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St. Augustine's Theology of Grace

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ST. AUGUSTINE'S THEOLOGY OF GRACE

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THEOLOGY OF GRACE

A Thesis presented to

The Faculty of Concordia Lutheran Seminary, St. Louis, Mo.

Department of Systematic Theology

This Thesis

is

In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree of

Master of Sacred Theology

My Father

The Rev. J.B.H. Van Lierop, Sr.

by

John H. Van Lierop, A.B., B.D.

Who were than any other person taught me both by example and instruction to love my Saviour.

November 1, 1947

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Introduction

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Introduction

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Bibliography

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Any study of Augustine's Theology of redeeming grace would be
incomplete without a study of his life and the occasion of the
great controversies in which he was involved. His theology and
life must not be divorced, for his spiritual experiences in life
were the touch-stone of his theology. Dr. Baur, in his "Posthumous
Vorlesungen über die Dogmen Geschichte", makes this remark:

"With Augustine himself everything lies in the individuality
of his nature, as it was shaped by the course of his life
and by his experiences and circumstances."

Introduction

Dr. Philip Schaff wrote: "Augustine is the brightest star in the constellation of the Church Father, and diffuses his light through the darkest periods of the middle ages, and among Catholics and Protestants alike even to this day."

The above quotation of Protestant Dr. Schaff was found in the Catholic Encyclopedia. In all my research work I found this typical of Catholic scholarship on Augustine the last century. This is especially true of the theology of Grace. The best and most thorough analysis of his concept of grace during the past century is found among Protestant Theologians and historians.

The two outstanding authors among all the many books I have studied, to whom I owe much credit for any of the good qualities in this thesis, are Dr. Philip Schaff and Dr. Benjamin Warfield.

I have not found any book that treats only of Augustine's Theology of Grace, together with the historical background of it. This neglected emphasis I have tried to fill in my thesis.

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"With Augustine himself everything lies in the individuality of his nature, as it was shaped by the course of his life and by his experiences and circumstances."

As a result of my study it is my conviction that Grace is the heart of the Gospel - and that with all the talk about Ecumenical Christianity today, I believe it will be hopeless to strive for one great "World Church" unless there is first an agreement and unity about the Theology of Grace, which is the foundation-stone of all Theology.

St. Paul writes emphatically of the grace which he has himself received from a yet higher source. Chosen for this purpose before the beginning of time, as he believes, he has been delivered from a hopeless state of bondage to the law, and from the spiritual blindness in which he has persecuted the Church, and having been lawfully justified, he has been privileged to receive the devoted service of Christ and heir of glory. The same grace which has thus transformed him from a slave to a free man will avail, he believes, for the deliverance of all who, like himself, have been transformed by the command of God to this state of salvation, and is the "King of Kings and Lord of Lords"; and that royal beneficence which was attribute to earthly rulers when they are seen to exercise their prerogative of bestowing favors upon their subjects is proclaimed by St. Paul to be truly characteristic of Him who is "the blessed and only Potentate". In his Epistle to the Romans in particular he has given us the classic statement of his belief under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit concerning the grace of God. This letter has served as the foundation of the Church's doctrine of the Kingdom and, together with the writings of St. Paul,

as the chief armory of those who have shared in the controversies

which it I - THE BACKGROUND OF AUGUSTINE'S THEOLOGY OF GRACE

This development and these controversies belong to the West. Our starting-point is the New Testament. The Greek word "charis", which is translated "Grace", occurs in the Scriptures about one hundred and fifty times. This frequent use of the term is very largely due to St. Paul, who finds occasion to introduce it into his epistles in no fewer than one hundred places. Applying to God a word which was used by his contemporaries to denote the imperial favour by which gifts were bestowed upon the cities and peoples of the empire - commonly with a strong suggestion of godlike beneficence, and occasionally with a hint at mystic or magical power - St. Paul writes exultingly of the grace which he has himself received from a yet higher source. Chosen for this entirely undeserved favor from before the beginning of times, as he believes, he has been delivered from a hopeless state of bondage to the law, and from the spiritual blindness in which he has persecuted the Church; and having been freely justified, he has been privileged to become the devoted bond-servant of Christ and heir of glory. The same grace which has thus transformed him from a slave to a free man will avail, he asserts, for the deliverance of all who, like himself, have been foreordained in the counsels of God to this state of salvation. God is the "King of kings and Lord of lords"; and that royal beneficence which men attribute to earthly rulers when they are seen to exercise their prerogative of bestowing favors upon their subjects is proclaimed by St. Paul to be truly characteristic of Him who is "the blessed and only Potentate". In his Epistle to the Romans in particular he has given us the classic statement of his belief under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit concerning the grace of God. This letter has served as the foundation of the Church's development of this doctrine and, together with the writings of St. Augustine,

as the chief armory of those who have shared in the controversies which it has provoked.

This development and these controversies belong to the West. "Eastern Christians lived the life of grace, and those who taught and defended the Faith in the early centuries made frequent references to the grace by which they lived: but no serious controversies arose among them concerning its scope and the manner of its operation, and the doctrine consequently remained descriptive in form, never achieving the fulness and precision with which it was formulated in the West," (1) Even in St. John Chrysostom, the leading Eastern exponent of the doctrines of grace and free will, this lack of system is plainly seen. God's grace was held to be available for all men, in aid of the free will which belonged to their nature. The Church of Christ, to which men were admitted by the "seal" of initiation, was believed to be the especial scene of the bestowal of grace. And in the Church the sanctity of life which characterised its members, and the courage which sometimes issued in martyrdom, were recognized as the gifts of grace, as were also the special abilities and graces of individual members of the Church, both ordained and lay. This primitive and simple 'orthodoxy' in respect of the doctrine of grace has persisted in the Eastern Church down to the present day. The Alexandrian fathers particularly in opposition to the dualism and fatalism of the Gnostic systems, which made evil a necessity of nature, laid great stress upon human freedom, and upon the indispensable cooperation of this freedom with divine grace.

(1) Oscar Hardman, "The Christian Doctrine of grace", p. 12

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In the West, on the contrary, there was an early development of interest in the related problems of sin and grace. This was stimulated by the barbarian invasions of the Empire and the signs of its approaching dissolution; and the development of the Pauline doctrine of grace moved rapidly forward to the extended and masterly exposition of the subject which was made by St. Augustine in the early years of the fifth century.

This movement of thought was initiated by Tertullian, the zealous and brilliant North African, who died in about the year 230; and he largely determined the lines which it was to follow. Believing that the soul is material, and that both the body and the soul of a child are generated by its parents, he concluded that the propagation of the soul carries with it the transmission of that corruption of the soul which is effected by sin. Thus the sin of Adam and Eve was held by him to be responsible for the production of injurious consequences in all human souls, and to call for the operation of God's grace. Whereas St. Paul had opposed "grace" to "works", that is to say, the conception of the free gift of God to the idea of merit earned by man's obedience to the law, Tertullian set "grace" over against "nature", by which he meant human nature bearing upon it the marks of the Fall. And, while he did not regard that nature as wholly corrupt or as completely deprived of the power of moral choice, he emphasized the need and the supremacy of grace so as to minimise greatly, though not altogether to deny, man's capacity for self-determination. Further, he wrote of grace as a spiritual power in such a way as to suggest its existence in detachment from God and almost so as to constitute it an impersonal force.

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Toward the middle of the Third century St. Cyprian, Bishop of

Carthage, taught that grace is the reward of loyalty, and that, while God's grace is sufficient for the salvation of all who are baptized, there is in it no irresistible control of man's will. Lactantius followed St. Cyprian in representing grace as the reward of merit; St. Hilary of Poitiers supported the opinion that man is himself able to initiate that act of turning to God which meets with the reward of grace; and St. Ambrose, bishop of Milan, who died in 397, inclined to the same view, though he taught that the divine image had been lost to man by the Fall, and that all descendants of Adam possessed a sinful nature and shared the guilt of Adam's sin. The Hilary who was known as Ambrosiaster moved away from that recognition of the persistence of some remnant of goodness and power in fallen man which had hitherto characterized the teachings of Theologians in the East and West alike; and he developed the idea of man's inability to make the initial step towards his recovery.

Then came Pelagius and the great St. Augustine, whose life is found as follows in his autobiography called: "Confessions".

In this book of personal history St. Augustine begins the history of his life at the cradle, anxious to note down the awakening of evil inclinations, even in his heart as a child. (see book I, ch. VII, II). He attended the school at Thagaste to learn the first rudiments. His mother, Monica was a very devout christian, while his father, Patricius was a pagan. She did her best to develop the sentiment of religion in him. Nevertheless, in accordance with the custom prevailing in the IVth century, she did not have him baptized, foreseeing the temptations he would one day have to encounter and the wisdom of an amnesty thus deferred. Having been sent to Madaurus, the next village, to follow his studies, he there learnt Greek.

When he was 19 (373) he read Cicero's "Hortensius". In this dialog Notwithstanding his limited means Patricius had conceived high ambitions for his son. He had in mind to send him to Carthage to finish his education. While he was getting together the necessary money, Augustine came back to Thagaste, in the summer of 369. He was then sixteen years old. These months of idleness did his morals no good. He tells us that among other exploits he and some comrades one day robbed the pears from a pear tree, not a very serious offense - for which, however, he preserved a keen remorse because he had felt for the first time his inclination to do evil for evil's sake, and to taste what was forbidden simply because it was forbidden. (II.iv.9) Thanks to the munificence of Romanianus, a rich inhabitant of Thagaste, he was able at last to set out for Carthage, a seat of learning, but also a city of pleasure. There he threw himself into pleasure with all the ardor of a passionate soul eager for a risky life, dreading nothing more than a "pathway without snares." (Conf. III, 1.1) From the day when he was loved and loved in return, there were jealous suspicions, quarrels, and all the ardor and all the misery pertaining to sensual "liaisons". As with the emotion of the heart and the flesh, those aroused by the theatre also awoke in him a profound echo, especially when they caused him to shed tears, stirring him to the bottom. (III, ii) Nevertheless he attended assiduously the school of rhetoric and took no part in the turbulent proceedings of some of his comrades who had formed themselves into bands of "eversores" (smashers) who were much dreaded by quiet folk. He preserved a substratum of seriousness even in his life of dissipation, the irregularity of which moreover we must not exaggerate, since he informs us himself that he was faithful to his concubine as to a wife.

