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AUGUSTINE'S PHILOSOPHY OF EDUCATION: PART 1

The Formation of Augustine and his Literary Activity

ABSTRACT

Augustine's conversion and transformation, his priestly ministry and episcopate depicts an authentic philosophy of education. There are crucial points in Augustine's program: poverty, common life, asceticism, study and apostolate, inspired by the first Christian community in Jerusalem (A 2:42). It was marked by dignity and moderation by joy, in addition to its ascetic-mystical and apostolic goal, a social purpose. Augustine struggled with the Manicheans for sixteen years of sleepless labor in defense of the catholic faith. He defended the faith and struggled not only with the Manicheans but also with the Donatists, Arians, Pagans and Pelagians. His task was an endless struggle.

The journey of Augustine's soul locates the biblical model of fallen mankind and then experiences *metanoia*, *aggiornamento*, or renewal in the Catholic Church. Conversion (Post conversion) means conforming his mind through interiorization. What is left on his mind is the memory impression, the internal memory image, and the focusing and the strengthening of the will. This gives his mind knowledge, understanding and a memory of love and the mind as remembering, knowing and loving God. Conversion means the restoration of the Image of God in the person. It is interiorizing dogmatic formulas and revelations and experience of the invisible reality of the self as the image of God, i.e., interiority with the mystery of Christ living in us. When man is conformed to the Image of God, the Trinity dwells in the mind of man not as a Creator to creature but as a friend to a friend. The will of man is conformed to the will of God. The grace of God reinvigorated him to have a safety journey and a happy ending. His restless heart finds rest in God.

KEYWORDS: transformation, competence, generous, education, civilization

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INTRODUCTION

The study is part of a bigger research on the Philosophy of Augustine. It exemplifies Augustine's philosophy of education that is focused on his experiential moment of conversion and transformation, his exemplary virtues such as extreme poverty and simplicity, excessive austerity of life, and charity. His priestly ministry was laborious, a very fatiguing physical effort, a constant grief and a dangerous office and yet exemplary. His episcopal consecration was burdensome accountability and therefore, not desirable, but accepted it as manifestation of love for Christ. This love must be humble, disinterested and generous. The study was conducted to 50 Aklan State University Students.

A. The Classical Tradition

To understand Augustine's philosophical education it is vital to understand his background. Augustine was educated in the value of classical civilization of his time: pagan and atheistic humanism. To understand his thoughts, it is essential to grasp the cultural tradition, which he inherited.

1. Early Education

Augustine received the elements of Christian teaching (i.e., devotion to Jesus and the anxious care indispensable for his spiritual well-being) and tradition from his mother who cared that he was marked by the sign of the cross [Conf. 111.1V.3]. He studied catechesis and was among the catechumens. There were three indispensable ideas made a lasting impression on Augustine:

First, the existence of a provident God as some Great Being not evident to senses. Second, the thought of Christ the savior. Finally, the idea of eternal life. As a child, Augustine suffered a debilitating illness. He demanded baptism. It was commended by Monica.

Augustine exhibited early signs of pre-eminent competence. His father sends him to school in his hometown. Like any other child, he studied a traditional education in the customary pattern of his time. Historical study indicates the tremendous indispensability of education to gain a place in society. Werner Jaeger of Harvard University uses the term "paideia" to describe such form of education.

Education is such a natural and universal function of society that many generations accept and transmit it without question or

discussion: thus the first mention of it in literature is relatively late. Its content is roughly the same in every nation - it is both moral and practical...The training of the young... in the sense of the arts and handicrafts... must be distinguished from cultural education, must be distinguished from cultural education, which aims at fulfilling an ideal of man as he ought to be.¹

Thus from childrearing, the educational process and procedures for molding children to the humanistic ideal that characterized Greek culture is known as *paideia*. This intricate education-culture was the social substance, the cherish heritage, the "culture" of their life in society, and dynamism of the ancient paganism and the intellectual vehicle of the persecuting Roman Empire. In Jaeger's conclusive statement:

The full content and meaning of the Greek *paideia* become clear when we read and follow its attempt to realize itself...it is impossible to avoid bringing in modern expressions like civilization, culture, tradition, literature, or education. But none of them really covers what the Greeks meant by *paideia*. Each of them is confined to one aspect of it. We must employ them all together.²

The early Church faced the pagan world of classical antiquity. Marrou in his book *a History of Education in Antiquity* writes:

Education was the heart of Hellenistic civilization...*paideia* was invested with a kind of sacred radiance that gave it a special dignity of genuinely religious kind. In ancient beliefs, it was the one true unshakable value to which the mind of man could cling. Hellenistic culture became for many the equivalent of a religion.³

For the earliest Christians, the intricacy of pagan education and pagan culture embodied therefined social milieu and articulation of a human sinfulness, idolatry and alienation for the one true God.⁴ The Roman system of education, however, was a literary education and a purposive enterprise. It was oriented toward the unfolding of a man who could articulate himself eloquently. Roman education adopted an educational curriculum patterned from the Greeks.

In Rome, as in the Greek speaking countries, there were three successive stages in education, and usually three corresponding kinds of school run by three different specialists. Children went to the primary school when they were seven, on to the Grammaticus when they got to the age of eleven or twelve, and, when they were given the toga of manhood – sometimes as early as at fifteen – to the Rhetor. This last stage usually lasted till they were about twenty, and might go on longer.⁵

The educational goal was the timeless perfection of an ancient classic.

The ideal product of this education was the orator, a man that is who could give pleasure throughout his argument, by his vivacity, by the feelings at his command, by the ease with which words came to him, perfectly adapted to dress his message in style.⁶

Augustine received a traditional education in the customary pattern of his time discussed above.⁷ Augustine's primary education took place in Tagaste; his secondary education, under a Grammaticus, was in Madaura. Augustine found Greek distasteful but made good progress. He ceased studying for a year (369-370) because his impoverished father failed to raise sufficient funds to send him to school for further studies. At 16, aided by their wealthy and benevolent neighbor Romanianus, he studied under a Rhetor in Carthage (the thriving center of education) and learned from the models of Latin prose, poetry, and oratory. In 371, his father died. Romanianus continued to support his studies. Ambition for social success led him to pursue his studies. In his 19th year, he read the Hortensius of Cicero. He mastered the Latin Classics such as Cicero, Virgil, and the encyclopaedic Varro. He also studied the Categories of Aristotle and the dialogues of Plato. He was profoundly interested with the value of wisdom. He gave up Law and preferred teaching classical culture by professing Rhetoric. His career brought him from Tagaste, to Carthage (377), to Rome, and finally to Milan (384) where he served as the public orator for the civil government. From then on, he is a restless seeker after truth [Conf. 111.1V].

2. Intellectual Influence upon Augustine

Many indispensable elements contributed to Augustine's intellectual, moral, spiritual, and psychological growth and development from age 19 until his conversion to Christianity when he was 31 years old. Among these elements in consideration are Manicheism, skepticism, Stoicism, Neoplatonism as well as the influence of important persons in his life such as Ambrose and Simplicianus. This is disclosed by Augustine himself in his *Confessions*. The configuration, however, of intellectual influence upon Augustine is a vast historical and literary problem. This is discernible his framework of the *De Doctrina Christiana*.

a. Manichaeism [373-383]

Augustine's conversion to philosophy marked a dramatic transition in his life. Cicero's *Hortensius* enabled Augustine to acknowledge the shortcomings of solid moral teaching and truth in the education, which he learned. He apprehended such pagan literature as exhibiting a ground for pagan humanism. He was disappointed that Christ was not mentioned in Cicero. This moved Augustine to pursue wisdom in the Christian Scriptures, but their simplicity repelled him. Augustine declined the bible as unworthy and beneath his dignity because of its style [Conf. 111, V, ix].

