INTRODUCTION

A. Aim and Scope

Many scholars over the years have noted correspondences of thought and theology between Jonathan Edwards, the eighteenth century Puritan theologian, and Augustine, the fifth century Bishop of Hippo in late antiquity. Edwards has been dubbed the "American Augustine" (See Appendix A) but as yet, no-one has made a serious attempt to identify why Edwards should be given this appellation. This study will show that these correspondences are so extensive in scope and texture, so remarkably similar in feeling, style and even vocabulary, that the title "American Augustine" is amply justified. But how is this duplication of Augustine a millennium and a half later in another world to be explained?

It is my contention that metaphor of the "heart" is the most suitable heuristic device to explain the correspondences in thought and theology that justify such an appellation. My study demonstrates that there is an all-pervasive aesthetic-affectional tendency in their theology which gives rise to an emphasis on the heart as the centre of the interior life. The concept of the heart finds its most explicit articulation in their speculations on the centrality of the doctrine of the Trinity in conversion and the spiritual life. I argue that the hermeneutic of the heart is crucial to understanding their preference for an aesthetic-Trinitarian foundation to conversion, spiritual epistemology, and aesthetics, the key themes I address in this study. Drawing on his own insights and experiences of God as triune, Edwards places a high priority on the conversion of the heart, knowledge of God in the heart, and love for the beauty of holiness in the heart as the prerequisites for Christian spirituality. In so doing he displays a remarkable affinity with Augustine in identifying and promoting the place of the heart in Christian thought and experience. Since my emphasis is on the aesthetic, experiential nature of the Trinitarian foundation they ascribe to the relationship between God and the heart of the believer I have not discussed their soteriology, ecclesiology, biblical hermeneutics or eschatology.

In many respects Jonathan Edwards and Augustine are both "big-picture" theologians, comparable giants, with a recent biographer suggesting that Edwards drew on his Augustinian heritage to explain how history, both universal and particular, is "an

extension of the intratrinitarian love."[1] Etienne Gilson, a foremost exponent of Augustine's Christian philosophy speaks of the "Augustinian family" for the distinctive way in which members of this family reconcile reason and revelation. Gilson's comment on the Augustinian ideal of Christian wisdom could have been written with Edwards in mind: "From the fourth century after Christ until our own days, there have always been men to uphold, or revive, the Augustinian ideal of Christian wisdom. All members of the Augustinian family resemble one another by their common acceptance of the fundamental principle "unless you believe, you shall not understand."[2] Belief for both Edwards and Augustine was a matter of the heart.

Somewhat surprisingly, there is a lacuna in Edwards' reading of Augustine and yet Edwards is one of the most articulate and valuable post-Enlightenment exponents of Augustine's theology. It is testament to the robustness of the Augustinian tradition that Edwards and Augustine can be bracketed together as theologians with the same spiritual sensibilities. Edwards' reception of the Augustinian, Western Christian spiritual-theological tradition was mediated through Calvin, Edwards' Puritan forbears, and the Cambridge Platonists. The inheritance of a received tradition, however, does not explain the really striking similarities in Edwards' empathetic identification with Augustine's sense of the immediacy of the experience of divine love and beauty.[3]

The doctrine of the Trinity and the concept of "intratrinitarian love" fascinated both Edwards and Augustine who saw the believer's love for God and inclusion in the divine life after conversion anchored in the perichoretic love of the Trinity. Their Trinitarian theology emphasises the experiential dimension of divine love in the heart as the *leitmotiv* of the spiritual life. I argue that this is the basis for claiming a definite family resemblance between the fifth century Catholic Bishop of Hippo, the "Doctor of Grace"[4] as he is sometimes known, and the eighteenth century Protestant, Puritan "theologian of the heart"[5]

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[1] George Marsden, *Jonathan Edwards: A Life* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2003), p. 488.
[2] Etienne Gilson, *Reason and Revelation in the Middle Ages* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1935), p. 21.
[3] I am not arguing in this dissertation that Edwards "re-discovered" Augustine and then promoted his theology. Far from it as I will demonstrate. What can be asserted is that Edwards' masterful synthesis of Reformed theology, Lockean epistemology and Neoplatonic influences gave rise to an aesthetic vision of the Trinitarian being and beauty of God that set him apart from his contemporaries and is prefigured in Augustine.
[4] See for example the website for the *Catholic Encyclopedia*, www.newadvent.org/cathen. See also Thomas F. Martin, *Our Restless Heart: The Augustinian Tradition*, (New York: Orbis Books, 2003), p. 37.
[5] Terrence Erdt, *Jonathan Edwards: Art and the Sense of the Heart*, (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1980).

beyond the obvious fact that both inhabit the same theological space and despite the fact that each man developed his Trinitarian theology within a separate *Weltanschauung.*

Their works reveal a preoccupation with the affectivity of the believer's response to the Incarnation, life, death, and resurrection of Jesus Christ. Edwards' frequently drawn imagery of the heart's ardent longing for the beauty of God's holiness echoes Augustine's passionate yearning to partake of the divine love. Here is no Stoic wise man, nor is the Platonic ascent of the soul truly reflective of either man's experience of God or blueprint for the spiritual life. The end of creation for Edwards and Augustine is the return of the heart to God who is to be enjoyed, delighted in and loved. The passionate, loving response of the heart to the divine call paves the way to the apprehension of religious truth.

Another major area of common interest lies in their appreciation for philosophy. Traces of Neoplatonic thought are readily visible in both theologies with similar tendencies towards detachment from the world, attention to the inner life of the heart or soul, and the return of the heart to communion with God as the highest good [6] The Enlightenment sundered theology from philosophy, but Edwards continued in the pre-Enlightenment (i.e. Augustinian) tradition of using philosophy to illuminate theology. Nowhere is this more evident than in the central question to be addressed in this thesis, namely the relationship between the heart and the Trinitarian being of God in their respective theologies.

B. Convergences of Thought and Theology

Warranting investigation are significant convergences that can be grouped into the following categories:

- The pre-eminence of the doctrines of original sin, grace, and redemption by the glorious Trinity in their apologetics.
- Their spiritual epistemology and its foundation in the heart. Experiential knowledge of God is expressed in the language and thought forms of the affections. Their

[6] For the influence of Neoplatonic thought in Augustine see John J. O'Meara, "The Neoplatonism of Saint Augustine," in *Neoplatonism and Christian Thought,* Studies in Neoplatonism: Ancient and Modern, vol. III, Dominic J. O'Meara, ed., (Norfolk: International Society for Neoplatonic Studies, 1982), pp. 34-41; Armstrong, A. Hilary. "St Augustine and Christian Platonism," The Saint Augustine Lecture 1966, accessed online at www.augustinian.villanova.edu/Augustinian. For evidence of the influence of Neoplatonism in Edwards see Daniel Walker Howe, "The Cambridge Platonists of Old England and the Cambridge Platonists of New England," in *Church History*, vol. 57, no. 4, (Dec., 1988), pp. 470-485; Norman Fiering, *Jonathan Edwards's Moral Thought in its British Context*, Institute of Early American History and Culture (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1981), pp. 329ff.; Douglas J. Elwood, *The Philosophical Theology of Jonathan Edwards* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1960), pp. 12-32.

opposition to Pelagian/ Arminian views because of a firm conviction of the sovereignty of God, original sin and a voluntarist psychology of the will. The conversion of the heart, which in both cases is identified with the will and with love, is the *sine qua non* of the Christian life.