When he was 19 (373) he read Bicer^c's "Hortensius". In this dialogue, of which we only possess fragments, Bicer^c replied to the criticisms of Hortensius against philosophy with a magnificent eulogy of this form of intellectual activity, more capable than any others of setting a man in the way of real happiness, which consisted, not in deceptive material enjoyment, but in the life of the mind. From reading this St. Augustine himself dates the awakening of his desire for "wisdom", and a kind of renewal of his sensibility. The call of the infinite sounded low in his predestined heart. Here we see him started on the road; and through many a stage, often painful, he was not to pause until the end.

He set himself to study the Scriptures, for owing to the evident influence of his early education, he could not rest satisfied with any wisdom which was absolutely strange to the name of Christ. But the unskillful form of the Latin translation of the Bible soon repelled him. (III.v) Disappointed he threw them aside as incomprehensible and barbarous.

He turned to the Manichaeans, who were very numerous in Africa. (III.iv;8) The sect promised him "truth", and that promise alone was sufficient to draw him in his then eager state of mind. It kept its hold over him for some time afterwards by many ties which he well defined. (a) The Manichaeans claimed to impose no truth on any one before that truth had become evident to the one who was to accept it. Now, just then, his own understanding, sharpened by his school exercises, was very strong in Augustine, and rendered the method of authority used among the Catholic's painful to him. The criticisms directed by the Manichaeans against the Old Testament, and the ironical question they put regarding certain licenses granted by God to the Patriarch, disconcerted Augustine. Having as yet only a very imperfect

idea of the working of Revelation, he was not far from considering their objection unanswerable. VIII. vii,1. He also acknowledges that he had some difficulty in conceiving God as a purely spiritual Being. It seemed to him that all that is must be corporal, in whatever rarefied and quintessential manner the word be understood. Now the Manichaeans precisely admitted nothing but matter more or less subtilized. The doctrine of the Manichaeans two co-external Principles - the one the principle of good, and the other of evil - having both placed their imprint on every creature, made clear in his eyes the problem of the origin of evil, and exonerated him from his sin before his own conscience. Then also the name of Jesus Christ which the sect mingled with their metaphysical conception, effectually reassured him, and made him in sympathy.

During nine years from the age of 19 to 28, he was to continue this sympathy, in spite of the grief of the pious Monica, whom these aberrations greatly distressed.

About his twentieth year (c.374) he had become a professor in his native town, Thagaste. (IV,iv,7) He continued his "liaison" with the same woman who had presented him with a son, Adeodatus. In spite of his adhesion to Manichaeism his soul was unsatisfied, and he sought his path in books. Curious to understand everything, astrology attracted him for a time, but a certain Vindicianus, a man of Pro-Consular rank, and better instructed than he in the nothingness of that pseudo-science, half succeeded in opening his eyes. Then the death of a dear friend reduced him to such an extremity of sorrow (IV:v,10;-to IV:viii,13) that he determined to leave Thagaste for Carthage where a post as Rhetorician had been offered him. (IV.vii 12)

unusual thing for these young people, notwithstanding the engagement
He remained there about eight years. It is here that he wrote
his first work, which we no longer possess, the "de Pulchro et Apto".
He was not long in casting away his illusions regarding Manichaeism.
The fantastic conception of Manes on certain questions of accurate
knowledge where it was possible to verify them personally, had always
seemed strange to him, and it astonished him that Manes represented
then as being inspired. The Manichaeans whom he continually interro-
gated evaded his questions. Now there arrived at Carthage a Manichaean
Bishop named Faustus, who was reputed by all to be eloquent and
learned. Augustine hastened to place before him his doubts. But he
only could reply with elegant phrases and ended with the simple con-
fession that he did not understand much about those kind of things.
Thereupon Augustine felt his keen ardour of hitherto sensibly cooled
down. (V iii;6;)

In the autumn of 383 (it seems) he left Carthage for Rome (V.viii)
where higher appointments and more disciplined classes of students were
held out to him. Although disabused of the sect, he had kept up some
acquaintance with the Manichaeans; he just lodged with an "auditor"
and fell seriously ill. What proves that the idea of becoming a Chris-
tian still held only a very moderate influence over him, is that he
had no wish to be baptised at this critical moment. (V.ix.16) He had
reached a certain scepticism which caused him to find some semblance
of good sense in the doubt of the academician philosophers, in whose
view man could not attain to the full understanding of any truth.
(V,x.19)

He had already opened his classes in Rome and collected a cer-
tain number of students. These proved themselves to be less boister-
ous than those at Carthage. But Augustine discovered that it was no

unusual thing for these young people, notwithstanding the engagement they had entered upon, to leave one school "en masse" and betake themselves to another. Such want of good faith displeased him, and he gladly seized the opportunity given to him, thanks to the recommendation of Symmachus, Prefect of Rome, to go to Milan in the capacity of master of rhetoric (384).

He was going to meet there the chief instrument in his definite conversion. St. Ambrose was such an important personage at Milan that Augustine could not refuse to go and present himself to him. He was touched with the fatherly kindness with which the bishop received him. He was drawn to attending the sermon of the Bishop. The outer form of these allocutions attracted him from the beginning. He flattered himself that he was attentive only to the quality of his language. But the teaching of St. Ambrose little by little penetrated into his mind, and forced him to reflect. Up till then he had considered certain Christian doctrines to be untenable, and to his surprise he was beginning to find out that they were nothing of the kind. Explanations of the Sacred Books such as St. Ambrose was giving appeared to him to be fully satisfactory. His intellectual appreciation, freshly conceived decided him to break definitely with Manichaeism. Monica, who had rejoined him, learnt of the breach with joy, and could not refrain from telling him that she was convinced that she would see him a Christian before she died. (VI.i) She began to follow assiduously with her son Ambrose's pastoral instruction. Augustine would have liked well to confide himself more completely to Ambrose, but the Bishop's life was so wholly taken up that he found neither opportunity nor courage to have a thorough explanation with him.

a great impulse towards the truth which had hitherto been obscured
by a fall back, in the way
for beneath the intellectual
enacted within the person
old friends, which
(VII, xi, 23), summary
would have to consent

He thus remained in a state of suspense and perplexity, half won over, but fearing to deceive himself once more, and dreaming somewhat naively of obtaining "in the order of things not seen", the same certainty which made him affirm that seven and three made ten. (VI, iv. 6) He felt however that it was a greater test of loyalty to require a belief in what was not susceptible of demonstration, as did Christianity, than to undertake to prove everything, and then to extricate themselves by means of ridiculous fables according to the tactics of the Manichaeans. He had lost his prejudices against the Bible. Also he felt himself unable to shake off the bonds to which his senses had accustomed him. Without pleasure, life did not seem to him to deserve the name, and became a kind of punishment. His mother thought of arranging a marriage for him. The woman with whom he was living was removed: he lost no time in taking another. He was then nearly 30 years old. 11 years had already passed since he had felt himself inflamed with a fine ardour for wisdom. He experienced profound bitterness at finding himself still so far from the ideal which in his youthful enthusiasm he had formerly set before himself.

coming to illustrate the above

Meanwhile, certain Platonist books which had been translated into Latin by Victorinus the rhetorician came into his hands (VII. ix). Augustine does not mention the titles. It is commonly thought that they referred to works by Plotinus and Porphyry. He was keenly struck by the points of resemblance between the teaching he found therein and certain articles of Christian doctrine, on the Word, for instance. He was also struck by what was lacking in them. His reading of these books was the point of departure of new reflection on God, on himself, and on the true nature of the evil which is in the world, and correspondingly many metaphysical difficulties with which he had hitherto been confronted vanished. He felt in himself

a great impulse towards God, but this uplifting was still hampered by many a fall back, in which his will to become better gave way. For beneath the intellectual drama whose vicissitudes were being enacted within he perceived the insidious murmur of his passion, his "old friends," which "drawing him by their garb of the flesh," (VIII,xi.23), cunningly counted over the sacrifices to which he would have to consent if he wished to be logical with himself.

The decisive moment in the crisis came in July 386 (VIII,xii).

The scene is well known: a day of poignant struggle between the "two wills", (illa carnalis, illa spiritalis); an immense desire to weep; Alypius, his special friend, present and waiting the issue of a battle which was nearing its end before his eyes; the solitude he had sought at the foot of a tree in a garden; the cry of a child coming from a neighboring house: "Tolle, lege.....Tolle, Lege": take it and read:"; the Bible opened at random, and Augustine's eyes falling on the verse from the Epistle to the Romans wherein St. Paul calls upon the faithful to renounce voluptuous pleasures and to "put on Jesus Christ"; all the shadows dissipated and the sense of security coming to inundate his soul with sweetness....

Augustine did not receive baptism until eight months later, on the 29th of April 387. In the interval he retired to a property situated at Cassiciacum, not far from Milan, which his friend Verecundus the grammarian had placed at his disposal, and he stayed there till the beginning of Len^r 387. He had need of mental quiet; in addition, he was suffering from his chest. He shared this studious retreat with Monica, his mother, his brother Navigius, his son Adeodatus, and some friends among whom were Alypius Romanianus. The "contra academicos", the "de Vita Beata", and the "Re Ordine" resulted from the philosophic discussion which consti-

tuted the favorite recreation of the learned and pious company with the old Bishop, who felt a keen desire to be supported in his public preaching by an assistant priest, was opening his mind to his people down.

A few months after his baptism, his thoughts turned to going back to Africa with his relatives. But his mother died at Ostia on the journey, in the autumn of 387. In the immense sorrow which he felt Augustine could tell himself that she had at least enjoyed in her last days the full realization of the dream of her whole life.

At this point the narrative portion, properly speaking, of his "Confession" comes to a halt. He only wished to relate the 13 years of vagueness and uncertainty during which he was seeking for the truth which he had found and cherished ever after. Certainly the development of his views was not at an end; it was to remain ceaselessly active and vibrating, with a strong tendency to eliminate all those elements not specifically Christian which he had at first fostered.

