

KENNETH M. WILSON

Augustine's Conversion
from Traditional Free Choice
to "Non-free Free Will"

*Studien und Texte zu
Antike und Christentum*

111

Mohr Siebeck

Studien und Texte zu Antike und Christentum
Studies and Texts in Antiquity and Christianity

Herausgeber/Editors

CHRISTOPH MARKSCHIES (Berlin) · MARTIN WALLRAFF (München)

CHRISTIAN WILDBERG (Princeton)

Beirat/Advisory Board

PETER BROWN (Princeton) · SUSANNA ELM (Berkeley)

JOHANNES HAHN (Münster) · EMANUELA PRINZIVALLI (Rom)

JÖRG RÜPKE (Erfurt)

111



Kenneth M. Wilson

Augustine's Conversion
from Traditional Free Choice
to "Non-free Free Will"

A Comprehensive Methodology

Mohr Siebeck

KENNETH M. WILSON, born 1956; 1981 Doctorate in Medicine from The University of Texas Medical School; 1989–1995 Assistant Professor of Orthopedic Surgery at Oregon Health Sciences University; 2003 M.Div.; 2006 Th.M.; 2012 D.Phil. in Theology from the University of Oxford; currently a Board Certified Orthopedic Hand Surgeon in Salem, Oregon and Professor of Church History and Systematic Theology at Grace School of Theology in The Woodlands, Texas.

ISBN 978-3-16-155753-8/eISBN 978-3-16-156286-0
DOI 10.1628/978-3-16-156286-0

ISSN 1436-3003/eISSN 2568-7433 (Studien und Texte zu Antike und Christentum)

The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliographie; detailed bibliographic data are available on the Internet at <http://dnb.dnb.de>.

© 2018 Mohr Siebeck Tübingen. www.mohrsiebeck.com

This book may not be reproduced, in whole or in part, in any form (beyond that permitted by copyright law) without the publisher's written permission. This applies particularly to reproductions, translations and storage and processing in electronic systems.

The book was printed on non-aging paper by Laupp & Göbel in Gomaringen and bound by Buchbinderei Nädele in Nehren.

Printed in Germany.

For My Wife and Children

Lynn, Rachael, Brent, Lisa, and Stephen

Preface

The title of this work is the same as my doctoral thesis at The University of Oxford. My supervisor, Professor Mark Edwards of Christ Church, deserves accolades for his patience as I inundated him with a small book's worth of data and ideas in chapter form each term for years (over 300,000 words), as I was reading through ancient philosophies and religions, the early church fathers, and all of Augustine's extant works, sermons, and letters chronologically. My thesis examiners encouraged me with their recommendations and advice on publishing this doctoral thesis. These are the late Dom Bernard Green, OSB of St. Benet's Hall, Oxford, and the Very Reverend Dr. John Behr of St. Vladimir's Orthodox Theological Seminary in New York.

I have identified and corrected many errors in my doctoral thesis, as well as adding a minimal amount of supporting material. The most recent scholarship has rarely been included because more would lengthen this work without affecting the conclusions, since these results are based on research in the primary sources. I have referenced numerous eminent scholars who I highly esteem, yet with whom I disagree in their conclusions. This does not mean I regard myself as more competent or intelligent.

Prior to my training as a theologian, I was trained as a scientist, medical doctor, and taught on the faculty of a medical school. Researching with the scientific method, formulas, and rules all come naturally to me. In designing this project, I merely followed Augustine's own instructions on how to discover the timeline for his progression in his thinking. "For whoever reads my works in the order in which they were written will perhaps discover out how I have made progress over the course of my writing." ("inveniet enim fortasse, quomodo scribendo profecerim, quisquis opuscula mea ordine, quo scripta sunt, legerit." *Retract.*, Prol.3). Few scholars have read all of Augustine's extant works, letters, and sermons. Has anyone read them all in the order in which they were written? In his probity, Augustine left clues like a treasure map for persons to decipher his explanations and rhetoric, and thereby discover his progressive changes in doctrine. In my opinion, sacrosanct academic assumptions have obfuscated Augustine's own clues revealing his journey. Even competent scholars can be lulled into academic slumber through the pervasive power of the accepted paradigm. Certain individuals and groups will vociferously challenge this newer understanding of Augustine and his contributions to Christianity. In an age where some persons have rejected the

very concept of truth while others cling to the comfort of tradition, it seems all the more essential for scholars to examine facts openly and critically.

This project would not have been possible without the encouragement, faithful support, patience, and sacrifices of my beloved wife, Lynn. I owe her everything for her love. My wonderful children – Rachael, Brent, Lisa, and especially Stephen – also sacrificed and assisted in bringing this work to completion.

Montgomery, Texas, January 2018

Kenneth M. Wilson

Table of Contents

Preface	VII
Abbreviations	XVII
Translations and Citations	XXIV
Introduction.....	1
<i>A. The Chronological Problem</i>	1
<i>B. Doctrinal Changes</i>	2
<i>C. Overview</i>	3
<i>D. Ad Simplicianum</i>	5
<i>E. Grace</i>	6
<i>F. Weaknesses in the consensus opinion</i>	7
<i>G. Explaining Augustine's Rhetoric</i>	8
<i>H. Tracing the Innovator's Progress</i>	9
Chapter 1: The Philosophical-Religious Context 2000 BCE–400 CE	11
<i>A. Ancient Civilizations</i>	11
<i>B. Gnosticism</i>	12
<i>C. Stoicism</i>	16
<i>D. Cicero</i>	18
<i>E. Judaism</i>	19
I. Ancient, First Temple Period, and Tanakh	19
II. Second Temple Period and Apocrypha	22

III. The Qumran Sect	23
IV. Philo Judaeus	28
V. Rabbinic Literature	30
<i>F. Neoplatonism</i>	32
<i>G. Manichaeism</i>	34
<i>H. Conclusion</i>	36

Chapter 2: Traditional Free Choice: Christian Authors from 95–215 CE..... 41

<i>A. Earliest Authors</i>	41
I. <i>First Clement</i>	41
II. <i>The Shepherd of Hermas</i>	41
III. <i>The Didache</i> , Polycarp, and Ignatius	42
IV. <i>Epistle of Barnabas</i>	43
V. <i>Epistle to Diognetus</i>	43
<i>B. The Apologists</i>	44
I. Aristides	44
II. Justin Martyr	45
III. Tatian	47
IV. Theophilus	48
V. Athenagoras	48
VI. Melito	49
<i>C. Irenaeus</i>	50
<i>D. Clement of Alexandria</i>	56
<i>E. Tertullian</i>	59
<i>F. Conclusion</i>	62

Chapter 3: Traditional Free Choice: Christian Authors from 216–430 CE

<i>A. Origen of Alexandria</i>	65
<i>B. Cyprian</i>	77
<i>C. Novatian</i>	81

<i>D. Lactantius</i>	82
<i>E. Hilary of Poitiers</i>	83
<i>F. The Cappadocians</i>	84
I. Gregory Nazianzen	84
II. Basil of Caesarea	85
III. Gregory Nyssen	86
<i>G. Methodius, Cyril, and Theodore</i>	89
<i>H. Ambrose of Milan</i>	90
<i>I. Conclusion</i>	93
Chapter 4: Augustine's Works 386–395 CE	95
<i>A. Works 386–387 CE</i>	96
<i>B. Works 388–391 CE</i>	98
<i>C. Presbyter Writings 392–395 CE</i>	100
I. Anti-Manichaean works	100
II. <i>Expositio epistulae ad Galatas</i>	102
III. The Influence of Tichonius	104
IV. <i>Exp. quaest. Rom. and Exp. Rom. inch.</i>	107
V. <i>De diversis quaestionibus octoginta tribus 66–75</i>	109
VI. <i>De libero arbitrio 2–3</i>	110
<i>D. Conclusion</i>	111
Chapter 5: Augustine's Works 396–411 CE	113
<i>A. Polemical Works 396–405 CE</i>	113
I. Anti-Manichaean Works	113
II. Anti-Donatist Works	118
<i>B. General Works 396–405 CE</i>	122
I. Earlier Works	122
II. <i>Confessiones 397–403 CE</i>	125
III. <i>Unitate ecclesiae 402–405 CE</i>	130
<i>C. The Pre-Pelagian Years 406–411 CE</i>	131

I. <i>Quaestiones expositae contra paganos VI</i> (ep.102) 406–412 CE	131
II. <i>De divinatione daemonum</i> 406 CE	132
III. <i>De musica</i> 390–ca.410 CE	132
IV. <i>De unico baptismo contra Petilianum</i> 411 CE and <i>Breviliculus collationis cum Donatistis</i> 411 CE	133
D. <i>Recapitulation for Works</i> 396–411 CE	134
E. <i>The Problem of the Anomalous De libero arbitrio</i> 3.47–3.54	134
 Chapter 6: <i>Ad Simplicianum</i>	139
A. <i>Ad Simplicianum</i> 2 (1.2) 412 CE	140
B. “ <i>The Veritable Revolution</i> ”	144
C. <i>The Revised Manuscript</i>	147
I. <i>De doctrina christiana</i> 399–427 CE	147
II. <i>De Genesi ad litteram</i> 401–416 CE	148
III. <i>De civitate dei</i> 413–427 CE and <i>De trinitate</i> 399–427 CE	150
D. <i>Conclusion</i>	152
 Chapter 7: <i>Augustine’s Works</i> 412–426 CE	157
A. <i>Works 412–419 CE</i>	157
I. <i>De peccatorum meritis et remissione peccatorum et de baptismo parvulorum</i> 411–412 CE	157
II. <i>De spiritu et littera</i> 412 CE	163
III. <i>De perfectione iustitiae hominis</i> 413–414 CE	164
IV. <i>De fide et operibus</i> 414 CE and <i>De natura et gratia</i> 414 CE	164
V. <i>De Genesi ad litteram</i> 401–416 CE	166
VI. <i>De gestis Pelagii</i> 417 CE	168
VII. Six Works from 418–419 CE	169
VIII. <i>De nuptiis et concupiscentia</i> 419 CE	169
B. <i>Works 419–426 CE</i>	172
I. <i>Contra duas epistulas Pelagianorum</i> 420 CE	172
II. <i>De incompetentibus nuptiis</i> and <i>Contra adversarium legis et prophetarum</i> 419 CE	174
III. <i>De anima et eius origine</i> 420 CE	174
IV. <i>Enchiridion ad Laurentium de fide spe et caritate</i> 421 CE	176

V. <i>Contra Iulianum</i> 421 CE	178
VI. <i>De symbolo ad catechumenos</i> 425 CE and <i>Gratia et libero arbitrio</i> 426–427 CE	183
VII. <i>De correptione et gratia</i> 426–427 CE	184
C. <i>Conclusion</i>	187
Chapter 8: Augustine's Works 427–430 CE	191
A. <i>De trinitate</i> 399–426/7 CE	191
B. <i>De civitate dei</i> 413–427 CE	191
C. <i>Retractationes</i> 427–428 CE	197
D. <i>De praedestinatione sanctorum</i> 429 CE	200
E. <i>De dono perseverantiae</i> 429–430 CE	202
F. <i>Opus imperfectum contra Iulianum</i> 429–430 CE	210
G. <i>Conclusion</i>	211
Chapter 9: Augustine's Sermons and Letters	215
A. <i>Sermons 394–412 CE</i>	215
I. Sermons 394–407 CE	215
II. Sermons 408–410 CE	216
III. Transitional Sermons 411–412 CE	216
IV. Problem Dates on Early Sermons	218
B. <i>Sermons 412–414 CE</i>	218
C. <i>Sermons 415–430 CE</i>	220
D. <i>Sermon Conclusions</i>	222
E. <i>Epistles</i>	223
I. Epistles 388–411 CE	223
II. Epistles 412–426 CE	227
III. Epistles 426–430 CE	234
F. <i>Conclusion</i>	238

Chapter 10: Augustine’s Exegesis of Scripture.....	241
<i>A. Tractatus in epistolam Ioannis</i> 407 CE	241
<i>B. In evangelium Ioannis tractatus</i> 406–430 CE	243
<i>C. Enarrationes Psalmos</i> 391–422 CE	247
<i>D. Mistranslations that Created Doctrine</i>	249
I. Romans 5.12	249
II. Ephesians 2.8–10	250
III. Job 14.4 (LXX).....	251
IV. Proverbs 8.35.....	251
V. Romans 5.5	254
VI. Other Mistranslations	255
<i>E. Initium fidei</i>	255
<i>F. Verses Decontextualized</i>	259
I. 1 Corinthians 4.7	259
II. 1 Timothy 2.4	260
III. 1 John 2.2	261
IV. Ephesians 2.3.....	261
V. Romans 9–11.....	262
VI. Luke 14.23, “compelle intrare”	263
VII. Philippians 2.13	264
VIII. Psalms 51.5 (50.7, LXX).....	264
<i>G. Original Sin’s Conversion from Traditional to Augustinian</i>	265
<i>H. Conclusions on Scriptural Exegesis</i>	269
 Conclusion	 273
<i>A. Ad Simplicianum in Its Chronological Context</i>	274
<i>B. Pelagian works: Anti-Augustinian or anti-Manichaeae?</i>	276
<i>C. Augustine’s Probity</i>	276
<i>D. Ten Influential Factors</i>	281
<i>E. Influences upon Augustine’s Conversion to DUPIED</i>	286
<i>F. Reverting to Gnostic/Manichaeae Concepts</i>	293
<i>G. Converting the Cause and Date of Augustine’s Conversion</i>	294

Appendix I: Augustine’s Works Listed Chronologically	299
Appendix II: The Logical and Chronological Progression of Augustine’s Later Theology.....	304
Appendix III: Traditional Free Choice Christian Authors and Works 95–430 CE	307
Bibliography	311
Ancient	311
Modern	314
Index of References.....	341
Tanakh	341
Ancient Authors	342
Augustine of Hippo	343
Qumran	367
Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha	367
Babylonian Talmud and Midrash	368
New Testament	368
Scriptures used by Gnostics and Manichaeans for Divine Unilateral Predetermination of Individuals’s Eternal Destinies	371
Index of Modern Authors.....	373
Index of Subjects.....	379

Abbreviations

General Abbreviations

<i>1 Apol. and 2 Apol.</i>	<i>Apology 1 and Apology 2, Justin Martyr</i>
<i>Abr.</i>	<i>De Abrahamo, Philo</i>
<i>AcT</i>	<i>Acta Theologica</i>
<i>'Abot. R. Nat</i>	<i>'Abot de Rabbi Nathan</i>
<i>Ad Marc</i>	<i>Ad Marcellam, Porphyry</i>
<i>Adv. Ar.</i>	<i>Adversus Arium, Victorinus</i>
<i>Adv. def. orig. pecc.</i>	<i>Adversus defendendum originale peccatum, Theodore</i>
<i>Adv. haer. / AH</i>	<i>Adversus haeresis, Irenaeus</i>
<i>Adv. Mac. spir. sancto</i>	<i>Adversus Macedonianos de spiritu sancto, Gregory</i>
<i>An.</i>	<i>De anima, Tertullian</i>
<i>A.J.</i>	<i>Antiquitates Judaicae, Josephus</i>
<i>Apoc. Ab.</i>	<i>Apocalypse of Abraham</i>
<i>Apoc. Adam</i>	<i>Apocalypse of Adam</i>
<i>Apoc. Ezra</i>	<i>Apocalypse of Ezra (4 Esdras or 4 Ezra)</i>
<i>Apol.</i>	<i>Apologeticus adversus Gentes, Tertullian</i>
<i>Apol. Dav.</i>	<i>Apologia prophetae David, Ambrose</i>
<i>Apol. Hier.</i>	<i>Apologia adversus Hieronymum, Rufinus</i>
<i>AugStud</i>	<i>Augustinian Studies</i>
<i>Autol.</i>	<i>Ad Autolyicum, Theophilus</i>
<i>b.Ber.</i>	<i>Babylonian Berakot</i>
<i>b.Qiddušin</i>	<i>Babylonian Qiddušin</i>
<i>b.Sukkah.</i>	<i>Babylonian Sukkah</i>
<i>2 Bar.</i>	<i>2 Baruch (Apocalypse of Baruch)</i>
<i>B.J.</i>	<i>Bellum Judaicum, Josephus</i>
<i>Bar.</i>	<i>Baruch</i>
<i>Barn.</i>	<i>Epistle of Barnabas</i>
<i>Ber.</i>	<i>Berakot</i>
<i>Cat.</i>	<i>Catecheses, Cyril of Jerusalem</i>
<i>Cat. mag.</i>	<i>Oratio catechetica magna, Gregory</i>
<i>CCL</i>	<i>Corpus christianorum series latina</i>
<i>Cher.</i>	<i>De cherubim, Philo</i>
<i>CMC</i>	<i>Cologne Mani-Codex</i>
<i>Comm. 1 Tim.</i>	<i>Commentariorum in Epistulam i ad Timotheum, Ambrosiaster</i>
<i>Comm. Categ.</i>	<i>Commentary on Aristotle's Categories, Simplicius</i>
<i>Comm. Eph.</i>	<i>Commentariorum in Epistulam ad Ephesios, Jerome</i>
<i>Comm. Ev. Jo.</i>	<i>Commentarii in evangelium Iohannis, Origen</i>
<i>Comm. Gal.</i>	<i>Commentariorum in Epistulam ad Galatas, Jerome</i>
<i>Com. Iob</i>	<i>Commentarii in librum Iob, abridged from Philippus</i>

<i>Comm. Ioh.</i>	<i>Commentarium Iohannan</i> , Theodore
<i>Comm. Matt.</i>	<i>Commentarium in evangelium Matthaei</i> , Origen
<i>Com. Mat.</i>	<i>Commentariorum Matheum</i> , Hilary
<i>Comm. Phil.</i>	<i>Commentariorum in Philippenses</i> , Ambrosiaster
<i>Comm. Romanos</i>	<i>Commentariorum in Romanos</i> , Ambrosiaster
<i>Comm. Rom.</i>	<i>Commentarii Romanos</i> , Origen
<i>Com. Rom.</i>	<i>Commentarii Romanos</i> , Pelagius
<i>Congr.</i>	<i>De congressu eruditionis gratia</i> , Philo
<i>Conl.</i>	<i>Conlationes</i> , Cassian
<i>C. Ar.</i>	<i>Contra Arianos</i> , Athanasius
<i>C. Eun.</i>	<i>Contra Eunomium</i> , Gregory
<i>Cels.</i>	<i>Contra Celsus</i> , Origen
<i>Corp. Herm.</i>	<i>Corpus Hermeticum (Gnostic)</i>
<i>Cult. fem.</i>	<i>De cultu feminarum</i> , Tertullian
<i>CSEL</i>	<i>Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum latinorum</i>
<i>DH</i>	<i>Definitions of Hermes Trismegistus to Asclepius</i> (Gnostic)
<i>De Abrah.</i>	<i>De Abraham</i> , Ambrose
<i>De an.</i>	<i>De anima</i> , Aristotle
<i>De bapt.</i>	<i>De baptismo</i> , Tertullian
<i>Decal.</i>	<i>De decalogo</i> , Philo [Laporte uses <i>Dec.</i>]
<i>De cib. Jud.</i>	<i>De cibus Judaicis</i> , Novatian
<i>Decr.</i>	<i>De decretis Nicaenae synodi</i> , Athanasius
<i>Dub. prov.</i>	<i>De decem dubitationibus circa providentiam</i> , Proclus
<i>De infant. praem.</i>	<i>De infantibus qui praemature abripiuntur</i> , Gregory
<i>De inst. christ.</i>	<i>De instituto christiano</i> , Gregory
<i>De prov.</i>	<i>De providentia</i> , Alexander of Aphrodisias
<i>De provid.</i>	<i>De providentia</i> , Proclus
<i>De resurr.</i>	<i>De resurrectione</i> , Athenagoras
<i>De sacr.</i>	<i>De sacramentis</i> , Ambrose
<i>De trin.</i>	<i>De trinitate</i> , Hilary
<i>De trin. lib.</i>	<i>De trinitate liber</i> , Novatian
<i>Deus immut.</i>	<i>Quod deus sit immutabilis</i> , Philo [Winston uses <i>immut.</i>]
<i>De virg.</i>	<i>De virginitate</i> , Gregory
<i>Dial.</i>	<i>Dialogue with Trypho</i> , Justin Martyr
<i>Dial. de anima et res.</i>	<i>De anima et resurrectione dialogus</i> , Gregory
<i>Diogn.</i>	<i>Epistle of Diognetus</i>
<i>Disc.</i>	<i>Discourses</i> , Epictetus
<i>Div.</i>	<i>De divinatione</i> , Cicero
<i>Div. Caec.</i>	<i>Divinatio in Caeciliam</i> , Cicero
<i>DUPIED</i>	<i>Divine Unilateral Predetermination of Individuals' Eternal Destines</i>
<i>Ecl.</i>	<i>Eclogues</i> , Publius Vergilius Maro (Virgil)
<i>EngHistRev</i>	<i>English Historical Review</i>
<i>Ench.</i>	<i>Enchiridion</i> , Epictetus
<i>Enar. in Ps.</i>	<i>Enarrationes in XII Psalmos davidicos</i> , Ambrose
<i>Enn.</i>	<i>Enneads</i> , Plotinus
<i>Ep. (ep.)</i>	<i>Epistle</i>
<i>Epid.</i>	<i>Epideixis tou apostolikou kērygmato</i> , Irenaeus
<i>Ep. P. Eph.</i>	<i>In Epistulam Pauli ad Ephesios</i> , Victorinus