- In the realm of the emotions or the affections; they enjoyed similar aesthetic experiences of God which led to an exalted view of the glory, beauty and excellency of the Triune God.
- There are definite Neoplatonic influences that surface in their Trinitarianism in what amounts to a remarkable synthesis of Christian revelation, affective language and secular thought.

Their hermeneutic of the heart is based on the heart's identification with the unity of the understanding, the will and the affections in the apprehension of spiritual truth. It will be shown that in both theologies, incorporation into the divine Trinitarian love through grace unites the faculties so that the believer is enabled to love the beauty of the immanent Trinity and understand the work of the economic Trinity in redemption as revealed in the Scriptures. It will be argued that in so doing, Edwards, like Augustine before him, resisted the temptation to bifurcate the intellect and will in the spiritual life. Contrary to the prevailing tendency in their day to elevate reason over the affections as the impetus behind actions, neither man regard the inner life as an aggregate of faculties pitted against each other, although both men privilege the will or love as the dominant impulse in conversion and the Christian life. The experience of divine love overshadows the dictates of fallen human reason to unite the faculties in recognition of the divine redemptive drama. The metaphor of the heart as the unifying core of the spiritual life is one favoured by both men.

Like his predecessor, Edwards had a mighty intellect and shared with Augustine a passionate temperament which ensured that the heart was never going to be far from his theological concerns. Their fascination with the heart as the essence of the inner life in conversion and the spiritual life explains why Edwards' works have such an Augustinian "feel" to them. Edwards is much closer to Augustine than most earlier theologians, even to the extent of writing extensively on similar doctrines (the Trinity, grace and free will) and presenting them with the same intellectual rigor. It is not an overstatement to suggest that Edwards is Augustine *redivivus*.

The prominance accorded the heart in their respective Trinitarian theologies is seen in a mystical sensibility that shapes and informs their ideas on participation in God. So Thomas Chalmers wrote in admiration of Edwards, "I have long esteemed him as the greatest of theologians, combining in a degree that is quite unexampled, the profoundly intellectual with the devotedly spiritual and sacred..."[7] Chalmers could well have been speaking of Augustine, because the combination of strong intellect with a passionate spirituality[8] was also characteristic of Augustine as his first biographer Possidius testifies: "For he (Augustine) was not only a teacher learned in the law of the kingdom of heaven..." he was also "one of those in whom is fulfilled the text "So speak and so act"."[9] They share a theological aesthetic which Hans Urs von Balthasar characterizes as one that has as its centre "the glory of God's revelation."[10] Edwards and Augustine knew this sense of the divine glory in the heart.

In exploring their vision of the importance of the doctrine of the Trinity in relation to the place of the heart in Christian conversion and experience, God in human life, and human life in God, the perichoresis of Creator and creature, it becomes apparent that for both Edwards and Augustine, the beatific vision is the end of creation, the *summum bonum*, the truly happy life. The divine movement of love is expressed as both immanent Trinity

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[7] Thomas Chalmers, in Iain Murray, *Jonathan Edwards: A New Biography* (London: The Banner of Truth Trust, 1987), pp. 464-465.

[8] While the tern "spirituality" is attached to a number of different belief systems, Bernard McGinn gives a helpful definition in *Christian Spirituality: Origins to the Twelfth Century,* eds. Bernard McGinn and John Meyendorff in collaboration with Jean Leclercq (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1986), p. xv. He writes: "Christian spirituality is the lived experience of Christian belief in both its general and more specialized forms. It is possible to distinguish spirituality from doctrine in that it concentrates not on faith itself, but on the reaction that faith arouses in religious consciousness and practice." A further dimension to spirituality that pertains to the theology of both men is that Christian spirituality is "personal participation in the mystery of Christ begun in faith sealed by baptism into the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ, was nourished by sharing in the Lord's Supper which the community celebrated regularly in memory of him who was truly present wherever his followers gathered..."in *A History of Christian Spirituality,* eds. Louis Bouyer, Jean Leclercq, and Francois Vandenbrouche, vol. 1 (New York: Seabury, 1982), p. 2. This is not to say that either Augustine or Edwards would have used the term as currently understood. "Piety" was used by both theologians to refer to a holy life, i.e. one characterized by prayer, fasting, church attendance, participation in the sacraments, love of neighbour and praise of God. Piety and spirituality are often used interchangeably to refer to the outworkings of faith in the life of the believer. Piety has a particularly Protestant flavour and emphasizes the individual's personal relationship with God. Pietism is characterized by a recognition of the need for repentance and faith translated into a conversion experience, a heart-felt devotion to Jesus Christ, and an inward assurance of salvation. It is part of experiential religion which places great stress on the importance of the heart in faith and holy living. C. C. Goen, Editor's Introduction to *The Great Awakening, Works,* 4, pp. 1-4.

[9] Possidius, "The Life of St Augustine," in *The Western Fathers: Being the Lives of Martin of Tours, Ambrose, Augustine of Hippo, Honoratus of Arles, and Germanus of Auxerre* trans. F. R. Hoare (New York: The Cathedral Library, Harper and Row, 1954), p. 244.

[10] Hans Urs von Balthasar, *The Glory of the Lord: A Theological Aesthetics*, vol. 2: Studies in Theological Style: Clerical Styles (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1984), p. 13.

acting *ad intra* in the ceaseless giving and receiving of intratrinitarian love, and as economic Trinity acting *ad extra* in the creation and redemption of the elect.

In addition to a shared Trinitarian aesthetic, their vision of the Christian life as one of the heart's pilgrimage through the wilderness of earthly snares interspersed with evanescent glimpses from an illumined heart of the divine love and beauty is as compelling today as when first articulated in their respective contexts. Their insights into the relationship between religious psychology, spiritual epistemology and Trinitarian love bridge the divide between the world of late antiquity and the post-modern era, obviating the necessarily arbitrary categories of 'ancient', 'medieval' or 'modern' history.

My dissertation demonstrates that Edwards is indeed the "American Augustine" because of the way in which he refined and restated Augustine's heart-centred hermeneutic of the Trinity and the spiritual life. This thesis, therefore, seeks not only to catalogue and explain the restatements, remarkably copious as they are, but also to identify the refinements which Edwards made in Augustinian theology. Given their widely different intellectual contexts, differences will not be surprising, of course, but they too need to be recognized and explained.