Questions, contentions, and dilemmas perplexed Augustine. A baffled inquirer of the Scriptures, Augustine was attracted by the Manichean system. There are several factors that persuaded Augustine to join the Manicheans:⁸

First, the promises of liberal philosophy unobstructed by faith. Second, the Manicheans highlighted Scripture difficulties: its oppositions in the Scriptures such as the distinction between the genealogies of Matthew and Luke. Third, high moral pretensions of the sect. Fourth, the Manicheans presented a way of expounding the compulsions of dualistic principles of good and evil, by the assumption of independent evil principle and mysterious phenomena. Finally, the Manicheans promised Augustine a rational application of scientific nature in a materialistic paradigm such as the contradiction of light and darkness.

Manicheans appears to have been a strange medley of dualism and materialism, asceticism and licentiousness, theosophy and

rationalism, free-thought and superstition. Thus, the *Hortensius* led Augustine in a new direction. For nine consecutive years (373-382), Augustine was an ardent Manichean “auditor” [Conf. 1V,i.]. He brought over his friends Alypius, Honoratus, and Romanianus to the same convictions. Augustine’s desire for wisdom was fully enkindled by Cicero.

It was Cicero’s achievement to lift rhetoric above academic pedantry and narrow professionalism to the higher level of a genuine humanism...One will then recognize the pertinence of the main theme of the *De Oratore*.⁹

Augustine, however, was disappointed that the name of Christ was eclipse in Cicero. His intellectual queries directed him to raise a hermeneutic of suspicion about the Manichean system.

The only thing to dim my ardor was the fact that the name of Christ was not there, for this name, Thy Son, my youthful heart had drunk in piously with my mother’s milk and until that time had retained it in its depths; whatever lacked this name could not completely win me, however well expressed, and polished, and true appearing [Conf. 111. 1V, viii].

Augustine finished his studies and taught Grammar at Tagaste. His mother was petrified with the horror of Augustine’s perspectives. Declined by his mother at home, he lived with Romanianus. Through a consoling vision Monica accepted Augustine into her household.

The death of a beloved friend persuaded Augustine to teach Rhetoric at Carthage. In this place, he devoted his attention studying “Liberal Arts”, astronomy, and other subjects, and lived a life of cultivated society and successful literary effort. Vindicianus, a wise old physician, convinced Augustine [Conf. V11, V.1] of the futility of astrology [Conf. 1V,iii]. Augustine became more unsatisfied with the Manichean view of existence. Their misgivings were intensified by disillusion in regard to the morals of the “electi” [De Moribus, 68 sqq.]. His Manichean friends urged him to await the arrival of Faustus, a leading Manichean “electi”. Augustine laid before Faustus some of his doubts. Faustus failed to impress Augustine. Faustus, for Augustine, was a shallow and ignorant of the arts despite being a good orator [Conf. V.iii] and a stranger to scientific studies.

Augustine realized the lack of solid moral teaching and truth in the education he received. Such pagan literature was in contradictory to Christian faith. Portalie disclosed the causes of his disappointment: First, the petrifying emptiness of the Manichean philosophy. Second, their immorality: they were scandalous and hypocrites. Third, their inferiority in polemics with Catholics by falsifying the Scriptures. Fourth, in his exploration, he discovered no science at all among them.

b. Skepticism [383-386]

From 383 to 386 Augustine experienced “skepticism” in three different stages:

First, the stage of academic philosophy and skepticism. Second, the Neo-platonic influence, and finally the stage of anguish and struggle. Disgusted with the students of Carthage, Augustine went to Rome.

In Rome, Augustine still mingled with Manichean adherents such as Alypius and other Manichean friends. The students of Rome disappointed Augustine. In *the Confession V.XI* he describes them as less rude but also less honest. About 384 Augustine was accepted by Symmachus, the Praefectus Urbi, to be a Rhetoric Professor. Augustine was able to travel to Milan. In Milan, he was attracted by the eloquence of Ambrose. At first, Augustine listened as a professional critic. The allegorical method of exegesis, however, by which Ambrose expounded every difficulty struck away the substratum of liberalism upon which Manichean objection were grounded.

Augustine resumed the position he occupied in boyhood of a catechumen in the Catholic Church [Conf. V.xiv]. Monica accompanied by his brother Navigius followed Augustine to Milan [Conf. VI.ix]. His mother was happy for Augustine’s baptism. She encouraged her son in choosing a wife. Augustine dismissed his mistress but took another one. At the age of 30 Augustine had almost wholly shaken off Manichaeism. Despite his interesting work, honorable positions, and delightful social surroundings, Augustine pronounces that in this stage, he was experiencing his lowest moral aspect [Conf. VI.xvii. V111.v]. The distinctions between his actual life and his habitual idealism was still eclipse. He made philosophical life ideal with no matrimonial plans.

c. Neo-Platonic Influences¹⁰

In 386 in Milan Augustine encountered Teodorus who presented him [Conf. V11.ix] some translations of Marius Victorinus, a neo-Platonist author. It was a collection of Plotinus's thought collected by Porphyry: an analysis of the Platonic tradition. Plotinus and Porphyry are the Neoplatonic philosophers whose viewpoints were religious, sharply mystical, with theurgic orientation, and other-worldly. They presented to Augustine an exhortation to interiority: "The soul must detach itself from all outward things and turn completely inward." This platonic theme generated an affirmative, profoundly striking and lasting influence upon Augustine. Before, it was impossible for Augustine to think of a spiritual being. He discovered much Christian truth, but not inward peace: the eternal word, but not Christ the word made flesh. His flagging idealism was braced and liberated him from material thinking and his tormenting suspicion as to the origin of evil [Conf. V11.vii.xiv]. He dreamt of a life entirely consecrated to the quest after truth. But it was only a dream. He remained a prisoner to his passions.

Along with the principle of interiority, Augustine was presented by the Platonist the theme of principle of participation: "All things come from God and are at once a participation in him and an imitation of him." Man, therefore, not only exist but is capable of understanding and loving. God is present as creator, enlightener, and bestower of happiness. Augustine's first impulse on this theme was to abandon materialistic engagement. He ceased teaching and lived for philosophy alone. This was further delayed until his conversion [Conf. IX.ii] because of a serious lung attack. In this stage of anguish and struggle, Augustine started to be illuminated by reading the epistles of St. Paul. He discovered a provision unknown to the Platonists: Christ the savior and all-conquering grace. Jesus Christ was the only way to truth and salvation. Despite of such provision for the disease of sin Augustine remained not reinvigorated. His debilitating illness caused him a heavy load of distress. He asked the help of Simplicianus, the spiritual adviser and successor of Ambrose. Simplicianus informed Augustine the conversion of the aged Victorinus [Conf. V111.ii]. Augustine was interested to follow the attestation of Victorinus' conversion,

but his flesh held him back. He was experiencing drowsiness who sinks back to sleep. Augustine continued his usual life style.

