

STUDIA PATRISTICA

VOL. XXXVIII

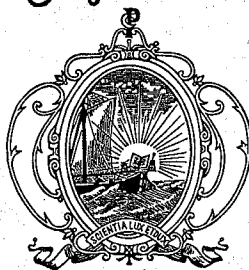
Papers presented at the Thirteenth International Conference
on Patristic Studies held
in Oxford 1999

St Augustine and his Opponents
Other Latin Writers

Edited by
M.F. WILES and E.J. YARNOLD

with the assistance of
P.M. PARVIS

*P. Fredriksen, "Augustine and Israel: Interpretatio
ad litteram, Jews, and Judaism in Augustine's
Theology of History."*



PEETERS
LEUVEN
2001

Augustine and Israel: *Interpretatio ad litteram*, Jews, and Judaism in Augustine's Theology of History

Paula FREDRIKSEN, Boston

Of all of Augustine's contributions to late Latin theology, three in particular stand out as irreducibly idiosyncratic yet enduringly important: his views on the nature of man's will; his teaching on the place of Jews and Judaism within both the history of salvation and quotidian Christian society; and his thoroughgoing secularization of post-biblical history. These three theological themes shape the final third of the *City of God*; but they originate in the fruitful confusion of Augustine's thought in the decade immediately following his conversion — most specifically, I shall argue, in his new understanding of Paul, and especially Romans, that comes into focus in the 390s, in the course of his struggle against the Manichees¹.

This is the formative context within which I want to situate Augustine's novel teachings on the theological status of Jews and Judaism². I will start with

¹ The present essay draws on a larger work in progress on Augustine's theological development in the 390s and the ways that it led to his original teaching on Jews and Judaism. My earlier preliminary studies specifically on Jews and Judaism, with extensive documentation, may be found in 'Excaecati Occulta Iustitia Dei: Augustine on Jews and Judaism,' *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 3 (1995) 299-324; and 'Secundum Carnem: History and Israel in the Theology of St. Augustine,' in *The Limits of Ancient Christianity. Essays on Late Antique Thought and Culture in honor of R.A. Markus*, ed. W. Klingshirn and M. Vessey (Ann Arbor, 1999) 26-41. As I will argue below, Augustine's views on Jews and Judaism arise out of his arguments against Manichaean anthropology and biblical hermeneutics, and his own evolving theology of history: hence the importance of the letters and the figure of Paul, and the exegetical principles of Tyconius. For convenience, I will refer to my own earlier essays on these topics, where readers will find fuller documentation and argument. Finally, I would like to thank Professor Jeremy Cohen, whose criticism of these earlier essays in his article, 'Slay Them Not': Augustine and the Jews in Modern Scholarship,' *Medieval Encounters* 4.1 (1998) 78-92, at pp. 86ff., helped me to sharpen my argument here.

² A time line will help to visualize the close sequence of events and treatises that this essay will explore:

- 386 conversion in Milan
- 389 *de Gen. c. Man.*
- 391 inducted into clergy at Hippo
- 392 debate c. *Fortunatum*
- 393 *de Gen. ad litteram imperfectus liber*
- 394 reads Tyconius *liber regularum* (?)
- 394/95 *Propp. ex ep. ad Rom.; ep. ad Rom. inchoata exp.; Exp. Ep. ad Gal. de mendacio*

a brief review of the exegetical steps by which he came to the startling conclusion of the *ad Simplicianum*, and show how this in turn affected his understanding of historical time, biblical revelation, and interpretation *ad litteram*. His correspondence with Jerome, begun in the mid-390s over issues in Galatians 2, will further fill in Augustine's position on the nature of biblical narrative, historical interpretation, and thus, also, the religious status of Jewish observance. I will then quarry the *c. Faustum* for Augustine's teachings on biblical Israel as a prophetic type of the Church, and current Jewish communities as its positive witness. Finally, and briefly, I shall consider his mature reprise of these themes as he presents them in the *City of God*.

I. The Work on Paul

Augustine's liberating encounter with philosophy and allegory in Milan had freed him from Manichaeism's negative critique of the Old Testament and its powerful dualist reading of Paul by teaching him how to read the Bible *secundum spiritum*. He applied these techniques of spiritual understanding in his earliest exegetical attack against his old sect, the *de Genesi contra Manichaeos*. His interpretation there is almost unrelievedly allegorical; and he seems to lament, at the beginning of Book 2, that he could not attempt as well to read '*secundum litteram*.'³ Four years later, in 393, he again undertook a

- 395 ep. 28 to Jerome on Gal. 2
consecrated co-adjutor bishop
qu. 66-68 of *de 83 div. quaest.*
finishes *de libero arbitrio*
- 396 death of Valerius
ad Simplicianum
- 397 ep. 40 to Jerome, again on Gal. 2
ep. 41 to Aurelius prodding him for his response to Tyconius' *liber regularum*, 'sicut saepe iam scripsi'
Confessions
- 397/98 *c. Faustum*
- 401/14 *de Gen. ad litteram*
- 404 receives ep. 75 from Jerome accusing him of judaizing
- 405 ep. 82 to Jerome on Torah observance
- 410 Vandal invasion of Rome; apocalyptic panic (*Sermo* 116.8)
- 413/27 *de civitate Dei*
outbreak of Pelagian controversy: attention focused again on Gen. and Paul
- 418 correspondence with Hesychius on Parousia (*epp.* 197-99)
- 425 *tractatus adversus Iudaeos*

³ *Sane quisquis voluerit omnia quae dicta sunt secundum litteram accipere, id est non aliter intellegere, quam littera sonat, et potest evitare blasphemias et omnia congruentia fidei catholicae praedicare, non solum ei non est invidendum, sed praecipuus multumque laudabilis intellectus habendus est. (De Gen. c. Manichaeos 2.2,3)*

commentary on Genesis, this time *ad litteram* — that is, '*secundum historicam proprietatem*,' (*Retr.* 1.18), 'according to its historical character.' This project, however, like so many undertaken during his priesthood, ran aground, and remained unfinished⁴.

