St. Augustine : diversity of historical streams due to the cross-currents in the thought and life of St. Augustine

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St. Augustine.
Diversity of Historical Streams due to the Cross-Currents in the Thought and Life of St. Augustine.

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A Thesis submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate College of the State University of Iowa in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in the

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DEDICATION:

Whatever is substantial and worthwhile in this thesis I dedicate to my teacher and friend Professor Edwin D. Starbuck, to whose guidance and inspiration I owe more than words or thoughts can express.
CONTENTS:

EGOTISM-HUMILITY.

ASCETICISM.

CRUELTY.

INDEPENDENCE.

DEPENDENCE.

RATIONALITY.

SENTIMENTALITY.
This thesis is the outcome of a previous study in which we described the multiple tendencies of St. Augustine's personality. We found that his mentality was moved by many contradictory currents which intensified his struggles for the solution of the problems of life. As a result of such a diversified nature various eccentricities appeared which prevented St. Augustine from ever finding a settled attitude towards the world. These eccentricities induced further contradictions, as they came to be adopted by the representatives of the following ages.

No one of the church fathers has exerted a moulding influence upon posterity in such diverse ways as St. Augustine. He has been the instigator of nation-wide conflicts. His thought was the life-blood of the succeeding centuries. He has given impetus to a series of conflicts in the history of theology, philosophy, mysticism and politics.

His prestige remained almost unquestioned throughout the Middle Ages, the Renaissance and the Reformation. In the least well known, as well as in the standard and classical works of the Middle Ages, whole streams of thought are taken over from the writings of the North-African genius. The
respective thinkers and authors often adopted the eccentricities of his system of thought. St. Augustine helped indirectly to accentuate the particular phases of interest. His diverse thought contradictions augmented the advance of the Reformation crisis.

The theologians and the representatives of the different schools of thought cite and fortify their ideas and views by constantly stressing some specific tendency of St. Augustine which was the most congenial to them. There are others who stress Augustinian thoughts because the saint is their authority and their teacher. Opposing parties and schools of ideas quote him in order to counteract the prestige of their opponent. This fact manifests afresh that St. Augustine's personality and thought consisted of a complex of eccentric tendencies.

We do not claim that the theologians and thinkers are merely the echoes of Augustinian thought, but we can reasonably maintain that certain specific streams of his thought have been reexpressed upon his explicit authority. He is to-day no longer the over-towering personality, but he is still alive in the most variegated systems of theological thought.

Our endeavor therefore is to trace the diversity of historical streams due to the cross-currents of St. Augustine's native propensities.
EGOTISM - HUMILITY

St. Augustine was a curious blend of egotism and humility. He recognized self-esteem as one of the basic human tendencies. No attempt was made to explain it away. By connecting this impulse successively with humility, the saint achieved a balance of graceful personality. It was this diversity of mental traits that intensified the corresponding attitudes in the representatives of the succeeding centuries.

The above mentioned contradictory tendencies of St. Augustine were in some measure instrumental in becoming accentuated during the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. During the latter period the church continued to stress the need of humility in her mystics, while the literary humanists broke loose the bonds of mediaeval submissiveness. The Middle Ages subdued and often crushed the urge of egotism by unduly stressing the self-abasing impulse. They regarded the mundane existence of man as unworthy. It was bad form to exhibit one's ego. The only possible indulgence of self-expression and enjoyment of life was granted by the circumscribed observance of the religious life. Whatever was natural
and spontaneously human was despised.* The Renaissance freed itself from the fetters of this mediæval attitude and stirred up new zest for man's desire of enjoying the natural life. It revived individual and untrammelled self-expression.**

St. Augustine's rather detailed and rhetorical Confessions helped in part to fan into flame the reawakened enthusiasm, which characterized the revival of literature during the fourteenth century. Not unlike the anthropological period of Grecian thought, it fostered the study of man's self for its own sake.***


**G. Koerting, supra £69: "The Renaissance rediscovered the egotism, the sensuousness and the disrespect for man in the literature of Roman antiquity."

The representatives of the Renaissance found the expression of self-appreciation with its ideals of fame and self-glorification unequivocally in the records of St. Augustine's Confessions. They helped in the creation of fresh beginnings of individualism. Their content strengthened the sense of vigorous life that had spontaneously burst forth during this period.

Petrarca, "the main founder of the Renaissance"*, indulges in the most minute criticism of his own person in his dialogues of the "Secretum". St. Augustine had been the pattern as well as the partner in the discussion. Like his favorite saint he lays bare his deficiencies and perfections. Of all the saint's writings he valued the Confessions the most, as they were unique, thoughtful and poetical in the disclosure of his own soul. He felt one with him in having undergone a kindred struggle. And in unearthing all the furrows of the heart, Petrarca felt a joy in self-inflicted pains. He loved to listen to his most secret thoughts and analyze them.** He dwells on his desires and faults like pride of intellect, sensuality, ambition and satisfactions of eloquence and beauty. With the Bishop of Hippo he holds that love and fame are the two chains of bondage to which human nature is addicted.*** The constant

reading of St. Augustine's Confessions freed him partly from the mediaeval inhibition of self-feeling. St. Augustine had exhibited his self as it was. In view of this fact Petrarca was induced to make a frank study of his own person.* In the course of the year 1350 Petrarca met Boccaccio, his fellow humanist. A most enthusiastic friendship was the result. It was Boccaccio who continually kept the friendship in high esteem. At several occasions he presented to Petrarca some gifts.** Ed. Hutton avers that Boccaccio is rather eager in his earlier works in telling about himself, especially does he revel in the description of his love, his delights, his sufferings like St. Augustine.***

Salutati, the successor to the literary heritage of Petrarca and Boccaccio, represents probably the stage of conflict between the tradition of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. He indulges in a panegirical excess of humility which smacks of affectation. He is in this in line with the Augustinian tradition of the Middle Ages, as it was a common desire of authors to gain popularity by displaying their humility.

**E. Hutton: Giovanni Boccaccio. N.Y. J. Lane Co. 1910. P.190: Petrarca thanks his friend for St. Augustine's Commentary on the Psalms and for an anthology from the works of Cicero and Varro.
***E. Hutton: Giovanni Boccaccio. N.Y. 1916. p.XII.
With St. Augustine he held that one should not boast of being a Christian. It gave him singular delight to parade this personal disposition by an appeal to the saint, whose writings were his favorite study.*

Wherever an enthusiasm is awakened in celebrating the majesty and the worth of man, the sister impulse, modesty, is usually eclipsed. The mediaeval period accentuated excessively total self-abasement while the Renaissance augmented the glorification of self. It was St. Augustine, who has given prestige to an "official humility", by prefacing his monumental work, the City of God, with an appeal to modesty. A. Martin contends that it was due to his example that such a procedure became customary among the historians and authors of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. "There is to my knowledge not one preface to any mediaeval work of history in which the writer does not present his humbleness in a variety of rhetorical forms, as his incapability and his unworthiness for the task." **

"The Middle Ages constitute a transition period when the church was fixing its relationship

**Martin v. Alf. Supra.
to St Augustine and the numerous impulses originated by him.* One of the tendencies which he stressed as a most necessary element of religious life, and which he ineradicably implanted into the thought of the church, was humility.** He gave the church a new disposition to revere lowliness. The most outstanding characteristic and most convincing sign of the divinity of the man Jesus was his living humbly, suffering much, enduring shame and death. He ennobled the things from which men usually withdraw. It is the burden of St. Augustine's Confessions that Jesus is the exemplar and the guide to a humble life. They exalted the loftiness of humility in the man Jesus, and its beauty in his life and death.

In St. Bernard of Clairvaux, (1090-1153) who is the religious genius of the twelfth century, Augustinianism had found its renewed expression and reincarnation. Weander, the celebrated church

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**Laurent, P. Études sur L'Histoire de L'Humanité. Vol.IV, p.497: "À cette science d'enflure et d'orgueil, Augustin oppose l'humilité de l'apôtre (De Civ.Dei X:22). Si humilité n'accompagne toutes nos pensées, toutes nos actions, elles sont viciées; la seule voie pour arriver à Dieu, c'est l'humilité, toujours l'humilité rien que l'humilité. (Épist.118:22) On a appelé saint Augustin le docteur de la grâce, on pourrait mieux encore l'appeler le docteur de l'humilité; c'est le titre glorieux qu'il donne lui-même à Jésus-Christ.
historian has shown in his monograph on St. Bernard that his thought and life were moulded on St. Augustine. Hence St. Bernard was called Augustinus redivivus. He it was who revived the Augustinian doctrine of humility. Harnack says that the conceptions caritas and humili-tas became for the abbot of Clairvaux as it had been in the Confessions of St. Augustine, the basic conceptions of the Christian life.* His glorification of humility had been nurtured on St. Augustine, who had regard-ed Christ's appearance and historic life as an actual process of the loftiness of humility and as a pattern for the Christians.** Lifting humility above other things, he proclaimed it in ever recurrent passionate outbursts and added to its nature a structural basis.

S.M. Deutsch, by far the greatest living authority on St. Bernard's theology, has traced the influences of St. Augustine upon St. Bernard. The contention is that in spite of the fact that the "doctor mellifluus" makes few direct quotations from St. Augustine's works, he yet has drawn extensively ideas and thoughts from the saint of North-Africa. He declares in his treatise De gradibus humilitatis et superbiae (1121) (Of the grades of Humility and Pride) that humility is the way to truth. The notion that pride and lust

are the primary roots of evil are Augustinian. He discusses twelve steps of pride, beginning from the "curiositas" to the last one in which resistance to sin is given up (consuetudo peccando). The path of humility has three steps, namely the knowledge of one's self in a state of need and poverty, the knowledge of the need of others and the willingness to help them, and finally the vision of God. In his treatise De Diligendo Deo which treats of the supreme object of life, even the love of God, he maintains that this can be attained by twelve stages of humility.*

The intervening seven hundred years between St. Augustine and St. Francis had with the exception of St. Bernard simply handed down the inheritance of the Bishop of Hippo. The popes, among them Gregory the Great, the theologians, like Isidore of Seville and Alcuin, kept alive the Augustinian doctrines. It was chiefly the works on monastic life and the treatises on asceticism in the twelfth century that upheld the doctrine of humility and the ideal of poverty.

St. Francis, the sacred singer of Assisi and the troubadour of God (joculator domini) never mentions the Augustinian tradition in his records and words bequeathed to his order. H.O. Taylor ascribes to him a complete originality and independent individuality.

"He had not taken the theology of Augustine; he had not taken the Christ handed over by the transition centuries to the early Middle Ages; he had not adopted the Christ of the ecclesiastical hierarchy." * Authors like Harnack and Little find more or less definite connections that St. Francis had with the current streams of the church. It may well have been that he heard of the orthodox Humiliati, of the heretical Waldenses and Albigenses, who called the world back to apostolic poverty and simplicity. ** Movements like the Catheri and Peterini which swept over Northern Italy were reflected in his native town of Assisi, "defying ecclesiastical power, denouncing wealth, secular ambitions of the church, scoffing at the clergy." *** These anti-hierarchical movements may have drawn their inspiration and authority in many ways from St. Augustine's works. The revival of monasticism during the Middle Ages was in large part a result of the reawakening Augustinian notions on asceticism and monastic life, a description of which is deferred to the topic on Asceticism. St. Francis may therefore well have been influenced partly by the atmosphere of these movements.

We lack absolute direct historical proof in

regard to the actual influence of St. Augustine upon the founder of the Franciscan order. There are only indirect data coming in to clear up in part the continuity of tradition. St. Francis may have arrived independently at the fervor of his proclamation of the doctrine of humility, yet there are in his expressions of the nature of modesty the almost identical thoughts of St. Augustine. These are the words of St. Bonaventura, the successor of the leadership of the Franciscan order, and official biographer of the saint: "Humility, the garden and glory of all virtues, abounded in rich fulness in the man of God. In his own estimation, he was nought but a sinner. He would say for this end: the Son of God had come down from the heights, and from his Father's bosom, unto our mean estate, to wit, that both by example and precept our Lord and Master might teach humility. He deemed it a fool's part to be uplifted by the applause of the world, but he rejoiced in railings, and was saddened by praise."*

St. Bernard and St. Francis tried successively to persuade and to convert men by the sublimest self-negation. It was a most powerful instrument in the furtherance of the ascetic and monastic life. The emphasis of humility became not only an extremely formidable weapon for the practical questions of the Mediaeval church, but all the celebrated doctors of the church, who expounded the dogmas of faith, treat it...

rather minutely as a most vital part of their theologi-
cal systems.

The importance of humility rose to such a
climax as to become the prime prerequisite before enter-
ing upon the religious life, be it ecclesiastical or
monastic. It was not only the church that utilized the
stress laid upon this quality of disposition for the
sake of gaining control and authority over those whom
she ruled, but the mystics too spoke in no uncertain
ways of the necessity of such a state of heart, in order
to enrich one's own inner life. Both these divergent
types of humility had in part their source in the writ-
ings of the Bishop of Hippo. A description of the for-
mer is deferred to the section on "Dependence". Here
we are confining ourselves to the latter type.

Augustine had spoken: "I believe that God be-
came man for us, to be to us an example of humility and
to show to us what God's love is. And this helps us
to realize and to hold fast in our heart that the self-
abasement in which it pleased God to be born of a wo-
man, and allowed Himself to be scorned and rejected and
put to death by men, is the best remedy for our puffed-
up pride. He was crucified—now it depends on thee
to take His poverty upon thyself; far from thee He lived,
but in poverty He comes nigh unto thee."

* Lehmann, E. Mysticism in Heathendom and Christianity.
John Tauler, (1300-1361) a Dominican and one of the many Renaissance mystics, draws much in his sermons from St. Bernard and St. Augustine. The latter was especially his favorite companion of study. In order to incite his hearers to a godly life he stirs up their sense of sinfulness and restlessness. In doing so he appeals to the following words of St. Augustine: "The children of God know, that for the smallest habitual sin, which is not punished and laid aside in the present life, they will have to suffer more than all the pains of this world," "The soul is created eternal, and therefore she cannot rest but in God." "He who prays for anything except for God's sake, does not ask aright, and will not be answered with a blessing." "Dear Brethren, rather than you should say or think yourselves to be different from or better than any other man, I would that you should return to the world. You ought to say as Christ did by the mouth of the prophet David: I am a worm, and no man; a reproach of man, and despised of the people and with the publican: God, be merciful to me a sinner."* Tauler incites the people to exercise humility. One way of becoming humble is by growing dissatisfied with outward works.

Humility was a marked factor in the religious life of the mystics of the Renaissance. With them modesty meant self-abnegation before God. It was the path that alone could lead a soul to the experience of God. The official church stressed the same attitude of submission and suppression of individuality, even though it was out of tune with the prevalent spirit of the Renaissance.

As a member of the hermits of St. Augustine, founded in 1256, Luther was reared in the Augustinian doctrine and exercise of humility. He was in his Psalmenvorlesung of 1513-16 under the Neo-Platonic influence, that is to say, he wrote his lectures on the psalms under the inspiration of St. Augustine's Neo-Platonic writings. Apart from the tenets of thought, original to this school of philosophy, Luther stressed conversion as being effected by repentance (compunctio), by humility (observation of his own nothingness), and by mortification. The Augustinian-Nec-Platonic writings themselves were the outcome of a combination of Neo-Platonism and Christianity. Luther therefore regarded self-abnegation as the result of concentrated contemplation of the invisible, which demands a most abrupt and violent reversion from the gaze upon the sensible world.*

One of the basic elements of the piety of Lu-

* Hunzinger, E.W. Der Neuplatonisimus Luthers. 1906.
ther as a monk was humility, which he had adopted from the mystics like St. Bernard and Tauler as well as from St. Augustine's writings. These were the ones who upheld the belief that justification can only be attained by the exercise of humility.*

F. Laurent, the astute French historian, in maintaining that Luther and the Reformation as a whole accentuated anew the Augustinian doctrine of humility, says: "La réforme sauva la religion chrétienne, par un retour violent aux dogmes sévères de saint Paul et de saint Augustin." "La réforme était un retour au christianisme primitif, et surtout au christianisme de saint Paul et de saint Augustin, une réaction contre l'élément humain de la Renaissance."** It was especially the reemphasis of doctrines like original sin and total depravity which helped in the reappearance of the Augustinian doctrine of humility. Aside from this the high esteem in which Luther held St. Augustine, in regard to self-abnegation, is rendered obvious by the publication of his first original work on the "Seven Penitential Psalms". (1517)

The contradictory tendencies of egotism and humility as expressed in the North-African church father's thoughts were partly responsible for the reaccentuation

of the corresponding human impulses during the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. The mediaeval mystics, theologians and ecclesiastical officials stressed humility as the most essential factor of a Christian life. During the revival of antiquity, in which were revived political, social, ethical and religious notions, the church and its devotees remained true to the mediaeval emphasis of modesty. It was the literary authors of this epoch which exalted in contradiction to tradition the natural life of man. With the coming of the religious reformation in the sixteenth century, Luther upheld humility as one of the cardinal principles of the Christian life.
ASCETICISM.

The most diverse streams rendered possible the growth of monastic and ecclesiastical asceticism during the Middle Ages. Various factors entered into the formation of asceticism. Christian tradition of piety maintained since its inception that reason and flesh, body and soul were diametrically opposed to each other. This conflict in human nature could only be mitigated by the exercise of austerity.* It was especially the sex impulse which tore man's life with unceasing temptations. The one way to keep this impulse in check was inhibition, which could be realized by ascetic exercises.** Abstinence from marriage came therefore to be looked upon as a higher moral ideal.

Some of the historical movements which led the church in the fourth century into an extravagance of mortification were Egyptian asceticism, Neo-Platonism, Manicheanism and Stoicism. There had arisen in Egypt new modes of asceticism. Its greatest exponents were Antony and Pachomius. The former developed the hermit asceticism which consisted in solitary confinement to the desert. The latter founded the coenobite

type of asceticism in which monks gathered in monasteries in order to subjugate themselves to a specific procedure of austerities.*

It is due to the influence of Neo-Platonism that the asceticism of Christianity was intensified during the third and fourth century. The centre of this Neo-Platonic influence was Alexandria, where Origen labored zealously for a rapprochement between Platonism and Christianity. Neo-Platonism added a new element to the growing ascetic movements of the church. It regarded the retirement from the world as conducive to the individual spiritual development of the inner life. It advocated the withdrawal from society in order to gain entrance into the fellowship with God.** While this new monachism spread in the fourth century into Gaul and Italy, Ambrose of Milan formulated the stoic-ciceronic morality for the Western World.*** The chief element of this ethics was its emphasis upon specific duties. In the execution of definite tasks men could rest assured that he would gain victory over the temptations of the world. The fashionable Romans of those days borrowed their ascetic ideals from the East and Egypt. They had grown soul-sick and world-weary in all the excessive enjoyment of

luxuries and sensuousness.

There were alongside these historical forces various other ideas current in the fourth and fifth century that helped to create the doctrine and the policy of asceticism. One of them was the notion that the body was the seat of all human ills. The advocates of the saintly ascetic life looked with contempt upon the body. They decried it as a prison house and as the organ of evil itself. They especially condemned the female body. It was this idea which to a large extent determined the appearance of sacerdotal celibacy as a phase of Christian asceticism.

In the advent of the genius of St. Augustine asceticism received one of its final victories. Having led a lecherous life in his youth and passing through a violent conversion, that had been the end result of multiple causes, St. Augustine turned to an extreme asceticism as the supreme deliverance from uncontrollable passions.

The ascetic temper of St. Augustine turned not only to the mortification of his flesh with all its desires, but it curbed also the tendency to inquiry. The newly converted St. Augustine, in the zeal of his victory over the lower self, regarded this inquiring tendency as an impediment to the better life. (Confessions 10:32-35) The depreciation of the worldly know-
ledge at the expense of theological truths was strengthened by his asceticism.

Being delivered from his immoral life, he looked upon sexual gratification as almost the sole unchristian sin. He defended the strict ascetic life as the only escape from concupiscence. In his opinion original sin was essentially identical with sexual aberrations. He wrote a tractate (De concup. et nupt.) in which he made the futile attempt of reconciling the good marriage and the carnal desires. His fancy was that if men would abstain entirely from marriage the world would be better for it. Since sensuous procreation was a sin (Gnostic and Marcion), he advocated paradisaical marriages which are without sinful lusts. He praised virginity as a superethical and superhuman good. It was his genius who formulated the doctrine of original sin. These tendencies were directly responsible for the added growth of sacerdotal asceticism in the Western World.

St. Augustine seems to gain pleasure from dwelling on the numerous disgusting disquisitions on marriage and lust. (Contra Julianum and De Civ.Dei bk.XIV) They are probably reasonable illustrations of psychoanalysis. His conversion from paganism to christianity involved the total suppression of the sex impulse. In order to keep together the opposing pulling tendencies of his individuality, the ascetic life could deliver him from disintegration. St. Augustine repressed.
his sex impulse to the end of his life. He did it by loyal adherence to ascetic ideals. Because he continually repressed his sex impulse, the energy of the drive was diverted from the natural outlet of expression. It manifested itself in the passages that dealt with sex indulgences. There was really no detailed description of lusts called for in his condemnations of these sins. It may have been due to the suppressed sex impulse that St. Augustine described in detail the sinfulness of sexual experiences.*

It was through Augustine's inspiration that his friend Aurelius proposed at the fifth Council of Carthage,(401) which ordered the separation of the married clergy of the higher ranks from their wives by a threat of the deprivation of office. His treatise on "Second Marriages" informs us that this rule had been frequently submitted to the councils of the church.

