

Augustine on the Roles of Christ and the Holy Spirit in the Mediation of Virtues

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This paper investigates the specific roles that Augustine assigns respectively to Christ and the Holy Spirit in the mediation of virtues to Christians. At times Augustine speaks about Christ's mediation of virtues without mentioning the Holy Spirit,¹ while at other times he asserts that the Holy Spirit endows the human soul with virtue, without explaining how the Spirit's activity is related to Christ's.² What follows will focus on the logic behind these twin aspects of mediation as far as the Christian's continual growth in virtues is concerned. The importance of this question stems, in part, from Augustine's view that believers are justified and sanctified through their membership in Christ's body (*Christus totus*).³ From this perspective, Christ's role as head of his body is paramount for Augustine in explaining the mediation of virtues that account for the believer's growth in holiness. Augustine's explanation of this mediation establishes grounds for affirming that Christ's role in the sanctification of faithful Christians continues throughout the present age and

1. See, e.g., *Jo. ev. tr.* 108,5, s. 174,2, and *en. Ps.* 85,4.

2. See, e.g., s. 71,18–19. At *en. Ps.* 103,4,14, Augustine plainly states that believers are justified through the Holy Spirit without mentioning Christ, who, nevertheless, is indicated as the mediator at §8. I discuss this text *infra*.

3. See esp. *Jo. ev. tr.* 108,4. According to Augustine, although baptism makes one a Christian, it does not necessarily make him a member of Christ's body (*corpus Christi*). For example, Augustine regards Donatists as Christians (see *brev.* 3,10; *haer.* 69,5), but not as members of Christ's body. Here, I am concerned exclusively with Augustine's understanding of the mediation of virtues as far as it extends to members of Christ's body. On the distinction between *ecclesia* and *corpus Christi* in Augustine's thought, see C. Mayer, ed., *Augustinus-Lexikon*, vol. 2 (Basel: Schwabe, 1996–2002) s.v. "Ecclesia," by E. Lamirande, esp. cols. 708–710.

will only cease at Christ's second coming. Given this view, Augustine must have understood Christ's and the Holy Spirit's functions in mediating virtues as somehow complementary to each other. But it remains to be shown how he conceived this interface. This essay traces the development of this question in the published scholarship of the last half century and augments this review with brief remarks that outline a way to resolve the question.

Status quaestionis

Scholars have not ignored this aspect of the relationship between Christ and the Holy Spirit in Augustine's thought, but neither have they adequately clarified it. Discussion of the question can be traced back at least as far as Gérard Philips's paper at the 1954 Paris conference. In that paper, the Louvain academic cited a passage from *praed. sanct.* 31, which became a key Augustinian text for successive scholars examining this question.

In our head, therefore, let the fountain of grace show itself to us; from there it is poured out on all his members according to each one's capacity. The same grace by which that human being from his very beginning became the Christ makes other human beings Christians from the beginning of their faith. From the same Spirit from which Christ was born, these human beings are reborn. The same Spirit who made him sinless achieves the forgiveness of our sins.⁴

Philips equates the expression "fountain of grace" (*fons gratiae*) in this passage with the term "spirit" (*spiritus*), and he links both of these terms with the Holy Spirit. As a consequence, he maintains that, for Augustine, Christ, the head, exercises a moral influence on his body by sharing with his members the Holy Spirit, who dwells in the head.⁵ By this reasoning, Philips interprets Augustine as giving primary responsibility for the mediation of virtues to the Holy Spirit. He maintains that Augustine conceives of Christ's headship solely in terms of his divine nature, as distinct from his human nature, especially his body.⁶ He suggests that Augustine does not explain in a systematic manner the relationship between the incarnate Word

4. *Praed. sanct.* 31 (PL 44, col. 982): "appareat itaque nobis in nostro capite ipse fons gratiae, unde secundum uniuscuiusque mensuram se per cuncta eius membra diffundit. ea gratia fit ab initio fidei suae homo quicumque christianus, qua gratia homo ille ab initio suo factus est Christus: de ipso spiritu et hic renatus, de quo est ille natus; eodem spiritu fit in nobis remissio peccatorum, quo spiritu factum est ut nullum haberet ille peccatum." See G. Philips, *L'influence du Christ-Chef sur son Corps mystique*, in *Augustinus Magister. Congrès International Augustinien, Paris, 21-24 septembre 1954*, vol. 2 (Paris: Études augustiniennes, 1954), p. 813.

5. *Ibid.*, pp. 807, 809, and 813.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 810, citing *Jo. ev. tr.* 19,15 and 23,6. See also *ibid.*, p. 813: "Mais le corps du Maître n'accède pas au rang d'organe, porteur dans sa corporalité d'une influence spirituelle. . . . Dans

and the Holy Spirit.⁷ Thus, he finds Augustine affirming that the grace-bearing effects of Christ's death and resurrection, as well as his preaching and example, are transmitted to believers by the Holy Spirit, not by Christ himself.⁸ Moreover, he points out that Augustine credits the Holy Spirit with engendering in human beings a loving knowledge of God, which is the fruit of divine indwelling.⁹

Today, it is easy to see that Philips's study suffered from a defective understanding of Augustine's account of the unity of Christ's divine and human natures '*in una persona*.' This defect was common to Augustinian studies prior to the publication in that same year of T. van Bavel's groundbreaking study.¹⁰

During the same 1954 Paris conference, Argimiro Turrado criticized the view that Augustine places greater emphasis on the indwelling of the Holy Spirit in the souls of righteous human beings (*homines iusti*) than he does on the indwelling of the Trinity.¹¹ In his paper Turrado is not primarily concerned with the operations of the Trinity in the human soul. Nevertheless, by focusing his inquiry on trinitarian indwelling, he identifies a few key passages in Augustine's works in which the mediation of virtue in the souls of the righteous is seen to be the consequence of the operations of the Father, Son and Holy Spirit, and not of any one of the divine persons acting in isolation from the others.¹²

In 1968 the Dutch scholar Johannes Verhees, published a major monograph on the Holy Spirit in Augustine's thought.¹³ Verhees's discussion in chapters 4 and 5 of his book is replete with passages from a wide compass of texts in which Augustine assigns the work of mediating virtues to the Holy Spirit. He contends, for example,

nos âmes, l'Esprit est à l'oeuvre personnellement, après avoir agi sur l'humanité de Jésus, mais son action, à strictement parler, ne passe pas par cette humanité."

7. *Ibid.*, p. 812.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 809, citing *Jo. ev. tr.* 27,5. Note, however, that Philips admits that Augustine calls Christ the source of grace for human beings. See *ibid.*, p. 808, citing *ench.* 108. But see also *ibid.*, p. 809, citing *en. Ps.* 26,2,2.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 812.

