum esse inviolabilem, incorruptibilem et impenetrabilem et incoinquabilem, et qui nulla ex parte corrumpi potest, et cui nulla ex parte noceri possit."

sideration of the divine excellence the African bishop identifies God with His attributes and shows that in Him no one perfection transcends another. Since God is the Absolute Being, He is not wise, strong, just, but wisdom, strength, and justice are God because they are one with His divine essence.⁸ Though God is great, good, wise, blessed, true, and whatever else is not unworthy of Him, His greatness is the same as His wisdom; His goodness is the same as His wisdom and greatness; His truth is the same as all these things. In God it is not one thing to be blessed, and another to be great, or wise, or true, or good, or to be wholly Himself.⁹ Yet in spite of this insistence on the *unity of this infinite variety of perfection* in the Godhead, Augustine sees God's goodness as the source of all sanctity—divine and human.¹⁰ This goodness, and consequently the sanctity of God, is so perfect and self-sufficient that it can neither be increased nor diminished.¹¹

In order to understand more clearly how God's goodness is His sanctity, one must realize that it is because God is good that man tends to union with Him.¹² In other words goodness is the motive of divine love. Thus love is added to the concept of holiness. Now human sanctity is directly proportionate to each man's love for

**De Trinitate*, 6, 4, 6 (PML 42, 927) : "Deo autem hoc est esse quod est fortè esse, aut justum esse, aut sapientem esse, et si quid de illa simplici multiplicitate, vel multiplici simplicitate dixeris, quo substantia ejus significetur." Cf. É. Gilson, *Introduction à L'Étude de Saint Augustin* (Paris, 1931), p. 280.

⁹*Ibid.*, 6f 7, 8 (PML 42, 929): "Deus vero multipliciter quidem dicitur magnus, bonus, sapiens, beatus, verus, et quidquid aliud non indigne diet videtur: sed eadem magnitudo ejus est, quae sapientia; non enim mole magnus est, sed virtute: et eadem bonitas quae sapientia et magnitudo, et eadem veritas quae illa omnia: et non est ibi aliud beatum esse, et aliud magnum, aut sapientem, aut verum, aut bonum esse, aut omnino ipsum esse."

¹⁰*De civ. Dei*, 11, 24 (CSEL 40 I, 547; PML 41, 338): "Sed si nihil est aliud bonitas divina quam sanctitas."

¹¹*In Ps. 134. 4* (PML 37, 1740) : "quia sic bonus est Dominus, ut istis non indigeat quo sit bonus. Denique ista non laudo sine illo; illum autem sine istis perfectum, non indigum, incommutabilem, nullius bonum quaerentem quo augeatur, nullius malum timentem quo minuatur, invenio."

Ps. 134. 6 (PML 37, 1742) : "Tendebatis enim vos fortassis videre bonum omnium bonorum, bonum a quo sunt omnia bona, bonum sine quo nihil est bonum, et bonum quod sine caeteris bonum est."

God.¹³ When this love is in its incipient stage, sanctity is in a corresponding phase, and at each increase in love sanctity progresses.¹⁴ Yet created love can never attain such an intensity that the creature becomes absorbed into the divine essence.¹⁶ Therefore man's sanctity never goes beyond a participation in God through love.¹⁸ God's love for Himself, however, is such that it is identical with the divine essence, *God is love* (I John 4:8)?¹⁹ For such a love there must be a corresponding sanctity. If God realizes His love for Himself through identity with His essence, then the resultant union, or God's sanctity, is realized through a like identity. That God is substantial sanctity is expressive of this fact.¹⁸

This goodness or sanctity of the divine essence precludes the possibility of sin in God.²⁰ Augustine explains divine impeccability through God's infinite act of adhesion to His essence. The principle of all sin is an evil will²¹ which relinquishes a higher object for

a Contra duos epist. Pelag., 3, 7, 21 (CSEL 60, 511; PML 44, 604): "porro si in hac vita pio nemine dubitante quanto amplius diligimus deum, tanto sumus utique iustiores."

¶ De nat. et gratia, 70, 84 (CSEL 60, 298; PML 44, 290) : "Caritas ergo inchoata iustitia est; caritas provecta provecta iustitia est; caritas magna magna iustitia est; caritas perfecta perfecta iustitia est."

"De mor. eccl., 1, 11, 18 (PML 32, 1319): "At eum sequimur diligendo, consequimur vero, non cum hoc omnino efficimur quod est ipse, sed ei proximi, eumque mirifico et intelligibili modo contingentes, ejusque veritate et sanctitate penitus illustrati atque comprehensi."

¶ Epist. 140, 23, 56 (CSEL 44, 203; PML 33, 562): "sic incorporeae creaturae rationales ipsius creatoris fiunt participatione meliores, cum ei cohaerent purissima et sanctissima caritate."

¶ De Trin., 7, 3, 6 (PML 42, 938) : "quia scriptum est, *Deus charitas est* (I Joan. IV, 8)."

ta/n Ps, 134, 3 (PML 37, 1740) : "Ille bono suo bonus est, non aliunde participato bono: ille seipso bono bonus est, non adhaerendo alteri bono." *De civ. Dei*, 11, 24 (CSEL 40 I, 547; PML'41, 338): "cum sit et Pater spiritus et Filius spiritus, et Pater sanctus et Filius sanctus, proprie tamen ipse vocatur Spiritus sanctus tamquam sanctitas substantialis et consubstantialis amborum."

"De Gen. contra Man., 2, 29, 43 (PML 34, 220); "et Deum dicimus tantae bonitatis esse, tantae justitiae, tantae incorruptionis, ut neque peccet, neque ipse alicui noceat."

A De civ. Dei, 12, 9 (CSEL 40 I, 579; PML 41, 356) : "Cum ergo malae voluntatis efficiens naturalis vel, si dici potest, essentialis nulla sit causa (ab

something less worthy?!

Since God is His own essence, He cannot abandon it for anything else, and consequently by nature He is impeccable.²² Thus God's will always in harmony with His essence becomes the norm for all morality?²³ *Be ye perfect as your heavenly Father is perfect* (Matt. 5:48) is the challenge given to every creature?²⁴

Christ and Sanctification

The Original Sanctity of Man Destroyed by Sin

In his pristine state man was created in the image and likeness of this God of infinite perfection²⁵ and endowed with the life of grace?²⁶ Through this gift of grace man's nature was elevated in a certain sense to God's own nature,²⁷ and consequently in it

ipsa quippe incipit spirituum mutabilium malum, quo minuitur adque depravatur naturae bonum, nec talem voluntatem facit nisi defectio, qua deseritur Deus, cuius defectionis etiam causa utique deficit).

“Ibid., 12, 7 (CSEL 40 I, 577; PML 41, 355) : “Nemo igitur quaerat efficientem causam malae voluntatis; non enim est efficiens sed deficiens, quia nec illa effectio sed defectio. Deficere namque ab eo, quod summe est, ad id, quod minus est, hoc est incipere habere voluntatem malam.”

***Op. imp. contra Jul.*, 5, 31 (PML 45, 1471) : “Et ideo ista natura non potest omnino peccare; quia non potest se ipsa deserere, nec meliorem habet cui debeat inhaerere, et cujus possit desertione peccare . . . quoniam Dei natura peccare nec vult posse, nec potest velle.”

**Zn *Ps.* 35, 16 (PML 36, 352-353) : “illi sunt recti corde, qui sequuntur in hac vita voluntatem Dei . . . Quia non vis voluntatem tuam dirigere ad voluntatem Dei, sed Dei vis curvare ad tuam. Illa recta est, sed tu curvus: voluntas tua corrigenda est ad illam, non illa curvanda est ad te! et rectum habebis cor.” Cf. W. Tolley, *The Idea of God in the Philosophy of St. Augustine* (New York, 1930), p. 150. “There can be no conflict for Augustine between God's goodness and his will, since any primacy of one faculty over another is made impossible by the perfect simplicity of the divine nature.”

**Contra epist. Farm.*, 2, 17, 36 (CSEL 51, 91; PML 43, 78) : “quoniam dominus, qui ait; sancti estote, quia et ego sanctus sum.”

**Contra Adimant.*, 5 (CSEL 25 I, 125; PML 42, 136) : “Ad imaginem autem dei factum hominem non tantum genesis sed etiam apostolus clamat.”

**De correpi, et gratia*, 11, 29 (PML 44, 933) ; “Adam non habuit Dei gratiam? Imo vero habuit magnam, sed disparem.”

”*Contra Adimant.*, 5 (CSEL 25 I, 125; PML 42, 136) : “filii ergo dei sunt homines renovati ad eius imaginem.”

primarily consisted man's holiness. Eventually, however, Adam, in whom the whole human race was represented, turned from God to sin,²⁸ thereby destroying both in himself and in his progeny God's image²⁹ and the life of grace.³⁰ In this condition of separation man was no longer holy.³¹ To return to his former state of holiness in some manner or other he had to destroy sin and recover grace.

Sometimes an attempt is made to draw a technical distinction between justification and sanctification. In this sense justification would involve the destruction of sin, and sanctification would be restricted to the infusion of a new life. Actually, however, both terms may be used synonymously,³² and it is in this sense that Augustine employs them.³³

As such the term sanctification can be applied not merely to the destruction of sin and the concomitant infusion of a new life but

**De corrept. et gratia*, 10, 28 (PML 44, 933) : "Quia vero per liberum arbitrium Deum deseruit, justum judicium Dei expertus est, ut cum tota sua stirpe, quae in illo adhuc posita tota cum illo peccaverat, damnaretur."

•J. Burnaby, *Amor Dei* (London, 1938), p. 144. "The *imago Trinitatis* in man has been deformed by turning away from God; its renewal, which must be the work of grace, will be the re-direction or re-centering of the soul's trinity upon God instead of upon self. It is this reformation or renewal for which Christ is our example, and to which union with Christ enables us, inasmuch as the grace of God culminates in the Incarnation."

**De spir. et Utt.*, 27, 47 (CSEL 60, 201-202; PML 44, 229) : "qua gratia in interiore homine renovato iustitia scribitur, quam culpa deleverat, et haec misericordia super genus humanum per lesum Christum dominum nostrum."

"In *Ps.* 61, 21 (PML 36, 744) : "Ergo cum sis injustus, esse non potes justus, nisi convertendo te ad quamdam justitiam manentem; a qua si recedis, injustus es; ad quam si accidis, justus es." *De duabus animabus*, 10 (CSEL 25 I, 65; PML 42, 102) : "et enim anima quamvis sit inmortalis, tamen quia mors eius rite dicitur a dei cognitione aversio, cum se convertit ad deum, meritum est aeternae vitae consequendae."

"F. Prat, *The Theology of St. Paul*, trans., from the eleventh French edition by John Stoddard (New York: Benziger Brothers, 1926), I, 171. "In them justice is not simply a fiction, it is as real and as personal to them as the sin which it replaces. It is not merely the prelude of a new life, and as it were the negative side of a divine operation, of which sanctification is the positive complement. It is the new life itself, and is indeed the same thing as sanctification."

"St. Augustine speaks of the grace of sanctity being conferred in baptism in *Ps.* 85, 4 (PML 37, 1084). Elsewhere» *Op. imp. contra Jul.*, 2. 113 (PML 45, 1197), he says that justifying grace is given in the sacrament.

also to the whole work of the redemption. This broader concept entails a fuller consideration of man's fall. The first and most important consequence of Adam's sin against God is the resulting enmity between the Creator and the creature.⁴ This accounts for Augustine's reference to sin as an aversion from God⁸⁶ and to man as a child of wrath?⁸⁷ From this enmity arises man's subjection both to Satan and to death.⁸⁸ In the former case the subjection is primarily of the moral order and consists in the struggle against illicit pleasure by man's free will weakened through concupiscence.⁸⁹ In the latter case the subjection belongs to the physical order.⁹⁰

MDe pecc. meritis, 2, 20, 34 (CSEL 60, 106; PML 44, 171) : "nec est iste in filiis hominum quisquam nec fuit nec erit excepto uno mediatore, in quo nobis propitiatio et iustificatio posita est, per quam finitis inimicitias peccatorum reconciliemur deo."

* *Contra Fortunat.*, 17 (CSEL 25 I, 93; PML 42, 119) : "peccando enim aversi eramus a deo."

* *De nat. et gratia*, 3, 3 (CSEL 60, 235; PML 44, 249) : "si enim iam sumus in Christo nova creatura, tamen eramus natura filii irae sicut et ceteri."

"*De Trin.*", 13, 12, 16 (PML 42, 1026): "Quadam justitia Dei in protestatem diaboli traditum est genus humanum, peccato primi hominis in omnes utriusque sexus commixtione nascentes originaliter transeunte, et parentum primorum debito universos posteros obligante." Cf. J. Rivière, "Le Dogme de la Rédemption chez Saint Augustin," *Rev. Sc. Ret.*, VII (1927), 439. "Cette doctrine nous éclaire, en effet, sur la relation logique et, si l'on peut dire, la proportion relative des conséquences funestes qu'entraîne la défaillance originelle. La première et la plus grave est l'état de péché qu'elle fait peser sur le genre humain ou, en d'autres termes, l'inimitié divine qui atteint tout homme dès sa naissance. De cette inimitié l'assujettissement au démon et la mort qui en est la principale forme dérivent à titre de corollaires."

* Rivière, *op. cit.*, p. 435. "Or, pour saint Augustin, notre captivité est évidemment d'abord et surtout d'ordre moral. 'Nous ne respirons plus,' expose un des sermons déjà cités, 'dans cette atmosphère de liberté (qui devrait être la nôtre). Car nous ne jouissons pas de cette pure vérité et de cette sagesse qui, demeurant en elle-même, renouvelle toutes choses (Sap., VU, 27). Nous sommes tentés par la délectation des biens temporels et nous avons tous les jours à lutter contre les attractions du plaisir défendu. . . .' D'un mot, c'est la concupiscence qui paralyse les énergies natives de notre libre arbitre et en fausse la direction."

* *De pecc. meritis*, 2, 34, 54 (CSEL 60, 124; PML 44, 185) : "unde mirandum non est et mortem corporis non fuisse eventuram homini, nisi

It is by thus considering sanctification that Augustine can treat under it man's liberation from Satan, the daily struggle against concupiscence, and even the physical resurrection of the body in the sense that the return of man to his former state entails the final victory of the body over death. For the same reason Augustine also considers the infusion of a new life in man as necessarily involving not only the restoration of God's image and sonship but also divine inhabitation.

Christ as Mediator, Redeemer, and Priest

Augustine reiterates the traditional Catholic teaching that man himself unable to heal the breach separating him from God must rely on the mediatorship of Christ. ⁴⁰ This mediation is of a moral order⁴¹ reconciling man to God through a remission of sin and an infusion of grace.⁴² Christ's title to mediator lies in the fact that in the unity of His person He possesses both a divine and

praecessisset peccatum." Cf. Rivière, *op. cit.*, p. 435, "De plus, notre captivité a aussi un aspect physique, qui est tout à la fois la suite et le signe du précédent. Car le péché originel est la cause de notre mort, et la mort, d'après *Hébr.*, II, 14, nous met 'sous l'empire' tout particulier 'd'*é*-démon. Voilà pourquoi celui-ci reçoit chez saint Augustin le titre 'dtf *praepositus mortis.*'"

"*Con.*, 7, 18, 24 (CSEL 33, 163; PML 32, 745): "Et quaerebam conparandū roboris, quod esset idoneum ad fruendum te, nec inveniebam? donec amplecterer mediatorem dei et hominum, hominem Christum Iesum."

Cf. F. Cayré, *Les Sources de l'Amour Divin* (Paris, 1934), p. 156. "Tous les hommes ont besoin d'un médiateur, car ils sont tous victimes du péché d'Adam ; l'intervention du Christ est nécessaire, d'autant qu'il est l'unique médiateur."

u Epist. 140. 28, 68 (CSEL 44, 215; PML 33, 568): "per hoc enim mediator effectus est, ut nos reconciliet deo per humilitatem." Cf. J. Mohan, *De Nominibus Christi Doctrinam Divi Augustini Christologicam et Soteriologicam Exponentibus* (Mundelein, 1936), p. 47. "Mediator noster igitur in hunc mundum venit, ut removeret obstaculum quod nostram reconciliationem cum Deo impedit. Atque in hoc munere reconciliationis Christus exhibebat suam mediationem moralem."

De spir. et litii., 6, 10 (CSEL 60, 162; PML 44, 206) : "nempe satis elucet mysterio dominicae mortis et resurrectionis figuratum vitae nostrae veteris occasum et exortum novae demonstrataisque iniuritatis abolitionem renovationemque iustitiae."

human nature which enable Him to stand between the two extremes of man and God⁴⁶ and to reconcile them in Himself.⁴⁷ Though the mediation is really an act of Christ's human nature,⁴⁸ it cannot be conceived as independent of the divine nature. Each extreme necessarily involves the other. Christ is not a man-mediator without His divine nature, nor a God-mediator without His human nature. Divinity without humanity is not a mediator, nor is humanity without divinity a mediator, but between divinity alone and humanity alone there is as mediator the human divinity and the divine humanity of Christ.⁴⁹

Many Greek Fathers preceding Augustine held that the work of reconciliation or the sanctification of the human race was accomplished principally by the historic fact of the Incarnation—God became man that men might become gods.⁵⁰ That Augustine

"De cons. evang., 1, 35, 53 (CSEL 43, 59-60; PML 34, 1070) : "et quia omnia quae in contrarium pergunt per aliquid medium redducuntur, ab aeterna iustitia temporalis iniquitas nos alienabat, opus ergo erat media iustitia temporali, quae medietas temporalis esset de imis, iusta de summis, adque ita se nec abrumpens a summis et contemperans imis ima redderet summis, ideo Christus mediator dei et hominum dictus est inter deum inmortalem et hominem mortalem deus et homo, reconcilians hominem deo, maxiens id quo erat, factus quod non erat."

"De etoct. christ., 1, 34, 38 (PML 34, 33) : "Ego sum via, et veritas, et vita (Joan. XIV, 6) : hoc est, per me venitur, ad me pervenitur, in me permanetur. Cum enim ad ipsum pervenitur, etiam ad Patrem pervenitur; quia per aequalem ille cui est aequalis agnoscitur; vinciente et tanquam agglutinante nos Spiritu sancto, quo in summo atque incommutabili bono permanere possimus."

"De civ. Dei, 9, 15 (CSEL 40 I, 430; PML 41; 269) : "Nec tamen ob hoc mediator est, quia Verbum . . . sed mediator, per quod homo."

"Serm. 47, 12, 21 (PML 38, 310) : "Inde et mediator Dei et hominum; quia Deus cum Patre, quia homo cum hominibus. Non mediator homo praeter deitatem; non mediator Deus praeter humanitatem. Ecce mediator; Divinitas sine humanitate non est mediatrix, humanitas sine divinitate non est mediatrix; sed inter divinitatem solam et humanitatem solam, mediatrix est humana divinitas et divina humanitas Christi."

«C. Van Crombroughe, "La Doctrine Christologique et Sotériologique de St. Augustin," *Rev. Hist. Eccles.*, V (1904), 479-481. "Un corps de doctrine sotériologique, dont on a d'abord en ces dernières années reconnu toute importance, est connu sous le nom de théorie réalistico-mystique, à cause du réalisme mystique, d'origine néo-platonicienne, dont elle s'inspire. La formule, dont on se servait d'ordinaire pour l'exprimer : Dieu est devenu

was cognizant of this teaching is evidenced by his frequent use of it.⁴⁸ But the predominant idea in the Bishop of Hippo's view of reconciliation is Christ's death,⁴⁹ and to it he subordinates the sanctifying effect of Christ's mediation. Christ's unmerited death has effaced sin and reconciled man to God.⁵⁰ Therefore, in Christ the office of mediator is identical with that of redeemer,⁵¹ and

homme pour que nous devenions divins comme lui, signifiait que l'oeuvre rédemptrice est en grande partie accomplie par le fait historique de l'incarnation même. Celle-ci était regardée comme constituant par elle-même une délivrance de la mort et d'une communication du divin à l'humanité tout entière. C'était peut-on dire une interprétation particulière et philosophique de la doctrine plus générale exprimée par le symbole de foi Nicéo-Constantinopolitain.

Cette conception très en faveur auprès des Pères qui par leur formation philosophique appartiennent à l'école d'Alexandrie, se rencontre également chez l'évêque d'Hippone."

⁴⁸ *Episl.* 140, 4, 10 (CSEL 44, 162; PML 33, 542) : "descendit ergo ille, ut nos ascenderemus, et manens in sua natura factus est particeps naturae nostrae, ut et nos manentes in natura nostra efficieremur particeps naturae ipsius." *In Jo. Ev.*, Tr. 12, 3, 8 (PML 35, 1488) : "Deus voluit esse filius hominis, et homines voluit esse filios Dei. Ipse descendit propter nos, nos ascendamus propter ipsum." *De Trin.*, 4, 2, 4 (PML 42, 889) : "Adjungens ergo nobis similitudinem humanitatis suae, abstulit dissimilitudinem iniquitatis nostrae: et factus particeps mortalitatis nostrae, fecit nos participes divinitatis suae."

• *Contra Faust.*, 14, 4 (CSEL 25 I, 406; PML 42, 297) : "suscepit autem Christus sine reatu subplicium nostrum, ut inde solveret reatum nostrum et finiret etiam subplicium nostrum." *Contra Juk.*, 2, 4, 8 (PML 44, 678) : "Christi enim caro, quod adjungit Ambrosius, damnavit peccatum, quod nascendo non sensit, quod moriendo crucifixit", nascendo non sensit in se, moriendo crucifixit in nobis."

⁴⁹ Rivièvre, *op. cit.*, p. 257. "Ainsi doue Augustin reconnaît à la mort du Sauveur une valeur salutaire et une valeur pénale. A y regarder de près, on voit même que la première, pour lui, est subordonnée à la seconde: s'il ne l'a pas formellement érigé en thèse, sa pensée ne s'en dégage pas moins à force de retouches successives. Si Jésus Christ par sa mort efface les péchés et nous réconcilie avec Dieu, c'est que cette mort imméritée a payé notre dette. C'est tout le fond de la *satisfactio vicaria*: pas plus que les autres Pères, saint Augustin n'en dégage pas encore les derniers fondements; mais, d'une manière incontestable, il en affirme le fait."

"*De civ. Dei*, 9, 15 (CSEL 40 I, 429; PML 41, 268) : "quoniam ipse est fructus mediationis eius, ut nec ipsi, propter quos liberandos mediator effectus est, in perpetua vel carnis morte remanerent." Cf. Mohan, *op. cit.*,

Christ becomes man's redemption and sanctification (I Cor. 1:30).⁶²

Still another function of Christ must be added to His role as mediator and redeemer. It is as priest that Christ offers Himself as a redemptive sacrifice⁶³ to reconcile man to God by destroying sin.⁶⁴ Since Augustine expressly states that the purpose of Christ's priesthood is the sanctification of souls⁶⁵ then the sanctification

pp. 50-51. "Eo quod Christus est Mediator noster, sponte quoque infertur Ipsum esse etiam *Redemptorem* nostrum. Non autem semper verum est Mediatorem esse Redemptorem. Nam mediatio est reconciliatio duorum extremonum, redemptio autem seu satisfactio est utique reconciliatio sed una cum solutione alicujus debiti. Quis igitur possit esset mediator, quin sit et redemptor. In reconciliatione autem hominum ad Deum fuit quoque debitum solvendum. Quo utroque munere Christus unica actione fungitur quia solvendo debitum peccatorum nostrorum nos reconciliavit Patri. Quapropter in hoc casu Christi satisfactio necessario eadem est ac ejus mediatio."

⁶² *Op. imp. contra Jul.*, 1, 140 (PML 45, 1139) : "unde factus est ipse, qui jactus est nobis sapientia a Deo, et justitia, et sanctificatio, et redemptio."

⁶³ *De Trin.*, 4, 14, 19 (PML 42, 901) : "Ut quoniam quatuor considerantur in omni sacrificio; cui offeratur, a quo offeratur, quid offeratur, pro quibus offeratur; idem ipse unus verusque Mediator, per sacrificium pacis reconcilians nos Deo, unum cum illo maneret cui offerebat, unum in se faceret pro quibus offerebat, unus ipse esset qui offerebat, et quod offerebat." Cf. Cayré, *op. cit.*, p. 159. "C'est comme prêtre que le Christ a exercé la médiation entre Dieu et l'homme, en supprimant le péché, vrai 'mur de séparation.'