Previous to the advent of St. Augustine, the first General Council of Nicae advised to live up to the rule of sacerdotal celibacy, but it was forgotten as the coming Arian controversy absorbed the interests of the church leaders. Ambrose, Jerome and St. Augustine were the pillars of the renewed interest in sacerdotal asceticism. The latter waged a controversy against "Jovinian, who with Vigilantius was the last organized attempt to stay the progress of celibacy

in the Latin Church."*

From St. Augustine's time to Hildebrand (Gregory VII) the church maintained that the celibate life is superior to marriage. Hildebrand issued even the decree that no priest was to marry as the body was the origin of all sin. As a papal reformer he saw in the institution of clerical celibacy the only way of preventing the secularization of the priesthood.**

The first monastic centre in North-Africa was founded by St. Augustine. It had been one of his privileges to study the monastic life in Rome and Milan. Upon his return to Thagaste, he confined himself with some of his friends to a house in which they voluntarily practiced asceticism. After Valerius, the Bishop of Hippo died, St. Augustine was elected his successor. He established a monastery within the precincts of his episcopal residence. (396) A monastic congregation of this sort came to be called "the cathedral monastery". The clergy lived in poverty and celibacy, but without displaying the extreme asceticism of the Egyptian monks. This newly founded monastic community became the pattern for the monasteries of North-Africa, many of which appeared soon thereafter.***

Western asceticism distinguished itself from its Eastern form in that it incorporated the impulse of activity and of labor into its monastic ideals. It was due to the excesses and irregularities of the monastic life of the fourth and fifth century that St. Augustine insisted upon the duty of honest labor. He regarded it as an essential part of the way of salvation. Labor therefore came not to be looked upon as drudgery and as a mere material gain. (De Opera Monachorum 400)

In the sixth century it was St. Benedict of Nursia who became the organizer and reformer of European monachism. He followed in the footsteps of St. Augustine by stressing labor and duty as essential elements in his familiar rule for the monks.*

It may well be possible that Western asceticism meant not a mere ascetic mortification of the self, or a mere expiation, but it may have been "a mere expression of organic hardihood, disgusted with too much ease" and sensuality.**

St. Augustine draws up in his two hundred and eleventh letter a monastic program for the nuns of the monastery of which his sister had been the first prioress. Besides stressing the common monastic ideals


of humility, asceticism and obedience, he lauds the spirit of communism, he exhorts to punctuality in prayers, he requests the inmates to refrain from looking fixedly at men and to restrain themselves from quarrelsomeness, and finally he makes the provision, that nuns, whenever, there are errands to be made, go out in a group. The severity of monastic asceticism must be determined by the health of those who are participating in the religious life. It is a necessity that proper cares must be taken for the physical well-being of the nuns. Towards the close of this proposed order of monastic asceticism St. Augustine winsomely entreated the nuns to the diligent study of religious culture.

According to the knowledge of the history of monasticism it is St. Augustine, who has been the first to put secular priests under canonical regulations. He established a "monastery of the clericals in the bishop's household." During the Carolingian period, Bishop Chrodegang of Metz set up a new rule for the "canon regulars", as the Augustinian monks were called. With the twelfth century a nation-wide revival of the Augustinian rule set in, according to which priests and secular clergy lived together under a definite monastic rule. A church reform for the independence and supremacy of the monastic and ecclesiastical life had arisen from the monastery at Cluny, in France, but its reform
measures declined progressively as it grew too wealthy. It was only by a return to the Augustinian monastic principles that monasticism received its reawakening. Peter Damiani, the staunch defender of the papal hierarchy, appealed during the Hildebrandian days to the example of St. Augustine as the ideal pattern for the cathedral clergy. All over Christendom new churches of the canon regulars arose. Especially prominent among the various Augustinian orders were the Premonstratensians, whose monastery was founded in 1120 by the Canon Norbert of Xantes. It became the centre of the revived monasticism. In 1250 pope Alexander IV created the Austin Friars out of various remnants of Italian hermit societies. All these diverse Augustinian orders and monastic communities worked out during the thirteenth century the ideal of the saint of Hippo, combining the life of a monk with that of the ecclesiastical life. Most conspicuous among these orders of the canon regulars was the abbey of St. Victor, in France, which by its fame for theology and mysticism became the supreme centre of Augustinian tradition during the Middle Ages.*

Like St. Augustine and the theologians of the Mediaeval Ages, the leaders of the Protestant Reformation laid equal stress upon the doctrines of concupiscence and of original sin, but their practical outcome was not an advance of clerical celibacy. The Protestant Reformation did not relinquish the ascetic temper of the past. A new monastic asceticism was not the outcome of Protestantism. It broke with the traditional institutionalized asceticism. A Christian was held responsible for refraining from indulgence in worldly things, even though he lived in the midst of the exigencies of life.*

John Calvin possessed a native tendency of rigor. It was natural for him to find in the thought streams of St. Augustine his own theological views. He borrowed the saint's matured theological interpretations. The doctrines of original sin, of total depravity, of predestination to condemnation and to eternal life which Calvin formulated by a revival of Augustinianism, injected a fresh wave of asceticism into Protestantism. There is in his Insti-

*Moore, O.F. History of Religions. N.Y.Ch.Scribners Sons. 1919. Vol. II. P. 206: "But while in former times those who aspired to the highest religious life took refuge from the world in the desert or within the walls of a monastery, in Protestantism, as so largely in the Catholic Church of the late Middle Ages, men renounced the world not by withdrawing from it, but by living in it without being of it."
tutes of the Christian Religion (bk. III. c. 20) an element of asceticism which he directly borrowed from St. Augustine's Confessions. Speaking of the use of singing in the churches, he appeals several times to the saint's authority, who warns men to "beware, lest our ears be more intent on the music than our minds on the spiritual meaning of the words." (Confessions X. c. 33) Calvin objects to secular and improper music and singing in the church. He counsels for a sober administration of church functions. This stress upon the propriety of church music became later the chief element of the United Presbyterian Church, which restricted the formal praise and singing service to the psalms of the Bible.

It was this stringent moral asceticism of Calvin, strengthened by the prestige of St. Augustine, that later received its highest historical expression in Puritanism and in the diverse forms of Calvinism, both in England and America.* The Protestant Churches held to their Augustinian starting point of the personal experience of religion in conversion. This

* Workman, H. Christian Thought to the Reformation. N.Y. Scribners, 1911. p. 131: "Romanist, Anglican, mystic, Lutheran, Methodist and others, all alike revere his memory, and are eager to quote his authority."
experience of the new life must be kept free from the contamination of the world. Out of this adherence to St. Augustine's theology, new schemes of asceticism arose in the ranks of Protestantism, as prohibition of worldly recreations and amusements.*

Another revival of Augustinian asceticism occurred in France in the seventeenth century as Jansenism fought the battle for a reformation of the Catholic Church. Its members had a horror for the lust of the senses and the world. Among others, there was Angelique Arnauld, who "refused to have an organ in her convent chapel on the mere ground that only what is highest in us is fit to do service to God."** The Jansenists interpret the maxim of Augustine "that love alone of the passions could never be idle" as an exhortation to self-imposed austerities.*** Like the saint of Hippo Jansen and his followers advocate the abstinence from the gratification of the human impulse of inquiry.****

**** Laurent, E. Sur L'Histoire de L'Humanité. Vol. IX, 1879, p. 511: De là (concupiscence), dit Jansénius, vient la recherche inquiète des secrets de la nature qui ne nous regardent point, qu'il est inutile de connaître, et les hommes ne veulent savoir que pour les savoir seulement; saint Augustin a été combattu des ces sortes de tentations et notre roi même en a été attaqué. Les sciences morales sont filles de l'orgueil aussi bien que les sciences physiques." p. 512: "La comédie, répond un Janséniste, est l'accomplissement de la fin de l'idolâtrie."
Puritanism with Jansenism, following as they did in a marked degree the moral asceticism of St. Augustine, joined later in a merciless campaign against art and beauty, thereby simply presenting a historical echo of an eccentricity of St. Augustine.

St. Augustine had a native predisposition to curb the excesses of his appetites. It was through his conversion that the ascetic tendency became dominant. The manifold thought movements of his own day held his attention. He took issue with them. Neo-Platonism, Stoicism, Manicheanism and Christianity had stressed asceticism in one form or another. Labor, the study of religious literature, an institutional form of monasticism called "cathedral monasticism", and the reemphasis of sacerdotal celibacy were the elements that St. Augustine introduced into Western Catholic Christianity. A stream of Augustinian moral asceticism was carried through the doctrines of original sin, of total depravity, of sudden conversion and of predestination into Protestantism. While Catholic Christianity accentuated the institutionalized form of Augustinian asceticism, Protestantism in its sects propagated the ethical Augustinian asceticism.
One of the abnormal tendencies of Western civilization has been the policy of persecution on the part of the church, be it Roman Catholic or Protestant. Its aim has often been to whip into line those who dared to express their independent thought and convictions.

St. Augustine was the first great advocate of religious coercion in order to effect the annihilation of the Donatist Movement.* He manifested a native tendency to cruelty. There are plenty of passages in his writings that express blunt brutality and calumny. These misdirected desires led him to the exaggeration of the evils of human nature. His doctrines of the condemnation of innocent children, of predestination to perdition are a result of his eccentricity. His increasing fanatical conviction of the reality of God and his growing church-centered self-consciousness furnished him with a logical background for a justification of his native impulse towards cruelty.

At first the North-African was entirely in favor of toleration regarding religious matters. (Adv. Ep. Manich. 397). As toleration did not procur

the desired results, he wrote a tract on the "Correction of Donists", (417) in which coercion by fear is promulgated. In the proclamation of such an abhorrent policy, St. Augustine is by no means assured of personal certainty, because he still appeals to the prefect of Africa not to put any Donatist to death. (Ep. 100) But the gentler side of his nature was drowned out as he approved the banishment and deprivation of the Donatists by the imperial laws. In nothing is his perversion more evident than in his defending the policy by sophistry. (Luke 14:23) He consoled the oppressed Donatists by telling them that God did not wish them to perish in antagonism to Catholic unity. And whoever constrained any one from evil to good was not exercising oppression but charity. Even when the unfortunate schismatics urged that no one ought to be coerced in his faith, he admitted it as a general principle, but added coldly, that infidelity and sin must be punished.*

St. Augustine's doctrine of coercion is a defensive and self-deceptive mechanism of his personality. He takes refuge in rationali-

*Laurent, F. Sur L'Histoire de L'Humanité. Vol. IX. 1879. p. 36: "Mais saint Augustin a déjà fait la remarque que l'œuvre commencée par la violence s'achève par la persuasion, sinon chez les malheureux qui sont victimes de la contrainte, du moins dans les générations à venir. L'histoire de la réaction catholique prouve que le grand théologien a bien connue la faiblesse de la nature humaine.
zation of his grave emotional uncertainty regarding the persecution of the Donatists gave him self-possession.

Such reprehensible sanction of persecution became a well-established precedent of great authority in both Catholicism and Protestantism.* It was the maxim of action of most of the spiritual despotism and intolerance of the succeeding centuries.

From St. Augustine's time up to and including the tenth century extremely little and sporadic persecution of heresies is found. There was as yet no fixed church policy in regard to heretics. In the twelfth century inquisition became part of the church constitution. Its most ardent promoters were the popes. This obsession spread through the Middle Ages, the Renaissance and the Reformation. At no other times have such gruesome acts possessed the minds of the church people. There are according to H.Ch.Lea about three distinct trends in the development of inquisition: 1) the persecution of doctrinal heresies, 2) the persecution of witches, and 3) the Spanish Inquisition organized

in 1480.* There was no one among the scholastic thinkers who emphatically opposed such a church policy. One temporary hope from among the leaders of those days was St. Bernard of Clairvaux. He protested strongly against the persecution of the Jews. Later on, however, while making the demand that pagans must not be slain, if they could be prevented by other means from oppressing the faithful, he advocated that they should be put to death rather than that the righteous should suffer.** Gregory the Great, Innocent III.*** Peter Lombard, St. Francis of Assisi and Bonaventura were fearlessly unsparing of the heretics.

It was St. Thomas Aquinas who elevated the church policy of persecution to a church doctrine and elaborately defended it upon the insistence of the exigencies of the papacy. Although he leaned heavily upon St. Augustine, quoting him for and against the compulsion of faith, he yet consciously accepts coercion as the true manner of dealing with those who think differently from the official church.**** With

merciless precision, he proved to the satisfaction of the mediaeval papal church, that Jews, idolaters and infidels must not be tolerated.* The heretics of faith shall be excommunicated by the church. If they are still pertinacious after two consecutive warnings, they shall be handed over to the secular powers which must remove them from the world by death.**

It has been one of the ironies of the ages that Luther and Calvin came to emphasise the fanatical cruelty of St. Augustine. Calvin's consent to the death of Servetus is the indelible blot in the annals of Protestantism. Soon after Servetus' execution Calvin had issued a defense of the death penalty of heretics in order to quiet the opposition that now made itself heard. There appeared a pseudonymous book on "Religious Toleration". Its author attacked the reformer's intolerance. As Calvin had quoted statements from St. Augustine in his justification of intolerance, so did the unknown author on "Religious Toleration".***

In spite of the fact that God forbids to kill, Calvin maintains that God put the sword into

** Supra, Part II. quaest.11. par.3&4.
the hands of the lawgiver to avenge the afflictions of the pious. One of the curious things is that Calvin is conscious of the fact that there is no passage in the New Testament which teaches war to be lawful, yet he appeals to the Old Testament and to St. Augustine as those who sanction his notion. (Institutes, bk. IV, last ch.)*

During the seventeenth centuryBossuet, the advocate of the Gallican liberties, approved of the complete destruction of Protestantism in France. His "L'Histoire Universelle", apart from its aim of interpreting history according to the pattern of St. Augustine's City of God, advocates intolerant measures against those who are without the Catholic Church.**


** Laurent, F. Études sur L'Histoire de L'Humanité. Vol. IX, p. 528: "Bossuet, reproche la tolérance aux réformés comme un crime. Le plus grand reproche que Bossuet trouve à faire aux protestants avancés, c'est leur tolérance; il applaudit presque aux persécuteurs qui frappent les catholiques en Suède, en Allemagne, et en Suisse, parce que cette intolérance maintient du moins la doctrine orthodoxe; il suffit d'être exclusif et persécuteur, pour conserver un lien avec l'Église catholique."
During the seventeenth century there spread in England a religious movement called Puritanism. Its form of church government and its theology were Calvinistic-Augustinian. Various parties arose among the adherents of this movement. Due to the fact that there were severe laws against religious gatherings outside the established church religion, a small party arose in antagonism. Its followers looked upon the state as having become too worldly. As the state stepped in to enforce the penalties against the non-conformists and dissenters, a flock of Puritans fled to Holland. A little later they migrated to New-England, America. The civil proceedings that had been taken against the non-conformists appealed to St. Augustine's authority.*

Even as late as 1864, the papal syllabus of the Catholic Church explicitly condemns any form of religious toleration by an appeal to

Cunningham, W. St. Augustin and his place in the history of Christian Thought. London. 1886. p. 189-190: "It was not only in the early days of Puritanism that it was confronted by the authority of the Bishop of Hippo: he was also summoned to justify the civil proceedings which were subsequently taken against non-conformists. When after the temporary triumph of Presbyterianism, the state stepped in to enforce penalties against non-conformists and dissenters there was once more a parallel to be found in the similar action of the Christian emperors. But the opinion of S. Austin on the corresponding difficulty in his own day might certainly be of use in helping men to a sound judgment on the expediency of imposing civil disabilities upon schismatics."
tradition and to the church fathers.

The Catholic Church adheres nominally still to the Augustinian doctrine of persecution. It is unable to-day to execute organized measures of coercion as in previous centuries. This is due to the spread of the humanistic spirit that has taken possession of its constituency. The Protestant Churches, although still preserving manifold Augustinian doctrines of theology, have increasing-ly refused to follow any form of persecution of its free thinking members.
INDEPENDENCE.

The antinomies of St. Augustine's thought have been the causes of discord. He defended against the Manicheans the reality of the freedom of man. In his more mature theology he stressed rather unduly the reality of determinism. He tried to bridge the antagonism between the two notions by explaining in terms of logic that the divine predestination takes into account the freedom of man. As a young theologian he averred that man is free in choice, but in maturity he maintained that man is only then free when God's grace is concretely manifesting itself within him. St. Augustine was independent in his youth and early priesthood, whereas in his advanced years the attitude of dependence, centered as it was in the ideal of the church and God, became the outstanding temper of his personality.

There is a sharp clash between the Augustinianism of St. Thomas Aquinas and that of the Reformers. The former accentuated determinism to its logical conclusion. It embraces the doctrines of the church and the papacy, of total depravity of man and predestination and the mutual combination of philosophy and theology. The latter intensified at first the independent reality of the inner religious life. Later, however, it came to re-express the Augustinian doctrines of the church as a mystical and empirical organization of the kingdom of God,
of total depravity of man and predestination. It opposed against the papal church the synodical form of church government, against the monarchical the republican form of church polity. The Protestant spirit of independence fostered as it was by St. Augustine, was centred in the opposition against the mere institutionalized and as they thought commercialized Roman papal church.

Gottschalk, Wiclif, Luther, Jansen owe their inspiration of revolt to St. Augustine. H. Workman says in his Christian Thought to the Reformation: "The revolts of Wiclif, Hus; in the fifteenth century, of Luther in the sixteenth century, and later of Wesley, were directed against Augustine's doctrine of the church that she in her sacraments and ministry possessed virtues that were objective and inalienable, whatever the character of its members. It is no small testimony to the greatness of St. Augustine that the inspiration in their revolt against this Augustinian doctrine was their grasp of another, the Augustinian doctrine of grace."* 

To him we owe in no small degree the tendencies for independence and individualism that sprang up in the ranks of the well-organized medieval church. Indeed the church claimed him as her spokes-

man for her favorite doctrines and policies, but his personality was claimed just as enthusiastically by the movements that were opposed to the growing legal-ized church organization and scholasticism.

During the "Dark Ages" and the Renaissance the St. Augustine portrayed in the doctrine of predestination as well as the one of the Confessions clashed with St. Augustine, the apologist of the Catholic Church.

One of the initial reawakenings of the Augustinian spirit of independence is centred in two of the enlightened bishops of the mediaeval church, towards the end of the ninth century. They were unknown to each other. Bishop Claudius of Turin felt it to be his mission to restore again the true monotheism. He opposed the crude materialization of religion by the Augustinian notions of God, of predestination and of absolute spiritual causality. These categories were the means of his criticism of the popular religious life. He not only made a painstaking study of the system of Augustine, but he reproduced one side of it. He had a reputation as an interpreter of the Bible. In conformity to the custom in those days, he compiled from the church fathers. The religious worship consisted exclusively in a customary image service. Such a state of affairs came to mean to Claudius of Turin a sinful transfor-
mation of the true monotheism into one of pagan idolatry. In the Council of Frankfort (794) a repudiation of image worship was effected. Claudius himself belonged to the party that was instrumental in the rejection of it and in direct opposition to the papal policy. The worship of pictures, the belief in the mediation of saints, the efficacy of pilgrimages and the authority of the pontifical see seemed to him the means of weakening the responsibility of man's independence. In the denunciation of these things, he followed closely the track of St. Augustine, often quoting his very words, that spiritual religion is independent of the sensuous representation of God.*


"Thou art the true God, the only omnipotent, the eternal and incomprehensible, and infinite. Ever-living, and nothing dies in Thee, for Thou art immortal and inhabitest eternity, wonderful in the eyes of the angels, inexpressible, unsearchable and of perception so great as want a name. Strong, and powerful and greatly to be feared, without beginning and without end, Thyself the beginning and the end of all things. Existing before time was, Governor---Lord of all that Thou hast made," p. 229-230: "I have gone astray like a sheep that was lost, seeking Thee with great anxiety without, when yet Thou art within, and dwellest in my soul, if it desire Thy presence. I wandered about the villages and streets of the city of this world, enquiring for Thee everywhere, and found Thee not, because I expected to meet that abroad which all the while I had at home. I sent my messengers into all quarters, and charged my bodily senses to make strict search, and bring back a true report, but all to no purpose.---My eyes declare, if God have no color, He came not at those doors; my ears, if He made no noise, He did not pass this way; my nose, if He did not affect the smell, He entered not by me, my palate, if He have no taste, He could not enter here, my touch, if He be not a bodi­
Claudius of Turin was born in Spain. No brighter genius can be found in the ninth century. A man of one tendency, he audaciously stressed the Augustinian spirit of independence. He roused the masses out of their lethargic indolence and credulity in regard to superstitions. His relation to the church doctrines was one of obdurate antagonism. Without intermission he hurled invectives at the adoration of saints and images. Following the universal habit of the scholars of his day, he quoted extensively from the writings of St. Augustine, in defense of his opposition to the prevailing superstitions. St. Agobard cites long passages from the saint's books De vera religione and the City of God.

Both Claudius and Agobard attacked the superstitions of their days, yet they were not opposed to the faith of the church as the authority of sacred tradition. Their true weapon of criticism

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substance, I can give no account of Him. These qualities, then, do not belong to Thee, my God, because I am not conscious of any such impressions upon Thy approach. For Thou hast not the form of a body, nor the whiteness of light, nor the sparkling of precious stones, nor the harmony of music, nor the fragrancy of flowers, or ointments, or spices, nor the delicious taste of honey, nor the charms of those things that are pleasant to the touch, nor any other qualities by which our senses are entertained." --- I came home at last, descended into myself. "---Thanks to that light, which discovered itself to Me, and Me to myself. For in finding and in knowing myself, I find and know Thee."
was St. Augustine. Agobard, opposing the pernicious use of images in the church, unearthed the fraud of the weather wizards that made the preposterous claim to have power to control the weather and to keep the grain fields from harm. Irritated over the illimitable credulity of the masses and the shrewd use of it by the churchmen, he was roused to holy indignation.