10. Tarcisius van Bavel, *Recherches sur la christologie de saint Augustin. L'humain et le divin dans le Christ d'après saint Augustin* (Fribourg: Éditions universitaires, 1954).

11. A. Turrado, *La inhabitación de la Sma. Trinidad en las justos según la doctrina de San Agustín*, in *Augustinus Magister. Congrès international augustinienn*, vol. 1 (Paris, Études augustiniennes, 1954), pp. 583–593. See the remarks of R. Kany, *Augustins Trinitätsdenken. Bilanz, Kritik und Weiterführung der modernen Forschung zu „De trinitate“* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2007), pp. 220–221.

12. Turrado, *La inhabitación*, p. 589 (n. 11), citing *Gn. litt.* VIII,26; *ep.* 187,27; s. 71,33.

13. J. J. Verhees, *God in Beweging. Een onderzoek naar de pneumatologie van Augustinus* (Wageningen: H. Veenman & Zonen, 1968).

that Augustine explicitly identifies the Holy Spirit with the work of justifying and sanctifying Christians.¹⁴ In arguing this view, he misinterprets Turrado's 1954 article as supporting the conclusion that justification occurs through the indwelling of the Holy Spirit in the human soul, whereas Turrado insists that it is the indwelling of the Trinity that justifies human beings.¹⁵ Turning to the relationship between the work of Christ and the Holy Spirit, Verhees suggests that Augustine's treatment of this interface lacks depth, even in his writings following the beginning of the Pelagian controversy, in which he dealt more specifically with the role of the Holy Spirit.¹⁶ As Philips had done before him, Verhees identifies *praed. sanct.* 31 as a key passage in which Augustine draws Christ's mediation of the grace of the Holy Spirit into the theme of Christ as head of the body, so that his function is understood as mediating to human beings the grace that derives from the Holy Spirit.¹⁷ Verhees concedes that certain aspects of the Spirit's mediation, in particular, mediation in relation to sacraments, are not made clear in Augustine's texts.¹⁸ He also follows Philips in concluding that Augustine did not know how to explain the relationship between Christ and the Holy Spirit in the mediation of virtues in a way that would satisfy the concerns of modern theology.¹⁹

Later, in a 1976 article, Verhees concentrates his attention on Augustine's *Tractate 74 on John's Gospel* as a foundational text for relating Christ's and the Holy Spirit's mediation of virtues.²⁰ In a passage in this tractate, Augustine asserts that the grace of the Holy Spirit is responsible for uniting the divine and human natures in Christ, making him the only suitable mediator between God and human beings.

It does not happen independently of the grace of the Holy Spirit that the mediator between God and men is the man Christ Jesus (cf. 1 Tim. 2:5). For with his own lips Christ tells us that the prophecy was fulfilled in himself: 'The Spirit of the Lord is upon me; because he has anointed me, and sent me to preach the gospel to the poor' (Lk. 4:18–21; cf. Isa. 61:1). For his being the only-begotten, the equal of the Father, is not of grace, but of nature; but the assumption of human nature into the personal unity of the only-begotten is not of nature, but of grace, as the

14. Verhees, *God in Bewegung*, pp. 229–239 (n. 13).

15. *Ibid.*, p. 255, n. 5, citing also V. Carbone, *La inabitazione dello Spirito Santo nelle anime dei giusti secondo la dottrina di S. Agostino* (Vatican City: Tipografia poliglotta vaticana, 1961).

16. *Ibid.*, pp. 258–264 and 351.

17. *Ibid.*, pp. 29–31. Cf. n. 4 *supra* for the text of *praed. sanct.* 31. See also *s.* 215,4.

18. *Ibid.*, p. 350.

19. *Ibid.*, p. 351.

20. J. J. Verhees, "Heiliger Geist und Inkarnation in der Theologie des Augustinus von Hippo. Unlöslicher Zusammenhang zwischen Theologie [sic] und Ökonomie," *Revue des Études augustiniennes* 22 (1976): pp. 234–253.

Gospel acknowledges when it says, ‘And the child grew, and became strong, being filled with wisdom, and the grace of God was in him’ (cf. Lk. 2:40).²¹

Citing this and other Augustinian texts, Verhees highlights Augustine’s argument that Christ’s sinlessness and human virtue are derived from the grace of the Holy Spirit through which he was born of the Virgin Mary, and not as a consequence of any merits of the man Jesus.²² He concludes that for Augustine it is precisely this grace of the Holy Spirit that Christ mediates to human beings and which makes them righteous.²³

One significant defect in Verhees’s pneumocentric approach to divine mediation is that he reduces Christ’s role to that of a passive conduit, consisting of the unique *persona* through which the divine Word unites itself with human nature in Christ. Verhees holds that it is through this *persona Christi* that the grace of the Holy Spirit acts directly upon Christ’s human soul and, consequently, upon the souls of faithful Christians who are united to Christ as members of his body. He therefore criticizes van Bavel for his treatment of a passage from *Tractate 108 on John’s Gospel*, in which Augustine attributes the sanctification of members of Christ’s body to Christ, the head, without mentioning the grace of the Holy Spirit.²⁴ Verhees suggests that van Bavel should have interpreted the passage at *Tractate 108* in the light of the principle expressed at *praed. sanct.* 31. This principle would require the subordination of Augustine’s claims about the mediatorial effect of Christ’s

21. *Jo. ev. tr.* 74,3 (CCSL 36,514): “neque enim sine gratia spiritus sancti est mediator dei et hominum homo Christus Iesus; nam et ipse dicit de se fuisse propheticum illud impletum: spiritus domini super me; propter quod unxit me, euangelizare pauperibus misit me (Lk. 4:18) quod enim est unigenitus aequalis patri, non est gratiae, sed naturae; quod autem in unitatem personae unigeniti assumptus est homo, gratiae est, non naturae, confitente euangelio atque dicente: puer autem crescebat et confortabatur plenus sapientia, et gratia dei erat in illo (Lk. 2:40).” Cf. also *praed. sanct.* 31; s. 153,14; *ench.* 49.

22. Verhees, *Heiliger Geist*, pp. 240–241 (n. 20), citing *ench.* 40 and *praed. sanct.* 31.

23. *Ibid.*, p. 242, citing *c. Jul. imp.* 1,140 (CSEL 85/1, p. 156): “dic mihi, quibus operibus hoc meruit homo Christus Iesus, et qua iustitia dei solus hoc meruerit, aude garrere; aut si non audes, tandem gratiam sine meritis confitere non solum remittentem peccata homini, uerum etiam in natura humana iustitiam sancto spiritu facientem.” In addition to the passage quoted by Verhees, the following lines from the same passage are germane: “ac per hoc ea gratia fiunt iusti homines, qui renascuntur in Christo, qua gratia iustus homo natus est Christus” (CSEL 85/1, p. 157). Whereas Verhees cites this text in the PL edition, I have preferred to cite the CSEL edition.