When Augustine was 33 years old, he gave up his position as a chairperson and joined Monica, Adeodatus (his son) and friends at Verecundu. He devoted his life to an author of philosophy integrated with the Christian faith.

a) *Platonic Theories commended for use in dogma*

1. Concept of Philosophy
 - a. The very notion of philosophy as a "love of wisdom".
 - b. The object of philosophy, which is the greatest thing that there is in the world: God and the soul, our origin and nature. The soul is not made up of matter and form. Man is a rational substance made up of soul and body. The body is good in itself and he takes pleasure in describing its beauty. The soul, which is united to the body, is the spiritual soul. The complete nature of man is made up of spirit, soul and body. It is one single reality which thinks (the spirit) and which animates the body and is the principle of all physiological phenomena. The spiritual soul confers not only sensitive and vegetative life on the body, but also it's very corporeal subsistence and being: the body subsists through the soul and exists by the very fact that it is animated. The soul gives form to the body so that the latter is body insofar as it exists. Despite the union of the body and soul there is no commingling. The soul keeps its superiority and constitutes the inner man as the body makes up the outer man. The soul also keeps its proper entity; it never becomes the body, nor does the body ever become spirit. The soul cannot emanate from the divine substance for that would be blasphemy against the immutability, simplicity and holiness of God since all the deterioration of human souls along with the changes they undergo would be imputed to Him. No soul, not even those of Adam and Eve, could spring from the natural evolution of the universe or from the bodily seed or soul of any animal even with divine intervention, for its spirituality would thus be destroyed. Nor is the soul created

- in such a way that a corporeal being or irrational animal was converted into its nature.
- c. The purpose of wisdom, which leads us to true happiness.
 - d. The esteem and enthusiastic love of this wisdom, which is a true treasure of the soul.
 - e. The essential distinction between intellection, a knowledge of the eternal truths, which alone merits the name of wisdom, and discursive knowledge of temporal things, which constitutes science.
 - f. The necessity of curbing the imagination to arrive at true understanding and perception of incorporeal objects (the insight on the ability to conceive a being without a body.)
 - g. The degrees which one rises to the contemplation of the eternal truth.
 - h. The divine characteristics of the eternal and unchangeable truth.
2. Theodicy – First, the notion of God considered by Himself in His infinite attributes, i.e., incomprehensible, ineffable simplicity of one in whom being, knowledge, love and life are all identified. Second, the synthesis of the triple role of God: God is the principle of things through a threefold influence. He is the source of the being of things, as their creator; the source of the truth of things, as intellectual light; and the source of the moral goodness of things through His grace. Augustine’s argument about God’s existence merges into Platonic argument for the reality of the universals as eternal and immutable truths, whether these be of mathematics or of transcendent values of justice and truth. There is a realm of reality, beyond and above the mind of man, which is itself mutable. Plato attributed changelessness to the higher world of Beings.
 3. Nature of the Created World – Knowledge of the good and the evil in beings. The goodness of all beings is good in themselves because of their matter and their origin. They are good in their destiny, since every being praises God. Evil is not a being, but a privation, a limitation. It exists only in something good for which it represents a loss and corruption. Good can exist without evil but evil cannot exist from something good. Evil is useful for the general order of the world. Moral evil has its source in human freedom. For Augustine, the root of evil is in the soul’s instability rather than, with Plotinus, in the body and in matter. The soul’s weakness was for him the immediate, if not necessarily the all-sufficient, cause of sin. He saw the instability of the soul as inherent in the very fact of being created out of nothing and is contingent, liable to be driven off course. Even its immortality it possesses not by its own inherent nature but by the gift and will of the Creator. Creation out of nothing means there is an element of non-being and a tendency to non-existence. He holds a biblical concept of the createdness and dependence of the soul with a Platonic assertion on the soul’s immortality. In “The Immortality of the soul- a work containing passages of Porphyry), Augustine wrote that if even the matter of the body is not annihilated at death, so also the sinful soul retains some trace of the divine image and form. Even the fallen soul remains God’s image capable of knowing God.
 4. Cosmology – The theory of rationes seminales. Plato’s theory of forms (or Ideas), eternal absolutes: whatever in this world we call just or good or beautiful or true, is so in so far as it derives from the respective absolute. The forms are the objective, constant, and universally valid reality. These universals are perceived not by the five bodily senses, but by an austere mathematical process of pure mental abstraction. These universals are highly causative: individual existents cannot be accounted for in isolation, but only as members of a prior class. The universal is more real than any particular instance.
 5. Rational Psychology – the thought about incorporeal beings.
 6. Foundation and formulation of moral philosophy – The theory of happiness in the contemplation of God and

fundamental laws of perfection: the truly wise man is he who imitates God, knows and loves Him. To become like God one must detach himself from all temporal and transient things. Neoplatonic exhortations to suppress the passions and the physical senses took Augustine back to Cicero's warning that sexual indulgence does not make for mental clarity. Porphyry's tract on vegetarianism taught that, "just as priests at temples must abstain from sexual intercourse in order to be ritually pure at the time of offering sacrifice, so also the individual soul needs to be equally pure to attain to the vision of God.

b) Rejected Neoplatonic Theories

1. Ignorance of fundamental dogmas

- a. The incarnation is missing in their philosophy.
- b. They have no knowledge of grace as the source of all virtue.

2. History of creation

- a. Augustine refuted six major errors in their cosmogony
 - a) Their lower gods were types of demiurges, which they ranked between God and creatures, whose function was to produce the souls of the animals.
 - b) The creative principle was only one of the three hypostases of which they composed their triad. For Augustine, creation is the work of three persons.
- c) God produced the world by generation or emanation. For Plotinus, at the summit of the hierarchy of being is the One, God, the unknowable and Absolute, yet apprehended by the soul as a presence transcending all knowing. In the great chain of continuum of being which Plotinus identified as the structure of things, the higher level is cause of whatever is immediately lower. Plotinus alludes to an evolution or development of the hierarchy of being as "emanation," a strongly physical image. In the process of emanation there is gradual loss, for every effect is slightly inferior to its cause. The imperfection inherent in its inferiority can be overcome as it returns towards its cause. And the cause itself is always undiminished by its timeless giving of existence to the inferior effect. For

Plotinus, at the apex of the hierarchy are three divine existences: the One, Mind, and Soul. The One is supremely good, and all lower levels of the hierarchy below the One must be also distinct from the Good or less than perfectly good. Even mind has some inferiority about it, some delusions about its own grandeur. Soul, still further down the scale, has the power to produce matter. Matter, being at the opposite extremity of the hierarchy from the good One, is in cosmic terms utter evil, formless non-being. Porphyry taught that God contains all things but is contained by nothing. The One is present to all that participates in the existence flowing from its source in God. Goodness must be self-diffusive. But all plurality depends upon and seeks return to higher and prior unity. In the hierarchy of being it is axiomatic that it is good to exist, and those degrees of being are also degrees of goodness. Everything, which has being, is good. Porphyry deduced from Plotinus the notion that at the apex of the chain of being their lies, beyond the reach of our senses, a divine Triad of being, life, and intelligence, all reciprocal, defined as a unity within which once can discern distinctions. The structure of things is that of a rhythmic procession out from the ultimate principle of being, from potentiality to actuality, from abstract to concrete, from identity to that otherness which is also a diminution in the level of being. The destiny of eternal souls is to return whence they have come. Souls are inherently immortal. Augustine always defended a true creation.

- d) Creation is necessary. For Augustine, it is an act of the free will of God. Quoting from Plotinus: the order, design, beauty, and even the very mutability and flux of the world and the fact that its existence is not necessary. For Augustine, god is not just someone or something that happens to exist; he is Being itself, and the source of all finite beings. As a good Platonist he finds this assuredly by the reality of the moral principles, justice, wisdom, truth. They stand supreme in the scale of value; yet they are realities no one has seen, touched, tasted, smelt, or heard.

