

Interior Peace in the *Confessions* of St. Augustine*

It would possibly be a matter of surprise to some that the word *confessio* occurs only 23 times in the *Confessions*, whereas *pax* is quite as frequent, occurring 20 times itself and is implicit in 3 instances of *pacificus*. The word *pax* may be said to emerge from Book IX onwards, since there are only 3 occurrences up to that point¹. Words of related meaning also provide the basis for the following considerations. *Quies* and its cognates, for example, appear 23 times. The epithet *inquietum* occurs 7 times; *inquietudo* 3 times. The verb *requiesco* (20 occurrences) and *requies* (13 occurrences) round out the study. This critical examination of the above texts extends beyond a mere philological interest. The purpose of the paper is to set forth the evidence, both philosophical and biblical, for Augustine's pursuit of peace.

I. Occurrences of « *pax* » and « *pacificus* ».

Still unable to conceive of evil as a *privatio boni*, and at the same time elaborating a theory of aesthetics in the treatise *De pulchro et apto*, no longer extant, Augustine writes: "And since I loved the peace which is in virtue, and hated the discord which is in vice, I noted the unity

*Abbreviations: *REA* — *Revue des Études Augustiniennes*; *RA* — *Recherches Augustiniennes*; — *AM* — *Augustinus Magister*; *EA* — *Estudio Agustiniiano*; *AS* — *Augustinian Studies*; *LCL* — *Library of Christian Classics*. A version of this paper was read at the Conference on Patristic, Mediaeval and Renaissance Studies, Villanova University, 1 October 1978.

1. The distribution is as follows: Book IV-1; V-1; VII-1; IX-5 (*pacificam*); X-4; XI-1 (*pacifici*); XII-3 (*pacificam*); XIII-7. I have used as a control for this study the *Index Verborum* compiled by C.L. Hrdlicka and subsequently entrusted to the *Études Augustiniennes*. Also, I have checked De Labriolle's text against Skutella's and found no variant readings.

there is in virtue and the division, as it were, there is in vice² ". There are resonances here of a strong ethical bent which is germane to all ancient philosophy, obfuscated, however, by Manichaeism mythology and cosmology which are vigorously challenged elsewhere in vivid detail³. Echoes of Pythagoras vis à vis beauty and the Neoplatonic accent on disunity are favorite themes which Augustine deepens profoundly, utilizing the Christian doctrines of Creation and Incarnation⁴.

Troubled by *eversores* who disrupted his classes in Carthage, Augustine is now critical of students in Rome who refused to pay their fees. He underscores his own selfishness because he was, in fact, financially inconvenienced. Notwithstanding his personal discomfiture, he expresses the wish that such students would prefer learning to money and, furthermore, prefer " You, O God, the truth and fullness of our sure good, and our most pure peace,⁵ " to such learning.

" For it is one thing, " says Augustine, " to see the land of peace from the wooded mountaintop, and not to find the way... ; but it is quite another matter to keep to the way that leads there...⁶ " The metaphor of Christ, the Way, is rooted, of course, in Acts 18.25 and Jn 14.6⁷. An American drama, *Look Homeward Angel*, catches the idea common to most ancient ecclesiastical writers who view men and women as *peregrini*, resident aliens, whose journey is a return to the Father of all mankind⁸. To be sure, the sounds of Neoplatonism are muted, because the complete context of the concluding chapters to Book VII

2. 4.15.24. All citations are from the *Confessions*, and will be noted thus. The title of other writings will be appropriately identified. In a few instances I have utilized the translation, A.C. OUTLER, *Augustine: Confessions and Enchiridion*, LCL V. 7, Philadelphia 1955, yet always with modifications of my own.

3. *De nat. boni* 41-8.

4. One of the earliest expositions of creation and fall from the unity of God is set forth in the *De vera rel.* 21.41 to 23.44. The fall of angels and men takes within its purview the perspectives of providence and redemption ; its consequences are both personal and collective ; the context is essentially Christological.

5. 5.12.22. *Castissimam* is not employed in a restrictive sense signifying sexual overtones, but possesses an intellectual and moral aspect which presupposes discipline of the body, the interior senses, for example, the mind, and the exterior senses as well. Tacitus in the *Agricola* 4, describes his mother-in-law simply as *varae castitatis* — his laconic style deliberately omits *mulier* — to mean that she possessed every virtue and lived a disciplined life. God is referred to as the Truth by Augustine for the first time in the *De beata vita* 4.34 and thereafter many times.

6. 7.21.27.

7. 7.20.26. Cf. *De trin.* 4.15.20 ; *De civ. Dei* 11.2 ; all of *Serm.* 346 develops the theme of Christ as the Way. This theme is stressed in the *Retract.* 1.4.3 where Augustine criticizes his statement in the *Solil.* 1.13.23 as susceptible to meaning that there was another way of salvation besides Christ.

8. *De vera rel.* 52. 101 furnishes an excellent example of Augustine's method which blends Greek philosophy with Pauline thought : " This is the return from temporal to eternal realities, and the transformation of the old man into the new. " Similar examples : *Ibid.* 54.105 and *De trin.* 12.10.15.

radically emphasizes the role of grace, the function of Jesus Christ as Redeemer, the work of the Holy Spirit and other Pauline themes. Augustine frankly admits the Platonists tell nothing of these realities. His consciousness has deepened immensely. The "land of happiness," which had been described just ten years earlier in the *De beata vita*, is now the "land of peace".