24. Cf. *Jo. ev. tr.* 108,5 (CCSL 36, p. 617): “sed quoniam per hoc quod mediator dei et hominum homo Christus Iesus factus est caput ecclesiae, illi membra sunt eius; ideo ait quod sequitur: et pro eis ego sanctifico meipsum (Jn 17:19). quid est enim: et pro eis ego sanctifico meipsum, nisi, eos in meipso sanctifico, cum et ipsi sint ego? . . . cum enim dixisset: et pro eis ego sanctifico meipsum, ut intellegeremus hoc eum dixisse, quod eos sanctificaret in se, mox addidit: ut sint et ipsi sanctificati in ueritate.”

unity with the members of his body (*corpus Christi*) to the role that the Holy Spirit exercises upon these members.²⁵ Verhees concludes his study by insisting that in writings extending from *c.Acad.* to the *ench.*, Augustine progressively deepens his understanding of the Holy Spirit as the unique divine gift (*donum dei*) through which God shares with believers divine life itself.²⁶

Published three years after Verhees's article, Gérard Remy's important 1979 monograph on *Christus mediator* in the thought of Augustine acknowledges that difficulties in relating the Holy Spirit to Christ's work of mediation, justification and sanctification occur in Augustine's writings.²⁷ He also concludes that in writing about the Church, Augustine does not expressly link the theme of Christ, the mediator, to the life-giving and unifying functions of the Holy Spirit.²⁸ As Verhees had done before him, Remy notes the importance of Augustine's *Tractate 74 on John's Gospel* for explaining the relationship between the functions of Christ and the Holy Spirit in general terms. Thus, Remy concedes the operation of the Holy Spirit in enabling the divine Word to unite with a human being in Christ, and the consequent mediation through Christ's human nature of the Holy Spirit to members of his body.²⁹ Yet he insists that when read in the light of certain passages from Augustine's *Commentaries on the Psalms*, the role of the Holy Spirit, as expressed at *Tractate 74*, does not overshadow Christ's role in the mediation of virtue.³⁰

On the whole, although Remy omits any mention of Verhees's positions, his own arguments run counter to them on the points that follow. In insisting that, for Augustine, Christ both reconciles believers to the Father³¹ and purifies them of sin,³² Remy acknowledges no specific role for the Holy Spirit in justification and sanctification other than what he takes as minimally indicated at *Tractate 74 on John's Gospel*. Remy is aware of the passage at *De fide et symbolo* 19, in which, without mentioning Christ, Augustine assigns responsibility to the Holy Spirit for the reconciliation of sinful human beings with God.³³ However, he downplays the significance of this early Augustinian text, arguing instead that the preponderance

25. Verhees, *Heiliger Geist*, p. 244, n. 37 (n. 20), referring to van Bavel, *Recherches*, p. 40 (n. 10).

26. *Ibid.*, pp. 250–253. See esp. *trin.* XV,32.

27. G. Remy, *Le Christ médiateur dans l'œuvre de saint Augustin*, vol. 1 (Lille: Atelier Reproduction des Theses, 1979), pp. 621–625.

28. *Ibid.*, p. 781.

29. *Ibid.*, p. 782.

30. *Ibid.*, p. 782, citing *en. Ps.* 90,2,13; 127,8; and 132,2. Cf. also pp. 624–625.

31. *Ibid.*, p. 630–652, citing, among other texts, *ench.* 33.

32. *Ibid.*, p. 632, 635, citing, respectively, *ep.* 137,12 and *en. Ps.* 100,3.

33. *Ibid.*, p. 638.

of Augustine's writings on the subject of reconciliation, both prior to and after *De fide et symbolo*, follows Paul's epistles in assigning this role specifically to Christ.³⁴ Remy also argues that reconciliation and divine adoption are logically connected in Augustine's thought, so that Christ's mediatorial role is responsible for the Father's adoption of the members of Christ's body as children of God.³⁵ In making these points, Remy seems unaware of Verhees's arguments that indicate a key role for the Holy Spirit in bringing about the adoption of believers by the Father and in reconciling sinners to God.³⁶ Moreover, Remy affirms that the faith by which human beings believe in Christ is mediated to them by Christ, without mentioning that, on several occasions, Augustine assigns this role to the Holy Spirit.³⁷

Without directly engaging the question of the relationship between Christ's and the Holy Spirit's roles in the mediation of virtues, Goulven Madec's 1989 monograph on Augustine's Christ offers yet another Christocentric description of the believer's growth in virtue in Augustine's thought. Although Madec acknowledges the value of Remy's work, he proceeds in a different way from the latter by concentrating his analysis on a few passages from Augustine's commentaries both on the Psalms and on John's Gospel. These passages illustrate for Madec the dialogical context in which Augustine sets out Christ's mediation of virtue to the human soul. Madec quotes at length from *Tractate 49 on John's Gospel* in which Christ calms the sea on behalf of his frightened disciples. Here Augustine affirms that Christ mediates virtue to believers, as it were, by uniting his voice with the voice of their hearts.

The winds enter your heart, the place where you sail, where you pass through this life as in a stormy and dangerous sea, The winds enter, the waves rise and toss your vessel. What are the winds? You have received some insult, and are angry. That insult is the wind; that anger, the waves. You are in danger, you prepare to reply, to respond to cursing with cursing, and your vessel approaches shipwreck. Awake the Christ who is sleeping. You are in turmoil, preparing to render evil for evil, because Christ is sleeping in your vessel. The sleep of Christ in your heart is your lack of faith. But if you awaken Christ by calling to mind your faith, what do you hear him say to you, now that he is awake in your heart? He says, 'I have heard it said about me that I am possessed by a demon, but I

34. *Ibid.*, pp. 638–640 and 781–784. On p. 637 Remy identifies Rom. 5:10 and 2 Cor. 5:19–20 as the Pauline passages most frequently cited by Augustine while also noting that 2 Cor. 5:18, Col. 1:20 and Rom. 11:15 are rarely cited.

35. *Ibid.*, 653–657.

