

*AUGE IN ME ISTA DONEC ME REFORMES AD INTEGRUM: THE RENEWAL OF THE
IMAGO DEI IN SAINT AUGUSTINE'S DE TRINITATE AS DEIFICATION*

by

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Dalhousie University is located in Mi'kma'ki, the
ancestral and unceded territory of the Mi'kmaq.

We are all Treaty people.

To my father, mother, sister, and brother.

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ABSTRACT

The *imago Dei* is central to Augustine's *De Trinitate*. Augustine supports his primary concern of establishing a correct understanding of the Trinity by engaging in a secondary task: the examination of the renewal of the *imago Dei*. This thesis explores how the whole of the work is oriented towards showing how the renewal of the *imago Dei* begins in this life as the soul strives to increase its likeness to the Trinity, its divine exemplar, and participate in His life.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS USED

<i>adu. Haer.</i>	Irenaeus, <i>Aduersus Haereses</i>
<i>cat. rud.</i>	Augustine, <i>De catechizandis rudibus</i>
<i>ciu. Dei</i>	Augustine, <i>De ciuitate Dei</i>
<i>conf.</i>	Augustine, <i>Confessiones</i>
<i>DT.</i>	Augustine, <i>De Trinitate</i>
<i>Incar.</i>	Athanasius, <i>De Incarnatione</i>
<i>s.</i>	Augustine, <i>Sermones</i>
<i>Solil.</i>	Augustine, <i>Soliloquia</i>

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION – AUGUSTINE, *IMAGO DEI*, AND DEIFICATION

This thesis will consider the *imago Dei* and its role in St. Augustine's *De Trinitate*. In particular, I will argue that the renewal of the *imago Dei* constitutes for Augustine a form of participation in the divine life of the Trinity or deification. It is through the *imago Dei* that humans participate, in a real way, in the divine life here on earth though *nunc per speculum in aenigmate: tunc autem facie ad faciem*.¹ It is important here at the beginning to explain exactly what I mean by the term deification. For Augustine, in the context of *De Trinitate*, I will argue that deification means to become like God, as much as is possible for humans according to their nature, in this life by renewing or activating once more the image of God within their souls.² Furthermore, this process of participation in God does not cease with the mere discovery of the *imago Dei* within the soul, but the discovery of the image of God calls the reader of the *De Trinitate* to a sustained relationship with God. While Augustine recognizes that there is always a difference by nature between the Creator and the creature, he also recognizes that humans were made for a union with God and to be like Him. For the sake of my argument, we must suspend other ideas of deification or θεώσις that we have from other parts of the Christian tradition.³ What I am calling deification for Augustine is something unique to the Bishop of Hippo: it rightly recognizes the capacity for union with God within the human soul while at the same time

¹ 1 Cor 13:12. A favourite quotation of Augustine's, which is quoted frequently throughout the work to emphasize the ways in which the human relationship with God changes. On earth we can only approach so close to the divine, but it is always in an incomplete way. Only in the afterlife will we see God as He is, face to face.

² Mary Noreen Rita Marrocco, *Participation in the Divine Life in St. Augustine's De Trinitate and Selected Contemporary Homiletic Discourses* (PhD diss., University of St. Michael's College [Toronto], 2000), 2-3. Marrocco notes that throughout Augustine's writings, while the actual use of the term *deificare* and its cognates only appears a limited number of times, the theme of salvation by becoming like God is presented in a multitude of ways: as "partakers in divinity," "partakers in immortality," "sons of God," or simply "gods" who will "put on incorruption," and be "remade in," or "receive" God's likeness.

³ David Vincent Meconi, *The One Christ: St. Augustine's Theology of Deification*, (Washington: The Catholic University of America Press, 2013), xiii-xviii.

recognizing that this union can only be completed in the next life.⁴ This life then is a continual *conversio* and *extensio ad Deum*.⁵ This is explained more fully by Augustine's theology of image, which I will explore more at the end of this introduction. In brief, the image always strives for and desires its exemplar. In this case the *imago Dei* desires to be like God the Trinity as far as it is allowed by nature. It is in this continual stretching out to or desiring of God that the soul finds its fulfillment in this life as it awaits the *facie ad faciem* of the next.

This thesis will consist of three principal chapters which will break up the *De Trinitate* into three sections, focusing on how the theme of the renewal of the *imago Dei* is elaborated throughout the work. Following the present introductory Chapter 1, Chapter 2 will consider the first four books and in a particular way Books I and IV. In these books Augustine introduces the reader to the Trinity through Scripture. At the center of his discussion is a consideration of how the Son and the Father are both equally God. This is important for Augustine because it is through the Incarnation that any form of return to God is possible. Without the Incarnation there is no possibility of knowledge of God for Augustine and no means of becoming like Him. Without the Word made flesh the soul finds itself in the most dire epistemological situation. In Book IV Augustine introduces the reader to the twin ideas of *fides* and *veritas*. It is through faith that humans are able to grow in likeness to God in this life. The principal object of faith in this life is the Incarnate Christ whose life, death, resurrection, and ascension back to God the Father

⁴ See John Edward Sullivan, *The Image of God: The Doctrine of St. Augustine and Its Influence*, (Dubuque: The Priory Press, 1963), 165-195. Sullivan devotes this chapter of his work to an overview of patristic thought, both Greek and Latin, to determine the originality of Augustine's thinking on *imago Dei*. Augustine originality does not stem from the assertion that there is a trinitarian image in man as many of the post-Nicene Fathers come to this conclusion. Instead, Augustine's originality comes from the nature of the trinitarian image that he sees in man. *Amor* or *uoluntas* find no parallel amongst other writers in their models of the trinity in man. The third Person of the Trinity takes on a special role for Augustine in His relationship with the love or will of man. It is the increase in charity in the soul which makes the image more like its divine exemplar.

⁵ Cf. DT. IX.i.1.

leads humanity from false ideas about God to the correct ideas held in faith. What is held by faith will pass over to truth once we see God face to face in the next life. I will argue that faith and truth play a central role in the discussion of the *De Trinitate* in a more general sense but more particularly I will argue that it is through the faith which leads to truth that the ‘Augustinian deification’ of the renewal or rediscovery of the *imago Dei* will be accomplished. The faith is first presented to the believer in the external forms of Scripture which are easily accessible to the mind which is not fully purified. It is through his presentation of the *missiones* of the Son and the Holy Spirit into the world that Augustine shows how God reveals to humanity His inner-life and allows for participation in Him through the recovery of His image. I argue that by the conclusion of Book IV the external and sensible faith will be presented fully and then the mind will be prepared to receive it in an internal fashion as it moves on to the next stage of renewal and deification.

Chapter 3 will consider Books V-VII. I will argue that while Books V-VII mark a distinct turn in Augustine’s considerations, they should be considered as a continuation of the argument of Books I-IV.⁶ I will argue that in these books, now that Augustine has established a basic understanding of orthodox trinitarian theology and how Christ leads humans to knowledge of God the Father through the Holy Spirit⁷ he now turns to consider the *uersutissima argumenta* of the heretics who dispute trinitarian orthodoxy. He makes use of the logical categories of the heretics to dispute their arguments, but also to bring the external word of faith as presented in the first four books into the purview of the mind. By considering the philosophical language

⁶ Luigi Gioia, *The Theological Epistemology of Augustine’s De Trinitate*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 24. Gioia notes a number of commentators who treat books I-IV and V-VII as separate entities including Hendrix (1955), Hill (1991), Trapé (2002), and Matthews (2002).

⁷ Michael L. Carreker, *A Commentary on Books Five, Six, and Seven of the De Trinitate of Saint Augustine of Hippo*. Dalhousie University: 1992, 10.

employed by those opposed to orthodox theology, Augustine is able to further purify his and his readers language about and understanding of the Trinity. These books also further consider the *missiones* of the Persons of the Trinity but then take a turn towards how God is *in se* in eternity. This move from the external action of God to God's inner-life mirrors the movement of the soul which is being guided from the physical to the metaphysical. In particular, these books focus on the role of the Holy Spirit as the bond of *caritas* between the Father and the Son. I will argue that the Holy Spirit plays an important role in the renewal of the *imago Dei* because just as he binds the Father and the Son together, so too does he bind the believer to God through faith and it is through the pouring out of the Holy Spirit into the souls of believers that the Trinity is said to dwell within them.⁸ The crowning moment of the whole first half of the *De Trinitate* is the proper inauguration of the theme of the *imago Dei* in Book VII which marks the next stage in the process of deification.⁹

All of the argument of the work so far leads to the discovery that because God made man *secundum imaginem* His image is found within the human person. This allows for humanity to discern a certain likeness with God. While Augustine's primary purpose here is to show a way for humans to learn about the Trinity through looking at its likeness within them, he also sees in the *imago Dei* and its renewal that means for humans to share in a likeness to the divine. I will argue that while Book VII completes the movement of the first half of the work by laying out the correct understanding of the Trinity, it is also very much the beginning of the journey of the second half of the work which will occur, as the saint says, in a *modo interiore*.¹⁰ In my consideration of the *imago Dei* as it appears in Book VII I will explore how the *imago Dei* is not

⁸ In Book VIII Augustine will return to the theme of God as love and how we are to love God through God

⁹ Gioia, 275.

¹⁰ DT VIII.i.1.

equal to God but has a likeness to Him and that the more the image approaches likeness to God the more it is being itself in the fullest sense.¹¹ As Augustine prepares to engage in the more interior method of Books VIII-XV, he lays out the framework for how the human person can recognize God's image within themselves, and through the image be made more like Him. By the end of Book VII, the faith which was at first presented in the external form of Scripture has now been internalized and the mind looks to itself and its faculties to discern the image of God.

Chapter 4 will consider Books VIII-XIV. In this chapter I will argue that Augustine is applying to the soul the "macrocosmic"¹² view of salvation through the renewal of the *imago Dei* that he has laid out in Books I-VII.¹³ Some scholars read the second half of the *De Trinitate* as a spiritual exercise in which Augustine, in the spirit of the philosophical tradition which has preceded him, leads an individual soul through the various stages of renewal until it has discovered within itself the *imago Dei*.¹⁴ This approach is a very helpful one as it captures the fact that for Augustine, as I will argue, the renewal of the *imago Dei* can be accomplished to some degree in this life. In fact, it is of the utmost necessity that if the soul wishes to see God face to face in the next life it must first begin to see him now through a mirror.¹⁵ Augustine is very clear that perfection is not reached until the next life, but through faith in Christ who is both

¹¹ Gerald Boersma, *Augustine's Early Theology of Image: A Study in the Development of Pro-Nicene Theology*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 255.

¹² Carreker, 9.:

Book I concludes with the expectation of the soul's knowledge of the Trinity perfected through the work of Christ. Christ has been shown to be the ontological and epistemological way of the soul to the Trinity. The mind has begun its journey in weakness, but now by virtue of the scriptural doctrine, has been given a proleptic view of its final vision. And so the whole of the mind's pilgrimage through Christ to the vision of the Trinity is given in Book I, although only in the form of faith in revelation.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 10.

¹⁴ On this topic see principally: Giles Emery, "Trinitarian Theology as Spiritual Exercise in Augustine and Aquinas" in *Aquinas the Augustinian*. ed. Michael Dauphinais, Barry David, and Matthew Levering (Washington: The Catholic University of America Press, 2007); J.F. Worthen, "Augustine's *De trinitate* and Anselm's *Proslogion*: 'Exercere Lectorem'" in *Collectanea Augustiniana*, ed. Joseph T. Lienhard, Earl C. Muller, and Roland J. Teske (New York: Peter Lang, 1993) 517-29.

¹⁵ DT XV.viii.14.

the *scientia* and *sapientia* of God the human mind can really participate in the divine life now in the manner that it is allowed by nature and be like Him.¹⁶ It is only through this real renewal and reformation of the soul according to the *imago Dei* that humans can lead a properly virtuous life and hope to attain the eternal vision of God in the next. This life cannot be the place in which the perfect vision of God is had in a lasting form because in this life we still suffer from the consequences of sin.¹⁷ Augustine views this life, this *extensio ad Deum*, as a process of healing and recovery in which the *imago Dei* is uncovered, and renewed, through faith in Christ.¹⁸ The human mind then is able to participate in God in this life and share a likeness with Him when it is able to see through the various false images that confront it and remember, know, and love God:

Haec igitur trinitas mentis non propterea dei est imago quia sui meminit mens et intellegit ac diligit se, sed quia potest etiam meminisse et intellegere et amare a quo facta est. Quod cum facit sapiens ipsa fit. Si autem non facit, etiam cum sui meminit seque intellegit ac diligit, stulta est. (DT. XIV.xii.15)

The trinity of the mind is not really the image of God because the mind remembers and understands and loves itself, but because it is also able to remember and understand and love him by whom it was made. And when it does this it becomes wise. If it does not do it, then even though it remembers and understands and loves itself, it is foolish.¹⁹

For the human mind to be the *imago Dei* in its fullest sense entails a dynamic relationship with God.²⁰ The above passage anticipates the possibility that the soul which discovers the *imago Dei* within itself might falter; it might not remember, understand, and love God even though it has discovered within itself that it is through these faculties it best mirrors the divine life and has a likeness to God. Only when the mind engages in these activities, aided of course by divine grace

¹⁶ DT. XIII.xix.24.

¹⁷ Gerald Bonner, "Augustine and Mysticism" in *Collectanea Augustiniana*, ed. Fredrick Van Fleteren, Joseph C. Schnaubelt, and Joseph Reino (New York: Peter Land, 1994) 113-157, 120.

¹⁸ DT; Meconi, "No Longer Christian But Christ," 98.

¹⁹ All translations of *De Trinitate* come from Edmund Hill's *The Trinity* (2022).

²⁰ Gioia 283-84; Boersma, 260-61.

poured into the soul by the Holy Spirit,²¹ does it become wise (*sapiens*) and grow in its likeness to the Trinity.

1.1: HISTORICAL OVERVIEW AND CONSIDERATION OF SCHOLARSHIP

It will be helpful now to consider some historical context for the *De Trinitate*, which will help situate my exploration of the text. When Augustine sent the completed work to Bishop Aurelius of Carthage he wrote *De trinitate quae deus summus et uerus est libros iuuenis inchoaui, senex edidi* (“I was a young man when I began these books on the Trinity which the one true God is, and I am now an old man as I publish them” DT, *Prologus*).²² It is most likely that Augustine began to write the work around 400 and completed it by 420.²³ Augustine complains in his letter to Aurelius of the fact that some people had obtained incomplete copies of the work and that in his frustration he was tempted to not finish it. The main source of his frustration here seems to be the fact that the argument of the text was disrupted, as he says *Non enim singillatim sed omnes simul edere ea ratione decreueram quoniam praecedentibus consequentes inquisitione proficiente nectuntur* (“It had been my intention to publish them all together and not one by one, because the inquiry proceeds in a closely-knit development from the first of them to the last” DT, *Prologus*). The saint goes on to explain how he had edited the books, though not as much as he would have liked, so that complete argument of the whole text could be understood. The fact that Augustine highlights the sequential nature of the argument in this introductory letter demonstrates the importance of a holistic approach to the work which

²¹ Cf. Meconi, “No Longer Christians But Christ,” 92. Meconi notes that Romans 5:5 is one of Augustine’s favourite scripture verses, which he quotes well over two hundred times almost always in reference to the Holy Spirit’s action in human life.

²² DT, *Prologus*.

²³ Edmund Hill, *The Trinity* (New York: New City Press, 2022), 20.

equally considers all of the books and the way the argument proceeds over the course of the work.

At the core of the *De Trinitate* is the Mystery of the Trinity: The Father, Son, and Holy Spirit and their relationship to each other. It is this mystery that the reader finds expounded in the first seven books of the work. An approach to *De Trinitate* which was to neglect the first seven books or see them as purely introductory or secondary to the ‘psychological’ or ‘philosophical’ later books would be an approach that misses the point of the entire work.²⁴ The first seven books focus on Scripture and establishing an orthodox understanding of the Trinity. This is important because without first establishing a proper understanding of the Trinity from Scripture, Augustine would not be able to properly explore the various triads he discovers in the mind and discern which, if any of them, can begin to approach a sort of likeness to the Trinity Itself.²⁵ Augustine’s search is not just for any mental triad, but it is a search for the *imago Dei* in the human person. Olivier Du Roy has produced one of the most impressive monographs dealing with Augustine’s trinitarian theology. He traces Augustine’s thought on the Trinity from 391 onwards. While the sheer scope of the work is impressive, Du Roy falls into the camp of those who view the end of *De Trinitate* as unsatisfying or a failure. Towards the end of his work he describes Augustine’s approach to faith and the Trinity as follows:

L'intellectus fidei augustinien de la Trinité recèle donc un risqué de modalisme. Il mène à concevoir, non pas au niveau de l’adhésion de foi qui affirme l’existence des trois personnes en un seul Dieu, ni même au niveau de la pensée théologique réfléchie qui corrige les aspects trop unilatéraux de l’analogie psychologique, mais au niveau de la

²⁴ Gioia, 1. Gioia highlights G. Madec (2000) as one who vehemently opposed a distinction between a more ‘theological’ section of the *De Trinitate* and a more ‘philosophical’ section. Gioia himself certainly falls into this camp as well.

²⁵ See Matthew Drever, “Redeeming Creation: *Creatio ex nihilo* and *Imago Dei* in Augustine” in *International Journal of Systematic Theology*, Vol. 15, n. 2 (2013), 159 : “In defending an orthodox (Nicene) reading of Christ and the Trinity, the first seven books of *De Trinitate* also then become intimately linked with the movement of the second half of the text. Without a correct view of Christ and the Trinity, one does not participate in salvation and so move toward God.”

sensibilité religieuse et des représentations spontanées, un Dieu unique, se pensant et s'aimant lui-même, comme un grand égoïste ou un 'grand célibataire'. Le déisme des XVIII^e et XIX^e siècles est peut-être le dernier fruit de cet *intellectus fidei* de la Trinité, fondé sur une philosophie néo-platonicienne.²⁶

Du Roy's view is that Augustine handed over to the Western tradition a theology of the Trinity which cuts it off from the economy of salvation.²⁷ In his account faith is purely relegated to the realm of the temporal and it serves only the role of purification.²⁸ Wisdom or knowledge of the Trinity is the result of moving beyond faith and is akin to the ecstatic vision of Plotinus.²⁹ But vision, for Du Roy, fails too and so according to him Augustine's legacy is simply one of analogies of the Trinity found within the human mind.³⁰ Nevertheless, the attribution of this view of the Trinity to Augustine must also coexist and contend with the dynamic relationality of the *imago Dei* to its divine model as described in *De Trinitate*.³¹ The Trinity for Augustine is certainly not simply a pretext for the self-exploration of the human subject.³² Such approaches would give an anthropological bent to theology which would be completely foreign³³ to the one who said *fecisti nos ad te et inquietum est cor nostrum donec requiescat in te* ("You have made us for yourself, and our heart is restless until it rests in you³⁴").³⁵

Still, the two 'halves' of the work could appear a bit disparate. Nevertheless, one can make sense of the work when one considers it as being essentially about relationships: The

²⁶ Olivier Du Roy, *L'Intelligence de la foi en la Trinité selon Saint Augustin: Genèse de sa théologie Trinitaire jusqu'en 391*, (Paris: Études Augustiniennes, 1966), 463.

²⁷ Ibid., 460.

²⁸ Gioia, 9. Gioia critiques Du Roy's approach in the introduction to his own book.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Du Roy, 460.

³¹ See Sullivan, 144-148. Sullivan distills two purposes to Augustine's work in *De Trinitate*: a principal aim of discerning analogies of the Trinity in the human mind and a secondary aim, which is the concern of this thesis, of showing how the *imago Dei* in the human is restored and reformed as it strives to be like its divine exemplar.

³² Gioia, 16.

³³ Ibid., 16-17.

³⁴ This translation is my own.

³⁵ *conf.* 1.1.

relationship between the Persons of the Trinity, and the relationship between God and man. The *imago Dei* then becomes not just the best of the mental triads, but the locus of the human's relationship between them and God. Critical to Augustine's approach to the *imago Dei* is the idea that it must be uncovered and restored. The Bishop of Hippo is very clear that the image, while not being entirely erased in man, has certainly been disfigured by sin. So, the *imago Dei* must be renewed by God in order that it can recognize Him, love Him, and be united to Him in the next life. The discovery and renewal of the *imago Dei* helps to demonstrate the cohesiveness of the whole text. A real change occurs in the human person as they are turned and oriented toward God, the highest good. As the saint says near the conclusion of the work in Book XV *Meminerim tui; intellegam te; diligam te. Auge in me ista donec me reformes ad integrum* ("Let me remember you, let me understand you, let me love you. Increase these things in me until you refashion me entirely" DT XV.xxviii.51).

The key word here for approaching this theme of deification in the context of Augustine's *De Trinitate* is *reformare*. Augustine meditates on this word and similar ones like it throughout the work, especially in relation to the *imago Dei* and the way it is uncovered in the human mind. Hill translates this last line as, "Increase these things in me until you refashion me entirely" and this perfectly sums up, I argue, the thrust of Augustine's argument concerning the *imago Dei*.³⁶ The renewal of the *imago Dei* of which Augustine is speaking in *De Trinitate* consists in a true renewal and progression of the human soul on earth. Augustine is most certainly not arguing for a change in the human substance, as if the human person loses its humanity in the process of becoming like God. I will argue rather that Augustine sees the goal of this deification in and

³⁶ DT XV.xxviii.51.

through the *imago Dei* as the perfection of the human person. To be human is to recognize oneself as *imago Dei* and to orient oneself towards God in whose image all are made.

Another Augustinian qualification is needed. This perfection cannot be completely obtained in this life. It must wait for the *uisio Dei*, on the other side of the eschaton. *Videmus nunc per speculum in aenigmate* (“We see now through a puzzling reflection in a mirror”) but we will see *facie ad faciem* (“face to face” DT. XIV.xvii.23). Scholars have argued that any sort of deification theology cannot be associated with Augustine as he placed too much of an emphasis on the division between the creature and the Creator. These views in the twentieth century and onwards seem to originate in a 1925 study by Joseph Mausbach in which he contrasts the Greek view of salvation as a marvelous elevation and deification of the human person to the Latin view, propagated by Augustine, of humanity’s enslavement to and eventual freedom from sin.³⁷ Myrrha Lot-Borodine argues in her work *La déification de l’homme selon la doctrine des Pères grecs* that Augustine’s inability to conceive of any sort of divinization forced the Latin West to think of salvation through other means, “*mais non à la déification*”.³⁸ Similarly, Linda Woodhead in her *An Introduction to Christianity* speaks quite beautifully about the centrality of the theme of deification to Christianity as the goal of the Incarnation, liturgy and prayer; in the same breath, however, she denies this tradition to the West by pointing to Augustine who “tended to set an unbridgeable gulf between man and God” through the doctrines of the fall and original sin.³⁹ Meconi describes these as “facile accusations” which abound in many standard histories of

³⁷ David Vincent Meconi, *The One Christ: St. Augustine’s Theology of Deification*, (Washington: The Catholic University of America Press, 2013), xiii.

³⁸ Myrrha Lot-Borodine, *La déification de l’homme selon la doctrine des Pères grecs*, (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1970), 39-40, quoted in David Vincent Meconi, *The One Christ: St. Augustine’s Theology of Deification*, (Washington: The Catholic University of America Press, 2013), xiv.

³⁹ Linda Woodhead, *An Introduction to Christianity*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 80, quoted in David Vincent Meconi, *The One Christ: St. Augustine’s Theology of Deification*, (Washington: The Catholic University of America Press, 2013), xiv.

Christianity in the West.⁴⁰ Augustine, and what he represents, become an easy foil to put up alongside the Eastern doctrine of θεώσις.⁴¹

Maarten Wisse recognizes that the theme of deification could be seen in *De Trinitate*. However, he dismisses deification in favour of a purely ethical restoration of human life without any sort of renewal at the metaphysical level.⁴² He argues that Augustine's theology of the *imago Dei* rests in the restoration of a right relationship between the human person and the Trinity.⁴³ Wisse also dismisses the role of ritual and prayer in the process of the restoration of the *imago Dei* when he says that Augustine does not bind "our moral and spiritual improvements" to them.⁴⁴ He is suspicious of how an approach to soteriology as deification can lead to a anthropocentric view of sanctification in which salvation becomes dependent on the human's actions and how they make themselves like God.⁴⁵ He explains this further when he says that the 'participationist' approach to salvation gels very nicely with prayers and liturgies as humans "play a necessary role in bringing about God's acts".⁴⁶ He will retreat slightly from this position and admit that ritual has its place, but it does not work "in an *ex opere operato* sense".⁴⁷ While Wisse brings up many fair points, his fears and criticisms about an approach to Augustine's theology of the *imago Dei* as one of participation in the divine and its connection to liturgical practices in this life would best be levelled at some of Augustine's Pelagian contemporaries, not of Augustine himself. I will work to demonstrate that reading Augustine's theory of deification as

⁴⁰ Meconi, *The One Christ*, xv.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Maarten Wisse, *Trinitarian Theology Beyond Participation: Augustine's De Trinitate and Contemporary Theology*, (London: T&T Clark International, 2011), 296-297.

