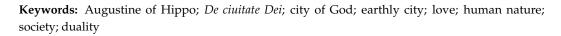*Article*

The Relationship between Augustine's Anthropological Duality and His Doctrine of the Two Cities

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Abstract: Augustine of Hippo's early works distinguish between the earthly human person, driven by worldly desires, and the reborn person, oriented towards heaven. Later, in his monumental *De ciuitate Dei* (*On the City of God*), Augustine expands on this distinction, proposing the existence of two cities: the earthly city, characterized by the love of self; and the city of God, characterized by the love of God. This tension between the two loves shapes human understanding of and place in the world. This article explores how the said tension reflects a duality in human nature, tracing the development of the relationship between Augustine's doctrine of the two cities and his reflections on the dual human nature from his early works to *De ciuitate Dei*. The article studies whether the duality of human nature mirrors the dichotomy between the *ciuitas Dei* (*city of God*) and the *ciuitas terrena* (*earthly city*), examining how the conflict between good and evil within individuals and society serves as a model for the conflict between the two cities in Augustine's doctrine, with a focus on how these concepts are expounded in his earlier writings and articulated in his *De ciuitate Dei*. It examines how the interaction between these loves manifests in human actions and desires, and shapes our understanding of the good and desirable. Ultimately, this article seeks to address the question of whether the tension between the love of God and the love of self, both in society and in human nature, is capable of harmonious resolution in Augustine's mindset.

Keywords: Augustine of Hippo; *De ciuitate Dei*; city of God; earthly city; love; human nature; society; duality

Because Augustine's doctrine of the two cities offers a powerful framework for understanding the nature of human society and the role of spirituality in it, that doctrine has long captured the attention of scholars. While the interpretation of this doctrine as a mere binary opposition between the earthly and heavenly cities has been critiqued for its simplicity, it is incontrovertible that Augustine initiates his discourse from a definition that is grounded in oppositional terms. He clearly emphasizes a distinction between the two cities that is based on their differing orientations, or loves. The citizens of each city love fundamentally different things—the earthly city's citizens are driven by self-love, while those of the heavenly city prioritize love for God above all else.[1] This distinction between the two loves lies at the heart of Augustine's broader understanding of human duality, which posits that individuals are torn between these two opposing forces. In the present article, we explore the complex interplay between Augustine's doctrine of the two cities and his understanding of human duality. By examining the connection between these two concepts, we seek to shed light on the nature of the human condition and the role that spirituality plays in it. As we embark on this analysis, we first offer a concise *status quaestionis*, situating our exploration within the broader context of scholarship on Augustine.

1. Recent Studies on the Two Augustinian Cities and Their Loves

Drawing on the work of eminent scholars H.-I. Marrou and R. Markus, extensive scholarly investigation has been dedicated to illuminating the earthly milieu of the two

cities throughout their developmental trajectory, from their inception until the culmination of human history. Central to this inquiry is the term *saeculum* (*secular world*, *temporal realm*)—originally introduced to Augustine research by Marrou—which designates the temporal and cultural environment in which the two cities flourished. In the ensuing decades, Markus' influential monograph bearing the same title catalyzed scholarly debates about this intriguing subject.[2] Apart from the question of whether the *saeculum* constitutes a neutral arena or is occupied by the *ciuitas terrena*,[3] considerable scholarly attention has been devoted to the relationship between the *saeculum* and the *ciuitas peregrina* (*pilgrim city*), the terrestrial component of the city of God.[4] Because most studies have underscored the eschatological separation of the *ciuitas Dei* from the *ciuitas terrena*, the dynamics of transformation and the process of transition from *ciuitas terrena* to *ciuitas Dei* have been insufficiently explored. Recently, however, J. K. Lee has comprehensively examined this dynamic of transformation, first in Augustine's *Enarrationes in Psalmos* (*Enarrations/Sermons on the Psalms*), and then in *De ciuitate Dei*.[5]

Just as an aggregate manifests the qualities and features of its components, the *societas* or *ciuitas* (*society*, *community*) mirrors the attributes of the individuals comprising it. Indeed, a certain parallelism can be drawn between individual people and Augustine's *ciuitates*.[6] Within each human person, one may discern the traits of each city.[7] The purpose of this article is to probe whether the dual nature of the human person parallels the dichotomy between the *ciuitas Dei* and the *ciuitas terrena*, the interplay within the *saeculum*, and the divisions that cleave the *terrena ciuitas*. The article examines how the internal struggle between good and evil in human beings, and, by extension, in a society comprising them, serves as a model for the conflict between the *ciuitas Dei* and the *ciuitas terrena*. To this end, we investigate how these concepts, as foundational elements of Augustine's doctrine of the two cities doctrine, are expounded in his earlier writings, and then we explore how these components are articulated in his *De ciuitate Dei*.

2. The Long Road to the Two Cities in *De ciuitate Dei*

2.1. *De uera religione: The Difference between the Internal and the External Human Being*

As a young theologian who had recently abandoned his political aspirations—well before the fall of Rome in 410—Augustine of Hippo outlined the trajectory of human life in terms of the external and internal human being in his treatise *On True Religion*.[8] The external human being is driven by a desire for happiness in the earthly city, which is subject to the successive ages of the body, while the internal human being is oriented towards the unchanging abundance of the highest wisdom. The transformation towards wisdom occurs gradually, in accordance with the spiritual ages, as the inner human being grows and learns to subordinate temporal needs.[9] According to Augustine, the emergence of two distinct types of human behavior is a consequence of the fall. This duality not only concerns the observable differences that separate people from each other, but it also extends to the internal struggles of each person, as the old human being battles against the new human being. Augustine believed that, as a result of original sin, humanity began its journey by succumbing to carnal desire.[10] Nevertheless, he also argues that this failure need not be the end of the story. There are those who embrace the lawlessness of the old human being, and there are others who, through spiritual growth and the attainment of wisdom, gradually overcome the influence of the old human being, despite beginning life as external beings. This process of renewal, which is only complete after physical death, is available to all.[11]

2.2. *De catechizandis rudibus: Two Cities, Mixed in Body, Separated in Soul*

Especially in his *De catechizandis rudibus* (*On Instructing the Uninstructed*), Augustine the youthful bishop characterizes these two groups of individuals as distinct societies, one a society of the unrighteous and the other a society of the saints.[12] Because the former is animated by pride and avarice, referring to its members as a *societas* may appear incongruous, given their ceaseless struggle for preeminence in worldly affairs. Nevertheless, they are

bound together by shared modes of behavior and merit.[13] The cohesion that characterizes the second *societas* is of an entirely different nature. Rather than seeking personal glory, its members humbly strive to glorify God. Their focus is not on earthly matters, but on attaining God's eternal blessing through pious devotion (*pietas*).[14]

Although Augustine refers to these two communities as Babylon and Jerusalem, his intent is not to provide an account of these cities' historical experience. Rather, the promised land, whose capital is Jerusalem, also known as the city of God or the spiritual kingdom, is a picture of the ultimate kingdom in which Christ reigns over all.[15] The name 'Babylon' signifies *confusio*, and Israel's Babylonian captivity symbolizes the state of the *societas sanctorum* (*community of the saints*) amidst the *societas iniquorum* (*community of the unrighteous*), which is not yet condemned. Accordingly, the saints are obligated to pray for the unrighteous and are subordinate to the king of this present world age.[16] The exile in Babylon is, thus, an image or representation (*figura*, *imago*) of the Church as a pilgrim on Earth who must make the most of temporal peace while traveling to the final destination.[17]

2.3. Enarrationes in Psalmos: The Opposition between Babylon and Jerusalem as an Externalization of the Conflict within the Individual

In his homilies on the Psalms, Augustine explores the symbolism of the opposition between the two biblical cities, Babylon and Jerusalem.[18] Babylon represents the transitory world. Jerusalem, a shadow of the eternal Zion, will, after seven periods, culminate in the homeland of God's eternity.[19] Augustine also draws a parallel between the biblical story of Cain and Abel on the one hand and the two cities, the *ciuitas terrena* and the *ciuitas Dei*, on the other.[20] Cain, who sought a fixed and permanent abode on Earth and placed all his hope in earthly things, represents those who prioritize temporal desires over spiritual goods. According to Augustine, the difference between the two cities can be traced back to the fall of humankind, and is evidenced in the separation of those who savor earthly things from those who savor heavenly things.[21] By birth, all are citizens of Babylon, heirs to Adam's sin and inheritors of iniquity, which weighs them down and ultimately delivers them to death (cf. Rom. 5:19); consequently, from birth, people belong not to Jerusalem, but to the old city.[22] However, one can leave the latter by aspiring goodness, by shedding the old self and putting on the new self.[23] Born into darkness, humankind must now become light (cf. Eph. 5:8); each person must put off the old self and put on the new (cf. Col. 3:9–10). In this way, the bad habits of the earthly city are replaced, and the foundation of the good city is established.[24]