C. Theologians of the Heart

When it comes to religious discourse about the knowledge of God, I argue that both Edwards and Augustine stand in that tradition of Christian spirituality known as "the religion of the heart" movement, alongside such luminaries as Gregory of Nyssa, St Bonaventure, Bernard of Clairvaux, Richard of St Victor, Francis of Assisi, Pascal, Kierkegaard, and Schleiermacher.[11] The "dialectic of the heart" is the key to Augustine's and Edwards' spiritual epistemology and Trinitarian focus. Both defend the objectivity of transcendent revelation over reason alone and promote rightly ordered love as the dominant affection in the regenerate heart.[12]

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[11] Jaroslav Pelikan, *The Christian Tradition: A History of the Development of Doctrine*, vol. 5, "Christian Doctrine and Modern Culture (since 1700)".(Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1989). Pelikan devotes a chapter to "The Theology of the Heart," in which he states that there was a resurgence of interest in heart-religion in the eighteenth century to counter-balance the influence of the Enlightenment. Both Edwards and Augustine receive a mention as advocates of heart religion. See Ch. 3, pp. 118-173.

[12] Vernon J. Burke, *Joy in St. Augustine's Ethics* (Villanova: Villanova Univ. Press, 1979), pp. 35-36. In his discussion on *uti* and *frui*, Burke summarises Augustine's love terminology which he claims is "quite complex". He distinguishes between *amor, dilectio, and caritas*, which have a positive connotation; and *voluptas, libido* and *cupiditas* which pertain to sensual satisfaction. *Dilectatio* means psychic delight and includes both positive and negative overtones.

Ted Campbell identifies the distinctive element of the "religion of the heart" stream of Christian spirituality as one in which the sinful divide between God and humanity is overcome in affective or heartfelt experience. Such heartfelt experiences are "typically, in experiences of repentance (sorrow over sin) and faith (personal trust in God), but sometimes in more vivid experiences of personal illumination."[13] Campbell's assessment of heart-religion applies to both Edwards and Augustine, for whom religion has to do with the inner nature of man with the treasure on which the heart is set and with the love which supplies life with a purpose. Their radical commitment to heart religion is buttressed by an apologetic characterized by intellectual rigour, reasoned argument and great passion for God. The phrase "the reasoning heart"[14] has been used to depict the process of discernment commonly applied in making moral decisions. It also applies to the sense in which Edwards and Augustine forged the link between spiritual epistemology and the heart.

Recognition of their spiritual and epistemological sympathies is cause for comment from I. Woodbridge Riley who notes Edwards' frequent comparison with Augustine for his advocacy of the "interior or hidden life which results in an intimate union between the individual and the absolute." In Woodbridge Riley's estimation, Edwards is a "fervent exponent of the dialectic of the heart," best summarized in the words on his memorial

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[13] Ted A. Campbell, *The Religion of the Heart: A Study of European Religious Life in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Columbia: Univ. of South Carolina Press, 1991), p. 3. Campbell proposes that there have been four major forms of religious life since the emergence of Western Christianity from which the religion of the heart movement emerged as a distinctive alternative. Broadly speaking, these traditions were those of the Sacraments and the Word, the Moral Rigorists, the Ascetical Mystical, and the Advocates of Divine Love. While he acknowledges that there is overlap amongst all four traditions, Campbell suggests that the religion of the heart movement represented a movement away from a "sacramental" form of religious life to one that was "mythical." The emphasis in spirituality shifted from attention focused on sacred persons, places and rituals, to stress the sacred words which told the Christian "myth." Of the four strands of religious life, Campbell favours the last category with its emphasis on the importance of personal encounter with the divine through affective experience as the matrix for the religion of the heart movement. Campbell also suggests that devotees of the "religion of the heart" movement were not averse to ascetic discipline as a means to the affective experience of God, and that "sacraments, moral discipline, and meditative techniques were relegated to the status of means to a greater end, namely, the personal and affective experiences of God." This is certainly true for Edwards and Augustine.
Campbell's analysis of religion of the heart movements is centred on developments in this tradition originating in Europe in the seventeenth century. This might seem to preclude any grounds for including Augustine's late antiquity spirituality of the heart with Edwards' post-Reformation, post-Enlightenment spirituality in that stream of religious thought. However, the similarities in their understanding and expression of the nexus between the will and the affections in their Trinitarian spirituality of the heart are so pronounced as to designate Edwards Augustine's heir in championing an affective spirituality.

[14] William C. Spohn, "The Reasoning Heart: An American Approach to Christian Discernment," in *Theological Studies*, vol. 44, no. 1, (Mar. 1983), pp. 30-52. Spohn argues that moral decisions are not made purely on the basis of rational judgments according to practical syllogisms; there is always an element of discernment based on judgments of affectivity as opposed to judgments of rationality. He suggests that such decisions occur at a personal rather than a public level, but that boundaries imposed in the public domain such as the Bible or church, set the parameters for action.

window: *Dei cultor mystice amantissimus.*[15] The heart-centredness of Edwards' spirituality is a reflection of Augustine's view that, "The heart is the organ of faith and so 'to believe' for Augustine means to discover and respond to the presence of God deep within the human heart."[16]

A further point of convergence is their propensity to describe religious consciousness using analogies drawn from the senses of sight and taste. In their writings, both men describe the experience of God in the heart in the rhetoric of the senses to illustrate the intensity of the experience. Similar experiences of kindred spiritual realities evoke comparable vocabularies in their attempts to articulate the relationship between the affections, the will and the understanding in arriving at knowledge of God as Trinity. They describe conversion life in heart language illustrative of an aesthetic sensibility which is designed to convey the depth of the inward transformation each one experienced.

In mapping the terrain of the spiritual life in all its complexity, Augustine's and Edwards' analysis of the nature of heart religion is intrinsically connected with the psychology of the will, with the religious affections, with desire and delight. Delight, desire and love are the well- springs of human life and important themes in their spiritual vocabulary.[17] The emphasis on the conversion of love in their Trinitarian theology is reflected in the striking affinities to be found in their shared spiritual vocabulary which is based on similar notions of divine love and beauty. Key themes that recur throughout their Trinitarian writings are love, joy, happiness, beauty, glory, sweetness, holiness, excellency, emanation and effulgence. Starting from their own experiences of God as love and beauty, they urge their audiences to look beyond the physical realm to the true reality of the beauties of the spiritual world where none is more beautiful than God the Trinity.

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[15] I. Woodbridge Riley, "Jonathan Edwards" in *Critical Essays on Jonathan Edwards,* ed., William J. Scheick (Boston: G. K. Hall & Co., 1980), p. 105. "Most loving worshipper of God in a mystical way."

[16] Martin, *Our Restless Heart*, p. 38.

