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finality; the other is a grasp of the data of religious psychology. However, it was not Scheeben's fault that he lived in the nineteenth century.

"Die erste dogmatische Constitution über den Primat," II (1870), 303-33; 341-50.
 "Die Bewegung gegen den päpstlichen Unfehlbarkeit in Deutschland," II (1870), 416-30.

"Die theologische und praktische Bedeutung des Dogmas von der Unfehlbarkeit des Papstes, besonders in seiner Beziehung auf die heutige Zeit: 2. Die Unfehlbarkeit des Papstes und der katholische Glaube," III (1871), 504-46.

"Beiträge zur Charakteristik der modernen Häresie und der durch dieselbe bedingten Aufgabe der Kirche in unserer Zeit," IV (1872), 1-14; 53-75; 129-41; 228-41.

"Der Liberalismus als System vom theologischen Gesichtspunkt betrachtet," VII (1875), 172-92; 258-82; 289-302; 449-72.

"Gedanken über das christliche Autoritätsprinzip und seine Bedeutung für unsere Zeit," X (1878), 1-9; 49-64; 97-112; 155-68; 204-20; 241-67.

(I was not able to establish with certainty Scheeben's authorship of the three last-named articles; but they are undoubtedly his.)

Some of Scheeben's contributions—articles and reviews—to the periodical, *Der Katholik*, would be of interest in a study of his doctrine on the supernatural; of value for his early ideas on faith is the article, "Über den Unterschied und das Verhältnis von Philosophie und Theologie, Vernunft und Glauben," *Katholik* (1863, I), 641-65 (1863, II), 267-300.

SINNERS AND THE MYSTICAL BODY OF CHRIST ACCORDING TO ST. AUGUSTINE

II

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IN the first part, to clarify the fundamental concepts involved in the study, a distinction was made between the Church as a juridical society and the Church as the Mystical Body of Christ. It was stated that both of these are aspects of one complex notion of the Church. Further, likewise for the sake of elucidation, a basic division of sins was introduced, according to which some sins are death-bringing not only to the individual as such but also to that individual considered as a cell in a living organism; other sins are such that they do not deprive us of life and are unavoidable in this life.

Bearing these concepts in mind, the object of this study was to determine the relation to the Church of sinners lapsing into death-bringing transgressions. In the two sections devoted to this problem of St. Augustine's ecclesiology in the previous issue it was established: (1) that sinners are members of the juridical and sacramental Church, and (2) that sinners are excluded from the Church as the Mystical Body of Christ; it was also intimated in what manner and to what extent this exclusion takes place.

The present continuation of that article will likewise consist of two sections developing the same theme: (3) the inclusion of sinners in the Body of Christ, with explanations as to the manner of their inherence, and (4) the exclusion of sinners from the celestial Body of Christ.

III. THE INCLUSION OF SINNERS IN THE BODY OF CHRIST

The testimonies occurring in the works of St. Augustine for the exclusion of sinners from the Church, the Body of Christ, are so numerous and obvious that the *prima facie* view favors the existence of a pure and holy Church devoid of sinners. These forceful statements

are one-sided assertions made against an opponent. They are to be tempered more by the consideration of his whole doctrine on the Church than by counterbalancing direct evidence of equal force in the opposite direction. In the light of St. Augustine's totality of ecclesiological doctrine, a somewhat different interpretation must be put on the many arguments excluding sinners from the Body of Christ.

The Fact of Their Inclusion

The primary source of St. Augustine's doctrine on the Body of Christ is to be traced back to St. Paul²⁰² and to those passages of the gospels²⁰³ wherein Christ identifies Himself as one with His faithful. This doctrine is then principally applied and further evolved in the exposition of the Psalms contained in his exegetical commentary *Enarrationes in Psalmos*. Almost every page in this voluminous work has references to Christ, the Head of the Church, and to the faithful forming the members of His Body, and thus constituting His Mystical Body.

To his work *De Doctrina Christiana*, composed in greater part during the year 397,²⁰⁴ with the primary purpose of setting forth principles guiding the proper understanding of the Sacred Books,²⁰⁵ St. Augustine added²⁰⁶ in 426, towards the end of his life, the hermeneutical rules

²⁰² Cf. S. J. Grabowski, "St. Augustine and the Doctrine of the Mystical Body of Christ," *THEOLOGICAL STUDIES*, VII (1946), 86-98.

²⁰³ E.g., *De Trin.*, 15, 19, 34 (*PL XLII*, 1084); *Enar. in Ps.* 130, 6 (*PL XXXVII*, 1708); *Enar. in Ps.* 52, 1 (*PL XXXVI*, 613); cf. J. C. Gruden, *The Mystical Christ* (St. Louis, 1936), pp. 87 ff.

²⁰⁴ This date is assigned by the Maurist Fathers and by de Labriolle, *Histoire de la littérature latine chrétienne* (2e. éd.; Paris, 1924); whereas Portalié (in the article: "Augustin," in *DTC*) places the date at 426; it may be supposed, however, that the latter intends by this date to mark rather the final touches or the completion of the work.

²⁰⁵ *De doctr. christ.*, Prol., I (*PL XXXIV*, 15): "Sunt praecepta quaedam tractandarum Scripturarum, quae studiosis earum video non incommode posse tradi; ut non solum legendo alios qui divinarum Litterarum operta aperuerunt, sed et aliis ipsi aperiendo proficiant."

²⁰⁶ It is highly improbable that the whole treatise was revised in the sense that it has taken on a new, amplified, and recorrected form; St. Augustine in his *Retractationes* implies that he added only in his late years that portion in which the rules are contained. De Labriolle, *op. cit.*: "Le texte primitif, abandonné par Augustin en 397, allait jusqu'au chap. III, XXXVII, de l'édition complète, celle de 427. 'Cum imperfectos (libros)

of Tichonius, culled from the latter's *Liber Regularum*.²⁰⁷ Among the seven rules enumerated and explained in this book Tichonius gives us two rules which pertain to the doctrine of the Body of Christ in Sacred Scripture and one pertaining to the body of the devil. The first rule is, "De Domino et ejus corpore"; the second, "De Domini corpore bipertito"; and finally the heading of the seventh rule is, "De diabolo et ejus corpore."²⁰⁸

Regarding the solution of the problem revolving about the exclusion or inclusion of sinners in the Body of Christ much depends on the genuine meaning, value, and application of these rules. St. Augustine does not assign to these rules the sweeping scope that their author Tichonius so readily attributes to them for clearing Scripture of all difficulties and obscurities. Although he finds some points in these rules inadequate and oversubtle,²⁰⁹ nevertheless, "to so elaborate and useful a work" he ascribes great utility and value, "because they [the rules] help very much to the understanding of the Scriptures."²¹⁰ This is why St. Augustine approves these rules of the African semi-Donatist Tichonius and even embodies them in his own work, amplifying each rule with his own commentary.

comperissem,' explique Augustin (*Retract.* 2, 4, 1) 'perficere malui quam eis sic relictis ad alia retractanda transire. Complevi ergo tertium... Addidi etiam novissimum librum et quatuor libris illud implevi.' The same author adds: "Essayer de restituer la première édition, comme l'a fait Dom de Bruyne, lequel suppose qu' Augustin remania de fond en comble l'ouvrage en 427 (*Rev. Ben.* 1913, pp. 301 ff.) est une entreprise qui paraît assez chimérique." E. de Bruyne himself later corrected his conjecture concerning the existence of two separate editions of this work; viz., one of 397 and another of 426; see *Revue d'Histoire ecclésiastique*, 1927, p. 783. Cf. H. Pope, *St. Augustine of Hippo* (London, 1937), p. 371, and A. Allgeier, "Der Einfluss des Manichäismus auf die exegetische Fragestellung bei Augustin," in *Aurelius Augustinus* (Köln, 1930), p. 11.

²⁰⁷ The nature, composition, organization, and style of this book are thus briefly portrayed by O. Bardenheuer, *Geschichte der altkirchlichen Literatur* (Freiburg, 1924), III, 427: "Das Buch ist das erste lateinische Kompendium der biblischen Hermeneutik, etwas schwerfällig im Ausdruck, etwas sprunghaft in der Darstellung und nicht frei von sachlichen Schwächen, aber die Frucht ersten und selbständigen Denkens."

²⁰⁸ *De doctr. christ.*, III, 30, 42 (*PL XXXIV*, 81); F. C. Burkitt, *The Book of Rules of Tichonius*, Texts and Studies, vol. III, n. I (Cambridge, 1894). This edition is universally accepted.

²⁰⁹ *De doctr. christ.*, III, 33, 46 (*PL XXXIV*, 83).

²¹⁰ *Ibid.*, III, 30, 43 (*PL XXXIV*, 82).

The first rule in the words of Tichonius:

For his first rule Tichonius has: De Domino et Corpore ejus. Dominum ejus ne corpus, id est Ecclesiam, Scriptura loquatur, sola ratio discernit, dum quid cui conveniat persuadet vel quia tanta est vis veritatis extorquet. Alias una persona convenitur quam duplicem esse diversa duorum officia edocent.²¹¹

It is evident, partially from the context but especially from the antithesis between the first and the second rule, that in the rule just quoted, the Church is the Body of Christ in the sense that only the good, who are members of Christ by the life-giving union of charity, come into consideration here as members. Although Sacred Scripture speaks of Christ and of the Church, His Body, as of one person, one being, nevertheless we must distinguish well between that which really pertains to Christ the Head and that which pertains to His Body or members. The predicates are interchangeable between the Head and the Body, yet it must be borne in mind that they are proper either to the Head or Body and are applied to the other by the law of the so-called *communicatio idiomatum*.²¹³ This is in short the content of the first rule.

More relevant to the relationship of sinners to the Mystical Body of Christ is the second rule of Tichonius and St. Augustine's own amplification of it. They are adduced in translation and juxtaposition.

²¹¹ F. C. Burkitt, *The Book of Rules of Tichonius*, pp. 1-2.

²¹² *De doctr. christ.*, III, 31, 44 (PL XXXIV, 82).

²¹³ Cf. M. Pontet, *L'exégèse de S. Augustin Prédicateur* (Paris, 1945), pp. 407 ff.

The first rule in the words of St. Augustine:

Prima [regula] de Domino et ejus corpore est; in qua scientes aliquando capitis et corporis, i.e. Christi et Ecclesiae unam personam nobis intimari (neque enim frustra dictum est fidelibus, 'Ergo Abrahae semen estis,' cum unum semen quod est Christus), non haesitemus quando a capite ad corpus, vel a corpore transitur ad caput, et tamen non receditur ab una eademque persona. Una enim persona loquitur dicens, 'sicut sponso imposuit mihi mitram, et sicut sponsam ornavit me ornamento' (Is. 61, 10); et tamen quid horum duorum capiti, quid corpori, id est, quid Christo, quid Ecclesiae conveniat, utique intelligendum est.²¹²

Tichonius writes:

Concerning the Divided Body of the Lord. The rule of the divided body of the Lord [is] much more necessary and is to be examined by us the more diligently and must be had before the eyes through all the Scriptures. Just as it has been stated above [in the first rule] that [the transition] from head to body is seen by reason alone, so the transition and return from [one] part of the body to the other, from the right to the left or from the left to the right is clear in the aforementioned chapter.²¹⁴

St. Augustine comments:

The second [rule] concerns the divided (*bipartito*)²¹⁵ body of the Lord, which should not have been so called; for in truth the body of the Lord is not that which will not be with him in eternity. But it ought to have been said concerning the true and mixed body of the Lord, or, the true and simulated [body], or something else; because not only in eternity, but even now hypocrites are not to be said to be with him, although they seem to be in his Church. Therefore that rule could have been so named that it would be said about the mixed Church. And this rule demands a watchful reader, when Scripture, already speaking to others, seems to speak to those to whom it was previously speaking; or about them, when it already speaks of others; as if one body were of both, on account of the temporal mixture and communion of the sacraments.²¹⁶

It is naturally to be expected that this testimony and commentary of St. Augustine would carry with it high authority on account of the

²¹⁴ Burkitt, *op. cit.*, p. 8: "De Domini Corpore Bipertito. Regula bipertiti corporis Domini multo necessarius et a nobis tanto diligentius perspicenda et per omnes Scripturas ante oculos habenda est. Sicut enim supradictum est a capite ad corpus ratione sola videtur, ita a parte corporis ad partem, a dextera ad sinistram vel a sinistra ad dexteram, transitus reditusque ut in supradicto capite claret."

²¹⁵ "Bipartito," sic ed. Maur., but in MSS. "bipertito" as Tichonius.

