

THE HOLY GHOST IN THE MYSTICAL BODY OF CHRIST ACCORDING TO ST. AUGUSTINE

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THE Church portrayed by St. Augustine in his voluminous writings is one of hierarchical organization, of the "communion of the sacraments," of the profession of the same faith (in opposition to heretics), of the manifestation of mutual charity (in opposition to schismatics). External elements and visible bonds are essential to the concept of the Church in the mind of the Bishop of Hippo. In fact, he maintains that no religion, true or false, is possible without external and visible rites and observances. Yet more than this, the Church of St. Augustine is a Church of the Holy Ghost and of grace, that is to say, it is a Church of life. It is a Church of internal faith, hope, and charity. This spiritual life of the individual member and of the corporate membership of the Church was as real to St. Augustine as the life of the physical human body with which he compares it.

The Church in this latter aspect is to St. Augustine the Body of Christ, the *Corpus Christi*, as he invariably designates it without any further qualification. The most important of the invisible elements entering into its being is the Holy Ghost, the uncreated factor in it and the source of the other sanctifying elements: faith, hope, charity, and grace. In the present article we shall study: (1) the relation of the Holy Ghost to the Mystical Body of Christ; (2) the relation of the Holy Ghost to men outside of the Church. A later article will take up: (3) the relation of the Holy Ghost to sinners in the Church; and (4) the subsequent history of the doctrine on the Holy Ghost as the soul of the Mystical Body of Christ.

RELATION OF THE HOLY GHOST TO THE BODY OF CHRIST

The human body is used in St. Paul, tradition, and St. Augustine as a type for the Body of Christ. If the analogy drawn between these two is so faithful, at times even servile, entering into minute comparisons, a fortiori there must be in the Body of Christ some worthy correspondent to the most noble constituent of the human body. Just as the human body has a soul from which its life emanates, so also the

Corpus Christi has for its soul the Holy Ghost who vivifies it. The human soul is one, yet it performs a variety of functions through various corporeal members and the senses; so is the Holy Ghost the real and sole fountain of the true spiritual life in the Church, uniting all into one whole organic being and operating diversely in various members of the Body of Christ.¹ Who does not feel St. Paul speaking in the words of St. Augustine?²

St. Augustine appears at a time when the echoes of the pronouncements of Pope Damasus I (384)³ and the First Council of Constantinople (381) concerning the divinity of the Holy Ghost, against the Macedonians, were reverberating throughout Christianity. Throughout the Bishop's works there is emphasis placed on the divine nature of the Third Person of the Godhead. For the Holy Ghost whom St. Augustine has in mind is He "who is in the Trinity consubstantial with the Father and the Son."⁴ He is by procession the Spirit conjointly of the Father and the Son,⁵ and therefore He is "God from God."⁶ This is the same Spirit by whom Christ has been sanctified and of whom He was born.⁷ It was He whom Christ promised during His earthly sojourn, whom He sent after His resurrection and ascen-

¹ *Sermo* 258, 2 (PL 38, 1232): "Membra nostra attendite. Multis membris constitutum est corpus, et vegetat membra omnia unus spiritus. Ecce humano spiritu, quo sum ego ipse homo, membra omnia colligo: impero membris ut moveantur, intendo oculis ad videndum . . . officia membrorum dispartita sunt, sed unus spiritus continet omnia. Multa jubentur, multa fiunt: unus jubet, uni servitur. Quod est spiritus noster, id est anima nostra, ad membra nostra, hoc Spiritus Sanctus ad membra Christi, quod est Ecclesia. Ideo Apostolus, cum corpus unum nominasset, ne intelligeremus mortuum corpus: unum, inquit, corpus. Sed rogo te, vivit hoc corpus? Vivit. Unde? De uno spiritu. 'Et unus spiritus.'"

² F. Prat, *La théologie de saint Paul* (16e éd.; Paris, 1927), I, 360: "L'âme du corps mystique, c'est l'Esprit-Saint. . . Non seulement l'Esprit-Saint habite dans l'Eglise et dans chacun des justes comme dans son temple, mais il y est comme un principe de cohésion, de mouvement et de vie."

³ See the *Anathematism*s of Pope Damasus, released in the IV Roman Synod in 380; cf. P. Coustant, *Epistolae Romanorum Pontificum a S. Clemente I usque ad Innocentium III* (Parisii, 1721), p. 511 A ff.

⁴ *De div. quaest. ad Simpl.*, II, 1, 5 (PL 40, 132); cf. M. Schmaus, *Die psychologische Trinitätslehre des hl. Augustinus* (Münster, 1927), pp. 121 ff. and 386 ff.

⁵ *Sermo* 71, 20, 33 (PL 38, 463): "Spiritus autem sanctus communiter habetur a Patre et Filio: quia Spiritus est unus amborum."

⁶ *In Io. Ev. Tr.* 7, 6 (PL 35, 2031).

⁷ *De praed. sanct.*, 15, 31 (PL 44, 982): ". . . natus est de Spiritu sancto et virgine Maria."

sion to the apostles and to the Church, and who is therefore termed in St. John⁸ and St. Paul⁹ the Spirit of Christ. St. Augustine too, following the lead of Sacred Scripture, correlates the Holy Ghost to Christ, naming Him the Spirit of Christ.¹⁰ This Spirit of Christ¹¹ becomes the spirit also of Christ's fullness and continuation on earth, that is, of His Body the Church.

Because of the repeated and emphatic presentation of this office of the Holy Ghost in the Body of Christ, one might easily be inclined to limit this task only to the Person of the Holy Ghost, to the exclusion of the other divine Persons. Yet the Bishop of Hippo teaches that the Person of the Holy Ghost, who is consubstantial with and equal to the Father and Son, operates conjointly with Them in animating the Church. He explicitly states that the Father and Son are likewise indwellers in the temple which is the Body of Christ and consequently vivifiers of Christ's Church: "God therefore dwells in his temple, not only the Holy Ghost, but also the Father and the Son. . . . The temple therefore of God, that is, of the whole Trinity, is the holy Church."¹² It is this same doctrine which underlies the indwelling of the Holy Ghost in individual souls. Although Sacred Scripture frequently focuses our attention upon the Person of the Holy Ghost as the soul's indweller, yet it gives an unmistakable clue, in our Lord's own words, to the recognition of an inhabitation common to all three divine Persons.¹³ St. Augustine too pauses, here and there, to remind us of this inseparable indwelling of the Persons of the sacred Trinity in the just man.¹⁴

There are reasons for associating this office of the Godhead as soul

⁸ Implicitly in John 1:32, 33; 15:26; directly I John 4:13.

⁹ For instance, Gal. 4:6; Rom. 8:9-10; II Cor. 3:17; cf. F. Prat, *op. cit.*, II, 352-55; E. Mura, *Le Corps mystique du Christ* (Paris, 1936), I, 198.

¹⁰ *In Jo. Ev. Tr.* 26, 13 (PL 35, 1612): "Fiant corpus Christi, si volunt vivere de Spiritu Christi. De Spiritu Christi non vivit, nisi corpus Christi"; cf. *ibid.*, 26, 16 (PL 35, 1618).

¹¹ The reasons for making the Holy Ghost in so far as he is the Spirit of Christ the soul of the Church are presented by S. Tromp, *Corpus Christi Quod Est Ecclesia* (Romae, 1937), p. 169.

¹² *Enchiridion* 56, 15 (PL 40, 259).

¹³ Rom. 5:5; 8:9; 8:11; Gal. 4:6; I Cor. 6:19; II Cor. 6:16; John 14:16 ff.

¹⁴ *Ep.* 187, 5, 16 (PL 33, 837; CSEL 57, ed. Al. Goldbacher, IV, 94): "Quis porro audeat opinari, nisi quisquis inseparabilitatem penitus Trinitatis ignorat, quod in aliquo habitare possit Pater et Filius, in quo non habitat Spiritus Sanctus, aut in aliquo Spiritus Sanctus in quo et non Pater et Filius?"

of the Church preferentially with the Person of the Holy Ghost. By virtue of His procession He is the "Spirit," as proceeding from the Father and the Son; whence it is fit for Him to be the spirit, that is, the life, of the Body of Christ. The life of this body is grace, which is a purely gratuitous gift of God; the Holy Ghost, again, in the mode of His procession, is the uncreated and the greatest of gifts, therefore He is called grace.¹⁵ The life of the soul is associated or identified with love (*dilectio, caritas*); here again the Holy Ghost, proceeding from the will, the seat of a variety of voluntary acts, but all rooted in love, is a symbol of it.¹⁶ Finally, since the Holy Ghost by virtue of His procession is the unitive bond of love whereby the Father and the Son are ineffably united,¹⁷ it is becoming also that the effecting of the union of the faithful forming the Body of Christ through charity be appropriated to the Holy Ghost.

One Spirit, One Body

The doctrine of the Holy Ghost as the soul of the Body of Christ was an indispensable constituent of Augustine's concept of the Church. In one of his sermons the holy Bishop, who throughout his works displays a comprehensive knowledge not only of Sacred Scripture but also of tradition and the history of doctrine, including erroneous tenets, enumerates a series of such false beliefs concerning the Holy Ghost. Yet, he says, even if one should know and hold the truth about the nature and the Person of the Holy Ghost, it would be of no avail and displeasing to God, were one also to deny His indwelling in the Body of Christ, the one true Catholic Church. Those who do precisely this are likened to the Pharisees, who had some conception of the Holy

¹⁵ *Sermo* 144, 1, 1 (*PL* 38, 788): "Gratia quippe Dei, donum Dei est. Donum autem maximum ipse Spiritus Sanctus est; et ideo gratia dicitur." Cf. also *De fide et symb.*, 9, 19 (*PL* 40, 191); *CSEL* 41, ed. J. Zycha, 22); *De Trin.*, VIII, 1 (*PL* 42, 946); *ibid.*, XV, 17, 29 (*PL* 42, 1081).

¹⁶ *De Trin.*, XV, 31 ff. (*PL* 42, 1083): "Dilectio igitur, quae ex Deo est et Deus est, proprie Spiritus Sanctus est, per quem diffunditur in cordibus nostris caritas Dei, per quam nos tota inhabitat Trinitas."

¹⁷ *De agone Chris.*, 16, 18 (*PL* 40, 300; *CSEL* 41, 119): "Quia revera magnum est mente conspicere . . . ipsam Charitatem et Sanctitatem, qua Generator et Generatus ineffabiliter sibi copulantur"; *De Trin.*, XV, 37 (*PL* 42, 1086): "Et si charitas qua Pater diligit Filium, et Patrem diligit Filius, ineffabiliter communionem demonstrat amborum; quid convenientius quam ut ille dicatur charitas proprie, qui Spiritus est communis ambobus?"