[17] Augustine, "Sermon 21," trans. Edmund Hill, ed. John E. Rotelle, in *The Works of St Augustine: A Translation for the Twenty-First Century*, Pt. 3, vol. 2, *Sermons 20-50 on the Old Testament*, (New York: New City Press, 1990), pp. 30-31. "Love and he will live with you....Love is what we love with. What do we love? A good beyond words, a good that does good, a good that is the creator of all goods. Let him delight you from whom you have whatever else delights you." Henceforth known as *WSA* followed by vol. no. and page no.

Similarly Edwards writes: "Jesus Christ is infinitely the most beautiful and glorious object in the world. When the soul is enlightened by Christ to behold him, the soul is greatly delighted with the sight of him, ... for Jesus Christ is an infinite excellency and beauty." Jonathan Edwards, "Christ, the Light of the World," in *The Works of Jonathan Edwards,* vol. 10, *Sermons and Discourses*, 1720-1723, ed. Wilson H. Kimnach (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1992), p. 539. Henceforth known as Title, Works, followed by vol. no. and page no.

At the centre of their spiritual consciousness and religious imagination is the mystery of the mediator Jesus Christ. All of their endeavors to fathom the mystery rest on the experience of knowing the "human divinity and the divine humanity" (*humana divinitas et divina humanitas Christi)*[18] in the heart. They were both literally overcome by the sheer gratuity of God's grace and captivated "by glories half unveiled, whereon to set our heart of hearts and eyes of our desire."[19]

D. Methodological Issues

Before any valid comparisons between Edwards and Augustine can be articulated, there are two substantial methodological issues to consider. The first is widely differing contexts, and the second is the difficulty of establishing causation.

i. Historical Context

A disturbing hindrance to any sort of comparison is the great distance in time which separates them. The differences in context do not favour a direct lineal descent of ideas to explain the similarities in their Trinitarian thought and theology. Edwards and Augustine stand either side of the great divide of the Reformation and the Enlightenment, and yet as B. B. Warfield observes "the Reformation, inwardly considered, was just the ultimate triumph of Augustine's doctrine of grace over Augustine's doctrine of the church."[20] Edwards certainly recapitulates Augustine's doctrine of grace without endorsing all facets of his doctrine of the church.

One other consideration relative to historical context in this thesis is the nature of historical writing when dealing with the philosophical theology of two theologians from different eras. Of necessity, the discussion of the parallels and differences will appear in the text, while the historical matrix which gave rise to them will often be explained in footnotes. The ideas are often similar but their historical contexts quite

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[18] "Sermon 47:21," in *WSA*, 111/2, p. 316.

[19] Christina Rosetti, "Sonnett 11," in the sequence "Later Life," in *Poems of Christina Rossetti*, ed. William M. Rossetti (London: Macmillan, 1905), p. 302.

[20] B.B. Warfield, Quoted in the Forward to *Augustine Through the Ages,* ed. Allan D. Fitzgerald (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1999), xiv. John Sullivan gives a rather more negative evaluation of the great divide based on his perception that the Reformers view of the corruption of human nature reduces humanity to the point where any reference to the divine image redundant. "Both the Renaissance man and the Reformation man, and the latter more irrevocably than the former, are divorced from every stream of Christian tradition, patristic, scholastic, and mystic." John Edward Sulllivan, *The Image of God: The Doctrine of St. Augustine and Its Influence* (Dubuque: The Priory Press, 1963), p. 296.

dissimilar. One exception in this case is the Pelagian/Arminian debates, which although separated by some thirteen hundred years were stirred up by questions surrounding the sovereignty of God and the notion of freedom of the will. In the history of Christian doctrine, these are perennial questions so it is not surprising that Edwards and Augustine attempted to address them. The common point of reference is their confrontation with "a series of central ideas" thrown up within their respective historical contexts.[21]

As Edwards sought to reconcile his Trinitarian thinking with the new scientific and philosophical movements in the Enlightenment era, so had Augustine sought to reconcile his Trinitarian explorations with the highest forms of secular learning in late antiquity. The end result was a shared devotion to heart- religion. Insofar as context is concerned, I argue that the relationship between these two theologians is one of spiritual affinity rather than one of simple theological dependence. By "spiritual affinity" I mean that the link between Edwards and Augustine is in the main, one of a shared aesthetic sensibility of heart-knowledge of the triune being of God, although Edwards did come from a tradition that had been largely shaped by Augustinianism, and this may account for some of the similarities in their thinking.[22]

This study of their understanding of the metaphor of the heart as seen through the prism of their Trinitarian theology reveals some striking parallels which are arguably, supra-historical. I suggest that they redress the imbalance posited by those who favoured the intellect over the affections in religious epistemology. There is no dichotomy in their heart-religion. Cognition and affectivity combine in their reinstatement of the importance of the emotions in the spiritual life.[23] I would also suggest that there is a distinctly "modern" nuance to this emphasis on the heart and

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[21] Richard A. Muller, *Post-Reformation Reformed Dogmatics: The Rise and Development of Reformed Orthodoxy, ca. 1520-ca. 1725*, vol. 4, *The Trinity of God* (Grand Rapids: Michigan, Baker Academics, 2003), pp. 382-397. Of the doctrine of the Trinity, Muller says "there is a striking continuity of an Augustinian or Western line of argument, mediated through the medieval scholastics, codifies in the 4th Lateran Council and the Council of Florence, respected by the Reformers, and developed as well by the Reformed orthodox...patterns of definition of the Trinity remain constant."

[22] Perry Miller, one of Edwards' staunchest supporters discusses the idea of spiritual descent in several works on the Puritans. See Miller's *The New England Mind: The Seventeenth Century* (1939; Reprint, Beacon Paperback, Harvard University Press, 1961); "From Edwards to Emerson," in *Errand into the Wilderness* (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1964), pp. 184-185.

[23] Neither man uses the term "emotions" in its more modern sense. Edwards speaks of the "affections" and Augustine of the "affects/affections." Both Edwards and Augustine distinguish between the affections and passions.

the affections in their spirituality which transcends the limitations of time and place. They are participants in an on-going conversation about the role of affectivity in the religious life, and their fundamental catholicity is witness to a trajectory of Trinitarian thought and heart-religion that continues to the present day. Despite the intervening centuries, they ask and attempt to answer the same questions about the nature of Christian religious experience. These questions then become the starting point for comparisons. How important is religious conversion and what does it mean for the believer? What is the relationship between the heart and the understanding? What is the place of the will or affections in the religious life? How does one know God? What does it mean to be incorporated into the Trinitarian life of God? The correspondences in their answers to the preeminent issues of epistemology and religious experience are striking.