Apart from the opposition to the increasing superstition of their day, both these enlightened men stressed the sufficiency of reason as opposed to the prevailing dogmatism.*

One of the earliest reactions against the hierarchical spirit and the principle of the Old-Testament theocracy which characterized the Middle Ages was furnished by Boniface, (680-755) the celebrated missionary of East-Frisia. He was the founder of a number of bishoprics and the first to introduce the synodical form of church government. In support of his far-reaching labors he names especially among others the North-African saint, as he agreed with him that only the councils ought to decide in church affairs and not the papacy.

Berengar, the much abused controversialist of the Eucharist doctrine, owed it to his study of St. Augustine's writings that he became

a sworn enemy to authoritative power and tradition. And Gottschalk's controversy of Augustinian predestination became a means of agitating against authority. He broke through the hierarchical concept of the church, the faith in the means of grace, the sacraments and the cult by the application of the rigid notion of predestination. These individualistic minds of the "Dark Ages" have been forgotten by the wish of the official church to disregard their memory. These lonely attempts of individualism, aiming as they did at the break up of the traditional fetters of superstitions and at the revival of personal, living religion, were crushed by the sheer weight of the opposition. *

With the dawn of the Renaissance and Humanism, the spirit of self-dependence burst forth afresh. It was in direct line with the short-lived individualism of the "Dark-Ages". The Renaissance is a revivification of religion with an emphasis upon feelings and sentiments. It is a revival of antiquity as to the ideas of beauty and nature. It is the ennobling of human nature by an aesthetic and intellectual culture and it is a tendency to deify man. It is in some respects a re-

juvenation of paganism as the Reformation is a re-
juvenation of Christianity.* The Renaissance re-
acted against the Christian asceticism and the in-
accessible supernaturalism of the Mediaeval Ages.

It was only natural that men in-
spired by the new spirit of freedom, with its wider
outlook upon the world and the appreciation of hu-
man nature, turned to St. Augustine's works, in spite
of the fact that in the fourteenth and fifteenth
century a decline of Augustinian tradition is no-
ticed. Though he is less studied than Virgil and
Horace, the classical authors, the leaders of the
Renaissance still found in St. Augustine a kindred
spirit to their own aspirations, and they cite and
glorify him as the one of the church fathers, who
had given expression to the new and modern spirit.**

In the early period of the revival
of learning one is astonished to find the humanists
rather eager to refer to Augustine in support of
their educational ideals. The oratory, the style,
the grammar and his theology even were appraised as
models for the education of the boys and girls. The

* Windelband, W. A History of Philosophy. N.Y. Macmillan

Koerting, G. Geschichte der Litteratur Italiens im


** Martin, V. A. Collucio Salutati und das Humanistische
   Lebensideal. Druck & Verlag v. B. G. Teubner
   Leipzig. 1916.
works like De Musica and De Categoris were regarded by the Humanist educators as the best. It was especially Vittorino de Feltre who used the above Augustinian works as models of educational ideals.*

No book and author was as dear to Petrarca as the Confessions of St. Augustine. From some Augustinian monk he had received a copy of it, and henceforth it became his companion in all his travels. "I always took this book with me on my tours through Italy and Germany, it being delightful as regards the contents, dear for the author's sake and a most convenient size for the pocket." He was so attached to it, as he says, that it had grown so to speak to his hand. And tradition tells us that he was reading this selfsame book while dying.**

Such diligent and life-long study of St. Augustine could not fail to determine some of the tendencies of Petrarca's thought. As a matter of fact he made the significant remark, "I seem to be reading the history of my own wanderings and not another's." It led him from reveling in nature to a study of man's soul. Indeed it is as Jerrold writes "the same thirst for knowledge, the same re-

verence for antiquity, haunted by the same restlessness and assailed by the same temptations" which were the causes of Petrarca's undying love for St. Augustine.*

In the criticisms of superstitions of his days, he sharpens his *indictments* by appeals to Augustinian passages. He assailed especially the astrologers and pseudo-scientists.** The African saint's Confessions constituted the instrument of the reawakening of a new consciousness of life. Moreover, it became instrumental as a means of the rediscovery of man's nature and selfhood. Petrarca owes his consciousness of a better self to the saint's celebrated passage: "And men go about to wonder at the heights of the mountains, and the mighty waves of the sea, and the wide sweep of rivers, and the circuit of the ocean, and the revolution of the stars, but themselves they consider not."*** From the life and thought of Collucio Salutati, the Italian humanist, one is enabled to witness the conflict of impulses that the Middle Ages and the Renaissance had set free. He still lives in part in the

traditions of mediaeval times, especially regarding his notions of the church, the infallibility of the dogmas, and the emphasis upon tradition. St. Augustine had said: "si Christum bene scis, satis est, si cetera necis," which was intended to be a prohibition of the study of science(nature) for its own sake. Salutati approached the spirit of antiquity from this angle, but soon he was attracted to another viewpoint which too had its beginnings in the church fathers, namely to regard all knowledge good if it advanced the Christian truths. He maintained that the classical culture serves one in the destruction of the thought systems of the pagans, and for this very reason St. Augustine too had read the ancients. Each truth that he found was regarded as a furtherance of the Christian cause. Hence the study of the pagan authors meant to him a justification of the Christian teachings. The doctrines of ancient philosophy in so far as they were against Christianity, were rejected by Salutati, and he lamented earnestly the errors of Cicero, who did not want to know anything of the one God. In whatever point of doctrine he disagreed with the ancients, he yet assiduously held with St. Augustine's view, "that all truth is of God, wherever one may find it? (De Doctrina Christiana 1b. II.c.18.)

The African saint had retained many kind feelings towards antiquity, and this is the reason why the Renaissance authors could appeal to his authority. Although he counselled with various cautions and restrictions the study of the ancient authors, yet he believed that Socrates was saved and once held the fancy that Jeremiah was known to Plato. Later however he denied this belief in his City of God. He also imagined that Plato had divined the doctrine of the Trinity. With Lactantius, who had admitted that Virgil announced the coming of Christ, he accepted it as a truth, and was instrumental in spreading this notion during the Mediaeval Ages.

The fathers in general, especially St. Augustine, eulogized Virgil and bestowed the highest praises upon him. As they knew the writings of the ancients very well, they were enabled to carry on polemics against them. The authors and thinkers of the Renaissance defended their preoccupation with the study of the ancients by an appeal to St. Augustine. As they accepted the notion that Plato stood nearest to Christianity of all the philosophers, they adopted wholesale the Platonic doctrine of ideas, and identified them with the Christian notion of God. Again they pointed out with much fervor that the study of ancient poets was useful for
linguistic and rhetorical culture, as it provided the Christian with a weapon.*

The Renaissance was in many respects a reaction against the rigid scholasticism of the thirteenth century. For this reason one finds Salutati referring to St. Thomas rather cursorily while St. Augustine is for him the court of appeal against the deadening scholasticism.

A monk, Fra Giovanni opposed the humanists and especially Salutati, in their advocacy of the study of the ancients. Like them he could appeal to the saint of Hippo, who spoke depreciatingly about the classical culture of antiquity. St. Augustine had been at first enthusiastic over the Greek philosophers, but ended by renouncing them, and declared that they were much more worthy of laughter than of confutation. Fra Giovanni saw in ancient literature an enemy to the church and its doctrines. There are passages for and against the reading and study of ancient pagan authors in the diverse writings of St. Augustine. This selfsame conflict reappears in the personality of Salutati and Fra Giovanni.**

Due to the quarrel between pope John XXII. and the emperor Louis IV. of Bavaria, Marsiglius

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** Martin, v.A. Supra.
of Padua, (1270-1343) a physician at the court, came
to write the most celebrated political tract of the
Renaissance, entitled Defensor Pacis. It is an
impassionate treatise on jurisprudence and a pointed
argument against the usurpation of the Roman pontiff.
The demand is bluntly put forward that the pope give up the claim to rule the temporal powers.
This anti-hierarchical attack sketched for the first
time in explicit terms the sovereignty of the people,
which is the source of power of the civil state.
Although he proceeds on various points in conformity
with Aristotle's Politics, yet his strongest basis
for an attack on the papacy is St. Augustine's City
of God. Notions like these are borrowed from the
saint of Hippo: that no bishop is superior to another
according to divine rank, that Peter among the apostles
is not occupying a higher rank, that the general
and partial councils have power to straighten out the
maladjustments in the church, that in spiritual things
the new law (the New Testament) is unconditional and
determinative for men and, finally, that the church is
originally a community of the faithful. St. Augustus
tine had stated in his Ep. 190:2 that the councils are
first, then the Roman popes, as to the jurisdiction
of the church. Marsiglius argues upon this basis
for an equality of the clergy, and as the church is
supposed to exert spiritual power and not to interfere with temporal penalties and pains, she has no right to punish and to persecute heretics.\textsuperscript{*}

During the Reformation period Sir Thomas More (1516) wrote his Utopia. This was an account of what he conceived to be an ideal perfect state regarding economic and political equality. The sources from which he drew, were partly from Plato's Republic and from Tacitus' Germania but not least from St. Augustine's City of God.\textsuperscript{**}

The Renaissance and Humanism were inalienably opposed to the wooden scholasticism. The Reformation turned away from the authority of the church. It protested fearlessly against the mechanization of faith, and appealed through the Protestants to the authority of the word of God, while through Catholicism it resorted to the old authorities of tradition. It turned for its revival to the Bible and early church fathers, especially to St. Augustine, as Humanism turned to ancient philosophy, literature and art for its support.

Luther read among others the writings of the patron saint of his order.\textsuperscript{(Augustinians)}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{**} Smith, P. The Ages of the Reformation. N.Y. H. Macmillan. p. 43-44.
\end{itemize}
In the reading of the Augustinian works Luther became aware of the doctrine that was to be the starting point of Protestantism.* The authority of St. Augustine had been all-powerful during the Middle Ages. It was in his name that Luther arose against the medieval church. The Wittenberg reformer fought against the system of works, the indulgences and the ritualism of the cult. The St. Augustine of the inner life of religion enflamed him to register contempt for barren scholasticism. He shook off the yoke of Aristotle and of St. Thomas Aquinas. He reestablished by reason of his own personal experience and the inspiration of St. Augustine the religion of the heart. Opposed to the mechanization of faith and of works, Luther stressed faith alone and resuscitated one aspect of the Augustinian doctrine of justification by faith.

This wave of independence gave rise to a new spirit of reflection and of independent thought. Each person was theoretically free to judge for himself. It was the underlying cause of the

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*Koestlin, J. The Theology of Luther. Phil. 1897. Vol. I. p. 72: Luther on several occasions observed that he was led to the discovery that righteousness to us is given by God, He makes us righteous and just, chiefly through the writings of St. Augustine.* p.72, 75, 82, 86, 128, 143, 145.
rise of many and various religious bodies, as the Lutherans, the winglians and the Calvinistic Churches.

John Calvin asserted the independence of Protestant thought by a consummate talent of logic and dialectics. His theology is a Protestant scholasticism based upon a thorough knowledge of the scriptures and the church fathers, especially St. Augustine. His Institutes of the Christian Religion are indeed an unequalled and learned representation of the matured theology of St. Augustine. With a solid front of erudition he brings up his artillery against the woful abuses that had infested the church. Especially are the matter of indulgences and of image worship objects of his attack. (Inst. bk. I. c. ; bk. III. c. 5.) By reason of his detailed knowledge of the works of St. Augustine he was enabled to maintain a stern opposition against the Roman Church.

About a hundred years after the Protestant Reformation had set in, the Jansenist movement sprang up in the midst of the Roman Catholic church, and aimed at a revival of personal religion upon the basis of a reincarnated Augustinianism. C. Jansen, the originator of this independent movement, had arrived at his enthusiasm for Augustinian thought by a constant study of the saint's works.
He read the saint's anti-Pelagian writings thirty
times and the others about ten times. With un-
daunted zeal he took issue with the prevailing
cold scholasticism of St. Thomas and the Jesuits.
The strength of his independence was augmented by
the inwardness of religion that he found in the writ-
ings of the North-African saint.*

Giordano Bruno, (1548-1600) the sufferer
of the martyr's death for the cause of independent
thought, appeals to the Bishop of Hippo in his trial
as a heretic and anti-Trinitarian. Augustine had
said: "We utter the name of person with dread, when
we speak of divine matters and use it because we
are obliged." It is evident that Bruno doubted
the doctrine of three persons, but not that of God.
In order to fortify his private interpretation of
scripture and religion he retorts that Augustine
had explicitly taught that much of scripture must
be regarded as allegorical. Indeed it is true
that Bruno had not been primarily under the in-
fluence of St. Augustine, yet, if he appeals to him
in his own defense, it shows that the saint was to
him the one that could persuade the church to tolerance.**

* Tschackert, F., Jansen, Realencyklopaedie fuer Protestan-
** Boulting, W., Giordano Bruno. N. Y., Dutton & Co. p. 270 and
124.
St. Augustine stamped with an indelible force upon the Western World the consciousness of a united and well-ordered church organization. The Roman Empire with its unequalled structure of government secured for the then known world a comparatively stable peace. The Christian church came to take the place of the dwindling empire on the basis of its divine prerogatives. Its vision was to unite and bring under control all the scattered nations in the name of God. Such was the dream of the Bishop of Hippo as expressed in his famous work the City of God. The conceptions of a universal church lay buried in the writings of his predecessors. He lifted these notions above their mere outlines and elevated them into such height as to stand as the peaks of the thought of the succeeding ages.

There were various causes which helped St. Augustine to crystallize his view of the church. While in Milano, the episcopal seat of the great Ambrose, he had been greatly impressed with the majesty of the church. Being set at the head of the diocese of Hippo by popular compulsion, he had to defend the unity of the church against the secession of the Donatist movement. Upon the divergence of the em-
pire the Roman bishop had gained a growing prestige. He became the highest dignitary in the West. This fact strengthened in St. Augustine that almost ecstatic passion for the church. Finally, the accusation of the Roman world that the disruption of the unity of the empire was due to the Christians, roused him to take up his pen and refute such a charge.

The impression of the splendour of the church quieted St. Augustine's inner revolutions. It hastened his conversion while in Milano. Not many years thereafter he felt the need of justifying his submission to the church, which to him was endowed with a supernatural power. We have in his De Ordine (II.c.9) that celebrated passage in which he explained the relation of reason to authority. Revelation and authority are regarded as identical. Human reason is fallible and insufficient. It therefore has need of authority. St. Augustine bursts forth into a confession of the greatness of the church. He had found in her bosom his "second birth." Therefore the church must have implanted in her organization the authority and the revelation of God. St. Augustine was the first to have "trans-

formed the authority of the church into a factor of religion."*

Without his native tendency of dependence the various enunciations of a doctrine of the church would remain obscure. There is no sign of a rigid theory of the church immediately after his sudden conversion. It was partly due to the polemical struggles with the Donatists that the necessity of a fixed dogma of the church was thrust upon him. The multiple cross-currents of his personality prevented him from giving a final and concise formulation of a theory of the church. There are numerous contradictory passages about the church in his writings.

The church is regarded both as an "externa communio sanctorum", i.e. it is empirical and real, and as a "communio sanctorum", i.e. it is real and spiritual. The empirical church is not the true one. A vivid contrast of the external and spiritual church is found in his De Civitate Dei. They are the two foci around which his philosophy of history revolves.**

He defines the church in the City of God (XIX.24) as a state of men bound together by a common object of love. Sometimes the term refers

** Reuter, H. Augustinische Studien, p. 63-64.
to a city state in this world. Again it refers to an existence not of this earth. He distinguishes between a church militant and a church triumphant. And finally he has in mind the visible church on earth.*

The church is one, (de unitate ecclesiae) It is a "corpus mixtum". As a Catholic church it is entrusted with the sacraments that are the exclusive channels of salvation. Again the church is a mystical body (communio sanctorum) which however has an organization of some kind. It is distinct and different from the external church organisation.** The formula communio sanctorum (a body of believers) is not static, but extremely flexible with St. Augustine. It is so to say a synonym for two tendencies, the mystical and the institutional. These two opposites, although synthesized in Augustine's personality, have created conflicts of great magnitude during the Medieval Ages and the Reformation. We might label them respectively the Catholic and the Protestant notion of the church. The former was exclusively the institutional and the latter was the mystical form of organization.

** Reuter, H. Augustinische Studien, p. 66.
St. Augustine had said: I should not believe the gospel, did not the authority of the Catholic church move me thereto. (Contra Sp. Manich. V.) That statement presents the least doctrinal import. It is otherwise with his saying "the church is the kingdom of God." This is the first pronounced statement of a doctrine of the church.* The thought had been current before him. Witness the maxim of Cyprian: "extra ecclesiam nulla salus". (without the church there is no salvation. The Bishop of Hippo was the first to define it in such succinct form. He understood it as applicable to the communion of saints and to the hierarchical church, identifying the ecclesiastical institution with the kingdom of God. The Catholic church is the distributor of salvation. It is the sharply delimited agency of redemption through a mysterious sanctification. To her are delegated all the means and the powers of revelation. The church is the authority of the doctrines of faith.** The guarantee for the truth of the Christian religion is invested in her. She is the immovable custodian of the absolute truth.*** Without her authority faith and knowledge would forever remain insecure.

* Heuter, H. Augustinische Studien, p. 106.
** Supra, p. 20.
*** Supra, p. 352.
Apart from possessing the above transcendent powers, the church is the authoritative institution of discipline. As a divinely organized institution her mission is to discipline the masses. The reason that St. Augustine should make so much of the visible church was that it seemed the only security for any kind of order, civil or ecclesiastical. He wove the idea of the church into the conception of the congregation of saints. These religious and ecclesiastical ideas were indistinguishably mingled with the legal term authority. Already in 431 pope Celestine sharply rebuked certain bishops of Gaul who had allowed themselves to question Augustine's writings. The fate of history was that the legal or institutional side of his doctrine of the church issued first to its logical climax. It was pope Gregory the Great (540-604) who effected this emphasis of the legal side of Augustine's thought. Gregory combined a part of Augustinianism with the conceptions of the popular religion of his day. He found in St. Augustine's writings the material for his practical vision of expanding the prestige of the church. He debased some of the Augustinian inheritance. He had a most unbounded admiration for him. "If you desire to take your fill of delicious

food read the works of the blessed Augustine, and seek not our chaff in comparison with his fine wheat."*

Gregory became the bridge between the legalistic Augustine and the scholastics, who assiduously wove the doctrine of the church to a finished structure of faith. Some of the adopted Augustinian elements are: "The holy universal church proclaims that God cannot truly be worshipped save within herself, and asserts that all they who are without her pale shall never be saved. "No sacrifices are accepted by God, no prayers are heard, no forgiveness of sins are obtained, save through the merits and intercession of the one Catholic Church." "Good works, then, innocence and obedience, perfection and eternal life are not to be had by any who are outside the church." "A man though displaying heroic deeds, faith of a sort and miracles, he is none the less without salvation, if he be not joined to the one church, which gives the saving stamp to all."** "The church is the custodian and interpreter of Holy Scripture, the authority for doctrine."*** Driven by the practical bent of his mind, Gregory stressed most unduly the legal and institutional aspect of Augustine's theory of the church. This accentuation became of first

** Dudden, F.H. Supra. Vol.II. p. 408.
rate importance in the empirical church. Such pontifical sanction of a minor Augustinian element increased the influence of the church father.

Augustine had boldly declared that he believed in many articles of faith only upon the authority of the church. Faith sank to the level of mere obedience. His inner conviction gave way to external authority. There is in the De Utilitate Credendi the statement quod intelligimus igitur, debemus ratione, quo credimus auctore, which excludes all individual faith. This doctrine of the authority of the church is called the doctrine of "implicit faith".* After Gregory the Great, we find Innocent III. extend its scope and exalt its value. When we come to the great mediaeval theologian, St. Bernard, we are struck by the tenacity of upholding this identical doctrine, in spite of his vociferous indictments of the degenerate clergy of his day. He still clung to the tradition of the superiority of the church. He and all the schoolmen, be they mystical or legal in their tendencies, labored enthusiastically on the scholastic expression of the doctrine.**

Anselm (1033-1109) declared the dogmas of the church to be congruous with the divine.