Ghost, insofar at least as they did not deny His existence, but who denied that He was in Christ and ascribed the latter's works to the devil, instead of recognizing them as coming from the Holy Ghost.¹⁸

The great African Bishop conceives the Church not only as a social religious organization held together by external rites and practices, but also, and that principally, as a corporate entity animated by internal life which permeates the whole. The soul of this corporate entity, the Body of Christ, is the Holy Ghost, for He is its unifying and vivifying principle. Since there is but one Holy Ghost, He is confined in the capacity of a life-giving soul to the one Body of Christ, the Catholic Church. Whosoever will be animated by the life of which the Holy Ghost is the author must accede as member to the body which he inhabits. Hence St. Augustine's exhortation: "Let them become the Body of Christ, if they wish to live of Christ's Spirit. Only the Body of Christ lives of the Spirit of Christ. . . . Do you also will to live of the Spirit of Christ? Be in the Body of Christ." Then it is that one lives "for God in God."¹⁹

This teaching about the Person of the Holy Ghost as the soul of the Church was a potent polemical force which St. Augustine perceived to be at his disposal and which he effectively wielded against his separated brethren in Africa. The Donatists were aware of the traditional doctrine that the Holy Ghost was an internal gift and was conferred upon the individual,²⁰ but the Bishop of Hippo, who likewise teaches an immediate and internal abiding of the Holy Spirit in the soul of the just individual, makes the actual possession of this divine Person

¹⁸ *Sermo* 71, 3, 5 (*PL* 38, 447): "Ac per hoc et Judaei et quicumque haeretici Spiritum Sanctum confitentur, sed eum negant esse in Christi corpore, quod est unica ejus Ecclesia, non utique nisi una catholica; procul dubio similes sunt Pharisaeis, qui tunc etiamsi esse Spiritum Sanctum fatebantur, negabant tamen eum esse in Christo, cujus opera in daemonibus ejiciendis daemoniorum principi tribuebant."

¹⁹ *In Io. Ev. Tr.* 26, 13 (*PL* 35, 1612-13).

²⁰ P. Battifol, *Le catholicisme de saint Augustin* (4e éd.; Paris, 1929), p. 238, says: "Aux hérétiques, qui voudraient que l'Esprit soit un don immédiat, Augustin oppose cet axiome que l'Esprit est un don auquel nous participons dans l'Eglise, l'unique Eglise étant la *Catholica*." This is not altogether exact. It must be stated that this internal and individual possession of the Holy Ghost is a doctrine which is common to St. Augustine and the Donatists. The Bishop of Hippo, however, maintains that he who leaves the unity of Christ's Body loses also the personal indwelling of the Holy Ghost in his own soul, or who stands outside of the unity of the Church cannot be the possessor of the Holy Ghost in his inner being.

dependent on the adherence to the corporate body of the faithful, that is, the Body of Christ, in which He dwells as its soul. Failure to be in this one Body deprives one of the personal indwelling of the Holy Spirit. The saint recurs again and again to the prototype; the analogy drawn from it was ineluctable: if the arm or leg is severed from the body it no longer belongs to that body, for it is no longer under the influence of the soul permeating the body with its life. So too there is but one Church, the Body of Christ, and one soul in it alone, the Holy Ghost; whoever is not a member of the Church cannot participate in the life-giving power of the Holy Ghost.

Exclusion from the Spirit

In consequence of this principle the following classes of men are destitute of the Holy Ghost:

1) Jews and Pagans. These, not being reborn of the Holy Ghost through baptism, have no life and are alien to the Church of God. Considered from this point of view, their lives are miserable, and are more truly death rather than life. For the life issuing from the sacrament of baptism is necessary in order that one be built into that spiritual edifice of God destined for bliss.²¹

2) Such as have been baptized outside of the Church, that is to say, in heretical and schismatic factions. The African Doctor, unlike some of his earlier renowned countrymen, admits the validity of baptism administered elsewhere; and hence that, as a result of this sacrament, a certain form (*forma*,²² *forma pietatis*²³) is imprinted in the soul of the recipient. There is, however, something lacking, and this he expresses as being a rebirth by or in the Holy Ghost, or declares simply to consist in the want of the Holy Ghost. On this distinction between the reception of a sacrament, resulting in a "form" and the reception

²¹ *Ep.* 187, 10, 33 (CSEL 57, IV, 111): "Praeter hoc enim aedificium, quod beatificandum constituitur ad aeternam habitationem Dei, vita hominis omnis infelix, et mors est potius appellanda quam vita. Quisquis ergo habitabitur Deo, ne ira Dei maneat super eum ab hoc corpore, ab hoc templo, ab hac nativitate non erit alienus. Omnis autem non renatus alienus est." According to the Maurist text (PL 33, 845) the last two sentences read: "Quisquis ergo habitabitur a Deo, ne ira Dei maneat super eum ab hoc corpore, ab hoc templo, ab hac civitate non erit alienus. Omnis autem non renatus alienus est."

²² *Sermo* 268, 2 (PL 38, 1232): "Forma est: nisi intus spiritu vegeteris, frustra foris de forma gloriaris."

²³ *Sermo* 71, 32 (PL 38, 462): "Non enim defuit etiam foris positus ista forma pietatis."

of the Holy Ghost, St. Augustine is emphatic and insistent.²⁴ Tanta-mount to the Holy Ghost, and in opposition to the *forma*, is life which is conferred by the sacrament legitimately received.²⁵ By virtue of the once received *forma* of the sacrament, the Holy Ghost may be acquired by accession to the communion of the *Catholica*.²⁶ The Holy Ghost, therefore, does not act in the capacity of an animating principle, as a soul, for those who, even if they do constitute a body or communion of men, have received the baptismal sacrament outside of the sphere of the one Body of Christ. Thus baptism, established by Christ, the Founder, as the instrument of incorporation into that Body, cannot produce this life-giving effect unless it is administered by its rightful owner, the Church, within its communion.²⁷

3) Finally, heretics and schismatics who have actually separated themselves by their own fault from the Church's doctrinal or social unity. The saintly Bishop admonishes his hearers: "Remember, those who are adverse to unity have not the Holy Ghost."²⁸

The Unity of the Church

Unity can be understood in a twofold sense according to the degree or intimacy of the union.²⁹ First, there is an external union or association of members in a religion through sacramental rites and religious observances and the external profession of the same beliefs. St. Augustine admits this unity by way almost of condescension as the

²⁴ *Sermo* 269, 2 (PL 38, 1236): "Haec itaque distinctio inter acceptionem baptismi, et acceptionem Spiritus Sancti, satis nos instruit, ne habere eos continuo Spiritum Sanctum putemus, quos habere baptismum non negamus."

²⁵ *Sermo* 248, 2 (PL 38, 1232): "Jam vero si membrum praecidatur de corpore numquid sequitur spiritus? Et tamen membrum agnoscitur quid est: digitus est, manus est, brachium est, auris est; praeter corpus habet formam, sed non habet vitam."

²⁶ *Sermo* 71, 32 (PL 38, 462): "Quapropter quicumque in schismaticis vel haereticis congregationibus, vel potius segregationibus baptizantur, quamvis non sint renati Spiritu, . . . tamen cum ad catholicam veniunt, et societati Spiritus aggregantur, quem foris procul dubio non habebant, non eis repetitur lavacrum carnis."

²⁷ *Contra Cresc.*, II, 12, 15 (PL 43, 476; CSEL 52, ed. M. Petschenig, II, 374): "Merito creduntur hi, qui extra Ecclesiam baptismum Ecclesiae perceperunt non habere Spiritum Sanctum, nisi cum ipsi Ecclesiae in vinculo pacis per connexionem caritatis adhaerescunt."

²⁸ *Sermo* 7, 11, 13 (PL 38, 74).

²⁹ W. Simpson, *St. Augustine and African Church Divisions* (London, 1910), p. 72: "But what is unity? At times it means external intercommunion; at other times it denotes the deeper conception of inward identity."

minimum requirement for Church membership. Secondly, there is an internal unity, affecting and uniting the members of the Church intrinsically. It must be evident from a closer study of St. Augustine's works that this unity in the Church, of which he usually and principally speaks, comprises more than an external, social, moral unity. His call to his churchmen for unity, peace, charity does not rest upon understanding, sympathy, intercommunion, and congeniality alone; but it involves a more intimate and, at the same time, a more mysterious participation in the life and Spirit of the Church. To belong to the "unity of the Spirit in bonds of peace" (*unitas Spiritus in vinculo pacis*),³⁰ to adhere "to the Church by the bonds of peace through the union of charity" (*Ecclesiae vinculo pacis per connexionem caritatis*),³¹ to participate in an exchange of spiritual things,³² to communicate in this Body so as to be animated inwardly by the spirit (*intus spiritu vegeteris*)³³—all of these necessarily carry us into the sphere of those communions which are intrinsic and imperceptible, yet real and formed by real ties.

The Holy Ghost is the soul of all who have been incorporated into the Body of Christ. But He provides also the means whereby the intimate, spiritual union is accomplished. As soul, He imparts life through His created gifts of grace; as unifier, He confers charity, a spiritual unifying factor.³⁴ In virtue of the latter the spiritual structure of the Body of Christ is formed as a single entity. St. Augustine, using a term which occurs in the Latin classics³⁵ to denote this close

³⁰ *Sermo* 71, 32 (*PL* 38, 462).

³¹ *Contra Cresc.*, II, 12, 15 (*PL* 43, 476; *CSEL* 52, II, 374).

³² *Sermo* 212, 1 (*PL* 38, 1058): "Et vestra societas est commercium spiritualium, ut similes sitis negotiatoribus bonam margaritam quaerentibus (Matt. 13:45). Haec est charitas, . . ."

³³ *Sermo* 268, 2 (*PL* 38, 1232); cf. *In Io. Ev. Tr.* 27, 6 (*PL* 35, 1618).

³⁴ *In Io. Ev. Tr.* 27, 6 (*PL* 35, 1618): "Ut autem simus membra ejus, unitas nos compaginat. Ut compaginet unitas, quae facit nisi charitas? Et charitas unde? Apostolum interroga: Charitas, inquit, Dei diffusa est in cordibus nostris per Spiritum sanctum qui datus est nobis [Rom. 5:5]."

³⁵ Thus, Cicero, *De senectute*, 21, 77: ". . . dum sumus in his inclusi compagibus corporis [bodily structures]"; cf. also P. Velleius Paterculus, 2, 127, 3; M. Annaeus Lucanus, 5, 119. The term is used also for the body of the state; e.g., C. Cornelius Tacitus, *Historia*, 4, 74.

union, calls it a *compago corporis*, a *compaginatio unitatis et charitatis*,³⁶ an *aedificium ad Christi compagem*.³⁷

St. Augustine, when speaking of the vivifying indwelling of the Holy Ghost in the one Church, and exclusion of heretics and schismatics from the Church and the Holy Ghost, has before his eyes the image of the human body. From this latter he takes the cue for describing the operations and their extent in the Body of Christ. To it he calls the attention of his hearers: *membra nostra attendite*. He clings persistently to this palpable reality for his description of the spiritual body. As to the soul, the spirit, it is one, it holds all members together, it animates them, but it operates diversely according to the member that it commands.³⁸ Yet this is the indisputable law: the human soul animates only those members which constitute a part of the body to which that soul is confined. No member which does not constitute a part of that body, and none that is severed, can be vivified by the spirit of that body. "Now if the member is cut off from the body, does the spirit also follow?"³⁹ The same law is applied with emphasis and persistence to the Body of Christ. The Holy Spirit, who is the Spirit of Christ, is confined as a soul to the Body of Christ. All who are in this Body as members are vivified by Him, whereas all who are outside of this Body are devoid of Christ's Spirit and life.