After a short stay in Carthage, he retired to Thagaste, and remained there three years (388-391) in laborious meditation in which he associated with his friends. He here began his polemics against the Manichaeans still quite close in point of time to the error in which he had remained so long, it was from them that he wished especially to preserve men's minds. In order the better to mark his renunciation of his previous ambition he sold his little inheritance and distributed the proceeds among the poor. In his own words, he had bid good-bye to all the hopes of the world. He would have liked to establish a monastery and live there in piety, work and friendship.

His elevation to the priesthood in 391 was quite unexpected. He had gone to Hippo ^RBegius in the hope of winning a soul which seemed ready to offer itself to God. He discovered that Valerius

the old Bishop, who felt a keen desire to be supported in his public preaching by an assistant priest, was opening his mind to his people at that very moment. The acclamation of all at once designated Augustine. He received the priesthood with anxious humility, requested of Valerius a leave of some months in order to make a profound study of the Scriptures which he would be obliged to teach, and then came back to set himself to his task. Towards the end of 393, Valerius made known his intention of conferring Episcopal ordination himself upon Augustine. The practical unanimity of the African Bishops approved his initiative, in spite of the canonical difficulty created by the 8th Canon of Nicea, which forbade duality of Bishops in the same city. Valerius died shortly afterwards. Augustine remained Bishop of Hippo until his death. He died at the age of 76, on the 28th August 430, at the beginning of the siege of the city by Genseric, King of the Vandals.

II THE DOCTRINAL DEVELOPMENT AND OCCASION OF

ST. AUGUSTINE'S THEOLOGY OF GRACE

Pelagius was highly educated, he spoke and wrote Latin as well as Greek with great fluency and was well versed in Theology.

"It was inevitable that the energy of the church in intellectually realizing and defining its doctrines in relation to one another, should first be directed towards the objective side of Christian truth. The chief controversies of the first four centuries and the resulting definitions of doctrine, concerned the nature of God and the Person of Christ; and it was not until these theological and Christological questions were well upon their way to final settlement, that the Church could turn its attention to the more subjective side of truth." (1)

As Dr. Warfield so well points out, all the elements of the composite doctrine of man were everywhere confessed; but they were variously emphasized, according to the temper of the writers or the controversial demands of the times. Such a state of affairs, however, was an invitation to heresies and controversies, until the definitions of the doctrines of the Trinity and of the person of Christ were complete. In like manner, it was inevitable that sooner or later some one should arise who would so one-sidedly emphasize one element or the other of the church's teaching as to salvation, as to throw himself into heresy, and drive the church, through controversy with him, into a precise definition of the doctrines of free will and grace in their mutual relations.

This new heresiarch came, at the opening of the Fifth Century, 409 A.D. in the person of the British Monk, Pelagius. The Novelty of the doctrine which this middle-aged monk taught is repeatedly asserted by Augustine; but it consisted not in the emphasis that he laid on free will, but rather in the fact that, in emphasizing free will, he denied the ruin of the race and the necessity of grace. This was not only new in Christianity, but it was also even anti-Christian.

(1) Warfield, "Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers", page 13

At this point we have reached the central and formative principle. Pelagius was highly educated, he spoke and wrote Latin as well as Greek with great fluency and was well versed in Theology. This was quite unusual, for though he was a monk, and consequently devoted to practical asceticism, yet he never was ordained. Both Orosius and Pope Zosimus simply call him a "layman".

As all his ideas were chiefly rooted in the old pagan philosophy, especially in the popular system of the Stoics, rather than in Christianity, he regarded the moral strength of man's will, when steeled by asceticism, as sufficient in itself to desire and to attain the loftiest ideal of virtue. The value of Christ's redemption was limited mainly to instruction and example which the Savior threw into the balances as a counterweight against Adam's wicked example, so that nature retains the ability to conquer sin and to gain eternal life even without the aid of grace. By justification we are indeed cleansed of our personal sins through faith alone, but this pardon implies no interior renovation or sanctification of the soul. His intimacy with the Greeks developed in him, a one-sidedness, which at first sight appeared pardonable. The Greeks had emphasized punishment as the chief characteristic of original sin, while the Latins emphasized guilt.

Pelagius believed that God had endowed His creatures with a capacity (possibilitas) or ability (posse) for action, and it was for him to use it. Man was thus a machine, which, just because it was well made, needed no Divine interference for its right working. The Creator having once framed him, and endowed him with the "posse", henceforth leaves the "velle" and the "esse" to him.

(1) Warfield, page 17

(2) Augustine, "On the Spirit and Letters", Ch. 4

At this point we have touched the central and formative principle of Pelagianism. It lies in the assumption of the plenary ability of man; his ability to do all that righteousness can demand, --to work out not only his own salvation, but also his own perfection. This is the core of the whole theory; and all the other postulates not only depend upon it, but arise out of it. Both chronologically and logically this is the root of the system.

So exceedingly ardent an advocate was he of man's unaided ability to do all that God commanded, that when St. Augustine's noble and entirely scriptural prayer -- "Give what Thou commandest, and command what Thou wilt" -- was repeated in his hearing, he was unable to endure it; and somewhat inconsistently contradicted it with such violence as almost to become involved in a strife.

Dr. Warfield says that there are three specially important corollaries which flowed from Pelagius' assertion of human ability, and Augustine himself recognized these as the chief elements of the system.) "It would be inexplicable on such an assumption, if no man had ever used his ability in keeping God's law; and Pelagius consistently asserted not only that all might be sinless if they chose, but also that many saints, even before Christ, had actually lived free from sin. Again it follows from man's inalienable ability to be free from sin, that each man comes into the world without entailment of sin or moral weakness from the past acts of men; and Pelagius consistently denied the whole doctrine of original sin. And still again, it follows from the same assumption of ability that man has no need of supernatural assistance in his striving to obey righteousness; and Pelagius consistently denied both the need and reality of divine grace in the sense of an inward help (and especially of a prevenient help) to man's weakness. It was especially over the last point that Augustine was mostly disturbed for thus God's grace was denied and opposed." (1)

Pelagius often spoke of grace too, but he meant something altogether different. He was referring to the primal endowment of man with free will, and the subsequent aid given him in order to its proper use by the revelation of the law and the teachings of the gospel, and, above all, by the forgiveness of past sins in Christ and by Christ's holy example. (2)

(1) Warfield, page 15

(2) Augustine, "On the Spirit and Letter", Ch. 4

Anything further than this external help he utterly denied; and he and his followers denied that this external help itself was absolutely necessary, affirming that it only rendered it easier for man to do what otherwise he had plenary ability for doing. It was in order that they might deny that man needed help, that he denied that Adam's sin had any further effect on his posterity than might arise from his bad example. "As we are procreated without virtue," he said, "so also without vice." (1)

Dr. Warfield says: "the peculiar individualism of the Pelagian view of the world comes out strongly in their failure to perceive the effect of habit on nature itself." (2) To Pelagius, Adam was a man, nothing more; and it was simply unthinkable that any act of his that left his own subsequent acts uncommitted, could entail sin and guilt upon other men. Though there would hardly seem to be any place for the baptism of infants in such a system, Pelagius holds that they should be baptized, but regards their baptism merely as a rite of consecration or an anticipation of future forgiveness.

Of far-reaching influence upon the further progress of Pelagianism was the friendship which Pelagius contracted in Rome with Coelestius, a young lawyer of noble (probably Italian) descent. A eunuch by birth, he had been won over to asceticism by his enthusiasm for the monastic life, and in the capacity of a lay-monk he endeavored to convert the practical maxims learnt from Pelagius, into theoretical principles, which he successfully propagated in Rome. Augustine while charging Pelagius with mysteriousness, mendacity, and shrewdness, calls Coelestius not only "incredibly loquacious", but also open-hearted, obstinate and free in social intercourse. (3)

(1) Augustine, "On Original Sin" - 14

(2) Warfield, p. 16 "On Grace and Free Will" - page 20

(3)

They were unmolested in Rome until they left the hospitable soil in 411, and set sail for North Africa. When they landed on the coast near Hippo, Augustine, the bishop of that city was absent, being fully occupied in settling the Donatist disputes in Africa. Then Pelagius travelled on to Palestine, while Coelestius tried to have himself made a Presbyter in Carthage. But this plan was frustrated by the deacon Paulinus of Milan, who submitted to the bishop, Aurelius, a memorial in which six theses of Coelestius were branded as heretical. These theses ran as follows:

"(1) Even if Adam had not sinned, he would have died. (2) Adam's sin harmed only himself, not the human race. (3) Children just born are in the same state as Adam before his fall. (4) The whole human race neither dies through Adam's sin or death, nor rises again through the resurrection of Christ. (5) The (Mosaic) Law is as good a guide to heaven as the Gospel. (6) Even before the advent of Christ there were men who were without sin." (1)

He was summoned to appear before the Synod at Carthage (411) and excluded from ordination.

He then went to Ephesus in Asia Minor, where he was ordained a priest. Meanwhile the Pelagian ideas had infected a wide area especially around Carthage, so that Augustine and other bishops were compelled to take a resolute stand against them in sermons and writings. Urged by his friend Marcellius, who "daily endured the most annoying debates with the erring brethren, St. Augustine in 412 wrote the two famous works: "De peccatorum meritis et remissione", and "De Spiritu et litera", in which he positively established the existence of original sin, the necessity of infant baptism, the impossibility of life without sin, and the necessity of interior grace, in opposition to the exterior grace of the law.