Augustine believes that the conflict between the two cities externalizes the conflict within each person. Everyone is internally subject to the conflict between the cities of Babylon and Jerusalem,[25] and which city one belongs to depends on one's love. Babylon represents love of the world, while Jerusalem represents love of God. In his pastoral ministry, if people are uncertain about the city to which they belong, Augustine encourages them to examine their love. If anyone is found to be a citizen of Babylon, yet wishes to leave it behind, that person must eradicate sinful desires and cultivate a love for God. Conversely, those who identify as citizens of Jerusalem must endure the trials of earthly life and await the freedom of the eternal city.[26] This hope constitutes a beginning of liberation, although a redeemed person remains captive throughout earthly life. Augustine even heightens this tension by stating that many of Jerusalem's citizens are enslaved by the corruption of lust, which makes them still citizens of Babylon.[27] Because lust persists in the mortal body, all of history takes on the appearance of a pilgrimage in which the earthly city is not condemned outright, but rather assigned the subservient role of facilitating conversion.[28]

In view of its profound symbolic significance, the term *ciuitas* is translated as 'city', not in reference to a specific historical or political city, but to a community of people who are distinguished mainly by their shared purpose.[29] 'City', then, refers to a conceptual community—not to an institution such as the state or to a sacramental community such as the visible Church, but rather to a spiritual and moral community. This city encompasses

angels and all those predestined by God's grace, as well as the opposing community of fallen angels and the damned, who dwell in the city of the devil (*ciuitas diaboli*). In that city, people live not according to God, but according to their own desires, and earthly happiness is the ultimate goal of life.[30]

Augustine employs the historical cities of Jebus and Babylon as symbols of sin's consequences, thereby placing those cities in a distinct temporal order. The earthly city, which comes into existence before the heavenly city, is not to be considered superior, despite its temporal priority.[31] Augustine acknowledges that the city of Cain, representing the earthly city, predates the city of Abel, which represents the heavenly city. Nevertheless, he argues that despite this temporal priority, the earthly city is inferior in dignity to the heavenly city. This temporal hierarchy is echoed in Paul's statement that the physical or animal nature is antecedent to the spiritual nature (cf. 1 Cor. 15:46). Thus, the temporal and historical precedence of the earthly city does not diminish the spiritual superiority of the heavenly city.[32] Following Psalm 26 verse 10, Augustine notes that the carnal precedes the spiritual. Humans are born of carnal parents who are themselves descendants of Adam and Eve. In addition to these parents, there are other parents: the father according to the world is the devil, and the mother is Babylon, whose lost children extend from east to west. The earthly city of Babylon is humanity's first mother, from whom her children must depart now that the signs of decay and aging are apparent. Instead, they must turn to their new mother, the heavenly Jerusalem, and to God, their true father.[33]

The priority of Babylon in Augustine's thought is implicit, as he sees the city of the wicked through the dual lenses of God's wrath and God's mercy towards those who know him. Augustine argues that the city of the wicked is transformed by God's mercy into the city of the pious, as all nations, upon knowing God, renounce Babylon and become part of Jerusalem. In this transformation, the daughter of the ancient city rebels against her mother and joins the queen to whom the Most High has declared "forget thy people, thy father's house for the Most High longs for thy beauty" (Ps. 44:11, 21). Augustine highlights the inescapable fact that Adam's heirs cannot break free from their carnal parenthood and achieve their destiny on their own. It is not by human effort that the new mother, Zion, is established, but only by God, who justifies the wicked. As God creates the mother from whom humanity is born, so too does God establish the city in which humanity is reborn.[34] In Augustine's theological framework, people are burdened with sin, and their conversion is a return to their true nature. This return is not a reward for good deeds, but follows the forgiveness of sins, which can only be granted by God's grace.[35] The penalty of sin serves as a reminder that conversion is not acquired by merit, and the prideful self-attribution of merit nullifies the grace of justification. As darkness must give way to light (cf. Eph. 5:8) and the old self must be replaced by the new (cf. Col. 3:9–10), conversion entails shedding the old habits of the earthly city and adopting new ones founded on the heavenly city.[36]

As previously mentioned, Augustine likens Israel's captivity to a state of confusion—a sign of humanity's mixed nature. Despite the exhortation to turn towards Zion during this period of confusion, people continue to live in a state of tension, not only as members of each community, but also in the desires and affections of their own hearts. This tension results in a mingling of the two cities, a concept that is neither identical to *confusio* as such, nor completely foreign to the confusion of Babylon. According to Augustine, as long as people live and move in their mortal bodies, they will continue to seek out temporary pleasures and be driven by lust, thus creating a shared bodily experience. Although he argues that people must withdraw from this shared experience, they cannot completely escape it. He represents this paradox by suggesting that each person is born into a state of confusion created by desire, only to be rescued from that state by *caritas* (love). Love does not entirely remove people from confusion, but rather distinguishes them from it, as they leave Babylon only in the heart and in a hidden way. This departure from the confusion of Babylon is not physical, as no one can escape the necessities of the body.

In support of this paradox, Augustine cites the Pauline verse 2 Cor. 10:3, stating that some, though walking in flesh, do not contend according to the flesh. He argues that such

people walk in the city of Babylon, but, through their longing, are already in the city of Jerusalem, to which they anchor themselves in hope. Therefore, the winds and storms that shake the ship of their pilgrimage do not much bother them, since they are already anchored in the city of hope.[37] As the bishop of a port city, Augustine was apt to conceive of human desires as a sea whose waves could be invigorating and even tumultuous, and he recognized that these desires were stirred up by the confusion of the world's time. This understanding aligns with the *confusio* of the animal body, wherein wicked desires are spawned until the end of the *saeculum* and must be excised before that body can gain strength.[38] When Augustine references the *permixtio corporalis* (*corporeal mixture*) of each city, according to which only the *affectus cordis* (*affections/emotions of the heart*) have the potential to depart from Babylon, it is important to recognize that this mingling is primarily due to the *confusio* within the *corpus*, whether on an individual or collective level.[39]

Augustine believes that the *permixtio corporalis* of either city can be deduced from humanity's inherent duality. The bodily mixing or *permixtio corporalis* does not, however, carry an entirely negative connotation, since bodily desires are not inherently wicked and can be experienced for either good or evil, notwithstanding their hereditary flaws. While it is true that individuals can be drawn into Babylonian confusion, it is equally true that they remain reliant on the collective *corpus* (*body*) for the fulfillment of their mortal needs and are therefore inevitably entangled with Babylon. The young priest Augustine recognizes that the degeneration caused by sensual gratification in the individual *corpus* would also impair the proper functioning of the collective *corpus*. In his commentary on Psalm 9, he likens the state to a human body. In this analogy, the head of a person is comparable to the king of a state, and limbs and senses to ministers or servants. The evil city would not exist if its people, as *semina* or *elementa* (*seeds/germs* or *basic components*) of that city, were not wicked, that is, not at the disposal of the *diabolus rex* (*diabolic king*). Similar to the human body, the mortal city (*ciuitas mortale*) is a mortal body (*corpus mortale*) in which sin reigns. If individuals combat their flaws and quell the stormy clamor of the movements of their soul, the noise of the unrighteous in the *ciuitas* will likewise come to a complete halt, resulting in perfect peace.[40] Augustine does not explicitly refer to the *permixtio corporalis* of the two cities at this stage, but rather emphasizes the importance of striving towards ultimate peace in the city. He recognizes that the eradication of vice will require an inner battle to be waged within the mortal body, and suggests that this battle may be a precursor to the concept of bodily mingling. Thus, he proposes that while citizens of the earthly city must engage in the struggle against defects, those citizens can also avail themselves of the temporary peace available on Earth, until the mortal body is fully transformed.

2.4. De doctrina christiana: Prudent Use of Earthly Goods and Institutions

The young Augustine was already realistic enough to appreciate the utility of earthly goods and institutions. In his *De doctrina christiana* (*On Christian Doctrine*), Augustine passionately advocates for the use of non-Christian culture, including the liberal arts and non-Christian ('pagan') sciences.[41] He asserts that this cultural heritage rightfully belongs to Christians and draws parallels to the Exodus story, according to which the Israelites were commanded by God to take precious metals and clothing from the Egyptians. These precious metals symbolize God's institutions, while the clothing represents human institutions, both of which are necessary for society. Augustine acknowledges that certain conditions must be in place for this cultural assimilation to be considered a Christian reversal. One cannot simply take on non-Christian cultural heritage without spiritual transformation and hearing the call of the slaughtered paschal lamb to come to Christ and embrace humility (cf. Matt. 11:28, 30). Furthermore, Augustine recognizes that cultural heritage can pose a danger and must be approached with caution, as emphasized in 1 Corinthians 8:1.[42] It is possible to achieve the necessary liberation from pride by using hyssop, which is a modest and mild shrub whose roots possess remarkable strength and depth. Drawing oneself along with hyssop is symbolic of the cross, which has the power to

purify individuals of their pride and represents the establishment of *caritas*, or Christian love. Like a plant, that love roots and stabilizes people.[43]

The Paschal symbol empowers Christian action and is imbued with the capacity to comprehend the all-encompassing *caritas* of knowledge. This *caritas* is the divine love, by which Christ is co-equal with the Father. Their parity grants insight into Christ's identity as *sapientia* or divine wisdom, a concept that undoubtedly intersects with the ultimate *pax in fine* (*final/definitive peace*).[44] A prudent use of temporal peace prior to the end of time requires purification with hyssop, which is accomplished through the completed Passover. This purification ensures that Christians are endowed with edifying love instead of inflated knowledge. Pride (*superbia*) and humility (*humilitas*) once again emerge as the regulating forces of the current epoch, in which they govern the utilization (*uti*) of the Christian inheritance. Recognizing this shared role of pride and humility sheds a novel light on the relationship between contemplation (*contemplatio*) and action (*actio*), the city of God (*ciuitas Dei*)), and earthly society (*ciuitas terrena*).