36. Verhees, *God in Bewegung*, pp. 214–216 and 222–228 (n. 13).

37. Remy, *Le Christ*, pp. 660–664, who cites, among other texts, *Jo. ev. tr.* 110,2 (n. 27). Throughout pp. 695–722 Remy discusses the case of the faith in Christ on the part of righteous men and women of the Old Testament (citing *ep.* 102,12 as a principal text). Here, too, he neglects any mention of a role for the Holy Spirit.

prayed for those who said it' (Jn. 7:20). . . . When your faith speaks to you in this way, it's as though a command is exercised over the winds and waves, and a great calm ensues.³⁸

In this passage, Augustine claims that the voice of assurance speaking in the hearts of suffering human beings is actually, not metaphorically, the voice of Christ. Madec's choice of texts is valuable because it highlights Augustine's emphasis on this unity of voices between Christ and the members of his body as the determinative form of his mediation of virtues. We may also observe that Augustine does not indicate any role for the Holy Spirit in this unity of voices. Hence, Madec's texts illustrate a form of Christ's mediation that cannot easily be subordinated to Verhees's key principle that Christ's mediatorial function is simply to communicate the grace of the Holy Spirit to believers.

In 1991, two years after the publication of Madec's book, Gérard Remy returned to the thesis of his earlier monograph. However, in this article, Remy pays greater attention to the role of the Holy Spirit in the mediation of virtues to members of Christ's body.³⁹ He acknowledges that the solidarity which unites Christ the mediator with believers is "the fruit of the Spirit common to Christ and to all justified human beings."⁴⁰ Moreover, he is aware of the charge that his synthesis of Augustine's theology of mediation might be perceived as Christocentric,⁴¹ and he attempts to approach it in more clearly trinitarian terms. He begins by insisting that the work of Christ, consisting in the reciprocal action of divine *kenosis* and human exaltation by which Christ unites himself with human beings and draws them to the Father entails all that we mean by redemption, justification and divinization.⁴² Whether or not Remy is shadow-boxing with Verhees in making these points (his article lacks any reference to Verhees), he identifies the fault line in the latter's pneumocentric explanation for the the justification of human beings. Nevertheless, Remy's posi-

38. G. Madec, *Le Christ de saint Augustin. La patrie et la voie*. Nouvelle édition (Paris: Desclée, 2001 (1989)), pp. 148–149, citing *Jo. ev. tr.* 49,19 (CCSL 36, p. 429): "intrans uenti, mouent fluctus, turbant nauim. qui sunt uenti? audisti conuicium, irasceris; conuicium uentus est, iracundia fluctus est; periclitaris, disponis respondere, disponis maledictum maledicto reddere, iam nauis propinquat naufragio; excita Christum dormientem. ideo enim fluctuas, et mala pro malis reddere praeparas, quia Christus dormit in nauis. in corde enim tuo somnus Christi, obliuio fidei. nam si excites Christum, id est recolas fidem, quid tibi dicit tamquam uigilans Christus in corde tuo? ego audiui: daemonium habes (cf. Jn. 7:20) et pro eis orauis; . . . cum tibi haec loquitur fides tua, quasi imperatur uentis et fluctibus, et fit tranquillitas magna."

39. G. Remy, "La théologie de la médiation selon saint Augustin. Son actualité," *Revue thomiste* 91/4 (octobre-décembre 1991): pp. 580–623, esp. pp. 609–623.

40. *Ibid.*, p. 609.

41. *Ibid.*, p. 613.

42. *Ibid.*, p. 618.

tion in this article accepts that there can be no Augustinian theology of mediation without the Holy Spirit, because the Son cannot be united with human beings as head of the body, nor can he unite them with the Father, except through the Holy Spirit.⁴³ Like Verhees, Remy admits that he can offer no explanation for the interface in Augustine's thought between the Son's and the Spirit's activities in this regard, and, with Verhees, he echoes Gérard Philips's conclusion that Augustine did not achieve any synthesis in this aspect of his theology.⁴⁴

Basil Studer's principal contributions to this question begin with his 1993 monograph, later translated into English as *The Grace of Christ and the Grace of God in Augustine of Hippo*, with the telling subtitle, *Christocentrism or Theocentrism?*⁴⁵ He begins by examining Christ's role as mediator in Augustine's thought, and emphasizes two passages from the bishop's writings. The first is taken from *Commentary 10 on the First Epistle of John*, where Augustine insists, "There will be one Christ loving himself, for when the members love one another, the body loves itself."⁴⁶ Studer's second passage is found at *Commentary on Psalm 61(62)*, where Augustine concludes, "the one man with its head and body is Jesus Christ . . . two in one body, speaking with one voice."⁴⁷ Studer observes that, apart from these two statements, Augustine "does not say anything more about how he understands the presence of Christ who is simultaneously in heaven and in us."⁴⁸ He warns, however, that the supremacy of trinitarian grace in Augustine's theology overshadows Christ's specific contributions to salvation, so that, in Studer's words, "Augustinian Christocentrism becomes relativized."⁴⁹ As the foundational text for developing his argument, Studer turns to *De praedestinatione sanctorum* 13, where Augustine speaks about the school of the Trinity:

This school is far removed from the fleshly senses. There the Father is heard and teaches in order that human beings may thereby come to the Son. There, too, is the Son . . . for [the Son] is the Word through whom [the Father] thus teaches, but [the Son] accomplishes this not through the ear of the flesh but the ear of the heart. At the same time, the Spirit of the Father and the Son is also there. It also

43. Ibid., pp. 620–621, citing (at p. 620) *en. Ps.* 132,2.

44. Ibid., p. 621.

45. B. Studer, *The Grace of Christ and the Grace of God in Augustine of Hippo. Christocentrism or Theocentrism?*, trans. M. J. O'Connell (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1997).

46. Ibid., p. 58, citing *ep. Jo.* 10,3.

47. Ibid., citing *en. Ps.* 61,4.

48. Ibid. But, having said this, in n. 180 Studer goes on to indicate that at *ep.* 187,10 Augustine affirms that Christ is present everywhere, by reason of the communication of idioms. Note that in this same context Studer also references *s.* 137,1 on Christ's intercession in heaven.