⁴³ Ibid., 312.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 10.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

if it makes humans the source or origin of their own salvation is impossible if we properly consider the *De Trinitate*. Augustine knows that mere participation in a human ritual does not guarantee salvation, as if we could simply tick a box and be saved. At the same time, Augustine certainly situates the process of restoration of the *imago Dei* in the ecclesiastical context: it is not even possible to begin any sort of renewal of the *imago Dei* until one has been baptized.⁴⁸

1.2: THE *IMAGO DEI* IN AUGUSTINE'S THOUGHT

I will conclude this introduction by providing a brief overview of Augustine's theology of image as it relates to the *imago Dei*. Even a cursory glance at the theology of image in Augustinian thought reveals that the saint developed his position over time. In his landmark study *The Image of God*, John Edward Sullivan traces the development of Augustine's thinking on the *imago Dei* from his first encounters with the idea of image in Plotinus, to his early Christian thinking as found in writings like his *Soliloquia*, to the mature theological vision one finds developed in *De Trinitate*.⁴⁹ Sullivan outlines the Plotinian view Augustine would have encountered as found in the *Enneads* as follows: An image is the result of a generation from a higher principle and every image is like its model but inferior.⁵⁰ What makes the Plotinian idea of image is the fact that the image has within it a "tendency to return to the principle and model; an image is always turned toward its model."⁵¹ It is only through returning to its principle that the image attains a "full likeness" with it.⁵² The reader of *De Trinitate* will already recognize how these themes appear in that work, and yet Augustine does not simply copy Plotinian ideas but he adopts and transforms them in a Christian context.

⁴⁸ DT XIV.xvii.23.

⁴⁹ Sullivan, 3-5.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 7.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁵² *Ibid.*

The young Augustine will divide images into two kinds: those that image each other perfectly, like twins, and those in which the image is inferior to its model, like the impression left by a signet ring in wax.⁵³ In his *Soliloquia* Augustine and his interlocutor discuss the kinds of images which seem to tend towards being something, like the image in the mirror which seems to desire to be what it is reflecting.⁵⁴ This early thought of the young Augustine bears very little to distinguish it from its Platonic and Plotinian origins, and is accordingly further developed by the older Bishop of Hippo. In the mature theology of image, as Sullivan calls it, Augustine will look for scriptural support for his own insights.⁵⁵ Sullivan notes that Augustine finds in Scripture a distinction between the terms image and likeness: though both terms are inescapably bound together there is a difference.⁵⁶ Not every likeness is an image, but every image must be a likeness.⁵⁷ Augustine sees within nature as a whole a likeness to God since nature was created after the model of the divine ideas in the mind of God.⁵⁸ What distinguishes a general ‘likeness’ to something from being its image, then, is the fact that when something images another thing it is derived directly from it.⁵⁹ One must ask the question then: if this is the case, why can all of nature not be said to be an image of God if it has a likeness to Him as its Creator? The answer comes from the fact that for Augustine the image can have no other nature superior to it between it and its model.⁶⁰ In creation then, the only image of God is found in man who is superior to nature. Sullivan also notes that a crucial aspect of the participation of the image of God in God is

⁵³ Ibid., 8.

⁵⁴ Ibid., 10; *Solil.*, II, 9, 17.

⁵⁵ Ibid., 11-12.

⁵⁶ Ibid., 12.

⁵⁷ Ibid., 12-13.

⁵⁸ Ibid., 13.

⁵⁹ Ibid., 15.

⁶⁰ Ibid., 16; Cf. DT XI.v.8.: “*Non sane omne quod in creaturis aliquo modo simile est deo etiam eius imago dicenda est, sed illa sola qua superior ipse solus est. Ea quippe de illo prorsus exprimitur inter quam et ipsum nulla interiecta natura est.*”

man's capacity for reason and wisdom.⁶¹ Of course it is in the *mens*, the highest part of the soul where sapiential activities occur, that Augustine will locate the *imago Dei* in *De Trinitate*.

Sullivan cautions—and this point is crucial for my consideration of the renewal of the *imago Dei* in *De Trinitate*—that the divine image in man should not be conceived of in a static way, as if it is a rung on the ladder of being, but as a continual yearning for or movement towards God.⁶²

Sullivan ends his overview of the general notion of the image in Augustine's thought by considering how for Augustine the image acts as the mirror through which humans can have knowledge of God in this life; while this is not the "face to face" vision, he notes that Augustine gives the impression that God can be "seen" or "touched" through His divine image in man in this life.⁶³

From this brief overview of *imago Dei* in the work of Augustine I argue that Augustine sees the process of salvation as the renewal and recovery of the *imago Dei*. Once the individual Christian has been baptized and incorporated into the Body of Christ on earth, the Church, they must continually strive towards God. We see the sentiment of the Christian soul exemplified in Augustine's *Confessions* when he says *inhorresco, in quantum dissimilis ei sum, inardesco, in quantum similis ei sum* ("I shudder inasmuch as I am unlike him, yet am afire with longing for him because some likeness there is" *conf.* XI.ix.11).⁶⁴ Speaking of his own experience, Augustine is able to encapsulate the way the *imago Dei* works in his theology: while recognizing

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 17; Lib. 83 Q.Q., Q. 51, 2.

⁶² *Ibid.*

⁶³ *Ibid.* 24. Sullivan makes reference here to DT XV.xxiii.44:

...cum uenerit uisio quae facie ad faciem nobis promittitur, multo clarius certiusque uidebimus quam nunc eius imaginem quod nos sumus. Per quod tamen speculum et in quo aenigmate qui uident sicut in hac uita uidere concessum est non illi sunt qui ea quae digessimus et commendauius in sua mente conspiciunt, sed illi qui eam tamquam imaginem uident ut possint ad eum cuius imago est quomodocumque referre quod uident et per imaginem quam conspiciendo uident etiam illud uidere coniciendo quoniam nondum possunt facie ad faciem.

⁶⁴ This translation is by Maria Boulding as found in her translation *Confessions* (New York: New City Press, 1997)

the difference between the God and the human that exists by nature the human must still recognize that there is some likeness between him and God and that he can only be fulfilled by conforming himself to God and growing in this likeness.⁶⁵ Both Reardon and Meconi further expand upon the importance of the renewal of the *imago Dei* for Augustine and its growth in likeness to God but explaining that sin, for Augustine, is the attempt to be God or be like God without Him.⁶⁶ Augustine himself explains this when he says:

Et cum stare debeat ut eis fruatur; uolens ea sibi tribuere et non ex illo similis illius sed ex se ipsa esse quod ille est auertitur ab eo, moueturque et labitur in minus et minus quod putatur amplius et amplius quia nec ipsa sibi nec ei quidquam sufficit recedenti ab illo qui solus sufficit. (DT. X.v.7)

But instead of staying still and enjoying them as it ought to, it wants to claim them for itself, and rather than be like him by his gift it wants to be what he is by its own right. So it turns away from him and slithers and slides down into less and less which is imagined to be more and more; it can find satisfaction neither in itself nor in anything else as it gets further away from him who alone can satisfy it.

This is exactly the promise made by the serpent to Adam and Eve in the Garden: that they would be like God, but that they would become so on their own outside of God's design.⁶⁷ If we take the Augustinian view of salvation as the growth in likeness of the image to its model, Adam and Eve were driven by the correct desire, to be like God, but by trying to fulfill this desire on their own they ended up obscuring God's image within themselves and preventing their union with Him. So for Augustine the *imago Dei* found within the human soul is a remnant.⁶⁸ But despite its obscured state, it still retains its function as *capax Dei*⁶⁹ for in the soul *aua in se imagine dei tam*

⁶⁵ David Vincent Meconi, "No Longer Christian But Christ: Saint Augustine on Becoming Divine," in *Called to be the Children of God: The Catholic Theology of Human Deification*, (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 2016), 87.

⁶⁶ Michael M.C. Reardon, "'You Adore a God Who Makes You Gods': Augustine's Doctrine of Deification" *Horizons* 51, no. 1 (2024): 104–33, <https://doi.org/10.1017/hor.2024.3>, 118; Meconi, "No Longer Christian But Christ," 87.

⁶⁷ Cf. *ciu. Dei* XIV.13; Reardon, 118.

⁶⁸ Cf. *conf.* II.vi.14; Sullivan, 53.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*; Gioia, 287.

potens est ut ei cuius imago est ualeat inhaerere (“There is such potency in this image of God in that it is capable of cleaving to him whose image it is” DT XIV.xiv.20). It is here then that I begin my investigation into the renewal of the *imago Dei* as it occurs in this life as man, as *capax Dei*, strives to restore his likeness to the divine model.

CHAPTER TWO: ...*FRUI TRINITATE DEO AD CUIUS IMAGINEM FACTI SUMUS*

In this chapter I will argue that Augustine presents his reader with the “macroscopic” view of salvation: all knowledge of God is mediated through the incarnate Christ.⁷⁰ The individual soul will be brought into the mediation of Christ to the Father through the Holy Spirit by faith. Faith is essential to how Augustine sees any form of participation in the divine occurring for the human. Any approach to God without faith in Christ is not a fruitful one. I will argue that Augustine begins by presenting a correct understanding of how the persons of the Trinity relate to each other in order to provide his reader with the orthodox content of their faith while also showing that it is through relationships that the *imago Dei* will be restored: God the Trinity reveals His inner-relationships to the world through the Incarnation of the Son and the sending of the Holy Spirit so that through these *missiones* the *imago Dei* can grow in its likeness to God its divine exemplar. Augustine is not simply interested in an abstract or detached account of the Trinity as derived from Scripture, but he wants to provide his reader with the tools which will allow them to fulfill the goal of this life and the next: *Hoc est enim plenum gaudium nostrum quo amplius non est, frui trinitate deo ad cuius imaginem facti sumus* (“For the fullness of our happiness, beyond which there is none else, is this: to enjoy God the three in whose image we were made” DT I.viii.18).

From the very start of *De Trinitate*, Augustine lays out three approaches to the consideration of the Trinity that he rejects. While he is proposing the starting point of faith, *initium fidei*, he rejects those whom he sees as having an inordinate love of reason.⁷¹ These approaches are: those who try to transfer observations made about corporeal things to spiritual

⁷⁰ Carreker, 9-10.

⁷¹ DT. I.1.

things; those who ascribe to God qualities and characteristics that come from the human person; and finally those who through their use of reason alone attempt to pass beyond the physical world to contemplate God by their own merits.⁷² Crouse summarizes these points nicely when he writes, “the form of the argument is to be neither cosmological nor psychological [...] and even more decisively, he rejects all analogical argument which seeks to know the Divine Nature by means of an intellectual transcendence of every mutable thing, corporeal or spiritual.”⁷³ The remedy to these faulty approaches is also proposed from the beginning: a *purgatio mentis* fuelled by *fides*.⁷⁴ Crouse further explains that, “it must be shown at the outset, therefore, that the doctrine of the Trinity belongs indeed to the content of faith, and this is clearly the purpose of the first four books of the *De Trinitate*, which constitute a reasoned exegesis and exposition of the whole of Scripture from the standpoint of trinitarian doctrine.”⁷⁵

The first four books serve as our introduction to the process of purification that leads to the reformation of the *imago Dei*. In fact, in these very first opening passages Augustine gives the reader the key to the purification and reformation of the mind: the Incarnation of the Son. He writes: *unde apostolus in Christo quidem dicit esse omnes thesauros sapientiae et scientiae absconditos* (“Thus the apostle indeed says that all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge are hidden in Christ” DT I.3). Of course, the introduction of the idea of Christ as the *scientia et sapientia* will not return again in earnest until the reader makes their way farther into the work – yet Augustine introduces it here as he lays the foundation for how his argument will proceed. For Augustine, the Incarnate Christ is central to his approach to the renewal of the *imago Dei* in the

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ Robert Crouse, “St. Augustine's De Trinitate: Philosophical Method,” *Studia Patristica* vol. XVI (1985): 501-510, 506.

⁷⁴ DT I.3.

⁷⁵ Crouse, 507.

human. He expands on this in the next few lines as he quotes from St. Paul's first letter to the Corinthians:

Ait namque: neque enim iudicaui me scire aliquid in uobis nisi Iesum Christum et hunc crucifixum. Deinde secutus ait: Et ego in infirmitate et in timore et tremore multo fui apud uos. Et paulo post eis dicit: Et ego, fratres, non potui loqui uobis quasi spiritalibus sed quasi carnalibus. Quasi paruulis in Christo lac vobis potum dedi, non escam; nondum enim poteratis, sed nec adhuc potestis. (DT.I.3)

Nor did I consider myself to know anything among you, he says, except Jesus Christ, and crucified at that; then he adds, and in weakness and fear and much trembling was I among you. And a little later he says to them, And I, brothers, could not speak to you as spiritual people, but only as fleshly; I gave you, like babies in Christ, milk to drink, not solid food, for you were not yet capable of it – indeed you are not capable of it even now.

By way of introducing this passage Augustine explains that even for those who are reborn by grace it is still necessary that they be guided at first by temporal things just as babies are fed milk before they can have solid spiritual food.⁷⁶ Thus the apostle *non ex diuina uirtute in qua aequalis est patri sed ex humana infirmitate et qua crucifixus est, commendavit* (“[...] presents him not in divine strength in which he is equal to the Father, but in human weakness through which he was crucified” DT. I.3). Here we see the introduction of another important aspect of how Augustine views the Incarnation. Because Christ is fully God and fully man, he can serve as the bridge between humanity and divinity.⁷⁷ The Incarnation is of the utmost importance for Augustine in the process of the recovery of the *imago Dei*. The life of Christ is the temporal object of faith *par excellence*. Scripture presents this to us in a way which is easily approachable. This ‘physical’ or temporal form of faith can then be incorporated into the mind itself so that as the believer makes progress in the purification of their mind and the renewal of the *imago Dei* they are moving from sensible objects of faith to immaterial objects of faith. Carreker rightly calls Book I “a

⁷⁶ DT I.3.

⁷⁷ This theme will be expounded upon in greater detail in Book IV, which is one of the two main books in *De Trinitate* that treat the role played by the incarnate Christ in salvation, the other being Book XIII.

macrocosmic summary of the knowledge of the Trinity” as it is “given from God in Christ to man and returned to God as the just find their rest in the contemplation of the Trinity”.⁷⁸ In these very first passages Augustine presents his argument to the reader in its most basic form. All knowledge of God the Trinity is mediated through Christ, and it is through this same mediation that the human can return to God. As the work continues and Augustine unfolds his argument further it is revealed that the return to God consists in the renewal of the *imago Dei* in the soul and a rediscovery of the trinitarian likeness between the human and God. It is for this reason that Augustine seeks to account for God being a trinity. He anticipates his critics when he says:

ut non quasi nostris excusationibus inludantur sed reipsa experiantur et esse illud summum bonum quod purgatissimis mentibus cernitur, et a se propterea cerni comprehendique non posse quia mentis humanae acies inualida in tam excellenti luce non figitur nisi per iustitiam fidei nutrita uegetetur. (DT. I.2.4)

In this way, instead of feeling that they have been fobbed off by my excuses, they may actually come to realize that the supreme goodness does exist which only the most purified minds can gaze upon, and also that they are themselves unable to gaze upon it and grasp it for the good reason that the human mind with its weak eyesight cannot concentrate on so overwhelming a light, unless it has been nursed back to full vigor on the justice of faith.

A proper understanding of God as He has revealed Himself to humanity through Scripture is indispensable for any attempt on the part of the human to begin to approach God again. Unless we recognize that God is Trinity it is impossible for us to begin the process of conforming ourselves to Him and thus with His aide begin the process of the renewal of the *imago Dei* within ourselves. The above passage also highlights another important point for Augustine: that this is a process and not an instantaneous action; the result of being nursed back to full spiritual health by faith. The goal is to gaze upon God, but this vision must be gradually restored through the process of purification. Augustine explains this quite clearly when he says *[e]t ideo est*

⁷⁸ Carreker, 10.

necessaria purgatio mentis nostrae qua illud ineffabile ineffabiliter uideri possit; qua nondum praediti fide nutrimur, et per quaedam tolerabiliora ut ad illud capiendum apti et habiles efficiamur itinera ducimur (“It is necessary for our minds to be purified before that inexpressible reality can be inexpressibly seen by them; and in order to make us fit and capable of grasping it, we are led along more endurable routes, nurtured on faith as long as we have not yet been endowed with that necessary purification” DT. I.i.3). Again, the *purgatio mentis* returns as the means by which this goal of the *uisio Dei* is achieved, or at least as the means by which it is begun.

The Bishop of Hippo also introduces to us the next central part of the *purgatio mentis* in this passage: *iustitia fidei*. It is through faith in the Trinity as revealed in Scripture that this process can begin. Faith is the starting point for the *purgatio mentis* but it is also the means by which it is accomplished. Edmund Hill explains quite helpfully in a note in his edition of the text that “faith” for Augustine has some affinity with the Platonic “opinion”.⁷⁹ We cannot latch on to the eternal divine mysteries on our own, but because God condescends to reveal Himself in the Incarnation into the world of faith and opinion, we can now respond in faith to what God has done for us in time. Faith purifies those who have it because its temporal object is identical to the eternal object of contemplation, namely, Christ. Hill describes faith as a “vehicle to carry our minds up to contemplation”.⁸⁰ The content of faith is not left on its own for the individual believer to determine, but it is always informed by God’s self-revelation in Scripture. Augustine summarizes this when he writes:

Sed quia omnes iustos quibus nunc regnat ex fide uiuentibus mediator dei et hominum homo Christus Iesus perducturus est ad speciem quam uisionem dicit idem apostolus

⁷⁹ Hill, 175-176, n75.

⁸⁰Ibid.

facie ad faciem, ita dictum est: Cum tradiderit regnum deo et patri, ac si diceretur: 'Cum perduxerit credentes ad contemplationem dei et patris.' (DT. I.viii.16)

The fact that the man Jesus Christ, mediator of God and men, now reigning for all the just who live by faith, is going to bring them to direct sight of God, to the face to face vision, as the apostle calls it, and that is what is meant by “When he hands over to God the Father,” as though to say “When he brings believers to a direct contemplation of God and the Father.”

This is a very rich passage that has much to be drawn from it. Augustine is able to condense his whole approach to salvation in just these few lines. It is Christ who in this world leads us by faith towards the vision of God. If the contents of faith are entirely informed by the contents of Scripture, understood as God’s self-revelation, and if the *purgatio mentis* begins in and is accomplished by faith, then we could summarize this introductory section of the work by saying that that the return to God begins in Him, is done by Him, and ends in Him. So here is present the “macrocosmic summary” of Augustine’s argument and his approach to the renewal of the *imago Dei*.⁸¹

Throughout the remainder of the first book Augustine demonstrates the equality of the three Persons of the Trinity from Scripture. In particular he focuses on the relationship between the Father and the Son by highlighting passages that seem to indicate some type of inequality between the two. Carreker notes that Augustine has established a *regula* in Book I whereby in his exegesis of Scripture Christ is seen as equal to the Father in the form of God (*forma Dei*), but lesser than the Father when spoken of as a being in the form of man or a slave (*forma serui*).⁸² He also considers the role of the Holy Spirit and how the *missiones* of both the Son and the Holy Spirit into the world are the means by which humanity can once again regain knowledge of God

⁸¹ Carreker, 10.

⁸² Ibid.

and begin to be reformed to His image.⁸³ Now that Augustine has laid out the goal of the work in a germinal form – the reformation of the *imago Dei* through the mediation of the Incarnate Christ – he can consider how this is accomplished.

2.1: THE *MISSIONES* OF THE SON THE HOLY SPIRIT IN THE WORLD

By the time we have reached Book II Augustine finds that he needs to introduce another *regula* for his consideration of the relationship between the Father and the Son, in particular, and also the relationship between the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit. Luigi Gioia refers to this *regula* as *deus de deo* (God from God) which is inspired by the Nicene Creed, though Augustine himself never explicitly refers to the Creed by name.⁸⁴ Whereas the rule of the *forma Dei/forma serui* of the first book only applies to the relationship between the Father and the Son, this new exegetical rule can also account for the Holy Spirit as well.⁸⁵ It is easy to discern the origin of this rule of interpretation when one acknowledges the likely ecclesiastical origin of its wording, however a scriptural origin for this approach is not immediately evident.⁸⁶ Since Augustine always wants to provide a scriptural foundation for his approach to the renewal of the *imago Dei* and its relations to his theology of the Trinity, we will now consider how the rule *deus de deo* is given a scriptural justification by the Bishop of Hippo in the *missiones* of the Son and the Holy Spirit.⁸⁷ The sending (*missio*) of the Son takes place at the Incarnation and the *missio* of the Holy

⁸³ Sullivan, 39. Sullivan explains that Augustine sees a deep relationship between the inner-life of the Trinity and creation in the account of Genesis. Creation is the original ‘formation’ done through the Word. This new ‘reformation’ of creation, and the individual soul, is also done by the Word who leads the soul back to the Father through the Holy Spirit.

⁸⁴ Gioia, 27.

⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁷ Cf. *cat. rud.*, XXII, 9: “*Peractis ergo quinque aetatibus saeculi, quarum prima est ab initio generis humani, id est, ab Adam [...] Domini nostri Jesu Christi; ex cujus aduentu sexta aetas agitur: ut jam spiritalis gratia, quae paucis tunc Patriarchis et Prophetis nota erat, manifestaretur omnibus gentibus: [...] ut hac sexta aetate mens humana renouetur ad imaginem Dei, sicut sexta die homo factus est ad imaginem Dei.*”

Spirit takes place at Pentecost.⁸⁸ The Father of course is never sent but is the one who sends the Son and together with the Son sends the Holy Spirit. The *missiones* of course are not arbitrary but they mirror the inner life of the Trinity and how the three Persons relate to each other in themselves. What appears in the scriptural text as subordination of the one Person to another, for example the Son being subordinated to the Father, is actually what Gioia refers to as “directionality” or the inner-trinitarian way of being.⁸⁹ *Deus de deo* is firmly rooted in the relationship of the Trinity Itself as revealed through Scripture and that is what makes it a more sophisticated and nuanced rule for tackling the relationships between the Persons. As Book II continues Augustine considers the *missiones* and how they work in relation to the Trinity’s inner life and how the three Persons can be equal if one of them sends the others. Does the directionality of *deus de deo* still bear within it an inherent inequality between the Persons? Augustine explains this by noting that for both *missiones*, even though it is principally the Father who sends either the Son or the Holy Spirit respectively, all three Persons are involved in the *missio*.⁹⁰ He gives the example of the Incarnation which is clearly backed up with scriptural evidence. Quoting from both the Gospel of Luke and Matthew, Augustine shows the involvement of the Holy Spirit in this *missio* too.⁹¹ Augustine further gives nuance to his understanding of *missio* when he explains that the Son as Word of God remains invisible in the Incarnation, just as the Father remains invisible, and yet it is the Son in the flesh that has become visible to humanity.⁹² Therefore, the one who becomes visible is the one who is sent and the one who remains invisible is the one who sends even though both are equally involved in the process.⁹³

⁸⁸ Gioia., 28.

⁸⁹ Ibid. 27.

⁹⁰ DT II.8.

⁹¹ Ibid.

⁹² Cf. *cat. rud.*, XXII, 9.

⁹³ DT II.9.

In the *missio* of the Son and the subsequent *missio* of the Holy Spirit the reader sees established the way that God reveals Himself as Trinity in the world. The Son and the Spirit become visible manifestations of the invisible Godhead and are thus the means by which humanity can establish union with the divine. Augustine then differentiates these *missiones* from the various theophanies of the Old Testament. If the Incarnation and the Descent of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost are simply a continuation of the previous theophanies then their importance is lessened.⁹⁴ This also raises the question: what does God achieve with these *missiones* that He could not have achieved with the previous manifestations?

Augustine then begins to consider the Old Testament theophanies. We can summarize his findings here as follows: it is not possible to ascribe specific theophanies to specific Persons of the Trinity, though we might be able to conjecture, and these theophanies happened by means of creatures (*Per subiectam creaturam*).⁹⁵ It is important to note that the Old Testament theophanies merely prefigure the eventual revelation of the Trinity in the New Testament through the Incarnation of the Son and the Descent of the Holy Spirit.⁹⁶ Augustine ends Book III with an explanation of how all of the Old Testament has been a preparation for the coming of the Son in the flesh. As he says:

Hinc illud pascha in interfectione agni; hinc illa omnia quae de Christo uenturo in carne atque passuro sed et resurrecturo in lege figurantur quae data est in edictis angelorum, in quibus angelis erat utique et pater et filius et spiritus sanctus; et aliquando pater, aliquando filius, aliquando spiritus sanctus, aliquando sine ulla distinctione personae deus per illos figurabatur etsi uisibilibus et sensibilibus formis apparens, per creaturam tamen suam non per substantiam suam cui uidentur corda mundantur per haec omnia quae oculis uidentur et auribus audiuntur. (DT. III.26)

This then is the meaning and point of the lamb slain at Passover; the meaning and point of all those things in the law which prefigured Christ who was to come in the flesh and to

⁹⁴ Gioia, 30.

⁹⁵ DT II.35.

⁹⁶ Ibid.

suffer and rise again, the law which was given as proclaimed by angels. Acting in and through angels, of course, were the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit. Sometimes it was the Father who was represented by them, sometimes the Son, sometimes the Holy Spirit, sometimes just God without distinction of persons. Even if he appeared in visible or audible fashion, it was by means of his creation and not his own proper substance. To see that substance, hearts have to be purified by all these things which are seen by eyes and heard by ears.