<i>Ep. P. Gal.</i>	<i>In Epistolam Pauli ad Galatas</i> , Victorinus
<i>Ep. P. Phil.</i>	<i>In Epistolam Pauli ad Philippenses</i> , Victorinus
<i>Eth.nic.</i>	<i>Ethica nichomachea</i> , Aristotle
<i>ETL</i>	<i>Ephemerides theologicae Iovanienses</i>
<i>Eth.eud.</i>	<i>Ethica eudemia</i> , Aristotle
<i>Exc. Satyri</i>	<i>De excessu fratris sui Satyri</i> , Ambrose
<i>Exhort.</i>	<i>Exhortatio ad martyrium</i> , Origen
<i>Exh. cast.</i>	<i>De exhortatione castitatis</i> , Tertullian
<i>Exc. Theod.</i>	<i>Excerpta ex Theodoto</i> , Theodotus the Valentinian
<i>Exod. Rab.</i>	<i>Exodus Rabbah</i>
<i>Exp. fid.</i>	<i>Expositio fidei</i> , John of Damascus
<i>Exp. Luc.</i>	<i>Expositio Evangelii secundum Lucam</i> , Ambrose
<i>Fat.</i>	<i>De fato</i> , Cicero
<i>Fug.</i>	<i>De fuga in persecutione</i> , Tertullian
<i>Gos. Truth</i>	<i>Gospel of Truth, Evangelium Veritatis</i> (Gnostic)
<i>Haer.</i>	<i>Refutatio omnium haeresium</i> , Hippolytus
<i>H.E.</i>	<i>Historia ecclesiastica</i> , Eusebius
<i>Her.</i>	<i>Quis rerum divinarum heres sit</i> , Philo
<i>Herm. Mand.</i>	<i>Mandates in Shepherd of Hermas</i>
<i>Herm. Sim.</i>	<i>Similitudes in Shepherd of Hermas</i>
<i>Herm. Vis.</i>	<i>Visions in Shepherd of Hermas</i>
<i>Hist. Iob com.</i>	<i>In historiam Iob commentariorum</i> , Presb. Philippus
<i>HTR</i>	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
<i>Hist. adv. pag.</i>	<i>Historiarum adversum paganos</i> , Orosius
<i>Hist.eccl.</i>	<i>Historia ecclesiastica</i> , Sozomen
<i>Hom. Ex.</i>	<i>Homiliae in Exodum</i> , Origen
<i>Hom. Gal.</i>	<i>Homiliae in epistolam ad Galatas</i> , Chrysostom
<i>Hom. Heb.</i>	<i>Homiliae in epistolam ad Hebraeos</i> , Chrysostom
<i>Hom. Thess.</i>	<i>Homiliae in epistolam ad Thessalonicenses</i> , Chrysostom
<i>Hom. Hex.</i>	<i>Homiliae Hexaēmeros</i> , Basil
<i>Hom. Jos.</i>	<i>Homiliae in Iesu nave</i> , Origen
<i>Hom. Lev.</i>	<i>Homiliae in Leviticum</i> , Origen
<i>Hom. Luc.</i>	<i>Homiliae in Lucam</i> , Origen
<i>Hom. Num.</i>	<i>Homiliae in Numero</i> , Origen
<i>Hom. Phil.</i>	<i>Homiliae in epistolam ad Philippenses</i> , Chrysostom
<i>Hom. Ps.</i>	<i>Homiliae in Psalmos</i> , Origen
<i>Hom. Psa.</i>	<i>Tractatus super Psalmos</i> , Hilary
<i>Ign. Eph</i>	<i>Ad Ephesios</i> , Ignatius
<i>Ign. Magn.</i>	<i>Ad Magnesios</i> , Ignatius
<i>Inst.</i>	<i>Divinarum institutionum</i> , Lactantius
<i>Inst. coen.</i>	<i>De institutes coenobiorum</i> , Cassian
<i>Invent.</i>	<i>De inventione rhetorica</i> , Cicero
<i>Is. et Os.</i>	<i>De Iside et Osiride</i>
<i>J ECS</i>	<i>Journal of Early Christian Studies</i>
<i>JAAR</i>	<i>Journal of the American Academy of Religion</i>
<i>JBL</i>	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
<i>Jo. Hier.</i>	<i>Adversus Ioannem Hierosolymitanum</i> , Jerome
<i>Jov.</i>	<i>Adversus Iovinianum</i> , Jerome
<i>JSOT</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the Old Testament</i>

<i>JTS</i>	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
<i>L. Fid.</i>	<i>Liber de fide</i> , Rufinus of Syria
<i>Leg.</i>	<i>Legum allegoriae</i> , Philo
<i>Lib. leg. reg.</i>	<i>De legibus libri ex regiones</i> , Bar Daiṣān
<i>Lucif.</i>	<i>Altercatio Luciferiani et orthodoxi seu dialogus contra Luciferianos</i> , Jerome
<i>M.</i>	<i>Mani, Cologne Mani Codex</i>
<i>Marc.</i>	<i>Adversus Marcion</i> , Tertullian
<i>Metaph. A</i>	<i>Metaphysics A</i> , Aristotle
<i>Mir. M.</i>	<i>Mitteliranishce Manichaica</i>
<i>Myst.</i>	<i>De mysteriis</i> , Ambrose
<i>NHL</i>	<i>Nag Hammadi Library</i>
<i>Nat. hom.</i>	<i>De natura hominis</i> , Nemesius
<i>Non auct. mal.</i>	<i>Quod deus non est auctor malorum</i> , Basil
<i>Num. Rab.</i>	<i>Numbers Rabbah</i>
<i>Ob. Val.</i>	<i>De obitu Valentiani consolatio</i> , Ambrose
<i>Off.</i>	<i>De officiis ministrorum</i> , Ambrose
<i>Opif. Dei</i>	<i>De opificio Dei</i> , Lactantius
<i>Opif. hom.</i>	<i>De opificio hominis</i> , Gregory
<i>Opif.</i>	<i>De opificio mundi</i> , Philo
<i>Orat.</i>	<i>Orations / Orationes</i>
<i>PG</i>	<i>Patrologia graeca</i>
<i>PL</i>	<i>Patrologia latina</i>
<i>PLS</i>	<i>Patrologia Latina Supplementum</i>
<i>P. Arch.</i>	<i>Peri Archon</i> , Origen
<i>P.P.</i>	<i>Peri pascha</i> , Melito
<i>Paen.</i>	<i>De paenitentia</i> , Ambrose
<i>Pan.</i>	<i>Panarion</i> , Epiphanius
<i>Pel.</i>	<i>Dialogus adversus Pelagianos</i> , Jerome
<i>Phdr.</i>	<i>Phaedra</i> , Plato
<i>Philoc.</i>	<i>Philocalia</i>
<i>Phld.</i>	<i>Ad Filadelfios</i> , Ignatius
<i>Praem.</i>	<i>De praemiis et poenis</i> , Philo
<i>Praep. ev.</i>	<i>Praeparatio evangelica</i> , Eusebius
<i>Princ.</i>	<i>De principiis</i> , Origen
<i>Protr.</i>	<i>Protrepticus</i> , Clement
<i>Pss. Solom.</i>	<i>Psalms of Solomon</i>
<i>Quaes. Gen./ Q.G.</i>	<i>Quaestiones et solutiones in Genesim</i> , Philo
<i>Quis div.</i>	<i>Quis dives salvetur</i> , Clement
<i>RBén</i>	<i>Revue bénédictine</i>
<i>Ref. conf. Eun.</i>	<i>Refutatio confessionis Eunomii</i> , Gregory
<i>Reg.</i>	<i>Liber regularum</i> , Tichonius
<i>Rep.</i>	<i>Republic</i> , Plato
<i>RelS</i>	<i>Religious Studies</i>
<i>REAug</i>	<i>Revue des études augustiniennes</i>
<i>Ruf.</i>	<i>Adversus Rufinum</i> , Jerome
<i>Sacr.</i>	<i>De sacrificiis Abelis et Caini</i> , Philo
<i>Scorp.</i>	<i>Adversus Gnosticos Scorpiace</i> , Tertullian
<i>Sent.</i>	<i>Sententiae ad intelligibilia ducentes</i> , Porphyry

<i>S. Q. Hoarti Flacci</i>	<i>Sermomum Quinti Horatii Flacci poëmata</i> , Horace
<i>Sir.</i>	<i>Sirach</i>
<i>SJT</i>	<i>Scottish Journal of Theology</i>
<i>Spec. / Sp. Leg.</i>	<i>De specialibus legibus</i> , Philo
<i>ST</i>	<i>Summa theologica</i> , Thomas Aquinas
<i>StPatr</i>	<i>Studia patristica</i>
<i>Strom.</i>	<i>Stromata</i> , Clement
<i>SVF</i>	<i>Stoicorum veterum fragmenta</i>
<i>Symp.</i>	<i>Symposium decem virginum</i> , Methodius
<i>Tim.</i>	<i>Timaeus</i> , Plato
<i>Teubner</i>	<i>Bibliotheca scriptorum graecorum et romanorum Teubneriana</i>
<i>Treat.</i>	<i>Treatise</i> , Cyprian
<i>Treat. Res.</i>	<i>Treatise on the Resurrection</i> (Gnostic)
<i>TS</i>	<i>Theological Studies</i>
<i>Tusc.</i>	<i>Tusculanae disputationes</i> , Cicero
<i>Val.</i>	<i>Adversus Valentianos</i> , Tertullian
<i>VC</i>	<i>Vigiliae christianae</i>
<i>Viris ill.</i>	<i>De viris illustribus</i> , Jerome

The previously listed works have their authors listed beside their works since many authors have works with the same or similar names. Likewise, standard abbreviations for some of these works have been modified for easier identification in association with their respective authors in this book.

Tanakh

Gen	Genesis	Ps	Psalms
Exod	Exodus	Prov	Proverbs
Lev	Leviticus	Eccl	Ecclesiastes
Deut	Deuteronomy	Isa	Isaiah
Josh	Joshua	Jer	Jeremiah
1 Sam	1 Samuel	Ezek	Ezekiel
1 Kgs	1 Kings		

New Testament

Matt	Matthew	1 Tim	1 Timothy
Rom	Romans	2 Tim	2 Timothy
1 Cor	1 Corinthians	Phlm	Philemon
2 Cor	2 Corinthians	Heb	Hebrews
Gal	Galatians	Jas	James
Eph	Ephesians	1 Pet	1 Peter
Phil	Philippians	2 Pet	2 Peter
1 Thess	1 Thessalonians		

Works by Augustine of Hippo

<i>Acad.</i>	<i>Contra Academicos</i>
<i>Adim.</i>	<i>Contra Adimantum</i>
<i>Adnot. Job</i>	<i>Adnotationes in Iob</i>
<i>Agon.</i>	<i>De agone christiano</i>
<i>Arian.</i>	<i>Contra sermonem Arrianorum</i>
<i>Bapt.</i>	<i>De baptismo contra Donatistas</i>
<i>Beat.</i>	<i>De beata vita</i>
<i>Bon. conj.</i>	<i>De bono coniugali</i>
<i>Brev. coll.</i>	<i>Breviliculus collationis cum Donatistis</i>
<i>Caes.</i>	<i>Ad Caesarienses</i>
<i>Catech. rud.</i>	<i>De catechizandis rudibus</i>
<i>Civ.</i>	<i>De civitate dei</i>
<i>Conf.</i>	<i>Confessiones</i>
<i>Cons.</i>	<i>De consensu evangelistarum</i>
<i>C. du. ep. Pel.</i>	<i>Contra duas epistulas Pelagianorum</i>
<i>C. Jul.</i>	<i>Contra Iulianum</i>
<i>C. Jul. imp.</i>	<i>Contra secundam Iuliani responsionem opus imperfectum</i>
<i>C. litt. Petil.</i>	<i>Contra litteras Petiliani</i>
<i>C. mend.</i>	<i>Contra mendacium</i>
<i>Corrept.</i>	<i>De correptione et gratia</i>
<i>Cresc.</i>	<i>Ad Cresconium grammaticum parti Donati</i>
<i>Cur.</i>	<i>De cura pro mortuis gerenda</i>
<i>De mag.</i>	<i>De magistro</i>
<i>De mend.</i>	<i>De mendacio</i>
<i>Div. quaest.</i>	<i>De diversis quaestionibus octoginta tribus</i>
<i>Divin.</i>	<i>De divinatione daemonum</i>
<i>Doctr. chr.</i>	<i>De doctrina christiana</i>
<i>Don.</i>	<i>Post collationem contra Donatistas</i>
<i>Duab. an.</i>	<i>De duabus animabus contra Manichaeos</i>
<i>Dulc. qu.</i>	<i>De octo Dulcitii quaestionibus</i>
<i>Emer.</i>	<i>Gesta cum Emerito</i>
<i>Enar. Ps.</i>	<i>Ennarationes in Psalmos</i>
<i>Enchir.</i>	<i>Enchiridion ad Laurentium de fide spe et caritate</i>
<i>Exp. Gal.</i>	<i>Epistulae ad Galatas expositio</i>
<i>Exp. quaest. Rom.</i>	<i>Expositio quarundam quaestionum in epistula ad Romanos</i>
<i>Exp. Rom. inch.</i>	<i>Epistulae ad Romanos inchoata expositio</i>
<i>Faust.</i>	<i>Contra Faustum</i>
<i>Fel.</i>	<i>Contra Felicem Manichaeum</i>
<i>Fid.</i>	<i>De fide rerum quae non videntur</i>
<i>Fid. op.</i>	<i>De fide et operibus</i>
<i>Fid. symb.</i>	<i>De fide et symbolo</i>
<i>Fort.</i>	<i>Contra Fortunatum Manichaeum</i>
<i>Fund.</i>	<i>Contra epistolam Manichaei quam vacant fundamenti</i>
<i>Gen. litt.</i>	<i>De Genesi ad litteram</i>
<i>Gen. Man.</i>	<i>De Genesi adversus Manichaeos</i>
<i>Gen. imp.</i>	<i>De Genesi ad litteram liber imperfectus</i>

<i>Gest. Pelag.</i>	<i>De gestis Pelagii</i>
<i>Grat. Chr.</i>	<i>De gratia Christi et de peccato originali</i>
<i>Grat.</i>	<i>De gratia et libero arbitrio</i>
<i>Immort. an.</i>	<i>De immortalitate animae</i>
<i>Incomp. nupt.</i>	<i>De incompetentibus nuptiis (De coniugiis adulterinis)</i>
<i>Leg. adv.</i>	<i>Contra adversarium legis et prophetarum</i>
<i>Lib. arb.</i>	<i>De libero arbitrio voluntatis</i>
<i>Locut. Hept.</i>	<i>Locutiones in Heptateuchum</i>
<i>Maxim.</i>	<i>Contra Maximinum Arianum</i>
<i>Mor. eccl.</i>	<i>De moribus ecclesiae catholicae</i>
<i>Mor. Man.</i>	<i>De moribus Manichaeorum</i>
<i>Mus.</i>	<i>De musica</i>
<i>Nat. bon.</i>	<i>De natura boni contra Manichaeos</i>
<i>Nat. grat.</i>	<i>De natura et gratia</i>
<i>Nat. orig.</i>	<i>De natura et origine anima / De anima et eius origine</i>
<i>Nupt. et conc.</i>	<i>De nuptiis et concupiscentia ad Valerium comitem</i>
<i>Oct. quaest. Vet. Test.</i>	<i>De octo quaestionibus ex Veteri Testamento</i>
<i>Op. mon.</i>	<i>De opere monachorum</i>
<i>Ord.</i>	<i>De ordine</i>
<i>Parm.</i>	<i>Contra epistulam Parmeniani</i>
<i>Pat.</i>	<i>De patientia</i>
<i>Pecc. merit.</i>	<i>De peccatorum meritis et remissione et de baptismo parvulorum</i>
<i>Perf.</i>	<i>De perfectione iustitiae hominis</i>
<i>Persev.</i>	<i>De dono perseverantiae</i>
<i>Praed.</i>	<i>De praedestinatione sanctorum</i>
<i>Priscill.</i>	<i>Ad Orosium contra Priscillianistas et Origenistas</i>
<i>Psal. Don.</i>	<i>Psalmus contra partem Donati</i>
<i>Quaest. c. pag.</i>	<i>Quaestiones expositae contra paganos VI [ep.102]</i>
<i>Quaest. ev.</i>	<i>Quaestiones Evangelicarum</i>
<i>Quaest. Matt.</i>	<i>Quaestiones XVII in Matthaeum</i>
<i>Quant. an.</i>	<i>De animae quantitate</i>
<i>Retract.</i>	<i>Retractiones</i>
<i>Secund.</i>	<i>Contra Secundinum Manichaeum</i>
<i>S.</i>	<i>Sermones</i>
<i>S. Dom. m.</i>	<i>De sermone Domini in monte secundum Matthaeum</i>
<i>Simpl.</i>	<i>Diversis quaestionibus ad Simplicianum</i>
<i>Solil.</i>	<i>Soliloquia</i>
<i>Spir. et litt.</i>	<i>De spiritu et littera</i>
<i>Symb.</i>	<i>De symbolo ad catechumenos</i>
<i>Tract. ep. Jo.</i>	<i>In epistulam Iohannis ad Parthos tractatus</i>
<i>Tract. Ev. Jo.</i>	<i>In Iohannis evangelium tractatus</i>
<i>Trin.</i>	<i>De trinitate</i>
<i>Unic. bap.</i>	<i>De unico baptismo contra Petilianum</i>
<i>Unit. eccl.</i>	<i>Ad Catholicos epistola contra Donatistas vulgo de unitate ecclesiae</i>
<i>Util. cred.</i>	<i>De utilitate credenda</i>
<i>Ver. rel.</i>	<i>De vera religione</i>
<i>Vid.</i>	<i>De bono viduitatis</i>
<i>Virginit.</i>	<i>De sancta virginitate</i>

Translations and Citations

The primary sources for quotations in Greek and Latin are *Patrologia Graeca*, *Patrologia Latina*, *Corpus Christianorum Series Latina*, and *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*. The Latin letter *u* has been changed to *v*, and *i* has been retained for *j*, providing consistency among manuscript letter differences. Unless otherwise indicated, all English translations of Augustine's works are derived from *The Works of Saint Augustine: A Translation for the 21st Century* from the Augustinian Heritage Institute, Inc. and published by New City Press, Hyde Park, New York. Scriptural citations in English are from the Revised Standard Version.

Introduction

A. The Chronological Problem

The consensus view asserts that Augustine developed his famous doctrines about 396 CE while writing *Ad Simplicianum* as a result of studying scripture (Romans 7, 9–11, and 1 Corinthians), by enriching earlier Christian ideas. This research will question these four assumptions. Did Augustine of Hippo alter his theological views? If he did, when and why did it occur?

While Augustine's early *De libero arbitrio* argued for traditional free choice in a refutation of Manichaean determinism, his later anti-Pelagian writings rejected any human ability to believe until God first infuses grace creating belief as his gift. Scholars have debated whether a homogeneous continuity (e.g., Harrison)¹ or an eruptive discontinuity (e.g., Brown)² exists in his forty-five-year Christian career. Typically, only individual works or samplings have been analyzed, often with assumptions about chronology.³

Four commonplace assertions within Augustinian studies⁴ are questioned in this treatise:

- 1.) Augustine changed his theology in 396 CE,
- 2.) while he was writing the letter to Bishop Simplicianus (*Simpl.*),
- 3.) with his transition occurring through reading scripture (Romans 7 and 9–11, and 1 Corinthians 15),
- 4.) which he developed through merely modifying prevalent doctrines.

No scholarly work has researched Augustine's entire corpus from 386–430 CE specifically analyzing his five final doctrines of: 1.) God giving initial

¹ Harrison, C. (2006).

² Brown P. (2000).

³ E.g., Gorday (1983), 137. Gorday attributed a "constant position" following Augustine's revised interpretation of Romans 9 in *Simpl.* but only proved continuity after 411. Cf. Roach (2008). All but three of his citations date after 411 CE with two of those merely repeating scripture, while the final passage he cites (*Faust.*21.2) must be compared with *Faust.*16.32 and 22.22 to clarify Augustine's meaning as his pre-412 theology.

⁴ Wetzel (1999), 798–799; Brown, P. (2000), 147–148; Evans, E. (1964), 101; Rigby (1999), 607–614; Harrison, C. (2006); Pacioni (1999), 686–688, Warren (2002), Chapter 4: "Historic Perspectives Regarding Original Sin."

faith as a gift, 2.) inherited damnable *reatus* from Adam, 3.) the gift of perseverance, 4.) divine unilateral predetermination of persons's eternal destinies independent of God's foreknowledge, and 5.) God's neither desiring nor providing for the salvation of all persons. Only a comprehensive methodological approach – reading systematically, chronologically, and comprehensively through his entire corpus – can legitimately demonstrate changes. Furthermore, conflicting literature exists from neglecting to consider the evolving use of his unique technical terms as he assimilates traditional terminology. Finally, no comprehensive analysis exists concerning the doctrines of free choice and determinism in the authors for the more than three-hundred years preceding Augustine.

This chronology will follow Augustine's own list in *Retractationes*⁵ supplemented by the more recent work of Hombert⁶ and Drobner⁷ for sermons and epistles. This method should minimize one source of error – Augustine's unannounced evolution of unique technical terms he develops by redefining traditional terminology. Furthermore, antecedent philosophies and prior Christian writings often have not been simultaneously analyzed in corroboration with Augustine's doctrines, artificially limiting his process of theological development. Therefore, a meta-narrative approach combined with a rigorous detailed investigation becomes necessary.