When describing the decision to resign his professorship before the early autumn vintage holiday, Augustine mentions his students "who did not meditate on Your Law or Your peace, but on foolish lies and legal battles⁹". He continues with an extended exegesis of Psalm 4 and comments on the second verse: "How long will you love vain words and seek after lies?" We are hardly surprised, therefore, with the exclamation¹⁰:

" Oh, in peace !
Oh, in (the direction of) the Selfsame !
Oh, why did he say :
' I will lie down and sleep.' ...
Surely, You are the Selfsame
and You do not change.
In You is rest
and oblivion to all labor.
There is no other besides You,
nor are we to strive for the many other realities
which are not what You are. "

The attributes of self-identity, immutability and rest are equated with the Being of God. The peace of man is threatened by his tendency : *ad alia multa adipiscenda*. Prepositions, as always, are telling evidence : *o in pace ! o in id ipsum !* The former denotes a final resting place ; the latter defines direction towards Being itself, which is characterized by the above three attributes¹¹. To demonstrate that "Augustine's notion of so-called self-identity (*idipsum*) is primarily biblical, both in origin and significance¹²," is crucial to an accurate understanding of his thought.

9. 9.2.2.

10. 9.4.11.

11. The last four books alone list 298 names or attributes of God. See Ritamary BRADLEY, "Naming God in St. Augustine's *Confessions*", *The Thomist* 17 (1954) 186-96. Ps. 4.9 echoes Ex. 3.14. The *to hen* of Plotinus is altogether separate from being, intelligence and life, whereas the biblical '*ego sum qui sum*' identifies God with these three neoplatonic hypostases. Commenting upon Ex. 3.14 Augustine writes : "God is existence in a supreme degree — he supremely is — and is therefore immutable. Hence he gave existence to the creatures he made out of nothing ; but it was not his own supreme existence. To some he gave existence in a higher degree, to some in a lower, and thus he arranged a scale of existences of various natures." *De Civ. Dei* 12.2. (Italics mine.)

12. James F. ANDERSON, *St. Augustine and Being*, The Hague 1965, p. 30. Cf. Chapter IV, 'Self-Identity', pp. 26-33. To Anderson's catena of texts we add

The remaining three references to peace in Book IX refer, not surprisingly, to Monica, who was the victim of malicious gossip on the part of servants. The proverbial mother-in-law found no substance to such reports¹³. Monica was an effective peacemaker¹⁴. Augustine fittingly employs the phrase "*sit ergo in pace cum viro*" on the occasion of her untimely death¹⁵. This was, of course, a conventional expression of the christian hope.

The climax of the following passage justifies its presentation at length¹⁶ :

" Late have I loved You,
Beauty ever ancient, ever new,
Late have I loved You.
Alas, You were within,
I was without,
and in my unloveliness I was rushing
and seeking to find You
in the lovely things You have made.
You were with me, but I was not with You.
These things kept me far from You.
If they did not exist in You, they would not exist at all.
You called and shouted and You broke my deafness,
You glittered and gleamed and routed my blindness,
Your fragrance was such, I drew my breath and inhaled You,
I tasted, yet I remain hungry and thirsty,
You touched me, and I continued to burn for your peace. "

Sequences such as this enabled Alexander Souter somewhere to suggest that Augustine and Plato were the greatest poets of Antiquity. Harnack noted — again we rely on memory — that Augustine gave a soul to Latin, and further maintained that although Augustine was not the greatest Latin writer, he was, nevertheless, the greatest writer of Latin. Literary genius is not my concern and need not detain us. The above excerpt squares perfectly with the earlier passage in Book X, 6.8-9.16,

the well-known *Deus semper idem* of the *Solil.* 2.1.1 ; the equally famous *et pervenit ad id quod est, in ictu trepidantis aspectus*. *Conf.* 7.17.23. We part with Skutella's punctuation and prefer to relocate the comma to a position after *est*, thus highlighting the sense rather than the subordinate clause, in the custom of so many Latin texts edited under German auspices. Cf. also *En. in Ps.* 101.2.10 : *PL* 37.1311-12 for a commentary on *Ex.* 3.13-15. Cf. F.-J. THONNARD, « Caractères platoniciens de l'ontologie augustinienne », *AM* I (1954) 317-27, which similarly stresses the concreteness of Being, both living and personal, which derives from *Ex.* 3.13-15. Anderson, *op. cit.*, furnishes a wider range of evidence to demonstrate the Augustinian divergence from the Platonic and Neoplatonic traditions. Immensely helpful as these latter influences are, they remain instrumental and secondary.

13. 9.9.20.

14. 9.9.21.

15. 9.13.37.

16. 10.27.38. Cf. Pierre BLANCHARD, « L'espace intérieur chez saint Augustin d'après le livre X des *Confessions* », *AM* I (1954) 535-42.

which is propaedeutic to an analysis of memory. So often in this context memory means consciousness. The rich Augustinian themes of love, the all-present God, creation, beauty, time and interiority are all absorbed in the author's burning ardor for peace — *et exarsi in pacem tuam*. Augustine stresses the significance of sense data, imagination and fantasy, which he equates with *homo exterior*, whereas illuminationism, mind, heart, will, memory and grace constitute the *homo interior*. There is no dualism here. Memory recombines the images which emerge from a sensory world¹⁷. The vocabulary throughout indicates a holistic view of man.