M Contra dues epist. Pelag., 3, 6, 16 (CSEL 60, 505; PML 44, 600) : "ut ipsam similitudinem carnis peccati voluisse intellegatur apostolus appellare peccatum, sive quia sacrificia pro peccatis peccata appellabantur in lege, quae omnia figurae fuerunt carnis Christi, quod est verum et unicum sacrificium pro peccatis non solum his, quae universa in baptisme diluuntur, verum etiam his, quae post ex huius vitae infirmitate subrepunt." Cf. Cayré, *op. cit.*, p. 159. "Il est venu dans la chair du péché (Rom., VIII, 3), mais qui n'était pas la chair du péché, n'étant souillé par aucune faute. Ainsi, il est devenu le vrai sacrifice pour le péché, car il n'avait pas lui-même le moindre péché."

"*Contra Faust.*, 19, 31 (CSEL 25 I, 535; PML 42, 370) : "quem regem ad regendos et sacerdotem ad sanctificandos fideles suos universus ille adparatus veteris instrumenti in generationibus, factis, dictis, sacrificiis, observationibus, festivitatibus omnibusque eloquiorum praeconiis et rebus gestis et rerum figuris parturiebat esse venturum."

entailed in this priestly sacrifice of Christ must be considered as involving His work as mediator and redeemer. This vindicates the use of sanctification as a synonym for justification in so far as both terms refer to the entire work of the redemption.

Such a view of sanctification is variously characterized by Augustine as he considers the effects of original sin in their manifold nuances. In so far as the enmity between God and man is destroyed sanctification is reconciliation.⁵⁸ When it is a question of moral release from the power of Satan, sanctification is liberation⁵⁹ or redemption, and Christ is the Redeemer⁶⁰ and Savior.⁶¹ Since through original sin human nature was defiled⁶⁰ and wounded,⁶¹ sanctification involves Christ as Physician⁶² in the acts of cleansing⁶³ healing,⁶⁴ and mending⁶⁵ together with the

"*De pecc. meritis*, 2, 20, 34 (CSEL 60, 106; PML 44, 171): "nec est iste in filiis hominum quisquam nec fuit nec erit excepto uno mediatore, in quo nobis propitiatio et iustificatio posita est, per quam finitis inimicitias peccatorum reconciliemur deo."

Contra Felic., 2, 16 (CSEL 25 II, 845; PML 42, 546): "eam rem mundavit, quae pollui poterat, eam rem liberavit, quae captivari poterat."

"*In Ps. 95*, 5 (PML 37, 1231): "Tenebantur enim homines captivi sub diabolo, et daemonibus serviebant; sed redempti sunt a captivitate. Vendere se potuerunt, sed redimere non potuerunt. Venit Redemptor, et dedit pretium : fudit sanguinem suum, emit orbem terrarum."

Contra Faust., 2, 4 (CSEL 25 I, 257; PML 42, 211): "quapropter dominus et salvator noster Iesus Christus."

Contra Felic., 2, 16 (CSEL 25 II, 845; PML 42, 546): "Christus non partem dei, non naturam dei liberavit, sed facturam, quam fecit, in peccatum cadentem per liberum arbitrium sua misericordia liberavit, eam rem mundavit, quae pollui poterat."

¶ *De nat. et gratia*, 53, 62 (CSEL 60, 279; PML 44, 277) : "quid tantum de naturae possibilitate praesumitur? vulnerata, sauciata, vexata, perdita est."

"*In Ps. 35*, 17 (PML 36, 353) : "Medicus enim erat, et phreneticum curare venerat."

"*De perf. iust. hominis*, 15, 34 (CSEL 42, 35; PML 44, 310): "hoc prorsus agitur, ut cor mundetur et peccatum omne tollatur."

84 *De ag. chr.*, 10, 11 (CSEL 41, 113; PML 40, 297) : "nam si nobiscum fatentur naturam nostram non sanari nisi recte faciendo."

"*Contra Faust.*, 2, 4 (CSEL 25 I, 257; PML 42, 211) : "ut et dei filius verus esset, per quem facti sumus, et hominis filius verus fieret, per quem refecti sumus."

actions of renewing,⁶⁰ giving life,⁶¹ and justifying.⁶² Finally, sanctification also implies the future resurrection of the body.⁶³

Christ the Head of His Body

Augustine only arrives at the complete picture of sanctification by joining to the reconciliation of man to God through Christ's action as Mediator, Redeemer, and Priest the work of Christ sanctifying the faithful as a continuous active principle of a new life.⁶⁴ This he portrays by comparing Christ and the faithful to a body in which Christ is the Head and the faithful the members. Just as Adam, the physical Head of the human race, imparts to his offspring death and sin, so Christ becomes the spiritual Head of all those who reborn in Him receive a new life of grace and a remission of sin.⁶⁵ Though Augustine does hold that Christ was

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 6, 9 (CSEL 25 I, 300; PML 42, 237) : "sed in spe futuri saeculi, quam habemus in Christo, qui et animam nostram induens iustitia et corpus nostrum induens inmortalitate totos nos innovat." *Ibid.*, 2, 4 (CSEL 25 I, 257; PML 42, 211) : "ut et dei filius verus esset, per quem facti sumus, et hominis filius verus fieret, per quem refecti sumus."

⁶¹ *De Gen. contra Man.*, 2, 8, 10 (PML 34, 201): "id est Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, qui peccatum non fecit (*I Petr.* II, 22); et ab illo recreati et vivificati, restituamur in paradisum,"

⁶² *De nat. boni*, 31 (PML 42, 561) : "multo magis nunc Justificati in sanguine ipsius."

⁶³ *Enchiridion*, 108, 28 (PML 40, 283) : "reconciliari nos oportebat Deo usque ad carnis resurrectionem in vitam aeternam." The place of the resurrection of the body in the question of sanctification will be treated in Chapter III under "Divine Inhabitation."

⁶⁴ K. Adam, *S7. Augustine, the Odyssey of His Soul*, trans. Doni Justin McCann (London: Sheed and Ward, 1932), p. 150. "But the redemptive activity of Christ is not confined to this work of the atonement. The dynamic character of Augustine's view is especially plain in his doctrine that Christ manifests himself as the continuous active principle of the new life." Cf. M. del Rio, "El Cristo Místico Y La Comunión De Los Santos, Segun San Augustin," *Ret. Y Cult.*, XV (1931), p. 422. "El Cristo natural nos rescata, el Cristo místico nos sanctifica; el Cristo natural rrnuro pro nosotros, el Cristo místico vive en nosotros; el Cristo natural nos recomienda con su Padre, el Cristo místico nos unifica en él. En una palabra: el Cristo místico es la Iglesia que a la vez que completa a su Cabeza es completada por ella."

⁶⁵ *De grat. Christi (De pecc. orig.)*, 2, 26, 31 (CSEL 42, 191; PML 44, 401) : "ideo et ipsis caput esse Christum, quia unus mediator est dei et hominum homo Christus Iesus?" *In epist. Jo. ad Parthos*, Tr. 4, 11 (PML

constituted Head of the human race in His Incarnation/² in this matter he more frequently mentions Christ's death as the pledge of this new relationship.⁷³

In a human body though the head and members must be viewed as separate entities, they constitute a single person. It is the same with Christ and the members of His Body.⁷⁴ Christ and His mem-35

35, 2011) : "Ergo duas nativitates attendite, fratres, Adam et Christum: duo sunt homines; sed unus ipsorum homo homo, alter ipsorum homo Deus. Per hominem hominem, peccatores sumus: per hominem Deum justificamur. Nativitas illa dejecit ad mortem; ista nativitas erexit ad vitam: nativitas illa trahit secum peccatum; nativitas ista liberat a peccato. Ideo enim venit Christus homo, ut solveret peccata hominum. *In hoc manifestatus est Filius Dei, ut solvat opera diaboli.*" Cf. É. Mersch, *Le Corps Mystique Du Christ* (2d ed.; Bruxelles, 1936), II, p. 68. "Considérons d'abord le premier homme, tel qu'Augustin nous le montre. Adam, dit-il, c'est toute l'humanité. Tous les hommes sont Adam, et Adam, c'est tous. En lui, ils ont tous désobéi, et lui est en eux, les rendant pécheurs. Car la vie, en définitive, ils la tiennent de lui, souillée donc en sa première origine; souillée encore par la concupiscence dans laquelle ils l'ont reçue; souillée enfin par les fautes qu'eux-mêmes ont commises en obéissant à cette même concupiscence. Dès leur naissance donc, ou plutôt; par leur naissance, ils sont rendu indignes du bonheur éternel, en Adam, leur premier père." *Ibid.*, p. 69. "Mais Dieu a pris pitié d'elle. A la solidarité dans le mal, il a décidé de remédier par une œuvre opposée, une œuvre de solidarité, elle aussi, mais de solidarité dans le bien. Sa bonté toute gratuite a donc choisi, dans la masse maudite et condamnée, un certain nombre d'élus, pour en constituer une autre masse, la masse sainte et immaculée, la masse des prédestinés. Or cette masse, telle qu'Augustin la décrit, n'est autre chose que le corps mystique du Sauveur, considéré dans son aspect intérieur."

eIn Ps. 118, Serm. 19, 6 (PML 37, 1556): "Quia factus est particeps mortalitatis nostrae, ut et nos participes divinitatis ipsius fieremus."

"In Ps. 118 Scrm. 19, 6 (PML 37, 1556): "Quia factus est particeps mortalitatis nostrae, ut et nos participes divinitatis ipsius fierimus; nos unius participes ad vitam, ad mortem vero particeps ille multorum." *Serm. 231, 5, 5* (PML 38, 1107): "Tenete pignus mortem meam." Cf. Van Crombrugge, *op.-cit.*, p. 495. "c'est à cause de sa mort que le genre humaine est rentré en grâce avec Dieu. Cet enseignement est supposé dans l'idée de l'union mystique du Christ avec les fidèles, ainsi que dans celle de la satisfaction vicaire."

"De pecc. ntfiritis, 1, 31, 60 (CSEL 60, 61; PML 44, 145): "sic et apostolus ait: sicut in uno corpore multa membra habemus, omnia autem membra corporis, cum sint multa, unum est corpus, ita et Christus."

bers are distinct, yet they form a single person.⁷⁸ The members not only belong to Christ, they are Christ.” To illustrate the type of union here represented Augustine quotes Christ’s priestly prayer: *That all may be one, even as thou, Father, in me and I in thee; that they also may be one in us, that the world may believe that thou hast sent me. And the glory that thou hast given me, I have given to them, that they may be one, even as we are one* (John 17: 20-22). From this he deduces that just as the Father and Son are one both in equality of substance and in will, so the union between Christ and His members is based not only on the human nature shared in common but also on a union of wills or of love.⁷⁷

^{TMIn Ps 54, 3 (PML 36, 629) :} “Christus autem . . . et caput et corpus est: nec nos a Christo alienos dicere debemus, cujus membra sumus, nec nos quasi alterum computare; quia erunt duo in carne una.” Cf. Mersch, *op. cit.*, p. 90. “Cette union est si étroite qu’elle fait de nous le Christ lui-même, le Christ mystique.”

^{TMIn Ps, 26, En. 2, 2 (PML 36, 200) :} “et omnes in illo et Christi et Christus sumus, quia quodammodo totus Christus caput et corpus est.” Cf. Mersch, *op. cit.*, pp. 86-88. “Il dit et redit à tout instant que le Christ et l’Église ne font qu’une seule chose, une seule âme, un seul homme, une seule personne, un seul juste, un seul Christ, un seul Fils de Dieu. Le Christ entier, ce n’est donc pas le Sauveur tout seul, c’est la tête unie aux membres, le Christ uni à l’Église. Les membres du Christ ne font qu’un avec lui, il est eux et ils sont lui : tous ensemble, repris en son unité, ne font devant Dieu qu’un seul Fils bien-aimé.”

^{II De Trin., 4, 8, 12; 4, 9, 12 (PML 42, 896) :} “ut omnes unum sint, sicut tu Pater in me, et ego in te, ut et ipsi in nobis unum sint; ut mundus credat, quia tu misisti. Et ego claritatem quam dedisti mihi, dedi eis, ut iinfi unum, sicut et nos unum sumus {Joan. XVII, 20-22}.

Non dixit, Ego et ipsi unum; quamvis per id quod Ecclesiae caput est et corpus ejus Ecclesia (*Ephes.* I, 22, 23), possit dicere, Ego et ipsi, non unum, sed unus, quia caput et corpus unus est Christus: sed divinitatem suam consubstantiale Patri ostendens . . . in suo genere, hoc est, in ejusdem naturae consubstantiali parilitate, vult esse suos unum, sed in ipso . . . non tantum per eamdem naturam qua omnes ex hominibus mortalibus aequales Angelis fiunt, sed etiam per eamdem in eamdem -beatitudinem conspirantem concordissimam voluntatem, in unum spiritum quodam modo igne charitatis conflatam.” Cf. Pius XII, *Mystici Corporis*, New English Translation Provided by the Vatican (Washington, D. C.: NCWC, 1943), pp. 26-27. “Here, Venerable Brethren, We wish to speak in a very special way of our union

It is precisely in view of this unity between Head and members that the faithful participate not only in the sanctifying action of Christ's redemption but also in Christ's personal sanctity.⁷⁸ As Head of the human race Christ became obedient to the death of the Cross for no other reason than to vivify, save, redeem, free, and illumine by the giving of His grace the members of His Body.⁷⁹ But Augustine does not stop here; he carries the analogy to its fullest extent. Since Head and members are one Body, then what the Church suffers Christ suffers in it. The members also share in the death and resurrection of the Head, and the life of Christ becomes the life of the Christian.⁸⁰

with Christ in the Body of the Church, a thing which is, as Augustine justly remarks, sublime, mysterious and divine; but for that very reason it often happens that many misunderstand it and explain it incorrectly. It is at once evident that this union is very close. In the Sacred Scriptures it is compared to the chaste union of man and wife, to the vital union of branch and vine, and to the cohesion found in our body. Even more, it is represented as being so close that the Apostle says: 'He (Christ) is Head of the Body of the Church,' and the unbroken tradition of the Fathers from the earliest times teaches that the Divine Redeemer and the Society which is His Body form but one mystical person, that is to say, to quote Augustine, the whole Christ. Our Saviour Himself in His sacerdotal prayer did not hesitate to liken this union to that wonderful unity by which the Son is in the Father, and the Father in the Son."

⁷⁸ Mersch, *op. cit.*, p. 121. "C'est au contraire, parce que le Christ demeure un, que les fidèles, repris dans son unité, participent à sa sainteté." Cf. Pius XI, *Mortalium animos* (Washington, D. C.: NCWC, 1928), p. 15. "Since the Mystical Body of Christ, that is to say, the Church, is, like the physical body, a unity, a compact thing closely joined together, it would be false and foolish to say that Christ's Mystical Body could be composed of separated and scattered members. Whoever, therefore, is not united with it is not a member of it nor does he communicate with its Head Who is Christ." " ⁷⁹*De pecc. meritis*, 1, 26, 39 (CSEL 60, 37; PML 44, 131): "quibus appareat dominum Iesum Christum non aliam oh causam in came venisse ac forma servi accepta factum oboedientem usque ad mortem crucis, nisi ut hac dispensatione misericordissimae gratiae omnes, quibus tamquam membris in suo corpore constitutis caput est ad capessendum regnum caelorum, vivificaret, salvos faceret, liberaret, redimeret, inluminaret."

"In Pj. 62, 2 (PML 36, 749): "quidquid patitur Ecclesia ipsius in tribulationibus hujus saeculi, in temptationibus, in necessitatibus, in angustiis . . . ipse patitur. . . . Si ergo in illo mortui sumus, et in illo resurreximus, et

The communication of Christ's life or sanctity may be conceived with reference either to the entire Body or to the individual members. The first type is corporate sanctity and is represented by Christ the Head choosing the Church as His Body. The second is individual sanctity resulting from the infusion of grace by Christ the Head into the individual member.

The Sanctity of Christ

To understand the participation of the members in the sanctity of the Head, it is necessary first to determine Christ's sanctity. In sanctifying man Christ appears as mediator, redeemer, and priest. Each office demands in Him a super-eminent sanctity. Because Christ alone came in this flesh without sin, He alone could mediate between God and man.⁸¹ In view of His mission as redeemer Christ was also free from sin,⁸² If sin were in Christ, He could not heal in man's nature an evil existing in His own.⁸³ The purity of the priest was also a necessary condition for sacrifice.⁸⁴ Since a sinner could offer nothing pure, Christ offered Himself as an immaculate oblation and victim.⁸⁵ It was fitting that

ipse in nobis moritur, et in nobis resurgit (ipse est enim unitas capitum et corporis)." Cf. Adam, *op. cit.*, pp. 49-50. "When the Christian is incorporated in him by faith and love, he obtains a share in his life, death and resurrection. 'He is the Head, we are the body; what he has suffered in his own person, that we have also suffered in him.' . . . The essential point for him was the certainty that the Head of the Body lived and suffered, died and rose again for his members, and in that way redeemed them from the guilt of sin."

"*Enchiridion*, 108, 28 (PML 40, 282-283) : "Cum vero genus humanum peccata longe separaverunt a Deo, per Mediatorem, qui solus sine peccato natus est, vixit, occisus est, reconciliari nos oportebat Deo."

"*Zn epist. Jo. ad Parthos*, Tr. 4, 2, 8 (PML 35, 2010) : "In quo non est peccatum, ipse venit auferre peccatum. Nam si esset et in illo peccatum, auferendum esset illi, non ipse auferret."

"*Contra Jul.*, 5, 15, 58 (PML 44, 816): "Hoc autem quod non est bonum Christus in natura si haberet sua, non sanaret in nostra."

⁸⁴ Cayré, *op. cit.*, p. 159. "Cette pureté du prêtre n'est qu'une des conditions du sacrifice agréable à Dieu, mais à cette qualité les autres sont intimement liées dans le Christ, qui les réalise toutes à la perfection."

"*In Ps.* 149, 6 (PML 37, 1953): "Nihil mundum invenit in hominibus, quod offerret pro hominibus, seipsum obtulit mundam victimam. Felix victima, vera victima, hostia immaculata!"

there should be such a high priest: holy, innocent, undefiled, set apart from sinners, become higher than the heavens, who did not need to offer sacrifice daily, as other priests, first for His own sins.⁸⁸

If the Incarnation was motivated by the redemption of man from sin,⁸⁷ it must be admitted that Christ's sanctity in the Incarnation was motivated by the same redemption. In other words, to sanctify man Christ Himself had to be holy, since His sanctity had as its purpose the breaking of the power of sin.⁸⁸

When the Fathers of the Church allude to Christ as being anointed, they are referring to His sanctification, since they use these two terms synonymously. Throughout their writings they distinguish between an anointing of Christ's human nature by the divinity itself and by grace. The scholastic terminology generally applied to this distinction regards the first type of anointing as Christ's substantial sanctification and the second as His accidental

⁸⁷ "De pecc. mVritis, 2, 13, 19 (CSEL 60, 91 ; PML 44, 163) : "talem enim decebat, inquit, habere nos principem sacerdotum, iustum, sine malitia, incontaminatum, separatum a peccatoribus, altorem a caelis factum, non habentem cotidianum necessitatem sicut princeps sacerdotum primum pro suis peccatis sacrificium offerre." Cf. Mohan, *op. cit.*, p, 61. "Iterum Domini nostri sanctitatem explicat S. Augustinus cum declarat sacrificium rite offerri posse a sacerdote justo et sancto dumtaxat, ut et homines vitiosos hoc vero sacrificio mundentur, Christus enim solus est ille sanctus et justus sacerdos, quia ei non opus est ut offerrat prius sacrificium pro peccatis propriis."

"Enchiridion, 108, 28 (PML 40, 282-283) : "Sed cum factus est Adam, homo scilicet rectus, mediatore non opus erat. Cum vero genus humanum peccata longe separaverunt a Deo, per Mediatorem, qui solus sine peccato natus est, vixit, occisus est, reconciliari nos oportebat Deo usque ad carnis resurrectionem in vitam aeternam,"

"Op. imp. contra Jul., 4, 134 (PML 45, 1429) : "quando ipsum Christum non discernitis a carne peccati, nullamque carnem dicentes originaliter esse peccati, sic illum caeteris coaequatis, ut etiam ipsum habuisse genuinam negare cogamini sanctitatem, qui natus est de Spiritu sancto et virgine Maria, expers ommino delicti, quia expers illius conceptionis quae commixtione fit sexuum? Quia et Jeremias et Joannes, quamvis sanctificat! in uteris matrum, traxerunt tamen originale peccatum. . . , Erant ergo illi et natura filii irae ab uteris matrum, et gratia filii misericordiae ab uteris matrum; quia nec illa eis adhuc inerat sanctitas, quae vinculum solveret successionis obnoxiae quod suo tempore solvi oportebat."

sanctification.⁸⁸ In the works of Augustine examples of this double sanctification are also found.

Christ's substantial sanctification by uncreated grace.—Augustine explains this sanctification through the hypostatic union of the two natures in the one divine Person. Since the divine Son is holy with the holiness of God, then Christ's human nature is sanctified in that Person, or it shares in the sanctity of the divine Word.⁹⁰

Though Augustine attributes this sanctification to the Second Person of the Trinity, yet elsewhere he also mentions that God is anointed by God and receives the name of Christ.⁹¹ If this text is

& *Collegii Sahnanticensis Cursus Theologicus*, XIV, “De Incarnatione.” (1879), p. 324. “Dicendum est humanitatem Christi ex vi unionis hypostaticae ad personam divinam sanctificatum fuisse formaliter per aliquod substantiale. . . . Principium hujus assertionis fundamentum desumitur ex testimoniorum SS. Patrum,, apud quos idem est aliquem esse unctum, sive esse Christum, ac esse sanctum : apud eosdem etiam Christus Dominus dicitur singulariter unctus oleo, et delibutus unguento divinitatis. Ex quibus principiis, satis liquido infertur quod juxta illorum sententiam Christus Dominus fuerit sanctus sanctitate substanciali, et independenter a sanctitate accidentalis, qua puri homines justi sancti constituuntur, et appellantur.” Cf. E. Hugon, *Le Mystère de l'incarnation* (Paris: 1913), p. 211. “Le Sauveur est oint par l'union hypostatique, par le don même de la personne du Verbe. Or, dans le language sacré, oint et Christ designent celui qui est l'objet des complaisances divines, qui possède la vraie sainteté, cette justice intérieure, seule beauté qui plaît à Dieu.”

⁹⁰ *In Jo. Ev.*, Tr. 108, 5 (PML 35, 1916): “Verbum illud in principio Deus? In quo et ipse filius hominis sanctificatus est ab initio creationis suae, quando Verbum factum est caro; quia una persona facta est Verbum et homo. Tunc ergo sanctificavit se in se, hoc est hominem se in Verbo se; quia unus Christus Verbum et homo, sanctificans hominem in Verbo.” The principle behind this communication is expressed by the following text *Serm.* 214, 7 (PML 38, 1069) : “Cum sit enim totus Filius Dei unicus Dominus noster Jesus Christus Verbum et homo, atque ut expressius dicam, Verbum, anima, et caro; ad totum refertur quod in sola anima tristis fuit usque ad mortem (*Matth.*, XXVI, 38); quia Filius Dei unicus Jesus Christus tristis fuit: ad totum refertur quod in solo homine crucifixus est, quoniam Filius Dei unicus Jesus Christus crucifixus est: ad totum refertur quod in sola carne sepultus est.”

“*Contra Faust.*, 13, 7 (CSEL 25 I, 386; PML 42, 286): “illum itidem psalmum, ubi deus unctus a deo dicitur et utique Christus ipsa unctione declaratur.” *De praedest. sanet.*, 16, 33 (PML 44, 984) : “Domine, tu es

taken as representing consecration by the Trinity, in conjunction with the preceding text it gives an example of appropriation in the sanctification of Christ's human nature. The Second Person communicates His own sanctity to His human nature, yet the Trinity also cooperates in this sanctification.^{®2}

Christ's accidental sanctification by created grace.—Christ's accidental sanctity is due to the Holy Spirit.^{®3} This reception of the Holy Spirit by Christ is again compared to an anointing, but in this case it is not an anointing of His human nature by the uncreated grace of union but by created grace. This sanctification took place at the time of the Incarnation and was entirely gratuitous.^{8*}

qui fecisli coelum et terram. . . . Convenerunt enim . . . adversus sanctum puerum tuum Jesum quem unxisti."

