

CHAPTER TWO

The Trinity and the Heart

As described in the previous chapter, the conversion of the heart is central to the Trinitarian spirituality of Edwards and Augustine. This chapter examines their insights into the doctrine of the Trinity and the significance they attribute to the “heart” as the locus for the salvific work of the Trinity. Both men saw humanity created in the image and likeness of God, an image which is to be found in the heart and which mirrors the relationships of the immanent Trinity. As I show in this chapter, there is considerable overlap between Edwards’ and Augustine’s use and understanding of the psychological analogy to elucidate the affective dimension in the conversion of the heart. First I examine the central place each man accorded the heart in his understanding of humanity made in the image of God. Next, a comparison of the centrality of Christ in their soteriology reveals parallels in their concept of deification understood as the heart’s participation in the Trinitarian life of love. Finally, I compare their depictions of the relationship between the heart and the Trinity as seen through their insistence that the Holy Spirit is the mutual love of Father and Son, the bond that unites both the immanent Trinity and in its economic manifestation, in-dwells the believer’s heart.

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2.1 The Historical Background to Edwards’ Trinitarianism

Just as Augustine had done, Edwards accepted as axiomatic the biblical revelation of a triune God who is sovereign in creation and redemption. From his earliest forays into theology and philosophy, Edwards was fascinated by the doctrine of the Trinity and references to it are scattered throughout his works. The only sustained piece devoted to the Trinity is the “Discourse on the Trinity”¹ from 1730. Despite the somewhat fragmentary character of his Trinitarian references, the Trinitarian nature of God is of the utmost importance in his theology and appears frequently in his “Miscellanies,” the sermons and in the *Religious Affections*.² Edwards contends that people depend on Christ for redemption,

¹ “Discourse on the Trinity,” in *Writings on the Trinity, Grace, and Faith, Works*, 21, pp. 113-144. Edwards had always intended to write a *magnum opus* starting with the Trinity, but his untimely death in 1758 precluded any such venture.

² The “Miscellanies” were compiled over many years and cover a wide range of theological topics. There are 57 on the Trinity alone, with many others on the mediation and satisfaction of Christ, and union with Christ.

on God for Christ and on the Holy Spirit for the faith that unites them in Christ. In one of his early musings in the “Miscellanies” notebooks he insists that doctrines such as the Trinity are “glorious inlets into the knowledge and view of the spiritual world, and the contemplation of supreme things; the knowledge of which I have experienced how much it contributes to the betterment of the heart.”³ Edwards’ heart was certainly bettered by his meditations on the Trinity because like Augustine, he held the view that the heart was the meeting place for divine and human love and it is the focus for the Trinitarian work of redemption.⁴ In the *Treatise on Grace*, Edwards explains that divine love is “the one holy principle in the heart that is the essence and sum of all grace, the root and source of all holy acts of every kind, and the fountain of every good stream.” It is “the sum of all duty in the heart”⁵

Two significant movements form the backdrop to Edwards’ Trinitarianism, the Enlightenment and an era of religious revival in New England.⁶ The Age of Enlightenment was characterized by a dislike for revelation and mystery in religion. The prevailing mood to demystify religious belief led to an attack on the doctrine of the Trinity in seventeenth century Europe as an increasing emphasis on biblical criticism and the influence of Socinian and Arian tendencies called the veracity of the Bible into question. Edwards was well aware of the debates in Europe and New England as his “Catalogue of Reading” lists several important works to come out of the debate.⁷ Edwards engaged with the opponents of orthodoxy on the basis that the Trinity was foundational for Christian faith and practice,⁸

There are several on the Incarnation, comparatively few on the Holy Spirit. The majority of entries on the Trinity occur during his early years in ministry, with his later entries comparing Trinitarian ideas in pagan religions.

³ The “Miscellanies,” no. 181, *Works*, 13, p. 328.

⁴ *Religious Affections*, *Works*, 2, p. 342. “In the soul where Christ savingly lives, there he is.”

⁵ “Treatise on Grace,” in *Writings on the Trinity, Grace, and Faith*, *Works*, 21, pp. 166-167.

⁶ The religious revivals are discussed in Ch. 1, pp. 16, 18, 27, 31, and 38.

⁷ See Kenneth Minkema’s introduction to *Sermons and Discourses*, *Works*, 14, pp. 42-45. The Trinitarian controversy amongst Anglicans in the 1690’s saw attempts to simplify the Trinity to remove its alleged abstruseness. Samuel Clarke’s *The Scripture-Doctrine of the Trinity* in 1712, caused a furore with his assertion that he could find no real evidence for the belief that the Son was consubstantial with the Father. Thomas C. Pfizenmaier gives an excellent account of the philosophical milieu within which the Trinitarian controversies were fought. *The Trinitarian Theology of Dr. Samuel Clarke (1675-1729): Context, Sources, and Controversy*, Studies in the History of Christian Thought, (Leiden: Brill, 1997). Edwards was familiar with Clarke’s work and quotes him in the “Treatise on Grace,” in *Writings on the Trinity, Grace and Faith*, *Works*, 21, pp. 164-165. Sang Hyun Lee mentions Clarke’s contribution to the debates in his “Editor’s Introduction,” in the same volume, *Works*, 21, pp. 4-5.

⁸ Trinitarian speculation increased during the seventeenth century with the advent of biblical criticism. What became known as the Trinitarian controversy of the 1690’s in England encouraged a resurgence of Arianism and Socinianism. A useful outline of the Trinitarian debates is found in Amy Plantinga Pauw, *The Supreme Harmony of All: The Trinitarian Theology of Jonathan Edwards*, (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 2002),

but by the 1720s, was forced to hammer out his Trinitarianism in an increasingly hostile intellectual and theological climate.⁹ Unitarian undercurrents flowed from the Deists who found the triune God a metaphysical absurdity, and this may have influenced Edwards propensity to articulate a more pronounced emphasis on the Trinitarian persons than did Augustine.¹⁰ Towards the latter part of Edwards' life, the spread of Deism fostered a resurgence of the Trinitarian debates of the 1720s and 30s which were also fuelled by the spread of Arminianism in New England. This helped to undermine Trinitarian orthodoxy even further because the Arminians elevated the role of the will in conversion thus downplaying the role of the Holy Spirit. Disputes over substance terminology raised by Locke also contributed to misunderstandings as to the nature of the Godhead, so it is not surprising that Edwards developed a new metaphysic of divine ontology, but he remained committed to the canons of Nicean orthodoxy. Edwards is firmly within Augustine's fold as one who subscribed to "faith seeking understanding," believing that revelation was the starting point for faith. Like Augustine, however, Edwards rejected any notion that faith and reason were mutually exclusive: faith informs the understanding, for understanding is a necessary condition of faith. Edwards' philosophy served his theology, as it did for Augustine.

Edwards distinctive contribution to the Trinitarian debates of the first half of the eighteenth century was to re-interpret the insights of Lockean epistemology from the perspective of the Neoplatonic idealism favoured by Augustine.¹¹ In a remarkable synthesis he managed to combine an Augustinian - Reformed Trinitarianism with philosophical speculation to present a revolutionary schema for the doctrine of the Trinity all composed in the language of the heart.¹²

pp. 21-26. Bishop Samuel Clarke drew censure for his *Scripture-Doctrine of the Trinity*, published in 1714, a work well known in New England. See also William S. Babcock, "A Changing of the Christian God: the Doctrine of the Trinity in the Seventeenth Century," in *Interpretation* XLV (April, 1991), pp. 133-146.

⁹ Amy Plantinga Pauw, *Supreme Harmony of All*, p. 9. Edwards was "working against the tide" of rationalist currents flowing from the Enlightenment, currents which militated against metaphysical explorations into the triune God.

¹⁰ See Steven Studebaker, "Jonathan Edwards's Social Augustinian Trinitarianism: An Alternative to a Recent Trend," in *Scottish Journal of Theology*, vol. 56, 3, (2003), pp. 268-285.

¹¹ Their idealistic philosophy is one wherein all ideas and things in existence coalesce in perfect harmony in the mind of God.

¹² As discussed in the Introduction, the origins of Edwards' theology are difficult to establish unequivocally, and this is so with his Trinitarianism. What is certain is that Edwards was familiar with the canons of Western Trinitarian orthodoxy which date back to Nicea. Augustine's major contribution to the Western Latin tradition of Trinitarian theology is without question almost universally acknowledged. Access to this strand of Trinitarian thought was mediated to Edwards through the writings of the Reformed Scholastics Francis

In all of his ruminations on the Trinity, there is a strongly Augustinian flavour to Edwards' efforts to make sense of the Biblical data concerning the nexus between the heart and the Trinitarian being of God. The three most significant parallels lie in his use of the psychological analogy to elucidate the notion of the image of God in humanity through his examination of the nature of the immanent and economic Trinity, the centrality of Christ as mediator of divine love, and his adoption of the Holy Spirit as the mutual love of the Father and Son. Edwards applies the psychological analogy to explain the processions and relationships of the immanent Trinity, and unifies the immanent and economic Trinity through the gift of the Holy Spirit as divine love in sinner's hearts.

Another important parallel in Augustine's and Edwards' Trinitarianism is the belief that the unity of the Trinity is reflected in Christian experience of God. The response of the converted heart to God is both affective and intellectual. In their Trinitarianism, love is the thread that links the immanent and economic Trinity. In his capacity as Creator, Sustainer and Redeemer, God is the divine love that is found in the heart in its affectional and perceptive faculties.

2.2 The Psychological Analogy and the Heart

There are two main literary images employed by Edwards in his Trinitarian speculations, both found in Augustine albeit with different emphases. One is the

Turretin and Peter van Mastricht, and Puritan writers such as William Ames and John Owen, all of whom knew of Augustine's work on the Trinity. Edwards was also acquainted with the work of the Cambridge Platonists Ralph Cudworth and John Norris who were indebted to the Greek Cappadocian Fathers, most specifically, Gregory of Nyssa. See footnote 34 in the Introduction for references to Edwards' intellectual antecedents. For similarities between Edwards and Gregory of Nyssa, see Patricia Kastner-Wilson, "God's Infinity and His Relationship to Creation in the Theologies of Gregory of Nyssa and Jonathan Edwards," in *Foundations*, vol. 21, 4, (1978), pp. 305-321; Robert Jenson, *America's Theologian: A Recommendation of Jonathan Edwards*, Ch. 8, "The Triune God" (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), p. 95.

Since his works first became accessible, Edwards' Trinitarian theology has given some of his critics occasion to question his orthodoxy. For a summary of the debate surrounding Edwards' orthodoxy, see Richard M. Weber, "The Trinitarian Theology of Jonathan Edwards: An Investigation of Charges Against Its Orthodoxy," in *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society*, Vol. 44, 2, (2001), pp. 297-318. Bruce M. Stephens, *God's Last Metaphor: The Doctrine of the Trinity in New England Theology* (American Academy of Religion: Scholars Press, 1981), Ch. 1, 4-5. For an excellent summary of the early criticisms see also George P. Fisher, *An Unpublished Essay of Edwards on the Trinity: With Remarks on Edwards and His Theology*, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1903), Part 1.; Edwards A. Park, "Remarks of Jonathan Edwards on the Trinity," in *Bibliotheca Sacra*, vol. 38, 149 (1881). Park appeared loath to join the debates surrounding Edwards thought, but gives an outline of the controversy during the nineteenth century concerning Edwards and the Trinity. He claims that "Edwards never paid special attention to the theories connected with the doctrine of the Trinity", but intended to do so and was prevented by his untimely death. (p.149). The "Miscellanies," no. 1062 caused comment as reported by Egbert C. Smyth in *Observations Concerning the Scripture Oeconomy of the Trinity and Covenant of Redemption* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1880), pp. 3-18. Smyth concluded that "President Edwards, it is believed, is in accord with the results of the latest and most scholarly interpretations of the Scriptures." (p. 17).

psychological analogy of the mind's knowing itself and loving itself, and the other is the social analogy which depicts the intratrinitarian persons in the affective language of a loving human community.¹³ The aesthetic-affectual quality of Edwards' depiction of the intratrinitarian relationships is adumbrated in Augustine who noted the intimacy and loving communication between the three persons in the Godhead but did not develop the analogy to the extent chosen by Edwards. In a startling departure from the traditional metaphysics of the scholastics but one that was in keeping with Augustine's reading of the immanent Trinity in relational terms, Edwards concluded that the divine triune Being was relational in nature and could best be articulated in the aesthetic language of the heart.¹⁴ Edwards' appropriation of Augustine's innovation of the psychological analogy of mind, understanding and will/love helped to elucidate his synthesis of head and heart in the reception of divine truth. The use of the psychological analogy is one of the most important points of convergence in Edwards' and Augustine's Trinitarian theology and has been noted by a number of scholars.¹⁵

The Augustinian overtones to Edwards' later Trinitarianism are prefigured in his early thinking on the processions and missions in the immanent Trinity in "Miscellany" no. 94,¹⁶ Edwards' first serious venture into writing on the Trinity in December 1723 at the age

¹³ In the social analogy, the Trinity is depicted as a society of three fully personal, yet fully divine persons. The Father, Son and Holy Spirit are unified in their divinity and in their ontological being as goodness, greatness, eternal being, love, beauty and glory. The Trinity is a joyful, loving, mutually sustaining community of distinct persons who are not separate. See Cornelius Plantinga, Jr., "The Threeness/Oneness Problem of the Trinity," in *Calvin Theological Journal*, vol. 23, no. 1 (Apr. 1988), pp. 37-53.

¹⁴ Stephen H. Daniel, "Postmodern Concepts of God and Edwards' Trinitarian Ontology," in *Edwards in our Time: Jonathan Edwards and the Shaping of American Religion*, Sang Hyun Lee and Allen C. Guelzo, eds., (Grand Rapids, Wm. B. Eerdmans, 2000), pp. 54-55. Daniels argues that Edwards appropriated the Cappadocian solution to the problems surrounding God as triune. God becomes the "substance of communication." In other words, the persons are defined as functions of God's communication. God is the communication of the persons, as opposed to a substance behind the persons.

¹⁵ Sang Hyun Lee, "Editor's Introduction," to *Writings on the Trinity, Grace, and Faith, Works*, 21, pp. 2-34; William J. Daniher Jr., *The Trinitarian Ethics of Jonathan Edwards*, Columbia Series in Reformed Theology (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2004), Ch. 1, pp. 18-66.; Amy Plantinga Pauw, *The Supreme Harmony of All*, pp. 11, 12, 14, 30, 43-49, 50-53, 55, 73-75, 85-88,

¹⁶ The "Miscellanies," no. 94, in *Works*, 13, pp. 256-263. Edwards states that God the Trinity is three distinct persons or properties, the first of which is neither begotten nor proceeds, the second of which proceeds from the first, and the third which proceeds alike from both. There is the mind and its understanding or idea and the will or affection, or love; answering to God, the idea of God and the love of God." His account of the processions of the persons in the Trinity is based on his belief that ideas are images of things and nothing can be an "express and fully perfect image of God but God's idea." In Edwards' Trinitarianism, as with Augustine, the only true *imago Dei* is Christ. Only the Son of God is the express and perfect image of God in "the primary and most proper sense." The Son is the "perfect transcriptions of the perfections of God," the Word or Wisdom of God, and the Holy Spirit is "the act of God between the Father and the Son infinitely loving and delighting in each other." God's idea is his essence, and by reflecting on himself, "the Deity is begotten. There is a substantial image of God begotten." Since ideas are images of things, and there can only

of twenty. It is fundamental to all his later thinking on the subject and reveals his Augustinian preference for the affectional nature of the intratrinitarian relationships. Christ is the true *imago Dei*, according to Edwards, who goes back to Augustine's human analogy of the self, its knowledge of self, and its love of self as a representation of the Trinitarian being of God. "There is God, the idea of God, and delight in God," which as he explains, corresponds to God, the Son of God who "is the express and perfect image of God, and his image in the primary and most proper sense," and the Holy Spirit who is "the act of God between Father and the Son infinitely loving and delighting in each other."¹⁷

In terms of the human mind, the analogy showed that mind, understanding and will/love have ontological equality, yet can be regarded as acting separately, in a similar way to the persons of the immanent Trinity. Edwards believed that the validity of the psychological analogy was demonstrated by its correspondence to the Biblical evidence he cited, and by its applicability to humanity made in the image and likeness of God. First, it showed that the Father is the fountain and prime person of the Godhead as the mind is the source of all mental activity. Second, it demonstrated the divinity and equality of the Son as idea or understanding. Third, it illustrated the divinity and double procession of the Spirit from Father and Son as love flows from mind and understanding. Fourth, it showed the ontological equality of the persons in that all three partook of the divine mind, understanding and will by their coinherence in the social interactions of the Godhead. Fifth, it showed that all three persons are equally essential to salvation. There is little here to distinguish Edwards from Augustine.¹⁸

be one proper image of a thing, other images being secondary to the primary image, Jesus Christ is "the express and perfect image of God," in which God "infinitely delights." He is the Word, the reason and wisdom of God, and the same thing as God's idea of himself. Edwards notes that in much the same way, humanity possesses this two-fold image in itself. There is in humanity a capacity to reflect on one's own ideas to make judgments about them. If a person has a good idea, then it is cause for much rejoicing as the mind thinks about and approves of the idea. Happiness for humanity comes when the idea and its image coincide such that they cause delight in the heart. In the same way, God delights in his perfect image of himself who is the Son, and God's perfect delight in the Son is the love described in 1 John 4: 8, 16. "God is love, and he that dwells in love, dwells in God, and God in him." Edwards' perichoretic vision of the Trinity is completed in his observation that "The Father and the Son do infinitely delight in each other," with the infinite delight designated as the Holy Spirit. The third person of the Trinity is "an infinitely pure and perfect act between them, an infinitely sweet energy we call delight." Edwards also terms the Holy Spirit the holiness of God, that is, his delight in excellency or "sweet consent to himself." This loving delight within the immanent Trinity spills over into the lives of the saints in the person of the Holy Spirit. The saints will eventually be seen in heaven "all transformed into love, dissolved into joy, become activity itself, changed into mere ecstasy."

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 256-263; 262, 259, 260. *The Trinity*, IX. 8, in *WSA*, 1/5, p. 275; XV. 27, p. 418.

¹⁸ Perry Millar, *Images and Shadows of Divine Things*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1948), pp. 25-28; 34-36. A number of scholars have noted the significant affinities in their concepts of "idea" and "image" in their Trinitarian theology. Although Perry Miller was unable to find little direct" influence of Augustine on

Edwards' most sustained attempt to capture the uniqueness of the Trinity appears in the "Discourse on the Trinity" which was begun in 1730, with several short additions in the 1730s and 1740s. The comparative brevity of the "Discourse" (only thirty one pages in the Yale edition) precludes a detailed comparison with *The Trinity*, but it gives a succinct overview of Edwards' understanding of the intratrinitarian relationships and the work of the three persons in the economic Trinity in the restoration of the image of God in humanity.

Present in both readings of the Trinity is the notion that the Father is the ontological source of the Trinity. The hypostases of the Son and Spirit are derived from the Father who alone is unbegotten.¹⁹ As far as the structure or grammar of the Trinity is construed, Edwards' thinking is consonant with Augustine with his assertion that the Godhead consists of God, his "exact image and representation himself" as an idea ever in view, that is the Word of God, and "a most pure and perfect energy in the Godhead, which is the divine love, complacency and joy" which is the Holy Spirit.²⁰ The Son's ontological equality with the Father is evident in Edwards' expansion of the notion of Christ as the perfect idea or image of God.²¹ As the perfect ideational repetition of the essential being of God the Father in the mind of God, the Son is the "image of God that is the object of God's eternal and infinite love, and in which he hath perfect joy and happiness."²²

Another reason for Edwards to declare that Christ is the image of God rests on Scriptural warrant: Christ is the light of the world and the revealer of God to humanity.

Edwards, he admitted that there is a united emphasis on the spiritual intellect, the "cleansed mind", and the image of God as illuminated by divine wisdom in their understanding and use of typology. Robert Jenson remarks that "all the great Augustinian image-relations are reborn to vital function not first in Edwards' systematic construction but already in Edwards' "view" of God," which was specifically "Christological – Trinitarian." See also Claude A. Smith, "Jonathan Edwards and the Way of Ideas," in *Harvard Theological Review*, vol. 59, 2, (April, 1966), pp. 153-173; and Paul Copan, "Jonathan Edwards' Philosophical Influences: Lockean or Malebranchean?" in *Journal of Evangelical Theological Society*, vol. 44, 1, (March, 2001), pp. 107-124; See also Norman Fiering, "The Rationalist Foundations of Jonathan Edwards' Metaphysics," in Nathan O. Hatch, Harry S. Stout, eds., *Jonathan Edwards and the American Experience* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), pp. 82, 86. Fiering describes Edwards' *Miscellanies* on the Trinity, which serve as the genesis of his later writing in the *Discourse on the Trinity*, as some "early Augustinian-type thoughts on the Trinity" which illustrates "the Augustinian notion of the Trinity that Edwards espoused."

