

Augustinianism. This term is used to characterize philosophical, theological and political ideas which were more or less close to those of S. Augustine of Hippo. The term came into use relatively recently, and can cover a spectrum of views: Augustinianism has never been a homogeneous movement. In particular, it is necessary to distinguish between a broad and a strict sense of the word. In the broad sense, the whole of Latin theology of the medieval and early modern period was strongly influenced by Augustine, as emerges very clearly from the *Summae* of the twelfth century and above all from Hugh of St Victor and from the authoritative *Book of Sentences* of Peter Lombard. The early generations of theologians of the mendicant orders – Hugh of St Cher, Alexander of Hales, Bonaventura of Bagnoregio – developed a close bond with Augustine, but they interpreted him in the light of neoplatonic or Aristotelian theories (for example, divine illumination of the intellect, the ‘agent intellect’, matter, *rationes seminales* [seminal principles]). In the strict sense one must distinguish between the following.

#1. *Augustinianism from the end of the thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth century* emerged - especially in the Franciscan School (William de la Mare) and among Augustinian Hermits (“the old Augustinian School according to Giles of Rome) - as a reaction to the widespread reception of Aristotle in the work of Thomas Aquinas, after the condemnations of 1277 at Paris and 1284 at Oxford. Consciously drawing on Augustinian on Augustinian ideas (illumination, the form of created things in the mind of God), Henry of Ghent [a member of the secular clergy] created a coherent new system of speculative theology which would provide a basis for acute critical analysis and the new order introduced by John Duns Scotus, who substituted for illumination the idea of an intuitive grasp of the essence of things.

#2. *The theological Augustinianism of the late Middle Ages.* This drew on the antipelagian writings of St Augustine and began with an increased emphasis – going well beyond Augustine himself – of the doctrine of predestination, in Thomas Bradwardine’s *Causa Dei* of 1344 A.D., which took issue with the ‘modern Pelagians’ (Duns Scotus, William of Ockham, Robert Holcot). With Gregory of Rimini, an Augustinian Hermit, anti-Pelagian Augustinianism became an influential doctrinal current, at least within his order, but the degree to which it (the ‘way of Gregory’, *via Gregorii*) was accepted in the university world generally is not clear. It followed from this theory that the will and the capacity of man after the Fall of Adam and Eve always depends on the merciful intervention of God at the time, in the form of special assistance (*auxilium speciale*) A human being is not capable without help of resisting temptation or observing the commandments of God. Furthermore, God is free to accept or not to accept as meritorious an morally good act. In John Wyclif, the Augustinian theology of grace which Bradwardine had taken up again was combined with the reception of Augustine’s dualistic conception of the Church and of history, which he applied to his own day. The visible Church is distinguished from the heavenly church, the true Church, to which only those predestined to salvation belong. Predestination does not nullify sin, but the action of a person predestined to damnation cannot do anything to prevent it. In the concrete ecclesiastical and political situation of the Western Schism, in which both claimants to the papacy seemed to Wyclif to be antichrist, and with his refusal of sacramental practice and the doctrines of the Church that went with it, a movement developed out of radical Augustinianism which would be condemned as heretical, first in the person of Wyclif and

then in John Hus, who also believed in a spiritual Church composed of all the predestined. The influence of Augustinianism, above all that of Gregory of Rimini, on Martin Luther, in the context of the tradition of his order (the 'Augustinian Hermits') is a matter of controversy. There is however no doubt at all about the tight link between Luther and Augustine, especially in the years 1515-1518 in relation to the central questions of grace and justification, even if, however, Luther always interprets Augustine, in the latter's anti-Pelagian guise, in the light of his own reception of St Paul and of his own theology.

#3. *The Augustinian theology of grace in the early modern period.* In the post-Tridentine controversy within Catholicism about justification, grace and liberty there was a revival of Augustinian positions which, following on claims made by the Thomistic School (Dominicans and Benedictines) and by the Molinists (from the Jesuit order), were initially suspected of being false or condemned as heretical. In a spirit which was in tune with both Humanism and the Counter-Reformation, the Louvain theologian Michael Baius (1513-1589) wanted to bring Church doctrine back to the Fathers of the Church and above all to Augustine, from whom he derived his strong emphasis on concupiscence as an effect of original sin and on the sinfulness of all purely natural actions. The presence of the Holy Spirit in the saved, and the forgiveness of sins in the sacraments, made it possible to overcome original sin. Because he used a terminology different from that of the Thomist and close link between his humanism and the vocabulary he borrowed from Augustine, some of his doctrines appeared to be erroneous to his contemporaries and, even if they were not rejected by the Council of Trent, they were condemned by Pius V in 1567 (Bull *Ex omnibus afflictionibus*) and in 1569 (Bull *Provisionis nostrae*), with formulae that were often far from clear. [Translators note: this charitable view of Baius seems questionable. D.L.d'A] The Louvain professor Cornelius Jansenius (1585-1638), in his posthumous work *Augustinus* (1640) gave a systematic exposition of the Augustinian theology of grace, from which consequences could be deduced which contradicted the Molinist system supported by the Jesuits (L. de Molina, *Concordia* 1588). The Jansenist movement, which grew up above all in France (Port Royal) took up Jansenius's Augustinianism in a fragmentary form, formulating individual theses (for example the incapacity of human nature to resist the slightest temptation; the incapacity of the just to keep the commandments). These theses were soon overlaid with other questions relating to the controversy with the Jesuits (Laxism) and the relation between Church and State (Gallicanism). Frequently however the condemnations of Jansenist doctrines (Innocent X, *Cum occasione* 1653; Alexander VII, *Ad sacram* 1656; Clement XI, *Unigenitus* 1713) indirectly struck also at the Jansenist commitment to Augustine, turning the Augustinian theology of grace into a dangerous theological position. Against the Jansenist interpretation of Augustinian doctrine some theologians, above all from the order of Augustinian Hermits, sought to publish a Catholic interpretation of Augustin. Towards the end of the 18th century the work of Enrico Noris (1631-1704), Fulgenzio Bellelli (1675-1742) and Giovanni Lorenzo Berti (1696-1766) won influence in universities and monastic schools as an alternative to Jesuits and Thomists. Abstract concepts like 'pure nature' were replaced by a concrete picture of man in his actual place in salvation history and of grace as it takes effect. The works of Noris were put on the index in 1742 in Spain but thanks to a public defence of them by Benedict XIV in 1748 (DS 2564 ff) the doctrine of Noris was evaluated according to general

criteria and rehabilitated as being a form of Augustinianism compatible with Catholic doctrine.

Bibliography: G. LEFF, *Bradwardine and the Pelagians*, Cambridge, 1957; A. ZUMKELLER, «Die Augustinerschule des Mittelalters», in *Analecta Augustiniana*, Anno XXVII (1964), pp. 167-262; F. VAN STEENBERGHEN, *La philosophie au XIII^e siècle*, Louvain/Paris 1966; M. K. WERNICKE, *Kardinal Enrico Noris und seine Verteidigung Augustins*, Würzburg, 1973; H. GOUHIER, *Cartésianisme et Augustinisme au XVII^e siècle*, Paris, 1976; Ch. P. BURGER, «Der Augustinusschüler gegen die modernen Pelagianer: Das “auxilium speciale dei” in der Gnadenlehre Gregors von Rimini», in *Gregor von Rimini. Werk und Wirkung bis zur Reformation*, (ed.) H. A. OBERMAN, Berlin, 1981.

ULRICH G. LEINSLE

TRANSL. D. L. D'AVRAY