B. Doctrinal Changes

Multiple studies have documented the development of original sin within early church history, unfortunately, with some neglecting important aspects (e.g., omitting the first three centuries).⁸ However, no comprehensive analysis exists concerning the doctrines of free choice and determinism in the authors for the more than three-hundred years preceding Augustine. Of the eighty-six extant authors evaluated from 95–430 CE, every author who discussed initial faith or human responsibility advocated free choice (50/86; see Appendix III). The remaining authors did not address the topic. Perhaps the only true *regula fidei* from Irenaeus's introduction of the term to Augustine's application,

⁵ Madec (1996), 149–157, recognizing Augustine's own chronology contains some problematic dates.

⁶ Hombert (2000).

⁷ Drobner (2000).

⁸ E.g., Warren (2002), 10–11. In his "Contents," he lists "Patristic Period (A.D. 100–451)," but his discussion begins in 418 CE with Augustine, thus bypassing 300 years of early church history; Tennant (1903), 318, overemphasizes diversity to the neglect of consensus concepts, and without warrant claims Gregory of Nazianzus taught Original Guilt; Williams, N. (1927), overemphasizes the evolutionary development. See also Wiley (2002), MacFarland (2010), Fiorenza and Galvin (2011).

consists in this unanimous voice on free choice, a unanimity which cannot even be found in the Christology in this era. This magnifies the critical evaluation of Augustine's works as possibly departing from this unanimous anti-pagan doctrine.

Did Augustine's 'predestination' evolve as an elaboration upon previous theologians's interpretations and scripture, or arise *de novo*? The terms predestination, fate, and determinism can entice either affirmative or hostile connotations. TeSelle defines and Wetzel defends Augustine's interpretation as biblical 'predestination,' while Weaver writes of Cassian's "antipredestinarian sentiments."⁹ Augustine's opponents, while still embracing 'biblical predestination,' pejoratively refer to Augustine's 'predestinarian' doctrine as 'determinism' or 'fate.' Therefore, the neutral term Divine Unilateral Predetermination of Individuals's Eternal Destinies (DUPIED) will be preferred.¹⁰ This DUPIED is God's unilateral decision (unconditional election) – it is not based upon foreknowledge of human faith or responses in relational interaction. God's election is of specific individuals instead of nations (or foreordination of specific world events). Finally, God's predetermination unilaterally decides persons's *eternal* destinies, not merely earthly circumstances. This term will preclude privileging Augustine's doctrines as biblical 'predestination' while avoiding the pejorative term *fate*, allowing comparisons with other philosophies and religions adhering to Divine Unilateral Predetermination of Individuals's Eternal Destinies. Although authors have detailed the individual influences of Stoicism, Neoplatonism, and Manichaeism upon Augustine (with differing conclusions),¹¹ to what degree did their *combination* contribute to his *liberum arbitrium captivatum*?

C. Overview

The first chapter overviews free choice versus determinism perspectives from the most ancient civilizations and philosophers, then Stoicism, Jewish interpretations, "Gnostics," Manichaeism, and Neoplatonism. The second and third chapters explore the works of the earliest Christian authors from 95–430 CE, particularly analyzing God's sovereignty and original sin in relationship with free choice versus determinism. This continues through the theology found within Augustine's treatises (Chapters 4–8), asking, "Did he transition from a traditional to a non-traditional Christian theology?" Chapter 9 reviews all of his extant sermons and letters asking the same question.

⁹ Wetzel (2000), 126; TeSelle (2006), 81; Weaver, R. (1996), 277, 231.

¹⁰ DUPIED is an acronym coined specifically for this investigation on divine providence comparing relational free choice with unilateral predetermination.

¹¹ Rist (1996); Djuth (1990); O'Daly (2001); van Oort (2006).

His works prior to 412 CE consistently demonstrate a traditional view of election based upon foreknowledge, personal initial faith without God giving it as a gift, traditional original sin without damnable inherited *reatus*, and no gift of perseverance. The sole exception appears in the theology of *Simpl.2*, which contradicts *Simpl.1*,¹² does not reappear for another fifteen years, and then only reappears in embryonic form. How can this *Simpl.2* anomaly be reconciled with Augustine's struggling evolutionary progress developing his later doctrines in 412 CE, appearing simultaneously throughout his formal works, sermons, and letters? Has Augustinian scholarship recognized and explained this enormous lacuna?

The tenth chapter evaluates Augustine's exegesis of scripture to determine what influence scripture pressed upon his theology. How much did Latin mistranslations and philosophical presuppositions contribute? Why did his opponents accuse Augustine of altering his theology?

The conclusion will propose that Augustine deviated from the traditional free choice view he held for twenty-five years prior to 412 CE. While he consistently taught grace without merit (as aptly demonstrated by Harrison),¹³ some scholars remain unaware that Augustine learned this from predecessors like Tichonius.¹⁴ A grace emphasis was commonplace in that era. Augustine retains this grace emphasis while converting to initial faith as God's gift and Divine Unilateral Predetermination of Individuals's Eternal Destinies. A multi-factorial amalgamation drawing from diverse sectors may be credited with spawning his novel systematic theology. In fact, Augustine's divergent experiences may have uniquely qualified him as an innovator. But Augustine did not view himself as the innovator of new doctrine, defending himself as being within what he termed the *regula fidei*: "My instructor is Cyprian, ... my instructor is Ambrose, whose books I have read and whose words I have heard from his own lips" (*C. Jul.* 6.21).

This methodological approach permits Augustine's contributions to be understood within the preceding three-hundred-year discussion of free choice versus determinism in prior Christian authors, as well as the influence of philosophies upon both earlier authors and Augustine. The priority of examining these earlier authors's argumentation systematically cannot be over-emphasized given its relative neglect in Augustinian studies, and its importance in defining the Bishop of Hippo. By comparing Augustine's early views with those of his predecessors, an objective analysis of modifications in traditional views versus his original contributions may be developed.

¹² Wetzel (1999), 798–799.

¹³ Harrison, C. (2006), 6.

¹⁴ This work will respect Augustine's spelling of "Tichonius," thirteen times (*Parm.* [9x]; *Doctr. chr.* [4x]) versus the other spellings as Tyconius or Tychonius.

D. *Ad Simplicianum*

The literature almost unanimously places Augustine's theological epiphany to *Ad Simplicianum* in 396/7 CE, with a rare dissenting voice.¹⁵ *Ad Simplicianum* stands as the critical demarcation in Augustine's development as a theologian. As Augustine's probable first work as the new co-bishop of Hippo, it has been ubiquitously recognized as his theological divide between his earlier traditional views and his later concepts of grace, original sin, free will, and predestination. Wetzel emphasized, "In striking contrast to the rest of the work, the second part of book 1, on Romans 9:19–20, sets off a veritable revolution in his theology."¹⁶ Fredriksen, as one example of the virtually unanimous scholarly consensus, dates Augustine's rejection of God's election via foreknowledge to 396 CE, because of *Simpl.2.5* where his older theology is "definitely rejected."¹⁷ More recently, de Boer has asserted that, "The origin of Augustine's doctrine of predestination lies in his early years, the first year as an *episkopos*."¹⁸

Numerous similar assertions may be compiled, crediting the young Augustine's re-examination of scripture to questions posed by Bishop Simplicianus of Milan.¹⁹ Competent scholars 'unanimously' date Augustine's revelation of his new scriptural theology to 396 CE in *Ad Simplicianum*. Bonner declared, "Augustine's key to understanding the Bible was accordingly found by 396" and continued in "remarkable doctrinal continuity."²⁰ Duffy asserts, "The decisive indication that the Pelagian polemic was not the origin of Augustine's view is that in the *Ad Simplicianum* of 397, 15 years before the first anti-Pelagian broadside, his definitive formulation of grace and original sin is already in place."²¹ But a comprehensive systematic evaluation of his works from 386–411 CE will demonstrate a plethora of serious difficulties in maintaining this majority opinion. The claim that Augustine's reading of Romans 7, Romans 9–11, and 1 Corinthians 15 – not Rom 5.12 – stimulated his paradigm shift will be analyzed against primary source evidence.²²

¹⁵ For the majority opinion see e.g., Duffy (1988): 602, fnt.7; Wetzel (1999); and Harrison, C. (2006), 6. The rare voice is TeSelle (2002), 265–266, 316, positing 405–408 CE.

¹⁶ Wetzel (1999), 798–799.

¹⁷ Fredriksen (2002), 213.

¹⁸ de Boer (2012): 54–73.

¹⁹ E.g., Gross, von (1960), 268–269; Bonner (1984), 506; Chadwick (1989), 40; Rist (1994), 183; Rigby (1999): 798–799; Pacioni (1999): 686–688; Brown, P. (2000), 147–148; TeSelle (2002), 177–178; Warren (2002); Karfíková (2012), 71–87.

²⁰ Bonner (1999), 231, 237.

²¹ Duffy (1988): 597–622; 602, fnt.7.

²² Rigby (1999), 11; following Lyonett, contra Gross.

E. Grace

These references to a decisive alteration in his theology do not contradict the work of Harrison, who has defended Augustine's perpetual emphasis upon grace.²³ Indeed, the famous bishop maintained a homogeneous continuity from 395 CE after reading commentaries by Jerome and Victorinus. Jerome had written his commentary on Galatians in 386 CE, which was over two decades after Victorinus had written his own Latin commentary on the epistle (which Jerome criticized for Victorinus's lack of biblical references).²⁴ However, Augustine was most interested in Origen's commentary via Jerome.

When he wrote his first letter in 394 or 395 he was able to imply some detailed knowledge of particular works. ... It seems, however, that Augustine was most interested in Jerome's series of biblical commentaries ... and his most significant query took up a passage in Jerome's commentary on Galatians (Ep. 28.3–4).²⁵

Plumer indicates that Victorinus's commentary on Galatians was also influential when Augustine wrote on Galatians.²⁶ However, the question appears not to be whether Augustine learned about God's grace from these prior works, but what different *types* of grace Augustine discovered during his later philosophical-theological journey. Brown has reconsidered his view of eruptive discontinuity in a revised edition of *Augustine of Hippo*, agreeing that such a radical departure may not have occurred.²⁷

²³ Harrison, C. (2006), 280: "We have seen that in various ways scholars have been all too keen to make the Augustine of the early works appear more Pelagian than Pelagius himself."

²⁴ Cooper, S. (2005), 136–139; Cain (2010), 16–33.

²⁵ Williams, M. S. (2012), 227.

²⁶ Plumer (2003), 5–33. Plumer cites previous authors asserting this dependence, compares Augustine's dependence on Victorinus in *Confessiones* and in scriptural interpretation, then notes the similar phrases, treatment of Gal 2.19, and especially Augustine's understanding of 2.11–14 on Paul's rebuke of Peter in contrast to Jerome and other authors. See also, p. viii: "After examining all the evidence that seemed relevant I concluded that the likelihood [of dependence] was very great." Vessey similarly finds Jerome's works directly influencing the theology of Augustine; Vessey (2012), 249; Although Edwards does not find much influence, this occurs specifically within the limited context of Trinitarian theology; Edwards (2012), 218–219.

²⁷ Brown, P. (2000), 490; "In the same manner, the latter decades of Augustine's thought on grace, free will, and predestination cannot be lightly dismissed as the departure of a tired old man from the views of an earlier, 'better' self." Brown's reassessment does not correspond to an endorsement of Augustine's later theology.

F. Weaknesses in the consensus opinion

One may question whether positing an opinion contrary to these superb scholars on the priority of *Ad Simplicianum* and perpetual grace would seem like instigating a fool-hearty conflict against insuperable obstacles. How could anyone be so presumptuous as to question a foundational pillar of Augustinian scholarship? Why pursue it? – Because there are numerous hints of structural weaknesses in the foundation of this imposing bulwark of scholarly consensus. Burns astutely identified a decades-long lacuna in Augustine’s novel theology, which he discussed in several manuscripts. “In the two decades following his response to Simplicianus, Augustine generally avoided all discussion of divine control over the will.”²⁸ “He then used that reading [Romans on predestination in *Ad Simplicianum*] to shape the narrative of conversion in the *Confessions* but otherwise said almost nothing about it for the next twenty years.”²⁹ Similarly, Wetzel admits,

As late as the first part of *Ad Simplicianum*, Augustine rests secure in his belief that it remains to a person’s free choice to seek the aid of the divine liberator, regardless of how debilitating addiction to sin has become (1.1.14). ... The key elements of Augustine’s eventual doctrine of original sin – inheritance of sin (*tradux peccati*) and original guilt (*originalis reatus*) – are already at work here (1.2.20), but it is hard to determine to what extent they dictate his later position.³⁰

Indeed, one encounters serious difficulty discovering these numerous innovative theologies in his subsequent works, doctrines that Augustine had so resolutely delineated in *Ad Simplicianum*. His works, letters, and sermons for another fifteen years are not only silent in explicating these novel doctrines, but actually persist in teaching his prior traditional theology. Because scholars assume that Augustine transitioned in 396 CE while writing *Ad Simplicianum*, a diligent analysis of his works, sermons, and letters between 396 and 412 CE has not been researched for possible transitions.³¹ This may have resulted in scholars reading Augustine’s later theologies back into his use of similar words and terms in that period, particularly in *Confessiones* and *De Genesi ad litteram*. Grace, original sin, dependence upon God instead of being prideful, predestination, and similar concepts appear ubiquitously in copies of his extant manuscripts. If Augustine altered the connotations of stock terms within the Christian literature, exposing Augustine’s alterations would require a meticulous examination of concepts rather than merely locating his use of similar words or phrases.

²⁸ Burns (2002), 307.

²⁹ Burns (1994): 326–327.

³⁰ Wetzel (1999).

³¹ One exception of note is Dupont (2014). This excellent work will be addressed subsequently.

The inadvertent attribution of these later doctrines to a formational date of 396 CE in *Ad Simplicianum* exposes another weakness. When these later doctrines do finally begin to surface in 412 CE, Augustine labors strenuously in the process of birthing these same inchoate doctrines, demonstrated in the gradual construction of his later theology from 412 through 413. This theological parturition occurs simultaneously in his works, sermons, and letters. How does one explain this gradual birthing in 412 CE in contrast to the plethora of novel doctrines purportedly erupting ‘fully grown’ in the middle of a single letter in 396 CE? How probable might it be that a comprehensive systematic theology with a dozen novel concepts is erected while dictating a single letter? Might even the brilliant Augustine have difficulty constructing his impressive edifice within a few days or weeks? It is these admitted subtle conundrums that this work proposes to probe, thereby exposing numerous unrecognized and serious flaws in this entrenched edifice of Augustinian studies. Despite the extensive research, some highly significant but unanswered questions remain regarding *Ad Simplicianum*. This critical work of Augustine persists as a perplexing problem.

G. Explaining Augustine’s Rhetoric

This approach will also require a critical re-evaluation of Augustine’s comments in *Retractationes*, *Praedestinatione sanctorum*, and *De dono perseverantiae*. When did Augustine begin to understand faith as God’s gift? His guarded phraseology in *Praed.*7, as “I began [*coepi*] to understand” could be interpreted variously. Did he unequivocally convey the establishment of his later systematic theology, or did he generalize an incipient change in emphasis during that period?³² Is there another explanation for his cautious wording, perhaps one that reflects the incorporation of his first profession as a rhetorician? Possibly, the academic community has misinterpreted Augustine’s carefully crafted claims. An alternative interpretation of his rhetoric could reveal crucial insights into Augustine’s defensive tactics in his later years, exposing a more cohesive progressive development of his theology rather than a less probable instantaneous divine revelation in 396 CE. Similarly, the recent work by Karfiková exposes, “‘technical’ problems (for example, the question of how the personal guilt related to the soul is actually inherited), which will come to light in his polemic against the Pelagians. However, fifteen years will still have to pass before the dispute breaks out.”³³

³² Cf. *Persev.*52: “Quod plenius sapere coepi in ea disputatione, quam scripsi ad beatae memoriae Simplicianum episcopum Mediolanensis Ecclesiae, in mei episcopatus exordio, quando et initium fidei donum Dei esse cognovi, et asserui.” (*Persev.*52). *PL* 45: 1026.

³³ Karfiková (2012), 87.

In contrast, this current examination of *Ad Simplicianum* proposes these numerous ubiquitously accepted assumptions may be more accurately explicated through an alternative understanding of the circumstances surrounding the writing of *Ad Simplicianum*, and by investigating Augustine's usual literary and rhetorical methodologies, combined with his self-admitted pattern of emending his works. Consequently, this approach will require a significant paradigm shift in comprehending the circumstances surrounding the Bishop of Hippo's conversion to his later doctrines of grace, original sin, free will, and predestination. Yet, this shift is not one that has been completely neglected. Decades ago, Bonner explained Augustine's later theological transition as a mere deferral of specificity awaiting the Pelagian conflict.³⁴

H. Tracing the Innovator's Progress

While accepting Chadwick's assessment of the Pelagian contribution to Augustine's reversal,³⁵ a refinement and its relationship to numerous additional factors will result. By tracing Augustine's conversion in its historical context, alongside its historical antecedents, a significant contribution will be advanced in understanding both Augustine's comprehension of his own work and his reasons for deviating from prior anthropology, philosophy, and theology. This will particularly concern his teachings on predestination, unconditional election, grace, original sin, total depravity/total inability, paedobaptism, and perseverance of the saints.

His insistence upon both a scriptural and logical systematic theology functioned as a mathematician solving an algebraic equation: any alteration in a variable on one side necessitated a corresponding alteration in the contralateral side. Through the use of this multi-faceted methodological approach – systematically, chronologically, and comprehensively examining Augustine's corpus from 386–430 CE – his own works, sermons, and letters provide alternative evidence that challenges the consensus opinions.

In 412 CE, Augustine becomes the first Christian theologian whose extant writings place damnable *reatus* upon all mankind as a result of Adam's sin, partially as a result of his inferior Latin translation.³⁶ Prior authors limited original sin's consequences to mortality, ignorance with weakness in resisting sin, and the sin propensity. The word *reatus* appears in the context of damnable original sin only after 411 CE. His theological developments occur within the polemical context of the paedobaptismal tradition in North Africa. Utilizing Stoic Providence, he argues logically from infant baptism to unilateral

³⁴ Bonner (1999), 227–243.

³⁵ Chadwick (1983), 8–13.

³⁶ van Oort (1989): 382–386.

predetermination in *Pecc. merit.*, but only in *Spir. et litt.* does he boldly assert that God gives initial faith as a gift. The gift of perseverance does not appear until over a decade later.

Finally, why did his opponents accuse Augustine of altering his theology? Jerome omitted Augustine in his *De viris illustribus* while including other contemporary authors like Amphilochius (*ca.* 340–*d.ca.* 400) and John of Antioch (*d.* 441). Jerome never admitted damnation inherited *reatus* to be true, preferring creationism for the origin of souls. Numerous Christian authors refuted both the “autosoterism” of the Pelagians and the “predestinarianism” of Augustine, which they viewed as a pagan concept of fate that vitiated free choice. Were these charges accurate?

Therefore, a comprehensive methodological approach to Augustine and his writings unveils important data and perspectives previously overlooked or prematurely assumed. This comprehensive methodology provides an alternative interpretation of the same information. A systematic, chronological, and comprehensive reading through Augustine’s entire corpus illuminates the darker recesses of critical presuppositions, exposing a sharper portrait of the Bishop of Hippo and his innovations.

In order to demonstrate Augustine’s later theology as an innovation within Christianity, the preceding context of religious and philosophical thought must be comprehended. This requires investigating both non-Christian religions and philosophies and the writings of prior Christian authors. As will become evident, Augustine received considerable influence on his early and final theologies from these sources.