¹⁹ "Discourse on the Trinity," in *Writings on the Trinity, Grace, and Faith* Works, 21, pp. 135, 143. The Father is the "fountain of the Godhead [as] the Father sustains the dignity of the Deity, and sends forth the other two. All is from him, all is in him originally,"

²⁰ "Discourse on the Trinity," in *Writings on the Trinity, Grace, and Faith*, Works, 21, p. 113.

²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 116-117. "Hereby there is another person begotten, there is another infinite Eternal Almighty and most holy and the same God, the very same divine nature. And this person is the second Person in the Trinity, the Only Begotten and dearly Beloved Son of God; He is the eternal, necessary, perfect, substantial and personal idea which God hath of Himself; and that it is so seems to me to be abundantly confirmed by the Word of God.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 118.

Only the most perfect representation of God can reveal God to humanity, and that is Christ.²³ Christ is the brightness, effulgence or shining forth of God's glory, is the Wisdom or understanding of God as knowledge or understanding is the light of a human mind, and is the Logos or Word of God, all three images of Christ to be found in Augustine.²⁴ Christ as the "express image" of God is like the imprint of the wax on the engraving of the seal, a perfect likeness. Such is not the case with humans who are "in the image" of one another, as Adam's son is in the image of Adam and not properly speaking the actual image of God, as is Christ of the Father.²⁵ Whereas humans are made "in" the image of another, the Son of God is the *imago Dei*.²⁶ The second person of the Trinity, or "the idea of God, is that image of God that is the object of God's eternal and infinite love, and in which he hath perfect joy and happiness."²⁷

From his assumption of plurality within the Godhead, and employing Augustine's description of the Son as the perfect idea or understanding of the Father, the "express and perfect image and representation" of God, Edwards envisages another subsistence in the Godhead.²⁸ Just as love is distinct from the idea of love, so the Holy Spirit as the mutual love of Father and Son, is a third subsistence of the Godhead.²⁹ Edwards adheres to the *filioque* tradition in the Western Church³⁰ and maintains that the Holy Spirit is the divine love flowing out in the Father's infinite delight and love for the beloved Son *ad extra*, a

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 121.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 119-120. In Miscellany 330, Edwards writes: "God is said to be light and love. Light is his understanding or idea, which is his Son; love is the Holy Spirit. *Works*, 13, p. 409. Augustine uses similar imagery in *The Trinity*, IV. 27, pp. 172-173, with his statement that the Son is Wisdom, "the brightness of eternal light." See also VII. 5., p. 223.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 117.

²⁶ *Ibid.* Here, Edwards re-affirms Augustine's distinction between Christ made *imago Dei*, and humanity made "*ad imaginem Dei*." See also *Eighty-Three Different Questions*, no. 51, "On Man made in the Image and Likeness of God," in *FC*, vol. 70, pp. 84-88.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 118.

²⁸ *The Trinity*, XV. 23, *WSA*, 1/5, p. 415. "So the Word of God, the only begotten Son of the Father, like the Father and equal to him in all things, God from God, light from light, wisdom from wisdom, being from being, is exactly and absolutely what the Father is..."

²⁹ *Ibid.* While the notion of the Holy Spirit as the mutual love of Father and Son is Augustinian, Edwards does acknowledge that John Owen called the Holy Spirit the mutual love of Father and Son, so Owen's Trinitarian writings could be one of the sources of Edwards' Augustinian Trinitarianism. The "Miscellanies," no. 1047, "Trinity," *Works*, 20, p. 389.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 135. "the Holy Ghost to proceed from the Father and Son." *The Trinity*, XV. 29, in *WSA*, 1/5, p. 419. Augustine's says of the procession of the Holy Spirit: "in this triad only the Son is called the Word of God, and only the Spirit is called the gift of God, and only the Father is called the one from whom the Word is born and from whom the Holy Spirit principally proceeds. I added "principally, because we have found that the Holy Spirit also proceeds from the Son. But this too was given the Son by the Father-not given to him when he already existed and did not yet have it; but whatever the Father gave to his only-begotten Word he gave by begetting him. He so begot him then that their common gift would proceed from him too, and the Holy Spirit would be the Spirit of them both."

love which is fully returned because if “love be not mutual, it is a torment,”³¹ and love within the Godhead is one of God’s perfections, never a torment. Edwards’ identification of the Spirit with the reciprocal divine love or will of the Father and Son is pure Augustine.³² God’s infinite love is his holiness, and holiness is to be equated with God’s excellency and beauty.³³ The differentiation of the person of the Holy Spirit is contrasted with the account of the Son as the perfect idea of the Father. Like Augustine, Edwards noted the absence in Scripture of any references to the love of the Holy Spirit. “We read of the Father’s love to man and the love of the Son, but not of the love of the Holy Ghost.” This is easily explained however since “the Holy Ghost is the love of God itself. As the Son is the essential wisdom of the God, so the Holy Ghost is the essential love of God whereby he infinitely loves himself.”³⁴ The Holy Spirit is the breathing forth of God’s own divine essence in an eternal act of “sweet and vigorous affection” between Father and Son and is viewed synonymously with the will as an ever active divine power at work in creation.³⁵ The divine nature and essence consists in love and holiness, which is “the beauty and excellency of his nature” imparted to the hearts of the saints.³⁶ The centrality of love in Edwards’ Trinitarian theology, metaphysics and epistemology explains his emphasis on the special relationship between the Holy Spirit as the divine love itself and the heart as the locus for the redemptive work of the triune God.

Edwards’ final summation of his understanding of the Trinity safeguards both the immanent distinctions of the persons of the Trinity and re-iterates the divine unity.³⁷ Each member of the Trinity possesses understanding and love equally, and this indicates the

³¹ “Fragment: Application on Love to Christ,” in *Works*, 10, p. 617.

³² *The Trinity*, V. 3. 12-13, p. 197. “The Holy Spirit is a kind of inexpressible communion or fellowship of the Father and Son.” VI. 7, p. 209. “So the Holy Spirit is something common to Father and Son, whatever it is, or is their very commonness or communion, consubstantial and coeternal.” XV. 5.27., p. 37. “this Holy Spirit is not just the Father’s alone not the Son’s alone, but the Spirit of them both, and thus he suggests to us the common charity by which the Father and the Son love each other.”

³³ Edwards links God’s excellency with God’s love to himself in “The Mind,” No. 45, *Works*, 6, pp. 364-365.

³⁴ Unpublished sermon on Lk 2:14 (b), “Goodwill to All Men,” p. 8, Jonathan Edwards’ Centre, Yale Divinity School. *The Trinity*, V. 12, p. 197.

³⁵ “Discourse on the Trinity,” in *Writings on the Trinity, Grace, and Faith*, *Works*, 21, p.121. The Holy Spirit is “the Deity in act: for there is no other act but the act of the will.”

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 122.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 131. “The Father is the Deity subsisting in the prime, unoriginated and most absolute manner, or the deity in its direct existence. The Son is the Deity generated by God’s understanding, or giving an idea of himself, and subsisting in that idea. The Holy Ghost is the Deity subsisting in act, or the divine essence flowing out and breathed forth, in God’s infinite love to and delight in himself. And I believe the whole divine essence does truly and distinctly subsist both in the divine idea and divine love, and that therefore each of them are properly distinct persons.”

ontological unity of the Godhead.³⁸ Even the Holy Spirit as love exhibits understanding and is not blind love. Just as consciousness is included in the human will, so understanding or the Son, is in the Holy Spirit so that the Spirit “may be said to know and to ‘search all things, even the deep things of God’.”³⁹ Edwards secures the divine unity in his reading of the immanent Trinity in perichoretic language:

Let it be considered that the whole Divine office is supposed to subsist in each of these three, viz., God and His understanding and love, and that there is such a wonderful union between them that they are, after an ineffable and inconceivable manner, one in another, so that one hath another and they have communion in one another and are as it were predicable one of another; as Christ said of Himself and the Father, ‘I am in the Father and the Father in me’, so may it be said concerning all the Persons in the Trinity...⁴⁰

The unity and equality of the persons in the Godhead was never in doubt in Edwards’ Trinitarianism. The three persons are “every way equal in the society or family of the three”⁴¹ equal in essence, love, honour, glory, and excellency. Glory is due to all three as in Augustine’s appreciation of the majesty of the Trinity:⁴² “to the Father, that he so loved that he gave his only begotten son, to the Son, that he so loved the world as to give up himself. But there is equal glory due to the Holy Ghost, for he is that love of the Father and the Son to the world.”⁴³ Broadly speaking then, Edwards’ explication of the processions and relationships of the members of the immanent Trinity in terms of the psychological analogy resembles that of Augustine.

Several scholars have noted that Edwards devotes more attention to the intratrinitarian relationships in terms of a social analogy than does Augustine.⁴⁴ Excellency, love, harmony and consent form the nucleus of Edwards’ social Trinitarianism, notions which underpin Augustine’s Trinitarianism but which do not appear as explicitly as in

³⁸ The “Miscellanies,” no. 308, *Works*, 13, p. 392. The intratrinitarian relationships are depicted as a unity of understanding in the divine essence. “The Father understands, the Son understands, and the Holy Ghost understands, because every one is the same understanding divine essence.

³⁹ “Discourse on the Trinity,” in *Writings on the Trinity, Grace, and Faith*, *Works*, 21, p. 134. In “The Threefold Work of the Holy Ghost,” *Sermons and Discourses*, *Works*, 14, p. 401, Edwards puts forward the idea that divine unity consists in “the divine nature and excellencies and ...the infinite divine love.”

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 133.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 135.

⁴² See FN 19.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 136.

⁴⁴ See McClymond, *Encounters With God*, p. 103; Plantinga-Pauw, *The Supreme Harmony of All*, pp. 80-81.

Edwards' thinking.⁴⁵ Social images of the Trinity that are sparse in Augustine receive prominence in Edwards' depiction of the intratrinitarian relationships. The love and intimate friendship between the persons of the immanent Trinity are likened to that within a family, a society or a close union between friends. Edwards is glowing in his depiction of the love, mutual enjoyment and fellowship to be found in the intratrinitarian relations of the immanent Trinity. In Miscellany 741 Edwards speaks of "an eternal society or family in the Godhead in the Trinity of persons."⁴⁶ Viewing the Holy Spirit as the mutual love of the Father and Son in the immanent Trinity reinforces the idea of the loving communion between three equal persons. The adoption of the social analogy encouraged Edwards to unite believers with the divine love in a most intimate way. "In this family or household," writes Edwards, "God is the Father, Jesus Christ is his own natural and eternally begotten Son. The saints, they are also the children in the family; the church is the daughter of God, being the spouse of his Son. They all have communion in the same spirit, the Holy Ghost."⁴⁷

Edwards assigns a heightened degree of individuality and agency to the members of the Trinity in redemption and the language of his portrayal of the persons is more affective, particularly with respect to the divine covenants.⁴⁸ Covenant theology helped to underpin the notion of a divine agreement to create, sustain and redeem fallen humanity and it is here that Edwards pushed the social analogy to its limits.⁴⁹ Where Augustine expressed reservations when speaking of divine "persons" and located personhood in self consciousness, Edwards seems to have been aware of the inherent dangers of too great a distinction between the "persons" but still persisted in referring to the covenants as for example, "a consultation among the persons of the Trinity..."⁵⁰ He verges perilously close to tritheism in his portrayal of the divine persons when for example they are referred to as "distinct personal agents."⁵¹

⁴⁵ For the importance of ideas of harmony and proportion in Augustine's thinking see Etienne Gilson, *The Christian*

Philosophy of Saint Augustine (New York: Random House, 1960), Ch. 3, pp. 210-224.

⁴⁶ The "Miscellanies," no. 741, "Happiness of Heaven," in *Works*, 18, p. 366.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, no. 571, p. 110.

⁴⁸ The "Miscellanies," no. 1091, *Works*, 20, pp. 475-479. So Edwards says for example, "the covenant of grace...is a yielding to Christ's wooings and accepting his offers and closing with him as a Redeemer and spiritual Husband."

⁴⁹ See Plantinga Pauw, *The Supreme Harmony of All*, pp. 32-33.

⁵⁰ The "Miscellanies," no. 539, "Means of Grace," in *Works*, 18, p. 84; *Blank Bible*, *Works*, 26, vol. 1, p. 126.

⁵¹ "Treatise on Grace," in *Writings on the Trinity, Grace, and Faith*, *Works*, 21, p. 181.

Despite his preference for markedly personal language for the immanent Trinity, it is going too far to suggest, as does Plantinga Pauw, that Edwards was ambivalent about divine simplicity and was never really comfortable with it.⁵² Both Augustine and Edwards were devout believers in the authority of Scripture and took care to remain within the parameters of conciliar orthodoxies. Edwards didn't favour triunity over against unity, and like Augustine, adhered to the doctrine of inseparable operations.⁵³ He expressly repudiates the notion that God is three minds, instead insisting that the divine persons are the "same understanding divine essence" and do not have "distinct understandings of their own."⁵⁴

The immanent Trinity of love is the *fons et origo* of the economic Trinity, the archetype of God's works *ad extra*. God created the world so that the love and glory of the immanent Trinity should be revealed so that "we may better understand the economy of the persons of the Trinity as it appears in the part that each one has in the affair of redemption..."⁵⁵ Both Augustine and Edwards give prominence to the role of the Holy Spirit in communicating divine love and holiness to the heart. It is that communication of the divine perfections that makes the saints acceptable to God. "Christ purchased for us that we should have the favour of God and might enjoy his love, but his love is the Holy Ghost."⁵⁶

2.3 The image of God and the Heart

That God is triune is clear to Edwards from the opening verses of Genesis. He saw the Hebrew *Elohim* as "the three persons of the Trinity confederated together as to the grand scheme and design of the creation, as they are in the eternal covenant of redemption."⁵⁷ He was equally clear that humanity was made in the image of God since "we have understanding and will, idea and love." Furthermore, the image is to be found in

⁵² Plantinga Pauw, *The Supreme Harmony of All*, pp.69-80. For a refutation of Plantinga Pauw's position see Studebaker, "Jonathan Edwards's Social Augustinian Trinitarianism," pp. 268-285. See Amy Plantinga Pauw, "One Alone Cannot be Excellent: Edwards on Divine Simplicity," in *Jonathan Edwards: Philosophical Theologian*, ed. Paul Helm and Oliver Crisp (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), pp. 120-121. Edwards himself argues that God is "perfect and absolute simplicity," without parts or complexity. *Freedom of the Will, Works*, 1, p. 376.

⁵³ In "Miscellany" no. 1338, "Necessity of Revelation" *Works*, 23, pp. 345-355. For example, Edwards argues against Tindal's assertion that reason is sufficient to judge revelation, claiming that "God should declare to mankind what manner of Being he is."

⁵⁴ The "Miscellanies," no. 308, in *Works*, 13, p. 392.

⁵⁵ "Treatise on Grace," in *Writings on the Trinity, Grace, and Faith, Works*, 21, p. 189.

⁵⁶ "Discourse on the Trinity," *Works*, 21 p. 136.

⁵⁷ The "Blank Bible," *Works*, 24, Part 1, p. 123.

the heart.⁵⁸ There is an intimate connection between Jesus Christ as the primal, true *imago Dei* and the image of God in humanity. Both the triune God and humans exist as spiritual beings. Both have rational natures possessing understanding or idea, and both possess will and love, but Christ as the eternal image of God is quite distinct from the image found in sinful humanity.⁵⁹

A central and most significant distinction in Edwards' anthropology is that between the natural and moral or spiritual image of God in humanity. Edwards followed Puritan psychology by associating the moral or spiritual image of God in humanity with holiness which was to be found in the redeemed heart.⁶⁰ Since holiness has to do with moral intent and agency, Edwards is of the opinion that the image of God in the heart is associated with the capacity to make moral choices that were consistent with God's holiness, a capacity that was lost in the fall.⁶¹ Before the fall, humanity possessed holiness as well as understanding and love. After the fall, holiness was lost from the heart but the natural image of God remained.

This differentiation in the image is not to be found in Augustine's anthropology. Augustine talked about one image, the fallen image, as a vestige of the original created image but it was not split.⁶² Edwards did share Augustine's view that the natural image of God in humanity is severely defaced and requires the intervention of the Son as divine mediator to reconcile sinners with God the Father. In his capacity as the perfect *imago Dei*, the Son acts as a substitute for sinful humanity in suffering the outworkings of divine justice.

⁵⁸ "Discourse on the Trinity," in *Writings on the Trinity, Grace, and Faith, Works*, 21, p. 113.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.* "Though we cannot conceive of the manner of the divine understanding, yet if it be understanding or anything that can be anyway signified by that word of ours, it is by idea. Though the divine nature be vastly different from that of created spirits, yet our souls are made in the image of God: we have understanding and will, idea and love, as God hath, and the difference is only in the perfection of degree and manner." Edwards concludes his discussion on the Trinity by again referring to the psychological analogy: "The one is in the spiritual creation, the soul of man. There is the mind, and the understanding or idea, and the spirit of the mind as it is called in Scripture, ie, the disposition, the will or affection." (p.138).

⁶⁰ Charles Lloyd Cohen, *God's Caress: The Psychology of Puritan Religious Experience* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), Ch. One, pp. 25-46. "Treatise on Grace," in *Writings on the Trinity, Grace and Faith, Works*, 21, pp. 158, 180, 186-187. Edwards states that those who are not in Christ cannot partake of his holiness which is given as the gift of the Holy Spirit in the heart.

⁶¹ *Religious Affections, Works*, 2, p. 256. Augustine does not make this distinction, but as mentioned above, agrees that the image is deformed.

⁶² *The City of God*, XXII. 24, pp. 1070-1072. Fallen humanity is still capable of knowing truth and loving goodness, but this capacity is God-given and has no value for salvation. Only the heart set on "that Supreme and Unchanging Good" will see God "For even in condemning him God did not deprive man of all the good he had given; had he done so man would have simply ceased to exist."

In the opening statements of his *History of the Work of Redemption*, Edwards summarises his thinking on the divine plan of creation, fall, and redemption. He defines the divine plan as the restoration of individuals and the world to its pre-lapsarian glory.

Man's soul was ruined by the fall; the image of God was defaced, man's nature was corrupted, and he became dead in sin. The design of God was, to restore the soul of man to life and the divine image in conversion, to carry on the change in sanctification and to perfect it in glory...⁶³

The biblical revelation of God's design to restore his image to the heart or soul convinced Edwards that God was triune and that the creation of the soul was of more significance than the creation of the body. His comment on Gen. 2:7 says that God is triune since all three members of the Trinity are involved in the creation of humanity, while there is an implicit reference to the psychological analogy in a brief note on Genesis 1: 26 where he links the Son with reason and understanding in the mind, and the Holy Spirit with the will and inclination:

'Let us make man' is a consultation of the persons of the Trinity about the creation of man, for every person had his particular and distinct concern in it, as well as in the redemption of man. The Father employed the Son and the Holy Ghost in this work. The Son endued man with understanding and reason. The Holy Ghost endued him with a holy will and inclination, with original righteousness.⁶⁴

All of these ideas are found in the *Religious Affections* where Edwards has as the third sign that "truly gracious and holy affections" are found in "a love to divine things for the beauty and sweetness of their moral excellency." He specifies that this moral excellency is "more immediately seated in the heart or will of moral agents." Just as there are moral and natural attributes in God, so there are moral or natural attributes in humanity and they are located in the heart. Edwards writes, "so there is a twofold image of God in man, his moral or spiritual image, which is his holiness, that is the image of God's moral excellency (which image was lost in the fall): and God's natural image, consisting in men's reason and understanding, his natural ability, and dominion over the creatures, which is the image of

⁶³ *History of the Work of Redemption*, Works, 9, p. 124.

⁶⁴ The "Blank Bible," Works, 26, Pt.1, p. 126. See also "The Threefold Work of the Holy Ghost" (1729) in Works, 14, p. 378. "All the three persons are concerned in the salvation of man, as they were in his creation."

God's natural attributes."⁶⁵ God's moral excellency, that is his holiness, is to be prized above all things and God is to be loved for his holiness above all other perfections.⁶⁶ Edwards contends that while the moral and natural attributes of God are inseparable, unhappily for humanity, moral excellency was lost with the Fall. To compound the grievous wound to the heart, the loss of moral excellency did not leave reason unscathed. If that were the case, humanity could use reason to arrive at knowledge of God, an idea to which Edwards was completely opposed.⁶⁷ The whole heart, cognition and affection, have been deformed and the *image Dei* in humanity is irrevocably impaired.