Through these few lines Augustine sets up the whole of salvation history in light of God's eventual self-manifestation as Trinity. In this view, the Old Testament theophanies were a gradual immersion or introduction of humanity by God into the Mystery of His inner life.⁹⁷ The final line is particularly crucial: *non per substantiam suam cui uidentur corda mundantur per haec omnia quae oculis uidentur et auribus audiuntur.*⁹⁸ God did not reveal Himself as Trinity in the Old Testament or appear in His substance because the necessary purification of the people had not yet occurred. Augustine explains that it was through the angels that the Son of God was preparing His coming so that people might be ready to receive Him when He came.⁹⁹ The substance of God, made visible at the Incarnation, had to be reserved until a time when the groundwork had been laid. These initial theophanies are a gradual preparation of humanity for the revelation of God as Trinity through Jesus Christ. Augustine's reference to 1st Timothy and St. Paul's explanation that *Unus, inquit, deus, unus et mediator dei et hominum homo Christus Iesus* should not surprise us given Augustine's introduction at the very beginning of the work of Christ as the

⁹⁷ Cf. Sullivan, 41. Augustine views this sixth age of the earth as the time of reformation of the *imago Dei* since on the sixth day of creation God first impressed the divine image into the soul. God prepares the way for this 'age of the *imago Dei*' by slowly revealing His trinitarian nature.

⁹⁸ DT. III.26.

⁹⁹ DT. III.xi.26:

Per angelos ergo tunc dominus loquebatur, per angelos filius dei mediator dei et hominum futurus ex semine Abrahae suum disponebat aduentum ut inueniret a quibus reciperetur, confitentes reos quos lex non impleta fecerat transgressores. Unde et apostolus ad galatas dicit: Quid ergo lex? Transgressionis gratia proposita est donec ueniret semen cui promissum est, dispositum per angelos in manu mediatoris, {hoc est dispositum per angelos in manu sua. Non enim natus est per conditionem sed per potestatem.} Quod autem non aliquem ex angelis dicit mediatorem sed ipsum dominum Iesum Christum in quantum homo fieri dignatus est habes alio loco: Unus, inquit, deus, unus et mediator dei et hominum homo Christus Iesus.

scientia and *sapientia* of God. Christ is the way back to God for humanity, and these Old Testament theophanies have been preparing us for His eventual *aduentus* at the Incarnation.¹⁰⁰

2.2: THE MEDIATION OF CHRIST IN RELATION TO THE *MISSIONES*

Books II and III have served a preparatory function for the detailed consideration of the *missio* of the Son as found in the Incarnation described in Book IV, just as the Old Testament theophanies prepare the way for Christ. Book IV is the culmination of these initial forays into the Mystery of the Trinity. Gioia describes Book IV as the place where the two strands of Augustine’s argument that have been presented so far, the exposition of the Trinity and the knowledge of God through Christ, are brought together.¹⁰¹ This leads to an answer to the question, as Gioia says, “[...] why did God want to make himself known in the first place?”¹⁰² The somewhat “detached and neutral exposition” of the Mystery of the Trinity matters because God has revealed Himself as such for a reason. Namely, to draw humanity back to Himself. Book IV makes clear that God reveals Himself to us in this way because we were unable to know Him on our own.¹⁰³ Augustine explains at the start of Book IV:

Sed quoniam exsulauimus ab incommutabili gaudio, nec tamen inde praecisi atque abrupti sumus ut non etiam in istis mutabilibus et temporalibus aeternitatem, ueritatem, beatitatem quaeremus (nec mori enim nec falli nec perturbari uolumus), missa sunt nobis diuinitus uisa congrua peregrinationi nostrae quibus admoneremur non hic esse quod quaerimus sed illuc ab ista esse redeundum unde nisi penderemus hic ea non quaeremus. (DT. IV.1.2)

But we were exiled from this unchanging joy, yet not so broken and cut off from it that we stopped seeking eternity, truth, and happiness even in this changeable time-bound situation of ours – for we do not want, after all, to die or to be deceived or to be afflicted. So God sent us sights suited to our wandering state, to admonish us that what we seek is

¹⁰⁰Cf. *cat. rud.*, XXII, 9.

¹⁰¹ Gioia, 32. Gioia refers to these distinct arguments as the inner and outer layer respectively. The “outer layer” of the exposition of the Trinity has been setting up a proper discussion of the “inner layer”, the possibility of knowledge of God through Christ.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*

not here, and that we must turn back from the things around us to where our whole being springs from – if it did not, we should not even seek these things here.

Any sort of exposition of the Trinity is completely useless if it is separated from a consideration of the “soteriological and epistemological mediation” of Christ through the Holy Spirit.¹⁰⁴ Even though it is clear from the passage above that Augustine still situates within humans a sort of innate desire for God, he makes it clear in this book that this desire cannot be fulfilled apart from the mediation brought about by the Incarnation. This explains why at the beginning of the fourth book he is so opposed to the philosophers who think they can gain any knowledge of God on their own. For Augustine, based on what we have explored so far, true knowledge of God without Christ is not possible.

We can now return to the *missiones* of the Persons of the Trinity and consider them anew. Gioia makes the strong claim that the only true mission is that of the Son in the Incarnation.¹⁰⁵ The sending of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost only happens as a result of the Incarnation of the Son, His death, and resurrection. It is Christ who bridges the gap between the immutability of God and the mutability of humans.¹⁰⁶ The Descent of the Holy Spirit, Gioia claims, has more to do with God’s revelation as love (*dilectio*).¹⁰⁷ This makes sense because we require first the initial purifications brought about by the Incarnation to be set on the path towards the renewal of the image of God within ourselves, and then subsequently we require the outpouring of God’s Spirit to sustain us in our pursuit of this goal.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., 33.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

¹⁰⁸ Sullivan, 42. Sullivan notes that for the young Augustine it seems that the image of God was completely destroyed by sin and no longer remained in the soul. This is because Augustine conceives of the *imago Dei* in terms of the supernatural life or “life with God.” The ‘mature’ Augustine steps back from this position for in order for there to be the possibility of *reformatio* there must still be some vestige of the image present.

In summary, we can consider the ways in which the *missiones* of the Son and Holy Spirit are different from their other manifestations in Scripture. The Incarnation, death, and resurrection of the Son and the Descent of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost are distinct from any other manifestation of God in Scripture because with them we have a revelation of the inner-life of the Trinity. In these moments God's action correspond most deeply to who He is.¹⁰⁹ Augustine sums this up when he says *Non ergo eo ipso quo de patre natus est missus dicitur filius, sed uel eo quod apparuit huic mundo uerbum caro factum unde dicit: A patre exii et ueni in hunc mundum* ("So the Son of God is not said to be sent in the very fact that he is born of the Father, but either in the fact that the Word made flesh showed himself to this world; about this fact he says, I went forth from the Father and came into the world" DT. IV.28). Just as the Son is eternally begotten of the Father in the life of the Trinity so it is the Son who is sent by the Father into the world. The same goes for the Holy Spirit. This perfectly corresponds to the *regula* of interpretation that we have established in our consideration of Book II: *deus de deo*. The Incarnation and Descent of the Holy Spirit reveal the Son and the Spirit to be *de deo* (as He is begotten of the Father) and *a deo* (as He proceeds from the Father and the Son) respectively.¹¹⁰ The Father, who alone is simply *deus* in the life of the Trinity, is the one who sends. So, these descriptions of *de deo* and *a deo*, which correspond to the revelation of the persons of the Trinity in the world reflect also the inner life of the Trinity and the roles that the Persons play in the economy of salvation.

2.3: ...*FECIT PARTICIPES DIUINITATIS SUAE*

Now that we have considered the Trinity in Itself and the way it reveals Itself to humanity in Scripture through the *missiones* of the Son and the Holy Spirit and how these relate to their *de*

¹⁰⁹ Gioia., 34.

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

deo and *a deo* roles in the inner-trinitarian life, Augustine is able to return to his consideration of how Christ mediates human knowledge of God. For Augustine it is Christ who brings humans to the face-to-face vision of God. It is through Him that the renewal of the *imago Dei* will be accomplished. For the process by which humans approach towards the *uisio Dei* is precisely in the recovery of the image of God within them. For it is through the *imago Dei* that the human is able to participate in the life of the Trinity and be like God.¹¹¹ What exactly this faith is will require further explication, and this is precisely what the Bishop of Hippo does in Book IV. Augustine further expounds upon what exactly this contemplation of God will be like even more only a few passages later when he writes:

Haec enim nobis contemplatio promittitur actionum omnium finis atque aeterna perfectio gaudiorum. Filii enim dei sumus, et nondum apparuit quod erimus. Scimus quia cum apparuerit, similes ei erimus quoniam uidebimus eum sicuti est. (DT. I.17)

This contemplation is promised us as the end of all activities and the eternal perfection of all joys. For we are God's sons, and it has not yet been manifested what we shall be; we know that when he is manifested we shall be like him, for we shall see him as he is.

This passage is classically Augustinian in that we get a taste of the fact that the face-to-face vision of God is delayed. We can begin to participate in the life of the Trinity through Christ in this life, but it is only when we pass from this life to the next that we can see God face to face for *similes ei erimus quoniam uidebimus eum sicuti est* ("we shall be like him, for we shall see him as he is" DT. I.17).¹¹² So even here though Augustine has not explicitly mentioned the renewal of the *imago Dei* as we will find it later in the work, we see that the idea of sharing in divine likeness as the goal of the Incarnation and salvation is certainly not foreign to Augustine's thought. Furthermore, Sullivan notes that for Augustine, as for the eastern Fathers, being 'God's

¹¹¹ Cf. DT. I.16.

¹¹² Augustine himself is of course quoting here from 1st John 3:2. Another one of his favourite passages to quote from in relation to the face-to-face with God is 1st Corinthians 13:12: *uidemus nunc per speculum in aenigmate; tunc autem facie ad faciem* ("We see now through a glass in a puzzle, then it shall be face to face").

sons' through Baptism is the beginning of the process of reassimilation to God or deification.¹¹³ So despite the fact that Augustine is not dealing with the *imago Dei* by name here, I argue that he has its renewal in mind from the beginning of the text. The *imago Dei* appears in the first book¹¹⁴ and will appear again in the seventh book. In this way the idea of the *imago Dei* serves as bookends for this entire section of the work. The goal of the orthodox trinitarian knowledge that Augustine is trying to establish here is not just for the sake of learning alone, but it is to inform the believer so that they can properly engage in the process of the renewal of the *imago Dei*.¹¹⁵ Travis Ables notes that the very process of enunciating the orthodox faith functions as “a discourse of a practice of deification” for Augustine.¹¹⁶ The believer is changed just by recalling and submitting themselves to the correct faith.¹¹⁷ There is no gap between theory and practice here: the very act of engaging in correct theology purifies the mind and begins to conform it more closely to God.¹¹⁸ The language of participation in the divine found in these first books, particularly the fourth book, demonstrates that the saint has the explication of this as one of his goals. This is how the first four books of *De Trinitate* participate in the Godward orientation of the work.¹¹⁹

¹¹³ Sullivan, 56.

¹¹⁴ C.f. DT. I.viii.18. Augustine tells us the highest joy of our life is to enjoy the Trinity in whose image we are made. He explains that the spiritual man can experience this joy and the unspiritual cannot. This bears a similarity to the distinction Augustine will introduce towards the end of the work of one who remembers, knows, and loves God and one who does not: the first is the true image of God the second is foolish. Augustine always sees the *imago Dei* and its increase or decrease in likeness to God as the process of salvation unfolding in the soul.

¹¹⁵ Drever, 153.

¹¹⁶ Travis Ables, *A Pneumatology of Christian Knowledge: The Holy Spirit and the Performance of the Mystery of God in Augustine and Barth*, (PhD diss. Vanderbilt University, 2010), 42 as quoted in Daniel Simmons, “‘We Shall Be Like Him, for We Shall See Him’: Augustine’s *De Trinitate* and the Purification of the Mind,” *International journal of systematic theology*: IJST 15, no. 3 (2013): 240–64, 246.

¹¹⁷ Simmons, 246.

¹¹⁸ Ibid.

¹¹⁹ Ibid., 242. “The first seven books of *De Trinitate*, thus, not only articulate the historical and ontological context within and possibility by which we may come to have eternal life with God, they also seek to participate in our Godward movement.”

Augustine begins Book IV by explaining how humanity was made for God but lost this union with Him through sin. The Bishop of Hippo, as he is fond of doing, describes sin as a sickness that needs to be cured.¹²⁰ He explains:

Has ut curaret atque sanaret uerbum, per quod facta sunt omnia, caro factum est et habitauit in nobis. Inluminatio quippe nostra participatio uerbi est, illius scilicet uitae quae lux est hominum. Huic autem participationi prorsus inhabiles et minus idonei eramus propter immunditiam peccatorum; mundandi ergo eramus. (DT. IV.4)

To cure these and make them well the Word through which all things were made became flesh and dwelt among us. Our enlightenment is to participate in the Word, that is, in that life which is the light of men. Yet we were absolutely incapable of such participation and quite unfit for it, so unclean were we through sin, so we had to be cleansed.

Daniel Simmons summarizes this facet of Augustine’s theology succinctly when he describes it as follows: “Like a sick body which is prevented from exercising its proper functions by its illness, so too, the mind has been infected and polluted. In this enfeebled state, the God who should have been the illuminating light and delight of our lives, by whose goodness we saw everything, now only confuses and disorients us”.¹²¹ A gradual process of purification must take place. We cannot be healed in an instant as our sick minds are not able to handle a sudden union with God. Like a good physician, God – through Christ – gradually leads us back to Him.

Augustine begins to consider how the process of purification takes place when he explains that through the Incarnation the Word was able to match our humanity and through this similarity, though he had no sin of His own, He was able to redeem humanity through the shedding of His blood. Augustine states this quite plainly: *Deus enim natura non sumus; homines natura sumus; iusti peccato non sumus* (“By nature we are not God; by nature we are men; by sin we are not just” DT. IV.4). It is of note here that Augustine highlights the dissimilarity of humanity and God by nature. Through sin we make gods out of ourselves through pride and replace God as the

¹²⁰ Cf. *conf.* III.ii.4.

¹²¹ Simmons, 244.

center of our lives.¹²² Augustine sees in this type of *superbia* the root cause of the illness that God the Son must come to heal.

It is in this moment that I argue Augustine introduces us to his theology of deification through the renewal of the *imago Dei*. His emphasis on the humility necessary on the part of the human is notable because even though we are not God by nature, we shall be like God by grace.¹²³ Augustine does not state that we become God as if our human nature is completely exchanged for the divine nature. We always remain humans, but humans who were once sinners become sons of God, sharing in his divinity.¹²⁴ Augustine states this himself only a few lines later when he says about Christ: *et factus particeps mortalitatis nostrae fecit participes diuinitatis suae* (“and becoming a partaker of our mortality he made us partakers of his divinity” DT. IV.4). This is a very striking image, and certainly one that is echoed elsewhere in Augustine and in other patristic writers.¹²⁵ Augustine himself in one of his sermons says *Deos facturus qui homines erant, homo factus est qui Deus erat* (“To make gods those who were men, He was made man who is God”).¹²⁶ This particular statement bears a strong resemblance with that of Irenaeus: *Verbum Dei Iesum Christum Dominum nostrum, qui propter immensam suam dilectionem factus est quod sumus nos, uti nos perficeret esse quod est ipse*.¹²⁷ Even more succinctly Athanasius says *Αὐτὸς γὰρ ἐνηθρώησεν, ἵνα ἡμεῖς θεοποιηθῶμεν* (“He was made

¹²² Cf. *ciu. Dei* XIV.13.

¹²³ Sullivan, 56.

¹²⁴ Sullivan, Marrocco, Reardon, Meconi, Bonner, and Gioia highlight in various places in their works that Augustine correlates the language of ‘becoming sons of God’ with deification or participation in the divine.

¹²⁵ Ibid. Sullivan highlights Augustine’s *Ennar. In Ps. XLIX, 2* and *De Pecc. Et Remiss.*, II, 9-10 as just two other instances in the corpus among many where Augustine more explicitly speaks about the theme of becoming gods or becoming like God. See also Mary Noreen Rita Marrocco, *Participation in the Divine Life in St. Augustine’s De Trinitate and Selected Contemporary Homiletic Discourses*, PhD diss., University of St. Michael’s College [Toronto], 2000, 90.

¹²⁶ s. 192. i. 1: *PL* xxxviii. 1012.

¹²⁷ Irenaeus, *adu. Haer.* v, *Praef.*: . . . τῷ Λόγῳ Θεοῦ Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ τῷ Κυρίῳ διὰ τὴν ὑπερβάλλουσαν αὐτοῦ ἀγάπην γεγονότι τοῦτο ὅπερ ἐσμέν, ἵνα ἡμᾶς εἶναι καταρτῶν ἐκεῖνο ὅπερ ἐστὶν αὐτός.

man that we might be deified”).¹²⁸ What is clear from Augustine’s writings is that man himself has little to do with becoming like God on his own, it is entirely through God becoming man that any sort of sharing in the divine likeness is made available to him.¹²⁹ This is the goal of the union with God made possible through Christ and the renewal of the *imago Dei*.¹³⁰

2.4: CHRIST, *TEMPORALIA*, FAITH, AND VISION

As Book IV progresses, Augustine considers in what way Christ actually leads humans to the vision of God. Before he considers the Incarnation, he considers the false mediation of the demons. Augustine presents these examples as a means of contrasting with the true mediation of Christ that leads to participation in the divine and deification. The following are examples of a false deification. They are an attempt to be godlike without God’s grace. Augustine says it is the devil who *Sic hominem per elationis typhum potentiae quam iustitiae cupidiorum aut per falsam philosophiam magis inflans aut per sacra sacrilega inretiens* (“Thus he puffs man up with false philosophy or entangles him in sacrilegiously sacred rites” DT. IV.x.13). He condemns any form of magic or spiritual practice that is not from God. We see here in this false mediation the exact opposite of the humility required on the part of humans for them to participate in the true mediation of Christ. In this false mediation humans are *inflantes* with pride instead of being *humiles*. The false philosophy seeks to place man at the center of things and in the end instead of rising up towards the Good we find the opposite: *qui non possunt ad euolandum pinnas nutrire uirtutum sed potius ad demergendum pondera exaggerare uitiorum tanto grauius animae*

¹²⁸ Athanasius, *Incar.* 54. 3: PG xxvii. 192 B.

¹²⁹ Gerald Bonner, “Augustine’s Conception of Deification,” *Journal of theological studies* 37, no. 2 (1986): 369–386, 377.

¹³⁰ See Edmund Hill, *Sermons*, vol. III/11 (Hyde Park, N.Y.: New York City Press, 1997), 29–47. This is one of Augustine’s newly discovered sermons, Sermon 23B, and is filled with the language of deification. A relevant passage from among many: *Gerimus mortalitatem, toleramus infirmitatem, expectamus diuinitatem. Vult enim Deus non solum uiuificare, sed etiam deificare nos* (“We carry mortality about with us, we endure infirmity, we look forward to divinity. For God wishes not only to vivify, but also to deify us.” s. 23B (lines 1–5)).

ruituræ quanto sibi uidetur euecta sublimius (“Such desires cannot strengthen wings of virtue to fly with; all they can do is load down the soul with weights of vice to sink with, and the higher the soul considers itself to be borne up, the heavier its collapse will be” DT.IV.xii.15). The Bishop of Hippo explains quite succinctly: *Nequaquam igitur per sacrilegas similitudines et impias curiositates et magicas consecrationes animæ purgantur et reconciliantur deo* (“Therefore such blasphemous symbols and godless curiosities and magical consecrations are no use at all for purifying the soul and reconciling it to God” DT. IV.xii.15). These *sacrilegas similitudines* contrast with what Augustine has discussed in the preceding book concerning the way that in the Old Testament God made Himself manifest through creation and through the power of the angels to His people in order to prepare them for His coming in the Incarnation. Both God and the devil make use of matter for their mediation, but only one form of mediation can lead to the Good.

Augustine also considers another false purification that he views as equally detestable and faulty as the first. This is the pride of the philosophers who think that on the strength of their own merits they can attain the vision of God. The philosophers, Augustine concedes, can grasp at some kinds of conjecture about God because they can discern some things about Him from His creation.¹³¹ Nevertheless, he condemns this faulty approach when he says, quoting St. Paul to the Romans, *quia per ea quæ facta sunt cognoscentes deum non sicut deum glorificauerunt aut gratias egerunt, sed dicentes se esse sapientes stulti facti sunt* (“because knowing God by the things that are made they have not glorified him as God, or given thanks, but calling themselves wise they have become fools” DT.IV.xvii.23). Again, we see the fundamental requirement for

¹³¹ Cf. Reardon, 116. Augustine sees vestiges of the Trinity in all of creation. Philosophers could perhaps grasp at some of these remnants to gain some insight into God, but without His self-revelation and the renewal of the *imago Dei* brought about by faith no real knowledge of God is possible.

Augustine of humility in the ascent to God. God humbled Himself and took on human form in order to redeem them, and so humans must humble themselves and be conformed to Him in order to be renewed in His image. The approach of the philosophers fails because it lacks recognition of the central role of humility and strives to attain the likeness to God apart from the divine model.

After considering these faulty forms of mediation and ascent to God, Augustine finally introduces how Christ's true mediation is brought about. He says:

Quia igitur ad aeterna capessenda idonei non eramus sordesque peccatorum nos prae-grauabant temporalium rerum amore contractae et de propagine mortalitatis tamquam naturaliter inolitae, purgandi eramus. Purgari autem ut contemperaremur aeternis non nisi per temporalia possemus qualibus iam contemperati tenebamur. (DT. IV.xviii.24)

To sum up then: we were incapable of grasping eternal things, and weighed down by the accumulated dirt of our sins, which we had collected by our love of temporal things, and which had become almost a natural growth on our mortal stock; so we need purifying. But we could only be purified for adaptation to eternal things by temporal means like those we were already bound to in a servile adaptation.

It is helpful again to call to mind the Simmons' quote that we examined earlier in which the mind is described as being so weakened by sin and not able to participate fully in God right away.¹³² It needs to be slowly led towards this true contemplation. Augustine recognizes that in this weakened state in which we find ourselves, it would be impossible to pass directly into the realm of the metaphysical without first passing through the physical things. This is precisely what God provides for humanity in the Incarnation: a correct way that the physical world can lead us toward the eternal. Christ then, the Incarnate Word of God, is the supreme temporal being that can lead humans from this world into the next. He is the face in this world of the invisible Father, who leads the just towards the face-to-face vision of the Trinity. Augustine explains that the

¹³² Simmons, 244.

purified mind is meant to contemplate eternal things, but until the face-to-face vision of the next life, it must give faith to temporal things in order to share in God's likeness.¹³³

Augustine explains this when he introduces the idea of the relationship between faith and truth. Faith and truth are interrelated, and yet there seems to be a disparity or inequality between them. Augustine explains that *Promittitur autem nobis uita aeterna per ueritatem a cuius perspicuitate rursus tantum distat fides nostra quantum ab aeternitate mortalitas* ("But eternal life is promised us by truth, from whose transparent clarity our faith is as far removed as mortality from eternity" DT. IV.xviii.24). Gioia helpfully explains that for Augustine faith and truth are two modes of perceiving the same object.¹³⁴ Again, like in everything we have been considering up until this point, it is Christ who holds these two apparently disparate things together as He is the object of both in His role as the mediator between God and humanity, between the immutable and the mutable, the temporal and the eternal. Surely Augustine is also recalling in this idea that Christ is both our *fides* and our *veritas*, as well as the notion that Christ is the *scientia* and *sapientia* of God.¹³⁵ Barnes summarizes this effectively when he writes, "only a material existence can perform the epistemological (or anthropological) function of leading us to the vision of God. Even if the material existence has to be removed from sight (e.g., as at the ascension), that material existence is still necessary for its 'sensible' content and as the occasion of faith".¹³⁶ God descends in human form to provide an object for human faith which will pass into the eternal. But God does not stay forever in the world as a man, but the Son ascends to be

¹³³ DT. IV.xviii.24.

¹³⁴ Gioia, 76.

¹³⁵ Gioia is the first author I have encountered who makes the connection between faith/truth and *scientia/sapientia* explicit. As we shall explore later *scientia* is nothing other than the correct use of knowledge in this world which ultimately, like all knowledge for Augustine, is oriented towards true knowledge of God and so some correspondence with faith in *temporalia* seems entirely justified.

¹³⁶ Michel Barnes, "Exegesis and Polemic in Augustine's De Trinitate I," *Augustinian Studies* 30 (1999), 58.

with the Father once more. This draws our faith, through temporal realities, upwards towards the eternal.

So in these first four books of *De Trinitate*, Augustine has laid out for the reader an overview of orthodox trinitarian theology. But this has not just been an abstract theological exercise. I have argued that Augustine links God's self-revelation as Trinity through the *missiones* of the Son and the Holy Spirit as found in Scripture to the renewal of the *imago Dei*. In order to be made partakers of the divine life, we need to unite ourselves in faith to the Word of God that seeks to reform His image within us. Now that this initial stage of purification has been carried out and the correct understanding of the Trinity as derived from Scripture has been established Augustine is now prepared to engage in further purification and clarification of the mind as he prepares to tackle the logical categories and their relationship to the Trinity.