Index of References

Tanakh

<i>Genesis</i>		<i>Job</i>	
2.17	243	1.1	251
3.17–19	80, 193	8.1–7	180
5.3	60	14.1–5	80, 91, 119, 123, 127–128, 147–148, 160, 164, 166, 218, 244, 248, 251, 265, 270
17.4, 23	180, 194		
25.2, 23	107, 122, 195		
50.20	20		
<i>Exodus</i>		40.1–2	123
Ch.4–14	19	42.5–6	263
4.11	182	42.7–17	180, 263
20.5	176		
<i>Leviticus</i>		<i>Psalms</i>	
12.1–8	22, 71–73	5.13	142
15.18	28	6.2–4	22
18.19	28	14.2–5	21
		17.1	22
<i>Deuteronomy</i>		24.17	164
4.19	26	26	103
17.3	26	31	157
		34.18	101
<i>Joshua</i>		35.12	133
11.20	19	37.4	244
24.15	21	37.23	160–161, 235, 251
		51.5,7 (LXX 50)	21–22, 27, 58, 60, 70, 74, 80, 119, 126–128, 147–148, 160–161, 166, 176, 264–265, 270
<i>I Samuel</i>		54.8	23
6.6	19	57.4	160, 265
8.6–9, 22	21	58.3,10	21–22, 265
14.4	20	68.14	142
		77.11	207
<i>I Kings</i>		81.10, 16	173
12.15	20		
14.12–13	263		

110.3	23, 246	7.9 LXX	98, 110
110.10	256	40.26	229
115.3	178, 184	45.11	226, 246
118.28	130	52.11	123
144.16	142	53.7, 9	161
148.7	149, 166		
		<i>Jeremiah</i>	
<i>Proverbs</i>		1.5	148, 166
8.35	160–161, 181, 184, 187, 197–200, 235, 251–254, 265, 270– 271, 283, 285, 295, 297, 305	17.9	21
		31.32	114
		<i>Ezekiel</i>	
16.1, 9, 33	21	11.19	114
21.1	21	18.32	215
		36.26	201
		<i>Zechariah</i>	
<i>Ecclesiastes</i>		1.9	227
7.20	21		
9.7	20		
		<i>Malachi</i>	
<i>Isaiah</i>		1.1–2	118, 122
1.4	21		
6.1–7	21		

Ancient Authors

Alexander of Aphrodisias		<i>De fide</i>	
		2.11	92
<i>De fato</i>		5.5, 8	90
16–21	12	5.6	92
181.13–182.20	37	<i>De fuga saeculi</i>	179
<i>De providentia</i>		1	204
11.6	12	<i>De Isaac et anima</i>	179
Alcinous		<i>De mysteriis</i>	
		6, 31–32	91
<i>Didaskalia</i>		1, 3, 4, 9	92
26.1–2	12	<i>De obitu Valentiani consolatio</i>	
		51	250
Ambrose of Milan		<i>De officiis ministrorum</i>	
<i>Apologia prophetae David</i>		1.37	90
71	92	<i>De sacramentis</i>	
<i>De Abraham</i>		3.5–7	91
2.79	92	<i>De paradiso</i>	179
<i>De excessu fratris sui Satyri</i>		<i>De paenitentia</i>	
2.6	90	1.3–4, 14, 73	91
2.37–47	90	1.5	92
		1.11	142

1.48	93	<i>Metaphysica</i>	
2.4	93	A.1072b	11
2.27	93		
<i>De Tobia</i>	179	Athanasius	
<i>Enarrationes in XII Psalmos Davidicos</i>		<i>Epistle IV ad Serapion</i>	
1.18	256	9–10	77
38.29	92, 158	<i>De decretis Nicaenae synodi</i>	
48.8	92	27	77
<i>Epistulae</i>		<i>Contra Arianos</i>	
41.6–7	91, 93	2.75–77	273
57	92		
<i>Expositio evangelii secundum Lucam</i>		Athenagoras	
	179	<i>De resurrectione</i>	48
<i>Expositio Isaiae prophetae</i>			
	179		
Ambrosiaster		Augustine, Bishop of Hippo	
<i>Commentariorum in Philippenses</i>		<i>Adnotationes in Iob (Annot. Job)</i>	
1.7	173	5	123
2.13	264	10	123
<i>Commentariorum in Romanos</i>		16–17	123
4.4	251	35	123
5.12	158, 249, 262	37–39	123
7.22	259	<i>Breviliculus collationis cum Donatistis</i>	
<i>In I Timothy</i>		(<i>Brev. coll.</i>)	
2.1–4	251	7	134
		19	133
Ammonius		<i>Confessiones (Conf.)</i>	
<i>Aristotelis de interpretatione</i>		1.1	125, 128
<i>commentarius</i>		1.7	125, 127, 264
132.8–9	39	1.11	128
		1.12	126
Aquinas, Thomas		1.17	126
<i>Summa theologica</i>		1.31	129
I.a.22.4	192	3.7	128
I.a.81.3	252	3.8	128
		4.6	128
Aristides		4.30	129
<i>Apology</i> 15.9	44	5.9	144, 291
		5.11	128
Aristotle		5.16	126
<i>De anima</i>		5.17	129
1.1, 403a 10–12	32	5.18	126
<i>Ethica nicomachea</i>		5.23	128
1111.a2–1149a20	11, 59	6.5, 7	293
<i>Ethica eudemia</i>		6.7	125
1225a26–33	11	6.7–8	126
		6.9	126
		6.24	129

7.3	128	<i>Contra Adimantum (Adim.)</i>	
7.5	129, 297	26.1	101
7.6	128	<i>Contra adversarium legis et prophetarum</i>	
7.8–10	129	(<i>Leg. adv.</i>)	
7.14	126	1.9	146
7.16	126	2.40	174, 188
7.22	127, 282	<i>Contra Cresconium grammaticum parti</i>	
7.24	129	<i>Donati (Cresc.)</i>	
7.27	127	1.1	119
8.1	128	1.15–17	119
8.2	125	1.24	119
8.4–9	125	3.12, 28	119
8.10	127	3.68	120
8.12–9.11	255	3.87	119
8.19	127	4.12	119
8.21–22	127	4.23	119
8.27	126	4.79	120
8.29	126	<i>Contra duas epistulas Pelagianorum</i>	
8.31	126	(<i>C. du. ep. Pel.</i>)	
9.1–2	127	1.5–7	172
9.4	285	1.8	170
9.8–10	127	1.11–14	172
9.14	126–127	1.15	261
9.21	129	1.16, 18	172
9.23	128	1.27	172, 188
9.34	127, 129, 274	1.36	252
10–13	277	1.40–41	172
10.5	129	1.42	172
10.38–40, 43	129	2	172
10.40	277	2.2	172
10.44	126	2.7	146
10.60	283	2.11–14, 16	172
11.3–4, 11	129	2.13	146
11.4	125	2.15	146, 173
11.10	125	2.18–22	173
12.42–43	129	2.22	173
13.1	129	2.23	257
13.8	254	3.4	261
13.15	143	3.6	250
<i>Contra Academicos (Acad.)</i>		3.10	146
1.1	283	4.3–4	173, 251
2.5	96	4.4–12	146, 265
2.8	96	4.6–7	173
3.11–13	97, 112	4.11	173, 254
3.27	96	4.13	173
3.31	96	4.16	146, 174
3.35	96	4.29	174
3.43	96		

<i>Contra epistolam Manichaei quam vacant fundamenti (Fund.)</i>		21	100
1	113	22	100–101
3	113	<i>Contra Iulianum (C. Jul.)</i>	
4	284	1.4	178
29	115, 147	1.5–18	178
43	115, 147	1.8, 10	178
44	115	1.9	265
<i>Contra epistulam Parmeniani (Parm.)</i>		1.20	179
	4	1.24–31	189
2	261	1.32	265
<i>Contra Faustum Manichaeum (Faust.)</i>		1.33	179
1	284	1.34	178
3	284	2.4	265
3.5	114	2.5	179, 265
7	261	2.8, 10	179
9.2	114	2.15	265
12.4, 45	114	2.18	179
13.5, 13, 18	114	2.28	261
14.3–5, 12	116	2.32	180
15.11	114	2.36	183
16.15	116	3.2	180
16.28	111, 118	3.4	146
16.32	1, 114	3.9–11	180
18	114	3.33	261
19.24	116–117, 233	3.35	180
21	269	3.37	181
21.2	1, 114, 116	3.78	261
21.3, 16	116	4.5	180
22.19	118	4.15	181, 252, 264
22.22	1, 117, 143, 233	4.35	181
22.27	111, 118	4.40	181
22.71	114	4.42	181
22.78	116–118, 233	4.44	181, 252
22.82	118	4.44–46	181
<i>Contra Felicem Manichaeum (Fel.)</i>		4.77	181
1.12	114	4.83	181, 263
2	134	5.44	195
2.4	114	5.45	182
2.5	115	5.53–54	182
2.8	114–115, 146	5.66	207
2.11	114–115, 143	6.2	182
2.12	114–115	6.10	182
2.13	114–115	6.14	182
2.18, 21	115	6.18	180
<i>Contra Fortunatum Manichaeum (Fort.)</i>		6.19	181
3	36, 100	6.21	4
16–17	100	6.24	146, 182
16–22	172	6.27	182
		6.30	182

6.31	182	3.52	119
6.39	182	3.59	119
6.47	180	3.62	119
6.48	183	3.65	119
6.77–79	183	<i>Contra mendacium (C. mend.)</i>	
6.78	251	24	281
<i>Contra secundam Iuliani responsionem</i>		28	160
<i>opus imperfectum (C. Jul. imp.)</i>		<i>Contra Secundinum Manichaeum</i>	
1.5	251	<i>(Secund.)</i>	
1.52	265	12	117
1.56	211	19	117
1.59	265	<i>De agone christiano (Agon.)</i>	
1.59–60	210	7–10	122
1.63	251	12	122
1.86	254	14	98
1.124	250	16–17, 19	122
1.127, 141	146	22, 24	122
2.56	210	29–30	122
2.63	210	<i>De anima et eius origine (Nat. orig.)</i>	
2.73	265	1.1	174
2.77	251	1.10	174
2.104, 164	189, 210	1.11	175
2.166	252	1.12	174, 188
2.174, 186	210	1.13–16	175
2.197	210	1.14	220
2.228	261	2.17–18	175
3.11	261	3.12	175
3.79	261	3.17	175
3.110	251, 265	3.19	175
4	261	4.9	160
4.82	265	4.11	160, 269
4.90	251, 265	4.16	176, 246, 269
4.124	261	<i>De animae quantitate (Quant. an.)</i>	
5.22	261	2	112
6.14	265	24	96, 112
6.17	251	38	96
<i>Contra litteras Petiliani (C. litt. Petil.)</i>		55	97
1.6	119	73	96–97
1.8	119	76	96–97, 112
2.8–9	118	80	96–97, 265
2.9	119	81	96
2.91	102	<i>De baptismo contra Donatistas (Bapt.)</i>	
2.185–186	119, 134	1.14	121–122
2.232	119, 147, 251	2.19–20	120
3.23–33	119	2.20	120, 147
3.27–42	119	2.23	122
3.35	119	3.21–22, 25	121
3.42	119	4.1, 29–33	121
3.44	119	4.31	121, 210

5.33	121	21.24	196, 269
<i>De beata vita (Beat.)</i>		22.2, 22	196
21	96	22.24	269
33	96	22.29	263
<i>De bono conjugali (Bon. conj.)</i>		22.30	196
2	118	<i>De consensu evangelistarum (Cons.)</i>	
34	118	2.6–11, 50, 66	125
<i>De catechizandis rudibus (Catech. rud.)</i>		2.137	125
1	123	3.86	125
6	224	4.6	125
8	124, 274	<i>De correptione et gratia (Corrept.)</i>	
9	123	2	184
10–11, 14	124	9	146, 184
28	107	10	146, 185, 189
29–30	124, 147	12	146
30	124, 134	15	260
32	124	16	146, 185, 262
42	124	17.8	252
45–46	124	18	185
<i>De civitate dei (Civ.)</i>		23	185
1–3	151	25	146, 186
1–10	150	26	146
1.28	192	28	186
4.1–2	151	34	185, 237
4.26	146	35	185–186
5.8–9	192	40	185
5.10–11	192–193	42	185–186
5.26	192	43	186
10.16	196	45	186
10.29	193	46	186
11–16	150	47	186, 260
11.1, 17	193	<i>De diversis quaestionibus ad Simplicianum (Simpl.)</i>	
13.3, 12, 14	193	Book 1	4, 144–145, 207, 268, 275, 279, 281
13.23	193–194	1.1–2.4	212
14.11	193	1.4	118
14.16	196	1.9	139
14.26	146, 194, 220	1.10	139, 145
15.1	194, 220, 269	1.11	145
15.2	194	1.12	292
16.27	194	1.14	139, 145, 275
16.35	195	1.15	142
16.42	195	1.20	275
18.41	194	Book 2 (1.2)	3–4, 114, 120, 124, 128, 132, 139–141, 144–149, 152, 154, 166, 168, 183, 185, 197–198, 208, 210,
19.15	194		
19.21	195		
19.26–28	195		
21.1	193		
21.12	146		
21.13–15	195		

- 212–213, 224, 238,
 241–242, 249, 256,
 262, 268, 271, 275–
 276, 279–281, 286,
 290–291, 297
 2.5 (1.2.5) 5, 140
 2.5–22 138, 153–155, 159,
 199, 207, 212, 275,
 279
 2.6 141, 159
 2.7, 8 141
 2.10–13 141–142, 152
 2.16 143–146
 2.16–20 142, 144, 146
 2.16–22 95
 2.17 143–146
 2.18 144–145
 2.19 142, 144
 2.20 142–144
 2.21 141, 143
 2.22 142, 144–145
*De diversis quaestionibus octoginta
 tribus (Div. quaest.)*
 24 110
 27 110
 31 109
 40 109, 111
 49 109
 51 109
 53 110, 153
 57–58 110
 62 109–111, 120
 66 109
 68 109, 143
 68.3–4 110, 146
 68.5–6 109, 198
 79 110
 80.4 109
 81 110
 82.2 110
 88 144, 291
De divinatione daemonum (Divin.)
 2, 4, 5, 8 132
De doctrina christiana (Doctr. chr.)
 Preface 4–8 122
 1.1 112, 122
 1.12 122
 1.16 122
 1.18 122
 1.29 122
 2.33 129
 3.10 107
 3.35 187
 3.36–4.46 122, 147
 3.46 187
 4.11 254
De dono perseverantiae (Persev.)
 1 95
 3–4 202
 4–9 202, 212
 6 202
 7–8 280
 8 112
 9–12 95
 10–11 203
 13 203
 14 146
 15 203
 16 204
 19–20 143, 152, 204
 21 95
 22–23 204
 29 204
 30 95, 204, 207, 212
 31 205
 33–36 205
 38 205
 41 95
 43 205
 47 205
 48–49 206
 51–52 206
 52 8, 152, 200, 207–
 208, 212, 280
 53 277
 55 208
 60 203
 61–62 205
 63 203
 65 203
 68 205
De fide et operibus (Fid. op.)
 31 164
 39, 43 254
De duabus animabus 197
De fide et symbol (Fid. symb.)
 19 254
 23 261

<i>De fide rerum quae non videntur (Fid.)</i>		11.5	149, 167
6–10	122, 134	11.8–10	148, 166
10, 23	101	11.10–12	148, 166
<i>De Genesi ad litteram (Gen. litt.)</i>		11.13	149, 166–167
1.3–12	147	11.17	149, 167
3.15	148	11.22	149, 167
3.16	149, 166	<i>De Genesi adversus Manichaeos</i>	
3.24	148, 166	<i>(Gen. Man.)</i>	
3.25	149, 166	1.2	278
4.16	254	1.6	99
5.21	149, 166	1.12	98
5.23	148	1.16	98, 111
5.42	149, 166	1.17, 21–22	99
5.44	148, 166	2.2, 9	99
6.8–10	148–149, 166	2.10	100, 144, 278, 291
6.13	149, 165	2.19, 21	100
6.14–16	148–149, 166	2.29	100
6.15	265	2.30	99
6.17	149, 166	2.42	111
6.19	251	2.43	95
6.22–29	149, 166	<i>De gestis Pelagii (Gest. Pelag.)</i>	
6.28	150, 168	7	168
6.33–40	149, 166	10	168
6.35	148, 166	14–16	168
6.38	150, 167–168	23	168
6.39	150, 167	29–32	168
7.8, 11	166	37	168
8.3	167	42, 47	168
8.12	250	47–56	168
8.17, 21	167	53–54	168
8.23	167	63, 65–66	168
8.26	167	<i>De gratia Christi et de peccato originali</i>	
8.32	148	<i>(Grat. Chr.)</i>	
8.42	148, 166–167	1.6	169
8.44, 48	167	1.10	254
9.14	167, 290	1.24	250
9.17	261	1.27, 31	254
9.18	250	1.55	261
9.25	167	2.3, 4, 6, 23	146
9.33	148, 166	2.28	265
10.6	250	2.34	146
10.18–29	150, 167	2.37	251
10.21	261	2.43	146
10.22–23	167	2.47	265
10.25–26	167	<i>De gratia et libero arbitrio (Grat.)</i>	
10.27	166	3–4	184
10.38–39	167	7–8	250
10.41–45	167	10	184
11.3	149, 167	17	184

32–33	184		
32	252		
39	254		
41–42	184		
43	184		
44–45	184		
<i>De immortalitate animae (Immort. an.)</i>			
12	97		
17	97, 101		
18	97		
<i>De incompetentibus nuptiis (Incomp. nupt.)</i>			
1.33	174		
<i>De libero arbitrio (Lib. arb.)</i>			
1.4	98		
1.16	98		
1.20–21	98		
1.29	98		
1.32, 34, 35	98		
2.2, 3	110		
2.48	110		
2.53	110		
2.54	209		
3.4–11	136		
3.6	111		
3.7–8	111		
3.11, 18	111		
3.19	144		
3.31, 33, 38	111		
3.43	110		
3.45	111, 136		
3.47–54	111–112, 135–139, 146–147, 152–155, 165–166, 200, 210, 212–213, 297		
3.48	136, 292		
3.49, 52–54	136		
3.52–53	165		
3.55	111, 136–138		
3.56, 58	137		
3.60	136–137		
3.65–66	137		
3.67	210, 229		
3.66–68	229, 237		
3.74	137		
<i>De magistro (De mag.)</i>			
37–38	98		
38	101		
		<i>De moribus ecclesiae catholicae (Mor. eccl.)</i>	
		1.1	98
		1.20	98
		1.32	99
		1.40	78
		1.51, 55	98
		<i>De moribus Manichaeorum (Mor. Man.)</i>	
		1.9	98
		1.22	99
		<i>De musica (Mus.)</i>	
		1–5	98, 132, 147
		6	98, 111, 132, 147
		6.1	132
		6.30, 46	132
		6.33	132–133
		6.41, 43	133
		6.53–54, 56	133
		6.56–58	132
		<i>De natura boni contra Manichaeos (Nat. bon.)</i>	
		7	118
		9	118
		31	118, 134
		36	118
		42	118
		48	118, 134
		<i>De natura et gratia (Nat. grat.)</i>	
		2	165
		3	261, 264
		4–5	164, 188
		6–7	165
		8	251
		9	146
		10	165
		18	254
		20–21	165
		25	165, 253
		33	165
		47	165
		49	254
		58	165
		66	165
		67	254
		75	165, 252
		77	254
		78	165
		79	254

81	165, 261, 264	1.34	95, 264
84	254	1.38–39	158
<i>De nuptiis et concupiscentia</i>		1.46–47	250
<i>(Nupt. et conc.)</i>		1.62	158, 264
1.1	169, 250	1.63	158
1.21–22	169	1.64	157
1.24	169, 188	1.67	187
1.28	170	2.2	157
1.33, 37	170	2.5	162
2.4	170	2.6	162, 187
2.6, 8, 11	170	2.7	252
2.15–16	170	2.11	157
2.20	170, 261	2.15	144
2.24	170	2.16	263
2.31–32	171, 188	2.17	165
2.36	171	2.26–31	252
2.45	171	2.27	165, 254
2.50	251, 265	2.28	160
2.51	170	2.30	160, 252
2.55–58	171	2.30–31	161, 260
<i>De ordine (Ord.)</i>		2.32	162
1.11	96	2.43	158
1.18–19	96	2.48	160
1.23–24	96, 112	2.52	162
1.25, 29	96	3	147, 157, 212
1.30–31	96–97, 111	3.7	158
2.11	97, 111	3.8	249
2.12	96, 293	3.9	162, 187
2.15–16	97	3.10	161
2.28	96	3.11	95
2.52	96	3.12–13	161
2.58	96	3.13	251, 264
<i>De patientia (Pat.)</i>		3.14	249
19	169	3.15	159
22	169	3.30–31	150
<i>De peccatorum meritis et remissione et</i>		3.39	162
<i>de baptismo parvulorum (Pecc. merit.)</i>		<i>De perfectione iustitiae hominis (Perf.)</i>	
1–2	157, 275	2	164
1.2	147	3	261
1.8–10	157	9	164
1.13	95	11	254
1.13–15	249	14	164
1.21	158	21–22	254
1.21–22	262	28	251
1.22	250	43	254
1.24–25	158	<i>De praedestinatione sanctorum (Praed.)</i>	
1.27	158	1.27–32	95
1.29–30	162	2.5	270, 290
1.31	162, 188	3	95

4.7–8	152	15	163
5	200	19	254
6	95, 200	22	163
7	8, 200, 250, 252, 271, 276	24	262
7–8	200, 280	26	163
8	147, 152, 200, 207– 208, 285, 294	34	262
8–12	200	36	262
9–10	132, 212	37–38	260
10	201, 250	42	163, 254, 264
12–15	201	50	163, 250, 264
14	260	53	163
16	95	54	163–164, 252, 260, 290
18–19	201	56	164, 188
22	201	57	252
27	285	59	164, 188
34	95	<i>De symbolo ad catechumenos (Symb.)</i>	
36–37	95, 202	2	184, 189
39–41	202, 256	<i>De trinitate (Trin.)</i>	
<i>De sancta virginitate (Virginit.)</i>		1.2	257
14	124	5.12	191
26	124	7.5, 8.10	254
32–33	124	13.3–5	191
40	250	13.12	191
41	124–125, 250	13.14	254
42	274	13–15	147
43	124, 274	13.16, 20–21, 23	191
43–45	124	15.31	254
46	124, 274	<i>De unico baptismo contra Petilianum</i> <i>(Unic. bapt.)</i>	
54	124	1	133
<i>De sermone Domini in monte secundum</i> <i>Matthaeum (S. Dom. m.)</i>		23	133
1.9	101	<i>De utilitate credenda (Util. cred.)</i>	
1.13	100	2	284
1.32	101	24	99
1.41	101	27	99
1.52	95, 101, 111	34	99
1.72	101	79	99
2.14, 17	101	<i>De vera religione (Ver. rel.)</i>	
2.23	101	1.13	144, 291
2.37	101	4–7	99
2.69	101	10	99
2.71–72, 74	101	10.20	197
<i>De spiritu et littera (Spir. et litt.)</i>		19	99
2	250	25, 29	100
4–5	163	31	99
5	163, 188, 254	65	99
7	163	76	99
		68	100

