

Restauratio in De ciuitate Dei

The Role of the Restoration Motif in Understanding Augustine's Theology of History

ABSTRACT

This article shows that the restoration motif in the second part of *De ciuitate Dei* serves as an important backbone for Augustine's theology of history, by providing it with semantic support and relating with its various key elements. The occurrences of all the Latin lemma carrying the 'restore' nuance are identified. The restoration motif gives a fresh reading of *De ciuitate Dei* and opens up a new perspective of studying Augustine's theology of history which is so prominent in the work. Specifically, four restoration dimensions, namely, the restoration of the body and soul, the restoration of the predestined number of saints, the restoration of the virtues and morals, the restoration of faith and hope of the saints on earth, are identified.

RESUMEN

Este artículo muestra que el motivo de la restauración en la segunda parte de *De ciuitate Dei* sirve como columna vertebral importante para la teología de la historia de Agustín, a través de proporcionarle un soporte semántico y de relacionarlo con sus diferentes elementos claves. Son identificadas las incidencias de todo el lema Latino que conllevan los matices de 'restauración'. El motivo de la restauración da una lectura fresca de *De ciuitate Dei* y abre una nueva perspectiva de estudio de la teología de la historia de Agustín que es muy importante en el trabajo. En concreto, se identifican cuatro dimensiones de restauración, a saber, la restauración del cuerpo y el alma, la restauración del número predestinado de los santos, la restauración de las virtudes y la moral, la restauración de la fe y la esperanza de los santos en la tierra.

I. INTRODUCING AUGUSTINE'S *DE CIUITATE DEI*

1. *Historical circumstances*

De ciuitate Dei is a monumental and timeless work written by Augustine over a period of fifteen years from 413 to 427 and was considered by him as his «*magnum opus et arduum*».¹ It is widely regarded as one of Augustine's most influential works and one of the most important of all the texts of the Church Fathers, playing a significant role in the formation of the Christian West. Today, it continues to be one of the most often reproduced Patristic writings. In fact, it is one of the longest single works presenting a sustained argument unified around a coherent single theme to survive from Greco-Roman antiquity.² Its scope embodies cosmology, psychology, political thought, anti-pagan polemics, Christian apologetics, biblical interpretation, apocalyptic themes and the theology of history.

The city of Rome, by many regarded as the 'eternal city', was sacked on 24 August 410 by the Visigoths, led by Alaric. Although at that moment Rome was no longer the capital of the Western Roman Empire, it still held a paramount position as the spiritual center of the Roman Empire. The sack of Rome came therefore as a major shock to many people, Christians and pagans alike, and intensified the existing pagan criticism towards Christianity.³ Some pagan critics argued that the emperor, the Empire and Rome had converted to Christianity, but that the Christian God apparently did not protect Rome, and that it was captured because the pagan deities and rites of their forefathers had been forsaken. More fundamentally, pagan philosophers claimed that Christian ethics, which foster values such as humility, meekness and love for the enemy, had weakened the strong Roman state. These pagan accusations apparently influenced Christians at that time, causing their faith to waver. It is thus well recognized that *De ciuitate Dei* is a protreptic-catechetical work.⁴

1 Augustine, *De civitate Dei* (CCSL 47,1), *praef.*

2 O'Donnell, J., «Augustine, City of God», <http://faculty.georgetown.edu/jod/augustine/civ.html> (accessed 27 May 2015).

3 Clark, G., «City of Books: Augustine and the World as Text» in Klingshirn, William E.; Safran, Linda, eds. *The Early Christian Book* (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press: 2008), 125. Clark reminds us that *De ciuitate Dei* was not written exactly out of a response to the sack of Rome, but to defend the city of God against those who prefer their own Roman gods.

4 See, for example, Johannes van Oort, «Augustine's Letters to Firmus (1A* and 2*) and the Purpose of *De ciuitate Dei*», *Studia Patristica* 27 (1993)

2. General contents of *De ciuitate Dei*

Augustine's reply to this rebuke in *De ciuitate Dei* is three-fold. Firstly, Rome is a temporal city, not an eternal city. Here on earth there is no eternal empire; eternality is a characteristic restricted to the «city of God». Furthermore, many of the disasters Rome had previously faced dated back to the pagan period and had thus not been provoked by Christianity. Above all, the city of Rome, whose power was based on war and terror, fell because it did not comply with the specific aim of a city: to strive after the common good of the community (*res publica*), which is justice or righteousness (*iustitia*). Secondly, he turns the tables around. He points out the inadequacy of pagan religion: polytheism does not reveal God or genuine ethical virtues, but on the contrary merely considers divinized humans with human vices. The same is true of pagan philosophy: it is not successful in helping human beings to find happiness. For instance, Neo-Platonism is not able to conceive of human redemption according to Augustine, because it refuses to accept the principle of divine incarnation.⁵ Thirdly, Augustine explains that the Christian rejection of the pagan religion and philosophy is in no way a plea for anarchy or an attack on the existing political and social order of the Empire. Christians were obedient citizens, who did not withdraw from their civil duties. They, for example, served in the army. Moreover, they took their civil responsibilities to heart. Bishops served for example at that time as civil judges. Christians thus were good patriots. Augustine's negative reply to the pagan criticism in the first part of *De ciuitate Dei* is followed by a positive exposition of the Christian alternative worldview in the second part; a worldview which is built on the concept of the two cities: *ciuitas terrena* (earthly city) and *ciuitas caelestis* (heavenly city).⁶ Augustine expounds

417-423,, where he points out that the *De ciuitate Dei* is to serve as *demonstratio*, proof of the truth of Christianity. This is the primary purpose of *De ciuitate Dei* which Augustine addressed to Firmus, a doubting catechumen.

5 According to the bishop of Hippo, Neo-Platonism understood that mankind lost its original divine state, but at the same time it was not able to offer mankind the restoration of this loss since it could not accept the idea of a mediator being both divine and human, cfr. *infra*.

6 In several places of *De ciuitate Dei*, Augustine names the cities differently, in diametric, opposite terms: (1) city of God - city of the devil; (2) heavenly city - earthly city; (3) eternal city - temporary city; (4) city of the faithful - city of the godless; (5) immortal city - mortal city; (6) Holy city - godless city.

on the theological meaning of history through the grand narratives of these two cities. By examining the origin, progress and destined ends of these two cities, Augustine develops a theology of history.

