1915

The relation between Saint Aurelius Augustine's later conception of the church and his early experience

LePage, Samuel Maynard

Boston University

http://hdl.handle.net/2144/16615

Boston University
THE RELATION BETWEEN SAINT
AURELIUS AUGUSTINE'S LATER CONCEPTION of the CHURCH and HIS EARLY EXPERIENCE

BY
Samuel Maynard LePage
A.B., Ohio Wesleyan University 1909,
S.T.B., Boston University, 1911.

A DISSERTATION
submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

GRADUATE SCHOOL
BOSTON UNIVERSITY
1915
Text used:

T. & T. Clark, *Edinburgh*, edition of Augustinian, Operum: eadem tertia veneta, Bassani MDCCCLXIII. (The former was studied entire; the latter only those parts bearing on the theme in hand.)

Supplementary authors.

Studied: Schaff, Prolegomena, (in the Schaff edition of Augustine's works) Bertrand; St. Augustin, Appelton and Co. Vincent O'Sullivan (trans.); Bossier; La Conversion de St. Augustin (Jan., 1, 1888 Revue des deux Mondes); Nauvillée; Development de sa Pensée jusqu'à l'époque de son Ordination, 1872; Schell, A. über Christi Person u. Werke, Tubingen 1906; Ritschl; Die Entstehung der Althaitische Kirche, zweite auf. Bonne, 1857; Frederica Nitche; Grundriss der Christlichen Dogmengesch., Berlin 1870; A. Dorner; A. Sein Theosys u. Sein Religio. Phil. Anschauung, Berlin 1873; Reinhold Seeberg; Der Begriff der Christlichen Kirche, Erlangen 1885; and Dogmen Gesch., Erlangen 1890; Herman Feute; Augustinische Studien, Gotha 1868; 1877; Kastline; Kirche (Herzog Rea) Encyclopaede, drit. ed. X S. 33); Adolf Harnack; Dogmen Gesch., erst u. zweit. auf. Freiburg 1908; and Augustins Confessionem (ein vortrag) "and" Das Monchtum: Frederica Loofs; Grundriss der Dog. Gesch., Halle Lübeck, 1907 'and' Aug.'s Real Encyclopaede (Halle auf. 2); P. Capistram; das Heil des Christen Ausserhalb der Wahren Kirche nach der Lehre des hl. Aug., Jaderbonn e 1908; "The "Dog.Gesch" were studied in so far as they treat on Augustine.

Reviewed in the sense of determining content: Ferdinand Kathejuschat, "In Beitrag z. Symbolic u.Dog. Gesch. üppiz 1894-1900; K. Hackenschmidt; Die Anfänge des Cat. Kirchen. Grief, Strauburg 1874; Herman Schmidt; Die Kirche u. w., Leipzig 1884; Franz Klasek; Die Innere entwicklung des Pelagianismus, Freiburg im Breisgau 1882; Kleth; Der Heilige Kirchenniener Aug. Aachen 1874; i.e.
Preface.

There have been treatises and expositions written on almost every conceivable phase of the life and writings of St. Augustine. These are all more or less adequate, depending on the point of view from which each particular subject has been handled. The only thing that justifies a further consideration and study of Augustine is the modern tendency in Philosophy to emphasize life and experience more than thought. This opens up a new angle of view and makes possible a study of Augustine with reference to the influence of his early life and experience on his later conceptions of the Church. So far as I am able to determine, this subject has not heretofore been touched upon. Borsier wrote on the Conversion of St. Augustine, (La Conversion de St. Augustin, Jan.1, 1888, Revue des deux Mondes,) but this is an historical study without any regard to the later life and opinions. Naville wrote on, "Development de sa Pensie jusqua le epoque de son ordination (1872). In this a chapter is given to the immediate influence of Platonism and the conversion on Augustine's thinking. This, however, is not concerned with the bearing of these two elements on later thought. Loofs has an excellent article on Augustine in which an historical consideration is given to the development of Augustine's thinking. Here again the study is a bare historical one. It forms an excellent aid for our present purpose but does not trace the connection between the earlier and later opinions, or between the later opinions and the earlier experiences.

---

[i] Real Encyclopede II Hauc Auflage
As further general aids on the subject of the relations of Augustine's earlier experiences and later thinking in reference to the Church, the following are worthy of mention: Seeberg, "Begriff der Christlichen Kirche" 1885; Ritschl, "Die Entstehung der Alt-Katolechen Kirche, 2te Auf., Bonne, 1887; Hackenschmidt, "Die Anfänge der Kirchen-Begriff's, 1874; H. Schmidt, "Die Kirche ihrer Bibl, Idee U. S. W., 1884; Köstline, "Kirche," Real Encyclopede X. On the particular subject of Augustine, the following are to be noted: BINDEMANN, "Die Heilige Augustinus," 1844-69; Dorne's Augustine, sein Theolog. system u. sein Religious Phil. "Anschaung," Berlin, 1873; Reuter, "Aug. Studieren," Gotha, 1877; Philip Schaff, Prolegomena to the Schaff edition of the Post-Nicene Fathers; Romies, "Das Heil des Christentum Auserhalb der wahren Kirche Nach der Lehre des Hl. A. Paderbonne 1908. The following Histories of Dogma (Dogmen-Geschiche) are valuable: Nitzsch, Harnack, Seeberg and Loofs.

Introduction.

In treating, "The Relation Between Saint Aurulius Augustine's Later Conception of the Church and His Early Experience," it is not necessary to give a detailed outline of his church conceptions. This has been done by others. What concerns us here are those conceptions of the Church which could in any way have been influenced by earlier experiences. Only with certain phases of the Church's activity Augustine may be said to have come in contact during his early life.
With these particular phases we are concerned. For the purpose of our study, they may be summed up under the following four heads: What is the Church?; the question of authority; the function of grace; and the purpose of the sacraments.

Again, it does not become necessary to compare Augustine's opinions with those of earlier or later writers. Our work is more intensive than extensive. Only incidentally is it necessary to consider the relation of Augustine's ideas to those of his immediate contemporaries. The main requirement outside the special propositions mentioned is a review of Augustine's early life and experiences. This is necessary for an understanding of the significance of his early life when determining later ideas of the Church. However, it is only the general trend of these experiences that is essential. It is not the particular experiences, but the sum total of them all that makes up a life. In the case of our author these marked experiences may be summed up shortly as follows: "The wandering away from the ideals of his childhood training and the return thereto." A consideration of this thesis includes a cursory survey of the home, with the inherited and developed tendencies of the son. The wandering away into Manichaeism is according to Augustine himself an important chapter in his early life. After this fall in sin and error there is a continuous desire for knowledge and for the better life. But before the final goal is reached there is developed a sceptical tendency. This is caused by contact with the New-Academy. From this there is a final entry into the Church through Platonism, the preaching of Ambrose, and the
influence of his mother. This final union with the one church, however, implies the laying aside of old habits, and a forsaking of heresy and schism. Only thus could a knowledge of God and the mind be reached and a complete return made.

In answering the question, "What is the Church to Augustine," it becomes first of all necessary to know how to approach the problem. This question which seems so important to us is buried in figures. What it is, is always taken for granted rather than expressed. To understand him then it is necessary to keep in mind his own experience. This is the key to the solution of the difficulty. He came from an heretical sect to membership in the one true Church. The one thing which held him back was the immoral life which he led. Hence, a radical change in philosophical opinions is not to be expected, the important thing was his own salvation. Remembering this we are able to form a true opinion of Augustine's ecclesiastical conceptions.

Since salvation means so much to Augustine, his conception of the Church is best determined by tracing the meaning given to this term "s\text{alus}". Wherein does the lost condition of men consist; and by what means is salvation from the same wrought? To answer this question is to determine the meaning of the Church to Augustine.

The emphasis on the formal and intellectual found in the earlier writings gradually disappears. More and more the

(1) Sol. 1.7.
emphasis is placed on salvation from sin rather than a salvation from ignorance. The redeeming virtue is "caritas." The ones who possess this virtue form the real church. This, in spite of the apparent digression found in the Anti-Pelagian writings and the ideas expressed in the "Civitas dei", remains the center of Augustine's conception. To determine this change of emphasis is our problem here.

This shifting of the emphasis from the intellectual to the ethical and emotional is caused mainly by ecclesiastical interests. It not only causes a change in the conception of salvation but in the idea of faith and in the notion of the reason for the living of a righteous life, as well.

In investigating the question of authority, this same change of emphasis caused by later ecclesiastical considerations, is found. Instead of being an authority in purely intellectual matters, it becomes more and more authoritative in spiritual matters. The source or court of final appeals, however, remains the same. The Church because of its founder, Jesus Christ, has authority. This is the source of the first order. Scripture likewise, as inspired by God, is authoritative. Here the earlier conception was that the word of God is a source for the final solution of all intellectual and metaphysical problems. The later idea is that Scripture is a guide in the attainment of the three cardinal virtues: faith, hope, and love. Yet the inner worth remains practically the same. These two, Jesus Christ, and Scripture, form the main part of the Divine plan for dealing with sinful men.
The question of authority is also concerned with tradition. Practices and opinions have been handed down by the organized church. The question then arises in how far has the individual bishop, as a part of this organized church, authority? Another closely connected question is the power and authority of the bishops as gathered in council? To answer these questions, the relative power of Peter and Paul as founders of the Church of Rome must also be investigated. Here again, it will be discovered, there is a change of emphasis between the earlier and later life. The field in which this power is to be used does not remain the same.