²¹⁶ *De doctr. christ.*, III, 31, 44 (PL XXXIV, 82): "Secunda est de Domini corpore bipartito, quod quidem non ita debuit appellari; non enim revera Domini corpus est, quod cum illo non erit in aeternum: sed dicendum fuit, De Domini corpore vero atque permixto, aut, vero atque simulato, vel quid aliud; quia non solum in aeternum, verum etiam nunc hypocritae non cum illo esse dicendi, quamvis in ejus esse videantur Ecclesia. Unde poterat ista regula et sic appellari, ut diceretur de permixta Ecclesia. Quae regula lectorem vigilantem requirit, quando Scriptura cum ad alios jam loquatur, tamquam ad eos ipsos ad quos loquebatur, videtur loqui; vel de ipsis, cum de aliis jam loquatur; tamquam unum sit utrorumque corpus, propter temporalem commixtionem et communionem Sacramentorum. . ."

keen attention and diligence with which he weighs the matter and phraseology of these rules. It must also be observed that his remarks belong to a period of the highest intellectual maturity. It was towards the end of a life consumed in doctrinal strife, study, and thought that St. Augustine focused his attention upon these rules and approvingly added them to one of his important works.

This second rule of Tichonius expressly supposes the presence of sinners in the unity of the Body of Christ. This rule is to serve as a guide of caution to the reader and investigator of the Sacred Books concerning certain attributes predicated of Christ. In texts which should naturally be attributed to Christ, but where the matter in no way allows their application either to Christ Himself as the Head or to those members who constitute a real living unity with Him, there is still another class of members joined in a certain unity with Christ, and to these such predications or references may be made. These members are sinners. According to Tichonius, they not only are in the Church but also have a certain part in the Body of Christ. This is evident from the very words of this rule, but it is also a part of his entire doctrine on the Church and sinners.

At first appearance it would seem that St. Augustine is at variance to some extent with an essential part of the statement or doctrine of Tichonius. Yet this discrepancy is only an apparent one touching on something accidental. He adduces the rules of Tichonius with approval. It is not the idea that displeases him, but rather the expression too crudely conveying the thought concerning the constitution of that Body. Indeed, Tichonius conceives and expresses the notion of the Body of Christ with its good and bad members in a curious manner. He presents it as a "corpus bipertitum," that is to say a "two-parted" body. One part of that body, namely the right side, is formed of the good; the other part, the left side, is composed of the wicked. Although the manner of expression is awkward, the underlying idea is presented so strongly that no one can doubt that the wicked also are included in the Body of Christ according to Tichonius. It is evident, too, that the reason for assigning a part of the body to the wicked, in the mind of Tichonius, is the complete identification of the Church with the Body of Christ. He allocates the good to the right side and the wicked to the left side of the body in a realistic manner in accord with

the scriptural and traditional symbol of the right side for the good and the left side for the bad. Tichonius writes: "These two parts are said in speech to be one man, because we can name two sides also in one man, that is a right and a left [side], and there are in him many members, but one body. It has there sound members, it has also infirm ones. The healthy members are saints, the left [members] are sinners."²¹⁷

St. Augustine ventures to correct the terminology of Tichonius by calling the "corpus bipertitum" of the latter a "corpus verum atque permixtum," "verum atque simulatum." The reason which he adduces for the introduction of this new terminology, namely: "since not only in eternity, but even now hypocrites are not to be said to be with him, although they seem to be in the Church," would appear to indicate more than a mere displeasure with the name. This reasoning seems to divest Christ of all sinners even now. With regard to the first part of it, namely that sinners will not constitute Christ's Body after this life, there is no difficulty; only those who persevere in their goodness to the very end remain eternally in Christ's Body to enjoy the everlasting fruition of God. The second element in that reasoning, that even now hypocrites are not to be spoken of as being with Christ, must, in consistency with St. Augustine's doctrine as has been seen elsewhere, be explained as meaning that they do not constitute the living and true members of the Body of Christ. They do not pertain to the true Body; they are not "de corpore vero" because there is no spiritual element in their soul to bind them to Christ's Body. But "propter temporalem commixtionem et communionem Sacramentorum" they are "de corpore permixto, simulato." They are nevertheless in the Body of Christ. In the momentous passage under study St. Augustine promiscuously employs the term "corpus" and "Ecclesia", "permixtum corpus" and "permixta Ecclesia", intimating thereby that the one concept is equivalent to the other.

Hence it can be concluded that essentially the doctrine contained in

²¹⁷ "Hae duae partes in praedicatione unus homo dicitur, quia et in uno homine possumus duo latera nuncupare, id est dextrum et sinistrum, et sunt in eo multa membra, sed unum corpus. Habet ibi membra sana, habet et infirma. Sana membra sancti sunt, sinistra autem peccatores." These words of Tichonius are quoted by T. Hahn, *Tichonius-Studien. Ein Beitrag zur Kirchen und Dogmengeschichte des vierten Jahrhunderts* (Studien zur Geschichte der Kirche, b. 6, h. 2; Leipzig, 1900), p. 65.

the rule of Tichonius is approved and accepted by St. Augustine. In general, their doctrines of the constitution of the Church in its internal and external aspect present at least a relation of great similarity, if not one of dependence. Before, however, giving the gist of Tichonius' doctrine on the Church, it is expedient to add a few words of introduction on his authority in the opinion of his countryman and opponent in religion, the Bishop of Hippo.

The Doctrine of Tichonius

The period in which Tichonius flourished and his theological works appeared is between 370 and 380.²¹⁸ Hence this almost immediately precedes the time of the appearance of St. Augustine in the arena of theological controversy in Africa. As a Catholic bishop St. Augustine admonishes that the writings of Tichonius must be read with caution, because he is a member of the Donatist party, as well as because of his personal errors.²¹⁹ Yet Tichonius was reckoned by St. Augustine as a man of real theological knowledge, who must have realized that the tenets of his party were not consistent with scriptural teaching concerning the true Church of Christ. Hence it appears that he was not a whole-hearted supporter of his sect, not a Donatist by conviction, but rather by the force of circumstances.²²⁰

St. Augustine in one instance calls Tichonius a heretic,²²¹ but nevertheless he respects the semi-Donatist as a scriptural and theological authority and forges argumentative weapons against the Donatists

²¹⁸ From this period we have from him the following works: (1) *De Bello Intestino*, in the year 370, according to P. Monceaux (*Journal des Savants*, 1909, pp. 161 ff.); (2) *Expositiones Diversarum Causarum*, 375, according to P. Monceaux (*loc. cit.*); (3) *Comentarium in Apocalypsim*, about the year 380; (4) *Liber Regularum*, written according to F. C. Burkitt (*op. cit.*, p. XVIII), "before 383" and according to T. Hahn (*op. cit.*, p. 6), "about 380."

²¹⁹ *De doctr. christ.*, III, 30, 42 (*PL XXXIV*, 81): "Caute sane legendus est, non solum propter quaedam, in quibus ut homo erravit, sed maxime propter illa quae sicut Donatista haereticus loquitur."

²²⁰ A. B. Sharpe, "Tichonius and St. Augustine," *The Dublin Review*, CXXXII (1903), 66: "though himself [Tichonius] a Donatist, he wrote most convincingly against the Donatists."

²²¹ F. C. Burkitt, *op. cit.*, Introduction, p. XVIII: "But this (sicut Donatista haereticus) is St. Augustine's hardest word, and indeed throughout the whole review he treats Tichonius as an authority to be explained rather than as a theorist to be criticized."

from his writings.²²² In his *Retractationes* St. Augustine adduces the explanation of II Tim. 2:20 as found in his *De Baptismo* and as borrowed before from St. Cyprian, but now he asserts that he prefers the interpretation of Tichonius, which he discovered later.²²³ In his *Epistola 249* he recommends to a certain Restitutus that he read Tichonius,²²⁴ precisely on the question of the temporal intermingling of the good and the bad in the Church. He did not think it necessary to write to Restitutus on a subject on which Tichonius had written so well in a work²²⁵ which must have been in the possession of Restitutus and with which he was supposed to have been so well acquainted.

The doctrine of Tichonius on the Church and on the Body of Christ may be summed up in the following synopsis:

1) The Church in its amplest extension consists of those that are baptized and who confess the same faith. By faith he means the profession by the members of the same doctrines, and the acknowledgment of the same moral discipline.²²⁶ All such, be they good or bad, form, as Tichonius calls it, the general or universal Church. "This part which seems to be within is called the general Church."²²⁷

²²² T. Hahn, *Tychonius-Studien*, p. 1: "Augustin erklärt ihn nicht nur für begabt mit scharfem Geiste und reicher Beredsamkeit, sondern nimmt ihn auch gegen seine Feinde in dessen eigenem donatistischen Lager in Schutz, entlehnt ihm aber auch einen Teil der Waffen gegen die afrikanischen Schismatiker: vor allem den Schriftbeweis, jedoch auch sachliche und historische Argumente (Vgl. Ep. 93, 43)."

²²³ *Retract.*, II, 18 (*PL XXXII*, 638; *CSEL* 36, ed. P. Knoll, 152).

²²⁴ *Ep. 249* (*PL XXXIII*, 1065; *CSEL* 57, ed. Al. Goldbacher, IV, 592): "Lege itaque Tichonium quem bene nosti, non quidem omnia probaturus; nam quae in illo cavenda sint, bene nosti. Hanc tamen quaestionem, quomodo in Ecclesia Dei si qua forte perversa vel etiam scelerata corrigere aut extinguere non valemus, salvo unitatis vinculo toleranda sint, strenue videtur mihi tractavisse atque solvisse. Quamquam in ejus litteris tantummodo intentione correcta, ad ipsos divinarum Scripturarum fontes recurrere nos oportet, ut ibi videamus quam pauca de hac re testimonia sententiarum, vel exempla gestorum posuit, et quam nemo possit omnia ponere, nisi qui pene omnes sanctorum Librorum paginas in sua scripta transferre voluerit."

²²⁵ The book to which St. Augustine refers here is most probably *De Bello Intestino*. "Somit hat er in dieser Schrift wohl seine ganze Lehre von der Kirche entwickelt, freilich anlässlich der Kontroverse in seiner Partei" (T. Hahn, *op. cit.*, p. 58).

²²⁶ T. Hahn, *op. cit.*, p. 47: "So ist die Kirche für Tychonius ganz wie für Optatus zunächst die über den Erdkreis verbreitete Gesamtheit derer, die 1) äusserlich getauft sind und 2) denselben 'Glauben' bekennen d.h. katholisches Dogma und katholische Sitte als Norm des Wahren und Guten anerkennen. Es ist das Ecclesia generalis."

²²⁷ "Haec pars quae intus esse videtur generalis Ecclesia nominatur." These words

2) Within this general Church only the good, properly speaking, form the temple, the house of God, a heaven upon earth. The Church is an assembly of holy and pure men. Such holy individuals form an indivisible unity, which is but one person, the Body of Christ.²²⁸

3) Therefore sinners do not, properly speaking, constitute the Body of Christ; they do not enter into the formation of the temple and house of God. Since they are, however, members of the general Church, they are in some sense in, or they pertain to, the Body of Christ. Tichonius considers the Church universally extended according to the promises of the Prophets to be the Mystical Body of Christ.²²⁹ Although the whole general Church even with its sinners is for Tichonius the Body of Christ,²³⁰ yet not all constituting this general Church are members of the Body of Christ in the same manner. A further allusion to, and explanation of, this manner of inherence will be made later in connection with St. Augustine's teaching on the same subject.

Comparing this outline with the corresponding points of doctrine of St. Augustine, it is evident that there is a great similarity in the nature

from Tichonius' *Commentarium in Apocalypsim* were incorporated by Beatus of Liebana (†789?) into his *Commentary on the Apocalypse* and cited by Hahn, *Tichonius-Studien*, p. 61. As to the person of Beatus, who is honored in Spain as a saint under the name of San Biego, see Mabillon, *Acta sanctorum ordinis S. Benedicti*, saec. IV, part. 1 (Venice, 1725), t. V. p. 690-94; *Acta sanctorum*, februarii, t. III (PL XLVI, 847-94); Ceillier, *Hist. des auteurs ecclés.*, 2 (1862, Paris), XII, 214-17. Regarding the commentary on the Apocalypse see Hausleiter, "Die Kommentäre des Victorinus, Tichonius und Hieronymus zur Apokalypse," *Zeitschrift für kirchl. Wissenschaft und Leben*, 1886, pp. 239-57; H. L. Ramsay, "The Manuscripts of 'The Commentary of Beatus of Liebana' on the Apocalypse," *Revue des bibliothèques*, XII (1902), 74-103; H. L. Ramsay, "Le Commentaire de l'Apocalypse par Beatus De Liebana," *Revue d'hist. et de litt. relig.*, VII (1902), 419-47; H. J. Vogels, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der lateinischen Apokalypse-Übersetzungen* (Düsseldorf, 1920), pp. 56 ff.