2.5. De Genesi ad litteram: Two Forms of Love

Augustine delineates two opposing communities defined by their opposing loves in his *Litteral Commentary on the book of Genesis*:

One *amor* (*love*) is sacred, the other *amor* impure;

one targets allies, the other excludes them;

one cares for the common good for the sake of the higher society, the other wants to reduce even the common cause to the power of self for the sake of presumptuous domination;

one submitting to God, the other competing;

one is calm, the other is stormy;

one is peaceful, the other riotous;

one prefers the truth to the praise of those who err, the other is fond of any praise whatsoever;

one is friendly, the other is jealous;

one wants for neighbour what he wants for himself, the other wants to subject neighbour to himself;

one leads the neighbour with a view to his interest, the other aims at his own interest.[45]

The two loves are expressed in the two cities: that of the righteous and of the unrighteous.[46] Augustine explains that each city existed first among angels, and then among people. At the present time, the two cities are mixed, but at the last judgment, they will be separated. The final destination is eternal life for the first city, eternal fire for the second.

Although Augustine speaks of two distinct and opposing communities or cities, they are not entirely disconnected from one another. The full separation of these cities will only occur at the last judgment, which marks the end of the temporal mixture of the two worlds (during the *saeculum*). At the last judgment, one of the cities will be united with the righteous angels and receive eternal life from its king, while the other will be joined with the wicked angels and their king and be consigned to eternal punishment in the fires of hell.[47] Augustine's reasoning allows him to grasp the significance of Cain's construction of a city where none had existed before, and to elucidate the necessity of the Israelites' conquest of the Jebusites and subsequent transformation of that city into the new Jerusalem. Initially shrouded in darkness, people are called to become light (cf. Eph. 5:8) and to cast off the old self in order to be clothed with the new self (cf. Col. 3:9–10). The negative *ciuitas* extends from beginning to end, while the positive city is founded by transforming the bad habits of the earthly city.[48]

In Augustine's grand narrative of history, the world (*saeculum*) created by God becomes divided and intermixed between the forces of good and evil. This duality was caused by the choice of some angels and later by human transgression; after a process of redemption, the duality culminates in a final and radical separation of two cities. These two cities embody the battling loves of the fallen angel and of Christ, who respectively preside over their distinct corporate powers. The bad city is propelled by universal greed, animated by the pride in which angels and mortals partake. While each city engages with material goods, only the bad city deals with them in a privatized and possessive manner, motivated by their bodily needs. In contrast, the good city engages with material goods solely through *caritas*, which rejects the desire for personal gain. While the good angels have no dealings with earthly goods, people share in the general spiritual communion brought about by *caritas* through the proper use of these goods. Thus, the two cities are corporally interconnected. Augustine's narrative emphasizes the significance of the bodily realm in this struggle, for the love of money and material possessions can be traced to the human body and its needs. Through proper guidance and discipline, the bodily realm can be transformed into an instrument for good, and the worldly city can be remade into the city of God.[49]

It is of paramount importance to observe that the differentiation repeatedly observed in the contentious relationship between the two cities is not an unanticipated struggle between good and evil. Similarly, the fall is not predetermined, even though everything unfolds under the incomprehensible providence of God. This enigmatic concept is a critical tenet in Augustine's philosophy; he postulates that evil exists outside of God, yet never transpires without God's permission. To suggest otherwise would introduce an additional power besides God, thereby negating divine omnipotence. Nonetheless, divine power does not constrain the freedom of choice between good and evil, a choice that God foresees and regulates, thereby serving as the ultimate arbiter between the two cities. Their intermingling in the present world will culminate in a final judgment, which will end the *saeculum*, just as *auaritia* (*greed*) and *caritas* (*Christian love*) marked the inception of our world history. This separation will be accomplished solely through God's judgment, underscoring divine dominion over our world era.[50]

3. De ciuitate Dei

Augustine's thinking about how the two cities and their loves are reflected in the internal duality of each person receives its fullest elaboration in *De ciuitate Dei*.

3.1. Defining the Two Cities

In this massive treatise, Augustine stresses the stark contrast between self-love in the earthly city and love for God in the city of God. In *ciu.* 14.28, a textual shift is observed: the thematic focus on the dichotomy between private and common interests, familiar from Augustine's earlier works, is supplanted by an emphasis on self-love, specifically the pursuit of renown, which inevitably entails the exertion of dominion over others:

> "Two cities, then, have been created by two loves: that is, the earthly by love of self extending even to contempt of God, and the heavenly by love of God extending to contempt of self. The one, therefore, glories in itself, the other in the Lord; the one seeks glory from men, the other finds its highest glory in God, the Witness of our conscience. The one lifts up its head in its own glory; the other says to its God, 'Thou art my glory, and the lifter up of mine head' [Ps. 3:3]. In the Earthly City, princes are as much mastered by the lust for mastery as the nations which they subdue are by them; in the Heavenly, all serve one another in charity, rulers by their counsel and subjects by their obedience. The one city loves its own strength as displayed in its mighty men; the other says to its God 'I will love Thee, O Lord, my strength' [Ps. 18:1]. Thus, in the Earthly City, its wise men, who live according to man, have pursued the goods of the body or of their own mind, or both. Some of them who were able to know God glorified Him not as God,

neither were thankful, but became vain in their imagination, and their foolish heart was darkened."[51]

In the earthly city, rulers and subordinates indulge in perishable images and serve creation rather than the Creator. Only in a society where God is all in all can the true and imperishable God yield benefits.[52] Augustine's conception of earthly existence involves a binary division of human societies into two exclusive categories: the *ciuitas Dei* and the *terrena ciuitas*. As was true in earlier works, the inhabitants of the two cities are not limited to the mortal beings who dwell upon the Earth; rather, the cities encompass the celestial and terrestrial spheres. Included among the immortal beings are the angels, comprising the benevolent denizens of heaven and the malevolent entities who have renounced their celestial abode. The good angels and mortal lovers of God inhabit a single *ciuitas*, just as there is but one city for the evil angels and mortal lovers of self. Hence, we have two cities and not four.[53] The good angels are members of God's city, and the mortals who love God and reside here on Earth are merely a constituent part of that city. In due course, after completing their earthly pilgrimage, these mortals will join forces with the immortal angels, for the outpouring of God's *caritas* by his Spirit pertains not only to holy people, but also to holy angels. It is a good thing for both to adhere to God (cf. Ps. 72:28), and this goodness is common to both. Together they possess, in God and amongst themselves, a sacred *societas* and thus represent a single city of God—the very city that constitutes a living sacrifice and holy temple for God.[54] Augustine argues that when human yearning for unity is intertwined with God's unity, a fundamentally different type of community emerges: one in which communality takes on a distinct character. In this new community, peace is no longer a means of arranging and fulfilling desires within the confines of mortal existence (*mortalitas*), but instead is grounded in *caritas*, which allows for equal participation in an eternal commonwealth, thereby obviating the need for power struggles.[55]

Since the separation between light and dark (Gen. 1:3f.), the wicked angels have abandoned the one and only source of enjoyment and instead are driven by their inflaming pride (*typhus*). Rather than the ardent fire of pure love, they are left with only the smoke of impure love, or self-exaltation. They have relinquished the tranquility of the heavenly spheres for disruptive turmoil, and the radiance of piety for the shadows of carnal desire. These angels yearn for revenge and pride, seeking to inflict punishment and subjugation rather than serving God's goodness and administering justice only at his command.[56] Like the wicked angels, mortals tend towards darkness whenever they forsake the common and public domain (*communis et publicus uniuersus*) in favor of the private and individual sphere (*pars priuata et propria*). This tendency towards privatization entails not only a specific greed (*auaritia specialis*), such as the love of money (*amor pecuniae*), but also a general greed (*auaritia generalis*), namely, pride (*superbia*). Since Adam, people have repeated the original sin time and again, succumbing to envy, which ensnares them in the privatization that is sensual pleasure.[57]

3.2. Earthly Goods

In their conduct, the constituents of the *ciuitas Dei* and the *terrena ciuitas* are governed by their respective interior dispositions towards property, power, fame, and pleasure. A proper disposition within the heavenly city is marked by a devotion to love, harmony, and the communal use of resources. Conversely, a defective disposition within the earthly city is characterized by lordliness, internal discord, and the individualistic exploitation of resources. While the proper disposition is endowed with boundless spiritual riches, the defective disposition is fraught with competition and strife over scarce material resources. True satisfaction, however, can only be found in that which is indivisible and uniquely capable of providing unity, and the enjoyment of that unity guarantees eternal peace for the community. The true enjoyment that fulfills and guarantees eternal peace is only possible in the *societas* of the highest order,[58] where the spiritual body supplants the animal body,

thereby transcending deficiency and mortal limitations, when the body in all its parts will be subject to the will.[59]

This desired state of enjoyment leads Augustine to the famous declaration that God and human beings in God are the only objects of true enjoyment, and all other realities are only to be used (*uti*) in light of this enjoyment (*frui*).[60] An alternative formulation could be that, according to Augustine, the pursuit of unity, when tethered to God's own unity, leads to the emergence of a different kind of *societas*—one imbued with *caritas*, wherein all can partake equally of the eternal and indivisible common property, rendering power struggles and violence moot.[61]