Meanwhile, in part stimulated by his public confrontation with Fortunatus, in part aided by his encounter with the exegetical works of Tyconius, Augustine in this same period composed a stream of Pauline commentaries: the *Propositiones* or notes on Romans; the *Inchoata expositio*, another unfinished commentary, also on Romans; a commentary on Galatians, which would lead to an extended correspondence with Jerome; three substantial comments on questions arising from Romans chapters 7 through 9⁵; and finally, capping this period, again reviewing Romans 7-9, the answers to questions posed by his old mentor in Milan. Augustine reads Paul with the Manichees, so to speak, looking over his shoulder: against their determinist and dualist hermeneutic, he seeks to show that the Apostle 'neither condemns the Law nor takes away man's free will' (*Propp.* 13-18,1).

From his reading of Tyconius's *Liber regularum*, which I date to 394/95, Augustine takes over four important points: (1) that salvation history is continuous both between the Testaments and (2) within the life of the individual believer — that is, salvation history is both linear and interior: the broad historical sweep from Abraham through Sinai to the coming of Christ to final redemption at the end (the argument for continuity) is recapitulated in the individual experience of each saved person to either side of the Incarnation (the argument for interiority); (3) that the person is saved not by works but by faith, which God foreknows; and (4) that prophecies that seem apocalyptic are actually highly symbolic typological descriptions of current reality: the present, in consequence, is eschatologically opaque⁶.

Augustine systematizes both Paul's letter and Tyconius' first two exegetical points when he formulates the characteristic teaching of his notes on Romans, the four stages of salvation history: before the law, under the law, under grace, and the final eschatological stage, in peace. These stages are

⁴ On Augustine's struggle to find his feet in this period — aptly diagnosed by James J. O'Donnell as the 'writer's-cramp' years — see O'Donnell, *Augustine: Confessions* (Oxford 1992) vol. 1, xlii-xliii; Fredriksen, '*Secundum Carnem*' pp. 32-33.

⁵ Questions 66 through 68 of *de 83 diversis quaestionibus*.

⁶ For the resonances between Tyconius' exegetical handbook (particularly his concentration on the Pauline epistles in Bk. 3 and his argument about divine foreknowledge of the individual's faith) and Augustine's works on Paul in the mid-390s prior to the *ad Simplicianum*, see my two essays, 'Beyond the body/soul dichotomy: Augustine on Paul against the Manichees and the Pelagians,' *RAug* 23 (1988) 87-114, at pp. 99ff.; specifically on their shared de-eschatologizing theology of history, and the ways that that affects biblical interpretation, 'Apocalypse and Redemption in Early Christianity, from John of Patmos to Augustine of Hippo,' *VC* 45 (1991) 151-183. On Tyconius himself as a fully anti-apocalyptic thinker, 'Tyconius and the End of the World,' *REAug* 28 (1982) 59-75.

objective, communal, and historical: they describe the linear experience of humanity. But they are also subjective, individual, and transhistorical: every saved person, in whatever period of history, has passed or will pass through these grades. This rubric permitted Augustine to see the Law positively both as an historical epoch and as a stage of continuing relevance for the individual believer, thus defining as one continuous redemptive movement the divine dispensation to Israel and to the Church — a strong refutation of the Manichaean rejection of the Old Testament. On the micro-level, the interior workings of the individual, it placed at dead center the crucial moment of conversion from *sub lege* to *sub gratia*.

How is such a transfer effected? The key, said Augustine, is the will. Insufficient to prevent man *sub lege* from sinning, man's will can at least prompt him to turn in faith to Christ and implore his aid (*Propp.* 44,3). Receiving grace through faith, man will then move *sub gratia*, and be able to fulfill the law through love, which he could not do through fear. But here Romans 9 complicates Augustine's picture: the prenatal choice of Jacob over Esau, the divine hardening of Pharaoh, are difficult to reconcile with a strong construction of free will. With Tyconius, Augustine responds that God elects or rejects on the basis of his unerring foreknowledge whether the individual will have faith. Election must be based on some merit, and it is: the merit of faith. *Non opera sed fides inchoat meritum.* (62,9).

Within two years, in the *ad Simplicianum*, again considering this moment of transition from under the law to under grace, Augustine repudiates precisely this Tyconian understanding of the relation of divine foreknowledge, faith, and election. Man, he will now say, does absolutely nothing to merit salvation; even the first impulse to believe, to have the faith to call out to God for help, is itself God's gift, entirely undeserved⁷. Returning to Romans 9, Augustine takes Paul's metaphor of the lump of clay from which God the potter forms various vessels (Rom 9:20-23), and historicizes the image: the *conspersio* or *massa luti* now reifies into a description of a universal, objective state, the condition of humanity after the Fall, the *massa peccati*. Human will is compromised, broken, absolutely ineffective, because everyone is born in Adam, *una quaedam massa peccati* (1.2,16)⁸.

⁷ I.2,12; cf. I.2, 22: *Restat ergo voluntates eliguntur* (that is, by God). For analysis of his argument, Fredriksen, 'Body/soul,' pp. 94-98 and 103f.; D. Malafioti, 'Il problema dell' "Initium fidei" in sant'Agostino fino al 397,' *Aug* 21.3 (1981) 541-565. V.H. Drecoll offers a fresh consideration, integrating Augustine's philosophical concerns into his reconstruction, in *Die Entstehung der Gnadenlehre Augustins* (Tübingen 1999), pp. 218-250.

⁸ Augustine's comment on Romans 9 in his earlier essay, *qu.* 68.4, reveals the trajectory of his thought. There he states, concerning God's hardening of Pharaoh's heart, 'He has mercy on whom he will, and he hardens whom he will; but there cannot be injustice with God. *Venit enim de occultissimis meritis; quia et ipsi peccatores cum propter generale peccatum unam massam fecerint, non tamen nulla est inter illos diversitas.*' This juxtaposition of the *massa*, Adam's sin, and the extreme hiddenness of God's criteria of judgement recurs frequently in the closing

Humanity is thus justly, universally condemned. The mystery is that God chooses to exercise mercy and save anybody. How does he make his choice, if there is absolutely no distinction between persons? We cannot know, says Augustine. God judges justly, but his justice is nothing that humans can understand or appreciate: *aequitate occultissima et ab humanis sensibus remotissima iudicat* (1.2,16). Jews, Gentiles, Pharaoh, Paul — all are from this same mass. If God mysteriously gives grace to some, the only appropriate response is praise of his inscrutable decisions.