Qui ergo habet Spiritum Sanctum, in Ecclesia est. . . . Quicumque praeter hanc Ecclesiam est, non habet Spiritum Sanctum.⁴⁰

Ecclesia catholica sola est corpus Christi. . . . Extra hoc corpus neminem vivificat

³⁶ *In Io. Ev. Tr. 27*, 6 (PL 35, 1618); *Ep.* 185, 46 (PL 33, 813; CSEL 57, IV, 40).

³⁷ *Enar. in Ps. 86*, 4 (PL 37, 1104): "Sacramentum est cujusdam universitatis; quia per totum orbem terrarum futura erat Ecclesia, unde vocatur hoc aedificium ad Christi compagem. . . . Quomodo vocatur? Undique in Trinitate vocatur: non vocatur nisi baptismo in nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti."

³⁸ *Sermo 268*, 2 (PL 38, 1232): "Multis membris constitutum est corpus, et vegetat membra omnia unus spiritus. . . . Officia membrorum dispartita sunt, sed unus spiritus continet omnia. Multa jubentur, multa fiunt: unus jubet, uni servitur."

³⁹ *Sermo 7*, 11, 13 (PL 38, 74). So also *In Io. Ev. Tr. 27*, 6 (PL 35, 1618): "Nam spiritus qui est in te, o homo, quo constas ut homo sis, numquid vivificat membrum quod separatum invenerit a carne tua? Spiritum tuum dico animam tuam: anima tua non vivificat nisi membra quae sunt in carne tua; unum si tollas, jam non vivificatur ea anima tua, quia unitati corporis tui non copulatur."

⁴⁰ *Sermo 268*, 2 (PL 38, 1232).

Spiritus Sanctus. . . Non habent itaque Spiritum Sanctum qui sunt extra Ecclesiam.⁴¹

And avowing the same principle concerning schismatics and heretics, he says: “. . . sed multo magis isti [haeretici et schismatici] eum [Spiritus Sanctum] non acceperunt, ubi a corporis compage divisi, quod solum corpus vivificat Spiritus Sanctus. . . .”⁴² Heretics and schismatics, therefore, can have no claim to the possession of the Holy Ghost because they are separated from the one Church, which He vivifies. To these, likewise, the Augustinian adage would have to be applied: “Outside of the Church, there is no salvation.” But the question arises: who is a heretic and who a schismatic?

The Meaning of Heresy

St. Augustine instinctively feels what a heresy⁴³ is as opposed to the true Church; yet it is impossible or most difficult, as he confesses,⁴⁴ to give a definition in which the essential characteristics would be embraced. As an example of this difficulty, he points out two catalogues of heresies, the one of Philastrius, Bishop of Brixen, and the other of Epiphanius, Bishop of Cyprus, who differ much in their enumeration of heresies, even in covering the same period; wherefore he concludes: “This certainly would not happen, unless one thing seemed to be a heresy to the one, and another to the other.”⁴⁵ Hence follows, by inference, his warning to be careful in calling or considering someone a heretic, for there is danger of making heretics of those who are not.⁴⁶ The most elementary constituent in the notion of heresy is falsity of doctrine from the rule of faith (*a regula veritatis*) so that

⁴¹ *Ep.* 185, 11, 50 (*PL* 33, 815; *CSEL* 57, IV, 44).

⁴² *Ep.* 185, 46 (*PL* 33, 813; *CSEL* 57, IV, 40).

⁴³ Cf. J. de Guibert, “La notion d’hérésie dans S. Augustin,” *Bull. litt. écol.*, 1920, p. 368–82.

⁴⁴ *Ep.* 222, 2 (*PL* 33, 999; *CSEL* 57, IV, 447–48): “. . . quid sit haeresis, . . . revera hoc omnino definire difficile est”; *De haer.* (*PL* 42, 23): “Quid ergo faciat haereticum, regulari quadam definitione comprehendi, sicut ego existimo, aut omnino non potest, aut difficilime potest.”

⁴⁵ *Loc. cit.*: “. . . quod utique non evenisset, nisi aliud uni eorum videretur esse haeresis, et aliud alteri.”

⁴⁶ *Loc. cit.*: “. . . cavendum, cum omnes [haereses] in numerum redigere conamur, ne praetermittamus aliquas, quamvis haereses sint; aut annumeremus aliquas, cum haereses non sint.”

heretics participate in the oneness of the Christian name, but not in the oneness of faith.⁴⁷ Augustine gives us a description of a heretic when he says: "Haereticus est, ut mea fert opinio, qui alicujus temporalis commodi et maxime gloriae principatusque sui gratia falsas ac novas opiniones vel gignit vel sequitur."⁴⁸ From this description, as well as from inferences of many other assertions, it is evident that novelty in doctrine as opposed to received and traditional teaching is branded as a heretical error.

Yet St. Augustine seems to require more than this to make a true heretic. Those who stray beyond the paths of tradition and orthodoxy are expected to be made cognizant of their opposition to the true Church; if they continue to embrace the same error, they become heretical. It is obstinacy, perversity, and intractability that enter into the notion of heresy.⁴⁹ Those are not heretics, although their beliefs are erroneous, who *bona fide* are of the opinion that theirs is the teaching of the Church.⁵⁰ Nor are those to be deemed heretics who have inherited errors from their heretical parents, but are willing to abandon them when they have discovered the falsity of their beliefs.⁵¹

The place of heretics is outside of the Church; by their heresy they cease to be true members of the Church, so that they should *also* be formally excluded from its Body. But it can happen that a Christian, attached apparently to the Body and living in communion with the

⁴⁷ *Quaest. sept. in Mt.*, XI, 1 (PL 35, 1367): ". . . [haeretici] pravis opinionibus ad falsa dogmata convertuntur . . . bene intelliguntur haeretici, quia non societate unius Ecclesiae vel unius fidei, sed societate solius nominis christiani in hoc mundo permiscetur bonis . . . haeretici falsa credunt. . ."

⁴⁸ *De utilitate cred.*, I, 1 (PL 42, 65; CSEL 25, ed. J. Zycha, 3).

⁴⁹ *De Civ. Dei*, XVIII, 51, 1 (PL 41, 613; ed. Dombart-Kalb, II, 335): "Qui ergo in Ecclesia Christi morbidum aliquid pravumque sapiunt, si correpti ut sanum rectumque sapiant, resistunt contumaciter, suaque pestifera et mortifera dogmata emendare nolunt, sed defensare persistunt; haeretici fiunt, et foras exeuntes habentur in exercentibus inimicis." Cf. *De Gen. ad lit.* VII, 9, 13 (PL 33, 160; CSEL 28, ed. J. Zycha, I, 208); *De Bapt.* IV, 16, 23 (PL 43, 169; CSEL 51, ed. M. Petschenig, I, 249); *Ep.* 43, 1, 1 (PL 33, 160; CSEL 34, II, 85).

⁵⁰ *Contra mendacium* III, 4 (PL 40, 521).

⁵¹ *Ep.* 43, 1, 1 (PL 33, 160; CSEL 34, II, 85): "Sed qui sententiam suam, quamvis falsam atque perversam, nulla pertinaci animositate defendunt, praesertim quam non audacia praesumptionis suae pepererunt, sed a seductis atque in errorem lapsis parentibus acceperunt, quaerunt autem cauta sollicitudine veritatem, corrigi parati, cum invenerint; nequaquam sunt inter haereticos deputandi."

other members, entertains steadfastly and unhesitatingly an erroneous, heretical belief about God or any doctrine which belongs to faith, but does not make it public for fear of being excluded from the Church. Such a one, observes St. Augustine, is to be adjudged in truth a heretic and consequently does not really belong to the Church, the Body of Christ, whose member he seems to be.⁵² And the Bishop of Hippo warns us that there are many such concealed heretics within the pale of the Church who are expelled only then when they begin to defend their error and to agitate the multitudes.⁵³

The Meaning of Schism

St. Augustine remarks that it is frequently asked what difference there is between a heretic and a schismatic. He answers that what makes a heretic is diversity of belief, what makes a schismatic is disruption of social unity; the heretic is opposed to unity of faith, the schismatic to unity of communion.⁵⁴

The African Bishop avoids furnishing us with a strict definition of what a schismatic is, complementary to his definition of a heretic. In fact, he calls the same faction at times schismatics, at times heretics. On account of this promiscuous use of these terms with regard to the same body of men, he was compelled on one occasion by an adversary to describe more precisely what a schismatic was. When the holy Bishop called the Donatists heretics instead of schismatics,⁵⁵ as was customary, a Donatist named Cresconius resented this appellation. The Donatist admits it as applicable to Manicheans, Arians, Marcionites, and Novatians, but not to Donatists; the teaching of the former is discordant with Catholic dogmas, but the latter have the same Christ, the same faith, the same religious observances and the same sacraments as the Catholic Church, so that they may be called schismatics, but not heretics. Cresconius also advances a trenchant quasi-definition of what he believes to be the difference between here-

⁵² *Quaest. sept. in Mt.*, XI, 1-2 (PL 35, 1367); *De Bapt.* IV, 16, 23 (PL 43, 169; CSEL 51, I, 249).

⁵³ *Quaest. sept. in Mt.*, XI, 2 (PL 35, 1367-8).

⁵⁴ *Quaest. sept. in Mt.*, XI, 2 (PL 35, 1367): "Solet autem etiam quaeri, schismatici quid ab haereticis distent; et hoc inveniri quod schismaticos non fides diversa faciat, sed communionis disrupta societas."