Augustine cautions that the earthly city, if it prioritizes earthly goods over the superior goods of the heavenly city, becomes a snare that amplifies misery.[62] Earthly goods, which are inherently mutable and divisible, almost inevitably engender conflict and warfare when people regard them as ultimate sources of satisfaction. The earthly city is thus often divided against itself by strife, war, and struggle. Triumphs attained through military conquest, while initially exhilarating, are inherently fleeting and only transitory. They are, in a word, mortal (*mortalis*). In certain instances, these victories may even prove to be fatal (*mortifer*), insofar as they engender arrogance in the victors. The victors' hubris blinds them to the precariousness of their accomplishments and precipitates further conflict and strife, perpetuating the cycle of warfare.[63]

Hence, in earthly society, each individual is inextricably linked to the faithful citizens of the *ciuitas Dei* and to the faithless members of the *terrena ciuitas*; together, the faithful citizens and faithless members possess a stake in the common good. A shared use of resources cannot be deemed inconsequential or morally neutral, since the ultimate goal of such use (*usus*) determines whether one is inclined to dwell in the abode of those whose aspirations are confined to the earthly realm (*terrena*), or in the abode of those who perceive earthly goods as no more than a means of easing the burden of their mortal bodies.[64]

3.3. Earthly Peace

Earthly peace is based on submission to a victor. The fragility of this submission notwithstanding, victory is directed towards the attainment of peace, which, paradoxically, remains the ultimate objective of war. While the contours of such peace may be varied, no party engages in hostilities without an end in view, and even if the warring entity disrupts an existing state of tranquility, that entity is motivated by the desire for another form of peace in which its aspirations can be realized.[65] In contemplating the interplay between war and peace, Augustine endeavors to shield humanity from the caprices of human wrath and to spare the divine from appearing passive and powerless. For this purpose, Augustine invokes the well-established notion that peace (*pax*) imbues all facets of terrestrial existence, endowing them with a harmonious and cohesive internal and external framework, and conferring upon each constituent the tranquility of structure.[66] Augustine maintains that a fundamental tranquility permeates society, even when social structures are established in a corrupt manner. This peace, which belongs to the very fabric of nature, is indispensable to nature's unity. In the absence of peace, nature would be rendered incomplete and unrecognizable.[67]

In this respect,[68] Augustine does not categorically dismiss temporal peace (*pax temporalis*) as belonging to the city of the devil (*ciuitas diaboli*), but rather attributes the vice of pride to the peace of the earthly city, rendering that peace a reprehensible discontent (Van Oort 1991). Despite its inadequacy and dark side, Augustine refrains from declaring that earthly peace is worthless or bad; instead, he recognizes a deficiency in something that is inherently good. The human race strives for this peace, just as it strives for happiness, despite humanity's flawed nature after the fall. The earthly city may rightly be called a *societas* that is organized around the pursuit of a subordinate good. Augustine even acknowledges that the earthly city can itself be good if it attends to its interests.[69]

Although the earthly city, through its own peace, remains a durable *societas*, that *societas* is ultimately less than eternal and will cease to be a city on the day of the final judgment. In the end, the earthly city will know no peace.[70] Even now, change and deprivation are common characteristics of the earthly society, unlike the city of God. It is possible that the privatizing movement, which is nearly unique to the earthly city, is a consequence of its transient peace. Augustine suggests this causal connection indirectly, but highlights the provisional and mortal character of the earthly city through repeated contrasts with the heavenly city's everlasting peace. These contrasts suggest a connection between the transient nature of earthly peace and the privatizing movement that often accompanies it.[71]

Subtly and surreptitiously, Augustine draws a parallel between a city riven by conflict and a lifeless body. Just as a corpse still manifests an underlying coherence and even in a state of decay helps constitute other forms of unity according to the laws of the divine order, so too does the earthly city's transient and mutable nature remain within the ambit of the Creator's providence, serving as a possible substrate for other modes of unity.[72] Although Augustine does make this connection explicit, he eschews any mention of greed (*auaritia*), which fosters a solipsistic peace that excludes others. Within the sensual unity of this self-absorbed order, there is no room for other people, except for those who are willing to subsume themselves into the sensual unification of the prideful and to abide by their dictates. Augustine does touch upon the general desire for unity that impels humanity to adhere to the laws of nature and maintain peace within earthly communities, provided that other people acquiesce to the sensual satisfaction of humanity's perception of unity, leading to conflict with those who refuse to submit. Augustine posits that the privatization inherent in sensual pleasure is incompatible with human community, and that pride acts as a malignant growth that sows the seeds of war.[73] Nevertheless, Augustine contends that every war, including a just war, bears the imprint of a peace, albeit a distorted one. The cause of this perversion is the haughty human being, who apes God, rejecting equality with peers under the aegis of the divine and endeavoring to appropriate God's glory.[74]

In Augustine's view, perversion is not rooted in rejecting the imitation of God, in whose image humanity was made. Rather, Augustine argues that as God's righteous offspring, humans are meant to exercise authority over the world. Perversion occurs when individuals mistakenly believe that the unity and glory of God can be translated into a form of power that can be seized and used as a tool of violence. Any attempt to seize this power results in a distortion of glory, transforming it into a harmful instrument rather than a force for good.[75]

3.4. Heavenly Peace

Although the peace of Babylon is shared by the virtuous and the wicked, the peace of the heavenly city is peculiar (*proprius*) to its own inhabitants. In fact, the peace of the earthly city provides, rather than joy and happiness, only consolation for misery. Thus, the happiness that we currently possess through faith will someday be ours indeed. Even *iustitia* (*justice*), which is pursued for the sake of the true good at which it aims, must be understood as the forgiveness of sins rather than as perfection, which thus cannot be attained by an individual's own strength. Even the virtuous and righteous, who must contend in an orderly way with the flaws to which they must submit, are denied full peace (*plena pax*). Only in the final peace will our nature be irrevocably healed by immortality (*immortalitas*) and become imperishable and free from any defect.[76]

3.5. Two Cities Mingled in Earthly Time and Space: Corpus Permixtum

Augustine draws from Scripture yet another interpretation of the confusion (*confusio*) present in the city of the wicked. Here, he emphasizes not merely the temporal fragmentation that results from scattering, but rather retribution for sin, namely, the confusion of tongues, or the division of languages, which partitions humanity on account of its wicked pride. The interaction between temporal dispersion and linguistic confusion exacerbates

the discord of *confusio*, underscoring the punitive dimension of time, which, together with language, ought to have facilitated harmony.[77]

The ambivalence within humans mirrors the entanglement of the two cities. Augustine presents a complex view of the human body as a flawed entity, capable of slipping into evil, and as a created good with the capacity to choose the good. This duality of the body leads him to elaborate on the intertwining (*permixtio*) or connection (*coniunctio*) of the two mixed cities (*ciuitates perplexae*)—the earthly city and the city of God.[78] While the intertwining in the secular realm is primarily due to our embodiment, both individually and collectively, the spiritual *corpus* is equally responsible for the intertwining in which we are included by the grace of reversal.[79] This blending of the two corporate magnitudes is a grand reflection of the duality within the individual and does not allow for an intermediate position, which would belong neither to the earthly city nor to the city of God. To propose the existence of an intermediate place between the intertwined cities would not only negate the *saeculum*'s ultimate orientation towards God, but would also threaten the duality inherent in human nature. Such a notion of an intermediate space is therefore incompatible with the theological framework laid out by Augustine. It is crucial to acknowledge that the ambiguity of the *commixtio* (*mixture*) will continue until history's end, and that Augustine's call for a virtuous use of temporal peace plays a pivotal role in navigating the complex interweaving of the two cities. To embrace an intermediate position would be to deny the essential tension in human experience and would prevent one from fully embracing the divine vision that guides humankind towards its ultimate end.[80]

3.6. Conflict between the Earthly City and the City of God

Earthly time and space constitute the battleground for the conflict between the earthly city and the city of God on Earth. To expand upon the previous discussion, it is important to acknowledge that this battle should not be viewed solely as an internal struggle, that is, a struggle within the earthly city, but also as a battle between the earthly city and the city of God. The city of God maintains control over the earthly city with regard to religious laws, and as a result, a battle between these two cities often ensues.[81] The stakes of this battle are markedly different than those of an internal struggle for earthly peace. While Babylon and Rome may have similar foundations, there is a profound difference between the fratricide of Cain and that of Romulus. The two brothers of Rome were citizens of the same earthly city, divided against one another for the sake of power. By contrast, Cain and Abel were not equals in their desire for possession; the result was not a struggle within a single city, but rather a battle between the city of God and the earthly city.[82] Furthermore, it has been demonstrated that the conflict between Jerusalem and Babylon cannot be apprehended solely as a dichotomy between the virtuous and the vicious, since the physical blending (*permixtio corpore*) due to shared mortality (*communis mortalitas*) precludes too facile a division between the righteous and the wicked in this life.