²²⁸ Hahn, *op. cit.*, p. 64: "Die Kirche ist nämlich die Behausung Gottes; der Tempel der Himmel auf Erden. Gott aber hat kein anderes Haus auf Erden als die, so unschuldiger Hände und reines Herzens sind. Die Kirche ist das Paradies, das niemand betritt, als wer Christus mit reinem Herzen erkannt hat und seinen Spuren nachwandelt. Die Kirche ist die Gesamtheit heiliger Menschen. Alle die einzelnen Heiligen aber bilden in der Kirche eine unzertrennliche Einheit, eine Person."

²²⁹ Hahn, *op. cit.*, p. 163: "Gott hat somit nach Tichonius die Verheissung an Abraham erfüllt, da er diese hierarchische Heilsanstalt herstellte und über die ganze Welt ausbreitete. Diese Kirche ist das corpus Christi für Tichonius."

²³⁰ Hahn, *op. cit.*, p. 65: "Dennoch hatte auch die äussere anstaltliche Kirche für Tichonius eine so grosse Bedeutung, dass er auch ihr die Bezeichnung des *corpus Christi* nicht nehmen will."

and structure of the Church according to Tichonius and St. Augustine. The terminology and mode of expression of the Catholic differ from those of the semi-Donatist; besides, St. Augustine enters profoundly into the very interior constitution of the Body of Christ and of its members. So far as we know from the works that are extant, no attempt at this was made by Tichonius. Apart from these characteristics, and as far as the more superficial constitution of the Church and Body of Christ is concerned, both are exponents of a doctrine which is very much alike.²³¹ This outcome is so much the more welcome in that it corroborates the conclusions at which we have already arrived about St. Augustine's doctrine on the Church.

In taking over into his *De Doctrina Christiana* these rules of Tichonius towards the end of his life, St. Augustine acknowledged in theory the exegetical methods he followed in practice for so many years. An excellent specimen of their full practical value relating to the Body of Christ is the bulky *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, whose central theme is Christ and His Church, especially the coexistence of the wicked with the good in the Church.²³² Whenever a Psalm is referable to Christ—and most or all of them are according to St. Augustine and other writers of these times²³³—the predicates that cannot be verified in the Person of Christ are transferred to His Body, the Church.

Some verses cannot be referred to Christ because they offend against the sanctity of His Person. Sin, shortcomings, imperfections, some human frailties and emotions are made referable by Tichonius and St. Augustine to the members of the Body of Christ. This is true even of those sins which St. Augustine reckons as bringing death to the

²³¹ Hahn, *op. cit.*, p. 115: "Beide stellen eine civitas Dei und civitas diaboli einander gegenüber. Beide haben einen doppelten Kirchenbegriff: auch bei Augustin ist nicht klar, was ihm wichtiger ist, die Gemeinde der boni, oder das hierarchische Institut der katholischen Kirche. Nach beiden leben die Heiligen in der Kirche unter der Überzahl der Sünder. Beide sind Gegner der Separation, sehen in dem inneren Schmerz über die Sünden rings umher den Wesenunterschied und das in Gottes Augen vollkommen Trennende von Heiligen und Sündern."

²³² M. Pontet *L'exégèse de S. Augustin Prédicateur* (Paris, 1945), p. 388: "A travers la diversité de tous les siècles un seul homme, tête et membres, apparaît et se construit, Jésus-Christ agrège un à un les prédestinés à son corps mystique; mais cette construction, ce progrès ne ce font qu'au milieu des réactions atroces des méchants."

²³³ E.g., Tertullian, *Adv. Praxean*, II (CSEL 47, III, 244): "Omnes pene psalmi Christi personam sustinent."

member. Those who commit them are usually said to be in the Church, but they are also placed, as dead members, in the Body of Christ. Not every passage dealing with sin or the sinner can, of course, be taken in this sense. Under it come many infirmities and less worthy attributes, which, however, are quite natural and common to human nature. The Person of Christ and His human nature are free from these frailties and imperfections, but His members are subject to them. And such sins are compatible with the living and true members of the Body of Christ.

Adherence of Sinners to Christ's Body

We have seen heretofore a whole series of scriptural arguments used by St. Augustine against the Donatists to prove the prediction of the Scriptures that the Church would contain even sinners among its members until the end of time. It was pointed out that in these instances the Church was conceived of in its social and visible form as the Church of the sacraments. Many of the images under which the Church is represented in its social capacity and empirical aspect as containing sinners, according to St. Augustine's argumentation, are gathered together in his commentary on Psalm 138, wherein the Church is nevertheless unmistakably treated as the Body of Christ.

Now however says the Body of Christ, which is the Church: why is it that the proud calumniate me, as if others' sins defile me, and therefore separating themselves, 'receive their cities in vain? Did I not hate those, Lord, who hated thee?' Why do the more wicked ones demand from me also a corporal separation from the evil ones, so as to pull out at the same time the wheat with the chaff before the harvest-time; so that I may lose the patience of suffering the straw before the winnowing-time; so that I may break the nets of peace and unity before all kinds of fish arrive at the end of the world as to a shore to be separated?²³⁴

Two things are presupposed in this text: first, a complete identity or

²³⁴ *Enar. in Ps. 138, 27 (PL XXXVII, 1801)*: "Nunc autem dicit corpus Christi, quod est Ecclesia: quid est quod mihi calumniantur superbi, quasi me maculent aliena peccata, et propterea separando se, accipiunt in vanitate civitates suas? Nonne eos qui oderunt te, Domine, odio habui? Ut quid a me peiores exigunt etiam corporalem a malis separationem, ut ante tempus messis simul cum zizaniis eradicetur et triticum (Mt. 13, 30); ut ante tempus ventilationis perdam sustinentiam tolerandi paleam (Mt. 3, 12); ut antequam omnia genera piscium ad finem saeculi tanquam ad littus separanda perveniant, retia pacis unitatisque disruptam (Mt. 13, 47)?"

coincidence of that Church which may be called the Church of the sacraments and that Church which is the Body of Christ; secondly, the same sinners that have been included in the Church of the sacraments with all the force of scriptural arguments are given a place in that Church which is the Body of Christ.

Nor can it be retorted against the above text, which so happily unites both aspects of the Church in regard to the same class of sinners, that there is in it but a customary replacing of the word "Ecclesia" by "corpus Christi," or the casual joining of one to the other, without the design or precise intention of signifying specifically the Body of Christ. For in his commentary on the Psalms St. Augustine treats of the Church precisely as the Body of Christ. His general principle is that Christ is the subject of each Psalm. At times Christ the Head is spoken of; at times His members; at times both Head and members are considered together as one.

There is also an example wherein a whole Church, that is a particular or regional Church, is considered dead, namely: "That Church, to whose angel²³⁵ in the figure of its superiors or souls it is said that it does not live, that it is dead, and still it is enumerated among the seven Churches, and the precepts of life are inculcated to it not divided (*divisae*)²³⁶ from the structure (*compage*) of the Body of Christ, but remaining in its unity."²³⁷

And yet, this Church, although it is dead, is allowed a place in the Body of Christ because it has not separated itself from the Body of Christ, as heretics and schismatics have done. Christ suffers on account of both:

²³⁵ St. Augustine is in accord here with the exegesis and opinion of Tichonius, which he seems to have adopted: *De doct. christ.*, III, 30, 42 (*PL XXXIV, 81*): "Neque enim aliquid illic tale versatur aut quaeritur, sicut in Apocalypsi Joannis quaerit [Tichonius], quemadmodum intelligendi sint angeli Ecclesiarum septem, quibus scribere jubetur, et ratiocinatur multipliciter, et ad hoc pervenit ut ipsos angelos intelligamus Ecclesias. (Apoc. 1, 20)."

²³⁶ With regard to the word "divisae" which is so momentous in the whole passage, MSS. are at variance. The reading adopted above is according to the restitution of the text made by the Maurist Fathers in their edition. Other edited texts instead of "divisae" have "diverse" or even "divise agenti." This last word "agenti," however, is not found in the MSS.

²³⁷ *Contra ep. Parm.*, II, 10 (*PL XLIII, 63; CSEL 51, ed. M. Petschenig, 67*): "Illa Ecclesia, cujus angelo in figura praepositorum vel animarum dicitur quod non vivat, sed mortuus sit, et tamen inter septem Ecclesias numeratur, nec ei divisae a compage corporis Christi, sed in unitate perseveranti praecepta vitae insinuantur. (Apoc. 3, 1-6)."

the sinners in His Body and the heretics outside of His Body.²³⁸ The Augustinian principle, then, in this matter may be construed in the following manner: all adhering to the Church's unity adhere also to the unity of Christ's Body, even if they are dead as in the case just adduced of the regional Church.

Let us recall the Church or the Body of Christ under the image of a temple. It is true that St. Augustine works out a fine distinction, already described, between those who form and constitute the temple and those who are merely in it. Nevertheless in his exposition of the Psalms he explicitly calls the Body of Christ a temple and asserts that the Body of Christ, as the temple, has in it both the good and the bad. It is expressly and intentionally stated here that not only the temple but the Body of Christ, which is the temple, has the bad in it. "If therefore that temple was a figure, it is manifest because also the Body of Christ which is a true temple whose image it was, has mixed those who buy and sell, that is those seeking their own and not that of Jesus Christ."²³⁹

It would be pointless to multiply testimonies to this effect from his explanations of the Psalms. Some few examples as illustrations of his teaching that sinners belong not only to the juridical Church but also to the Mystical Body of Christ have been selected. From these examples the underlying principles or doctrine can be discovered.

The Manner of Inherence

As a conclusion from all that has been hitherto observed relative to the good and the bad coexisting in the Body of Christ, it is to be stated that the position of these two classes as regards that Body is not identical but contrasting. Only the good are members to such an extent as to be unequivocally the Body of Christ, as to constitute the Body of Christ; the evil only adhere to that Body. In the case of the member-

²³⁸ *Enar. in Ps. 88, 26 (PL XXXVII, 1800)*: "Et deinde dicit quid interea per totum hoc tempus, dum jam resurrexit et adhuc cum Patre est, patiatur hic per commixtionem peccatorum in corpore suo, quod est Ecclesia, et per separationem haeticorum."

²³⁹ *Enar. in Ps. 130, 2 (PL XXXVII, 1704)*: "Si autem figura erat illud templum, manifestum est quia et corpus Christi, quod est verum templum cujus illa imago erat, habet permixtos ementes et vendentes, id est sua quaerentes, non quae Jesu Christi." With regard to the last expression, namely "sua quaerentes, non quae Jesu Christi," it may be remarked to avoid doubt that by it St. Augustine designates real sinners not worthy of Christ.

ship of the good there is an internal, let us say organic, living structure; in the latter an external, voluntary, but unnecessary attachment. This will further be made clear by the comparisons employed by St. Augustine.

The virtuous faithful who form the Body of Christ are compared to the woman of the Gospel story,²⁴⁰ who touched Christ. The others who are in His Church are likened to the crowd that pressed upon Christ. This scriptural likeness fits into the scheme of his theology on the Mystical Body of Christ. Those who touch Christ are no other than those who have contact through internal life with Christ; only these, then, can form His living members, be one with Him and constitute His Body. The crowd of sinners of which he speaks are in the Church; and because they are in it, they press upon, or rather oppress, the Body of Christ. They are not life-possessing members of it because they do not participate in the life of the spiritual lifegiver, Christ.²⁴¹ Therefore, following the same line of thought, he exhorts his faithful in another sermon in the following words: "Be, therefore, the Body of Christ and not an oppression (*pressura*) of the Body of Christ."²⁴²

Let us study another image to the same effect. The anthropomorphic figure under which membership in the Church is realistically presented occurs in St. Augustine's commentary on the Epistle of St. John. In both commentaries, the one on the Gospel of St. John and the other on the Epistle of St. John, not a little is found on the Church as the Mystical Body of Christ.²⁴³ Commenting on the words: "antichristi multi facti sunt. Ex nobis exierunt," he refers the word "antichrist" to the heretics and schismatics of his time; they departed from the unity of Church, the Body of Christ; they are now outside the Church. But we are to take consolation, he says, because they would not have gone

²⁴⁰ L 8:44-46.

²⁴¹ *Sermo III, I (PL XXXVIII, 642)*: "Haec est massa sanctorum. Quanto clariore voce dictura est area ventilata, a turba impiorum et malorum falsorumque christianorum segregata, et ad ignes aeternos separatis his qui premunt, non tangunt: mulier enim quaedam fimbriam tangebatur, turba Christum premebat (Lc. 8, 42): separatis ergo omnibus damnandis, massa purgata stans ad dexteram, nullum sibi timens misceri malorum, nullum timens perdere bonorum, regnaturam cum Christo."