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revelation. This meant to him a subordination of reason and individual consciousness to external authority. Even the arch-enemy of scholasticism and enunciator of mediaeval rationalism, Abelard, could not free himself from this doctrine.* The scholastics, though individually independent in their formulation of the dogmas, agree in the glorification of the church and in the subordination of speculation to its authority. The theory of implicit faith reached one of its most elaborate expositions in the scholastic system of Thomas Aquinas.**

Duns Scotus was the fiercest antagonist of Thomism. He showed the insufficiency of the rational foundation of the church doctrines. He broke loose from the fetters of scholasticism. In spite of this he regarded ratiocination as an ultimate end. Logic was his passion. Yet he rejected the Thomistic grounds of the church doctrines. He believed in them only upon the authority of the church. With relentless logic he scrutinized the theological proofs of the church doctrines. He became the most strenuous supporter of institutional authority. The inspiration

* Reuter, H. Geschichte der Religioesen Aufklarung. Vol. II.
of his thought was the Bishop of Hippo, whose ideas aided him in his vituperative campaign against Thomism. The latter had exalted Aristotle as the intellectual spokesman of the Christian truths.*

The scholastics and the mystics of the Middle Ages joined in the glorification of the church and its tradition. In spite of his antag- gonism against scholastic pedantry and his love for mystical reveries, St. Bonaventura (Seraphic Doctor) evinced an impassionate respect for the Augustinian teachings regarding the church and tradition.**

"The system of Augustine is concentrated about the conception of the church; philosophy's main task was to present the church doctrine as a scientific system."*** The conscious subordination of knowledge to faith became the first step in the accumulation of facts and ideas. The church as a religious body was the organ through which the European peoples were initiated into the knowledge of antiquity. It was the agency which led them into a division of labor in the field of scientific thought.

and empiricism. In spite of the presence of many anti-ecclesiastical movements the universal glorification of the church remained the common ideal for the most diverse types of mind. Scholastics and mystics, ascetic monks and legal-minded clergymen, rationalists and empirically-minded persons, the men of practical turn of mind as well as the aesthetic souls were driven by the one impulse of magnifying the church. All of these divergent types of human personality acclaimed St. Augustine as their ideal.

The complacent authority of the church could not forever remain immune to the contradictions that St. Augustine's system of thought had injected into the Mediaeval Ages. Sooner or later great conflicts had to arise. Indeed the "Dark Ages" were not exempt from a strain of romanticism. The mediaeval thinkers and papal geniuses brought to a finished structure of reason and organization the Augustinian doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church. It was far beyond the circumspect dream of the Bishop of Hippo. Who can say that it was not the logical and actual conclusion of what he conceived the church to be?

The church ideal had given the Mediaeval Period its life-synthesis, but it lost its great object...
of love. It became embroiled in the aspiration of political fortunes. The disintegration of the church ideal was especially due to the papal see which excessively identified the political and the religious. This led to an increasing obliteration of the distinctively religious ideal of the church organization. The legal and political as well as the purely religious emphasis of its organization could find nurture in the writings of the African saint.

As the legal and the scholastic tendency came into ascendency the church degenerated. Out of its own constituency an ever growing revolt arose. The climax was reached as the church had sunk to the level of a commercialized religion. Sporadic movements were in progress which tried to stem the despiritualization of the church, but the reaction assumed a nation-wide magnitude through the Reformation movements. Again it was St. Augustine who aided in the conflict against the over-legalization of the church. The Catholic Augustine went to battle with the Protestant Augustine.

The schoolmen had distinguished three stages in the locality of the church. There was the militant church, the church of the departed
(purgatory) and the triumphant church in heaven. Calvin, Zwingli and Luther rejected the sleeping church. St. Augustine had differentiated the invisible, true church from the visible one. (corpus Christi verum or the true body of Christ and corpus Christi mixtum or simulatum, the mixed body of Christ.)* The elect only, whether in the Catholic Church or outside of it, belong to the pure church. "Many who are openly outside of it, and are called heretics, are better than many good Catholics, for we see what they are to-day; what they shall be to-morrow, we know not; and with God, to whom the future is already present, they already are what they shall be hereafter." (De Bapt. contra Donat. IV.5.) Hus, the Bohemian martyr to the cause of a purified church, had revived the Augustinian notion of the true church through the mediation of Wiclif, the English reformer.**

From Hus the doctrine passed to Luther, Zwingli and Calvin. Luther had read in 1519 Hus' Ecclesia. These three spokesmen of the Reformation denied the exclusive claim of the papacy to be the true church by reviving Augustinianism. Luther

as well as Calvin made an attempt at reinterpreting the Augustinian maxim: "I would not believe the gospel, unless I believed the church." They laid emphasis upon the authority of the gospel or scripture. Augustine's saying: "to the canonical scriptures alone I owe agreements without any dissent" (Nat.et Grat.61) became the slogan of the Protestant doctrine of the church. The Reformation but stressed the biblicism which the Bishop of Hippo had expressed in his numerous writings.

The Reformers maintained that the characteristics of the visible church were the right and pure doctrinal preaching of the gospel and the right administration of the sacraments. *Luther broke with Catholicism on account of his conception of salvation and not because of the church's principle of authority. Then driven to break with the authority, Luther at first substituted for it the word of God, by which he meant the gospel of God's forgiving love in Christ.---But gradually he was driven by the theological controversy to substitute the bible for the gospel and to put the word of God in the traditional sense as the scriptures of the Old and New Testament in place of the church."*

The same statement probably holds regarding Calvin. He held first to the purely spiritual

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authority of the religious life. "Our conviction of the truth of scripture must be derived from a higher source than human conjectures or reason; namely, the secret testimony of the spirit." "Those inwardly taught by the Holy Spirit, acquiesce implicitly in scripture." "The only true faith is the one that God seals on our hearts." (Inst. bk.I.c.VII.) Luther's doctrine of the church issued from the notion of a mystical congregation of saints or believers. Later, however, as oppositions arose, he reverted to the old Catholic emphasis of external authority. The only difference was that the Lutheran authority was vested in scripture and not in tradition. The Reformed doctrine of the church maintained a theocratic, legalistic interpretation. It professed to base it upon scriptures in contradistinction to the papacy which established it on tradition and the canon law. The Genevan Reformer grew eloquent over the glory of the church, whose organization was clearly set forth in the scriptures, when he said: "how useful and even necessary it is for us to know her; since there is no other way of entrance into life, unless we are to conceived by her, born of her, nourished at her breast----It is also to be remarked that out of her bosom there can be no hope of remission of sins or any salvation."*

The defection of the Protestant movement from the hierarchical and ecclesiastical body of the Roman Catholic faith roused the church out of its lethargy. A reaction arose that made an attempt to win back the evangelical movements and to compel their return into the fold of the traditional church. But the reforms came too late. The business of the church was therefore to redefine its doctrines of faith and to prevent a still greater spread of church apostasy.

The Council of Trent (1545-1563) was called from time to time by the papacy to enunciate its fixed doctrinal creed in opposition to Protestantism. The Protestant bodies had revived the Augustinian religious conception of the church. This was a thorn to the papal church. In the Council of Trent the forthcoming decrees stressed the Augustinian hierarchical conception of the church. St. Augustine's works lent aid in the sharp delimitation of Roman Catholicism. This reliance upon Augustinian authority during the sessions of the Council was rather imposed upon it by the Augustinianism of Protestantism.*

*Harnack, A. History of Dogma. Vol. VII, p. 278: "The three elements which Augustine left standing and along with his doctrine of grace, the element of merit, the element of gratia infusa and the hierarchical priestly element, continued to work, till they completely transformed the Augustinian mode of thought. But we have seen, that was already foreshadowed in Gregory the Great."
There had arisen during the long sessions of the Tridentine Council a party in the Roman Catholic Church which re-accentuated the Augustinian religious thoughts of the hierarchy. It counterpoised the eccentric sacramental system of the official institution.*

The most effective agency of the Counter Reformation was the Jesuitic movement. Its founder, the enthusiast Ignatius Loyola stressed continually the traditional aspect of the church. The unrelenting passion of the movement was to preserve the integrity of the church. Such ardor centered in total submission to whatever the papal court decided. Loyola made submission and total self-abnegation to tradition and authority a renewed factor of religious life. The demand was no less than to sacrifice one's own initiative and private judgment. Loyola, the great soul of Jesuitism, emphasized in his letters the celebration of the sacraments, by a reiterated appeal to St. Augustine. The North-African saint never had stressed total submission to the church in such eccentric fashion. But the Jesuits could refer again and again to the selfsame saint's works as they had to meet their opponents, who

were deliberately reviving the religious Augustinianism. The folly of the Jesuits' fanatical spirit of tradition was the direct cause of crushing the Jansenist movement in the seventeenth century.*

While ultramontane Catholicism hymned the praise of obedience to the church, Bossuet burst into an extravagant appraisal of the tradition of the church. In his "Universal History" we have have a masterful rhetorical defense of the authority of tradition, the pattern being St. Augustine's City of God. He is extremely belligerent against religious reforms. Nothing illustrates this as much as his "Histoire des Varations." There is none greater among the defenders of the Roman Catholic tradition and its inherently infallible authority than the virulent and oratorical Bishop of Meaux.**

There are many divergent passages in St. Augustine's works regarding the nature and meaning of sacraments. Signs or symbolic actions pertaining to divine things are called sacraments. (cum ad res divinas pertinent, sacramentes appellantur.**) In the sermon 274 he identifies mystery with

*** Augustine's Letters 34 and 54, Vol. V, p. 156. Every material sign with which a salvation-conferring word was connected was to him a sacrament.
sacramentum. He did probably not intend to promul- 
gate a final formal definition. Sacraments are also 
called "signacula veritatis". The definition signum 
rei sacrae involves a distinction between signum and 
rei. At times a sharp distinction is made. Then 
again we find a fusion of the two. The sign is visible 
and represented to the senses, whereas the re is in-
visible. "This theory of sacramentum and res sacra-
menti alongside with the virtus sacramenti gave the 
key to connect the sensorial with the supersensuous 
good of salvation or hold both separate."*

The Catholic doctrine of sacraments 
has its roots in St. Augustine's thought. His diverse 
ideas on this subject gave considerable support to 
the growth of the sacramental church. The elements 
are visible signs of invisible things. They are re-
medies for sin and aid in the perfection of human 
righteousness. Hence the efficacy lies exclusively 
in the sacrament and not in the faith of the believer.

Due to St. Augustine's ambiguous 
 amalgamation of the sacramental and the spiritual in-
terpretation of the sacraments there arose bitter con-
troversies during the ninth and eleventh century. 
These contradictions led finally to the opposition 

between the Catholic and the Protestant doctrines of
the sacrament.

Baptism is a mysterious custom which procures forgiveness of sins, blessedness and eternal life.
It is a rite of exorcism. No one can escape the massa perditionis nor can any one enter the kingdom of
God, unless he is baptized in the Catholic Church.
Grace and salvation are therefore conditioned by the sacraments of the church. "St. Augustine is the
first who held that the sacrament of baptism has a character indelibilis," and "he is the first theological formulator of the term terminus sacramentum."* The ordination ceremony engraves a sign of mysterious power upon the recipient. The "holy influence"
abides forever, even in one who is not living accordingly. The badness of the administrator of the sac­
crament does not invalidate the efficacy of the sac­
crament. These interpretations helped materially
in the growth of a magical and mechanical faith.

In the ninth century the sacrament of the Eucharist gave rise to a controversy be­
tween Paschius Radbertus and Ratramnus. The former taught that the elements of bread and wine are actually

changed into the flesh and the blood of Christ. The latter retorted that Christ’s body is only spiritually present to the recipient.* The storm of disputation arose again in the eleventh century with Berengar and Lanfranc as the contestants. The latter coined the word transubstantiation for the idea of the magical transformation of the elements into the actual body of Christ. The former indignantly criticized the church authority as a whole as well as the superstition of the magical sacrament. He insisted upon a spiritual communion with Christ and God. Alexander Hales (1245) the "irrefragible doctor" of the Middle Ages elaborated the doctrine of the indelible character of baptism and ordination.** The ninth canon of Trent reiterated the identical doctrine upon the authority of the African saint.***

The doctrine of the sacraments received minute attention from the scholastic theologians, who drew the materials from St. Augustine.**** With St. Thomas Aquinas the Augustinian magical-sacramental notion of the means of grace was elevated to a fixed formulation.*****

* Harnack, A. History of Dogma. Vol. V. p. 156: si iudicavit alicuiusque aliud videatur aliud intelligatur (sermo 273) is Augustine’s main thought, which Gratianus afterwards enforced so energetically.
** Supra, Vol. VI. p. 221: Alexander Hales and Thomas had not indeed derived from all sacraments a character, but they had asserted of all that they exercise an influence that is independent of the subjective condition of the receiver.
*** Supra, Vol. VII. p. 45.
***** Supra, Vol. VI. p. 214: The "angelic doctor" thrusts aside the Augustinian view of the verbum, and stressed the sacramental interpretation of the sacraments.
He determined the number of the sacraments following the lead of Lombard. The official Roman Catholic Church still adheres to this medieval doctrinal exposition of the sacraments. The Jansenist movement, which was ruthlessly extirpated by its own communion of faith, had reemphasized the Augustinian notion of the sacrament in which the sacramental and the spiritual are equally accentuated. It had for its object the downfall of Protestantism by forcing a reform on the church of Rome. Grace and faith were instilled drop by drop through the sacraments. The sacraments were the tangible assurance of man's salvation. Even its greatest exponent, Blaise Pascal, held passionately to the Augustinian conception that God stamps His grace indelibly upon the souls of men through definite channels like the mass, the sacraments, ascetic exercises and common prayer.*

As the Middle Ages accentuated the legal and institutional aspect of religion, they relegated the verbum or the word into the background. This forgotten Augustinian element came to be adopted by the movements of the Protestant Reformation. The maxim of the Bishop of Hippo was: "the Word is added to the element, and it becomes a sacrament." Both Luther and Calvin held tenaciously to this notion. The Wittenberg reformer promulgated the doctrine

that the Word is the sacrament. This betrays a hidden remnant of superstition.* His tenacious predilection for nominalistic scholasticism determined him to cling to the notion of the ubiquity of the Lord's body in the Eucharist sacrament. The Lutherans and Calvinists rejected the Catholic notion of the sacrament. They rejuvenated under the inspiration of St. Augustine's theology the spiritual interpretation and use of the sacraments.

Various Augustinian thoughts were driving forces in the structure of the Roman Catholic Church. They did not appear until the external factor of religion came into prominence. It was St. Augustine who anticipated the dogma of the immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary, at least he declared her to be without actual sin. (De Nat.et Grat.36.and Genes.ad litt. X:18-21)** The schoolmen gave various versions of this doubtful problem. Paschius Hadbertus and Ramarmus, the ninth century controversialists, renewed this Augustinian eccentricity.*** St. Bernard pronounced Mary as sinless.**** St. Thomas adhered to

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** Harnack,A. Supra, Vol.V.p.235: Augustine helped to give Mary a special position between Christ and Christians, simply because he first emphasised strongly the sinfulness of all men, even the saints, and then excepted Mary. Mary's passive receptivity in relation to grace is emphasised with the same words as that of the man Jesus.
**** Townsend,W.J. The Great Schoolmen of the Middle Ages. p.269.
her sanctification in the womb. And finally we have this fancy raised to a sharply defined doctrine by Duns Scotus, the most formidable anti-scholastic genius.*

In 1661 pope Alexander VII reaffirmed the Scotist position. The doctrine finally became an official canonical dogma of the Roman Catholic Church in 1854 upon the personal conviction of pope Pius IX.

The church fathers of the "Dark Ages" make a constant appeal to St. Augustine in questions regarding demonology, angelology. Especially is this the case with St. Thomas Aquinas, the official thinker and theologian of the Roman Church.

Gregory the Great has been sometimes called the "Father" of the doctrine of purgatory. Probably the first intimations of such a theory are found in St. Augustine's works. The saint made the distinct allusion that some souls would suffer purgatorial fire in the intermediate stage between life on earth and in heaven. He is not absolutely certain regarding the implications of this notion. (City of God, bk.XX:25-26, bk.XXI:24.) His vacillations on this and all other questions of theology stimulated the controversies of the schoolmen.

Erigena declared himself emphatically against the materiality of future pain. (De Divinione Naturaee: the last book.) He does so by appealing to the Augustinian passages in question. * There are scattered elaborations of this doctrine in the works of the mediaeval theologians. It received its most thoroughgoing treatment in the Summa Theologiae of St. Thomas Aquinas. Wessel Gansfort, (1420-1489) the Dutch herald of the Reformation appeals to St. Augustine for his interpretation of purgatory as a cleansing from sin. He is fully aware of the saint’s vacillating statements in regard to this delicate question. In opposition to him he maintains that purgatory is not a physical state. He adopts Augustine’s suggestion that there may be a progression to still greater perfection. (De Civ.Dei 21:26.) In support of his private interpretation that purgatory is a purification process, he cites St. Augustine’s passage in sermo 112, (De Veribis Domini) in which purgatory is designated by the metaphor of fire. **

Passages in the works of St. Augustine, relating to the episcopal office and the

importance of the papal seat, became the basis of the
dogma of the infallibility of the pope during the Medi-
aeval Ages. The saint's tendency to revere tradition
asserted itself also in this direction. He regarded
the Catholic Church of his own time as connected with
the Apostolic Church by means of the original tradi-
tional ranks of the bishops. Peter is the represen-
tative of all the apostles, but he is not superior to
them. Augustine "stressed strongly the importance
of the episcopal office."* There are no explicit state-
ments regarding the papal infallibility in his works.
Many of the passages are diametrically undermining to such
a notion. Yet the episcopacy had for St. Augustine the
value of a criterion by means of which the divine pos-
itivism of the Catholic Church is recognized. He
preferred in his dealings the Roman papal chair, and
he spoke personally of the authority attached to the
Roman bishop. A statement like: "Ego vero Evangelio
non crederemon nisi me catholicae ecclesiae commeveret
auctoritas", could but be advantageously used by the
papacy which arrogated the infallible authority of the
church unto itself. In the fifth century there

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circulated a much abused saying of the African saint. It was taken from his sermon 131:10: "Rome has spoken; the case is ended." (Roma locuta est, causa finita est.) This very passage became the slogan in favor of the Vatican decree of papal infallibility.

Leo the Great enhanced the dignity and the power of the Roman see upon the basis of Augustinian tradition. He had historically no absolute proof and support from the saint's works, but he inferred them from certain of his equivocal passages.

The popes since the days of Gregory the Great have drawn from the African saint materials that confirmed the confidence in the papal autocracy. As a matter of fact the papacy and its decretals were declared infallible during the eleventh and twelfth century upon the authority of a skillfully manipulated sentence of St. Augustine. All defenders of the papal decrees have appealed to him.

It is far from our contention to entertain the notion that St. Augustine was the sole determining factor in the creation of the doctrine of papal infallibility. The greatness of that patristic genius, synthesizing in himself opposing tendencies, was the power behind the concrete elements that shaped the emergence of this doctrine. The rapidly in-
creasing monastic orders during the twelfth and thirteenth century augmented the authority of the popes by their vow of obedience.

St. Thomas, the "angelical doctor", was the first to put forward a scholastic and legal formula, stating: "it is also shown that to be the subject to the Roman pontiff is essential to salvation."* He drew most of his substantial evidence for this doctrine from the forged and fabricated Isidorian and Gratian decretals. The writings of St. Augustine really offered little to the papacy in regard to the proclamation of such a doctrine. To the honor of the saint be it said that he was much more the guiding force of mediaeval theologians that discouraged the rise of this dogma.

Wiclif, Hus, Wessel, Pupper of Goch cried aloud: "Back to Augustine".** St. Augustine's thoughts on the true church constituted the points of their criticism of the papal church. A return to a renewed study of the saint's works could not but dissuade the theologians from the feasibility of the doctrine of papal infallibility. John Calvin opposed

the doctrine in his Institutes of the Christian Religion. He makes extensive citations from the church fathers. In particular does he quote passages from the saint of Hippo in order to strike a blow at this preposterous theory.

In 1868 Pius IX. issued an encyclical letter for the convocation of a General Council. The council opened in the last month of 1869. During the month of March the pope asserted by skillful tactics his prerogatives. He maintained that the doctrine of the papal infallibility ought to be raised to a canonical dogma. Among the anti-fallibilists it was especially the famous Doellinger, who publicly protested against the Vatican decree.* He found support for his attitude in St. Augustine's theology. The outcome of this protest was the origination of the Old Catholic movement which spread like fire in Germany, Switzerland and other places.

The popes of the Middle Ages and the political philosophers of the Renaissance drew political ideas from St. Augustine's De Civitate Dei. He had stressed therein not only the catholicity of the church, but also the principle that the church has to

conquer and expand itself in this world. In the famous City of God appeared for the first time in history the idea of a world state. It was the starting-point of mediaeval political speculation. Writing at the time of the ruin of the Roman Empire, the saint suggests that there was growing up in the visible world, within the crumbling framework of the empire, a new kind of community, cemented together by a common belief in the Christian faith. He aimed at the dominion of the world, transcending all distinctions, but it was a spiritual dominion and not congruous with a mundane state.

The relation of church and civil state was fraught with immense difficulties and conflicts as soon as the Augustinian City of God became the actual ideal of the papal church and the princes of the mundane powers. In the "Iron Age" of Italy, during the ninth and tenth century, the imperial legislation issued capitationaries which were nothing but edicts of codified customs that had more or less prevailed in the past and to which had been added whatever seemed suitable. Among all that miscellaneous farago are found stray passages of St. Augustine that had been interpreted together with other materials.*

To Gregory the Great belongs the honor of having revived the Augustinian relation of church and state. In agreement with his saint he taught that the state must be in alliance with the kingdom of God, (the church) and must use power for the furtherance of the divine law and worship. Again its mission is to guard the secular interests and compel the enemies of the church to submit to its authority. Not only had the state no right to interfere in things ecclesiastical, but the church too was to refrain from intrusion into secular affairs.

Some of the ideas that St. Augustine ventured to state regarding the subtle relation of church and state are as follows: The origin of the secular state is a consequence of sin as well as the result of the reaction against sin. The true state is the Christian state. From the church it receives the veritas justitiae and the infallible authority. An ethical nobility is ascribed to the state. The church has need of the state as she exists in this temporal world. St. Augustine taught the autonomy of the church as it constitutes the communicatio sanctorum which is beyond the state and the visible church organization. This provision of her spiritual greatness
makes her superior to the secular powers.*

The notion of the church became through the theology of St. Augustine the central power in the occident. At no time of his life did he hold consistently to it. More often he made statements that are exactly opposed to the assumptions of the Roman hierarchy. Yet there are plenty of intimations in his writings that strengthened the ecclesiastical development of a hierarchy.