⁵⁵ *Contra Cresc.*, II, 2, 3 (PL 43, 469; CSEL 52, 363).

tics and schismatics: "Siquidem haeresis est diversa sequentium secta: schisma vero idem sequentium separatio."⁵⁶

St. Augustine admits in principle this discrimination, which in no way varies from what he asserts elsewhere.⁵⁷ His contention, however, is that separation from the true and living Church can be a mere separation, and consequently bear the appellation *schism*, provided it be a recent separation, but he maintains a schism cannot remain long as such, since it will sooner or later turn into a heresy. Therefore, he defines a schism as a "recens dissensio," whereas a heresy is a "schisma inveteratum."⁵⁸ Evidently it is not by reason of its being long-standing or inveterate in itself that it becomes a heresy, but because no separate faction cut off from the source of truth can long make itself immune to heretical innovations. So, in the case at hand, the Donatists, who pretend to have the same religion, sacraments, etc. as the Catholic Church, do not accept its baptism, but rebaptize those who come from the Church into their faction.⁵⁹

St. Augustine asserts the possibility of the existence in the true fold of the Church not only of heretics—and there are many such in his opinion—but also of schismatics. Whenever there are those who envy the good and are contriving to foment dissension—in other words, those who sin against unity in secrecy—they become or are already schismatics. Corporally they remain united to the Church, but in heart, in spirit, they are already separated.⁶⁰ Whether it is true also,

⁵⁶ *Contra Cresc.*, II, 3, 4 (PL 43, 469; CSEL 52, 363): ". . . eadem sequentium separatio."

⁵⁷ P. Stach, *Święty Augustyn w Walce z Heretykami* (Lwów, 1930), p. 18. Yet I would remark to his construed definition of St. Augustine, that it is possible to have individuals, and not only group schismatics, and that such individuals, without segregating themselves, may be covertly extant in the Church itself.

⁵⁸ *Contra Cresconium*, II, 7, 9 (PL 43, 471; CSEL 52, 367): "Proinde quamvis inter schisma et haeresim magis eam distinctionem approbem, qua dicitur schisma esse recens congregationis ex aliqua sententiarum diversitate dissensio—neque enim et schisma fieri potest, nisi diversum aliquid sequantur qui faciunt—haeresis autem, schisma inveteratum. . . ."

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, II, 5, 7 (PL 43, 471; CSEL 52, 366): "Una nobis vobisque religio est: quibus autem baptismus unus non est, non est una religio."

⁶⁰ *Quaest. sept. in Mt.*, XI, 2 (PL 35, 1367): "Nec enim consequens est ut omnis haereticus vel schismaticus corporaliter ab Ecclesia separetur. . . . Item, quicumque invident bonis, ita ut quaerant occasiones excludendi eos, aut degradandi; vel crimina sua sic defendere parati sunt, si objecta vel prodita fuerint, ut etiam conventiculorum, segrega-

on the other hand, that a schismatic in good faith outside of the Church is not to be really considered as a schismatic, and in consequence whether the phrase, "Foris est animo, quamvis corporaliter intus videatur," is not to be applied inversely to him—cannot be directly ascertained, since we find no direct statement to this effect. It must be remembered, however, that St. Augustine was in the thick of a fray with a rampant faction, at a time when minds were agitated by discord and the question of unity, a time not so distant from the breach of these Donatists from the *Catholica*. The participants of the movement in this secluded section of Africa were naturally too much interested in, and a part of, the conflict not to know what it was about. There was no reason for opening a loophole of excuse on the grounds of good faith for those who found themselves outside of the Church.

By implication, however, it would seem that if there were such as found themselves outside of the Church through no fault of their own, St. Augustine would not condemn them, nor would he brand them with the term "schismatic." He would rather go a long way in order to extenuate their case and even would try to justify them, as he does in the analogous case of unfortunate heretics who are in good faith. Authors,⁶¹ therefore, who read the formal and material distinction of heretics and schismatics, which is current in the theology of our own times, into the works of St. Augustine, apparently have grounds for doing so, for the Saint bluntly discriminates between the culpable and inculpable schismatics, separated from the Church. Yet the conclusion that such schismatics as are inculpable and in good faith are attached in living communion to the Church which is the Body of Christ cannot be justified. St. Augustine makes no such explicit

tiones vel Ecclesiae perturbationes cogitent excitare; jam schismatici sunt, et ab unitate corde discissi, etiamsi non inventis occasionebus aut occultatis factis suis Sacramento Ecclesiae corporali conversatione socientur."

⁶¹ For example, D. Zähringer, *Das kirchliche Priestertum nach dem hl. Augustinus* (Paderborn, 1931), p. 47: "Augustin hat bei diesen Worten immer die formellen Häretiker und Schismatiker im Auge. Da er die animositas und audacia in der Verteidigung eines Irrtums als wesentliches Moment mit in den Begriff der Häresie einbezieht, zählen jene die wir heute als materielle Häretiker und Schismatiker bezeichnen, nicht zu dieser Gruppe. Es liegt daher in der Konsequenz der augustiniischen Begriffsbestimmung, dass diese an der Gemeinschaft des heiligen Geistes teilhaben, obwohl sich der Bischof nirgends ausdrücklich zu dieser Forderung bekennt." Cf. also Specht, *Die Lehre von der Kirche nach dem h. Augustin* (Paderborn, 1892), pp. 97-98.

statement anywhere; nor, it would seem, can he be made to do so even inferentially or interpretatively; he is emphatic in excluding all heretics and schismatics from that unity of living faith and charity which is proper to the visible Church, the Body of Christ.

THE HOLY GHOST OUTSIDE OF THE CHURCH

There were those who, proposing to follow St. Augustine's teaching on the Holy Ghost and the Church, contended that the Holy Ghost and grace were confined to the Church, so that beyond its pale there is no Holy Ghost, no grace. Pasquier Quesnel, imbued with the teaching of Baius and Jansenius,⁶² wrote: "Extra Ecclesiam nulla conceditur gratia," a statement which is in conformity neither with the teaching of the Church,⁶³ nor with that of St. Augustine. The masses who stand outside of the Church are not left in cold neglect with regard to their salvation. As the sun, which in its substance is confined to the heavens, sends forth its invigorating rays to all parts of the wide world, bringing life, exuberance, and joy to distant creatures, so too the Holy Spirit, although He resides by inhabitation in a special manner in the Church as the Body of Christ and in the souls of the just, is operative in the hearts of men by His power and grace throughout the wide world.

It was he who operated through the fiery tongues on Pentecost, testifying to the polyglot and universal character of the newly founded Church. It was the power of the Holy Ghost that brought men of every race into the Church at Jerusalem. And He continues to do this very same work in the souls of men of all times who find themselves outside of the Church, alluring them by His grace to enter into the Body which He vivifies.⁶⁴ He does not cease His work of illuminating and inspiring infidels.

⁶² Both Michel Baius (de Bay) and Cornelius Jansenius (Jansen) were steeped in the writings of St. Augustine. In fact, the aim of Jansenius in his work *Augustinus*, published posthumously, was to restore the genuine doctrine of St. Augustine on grace, which was supposedly abandoned or at least obscured for a long time in the Church.

⁶³ C. Du Plessis d'Argentré, *Collectio judiciorum de novis erroribus, qui ab initio XII saeculi . . . usque ad a. 1733 in Ecclesia proscripti sunt et notati* (Lutetiae Parisiorum, 1755 ff.), III, II, 462 ff. This doctrine and many others of Quesnel were condemned by Pope Clement XI (1700-1721) in the *Constitutio Dogmatica, Unigenitus*, Sept. 8, 1713.

⁶⁴ *Sermo* 270, 6 (PL 38, 1243): "Ipse Spiritus sanctus colligit nos: . . . Congregatur enim unitas corporis Christi ex omnibus linguis, per omnes scilicet gentes toto terrarum orbe diffusas."

The Call to Faith

This doctrine about the Holy Ghost's action in the infidel world was involved in the strife with Pelagianism and Semipelagianism. Faith depends neither upon our merits nor upon our effort, desire, or will, but on the calling of God, the *vocatio fidei* or *vocatio Dei*. This call of God to embrace the faith precedes all merit⁶⁵ and even free will itself; for no one believes, or can believe, who is not called. God causes the good will itself, due to which man is inclined to believe and wants to believe.⁶⁶ Since the call to faith is unmerited, it is called the grace of faith.⁶⁷ The calling to faith may be external or internal. Usually God makes use of external means, such as preaching of the Gospel by missionaries, to make infidels embrace the faith. But even the call of the preacher would be futile unless it were accompanied by the call of God affecting the inward man.⁶⁸ The intellect must be enlightened, the will must be drawn. Following in the footsteps of St. John, who gives us Christ's own words: "No one is able to come to me unless the Father draw him,"⁶⁹ St. Augustine designates the grace of calling to faith a "tractio," a drawing. To come to Christ is to be converted to Christ through faith.⁷⁰

⁶⁵ *Contra duas ep. Pelag*, I, 19, 37 (PL 44, 567-68; CSEL 60, ed. C. Urba et J. Zycha, 453-54); *De grat. et lib. arb.*, 31 (PL 44, 899).

⁶⁶ *De div. quaest. ad Simpl.*, I, 2, 7 (PL 40, 115): "Nemo credit, qui non vocatur. Misoricos autem Deus vocat, nullis hoc vel fidei meritis largiens: quia merita fidei sequuntur vocationem potius, quam praecedunt"; *ibid.*, I, 2, 12 (PL 40, 117): "Etiam ipsam bonam voluntatem in nobis operante Dei fieri." Cf. A. Tymczak, *Nauka Św. Augustyna o Wierze* (Przemyśl, 1933), p. 137 ff.

⁶⁷ *De div. quaest. ad Simpl.*, I, 2, 2 (PL 40, 111): "Et multis locis hoc saepe testatur [Paulus], fidei gratiam praeponeus operibus, non ut opera extinguat, sed ut ostendat non esse opera praecedentia gratiam, sed consequentia: ut scilicet non se quisque arbitretur ideo percepisse gratiam, quia bene operatus est; sed bene operari non posse, nisi per fidem percepit gratiam."

⁶⁸ *De spir. et litt.*, 60 (PL 44, 240; CSEL 60, ed. C. Urba et J. Zycha, 220): "Visorum suasionibus agit Deus, ut velimus et ut credamus, sive extrinsecus per evangelicas exhortationes, ubi et mandata legis aliquid agunt, si ad hoc admonent hominem infirmitatis suae, ut ad gratiam justificantem credendo confugiat, sive intrinsecus, ubi nemo habet in potestate quid ei veniat in mentem, sed consentire, vel dissentire propriae voluntatis est." Cf. *De grat. et lib. arb.*, 43 (PL 44, 909); *De dono pers.*, 35 (PL 45, 1014).

⁶⁹ John 6:44.

⁷⁰ *Ep.* 194, 3, 11-12 (PL 33, 878; CSEL 57, IV, 185); *De grat. et lib. arb.*, 10 (PL 44, 888); *In Jo. Ev. Tr.* 26 (PL 35, 1606). In his commentaries upon St. John, St. Augustine has much occasion to speak of grace, and touches precisely upon this doctrine against the Pelagians, although he prescinds from using their name; cf. M. Comeau, *Saint Augustin, exégète du quatrième Évangile* (Paris, 1930), p. 214.