CHAPTER THREE: ...*AD IMAGINEM ET SIMILITUDINEM NOSTRAM*

In this chapter we will examine how Augustine defends the orthodox trinitarian faith he has presented in the first four books from various heresies that would undermine it. I argue that even though these books mark a progression in the argument, their content should not be entirely divorced from what has preceded them. In fact, it is necessary that we see them as a cohesive whole. For after introducing correct trinitarian theology to the reader as the means by which the *imago Dei* is restored in Books I-IV, he then defends this faith in Books V-VII before introducing us by name to the theme that will occupy him and the reader for the remainder of the work, the *imago Dei* and its renewal, in Book VII. All of the content then of the first seven books, I argue, leads us towards the *imago Dei* in Book VII. The reader needs the faith as derived from Scripture which has been presented to them further purified before they can proceed further along the path of the uncovering and renewal of the *imago Dei* within their soul. Books V-VII then further clarify knowledge of God the Trinity and allow for true progress to be made in the recovery of His image within the soul.

Book V marks a distinct progression in the argument of the *De Trinitate* that we have been following so far. The argument of Books I-IV has been considering the renewal of the human's relationship with the Trinity through the mediation of the Incarnate Christ. Augustine has been pursuing this line of argumentation by primarily considering various scriptural passages that explain the relationships between the various persons of the Trinity; in particular that of the Father and Son and how the Son and Holy Spirit are both *de deo* and *a deo* from the Father. Augustine's explanation of the inner life of the Trinity as revealed in Scripture helps to prepare the reader for the way that Son's Incarnation, death, and resurrection allow humanity to be reunited with the Father through the Son by the power of the Holy Spirit. At the end of Book IV

Augustine introduces how the argument will proceed. The saint himself acknowledges that there is about to be a shift in his line of reasoning when he says:

Nunc autem non ideo minorum filium quia missus est a patre, nec ideo minorem spiritum sanctum quia et pater eum misit et filius sufficienter quantum arbitror demonstratum est. Siue enim propter uisibilem creaturam siue potius propter principii commendationem, non propter inaequalitatem uel imparilitatem uel dissimilitudinem substantiae in scripturis haec posita intelleguntur, quia etiam si uoluisset deus pater per subiectam creaturam uisibiliter apparere, absurdissime tamen aut a filio quem genuit aut ab spiritu sancto qui de illo procedit missus diceretur. Iste igitur sit huius uoluminis modus; deinceps in ceteris adiuuante domino illa haereticorum uersutissima argumenta qualia sint et quemadmodum redarguantur uidebimus. (DT IV.32).

For the moment, however, it has been sufficiently demonstrated, so I think, that the Son is not less than the Father just because he was sent by the Father, nor is the Holy Spirit less simply because both the Father and the Son sent him. We should understand that these sendings are not mentioned in scripture because of any inequality or disparity or dissimilarity of substance between the divine persons, but because of the created visible manifestation of the Son and the Holy Spirit; or better still, in order to bring home to us that the Father is the source and origin of all deity. For even if the Father had chosen to appear visibly through the creation he controls, it would be quite absurd to talk about him being sent by the Son he begot or the Holy Spirit who proceeds from him. So, let us conclude this volume. In those that follow we shall see with the Lord's help what sort of subtle crafty arguments the heretics bring forward and how they can be demolished

With this summary of Books I-IV Augustine leads the reader into the argument of Book V, which will deal with the *uersutissima argumenta* of the heretics. Wisse notes that some scholars have attempted to establish a sort of distinction between Books I-IV and Books V-VII, stating that the first group deals with Scripture and the second group deals with philosophical categories.¹³⁷

Augustine certainly does not leave Scripture behind as he proceeds further into the argument. In

¹³⁷ Wisse, 51. Cf. Hill (1991) and Crouse (1985), 508 as examples of the approach Gioia and Wisse argue against. In his book Wisse critiques what he refers to as the systematic-theological approach which he sees dominating contemporary Christian theology. I sympathize with many of Wisse's claims and appreciate many of the comments he makes about the *De Trinitate* in his book, however I disagree with his main conclusion: that we must reject a reading of the *De Trinitate* that wants to emphasize the participation of man in the Trinity. Wisse claims that participation theology blurs the fundamental distinction between God and man, historicizing God and tying Him to creation, as if God exists so that man might know Him. However, it is clear in my reading that Augustine sees God as perfect *in se* with no need for humans to "fulfill" Him, and yet because He has brought creation into existence, He desires to draw it to Himself through a sharing of His inner life. So, it is a more of a both/and situation than an either/or when it comes to God's *in se* and *ad extra* activity and participation.

fact, Book VII, which will be crucial for our examination of the renewal of the *imago Dei*, culminates in Augustine's exegesis on Genesis and how man is said to be made in the *imago Dei*. The theology of the *imago Dei* which we will see expressed in Book VII helps to draw together the various strands of the argument that we have been following up until this point. The *imago Dei* is inherently relational just as God the Trinity is relational within Himself and with creation.¹³⁸ The *missiones* of the divine persons into the world express this relationality and allow for humans to participate in it as far as they can.

A much more apt classification of the two groups of books is that the first deals with God's self-revelation as Trinity through Scripture and the Incarnation of Christ and that the second group deals with God's inner life apart from revelation as *deus de deo* and *a deo*. Both groups, however, end with a consideration of the role of faith and its relation to any sort of knowledge of God. Towards the end of Book VII Augustine explains that all of the logical categories he has considered in relation to God as Trinity must ultimately be believed by faith until man is purified.¹³⁹ And so both ends of each group find themselves concerned once more with the role of faith and how it relates to the purification of man and the renewal of his relationship with God. Nevertheless, by the end of Book VII our faith has been further clarified and purified as the mind moves from considering the Trinity as presented in Scripture to considering the *imago Dei* within itself. Wisse congratulates Gioia for recognizing that Books I-VII truly are a continuous strand of argumentation.¹⁴⁰ Even though it can be divided up into two

¹³⁸ Boersma, 255.

¹³⁹ "Ex qua immunditia donec purgetur credat in patrem et filium et spiritum sanctum, unum deum, solum, magnum, omnipotentem, bonum, iustum, misericordem, omnium uisibilium et inuisibilium conditorem, et quidquid de illo pro humana facultate digne uereque dici potest" (DT. VII.12.).

¹⁴⁰ Wisse, 51. "Gioia is certainly right when he emphasizes that books 1-4 and 5-7 belong together in that both deal with the exposition of the orthodox doctrine of the Trinity in the light of Scripture, as much with books 5-7 as with the earlier books. Gioia's remark is a healthy correction to the systematic-theological attempt to read books 1-4 as

subsections it is truly one section of the work concerned with how the *imago Dei* is restored and the human is united once more to God. The reader finds in Books V-VII a deepening and further expansion of the argument as already presented. Crouse explains this well when he says that these books are not meant to act merely as a “theological grammar or lexicon” but that they intend to examine the ways that the mind thinks about God, ultimately preparing it for the discovery that it is made in the image of God in Book VII.¹⁴¹ Crouse sees these books as a dialogue between the “external” word of faith and the “inner” word of reason in which the mind slowly recognizes that while it is mutable and changeable, it truly is the *imago Dei* “like in species to that which it knows.”¹⁴² Since we have discovered in Books I-IV that it is through the mediation of Christ that man is reformed to the image of God and gains knowledge of Him, I believe that in Books V-VII we see how the mind comes to recognize that that it is made in God’s image, setting the stage for the purification and renewal that takes place in the Books VIII onward.

dealing with scriptural prooftexts and books 5-7 with the ‘doctrine of the Trinity proper’. For Augustine, there is no distinction between ‘exegesis’ and ‘systematic theology’, ‘prooftexting’ and ‘speculation’.”

¹⁴¹ Crouse, 507-508.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, 508.

In giving the content of faith its own rational form in terms of the categories, and measuring the categories against the “rule of faith”, the knowing mind recognizes itself not only as created and mutable (Book V, xvi), but as itself vestigial of the unity, form and order of the Trinity (Book VI, x) and finally as image of the Trinity, as like in species to that which it knows (Book VII, vi, 12). “It is by knowing that we return”, says St. Augustine, and in the course of these three books, the examination of our activity of knowing the content of faith leads us progressively to the recognition of that content as the very presupposition, or Principium of that activity. And the principle is rationally disclosed not as *uerbum* alone, but as *Trinitas*: “Unum ergo principium ad creaturam dicitur Deus, non duo uel tria principia.

3.1: BOOK V AND ANTI-ARIAN POLEMICS

Augustine's short introduction for Book V at the end of Book IV notes that it is the *uersutissima argumenta* of the heretics that he is planning to address in his next book.¹⁴³ The proemium of Book V itself says the following:

Hinc iam exordiens ea dicere quae dici ut cogitantur uel ab homine aliquo uel certe a nobis non omni modo possunt, quamuis et ipsa nostra cogitatio cum de deo trinitate cogitamus longe se illi de quo cogitat imparem sentiat neque ut est eum capiat sed, ut scriptum est etiam a tantis quantum Paulus apostolus hic erat, per speculum in aenigmate uideatur [...]. (DT.V.i.1)

From now on I will be attempting to say things that cannot altogether be said as they are thought by a man – or at least as they are thought by me. In any case, when we think about God the trinity we are aware that our thoughts are quite inadequate to their object, and incapable of grasping him as he is; even by men of the caliber of the apostle Paul he can only be seen, as it says, like a puzzling reflection in a mirror.

Wisse points out the repeated use of the word *cogitatio* in this sentence; it appears three times in relatively quick succession.¹⁴⁴ The reader finds in this emphasis on the ‘thinking’ upon God the reemergence, perhaps in a more subtle way, of the same idea present in the previous books that Christ is the *scientia* and *sapientia* of God. Augustine is always reminding his reader that God is to be the goal of our thinking activity and in many ways, he is anticipating here the argument of the latter half of the work beginning with Book VIII, in which the soul will be investigated in order to find the *imago Dei*.¹⁴⁵ Of note also is the very first line of Book V in which Augustine says that *[h]inc iam exordiens ea dicere quae dici ut cogitantur uel ab homine aliquo uel certe a nobis non omni modo possunt* (“From now on I will be attempting to say things that cannot altogether be said as they are thought by a man – or at least as they are thought by me,” DT. V.i.1). This is Augustine’s way of noting to his readers that he is about to engage in more

¹⁴³ DT. IV.12.

¹⁴⁴ Wisse, 52.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid.

‘philosophical’ inquiry in addition to the scriptural exegesis that he has been engaged in up until this point. This turn to the more strictly philosophical might strike the reader as odd: Augustine has so far managed his line of reasoning by considering primarily scriptural passages, and if the scripture is the means by which we come to know about God’s self-revelation as Trinity in the world, why should he suddenly begin to concern himself with philosophical categories? The answer to this question is twofold. The first answer is found in Augustine’s own contemporary theological concern: the Arian heresy. The second part of the answer is that Augustine is not just addressing heresies here but that he is moving the argument beyond the purely sensory nature of Scripture towards the immaterial.¹⁴⁶ This move from the purely physical to the metaphysical over the course of Books V-VII culminates in the proper introduction of the *imago Dei* in the soul and ushers in the interior investigation which will occupy Augustine for the rest of the work. In Books V-VII then the reader does begin to undergo a process of change. The externality of Scripture is brought into the internal realm of the mind, but the mind is shaped by Scripture and faith as it is prepared to recognize in itself the image of God. Scripture will still be the standard against which the categories are tested and so this further strengthens the idea that while Book V is a progression in the argument, the same line of reasoning and argumentation is ultimately being followed.

Gioia argues for what he calls Augustine’s “reluctance” to use the ontological language present throughout Books V-VII.¹⁴⁷ He explains, following on from Augustine’s own statement

¹⁴⁶ Carreker, 21:

With Book V, the argument turns to the logical predication of the revelation of the Trinity in Scripture. Logical predication serves both to refute heresy, especially Arianism, and to clarify belief, even that of the Cappadocians. Through a dialectic of the Scripture and the mind as potential knower, the categories appropriate to scriptural revelation are formed in the mind. In the categories of substance, relation, and act, the mind becomes a logical mirror of the trinitarian life and draws nearer to its principle.

¹⁴⁷ Gioia, 167. “When Augustine is forced to think along the lines set out by the Trinitarian controversy of the century before his own, i.e. polemically, he is quite capable of confining himself to the language of substance and

about the *uersutissima argumenta* of the heretics, that Augustine thinks he must make use of this type of ontological language precisely because it was used by the Arians to promote their heretical beliefs about the relationship between the Father and the Son.¹⁴⁸ In the first four books, Augustine finds himself tackling many of the typical passages of Scripture brought forth by the Arians to claim that the Son is inferior to the Father. Augustine’s answer to this is the exegetical *regula* of *deus de deo*.¹⁴⁹ Arians of latter generations, typically called Eunomians, instead made use of ontological categories to support their arguments and disprove the ὁμοούσιος position which had become the standard for determining Nicene orthodoxy.¹⁵⁰ Augustine’s *regula* that we just mentioned also bears within it Nicene overtones even though the saint does not make mention of the creed as his source for this rule of interpretation until later in these books.¹⁵¹ So, in the first few books the Bishop of Hippo has been measuring his interpretation of Scripture against the Nicene standard and now that he has sufficiently dealt with scriptural concerns he moves on to explicitly consider the ontological polemic proposed by the Arians according to the same standard.¹⁵² This is evidenced explicitly by the fact that Augustine reformulates his *regula* of *deus de deo* in Book VII to *sapientia de sapientia* in his discussion of 1 Corinthians 1:24, *Christum dei uirtutem et dei sapientiam* (“Christ the power of God and the Wisdom of God” DT. VII.i.1).¹⁵³

essence, despite a reluctance betrayed virtually on every page of the sections of the *De Trinitate* devoted to this approach.”

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., 34-35.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid., 35.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid.

¹⁵¹ See DT. VI.ii.3 for an instance of Augustine specifically mentioning the creed in relation to his *regula* of *deus de deo*.

¹⁵² Ibid.

¹⁵³ See DT. VII.ii.3: “*Unde pater et filius simul una sapientia quia una essentia, et singillatim sapientia de sapientia sicut essentia de essentia*”

I argue that the fact that the same rule of interpretation is emerging in these ‘logical’ books should also help to clue in the reader that it is the same line of argumentation that is being pursued here but now in a clarified and purified way. This should immediately draw to mind the consideration of the *missiones* of the Persons of the Trinity which we considered in the previous chapter. As we have established, the *missiones* are intrinsically linked with God’s self-revelation as Trinity since they reveal the various roles the persons of the Trinity play in Its inner life. As Gioia helpfully explains, salvation is accomplished by God’s enactment in the world of His own identity and this is dependent on the consubstantiality of the three persons.¹⁵⁴

Augustine’s approach to the philosophical categories is firmly rooted in his scriptural exegesis from the first section of the work and the *regula* of *deus de deo*. He is ultimately concerned with how the Persons of the Trinity relate to each other in themselves because it is through their relationship with each other that they enter into the world and so an incorrect understanding of the relationships of the three persons with each other impacts one’s understanding of the *missiones* of the persons into the world, and subsequently how salvation and the reformation of the *imago Dei* is accomplished. It is helpful at this point to consider the Arian argument that Augustine finds himself confronted with. He gives an example of the Arian point of view near the start of the fifth book when he says:

Quamobrem ut iam etiam de his quae nec dicuntur ut cogitantur nec cogitantur ut sunt respondere incipiamus fidei nostrae aduersariis, inter multa quae arriani aduersus catholicam fidem solent disputare hoc sibi maxime callidissimum machinamentum proponere uidentur cum dicunt: 'Quidquid de deo dicitur uel intellegitur non secundum accidens sed secundum substantiam dicitur. Quapropter ingenitum esse patri secundum substantiam est, et genitum esse filio secundum substantiam est. Diuersum est autem ingenitum esse et genitum esse; diuersa est ergo substantia patris et filii.' (DT. V.iii.4).¹⁵⁵

¹⁵⁴ Gioia, 35.

¹⁵⁵ See Gioia, 150, for a helpful summary of the Arian argument as presented by Augustine:

It is about these things which cannot be expressed as they are thought and cannot be thought as they are that we must now begin to reply to the critics of our faith. Now among the many objections which the Arians are in a habit of leveling against the Catholic faith, the most cunning and ingenious device they think they can bring to bear is the following argument: “Whatever is said or understood about God is said substance-wise, not modification-wise. Therefore the Father is unbegotten substance-wise, and the Son is begotten substance-wise. But being unbegotten is different from being begotten; therefore the Father’s substance is different from the Son’s.”

We should not be surprised that Augustine’s response to the Arian philosophical argument is to immediately test it by putting it alongside Scripture: if it is true, then Scripture will support it.

Augustine points to two scriptural texts: John 10:30 and Philippians 2:6. The saint first introduces his argument based on the quotation from the Gospel of John:

Si quidquid de deo dicitur secundum substantiam dicitur, ergo quod dictum est: Ego et pater unum sumus, secundum substantiam dictum est. Una est igitur substantia patris et filii. Aut si hoc non secundum substantiam dictum est, dicitur ergo aliquid de deo non secundum substantiam, et ideo iam non cogimur secundum substantiam intellegere ingenitum et genitum. (DT. V.iii.4)

If everything that is said about God is said substance-wise, then ‘I and the Father are one’ was said substance-wise. So the substance of the Father and the Son is one. Or if this is not said substance-wise, then there are some things that are not said about God substance-wise, and therefore we are not obliged to understand unbegotten and begotten substance-wise.

Augustine’s approach to the language of categories is one thoroughly rooted in scripture. A simple statement like *Ego et pater unum sumus*, since it comes directly from the mouth of the Son, must stand up to the test of the logical categories, and if it fails then the application of the logical category itself must be flawed, or at least, require further nuance. Augustine’s concern

The ‘Arian’ argument is quite simple. Even granted the fact that Father and Son are relative terms (*ad aliquid*) implying each other and therefore denoting unity, if there is anything which can be said substantially (*ad se*) of the Father which cannot be said substantially of the Son, then Father and Son cannot be said ‘of the same substance’ or consubstantial. Now, the Father alone is unbegotten (*ingenitus*). On the contrary the Son is begotten (*genitus*). These two opposite attributes are not relative to each other and therefore define that which Father and Son are with reference to themselves (*ad se*) in a different way. Therefore Father and Son are not consubstantial.

with the relationality and directionality of God (*deus de deo*) as derived from the scriptural texts continues to be applied here. He then introduces the second scriptural quotation he will consider:

Item dictum est de filio: Non rapinam arbitratus est esse aequalis deo. Quaerimus secundum quid aequalis. Si enim non secundum substantiam dicitur aequalis, admittunt ut dicatur aliquid de deo non secundum substantiam; admittant ergo non secundum substantiam dici ingenitum et genitum. Quod si propterea non admittunt quia omnia de deo secundum substantiam dici uolunt, secundum substantiam filius aequalis est patri. (DT V.iii.4)

Again, it is said of the Son, ‘He thought it no robbery to be equal to God’. What-wise equal? If he is not called equal substance-wise, then they are admitting that something is not said about God substance-wise; so they should admit that unbegotten and begotten need not be said substance-wise. But if they will not admit it, because they insist on everything being said about God substance-wise, then the Son is equal to the Father substance-wise.

Making use of this simple scriptural passage Augustine is able to dismiss rather straightforwardly the claim that all things said about God must be said *secundum substantiam*, or “substance-wise” as Hill translates it. In order to make sense of the passage, the Arian must admit the equality of the Father and the Son and at the same time be able to accept that *ingenitus* and *genitus* can both be posited of the Father and Son respectively, but not *secundum substantiam*.

Augustine returns to his concern about the relationality of the Persons of the Trinity, because as we have seen from the previous books, it is intrinsically linked with the *missiones* and ultimately with the renewal of the *imago Dei*. He has established that the Father and the Son are both of the same substance based on the quotations just presented from scripture. Yet Augustine is still faced with a problem. Are not ‘Father’ and ‘Son’ two distinct things? If the Father and Son are of the same substance what differentiates them and makes them Father and Son to each other? In order to address this concern Augustine considers the category of *accidens*. Augustine quickly identifies that there is a problem attributing accidents to God because accidents imply the possibility of change and the idea that there could be any change in God is not even remotely

considered by the Bishop of Hippo. Augustine explains quite simply: *Nihil itaque accidens in deo quia nihil mutabile aut amissibile* (“So there is no modification in God because there is nothing in him that can be changed or lost” DT.V.iv.5) The solution to how things can be predicated of God, that are not predicated according to substance, will be again to return to his relational/directional approach to the life of the Trinity. He explains:

Dicitur enim ad aliquid sicut pater ad filium et filius ad patrem, quod non est accidens quia et ille semper pater et ille semper filius, et non ita semper quasi ex quo natus est filius aut ex eo quod numquam desinat esse filius pater esse non desinat pater, sed ex eo quod semper natus est filius nec coepit umquam esse filius. (DT. V.6)

Some things are said with reference to something else, like Father with reference to Son and Son with reference to Father; and this is not said modification-wise, because the one is always Father and the other always Son – not ‘always’ in the sense that he is Son from the moment he is born or that the Father does not cease to be Father from the moment the Son does not cease to be Son.

It is through the idea of relationality and directionality in the Trinity, so crucial to the sections of the work examined in the previous chapter, that Augustine is able to make sense of how things can be predicated of God. He explains further:

Sed quia et pater non dicitur pater nisi ex eo quod est ei filius et filius non dicitur nisi ex eo quod habet patrem, non secundum substantiam haec dicuntur quia non quisque eorum ad se ipsum sed ad inuicem atque ad alterutrum ista dicuntur; neque secundum accidens quia et quod dicitur pater et quod dicitur filius aeternum atque incommutabile est eis. Quamobrem quamuis diuersum sit patrem esse et filium esse, non est tamen diuersa substantia quia hoc non secundum substantiam dicuntur sed secundum relatiuum, quod tamen relatiuum non est accidens quia non est mutabile. (DT.V.6)

But since the Father is only called so because he has a Son, and the Son is only called so because he has a Father, these things are not said substance-wise, as neither is said with reference to itself but only with reference to the other. Nor are they said modification-wise, because what is signified by calling them Father and Son belongs to them eternally and unchangeably. Therefore, although being Father is different from being Son, there is no difference of substance; because they are not called these things substance-wise but relationship-wise; and yet this relationship is not a modification, because it is not changeable.

His way of explaining the ‘differences’ between the members of the Persons of the Trinity as *secundum relatiuum* should come as no surprise to us. It has been the relationships between the

members of the Trinity and the Trinity's relationship to creation that have been the topic of the work up until this point. The fact that Augustine concludes this grouping, Books V-VII, with a discussion of the creation of man in the *imago Dei* towards the end of Book VII shows the goal of the argument. The *imago Dei*, as we will see, is intimately bound up with the relationship between the three Persons of the Trinity and the human, and so Augustine has to preserve and present this type of language in reference to God as being acceptable. He must try to do this from a logical point of view, but equally if not more importantly, he must show how this logical approach flows from and points back to Scripture. Scripture is how we know that God is Trinity and so we must be always checking our philosophical approach against it. Through engaging with the language of his Arian counterparts, Augustine is able to further refine his own language and argumentation as he approaches the introduction of the *imago Dei* proper at the end of Book VII. He drives this point home a little further along in Book V, when, in speaking of the whole Trinity, he says:

Quod autem proprie singula in eadem trinitate dicuntur nullo modo ad se ipsa sed ad inuicem aut ad creaturam dicuntur; et ideo relatiue non substantialiter ea dici manifestum est. Sicut enim trinitas unus deus dicitur magnus, bonus, aeternus, omnipotens, idemque ipse sua sic dici potest deitas, ipse sua magnitudo, ipse sua bonitas, ipse sua aeternitas, ipse sua omnipotentia; non sic dici potest trinitas pater nisi forte translate ad creaturam propter adoptionem filiorum. (DT. V.xi.12).¹⁵⁶

But as for the things each of the three in this triad is called that are proper or peculiar to himself, such things are never said with reference to self but only with reference to each other or to creation, and therefore it is clear that they are said by way of relationship and not by way of substance. The triad, the one God, is called great, good, eternal, omnipotent, and he can also be called his own godhead, his own greatness, his own

¹⁵⁶ See Hill, 198. Hill takes issue with Augustine on this point, pointing to Galatians 4:5, as he makes the claim that even though all persons of the Trinity work together in their *ad extra* activities, the lines of distinction between the persons cannot be completely blurred. Hill argues, based on Scripture and the liturgical tradition of the Church, that we can foster individual relationships with the persons of the Trinity. Augustine's own theory of the *missiones* of the persons of the Trinity into the world seems to solve this sort of problem. While Augustine maintains the joint activity of the three persons in their *ad extra* activity, we are still able to discern their individual action in their roles related to sending or being sent. It is very clearly the Second Person of the Trinity that is sent at the Incarnation, even though both the Father and the Holy Spirit are involved in the sending, because this *missio* corresponds to the Son's role in the inner life of the Trinity.

goodness, his own eternity, his own omnipotence; but the triad cannot in the same way be called Father, except perhaps metaphorically with reference to creation because of the adoption of sons.