87	261	70.2	247, 257
92	254	70.15	146
112	99	85.5	248
<i>Enchiridion ad Laurentium de fide spe et caritate (Enchir.)</i>		86.13	247
		89.6	248
20.7	96	90.7	247
25–26	176	90.17	248
27	146, 255	92.3	248
30–31	176	96.5	248
33	261	101	146
44–45	176	102.10	247
46	95, 265	102.24	248
47	95, 176	105.4	246
49	176	107.8	248
65	176	121.7	248
74	177, 189	123.1	248
82	176	125.10	248
82–86	189	126.6	248
85–86	176	132.13	247
95	177, 189	135.12	249
97	146, 260	142.13	249
98	178, 261	144	146
100	269	147.15	248
102	146, 177, 189	148.8	248
103	177–178, 189, 255, 260	149.1, 4, 11	248
105–106	178	<i>Enar. Ps.</i> containing Greek words or grammar	
110	178	3.5; 4.6; 6.3; 7.12, 7.14, 9.7;	
<i>Ennarationes in Psalmos (Enar. Ps.)</i>		45.17; 68.16, 21, 28, 37;	
5.1	99	69.2; 71.21; 72.8, 10, 17, 20;	
5.7	209, 249	75.8, 78.23, 116; 79.17; 88.6;	
9.2	248	90.3, 13; 93.5; 96.15; 99.8,	
33.1–2	257	105.6, 7, 13; 106.28, 29; 107.2;	
35.11	120	119.23–139; 127.2; 136.3, 4, 8;	
36.2	247	139.15; also listed on page 247	
35.11	129, 248	<i>Epistulae</i>	
37	248	1.7	160
38.4	248	12.12	238
38.29	92, 158	16.3	223
40.15	248	22.7–9	223, 285
51.10	248, 264	24.2	223
52.12	248	25	223
56.11	248	27.4	223
57.11	248	28.2	102
65	247	28.3–4	6
65.5	247–248	28.6	223
66.4	248	31	137, 223
68.9	248	37.2	223
69.27	248	38.2	120

41	107, 142	159.2	228
43.16	281	161.1	228
55	224	162.5	227
55.8	249	166.10, 13	95, 229
55.29	224	166.16–17	229
55.33, 35, 37	224	166. 23, 28	230
70.2	281	167	95, 230, 251
71.1	207	169.6	230
71.5	224	173.2	231
72.2, 5	224, 228	173.10	231
73.5	271	174	151
75.6, 11, 16	224	175.6	231
75.19–20	224, 228	176.3	231
77	224	177	231
78	224	179.6	219
85	297	179.7	231
93.5	225	180.2	230
93.16–17	225	181	231
98	161, 226, 242	182.13–14	232
101	147	183	231
102	131–132, 201	184.3	229
109	223	184A.2	195
118.32	225	185.21	232
119.5–6	223	186.4	146
120	223	186.4–6	267
121.11	230	186.5	245
137.9–12	225	186.12, 27, 38	232
138.5	229	187.24	95, 232
139.3	227, 275	188.7	146
140	95	190.9–10, 123	146
140.2–3	146, 226	190.10	219
140.4–5	226	190.12–14	232–233
140.8–9, 13	225	190.20, 23, 25	232–233
140.20–85	225–226	193.7	233
141.3–4	225	194.4–5	146
143.2	212	194.8–18	233
143.4, 6–7	227	194.14	146, 234
144.1–2	227	194.23, 30, 38–39	146
145	228	194. 30–32	233
147	95, 228	194.43–45	233
149	228, 260	195	234, 285
149.17	230	202.1	234
149.1, 3–4, 22	228	203.3	234
153.12	228	204.2	234, 246
154.1	228	213.1	234
156	229	214.1	234
157	144	214.3	146
157.11, 19	229	215	144
158.10	227	217.2, 13	234

217.3, 6, 8, 12, 16	234–235	8	107
217.5, 9	235	9	107
217.18	219, 235	10	107
217.19	235, 260	14–23	108
217. 26, 29–30	234		<i>Expositio quarundam propositionum ex</i>
217.27	235		<i>epistula ad Romanos (Exp. quaest. Rom.)</i>
224	238	1.13	144
224.2	238, 275	20–21, 26	107
225	203, 206, 222, 236	26–31	107
225.5	219	29	107
226	203, 206	37.3	145
226.4	203, 237	44	107
226.2, 7–9	237	45–46	108
226.6	146	48	107
250	237	49	107
<i>Ep.2*.7, 11</i>	238	50	107
<i>Ep.5*</i>	227, 295	52	103, 108
<i>Ep.5*.2</i>	226	55	108, 130
<i>Ep.12*.12</i>	238	60	257
<i>Epistula ad Catholicos contra Donatis-</i>		60.4–15	108
<i>tas, vulgo de unitate ecclesiae (Unit.</i>		60.15	107
<i>eccl.)</i>		61	198
23	130–131, 134	62	108
34	131	62.1	108
39	130–131, 134	62.9	107
52	131	62.15	108
55	130	74	260
66–67	130	81–82	108
71	130		<i>In epistulam Iohannis ad Parthos tractus</i>
73–75	130		<i>(Tract. ep. Jo.)</i>
<i>Epistulae ad Galatas expositio</i>		1.2	261
<i>(Exp. Gal.)</i>		1.8, 12–13	241
12–13	104	2.1	242
15	103	2.12	241
17	102	3.1	241
22	103	3.12	242
24	103	3.12–13	242–243
31	103–104	4.3	241
32	103–104	4.4	241–242
38	103	4.10	241, 243
44	103	4.11	242
46	103, 144	5.1	243
48	103–104	5.9	95, 241
54	103	6.8, 11	241
61	103	6.13	242
63	104	7.11	241
<i>Epistulae ad Romanos inchoata expositio</i>		8.14	242
<i>(Exp. Rom. inch.)</i>			
6	108		

<i>In Iohannis evangelium tractatus (Tract. Ev. Jo.)</i>		2.38	123, 251
		2.39	123
3.12	146, 242	2.45–47	123
3.12–13	243	<i>Quaestiones expositae contra paganos VI</i>	
4.10	146, 243	<i>Epistula 102 (Quaest. c. pag.) [ep.102]</i>	
5.1	243	10	131
11.2	244	12, 14	131
12.3	244	15	131–132, 134, 201
14.8	243	19–20	131
15.4	244	22–27	132
22.6	243	33	131
23–54	244–245	38	132
26.2–5	244	<i>Quaestiones XVII in Matthaem (Quaest. Matt.)</i>	
27.7	244	14.1–2	117, 125, 134
30.1	243	<i>Retractationes (Retract.)</i>	
38.6	244	Prologue 3	VII, 212, 295
41.9–10	244	1.11	147
42.16	243	1.3.3	96
43.9	244	1.5.1	97
43.13	243	1.9.2	197, 252
44.1	243	1.9.4–6	197
45.13	243	1.10.2	197
48.4	243	1.11	147, 197
48.4, 6	246	1.13	197
49.12	244	1.15.2, 5	197
52.11	255	1.15.6	198
53.5–6	245	1.20	298
53.7–11	245	1.21.4	252
56–86	245	1.22.1	211
74	246	1.22.4	198
87.2	246	1.23.1–4	198
87.3	146	1.25.2[q.62]	198
105–111	246	1.25.2[q.68]	198, 252
107.7	246	1.26	110
109.2	246	2.1	198–200, 207
110.3–4	246	2.1.1	152
111.1, 5	246	2.4.1	199
115.2–4	246	2.15	151, 225
<i>Locutiones in Heptateuchum (Locut. Hept.)</i>		2.15.1	199
2.20	169	2.18	121
3.40	169, 250	2.24	148, 150, 166, 168, 225
<i>Post conlationem contra Donatistas (Don.)</i>		2.29	195
63	120	2.31	131–132
<i>Quaestiones evangelicarum (Quaest. ev.)</i>		2.31.1	187
1.6	123, 134	2.36	225
1.28	123	2.42.2	150, 168
2.29, 33	123	2.61–93	199

2.62	225	127.15	216
2.82.3	198	128.4	255
<i>Sermons (S.)</i>		128.8	220
2.6	160	129.4	216
6.7	216	130A	253, 255
11.1	217	131	220–221
12.5	215	132.1	222
13	220, 264	136.9	144
20.8	222	140.2	222
20B	217	143	144, 217, 249
22	146, 215	144.2	220
23.7–8	255	151–153	221
23A.1	220	156.5	255
23B.14	215	156.10–13	221
25	144	158.3	221
26	146, 250, 261	159B.1,13–14	216
30.10	220	161.6	255
32.23	216	161.9	221
34.2	255	163.1	255
38.10	216	165.5, 7	221
53A.12	220	169.3	250
56.3,7,13	218	169.10	220, 255
56.9	144	169.15–16	255
59.5	218	170.2	261
62.2	215	174	219
69.3	144	176.2	220
69.4	219, 250	176.5	264
71.3	261	181	251
71.8	222	183	282
71.18	255	189	218
72	215	194.14	234
82.2	216, 234	198.40	217
86.11	222	202	216
88.18	215	203	217
90.6	222	212.1	250, 255
94A.8	215	214.3–4	216
99.6	218	216.8	215
100.3	215	218.9	255, 269
105.5	255	229M.2	255
105A.2	220	229S	218, 220
111	146, 219	231.1	219, 250
112.8	221	246.5	251
112A.11	215	250.3	220
113A	216	252.6	215
114A.1	222	260D.1	218, 220
114B	215–216	265.10	255
115.4	219, 249	270.4	255
125.5	221	274–277	217
126.4	221	277A	217

- | | | | |
|-------------------------------------|--------------------|--|----------|
| 279.10 | 215 | 45 | 86 |
| 287–291 | 218 | 101 | 85 |
| 292 | 215 | 148 | 85 |
| 293 | 218–219, 251 | 151 | 85 |
| 293A,B, C, D | 218 | 206 | 86 |
| 294 | 144, 219, 250, 261 | 234–236 | 85–86 |
| 301 | 146 | 260 | 86 |
| 304.2 | 260 | 261 | 85 |
| 305A | 216 | 265 | 85–86 |
| 310.1 | 249 | 269 | 85 |
| 333.5–6 | 221 | 290 | 85 |
| 333.6 | 250 | <i>Hom. Hexaēmeros</i> | |
| 335C | 215 | 2.4 | 85–86 |
| 337.4 | 264 | 6.1 | 85 |
| 343 | 216 | 6.5, 7 | 86 |
| 351.2 | 144 | 8.5 | 86 |
| 352 | 215 | <i>Quod deus non est auctor malorum</i> | |
| 360B | 216–217 | 337 | 86 |
| 361.16–17 | 217 | Caelestius | |
| 362.14 | 144 | <i>Libellus brevissimus</i> | 277 |
| 362.28 | 217 | Cassian, John | |
| 374 | 216 | <i>De institutes coenobiorum</i> | |
| 378.1 | 255 | 12.18 | 294 |
| 382 | 146 | <i>Conlationes</i> | |
| 391 | 144 | 13.11.4 | 294 |
| 397.1 | 216 | Chrysippus | |
| 400.5 | 217, 261 | <i>De fato</i> | |
| D.29 | 218, 261 | 181.13–182.20 | 37 |
| <i>Soliloquia (Solil.)</i> | | Chrysostom | |
| 1.1 | 283 | <i>Epistolam ad Hebraeos homiliae</i> | |
| 1.2 | 96 | 12 | 208 |
| 1.3 | 96–97 | <i>Homiliae in epistola ad Galatas</i> | |
| 1.4–5 | 97 | 5.7 | 248 |
| 1.23 | 134 | <i>Homiliae in epistola ad Philippenses</i> | |
| 2.9, 27 | 97 | 1.7 | 173 |
| Bar Daiṣān (Bardesanes or Philip) | | 9.2.12–16 | 169 |
| <i>De legibus libri ex regiones</i> | | <i>Homiliae in epistolam ad Thessalonicenses</i> | |
| 18 | 62 | 4.1–3 | 169, 208 |
| Basil of Caesarea | | | |
| <i>Epistulae</i> | | | |
| 6 | 85 | | |

Cicero, Marcus Tullius		7.9 (53)	281
<i>De divinatione</i>		<i>Quis dives salvetur</i>	
1.125–6	37	10	57, 270
<i>De divinatio in Caecilius</i>		14	57
	245	21.1–2	59
<i>De fato</i>		<i>Protrepticus</i>	
11.27–28	273	9	57
12–15	295		
39	19	Cyprian	
<i>De inventione</i>		<i>Epistulae</i>	
2.53.159–55.167	109	2.1	78
<i>De natura deorum</i>	30	56.6	77
<i>De oratore</i>	245	59.2	77
<i>De re publica</i>	195	59.19	78
<i>Lucullus</i> 24	256	64	78–79
<i>Tusculanae disputationes</i>		65, 67, 74	78
	232	<i>Opuscula (Treatises)</i>	
Cleanthes		2.2	79–80
<i>Hymn to Zeus</i>		3.9	78
SVF 1.537, 11–13	288	3.10	78
Clement of Alexandria		3.16, 19, 34	78
<i>Stromata</i>		3.25	79
1.1	56	5.25	77
1.17	58	5.56	78
1.18	57	6.6, 23	78
1.27	57	7.8	79
1.34	58	7.14	80
2.2	98	7.17, 19	77
2.3–4	57, 270	7.18	78
2.12	57	8.1	80
3.16–17	58	9.4–6	78
3.40	14	9.8	78
4.24	56–57	9.11	80
4.9	242	9.14	78
4.11	57, 270	10.11	80
5.1	57	10.14	79
5.3	252	10.15	78
5.13	58–59	10.17	79
5.14	56	10.18	78
6.4, 6–7, 9	58	11.11	78
6.12	58	12.52	78
6.14	57	12.54	80
7	17	12.80	78
7.1–2	58	Cyril of Jerusalem	
7.5	58	<i>Catecheses</i>	
7.7	57	1.3	90, 277
		4.19	90
		5.10	142

- | | | | |
|--|---------|--|-------|
| 12.7 | 277 | Gregory Nazianzen | |
| <i>De adoratione in spiritu et veritate</i> | | <i>Orationes</i> | |
| | 274 | 1 | 84 |
| Epictetus | | 2.17 | 84 |
| <i>Discourses</i> | | 2.25 | 84 |
| 1.1 | 37 | 2.39 | 85 |
| 1.6, 12 | 17 | 2.49 | 84 |
| 2.16 | 17 | 2.113 | 84 |
| 4.1 | 17 | 7.1 | 84 |
| <i>Enchiridion</i> | | 8.20 | 85 |
| 1 | 17 | 16.4–5, 12 | 85 |
| Epiphanius | | 16.15 | 84 |
| <i>Panarion</i> | | 17 | 84 |
| 1.17–18 | 72 | 18.25 | 85 |
| 2.30 | 72 | 27.7 | 84–85 |
| 4.4–5.5 | 277 | 28 | 84 |
| 31.1 | 13 | 28.12, 17 | 84–85 |
| 47.2.7 | 277 | 30.12 | 84 |
| 66.77 | 13 | 32.35 | 85 |
| Eusebius | | 33.9 | 84 |
| <i>Praeparatio evangelica</i> | | 37 | 85 |
| 11.28.15 | 33 | 38.12, 14 | 85 |
| Gnostics | | 40.4 | 84 |
| <i>Evangelium Veritatis</i> | | 40.7, 28 | 84 |
| 11 | 13 | 41.5 | 85 |
| 30–31 | 13 | 45.8 | 85 |
| <i>Corpus Hermeticum</i> | | 45.12, 22 | 84 |
| 1.26 | 13 | 45.26 | 85 |
| 4.4 | 14 | <i>Epistula</i> | |
| 6.68–69 | 14 | 101 | 84 |
| <i>Testimony of Truth</i> | | Gregory Nyssen | |
| 47 | 14 | <i>Adversus Macedonianos de spiritu sancto</i> | |
| <i>Teaching of Silvanus</i> | | 105–6 | 88 |
| 104 | 15 | <i>Contra Eunomium</i> | |
| 114–115 | 14–15 | 1.1 | 86–87 |
| <i>Three Steles of Seth</i> | | 3.1 | 88 |
| 125 | 15, 277 | 3.2–3, 8 | 86 |
| <i>Treatise on the Resurrection</i> | | 3.10 | 87 |
| 46 | 14 | 24 | 87 |
| <i>Sentences of Sextus</i> (Pythagorean) | | <i>De anima et resurrectione dialogus</i> | |
| 373–374 | 15 | 97 | 88 |
| <i>Definitions of Hermes Trismegistus to</i> | | 120 | 87 |
| <i>Asclepius</i> | | <i>De infantibus qui premature abripiuntur</i> | |
| 5.3 | 14 | 82–83 | 87 |
| | | <i>De instituto christiano</i> | |
| | | 8.165–6 | 88 |

<i>De mortuis non esse dolendum</i>		<i>De trinitate</i>	
9.54	89	1.10–11	83
<i>De opificio hominis</i>		1.37	83
164	87	3.21	83
180–187	88	10.20–22	84
192	87	10.25	83
193	86	12.52	83
<i>De perfectione</i>		12.56	83
8.1.195–196	89	<i>Tractatus super Psalmos</i>	
<i>De virginitate</i>		1.4–5	83–84
4	87–88	1.13	83
12	88	Hippolytus	
12.2–3	88	<i>Refutatio omnium haeresium</i>	
13.2	87	5.6	14
14.3	87	5.14.1	15
<i>De vita Moysis</i>		Horace	
7.1.33–34	89	<i>Sermonum Quinti Horatii Flacci</i>	
7.1.45	88	<i>poëmata</i>	
<i>Epistulae</i>		1.68	160
3.17	87	Ignatius of Antioch	
18	86	<i>Ad Ephesios</i>	13
<i>In baptismum Christi</i>	87	<i>Ad Filadelfios</i>	42
<i>In canticum canticorum</i>		<i>Ad Magnesios</i>	42
6.160–161	89	Irenaeus	
<i>In ecclesiasticum homiliae</i>		<i>Adversus haereses</i>	
5.379–380	89	1.1.14	52
<i>Oratio catechetica magna</i>		1.1.20	56
5	87–88	1.2.1	56
6	86	1.6.2	13
13	87	1.7.5	14
30–31	88	1.13.6	54
35	86	1.15.1	56
37	87	1.25.6	13
<i>Refutatio confessionis Eunomii</i>		1.30.15	14
126–127	88	2.5.4	54
139	88	2.9.15–17	14
169	88	2.13.9	13
175	87	2.14.4	13
418–420	88	2.29.1	53
Herodotus		2.29.1–31	13
Ἱστορίαι (Histories)		2.54	55
1.131–140	37	3.4.1	56
Hilary of Poitiers		3.12	55
<i>Commentarius in evangelium Matthaei</i>		3.19.6	51, 56
10.23–24	266	3.20.3	52

3.21.2	56	72.2, 5	224, 228
3.32.1	55	75.6, 11, 16	224, 228
3.35.2	51	75.19–20	224, 228
4.4.3	53	85	169, 297
4.14	55	96	277
4.22.1	51	98	277
4.29.1–2	53	100	277
4.29.2	55	112.13	72
4.34.1	55	124.4	169
4.37	52	195	234
4.37.1	56	202	234
4.37.2	55		
4.37.2–5	53	Josephus, Flavian	
4.37.5	55	<i>Antiquitates Judaicae</i>	
4.39.4	55	13.171–173	30
4.40	56	18.1.3	30
4.45.1–2	53	18.12–15	31
4.61.2	55	18.16–17	30
5.12.1–2	51	18.18–22	27
5.14.1	15	<i>Bellum Judaicum</i>	
5.28.1	52	2.8.6	27
<i>Epideixis tou apostolikou kērygmatos</i>		2.8.14	30
14.1	51	2.119–161	27
<i>Lost Fragments 24</i>	56	2.128	26
Jerome (Hieronymus)		2.162	30
<i>Adversus Iovinianum</i>		2.164–166	30
2	161, 165, 169	5.124	26
<i>Apologia adversus libros Rufini</i>		John of Damascus	
3.28	232	<i>Expositio fidei</i>	294
<i>Commentariorum in Epistulam ad Ephesios</i>		Julian, Bishop	
1.2.8–9, (10)	102, 208, 248	<i>Ad Florus</i>	210
<i>Commentariorum in Epistulam ad Galatas</i>		Justin Martyr	
3.5.8	248, 257	<i>Apology 1</i>	
<i>Contra Ioannem Hierosolytitanum ad Pammachium</i>		28	46
22	232	43	46
<i>De viris illustribus</i>	10, 75, 81	44	46, 56
<i>Dialogus adversus Luciferianos</i>		61.9–10	45
26	72	<i>Apology 2</i>	
<i>Dialogus adversus Pelagianos</i>		7.3–8	46
1.2–7	169	<i>Dialogus cum Tryphone</i>	
<i>Epistulae</i>		6	45
19	274	35.6	13
50	157	88	45
66.8	169	103	46
71.5	224	140.4	45
		141.1	50