After a penetrating analysis of memory which he variously describes as *venter animi*, *campus*, *lata praeloria* and *ingens aula*¹⁸, the author furnishes an almost clinical description of temptation on the basis of I Jn 2.16, the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eyes and the pride of life. The writer depicts himself "grieving over the fact that I am incomplete, hoping that You will bring to completion in me Your mercies to the fullness of that peace — *usque ad pacem plenariam* — which my inner and outer being will have with You when death is swallowed up in victory¹⁹." The same thought is expressed *usque in pacem*, likewise stressing interiority and insisting that peace is not the possession of the proud²⁰. The final example in Book X suggests that peace is the reward of a righteous life, made possible through the Passion of Christ in His role as Mediator between God and men, and available in faith to persons of both Old and New Testament times²¹.

The opening paragraph of Book XI repeats the first sentence of Book I : *Magnus dominus et laudabilis valde*. There follows an enumeration of the Beatitudes with peacemaker in its customary climactic position²². This instance is the sole citation in Book XI. In Book XII we read²³ :

17. *De Gen. cont. Manich.* 1. 24.42 : « Jamvero ab adolescentia et deinceps, ubi ratio jam incipit in homine praevalere, accedit quinque sensibus cognitio et actio, quibus vita regitur et administratur. » Also, *En. in Ps* 27, *serm.* 2.12 : « Quis digne laudet hoc ipsum quod in nobis viget, vegetans corpus, movens membra, sensus exserens, et memoria tam multa complectens, intellectu tam multa discernens, quis digne laudet ? » The validity of sense data is attested to : *De quant. animae* 25.48 ; *De mus.* 6.5.10 ; *De trin.* 12.2.2 and elsewhere. See Terry L. MIECHE, "Saint Augustine and Sense Knowledge", *AS* 8 (1977) 11-19.

18. Wendelin SCHMIDT-DENGLER, "Die 'aula memoriae' in den Konfessionen des heiligen Augustin", *REA* 14 (1968) 69-89.

19. 10.30.42.

20. 10.38.63.

21. 10.43.68.

22. 11.1.1.

23. 12.11.12. Augustine furnishes a similar account of contemplation in *En. in Ps* 27, *serm.* 2.7-12. The "city in the heavens above this visible heaven" transcends the world of space, time and motion. *Ibid.* 18 offers one of the many expressions of the theme of the two cities intersecting heaven and earth.

" I cannot find a term
 that I would judge more agreeable
 for ' the heaven of the heavens of the Lord '
 than ' Your house ' —
 which contemplates Your delights
 without any slippage
 towards anything else,
 the pure intelligence of saintly spirits
 which is one in virtue of its perfect harmony²⁴
 and rests on the foundations of peace,
 belonging to the citizens of Your city
 in the heavens,
 above the visible heaven. "

There is a fusion here of scriptural language, specifically Psalms 115.16 : ' the heaven of heavens ' and 84.4 : ' Your house, ' happily combining with Neoplatonic allusions. The following excerpt likewise displays a similar mixture of language²⁵.

" I shall not be turned away
 from such dispersion and deformity
 until You bind together
 my entire being
 in the direction of peace
 belonging to my dearest mother (the heavenly Jerusalem)
 where the first fruits of my spirit
 have their definite origin,
 and conform and confirm
 all that I am,
 forever,
 my God,
 my mercy. "

Augustine addresses an imaginary interlocutor in words which convey both fraternal and peaceful concern²⁶. Exhibiting excellent exegetical acumen, he readily acknowledges the elusive character of the introductory verses in Genesis, which refuse to yield a monochrome interpretation²⁷. An irenic outlook coupled with brotherly love provides the most congenial setting for biblical hermeneutics.

The last book of the *Confessions*²⁸ furnishes seven illustrations of peace :

24. *Concordissime*, 12.11.12. Other instances include : *concorditer* 9.11.28 ; *concordiae* 9.9.20 ; *concordiam* 10.36.59 and 12.30.41 ; *concordes* 13.15.16. A favorite word with Augustine, we are surprised by its infrequent use in the *Confessions*.

25. 12.16.23.

26. 12.25.35.

27. *Ibid.*

28. Cf. Adolf HOLL, *Die Welt der Zeichen bei Augustin. Religions-phänomenologische Analyse des 13. Buches der Confessiones*. Wiener Beiträge zur Theologie, II.

the peace that is concomitant with good will²⁹ ; the peace of the heavenly Jerusalem³⁰ ; peace as an essential predisposition for beholding the vision of the Trinity³¹ ; a final prayer for peace of quietness, the peace of the Sabbath, peace without an evening³². Biblical echoes are everywhere deliberate.

