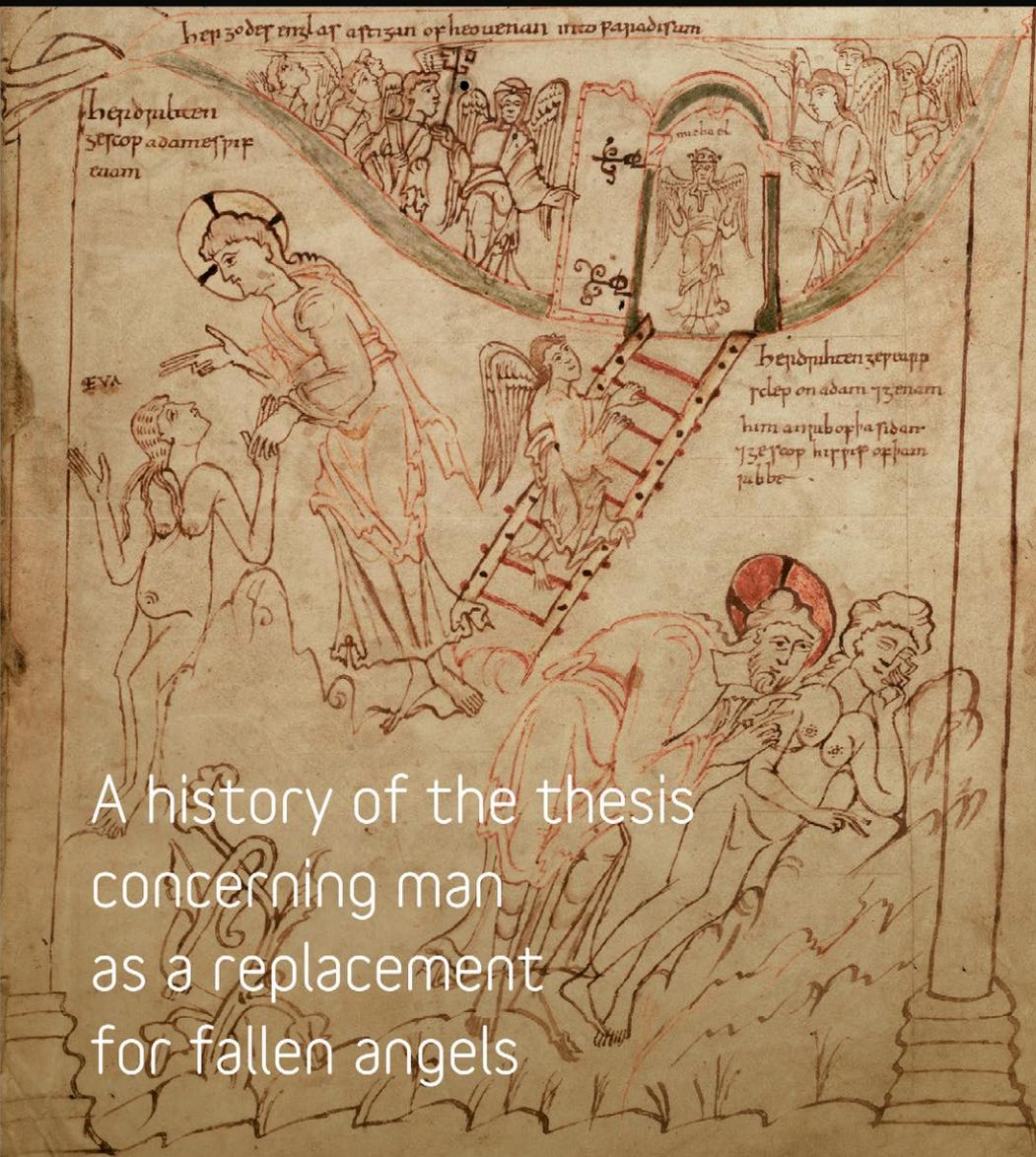


Vojtěch Novotný

Cur homo?