- e) Creation is eternal. They wished the soul to be co-eternal with God. For Augustine, time begins with creation. It is limited and is essentially finite. No creature is coeternal with the Creator. Angels have a successive duration, because one act of theirs follows another. All successive duration is finite: time, because it passes by in changeableness, cannot be coeternal with the eternal unchangeableness. Angels are intermediaries who make the events of this world known to the souls of the dead in the measure, which God permits. Angels can work miracles by their natural powers and can furnish preliminary assistance.
- f) Neoplatonic creation entails a dynamic pantheism. Augustine rejects pantheism forcefully.
3. Psychology – Augustine rejected first, metempsychosis (successive migrations of the same soul into different human bodies or even animals); second, the Platonists attributed all the vices of the soul to the influence of the body. For Augustine, the soul had its own imperfections.
 4. Personal lives – idolatry and polytheism practiced by the Platonists.
- c) Neoplatonic Theories First Adopted, then Rejected
1. Excessive admiration of philosophy and the philosophers. Augustine defended Christian spirituality and not Hellenistic, i.e., the body is a creature of God and sees body and soul as together making up human nature and together providing the condition for full happiness.
 2. Theory of happiness –the knowledge of God gave true happiness, even in this life. For Augustine, happiness is the knowledge and love of God, but only in the future life, and the sole way leading there is Christ.
 3. Platonic demonology – the theory of the demiurges had been the cause of confusions, uncertainties and errors on the role of the angels. Augustine corrects the terminology, which confuses angels and souls. He asks: are they good? Are they lower than man?
 4. Platonic cosmology – the existence of a universal soul, which made the world an immense living being. For Augustine, it lacks proof. It is an opinion rashly stated.
 5. Platonic psychology – first, the origin of ideas: all knowledge is reminiscence. Augustine never admitted a previous life, whose were being punished in the present one. He did recourse to memory but rejected also that error. Second, Augustine rejected question such as “Is there only one soul for all men, or separate one for each?”
 6. Platonic eschatology – first, exaggerated view on the resurrection: hatred that we ought to have for the body to the point where the resurrection became impossible. For Augustine, resurrected bodies would have neither limbs nor flesh nor bones. Second, the evolution of things, which led to a reestablishment of the primeval order. Augustine showed the danger of Origenism in it. Origenism is a theory wherein souls are spirits which have sinned in previous existences and are exiled in the body, likewise overturned the economy of the world to come with its novel ideas on a multiplicity of successive bodies, the nature of future punishments and that eternal punishment is replaced by a final restoration which would bring about the primordial equality in happiness granted to all, angels and devils.

*De Civitate Dei*¹¹

A friend influenced Augustine to carry out his monumental plan. It engendered *The City of God*: a laborious, vast endeavor that is simultaneously a defense of Christianity, a philosophy and theology of history, a political paradigm, and a treatise on spirituality. Augustine wrote it from 413 to 426. Such monumental plan embraces the history of the human race (genesis and palingenesis) is synthesized in the narration *The History of Salvation* of Adam and Christ, and has its accentuations in two loves (love of self and love of God).

The occasion of the writings of “The City of God”¹² was the sack of Rome by Alaric and his Goths in 410. Gaiseric and his vandals sacked it again in 455. The Normans under Guiscard

sacked it also exceeding the ravaged of Goths and Vandals. *De Civitate Dei* was profoundly influenced, in both form and content, by the historical circumstances of its composition. The analysis of Augustine is primarily a psychological one conducted with “a sensitivity to his personal experience and memories.”

Augustine highlighted also education and the role of political leadership. His reassessment of history and belief in the educability of the average citizen coalesce into what is visualized as a progression of “leadership triads.” It is a composite of *conditor, magister, and rex*, in Augustine’s politico-philosophical exegesis. There is a movement from a personal “therapist self-assessment” in “The Confessions” to a civic or political therapist in *De Civitate Dei*. Augustine’s political paradigm is an ally neither to the pessimist nor the triumphalist interpretation. He envisions a species of political positivism fostering obedience and order while suggesting no specific scheme for the structure of the state.

In an idiosyncratic mode, we could exhibit some of the political passages of Augustine: order, peace, domination, justice, and revolution. It is possible for us to follow an assessment of the engagement of the state to political idealism. It is to be noted that there is a transition in Augustine’s belief, precipitated by the Donatists, on the usage of state force to suppress heresy and schism. Also to be noted are the Platonic double standard on the accountabilities of ruler and ruled, and the necessarily evil nature of any political structure scrutinized in the light of perfection.

Augustine’s goal was actually not to make government more humane but to make it less necessary by eschewing a society wherein the people assert their own rights and substituting in its place a society excelling one another in love. Such a political paradigm in one angle is actually apoliticism.

The church is a configuration of the *saeculum* – of the world of men and of time. He exhibited Christianity as viewed within a historical as well as universal framework and subsequently embracing an alternative to Roman political leadership. His commentary on the origins of societies is fundamental. Rome, founded in the violence of Romulus, was maintained by deception. A society dependent on the *libido dominandi* would return to principles that had over time both furnished and

subverted social cohesion and order. Interwoven with this is the inauthentic ideal of the Roman hero as *magister*.

The twenty-two books is a composite of two configurations, the polemical (the first ten books) and one doctrinal (the last twelve books). The vortex of the first configuration is a refutation of paganism, the second centers on an exposition of Christian teaching. The pagan visualizes happiness in the blessings of both body and soul, but in the present life and the present world. Such city desires the glory of dominion restrained by its passion for dominion. Hence, its fad is a contradiction of peace: eternal suffering without possibility of death.

Augustine considered discussing social and political bodies: *civitas, societas, res publica, gens, plebs, and regnum*. He also offered analysis on the meaning of *populus* diverging with the other “social and political” milieu. Augustine delved on an exploration of a patristic aspect of community. Augustine’s rhetorical usage of rudeness and sarcasm is viewed in his severe condemnation of Rome. For Augustine, the Romans had been so unjust that they no longer deserve to be called a people. Citing Cicero as his authority, Augustine turns to the Roman’s definition of justice and charged them with injustice. For the Romans, justice is the virtue which distributes to each his own. Augustine asks: What is the justice of man which takes man himself away from the true god and subjects him to unclean evils? Is this to distribute to each his own? Augustinian *virtus* have a divine origin and purpose. Miraculous power was functioning in it.

The pagan perspective is a delusion, for happiness is not located through the goods of the body, which are uncertain, transient, frequently assaulted by suffering, and lastly removed by death. The Christian perspective depicts it in the world to come, i.e., eternal life through faith, hope and grace filled love. Such city will gain peace even amid murderous fratricide compulsions. For Augustine, peace is a composite of order and security. Peace is “orderly agreement- *ordinata concordia*”. Books 1-V depict the social impotence of paganism, i.e., the incompetence of the cult of the gods to gain earthly abundance. This is a challenge in reply to Marcellinus.

In Book V, against the Donatist, Augustine establishes a philosophy of Christian kingship wherein the state is the morally neutral agency of coercive power which holds the earthly city together while its inhabitants make the ultimate personal choice of God or self. The actual existence within the *civitas terrena* of two distinct cities depicts the inability of the earthly city to accomplish its task of mediation. Augustine was a political realist who drew a careful distinction between secular and papal authority. Plato's claim that the inner rectitude of the soul is its own reward and may be judged by the happiness or unhappiness of its possessor, acquires an eschatological accentuations in Augustine upon ultimate spiritual polarities – the felicity of eternal life as in contradiction to the misery of damnation.

Books VI-X presents the spiritual impotence of paganism, i.e., the incompetence of pagan worship to gain eternal happiness. The second configuration of the book is a description on the genesis, history, and destiny of the two cities: the city of God and the city of this world.