²⁴² *Sermo 42, 4, 7 (PL XXXVIII, 417)*: "Estote ergo corpus Christi, non pressura corporis Christi." Cf. *Sermo 81, 1, 1 (PL XXXVIII, 499-500)*.

²⁴³ Cf. Marie Comeau, *Saint Augustin exégète du Quatrième Évangile* (2e éd.; Paris, 1930), pp. 339-69.

out, if they were of us.²⁴⁴ Only an antichrist can leave the unity of the Church. Who, however, is not such an antichrist remains in the unity of the Church and adheres to the Body of Christ; he is reputed (*computatur*) a member of that Body.²⁴⁵

Besides these already outside of the Church, St. Augustine treats in the passage under consideration two other classes of men who are within the Body of Christ: (1) the good with whom he is not concerned, and (2) the wicked whom he expressly adjudges as being in the Body but in the form of some burden and impediment: "humores mali."²⁴⁶ It would be, in fact, better for the Body if it would rid itself of them. He takes his comparison from the human body: "And there are those who are within the Body of our Lord Jesus Christ in such a manner as bad humors. When they are vomited, then the body is relieved; so also when the wicked leave, then the Church is relieved."²⁴⁷ The Church here on earth is not in perfect health; it is not formed exclusively of healthy members.²⁴⁸ It must, therefore, suffer unhealthy members,

²⁴⁴ *In Io. Ep. tr. III, 4 (PL XXXV, 1999)*: "Omnes haeretici, omnes schismatici ex nobis exierunt, id est, ex Ecclesia exeunt; sed non exirent, si ex nobis essent. Antequam exirent ergo, non erant ex nobis."

²⁴⁵ *Ibid.*: "Jam quis sit contrarius Christo, nunc advertis ipso exponente, et intelligitis non posse exire foras nisi antichristos: eos autem qui non sunt Christo contrarii, foras exire nullo modo posse. Qui enim non est Christo contrarius, in corpore ipsius haeret, et membrum computatur."

²⁴⁶ Later ecclesiologists have frequently made use of St. Augustine's analogy and sought to expand it by further examples of things in the human body not having, or not appearing to have, life. Thus, R. Bellarmine, *De Controversiis Christianae Fidei*, I, III, c. 3 (*Opera Omnia Bellarmini* [Neapoli, 1856], II, 75, 91): "... tales sunt sicut capilli, aut ungues, aut mali humores in corpore humano." Cf. De la Servièrre, *La théologie de Bellarmin* (Paris, 1909), pp. 170-71; S. Hosius, *Confutatio Prolegomenon Brentii*, I, III (*Opera Omnia Hosii* [Coloniae, 1584], I, 537): "Contra mali sic sunt in Christi corpore Ecclesia, sicut sunt in humano corpore sanguis noxius, humores mali, capilli, ungues, membra arefacta, quae tametsi vitam a spiritu non recipiunt, sunt nihilominus in corpore." Cf. G. M. Grabka, *Cardinalis Hosii doctrina de Corpore Christi Mystico* (Washington, D. C., 1945), pp. 256 ff.

²⁴⁷ *In Io. Ep. tr. III, 4 (PL XXXV, 1999)*: "Et sunt qui intus sic sunt in corpore Domini nostri Jesu Christi; quando quidem adhuc curatur corpus ipsius, et sanitas perfecta non erit nisi in resurrectione mortuorum; sic sunt in corpore Christi, quomodo humores mali. Quando evomuntur, tunc relevatur corpus: sic et mali quando exeunt, tunc Ecclesia relevatur. Et dicit quando eos evomit atque projicit corpus: Ex me exierunt humores isti, sed non erant ex me. Quid est, non erant ex me? Non de carne mea praecisi sunt, sed pectus mihi premebant cum inessent."

²⁴⁸ It is not altogether correct, therefore, to exclude sinners from the Mystical Body of Christ without any qualification, as is frequently done; e.g., Sheldon, *History of Christian*

especially since there is more hope and opportunity for them to regain their health whilst attached to the Body of Christ.²⁴⁹

Sinners are spoken of as being in the Body of Christ, under the term "the sick" or "the feeble" (*infirmi*). The word in itself would more properly signify those that really form the Body of Christ, but for whom, on account of their weakness, there is hope and an expectation of their improvement through the grace of Christ²⁵⁰ or for whom there is no guarantee of perseverance. Yet in some cases the text and the context demand that this word be interpreted to designate real sinners in the Body of Christ.²⁵¹ This infirmity, then, does not lie in the imperfections, omissions, negligences, and defects that are natural even to the just constituting the Body of Christ, but it is the infirmity of those devoid of internal health, and health in the Body of Christ, according to St. Augustine, is charity. Hence, they are members adhering to Christ, as it were, externally by virtue of adhering to His Church. To them the internal life of Christ is not communicated in default of an internal, vital contact.²⁵²

Tichonius also employs the term *infirmi* in the same sense as St. Augustine; viz., for sinners devoid of life, of justice and grace. These sinners, however, are allowed a place in the Body of Christ itself, although they are segregated, as it were, by their location in it from the holy to whom that Body of Christ will bring salvation. He says: "[The Body of Christ] has there healthy members, it has also sick

Doctrines (New York, 1901), p. 269: "Some may be externally connected with this Church who are not truly parts thereof, not members of the body of Christ. These excrescences, however, will be cut off in time, and cannot impair the claims of the Catholic Church to be the one true Church."

²⁴⁹ *In Io. Ep. tr., III, 6 (PL XXXV, 2000)*: "Aut in membris sumus, aut in humoribus malis. Qui se in melius commutat, in corpore membrum est: qui autem in malitia permanet, humor malus est; et quando exierit, relevabuntur qui premebantur."

²⁵⁰ *Sermo 76, 2, 3-4, 6 (PL XXXVIII, 480-82)*.

²⁵¹ *In Io. Ep. tr. 52, 2 (PL XXXV, 1770)*: "O Domine mediator. Deus supra nos, homo propter nos, agnosco misericordiam tuam. Nam quod tu tantus tuae charitatis voluntate turbaris, multos in corpore tuo qui suae infirmitatis necessitate turbantur, ne desperando pereant consolaris."

²⁵² J. Vetter, *Der heilige Augustinus und das Geheimnis des Leibes Christi* (Mainz, 1929), p. 127: "Die sichtbare Kirche stellt die grössere Gemeinschaft dar, die jenen engeren Kreis der 'Heiligen' zwar in ihrem Schosse trägt, darüber hinaus aber auch kranke und sogar todkranke Glieder in ihrer Einheit beschlossen halt, denen sie durch ihre Gnademittel Gesundheit und Leben erneuern will. Eben in dieser Ermöglichung der Geheiligten liegt der Sinn der sichtbaren Kirche als Gemeinschaft der gesunden und kranken Glieder."

[ones]. The healthy members are the holy, the feeble indeed [are] sinners; his right are the saints, but his left sinners."²⁵³

The *infirmi*, therefore, in the sense just described are to be identified with those whom St. Augustine occasionally calls *mortui*. Both terms are intended to signify the same object, but under different respects. The *infirmi*, indeed, are such on account of the lack of health (*sanitas*), which is charity in the individual and the corporate entity; yet the term seems to intimate their inherence in the Church as such as well as the Body of Christ as such. The term *mortui* directly denotes the want of internal, spiritual life and of a living connection with the Body of Christ.²⁵⁴

In practical pastoral life, when special steps have been taken to induce a sinner to become converted, apparently without success, such a one ought to be considered as dead, and consequently should merit to be severed from the Body of Christ entirely.²⁵⁵ If the Church, nevertheless, is loath to do this, it is because, on the one hand, she thus imitates God in exercising mercy and patience;²⁵⁶ on the other hand, because the conversion of a sinner under the influence of grace is not to be considered as unfeasible. Death has entered his soul but the omnipotent Physician is able to restore life to it.²⁵⁷ Hence also the justification of

²⁵³ "Habet [Corpus Christi] ibi membra sana, habet et infirma. Sana membra sancti sunt, infirma vero peccatores; dextra ejus sancti sunt, sinistra autem peccatores." These words of Tichonius are preserved in the Commentary of Beatus, quoted by Hahn, *Tichonius-Studien*, p. 65.

²⁵⁴ C. Romeis, *Das Heil des Christen ausserhalb der wahren Kirche nach der Lehre des hl. Augustinus* (Paderborn, 1908), p. 20: "Er (Augustinus) unterscheidet sehr wohl zwischen der äusseren Eingliederung in den Organismus der Kirche und dem inneren Lebensprinzip, das den Christen zu einem lebendigen, tätigen und fügsamen Gliede macht."

²⁵⁵ *Sermo* 17, 3 (PL XXXVIII, 125): "Quando aliquid pungitur et dolet, aut sanum est, aut in illo spes aliqua sanitatis: quando autem tangitur, pungitur, vellicatur, nec dolet; pro mortuo habendum est, ac de corpore praecidendum. Sed aliquando nos parcimus, et non novimus nisi loqui: excommunicare, de Ecclesia projicere pigri sumus."

²⁵⁶ *Enar. in Ps.* 93, 18 (PL XXXVII, 1206): "Qui hoc volunt quod Deus vult. Parci peccatoribus, tu vis ut jam perdat peccatores. . . . Vult autem Deus parcere malis, tu non vis parci: patiens est Deus peccatoribus, tu non vis tolerare peccatores. Sed ut dicere coeperam, aliud Deus: converte cor tuum, et dirige ad Deum; quia et Dominus infirmis compassus est. Vidit in corpore suo, id est in Ecclesia sua infirmos, qui primo voluntatem suam sequi tentarent; sed cum viderent voluntatem Dei aliam esse, dirigerent se et cor suum ad suscipiendam et sequendam voluntatem Dei."

²⁵⁷ *Sermo* 17, 3 (PL XXXVIII, 125): "Et quamvis qui tales sunt, jam in anima mortui sunt: tamen quia Medicus noster omnipotens est, non est desperandum de his; sed totis viribus supplicandum, ut aures cordis, quas clausas habere probantur, Dominus aperire dignetur."

both terms *infirmi* and *mortui* when applied to the same members of the Body of Christ. It is evident, however, that in the type, that is in the human body, the difference between a dead member and an infirm one would be considerable. In another passage St. Augustine designates the same sinners as decaying or distorted members, who mar the Body of Christ, so that it would, in consequence, be better if they were cut off. He urges, therefore, each member: "let him be beautiful, useful, healthy; let him adhere to the body, let him live for God from God."²⁵⁸

There is another long series of testimonies bearing on this subject, which at first sight seem to suggest a sharp line of demarcation between sinners and the Body of Christ. They are namely those descriptions wherein the good and the holy constituting the Body of Christ are portrayed as one unit, a whole, or a person in the middle of the evil. The Body of Christ is said to be in the midst of a multitude of the wicked,²⁵⁹ to be making a pilgrimage here on earth among sinners,²⁶⁰ to be persecuted²⁶¹ and oppressed²⁶² by them, so that it must sigh among them,²⁶³ and cry to God²⁶⁴ that He deliver the Body of Christ from the wicked. Liberation from all the evil, however, is not to be expected during the

²⁵⁸ *In Io. Ev. tr.* 26, 13 (PL XXXV, 1613): "Fiant (fideles) corpus Christi si volunt vivere de Spiritu Christi. De Spiritu Christi non vivit, nisi corpus Christi. . . . Accedat, credat, incorporetur, ut vivificetur. Non abhorreat a compage membrorum, non sit putre membrum quod resecari mereatur, non sit distortum de quo erubescatur: sit pulchrum, sit aptum, sit sanum; haereat corpori, vivat Deo de Deo."

²⁵⁹ *Enar. in Ps.* 52, 1 (PL XXXVI, 613): "Prodeant in medium qui male vivunt. . . . haec tanta hominum multitudo est, ut inter eos positum corpus Christi, vix audeat reprehendere."

²⁶⁰ *Enar. in Ps.* 119, 7 (PL XXXVII, 1602): "Si ergo possessio Christi usque ad fines terrae, et possessio Christi omnes sancti et omnes sancti unus homo in Christo, quia unitas sancta in Christo est; ipse unus homo dicit. . . . Hujus ergo longinqua peregrinatio facta est inter malos."

²⁶¹ *Enar. in Ps.* 85, 19 (PL XXXVII, 1095): "Insurgunt super corpus Christi mali Christiani, de quibus quotidie tribulationem patitur corpus Christi. Omnia schismata, omnes haereses, omnes intus pessime viventes et mores suos bene viventibus imponentes, et ad sua trahentes, et malis colloquiis bonos mores corruptentes; ipsi praetereuntes legem insurrexerunt super me."