Faith leads one to become united to Christ and to the Church, the Body of Christ. The preparation, enlightening, and drawing whereby faith is enkindled in the soul is an operation which, not less than sanctification of a soul, is associated with the Holy Ghost.⁷¹ He draws and aids infidels to become faithful.⁷² It is the office of the Holy Spirit, then, to be operative beyond the pale of the Church. Within the Church, He is the soul. Outside of the Church, He exerts the pull of the magnet towards the Church. His mission of salvation cannot be exercised independently of the already established institution of salvation. Hence He imparts the grace of faith in order to incorporate those begotten in faith through baptism into the Body of Christ. The Holy Ghost is not only operative in the infidels through the *vocatio fidei*, but is also solicitous about drawing back into the Church brethren separated by heresy or schism.⁷³

The Case of Cornelius

In studying the relations of the Holy Ghost to those outside of the Church, there is one case that particularly strikes us, as much owing to its repeated mention as to the lesson it conveys. The case is that of Cornelius the centurion. Even before the reception of the visible sacrament, he is said to have been cleansed (*mundatus*),⁷⁴ justified (*justificatus*),⁷⁵ and sanctified (*sanctificatus*).⁷⁶ Indeed, all these predicates are to be considered as the effects of the workings of the Holy Ghost. But St. Augustine proceeds further and directly brings in the very Person of the Holy Ghost. For he explicitly asserts that Cornelius received objectively the gift of the Holy Ghost,⁷⁷ or the Holy

⁷¹ E.g., *Expositio quarundam propositionum ex Ep. ad Rom.*, 61 (PL 35, 2079).

⁷² *Ep.* 194, 4, 18 (PL 33, 880; CSEL 57, IV, 190): "... [Spiritus Sanctus] nondum inhabitans adjuvat ut sint fideles."

⁷³ *In Io. Ev. Tr.* 7, 3 (PL 35, 1439): "Itaque nec optandum est fratribus nostris, qui foris baptizantur, ut habeant fructum; non illos sinet columba foris, nisi ad arcam reduxerit." The word *columba* designates the Holy Ghost, as is clear from *In Io. Ev. Tr.* 6, 15 (PL 35, 1432), and many other books and passages.

⁷⁴ *Quaes. in Hept.*, (in Num.) 4, 33 (PL 34, 735; CSEL 28, ed. J. Zycha, II, 346).

⁷⁵ *De Bapt. c. Donat.* IV, 21, 28 (PL 43, 173; CSEL 51, 257).

⁷⁶ *Quaes. in Hept.*, (in Lev.) 3, 84 (PL 34, 713; CSEL 28, II, 306).

⁷⁷ *Quaest. in Hept.*, (in Lev.) 4, 33 (PL 34, 735; CSEL 28, II, 346): "Cornelius audiens et credens quod praedicaverat Petrus, ita mundatus est, ut ante visibile baptismum, cum suis qui aderant, acciperet donum Spiritus sancti; verumtamen nec visibile sacramentum contemni potuit, ut ablutus etiam extrinsecus, lavaret quodammodo vestimenta sua."²

Ghost Himself, by whom he and his associates were invisibly sanctified, in opposition to that sanctification which is visible through the sacrament of baptism;⁷⁸ and, finally, in the strongest terms yet, he states that Cornelius and his group were filled with the Holy Ghost.⁷⁹

One is inclined to infer from these very lucid, repeated, and studied assertions that sanctification and justification, together with the Holy Ghost who causes them, are obtainable outside of the Church, at least in some such exceptional cases as the one described. The saint even compares this gift of the Holy Ghost to that which, according to the testimonies of Sacred Scripture, those who are legitimately baptized ordinarily receive.⁸⁰ And yet in a statement made in the same work, he discloses that Cornelius (and his friends likewise), even with the acquisition of the Holy Ghost, was not yet qualified for salvation—*ad capessendum regnum coelorum*.

The good deeds of Cornelius were the cause of his cleansing and justification; yet these St. Augustine attributes to him not in a perfect degree, but only in a certain manner (*ad quendam modum*)⁸¹ which is not sufficient for the kingdom of heaven. What was wanting? It was incorporation into the Christian society, into the Body of Christ.⁸²

⁷⁸ *Quaest. in Hept.*, 3, 84 (*PL* 34, 713; *CSEL* 28, II, 306): "Hinc est quod Cornelius et qui cum eo erant, cum jam invisibiliter infuso sancto Spiritu sanctificati apparent, baptizati sunt tamen (*Acts* 10: 44-48): nec superflua iudicata est visibilis sanctificatio, quam invisibilis jam praecesserat."

⁷⁹ *Contra Ep. Parm.*, II, 15, 34 (*PL* 43, 76; *CSEL* 51, ed. M. Petschenig, 88): ". . . et constituto jam ordine Ecclesiae, centurionem Cornelium ante ipsum baptismum, ante impositionem manus cum eis qui secum erant eodem Spiritu sancto repletum, Petrus ipse miratus est."

⁸⁰ *De Bapt. c. Donat.*, IV, 22, 29 (*PL* 43, 173; *CSEL* 51, ed. M. Petschenig, 257): "Nam multo magis in Cornelio et in amicis ejus, quam in illo latrone, posset videri superfluum ut aqua etiam tingeretur, in quibus jam donum Spiritus sancti, quod nonnisi baptizatos alios accepisse sancta Scriptura testatur, certo quoque indicio, quod illis temporibus congruebat, cum linguis loquerentur, eminuerat, baptizati sunt tamen: et in hoc facto apostolica exstat auctoritas."

⁸¹ *Sermo* 6, 7 (*PL* 38, 802): "Hujus [Cornelii] eleemosynae acceptae mundaverunt eum ad quemdam modum: restabat ut tamquam cibus mundus incorporaretur Ecclesiae, hoc est, corpori Domini."

⁸² Accordingly we may judge the statement on this topic made recently by A. J. Gendreau, *Sancti Augustini Doctrina de Baptismo* (Baltimore, 1939), p. 75: "Secundum exemplum talis justificationis avert, scribens de Cornelio, quem jam donum Spiritus Sancti etiam non baptizatum accepisse sancta Scriptura testatur, quum ipse et amici ejus linguis loquerentur: plane justificati sunt viri illi etiam sine Baptismo." It is true as far as it goes; yet this justification does not go the whole length of justification, as we understand

The saint asserts that the prayers and good deeds of Cornelius would have been useless had he not become a member of the Body of Christ. This incorporation into Christ's Body was attained and at the same time attested by the visible reception of the sacrament of baptism in the Catholic Church.⁸³

Neque enim et Cornelii gentilis hominis orationes non sunt exauditae. . . . Sed quoniam quidquid boni in orationibus et eleemosynis habebat, prodesse illi non poterat, nisi per vinculum christianae societatis et pacis incorporaretur Ecclesiae; jubetur mittere ad Petrum, et per illum discit Christum.⁸⁴

Nor does it appear that this doctrine was developed under Donatist pressure or for Donatist consumption. For we find expression of this same view in an uncontroversial writing intended for the instruction of one Simplicius, who had proposed some questions relating to St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans. This letter, composed about 397 (whereas the *De Bapt. c. Donat.* is of about 400), makes a definite cleavage between a degree of justification (*gratia fidei*) which does not suffice for obtaining the kingdom of heaven, and that degree which involves incorporation into the Body of Christ and the temple of God (*ut jam corpori Christi et sancto Dei templo deputentur*). Now, this latter phase involves, although St. Augustine in the passage at issue does not make direct and express reference to it, the reception of the sacrament of baptism. It cannot, therefore, be grace and faith alone which incorporate, but that faith which is concomitant with the reception of baptism. For this reason, after his first experiences with the Holy Ghost, Cornelius is said to have been "conceived," and only after the reception of the sacrament of baptism is he said to have been born; only through this latter is salvation obtainable.⁸⁵

it today. Augustine requires incorporation into the Church through the sacrament for full justification and makes eternal salvation dependent upon actual inherence in the Body of Christ through the sacrament of baptism.

⁸³ *De Bapt. c. Donat.*, IV, 22, 29 (PL 43, 173; CSEL 51, 257),

⁸⁴ *De Bapt. c. Donat.*, I, 8, 10 (PL 43, 115; CSEL 51, 155).

⁸⁵ *De div. quaest. ad Simpl.*, I, 2, 2 (PL 40, 111) composed in 397: "Incipit autem homo percipere gratiam, ex quo incipit homo credere, vel interna vel externa admonitione motus ad fidem. Sed interest quibus articulis temporum vel celebratione sacramentorum gratia plenior et evidenter infundatur. Non enim catechumeni non credunt, aut vero Cornelius non credebat Deo, cum eleemosynis et orationibus dignum se praeberet cui angelus mitteretur (*Act. Apost.* 10, 1-4): sed nullo modo ista operaretur, nisi ante credidisset; nullo modo autem credidisset, nisi vel secretis per visa mentis aut spiritus, vel manifestioribus

Baptism and the Possession of the Holy Ghost

It follows, then (at least from this one case, which St. Augustine repeatedly studies), that baptism is necessary for what we may call full justification, involving incorporation into the Church and salvation. St. Augustine identifies this state with a full and saving possession of the Holy Ghost. On this absolute necessity of baptism, however, as the consummating point of full justification, St. Augustine is not too steadfast. Up till about 400 A.D. he wavers. On the one hand, he urges its absolute necessity; on the other hand, he admits cases where baptism can be supplanted by other means: martyrdom (*passio*) may replace it; and he also asserts, as a result of much consideration (*etiam atque etiam considerans*), that "faith and conversion of heart" are able to reach the same effect as that produced by baptism, without the actual reception of the sacrament, if the pressure of circumstances does not allow receiving it.⁸⁶ Soon afterwards—after 400 A.D.—he abandons the substitutes just enumerated, at least the latter, the *fides* and *conversio cordis in angustiis temporum*, and passes on to profess the absolute necessity of baptism for eternal salvation.⁸⁷

Although A. J. Gendreau seems to find a mitigation of this doctrine, as far as adults are concerned, at a somewhat later period (around 418),⁸⁸ it seems to be more probable, as far as the expression of it in

per sensus corporis admonitionibus vocaretur. Sed in quibusdam tanta est gratia fidei, quanta non sufficit ad obtinendum regnum coelorum; sicut in catechumenis, sicut in ipso Cornelio antequam sacramentorum participatione incorporaretur Ecclesiae. In quibusdam vero tanta est, ut jam corpori Christi et sancto Dei templo deputentur. . . . Fiunt ergo inchoationes quaedam fidei, conceptionibus similes: non tamen concipi sed etiam nasci opus est, ut ad vitam perveniatur aeternam."

⁸⁶ *De Bapt. c. Donat.*, IV, 22, 29 (*PL* 43, 173; *CSEL* 51, I, 257): "Baptismi sane vicem aliquando implere passionem, de latrone illo cui non baptizato dictum est, 'Hodie mecum eris in paradiso' [Luke 23:43], non leve documentum idem beatus Cyprianus assumit: quod etiam atque etiam considerans, invenio non tantum passionem pro nomine Christi id quod ex baptismo deerat posse supplere, sed etiam fidem conversionemque cordis, si forte ad celebrandum mysterium baptismi in angustiis temporum succurri non potest. . . . Sed tunc impletur invisibiliter cum ministerium baptismi non contemptus religionis, sed articulus necessitatis excludit."