Augustine narrates: two loves thus established two cities: love of self unto contempt of God constructed the earthly city, and love of God unto contempt of self constructed the heavenly city [DCD XI.V.28]. *De Civitate Dei* pivots upon the symbolic and metaphorical usage of this notion of two cities. He employs the symbolic function of Scripture to explicate this text. Augustine depicts the diverging contentions of these two contrary loves:

The one city glories in itself, the other in God. The one is restrained by the lust for power; the other inspires human beings to mutual service, leaders by commanding, and subjects by obeying. The one, in its lords, loves its own strength; the other says to its God: "I will love you, Lord, who are my strength." Two loves – one loving toward the neighbor exercises solidarity; the other centered on self.

De Gen. Ad Litt. XI, 15,20

In this book, Augustine repudiates the coeternity of creation and God, the contradiction between soul and body, the preexistence of souls, the paradigm of reminiscence, and metempsychosis. He declines the impossibility of the Incarnation and resurrection and any autonomous account of human beings to God, i.e., the negation of grace.

Augustine's fulcrum of argumentation is on the vital problem of mediation. The resolution of pagan wisdom was grounded on magic or theurgy. Augustine especially directed this argumentation on the contention of the Platonists particularly the book written by Apuleius (the God of Socrates) and Porphyry (The Return of the soul). For Augustine, theurgy is absurd. God is inaccessible, and human beings cannot reach him without a mediator; but no demons not even the good demons that Christians call angels can offer this mediation.

The basic principle introduced by Augustine, or a solution to problems, is Christ the mediator. Christ alone is that universal way to salvation, which Porphyry contended could not be located. Augustine envisioned Christ as the center of human history [DCD X.32.2].

Human beings sinned, as did the rebellious angels. As a consequence, evil entered the world. Evil generated division. The two cities establish their picture in the history of Cain and Abel. Such prototype depicts: the one a wicked fratricide (city of the wicked), the other an innocent victim (city of the just). From then on, the moment of the journey of the two cities are unified as they share a common sphere, but divided in ideals, actions, and visions in life. Hence, the distinction rests on the usage they establish of these blessings and evils [DCD 1.8.2], basic direction and in ultimate end.

The aim of Augustine in writing *The City of God* is to analyze the truths uttered by the philosophers, refute their errors, and establish a doctrinal system congruous with the faith.

The central contentions discussed are the natures and ends of Augustine's two cities: their correlation to church and state, and the critical concepts of representation and identification pertaining to those relationships. The study proposes that Augustine "never contended his *City of God* as anything but the mystical union of the good people of all nations.

It proposes that all of Augustine's social and political views are connected to his paradigm of predestination. Augustine's political pessimism is traced back to pagan antiquity.

The City of God of Augustine is comparable with that of Thomas Aquinas. Thomas Aquinas often speaks of a *communicatio divina* and of *the regnum Dei*. But he does not develop a historical paradigm, nor does he propose that divine providence is manifested in

the temporal world. Unlike Augustine, in Thomas Aquinas's view, "history is a mere chronicle of events."

In *The City of God* the representation of historical events in the "corpus Christi" plays secondary to the elucidation of moral and spiritual choices. The idea of the two cities furnishes a polarized theological construct for dramatizing the choice human beings have in this life between divine harmony and earthly discord. Following Augustine, there is the "corpus Christi" play an implicit recognition of degrees of goodness in the individual's progress from being a sojourner in the "civitas terrena" to being a citizen of the *Civitate Dei*.

The idea of a sacred city was not an innovation of Augustine. Fundamental to the sacred city is the notion that it constitutes a well-ordered cosmos within its bounds while all without is chaos. Rome extended this concept beyond the city walls to the far reaches of its jurisdiction. Alarick's sack of Rome in 410 violated the holy space of city and not only prompted Augustine to write the *Civitate Dei* but afforded him the perfect metaphor as well.

Augustine linked the image of a sacred physical city with the Church and social love. Social love is a common good, while private love is a love of the particular good to the exclusion of others. Human beings have an "unquenchable desire for goods." It is their self-seeking nature, the self-seeking that Augustine calls *cupiditas*, which inspires people to form political communities. The state is needed because coercion is needed. Those who are predestined to be saved stay in the midst of this city of the devil, as foreigners, *peregrini*, *viatori*, until they are called to their true home.

Augustine also discussed the sphere of history to teleology. In his paradigm of a just war, the use of force in matters of faith and his perspective on the engagement between providence and history. Aristotle established teleology or purpose not only in volitional acts of man but also in nature. For Augustine, there is a design, a purpose, and a divine plan, in the course of human affairs.

Confessions¹³

The threshold of Augustine writing *The Confessions* was on the 10th anniversary of his mother's death. Augustine's *Confessions* were not the text, not works of the flesh, but that they were silent, words of the soul and the clamor of

thought heard by the ear of God. It depicts the history of his heart.

"Confession" here does not mean an admission of guilt or a narration. It is used in the biblical sense of the word *confiteri*, the praise of a soul, which acknowledges and admires the divine activity in contrast with its own wretchedness. The text of the "Confessions" is cast as a prayerful address to God. Augustine recounted his life and thought not to God but before God to his fellow human beings. He considered his life: thirty years before his conversion, "the hell of error."

The aim of Augustine writing the sense of his conversion for sacramental, evangelistic, and polemical objectives. As a sacrifice of praise, "The confessions" was intended to call forth other sacrifices. Augustine wished to stir up all who adored God to bless God and God's name on hearing his "confessions." Some configuration of his evangelistic purpose was served by scriptural exegesis, a confession of what he discovered in God's books concerning the wonders that God performed.

Despite all these objectives "the confessions" remained, in its author's frame of reference, a gift; the fruit of any gift was "the good and upright will of the giver." It is Augustine as he is serving his brethren according to God's command not only with words but also with deeds.

"The confessions" was composed in the midst of a series of debates, conferences, and daily skirmishes among religious factions. The serenely retrospective character of "the confessions" is a conscious dramatic foil to the polemical context in which it was written and in which contemporary readers were intended to place it. Augustine regarded "the confessions" as a keystone of his polemical effort.

Augustine's compulsion with the Donatists brought him to frame a comprehensive justification of persecution. While he was writing "the confessions", his efforts were directed toward reconciliation. Augustine's purpose was not to record a history of his conversion, and the establishment of his credentials entailed the suppression of evidence.

Augustine composed "the confessions" to vindicate his spiritual title not as a personal disclosure so much as evangelistic refutation of his enemies. That shaping is evident in the

dominant themes of conversion, suffering, and eroticism, and in the unusual genre of the book.

The most patent refutation is the theme of conversion. A 2nd major theme in “the confessions”, addressed the insistence of the Donatists that persecution by the unbelieving world ratified their holiness and, indeed, that they could foster their own salvation by goading their enemies to slaughter them. Later, in his dispute with Pelagius, Augustine greatly hardened his insistence that salvation came through grace, not works.

Augustine exhibited many varieties of suffering to his readers, from the beatings of children by their teachers, of slaves by their masters, and of wives by their husbands to mockery, to the inward agonies of self-hatred and loathing, to physical sickness, to the glorious death of martyrs.

One response to the Donatist morality of suffering was to establish that not all pain sanctified, just as not every violent death was martyrdom. In fact, the appearance of suffering could be an illusion, conjured up by tricks of drama and rhetoric.

A second response concerned the suffering that comprised so notable on the part of Augustine’s engagement with God. The Donatist taught that believers could ratify their own salvation by deliberately gaining martyrdom. Augustine presented suffering as an act of grace, bestowed by God, and a seal of man’s dependence for salvation on divine grace, rather than on his own powers. God was Augustine’s laughing torturer: a ravenous, consuming fire. He smote and wounded Augustine. God was both torturer and physician. He struck to heal; he killed men that they might not die.