“ My weight is my love ;
by it I am carried wherever I am carried.
By Your gift we are enkindled and carried upward.
We burn inwardly and move forward.
We ascend steps within the heart,
and we sing a canticle of degrees ;
we glow inwardly with Your fire
— with Your good fire —
and we go forward
because we go up to the peace of Jerusalem.³³ ”

The verb *inardescimus* (glow) recalls the *exarsi in pacem tuam* (10.27.38). One could argue convincingly that the thematic variations of *confessio laudis*, *confessio fidei*, *confessio peccati* and *confessio vitae* corroborate the artistic unity of all thirteen books as well as their theological coherence. The Augustinian motifs of love and interiority are paramount with a warmth that is the trademark of the Master. Movement is forward and upward as well as inward. The song is the ‘ canticle of degrees ’ set forth successively in Psalms 120 to 134, wherein Augustine subsequently orchestrates the ascent of the soul towards God and the heavenly Jerusalem in the *Discourses on the Psalms*³⁴. Augustine’s continuing quest for wisdom is temporarily overtaken by his pursuit of peace. Both goals are intimately interrelated.

Wien, Herder, 1963. After some preliminary remarks on method, Book XIII is examined from the viewpoint of religious intention, imagination, speculation and realization. Cf. P. CAYRÉ, « Le livre XIII des Confessions », *REA* 2 (1956) 143-61.

29. 13.9.10.

30. *Ibid.* ; *Gal.* 4.26 ; *Ps.* 122.6.

31. 13.11.12.

32. 13.35.50 : « *pacem quietis, pacem sabbati, pacem sine vespera* ».

33. 13.9.10.

34. Augustine always had a receptive attitude towards music. *Conf.* 10.33.49-50 relate how impressed the rhetorician was with singing in the Basilica at Milan and ecclesiastical music generally. With excessive scrupulosity, however, he reproaches himself for the pleasures of the ear. *Sermons and Discourses on the Psalms* contravene this harsh self-criticism. His first reference to music occurs in the *De ord.* 2.14.41 where he commends music as a liberal discipline. In the same work Augustine chides Monica for rebuking Trygetius, when the latter is heard chanting a psalm in the privy. The body is depicted as *cantus animae spiritualis*. *En. in Ps.* 12.6. History is viewed « *velut magnum carmen cuiusdam ineffabilis modulatoris* ». *Ep.* 138.5 and *Conf.* 11.28.37-8. There is the well-known theoretical treatise *De musica*. Cuthbert BUTLER, *Western Mysticism*, 2nd ed., London 1927, p. 33, says that Augustine is singular among the Fathers in employing the imagery of music to express mystical experience.

2. Affinities Between Peace and Rest.

Before examining the motif of rest, we do well, however briefly, to include an overview of *pondus*, a very important word, which regularly deepens and advances the dynamic movement of Augustine's thought. The cluster of associations is interesting; the word appears 15 times. There is the favorite triad from the Book of Wisdom 11.21, "*mensura, numerus, pondus*"³⁵. We find *maiorum pondere*³⁶, *pondere cupiditatis*³⁷, *pondere (negotiorum)*³⁸. A significant passage refers to "the weight of the wide number of different impulses in a single soul."³⁹ Here Augustine is his best in depicting the depth of the human spirit. *Pondus* refers to sluggishness⁴⁰, cumbersome restraints⁴¹, pride⁴². Augustine is snatched away from God by means of his own dead weight which he describes as *consuetudo carnalis*⁴³. We have just seen in context the famous text:

"*pondus meum amor meus ;
eo feror, quocumque feror*"⁴⁴

This, together with the remaining 4 instances, all occur in 13.9.10. The spatial connotation is featured in each sample. We noted above Augustine's penchant for interiority as if to suggest a depth dimension in terms of "inner space"⁴⁵. Herein, there is a focal point of consciousness combining space and time in an exquisite harmony and unity both personal and collective, this latter aspect to be fully developed in the *De civitate Dei*.

35. 5.4.7. Werner BEIERWALTES, « Augustinus Interpretation von *Sapientia* 11.21 », *REA* 15 (1969) 51-61. L. CILLERUELO, « Numerus et Sapientia », *ES* 3 (1968) 109-121. W. J. ROCHE, "Measure, Number and Weight in Saint Augustine", *The New Scholasticism* 15 (1941) 350-76.

36. 9.8.18.

37. 13.7.8.

38. 8.6.13.

39. 4.12.22 : « *ubi distribuuntur ista pondera variorum et diversorum amorum in anima una... et tamen capilli eius magis numerabiles quam affectus eius et motus cordis eius.* »

40. 10.4.5.

41. 10.40.65.

42. 4.15.27.

43. 7.17.23 : « *diripiebar abs te pondere meo...* »

44. 13.9.10. Cf. *De civ. Dei* 11.28 : « *ita enim corpus pondere, sicut animus amore fertur, quocumque fertur.* » Georges DE PLINVAL, « Mouvement spontané ou mouvement imposé ? Le 'feror' augustinien », *REA* 5 (1959) 13-19.

45. *Supra*, note 16. What we might designate the "principle of interiority" is essential to an understanding of Augustine's spirituality. See the texts cited by Marie COMEAU, *Saint Augustin Exégète du Quatrième Évangile*, Paris 1930, p. 383.