The Hildebrandian or Gregorian controversy (1073-1085) is the one unique event in which two contesting parties reexpress the contradictions of St. Augustine's notion of the relation of church and civil state.** It is only from the many-sidedness of his dominating personality that we are able to understand the collisions of pope and king. Both camps prided themselves upon making impression by citations from the patristic and canonical knowledge. The literature was excessively polemical in character, and many of the participants have expressed their admiration for the North-African saint by showering upon him the most flattering reverential epithets.

Walram von Jaunburg represents the

main literary spokesman of the imperial party. He defended the position of the power of King Henry IV. The imperial party is known by the name Anti-Gregorians. Instead of stating each minor author's point of view in regard to the Augustinian influence that each one expressed, it is less tedious to marshal the general attitudes of each party.

Both camps held to the superiority of the church. They agreed that the state had need of the church. The imperial party had no idea of an autonomy of state in the modern sense. It claimed not that the state must be entirely neutral to any religion. As to judicial infallibility of the pope both factions were ambiguous and conflicting. Their waverings in this regard were due also to the contradictory thoughts of St. Augustine."

Walram von Haumburg emphasized the unity of the church. Such fondness for the harmony of the church is of true Augustinian origin. He agreed with the saint in the differentiation of the external organized church and the true one. No blessedness and happiness is found without the church. Schisms and heresies are negations of the catholicity of the ecclesiastical body. There is an antithesis

between the civitas dei and the civitas terrena. The former is a community of pacifici and the latter is a political state. Both states strive for peace, the one for eternal, the other for earthly peace. He does not identify the earthly state with the civitas diaboli as the saint of Hippo had sometimes done. The two Augustinian notions of the nature and origin of the state constitute the political ideals of the two parties. The imperial party judged the state as a divinely ordained, ethical institution. (De Civ.Dei.XIX.) Withdrawn from the arbitrariness of man and from the notion of chance, the authority is a divine establishment, and therefore good, even if the usual incumbents of the state powers are bad. Respect, voluntary submission were only the direct natural results of loyalty to the state. To attack the authority of the state is a "sacrilegia timeritas". (W.v.Trier.) Peter Crassus maintains with St.Augustine that God as the Lord and Governor of the world distributes the earthly dominions. Obedience must be paid even to the heretical regents in worldly things. (Schismatic Cardinals.) The Anti-Gregorians show a marked predilection for the monarchy, which is in partial harmony with St.Augustine's thought on the subject. They
maintain an ethical basis of the state. God has given men duplices leges. Two powers, the church and the state are in the hands of men, and therefore a "concordia regum atque sacerdotium" is necessary. "These authors are opposed to the pope but not to the institution of the papacy."* They demanded from the civil powers the persecution of the heretics. Equality of the two powers (potestas) is stressed. Some held that the king had the right to take the initiative in checking the degradation of the church. He has the patronage of the distribution of church offices and to him belongs even the competency to remove the pope if necessity arises.

The Gregorians claimed that the church alone was the place where the Holy Spirit of God was active. Gregory VII defends in his Ep. ad Hermanum Episcopum an anti-imperial theory of state. Its origin is declared to be due to the consequence of sin. It resembles a sotrocinium. The pope's actual procedures against Henry IV is in conformity with this view. A different point of view is expressed in his letters to William the conqueror of England. The notion is put forward that church and state are both of divine origin. This double excogitation of

the theory of the state is in harmony with the one of St. Augustine. The former view belongs to the time when the pope's conflict with the king was at its height. The latter is the concrete basis of the papal church polity. His aim was to subjugate the state under the control of the church as both are a corpus ecclesiae.

The Gregorians and the Anti-Gregorians appeal to St. Augustine in order to decide for or against the validity of simony. Simony was now not only a mere marketing of church offices, but the investiture of a church office by lay hands came to mean an act of simony.

The theories of the Holy Catholic Church and of the Holy Roman Empire were based upon Augustine's City of God.* God had permitted the creation of the universal political empire of Rome in order that in it might be established the universal church.

The North-African saint gave her a body of doctrines

* Treitschke, H., Politics, N.Y. Macmillan Co. 1916, p. 339-340: The Catholic ideal of state is the subjection of the state to the church. This may be traced back through the centuries ultimately to St. Augustine's De Civitate Dei. In this book is set forth for the first time a doctrine, which has been the groundwork of all canon law up to our own day. The theory was amplified in the Middle Ages by the well-known papal doctrine of the two swords. The church is the only state for the believer. The secular state is of the flesh and of the devil and is only justified as it lends support to the city of God, the church. The church is mistress, the emperor is an advocatus ecclesiae.
that established her on a secure foundation as a separate and permanent organization. He cherished the idea of the Church as a world-embracing unity and centralized government. (De Civ. Dei III:21) This vision was at no time so vividly impressed and consciously asserted as in the Tridentine Council which was the real birth of the Roman Catholic Church. The opposition of Civitas Dei and Civitas Terrena was reproduced in the edicts not only of Hildebrand but also in those of Innocent III and Boniface.

It was the Church, although not yet sufficiently powerful, that impressed the idea of unity upon Latin Christianity, amidst the political disintegration after the death of Charles the Great.* The Church grew bolder in the enunciation of her spiritual supremacy in proportion to the decline of the imperial power during the Carolingian period. Pope Gelasius published abroad the dictum that the world is governed by two powers, the temporal and the spiritual. The temporal sovereign cannot usurp the spiritual functions as priests are superior to kings. As an example of an exemplary kingly life he invoked the picture of the "Happy

*Bemont, Ch. & Monod, G. Mediaeval Europe. N.Y. 1902. p. 204: "Charlemaigne had drawn his idea of a Christian empire from Augustine's City of God."
Emperor” in St. Augustine’s City of God (bk. V: 24)

It is a curious fact that St. Augustine’s thoughts exerted political inspiration in England during the seventeenth century. To submit and to obey the civil powers was a unquestioned duty that the Christians owed to the state. There was no vacillation and dispute in regard to the basis of civil law. Its origin was tied up with the inscrutable will of God. (De vera religione 58, De Civ. Dei XIX: 21, De lib. arb. I: 15.) W. Cunningham who has made an investigation of the political influence of St. Augustine during the seventeenth century in English history, makes the statement, that the Augustinian passages in regard to the civil law were the materials out of which was compounded part of the doctrine of the divine right of kings, which found its polemic importance in the Carline and Jacobean writers. (Archbishop Laud)*

The doctrine of the superiority of the church over the state reached its doctrinal climax in the Summa of St. Thomas Aquinas. He emphasized unduly the sanctity of the customs of the church. Opposed to the Gregorian and Augustinian assertion that the state had its origin in fraud and violence, he held to the supremacy of the sacerdotium over the

imperium. With the "angelic doctor" the legal aspect of the church as a world-state assumes a greater consideration than with the Bishop of Hippo, in whose City of God the legal aspect is secondary to the religious impulse. St. Thomas' doctrine of the church as a world-state follows partly the lines of St. Augustine, but it goes beyond them in interweaving into his conception of a world-state Aristotelian categories and notions from the forged decretals of the papacy.

What St. Thomas Aquinas is for the Roman Catholic Church in regard to ecclesiastical government that John Calvin is for the Reformed movement of Protestantism. His legal genius not only had been shaped from a study of Roman jurisprudence, but it had also assimilated the legal side of the theological system of St. Augustine, who was his most favorite church father. Calvin was infatuated with the idea that some form of government is of divine origin. The civil powers are called upon to protect the church. It represents the spiritual government. Men belong naturally to both spheres. The church therefore is prior to the civil state. The maintenance of the proposition that aristocracy surpasses all other forms of government, either pure
or modified by popular government, is based upon the authority of scripture and not upon the thought of the Bishop of Hippo.

The Roman Catholic Church has been steadfast in the nurture, the praise and the idealization of ecclesiastical tradition since the inception of its consciousness as a separate organization.

One of the most fascinating historical events of the nineteenth century was the Oxford movement, which more than any other has reintensified the enthusiasm for tradition. It came on the heels of a wave of religious fervor which had been a reaction against the dead orthodoxy of German rationalism in theology. The intellectual atmosphere of those days was that of Romanticism, which to a large extent was a revival of a religious feeling for antiquity, either in classical studies or in religious matters. E.P. Pusey (1800-1882) and J.H. Newman (1801-1890) were the greatest leaders of the Oxford movement. Both were members of the Anglican church. They looked to the old church fathers for a revival of religion, and they were the instruments of reviving old and forgotten mediæval ideals. It is Newman who says that he was wooed into the Catholic church by St. Augustine's word "securus indicat orbis terrarum". He says
in his Apologia (p. 49.) "from the age of fifteen, dogma has been the fundamental principle of my religion." An intensive study of the church fathers strengthened his conviction that religious certainty is determined by the authority of the church dogma. His Grammar of Assent is nothing but an intellectual exposition of the Catholic doctrine of implicit faith.*

Not only had the saint of North-Africa accentuated the subordination of the will of the individual to the church, but he intensified just as emphatically the submission to God. Indeed this was the primary element of his passion for authority. It brought to his restless soul a soothing quiescence. The church came to utilize the submission to God in its unlimited sway over the minds of men. Some of the most important symbols of the religious life of the Middle Ages have been the concepts of authority, of obedience and of subordination.

The religious sense of the absolute dependence upon God was revived in the Jansenist movement of the seventeenth century and in the theology of John Calvin.

To the Frenchman Jean de Vergier de Hauranne, otherwise named St. Cyran, belongs the

honor of having interpreted to his countrymen the religious theories of the Dutch divine, C. Jansen, bishop of Ypres, in the Low-Countries. This enthusiastic Augustinian had been the author of a bulky thesis on the theology of the saint of Hippo, which was published posthumously (1640). He taught the total powerlessness of men and man's utter self-abasement before God. It was only in the total negation of self that conversion could set in. Conversion was held to be an instilling of divine grace. The Jansenist spirit spread in France, gathering prestige as able and celebrated men joined its ranks. In 1649 the Sorbonne condemned five propositions from Jansen's Augustinus. All dealt with irresistible grace. The censure was backed by the signatures of eighty-five bishops, and was duly sent to Rome for papal confirmation. It was late in 1653 that Innocent X declared the propositions heretical. Blaise Pascal, the most original member of the Jansenist movement, became its authoritative mouth-piece. He had the reputation of being a notable thinker and scientist. He had accepted Montaigne's thought that man's reason is limited. Being dissatisfied with the philosophy of Descartes as the exponent of a "geometrical
God, and torn to despair over the problem of knowledge in mathematics, philosophy and religion, he yearned for rest in God. During this ominous time of personal conflict he found solace in Jansen's Augustinus. This conversion of Pascal was a renewed triumph of Augustinian theological thought. Cartesianism, Montaigne's scepticism and libertinism were also in part responsible for Pascal's religious conversion. Total sacrifice of one's ego, that Augustinian passion, was Pascal's pathway to his own personal creative contribution to religious thought.

Blaise Pascal elevates the submission of reason to God to the center of all true Christianity. St. Augustine had said: "reason would never submit, did she not judge that there are occasions when she ought to submit."(to Consentius.) It is humility that leads to faith and not knowledge. His Provincial Letters and his Pensees are a defense of Augustinian principles, the one in regard to morality and the other in reference to theology.

Calvin's system of theology stirred up anew the Augustinian passion of total surrender to God. Out of this arose the reformer's main doctrine of the sovereignty of God. His thought of the total submission to God clashed with the Roman Catholic con-

ception of the authority of the church. Humility emerges in man by his contemplation of the face of God. It is God's majesty and sovereignty which makes man aware of his inner poverty, and overwhelms him with the feeling of depravity. The mere idea of God creates the sense of total dependence upon Him. Trust, confidence and reverence are exerted in deference to His majesty, His glory, His commands and judgeship. (Inst. bk. I. c. 1-2.)

Faith and correct knowledge of the nature of God can originate only in the exercise of submission to Him. (Inst. bk. I. c. 6.) The stress upon the inability of human reason to understand the things of God, the admission of the absolute nothingness of human nature, the doctrine of the predestination to eternal life and to perpetual condemnation, have their roots in the passion of the utter self-abnegation before God. Such pure passivity in God's hands and the simple abandonment of one's will were regarded as the only ways of deliverance. There is in the Calvinistic emphasis of the absolute submission to God a complete absence of the mellow and passionate emotion of St. Augustine. The rigorism of Calvin is however the exact model of the theology of the African saint.
"By Calvin the relation between God and the Christian was pictured in the old juridicic way, and the sovereignty of God rather than the fatherhood of God, became the controlling doctrine of the Reformed system. Obedience, was the supreme duty and humility, the cardinal virtue. The fatherhood of God was interpreted in the sense of absolute authority."*

Humility or submission centered in Roman Catholicism in the doctrine of the infallibility of the church. In the Reformed phase of Protestantism its point of concentration was the deity itself.

St. Augustine possessed an inborn tendency to subject himself to external and internal authority. It was a means towards self-composure. His dependence upon external authority led him to formulate a doctrine of the church. The inclination to submit to internal authority brought him to emphasize the total self-abnegation before God. The contradictory statements of St. Augustine's theory of the church furnished the materials for the genesis of the Catholic and the Protestant Church. His ambiguous notions about the relation of the state and the church augmented the rise of the medi eval conflicts between the popes and the kings. The imperial

and the ecclesiastical powers appealed to his authority for their interests. The Catholic Church owes to him the beginnings of the doctrinal expositions regarding the sacramental church, the magical character of the sacraments, the sinlessness of Mary, purgatory and the papal infallibility. He had stressed the need of institutional and traditional authority. The Protestant Churches adopted upon his prestige the doctrine of the self-sufficiency of the scriptures, the internal efficacy of the sacraments, the mystical and the biblical conception of the church. They accepted St. Augustine's ideas regarding the total self-abnegation before the deity and the need of internal authority.
"The whole life of the mediaeval church was framed on lines which St. Augustine had suggested: its religious orders claimed him as their patron; its mystics found a sympathetic tone in his teaching; its theology was consciously moulded after his doctrine; its polity was to some extent the actualization of his picture of the Christian Church; it was in its various parts a carrying out of ideas which he cherished and diffused."* The saint of Hippo ever had held a high appreciation of reason, though he could vociferously denounce it at times. Only a mind of the capacity of St. Augustine could cope with the diverse intellectual movements of his time. His own intellectual conflicts had prepared him to the leadership of thought for the next thousand years. His creative reason brought a whole world of conceptions into the philosophical and theological thought of the West. Categories like God, alienation from God, soul, rest in God, hunger for God, irresistible grace, unrest in the world, were built into his system of thought through a combination of Neo-Platonism and Christianity. He revived Paulinism and the legal categories of Tertullian

theology. He created a group of concepts that dealt with the ecclesiastical religion, like authority, administrator of the sacraments and dispenser of grace. The works like "Contra Academocos", "De bea vita" and "De ordine", in which there is a transition from philosophy and theology, became the materials for the speculative and dialectic minds of the Middle Ages. The Socratic method made him to the creator of a scholastic terminology. This is notable especially in his De Trinitate. He elucidated still further the negative definitions of the deity upon the basis of the Neo-Platonic spirit that possessed him, and he became the "father of the theological dialectics" as well as "the inventor of the dialectics of the religious consciousness."* There is no one of the scholastic thinkers, who does not appeal to St. Augustine in the promulgation of theological views. His doctrines like the trinity, the origin of sin, predestination, the sacraments, the church and the last things have for centuries dominated the theological thought of the Western World.

True to the Augustinian saying and attitude of mind: "I desire to know God and the soul. Nothing

*Harnack, A. History of Dogma. Vol. V. p. 120.
more", (Sol.1:7) the scholastics were enthusiastic with the thought of tracing all things back to God. The concept of God as the absolute substance and necessity of thought became the pivot of scholastic reason. A high value came therefore to be set upon the proofs of the existence of God. It was not reason which the scholastics attempted to exalt, but it was rather the idea of God upon which it depends. The dependence of reason upon the idea of God could alone give the rationality of divine things. Whatever the schoolmen's dogmas have been, their rigid dialectical treatment of religious doctrines was not a mere feat of intellectual acrobatics, but it was a most serious study. They hoped to gain a hold upon the meanings of truth, as is the case of all thought, whether philosophical or scientific.

St. Augustine had furnished the keynote to mediaeval thought in his maxim "faith seeks knowledge". Religious beliefs were the main vitality of the scholastics. They therefore endeavoured to justify their religious convictions to their reason. In their search for solutions they came to adopt certain Platonic concepts, which they found in the writings of the church fathers, especially in those of the Bishop of Hippo. They applied these borrowed categories
to their religious beliefs in an effort to achieve an organized body of doctrines. With the exception of Abelard, every thinker of note started with this Augustinian principle.

Not only did St. Augustine sound the great theme of mediaeval religious and philosophical thought, but he also was the herald of mediaeval science. The above mentioned maxim was not only one of the causes of scholasticism in that it absorbed knowledge and thought within theology, but it made theology the real basis of all knowledge, and therefore whatever physical science was not in harmony with the state of theology, had to be rejected. Extreme preoccupation with the values of the inner life of man and the universe lead the Bishop of Hippo to disregard the study of the external world. He denied for instance the existence of the antipodes. Although he makes no refutation of the fact that the form of the earth is globular, yet he asserts that there are no inhabitants on the other side of the globe, as scripture does not mention it.*

A study of nature is defended so long as its facts were usable in the confirmation of scriptural truth. It did not matter whether it was physics or history or not-

*White, A.D., A History of the Warfare of Science with Theology, 1914, Vol. I, p. 104: "For over a thousand years it was held in the church, that there could be no human beings on the opposite sides of the earth, even if the earth had opposite sides." (deriv.)
ural history. All pursuits of human knowledge must be made contributory to religious motives. St. Augustine's own monumental work De Civitate Dei is an unsurpassed model of this, in which he makes all facts of his wide knowledge to defend the truth of Christianity.* Again it was St. Augustine who raised symbolism to a method of explanation.** With zeal he devoted his acumen and resourcefulness to unravel the meanings of numbers. It was the mediaeval scholars that carried this method into the study of the external world, of biology, of mineralogy, of arithmetics and especially into the exegesis of scriptures.

The intellectual formulation of the doctrine of predestination is probably the original contribution of St. Augustine. It had its roots in his idea of God, who to him is supermundane and superhistorical. The thought of the immutability of God dominates his system, especially is this evident in his later works. God decreed from all eternity and independent of temporal history the predestination of life by His own will. In this predestination resides the grace of God by which Christ Himself and His followers are predestinated.

* Taylor, H.O. The Mediaeval Mind, Vol. I, p. 83: "Orosius, a great admirer of Augustine, wrote his 'Seven Books of Histories adversum paganos', a veritable mine of the compilation of sources, upon the exclusive authority of his saint. This same history became the sourcebook of ancient history for the Middle ages."

** This is probably a remnant of the Manichean influence and possibly of the study of the Pythagorean thought.
This doctrine annulled the doctrine of the church as the exclusive sphere of salvation. The church did not come to the consciousness of this doctrine's dangerous implications until the ninth century, when a most impassioned controversy arose within her ranks. Gottschalk, the kind-hearted and stubborn monk of Gaul, posed with sincerity as a god-sent man, who was to lead the church back to the right path. He borrowed from St. Augustine the doctrine of absolute predestination and added his unfaltering devotion to its spread. He had lost faith in the church as an institution of salvation and no means of grace or sacrament was considered valid. To him the fulcrum of the doctrine of predestination was the notion of the complete immutability of God. He backed his notion of this doctrine by continual reference to St. Augustine. Gottschalk identified foreknowledge with predestination, and he urged this so emphatically as to imperil the existence of freedom. The opposition party at the Council of Mainz, (848) condemned him and accused him of teaching a predestination to sin. At the Synod of Valencia (855) the controversy over the doctrine issued into two parties, the one leaving predestination...

and the church with its means of grace intact, while the other asserted the utter incompatibility of predestination with the doctrine of the church. Both were Augustinian in what they defended and the opposition between them soon subdued by the pressure of political measures.*

J.Scotus Erigena took a most bold issue with Gottschalk's doctrine of predestination. The basis of his anti-predestinarian standpoint was his predilection for Neo-Platonism and his fondness for St.Augustine's ontology. God is in His nature free will, hence there is no necessity in predestination. Because His nature is unity and indivisible simplicity, His will and predestination are one. From the simplicity of God a double predestination becomes an impossibility. Neither is there any difference between predestination and foreknowledge. They are both one in divine activity. Due to the nature of evil itself there is no predestination and foreknowledge. Whatever is not of God is nothing. Evil is a lack, a defect or negation of the good and the punishment of sin itself. Hence God could not have predestinated a thing that is nothing and that has no being. Again, ................................

as with God there is neither past nor future, the idea of predestination cannot be applied to Him. Predestination of punishment is absolutely useless as sin carries its own punishment. In regard to God evil does not exist at all, and for this reason there is on His part neither prescience nor predestination of evil. It was in his De Divina Praedestinatione that he ingeniously maintains the above position by marshalling numerous quotations from St. Augustine.*

Arigena is the original author of the principle "quid est alind de philosophia tractare, nisi verae religionis, qua summa et principalis omnium rerum causa, Deus, et humiliter colitur et rationabiliter investigatur, regulas exponere? Conficiture inde, veram esse philosophiam veram religionem, conversimque vera religionem esse vera philosophism." (De Div. Praed. ch.1:1.) This principle is the cornerstone of his entire system of thought, and is based upon an appeal to St. Augustine's De vera religione (ch.4.) It expressed sharply the inner unity of philosophy and religion which scholasticism strove to embody, and which found its modern revival in the philosophy of Schelling and of Hegel.