"What I will that I do not, and what I will not that I do" was true in Augustine's case as well as in Paul's. Just before the conversion, the old life held him in bondage. This, on later reflection, convinced him of the need of some external aid. The fact that he had been reading Paul before the conversion experience would also predispose his mind to this conclusion. The first important notice of this doctrine of external aid or grace is found in the treatise, "expositio quarundam propositio ex epistola ad Roman," written just before his episcopate. The next notice is found in the writing, "de diversis quest, ad Simplicium lib. duo" 496 or 7. Between the time of the writing of these two works a change of opinion has taken place. In the latter, the individual is made more dependent on God, than in the former. With the exception of a clarification of the idea expressed by the word "electio," the thought of the latter writing is the same as that of the anti-pelagian writings. The relation between faith and grace is not always
clear. The early writings apparently make grace synonymous with faith, hope, and love. Towards the end of his life faith is the goal aimed at while grace is the power of attaining this end. On the divine side grace has an element of faith. God's will is all-powerful. On the other hand, however, man is still dependent on the appointed means of salvation. In this sense the individual is dependent on the church and its sacraments.

Determining these general questions regarding grace is as far as our consideration need extend. A more technical knowledge is not necessary. Only the general trend of the doctrine is essential in tracing the influence of Augustine's early life on his later formulation of this doctrine.

For Augustine the process of salvation was not complete till he had joined the Church. More than his own personal accomplishment was necessary, as has been stated. The sacraments of the church, if not always regarded as the medium for grace, are nevertheless essential. As a part of the organization they have their place. In this sense at least they must be partaken of; whether this is the main factor to Augustine must here be determined.

Naturally baptism as a sacrament comes in for the greatest amount of study. The idea expressed in the earlier writings seems to designate this sacrament as a mark or token whereby the sheep are distinguished from the goats. In the future judgment this is to be the sign of recognition. At the same time there is a relation between baptism and the for-
giveness of sins. In the Donatistic Controversy, however, the forgiveness of sins is rather wrought by the "caritas" which those in unity with the true church alone possess. The argument in the Pelagian Controversy is that because of Adam's transgression human nature was made sinful. This carnal weakness is removed by baptism. For infants who have no actual sin, baptism is necessary in order to include them under faith. (To admit the actual sinfulness of the flesh would have been to admit that God had created an actual evil.) This faith then here becomes the operating power of the sacrament.

As a power for the forgiveness of sins, baptism is still far from perfect. Prayers and alms are still necessary. Even after death the sacraments of the altar may be partaken of by living friends with good results to the dead, in some cases where the life here has not been entirely perfect and yet has had a certain grade of perfection. A fuller determination then of these questions on baptism becomes necessary.

As a sacrament the Word also comes in for consideration. Preaching had its place in Augustine's conversion. Hence with him it retains its importance. But wherein does the power of the word reside? At one time it is the invisible principle of truth. Again it is that secret force behind the spoken word which transforms the lives of the hearers. In this latter capacity it is valid by whomsoever administered. In any case, however, the ministering priest becomes essential for the salvation of men. To expound and to exhort are his duties.
To conclude our study it is necessary to sum up the results of our investigations on these subjects. Experience forms the background for one's thinking. And yet later interests of practical importance may cause slight modifications in conclusions reached. The later interests must, therefore, be kept in mind as well as the earlier experience when a judgment is formed regarding the relation of these later opinions to earlier experiences. To Augustine, the Church was the means of his salvation. This was true in all the different stages of his life. But we must be careful in judging as to whether salvation is always the same to him. The same care must be exercised in determining the content of the word Authority and the sphere in which it is to be used. In the matter of grace how far is Augustine's idea changed by later controversial interests? It was discovered in the Conversion that there is need of some external power to aid the will. Is this the idea of grace found in the late works of Augustine? Similarly it must be judged from evidences given whether the sacraments always remain as the completion of a process, as they were in Augustine's own experience. Did later interests cause him to regard the sacraments rather a part of the process? These are the questions to be answered from the evidence as found in our study.
THE MATERIALS

To gain a proper background for the study of Augustine it is necessary to study all his writings. The best method of procedure is to follow the historical order in which they were written. This enables one to note changes in thought more readily. For the life and experience previous to the union with the Church the one main source is the Confessions. With care in distinguishing later coloring from the main facts an accurate account may be had from this source. As a means of detecting later coloring the writings written immediately after the conversion as well as a knowledge of the history of the time in which Augustine lived are sufficient.

To answer the question of what the Church meant to Augustine the work "de vera religion" gives important observations on earlier opinions. The writing "Catholicae et de moribus" is also a source of no mean order. The epistles contain materials for all periods. The idea of the Church as the "Communio sanctorum" is particularly found in the Anti-Donatistic writings. The Anti-Pelagian writings and the "Civitas Dei" are the sources respectively for the idea of the Church as the "numerus predestinatio" and the "regnum Dei." As a general and indirect source for later opinions of the Church the "Enchiridion" must be used.

On the subject of Authority the work "de vera religion" gives ideas on earlier conceptions. Regarding tradition the Anti-Manichaean works are first. In the Anti-Donatistic writings belonging to the beginning of the fifth century the

In this work the T. and T. Clark, Edinburgh (English) edition, together with the "Augustini Operum", editio tertia Veneta, Bassani 1934, (Latin) edition, was used.
question of councils is treated. The work on "Christian Doctrine" is chiefly concerned with scripture. In a general way a judgment regarding the authority of the same may be formed therefrom. Much valuable material on the importance attached to Peter and Rome is found in the writings on John's Gospel.

The main sources for the doctrine of Grace are:
"expositio quarundam propositio ex epistola ad Roman," "de diversis quae, ad Simplicium lib. duo." (Ques. I) and the Anti-Pelagian writings. The other writings have an occasional reference to this doctrine.

The formal conception of the sacraments is given in the Anti-Manichean writings. On baptism in particular the Anti-Donatistic writings, especially the work "de baptisma" are of the most importance. The relation of the sacrament of baptism to children is particularly treated in the work "peccatus meritus et remissionis," The works, "Nuptio et ad Laurentium Concupis," "Pec. origi.," the "Enchiridion" and the "Civ. Dei" contain the later conceptions of the sacraments. For the conception of the Word a general canvass of all the writings must be made. The works "de magistro" and "doctrina Christiana" especially contain Augustine's ideas regarding Scripture. Other than these there is no particular work on this subject.
EARLY EXPERIENCE OF AUGUSTINE.

The home of Augustine was such as one would expect to find among the middle classes of his time. Christian influences were not yet strong enough to make it advisable for the father of the household to join himself to the Christians. For political reasons he remained outside. In religious matters he was an indifferent pagan. However this indifference of the father was more than offset by the positive Christian influence of the mother. Always she was anxious concerning the spiritual well-being of her son. Even when he had strayed away from her Christian training she could still see him in her visions as one with her in faith. At one time she saw in a dream her, outwardly Manichean, son standing with her narrow, wooden son on the same rule (regula fidei). Another time, she went to her bishop in deep concern regarding the son's spiritual welfare. The bishop is said to have replied that it was impossible for the son of such tears to perish. All this, not only indicates that the mother was a zealous Christian, but also, that the early life of this future saint was surrounded by Christian influences. In such an atmosphere the young Augustine could not do other than inhale deep and lasting principles of the Christian faith.

The "religio-emotional" nature of the mother was either inherited by or developed in the son. (The distinction here must be left to the Psychologist.) Numerous incidents point to this conclusion. In a youthful sickness which seemed likely to prove fatal he desired Christian baptism. But as the sickness abated, the only result was that he was sealed with the holy salt. Baptism,
according to the prevailing custom, was deferred, as sins committed after the performance of this rite were regarded as more heinous. When a youthful friend died there sprung up in his breast deep religious emotions, amounting to an emotional upheaval. Only a casual reading of the eighth book of the Confessions is sufficient to convince any one of Augustine's deep religious and emotional nature. So far as feeling is concerned, there is portrayed here a nature the equal of St. Paul, Augustine's great predecessor in the doctrine of grace.

Along with this "religio-emotional" nature, there is, according to Augustine himself, another element—namely, a desire for knowledge. "Deum et Animam scire cupio; nihil plus, nihil omnino," he writes in the Soliloquies. In the treatise, "de utilitate credendi", he says, that he was led to join the Manichaeans because they promised a free search for truth without first accepting certain things on faith. At the age of nineteen there fell into the young student's hands the Hortensius, a philosophical writing by Cicero. The free and open way in which the author deals with philosophical matters appealed to Augustine's developing mind. A further study of Scripture seems to have increased rather than to have diminished this feeling of desire for intellectual freedom. The allegories and figures of the sacred writings were not, to his mind, to be compared with Cicero for the plain statement of truth. Soon Scripture is discarded as being a book not containing any truth.

(1) Solil. 1.7.
(2) de util.cred., 2. written 391.
However, this desire for the truth was doubtless more apparent than real. To be sure, there was a secret longing for truth. Yet all this time this young student of rhetoric was becoming more careless in his morals. He says himself that he led a wild and restless life. Perhaps it was not such an evil life as this expression would suggest to us of the present day. However, it was the age of sentiment, when the youth, unless restrained, gives loose reins to wild fancies. With Augustine the net result of these youthful fancies was that he joined himself to a concubine. Hence it would seem as though there was much truth in the assertion of Bertrand, that the union with the Manichaeans was an excuse for his conduct rather than a desire for truth. This looks plausible, since both these acts were contemporaneous. Some excuse must be given to his mother, since she was radically opposed to such a life. Still the intellectual cannot be entirely obliterated. A loose moral life may have been the actuating motive, and may have made the change much easier to defend. Yet the mind was continuously developing. Some of its problems consequently were independent ones, and could not, therefore, be colored in their solution by the condition of the moral life.

The peace and rest of mind sought for, was not, however, yet found. To excuse sin and make it the natural outcome of man's nature did not fit in well with prevalent Neo-Platonic conceptions of God as the ground and cause of all things. Matter, and human nature included, since it came from God, could not be regarded as evil, "per se." A good God could not have created such. Per-

ceiving this contradiction, Augustine began to drift away from his foreign moorings. Gradually he separates himself from this heretical sect. But Christianity had been discarded. An immediate return thereto was impossible. There was yet an intervening step. A change of life must be wrought. And since the habits of youth were yet strong, this was also impossible. The result of this contradiction between life and the conclusions of reason was scepticism. He joins himself to the New-Academy. Here the fundamental tenet was doubt. The end sought was happiness. This, according to the work, "Contra Academicos," Licentius held was attained by an eternal search for truth. Trygitus, on the other hand, held that it was the finding of the same. In any case it was an eternal search. Of these two opinions Augustine adopted the former. He despaired of finding truth. This is indicated by the first treatise written after his conversion, "Contra Academicos" (386). The work is an argument against the assertion that man can only reach probability. Still further evidence is given by other statements made in the Confessions.