141.2	45	35	293
Lactantius		39–41	293
<i>Divinarum institutionum</i>		Novatian	
<i>Epitome</i>	82–83	<i>De trinitate liber</i>	
2.11, 13	82	1, 4	81
2.15	82	5	82
4.24–25	82	10	82
5.1	82	22	82
5.10, 13–15	83	<i>De cibis Judaicis</i>	
5.20	82	3	82
6.3	83	7	82
6.13, 16, 19	82	Origen	
7.5	83	<i>Contra Celsus</i>	
<i>De orpificio Dei</i>		1.66	76
19	83	2.20	68
Mani (Manichaeans)		3.10–11	13
<i>Cologne Mani–Codex</i>		4.82	76
20.9–11	34	5.16	69
48.16–60.7	34	6.45	67
87.16–18	34	6.55	68
89.11–13	34	6.57	76–77
<i>Frag.M 48v°</i>	277	6.68	66
M.2.28	35	7.50	70
M.7.82–118	35	7.68	77
Mir.M. III	35	<i>De principiis/Peri Archon</i>	
(<i>Maitrāyana Upanishad</i>)		Preface 5	65
IV	35	1.6.2	65
Maximus of Tyre		1.7.4, 8.2	65
<i>Orationes</i>		2.9.5–8	15
5	12	2.9.6–7	66
Melito		3.1.5	66, 258
<i>Peri Pascha</i>		3.1.6	65
326–388	49	3.1.7, 12	66
537–543	49	3.1.8	15
739–744	49	3.1.14	68
Methodius of Olympus		3.1.15	70
<i>Symposium decem virginum</i>		3.1.16–17	67
8.16	89	3.1.18	69, 270
<i>Peri tou autexousio</i>		3.1.19	67, 169
73–77	89–90	3.1.20	69, 271
Nemesius of Emesa		3.1.21	67, 69, 270
<i>De natura hominis</i>		3.2.1–2	70
2	16	3.2.3	68
		3.2.7	76
		3.3.5	68
		3.4.7	76
		3.7–10	19

- In Exodum*
8.4 71
- In Iesu Nave*
9.4 70–71
26.2 71
- In Leviticum*
8.3 70–71, 75, 87
12.4 70–71, 73, 75
- In Lucam*
14.3–5 71–72
14.5 75
- In Numero*
12.4 71
- In Psalmos*
2.5.1–23 71
37.1 70
38 71
- In Iohannis Evangelium*
6.59 69
20.39 73
- Commentariorum Matheum*
15.36 71
- Commentariorum Romanos*
3.8 69
3.9 66
4.4–5 66–67
4.5.1, 3 67, 251
4.11 69
5.1–2 70, 73–74
5.5 76
5.9 70–71, 73–76, 278
5.15 263
7.8 69
7.16 69
7.19 70
8.7 66
8.11 69
- Exhortatio ad martyrium*
14 66
- Philocalia*
23.7 68
25.2 68
27.2 66
27.10–12 19, 66
- Orosius
Historiarum adversum paganos 151
- Panaetius
Peri tou kathêkontos 17
- Pelagius
Commentarii Romanos
2.5, 6, 31–33, 35 211
5 157, 211, 249, 267, 279
7.7, 18 280
8.5–8 280
De induratione cordis Pharaonis 276
De natura 165, 279
- Philippus, Presbyter
In Historiam Iob Commentariorum 266
- Philo
De Abrahamo
236–243 28
De cherubim
128 29
De congressu eruditionis gratia
81–88 28
De decalogo
45 28
Quis rerum divinarum heres sit
292–293 28
Quod deus sit immutabilis
10, 48–50 28–29
47–48 28–29
Legum allegoriarum
1.82 29
1.107–8 30
2.9, 31–32 29
3.28, 45, 75–76 29
De opificio mundi
151–164 28
De praemiis et poenis
62–63 28
De providentia
1 30
Quaestiones et solutiones in Genesim
1.11, 542 28
1.90–99 28
3.48, 52 28
De sacrificiis Abelis et Caini
14–17 28

<i>De specialibus legibus</i>		3.3.4–5	33–34
1.82	29	3.3.19–21	33
1.84–87	26	3.5.4	33
1.107–108	30	3.5.26	32
1.113–115	28	3.7.34	33
3.32	28	3.9.3	33
3.63	28	4.3.5	33
Pindar		4.3.12	32
		4.3.13	33
<i>Pythian Ode</i>		4.4	33, 172
2	11	4.7.9	33
<i>Nemean Ode</i>		4.8.5	33
6.1–7	11	5.1.1	33
Plato		5.1.2; 3.6	33
		5.3.6	33
<i>Republic</i>		6.7.38	32
1.47	19	6.8.1–4	33–34
7.515e–516b	134	Plutarch	
10	56	<i>De Iside et Osiride (De Is. et Os.)</i>	
<i>Phaedrus</i>		1	12
248c–e	11	Pontius the Deacon	
<i>Timaeus</i>		<i>Vita Cypriani</i>	80
30b–c	11	Porphyry	
48a	11	<i>Ad Marcellam</i>	
Pliny the Elder		24	33
<i>Naturalis Historia</i>		<i>Sententiae ad intelligibilia ducentes</i>	
30	37	31	33
Plotinus		<i>De vita Plotini</i>	
<i>Enneads</i>		16	37
1.1.5	252	Proclus	
1.1.12	32	<i>De providentia</i>	
1.2.6	33	15, 56–57, 63	32
1.4	33	3.1.8	32
1.6	32–33	Rabbi Akiva ben Joseph	
1.7.9	34	<i>Pirqe 'Abot</i>	
1.8.5; 8.14	33	3.16	31
2.2–3	172	Rabbi Yohannan	
2.3.1	33	<i>Exodus Rabba</i>	
2.4.4	172	13.3	19
2.9.1–3	13, 33	Rufinus of Aquileia	
2.9.5	13, 288	<i>Apologia contra Hieronymum</i>	
2.9.9–10	14	1.19	73
2.9.13–14	13		
3.2.9	33		
3.2.10	33		
3.2.17	34		
3.2.47	32		

- Rufinus of Syria
Liber de fide 157, 276–280
- Seneca
De vita beata
 15.7 291
Epistula
 107 192
- Sextus
Sentences of Sextus 15
- Simplicius
Commentary on Aristotle's Categories 252
- Sozomenus, Salminius
Historia ecclesiastica
 8.40 77
- Tatian
Orationes ad Graecos
 7.1–2 47
 11.2 47
 15.4 47
- Terence, Minellius
Adelphi
 1.69–75 232
- Tertullian
Adversus Gnosticos Scorpiace
 11 61
Adversus Marcionem
 2.14 61
 2.5 60
 2.6, 8 61
 5.6 61
 6.6 61
Adversus Valentinianos
 29 61
Apogeticus adversus Gentes
 22 60
De anima
 19.6 60
 21–22 60
 25 60
- 27.8 60
 40 59
De baptismo
 18 61
De cultu feminarum
 1 59
 2.10 61
De exhortione castitatas
 2 61
De fuga in persecutione
 4, 12 61
De resurrectione carnis
 45 60
- Theodore of Mopsuestia
Adversus defendendem originale peccatum 90
Commentarium Iohannan
 5.19 90
- Theophilus of Alexandria
Epistulae
 96.9, 13, 15, 17–20 277
 98.10–12 277
 100.12–13 277
Epistula ad Constantinople
 5, 8, 11 277
- Theophilus, Bishop of Caesarea
Apologia ad Autolyucus
 1.2, 7 48
 2.17 48
 2.21 48
 2.25–27 48
 2.35 48
 3.11 48
- Tichonius (Tychonius)
Liber Regularum 104–107
- Victorinus, Gaius Marius
Adversus Arium
 1.61.21–4 (1086c) 253
In Epistulam Pauli ad Ephesios
 1.2.9 102, 208
In Epistulam Pauli ad Galatas
 2.5.6 248
In Epistulam Pauli ad Philippenses
 2.12–13 25

Qumran

<i>4Q</i>		14.21–22	27
177	25	15.6–31	27
186	26	15.13–19	24
318	26	15.17, 19–20	24
534	26	15.34	27
<i>1QH</i>		18.3–9	24, 27
2.2, 25	24	19.10–11	27
3.15–17	23	20.32–36	27
3.19–25	24	23.10–13	27
4.21–24	24, 27	<i>IQM</i>	
5.20–23	27	13.9–11	24
6.11–12	23	<i>IQS</i>	
6.17–18	27	2.2, 25	23
7. 17b–20	23, 27	3.13–4.1	24
7.21	27	3.15–17	23
8.18–20	27	4.20	23
9.28–29	27	4.24	24
10.5–7	24	7.16–17, 23–24	24
11.21–23	27	8.15	24
12.29–31	27	8.21–24	24–25
12.38	27	9.19	27
14.6–10	27		

Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha

<i>1 Enoch</i>		<i>Psalms of Solomon</i>	
30.15	22	9.4	22
53.2	22	14.5	22
<i>2 Baruch</i>		<i>Sirach</i>	
48.40, 85.7	23	4.26	22
54.15–19	22	7.1–3, 8, 12–13	22
<i>2 Maccabees</i>		8.5	22
12.43	175	15.11–20	22
<i>Apocalypse of Abraham</i>		21.1–2	22
26–27	23	23.18–20	22
<i>Apocalypse of Ezra</i>		27.8	22
4	23	<i>Wisdom</i>	
		8.21	163
		12.10–11	170

Babylonian Talmud and Midrash

<i>'Abōt</i>		<i>Babylonian Šabbath</i>	
2.4a	31	104a	31
3.15	31	<i>Babylonian Sukkah</i>	
16.62–64	31	52b	31
<i>Babylonian Berakot</i>		<i>Bamidbar Rabbah</i>	31
33b	31	<i>Pirqe' 'Abōt</i>	
<i>Babylonian Qiddušin</i>		3.16	31
30b	31		

New Testament

<i>Matthew</i>		14.21–23	221, 224, 231, 263–264
5.16	53	15.12	218
6.10	235	16.27–31	114
7.7	110, 123	21.34	53
10.22	103	<i>John</i>	
10.29	228	1.9	57, 99, 125, 177, 189
11.20–21	177	1.9–13	225
11.21–22	204	1.12–13	57, 66, 83, 99, 108–109, 114, 125, 134, 163, 172, 198, 215, 235
12.33	101, 114	2.6	161
15.36	71	2.23–25	244
19.14	61, 158, 231	3.5	120, 150, 167, 174–175, 180, 187–188, 244, 265, 304
20.1–16	162	3.14, 27	221
22.23	236	4.1–2	109
23.37	181	5.38–47	58
24.48–51	53	5.46	123
<i>Mark</i>		6.29	248
4.12	65, 125	6.36, 43	201
16.16	175	6.44	119, 134, 164, 172–173, 184, 215, 220–221, 225, 244, 249
<i>Luke</i>		6.44–45	58
1.3	165	6.51	158
2.14	142, 220	6.54	180
4.56	79	6.62–65	164
4.58	178		
5.31	171		
6.46	53		
10.13	204		
10.28–37	261		
12.6, 28	149, 166		
12.35–36, 47	53		
14.2	225		

6.65	174, 184, 293		230, 244, 247–250,
6.66	232		262, 269–271, 279–
7.39	109		280, 285–286, 295,
8.19, 31, 47	58		297, 304
8.24	244	5.13–18	230
8.31–32	172, 291	5.16	175, 219
8.34	221	5.19	76, 101
8.36	170, 172, 184	5.20	107, 115
8.44	14	5.21	107
12.32	58, 255	Chapters 5–7	179
12.39–40	125	6.3, 11	183
14.3	161	6.6	74
14.6	100, 215	Chapter 7	1, 5, 81, 106, 127,
15.5	173, 221, 245		136, 145, 170, 188,
15.15, 16	185, 246		198, 259, 271, 283,
16.11	217		286–288, 292, 294–
17.3	110		295
<i>Acts</i>		7.8–25	179
2.23, 4.28	55	7.18–19	170
8.12	191	7.22–23	244–245, 259
9.3–7	225	7.24–25	74, 109, 247
9.7	201	8.3–11	74, 109, 259
10.28	79	8.21	82
13.48	185, 235	8.28–30	55, 68, 135
16.31	201	Chapter 9	1, 195, 213, 262,
21.21	265		286, 294–295, 297
24.2	283	9.11–13	175, 195–196, 221,
			245, 262, 286
		9.14–15	108, 116, 245
<i>Romans</i>		9.16–18	65, 69, 108–109,
1.24–25, 28	116		221
2.4	217	9.18–21	69, 171, 276, 293
2.4–10	65	9.19–20	5, 109, 123, 144,
2.5	70		204
3.5	116	9.20–23	65, 116, 148, 166,
3.23	164, 188, 220		171–172, 181, 188,
4.4–6	119, 140–141, 144,	Chapters 9–11	246, 262, 276
	296		5, 123, 178, 186,
Chapter 5	70, 157, 210		208, 221, 246, 262,
5.5	100, 121, 130, 163,		270–271, 276, 293
	224, 226, 228, 245,	10.1	201
	254, 265, 269	10.14–15	114
5.12	5, 52, 60, 70, 73, 92,	10.17	201
	107, 127, 142, 146–	Chapter 11	14, 38, 114, 118,
	148, 157–158, 161,		134, 143, 145, 225,
	164, 166, 169–171,		293
	173, 175–176, 178–	11.5–6	219, 246
	179, 181, 183, 187–	11.16	262
	189, 191, 193, 197,	11.23	196
	204, 210, 217–225,		

- 11.29 191, 203
 11.32–36 143, 162, 181, 185,
 216, 219, 226, 262
 12.3–6 67, 142, 164, 187,
 196, 200, 237
 13.1 163
 13.13–14 227
- 1 Corinthians*
 1.2, 18 260
 2.14 142
 3.1–3 142, 260
 3.8, 14, 21 260
 4.6–7 260
 4.7 106, 122, 124, 145,
 153, 160, 172, 185,
 189, 199–200, 208,
 216–221, 237, 244,
 248, 252–253, 259–
 260, 265, 270, 274,
 279
 5.1–5 14
 5.13 123
 6.7–8 134
 7.25 176
 12.8 67
 12.11 201
 Chapter 15 1, 5, 149, 166, 271,
 286, 294–295
 15.21–22 101, 123, 142, 217,
 243, 247, 251
 15.49 101
- 2 Corinthians*
 2.12–13 202
 3.5 173
 3.6 245
 4.4 114
 4.7 116
 5.14–15 182–183
 5.19–21 123, 161
 8.16 173
 13.7 235
- Galatians*
 1.12 147
 2.11–16 224
 2.19 6
 3.27 182
 4.19 103, 257
- 5.6 245, 248
 5.8 65
 5.17 217
 6.7–10 103, 202
- Ephesians*
 1.3–11 55, 202–203, 273
 1.13–16 202
 2.1–3 100, 136, 160, 178,
 217, 243, 261–262,
 265, 269–270, 293
 2.8–9 (10) 67, 85, 94, 100, 104,
 125, 141, 164, 172,
 176, 184, 188, 201,
 209, 220–221, 223,
 225, 248, 250, 257,
 270, 293
 2.10 55, 226
 5.14 165
- Philippians*
 1.3–7 173, 181, 184–185,
 189, 221–222, 255
 1.15–16 14
 1.28–29 67, 172, 187
 2.8 264
 2.12–14 65, 69, 123, 141–
 142, 163, 169, 181,
 184, 198, 220, 235,
 248, 252–253, 257,
 264, 271, 292–293
 4.10–19 173, 222, 255
- Colossians*
 1.12–13 235
 2.10–13 180
 4.2–4 202
- 1 Thessalonians*
 2.13 202, 216
 4.3–5 181
- 1 Timothy*
 1.15 171
 2.4, (5) 104, 177, 181, 189,
 196, 206, 230, 235,
 255, 260, 271
 3.1 231
 4.1–3 14
 4.10 57, 69

<i>2 Timothy</i>		<i>2 Peter</i>	
2.20	67	1.3	168
2.25	177	2.1	261
<i>Titus</i>		2.1–22	14
1.15	79	2.19	176
2.11	269	<i>1 John</i>	
<i>Hebrews</i>		1.8	80, 244–245
2.14	182	2.2	69, 241, 248, 261, 283
<i>James</i>		3.12	194
1.5–6	188	4.2–3	242
3.2	161	5.12	182
4.6	41, 101	<i>Jude</i>	
5.9	43	24	185
<i>1 Peter</i>			
1.1–2	55, 145, 262, 292		
1.20	55		
2.2	58		

Scriptures used by Gnostics and Manichaeans for Divine Unilateral Predetermination of Individuals' Eternal Destinies

<i>Psalms</i>		9.18–23	69, 148, 166, 171, 276, 293
51	70	11.1–36	14, 38, 185, 293
<i>John</i>		<i>Ephesians</i>	
6.44	119, 134, 172, 184, 220–221	2.1–3	100, 178, 270, 293
6.44–45	58	2.8–9	94, 100, 172, 257, 293
6.62–66	174, 184, 232, 293	<i>Philippians</i>	
14.6	100, 215	2.13	69, 271, 293
<i>Romans</i>		<i>1 John</i>	
8.28–29	68	2.2	69
9.11–17	69		

Index of Modern Authors

Authors with references present only in the bibliography are co-authors or editors of books.

- Aland, Kurt 75, 265, 315
Albani, Matthias 26, 315
Albright, William F. 315
Alesse, Francesca 29, 315
Altaner, Berthold 278, 315
Alviar, J. José 69–70, 315
Andia, Ysabel de 53, 315
Armstrong, Arthur H. 13, 315
Arnold, Russell C.D. 25, 315
Attridge, Harold W. 317
Avery-Peck, Alan 22, 315
Ayres, Lewis 96, 283, 285, 315
- Babcock, William S. 105, 140, 143,
145–146, 276, 315
Baker-Brian, Nicholas 277, 315
Bara, Joelle-Frédérique 26, 315
Barclay, John M. G. 29, 315
Barnard, Leslie W. 45–46, 315
Barr, James 21, 37, 316
Batiffol, Pierre 286, 316
Baumgartner, Charles 295, 316
Beatrice, Pier F. 72, 295, 316
Beaven, James 54, 316
Beckwith, Roger T. 26, 316
Beddoe, Paul V. 78, 316
BeDuhn, Jason D. 120, 137, 209, 269,
277, 316
Beek, Abraham van de 80, 316
Beer, Georg 31, 328
Behr, John VII, 50, 53, 58–59, 316
Berg, Sandra B. 20, 316
Berg, Jacob van den 100, 316, 327
Berlinerblau, Jacques 20, 316
Berndt, Rainer 315, 334
Berrouard, Marie-François 244, 316
Berthouzoz, Roger 53, 316
Bigg, Charles 76, 316
- Bingham, Jeffrey 14, 316
Black, David 173, 316
Black, Matthew 316
Blenkinsopp, Joseph 20, 316
Blic, Jacques de 157, 317
Blowers, Paul 92, 158, 317–318
Bobzien, Susanne 17, 19, 39, 317
Bockmuehl, Markus N. 26, 293, 317
Boer, Erik de 5, 135, 317
Bogan, Sister Mary 199, 317
Bohlin, Torgny 276, 280, 286, 317
Bonner, Gerald 5, 9, 154, 157, 162,
169, 183, 195, 210, 225, 227, 233,
265–267, 276–277, 279, 283, 317
Bos, A.P. 32, 317
Bostock, D. Gerald 12, 317
Brachtendorf, Johannes 252, 291, 317
Bradshaw, Paul F. 317
Brand, Miryam T. 36, 317
Brennan, Brian 98, 112, 132, 317
Bright, Pamela 107, 317, 319
Brinton, Alan 179, 317
Broek, Roelof van den 13, 15, 318,
328, 331
Brooke, A.E. 318
Brown, Peter 1, 5–6, 23, 106, 264, 277,
284, 292, 294, 318
Brown, Raymond E. 23, 26, 318
Brown, Robert 50, 318
Brownlee, William H. 26, 318
Bruner, William 22, 318
Bruyn, Theodore de 157, 212, 249,
280, 318
Buch-Hansen, Gitte 30, 318
Buonaiuti, Ernesto 159, 318
Burleigh, John H.S. 98, 196, 318
Burnaby, John 206, 254, 318
Burnell, Peter J. 292, 318

