Augustine’s purposes

In writing De Trinitate Augustine had three main objectives. He wished to demonstrate to critics of the Nicene1 creed that the divinity and co-equality of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit are rooted in scripture. He intended to tell pagan philosophers the need for faith in a divine mediator so that divine self-revelation and redemption can occur. Finally, he wanted to convince his readers that salvation and spiritual growth are connected with knowing themselves as images of the Triune God, from whom they came and toward whom they go, with a dynamic tendency to union realized by likeness to God who is Love.

Augustine’s approach was that of faith seeking understanding of the mystery of one God as Father, Son, and Spirit. He held that one can know God’s existence and attributes by human reason (Rom. 1.20) but not God as Trinity. The New Testament tells of the Persons and of their oneness. As a divine mystery, this is humanly incomprehensible. Some understanding, however, is possible by reflection on what Revelation implies. Augustine inferred that the one God is three Persons in such a way that they are one divine Being, yet distinct from one another and dynamically within one another (circumincessio, perichoresis).2

There is no evidence in De Trinitate that Augustine asserted divine unity to be prior to Trinity, nor Trinity to unity. He states that there is no divinity apart from the three divine Persons.3 But since anti-Nicene critics cited scriptural texts to deduce that neither Christ nor the Word of God is God, his first effort was to defend the divine unity by scriptural exegesis. Reason was used, however, to promote understanding of the Trinity by the faithful and to convince philosophers and theologians that the oneness and threeness of God is philosophically and logically defensible.

Setting

It is necessary to read De Trinitate within its historical setting. The 350s to the 380s was a period of response and reaction to the Nicene Creed. Pro-Nicene and
anti-Nicene theologians used technical expressions for the Son as equal to the Father or similar to the Father, or of one will with the Father.4

The Nicene theology of the 380s emphasized the traditional teaching that the nature of the Trinity had the result that its operations outside the godhead are inseparable. In 389 Nebridius, Augustine’s student friend, wrote to ask him: How is it that, if the Trinity does all things together in unity, the Son alone is said to be incarnated and not the Father and Holy Spirit as well? This marked the beginning of Augustine’s theology being structured around the inseparable activities of the Trinity, with the Son as revealer of God the Trinity.5 His Trinitarian theology and christology are not separated.6

In Augustine’s Letter 11 can be found an early answer to this question. He continues to answer it in the De Trinitate, which was begun in 399 and finished possibly before 421. Book 12 was incomplete when the manuscript was circulated among admirers. Considering this piracy an impediment to revising earlier books, he reluctantly finished it at the request of Aurelius, bishop of Carthage, and for friends.

All fifteen books of De Trinitate follow the method of faith seeking understanding (Isaiah 7.9). Augustine cites scriptural bases for the doctrine of the Trinity and its image in man and woman.7 The first seven books focus on the doctrine of the Trinity established from scripture and the philosophical concepts used to prevent misunderstanding. The last eight books deal with an investigation of what the image of God in human persons can reveal of God’s inner life and the human vocation to likeness to the Trinity.

The historical context of De Trinitate makes it an exegetical, theological, philosophical, and polemical work. Its systematic and pastoral character is also discernible.

Biblical exegesis and theology: Books 1–4

Augustine was not the first theologian to write extensively on the Trinity. He knew of the Trinity not only from the Nicene Creed and from scripture but also from Catholic commentators8 on scriptural texts. The one commentator he names is Hilary of Poitiers.

Scriptural evidence for God as Trinity includes Christ’s telling the apostles to baptize in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit (Matthew 28.19).9 The Trinity is also manifested at the baptism of Christ.10 Only the Son became man; only the Father declared: “You are my Son” (Mark 1:10); only the Spirit appeared in the form of a dove and later at Pentecost in strong winds and tongues of fire. These manifestations, Augustine wrote, worry some who, having heard that the Trinity acts inseparably in whatever each Person does outside the godhead, want to understand how the Son’s incarnation, the Father’s
declaration, and the Spirit’s appearances were all accomplished by the one Trinity. In Book 15.11.20 Augustine answers the question why only the Son became man. Only the Word of God was made flesh, although the Trinity brought it about, in order that by the inner understanding of truth human beings might live according to truth, following and imitating Christ. Just as in human communication the spoken word follows the mental word conceived by thinking, so Christ as the Word of God took flesh to communicate with human persons. He is the exemplary cause of creation and salvation.