The ambivalence in the human heart serves as a model for the struggle between the *ciuitas Dei* and the *terrena ciuitas*, and the fusion and interweaving of the two cities hints at the ambivalence intrinsic to every human heart.[83] Undoubtedly, all human beings commence their journey possessing the animality of greed, and until the final judgment's *distinctio* (*distinction/differentiation*) is accomplished, the conflict between the animal and the spiritual persists within us. Inspired by the earthly city at war with itself, Augustine describes this inner personal battle in intriguing ways, using terms such as conflict, struggle, resistance, pressure, command, and victory.[84] As in the earthly city, where peace remains vulnerable and unsettled because the adversary is never wholly subdued, heavenly peace cannot be expected in this mortal life.[85] Although hidden desires can be managed, they are never wholly conquered, and the struggle will ultimately be resolved only in the spiritual body (*corpus spirituale*).[86] Moreover, the fight against others, in the sense that we, as citizens of Jerusalem, contend with Babylon, persists and will cease only at the end of time (*in fine*

temporum), when the dead and decaying body of the earthly city is transformed into the heavenly Jerusalem.

Augustine asserts that in this peace, none of us will live in conflict with ourselves or others.[87] Eventually, *caritas* will triumph over greed, and society will become imperishable and ordered towards the common good. No one will desire to take away from others, but will, conversely, aspire to share undividedly, since there will be an expansion rather than a contraction of goods.[88] Meanwhile, world time (*saeculum*) remains the field of battle between the two communities, and Cain's fratricide of Abel, a citizen of the eternal city and a stranger on Earth, is an archetypal instance of this history.[89] Against enslavement to greed stands Isaac, a son of grace, an inhabitant of the free city, and an ally of eternal peace, which has no room for the will to appropriate and privatize, but welcomes the heart that delights in the common and imperishable good and makes one heart out of many hearts. This peace is perfect unity achieved through the obedience of *caritas*.[90] Thus, the fratricide of Remus by Romulus serves as a premonition of the relations within the earthly city (*ciuitas terrena*), and it is remarkable how similarly Augustine characterizes the wicked angels' conduct.

3.7. Cooperation between the Earthly City and the City of God

As we already observed in *De doctrina christiana*, Augustine advocates the adoption and use of the earthly city's institutions by the citizens of the *ciuitas Dei*: for the sake of earthly peace, the city of God on Earth also makes use of earthly institutions.[91] To delve into the intricate and at times enigmatic relationship between the earthly city (*ciuitas terrena*), in which we are but exiles or prisoners, and the heavenly city (*ciuitas Dei*) that awaits us, is a task beyond our present purview. It suffices to note that, following the fall, the original felicity has been forfeited, and ever since, people seek gratification in transient things. Yet those who work diligently and without conceit towards this earthly city, God will not surrender to Babylon; instead, God will reveal to them the other city, which renders Babylon a mere trifle, albeit a trial of their faithfulness, to see whether they are serving the greater good.[92]

Augustine's profound reflections on the matter of earthly goods can be found in the nineteenth book of his *De ciuitate Dei*, in which he expounds the necessity of mortal life. He posits that, due to the shared experience of mortality, earthly peace is of utmost importance not only to temporal society, but also to celestial society. Thus, he asserts that concord between the two cities on matters pertaining to mortality can be achieved without difficulty.[93] His call for a good use of the Babylonian earthly peace, which is, after all, common (*communis*) to good and bad alike, is therefore unsurprising. However, if we do not use this temporary peace for good, then eternal peace will not be our portion at the end of time.[94]

Although mortality (*mortalitas*) is common to both cities, immortality (*immortalitas*) is not, thereby precluding the establishment of universal laws of religion (*communes leges religionis*).[95] Such common laws would require the professed *iustitia* to be identical, which would inevitably result in the earthly city becoming a fundamentally distinct community, thereby calling into question the very notion of 'earthly' itself.[96] In its foundation on an everlasting peace that produces happiness for all, with God as the common element uniting all people, the city of God is unique.[97]

4. Citizen of Two Cities—The Inherent Duality of Love

In our concluding remarks, we summarize the development of Augustine's thinking about the intrinsic link between the two cities and the inherent duality of human love, and then we offer a thematic synthesis.

Augustine's intellectual evolution is characterized by a shift in attention towards previously overlooked elements, reflecting the changing context of his thought. This evolution can be traced through various works. Augustine's early work, *De uera religione*, dating back

to 390, before his priestly ordination, reflects his focus on the internal and external aspects of humanity, which aligns with Neo-Platonist philosophy. In *De catechizandis rudibus*, written in 404, Augustine introduces the concept of the two cities, highlighting the distinction between Christianity and 'paganism', while also drawing on the dual cities concept of the Donatist Tyconius. *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, a pastoral work consisting of sermons on the psalms, is difficult to date precisely, but covers a considerable period. It touches on the themes of Jerusalem and the heavenly Jerusalem, and the proper disposition of the individual towards God and this heavenly city. Books 1 to 3 of *De doctrina christiana*, written in Augustine's early years as a bishop around 396–397, delve into the appropriate Christian approach to worldly possessions among other topics. In *De Genesi ad litteram*, composed between 414 and 415, Augustine introduces the concept of love as a distinguishing factor between the two cities.

The early books of *De ciuitate Dei*, apart from their apologetic aspect in defense against the pagans after the fall of Rome in 410, also contain references to the Donatist controversy, including the intermingling of *ciuitas Dei* and *terrena ciuitas*. The later books of *De ciuitate Dei* reflect Augustine's engagement with the Pelagian controversy, discussing the divine grace that can restore human fallenness due to original sin, manifested in incompatible loves for God and self. Augustine also delves into the origins and ultimate destination of the two cities, exploring the themes introduced earlier in a cohesive manner. In summary, Augustine's works reflect his evolving ideas and perspectives on various theological concepts, shaped by historical context, philosophical influences, and his own theological inquiries.

Prior to his *De ciuitate Dei*, Augustine had already lain the groundwork for his doctrine of the two cities. He began with a dualistic view of humanity that distinguished between the old, external human being with earthly desires and the new, reborn, internal human being oriented towards heaven, as expounded in *De uera religione*. In *De catechizandis rudibus*, Augustine divides people into two groups: the righteous and the unrighteous, and assigns to these groups the names of 'Jerusalem' and 'Babylon', respectively, with 'Jerusalem' designating the heavenly city where Christ is king, and 'Babylon' designating the city in which the people of Israel lived in exile for seventy years. In *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, Augustine examines the mixing of these two groups and the relationship between the two cities. This theme is connected with the transformation from a physical person (*homo animalis*) to a spiritual person (*homo spiritalis*). Augustine then considers the relationship with God, and distinguishes the two cities and classes of people by their loves, directed either towards God or towards themselves, pridefully wanting to be equal to God, as discussed in *De Genesi ad litteram*. These foundational concepts serve as the building blocks for Augustine's mature doctrine of the two cities, which he later expounds in *De ciuitate Dei*.

Augustine's doctrine of the two cities divides humanity into two groups based on their orientation towards God and self. The city of God is characterized by love of God, while the earthly city is characterized by self-love and the neglect of God. In *De ciuitate Dei*, Augustine maintains that humankind is fundamentally good, yet vitiated by the fall, which injured and weakened human nature; consequently, each person must struggle to overcome evil inclinations and be transformed from a physical being into a spiritual one. Within the *saeculum*, the temporal realm where citizens of both cities coexist, unhappiness originates from human nature's inclination to evil. Relations within the earthly city are characterized by lordliness and the appropriation of earthly goods, leading to constant conflict and war. Augustine, nevertheless, acknowledges the value of human institutions and society, though they are temporary and only instrumental to the supreme good of ultimate peace and bliss in God. Thus, the duality that Augustine perceives within human nature extends to the *saeculum*, which is not a neutral third space, but rather is defined by the orientation of its citizens. Therefore, Augustine urges us to respect and take seriously earthly institutions, but also to regard them as created for a temporary purpose, which is to serve citizens of the earthly city. In contrast, ultimate bliss with God is the supreme

good, characterized by a perfect unity with God and with each other, a unity that is based on *caritas*.

In the present study, our analysis has revealed the nuanced presence of duality in Augustine's thought at various levels. Firstly, we have identified a dualism pertaining to different love-orientations between the *ciuitas Dei* (the city of God) and the *terrena ciuitas* (the earthly city). Augustine discusses how these two cities have distinct orientations towards love, with the former focused on love for God and the latter driven by earthly desires. Secondly, we have observed a dualism within the *saeculum* (the temporal world) itself, which serves as the earthly context for both cities. Augustine elaborates on how the city of God interacts with earthly institutions and goods, urging cooperation for the sake of temporal well-being, while also advocating for prudent distinction in pursuit of heavenly goods. Thirdly, we have identified a dualism within the human person, who is depicted as inherently sinful and inclined towards evil due to original sin, yet also well-created and restored to goodness through divine grace. Augustine highlights the tension between a human being's fallen nature and his potential for redemption, underscoring the complex interplay of good and evil within human nature. *De ciuitate Dei*, with its framework encompassing the origin, evolution, and final destination of both cities, serves as a unifying lens that synthesizes these distinct dualisms.

The consequences of original sin showcase the inherent duality within humankind, where humans are fundamentally oriented towards either choosing God or rejecting him, thereby determining their ultimate destiny of either union with God or eternal separation from him. Furthermore, Augustine's teachings emphasize the need for cooperation and distinction in the earthly context, where both cities and classes of people can collaborate for the betterment of temporal goods, while maintaining a clear differentiation in pursuit of heavenly goods. Augustine highlights that earthly goods can be transient ends in themselves or mere means towards the ultimate end of bliss in God, and this distinction should inform one's choices and actions in relation to earthly goods. Augustine believes that true peace can be achieved by bringing human striving for unity together with God's unity, resulting in a *societas* based on *caritas*. In summary, our findings in this study elucidate the multifaceted nature of duality in Augustine's thought, ranging from the distinction in love-orientations between the two cities, to the interplay of good and evil within human nature, and the need for cooperation and distinction in the pursuit of earthly and heavenly goods.