49. Ibid., p. 60.

teaches, but not separately [from the Father and the Son], for we have learned that the actions of the Trinity are indivisible.⁵⁰

Studer's reading of this passage allows him to abandon both the exclusively Christocentric and the exclusively pneumocentric interpretations of Augustine's approach to the mediation of virtues in favor of a trinitarian approach. Crucially for this argument, he also reinterprets the passage at *praed.sanct.* 31, which scholars, especially since the 1954 article of Gérard Philips discussed *supra*, have interpreted as tracing Christ's righteousness back to the Holy Spirit. Studer claims instead that the "grace of the head," as described by Augustine in this passage, refers to not to the Holy Spirit, but to "Christ's eternal Sonship . . . in the life of the triune God."⁵¹

Studer makes a parallel move by shifting the source of the grace that results in Christ's predestination away from the Holy Spirit—where other scholars, notably Verhees, had placed it⁵²—to "the grace of God which sets us free through Jesus Christ" (cf. Rom. 7:24–25). Whereas Verhees had clearly understood such expressions as "grace of God" (*gratia dei*) as referring to the Holy Spirit, Studer reads Augustine as relating this expression primarily to the Father or to the Trinity.⁵³ Equally important for Studer's argument is the concept of mission: for Augustine, the Father sends the Son and the Father anoints the Son, filling him with the Holy Spirit.⁵⁴ Studer's argument is replete with Augustinian citations of scriptural passages in which the Father draws believers to Christ and imparts to them the gift of faith—two functions generally understood by Verhees as proper to the Holy Spirit in Augustine's thought.⁵⁵ Lastly, Studer maintains, in regard to Augustine's use of Rom. 5:5, that "the love that is poured out in hearts through the Holy Spirit and without which full faith in Christ is not possible has its origin in the Father."⁵⁶ In a 1995 article on Augustine's pneumatology, Studer further denies that Augustine's assertion, based on Rom. 5:5, that love is "properly" the gift of the Holy Spirit,

50. *Ibid.*, pp. 62–63, citing *praed. sanct.* 13 (PL 44, col. 970): "ualde remota est a sensibus carnis haec schola, in qua pater auditur et docet, ut ueniatur ad filium. ibi est et ipse filius, quia ipse est uerbum eius, per quod sic docet; nec agit hoc cum carnis aure, sed cordis. simul ibi est et spiritus patris et filii; neque enim ipse non docet, aut separatim docet: inseparabilia quippe didicimus esse opera trinitatis."

51. *Ibid.*, p. 62.

52. The arguments of these scholars are based primarily on *praed. sanct.* 31; but they also cite *Jo. ev. tr.* 74,3, among other texts.

53. *Ibid.*, p. 63, citing s.217,1 and *haer.* 88. See Studer's argument (cf. pp. 74–75 and 104–105) that, when Augustine refers to "God" (*Deus*), he is usually referring to "the Father" (*Pater*).

54. *Ibid.*, citing *c. Max.* II,16,3. See also *cat. rud.* 52 and *Jo. ev. tr.* 21,17 and 36,7.

55. *Ibid.*, citing *praed. sanct.* 15; *en. Ps.* 85,15; s. 131,2 and *Jo. ev. tr.* 26,5.

56. *Ibid.*, pp. 63–64, citing s. 71,26; s. 156,5 and *ep.* 140,25.

can be logically reconciled with his assertion, based on 1 Jn. 4:8, identifying love with God, considered as Father, Son and Holy Spirit.⁵⁷ His conclusion points to an irresolvable tension in his interpretation between Augustine's Christological, pneumatological and trinitarian explanations for the mediation of virtues in the human soul. Nevertheless, this tension allows him to assert a closer link between Augustine's account of the immanent and economic Trinity than he has found in earlier scholarly writing on the subject. For Augustine, Studer concludes, the love that is proper to the Holy Spirit consists in the *uinculum amoris* between the Father and the Son.⁵⁸

Ten years later, in his monograph on *trin.*, Studer firms up his conclusions in this regard. Writing about the *proprietas personarum* in respect to the Trinity, he asserts that "Augustine is more interested in the similarity and unity of Father, Son and Holy Spirit than he is in their particularities."⁵⁹ He goes as far as to speak about a "unitarian" tendency in Augustine's concept of the Trinity that carries over to the *ad extra* operations of the three divine persons.⁶⁰

Fifty years of Augustinian scholarship on the divine mediation of virtues to the human soul thus takes us from the more exclusively pneumocentric interpretations of Philips and Verhees, and the initially more exclusively Christocentric interpretation of Remy, to attempts by Studer and others (including Remy), beginning in the early 1990s, to articulate a trinitarian interpretation of this mediation. That said, the overriding consensus among these scholars is that Augustine either makes no attempt, or essentially fails, to offer in his discussions of justification and sanctification a cogent, systematic explanation for its trinitarian foundation. In the remainder of this paper, I shall suggest some new ways to approach this problem.

A Trinitarian Theology of Mediation

First, I offer a methodological observation. In many of the texts in which Augustine represents either Christ or the Holy Spirit as mediating virtues to the human

57. B. Studer, "Zur Pneumatologie des Augustinus von Hippo (De trinitate 15,17,27–27,50)," *Augustinianum* 35 (1995): pp. 567–583 = Idem, *Mysterium caritatis. Studien zur Exegese und zur Trinitätslehre in der Alten Kirche* (Rome: Pontificio Ateneo S. Anselmo, 1999), pp. 311–327 and esp. 321–323.

58. *Ibid.*, pp. 325–326. Studer does not mention the objections to this conclusion posited by C. Osborne, "The *Nexus Amoris* in Augustine's Trinity," in *Studia Patristica*, vol. 22: *Cappadocian Fathers, Chrysostom and his Greek Contemporaries, Augustine, Donatism and Pelagianism* (Leuven: Peeters, 1989), pp. 309–314.

59. B. Studer, *Augustinus De trinitate. Eine Einführung* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2005), p. 186.

60. *Ibid.*, pp. 186–189, citing *trin.* IV,30.

soul, he describes at another place in the same text the other divine person as similarly mediating virtue, often the same virtue. By focusing their attention narrowly on specific passages within integral texts, both Verhees and Remy have largely ignored this point while supporting their respective theses. When we interpret what Augustine says about the mediation of virtues in the context of his complete texts, we can also understand how his approach to the question is more systematically trinitarian than it is generally thought to be.

A good example of this observation at work is found in Augustine's *f. et op.*, which was completed in 413. In his book, Verhees cites §43 of this work at which Augustine affirms that the grace of the Holy Spirit removes the fault of original sin, through Jesus Christ, and that this grace spreads charity through our hearts and gives us the joy of righteousness which counteracts concupiscence.⁶¹ However, he neglects to mention that at §41 in the same work, Augustine refers to Christ as the righteous one and credits him with accomplishing in human hearts a similar mediation of virtue.

Verhees also cites *uera rel.* 25 as affirming that the Holy Spirit is Christ's gift to the human soul by which it is made safe, peaceable and holy, without, however, making clear that in the same section of this work, Augustine states that the soul flourishes in the unchanging truth, which he identifies with the Son.⁶² But this passage also raises another matter, that of the distinction between the Son and the Holy Spirit in terms of the distinction between truth and charity, about which I shall comment below.