KAROLINUM



A history of the thesis
concerning man
as a replacement
for fallen angels

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Vojtěch Novotný

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*To Tomáš Machula
In gratitude and friendship*

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Introduction

The following pages aim to fulfil a modest goal: to examine, outline, elucidate, and supplement the existing body of knowledge concerning a seemingly minor area of patristic and medieval theology, and that is the assertion that man was created as a replacement for fallen angels. Yves Congar has suggested, however, that the significance of this idea cannot be overstated.¹

We are going to build upon the prompt provided by Marie-Dominique Chenu, who in 1953 drew attention to this all-but-forgotten controversy of the twelfth century.² Chenu noticed that the school of Laon, in the collection *Sententiae divinae paginate*, gave consideration to the assertion of St. Anselm of Canterbury – concerning a subject somewhat “outside his field” – in *Cur Deus homo* that God decided that the number of fallen angels would be replenished from human nature. Anselm also stated, however, that human nature was created for its own sake. They noticed this matter in Laon and made it a subject of much debate and disputation. In *De glorificatione Trinitatis*, Rupert of Deutz then linked the question to reflections upon God’s mysterious intention

1 Yves CONGAR, L’Église chez S. Anselme, in *Spicilegium Beccense*, tome I, *Congrès international du IXe centenaire de l’arrivée d’Anselme au Bec*, Paris: J. Vrin, 1959, 372.

2 Marie-Dominique CHENU, Cur homo? Le sous-sol d’une controverse au XII^e siècle, *Mélanges de sciences religieuses* 10 (1953), 197–204. Included in ID., *La théologie au douzième siècle*, Paris: J. Vrin, 1957, 52–61. Before Chenu, who should be credited with noting the importance of this problematic subject and incorporating it into the wider horizon of the “twelfth century Renaissance,” the matter was noted only by scholars researching particular authors or texts in which it is alluded to. See, for example, Joseph Anton ENDRES, *Honorius Augustodunensis: Beitrag zur Geschichte des geistigen Lebens im 12. Jahrhundert*, Kempten-München: Verlag der Josef Kösel’schen Buchhandlung, 1906, 114–120; Ludwig OTT, *Untersuchungen zur theologischen Briefliteratur der Frühcholastik, unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des Viktorinerkreises*, Münster i. W.: Aschendorff, 1937, 456–484; Felix SCHEIDWEILER, Studien zum Aneengenge, *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur* 1/2 (1944), 33–35.

for creation, which looks forwards to the incarnation, and claimed that not only angels but everything – including angels – was created for man (that is, for the God-man). According to Chenu, the most notable contribution to this question and the controversy surrounding it was made by Honorius of Autun, to whose work he therefore paid a significant amount of attention. Chenu also pointed out that the whole theme was somehow backed up by the authority of St. Gregory, according to whom human beings will make up a tenth order in the heavenly kingdom, thus completing the existing nine angelic orders (*Homiliae in Evangelia* II,34).

Since that period, man as a “replacement creature” (*créature de remplacement*) has all but vanished as a subject of theological instruction, being referred to only occasionally and even then as something of a token. This was the case in Peter Lombard’s *Summa sententiarum*, a work which nonetheless prompted a number of other authors, including Thomas Aquinas, to enter their opinion on the matter. But this was also a time of a new awareness of nature and of natures, including human nature, which appeared to be a synthesis of both a material and a spiritual entity (*mikrokosmos*) and so also the goal of the universe (*makrokosmos*). This is apparent not only in works from the school of Chartres but also in those of students of Gilbert de la Porrée, among whom featured Alain of Lille, whose view on our subject was not that man comes in order to replace fallen angels, but that through him all levels of creation should enter the heavenly Jerusalem and that matter itself should participate in the divine.

The whole discussion began at a time characterised by the awareness that man is, according to Louis Bouyer, a kind of *ange de remplacement*.³ According to this *anthropologie angélique*, as Yves Congar put it, man is called, through resurrection, to become like the heavenly angels (Mark 12:25; Matt 22:30; Luke 20:36). This call is conditional upon his anticipating, here and now, the angels’ way of life by serving God through unceasing praise, gazing upon God in contemplation, and becoming like him in his sanctity and in the purity of a virtuous life in which the spirit has supremacy over the body. And so, man – who inhabits *civitas terrenis* – and the angels – who inhabit *civitas caelestis* – will be, here and now and for all time, one together in *civitas Dei*. The “model” man in this respect is an ascetic sexually chaste monk, who already, here on the earth, leads *bios angelikos* and thus anticipates the goal towards which all predestined, redeemed people are headed.⁴

3 Louis BOUYER, *Le Sens de la vie monastique*, Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 2008, 56 (orig. 1950).