Scripture frequently refers to the Son as having been “sent” by the Father and to the Holy Spirit as “sent” by Father and Son. Theologians spoke of these sendings as “missions.” Augustine explained them as the Father’s self-communication, intended to make known God’s love for humankind (the “economy” of salvation) and to give some clue to the mutual relations within the godhead. But before dwelling on these important matters, he first had to respond to past and current objections to the divinity of the Son. Two texts fully quoted by Augustine are from the Prologue to St. John’s Gospel and St. Paul’s epistle to the Philippians: “In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God . . . all things were made through him (John 1.1) . . . and the Word became flesh” (John 1.14). “Jesus Christ, who being in the form of God did not think it robbery to be equal to God” (Phil. 2.6).

As evidence for the divinity of the Spirit he cites an epistle of St. Paul (1 Cor. 6.15–20) which calls the bodies of Christians members of Christ and the temple of the Holy Spirit. The Holy Spirit cannot therefore be inferior to Christ. 11

Certain texts taken by Homoeans to mean that Christ, or even the Word of God, is subordinate to the Father Augustine interpreted by the traditional exegetical rule: the scriptural texts referring to the Son as less than the Father, in the form of a servant, are referring to the Son’s humanity; scriptural texts referring to the Son as equal to the Father are referring to the Son’s divinity (1 Cor. 14.28). In the form of a servant, Augustine noted, recalling Phil. 2.6, Christ said, “The Father is greater than I” (John 14.28). In the form of God, Christ said, “As the Father has life in himself, so he also gave the Son to have life in himself” (John 5.26), “I and the Father are one” (John 10.30). And when of the Holy Spirit it is said that “he will teach you all truth,” this teaching is done in virtue of his divinity (John 16.13). 12

Scriptural texts referring to the sending of the Son and Spirit into the world were interpreted by some anti-Nicene theologians and formerly by the “economic” theologians 13 to argue that the one sent is less than the sender, and therefore only the Father is God. They even held that the Old Testament recorded certain “missions” of the divine Persons. Augustine argued that the “missions” began in the New Testament. The Father had been signified by certain bodily manifestations of angels in the Old Testament but was never said to have been
sent. In the Old Testament God unfolded the plan of salvation through visible symbolic phenomena and verbal utterances.\textsuperscript{14}

A mission includes not only the state of being sent but also the purpose for which one is sent. “When the fullness of time had come, God sent his son, made of woman, made under law, to redeem those who were under law” (Gal. 4.4). Christ was sent to overcome despair and, as mediator, to unify people by incorporating them in himself. He came to give through his death and resurrection access to eternal life, “and this is eternal life, that they may know you and Jesus Christ whom you have sent” (John 17.3). Being sent, Augustine argued, means not being less than God but rather being from the Father as principle of origin, God from God, light from light.\textsuperscript{15} The Son was made flesh, beginning a unique relationship with human persons. The Spirit was sent to unite human persons with one another, originating a unique relationship as the animating Spirit of the Christian community.

Augustine used this discussion of being sent to point out that the scriptures demonstrate that the Spirit proceeds from both Father and Son and is, therefore, not begotten. He specifies that this dual procession of the Spirit (\textit{filioque})\textsuperscript{16} does not eliminate the Father’s being the \textit{principium}, or source of all deity.

Augustine wrote at length and movingly of the Son and Spirit entering human history on behalf of human persons (1 John 3.7–9). Faith, he taught, brings participation in their Trinitarian life of love through grace. Thus, for Augustine, the doctrine of the Trinity was the center of Christian spirituality, intended to affect one’s way of life. He found the divine missions manifesting a Trinitarian “God for us . . . and for our salvation.” In their divinity the Persons remain always transcendent, but their missions reveal the eternal generation of the Son, the procession of the Holy Spirit, and their love for humankind.