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Notes

1 *ciu.* 14.28 (CC 48.451). For a profound introduction to Augustine's thinking on the two cities, and a comprehensive *status quaestionis*, see Lamirande (1992).

2 Marrou (1957); Markus (1970). In his exploration of Augustine's doctrine of the two cities, Marrou rejects the possibility of a third and neutral space existing between them. Building upon this rejection, Markus delves deeper into the significance of the shared temporal context for citizens of the two cities, who will ultimately be separated. Markus offers an interpretation of Augustine's political philosophy as an argument in favor of a neutral political sphere, although he later revises this stance. For a *status quaestionis* on the many scientific approaches to Augustine's doctrine of the two cities, see Lee and Dupont (2016), p. 101. On the meaning of Markus' *Saeculum*, see, among others, Rosenberg (2010), p. 1; Senellart (2019), p. 279: "La lecture de Markus ne contredit pas cette vision pessimiste – elle en souligne, bien au contraire, l'importance fondamentale –, mais l'enrichit

d'une dimension plus positive: mal nécessaire, l'État est également, en son ordre, la condition d'un bien relatif, excluant toute instrumentalisation à des fins religieuses."

3   An excellent analysis is offered by Roberts Ogle (2021). Augustine employs the term *ciuitas terrena* to describe both the political space and the populace oriented towards earthly pursuits and characterized by *amor sui*. In light of this usage, Roberts Ogle raises the question of whether it is significant that Augustine assigns the same name to human institutions utilized by citizens of the *ciuitas Dei* and of the *ciuitas terrena* (pp. 1–2). Roberts Ogle concludes that using the same terminology signifies that the *saeculum* was occupied by a worldly mentality—that is, the disposition of the earthly city's citizens, characterized by *amor sui*—and that consequently the *saeculum* is not a neutral space for the citizens of the city of God (p. 154).

4   Witness several studies on this issue with the word 'pilgrim' in their title, for instance: Dyson (2001); Hollingworth (2010).

5   Lee (2016), pp. 157–80. Lee focuses on the *Enarrationes in Psalmos* and further explores this dynamic of transformation in *De ciuitate Dei*. Other texts by Augustine are beyond the scope of Lee's article.

6   See MacKinnon (1995), pp. 319–52. Here, MacKinnon discusses the analogy between the human being and the state according to Plato, and indicates that Augustine has the same idea in *De ciuitate Dei*.

7   Lamberigts (2011), p. 540: "Wie gegensätzlich sie auch sein mögen, so finden sich beide Lebensstile doch bei jedem Menschen, bei jedem Christen. Alle tragen Spuren beider Städte in sich." See also Van Oort (1991), pp. 236–38, who examines Origen as a possible source for Augustine's doctrine of the two cities and indicates that for Origen, the antithesis between Jerusalem and Babylon can be found within the soul of the individual; Van Oort (1991), p. 295, reports that Ambrose speaks of a similar antithesis between Jerusalem and Babylon within each human person.

8   See *uera rel*. 48. As posited by Th. Clemmons, Augustine's early work *De uera religione* provides a comprehensive exploration of the question of why God engages with humanity through the lens of time and history. Augustine's concept of inward movement, as expounded in *De uera religione*, does not entail a rejection of history and creation, but rather entails a recognition of their significance by acknowledging the intrinsic connection with "the God who redeems the whole of the human in history". Clemmons (2018), pp. 152–53. Written around 390–91, *De uera religione* can be seen as providing a first draft of Augustine's doctrine of the two cities (see Van Oort 1991, p. 108). On distinguishing two categories of people in human history, see *uera rel*. 50. See also O'Daly (1999), p. 63.

9   *uera rel*. 48 (CC 32.218). This passage describes the six phases in the life of the old, external human being.

10   Given the scope of this contribution, disregarding the question of continuity in Augustine's thinking regarding original sin, there is a consensus among scholars that he believed in the universal impact of Adam's sin on humanity from his earliest writings onwards. This belief is evident in his early works such as the third book of *De libero arbitrio* (*On Free Choice of the Will*). In his anti-Pelagian writings, Augustine developed a precise definition of *peccatum originale* (*original sin*). This concept encompasses (a) the initial sin committed by Adam and Eve in Eden, (b) the participation of all humanity in that sin due to the seminal presence of all individuals in Adam at the time of the fall, and (c) the transmission of this Adamic sin from one generation to another, both physically (through male semen) and psychologically (through sexual concupiscence during the conception of each individual). Notably, Christ did not inherit this original sin as he was born without male semen and sexual intercourse. The participation in and transmission of Adamic sin includes (1) an *originalis reatus/culpa* (original guilt): every human being partakes in the original guilt, and thus, everyone is born with this guilt, indicating that, according to Augustine, innocent babies do not exist; (2) penal consequences: since all humans are equally guilty, they also inherit the penal consequences of the first sin, including mortality, ignorance, and the inclination towards sin, leading fallen humanity to sin repeatedly. Consequently, every human being is sinful in two ways: through original sin and personal sin. Although baptism removes the guilt of original sin, its punitive consequences persist, requiring the baptized individual to continually resist the inclination to sin and inevitably falling into sin. This shared initial sin and guilt, as well as its transmission, elucidate why (i) all infants born after Adam's fall are born sinful and must be baptized for the remission of sins (with the consequence of damnation if they die unbaptized), and (ii) humanity, marked by concupiscence even after baptism, cannot abstain from sin and perpetually relies on God's all-encompassing and predestinating grace to avoid sin. Augustine asserts that it is this original sin that gives rise to the existence of two distinct cities, an idea prominently featured in *De civitate Dei* and his earlier works. Moreover, Augustine highlights that this original sin is both the cause and perpetuation of human ambiguity and ambivalence, particularly emphasized in his anti-Pelagian writings. To maintain the clarity of our article's argument, we refrain from explicitly delving into Augustine's doctrine of original sin herein. However, it would be highly intriguing to explore in a subsequent article the intricate connection between this doctrine of original sin and Augustine's two-city doctrine, which consequently relates to his dual anthropology. To avoid an exhaustive survey of scholarly publications, we limit ourselves here to referencing one comprehensive synthesis: Lamberigts (2014), pp. 599–615.

11   *uera rel*. 49 (218). This passage describes the seven stages in the life of the internal human being. Some people live out life according to the old human being; others are reborn along the way as a new human being. In *uera rel*. 65 (CC 32.230), Augustine defines the sin of the old human being as perversion.

12   *De catechizandis rudibus* was written about 400, or perhaps 404–5.

13   *cat. rud.* 31 (CC 46.156). According to this passage, the two cities are mixed together as far as human bodies are concerned, but are distinct according to human will.

14 *cat. rud.* 31 (CC 46.156). For the use of *societas* and *pietas*, see *cat. rud.* 31: "Omnes enim homines amantes superbiam . . . simul una societate deuincti sunt . . . omnes homines et omnes spiritus humiliter Dei gloriam quaerentes, non suam, et eum pietate sectantes, ad unam pertinent societatem" (*cat. rud.* 31; CC 46.156).

15 *cat. rud.* 36 (CC 46.160). The central part of *cat. rud.* 36 deals with the heavenly Jerusalem, whose name means 'vision of peace' and whose king is Christ. The earthly part of this heavenly city is represented by the earthly city of Jerusalem.

16 *cat. rud.* 37 (161). In the context of speaking about the Babylonian captivity, *cat. rud.* 37 describes the second of the cities, the city of iniquity, Babylon, whose name means 'confusion'.

17 *c. Faust.* 36 (CSEL 25/1.362s.). According to *c. Faust.* 36, which deals with Israel's exile in Babylon, Israel built a new existence there, and the Israelites were exhorted to pray for their Babylonian rulers. The return, after the exile, signifies the Church's return to the heavenly Jerusalem.

18 The concept of Jerusalem as an emblematic representation of the Church dates back to the early exegesis of Augustine, as attested by O'Daly (1999), p. 62. O'Daly specifically cites *en. Ps.* 9.12, which is dated to 392 (p. 62, n. 18), as well as four other sermons by Augustine, from 405–408, including *s. Dolbeau* 4, which deals with the symbolic contrast between Jerusalem and Babylon. While most studies of Augustine's doctrine of the two cities focus on the eschatological separation between them, Lee (2016) takes a different approach. Drawing on Augustine's texts from *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, Lee explores the transition from the earthly city to the city of God, which occurs through Christ in history. Lee also discusses the *Totus Christus* theology and the idea of transformation, as well as the occurrence of this theme in *De ciuitate Dei*.

19 *en. Ps.* 125.3 (CC 40.1847). In *En. Ps.* 125.3, Augustine provides a cogent explanation of the puzzling question of how a beleaguered Zion, subjugated and captive, could be called eternal. In this context, the term 'eternal' alludes to the transcendent nature of the heavenly Jerusalem. By contrast, 'captive' refers to the state of enslavement to sin. Notably, it is after the period of seventy years, which symbolizes the totality of time, that the return from Babylon transpires. It is in this context that captive Zion is transformed into an image of the eternal Zion and the heavenly Jerusalem, which, Augustine says, would persist as enduring symbols of hope and spiritual renewal for generations to come.