How had Augustine come to this new understanding? Scholars have proposed a number of causes, literary and environmental. Ambrosiaster's commentary on Romans might have suggested the new interpretation of the *massa*. (I don't think so⁹.) Tyconius, through the *Liber*, may have made prominent Paul's line in 1 Cor 4:7 with reference to man's dependence on God's grace, 'What do you have that you did not first receive'¹⁰? This is possible, but at this point in the *ad Simplicianum* Augustine is throwing away a key piece of Tyconius' argument, the divine foreknowledge of faith. It would be odd for such a relatively minor point as a particular citation (which he interprets differently from Tyconius in any case) to effect him so profoundly (that is, to cause the new interpretation). Then there are Paul's letters themselves. In the way that this observation is true, it is also unimportant. Many other careful and sensitive readers had and would study these epistles, without coming to the conclusions that Augustine came to, and even he only in 396¹¹. Others invoke more atmospheric factors: cultural environment (the supposed harshness of African Christianity with its stern biblical culture), difficult working conditions (the depressing wear and tear of his job facing down a surly laity unhappy about Augustine's reform of the *laetitia*, loathe to give up swearing and recourse to astrologers). And the blush is off the rose of the life he'd thought he'd won back in Milan: 'Very possibly, it could not bear the terrific weight of his own expectations of it'¹².

However we may regard the list of plausible causes for Augustine's exegetical volte-face in 396, we should certainly consider as a factor something we know Augustine to be doing in this period: he was reading Galatians. And we know both from that letter itself and from his commentary and correspondence

passages of the *ad Simplicianum*, e.g. 1.2, 16 (*occultae aequitatis; massa peccati; aequitate occultissima*), 19 (*ex Adam massa peccatorum*), 22 (*occulta electio; inscrutabilia iudicia*). For the development of Augustine's ideas on the *massa* in this period, 'Body/soul,' p. 96. J.M. Rist remarks astutely on the ways that Augustine's view of humanity's being 'in Adam' as 'an historical fact' complicates his ideas of personal identity; *Augustine: ancient thought baptized* (Cambridge 1994), pp. 126-129.

⁹ See 'Body/soul,' p. 99 and nn. 51-54.

¹⁰ *Lib. Reg.* 3, trans. W.S. Babcock, *Tyconius: The Book of Rules* (Atlanta, 1989), p. 35.

¹¹ 'Body/soul,' p. 102 and nn. 65-66.

¹² P. Brown, *Augustine of Hippo* (Berkeley, 1967), p. 150, and his entire chapter *loc. cit.* for the effects of these intangible environmental factors.

on it that he thereby encountered not only the Paul of Pauline theology, the champion of grace; but also the Paul of history, the Paul who speaks of his past as a persecutor (1:13), of his call to preach to the Gentiles, which Augustine would see as Paul's conversion to Christianity (1:16)¹³; and most especially of his confrontation with Peter over issues with Gentiles and Jewish Law in Antioch (2:11ff.). We know from his response to Jerome's commentary that Augustine was worried about the nature of the historical narrative in Galatians, because the veracity of the account affected its authority as Scripture (*Ep.* 28; over his shoulder, again, are the Manichees)¹⁴. The letter's theological content, which he interprets, begins to share space with its narrative description, which he is concerned to reconstruct historically. In other words, and specifically with reference to Paul, by 394/95 Augustine has begun to think of the narrative content of the Pauline letters *secundum historicam proprietatem*.

It is this refocusing of Augustine's exegetical attention that explains the sudden shift we see in the course of the finale of the *ad Simplicianum*, when he moves abruptly in 1.2,22 from the text of Paul's letter as an exercise in exegesis to the historical Paul — Paul *ad litteram* — in order to illustrate his new convictions about God's grace, divine justice, and human freedom. Conversion as progress from stage 2 to stage 3, a movement *sub lege* to *sub gratia* that depended on man's *bona voluntas*, could not accommodate the historical description of the premier convert of biblical history, Saul of Tarsus. The Paul of the first chapter of Galatians¹⁵, the 'persecutor and blasphemer' of 1 Tim 1:13, the foolish, impious and hateful man enslaved to various pleasures of Titus 3:3 (both invoked in *Inchoata expositio* 21,6-7 on Romans, written just after the *Propp.*), the Paul of Acts 9¹⁶, did not, could not fit Augustine's earlier formulation. No preceding good will had prefaced this conversion. Saul was no good, and unconflicted about it:

What did Saul will but to attack, seize, bind, and slay Christians? What a fierce, savage, blind will was that! Yet he was thrown prostrate by one word from on high, and

¹³ For the modern historiographical problems caused by looking at this moment in Paul's career as a 'conversion,' and the ways that the authority both of Acts and of Augustine combine to complicate the matter, see my earlier essay, 'Paul and Augustine: Conversion narratives, orthodox traditions, and the retrospective self,' *JThSt* 37 (1986) 3-34.

¹⁴ For a review of this correspondence with these issues in mind, Fredriksen, '*Secundum carnem*,' pp. 37-39; particularly as these letters touch on the question of biblical authority, R. S. Cole-Turner, 'Anti-heretical issues and the debate over Galatians 2:11-14 in the letters of St. Augustine and St. Jerome,' *AugSt* 11 (1980) 155-166.

¹⁵ *Exp. Ep. ad Gal.* 7-9, on Gal. 1:13f.

¹⁶ See, on the references to Paul's conversion in Acts that appear and cluster in the works of the 390s, Guy Leroy, 'Ac 9,4b dans la prédication de Saint Augustin,' Institut d'études théologiques, section francophone (Bruxelles, 1986), esp. the charts on pp. 17-21; L.C. Ferrari, 'Saint Augustin on the road to Damascus,' *AugSt* 13 (1982) 151-170, esp. 156-168; cf. the remarks of B. Delaroche, *S. Augustin Lecteur et Interprète de S. Paul* (Paris, 1996), pp. 98-102.

a vision came to him whereby his mind and will were turned from their fierceness and set on the right way toward faith so that, suddenly, from a marvelous persecutor of the Gospel a more marvelous preacher was made. What then shall we say?... 'Is there unrighteousness with God? God forbid!' (*ad Simpl.* 1.2,22)

Paul *ad litteram* embodies Augustine's awareness of God's inscrutability when choosing whom to call.