(1) Piere De Labriolle, "History and Literature of Christianity"
page 50

The following passage is almost a summary of the letter: "The law, therefore, by teaching and commanding what cannot be fulfilled without grace, demonstrates to man his weakness, in order that the weakness, thus proved, may resort to the Savior, by whose healing the will may be able to do what it found impossible in its weakness. So, then, the law brings us to faith, faith obtains the spirit in fuller measure, the spirit sheds love abroad in us, and love fulfills the law. For this reason the law is called a schoolmaster, under whose threatening and severity whosoever shall call on the name of the Lord shall be delivered. Wherefore, that the letter without the Spirit may not kill, the life-giving Spirit is given to those that believe and call upon Him; whoever is about to establish his own righteousness, is not submitting himself to the righteousness of God, and therefore to him the law is made not a help to pardon, but a bond of guilt." (1)

When in 414 disquieting rumors arrived from Sicily and the so-called "Definitiones Coelestium", were made public, Augustine wrote "De Perfectione Justitiae hominis", in which he again demolished the allusion of the possibility of complete freedom of sin. Meanwhile Pelagius who was sojourning in Palestine, wrote a letter to a noble Roman Virgin named Demetrias, in which he again inculcated his Stoic principles of the unlimited energy of nature. Moreover, he published in 415 a work, now lost, "De Natura" in which he attempted to prove his doctrine from Authorities, appealing not only to the writings of Hilary and Ambrose, but also to the earlier works of Jerome and Augustine, both of whom were still alive. The latter answered at once (415) by his treatise: "De Natura et Gratia". This work was yet unfinished when Hippo was invaded by another young man seeking instruction. This time it was a zealous young priest from the remotest part of Spain, Paulus Orosius, by name, whose pious soul had been afflicted with grievous wounds by the Priscillianist and Origenist heresies that had broken out in his country, and who had come with eager haste to Augustine, on hearing that he could get from him instruction which he needed for confuting them. (2)

(1) Augustine, Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, page 99

(2) Warfield, Studies in Tertullian and Augustine, page 300

Augustine seems to have given him his heart at once; and, feeling too little informed as to the special heresies which he wished to be prepared to controvert, persuaded Orosius to go on to Palestine to be taught by Jerome, and gave him introduction which described him as one "who is in the bond of catholic peace, a brother, in point of age a son, and in honour a fellow-presbyter, a man of quick understanding, ready speech and burning zeal." His departure to Palestine gave Augustine an opportunity to consult with Jerome on the one point that had been raised in the Pelagian controversy on which he had not been able to see light. The Pelagians had early argued that, if souls are created anew for men at their birth, it would be unjust in God to impute Adam's sin to them. And Augustine found himself unable either to prove that souls are transmitted (traduced), or to show that it would not involve God in injustice to make a soul only to make it subject to a sin committed by another. Jerome had already put himself on record as a believer in both original sin and the creation of souls at the time of birth. Augustine feared the logical consequences of this assertion, and yet was unable to refute it. He therefore seized this occasion to send a long treatise on the origin of the soul to his friend, with the request that he would consider the subject anew, and answer his doubts. (1)

Augustine's emissary was more zealous than adroit. Stimulated no doubt by the aged Jerome, he set himself to attack Pelagius with so much vigor, and to make such a noise about the African decision as to secure a summons from the Bishop to a meeting of the clergy. There he repeated his contentions, and involved the authority of Jerome, Augustine, and the Council of Carthage. Pelagius when invited to defend himself declared -- and in this he was upheld by Bishop John -- that these African controversies were no

(1) Ibid. pp. 218.

concern of his. As Pelagius was pressed on the possibility of living without sin, he declared that one could not attain to this -- "without the aid of God." (here he meant something different from the meaning of the general body of christian.) This discussion led to no practical result--a conclusion rendered the more certain by the fact that Orosius, not understanding Greek, was obliged to avail himself of an interpreter, and an interpreter whom he had ground for regarding with distrust. It was agreed that as the dispute was between Latins the best thing to do was to carry it before Pope Innocent, to abide by his decision, and for both parties meanwhile to abstain from any kind of invective. This undertaking was not respected at the Dedication Festival (September 14), Orosius on being admitted to the Bishop's presence to offer congratulation found himself the object of reproaches for making incorrect statements. Unable to restrain himself he drew up, clearly with Jerome's assistance, a long protest addressed to the priests of Jerusalem in which John and Pelagius were taken to task with a good deal of spirit. In the course of these proceedings two bishops, political refugees, were persuaded to lay a formal complaint, not before the Bishop of Jerusalem, but before the Metropolitan and his Council. The complaint was received and the Council met at Diospolis (Lydda) Dec. 415. But, as one of the two bishops was ill, neither of them appeared. The case was tried without them, the controversy being waged between the accused and the bill of accusation. The course of the proceedings closely resembled those at Jerusalem. However an avowal was obtained from him then he anathematized those who had maintained the proposition condemned at Carthage. The Council was satisfied with these explanations and declared Pelagius acquitted. It is plain that to the ears of this assembly the questions of Grace and of the original

fall were subjects of some novelty. If Jerome himself would have

taken up the accusation personally, the matter would have taken a different turn. However, Augustine and his friends were in a great state of anxiety. Orosius brought news from Palestine, letters of Heros and Lajarus, and information as to the Council of Diospolis. The East was in fact declaring itself on the side of Pelagius. There Pelagius was not regarded as a heretic. Orosius had no doubt reported the view taken by Jerome, who, in unceremonious language, treated the assembly of the Bishops of Palestine as a "miserable synod". It was therefore decided to turn to Rome. Despite rumors that Rome seemed in favour of Pelagius, the Africans were not without hope of getting the Roman church on their side. Two provincial Councils, one held at Carthage for ~~Proconsular~~ Africa, the other at Milev for Numidia, wrote to the Pope urging that the new doctrines were in contradiction with the use of prayer and that of the baptism of infants. To the letter of the Council of Carthage was attached the one just received from Heros and Lajarus, and also the official record of the trial of Coelestius, in 411. A third letter of much greater length, written in the name of Aurelius, Augustine, and three other bishops personally known to the Pope, explained to him the principal heads of the dispute, and showed him the necessity of a condemnation. In this letter

Innocent replied to these three letters, congratulating the Africans for seeking his advice and recognizing his authority. So far as persons were concerned he held that Pelagius and Coelestius were sufficiently compromised by their teaching to derive exclusion from communion till they came to a better mind. the Africans in answer

In Augustine's eyes the whole question was now settled for good. Innocent's replies preceded by only a short interval in Africa the news of his death (March 12, 417) and of his replacement by Zosimus

(March 18). The new Pope had a personal prejudice against Heros

and Lajarus, on account of a "complicated" quarrel in Gaul in which the latter two were involved. In such circumstances these persons were scarcely suited to commend to the new Pope the doctrines of St. Augustine.

The condemnation pronounced by Innocent placed Coelestius and Pelagius in an awkward position. But as soon as Zosimus became the new Pope, Coelestius presented himself to the Pope, and handed him a profession of faith in which he had not failed to declare his complete submission to the judgment of the Holy See. Zosimus interested himself on his behalf.

In the course of the summer he held in San Clemente a solemn hearing at which Coelestius appeared, and was examined. When asked to condemn the assertion for which Paulinus had accused him at Carthage in 411, he refused. However, he accepted the teaching expressed in the letter of Pope Innocent, and nothing but what was worthy of praise was found in his profession of faith. The Pope sided with Coelestius, and wrote forthwith to Africa, to communicate his impression and to invite those who might have anything to say against Coelestius to present themselves two months later. In this letter there was an indirect warning addressed to Augustine.

Some time after this the Pope read a treatise on Free Will which had only just been composed by Pelagius. He and a meeting of the clergy were deeply impressed by this treatise which was "couched" in ambiguous language. Zosimus told the Africans in a new letter in which Pelagius is the subject of high commendation whilst his opponents, Heros and Lajarus, and others meet with very rough treatment. (1)

(1) Abbe' Duchesne, "Early History of the Church" pp 100-130

In Africa, Archbishop Aurelius, on his side quickly collected a certain number of bishops to deal with the situation. From this council Zosimus received in the course of the winter a very long letter in which he was reproached with having allowed himself to be deceived by heretics. This document changed to some extent the mind of the Pope. A great Council was summoned for May 1. All the African provinces and even Spain sent representatives. The Council began by formulating in nine canons the Catholic doctrine on Original Sin and necessity of Grace; these canons were dispatched to the Pope with a letter. Augustine was the soul of this whole movement. Zosimus also received complaints about Pelagius and Coelestius from other quarters, asking to expell them from Rome, where they were causing considerable disturbance on account of their disputes on the subject.

Finally, Zosimus, pressed from many sides, felt compelled to draw up a statement addressed to all the bishops. In it he pronounced the condemnation of Pelagius, Coelestius and their doctrines. (1) This is what he called his Tractoria.

From here on Augustine was pressed into the Pope's service. His correspondence at this time is packed with explanations on Grace, Free will, and original sin. All the numerous friends of Pelagius, who were deluded by his doctrines, veiled under the ordinary language of the church, in astonishment at the opposition he encountered, addressed themselves to Augustine. In order to explain to them the situation, Augustine wrote his books on: "The Grace of Christ", and on "Original Sin".

The first book begins by quoting and examining Pelagius anathema of all those who deny that grace is necessary for every action.

(1) Ibid, page 135

Augustine confesses that this would deceive all who were not fortified by knowledge of Pelagius' writings; but asserts that in the light of them it is clear that he means that grace is always necessary, because we need continually to remember the forgiveness of our sins, the example of Christ, the teaching of the law, and the like. Then he enters upon an examination of Pelagius' scheme of human faculties, wherein he distinguishes between the possibilitas (posse), voluntas (velle), and actio (esse), and declares that the first only is from God and receives aid from God, while the others are entirely ours, and in our power. Augustine opposes to this the passage in Phil. 11:12,13, and then criticises Pelagius' ambiguous acknowledgment that God is to be praised for man's good works, "because the capacity for any action on man's part is from God.", by which he reduces all grace to the primeval endorsement of nature with "capacity" and the help afforded it by the law and teaching. Augustine points out the difference between law and grace, and the purpose of the former as a pedagogue to the latter, and then refutes Pelagius' further definition of grace as consisting in the promise of future glory and the revelation of wisdom, by an appeal to Paul's thorn in the flesh, and his experience under its discipline. Next, Pelagius' assertion that grace isn't given according to our merits is taken up and examined. It is shown that, despite his anathema, Pelagius holds to this doctrine, and in so extreme a form as explicitly to declare that man comes and cleaves to God by his freedom of will alone, and without God's aid. He shows how Scriptures teach just the opposite, that Pelagius never acknowledges real grace, is then demonstrated by a detailed examination of all that he had written on the subject.(1)

(1) 1014, pp. 237-255

{1) Augustine, pp. 218-235

The object of the second book is to show, that in spite of Pelagius' admissions as to the baptism of infants, he yet denies that they inherit original sin and contends that they are born free from corruption. The book opens by pointing out that there is no question as to Coelestius' teaching in this matter, but as for Pelagius, he is simply more cautious. He deceived the Council at Diospolis, but failed to deceive the Romans, and as a matter of fact teaches exactly what Coelestius does, who asserted at Rome that there is no sin "ex traduce." (1)

During this time Pelagius, brought before a new Council, on this occasion held under the presidency of Theodotus, the Bishop of Antioch, and here he was definitely excluded from the Holy Places. When the storm burst, both Pelagius and Coelestius disappeared. With the Pope, the former supporters of Pelagius seemed to change their attitude.