⁸⁷ Cf. K. Adam, *Die Eucharistielehre des hl. Augustin* (Paderborn, 1908), p. 129; Zähringer, *Das kirchliche Priestertum nach dem hl. Augustin* (Paderborn, 1931), p. 212; Gendreau, *Sancti Augustini Doctrina de Baptismo* (Baltimore, 1939), p. 81.

⁸⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 81: "Sententiam suam mutavit aliquod post annos [that is around or after 418]. Ergo legitime concludendum esse videtur quod, etsi non praecise dicat quo-

his writings is concerned, that he countenanced this rigoristic view regarding adults as well as infants to the very end of his life. An excellent confirmation of this opinion is the correction of it elsewhere⁸⁹ and the withdrawal, made in his *Retractiones*⁹⁰ at the very end of his career, of some of his former assertions which left room for the substitution of extrasacramental means for baptism. Hence the view of Battifol,⁹¹ Mura,⁹² and Gendreau,⁹³ that St. Augustine professes an

modo salvi fieri possint hujusmodi homines, attamen clare affirmat eos posse salvos fieri, sed etiam hoc gratiae Dei debetur.”

⁸⁹ *De anima et ejus orig.*, I, 9, 11 (PL 44, 480).

⁹⁰ *Retract.*, II, 18 (PL 32, 638). It is not so evident from the passage whether he withdraws the doctrine that martyrdom replaces baptism with regard to the effects of the latter, or whether he withdraws the example illustrating the truth as uncertain; the latter interpretation seems to be more probable.

⁹¹ 1) The annotation made by P. Battifol, *Le catholicisme de saint Augustin* (4e éd.; Paris, 1929), p. 239, that the Bishop teaches also the possibility of incorporation into the Body of Christ by faith alone does not stand in accord with what has been just said, but neither does this statement find sufficient premises in what is adduced by the renowned author from the writings of St. Augustine. Let us examine his assertion and texts supporting it. He says: “La rigueur d’Augustin sur ce point est corrigée ailleurs, en ce qui concerne les adultes par cette considération que Dieu, en leur faisant la grâce de la foi, peut par cette foi les incorporer au corps du Christ: ‘In quibusdam tanta [gratia fidei] est ut jam corpori Christi et sancto Dei templo deputentur.’ *De div. quaes. ad Simplicianum*, I, quaest. II, 2. Rapprocher *De Bapt.*, IV, 29: ‘. . . invenio non tantum passionem pro nomine Christi id quod ex baptismo deerat posse supplere, sed etiam fidem conversionem cordis, si forte ad celebrandum mysterium baptismi in angustiis temporum succurri non potest.’ Et tel est le cas du bon larron.” So much is his. Now with regard to the first testimony which is adduced from the book *De Div. Quaes. ad Simp.* beginning with “In quibusdam . . .,” it must be said that in order to attain that grace “ut jam corpori Christi et sancto Dei templo deputentur” precisely the sacrament of baptism is presupposed; that grace by means of which we are incorporated is consequent upon the sacrament. This lies in the very text quoted. St. Augustine distinguishes between grace and grace, or, as he not so fortunately expresses it, between degree of grace and degree of grace. Catechumens have grace, which however is not sufficient for incorporation; after baptism they receive grace by means of which they are inserted into the body of Christ. Here is the whole passage from St. Augustine: “Sed interest quibus articulis temporum vel celebratione sacramentorum gratia plenior et evidenter infundatur. Non enim catechumeni non credunt, aut vero Cornelius non credebat Deo, cum elemosynis et orationibus dignum se praeberet cui angelus mitteretur: sed nullo modo ista operaretur, nisi ante credidisset; nullo modo autem credidisset, nisi vel secretis per visa mentis aut spiritus, vel manifestioribus per sensus corporis admonitionibus vocaretur. Sed in quibusdam tanta est gratia fidei, quanta non sufficit ad obtinendum regnum coelorum; sicut in catechumenis, sicut in ipso Cornelio antequam sacramentorum participatione incorporaretur Ecclesiae. In quibusdam vero tanta est, ut jam corpori Christi et sancto Dei templo deputentur. ‘Templum enim Dei sanctum est,’ inquit apostolus, ‘quod estis vos’ [I Cor.

extrasacramental disposition of the mind whereby a person may be justified and saved, can be supported by statements made by him at one or another time in his life; but it is not compatible with the stand which he takes in his later or *latest* years.

There can be no doubt that, in adopting the rigoristic view of the absolute necessity of baptism and in abandoning the possibility of a disposition's being sufficient under certain pressing circumstances for justification outside of the sacrament, St. Augustine has proceeded counter to tradition. The strife with the Donatist faction, so recent and so turbulent, pressed the Catholic Bishop to make the unqualified requirement of membership in the one Church, for through it alone could salvation be attained. Baptism was the entrance door into the *Catholica*; it was the sacrament of incorporation into the Body of Christ. At this time the saint considered other means as possible substitutes in exceptional cases and under certain circumstances. Soon afterwards Augustine found himself in the fray with Pelagianism, an adversary more universal and more insidious than Donatism. The doctrine of grace and the whole supernatural order were at stake. Against the Pelagian teaching St. Augustine strenuously defends the

3, 17]. Et ipse Dominus, 'Nisi quis renatus fuerit ex aqua et Spiritu sancto, non intrabit in regnum coelorum' [John 3:15]. Fiunt ergo inchoationes quaedam fidei, conceptionibus similes: non tamen solum concipi, sed etiam nasci opus est, ut ad vitam perveniatur aeternam."

2) The sense of the second testimony quoted in the above passage is to be granted; it is to be noted, however, that this statement proceeds from the year 400, about the time that the African Bishop lapses into his rigorism. So that the change is from the more lenient to the more severe and not vice versa, as Battifol indicates.

3) "Et tel est le cas du bon larron." This is also true, that St. Augustine quotes this as the example of a particular case in which salvation may be obtained without the sacrament. But even with regard to this example he manifested his change of mind in *Retract.*, II, 18 (*PL* 32, 638): "In quarto libro [*De Bapt.*, IV, 22, 29] cum dicerem 'vicem baptismi posse habere passionem' non satis idoneum posui illius latronis exemplum, qui utrum fuerit baptizatus, incertum est." In another passage of a later date than the work *De Bapt. contra Donat.*, namely from the year 419, he asserts that the good thief was baptized by the water flowing from the side of the dying Jesus (*De anima et ejus orig.*, I, 9, 11; *PL* 44, 480).

⁹² E. Mura, *Le Corps mystique du Christ* (Paris, 1936), I, 205: "Mais comme on peut recevoir l'effet du baptême par le désir, au moins implicite, qu'on en a, de même peut-on bénéficier du bienfait de l'incorporation, et des influences vivifiantes de l'âme du Christ total, par cette appartenance de désir, *in voto*, à l'unité du Corps mystique."

⁹³ A. J. Gendreau, *op. cit.*; cf. passages quoted above and p. 74 ff.

absolute necessity of the irreplaceable sacrament of baptism for adults as well as for infants, if they are to attain salvation, and, since salvation is not found apart from membership in the Church, if they are to become members of Christ's Body.

The question of infants was one of the more important disputed points between St. Augustine and the Pelagians. The Pelagians did not admit the existence of original sin,⁹⁴ and consequently they denied the need of baptism for the remission of it. It was necessary, however, for the remission of the personal sins committed by adults; and it sanctified children without any remission of sin⁹⁵ and opened to them the kingdom of heaven.⁹⁶ They distinguish, therefore, between the kingdom of heaven (*regnum coelorum*) and eternal life (*vita aeterna*); without baptism, children can attain eternal life outside of the kingdom of heaven.⁹⁷ Opposed to this doctrine is that of St. Augustine that all men are born in sin and all are freed from it by Christ.⁹⁸ Christ has become the Head of mankind through His incarnation;⁹⁹ through His passion and death He has taken definitive possession of His Body, the Church,¹⁰⁰ and communicated to it the fruits of His redemptive work.¹⁰¹ Baptism, instituted by Christ and confided to

⁹⁴ *Contra duas ep. Pel.*, IV, 2, 2 (PL 44, 611; CSEL 60, ed. C. Urba and J. Zycha, 521): ". . . ad hoc referre conatur, ut non sit originale peccatum"; cf. *ibid.* IV, 2, 2 (PL 44, 609-10; CSEL 60, 463).

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, IV, 6, 12 (PL 44, 193; CSEL 60, 139): ". . . non ideo parvulos baptizari, ut remissionem accipiant peccatorum, sed ut sanctificentur in Christo."

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, I, 22, 40 (PL 44, 570; CSEL 60, 457): ". . . parvulis videlicet baptismum necessarium non propter remissionem peccatorum, sed tantummodo propter regnum coelorum."

⁹⁷ *Loc. cit.*: "Datis enim eis extra regnum Dei locum salutis et vitae aeternae, etiamsi non fuerint baptizati." Cf. *Ep.* 178, 1 (PL 33, 773; CSEL 44, III, 689-90); *Sermo* 294, 1-7 (PL 38, 1336-39); *Ep. Innocentii I ad Conc. Milev.* (PL 33, 784-86; CSEL 44, ed. Al. Goldbacher, III, 715-23; PL 20, 588-93).

⁹⁸ *De pec. mer. et remis.*, I, 28, 55 (PL 44, 140; CSEL 60, ed. C. Urba and J. Zycha, 54): ". . . quemadmodum enim omnes omnino pertinentes ad generationem voluntatis carnis non moriuntur nisi in Adam, in quo omnes peccaverunt, sic ex his omnes omnino pertinentes ad regenerationem voluntatis spiritus non vivificantur nisi in Christo, in quo omnes iustificantur, quia sicut per unum omnes ad condemnationem sic per unum omnes ad iustificationem."

⁹⁹ *Enar. in Ps. 118*, serm. 19, 6 (PL 37, 1556).

¹⁰⁰ *De Gen. contra Manich.*, II, 24, 37 (PL 34, 216); *In Io. Ev. Tr.* 15, 8 (PL 35, 1513); *Sermo* V, 3 (PL 38, 55).

¹⁰¹ *De pec. mer. et remis.*, 1, 26, 39 (PL 44, 131; CSEL 60, 37).

His Church, is the token of Christ's death,¹⁰² the destroyer of original sin,¹⁰³ and the sacrament of incorporation into the Church, the Body of Christ.¹⁰⁴ Since the Church of Christ is necessary for salvation, so too the sacrament of incorporation is necessary,¹⁰⁵ for through this sacrament not only adults but also infants receive the Holy Ghost,¹⁰⁶ grace,¹⁰⁷ and charity¹⁰⁸—all of which are identified with a new spiritual life,¹⁰⁹ which in turn is a condition for eternal life.