This turn of affairs had one good result. In this despair of finding the truth in things outward, the mind was turned to an investigation of things inward. If through conduct he was led away from the truth, the return must be made by the same road. There must be an introspection both of self and of conduct. Gradually the attractions of the wild life decreased as he advanced in years. The ideal of the celibate life began to appeal. Matters

(1) cf. also "de vita beata," Happiness comes with the finding of truth and is complete only after death.
(2) See Conf. 5, 25 and 19.
of conduct were finding a place in his mind. Truth was being sought from a different angle.

The mother's vision of the "rule of faith" was destined to come true. But not without considerable effort on her part. Always anxious concerning her son's spiritual welfare, she followed him to Milan, whither he had gone as a teacher of rhetoric. Here she finally persuaded him to give up his concubine with the thought of marrying some woman of his own social standing. This was one hopeful step in the direction of a changed life. However, the delay was too long. Again he falls into the sin of sexual indulgence. The time was not yet ripe for the reception of the truth.

While at Milan the fame of Ambrose came to his attention. Being a teacher in rhetoric, the report of his eloquence would naturally interest him. Then, too,Ambrose was not only a Christian, but a man of noble birth. Out of curiosity Augustine goes to hear him. First it is the eloquence, then finally the substance of what is said that interests. The allegorical explanation of Scripture reveals a new way in which the old difficulties may be solved. Doubtless the sacred writings, since they are a source for moral ideals, are likewise the source of truth? Since it is the nature of God and the mind; the cause of evil in the world and the individual, that he desires to know particularly; what better source could be found? Such questions find their best answer when the moral problems are solved. And towards this

(1) Sol. 1.7.
solution Augustine had been coming. There was now a desire for a life more in accord with Christian standards. This desire seems to have been immediately accentuated by a sickness. The mind was disturbed. As in his imagination he approached death, there was a desire for a return to the things learned from his mother during his youth. This meant a desire for Christianity according to the prevailing conceptions of the time,—namely, Monastic Christianity.

The story of Antony, the founder of Monasticism, and the account of the conversion of Victorinus, the noted Rhetorician, were listened to with deep emotional delight. Finally, as would be expected in such natures, the climax came in the way of an emotional upheaval.

The outcome was a life purified according to the highest ethical standards of the time. Giving up his position as public instructor, he goes into retirement at Cassisiacum till the Easter of 387 when he was baptized and became a member of the Christian Church.

In this final change Augustine had an experience similar to that of the Apostle Paul. He had a desire to be different from the life which he had adopted, yet he was bound down by the ties of habit. His cry was similar to that of the Great Minister to the Gentiles, "that I might know Him and the power of His resurrection." The knowledge of Him and the transformed life were bound together inseparably. Like Socrates, he made the "knowing" and the "doing" cohere, the one to the other. A final and complete solution of the mental difficulties come only when the new standpoint (coming from) a renovated moral life was adopted.
WHAT IS THE CHURCH TO AUGUSTINE?

The answering of the question, "What is the Church to Augustine," is fraught with difficulties. These difficulties are partly due to the fact that Augustine uses many figurative expressions. He is thoroughly versed in Scripture and often uses its figures. Sometimes it is difficult to distinguish the figurative language from that which is intended to be a literal statement of opinions. The chief difficulty, however, arises from not knowing how to approach Augustine. Reuter says, "Ein Begriffsbestimmung der Kirche wird auch hier nirgendwo gegeben." With practically the same thought in mind, Harnack remarks: "Was die Kirche sei wusste Yoder man-----die empirische, sichtbare Kirche, die seit den Tagen Konstantines triumphierte, Ein Begriffsbestimmung war daher unnötig." It is true that a formal definition of the term "church" is never given. Now it is true that the church as such is taken for granted. Yet recognizing these facts does not fully explain the situation, and give the appropriate point of view. The explanation lies rather in the fact that Augustine became a member of the Church after being allied with the Manicheans on heretical sect. This meant to him that he was a Catholic in distinction from being a member of some heretical or schismatical sect. On this point Schaff says, "His very conversion-----was a turning not from heathenism to Christianity, but from heresy to the historical, orthodox, episcopally organized church." Such a change had indeed long been the prayer of his mother. And after the conversion it remains the foremost element in the background of

(2) Dog. Gesch. III 129.
(3) Schaff. Prolegomena p.20.
Augustine's thinking. The adoption of different theological opinions was of only secondary importance. These new opinions were rather the result of the process leading up to the change. This it is necessary to keep in mind, if a correct understanding of the ideas of the Church given in the different writings is to be gained.

Since it was membership in the one true church in distinction from membership in any other organization that was first and foremost in Augustine's mind, it only becomes necessary to follow him through his particular experiences and study the different controversies in which he was engaged, in order to understand the diverse conceptions which grew out of this one main idea. That is to say, it is the experiences in practical everyday ecclesiastical matters that caused later modifications. Such a marked experience as the conversion even does not cause a change in theological and philosophical opinions. Philosophy was essentially the same whether Christian or Pagan. The only difference was the shading given by these opposing parties. Hence the conversion did not mean a change of thought in the ordinary sense of the term, while such a thing as becoming a part of the episcopal organization meant a great change, because this latter gave a new point of view, and a new idea of what the Church should mean.

Up to the time of his ordination (391), Augustine's conception of the Church is simply a reflex of his own experience. The thought expressed in the writings of this period is that the

mind becomes lost in its search for truth, and hence needs a guide. The reason has no firmly established basis from which to work. There must be something, therefore, to inspire confidence and at the same time give the mind this starting point which it needs. The church is the institution which serves this end. It is a part of the great plan for the salvation of the individual; or in Augustine's own words, other words, it is a part of the "dispensatio temporali divina providentiae pro salute generis humani." In this capacity the Church can inspire confidence and give the reason a basis from which to work.

The result aimed at, however, in this re-establishing the reason is always the "salus" of the individual. To Augustine the Church is always a saving institution, whether the aim is an intellectual satisfaction or the freedom of the soul from the power of sin, the goal is one and the same. As Harnack says, "Letzlich war und bleibt die irdischen Kirche nichts anders als ein Mittel für das ewige Heil des Ein[Fe]len." Hence in order to know what the church is, it is necessary to determine just what content is given to the term "salus" or "aeterna vita."

But to answer this question just proposed, it is first necessary to ask, Wherein does the lost condition of man consist? This it will be seen was not always clearly established in Augustine's mind. During the Manichaean period, as we are told in the Confessions, the Scripture was regarded as veiled in mystery and not possessing a great amount of truth. Later when the Academic phi-

---

(2) D. G. III 129.
21

In a letter written to Ambrosius (387) shortly after the conversion experience, God is called "aeterna veritas." In the Soliloquies God is not only called "veritas," but "sapientia," "summa vita," "beatitudo," and "pulchrum." When men are deprived of these things—-they are in a lost condition.

The beginning of men's deprivation of the "veritas," "sapientia," etc., was with Adam. Through covetousness and pride, the first man forsook God. Since this primeval man was, according to Augustine's Platonic Conceptions, the representative or perhaps more exactly was human nature in its potentiality, all mankind became affected. Human nature was thus given a tendency to sin. All men, therefore, through covetousness and pride have been estranged from God. For their reclamation truth was given as contained in the Old Testament. Then when this proved ineffectual in recalling men to the truth, and pointing them to the ineffable wisdom, an act of deep humility on God's part was resorted to. God's son, or the "Logos" was sent as a living and incarnate example of the truth. The "veritas" was more fully revealed and more effectively taught. Hence it is to be noted that the miraculous birth, the death, and resurrection are of only secondary importance. Nor had the sacrifice for sin yet found a place in Augustine's theology. The truth and its revelation are

(1) De vera Religion LII, 101.
(2) I, 1, 3.
In order to be saved then it is necessary first of all to have faith. Not, however, faith in the ordinary sense of the term. Faith is to be understood in the sense of confidence in the church as the divine depository for truth. Not in matters of faith particularly is the Church authoritative, but in matters intellectual. In this capacity it claims men's confidence and faith; also at the same time it gives the necessary starting point for the reason. But before there can be faith in this sense there must be love. Here again it is not in the commonly understood meaning of the term. Rather it is a "delectio" in the truth. This longing desire for truth or salvation is the work of the "spiritus sanctus," through which it is inspired. Then when there is faith on the part of the individual, the result is the "beata vita," "veritas," "sapientia," etc.

The work of the Church then is one of instruction and education. The untutored mind is to be taught how to think. It is to be pointed towards the eternal "veritas." In this work scientific instruction even can play its part. The mind is hereby accustomed to contemplate intelligible truth. This gives the necessary preparation for the contemplation of God. And just here the Church becomes essential. Outside instruction may prepare the mind, but for the final pointing out of the divine, the

(1) de verum Religion 24,45.
(2) de ordine II, 19,50.
Church is the court of final appeals. It has in its inherent right the last word on the question regarding what God is, and the last thought on the other problems of mind, evil, etc.

The way, moreover, over which the Church, in its instruction, leads man is that of Monasticism. This ideal is sanctioned in a letter to Nebridius as early as the year 387. A life of retirement alone gives the necessary leisure. If sin consists in pride in one's own intellectual abilities or in preferring for contemplation the minor "goods," to the eternal verity; then the logical consequence is asceticism. Pride must be humbled through penance. The mind cannot be permitted to dwell on the lower things. Always it must contemplate the greater. Naturally a withdrawal from the ordinary life furthers this end. The cares necessarily devolving upon the householder keep the mind too long on the trivial. These must be gotten rid of, by a life of retirement. Then by study and reflection truth is found and salvation wrought.