In accordance with Dionysian mysticism and with Augustinian ontology, Erigena revived for the Western World the notion of the eternal ideas as immutable, original forms and causes of things. He adopted a passage from De Civ.Dei (bk.22.) in which the idea is expressed that the transfigured body of man mirrors also the nature of the deity. Upon the authority of Augustine and Dionysius, Erigena maintained his theory of theophany, according to which each creature in the universe is in some sort a reflection of the deity.

A most canny instrument of exposition and weapon of assault or defense was the Aristotelian syllogism. It was in some measure due to St. Augustine's extravagant appraisal of the study of dialectics as the most necessary tool of all true science and knowledge (De ordine) that scholasticism allied itself with it. The Bishop of Hippo himself was extremely dexterous in dialectics. His writings exhibit his inexhaustible talent for producing arguments and answers to objections of his adversaries. It was he who impressed upon the church that she has need of science that is subservient to her. Some of the classic passages in his writings which illustrate his
power of dialectic and scholastic treatment of any question are found in the following works: On Lying 7-22, De Baptismo lib.II.c.12.pr.18-19 and portions of the City of God.

It was Berengar of Tours, (999-1088) famous for his denial of the doctrine of transubstantiation, who in his treatise De Sacra Coena elevates dialectical science above any dogmatic definition of the church. He does so upon the authority of St. Augustine. The stress laid upon dialectics led to an over-bearing brand of rationalism. It drew its support from St. Augustine, who was the standard of all mediaeval orthodoxy.*

Dialectics as a method of stating truths had been slowly growing from the ninth century on. At first it was regarded as a preparation for the study of philosophy. Then it came to be demanded for the study of theology. Such growing exaggeration of the importance of dialectics, as a means of solving questions of religious values, soon degenerated into casuistry. The replica of over-rationalization was found in the writings of the church fathers. Augustine's doctrines of the last things, *

the fall of man, the sacraments and the church as found in his City of God were the source for the scholastic attempts to rationalize and systematize all things religious. Out of this grew the sophistry of the Aristotelian and Augustinian theologians. Albertus Magnus and St. Thomas Aquinas present good cases in question. The former put forward the following dicta of scholastic rationality: "Do the lost sin in hell? Do they wish any good? Is a smoky atmosphere a congenial element for demons? What are the age and stature of those who rise from the dead? Does the sight of the pains of the lost diminish the glory of the beatified?" St. Thomas brought jurisprudence to bear upon all dogmas. This led him naturally into scholastic casuistry, as nothing lends itself so easily to hair-splitting processes of thought as law. Signs of this temper of reasoning are manifest already in the manner in which St. Thomas adduces from two to twelve grounds for every heresy. One of the examples of his dialectical dexterity runs as follows: "Could Adam in his state of innocence see angels? Deed he need food? Would original sin have passed down upon Adam's posterity, if Adam had

had refused to join Eve in sinning?" But the most astounding master-piece of dialectical acrobatism that St. Thomas Aquinas furnishes in his Summa is his treatise on "Angels", a product of the combination of Neo-Platonism, Augustinianism, Aristotelianism and scripture.

In the thirteenth century mighty conflicts arose between science and faith. It was a classical period in which knowledge and art reached its height in the Middle Ages. Above all does that century signify a period of revolutionary ideas. There were three thought-movements in deadly antagonism. All three appealed to the authority of the Bishop of Hippo. They were the heretical, the papal or institutional and the rationalistic movements which stirred up reforms.**

At this juncture we turn our eyes towards the intellect of St. Thomas Aquinas, who in the second year of Leo XIII. pontificate was declared as the "singular safeguard and glory of the Catholic Church", to bring about unity of the divine and natural knowledge. The importance of this doctor of scholasticism consists in this, that in his system "Aristotle, the politician and Augustine, the theologian, two enemies, became allies."*** Indeed the writings of St. Augustine

** Reuter, H. Geschichte der Religionsen Aufklärung. Vol. II.
were still universally studied in spite of Aristotle's usurpation of the throne of supremacy. It was St. Augustine who furnished extracts to bedeck the peripatetic scholasticism. The latter was forced to acknowledge his authority in theology in spite of its predilection for Aristotle. There are certain curious characteristics about St. Thomas' system of thought. Like St. Augustine his theology commences with God and ends with it. His keen mind was the point of confluence of the most diverse streams of thought, like Aristotelianism, Neo-Platonism, Arabian thought, Augustinianism, scriptures, the Gratian and Isidorian Decretals. It is true that the Arabians like Avicenna, Alfarabi of the east and Averroes, Abubacer in the west, (Spain) as well as some of the previous church fathers have been instrumental in incorporating some Aristotelianism into theology, but it is due to St. Thomas Aquinas that Aristotelianism came excessively into Christian theology. A most outstanding mark of his Summa Theologica is his superb organization of Augustinian and Aristotelian thought streams. One finds hardly a single article in his treatises in which he does not meet the parallel thought streams of these two thinkers. Harnack has enumerated the following elements in St. Thomas' theology: "conviction that religion and theology are essentially
of a speculative sort, a strict adherence to Augustinian
doctrines of God, predestination, sin and grace, contest-
ing Averroism, thoroughly minute acquaintance with Ari-
stotle, strenuous application of Aristotelian philosophy
in so far as Augustinianism admitted, vindication of
hierarchical claims by means of an ingenious theory of
the state and minute study of empirical tendencies of the
papal system."

Some other points of interest we gather
from his manner of procedure. At first he states the
negative grounds in order, including the passages from
Aristotle and Augustine. Then follow the grounds in
the affirmative and in the last phase St. Thomas sums
up by answering and reconciling the contradictions.
He is an adept at quoting the contradictory statements
of Aristotle and Augustine. Sometime he refutes Au-
gustine by Aristotle and vice versa, then again he carries
out a compromise between the two, or he displays the con-
tradictory statements of Augustine, accepts one of them
as the true one and refutes the others by the one adopted.
The ratio of citations drawn from Aristotle and St. Au-
gustine is about nine to eight. In the perusal of
the ponderous Summa one is unable to free oneself from
the thought that this "angelic doctor" really does not

seek the truths, but he only presents the finished truths possessed by the church in an orderly way. Its spirit is so unlike the works of the saint of Hippo.

Instead of marshalling all the doctrines of his system of theology in which he weaves together Augustinian theology and Aristotelian metaphysics, we limit ourselves to one specific dogma, namely, his doctrine of grace. The scholastic genius consists just in this amalgamation of metaphysics and theology. St. Thomas treatise "On Grace" is a unique presentation of scholasticism. The following passages taken from his Summa illustrate the distinct characteristic of scholastic thought: "The act of the human intellect depends upon God. There is in the human understanding an intelligible light which of itself is sufficient for knowing certain intelligible things, namely those that come through the senses. Of higher intelligible things the human intellect does not know, unless the light of grace is added to nature. In the perfect and in the corrupt state man needs a gratuitous strength super-added to his natural strength, in order to do and to wish the supernatural good. Man loved God above all things in the perfect state and needed not an added grace, although he needed God's help to move him to it; but in the state of corrupt nature, man needed the added grace in
order to love God. In the perfect and the corrupt state man needed the help of God's motion in order to fulfil the commandments: in perfect state man does it by natural grace, and in corrupt state there is a super-added grace to the natural grace." (quaest.109-110)

There is rigid necessitarianism in St. Thomas' theory of grace. It is conditioned by Aristotle's categories and the Augustinian predestinarian notion of God. Such passages of thought in which a mere combination of Aristotelian philosophy and Augustinian theology occurs, are repeatedly encountered throughout his Summa Theologica. In it the natural world of Aristotle and the supernatural world of St. Augustine are brought into combination.

Scholasticism tended to stress the rationality of the Neo-Platonic Augustine, as this side of the saint's thought could alone give support to any kind of rationalism. Especially is this true in regard to the scholastic doctrine of grace and of original sin. Augustine's doctrine of grace and of original sin was a much debated question due to the fact that he fused the biblical and the Neo-Platonic elements so as to make it difficult for any one to differentiate the two. The Neo-Platonic Augustine regarded the power of original sin and not the guilt of sin as the chief element. He therefore wants not only
to be freed from the curse but also from the sin itself. This peccatum originale has its roots in the unique psychological constitution of man and is in its nature sensual, as pertaining to body and spirit. The body lost its grace which gave him the power of control over the animal passions. (De peccat.meritis:1:2) Original sin becomes the robbery of supernatural justice. The first grace, the divine grace to do good was given to Adam and it depended on the will of man; whereas the second grace was given after the fall and it determined the will. (De correp.et grat.:31) Man being clothed with this grace entered into the rest of his passions and lust. (De civ.dei XIV:17) Not the experience of grace in the forgiveness of the guilt of sin became the centre of gravitation, but the instilling of a good lust instead of a bad one. (De spiritu et littera 6) From this the scholastic theory of original sin and grace came to mean nothing else but that man's sensual nature was controlled by supernatural grace. In nothing did the schoolmen show such common agreement among themselves as in the reexpression of the Augustinian doctrine of the trinity, of the origin of evil, of grace, of predestination and of eschatology.
After the ninth century had created an atmosphere of rationalism, the theories of the relation of faith and knowledge became a question of the day. It was no longer sufficient for men to merely believe religious doctrines without the backing of reason. The times and the peoples demanded proofs of reason in order to believe in the religious doctrines. In his *Monologium* and *Proslogium*, Anselm makes mention of the demands of reason that the learned and the unlearned requested, as they were tormented by religious scruples.

He reasserted Augustine's position in his maxim *credo ut intelligam*. Faith is the foundation of dogma. It is as he says in the preface to his *Cur Deus Homo*: "Some men seek for reasons, because they do not believe; we seek for them because we believe. This is my belief, that if I believe not, neither shall I understand."* It is upon this basis that he built his Augustinian scholasticism, and upon which not only St. Augustine, but all the mystics of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance stood firm. With an irresistible joy Anselm applies dialectics to theological subjects, and it was he, who designated for scholastic theology the task

how to prove and demonstrate logically the traditional church system. His dialogue De grammatico explicitly maintains that dialectics is an indispensable preparation for the study of theology. Although faith is prior to reason, yet reason is also restricted to the explanation of that which faith has established.

Anselm's principal contribution was the ontological proof of the existence of God upon the basis of his faith. That proof was not original with him, but no one else before him has given it such a systematic and clearcut presentation. He refers to St. Augustine saying that it is not new. "After consideration, I have not been able to find that I have made in it any statement which is inconsistent with the writings of the Catholic Fathers, or especially with those of St. Augustine. Wherefore it shall appear to any man that I have offered in this work any thought that is either to novel or discordant with the truth, I ask him not to denounce me at once as one who boldly seizes upon new ideas, or as a maintainer of falsehood; but let him first read diligently Augustine's books on the Trinity, and then judge my treatise in the light
of those. In De Trinitate VIII and Liber Arbitrio II:39 there are some of the elements for an ontological proof of the existence of God. The explicitly sought proof of the existence of God had been a most serious object of Anselm's effort and piety. The thinkers of his own time adopted from the writings of St. Augustine and from Dionysius a realism which regarded general conceptions (universalis) as archetypes in the divine reason (universalis ante rem) and as reflected in the phenomena and individuals of the world. From this Anselm received his inspiration for the ontological proof of the existence of God. The idea of God exists in the mind of man. The mind of man has a concept of something of which nothing greater and better can be conceived of. Such a being is God.

St. Augustine reached the height of his prestige in the twelfth century when a reaction set in against his realistic philosophy. In regard to special problems of scholasticism he had little to say and to give. Aristotelianism increasingly replaced Augustinianism, as the former offered more in the line of the rationalization of religious values.

*DeanetS.D. St.Anselm. Chicago.1903.p.36-37.
The leaders of the Renaissance were possessed by a new disposition towards concrete reality. Platonism was revived, as it alone had preserved a living and concrete attitude towards the world. It was not a mere scholastic and conceptual handling of the values of the universe, like Aristotle's system which came to gather ill-repute by reason of its adaptability to theological theories. The new empirical impulse of the times led them to read Plato's Timaeus and St. Augustine's Confessions, which aided in the intensification of this tendency. This impulse for the facts themselves was resident in the Middle Ages, and it was directed exclusively to the investigation of the mental life. The "Dark Ages" kept alive the impulse of observation and of acute analysis in the domain of inner experience. They thereby enriched the knowledge of psychology. "This is the field of scientific work in which the Middle Ages attained the most valuable results."* But the tendency was submerged under the stress of scholastic rationality.

It was only with the advance of the Renaissance that reason became freed from its bondage. It resumed independently of theology the study of man and of nature. The Renaissance was in some measure a revival of Platonism and a reexpression of the empirical side of Augustinianism.

St. Augustine possessed a marked talent for observation. There were scholastic strains in his thinking, but these were counterbalanced by his passion for facts and his sceptical reserve. The description of the olive tree and the oleaster, (Ep. 194:44) the nightingale's song, (De vera relig. 79) the cockfight, (De ordine I:25) the gliding of the snake, (De Trinitate XII:16) his interesting observations of animal life, (De Quaest. Anim. 62-68) exhibit his aptitude for and keenness of observation.

His Confessions manifest his talent for describing empirical data. Especially is this true in regard to psychological facts. Most interesting observations are made by him in child-psychology as to the infant's consciousness, and its interest in seeing light. (De Trinitate XI:4,7.) He gives very keen analyses of the nature of vision, (De Trinitate XI:4) of memory and of time. (Confessions) Some traces of animal psychology are presented as he
mentions the memory of swallows returning to their
nests, (Contra Ep.Manich.20) and the description of
the memory of fishes. (De Genes.ad Litt.III:12)*

There is in St.Augustine’s works the
evidence of a growing scientific interest and atti-
tude. **He does not only manifest interest in phys-
ical phenomena or make remarks about an empty jar
which is full of air, (De Anima et Orig.IV:18) but
he differentiates clearly between what is science
or verified facts organized and what is imaginary.
Hence we find him pouring out scorn upon the phys-
ical sciences of his day, as they did little in
basing facts upon concrete observation. With
merciless thoroughness does he deride the calcula-
tions of the astrologers and magicians, which were
the only scientists the world had then. (De Divers.
Quaest.63:45 and Confessions.) As a discriminating
observer he attached great value to the facts and
their meanings. Being of a speculative mind, he
seeks for the reasons of things and attempts to-al-
leviate the perplexities of reason. Harnack
therefore maintains that St.Augustine incited and
created not only the scholasticism of the Middle
Ages, but Nominalism and the modern theory of know-
ledge and psychology are indebted to him. ** It

* Cunningham, W. St. Augustine and his place in the history
is an inescapable fact that St. Augustine wished with entire devotion a science that is built up within the empirical sphere. He frankly admitted that this sphere of life is subordinate, yet legitimate region of the life of the universe and of man. It was not the whole and superior region of his world of values, but a part of it.

Independent investigation concerning the psychical life had been begun under the influence of the Arabian Avicenna, Alexander of Hales and Albertus Magnus in the thirteenth century. The re-awakened empiricism was in no small measure stirred up by the influence of St. Augustine. The overbearing imposition of Thomism had repressed the ripening of this tendency, and it was the empirical, experiential side of the St. Augustine of the Renaissance that antagonized the Neo-Platonic intellectualistic St. Augustine of scholasticism. "Empirical and theoretical science developed during the Renaissance in connection with Augustine's doctrine of self-certainty of personality."* In his De Doctrina Christiana II: 46 and 28 are made explicit statements that indicate how much objective value he attached to natural science.

and to the studies of the master pieces of classical literature. John of Rochelle, Alfred de Sereshel and Vincent of Beauvais are partly under the influence of St. Augustine in their psychology.

From the point of view of intellectual emancipation the Protestant Reformation was limited to a change of church doctrines. Luther manifested by his dramatic and spectacular assertion of the freedom of individual conscience and judgment the opposition against the whole scholastic movement of the Middle Ages. It was the scriptures as well as St. Augustine who became for Luther the inspiration of deriding scholasticism and in establishing the rationality of Protestantism.

With unstinted zeal he came to uphold an extreme view of divine predestination. Indeed the Latin church had never committed itself to this doctrine, and it was she who crushed it wherever individuals arose that promulgated it. While a student at Erfurt, Luther stood under the influence of Nominalism and Scotism. But as a result of his constant study of the works of the North-African saint, he became a zealous antagonist of nominalistic pelagianism.

At first the intensive preoccupation with the Neo-Platonic St. Augustine issued into his adoption
especially in his Psalmenvorlesung during the years 1513-1516. Due to this acceptance of the Augustinian ontology and realism, he entertained the conviction that being was a graded content of reality: 1) the highest and uncreated being is God, 2) the created intelligible world, 3) the man, 4) the pure sensible and animal world, and 5) the dead matter. Still he is careful to exclude the principle of emanation and substitutes in accord with St. Augustine the principle of creation. Sin therefore came to mean the reversion of the intellectual and volitional nature of man to the lower sphere of the senses. The world of appearances is depreciated as having no reality. It is only the invisible things that are true realities. They are all veiled in the external things. The Bible becomes to him an allegorical book. In regard to the internal and external word he maintains that the latter is the veil for the former.*

As an exegete St. Augustine stood in the estimation of Luther at the top. Nothing can

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manifest as much the importance which he attached to
the works of the saint as his lectures on the Epistle
to the Romans, delivered during 1515-1516. It was
in reading diligently Augustine's De spiritu et littera
that he awoke to the consciousness of his mission as
a reformer. Impregnated with this saint's thoughts,
he lectured with a different emphasis than before.
In the opening words of his exegesis of the Epistle
to the Romans he makes the gallant confession how
much St. Augustine had given him, and that it was he,
who opened to him the world of St. Paul. He quotes
him repeatedly regarding the new understanding of
justification he had found in his thoughts. When
he comes to the exposition of Romans 13:13 the Augustinian
friar Luther cannot forget to mention how decisive
these words were in the conversion of the saint.
The saint with all his rich experience and his unique
gift of psychological observation is to him the one
man upon whom he depends for a description of sin, of
grace, of predestination and of righteousness. *

Again and again Luther declared
in his later life that St. Augustine forged him the way
to an understanding of the biblical doctrine of justi-
fication. Before he had become absorbed in St. Augustine's
works, he had held to the Aristotelian notion of religion.

* Ficker, J. Luther's Vorlesung über den Roemerbrief.
Leipzig, 1908.
that by mere good works one could become just. The words of Augustine "justice of God is the one with which God clothes us",(De spiritu et littera:15.)made him see the insufficiency of justification by works. Grace is the instilled presence of God, that which purifies from sin. He refused Augustine's Neo-Platonic notion of grace which maintains that it is a mere natural quality.

The Protestant Reformation was in certain respects the triumph of Augustine's doctrine of grace over against his doctrine of the church as exemplified in the Roman Catholic Church. It rejected with the saint's authority his own notion of merits.

The Wittenberg reformer consciously lifted the anti-pelagian program into light as that was the inner relation between him and the North-African. His very battle against scholastic theology aligned him with his patron saint. With tenacity he held to the non-freedom of the human will and stressed the sinfulness of the marriage relation.

Original sin was to Luther predominantly egotistical interest and faithlessness. Its path took the threefold course of rejection of God, of egotism and of the love of the world.

In the eighth book of the Confessions Augustine speaks of his deep psychological disease,(monstrum)
a bankruptcy of his will and inability to give up concubinage. From this the unveiled discussion is elicited about marriage and sex relations. Original sin therefore is a chronic weakness of the will which is identified with sexual procreation and sensuality. Yet St. Augustine mentioned also the origin of lust as due to the other senses. He declared that in the first fall the bad will was present, before even lust had arisen. (Confessions VIII:10.) The nature of original sin was not only sexual lust (concupiscentia carnalis) but also amor sui (egotism.) Luther adopted the latter Augustinian thought and identified amor sui with concupiscence. With St. Augustine he agreed that lust remained even after baptism and regeneration. (He nupt. et corrupt. 128.) The sinful lust still functions, and the guilt alone disappears. There is nothing materially different in the sinner after baptism and regeneration, only ideally, as God has established the relation of forgiveness of sin through Jesus Christ.

For Augustine the notion of the church as a sacramental institution was determined by the doctrine of original sin, as through her means of baptism the lust of flesh is entirely annihilated. The remains of original sin after baptism are not sin any more, they are only weakness. (Sermo 155.)
In order to annul the notion of self-salvation Luther upheld the doctrine of original sin. By this procedure he made room for the absoluteness of grace. This was directed against nominalistic theology and against the propagated learned self-salvation of Aristotle and Duns Scotus.*

During the early years of his reform activity, Luther remained free from any revival of dogmatic theology. Those years constituted rather a period of anti-rationalism. But due to the opposition of fanatic sects, the reformers were compelled to interpret the Christian teachings as they saw it. Hence arose a Protestant scholasticism. Melanchthon (1497-1560) and Nicolas Taurellus Oechelein (1547-1606) did this for the Lutheran Reformation. The former constructed from the point of view of Aristotle while the latter created from the writings of St. Augustine a scholastic system of theology.**

In none of the leaders of the Protestant Reformation did intellectualism attain a greater height than in John Calvin. His whole conception of Christianity and especially as regards the questions of grace, salvation, sin, will is dominated by St. Augustine. His system of theology and of ethics is really nothing

else but the rigid exposition of theological principles that the later St. Augustine had promulgated. An intellectual interest in doctrines is dominant in his theology. He had a sublime confidence in the adequacy of logical processes to deal with divine mysteries. Whereas the doctrine of predestination, of election, of reprobation, of foreknowledge and of contingency had been fought out individually in the Catholic Church by men like Lombard, Thomas Aquinas and Duns Scotus, John Calvin elevated this doctrine to the very cornerstone of Reformed Protestantism. He did so upon the authority of St. Augustine and scripture. None of the leaders of thought of the Reformation period quotes this saint's works as extensively. (208 times.)