St. Augustine asserts against the Pelagians that there is no *medius locus* between the kingdom of God and hell for unbaptized children. There can be no eternal life outside of the kingdom of God, which is the same as the kingdom of heaven. One who does not attain the kingdom of God is subject to damnation with the devil.¹¹⁰ The Bishop of Hippo expressly places unbaptized children in this category, and subjects them to the punishment not only of the loss of God (*poena damni*) but also of the pains of fire (*poena sensus*). To the objection of a Pelagian that it would be cruel of God thus to punish infants who have neither merited nor demerited,¹¹¹ Augustine replies that their punishment will be the least of all pains (*mitissima omnium poena*)¹¹²

¹⁰² *De spir. et litt.*, 6, 10 (PL 44, 205; CSEL 60).

¹⁰³ *Contra Jul.*, II, 10, 32 (PL 44, 697). ¹⁰⁴ *Contra Jul.*, VI, 9, 27 (PL 44, 838).

¹⁰⁵ *De pec. mer. et remis.*, I, 23, 33 (PL 44, 128; CSEL 60, 32): "... in cujus regnum non intrabit nisi qui renatus fuerit ex aqua et Spiritu Sancto."

¹⁰⁶ *Op. imp. contra Jul.*, 4, 7 (PL 45, 1343).

¹⁰⁷ *De pec. mer. et remis.*, I, 39, 70 (PL 44, 150; CSEL 60, 70): "... in parvulis certe gratia Dei per baptismum ejus qui venit in similitudinem carnis peccati id agitur ut evacuetur caro peccati."

¹⁰⁸ *Op. imp. contra Jul.*, 2, 165 (PL 45, 1212).

¹⁰⁹ *Contra Jul.*, VI, 9, 27 (PL 44, 838): "Non autem habere parvulos vitam, nisi habeant Christum: quem procul dubio habere non possunt, nisi induerint eum, eo modo quo scriptum est, 'Quotquot in Christo baptizati estis, Christum induistis' [Gal. 3:27]: ergo eos non habere vitam, nisi habeant Christum. . . ."

¹¹⁰ *Sermo 294*, 3, 3 (PL 38, 1336): "Hoc novum in Ecclesia prius inauditum est: esse vitam aeternam praeter regnum coelorum, esse salutem aeternam praeter regnum Dei. . . . Nullus relictus est medius locus, ubi ponere queas infantes."

¹¹¹ *Op. imp. contra Jul.*, I, 48 (PL 45, 1070), in which Julian, a Pelagian, opposes to Augustine: "Deus, ais, ipse qui commendat suam charitatem in nobis [Rom. 5:8], qui dilexit nos, et Filio suo non pepercit, sed pro nobis illum tradidit [Rom. 8:32], ipse sic judicat, ipse est nascentium persecutor, ipse pro mala voluntate aeternis ignibus parvulos tradit, quos nec bonam, nec malam voluntatem scit habere potuisse. Post hanc ergo sententiam, tam immanem, tam sacrilegam, tam funestam, si sanis iudicibus uteremur, nihil praeter execrationem tui referre deberem."

¹¹² *Enchir.*, 93 (PL 40, 275).

although he admits that he does not know¹¹³ what kind of suffering and how much of it will fall to their lot.¹¹³ Some subsequent Fathers, upon whom St. Augustine exerted a powerful influence, such as St. Fulgentius,¹¹⁴ St. Gregory,¹¹⁵ and St. Anselm,¹¹⁶ adopted this view.

The baptism for the necessity of which St. Augustine so rigorously contends is that which is administered in the Catholic Church; for she is the only rightful dispenser of an instrument confided to her by her Founder, and that for the purpose of regenerating men and incorporating them for their salvation into the Body of Christ. He conceded, however, to the African schismatics the possession of the true sacrament of baptism; he acknowledged that its administration produces some valid effect, and in consequence he was vigorously opposed to rebaptizing on either side. Yet it did not produce the whole effect for which it was intended; it did not produce the life of grace; it did not incorporate men into Christ's Body; and as a result it could not lead them to final salvation. Nevertheless this same sacrament administered outside of the rightful Church became efficacious, producing the desired salutary effects of grace, upon the accession of baptized schismatics to the unity of the fold of Christ.¹¹⁷

Modes of Presence of the Holy Spirit

We may now return to the case of the gentile Cornelius. Whatever hitherto has been said of this singular example (*singulare exemplum*)¹¹⁸ finds additional corroboration in St. Augustine's *Letter 187*, or the so-named *Liber de Praesentia Dei*, written in 417, a period of high maturity in his life. In this treatise, St. Augustine, in answer to a query of a certain Dardanus, expatiates *ex professo* on the modes of

¹¹³ *Contra Jul.*, V, 11, 44 (PL 44, 809): "Quis dubitaverit parvulos non baptizatos, qui solum habent originale peccatum nec ullis propriis meritis aggravantur, in damnatione omnium levissima futuros? Quae qualis et quanta erit, quamvis definire non possim, non tamen audeo dicere, quod iis ut nulli essent, quam ut ibi essent, potius expediret."

¹¹⁴ *De fide ad Petrum*, 27, 68 (PL 65, 701). ¹¹⁵ *Moral.*, IX, 21, 32 (PL 75, 876-77).

¹¹⁶ *De conceptu virginali*, 23 f. (PL 158, 457 f.).

¹¹⁷ *Contra Cresc.*, I, 34 (PL 43, 464; CSEL 52, II, 358); *De Bapt.*, I, 12, 18 (PL 43, 119); Kidd, *A History of the Church* (Oxford, 1922), VI, 474: "He held that true baptism is found with schismatics, but in the Church alone is it found in a way that is efficacious for salvation, and while allowing that heretical baptism is valid, he held also that its grace remained in abeyance till the heretic abjured his errors and joined the Church."

¹¹⁸ *Sermo 269*, 2 (PL 38, 1235): ". . . quod singulare occurrit exemplum, eum [Spiritum] ante baptismum percipisse. . ."

the presence of God. He distinguishes four participations of God, or modes of presence in the world and creatures.

First, St. Augustine conceives God as filling all the universe, space, and creatures through His omnipresence and immensity. He is wholly and everywhere present: "ubique totus."¹¹⁹ This universal diffusion of God, he admonishes, is not to be imagined as the spread or expanse of corporal or physical entities, but is to be likened to a quality or to health which is diffused throughout the body—whether it be large or small—without thereby suffering diminution.¹²⁰ The one God who is universally and wholly present in this manner is the whole Trinity. St. Augustine explicitly, too, ascribes this type of presence to the Holy Ghost not only in the universe,¹²¹ but also in the human body. The presence of the soul, which is suffused throughout the body, does not hinder the presence of the Holy Ghost.¹²²

Secondly, St. Augustine emphatically distinguishes between the universal presence of God and His dwelling or indwelling presence. Although He is present everywhere ("per divinitatis praesentiam"), He dwells only in certain individuals ("per habitationis gratiam"). Indwelling in the soul he considers as something wonderful and as a token of God's love ("gratia dilectionis").¹²³ As the *ubique totus* presence which is commonly associated with God the Creator (a notion appropriated to the Father) is vindicated by St. Augustine for the other divine Persons, so the inhabiting presence associated usually with the person of the Holy Ghost is expressly vindicated for the Father and Son. This presence of God is likened to His indwelling in a temple.¹²⁴ It is true of all that are regenerated,¹²⁵ of adults as

¹¹⁹ *Ep.* 187, 4, 14 (*PL* 33, 837; *CSEL* 57, IV, 92): "Sic est Deus per cuncta diffusus, ut non sit qualitas mundi; sed substantia creatrix mundi, sine labore regens, et sine onere continens mundum. Non tamen per spatia locorum, quasi mole diffusa . . . sed in solo coelo totus, et in sola terra totus, et in coelo et in terra totus, et nullo contentus loco, sed in seipso ubique totus."

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, 4, 13 (*PL* 33, 836; *CSEL* 57, IV, 91-92).

¹²¹ *De div. quaest. ad Simpl.*, II, 1, 5 (*PL* 40, 133).

¹²² *Ep.* 187, 4, 15 (*PL* 33, 837; *CSEL* 57, IV, 92): ". . . nec dici nisi stultissime potest, non habere locum in nostro corpore Spiritum sanctum, quod totum nostra anima impleverit: quanto stultius dicitur ullis angustiis impediri alicubi Trinitatem, ut Pater et Filius et Spiritus Sanctus ubique simul esse non possint."

¹²³ *Ibid.*, 5, 16 (*PL* 33, 837; *CSEL* 57, IV, 92); 5, 17 (*PL* 33, 838; *CSEL* 57, IV, 94).

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, 13, 38 (*PL* 33, 847; *CSEL* 57, IV, 115): ". . . habitat itaque in singulis Deus tamquam in templis suis. . . ."

well as children,¹²⁶ of all who have entered into His society and family of adoption.¹²⁷ This regeneration is effected through the waters of baptism and the Holy Ghost. It will suffice here merely to mention that this kind of presence of God is concomitant with grace and charity in the soul, through a diffusion of which the soul is rendered just, holy, well-ordered in itself and towards God. These qualities assert, therefore, an habitual state of the soul.

Now these infused qualities or virtues are not diffused throughout the soul in equal measure. As a result all souls are not justified or sanctified to an equal degree. Some are more holy than others. In parallel fashion, the inhabitation of God is likewise not equal in all, but admits of a more or less abundant possession of, or participation in, the presence of the indwelling God. St. Augustine explicitly asserts: "Capitur autem habitans, ab aliis amplius, ab aliis minus."¹²⁸

Let us, for a moment, notice the difference, of which St. Augustine is ever emphatically mindful, between these two modes of presence: God's presence everywhere, and His presence and operation in the soul of the individual in the state of justification. In both cases, it is not an otiose, but an operative presence of God, at least so far as men are concerned. In the case of infidels, the God who is present to them by His immensity operates by inspiring the grace of faith, that He may also inhabit them in a special way; in those already justified, whom He inhabits, He operates that they may remain inhabited and grow to their perfect spiritual stature.¹²⁹

We must, therefore, abide by this distinction of St. Augustine be-

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, 12, 35 (PL 33, 845; CSEL 57, IV, 113): "Quamobrem Deus, qui ubique prae-sens est, et ubique totus, non in omnibus inhabitat, sed in eis tantum quos efficit beatissimum templum suum, vel beatissima templa sua, eruens eos a potestate tenebrarum, et transferens in regnum Filii caritatis suae [Col. 1:13], quod incipit a regeneratione."

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, 8, 26-27 (PL 33, 841; CSEL 57, IV, 103-104): "... habitare autem ideo et in talibus dicitur, quia in eis occulte agit, ut sint templum ejus."