At this point it must be remembered, however, that there is here with Augustine that close relation between thought and morals. To know is to act. On the other hand, to act righteously insures knowledge. In order to know God, it is necessary to live a pious life. The Manichaeans cannot know God because of their immorality. The Donatists in the schism transgress the law of love and hence know not God. Hence the insistence on right living.

Up to the time of Augustine's ordination as presbyter this is the manner in which the Church is defended. This event,
however, marks a turning-point in his thought life. New interests now are present. Augustine feels himself more a part of the organization. This calls for a defence of prevailing practices. Hence the arguments become more particular than general. The Church's right to establish the creed, its practice of not re-baptizing, and other such questions, must be defended. This means a changed viewpoint.

However, the emphasis on the intellectual is not immediately eliminated. In the year 393 the treatise "de fide et predere," was written. Here God is still "sapientia." The order of salvation is belief, subjection to God, a pure heart, and understanding. This is practically the same as given earlier. But the next year, or the year following, in a letter Jerome is criticized because he varies in his translation of the Bible from the translation as given by the LXX. This is not, however, because Augustine has so soon become prejudicial to a free search for truth, but because the authority of the Church is tampered with. Faith is in danger. The translation by the LXX was a part of the "dispensatio dei pro salute." Hence to reflect in any way upon this was dangerous. The change of emphasis is not yet complete. Even as late as the time of the writing of the Confessions, Augustine says that when truth was found God was found. There is still the idea of the oneness of knowledge and morals. However, a change is being wrought. The emphasis on formal truth is less and less as time passes.

(1) cf. Loofs R.E. Augus.
(2) 9, 19.
Perhaps the one thing that had the greatest influence in working this change was the controversy with the Donatists. This began with Augustine in his early ecclesiastical days. He felt called upon to defend the practices of the church, namely, refusing to re-baptize. (Donatus, the man who gave the name to this schismatical sect, became its leader in 315.) Their point of contention was that baptism for its validity depended on the moral condition of the priest administering the rite. The Catholic Church, on the contrary, according to Augustine, except for a slight digression instigated by Cyprian in North Africa, always held that baptism administered in the three-fold name, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, was valid regardless of the character of the administrator. This practice Augustine now defends in the hope of winning the opposing party to membership in the one true church. The result was that he fell more and more in line with the prevailing practices. The sacraments now play a more important part in the process of salvation. As this interest in the sacramental increases, the emphasis on purely intellectual knowledge diminishes. It is more the mystic comprehension of God that is demanded. In the work on "Christian Doctrine," there are seven steps in the attainment of salvation: fear, piety, knowledge, resolution, counsel, a pure heart, and wisdom. Wisdom (sapientia), however, here equals "pietas" or "theosebeia." Heaven in its turn is a place where the elect, justified, and glorified saints enjoy an eternal mystic gaze on God.

---

(3) Enchirid. II, spiritus et littera 18.
As intimated, the foregoing change was a process of time. In a letter to Eusebius (396) an open declaration of the truth is favored when dealing with the Donatists. A little later he is willing that force should be used. In the year 400 when writing against Faustus a two-fold division is made of reason—action and contemplation. Of these the latter is the higher type. Salvation is gazing on the eternal light of wisdom. And wisdom, while not perhaps here regarded as embracing so much of the act of worship, yet has a strong tendency in that direction. By the year 409 there is a greatly noted change, the intellectual does not receive so much emphasis. In fact, imperfection in knowledge is said not to be prejudicial to salvation. In former ages whoever believed in Him, and in any way knew Him, by living a pious life were undoubtedly saved. A complete knowledge is not insisted upon. In writing to Eunodius (415) even the ignorant are said to be saved through faith. However, a right opinion is still emphasized. In the work on Christian Doctrine, (begun in 397 and finished in 426), which bears the stamp of later thought, it is said that faulty interpretations of Scripture are to be corrected. Yet even these may build up in love.

A great influence in the direction of this change was the attempt to convert Volusianus, the Proconsul of Africa. (The account of this is found in letters 132-8). This attempt was begun in 411.

---

(1) Civ. Dei. 22, 27, ad Faustus. (3) Epis. 102, 38.
(2) 12, 42, ad Faustus. (4) " 102, 12.
Volusianus was inclined towards the Christian religion. He was particularly desirous of having the question with the Donatists settled. The Catholic claims seemed to meet his approval. Yet when asked to join their ranks he hesitated. His position, and the influence of custom, centuries old, held him back. This led Augustine to see that mere intellectual assent to right opinions was not sufficient. There must be something more. This was a participation in the sacraments, with faith in their healing power.

This shifting of emphasis naturally brought a changed conception of the real purpose of the Church. In the Anti-Manichaean writings the central thought is, that the Church is the fulfillment and the real continuation of the old order given through Moses. When writing against the Donatists, the main consideration centers around the idea expressed by the word "peccatus." The Church exists for the purpose of releasing men from the power of sin. This freedom is given through the "spiritus sanctus." Since the "spiritus sanctus" has been sent or has been given unto us as Paul says, Rom. 5, 5, it exists among men as "caritas." Not all the baptized, and therefore belonging to the external communion of the Church, however, are in possession of this "caritas." The schismatics and heretics are manifestly excluded. Even within the organization there are many living sinful lives. These are likewise excluded. Hence of all the adherents only a few comprise the real Church. These are the ones having "caritas." They are the "communio sanctorum," and are in union with the "spiritus sanctus."

This idea of the Church being the communion of the saints, brought out in the Donatistic Controversy, remains permanently in Augustine's thought. Later, when in the Pelagian Controversy, he
speaks of the "predestinatio" he has not in mind an other distinct Church idea as Dorner and Seeberg seem to think. The Church here is simply considered in the light of the Platonic Conception, that God is the author of every good thing which men possess. The ones who are good are made so by God. These are those who are "predestinated." As the good they form the Church. The "communio sanctorum" is not to be regarded as separate from the "predestinatio," Some of the latter may not yet be in the visible Church. But time will find them within the organized Church—when their election is made manifest. Indeed, it is taken for granted that the elect are within. As Reuter remarks, "Die Existenz die Erwählten innerhalb der Katholischen Kirche seiner Zeit voraussetzt."

Again when Augustine uses the figurative expressions "regnum Christi" and "regnum caelorum" we are not to understand that he wishes to express a new and distinct idea of the Church. These terms are still used in reference to the Church as the "communio sanctorum." The great work *Civitas dei* considers first and foremost the relation between the organized Church and the organized State. The underlying thought, however, is, that the real church is the secret communion of the good within the organization as opposed to the "societas improborum," which exists, for the most part, outside the organized Church. On this point also, Reuter has ably remarked, "Die Kirche ist das Reich Gottes, ist principell nicht von der Verfassungsmassig, organisierten von den Bischofen regierten Kirche Ausgeagt, sondern von derjenigen.

(2) Aug. Stud. Seit 104
welche als "communio sanctorum" vorgestellt wird—welche
here auf Erde sich befindet." The general conception of the
Church or the conception of the Church Universal, is that it is
identical with the "Communio sanctorum."

Only the few compose the real spiritual church. No
longer is it an institution for the transmitting of sound intel-
lectual Knowledge to men. Faith means something more than a
belief in the Church as such an institution. Faith is still
"credere," but it is rather a "credere in deum" or more exactly
a "credere in ecclesia" as the "dispensatio dei pro remissione
peccatorum." The Church saves by preparing the few, who are
so chosen of God, for a future life of blessedness.

Being elected, and partaking of the sacraments, however,
is not sufficient for a complete salvation. There is still the
duty of living well. This is not because living badly keeps the
mind on a lower instead of the absolute good, but because living
righteously is the only way one can come into possession of the
virtue of "caritas." This is a necessary virtue for salvation,
as well as faith. Augustine could not go so far as some of his
contemporaries in promising a final salvation to all who had par-
taken of the sacraments. The real partaking of the body of
Christ belongs to those who have faith, (credere in eum). These
same again are the only ones who have "caritas" for the forgive-
ness of sins. The full enjoyment of this virtue belongs to those

(1) A. Stud. Seit 150
(2) Civ. Dei 21, 20.
who devote their lives to alms, prayer, and contemplation. To this end the Christian must separate himself from ordinary society and live a Monastic life.
THE QUESTION OF AUTHORITY.

It has already been noted that Augustine entered the Church after an association with the sect of Manichaeus. The reading of the Hortensius of Cicero was an initial step in the direction of this union. After the reading of this work only disappointment was found when truth was sought in Scripture. At first it was to him a book veiled in mystery. Then it was regarded as not containing any truth. After this came the union with the Manichaeans who claimed to be in possession of all truth, or at any rate, to advocate a free search for the same. But now the question of good and evil comes up for a personal solution. Finding no permanent and satisfactory answer in the tenets of this sect, and restless in mind, he turns to the philosophy of the New-Academy; and particularly that branch which asserted that there was no finding of absolute truth. The mind must be satisfied with an unending search. This scepticism, together with the doctrine of the Logos as gained from the translation of Platonic writings by Victorinus, and the allegorical interpretation of Scripture, prepared Augustine for the notion of ecclesiastical authority.

In the days succeeding the Conversion experience the conception of this authority was a combination of the Logos doctrine and the reaction against scepticism. The Church, as noted above, is the "dispensatio temporalis divinae providentiae pro salute generis humani." Again, he says, the "summa sapienta et forma rerum" revealed himself unto men.(1) The Church is the

(1) Epis. 14,4
institution founded by this "summa sapientia." So much for the Logos conception. On the other hand---the mind disappointed seeks for some real authority on which it can rely. (1) Or again, the mind becomes confused and has nothing in which it can put confidence. The authority of the Church then reclaims faith, and prepares man for reason. Faith here is to be understood in the sense of "credere" more than that of "fides." It is a belief in the Church as the source of the "summa sapientia," or at least the source of the teaching which leads to the highest wisdom. In this sense the Church possesses authority. Later, as has been hinted at in the preceding section, the authority is in the matter of salvation as well as in theological teaching. "Sapientia" is made equal in meaning to "theosebeia." Man is in possession of wisdom when he worships God aright.