3. *Theology of history*

The primary goal of a Christian theology of history is to attempt to interpret the beginning, course, structure and goal of history on the basis and in the light of the belief in the one God who is Creator of all, Revealer of Himself in history, and the Redeemer and final Judge of the world. Augustine had in the first place an apologetic purpose in writing *De ciuitate Dei*: he intended to show that the Christianization of the Roman Empire did not cause its decline and fall (Books I to X). From this initial motivation, he then constructs a theological «meta-narrative», or rather «meta-history», identifying the two forces that direct the course of human history: the «city of God», characterized by the unity of the human community through the bonds of divine love, and the «city of Man», composed of people who are rebellious against God (Books XI to XXII).⁷ To Augustine, a person belongs either to the «city of Man» or to the «city of God». He incorporates both cities in his understanding of history.

Augustine's theology of history has four characteristics. First, he viewed human history as universal. God is the God of all history, not only that of the Church. Furthermore, Augustine contends that history is not only universal, but that it is also guided by divine providence.

Second, to Augustine, Scripture provides the clues for a proper interpretation of history. The divine purpose for humanity could not be ascertained in any other way, since the sacred text itself tells us how and in what situations God interacts with human history to ensure that the outcome of His interaction will be in accordance with his purposes. Based on his interpretation of Scripture, Augustine divided the human history of salvation into six ages (*aetates*)⁸:

⁷ Lizo, R., «Towards The Eternal City: St. Augustine's Theology of History,» *The Scriptorium Daily*, <http://www.patheos.com/blogs/scriptorium/2013/04/towards-the-eternal-city-st-augustines-theology-of-history/> (accessed 16 March 2014).

⁸ Markus, R.A., «History» in *Augustine Through the Ages: An Encyclopedia*, ed. Allan D. Fitzgerald (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 1999), 432-34.

- (1) From Adam until the Flood,
- (2) From Noah to Abraham,
- (3) From Abraham to David,
- (4) From David to the Babylonian Captivity,
- (5) From the Captivity to Christ,
- (6) From Christ until the end of the world.

By 400 C.E., Augustine had largely abandoned the foregoing six-fold scheme for a more simplified three-fold one: the age preceding the Law (*ante legem*) from Adam to Moses, the age under the Law (*sub lege*) until the coming of Christ, and the age under grace (*sub gratia*).⁹ The incarnation of Christ marked, in both models, the defining turning point in the progression of human history. The two above mentioned 'historical models' indicate that Christ's incarnation is a crucial feature of Augustine's theological understanding of history: God, becoming man, entering human history, and becoming history. Consequently, the third key element of Augustine's theology of history is 'Christo-centrality'. History has meaning because of Christ's incarnation.¹⁰ Together with the Church's doctrine of Creation (*exortus*, the origin of history) and its fulfilment in Christ's *parousia* (*debiti fines*, the destined end of history), the incarnation of Christ is the pivotal interpretative factor for all historical events (*procursus/excursus*, the progress of history).¹¹

9 Whalen, B. E., «Teaching the End of Days: Medieval Meets Modern Apocalypse in the Classroom» in Karolyn Kinane and Michael A. Ryan, eds., *End of Days: Essays on the Apocalypse from Antiquity to Modernity* (Jefferson: McFarland, 2009), 12.

10 A point very well put by Isabelle Bochet, 'Introduction', in: Augustin d'Hippone, *La Cité de Dieu* (Paris: Nouvelle Bibliothèque Augustinienne, 1993), 31: «La raison majeure est sans aucun doute le caractère foncièrement historique de la religion chrétienne: Dieu se révèle dans l'histoire. L'Incarnation en est le point central; elle a été préparée est prophétisée par l'histoire d'Israël; elle est attestée aujourd'hui par une communauté historique visible, l'Eglise.»

11 Van Oort, J., *Jerusalem and Babylon: A Study in Augustine's City of God and the Sources of His Doctrines of the Two Cities* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1991), 93. See *De ciuitate Dei* 11.1: «... de duraum ciuitatum... exortu et excursu et debitis finibus... disputare... adgrediar...»; 10.32: «...de duraum ciuitatum... exortu et procusu et debitis finibus quod dicendum arbitror... expediam».

A fourth significant characteristic of Augustine's theology of history is 'directionality' or 'linearity'. Augustine perceives history as purposeful and directional. This vision stands in contrast to the Hellenistic belief in fate. The pagan culture in Augustine's time believed in a cyclic traction of history, and that it had no deeper meaning or higher purpose. Augustine's view of history is teleological and eschatological. According to Augustine, there is a fixed goal of history, one which, for those who belong to the «city of God», ends with the attainment of the kingdom of God and a beatific life with and in God. There is a fixed beginning as well, which is the creation as recorded in Genesis. In this perspective, creation (as beginning) and re-creation (as goal) are intrinsically connected, in the sense that everything begins and ends in and with God.¹²

4. *The need to study the restoration motif in De ciuitate Dei*

This article will address the following question: How does Augustine develop a restoration word group (including the following verbs: *instaurō, reconcilio, reddo, redintegro, reficio, reformo, renovo, reparo, restituo*) that provides semantic support of and constructs connections between the said four key elements of his theology of history in the second part of *De ciuitate Dei* (Books XI to XXII)? After his polemic reply to pagan accusations in the first part of *De ciuitate Dei* (Books I to X), Augustine propounds in the second part (Books XI-XXII) a restorative account of history: human sin necessitates God's restoration. We will show that 'restoration' forms the basis of the four key characteristics of Augustine's theology of history. The restoration word group serves effectively as the building blocks

12 Mommsen, T., «Augustine and the Christian Idea of Progress. The Background of *The City of God*,» in *Journal of the History of Ideas* 12 (1952) 346-374. See also O. O'Donovan, «Augustine's City of God XIX and Western Political Thought,» in F. Donnelly, ed., *The City of God. A Collection of Critical Essays* (New York: Peter Lang, 1995), 135-149. See also S. Lancel, *Saint Augustin* (Paris: Fayard, 1999), 571-576, where O'Donovan Augustine rejects the idea of Christianity as a progressive factor in the evolutionary progress in human history. Christian ideals can only be reached in the spiritual realm, and not in the temporal or historical realm on this earth. O'Donovan states that Augustine has a historical concept of the growth of the Roman Empire, but this is essentially a demonic history. Since God's providence has its own aims, Augustine cannot grasp the idea of political or social progress here on earth.

of Augustine's theology of history that tie the entire second part of *De ciuitate Dei* together.

A close textual study of the second part of *De ciuitate Dei*, which contains Augustine's view of the origin, progress and finalization of the earthly and heavenly cities, indicates that it could be read in terms of a continuous process of restoration.