Possessed of an intriguing concept of time Augustine could ask, "Who can lay hold on the heart and give it fixity, so that for some little moment it may be stable, and for a fraction of time may grasp the splendour of a constant eternity?"[24] If the question had been put to Edwards, the answer would have been God the Trinity. Neither Augustine nor Edwards was troubled by history, philosophy or theology written from the vantage point of eternity and from the human perspectives of the fragile heart brought back to stability by a gracious God. Their entire life's work was constrained by the need to bring together their perception of the eternal, loving God of the Bible and the searching, erratic human heart so that even if only momentarily, the heart might be captured by a glimpse of the glory of God, and so be inspired to set out on the journey of faith. It is that shared Trinitarian vision expressed in heart-language which while it subsumes history ultimately transcends it, and is the subject of this thesis.

ii. Edwards' Augustinian Heritage

A second methodological difficulty to be addressed is the paucity of references to Augustine in Edwards' works. It must be acknowledged at the outset that correspondence is not causation, and historical dependence cannot be determined

[24] *Confessions,* XI. 11. 13, trans. Henry Chadwick (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), p. 228. (CCSL, 27, 201). "Quis tenebit illud et figet illud, ut paululum stet et paululum rapiat splendorem semper stantis aeternitatis." Henceforth known as *Confessions,* followed by Book, chapter, paragraph and page number.

solely by linguistic and thematic resemblances. These resemblances do not in themselves warrant a comparison of these two thinkers since there are many other theologians who adhere to the basic tenets of the Christian faith. Any attempt to establish a causal connection between these two disparate theologians seems at best arbitrary and at worst anachronistic or ahistorical. Despite the fundamental agreement on the place of the heart and the affections in their Trinitarian piety, it is nonetheless difficult to argue for a direct transmission of Augustine's theology to Edwards.

It is certain that Edwards knew of Augustine as he mentions him (if only twice!) in his works and "St Austins Conversion" appears as item 21 on page 2of his "Catalogue of Reading."[25] Whether or not he did read the *Confessions* is impossible to verify, although he does quote Augustine via Calvin. Furthermore, it is highly unlikely that Yale would not have possessed some of Augustine's works in view of his esteemed status across the full spectrum of post-Reformation Christian belief.[26]

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[25] Edwards' "Catalogue of Reading" was accessed courtesy of the Jonathan Edwards Centre at Yale Divinity School. It is not clear whether or not he read the *Confessions* as it is not crossed out on the list as appears to be the case with other works read. *Notes on Scripture*, *Works*, 15, p. 408. This reference concerns the dating of the departure of Israel out of Egypt and the death of Joshua.

[26] 7 volumes of *S. Augustini Opera* are listed in the Yale College Library for 1743 under the heading "Divinity: The Fathers." However, it is not known when these books were obtained by the library or if Edwards read them or ever used the College library after leaving Yale. James E. Moody, ed., *Eighteenth-Century Catalogues of the Yale College Library* (Yale University Beinecke Library, 2001), p.A 40. See also Thomas H. Johnson's thorough appraisal of the Catalogue itself in "Jonathan Edward's Background of Reading," in *Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts*, vol. 28 (1930-33), 193-222. There is also a reference to "St Austin" in a quote from Daniel Whitby, Edwards' Anglican opponent, in *Freedom of the Will*, *Works*, 1, p. 295. In "Miscellany" no. 1359, *Works*, 23, pp. 676, 677, 710, 712, Edwards refers to Cudworth's citing of Augustine, drawing on Cudworth's work on Christian references to be found in pagan philosophies. Edwards quotes Cudworth's reference to Augustine's mention of Simplicianus from the *Confessions* VIII. 2. 3, p. 134, in the context of Marius Victorinus' translation of the Neoplatonists Plotinus and Porphyry. The last of Cudworth's citations of Augustine to be included in the "Miscellany," is a reference to Varro and is probably taken from *The City of God*, IV. 9. See *The City of God, trans.* H. Bettenson, (Penguin Classics, London: Penguin Books, 1984), p. 144. Henceforth known as *The City of God,* followed by Book, chapter and page references. This certainly affirms that Edwards had heard of Augustine, even if only second hand. Colin Cruikshank, *Saint Augustine in Early New England*, (Unpublished Dissertation, Univ. of Maine, 1996), p. 130. "The Augustinian element in their (Puritan) doctrine was not unlike the Augustinian books that inhabited early New England libraries." In her analysis of Puritan sermons in Seventeenth Century New England, Babette May Levy remarks that Augustine "is referred to with some frequency" so that would have been another source of Augustine's thought for Edwards. Babette May Levy, *Preaching in the First Half Century of New England History*, (New York: Russell & Russell, 1945), p. 20. Other references to Augustine in New England are on pp. 25, 36 n, 43, 45, 65 n, 70 n, 107, 111, 128, and 129. See also Francis J. Bremer, *The Puritan Experiment: New England Society from Bradford to Edwards*, (Hanover: University Press of New England, 1995), p. 15.
Not all the Reformers favoured Augustine; some expressed reservations about quoting extensively one who was so evidently "Catholic," and at times Augustine was used to proof text completely opposed theological positions. See Robert Dodaro and Michael Questier, "Strategies in Jacobean Polemic: The Use and Abuse of St Augustine in English Theological Controversy," in *Journal of Ecclesiastical*

His theology of grace and predestination was eagerly taken up by many Reformed theologians including Calvin whose theology was disseminated widely in Puritan circles and whose books were in the library at Yale. Furthermore, copies of Augustine's works appeared in the private libraries of many of New England's leading clergy, so a passing familiarity with Augustine's main theological interests could be expected of Edwards.[27]

Peter Theusen is of the opinion that Edwards was so immersed in his battles with the Arminians and Deists that he ignored Patristic and Reformation sources, but Edwards was certainly familiar with the Greek philosophers and some of the other patristic writers through the work of Theopohilus Gale, so the absence of references to Augustine is puzzling.[28] Considering that Edwards was so avowedly anti-Catholic he may have been one of those Puritans reluctant to avail himself directly of Augustine's legacy.

It would seem that Edwards' Augustinianism was mediated through the literature with which he was most conversant. John Calvin, his Reformed followers, and the Puritan divines, many of whom Edwards came in contact with as a student then tutor at Yale figure prominently in his *Catalogue*.[29] One can certainly align

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History, 44, 3, (July 1993). Irean Backus, The Reception of the Church Fathers in the West: from the Carolingians to the Maurists," vols. I and II (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1997).

[27] Colin Cruikshank, *Saint Augustine in Early New England*, (Unpublishled Dissertation, Univ. of Maine, 1996), p. 130. "The Augustinian element in their (Puritan) doctrine was not unlike the Augustinian books that inhabited early New England libraries." In her analysis of Puritan sermons in Seventeenth Century New England, Babette May Levy remarks that Augustine "is referred to with some frequency" so that would have been another source of Augustine's thought for Edwards. Babette May Levy, *Preaching in the First Half Century of New England History*, (New York: Russell & Russell, 1945), p. 20. Other references to Augustine in New England are on pp. 25, 36 n, 43, 45, 65 n, 70 n, 107, 111, 128, and 129. See also Francis J. Bremer, *The Puritan Experiment: New England Society from Bradford to Edwards*, (Hanover: University Press of New England, 1995), p. 15.