4 Yves-Marie-Joseph CONGAR, *Église et Cité de Dieu chez quelques auteurs cisterciens à l’époque des croisades en particulier dans le De Peregrinante civitate Dei d’Henri d’Albano*,

The discussion concerning whether man was created as a replacement for fallen angels or was willed as an “original” being thus touched upon a key understanding of the day concerning spirituality, social order, and the concept of man. Ultimately, the discussion resulted in a fundamental modification of that concept, positing man as an “original” being, that is, as a being created for its own sake, and for whom, furthermore, God created this world, a world which together with – and through – man is to proceed towards the heavenly Jerusalem.⁵ If we put the question another way and ask whether man would have been created if the angels had not sinned, we enter the realm of another controversy, the origins of which can also be traced to the twelfth century, and that is whether the Son of God would have become incarnate if man had not sinned.⁶ Thus, those who entered the debate began to see a connection between the purpose behind creation and the purpose behind the incarnation, something which clearly applies to Rupert of Deutz. Chenu rightly, therefore, by analogy to the christological question *cur Deus homo*, encapsulated our subject in the anthropological question *cur homo*.

This question brings us to the title of our paper, the aim of which, as we have said, is to examine, outline, elucidate, and supplement the claims by which Marie-Dominique Chenu re-introduced the question of man as a replacement angel, and which the research community, barring a small

in *Mélanges offerts à Étienne Gilson de l'Académie française*, Paris: Librairie philosophique J. Vrin, 1959, 177. See Robert BULTOT, *Christianisme et valeurs humaines: La doctrine du mépris du monde, en Occident, de S. Ambroise à Innocent III*, tome IV, *Le XI siècle*, vol. 1, Pierre Damien, Louvain-Paris: Éd. Nauwelaerts, 1963, 40: “‘Angelic anthropology’ – we do indeed have to use this contradictory expression – perceives man much less as a ‘being-in-the-world’ who is inseparably carnal and spiritual (a biblical concept) than as a spiritual and acosmic being (a concept borrowed from Hellenistic philosophy), the data from Genesis which prevent this metaphysical interpretation being either overlooked or interpreted in such a way as to empty them of their actual anthropological content.” (Translated from the French.)

- 5 Marie-Dominique CHENU, *La théologie au douzième siècle*, 60: “Man is not a ‘replacement creature,’ but the demiurge of this world, which in revealing itself reveals man to himself. Consequently, the ‘antique’ reference to angelic life has lost its foundation and can no longer doctrinally define the monastic state; the comparison is no more than a matter of pious superiority, with neither bite nor structure, insufficient for sustaining such eschatological humanism.” (Translated from the French.)
- 6 See J. M. BISSEN, *La tradition sur la prédétermination absolue de Jésus-Christ du VIIe au XIVe siècles*, *La France Franciscain* 22 (1939), 9–34; J. F. BONNEFOY, *La question hypothétique: Utrum si Adam non peccasset... au XIIIe siècle*, *Revista Española de Teología* 14 (1954), 327–368; Werner DETTLOFF, *Die Geistigkeit des hl. Franziskus in der Christologie des Johannes Duns Scotus*, *Wissenschaft und Weisheit* 22 (1959), 17–28; Daniel HORAN, *How Original Was Scotus on the Incarnation? Reconsidering the History of the Absolute Predetermination of Christ in Light of Robert Grosseteste*, *The Heythrop Journal* 52 (2011), 374–391.

number of clarifications of an evidential or hypothetical nature, accepted without fundamental reservations. We will show that our subject was originally introduced by St. Augustine, then taken on by his scholarly successors and by St. Gregory the Great, whose authority added further to the authority of the bishop of Hippo. We will identify the typical contexts in which the subject was raised by the authors of the early Middle Ages, but will dwell for longer on the discussion that developed during the twelfth century, which represents the high point of the ideas under consideration here. We will show that St. Anselm, who quite intentionally used the notion that man was created as a replacement for fallen angels in his reflections upon the reasons for the incarnation, also suggested the idea that human nature was created *pro se ipsa*. We will further show that independently of Anselm, although in a not dissimilar way, the school of Laon arrived at this same conclusion and had a significant impact on the subsequent fate of the theme we are following. We will demonstrate that Rupert of Deutz elevated the subject to the christological level, but also that he did not, sadly, find any worthy successors, among whom cannot therefore be numbered, despite everything, Honorius of Autun. We will show that the idea that man was created for his own sake ultimately won through, although among authors of the monastic tradition the original claim remained intact. In conclusion, we will point briefly to the surprisingly contemporary relevance of these reflections, which comes to light through a discussion concerning the statement in the pastoral constitution of the Second Vatican Council, *Gaudium et spes* 24, according to which the Creator desires human being *propter seipsam*.

The paper presents the genesis of the notion of man as a replacement angel in four main stages, which are addressed in four corresponding chapters. The first of these chapters seeks out the idea's patristic roots. The second describes the journey through which the problem of the "replacement angel" passed during the early Middle Ages, thus arriving, as the third part will show, in the twelfth century, during which the subject became problematized. The fourth of these chapters shows how the subject begins to gradually fade away through the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in both monastic and scholastic theology. The conclusion will summarize the findings and shed light on the contemporary relevance of the question as to whether and in what sense man is willed by God for his own sake.