II. RESTORATION

The following table offers an overview of the restoration dimensions to be observed in each book of the second part of *De ciuitate Dei*:

Book XI	(1) Restoration involves the healing of the corrupted body and soul (11.2, 11.28). (2) Restoration is a continuous process until the end of history (11.2). (3) The restorative agent is Christ the Mediator and the perfect God-man (11.2). (4) The restorative act includes the remission of sin and the revelation of God (11.2, 11.10). (5) Moral restoration: the soul needs to turn to the love of God. Our <i>Imago Dei</i> in the inner soul is the key to this dimension (11.25-26).
XII	Restoration is both a unique and eschatological event, rather than a continued and repetitive one, thus implying a linear understanding of salvation history (12.27).
XIII	Restoration will result in a renewed, spiritual body that will be fully integrated with the eternal souls of the saints (13.17).
XIV	Restoration involves: (1) The predestination of the complete number of saints (14.10), (2) The foreknowledge of the human Fall (14.11,27), (3) The healing and liberation of the human will (14.11,17), (4) The restoration of the faith of the saints and their endurance of suffering on earth (14.15,27).

XV	(1) Restoration of relationships within the «city of God» (15.6). (2) Restoration of life through God's salvific act of Christ's crucifixion (15.3). (3) Restoration of virtues and morals (15.16). (4) Restoration of living species (15.27).
XVI	Restoration is a process in history through which Christ's mystery of crucifixion and resurrection is revealed (16.2,7,28).
XVII	The means of restoration: (1) Christ's death and resurrection, as promised in the Old Testament (17.18), (2) Restoration entails discipline, for the Jews who crucified Jesus and for all those who reject Christ (17.18).
XVIII	Restoration is a prophetic hope and an eschatological reality. Given through God's providence, it is a promise in the Scripture that outlives changes in human history (18.45, 48-49).
XIX	Restoration brings completeness in the future: (1) Both the soul and the body will be restored by resurrection (19.10), (2) Restoration results in the state of eternal peace (19.10-20, 26-28), (3) Restoration of moral virtues: love for God, our neighbor, and ourselves (19.10,14), (4) Restoration of civil obedience: on the basis of the above, the saints should strive for peace and order on earth (19.10).
XX	Restoration realized: The promised blessing of bodily resurrection, for those who are predestined to be saved, is fulfilled (20.5-10,15,20-21).
XXI	Restoration scope: Reconciliation with God and with one another through Christ (21.25,27).
XXII	Restoration's mission completed: The ultimate restored state of humanity is true happiness and glory attained by the body and soul (22.16, 22.30).

Based on the aspects of restoration found in the table above, the restoration dimensions can be further summarized into the following: (1) restoration of the body and soul, (2) restoration of the predestined number of saints, (3) restoration of human virtues and morals, (4) restoration of the faith and hope of the saints on earth.

1. *Restoration of the body and soul*

We see in the 'origin' section of *De ciuitate Dei* (Books XI to XIX) that the embodied soul¹³ of humans is corrupted by the abuse of their free will and thus falls short of God's glory, that is, it cannot see the light of God without divine help. Restoration therefore involves the healing of the corrupted body and soul through the remission of sin and the enlightenment of the soul to know God (11.28). The latter is only possible through the perfect God-man, Christ Jesus, the Son of God, as the restorative agent. The incarnate Christ enters history and acts as the mediator and the sacrifice offered to God for the remission of our sins (11.2,10). Restoration is a continuous process that has begun with the resurrection of Christ, but is not yet complete until the end of history (11.2) when Christ will come again and restore His people through bodily resurrection:

*In qua ut fidentius ambulet ad ueritatem, ipsa ueritas, Deus Dei filius, homine adsumpto, non deo consumpto, eandem constituit et fundauit fidem, ut ad hominis deum iter esset homini per hominem deum. Hic est enim mediator Dei et hominum, homo Christus Iesus. Per hoc enim mediator, per quod homo, per hoc et uia. Quoniam si inter eum qui tendit et illud quo tendit uia media est, spes est perueniendi; si autem desit aut ignoretur qua eundum sit, quid prodest nosse quo eundum sit? Sola est autem aduersus omnes errores uia munitissima, ut idem ipse sit Deus et homo; quo itur Deus, qua itur homo.*¹⁴

13 Apart from the Scriptures, Augustine's vision of the soul and body is much indebted to Neoplatonism; there is an asymmetry between soul and body. As a spiritual entity, the soul is superior to and ruler of the body. He has made this explicit elsewhere in, for example, *De Animae Quantitate* 13.22 and *De Genesi contra Manicheos* 2.11. It is for Augustine of the utmost importance that by God's design of complete human restoration leading to eternal bliss, the soul must be embodied (13.11).

14 Augustine, *De ciuitate Dei* 11.2 (CCSL 48, 322), trans. Marcus Dods, *The City of God*, 206: «And that in this faith it might advance the more confidently towards the truth, the truth itself, God, God's Son, assuming humanity without destroying His divinity, established and founded this faith,

Augustine clarifies that this ultimate restoration will be a unique and eschatological event rather than a repetitive cycle of redemption (12.27). The Augustinian restoration model supports a linear understanding of salvation history. This sounds paradoxical, as restoration usually means a return to the original condition. However, the restoration of human beings in *De ciuitate Dei* is not simply bringing humans back to the original Eden, or giving them back their original body and soul. The latter would imply that they could sin again, as Adam and Eve had done. Rather, the redeemed humans will have a renewed body and soul; they will live together in the New Jerusalem, the eternal «city of God».¹⁵ In Book XIII, Augustine shows that restoration will result in a renewed, spiritual body that will be fully integrated with the eternal souls of the saints (13.17). This restoration of mankind is by no means merely a remedy after the ‘accident’ of Adam’s Fall. Book XIV stresses that God has full foreknowledge of the human Fall (14.11,27) and has a perfect restoration plan for the subsequent healing and liberation of the human will (14.11,17) and of all living species (15.27).

In Book XV, Augustine discusses the restoration of life through God’s salvific act of Christ’s crucifixion (15.26). Book XVI asserts that restoration is a process in history through which the mystery of Christ’s crucifixion and resurrection is revealed. Historical narratives in the Bible often act as Christological allegories (16.2,7,28). In Book XVII, Augustine contin-

that there might be a way for man to man’s God through a God-man. For this is the Mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus. For it is as man that He is the Mediator and the Way. Since, if the way lied between him who goes, and the place whither he goes, there is hope of his reaching it; but if there be no way, or if he knows not where it is, what boots it to know whither he should go? Now the only way that is infallibly secured against all mistakes, is when the very same person is at once God and man, God our end, man our way.»