The doctrine of predestination is the very heart of his main thesis of theology, namely the sovereignty of God. He is in accord with the theological inheritance of the last thousand years by building up his system of theology upon the doctrines of original sin and the fall of man, which by the prestige of St. Augustine were indelibly impressed upon Western theological thinking.

"Predestination, we call eternal decree of God, by which He has in Himself the destiny of every man. For they
are not all created in the same condition, but eternal life for some, and eternal damnation for others." (Institutes II.c.22,p.5.) Hence the predestination becomes twofold: a decree of election and a decree of reprobation. Both these decrees are regarded as grace of God. Grace becomes a matter of the arbitrary will of the deity. In laying out this doctrine he appeals to scripture and to St. Augustine. Prescience and predestination are ascribed to God. The latter is not subordinate to the former. With prescience to God is meant that there is no past or future, but all things are present at once in the mind of God. With predestination the assertion is made that it is the arbitrary determination of the destiny of man by God, as no one is created on equal terms. The Calvinistic conception of God is in direct agreement with that of John Duns Scotus.(1308.) In the exposition of the predestination doctrine he makes mention that St. Augustine held for a time the notion that God's foreknowledge dispensed grace but later retracted it. "Had He pleased He could have made them devout instead of undevout; but God calls whom He deigns to call and makes religious whom He will."(De red.Sanct.c.19.)
In order to justify such a theological conclusion Calvin says: "Were we disposed to frame an entire volume out of Augustine, it were easy to show the reader that I have no occasion to use any other words than his." (Institutes bk.III.c.22. Later the inscrutability of the doctrine draws from him the resigned fear of the saint of Hippo: "Would you dispute with me? Wonder with me, and exclaim, 0 depth! Let us both agree in dread, lest we perish in error." (De verbis apost. sermo 11.) It is with relentless logic that John Calvin says that God is the author of sin, while he denies it with his morality. (Institutes bk.III:23, Enchir.ad Laurent, De Genes. ad Lit..VI.c.15.) He not only ascribes supreme sovereignty to the decree of election but also to the wrath of God. (Institutes bk.III.c.23, De Praed.Sanct.1b.I.c.2.) He advocated the notion that God employs without taint the instrumentality of the wicked. (De ordine lb.1.c.2, Institutes bk.I.c.18.) The condemnation of man depends upon what one is fit for according to God's will. God accomplishes His will by the evil wills of bad men. As He is omnipotent it is impossible for Him to do evil. (Inst.bk.I.c.18, Psalms 111:2)
There is nothing in the Calvinistic system of theology that counterbalances this logical fanaticism, and there is hardly a strain of divine love that chastens its conception. In this respect Calvin has become the most narrow Augustinian exponent of theological principles.

Roman Catholic scholasticism arose again to life as a result of the anti-scholastic movement of the Protestant Reformation. This time it became identified with the Society of Jesus, which was founded by Ignatius Loyola, a contemporary of the Genevan reformer. His followers built a scholastic system of morals. It was the Spanish Jesuit, Luis Molina who based his moral system upon Augustinian conceptions that had a tinge of semi-pelagianism as justification meant to him concurrent action of grace and free will.* "During the conflict that the Jesuits waged against the Jansenist movement, their astuteness more than once could hurl data at Port-Royal's ardor for St. Augustine, by bringing forth lax casuistical dicta from his writings."**

The saint's scholastic treatment of deception constitutes one of the sources for the moral theory of probabilism. (On Lying, p.17-22.)

Indeed, the remarkable thing about St. Augustine was, that although theology was the dominant characteristic of his thought, he yet gave expression to many of the essential ideas of modern philosophy. His writings were the preferred subject of study during the Renaissance and the Reformation till far into the seventeenth century.

Thomas Campanella (1568-1639) filled with aversion to Aristotle and a devoted theologian of the Dominican order, starts out to build his philosophy upon Augustine's notion of the indisputable certainty of the existence of consciousness. This was the basis for the knowledge of the existence of God. Out of this inference follow three further conclusions, namely, that human nature consists in the three functions of volition, of knowledge and of power. Raised to principles of the deity they are omnipotence, omniscience and infinite love.*

"It is of high historical interest to trace the extensive influence of St. Augustine, the greatest of the church fathers during the sixteenth till the seventeenth century upon French thinkers."** The

doctrines of Descartes' self-consciousness as the only basis of all certain knowledge as well as the fusion of self-consciousness with the God-consciousness is found in St. Augustine's Soliloquia II.1: Tu qui scis te nosse, scis te esse? Scio. Unde scis? Nescio. Simplicam te sentis cum multiplicem? Nescio. Cogitare te scis? Scio." (De libero arbitrio II.c.3.) Most of the histories of philosophy have fallen into the habit of glorifying Descartes as the original exponent of this modern thought. Arnauld and Mersenne, the two critics of his philosophy brought the fact to his attention that the enunciation of the cogito ergo sum was a mediaeval tradition.* He himself had the habit of not giving credit to thoughts that his predecessors had first formulated. In the second objection that Arnauld offered to Descartes' Meditations, the likeness to St. Augustine is further shown by his conception that the soul is more clearly perceived than the body. Augustine rejects in his De quantitate animae the notion that the perceptions of the soul are less clear than those of the senses. In the same work occurs another conception which usually is ascribed to Descartes as his original contribution, namely the identification of body and extension.**

*Haldane, T., & Ross, G. Philosophical Works of Descartes, p. 90, Vol. II
**Kahn, L. Metaphysics of the Supernatural as Illustrated by Descartes, p. 68: "Spatia locorum tolle corporibus,
The Western World owes to St. Augustine the first explicitly stated proof of the existence of God as well as the idea that the notion of God is at the basis of all human thought. While adopting the Platonic view that eternal ideas are in God, he revitalized these concepts. It was due to his enthusiasm that the dead ontological entities bristled with new meaning. Out of the notion that God's eternal ideas are fancies, he created the conviction that they were vital powers. God was to him the ideal and eternal object of human reason. He is the universal term that comprehends all rational manifestations. All intellectual perception therefore means knowledge of God. Reason can only then grasp meaning if it has God's nature as its object.

In the seventeenth century Descartes had announced as an independent finding of his own the ontological argument for the existence of God. Miss L. Kahn says that "the various arguments which Descartes uses to

\[\text{nusquam erunt, et quia nusquam erunt nec erunt.}\]

(\textit{Ep.} 57.) "\textit{Prius abs te quaero utrum corpus nullo\n
\textit{lum} putes esse quod non pro modo suo habeat alii-

\textit{quam} longitudinem et latitudinem et altitudinem? Si hoc demas corporibus, quantum mea opinio est, neque sentiri posse\n
\textit{n}, neque omnino corpora esse\n
\textit{recte existimari.}\textquotedblright;(\textit{De quant. animae e.} IV.)
prove God's existence go back to St. Augustine. They are either a restatement or variation of the latter's ontological argument."* This identical proof of the existence of God was defended by all the Cartesians on the Continent and by Sir Isaac Newton. One of the main programs of the Congregation of the Oratory had been the study of the works of St. Augustine. Out of its ranks came Malebranche, (1638-1715,) the final climax of the development of French Cartesianism. His mission was the attempt of reconciling the Cartesian system of thought with the theology of the African saint.**

In case of the scholastic thinkers it is comparatively easy to show that they all are largely indebted to the Bishop of Hippo in their formulation of the various proofs of the existence of God.*** As the modern philosophers are more reticent regarding the sources of their philosophic thought, it becomes more difficult to trace the historic connections. We know that Descartes, Leibniz and Hegel have made thoroughgoing studies of scholastic thought.

* Kahn, L. Metaphysics of the Supernatural as illustrated by Descartes. p. 21.
** Levy-Bruhl, L. History of Modern Philosophy. c. II. p. 38-76.
How much of St. Augustine's thought went into the making of Methodism during the eighteenth century is hard to determine. But in going through John Wesley's works, one finds certain highly cherished Augustinian notions advocated, in spite of the fact that the quotations are rather meagre. Wesley (1703-1791) had been fed on the mystical and devotional writings of Laws, J. Taylor and Thomas à Kempis. He was in most intimate relations with the Moravians, and he made a diligent study of ancient Greek theology. Chrysostom was his favorite thinker. In 1738 he experienced through the instrumentality of hearing Luther's Preface to his Commentary of Romans a conversion, which gave him the assurance of the forgiveness of sins. It was the Augustinian notion of justification by faith alone in terms of the enthusiasm of Luther that gave his religious life a climax. His theology was a thoroughgoing reaction against Calvinistic predestination, opposing thereby the later Augustinian theology of the Retractions. It did not elude his apprehension that St. Augustine sometimes speaks for and sometimes against the extreme form of the doctrine of predestination. As a counter movement against Calvinism, Methodism aimed at a more humane amelioration of the

relation of God and man. It is the notion of co-workership of God and man (a form of synergism) that Wesley came to stress. This thought had been forgotten by the Calvinists. "So true is that well-known saying of St. Augustine, one of the noblest he ever uttered:"He that made us without ourselves, will not save us without ourselves."* "What is man? He is indeed some portion of Thy creation, but how amazingly small a portion."** To Wesley it was a fact of experience that salvation, deliverance and forgiveness of sins as an assurance could not come unless man agonized over it, unless man underwent deep-going conflicts.

Methodism in the form of Wesley's theology was a revival of sentimental and affective religion. The immediate knowledge of God was with him as it had been with the saint of Hippo a favorite doctrine. He regards the Augustinian passages of Confessions VII. c.10 as a proof for his notion of the attestation of the spirit.***

St. Augustine has grafted diverse categories of thought into the theology of Latin and Western Christianity. His habits of thought were instrumental in the

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* Supra, Vol.II.p.366.
*** Supra, Vol.VI.p.629.
coming of scholasticism. By his prestige Neo-Platonic philosophy was transplanted into the theology of the West. Theological questions were handled by dialectics and rationalistic excogitations. The saint determined to a large part the temper of medieval science and knowledge. The eccentricities of his thought constituted the material of mediaeval theological systems. The representatives of the Middle Ages rationalized the classical Augustinian theological doctrines by the aid of philosophy.

The Renaissance appealed to St. Augustine in regard to the experiential and subjective attitude of thought towards the universe and man. Its thought reasserted the Augustinian notion of the self-certainty of personality.

The theologies of Protestantism are to a large extent the modified reexpressions of the Augustinian doctrines of original sin, of the fall of man, of predestination and of grace. They revived the Augustinian doctrines of scripture, and they stressed the biblical interpretation of doctrines instead of the philosophical. Luther had been for a time under the direct influence of Neo-Platonic Augustinian ontology. He defied the papal church and mediaeval scholasticism by an appeal to his personal religion, to scripture and
to St. Augustine. Calvin vigorously reaccentuated the predestinarian Augustinianism.

The philosophers Campanella, Descartes and Malebranche adopted the Augustinian notion of self-consciousness as the basis of their philosophies. The ontological proofs of the existence of a deity, the notion of matter as extension were revived by Descartes, without however mentioning the sources. The direct influence of St. Augustine's thought abated during the seventeenth century. Indirectly the Augustinian streams of thought reappeared in the diverse Protestant bodies of the succeeding centuries.
Of no one can it be more appropriately said than of the Bishop of Hippo, that he was "one of the minds in which an hundred others dwell." Above all has this been the case in regard to his unprecedented influence upon the mystics of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. P. Smith in his "The Age of the Reformation" makes the sweeping statement:"there is not a single idea in the fourteenth and fifteenth century mysticism which cannot be read far earlier in Augustine and Bernard, even in St. Thomas Aquinas and Scotus."*

By the common consent of scholars St. Augustine's unparalleled genius is the creator and father of Roman Catholic mysticism.** It was dissatisfaction with the Manichean rationalism that drove the saint to embrace Neoplatonism. He found in it a growing certainty that God was actually a spiritual being. (Confessions VII:26.) Having emerged from a most distracting conversion, in which religion came to mean the vital possession of God, he affiliated

* Smith, P. The Age of the Reformation. p. 84.
Jones, R. Studies in Mystical Religion. p. 87.
with Christianity, as the religion in which man experienced a personal God. Nothing else could possibly secure for man's nature the rest, peace and happiness as alone this direct relation to God. The essence of Christianity was something totally different from pure intellectual knowledge and from man-made creeds. It was not an intellectual inference that led him to this conclusion, but rather the wisdom of his feelings and aspirations.

God, the one centre of his whole personality, was the supreme term of his mysticism. The feelings and reason are the two ways or organs of the knowledge of divine love and truth. He established this doctrine of the inner life as the controlling principle of human thought, be it philosophical, theological or ethical. The value of religion as God, grace, mercy, love and faith were frankly spontaneous things to him. They were realities that had been felt in his very vitals. God as such has no need of logical or physical witnesses. He is inwardly known by the human heart in terms of ineffable attraction. This experience creates an inexhaustible passion towards God, and prompts reason to admit that God is above all its categories and relations.
The Augustinian mysticism emerged in the succeeding centuries into four distinct trends: 1) a sentimental, 2) an intellectual, 3) a sacramental type and 4) a mysticism without any intermediaries. From innumerable passages of St. Augustine's Confessions it becomes obvious that he lived in the love of God. There is none other among the mystics of the Western world who broke forth with such impetuosity of intimacy. While abandoning himself to excess of feeling, he experienced ecstasies. This, together with his fascinating talent of describing the observation of his inner life, made him turn to psychological analysis. He destroyed the intellectualistic psychology of antiquity by means of his overwhelming emphasis of the personal experience of the divine life. Continual passionate outbursts of the joy and the sweetness of God are glaringly presented. A subtle sublimated sensuousness makes itself felt throughout these intense exaltations of feelings. There is really nothing in this life that man can enjoy without getting sick or indifferent to it. The one exception is God. Clinging to Him is to enjoy Him forever. In such mystical contemplation man's being is transported to a higher level of feeling. As a result of the
increased and intensified love for God man experiences a rapture. St. Augustine speaks of a gaudium, delectum and frui deo as elements of this exalted state of human nature. "That which gives blessed life to man is not derived from man, but is something above him!"

But the sense of communion with God is not only carried out on levels of the emotional life of man. A possible other path is by the spirit of truth. "There I found truth, there found I my God, who is the truth itself." (Confessions X:24.)

"He, who knows the truth knows the Light; and he that knows it knoweth eternity." (Confessions VII:10)

"Behold, there is he wherever truth is known. He is within the very heart." (Confessions IV:12.)

The soul that perceives God obtains felicity. (Soli-liquia.) This state of blessedness is actually described as a perfect knowledge of God. (De vita beata.) Wherever he stresses the cognitional aspect of personal religion, a quietistic trend is noticed.

The mysticism of later days followed the sentimental and intellectual strains of the religious life. While the saint disparages reason by the exaltation of the sentimental, he also vouchsafes for
human rationality an access to the deepest things in life. The divine life is the basis of reason.

It was therefore by means of his psychology that he succeeded in combining an intellectual and sentimental mysticism.

There are buried in the writings of St. Augustine the beginnings of a sacramental mysticism which during the Middle Ages and the Renaissance grew to a distinct trend of the religious life. The sacraments were means whereby the life of God was imparted to man. They were avenues of entering into communion with God. He called the Lord's supper "the food of the full-grown."

Those, who had received baptism were called "infants", because "they were regenerate and had entered on a new life, and were reborn to an eternal life." (Sermo 266, Confessions VIII:2.) At first the sacraments were simply symbolic representations of certain aspects of the growing inner life, but as he stressed the doctrine of the church and its means, they contained a magical quality. We find passages in his writings that indicate a sacramental mysticism and that accentuate the ceremonial, magical aspect of religion. There are statements which regard the sacraments as mere
means to reach the levels of the divine life. The former attained its matrix in the writings of Pascenius Radbertus and Lanfranc of the ninth and eleventh century. The latter tendency won its adherents among the most representative mystics of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance.

A passage like the one from St. Augustine's Confessions VII:10: "as if I heard this voice of Thine from on high: "I am the food of strong men; grow, and thou shalt feed upon me, nor shalt thou convert me, like the food of thy flesh, into thee, but thou shalt be converted into me", illustrates distinctly the trend of a mysticism without any intermediaries. In other connections the thought is conveyed that Christ is the only object of faith, the one to whom any one can come without mediation on the part of any church officer and without the church. (Contra lit. Petilian I,7:8; Contra Cresconium Donatstam II,11:13.)

These various tendencies of Augustinian mysticism became a great moulding power. They offset the rationalism into which the growing Aristotelianism tended. They also offered to the monopolization of the religious life on the part of the church a formidable opposition.

Among those who favored the growth
of mysticism during the Middle Ages and the Re-naissance were the Bishop of Hippo, Proclus and Dionysius. All three promulgated the Neo-Plato-nic phase of mysticism. The latter two determined its spread more than the former. The saint shaped more particularly the course of the personal Christian mysticism.

A mystic of the first magnitude is St. Bernard of Clairvaux, who more than any one else stirred up anew the enthusiasm of the religion of the inner life. In his De Diligendo Deo (1126) his main theme is the boundless love of God. Love of God alone is sufficient and does not demand another reward. Using almost identical expressions of religious fervor like St. Augustine he furnishes a gradated structure of the development of love. There are four stages in its growth. He traces its growth from the self-love of man to the point in which man has risen above it. In the final stage man is wholly absorbed in the love of God. Occasionally man is privileged to have momentary ecstasies of union with God. Due to the romantic zeal of the Crusades and the given impulse of St.
Augustine, St. Bernard was moved to glorify the life of love in his Canticles, which were an idealized study of the Song of Songs. It had been St. Augustine's entreatment that the love that one gives to the bridegroom shall be given to Christ. The picture of Jesus shall be impregnated in the heart of man. Upon this pattern the mystic of Clairvaux created his Christ mysticism which in some part re-intensified the hedonistic and probably sensuous quality that one finds in the writings of the North African. St. Bernard understood that the soul loses itself and the bridegroom ceases to be a proper ego, as his soul becomes merged in the godhead. (Sermo 85: excedere et cum Christo esse.) It was upon the authority of St. Augustine that Bernard gave to the erotic and romantic mysticism a greater stimulus.* Yet there is a brighter side to this Christ mysticism, in that he depicted the sufferings of Christ, his life on earth, his poverty and passion, in order to point out to his hearers and readers that Christ's life ought to be realized by them. "To have part thou must have part in his sufferings." "Christ liveth in me." In St. Augustine we find this phase of mysticism in an unusual bold form: "Let

us rejoice, then and **give** thanks that we are made not only Christians, but Christ.---- Marvel, be glad, we are made Christ." (Joh.tract.21.n.8.) None of those that followed this feature of mysticism ever again described the reincarnation of the Christ-like life in the heart and soul of man in such glowing colors and with such depth as the abbot of Clairvaux.

On the speculative side of his mysticism St.Bernard depends almost exclusively upon St. Augustine and accentuates the path of self-introspection.* We gather from his De Consideratione libri (1148) addressed as it is to Pope Eugen III., that consideratio is the intuitive grasp of truth, and contemplation the seeking of this by means of a concentrated thinking. From St.Augustine's De Doctrina Christiana II.23,26 he borrowed the fourfold path of observation which leads to the highest truth: 1) upon himself, 2) upon that which is below him, 3) what is round about him and 4) what is above him.

In agreement with this he forwards another discussion about self-observation by dividing it into the following three kinds: 1) dispensitiva, i.e. occupied with the

things of the world, 2) aestimativa, i.e. seeking and thinking of God in the things of the world, 3) speculativa, i.e. seeking in inner concentration to live with God.*

An ardent love constitutes a means to reach the highest knowledge. It is not an intellectualistic cognition, but still a knowledge which is certain as the other. The contemplative Bernard regards the "Word", the spiritual Christ of whom the historical Christ is but an image, as the aim of all true speculation. St. Augustine was the one who had given direction that man must rise from the external word of scripture and from the incarnate word to the spirit. Such a proposal meant a nullification of historical Christianity. It was St. Bernard who repeated this phase of mysticism. His contemplation is that Christianity must be experienced rather than cognized. For this reason he speaks in his Ep. 106 of the uselessness of the study of scripture as compared to the practical, personal devotion to Christ.

*Harnack, A. History of Dogma. Vol. VI, p. 10: "So far as Bernard furnishes a system of contemplation, and describes the development of love, on to its fourth stage, at which man, rising above self-love, is wholly absorbed in the love of God, and experiences that momentary ecstasy in which he becomes one with God —- so far Bernard has simply experienced anew what Augustine experienced before him."
admonishes men in his sermo 20 of the Song of Songs that in genuine spiritual love he ought to rise from the picture of the historic Christ to the Christ after the spirit.\(^*\)

*The abbot of Clairvaux intensified not only the pantheistic attitude of the Neo-Platonic St. Augustine, but he also revived the personal Christian mysticism latent in the works of the North-African. The former was speculative, passive and centered in the notion of deification.\(^**\) The latter was practical, active and focused in the notion of the humanity of Jesus.*

It was on account of mysticism that scholasticism never could gain undisputed dominion over the minds of men. Experience of religious values and not proofs or definitions were its chief object. The leaders of mysticism during the eleventh century were the monks of the Augustinian monastery of St. Victor at Paris, especially Hugo and Richard of St. Victor. To both of them God could not be reached by logic or dialectics, but only in contemplation. In both of them mysticism became allied with the scholastic spirit. They made an ingenious attempt to put

\* Harnack, A. History of Dogma. Vol. VI, p. 131: "And yet this final and most questionable direction of mysticism which nullifies historical Christianity and leads on to pantheism, was most distinctly repeated by Bernard."