While the various semi-Arian theologians to whom Augustine responded did not deny that the names of Father, Son and Spirit are in the New Testament, they nevertheless interpreted them as descending forms of divinity, with the Father only as true God, quite like Plotinus’ triad of the One, the \\textit{Nous}, and the All-Soul. It was an Arian and Neoplatonic triad that Augustine refused to accept as the true Christian Trinity. Instead, he produced scriptural evidence for the co-equality of the Three Persons as God while each is distinct from the other by a dissimilar relationship.

Not only is his response to Arians non-Neoplatonist: he directly engages in an anti-pagan philosophical discussion in chapters 3 and 4 of Book 4 over the question of mediation,\textsuperscript{17} and argues against materialistic philosophies\textsuperscript{18} in Book 10. Both Plotinus and Porphyry held that the human intellect could know God without a mediator or faith; Porphyry also considered it beneath human dignity to have faith in a God made flesh and crucified. Citing this as a sin of pride, Augustine declared that to know the existence of God and something about him
is not union with him. Porphyry himself realized that many were unable to make the Plotinian intellectual ascent to the One. For them he advocated a purification of the imagination by theurgic rites in which demons were invoked to bring about a vision of the gods. Augustine called such theurgy a satanic deception. Augustine argued that the sacrifice of Christ defeated the Devil so that people now have access to eternal life through the death and resurrection of Christ. Real purification is through faith and trust in Christ, preceded by faith in the historical actions and words of Jesus. The relation of Christian faith to history and to the divine Word of God made flesh is a significant departure from Neoplatonic philosophy. The Word of God entered human history, Augustine explains, to incorporate human individuals into his body. Christ will lead them back to the Father who created them, where they will be in eternal life, “the glory of God.” This is Augustine’s interpretation of 1 Cor. 15.28 which had been used by anti-Nicene theologians to assert the subordination of the Son’s being.

Trinity language: Books 5–7

For Augustine, one can know by reason more what God is not than what God is. This is called negative or apophatic theology. But there is some positive theology, and theologians use philosophical terms to clarify what Scripture asserts. In the Nicene creed the term “consubstantial” (homoousion) denoted the common being of the three Persons. The Son was said to be of one “substance” with the Father.

Arians had argued against the consubstantial being of the Persons. Since Aristotelian accidents modify changeable substances, the Arians asserted that God’s simplicity does not allow accidents to be attributed to him. Augustine agreed. But the Arians inferred from this claim that to call the Father “Unbegotten” and the Son “Begotten” meant that these terms referred to the divine Substance, and they therefore concluded that the Son differs in substance from the Father. To this Augustine responded that between substantial predication and accidental predication there is “relative” predication. Since the Son is always Son and the Father is always Father, relationship in the unchangeable divine sphere is perpetual relationship. Father and Son, Augustine pointed out, are words indicating relationship and they refer to another (ad aliquid). “Unbegotten” merely means that the Father is not from another. Begotten and Unbegotten as predicates of relationship are not predicated of the divine Substance, but of the second and first divine persons.

Augustine criticized, as improperly applied to God, the term “substance,” etymologically understood as standing under accidents. He advised that what the Greeks call ousia should be translated into Latin as essentia, i.e. being. As we have the word knowledge from “to know,” so we have being from “to be” (“ita
ab eo quod est esse dicta est essentia”). “And who is more than he who said to his servant: ‘I am who am,’ and ‘Tell the sons of Israel: He who is sent me to you?’” (Exodus 3.14). That which cannot change deserves really and truly to “be.”27

Augustine criticized the ambiguity resulting from the Latin translation of hypostasis by substantia. The Greeks called the Trinity one ousia and three hypostaseis. He commented: “I do not know what difference they wish to make between ousia and hypostasis.”28 When the Latins translate hypostasis by substantia, this Greek statement becomes one essential or substantiam and three substantias (one being or substance and three substances!) Because of this resulting contradiction, the Latins called the Trinity one Substance (Being) and three Persons.