²⁶² *In Io. Ep. tr.* III, 4-5 (PL XXXV, 1999-2000).

²⁶³ *Enar. in Ps.* 138, 29 (PL XXXVII, 1802): "Cum ergo corpus Christi ab impiis et iniquis etiam corporaliter in fine separandum, nunc inter eos interim gemat; . . . quid inter haec agit corpus Christi?"

²⁶⁴ *Enar. in Ps.* 141, 16 (PL XXXVII, 1842): "'Erue me a persequentibus me,' . . . Corpus Christi clamat, Ecclesiae vox est, membra Christi clamant: multum crevit numerus peccatorum."

period of the earthly existence of the Church, but is reserved for the life to come.²⁶⁵

This mode of description so frequently occurring especially in his lengthy commentary on the Psalms does not entail any real division of Church unity, as if separating the Body of Christ from the congregation of the wicked. The division, of course, is internal according to the patterns of sanctity and to the possession of grace; it is a separation of hearts and minds; it is a disparateness of wills and morality. It does not, however, affect the unity of an undivided Church and of a unique Body. The good and the wicked forming one visible and discernible Church can be considered as two classes in the Church, spiritually apart and foreign to each other in the very formation of Christ's Body. Yet the wicked are not so foreign and distant as to be excluded from an external attachment, so to speak, or from a certain participation in the Body of Christ. Thus in the commentary to Psalm 138, the sinners at the outset are presented as taking part in the Body of Christ, and are spoken of later as sinners in the midst of whom the Body of Christ must suffer.²⁶⁶ And elsewhere²⁶⁷ speaking of sinners who left the Church, he asserts that they were not cut off from Christ's Body, but that they were those who pressed upon His chest when they were within.

In this matter of the relation of sinners to the Body of Christ it is interesting to observe in some passages, when St. Augustine is compelled to be exact in expression, how his mind conceives definite distinctions, which are expressed by certain adverbial particles. Examples could be multiplied; a few instances will suffice. Thus in the commentary on the famous rule of Tichonius one cannot help feeling the emphasis on the word "really" (*revera*): the wicked are "really" not the Body of Christ. In contradistinction to the mass of sinners the good are said to be "properly" (*proprie*) the Body of Christ.²⁶⁸ Whilst

²⁶⁵ *Enar. in Ps.* 110, 1 (PL XXXVII, 1463): "Ecce personat in hoc psalmo quemdam exultantem felici exultatione, praefigurat et scaturientem corde in amore Dei populum sc. corpus Christi ab omni malo liberatum" (that is in heaven).

²⁶⁶ *Enar. in Ps.* 138, 29 (PL XXXVII, 1802).

²⁶⁷ *In Io. Ep. tr.* III, 4 (PL XXXV, 1999): "Non de mea carne praecisi sunt, sed pectus mihi premebant cum inessent."

²⁶⁸ *Contra Faust.* 14, 16 (PL XLIII, 292): "Ne impatientia tolerandi malos, relinquuntur boni, qui proprie sunt corpus Christi; et ideo cum ipsi relinquuntur, ille relinquuntur."

the sinner is only "seemingly" (*videntur*) within, the holy is "truly" (*vere*) in that Church which is the Body of Christ.²⁶⁹

It may be opportune to add here a fairly long passage drawn from Tichonius, which reads like one of St. Augustine's and from which it is sufficiently evident that their ecclesiological doctrines were much alike. At times the thought is more simply and clearly expressed by the semi-Donatist than by the Catholic; in many an instance the terminology is identical. In any case, it may be stated that the two agree on the co-existence of sinners with the good in the Body of Christ and on their manner of inherence in that same Body. Tichonius, therefore, must be respected for his important corroborative value in interpreting St. Augustine. Here are the words of Tichonius:

These two parts in speaking are said to be one man, because likewise in one man we are able to name two sides, that is the right and the left, and there are in it many members, but one body. It has there healthy members, and it has also infirm members. Healthy members are the holy, the infirm however are sinners. Just as there are in man infirm members, so that the healthy members suffer, and a person is relieved from sickness then when the wound has gone away, so also wicked men, which is the left part, are among the healthy members of the Church, after the manner of bad humors (tumors?).²⁷⁰

Tichonius, therefore, is more blunt than St. Augustine is in his statement placing the wicked in the Mystical Body of Christ. He is explicit in affirming that the good and the evil are members—each in their own way—of the Body of Christ. Like St. Augustine, he calls them sick members; again, like St. Augustine, he likens them to bad fluids in the human body or tumors, of which it is better for the body to rid itself.²⁷¹ From these particular analogies common to both writers it

²⁶⁹ *Contra Crescen.* II, 33, 42 (PL XLIII, 492; CSEL 52, ed. M. Petschenig, 402):

"Quia nec propter malos qui videntur esse intus, deserendi sunt boni qui vere sunt intus."

²⁷⁰ The quotation is taken from Hahn, *Tychonius-Studien*, p. 65: "Hae duae partes in praedicatione unus homo dicitur, quia et in uno homine possumus duo latera nuncupare, id est dextrum et sinistrum, et sunt in ea multa membra, sed unum corpus. Habet ibi membra sana, habet et infirma. Sana membra sancti sunt, infirma vero peccatores. Sicut sunt in homine membra infirma, et ita ut sana doleant, et tunc relevatur homo ab aegritudine, cum vulnus foras exierit, ita et homines mali, quod sinistra pars est, sic sunt in membra ecclesiae sana quod est dextera pars, sicut humores (tumores?) mali."

²⁷¹ *Loc. cit.*: "Der Donatist sieht als eine göttliche Ordnung an, dass stets zum Körper Christi auch Böse gehören müssen. Gute wie Böse sind Glieder an dem einem Leibe, die einen gesund, die anderen krank. Oder wie er noch besser erklärt, die bösen sind wie ein Geschwür im Leibe, von dem der Körper nur befreit wird, wenn es losbricht; es ist nicht

appears that Tichionus, although in a different camp, was to some extent a writer who exercised some influence on St. Augustine.

The Foundation for This Doctrine

In the course of these pages, especially the last several ones, it has become more evident that sinners are in the Body of Christ precisely because they are in the visible Church of Christ. The visible, social unity and the sacramental communion make them all belong to one and the same Church,²⁷² which is at the same time the Body of Christ. Participation in ecclesiastical observances and sacramental rites makes them be within the Church.²⁷³ These external uniting factors cause them to be of one fold. Another necessary element whereby the sinner is retained in the Church is unity of faith, which is equivalent to the profession of the same doctrine. Those who sin against the oneness of the fold are schismatics; they disrupt the unity of the Church and find themselves outside of it. Those who sin against the oneness of doctrine are heretics; through stubbornly professing and defending error, they likewise cut themselves off from the one true Church. Besides these links of union, there seems to be no other apparent connecting bond for sinners in the Church, especially of an internal nature, to which one could point with any amount of certainty.²⁷⁴ It is in this manner that the coincidence of the members comprised by the juridical Church and the Body of Christ extends itself also to sinners.²⁷⁵

der Körper aber im Körper und bereit auch den gesunden Gliedern Schmerzen. Die Bösen sind an den Guten wie ungesunde Feuchtigkeiten. Mit ihnen muss stets die Kirche erscheinen und wird als schwarz um ihretwillen verlastert (R 10, 14-16). Hier ist die Schwierigkeit überwunden, aber nicht immer ist Tychonius so klar. Das Corpus Christi sind eigentlich nur die Guten, aber es ist krank und entstellt, weil es immer an und in sich die Bösen trägt."

²⁷² *Ep.* 149, 3 (PL XXXIII, 631: CSEL 44, ed. Al. Goldbacher, III, 350): "Per sacramentorum communionem unitatisque Catholicae videntur Ecclesiae copulati."

²⁷³ *In Io. Ep. tr.* III, 5 (PL XXXV, 1999): "multi qui non sunt ex nobis, accipiunt nobiscum sacramenta, accipiunt nobiscum baptismum, accipiunt nobiscum quod norunt fideles se accipere benedictionem, eucharistiam, et quidquid in sacramentis est; ipsius altaris communicationem accipiunt nobiscum, et non sunt ex nobis."

²⁷⁴ The interior link, as expressly pointed out by later theology, is faith, as an intrinsic reality, whereby our union with the Church is preserved.

²⁷⁵ This identity of the visible Church and the Body of Christ, is maintained by A. Dorner, *Augustinus: Sein theologisches System und seine Religionsphilosophische Anschauung* (Berlin, 1873), pp. 263-76; W. Simpson, *St. Augustine and African Church Divisions* (London, 1910), p. 71: "This Catholic Church is the Body of Christ."

To hold that the empirical Church is an entity separate from the Mystical Body, or that only a certain part of the members is common to both, is a supposition, which, although it seems to have so many testimonies in its favor, still cannot be harmonized with many others and with the whole Augustinian theological system. To go still further and maintain that the Augustinian notion of the Church is that of the predestined²⁷⁶ is to be in favor of a theory which can be supported only by one who is intent on the selection of just those passages from St. Augustine's works that fit into a preconceived theory, without giving any attention to the many others that cannot be made to fit into such a structure. It is indeed hard to conceive how the ingenious and sincere Catholic bishop should have sacrificed himself and fought so strenuously to the end of his life for the visible and hierarchical Church, which was not, or at least not necessarily, the Mystical Body of Christ; or still worse, how he could have done all this, knowing after all that only the predestined, whether within the *Catholica* or outside of it, were members of the Church of Christ.

This however, is true, that although the empirical Church and its members, including sinners, are the Mystical Body of Christ, nevertheless there is an all-important difference in the manner of inherence, the extent of participation of the just and the unjust in that Body, and the final goal which is reached by each group. It has been pointed out that if our attention is focused upon the Body of Christ as such, namely upon its sanctity and internal life, then we must deny that sinners have a part in this Body considered precisely under this respect.²⁷⁷ If the

²⁷⁶ Thus W. Bright, *Lessons from the Lives of Three Great Fathers*, appdx., XVII, pp. 280 f., states that the true or "interior" Church is "the Church visible minus those who hereafter would be eliminated as having no part in her true life." It consists of "those members of the visible body who realized their privileges and their obligations, who were Christians inwardly as well as outwardly," and who were therefore "the objects of a divine predestinating election." We may note that Bright observes that Augustine's idea of an "interior" Church is not to be confounded with the "invisible" Church as held by many Protestants.

²⁷⁷ The words of A. Harnack, implicitly identifying the Church with the Mystical Body and separating sinners from the Church merely with respect to holiness, are correct. *Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte*, III (4th ed.; Tübingen, 1909), 147: "Die Unheiligen in der Kirche gehören fraglos zur Kirche; denn sie stehen in der Einheit unter Wirkung der Heiligungsmittel und können noch boni spirituales werden. Allein sie gehören nicht zum Heiligtum der Kirche, sondern bilden einen weiteren Kreis in ihr ("vasa in contumeliam in domo Dei"); sie sind nicht selbst, wie die "vasa in honorem," die domus Dei,

Church, therefore, is viewed solely from the standpoint of sanctity—life internal, life-giving faith, charity, justice, grace—there is an invisible separation and internal division between the good and the wicked, constituting nevertheless the same Church.

Summarily, therefore, the *Catholica* as the empirical and visible Church, is synonymous with the Body of Christ, so far as unity and identity of membership are concerned. When, however, the particular denotation of each contrasted group comes into consideration—such as the internal life of the Body of Christ and the internal want of life in the sinner—the notions are simply not convertible. Thus, the just and holy, having internal spiritual life, form the Body of Christ and are the Body of Christ. Sinners, devoid of spiritual life, while they are attached to the Body as dead members by virtue of their inherence in the Church, are not the Body; they do not form it, but nevertheless they are in it.²⁷⁸

A treatise on the Church and the relation of sinners to that Church as the Body of Christ according to St. Augustine cannot be complete unless it extends beyond the limit of earthly confines and times into eternity. St. Augustine, although intensely interested in the Church as it is now, never loses sight of the final goal of the Church, which is to render men happy through the attainment of God and to hold them united for eternity. They who have reached this goal constitute the real Church or the unadulterated Body of Christ in heaven.

In the final section, due consideration will be accorded to the Church as it will find itself after its earthly pilgrimage—devoid of all sinners. Such will be the Body of Christ in heaven, to remain such forever, for it

sondern sind "im Hause"; sie sind "in communione sacramentorum," nicht im eigentlichen Verbands des Hauses, sondern "congregationi sanctorum admixti;" sie sind deshalb in gewissem Sinn nicht in der Kirche, weil sie nicht die Kirche selbst sind; daher kann man auch die Kirche als "corpus permixtum" bezeichnen."