A further example of my general observation is provided at *en. Ps.* 103, s.4. Verhees cites as evidence for his thesis Augustine's statement that the Holy Spirit justifies human beings: "From God's Spirit we have received the grace to live for righteousness, for it is he who justifies the godless."⁶³ Earlier in this same exposition, however, Augustine quotes 2 Cor. 5:17 where Paul states that if one dwells in Christ, he is a new creature.⁶⁴ Beginning at this point in the exposition and continuing onward for several sections, Augustine comments at length on Christ's role in mediating virtues to the soul without mentioning the Holy Spirit. He first claims that Christ assists the faithful in overcoming temptation.⁶⁵ He says that Christ is the

61. Verhees, *God in Bewegung*, p. 225 (n. 13).

62. *Ibid.*, p. 230.

63. *Ibid.*, p. 231, citing *en. Ps.* 103,4,14.

64. *En. Ps.* 103,4,3.

65. *Ibid.*, 103,4,5.

light and the way, and that he protects the faithful from error.⁶⁶ He then asserts that Christ “settles the case between us and God by correcting our wills to conform with righteousness and bending God’s sentence to mercy.”⁶⁷ Whereas Verhees ignores completely these affirmations, and refers only to the passage in which Augustine speaks about justification through the Holy Spirit, Remy cites the passages in which Augustine speaks about Christ’s mediation, but ignores his statement about justification through the Holy Spirit.⁶⁸ Surely, if on the basis of Augustine’s claim that “from God’s Spirit we have received the grace to live for righteousness” we can deduce that it is the Holy Spirit who mediates righteousness to the human soul, should we not arrive at a parallel conclusion in respect to Christ and righteousness on the basis of his statement in the same text that Christ “corrects our wills to conform with righteousness”?

The parallelism between these two accounts in Augustine also suggests a way of understanding the elusive trinitarian logic behind his conception of mediation. Why should we conclude that Augustine is not thinking systematically if he speaks about mediation of virtues in terms of Christ *and* the Holy Spirit (*and even* in terms of the Father, as Studer has shown him capable of doing)? Moreover, why do we need to reconcile the logic of his account of mediation by one trinitarian person with his explanation of mediation by another, as if his texts should tell us where he thinks the mediation of the Son ends and that of the Holy Spirit begins? For if we take seriously his principle about the interpenetration of the divine persons, we ought to be able to apply that principle at the level of their operations in the human soul. Augustine says as much at *praed. sanct.* 13, as I have discussed above.⁶⁹

Moreover, had scholars who have examined Augustine’s views on divine mediation and grace over the past fifty years paid greater attention to Argimiro Turrado’s research into Augustine’s understanding of trinitarian indwelling, they might have grasped the value of understanding divine mediation through the principle of the interpenetration of the divine persons, thus avoiding the exclusively Christocentric or pneumocentric interpretations of mediation which have dogged Augustinian studies for a half century. For twenty years, following his paper at the 1954 Paris conference, Turrado investigated a substantial number of Augustinian texts focused on trinitarian indwelling understood in terms of the interpenetration of the operations

66. *Ibid.*, 103,4,6.

67. *Ibid.*, 103,4,8.

68. See Verhees, *God in Bewegung*, p. 231 (n. 13); Remy, *Le Christ*, pp. 388, 431–432, 454, 473 and 788 (n. 27).

69. See *supra*, n. 50. See also *ep.* 194,12 and *s.* 71,33.

of the three divine persons in the human soul.⁷⁰ At the center of his argument one finds a passage from Sermon 71 (§33) in which Augustine declares:

The Holy Spirit does not dwell in anyone without the Father and the Son, just as the Son does not dwell in anyone without the Father and the Holy Spirit, nor does the Father without the other two. *They are inseparable in their dwelling, just as they are inseparable in their working*, but they are usually indicated one by one through created symbols, not in their own substance. For instance, our voices pronounce their names separately, each with its syllables taking up a distinct interval of time; yet they themselves are not separated from each other by any intervals or moments of time. We can never utter them simultaneously, while they can only exist simultaneously, and that for eternity (emphasis mine).⁷¹

While Turrado highlights Augustine's emphasis in this sermon on the interpenetration of the operations of the divine persons, Remy makes no mention of the sermon and Verhees treats only those passages at §18 in which Augustine discusses the distinction between the divine operations based on the distinction of the characteristics proper to each person. Thus, Verhees concentrates his attention on Augustine's statements that it is the property of the Father to be the origin of the other divine persons, the property of the Son begotten of the Father, and the property of the Holy Spirit to be the communion of the Father and the Son. Coupled with this affirmation is Augustine's statement that both the Father and the Son so wished to share with human beings this communion between them and with other human beings that they gave to human beings the Holy Spirit who is both God and the gift of God.

Verhees also summarizes Augustine's identification of the specific characteristics that denote Father, Son and Holy Spirit, respectively, as origin, truth and goodness, along with his insistence that knowledge of the truth does human beings no good

70. See A. Turrado, "El platonismo de San Agustín y su doctrina acerca de la inhabitación del Espíritu Santo," *Augustiniana* 5 (1955): pp. 471–486; Idem, "La Sma. Trinidad en la vida espiritual del justo, su templo vivo, según san Agustín," *Revue des études augustiniennes* 5 (1959): pp. 129–151 and 223–260; Idem, "Eres templo de Dios. La inhabitación de la Sma. Trinidad en los justos según San Agustín," *Revista Agustiniiana de Espiritualidad* 7 (1966): pp. 21–55, 203–227 and 330–381; *ibid.* 8 (1967): pp. 41–63, 153–190 and 363–406; *ibid.* 9 (1968): pp. 173–199; *ibid.* 10 (1969): pp. 367–392; and, finally, idem, "La teología trinitaria de San Agustín en el "Mysterium Salutis,"" *Revista Agustiniiana de Espiritualidad* 12 (1971): pp. 445–459.

71. S. 71,33 (*Revue Bénédictine* 75 (1965): p. 102): "neque enim habitat in quoquam spiritus sanctus sine patre et filio, sicut nec filius sine patre et spiritu sancto, nec sine illis pater. inseparabilis est quippe habitatio, quorum inseparabilis operatio; sed singillatim plerumque per creaturae significationes, non per suam substantiam, demonstrantur: sicut sua temporum spatia sillabis occupantibus separatim uoce pronuntiantur, nec tamen a se ipsis ullis interuallis momentisque temporum separantur. non enim umquam dici possunt simul, cum esse non possint nisi semper simul." Cf. A. Turrado, *La Sma. Trinidad*, p. 138 (n. 70).

unless it is accompanied by goodness, which Augustine equates with charity. This reasoning permits Augustine to assert that charity, which is proper to the Holy Spirit, enables the Christian to know the truth in a way superior to knowledge deprived of charity. Finally, Augustine explains, charity is the gift of the Holy Spirit.⁷² All of these statements lead Verhees to conclude that in Sermon 71 Augustine identifies the forgiveness of sins as the work of the Holy Spirit in a more or less exclusive way.⁷³ It should be noted that in Sermon 71 Augustine is addressing the vexed question of the unforgiveable nature of the sin against the Holy Spirit (Mt 12:32). When this context is taken into consideration, it is not surprising to find him concerned here to underscore the Holy Spirit's functions concerning the forgiveness of sins.