397. Augustine is still fretting over Jerome's construal of Galatians 2, and sends him another letter (*Ep.* 40). Paul's text must be read as a straightforward account of a real dispute, he insists, 'otherwise, the Holy Scripture, which has been given to preserve the faith of generations to come, would be wholly undermined and thrown into doubt, if the validity of lying were once admitted,' (40.5)¹⁷. He sends Aurelius of Carthage a letter, nudging him to get back with his opinion of Tyconius' *Liber*. (He may have dropped Tyconius' argument about foreknowledge of faith, but obviously he's still enthused.)¹⁸ And finally he attempts a uniquely creative and original consideration of the theological themes that have begun seriously to preoccupy him: how do we know what we think we know, be it ourselves, each other, the world, a text, or God? How does Creation bespeak Revelation? How does the mind apprehend anything — outside itself, 'inside' itself, and its self? In what ways does humanity's mode of existence, after Adam, separate it from God? What sort of bridge over this chasm does God offer through Creation, through His Son, through the Church, and through the Scriptures?

I am speaking, of course, of the *Confessions*. I simply note in passing that Augustine spends his first nine books constructing an Augustine *ad litteram*, writing an historical narrative of his own past to articulate his new theological convictions. The theme of divine inscrutability shapes much of the story, despite the fact that the whole is itself addressed to God. I also note, briefly, that as he dwells on epistemology and memory in Book 10, and on the elusiveness of the infinitesimally divisible moment of consciousness that we call 'the present' in Book 11 (past and future do not exist; the present is an interval of no duration), he articulates a defining aspect of the absolute difference between God's mode of being and ours. God is eternal; we are divided up,

¹⁷ This thought echoes in his *Sermo super verbis Apostoli ad Galatas*, preached in 397. F. Dolbeau, who edited the sermon and relates it to Augustine's correspondence with Jerome, comments that Augustine 'ne modifia nullement ses positions, de peur laisser une porte ouverte aux critiques scripturaires des Manichéens,' *RBen* 102 (1992) 52-63, at p. 48.

¹⁸ Whence Augustine's continued enthusiasm? Though he has dropped Tyconius' construction of divine foreknowledge, he keeps the other points from the *Liber* that are more fundamental to his reading of the Bible: the continuity of the single dispensation of redemption across historical epochs (in other words, the fundamental unity of Old and New Testament, Law and Grace); and the de-eschatologizing of current history, so that the present is opaque, and only the biblical past revelatory of the divine plan. The first point will effect particularly his positive typologies between the testaments in the *c. Faustum*; the second, his presentation of his own past, understood only in retrospect, in the *Confessions*. See further below, n. 27.

distended in time: 'You are my eternal Father, but I am scattered in times whose order I do not understand. The storms of incoherent events tear to pieces my thoughts, the inmost entrails of my soul ...' (11.29,39, trans. Chadwick). Coherence comes only through memory, the seat of the self, which integrates perception and experience. Knowledge and understanding *require* retrospect, since the present — a knife edge of reality poised between two different kinds of non-being, the Past and the Future — slips by too fast. Since humanity is time-bound, it can encounter God only *in* time; but God is outside time. What stable bridge can traverse this chasm between eternity and temporality, God and man? Scripture alone.

You [God] reply to me... 'O man, what my scriptures say, I say. Yet scripture speaks in time-conditioned language, and time does not touch my Word, existing with me in an equal eternity. So I see those things which through my Spirit you see, just as I also say the things which through my Spirit you say. Accordingly, while your vision of them is temporally determined, my seeing is not temporal, just as you speak of these things in temporal terms, but I do not speak in the successiveness of time.' (*Conf.* 13.29,44.)¹⁹

Thus God alone is eternal and unchanging. Creation reveals him as Creator; but Scripture (as both Testaments), despite its intrinsic multivocality and the difficulties of interpretation, reveals the human encounter with the divine in history. Man after Adam — both his physical, mortal self, his body; and his non-material self, his soul or mind or love — is now, constitutionally, time-bound, changing. And finally, human understanding itself, dependent on memory, is intrinsically narrative, historical²⁰.

398. With all this as background, we come to the *contra Faustum*, and our topic.

II. On Judaism, against the Manichees

The *massa peccati*, the universal consequence of the sin of Adam, is the negative obverse of the Law. Once the exclusive privilege of Israel, the Law in the age after the Incarnation is of universal benefit, available to all the nations, thanks to the coming of Christ. Here, against the anti-Judaism both of

¹⁹ *O homo, nempe quod mea scriptura dicit, ego dico. Et tamen illa temporaliter dicit, verbo autem meo tempus non accedit, quia aequali mecum aeternitate consistit. Sic ea, quae vos per spiritum meum videtis, ego video, sicut ea quae vos per spiritum meum dicitis, ego dico. Atque ita cum vos temporaliter ea videatis, non temporaliter video, quemadmodum, cum vos temporaliter ea dicatis, non ego temporaliter dico.*

²⁰ For the relation of time, understanding, and memory, 11.14,17-21,27; 'I know myself to be conditioned by time,' 25,32; language, time, and memory, 27,35; a beautiful conflation of the images of Creation and a book, 13.15,16; on non-temporal (thus non-linguistic) angelic apprehension, 15,18; the literal and allegorical meanings of the text 'Increase and multiply,' 24,37.

his dualist opponents and of Catholic tradition itself, Augustine picks up on the positive things Paul has to say about the Law. He maintains with Paul that the Law, because God-given, is and always has been the means to salvation whose *finis* is Christ (Rom 10:4). In essential ways (Tyconius helps him with this), the Law *is* the Gospel, revealed as such through Christ. We can see how Augustine makes his case through typological interpretation²¹ on the one hand, and *interpretatio ad litteram* on the other.

Typological exegesis had long been a staple of the Christian interpretation of the Jewish scriptures. It was a technique of Christianization, a way to stake a claim for the church in the texts of the synagogue; and it was also a tool of polemic, since the Old Testament *typos* was often regarded as inferior to the Christological datum it prefigured²².

Augustine's typology was similarly motivated: it too was polemical. But his target was different. He argued — but against Manichees, not Jews as such — that the entirety of the New Testament which they claimed to revere was prefigured in the Old Testament which they reviled and repudiated. Unlike the typologies of many of his predecessors, Augustine forebears derogatory comparisons when aligning Old Testament images with New. His view of the Law as constant, God-given, and good both before and after the coming of Christ affects his tone: if the Old Testament is a concealed form of the New and vice versa, then they are alike in dignity and positive religious value. And this equal valence of his typologies (both sides of the equation are positive) in turn reinforces his reading *ad litteram*.