Conversion comes by way of divine revelation through the work of the Trinity in the heart which restores the beauty of the holiness of the moral image of God.⁶⁸ The moral image of God in the saints then issues forth as the spiritual beauty of the human nature of Jesus Christ in "meekness, lowliness, patience, heavenliness, love to God, love to men." The beauty of Christ's human nature is the image and reflection of the beauty of his divine nature and "primarily consists in his holiness."⁶⁹ When converted, the saints become "jewels of Jesus Christ" who have his image stamped on them by his "royal signet" the Holy Spirit.⁷⁰ The wealth that God gives through Christ is the restoration of the "blessed lovely image of God on our souls" so that eventually the saints might live in perfect holiness.⁷¹

Edwards gives great weight to humanity made in the image of God in the heart in a sermon on Genesis 1: 27 preached quite late in his ministry in 1751 to the Mohicans soon after his arrival at Stockbridge. In this sermon, Edwards follows Augustine in equating the original image of God with reason, understanding and love. The divine image was to be found in the heart and, before the fall, shared God's goodness and holiness. It was a "great honour" to be so made, but sin made a "sorrowful alteration" to the image, and in one refusal to obey the "infinitely holy" God, the image was lost and humanity became "low and wild like the beasts." The "image of God is a very honourable thing," so to lose God's

⁶⁵ *Religious Affections, Works*, 2, p. 256.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 257.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 120. : "where there is a kind of light without heat, a head stored with notions and speculations, with a cold and unaffected heart, there can be nothing divine in that light, that knowledge is no true spiritual knowledge of divine things."

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 253-258. In a comment on 1 Cor. 2:11-12, Edwards asserts the "insufficiency of human reason without a divine revelation in things of that nature which the gospel reveals..." The "Blank Bible," Part 2, *Works*, 24, p. 1038.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 258-259.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 232-233.

⁷¹ Unpublished sermon on 2 Cor. 9: 15, May 1737, p. 9. The Jonathan Edwards Centre, Yale Divinity School.

holiness from the heart is a tragedy for all humanity. That the creature who once was “the child of the great King of heaven” should now “wallow in filth and made like the swine” was appalling in Edwards’ eyes. Even though the image of God is not entirely lost with the fall, remaining inasmuch as reason and understanding remain, humanity has lost “the holy image of God,” that which was “most excellent and wherein man’s beauty and excellence chiefly consists.” Holiness, the vital aspect of humanity’s special status as made in the image of God has been defaced by sin, and humanity is little better than the devil, who also possesses reason and understanding, yet lacks holiness. The Trinitarian nature of redemption is cause for great thankfulness. In a wonderful work of God, a “mystical” change in the heart of humanity is effected by “the mighty person of the Son of God.” Jesus Christ has conferred great benefit on the elect by delivering them from sin that “they might be restored to life and made holy and happy” with a “new heart and new mind.” God’s image which is like a “glorious and excellent robe or garment fit for a king” will be restored through Christ’s gift of the work of the Holy Spirit in the heart. “Only “the mighty power of the Spirit of God” will be able to restore the image again so that it will “shine bright with the love of Christ’s beauty and brightness.” The beauty and holiness of God given as gift in the work of the Holy Spirit in the heart transforms “a hateful child of the devil” into a “beautiful child of God.” The heart of a Christian is made into a “temple of God, a house for the glorious kingdom of heaven.” Edwards warns his congregation that no one will see God or heaven unless converted, that is to “have the Image of God in the Heart.” God cannot love those without his image in their hearts or “take them to Himself to dwell with him.” Conversely, sinners cannot love God or take delight in him because they lack holiness and are not “fit to go to heaven.” ⁷² Clearly, in this sermon, the reformation of the image of God in humanity is a work of the triune God that takes place in the heart, but a singular honour is accorded to Jesus Christ.

⁷² Unpublished sermón on Genesis 1: 27, August, (1751).Beinecke Rare Book Library, Yale University, Box 13, Folder 34. This sermon was transcribed by the author from small pieces of paper which were for the most part unnumbered.

2.4 The Centrality of Christ and the Heart in Redemption

Edwards theology reflects Augustine's preoccupation with the centrality of Christ in redemption. There are substantial affinities in their thinking on Christ as mediator and redeemer, and they subscribe to similar notions of deification. The heart is the location for Christ's redemptive work.

In his first publication "God Glorified in Man's Dependence," preached in Boston in 1731 on 1 Cor. 29-31, Edwards acknowledges that "each person of the Trinity is glorified in this work" (i.e. redemption), but forcefully sets forth the centrality of Christ in the divine plan for the salvation of the elect. "Christ is the true light of the world" declares Edwards, "it is through him alone that true wisdom is imparted to the mind. It is in and by Christ that we have righteousness: it is by being in him that we are justified, have our sins pardoned, and are received as righteous into God's favour. It is by Christ that we have sanctification: we have in him true excellency of heart as well of understanding..." The result of all of these benefits for the saints is "spiritual excellency and joy by a kind of participation." In this way, the saints are made "partakers of the divine nature, or moral image of God, they are holy by being made partakers of God's holiness." This holiness is imparted as a "kind of effusion of God on the soul" by the gift of the Holy Spirit who gives "communion with Christ in his fullness."⁷³ Edwards' soteriology is entirely dependent on the influence of Christ on the heart and like Augustine, he sees the reformation of the heart occurring through a process of deification.⁷⁴

The centrality of Christ in the divine plan for creation and redemption is re-iterated in Edwards' "Discourse on the Trinity." Spoken of as God's Wisdom, it is Christ who determines the recipients of divine grace in the gift of the love of God as it flows forth *ad extra*. "But Christ is divine wisdom, so that the world is made to gratify divine love as exercised by Christ, or to provide a spouse for Christ..."⁷⁵ So Edwards would say of Christ's pre-eminence in salvation "Christ Jesus can by lifting one gracious look upon you soften your heart, melt you down in tears of saving repentance and bring you to a joyful

⁷³ "God Glorified in Man's Dependence," Sermon on 1 Cor. 1: 29-31, in *Sermons and Discourses, Works*, 17, p. 201.

⁷⁴ "There is that change and alteration on the soul of the believer and they are so united to Christ, and there is that that Passes between Christ and them and such a relation betwixt them that in God's ascount and Scripture account they are one the faithfull are Look'd on by Christ Jeus as one with him self." Unpublished sermon on John 15:5, Jonathan Edwards Centre, Yale Divinity School, p. 4.

⁷⁵ "Discourse on the Trinity," in *Writings on the Trinity, Grace, and Faith, Works*, 21, p. 142.

entertainment of him as your redeemer.”⁷⁶ It is incumbent on believers “that our hearts do renounce all sin, and that we do with our whole hearts embrace Christ as our only Saviour, and that we love him above all...”⁷⁷

As with Augustine’s express belief that Jesus Christ is central to the restoration of the image of God in the heart in his role of mediator, so does Edwards hold up Christ as the “Great Mediator and Head of Union” in reconciling God and sinners and restoring the image lost in the Fall. One of the earliest “Miscellanies” testifies to Edwards’ deep conviction that God’s love is disinterested (that is, God has no need for human love), but that “by the Incarnation [God] is really become passionate to his own, so that he loves them [with] such a sort of love as we have to him, or to those we most dearly love.”⁷⁸ The recognition of the passionate nature of the divine love which goes to great lengths in search of the beloved is exactly as Augustine perceived Christ’s work in redemption. Such love is known in the hearts of the redeemed.

Another area of concord is in their joint adherence to a form of deification in their depiction of the relationship between God as Trinity and the believer’s heart. The Son of God so loved human nature that he desired a “most near and close union with it, something like the union in the persons of the Trinity, nearer than there can be between any two distinct [beings]”.⁷⁹ In another context Edwards describes salvation in terms of the soul’s partaking with Christ in the “vital union” of the “heart driven to him [i.e. Christ]” that conversion initiates. A real union such as is that between Christ and the saints is one involving the heart and the affections.⁸⁰ The benefits that flow from Christ’s mediatorial role in salvation are satisfaction for sin, making intercessions for the elect and the giving of a new heart.⁸¹ Of the four types of union that are established between Christ and believers, the heart is first and foremost. “The very first thing appertaining in this union between

⁷⁶ Unpublished sermon on Ephesians 2: 5-7, (1734), Jonathan Edwards Centre, Yale Divinity School.

⁷⁷ *Religious Affections*, *Works*, 2, p. 413.

⁷⁸ The “Miscellanies,” no. 2, in *Works*, 13, p. 176.

⁷⁹ The “Miscellanies,” no. 183, *Works*, 13, p. 329.

⁸⁰ “True Saints When Absent from the Body,” Sermon preached on the death of David Brainerd, in *Sermons and Discourses*, *Works*, 16, p. 231. Edwards says, “real union, consisting in the union of hearts and affections, and in the vital union, is begun in this world, and perfected in the next.”

⁸¹ Unpublished sermon on Lk. 2:14 (a), Jonathan Edwards Centre, Yale Divinity School, p. 11. “Christ has purchased mortification of that enmity that is in us against God, and that a new heart should be given to us.”

Christ and his people is the union of hearts...and in consequence of this, believers have their hearts drawn to Christ" and "the people of Christ are united one to another."⁸²

As will be shown, the notion of spiritual union and the imputation of holiness by partaking of the divine nature in the union of hearts is found in Augustine. It is possible that the link between Edwards and Augustine here is a consequence of their shared Neoplatonic heritage, which saw the union of humanity and divinity as the end of creation.⁸³ There are distinctly pantheistic overtones in Neoplatonism, but both Edwards and Augustine are adamant that God's essence is not communicated by a simple participation where both parties contribute equally. It is primarily God's holiness that becomes the saints at conversion as the gift of the Holy Spirit who joins believers with Christ in the heart and thereby begins the work of restoring the image of God to the heart. There is no sense in which believers enjoy a personal identity with God as a result of conversion as Edwards points out in the *Religious Affections*. Having quoted a number of Scriptural references that mention union with God, he insists "Not that the saints are made partakers of the essence of God, and so are "Godded" with God, and "Christed" with Christ, according to the abominable and blasphemous language and notions of some heretics; but to use the Scripture phrase, they are made partakers of God's fullness, that is of God's spiritual beauty and happiness..."⁸⁴ Edwards' protestations, however, were not always well received by his contemporaries, nor by later critics.⁸⁵

⁸² "Sacramental Union in Christ," (1751), in *Sermons and Discourses, Works*, 25, p. 585. There are three other types of union Edwards believes flow from the first vital union of hearts are a relative union, a legal union and a union of conformity and derivation.

⁸³ Michael J. McClymond explores the connection between Edwards and Palamas in "Salvation as Divinisation: Jonathan Edwards, Gregory Palamas and the Theological Uses of Neoplatonism," in *Jonathan Edwards: Philosophical Theologian*, pp. 139-160. In the matter of divinization, the correspondences of thought identified between Edwards and Palamas are close to those shared by Edwards and Augustine. It would seem that the Trinitarian theology of the Eastern Fathers finds some resonances with Edwards. See also Patricia Wilson-Kastner, "God's Infinity and His Relationship to Creation" in *Foundations*, vol. 21, 4, (1978) pp. 305-321. Wilson-Kastner sees a correspondence between Edwards and Gregory in their dependence on Neoplatonism for their understanding of the relationship between God's infinite being and infinite power as the source of all being. (pp. 310-314).

⁸⁴ *Religious Affections, Works*, 2, p. 203. "Heaven is a World of Love," Sermon 15 in "Charity and Its Fruits," in *Works*, 8, p. 370. It must be admitted however, that since like Augustine, Edwards sees the Spirit as "the spirit of divine love, in whom the very essence of God, as it were, all flows out or is breathed forth in love, and by whose immediate influence all holy love is shed abroad in the hearts of all the church"⁸⁴, there is only a fine distinction in his mind between the "infinite essential love of God" or the "infinite and unchangeable act of love" which is the Holy Spirit, and the very essence of the Godhead communicated to the saints by the Trinity. He comes perilously close to panentheism in one of his early writings on the Trinity based on 1 John 4: 8, 16 where John equates the in-dwelling of the Spirit in the heart with love dwelling in Christians. Edwards concluded "We may learn by the Word of God that the Godhead or the divine nature and essence does subsist in love." If God's essence is love and reigns in every heart in heaven, then it is hard to deny that

Union with God in Christ through the agency of the Holy Spirit was not intermittent, but an abiding presence of divine love in the heart which led to a gradual reformation of the moral life. With regard to the consequences of the vital union with Christ that conversion effects, Edwards argues that believers receive “the mark of Christ” on the heart which is “a Christ-like spirit and temper” which makes believers “partakers of the divine” and “made into Christ’s image.”⁸⁶

In a sermon from the mid-thirties, Edwards outlines the means whereby the image of God is restored through the atoning work of Jesus Christ who as both God and man has both natures and so reconciles the two hostile parties. Christ is “the great mediator and head of union in whom all elect creatures in heaven and earth are converted to God and to one another” as Edwards says in his sermon of the same name. The mediatory work of Christ is summarized by Edwards in the following manner as “Christ mediates between these two parties by standing in the stead of both as the representative of each to the other.”⁸⁷ In his capacity of mediator Christ procures the Holy Spirit for the saints and bestows “spiritual holiness and spiritual happiness” in their hearts.⁸⁸ In keeping with the aesthetic strain in his Trinitarianism Edwards designates Christ as the most suitable or fit person to act as mediator because the Father is the first person of the Trinity and so cannot be a mediator, and the Holy Spirit is the benefit to be purchased so cannot be the mediator either. Christ in his atoning sacrificial death is the only one who satisfies the just demands of the law and vindicates God’s majesty and glory. By standing in the sinner’s stead, Christ takes the sinner’s debt upon himself so that God “no longer looks to the sinner who believed in him

Christians partake of the divine essence i.e. love. The “Miscellanies,” No. 117, “Trinity,” *Works*, Vol. 13, pp. 283-284.

⁸⁵ The unpublished letter quoted in n. 243 was written in reply to criticisms of Edwards’ views on participation in the divine nature in the *Religious Affections*. There Edwards uses “communion”, “communication” and “participation”, synonymously. Paul Ramsey notes that Edwards uses three figures of speech to describe the relation of believers to God, the shining forth of light, the flowing of water from a fountain, and a branch that draws sap from a tree trunk. He adds that “sometimes Edwards’ enthusiasm leads him to use language that was easily misinterpreted.” Paul Ramsay, *Works*, 8, pp. 631-63. The passages cited are in *Religious Affections*, *Works*, 2, 200-201; 343, 347.

⁸⁶ “Spiritual Blessings of the Gospel,” in *Sermons and Discourses*, *Works* 14, p. 295.

⁸⁷ “Jesus Christ is the Great Mediator and Head of Union in Whom All Elect Creatures in Heaven and Earth are United to God and to One Another”, in *The Blessing of God: Previously Unpublished Sermons of Jonathan Edwards*, vol. 1, ed. Michael D. McMullen (Nashville: Broadman and Holman, 2003), p. 316. For similar themes see the unpublished sermon on 2 Cor. 9: 15, May 1737, p. 9. Jonathan Edwards Centre, Yale Divinity School. Entitled “Thanks Be to God for his Unspeakable Gift,” this sermon highlights Edwards’ concentration on redemption as a work that takes place in the heart as a result of Christ’s mediating sacrifice.

⁸⁸ “Jesus Christ is the Great Mediator and Head of Union,” p. 316.

for a discharge of the debt but to Christ.”⁸⁹ The sacrifice of Christ is the way that sinners may be “united in heart” with God the Trinity. Through the incarnation, Christ brought his divinity to humanity, and as he was also possessed of human nature, he takes up “humanity with him to God.” He appeals to the saints “to give up their hearts to him [Christ], and so [Christ] draws them to him and brings God to dwell with those saints on earth in their conversion.”⁹⁰ Faith is “our hearty acceptance of Christ as our mediator” so Edwards exhorts his congregation “in their hearts to close with their glorious head of reconciliation and union of sinful men with God.”⁹¹

One of Edwards’ most affecting sermons depicting the intimacy between Christ and the heart of believers is one preached in 1737 where he entreats the saints to thank God for the “unspeakable gift” that is Christ, not a mere man but God’s son, not by adoption, creation, or regeneration, but his only begotten son, “the brightness of his Father’s glory and the express image of his person.” God gave Christ to the saints to share their “poor, weak, broken state,” to have his “honour trampled on, his precious blood, his body, his precious life, his precious soul” given in some way to the devil, to “endure the terrible wrath of God in his soul, made poor “that we by his poverty might be rich.” The happiness of the saints in heaven will be greater than the happiness of Adam in Eden, because of the great love Christ has for the saints. Such love, suggests Edwards, should be “enough to overpower and dissolve the most ungrateful and hard heart.”

Christ not only condescends to die for sinners, he invites sinners to “yield their hearts to him” when “he knocks at the door of their hearts.” He is importunate in wooing the hearts of both the saints and the unregenerate as “Sabbath by Sabbath” he “repeats his calls and invitations” to repentance, showering the saints with good gifts as he draws their hearts to himself. Nothing could be more lovely than “to have the heart going forth in love to such a blessed one and pleasant is it to receive the testimonies of his love” in return. Christ is willing to admit the saints “into his society and conversation, to admit us to be his friends and companions and communicate himself freely and fully to us.” The only suitable response to such sacrificial, unmerited love is for the saints to “give him [Christ] our hearts,

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 319.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 322-323.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 326.

our supreme love.”⁹² On the basis of Edwards’ appeals to the heart it is not an overstatement to claim that it is the paramount image of the inner life in his Trinitarianism.

Notwithstanding Edwards’ many references to Christ’s work as mediator of divine love to the heart, he is ever mindful that the whole Trinity is involved in the work of redemption. It is part of the beauty and harmony of the Trinity that all three persons contribute equally.⁹³ The special role of the Holy Spirit as the union of love between the members of the Trinity favoured by Augustine is enunciated in Edwards’ Trinitarianism as the means whereby the love of God is imparted to the saints in the work of redemption according to divine covenants agreed to within the immanent Trinity.⁹⁴

2.5 The Holy Spirit and the Restoration of the image of God in the Heart

Edwards’ triune God is inclined or disposed to communicate his abundant love *ad intra* as manifest between the Father and Son through the mutual love of the Holy Spirit, *ad extra* in the work of the economic Trinity in creation and redemption.⁹⁵ There is a suitable consonance between the immanent and economic Trinity in Edwards’ designation of the person of the Holy Spirit as the mutual love of the Father and Son who is the unity of the immanent Trinity and the agent of the economic Trinity actively at work in the believer’s heart. The prominence accorded the Holy Spirit in his Trinitarianism demonstrates Edwards’ essential agreement with Augustine that the Holy Spirit is co-equal, consubstantial and co-

⁹² See “Thanks Be to God for his Unspeakable Gift,” p. 11. This sermon highlights Edwards’ concentration on redemption as a work that takes place in the heart as a result of Christ’s mediation.

⁹³ See “Of God the Father,” a sermon on 1 Cor. 11: 3, in *Sermons and Discourses, Works*, 25, pp. 144-154. Edwards says, “The whole Trinity is concerned in the work of our redemption. It is a work designed for the glory of each person.” (p. 144). This is the first of a trilogy of sermons on the Trinity preached in 1746. The second on the Son is based on 1 John 4: 14 and the third on the Spirit is on Gal. 3: 13-14. The latter two have not been fully transcribed owing to the poor copies of the sermons. Edwards’ excursion into a speculative vein in the Trinitarianism of his *Discourse on the Trinity* has to be balanced by other references to the Trinity that project an almost neo-Arian tendency in the sermons that Edwards preached in March 1746. There is a strongly hierarchical Trinitarian framework. That they are a trilogy is confirmed by notations on each of the sermons referring to the other two, and he cites the three sermons in the “Table” in the *Miscellanies* in two different places relating to the Trinity. The “*Miscellanies*,” *Works*, 13, pp. 131, 149.

⁹⁴ Covenant theology taught that the Father, from eternity had covenanted with the Son to redeem the elect. This covenant with the Son was known as the “Covenant of Redemption.” The Son, in turn, established a covenant with the church (of whom he was the head and representative). This covenant, the “Covenant of Grace” ensures that the elect in the church will be saved by Christ’s propitiatory sacrifice. See Amy Plantinga Pauw, *The Supreme Harmony of All*, Ch. 3, “Covenantal Harmonies,” pp. 91-118. See also Gerald R. McDermott, “Jonathan Edwards and the National Covenant: Was He Right?” in *The Legacy of Jonathan Edwards: American Religion and the Evangelical Tradition*, Ch. 8, pp. 147-157.

⁹⁵ “Dissertation 1. Concerning the End for which God Created the World,” in *Ethical Writings, Works*, 8, p. 433. The chief end for which God created the world, consists in “the disposition to communicate himself, or diffuse his own fullness,” so that “there might be a glorious and abundant emanation of his infinite fullness of good *ad extra*.”

eternal with the Father and Son,⁹⁶ despite the paucity of Scriptural evidence to substantiate that the Holy Spirit is the personification of God's love.