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, 5, 16 (PL 33, 838; CSEL 57, IV, 94).

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, 13, 38 (PL 33, 847; CSEL 57, IV, 116). So also 5, 17 (PL 33, 838; CSEL 57, IV, 94-95): "Cum igitur qui ubique est, non in omnibus habitet; etiam in quibus habitat, non aequaliter habitat. Nam unde est illud quod Elisaeus poposcit, ut dupliciter in eo fieret Spiritus Dei qui erat in Elia [IV Reg. 2:9] et unde in omnibus sanctis sunt aliis aliis sanctiores nisi abundantius habendo habitatorem Deum?"

¹²⁹ *Ep.* 194, 4, 18 (PL 33, 880; CSEL 57, IV, 190): "... fatendum est, aliter adjuvat [Spiritus Sanctus] nondum inhabitans, aliter inhabitans. Nam nondum inhabitans adjuvat ut sint fideles, inhabitans adjuvat jam fideles."

tween the ways in which God may be present. By this distinction he solves the exceptional case of the Roman centurion. Notwithstanding all the tokens that Cornelius seemingly displayed of the possession of the Holy Ghost in the capacity of an indweller, nevertheless, before his actual reception of baptism and before his incorporation into the Body of Christ, he possessed merely the *ubique totus* presence of the Holy Ghost, extraordinary and highly operative though it was.¹³⁰ The saint calls upon this same distinction in another passage dealing explicitly with the Holy Ghost and His modes of presence, occasioned by the words of Genesis: “. . . and the spirit of God moved over the waters.”¹³¹ He argues that “spirit of God” in this and other passages of Sacred Writ refers to the Person of the Holy Spirit. When God fills heaven and earth—when God is present everywhere—it is not without the Holy Ghost. This presence is twofold: first, there is the presence of a witness and order-maker in nature—a presence of God which is universal; for it is in this sense that the Scriptures say: “. . . the Spirit of the Lord hath filled the whole world”;¹³² secondly, there is the presence of sanctification or inhabitation, as in the case of men and of St. Stephen, of whom it was said that he was full of the Holy Ghost.¹³³ This weighty passage reads thus:

Non enim sine suo Spiritu Sancto implet Deus coelum et terram. Quid ergo mirum si de Spiritu Sancto ejus dictum est, ‘Replevit orbem terrarum’? Aliter enim replet sanctificando, sicut de Stephano dicitur, ‘Repletus est Spiritu Sancto’; et de ceteris talibus: aliter ergo replet sanctificante gratia,¹³⁴ sicut quosdam sanctos; aliter attestante atque ordinante praesentia,¹³⁵ sicut omnia.¹³⁶

Thirdly, St. Augustine distinguishes the presence of God, or better, of the Holy Ghost, insofar as He is the soul of the Body of Christ. In this role the saint continually compares the Holy Ghost to the soul

¹³⁰ *Ep.* 187, 12, 36 (*PL* 33, 846; *CSEL* 57, IV, 114): “Cornelius etiam centurio antequam regeneratione incorporaretur huic templo, missum ad se angelum vidit, audiitque dicentem quod exaudita sunt orationes ejus, et elemosynae acceptae [Acts 10:4]. Agit enim haec Deus tamquam ubique praesens, vel per sanctos Angelos suos.”

¹³¹ Gen. 1:2.

¹³² Wis. 1:7.

¹³³ Acts 6:5; 7:55.

¹³⁴ The Augustinian expression *sanctificante gratia* has no technically established meaning, although it coincides with the technical *gratia sanctificans* of a much later date as distinguished from *gratia actualis*.

¹³⁵ The reading in MSS is: *praesentia*.

¹³⁶ *De div. quaest. ad Simpl.*, II, 1, 5 (*PL* 40, 133).

and its office in the body of man. For this reason His office in the Body of Christ is designated as life-giving, as vivification, although inhabitation also occurs in this regard, but less frequently. This presence or inhabitation must be conceived, if we are to reconstruct the saint's mind, as separate and different from that described in the previous category. There it is an individual inhabitation, here it is a corporate inhabitation. St. Augustine expressly asserts that God dwells in the individual as in His temple, but again, that all of these individuals united into one body constitute a temple for God's inhabitation.¹³⁷ This twofold participation of the Holy Ghost by the whole body and by each member may be illustrated by the example of the human body: each of its cells has a life in itself, and yet taken all together they form a body which has a soul, the source of life for the whole. So in the Body of Christ each member, sanctified by the grace and charity of God, possesses the indwelling Holy Ghost, and yet this same Spirit is the soul uniting and vivifying the whole.

Whether the individual inhabitation is possible outside of the visible Church, which is the *corpus Christi*, or whether it is possible to belong to the *corpus Christi* inhabited by the Holy Ghost and not to possess Him individually, are some of the recondite problems involved in establishing the notion as well as the comprehension of the Church according to the mind of St. Augustine. The first question, whether it is possible to possess the Holy Spirit as an abiding divinity outside of the Church, has been quite definitely answered, I believe, in the negative. At least, there is no definite indication of personal inhabitation in those who find themselves outside of the Church. The second question, whether it is possible to adhere to that corporate unity, constituting the Body of Christ and the temple of the Holy Ghost, and not to be inhabited personally by the Holy Ghost, is a problem which will be given further consideration when we deal with the relation of sinners in the Church to the Holy Ghost.

Fourthly and finally, there remains one more kind of God's presence for our consideration—His presence in heaven, which is the most proper and consummate dwelling place for God.¹³⁸ If He inhabits

¹³⁷ *Ep.* 187, 13, 38 (*PL* 33, 847; *CSEL* 57, IV, 115): "Habitat itaque in singulis Deus tamquam in templis suis, et in omnibus simul in unum congregatis, tamquam in templo suo."

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, 187, 41 (*PL* 33, 848; *CSEL* 57, IV, 118).

men here on this earth, it is in order that by His *adjuvante gratia* He may lead them to that most proper abode of His where they will be united to Him and He will be most intimately present to them. God does not, however, effect His plan in an individualistic fashion. Justified souls form already here upon earth a collective, corporate, organic entity and unity, with a view to reaching their heavenly destination and remaining united for all eternity. It is in union with Christ in the Church through the sanctifying power of the Holy Ghost, the soul of the Body of Christ, that men arrive at God's eternal abode for the fruition of His presence in the beatific vision.¹³⁹ They are said by St. Augustine to be God's temple here upon earth, but they will also remain His temple in heaven.¹⁴⁰ In this manner the saint stresses the individual and corporate unity of all the faithful here and hereafter. To summarize, each individual is God's temple, the Church here upon earth is God's temple, and the Church as the Body of Christ will remain God's temple in heaven for all eternity.

In St. Augustine's conception, the formation and building of the living temple of God, of Christ's Body, is taking place all the time here upon earth. In describing this process of construction, especially on account of the material involved, he is solemn, awe-inspiring, and dramatic. He visualizes those masses of persons who throughout the history of the world are in sin, original and actual, and who through the grace of faith and baptism are brought into association and unity with Christ Jesus for the formation of His body. These, as he asserts, are transferred "a potestate tenebrarum," "tamquam de massa ruinae," "de massa damnationis" into the "regnum Filii caritatis suae" (Col. 1:13). The "regnum Filii" is described as a solid edifice, a holy temple, a living body, a *civitas*.¹⁴¹ Men who do not enter into it must

¹³⁹ D. J. Leahy, *St. Augustine on Eternal Life* (London, New York, 1939), p. 120: "Our Lord, indeed, is our Leader, our Head; we are members of His Mystical Body, and He is leading us to the vision of God. To consider St. Augustine's teaching on the Word made flesh, and omit all reference to the beatific vision, would be to lose sight of the ultimate reason for our union with Christ."

¹⁴⁰ *Ep.* 187, 5, 16 (*PL* 33, 838; *CSEL* 57, IV, 94): "Si enim populus Dei nondum factus aequalis Angelis ejus adhuc in ista peregrinatione dicitur templum ejus, quanto magis est templum ejus in coelis, ubi est populus Angelorum, quibus aggregandi et coaequandi sumus, cum, finita peregrinatione, quod promissum est, sumpserimus."

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 12, 35 (*PL* 33, 845-46; *CSEL* 57, IV, 113): "Quamobrem Deus, qui ubique praesens est, et ubique totus, non in omnibus inhabitat, sed in eis templa sua, eruens a

be considered as unfortunate and miserable; their lives are to be deemed death rather than life; for the temple, the body, the *civitas*, now building, not to be consummated until the end of time, will remain such for eternity in the abode of God to enjoy His presence for ever.¹⁴²

CONCLUSION

It follows, then, that the Body of Christ, which was conceived by St. Augustine in a spiritual and at the same time metaphorical way, is indispensably animated by a soul, the Holy Ghost. The antitype of the Body of Christ and the Holy Ghost as its soul is the human body and the human soul. The office and functions of the Holy Ghost do not exclude the Father and the Son, but on account of characteristics proper to the Holy Ghost by reason of His origin and procession His name is, as a rule, associated with the inhabitation of the Church and the soul of the individual. The Holy Ghost is principally portrayed as the life-giving and unifying principle. As a life-giver in the spiritual order, He accomplishes His sanctifying work through the created grace of which He is the author. As a unifier, He works through the gift of faith to form one body of the faithful; through the gift of charity, He cements them into an animated body. Whosoever does not possess faith or charity is outside of the body of which the Holy Ghost is the soul. Yet the task of the Holy Ghost is not confined to being the soul of the Church; for He operates outside of the Church through grace alluring men to become members of the body which He vivifies.

potestate tenebrarum, et transferens in regnum Filii caritatis suae [Col. 1:13], quod incipit a regeneratione"; *ibid.*, 10, 33 (PL 33, 845; CSEL 57, IV, 113): "Proinde in compagem corporis Christi tamquam in vivam structuram templi Dei, quae est ejus Ecclesia, nati homines, non ex operibus justitiae quae facturi sunt, sed renascendo per gratiam transferuntur tamquam de massa ruinae ad aedificii firmamentum. Praeter hoc enim aedificium, quod beatificandum construitur ad aeternam habitationem Dei, vita hominis omnis infelix, et mors est potius appellanda quam vita. Quisquis ergo habitabitur a Deo, ne ira Dei maneat super eum ab hoc corpore, ab hoc templo, ab hac nativitate [PL 33, 845: civitate] non erit alienus. Omnis autem non renatus alienus est."

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, 13, 41 (PL 33, 848; CSEL 57, IV, 118): "Cum vero habitationem ejus cogitas, unitatem cogita congregationemque sanctorum: maxime in coelis, ubi propterea praecipue dicitur habitare, quia ibi fit voluntas ejus perfecta eorum, in quibus habitat, oboedientia; deinde in terra, ubi aedificans habitat domum suam in fine saeculi dedicandam."

(To be continued)