20 *en. Ps.* 64.2 (824). In *en. Ps.* 64.2, Augustine alludes to the origins of Jerusalem and Babylon, attributing the former to Abel and the latter to Cain. Notably, the establishment of the cities' physical infrastructure occurred through the historical cities of Jebus and Babylon. The dichotomy between Jerusalem and Babylon is further underscored by the divergent forces that engendered their existence. While Jerusalem was built upon an ethos of love, Babylon was constructed on a more nefarious impetus. In view of eschatological considerations, it is noteworthy that Babylon is destined for eternal fire, in sharp contrast to Jerusalem's eventual ascension to the celestial kingdom.

21 *en. Ps.* 61.1 (777).

22 *en. Ps.* 61.7 (778). This passage delves into the profound theological import of the Cain and Abel narrative in the biblical canon. Augustine accentuates the preeminence of Cain, as the animalistic archetype, over Abel, the spiritual figure, in the order of creation. While Cain is depicted as building a city out of nothing, Abel constructs Jerusalem by renovating an existing city. This contrast serves as a powerful metaphor for the transformative nature of the human experience, wherein the individual is called upon to shed the vestiges of the past and embrace the transformative power of spiritual renewal, ultimately transitioning from darkness to light. It is worth emphasizing that the concept of a 'good city' is not innately embedded within the origins of creation, but rather emerges from the conversion of the wicked. Conversely, the city of evil extends from the beginning of the world until its culmination, a haunting reminder of spiritual depravity's destructive potential.

23 *en. Ps.* 61.7 (778).

24 *en. Ps.* 61.7 (778).

25 For this connection between body and city, O'Daly refers to *En. Ps.* 61.6; *En. Ps.* 90.2.1; and *En. Ps.* 131.3 (O'Daly 1999, p. 63, citing, for these references, Van Oort 1991, p. 171, n. 403) and recognizes in this connection the influence exercised by the Church-as-body-of-Christ motif and by the image of the Church as *corpus bipertitum*, used by Tyconius (Van Oort 1991, p. 63, n. 21).

26 *en. Ps.* 64.2 (CC 39.824).

27 *en. Ps.* 61.7 (778).

28 Schmidt (1985), pp. 84–87; Fontaine (1988), p. 57 elaborate on the earthly city as pilgrimage.

29 Lepelley (1992), pp. 942–57. See also Duchrow (1970), p. 245; Schmidt (1985), p. 77.

30 Schmidt (1985), p. 81, 369f. Cf. Fontaine (1988), p. 60.

31 *en. Ps.* 61.6 (777). In *en. Ps.* 61.6, Augustine draws a comparison between the two archetypal cities of Babylon and Jerusalem. The former, emblematic of evil, is depicted as governed by the nefarious forces of the devil, while the latter, representative of all that is good and noble, is ruled over by Christ, the benevolent king. Notably, the earthly city, symbolized by the figure of Cain, was the first to come into being, while the celestial city, exemplified by Abel, emerged later. The biblical text thus implies that the separation between these two cities, so fundamentally opposed in nature, will culminate in the cessation of their present intertwining.

32 *en. Ps.* 61.7 (777).

33　　*en. Ps.* 26.2.18 (CC 38.164). Augustine provides a compelling interpretation of the Psalm verse in question, which reads "my father and my mother have forsaken me". He posits that this verse refers to the passing of one's biological parents, who are inherently mortal. The biblical text takes on a deeper significance, however, when viewed in light of Augustine's understanding of the concept of fatherhood. According to him, there are two distinct fathers: the first, a worldly father who is emblematic of the devil, and the second, a divine father who is representative of God. Similarly, there are two mothers: the first is the city of Babylon, which is synonymous with sin and debauchery, and the second is the city of Jerusalem, which embodies spiritual purity and righteousness. Thus, the notion of being forsaken by one's parents can be understood as a call to reject the devil and his wicked ways, and, instead, to embrace God as one's true father. This transformation, as Augustine suggests, requires a conscious and deliberate denial of the devil and a wholehearted commitment to live in accordance with the divine principles embodied by the city of Jerusalem.

34　　*en. Ps.* 86.6 (CC 39.1204). Saints belong to Jerusalem, sinners to Babylon, according to *en. Ps.* 86.6.

35　　*en. Ps.* 136.1 (CC 40.1964). This passage discusses the mixing of the two cities; although separated spiritually, they are now mixed materially. People destined for salvation, ransomed by Christ's blood, are now in captivity in Babylon. Babylon focuses on temporal peace, Jerusalem on eternal peace. At the end of time, the two cities will also be physically separated.

36　　*en. Ps.* 136.1 (CC 40.1964).

37　　*en. Ps.* 64.2 (CC 39.824). Cf. *en. Ps.* 148.4 (CC 40.2168).

38　　*en. Ps.* 136.21 (CC 40.1978). In *en. Ps.* 136.21, Augustine urges his hearers to eliminate the bad habits of Babylon. As a child learns from adults, so children in the earthly city learn all kinds of bad things. The children of Babylon are the bad passions.

39　　*en. Ps.* 64.2 (CC 39.824). In *en. Ps.* 94.2, Augustine asserts that distance from God does not concern physical distance. Rather, the state of being distant from God arises from moral and spiritual sinfulness. Augustine contends that the human soul is imbued with the imprint of the divine image, and the extent to which an individual conforms to this imprint determines that individual's proximity to God. *Confusio* is prominent in *en. Ps.* 64.2, where the connection with *amor* is also explained: "Incipit exire qui incipit amare. Exeunt enim multi latenter, et exeuntium pedes sunt cordis affectus; exeunt autem de Babylonia. Quid est de Babylonia? De confusione. Quomodo exitur de Babylone, id est de confusione? Qui primo confusi erant similibus cupiditatibus, incipiunt caritate distingui; iam distincti, non sunt confusi" (*En. Ps.* 64.2; CC 39.824). Cf. *en. Ps.* 136.1 (CC. 40.1964): "Ierusalem interpretari uisionem pacis; Babyloniam confusionem. Ierusalem in Babylonia captiua tenebatur non tota: ciues enim eius et angeli sunt".

40　　*en. Ps.* 9.8 (CC 38.62). Augustine discusses the city of the devil and the deceitful rulers who incite people to evil there. What can be found in the individual can also be found in a city made up of individuals. Truth destroys such empires, that is, cities where the devil rules; as a result, sin no longer reigns in the mortal body. In *cat. rud.* 36, the connection between the earthly and heavenly Jerusalem is outlined: the earthly kingdom is a picture of a spiritual kingdom; Jerusalem is the most famous image of the city of God. Its king, Christ, made people so that they may reign with him in peace without end.

41　　The second book of *doctr. chr.*, to which we refer in this article, was written around 396–397. V. Roberts Ogle posits that Augustine's elucidation of signs (*signa*) and their significance for both the interpreter and the interpreted, as expounded in *De doctrina christiana* 1–3, serves as the foundation for understanding Augustine's contrasting interpretations of the world as exemplified in his concept of the two cities, as discussed in her work V. Roberts Ogle (2021), p. 121. For a broader approach to *uti* and *frui* in *doctr. chr.*, and scholarship on it, see Dupont (2004), pp. 475–506.

42　　*doctr. chr.* 2.40.60 (CC 32.73). This passage deals with the good use Christians can make of the profane sciences, just as the Israelites at the time of the exodus took gold and silver and made good use of them, unlike the Egyptians who used them for the worship of their gods. Christians are permitted to adopt pagan institutions and make good use of them.

43　　*doctr. chr.* 2.41.62 (76). Taking over and using earthly goods and institutions, including earthly peace, should be carried out with prudence, i.e., without pride and with charity.

44　　*ciu.* 19.26.

45　　*Gn. litt.* 11.15.20 (CSEL 28/1.347, trans. is ours). *De Genesi ad litteram* was completed in the years 414–415.

46　　*Gn. litt.* 11.15.20 (348–349).

47　　*Gn. litt.* 11.15.20 (348).

48　　*Gn. litt.* 11.15.20 (348).

49　　Markus (1970), p. 10. Cf. Marrou (1950), pp. 43f., 72. Also Fontaine (1988), p. 56f.

50　　See Schmidt (1985), p. 83.

51　　*ciu.* 14.28 (CC 48.451; trans. Dyson (1998), p. 632). The passage in question, which marks the conclusion of the anti-Pelagian digressions in Book 14 of *De ciuitate Dei*, can be dated to 418. It is noteworthy that this section is characterized by reflections on the doctrine of original sin, infused with insights from Augustine's position in the Pelagian controversy, and delves into the overarching theme of contrasting modes of living, namely, living in accordance with the spirit versus living in accordance with the flesh. See Lancel (1999), p. 562. Both cities, and their loves, reflect the "two aspects of the human condition which revolve around the question of the Fall"; see Dougherty (1990), p. 207.

52　　*ciu.* 14.28 (451). Cf. Lauras and Rondet (1953), p. 146; Fontaine (1988), p. 62.