Yet Verhees fails to consider the logic in the second half of the sermon (§§25–33) in which Augustine applies the principle of the interpenetration of the three divine persons specifically to the forgiveness of sins: “At this point someone may want to know if it is only the Holy Spirit who forgives sins, or whether the Father and the Son also forgive sins. I answer that it is also the Father and the Son.”⁷⁴ Augustine continues his argument by citing Mt 6:14 (“If you forgive the people their sins, your Father will also forgive you your sins”) and Mt 9:6 (“That you may know, that the Son of Man has authority on earth to forgive sins”) in order to demonstrate his conclusion on the basis of scriptural texts.⁷⁵ In the remainder of this sermon he gives perhaps his clearest explanation of the principle of the interpenetration of the divine persons as it applies to the *ad extra* operations of the Trinity, an explanation that culminates in the passage at §33 which provides the basis for much of Turrado's reflection. I shall limit my summary of these sections to an outline of the methodological principles that they contain.

After insisting on the interpenetration of the operations of the three divine persons in the forgiveness of sins, Augustine affirms the necessity of maintaining a clear sense of the distinction of these operations according to the characteristics

72. S. 71,18.

73. Verhees, *God in Bewegung*, p. 210 (n. 13).

74. S. 71,25 (*Revue Bénédictine* 75 (1965): p. 91): “hic fortassis aliquis quaerat, utrum tantummodo spiritus sanctus peccata dimittat, an et pater et filius. respondemus, quod et pater et filius.”

75. *Cons. ev.* 4,20 (CSEL 43, p. 417), affirms that Christ forgives sins: “eum qui filius dei semper est propter nos filium hominis factum, ut sempiterna uirtus eius et diuinitas nostrae infirmitati et mortalitati temperata de nostro nobis in se atque ad se faceret uiam, cum magnae spei laetitia fideliter teneat. ne peccet, a rege Christo regatur; si forte peccauerit, ab eodem sacerdote Christo expietur . . .” See also *civ. Dei* X,22 (CCSL 47, p. 296): “in eius ergo nomine uincitur, qui hominem adsumpsit egitque sine peccato, ut in ipso sacerdote ac sacrificio fieret remissio peccatorum, id est per mediatorem dei et hominum, hominem Christum Iesum, per quem facta peccatorum purgatione reconciliamur deo.”

proper to each of the divine persons (§26). He is careful throughout his writings never to abandon either principle in his trinitarian theology: the interpenetration of the persons/operations on the one hand, and the distinction between the persons/operations, on the other. He knows that to collapse one into the other would result in a defective understanding of the Trinity. Nevertheless, it seems clear that, in his view, the principle of interpenetration takes priority over the principle of distinction. Thus, he draws the following conclusion: “when an activity is attributed to the Father he is not taken to engage in it without the Son and the Holy Spirit; and when it is an activity of the Son, it is not without the Father and the Holy Spirit; and when it is an activity of the Holy Spirit, it is not without the Father and the Son.”⁷⁶ Given this reasoning, Augustine asserts that the Trinity acts whenever any one of the divine persons acts: “Thus it is the Trinity that performs the works of each of the persons in the Trinity, two of them cooperating in the work of the other, harmonious action characterizing all three, inability to perform marking none of them.”⁷⁷ For Augustine, the affirmation that it is the property of the Holy Spirit to be the communion of love between the Father and the Son cannot be understood without recognizing that the Holy Spirit is both the Spirit of the Father and the Spirit of the Son, so that the charity spread in the hearts of believers by the Holy Spirit (Rom 5:5) consists of both the love of the Father and the love of the Son.⁷⁸ From this affirmation it must be inferred that the Holy Spirit does not act without the Father or the Son in mediating charity to believers.

Augustine makes the same points in his *C.s.Ar.*, where, in the course of defending the consubstantiality of both Christ and the Holy Spirit with the Father, he employs the analogy of human memory, intellect and will in order to illustrate his principle that any work undertaken by one person of the Trinity is undertaken as well by the other two.⁷⁹ At a later point in this treatise he insists against the Arians that the functions of the Holy Spirit in the human soul, *viz.*, “sanctifying human beings and protecting the holy, restoring the fallen to their former state, teaching the ignorant, admonishing the forgetful, rebuking sinners, rousing the lazy to think of and to have concern for their salvation, bringing back the straying to the path of

76. S. 71,25 (*Revue Bénédictine* 75 (1965): p. 93): “si ergo haec ita dicuntur, ut tamen inseparabilis intellegatur operatio trinitatis; ita ut, cum operatio patris dicitur, non eam sine filio et spiritu sancto intellegatur operari; et cum operatio filii, non sine patre et spiritu sancto; et cum operatio spiritus sancti, non sine patre et filio.”

77. *Ibid.*, 27 (*Revue Bénédictine* 75 (1965): p. 95): “ita singulorum quoque in trinitate opera trinitas operatur, unicuique operanti cooperantibus duobus, conueniente in tribus agendi concordia, non in uno deficiente efficacia peragendi.”

78. *Ibid.*, p. 29.

79. *C. s. Ar.* 9.

truth, . . . strengthening all in the love of piety and chastity, and enlightening all,” are tasks that the Holy Spirit cannot undertake without the Son.

The Holy Spirit does these works, but heaven forbid that one think that he does them without the Son. After all, who is going so to stray from the path of truth that he denies that Christ protects the holy, restores the fallen to their former state, teaches the ignorant, admonishes the forgetful, rebukes sinners, rouses the lazy, brings back the straying to the path of truth, cures the sick, enlightens the blind, and all those other things which they thought should be ascribed to the Holy Spirit as if he alone did them?⁸⁰

From here, Augustine turns to Ex. 31:13, “That they may know that it is I who make them holy,” and asks who the speaker is in this passage. He answers that it is the Trinity itself who has spoken through the prophet.⁸¹

Rather than treat Augustine’s texts collectively as a kind of Rubik’s Cube, so that by re-aligning the various passages in his writings, his conception of mediation can be synchronized with the distinct operations of the Father, Son and the Holy Spirit, scholars might look instead at his texts as at a multi-faceted gem. When looking at a gem we appreciate the beauty of its internal crystalline structure as we turn it and observe its interior through its several facets. Each facet presents to the beholder the gem’s interior structure as a unity. Applying this analogy to Augustine’s texts, we can understand how the divine mediation of virtue, for example, of charity, can be seen at one moment from a Christocentric point of view,⁸² and at another moment from a pneumocentric one.⁸³ It is clear enough through the bounty of texts available to us that Augustine speaks eloquently and abundantly about the mediation of virtues both through Christ and the Holy Spirit, and he does not seem to see any contradiction in doing so. Might his attitude be informed by his principle of the interpenetration of trinitarian persons?