*. In the Incarnation though the Word alone communicated His personality to Christ's humanity, yet the Trinity effected this union. Cf. *De Trin.*, 2, 10, 18 (PML 42, 857) : "humanam illam formam ex Virgine Maria Trinitas operata est, sed solius Filii persona est; visibilem namque Filii solius personam, invisibilis Trinitas operata est." It would seem then that the Trinity would also have a part in sanctifying Christ's human nature. Cf. E. Portalié, "Augustin," DTC, I, (1909), 2348, "Un autre progrès de la théorie trinitaire d'Augustin, c'est l'insistance à faire de toute opération divine *ad extra* l'oeuvre indistincte des trois personnes. Seulement comme chaque personne possède la nature divine particulière, on attribue à chacune d'elles dans les opérations extérieures le rôle qui convient au caractère de son origine: simple *appropriation*, diront les latins après Augustin." Augustine explicitly states that God created Christ sinless. *Contra Jul.*, 2, 4, 8 (PML 44, 678) : "Sed Deus qui genuit Filium sibi coaeternum, quod in principio Verbum erat, per quod creavit omne quod non erat, etiam ipsum creavit hominem sine vitio." Patristic teaching makes mention of an anointing both by the Trinity—St. Irenaeus, *Adv. Haeres.*, 3, 18, 3 (PMG 7, 934), and by the Word—St. Gregory Naz., *Orat.*, 30, 21 (PMG 36, 131).

* *Serm.* 214, 6 (PML 38, 1069) : "ideo dicitur natus de Spiritu Sancto et virgine Maria: ut unum eorum pertineat, non ad lignamentum, sed ad sanctificantem, alterum vero ad concipientem atque parientem. Propterea, inquit, *quod nasceretur ex te Sanctum, vocabitur Filius Dei*. Quia *Sanctum*, ideo de Spiritu sancto; quia *nasceretur ex te*, ideo de virgine Maria, quia *Filius Dei*, ideo *Verbum caro factum est* (*Joan. I*, 14)."

w*De Trin.*, 15, 26, 46 (PML 42, 1093-1094) : "Dominus ipse Jesus Spiritum sanctum non solum dedit ut Deus, sed etiam accepit ut homo; propterea dictus est plenus gratia (/οαη. I, 14) et Spiritu Sancto (*Lue.*, XI, 52,

The created grace of Christ does not differ specifically from the grace which justifies man.⁸⁵ The difference is a matter of degree only, in so far as Christ receives the grace in its fulness and man in varying proportions.⁸⁹ From this one may conclude that Christ's accidental sanctity resulting from this grace is not specifically different from human sanctity. It does, however, surpass human sanctity and is the greatest possible.⁸⁷

The Impeccability of Christ.—In the sanctification of fallen humanity there is presupposed a change from injustice to justice,⁸⁸ and there is always the possibility that the acquired holiness may

et IV, 1). Et manifestius de illo scriptum est in Actibus Apostolorum: *Quoniam unxit eum Deus Spiritu sancto* (*Act. X, 38*). Non utique oleo visibili, sed dono gratiae, quod visibili significatur unguento quo baptizatos ungit Ecclesia. Nec sane tunc unctus est Christus Spiritu sancto, quando super eum baptizatum velut columba descendit (*Maith. III, 16*): tunc enim corpus suum, id est, Ecclesiam suam praefigurare dignatus est, in qua praecipue baptizati accipiunt Spiritum sanctum: sed ista mystica et invisibili unctione tunc intelligendus est unctus, quando Verbum Dei caro factum est (*Joan. I, 14*); id est, quando humana natura sine ulla praecedentibus bonorum operum meritis Deo Verbo est in utero virginis copulata, ita ut cum illo fieret una persona.”

”*De praedest. sanet.*, 15, 31 (PML 44, 982); “Ea gratia fit ab initio fidei suae homo quicumque Christianus, qua gratia homo ille ab initio suo factus est Christus.”

”*De grat. ei lib. arb.*, 9, 21 (PML 44, 893): “*Nos autem ex plenitudine ejus accepimus, et gratiam pro gratia* (*Joan. I, 16*). Ex ejus itaque plenitudine accepimus pro modulo nostro tanquam particulas nostras ut bene vivamus, *sicut Deus partitus est mensuram fidei* (*Rom. XII, 3*).” *In Jo. Ev., Tr. 14, 10* (PML 35, 1508-1509): “Hominibus ad mensuram dat, unico Filio non dat ad mensuram. . . Sed Christus qui dat, non ad mensuram accipit.” St. Thomas, *Summa Theologica*, III, 7, 11 c, and ad 1 m, with reference to this text of St. Augustine speaks of the infinity of Christ's habitual grace, not absolutely but in the sense that this grace cannot be limited in Christ. In so far as it is created it is finite.

”*Op. imp. contra Jul.*, 6, 23 (PML 45, 1557): “*sicut in Christo justitiae formam non primam esse, sed maximam, quia fuerunt justi et ante ipsum.*”

**De corrept. et gratia*, 11, 30 (PML 44, 935): “Per hunc Mediatorem Deus ostendit eos, quos ejus sanguine redemit, facere se ex malis deinceps in aeternum bonos, quem sic suscepit, ut nunquam esset malus, nec ex malo factus semper esset bonus.”

be lost.¹⁰⁰ Because Christ's human and divine natures are hypostatically united in the divine Person,¹⁰⁰ Christ's substantial holiness not only cannot be lost,¹⁰¹ but it does not even admit the possibility of antecedent or subsequent sin.^{102*} Consequently one must also conclude that Christ's accidental holiness cannot be soiled by sin.¹⁰³ Indeed Christ's impeccability is a consequence of this double sanctification.^{104*}

De praedest. sanct., 14, 26 (PML 44, 979) : "Item si dixerit, justum, si a sua justitia recesserit, in qua diu vixit, et in ea fuerit impietate defunctus, in qua, non dico unum annum, sed unum diem vixerit, in poenas iniquis debitas hic iturum, nihil sibi sua praeterita justitia profutura."

¹⁰⁰ *De ag. chr.*, 20, 22 (CSEL 41, 123; PML 40, 302): "de ceteris enim sapientibus et spiritualibus animis recte dici potest, quod habeant in se verbum dei, per quod facta sunt omnia; sed in nullo eorum recte dici potest, quod verbum caro factum est, et habitavit in nobis, quod in solo domino nostro Iesu Christo rectissime dicitur." Cf. Van Crombrughe, *op. cit.*, p. 246. "il arrive à établir que le Christ n'est pas seulement théophore, comme les saints, mais constitue réellement 'un être' avec le Verbe."

¹⁰¹ *Contra Faust.*, 16, 15 (CSEL 25 I, 456; PML 42, 325): "dissimilis peccator Christus, quia semper sanctus."

Mohan, *op. cit.*, p. 41. "Neque proprium commisit peccatum, uti facile patet, quia ejus sanctitas ex conjunctione ineffabili cum verbo in unitate personae hoc praecedit. Absentia hujus duplicitis generis peccati in Domino Iesu optime exponitur per nomen *Peccati*. Nulla igitur voluptate carnalis concupiscentiae seminatus sive conceptus, et ideo nullum peccatum originaliter trahens; Dei quoque gratia Verbo Patri unigenito, non gratia Filio, sed natura, in unitate personae modo mirabili et ineffabili adjunctus atque concretus, et ideo nullum peccatum et ipse committens, tamen propter similitudinem carnis peccati in qua venerat (Rom 8:3). dictus est et ipse peccatum. *Enchiridion* 41, 13 (PML 40, 252-253). Cf. *Op. imp. contra Jul.*, 6, 22 (PML 45, 1553). Ideo Adam primus ille, secundus iste; quia sine carnis concupiscentia factus ille, natus iste: sed ille tantum homo, iste vero et Deus et homo: et ideo ille potuit non peccare, non sicut iste peccare non potuit."

¹⁰² *De praedest. sanet.*, 15, 31 (PML 44, 892) : "eodem Spiritu fit in nobis remissio peccatorum, quo Spiritu factum est ut nullum haberet ille peccatum."

¹⁰⁴ Petavius, *Theologica Dogmatica*, Vol. VI, *De Incarnatione* (Paris: Vives, 1867), XI, VII, p. 443. "Communis haec antiquorum Patrum est sententia, quam variis modis explicare, atque adstruere solent. . . . Et quoniam . . . duplex est *sanctitatis* ratio: una, quam Θετικήν, id est *positivam* appellant; quae in forma quadam vel quasi forma sanctificante posita est: altera, quam *negativam* vocant, quam Graeci ἀναμαρτησίαν vocant, Hieronymus impeccantium; quae peccati maculam excludit."

Not only original sin but also personal sin is incompatible with the Son of God.¹⁰⁸ To explain Christ's freedom from the sin of Adam Augustine relies on the virginal conception. He attributes the moral deordination in which original sin consists to a physical deordination present in ordinary generation.¹⁰⁸ Because of His singular birth from the virgin Mary,¹⁰⁹ Christ is entirely free not only from moral deordination or original sin,¹⁰⁹ but also from physical deordination which consists in the conflict of the flesh against the spirit.¹⁰⁸ Thus the human nature of Christ is like that possessed by Adam before his fall.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁸ -*De corrept. et gratia*, 11, 30 (PML 44, 934) : "et quae potentior quam Dei unigenitus Filius, aequalis Patri et coaeternus, pro eis homo factus, et sine suo ullo vel originali vel proprio peccato."

IMVan Crombrugge, *op. cit.*, p. 247. "Les spéculations d'Augustin sur la nature et le rôle de la concupiscence s'inspirent, en réalité, de son attachement au monachisme ... et plus encor du désir de trouver dans la génération une déordination physique, qui puisse expliquer la déordination morale du péché originel." Cf. Gilson, *op. cit.*, p. 189, n. 1.

¹⁰⁹ *De symbolo*, 3, 6 (PML 40, 630) : "Natus est de Spiritu sancto et virgine Maria, Et ipsa nativitas humana, humili et excelsa. Unde humili? Quia homo natus est ex hominibus. Unde excelsa? Quia de virgine. Virgo concepit, virgo peperit, et post partum virgo permansit.

¹¹⁰ *Op. imp. contra Jul.*, 4, 134 (PML 45, 1429) : "qui natus est de Spiritu sancto et virgine Maria, expers omnino delicti, quia expers illius conceptionis quae commixtione fit sexuum?" Cf. Van Crombrugge, *op. cit.*, p. 246. "La conception virginal du Christ occupe dans la théologie d'Augustin une place marquante. Le saint Docteur y trouve surtout le moyen approprié et préétabli par Dieu pour préparer au Verbe une nature humaine, réelle et véritable, mais non entachée du péché originel."

¹¹¹ *Op. imp. contra Jul.*, 4, 58 (PML 45, 1374) : "Natus enim de carne per sanctum concipiente Spiritum, absit ut in se haberet discordiam carnis et spiritus." Cf. Mohan, *op. cit.*, p. 42. "Tandem esse in Domino nostri fomitem peccati S. Augustinus prorsus negabat Quae fomes intelligitur velut illa passio quae contra voluntatem rationalem se erigit et ad peccandum allicit. Suam doctrinam hac de re nitide proponit S. Doctor iterum sub titulo *Secundi Adam*'. Haec prima est gratia quae data est primo Adam: sed hac potentior est in secundo Adam. Prima est enim qua fit ut habeat homo justitiam si velit: secunda ergo plus potest, qua etiam fit ut velit, et tantum velit, tantoque ardore diligat, ut carnis voluntatem contraria concupiscentem voluntate spiritus vincat.' *De corrept. et gratia*, 11, 31 (PML 44-935)."

¹¹² *Contra Jul.*, 5, 15, 55 (PML 44, 814-815) : "et aliud est doncupiscentia qua caro concupiscit adversus spiritum, sine qua fuit ante peccatum primus homo, qualem nobis exhibuit humanam naturam Christus homo."

As regards personal sin Augustine sees Christ's grace of union demanding a complete harmony between God's will and the human will of Christ¹¹¹ so that Christ is not only free from sin and its desire,¹¹² but He cannot sin.¹¹³ Thus when Augustine treats of the impeccability of Christ's human nature, he always has in mind that Christ is a divine Person. If sin were admitted in Christ's

*111 Contra serm. arian., 7 (PML 42, 688) : "Ut autem Mediator Dei et hominum homo Christus Jesus (I Tim. II, 5) non faceret propriam, quae Deo adversa est, voluntatem, non erat tantum homo, sed Deus et homo; per quam mirabilem singularemque gratiam humana in illo sine peccato ullo posset esse natura. Propter hoc ergo ait, *Descendi de caelo, non ut factam voluntatem meam, sed voluntatem ejus qui me misit*, ut ea causa esset tantae oboedientiae, quae omnino sine ullo peccato esset hominis quem gerebat, quia de caelo descenderat; hoc est, non tantum homo, verum etiam Deus erat,"*

112 Op. imp. contra Jul., 4, 57 (PML 45, 1373) : "Dicis castitatem Christi continua integritate celsam: sed homo es, cui non videtur castitas integra, ubi magnitudine et perfectione voluntatis bonae non solum non committuntur, sed nec cupiuntur illicita."

*113 De praedest. sanet., 15, 30 (PML 44, 982) : "Numquid metuendum fuit, ne accidente aetate homo ille libero peccaret arbitrio? Aut ideo in illo non libera voluntas erat, ac non tanto magis erat, quanto magis peccato servire non poterat?" That Christ had free will, however, is evident from the following text. *De civ. dei*, 16, 41 (CSEL 40 II, 198-199; PML 41, 520): "Potestatem habeo ponendi animam meam et potestatem habeo iterum sumendi eam. Nemo eam tollit a me; sed ego eam pono a me, et iterum sumo eam." Cf. Mohan, *op. cit.*, pp. 42-43. "Attamen prae ante quoque habeantur haec tria facta de Christo, videlicet Dominum nostrum non posse peccare; plenum esse gratiae; necnon gaudere visione beatifica. Quae enim omnia libertati Christi humanitatis adversari videntur. Nam Eum determinant ad Ipsum bonum in se, scilicet ad Deum, a quo physice avelli nequit. Quamobrem prorsus declarandum est libertatem Christi humanae naturae non sese extendere ad bonum aut malum eligendum. Relate igitur ad hanc questionem ex Doctoris nostri testimonio per nomina Christi exhibita tandem docetur libertas voluntatis Domini nostri humanae quoad mortem subeundam." Cf. Van Crombrughe, *op. cit.*, pp. 255-256. "L'on sait, en effet, que, dans la théologie augustinienne, la perfection de la liberté n'implique nullement la possibilité de pécher; elle l'exclut, au contraire, comme pouvant entraver l'exercice raisonnable de l'activité humaine. La communauté de régime des deux natures, devait, au témoignage d'Augustin, trouver ou rendre la volonté humaine parfaite et conséquemment excluait tout désordre de la volonté."*

human nature, it would have to be attributed to the divine Person.¹¹⁴

Christ is also impeccable in view of His mission as redeemer. Since Christ came to take away sin, if sin were in Him, He could not fulfil His mission, for it would be impossible for Him to heal in man's nature an evil existing in His own.¹¹⁵ Finally due to the beatific vision which He possessed from the moment of the Incarnation Christ cannot sin.¹¹⁶ Alone of all men Christ can say, *'The prince of this world is coming and in me he has nothing'*

m Serm. 12, 12, 12 (PML 38, 106): "Et Dominus noster Jesus Christus Verbum Patris . . . sanctificavit carnem, nec inde pollueretur." *Contra Faust.*, 20, 11 (CSEL 25 I, 549; PML 42, 377) : "itaque nos Christum filium dei, verbum dei, incontaminabiliter carne indutum corde credimus, ore confitemur, quia illa substantia contaminari nec carne potest, quae nulla re potest."

"*In epist. Io. ad Parthos*, Tr. 4, 2, 8 (PML 35, 2010) : "in quo non est peccatum, ipse venit auferre peccatum. Nam si esset et in illo peccatum, auferendum esset illi, non ipse auferret." *Contra Jul.*, 5, 15, 58 (PML 44, 816) : "Hoc autem quod non est bonum Christus in natura si haberet sua, non sanaret in nostra."

¹¹⁶ *De divers, quaest.*, 83, 65 (PML 40, 60) : "Quantum autem intersit inter hominem quem Dei Sapientia gestabat, per quem liberati sumus, et caeteros homines, hinc intelligitur, quod Lazarus nisi exiens de monumento non solvitur; id est, etiam renata anima nisi resolutione corporis libera ab omni peccato et ignorantia esse non potest, quamdiu per speculum et in aenigmate videt Dominus: illius autem linteamina et sudarium, qui peccatum non fecit, et nihil ignoravit, in monumento inventa sunt (*Joan. XX*, 7). Ipse enim solus in carne non tantum monumento non est oppressus, ut aliquod peccatum in eo inveniretur (*Isai. LIII*, 9) sed nec linteis implicatus, ut eum aliquid lateret aut ab itinere retardaret." Cf. A. Caron, "La Science du Christ dans Saint Augustin et Saint Thomas," *Angelicum*, VII (1930), pp. 501-502. "La différence entre l'Homme-Dieu et les autres hommes consiste en ce qu'une âme même rendue à la vie, ne peut être affranchie de tout péché et de l'ignorance qu'après la dissolution du corps, aussi longtemps qu'elle ne voit le Seigneur qu'un énigme et à travers un miroir; l'Homme-Dieu au contraire n'avait aucun péché, rien ne lui était caché et rien ne pouvait retarder sa marche ici-bas. Il voyait donc sans énigme et sans miroir; il contemplait la divinité face à face dans une connaissance pleine et entière, et cela depuis l'heure de l'incarnation. Car, comme il n'a jamais été soumis au péché pas même un instant, ainsi n'a-t-il jamais connu les hésitations et les ombres de l'ignorance, qui ne sont dissipées que par la clairvue de la béatitude."

(John 14:30).¹¹¹ Alone of all men He need not say, *Forgive us our debts* (Matt. 6:12).¹¹⁸ Of Christ's priesthood alone can be said: *It was fitting that man should have such a high priest, holy, innocent, undefiled, set apart from sinners, and become higher than the heavens, who does not need to offer sacrifice daily, as the other priests, first for His own sins* (Heb. 7:26-27).¹¹⁹

Certain consequences of Christ's double sanctification.—Augustine's statement that as man Christ possessed the Holy Spirit¹²⁰ lends itself to an interesting comparison between Christ's sanctity and that of man. It must always be remembered that in addition to the accidental grace which He shares with man, Christ possesses the grace of union which is proper to Him alone. This grace is not an accidental participation of the divinity but consists in the union of the two natures in one Person.¹²¹ For this reason there is never a question of Christ being an adopted son of God, an effect produced in man by habitual or sanctifying grace.¹²² Christ

¹¹⁷In Ps. 140, 3 (PML 37, 1816) : "Quomodo enim potest de Domino nostro Iesu Christo, de illo agno immaculato, de illo in quo solo non est inventum peccatum, qui solus verissime dicere potuit, *Ecce venit princeps mundi hujus, et in me nihil inveniet* (Joan. XIV, 30)."

¹¹⁸De pecc. meritis, 3, 13, 23 (CSEL 60, 150; PML 44, 200) : "quam orationem (i.e. dominicam) quisquis cuilibet, etiam homini sancto et dei voluntatem scienti atque facienti, praeter unum sanctum sanctorum dicit in hac vita necessariam non fuisse, multum errat nec potest omnino illi ipsi placere quem laudat."

¹¹⁹Ibid., 2, 13, 19 (CSEL 60, 91; PML 44, 163): "talem enim decebat, inquit, habere nos principem sacerdotum, iustum, sine malitia, incontaminatus, separatum a peccatoribus, altiorem a caelis factum, non habentem cotidianam necessitatem sicut princeps sacerdotum primum pro suis peccatis sacrificium offerre."

¹²⁰De Trin., 15, 26, 46 (PML 42, 1093) : "Dominus ipse Jesus Spiritum sanctum non solum dedit ut Deus, sed etiam accepit ut homo."

¹²¹Ibid., 15, 26, 46 (PML 42, 1093-1094) : "id est, quando humana natura sine ulla praecedentibus bonorum operum meritis Deo Verbo est in utero virginis copulata, ita ut cum illo fieret una persona."

¹²²Contra Secund., 5 (CSEL 25 II, 912; PML 42, 581): "ut sit ipse primogenitus in multis fratribus, quos ei pater ad fraternalm societatem non aequalitate substantiae, sed adoptione gratiae generavit." Cf. St. Thomas, op. cit., III, 23, 4 c.

is always the natural Son of God.¹²³ Thus the grace of union precludes a merely accidental participation of the divinity and sonship by adoption, but it does not exclude an accidental sanctification.

Sanetity Through Union in Christ's Body

Individual sanctity.—Now one must consider this sanctification of the physical Christ in its application to the union of the faithful in Him. As mediator between God and man Christ is the Head of His Body, and His members are one with Him. Just as the human nature of Christ is substantially sanctified in His divine Person, so in being one with Him His members are also sanctified in the same Person.¹²⁴ Thus Christ's substantial sanctification through the hypostatic union becomes a sanctification of those incorporated into His Body. Because Christ the Head is

¹²³ *Op. imp. contra Jul.*, I, 138 (PML 45, 1137) : "quod ipse homo nunquam ita fuit homo, ut non esset unigenitus Dei Filius, propter unigenitum Verbum."

¹²⁴ *In Jo. Ev.*, Tr., 108, 5 (PML 35, 1916) : "Sed quoniam per hoc quod mediator Dei et hominum homo Christus Jesus factus est caput Ecclesiae, illi membra sunt ejus; ideo ait quod sequitur, *Et pro eis ego sanctifico meipsum*, Quid est enim, *Et pro eis ego sanctifico meipsum*, nisi, eos in meipso sanctifico, cum et ipsi sint ego? Quoniam de quibus hoc ait, ut dixi, membra sunt ejus, et unus est Christus caput et corpus. . . . Cum enim dixisset, *Et pro eis ego sanctifico meipsum*, ut intelligeremus hoc eum dixisse, quod eos sanctificaret in se, mox addidit, *Ut sint et ipsi sanctificati in veritate*. Quod quid est aliud quam, in me, secundum id quod veritas est Verbum illud in principio Deus? In quo et ipse filius hominis sanctificatus est ab initio creationis suae, quando Verbum factum est caro; quia una persona facta est Verbum et homo. Tunc ergo sanctificavit se in se, hoc est, hominem se in Verbo se; quia unus Christus Verbum et homo, sanctificans hominem in Verbo. Propter sua vero membra, *Et pro eis*, inquit, *ego*, id est, quod prosit etiam ipsis, quia et ipsi sunt ego; sicut mihi profuit in me, quia homo sum sine ipsis: *Et ego sanctifico meipsum*, hoc est, ipso in me tanquam meipsum sanctifico ego, quoniam in me etiam ipsi sunt ego. *Ut sint et ipsi sanctificati in veritate*. Quid est *et ipsi*, nisi, quemadmodum ego; in *veritate*, quod ipse sum ego?" Cf. Mersch, *op. cit.*, p. 127. "La grâce est l'écoulement en nous, les membres, de la sainteté parfaite que met, dans notre chef, l'incarnation, parce que nous, en lui, mystiquement, nous sommes lui."

holy, His Body is holy also, and each member of that Body is holy.¹²⁸

It must not be supposed that this sanctification of the members is the same as that effected in Christ by the grace of union,¹²⁸ which belongs to the Word alone.¹²¹ Augustine sees it as the result of the communication of Christ's habitual grace, which as Head of His Body He diffuses through all His members.¹²⁸

» Since Christ is the Head of His Body, His habitual or capital grace exceeds the grace of His members.¹²⁰ This is commonly

mIn Ps. 85, 4 (PML 37, 1084): "unus Christus, unus Salvator; in forma Dei aequalis Patri, in forma servi caput Ecclesiae. Ergo, Quoniam sanctus sum cum audio, vocem ejus agnosco; et hic separo meam? Certe inseparabiliter a corpore suo loquitur, cum sic loquitur. . . . audeat et corpus Christi, audeat et unus ille homo clamans a finibus terrae (Psal. LX, 3), cum capite suo, et sub capite suo dicere, Quoniam sanctus sum. . . . si membra sunt facti corporis ejus, et dicunt se sancta non esse, capiti ipsi faciunt injuriam, cuius membra sancta non sunt."