The movement soon had other leaders. They were given to it by persecution. In Rome itself the opposing party hid themselves, abandoned by their leaders. But in other parts of Italy, and in Sicily were to be found eighteen bishops firmly determined to repudiate the "African dogma", and to renounce their sees rather than sign an acceptance of it. The most prominent among them, Julian, was Bishop of Eclanum. His education had been highly cultivated. He knew Greek and handled with ease the dialectic of Aristotle. He lent himself to Pelagian stoicism. He with seventeen other bishops were deprived of their sees, and excluded from the church when they refused to sign the condemnation of Pelagius and Coelestius.

(1) *ibid*, pp. 237-255

Julian became the spokesman of the group. To prove that one was on the side of truth it was necessary to show that the others were in error, and it was to this that Julian set himself. Julian would have had a strong case, if, accepting without reserve the defeat of Pelagius and of Coelestius, the necessity of Grace, and of Original Sin, he had assumed the role in other respects of the champion of orthodoxy against African novelties. This attitude was soon to be adopted by others. But he himself essayed to discredit the traditional basis of the Augustinian teaching by any advertitious and disputable features that it presented. It was an impossible task.

During the twelve remaining years of the illustrious Master's life he had unceasing trouble with Julian.

The controversy opened with the first protests of the opponents. Accused by them to Count Valerius of defaming matrimony, Augustine replied with "De Mystiis et Concupiscentia". Julian answered immediately in four books dedicated to his colleague, Turbantius. Augustine refuted it in: "De Nuptiis", and in his six books "Against Julian". The latter, already in retirement at Mopsuestia, when he became acquainted with the second book, he replied in eight more books, dedicated once more to one of his companions in exile--Florus. St. Augustine got hold ^{of} this reply and devoted to it the leisure of his last years. When death overtook him in 430, he had not yet completed his refutation: "Opus Imperfectum Contra Julianum". His aim was to leave not a particle standing of the objection made to him by his opponents.

III THE BASIC PRINCIPLES OF AUGUSTINE'S THEOLOGY

In all his works, Augustine went beyond the position taken by the African Councils and by the Pontifical Letters. It is on account of this much room was left for the invasion of the semi-Pelagians, who gradually won this gigantic battle of grace against St. Augustine.

...ings, to the errors of Pelagianism, is, shortly, the Theology of Grace. Dr. Harfield writes: "Its roots were planted deeply in his own experience, and in the teachings of Scripture, especially of that apostle whom he delights to call 'the great preacher of grace,' and to follow whom, in his measure, was his greatest desire. The vision of God in Jesus Christ, conveyed to us by the Holy Spirit and evidenced by the love that He sheds abroad in our hearts, is the centre around which this whole side of His system revolves, and the germ out of which it grows. He was the more able to make it thus central because of the harmony of this view of salvation with the general principle of his whole theology, which was theocentric and revolved around his conception of God as the immanent and vital spirit in whom all things live and move and have their being. In like manner, God is the absolute good, and all good is either Himself or from Him; and only as God makes us good, are we able to do anything good." (1)

1. The Primitive State of man - State of Innocence:

The necessity of grace to man, Augustine argued from the condition of the race as partakers of Adam's sin. God created man upright, and endowed him with human faculties, including free will; and gave to him freely that grace by which he was able to retain his uprightness.

The first state of man resembles the state of the blessed in heaven, though it differs from that final state as the "undeveloped germ from the perfect fruit." (2) He possessed freedom to do good; reason to know God; and the grace of God. But by this grace Augustine (not happy is the choice of his term) means only the general supernatural assistance indispensable to a creature, that he may

(1) Harfield p. 400

(2) Philip Schaff, "The History of the Christian Church", v. iii, p. 252

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The theology which Augustine opposed in his anti-Pelagian writings, to the errors of Pelagianism, is, shortly, the Theology of Grace. Dr. Warfield writes: "Its roots were planted deeply in his own experience, and in the teachings of Scripture, especially of that apostle whom he delights to call "the great preacher of grace," and to follow whom, in his measure, was his greatest desire. The grace of God in Jesus Christ, conveyed to us by the Holy Spirit and evidenced by the love that He sheds abroad in our hearts, is the centre around which this whole side of His system revolves, and the germ out of which it grows. He was the more able to make it thus central because of the harmony of this view of salvation with the general principle of his whole theology, which was theocentric and revolved around his conception of God as the immanent and vital spirit in whom all things live and move and have their being. In like manner, God is the absolute good, and all good is either Himself or from Him; and only as God makes us good, are we able to do anything good." (1) 2

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(1) Warfield p. 400

(2) Philip Schaff "The History of the Christian Church", v.iii, p 849

perservere in good. (Grace, in this wider sense, as source of all good, Augustine makes independent of sin, and ascribes the possession of it even to the good angels.) (1) The relation of man to God was that of joyful and perfect obedience. The relation of the body to the soul was the same. The flesh did not yet lust against the spirit; both were in perfect harmony, and the flesh was wholly subject to the spirit. The original state was an relatively perfect - perfect in its kind; "as a child may be a perfect child, while he is destined to ^{be} come a man." (2) The primal gifts were bestowed on man simply as powers to be developed in either one of two ways. Adam could develop into perfection, or by abuse of his free will, fall away. Gradually he could have attained to the state where sin and error would be impossible, but at present beheld only the possibility of sinning. (non posse peccare), the absolute freedom from sin, belongs to God, to holy angels who have passed their probation, and the redeemed saints in heaven. By sin, Augustine believed, Adam lost the impossibility of dying. (posse non mori).

Freedom, also Augustine holds to be an original endorsement of man; but he distinguishes different kinds of it, and different degrees of its development, which we must observe, or we should charge him with self-contradiction.

By freedom, Augustine understands, in the first place, simply spontaneity, or self-activity, as opposed to action under external constraint or from animal instinct. Both sin and holiness are voluntary, that is acts of the will, not motions of natural necessity.

(1) *ibid.*, p. 850

(2) *ibid.*, p. 851

This freedom belongs at all times and essentially to the human will, even in the sinful state (in which the will is, strictly speaking, self-willed); it is the necessary condition of guilt and punishment, of merit and reward. (1)

In this view no thinking man can deny freedom, without destroying the responsibility and the moral nature of man. Like Pelagius he ascribes freedom of choice to the first man before the fall. God created man with the double capacity of sinning or not sinning, forbidding the former and commanding the latter. But Augustine differs from Pelagius in viewing Adam not as possessing entire indifference between good and evil, obedience and disobedience, but as having a positive constitutional tendency to the good, yet involving, at the same time, a possibility of sinning. Besides, Augustine in the interest of grace and of true freedom, disparages the freedom of choice, and limits it to the beginning, the transient state of probation. Adam, with the help of divine grace, without which he might will the good, indeed, but could not persevere in it, but by choosing the evil, he fell into the bondage of sin. Augustine concedes the freedom of the will in fallen man, but he can choose, not between sin and holiness, but between individual action within the sphere of sinfulness and of justitia civilis. Finally, Augustine speaks most frequently and most fondly of the higher freedom -- the free-self-decision or self-determination of the will towards the good and holy, the blessed freedom of the children of God; which still includes in this earthly life the possibility of sinning, but becomes in heaven the image of the divine freedom, a "felix necessitas boni", and cannot, because it will not sin. It is the exact opposite of the dura necessitas mali in the state of sin.

This freedom of Augustine finds expressed in that word of our Lord:

"If the son shall make you free, ye shall be free indeed." It does not dispense with grace, but is generated by it; the more grace, the more freedom. The will is free in proportion as it is healthy. To serve God is the true freedom. (1) Deo servire vera libertas est."

B. THE FALL AND ITS CONSEQUENCES:

He also supposed a sort of pre-existence of all the posterity of Adam in himself, so that they actually and personally sinned in him, though, not, with individual consciousness. The posterity of Adam therefore suffer punishment not for the sin of another but for the sin which they themselves committed in Adam. The essence of the sin of Adam consisted not in the eating of the fruit; for this was in itself neither wrong nor harmful; but in disobedience to the command of God. "Obedience is the mother and guardian of all virtue". The principle, the root of sin, was pride, self-seeking, the craving of the will to forsake its author, and become its own. This pride preceded the outward act. This pride even preceded the temptation of the serpent. "If man had not previously begun to take pleasure in himself, the serpent could have had no hold upon him." (2) Augustine goes below the surface of the outward act to the deeper truth. He does not stop with the outward act, but looks chiefly at the disposition which lies at its root.

Augustine particularizes the consequences of sin under seven heads: the first four being negative, the others positive:

(1) Loss of the freedom of choice (in regard to great religious decisions for or against God and divine things)

(1) ibid., 852

(2) Augustine, page 300.

which consisted in a positive inclination and love to the good with the implied possibility of sin. In place of this freedom has come the hard necessity of sinning, bondage to evil. "The will, which aided by grace, would have become a source of good, became to Adam, in his apostasy from God, a source of evil."

(2) Obstruction of knowledge: Originally man was able to learn and understand everything perfectly. Now the mind is beclouded, and knowledge can be acquired and imparted only in the sweat of the face.

(3) Loss of the Grace of God: which enabled man to perform the good which his freedom willed, and to persevere therein. By not willing, man forfeited his ability, and now, though he would do good, he cannot.

(4) Loss of Paradise: The earth now lies under the curse of God: it brings forth thorn and thistles, and in the sweat of his face man must eat his bread.

(5) Concupiscence: not sensuousness in itself, but the preponderance of the sensuous, the lusting of the flesh against the spirit. Thus God punishes sin with sin. Propagation before the fall would have been sinless, for it would have been an act of a pure will and chaste love, but now according to Augustine lust rules the spirit. To this element of sin in the act of procreation he ascribes the pain of child-birth.