The term “person” is useful, but can mislead, Augustine believed. Interpreted as a theatrical mask or role, it might imply a Sabellian29 view of Son and Spirit. By this time also the term “person” referred to individual human beings, and Augustine apparently feared it might indicate the separability of the divine Persons. He held that the Trinity’s inseparable activity entails its inseparable being. Moreover, “person” was viewed by him as an absolute term predicable of each and all of the divine persons. He used it to answer the question: Three what?30

Augustine also wondered about the proper name for the Holy Spirit. Holy, Spirit, and Love are common to all three Persons. However, in proceeding from the Father and Son, the Holy Spirit is given all that is God. So the Spirit is from them as Gift, eternally giveable. Because the Holy Spirit’s proper name is the relational one of Gift of Father and Son who are holy and spirit, the Gift’s distinctive name is Holy Spirit.31

The Search for the image of the Trinity: Books 8–15

These books are also a search for an understanding of the belief that human persons are created to the image of the Trinity (Genesis 1.26). Since God cannot be seen directly, an indirect approach is to study human images of God. Not merely an introspective, psychological search, it is guided by the divine missions and the desire to know the value of realizing that one is an image of God. Augustine began looking within human persons to “show that there are three somethings which can both be separately presented and also operate inseparably.”32

Book 8 is described by a recent commentator as an ontological link between the divine mystery of the Trinity and the more accessible mystery of the human self.33 Identifying truth and goodness with God, a Christianization of Platonism,34 Augustine links human knowing and understanding, willing and loving, to God. This is a first link between God and the human image. Augustine
also explores what the word “God” means. Faith is the response to God’s self-revelation and the only access to God as Trinity. By faith persons communicate with God, who communicated with them by creation and by sending the Son and Spirit. Just as some general knowledge is involved in loving what one does not know, so some knowledge is involved in loving by believing. The historical knowledge of Christ’s life is prologue to loving Christ. Augustine praises caritas or dilectio, two special kinds of amor (love). Amor is both affective and volitional; the term refers to both desire and enjoyment. Going beyond the pagan appreciation of goodness to which love is directed, he declares the absolute value of love itself. He repeats St. John, who said not only that God is love, but that love is God (1 John 4.7–21). 35

Investigating the love of self, understood as lover, object loved, and love itself, he admits that when one loves oneself, only two are present: the lover and love. “But supposing I only love myself, are there now not two merely, what I love and love? Lover and what is being loved are the same thing when one loves oneself.” 36 Augustine was searching for triadic human activities that were distinct and yet somehow one. 37

Although Augustine seeks the image of God in the human person as an analogy of the divine processions, he cannot forget what scripture has revealed of the historical course of the human image from its beauty and defacement in Adam to its renovation through the grace of Christ. These discussions are not digressions. His Trinitarian theology is not separated from soteriology. 38

In Books 9 and 10, there is psychology without the full nature of the human soul being studied. Augustine refers not to soul-powers 39 but to the functioning of the mind, the apex or highest level of the soul. He defines the terms to be used as animus, mens, anima. Animus refers to rational soul; mens to its highest level; these together are the “inner man.” Anima refers to soul but not necessarily to human soul only. It is the subject of the lower sense-functioning of the “outer man.” These terms – outer and inner – are from St. Paul (2 Cor. 4.16).