[28] Peter Theusen, "The 'Africa Enslavement of Anglo-Saxon Minds': The Beechers as Critics of Augustine" in *Church History*, 72, 3, (Sep. 2003), pp. 569-593. Edwards was exposed to the works of the major Greek and Roman philosophers through reading Theophilus Gale's *Court of the Gentiles. He* quotes extensively from Gale in the later *Miscellanies* when discussing pagan allusions to the Trinity. See for example, no. 1350, "The Necessity of Revelation. Extracts from Deism Revealed," pp. 432-461; No. 1351, "Extracts of *The Travels of Cyrus*. The First Religion of Mankind Agreeable to the Religion of the Holy Scriptures. The Wiser Heathen Taught a Spiritual Worship," pp. 461-481; No. 1355, "Extracts from Ramsay's *Philosophical Principles of Religion,*" pp. 543-575; no. 1359, "Extracts from Dr. Cudworth Concerning the Opinions and Traditions of Heathen Philosophers Agreeable to Truth Concerning Matters of Religion." The Miscellanies were his theological notebooks which he started in 1722 and added to throughout his career as a pastor and theologian. *The "Miscellanies," Works*, 23. pp. 640-712.

[29]This seems plausible since Calvin was an avowed admirer of Augustine, quoting him extensively, and was certainly one whose influence in Reformed theology is unparalleled. Calvin's admiration and use of Augustine is outlined in *Augustine Through the Ages* pp. 116-120. Edwards was acquainted

Edwards's new apprehension of grace in the converted heart, "that inward sweet delight" to Calvin's *sensus suavitatis*; the sweetness of God's presence in the soul which is a sure mark of the converted heart, terminology that goes back to Augustine.

Other important influences include the Cambridge Platonists, (in particular John Smith, John Norris and Ralph Cudworth), Edwards' Puritan forebears the Intellectual Fathers, (Shepard, Ames and Perkins), the Spiritual Brethren (Owen, Preston and Sibbes), and the Dutch Scholastic theologians Peter van Maastricht and Adrian Heereboord.[30] All paid homage to their debt to Augustine. In commenting on Edwards' Trinitarianism, William Morris is in no doubt that Edwards was more profoundly influenced by scholastic philosophy than by John Locke's empiricism, but suggests that his greatest Trinitarian debt is to Books X to XV of Augustine's *The Trinity*.[31] Morris is happy to concede that Edwards may not have read Augustine in the original, but is not prepared to discount a direct acquaintance with Augustine's works altogether. In any case he is convinced that the literature in which Edwards immersed himself was full of references to Augustine.[32]

One other important link between Edwards, Calvin and Augustine is found closer to home with Augustine's popularity with some of the Puritans in New England.[33] That Augustine was quoted widely amongst the New England clergy has

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with Calvin's theology although he appears to have been fiercely independent. In a somewhat precious manner Edwards distanced himself from Calvin, arguing that he wouldn't be ashamed to be called a Calvinist, "though I utterly disclaim a dependence on Calvin, or believing the doctrines which I hold, because he believed them or taught them, and cannot justly be charged with believing in everything just as he taught." *Freedom of the Will*, Works, 1, p. 131.
Both Calvin and Edwards reflect Augustine's use of the *sensus suavitatis* in their language of the religious affections. It is also clear that Edwards is indebted to his Puritan forebears, for his developing understanding of "the sense of the heart" and the "new spiritual sense" as they relate to the doctrine of the Trinity. For affinities between Edwards and Malebranche, see Jasper Reid, "The Trinitarian Metaphysics of Jonathan Edwards and Nicholas Malebranche," *Heythrop Journal*, No. 43, (2002), pp. 152-169.

[30] Letter to Joseph Bellamy, 1746/47. Edwards went so far as to laud Maastricht's *Theoretico-practica Theologia* as "being much better than Turretin or any other book in the world, excepting the Bible, in my opinion," in *Letters and Personal Papers*, *Works*, 16, p. 217. For a discussion of Edwards' debt to the Cambridge Platonists see Anderson, "Editor's Introduction," in *Scientific and Philosophical Writings, Works*, 6, pp. 20-26.

[31] William Sparkes Morris, *The Young Jonathan Edwards: A Reconstruction*, (New York: Carlson Publishing, 1991), pp. 496-497. Morris's assessment is endorsed by Stephen J. Stein in the forward to Conrad Cherry's *The Theology of Jonathan Edwards: A Reappraisal* (Indiana University Press, 1990), ix. "the doctrines of Calvinism shaped Jonathan Edwards's thought. William Ames, Richard Sibbes, Thomas Shepherd and Reformed theology were more influential than Locke and Newton."

[32] Morris, *The Young Jonathan Edwards*, p. 496.

[33] Janice Knight has argued that only the "Spiritual Brethren" in New England typified by John Cotton, or the Cambridge Platonists adopted an "Augustinian strain of piety." Janice Knight, *Orthodoxies in*

been noted by Perry Miller.[34] Thomas Hooker from Harvard, another of Edwards' favoured authors is one who held Augustine in the highest esteem.[35] The Antinomian and Arminian debates in New England drew forth many references to Augustine's writing on the subject of the operations of the Holy Spirit, free will and predestination.[36] In the Arminian debates Cotton had no hesitation in quoting Augustine's question in *De corruptione et gratia* "Wherefore are we commanded to do good, if it be not that we do it, but it is God that worketh both to will and to do?"[37] Such was Cotton's admiration for Augustine that he regarded him as being "as much above me as the moon is to a little star."[38] Cotton Mather was another Puritan to recommend Augustine, with reservations, in his *Manuductio ad Ministerium.* Edwards read Mather avidly, so it is fair to suggest that Edwards had more than a fleeting acquaintance with Augustine.[39]

Recent research has examined the translation, publication and dissemination of Augustine's works in English during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, in addition to cataloguing the proliferation of references to Augustine in the works of many of the New England Puritans' favourite authors.[40] Of particular interest is the

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Massachusetts: Rereading American Puritanism (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1994), 1-12.

[34] Miller, *The New England Mind*, pp. 4-5. "he (Augustine) exerted the greatest single influence upon Puritan thought next to that of the Bible itself, and in reality a greater one than did John Calvin."

[35] Thomas Hooker, in Cruikshank, *Saint Augustine in Early New England,* pp. 98-99. Hooker claimed to place the words of Augustine among "the testimonies and authorities of several of the ancient [Church], and those of great esteeme."

[36] Cruikshank, *Saint Augustine in Early New England*, pp. 125-126. The Antinomian controversy surrounding Anne Hutchison is a case in point. Hutchison accused the Puritan clergy of following the letter of the law rather than the spirit, and was supported at first by John Cotton, a long time admirer of Augustine, who also argued for the distinction between the Spirit and the letter. However, Cotton withdrew his support when it became clear that her preference for a figurative interpretation of the New Testament ran counter to established Puritan exegesis

[37] *Ibid., p.* 121.