Closely related to the concept of peace is the word *quiesco* and its cognates *quies*, *quietus*⁴⁶. Rest is not to be confused with sloth⁴⁷. The concluding paragraph of Book II refers to God as rest and life ; these categories are equated with the joy of the Lord⁴⁸. In a brilliant sequence which attempts a descriptive definition of God, while at the same time studiously safeguarding God's *apatheia* and immutability, Augustine offers a series of antitheses⁴⁹ :

“ . . . ever active, ever at rest. . .
jealous, yet free from care. . .
angry, but You remain calm. . . ”

This effort to depict the mystery of God is one of the most eloquent and most memorable in the literature of the world. The music of this entire sequence rings in the ear when read either silently or aloud. The final sentence ends in silence. Augustine exclaims : “ And woe to those who keep silent concerning You, since even those who speak much are dumb !⁵⁰ ” He adds the postscript : “ Who shall bring me to rest in You ?⁵¹ ” A close and critical comparison with the conclusion of Book XIII reveals an almost identical structure of thought.

The summons of creation calls out to man. Augustine alludes to Genesis as *vox libri tui*⁵². It is as though the music of the spheres in the tenth book of Plato's *Republic* and the eschatology of Cicero's *Somnium Scipionis* are fully come to life⁵³ :

“ Be not foolish, my soul !
Do not let your pride stir up such a commotion,
that it deafens the ear of your heart.
Listen !
The Word is calling you to return.
With Him is a place of undisturbed rest,
where love never deserts a man,
unless he deserts it first. ”

The association of the Word with creation is explicit in this context, and in two other citations of the famous Ambrosian hymn *Deus, creator*

46. There are 23 occurrences, two of which are citations from St. Ambrose : *quiesco* 5 ; *quies* 11 (St. Ambrose 2x) ; *quietus* 6 ; *quietus* 1.

47. 2.6.13 : « *et ignavia quasi quietem appetit : quae vero quies certa praeter dominum ?* »

48. 2.10.18 : « *quies est apud te valde et vita imperturbabilis* ». The scriptural reference is to Mt. 25.21.

49. 1.4.4 : « *... semper agens, semper quietus... zelus et securus es... irasceris et tranquillus es...* »

50. *Ibid.*

51. 1.5.5.

52. 13.36.51.

53. 4.11.16.

omnium⁵⁴. There follows almost immediately with equal insistence upon creation and interiority⁵⁵ :

" He is deep within the heart,
but the heart has wandered away from Him.
Return, transgressors, to your heart, (Isaiah 46.8)
Hold fast to Him who made you.
Stand with Him and you shall stand fast.
Rest in Him and you will be at rest. "

Rest is inseparable from order, whereas unrest is always symptomatic of disorder⁵⁶. The nexus between rest, order and space, both inner and outer space, is, therefore, a patent Augustinian motif. The temporal dimension is equally important, rooted as it is in the distinction between the immutable and the mutable⁵⁷, which, in turn, derives from the revealed doctrine of creation⁵⁸. Time is a basic metaphysical construct for Augustine⁵⁹. He elaborates his theory of time in Book XI. Unlike Plato who regards time as a moving image of eternity, the Bishop of Hippo points out that existence itself, not essence, determines time. T.S. Eliot's *Burnt Norton* reiterates Augustine's thought. I quote a very brief portion of the poem⁶⁰ :

" Words move, music moves
Only in time ; but that which is only living
Can only die. Words, after speech, reach

54. 9.12.32 and 11.27.35. *De musica* 6.2.2. Cf. 7.18.24 : « *Verbum enim tuum, aeterna veritas... sanans tumorem et nutriens amorem.* » Douglas W. JOHNSON, « *Verbum* in the Early Augustine (386-397) », *RA* 8 (1972) 25-53. The author concludes that *Verbum* is the equivalent of "the expression or address of God to the world, i.e., something more like 'word' than like Mind or Nous", p. 50.

55. 4.12.18.

56. 13.9.10 : « *minus ordinata inquieta sunt : ordinantur et quiescunt.* »

57. See the texts listed in VERNON BOURKE, *Augustine's View of Reality*, Villanova 1964. Cornelius Petrus MAYER, *Die Zeichen in der geistigen Entwicklung und in der Theologie Augustins*, II. Teil : Die antimanichäische Epoche, Würzburg 1974, « Das ontologische Schema mutabile-immutabile », pp. 114-130. E. ZUM BRUNN, « L'immuabilité de Dieu selon saint Augustin », *Nova et Vetera* 41 (1966) 219-25.

58. *De civ. Dei* 11. 6 : « *procul dubio non est mundus factus in tempore, sed cum tempore ; quis non videat quod tempora non fuissent, nisi creatura fieret ?* » *Conf.* 11.27. 36 : « *in te, anime meus, tempora metior.* » *Ibid.* 11.20.26 : « *praesens de praeteritis memoria, praesens de praesentibus contuitus, praesens de futuris expectatio.* » Cf. E. BAILLEUX, « La création et le temps selon saint Augustin », *Mélanges de science religieuse* 26 (1969) 65-94 and M. MOREAU, « Mémoire et durée », *REA* 1 (1955) 239-50.

59. John M. QUINN, "The Concept of Time in St. Augustine", *Augustinianum* 5 (1965) 5-57. Hugh M. LACEY, "Empiricism and Augustine's Problems about Time", *Review of Metaphysics* 22 (1968) 219-45. Different viewpoints are portrayed in the following articles. John L. MORRISON, "Augustine's Two Theories of Time", *The New Scholasticism* 45 (1971) 600-10 and Wilma G. JESS, "Augustine : A Consistent and Unitary Theory of Time", *Ibid.* 46 (1972) 337-51.