- Burns, J. Patout 7, 97, 135, 142, 253,
267, 275, 318
Byers, Sara 252, 318
- Cain, Andrew 6, 318
Cary, Philip 134, 318
Chadwick, Henry 5, 9, 16, 46, 59, 91–
92, 106, 120, 139, 154, 262, 282–
283, 288, 319, 324, 338
Chappell, Timothy D.J. 11–12, 253,
319
Charles, David 12, 319
Charlesworth, James H. 23, 319, 332
Christman, Angela Russell 318
Cipriani, Nello 197, 319
Clancy, Finbarr 206, 319
Clark, Elizabeth 278, 319
Cochrane, Charles N. 32, 319
Cohick, Lynn H. 49, 319
Cohon, Samuel 21–22, 319
Comby, Jean 51, 319
Cooper, John M. 16, 319
Cooper, Stephen 6, 319
Cordovani, Rinaldo 224, 320
Corrigan, Kevin 32, 320
Corwin, Virginia 42–43, 320
Couenhoven, Jesse 164–165, 209, 268,
290–291, 320
Courcelle, Pierre 96, 320
Crenshaw, James L. 20, 316, 320, 324
Cross, Frank M. 23, 320
Crouzel, Henri 65, 320
Cullmann, Oscar 72, 320
Curbelié, Philippe 193, 320
Curley, Augustine J. 96, 320
- Daniélou, Jean 72, 77, 320
David, Barry A. 273, 320
Decret, François 277, 283, 320
Deems, Mervin 224, 320
Delaroche, Bruno 193, 320
Dhalla, Maneckji 35, 320
Di Lella, Alexander A. 22, 320
Didier, J.-Ch. 210, 320
Dihle, Albrecht 13, 15, 23, 32, 252–
253, 320
Dillon, John M. 28–30, 252, 320, 326,
328
Djuth, Marianne 3, 253–259, 297, 321
- Dodaro, Robert 283, 321, 338
Dodd, Charles H. 134, 321
Donovan, Mary Ann 50–52, 321
Drecoll, Volker H. 139, 143, 321
Drobner, Hubertus 2, 215, 321
Duffy, Stephen 5, 154, 251, 321
Dulaey, Martine 107, 321
Dunn, Geoffrey D. 61, 274, 321
Dupont, Anthony 7, 188, 206, 223, 321
Dupont-Sommer, André 26, 321
Duval, Y.-M. 165, 321
- Eddy, Paul 220, 321
Edwards, Mark J. VII, 6, 13–14, 31–32,
45, 77, 102, 172, 282, 321–322
Eijk, Philip van der 283, 322
Eliade, Mircea 34, 322
Ellingsen, Mark 296, 322
Epstein, Isidore 23, 32, 322
Evans, Ernest 1, 266, 294, 322
Evans, Robert 204, 322
Ewing, Jon D. 283, 322
- Fahey, Michael A. 77, 322
Falk, Daniel K. 25, 322
Fallon, Francis 15, 322
Farrar, Frederic W. 264, 322
Ferguson, Everett 17, 76, 322
Ferguson, John 59, 322
Ferrari, Leo C. 113, 322
Fiedrowicz, Michael 247, 322
Filoramo, Giovanni 15, 322
Fiorenza, Francis S. 2, 322
Fitzgerald, Allen 159, 197, 245, 317,
319, 321–322, 327, 331–332, 336–
338
Fleteren, Frederick Van 188, 251, 321–
322, 334
Floëri, Fernand 267, 322
Floyd, William E.G. 58–60, 322
Foley, Michael P. 96, 322
Foltz, Richard 278, 323
Forshey, Harold O. 44, 323
Fox, Michael V. 20, 323
Franchi, Roberta 90, 323
Frede, Michael 283, 323
Fredriksen (-Landes), Paula 5, 106–
108, 140, 146, 154, 191, 288, 323,
335

- Frend, William H.C. 72, 81, 267, 298, 323
 Frick, Peter 29, 323
 Frost, Ronald N. 253, 323
 Früchtel, Ludwig 323
 Frye, Richard N. 26, 323
 Fürst, Alfons 297, 323
- Galvin, John P. 2, 322
 Ganssle, Gregory 294, 323
 Gaudel, Auguste-Joseph 267, 323
 Gauthier, René A. 252, 290, 323
 Gensler, Harry 284, 335
 Gibbon, Edward 278, 323
 Gilson, Etienne 298, 323
 Goodenough, Erwin 45–46, 323
 Goodman, Martin 27, 30, 323, 337
 Goodspeed, Edgar J. 44, 323
 Gorday, Peter 1, 323
 Gorgemanns, Herwig 65, 324
 Gorman, Michael M. 148, 150, 324
 Grant, Robert M. 12, 26, 324
 Gray, John 23, 324
 Green, Roger P.H. 148, 324
 Griffiths, Paul J. 209, 324
 Gross, Julius von 5, 153–154, 295, 324
 Grossi, Vittorino 226, 265, 324
- Haag, Herbert 21–22, 324
 Haight, Roger 291–292, 297, 324
 Hall, Christopher A. 278, 292, 324
 Hall, Stuart G. 49–50, 324
 Hammer, Olav 23, 324
 Hammond Bammel, Caroline 72–74, 276, 278–279, 293, 324
 Harmless, William 171, 324
 Harnack, Adolf von 61–62, 67, 153, 324
 Harrelson, Walter 23, 324
 Harrison, Carol 1, 4–6, 95, 153, 266, 294, 324
 Harrison, Simon 253, 324
 Harrison, Verna E.F. 88–89, 325
 Hasler, Victor E. 56, 325
 Hay, David M. 29, 325
 Henkey, Charles 265, 325
 Henrichs, Albert 287, 325
 Hermanowicz, Erika T. 132, 294, 325
- Hill, Charles E. 54, 325
 Hill, Edmund 101, 148, 166, 215–218, 220, 222, 227–228, 255, 325
 Hinchliff, Peter 81, 325
 Hinson, E. Glenn 45, 51, 325
 Hirschfeld, Yitzhar 23, 325
 Hithcock, F. Montgomery 54–55, 325
 Hodges, Frederick M. 72, 325
 Holzhausen, Jens 14, 325
 Hombert, Pierre-Marie 2, 130, 147, 150, 167, 191, 215–222, 226, 228, 230, 242, 247–249, 277, 300–302, 325
 Hunt, Emily J. 47, 325
 Hunter, David G. 318, 328
 Hušek, Vít 251, 325
 Hwang, Alexander Y. 260, 293, 325
 Hyatt, J. Philip 26, 325
- Inwood, Brad 270, 289–290, 325
 Irwin, Brian 20, 325
- Jacobsson, Martin 98, 132, 147, 325
 James, William 256, 325
 Jaschke, Hans-Jochen 54, 326
 Jeremias, Joachim 75, 265, 319, 326
 Jolif, Jean Y. 323
 Jonas, Hans 34, 326
- Kahn, Charles H. 33, 252, 326
 Karfíková, Lenka 5, 8, 139–141, 326
 Karpp, Heinrich 65, 324
 Kaufman, Peter 245, 326
 Kavanagh, Aidan 285, 326
 Keech, Dominic 144, 326
 Kelly, John N.D. 73–74, 87, 250, 326
 Kenney, John 252, 326
 King, Karen L. 13–15, 326
 Kinghorn, Kevin 256, 326
 Kirwan, Christopher 192, 326
 Klawans, Jonathan 27, 326
 Klingshirn, William 249, 326
 Koenen, Ludwig 287, 326
 Kolakowski, Leszek 194, 290, 326
 Kotzé, Annemaré 120, 316, 326
 Kovacs, Judith L. 281, 326
 Kreyenbroek, Philip G. 35, 290, 326
 Kuhn, Karl Georg 26, 326

- La Bonnardière, Anne-Marie 192, 213,
 247–249, 327
 Lamberigts, Mathijs 208, 275, 327, 338
 Lampe, Geoffrey W.H. 254, 327
 Lange, Armin 23, 327
 Laporte, Jean 28, 248, 295, 327
 Lawless, George 283, 321, 338
 Lawson, Jack N. 11, 327
 Lawson, John 51–52, 327
 Le Bœuf, Patrick 147, 327
 Leaney, Alfred R.C. 23, 327
 Ledegang, Fred 71, 327
 Leftow, Brian 184, 327
 Leroux, Georges 32–33, 327
 Lieu, Samuel 269, 287, 327
 Lilla, Salvatore R.C. 59, 327
 Logan, Alastair H.B. 13, 327
 Löhr, Winrich A. 13–14, 327
 Long, Anthony A. 12, 16–17, 34, 37–
 38, 283, 295, 323, 326–327
 Lössl, Josef 206, 208, 287, 327
 Louth, Andrew 11, 16, 292–293, 327
 Ludwig, Josef 81, 328
 Lyonnet, P. Stanislas 158, 286, 328

 MacDonald, Donald 22, 328
 MacFarland, Ian A. 2, 328
 MacKenna, Stephen 252, 328
 Madec, Goulven 2, 146, 199, 298, 328
 Mahé, Jean-Pierre 14, 328
 Maier, Gerhard 26, 328
 Mann, Christopher S. 315
 Mann, Friedhelm 330
 Mann, William E. 159, 328, 339
 Mara, Maria 279, 328
 Marín, Raúl V. 296, 328
 Marjanen, Antti 12–13, 328
 Marksches, Christoph 13–14, 328
 Markus, Robert 103, 332, 328
 Marrou, Henri-Irénée 98, 132, 276–
 277, 328
 Marti, Karl 31, 328
 Martin, Thomas F. 147, 157, 278, 328
 Martinetto, Giovanni 276, 328
 Martínez, Florentino G. 23, 26–27, 328
 Maston, Jason 287, 328
 Mathisen, Ralph W. 294, 329
 Mawson, Tim J. 234, 329

 Mayer, Cornelius 317, 319, 321, 330,
 339
 McCall, Storrs 273, 329
 McGrath, Alister 253, 298, 329
 McGuckin, John 75, 327, 329
 McIntire, C.T. 68, 273, 329
 Meecham, Henry G. 44, 329
 Meijering, Eginhard P. 53–54, 329
 Merrill, Eugene H. 23–24, 28, 329
 Miles, Margaret R. 196, 329
 Miller, Mary W. 277–278, 329
 Minns, Denis 46, 50–51, 55–56, 329
 Mohrmann, Christine 232, 329
 Mondésert, Claude 57, 329
 Moore, George 31, 329
 Morán, José 298, 329
 Mosher, David L. 109, 329
 Mouaoka, Takamitsu 254, 329
 Moxon, Reginald 84, 87, 90, 92, 329
 Muller, Earl C. 317, 329, 334
 Munier, Charles 50, 330

 Nash, Ronald H. 112, 330
 Niebergall, Alfred 141, 330
 Nielsen, Jan T. 52, 330
 Nodes, Daniel 212, 330
 Nygren, Gotthard 213, 330

 O'Brien, Denis 32, 330
 O'Brien, Peter 325
 O'Connell, Robert J. 100, 213, 283,
 330
 O'Daly, Gerard 3, 151, 167, 191, 195,
 246, 330
 O'Donnell, James J. 191–192, 195,
 197, 208, 211, 236, 282, 294, 330
 Oesterley, William O.E. 23, 26, 330
 Ogliari, Donato 230, 296, 330
 O'Keefe, Tim 18, 330
 O'Leary, Joseph S. 68, 70, 330
 O'Meara, John J. 284, 330
 Oort, Johannes van 3, 9, 34–35, 269,
 284, 316, 327, 331
 Orbe, Antonio 52, 331
 Osborn, Eric F. 56, 59–61, 331

 Pacioni, Virgilio 1, 5, 294, 331
 Pagels, Elaine H. 15, 34, 331
 Parma, Christian 36, 331

- Parvis, Paul 46, 329
 Pasewark, Kyle 296, 331
 Paulsen, Henning 42, 331
 Pelikan, Jaroslav 246, 266, 331
 Perler, Othmar 50, 247–248, 331
 Pettersen, Alvyn 273, 331
 Peuch, Aimé 45, 331
 Phillips, L. Edward 317
 Plumer, Eric 6, 102–104, 331
 Podechard, Emmanuel 20, 331
 Pojman, Louis J. 256, 331
 Pope Benedict XVI 191, 227, 275, 332
 Porubcan, Stefan 19, 332
 Pouderon, Bernard 48, 332
 Price, James L. 25, 332

 Quinn, Philip 128, 158, 332
 Quispel, Gilles 14, 332

 Ramsey, Boniface 226, 332
 Rankin, David 49, 332
 Redmond, Richard 174–175, 332
 Rees, Brinley R. 250, 252, 267, 332
 Reesor, Margaret E. 17–18, 332
 Reeves, John C. 287, 332
 Rémy, Gérard 196, 332
 Reumann, John 265, 332
 Riddle, Joseph E. 159, 338
 Rigby, Paul 1, 5, 127–128, 266, 286,
 294, 332
 Riggan, George 62, 332
 Ring, Thomas 286, 332
 Ringgren, Helmer 23, 26, 332
 Rist, John M. 3, 5, 17–19, 47, 154, 184,
 195, 232, 252, 254, 260, 332, 335
 Rivière, Jean 45–47, 332
 Roach, David 1, 332
 Robinson, James 330
 Robinson, Theodore H. 23, 26, 330
 Rohner, Peter 254, 332
 Rondet, Henri 91, 247–248, 333
 Rosen-Zvi, Ishay 31, 36, 288, 333
 Rudman, Dominic 20, 23, 333
 Runia, David 28, 30, 315, 317, 333–
 334
 Russell, Bertrand 18, 333
 Russell, Robert P. 212, 333
 Ruzer, Serge 283, 333

 Sage, Athanase 268, 282, 333
 Salles, Ricardo 18, 333
 Sanders, Edward P. 23–24, 26–27, 287,
 333
 Schaff, Philip S. 168, 333, 337
 Scheck, Thomas P. 66, 73–74, 76, 333
 Schelkle, Karl H. 73, 245, 250, 333
 Schmithals, Walter 25, 333
 Schofer, Wyn 31, 333
 Schottroff, Luise 15, 333
 Schuller, Eileen 25, 333
 Schumaker, Lydia 147, 333
 Schürer, Emil 31, 333
 Scott, Robert B.Y. 20, 334
 Searle, Mark 285, 334
 Sedley, David N. 29, 34, 37–38, 283,
 295, 323, 327, 336
 Seifrid, Mark 317, 325
 Semisch, Charles 43–44, 334
 Sentis, Laurent 84, 334
 Seow, Choon-Leong 20, 334
 Sesboüé, Bernard 56, 334
 Shaked, Shaul 288, 334
 Sharples, R.W. 12, 16, 39, 292, 334
 Sheldon, John S. 269, 327
 Shields, Christopher 12, 334
 Simon, Marcel 72, 334
 Sinnige, Theo G. 34, 334
 Snoek, Jan A.M. 23, 324
 Souter, Alexander 276, 279, 286, 334
 Squires, Stuart 96, 334
 Stählin, Otto 323
 Stammberger, Ralf M.W. 315, 334
 Stark, Judith C. 291–292, 334
 Starns, Colin 195, 334
 Stead, Christopher 234, 289, 296, 334
 Steel, Carlos G. 32, 334
 Steenberg, Matthew C. 60, 334
 Steinhäuser, Kenneth B. 251, 263, 289,
 334
 Stelten, Leo F. 159, 334
 Stiegman, Emero 31, 335
 Stock, Brian 227, 335
 Stough, Charlotte 17–18, 335
 Stowers, Stanley K. 196, 291, 335
 Stoyanov, Yuri 12, 335
 Strand, Narve 269, 335
 Strayer, Brian E. 230, 335
 Streck, Martin 89, 335

- Stroumsa, Gedaliahu G. 13, 15, 35–36,
 245, 268, 273, 277, 283, 288, 322,
 333, 335
 Stroumsa, Sarah 273, 335
 Struder, Basil 153, 335
 Stump, Eleonore 262–263, 335
 Swindal, James 284, 335
- Tanner, Ronald G. 283, 336
 Tennant, Frederick R. 2, 21–22, 336
 TeSelle, Eugene 3, 5, 128, 154, 242,
 267, 276–277, 279, 286, 294, 323,
 328, 336
 Teske, Roland J. 137, 212, 215, 236,
 238, 317, 328, 336
 Testard, Maurice 96, 336
 Thomas, Samuel I. 25, 336
 Thonnard, F.-J. 192, 206, 336
 Ticciati, Susannah 294, 336
 Tieleman, Teun 16, 336
 Tiessen, Terrance 52, 55–56, 336
 Tilley, Maureen A. 123, 134, 336
 Tobin, Thomas H. 30, 336
 Todd, Robert B. 39, 336
 Torchia, N. Joseph 97, 336
 Toso, Giampietro Dal 89, 336
 Trelenberg, Jörg 96, 336
 Treu, Ursula 323
 Trigg, Joseph 71, 336
 Tukasi, Emmanuel O. 24, 37, 336
- Urbach, Ephraim 31, 337
- VanderKam, James C. 25, 315, 337
 Vandervelde, George 158, 337
 Vermes, Geza 27, 321, 337
 Vessey, Mark 6, 285, 322, 326, 337–
 338
 Von Rad, Gerhard 20, 337
- Wace, Henry 90, 337
 Wallace, Jr., Dewey 273, 287, 290, 337
 Warfield, Benjamin B. 207, 337
- Warren, James 1–2, 5, 294, 337
 Watt, W. Montgomery 290, 337
 Weaver, David 158, 337
 Weaver, Rebecca H. 3, 184, 294, 296,
 337
 Weber-Grysons 80, 142, 337
 Weinfeld, Moshe 24–25, 337
 Weismann, F.J. 251, 337
 Wermelinger, Otto 267, 274, 337
 Wernberg-Møller, Preben 26, 337
 Wetzel, James 1, 3–5, 7, 144, 152,
 159–160, 170, 275, 286, 290, 294,
 338
 Whitaker, Edward C. 267, 338
 White, John T. 159, 338
 Whittaker, Molly 41, 338
 Whybray, Roger N. 20, 338
 Wickham, Lionel 274, 338
 Widengren, Geo 35, 177, 277, 338
 Wiley, Tatha, 2, 86, 140, 266, 338
 Williams, Daniel H. 275–276, 338
 Williams, Michael A. 13, 338
 Williams, Michael S. 6, 338
 Williams, Norman 2, 62, 76, 82, 265–
 266, 338
 Williams, Rowan 191, 288, 294, 331,
 338
 Wills, Garry 133–134, 210–211, 264,
 338
 Wilson, Kenneth 219, 338
 Wingren, Gustaf 52, 54–55, 338
 Winston, David 18, 28–30, 338
 Wolff, Hans 19, 339
 Wolfson, Harry A. 28–29, 291, 339
 Wolterstorff, Nicholas 227, 339
 Wright, David F. 75, 226, 265, 339
- Yonge, C.D. 18, 339
 Young, Robin Darling 318
- Zagzebski, Linda T. 234, 339
 Zarb, Seraphim 247–249, 339
 Zumkeller, Adolar 185, 339

Index of Subjects

- Alexander of Aphrodisias 12, 37–39
311
- Alexander of Lycopolis 35, 308, 312
- Alypius, Bishop 107, 223
- Ambrose 4, 84, 90–93, 125–126, 128,
142, 158, 165, 169–170, 173–175,
178–179, 191, 204–206, 210–211,
224, 230, 236, 248, 250–251, 253,
256, 259, 282, 290, 309, 312
- Ambrosiaster 92, 109, 126, 158–159,
173, 230, 249–251, 257, 259, 262,
264, 280, 309, 312
- Anastasius 73, 228
- anima/soul* 8, 10, 16–18, 22–23, 27–
35, 38, 45, 48, 59–60, 65, 71, 73,
76–77, 87–88, 96–101, 107, 109–
110, 112, 116–118, 127, 133, 137,
148–150, 157, 166–169, 171, 174–
175, 179, 183, 186, 192, 194, 197,
206, 215–216, 221, 224, 229–230,
232–233, 250–253, 257, 269–270,
277–278, 283–284, 287–288, 296
- *origin of*:
 - creationism 10, 60, 83, 182, 232
 - pre-existence 60, 70
 - Traducianism 70, 82, 84, 167,
232, 279
- Antiochus 78, 216
- Apocrypha 22–23, 36, 277
- Aquinas, Thomas 192, 252
- Aristides 44, 75, 307, 311
- Aristotle 11–12, 16–17, 32, 59, 311
- astrology 26, 33–34, 36–37, 47, 68, 86,
128–129, 172, 236
- Athanasius 54, 77, 273, 309, 312
- Athenagoras 48–49, 307, 312
- Augustine's Works
- *Acad.* 96–97, 112, 283, 299
 - (*c.*) *Adim.* 101, 198, 299
 - *Adnot. Job* 123, 146, 300
 - *Adv. Jud.* 302
 - *Agon.* 98, 122, 300
 - (*c.*) *Arian.* 169, 302
 - *Bapt.* 80, 119–122, 128, 147, 172,
210, 301
 - *Beat.* 96, 299
 - *Bon. conj.* 118, 301
 - *Brev. coll.* 133–134, 301
 - (*c.*) *Don.* 120, 268, 301
 - (*c. ep. Man.*) *Fund.* 113–115, 146–
147, 284, 300
 - *C. du. ep. Pel.* 146, 170, 172–174,
188, 250–252, 254, 261, 265, 302
 - (*c.*) *Faust.* 1, 111, 114–118, 143,
233, 261, 269, 284, 300
 - (*c.*) *Fort.* 36, 100–101, 172, 262,
299
 - (*c.*) *Gaud.* 302
 - *C. Jul.* 4, 72, 146, 178–183, 189,
195, 207, 250–252, 260–261, 263–
265, 302
 - *C. Jul. imp.* 146, 189, 207, 210–
211, 250–251, 254, 261, 265, 302
 - *C. litt. Petil.* 102, 113, 118–119, 134,
147, 251, 268, 300
 - (*c.*) *Maxim.* 302
 - *C. mend.* 160, 249, 280–281, 302
 - (*c.*) *Secund.* 117, 300
 - *Caes.* 301
 - *Catech. rud.* 107, 123–124, 134,
147, 224, 274, 300
 - *Civ.* 146, 150–151, 192–196, 199,
220, 263, 269, 302
 - *Conf.* 6, 7, 113, 120, 125–131, 135,
143–144, 254–255, 264, 274, 277,
282–285, 285, 291, 293, 297, 300
 - *Cons.* 125, 300
 - *Corrept.* 146, 184–186, 189, 236–
237, 250, 252, 260, 262, 302
 - (*c.*) *Cresc.* 119–120, 268, 301
 - *Cur.* 261, 302
 - *De mag.* 98, 101, 299
 - *De mend.* 249, 280, 300