Of course, all human language can only approach so close to the mystery of God but by attempting to apply these philosophical categories to God, grounded in the orthodox faith that has been given from Scripture, we are able to begin to discern the Trinity even if it is darkly.¹⁵⁷

Gioia argues that the philosophical categories break when applied to God because God does not fit neatly into them:

In other terms, Augustine shows that philosophical categories break when applied to the mystery of God. In God, something which is indeed predicated relatively – i.e. to be the Father and to be the Son – and which should be an accident, in fact cannot be predicated ‘modification-wise’ (*accidens*), because what is signified by calling them Father and Son belongs to them eternally and unchangeably.¹⁵⁸

Simmons on the other hand does not see this as a failure of philosophical language but instead he sees it serving its purpose exactly. Thinking about God in these ways is difficult and applying the philosophical categories, enlightened and informed by Scripture, will only help to purify the mind’s thinking about the Trinity.¹⁵⁹ Though our purified speech can never equal God or adequacy define Him it is a part of the effort to grow in faith and thus in likeness to Him.¹⁶⁰

It is of note that Augustine does not seem concerned with presenting a perfectly systematized approach to the Trinity as the Holy Spirit appears to be relatively absent in his discussion, compared to the way the Father and the Son are almost constantly discussed. Of course, Augustine will address the Holy Spirit’s role in the Trinity as what binds or joins together the Father and the Son at the end of the fifth book, but he is more concerned with addressing particular objections, i.e. those of the Arians, and using the philosophical categories than he is

¹⁵⁷ Simmons, 256.

¹⁵⁸ Gioia, 152.

¹⁵⁹ Simmons, 257.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid.

with providing his own complete philosophical account.¹⁶¹ The Holy Spirit is completely absent from the discussion of substance in the sixth and seventh book, for example.¹⁶²

The relative lack of discussion of the role of the Holy Spirit at certain points of the work should also come as no surprise when we consider the way Augustine ranks the importance of the various *missiones* of the persons of the Trinity into the world. For Augustine, it is very clear that the Son's Incarnation, death, and resurrection is the primary *missio*. Only as a result of it can the Holy Spirit be sent into the world to dwell in the souls of believers. So, because Arian arguments primarily concern issues with the Son, and the Son has the primary mission and mediatory role between humanity and the divine, Augustine spends most of his time addressing it. Nevertheless, the saint does address the role of the Holy Spirit in a few places in these books. And so it is to a brief consideration of Augustine's understanding of the Holy Spirit's role in the renewal of the *imago Dei* and the possibility of communion between God and men that we will now turn.

3.2: AUGUSTINE ON THE HOLY SPIRIT

While Augustine's primary concern in these books is the relationship between the Father and the Son, both as it is manifested in time through the *missio* of the Son and in eternity through His being eternally begotten, he does also include the Holy Spirit in his consideration not just in order to round out and complete his approach, but because the Holy Spirit also plays an important part in how he understands salvation being accomplished.

¹⁶¹ Gioia, 152.

¹⁶² Ibid.

The primary text for our consideration comes from Book VI. At the beginning of this book Augustine presents the scriptural quote *Christum dei uirtutem et dei sapientiam*.¹⁶³ This ultimately leads to a discussion of how God the Father can also be said to be *sapientia* just as the Son is *sapientia*. Augustine solves any possible problems here with his well-loved rule, *deus de deo*. The Son is wisdom from the Father, he is *sapientia de sapientia*.¹⁶⁴ After this discussion, Augustine introduces his consideration of the role played by the Holy Spirit in the Trinity. He states:

Quapropter etiam spiritus sanctus in eadem unitate substantiae et aequalitate consistit. Siue enim sit unitas amborum siue sanctitas siue caritas, siue ideo unitas quia caritas et ideo caritas, quia sanctitas, manifestum est quod non aliquis duorum est quo uterque coniungitur, quo genitus a gignente diligatur generatoremque suum diligit, sintque non participatione sed essentia sua neque dono superioris alicuius sed suo proprio seruantes unitatem spiritus in uinculo pacis. (DT. VI.v.7)

Therefore the Holy Spirit too takes his place in the same unity and equality of substance. For whether he is the unity of both the others or their holiness or their charity, whether he is their unity because their charity, and their charity because their holiness, it is clear that he is not one of the two, since he is that by which the two are joined each to the other, by which the begotten is loved by the one who begets him and in turn loves the begetter. Thus ‘They keep unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace.’

The Holy Spirit makes it complicated for Augustine to say what a ‘Person’ is in trinitarian theology because it is hard to grasp exactly who He is. Thus, the relational language of the previous books must be applied to make sense of the Holy Spirit’s role in the Trinity. We know that the Holy Spirit is God because Scripture says so, and as we have established Scripture is the

¹⁶³ 1 Cor. 1:24; As quoted near the beginning of Book VI. See DT. VI.i.1.

¹⁶⁴ Cf. DT. VI.ii.3:

Itane ergo dicimus ut pater sit generator magnitudinis, hoc est generator uirtutis uel generator sapientiae suae, filius autem magnitudo, uirtus et sapientia; deus uero magnus, omnipotens, sapiens, ambo simul? Quomodo ergo deus de deo, lumen de lumine? Non enim simul ambo deus de deo, sed solus filius de deo, scilicet patre; nec ambo simul lumen de lumine, sed solus filius de lumine patre. Nisi forte ad insinuandum et breuissime inculcandum quod coaeternum est patri filius ita dictum est deus de deo et lumen de lumine et si quid hoc modo dicitur, ac si diceretur, hoc quod non est filius sine patre de hoc quod non est pater sine filio, id est hoc lumen quod lumen non est sine patre de hoc lumine patre quod lumen non est sine filio, ut cum dicitur deus, quod non est filius sine patre, et de deo, quod non est pater sine filio, perfecte intellegatur quod non praecessit genitor illud quod genuit.

ultimate testing ground for any type of approach to the Mysteries of the faith. In this case, Scripture is clear that the Holy Spirit, while a distinct person of the Trinity from the Father and the Son, is the bond of *caritas* that unites them to each other.¹⁶⁵ We should note in these books Augustine moves from considering the Persons in their economic roles to considering how they are in eternity; this is a move away from the temporal nature of faith towards the eternal which mirrors the movement of the mind from external to internal realities as it moves closer to the discovery of the *imago Dei*. Returning to the Holy Spirit, Augustine is very clear that it is His indwelling in the believer that allows them to love God and properly orient their lives away from the material world to begin to contemplate the spiritual.¹⁶⁶ If the Son is the one who allows for union between God and man to be established through his Incarnation, and is the object of faith, it is the Holy Spirit who fuels this faith in the believer and allows him to progress in the renewal of the *imago Dei*. The Holy Spirit binds the believer to God, just as he binds the Father and the Son together. We can discern this quite clearly from the lines that follow:

Quod imitari per gratiam et ad deum et ad nos ipsos iubemur, in quibus duobus praeceptis tota lex pendet et prophetae. Ita sunt illa tria deus unus, solus, magnus, sapiens, sanctus, beatus. Nos autem ex ipso et per ipsum et in ipso beati quia ipsius munere inter nos unum; cum illo autem unus spiritus quia agglutinatur anima nostra post eum. Et nobis haerere deo bonum est quia perdet omnem qui fornicatur ab eo. (DT. VI.v.7)

We are bidden to imitate this mutuality by grace, both with reference to God and to each other, in the two precepts on which ‘the whole law and the prophets depend.’ In this way those three are one, only, great, wise, holy, and blessed God. But we find our blessedness ‘from him and through him and in him,’ because it is by his gift that we are one with each

¹⁶⁵ Augustine will return to this theme in Book XV when he considers once more the line:

Christum dei uirtutem et dei sapientiam: In hoc cognoscimus quia in ipso manemus et ipse in nobis quia de spiritu suo dedit nobis. Ipse ergo significatur ubi legitur: Deus dilectio est. Deus igitur spiritus sanctus qui procedit ex deo cum datus fuerit homini accendit eum in dilectionem dei et proximi, et ipse dilectio est. Non enim habet homo unde deum diligat nisi ex deo. Propter quod paulo post dicit: Nos diligamus quia ipse prior dilexit nos. Apostolus quoque Paulus: Dilectio, inquit, dei diffusa est in cordibus nostris per spiritum sanctum qui datus est nobis. (XV.xvi.31).

¹⁶⁶ Cf. Meconi, “No Longer a Christian But Christ,” 92. Meconi’s argument here anticipates what will be discussed in later parts of *De Trinitate*, particularly Book VIII, concerning God as love. It is only the indwelling of the Holy Spirit in the soul that allows for humans to love correctly and be reformed to God’s image.

other; with him we are one spirit, because our ‘soul is glued on behind him.’ And ‘for us it is good to cling to God, because he destroys everyone who goes awhoring away from him.’

There are several words which should jump out to us here in our consideration of the renewal of the *imago Dei*. The very first line is quite striking: *Quod imitari per gratiam et ad deum et ad nos ipsos iubemur.*¹⁶⁷ The believer imitates, by grace, this same sort of relationship of love firstly towards God and then towards other people. This is important because before he has examined how humans are made in the *imago Dei*, which he will do later in Book VII, he has already shown how human salvation, or the renewal of the image, depends upon the conformity of the human person to God and in particular through the way in which God relates to Himself and to creation. The saint continues that *Nos autem ex ipso et per ipsum et in ipso beati quia ipsius munere inter nos unum.*¹⁶⁸ Our blessedness comes from the Father, through the Son, in the Holy Spirit.¹⁶⁹ The reader sees here again Augustine is laying the foundation for the various triads he will examine in the soul, passing through each one until he eventually reaches the true *imago Dei* in the triad of *memoria, intellegentia, et uoluntate.*¹⁷⁰ He emphasizes this point even more strongly toward the end of the passage when he says: *cum illo autem unus spiritus quia agglutinatur anima nostra post eum.*¹⁷¹ The idea that we must be glued to Him expresses quite plainly the closeness that Augustine sees being made possible by the renewal of the *imago Dei*. By nature there is an infinite difference between humans and God, but through the *missiones* of the persons of the Trinity into the world, God is able to close this gap and offer to humans a chance to be like him, not by nature, but by grace.¹⁷²

¹⁶⁷ DT. VI.v.7.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid.

¹⁶⁹ Gioia, 167.

¹⁷⁰ See DT. XIV.6.

¹⁷¹ DT. VI.v.7.

¹⁷² Cf. DT. IV.ii.4:

3.3: BOOK VII AND THE *IMAGO DEI*

In a way, all of the books of the *De Trinitate* so far, and the line of reasoning that has been unfolding within them, have been leading us to this point: the introduction of the idea of the *imago Dei*. Of course this has been hinted at to varying degrees, and as we have seen from the previous section of this chapter, Augustine has been quite explicit that he sees man's salvation in God happening in a trinitarian fashion. We are led to God the Father through God the Son in the love of the Holy Spirit.¹⁷³ It is finally at the end of Book VII that the whole argument of the first half of the work is brought to its first conclusion: that it is through the renewal of the image of God found in the soul that humans can contemplate God and share in His likeness.

I believe that in many ways, Book VII mirrors Book IV, the last book of the first 'grouping' of the work, in that it draws together the various strands of argumentation to present the saint's conclusion. We can discern that the end of Book VII and the beginning of Book VIII mark another stage in the progression of the argument based on what Augustine himself says early on in Book VIII, speaking about Book VII:

Dicta sunt haec, et si saepius uersando repetantur, familiarius quidem innotescunt; sed et modus aliquis adhibendus est deoque supplicandum deuotissima pietate ut intellectum aperiat et studium contentionis absumat quo possit mente cerni essentia ueritatis sine ulla mole, sine ulla mutabilitate. (DT. VIII.1)

All this has been said, and if it has been repeated rather often in various ways, this only means that we become all the more familiar with it. But we must put some limits to repetition, and beseech God as devoutly and earnestly as we can to open our understandings and temper our fondness for controversy, so that our minds may be able to perceive the essence or being of truth without any mass, without any changeableness.

Deus enim natura non sumus; homines natura sumus; iusti peccato non sumus. Deus itaque factus homo iustus intercessit deo pro homine peccatore. Non enim congruit peccator iusto, sed congruit homini homo. Adiungens ergo nobis similitudinem humanitatis suae abstulit dissimilitudinem iniquitatis nostrae, et factus particeps mortalitatis nostrae fecit participes diuinitatis suae.

¹⁷³ Gioia, 166-167.

With the end of Book VII Augustine brings to a close his ‘polemical’ section dealing with Arian attacks on the Trinity. Through engaging in the logical categories Augustine has purified the faith of that reader in such a way *quo possit mente cerni essentia ueritatis sine ulla mole, sine ulla mutabilitate* (“so that our minds may be able to perceive the essence or being of truth without any mass, without any changeableness” DT. VIII.1). Crucially, for the argument of this thesis, Book VII marks the introduction of the theme that will occupy Augustine for the remainder of the work: the *imago Dei* and its renewal. All of the previous books have been leading us to this point: the recognition that man is made in the *imago Dei* and that it is through the *reformatio* of this image that we are made like God.¹⁷⁴ Augustine has been preparing us by showing how all knowledge of God the Father is mediated through the Son in his Incarnation by the Holy Spirit. This threefold unfolding of Trinity into the world mirrors the goal of the human soul: contemplation of the Father through the Son by the means of the Holy Spirit.¹⁷⁵

The end of Book VII marks an interesting change in the tone of the work that the reader has been experiencing for the past several books. Once again one is faced with the language of purification:

Ex qua immunditia donec purgetur credat in patrem et filium et spiritum sanctum, unum deum, solum, magnum, omnipotentem, bonum, iustum, misericordem, omnium uisibilium et inuisibilium conditorem, et quidquid de illo pro humana facultate digne uereque dici potest. (DT. VII.12)

Until a man is purified of this sort of uncleanness, he must believe in the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, one only God, great, omnipotent, good, just merciful, creator of

¹⁷⁴ Sullivan, 39-40.

¹⁷⁵ Cf. Gioia, 168-169.:

According to the theology of missions, the Father is the ‘principle’ (*principium*) of the inner-life of the Trinity because he is never said to have been sent but only sends. The Son is ‘God from (*de*) God’ because he is the Son as he is sent and, in the same way, the Holy Spirit is ‘God from (*a,ex*) God’ because he is sent by the Father and the risen Christ, and his role in the economy is to lead us to adhere to Christ through love and thus reach union with the Father. This is why he is sent from the Father ‘principally’ (*principaliter*), but from the Son as well, since he is the common spirit, the unity, the love of the Father and the Son.

all things visible and invisible, and whatever else humanity is capable of saying of him that is true and worthy of him.

It should come as no surprise that as Augustine brings this particular section of the work to an end, and by extension the first half of the work, he turns once more to the dominant theme of Books I-VII in a way to bring them to a conclusion but also to prepare the reader for the deeper examination that is about to unfold in Book VIII onwards.

His consideration of the relationship between the three persons of the Trinity which has occupied him for the past few books leads him to Genesis: *Aliquando latenter omnino sicut in genesi: Faciamus hominem ad imaginem et similitudinem nostrum* (“Sometimes even the relationships are no more than implicit in the text, as in Genesis: ‘Let us make man to our image and likeness,’” DT. VII.12). This quote from Scripture perfectly encapsulates for Augustine the argument he has been trying to make over the past few books. The plural nature of the *faciamus* and the *nostrum* indicate the *relatiui* that exist between the persons of the Trinity. At the same time it reinforces God’s unity: *non enim ut facerent dii aut ad imaginem et similitudinem deorum, sed ut facerent pater et filius et spiritus sanctus ad imaginem ergo patris et filii et spiritus sancti ut subsisteret homo imago dei; deus autem trinitas* (“For he did not mean that gods should do the making, or do it to the image and likeness of gods, but that the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit should do it; do it therefore to the image of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, so that man might subsist as the image of God; and God is three.” DT. VII.12). In this section we have a perfect summary of the argument so far: God is one, but also three equal persons, and human beings are made in His image.

Augustine’s reintroduction of the theme of the *imago Dei* here in Book VII is the first time that he has considered it explicitly since Book I where he said, setting up the trajectory of the whole work, *Hoc est enim plenum gaudium nostrum quo amplius non est, frui trinitate deo*

ad cuius imaginem facti sumus (“For the fullness of our happiness, beyond which there is none else, is this: to enjoy God the Trinity in whose image we were made” DT. I.18). The goal of human life is the recognition of the *imago Dei* within the soul and its restoration and renewal. Here in Book VII, Augustine clarifies exactly how we are the *imago Dei*. Humans are not equal to God but share a likeness with him (*similitudine*). Augustine is clear though, contrary to what previous thinkers like Ambrose and even the younger Augustine himself had said, that man is not the image of the Son alone, but of the whole Trinity.¹⁷⁶ Of course the obvious reason for this the plural language found in Genesis, but there is a deeper reason which we can draw from Augustine’s consideration of the Old Testament theophanies and the theology of the *missiones* we have considered previously.¹⁷⁷ The Son is equal with the Father, and so is equally invisible and united to Him.¹⁷⁸ Because of this, it is impossible for humans to be an image of the Son alone, because if they are an image of the Son, they are also an image of the Father and the Holy Spirit by default. So God himself, His inner-life as revealed by the theology of the *missiones* is contained, in a like way, within the human. It is through this likeness with God and that man is united to Him and led to enjoy Him eternally.¹⁷⁹

As Augustine prepares to move into Book VIII, and beyond, in which the ‘how’ of the renewal of *the imago Dei* will be discussed he concludes Book VII by driving home his point about how the renewal of the *imago Dei* is the way humans come to be united with God and participate in him.

Sed quia non omnino aequalis fiebat illa imago dei tamquam non ab illo nata sed ab eo creata, huius rei significandae causa ita imago est ut ad imaginem sit, id est non

¹⁷⁶ Andrew Louth, “Augustine,” in *The Origins of the Christian Mystical Tradition: From Plato to Denys*, 128-153, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 146-147.

¹⁷⁷ Gioia, 276.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid.

¹⁷⁹ Cf. DT. 1.18 quoted above.

aequatur parilitate sed quadam similitudine accedit. Non enim locorum interuallis sed similitudine acceditur ad deum, et dissimilitudine receditur ab eo. (DT. VII.12)

But the image of God was not made in any sense equal, being created by him, not born of him; so to make this point he is image in such a way as to be ‘to the image’, that is, he is not equated in perfect parity with God, but approaches him in a certain similarity. One does not approach God by moving across intervals of place, but by likeness or similarity, and one moves away from him by dissimilarity or unlikeness.

Within this quotation we see the paradox in Augustine’s theology of the *imago Dei*, for he sees in the *imago Dei* both the closeness of humanity to God as well as their separateness. We can understand this by recognizing that Augustine sees humans beings as created *ad imaginem Dei*, they are to the image of God¹⁸⁰, but they are not God’s equal.¹⁸¹ For Augustine, to image something is to be patterned upon but derived from the original source, to share some likeness, but ultimately to be inferior.¹⁸² The image then is most itself when it most perfectly reflects the original source from which it was derived.¹⁸³ This is why *inquietum est cor nostrum donec requiescat in te* (“Our heart is restless until it rests in you” *conf.I.i.1*)¹⁸⁴ because humans cannot find any true rest in the creatures around them, but only in God the divine exemplar whom they strive towards.¹⁸⁵

The mere discovery then of the *imago Dei* is not enough, but it is only the beginning of its renewal. The Son, by virtue of His relationship with the Father, descends to earth to reconcile humanity to the Father; the Holy Spirit is sent by the Father and the Son subsequently so that humans can share in the bond of charity between the Father and the Son. Rowan Williams notes,

¹⁸⁰ See Drever, 148-149. Drever explains, by quoting from both *De Genesi ad litteram* and *De Trinitate*, that Augustine sees the *imago Dei* as the “primordial” orientation of the soul toward God. Being made ‘to the image of God’ is humanity’s natural capacity for and recognition of God as their proper end. Reformation or deformation of the image then is to either move in accord with the proper end of humans or to work against it.

¹⁸¹ Meconi, *The One Christ*, 35.

¹⁸² Ibid.

¹⁸³ Ibid.

¹⁸⁴ This translation is my own.

¹⁸⁵ Meconi, *The One Christ*, 35.

“[T]he mind as independent individuality cannot image God...The image of God, in short, is realized when we come to be in conscious relation to the divine act that establishes the possibility of relation; when we see ourselves to be known and loved by God.”¹⁸⁶ Augustine has led us to the point where the ‘external’ realities have been established: God the Trinity desires a relationship with humans and this relationship is realized through the divine persons revealing themselves in the world and by humans recognizing that they are made in the image of this Trinity, and so become like God through mirroring it. Before we move on to the next phase of the argument the language of the first books is brought to the fore again as the final line of Book VII: *Nisi credideritis non intellegitis* (“Unless you believe, you will not understand,” DT. VII.12). This is ultimately Augustine’s conclusion to this ‘polemical’ section of the work. We must hold as the object of our faith that the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit are all one God and that it is in the image of this Triune God that we are made.¹⁸⁷ So over the course of Books I-VII we have journeyed with Augustine from the external to the internal, from the physical to the metaphysical, from the temporal to the eternal. In Books I-IV Augustine considered the missions of the Persons of the Trinity in the world while in Books V-VII he has considered the processions that make up God’s inner-life through the philosophical categories.¹⁸⁸ Likewise, our faith has followed suit as it has been moved from visible and sensible objects towards invisible and

¹⁸⁶ Rowan Williams, “Sapientia and Trinity: Reflections on the De Trinitate,” In *Collectanea Augustiniana: Mélanges T. J. van Bavel*, ed. Bernard Bruning, Mathjis Lamberigts, and J. van Houten, (Louvain: Louvain University Press, 1990), 320.

¹⁸⁷ Carreker, 25:

Therefore, the search for the Trinity begins with knowledge in the form of faith, and given the logical demonstration of Books V-VII, that informed faith now seeks a similitude of activity by which the Trinity may be known more truly and loved in the degree in which it is known. The logical books have provided a mirror, a logical purview, but now the soul striving in love to cleave to the very life of the Trinity, seeks a similitude by which it may be strengthened to know and love, to participate in that highest life itself.

¹⁸⁸ Simmons, 257.: “Because God in eternity sends Son and Spirit in correspondence to their eternal generation, we may make the noetic move from the missions back to the processions. [...] Attempting to understand and order ourselves to this God is part of our movement towards this Three-in-One. This is what Augustine is trying to do in *De Trinitate*.”

insensible ones. Now that we hold God the Trinity by an informed and purified faith, we are ready for the *modo interiore* of the second half of the work where the mind turns to itself to discover within it a similitude or likeness for this Trinity. Now the way that the *imago Dei* is renewed through its likeness to God will be examined.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁹ Cf. DT. VIII.1: “*Nunc itaque in quantum ipse adiuuat creator mire misericors attendamus haec quae modo interiore quam superiora tractauimus, cum sint eadem, seruata illa regula ut quod intellectui nostro nondum eluxerit a firmitate fidei non dimittatur.*”

CHAPTER FOUR: *MEMORIA DEI, INTELLIGENTIA DEI, ET AMOR DEI*

Now that we have established the means by which process of the renewal of the *imago Dei* is begun in Books I-VII, we will now follow Augustine as he prepares to engage in a *modo interiore*¹⁹⁰ to see how the *imago Dei* is uncovered and restored within the soul. In this chapter I will argue that now that faith has been moved from external objects, purified, and brought into the purview of the mind through the clarification of the philosophical categories the Bishop of Hippo is ready to turn his investigation to the mind itself to determine if some likeness or similitude to the Trinity can be found there.¹⁹¹ The saint himself says: *attendamus haec quae modo interiore quam superiora tractauimus, cum sint eadem* (“[...] let us turn our attention to the things we are going to discuss in a more inward manner than the things that have been discussed above, though in fact they are the same things [...]” DT. VIII. 1). This follows the argument that I have been making so far: that the subject of the entire *De Trinitate* is the same, but it is simply the method of investigation that is changed as we approach closer to the *imago Dei* itself. Recalling Augustine’s explanation at the start of the work that the argument proceeds in an orderly manner¹⁹² we should also be aware of the fact that while the content of various parts of the work is the same, there will be development and expansion as the saint moves more and more from the outer to the inner.¹⁹³ Over the course of Books I-VII the external word of

¹⁹⁰ DT. VIII.1: *Nunc itaque in quantum ipse adiuvat creator mire misericors attendamus haec quae modo interiore quam superiora tractauimus, cum sint eadem, seruata illa regula ut quod intellectui nostro nondum eluxerit a firmitate fidei non dimittatur* (“Now therefore, as far as the wonderfully merciful creator may assist us, let us turn our attention to the things we are going to discuss in a more inward manner than the things that have been discussed above, though in fact they are the same things; but let us all the while still keep to the rule that just because a thing is not yet clear to our understanding, we must not therefore dismiss it from the firm assent of our faith.”)

¹⁹¹ Cf. Carreker, 10. Carreker describes how in Book I Augustine gives us a macroscopic view of how faith in Christ leads to knowledge of God the Trinity. I am arguing that now this macroscopic view is being applied in a microscopic way to the case of how an individual soul finds itself caught up in the process of renewal and deification as it is made more and more like God in whose image it was made.

¹⁹² DT. *Prologus*

¹⁹³ In Book XI and onwards we will see the movement from the outer man of sensation to the inner man of contemplation.