In his massive work against Latin Manichaeism, the *contra Faustum*, Augustine explores in exhaustive detail the myriad figurations of Christ and his church to be found (if one knows how to read aright) in Jewish scripture. He begins by quoting the Manichees' favorite apostle against them, citing Paul's enumeration of the privileges and prerogatives of Israel in Romans 9:4, among which is the Law (12.3-4). Then his review of the 'most minute details' begins: as Eve was made from Adam's side while he slept, so the Church was made by the blood of Christ which flowed from his side after his death (12.8). Abel, the younger brother, was killed by Cain, the older brother; Christ, the

²¹ See Frances Young's assessment of allegory, typology, and history in her essay, 'Typology,' in *Crossing the Boundaries: Essays in Biblical Interpretation in Honour of Michael D. Goulder* (Leiden, 1994), pp. 29-48. As she points out, typology is first of all a hermeneutic of intertextuality, of textual correspondences, and 'historicity' is not a criterion appropriate to identifying typology as a figure of speech (p. 48; cf. her analysis of Melito's *Peri Pascha*, pp. 34-37, with that of J. Cohen, "Slay them not," 89-91). It is specifically Tyconius' typology, adopted and adapted by Augustine through his more complex theology of history and *interpretatio ad litteram*, that makes the *c. Faustum* the showcase of historical typology it is; and this, in turn, reinforces and even enables Augustine's positive 'theology of Judaism' there.

²² For a brief review of the earlier, mainstream *contra Iudaeos* tradition as represented by Justin and Tertullian, Fredriksen, 'Excaecati,' pp. 313-315; 'Secundum carnem,' pp. 27-31 and the literature cited in the notes.

head of the younger people (i.e., the Gentiles), was killed by the elder people, the Jews (12.9). Noah and his family were saved by water and wood; the family of Christ, by baptism into his crucifixion (12.14). All kinds of animals enter the ark, all nations the Church; the unclean animals enter in twos, just as the wicked within the Church are in twos, meaning easily divided by their tendency to schism (12.15). The ark's entrance was on its side, and one enters the Church by the 'sacrament of the remission of sins which flowed from Christ's opened side' (12.16). Scripture mentions the twenty-seventh day of the month; 27 is the cube of 3, hence typifying the Trinity (12.19). Entering the ark at the beginning of travail, Noah and his sons were separated from their wives; exiting, the couples were together. This prefigures the resurrection of the flesh at the end of the world, when soul and body will be reunited after death in perfect harmony, a marriage undisturbed by the passions of mortality (12.21). 'The scriptures teem with such predictions' (12.25). Whom then, Augustine concludes, should one believe: Faustus with his accusations, or Paul and his commendation (12.24)?

The Old Testament thus prefigures the New. But it also has its own historical reality and integrity, and the symbolic complexity of spiritual interpretation should not obscure a straightforward reading of biblical narrative: this was Augustine's principle in interpreting *ad litteram*. We see this most clearly in his understanding of the Jewish people and their observance of the Law in the biblical past. Earlier fathers (again, Justin and Tertullian spring to mind), defending the Catholic appropriation of Jewish scriptures against the dualists of their day, had lauded the text while denigrating the people. Jewish praxis in particular had stood in patristic estimate as the behavioral index of their wrong-headed carnal scriptural interpretation. If the Jews, they said, had really understood what God had intended by the Law (in this view, either a veiled Christological meaning, or a punishment for their proverbial carnality and stony hearts), the last thing they would have done was embrace it as a privilege, or interpret it literally. Understood spiritually (so went the argument), the command to circumcise had nothing to do with body parts; food laws were not about eating or not eating certain things, and so on.

Wrong, says Augustine. 'The Jews were right to practice all these things' — blood sacrifices, purity rituals, food disciplines, Sabbath. Their only fault lay in not recognizing, once Christ came, that a new era — not a 'new' Law — had begun (12.9). The Law perdured, the same from Moses to Christ (22.6). By keeping it, the entire Jewish people 'was like a great prophet' foretelling Christ not only in word but also in deed (22.24). God, in other words, despite the plenitude of meanings available in Scripture, was no allegorist when giving his mandates to Israel. Whatever else his Torah signified, in the time before Christ, it also prescribed behavior.

Especially that most distinctive and most reviled observance, fleshly circumcision, Augustine urged, embodied as an *actio prophetica* the central

mystery of Christianity itself. What Paul had designated the 'seal of the righteousness of faith' (Rom 4:11) marked in the organ of generation the regeneration of the flesh made possible by the bodily coming of Christ in both Incarnation and Resurrection (6.3)²³. Had Jews understood God's command *secundum spiritum* without performing it *secundum carnem* (as Justin and others would have wished), they would have only imperfectly prefigured the Christological mystery. In giving his Law, in other words, God had not said one thing and meant another. Thus Scripture, accordingly, did not say one thing and mean another — the same point about Peter's argument with Paul that Augustine had made when arguing over Galatians with Jerome. God had commanded Israel to keep the Law *secundum carnem*, and so this they rightly did.

Further, insists Augustine — and here I draw as well on letters 40 and 82 to Jerome — Jesus himself was circumcised, kept the food laws, offered at the Temple, and observed the Sabbath; so also Peter, James, Paul, and all the other Jews of the first generation. Why wouldn't they? These enactments had always been incumbent upon Israel, and never upon Gentiles, which was precisely what the apostles' quarrel in Antioch had been about. Once Christ came, the Law no longer had to be enacted, since it was revealed in him and in the sacraments of his Church. But the relation of Jewish observances and Christian sacrament was always one of continuity, not contrast, and the Jewish apostles of the Church's founding generation had been right in their traditional observance of the Law, 'lest by compulsory abandonment it should seem to be condemned rather than closed' (19.17). An essential identity of divine intent unites the testaments ('The same Law that was given by Moses became grace and truth in Jesus Christ' 22.6). To read the Old Testament otherwise was to miss what it, and consequently what the New Testament, was actually about — precisely the mistake, argued Augustine, that the Manichees notoriously made.

So much for ancient, biblical Jews, and for the Jews of the founding generation of the Church, Jesus included. But what about contemporary Jews, and current Jewish practice? On this topic Augustine is no enthusiast; and in many other passages throughout his works — not least of all his sermons on John's Gospel — he can be as hateful, hurtful and vicious as Chrysostom, Cyril, or any other father of the Church²⁴. But here again, too, we see the impress of his

²³ See further on this point '*Secundum carnem*,' pp. 35-36. On Augustine's historical understanding of Scripture as a technique of biblical interpretation against the Manichees, G. Bonner, *St. Augustine of Hippo: Life and Controversies*, rev. ed. (Norwich, 1986) pp. 218-224; on the philosophical complexities of interpretation and epistemology more generally, Rist, *Augustine* pp. 23-40.