Since our work is mainly expository in nature, the research method adopted consists of the exposition, analysis, and comparison of texts

presented mainly diachronically.⁷ Where necessary, we study the sources that the various authors drew upon, and also the immediate context of the ideas; wider contextualization is, however, avoided. It should be pointed out that although what we are exploring was only a marginal subject in the reflections of the church fathers and the thinkers of the Middle Ages, these reflections are set out in the middle of the paper in order to acquaint ourselves with them more fully; the major and pivotal theological themes are to be found elsewhere.

We do not, however, wish only to multiply findings about the sources of the thesis concerning man as a replacement angel, and its variants, or about the numerous ways in which it has been criticized. What we are doing here is devoting ourselves to the history of theology, and being led first and foremost by theological interests. We want to show that what we gained from the journey taken by the ideas we are investigating was a clearer – and still highly relevant – awareness that man was created for his own sake, since God wills him as an original being and not merely as a puppet in some divine drama or as a function of another creature. By this, we are not of course saying that man is not here for God. Although this is true, however, in the very particular sense that this finality is interpersonal and defined by free and selfless love – love that is not merely functional. All of the affection of the Father since the beginning of time came to dwell in the incarnate Son, which is why man is made for Jesus Christ. He, however, out of filial love, turns this directing of human being towards himself to the Father. This process too is not to be merely functional. Man is here as the very goal of Christ’s self-giving, and Christ is here as the One in whom man is to freely and selflessly recognise his Lord and brother, so that he can, together with him forever in the Holy Spirit, “praise the glory” of the heavenly Father (Eph 1:3–14).

Vojtěch Novotný, Prague, 31 August 2013

7 Our research made use of electronic resources, especially the *Patrologia Latina* database (Chadwycks-Healey), the *Library of Latin Texts, Series A* (Brepols), and *Digitale Monumenta Historiae Germanica* (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek – Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft). The research was based on a detailed study of these databases using typically occurring phrases. This was complemented by the reading of a number of other published texts. Patristic and medieval texts and texts from the Middle Ages published in databases or in printed form that did not yield relevant findings are not mentioned in the bibliography.

I. Origins: the church fathers

The idea that man was created as a replacement for fallen angels originated in the patristic period, and research has identified a number of texts of St. Augustine (350–430) and St. Gregory the Great (c. 540–604) in which these origins are believed to be located. We therefore need to examine these sources and see how the theme was established by each of these fathers. First, we will see how it was introduced by Augustine, and explore any earlier sources on which he may have drawn; we will then see how the subject was dealt with by others of the fathers, up to and including St. Gregory the Great.

1. Sources

Chenu believed that we need to look for the patristic origins of the medieval disputations in St. Gregory the Great, namely in *Homiliae in evangelia* II,34.¹ This opinion has since been corrected, however, with almost complete consensus. Although Gregory undoubtedly belonged to those fathers whose thinking exerted significant influence upon early medieval theology, our subject had already, before Gregory, been addressed by Augustine.²

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- 1 Marie-Dominique CHENU, *La théologie au douzième siècle*, 57. Similarly, Mariano MAGRASSI, *Teologia e storia nel pensiero di Ruperto di Deutz*, Roma: Apud Pontificiam Universitatem Urbanianam de Propaganda Fide, 1959, 258, and also Novella VARISCO, *Dal Cur homo al Cur Deus homo: un percorso sulla via della consapevolezza*, in Paul GILBERT – Helmut KOHLENBERGER – Elmar SALMANN (eds.), *Cur deus homo: Atti del Congresso anselmiano internazionale Roma, 21–23 maggio 1998*, Roma: Centro studi S. Anselmo, 1999, 562–563.
 - 2 For example, in 1947, in the 17th note to his translation of Augustine's *Enchiridion*, Jean Rivière had already established the succession Augustine – Gregory – Anselm – Peter Lombard: see