(6) Physical death: with its retinue of diseases and bodily pain. Adam was indeed created mortal, that is capable of death, but not subject to death. By a natural development the possibility of dying would have been overcome by the power of immortality; the body would have been gradually spiritualized and clothed with glory, without a violent transition or even the weakness

of old age. But now man is fallen under the bitter necessity of death. The whole life of man is a continual dying. There is an actual severance of the soul and body.

(7) The most important consequence of the fall of Adam is original sin and hereditary guilt in his whole posterity; and as this was also one of the chief points of controversy. (1)

C. ORIGINAL SIN - (Peccatum originale vitium hereditarius guilt)

Original sin, is the native bent of the soul towards evil, with which all the posterity of Adam--excepting Christ and Virgin Mary--come into the world, and out of which all actual sins of necessity proceed. It appears principally in concupiscence, or the war of the flesh against the spirit. Sin is not merely an individual act, but also a condition, a status and habitus, which continues, by procreation, from generation to generation. The corruption of the root communicates itself to the trunk and the branches.

Original sin and guilt are propagated by natural generation.

D. HIS DICTRINE OF REDEEMING GRACE

Augustine reaches his peculiar doctrine of redeeming grace in two ways. 1. He reasons upwards from below, by the law of contrast; that is, from his view of the utter incompetency of the unregenerated man to do good. The greater the corruption, the mightier must be the remedial principle. The doctrine of Grace is thus only the positive counterpart of the dictrine of sin. 2nd. he reasons downwards from above; that is, from his conception of the allworking, all-penetrating presence of God in natural life, and much more in the spiritual.

He placed man in absolute dependence upon God.

While Pelagius widened the idea of Grace to indefiniteness and reduced it to a medley of natural gifts, law, gospel, forgiveness of sin, enlightenment, and example. Augustine restricted grace to the specifically Christian sphere (and, therefor called it "Gratia Christi" though admitting its operation previous to Christ among the saints of the Jewish dispensation but within this sphere he gave it incomparably greater depth. With him Grace is first of all, a creative power of God in Christ transforming men from within. It produces first the negative effect of forgiveness of sins, removing the hindrance to communion with God; then the positive communication of a new principle of life. The two are combined in the idea of justification, which, as we have already remarked, Augustine holds, not in the Protestant sense of declaring righteous once for all, but in the Catholic sense of gradually making righteous; thus substantially identifying it with sanctification. ("Justificariusis gratia Dei, hoc est, ? justii efficinun.") Yet, as he refers this whole process to divine grace, to the exclusion of all human merit, he stands on essentially Evangelical ground. is incapable of deserving Grace; for to deserve

Positive grace operates, therefore, not merely from without you our intelligence by instruction and admonition, as Pelagius taught, but also in the centre of our personality, imparting to the will the power to do the good which the instruction teaches, and to imitate the example of Christ. Hence he frequently calls it the inspiration of a good will, or of love, which is the fulfilling of the law." preceding, are thru holy baptism incorporated in the

"Him that wills not, grace comes to meet, that he may will; him that wills, she follows up, that he may not will in vain." Faith

itself is an effect of grace; indeed, its just and fundamental effect, which provides for all others, and manifests itself in love.

In a word, grace is the breath and blood of the new man; from it proceeds all that is truly good and divine, and without it we can do nothing acceptable to God.

From this fundamental conception of grace arise the several properties which Augustine ascribes to it, in opposition to Pelagius.

First, it is absolutely necessary to Christian virtue; not merely auxiliary, but indispensable, to its existence. It is necessary "for every good act, for every good thought, for every good word of man at every moment." (1) Without it the Christian life can neither begin, proceed, nor be consummated. It was necessary even under the old dispensation, which contained the Gospel in the form of a promise. The saints before Christ lived of His Grace by anticipation.

Unmerited: man is incapable of deserving Grace; for to deserve grace, he must do something good. The Holy Spirit breathes where He will, and does not follow merits, but Himself produces the merits. Grace, therefore, is not bestowed on man because he already believes, but that he may believe; not because he has deserved it by good words, but that he may deserve goods works." (2) He also points to children, who without will, and therefore without voluntary merit preceding, are thru holy baptism incorporated in the kingdom of grace. "If all thy merits are gifts of God, God crowns

(1) Augustine, op. cit. p.430

(2) *ibid.*, page 300.

thy merits not as thy merits, but as the gifts of his grace." (1) "

Grace is irresistible in its effect; not, indeed, in the way of physical constraint imposed on the will, but as a moral power; which makes man willing, and which infallibly attains its end, the conversion and final perfection of its subject. This point is closely connected with Augustine's whole doctrine of predestination and consistently leads to it, or follows from it. But the irresistibility must manifestly not be extended to all the influence of grace, for grace can be resisted. Augustine therefore, must make irresistible grace identical with the specific grace of regeneration in the elect, which at the same time imparts the "donum perseverantiae" Grace, finally works progressively or by degrees. It removes all the consequences of the fall; but it removes them in an order agreeable to the finite, gradually unfolding the nature of the believer. "Grace is a foster-mother, who for the greatest good of her charge, wisely and lovingly accommodates herself to his necessities as they change from time to time." (2) Augustine gives different names to grace in these different steps of its development. In overcoming the resisting will, and imparting a living knowledge of sin and longing for redemption, grace is "gratia proeveniens or proeparans." In creating faith and the free will to do good and uniting the soul to Christ, it is "gratia operans". Joining with the emancipated will to combat the remains of evil, and bringing forth good works as fruits of faith, it is "gratia cooperans". Finally, in enabling him at length, though not in this life, to the perfect state, in which he can no longer sin nor die, it is "gratia perficiens". This includes the "donum perseverantiae", which is the only certain token of election.

E. THE DOCTRINE OF PREDESTINATION.

He pursued his anthropology and soteriology to their source in

(1) ibid, page 301

(2) ibid, page 400

theology. His personal experience of the wonderful and undeserved grace of God, various passages of the Scriptures, especially the Epistles to the Romans, and the logical connection of thought, led him to the doctrine of the unconditional and external purpose of the omniscient and omnipotent God. "In this he found the program of the history of the fall and redemption of the human race. He ventured boldly, but reverently upon the brink of that abyss of speculation, where all human knowledge is lost in mystery and in adoration." (1)

Predestination in general is a necessary attribute of the divine will, as foreknowledge is an attribute of the divine intelligence. It is absolutely inconceivable that God created the world or man blindly, without a fixed plan, or that this plan can be disturbed or hindered in any way by his creatures. Augustine went far beyond the Greek Fathers and Tertullian, Ambrose, Jerome, and Pelagius, who taught a conditional predestination, dependent on the foreknowledge of the free acts of men, when he taught an unconditional election of grace, and restricted the purpose of redemption to a definite circle of the elect, who constitute the minority of the race. His deep moral convictions revolted against making allowance for sin by tracing its origin to the divine will.

In Augustine's system the doctrine of predestination is not the starting-point, but the consummation. It is a deduction from his views of sin and grace. It is therefore more practical than speculative. It is, however, also held in check by his sacramental views. If we may anticipate a much later terminology, it moves within the limits of infralapsarianism, but philosophically is less consistent than supralapsarianism, while the infralapsarian theory starting with

(1) Schaff - page 403

This is the election of grace, or predestination. It is re-

lated to grace itself, as cause to effect, as preparation to execu-
the consciousness of sin, excludes the fall --the most momentous
event, except redemption, in the history of the world--from the
divine purpose, and places it under the category of divine per-
mission, making it dependent on the free will of the first man;
the supralapsarianism theory, starting with the conception of the
absolute sovereignty of God, includes the fall of Adam in the e-
ternal and unchangeable plan of God, though, of course, not as
an end, or for its own sake (which would be blasphemy), but as a
temporary means to an opposite end, or as the negative condition
of a revelation of the divine justice in the reprobate, and of the
divine grace in the elect. Augustine, therefore, strictly speaking
knows nothing of a double decree of election and reprobation, but
recognizes simply a decree of election to salvation; though logi-
cal instinct does sometimes carry him to the verge of supralapsar-
ianism. In both systems, however, the decree is eternal, uncondi-
tioned, and immutable; the difference is in the subject, which ac-
cording to one system, is man fallen, according to the other, man
as such. His deep moral convictions revolted against making al-
lowance for sin by tracing its origin to the divine will.

The first sin, according to Augustine's theory, was an act of
freedom, which could and should have been avoided, but once commit-
ted, it subjected the whole race, which was germinally in the loins
of Adam, to the punitive justice of God. All men deserve God's
punishment of eternal death. But he has resolved from eternity to
reveal to some His grace, by reserving them from the mass of perdi-
tion, and without their merit saving them.

This is the election of grace, or predestination. It is re-

lated to grace itself, as cause to effect, as preparation to execution. "Gratia est ipsius praedestinationis effectus". It is the ultimate, unfathomable ground of salvation. It is distinguished from foreknowledge, as will from intelligence; it always implies intelligence, but is not always implied in it. God determines and knows beforehand what He will do; the fall of man, and the individual sins of men, He knows perfectly even from eternity, but He does not determine or will them, He only permits them. There is thus a point, where prescience is independent of predestination, and where human freedom as it were, is interposed. The predetermination has reference only to good, not to evil. It is equivalent to election. Augustine it is true, speaks also in some places of a predestination to perdition (in consequence of sin) but never of a predestination to sin. The election of grace is conditioned by no foreseen merit, but is absolutely free. God does not predestinate His children on account of their faith, for their faith is itself a gift of grace; but He predestinates them to faith and to holiness. Sanctification is the infallible effect of election. Then also the imputation of teaching that a man may be elect, and yet live a godless life is precluded. Those who are thus predestinated as vessels of mercy, may fall for a while, like David and Peter, but cannot fall from grace. To election necessarily belongs the gift of perseverance, the donum perseverantiae, which is attested by a happy death. Those who fall away, even though they have been baptized and regenerated, show thereby, that they never belonged to the number of the elect. Hence we cannot certainly know in this life who are of the elect, and we must call all to repentance and offer to all salvation, though the vocation of grace only proves effectual to some. Why precisely this or that one attains to faith and others do not, is indeed a

mystery. We cannot say, he in this life explains the leadings of Providence; if we only believe that God is righteous, we shall hereafter attain to perfect knowledge.