Op. imp. contra Jul., 6, 18 (PML 45, 1542) : "non ex Deo poscitis et sumitis veram, quae dicta est justitia Dei; non illa qua justus est Deus; sed, quae datur ex Deo; sicut Domini est salus (Psal. III, 9), non qua Dominus salvus fit, sed qua salvos facit."

mEpist. 187, 13, 40 (CSEL 57, 117; PML 33, 847) : "Verbum caro factum est. . . . singularis ergo est illa susceptio nec cum hominibus aliquibus sanctis quantalibet sapientia et sanctitate praestantibus ullo modo potest esse communis."

¹²⁹ *De praedest. sanci.*, 15, 31 (PML 44, 982); "Appareat itaque nobis in nostro capite ipse fons gratiae, unde secundum uniuscujusque mensuram se per cuncta ejus membra diffundit. Ea gratia fit ab initio fidei suae homo quicumque Christianus, qua gratia homo ille ab initio suo factus est Christus: de ipso Spiritu et hic renatus, de quo est ille natus; eodem Spiritu fit in nobis remissio peccatorum, quo Spiritu factum est ut nullum haberet ille peccatum." *Op. imp. contra Jul.*, 1, 138 (PML 45, 1137); "Qua ergo gratia homo ille ab initio factus est bonus, eadem gratia homines qui sunt membra ejus ex malis fiunt boni." Cf. É. Mersch, "Deux Traits de la Doctrine Spirituelle de Saint Augustin," *Nouv. Rev. Théol.*, LVII (1930), 404. "un chrétien n'étant, mais de façon incomplète et participée, rien d'autre que ce que le Christ est en plénitude." At times, as above, St. Augustine speaks of a diffusion of grace; at other times he makes explicit mention of a diffusion of sanctity. Cf. *Contra Utt. Petit.*, 2, 104, 239 (CSEL 52, 153; PML 43, 341).

¹³⁰ *De gestis Pelagii*, 14, 32 (CSEL 42, 87-88; PML 44, 339-340) : "neque enim, quamvis esset apostolus Paulus multum excellens membrum Christi

spoken of as Christ's fulness of grace, and Augustine considers it as a proof of Christ's divinity and consequently of His power to sanctify.¹³⁰ From this fulness each member receives grace.¹³¹ To illustrate the mode of communication between the Head and members Augustine uses the parable of the vine and branches. It is due to a unity in nature that the vine can contribute a vital influence to its branches. Because as God Christ did not have the same nature as man, He took a common nature with man so that He might be as the vine and men as the branches.¹³² Thus Augustine harmonizes the functions of Christ's two natures in sanctifying. It is because Christ is divine and has a plenitude of grace that He has the power to sanctify, but it is only because He is human that He can communicate this sanctity to man.

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corporis, nullas plures et ampliores gratias accepit ipsum totius corporis caput, sive in carne sive in anima hominis, quam creaturam suam verbum dei in unitatem personae suae, ut nostrum caput esset et corpus eius essemus, assumpsit, et re vera si esse possent in singulis omnia, frustra de membris corporis nostri ad hanc rem data similitudo videretur."

In Jo. Ev., Tr. 13, 3, 8 (PML 35, 1496) : "salutem suam intelligebat in Christo esse. Jam dixerat superius, *Nos omnes de plenitudine ejus accepimus (Joan. 1, 16)* : "et hoc est confiteri Deum est. Quomodo enim omnes homines de plenitudine ejus accipiunt, nisi ille sit Deus? Nam si sic ille homo ut non Deus, de plenitudine Dei accipit etiam ipse, et sic non Deus est. Si autem omnes homines de plenitudine ejus accipiunt, ille est fons, illi bibentes."

De grat. et lib. arb., 9, 21 (PML 44, 893) : "Sed habetis Evangelium secundum Joannem tanta luce clarissimum, ubi Joannes Baptista de Domino Christo dicit, *Nos autem ex plenitudine ejus accepimus, et gratiam pro gratia (Joan. 1, 16)*. Ex ejus itaque plenitudine accepimus pro modulo nostro tanquam particulas nostras ut bene vivamus, *sicut Deus partitus est mensuram fidei (Rom. XII, 3)*; quia unusquisque proprium donum habet a Deo, *alius sic, alius autem sic (I Cor. VII, 7)*; et ipsa est gratia; sed insuper accipiemos et gratiam pro gratia, quando nobis vita aeterna reddetur, de qua dixit Apostolus, *Gratia autem Dei vita aeterna in Christo Jesu Domino nostro.*"

¹³³*In Jo. Ev., Tr. 80, 1 (PML 35, 1839)* : "Iste locus evangelicus, fratres, ubi se dicit Dominus vitem, et discipulos suos palmites, secundum hoc dicit quod est caput Ecclesiae, nosque membra ejus mediator Dei et hominum homo Christus Jesus (*I Tim. II, 5*). Unius quippe naturae sunt vitis et palmites: propter quod cum esset Deus, cuius naturae non sumus, factus est homo, ut in illo esset vitis humana natura, cuius et nos homines palmites esse possemus."

Corporate sanctity.—Just as in the physical sphere every head has its proper body, so too in the spiritual realm Christ the Head has the Church as His Body. This mystical union between the Head and Body rests on the common bond of human nature,¹⁸⁸ and it is so intimate that a single personality, as it were, results.¹⁸⁴ Therefore, in the same manner as the human head speaks for its whole body, with equal right Christ speaks in the person of His Body. For this reason when He says, *I am holy*, He is referring not merely to Himself but to His whole Body.¹⁸⁶ Thus the Church becomes the holy Body of Christ¹⁸⁸ through a participation in Christ's own sanctity.¹⁸⁷

* Augustine portrays this communication of sanctity from Head to members in still another way. He implies that Christ is not merely a means of justification and sanctification but is identified with them.¹⁸⁸ Since all the faithful are a single person in Christ,¹³⁹ Christ's Body is likewise identified with this justification and sanctification.¹⁴⁰

¹³³ *De perf. iust. hominis*, 15, 35 (CSEL 42, 36; PML 44, 310) : “cum enim dominus ipse secundum formam servi, per quam se mediator coniunxit ecclesiae.”

¹³¹ *Serm.* 294, 10, 10 (PAIL 38, 1341) : “et solus Christus de Maria natus unus est Christus, et cum corpore suo caput unus est Christus.”

[†] *In Ps.* 85, 4 (PML 37, 1084): “Ergo, *Quoniam sanctus sum*, cum audio, vocem ejus agnosco; et hic separo meam? Certe inseparabiliter a corpore suo loquitur, cum sic loquitur.”

TM *Contra Faust.*, 12, 16 (CSEL 25 I, 345; PML 42, 263) : “sicut ecclesia corpus Christi in unitatem conlecta sublimat et perficit.” *Contra Crescon.*, 2, 13, 16 (CSEL 52, 374; PML 43, 476): “quid in ecclesia, quae sanctum corpus est Christi.”

¹³⁷ Mersch, “Deux Traits de la Doctrine Spirituelle de Saint Augustin,” *op. clt.*, p. 398. “Tout, dans l'Église, vient du Christ. C'est lui et lui seul qui est, en elle, la racine, la source, le principe et la cause de tout bien. Toute la vie qu'elle possède est la vie qu'elle reçoit, et si cette vie est intérieure comme est toute vie, elle est antérieure en lui et par lui.”

¹³⁸ *Op. imp. contra fui.*, 1, 140 (PML 45, 1139) : “ita est etiam exemplum gratiae, ut in eum credendo inde nos fieri speremus justos per ipsum, unde factus est ipse, *qui factus est nobis sapientia a Deo, et justitia, et sanctificatio, et redemptio.*”

¹³⁸ *In Ps.* 119, 7 (PML 37, 1602) ; “et omnes sancti unus homo in Christo.”

TM *Epist.* 140, 30, 73 (CSEL 44. 221; PML 33, 570): “ut nos simus iustitia dei in ipso, id est in eius corpore, quod est ecclesia, cui caput est.” *Serm.* 144, 5, 6 (PML 38, 790): “Unde dictum est: *Ut nos simus iustitia*

It is possible to draw an analogy between Christ's sanctification of His human nature and the sanctification of the Church. There is the same relation between the divine Word and His assumed human soul as there is between Christ and the Church, expressed in each case by the mystical *two in one flesh*.¹⁴¹ The divine Person is Sponsus; His flesh the Sponsa.¹⁴² In the union of Christ and the Church Christ is Sponsus to the Church's Sponsa.¹⁴³ The accidental holiness of Christ's human nature is due to the power of the Holy Spirit.¹⁴⁴ The Church is also made holy through the same Spirit.¹⁴⁵ Through His sanctification Christ is full of grace and truth;¹⁴⁶ through her sanctification the Church possesses all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge.¹⁴⁷ The Word Incarnate was born of Mary. The Church gives birth to Christ's members, or to put it more forcibly the Church gives birth to Christ since Christ

Dei in ipso (*II Cor.*, V, 21). Si enim non in ipso, nullo modo justitia. Si autem in ipso, totus nobiscum vadit ad Patrem, et haec implebitur in nobis perfecta justitia."

¹⁴¹ *Contra Faust.*, 22, 38 (CSEL 25 I, 632; PML 42, 424): "occulte quippe atque intus in abscondito secreto spiritali anima humana inhaeret verbo dei, ut sint duo in carne una: quod magnum coniugii sacramentum in Christo et in ecclesia commendat apostolus."

¹⁴² *i/n epist. Jo. ad Parthos*, Tr. 1, 2 (PML 35, 1979) : "et illius sponsi thalamus fuit uterus Virginis, quia in illo utero virginali conjuncti sunt duo, sponsus et sponsa, sponsus Verbum et sponsa caro." Cf. Cayré, *op. cit.*, 186. "L'union du Verbe et de l'Église, marquée par ces titres d'Époux et d'Épouse, est une union exclusivement spirituelle, comme la grâce, la foi et la charité qui la produisent. Toutes les âmes qui sont membres de l'Église y participent, et chacune d'elles en particulier est elle-même Épouse du Verbe dans la mesure où elle vit de Dieu et en Dieu."

¹⁴³ *Serm. 264*, 4 (PML 38, 1215) : "ut procederet de thalamo suo sponsus, ut desponsaret Ecclesiam virginem caStam."

¹⁴⁴ *De Trin.*, 15, 26, 46 (PML 42, 1093) : "Dominus ipse Jesus Spiritum sanctum non solum dedit ut Detis, sed etiam accepit ut homo; propterea dictus est plenus gratia (*Joan.* I, 14) et Spiritu Sancto (*Lite.* XI, 52, *et IV*, 1)."

¹⁴⁵ *In epist. Jo. ad Parthos*, Tr. 2, 3 (PML 35, 1991) : "Ubi inchoata est Ecclesia, nisi ubi venit de coelo Spiritus sanctus, et implevit uno loco sedentes centum viginti?"

¹⁴⁶ *Contra Faust.*, 19, 31 (CSEL 25 I, 535; PML 42, 370): "qui plenus gratia et veritate . . . venit legem non solvere sed adinplere."

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 12, 46 (CSEL 25 I, 375; PML 42, 279): "et ibi sunt censes thesauri sapientiae et scientiae absconditi."

and His members are one.¹⁴⁸ Thus the Church prolongs the Incarnation and continues through the sacraments the sanctification inaugurated by Christ.¹⁴⁹ Just as Christ is the fountain at whose mouth men drink the waters of sanctity,¹⁵⁰ so too the Church is the well of living water,¹⁵¹ outside which there is neither life nor eternal salvation.¹⁵² The Church alone then is the depository of sanctity.¹⁵³

Synthesis of corporate and individual sanctity.—Perhaps no text better explains corporate and individual sanctity together with the

213, 7, 7 (PML 38, 1064) : “Numquid non virgo sancta Maria et peperit, et virgo permansit? Sic et Ecclesia, et parit, et virgo est. Et si consideres, Christum parit: quia membra ejus sunt qui baptizantur. *I'os estis*, inquit Apostolus, *corpus Christi et membra* (I Cor. XII, 27).”

¹⁴⁸ *Op. imp. contra Jul.*, 3, 114 (PML 45, 1296): “Nam et praecipiunt homines, et benedicunt, et per divina Sacra menta sanctificant.”

¹⁴⁹ *In Jo. Ev.*, Tr. 13, 3, 8 (PML 35, 1496) : “Si autem omnes homines de plenitudine ejus accipiunt, ille est fons, illi bibentes.”

¹⁵⁰ *Contra Faust.*, 22/87 (CSEL 25 I, 692; PML 42, 458) : “illa ecclesia est, quae vocatur puteus aquae vivae.”

¹⁵¹ *De pecc. meritis*, 3, 11, 19 (CSEL 60, 145; PML 44, 196-197) : “quibus docemur praeter Christi societatem, quae in illo et cum illo fit, cum sacramentis eius inbuimur et eius membris incorporamur, vitam salutemque aeternam adipisci neminem posse.”

“•Adam, *op. cit.*, pp. '52-53. “According to Augustine there exists between the Church and the Body of Christ an identity, not indeed of external manifestation but of inward nature: the Church is the sole place wherein Christ works in his members through his Holy Spirit. So saints are possible only in the Church, and they do occur there, though there is unworthiness also. These saints, because they are impregnated with the Spirit of their head, are the fruitful source of the Church's grace, the treasure and support of the Church. There is no grace in the Church which is not somehow due to the communion of Saints. The visible distributors of grace are the officials of the Church, its servants, who have their authority neither from themselves, nor from the faithful, but directly from Christ. Consequently the Church is the true and only home of salvation, the revelation and manifestation of Christ's saving power, the Body of Christ.”

Augustine's identification of the Church with the Body of Christ is the basis of his teaching that the Church is the only home of salvation, and of his severity towards all schismatical and heretical communities. The older he grew, the less favourable was his judgment on them. In the end he went so far as to say that 'outside the Church there is nothing but the damned,' a proposition that was condemned by the Church at the time of the Jansenist controversy.”

ensuing relations between Head, Body, and members than, *No one has ascended into heaven except him who descended from heaven, the Son of Man who is in heaven* (John 3:13). Christ descended from heaven without His Body, the Church, yet clothing Himself with this Body He ascends to heaven.¹⁶⁴ The individual Christian through incorporation into the Church becomes identified with the unity of Christ's Body, and thereby becoming a spiritual man ascends to heaven.¹⁶⁵ This spiritual rebirth and ascension is effected by the grace of Christ the Head sanctifying His Body and its members.¹⁶⁶ Though this sanctity is the property of Christ and belongs to the whole Body, yet in the individual members it is entirely personal.¹⁶⁷

Sanctity and sin in Christ's Body.—To explain the seeming contradiction between the sanctity of Christ's Body and the actual

¹⁶⁴ J. Boutet, "Saint Augustin, L'unité des chrétiens dans le Christ," *Vie Spirituelle*, LIII (October, 1937), 86-87. "La tête est descendue; elle est montée avec le corps. Le Christ est revêtu de son Église qu'il a fait paraître devant lui sans tache et sans ride. . . . L'unité nous unit à lui; et ceux-là seuls ne montent pas avec lui qui auront refusé d'être un avec lui. . . . Car si par la charité il est avec nous sur la terre, par la même charité nous sommes avec lui dans le ciel."

¹⁶⁵ *De pecc. mentis*, 1, 31, 60 (CSEL 60, 60; PML 44, 144) : " 'sic,' inquit, 'fiet generatio spiritalis, ut sint caelestes homines ex terrenis, quod adipisci non poterunt, nisi membra mea efficiantur, ut ipse ascendat qui descendit, quia nemo ascendit nisi qui descendit.' nisi ergo in unitatem Christi omnes mutandi levandique concurrent, ut Christus, qui descendit, ipse ascendat, non aliud deputans corpus suum, id est ecclesiam suam, quam se ipsum . . . ascendere omnino non poterunt, quia nemo ascendit in caelum, nisi qui de caelo descendit, filius hominis, qui est in caelo."

¹⁶⁶ *In Jo. Ev.*, Tr. 12, 3, 8 (PML 35, 1488): "Deus voluit esse filius hominis, et homines voluit esse filios Dei. Ipse descendit propter nos, nos ascendamus propter ipsum. Solus enim descendit et ascendit, qui hoc ait, *Nemo ascendit in coelum, nisi qui descendit de coelo*. Non ergo ascensuri sunt in coelum quos facit filios Dei? Ascensuri plane: haec nobis promissio est, *Erunt aequales Angelis Dei* (*Matth. XXII, 30*), Quomodo ergo nemo ascendit, nisi qui descendit? Quia unus descendit, unus ascendit."

¹⁶⁷ Mersch, *Le Corps Mystique du Christ*, II, p. 77. "Cette sainteté, ensuite, se communique du chef aux membres. De la sorte, l'incarnation s'étant, en quelque façon, étendue, comme par degrés, à tous les fidèles, la vie sur-naturelle, bien qu'en étant personnelle à chacun, demeure cependant, et cela en chacun, propriété du Christ et chose de l'ensemble."

fact of sin in its members Augustine distinguished between the eternal and temporal aspects of the Church. In her future glorified life the entire Body of Christ will be without sin.¹⁶⁸ On earth the Church can and does sin in its members.¹⁶⁹

It cannot be objected that such sin is impossible on the grounds that it ultimately discredits the sanctity of Christ since Christ and His members form a single person. Even while insisting on this union between Christ and the faithful, Augustine maintains that a clear distinction must be made between what is proper to the Head alone and to the Body alone.¹⁷⁰ Though Christ and the

¹⁶⁸ *De perf. iust. hominis*, 15, 35 (CSEL 42, 35-36; PML 44, 310) : "satis significavit, quando erit sine macula et ruga aut aliquid eius modi: tunc utique, quando gloriosa. . . . cum enim dominus ipse secundum formam servi, per quam se mediator coniunxit ecclesiae, non fuerit glorificatus nisi resurrectionis gloria . . . quomodo dicenda est ante resurrectionem suam ecclesia eius esse gloriosa?"

¹⁶⁹ *In Ps.* 140, 6 (PML 37; 1818) : "Ergo si Dominus noster Jesus Christus nos figurans in charitate corporis sui, quamvis esset ipse sine peccato, dixit, *Verba delictorum meorum*; dixit autem hoc ex persona corporis sui: quis audet in membris ejus dicere non se habere peccatum." Cf. C. Dowd, *The Visible Sanctity of the Church as a Note and a Motive of Credibility* (Washington, D. C.: C.U.A. Press, 1941), p. 14. "He presumed the clear fact that there are sinful members in the Church and proposed a distinction in the life of the Church as a solution. . . . This distinction of Saint Augustine is that which exists between the Church in heaven which is perfectly holy and that on earth which is only essentially so. It is to be noted, however, that this Church on earth is perfectly holy as regards the means of sanctification and salvation. It is only in the members that there is found ignorance and infirmity."

¹⁷⁰ *De doct. christ.*, 3, 31, 44 (PML 34, 82) : "Prima de Domino et ejus corpore est, in qua scientes aliquando capitum et corpore, id est, Christi et Ecclesiae unam personam nobis intimari (neque enim frustra dictum est fidelibus, *Ergo Abrahae semen estis* (*Galat.* III, 29), cum sit unum semen Abrahae, quod est Christus), non haesitemus quando a capite ad corpus, vel a corpore transitur ad caput, et tamen non receditur ab una eademque persona. Una enim persona loquitur dicens, *sicut sponsus imposuit mihi mitram, ei sicut sponsam ornavit me ornamento* (*Isai.* LXI, 10); et tamen quid horum duorum capiti, quid corpori, id est, quid Christo, quid Ecclesiae conveniat, utique intelligendum est." *In Jo. Ev.*, Tr. 28, 1 (PML 35, 1622) : "Non enim Christus in capite et non in corpore, sed Christus totus in capite et in corpore. Quod ergo membra ejus, ipse: quod autem ipse, non continuo membra ejus."

Church are two in one flesh, it is on this *two* that Augustine now places emphasis. The Church is not the Word; it is not God; it is not He by whom all things were made.¹⁸¹ The same argument applies to the individual members. Though each member can rightly say that he has in himself the Word made flesh, yet of none can be said, *The IVord was made flesh* (John 1:14).¹⁸² In other words from the previous discussions it is evident that Christ's Body is an organism in which Head and members participate in the same life of grace. As Head of the Body Christ diffuses into His members His capital grace which is essentially the same as His habitual grace. In Christ habitual grace produces an accidental sanctification; it has the same effect in His members since this grace differs in Head and members not specifically but in degree. Christ, however, also possesses the grace of union—*the Word was made flesh* (John 1:14)—which results in a substantial sanctification incompatible with sin. Since His members do not possess this grace, they may be and are sinners.¹⁸³

This possibility of sin may be explained also by the fact that through His redemption Christ did not restore man to the state of the innocent Adam. Before the fall Adam had the possibility of persevering in his state of original innocence and of avoiding sin entirely.¹⁸⁴ His sanctification neither depended on Christ's

¹⁸¹ *in Ps.* 142. 3 (37, 1847): "Christus et Ecclesia, duo in carne una. Refer ad distantiam majestatis duo. Duo plane. Non enim et nos Verbum, non enim et nos in principio Deus apud Deum, non enim et nos ille per quem facta sunt omnia." Cf. del Rio, *op. cit.*, p. 425, "para que canozcâis que el esposo y la esposa es un solo hombre, segfiin la carne de Cristo, y no segùn la divinidad."

¹⁸² *De ag. chr.*, 20, 22 (CSEL 41, 123; PML 40, 302): "de ceteris enim sapientibus et spiritualibus animis recte dici potest, quod habeant in se verbum dei, per quod facta sunt omnia; sed in nullo eorum recte dici potest, quod verbum caro factum est, et habitavit in nobis, quod in solo domino nostro Iesu Christo rectissime dicitur."

¹⁸³ This idea is adequately expressed by the phrase, *justus autem et justificans nemo nisi Christus*. Though Christ's members are just, they cannot justify each other. The power of justifying belongs to Christ alone and is a sign of His divinity. Cf. *De pecc. meritis*, 1, 14, 18 (CSEL 60, 18; PML 44, 119). Sin, of course, is impossible in the divinity, but the members of Christ's Body can sin.

¹⁸⁴ J. Tixeront, *Histoire des Dogmes* (4th ed.; Paris, 1912),-II, p. 478. "On a vu que notre auteur faisait du posse non peccare un privilège d'Adam innocent."

death nor was it assailed by concupiscence. The sanctification of fallen humanity stems from Christ's redemptive death, and it is subject to the constant assaults of concupiscence.¹⁸⁶ It is in this struggle that man falls.¹⁸⁸

Sin as it effects the Church presents an interesting study. Augustine regards evil members as being in external communion with the Church without participating in its inner life.¹⁸⁷ By this he does not mean that at a given instant they may not share in its vital influence.¹⁸⁸ His thought transcends this momentary union to embrace the permanent union of those predestined to mem-

De corrept. et gratia, 11, 29 (PML 44, 933-934) : "Adam non habuit, Dei gratiam? Imo vero habuit magnam, sed disparem. Ille in bonis erat, quae de, bonitate sui Conditoris acceperat: neque enim ea bona et ille suis meritis comparaverat, in quibus prorsus nullum patiebatur malum. Sancti vero in hac vita, ad quos pertinet liberationis haec gratia, in malis sunt, ex quibus clamant ad Deum, *Libera nos a malo* (*Maith.* VI, 13). Ille in illis bonis Christi morte non eguit: istos a reatu et haereditario et proprio, illius Agni sanguis absolvit. Ille non opus habebat eo adjutorio, quod implorant isti cum dicunt: *Video altam legem in membris meis, repugnantem tegi mentis meae, et captivantem me in lege peccati, quae est in membris meis. Infelix ego homo, quis me liberabit de corpore mortis hujus? Gratia Dei per Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum* (*Rom.* VII, 23-25)."

Contra duas epist. Pelag., 1, 14, 28 (CSEL 60, 446-447; PML 44, 563) : "Hi omnes concupiscentiae partus et ipsius concupiscentiae reatus antiquis baptismatis ablutione dimissi sunt; et quidquid nunc parit ista concupiscentia, si non sint illi partus, qui non solum peccata, verum etiam crimina nuncupantur, pacto illo cotidianaे orationis, ubi dicimus: dimitte sicut dimittimus, et elemosynarum sinceritate mundantur."