²⁴ I would like to thank Professor David P. Efroymson for sharing with me his essay, 'Whose Jews? Augustine's *Tractatus* on John,' *A Multifform Heritage*, ed. Benjamin G. Wright (Atlanta, 1999) pp. 197-211, which includes a careful analysis of Augustine's rhetoric of abuse in those sermons. It is a sad comment on the strength and power of classical theology's anti-Judaism that the same man who produced the historical arguments against Faustus could and did author the vituperation that shapes these sermons on the Fourth Gospel.

originality, his commitment to the idea of divine constancy²⁵, and the effect of his reading and thinking *ad litteram*, historically.

Augustine's conviction that Judaism was essentially, uniquely compatible with Christianity was expressed in the typological transparency that he saw between the testaments. But this transparency does not extend beyond them: history as directly revelatory closes with the canon²⁶. Yet in the thick darkness of this long night of post-biblical history — a night, he urges, that is of unknowable duration²⁷ — Augustine imputes an abidingly revelatory function to carnal Israel, precisely because of the dogged Jewish loyalty to the traditional observance of the Law. Under all previous foreign powers, including Rome, Jews had clung to their own practices; and with the coming of the Church they remained the same. 'It is a most notable fact that all the nations subjugated by Rome adopted the ceremonies of Roman worship; whereas the Jewish nation, whether under pagan or Christian monarchs, has never lost the sign of their law, by which they are distinguished from all other nations and peoples,' (*c. Faust.* 12.13). Augustine takes this as a great mystery, a situation caused by God's *occulto iustoque iudicio* (*de fide rerum* 6.9).

And Jews will remain Jews, Augustine avers, until the end of the age (*c. Faust.* 12.12). Left behind as history, with Christ's coming, surged to a new stage, the Jews themselves remained relevant to divine revelation precisely through their 'carnal' practice as witnesses to Christian truth. As a textual community, Jews preserved the oracles of God; as a halakhic community, they embodied them. Their traditional practice enacts the blindness prophesied, together with Christianity, in the very books of unquestioned antiquity and

²⁵ This prime (biblical) theological idea particularly concerned not only Augustine, and of course Tyconius (esp. in Book 3 of the *Liber regularum*, 'de promissis et lege'), but also the historical Paul himself, whose letter to the Romans seeks to answer how God's promises and his election of Israel can be affirmed in light of the new revelation in Christ.

²⁶ This theme of the eschatological opacity of the present dominates Book 20 of the *City of God*. See 'Apocalypse and Redemption,' pp. 163-165, on the Tyconian sources of Augustine's view on subjective, interior opacity in the *Confessions*; pp. 165-167 for his application of these principles to public history in *de civ. Dei*.

²⁷ It was Tyconius in the *Liber regularum* — and, if Augustine read it, in his now-lost commentary on Apocalypse — who showed him the way to read traditionally apocalyptic biblical texts as symbolic descriptions of quotidian Christian society and who enunciated as a principle of biblical interpretation the impossibility of calculating the time of the End. No small benefit, considering that Augustine lived in one of the cultural hot zones of apocalyptic enthusiasm, Roman North Africa, and in one of the named chronological hot zones, which a specifically African chronographical tradition (Julius Africanus, Lactantius, Hilarius) had named as the expected date of the year 6000, and thus of the Second Coming; see 'Tyconius and the End,' and 'Apocalypse and Redemption.' Aurelius would have been no less aware of the dangers of apocalyptic enthusiasm than Augustine; and the hermeneutic made available by Tyconius, as well as his anti-perfectionist (hence anti-Donatist) ecclesiology, would have more than accounted for Augustine's enthusiasm in *ep.* 41.

authenticity which their scattered community treasures and, through its own dispersion, disseminates²⁸.

The unbelief of the Jews has been made of signal benefit to us, so that those who do not receive these truths in their heart for their own good nonetheless carry in their hands, for our benefit, the writings in which these truths are contained. And the unbelief of the Jews increases rather than lessens the authority of these books, for this blindness is itself foretold. They testify to the truth by their not understanding it. (16.21.)²⁹

In consequence of their blindness to Christian truth, contemporary Jews, scattered and bereft of their commonwealth, live in constant anxiety, subjected to the immensely more numerous Christians — terrified, like Cain, of bodily death. But as God marked Cain for his protection, so through the Law has he marked the Jews. Indeed, God himself protects them from murder, vowing seven-fold vengeance on would-be fratricides (that is, on the Jews' gentile 'brothers' who might harm them, 12.12). Nor may any Christian monarch coerce conversion, that is, 'kill' Jews by forcing them to cease living as Jews: again, like Cain, the Jews stand under the protection of God (12.13). Thus until the end of time, 'the continued preservation of the Jews will be a proof to believing Christians of the subjection merited by those who, in the pride of their kingdom, put the Lord to death' (12.12).

But the very clarity of the scriptural prophecies of Jewish unbelief, and their unambiguous confirmation, raised once again the constellation of questions that had dogged Augustine during his earlier reading of Romans. If the sin of unbelief is mandated by heaven (as in the case of Esau, Pharaoh, or anyone languishing *sub lege*), how is God just in punishing the sinner? Augustine's answers to these questions, as we have seen, had shifted dramatically between the Romans commentaries of 394/95 and his answer to Simplicianus in 396. In 394, the sinner had the freedom to resist God's offer of grace: this resistance had informed Augustine's definition of despair³⁰. But by 396, grace was not only entirely unmerited; it was also utterly irresistible: '*voluntati eius nullus resistit*' (*ad Simpl.* 1.2,17). Hence his depiction of Saul 'thrown prostrate', wrenched involuntarily into a new life *sub gratia*, chosen through some divine standard of justice that remained, by human measure, inscrutable³¹.

²⁸ Hence his image of the Jewish nation as both witness to the Church and as a *scriniaria*, a 'desk for Christians,' '*baiulans legem et prophetas ad testimonium assertionis ecclesiae, ut nos honoremus per sacramentum quod nuntiat illa per litteram*' (c. *Faust.* 12.23).