The greatest of all themes for Augustine in “the confessions” – more inclusive than conversion or suffering was eroticism. In “the confessions” his development of that theme, like those of conversion and suffering, was shaped by a concurrent polemical program. Augustine’s thought about eroticism was directed chiefly towards the Manichean doctrine of celibacy. Behind that doctrine stood the same materialistic dualism that so long prevented him for construing anthropomorphic passages in Scripture as figurative allusions to God as a purely spiritual being and the possibility that Jesus could truly be God Incarnate, and not merely an impossible phantom.

Augustine’s realization that there was a spiritual order of being enabled him to grasp that man was made in the image and likeness of God, not in any material sense but in the faculties and dispositions of the soul and particularly, in the dominant affective sphere, love. According to “the Confessions”, Augustine confused eroticism with sensuality until his conversion. His ornate portrayals of adolescent lust betray a further confusion of eroticism with sexuality.

On Augustine pedagogy of conversion, he sees Christ’s death as an allusion in the model of courage. Christ’s humility nullifies human pride. His undeserved death on the Cross was for the remission of the physical punishment of Adam’s sin. In his later treatise, he affirms Christ’s life, death and resurrection as the effective means to overcome habitual sins such as the psychological root of pride. Year 392, he used language of sacrifice and redemption in his homily seeing sin as purely volitional, the cross as the model of courage and humility and Christ’s death as a sacrifice for sin. He called the Lord Redeemer because he bought back all souls. Two prices were paid. “Pleasure and guilty death, on the one hand, suffering and innocent death, on the other hand.” Christ’s Cross was the payment of the human debt to God. Year 396, Augustine presents the Cross as the source of the movement of operative grace. In the Confessions, there are four references to the death of Christ. First, (Confessions 4.12.19) Human person’s/Augustine’s too much materialistic desire as a means of happiness in the land of death. Second, Augustine’s sickness in Rome. Augustine thought that his sins were not forgiven even though Christ died on the Cross (Confessions 5.9.2). Later, this made Augustine think that bodily suffering and death were essential to blot out his sins. Third, Augustine’s idea of redemption is strong. Finally, Augustine needs an Intercessor to reconcile him to God (Confessions 9.13.35). Augustine believes that Jesus paid the price of redemption with his blood (Confessions XX1.iii.68).

***De Doctrina Christiana*¹⁴**

Augustine wrote *De Doctrina Christiana* for three possible reasons:¹⁵

1. Charles Kannengiesser argued that Augustine needed to establish himself as a reputable expositor of Scripture.

Hence, *De Doctrina Christiana* is Augustine's personal and long-term commitment to the reading of Scripture.

2. Augustine's professional background as a teacher of rhetoric. His own rhetorical culture needed to be transferred from private and secular to a new Episcopal status: public and ecclesiastical.
3. The local milieu in Hippo and its ecclesiastical surroundings in the provinces of Numidia and Africa Proconsularis.

*De Doctrina Christiana*¹⁶ is not a hermeneutical or rhetorical handbook. It does not consist the viewpoint of a "culture chretienne" of the blueprint for a universal Christian "paideia." Augustine proposed to offer some guidelines on the treatment of the Scriptures [DDC Prologue 1]. This methodical treatment (*tractacio*) is exhibited in two spheres: one first explores and discovers (*invenire*) what must be understood by the text; and exhibits appropriately (*profere*) what has been understood [DDC 1.1]. Augustine accentuates here the rhetorical *partes* (*inventio*, *dispositio*, *elocutio*, *memoria*, *pronuntiatio* or *action*).

In Book 1 of *De Doctrina Christiana*, Augustine reinterpret Neoplatonic and Porphyrian thought in terms acceptable to Christians:¹⁷

1. The *uti-frui* distinction [DDC 1.3.3-4.4]. The threshold of Augustine's argumentation is on the distinction among things (*res*), in those things, which are to be enjoyed (*quibus fruendum est*), those, which are to be used (*quibus utendum*), and those that are to be both used and enjoyed (*quae fruuntur et utuntur*). Here Augustine adopts and adapts a Porphyrian matrix.
2. God as triune [DDC 1.5.5]. The purpose of human life, that which is to be enjoyed, is the triune God. Apparently, this is a correction to both Plotinus and Porphyry since they taught union with the One.
3. The ineffability of God [DDC 1.6.6]. The attempt to reach God by a direct *intuitus*, while realizing his complete ineffability, is a standard Neoplatonic thought assimilated by Augustine from Porphyry.
4. The indispensability of purification for the human mind to see God [DDC

1.10.10]. Augustine employs Porphyrian theme of purification of the soul to see God. The purification of the mind, the ultimate union with the light, the image of a land and sea voyage to the father land, and invocation of omnipresence is obviously a Porphyrian background. For Augustine, purification occurs in an un-Porphyrian way: God becoming man. Human beings are like pilgrims and travelers whose purpose in life is to return from exile on earth to our fatherland in heaven.

5. The purification of souls through the incarnation [DDC 1.11.11-21]. For Porphyry, the incarnation, God becoming man, was impossible since any fall into the material world involves a degeneration in being. For Augustine, the incarnation is the way of purification for humankind.
6. Christ's role as the way to salvation [DDC 1.34.38]. Augustine adjunct the theme of the universal way of salvation with Porphyry's *De regressu animae*.

For Augustine, to grasp the bible to heart, it is essential to understand the *res* – i.e., know what the text is about on the one pole and be aware of the problems that may emerge from the fact that the *res* are communicated by *verba* (as Augustine would put it: through *signa*), i.e., by means of language and in written form. *Res* and *verba* are the objects of *inventio* and *elocutio*. The object of *inventio* is the construal of Holy Scripture, the terms *res* and *verba* acquire a different meaning. The *res* are primarily what the biblical authors were concerned to communicate. *Elocutio* is necessary to apprehend the implications of how the biblical authors harnessed the potential of language. Augustine here exhibits a critical technique typical for both Christian and pagan textual analysis in the imperial period.¹⁸

The main problem is that the Bible represents offers expression to its message by means of *verba*, or *signa*. Augustine deals with words in their "true" sense (as *propria signa*). A text resists comprehension because it is a composite of unknown signs (*ignota signa*, i.e., those concerning specialist knowledge) and or it is riddled with ambiguous signs (*ambigua signa*). Both signs emerge in a literal or in a metaphorical aspect (as *propria* or *translata*).

Augustine focused his discussion on *ignota signa* in book two and *ambigua signa* in book three. In both book two and three he was concerned with *propria signa* first and *translata signa* second.¹⁹

Augustine distinguishes and categorizes fields of knowledge. The objects of knowledge depend on conventions or they are simply “given.” Conventions may be agreed upon between men and demons (the “sciences” devoted to these “superstitious conventions” are magic, astrology, and all forms of divination [DDC2:30-37]. Je pense que, pour Augustin, humaines sciences a exerce une influence sur l’organisation des etudes grammaticales et meme les expressions sur l’utilite de la grammaire en science sacree. Augustine teaches that superstitious beliefs must be discarded. Ad hoc genus pertinent omnes etiam ligaturae. Augustine exhorts the Christians not to entertain magic, divination, astrology, etc. Pour Augustin, c’est necessaire rejeter le commerce avec les demons.