TM*De bapt.*, 6, 3, 5 (CSEL 51, 301; PML 43, 199) : "quos non pertinere ad sanctam ecclesiam dei, quamvis intus esse videantur, ex hoc apertissime apparet, quia isti sunt avari raptiores faeneratores invidi malivoli et cetera huiusmodi, illa autem columba unica pudica et casta, sponsa sine macula et ruga, hortus conclusus, fons signatus, paradisus cum fructu pomorum et cetera quae de illa similiter dicta sunt, quod non intellegitur nisi in bonis et sanctis et iustis. id est non tantum secundum operationes munerum dei bonis malisque communes, sed etiam secundum intimam et supereminente caritatem spiritum sanctum habentibus."

M M. Jacquin, "La Question de la Prédestination," *Rev. Hist. Eccl.*, V (1904), 732. "D'ailleurs, ceux qui ont été laissés dans la masse de péché peuvent recevoir eux aussi des grâces et des grâces efficaces, celles de la foi et de la justification par example, et cependant, selon saint Augustin ils ne sont pas pour cela prédestinés et ne l'ont jamais été."

bership in Christ's Body. Thus even though the evil transitorily may possess grace and divine filiation, in the end they will be cut off from this source of holiness.⁸⁹ Conversely one may conclude that at a given moment the elect may be in the state of mortal sin and cut off from the sanctity of the Church. Ultimately, however, they will be saints due to the gift of predestination.

Yet in spite of this sin in her members the Church possesses indefectible sanctity resulting from her espousal to Christ,¹⁷⁰ who can never be separated from His Body.¹⁷¹ The Church is holy in her Head¹⁷² in her soul, the Holy Spirit;¹⁷³ and in His two gifts

⁸⁹ *De bapt.*, 5, 28, 39 (CSEL 51, 296-297; PML 43, 197) : "certe manifestum est id, quod dicitur in ecclesia intus et foris, in corde, non in corpore cogitandum, quandoquidem omnes, qui corde sunt intus, in arcae unitate per eandem aquam salvi fiunt, per quam omnes qui corde sunt foris, sive etiam corpore foris sint sive non sint, tamquam unitatis adversarii moriuntur."

¹⁷⁰ *Contra Faust.*, 22, 38 (CSEL 25 I, 632; PML 42, 424) : "est enim et sancta ecclesia domino Iesu Christo in occulto uxor, occulte quippe atque intus in abscondito secreto spiritali anima humana inhaeret verbo dei, ut sint duo in carne una: quod magnum coniugii sacramentum in Christo et in ecclesia commendat apostolus, proinde regnum terrenum saeculi huius, cuius figuram gerebant reges, qui Saram polluere permissi non sunt, non expertum est nec invenit ecclesiam coniugem Christi, id est, quam fideliter illi tamquam principio viro suo subdita cohaereret, nisi cum violare temptavit et divino testimonio per fidem martyrum cessit correptumque in posterioribus regibus honoravit munere, quam correptioni suae subdere in prioribus non evaluit, nam quod tunc in eodem rege prius et posterius figuratum est, hoc in isto regno prioribus et posterioribus regibus adinpletum." Cf. Mersch, *Le Corps Mystique du Christ*, II, 71. "ce n'est plus seulement l'indéfectible sainteté de l'Église» c'est tout l'ensemble des principaux attributs de la sainteté chrétienne et de la grâce, qu'il conclut du même rattachement au Sauveur,"

in De tiupt. et concup., 1, 10, 11 (CSEL 42, 223; PML 44, 420) : "hoc enim custoditur in Christo et ecclesia, ut vivens cum vivente in aeternum nullo divortio separetur."

¹⁷³ *In Ps. 85, 4* (PML 37, 1084) : "unus Christus, unus Salvator; in forma Dei aequalis Patri, in forma servi caput Ecclesiae. Ergo, *Quoniam sanctus sum*, cum audio, vocem ejus agnosco; et hic separo meam? Certe inseparabiliter a corpore suo loquitur, cum sic loquitur."

8, 11, 13 (PML 38, 72) : "Sanctificatio nulla divina et vera est, nisi ab Spiritu sancto. Non enim frustra dictus est proprio Spiritus Sanctus."

of charity⁷⁴ and grace?" But far from restricting this holiness to the inner life of the Church Augustine also maintains that the Church is holy in her external constitution, in her sacraments⁷⁵ in her doctrine⁷⁷ and in her faith.⁷⁸ Thus even though beset by countless scandals and the sin of her members, the Church as Christ's Body still cries out, *Preserve my soul for I am holy.*¹⁷⁰

The Holy Spirit in Sanctification

It has already been shown that Augustine conceives divine holiness as consisting in God's identity with His own essence through love. Therefore, such sanctity involves both charity and unity. In the Trinity the Holy Spirit is the bond joining the Father and Son through charity, and consequently He is their substantial and consubstantial sanctity.⁷⁸⁰ For this reason He receives⁷⁸

⁷⁴ *Contra lift. Petit.*, 2, 80, 178 (CSEL 52, 110; PML 43, 314) : "et unitatis sanctissimum vinculum et caritatis supereminensimum donum."

in Op. imp. contra Jul., 2, 133 (PML 45, 1197) : "et tamen eos negare non potes ad hanc ex multis delictis justificantem gratiam, cum ad Baptisma veniunt, pertinere?"

⁷⁵ *Contra Crescon.*, 4, 20, 24 (CSEL 52, 524; PML 43, 562) : "illa namque per se ipsa vera et sancta sunt propter deum verum et sanctum cuius sunt,"

⁷⁶ *De perf. iust. hominis*, 19, 42 (CSEL 42, 45; PML 44, 315) : "quos vel commemorat vel tacet scriptura divina."

⁷⁷ *De spir. et Hit.*, 29, 51 (CSEL 60, 207; PML 44, 233): "fide igitur Iesu Christi inpetramus salutem."

⁷⁸ *In Ps. 85, 4* (PML 37, 1085) : "Ergo dicat et unusquisque christianus, imo dicat totum corpus Christi, clamet ubique patiens tribulationes, diversas tentationes et scandala innumerabilia, dicat, *Custodi animam meam, quoniam sanctus sum*" Cf. Pius XI, *op. cit.*, p. 15. "The mystical Spouse of Christ has in the course of the centuries remained unspotted nor can it ever be contaminated. St. Cyprian says: 'The Spouse of Christ cannot commit adultery; she is incorrupt and modest, she knows one house, she guards with chaste modesty the holiness of one room? This same holy martyr marveled, and with reason, how anyone could think that 'the unity which proceeds from the stability of God and is bound together by the sacraments of heaven could be torn asunder in the church or separated by the wills of the discordant?'"

⁷⁹ *De Trin.*, 6, 5, 7 (PML 42, 927-928) : "Quapropter etiam Spiritus sanctus in eadem unitate substantiae et aequalitate consistit. Sive enim sit unitas amborum, sive sanctitas, sive charitas, sive ideo unitas quia charitas, et ideo chantas quia sanctitas?" *De civ. Dei*, 11, 24 (CSEL 40 I, 547; PML

the names of Charity and Sanctity,¹⁸¹ together with the proper name of Holy Spirit.¹⁸² This power of the Holy Spirit *to sanctify* is not limited to His internal action in the Trinity. It extends to human sanctification as well, since as the inseparable and undivided communion between the Word and the Father, the Holy Spirit is not only Holiness, but He is also the Sanctifier of all that becomes holy.¹⁸³

Augustine defines this sanctifying mission of the Third Person as that of the Gift¹⁸⁴ (the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and Son as their Gift),¹⁸⁵ because in this term he sees the means whereby the Persons in the Trinity are united and also the principle conveying supernatural life to men.¹⁸⁶ The basis of this giv-

41, 338) : "cum sit et Pater spiritus et Filius spiritus, et Pater sanctus et Filius sanctus, proprie tamen ipse vocatur Spiritus sanctus tamquam sanctitas substantialis et consubstantialis amborum."

¹⁸⁴ *I/I/e aff. chr.*, 16, 18 (CSEL 41, 119; PML 40, 300) : "et ipsam caritatem et sanctitatem, qua generator et generatus ineffabiliter sibi copulantur."

Serm. 8, 11, 13 (PML 38, 72) : "Sanctificatio nulla divina et vera est, nisi ab Spiritu sancto. Non enim frustra dictus est proprie Spiritus Sanctus."

Episi. 232, 5 (CSEL 57, 515; PML 33, 1028) ; "est quaedam sanctitas omnium, quae sancte fiunt, sanctificatrix, ipsius incommutabilis verbi, per quod narratur illud principium, et ipsius principii, quod pari se verbo narrat, inseparabilis et indivisa communio."

¹⁸⁵ L. Verpeaux, *Le Rôle Personnel du Saint Esprit dans la Sanctification des Ames* (Lyon, 1910), p. 46. "Les Grecs attribuaient au Saint-Esprit cette note caractéristique, d'être par essence et personnellement, une puissance, une vertu de sanctification δύναμι ἀγιαστική, saint Augustin le définit en disant qu'il est le Don par excellence. C'est là, en quelque sorte, le principe général, dont il fait dériver la sanctification par l'Esprit-Saint."

De Trin., 4, 20, 29 (PML 42, 908) : "Et sicut Spiritui sancto donum Dei esse, est a Patre procedere; ita mitti, est cognosci quia ab illo procedat. Nec possumus dicere quod Spiritus sanctus et a Filio non procedat." *Ibid.*, 5, 14, 15 (PML 42, 921): "Exit enim, non quomodo natus, sed quomodo datus."

¹⁸⁶ F. Cavallera. "La Doctrine de Saint Augustin sur l'Esprit-Saint à propos du 'De Trinitate'," *Rech., Théol. Ane. Méd.*, II (1930), 367-368. "Parmi les autres appellations s'appliquant à l'Esprit-Saint . . . c'est celle de donum . . . Augustin y voit à la fois le terme de la donation par laquelle sont unis le Père et le Fils et le principe des biensfaits de tout ordre par lesquels la Trinité manifeste sa bonté à l'égard des hommes." Cf. Cayré, *op. oit.*, p. 192. "Tous les biens que l'homme reçoit, en particulier dans l'ordre surnaturel, nous viennent par l'Esprit-Saint; il est lui-même par excellence et éminemment le 'Don de Dieu.'"

ing, whether in the Trinity or to man, is charity—*God is charity* (I John 4:8).¹⁸⁷ Since divine love tends to communicate itself to rational creatures,¹⁸⁸ charity qualifies the Holy Spirit's special intervention in the sanctification of man,¹⁸⁹ whereby He establishes union between God and His creatures.¹⁹⁰ This latter unity is analogous to that which the Holy Spirit effects between the Father and Son.¹⁰¹

However, the mission of the Holy Spirit in sanctifying man embraces more than is contained in the mere notion of charity

¹⁸⁷*De Trin.*, 15, 19, 37 (PML 42, 1086) : “Quapropter si sancta Scriptura proclamat, *Deus charitas est*; iliaque ex Deo est, et in nobis id agit ut in Deo maneamus, et ipse in nobis, et hoc inde cognoscimus, quia de Spiritu suo dedit nobis, ipse Spiritus est Deus charitas. Deinde, si in donis Dei nihil majus est charitate, et nullum est majus donum Dei quam Spiritus sanctus, quid consequentius quam ut ipse sit charitas, qui dicitur et Deus et ex Deo? Et si charitas qua Pater diligit Filium, et Patrem diligit Filius, ineffabiliter communionem demonstrat amborum; quid convenientius quam ut ille dicatur charitas proprie, qui Spiritus est communis ambobus?”

¹⁸⁸ G. Combes, *La Charité d'après Saint Augustin* (Paris, i\$34), pp. 51-52. “Et comme tout se tient dans l'acte d'amour de la Sainte Trinité, cet amour a pour fin, comme les affections humaines qui en sont la pâle figure, de se donner. Lisons l'Écriture Sainte. L'Esprit-Saint y est sans cesse appelé 'Don du Dieu.' Pourquoi? parce qu'il est le don sublime, le don divin que la Trinité a fait aux hommes.”

¹⁸⁹ Cavallera, *op. cit.*, pp. 380-381. “la troisième personne exprime cette communion ineffable qui les unit dans leur amour et leur complaisance mutuelle et dès lors ne saurait être mieux individualisée que par cette dénomination de *charité* qui qualifie également son intervention spéciale dans l'oeuvre de la création et de la sanctification. Les textes sont là nous rappelant que Dieu est charité, mais que tout particulièrement cette charité dans ses effets se manifeste comme l'activité propre de l'Esprit-Saint.”

¹⁹⁰ Serin. 8, 11, 13 (PML 38, 73) : “Spiritu enim sancto ad unitatem colligimur.”

¹⁹¹ *Jo. Ev.*, Tr. 39, 5 (PML 35, 1684) : “Accedant ad Deum, una anima est omnium. Si accedentes ad Deum, multae animae per charitatem una anima est, et multa corda unum cor; quid agit ipse fons charitatis in Patre et Filio? Nonne ibi magis Trinitas unus est Deus? Inde enim nobis charitas venit, de ipso Spiritu sancto, sicut dicit Apostolus: *charitas Dei diffusa est in, cordibus nostris per Spiritum sanctum qui datus est nobis* (Rom. V, 5). *Sí ergo charitas Dei diffusa in cordibus nostris per Spiritum sanctum qui datus est nobis*, multas animas facit unam animam, et multa corda facit unum cor; quanto magis Pater et Filius et Spiritus sanctus, *Deus unus*, lumen unum, unumque principium?”

and unity. To explain this Augustine considers the roles of Christ and of the Holy Spirit as coalescing into a single action. This is easily understood when it is realized that while Christ is the Head of His Body, the Holy Spirit is its soul. Consequently to belong to Christ one must accept His Spirit.¹⁹² As the soul of Christ's Body the Holy Spirit is its life-giving principle, in the same manner as the soul gives life to a human body.¹⁹³ This function of the human soul in its body warrants a further comparison to the action of the Holy Spirit in the Body of Christ. To be vibrant with physical life each member of the body—whether it be the hand, eye, or any other part—must be organically united to the whole. Likewise to share in the life of Christ's Body or in grace the member must be incorporated into it through charity.¹⁹⁴ Since the

¹⁹²*Ibid.*, Tr. 9, 7 (PML 35, 1461): “item scriptum est, *Quisquis autem Spiritum Christi non- habet, hic non est ejus (Rom. VIII, 9)*. Cf. Prat, *op. cit.*, II, 292-293. “The points of contact between Christ and the Spirit concern only the glorified Christ, and even this is not in his physical, personal life at the right hand of the Father, but in his mystical life in the bosom of the Church. In other terms, the Holy Spirit and the glorified Christ, who appear everywhere else as two distinct Persons, seem to become identical in their role of sanctifiers of souls. There, indeed, their sphere of influence is the same and their fields of action blend; for Christ is the head or, under a somewhat different figure, the organism of the mystical body, the soul of which is the Holy Ghost; now in ordinary language, chiefly in that of St. Paul, almost all vital phenomena can be referred equally to the soul or to the head. ... It is an identity of operations without confusion of Persons.”

¹⁹³*Serm. 267, 4, 4 (PML 38, 1231) :* “videtis quid faciat anima in corpore. Omnia membra vegetat; per oculos videt, per aures audit, per nares olfacit, per linguam loquitur, per manus operatur, per pedes ambulat: omnibus simul adest membris, ut vivant; vitam dat omnibus, officia singulis. Non audit oculus, non videt auris, non videt lingua, nec loquitur auris et oculus; sed tamen vivit: vivit auris vivit lingua; officia diversa sunt, vita communis. Sic est Ecclesia Dei: in aliis sanctis facit miracula, in aliis sanctis loquitur veritatem, in aliis sanctis custodit virginitatem, in aliis sanctis custodit pudicitiam conjugalem, in aliis hoc, in aliis illud; singuli propria operantur, sed pariter vivunt. Quod autem est anima corpori hominis, hoc est Spiritus sanctus corpori Christi, quod est Ecclesia: hoc agit Spiritus sanctus in tota Ecclesia, quod agit anima in omnibus membris unius corporis.”

¹⁹⁴*In Io. Ev., Tr. 27, 6 (PML 35, 1618) :* “Spiritum tuum dico animam tuam: anima tua non vivificat nisi membra quae sunt in carne tua; unum

Holy Spirit gives both charity and grace, His sanctifying action is summed up in these concepts—soul, unity, life. The effects obtained through this unity and new life—a remission of sin,¹⁰⁵ a restoration of God's image in man,¹⁰⁶ and the gift of divine adoption¹⁰⁷—must be attributed to the Holy Spirit as their primary cause.

The Holy Spirit and moral sanctity.—Though the question of moral sanctity is beyond the scope of this work a few words on the Holy Spirit's action in such a field appear necessary. Since to avoid sin and perfect his initial sanctity man must subdue the concupiscence remaining in his nature, he is given the Holy Spirit.¹⁰⁸ The Spirit enlightens man's mind and influences his will¹⁰⁹ by guiding it, restraining its wanderings, regulating the rhythm of its movement, and disciplining its activity.¹¹⁰ Thus by adhering to

si toHas, jam non vivificatur ex anima tua, quia unitati corporis tui non copulatur. . . . Nihil enim sic debet formidare Christianus, quam separari a corpore Christi. Si enim separatur a corpore Christi, non est membrum ejus: non vegetatur Spiritus ejus."

¹⁰⁵ *Contra Crescon.*, 2, 16, 20 (CSEL 52, 379; PML 43, 478) : "per donum eius proprium, hoc est sanctum eius spiritum, per quem diffunditur caritas in cordibus nostris, mundari sanarique poteritis."

¹⁰⁶ *De spir. et liti.*, 27, 47 (CSEL 60, 201; PML 44, 229) : "hoc enim agit spiritus gratiae, ut imaginem dei, in qua naturaliter facti sumus, instauret in nobis."

¹⁰⁷ Z?r corrett. et grat., 15, 47 (PML 44, 945) : "De ipso quippe Spiritu, alio loco dicit, *Accepimus Spiritum adoptionis filiorum, in quo clamamus, Abba, Pater (Rom. VIII, 15).*"

Op. imp. contra Jul., 2, 137 (PML 45, 1198-1199) : "Contra infirmitatem vero carnis nunc Christi gratia certamen instituit, postea ejus perficiet sanitatem: cuius sanitatis futurae atque perpetuae nunc pignus Spiritum sanctum dedit (*II Cor. V, 5*), per quem diffunditur in nostris cordibus charitas (*Rom. V, 5*), ut nos ad agonem interim relicta carnis non vincat; infirmitas."

¹⁰⁸ *De grat. Christi*, 1, 14, 15 (CSEL 42, 138; PML 44, 368): "ac per hoc quando deus docet non per legis litteram, sed per spiritus gratiam, ita docet, ut quod quisque didicerit non tantum cognoscendo videat, sed etiam volendo appetat agendoque perficiat."

¹⁰⁹ Combes, *op. cit.*, p. 65. "Le Saint-Esprit ne se contente pas de prévenir et de guider la volonté, il contient ses écarts possibles, réprime ses élans trop prononcés, règle le rythme de son mouvement, et discipline, pour la rendre plus conquérante, son activité. . . . Cette action régularisatrice du Saint-Esprit met bien en évidence le caractère spécifique de la charité. Chacun de nos élans vers Dieu est dirigé avec tant de précision qu'il ne perd rien de l'ardeur qui l'anime."

the Spirit of God man overcomes his concupiscence to such an extent that he can say, *It is now no longer I that live, but Christ lives in me* (Gal. 2:20).²⁰¹

m De continent., 13. 29 (CSEL 41, 179; PML 40, 369) : “Spiritus itaque hominis adhaerens spiritui dei concupiscit adversus carnem, id est adversus se ipsum, sed pro se ipso, ut motus ille sive in carne sive in anima secundum hominem, non secundum deum, qui sunt adhuc per adquisitum languorem, continentia cohibeantur propter adquirendam salutem, ut homo non secundum hominem vivens iam possit dicere: vivo autem iam non ego, vivit vero in me Christus.”

CHAPTER III

The Created Means of Sanctification ; Baptism, Charity, and Grace

In the preceding chapter the role of the Trinity, the uncreated cause of sanctification, was considered. Now the created means, baptism, charity, and grace will be treated. These three are not all inclusive, but the particular character of Augustine's writings against the heresies determines their choice here. In each section the development will be obvious if the heretical opinions are briefly recalled. The Donatists maintained that baptism conferred outside their sect was invalid since the Donatist Church alone was the true Body of Christ. The Pelagians denied the necessity of baptism to remit original sin. There is no dispute between Augustine and the Donatists as to the nature and qualities of charity. The question revolves around union with the true Body of Christ as a condition of possessing it. Against the Pelagians, however, Augustine insisted upon the gratuitous character of this virtue. The section on grace is almost entirely motivated by the Pelagian controversy. Though the Manichean heresy is relegated to a minor position as a motive for this chapter, it must be remembered that against Mani's followers Augustine showed the necessity of baptism through which the Holy Spirit, charity, and grace were given.

BAPTISM

The part Augustine attributes to baptism in sanctification can best be shown by treating the sacrament as a bath of regeneration and renovation. Such a manner of procedure presupposes a knowledge of what Adam lost and incurred by his sin. In his original state Adam was endowed with two types of life, physical and spiritual. The physical was commensurate with his nature ; the spiritual exceeded it and was due to a gratuitous gift of God. Since the immediate consequence of original sin was the loss of spiritual life, there arose the anomalous condition of Adam transmitting to his progeny physical life and spiritual death. This

death was not a mere négation of life but there was involved also a principle termed the *vetus homo* by St. Paul.¹ Consequently the renewal of sanctity in man involves a remission of sin, the restoration of spiritual life, and the neutralization of the *vetus homo*.

Before baptism is considered as a bath of regeneration and renovation it must be first pointed out that through this sacrament the member is incorporated into Christ's Body.^{1*}This is not a union of the faithful in Christ barren of all communication. As the sacrament of Christ's passion and death,⁸ baptism reproduces in the member the death, resurrection, and life of the Head.⁴⁶Consequently just as Christ's death sanctified man by destroying sin and renewing his spiritual life, so baptism sanctifies by destroying sin in the Christian and giving him the life of Christ.[®]

Baptism as a Bath

Augustine explains the remission of sin by comparing baptism to a bath of cleansing water. He applies this idea both to the

1F. Prat, *The Theology of ST Paul*, trans., from the eleventh French edition by John Stoddard (New York: Benziger Brothers, 1926) I, 222. "By associating us with his death, he neutralizes the active principle which sin had implanted in us, and which constituted the old man; by associating us with his life, he destroys all the germs of death and confers upon us the privilege of an endless life: life of the soul and life of the body, life of grace and life of glory."

**Contra Jul.*, 6, 9, 27 (PML 44, 838): "Non autem habere parvulos vitam, nisi habeant Christum (quem procul dubio habere non possunt, nisi induerint eum, eo modo quo scriptum est, *Quotquot in Christo baptizati estis, Christum induistis* (Galat. III, 27)."

**De spir. et litt.*, 6, 10 (CSEL 60, 162; PML 44, 205) : "consepulti ergo sumus illi per baptismum in mortem."

**Ibid.*, 6, 10 (CSEL 60, 162; PML 44, 205) : "consepulti ergo sumus illi per baptismum in mortem, ut quemadmodum surrexit Christus a mortuis per gloriam patris, ita et nos in novitate vitae ambulemus."

6 *Contra Jul.*, 2, 10, 33 (PML 44, 697) : "sed primorum hominum peccatum, in posteros propagatione trajectum. Etiam hujus mali reatus, Baptismatis sanctificatione remittitur." *De nat. et gratia* 7, 7 (CSEL 60, 237; PML 44, 250) : "tanto et multo ardentiore zelo nos oportet accendi, ne evacuetur crux Christi, evacuatur autem, si aliquo modo praeter illius sacramentum ad justitiam vitamque aeternam pervenire posse dicatur."

Church as a corporate entity® and to the individual Christians forming that Body? Between the two he places a causal connection so that the sanctity of the individual depends on the reception of baptism in the Catholic Church alone.⁸⁹

Baptism as a Regeneration

It is quite evident that Augustine considered the remission of sin or the destruction of the soul's spiritual death as being equivalent to the reception of spiritual life.⁹⁰ He explains the restoration of this life to man by considering baptism as a regeneration or as a second birth in Christ.⁹¹ This restoration of life gives Christ

⁸⁹ *Contra litt. Petit.*, 3, 49, 59 (CSEL 52, 212; PML 43, 379): "neque enim apostolo Paulo non est credendum, qui de illo dixit: viri, diligit uxores vestras, sicut et Christus dilexit ecclesiam et se ipsum tradidit pro ea, ut eam sanctificaret mundans eam lavacro aquae in verbo."