Moreover, as mentioned previously, Edwards' exposition of the work of the persons in the economic Trinity has some affinities with Augustine's association of divine understanding or wisdom with the Son and divine love with the Spirit, which in turn approximate the faculties of understanding and love in sinners' minds.⁹⁷ "God glorifies himself towards the creatures in two ways" he writes, first "by appearing to them, being manifested to their understandings" and secondly, "in communicating himself to their hearts, and in their rejoicing and delighting in and enjoying the manifestations which he makes of himself."⁹⁸ While the Son gives understanding, the economic role of the Holy Spirit is to "dwell in our hearts as a vital principle" so that "we are made partakers with the Father and Son of their good, i.e. their love, joy and beauty."⁹⁹ The purpose of the creation was that God might communicate, and the creature receive, his glory, but that it might [be] received both by the mind and heart."¹⁰⁰

This love is the bond and fullness between Father and Son who have fellowship and communion with one another and with their people in the Holy Spirit. Both the holiness and happiness of the Godhead consist in their will or love, and the Holy Spirit is the "'bond of perfectness' throughout the whole blessed society or family in heaven and earth."¹⁰¹ All of the work of redemption as carried out by the Trinity affects the heart. It is the heart that is drawn by the beauty of Christ's mediatorial role in salvation. This follows as a consequence of the combined gift of Father and Son in the person of the Holy Spirit who changes the inclination of the heart from self love to love of God. The image of God *in humanity* is gradually restored in the process of sanctification as the Holy Spirit imparts holiness to the heart.¹⁰²

⁹⁶ See The "Miscellanies," in *Works*, 13, nos. 94, 96, 98, 117, 143, 144, 146, 151, 157, 181, 217, 223, 238, 259, 260, all composed by June-Oct. 1727. There are also other Miscellanies which treat individual members of the Trinity. *Works* 13, 256-63; 263-64; 265; 271-72; 283-84; 299; 299-300; 301-302; 307; 328; 344; 346; 353-354; 367; 368. See also "The Threefold Work of the Holy Ghost" (1729) in *Works* 14, pp. 371-436. Here, Edwards refers to the covenant of redemption, the atoning work of Christ, participation in Christ's righteousness through the gift of the Holy Ghost and the marks of grace in a believer's heart.

⁹⁷ *The Trinity*, XV.43, p. 428.

⁹⁸ The "Miscellanies," no. 448, "End of the Creation" in *Works*, 13, p. 495.

⁹⁹ "Discourse on the Trinity," in *Writings on the Trinity, Grace, and Faith*, *Works*, 21, p. 124.

¹⁰⁰ The "Miscellanies," no. 448, "End of the Creation" in *Works*, 13, p. 495.

¹⁰¹ "Treatise on Grace," in *Writings on the Trinity, Grace, and Faith*, *Works* 21, p. 186.

¹⁰² In an early sermon "True Love to God," *Sermons and Discourses*, *Works*, 10, p. 638, Edwards says that the fifth reason why love to God is easy and pleasant is because "the soul, having had a discovery of the glories

That holiness is to be found in the heart as a Trinitarian gift of the Holy Spirit is the theme of one of Edwards' early sermons "The Way of Holiness," preached in 1722. In this sermon, he defines holiness in three aspects. First, it is a "conformity of the heart and the life unto God," in which holiness of heart dictates outward behaviour. Such holiness "is the image of God, his likeness, in him that is holy."¹⁰³ The conformity desired is that of the human will to God's will which always wills what is just, right, excellent and lovely. The constant inclination of the heart must conform to God's moral attributes. Secondly, holiness is to be seen in the perfections in Jesus Christ who, as the express image of God, conforms to God the Father. As mediator, Christ is near to humanity and the exemplar of everything that is holy. Believers must conform to Christ if they would be holy.¹⁰⁴ Thirdly, holiness is conformity to God's laws and commands all of which are exemplified in the Sermon on the Mount. "If you feel Christ's Sermon on the Mount engraven on the fleshly tables of your heart, you are truly sanctified"¹⁰⁵ says Edwards. The image of God, the example of Christ and the rules of the Gospel should all be engraved on the heart for holiness. Nothing else suffices says Edwards.

There is an echo of Augustine in this sermon in his depiction of the journey to heaven as suitable only for the pure in heart. Spiritual discernment is necessary for the saints to know whether or not they are pure in heart and on the road to heaven. Edwards suggests five ways to discern the holiness in the heart that comes with participation in the divine Trinitarian life of love. First is some evidence of likeness or conformity in the heart to God's holiness; second conformity of life; third, conformity to the word of God that is written on the heart; fourth, conformity to the lives of Biblical heroes and fifth, conformity to the saints in heaven who love God's glory, Christ's beauty, and each other. In the end, holiness is to be prized above all other virtues because it is "a divine beauty, makes the soul (heart) heavenly and far purer than anything here in earth." Furthermore, holiness makes the soul "a little, amiable, and delightful image of the blessed Jehovah."¹⁰⁶

Edwards' description of the affectional aspect of the Holy Spirit in the movement of the heart is reminiscent of Augustine. It is "to quicken, enliven and beautify all things; to

of God made to it and being ravished thereby, is transformed into the same image from glory to glory, so that he may see the image of those beloved beauties and excellencies reflected on himself."

¹⁰³ "The Way of Holiness," in *Sermons and Discourses, Works*, 10, p. 472.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 472-473.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 473.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 479.

sanctify intelligent [creatures]; and to comfort and delight them.”¹⁰⁷ The first function is the consequence of the Holy Spirit’s role as the energy of God involved in the creation of the world, where as the beauty and joy of God, he gives sweetness and beauty to all things. The second task is to sanctify the hearts of the saints. God’s own holiness is imparted to the believer’s heart at conversion since Edwards equates the gift of the Holy Spirit to the heart with the presence of Christ himself in the heart.¹⁰⁸ The last of Edwards’ criteria for the functions of the Holy Spirit is to comfort and delight the saints by pouring out God’s love and affection into their hearts. Following Augustine, Edwards announces that the gift of divine love and delight in the heart procures the communion of the saints with God and with one another.¹⁰⁹ The divine affections, love and delight, naturally flow forth in believer’s hearts because the heart is their natural home.¹¹⁰

In one of his earlier sermons on 2 Cor. 6:10, Edwards was happy to assert that after conversion, “all the Persons of the Trinity are the Christians; [the Christian] has an interest in all the Persons of the Trinity.”¹¹¹ This is almost identical with Augustine’s belief that after conversion “the whole triad dwells in us.”¹¹² A summary of Edwards’ vision of the special tasks of each of the persons in the conversion of the heart in his Trinitarian theology appears in a sermon preached in the mid-1730’s. He encourages his congregation by telling them that “Christ as mediator purchases holiness and spiritual happiness for men”, the end result of which is the “bestowment and indwelling and influence and fruits of the Holy Ghost in the heart.”¹¹³ In this way, God reveals his true glory. Ultimately, the only true test for conversion is perseverance in the face of trials and temptations, and this is achieved because the true Christian continues “partaking with Christ in his resurrection life.”

¹⁰⁷ “Discourse on the Trinity,” in *Writings on the Trinity, Grace, and Faith Works*, 21, p. 123.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 124, 129. “It is a confirmation that the Holy Ghost is God’s love and delight, because the saints’ communion with God consists in their partaking of the Holy Ghost. The communion of saints is twofold: ‘tis their communion with God and their communion with one another. Communion is a common partaking of good, either of excellency or happiness, so when it is said the saints have communion or fellowship with the Father and with the Son, the meaning of it is that they partake with the Father and the Son of their good, which is either their excellency and glory, or of their joy and happiness.” Edwards continues, “true spiritual excellency, grace and holiness, the sum of which is love to God, which is [nothing] but the in-dwelling of the Holy Ghost in the heart,” [who bestows] ...spiritual joy and comfort, which is a participation of God’s joy and happiness.”

¹⁰⁹ “Discourse on the Trinity,” in *Writings on the Trinity, Grace, and Faith Works*, 21, p. 129. *The Trinity*, XV. 31, p. 421. “So it is God the Holy Spirit proceeding from God who fires man to the love of God and neighbour when he has been given to him, and he himself is love.”

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 129.

¹¹¹ Sermon on 2 Cor. 6: 10, Jonathan Edwards Centre, Yale Divinity School, p. 20.

¹¹² *The Trinity*, XV. 32, p. 421.

¹¹³ “Jesus Christ is the Great Mediator and Head of Union,” p. 316.

The temptation to sin is ever-present and for Edwards as for Augustine, even the glimpse of divine glory through the transformed heart is insufficient to guarantee an unswerving path to union with God. In “A Divine and Supernatural Light” preached in August 1733 based on Matthew 16:17, Edwards pointed out that Peter had been singled out for special blessing in receiving that spiritual light in the heart which enabled him to recognize the divinity of Christ.

Peter was again the subject of a sermon in August 1740 in which Edwards reminded his congregation of the perilous temptations to which the heart is subject. Citing Peter’s fall from grace in Luke 22: 32, Edwards speaks of the need for a subsequent work of grace which may involve God “giving the soul a new and much clearer understanding of divine things.”¹¹⁴ It is imperative that those who are weak in grace “pass under a new work of God’s Spirit upon their hearts...to cause them to live more as becomes saints,”¹¹⁵ and it is the continuing task of the economic Trinity to bring about “the gradual restoration of that image of God that we once had and was lost by the fall.”¹¹⁶ Whether the first moment of conversion or the lifelong progress of the soul in holiness, it is “all one work of sanctification,”¹¹⁷ accomplished by the Trinity.

Edwards’ “indwelling principle” in the heart is “a principle of divine love” which cannot be separated into love of God and love of neighbour. A proper love to the world is the consequence of the conversion of the heart. Using the image of the “enlarged heart” to signify the benefits of the gift of grace bestowed by the Holy Spirit, an image that Augustine enjoyed,¹¹⁸ in his “Charity” sermons, Edwards paints a somber picture of the unregenerate heart that is pre-occupied with inordinate self-love.¹¹⁹ The Fall has diminished the soul which formerly was “enlarged to a kind of comprehension of all his

¹¹⁴ “The Subjects of a First Work of Grace May Need a New Conversion,” in *Sermons and Discourses, Works*, 22, p. 188. See also “Treatise on Grace,” in *Writings on the Trinity, Grace, and Faith, Works*, 21, 161. In his *Treatise on Grace*, after contrasting the qualitative differences between common and saving grace, Edwards draws the inference “that it must needs be that conversion is wrought at once. That knowledge, that reformation and conviction that is preparatory to conversion may be gradual, and the work of grace after conversion may be gradually carried on, yet that work of grace upon the soul whereby a person is brought out of a state of total corruption and depravity into a state of grace, to an interest in Christ, and to be actually a child of God is in a moment.”

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 195.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 190.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁸ *Confessions*, I. 5. 6, p. 6: “The house of my soul is too small for you to come to it. May it be enlarged by you.” (CCSL 27, 3). “Angusta est domus animae meae, quo uenias ad eam: dilatetur abs te.”

¹¹⁹ “Charity and Its Fruits,” Sermon Seven in *Ethical Writings, Works*, 8, pp. 252-271.

fellow creatures,”¹²⁰ but God in his mercy has infused a new principle of divine love in the heart so that the saints might have the kind of self-love which flows out to others who become recipients of a spirit “to seek the good of their fellow creatures.”¹²¹ The principle of intratrinitarian, divine love that informs the work of the Trinity in redemption “is the same principle in the heart which is the foundation of the exercises of a truly Christian love” says Edwards, and “it is all from the same Spirit influencing the heart.”¹²² Without divine love in the heart, the saints do not “shine” or become “little images of that Sun which shines upon them.”¹²³ Love of, or to God, is consequent upon a recognition of the divine excellency and goodness, with the result that that the saints can almost “taste the sweetness of the divine relation” in the heart.¹²⁴

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 253.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 259. In this sermon Edwards points out that self-love is not evil *per se*. It is self-love that drives the universal quest for happiness, as Augustine in Book XIII of *The Trinity* first suggests, but inordinate self-love which is not grounded in Trinitarian love is evil.

¹²² Sermon One, “Charity and Its Fruits,” in *Ethical Writings, Works*, 8, p. 132.

¹²³ *Religious Affections, Works*, 2, p. 201.

¹²⁴ “Treatise on Grace,” in *Writings on the Trinity, Grace, and Faith, Works*, 21, p. 173.

AUGUSTINE

2.6 The Historical Background to Augustine's Trinitarianism

Lewis Ayres has shown that by the time Augustine began *The Trinity* in 399 his Trinitarian views were firmly established and followed the tradition established by Nicea and Constantinople but well before 399, Augustine had adopted the traditional post-conciliar orthodoxies.¹²⁵ Augustine turned his attention to the doctrine of the Trinity soon after his conversion and it is central to his theology and spirituality. It is mentioned in his earliest writings at Cassiciacum, is in the early letters and sermons, and is treated at length in his major treatise *De Trinitate* which was begun c. 399 but not completed until the 420s.¹²⁶

As with all his writings, Augustine was not exploring the Trinity in a vacuum, despite claims to the contrary.¹²⁷ The Donatist schism was still of concern as were the claims of some Arians that the Son was in some respects subordinate to the Father. The Pelagian view that humanity was free to accept or reject divine grace was another cause for concern for Augustine, as indeed it was for Edwards who fought a life-long battle with the Arminians. Engagement with these perceived heresies was a continuing preoccupation.¹²⁸

Trinitarian theology was "in the air" so to speak during the fourth and fifth centuries, and Augustine was familiar with the major extant works.¹²⁹

¹²⁵ Lewis Ayres, "The Grammar of Augustine's Trinitarian Theology," in *Augustine and His Critics*, R. Dodaro and G. Lawless eds., (London: Routledge, 2000), pp. 364-383; C.C. Pecknold, "How Augustine Used the Trinity: Functionalism and the Development of Doctrine," in *Anglican Theological Review*, vol. 85, 1, (2003), pp. 127-142.

¹²⁶ By the time Augustine wrote "Of True Religion," in the spring of 387, he had stated the doctrine of the Incarnation of God's son and named the Arians and Photinians as heretics. "Of True Religion," V. 9; VII. 13; XVI. 30, in Burleigh, *Augustine: Earlier Writings*, pp. 230; 232; 239.

¹²⁷ See John Cavadini, "The Structure and Intention of Augustine's *De trinitate*," in *Augustinian Studies*, 23 (1992), pp. 102-123.

¹²⁸ In Sermon 71.5 written around the time Augustine completed *The Trinity*, he lists a number of heresies to be avoided including the Arians, the Eunomians, the Macedonians, the Sabellians, and the Photinians. *WSA*, III/III, p. 249.

¹²⁹ Cavadini, "The Structure and Intention of Augustine's *De trinitate*." Augustine knew the writings of the major Latin Western theologians including Tertullian, and had read the treatises on the Trinity by Marius Victorinus and Hilary of Poitiers, quoting Hilary in *The Trinity* on the special properties of the three persons of the Trinity, explaining to his readers what Hilary meant in saying "Eternity in the Father, form in the image, use in the gift." He had heard Ambrose of Milan preaching and teaching and had most likely read his *De spiritu sancto* (c.381), which was partly inspired by Basil the Great and showed some reliance upon Didymus the Blind. He was also conversant with the views of the Greek theologians of the Eastern church, despite an absence of facility with Greek itself. Irene Chevalier concluded from a careful study that Augustine was familiar with the work on the Trinity completed by the Greek theologians, stating "it is certain that Augustine was familiar with some of the Trinitarian writings of Athanasius, Basil and Gregory Nazianzen, Epiphanius, and Didymus the Blind. Irene Chevalier, *S. Augustin et la Pensée Grecque: Les Relations Trinitaires*, (Fribourg, 1940), p. 160. For a succinct yet helpful review of Trinitarian development in

One other important facet of Augustine's philosophical milieu to impinge upon his Trinitarianism is Neoplatonism, mediated through the work of Plotinus and his interpreter, Porphyry.¹³⁰ The influence of Neoplatonic themes is also to be found in Edwards and this shared philosophical background helps to account for some of the similarities in their Trinitarian theology of the heart. These correspondences include belief in a two-tiered universe with the higher divine realm a model for the lower sensible world, simplicity of the divine being, adherence to a form of emanation theory,¹³¹ the otherworldliness of the life of the Christian pilgrim longing for God, the idea that happiness is to be found only in God, divine illumination and the concept of deification.¹³²

While Augustine admits to admiration for and some affinity with the Neoplatonists, at the back of his mind immediately prior to his conversion was the spectre of a Neoplatonic universe which did not include Christ as saviour. The Platonists may be lauded for their affinities with some aspects of Christianity, but Augustine is quick to distance himself from their refusal to accept the Incarnation and lordship of Christ, thereby obviating the necessity for a Trinitarian God. He castigates them for falling short of worshipping the one true God, the one who is "the source of our bliss" who "when we lift up our hearts to him, our heart is his altar."¹³³

It is coming from this background that Augustine developed his Trinitarian theology.¹³⁴ While anxious to clarify what it meant for God to be both one and three, he

the third and fourth centuries see Pecknold, "How Augustine Used the Trinity: Functionalism and the Development of Doctrine," pp. 129-131. Lewis Ayres, "The Christological Context of Augustine's *De trinitate* XIII: Towards Relocating Books VIII-XV," in *Augustinian Studies*, 29, 1 (1998), pp. 111-139.

¹³⁰ A. Hilary Armstrong, "St Augustine and Christian Platonism," The Saint Augustine Lecture 1966, given at Villanova University. Accessed online at www.augustinian.villanova.edu/Augustinian. A. Hilary Armstrong is happy to call Augustine a Christian Platonist, but has outlined the danger of assuming that Christian Neoplatonism is easy to define. Reservations notwithstanding, Armstrong is prepared to allow that Augustine, in common with Gregory of Nyssa, gives a very Plotinian account of the journey of the soul which must look inwards and then upwards to the divine light for illumination on the way back to God. Others have acknowledged Augustine's debt to the Neoplatonists, some insisting that he failed to move beyond it after his conversion. A summary of those arguments can be found in Eugene Teselle, *Augustine The Theologian*, (London: Burns & Oates, 1970), pp. 43-45, 242-249, 256-257.

¹³¹ It must be said that although neither Edwards nor Augustine believed that the world was an emanation from God in the Plotinian sense, both use the term "emanation" when referring to the processions within the immanent Trinity, and in Edwards' case, occasionally when speaking of the economic Trinity. Creation and Redemption are spontaneous flowings of the will and love with which God wills and loves himself.

¹³² Augustine himself acknowledges his agreement with Plotinus' views on divine illumination and the closeness of the rational soul to God in Book X. 2-3 of the *City of God*., pp. 374-375. Edwards Neoplatonic sympathies have been discussed in the introduction.

¹³³ *Ibid.*

¹³⁴ *The Trinity* is mentioned in the Cassiciacum writings, (387-388) albeit briefly, in "Letter 11," (389) *WSA*, vol. II/ 1, pp. 35-38, "Letter 169," (415) in *WSA*, II/3, pp. 156-210, and "Sermon 52," (410-412), in *WSA*, III/III, pp. 51-94.

was also anxious to defend the Trinity against competing philosophies. He endorsed the work of his pro-Nicene predecessors and added to their insights, providing the most articulate and systematic exposition of the doctrine of the Trinity in late antiquity.

Throughout church history, Trinitarian speculations have been promulgated on the unity in multiplicity paradigm, beginning, so it is often argued, either with the unity of the Godhead, or the threeness of the persons within the Godhead.¹³⁵ The polarisation of the “threeness/oneness” paradigm became the starting point for much contemporary writing on the Trinity initiated in the nineteenth century by De Regnon’s division of Trinitarian theology into two camps. In the Latin West, Augustine was purported to begin with the divine unity at the expense of the three persons. Augustine’s Western Trinitarianism is distinguished by his use of psychological analogies that relate the threefold structure of the mind’s self-relatedness of memory, understanding and will with the threefold pattern of divine life to describe the intratrinitarian relationships. Both Augustine and Edwards used a form of the psychological analogy to explain the processions of the persons in the immanent Trinity. The Father is the foundation of the Trinity, the Son is the understanding or idea of the Father, and the Holy Spirit is the mutual love and delight of Father and Son.¹³⁶

Eastern Trinitarianism, on the other hand, is exemplified by the Cappadocian Fathers and Richard of St. Victor who were presumed to follow the opposite course. Their Trinitarianism is supposedly characterized by the use of social analogies which illuminate the immanent Trinity in terms of the personal relationships that exist between Father, Son

¹³⁵ During the first four centuries the major doctrinal positions regarding Trinitarian language to try and express “God as Trinity” were established and codified at the Councils of Nicea (325), and Constantinople (381). As the church Fathers grappled with the formulation of an adequate terminology to express the Biblical data on the one God as the Trinity of Father, Son and Holy Spirit, two opposing clusters of heresies emerged, one emphasising the unity of the Godhead, and the other emphasising the distinction between the persons in the Godhead. To clarify the Biblical witness, the Council of Nicea affirmed that Jesus Christ was God himself, *homoousios*, (“of the same substance”) with the Father. The Council of Constantinople asserted that the Holy Spirit as well as the Father and Son was *homoousios*. God is by definition then, “one in substance, distinguished in three persons” (*mia ousia, tres hypostases*). In spite of the varied understandings of the Trinitarian terminology used to describe what to many seemed to be indescribable, the parameters were set for Trinitarian orthodoxy for the next sixteen hundred years. Two helpful studies of the history of Trinitarian doctrine are Louis Berkhof, *The History of Christian Doctrines*, Reprint (Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 1995) and R. P. C. Hanson, *The Search for the Christian Doctrine of God: The Arian Controversy, 318-381* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1988).