\**Vaughan, R.A. Hours with the Mystics. Vol. I, p. 146: "He gives a scale of the spiritual degrees of ascent to God, formed after the Platonic model. (Symposium, DeQuantitAnimae 35.) There are three kinds of perception: corporeal, intellectual (scientia), and spiritual (sensientia)"
mysticism upon a scientific basis by following the structural outlines of Augustinian psychology.

Hugo of St. Victor (1097-1147) expresses his views most fully in his works De Sacramentis Fidei and Erudicio Didascalicon. He affirmed in these the immediate consciousness of God by man. The soul had originally a threefold apprehension: 1) the eye of the flesh (or the senses knowing outside objects), 2) the eye of reason (or the soul knowing itself), 3) the eye of contemplation, (the capacity to perceive God and divine things.) The latter was lost by sin, but is again restored to man by redemptive grace of God. When anyone has this gift of contemplation given to him, there are three explicit stages in its function: a)cogitatio i.e. apprehension of objects in external form, b) meditatio i.e. the study of the inner meaning, c) contemplatio i.e. the clear, unimpeded insight into the vision of God.

Although he uses most often the terms contemplation or vision in relating the soul's rapture, yet he uses vision and love as simultaneous ways that lead to the heart of reality. Intellect really is a result of the affection of man towards God. Hence it is the intellectual man that shares
the bliss of God. It is akin to what St. Augustine says that "the rational contemplation is the higher than the practical", but at the same time defending "the parity of both" the speculative and the emotional or practical as the ideal. This seems to be attained by Hugo of St. Victor when he says: "God has made man a rational creature, that he might understand, and that by understanding he might love, by loving possess, and by possessing enjoy". (Summa II:1. abbrev. Migne 176-179.)

Diverse ideas of the Augustinian conception of the history of the inner life of man were continually reexpressed by the mystics of the Middle Ages. They all took from the North-African saint the notion that Rachel and Leah, Mary and Martha are the representatives of the contemplative and the active life, of the monastic and the secular, of the mystic and the scholastic. (Contra Faustus Manich.22:52; Sermo in Cantic.51:2.) It was Hugo of St. Victor who actually devoted a whole treatise to this comparison of Rachel and Leah. He also borrowed from St. Augustine the circle of ideas that he had elaborated around the notion of Jerusalem. Jerusalem meant to the mystics of

*Reuter, H. Augustinische Studien, p. 470.*
those days the goal of their life's endeavor, the supreme end of their life's journey. It was to them the haven of spiritual life.*

Richard of St. Victor (died 1173) carried further the flame of Hugo's mysticism as he emphatically disliked the rationalization of Abelard. The basis for his mysticism was the Augustinian notion that self-knowledge is the fundamental path to a vision of God. "The ascent is through self-love." (Richard) "The way to ascend to God is to descend into oneself." (Hugo) Like his predecessors he repeats the attempt of presenting a psychological development of the soul's ascent from self to the life in God. His proposal was that the religious life of man had three stages of development: 1) faith, 2) reason, 3) contemplation. To all of these is ascribed a quality of enjoyment or spiritual sensuousness. Contemplation is an ecstasy more intensely gratifying than either faith or reason. In one of his many mystical treatises De Quantuor Gradibus Violentia Caritatis, he indulges in most minute description of the inexpressible sweetness that man enjoys in the immediate communion with God. Like St. Bernard and St. Hugo, he applies the figure of the

soul's betrothal to God, and adds to it a rather arbitrary structure of the process of unification. The soul's ascent of love is reduced to four stages: 1) the betrothal, 2) the marriage, 3) the wedlock and 4) the fruitfulness of the soul, i.e., the soul passes utterly into God and is deified.

Such ecstatic intoxication of God issues into a real participation in the nature of the godhead. Such untold privilege comes only to the man as he submits to the path of ascent which leads thereunto. The Christian mystics all pointed to St. Augustine as well as to Dionysius, the Areopagite, whatever the path of their own soul to God was. In his De Quantiitate Animae (50) St. Augustine arranges the pilgrimage of the soul into seven stages, the higher are those of purgation, illumination, and union. Contemplation or union is the actual goal of the soul's journey to God. There is none of the writings of St. Augustine that more often describes the ascent of the soul to God than his Confessions. (Conf. bk. VII. c.10, bk. IX. c.10.) The mystics fostered the notion of the deification of man upon appeals to the examples of St. Augustine. The latter has used the notion of deification as an adjunct to the doctrine of incarnation. "I heard Thy
voice from on high crying unto me, "I am the food of the full-grown; grow, and then thou shalt feed on Me. Nor shalt thou change Me into thy substance as thou changest the food of thy flesh, but thou shalt be changed into Mine." (Confessions VII.c.10.) "From a good man, or from a good angel, take away "man" or "angel", and you find God."*

Deification meant not only achievement of sharing the life with God but also an increase of life. This prevented the notion of an effusion of self to nothingness, "When I shall cleave to Thee with all my being, then shall I in nothing have pain and labor; and my life shall be a real life, being wholly full of Thee." (Confessions X.c.28.) "If you dig deep enough, in every man you find divinity."

Another Augustinian mystic is St. Bonaventura. (1221-1274.) He diffused a romantic glow of the inner life through the hardness and stiffness of scholastic thought. In spite of his religious fervor for mysticism he adhered scrupulously to the doctrines of the church. He was the greatest advocate of the tenderness of the soul. Above all, he was a rapturous devotee to the Virgin Mary. With Bernard and the

Victorines he was one of the leaders who combined the life of reason and the life of the heart. Like them he elaborates an arbitrary scheme of religious ascent in his splendid book "the Itinerary of the Soul to God". The emphasis upon the minute examination of the self and the intense passion of love had their roots in the authority of St. Augustine's works and personality.

Intellectual mysticism received its expression in the scholastic system of St. Thomas Aquinas. As a matter of fact he makes it the starting-point of his theology. He became the initiator of tendencies that gave rise to a most extravagant mysticism, which find their echo in the works of Eckhardt and Suso.

The relation between God and man is intellectually conditioned as God is all in all and man nothing. St. Thomas elevates with thoroughgoing consistency the process of intellectual knowledge to the pedestal of supremacy. Man's soul is led towards its cherished goal, the vision of God. With a fondness for any available authority, St. Thomas fortifies the structure of his rationalistic and ontological mysticism by constant reference to St. Augustine's works.
latter had admitted that there was no advance of knowledge possible without a progress of religious life. The visio dei is the point of convergence, in which unison with God is made possible. (Summa Theologica, quaest. 12.)

In perfect agreement with the Neo-Platonic and Augustinian tradition he reiterates the mystical doctrine of the deification of man. "As all the perfections of creatures descend in order from God, who is the height of perfection, man should begin from the lower creatures and ascend by degrees, and so advance to the knowledge of God." (Summa ad Gent. IV.c.1.) "Since God is the natural cause of all Being, in whatever region Being can be found, there must be the divine presence."

The "Angelic Doctor" wrote with great clearness and force upon the doctrine of disinterested love as an essential element of the mystic vision of God. Yet it is conceived in a rigidly intellectual manner. The same is obvious from what he has to say about beatitude. Augustine had concurred with him "Enjoy God in respect to our intellect because vision is the whole of the reward." (Summa, quaest. 20:8.)

Another essential element of intellectual mysticism was the incomprehensibility of God's nature. In all the extreme rationalism that the schoolmen created, they never reached complete satisfaction in the formal attempts of explaining the deity. Augustine had often repeated that it is impossible to define God by rational processes. "God is above all that can be said of Him." "We must not even call Him ineffable." (De Trin. VII. 4. 7.; De Doct. Christ. I. 5:5.; Sermo 52:15; De Civ. Dei IX:16.) "He is best adored in silence. (Contra ad Manich. II.) "He is best known by nescience." (De Ordine II, 16:44; 18 & 17.) "He is best described by negatives." (Enarrat. in Psalm 85:12.) All mystics of the Middle Ages and most of the scholastic thinkers reiterate the selfsame notion in countless variations. St. Thomas points out as factual the idea that "in our earthly state we cannot attain to a knowledge of Himself beyond the fact that He exists." *

God is the perfect symbol of pure undifferentiated Being, above intellect. He is still known to him who loves. (Confessions VII:10.) Not very different is St. Thomas con-

tention that there is in man a "confused knowledge" of God that is inherent in his nature. (Summa Pt.I quaest.13.p.5.; quaest.8.p.2.; quaest.12.p.1.)

The passionately emotional quality of the religion of St. Augustine reappeared sporadically in the religious authors of the eleventh century. In the twelfth century it pervaded Christian literature and art. The Renaissance is the revivification of religion. It laid stress upon feelings and sentiments. It was re-intensified in part by the prestige of St. Augustine. This sudden flood of emotion taking possession of the peoples and the leaders led to new movements of thought. It led to a renewed objective and subjective study of the cosmos and human nature. It was instrumental in the revival of a new interest in mysticism.

The works of Dante represent the synthesis of the "Medieval Mind". (Taylor.) There is imbedded in his poetry that aesthetic piety of the Renaissance mysticism that we meet in Petrarch, Boccaccio and Salutati. From Dante's various writings one can trace the influence that the Bishop of Hippo had upon him. Among other things he classified the saint in his De Monarchia among the
inspired doctors. He appeals almost at the very outset of the Convivio to the Confessions of St. Augustine in order to find justification for writing about himself. "For by the progress of his life, which was from bad to good, and from good to better, and from better to best, he gave us an example and teaching, which could not have been received through any such testimony." *

All mysticism that emanated from the North-African centered in the passion of the love of God. It diverged into two distinct streams. The one accentuated the vision of God, and the other the doing of what the love of God entreats one to do. Dante followed in the main St. Thomas Aquinas, but he learned from St. Augustine the "science of love." This systematic order of love constitutes the true basis of the Purgatorio in his Comedia Divina. (The latter name being given by an anonymous author of the fifteenth century.) In admiration for the saint, Dante allots him one of the highest places in the final consummation of the vision of God. He exhorts men to read St. Augustine's De Quantitate Animae (letter to Can Grande), as therein is found the ascent of the soul from mere animation through

*Gardner, E.G. Dante and the Mystics. 1918.
the senses, reason, virtue, tranquility, desire for knowing the truth to the actual vision of the Divine. There are seven stages in the journey of the soul from the organic life to the unification with God. It is upon this scheme of St. Augustine that according to Antonio Lubin Dante's Comedia is based.

Love is to Dante the law of order which leads the soul to the fulfilment of her highest desire. On its wings he mounts from sphere to sphere in his Paradisio. Out of the purgatory, the place of disordered love, the path leads through purification to an ordered love. In this he is in agreement with St. Augustine, who had defined virtue in the De Civ. Dei 16:22 as the ordering of love. (De Doct. Christ. I.27: ordo dilectionis, ordo amoris.)

Dante's doctrine of the law of spiritual gravitation as exemplified in his Paradisio I:109-126, 136-141, has also its germinal roots in St. Augustine's De Civ. Dei 19:28 and Confessions 13:9. The thought is expressed that the soul is moved and attracted by love as the body is by its weight. Love as the centre of gravitation becomes the law of the spiritual universe in which all things order accordingly.
An equal romantic and personal mysticism appeared about four hundred years ago on English soil, as Gertrude More, (1606-1633) a Benedictine nun and a great-grand daughter of Sir Thomas More reiterated in a language all her own, her love of the Divine. She was an eager and constant student of St. Augustine and again and again she calls him "my deere, deere Saint."*

The more scholasticism held men captive in discursive thinking the more did it devolve upon mysticism to repair the ravages of the schoolmen. Saturated with the passion for the inner life, every mystic in those days made an attempt to present a method of the abolition of egotism. It stressed the need of humility as the pathway to the communion and fellowship of God. This phase of mysticism centered essentially in the actual and ideal life of the man Jesus Christ, who to the enthusiast of those days was model and pattern for a truly worthy inner life and religion. They were in essential harmony with St. Augustine's doctrine of self-knowledge as a prerequisite of getting at the bottom of reality and in reviving the mystical life centered in Christ. Wackhardt (1260-1329) and Tauler (1300-1361) plainly spoke

* Underhill, E. Mysticism.
that "Christ must be born mentally in every individual," and each one participating in Christ, "is born of Christ."

Another of the mystics of the transition period between scholasticism and the Renaissance is Juliana of Norwich. She had had a series of revelations. Like all her predecessors she tried to classify her insights into the inner life by an appeal to the saint of Hippo. She held to the idea that all revelation is taking place in the following order: 1) by bodily sight, 2) by the understanding, and 3) by visions. The exact identical thought is expressed by St. Augustine in his De Gen. ad litt. XII, 7, n. 16: Hae sunt tres genera visionum -----

Primum ergo appellemus corporale, quia per corpus perciptur, et corporis sensibus exhibetur. Secundum spirituelum: quidquid enim corpus non est, et tamen aliquid est, iam recte dicitur spiritus; et ubique non est corpus, quanvis corpori similis sit, image absentis corporis, nec ille ipse obtutus a cœli curatur. Tertium vero intellectuelo, ab intellectu."*

Like the Renaissance so was the Reformation a breaking loose from authority and a protest against mechanical faith. In Luther, the reaction against a system of works, indulgences and

ritualism of the cultus came to a crystallization, and he laid the emphasis upon the inner religion, heart-worship and justification by faith alone.

Being in accord with the nominalistic mystics, who did not glorify intellect, but cast severe suspicion upon reason by the authority of the anti-rationalistic attitude of St. Augustine's system of thought, Luther spread with rude contempt and vindictiveness the fires of opposition towards the barren scholasticism.

In his lectures on the Psalms a mysticism is expressed that is determined throughout by St. Augustine's Neo-Platonic Christianity. God, the immutable substance and being of the universe becomes his all and exclusive object of thought and affection. There is a quietistic element in these lectures, a tendency that aims at rest and peace in God. He strives after repose attained by the mortification of desire and will.

The distinctly Augustinian mysticism in his theological writings centers around the conceptions of faith and self-abnegation, the interpretation of scripture and the imitation of Christ. Bernard of Clairvaux, John Tauler, Staupitz, and Thomas à Kempis, who all more or less drew from the saint of North-Africa, determined his leaning to-
wards a Christ-centered mysticism. All these various streams of thought forged his ethical mysticism in deviation from the pelagianizing and speculative mysticism of the mediaeval mystics. Upon the strength of the Augustinian spirit in him and those that followed the saint of Hippo, Luther's mysticism was a personal experience of God. God, the Holy Spirit and Jesus Christ meant nothing unless experienced in the life of man. He regarded the church as the body of Christ. In baptism and the Lord's supper Jesus Christ was somehow felt as a real presence.

With St. Augustine self-knowledge and the inner life constitute the basis of all reflection, be it subjective or objective.* An outgrowth of this was his view of later years in which scripture became only a means and dispensable whenever love reached its height.**

* Workman, H. Christian Thought to the Reformation. p. 114: "With St. Augustine self-knowledge becomes one of the roads to the knowledge of God. His psychological observations are remarkable and modern. Throughout his system he makes the inner life the starting-point of reflection upon the outer world."

** Cunningham, J. St. Augustine and his Place in the History of Christian Thought. p. 34: "Both these thoughts were afterwards worked out into Christian mysticism as was also St. Augustine's statement that there was a stage in spiritual experience in which men passed beyond Scripture."
Christ's earthly revelation, were stages beyond which
the believer passed whose heart was possessed wholly
by love."* Another kindred stream of thought led to
the same view as the doctrine of predestination and
the reality of a universal Christian religion inde-
pendent of the traditional church came to occupy the
pivot of his consciousness. He held that there are
men that received the donum perseverantiae, even if
they were neither baptized, circumcised, not pardoned
by the remissio peccatorum. The whole system of the
cultus and of the sacraments became absolutely irre-
velant as a result from the essential sufficiency of
the free and independent divine grace.

Upon this basis the pantheistic
and erratic mysticism arose during the Reformation
period. Among the mystics of this type was Sebastian
Frank, who abandoned the respect for any decision of
the church and set aside the bible as a means to a
better faith. He proclaimed the "inner light", the
personally experienced revelation of God to be above
the bible.**

Due to the Counter Reformation and the
prevailing absolutism in political and ecclesiastical

life, a wave of quietistic mysticism spread over France and Spain.* The soul of this fresh attempt to spiritualize the rank and file of the Roman Catholic Church was again the immortal genius of St. Augustine.

The main object of quietism was not agitation but rather rest. Its maxim was: "And thou shalt find rest for thy soul." It was St. Augustine who sought rest and blessing, when he says: "It is a good thing that I should cling to God." In his endless outbursts after rest and peace in God, Christianity absorbed a quietistic element which substituted feelings for actions.**

St. Teresa de Jesús, (1515-1582) a member of the Carmelite Order revived the mysticism of inaction and of passivity in Spain. She ascribes to the reading of St. Augustine's Confessions the victory over her inner restlessness, and like him she develops a structure of the mystical functions of the soul by means of self-examination.***

* Lehmann, H. Mysticism in Heathendom and Christendom. ch. XI. "The indiscriminate repose of the soul was greatly encouraged by the ruling forces of the age, namely Absolutism and Decadence. The gospel of passivity, the doctrine of perfect indifference fitted admirably into the scheme of the authorities."


*** Lehmann, H. Mysticism in Heathendom and Christendom. ch. XI. "This same self-examination underlies Augustine's Confessions but Teresa develops it further. She separates the functions of the soul."
The soul is the "inner castle" of seven chambers: 1) the chamber of apprehension being the outer world, 2) the chamber of the passions, 3) the chamber of the fear of God, 4) the chamber of rest, 5) the chamber of union, 6) the chamber of rapture, and 7) the secret chamber where unifications with the triune God occur.

*Fénelon, the swan of Cambrai, defended this phase of mysticism in France. (1651-1715.)* Besides stirring to renewed flame the quietistic side of Augustinian theology, he was a close student of Plato and Spinoza, to whom he owed some of his passion for the divine. Some of the general tenets of his Augustinian quietism were: In meditation on the universe there are found innumerable signs of divine life. Unison and fitness are evident in the soul and body. Free will, grace, wisdom of the word is all imprinted in the depth of human nature, where God is revealing Himself. To penetrate one's own self leads to the reality of God. All is given to man without any action on his part. By mere fixation of eyes upon God's love, love of God wells up in man's nature.

*Fénelon, Oeuvres de Fénelon, Paris, 1858.*
Man finds himself by going into his own self. In regard to the doctrine of grace he maintained that grace grew up out of nature by imperceptible gradations. It is like a hidden germ implanted in the soul at its birth, and only distinguishable from reason, when it begins to put forth buds. Conversion too is a silent and gradual affair. It was his personal contention that religion meant the culmination of a ripening progress begun in the natural order.

The Jansenist movement, whose object was the reformation of the Roman Catholic Church on the basis of a renewed Augustinianism, advocated passivity as a means to obtain inspiration and personal experiences of God. Indeed Jansen had made severe complaints against the theologians in regard to the exaggeration of intellectualism, yet in his "Augustinus" is the tendency to find a balance between reason and affection. He believed that both are functioning in the religious life of man, but the schoolmen had overthrown the emotional side of St. Augustine in the interest of Aristotle.

On account of the diligent study of Jansen's book "Augustinus", Blaise Pascal, the greatest French religious genius of the seventeenth century, grew dissatisfied with his scientific discoveries, despaired of his own personal inner life and above
all grew sceptical relative the validity of human reason. Hence his scepticism, which is really nothing else but anti-rationalism, found its nourishment and support in the Augustinian theology of Jansen.

All the French thinkers of the sixteenth and seventeenth century occupied themselves with a first hand study of Augustinian thought. Scepticism spread as a result of the reaction against the prevailing scholasticism.* Montaigne in agreement with St. Augustine bewailed in contemptuous language the inability of human reason to know things. And Descartes applied the method of scepticism to philosophy like all the ecclesiastical thinkers and sceptics did in regard to theology.

Blaise Pascal arrived by his Christian and religious scepticism to the conclusion that feeling or affection was the important epistemological factor in the experience of the divine life. Hence his

mysticism tinged as it is with Augustinianism, scepticism and a scientific temper, centers in the supremacy of feeling, whose truths he claimed to be just as axiomatic as those of mathematics.*

About two hundred years after the Roman Catholic Church succeeded in the annihilation of the Jansenists, there arose in England the Oxford movement which owed its success to the growing dissatisfaction of a rationalism that was imported from the continent. Its first success was due to Pusey's edition of the Augustinian Confessions. The men of those days turned with enthusiasm to St. Augustine's works as their effective life found immediate religious values therein. **

St. Augustine was the first great Western Christian mystic. His works present diverse strains of mysticism, which later found their historical re-expression in the mystics of the Middle Ages and the Reformation. The representatives of the intellectualistic and the voluntaristic as well as the traditional and the heretical types of mysticism appealed to his authority. Wherever men searched for an affective interpretation of the religious values, they turned more often to the writings of the saint of Hippo.

* Bornhausen, K. Pasc. 191, 250-251.
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