He could cite many Scripture texts, especially the 9th chapter of Romans for this doctrine. But those texts which he quoted for the responsibility of man in the reception or rejection of this gospel, he could only explain by a slightly forced exegesis. Thus, for instance, he understands in I Tim. ²11:4, by the all men, whom God wills to be saved, as "all manner" of men, rich, and poor, learned and unlearned, or he wrests the sense into: "all who are saved, are saved only by the will of God." (1)

F. THE MEANS OF GRACE

The symbolical nature of the Sacraments is very frequently set forth by Augustine. Sacraments he says are to be "visible words". "In a sacrament, one thing is seen, another is understood." (2) A sacrament to him is the visible form of an invisible grace. Yet it is far from his conception that the Sacraments are bare symbols. They are concomitants, and in a sense the vehicles, of the grace which they figure to the senses.

1. Baptism:

The water of baptism shows outwardly "the sacrament of grace; the Spirit working inwardly" the benefit of grace. It brings the forgiveness of sins, it weakens its powers within us.

According to him all the baptized are regenerate, and yet many of these are eternally lost. The gratia irresistibilis he restricts

(1) Augustine, P. 500

(2) Augustine, Page 375

therefore to the narrower circle of the elect. According to Calvin, the regenerating effect of baptism is dependent on the decretum divinum and the truly regenerate is also elect, and therefore can never finally fall from grace. Augustine for the honor of the sacrament, assumes the possibility of a fruitless regeneration. Calvin in the interest of election and regeneration, assumes the possibility of an ineffectual baptism.

2. The Lord's Supper:

The body of Christ is to Augustine only a sign of the body. It is the mystical body by which he understands the church, the fellowship of the saints. It is the Church that is symbolized in the Lord's Supper. Therefore the real Christians only receive the benefit. The benefit consists in this that it symbolizes our union with Christ. This is Augustine's Symbolical conception of the Eucharist. It is to remind us of Christ's suffering and to stimulate us for the union of love as members of His body which is the church.

There is also another strain in the language of Augustine on the Lord's Supper. He speaks of a manducation of the flesh of Christ, of a drinking of the blood. According to Dr. J. L. Neve, Loofs and Seeberg insist that all such expressions are not irreconcilable with Augustine's symbolical conception, and they refer to the fact that he denies repeatedly the ubiquity of the body of the glorified Christ. Like as John Calvin later on, he taught that Christ's body is confined in one place in heaven.(1)

Augustine also makes use of the idea of his age that the Eucharist is an offering. It is to remind the Christians of the original offering. And it has the significance of asserting the redeem-

(1) Neve "History of Christian Thought", page 163

ing power of Christ's offering before God.

3. Conclusion.

Western Catholicism occupied about the same position on the Lord's Supper on account of Augustine's concept of it, as was taken by Berengar, Wyclif, Calvin and their successors.

wonderful comparison of the two systems of thought... it up so succinctly, that I have not... less the beauty of expression is lost.

"Pelagius was an upright man, who without inward conflict won for himself, in the way of 'legal righteousness', a legal righteousness which knew neither the depth of sin, nor the height of grace. Augustine on the other hand, passed through many convulsions, and bitter conflicts, till he was converted by the unmerited grace of God, and created anew to a life of faith and love. Pelagius had a singularly clear, though unexercised mind, and no earnest moral purpose, but no enthusiasm for holy ideals; and hence he failed to get hard to realize his lower standard of holiness. Augustine had a bold and soaring intellect, a glowing heart, and only found peace after he had long been tossed by the waves of passion. He had tasted all the misery of sin, and then all the glory of redemption, and this experience qualified him to understand and set forth these antagonistic powers far better than his opponent, and with a strength and fulness surpassed only by the inspired apostle Paul.

The Pelagian anthropology turns upon the higher antithesis of sin and grace. The soul of the Pelagian system is human freedom, the soul of the Augustinian system is divine grace. It comes at last to the question, whether redemption is chiefly a work of God or of man. Pelagius starts from the natural man and works up, by his own exertions, to righteousness and holiness. Augustine despairs of the weak capabilities of man, and derives the new life and all power for good from the creative grace of God. The one system proceeds from the liberty of man to legalistic piety, the other from the bondage of sin to the evangelical liberty of the children of God. In the former system he merely a teacher and example, and grace an external sustenance to the development of the native powers of man; in the latter he is God's Christ and King, and grace a creative principle, which begins, quickens and consummates a new life. The former ethics is a gradual process of the strengthening and perfection of human virtue.

The one looks to raise the dignity and strength of man; the other looks to reveal the sovereignty of the glory and omnipotence of God. The one begins with self-exaltation, the other is a gospel for penitent sinners. Pelagianism begins with self-exaltation and ends with the pride of self-deception and impotency. Augustinianism begins with the dust of humiliation and despair, in order to rise to the stage of grace to supernatural strength, and to reach the goal of self-knowledge up to heaven of the sovereignty of God.

G. Conclusion.

In concluding this chapter on the basic principles of Augustine's Theology of Grace, I believe I couldn't do better than to quote that wonderful comparison of the two men by Dr. Schaff. The following sums it up so succinctly, that I dare not paraphrase it in my own words less the beauty of expression is lost.

"Pelagius was an upright monk, who without inward conflict won for himself, in the way of tranquil development, a legal piety which knew neither the depth of sin, nor the heights of grace. Augustine on the other hand, passed through sharp convulsions, and bitter conflicts, till he was overtaken by the unmerited grace of God, and created anew to a life of faith and love. Pelagius had a singularly clear, though contracted mind, and an earnest moral purpose, but no enthusiasm for lofty ideals; and hence he found it not hard to realize his lower standard of holiness. Augustine had a bold and soaring intellect, a glowing heart, and only found peace after he had long been tossed by the waves of passion. He had tasted all the misery of sin, and then all the glory of redemption, and this experience qualified him to understand and set forth these antagonistic powers far better than his opponent, and with a strength and fulness surpassed only by the inspired Apostle Paul.

The Pelagian controversy turns upon the mighty antithesis of sin and grace. The soul of the Pelagian system is human freedom, the soul of the Augustinian system is divine grace. It comes at last to the question, whether redemption is chiefly a work of God or of man. Pelagius starts from the natural man and works up, by his own exertions to righteousness and holiness. Augustine despairs of the moral sufficiency of man, and derives the new life and all power for good from the creative grace of God. The one system proceeds from the liberty of choice to legalistic piety, the other from the bondage of sin to the evangelical liberty of the children of God. To the former Christ is merely a teacher and example, and grace an external auxiliary to the development of the native powers of man; to the latter he is also Priest and King, and grace a creative principle, which begets, nourishes and consummates a new life. The former makes regeneration and conversion a gradual process of the strengthening and perfecting of human virtue.

The one loves to admire the dignity and strength of man; the other loses himself in the adoration of the glory and omnipotence of God. The one flatters natural pride, the other is a gospel for penitent publicans and sinners. Pelagianism begins with self-exaltation and ends with the sense of self-deception and impotency. Augustinianism casts man first into the dust of humiliation and despair, in order to lift him on the wings of grace to supernatural strength, and leads him through the hell of self-knowledge up to heaven of the knowledge of God.

The Pelagian system is clear, sober and intelligible, but superficial; the Augustinian sounds the depths of knowledge and experience, and renders reverential homage to mystery. The former starts with the proposition: "Intellectus procedit Fidem.", the latter with the opposite maxim: "Fides procedit intellectum". Both make use of the Scriptures; the one, however, conforming them to reason; the other subjecting reason to them." (1) 12

No theology was ever, it may be broadly asserted, more conscientiously wrought out from the Scriptures. Is it without error? No; but its errors are on the surface, not of the essence. It leads to God -- and in the midst of the controversies of so many ages it has shown itself an edifice whose solid core is built out of material which cannot be shaken.

After Augustine's death, however, the intermediate system of Semi-Pelagianism, akin to the Greek synergism became prevalent in the West.

Pelagius and Augustine in whom these opposite forms of monerism were embodied are representative men. They represented principle and tendencies, which in various modifications, extend through the whole history of the church in its successive epochs.

After Augustine's death a year later, Prosper continued his work of exposition and defence, first answering in detail the sixteen objections to St. Augustine's Teaching which were put forth by Vincentius, and then replying to Cassian in a work called, "Against the Author of the Conferences." Cassian of Masella was the chief spokesman of a group of theologians in southern Gaul, who opposed the doctrine of the irresistibility of grace and insisted on finding a place in human nature for a small measure of self-determination, in spite of the admittedly disastrous results of the Fall. The freedom which they claimed for man was much more limited than that which was

(1) Schaff, pp. 787--789 in all cases of sudden conversion it was

IV - AUGUSTINE'S THEOLOGY OF GRACE THROUGHOUT THE SUBSEQUENT HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

The Greek church adhered to her undeveloped synergism, which coordinates the human will and divine grace as factors in the work of conversion; the Latin church, under the influence of Augustine, advanced to the system of a divine monergism, which gives God all the glory, and makes freedom itself a result of grace; while Pelagianism, on the contrary, represented the principle of a human monergism, which ascribes the chief merit of conversion to man, and reduces grace to a mere external auxiliary. After Augustine's death, however, the intermediate system of Semi-Pelagianism, akin to the Greek synergism became prevalent in the West.

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processes which lead to such seeming suddenness in the final crisis, that everything must be conceded to the operation of grace. Thus Cassian taught what has been known since the sixteenth century as Semi-Pelagianism, the characteristic note of which is the claim that man has the power to turn to God and so to invite and, as it were, to initiate the operation of grace.

Prosper was succeeded by Lucidus, a priest of Gaul, who held extreme predestinarian views: but these he was persuaded to repudiate when, in 475, he appeared before the Council of Arles at the citation of Faustus, Bishop of Riez. This Faustus, who had been formerly the head of the monastery of Lerins, subsequently wrote, at the request of the Council, a work entitled: "On Grace and Free Will", in which he expounded Semi-Pelagian views.

The issue between Augustinianism and Semi-Pelagianism was determined not long after by the efforts of Caesarius, Bishop of Arles from 501: but, though Augustine prevailed over Cassian, the influence of the Massilian school of theologians was seen when the controversy was closed, for the time, by Rome's adoption of the findings of the small Second Council of Arausio (Orange), which met in the year 529. This Council approved once more the Augustinian position as against the Pelagian: but, while it rejected the chief tenet of Semi-Pelagianism, its statement of Augustinianism was couched in a distinctly modified form. It repudiated the doctrine of predestination to eternal death, to which St. Augustine had committed himself in effect, though not by explicit statement, in his teaching concerning "preterition"; it refrained from pronouncing upon the doctrine of the irresistibility of grace; and it recognized the existence of a certain ability in man to co-operate with

divine grace after the work of grace had been initiated within him.