⁹⁰ *De bapt.*, 4, 12, 18 (CSEL 51, 244; PML 43, 166): "et si quisque per hominem perversum id accipiens non accipiat tamen ministri perversitatem, sed solam mysterii sanctitatem, in bona fide et spe et caritate unitati congregatus ecclesiae remissionem accipit peccatorum." *Op. imp. contra Jul.*, 5, 64 (PML 45, 1506) : "Ecce parvuli, qui bonum vel malum velle aut nolle non possunt, tamen quando reluctant et cum lacrymis reclamantes sacro Baptismate renascuntur, sancti et justi esse coguntur." *In Ps.* 85, 4 (PML 37, 1084) : "sed abluti estis, sed sanctificati estis (I Cor. VI, 11)."

⁹¹ *De bapt.*, 4, 21, 28 (CSEL 51, 256; PML 43, 173) : "sic non est inprobandum evangelicum baptismi sacramentum, etiamsi extra ecclesiam fuerit acceptum, quod tamen quia non proficit ad salutem, nisi ille qui habet integritatem baptismi sua quoque pravitate correcta incorporetur ecclesiae."

⁹² *Ibid.*, 7, 19, 37 (CSEL 51, 355; PML 43, 232): "si autem baptismus sacramentum est gratiae, ipsa vera gratia abolitio peccatorum est, non est apud haereticos baptismi gratia." Cf. A. Gendreau.ºaMctf *Augustini Doctrina De Baptismo* (Baltimore, 1939), p. 46. "Primus igitur effectus sacramenti Baptismi est gratia, quae ab Augustino dicitur esse remissio peccatorum." *Ibid.*, p. 36. "Attamen in his omnibus notari debet non diserte locutum esse Augustinum de gratia sanctificante seu de statu gratiae. Potius effectum negativum Baptismi tractat ... nil invenitur de donis et virtutibus quae in receptione hujus sacramenti infunduntur."

⁹³ *De pecc. meritis*, 1, 18, 23 (CSEL 60, 22-23; PML 44, 122) : "quis enim Christianorum ferat, cum dicitur ad aeternam salutem posse quemquam pervenire, si non renascatur in Christo, quod per baptismum fieri voluit eo iam tempore, quo tale sacramentum constituendum fuit regenerandis in spem salutis aeternae?"

a title and right over all those who are born again in Him. Just as the human race born from Adam is physically one with him, so now those re-born from Christ become spiritually one with Him,¹¹ and Christ becomes the Head and origin of His members.¹² In this union Christ gives to His members the Holy Spirit,¹³ charity,¹⁴ and grace,¹⁵ the uncreated and created means of imprinting Christ's life in the members.

Baptism as a Renovation

In this sense baptism destroys the *veins homo*,¹⁶ or the active principle resulting in man from Adam's sin. It opposes to it an-

ittt/r. contra Jul., 2, 191 (PML 45, 1224): "Adam quippe induunt qui nascuntur, sicut Christum induunt qui renascuntur." *De pecc. meritis*, 1, 31, 60 (CSEL 60, 60; PML 44, 144) : " 'sic,' inquit, 'fiet generatio spiritalis, ut sint caelestes homines ex terrenis, quod adipisci non poterunt, nisi membra mea efficiantur, ut ipse ascendat qui descendit, quia nemo ascendit nisi qui descendit.' nisi ergo in unitatem Christi omnes mutandi levandique concurrant, ut Christus, qui descendit, ipse ascendat, non aliud deputans corpus suum, id est ecclesiam suam, quam se ipsum—quia de Christo et ecclesia verius intelligitur: erunt duo in carne una, de qua re ipse dixit: igitur iam non duo, sed una caro—ascendere omnino non poterunt, quia nemo ascendit in caelum, nisi qui de caelo descendit, filius hominis, qui est in caelo."

w Contra litt. Petii., 1, 5, 6 (CSEL 52, 7; PML 43, 248) : "cur non sinis ut semper sit Christus origo christiani, in Christo radicem christianus infigat, Christus christiani sit caput?"

MContra epist. Parm., 2, 11, 23 (CSEL 51, 72; PML 43, 66-67): "et non per evangelium, in cuius praedicatione spiritus sanctus operatur ad dignendos in baptismo filios spiritales."

14 Epist. 140, 22, 54 (CSEL 44, 201; PML 33, 561) : "ac per hoc, si deus lux est et deus caritas est, profecto caritas lux ipsa est, quae diffunditur in cordibus nostris per spiritum sanctum, qui datus est nobis." Since the Holy-Spirit given in Baptism bestows charity, then charity is given at Baptism. Cf. Gendreau, *op. cit.*, p. 36. "Attamen in his omnibus notari debet non diserte locutum esse Augustinum de gratia sanctificante seu de statu gratiae. Potius effectum negativum Baptismi tractat . . . nil invenitur de donis et virtutibus quae in receptione hujus sacramenti infunduntur."

35 Contra litt. Petii., 3, 49, 59 (CSEL 52, 211; PML 43, 379) : "cum enim dicimus: 'Christus baptizat,' non visibili ministerio dicimus . . . sed occulta gratia, occulta potentia in spiritu sancto."

"De pecc. meritis, 2, 27, 44 (CSEL 60, 115; PML 44, 177) : "et filii . . . damnationem veteri homini debitam sacramento spiritalis regenerationis et renovationis evadunt." Cf. Prat, *op. cit.*, II, 257-258. "The old man denotes

other principle, that of the new man or new life in Christ whereby men recover the image of God,¹⁷ are made sons of God,¹⁸ and consequently new creatures.

While this renovation destroys the *vetus homo*, yet all the weakness due to sin is not abolished. The state of original justice postulated an uprightness of the will and a *subjection of concupiscence*. In redeemed man the rectitude of the will is immediately restored, but concupiscence remains. In this sense the renovation of man is not yet complete.¹⁹ This concupiscence is not to be re-^{†6}

all that we have in common with the first Adam, and all that we inherit directly or indirectly from him, as the religious Head of humanity. All this perishes through the fact of our union with the second Adam.”

Contra Adimant., 5 (CSEL 25 I, 125; PML 42, 136) : “et ut manifeste intellegatur non secundum vetustatem peccati, quae corruptitur, sed secundum spiritalem conformatiōnem factum esse hominem ad imaginem dei, item apostolus monet, ut exuti consuetudine peccatorum, id est veterē hominē, induamus novam vitam Christi, quem novum hominem appellat.”

w De perj. iust. hominis, 18, 39 (CSEL 42, 41 ; PML 44, 313) : “cum ergo per gratiam renovationis filii dei simus.”

¹⁶ J. Henninger, *S. Augustinus et Doctrina De Duplici Justitia* (Modling prope Vindobonam, 1935). p. 73. “justificationem nostram esse restitutionem justitiae originalis. Si hoc bene intelligitur, tenemus elavem solutionis. Etenim, justitia originalis complectebatur non solum rectitudinem voluntatis, sed etiam subjectionem concupiscentiae; in nobis autem statim restituitur id, quod essentiale est, nempe rectitudo voluntatis per caritatem, sed concupiscentia manet, et sub hoc respectu restitutio justitiae, renovatio hominis nondum est perfecta.” Cf. Prat. *op. cit.*, II, 258. “It is very evident that death to the old man is progressive, for the inclination to evil persists even in regenerate man; but the old man has received a mortal blow; with the antidote of grace, concupiscence, called here ‘the body of sin,’ is rendered inert and harmless.” Cf. J. Turmel, “Le Dogme du Péché Originel Dans Saint Augustin,” *Rev. Hist. et Litt. Rei.*, VII (1902), 128. “La loi de la concupiscence reste dans les membres, mais elle perd son caractère de péché pour ceux qui ont reçu le sacrement de la régénération et qui ont commencé à être renouvelés. Toutefois, ce qui naît de cette concupiscence doit renaître pour être guéri.” *Ibid.*, p. 130. “Les autres péchés demeurent jusqu'à ce qu'ils aient été remis. Comment demeurent-ils alors qu'ils sont passés? Ce qui est passé c'est l'acte, ce qui demeure c'est le *reatus*. *Ici, c'est le contraire*, l'acte demeure, le *reatus* est passé.”

stricted to the sexual appetite, but it consists in the whole interior discord and lack of harmony which man experiences in himself.²⁰ Through successful combat against it man is renewed daily,²¹ and his initial sanctity given in baptism is increased.²²

The Holy Eucharist, the Symbol of Unity

Since in the three heresies treated Augustine is not especially concerned with the Holy Eucharist, no mention of this sacrament has yet been made. Nor does the scope of this work concerned primarily with initial sanctity demand a development of the Holy Eucharist's part in sanctifying man. Yet the role of this sacrament in bringing to its culmination the union of Head and members first established in baptism is so important that at least the outlines of its sanctifying action must be delineated.

Augustine considers the Eucharist not merely as the sacrament of the historical body of Christ but also as the sacrament of His Body, the Church,²³ By receiving the Body and Blood of Christ

* Henninger, *op. cit.*, >p. 82-83. "Concupiscentia . . . non significat appetitum sensitivum neque simpliciter, neque ut deordinatum, multo minus restringenda est ad concupiscentiam 'carnalem' proprie dictam seu appetitum sexualem, sed consistit in tota illa interiore discordia et deordinatione, quam homo lapsus in se experitur."

"*De pecc. meritis*, 2, 7, 9 (CSEL 60, 80; PML 44, 157) : "profecto enim qui de die in diem adhuc renovatur, nondum totus est renovatus ; et in quantum nondum est renovatus, in tantum adhuc in vetustate est."

"*Contra Jul.*, 2, 8, 23 (PML 44, 689) : "Justificatio porro in hac vita nobis secundum tria ista confertur ; prius lavacro regenerationis, quo remittuntur cuncta peccata: deinde, congressione cum vitiis, a quorum reatu absoluti sumus: tertio, dum nostra exauditur oratio, qua dicimus, *Dimitte nobis debita nostra* (*Matth.* VI, 12) ; quoniam quamlibet fortiter contra vitia dimicemus, homines sumus ; Dei autem gratia sic nos in hoc corruptibili corpore adjuvat dimicantes; ut non desit propter quod exaudiatur veniam postulantes."

aL. Brigué, "Les Dispositions à la Communion chez Saint Augustin," *Rech. Sc. Rei.*, XXIX (1939), 400. "L'Eucharistie n'est pas seulement le symbole de l'union du fidèle au Christ, son maître; elle est aussi le signe d'une autre réalité: l'union du chrétien à l'Église. . . . L'Eucharistie est le signe visible d'une réalité invisible: le corps du Christ. Or le corps 'historique' du Christ, celui qui est né et qui a souffert, est inséparable de son corps 'mystique.' Le Sauveur n'a pas seulement vécu, il y a dix-neuf siècles,

the Christians become members of Christ²¹ and share in His life,²²

pour sauver l'humanité et remonter ensuite, définitivement glorifié, vers son Père. Le Christ total, c'est l'Église parfaitement unie à son chef, englobant tous les fidèles qui vivent de sa vie et doivent croître dans la foi et l'amour jusqu'au jour où le corps entier ait atteint, avec eux et par eux, la perfection à laquelle, il tend. L'Eucharistie, qui est le sacrement du corps 'historique' du Christ, est donc en même temps le sacrement de son corps 'mystique/ car elle représente parfaitement l'unité de l'Église, 'formée de la multitude des frères, comme le pain est formé d'un grand nombre de grains, et le vin de plusieurs grappes/ " Cf. H. de Lubac, "Corpus Mysticum," *Rech. Sc. Rei*, XXIX (1939), 262. "Dans la pensée de toute l'antiquité chrétienne, mais particulièrement dans la pensée de saint Augustin, Eucharistie et Église sont liées. Il en va de même chez les écrivains latins des septième, huitième et neuvième siècles. Pour eux comme pour Augustin, l'Eucharistie est rapportée à l'Église comme la cause à l'effet, comme le moyen à la fin, en même temps que comme le signe à la réalité."

²² *Serin.* 57, 7, 7 (FAIL 38, 389): "Ergo Eucharistia panis noster quotidianus est. . . . Virtus enim ipsa quae ibi intelligitur, unitas est, ut redacti in corpus ejus, effecti membra ejus, simus quod accipimus." Cf. de Lubac, *op. cit.*, p. 263. "Aussi bien que saint Augustin . . . il sait que pour demeurer dans ce corps du Christ qu'est la sainte Église, il faut participer en toute vérité, par le sacrement, à un premier corps du Christ."

²³ *De pecc. meritis*, 1, 24, 34 (CSEL 60, 33-34; PML 44, 128-129) : "Op- time puncii Christiani baptismum ipsum nihil aliud quam salutem et sacramentum corporis Christi, nihil aliud quam vitam vocant, unde, nisi ex antiqua, ut existimo, et apostolica traditione, qua ecclesiae Christi insitum tenent praeter baptismum et participationem mensae dominicae non solum ad regnum dei, sed nec ad salutem et vitam aeternam posse quemquam hominum per- venire? hoc enim et scriptura testatur secundum ea quae supra diximus, nam quid aliud tenent qui baptismum nomine salutis appellant, nisi quod dictum est: salvos nos fecit per lavacrum regenerationis et quod Petrus ait: sic et vos simili forma baptismi salvos facit? quid aliud etiam qui sacra- mentum mensae dominicae vitam vocant, nisi quod dictum est: ego sum panis vivus, qui de caelo descendit, et: panis, quem ego dedero, caro mea est pro saeculi vita, et: si non manducaveritis carnem filii hominis et san- guinem biberitis, non habebitis vitam in vobis?" In *Jo*, *Ev.*, *Tr.* 26, 13 (PML 35, 1613) : "Inde est quod exponens nobis apostolus Paulus hunc panem, *Unus panis*, inquit, *unum corpus multi sumus* (I Cor. X, 17). O Sacramentum pietatis! o signum unitatis! o vinculum charitatis! Qui vult vivere, habet ubi vivat, habet unde vivat. Accedat, credat; incorporetur, ut vivificetur."

The member lives in Christ, and Christ lives in the member.²⁸ This life, of course, is grace, and though the same as that given in baptism, it must be considered as being a deeper and more profound sharing in divine life.²⁹

Thus participation in the eucharistie Christ builds the Christian community into the Body of Christ, and in this form it is presented to the heavenly Father by the hands of the divine High Priest.²⁸ One may conclude that just as Christ offered His physical body on the Cross for the sanctification of all men, so now in the

* *In Jo. Ev.*, Tr. 27, 1 (PML 35, 1616) ; “est enim de corpore Domini, quod dicebat se dare ad manducandum propter aeternam vitam. Expositus autem modum attributionis hujus et doni sui, quomodo daret carnem suam manducare, dicens, *Qui manducat carnem meant, et bibit sanguinem ineunt in me manet, et ego in illo* (*Joan. VI, 57*). Signum quia manducant et bibit hoc est, si manet et manetur, si habitat et inhabitatur, si haeret ut non deseratur. Hoc ergo nos docuit et admonuit mysticis verbis, ut simus in ejus corpore sub ipso capite in membris ejus, edentes carnem ejus, non reliquentes unitatem ejus.”

M Ibid., Tr. 26, 19 (PML 35, 1615): “sicut participatione Filii per unitatem corporis ejus et sanguinis, quod illa manducatio potatioque significat, nos efficimur meliores.” Cf. Brigué, *op. cit.*, p. 401. “Que l'Eucharistie une fois reçue fortifie cette union commencée en baptême, que notre incorporation au Christ total devienne, grâce à elle, plus profonde et plus intime.”

* *De civ. Del.*, 10, 6 (CSEL 40 I, 456; PML 41, 284) ; “Hoc est sacrificium Christianorum: multi unum corpus in Christo. Quod etiam sacramento altaris fidelibus noto frequenter ecclesia, ubi ei demonstratur, quod in ea re, quam offert ipsa offeratur.” Cf. K. Adam, *Christ Our Brother*, trans. Dom Justin McCann (London: Sheed and Ward. 1932), pp. 73-74. “The communion with the flesh and blood of Christ which we celebrate in the liturgy is a real communion with Christ our Head, and, therefore, a real communion with all His members. ‘For we, being many, are one bread, one body, all that partake of one bread.’ This aspect of the Eucharist is emphasized by St. Paul, and especially by such Fathers as St. Ignatius of Antioch, St. Cyprian and St. Augustine. Their constant teaching is that by means of this one heavenly Bread the supernatural unity of the many in Christ is established and realized. The Mass is never an individual act, but always essentially a community act; and this not merely in the sense that the whole community should take part in it but also and emphatically in the sense that participation in the one Bread gives the community its true cohesion and unity, and builds it up into the supernatural organism of the Body of Christ, in which form it is presented to the Father by the hand of the divine High Priest.”

pure oblation of the Eucharist, He offers Himself and in Himself His members to achieve the same result²⁹

CHARITY

From the study on baptism it is evident that Augustine considers sanctity as involving an initial remission of sin and an infusion of life together with a daily subjugation of concupiscence. The first two elements really express the purpose of Christ's Incarnation and death. Since through charity the member participates in Christ's passion,⁸⁰ then charity sanctifies man by destroying sin⁸¹ and renewing his former spiritual life.⁸² The third element, the combat against concupiscence, is necessary because Christ through His passion has not restored fallen man to Adam's state

SL Tarchier, *Le Sacrement de l'Eucharistie d'après Saint Augustin*. (Lyon, 1904), pp. 25-26. "L'Eucharistie est donc, pour saint Augustin, dans le plan providentiel, laboutissant de l'incarnation. Le Verbe s'est fait chair pour que nous puissions, par l'intermédiaire de son humanité, nous assimiler sa divinité, et le moyen qu'il a choisi pour réaliser cette union est le sacrement de vie, dans lequel il nous donne en nourriture son corps et son sang." Cf. Pius XII, *Mystici Corporis*, New English Translation Provided by the Vatican (Washington, D. C.: NCWC, 1943), p. 31. "And as the Divine Redeemer, when dying on the Cross, offered Himself to the Eternal Father as Head of the whole human race, so 'in this clean oblation He offers to the heavenly Father not only Himself as Head of the Church, but in Himself His mystical members also.'

^{**}Serm. 169, 12, 15 (PML 38, 923) : "Ut propositi tibi communicatio passionum Christi, charitas adsit."

^A De mor. eccl., 1, 30, 64 (PML 32, 1337) : "tantus charitatis ardor innascitur, et tantum divini amoris consurgit incendium, ut exustis omnibus vitiis, et homine purgato atque sanctificato." De Perf. iust. hominis, 3, 8 (CSEL 42, 8; PML 44, 295) : "tunc ergo erit plena iustitia, quando plena sanitas; tunc plena sanitas, quando plena caritas." Cf. H. Rondet, "L'Anthropologie Religieuse De Saint Augustin," *Rech. Sc. Rei.*, XXIX (1939), 181. "La charité est la santé de notre âme, car elle est le principe qui donne la santé au corps du Christ."

⁸³De Gen. contra Man., 2, 23, 36 (PML 34, 215): "sine dubitatione intelligimus ad arborem vitae non solum per flammeam frameam versatilem, id est per tolerantiam temporalium molestiarum, sed etiam per plenitudinem scientiae, id est per charitatem veniri." Contra Adamint., 13 (CSEL 25 I, 146; PML 42, 148) : "consumit enim veterem vitam divinus amor et innovat hominem,".

of original justice, and it increases initial sanctification. Here charity also plays an all important part since it is the foundation of man's reaction against concupiscence,” and is, as it were, the root supporting salvation.³⁴

While delineating this three-fold activity of charity, Augustine does not center the sanctifying quality of *virtue* in any particular element, but he places it rather in their corporate effect of establishing unity between God and His creatures. After all, the reason for love is the union of the lovers,³⁵ and divine love brings this about by eliminating all alienating factors,³⁶ so that the creature once again is born of God,³⁷ becomes a son of the Most High,³⁸ and a co-heir with Jesus Christ.³⁹

³⁴ *De grat. Christi*, 1, 26, 27 (CSEL 42, 147-148; PML 44, 374) : “quid autem boni faceremus, nisi diligemus? aut quomodo bonum non facimus, si diligamus?” *Ibid.*, I, 18, 19 (CSEL 42, 140; PML 44, 370) : “et apostolus Paulus, cum dicit radicem malorum omnium esse cupiditatem, admonet utique intellegi radicem bonorum omnium caritatem.”

³⁵ *In epist. Jo. ad Parthos*, Tr. 2, 9 (PML 35, 1994) : “Firmamentum salutis est, habere radicem charitatis, habere virtutem pietatis, non formam solum.”

³⁶ J. Burnaby, *Amor Dei* (London, 1938), p. 96. “The raison d’être of all human love is that realised union of lover and beloved in which desire gives place to pure delight, because need has been met by the good appropriate to it.”

³⁷ Burnaby, *op. cit.*, p. 179. “The superiority of his understanding of Christianity lies in the sureness of his conviction, first, that ‘cleaving to God’ must be the personal union of love, and second, that this union is neither the cause nor effect of a transformation⁴⁰ of man’s nature, but is itself that transformation.” Cf. G. Combes, *La Charité d’après Saint Augustin* (Paris, 1934), pp. 122-123. “Et, peu à peu, selon la grande loi de l’amour, qui efface toute différence entre ceux qui s’aiment, nous devenons semblables à Lui.”

³⁸ *De grat. Christi*, 1, 21, 22 (CSEL 42, 141-142; PML 44, 370) : “Caritas autem, quae virtus est, ex deo nobis est, non ex nobis scriptura teste, quae dicit: caritas ex deo est, et omnis qui diligit ex deo natus est et cognovit deum, quia deus caritas est.”

epist. Jo. ad Parthos, Tr. 2, 14 (PML 35, 1997) : “Terram diligis? terra eris. Deum diligis? quid dicam? deus eris? Non audeo dicere ex me, Scripturas audiamus: *Ego dixi, Dii estis, et filii Altissimi omnes (Psal. LXXXI, 6).*”

³⁹ *Ibid.*, Tr. 2, 9 (PML 35, 1994) ; “Vis habere dilectionem Patris, ut sis cohaeres Filii? Noli diligere mundum.”

The explanation of this virtue's power to sanctify through union with God rests on the fact that charity is the very nature of God⁴⁰ and the source of union and sanctity in the Trinity.⁴¹ This charity is communicated to man by the Holy Spirit⁴² and through it the members of Christ's Body are united to the Head.⁴³ Just as charity sanctifies the Persons in the Trinity by identifying them with the divine essence, so now it sanctifies the members of Christ's Body by joining them to God in the person of their Head. That is what Augustine means when he states that the charity of God in Christ sanctifies.⁴⁴ Here, however, a distinction must be made. Because God's substantial and uncreated charity is not communicated to man but only a participation of it,⁴⁵ this charity in

M Contra litt. PetU., 3, 5, 6 (CSEL 52, 167; PML 43, 351): "et deus caritas est."

***De ag. chr.*, 16, 18 (CSEL 41, 119; PML 40, 300); "et ipsam caritatem et sanctitatem, qua generator et generatus ineffabiliter sibi copulantur."

a De grat. Christi, 1, 26, 27 (CSEL 42, 148; PML 44, 374) : "ac per hoc gratiam dei, qua caritas dei diffunditur in cordibus nostris per spiritum sanctum qui datus est nobis."

"*In epist. Jo. ad Parthos*, Tr. 1, 9 (PML 35, 1985) : "Qui ergo didi se in ipso manere, debet sicut ipse ambulavit et ipse ambulare. Quomodo, fratres? Quid nos monet? Qui dicit se in ipso manere, id est in Christo, debet sicut ille ambulavit et ipse ambulare. . . In qua via? . . . Fixus in cruce erat, et in ipsa via ambulabat: ipsa est via charitatis, *Pater, ignosce illis, quia nesciunt quid faciunt.*"

***De mor. Eccl.*, 1, 12, 21 (PML 32, 1320): "Sed rursus cavere debet, ne ab ipsis Dei charitate, qua sanctificatur ut beatissimus maneat. . . Non igitur separat nos alia creatura, siquidem et nos ipsis creatura sumus, a charitate Dei, quae est in Christo Iesu Domino nostro."