Congar, therefore, offered an alternative list of the possible sources used by St. Anselm: Augustine's *Enchiridion* c.19, c.56, c.61, c.62; *De civitate Dei* 22,1; and *Sermones post Maurinos reperti* (= *Sermo* 229/H = *Sermo Guelferbytanus*); and Gregory's *Homiliae in evangelia* II,21,2; II,34,6–7.11.³ Schmitt, in an edition of Anselm's *Cur Deus homo*, noted Augustine's *Enchiridion* c.29, c.61; and *De civitate Dei* 14,26; 22,1; and Gregory's *Homiliae in evangelia* II,21,2; II,34,11.⁴ Following Schmitt, Roques mentioned Augustine's *Enchiridion* c.29; and Gregory's *Homiliae in evangelia* II,21,2.⁵ Lohse and Schmidt, in their studies on St. Augustine, referred to *Enchiridion* c. 9,29; and *De civitate Dei* 22,1.⁶ Lamirande cited Augustine's *Enchiridion* c.9,28; *De civitate Dei* 16,62; 20,14; 22,1; and *Sermo Guelferbytanus* 12,2.⁷ Orazzo, who researched our subject in the work of St. Bernard, referred to Augustine's *Enchiridion* c.29, c.56, c.61; and *De civitate Dei* 22,1; and Gregory's *Homiliae in evangelia* II,21,2; II,24,11.⁸ Marabelli, in an edition of one of Anselm's lectures recorded by a student of his, referred to Augustine's *Enchiridion* c.9,26; c.16,61; and *De civitate Dei* 14,26; 22,1–2; and Gregory's *Homiliae in evangelia* II,21,2; II,34,6.11.⁹ Judic, in an edition of Gregory's homilies, mentioned Augustine's *Enchiridion* c.9,29.¹⁰ Finally, Fiedrowicz, in an edition of *Homiliae in evangelia* II,21,2, referred to elsewhere in Gregory: *Moralia in Iob* 28,34; and *In librum primum Regum expositionum Libri VI* 1,44; 3,166; 4,26.¹¹

[AUGUSTINUS], *Oeuvres de saint Augustin* 9, *Exposés généraux de la foi*, texte, traduction, et notes par Jean Rivière, Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, 1947, 351.

3 Yves CONGAR, *L'Église chez S. Anselme*, 373.

4 *S. Anselmi Cantuariensis archiepiscopi Opera omnia*, tomus II, ed. Franciscus S. Schmitt, Romae, 1940, 74–75, 81–82, 84.

5 ANSELME DE CANTORBERY, *Pourquoi Dieu s'est fait homme*, Paris: Cerf, 1963 (SC 91), 128.

6 Bernhard LOHSE, *Zu Augustins Engellehre*, *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 70 (1959), 278–279, now also in ID., *Evangelium in der Geschichte: Studien zur Theologie der Kirchenväter und zu ihrer Rezeption in der Reformation*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1998, 99–116; Martin A. SCHMIDT, Augustins "Bürgerschaft Gottes", *Theologische Zeitschrift* (Basel) 11 (1955), 45–67 (66–67: Anhang: Zur Lehre von der Wiederergänzung der Gottesbürgerschaft).

7 Émilien LAMIRANDE, *L'Église céleste selon saint Augustin*, Paris: Études Augustiniennes, 1963, 144–147.

8 Antonio ORAZZO, *Il mistero della Sposa nei Sermones sul Cantico dei Cantici di san Bernardo*, in Enrico CATTANEO – Antonio TERRACCIANO (eds.), *Credo Ecclesiam: Studi in onore di Antonio Barruffo S. I.*, Napoli: M. D'Auria Editore, 245.

9 *Anselmo d'Aosta nel ricordo dei discepoli: parabole, detti, miracoli*, eds. Inos Biffi – Aldo Granata – Costante Marabelli – Davide Riserbato, Milano: Jaca Book, 2008, 521–523; an Italian edition of *Memorials of St Anselm*, eds. R. W. Southern – F. S. Schmitt, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991.

10 GRÉGOIRE LE GRAND, *Homélies sur l'Évangile*, tome II, Paris: Cerf, 2008 (SC 522), 31.

11 GREGOR DER GROSSE, *Homiliae in evangelia* = *Evangelienhomilien*, Bd. 2, Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1998 (FC 28/2), 378.

The research community therefore arrived fairly unanimously at an identification of the basic texts, although the lists were not always identical in scope. If we look beyond the obvious errors and the differences in the numbering in the various editions, it is clear that research has, to date, pointed to the following places: Augustine's *Enchiridion* 9,29; 15,56; 16,61; 16,62; *De civitate Dei* 14,26; 22,1; and *Sermo 229/H,2* (*Sermo Guelferbytanus* 22,1 = *Sermones post Maurinos reperti*); and Gregory's *Homiliae in evangelia* II,21,2; II,34,6–7.11; and *In librum primum Regum expositionum Libri VI* 1,44; 3,166; 4,26.