Mens (mind), as spiritual, is where God is imaged, but it is not mind in the modern sense. It includes volitional, affective, and cognitive activities. In Book 9 the first mental image of the Trinity is analyzed: the mind knowing and loving itself so that, all equal but distinct, mutually related and co-inherent, consubstantial and one substance, this image is an analogue of the Trinity. Human knowledge is discussed as participation in the rationes aeternae 40 and as divine illumination. The latter pertains to the truth of judgments and standards by which one lives, not to concept-formation. Augustine distinguishes judgments of truth from the fabrication of images, which promotes falsehood. When in Book 10 he confronts the Delphic Oracle’s command to “know thyself,” he declares that the mind cannot but know itself as immediately present to itself. Why then the command? Because the mind can be unconscious of itself. “I believe that it
should think about itself and live according to its nature. . . under him [God] it
should be subject to and over all that it should govern. . . Indeed it does many
things it does through perverse desires as if it had forgotten itself.”⁴¹ Self-
presence is not enough; to know oneself one must think of oneself (se cogitare);
only then comes understanding (scire, intellegere).⁴² The command to know
oneself is to return from overabsorption in sense images which cause forgetful-
ness of self. Here Augustine enumerates erroneous views of mind as material;
and the certainties available to the mind are specified.⁴³

The first trinity of mind knowing and loving itself, and the next two mental
trinities, were inspired by the Prologue to St. John’s Gospel where the Word of
God is uttered by the Father. Augustine looks within the mind and says that there
is nothing that humans think, say, or do that is not preceded by a mental word
brought forth within us.⁴⁴ This word is conceived in love, and love joins the word
with the mind from which it is born. The word is equal to the mind because what
is begotten is equal to its begetter. The love or desire by which knowledge is con-
ceived is not an offspring of the mind; but what is known, considered as known,
is an offspring, and this is loved in the sense that it is enjoyed. “And so there is a
certain image of the Trinity: the mind itself, its knowledge, which is its offspring,
and love as a third; these three are one and one substance.”⁴⁵ This mental trinity
which begins with mind is superseded by two later ones beginning with memory,
but the structure of the “begotten word” remains central to the later trinities.

Augustine moves to intellectual remembering and offers a second mental
trinity of remembering, understanding, and loving self. He sees this triad as the
human person’s natural capacity for uniting with God; this capacity remains
even when impaired by loss of union with God.⁴⁶ “When memory is called life,
and mind, and substance, it is so called with reference to itself, but when it is
called memory, it is so called with reference to another.”⁴⁷ The same is true of
understanding and will. Therefore the three are one and have a oneness as mind.
They are three with reference to each other, co-equal, and each equal to the three
because they contain each other, and are all contained by each.⁴⁸ Augustine inti-
mates that in creating human persons to the image of God, God wished them
always to be mindful of the divine presence. Only when the mind comes to the
perfect vision of God will this image be God’s perfect likeness (1 Cor. 13.12).

Before taking up the final mental trinity, Augustine in Book 11 offers two triads
of sense perception and imagination to enable readers to recognize more easily
the three members of each triad as really distinct because material. Being on the
sense level, perception and imagination are not presented as images of God.⁴⁹ In
this same Book two functions of the mind are distinguished: contemplating truth
as the source of true judgments (sapientia) and the rational activity of knowing
and managing temporal affairs (scientia). One might interpret this as the current
distinction between the theoretical and the practical intellect. God’s image is in
the contemplative mind, for only this, as wisdom, lasts forever. The act of faith belongs to the rational (practical) mind, which focuses on the temporal Christ, his life, words, death, and resurrection. Human beings ascend from knowledge (scientia) in this temporal life to wisdom (sapientia) in eternal life where God is contemplated. Augustine’s analysis of faith, which he describes as far more than an act of will, is presented in Book 13.50

While the mental trinity of remembering, understanding, and loving self described in Book 10 is a natural image of God as co-eternal with himself, the true image of God, thoroughly explained in Book 14, is that of remembering, understanding, and loving God. This is awakened by grace and renewed throughout one’s lifetime.