¹³⁶ *The Trinity*, X, 18-19, pp. 298-299. Edwards, “Discourse on the Trinity,” in *Writings on the Trinity, Grace, and Faith, Works*, 21, p. 138.

and Holy Spirit.¹³⁷ At the heart of God the Cappadocians saw an interpersonal communion or *koinonia*, with communion a characteristic of all three persons, not just the Holy Spirit. God's inner being is relational in a way that its critics claimed verges on tritheism, although Gregory of Nyssa took pains to argue that "there are not three gods."¹³⁸ Unity lay in the monarchical position of the Father, from whom the Son is sent and the Holy Spirit proceeds.

From this basic division of Trinitarian theology into Western and Eastern paradigms arose criticisms that Augustine neglected the personal focus of the Trinity.¹³⁹ I would argue to the contrary that there is a strongly affective dimension to Augustine's Trinitarianism. This is exemplified in his depiction of the love, joy and delight of the immanent Trinity which joins the Trinity to the heart of the believer. While Augustine's use of the heart is metaphorical, it represents a drawing together of the whole of the interior life of a person including the mind, the affections and the will. It is to this interiority of the spiritual life that God as Trinity relates in a loving intimate relationship.

This notion of Trinitarian theology developing along different trajectories has been questioned in recent scholarship and it is now clear that there were affinities and considerable overlapping between Greek and Latin based Trinitarian theologies which make a simple division into "Eastern" or "Western" Trinitarianism problematic.¹⁴⁰ This supposed division has relevance when it comes to comparing the Trinitarian theologies of Augustine and Edwards. It is clear that Edwards shares aspects of Augustine's Trinitarianism, and both Trinitarian models, the psychological and social, are evident in

¹³⁷ For recent studies in Trinitarian theology see Thomas Torrance, *The Christian Doctrine of God: One Being, Three Persons* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1996); David Coffey, *Deus Trinitas: The Doctrine of the Triune God* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999); John Zizioulas "The Doctrine of the Holy Trinity: The Significance of the Cappadocian Contribution" in *Trinitarian Theology Today: Essays on Divine Being and Act*, ed., C. Schwobel, (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1996); Catherine M. LaCugna, *God For Us: The Trinity and Christian Life* (San Francisco: Harper Collins, 1991); Colin Gunton, "Augustine, The Trinity and the Theological Crisis of the West," *Scottish Journal of Theology*, Vol. 43, 1, (1990), pp. 33-58. For a rebuttal of Gunton, see Neil Ormerod, "Augustine and the Trinity: Whose Crisis?" *Pacifica*, 16, (February, 2003), pp. 17-32.

¹³⁸ Quoted by Gerald O'Collins, in *The Tri-Personal God: Understanding and Interpreting the Trinity* (New York: Paulist Press, 1999), p. 9.

¹³⁹ Lewis Ayres, "The Fundamental Grammar of Augustine's Trinitarian Theology," pp. 51-76. See also Pecknold, pp. 127-135.

¹⁴⁰ See Lewis Ayres, "Remember that you are Catholic" (serm. 52.2): Augustine on the Unity of the Triune God" in *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 8:1, (2000), pp. 39-82. Ayres views Augustine's Trinitarianism as "embedded in Pro-Nicene theology and focused around the need to explain the inseparable operation of the triune God." p. 39. Other scholars to question the division include M. R. Barnes, "The Use of Augustine in Contemporary Trinitarian Theology", *Theological Studies* 56 (1995), pp. 237-251; "De Regnon Reconsidered," *Augustinian Studies* 26 (1995), pp. 51-79.

their writings. In contrast to Augustine, Edwards pays more attention to the social analogy. From what follows below I would argue that both men draw from the Cappadocians, albeit analogically, in placing a unifying emphasis on the communality of the Holy Spirit as the perichoretic, co-inherent unity of the Trinity which is totally relational. Both readings of the Trinity share an insistence on God as Trinity relating to humanity as the pinnacle of creation through the medium of the heart.

2.7 The Psychological Analogy and the Heart

The involvement of the heart in his exploration of the Trinitarian mysteries is mentioned in a sermon on the inseparable Trinity preached c. AD 410-412. Here, Augustine reminds his congregation that knowledge of God is a revelation from God that will originate in the heart and must be believed in the heart. "Let words be stilled, the tongue cease from wagging, let the heart be stirred, the heart be lifted to the mystery." He goes on to tell his congregation that understanding the Trinity is not something intrinsic that can be dredged up from the depths of the heart, but is "something to which the heart of man should rise up."¹⁴¹ All knowledge and experience of God as Trinity will come from the heart seeking God who will reveal as much as can be revealed to creatures with little understanding, but whose hearts can intuit something of the love of the ineffable Trinity through faith. In an effort to clarify the Trinity for his hearers he then turns to examine the idea of humanity made "after a certain image and after a certain likeness" of God and introduces the mental triad of memory, understanding and will to be considered as a possible analogy for the Trinity of Father, Son and Holy Spirit. He commends the triad to his hearers as something "indicated separately, operating inseparably" and leaves it to their reflections,¹⁴² which in another sermon, will take place in the heart, for "sound remains in the ears, meaning goes down to the heart".¹⁴³

Some thirty years after his first excursus into the doctrine of the Trinity, Augustine finished his most sustained study of the doctrine and his major theoretical work, *The Trinity*.¹⁴⁴ Not forsaking his polemical intent,¹⁴⁵ it is clear that the heart is never far from

¹⁴¹ "Sermon 52.15," *WSA*, III/3, p. 56.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, pp. 18-22, 58-62.

¹⁴³ "Sermon 28.4.," (397), *WSA*, III/2, p. 112.

¹⁴⁴ See Michel Barnes, "Augustine in Contemporary Trinitarian Theology," for a summary of recent appraisals of Augustine's Trinitarianism. For a somewhat negative view of Augustine's trinitarianism, see Catherine Mowry La Cugna, *God For Us*, p. 81. For Augustine's use of substance metaphysics see Edmund Hill's Introduction to *The Trinity*, *WSA*, I/5, pp.43-45, 50, 202-203 (notes to ch. V). Augustine discusse

the surface in *The Trinity*.¹⁴⁶ The exercise in interiority whereby Augustine hopes to penetrate the mystery of “the unity and equality of the three persons of the Trinity (*unitas et aequalitas trinitatis*),”¹⁴⁷ is undertaken in order that God in Christ through the agency of the Holy Spirit “will bring believers to the direct contemplation of God, in which all good

person and substance in *The Trinity*, VII. 7-11, *WSA*, 1/5, pp. 224-230, and also in “Letter 120.16-17,” *WSA*, II/2, p. 138. Augustine is unhappy with the word “substance” and prefers “essence.” For an overview of Trinitarian thinking in the early church, see Basil Studer, *Trinity and Incarnation: The Faith of the Early Church*, trans. Matthias Werterhoff, ed., Andrew Louth (Collegeville, The Liturgical Press, 1993), pp. 170-185. For a comparison of Edwards’ and Augustine’s use of “substance” see William J. Daniher Jr., *The Trinitarian Ethics of Jonathan Edwards*, Ch.1, 16-66, 27. Two major criticisms of Augustine’s Trinitarianism relate to his understanding of “substance.” The first is Augustine’s appropriation of an Aristotelian substance metaphysic to explain the divine unity. It is argued that it detracts from the relationality of the persons in the Trinity and is not a useful category for understanding the Trinity in the twenty-first century. Augustine himself found the distinction between substance and relation unsatisfying as he did the concept of person. Given his dissatisfaction with the terminology, for example he says that for the Latins, “being” and “substance” mean the same, so that most Latin authors prefer one being or substance, three persons, while his Greek colleagues prefer “one being, three substances. It is perhaps wiser to allow some hesitation in his application of what is in effect, ambivalence terminology, rather than accuse him of attenuating personhood in the Trinity. The second is his determination that the image of God is to be found in the mind, thus agreeing, so it is said to a dualistic ontology which restricts the scope for a fully human ontology. I would argue that neither his use of substance metaphysics nor his location of the image of God in the mind detracts from Augustine’s depiction of the Trinity as the means for the reformation of the human heart. There is a balance between the unity and plurality of the Trinitarian being of God in Augustine’s Trinitarianism. The immanent Trinity does not swallow up the economic Trinity, nor is relationality subsumed under substance.

See also Colin Gunton, “Trinity, Ontology and Anthropology: Towards a Renewal of the Doctrine of the *Imago Dei*,” in *Persons, Divine and Human*, King’s College Essays in Theological Anthropology, eds., Christoph Schwobel and Colin E. Gunton (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1991), pp. 47-61. Gunton sees Augustine’s Trinitarianism as too individualistic. Instead he favours viewing the Trinity from the perspective of the three persons in communion to arrive at a position where “to be made in the image of God is to be endowed with a particular kind of personal reality”, that is, to find one’s humanity in relationship. (pp. 58-59). I would take issue with Gunton’s criticisms of Augustine’s individualistic tendencies by pointing out that Augustine is clear that his analogies are a poor imitation of the real thing. They do provide a way of conceiving of unity in triplicity which is the Trinity. Relationship is not sacrificed to unity. The believer is brought into the Trinitarian being of God by the activity of the three persons who each play a different role in conversion. As this thesis suggests, it is the meeting of the divine and human love in the heart that forms the nexus between the immanent and economic forms of the Trinitarian life of God, not the mind made in the image of God in splendid isolation from the body or the rest of the psyche.

¹⁴⁵ That there is undoubtedly an apologetic motive behind Augustine’s explorations is evidenced in his early summation in Book I of the positions held by the major heretics during the first few centuries of the Christian era. He is particularly concerned to refute “Those who conceive God in bodily terms, those who do so in terms of created spirit such as soul, and those who think of him neither as body nor as created spirit, but still have false ideas about him...” *The Trinity*, 1.1., p. 65, 1. 4., p. p. 67. (CCSL, 50, 31). “*istis garrulis ratiocinatoribus, elatioribus quam capacioribus.*” See also J. Cavadini, “The Structure and Intention of Augustine’s *De Trinitate*,” pp. 104-106.

¹⁴⁶ Very briefly, the structure of *The Trinity* sees Books I to IV deal with exegetical concerns, the Incarnation, the vexed question of scriptural language and the problems of subordinationism. Books V to VII deal with issues raised by the Arian controversies, and in Books VIII to XV Augustine looks to the image of the Trinity within, finding a likeness of the Trinitarian being of God in human consciousness. One of his major concerns is the difficulty of loving the God we do not know or cannot see. He begins Book VIII with the idea of God as truth, the highest goodness, justice and finally, love, noting that just as humans know something of these qualities through experience, it is possible to know God. Knowledge of God is expanded through a series of psychological analogies in the mind which point to the nature of the Trinitarian God as love, with the divine triune nature to be understood as loving wisdom, as relational, and as self-giving love.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, I. 14., p. 74. (CCSL, 50, 44).

actions have their end, and there is everlasting rest and joy that shall not be taken away from us.”¹⁴⁸ Such joy is to be known in the heart he observes, quoting John. 16:22.¹⁴⁹ The whole enterprise of seeking God the Trinity is driven by the imperatives of the heart for love and joy. *Caritas*, that human love for God which is inspired in the human heart by God, is the mark of the Christian for both Augustine and Edwards.¹⁵⁰ Believers filled with divine love are “the more profoundly rich in heart.”¹⁵¹

Despite its undeniably philosophical tenor, the heart is not neglected in three critical Trinitarian insights. The first is the use of the psychological analogy of memory, understanding and will/love to illuminate the inner life of the Trinity. The second is the use of a social analogy, which although not as pronounced as in Edwards, is there nonetheless. The third is the designation of the Holy Spirit as the mutual love of Father and Son who indwells the hearts of believers at conversion, thereby incorporating them into the divine Trinitarian life.

Taking the immanent Trinity as a loving triad of three equal persons, the most outstanding image which Augustine devises to plumb the intratrinnitarian depths is the psychological analogy of memory, understanding and love/will. His view of the immanent Trinity is both personal and relational, just as in Edwards, who came to the same model in his justification of plurality in the Godhead.¹⁵² Augustine conceives of the unity and plurality of the Godhead in the categories of substance and relation. God’s substantial being is unitary and there are no accidents in God. He is eternal, simple, immutable and impassible. He is also Wisdom or understanding, and love.

The category of relations is introduced to allow for some degree of subordination within the designated tasks of the Father, Son and Holy Spirit in redemption.¹⁵³ According to the doctrine of inseparable operations both Augustine and Edwards agree that each member of the Trinity possesses understanding and will which qualifies them to be

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., I. 20, p. 79. (CCSL, 50, 56). “quoniam perducet credentes ad contemplationem dei ubi est finis omnium bonarum actionum et requies sempiterna et gaudium quod non auferetur a nobis.”

¹⁴⁹ Ibid., “Editor’s Introduction,” p. 21. Hill also notes that at three significant points in *The Trinity*, the beginning, the middle and the end, Augustine quotes Psalm 105:3-4: “Let their hearts rejoice who seek the Lord; seek the Lord and be strengthened; seek his face always.”

¹⁵⁰ *Religious Affections, Works*, 2, p. 106. Love is not merely “the chief of the affections,” but it is also the “fountain of all other affections.”

¹⁵¹ “Sermon 36.7,” in *WSA*, 111/11, p. 178. (CCSL, 41, 439).

¹⁵² “The Mind,” No 1, in *Scientific and Philosophical Writings, Works*, 6, pp. 337-338.

¹⁵³ *The Trinity*, Book IV, pp.205-214.

accounted as “persons.”¹⁵⁴ Adhering faithfully as he did to the doctrine of divine simplicity, Augustine expressed reservations when speaking of divine “persons” because it strained the notion of divine simplicity.¹⁵⁵ The use of the term “persons” to refer to the Trinity proved less problematic for Edwards despite its implicit associations with triplicity and individualism.¹⁵⁶

Augustine’s favoured triad of memory, understanding and will/love is very close to Edwards’ “mind, understanding or idea...the disposition, the will or affections”¹⁵⁷ with both men giving prominence to the affective disposition of the Holy Spirit in Trinitarian life.¹⁵⁸ With his dynamic view of the Trinity, Edwards tried to sidestep using the word “substance” (not always successfully), in favour of disposition to suggest inclination or activity as the pre-eminent mode of Trinitarian life.¹⁵⁹ To those who argue that Augustine’s Trinitarianism is hampered by his reliance on substance metaphysics,¹⁶⁰ the following extract from Sermon 52 (410-412) on the Trinity shows that he is as much aware of the dynamism of the triune God as is Edwards. “It is this ineffable godhead, wholly self-contained, renewing, creating, re-creating all things, sending, reclaiming, judging,

¹⁵⁴ “Discourse on the Trinity,” in *Writings on the Trinity, Grace, and Faith, Works*, 21, p. 133. “the whole divine essence is supposed truly and properly to subsist in each of these three-viz. God, his understanding, and love...” In *The Trinity*, Book VII, pp.217-232, Augustine continues his discussion on substance and relation, concluding that anything said with reference to self refers to being, and with reference to others is relational. Thus understanding and love are essential terms and belong to each of the persons in the Trinity, equally.

¹⁵⁵ *The Trinity*, VII. 7-8, pp. 224-226.

¹⁵⁶ “Treatise on Grace,” in *Writings on the Trinity, Grace, and Faith, Works*, 8, p. 181. In Edwards’ Trinitarianism the Holy Spirit is both a “proper divine person” and should be regarded as “a distinct personal agent.” Edwards’ so-called willingness to allow for more differentiation and autonomy for the persons of the Trinity may be partly due to the threat of Unitarianism, while Augustine’s Platonic emphasis on divine unity may have been exacerbated by the Arian threat.

¹⁵⁷ Daniher, *The Trinitarian Ethics of Jonathan Edwards*, p. 33. Edwards, “Discourse on the Trinity,” in *Writings on the Trinity, Grace and Faith, Works*, 21, p. 138.

¹⁵⁸ If God is self-conscious, then there must be personal distinctions within the Godhead or God could not be self-reflective or in other words, truly personal. While there have been accusations that Augustine viewed personhood as an individualistic concept that militated against relationality these appraisals cannot be sustained. Catherine M. LaCugna for example argues that Augustine “gave the rather unmistakable impression that “the three” are superadded to a previously existing divine essence (which is not threefold).” Catherine Mowry LaCugna, “Philosophers and Theologians on the Trinity,” *Modern Theology* 2, 3 (1986), pp. 169-171. Nor was Augustine’s view of the Holy Spirit, as the mutual love of the Father and Son, one suggestive of a lesser “personhood” than the Father and Son. He does acknowledge however, (as does Edwards) the linguistic problems associated with the absence of any references to the Father loving the Holy Spirit. Augustine goes on to declare that the Holy Spirit is God, co-eternal with the Father and Son and shares the divine nature. *The Trinity*, XV. 36-37, pp. 424-425. For Edwards, see “Discourse on the Trinity,” in *Writings on the Trinity, Grace, and Faith, Works*, 21, p. 140. “God is never said to love the Holy Ghost, not are any epithets that betoken love anywhere given to him, though so many are ascribed to the Son...”

¹⁵⁹ “Of Atoms,” Prop. 2, corol. 9; corol. 11, *Scientific and Philosophical Writings, Works*, 6, p. 215.

¹⁶⁰ See for example, William J. Daniher Jr., *The Trinitarian Ethics of Jonathan Edwards*, pp. 26-34.

liberating, this then that we know to be at once both ineffably a trinity, triad or three, and inseparable.”¹⁶¹

Since love is the primary signification for the Trinity, the search for Trinitarian analogies in the human mind begins with love.¹⁶² This Augustine does by examining the inner relations (the processions) and outer missions of the Trinitarian persons by way of a comparison with the divine image in the human mind (*mens*, *animus* as opposed to the *anima*).¹⁶³ His interest lies not so much in the faculties of the mind as discrete entities as with the dynamic interrelationship between aspects of the mind itself that point to triplicity in unity. The *modus operandi* for animation and cohesion is love.

In Books IX-XV of *The Trinity*, Augustine uses several psychological analogies to examine the activities of the mind in order that “from what likeness or comparison of things known to us we are able to believe, so that we may love the as yet unknown God.”¹⁶⁴ Moving from the “outer” to the “inner” man Augustine introduces several other lesser analogies before concentrating his discussion on the inner man or *mens* where he hopes to find the image of God.¹⁶⁵ The first of these triads is introduced at the end of Book VIII, where Augustine proposes that the key to understanding God as Trinity is to be found in the triadic structure of love since all people have some knowledge of love and the Scriptures tell us that God is love.¹⁶⁶ Edwards, too, coming from a shared enthusiasm for the life of the heart, uses the love analogy himself in his discussions on the Trinity.¹⁶⁷

¹⁶¹ “Sermon 52,” in *WSA*, 111/III, pp. 50-65, 51. Walter H. Principe, “The Dynamism of Augustine’s Terms for Describing the Highest Trinitarian Image in the Human Person,” *Studia Patristica*, 18/3 (1982), pp. 1291-1299, draws attention to the dynamism of Augustine’s terms employed for the images. Rowan Williams also sees Augustine articulating a dynamic, relational image of God in “*Sapientia* and the Trinity: Reflections on the *De Trinitate*,” B. Bruning et al. (eds.) *Melanges T. J. Van Bavel* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1990), pp. 317-332, p. 317.

¹⁶² Robert W. Jenson, *The Triune Identity: God According to the Gospel* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1982), pp. 134-136, 144, 178-79. Robert Jenson credits Augustine as being the first to articulate the “inner dialectics of consciousness” in terms of God’s immediate self-consciousness, objective knowledge of the self, and the freedom that unites them.

¹⁶³ “Sermon 52,” *WSA*, III/3, p. 64.

¹⁶⁴ *The Trinity*, VIII. 8, *WSA*, 1/5, p. 248.