Scripture has passed over to the internal word of the mind, though it is the same *Verbum*¹⁹⁴ that is central to both.¹⁹⁵ In this chapter I will be focusing on Books VIII-XIV. Books VIII-XI serve the function of introducing the reader into the eventual examination of the soul where the *imago Dei* will be found in Books XII-XIV. In Book VIII Augustine bridges the two halves of the work. He begins by reflecting once more on the ‘polemical’ issues of Books V-VII but he very quickly switches over to a more metaphysical consideration, namely: how it is possible for men to know God if they have never seen Him. The reader should not be surprised by Augustine’s answer at this point: the key to knowing God in this life is *fides*. I will argue that in Book VIII Augustine further explores what he means by faith by adding to it his lengthy consideration of how *Deus caritas est*.¹⁹⁶ I will also argue that throughout Books IX and X Augustine begins to apply his dual approach of *fides* and *caritas* to the soul to show how the soul truly is purified by faith and love of God. We know God through faith by loving God. For Augustine we love God in and through God Himself.¹⁹⁷ Augustine’s exploration of the relationship between *fides* and *caritas* flanks a discussion of the how the mind knows. The arrangement of these discussions shows us how Augustine will proceed for the remainder of the work. We know God the Father by having faith in God the Son by the power of the Holy Spirit, who is love, and we know God through the *imago Dei* which is purified by faith. Book VIII ends with an initial discovery of a lesser trinity of lover, beloved, and love. This discovery sets up our exploration for the next several books as Augustine moves through the mind until he can eventually reach the *mens*, the highest part of the mind, where the *imago Dei* resides. Yet within this initial trinity, even though it does not capture

¹⁹⁴ See Hill, 251. Augustine begins to press the word *verbum* into having the same meaning as the Greek word *logos* with the meaning of “idea” in Book VIII. He will work out the implications this has for his thought throughout the following books.

¹⁹⁵ Cf. Crouse, 508.

¹⁹⁶ Hill, 258-259.

¹⁹⁷ Cf. DT. VIII.iii.5. “*Hoc ergo bonum non longe positum est ab unoquoque nostrum: In illo enim uiuimus et mouemur et sumus.*”

the *imago Dei*, it reveals to us the dynamic nature that the eventual *imago Dei* will have in its relationship with the Trinity.¹⁹⁸ For Augustine, the soul longs for God because it is made in God's image; therefore, it can only be content by imitating its source as perfectly as it can in this life.¹⁹⁹

Book IX and X are a further exploration of how the mind knows God. Augustine's conclusion at the end of the tenth book is that the mind can only know God when it knows itself. Hill describes Book IX and X as accounting for the Fall in a 'psychological' fashion as Augustine speaks about the various images that have entered the mind through sense perception that cloud it and make it hard for the mind to discern within itself the true *imago* it is looking for.²⁰⁰ It is only when the mind has discerned itself apart from the various images that fill it that it can truly love and know God in whose image it has been made. By the end of Book X, the reader is prepared to enter into the mind itself in a deeper way as it prepares to find the *imago Dei*.²⁰¹ I will argue that in Books XII-XIV when we finally discover the *imago Dei* in the *mens* we realize that it is not a static reality, but it is the means by which a dynamic relationship between God and humans occurs. To be the *imago Dei* does not mean simply to be *memoria*, *intelligentia*, and *uoluntas* but it means to *meminisse et intellegere et amare*²⁰² God. It is in this active relationship that deification is found, and the soul becomes like God and participates even now in His divine life.²⁰³

¹⁹⁸ Meconi, 44-45.

¹⁹⁹ Boersma, 254-255.

²⁰⁰ Hill, 258-259.

²⁰¹ Marrocco, 88. Marrocco gives a helpful explanation of Augustine's division of the soul when she says: Augustine has explained (especially in XII.1-4) that the human soul (*animus*)' has a lower part (*anima*), which is the part associated with and directed towards ordering the material, finite, and temporal, and a higher part (*mens*), which is directed upwards towards contemplation of eternal things." The *anima* is the part that will be associated with *scientia* and its activities and the *mens* is the part of the soul in which the activity of *sapientia*, namely contemplation of God, will be accomplished.

²⁰² DT.XIV.xi.15.

²⁰³ Sullivan, 64. Sullivan argues that Augustine sees the possibility of some sort of perfection of the soul in this life. This earthly perfection is not equated to the perfection of the blessed in heaven who have the perfect face-to-face

4.1: BOOK VIII AND THE *MODUS INTERIORE*

Book VIII marks another transition in the argument of the *De Trinitate*. The gradual transition from the ‘outer’ to the ‘inner’ that we have been undergoing over the course of Books I-VII leads Augustine to consider the soul itself. To mark this transition in the focus of the argument, from the ‘outer’ to the ‘inner’, Augustine weaves together a couple of the themes that we have been considering up until this point, namely: *fides* and *caritas*. As we will come to see for Augustine, over the course of this book in particular, these two things ultimately are not separate realities but converge in the soul’s quest to be renewed in the *imago Dei*. For we have faith in God because we love Him and desire to be with Him, or as Gioia formulates it, we love God through believing in Him (*credendo diligere*).²⁰⁴ In faith we come to love the God who we cannot yet see and so faith and love (*caritas, delectio*) are the means by which knowledge of God is had in this world when we are still seeing *per speculum in aenigmate*.²⁰⁵ In the previous books we have seen how through the *utilia temporalia* of Christ in the world – namely his Incarnation – we have faith in God.²⁰⁶ The *utilia temporalia* of the Second Person of the Trinity on earth are also evidence for us of God’s love: both the love that binds the Trinity together but also His love of humanity. The goal of this is to eventually obtain the vision of God, *facie ad faciem*, but this is an eschatological goal.²⁰⁷ The human soul makes progress towards reforming itself to the *imago Dei*, and thus making possible the face-to-face vision of God in the next life, by love of God

vision of God, nevertheless, it is the closest thing to this possible on earth. He references Augustine’s *De Sermonibus I* which says, “*Pacificis Dei similitudo, tamquam perfecte sapientibus formatisque ad imaginem Dei per regenerationem renouati hominis.*” In this text Augustine refers to the peacemakers as the highest grade of perfection attainable in this life and explicitly associates the renewal of the image of God with them.

²⁰⁴ Gioia, 175.

²⁰⁵ Ibid., 185.

²⁰⁶ Ibid., 175.

²⁰⁷ Ibid.

through faith in the Incarnation of the Son and the outpouring of the Holy Spirit which draws it back to God the Father.²⁰⁸

Early in Book VIII Augustine neatly explains the purpose and scope of the next part of his argument. This is a lengthy quotation, but well worth quoting in full in order to have before us the saint's reasoning. He says:

Ecce uide si potes, o anima prae-grauata corpore quod corrumpitur et onusta terrenis cogitationibus multis et uariis, ecce uide si potes, deus ueritas est. Hoc enim scriptum est: Quoniam deus lux est, non quomodo isti oculi uident, sed quomodo uidet cor cum audit, ueritas est. Noli quaerere quid sit ueritas; statim enim se opponunt caligines imaginum corporalium et nubila phantasmatum et perturbabunt serenitatem quae primo ictu diluxit tibi cum dicerem, ueritas. Ecce in ipso primo ictu qua uelut coruscatione perstringeris cum dicitur ueritas mane si potes; sed non potes. Relaberis in ista solita atque terrena. Quo tandem pondere, quaeso, relaberis nisi sordium contractarum cupiditatis uisco et peregrinationis erroribus? (DT. VIII.ii.3)

Come, see if you can, 'O soul weighed down with the body that decays' and burdened with many and variable earthly thoughts, come see it if you can – God is truth. For it is written 'that God is light' not such as these eyes see, but such as the mind sees when it hears 'He is truth.' Do not ask what truth is; immediately a fog of bodily images and a cloud of fancies will get in your way and disturb the bright fair weather that burst on you the first instant when I said 'truth.' Come, hold it in that first moment in which so to speak you caught a flash from the corner of your eye when the word 'truth' was spoken, stay there if you can. But you cannot. You slide back into these familiar and earthly things. And what weight is it, I ask, that drags you back but the birdlime of greed for the dirty junk you have picked up on your wayward wanderings?

It is the *caligines imaginum corporalium et nubila phantasmatum* that cloud the human mind and stop it from discerning within itself the *imago Dei*. While Augustine is proceeding in these books in a *modo interiore*, his move inwards is ultimately meant to be a move upwards, beyond the physical things of this world that weigh down our souls and prevent us from loving God as we should. The process of purification by faith is the process by which these various worldly accretions that have formed on the soul from our *peregrinationis erroribus* are rubbed away and

²⁰⁸ Gioia, 175; Sullivan, 68-69.

the pristine image of God is revealed. This situation is not new to the reader of the *De Trinitate* who has been aware of the sinful nature of man and the disfigurement of the *imago Dei* from earlier in the work and who has been undergoing the gradual process of purification, and yet now the human predicament has been reformulated into what one might call more psychological language, more fitting perhaps to the inward analysis of the soul that the Bishop of Hippo is about to embark on.

Now that we have the state of the sinful soul before us once more Augustine begins to consider how this mind can discern its true *imago* from amongst the various *caligines imaginum* that it finds within itself. Augustine's answer to the question of how we can discern the *imago Dei* from amongst the *caligines imaginum* of the distorted mind comes immediately. The soul must perceive the good and this will ultimately lead the soul to see God: *Tolle hoc et illud, et uide ipsum bonum si potes; ita deum uidebis, non alio bono bonum, sed bonum omnis boni* ("Take away this or and that and see good itself if you can. In this way you will see God, not good with some other good, but the good of every good." DT. VIII.iii.4). Augustine finds himself grappling with the question of how the soul can know God if in its original state, even after Baptism, it is still damaged from its encounter with sin.²⁰⁹ But based on his own experience, the fact that we say some things are good or that something things are better than others indicates that we must have some sense of goodness within us. This inborn sense of the good is ultimately the desire for union with God expressing itself. For when we seek out good things in this life, we are seeking out as the saint says *non bonus animus aut bonus angelus aut bonum caelum sed bonum bonum* ("Not good mind or good angel or good heavens, but good good." DT. VIII.iii.4).

²⁰⁹ Cf. Sullivan, 42.

It should be noted here that this language is not as much scriptural as it is Platonic²¹⁰, which should come as no surprise to us given the importance of the philosophy of the Platonists for Augustine in his own conversion.²¹¹ We see in these passages of Book VIII references to *participatione bona* and how through this participation in good things *si ergo potueris illis detractis per se ipsum perspicere bonum, perspexeris deum* (“if then you can put them aside and perceive good itself, you will perceive God.” DT. VII.5). Augustine even seems to indicate a true closeness of some kind between the soul and God when he speaks about the soul clinging to God through love: *Et si amore inhaeseris, continuo beatificaberis* (“And if you cling to him in love, you will straightaway enter into bliss.” DT. VIII.5).

This type of language seems to contradict what we have been reading so far throughout the work about how we require the mediation of Christ to know God and be led to the face-to-face vision of Him. If all we have to do is see the good and we will enter into bliss, there does not seem to be any need at all for a reformation and renewal of the *imago Dei*. This is surely a rhetorical approach by Augustine who is setting things up for a dramatic conclusion: it is impossible, or at least nearly impossible, for humans to love to God, *ipsum bonum*, alone. Because of the human condition we find ourselves loving various other goods for their own sakes. We get bogged down by them and lose sight of our ultimate end in God. Once more Augustine’s reader is confronted by the problem of an inability to reach God on our own. But he begins to propose the solution to this by applying to the more psychological investigation his considerations from the investigation of the first seven books: the *imago Dei* is restored to its relationship with God through faith in Christ as the mind turns inward and acknowledge God’s presence within it. For the good we are seeking *non longe positum est ab unoquoque nostrum: In*

²¹⁰ Meconi, *The One Christ*, 50-51.

²¹¹ See *conf.* VII.9.13 and his discussion of the books of the Platonists.

illo enim uiuimus et mouemur et sumus (“[...] is not situated far from anyone of us; for in it we live and move and are.” DT. VIII.5).²¹²

After Augustine lays out the situation of the soul in its state of sin, with the *imago Dei* obscured and the soul unable to discern the *ipsum bonum*, he begins to apply the results of his investigation in books I-VII to the soul itself. *Fides* is once more introduced as the first step in the process of the renewal of the image of God in the soul:

Sed dilectione standum est ad illud et inhaerendum illi ut praesente perfruamur a quo sumus, quo absente nec esse possemus. Cum enim per fidem adhuc ambulamus non per speciem, nondum utique uidemus deum sicut idem ait facie ad faciem. Quem tamen nisi iam nunc diligamus, numquam uidebimus. DT. VIII.iv.6)

But we also have to stand by and cling to this good in love, in order to enjoy the presence of him from whom we are, whose absence would mean that we could not even be. For since ‘we are still walking by faith and not by sight’ we do not yet see God, as the apostle says, ‘face to face’. Yet unless we love him even now, we shall never see him.

The beginning of this passage immediately follows from the passage quoted at the end of the last section. It is a continuation of the saint’s thought-process: it is not enough for us to be ‘in the good;’ we must also actively seek the good and cling to it through love.²¹³ The scriptural language that Augustine is quoting here is also very striking and recalls discussions from the previous books, particularly Book IV and his discussion of Christ and His *utilia temporalia* that are the object of our faith. We do not yet have the *uisio Dei* in this life but are constrained by faith: *enim per fidem adhuc ambulamus*.²¹⁴ The walking by faith that will pass over to the face-to-face with God is linked by the fact that even in this life the purified soul wills the same object,

²¹² C.f. Sullivan, 139. Sullivan notes that the renewal of the *imago Dei* which consists in *memoria Dei*, *intelligentia Dei*, and *amor Dei* are only possible because of the fundamental reality of God’s presence to the soul. The exemplar must be present to the image in some way for the reformation of the image to happen. This is how the Augustine can say that the good we are seeking is not far from us because God is the very thing in which we live, and move, and have being.

²¹³ Hill, 247; see also Sullivan, 50, on the relational nature of the *imago Dei* and how all knowledge of God is meant to lead us to relationship or likeness with Him.

²¹⁴ DT. VIII.iv.6.

union with God through Christ, just by different means. Augustine's answer to how we can know God in this life without having the true vision of Him is that when we cleave to Him in faith through love, we are really in that moment knowing God and are joined to Him, even if this is in an incomplete way which will be fulfilled *facie ad faciem* in the next life.

Love, *caritas* or *delectio*, is central to the search for the *imago Dei* within. This is the case because the goal of the search for the *imago Dei* is not the finding of the image alone, but the finding of the image is only the beginning of the journey. It must be purified so that it can image as closely as possible the exemplar from which it was drawn.²¹⁵ The fact that Augustine places this discussion of the role of love at the very start of his inquiry in the *modo interiore* demonstrates how crucial it will be for the subsequent investigation. As he sums up later in Book VIII: *Quapropter non est praecipue uidendum in hac quaestione quae de trinitate nobis est et de cognoscendo deo nisi quid sit uera dilectio, immo uero quid sit dilectio* ("Thus it is that in this question we are occupied with about the trinity and about knowing God, the only thing we really have to see is what true love is; well in fact, simply what love is" DT. VIII.vii.10).²¹⁶ Augustine ends Book VIII by returning to the theme of the good, explaining that true love is at its core love of the good and ultimately love of the *ipsum bonum*.²¹⁷ Faith and love, what I believe are our two guides along the path to the discovery of the *imago Dei*, are brought together and their intrinsic relationship, which Augustine has been slowly drawing out over the course of this book, is now fully realized.

²¹⁵ Boersma, 255-256.

²¹⁶ Following this quotation, Augustine immediately explains that all love is true love, because if what we are not loving is not proper or worthy of love then it is not in fact *delectio* (one of his favourite words for true or proper love) but *cupiditas*.

²¹⁷ DT. VIII. x.14.

Augustine makes use of love of neighbour, closely linked with love of God in Scripture, to demonstrate how faith and love work together. If one has faith in another person, it makes it easier to believe in them, and of course the opposite is true. So it is with God: *Valet ergo fides ad cognitionem et ad dilectionem dei, non tamquam omnino incogniti aut omnino non dilecti, sed quo cognoscatur manifestius et quo firmitus diligatur* (“Faith therefore is a great help for knowing and loving God, not as though he were altogether unknown or altogether not loved without it, but for knowing him all the more clearly and loving him all the more firmly” DT. VIII.ix.13). And it is this very consideration of the relationship between faith and love and God that leads Augustine to the first trinity: lover, what is being loved, and love itself.²¹⁸

Before I leave behind Book VIII I must note that while the theme of the *imago Dei* is not explicitly discussed I believe that Augustine is presenting the spiritual tools that will be used to recover the image. Even if the saint does not mention the image of God by name, this subject is underlying all of the discussions of Book VIII. Because the inborn sense of the good that the human possesses and their desire for the *ipsum bonum* is the *imago Dei* searching for the *uisio Dei*.²¹⁹ Therefore, the task for Books IX-XIV is to discover the means by which humans can obtain the *bonum bonum*.²²⁰

²¹⁸ DT. VIII.x.14:

Quid est autem dilectio uel caritas quam tantopere scriptura diuina laudat et praedicat nisi amor boni? Amor autem alicuius amantis est, et amore aliquid amatur. Ecce tria sunt, amans et quod amatur et amor. Quid est ergo amor nisi quaedam uita duo aliqua copulans uel copulari appetens, amantem scilicet et quod amatur? Et hoc etiam in extremis carnalibusque amoribus ita est. Sed ut aliquid purius et liquidius hauriamus calcata carne ascendamus ad animum. Quid amat animus in amico nisi animum? Et illic igitur tria sunt, amans et quod amatur et amor.

²¹⁹ Gioia, 276.

²²⁰ Carreker, 63.

4.2: BOOK IX, X, AND SELF-KNOWLEDGE

In Books IX and X Augustine applies his considerations from Book VIII to the mind itself. Almost immediately, however, he is faced with a problem: before the mind can consider its search for the good, facilitated through it being the *imago Dei*, it must consider itself as mind. For the *imago Dei* is not just within the human person at random as if it could not be located, but it is found within the soul, specifically the highest part, the *mens*, as we shall see. Before Augustine can begin his proper search for the image of God in the mind he must determine exactly what the mind is and what it is not. These particular books serve the function of a purification of the idea of the mind which, once understood properly, will allow for an examination of the *imago Dei* itself.

The purification of the mind is intrinsically linked to faith in God. As he does almost at the beginning of every book, Augustine reaffirms, at the start of Book IX the necessity of faith: *Exspecta ergo, quisquis haec audis; adhuc enim quaerimus, et talia quaerentem nemo iuste reprehendit si tamen in fide firmissimus quaerat quod aut nosse aut eloqui difficillimum est* (“Wait for it then, whoever you are that are listening to this; we are still looking, and no one can fairly find fault with someone who is looking for such things as this, provided that in looking for something so difficult either to know or to express, he remains absolutely firm in faith.” DT. IX.i.1). The quest for the *imago Dei* and the task of purification in which the reader is engaged is always rooted in faith. Augustine repeatedly states, almost like a mantra, that God is Father, Son and Holy Spirit, and it is in this Trinity that we have faith and for whose image we are seeking.²²¹ In fact the prologue to Book IX is richly packed with the key aspects that comprise the

²²¹ Wisse, 167.

purification and renewal of the *imago Dei*. Quoting from Saint Paul, Augustine writes *quisquis autem diligit deum, hic cognitus est ab illo* (“But anyone who loves God, this man is known by him” DT. IX.i.1).²²² This scriptural quotation perfectly sums up our considerations up until this point. If we think back to the theology of the missions of the Trinity that occupied Augustine so much in the earlier books and his subsequent consideration of the Incarnation in salvation, we can see in the line *hic cognitus est ab illo* another reminder of the fact that it is God who initiates the possibility of a renewal of the *imago Dei* in us. The divine missions in the world reveal God’s inner-life to us and draw us into this inner-life, through the Incarnation and the sending of the Holy Spirit, and we are saved and able to have knowledge of God. We can love God and have faith in Him only because He has decided to know us first.²²³ Because we are known by God and have the inward desire for God as the *ipsum bonum* we find ourselves in a position to truly initiate our search. Augustine then follows this up with a reminder that this process of purification and renewal of the *imago Dei* will go on for the remainder of our lives. The saint describes the process as a stretching out or *extensio* toward God, which can only be completed by the *facie ad faciem*, the *uisio Dei*²²⁴, as Augustine says:

Perfectionem in hac uita dicit non aliud quam ea quae retro sunt obliuisci et in ea quae ante sunt extendi secundum intentionem. Tutissima est enim quaerentis intentio donec apprehendatur illud quo tendimus et quo extendimur. Sed ea recta intentio est quae proficiscitur a fide. Certa enim fides utcumque inchoat cognitionem; cognitio uero certa non perficietur nisi post hanc uitam cum uidebimus facie ad faciem. (DT. IX.i.1)²²⁵

²²² 1 Cor 8:2.

²²³Cf. Gioia, 187. This type of passive language also foreshadows the actual process of the reformation of the *imago Dei*. For it is not the human who reforms themselves, but it is God who reforms his image in us. Gioia points to the passive verbs *renouatur*, *reformatur*, and *beatificatur* of XIV.18 which are explicitly in relation to the *imago Dei* to demonstrate this.

²²⁴ Ibid., 187-188.

²²⁵ This recalls Augustine’s discussion from the earlier books, especially Book IV, of *fides* and *veritas* or *uisio*. Faith in this world leads us to truth and vision in the next. Yet the object of both is the same, it is simply the manner in which the object is being beheld that changes: *uidemus nunc per speculum in aenigmate [...] tunc autem facie ad faciem*. (DT. I.viii.16).

Perfection in this life, he is saying, is nothing but forgetting what lies behind and stretching out to what lies ahead intently. The safest intent, after all, until we finally get where we are intent on getting and where we are stretching out to, is that of the seeker. And the right intent is the one that sets out in faith. The certitude of faith at least initiates knowledge; but the certitude of knowledge will not be completed until after this life when we see ‘face to face.’

The above paragraph sums up much of the discussion of the *De Trinitate* and this thesis up until this point. It is striking that Augustine refers to this *extensio* toward God as *perfectionem in hac uita* (DT. IX.i.1). The perfection of human life is the intent and focused *extensio ad Deum*. This *extensio ad Deum* is only realized when the soul recognizes itself as *imago Dei* and grows in likeness to its divine exemplar in this life. Again, in typical Augustinian fashion, we are reminded of the fact that the perfection of the search in this life will pass over to the perfection of the *uisio Dei* in the next.²²⁶

This focus upon the divine-human relationship continues into the first proper chapter of Book IX. Augustine says:

Quae cum ita sint attendamus ista tria quae inuenisse nobis uidemur. Nondum de supernis loquimur, nondum de deo patre et filio et spiritu sancto, sed de hac impari imagine attamen imagine, id est homine; familiarius enim eam et facilius fortassis intuetur nostrae mentis infirmitas. (DT. IX.ii.2)

This being agreed, let us take another look at that trio which we seem to have found. We are not speaking here of things above, of God the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, but about this disparate image, yet image nonetheless, which is man; it is likely to be easier, after all, and more familiar to our mind in its weakness to examine.

It is now established that what we are searching for in the remainder of the work is the *imago Dei* because it is easier for us to try and grasp than the *Trinitas* itself. Of course, the *imago Dei* is not an end in itself. The goal of the *imago Dei*, of discerning the *imago Dei* within the soul, is to

²²⁶ Cf. Gioia, 82. “What Augustine means is that, although *the object* of faith coincides with the object of contemplation or wisdom, *the mode* through which it is perceived (faith) is still hidden – we still see through a puzzling reflection in a mirror, until the day we shall know face to face.”

know God.²²⁷ Here the reader sees the two central themes of the work converging: the primary goal of knowledge of God the Trinity and His inner-life and the secondary goal, and my concern in this thesis: the recognition of the reflection or similitude of the divine life in the human soul. Ultimately for Augustine these two ends cannot be separated. To know God or know about God really means, as we have seen above, to be known by God ourselves.²²⁸ To know ourselves in any meaningful sense means to know our proper end, which is to rest in the vision of God and progress towards that vision in this life.²²⁹ The discussion of the human mind that we find in Books IX and X is not for its own sake but is ordered toward knowledge of God and the participation in the divine life that this makes possible for humans.²³⁰ Nevertheless, before we can proceed to discover the true image of God in the mind, we must determine what the mind is not. Just as in Books V-VII Augustine purified his language about God²³¹ so too in this book he must purify his language about the mind.²³² We could sum up Augustine's argument here in these

²²⁷ Marrocco, 103.

²²⁸ Cf. DT. IX.i.1:

Quaerite, inquit, dominum, et uiuet anima uestra. Et ne quisquam se tamquam apprehendisse temere gaudeat: Quaerite, inquit, faciem eius semper. Et apostolus: Si quis se, inquit, putat aliquid scire, nondum scit quemadmodum scire oporteat. Quisquis autem diligit deum, hic cognitus est ab illo. Ne sic quidem dixit, 'cognouit illum,' quae periculosa praesumptio est, sed, cognitus est ab illo.

²²⁹ Marrocco, 87. Marrocco speaks quite helpfully of an earthly deification and a heavenly deification. Earthly deification just becomes another term for the progress in likeness that the *imago Dei* makes in this life towards its divine model.

²³⁰ Ibid., 103. "The process which Augustine describes--turning towards the human soul, not for its own sake but as a way of coming to God, contemplating the inner activities of the soul, and through it contemplating God of whom the soul is image--is the process by which the image is activated so that the human soul can participate in divine life, and come to experience fulfillment of its own image-character."