60. T. S. ELIOT, *Collected Poems*, London 1963, p. 194.

Into the silence. Only by the form, the pattern,
 Can words or music reach
 The stillness, as a Chinese jar still
 Moves perpetually in its stillness.
 Not the stillness of the violin, while the note lasts,
 Not that only, but the co-existence,
 Or say that the end precedes the beginning,
 And the end and the beginning were always there
 Before the beginning and after the end.
 And all is always now. "

God's rest is beyond time in the manner of His vision and immutability⁶¹. Nevertheless, He creates the realities which are seen in time, time itself and everything that exists with time⁶². God, meanwhile, is ever at rest because He is rest Himself⁶³. This truth, Augustine concludes, is beyond the grasp of men and angels. Such knowledge is a gift of the Holy Spirit available only to the person who prays. As distasteful as the alliance may at first sound, the juxtaposition of time and space with the Augustinian concepts of *distantio*, *intentio* and *memoria* yield what can only be described as a metaphysics of prayer.

The five remaining uses of words stemming from *quiesco* furnish examples of various personalities. Monica was often obliged to ascertain the mood of Patricius before talking with him⁶⁴. Students at Rome enjoyed a reputation for study and discipline superior to that of the students at Carthage⁶⁵. Ambrose is singled out for reading silently in his study, a somewhat unconventional practice, occasioned no doubt by his busy round of duties as a bishop⁶⁶. Augustine, Alypius, Nebridius, Romanianus dream of a commune consisting of approximately ten persons, two of whom would be charged with the task of domestic management on an annual basis, thus permitting others to live undisturbed in pursuit of their religious and philosophical interests⁶⁷. In the final citation, Augustine endeavors to assuage opponents in controversy suggesting that peace and quiet are essential to a proper understanding of Scripture⁶⁸.

" Restless is our heart, " is without doubt the most celebrated phrase

61. 13.37.52.

62. *Ibid.*

63. 13.36.51 and 13.38.53.

64. 9.9.19.

65. 5.8.14.

66. 6.3.3. Bernard M. W. KNOX, " Silent Reading in Antiquity ", *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 9 (1968) 421-35. There is a reference to silent singing in 10.8.13.

67. 6.14.24.

68. 12.16.23.

in the *Confessions*⁶⁹. Augustine describes the turbulence of adolescence⁷⁰, the unsettling task of declamation⁷¹, and his restlessness to imitate what he sees in public shows⁷². He commends one of his closest friends, Nebridius, for his ability to set aside virtually every distraction of mind⁷³. He depicts with vivid strokes the *misera inquietudo* of fallen angels as well as men, when the purposes of creation are frustrated⁷⁴. It is impossible for restless persons in all their vagaries to escape both themselves and God, no matter to what extent they may plunge themselves into diversionary activities⁷⁵. After successive encounters with Manichaeism and scepticism, there followed a phase of Neoplatonic enthusiasm. Ambrose urged the professor of rhetoric to read the Scriptures with Isaiah for a starter. Although his anxiety increased, Augustine attended church in Milan to the extent that his busy life permitted⁷⁶.

3. Uses of " *requiesco* " and " *requies* ".

Prepositions tell the entire story. Originally they functioned as adverbs, and for this reason they were always associated with verbs. Christianity effected a linguistic revolution as the many prepositional prefixes in St. Paul, for example, demonstrate. In Late Latin we find an incredible expansion in the use of prepositions owing to the fact that case endings begin to flatten out and make way for the indeclinable substantives of the Romance languages. The prepositions *in*, *ad*, *cum*, *super*, *per* and *post* have both temporal and spatial significance when linked with *requiesco* and *requies*.

" You prompt man
to take delight in praise of You,
because You have made us tending towards You,
and restless is our heart,
until it comes to rest in You⁷⁷. "

69. I.I.I. « *inquietum est cor nostrum* ». John BURNABY, *Amor Dei : A Study of the Religion of St. Augustine*, London 1938, p. 98, quite accurately faults Père Fulbert Cayré for suggesting that " the *Confessions* should be read as the thankful devotions of a heart that has already found rest ".

70. 2.2.2 ; 2.3.6 ; 2.10.18.

71. I.I7.27.

72. I.I9.30.

73. 8.6.13.

74. 13.8.9.

75. 5.2.2 and 6.3.3.

76. 8.6.13 ; *anxietudo* also occurs in 9.3.5. There is one instance of *anxietas* in the *Confessions* : 9.12.32.

77. I.I.I. Cf. Alberto PINCHERLE, « *Et inquietum est cor nostrum*. Appunti per una lezione agostiniana », *Augustinus* 13 (1968) 353-68. The imagery of unrest is treated in Sister Mary Norma Rocklage, *A Thematical Analysis of the Imagery in the Confessions of St. Augustine* (Doctoral Dissertation), St. Louis University 1965.