These are therefore the texts that will form the basis of our investigation. With respect to Augustine's texts, we will largely confirm the conclusions of our predecessors, but will attempt to offer a more detailed explanation of the question we are addressing; we will regard *Enchiridion* 15,56 as irrelevant to our research. From Gregory, we will add one further text, *Moralia in Iob* 31,49, but we will challenge the inclusion of *Homiliae in evangelia* II,34, and will reject *In librum primum Regum expositionum Libri VI* as inauthentic. In addition, we will attempt to answer the question concerning the sources from which both fathers drew, and will show how Augustine's idea appeared in authors who predated Gregory, an area that is yet to be addressed in specialist literature.

2. Augustine of Hippo

Augustine's reflections on God's intentions for creation and on the fall of man and the angels – and the relationship between the two – developed over a number of years. The core idea that this study will be following appeared relatively late. Chronologically, the first text in which the bishop of Hippo introduced this idea was *Sermo 229/H*, delivered at Eastertide in 412. This was followed by book 14 of *De civitate Dei* between 418 and 420, and it was developed in more detail in *Enchiridion* between 421 and 423. The final text in which Augustine commented on the subject was book 22 of *De civitate Dei*, dated between 425 and 427. Subsequent writings make no further reference to the subject, so with respect to sources and chronology these appear to be the definitive references.

Augustine locates his statements on our subject in two specific contexts: in expositions on angelic and human begetting in the prelapsarian and postlapsarian states (*Sermo 229/H,2*; *De civitate Dei* 14,26; *Enchiridion* 9,29); and in expositions on resurrection and eternal life, or, more precisely, on the church after the final judgement and on the communion of

men and angels (*Enchiridion* 16,61–62; *De civitate Dei* 22,1). The overall context of ideas that are implied is much broader, however, but before we proceed in this direction, we should add that from the list of sources identified in the research mentioned above we should rule out *Enchiridion* 15,56. Although this text speaks about one holy church consisting of the church on earth and the church of angels, it does not do so in the context we are exploring here, which constitutes a narrative we can describe in the following manner:

In his eternal plan, God decided, immutably, on the number of creatures that would dwell with him in eternal bliss in the heavenly church – a definitive number that would neither increase nor decrease. The logic and dynamics of the whole drama of history are written into and evolve from this framework. The final destiny of all rational creatures is determined by this decision of the Creator, who allotted their place for them and who also, in accordance with this plan, responds to the manner in which those beings used their freedom. *Numerus certus est, pertinens ad illam coelestem Ierusalem*. The Lord knows who are his (2 Tim 2:19): *ipsi ad numerum pertinent*; he also knows who are *super numerum*.¹²

First, God created a certain number of angels, and by a single act of their free will these beings attained a definitive state: some of them sinned, through their pride, and fell into eternal damnation; the others remained obediently with God in eternal bliss. The number of beings who dwelt in communion with God had now, therefore, been reduced, and as angels do not multiply by begetting, this number could not be replenished from among their own ranks. God therefore created man as a replacement for the fallen angels: *pro ipsis qui ceciderunt angelis homines illuc venturi sunt, et implebunt locum eorum qui ceciderunt*.¹³

More accurately, this is why God created man male and female, as from their union as many human beings are to be born as are required to complete the number of citizens in the heavenly city. Thus it was to have been in the prelapsarian state, and thus it will be in the postlapsarian

12 Augustine was speaking here about people, but doing so using the same logic he applied to angels. AUGUSTINUS, *Enarrationes in Psalmos* 39,10 (CCSL 38,433; PL 36,440). See ID., *De correptione et gratia* 12,39 (PL 44,940).

13 AUGUSTINUS, *Sermo* 229/H, 2 = *Sermo Guelferbytanus* 12,2, in *Sermones post Maurinos reperti*, ed. G. Morin, Romae: Typis polyglottis Vaticanis, 1930 (Miscellanea Agostiniana 1), 480: “Verumtamen hoc ipsum nasci et mori, non de universo mundo, sed de ista parte infima mundi; in caelis enim non est nasci et mori, ex quo ibi condita sunt omnia. Cadere inde potuit princeps quidam angelorum cum sociis suis; sed pro ipsis qui ceciderunt angelis homines illuc venturi sunt, et implebunt locum eorum qui ceciderunt. Quia ergo diabolus vidit hominem ascensurum unde ipse ceciderat, vidit, et invidit: cecidit, et deiecit.”

state: the number of the elect required to build the city of God would have been the same without human sin as it is now, when out of God's grace it is being completed from among sinners born of the union of a man and a woman.¹⁴

So God was not in lack of a plan for completing the predetermined number of citizens of the heavenly city. He decided to call men, whose equality with angels lies in their also being *creatura rationalis*, into the place of the fallen angels. God decided to create man, even though he foreknew that man would sin. Through sin, original and personal, all men fell into damnation, and it would be only just if the Creator abandoned them forever, and if *totius humani generis massa damnata* served eternal punishment, just like the fallen angels. But God decided that it would be better for him to bring good out of evil than not to allow evil at all; this way he is able to demonstrate that he is not only just but also merciful, and precisely through this rescuing of the unworthy his selfless mercy would be expressed yet more clearly.