¹⁶⁵ *Confessions*, XIII. 11. 12, p. 279. Although the Trinity does not appear explicitly in the early books of the *Confessions*, the Trinitarian overtones to the image of God in humanity that are so painstakingly developed in *The Trinity* are first mentioned in Book XIII of the *Confessions*. Here, Augustine first urges his readers to consider the triad in the mind of being, knowing and willing (*esse, nosse, uelle*) as a possible way of envisaging the Trinity in that they are inseparable, yet distinct aspects of the self (*inseparabilis distinctio et tamen distinctio*). Not surprisingly, he finds that the mind, like the Trinity is not only complex, but is also dynamic and relational, possessing the faculties of memory, understanding and will or love, but at the same time retaining its unity. (CCSL 27, 247).

Augustine returns to the analogy in “Sermon 52, 18-22,” in *WSA*, III/3, pp. 58-61.

¹⁶⁶ *The Trinity*, VIII. 14., *WSA*, 1/5, p. 255. “What then after all that, is this love or charity which the divine Scriptures praise and proclaim so much, but love of the good? Now love means someone loving, and

Love must accompany knowledge for anything to be true in Augustine's Trinitarianism, and in seeking knowledge of God who is love, "you do see a trinity if you see love."¹⁶⁸ One can think of the Trinity in tripartite terms as lover, the beloved and love itself. The object of love is the good that is God to which the heart clings in love, "and if you cling to him in love, you will straightaway enter into bliss."¹⁶⁹ Clinging to God in love is to experience ecstasy in the heart, a feeling seldom experienced in this life, but one to look forward to in heaven.

Augustine takes up the interpersonal relationships of paternity and filiation to develop a model of Trinitarian love which sees the Father as the "begetter or origin" in the Trinity, the Son as the Word or exact image of the Father, and the Holy Spirit as the mutual love of Father and Son.¹⁷⁰ Using language that Edwards was to adopt thirteen hundred years later, Augustine describes Christ the Word as "a certain pure outflow of the glory of almighty God, ... of one and the same substance." (*manatio quaedam claritatis omnipotentis dei sinceris ... unius eiusdemque substantiae est*). The divine glory is poured out and becomes flesh to be "the salvation of all who believe, hope and love" (*salus sit omnium credentium sperantium, diligentium*).¹⁷¹ that is, those who have faith in the heart. When the redeemed see God they will reveal that same glory that is exemplified in the Trinitarian

something loved with love. There you are with three, the lover, what is being loved and love. And what is love but a kind of life coupling or trying to couple together two things, namely, the lover and what is being loved."

¹⁶⁷ "Discourse on the Trinity" in *Writings on the Trinity, Grace, and Faith, Works*, 21, p. 115. "Thus 'tis easy to perceive that if we have an idea of thought, 'tis only a repetition of the same thought, with the attention of the mind to that reflection. So if we think of love-either of our own [own self] -love or of the love of others that we have not-we either so frame things in our imagination, that we have [for a moment] a love to that thing, or to something we make to represent it and stand for it; or we excite for a moment that love that we have to something else, and suppose something like it there..."

¹⁶⁸ *The Trinity*, VIII. 12, WSA, 1/5, p. 253. (CCSL 50, 287). "immo uero uides trinitatem si caritatem uides."

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, VIII, 4-5, pp. 243-245. (CCSL 50, 273). "Et si amore inhaeris, continuo beatificaberis."

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, VI. 3, p. 207.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, IV. 27, pp. 172,173. (CCSL 50, 196,198). Verbum enim patrias est filius, quod et sapientia eius dicitur...sed quia est manatio quaedam claritatis omnipotentis dei sinceris? Edwards, "Concerning the End for which God Created the World," in *Ethical Writings, Works*, 8, pp. 432-433. "And as this fullness is capable of communication or emanation ad extra; so it seems a thing amiable and valuable in itself that it should be communicated or flow forth, that this infinite fountain of good should send forth abundant streams..." See also "Discourse on the Trinity," in *Writings on the Trinity, Grace, and Faith, Works* 21, p. 119. "This seems also well to agree with Christ being called the brightness, effulgence or shining forth of God's glory, upon two accounts."

relationships.¹⁷² The idea of the saints revealing the triune glory in their lives is also a favourite theme in Edwards.¹⁷³

The strongly affective element in Augustine's Trinitarianism comes with his reading of the Holy Spirit as the mutual love of Father and Son. This notion was not entirely innovative at the time but it was Augustine who elaborated and extended its use and he prefigures Edwards' use of the mutual-love model. This mutual love is "a kind of inexpressible communion or fellowship of Father and Son,"¹⁷⁴ a description that accords well with a social analogy for the Trinity with its overtones of companionship and mutual friendship. Augustine actually calls the Holy Spirit the "companionship" of the Father and Son,¹⁷⁵ but expresses reservations with the term "friendship" which in his thinking pales in comparison with the divine intratrinitarian love. According to Augustine this "inexpressible communion" may be termed "something common to Father and Son, whatever it is, or is their very commonness or communion, consubstantial and coeternal. Call it friendship, if it helps, but a better word for it is charity."¹⁷⁶

The Holy Spirit is the love that is the Father loving the Son as perfect image, and the reciprocal love of the Son for the Father. It is the love itself that binds Father and Son in relationship.¹⁷⁷ The whole Trinity is joined together in a blissful union of love which surpasses adequate description. "Then that inexpressible embrace, so to say, of the Father and the image is not without enjoyment, without charity, without happiness." Augustine sums up his Trinitarian God of love as "one loving him who is from him, and one loving him from whom he is, and love itself."¹⁷⁸ The immanent Trinity is a divine unity of three mutually loving persons, although Augustine expresses unease with the absence of a clear Biblical explication of the personhood of the Holy Spirit, a concern Edwards was to take up in his Trinitarian writings.¹⁷⁹

¹⁷² *The Trinity*, IV. 5, *WSA*, 1/5, p. 156. See also II. 6, pp. 101-102.

¹⁷³ "Discourse on the Trinity," in *Writings on the Trinity, Grace, and Faith, Works*, 21, pp. 135-136. "Glory belongs to the Father and the Son, that they so greatly loved the world...But there is equal glory due to the Holy Ghost, for he is that love of the Father and the Son to the world."

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 197. (CCSL 50, 219). "Ergo spiritus sanctus ineffabilis quaedam patris filiique communio..."

¹⁷⁵ "Sermon 71.33," in *WSA*, III/3, p. 267.

¹⁷⁶ *The Trinity*, VI. 7, p. 209.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, VI. 7, p. 210. "And therefore there are not more than three; one loving him who is from him, and one loving him from whom he is, and love itself." (CCSL, 50, 236). "Et ideo non amplius quam tria sunt: unus diligens eum qui de illo est, et unus diligens eum de quo est, et ipsa dilectio."

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, VI. 7, p. 210.

¹⁷⁹ *The Trinity*, XV. 41, *WSA*, 1/5, pp. 70, 427. In the latter passage, Augustine claims that just as is the case with the Father and Son, so the Holy Spirit has understanding and memory.

The mutual indwelling of persons constitutes one being in a communal relationship of love, a concept known as the doctrine of *perichoresis*¹⁸⁰ which was developed by the Eastern Fathers and incorporated into Augustine's social Trinitarianism. Father, Son and Spirit mutually indwell and contain one another in a coinherence of divine love. As unity in triunity, Augustine writes "in a similarly human way of speaking" about God as he who "supremely lives, and senses and understands all things, and cannot die, decay or change." Furthermore, God is "the most powerful, just and beautiful, the best and happiest spirit of all."¹⁸¹

While Augustine declines to use images of family or society to describe the immanent Trinity as does Edwards, there is a definite turning to social imagery, if somewhat muted, in Augustine's understanding of the role of the Son and the Holy Spirit in the economic Trinity.¹⁸² Jesus Christ the mediator cleanses the hearts of the elect from the sin that has caused the fundamental disharmony of the creation. The "clashing wills and desires" that are the cause of so much division and strife are resolved into the one divine will after conversion. Not only do Jesus' disciples become one in Christ by partaking of the same nature, they also share in "the one and the same wholly harmonious will reaching out in concert to the same ultimate happiness, and fused somehow into one spirit in the furnace of charity." Just as the Father and Son are one by identity of substance and will, so those for whom Christ died are "bound in the fellowship of the same love," which is the Holy Spirit.¹⁸³ The concept of Trinitarian "fellowship" implies a mutual sharing of distinct personalities. As mediator, Christ does "not disdain to become our friend in the companionship of death,"¹⁸⁴ and the Holy Spirit is given as the gift of love to the saints.¹⁸⁵

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, IX. 8, p. 275. "Nor are they jumbled up together in any kind of mixture, though they are each one in itself and each whole in their total, whether each in the other two or the other two in each, in any case all in all." See also VI. 7, p. 209. "For whether he is the unity of both of the others or their holiness or their charity, whether he is their unity because their charity, and their charity because their holiness, it is clear that he is not one of the two, since he is that by which the two are joined each to the other, by which the begotten is loved by the one who begets him and in turn loves the begetter." William F. Alston points out that the notion of "perichoresis" was favoured in the Eastern church as a means of explaining the difficulties of oneness-threeness metaphysics. "It is by virtue of sharing in the 'Godhood' as they do, that the Persons of the Trinity so interpenetrate and dwell in each other that the action of one is the action of all." William F. Alston, "Substance and the Trinity," in *The Trinity: An Interdisciplinary Symposium on the Trinity*, ed. Stephen T. Davis, Daniel Kendall, Gerald O' Collins, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp. 192-193.

¹⁸¹ *The Trinity*, XV. 6, WSA, 1/5, p. 399.

¹⁸² *Ibid.*, XII. 5, pp. 324-325. Augustine is not an unequivocal supporter of social Trinitarianism, which is a fairly recent phenomenon.

¹⁸³ *Ibid.*, IV. 12, p. 161.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, IV. 17, p. 165. (CCSL 50, 184). "Sic in mortis consortio filius dei nobis fieri dignatus est amicus..."

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, V. 12, p. 197.

Augustine insists “we are bidden to imitate this mutuality by grace, both with reference to God and to each other.”¹⁸⁶ The social dimension of mutuality within the immanent Trinity serves as the model for all other loves.

At a philosophical level, Augustine placed the distinctive unity of the Trinity in the doctrine of divine simplicity, but at an experiential level, unity is found in the divine love or will, which is ceaselessly active. Unity, mutual love and respect are preserved when Augustine considers the concept of the glorification of each of the persons. “When the Holy Spirit glorifies the Son, the Father also glorifies the Son. Thus we ascertain that all that the Father has is not only the Son’s but also the Holy Spirit’s, because the Holy Spirit is competent to glorify the Son, who is glorified by the Father...those who glorify each other are equal.”¹⁸⁷

Having established the loving relationships within the Immanent Trinity, Augustine sees the active love of the Holy Spirit as the bridge between the Immanent and Economic Trinity in the believer’s heart. Conversion establishes the same identity of relationship between God and believers that obtains within the immanent Trinity and it is a relationship of love in the heart: “just as Father and Son are one not only by equality of substance (being or nature) but also by identity of will, so these men, for whom the Son is mediator with God, might be one not only by being of the same nature, but also by being bound in the fellowship of the same love.”¹⁸⁸ The Holy Spirit, the mutual love and holiness of Father and Son, imparts both love and holiness to the hearts of believers in the work of the economic Trinity as in Edwards’ Trinitarianism.¹⁸⁹

2.8 The image of God and the Heart

Humanity made in the image of God is also one of the central themes of the theological anthropology of the patristic era. Governing Augustine’s Trinitarian agenda is the conviction that humanity is ontologically separated from God by reason of a primeval fall from grace, but despite the ontological separation, humanity is still made *ad imaginem et similitudinem Dei*, and the image is to be found in the mind or heart.¹⁹⁰ At one level, it is

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, VI. 7, p. 209.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, II. 6, pp. 101-102.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, IV.12, p. 161.

¹⁸⁹ “Discourse on the Trinity,” in *Writings on the Trinity, Grace, and Faith, Works*, 21, pp. 122-123; 135-36.

¹⁹⁰ “Homily XVIII. 10,” in *Homilies on the Gospel of John*, NPNF, vol. VII, p. 120-121. “Return to thy heart; see there what, it may be, thou canst perceive of God, for in it is the image of God, in the inner man thou are renewed after the image of God, in His own image, recognize its author.” In the same Tractate Augustine

the mind that Augustine refers to when speaking of the image of God in humanity, but it is the heart, and his works abound with references to the heart as both the “central part of a human being”¹⁹¹ and as the place where God is to be known, that is the true locus for the image of God.

The desperate immensity of sin is an overwhelming reality in human experience and the cause of the ontological separation of God and humanity. For Augustine, the consequence is that all people somehow live apart from their creator, “exiled from this unchanging joy,” estranged from their true selves, from their neighbours and from their eternal destination.¹⁹² Augustine’s mature view of sin’s entry into the world places the responsibility for the fractured image of God in human hearts squarely at Adam’s feet. Adam’s transgression was to abuse the freedom he had been given at creation and to turn away from God’s light. Thus he “defaced in himself the image of his Creator.”¹⁹³ In some mysterious way, all human beings are caught up in Adam’s sin. As creatures made in the image of God and sinners, people are at war with themselves, incapable of healing the fractured image.

In his early thought, Augustine regarded the image of God in humanity as annihilated by sin, but he later came to the position that there is a vestigial image in humanity which

suggests that it is the heart that is the locus for the image of God. “thy heart sees and hears and judges all other things perceived by the senses; ...Diverse are the things that are referred to thy heart. ...If this be the image, how much more mightily He whose the image is! In one of his first Christian works written soon after his conversion and return to Africa in 388/389, Augustine outlined his perception of humanity made in the image of God. In Augustine’s thinking, nothing is closer to God than the mind, (*mens*) which is the highest part of the soul. It is to the *mens* that Augustine looks to find his Trinitarian analogies in *The Trinity*. See also “On Genesis: A Refutation of the Manichees,” in *WSA*, I/13, p. 77. In commenting on Genesis 1:27, he says in his refutation of Manichean ridicule of literal interpretations of the text, “it [i.e. the image of God] is said with reference to the interior man, where reason is to be found and intelligence.” Reason is pre-eminent in his view of humanity made *ad imaginem Dei*; it is that which distinguishes humanity from all other living beings. Edwards has the same belief, but neither man limited the discussion surrounding the image of God in humanity to the mind. The heart is part of the image too, and is frequently referred to as the home of the image of God. See also *Eighty-Three Different Questions*, nos. 51, “On Man made in the Image and Likeness of God,” and no. 74, “On the Text in Paul’s Letter to the Colossians: ‘In whom we have Redemption and Remission of Sins, Who is the Image of the Invisible God,’” *FC*, pp. 84-88, 189-191; *The City of God*, XI. 26, p. 45. Augustine presents a similar anthropology in “On Free Will,” II, 18. 48, in Burleigh, *Augustine: Earlier Writings*, p. 165. See the exposition of “Psalm 48. 2,” in *WSA*, III/16, p. 379. Augustine locates the image of God in humanity “where the understanding resides, where the mind is, where the reason with its power to seek out the truth, where your faith is, your hope, your charity—there God has his image.” The whole of the inner life is included in this statement and can be collectively subsumed under “heart.”

¹⁹¹ “Psalm 108. 29,” in *WSA*, III/19, p. 258.

¹⁹² *The Trinity*, IV. 2. pp. 153-154. “But we were exiled from this unchanging joy...” (CCSL 50, 160). “Sed quoniam exsultauimus ab incommutabili gaudio...”

¹⁹³ *Enchiridion on Faith, Hope and Love*, trans. J. B. Shaw, (Washington: Regnery Publishing, Reprint, 1996), p. 34.

has a capacity to know God, (*capax dei*),¹⁹⁴ but which is so deformed as to be incapable of self-reformation.¹⁹⁵ The image is “not an adequate image, but a very distant parallel. It is not co-eternal and, in brief, it is not of the same substance as God. For all that, there is nothing in the whole of God’s creation so near to him in nature; but the image now needs to be refashioned and brought to perfection, so to become close to him in resemblance.”¹⁹⁶ All depends on conversion because the heart, according to Augustine, is pleasing to God only when converted, and this simply by the grace of God who did not create humanity out of any need, but “out of the fullness of your goodness.”¹⁹⁷ This concept of God’s creating out of his abundant fullness is mirrored in Edwards, as is the belief that the creation brought pleasure to God without implying that God is lacking in any way.¹⁹⁸ To communicate his pleasure, God must change the orientation of the heart and this requires the co-operation of all three persons of the Trinity who accomplish this supernatural task through a gratuitous gift of the divine Trinitarian love.¹⁹⁹

The solution to the problem of sin as Augustine points out is that sinners must undertake to return to their hearts: “See there what perhaps you perceive about God, for the image of God is there. In the inner man Christ dwells; in the inner man you are renewed

¹⁹⁴ *The Trinity*, XIV.16, WSA, 1/5, pp. 383-384. “And yet not all men are with him in the way meant when the psalmist says, I am always with you (Ps. 73)... It is man’s greatest misfortune not to be with him without whom he cannot be. Obviously he is not without him in whom he is; and yet if he fails to remember and understand and love him, he is not with him.” (CCSL 50A, 444). “et tamen si eius non meminit eumque non intellegit neque diligit, cum illo non est.”

¹⁹⁵ “The Literal Meaning of Genesis,” VI. 27. 38, in WSA, 1/13, p. 322. “This is the image stamped on the spirit of his mind which Adam lost through sin.” In *Retractions* II. 24. 2, quoted in *The Trinity*, WSA, 1/5, p. 322, Augustine writes: “In the sixth book I said that Adam lost by sin the image of God according to which he was made. This is not to be taken as meaning that nothing if it remained in him, but that it was so disfigured as to need reworking.” See “The Spirit and the Letter” in *Augustine: Later Works*, trans. J. Burnaby, The Library of Christian Classics, vol. VIII, (London: SCM Press, 1955), p. 231. Written c. 412 at the beginning of the disputes with Pelagius, Augustine declares that “the image of God in the human soul has not been so completely obliterated by the stain of earthly affections that no faint outlines of the original remain.” Augustine maintained this view until the end of his life, writing in the *City of God*, of the “spark of reason” in humanity that constituted that part of the image of God that had not been totally distorted by the fall. *The City of God*, XXII. 24, p. 1071.

¹⁹⁶ *The City of God*, XI. 26, p. 459. (CCSL 48, 345). “Et nos quidem in nobis, tametsi non aequalem, immo ualde longeque distantem, neque coaeternam et, quo breuius totum dicitur, non eiusdem substantiae, cuius Deus est, tamen qua Deo nihil sit in rebus ab eo factis natura propinquius, imaginem Dei, hoc est illius summae trinitatis, agnoscimus, adhuc reformatione perficiendam, ut sit etiam similitudine proxima.”

¹⁹⁷ *Confessions*, XIII. 4. 5, p. 275.

¹⁹⁸ “Concerning the End for Which God Created the World” Section IV, in *Ethical Writings, Works*, 8, pp. 445-446. “God is above all need and all capacity of being added to and advanced, made better or happier in any respect”, but “God may have a real or proper pleasure or happiness in seeing the happy state of the creature: yet this may not be different from his delight in himself.”

¹⁹⁹ *Confessions*, X. 41. 66, pp. 218 “For I have caught a glimpse of your splendour with a wounded heart.” (CCSL 27, 191). “Vidi enim splendorem tuum corde saucio...”

according to the image of God. In his image recognize its author.”²⁰⁰ Augustine believed that the heart retained a faint memory of God and was beset by a sense of longing born out of incompleteness that compelled the search for completion. Humanity created in the image of God can only find fulfillment by sharing in the love of the divine life, and the heart is restless until that happens.²⁰¹

Because the heart is “the inner voice of the person”²⁰² (*interioris hominis voce*), representing the totality of the self, it is the focus for the salvific work of the Trinity.²⁰³ It is impossible for the sinner to return to God unaided as he reminded the Pelagians in a later work, sharply critical of their “proud hearts.” Their refusal to accept that the grace of God is essential for righteousness, a term synonymous with the restoration of the image of God to the heart, drew implacable opposition from Augustine. Without grace in the heart, believers will not receive the love of God and so cannot meet the requirements for a pure heart.²⁰⁴ There is no sense of natural divinity in Augustine’s view of the image of God in humanity as there is in Plotinus for example. Only participation in the divine love restores the image of God in the heart, and in what Augustine (and Edwards) regarded as an amazing act of humility and love on the part of the triune God, despite the fall from grace, the elect will receive a created divinity by participation in Christ, which they do not possess by nature.²⁰⁵

²⁰⁰ “Sermon 52,” (410-412), n. 24, in *WSA*, III/III, p. 64. .” It must be noted that when it comes to Augustine’s location of the image of God in humanity, there is some inconsistency or looseness in his terminology. Hill suggests that Augustine locates the image of God in humanity in the mind, (*mens*) not the soul (*anima*), which is just the animating principle and is to be found in animals as well as humans. Hill accepts that Augustine doesn’t have a hard and fast rule, and in fact, two lines after asking “What has your mind got in it”, Augustine asks, “What has your soul got inside?” (p. 59). See also “Sermon 51.34,” in *WSA*, III/III, p. 43. “the soul, in which there is a certain image of the three persons of the creator, that being where man was made to the image of God.” In this extract the image is located in reason, but at different times he locates the image in the soul as the totality of the inner life, or in the heart, terms which are at times, interchangeable in Augustine’s anthropology. See also *Homilies on the Gospel of John*, XVIII. 10, 1-2, in *FC*, vol. 7, p. 121.