In Book 15 Augustine acknowledges that even the best image is inadequate to represent a triune God who is both simple and eternal.51 His search for such an image has at least shown that three things can be one, and has been beneficial. It gave awareness of spirit life as utterly different from material life. The dismissal of a triune God often occurs because people try to think of it imaginatively or materially. Moreover, memory as source of understanding and will makes one conscious of the Father; understanding reminds one of the Son as the self-communication of the Father; in will one recognizes the Spirit, who is love.52

But the dissimilarity between temporal being and eternal Being, between changeable and unchangeable Being, is greater than the similarity. The divine Trinity is one with God; the human image is not identical with the human being. Remembering, understanding, and loving are functions of a human subject, whereas the Trinitarian Persons are not functions of a divine subject. There is no substitute for faith in Christ and what he reveals of Father and Spirit.53

Conclusion

The originality of Augustine is mainly found in his doctrine of the Holy Spirit and in the centrality he gave to love in Trinitarian life, and to love as renewing human likeness to the Trinity. That human beings were created images not of the Son alone but of the whole Trinity, according to Genesis 1:26, was a departure from the teaching of some predecessors.54 The likeness to the Trinity occurs because “the love of God has been poured into our hearts through the Holy Spirit who has been given to us” (Rom. 5:5). Referring to the mutual love in the Trinity, Augustine wrote: “We are commanded to imitate this mutuality by grace, both with reference to God and to each other, in the two precepts on which the whole law and the Prophets depend” (Matthew 22:40).55 Thus Christian Trinitarian spirituality is a continual rhythm of receiving love and giving love. Moreover, Augustine advanced Trinitarian theology by his use of relative predication to show that the unity and trinity of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit are not impossible. Augustine admitted the
incompletion and limitation of his theological findings and looked to others to continue the search for more understanding. He never aimed to eliminate the mystery of the Trinity, revealed in scripture and calling for faith.

Augustine ends with a prayer: “Let me remember you, let me understand you, let me love you. Increase these things in me until you reform me completely.”

He reminds his readers that to be mindful of God in this way and to image the Trinity who is Love is a lifelong process and the dynamic vocation of every human creature. The image will be perfected in the future, transformed through the Spirit. “When this image therefore has been renewed by this transformation, and thus made perfect, then we shall be like to God, since we shall see him not through a mirror, but just as he is, which the Apostle calls face to face” (1 Cor. 13.12).

NOTES

1 The first Ecumenical Council’s confession of faith, a creed composed at Nicaea in 325 to defend the equality of the Son with the Father against Arius and Arians; with additions at Constantinople, 381.
2 De Trin. 9.5.8. For the dynamic co-inherence or being-in-one-another of the divine Persons see John 10.38; 14.10; 17.21; 1 Cor. 2.10.
3 Ep. 120.13–20.
4 Homoeans were an anti-Nicene group formed in 339 who defined the Son of God as similar to God (homoios) without mentioning substance (ousia). Anomeans were an anti-Nicene group who taught that Father and Son are one in will but unlike in essence; homoiousians held similarity in substance between Father and Son. Homoousians were pro-Nicene and held identity of substance.
5 See Barnes 1999. He refers to Ep. 11 and 14, De diversis quaestionibus octoginta tribus 69, In Johannis epistulam ad Parthos tractatus 20, Contra sermonem Arianorum, and De symbolo ad catechumenos.
6 On Christ and Trinity, see Clark 1994, 58–72.
7 De Trin. 12.7.12–8.13.
8 Hill 1991, 38, #65 lists Tertullian, Novatian, Hilary, Victorinus; almost certainly Justin and Irenaeus; and Gregory Nazianzen, Didymus the Blind; possibly Basil the Great and Epiphanius of Salamis. See De Trin. 1.2.7 and 6.2.11.
9 Ibid. 15.28.51.
10 Ibid. 1.2.7.
11 Ibid. 1.6.13.
12 Ibid. 2.3.5.
13 The technical term “economic” theologians refers to certain second- and third-century theologians (among them Novatian and Tertullian) who identified the “economy” (oeconomia) or missions of Son and Spirit with subordinationism.
14 De Trin. Books 2 and 3.
15 Ibid. 4.19.25–21.32.
16 Filioque (“and the Son”), added to the Nicene–Constantinople creed in the West to express the “procession” of the Holy Spirit as distinguished from the generation of the Son from the Father. See Principe 1997.
De Régnon, 1892–1898 is responsible for the impression that Augustine’s Trinitarian theology is Neoplatonic with undue priority to divine unity. See Barnes 1995b.