Wherein according to Augustine does this authority of the Church reside? First of all it resides in the Logos, the ineffable principle of truth. That is, in Jesus Christ, who is the embodiment of truth. The Church, which is the continuation of the earthly body of Christ, likewise possesses this truth, which works salvation. This idea of the Church being the body of Christ, however, was at first more figurative than real. In writing against Faustus the Church is regarded as becoming the property of Christ through the sacraments. Again, the Church is built upon the sacraments, and the sacraments are Christ's. In this latter sense the continuation of Christ in the Church is both figurative and real. Later the reality of the continuation and the connection between Christ and the Church takes on a more definite form in the mind of Augustine. The Church is now an

(1) Catol. et moritus 8,11. (2) de vera Religion 24,45.
institution founded for the purpose of "administering" the sacraments of Christ. And in this sense it becomes a part of the divine order and necessarily in possession of authoritative truth. Being the divine depository for truth, the only logical conclusion is that the Church holds in its possession the tradition and authoritative history of the Logos which was revealed to men in the flesh. Again, this "a priori" principle of the Logos was in its turn the fulfilling of the old law and the establishing of a new order. Therefore, as the old order was authoritative for its time, so is the new order, which is the Church in possession of authority.

In this matter of authority, the Church and Scripture mutually aid each other. The former needs the latter since its reason for existing is that it is the fulfillment of prophecy. For the purpose of vindicating itself, then, the Church needs Scripture. The latter must have the former, however, because there are many spurious writings with which heretics deceive the unwary. The Church must here point out the true from the false. For this, the majority of the churches is necessary. There are also variations existing between the different manuscripts (codices) of the New Testament. The best and the ones most in accord with the original are likewise to be determined by the churches. Finally, obscure points of Scripture, have various interpretations. Of these the Church is to point out the one or ones more nearly in accord with the spirit of Christ.

Again, the sacred writings gain prestige by pointing towards Christ and the Church. The Old Testament in a thousand different figures points towards Christ and the Church. Doctrinal matters

are likewise therein contained. According to the "Doctrina Christiana," and the "Encheredion ad Laurentium" these doctrinal matters may all be classified under three heads: "fides," "spes," and "caritas." Now since doctrine concerns itself with these three cardinal virtues, it has a vastly practical bearing. The individual must, therefore, have Scripture in order to determine the content of these same virtues. This means that if its authority begins to shake, then faith also begins to totter. Likewise hope and love go at the same time. Then all is lost. On this ground Jerome was taken to task because he differed in some of his translations from the old established rendering of certain passages.

Right here, Scripture not only is authoritative, but becomes all-sufficient for intellectual purposes. There may be other knowledge, yet all "useful knowledge" is contained and found in the determining of the content of these three virtues above-mentioned. At the same time, condemnation of the hurtful knowledge is found. Augustine never, however, repudiates the idea of the semi-usefulness of scientific knowledge. Still this knowledge is trivial and unworthy of the time and effort necessary for its acquirement. The one great concern is the salvation of the soul. A knowledge of the true nature of God and the trinity, and, in the earlier days of Augustine's Christian experience, at least a knowledge of cause of the presence of evil, is necessary. But it is only because salvation depends on such knowledge. Further than this it is unnecessary to investigate metaphysical problems.

Of all those things which establish the Church in its position of authority, the most tangible is tradition. As Augustine enters upon the work of his Bishopric, and the controversial interests become greater, he seeks for proofs of the Church's power. The Manichaeans, in order to establish their claims, used only those portions of Scripture which suited their purpose. As opposed to this, Augustine in accordance with prevailing custom, insists on traditional ideas and opinions. It is the authority, not alone inaugurated by miracle, but established by age, that keeps him in (1) the Church. Again, it is the "successio" of the bishops that gives authority. This, however, is not the succession from any one apostle, or the line of bishops in any one Church, but rather in (2) the sense of the continuous testimony of the whole Church. In controverting the Donatists tradition becomes still more general. This party could go back as far as Cyprian. Hence it is the general Church spread throughout the whole world that has valid opinions. The Church which is the fulfillment of the prophecy of Christ is authoritative. Age is now made the distinguishing mark. The older an opinion the more weight it carries. The final weight (3) is given where a tradition can claim apostolic sanction.

An element of the traditional is the Counciliar. Councils as expressing the will of the general Church have weight. However, the insistence of the Donatists on the authority of the Council convened by Cyprian causes a slight modification of this opinion. This Council was only an assembly of North African bishops. To have weight a council must be universal. And even these universal ones

(1) Contra epis. fund. 4, 5.
(2) Ad Faus. 23, 2.
(3) de Bap. IV, 24, 31.
may be superseded by later general councils. As strengthening tradition, however, these councils when rightly interpreted have their place. 

When Augustine entered the Church it was no particular but the universal Church, as opposed to the schismatical and heretical, that possessed authority. Later, however, he speaks of "churches of greater authority," and "churches of greater learning and research." These were the ones that possessed the most authoritative tradition. And since tradition finally must have Apostolic sanction, the Churches of Rome and Jerusalem with Peter and James as founders or first bishops, were regarded as worthy of special consideration. Not any particular bishop or incumbent of the bishops' chair in these churches, however, have authority. Pope Zosimus placed himself in a position requiring vindication when dealing with the Pelagians. Any particular individual is thus liable to err. But the coherence which exists between the individual bishops is God's affair. This being the case, the opinions through coming down through this uninterrupted line of succession are authoritative.

The Apostle Peter, generally, is regarded as a "figura ecclesiae" or a "pastor bonae" as Seeberg indicates. In his confession of Christ's divinity he is a figure of the true foundation of the Church. In the denial he is a figure of the evil which exists within its walls. The receiving of the keys is figurative of the binding and loosing power which has been given to the Church.

(1) de Bap. VI 1:1.
(2) Epis. 118, 5, 32.
(3) Contra Petition II, 51, 118.
And yet, Peter was the Chief Apostle. John was loved most by the Lord, while Peter loved the Master more than John or any of the other disciples. This would make his individual worth count for more than that of the others. James, as head of the Church at Jerusalem, enjoyed no particular apostolic authority. On the other hand, Rome boasted of connection with Paul as well as Peter. This would tend to enhance the worth of tradition coming therefrom. This thought, while not developed by Augustine, is sufficiently implied, so that later ecclesiasts were readily led into the idea of the special power of Rome.

The field in which the Church exercises this authority is now no longer particularly the intellectual. Questions of theology are, to be sure, still established through its power. Yet its sphere is exclusively the spiritual. This change, as has been briefly stated, was a process of time. In writing against the Manichaeans the Church is said to curse simply by affirming

(1) the curse of the Apostles. This, although spoken in reference to the Jews, does not imply that the Church can curse in its own right. Still there is evidence that, even at this time, Augustine regarded the Church as having the initiative power in such matters. In writing against the Donatists it is said to have the power of "binding and loosing sins." The only interpretation possible of this is, that the Church is concerned with the forgiveness of sins. This power, however, belongs only to the Church as the "Communio sanctorum." Herein alone is contained the gift of the "spiritus sanctus" or "caritas" through which sins are forgiven.

Always the aim is the salvation of men when the Church

(1) Ad Faus. 12, 11.
is regarded as having authority. Baptism is the seal of the Monarch which marks the individual as belonging to His Kingdom. This the Church alone can validly administer, because it alone has received the pledge of the Holy Spirit through which sins are remitted. Likewise the sacrament of the body and blood is only rightly administered in the true Church as opposed to the heretical, and schismatical. To be outside then is not only a sin against this same Holy Spirit, or against "Caritas," the vitiating principle of the true church, but without these sacraments rightly administered there can be no salvation. Consequently, if men hope for future bliss and happiness, they must admit the binding and loosing power of the Church. It alone has authority in these matters. Its altars and priests are absolutely indispensable.
THE FUNCTION OF GRACE.

The idea of grace, as well as that of the Church, is somewhat difficult to determine. Here the difficulty lies in the fact that the earlier writings do not contain any mention of the idea, and the later ones are not entirely consistent in this matter. As Augustine himself admits, there is a change of conception. Only from about 397 on there is consistency in the idea of grace. The Confessions portray a change such as might be experienced by a convert in one of our modern "Evangelistic meetings." There is here, undoubtedly, an exaggeration of the element of feeling due to ecclesiastical interests and later study of Paul. At the time of the Conversion experience grace was apparently not considered. There was the emotional upheaval, the changed life, and the acceptance of the authority of the Church, but these things in themselves do not include an experience of Grace. Only later reflection can make room for such an idea.

That this later reflection dominated Augustine's idea of grace is plainly evident. As the earlier writings do not mention this gift, the interest must have been more along philosophical lines. Of faith, however, he speaks, since this virtue was even then of practical interest. In the treatise "de vera religion" faith is said to consist in admitting that truth for the reason is contained in the Church and her teachings. But of grace as such he does not as yet speak. Studying the writings of St. Paul was the immediate cause of the appearance of this idea. The treatise, "expositio quarundam propositisio ex epis. ad Roman," which was written just before his entry into the episcopate, contains the initial form of the idea. Here faith is belief with assent. It is the accomplishment

(1) See Predès, sanct. 7. Haville places the date 391, Loofs 394.
of the individual will. Through man's own effort he believes in the Church as the source of truth and salvation. The result is that grace is hereupon given of God. This gift, then, enables one to do good works. In other words, it is the divine inspiration which inclines man towards the accomplishment of good. It is given as a reward of faith.