²³¹ DT.V.i.2 :

Si autem hunc iam capit, attendat diligenter nihil eo esse in sua natura melius, et uideat utrum ibi uideat ulla lineamenta formarum, nitores colorum, spatiosam granditatem, partium distantiam, molis distensionem, aliquas per locorum interualla motiones uel quid eiusmodi. Nihil certe istorum inuenimus in eo quo in natura nostra nihil melius inuenimus, id est in nostro intellectu quo sapientiam capimus quantae capaces sumus. Quod ergo non inuenimus in meliore nostro non debemus in illo quaerere quod longe melius est meliore nostro, ut sic intellegamus deum si possumus, quantum possumus, sine qualitate bonum, sine quantitate magnum, sine indigentia creatorem, sine situ praesentem, sine habitu omnia continentem, sine loco ubique totum, sine tempore sempiternum, sine ulla sui mutatione mutabilia facientem nihilque patientem. Quisquis deum ita cogitat etsi nondum potest omni modo inuenire quid sit, pie tamen cauet quantum potest aliquid de illo sentire quod non sit.

²³² DT.IX.ii.2 "Auferamus enim ab hac consideratione cetera quae multa sunt quibus homo constat, atque ut haec quae nunc requirimus quantum in his rebus possumus liquido reperiamus, de sola mente tractemus."

books as follows: because we can conceive of good or just things that we have not encountered before or that might not actually exist, we can conceive of immaterial things, and if the mind can know immaterial things “through itself,” it too must be immaterial.²³³ Because the mind is immaterial it knows and loves itself completely: there are no divisions in the mind.²³⁴ Here we find our next trinity: mind, love, and knowledge.²³⁵ This triad begets what Augustine refers to as a mental ‘word’: an object of thought is brought forth and joined to the mind by love.²³⁶ This triad that Augustine sees in the mind’s activity is hardly trivial or to be set aside quickly in favour of the other triads that he will discuss as the work progresses.²³⁷ For the trinity of mind, knowledge, and love are bound up in the way the soul moves towards or away from God or, said differently, this triad is linked with the recovery or the further distortion of the *imago Dei*. The Bishop of Hippo explains:

Quod uerbum amore concipitur siue creaturae siue creatoris, id est aut naturae mutabilis aut incommutabilis ueritatis. Ergo aut cupiditate aut caritate, non quo non sit amanda creatura, sed si ad creatorem refertur ille amor, non iam cupiditas sed caritas erit. Tunc enim est cupiditas cum propter se amatur creatura. Tunc non utentem adiuuat sed corrumpit fruentem. (DT.vii.13)

This word is conceived in love of either the creature or the creator, that is of changeable nature or unchangeable truth; which means either covetousness or in charity. Not that the creature is not to be loved, but if that love is related to the creator it will no longer be covetousness but charity. It is only covetousness when the creature is loved on its own account. In this case it does not help you in your use of it, but corrupts you in your enjoyment of it.

²³³ Simmons, 259. Simmons provides an excellent overview of the structure of *De Trinitate* in his article which has been very helpful to me as I have tried to distill Augustine’s complex argument down into its most basic parts.

²³⁴ Ibid.

²³⁵ DT. IX.v.8.

²³⁶ Simmons, 259.

²³⁷ Wisse 194. Wisse argues that Augustine is employing a rhetorical technique of suspension here in these books which explains why they are often “complicated, meandering, and tiresome to read”. He dislikes any sort of participationist reading of *De Trinitate*, instead arguing that Augustine presents the possibility of participation in the divine as a way to attract Platonist readers. He then keeps them in suspense as he contrasts this with the dire situation of the redeemed soul which cannot share in the divine before presenting the completely Christian, non-Platonic solution in Christ and his love. To argue though that Augustine’s language of participation in the DT is simply there for rhetorical effect is not a satisfying conclusion especially when one considers the rich language of *participatio* found in Book XIV which is directly linked with the renewal of the *imago Dei*.

A mind then that is bogged down by disordered love (*cupiditas*) for earthly things cannot hope to make progress towards the recovery of the *imago Dei*. Only the soul that can properly order its love and live *in caritate* will be able to make any sort of progress towards sharing in the divine likeness. This same line of argumentation is further expanded in Book X where Augustine explains:

Errat autem mens cum se istis imaginibus tanto amore coniungit ut etiam se esse aliquid huiusmodi existimet. Ita enim conformatur eis quodam modo non id existendo sed putando, non quo se imaginem putet sed omnino illud ipsum cuius imaginem secum habet. (DT. X.vi.8)

But the mind is mistaken when it joins itself to these images with such extravagant love that it even comes to think it is itself something of the same sort. Thus it gets conformed to them in a certain fashion, not by being what they are but by thinking it is – not of course that it thinks itself to be an image but simply to be that of which it has the image by it.

Augustine's language here is poignant and speaks to how important this reality is to the process of purification. The mind binds or joins itself (*coniungit*) to these various earthly images and becomes like them, when the mind really should be focusing on how it is the *imago Dei*, a reflection of the divine life, towards which it must always strive in this life. There is a finality to the idea of the mind bound up in earthly images. It is stuck there, not making any progress but stagnating. On the other hand the mind that is living according to its nature and stretching out towards God through the divine reflection of the *imago Dei* within itself finds its perfection in this life that leads to its perfect rest in the next.

This, ultimately, is the thrust of Book X and Augustine's quoting of the famous maxim of the Delphic Oracle to Γνῶθι σαυτόν.²³⁸ For the mind to know itself as mind means for it to know itself according to its true nature as the *imago Dei*. Once this is properly understood and the mind

²³⁸ DT. X.ix.12.

sees within itself the reflection of the divine life and through this image draws closer to God the rest of its life on earth will be properly ordered.²³⁹ Following the discussion of the mind knowing itself as mind, and thus recognizing that it must live according to its nature, we almost immediately find Augustine focusing in on the trinity that will eventually be established as the *imago Dei*: *Remotis igitur paulisper ceteris quorum mens de se ipsa certa est, tria haec potissimum considerata tractemus, memoriam, intelligentiam, uoluntatem* (“Now let us put aside for a moment the other things which the mind is certain about as regards itself, and just discuss these three, memory, understanding, and will” DT. X.xi.17). In these three Augustine sees a more proper reflection of the divine life because these three are aspects of one mind and they are equal to each other, but they are distinct because we can discern them from each other according to relationships or with reference to one another.²⁴⁰ Of course, the *De Trinitate* does not end with Book X: since Augustine has found a probable answer for what the *imago Dei* is he must now put it to the test and explore it further. This initial discovery is merely the beginning of his journey into the soul.

I will briefly comment here on Book XI. Of all of the books of the latter half of the work it perhaps has the least to do directly with my thesis. Nevertheless, it still deserves comment because of the role it plays in Augustine’s overall argument. In this book Augustine takes a step back to see if there is any sort of trinity worth considering in what he calls the ‘outer man’. This is done in order to test his trinity of memory, understanding, and will just described at the end of Book X. Augustine recognizes that any trinity in the ‘outer man’ will be a lesser trinity than one

²³⁹ Sullivan, 65.

²⁴⁰ We should think back here to the discussions of the earlier chapters of this thesis and our consideration of Augustine’s emphasis on the relational nature of the Trinity. The Trinity reveals its inner-life and inner-relationships to the world through the missions of the divine persons. So here now too it is the way in which memory, understanding, and will are known from each other by their relationships that makes them a more perfect image of God for Augustine.

found in the *mens*, the highest part of the soul, and yet he still feels it is necessary to consider the way senses are received into the body and how this process, even though a lesser one than the one of the *mens* is still triadic in nature.²⁴¹ Book XI then is very much a stepping stone, an attempt to perhaps discern more easily trinitarian structures in the soul. As Augustine states at the end of this book:

*Vnde tempus admonet hanc eandem trinitatem in interiore homine requirere atque ab isto de quo tamdiu locutus sum animali atque carnali qui exterior dicitur introrsus tendere. Vbi speramus inuenire nos posse secundum trinitatem imaginem dei, conatus nostros illo ipso adiuuante quem omnia sicut res ipsae indicant, ita etiam sancta scriptura in mensura et numero et pondere disposuisse testatur.*²⁴² (DT. XI.xi.18)

So time is pressing us to begin looking for this same trinity in the inner man; to turn inward from the animal and fleshy one called the outer man whom we have been talking about so long. There, inside, we hope we shall be able to find the image of God in a trinity, provided our efforts are assisted by him who according to the testimony of scripture and the very evidence of things themselves ‘has arranged all things in measure and number and weight.

Over the course of these books Augustine has further purified the mind as it has looked within itself and passed from external trinities towards inner ones. This process of purification will continue the closer Augustine gets to the true *imago Dei* within the soul.

4.3: BOOKS XII AND XIII, *SCIENTIA ET SAPIENTIA*

In Book XII we finally arrive at the inner man where the *imago Dei* will be found. We will learn however, that the inner man consists of two elements: a lower part that deals with

²⁴¹ DT. XI.i.1:

Nemini dubium est sicut interiorem hominem intellegentia sic exteriorem sensu corporis praeditum. Nitamur igitur si possumus in hoc quoque exteriore indagare qualecumque uestigium trinitatis, non quia et ipse eodem modo sit imago dei. Manifesta est quippe apostolica sententia quae interiorem hominem renouari in dei agnitionem declarat secundum imaginem eius qui creauit eum cum et alio loco dicat: Et si exterior homo noster corrumpitur, sed interior renouatur de die in diem.

²⁴² Hill, 321. Hill points out that the scripture quotation that Augustine ends with here is one of his favourites. The fact that this particular triad of measure, number, and weight can be discerned in nature more broadly is evidence for him of the Trinity’s activity in creation and it serves as an indication of the trinity in a vestigial way.

temporal matters, and a higher part that deals with contemplation of eternal truths.²⁴³ I will argue that in these books Augustine is applying many of the themes discussed in the earliest books of the work, particularly Book IV and its discussion of the role played by Christ as the object of faith, in a fully realized way that is paired now explicitly with his discussion of the *imago Dei*.

In Chapter 2 of this thesis we saw how Christ being the object of faith leads to truth/the vision of God in the life to come. I argued that faith and truth mirror the roles played by *scientia* and *sapientia* for Augustine in the context of the *mens*. This is because from the very beginning of the work the saint has reminded us *Vnde apostolus in Christo quidem dicit esse omnes thesauros sapientiae et scientiae absconditos* (“Thus as the apostle indeed says that ‘all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge are hidden in Christ’” DT. I.i.3). Now this fact, that all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge are hidden in Christ, will be explained fully in relation to the mind which deals both with *scientia* and *sapientia*. It is important to state right from the start that sciential and sapiential activity are not totally separate or distinct from each other; it is quite the opposite. The sapiential activity of the mind, where eternal truths are contemplated, informs and affects the sciential activity which puts into practice in the world the truths of *sapientia*.²⁴⁴ This follows clearly from the fact that both are activities of a single mind; however, while the sciential activity does have a trinitarian aspect to it, as we shall see, it is in the sapiential activity that the *imago Dei* will be located.²⁴⁵

Augustine discerns this distinction between sciential activity and sapiential activity from his exegesis on Genesis. The fact that Genesis itself is reappearing again at this stage is of note

²⁴³ Ibid., 322.

²⁴⁴ Carreker, 42.

²⁴⁵ Ibid.; see also Sullivan, 45, for a discussion of the Pauline influence upon Augustine’s eventual location of the *imago Dei* in the *mens*.

because it is the from the exegesis on Genesis at the end of Book VII that the theme of the *imago Dei* was first introduced.²⁴⁶ What causes Augustine to return to Genesis at this point is the quotation from Saint Paul: *Vir quidem non debet uelare caput cum sit imago et gloria dei. Mulier autem gloria uiri est* (“The man ought to cover his head, since he is the image and glory of God. But the woman is the glory of the man.” DT. XII.vii.9). Augustine returns to Genesis to demonstrate that God very clearly makes both men and women to his image.²⁴⁷ He cites again from Saint Paul, who speaks about how all are made sons of God through Baptism and that after this there is “no Jew nor Greek [...] no male nor female”.²⁴⁸ Of course this does not mean an actual loss of physical identity but it means that all have put on a greater identity that makes them all equal: they are now sons in the Son of God the Father.²⁴⁹ Instead Augustine finds in this slightly confusing quotation from Saint Paul a secondary, hidden meaning. He sees in the difference of the bodies of the man and the woman a demonstration of the different activities of the mind: the body of the man representing the sapiential activity whereas the body of the woman represents the sciential activity and yet both man and woman share minds equally capable of both.²⁵⁰

Following his exegesis of Genesis, Augustine is also able to account for sin and the obscuring of the *imago Dei* according to the relationship, or rather lack thereof, between *scientia* and *sapientia*. For the Bishop of Hippo sin results when sciential activity takes precedence over sapiential activity, when man becomes dominated by the temporal world instead of the temporal

²⁴⁶ Gioia, 275-277.

²⁴⁷ DT. XII.vii.10.

²⁴⁸ DT. XII.vii.12: “*Non est iudaeus neque graecus, non est seruus neque liber, non est masculus et femina [...].*”

²⁴⁹ Cf. Romans 8:15; see Reardon, 122, for a discussion of how ‘sonship in the Son’ is divine participation for Augustine.

²⁵⁰ DT. XII.vii.12.

world being informed and guided by *scientia*.²⁵¹ We find in the mind governed by the sciential the realization of what Augustine warned us of in Book VIII: the mind bogged down by a disordered love of lesser goods. The remedy to this then is to reorder the mind so that the sciential is once more subservient to and informed by the sapiential.²⁵² This is done through the mediation of Christ by faith.

Book XIII is perhaps the most Christo-centric book of the whole treatise, possibly next to Book IV. Gioia points out these two books mirror each other in many ways and share much of the same content.²⁵³ What distinguishes the two is that while Book IV is concerned with what we have called the ‘macroscopic view’ of salvation, Book XIII is intently focused on how salvation is realized through the renewal of the *imago Dei*. I argue that in Book IV Augustine has been sketching out the renewal of the *imago Dei*, but now in Book XIII we receive the fully detailed account.

The book opens with a lengthy quotation from the Prologue of the Gospel of John, the culmination of which is: *Verbum caro factum est*.²⁵⁴ Augustine then considers the Incarnation and its relationship to faith.²⁵⁵ The saint explains his idea of the common will: all men desire

²⁵¹ DT. XII.xi.14:

totumque illud ubi aliquid proprium contra leges quibus uniuersitas administratur agere nititur per corpus proprium gerit quod partiliter possidet, atque ita formis et motibus corporalibus defectata, quia intus ea secum non habet, cum eorum imaginibus quas memoriae fixit inuoluitur et phantastica fornicatione turpiter inquinatur omnia officia sua ad eos fines referens quibus curiose corporalia ac temporalia per corporis sensus quaerit, aut tumido fastu aliis animis corporeis sensibus deditis esse affectat excelsior; aut coenoso gurgite carnalis uoluptatis immergitur.

²⁵² Cf. Sullivan, 51-52. Sullivan speaks about the difficulty of interpreting sapientia for Augustine. For it does not just mean knowledge but the whole spiritual order. It is from *sapientia* that all virtue in this life flows.

²⁵³ Gioia, 39.

²⁵⁴ DT. XIII.i.2.

²⁵⁵ Cf. Carreker, 46: “Thus, faith is the relation of the soul to the eternal through the historical and temporal. That John was sent by God was not empirically verifiable, but John’s message could be appropriated by faith, and that faith, as a kind of knowledge, is known indubitably to itself in the heart of the faithful.”

happiness for themselves.²⁵⁶ He equates this to the common faith of all believers have even though they have not seen and do so out of a desire for happiness which ultimately comes from union with God.²⁵⁷ It is only through faith that men can obtain their true end: contemplation of God. What then follows is a lengthy consideration of the object of our faith, which is Christ's Incarnation, His death, and His resurrection, and how these events have saved humanity from sin and the devil and allow for participation in the divine life and likeness with God.²⁵⁸ Faith then is firmly linked with *scientia* and its activity towards the end of Book XIII when Augustine states: *Haec autem omnia quae pro nobis uerbum caro factum temporaliter et localiter fecit et pertulit secundum quam demonstrare suscepimus ad scientiam pertinent non ad sapientiam* ("But all these things that the Word made flesh did and suffered for us in time and space belong, according to the distinction we have undertaken to illustrate, to knowledge and not to wisdom." DT.XIII.xix.24). Again, we are presented with the quotation that Christ contains both the treasures of *scientia* and *sapientia*, but I believe that we now know what this means: Christ in his human nature is our *scientia* and Christ in his divine nature is our *sapientia*. It is because Christ joins these two together into His single person that humans are able to pass through Him and know the Father:

Scientia ergo nostra Christus est, sapientia quoque nostra idem Christus est. Ipse nobis fidem de rebus temporalibus inserit; ipse de sempiternis exhibet ueritatem. Per ipsum pergimus ad ipsum, tendimus per scientiam ad sapientiam; ab uno tamen eodemque Christo non recedimus in quo sunt omnes thesauri sapientiae et scientiae absconditi. (DT. XIII.xix.24)

²⁵⁶ DT. XIII.iii.6.

²⁵⁷ DT. XIII.ii.5; Cf. Carreker, 47: "That common will of man has as its object to be blessed and not wretched."

²⁵⁸ A particularly poignant passage which demonstrates the trinitarian nature of humanity's redemption and entry into the divine life is DT. XIII.x.14:

Quia et ea quae dicuntur merita nostra dona sunt eius. Vt enim fides per dilectionem operetur, caritas dei diffusa est in cordibus nostris per spiritum sanctum qui datus est nobis. Tunc est autem datus quando est Iesus resurrectione clarificatus; tunc enim eum se missurum esse promisit et misit quia tunc sicut de illo scriptum est et ante praedictum: Ascendit in altum, captiuauit captiuitatem, dedit dona hominibus.

Our knowledge therefore is Christ, and our wisdom is the same Christ. It is he who plants faith in us about temporal things, he who presents us with the truth about eternal things. Through him we go straight toward him, through knowledge toward wisdom without ever turning aside from the one and the same Christ, ‘in whom are hidden all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge’

So just as faith passes over to truth so too does *scientia* pass over to *sapientia*. So true happiness, the quest for the *ipsum bonum* of Book VIII is only realized when these two are ordered properly and *scientia* leads us to *sapientia*, and *sapientia* informs our lives so that we grow in likeness to the divine while we still look through a puzzling reflection in a mirror.²⁵⁹

4.4: BOOK XIV AND THE *IMAGO DEI*

With the beginning of Book XIV, the reader comes at last to the *imago Dei* itself.

Everything that we have discussed and considered up until this point has been a preparation for this moment. The consideration of the various lesser mental trinities has all been a form of purification, of moving from the outer to the inner, of moving from the lowest to the highest.²⁶⁰

We are now at the most inward part of the *mens*, in the realm of *sapientia*, where the contemplation of the eternal occurs. *Scientia* cannot contain the image of God because, while it is informed by *sapientia*, it is ultimately concerned with faith and temporal realities. Even though faith privileges us with a foretaste of eternal things, once we have these eternal things *facie ad faciem*, there is no longer a need for faith, so it passes away.²⁶¹ But the *imago Dei* is eternal and so it must be found in the part of the mind concerned with eternal things.

²⁵⁹ Cf. 1 Cor 13:12.

²⁶⁰ See Giles Emery, “Trinitarian Theology as Spiritual Exercise in Augustine and Aquinas” in *Aquinas the Augustinian*, ed. Michael Dauphinais, Barry David, and Matthew Levering, (Washington: The Catholic University of America Press, 2007); J.F. Worthen, “Augustine’s *De trinitate* and Anselm’s *Proslogion*: ‘Exercere Lectorem’” in *Collectanea Augustiniana*, ed. Joseph T. Lienhard, Earl C. Muller, and Roland J. Teske (New York: Peter Lang, 1993) 517–29. Both scholars see Books VIII–XV of *De Trinitate* as a spiritual exercise which moves the reader from one stage of the spiritual life to another. I agree with them that the process Augustine is describing is completed, at least partially, in this life.

²⁶¹ DT. XIV.ii.4.

The opening passage of Book XIV is very important for our discussion of the *imago Dei* as the means by which deification and participation in God are accomplished for Augustine. He states:

Nunc de sapientia nobis est disserendum, non illa dei quae procul dubio deus est (nam sapientia dei filius eius unigenitus dicitur), sed loquemur de hominis sapientia, uera tamen quae secundum deum est et uerus ac praecipuus cultus eius est, quae uno nomine theosebeia graece appellatur. (DT. XIV.i.1)

Now it is wisdom's turn to be discussed. I do not mean God's wisdom, which is undoubtedly God; it is his only begotten Son that is called God's wisdom. What we are going to talk about is man's wisdom, true wisdom of course which is in accordance with God and is in fact the true and principal worship of him, which in Greek is the single noun *theosebeia*.

Sapientia is given a privileged place in the divine-human relationship. For it is through *sapientia* that humans worship God. This is an entirely different way of approaching *sapientia* than we have seen up until this point. If we think back to previous books *sapientia* was seen as one of many things that could be attributed to God.²⁶² Augustine is very clear though, that what we are discussing here is not God as *sapientia* but the wisdom of men which is worship of God through *sapientia*. It is no longer an attribute of God in a formal sense, but the way that humans enter into a relationship with God.²⁶³ Gioia helpfully summarizes *sapientia* as *cultus* in the following way, "We know God as he should be known by worshipping him; we worship God by knowing him as he should be known".²⁶⁴ The association between *sapientia* and *cultus* helps to explain the lengthy theological and scriptural sections at the beginning of the work as found in Books I-IV. To know God as Trinity properly is to truly worship Him and it is this worship that leads us towards likeness with Him in this life and the next.

²⁶² Book VI and VII for example in which wisdom is the chosen attribute to discuss.

²⁶³ Gioia, 285.

²⁶⁴ Ibid.

The connection between true knowledge as worship of God is further expanded by being linked to our likeness with God. Gioia notes three instances in Book XIV in which the *imago Dei* as our capacity for God (*capax Dei*) is directly linked with our participation in the divine. The first:

secundum hoc facta est ad imaginem dei quod uti ratione atque intellectu ad intellegendum et conspiciendum deum potest [...] Quamquam enim magna natura sit, tamen uitiari potuit quia summa non est; et quamquam uitiari potuerit quia summa non est, tamen quia summae naturae capax est et esse particeps potest, magna natura est. (DT. XIV.iv.6)

It is with reference to its capacity to use reason and understanding in order to understand and gaze upon God that it was made to the image of God [...] Although it is a great nature, it could be spoiled because it is not the greatest, yet because it is capable of the greatest nature and can participate in it, it is a great nature still.

Similar ideas are found at DT. XIV.viii.11²⁶⁵ and XIV.xi.15. This last quotation sums the issue up: *colat deum non factum cuius ab eo capax facta est et cuius esse particeps potest* (“let it worship the uncreated God, by whom it was created with the capacity for him and to be able to share in him” DT. XIV.xi.15). The *potest nosse* or *capax Dei* is essential for the function of the *imago Dei*.²⁶⁶ In fact, this is exactly what the *imago Dei* is. It is our capacity to reflect the divine life within ourselves and to live in the world according to way intended by God: *Eo quippe ipso imago eius est quo eius capax est eiusque esse particeps potest* (“It is his image insofar as it is capable of him and can participate in him;” DT.XIV.viii.11). Augustine is clear that there is still a distinction between the two natures, human and divine. Human nature is still lesser, but *magna natura est* when it participates in the divine. I argue that to be fully human for Augustine means to realize and actualize the *imago Dei* within us. Anything less than this is a failure, and it is

²⁶⁵ “*etsi amissa dei participatione obsoletam atque deformem dei tamen imaginem permanere. Eo quippe ipso imago eius est quo eius capax est eiusque esse particeps potest, quod tam magnum bonum nisi per hoc quod imago eius est non potest.*”

²⁶⁶ Gioia, 287; Sullivan, 52-53.

when the image of God is obscured, and *sapientia* is no longer guiding *scientia*, that we fall back into the place we found ourselves in Book VIII: the mind twisted by false images.²⁶⁷

We are given further context for these three instances of capacity and participation when we consider that they surround Augustine's summary of Books X to XIII where the triad of the mind was realized in self-memory, self-knowledge, and self-love.²⁶⁸ This triad, more than just bearing a similarity to God in its structure, also allows us to discern what it means for the mind to be ordered properly as the image of God.²⁶⁹ The triadic structure of the *imago Dei* is not just *capax Dei*, but it is the way the way we come to participate in God. Augustine explains in a crucial passage:

Haec igitur trinitas mentis non propterea dei est imago quia sui meminit mens et intellegit ac diligit se, sed quia potest etiam meminisse et intellegere et amare a quo facta est. Quod cum facit sapiens ipsa fit. Si autem non facit, etiam cum sui meminit seque intellegit ac diligit, stulta est. Meminerit itaque dei sui ad cuius imaginem facta est eumque intellegat atque diligit. Quod ut brevius dicam, colat deum non factum cuius ab eo capax facta est et cuius esse particeps potest; (DT. XIV.xi.15).