53 *ciu.* 12.1 (355). Cf. *ench.* 29 (CC 46.65).
    Augustine's discernment of the angelic or demonic inhabitants of the celestial realms in his seminal work *De ciuitate Dei* appears to be a development that follows after a meticulous examination of the creation narrative in Genesis. The reference to angels as belonging to both the earthly cities, as found in his earlier work, *De Genesi ad litteram*, is dated back to 415. In contrast, the mention of angels in *De ciuitate Dei* 12, which pertains to the heavenly cities, is dated after 418. Augustine's earlier depictions of the two cities, in terms of their inhabitants, solely focus on their earthly denizens, highlighting a discernible evolution in his theological insights over time.

54 *ciu.* 12.9 (364). The body and soul, vitiated by the fall, will then be healed. Augustine's concept of restoration, as depicted in books 11–22 of *ciu.*, serves as a crucial backbone for his theology of history. Augustine sees four main dimensions of restoration: the restoration of body and soul, the restoration of the predestined number of saints, the restoration of virtues and morals, and the restoration of faith and hope. Augustine's theology of history revolves around God's plan for the redemption of true Christians, the universal restoration of body and soul, and the eternal suffering of evil people. Augustine draws inspiration from biblical narratives to describe the sacred history of the city of God, with Christ serving as the restorative agent and medium, and as humankind's model for moral restoration. Augustine's view is that the history of God and God's people centers on restoration, with history being predestined by God, based on Scripture, centered on Christ, and oriented towards a goal. Augustine asserts that the two cities have opposite trajectories, and God's restorative action does not proceed in cycles, but progresses linearly through history. Furthermore, the restoration of the body and soul is an irreversible process. Dupont and Chan (2016), pp. 55–78. See also: Mommsen (1952), pp. 346–74.

55 For the theme of death and mortality in *ciu.*, and a review of scholarship on the topic, see Dupont (2021), pp. 23–48.

56 *ciu.* 11.33 (353).

57 *trin.* 12.9.14 (CC 50.368).

58 *ciu.* 19.17 (685).

59 *ciu.* 19.17 (685).

60 *ciu.* 19.17 (685). Cf. Verheijen (1987), pp. 171–72, 176. Compare Lauras (1954), p. 150.

61 J. Von Heyking proposes that for Augustine, politics not only serves as a natural good, but also functions as a means to fulfill humanity's yearning for unity, albeit incompletely; in fact, politics is humanity's highest practical activity. Von Heyking (2001), pp. 3–5.

62 *ciu.* 15.4 (457). This misery stems from the innate human tendency towards sensual satisfaction, which, when fixated on earthly peace as the sole aim, intensifies that misery by the inevitable addition of war.

63 *ciu.* 15.4 (CC 48.456). Earthly goods are good, but not if higher goods are neglected on their account. Earthly peace is good, but imperfect, because it is not everlasting. Earthly peace becomes deadly when it causes pride.

64 *ciu.* 19.17 (CC 48.683). The earthly city and the city of God both use earthly goods, but do so for distinct purposes. Both pursue earthly peace and abide by earthly laws in pursuit of this peace. Despite its diverse citizenry, the city of God respects earthly institutions for the sake of earthly peace, but its ultimate goal differs from that of the earthly city: to enjoy God and one another in God. While the earthly city worships multiple gods, the city of God believes in a single God and, thus, has no religious union with the earthly city. Compare Verheijen (1987), pp. 178, 182. See also Lavere (1983).

65 *ciu.* 19.12 (675). As social creatures, humans naturally seek connection with others and universally desire peace. Even those who commit harmful acts cannot deny this inherent desire for peace, although they may pursue it by dominating and subjugating others—a manifestation of pride that ignores the fundamental equality of all people before God.

66 *ciu.* 19.13 (679).

67 *ciu.* 19.12 (678).

68 For earthly peace as a temporary good, see, i.a., *en. Ps.* 136.3.

69 *ciu.* 15.4 (456). According to Augustine, it would be inaccurate to claim that the things desired by the earthly city are not valuable. Even though the earthly city may pursue earthly peace for the sake of lesser goods, possessing them still brings about a better condition for that city. Therefore, the earthly city seeks to attain such peace through war.

70 *ciu.* 19.26 (696): "A people estranged from God, therefore, must be wretched; yet even such a people as this loves a peace of its own, which is not to be despised. It will not, indeed, possess it in the end, because it does not make good use of it before the end" (Dyson 1998, pp. 961–62).

71 Cf. *ciu.* 15.4 (456), *ciu.* 19.26 (696). Robert Dodaro has provided a defense of Augustine's interest in the Christian statesman, who deliberately governs earthly affairs with a focus on eternal ends. For Dodaro, this responsibility goes beyond simply balancing ecclesial and political commitments. Rather, the Christian statesman undertakes a theological transformation of political virtues, which serves Christian objectives as well as the temporal interests of the earthly city. According to Dodaro's analysis, Augustine does not argue that the transformation of these political virtues, which occurs when one's sole desire is God, would lead public officials to neglect the pursuit of social goods, such as peace and security. Rather, these virtues, when understood in the context of the heavenly city, change expectations about the nature of the peace and security that should characterize the earthly city. (Dodaro 2003, p. 297).

72 *ciu.* 19.12 (678).

73 *ciu.* 19.12 (678).

74 *ciu.* 19.12 (677).

75 See above: *uera rel.* 65 (CC 32.230).

76 *ciu.* 19.27 (CC 48.697). Here, Augustine describes earthly peace as imperfect because justice is imperfect. God rules over people, and reason over the body, but because vices reign, this rule is not always respected.

77 *ciu.* 16.11 (CC 48.513).

78 *ciu.* 1.35 (CC 47.34). Cf. *Gn. litt.* 11.15.20. For Augustine's use of this notion, see Lamirande (1996), pp. 21–22.

79 Fontaine (1988), pp. 62–64. Markus (1970), p. 59; see further p. 133. The text of *ciu.* 1.35 was edited by Augustine around 412 with the struggle against the Donatists still fresh in his mind; see Lancel (1999), p. 403.

80 Marrou (1957); Lauras and Rondet (1953), p. 156.

81 See *ciu.* 19.17 for the city of God's obedience to the laws of the earthly city, but with the restriction that these may not conflict with religion. For a discussion of a narrow or broad interpretation of the latter *caveat*, see Roberts Ogle (2021), p. 136, n. 37.

82 *ciu.* 15.5 (457).

83 Fontaine (1988), p. 61. Marrou (1950), p. 77.

84 *ciu.* 19.27 (697–698).

85 *ciu.* 15.4 (456). For Augustine's reflections on how the earthly Church, as a 'pilgrim city', bears co-responsibility in pursuing and fostering this earthly peace, see Dupont (2020), pp. 71–94.

86 Cf. Markus (1986), pp. 120–22.

87 *ciu.* 19.27 (698).

88 *ciu.* 15.5 (458). See also *ciu.* 19.13 (680) and n. 93. Bruning (1991), p. 634. On the competition caused by the limited earthly goods, see MacKinnon (1995), p. 340.

89 *ciu.* 15.5 (457).

90 *ciu.* 15.3 (456). Cf. *uirg.* 29.29 (CSEL 41.267). In particular, this *caritas* should be ordered. Humankind should respect an *ordo amoris* (*order of love*). Augustine's interpretation of Gen 6:1–4 in *ciu.* 15.18–23 highlights the importance of the *ordo amoris*, or right order of love, as a key characteristic of the city of God. To be considered ordered, love must meet certain criteria. The co-existence of the earthly city and the city of God in a mixed environment has resulted in some citizens of the city of God being assimilated into the earthly city. The story of Gen 6:1–4 teaches that ordered love distinguishes the cities and that there is a hierarchy of goodness to which one must adhere in order to respect the *ordo amoris*. Venken and Dupont (2022), pp. 371–90.

91 *ciu.* 19.17 (685).

92 *ciu.* 19.13 (CC 48.680). This passage suggests that the name 'Babylon' may represent not only the immoral earthly city, but also other physical cities in the world, much like how the expression *ciuitas terrena* refers to not only self-centered communities, but also the broader earthly context. For the shift from Babylon to Jerusalem, see Lee (2016), pp. 157–80. Lauras (1954), p. 149. Cf. *en. Ps.* 136.2 (CC 40.1965).

93 *ciu.* 19.17 (684). Marrou (1968), p. 142.

94 *ciu.* 19.26 (696).

95 *ciu.* 19.17 (685).

96 Duchrow (1970), pp. 266, 285f.

97 *ciu.* 15.4 (456). Cf. *ciu.* 19.26 (696). According to Fortin's interpretation, Augustine's theology does not aim to justify or legitimize the established political order, but instead directs Christianity towards a goal beyond politics, in a realm beyond this world. M. Hollingworth reports that Augustine highlights the inherent limitations of humans as rational beings. The inhabitants of the pilgrim city exist within this world, but their allegiance lies outside it. Through their love for God and willingness to renounce their former lives in this world, they attain independence. According to Augustine, human happiness cannot be found in this world, since the language of perfection and the certainties of virtuous action originate from another realm and could not have been conceived as reflections upon this world. As a result, the Christian citizen, and particularly the Christian ruler, are not bound to describe their activities in terms of this world. Augustine contends that Christianity confers a surprising flexibility and freedom of movement upon the state. Fortin (1972); Hollingworth (2010), p. 208. See also Duchrow (1970), p. 266, p. 278 (n. 332).

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