More than half of *De Doctrina Christiana* book 4 is a response to Cicero’s pairing of the officia and genera. Cicero wrote his “Orator” on his best oratorical style. Augustine deduced his thoughts on the best *modus proferendi* in Christian homilies, on his wealth of practical experience in church. Adolf Primmer²⁰ offered his affirmative evaluation of *De Doctrina Christiana 4*:

1. The accentuation on the pastoral plane. Augustine usually developed his perspective and begins on the level of his audience.
2. Augustine exhibited sense and feeling for the functioning and the theory of language. Cicero focused on the three duties of *docere*, *delectare*, and *flectere*. Augustine used this as an opportunity to harness the insufficient traditional linguistic paradigm of *res* and *signa*. He focuses on the duties of instructing, pleasing, and moving differentiating illocutionary acts in modern linguistics.
3. Artistic and aesthetic contention. Both Cicero and Augustine are stylists with intensifying competence and predilection for creating sound effects and sentence parallelisms in the tradition of Isocratic. Augustine is familiar with Cicero’s defense of his style, i.e., comprehended the structure of

the Orator as a closing argument, counsel’s final oration on behalf of the defendant, and this knowledge moved him to exploit this structure as a counterpart to his own treatise, thus Augustine distance himself from Cicero and his personal solution to the problem of the Isocrateic pleasing style.

Augustine concluded the *De Doctrina Christiana* with the mixing of styles but only in a subordinate function, in the service of *docere* and *flectere*. In his practice as a preacher, Augustine subordinated elegance of style to pastoral responsibility. This service in humility is not a slavish one. He infers that the preacher may mix the duties or official as he sees fit, irrespective of separate styles. Christian humility, oratorical gift and psychological versatility are prerequisites to fulfill the preacher’s duty to respond simultaneously to all the needs of his flock.²¹

*De Trinitate*²²

After the completion of “The confessions”, Augustine began writing “The Trinity.” Augustine expounds it by analyzing the manifestations of the Trinity in the economy of salvation (Scripture analysis: books 1-IV). He defends it against the Arians by focusing on the doctrine of the relations (books V-VII). He improves the formulation with the aid of the doctrine of terminology (books V-VII). He depicted the great mystery through a study of the human person, which, being created in the image of God is itself a mysterious trinity (books IX-XV). The vast theological writing is profoundly original.

The trinity is not written in a literary form. It is a detailed philosophical and theological study that is not purely theoretical, but experimental, affective and beatifying. The work is a treatise on the mission of the Son, or soteriology. It consist an amplified exposition of the action of the Holy Spirit and a vast knowledge of God and the nature of wisdom.

The second book is an inquiry into the problem of theophanies and the question of the visibility or invisibility of the Son and Spirit. Book two analyzes three questions: which persons were manifested to the patriarchs before the incarnation of the Word and the pouring out of the Spirit; whether the manifestations were newly created or were angels sent for this purpose; and whether the Son and spirit were sent prior to the incarnation and if so, how this

sending differs from that which took place later [11,7,13; 111,1,4].

In the third book, Augustine develops the parable of a righteous man whose soul is a “throne of divine Wisdom,” a man all of whose actions are done in obedience to the divine law to which he listens in his heart. All that he does will have no other cause than the divine will. Their ultimate causes will be his obedience to the divine wisdom leading him to exhaust himself in love. Augustine then extends this to a household, then to a state, and finally to the celestial city [the inner court from which the entire cosmos is administered, descending through the various levels of soul and of matter].

The treatise on soteriology is located in book IV and in book V111. The vortex of the discussion is the treatise on love. The mission of the Son was to lead believers to contemplation of the Father. Our loving God expects us to respond with love. The task of the Holy Spirit is to put this love in our hearts. In this level, Augustine studied the necessary relation between the procession of the Spirit within the Trinity and the mission of the Spirit in the history of salvation. He asks: in what way the Son and the Spirit can be sent. First, they are sent by the Father not because they are inferior to the Father but because their being is derived from the Father; the missions of the persons are a proper reflection of the intra-Trinitarian relations. The Word’s is sent in order to become flesh. For Augustine the incarnation of the Word was needed only because of sin. The mission is always the sending of a person of the Trinity to intelligent beings to have influence, through their minds and lead them into God’s own life. The mission of the Holy Spirit is a temporary manifestation in a dove or the tongues of fire [IV,20, 31-32].

The above notion engendered the treatise on pneumatology and supernatural anthropology: The Holy Spirit is given to us because he is Gift; he pours love into our hearts because he is Love; he sanctifies us because he is the Holy One; he establishes the communion of the faithful of the Church because he is Communion: he is the gift, the Love, the Holiness, and the communion of the Father and the Son.

Augustine argues on one divine nature without dividing it. Subordinationism is declined. Whatever is affirmed of God is affirmed equally of each of the Persons [book 5,

ch. 9]. “Not only is the Father not greater than the Son in respect of divinity, but the Father and the Son together are not greater than the Holy Spirit, and no single person of the Three is less than the Trinity itself.”[8,1]. Whatever the Father, the Son, or the Holy spirit are, they are in relation to one or both of the others [books 5-7]. Threeness in God is not rooted in threeness of substance or threeness of accidents but in threeness of relations: of begetting, of being begotten, and of proceeding.

Augustine focused his attention to the nature of our justification: the notion of salvation. The fulcrum of discussion is centered on the human person as created in the image of God and on the effects of sin and the gifts of the Holy Spirit have on the image.

Augustine then delved on interior renewal covering the entire sphere of philosophy, theology and mysticism. It means the presence of God in us, and knowledge, and love, love being manifested in and nourished by devotion. For Augustine, charity is the fundamental end of contemplative life.

Augustine highlights the unifying function of the spirit in the Trinity as expressive of love’s centrality in Christian life. He identified the Holy Spirit explicitly with love.

The Holy Spirit also subsists in this same unity and equality of substance. For whether he is the unity between both of them, or their holiness, or their love, or whether the unity because he is the holiness, it is obvious that he is not one of the two. Through him both are joined together; through him the begotten is loved by the begetter, and in turn loves him who begot him; in Him they preserve the unity of spirit through the bond peace {Eph 4:3} not by participation but by their own essence, not by the gift of anyone superior to themselves but by their own gift. And we are commanded by grace to imitate this unity, both in our relations with God as well as among ourselves.

De Trinitate 6.5.7

Book V111 exhibits its mystical character describes the ways of affective knowledge of God. It demands theoretical knowledge. The ways are those of truth, goodness, justice, and love, all of which in God are supreme and subsistent realities. Faith, hope and love are not our only

access to God. The experience of love can be an experience of the whole Trinity [V111, 8,12].

Augustine's original contribution to Trinitarian theology¹⁴ is his usage of analogies drawn from human consciousness to explicate the inner life of God. In every process of perception, there are three distinct elements: the external object, the mind's sensible representation of the object, and the act of focusing the mind. When the external object is removed, we rise to an even higher Trinitarian level, superior to the first because the process occurs entirely now within the mind and is therefore "of one and the same substance," namely, the memory impression, the internal memory image, and the focusing of the will.

Augustine amplified the above analogy extensively in three successive stages: first, the mind, its knowledge of itself, and its love of itself [9, 2-8]; second, memory, or the mind's latent knowledge of itself, understanding and love of itself [10, 17-19]; and the mind as remembering, knowing, and loving God [14, 11ff.]. It is only when the mind has focused itself on its Creator with all its powers of remembering, understanding, and loving that the image it bears of God can be fully restored. "Since these three, the memory, the understanding, and the will, are therefore, not three lives but one life, not three minds but one mind, it follows that they are certainly not three substances, but one substance" [10,11].