²⁷⁸ The membership therefore of the *Catholica* is to be identified with the membership of the Mystical Body; the qualifications, however, of each division are not identical. In this sense, I believe, the following passage can be understood: J. Vetter, *Der heilige Augustinus und das Geheimnis des Leibes Christi*, p. 127: "Aber gerade die menschliche Schwachheit des Pilgerstandes hat zur Folge, dass innerhalb der sichtbaren Kirche um jene Gemeinschaft der Heiligen ein fortwährendes Ab- und Zuströmen durch Verlust und Wiedergewinn der Gnade möglich ist. Dieses Auf- und Absteigen aus dem Heiligen ins Unheilige, ohne dass dadurch die grosse Einheit böswillig verlassen wird verbietet uns, die grosse sichtbare Kirche ohne weiteres mit der engeren Gemeinschaft der "Heiligen" identisch zu erklären."

will be indefectible then. A short study of Augustinian predestination and its relationship to the Church would be in place, but this would carry us beyond the scope of the present article. Suffice it to say that St. Augustine's predestination is realized within the framework of the Church which Christ founded and which is the Mystical Body of Christ, as has been so frequently pointed out.

IV. THE EXCLUSION OF SINNERS FROM THE CELESTIAL BODY OF CHRIST OR FROM THE CELESTIAL CHURCH

The Church founded by Jesus Christ and destined to be one, universal, and to exist until the end of the world, propagated by the Apostles and subject in obedience to their successors in the hierarchy, is the Church that St. Augustine acknowledges to be the Body of Christ and vindicates as the Catholic Church of which he is a member. The Church, of which he was the champion, was a social and juridical organization of vast extensions, yet it was also an organism of enormous vitality. It was a Church, but it was also the Body of Christ. It embraced as members all those who have been within its fold, at one time or another, since its foundation. This is the most frequent and, I should say, ordinary scope of the word, as it most frequently occurs in the works, life, and activity of St. Augustine.

Yet, with but little effort, it will soon be discovered that the term "Church" is made to cover in his writings a wider range than that just ascribed to it. It extends in two divergent directions:

1) At times the notion is extended by retrogression so that the beginning of the Church is to be reckoned from the time of the appearance of the first good men in the history of mankind. In this sense the Church is said to have existed in Abel, Noe, Abraham, and other just men before the existence of Christ and the institution of the juridical Church.²⁷⁹ Consequently saintly individuals of the Old Testament

²⁷⁹ *Enar. in Ps. 78, 2 (PL XXXVII, 1689)*: "Olim est Ecclesia; ex quo vocantur sancti, est Ecclesia in terra. Aliquando in solo Abel Ecclesia erat, et expugnatus est ab fratre malo et perditio Cain. Aliquando in solo Enoch Ecclesia erat, et translatus est ab iniquis. Aliquando in solo domo Noe Ecclesia erat, et pertulit omnes qui diluvio perierunt, . . . Aliquando in solo Abraham Ecclesia erat . . . in solo filio fratris ejus Lot. . . Coepit esse et in populo Israel Ecclesia; pertulit Pharaonem et Aegyptos. Coepit et in ipsa Ecclesia, id est in populo Israel, numerus esse sanctorum." Cf. etiam *Contra Adv. Leg. et Proph. 2, 5, 20 (PL XLII, 650)*; *In Ps. 36, sermo 3, 4 (PL XXXVI, 385)*; *Sermo 144,*

are said to be the Church at a time when the Church as we understand it did not exist. Yet even men constituting the Church in this sense acquire their justification and are reputed members of the Body of Christ, not independently of Christ, the future Founder of the Church, but by virtue of their justifying faith in the future Christ.²⁸⁰

This encompassing of the just existing anterior to Christ's time within the Church and as members of Christ's Body is not the usual or expected meaning of the term *Ecclesia*. One feels this instantly, for when it is the intention of St. Augustine to include them, he does so not simply by using the term "Church" or "Body of Christ," but he broadens their meaning by expressly stating that such of the just as lived in times previous to the founded and constituted Church of Christ also form a part of that Church.²⁸¹ While theological terms have a greater elasticity in St. Augustine than they have in the Scholastics, known for their fondness of definitions, nevertheless even Augustinian terms have significations, some of which are more proper and others more remote.

In this conception of "the Church before the Church," reaching to the earliest antiquity of man, St. Augustine has been followed for many

5 (*PL XXXVIII*, 789 f.); *Sermo* 45, 5 (*PL XXXVIII*, 265-266); *Sermo* 4, 11, 11 (*PL XXXVIII*, 39); *Sermo* 342, 9, 11 (*PL XXXIX*, 1499-1500); in *Ps.* 90, sermo 2 (*PL XXXVII*, 1159); in *Ps.* 61, 4 (*PL XXXVI*, 731 f.); *Enchir.*, 56, 15 (*PL XL*, 258-259); in *Io. Ev. tr.* 45, 9 (*PL XXXV*, 1722); *De vera relig.*, 27, 50 (*PL XXXIV*, 144); in *Io. Ep. tr.* 1, 2 (*PL XXXV*, 1979); *ibid.*, tr. 10, 3 (2055); *Retract.*, I, 13, 3 (*PL XXXII*, 603; *CSEL* 36, ed. Knöll, 58-59). See T. Specht, *Die Lehre von der Kirche nach dem hl. Augustinus* (Paderborn, 1892), pp. 26-27, 253; P. C. Butti, *La Mente di S. Agostino nella Città di Dio* (Firenze, 1930), p. 200; J. Tixeront, *Histoire des Dogmes* (4e éd.; Paris, 1912), II, 385; K. Adam, *St. Augustine. The Odyssey of his Soul* (New York, 1932), pp. 45-48.

²⁸⁰ *De patient.*, 21 (*PL XXXIX*, 621; *CSEL* 41, ed. J. Zycha, 682): "Unde et antiqui iusti ante incarnationem Verbi, in hac fide Christi, et in hac vera iustitia, quod est nobis Christus, iustificati sunt; hoc credentes futurum quod nos credimus factum: et ipsi gratia salvi facti per fidem, non ex seipsis, sed Dei dono." Cf. also *Sermo* 300, 1-2 (*PL XXXVIII*, 1377); *De vera relig.*, 10, 19 (*PL XXXIV*, 131); compare this text with that of *Retract.*, I, 13, 3 (*PL XXXII*, 603; *CSEL* 36, 58-59); in *Ps.* 61, 6 (*PL XXXVI*, 733); *De civ. Dei*, XVIII, 47 (*PL XLI*, 609); cf. A. Tymczak, *Nauka św. Augustyna o Wierze* (Przemyśl, 1933), p. 66.

²⁸¹ *Sermo* 4, 11 (*PL XXXVIII*, 39): "Ecclesiam autem accipite, fratres, non in his solis qui post Domini adventum et nativitatem esse coeperunt sancti; sed omnes quotquot fuerunt sancti, ad ipsam Ecclesiam pertinent."

centuries. He has influenced the Fathers (St. Gregory the Great,²⁸² St. Leo the Great²⁸³), the Scholastics (St. Thomas²⁸⁴), and even the ecclesiologists of the sixteenth century (Cardinal Hosius²⁸⁵). It was not until the formal definition of the Church as a juridical society was introduced and developed under the pressure of Protestantism that this extension of the Church to the Old Testament was given over to oblivion. As in St. Augustine, so also in all of these writers, faith in the future Christ, the God-Man and Redeemer, is the necessary requisite for their incorporation into the Mystical Body of Christ.²⁸⁶

The reasons for considering the holy men anteceding Christ as members of the true Church of Christ are not far to seek. St. Augustine is ever conscious of the redemptive work of Christ, whereby all who are saved are the fruit of His redemption.²⁸⁷ The Church is a continuation not only of Christ in His Person but also of Christ in His redemptive work. All who are saved in the Church are so on account of the merits of Jesus Christ, which are dispensed by the Church.

Christ, already in His Incarnation, forms a body which is bound to increase with time and finally to terminate in heaven as the eternal and blissful Body of Christ. The exclusiveness and universality of Christ's vivifying and saving power in His Body make St. Augustine bring the just of former times into a union with the Body of Christ. There is an assimilation founded more upon the likeness which exists between the Body of Christ and the saints of old by virtue of the justice or grace which has been dispensed to them in view of Christ's future merits than upon any actual union. Then, too, Augustine visualizes the Church in

²⁸² *Moral.* 1, V, ep. 18 (*PL LXXVII*, 740): "Sancti ante legem, sancti sub lege, sancti sub gratia, omnes hi perficientes corpus Domini, in membris sunt Ecclesiae constituti."

²⁸³ *Sermo* 3, 4 (*PL LIV*, 147).

²⁸⁴ *Summa Theologica*, III, q. 8, a. 3.

²⁸⁵ *Confessio Catholicae Fidei Christiana*, c. 15 (*Opera Omnia Hosii* [Coloniae, 1584], I, 22): "Apud quascunque fuit fides Mediatoris, apud eos Ecclesiam fuisse, quatenus ab illa se non praeciderunt, dubium non est. Constat autem Adam, Abel, Seth, Enoch, et caeteros deinceps Patriarchas ac Prophetas fidem habuisse Mediatoris, quem signis etiam sacrificiis, caerominiis adumbrabant. Ex illo itaque tempore coepit Ecclesia, quae nunquam una et eadem esse desiit, juxta seriem successionis, continuata ab orbe condito usque ad nos, usque ad saeculi consummationem duratura."

²⁸⁶ K. Werner, *Geschichte der apologetischen und polemischen Literatur der Christlichen Theologie* (Schaffhausen, 1861-1867), IV, 351.

²⁸⁷ F. Rivière, *Le dogme de la rédemption chez saint Augustin* (3e éd.; Paris, 1933).

its eternal form with the members that are to constitute it then, all saved because of the grace merited for them by Christ. Because the just and holy of the Old Covenant are also members of that celestial Church which forms the Body of Christ forever, he makes the terrestrial Church of Christ comprehend them also.

2) As the proper and customary notion of the Church is enlarged by retrogression, so in the opposite direction it is directly extended beyond the limits of time and the earth into eternity. Not only the assembly of the faithful here upon earth are called the Church, but also the whole body of the good after their resurrection continues to form the Church, or the Body of Christ in heaven. St. Augustine proclaims this Church as "the happy, mystic, and great Church,"²⁸⁸ and in another passage, as "the most blessed and supernal city."²⁸⁹

Even now there is a certain union between the Church that exists here upon earth and the Church in heaven. The Church exists, as it were, in two parts, separate by their own proper status and yet forming but one entity. The celestial part of the Church exists in the angels and the just who have attained their goal of salvation in life everlasting; the terrestrial Church is formed of its living faithful here on earth.²⁹⁰ These two parts are to be joined in the end after temporal life and will remain the Church and the Body of Christ forever.²⁹¹ Then the Church upon earth will cease, as it will have accomplished its purpose, and will be transformed into the glorious bride of Christ in heaven. In fact, the *raison d'être* of the Church on earth, of Christ's temporal Mystical Body, is the eternal life of the Body of Christ as it will be realized in heaven.

St. Augustine contemplated the Church under the aspect of a twofold existence: its earthly life and its celestial life.²⁹² Its earthly existence

²⁸⁸ *Sermo* 252, 7 (PL XXXVIII, 1175): "Illam Ecclesiam beatam, mysticam, magnam."

²⁸⁹ *Enchir.*, 57, 58 (PL XL, 259): "Ecclesia quae in coelo est, beatissima illa et suprema civitas."

²⁹⁰ *Enar. in Ps.* 87, 4 (PL XXXVII, 1776): "Ipsa congregatio Angelorum templum Dei est, adoramus ad templum Dei, Ecclesia deorsum, et Ecclesia sursum: Ecclesia deorsum in omnibus fidelibus, Ecclesia sursum in omnibus Angelis."

²⁹¹ *Enchir.*, 161 (PL XL, 260): "Haec ergo quae in sanctis angelis et virtutibus est Ecclesia, tunc nobis sicuti est innotescet, cum ei conjuncti fuerimus in finem, ad simul habendam beatitudinem sempiternam."

²⁹² *In Io. Ev. tr.* 124 (PL XXXV, 1974): "Duas vitas sibi divinitus praedicatas et commendatas novit Ecclesia: quarum est una in fide, altera in specie; una in tempore pere-

is to be protracted into its heavenly life, wherefore it is essentially one and the same with the Church in heaven. The Body of Christ, considered apart from the individual members that constitute it here upon earth, will be the glorious Body of Christ in heaven. Only those who were members of Christ's Body upon earth can constitute the heavenly Body of Christ. Yet not all who were attached to, or even formed part of, Christ's temporal and earthly Body will remain a part of it forever, for the Church in its earthly sojourn is to some extent marred and deformed by dead and infirm members. This portion of the earthly Church will have no part in the heavenly Body of Christ.²⁹³ The Body of Christ will be divested of all such deforming attachments after the resurrection,²⁹⁴ and will be pure, holy, and beautiful in its eternal form. Moreover, the heavenly Body will be devoid also of such as were in reality a part of it here on earth for some time or another, but who did not persevere in their goodness to the end.