**De Trin.*, 15, 7, 12 (PML 42, 1065-1066) : "Itemque in hoc magna distantia est, quod sive mentem dicamus in homine, ejusque notitiam, et dilectionem, sive memoriam, intelligentiam, voluntatem, nihil mentis meminimus nisi per memoriam, nec intelligimus nisi per intelligentiam, nec amamus nisi per voluntatem. . . Spiritus etiam sanctus quia sapientia est procedens de sapientia, non Patrem habet memoriam, et Filium intelligentiam, et se dilectionem; neque enim sapientia esset, si alias ei meminisset, eique alias intelligeret, ac tantummodo sibi ipse diligenter: sed ipse habet haec tria, et ea sic habet, ut haec ipsa sit." Cf. Combes, *op. cit.*, p. 54. "Cette diffusion fait notre la Charité de Dieu. Mais ne nous y trompons pas, elle prend la mesure de notre humanité. Ce n'est pas la charité substantielle et subsistante de la Sainte Trinité, mais une communication de ses ardeurs et de sa flamme. Incréée en Dieu, elle est créée en nous. Toutes proportions

Christ's Body does not produce in the member a sanctity equivalent to God's but one in keeping with man's own nature. It naturally follows that the member's unity with God and consequently his sanctity depends on the proportion of love possessed.⁴⁸

Besides this action of charity in uniting the individual members of Christ's Body to the Head, it also joins the members to each other.⁴⁷ Consequently in addition to individual sanctity in Christ's Body there is also corporate sanctity. In this sense charity makes men members of Christ's Body,⁴⁸ in which God Himself dwells.⁴⁹ Because the members are joined to this Body by charity, no matter how small, they are saints. That is why Augustine uses the name saint as a synonym for Christian.⁶⁰

gardées cependant entre la créature et le Créateur, elle retient les traits lointains de la charité divine. Elle n'est pas un image, ni un reflet, ni un symbole, mais une participation réelle et vivante." Cf. Burnaby, *op. cit.*, p. 99. "the love of God which is shed abroad in our hearts is no mere human affection: in the last analysis, in the deepest sense, it is God's own love which is ours by His gift. But its object remains to the end God not man—or rather, man only as 'in God.'"

"*Contra duas epist. Pclag.*, 3, 7, 21 (CSEL 60, 511; PML 44, 604): "porro si in hac vita pio nemine dubitante quanto amplius diligimus deum, tanto sumus utique iustiores." *In Ps. 99, 5* (PML 37, 1273) : "In quantum autem in te charitas crescit, efficiens te et revocans te ad similitudinem Dei."

⁴⁷ *In Jo. Ev.*, Tr. 65, 2 (PML 35, 1809) : "Ad hoc ergo nos dilexit, ut et nos diligamus invicem; hoc nobis conferens diligendo nos, ut mutua dilectione constringamur inter nos, et tam dulci vinculo connexis membris corporis tanti capitum simus."

"*Contra Crescon.*, 2, 15, 18 (CSEL 52, 377; PML 43, 477) : "ad spiritus sancti donum, quo caritas dei diffunditur in cordibus nostris, nullus istorum nisi mutatus accedit, ita omnino mutandus, ut non sit alienus, sed sit caelestis particeps pacis, sanctae socius unitatis, plenus individuae caritatis, civis angelicae civitatis."

⁴⁸ *In Ps. 98, 4* (PML 37, 1261): "Homines enim amantes se invicem, et amantes Deum suum qui in illis habitat, faciunt civitatem Deo. Quia lege quadam civitas continetur; lex ipsa eorum, charitas est; et ipsa charitas, Deus est: aperte enim scriptum est, *Deus charitas est* (*I Joan. IV, 8*). Qui ergo plenus est charitate, plenus est Deo; et multi pleni charitate, civitatem faciunt Deo."

⁴⁹ *De gestis Pelagii*, 1 (CSEL 42, 52; PML 44, 320) : "et de hoc opere nostro sanctitas tua atque omnis qui legerit." *Ibid.*, 1, 2 (CSEL 42, 52; PML 44, 320) : "quod me de sanctis fratribus et coëpiscopis nostris." *Contra Jul.*, 2, 10, 34 (PML 44, 697) : "sed sanctos et in sancta Ecclesia illustres antistites Dei."

The communion of saints.—Due to this corporate conception of charity's sanctifying action the role of the communion of saints becomes evident. The love of the members for each other is necessarily entwined not only with their love for the Head but also with their love for God. In a word, all Christianity becomes a single Christ loving Himself.⁸¹ Christ is still present and one with His Body on earth, and the Body is in heaven with Him through charity.⁸² In a sense the individual souls of the members are merged through charity into one soul, so that in the union of the faithful in the Body of Christ there is one soul and one heart.⁶

⁸¹ *In epist. Jo. ad Parthos*, Tr. 10, 3 (PML 35, 2055) : "filios Dei dixit, qui Filium Dei paulo ante dicebat; quia filii Dei corpus sunt unici Filii Dei, et cum ille caput, nos membra, unus est Filius Dei. Ergo qui diligit filios Dei, Filium Dei diligit: et qui diligit Filium Dei, Patrem diligit: nec potest quisquam diligere Patrem, nisi diligit Filium; et qui diligit Filium, diligit et filios Dei. Quos filios Dei? Membra Filii Dei. Et diligendo fit et ipse membrum, et fit per dilectionem in compage corporis Christi; et erit unus Christus amans seipsum. Cum enim se invicem, amant membra, corpus se amat. *Et si patitur unum membrum, compatiuntur omnia membra; et si glorificatur unum membrum, congaudent omnia membra.* Et quid secutus ait? *Pos autem estis corpus Christi et membra* (*I Cor. XII, 26, 27*)."

⁸³ *In Ps. 122, 1* (PML 37, 1630) : "quia si per charitatem ipse nobiscum in terra est, per eamdem charitatem et nos cum eo in coelo sumus. Sed diximus quemadmodum nobiscum ipse in terra sit; vocem ejus diximus de coelo sonantis, *Saule, Saule, quid me persequeris!* cum eum Saulus omnino non tangeret, sed nec videret: quomodo autem ostenditur quia et nos cum illo in coelo sumus? Eodem ipso Paulo apostolo dicente: *Si consurrexistiis cum Christo, quae sursum sunt quaerite, ubi Christus est in dextera Dei sedens; quae sursum sunt sapile, non quae super terram. Mortui enim estis, et vita vestra abscondita est cum Christo in Deo* (*Coloss. III, 1-3*), Ergo et ille adhuc deorsum est, et nos jam sursum sumus: ille deorsum est compassione charitatis, nos sursum sumus spe charitatis. *Spe enim salvi facti sumus* (*Rom. VIII, 24*). Sed quia spes nostra certa est; quamvis futurum sit, sic de nobis dicitur, quasi jam factum sit."

Epist. 243, 4 (CSEL 57, 571-572; PML 33, 1056): "hoc etiam quisque de anima sua cogitet, ut etiam in ipsa privatum affectum oderit, qui procul dubio temporalis est, diligat autem in ea communionem societatemque illam, qua dictum est: *Erat illis in deum anima et cor unum, sic enim anima tua non est propria sed omnium fratrum, quorum etiam animae tuae sunt vel potius quorum animae cum tua non animae sed anima una est, Christi unica, quae de manu canis ut eruatur, cantat in psalmis.*" Cf. W. Simpson, *St.*

Because of this intimate union between Head and members there is a spiritual communion in sanctification⁵⁴ which is best expressed by Christ's priesthood and the participation of the Body in it. As eternal High Priest Christ is in heaven still prolonging the sanctification of His Body by His intercession. Through union with this Body the member participates in the intercession of the heavenly Priest. It is also in view of this single Priest interceding for and sanctifying His Body that the mutual aid of the members in sanctifying one another must be understood.⁵⁵ One member

Augustine and African Church Divisions (London, 1910), p. 72. "But what is unity? At times it means external intercommunion; at other times it denotes the deeper conception of inward identity."

Scrm. 212, 1 (PML 38, 1058): "Et vestra societas est commercium spiritualium, ut similes sitis negotiatoribus bonam margaritam quaerentibus (*Matth.* XIII, 45). Haec est charitas, quae diffunditur in cordibus vestris per Spiritum sanctum, qui dabatur vobis (*Rom.* V, 5)."

"*Contra epist. Farm.*, 2, 8, 10 (CSEL 51, 61-62; PML 43, 60) : "Homines enim omnes christiani invicem se commendant orationibus suis, pro quo autem nullus interpellat, sed ipse pro omnibus, hic unus verusque mediator est, cuius typus quoniam praefigurabatur in sacerdote veteris testamenti, nullus et illic invenitur orasse pro sacerdote. Paulus autem apostolus, quamquam sub capite praecipuum membrum, sed tamen quia membrum est corporis Christi et noverat non per figuram in interiora veli ad sancta sanctorum, sed per expressam et redditam veritatem in interiora caeli ad sanctitatem non imaginariam sed aeternam pro nobis intrasse maximum et verissimum sacerdotem, ecclesiae se orationibus etiam ipse commendat nec mediatorem se facit inter populum et deum, ut pro se orent invicem omnia membra corporis Christi, quoniam pro invicem sollicita sunt membra et, si patitur unum membrum, compatiuntur omnia membra et, si glorificatur unum membrum, congaudent omnia membra; ac si oratio pro invicem membrorum omnium adhuc in terra laborantium ascendet ad caput quod praecessit in caelum, in quo est propitiatio pro peccatis nostris." Cf. Adam, *op. cit.*, pp. 53-54. "According to the conception of early Christianity, as that has remained dominant in the Roman Church, the saints are members of the Body of Christ. Certainly they are its most distinguished and valuable members, whose intercession has especial power with Christ; but they remain always its members. Whatever they do they do it only through Him; and they form along with the rest of the faithful a single society of the redeemed, a single fellowship living in Christ. Their intercession is not different in kind from the intercession of any member of the Church. They belong to the Church, even if, being its most distinguished and holiest members, their intercession is of more effect with God than the intercession of other members. And so

helps the sanctification of another through good works and prayer,⁵⁰ and even those members whose sanctification is completed and who reign gloriously with the Head in heaven contribute a sanctifying influence through the superabundance of their merits.⁶

GRACE

There is no better portrayal of the Augustinian system of grace than that contained in the word *life*. To understand such a con-

the Church, turning to Christ for grace, takes the saints with her in her prayer. The saints were and are dependent upon Christ and live through Him alone. When the Church takes them with her in her prayer, her intention simply is that their intercession should strengthen the prayer which the *Ecclesia orans*, the whole praying Church, makes with them to Christ.”

TMSerm. 207, 3 (PML 38, 1044) : “Certe sicut nos apti efficimur ad orandum eleemosynis et jejuniis, sic et ipsa nostra oratio facit eleemosynas, cum dirigitur atque profunditur, non pro amicis tantum, verum etiam pro inimicis.” Epist. 20, 2 (CSEL 34 I, 48; PML 33, 87): “uberiores etiam, si non solum te commendas orationibus nostris, sed etiam pro nobis orare non praetermittas, gravior enim deo est pro fratre deprecatio, ubi sacrificium caritatis offertur.” Cf. É. Mersch, “Sainteté de chrétiens Sainteté de membres,” Now. Rev. Théo., LVIII (1931), p. 19. “Tandis que, devant l’oeuvre immense, où Dieu veut sanctifier tous les hommes, et tous ensemble, et tous les uns par les autres, et tous, même, par toutes les démarches de tous les autres, qui pourrait se croire à la hauteur?”

TMSerm. 280, 6, 6 (PML 38, 1283): “Gloria capiti, unde consulitur et superioribus manibus, et infimis pedibus. Sicut ille unus animam suam pro nobis posuit: ita et imitati surit martyres, et animas suas pro fratribus posuerunt, atque ut ista populorum tanquam germinum copiosissima fertilitas sugeret, terram suo sanguine irrigaverunt. Fructus laboris ergo illorum etiam nos sumus. Miramur eos, miserantur nos. Gratulamur eis, precantur pro nobis.” In Ps., 105, 21 (PML 37, 1412) : “Si dimittis illis peccatum, dimitte; sin autem, dele me de libro tuo (Exod. XXXII, 31, 32). Ubi demonstratum est intercessio sanctorum quantum pro aliis valeat apud Deum. Securus enim Moyses de justitia Dei, qua eum delere; non posset, impetravit misericordiam, ne illos quos juste posset, deleret.” In Ps. 85, 24 (PML 37, 1099) : “Dominus enim noster Jesus Christus adhuc interpellat pro nobis (Rorn', VIII, 34) : omnes Martyres qui cum illo sunt, interpellant pro nobis. Non transeunt interpellationes ipsorum, nisi cum transierit gemitus noster: cum autem transierit gemitus noster, omnes in una voce, in uno populo, in una patria consolabimur, millia millionum conjuncta psallentibus Angelis, choris coelestium Potestatum in una civitate viventium.”

cept of grace one must first consider the solidarity of the human race both in Adam and in Christ. In his original state man was made in God's image, but through sin he lost this gift and in its place received an active principle of evil, the *vetus homo*. This is true of the whole human race which forms with Adam a unity based on participation in a common physical life. Through Christ the *vetus homo* is destroyed, and those redeemed in Him are joined to Him through the reception of a new spiritual life.⁵⁸

How Christ's destruction of sin is related to His infusion of a new life or grace in man is evident from the fact that just as in the physical sphere there is no middle path between death and life, so in the spiritual sphere being dead to sin is equivalent to being alive in Christ Jesus.⁵⁹ Thus whether Christ is portrayed as destroying sin or as a source of divine life for each soul,⁶⁰ His action is really the same for in remitting sin He is really reconciling man to God.⁶¹

This destruction of sin and infusion of a new life was accomplished *de jure* on Calvary,⁶² but *de facto* each man participates in the salutary character of the Cross through the *grace* of in-

"Contra Adimant., 5 (CSEL 25 I, 125; PML 42, 136) : "et ut manifeste intellegatur non secundum vetustatem peccati, quae corruptitur, sed secundum spiritalem conformatiōnem factum esse hominem ad imaginem dei, item apostolus monet, ut exuti consuetudine peccatorum, id est vetere homine, induamus novam vitam Christi, quem novum hominem appellat, et ut doceat hoc nos aliquando amisisse, renovationem illam vocat, nam ita loquitur: expoliantes vos veterem hominem cum actibus eius induite novum, qui renovatur in agnitionem dei secundum imaginem eius." Serm. 30, 4, 5 (PML 38, 190) : "Unus et unus: unus homo per quem ruina, alias homo per quem structura; per illum ruina, per hunc structura."

M Contra Jul., 6, 3, 7 (PML 44, 824) : "Sic et vos existimate vos mortuos esse peccato, vivere autem Deo in Christo Jesu."

De nat. et gratia, 23, 25 (CSEL 60, 251; PML 44, 259) : "ut autem redeat ad iustitiam, opus habet medico, quoniam sanus non est, opus habet vivificatore, quia mortuus est."

61 De pecc., meritis, 1, 26, 39 (CSEL 60, 37; PML 44, 131): "ac sic fieret mediator dei et hominum, per quem post inimicitias impietatis nostrae illius gratiae pace finitas reconciliaremur deo."

"Op. imp. contra Jut., 2, 172 (PML 45, 1215): "proinde separat eos et a justificatione quae fit in Christi sanguine, cuius fundendi causa, quando eum bibendum commendavit, nulla nisi in remissionem dicta est peccatorum."

corporation in Christ's Body received at baptism.⁶³ In this Body Christ the Head is life itself.⁶⁴ His life is the same as that of His Father⁶⁵ and is a foretaste of the eternal life in heaven.⁶⁶ This life of Christ is not something static, incommunicable, and remaining in the Head alone, but Augustine compares it to a fountain gushing forth,⁶⁷ communicating its fulness to men.⁶⁸ Because the members belong to the Body of such a Head, they share in His life.⁶⁹ The proportion of divine life communicated depends upon the degree of union existing between the Head and members.⁷⁰

"*De pecc. mentis*, 1, 39, 70 (CSEL 60, 70; PML 44, 150) : "In parvulis certe gratia dei per baptismum eius, qui venit in similitudine carnis peccati, id agitur, ut evacuetur caro peccati." *De nupt. et concup.*, 2, 2, 4 (CSEL 42, 256; PML 44, 439) : "omnes enim ad ecclesiam non propter aliud cum parvulis currunt, nisi ut in eis originale peccatum generatione primae nativitatis adtractum regeneratione secundae nativitatis expietur."

"*De doct. christ.*, 1, 34, 38 (PML 34, 33): "Ego sum via, et veritas, et vita (Joan. XIV, 6)."

"*In Jo. Ev.*, Tr. 22, 9 (PML 35, 1579) : "Cum autem de Patre loquereris, *Sicut Pater habet vitam in semetipso*: rursus, cum de te loquereris, dixisti, *sic et Filio dedit habere vitam in semetipso*. *Sicut habet, sic dedit habere*. Ubi habet? *In semetipso*. Ubi dedit habere? *In semetipso*. Paulus ubi habet? Non in semetipso, sed in Christo. Tu fidelis ubi habes? Non in temetipso, sed in Christo. . . . Christus autem in semetipso habet vitam sicut Pater, quia Verbum Dei. . . . Quid est enim, *n in semetipso?* Ut ipsa vita ipse esset."

"*Serm. 297*, 5, 8 (PML 38, 1363): "Vita sub Deo, vita cum Deo, vita de Deo, vita ipse Deus. Talis nobis aeterna promittitur."

⁶⁷ *In Ps. 35, 15* (PML 36, 352): "Quis est fons vitae, nisi Christus? Venit ad te in carne, ut irroraret fauces tuas sipientes: satiabit sperantem, qui irroravit sientem. *Quoniam apud te fons vitae, in lumine tuo videbimus lumen.*"

"*Zm Jo. Ev.*, Tr. 13, 8 (PML 35, 1496): "Si autem omnes homines de plenitudine ejus accipiunt, ille est fons, illi bibentes. . . . fons fluit ut reficiat; ita Dominus Jesus."

**De grat. Christi* (*De pecc. ortg.*), 2, 26, 31 (CSEL 42, 191; PML 44, 401) : "ideo autem vivificari in Christo, quoniam ad corpus pertinent Christi."

⁶⁸ *Epist. 120, 4, 19* (CSEL 34 II, 720-721; PML 33, 461): "Ea porro iustitia, quae vivit in se ipsa, procul dubio deus est atque incommutabiliter vivit, sicut autem, cum sit in se ipsa vita, etiam nobis fit vita, cum eius efficiamur utcumque participes, ita, cum in se ipsa sit iustitia, etiam nobis fit iustitia, cum ei cohaerendo juste vivimus, et tanto magis minusve iusti sumus, quanto illi magis minusve cohaeremus."

As in the case of baptism and charity a third element must also be considered—the struggle against concupiscence. Here Augustine introduces the distinction between habitual grace and actual grace. The initial sanctification or life acquired through union of the member with Christ the Head is increased when man aided by actual grace overcomes his concupiscence. This aid afforded by actual grace consists in an enlightening of the mind,⁷¹ an inspiration of the will⁷² and in an efficacious grace bringing about the production of a good action.⁷³ If in this combat man should again be soiled by mortal sin, grace will destroy this sin and return life to the soul.⁷⁴

Consequences of the new life.—Several consequences follow from the renewal of the *interior man* by the life of grace. Through it the members receive the image of God.⁷⁵ Just as Christ the Head has the image of God, so do the members of His Body. It is not the same image which Christ has, it is true, but it is like it and in keeping with the nature of man.⁷⁶

⁷¹ *De pecc. meritis*, 2, 6, 7 (CSEL 60, 77; PML 44, 155) : "atque ita dei gratia non solum ostendat quid faciendum sit, sed adiuvet etiam, ut possit fieri quod ostenderit."

⁷² *De spir. et lft.*, 12, 20 (CSEL 60, 173; PML 44, 212) : "sed quod ipsa voluntas nostra, sine qua operari bonum non possumus, adiuvetur et erigatur in pertito spiritu gratiae."

⁷³ *De grat. Christi*, 1, 45, 49 (CSEL 42, 161 ; PML 44, 382) : "ecce quemadmodum deus adiuvando adest 'voluntatibus et actionibus nostris! ecce quemadmodum et velle et operari operatur in nobis!"

⁷⁴ *Op. imp. contra Jul.*, 2, 212 (PML 45, 1232) : "Quoniam si post Baptismum quisque peccaverit, non eadem sunt peccata; sed per eamdem gratiam peccantibus remittuntur. . . . Gratia ergo . . . in justificationem mittit, quos a damnatione liberat."

⁷⁵ *De mor. eccl.*, 1, 13, 22 (PML 32, 1321) : "Nemo venit ad Patrem, nisi per me {Joan. XIV, 6). Huic haeremus per sanctificationem. Sanctificati enim plena et integra charitate flagramus, qua sola efficitur ut a Deo non avertamus, eique potius quam huic mundo conformemur: Praedestinavit enim, ut ait idem Apostolus, *conformes nos fieri imaginis Filii ejus* (Rom. VIII, 29)."

epist. Jo. ad Parthos., Tr. 4, 9 (PML 35, 2010-2011) : "Filioli, nemo vos seducat. Qui facit justitiam, justus est, sicut et ille justus est. Numquid quando audivimus quia justi sumus, sicut et ille, aequales nos debemus putare Deo? Debetis nosse quid est, sicut: jamdudum enim dixit, *Castificat semetipsum, sicut ipse castus est*. Jam ergo par et aequalis est castitas nostra

If through Christ the members participate in the divine life, then it follows that through Him they also become sons of God,⁷⁷ and God is their Father.⁷⁸ This is not a natural relationship based on physical generation but one of adoption through grace.⁷⁸ It implies more than is contained in the mere notion of juridical adoption, for it demands a change in man's nature so that in a certain sense he is no longer a man but a god.⁸⁰ The divine purpose in so

castitati Dei, et justitia nostra justitiae Dei? Quis hoc dicat! Sed, *sicut*, non semper ad aequalitatem dici solet. Quomodo, verbi gratia, visa basilica ista ampla, si velit facere aliquis minorem, sed tamen proportione ad mensuras ejus, ut verbi gratia, si lata est ista simplum, et longa duplum; faciat et ille latam simplum, et longam duplum: videtur sic fecisse sicut est ista. Sed ista habet, verbi gratia, centum cubitos, illa triginta: et sic est, et impar est. Videtis quia non semper, *sicut*, ad parilitatem et aequalitatem refertur. Verbi gratia, videte quantum sit inter faciem hominis, et imaginem de speculo: facies in imagine, facies in corpore; imago in imitatione, corpus in veritate. Et quid dicimus? Nam sicut hic oculi, ita et ibi: sicut hic aures, ita et ibi aures sunt. Dispar est res; sed, *sicut*, ad similitudinem dicitur. Habemus ergo et nos imaginem Dei; sed non illam quam habet Filius aequalis Patri; tamen et nos pro modulo nostro si non sicut ille essemus, ex nulla parte similes diceremur. Ergo castificat nos sicut et ipse castus est; sed ille castus aeternitate, nos casti fide: justi sumus sicut et ipse justus est; sed ipse in ipsa incommutabili perpetuitate, nos justi credendo in quem non videamus, ut aliquando videamus. Et cum perfecta fuerit justitia nostra, cum facti aequales Angelis fuerimus; nec tunc illi aequabitur."

⁷⁷ *De pecc. meritis*, 2, 24, 38 (CSEL 60, 110; PML 44, 174): "nos enim ipsius gratia facti erimus filii dei."

⁷⁸ *Contra duas epist. Pelag.*, 3, 3, 4 (CSEL 60, 489; PML 44, 590): "si enim filii dei non essent, non eis diceret: pater vester, qui in caelis est."

Contra Faust., 3, 3 (CSEL 25 I, 264; PML 42, 215): "unicum enim filium deus habet, quem genuit de substantia sua. . . . nos autem non de substantia sua genuit; creatura enim sumus, quam non genuit, sed fecit."