Human beings were made in the image of the Trinity [14,19.25]. The Trinity of the Human Mind is God's image and likeness not because the mind remembers, understands, and loves itself, but because it remembers, understands, and loves its maker [14.12.15]. Adam was created in this image and likeness. Every child of Adam is *capax Dei*. Faith, hope, and charity will restore the likeness, gradually bringing purity of heart and peace. Only the pure heart will see God and only the peacemakers will participate in his wisdom. One proceeds from faith to love, from seeing the image of God the Trinity in the mind to seeing God in his image, the human being. Likeness to God enables one to see him, but in a glass darkly, not face to face.

This creation in the image of the Trinity is a call to divine intimacy and community. Augustine's usage of the term "reditus" indicates Godlikeness or graced perfection, which the soul yearns to return. The Trinity reforms persons

not only to intimacy with the three divine persons but to Christian community as well, a community only to be achieved by faith and charity. The movement of return is initiated by God, who in receiving all in love from the Father returns all in love. Love is the special name of the Spirit, but since God is love and God is Trinity, the Father is love as is the Son. As love, the Father is the principle of creation and providence; as love, the Word is the principle of conversion and illumination; and the spirit as the principle of love is the principle of return to the Father. Loving intimacy with the Trinity is true contemplative wisdom, and wisdom is the true and only image of God, a dynamic process of involvement in God, society and the world through love. In intimacy with the divine persons the soul attains likeness to wisdom and shares in divine creative and providential action, illuminating and loving action.

The Trinity is present to actualize by their own communion the friendship of persons with God and with one another. The mystery of the Fatherhood is the mystery of self-giving, the ecstasy, the kenosis. He surrenders himself completely as Father of the Son and breathes forth the spirit, love substantialized. All things are known in his Word and created in his love, the Holy Spirit. To creatures the Son reveals the Father, and in the hearts of the faithful the spirit plants a spirit of adopted children so that they may know and cry out to their Father in heaven. The son glorifies the Father; the Spirit glorifies the Son (Jn 16:14).

The operations of human consciousness are by no means identical with the inner operations of the Trinity. Remembering, understanding, and loving are three separate faculties of the human mind. In God there are no distinct faculties. God is absolutely one. In the human mind these three faculties operate independently. In God every act and operation is indivisible [15, 43].

NOTES

¹See Werner Jaeger in his *Paideia: the Ideals of Greek Culture 1-111* (NY: 1939, 1944) translated from the 2nd German edition by Gilbert Highet.

²Ibid.

³Henri Irenee Marrou, *A History of Education in Antiquity* (NY: Sheed and Ward, 1956), 97 and 101.

⁴The disengagement of faith and reason, of theology and philosophy was not a paradigm of the ancient world. Ancient philosophy followed *episteme*, logically demonstrated knowledge about God and the world of sense experience, as contradictory to *doxa*, commonly accepted opinion and popular belief. In ancient philosophy, the knowledge of the god was the most indispensable exploration. Hence, pagan rationalism was an attractive alternative to Christianity.

⁵Marrou, *History of Education*, 265.

⁶Peter Brown, *Augustine of Hippo* (LA: University of California Press, 1969), 36f.

⁷Christians were not in contradiction to human learning. The literary and oral culture of the Scriptures required competence in reading and speaking in the Roman schools. Christians acknowledge the value of classical culture and uses its terms, categories, and insights to further construal of their faith. Augustine offered a theoretical foundation of a new culture and educational pattern by considering secular learning into the service of biblical exegesis and teaching. For Augustine, Christians cannot advance in apprehending without the *paideia*. Without the apparatus of human learning, and the achievements of the human culture enshrined in the Roman Educational System, it is impossible to grasp the Scriptures. What Christians contradicted was the classical culture fostering pagan education or atheistic humanism.

⁸Eugene Portalie, *A Guide to the Thought of Saint Augustine*. With an Introduction by Vernon Bourke. Trans. By Ralph Bastian (Chicago, H. Regnery, 1960), 8-9.

⁹M. Clark, *Rhetoric at Rome* (London: Cohen and West, 1953), 60-61.

¹⁰Eugene Portalie, *A Guide to the Thought of Saint Augustine*. pp. 95-104, 136-151. Agostino Trape, *Saint Augustine: man, pastor, mystic* (New York: Catholic Book Publishing, 1986), 92-97. Henry Chadwick, "The Formation of Augustine's mind: Cicero, Mani, Plato, Christ" in *Augustine* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), 1-29.

¹¹See St. Augustine's *De Civitate Dei*. Eugene Portalie, *A Guide to the Thought of Saint Augustine*. With an Introduction by Vernon Bourke. Trans. By Ralph Bastian (Chicago, H. Regnery, 1960). Agostino Trape, *Saint Augustine: man, pastor, mystic* (New York: Catholic Book Publishing, 1986). Henry Chadwick,

Augustine (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986). See also *A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church*.

¹²-----, "The Confessions" in *A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church* Ed. Schaff (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1956). St. Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*, Trans. By John Healy. Ed. By R.V.G. Tasker. Introduction by Sir Ernest Barker (London: J.M. Dent, 1947), x-xxxviii.

¹³St. Augustine, *Confessions*, Trans. R.S. Pine-Coffin (NY: Penguin Books, 1988).

¹⁴See St. Augustine's *De Doctrina Christiana*. St. Augustine, *On Christian Doctrine*, trans. D. W. Robertson, Jr. (New York, 1958).

¹⁵Charles Kannengiesser, "The Interrupted De Doctrina Christiana" in Arnold and Bright (eds.) *De Doctrina Christiana. A classic of Western Culture (Christianity and Judaism in Antiquity, 9)* Notre Dame, In: University of Notre Dame Press, 1995, 3-6.

¹⁶Christoph Schaublin, "De Doctrina Christiana: A Classic of Western Culture?" in Arnold and Bright (eds.) *De Doctrina Christiana. A classic of Western Culture (Christianity and Judaism in Antiquity, 9)*, 47-48. Henri Irenee Marrou, *Saint Augustine et la fin de la culture antique*, 4th ed. (Paris, 1958), 33ff. See also E. Kevane, "Paideia and Antipaideia: The Proemium of St. Augustine's De Doctrina Christiana," *Augustinian Studies* 1 (1970): 153-180.

¹⁷Frederick Van Fleteren, "Augustine, Neoplatonism, and the Liberal Arts" in Arnold and Bright (eds.) *De Doctrina Christiana. A classic of Western Culture (Christianity and Judaism in Antiquity, 9)*, 20-23.

¹⁸Christoph Schaublin, "De Doctrina Christiana: A Classic of Western Culture?" in Arnold and Bright (eds.) *De Doctrina Christiana. A classic of Western Culture (Christianity and Judaism in Antiquity, 9)*, 48ff.

¹⁹Ibid., 50ff.

²⁰Isabel Bochet, *Comprendre et interpreter: le paradigme Hermeneutique de la raison*. (Paris: Beauchesne, 1993). Idem. *Inspiration Scripturaire et Comprehension de Soi*.

²¹Adolf Primmer, "The function of the Genera Dicendi in De Doctrina Christiana 4," in Arnold and Bright (eds.) *De Doctrina Christiana*.

A classic of Western Culture (Christianity and Judaism in Antiquity, 9), 68-86.

²²Ibid.

²³See St. Augustine's *De Trinitate*. Eugene Portalie, *A Guide to the Thought of Saint Augustine*, 129-151. Agostino Trape, *Saint Augustine: man, pastor, mystic*. Henry Chadwick, *Augustine* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), 280-295. See also **A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church.**

²⁴Richard P. McBrien, *Catholicism* (San Francisco, Harper, 1994).