He reckoned on demonstrating, through them, exactly what their guilt deserves and what his grace bestows. Men, who will be lifted out from the community of those with whom they should share in a just punishment, will see that they have received the goodness they had no right to receive but which is nonetheless freely given. The wickedness of the guilty cannot pervert the order of things established by the Creator, as he, having out of his mercy rescued men from the great mass of the condemned, follows his original intentions for them: that through them he will complete the predestined number of citizens in his city (*consilium, quo certum numerum civium in sua sapientia praedestinatum etiam ex damnato genere humano suae civitatis implet*).¹⁵

14 AUGUSTINUS, *De civitate Dei* 14,23 (CCSL 48,444–445; PL 41,430): “Quisquis autem dicit non fuisse coituros nec generaturos, nisi peccassent, quid dicit, nisi propter numerositatem sanctorum necessarium hominis fuisse peccatum? Si enim non peccando soli remanerent, quia, sicut putant, nisi peccassent, generare non possent: profecto ut non soli duo iusti homines possent esse, sed multi, necessarium peccatum fuit. Quod si credere absurdum est, illud potius est credendum, quod sanctorum numerus quantus complendae illi sufficit beatissimae civitati, tantum existeret, etsi nemo peccasset, quantus nunc per Dei gratiam de multitudine colligitur peccatorum, quo usque filii saeculi huius generant et generantur.” See ID., *Retractationum libri duo* I,13,8 (CCSL 57,40; PL 32,605); ID., *De Genesi ad litteram libri duodecim* 9,7,12 (CSEL 28/1,275; PL 34,397).

15 AUGUSTINUS, *De civitate Dei* 14,26 (CCSL 48,450; PL 41,435): “Verumtamen omnipotenti Deo, summo ac summe bono creatori omnium naturarum, voluntatum autem bonarum adiutori et remuneratori, malarum autem relictori et damnatori, utrarumque ordinatori, non defuit utique consilium, quo certum numerum civium in sua sapientia praedestinatum etiam ex damnato genere humano suae civitatis implet, non eos iam meritis, quando quidem universa

God thus foresaw the fall of men and of angels but allowed it as he knew the good he would bring out of evil. He decided to substitute fallen angels with sinful but redeemed men, who are, through Christ's sacrifice, gathered into the heavenly church. Together they will make one holy Catholic Church, the temple of the tri-personal God, and thus will be fulfilled God's eternal plan, according to which, through Christ's sacrifice, things in heaven and things on earth are to be reconciled and recapitulated (Col 1:19–20; Eph 1:10).

Although Christ died not for the angels but for the redemption of man, his death does also concern the angels, as by recalling man into grace he put an end to the enmity between sinful men and the holy angels, and by men's redemption the damage caused by the angels' fall is repaired (*ex ipsa hominum redemptione ruinae illius angelicae detrimenta reparantur*).¹⁶ In heaven, this restoration takes place when that which fell in the angels is returned from among men (*id quod inde in angelis lapsum est ex hominibus redditur*). On earth, it takes place when men who were predestined to eternal life are rescued from their corruption¹⁷ and gathered by God's grace into the earthly church, which God created so that through it he might supplement and restore the portion of angels that fell (*ut inde suppleat et instauret partem, quae lapsa est angelorum*).¹⁸

massa tamquam in vitiata radice damnata est, sed gratia discernens et liberatis non solum de ipsis, verum etiam de non liberatis, quid eis largiatur, ostendens. Non enim debita, sed gratuita bonitate tunc se quisque agnoscit erutum malis, cum ab eorum hominum consortio fit immunis, cum quibus illi iuste esset poena communis. Cur ergo non crearet Deus, quos peccaturos esse praescivit, quando quidem in eis et ex eis, et quid eorum culpa mereretur, et quid sua gratia donaretur, posset ostendere, nec sub illo creatore ac dispositore perversa inordinatio delinquentium rectum perverteret ordinem rerum?"