The opinion here expressed is later repudiated. In the Retractions and the "praed. sanct." Augustine admits that he was here in error. Faith is not the result of individual effort as he here held. All virtue in whatever form comes from God. This change of opinion is occasioned by a still further study of Paul. The evidence of this further study is found in the "de diversis questionis ad simplicium lib. duo" (496 or 7). Already a change has taken place. The permanent form of the idea, except for a somewhat more definite expression later, is here formed. Grace is still the "interna illuminatio." The better expression, however, is: Grace is the "misera cordia" which is conditioned by the divine "inspiratio." It is still through faith that we receive grace, "Per fides gratiam accipimus." But "fides" is not something coming from human effort. It is like grace, the gift of God.

The relation between grace and faith is not always so clearly defined as it is here. The terms Grace, Faith, and Love are quite often used synonymously. In the Anti-Donatistic writings the "caritas" which forgives sins is equivalent to grace. These same writings, as well as those against the Manicheans and the...

(1) Retrac. on exps. quar. prop. ex Ep. ad Rom. Also on Book I ad Simp. See also ad Simp. I,2,2 und predes. Sanc.III,79;IV,8.
(2) cf. Locs R.E, scit 280.
(3) ad Simplic, I, 2,2.
"de chaticismus," often make "caritas" and "fides" synonymous. Therefore not found.

There is no clear definition of terms. Sometimes there is an apparent distinction made between grace and faith, hope, and love. But, on the whole, this distinction belongs to a later period. In a letter written about the same time as the later writings against the Manichaeans, and the earlier writings against the Donatists, or during the period included in the years around the beginning of the fifth century, by the three virtues of faith, hope and love, we are said to begin to be under grace. To Jerome, he speaks of the "grace of faith" (gratia fidei). Here there is an apparent distinction though not clearly expressed. In writing the treatise on John's Gospel, occasion is had to interpret the expression, "grace for grace." Grace in the first instance is made equal to faith. In the second it is the power bestowed upon men whereby they become righteous before God. From here on the distinction is more or less clearly made. In the Eucharidion the thought is that grace is the secret power which inspires, and builds up in faith, hope and love. The one is the means, the other the end.

Grace as "inspiratio" given by God, remains from the beginning to the end. We have just noted that in the "expositio quarundam propositio ex epistola ad Roman" that grace is the divinely given inspiration whereby good deeds are performed. The Confessions still make grace a secret power for doing good, though not divinely given as a reward of faith. The later thought is as with Paul, that grace is freely given to the unworthy.

(1) Epis. 55, II, 3 to Janarius.
(2) 82, written 405.
(3) on Jno. 1:16.
(4) II, 7,15.
In the completed Augustine, this secret power is regarded as in some way bound up with the sacrament of baptism. It is said that to some baptism confers a secret power which finally results in salvation. In the Enchiridion he speaks of the grace of baptism, as though it was hereby given, through the sacrament of the Church. This gift then is the beginning of the life of righteousness. That baptism, however, does not bring salvation to all who receive it, indicates that the virtue of grace, if bound up with baptism, is somewhat arbitrarily bestowed. The angels which preserved were given this ability arbitrarily and without any preceding merit. Likewise, men in the same manner, are thus dealt with. Should any one prefer to regard this secret power in the light of fate it is legitimate so long as it is remembered that God in all cases disposes and that all things are the result of his secret council.

This consideration of Grace as the will of God or fate brings forward the thought of election or predestination. In the manner, idea of predestination Augustine, in a sense remains constant throughout. From the study of Platonism he had come to conceive of existence as being real in so far only as an object is good. This makes God the author of all real being. "Non solum magna, sed etiam minima bona esse non posunt nisi ab illo, a quo sunt omnia bona, hoc est a deo." In the Anti-Pelagian writings, over and over again the quotation is given, "What hast thou that thou hast

(1) Ench. i. 64.  
(2) Civ. Dei. 12,9.  
(3) Contra duo. epis. Pelag.  
(4) Libero Arbitro II 19,50.
not received. All things are the gift of God." Whether we are able to fathom the divine plan and council is another matter.

The words "predestinatio" and "perseverantia" are, however, not always used. In the earlier writings they are absent. Even in the "de diversis ques ad Simplicium" they are not found. Before this in the "expositio quarundam propositio ex epistola ad Roman" the term "electio" is used. This as has been noted was regarded as the reward of faith. In the writing to Simplicius this thought is corrected. Still the manner in which election is wrought is not clearly defined in Augustine's mind. This unclearness remains till the terms "predestinatio" and "perseverantia" are used. This happens in the Pelagian Controversy. Men are predestinated and they preserve in righteousness because it is (1) God's will. Children are brought to the baptismal font because He, in His secret providence, thus desires it. Even Christ himself was predestinated and foreordained by the divine will.

The manner in which it is wrought and the use of the terms are herein made clear. "Predestinatio" and "perseverantia" mean salvation through the arbitrary will of God.

Grace, however, has its human as well as its divine side. Salvation is not something wrought independent of the individual. Faith, hope, and love are personal matters. They find their completion only when one becomes a member of the organized Church. Even predestination is not to be thought of as working independent of the Church. Men are not dealt with as though they were inan-

(1) Pec. et Gratia 14; 16; 39. Gratia et libro arbitro 17; 30; 41
(2) Gratia et libro arbitro, 44.
imate objects. Even though predestination is a fact, faith is also still valid and necessary. It must be exercised to conciliate if possible the grace of the Justifier. The preaching of the Gospel is likewise necessary for the purpose of kindling faith. Although love, the crowning virtue, is given directly by God, still, so far as the individual is concerned, it comes only when alms are given, prayers made, right living practiced, and the sacraments of the Church partaken of. Children likewise are said to have this gift of predestination as well as adults; yet they can only be saved when baptized. So that no one is free from the organization which God has given for the salvation of men. All must be a part of the organization and work out their own salvation.

(1) Natura et gratia 7, 7.
(2) de spir. et lettera 29, 51.
(3) Rel. et gratia 20, 9.
(4) Pec. mer. et remis. I, 27, 46.
THE PURPOSE OF THE SACRAMENTS

It is not certain just what the sacraments meant to Augustine previous to, and at the time of his conversion. During his youth he had, as a matter of course, accepted prevailing opinions in this matter. Baptism was regarded as a rite necessary for preparing one for death. It forgave all sins. But to make its work more complete, and lest men should fall again after the administering of the same, and thereby incur a more grievous sin, it was deferred until the time of dying in many cases. Thus Augustine when fearing his sickness should prove fatal desired to be baptized. But this was not the meaning the rite had for Augustine at the time of his conversion. The process of salvation was already complete—"truth was found and the life changed." This form then could scarcely have been more than a confirmation or a seal of what had already been done. The Church as an organization had certain rites, which must be gone through with before membership was attained. Baptism was one of these, and as such received. The sacrament of the Lord's Supper had not as yet found a place in his mind or experience. Later when he became a presbyter his attention is naturally called to all the sacraments. At this time an opinion regarding their real meaning is formed. Before this the interest was centered more in other directions.

Very soon after becoming a presbyter ideas regarding baptism take definite shape in Augustine's mind. In writing to Maximian (391) baptism is compared with the ancient rite of cir-

(2) Epis. 23.
cumcision. It is a seal which shall be done away with at the second coming of Christ, as was circumcision at the first. This comparison to the Ancient Jewish rite is found throughout the Anti-Manichaean and Anti-Donatistic writings. Baptism makes one a member of Christ's body as circumcision made a man an Israelite. This makes the validity of the rite independent of the administrator. The Donatists err in making it dependent on the character of the serving priest. Even the schismatic and murderer can administer the sacrament with the same degree of validity as the almsgiving saint.

The fact, however, that any one can administer a valid baptism does not detract in any way from the character of necessity which it possesses. There must be a mark whereby the saints are recognized in the future judgment. The ones bearing this sign are classed among the sheep. Those not so sealed are of the goats. Or to use another figure; the great Captain must have a mark of recognition on his soldiers.

The forgiveness of sins is wrought in baptism. In the earlier stages of the Donatistic Controversy, however, this is hardly intended in the literal sense. Rather it implies the putting on of Christ and the living a regenerate life. A transformation has been wrought and the seal of the same is herein given. Just as Cornelius received the Holy Spirit and then was baptized by Peter. Some, however, reverse this order. Baptism is first received and thereby a formal forgiveness of sins wrought. And yet this forgiveness is only formal. The schismatic can only

(1) Epis. 173, 3.
(2) de baptismo V, 21,29.
(3) de baptismo I, 11, 16. Chatholic, 26,50.
have a momentary forgiveness because in the separation the law of love is transgressed. The necessity of conforming to this law is still further seen when it is remembered that even the one in unity must have this "caritas" before the end is reached. The Holy Ghost bestows this virtue to those who alone are in unity and who live a righteous life. Again, the "Communio Sanctorum" as the embodiment of the Holy Spirit likewise can forgive sins. But in no case is this virtue given for the forgiveness of sins without baptism and unity with Christ's body, which is the Church.

At the time of the giving of the above views occasion is also had to speak of the sacraments in general. Faustus had written against the rites of the Old Testament. This called for a general defense of the sacraments. Augustine argues that the Old Testament rites were valid for the old dispensation. They looked forward to, and were fulfilled in Christ. Hence they are no longer binding. Now, however, the sacraments of the Church point backward. They express faith in the past, death and resurrection of Christ. For this reason they are absolutely valid and binding. Since in worship faith must be exercised, and since the supreme object of faith is the death and resurrection, worship itself becomes essentially a commemoration of these things in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. Faith must have its visible and material sign. So an institution for worship, or the Church, must have its sacraments. They are the bond of union in the organization, and are not merely superstitious performances, as Faustus affirmed.

In the Anti-Pelagian writings the emphasis is slightly changed. From the beginning Augustine regarded the Pelagians as being enemies to the sacrament of baptism. To affirm that children
have no sin would nullify an ancient practice of the Church should they be baptized if not for the removal of sin. The first treatise written was "de peccatorum meritis et remissione." In this the relation of children to this sacrament is treated in particular. So far as actual sin is concerned, children have none. But human nature was vitiated by the sin of Adam. In him all have potentially sinned in that they have fallen heir to a corrupted human nature. In such a condition children are naturally outside the ranks of faith. Something must be done to make them of the number of the faithful. Baptism is the sacrament which has been given for this purpose. Through it the stain is removed from human nature. This remains the standpoint from which baptism is considered throughout the Pelagian Controversy.