²⁰¹ *Confessions*, 1. 1.1, p. 3.

²⁰² “Sermon 257.1,” in *WSA*, III/7, p. 172. (PL 38, col. 1193)

²⁰³ *The Trinity*, XIV. 22, p. 388. Here, Augustine says that in turning to the Lord, “the image begins to be reformed by him who formed it in the first place.”

²⁰⁴ “On Nature and Grace,” (415), in *WSA*, I/23, p. 269.

²⁰⁵ “Sermon 166. 4,” in *WSA*, III/ 5, p. 209. “God wills to make you a god; not by nature, as his Son is, but by his gift and adoption.” See also *The Trinity*, XIV. 11, *WSA*, I/5, p. 379. “But first of all the mind must be considered in itself, and God’s image discovered in it before it participates in God. For we have said that it still remains the image of God, even though worn out and distorted. It is his image insofar as it is capable of him and can participate in him; indeed it cannot achieve so great a good except by being his image.” In making Christ the exemplar of human imaging of God, Augustine Christianised the Neoplatonic doctrine of participation in the divine life. In the *Enneads*, Plotinus had referred to the divine mind or *Nous* proceeding directly from the One, who in turning became an image, but an inferior one. In a review of secondary works dealing with Augustine’s theory of participation, David Vincent Meconi points out that the word

In the addendum to the *Unfinished Literal Commentary*, he adds that the creation was the work of the whole Trinity,²⁰⁶ and claims that humanity is made to the image of the Trinity which is “a triad in such a way as to be one God, is one God in such a way as to be a triad.” The image of God in humanity is triune and realised as a “certain likeness” which increases as the believer moves closer to God by love, and is lessened to the point of “dissimilarity or unlikeness” as one moves away by loving self more than God.²⁰⁷ This is not the same as Edwards’ asymptotic image of a movement of the heart towards a deepening participation in the divine love that continues in heaven.²⁰⁸ Augustine believed that even had humanity not sinned, the image of God in humanity would not have been a perfect image of the Son as the Son is of the Father.²⁰⁹

Defaced image of God notwithstanding, “man’s true honour is God’s image and likeness in him” Augustine writes, an image which although “blurred” by sin is still one that is glorious. The glory of the divine image in humanity will be fully realized when the

“participation” occurs some 666 times in the Augustinian *corpus*. He argues that Augustine uses the idea of participation to describe the relationship between Creator and creation, an idea supported by Edwards. David Vincent Meconi, “St. Augustine’s Early Theory of Participation,” in *Augustinian Studies*, 27, (1996), pp. 81-98.

²⁰⁶ “Unfinished Literal Commentary on Genesis,” XVI. 57, in *WSA*, 1/13, p. 147.

²⁰⁷ *The Trinity*, VII. 12, *WSA*, 1/5, p. 231.

²⁰⁸ “Concerning the End for Which God Created the World,” in *Ethical Writings, Works*, 8, pp. 533-535.

²⁰⁹ One of the issues which needed clarification by Augustine before he became Bishop in 396, and which he continued to comment on in his later works, was that of the distinction between the Son who is the true *imago Dei*, and humanity which is made “to the image” of God (*ad imaginem Dei*). Edwards makes the same distinction in his Trinitarianism. In all his Trinitarian speculations, Augustine thought of the “image” of God as a special kind of likeness, and modeled his comments about humanity created in the image of God on the Trinity in which the Son is the absolute likeness of the Father. It was an issue he raised in the first draft of the “Unfinished Literal Commentary on Genesis,” (c.393) to which he attached an addendum in 426 or 427. “Unfinished Literal Commentary on Genesis,” XVI. 57, in *WSA*, 1/13, pp. 147-148. In the original, something is an image only when “printed” off from it, or derived from it, unlike an image in a mirror for example. The likeness of Christ as the *imago Dei* is made perfect by participation in God himself, just as a soul is wise by its participation in wisdom, or people are chaste by participating in chastity, or something is beautiful by participating in beauty. All three qualities inhere in God. In this passage, Augustine calls the “likeness” of God, the Son, the Word, who is commonly referred to as the wisdom of God. There is a great distinction, however, between Jesus as an exact likeness of the Father, and humanity made in the likeness of the Trinity. The Son’s likeness does not involve participation in the Father “but is the very likeness in which all things participate which are said to be like.” Augustine returns to this issue in *Eighty-Three Different Questions*, no. 51, in *FC*, vol. 70, pp. 84-88. For a comprehensive discussion of the development of Augustine’s thought on his use of image and likeness see, “*Imago*” and “*similitudo*” in Augustine,” in R. A. Markus, *Sacred and Secular: Studies on Augustine and Latin Christianity* (Variorum, 1994) XVI, pp. 125-143. However, notwithstanding the uniqueness of Christ being the true *imago Dei*, Augustine admits that it is also correct to speak of humanity created in the image of God, just as Paul had done, but it is not the same as the image that the Son bears. *The Trinity*, VII. 12, *WSA*, 1/5, pp. 230-231.

Edwards makes a similar distinction when differentiating between Christ the image of the Father and humanity made in the image of God. “Discourse on the Trinity,” in *Writings on the Trinity, Grace, and Faith, Works*, 21, 117. “Adam did not beget a son that was his image properly, but in his image; but the Son of God, he is not only in the image of the Father but he is the image itself in the most proper sense.”

“glory of faith” becomes the “glory of sight” in heaven. For the present life, there is a gradual transformation of the image by the exercise of the gift of the divine love in the heart that is conferred by Trinitarian grace.²¹⁰ In order to appropriate the gift, it is necessary to change the allegiance of the heart and to love God first before all earthly loves.

The on-going work of the restoration of the image of God is captured beautifully in a sermon on Matt. 22:1-14 preached against the Donatists. Augustine refers to the saints as “Christ’s currency”, made in his image, not Caesar’s. It is an image that has been worn down by sin which must be progressively “sculpted afresh” by loving the truth that is God “from a pure heart, and from a good conscience and from an unfeigned faith.” The essence of faith is love from a “pure heart” and that is the person who loves God “with his whole heart and his whole mind”. Such undivided love for God flows into a right love of neighbour, which increases as a result of the gradual restoration of the image of God in the heart.²¹¹ The gift of the Holy Spirit as the representative of the immanent Trinity in the heart enables sinners to love Christ the Son, the perfect image and likeness of the Father and the mediator between God and humanity.

2.9 The Centrality of Christ and the Heart in Redemption

On the basis of humanity’s inability to approach God because of the spoiled image in the heart, both Augustine and Edwards placed Christ as mediator at the centre of their Trinitarian theology. Augustine determined that the way to the restoration of the image of God in the heart is through participation in Christ’s sacrificial death and resurrection. The incarnation is vital because Christ is the creator in his divinity and saviour in his humanity.²¹² Without Christ, there is no salvation for it is “in his divinity that Christ possesses the heart, dwelling inwardly so we may be converted inwardly and be brought to life from him and formed from him.”²¹³

Despite Augustine’s conviction that all three persons of the Trinity share an ontological equality, from the time of his encounter with Christ in his study of Romans, Augustine prized the significance of Christ’s unique role as mediator of God’s gracious love and mercy to humanity. Augustine is enamoured of the *humana divinitas et divina*

²¹⁰ *The Trinity*, XV. 15, WSA, 1/5, p. 406.

²¹¹ “Sermon 90. 10,” in WSA, III/III, p. 455-456.

²¹² “Sermon 117. 1,” in WSA, 111/4, pp.209.

²¹³ “Sermon 264.4,” in WSA, 111/7, pp. 2228-230. (PL 38, col. 1216).

humanitas Christi ²¹⁴ and his love for the mediator is the focus for his spiritual vocation. ²¹⁵ Jesus Christ is the Word, the *imago Dei* himself and the “absolutely crucial point” in Paul’s statement in Rom. 5:8 that “God shows the quality of his love for us in that Christ died for us while we were still sinners.” ²¹⁶ The Son is not only the Father’s Word but also his Wisdom, sent to reveal and then to send the divine intratrinitarian love to the hearts of sinners in order that the elect might be assumed into the divine life and love. Augustine’s understanding of Christ as God’s wisdom sees him reminding his congregation that they should “go back to your heart and if you are a believer you will find Christ there. He himself is speaking to you there...since there is faith in your hearts, there also is Christ.” ²¹⁷

His commitment to the mediatorial role of Christ in redemption appears in his early writings on Genesis. Humanity is “made new once more through our Lord Jesus Christ” ²¹⁸ the one who “reconciled us to God, the man who was mediator between man and God, the Word at home with God, flesh at home with us, Word-flesh between God and us.” ²¹⁹ Christ is the true and eternal Word of God made flesh. In choosing to take up the human condition with all its limitations Christ unites his divinity with his true humanity and so takes up sinful humans as sharers in the divine life, re-created in the image and likeness of God. As he explains in a sermon on Ps. 75, “What God made in them was good, because God made man to his image and likeness. But the evil that man worked by free choice, turning away from his author and creator and turning to wickedness, this God condemns in order to set man free.” Since God sent Christ to redeem humanity, “shedding of his blood as the price”, Augustine tells his hearers that they must confess their sins, because after all, as he reminds them, “your heart is full of wickedness”. Without confession of sin, and restoration in Christ, they will remain opposed to God. ²²⁰

²¹⁴ “Sermon 47. 21,” (414) in *WSA*, III/II, p 316.

²¹⁵ “Psalm 123.2” in *WSA*, III/20, p. 44. Christ is the only way and the true destination for the weary traveller. Every pilgrim must entrust everything to Christ for that longed for rest, for salvation or wholeness. In Augustine’s use of Scripture the Psalms are understood as the voice of Christ. His advice to one of his congregations is: “Let us walk then, like people who know they are on the way, because the king of our homeland has made himself our way. The king is the Lord Jesus Christ; there at home he is our truth, but here he is our way. To what are we traveling? To the truth. How shall we get there? Through faith. Whither are we traveling? To Christ. How shall we reach him? Through Christ.”

²¹⁶ *The Trinity*, IV. 2, *WSA*, I/5, p. 154.

²¹⁷ “Sermon 102. 2,” in *WSA*, 111/4, pp. 73-74. (PL 38, col. 611).

²¹⁸ “Unfinished Literal Commentary on Genesis,” in *WSA*, I/13, p. 115.

²¹⁹ “The Literal Meaning of Genesis,” in *WSA*, I/13, Hill, p. 365.

²²⁰ “Sermon 23A.1-4,” in *WSA*, III/II, pp. 68-71.

The person of Jesus Christ is given pride of place at the beginning, middle and end of the *Confessions*. Augustine begins his spiritual autobiography with the mediatorial role of Jesus Christ in the reformation of the image of God in humanity clearly established and affirmed on the first page.²²¹ Christ is all-important in the final conversion scene in the garden in Milan²²² when Augustine's immediate reflection on his changed heart is that Christ "my helper and redeemer" through his suffering and dying had "drawn out a trough of corruption" from "the bottom of my heart,"²²³ and again, at the end of the *Confessions*, Christ is "the head and body of your church."²²⁴

The centrality of Christ in restoring the image is nowhere more evident than in Augustine's deliberations in *The Trinity*. The great exchange of the just and sinful man is summarized in Book IV, where "God became a just man to intercede with God for sinful man. The sinner did not match the just, but man did match man. So he applied to us the similarity of his humanity to take away the dissimilarity of our iniquity, and becoming a partaker of our mortality he made us partakers of his divinity."²²⁵

Overcoming the distance between Christ and the heart of the sinner is one of the themes in his "Exposition of Psalm 90." Here, Augustine sets out the mediatorial role of Christ in redemption, emphasizing the disparity between the two parties involved:

A mediator he had to be, in order to reconcile through himself those who had gone far away from God; for mediation implies two parties. We had gone far away from God's majesty and offended him by our sin; so God's Son was sent as mediator to destroy by his blood the sins which had estranged us from God... he is our head, he who is God, equal to the Father, the Word through whom all things were made; but though as God he is our creator, he became man to re-create us. He is God to make us, but man to make us anew.²²⁶

²²¹ *Confessions*, I. 1.1, p. 3. The way to find rest in God is to know God as Trinity in the heart by the gift of faith "which you breathed into me by the humanity of your Son." (CCSL 27, 1). "Inuocat te, domine, fides mea, quam dedisti mihi, quam inspirasti mihi per humanitatem filii tui, per ministerium praedicatoris tui."

²²² *Ibid.*, VIII, 12. 29, p. 153. The decisive moment of the conversion of his heart came with his reading of Romans 13: 13-14 which urged him to "put on the Lord Jesus Christ." At that point he surrendered his desire for autonomy to "clothe" himself in the Lord Jesus Christ, and while that may have baptismal implications, it helps to explain the centrality of Christ in his Trinitarian thinking

²²³ *Ibid.*, XI, 1. p. 155 I, XIII. 1 p. 273.

²²⁴ *Ibid.*, XIII. 34.49, p. 303. Here, he acknowledges Christ, as "your Word, your unique Son, 'heaven and earth' the head and body of the Church in a predestination which is before all time and has no morning and evening."

²²⁵ *The Trinity*, IV. 3, WSA, 1/5, p. 155.

²²⁶ "Psalms 90.1," (2), in WSA, III/18, p. 330.

Perhaps the most appealing aspect of the mediatorial role of Christ in salvation for Augustine, and it certainly was for Edwards, was the humility of God in so acting.²²⁷ Humility is the way in which Christ opens up life for believers.²²⁸ Because the Son who is Wisdom reveals the Father to humanity under the guise of humility, Augustine argues that it is in humanity's best interest to "follow God made man."²²⁹ It is essential for believers to "believe and to hold firm and unshaken in our hearts" that Christ is God incarnate in the form of a servant, because he came as "an example of humility and to demonstrate God's love for us."²³⁰

In the humility of Christ, divine love stoops to become one with sinful humanity and so overcomes human pride. "The medicine for all the wounds of the soul, and the one propitiation for the offences of men is to believe in Christ"²³¹ encapsulates Augustine's thinking. Humility embraces deformity, and the deformity of Christ in the crucifixion enables humanity's reformation, "for if he had not willed to be deformed, you would not have recovered the form which you lost. He therefore hung upon the cross, deformed; but his deformity was our beauty."²³² The proud heart cannot understand such sacrificial love and humility: "the humility of Christ, that humility which took him even to death by crucifixion, is a thing to be despised in the eyes of those who set their hearts on this world's honours."²³³ Those who have turned their hearts away from the love of their Creator cannot see the salvific implications of Christ's redemptive act. Immortality is achieved through human participation in God's being as gift and the intimate connection between the redemptive act of Christ and the salvation of humanity begins with the repentant heart.²³⁴

From his numerous references to believers partaking of the divine nature, it seems clear that Augustine adhered to a form of deification or *theosis* which saw the outcome of

²²⁷ "Christ's Example," in *Writings on the Trinity, Grace, and Faith*, in *Works*, 21, pp. 513-519.

²²⁸ "Sermon 45. 7," in *WSA*, 111/II, p. 256. "Have lowliness in your heart, and God will give you all the high altitude your want."

²²⁹ *The Trinity*, VII. 5, *WSA*, 1/5, p. 223. In that way, Christ is the model which "the image who is equal to the Father, provides us with that we may be refashioned to the image of God; for we follow the Son by living wisely." (CCSL 50, 253-254). "Non igitur mirum si propter exemplum quod nobis ut reformemur ad imaginem dei praebebat imago aequalis patri, cum de sapientia scriptura loquitur, de filio loquitur quem sequimur uiuendo sapienter..."

²³⁰ *Ibid.*, VIII. 7, p. 247.

²³¹ "Sermon 143.1," in *WSA*, III/4, p. 425.

²³² "Sermon 27. 6," in *WSA*, 111/11, p. 108.

²³³ "Psalm 78.8," in *WSA*, III/18, p. 177.

²³⁴ "Psalm 146. 11," in *WSA*, 111/20, p. 430. Before we were made partakers of his immortality, he was first made a partaker of our mortality. However, he was made mortal, not of his substance, but of ours. Thus we are immortal, not of our substance, but of his. "Let your heart be contrite that it may be reborn into good... For it is good that the soul's infirmity be confessed if it wishes to come to divinity."

redemption as participation in the divine Trinitarian life. This comes about not because humanity is made in the image of God, but by virtue of Christ's assumption of human nature, through which believers participate in Christ's divinity.²³⁵ It is not that believers assume the divine nature and become part of God's being or essence. Augustine is clear that it is deification by "gift and by adoption."²³⁶ Deification owes nothing to humanity and is a continuing work of grace in the heart that will only be fully realized in the resurrection of the body.²³⁷ Mary Morrocco suggests that Augustine saw deification as "the ultimate fulfillment for which humans are created," a view embraced by Edwards but expressed somewhat differently.²³⁸

Participation in the divine life is sustained by faith. Every aspect of the life of faith based on the incarnation stems from the heart. This is one of Augustine's main points in a sermon on Mt. 22: 42-46 delivered around 400, when speaking of their desire to understand the mystery of the incarnation, he tells his congregation that seekers after God should realize that it is "with the heart one asks, with the heart one seeks, with the heart one knocks, to the heart the door is opened. But the heart that asks for this in the right way, knocks and seeks in the right way, must be a pious heart..."²³⁹ The otherwise incomprehensible God is mediated to fallen humanity by the perfect God-man who changes the perceptions of the sinner by living in the heart through faith. The heart seeks knowledge of God and to the pure heart, i.e. one that is being restored through faith, knowledge is given. What can be known about the Incarnation will only be revealed to those whose hearts are being purified in the journey of faith, and faith requires that they love God freely

²³⁵ In "Psalm 166. 4," Augustine says that the Incarnation and the gift of grace mean that "the whole man being deified and made divine may cleave forever to the everlasting and unchangeable truth." *WSA*, III/5, pp. 209-210.

²³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 209. "God you see wants to make you a god; not by nature of course, like the one he begot; but by his gift and by adoption."

²³⁷ Gerald Bonner, "Augustine's Conception of Deification," in *Journal of Theological Studies*, ns 2, (1986), pp. 369-385. See also G. B. Ladner, *The Idea of Reform*, (Cambridge: 1959).

²³⁸ Mary Morrocco, "Participation in Divine Life in the *De Trinitate* of St. Augustine," in *Augustinianum*, 53, (June, 2002), pp. 151-152. Morrocco gives a comprehensive summary of Augustine's views on deification. Edwards subsumed all things under God's glory as the end of creation, but God's glory consisted in the saints sharing in his holiness, which comes with the gift of the Holy Spirit in the heart. See Dissertation 1, "Concerning the End for Which God Created the World," in *Works*, 8, pp. 491, 533-35. One example of Edwards leaning towards deification is in his "Treatise on Grace," in *Writings on the Trinity, Grace and Faith*, *Works*, 21, p. 187, where he writes "Hence persons, by being made partakers of the Holy Spirit, or having it dwelling in them, are said to be 'partakers of the fullness of God,' or Christ." See n. 46 for further references to Edwards' understanding of deification.

²³⁹ "Sermon 91.3," in *WSA*, III/III, p. 459.

for himself and not for gain.²⁴⁰ The heart will not be completely purified until heaven, but by faith, it is possible to make some progress in holiness in this life, and that is the end to which the whole of life should be directed.²⁴¹ Christ lives in the believer's heart in the person of the Holy Spirit, who evokes faith for the Christian journey. "Awaken Christ in your heart" he entreats those in his congregation whose hearts have forgotten Christ's love, "and as faith arises, you realize where you are."²⁴²

Deification only follows justification in Augustine's Trinitarian theology. Being made sons of God is not a product of human effort nor is it available to everyone. Participation in the divine life does not confer divinity. Like Edwards, Augustine was happy to concede that humanity was made holy at conversion by partaking of the divine nature, but not prepared to accept that the gift of Trinitarian life meant partaking in God's essence. There is an exchange of personal status but not of essence in the movement of the heart from that of the sinful heart to one clothed in divinity.²⁴³ God "takes on" the form of a servant in the person of Christ, and humanity is "taken on" by Christ in the form of God, without the Trinity or humanity being transformed into the other.²⁴⁴

It is evident then, that he has called men gods, who are deified by his grace, not born of his substance. For he justifies, who is just in himself, and not from another. But he who justifies does himself deify, in that by justifying he makes sons of God...If we have been made sons of God, we have also been made gods; but this is the effect of grace adopting, not of nature generating...²⁴⁵

It is in the justification of sinners by Christ's atoning sacrifice that "God's love in forgiveness re-creates his own image in the sinner," so that redemption is equivalent to a new creation "restoring in sinful man the love toward God which he had lost."²⁴⁶ The

²⁴⁰ "Sermon 33. 3," in *WSA*, III/II, p. 156: "For God surely is to be loved freely and for nothing, and the soul can only find rest in what it loves."