[38] John Cotton, "Preface to the Second Part," *The Way of Congregational Churches Cleared* (1648) in Larzer Ziff, ed., *John Cotton on the Churches of New England* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968), p. 312.

[39] Theusen, "The 'Africa Enslavement of Anglo-Saxon Minds." Theusen notes Augustine's influence amongst the Puritans in New England, but suggests that his work was largely mediated and not always represented authentically.

[40] Cruikshank, *Saint Augustine in Early New England,* pp. 129-133. Cruikshank differs from Theusen and admits that while there were few specifically theological texts of Augustine's work in Puritan New England libraries, those that were there, were important and recognized. Furthermore, he points out that there is undoubtedly evidence of a burgeoning of Augustinian texts within the works of Reformed, Catholic and humanist scholarship to which the Puritans had access. Edwards's biographer Perry Miller identifies an "Augustinian strain of piety" in New England, and Paul Tillich declared himself to be "in the Augustinian tradition" in his existential understanding that religion is "based on the immediacy of truth in every being." Cruikshank sees much theological controversy in early New

observation that two of Augustine's last works refuting Pelagianism, *De praedestinatione sanctorum* and *De dono perseverantiae* (427/8), were among the most frequently cited of all Augustine's texts by Calvin in his 1556 treatise *Concerning the Eternal Predestination of God.* These two works were also quoted extensively by William Perkins in his *Treatise on the Manner and Order of Predestination*, published in 1597 in the disputes with Jacob Arminius.[41] These same texts were taken up during the Arminian debates at the beginning of the eighteenth century. In 1706, three years after Edwards' birth, John Rogers appended one of Augustine's well known quotations about the inherent difficulty of apportioning responsibility in salvation, to a sermon given to the Massachusetts authorities. The quotation was *Certum est nos facere quod facimus sed Deus facit ut faciamus* –"It is certain that when we act, we act, but God acts that we might act."[42]

While it does appear that Augustine's theology was well known in some parts of seventeenth and eighteenth century New England it is impossible to establish a direct causal connection between the theology of Edwards and Augustine. This thesis argues that it is their attention to the central role of the heart and the Trinity in conversion and the spiritual life that is the common denominator in their thinking. There are also a number of interesting parallels (as well as significant differences) in their formative childhood experiences and subsequent religious experiences which may help to explain some of the correspondences in their theology.

E. Biographical Parallels and Historical Connections

Augustine is the pre-eminent theologian of late antiquity with an intellectual heritage gleaned mainly from Greek and Roman philosophy, while Edwards is a post-Enlightenment theologian greatly indebted to his Puritan forbears, Newton, Locke, the Cambridge Platonists and the Continental Scholastics. They do share a common interest in Neoplatonic

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England existing in the tension between doctrine and piety, a piety which was largely Augustinian. See also Miller, *Errand into the Wilderness.* An interesting possibility which suggests Augustine's influence in New England comes from Arthur Norton who examined the textbooks used by Harvard students of the seventeenth century. He concluded that the curriculum at Harvard was primarily aimed at trainees for the ministry and was most probably based on Augustine's *De Doctrina Christiana.* Solomon Stoddard, Edwards' grandfather is listed as having read Keckerman's *Systema Logicae*, (1603), the copy of which ended up at Yale. (p. 53) John Pierpont (Sarah Edwards' uncle), has his name in Timpler's *Logici Systematis, (*1612), (p. 71) Arthur O. Norton, *Harvard Text-Books and Reference Books of the Seventeenth Century*, n.d. Printed by Wellesley College.

[41] *Ibid.*, pp. 106-7.

[42] Ibid., p. 109.

thought which is evident in their Trinitarianism, but even allowing for their shared Christian heritage, there are few significant parallels in their lives and religious backgrounds which would suggest similar apprehensions of the divine in the heart. What could be more dissimilar than the life of Augustine, a Manichean rhetor before becoming the Catholic Bishop of Hippo in Roman North Africa, with his devout Christian mother but somewhat desultory pagan father, and Jonathan Edwards, the eighteenth Century Puritan, Congregationalist Pastor from Massachusetts, New England, whose family abounded with clergy and whose whole life was spent in the company of people with highly developed religious sensibilities?

Differences in historical context notwithstanding, similar formative influences can be traced to their social milieu. It is highly significant that these intellectually gifted men grew up in communities where metaphysical questions were taken seriously and the life of the mind considered a worthy ambition. Another interesting parallel relates to parental influences. Both were exposed to Christian doctrines at an early age by virtue of living in predominantly Christian households. Their minds were never a *tabula rasa* when it came to religious or philosophical questions. The inspiration of very resourceful Christian mothers encouraged the precocity of their offspring and fostered a life of piety.

Augustine's mother Monica was the most significant person to introduce him to Christianity. Her devout piety ensured that Augustine knew his doctrine even if, for much of his early adulthood, he did not believe it. [43] Edwards' family was completely dominated by women. He grew up with ten sisters, and after marriage, had nine daughters and three sons. His most recent biographer alludes to the possibility that his largely feminine circle contributed to his interest in and understanding of the prominence and potency of the affections in human behaviour.[44] The probability is quite strong that, even if Augustine abandoned his mother's influence for a time on his very convoluted journey to faith, and

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[43] *Confessions*, 1. 11. 17, p. 13. His mother Monica is crucial for his eventual conversion. She encouraged his search for God at every turn, cajoling him, reprimanding him and praying incessantly for his conversion. As Augustine recounts, "I cannot speak enough of the love she had for me. She suffered greater pains in my spiritual pregnancy than when she bore me in the flesh." *Confessions* V. 9. 16, p. 83.

[44] Marsden, *Jonathan Edwards: A Life*, pp. 17-21. In Edwards' family, the fact that he was surrounded by eleven pious women (mother Esther and ten sisters) whilst growing up, as well as his clergy father Timothy, ensured a lively interest in all matters spiritual, but was also unique for the absence of male companionship. After his marriage, which appears to have been very happy, he came to rely heavily on his wife Sarah, whose spiritual counsel no doubt contributed to his heightened religious sensibilities. For background to family life in New England see Kenneth P. Minkema, "*Hannah and her Sisters: Sisterhood Courtship, and Marriage in the Edwards' Family in the Early Eighteenth Century,*" New England Genealogical Register 146 (Jan., 1992), and Minkema's unpublished doctoral thesis on the Edwards' family.

Edwards struggled with intense feelings of doubt and depression during his time at Yale, both benefited from their mothers' piety.[45] The feminine role models of spirituality may have contributed to their emphasis on the affective dimension of religious experience.