²⁹ *Nec inde auctoritas illis libris minuitur, quod a Iudaeis non intelligentur; imo et augetur: nam et ipsa eorum caecitas ibi praedicta est. Unde magis non intelligendo veritatem perhibent testimonium veritati: quia cum eos libros non intelligunt, a quibus non intellecturi praedicti sunt, etiam hinc eos veraces ostendunt.*

³⁰ On despair as the sin against the Holy Spirit which can never be forgiven, *Inchoata exp.* 22.3-4; for discussion, '*Excaecati*,' p. 307f.

³¹ Hence Augustine's appeal to Paul's hymn to divine inscrutability in Rom 11:33, cited *ad Simpl.* 1.2,16.

Where in the *c. Faustum* Augustine considers the Jews, both ways of conceiving these issues appear. In 12.11, developing the theme of Cain the fratricide as a type of the Jews who killed Christ and who continue to resist the embrace of the Church, the pre-396 language of uncompromised volition creeps in. Jews are 'the people who would not (*nolentis*) be under grace, but under the Law.' Their lack of faith, within this discourse, seems the result of choice, and thus a visibly merited punishment. But in 13.11, considering Jewish freedom of choice in the perspective of prophecy, the question of God's justice again arose, since someone might object 'that it was not the fault of the Jews if God blinded them so that they did not know Christ.' In defense of divine justice, Augustine again invokes divine inscrutability. Jewish blindness, Augustine grants, is indeed a punishment, but not for the sin of killing Christ (for which, evidently, the punishment was their endless exile, 12.12 and frequently). Their continuing blindness was a penalty, though for some other sin³². But what? God knows, says Augustine. We can with security only affirm his justice. He punishes Israel '*ex aliis occultis peccatis Deo cognitis*', because of '*occulti eorum meriti*' (*c. Faust.* 13.11); their blindness is God's '*occulta vindicta*' (in *Ps* 68.26); they are punished '*occultioribus causis*' (*fid.* 6.9)³³.

Continuing Jewish practice, then, for Augustine, is a *mysterium*. As carnal Israel, and only as carnal Israel, the Jews' eschatological status remains, and their religious significance as a witness to Christian truth is unambiguous. But as children of Adam, Jews are just people; and like the rest of the *massa damnata*, they languish *sub lege*³⁴. Whether God chooses to leave them or to bring some *sub gratia*, he does so, for them as for anyone, for inscrutable reasons, but justly. The conversion of some Jews to Christianity in the time before the End thus has no eschatological significance whatever since, as a people, Israel as Israel shall endure until the end of the age (12.12).

Augustine's views on the continuously revelatory status of Israel throughout history are of a piece with his defense against the Manichees of the revelatory status of the Old Testament and the intrinsic intimacy of its relation to the New. It enables him to insist on historical simplicity and even a peculiar realism when interpreting the Bible *ad litteram* (for example, saying that God meant what he said when commanding Israel, or when praising Israel for its

³² *C. Faust.* 12.9-14 develops at length the typological comparison of Cain and the Jews, specifically with reference to their continued existence. There, too, Augustine affirms that contemporary Jews are 'cursed,' but distinguishes the reason for the curse (which remains unclear) from his description of its effects, i.e. continued Torah-observance: 'The Church admits and avows the Jewish people to be cursed, because after killing Christ they continue to till the ground of an earthly circumcision, an earthly Sabbath, an earthly Passover ...' (12.11).

³³ This paragraph draws on my earlier discussion, '*Excaecati*,' pp. 318-320; cf. Cohen's comments, "Slay Them Not," pp. 88, 91 and n. 30.

³⁴ *Una est enim ex Adam massa peccatorum et impiorum, in qua et Iudaei et Gentes remota gratia Dei ad unam pertinent conspersionem* (*ad Simpl.* 1.2,19).

faithfulness to the Law). But even his more figurative typological readings, when he matches events between Old Testament and New, take on an intensely dramatic dimension. The Old Testament might indeed prefigure the New, but this is no bloodless correspondence of things signifying with things signified: the actors in the history of Israel remain firmly rooted in their own time even as their words and actions point ahead to Christ. Consider this rendering, in *City of God* 16.37, of the scene in Genesis 27 when Isaac realizes that he has given Esau's blessing to Jacob. First Augustine gives the language of the blessing, Gen. 27, 27ff.:

Behold, says Isaac, the smell of my son is like the smell of a plentiful field which the Lord has blessed. And may God give you of the dew of heaven and of the richness of the soil, and abundance of corn and wine, and may nations serve you and princes do reverence to you. Become lord over your brother, and your father's sons will do reverence to you. Whoever curses you, let him be cursed; and whoever blesses you, let him be blessed.

Next comes the Christological decoding. Augustine continues, Thus the blessing of Jacob is the proclamation of Christ among all nations. This is happening; this is actively going on. Isaac is the Law and the Prophets, and Christ is blessed by the Law and the Prophets, even by the lips of the Jews, as by someone who does not know what he is doing... The world is filled like a field with the fragrance of the name of Christ... It is Christ whom the nations serve, and to whom princes do reverence. He is lord over his brother, since his people [the gentiles] have dominion over the Jews... Our Christ, I repeat, is blessed, that is, he is truly spoken of, even by the lips of the Jews who, although in error, still chant the Law and the Prophets. They suppose that another is being blessed, the Messiah whom they in their error still await.

Then, abruptly, we stand face-to-face with the historical patriarch:

Look at Isaac! He is horror-stricken when his elder son asks for the promised blessing, and he realizes that he has blessed another in his place. He is amazed, and asks who this other can be; and yet he does not complain that he has been deceived. Quite the contrary. The great mystery [*sacramentum*] is straightway revealed to him, in the depths of his heart, and he eschews indignation and confirms his blessing. 'Who then,' he says, 'hunted game for me and brought it in to me? And I ate all of it, before you arrived! Well, I have blessed him, so let him be blessed.' One would surely expect at this point the curse of an angry man, if this happened in the ordinary course of events, instead of by inspiration from above. Historical events, these, but events with prophetic meaning! Events on earth, but directed from heaven! The actions of men, but the operation of God!

When Augustine returns to the status of contemporary Israel in Book 18 of the *City of God*, he again invokes his teaching on the Jews as witness, as such to be left unmolested. But this time he invokes Ps 59:12 as a proof text: 'Slay them not, lest your people forget; scatter them with your might' (*de civ. Dei* 18.46). Why? Perhaps violence against Jewish communities in the Empire, mounting as the law codes of Christian emperors increasingly lumped them

together with pagans and heretics, had inspired him to crystallize his teaching around this verse³⁵. But since the doctrine itself, as I have argued here, seems a development internal to Augustine's theological battle against Manichees, as opposed to religious or social encounters with real Jews (here I part company with Blumenkranz³⁶), it might be hazardous to venture connections to social causes that cannot be established from our evidence.