80. Ibid., 30 (CSEL 92, p. 102): “facit haec quidem spiritus sanctus, sed absit, ut sine filio faciat. quis enim sic deuiet a uia ueritatis, ut neget a Christo custodiri sanctos, lapsos autem in statum pristinum reparari, ignorantes doceri, obliuiscetes admoneri, peccantes argui, pigros hortari, errantes ad uiam ueritatis adduci, infirmos sanari, caecos inluminari et cetera, quae isti spiritui sancto, tamquam solus ea faciat, tribuenda putauerunt?”

81. Verhees, *God in Beweging*, p. 233 (n. 13), interprets this passage as an affirmation that in their operations, the Father, Son and Holy Spirit are inseparable and indivisible. However, he draws no further conclusions from the passage. Remy, *Le Christ* (n. 27), does not discuss this passage.

82. See, e.g., *ep. Jo.* 10,3; *civ. Dei XXI*, 16 (CCSL 48, p. 782): “tunc itaque uicta uitia deputanda sunt, cum dei amore uincuntur, quem nisi deus ipse non donat nec aliter nisi per mediatorem dei et hominum, hominem Christum Iesum, qui factus est particeps mortalitatis nostrae, ut nos participes faceret diuinitatis suae.”

83. See, e.g., *s.* 71,18.

On the basis of this principle, I also think it unhelpful of scholars to resolve the tension between the mediation of Christ and of the Holy Spirit by reference to their proper characteristics; truth on the part of Christ, charity on the part of the Spirit. It should not be denied that such a distinction is real in Augustine's thought, nor that it can be applied to the operations of the divine persons. Augustine suggests this approach at different places in his writings, notably at *s.* 71.⁸⁴ However, I do not believe that this distinction establishes a definitive paradigm capable of resolving the tension that scholars have observed between Christological, pneumatological and trinitarian mediation, as if we were to say that Christ is somehow responsible for communicating to the soul the intellectual content of virtues, that is their "form" or application in concrete circumstances, while the Holy Spirit communicates the affective power or desire to practice the virtues.⁸⁵ Here again, Augustine's principle of the interpenetration of the divine persons ultimately trumps his principle of the distinction of characteristics between them, even at the level of divine operation in the human soul.

This argument is not difficult to demonstrate. Augustine at times crosses the artificial boundary imposed by those who insist on making distinctions in his thought between Christ as the principle of truth (*ueritas*) and the Holy Spirit as the source of charity (*caritas*). For example, in a passage at *cons.ev.*, he cites Jn. 16:13 and concludes that the Holy Spirit will teach us every truth.⁸⁶ Meanwhile, in his *Tractates on the First Epistle of John*, he interprets Jn. 15:13 as demonstrating that we have received love from Christ.⁸⁷ But problems associating Christ's mediation with truth and the Holy Spirit's with charity in a narrow or restrictive manner arise fundamentally in Augustine's thought in terms of the mediation of those among the highest virtues, such as wisdom (*sapientia*) and blessedness (*beatitudo*), where truth and charity are conjoined. At many points in his writings Augustine argues that a divinely mediated knowledge of those truths which are essential to our salva-

84. See Verhees, *God in Bewegung*, p. 210 (n. 13); Studer, *Zur Pneumatologie*, pp. 324–325 (n. 57). See also M.-F. Berrouard, "La théologie du Saint-Esprit dans les Tractatus," in *Oeuvres de saint Augustin*, vol. 74B: *Homélie sur l'Évangile de saint Jean LXXX–CIII* (Paris: Institut d'Études augustiniennes, 1998), pp. 9–65, who, at pp. 62–63, treats the same distinction as found at *Jo. ev. tr.* 77,2; at 54,8 (Christ as truth) and at 96,5 (Holy Spirit as charity).

85. As suggested by Berrouard, *La théologie*, pp. 62–63.

86. *Cons. ev.* 4,20 (CSEL 43, p. 416): "ac sic perseueranter retinens atque custodiens fidem, spem et caritatem intendat in speciem ex pignore, quod accepimus, sancti spiritus, qui nos docebit omnem ueritatem . . ."

87. *Ep. Jo.* 7,7 (PL 35, col. 3032): "quomodo ipse dominus ait, maiorem dilectionem nemo potest habere, quam ut animam suam ponat pro amicis suis (Jn. 15:13); et ibi probata est dilectio Christi in nos, quia mortuus est pro nobis." See also *civ. Dei* XXI,16, cited *supra*, n. 82.

tion is imbued with charity. If, then, Christ mediates to believers those aspects of virtue that pertain to their truth-content, he must, according to Augustine's logic, communicate these truths along with charity.

This latter principle is evidenced in Augustine's discussions of Christ as "the knowledge and wisdom of God" (*Christus scientia et sapientia dei*) and on those occasions, in particular during the Pelagian controversy, in which Augustine explains the relationship of Christ as model or example (*exemplum*) for his role as sacrament (*sacramentum*). In these cases, the latter terms of the couplets, *sapientia* and *sacramentum*, refer to the communication of a truth related to salvation as well as to the charity that provides both a fuller comprehension of that truth and its appropriation by the human soul. Hence, charity is an essential characteristic of both *sapientia* and *sacramentum*, and both terms imply a mediation to the soul in which Christ is active. Of course to say this is not to deny that the Holy Spirit is also active in the mediation of *sapientia* or in the communication to the soul of *sacramentum*. My purpose in speaking of Augustine's use of these terms in relation to Christ is simply to demonstrate, once again, that he so clearly links Christ to the mediation of charity that it cannot be conceived as the exclusive function of the Holy Spirit.⁸⁸

Clearly, further research into this trinitarian approach to the question of mediation of virtues is needed. Such studies should look carefully at the scriptural passages that Augustine cites when writing about the operations of the Father, Son and Holy Spirit, and at the effects of divine mediation in the human soul. But, if this research is going to take us beyond the impasse of the last half century, scholars who examine this question in the future will have to avoid the "dissecting and cataloguing" methods and mentalities that until now have characterized too much of the interpretation of Augustine's writing on this question.

88. I explain this connection more thoroughly at R. Dodaro, *Christ and the Just Society in the Thought of Augustine*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004, pp. 147–171.