He calls “materialistic” those philosophies which identify the mind with air, fire, atoms, or brain, confusing their sense images with themselves. Others consider the mind to be merely an organization of the body, thinking as they do only of bodily things (De Trin. 10.7.9).

De civ. Dei 10.9–10.


De Trin. 1.8.15–16.

This word is not discussed by Augustine although it is the main focus in Marius Victorinus’ Theological Treatises on the Trinity, written in AD 351+ (Clark 1981).

Although Arius subordinated the Son to the Father, Augustine is responding here to late fourth-century Arians and, according to Barnes (1993), not the followers of Eunomius.

De Trin. 5.5.6.


De Trin. 7.5.10.

Ibid. 5.2.3.

Ibid. 5.8.10.

Sabellius, a third-century theologian, taught that the distinctions in the godhead were only transitory modes of God’s operation.

De Trin. 7.4.7–9. See Hill 1991, 234 n. 36, quoting Aquinas, Summa theologiae I.29: “the name person was adapted to stand for relationship owing to the suitability of its meaning, i.e. it can stand for relationship not just because of usage, as the first opinion would have it, but because of what it really means.” (Person signifies relationship indirectly).

De Trin. 5.11.12.

Sermons 52.17–18. I owe this quotation to Barnes 1999, note 27.


Plato’s Forms were not in a mind; Plotinus’ Forms were in a mind (Nous), a lower being than the One; for Augustine the Logos or Word of God is the Wisdom, source of all forms, one with the divine Being.

De Trin. 8.2.3–9.13.

Ibid. 9.1.2.

Ibid. 8.10.14.

According to Hill 1991, 19, Aquinas improved the technical expression of Augustine’s theology in Summa theologicae Ia, q.9,27–43, but began with the divine processions in the godhead and ended with the missions of the divine persons, whereas Augustine took the historical approach by beginning with the missions. Aquinas also separated his treatment of the Trinity from that of the divine image in man (Summa theologicae Ia, q.93), missing the point of “coordinating them in one work.” Hill adds that the subsequent tradition of Catholic theology missed it too.

See Hill 1991, 25 for Peter Lombard’s erroneous placing of the divine image in “faculties” (Sentences I.3.2.). A misunderstanding of Augustine corrected by Aquinas in Summa theologicae Ia, 7, ad 2.

Augustine, De diversis quaestionibus octoginta tribus 46. Ideas in the Logos,
impressed upon the soul; ideas directly experienced by the mind such as happiness, truth, goodness, God, just law, numbers, by which judgments are made concerning particular events. See *De Trin.* 8.3.4, 14.15.21, 4.2.4, 9.2.9. Illumination is participation in the Word, namely, of that life which is the Light of men. Christ is the interior teacher. See *De magistro.*

41 *De Trin.* 10.5.7.
42 Ibid. 14.6.8.

43 For Descartes the act of doubting leads to a certainty. Augustine says that there is no doubt that he lives, remembers, understands, wills, thinks, knows, and judges (*De Trin.* 10.10.13). He thus establishes the certain reality of the human image of God.

44 Ibid. 9.7.12.
46 Ibid. 14.8.11.
47 Ibid. 10.11.18.
48 Ibid.

49 *De Trin.* 12.5.5–6.8 where Augustine rejects the “family” as an image of the Trinity because it too is a “sensible” reality. Victorinus (Clark 1981, 193) included the body in the divine image since he held that human beings are created to the image of the Image, Christ (IB64.3).

50 See Studer 1997, 7–50: faith is a kind of historical knowledge, and based on the apostolic community’s experience of the Paschal mystery.

51 *De Trin.* 15.27.50.
52 Ibid. 15.23.43.
53 Ibid. 15.22.42–23.44.
54 Ibid. 7.6.12.
55 Ibid. 6.5.7.
56 Ibid. 15.28.51

57 Ibid. 15.11.21 I thank Michel Barnes, Joseph Lienhard, S.J., and Eleonore Stump for their helpful comments on a draft of this chapter.