¹⁵ Augustine makes this point very clear when he quotes Revelation 21:2-5 in Book 20.17. Augustine, *De ciuitate Dei* 20.17 (CCSL 48, 727), trans. Marcus Dods, *The City of God*, 436: « «And I saw,» he says, «a great city, new Jerusalem, coming down from God out of heaven, prepared as a bride adorned for her husband. And I heard a great voice from the throne, saying, Behold, the tabernacle of God is with men, and He will dwell with them, and they shall be His people, and God Himself shall be with them. And God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes; and there shall be no more death, neither sorrow, nor crying, but neither shall there be any more pain: because the former things have passed away. And He that sat upon the throne said, Behold, I make all things new.»

ues to explore the Old Testament prophecies concerning Christ's death and resurrection (17.18).

In the section of *De ciuitate Dei* on the destination of history, Augustine assures his readers that restoration will attain its fullness at the end of history. Both the soul and the body will be restored by resurrection (19.10), resulting in the state of eternal peace (19.10-20, 26-28). Civil obedience will also be restored, since the saints will seek to attain peace and order during this earthly life (19.10):

*Sed neque sancti et fideles unius ueri Dei summique cultores ab eorum fallaciis et multiformi temptatione securi sunt. In hoc enim loco infirmitatis et diebus malignis etiam ista sollicitudo non est inutilis, ut illa securitas, ubi pax plenissima atque certissima est, desiderio feruentiore quaeratur. Ibi enim erunt naturae munera, hoc est, quae naturae nostrae ab omnium naturarum creatore donantur, non solum bona, uerum etiam sempiterna, non solum in animo, qui sanatur per sapientiam, uerum etiam in corpore, quod resurrectione renouabitur. Ibi uirtutes, non contra ulla uitia uel mala quaecumque certantes, sed habentes uictoriae praemium aeternam pacem, quam nullus aduersarius inquietet.*¹⁶

Finally, in Book XXII, the completion of God's restorative plan of action is sketched. The ultimate restored state of humanity is true happiness and glory attained by the body and soul (22.16, 22.30). Augustine insists that the fleshly body will be raised spiritual; but 'spiritual' refers not to the body's substance so much as to its moral orientation.¹⁷ The risen body will be morally transformed, but it will be corporeal.¹⁸

16 Augustine, *De ciuitate Dei* 19.10 (CCSL 48, 674), trans. Marcus Dods, *The City of God*, 406: «But not even the saints and faithful worshippers of the one true and most high God are safe from the manifold temptations and deceits of the demons. For in this abode of weakness, and in these wicked days, this state of anxiety has also its use, stimulating us to seek with keener longing for that security where peace is complete and unassailable. There we shall enjoy the gifts of nature, that is to say, all that God the Creator of all natures has bestowed upon ours, —gifts not only good, but eternal,— not only of the spirit, healed now by wisdom, but also of the body renewed by the resurrection. There the virtues shall no longer be struggling against any vice or evil, but shall enjoy the reward of victory, the eternal peace which no adversary shall disturb.»

17 Augustine, *De ciuitate Dei* 22.30 (CCSL 48, 865), trans. Marcus Dods, *The City of God*, 511: «For we shall ourselves be the seventh day, when we shall be filled and replenished with God's blessing and sanctification. There shall we be still, and know that He is God; that He is that which we

2. Restoration of the predestined number of saints

Augustine wrote *De praedestinatione sanctorum* (428/429) only a little more than a year after he finished *De ciuitate Dei*, and in it he states that predestination is made up of both conversion to (*initium fidei*: the beginning of faith) and perseverance in faith (*perseuerantia*). Predestination is the preparation of *gratia*: the gift of divine grace. In other words, faith is a gift from God through grace without any preceding human merit.¹⁹ This predestination is not based on God's foreknowledge of future human deeds, but entirely based on God's free decision; were this not so, grace would then be a reward for merits. This doctrine of *De praedestinatione sanctorum* is intimately linked with the restoration word group in *De ciuitate Dei*.

In Book XIV, Augustine asserts that restoration involves the predestination of the complete number of saints (14.10), the «original blessedness continuing until... the number of the predestined saints should have been completed», despite the first parents of humans and their descendants sinning against God:

Quam igitur felices erant et nullis agitabantur perturbationibus animorum, nullis corporum laedebantur incommotis: Tam felix uniuersa societas esset humana, si nec illi malum, quod etiam in posteros traicerent, nec quisquam ex eorum stirpe iniquitate

ourselves aspired to be when we fell away from Him, and listened to the voice of the seducer, «Ye shall be as gods,» and so abandoned God, who would have made us as gods, not by deserting Him, but by participating in Him. For without Him what have we accomplished, save to perish in His anger? But when we are restored by Him, and perfected with greater grace, we shall have eternal leisure to see that He is God, for we shall be full of Him when He shall be all in all. For even our good works, when they are understood to be rather His than ours, are imputed to us that we may enjoy this Sabbath rest. For if we attribute them to ourselves, they shall be servile; for it is said of the Sabbath, «Ye shall do no servile work in it.» Wherefore also it is said by Ezekiel the prophet, «And I gave them my Sabbaths to be a sign between me and them, that they might know that I am the Lord who sanctify them.» This knowledge shall be perfected when we shall be perfectly at rest, and shall perfectly know that He is God.»

18 Fredriksen, P., «Vile Bodies: Paul and Augustine on the Resurrection of the Flesh,» in *Bible Hermeneutics in Historical Perspective*, ed. Mark S. Burrows and Paul Rorem (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 1991), 86. On the status of bodily resurrection, Fredriksen especially notes Augustine's assertion that even gender will be preserved in the resurrected state.

19 Dupont, A., *Gratia in Augustine's Sermones ad Populum during the Pelagian Controversy: Do Different Contexts Furnish Different Insights?*, (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 64.

*committeret, quod damnatione reciperet; atque ista permanente felicitate, donec per illam benedictionem, qua dictum est: Crescite et multiplicamini (Genesis 1:28), praedestinatorum sanctorum numerus compleretur, alia maior daretur, quae beatissimis angelis data est, ubi iam esset certa securitas peccatorum neminem neminemque moriturum, et talis esset uita sanctorum post nullum laboris doloris mortis experimentum, qualis erit post haec omnia in incorruptione corporum reddita resurrectione mortuorum.*²⁰

Augustine takes God's promise to Adam in Genesis 1:28 figuratively to mean a promise of the increase of the number of saints, true Christians in the «city of God», until a predestined number is reached. This number will be a mystery in the sense that only God knows it. Book XX states that those with the promised blessing of bodily resurrection are predestined to be saved; the predestined number of the sons of God will be finally fulfilled (20.8,15).