²⁴¹ "Sermon 88.5," in *WSA*, II/20, p. 146. "Our whole business in this life is to restore to health the eye of the heart whereby God may be seen. In order to be healthy we need faith. Each of us needs faith, for by faith the heart is purified, and only through the purification of our hearts shall we see the face of God."

²⁴² "Psalm. 93. 25," in *WSA*, III/18, p. 404.

²⁴³ *The Trinity*, I. 10, *WSA*, I/5, p. 71. Humanity does not become divine in the same way as the persons of the Trinity partake of divinity because "the life everlasting we have been made partakers of is one thing, and we who shall live forever by partaking of it are another." (CCSL 27, 39). "Eius enim uitae aeternae et nos participes facti pro module nostro immortale efficimur. Sed aliud est ipsa cuius participes efficimur uita aeterna, aliud nos qui eius participatione uiuemus in aeternum."

²⁴⁴ *The Trinity*, I. 14, in *WSA*, I/5, pp. 74-75.

²⁴⁵ "Ps. 49. 2," *WSA*, III/16, p. 381. See also Mary Marrocco, "Participation in Divine Life in the *De Trinitate* of St. Augustine,"; Patricia Kastner-Wilson, "Grace as Participation in the Divine Life in the Theology of Augustine of Hippo," pp. 135-152.

²⁴⁶ Burnaby, *Amor Dei*, pp. 135, 171.

heart's response to such sacrificial love should be to love Christ in return, and Augustine appeals to his congregation to "seek a safe place for your heart" in Christ. Rather than worrying about earthly possessions, Christians are to focus on Christ as saviour, to "lift up their hearts" to him, including their thoughts, love and hope. "Send your heart to heaven" he urges his people, where Christ can keep both heart and possessions safe.²⁴⁷ Those who are cleansed by the mediator become one in him by partaking in the same nature and by "virtue of one and the same wholly harmonious will (love) reaching out in concert to the same ultimate happiness, and fused somehow into one spirit in the furnace of charity."²⁴⁸ That "same harmonious will" is the person of the Holy Spirit, the mutual love of Father and Son and he who in-dwells the heart of the believer as the dynamic principle of divine life.

2.10 The Holy Spirit and the Restoration of the image of God in the Heart

Augustine is keenly attuned to the resonances of the heart in his exploration of the way in which the Trinitarian God restores his image to the elect through the gift of faith in the heart. The *ordo salutis* is love, faith and then sight for the purified heart.²⁴⁹ The healing, justifying and deification that transforms the image of God is the work of the Holy Spirit who sanctifies the heart to effect salvation.²⁵⁰ The Holy Spirit is the mutual love of the Father and Son, the bond between the immanent and economic Trinity who indwells the heart of the believer.²⁵¹ Augustine's view that the interrelatedness of the immanent and economic Trinity is the prerogative of the Holy Spirit parallels that of Edwards.

The Holy Spirit, sent by Father and Son is the agent who reveals the significance of Christ's life, death and resurrection to the hearts of sinners who are then drawn by divine love to follow Christ. In Tractate 26 Augustine explains that sinners are drawn "by a chain of the heart" to the Father, through their love for the truth of the revelation of Christ's atoning sacrifice.²⁵² The love is the person of the Holy Spirit. It is the Holy Spirit who is poured out into the hearts of the saints, the "charity by which we are to love God and

²⁴⁷ "Psalm 90.13," (2), in *WSA*, III/18, p. 344.

²⁴⁸ *The Trinity*, IV. 12, *WSA*, 1/5, p. 161. (CCSL 50, 177). "unde mundantur per mediatorem ut sint in illo unum...sed etiam per eandem in eandem beatitudinem conspirantem concordissimam uoluntatem in unum spiritum quodam modo caritatis igne conflata."

²⁴⁹ *The Trinity*, VIII. 6, *WSA*, 1/5, pp. 245-246.

²⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, XIII. 23, p. 361.

²⁵¹ The background to Augustine's doctrine of the Holy Spirit may be found in G. Bonner, "St. Augustine's Doctrine of the Holy Spirit," in *God's Decree and Man's Destiny: Studies in the Thought of Augustine of Hippo* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1987), pp. 51-66.

²⁵² "Homily XXVI. 5," in "Homilies on the Gospel of John," in *NPNF*, vol. VII, p. 170.

neighbour..."²⁵³ The mutual love of the immanent Trinity spills over into the hearts of the saints who in turn love others saints with the love of God.

Sinners receive the Holy Spirit when in humility they confess their inability to change their own hearts from unbelief to faith. Starting with faith which resides in the heart (*fides quaerit, intellectus inuenit*),²⁵⁴ the work of divine love in the heart transforms human life, since "every man lives according to what he loves,"²⁵⁵ and those who possess the divine love in the heart will follow Christ's example of holiness rather than pursuing their own goals. The Holy Spirit acts on behalf of the Trinity but is in a sense the Trinity acting. The abiding presence of the Holy Spirit in the heart continues the work of restoration of the divine image. In this way, the faithful will eventually be brought to a direct contemplation of God in eternity where they will be filled with delight and "nothing further than that delight will be sought; there will be nothing further to seek."²⁵⁶ Believing as Augustine did in the doctrine of divine simplicity, to possess the Holy Spirit is to possess the triune God himself and eventually to see the "vision of him as the whole reward of our love and desire."²⁵⁷ Contemplation of the Trinitarian God leads to "the fullness of our happiness, beyond which there is none else," since the end for which God has implemented his plan for the salvation of the elect, says Augustine, is that they should "enjoy God the three in whose image we were made,"²⁵⁸ a sentiment endorsed by Edwards.²⁵⁹ The chief end for humanity made in the image and likeness of God is aesthetic, not intellectual, and is experienced in the heart. The full and final restoration of the image of God is the end of all joys for believers. It is to see God face to face, when the pure in heart will contemplate God as the reward for the cleansing of their hearts by faith.²⁶⁰

The connection between the Holy Spirit and the heart is re-iterated in Book XIII where Augustine returns to themes he addressed in Book IV, sin, faith and salvation through the mediation of Christ. Faith is the gift of the Holy Spirit and is seen by every man "to be in his heart if he believes."²⁶¹ The heart is the locus for faith, "but not all men have

²⁵³ *The Trinity*, XV. 46, WSA, 1/5, p. 431.

²⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, XV. 2, p. 396, (CCSL 50A, 461).

²⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, XIII. 25, p. 365.

²⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, I. 17., p. 77.

²⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, I. 18, p. 79.

²⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, I. 17, p. 77.

²⁵⁹ *Religious Affections, Works*, 2, p. 104. "The Scriptures speak of holy joy, as a great part of true religion."

²⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, I. 17, p. 77.

²⁶¹ *The Trinity*, XIII. 3, WSA, 1/5, p. 343. (CCSL, 50A, 383). "Fidem porro ipsam quam uidet quisque in corde suo esse si credit."

the faith which must purify the heart.”²⁶² The Holy Spirit imparts belief in Christ’s temporal activity in redemption which purifies the heart and brings believers to faith in the eternal ramifications of his temporal activity.²⁶³

The unity of head and heart in trusting in the Trinitarian being of God for salvation is effected through the work of the Holy Spirit. Augustine claims that knowledge of God is useless if limited to a purely intellectual level because faith and love are found in the heart. Many people knew the man Jesus but did not know his divinity. Unbelievers are incapable of turning back to God of their own volition because God does not participate actively in the heart of the unbeliever. It is a work of the Holy Spirit to rouse the heart and bring it to faith. Only the divine love can purify the heart to see the truth of God in Christ because “faith works by love” (*fides per dilectionem operetur*).²⁶⁴ The gift of the Holy Spirit who is love is necessary to draw the heart’s attention to the humility of Christ in order to humble human pride so that the believer will cleave to God.²⁶⁵

Having worked his way through a number of triads in the mind to establish just what constitutes the image of God in humanity,²⁶⁶ Augustine concludes that it is the triad of memory, understanding and will/love when directed to contemplation of God’s saving work in history that most closely resembles the divine Trinity.²⁶⁷ “Remembering God” in Augustine’s Trinitarianism refers to a kind of self awareness of the presence of God in the heart in the person of the Holy Spirit. Recollection of the memory of what God has done in Christ, understanding what it means, and loving that meaning is a triad of the inner man to be found in *sapientia* who is Christ himself for Augustine. Quoting Col. 2:1, where Paul prays that his readers will know the mystery of Christ Jesus in their hearts, Augustine warns his readers that unless sinners know themselves as known and loved by God, (and that is his definition of *sapientia*-true wisdom of the divine as opposed to *scientia*-

²⁶² *Ibid.*, XIII, 25, p. 364. (CCSL, 50, 417). “Beatos esse se uelle omnium hominum est, nec tamen omnium est fides qua cor mundante ad beatitudinem peruenitur.”

²⁶³ *Ibid.*, XIII, 13-16, pp. 353-356.

²⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, XIII, 14, p. 354. (CCSL, 50, 400). As mentioned in Ch. I, p. 4, one of Augustine’s favourite verses of Scripture is Romans. 5:5, and mindful of the need to restore the image of God in the heart, Augustine rejoices that “the love (*caritas*) of God has been poured out into our hearts through the Holy Spirit which has been given to us.” XIII, 14, p. 354. (CCSL, 50A, 400). “ut enim fides per dilectionem operetur, caritas dei diffusa est in cordibus nostris per spiritum sanctum qui datus est nobis.”

²⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, XIII, 22, p. 361..

²⁶⁶ *Ibid.* The three analogies that held his attention were *mens*, *notitia*, *amor*; *memoria sui*, *intelligentia*, *voluntas* and *memoria Dei*, *intelligentia*, *amor*. *The Trinity*, IX. 18, p. 282, X. 18, p. 298; XIV. 8, p.15, p. 383, and XIV. 11, p. 379.

²⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, XIV. 11, p. 379.

knowledge of the sensible world), it is impossible to achieve the integration of the heart and live out the life of faith.²⁶⁸

Wisdom concerning the ultimate good that is God comes only through conversion by and to the Triune God, whose threefold pattern of a divinely loving life is paralleled with the threefold pattern of the mind's self-relatedness in remembering, understanding and loving itself in God.²⁶⁹ The mind may well remember, know and love itself, but it is only when the mind remembers, knows and loves God as Trinity that reformation of the image is made possible through the gift of faith and love in the heart.²⁷⁰

The image of God in humanity is beautiful after conversion, albeit still imperfect, when the transformation of the "ungodly" image of God in the heart changes "from an ugly form into a beautiful one."²⁷¹ The great benefit to be obtained when the heart (and here he is speaking of the unity of memory/understanding/ love) loves God is that "now it loves itself with a straight not a twisted love" and as the image of God, "is made new and fresh and happy after being old and worn and miserable."²⁷² The transformation of the image of God through the indwelling of the Holy Spirit of love in the heart is the most excellent gift of God, more excellent than faith with which even the "devils believe and tremble." The whole Trinity takes up residence in the heart with the gift of the Holy Spirit, and this love "brings us through to God."²⁷³

In a lyrical vision of Trinitarian beauty that could well have come from the pen of Edwards Augustine sums up his understanding of the Trinity as an affectional unity of three divine persons ceaselessly at work in creation. The Holy Spirit enlivens the hearts of the saints by rousing the desire for God and then satisfying that desire with the gift of love for God. So Augustine writes:

²⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, XIII. 24, p. 363. In another strongly Christological passage Augustine speaks of Christ as "our knowledge...and our wisdom. It is he who plants faith in us about temporal things, he who presents us with the truth about eternal things."

²⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, XII. 4, p. 25.

²⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, XIV. 15, pp. 383-384. (CCSL 50A, 444).

²⁷¹ *Ibid.*, XV. 14, p. 406.

²⁷² *Ibid.*, XIV. 18, p. 385. (CCSL, 50A, 446). "cum autem deum diligit mens et sicut dictum est consequenter eius meminit eumque intellegit, recte illi de proximo suo praecipitur tu eum dicat se diligit. Iam enim se non peruerse sed recte diligit cum deum diligit cuius participatione imago illa non solum est, uerum etiam ex uetustate renouatur, ex deformitate reformatur ex infelicitate beatificatur."

²⁷³ *Ibid.*, XV. 32, p. 421. "So the love which is from God and is God is distinctively the Holy Spirit; through him the charity of God is poured out in our hearts, and through it the whole triad dwells in us. This is the reason why it is most apposite that the Holy Spirit, while being God, should also be called the gift of God. And this gift, surely, is distinctively to be understood as being the charity which brings us through to God, without which no other gift of God at all can bring us through to God."

...there, you see you have the Trinity: the Father who begot, the Word which he begot, the Spirit by which charity is breathed forth, or inspired. In order that this most delightful and surpassing and inexpressible Trinity may be loved, soaring beyond the universal creation which it initiated, completed, arranged, soaring beyond it altogether, the Spirit desires the hearts of lovers. It is quite right to say he desires, because he makes us desire ... So he nourishes the hearts of lovers...²⁷⁴

In his exposition of Psalm 99 Augustine reassures his congregation that following conversion it is by living rightly that they approach God. God resides in the hearts of believers who approximate his likeness as they live in holiness. Edwards, too, regarded the holy life as the product of Christ in-dwelling the heart in the person of the Holy Spirit, but both accept that the perception of God's love is fleeting as the wounded heart clouds the vision of God's beauty and holiness. Augustine laments that he cannot see the image of God clearly in his own heart. The way forward is to strive with God's grace to overcome iniquity, to "pound it (iniquity) to pieces in your heart and make your heart clean, drive it out from that heart of yours where he whom you long to see desires to dwell."²⁷⁵ There is no room in the heart for opposing loves. Personal holiness will eventually see "the inner person re-created in God's image because in that image it was created in the first place."²⁷⁶ In the meantime, the heart begins to be purified "by behaviour, by mode of life, by chastity, holiness, love, and by the faith which works through love."²⁷⁷ Echoing his admission in the *Confessions* that it is only God who sees into the heart and knows the real Augustine, he proclaims "let us claim no credit for anything we are, provided it is by faith in him that we are whatever we are."²⁷⁸

Just as there is a communal dimension to the intratrinitarian life, one that does not duplicate Edwards' notion of a social Trinitarianism, so too there are communal overtones to human participation in Trinitarian life. In Augustine's spirituality, God's work in the restoration of the image of God in humanity has as its intent a life lived in love for the

²⁷⁴ "Sermon 391. 7," (417), in *WSA*, III/ 11, p. 288

²⁷⁵ "Psalm 99. 5," in *WSA*, III/19, pp. 16-17.

²⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

²⁷⁷ "Sermon 91.5," in *WSA*, in III/III, p. 461.

²⁷⁸ Sermon 26. 15," in *WSA*, 111/11, p. 102. *Confessions*, X. 3. 4, p. 181. (CCSL 27, 156).

other, not a life of inward subjectivity.²⁷⁹ There is only one right love, the love of God, from which all other loves flow, but love of God and love of neighbour are inseparable, like two wings of the one love that taken together can “lift up the heart.”²⁸⁰ It is the Father and Christ who send the Holy Spirit into the hearts of the saints with “the sweetness of begetter and begotten pervading all creatures according to their capacity with its vast generosity and fruitfulness, that they might all keep their right order and rest in their right places.”²⁸¹ The saints’ love for God as the supreme good is a participation in the love of God for the divine good in the Trinity. In turning back to God by means of the unlimited gift of love in the heart that is the Holy Spirit, sinners are drawn out of their separated and fragmented state to participate in the divine life and so to live in the bond of love which is the life of the church—the *communio sancti spiritus*.

Augustine’s thinking on the relationship between the heart and the Trinity can be summarized as follows. First is his insistence that there are Trinitarian analogies of the image of God in humanity to be found in the heart, which best encompasses the entire interior life of a person, including the intellect, the will and the affections. In order to illuminate the way in which sinners are brought to faith in the triune God, Augustine uses the psychological analogy of memory, understanding and love/will to explore the Trinitarian relationships *ad intra* and *ad extra*. The possibility of the renewal of the image of God in the human heart is unattainable apart from God’s gracious act of redemption and this is the work of the Trinity, which in the economic work of the three persons draws believers into the love of the immanent Trinity. It is through the redemptive work of Christ the mediator and the subsequent gift of the Holy Spirit to the heart that the deformed image of God in humanity is reformed and renewed. That renewal is not complete in this life because of the frailty of the heart. When Augustine writes that “the whole of the Christian life is a holy longing,”²⁸² he sees no end to the pilgrimage of the heart this side of heaven, but for the true believer it is a pilgrimage based on a transformed desire to know more and more of God in the heart.

²⁷⁹ *The Trinity*, XV. 31, p. 421. (CCSL, 50A, 506). : “So it is God the Holy Spirit proceeding from God who fires man to the love of God and neighbour when he has been given to him, and he himself is love. Man has no capacity to love God except from God.”

²⁸⁰ “Sermon 68.13.,” in *WSA*, 111/111, p. 233. (PL 2, col. 512), “Istis duabut alis in quantum niteris, sursum interim cor habebis...”

²⁸¹ *The Trinity*, VI. 11. p. 213. See David Coffey, “The Holy Spirit as the Mutual Love of the Father and the Son” in *Theological Studies*, 51, 2, (June 1990), pp. 193-230. pp. 196ff.

²⁸² “Homily IV. 6, in *Homilies on the Epistle of John*, *NPNF*, vol VII, p. 485.

SUMMARY

The comparison of Edwards' and Augustine's depiction of the relationship between the heart and the Trinity has revealed some extraordinary parallels. First is their contention that the heart is the locus for the intervention of the triune God in conversion and the spiritual life.

Second, is their insistence on the link between humanity, made in the image of God, and the triadic nature of the Trinity. This image is to be found in the heart or mind, but is deformed by sin and in need of reformation.

Third, they display a similar appreciation for the glory and beauty of the immanent being of the triune God of love.

Fourth, they arrive at similar conclusions as to the means of redemption through the incorporation of the heart into Trinitarian life through the work of the Economic Trinity.

Fifth, there are similar inclusions of Neoplatonist ideas in their understanding of the dynamics of Trinitarian life.

These similarities rest on their shared use of a psychological analogy to explain the inner workings of the immanent Trinity and the connection between God and humanity made in his image. Edwards draws on Augustine's use of the psychological analogy to compare the workings of the mind with the relationships within the immanent Trinity. There is God, the idea of God and love/will as the correlates of the mind, its understanding and its love or will, in the development of their respective models of the immanent and economic Trinity. In both cases, Jesus Christ is the mediator between a perfect God and fallen humanity, the one whose sacrificial death atones for the sin of humanity. The Holy Spirit as the mutual love of Father and Son, constitutes the binding force for the Trinity and is the gift of divine love to the heart that enables the saints to partake of the divine nature. Christ as mediator, sends the Holy Spirit to the heart in order to redirect the desires of the heart towards God's love and beauty in devising and executing the salvation of the elect. Displacing all previous notions of an intellectual assent to revealed truth about God as the *sine qua non* of conversion, is conversion re-envisioned as an apprehension of the sheer beauty of the redemptive work of Jesus Christ the God-man who alone reveals the glory, love and beauty of God to the hearts of sinners in the person of the Holy Spirit. In this way, sinners come to a new aesthetic appreciation of God's triune love and beauty and also obtain a new understanding of the Biblical revelation of the love and humility of God in sending his only Son for the redemption of the world. This is achieved alongside the heart's incorporation into the divine life which conversion effects.

As has been shown, the aesthetic language of the heart dominates their apprehension of God as Trinity. Without the involvement of the affections, both affirm that there is no vision of God's love and beauty and no conversion. So great is their comprehension of God's love and beauty that their Trinitarian reflections conjure up an almost ecstatic response in the converted heart. The language of the converted heart is replete with sensual imagery that testifies to the essential continuity of feeling and appreciation of the glory of the Trinity that typifies heart religion. The significance of the Trinity in the conversion of the heart to which they subscribe reveals their intuition that love, beauty, happiness, joy and harmony all characterize the life of the immanent Trinity and are manifest in the hearts of the saints through the work of the economic Trinity.

Since knowledge of the triune God who is responsible for conversion is to be found in the heart, Chapter Three examines their spiritual epistemology to establish how the believer discerns the divine call to repentance.