Some sinners within the Church are known to men; others are not. Much less can those be known who are in good standing and a living part of the Mystical Body of Christ now, but will not be in the future. Such defections are known only to the omniscient God and should be a warning against presumption.²⁹⁵

After this life there will be absolute and perfect identification of the Church and the Body of Christ. Then those, and only those, who have really formed the Body of Christ here upon earth and have departed from this life as its true members will also form the eternal Body of Christ. Then there will be only one type of members: the glorified and indefectible souls enjoying the possession of God face to face.

Let us restate in brief the concept of the Church entertained by St. Augustine in the wider comprehension at which we have by now

grinationis, altera in aeternitate mansionis; una in labore, altera in requie; una in via altera in patria; una in opere actionis, altera in mercede contemplationis. Una declinat a malo et facit bonum, altera nullum habet a quo declinet malum, et magnum habet, quo fruatur bonum; una cum hoste pugnat, altera sine hoste regnat."

²⁹³ *In Io. Ev. tr.* 123, 2 (PL XXXV, 1966): "Hic enim Ecclesia qualis in solis bonis futura est, significatur per capturam 153 piscium."

²⁹⁴ *Enar. in Ps.* 110, 1 (PL XXXVII, 1463): "Sicut enim dies isti praeteritis diebus Quadragesimae, quibus ante resurrectionem Domini corporis vitae hujus significatur moeror, solemniter grata hilaritate succedunt: sic dies ille qui post resurrectionem dabitur plenario corpori Domini, hoc est sanctae Ecclesiae, perpetua beatitudine succedet."

²⁹⁵ *Sermo* 47, 10, 15-16 (PL XXXVIII, 303-304).

arrived. It consists above all of the one, universal Church having an uninterrupted succession of bishops from apostolic times to this day. This geographic and historical institution is equated with the Mystical Body of Christ. Joined to the Mystical Body of Christ by anticipation are all the holy men of the Old Testament who have achieved salvation. All of these—the saved before Christ's coming and those in His time and after it till the end of the world—form the Church of Christ's Body in heaven. The universality of the saved and of those to be saved is sometimes referred to, or taken under the unique aspect of, the heavenly Church. Hence the members of the Church as it exists here on earth are only so far the veritable Church and true members of it as they will reach the goal towards which the earthly Church is tending and will become veritable and everlasting members of the heavenly Church.

It is worth while to observe that this notion of the Church with its retroactive, present, and future comprehension corresponds to St. Augustine's *civitas Dei*, and thus corroborates the conviction expressed, whilst it was treated, that this *civitas Dei* is identical with the present Church.²⁹⁶ For this "city of God" or "kingdom of God" takes its beginning with the first good and just representatives of mankind. Then more concretely and more perfectly is the *civitas* realized in, and identified with, the socially and hierarchically organized Church, founded by Jesus Christ and the Apostles, which Church is His Body. Of course, only in the good portion of its members does the Body find its full realization. Finally, the city of God, as also the Body of Christ, will be most perfectly realized in its celestial form and existence.²⁹⁷

²⁹⁶ A. C. McGiffert, *op. cit.*, II, 110: "To be sure as a rule Augustine spoke of the Kingdom of God as a future reality to be consummated in another world beyond the grave. But this did not prevent him from identifying it with the Church on earth, the visible Catholic institution. 'Now too,' he says, 'the Church is the kingdom of heaven. Therefore, the saints reign with him even now, but otherwise than they shall reign in the future.' (De civ. Dei. XX, 9)."

²⁹⁷ *Enar. in Ps. 9, 12* (PL XXXVI, 122): "Psallite Domino, qui habitat in Sion: hic dicitur, quos non derelinquit quaerentes se Dominus. Ipse habitat in Sion, quod interpretatur Speculatio, et gestat imaginem Ecclesiae quae futura est, id est civitatis sanctorum speculatio visionem; quia Jerusalem interpretatur Visio pacis. Praecedit autem speculatio visionem, sicut ista Ecclesia praecedit eam quae promittitur, civitatem immortalem et aeternam. Sed praecedit tempore, non dignitate: quia honorabilius est quo pervenire nitimur, quam id quod agimus, ut pervenire mereamur; agimus autem specula-

Much as St. Augustine is concerned about the present visible Church, and much as he extols the present Church as the Body of Christ, still, especially in connection with the latter, his thought frequently reaches out to the future Church and visualizes it already in the present. By virtue of such anticipation he is able to exclude from the Church even now those who will not form the undefiled and immaculate Body of Christ of the future.

This mode of excluding sinners was clearly enunciated in Augustine's commentary on the rules of Tichonius: "because not only in eternity but not even now are hypocrites (*hypocritae*)²⁹⁸ to be said to be with Him, although they seem to be in His Church."²⁹⁹ There is no difficulty when the explicit assertion is made about sinners not belonging to the future and eternal Church; confusion arises only when, with the future Church, the celestial Body of Christ, in mind, sinners are said to be excluded at present from the Body of Christ. Several reasons may be indicated which account for this procedure.

1) The philosophical formation of St. Augustine's mind according to Platonic notions, in which the more perfect aspect or element is expressed with neglect or disparagement of the less perfect, is to a great extent responsible for the attention paid to the heavenly terminus of the Church. If the Church is, therefore, viewed only or chiefly from this angle, sinners, because they will not take part in the constitution of that Church, may be said not to belong to the Church.³⁰⁰

2) Connected with this first reason is the second, namely the destination of the earthly Church. St. Augustine devoted himself zealously to the cause of the Church to which he had been converted and of which he was a bishop, but for him, as for Tichonius,³⁰¹ the Church was

tionem, ut perveniamus ad visionem. Sed etiam ipsam, quae nunc est, Ecclesiam nisi Dominus inhabitaret, iret in errorem quamlibet studiosissima speculatio: et huic Ecclesiae dictum est, 'Templum enim Dei sanctum est, quod estis vos' (I Cor. 3, 17); et, 'In interiore homine habitare Christum per fidem in cordibus vestris' (Eph. 3, 16)."

²⁹⁸ The word "hypocritae," as is evident from the context, is to be taken to denote sinners in the Church. This is corroborated from the terminology of Tichonius: "Die falsi fratres aut hypocritae, wie Tychonius wiederholt klar ausspricht sind 'die Welt' in der Kirche" (Hahn, *Tychonius-Studien*, p. 73).

²⁹⁹ *De doctr. christ.*, III, 31, 44 (PL XXXIV, 82).

³⁰⁰ *Enar. in Ps. 9, 12* (PL XXXVI, 122): "honorabilius est quo pervenire nitimur, quam id quod agimus, ut pervenire mereamur."

³⁰¹ Hahn, *op. cit.*, p. 163: "hierarchische Heilsanstalt."

an institution for the salvation of the soul, a means for obtaining a blessed future life.³⁰² He saw the Church's grandeur in that stage of its existence which lies in its attainments beyond the realm of this world.³⁰³ One may therefore say that the Church here on earth is a means to the Church beyond the grave, and yet it is the same Church. Wherefore, in so far as the sinful masses existing in the Church of this world shall not attain the heavenly goal, in which lies the total perfection of the Church, they are even at present deprived of real, effective membership in the Church. They may be called members of it; but, because the final goal of the present Church here below is not to be realized in them, they are not truly such.³⁰⁴

3) A still further background for such a conception of the Church is his emphasis and high estimation of the life hereafter in contrast to the present life of this world.³⁰⁵ The present is evil; the future will be better. The present life is short; the future will be without end. The present life abounds in suffering; the future will be blissful. The present is only a preparation; the future will be the fruition of eternal blessedness. Now is the time to merit; then will be the time to receive the reward. The life of the future world is ever present and uppermost in his mind.

Brethren, this has always been our warning to you, we have never desisted from it, never been silent upon it. The eternal life is to be loved, the present life

³⁰² R. Seeberg, *Studien zur Geschichte des Begriffes der Kirche* (Erlangen, 1885), p. 53: "Die Kirche ist bei Augustin die erscheinende Heilsanstalt. Nur wer sich dieser unterstellt, hat Hoffnung auf Heil. . . Die Kirche ist vor allem der Ort des Heils auf Erden."

³⁰³ Robertson, *Regnum Dei* (London, 1901), p. 184: "There is, then, in reserve, throughout Augustine's utterances on doctrinal and even practical questions, this element of abstract idealism,—the appeal to transcendental reality, to the aspect of things as viewed *sub specie aeternitatis*."

³⁰⁴ *De correptione et gratia*, 9, 22 (PL XLIV, 929): "Si manseritis in verbo meo, vere discipuli mei estis. . . Quia ergo non habuerunt perseverantiam, sicut non vere discipuli Christi, ita nec vere filii Dei fuerunt, etiam quando esse videbantur et ita vocabantur. Appellamus ergo nos et electos, et Christi discipulos, et Dei filios, quia sic appellandi sunt, quos regeneratos pie vivere cernimus: sed tunc vere sunt quod appellantur. Si autem perseverantiam non habent, id est, in eo quod coeperint esse non manent, non vere appellantur et non sunt; apud eum enim hoc non sunt, cui notum est quod futuri sunt, id est ex bonis mali."

³⁰⁵ Cf. M. Straszewski, *Filozofja św. Augustyna na ile epoki* (Kraków, 1905), p. 346; J. Burnaby, *Amor Dei, A Study of the Religion of St. Augustine* (London, 1947), p. 29: "No Christian Father is more uncompromising in his otherworldliness than is Augustine."

is to be despised. Live well now, and hope that it will be well with you hereafter.³⁰⁶ I have not dwelt on the rule that all you do be done for hope of the future. For I know the thoughts of all Christians are bent on the world to come. He who thinks not of the world to come, he who is a Christian for any other reason than that he may receive that which God promises in the end, is not yet a Christian.³⁰⁷

4) Finally the Church is viewed already at present in its ultimate perfection and consummation such as it will be when it shall have reached the final goal. A present determination of that future Body of Christ is impervious to man; it is possible only through the prism of God's prescience. Naturally the extension of the temporal Church, even when viewed as the Body of Christ, is wider than that of the eternal Church. In God's foreknowledge the multitude of the blessed who are to constitute the heavenly and eternal Body of Christ is already determined. God foresees the wicked in the Church who will not take the way leading to conversion, and who in consequence will not be among the members of Christ's heavenly Body. Moreover, God foresees also the lapse of the good from the Body of Christ, which they actually formed at one time, and their final impenitence, resulting in their elimination from membership in that Body. Hence according to God's prescience the former (the wicked) as well as the latter (the good foreseen to fall) are already excluded from the celestial Church. This then involves, by way of foreknowledge and anticipation, their exclusion also from the present Church and the Body of Christ³⁰⁸ on earth.

³⁰⁶ *Sermo* 302, 10, 9 (PL XXXVIII, 1389). See also *De civ. Dei*, II, 28 (PL XLI, 77): "populi confluent ad Ecclesiam . . . ubi audiant quam bene hic ad tempus vivere debeant ut post hanc vitam beate semperque vivere mereant."

³⁰⁷ *Sermo* 9, 4, 4 (PL XXXVIII, 78); Cf. *Sermo* 108, 1 (PL XXXVIII, 633); *Enar. in Ps.* 91, 1 (PL XXXVII, 1171); *In Io. Ev. tr.* 32, 9 (PL XXXV, 1646): "Hic enim nascimur et morimur, hoc non amemus: charitate migremus, charitate persum habitemus, charitate illa qua diligimus Deum. Nihil aliud in hac vitae nostrae peregrinatione meditatur, nisi quia et hic non semper erimus, et ibi nobis locum bene vivendo praeparabimus, unde nunquam migremus." Cf. J. Burnaby, *op. cit.*, pp. 28 f.