An attempt on the part of a Gallican monk, Gottschalk of Orbais in the 9th century to revive Augustinianism, by strenuously advocating unconditional decrees, double predestination of some to life and, just as deliberately, of the others to death, stirred up a vehement controversy. His principal opponent was Rabanus Maurus, Archbishop of Mainz who derived predestination from God's foreknowledge of the free actions of men. In this opinion he had many followers, though a large number still adopted the theory of Augustine after moderating and modifying it in various ways. Gottschalk's teachings were condemned by the Council of Mainz in 848.

Gottschalk's case was then further debated between Remigius, Archbishop of Lyons, and Hincmar, Archbishop of Rheims; and his teachings were again condemned, at the instance of Hincmar, by two successive synods held at Auiercy, in 849 and 953 respectively. John Scotus Eriugena contributed to the controversy by writing a work "On Predestination", at Hincmar's request; and this served to prolong the dissension, which did not cease until peace was made at the Synod of Tousy in 860.

At the end of the eleventh century St. Anselm produced his great work on the doctrine of the Atonement, "Why was God made man?" in which he embodied a modified Augustinianism, emphasizing the truth that all grace is to be attributed to the redeeming work of Christ, whose merits are available for transference to men.

A little later St. Bernard wrote his treatise "Concerning Grace and Free Will", in which he renewed the attribution of Grace to the work of the incarnate Christ, and taught that man's part in the work

of redemption consists solely in his consent to the operation of grace. And in the same century Peter Lombard, while accepting the Augustinian position, made a new departure by explicitly identifying grace with the Person of the Holy Spirit.

In the thirteenth century Augustinianism was challenged anew by the Franciscan schoolmen. The attempts made by Alexander of Hales and St. Bonaventura to save something from the wreck of human nature which had been produced by the Fall were continued with greater daring by their successor Duns Scotus, who advanced the contention that the sin of Adam had resulted only in the loss of certain original and special endowments of human nature such as immortality and freedom from pain, and that by the exercise of the free will which remained to him man could merit the bestowal of the grace of God. The difficulty of the introduction of the idea of merit which is "condign", or appropriate.

The Franciscans were opposed by St. Thomas Aquinas who formulated the famous distinction between "actual grace", and "habitual grace", and by other learned Rominicans; and the work of these supporters of a stricter Augustinianism was continued by such men as Thomas of Bradwardine and John Wyclif among the secular clergy. But in spite of the strength of their advocacy Augustinianism steadily lost ground as the Middle Ages wore on to a close, the doctrine of merit playing an increasingly large part in the practical working of the Church's system.

The violent return to Augustinianism in its strictest form, and the great stress laid upon the doctrine of justification by faith alone, which characterized the affirmations of the Reformers in the

sixteenth century, led to the reconsideration of the whole subject at the earlier sessions of the Council of Trent (1545-63); and as a result the differences of the Augustinian and the Semi-Pelagian elements on the Catholic side were composed in a verbal compromise which suggested the retention of the full Augustinian position, but at the same time allowed for those modifications in the position which had been accepted by the Church since the days of the Council of Orange. In particular there was a marked revision of St. Augustine's teaching concerning the nature of Adam and the consequences of his sin; and it was declared that the Fall did not completely rob man of his free will, but that it only weakened it and predisposed it to the choice of evil.

That was the end of unmitigated Augustinianism in the Church of Rome, in spite of the nominal adherence which continues to be given to it under the name of Augustinism; and since the publication of the Tridentine decisions it has been condemned whenever it has raised its head. Thus in 1567 Franciscan influence secured the condemnation of Baius, who included some elements of rigid Augustinianism in his strangely confused system of doctrine.

In the seventeenth century there was another awakening of Augustinianism in the Catholic church, brought about by Cornelius Jansen, Bishop of Ypres. He was an earnest Catholic, a thorough-going Augustinian, and convinced that the semi-Pelagian Jesuit interpretation of sin and grace must be combated. His chief work, "Augustinians", was published in 1640, after his death. Jansen's book was condemned by Pope Urban VIII in 1642, but Jansen's views found much support among the more deeply religious Catholics of France, notably in the nunnery of Port Royal, near Paris. The most influ-

ential opponent of the Jesuits was Blaise Pascal, a strong Augustinian. Especially in his "Lettres Provinciales" of 1656, did he attack the Jesuits. Pascal, a great scientist, was converted as a consequence of an accident to his father. Stephen Pascal had the misfortune to break his hip and he was treated by physicians who were devoted to the Jansenist cause. They succeeded not only in curing their patient, but also in winning the son to their doctrines, who in turn was influenced by his sister, Jacqueline, a sub-prioress at the convent, Port-Royal, a Jansenist stronghold.

When Arnauld an Augustinian and a professor of theology at the Sorbonne, who had embraced the Jansenist cause, was charged with heresy, Pascal took up his defense and those of Jansens' followers, by writing the "Provincial Letters", released under a pseudonym.

Louis XIV supported the Jesuit hostility to Jansenism, and persecuted its followers. In 1710 the buildings of Port Royal were torn down. Jansenism had found, however, a new leader of power in Pasquier Quesnel who had to seek safety in the Netherlands. His devotional commentary, "Moral Reflections on the New Testament" (1687-1692), aroused bitter Jesuit hostility, and through their efforts Pope Clement XI, by the bull Abnigenitus of 1713, condemned one hundred and one of Quesnel's statements, some taken literally from Augustine. The doctrines of Augustine appeared to be officially rejected by the Roman church. As a result, Louis Antoine de Noailles, cardinal Archbishop of Paris, twenty other French bishops and three theological faculties protested against this papal bull and appealed to a general council. Opposition was, however, in vain. The Jesuits, supported by the French monarchy, ultimately triumphed.

Luther's acceptance of Augustinianism went as far as he felt. Partly, through this Jansenist controversy, and partly by the quarrels between the Jesuits and the older Roman clergy, a division occurred in Utrecht, in the Netherlands, from which in 1723, a small independent, so-called Jansenist Catholic Church originated, which still exists, with an Archbishop in Utrecht, and Bishops in Haarlem and Deventer.

On the other hand, the Romincans failed to secure the condemnation of a work written by the Spanish Jesuit, Lius de Molina, in 1588, entitled "The Concord of Free Will with Divine Prescience, Providence, Predestination, and Reprobation."; although it departed unmistakably from true Augustinianism in its insistence upon the freedom of the will; and Molinism is still current in the Roman Church of today, together with a modified form of it, known as Congruism, which resulted from the efforts of Suarez and others to bring it nearer to the Augustinian position.

The Protestant Reformers found in the Augustinian doctrine of grace, one of the sharpest weapons with which to oppose the church that claimed to uphold that doctrine but, by its practical system of meritorious works, seemed to them to be the exponent of pure Pelagianism.

In many respects, the Reformation was the revival and triumph of Augustine's theology of redeeming grace. Both Luther and Calvin quoted from Augustine more than any other church father. Luther wrote in one of his books that Augustine more than any other church father teaches most of the whole christian doctrine. (1)

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Luther's acceptance of Augustinianism went as far as he felt Scripture was clear and explicit, thus leaving off some elements of Augustine's teachings on Grace; while Calvin was ready to go even a little beyond Augustine's teachings by accepting some of the logical implications of scripture, where Augustine had not dared to be positive. It is therefore that both men believed that salvation is neither unmerited nor foreseen in view of faith. Both believed in unconditional predestination like Augustine, though Luther limited it to the believers and was silent about the unelect for whom Christ also died, while Calvin accepted the logical implication, that God had also predestinated the wicked to destruction, for whom, Calvin believed, Christ had not died. They also believed that man was incapable by himself to grow spiritually, or even to co-operate in this--it was "sola Gratia".

But the divisions which date back to the fifth century soon declared themselves. Serious opposition was raised in both camps, by Melanchthon among the Lutherans, and by Arminius among the Reformed. Melanchthon, who had moved gradually away from the true Lutheran position, taught that man must be accounted to have in himself some power of turning to God and co-operating with Him, a belief which was then first termed "Synergism" as against "monergism". Arminius declared that, though the initial work of reclaiming man must be attributed to God alone, man is himself capable of making a subsequent contribution towards the working out of his salvation. This was set forth in the famous "Remonstrance" of 1610 by his followers, who were condemned by the Synod of Dort, held in 1618-19 by the Reformed Church of the Netherlands.

The church of England has both tendencies in their teachings. The Book of Common Prayer contains a mild Augustinianism, while the thirtynine Articles accepted Calvinism in a slightly modified form. Today it is said that the church of England has an Augustinian Prayer Book and a Pelagian pulpit.

Augustine's doctrine of Grace has been in decline the last 70 years until the last 10 years when it seemed to have a comeback in some quarters.

Today on the continent, only the Confessional Lutheran Church in Germany and the "Gereformeerde Kerk" in the Netherlands are the two large churches which still have been kept free from the Semi-Pelagian influence, and have held on to the essence of Augustine's doctrine of Grace, which originated with Paul.

In America it is known the controversies the Lutheran denominations have had on the subject of Predestination; only the Missouri Lutherans, among all these groups, has remained loyal to Luther's concept of Predestination, which was Augustinian.

While all the churches with a Calvinistic heritage still retain their doctrines on Grace -- only the "Christian Reformed" church has remained loyal to it, though it does not teach consistently the double Predestination of Calvin as the "Protestant Reformed" and the "Hard-Shell Baptist", the other two groups who follow Augustine still today in their pulpits. The great difference today between the Christian Reformed church and the Missouri Lutherans is not anymore double Predestination, for the former do not consistently hold to it anymore, but the former believes in limited a-

tonement, while the latter holds to a universal atonement that Christ died for both the wicked and elect.

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As to the other great denominations, of Calvinistic, Lutheran and Ana-Baptist heritage; Pelagianism, Semi-Pelagianism and Arminianism have invaded their pulpits and printing-presses, in some churches more and in others less.

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