This trinity of the mind is not really the image of God because the mind remembers and understands and loves itself, but because it is also able to remember and understand and love him by whom it was made. And when it does this it becomes wise. If it does not do it, then even when it remembers and understands and loves itself, it is foolish. Let it remember its God to whose image it was made, and understand and love him.

We are immediately presented with a question: what does it mean to remember, understand, and love God? If we consider the work as a whole, particularly Books VIII onward which are specifically focused on the renewal of the *imago Dei*, we can say the following: to remember God means to realize that he is the *ipsum bonum*.²⁷⁰ He is the highest good and he is the light by which we discern what is good.²⁷¹ To understand God and to love God both flow from each

²⁶⁷ DT. VIII.ii.3.

²⁶⁸ Gioia, 288.

²⁶⁹ Ibid.

²⁷⁰ DT. VIII.iii.4.

²⁷¹ Gioia, 291.

other. To understand means to recognize that without God our life is disordered and that we can only find rest in Him.²⁷² Finally, to love God means to will Him as the highest good, to recognize He is the source and goal of our life. So the *imago Dei* is not a static reality. As Augustine says, we are *stulta* if we only remember, know, and love ourselves.²⁷³ This is disordered and an inversion of the hierarchy of the good which we ourselves know to be in an innate way. While these three facets of the mind are never lost, because they constitute our rationality, when they are obscured by sin and turn inwards upon themselves, instead of having what we might call a ‘God-ward’ orientation, then the human mind is distorted,²⁷⁴ darkened,²⁷⁵ and stagnant, wallowing in a self-centered self-love.

To avoid the *imago Dei* becoming stagnant and distorted, the mind must be turned toward God and properly oriented to him. This is done principally through the Incarnation of the Son and the subsequent sending of the Holy Spirit by the Father and the Son.²⁷⁶ As I have shown from my consideration of the earlier books, particularly Book IV, and then again in Book XIII, Augustine is firm that humanity needs a mediator between itself and God. So it is the action of the God-Man Jesus Christ that allows humanity not to convert itself to God, but to be converted by the divine action in the world.²⁷⁷ We find this in the passive nature of the verbs in this sentence from later in the book: *Commemoratae uero conuertuntur ad dominum tamquam reuiuiscetes reminiscendo uitam cuius eas habebat obliuio* (“They are reminded of him and are

²⁷² We should call to mind here the discussions of Book XIII and the universal desire for happiness which is resolved only through faith in Christ.

²⁷³ DT. XIV.xi.15.

²⁷⁴ DT XIV.ii.6.

²⁷⁵ DT XIV.xiv.18.

²⁷⁶ Sullivan, 60.

²⁷⁷ We should recall here the passive nature of the verbs at the beginning of Book IX. We do not know God, but we are known by him. Similarly, humanity’s participation in the divine is only possible because God first participated in human nature through the Incarnation. So too is it with the conversion of the individual soul. The soul participates in the converting activity of the Trinity.

converted to the Lord, which is like their coming to life again by remembering the life they had forgotten”) (DT. XIV.xiii.17). Conversion to God then is not a single instance but an ongoing process.²⁷⁸ Augustine illustrates this in this passage below:

Domini autem dei sui reminiscitur. Ille quippe semper est, nec fuit et non est, nec est et non fuit, sed sicut numquam non erit ita numquam non erat. Et ubique totus est, propter quod ista in illo et uiuit et mouetur et est, et ideo eius reminisci potest [...] Sed commemoratur ut conuertatur ad dominum, tamquam ad eam lucem qua etiam cum ab illo auerteretur quodam modo tangebatur. (DT. XIV.xv.21)²⁷⁹

The mind does however remember its God. He always is; it is not the case that he was and is not, or is and was not, but just as he never will not be, so he never was not. And he is all of him everywhere, and therefore the mind lives and moves and is in him, and for this reason is able to remember him [...] Yet it is reminded to be converted to the Lord, as though to the light by which it went on being touched in some fashion even when it turned away from him.

God is always present to us. He is always calling us back to Himself. It is simply a matter of allowing ourselves to be turned back to Him, and the renewal of the *imago Dei* can be accomplished. Augustine highlights two phases of the renewal: the first happens in an instant in Baptism when sin is forgiven.²⁸⁰ But this is only the beginning, it is only the removal of the fever, but now it is the weakness induced by the fever from which we must recover.²⁸¹ So the person who is intent on the renewal of the *imago Dei* perfects the image slowly over the course of their life by making progress day by day.²⁸² In actuality the renewal consists of transferring

²⁷⁸ See Sullivan, 58-64. In these passages Sullivan provides a breakdown of stages of the renewal of the *imago Dei* in this life. It begins in Baptism but the likeness to God grows the more the soul progresses in love of God and virtue. On the other hand, the soul that falls back into sin can decrease in its likeness to God as it moves further from him.

²⁷⁹ This calls to mind the famous prayer of Confessions X:

sero te amaui, pulchritudo tam antiqua et tam noua, sero te amaui! et ecce intus eras et ego foris, et ibi te quaerebam, et in ista formosa quae fecisti deformis inruebam. mecum eras, et tecum non eram. ea me tenebant longe a te, quae si in te non essent, non essent. Vocasti et clamasti et rupisti surditatem meam; coruscasti, splenduidisti et fugasti caecitatem meam; fragrasti, et duxi spiritum et anhelo tibi; gustauit et esurio et sitio; tetigisti me, et exarsi in pacem tuam. (conf. X.27.38).

²⁸⁰ DT. XIV.xvii.23.

²⁸¹ Ibid.

²⁸² Ibid.

one's love from temporal things to eternal things, through faith in Christ, ordering our sciential activity according to the sapiential.²⁸³ This then is what I argue deification means for Augustine. It means to become like God by actualizing His image within us and living according to it. We know that we do not become gods ourselves since for Augustine it was the desire to become gods in the first place that got humanity into its fallen state.²⁸⁴ Adam and Eve had within themselves the desire for God and they were right to reach out for it. Yet instead of submitting their wills to God's and being conformed to Him they took 'godliness' for themselves by force and in the end, they found themselves broken and cast out from the garden. Augustine does not want us to be deified in this sense, but he wants us to replace the false deification of Adam with the true deification of Christ who became man so that we might become like God.²⁸⁵ For now though we must be content with earthly participation in the divine which is gradual progression in likeness to God. The full vision will only be realized *facie ad faciem*.

²⁸³ Ibid.:

In agnitione igitur dei iustitiae et sanctitate ueritatis qui de die in diem proficiendo renouatur transfert amorem a temporalibus ad aeterna, a uisibilibus ad intelligibilia, a carnalibus ad spiritalia, atque ab istis cupiditatem frenare atque minuere illisque se caritate alligare diligenter insistit. Tantum autem facit quantum diuinitus adiuuatur Dei quippe sententia est: Sine me nihil potestis facere.

²⁸⁴ Meconi, *The One Christ*, 56-57 and 66-67; Reardon, 118.

²⁸⁵ DT.IV.i.4

CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION – *QUAERITE FACIEM EIUS SEMPER*

My consideration of the theme of the *imago Dei* in *De Trinitate* now comes to its completion in a reading of Book XV. This book has been viewed by some scholars as a bit of a disappointment in terms of content.²⁸⁶ The complex argument that the reader has been following right from Book I, which has intensified from Book VIII onwards with the *modo interiore* and the explicit search for the *imago Dei* within the soul, does not reach a dramatic conclusion that surpasses all that has gone before it.²⁸⁷ With Book XV the reader is confronted by what is an irrefutable fact for Augustine: the *imago Dei*, and the deification that it entails, does not equal a perfect knowledge of God in this life. When we speak of it, we are dealing with the distinction between the creature and its Creator. By nature, there can never be any form of equality between them, even in the eschaton. This fact would seem to put an end to any form of discussion of a type of deification theology in Augustine's treatment of the *imago Dei*. Yet, if we recall, any talk of deification in the context of the *De Trinitate*, as I have argued, is really a discussion of the soul's likeness to or similitude with God and how it is through the renewal of this likeness on earth that the soul can be saved and enter true union with God in the next life.²⁸⁸ To be the perfected *imago Dei* then means not to exchange one's human nature for God's nature but to experience human nature perfected by God's grace. Book XV then is not the argument of *De Trinitate* collapsing in on itself in failure but it is the conclusion that Augustine has been preparing his reader for all along: *Videmus nunc per speculum in aenigmate: tunc autem facie ad*

²⁸⁶ Wisse, 283; Cf. Simmons, 241. In this quote Simmons is summarizing the argument of many scholars who suggest that the *De Trinitate* ends in failure as God is revealed to be abstract, individualistic, and completely separated from His people:

Though masked and obscured during Books 1–4's account of the divine missions, once the good bishop moves to consider the processions in Books 5–7 and the cascading 'analogies' in Books 8–15, his hand is shown and true trinitarianism and world-commitment fade away in light of interiority, spirituality and simplicity.

²⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 283.

²⁸⁸ Cf. Boersma, 261; Sullivan, 53-59; Marrocco, 88-89.

faciem.²⁸⁹ Book XV is Augustine's reminder to the reader that with the consideration of the *imago Dei* we are dealing with the *nunc*; only in the *tunc* of beatific vision will the Mystery of the Trinity be known to the soul in its most complete way.

The beginning of Book XV provides the reader with an important clue for interpreting Augustine's work up until this point. He says:

Volentes in rebus quae factae sunt ad cognoscendum eum a quo factae sunt exercere lectorem iam peruenimus ad eius imaginem quod est homo in eo quo ceteris animalibus antecellit, id est ratione uel intellegentia, et quidquid aliud de anima rationali uel intellectuali dici potest quod pertineat ad eam rem quae mens uocatur uel animus. (DT. XV.i.1)

In pursuance of our plan to train the reader, 'in the things that have been made', for getting to know him by whom they were made, we came eventually to his image. This is man insofar as he excels other animals, that is in his reason or understanding or whatever else can be said about the rational or intellectual soul that may belong to what is called mind or consciousness.

Some scholars highlight the phrase *exercere lectorem* which appears in the above passage as a way of encapsulating what Augustine has been trying to do with the reader over the course of the work.²⁹⁰ Worthen explains that the case study of the soul which Augustine examines in these books can be applied to any baptized soul that has been cleansed of its original sin and is preparing to embark on the path of the renewal of *imago Dei*. It is not Augustine's soul that is being examined, but soul as it exists for all. The reader then moves through the process of the recovery of the *imago Dei* which Augustine describes. It is important that after introducing the idea of the work as a whole being a spiritual exercise, Augustine considers the paradox that seems to appear in the fact that the reader is called to seek God and yet God can never be fully

²⁸⁹ 1 Cor 13:12.

²⁹⁰ Emery, 13. See also Worthen, 517-518. Emery and Worthen both highlight Books VIII-XIV as being the primary place where the *exercere lectorem* occurs. Both agree that Books I-VII act in a preparatory way. I argue that these books provide the reader with the content of faith by which they will then be healed in the second half of the work as they undergo the purification of the mind.

grasped or found. Augustine reminds us throughout the work that we must not have any *praesumptio* when it comes to knowledge of God.²⁹¹ In the prologue to Book XV, Augustine speaks about the joy of searching for God:

Cur ergo sic quaerit si incomprehensibile comprehendit esse quod quaerit nisi quia cessandum non est quamdiu in ipsa incomprehensibilium rerum inquisitione proficitur, et melior meliorque fit quaerens tam magnum bonum quod et inueniendum quaeritur et quaerendum inuenitur? Nam et quaeritur ut inueniatur dulcius et inuenitur ut quaeratur avidius. (DT.XIV.ii.2)

Why then look for something when you have comprehended the incomprehensibility of what you are looking for, if not because you should not give up the search as long as you are making progress in your inquiry into things incomprehensible, and because you become better and better by looking for so great a good which is both sought in order to be found and found in order to be sought? It is sought in order to be found all the more delightfully, and it is found in order to be sought all the more avidly.

This is exactly the *exentio ad Deum* of which Augustine speaks about in the previous books.²⁹²

The continual stretching out to God during this life. It is a search that cannot be complete in this life, and yet the very fact that it cannot be complete is what gives life its purpose. The human mind is most perfect in this life, not when it is thinking on itself, but when it is thinking God.²⁹³

This context, provided by Augustine in the very introduction to the final book of the *De Trinitate*, helps the reader to understand that in the end his argument does not collapse in the face of the incomprehensibility of God, but it is this very incomprehensibility of God that makes sense of it.

We can never be satisfied with the things of this world. Even the *imago Dei* once it has been uncovered in the soul is not the true image of God if it thinks on itself: this would make it *stulta*.²⁹⁴ To be the *imago Dei* means for the soul to have a God-ward orientation; an orientation

²⁹¹ Ibid., 10-11.

²⁹² DT.VIII.i.1.

²⁹³ DT. XIV.xiii.15: “*Haec igitur trinitas mentis non propterea dei est imago quia sui meminit mens et intellegit ac diligit se, sed quia potest etiam meminisse et intellegere et amare a quo facta est.*”

²⁹⁴ DT.XIV.xiii.15.

which looks beyond this world towards the *facie ad faciem* with God. It is the delight of drawing closer each day through the purification of the soul towards the *uisio Dei* that is true happiness in this life for humans and their ultimate happiness in the life to come. Augustine's declarations then concerning the inequality between the *imago Dei* and God are not a cause for despair but are in fact the source of human hope. Augustine's God is not one who separates Himself from humanity through abstraction as some have argued.²⁹⁵ The goal of human life on this earth is to imitate God and be like Him and God Himself desires this union and allows it to happen. The accusation that one finds in Du Roy that Augustine has divorced the Trinity from the economy of salvation through his Neo-Platonic philosophy is an unfounded claim, as this thesis has sought to show.²⁹⁶ This is beautifully summarized towards the end of the section in Book XV in which Augustine contrasts the eternal generation of the Son from the Father and the way that a word is generated from the mind. The Son, Augustine explains, became incarnate so that He might provide an example for humanity to imitate. But the perfection of contemplation and operation of the human word is not a perfection of the *imago Dei* that will be experienced in this life, but in the life to come:

Ad haec consequendam nos erudit magister bonus fide christiana pietatisque doctrina ut reuelata facie a legis uelamine quod est umbra futurorum gloriam domini speculantes, per speculum scilicet intuentes, in eandem imaginem transformemur de gloria in gloriam tamquam a domini spiritu secundum superiorem de his uerbis disputationem.

(DT.XV.xi.20)

To achieve it we are instructed by the good master in Christian faith and godly doctrine, in order that 'with face unveiled' from the veil of the law 'which is the shadow of things to come, looking at the glory of the Lord through a mirror, we might be transformed into the same image from glory to glory, as by the Spirit of the Lord' according to our earlier discussion of these words.

²⁹⁵ Cf. Du Roy, 460; Cf. Simmons, 258. Simmons is presenting the argument of scholars like Jenson who believe that the trinitarian theology of the *De Trinitate* is ultimately a failure. They are incorrect, according to Simmons, because they believe that theology is only used to draw inferences when in fact, for Augustine, the very act of theology transforms the soul.

²⁹⁶ Cf. Du Roy, 460.

This is exactly what the purification of the mind and renewal of the *imago Dei* in this life consists in: *gloriam domini speculantes, per speculum scilicet intuentes, in eandem imaginem transformemur de gloria in gloriam.*²⁹⁷ The renewal of the *imago Dei* in this life, then, is the way to the vision of God in the next. It is the way to any sort of real knowledge of the Trinity. This is why Augustine spends the rest of Book XV discussing the various ways that the *imago Dei* and the Trinity are dissimilar.²⁹⁸ He does this both in respect to *imago Dei*'s relationship with the Son, the Holy Spirit, and the Trinity more broadly.²⁹⁹ Because in finding the *imago Dei* the soul has not just found a likeness for God from which it might draw inferences but it has found the way to Him instead.³⁰⁰

How the *imago Dei* mirrors or reflects the divine life is also hinted at by Augustine in this book by his extensive sections on the Holy Spirit.³⁰¹ Augustine has spent much of the work up until this point considering the role of the *missio* of the Son in the world, especially in books IV and XIII, and how it is through the Incarnation that any sort of union with God is possible. It is of course the *utilia temporalia* of Christ in which humans place their faith. Yet the Holy Spirit plays a unique role here too. For Augustine, it is the Holy Spirit that activates and enlivens our faith. The reader sees this when he says:

Dilectio igitur quae ex deo est et deus est proprie spiritus sanctus est per quem diffunditur in cordibus nostris dei caritas per quam nos tota inhabitet trinitas. Quocirca rectissime spiritus sanctus, cum sit deus, uocatur etiam donum dei. Quod donum proprie

²⁹⁷ DT.XV.xi.20.

²⁹⁸ Crouse, 509. "The problem lies in the fact that the created image, mutable and temporal, is always at a distance from, and never simply identical with, its divine exemplar. Thus the mind's ascent in contemplation is always conditioned by a certain obscurity or enigma, while it is being reformed from its deformity and advanced from the glory of faith to the glory of vision, when 'we shall be like him, for we shall see him as he is'".

²⁹⁹ DT.XV.21-49.

³⁰⁰ Emery, 14. Emery speaks about the necessity for purification in this life as a prerequisite "to grasp God to some extent". Both an intellectual and moral purification are required in this life for only "*purgatissimae mentes* can glimpse God".

³⁰¹ Wisse, 291. Wisse notes that Augustine devotes twelve sections to the Holy Spirit, from XV.27 to XV.39.

quid nisi caritas intellegenda est quae perducit ad deum et sine qua quodlibet aliud dei donum non perducit ad deum? (DT.XV.xviii.32)

So the love which is from God and is God is distinctively the Holy Spirit; through him the charity of God is poured into our hearts, and through it the whole triad dwells in us. This is the reason why it is most apposite that the Holy Spirit, while being God, should also be called the gift of God. And this gift, surely, is distinctively to be understood as being the charity which brings us through to God, without which no other gift of God at all can bring us through to God.

What is crucial from this passage is the phrase which describes the Holy Spirit *per quam nos tota inhabitet trinitas*.³⁰² God's indwelling within the human soul, which this passage describes, is not the result of some human achievement but is purely the result of God's grace and desire to condescend to humanity.³⁰³ We certainly hear echoes within this passage of similar themes to those at the start of Book IX in which Augustine spoke of the fact that it is not the believer that knows God, but it is the believer who is known by God.³⁰⁴ The fundamental attitude of faith and humility is absolutely required. Without faith, it would never have been possible to move to the *modo interiore* and engage the soul in the spiritual exercises in which it has found itself partaking. Union with God, being like God, for Augustine is totally God's gift to the believer who holds firm to faith.³⁰⁵ It is fitting that one of Augustine's preferred names for the Holy Spirit is *donum Dei*, for He truly is the gift of *caritas Dei* which comes to dwell in the soul, making the Trinity present there in some fashion, and which brings the soul through to God (*perducit ad deum*).³⁰⁶

³⁰² DT.XV.xviii.32.

³⁰³ Meconi, "Not a Christian but Christ," 91-94. In his book *The One Christ* Meconi dedicates an entire full-length chapter to the role of the Holy Spirit in divine participation and deification for Augustine. The Holy Spirit's role of dwelling within the baptized soul is central to this.

³⁰⁴ DT.IX.i.1.

³⁰⁵ Cf. *ciu. Dei* XIV.15: "*Dii enim creati non sua ueritate, sed Dei ueri participatione sunt dii*"

³⁰⁶ DT.XV.xviii.32.

5.1: *AUGE IN ME ISTA DONEC ME REFORMES AD INTEGRUM.*

Looking back on the argument I have made as a whole we can see how the reformation of the *imago Dei* within the soul is intimately bound up with the Bishop of Hippo's goal of laying out the orthodox theology of the Trinity. From the first book of the work the saint connects correct knowledge of the Trinity with its proper end: union with God. He says: *Hoc est enim plenum gaudium nostrum quo amplius non est, frui trinitate deo ad cuius imaginem facti sumus* ("For the fullness of our happiness, beyond which there is none else, is this: to enjoy God the three in whose image we were made") (DT.I.viii.18). While the theme of the *imago Dei* will not explicitly return again until Book VII, Augustine has already laid out for us the goal of the work: knowing God through His image within us and then obtaining union with Him.³⁰⁷ Books I-IV then provide the reader with the orthodox faith in a sensible form which they weakened mind can then try and use to uncover the *imago Dei* within themselves; most crucially of all it will provide us with the language of *fides* and *veritas*. The object of both of these is union with God the Father through Christ and the Holy Spirit but what differentiates them is when we make use of them.³⁰⁸ Faith is for this world while truth awaits us in the next. Keeping this in mind we can make sense of why Augustine is constantly recalling the importance of faith in the Trinity throughout the rest of the work: because the remainder of *De Trinitate*, particularly the *modo interiore* of Books VIII-XV, is dealing in the realm of faith seeking truth. Over the course of these first books Augustine expounds upon the relationality and directionality of the Persons of the Trinity. The Son and the Holy Spirit are both *de/ex* the Father respectively. This is revealed to us through their *missiones* into the world which reveals the inner life of the Trinity to us and

³⁰⁷ Cf. Emery who quotes Augustine in *Solil.* I, 2. 7: *Deum et animam scire cupio. – Nihil de plus? – Nihil de omnio* ("God and the soul, that is what I desire to know. – Nothing more? – Nothing whatever.")

³⁰⁸ Gioia, 77. "The aim was [...] that God might become the very object of our faith just as truly as he will become the object of our vision when we contemplate him as truth."

shows us the way in which God descends into the world and brings us back to union with Him. Books V-VII are a further expansion upon these initial books but with the particular concern of moving the faith which is currently in external physical signs to an inward state which is supported by the philosophical categories. By the end of these books, after taking the reader through a further purification of their language about God, Augustine inaugurates the theme which will occupy him and us for the remainder of the work: the *imago Dei*. Over the course of these books Augustine leads the reader from a consideration of God's *ad extra* activity as found in the *missiones* to His inner life of processions. So by the end of this book the reader has undergone further purification and correction of their ideas about God which will then allow them to turn towards the mind itself and through faith discern the likeness that exists between them and God.³⁰⁹

Books VIII-XIV constitute the case study of the soul carried out in and through faith. Faith leads to love, and it is through love, which is God, that we are able to cleave to Him and be joined to Him. I have argued that Augustine further nuances the duality of *fides* and *veritas* by his discussion of Christ as the *scientia* and *sapientia* of God. A crucial part of the reformation of the soul is the reordering of these two and making sure that our *scientia*, our knowledge, is subject to and informed by the wisdom which God gives to us, our *sapientia*. It is within *sapientia*, the highest function of the mind, that the contemplation of God occurs.³¹⁰ Augustine

³⁰⁹ Reardon, 116-117. Reardon cites from *De Genesi ad Litteram* I.4 in which Augustine speaks of all of nature turning towards God Who made it like Himself in various ways, with the *imago Dei* in the human being the most excellent and true image of God to exist. It is in the return to God that being receives its proper form. Nature has an affinity for God because He is its creator, but humans have a special impetus for God because they are His *imago*.

³¹⁰ Carreker, 82.

The work concludes in a recognition of the distance that remain between the Trinity in itself and the formed Image of the mind; however, that distance is not as we began in dissimilitude, but rather in the understanding and loving union of the restored image seeking to remember, know, and love the Trinity more and more. The structure of Augustine's *De Trinitate* is therefore an argument in which the wayfaring soul is taken up into the very activity of the Trinity by the grace of illumination, grounded in the mediation of the Word made flesh.

refers to this as our *capax Dei* and speaks about how it is through the uncovered *imago Dei* found here that humans can truly participate in God's divine life in the manner allowed to them in this life and grow in their likeness to the divine exemplar.³¹¹

It is fitting then that Augustine ends *De Trinitate* with a prayer, for prayer is the activity *par excellence* in which the soul is turned toward God. The key phrase in the prayer which relates to this thesis comes towards the end. The saint says to God: *Meminerim tui; intellegam te; diligam te. Auge in me ista donec me reformes ad integrum* ("Let me remember you, let me understand you, let me love you. Increase these things in me until you refashion me entirely" DT.XV.xxviii.51). These few lines perhaps best sum up this thesis: they are a prayer to God to increase our memory of Him, or understanding of Him, and our love for Him in this life in view of our complete union with Him in the next. It is a prayer to God to reform the *imago Dei* within us, so that these activities of memory, knowledge, and love can be activated within the soul. *Auge in me ista donec me reformes ad integrum* speaks to the process of renewal that begins in this life but continues into the next. Augustine's trinitarian theology then does not lead us to the detached, self-referential God that Du Roy decried as the result of the Neo-Platonic ascent.³¹² We do not find a God cut off from the economy of salvation as he feared.³¹³ Instead we find within Augustine's *De Trinitate* a perfect explication of what it means to know about God the Trinity because we cannot just 'know' things in abstract way. To really know God as far as we can in this life means that our soul is actively engaged in trying to return to Him. The reformation of the *imago Dei* begins in baptism and progresses throughout our life as we increase in knowledge and love of God, which I have argued for Augustine are really the same thing. Through our love for

³¹¹ Reardon, 119-120; Gioia, 286-287; Marrocco, 90; Sullivan, 145-148.

³¹² Du Roy, 460.

³¹³ Ibid.

God changes occur to the soul which progress in faith towards God on earth, but we will not see a complete reformation of the *imago Dei* until we see God *facie ad faciem*. For now we see God, through His image within us, *per speculum in aenigmate*.

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