³⁰⁸ *De correptione et gratia*, 7, 16 (PL XLIV, 925): "Horum fides, quae per dilectionem operatur, profecto aut omnino non deficit, aut si qui sunt quorum deficit, reparatur antequam vita ista finiatur, et deleta quae intercurrebat iniquitate, usque in finem perseverantia deputatur. Qui vero perseveraturi non sunt, ac sic a fide christiana et conversatione lapsuri sunt, ut tales eos vitae hujus finis inveniatur; procul dubio nec illo tempore, quo bene pieque vivunt, in istorum numero computandi sunt. Non enim sunt a massa illa perditionis praescientia Dei et praedestinatione discreti; et ideo nec secundum propositum

It must, however, be observed that such statements in Augustinian phraseology are not unconditional but are dependent precisely upon that aspect of the Church wherein a consideration of its final stage is preponderant. Usually, too, God's infinite knowledge, as has been pointed out, is brought into consideration. St. Augustine excludes from the present Church those who will not form part of the heavenly Church, not simply and absolutely, but conditionally; namely, if the future heavenly Church is taken into consideration, and if God's knowledge penetrating all future comes into play, then it may be said that since they will not pertain to it in due time, they do not belong fully and rightfully to the present Church. For the present earthly Church will have its full realization in the heavenly Church.

A Graphical Presentation of the Augustinian Church

Attempts have been made to facilitate the complex conception of the Augustinian Church by graphical presentations. Thus Scholz describes it as a three-storied pyramid, each story being of a different structure. The base is of a "hierarchical" structure; the middle section is of an "ethical" structure (*communio sanctorum*); the peak is formed of a "religious" structure, whereby he means the predestined (*numerus praedestinatorum*).³⁰⁹ Käppeli, writing on the Mystical Body of Christ according to the teaching of St. Thomas, presents St. Augustine's concept by way of introduction to his theme. In the words of Käppeli the Church of St. Augustine is above all the *Catholica*, the visible, hierarchical, and apostolic Church, which embraces the just and the sinners in its unity. Secondly, within the *Catholica* a

vocati, ac per hoc nec electi: . . . et tamen quis neget eos electos, cum credunt, et baptizantur, et secundum Deum vivunt? Plane dicuntur electi a nescientibus quid futuri sint, non ab illo qui eos novit non habere perseverantiam quae ad beatam vitam perducit electos, scitque illos ita stare, ut praesciret esse casuros?"

³⁰⁹ H. Scholz, *Glaube und Unglaube in der Weltgeschichte: ein Kommentar zu Augustinus 'De civitate Dei'* (Leipzig, 1911), p. 124: "Der Kirchenbegriff wird zusehends enger. Er verjüngt sich gleichsam nach oben zu. Er gleicht einer dreistöckigen Pyramide, deren unterstes Stockwerk im hierarchischem Still gebaut ist, während das mittlere eine ethische, das oberste eine spezifisch religiöse Struktur aufweist; denn es ist nicht so, dass jeder folgende Begriff seine Vorgänger verschlingt, sondern die drei Existentialformen der Kirche sind schichtweise übereinander gelagert. Darum bedeutet es für Augustin keinen Widerspruch, wenn er die mit dem Reiche Gottes identische Kirche, nachdem er sie erst in die Priesterkirche hineingeschaut, hinterher auf die engere Sphäre der *communio sanctorum* und zuletzt auf den engsten Kreis des *numerus praedestinatorum* reduziert."

narrower group or number is to be encompassed, composed only of those who are actually in possession of, and united by, charity. Thirdly, within this last number of the good there is still the innermost group or circle of the good who will persevere as such to the very end, for they are predestined.³¹⁰

Indeed the starting point for a description of the manifold entity entering into the concept of St. Augustine's notion of the Church is the external, hierarchical, and social Church. This he designates so often by the name *Catholica* as opposed to the Donatist African segment. Within the *Catholica* is contained all that is known as the spiritual Church, the *communio sanctorum*, or the Body of Christ. In other words, the Body of Christ does not lie outside the hierarchical and visible Church. It is also true that only a portion of what once constituted the Body of Christ on earth will form that Body in heaven.

1) Humanity, viewed through the prism of religion, may be conveniently conceived and graphically portrayed by three concentric circles, each encompassing or representing three divisions of mankind. To the outermost circle belong those who will be eternally damned: the *massa damnationis*.³¹¹ These are persons who live in original and actual sins and remain in this condition as enemies of God to the end of their lives. To achieve salvation they must be transferred from "the powers of darkness," as if from the mass of ruin (*tamquam de massa ruinae*), into the kingdom of the Son; this is described as a solid edifice, a holy temple, a living body, a city of God.³¹²

2) The second or middle circle is constituted of those who are members of the empirical Church and the Mystical Body of Christ. If those contained in this middle circle are to be adequately distinguished according to their qualities and degree of inherence, they are to be

³¹⁰ T. Käppeli, *Zur Lehre des Thomas von Aquin vom Corpus Christi Mysticum* (Freiburg: Schweiz, 1931), p. 29: "Die Kirche ist ihm [Augustin] in erster Linie die *Catholica*, die sichtbare und apostolische, die ganze Welt umspannende, Ständer und gerechte Glaubige in ihrem Schosse tragende. Innerhalb der *Catholica* unterscheidet Augustin den engeren Kreis der Gemeinschaft jener, die im Stande der Liebe sind. Einen noch engeren Kreis bildet die Gemeinschaft der Prädestinierten, die nicht nur gegenwärtig im Stande der Gnade sind, sondern nach Gottes Vorherbestimmung in demselben bis ans Ende verharren werden."

³¹¹ Cf. B. Leeming, "Augustine, Ambrosiaster and the *massa perditionis*," *Gregorianum*, XI (1930), 58-91.

³¹² *Ep.* 187, 12, 35 (*PL* XXXIII, 845-46; *CSEL* 57, IV, 113).

subdivided into three sections or again three circles. (a) In the outermost section are the sinners who belong to the unity of this circle by virtue of the profession of the same faith and the communion of the same sacraments as well as of the same religious observances. They are in the Church, but they do not properly constitute either the Church or the Mystical Body of Christ. They are dead members of the Church and of Christ's Body. (b) In the middle section are the actually living members of Christ. While they constitute the Body of Christ at the time of their union with it, they will not always remain such; for as long as Christ's Body sojourns here on earth, there are occasions and a possibility of defection on the part of the members constituting it. If they remain attached to Christ's Body, however, even as dead members, there is a greater possibility of conversion or reconversion. (c) In the innermost section of this circle are contained the good members united to Christ in a living fashion to the end of their lives. These members are gifted with the grace of perseverance. It will be these who will constitute the innermost circle.³¹³

3) The last mentioned group of the Church, or Body of Christ on earth, are those who pass into the Body of Christ in heaven. These form the innermost circle or core of the graphic presentation of St. Augustine's Church. They have attained the purpose for which the Church has been founded on earth.³¹⁴ For them there is no longer any

³¹³ Compare this delineation with that of Thomas Stapleton, *Principiorum Fidei Doctrinalium Relectio* (Antwerpiae, 1596), q. 1, art. 2, pp. 6-7, according to whom there are three categories of members in the Church. He distinguishes these according to the three degrees or kinds of union with Christ. (1) There are members united to Christ by the fact that they have put on Christ through faith in the sacrament of baptism. (2) Other members are more united to Christ by the bond of charity, and they become one spirit with him. (3) There are still other members who are most united to Christ; viz., through faith, charity, and final perseverance. Accordingly, the Church is presented under various descriptions in Sacred Scripture as it refers to the first, second, or third class of members. When it is described as embracing the first group, it is called a *domus magna*, in which there are *vasa in honorem et vasa in contumeliam* (2 Tim. 2; 20), a *civitas supra montem posita*, an *ager*, in which the wheat grows with the cockle, a *sagena* gathering all kinds of fish. When the Church is presented as embracing the second group, it is designated as the *corpus Christi* (Eph. 1; 23), whose members are the temple of the Holy Ghost, and as the *sponsa Christi*. On account of the third group of members the Church is named a *hortus conclusus*, *fons signatus*, *unica columba*, *una perfecta mea*, *amica mea* (Cant. 4; 12:6; 8:4; 7).

³¹⁴ *Ep.* 187, 13, 41 (*PL XXXIII*, 848; *CSEL 57*, IV, 118).

possibility of defection. The Church and Body of Christ, therefore, now building on earth will be the same that will be consummated at the end of time to remain the Body of Christ for eternity and to enjoy God's beatifying presence forever.

Conclusion

The principal object of this study divided into two installments is to determine the place, if any, that sinners occupy in the Church. In other words, the purpose is to establish the extension of the membership of the Church, and thereby also to determine the definition of the Church. Distinguishing chiefly between the juridical Church and the Mystical Body of Christ—for there can be no doubt that St. Augustine views the Church definitely under these two aspects—sinners are included (against the Donatists) as members of the visible, sacramental Church in accordance with the many scriptural passages to this effect. It is this aspect of an experimental Church that is usually associated with the inclusion of sinners in the Church.

It was further demonstrated that, notwithstanding the multitude of assertions to the contrary, sinners are also a part of the Mystical Body of Christ. We are faced, however, with an antinomy in this matter: at times they seem to be excluded; at times they are included. This study has brought us to the conclusion that the exclusion of sinners is qualified or conditioned; viz., sinners are denied a part in the Mystical Body of Christ when spiritual life, or a vital union with Christ is considered. Absolutely speaking, they are members not only of the Church as a visible and sacramental society but also of the Church specifically viewed as the Body of Christ.

In consequence the visible Church—the Augustinian *Catholica*—is neither in whole nor in part a different entity from the Mystical Body of Christ—the Augustinian *corpus Christi*. They are one and the same Church, the true Church of Christ. The members of the one are identical with the members of the other; the extension of the one coincides perfectly with the extension of the other. In kind and quality of members they differ: the member of the Mystical Body of Christ possesses divine life in his soul, whereas the sinner is devoid of it; the former is a living member of Christ, the latter a dead member attached to Christ

by virtue of the oneness of the Mystical Body of Christ and the external Church.

It is to be admitted that the contours of two ethical (and to a certain extent disparate) structures are fairly discernible within the Church, city, house, temple. The sinners by their lives and internal condition constitute, as it were, an entity of their own; the just by their deeds and internal condition form, as it were, a body within a body. And yet, it is the teaching of St. Augustine that both segments constitute but one Church and one Body of Christ in opposition to the pagans, heretics, and schismatics who are outside the pale of the Church.

Viewed particularly as an institution of salvation—outside of which there is no salvation—the Church embraces not only those who formed a part of it since the time of Christ but also all of those who have been saved before the advent of Christ. Faith in the future Christ as Redeemer is the factor which incorporated the just of the Old Testament into the Body of Christ, and thus formed, as it were, a Church before the Church.

Again, because the Church was intended by its Founder to be an institution of salvation and because God's infinite knowledge foresees the number and individuals to be saved, at times St. Augustine visualized the present Church in its eternal form. From this viewpoint sinners as well as those who are not predestined even if they are actually good and living members of the Church are not reckoned even now as members of the Body of Christ, because they will not be the Body of Christ in eternity.

CURRENT THEOLOGY

NOTES ON MORAL THEOLOGY, 1947

LABOR

For the moralist, perhaps the most provocative article of the year is "Moral Theology and Labor," by Godfrey P. Schmidt.¹ Mr. Schmidt takes the moral theologians to task for their failure to develop a workable casuistry based on Catholic social doctrine and he invites them to "catch up with 1891 by making, now, a detailed and systematic study of the *particular* difficulties of conscience which harass every Catholic lawyer, employer, and worker in the area of modern industrial relations." Fortunately, Mr. Schmidt realizes that one can hardly expect satisfactory solutions from moral theologians when they are isolated from one another and from experts in other fields; hence he balances his devastating criticism with this constructive suggestion:

Let an outstanding Catholic university or the recently formed Catholic Theological Society of America establish a seminar or other project (to be conducted every two weeks or on any other convenient but regular basis) for eminent moral theologians. Let someone familiar with the actualities of labor relations present to this 'jury' or 'legislative body' of moral theologians the facts, case by case, of the leading labor-law decisions which in these matters have set the legal pace of our nation. Any good collection of cases on labor-law by Handler, Frey, Laeger, Landis and Manoff, or Raushenbush and Stein, could be made the point of departure for this program. The facts in each case would be presented as if they constituted not *law* cases but cases of *conscience*. The moral theologians would be asked to hand down a *moral* judgment on the conduct of the employers, the employees, the labor leaders, even the courts. Each case would be debated. The reasons for opinions would be elicited. The entire proceedings would be reported by stenography or stenotypy. After each treatise in the field of labor relations had been canvassed, the record would be combed for corrections and revisions. On such a basis a group of competent people would be charged with writing treatises on the ethics or moral theology of the involved phase of *labor relations*—a careful exposition and explication of the reasons and conclusions arrived at. Thus, in time, out of deliberations and treatises one could piece together a systematic and competent case book on the ethics and moral theology of labor relations—the first available in this or any language.

To the sessions of this group of moral theologians could be invited labor leaders, management representatives, lawyers, legislators and any persons of good will who could be expected to make a contribution to the discussion.

¹ *America*, LXXVII (1947), 95-97.