Further parallels can be found in their experience of a lifetime spent in a geographic wilderness with all the attendant difficulties of travel, communication with the wider world and isolation. Augustine's pre-conversion physical pilgrimage from North Africa to Italy in search of wisdom is paralleled by a long, tortuous pilgrimage of the heart to faith in the triune God via the Manichees, the Sceptics and the Neoplatonists, all of which he recounts in the *Confessions*. In this odyssey of a soul, an age of social and religious upheaval is reflected principally in the major shifts in Augustine's thinking as his *peregrinatio animae* moves through infancy, childhood, adolescence and early adulthood charting the ebb and flow of a lost heart in search of meaning.

The tensions inimical to a world in decline form the matrix upon which Augustine's movement of the heart and will are superimposed. Post-conversion, after returning to Hippo in A.D. 388, he rarely ventured beyond his immediate environs, ill health preventing much travel. As did Edwards, Augustine preferred to engage with the wider world through letters, pamphlets and books, for the most part directing his attention to the threats to orthodoxy posed by the Manichees, the Arians and the Pelagians. He showed no interest in geographical pilgrimage, as say his fellow traveller in the faith, Jerome. Believing that God is not confined to any one place but is to be found in the heart, Augustine searched his own heart and that of his contemporaries from within the narrow confines of coastal North Africa, perched precariously on the fringes of an inhospitable world of competing cultures and landscapes.

At a societal level, the tensions and shifts that characterized Augustine's society were similar to those experienced by Edwards, living as he also did on the fringes of a colonial wilderness. Eighteenth century New England suffered the uncertainties of the jostling for power of the British and French colonialists, the resistance of the indigenous peoples, and the Puritans come to set up a Christian utopia. Augustine's somewhat tortuous journey to faith is not replicated to the same extent in the life of Edwards, whose struggles with faith as chronicled in his *Personal Narrative*, if no less agonized than Augustine's, were not as

[45] *Confessions*, 1. 11. 17, p. 13; Marsden, *Jonathan Edwards: A Life*, pp. 17-21.

protracted before conversion.[46] As a young man, like Augustine, Edwards left the family home and went away to devote himself to pursue knowledge of God, albeit in a largely Christian context. At Yale, Edwards was able to immerse himself in the world of post-Enlightenment philosophy and theology. It was here that he experienced dark periods of doubt and uncertainty about his conversion experiences and faith. Like Augustine before him, Edwards came to appreciate that the regenerate heart depends upon spiritual knowledge of God which comes through a vision of God's Trinitarian beauty, seen most clearly in Christ. In another interesting parallel, after conversion, Edwards rarely ventured far from home, choosing to remain in New England for his entire life and engaging with the controversies of the day in his writings as much as with his preaching.

Edwards himself came from a family that had been part of the Puritan migration escaping persecution in England. The son and grandson of pastors, he inherited the Calvinist orthodoxy of New England which bound all aspects of life under the providence of God, but this monolithic Calvinism which penetrated all facets of New England life began to lose momentum as the colony grew and church influence waned. The decline was exacerbated by the seismic upheaval in thinking occasioned by the Enlightenment, and Edwards was to challenge the increasing autonomy accorded philosophy.

In his attempt to validate the affective side of religious experience he felt called upon to resist the encroachments of Arminianism, Anglicanism and Deism upon Calvinist orthodoxy. Economic growth, population growth and intermittent wars exacerbated the pressures he experienced as a Puritan pastor defending issues in Christian orthodoxy that were not dissimilar to those which engaged Augustine. Both men began their apologetics with the triune God in mind and championed the human heart as the most vital participant in the drama of redemption. The following chapters compare their understanding of the place of the heart in conversion, with respect to the Trinity, spiritual epistemology and aesthetics.

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[46] "Personal Narrative," in *Letters and Personal Papers*, *Works*, 16, pp. 791-793. Edwards describes how, over a number of years during late adolescence and early adulthood, the movements of his heart fluctuated between "great and violent inward struggles" and times of "inward sweetness" which would "kindle up a sweet burning in my heart; an ardor of my soul, that I know not how to express." [46] As was the case for Augustine, the doctrine of the sovereignty of God in election and predestination disturbed him greatly, (792, 799), and again like Augustine, he attributes his conversion to the in-breaking of the divine love which enabled him to appreciate the "beauty and excellency" of Christ, and "the lovely way of salvation, by free grace in him."

F. Chapter Outline

Chapter One presents an overview of the history of the metaphor of the "heart" in Classical antiquity, followed by an examination of Edwards' and Augustine's understanding and use of the term "heart" in their respective eras. A comparison of their spiritual autobiographies, Edwards' *Personal Narrative* and the *Confessions* of Augustine, reveals their common understanding of conversion as a work of divine love that is experienced in the heart.

Chapter Two elucidates the connection they envisage between the heart and the Trinity. In this chapter I examine their Trinitarian theology to highlight two very significant points of agreement that support my thesis that it is the primacy of the heart that is uppermost in their Trinitarianism. The first is their use of the psychological analogy to explain both the intratrinitarian relationships and the restoration of the image of God in the heart/mind. The second important convergence of Trinitarian thought shows Edwards' reception of the Western-Augustinian notion of the Holy Spirit as the mutual love of the Father and Son.

Chapter Three examines their depiction of the relationship between the heart and spiritual epistemology. First I explore the connection between the heart, the will and the affections in their respective epistemologies. Next, I compare their critique of the notion of the freedom of the will, and finally I contrast their views on the nature of divine illumination.

Chapter Four examines the role of the heart in their Trinitarian aesthetics and teleology. Beginning with one of the recurrent motifs in Augustine's and Edwards' works, that of the universal longing for the happy life, I advance the view that both envisage the happy life to be found only in a life of progressive holiness inspired by a heartfelt appreciation of the beauty of God's holiness, a gift that comes with the conversion of the heart.

In my four chapters, I have found it preferable to begin with a discussion of Edwards' perspectives and then to examine Augustine in the light of my treatment of Edwards. In earlier drafts of my thesis I employed the opposite approach which at first sight might appear more logical from a chronological standpoint. However, since there is no suggestion in my thesis that Edwards was directly influenced by Augustine, it seemed to me preferable to understand Augustine in the light of Edwards, rather than the other way around. I am aware that an Augustinian scholar might prefer the other opposite approach, namely to start

with what is known, and then to discover how remarkable is the extent to which Edwards echoes Augustine. I anticipate that Augustine experts, reading first my material on Edwards, will repeatedly find themselves thinking, 'Augustine thought that way,' a feeling they will find confirmed when they reach the Augustine section. I concede that the approach I have settled on is somewhat discretionary, as an Edwards scholar would have a similar experience if I had treated Augustine first. The order I have chosen has the advantage of allowing me to do what I wanted to do, namely to focus only on those (admittedly numerous) ways in which Augustine's thinking is reflected in Edwards, and I believe, it makes all the more noteworthy the commonalities in their theology which emerge in the course of my study. Perhaps it is an aesthetic thing, but thinking aesthetically to make truth plainer, more real, was important to both, and I believe that my approach achieves that end.