⁷⁹ *Serm.* 166, 4, 4 (PML 38, 909): "Ut enim non sis homo, ad hoc vocatus es ab illo qui propter te factus est homo. . . . Deus enim deum te vult facere: non natura, sicut est ille quem genuit, sed dono suo et adoptione." Cf. Combes, *op. cit.*, p. 123. "Nous ne devenons 'Dieu' que par métaphore. Mais l'union d'amour produit ce miracle de conformer notre âme à l'Esprit-Saint et de nous incorporer, dans toute la mesure qui nous est possible, ses perfections divines." Cf. Pius XII, *op. cit.*, p. 30. "But let all agree uncompromisingly on this, if they would not err from truth and from the orthodox teaching of the Church: to reject every kind of mystic union by which the faithful of Christ should in any way pass beyond the sphere of

adopting men was to form a fraternal society in which Christ would be the first born of many brothers.⁸¹ Thus Christ and all the saints are brothers by divine grace.⁸²

DIVINE INHABITATION

The role of baptism, the Holy Spirit, charity, and grace in sanctification has not yet been fully described. Another element produced by them remains for consideration—divine inhabitation. This inhabitation may be viewed either as it affects the Church corporately or the members individually. The Church is a temple blessed by the presence of an indwelling God.⁸³ Through baptism each member in his own right is also a temple in which God dwells,⁸⁴ and just as God's dwelling place is called heaven, so the member blessed by His presence becomes a heaven or a *scdes Dei*⁶⁶

In determining the cause of this divine inhabitation Augustine says that men are made temples by grace.⁸⁵ Yet he qualifies this by creatures and wrongly enter the divine, were it only to the extent of appropriating to themselves as their own but one single attribute of the eternal Godhead."

A Contra Secund., 5 (CSEL 25 II, 912; PML 42, 581) : "ut sit ipse primogenitus in multis fratribus, quos ei pater ad fraternalm societatem non aequalitate substantiae, sed adoptione gratiae generavit."

40 Contra Faust., 22, 40 (CSEL 25 I, 633; PML 42, 425) : "secundum hoc enim sponsus et sponsa vel vir et uxor Christus et ecclesia dicuntur, qua vero cognatione sint fratres Christus et omnes sancti gratia divina, non consanguinitate terrena."

a Epist. 187, 10, 33 (CSEL 57, 111; PML 33, 845): "proinde in compaginem corporis Christi tamquam in vivam structuram templi dei, quae est eius ecclesia, nati homines non ex operibus iustitiae, quae facturi sunt, sed renascendo per gratiam transferuntur tamquam de massa ruinae ad aedificii firmamentum, praeter hos eniin aedificium, quod beatificandum construitur ad aeternam habitationem dei."

84 Epist. 187, 10, 32 (CSEL 57, 110; PML 33, 844): "tamen illa sanctificatio, qua efficimur et singuli templa dei et in unum omnes templum dei, non est nisi renatorum."

x In Ps. 98, 3 (PML 37, 1260) : "Si ergo et tu habendo plenitudinem scientiae, et habendo charitatem, utique sedes Dei factus es, coelum factus es."

**Serm.* 163, 1, 1 (PML 38, 899) : "ita etiam terrarum loca quae prius contra Dei gratiam fuerunt, nunc Dei gratiae dedicantur. *Nos enim*, sicut dicit Apostolus, *templum Dei vivi sumus.*"

pointing out that God dwells in His temple through the grace of His love;⁸⁷ that God has built this temple through the grace of His goodness;⁸⁸ that it is constructed through charity;⁸⁹ that through charity the Trinity dwells in man.⁹⁰ These statements show that at the very least there is an indissoluble concomitance between the Holy Spirit, charity, and grace.

This divine indwelling in man has a counterpart in the dwelling of man in God. *God is love, and he who abides in love abides in God, and God in him* (I John 4:16).⁹¹ Christ lives in the man who is His Temple. The man who is a temple of God lives in Christ through charity and the Holy Spirit.⁹²

⁸⁷*Epist.* 187, 5, 16 (CSEL 57, 94; PML 33, 838): “propter hanc enim habitationem, ubi procul dubio gratia dilectionis eius agnoscitur.”

⁸⁸*Epist.* 187, 6, 19 (CSEL 57, 98; PML 33, 839): “in quibus habitat, habeant eum pro sua capacitatibus diversitate alii amplius alii minus, quos ipse sibi dilectissimum templum gratia suaee bonitatis aedificati”

⁸⁹*In Ps.* 10, 7 (PML 36, 135-136) : “In hoc templo sancto suo Dominus est: quod constat multis membris suis, sua quaeque officia gerentibus, in unam aedificationem charitate constructis.”

⁹⁰*De Trin.*, 15, 18, 32 (PML 42, 1083) : “Dilectio igitur quae ex Deo est et Deus est, proprie Spiritus sanctus est, per quem diffunditur in cordibus nostris Dei charitas, per quam nos tota inhabitat Trinitas.” Cf. Pius XII, *op. cit.*, pp. 30-31. “It must also be borne in mind that there is a question here of a hidden mystery, which during this earthly exile can only be dimly seen through a veil, and which no human words can express. The Divine Persons are said to indwell inasmuch as they are present to beings endowed with intelligence in a way that lies beyond human comprehension, and in a unique and very intimate manner, which transcends all created nature, these creatures enter into relationship with Them through knowledge and love.”

⁹¹*Contra lift. Petit.*, 3, 5, 6 (CSEL 52, 167; PML 43, 351) : “et deus caritas est, et qui manet in caritate in deo manet et deus in illo manet.”

⁹²*In Jo. Ev.*, Tr. 27, 6 (PML 35, 1618) : “Diximus enim, fratres, hoc Dominum commendasse in mandatione carnis suaee et potatione sanguinis sui, ut in illo maneamus, et ipse in nobis. Manemus autem iti illo, cum sumus membra ejus: manet autem ipse in nobis, cum sumus templum ejus. Ut autem simus membra ejus, unitas nos compaginat. Ut compaginet unitas, quae facit nisi charitas? Et charitas Dei unde? Apostolum interroga: *Charitas, inquit, Dei diffusa est in cordibus nostris per Spiritum sanciunt, qui datus est nobis (Rom., V, 5).*” Cf. Pius XII, *op. cit.*, p. 29. “Christ is in us through His Spirit, whom He gives to us and through whom He acts within us in such a way that all divine activity of the Holy Spirit within our souls must also be attributed to Christ.”

Divine habitation is not the same as God's immensity. Only those are temples of God in whom the Spirit of God dwells.⁸⁸ This dwelling is not the same in all the members. In some God is present more fully than in others, and thus there is a difference of holiness between temple and temple.⁹⁴ The reason for this is that though the temple was erected in baptism, it was not completed.⁹⁵ The subsequent life of the member determines the proportion of the divine indwelling. If the member leads a sinful life, he withdraws from God and is not as near to the divine Visitor as is one leading a virtuous life.⁸⁶ Thus each member possesses God in proportion to his capacity,⁹⁷ and this in turn determines the degree in which he belongs to Christ's Body.⁹⁸ But this difference in habitation does not affect God. He is whole in Himself and wholly present in the member.⁹⁹ In addition, God's presence in the whole

Epist. 187, 5, 16 (CSEL 57, 93; PML 33, 837): "cum deus ubique sit totus, non tamen in omnibus habitat, non enim omnibus dici potest, quod ait apostolus, vel quod iam dixi vel etiam illud: Nescitis, quia templum dei estis et spiritus dei habitat in vobis?"

**Epist.* 187, 5, 17 (CSEL 57, 94-95; PML 33, 838): "Cum igitur, qui ubique est, non in omnibus habitat, etiam in quibus habitat, non aequaliter habitat. ... et unde in omnibus sanctis sunt aliis alii sanctiores, nisi abundantius habendo habitatorem deum?"

"*Contra Jul.*, 6, 14, 42 (PML 44, 846) : "Habent ergo jam baptizati quid agant in se ipsis, hoc est, in Dei templo, quod aedificatur hoc tempore, ut dedicetur in fine."

M Epist. 187, 5, 17 (CSEL 57, 95; PML 33, 838) : "sed non solum universitati creaturae verum etiam cuilibet parti eius totus pariter adest, hisque ab eo longe esse dicuntur, qui peccando dissimillimi facti sunt, et hi ei propinquare, qui eius similitudinem pie vivendo recipiunt, sicut recte dicuntur oculi tanto esse ab hac luce longius, quanto fuerint caeciores."

wEpist. 187, 6, 19 (CSEL 57, 98; PML 33, 839) : "in quibus habitat, habeant eum pro sua capacitatatis diversitate alii amplius alii minus."

wEpist. 187, 5, 16 (CSEL 57, 94; PML 33, 838): "ut templum eius potius in oratione commemoremus, quod et nos ipsi esse debemus et, in quantum sumus, in tantum ad eius societatem et adoptionis familiam pertinemus."

wEpist. 187, 6, 18 (CSEL 57, 97; PML 33, 839) ; "at vero deus non, si minus capitur ab illo, cui praesens est, ideo ipse minor est. totus enim in se ipso est nec, in quibus est, ita est, ut indigeat eis, tamquam non possit esse nisi in eis. sicut autem nec ab illo abest, in quo non habitat, et totus adest, quamvis eum ille non habeat, ita et illi, in quo habitat, totus est praesens, quamvis non ex tota eum capiat."

Church is not greater than His presence in the members. Christ's Body is one temple formed from the insertion of many individual temples into a single edifice. In inhabiting each and every temple God dwells also in the unity of them all.¹⁰⁰

Since Augustine attributes divine habitation whereby man becomes a temple of God to spiritual factors such as the Holy Spirit, charity, and grace, one must conclude that he is concerned with the internal sanctification of man. Yet it is the physical body itself which is the temple, and Augustine speaks of this as an exterior sanctification given as a pledge of the future resurrection of the body.¹⁰¹ In other words Augustine's view of sanctification entails the complete recovery of man's original state even to the resurrection of the body.¹⁰² Just as through His resurrection Christ restored physical life to His body and glorified it, so physical life will be restored to His members after their resurrection.

SPECIAL PROBLEMS

Up to the present time the discussion has centered on those who were made members of Christ's Body through the reception of baptism. Now a problem presents itself. Can those who have never

w De civ. Dei, 10, 3 (CSEL 40 I, 449; PML 41, 280): "Huius enim templum simul omnes et singuli templa sumus, quia et omnium concordiam et singulos inhabitare dignatur; non in omnibus quam in singulis maior, quoniam nec mole distenditur nec partizione minuitur."

isj De nupt. et concup., 1, 18, 20 (PML 44, 425) : "sed ex quo sumus filii Dei, interior de die in diem renovatur (II Cor. IV, 16). Quamvis et ipse exterior per lavacrum regenerationis sanctificatus sit, et spem futurae incorruptionis acceperit, propter quod et templum Dei merito dicitur: *Corpora vestra*, inquit Apostolus, *templum in vobis Spiritus sancti est, quem habetis a Deo: et non estis vestri; empti enim estis pretio magno. Glorificate ergo ei-portate Deum.in corpore vestro* (I Cor. VI, 19, 20). Hoc totum non solum propter praesentem sanctificationem, sed maxime propter illam spem dictum est, de qua idem alio loco dicit: *Sed et nos ipsi primitias spiritus habentes, et ipsi in nobismetipsis ingemiscimus, adoptionem expectantes, redemptionem corporis nostri.*" *In Ps. 70. Sernt*, 2, 10 (PML 36, 900) : "Si autem qui suscitavit Christum a mortuis habitat in vobis, qui suscitavit Jesum Christum a mortuis vivificabit et mortalia corpora vestra, per inhabitantem Spiritum ejus in vobis."

IMEnchiridion, 108, 28 (PML 40, 283) : "reconciliari nos oportebat Deo usque ad camis resurrectionem in vitam aeternam."

received baptism share in the sanctity of Christ's Body? Augustine answers this question by distinguishing between those who precede Christ and those who follow Him. He considers incorporation into Christ's Body as being effected by either of two ways, each of which is adapted to a particular time. Before the actual coming of Christ this means was a real belief or faith in the Incarnation, passion, and death of the Saviour.¹⁰³ Through such a faith the just of the Old Testament received the Holy Spirit and charity.¹⁰⁴ Consequently their faith was a living faith, and the grace they received was the same as the sanctifying grace of the New Testament.¹⁰⁵

Contra dues epist. Pelag., 3, 4, 11 (CSEL 60, 497; PML 44, 59S) : "hi pertinent ad testamentum novum, filii promissionis, regenerati deo patre et libera matre, huius generis fuerunt antiqui omnes iusti et ipse Moyses testamenti minister veteris, heres novi, quia ex fide qua nos vivimus una eademque vixerunt incarnationem passionem resurrectionemque Christi credentes futuram." *Serm.* 341, 9, 11 (PML 39, 1499-1500): "Membra Christi et corpus sumus omnes simul; non qui hoc loco tantum sumus, sed et per universam terram; nec qui tantum hoc tempore, sed quid dicam? Ex Abel justo usque in finem saeculi quamdiu generant et generantur homines, quisquis justorum per hanc vitam transitum facit, quidquid nunc, id est, non in hoc loco, sed in hac vita, quidquid post nascentium futurum est, totum hoc unum corpus Christi."

¹⁰³ *De spir. et Utt.*, 26, 46 (CSEL 60, 201; PML 44, 229) : "et propterea in domo veri Ishrael, in quo dolus non est, participes sunt testamenti novi, quia dat deus leges in mentem ipsorum et in cordibus eorum scribit eas digito suo, spiritu sancto, quo ibi diffunditur caritas, quae legis est plenitudo." *De grat. Christi (De pecc. orig.)*, 2, 24, 28 (CSEL 42, 187; PML 44, 399) : "et ipsorum enim corda eadem mundabantur mediatoris fide et diffundebatur in eis caritas per spiritum sanctum."

Contra duas epist. Pelag., 3, 4, 8 (CSEL 60, 494; PML 44, 593): "filii sunt promissionis et gratiae secundum Isaac filium liberae non ex lege, sed ex promissione heredes dei, coheredes autem Christi." Cf. F. Cavallera, "La Doctrine de Saint Augustin sur l'Esprit-Saint à propos du De Trinitate." *Rech. Théol. Ant. et Méd.*, III (1931). 10-11. "De même pour la grâce: deux points surtout sont à signaler: l'un que c'est par la révélation, telle qu'elle est consignée dans l'Ancien Testament que les justes, appelés par Dieu à la connaissance du mystère, ont conçue la foi au Christ indispensable pour être sauvés; l'autre que la grâce reçue, la 'charité' justifiante était de même nature que la grâce du Nouveau Testament. Dans les deux cas c'est le même et unique Esprit qui 'diffusait' dans les âmes la charité. Il y a seulement cette différence que, sous l'Ancien Testament, petit était le nombre des privilégiés appelés à la foi et à la charité."

With regard to those born after the coming of Christ who never received baptism Augustine's opinion progresses from leniency to severity. At various periods of his life he held that baptism could be supplied by other means, notably by martyrdom, faith, and contrition.¹⁰⁶ At the end of his life, however, the saint retracted such an opinion and insisted on the absolute necessity of baptism as a means of sanctification.¹⁰⁷ Such rigorism would exclude this class of people from the sanctification of Christ's Body.

Allied to this necessity of baptism is Augustine's refusal to concede to the sacrament any salutary efficacy independent of the Church.¹⁰⁸ Outside the Church baptism imprints a character,¹⁰⁹

TM*De bapt.*, 4, 22, 29 (CSEL 51, 257; PML 43, 173): "Baptismi sane vicem aliquando implere passionem de latrone illo, cui non baptizato dictum est: hodie mecum eris in paradiso, non leve documentum idem beatus Cyprianus adsumit. quod etiam adque etiam considerans invenio non tantum passionem pro nomine Christi id quod ex baptismo deerat posse supplere, sed etiam fidem conversionemque cordis, si forte ad celebrandum mysterium baptismi in angustiis temporum succurri non potest."

^l"*Retract.*, 2, 44 (CSEL 36, 153; PML 32, 638): "in quarto libro, cum dicerem vicem baptismi posse habere passionem, non satis idoneum posui illius latronis exemplum, quia utrum non fuerit baptizatus incertum est." *De anima et ejus origine*, 1, 9, 11 (PML 44, 480) : "Unde et latro ille, non ante crucem Domini sectator, sed in cruce confessor, de quo nonnunquam praejudicium captatur, sive tentatur, contra Baptismatis sacramentum, a Cypriano sancto inter martyres computatur. . . . Inventa est in eo mensura martyris, qui tunc in Christum credidit, quando defecerunt qui futuri erant martyres. Et hoc quidem oculis Domini clarum fuit, qui non baptizato, tanquam martyrii sanguine abluto, tantam felicitatem statim contulit (*Luc. XXIII*, 43). Sed etiam nostrum quis non consideret, quanta fide, quanta spe, quanta charitate mortem pro Christo vivente suscipere potuit, qui vitam in moriente quaesivit. Huc accedit, quia non incredibiliter dicitur, latronem qui tunc credidit, juxta Dominum crucifixum, aqua illa quae de vulnere lateris ejus emicuit, tanquam sacratissimo baptismo fuisse perfusum." *De pecc. meritis*, 1, 23, 33 (CSEL 60, 32; PML 44, 128): "in cuius regnum non intrabit nisi qui renatus ex aqua et spiritu."

[■]P. Pourrat, *Theology of the Sacraments*, Authorized translation from the third French edition (2 ed.; St. Louis, 1914), p. 148. "Augustine did not ascribe to Baptism an efficacy altogether independent of the Church, and therefore did not keep clear altogether of St. Cyprian's views."

^w*De bapt.*, 6, 1, 1 (CSEL 51, 298; PML 43, 197): "per quos postea plenarii concilii auctoritate originalis consuetudo firmata est, etiam ovem, quae foris errabat et dominicum characterem a fallacibus depraedatoribus suis foris acceperat."

but it cannot communicate to the recipient the Holy Spirit or charity.¹¹⁰ The reasoning behind such a statement was Augustine's teaching that in so far as the Holy Spirit is the soul of Christ's Body His sanctifying action is limited to that Body.¹¹¹ Thus anyone receiving baptism outside the Church cannot be sanctified by the sacrament.

The question naturally arises as to the possibility of heretics and schismatics being in good faith. The solution conceivably may lie in just what element of heresy and schism Augustine considers sufficient to exclude a person from membership in Christ's Body. With regard to heresy it would seem that besides false doctrine¹¹²

¹¹⁰ *Contra Crescon.*, 2, 12, IS (CSEL 52, 374; PML 43, 476): "unde merito creduntur hi, qui extra ecclesiam baptismum ecclesiae percepérunt, non habere spiritum sanctum, nisi cum ipsi ecclesiae in vinculo pacis per connexionem caritatis adhaerescunt." *Contra litt. Petii.*, 2, 108, 247 (CSEL 52, 159; PML 43, 345): "sic approbamus in haereticis baptismum non haereticorum sed Christi, sicut in fornicatoribus, immundis, luxuriosis, idololatris. . . . omnes enim isti, inter quos et haeretici positi sunt . . . regnum dei non possidebunt et ideo ad sinistram partem cum diabolo pertinebunt, nec ideo putandi sunt esse in Christi corpore, quod est ecclesia, quia sacramentorum eius corporaliter participes fiunt, illa enim et in talibus sancta sunt et eis indigne tractantibus et sumentibus ad maius iudicium valebunt, ipsi autem non sunt in illa ecclesiae compage, quae in membris Christi per conexum et contactum crescit in incrementum dei."

¹¹¹ *Epist.* 185, 10, 46 (CSEL 57, 40; PML 33, 813): "sed multo magis isti eum non acceperunt, ubi a corporis compage divisi, quod solum corpus vivificat spiritus sanctus." *In Jo. Ev.*, Tr. 27, 6 (PML 35, 1618) : "Ergo *Spiritus est qui vivificat*: spiritus enim facit viva membra. . . . Si enim separatur a corpore Christi, non est membrum ejus; si non est membrum ejus, non vegetatur spiritu ejus." *Sertrn.* 268, 2 (PML 38, 1232-1233) : "Jam vero si membrum praecidatur de corpore, numquid sequitur spiritus? Et tamen membrum agnoscitur quid est; digitus est, manus est, brachium est, auris est: praeter corpus habet formam, sed non habet vitam. Sic et homo ab Ecclesia separatus. Quaeris ab illo *sacramentum*, invenis; quaeris Baptismum, invenis: quaeris symbolum, invenis. Forma est: nisi intus spiritu vegeteris, frustra foris de forma gloriaris."

De util. credendi, 1, 1 (CSEL 25 I, 3; PML 42, 65): "quandoquidem haereticus est, ut mea fert opinio, qui alicuius temporalis commodi et maxime gloriae principatusque sui gratia falsas ac novas opiniones vel gignit vel sequitur."

a certain contumacy is required.¹¹³ Consequently Augustine excludes from the stigma of heresy those who are in good faith¹¹⁴ and those who though born in heresy are willing to abandon it when proved wrong.¹¹⁵ The saint makes no *direct statement about* schismatics being in good faith, but through a consideration of the above teaching on heretics it may be at least implied that such an idea was not entirely foreign to his mind. Thus one might be tempted to interpret Augustine's thought as implying the possibility of sanctity in the case of such heretics and schismatics. However, Augustine either only extenuates their guilt¹¹⁶ or allows a remission of sins followed by their reviviscence upon remaining in heresy.¹¹⁷ It would be difficult to see how he could associate these

Gen. ad. lift., 7, 9 (CSEL 28 I, 208; PML 34, 360) : "neque enim non omnes haeretici scripturas catholicas legunt nec ob aliud sunt haeretici, nisi quod eas non bene intellegentes suas falsas opiniones contra earum veritatem pervicaciter adserunt."

"⁴ *Contra Mendae.*, 3, 4 (CSEL 41, 475; PML 40, 521): "a regula quippe catholica non recedit, qui haereticum catholica dogmata mendaciter profitentem catholicum credit, ac per hoc non est ei perniciosum, quia in hominis mente, de qua latente non potest iudicare, non in dei fallitur fide, quam debet insitam custodire."

⁵ *Epist. 43*, 1, 1 (CSEL 34 II, 85; PML 33, 160) : "sed qui sententiam suam quamvis falsam atque perversam nulla pertinaci animositate *defendunt*, praesertim quam non audacia *praesumptionis* suaee pepererunt, sed a seductis atque in errorem lapsis parentibus acceperunt, quaerunt autem cauta sollicitudine veritatem corrigi parati, cum invenerint, nequaquam sunt inter haereticos deputandi."

bapt., 1, 5, 6 (CSEL 51, 152; PML 43, 113) : "illi vero qui per ignorantiam ibi baptizabantur, arbitrantes ipsam esse ecclesiam Christi, in istorum quidem comparatione minus peccant, sacrilegio tamen schismatis vulnerantur non ideo non graviter, quod alii gravius, cum enim dictum est quibusdam : tolerabilius erit Sodomis in die iudicii quam vobis, non ideo dictum est quia Sodomitae non torquebuntur, sed quia illi gravius torquebuntur."

nTDe *bapt.*, 3, 13, 18 (CSEL 51, 208; PML 43, 146) : "si fit illic remissio debitorum per baptismi sanctitatem, rursus debita redeunt per haeresis aut schismatis obstinationem, et ideo necessarium habent huiusmodi homines venire ad catholicam pacem, ut haeretici et schismatici esse iam desinant et eorum quae in illos redierant peccatorum purgationem in unitatis vinculo caritate operante mereantur."

people with sanctification except in the case of extreme necessity when it is impossible to receive baptism in the Catholic Church.¹¹⁸

This does not mean that the Holy Spirit has no influence outside Christ's Body. The Spirit is present everywhere through His immensity,¹¹⁹ Through this presence He bestows on men outside the Church those actual graces which consists in an intellectual illumination and a movement of the will. In this His intention is to unite all men in Christ.²⁰ In this manner men are brought to receive baptism, the Holy Spirit Himself, charity, and grace, and consequently divine sanctification.

i,ii Ibid., 6, 5, 7 (CSEL 51, 302; PML 43, 200): “ille autem, cui tradit, potest salubriter accipere, si ipse non separatus accipiat, sicut plerisque accidit, ut catholico animo et corde ab unitate pacis non alienato aliqua necessitate mortis urgentis in aliquem haereticum innuerent et ab eo Christi baptismum sine illius perversitate perciperent et sive defuncti sive liberati nequaquam apud eos remanerent, ad quos numquam corde transierant.”

mEpist. 187, 5, 16 (CSEL 57, 93; PML 33, 837): “cum deus ubique sit totus, non tamen in omnibus habitat.”

Sermones. 27^o, 6 (PML 38, 1243): “Congregatur enim unitas corporis Christi ex omnibus linguis, per omnes scilicet gentes toto terrarum orbe diffusas. . . . Quia ergo Spiritus sanctis ex multis in unum colligit nos.” *Epist.* 194, 4, 18 (CSEL 57, 190; PML 33, 880): “aliter adiuvat nondum inhabitans aliter inhabitans; nam nondum inhabitans adiuvat, ut sint fideles, inhabitans adiuvat iam fideles.”

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