Augustine explicates God's foreknowledge of the Fall in 14.11 and again in 14.27. Augustine already linked predestination, grace, and foreknowledge of the human fall in a preceding text, Book 13.23. There he asserts that while the first death is the result of sin and common to all, the second death is not. Quoting Romans 8:28-29, Augustine maintains that those excepted from the second death were called according to His purpose: «'For whom He did foreknow, He also did predestine to be conformed to the image of His Son, that He might be the first-born among many brethren.' Those the grace of God has, by a Mediator, delivered from the second death.»²¹ He quotes this same verse repeatedly in 18.51, 21.24 and 22.12,16.

²⁰ Augustine, *De ciuitate Dei* 14.10 (CCSL 48, 431), trans. Marcus Dods, *The City of God*, 271: «As happy, then, as were these our first parents, who were agitated by no mental perturbations, and annoyed by no bodily discomforts, so happy should the whole human race have been, had they not introduced that evil which they have transmitted to their posterity, and had none of their descendants committed iniquity worthy of damnation; but this original blessedness continuing until, in virtue of that benediction which said, «Increase and multiply,» the number of the predestined saints should have been completed, there would then have been bestowed that higher felicity which is enjoyed by the most blessed angels,—a blessedness in which there should have been a secure assurance that no one would sin, and no one die; and so should the saints have lived, after no taste of labor, pain, or death, as now they shall live in the resurrection, after they have endured all these things.»

²¹ Augustine, *De ciuitate Dei* 13.23 (CCSL 48, 406), trans. Marcus Dods, *The City of God*, 257-58.

Combining 13.23 and 14.11, the conclusion might be drawn that Augustine interprets the 'foreknowing' in Romans 8 to mean 'foreknowing those who will sin'. While this is a fair comment, one must be careful not to over-interpret Augustine. He does not perceive a causal relationship between his understanding of foreknowledge and of predestination when he interprets Paul's statement, 'for those whom he did foreknow, he also did predestine to be conformed to the image of the Son'. Augustine's response to the Romans' text is simply that these people, who will sin during the course of history, are known by God and destined to be saved before the beginning of history, as they have the grace of God.²²

De ciuitate Dei is often cited by scholars claiming that Augustine supports or even created the doctrine of double predestination.²³ As a term used in reference to Calvinistic predestination, this is not only an anachronistic label, but it may also lead to the interpretation that Augustine supports the notion of God predestining some people to eternal damnation. This impression may be derived from the diametric schema of *De ciuitate Dei*: heavenly city vs. earthly city; «city of God» vs. «city of Man», etc. However, Augustine says in 15.1: «And these we also mystically call the two cities, or the two communities of men, of which the one is predestined to reign eternally with God, and the other to suffer eternal punishment with the devil.»²⁴

While this statement is apparently consistent with Calvin's notion of double predestination, one needs to read Augustine in the broader context here: Preceding this text, in 14.28, Augustine shows that the earthly city was created «by the love of self, even to the contempt of God» (14.28). So these people turn away from God and seek happiness outside Him. In short, their love is misdirected. They are destined to eternal suffering be-

22 Ibid., 284: «When these two cities began to run their course by a series of deaths and births, the citizen of this world was the first-born, and after him the stranger in this world, the citizen of the city of God, predestinated by grace, elected by grace, by grace a stranger below, and by grace a citizen above.»

23 This is the teaching that God has determined the eternal destiny of every human being and that he has chosen some to eternal life and fore-ordained others to everlasting punishment.

24 Augustine, *De ciuitate Dei* 15.1 (CCSL 48, 453), trans. Marcus Dods, *The City of God*, 284.

cause of this abuse of their proper will.²⁵ Before their death, Augustine says, the Church can still pray for their repentance, in the hope that they will repent (21.24):

*Iustitia quippe Dei Christus est, qui factus est nobis, sicut dicit apostolus, sapientia a Deo et iustitia et sanctificatio et redemptio, ut, quem ad modum scriptum est, qui gloriatur, in Domino gloriatur [1 Cor 1,30sq.]. Hanc Dei iustitiam, quam donat gratia sine meritis, nesciunt illi, qui suam iustitiam uolunt constituere, et ideo iustitiae Dei, quod est Christus, non sunt subiecti. In qua iustitia est multa multitudo dulcedinis Dei, propter quam dicitur in Psalmo: gustate et uidete quam dulcis est Dominus [Ps 33,9].*²⁶

Moral restoration is important for the bishop of Hippo, and this theme runs through the entire *De ciuitate Dei*, as we shall see in the next section.

3. Restoration of the human virtues and morals

The themes of the misdirected human free will and, consequently, the corrupted image of God in mankind run through the entire 'origin of the two cities' part of *De ciuitate Dei* (Books XI to XIV). The restoration word group helps to remind the readers that our morals are to be restored, here and now during our sojourning in this life. We have seen that beginning with Book XI, where Augustine explains that moral restoration is a crucial aspect of God's restoration plan for mankind. The soul needs to return to the love for God. Hence, we need to look into our inner soul, to discover our *Imago Dei* again, and meditate over its rightful orientation (11.25,26):

Et nos quidem in nobis, tametsi non aequalem, immo ualde longeque distantem, neque coaeternam et, quo breuius totum dicitur, non eiusdem substantiae, cuius Deus est, tamen qua Deo nihil sit in rebus ab eo factis natura propinquius, imaginem Dei, hoc est illius summae trinitatis, agnoscimus, adhuc reformatione perficiendam, ut sit etiam similitudine proxima. Nam et sumus et nos esse nouimus et id esse ac nosse diligimus. In his

²⁵ Ibid., 282: Augustine makes it explicit that God's foreknowledge is not the culprit for His people's sin. «All was brought about in such a manner, that neither did any future event escape God's foreknowledge, nor did His foreknowledge compel any one to sin.»

²⁶ Augustine, *De ciuitate Dei* 21.24 (CCSL 48, 792), trans. Marcus Dods, *The City of God*, 469.