The idea of the forgiveness of actual sins, however, still remains. All sins are forgiven. Yet here, again, as in the Anti-Donatistic writings, the forgiveness is only formally wrought. The writings on John's Gospel which belong to this period, place the forgiving power in faith or "credere." This "credere" is used synonymously with "caritas," which was used in arguing against Donatus. This "caritas" in turn is equivalent to "gratia." Faith, however, must exist in some form, as the water and the word are incapacitated when the recipient has not faith. This is necessary in order to partake rightly of the Lord's Supper as well as for the valid reception of baptism. "Credere in eum hoc est manducare panum vivum." Here the "credere" is in "eum." For an entire healing, however, there must also be faith in the Church as the continuation and embodiment of Christ.

(1) See also Nuptio et Concup. I, 11. 
(2) Spiritus et lemm. 42. 
(3) Jno. 80, 3.
With children, moreover, who have not reached the age of responsibility, this faith is on the part of the parents or those bringing them to the fount. But for an adult, it must be individual. In such cases to depart from faith causes the sacrament to lose its power, even though previously it was workable. Only when a return to faith is made, does the sacrament resume its validity.

Baptism is, therefore, efficacious as well as necessary. Under these conditions all sin is removed, both original and actual. All evil belonging to the flesh thereby is taken away. Still baptism does not bring a full and complete salvation. It bestows that secret power which is known as grace, but this does not signify that that infirmity of the flesh which existed in Adam has been removed. Against this weakness a constant warfare must be waged. Because of this weakness numerous daily sins are committed. For these it is necessary to pray and do penance. The sacraments of the altar likewise have a place here. A sanctifying influence is here-in contained. To become a real member of Christ's body it is necessary to sacramentally or mystically feed on the same. Even after death these sacraments can have a beneficial effect when partaken of by friends for that purpose. This, however, presumably applies only to the pious who have lived the non-monastic life. For the evil one, the schismatic, or heretic, it is unavailing. It also loses its efficacy for the non-baptized whether children or adult, however piously they may have lived. (At this point the sacraments are inter-dependent.)

Children, moreover, who cannot of themselves better their condition are saved by an heretical baptism. Not so,

(1) Nuptio et concupis, I, 11. (4) Enchiridion 46.
(2) " " " I, 39. (5) " 110.
(3) Pecc. orig. 46. Enchirid. 64.
however, with the adult. For him the still further qualifications of unity and right living are essential.

Augustine never went so far as some of his contemporaries in promising a final salvation to all those who had partaken of the sacraments. If a life of a certain standard of righteousness has not been reached, the sacraments are absolutely unavailing. This holds whether partaken of individually or by friends after the supposed beneficiary is dead.

The important sacraments, then, are "baptismus" and "panis et calix." All the others are of minor consideration. These two are the "sacramenta ecclesiae." They flowed from the pierced side and are therefore the true foundation of the Church. ("Inde sanguis et aqua profluixit—quibus aedeficatur ecclesia."

In other words, the Church is simply an organization in which these are used as means of salvation. This idea is expressed in the figure of the ark. The sacraments are the door whereby men enter in. Towards this entry "baptismo" is the initial step and not the "pains et calix" as Dorner seems to think. After the first step is taken the sacraments of the altar are necessary in order to build up in love. These in their turn are a part of the true wisdom or "THEOSEBEIA."

---

(1) Civ. Dei. 21, 20.
(2) " " 22, 17.
(3) " " 15, 26.
It was under the preaching of Ambrose that Augustine entered the Church. Preaching, however, was not a characteristic of this one man, but was a well established order in the Church. In fact, it had from the very first played an important role in the Church service. Naturally, enough, then Augustine would find a place for it in his thinking.

The place accorded to Scripture by Augustine, however, is not always exactly the same. There is a slight variation depending on the point of view from which the subject is approached. In his early Christian experience, preaching meant to him the declaring or unfolding of the truth as found in Scripture. Herein is contained all necessary knowledge. And to doubt its authority would be suicidal to all literature. The same reasoning can be used for the authority of the sacred writings as is used in regard to profane literature. Both must stand or fall together.

This argument is a purely rational one; and does not contain any consideration of the element of faith. These reasons for the authority of Scripture from the standpoint of faith are

In substance the thought is that found in the "de doctrina Christiana." There must be something in which faith is exercised. Scripture, as containing the final form of the "LOGOS" doctrine gives us assurance that it contains the truth. The solution of all life's fundamental problems is contained therein. Therefore, faith not only can be placed in the sacred Word, but depends upon it as well.

(1) Mor. et Cat. etc. 29, 61
Soon after becoming a presbyter another element enters into the idea held regarding Scripture. In writing to Euvodius (391), he regards the function of the priest as that of administering the sacraments and the Word, "sacramentum et verbum dei populum ministrare." From this it is evident that the Word or Gospel contains more than truth. It has a sacramental character. In this capacity, there is a secret power behind the spoken or written utterances. It is this power when combined with the elements that makes them effective. Also it is this same power that works transformation in the lives of men. ("Semen quo regeneror verbum dei cat."

This idea though remaining with Augustine, never has the prominent place which it has in the writings of Luther. With Augustine the main idea is that Word is synonymous with Truth or with Christ. It is that which reveals God. Or, again the Gospel is the narrative of Jesus Christ. The whole of the sacred writings refers in some way to Jesus Christ or His Church. The Old Testament by various figures and signs points forward to Christ and the Church. The New Testament is the record of the coming of Christ and the establishment of His Church. In this capacity it is not so much an inspiration to faith, as it is a record of faith, an encouragement to hope, and that which animates love.

Because of the figurative character of Scripture it is necessary to have an interpreter. In this capacity the Church serves. This is one of the points brought out in the argument against the

---

(1) Contra le tt. Peter. I, 7,8.
(2) see de doctr. Christ. IV, 27,59.
(3) Fidei et credere 3,3.
(4) ad Faustum 2,2.
(5) ad Faustum 13,16.
Manichaeans. There must be some one of superior authority and education, if the secrets of the divine writings are rightly interpreted. The Manichaeans are led astray in not having ability to interpret figures, and understand the real purpose of signs. In the Anti-Donatistic writings this idea of the need of some one of superior educational attainments is not so prominent. The sacramental character of the Word is more especially considered. In this capacity it is not so dependent on the attainments of the administrator. To be consistent with the idea expressed on baptism, the Word must be also declared to be independent in its working power from the character of the preacher. The declaration of Scriptural truths, therefore, is sufficient regardless of the source from which the declaration comes. The salvation of men is wrought by the Word; the one giving utterance to it is only an instrument.

This thought remains with Augustine until the end of his life. In 426 he writes, the words of the speaker when they are the truth of the Gospel, have power to transform men. Yet this power is increased when the life of the speaker serves as an example of the truth uttered.

This idea of a secret power accompanying the declaration of the Word, though kept in the background because of other doctrinal interests, is still, nevertheless, found in the Anti-Pelagian Controversy. Christ preaching the Gospel in Hell was sufficient to transform the lives of the unbelievers. Indeed the Church has this power

(1) Ad Faustum 3, 4.
(2) de Doctr. Christ, IV, 29, 59.
(3) Epis. 164. to Euvodius.
of the Word in the same sense as it has the authority and use of the "Keys." Peter was the symbol of authority and in this capacity received the keys. But through John the Church has received the Word. The symbolic expression of this is found in an incident at the Last Supper, where John leans on the Master's breast. The Minister as a servant of the Church, must then, declare or proclaim the invisible Word of Truth. The ones who hear the proclamation with willing and pious minds receive truth.

Even the fact that some are predestined to salvation, while others are predestined to damnation does not destroy the efficacy of preaching. This sacrament as well as the others plays its part in saving men. As Paul says, men cannot hear unless they have a preacher. The fact that the Apostle found no contradiction here between preaching and predestination proves conclusively to Augustine that there is none.

The writing "de dono perseverantiae" particularly touches on the relation existing between preaching and predestination. Suffice it to say that the Word still has its place. These two doctrines are by no means opposed to each other. Rather the predestined are made manifest through preaching. The ones who hear are the chosen ones of God. However, men still must be dealt with according to the appointed means of grace. Predestination is given more as a potentiality than as a completed fact. This makes room for a growth in faith. And if faith grows, there must be something for it to feed on. This makes room for Scripture. Men need preaching and they need exhortation. To be sure, all will not hear, yet this does not militate against the need of preaching. Rather it is a proof that predestination is an established fact.

(1) Jno. 124, 7. (2) 57, 3; 72, 2. (3) 37, 14. (4) 36.
CONCLUSION

Many perplexities confront us when we come to sum up the evidence already presented. Care must be exercised, in order that preconceived opinions may not be read into the ideas given. All the more caution is here necessary, since Augustine's writings do not directly bear testimony on our subject. The conclusions must be drawn from opinions which are incidental to the main idea under discussion. The evidence is indirect rather than direct.

Between the early experience of Augustine and his later theological opinions there is sometimes a direct connection found. Then again the opinions were the result rather of later than of earlier experiences. Later interests were such that youthful experiences were in a measure lost to view. In the later idea of the Church there is still a reflection of earlier experience. For instance, the ideal for the moral and religious life is found only in the Church. This was one of the fundamental things in the conversion experience. With the Manicheans there was dissatisfaction and unrest. The immoral life practiced by so many of this sect was certainly not worthy of emulation. The only ideal worth accepting as a guide for the moral life was that imparted by his mother and found in the Church. Mother and son were to stand on the same rule, not of faith alone, but of morals as well. The close connection between these two does not permit of any great distinction being made. So to Augustine advanced in years the Church is still the depository of correct opinions in theology, and without these correct opinions there can be no salvation.
Schism and heresy are sins, which, so long as continued in, make salvation impossible. Likewise the Church still remains the source of the moral ideal. At no time does Augustine favor the idea of salvation without morals. The ideal found in the Church must be accepted, before there is even a possibility of a life saved from sin.