- 16 AUGUSTINUS, *Enchiridion de fide et spe et caritate* 16,61 (CCSL 46,82; PL 40,261): "Non enim pro angelis mortuus est Christus. Sed ideo etiam pro angelis fit quidquid hominum per eius mortem redimitur et liberatur a malo, quoniam cum eis quodammodo redit in gratiam post inimicitias quas inter homines et sanctos angelos peccata fecerunt, et ex ipsa hominum redemptione ruinae illius angelicae detrimenta reparantur."
- 17 AUGUSTINUS, *Enchiridion de fide et spe et caritate* 16,62 (CCSL 46, 82; PL 40,261): "Propter hoc ait apostolus instaurari omnia in Christo, quae in caelis sunt et quae in terris in ipso. Instaurantur quippe quae in caelis sunt, cum id quod inde in angelis lapsum est ex hominibus redditur; instaurantur autem quae in terris sunt, cum ipsi homines qui praedestinati sunt in aeternam vitam a corruptionis vetustate renovantur. Ac sic per illud singulare sacrificium in quo mediator est immolatus, quod unum multae in lege victimae figurabant, pacificantur caelestia cum terrestribus et terrestria cum caelestibus. Quoniam, sicut idem apostolus dicit: in ipso complacuit omnem plenitudinem inhabitare, et per eum reconciliari omnia in ipsum, pacificans per sanguinem crucis eius, sive quae in terris sunt sive quae in caelis."
- 18 AUGUSTINUS, *De civitate Dei* 22,1 (CCSL 48,807; PL 41,752): "... qui de mortali progenie merito iuste que damnata tantum populum gratia sua colligit, ut inde suppleat et instauret partem, quae lapsa est angelorum, ac sic illa dilecta et suprema civitas non fraudetur suorum

The resurrected saints receive the promise that they will be like the angels (Luke 20:36). The heavenly Jerusalem will not therefore be deprived of its original number of citizens. This number may even see increase as it is not known precisely how many men will be admitted into the place of the unclean spirits. Augustine accepted that, hypothetically, the final number of heavenly beings is not necessarily identical to the original number. The number is, however, known by the Creator, who calls things that are not as though they were (Rom 4: 17), and orders all things by measure and number and weight (Wis 11:20);¹⁹ the angels also know, from God, the number of men who are to complete the number of citizens of the heavenly city.²⁰

In short, Augustine's thesis is set out from the perspective of the purpose that God the creator has for his creation, and by which he defines the predetermined number of creatures that are to share eternal bliss with him. Augustine's idea is, however, more soteriological in character. It describes the narrative concerning rational creatures – both angels and men – by referring to God's foreknowledge and predestination. The fact that one part of the angels departed in one stroke from the plan set out for them by the Creator does not invalidate this foreknowledge and predestination. Since the status of both good and fallen angels is unchangeable, they are not included in the transformation implied in the term "redemption." Even so, this act that God accomplished in Jesus Christ does in some way concern those angels who remained faithful to

numero civium, quin etiam fortassis et uberiore laetetur." See *De civitate Dei* 20,14 (CCSL 48,724; PL 41,680): "An tantus angelorum numerus aderit, quantus hominum erit, et vitam suam quisque ab angelo sibi adhibito audiet recitari?"

- 19 AUGUSTINUS, *Enchiridion de fide et spe et caritate* 9,29 (CCSL 46,65; PL 40,246): "Placuit itaque universitatis creatori atque moderatori Deo ut quoniam non tota multitudo angelorum Deum deserendo perierat, ea quae perierat in perpetua perditione remaneret; quae autem cum Deo illa deserente perstiterat de sua certissime cognita semper futura felicitate gauderet; alia vero creatura rationalis, quae in hominibus erat, quoniam peccatis atque suppliciis et originalibus et propriis tota perierat, ex eius parte reparata quod angelicae societati ruina illa diabolica minuerat suppleretur. Hoc enim promissum est resurgentibus sanctis, quod erunt aequales angelis Dei. Ita superna Hierusalem mater nostra, civitas Dei, nulla civium suorum numerositate fraudabitur, aut uberiore etiam copia fortasse regnabit. Neque enim numerum aut sanctorum hominum aut immundorum daemonum novimus in quorum locum succedentes filii sanctae matris, quae sterilis apparebat in terris, in ea pace de qua illi ceciderunt, sine ullo temporis termino permanebunt. Sed illorum civium numerus, sive qui est, sive qui futurus est, in contemplatione est eius artificis, qui vocat ea quae non sunt tamquam quae sint, atque in mensura et numero et pondere cuncta disponit."
- 20 AUGUSTINUS, *Enchiridion de fide et spe et caritate* 16,62 (CCSL 46,82; PL 40,261): "Et utique noverunt angeli sancti, docti de Deo cuius veritatis aeterna contemplatione beati sunt, quanti numeri supplementum de genere humano integritas illius civitatis exspectat."