*autem tribus, quae dixi, nulla nos falsitas ueri similis turbat. Non enim ea sicut illa, quae foris sunt, ullo sensu corporis tangimus, uelut colores uidendo, sonos audiendo, odores olfaciendo, saporibus gustando, dura et mollia contrectando sentimus, quorum sensibilibus etiam imagines eis simillimas nec iam corporeas cogitatione versamus, memoria tenemus et per ipsas in istorum desideria concitamur; sed sine ulla phantasiarum vel phantasmatum imaginatione ludificatoria mihi esse me idque nosse et amare certissimum est...*²⁷

As God is the author of our nature (11.25), we need to return to Him who can restore our broken nature, and train our rational mind to demonstrate good morals. Augustine even asserts that we do not need to wait for the future Paradise to experience the four virtues, i.e. prudence, fortitude, temperance, and justice. He urges that the Church should love Christ and know the four gospels so as to breed these virtues and produce good works (13.21).²⁸

Human virtues and vices are both vividly demonstrated in biblical narratives. In Book XV, Augustine discusses the restoration of relationships within the «city of God» (15.6), as well as the restoration of virtues and morals (15.16). In this book, Augustine continues to consider disobedience as the primordial sin of humans. In 15.16, Augustine mentions that the lawless people are those who transgress moral boundaries. As the «city of God» is a community of faith and the body of Christ,

²⁷ Augustine, *De ciuitate Dei* 11.26 (CCSL 48, 345), trans. Marcus Dods, *The City of God*, 220: «And we indeed recognize in ourselves the image of God, that is, of the supreme Trinity, an image which, though it be not equal to God, or rather, though it be very far removed from Him,—being neither co-eternal, nor, to say all in a word, consubstantial with Him,—is yet nearer to Him in nature than any other of His works, and is destined to be yet restored, that it may bear a still closer resemblance. For we both are, and know that we are, and delight in our being, and our knowledge of it. Moreover, in these three things no true-seeming illusion disturbs us; for we do not come into contact with these by some bodily sense, as we perceive the things outside of us,—colors, e.g., by seeing, sounds by hearing, smells by smelling, tastes by tasting, hard and soft objects by touching,—of all which sensible objects it is the images resembling them, but not themselves which we perceive in the mind and hold in the memory, and which excite us to desire the objects. But, without any delusive representation of images or phantasms, I am most certain that I am, and that I know and delight in this...»

²⁸ For a concise discussion of the virtues, see Etienne Gilson, *The Christian Philosophy of Saint Augustine* (New York: Vintage Books, Random House, 1967), 131.

its inhabitants should carefully reflect upon what kind of virtues and vices are in their heart, those that drive their moral conduct. Book XV, in a commentary of the Genesis account of human vices, defines 'virtue' as the order of love within God.²⁹ Any 'love' directed outside God is accordingly a 'vice'. Even the members within the «city of God» need to help one another to avoid vices that would afflict their community during their sojourn in this world. This is the restoration of virtuous life spoken of in Book XV that we have discussed above. Consistent with this line of thought, in Book XIX, Augustine again addresses the restoration of the quintessential moral principle, the command to love God, one's neighbor, and oneself (19.14), taken from Mark 12:30-31. On this point, Augustine resorts to logical reasoning to call his readers to love God and to convince their neighbors to do likewise:

*Iam uero quia duo praecipua praecepta, hoc est dilectionem Dei et dilectionem proximi, docet magister Deus, in quibus tria inuenit homo quae diligat, Deum, se ipsum et proximum, atque ille in se diligendo non errat, qui Deum diligit: consequens est, ut etiam proximo ad diligendum Deum consulat, quem iubetur sicut se ipsum diligere.*³⁰

Here Augustine reminds his readers that we are to be restored morally to love God, and encourage others to do likewise. This is the mission for the citizens of the «city of God». We are not to love ourselves and others more than we love God. Finally, in Book XXI, Augustine emphasizes that restoration involves the reconciliation with God and with one another through Christ. The status of reconciliation represents a restoration of unhindered relationship with God and participation in the body of Christ. This reconciliation is a requirement for the real Holy Communion which takes place in the sacrament of the Eucharist (21.25,27).

29 Augustine, trans. Marcus Dods, *The City of God*, 303. «But if the Creator is truly loved, that is, if He Himself is loved and not another thing in His stead, He cannot be evilly loved; for love itself is to be ordinally loved, because we do well to love that which, when we love it, makes us live well and virtuously. So that it seems to me that it is a brief but true definition of virtue to say, it is the order of love...»

30 Augustine, *De ciuitate Dei* 19.14 (CCSL 48, 681), trans. Marcus Dods, *The City of God*, 410.

4. Restoration of the faith and hope of the saints on earth

De ciuitate Dei was an expression of Augustine's meditation on the catastrophic sack of Rome. This historic event had given pagan opponents the occasion for anti-Christian polemics and had shaken the faith of many Christians.³¹ Book XIV shows the restoration of the faith and hope of the saints through the endurance of suffering on earth (14.15,27). In 14.15, Augustine explains the difference between suffering in the body (e.g. sickness and physical pain are mentioned) and suffering in the soul (e.g. sadness and anger):

*Quid enim caro per se ipsam sine anima uel dolet uel concupiscit? Sed quod concupiscere caro dicitur uel dolere, aut ipse homo est, sicut disseruimus, aut aliquid animae, quod carnis afficit passio, uel aspera, ut faciat dolorem, uel lenis, ut uoluptatem. Sed dolor carnis tantum modo offensio est animae ex carne et quaedam ab eius passione dissensio, sicut animi dolor, quae tristitia nuncupatur, dissensio est ab his rebus, quae nobis nolentibus acciderunt. Sed tristitiam plerumque praecedat metus, qui et ipse in anima est, non in carne. Dolorem autem carnis non praecedat ullus quasi metus carnis, qui ante dolorem in carne sentiatur.*³²

Although suffering is inevitable in this world, those who belong to the heavenly city should anticipate eternal peace without suffering, and those who belong to the earthly city and do evil should know that eternal suffering awaits them, as «the evil man will not go unpunished.»³³

In Book XVII, Augustine comments that the Jews who crucified Jesus and all those who reject Christ will be requited at the last judgment (17.18). This is a hope for those who suffer for righteousness' sake, as Christ has been their model. Those who commit evil and afflict God's people will be requited by Him in the final judgment. Their destiny is a resurrected body with a restored soul that will suffer the pain of eternal fire and of eternal separation with God. Book XVIII proceeds by emphasizing the blessed hope of Christ's salvation and the New Jerusalem that has been promised by the prophets of the Old and

31 Markus, R.A., «History» in *Augustine Through the Ages: An Encyclopedia*, ed. Allan D. Fitzgerald (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 1999), 433.

32 Augustine, *De ciuitate Dei* 14.15 (CCSL 48, 438), trans. Marcus Dods, *The City of God*, 274.

33 Proverbs 11:13 (NASB).

New Testaments. All suffering saints in the era of the contemporary Church should find solace in this eschatological reality (18.45,48,49).