³⁵ It is difficult to trace with any certainty the relationship of Imperial legislation, whether affirming or eroding the centuries-long tradition of protection for Jewish religious practice, to actual outbursts of anti-Jewish activity, as the growing dossier of studies of this question attests. On the place of Jews within Roman society, the classic study is J. Juster, *Les Juifs dans l'Empire Romain*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1914), supplemented by the authoritative discussions of specifically Christian views in B. Blumenkranz, *Die Judenpredigt Augustins* (Paris, 1973; original publication 1946) and M. Simon, *Verus Israel: Étude sur les relations entre Chrétiens et Juifs dans l'empire Romain (135-425)* (Paris, 1948); see too Blumenkranz' later essay, 'Augustin et les juifs. Augustin et le judaïsme,' *RAug* 1 (1958) 225-241. A. Linder has gathered the relevant source materials in his excellent compendium, *The Jews in Roman Imperial Legislation* (Detroit, 1987). This material is analyzed by C. Vogler, 'Les juifs dans le code théodosien,' in *Les Chrétiens devant le fait Juif* (Paris, 1979), pp. 35-74; for a revisionist interpretation of the effect of this legislation, B. S. Bachrach, 'The Jewish Community of the Later Roman Empire as Seen in the *Codex Theodosianus*,' in 'To See Ourselves as Others See Us': *Christians, Jews, 'Others' in Late Antiquity*, ed. J. Neusner and E.S. Frerichs (Chico, 1985), pp. 399-421. See 'Excaecati,' p. 321f. and the material cited in nn. 60-67 for the situation specifically in Augustine's North Africa. On the campaign to convert the Jews of Minorca following the advent of St. Stephen's relics in 416, see now the edition, translation and analysis by Scott Bradbury, *Severus of Minorca. Letter on the Conversion of the Jews*, Oxford Early Christian Texts (Oxford, 1996), with valuable bibliography, pp. 132-141. I see no warrant for P.C. Bori's opinion that 'only the absence of actual opportunities prevented [Augustine] from acting as Ambrose of Milan in the affair of the synagogue of Callinicum,' 'The Church's attitude toward the Jews: an analysis of Augustine's *Adversus Iudaeos*,' in *Misc. Hist. Eccles.* (Brussels 1983), pp. 301-311, at p. 310. Both he and Blumenkranz, whom he cites (*Judenpredigt*, p. 212) infer from Augustine's positive views on the state coercion of heretics that he would also have sanctioned such against Jews. As I hope I have demonstrated here, Jews play a unique role in Augustine's theology, utterly different from that of heretics and Donatists; and he specifically disavows violence against Jews, be it popular or governmental, in *c. Faust.* 12.12. See too the property dispute that he adjudicates between a Jew and a fellow bishop, *Ep.*8*, with full analysis by H. Castritius, "Seid weder den Juden noch den Heiden noch der Gemeinde Gottes ein Ärgernis" (1. Kor. 10,32): Zur sozialen und rechtlichen Stellung der Juden im spätrömischen Nordafrika,' in *Antisemitismus und jüdische Geschichte*, ed. R. Erb and M. Schmidt (Berlin, 1987), pp. 47-67.

³⁶ See 'Excaecati,' pp. 320-324. Blumenkranz and Simon had both posited competitive missions on the part of Jewish and Christian communities as a fundamental reason for Christian anti-Judaism. Recent scholarship has questioned such a construal, arguing that, while Judaism in principle received converts, it did not mount missions to attract them. For a representative statement of the older view, L. Feldman, 'Proselytism by Jews in the Third, Fourth, and Fifth Centuries,' *JSJ* 24 (1993) 1-58; for the view that Judaism was not a missionary religion, see *inter alia* S.J.D. Cohen, 'Crossing the Boundary and Becoming a Jew,' *HThR* 82 (1989) 13-33; P. Fredriksen, 'Judaism, the Circumcision of Gentiles, and Apocalyptic Hope,' *JThSt* 42 (1991) 532-564, esp. 535-548; M. Goodman, *Mission and Conversion. Proselytizing in the Religious History of the Roman Empire* (Oxford, 1994); and M. Taylor, *Anti-Judaism and Christian Identity. A Critique of the Consensus* (Leiden, 1995). The essay critiquing this last book by J. Carleton Paget in *ZAC* 1 (1997) 195-225, serves also as a bibliographical survey and review of the *status quaestionis*:

I will close here by noting, rather, how the *City of God* brings together so many of the master themes of Augustine's teaching that he first articulated in the burst of self-confident creativity that followed (and followed from) his response to Simplicianus with its historical sketch of the apostle Paul: his reading of Genesis *ad litteram*, successfully undertaken just after our period; the *c. Faustum*, with its comprehensive rereading of the role of Jews and Judaism in biblical narrative and contemporary history; the opacity of history and, accordingly, the non-millenarian reading of seemingly millenarian texts (like John's Apocalypse! — again his debt to Tyconius emerges); the controlling historicized metaphor of the *massa* from Romans 9. The relationship of all these themes is coordinate, symphonic. The fleshly body is and always was, *ab initio*, the native home of the soul: Adam and Eve were created both body and soul together; and the body of flesh, reunited with the soul, would participate in final redemption. So also with exegesis. The Bible must be read both for its inner meanings (*secundum spiritum*) and for its historical meanings (*ad litteram*). As with exegesis, so with biblical Judaism: historical periods have their own importance and integrity, since God works in and through a history that the Scriptures preserve; and thus in the time before the Incarnation, Jews did right to incarnate the Law *secundum carnem*, literally and not just spiritually. Exegesis, history, anthropology: all three stand together.

Augustine's creative theology of history, together with his reading *ad litteram*, led him further to construct a sort of social semiotics of carnal Israel that he applied across biblical epoches and into quotidian history. The Jewish people throughout the ages, he insists, were the unique recipients of biblical revelation; and even with the closing of the canon and their rejection of Christianity, they still stood as a living sign locating God's will in human time. This orientation toward Jews and Judaism expressed Augustine's conviction that the New Testament and the Old — like soul and body, like spiritual and historical understanding — were intimately, fundamentally, essentially connected. The task of the believing reader was to see how.