This famous text is rarely, if ever, translated correctly into English. I am unable to find an English version which does justice to the original. There is one theologian who approximates an accurate translation, but he fails to furnish a translation and resorts to the original Latin⁷⁸. The most accurate translation I have read appears in French⁷⁹ :

« C'est toi qui le pousse à prendre plaisir à te louer
parce que tu nous a faits orientés vers toi
et que notre cœur est sans repos
tant qu'il ne repose pas en toi. »

The French *orientés vers toi* is a precise translation. Augustine conceives of life essentially in terms of movement. He maintains that "being is not the same thing as living,⁸⁰" and he further suggests that "living is not the same as living happily⁸¹." The verb *requiescere* is to be construed in a dynamic sense which underlines the tension between human happiness and the disorder or confusion occasioned by the passions. Augustine much prefers the words *amores*, *affectiones*, *affectus*⁸².

« Entre le tumulte et l'apaisement — entendu au sens dynamique du verbe *requiescere* — s'étend et se tend la durée intérieure de l'existence humaine : celle de 'notre cœur', personnel ou collectif. Elle place bien toute l'œuvre d'Augustin sous le signe fondamental du temps humain, et de sa relation à l'Éternel, c'est-à-dire à l'absolu divin, seul capable de donner un sens à l'éphémère tout tendu vers lui⁸³. »

The poignancy of the Vergilian phrase, *sunt lacrimae rerum* found expression in Augustine's tears at the premature death of a friend⁸⁴, and on the occasion of his mother's death⁸⁵. In the former case Augustin took refuge in bitterness and found no assuagement for his grief⁸⁶. Such was his extraordinary sensitivity that he accuses himself of carelessness for using a term of endearment concerning his friend⁸⁷. Inability to conceive of God as a spiritual substance was a source of unrest⁸⁸. Cassi-

78. Norman PITTENGER, *God In Process*, London 1967, p. 55, suggests 'towards God' instead of 'for God'.

79. SOLIGNAC, TRÉHOREL et BOUISSOU, *Les Confessions*, Livres I-VII, *Œuvres de saint Augustin*, Paris 1962, p. 273.

80. *De Gen. ad litt.* 1.5.10 : « Non hoc est ei esse quod vivere. »

81. 13.4.5.

82. *En. in Ps* 6.9 : « Nam locis suis continentur, animo autem locus est affectio sua. » This is a commonplace thought with Augustine.

83. Jacques FONTAINE, *La littérature latine chrétienne*, Paris 1970, p. 91.

84. 4.7.12.

85. 8.12.33.

86. 4.6.11 and 4.7.12.

87. *Retract.* 2.6.2 ; *PL* 32.632.

88. 7.14.20.

ciacum is remembered as a place where time for attentiveness to God was plentiful⁸⁹. Still troubled with thoughts of unchastity, Augustine describes peace of conscience in the wake of a nocturnal emission during the course of sleep⁹⁰. There is no respite for the eyes, whereas the ears are less bothersome instruments of temptations⁹¹. God is a good listener to his confessions and the "rest of his labor"⁹². There is only one instance of a citation from Scripture: "and you will find rest for your souls."⁹³

In language that reflects Neoplatonic vocabulary, the Bishop of Hippo insists that creation is by no means incompatible with the immutability of God. Created being is not coeternal with God, yet it cleaves to Him — *cohaerentem Deo* — with a chaste love and rests in true contemplation of Him alone⁹⁴. Man's most worthy response to creation is an act of praise. The bodily senses are not always to be trusted because they tend to roam vagrantly. The soul wishes simply "to exist and to rest in the created things she loves"⁹⁵. There is no fixity of place for such created realities. The weight of cupidity is a deterrent along the more excellent way of love. The depth dimension in man responds not so much to place as to feelings and loves. The same Spirit which moved over the waters is poured forth in our hearts in order to mollify man's anxiety, and enable him to come to the supreme rest⁹⁶. Man's true repose is found in the Holy Spirit⁹⁷.

Man is a burden — *sarcina* — to himself⁹⁸. Rest is equated with beatitude — *beata vita*, but both realities are equally elusive⁹⁹. That God alone is rest punctuates the conclusion of Book VI¹⁰⁰. Although Augustine rejected both astrology and Manichaeism, his restlessness is particularly acute prior to his reading of the Platonists in the translations of Marius Victorinus¹⁰¹.

89. 9.3.5.

90. 10.30.41.

91. 10.34.51.

92. 12.26.36.

93. 7.9.14; *Mt.* 11.29.

94. 12.15.19.

95. 4.10.15.

96. 13.7.8. Cf. Anne-Marie LA BONNARDIÈRE, « Le verset paulinien Rom., V, 5 dans l'œuvre de saint Augustin », *AM* II (1954) 657-65. The text occurs more than 200 times in Augustine's writings.

97. 13.9.10: « *in dono tuo requiescimus: ibi te fruimur, requies nostra locus noster* ». Cf. *De trin.* 1.15.18.

98. 4.7.12. Maurice JOURJON, « *Sarcina*. Un mot cher à l'évêque d'Hippone », *Recherches de science religieuse* 43 (1955) 258-62.

99. 4.12.18.

100. 6.16.26.

101. 7.7.11.