Finally, in 19.17, Augustine exhorts his Christian readers to behave well in their relationship with the «city of Man» and to do their utmost to restore peace with its inhabitants, complying with civic obedience. However, according to Augustine, there are two exceptions, situations in which the restoration of peace and civic obedience should not be considered as the primary goals of Christians:

Ita etiam terrena ciuitas, quae non uiuit ex fide, terrenam pacem appetit in eoque defigit imperandi oboediendique concordiam ciuium, ut sit eis de rebus ad mortalem uitam pertinentibus humanarum quaedam compositio, uoluntatum. Ciuitas autem caelestis uel potius pars eius, quae in hac mortalitate peregrinatur et uiuit ex fide, etiam ista pace necesse est utatur, donec ipsa, cui talis pax necessaria est, mortalitas transeat; ac per hoc, dum apud terrenam ciuitatem uelut captiuam uitam suae peregrinationis agit, iam promissione redemptionis et dono spiritali tamquam pignore accepto legibus terrenae ciuitatis, quibus haec administrantur, quae sustentandae mortali uitae adcommodata sunt, obtemperare non dubitat, ut, quoniam communis est ipsa mortalitas, seruetur in rebus ad eam pertinentibus inter ciuitatem utramque concordia.³⁴

First, if the policy of the government is not intended for the social well-being of the earthly city or state, then Christians should act morally to seek justice for the society out of love for God, even when this implies 'civic disobedience'. Augustine's principle of love constitutes thus the heart of his political the-

³⁴ Augustine, *De ciuitate Dei* 19.17 (CCSL 48, 684), trans. Marcus Dods, *The City of God*, 412: «The earthly city, which does not live by faith, seeks an earthly peace, and the end it proposes, in the well-ordered concord of civic obedience and rule, is the combination of men's wills to attain the things which are helpful to this life. The heavenly city, or rather the part of it which sojourns on earth and lives by faith, makes use of this peace only because it must, until this mortal condition which necessitates it, shall pass away. Consequently, so long as it lives like a captive and a stranger in the earthly city, though it has already received the promise of redemption, and the gift of the Spirit as the earnest of it, it makes no scruple to obey the laws of the earthly city, whereby the things necessary for the maintenance of this mortal life are administered; and thus, as this life is common to both cities, so there is a harmony between them in regard to what belongs to it.»

ology.³⁵ Second, when there is religious persecution (that is, when Christians are compelled to worship some god other than the one true God or are forced to believe doctrines that are condemned by Scripture), they should protest against the government. They should either endure the resulting persecution or in some cases, together with other Christians, rise up against the persecution.

5. *The interplay of the four restoration dimensions*

The four dimensions of restoration discerned in *De ciuitate Dei* interrelate with each other, as illustrated in Figure 1 here below.

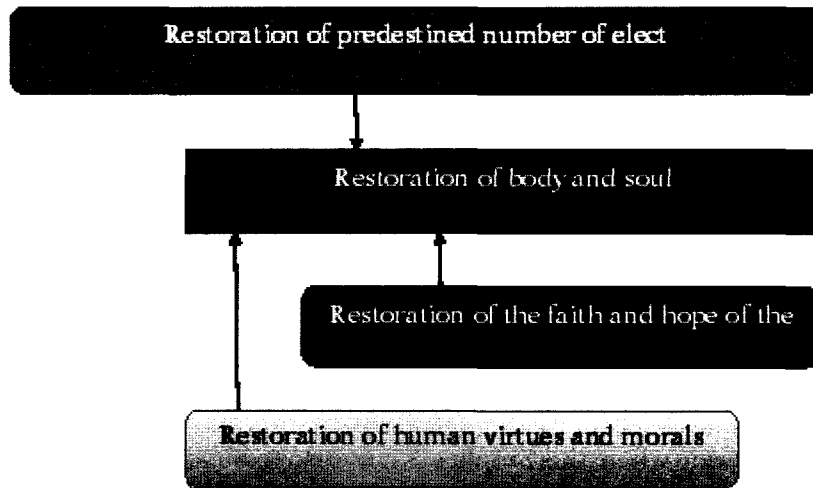


FIGURE 1.—*The interplay of the four restoration aspects.*

35 For a detailed discussion of Augustine's political theology and comparison with that of Cicero, see, for example, Geoffrey J.D. Holsclaw, «Transcending Subjects: Hegel After Augustine, an Essay on Political Theology» (2013). Dissertations (2009 -). Paper 303. http://epublications.marquette.edu/dissertations_mu/303 (accessed 27 May 2015). The key point is that «Christ not only ontologically unites God- and neighbor-love because he is both human and divine, but he actively exemplifies this love and justice, and creates the possibility of following this example. As the one who exemplified and enables love and justice, Christ is the founder of a loving and just society. In these ways God's self-immanent transcending moves human society beyond its own self-immanent abdication of freedom in its bondage to sin.» Hence we love the human city because of God's love, and we are to do justice to it because of the latter.

Among the four restoration aspects, the restoration of the number of predestined elect is situated at the top because the restoration plan is 'predestined' and drives the entire human path. God has predestined a fixed number of men for salvation, as an unmerited gracious act towards humans. Consequently, history is the process of the unfolding of this divine, predestined plan.³⁶

The central module in Figure 1 represents the aspect of the restoration of the body and soul, which is the primary focus of God's predestined restoration of humanity (hence the downward arrows in Figure 1, indicating the referential content of predestination). In other words, God predestined the restoration of the body and soul for the saints, such that the body and the soul will be resurrected and transformed into the glorified state with the accompanying perfect will to love God (1 Corinthians 15:35–44, 1 John 3:2), as Augustine explicates for example in 22.20:

Quod decus ut seruetur, si aliquid demptum fuerit indecenti alicui granditati in parte aliqua constitutae, quod per totum spargatur, ut neque id pereat et congruentia partium ubique teneatur: non est absurdum, ut aliquid inde etiam staturae corporis addi posse credamus, cum omnibus partibus, ut decorem custodiant, id distribuitur, quod si enormiter in una esset, utique non dece-ret. Aut si contenditur in ea quemque statura corporis resurrectorum esse, in qua defunctus est, non pugnaciter resistendum est; tantum absit omnis deformitas, omnis infirmitas, omnis tarditas omnisque corruptio, et si quid aliud illud non decet regnum, in quo resurrectionis et promissionis filii aequales erunt angelis Dei, si non corpore, non aetate, certe felicitate.³⁷

36 Mattox, J., «Augustine's Political and Social Philosophy», *Internet Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, <http://www.iep.utm.edu/aug-poso> (accessed 27 May 2015).