None of the many controversial interests were sufficient to obscure the idea that the Church contains the ideal for perfect morals. To the casual observer this might seem otherwise. Many belong to the Church who are by no means perfect in morals. Indeed some belonging thereto are actually living immoral lives. But this contradiction is only apparent; while these belong to the organization, they are not a part of the true Church. Only when there is a redeemed life does the true Church exist. The members of the ideal church are the pure in heart. Nothing can blind the eyes of Augustine to this fact experienced in his conversion. On this point the remark of Romies is apt, "Mann sieht Augustine kennen und nirgend's ein Religion ohne Sittlichkeit, ein ausserer Kirchentum ohne inneres Christentum, ein Religion des Geistes ohne die des Herzens." When others would grant a general salvation to all those who had partaken of the sacraments inside the Church Augustine dissents. When others would grant release to all those remembered at the altar Augustine again disagrees. Only those who have been baptized and have lived a life of a certain moral standard are thus benefited. Even the Church cannot save unless its moral standards are accepted.

(1) Das Heil des Chris. aug. der wahre Kirche, seit. 37.
The later idea of the way in which salvation is won likewise remains true to earlier experiences. Monasticism alone can bring perfect satisfaction. In Augustine's experience it was the perverseness of the flesh that prevented him from attaining his ideal. As long as the mind dwells on the low and the vile it cannot reach perfect wisdom. The truth can only be searched out when none of these things interrupt. This means a retired life for the purpose of research. In later life this idea remains though the content changes. Faith, hope and love become to Augustine the crowning virtues. These find their perfection in Monasticism,—in giving up all and serving. How else can faith be shown, hope expressed, and love made perfect?

In the matter of salvation there is a variation in the later opinion from what was experienced in youth. That is, the content of the term "salus" changes. Augustine's experience was a salvation in morals, and a salvation in, or a correcting of opinions. There is a close connection between the thought, and the moral life. The correction of the one implied the renovation of the other. But in later life there is a variation from this experience. In the mind of the later ecclesiast it is not sufficient to have correct intellectual conceptions of God and to accept the creed. Some have a sound theology and receive the sacraments, still they are lost in sin. They have departed from faith, and until they return to a life which is appropriate for faith they can have no hope. The connection is no longer between knowledge and morals but between faith and morals, or rather, the term knowledge is understood in a different sense. It is more than a bare acceptance and assent to certain propositions. A certain religious element
must be included. A man to have knowledge must have faith in the Church and sacraments. In other words, the term which correctly expresses the later idea of knowledge is "THEOSERTIA." Salvation then varies in meaning to the same extent as the meaning of the word "knowledge" varies. The conception of the real meaning of the Church likewise varies in the same proportion.

The above conclusions on the variation in the content of the term knowledge indicate the degree in which there is a variation and the sense in which there is a continuity existing between the early experience of, and the later conception of Authority. The continuity lies on the side of morals. The Church is always regarded as the authority in matters pertaining to the religious life. It is the "dispensatio temporalis divinae providentiae pro salute generis humani." And in this capacity it is always authoritative. The variation lies in the emphasis placed on the intellectual. From the notion of the necessity of having correct philosophical opinions Augustine passes to an attitude of indifference to opinions not contained in the Creed. This indifference, however, must not affect the spiritual life. The spiritual is now emphasized rather at the expense of the intellectual. And just here is the change from what was experienced before the conversion.

The Scripture as a part of the divine order likewise retains its place in matters pertaining to Authority. Always, it is the source for eternal verities. The solution of all problems essential for salvation is therein contained. Later, however,
the sacred writings are regarded more in the sense of a guide for the attainment of character. The place may be reached where the guide can be dispensed with, but until that point is reached it serves its purpose. This letter is a change from Augustine's experience of the Scripture as a means of salvation by giving expression to the truth.

Authority as experienced was accepted on faith. Reason made such demands. Various controversial interests, however, demanded proof for the acceptance of the Church as authoritative. The more conclusive of these is that it has been established by miracle and confirmed by age. Through its traditions the authenticity of the manuscripts are established. These in their turn contain the doctrinal proof of the Church's power. Another argument used against the Donatists is that the Church is the fulfillment of prophecy. It is not a particular sect in North Africa. Rather it is the institution which is spread throughout the whole world. This has continued in a direct line from Christ. The bishops have authority, then, in so far as they are in this line of succession. Decisions in questions of custom and doctrine are borne along on this general stream of tradition. Councils serve as the mile-stones along the way. The further back this tradition goes the more authoritative. The most influence goes with it when it is apostolic. Peter, though the Chief Apostle, is in the main regarded as on the same level with the others. Rome is to receive consideration since it is an apostolic seat, and, therefore, is in possession of the older traditions. The Church is, however, to be
accepted on grounds of faith, but if it must have its rational grounds for existence, these are the principal ones.

The field in which authority is exercised is always the religious and moral life. As experienced, the desired end, which is salvation, is reached by pointing out truth. The later idea is that the Holy Spirit has been given as a gift, and the Church in the capacity of the "communio sanctorum" has received this gift. This being the only power through which sins are forgiven, naturally the Church is alone authoritative in this matter. In its invisible nature it can judge regarding the possession of this spirit which exists in the individual as "caritas." Finally, since this spirit of love comes only through the appointed means, the Church can give or withhold salvation. All are made dependent on it. There is salvation in no other way. And for this reason the Church's authority remains supreme.

Although Augustine did not have any experience of grace, yet he does not depart widely from his experience in his later conceptions of Grace. Salvation came only after a long and hard struggle. Repeated efforts were necessary to break the old bonds of habit. Even after he was willing to accept the Church as authoritative on grounds of faith, the end was not reached. Persistent effort was required to break old bonds and thus win truth. This would naturally give rise to the idea that the end reached was the reward of the persisting faith and desire. In fact, this is the earlier ecclesiastical notion.

There is, however, another element in the early experience of Augustine. According to later reflection, he turned rather sud-
denly from a life of sin to one of righteousness. There was no apparent reason for such a change. Why should he rather than some other man be thus turned? Reflection on this, together with the Platonic idea of God as the ground and cause of all things, naturally would be supposed to present the idea of election or predestination. A study of the other Church Fathers and especially a study of Paul's writings would only serve to strengthen the idea. So strong does this element become that it entirely crowds out the notion of salvation being the reward of effort or faith. Even faith is the gift of God. All men are lost in sin, such as are saved, become so without any preceding merit of their own. It is the free gift from Heaven. Not alone the faith, moreover, is given to these few, but the perseverance in the same to the end. Through His Church, God gives all things to men for their salvation. Just as Augustine entered the church himself found 44, only when we come to it can we find rest and peace.

The dependence of men on the Church as an institution is still further indicated when the sacraments are considered. Not, however, that Augustine had had an experience of being dependent on the Church because of the sacraments. In his youthful days he fancied such a dependence. But in the conversion experience things took on a different appearance. Baptism was received as a confirmation of a salvation already wrought, just as Cornelius received baptism from Peter after he had already received the Holy Ghost. A religious society must have some sacraments for the purpose of organization. Baptism serves as the form for initiating members into the society. The sacrament of the Lord's Supper serves its purpose as the form or the manner of worship. However,
later interests demonstrate to Augustine that men are dependent on the Church and sacraments for different reasons than these. Human nature is sinful. It inherited a certain amount of guilt from Adam. Before men can be saved this guilt must be removed. To this end the Church has the sacrament of baptism. Baptism, however, is not all-sufficient. It removes the guilt and sin, but still men may, and do sin and err. They must be built up in love and faith. The infirmity of the flesh must be strengthened as well as the guilt removed. As a religious exercise looking towards this end, the sacrament of the Lord's Supper serves its purpose. To eat the body and drink the blood in a mystical way builds up the individual in the spiritual body and likeness of Christ. In this he is prepared for Heaven.

The preaching of Ambrose played a great part in the conversion of Augustine. This was the means, to Augustine, of clarifying the obscure figures which are so numerous in the sacred pages. With the allegorical method of interpretation the Scripture became the divine depository for truth. God as the eternal verity, has revealed Himself therein. Men have been inspired directly by God to write down revealed, secret truths. Then later He sent forth His Son as the incarnation of truth. All the facts connected with this incarnate Son of God have been recorded by inspired Apostles in Scripture. These things make it a book especially calculated to inspire confidence. With the proper interpreter it is certain to save men from error and sin.

This saving power of Scripture always remains before the mind of Augustine. The later thought, however, is that this saving
power belongs to the sacred writings in their capacity of the invisible word. With the sacraments there must be joined the secret power of the Word before they become effective. Again, this mysterious power is seen when the Word is preached. Under effective preaching changes are wrought in men. In this sense there is a sacramental character belonging to the Word of God. Salvation, moreover, then, comes through the sacraments. In so far as the Word saves, it is also sacramental.

The idea of the sacramental nature of the Word is undoubtedly a variation from the earlier experience. In so far as there is a change from the intellectual to the sacramental type of salvation so far is there a change in the conception of the Word. It is of saving value, but salvation is, in Augustine's mind, a rather variable quantity. This is the secret in the study of Augustine. The later ecclesiastical ideas are in a general way dependent on earlier experiences. But later interests come in to crowd out the things which dominated the earlier life culminating in the conversion.

The interest in the Church as an organization as opposed to the societies of schismatics and heretics crowded out the interest in mere formal truth. Had Augustine lived out his ideal and remained, like Jerome, a Monk, he would undoubtedly, have been more true to his earlier ideals, and experience. Had he, on the other hand, lived a few years longer, he undoubtedly would have believed all that later ecclesiastics found in his writings, concerning the power of Rome and its bishops.

FINIS.