It is significant that 14 of the 33 uses of *requiesco* and *requies* occur in Book XIII. Just as God rested on the seventh day, Augustine prays that he will find rest on the Sabbath of eternal life¹⁰². This *requiescamus in te* is a variation of *et tu solus requies* (6.16.26) and the *donec requiescat in te* (1.1.1). These three passages point to the artistic and theological unity of the *Confessions*. Present time is contrasted with future time in terms of work and rest. There are three instances in the penultimate paragraph of Book XIII¹⁰³. The dialectic between *operari* (*opera*) and *requiescere* (*requies*) affirms God's sustaining activity and continuing providence.

Although the Trinity remains a puzzle to Augustine in the context of creation, the Spirit who moved over the waters is said to be the Holy Spirit. "For those in whom Your good Spirit is said to rest, He actually causes to rest in Himself¹⁰⁴." The fall of angels and men brings darkness, but the light of creation perdures. Every obedient mind cleaves — *inhaeret* — to God and finds rest in the Spirit who moves immutably over all things mutable¹⁰⁵. Augustine reiterates the goodness and greatness of rational creation, and insists that God alone suffices for its rest and beatitude¹⁰⁶. Creation clearly is not self-contained. Again the reader is reminded that rest and enjoyment are found in the Holy Spirit¹⁰⁷. In the final paragraph of the *Confessions*, the author concludes :

" You, the one good God,
never cease to do well.
Certain good works are ours
owing really to Your gift.
But these are not eternal.
Still we hope after this life
to find our rest
in Your great sanctification.
You are the Supreme Good,

102. 13.36.51. Cf. Georges FOLLIET, « La typologie du 'sabbat' chez saint Augustin », *REA* 2 (1956) 371-90. There are striking affinities between the concluding paragraphs of the *Confessions* and the final chapter of the *City of God*. This latter work employs the additional words *otium* and *concordia* to describe the beatitude of the eternal Sabbath as well as the proverbial phrase "the eighth day". Unlike the final book of the *Confessions*, which is trinitarian with a heavy accent upon the doctrines of Creation, Providence and the Holy Spirit, the *City of God* stresses in the last chapter alone, the doctrines of Creation, Incarnation, Atonement and Resurrection.

103. 13.37.52.

104. 13.4.5. « *hos in se requiescere facit.* » This is a causative sense of the verb *facere*.

105. 13.8.9.

106. *Ibid.* : « ... *quàm magnam rationalem creaturam feceris, cui nullo modo sufficit ad beatam requiem, quidquid te minus est, ac per hoc nec ipsa sibi.* »

107. 13.9.10 : Cf. *De trin.* 15.18.32 : « *quocirca rectissime Spiritus sanctus, cum sit Deus, vocatur etiam donum Dei.* » *Ibid.* 5.11.12 ; 5.15.16 ; 5.16.17 ; 15.19.33.

ever at rest,
because You Yourself are Your own rest¹⁰⁸. "

Augustine contrasts his own evil life with the goodness of God¹⁰⁹. He expressly states that his heart is quickened by the Spirit of God. Whether men and angels are able to understand and express the unicity, the goodness, the eternity, the holiness, the providence of God, the divine activity and rest remains a question. The same problem is posed in the poetry of T.S. Eliot¹¹⁰ :

" Words strain,
Crack and sometimes break, under the burden.
Under the tension, slip, slide, perish,
Decay with imprecision, will not stay in place,
Will not stay still. "

Krister Stendahl, Dean of the Harvard Divinity School, is fond of observing that the language of theology is poetry plus and science minus. For Augustine, the only suitable language is the language of praise and prayer. In the last sentence of the *Confessions* prepositions again tell the story : *a te petatur, in te quaeratur, ad te pulsetur*.

The following conclusions emerge from this study : 1) The *Confessions* is a well constructed book ; Augustine is not in this case, a poor planner of books. 2) The treatment of peace is an integral feature of the *Confessions*. 3) The theme of ' peace ' resonates with the themes ' quiet ' and ' rest '. 4) While the Neoplatonic categories of motion (*kinesis*) and rest (*stasis*) furnish an underpinning for the theme of peace, the biblical motifs of creation and sabbath are, to be sure, much more determinative, and 5) Book XIX of the *City of God* with its famous description of peace as *tranquillitas ordinis* offers a blueprint for peace vis à vis the people of God. As portrayed in the *Confessions*, the quest for peace by a man, who is one of the world's most indefatigable searchers for God, reflects clearly the theology of person and the theology of history which is, according to Daniélou, the fundamental axis of St. Augustine's thought¹¹¹.

108. 13.38.53.

109. John C. COOPER, " Why Did Augustine Write Books XI-XIII of *The Confessions* ? " *AS 2* (1971) 37-46. Also, David BURRELL, " The Confessions of Augustine : An Exercise in Theological Understanding ", *The Journal of Religion* 50 (1970) 327-51.

110. T. S. ELIOT, *op. cit.*, p. 194.

111. Jean DANIELOU, *The Bible and the Liturgy*, Notre Dame 1956, p. 276.

Significantly, Book XXII of the *City of God* furnishes evidence that *pax* becomes virtually synonymous with *gaudium* and *beatitudo*. Not infrequently Augustine juxtaposes *pax* with *sapientia*. When the Bishop of Hippo articulates his theology of grace during the Pelagian phase of his writings, the nexus between the absence and presence of peace is often nuanced in the tension between *concordia* and *discordia*. These themes take us too far afield and are the subject of other studies.

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