37 Augustine, *De ciuitate Dei* 22.20 (CCSL 48, 840-841), trans. Marcus Dods, *The City of God*, 499: «And it is reasonable to suppose that, for the preservation of this beauty, any part of the body's substance, which, if placed in one spot, would produce a deformity, shall be distributed through the whole of it, so that neither any part, nor the symmetry of the whole, may be lost, but only the general stature of the body somewhat increased by the distribution in all the parts of that which, in one place, would have been unsightly. Or if it is contended that each will rise with the same stature as that of the body he died in, we shall not obstinately dispute this, provided only there be no deformity, no infirmity, no languor, no corruption,—nothing of any kind which would ill become that kingdom in which the children of the resurrection and of the promise shall be equal to the angels of God, if not in body and age, at least in happiness.»

The body and soul of the people in the «city of Man», on the other hand, will also be resurrected, but they will not be restored into God's glory, but will be judged by the Lord. Their 'restored body and soul' will be subject to the final punishment, the result of which is eternal pain and separation from God.

The other two dimensions of restoration are both related to the restoration of body and soul in the following way. The restoration of virtues and morals is the challenge of the will, and the will is imperfect so long as it is inclined to love anything other than God. So the restoration of the soul is the ultimate solution that God predestined. The restoration of the faith and hope of the saints is based on the ultimate hope of the restoration of the body and soul.

6. *The concept of restoration as an important backbone of Augustine's theology of history*

Words in the semantic field of restoring occur in a repetitive fashion in *De ciuitate Dei*, hence they could be considered to be a literary motif. Figure 2, here below, integrates the concept of restoration, as its four dimensions were depicted in Figure 1, with the four key elements of Augustine's theology of history.

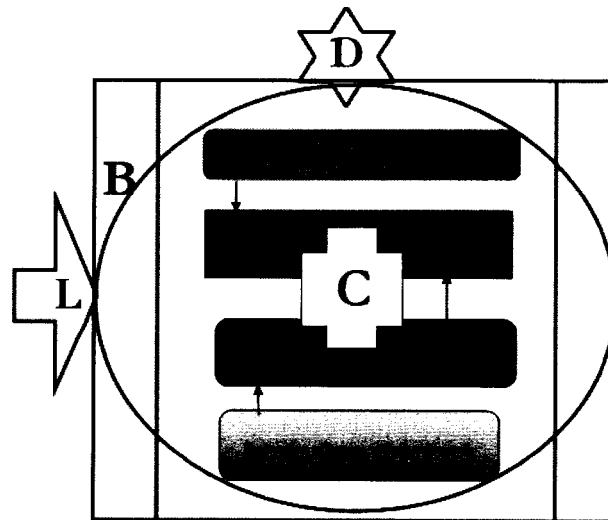


FIGURE 2.—*The restoration motif as an important backbone of Augustine's theology of history.*

The four aforementioned key elements of Augustine's theology of history in the above Figure 2 are: (1) universality on the basis of divine providence (P); (2) biblicality (B); (3) Christocentrality (C); (4) directionality or linearity (L). The restoration word group carries the semantics of these four historical-theological elements effectively:

(1) Out of His divine providence God had/has a plan of creation and restoration for His people that is gradually unfolded as sacred history continues. All true Christians, constituting the «city of God», will be universally redeemed, with their body and soul restored, to reflect the image of God perfectly (again). All evil people, the «city of Man», will be universally destined to eternal suffering.

(2) The restoration word group is consistently used in the exposition of Scriptural narratives as Augustine describes the sacred history of the origin, progress and destined ends of the «city of God» and finds inspiration in Biblical narratives.

(3) The restorative agent is the incarnate Christ and the restorative medium is also Christ, as He is both the Mediator and sacrifice. He is also our peace and our model of imitation for our moral restoration.

(4) The two cities have distinct directions, and God's restorative act does not proceed in cycles, but moves linearly through history. Restoration of body and soul is not reversible.

III. CONCLUSION

As Johannes van Oort puts it, «The exposition of the history of salvation, or *Heilsgeschichte* in the classical sense, is nowhere handled more extensively by Augustine than in his great work, *The City of God*».³⁸ In the allegory of the two *ciuitates*, Augustine expounds on the narratives of ecclesial and secular history. The *ciuitas Dei* and the *terrena ciuitas* act as antithesis in this exposition. They have different origins and destinies, but are intermingled with each other in this world.

First of all, the foregoing study illustrated that Augustine

38 Van Oort, J., «The end is now: Augustine on History and Eschatology,» *HTS Theologiese Studies/Theological Studies* 68(1), Art. #1188, 2012, <http://dx.doi.org/10.4102/hts.v68i11188> (accessed 27 May 2015).

frequently used the 'restore' lemma to express his idea of restoration in the second part of *De ciuitate Dei*. Augustine's theology of history is intrinsically interwoven with this set of restoration lemmas. The (hi-) story of God with his people is about restoration. History, according to the *doctor gratiae*, is God-predestined, Scripture-based, Christocentric and goal-oriented.

By emphasizing the restoration of the human body and the human virtues, Augustine shows his concern for the spiritual life of his readers. Despite the vicissitudes of life, one is exhorted to redirect one's love towards God instead of towards earthly objectives. In relation to the latter, Augustine wants his Christian readers to be 'restored' by contemplating the glory and grace of the «city of God», for this is the only way to be saved and redeemed. In the context of this line of argument, one should recall Augustine's purpose for and intended readership of *De ciuitate Dei*: it is not primarily written to refute pagans, but to restore the doubting faith and hope of Christians at that apocalyptic time who might wonder why the divine providence of God did not prevent the disasters from taking place in Rome. Why live righteously, if the pagans seem to prevail, and even thrive, in their sack of Rome? From Book I to XXII, Augustine has attempted to re-align his readers' mindset so that they would understand the Roman history in a similar manner to biblical history, which is overseen by the one true triune God who deeply cares about the moral condition of humans.³⁹

To conclude, restoration has four major aspects of interrelated theological meanings in Augustine's mind. This concept constitutes an important backbone of Augustine's theology of history.

Jimmy CHAN (*Hong Kong*)
& Anthony DUPONT (*Leuven*)

39 Busch, P., «On the Use and Disadvantage of History for the After-life,» in *Augustine and History*, edited by Christopher T. Daly, John Doody, and Kim Paffenroth (Plymouth: Lexington Books, 2008), 18.