- *Div. quaest.* 98, 109–112, 120, 132, 143–144, 146, 153, 198–199, 291, 300
- *Divin.* 132, 301
- *Doctr. chr.* 4, 107, 112, 122, 129, 147, 187, 199, 212, 254, 300, 302
- *Duab. an.* 197, 288, 299
- *Dulc. qu.* 302
- *Emer.* 169, 302
- *Enar. Ps.* 92, 95, 99, 120, 146, 209, 241, 246–249, 251, 256–257, 260, 264, 269, 303
- *Enchir.* 95–96, 146, 176–178, 189, 250, 255, 260–261, 265, 269, 302
- *ep.102* 131–132, 201, 301
- *Tract. ep. Jo.* 95, 241–242, 248–249, 261, 269, 303
- *Exp. Gal.* 102–104, 144, 300
- *Exp. quaest. Rom.* 103, 107–109, 135, 144–145, 198, 200, 249, 252, 257, 260, 299
- *Exp. Rom. inch.* 107–108, 300
- *(c.) Fel.* 114–115, 134–135, 143, 146, 300
- *Fid. op.* 164, 250, 254, 301
- *Fid. symb.* 254, 261, 299
- *Fid.* 101, 122, 134, 300
- *Fund.* 113–115, 147, 284, 300
- *Gest. Pelag.* 168, 301
- *Gen. Man.* 95, 98–100, 111–112, 144, 197, 278, 291, 299
- *Gen. litt.* 7, 95, 147–150, 166–168, 196, 212, 225, 227–228, 250–251, 254, 261, 265, 290, 301
- *Gen. imp.* 101, 299
- *Grat.* 184, 189, 252, 254, 302
- *Grat. Chr.* 146, 169, 250–251, 261, 265, 301
- *Haeresibus ad Quodvultdeum* 302
- *Immort. an.* 97, 101, 299
- *Incomp. nupt.* 174, 302
- *Tract. Ev. Jo.* 88, 146, 241–246, 249, 255, 269, 303
- *Leg. adv.* 146, 174, 188, 302
- *Lib. arb.* 98, 110–112, 135–138, 139, 144, 146–147, 152–155, 165–166, 192, 197, 199–200, 209–213, 229, 237, 279, 292, 297, 299–300
- *Locut. Hept.* 169, 250, 302
- *Mor. eccl.* 78, 98–99, 197, 261, 299
- *Mor. Man.* 98–99, 299
- *Mus.* 98, 111–112, 132–133, 147, 212, 299
- *Nat. bon.* 118, 134, 300
- *Nat. grat.* 134, 146, 164–165, 188, 251–254, 261, 264, 301
- *Nat. orig.* 160, 174–176, 188, 220, 246, 250, 269, 302
- *Nupt. et conc.* 169–171, 188, 250–251, 261, 265, 302
- *Oct. quaest. Vet. Test.* 302
- *Op. mon.* 289, 301
- *Ord.* 96–97, 111–112, 133, 192, 293, 299
- *Parm.* 4, 261, 301
- *Pat.* 169, 301
- *Pecc. merit.* 10, 95, 144, 147–149, 157–162, 165–166, 187–188, 212–213, 225, 227–228, 231, 249–252, 254, 260–264, 268, 275, 277, 285, 294–295, 301
- *Perf.* 164, 250–251, 254, 261, 301
- *Persev.* 8, 95, 112, 143, 146, 152, 200, 202–212, 236, 250, 257, 277, 280, 302
- *Praed.* 8, 95, 132, 147, 152, 200–202, 207–208, 211–212, 236, 250, 252, 256–257, 260, 270–271, 276, 280, 285, 290, 294, 302
- *(c.) Priscill.* 301
- *Psal. Don.* 299
- *Quaest. c. pag.* 134, 301
- *Quaest. ev.* 123, 134, 251, 300
- *Quaest. Matt.* 117, 125, 134, 300
- *Quant. an.* 96–97, 112, 265, 299
- *Retract.* VII, 96–97, 109, 121, 131–132, 141, 147–148, 150–152, 166, 168, 187, 195, 197–200, 207, 211–212, 225, 252, 295, 298, 302
- *S. Dom. m.* 95, 100–101, 111, 299
- *S.* 144, 146, 160, 215–222, 234, 249–251, 255, 260–261, 264, 269, 303
- *Simpl.* 1, 4–5, 7–9, 95, 113–115, 118, 120–122, 124, 128, 132, 135, 138–149, 152–155, 159, 166, 168, 183, 185, 197–200, 206–213, 224, 228, 238, 241–242, 249, 256, 262,

- 268, 271, 274–276, 279–281, 286,
290–292, 294, 297, 300
- *Solil.* 96–97, 134, 299
 - *Spir. et litt.* 10, 147, 163–164, 186,
188, 209, 225, 228, 231, 250, 252,
254, 256, 260, 262, 264, 294, 301
 - *Symb.* 183–184, 189, 302
 - *Trin.* 95, 147, 151, 191, 208, 212,
225, 227, 250, 254, 257, 302
 - *Unic. bapt.* 133, 301
 - *Unit. eccl.* 130–131, 134, 300
 - *Util. cred.* 99, 284, 299
 - *Util. jej.* 302
 - *Ver. rel.* 96, 99–100, 144, 197, 254,
261, 291, 299
 - *Virginit.* 124–125, 250, 274, 301
- Aurelius, Marcus 18, 38, 311
Aurelius (Primate of Carthage) 223,
231, 281
- baptism
- *paedobaptism* see paedobaptism
 - *rebaptism* 74, 120, 236
 - *salvation without it* 109, 120–121,
174–175, 198, 248
 - *water baptism* 36, 79–82, 91–93,
96, 109–110, 112, 118–121, 126,
128, 147, 150, 158–159, 161, 167,
169–172, 174–176, 178, 180, 182,
187–188, 191, 197, 204, 212, 219–
220, 233, 237, 242, 244, 248, 250,
277–279, 282, 284, 304–305
- Basil of Caesarea 37, 85–86, 178, 309
Basilides 13, 15, 38, 57, 174, 188,
258–259, 270, 273, 284
- Ben Sira 22, 287
Boniface 161, 226
- Caelestius 150, 157, 161, 168, 226,
231, 234, 246, 258, 266–267, 277,
279
- Cappadocians 84–89, 109, 282
Chrysippus 17–19, 29, 37, 119, 223,
258, 282–283, 289, 295, 311
Cicero 16–19, 30, 37–38, 96, 98, 109,
119, 124, 164, 170, 188–189, 192,
195–196, 220–221, 230, 232, 245,
253, 256–257, 273, 282–283, 289,
295, 311
- coepi* 8, 204, 207, 222, 276
compatibilism 18, 24, 28, 30, 37, 192,
258–259, 269, 289–290
- pseudocompatibilism 30, 234, 290,
295
- compulsion (vs. freedom) 11–12, 15,
33, 37, 41, 44–45, 55, 57, 92, 106,
115, 215, 218, 221, 225, 231, 234,
256, 263–264, 269
- concupiscence 35, 59, 82, 91, 107–
110, 126–127, 144, 157, 159–160,
165, 169–172, 179–180, 191, 197,
228–229, 242–243
- Council of Carthage 122, 134, 231,
267, 279
- culpa* 58, 91–93, 115, 117–118, 125–
127, 159, 170, 173, 178, 182, 268
- Cyril of Alexandria 266
Cyril of Jerusalem 90, 142, 274, 276,
309, 313
- damnation, eternal 1, 3, 9–10, 13–14,
24, 27, 37, 49–50, 52, 60, 67–68,
74–75, 77, 79, 81–82, 84, 86–88, 90,
92, 95, 97–98, 101, 104, 109–110,
112, 116–118, 120, 122, 124, 126,
128, 130, 132, 134, 137, 140, 146–
147, 149–150, 153, 158–162, 164–
165, 167, 170–182, 186, 188–189,
192–196, 201–205, 210–213, 215–
223, 228–233, 235, 237–238, 241–
246, 248–250, 258, 260–263, 265–
269, 271, 276, 278–280, 282, 284–
285, 287, 290, 292–293, 295–296,
304–306
- Dead Sea Scrolls 23–28, 287
- determinism 1–4, 11–30, 32–39, 45–
47, 53–54, 58–59, 62, 68–69, 77, 82,
89, 100, 117, 123, 129–130, 162,
173, 225, 234, 236, 239, 251, 258,
263, 273, 276, 278, 280, 283–284,
288–298
- Didache, The* 42, 307, 313
Dioscorus 223
Divine drawing 57–58, 88, 113, 119,
129, 244, 249, 255
Donatists 74, 104–105, 113, 118–120,
125, 130, 133–134, 146, 157, 169,
187, 206, 219, 224–225, 234, 241–

- 242, 245, 247–248, 254, 261, 263, 267, 281–282, 284
- *anti-Donatist polemic* 125, 134, 241–242, 247–248, 254, 261, 263
- DUPIED 2–4, 13–15, 25, 28, 34, 36, 38–39, 41, 43, 46–47, 50, 52–53, 55, 57–58, 61–63, 65, 69, 76–78, 83, 86, 88, 93–94, 100, 123–124, 128–131, 134, 148–149, 153–154, 159, 161–162, 164–166, 172–174, 177–178, 181–189, 191, 193, 195, 201–202, 204–206, 208–209, 211, 213, 233, 236–239, 245–246, 250, 252, 259, 262, 269–271, 273–274, 276, 279, 281–298, 305–306
- election/elect 3, 5, 9, 13–16, 24, 26, 35, 38, 42, 47, 54–55, 57–58, 62, 67–69, 81, 85, 95, 103, 105–106, 108, 112–114, 125, 129, 132, 134–135, 140–146, 152, 154, 164, 168, 181, 185–186, 193–194, 196–198, 201, 203, 208, 213, 215–216, 218, 221–222, 228, 233, 237, 241, 245, 249, 255, 258, 260–262, 269, 273–274, 276, 280, 286–287, 292, 296, 305–306
- Emeritus 169
- Ephrem the Syrian 266, 308, 313
- Epictetus 17, 29, 37, 255–257, 283, 290, 293, 295, 311
- Epiphanius 13, 72, 77, 277, 282, 308, 313
- Epistle of Barnabas* 43, 75, 307, 313
- Epistle to Diognetus* 43–44, 307, 313
- faith/belief 1–4, 8, 10, 15, 21, 38–39, 42, 44, 53, 55, 57–59, 66–67, 70–72, 83–86, 88, 93–95, 97, 99–100, 102–108, 112, 114–116, 118–130, 132, 134–135, 140–146, 150, 152–153, 161–165, 167, 169, 172–174, 177–178, 184, 186–188, 191, 196, 198, 200–202, 204–205, 207–211, 213, 215–226, 228–230, 234–237, 241–242, 244, 246–248, 250, 252–253, 255–258, 260, 263, 270, 273–277, 280, 282, 284–285, 287, 290, 292, 294–298, 304–306
- *as God's gift* 1, 4, 8, 10, 15, 38, 57, 66–67, 93–95, 100, 103–105, 108, 112, 114–116, 119, 121, 123, 125–126, 128–130, 134, 141–143, 145, 150, 152–153, 162–165, 172–173, 178, 184, 187–188, 191, 196, 198, 200–202, 205, 207–209, 211, 213, 215–218, 220–223, 225, 228, 230, 235–236, 241–242, 246, 248, 250, 255–258, 260, 263, 270, 273–274, 276, 279, 280, 284–285, 295, 298, 304–306
- *initial faith* 1–4, 10, 38, 57, 67, 84–85, 93–95, 100, 103, 105–107, 115, 119, 121, 125, 129–130, 134, 140–143, 145, 152–153, 162–164, 172–174, 184, 187–188, 196, 200–202, 205, 207–209, 211, 213, 217, 220–222, 225, 228, 241–242, 248, 250, 255–258, 260, 263, 270, 274, 276, 280, 290, 298, 306–307
- *initium fidei* 8, 142–143, 152, 197, 201–202, 207–208, 255–257, 290, 292
- fate/fatalism 3, 10–12, 16–18, 22–23, 27, 29–31, 33–34, 36–38, 47, 60, 89, 109, 172, 181, 184–185, 192, 203–204, 233, 236, 259, 273, 287, 289–293, 295
- Faustus the Manichaean 114, 117, 233, 284
- Firminius 129
- Firmus 238
- First Clement* 41
- foot washing 91–93, 174, 224
- foreknowledge 2–3, 5, 11, 14, 17–18, 20, 22–25, 28, 31–32, 36–37, 39, 42–43, 45–47, 53, 55, 57, 62–63, 67–69, 81, 86, 90, 92–93, 95, 101, 103, 105–106, 108, 111, 113, 124, 130–132, 134–136, 140–143, 145–146, 166, 186, 192–194, 201, 203, 205, 216, 237, 241, 243, 245, 247, 249, 258, 262, 269, 273–275, 280–281, 289, 292, 294, 296, 306
- *causative/non-causative* 3, 11, 39, 55, 67–69, 93, 111, 130, 192–193
- *proginosko* 68
- *middle knowledge* 68, 111

- Fortunatus the Manichaean 100, 137, 172, 174, 184, 220, 237, 262, 270, 293
- free choice/free will 1–7, 9–10, 12–39, 41–63, 65–66, 68–69, 74, 76–78, 81, 83, 85–86, 88–90, 92–98, 100, 102–103, 106–117, 119–120, 124, 129–137, 140–141, 143, 145–146, 152, 154, 157, 160, 163–166, 169–170, 172, 174, 176, 178–179, 182–184, 186, 188–189, 192, 194, 197, 199–204, 208–211, 213, 215, 218–223, 225–226, 228, 231, 233–234, 236–238, 242–243, 245, 247–251, 253–255, 258–259, 262, 268–271, 273–275, 278–298, 304–306
- *voluntatis arbitrio* 167, 181
- Gamaliel 31, 312
- Gathas* 26, 35
- Gnosticism/Gnostics 3, 12–16, 25, 27, 29, 32, 34, 36–39, 52–54, 57–58, 61–63, 68–69, 74, 76, 89, 94, 129, 132, 171–174, 178, 185, 187, 193, 206, 209, 236, 242, 252, 257–259, 262–263, 268–270, 273, 276–277, 279, 284, 286–288, 290, 293–296, 298
- πνευματικοί 13, 15
- grace 1, 4–7, 9, 14–15, 23–24, 27, 29–30, 35, 37–38, 41–44, 48–49, 51, 54–58, 61–62, 66–69, 79, 81–82, 84–85, 88–89, 92–95, 98, 100–109, 112–113, 118, 124–125, 130–132, 135, 137, 140–141, 145, 148, 152–153, 155, 157, 162, 164–166, 169, 172–174, 176–177, 180, 185–189, 194, 196–200, 202, 204, 206–209, 211–213, 215, 217, 221–222, 224–226, 231, 234–236, 245–246, 248–249, 253, 256–259, 263, 267–269, 274–276, 280–281, 283–287, 291, 293–298, 305–307
- *discriminatory grace/salvation* 61, 65, 104, 110, 132, 162, 174, 185–186, 188, 194, 196, 220–221, 230, 269, 296
- gratia fidei*/grace of faith
- *irresistible* 55, 88, 103, 106, 194, 206, 255
- *(Manichaean) radical grace* 37, 148, 165–166, 172–173, 177, 189, 206–207, 258, 284, 286, 291, 296–298
- Gregory Nazianzen 84–85, 87, 126, 309, 313
- Gregory Nyssen 86–89, 126, 178, 309, 313
- Hadrumetum monks 184, 234, 294
- Hilary of Gaul 203
- Hilary of Poitiers 83–84, 173, 178, 191, 206, 236, 266, 275, 308, 313
- Hilary of Sicily 228–229
- Holy Spirit 45, 50–51, 66, 79, 81, 92–93, 95, 100, 103, 105–109, 121, 129–131, 150, 154, 162–163, 168, 175, 185–186, 191, 196, 198, 200–201, 203, 224, 228, 233, 241, 244, 249, 254–255, 264, 269, 305–306
- Horace 160
- Iamblichus 254, 311
- Ignatius 13, 42, 307, 313
- illumination 98, 129, 201
- imago Dei*/image of God 32, 41, 47, 50–52, 55, 59–62, 69, 87, 89, 99, 101, 109, 150, 168, 253, 278–279, 287
- inscrutable will/counsel/justice/
Providence of God 15, 110, 114, 128, 161–162, 169, 187, 204, 208, 213, 218–219, 221, 228, 231, 262, 297
- Irenaeus 2, 13–15, 39, 50–56, 58, 62, 67, 76, 82, 86, 153, 178, 284, 287, 292, 307, 313
- Isidor of Seville 175
- Islamic theology 289–290
- Jacob and/or Esau 66, 107–108, 118, 122, 129, 140–142, 153, 195–196, 232, 281
- Jerome 6, 9–10, 72–73, 98, 102–103, 107, 112, 144, 157, 161, 165, 178, 191, 198, 207–209, 223–224, 228–230, 232, 234, 248, 250–251, 257,

- 262, 266, 271, 274, 276–277, 297,
309, 313
- John of Damascus 294, 313
- Josephus 24, 26–28, 30–31, 312
- Jovinian 161
- Judaeo-Christian 27, 32, 34, 39, 47,
62–63, 184, 227, 252, 258–259,
287–288, 296, 298
- Judaism 12–13, 19–32, 36, 39, 46–47,
59, 287–288
- *Rabbinic* 30–32, 36
 - Akiva ben Joseph 31, 312
 - Gamaliel 31, 312
 - Nathan 31, 312
 - Reuben ben Atztroballi 31, 312
 - Yose ha-Gelili 31, 312
- *Second Temple/Apocrypha* 22–23
- *Tanakh – Ancient and First Temple* 19–22, 36
- Judas Iscariot 92–93, 215, 246
- Julian, Bishop 169, 180–183, 210–211,
263, 275, 280, 297–298
- Justin Martyr 39, 45–47, 50, 56, 62,
67, 284, 292, 307, 313
- Lactantius 78, 82–84, 308, 313
- Leningrad codex 147, 150
- Liber de fide* 157, 276–280
- liberum arbitrium* 97, 99, 101, 105,
124, 140, 143, 160, 163, 174, 188,
202, 231, 234–235, 253, 264, 287,
289
- liberum arbitrium captivatum* 3, 253,
264
- liberum arbitrium liberatum* 186, 188,
234, 253, 291
- Macedonius (Vicar of Africa) 228
- Mani 34–36, 100, 164, 277–278, 283,
311
- Manichaeism 1, 3, 27, 29, 34–39, 74,
76–77, 87, 90, 94–95, 99–101, 107,
110, 112–118, 120, 126, 128–129,
132, 134–135, 148–149, 157–159,
164–166, 170–174, 176–178, 184–
185, 188–189, 192–193, 204, 206,
209–210, 218, 220, 223, 229–230,
232–233, 235–237, 239, 245, 253,
257–259, 261–263, 268–271, 273,
276–280, 282–288, 290–291, 293–
298
- Marcellinus 157, 227, 264, 275
- Marcion 13, 15, 34, 57, 60–61, 100,
164, 258
- mass of clay 109–110, 114, 143, 146,
174, 215
- *massa damnatum* 146, 194, 233,
262
 - *massa peccati* 142, 144, 146, 262,
287
 - *massa perditionis* 146, 172–173,
246, 262
- Maximus of Jerusalem, Bishop 308,
313
- Maximus of Madaura 223
- Maximus of Tyre 12, 311
- Megalium (Primate of Numidia) 120,
282
- Melito 49–50, 266, 295, 307, 314
- Memorius 147
- merit(s) 4, 24, 61, 66, 83, 88, 96, 98,
102–103, 107, 109–110, 112, 124,
126, 129, 134, 140–141, 144, 163,
180, 186, 202–204, 207–208, 212–
213, 215, 222, 226, 229, 231, 236,
246, 248, 257, 263–264, 274–276,
278, 296–297
- Mesopotamians 11, 38
- Messianus (Proconsul) 120
- Methodius of Olympus 34, 89, 308,
314
- mistranslations 4, 98, 158, 160, 171,
183, 187–189, 198, 219, 235, 246,
249–259, 264, 270–271, 283, 285,
293, 295–297
- Nag Hammadi 13–15
- Nebuchadnezzar 216
- Nemesios 293
- Neoplatonism 3, 12, 32–34, 36, 38–39,
47, 94, 96–97, 100, 103, 112, 122,
126, 128–129, 145, 147, 150, 161,
168–169, 172–173, 184–185, 189,
193, 201, 206, 215–216, 227, 249,
251–254, 256, 258, 262–263, 270,
273, 276, 279, 281–287, 291, 296–
298
- Novatian 82, 308, 314

- omnia mundum*/whole world 69, 105, 126, 241–242
- in *Enar. Ps./anti-Donatist* 241, 248, 261
- Origen 6, 13–15, 19, 65–77, 79, 85, 87–88, 94, 102, 111, 169, 181, 238, 242, 248, 251, 258, 261, 270, 277–279, 282–283, 290, 297, 308, 314
- original sin 2–3, 5, 7, 9, 21–23, 27–28, 31–32, 35, 43–46, 52, 60, 62, 70–72, 74–75, 78–81, 84, 86–87, 90–91, 93, 95–96, 99, 109, 113, 116–118, 120–124, 126–128, 130, 133, 136–137, 139, 144–146, 155, 157, 159–162, 174–176, 180, 182, 188–189, 204, 210–211, 213, 218–219, 221, 233, 238, 241, 243, 248, 261, 265–269, 273–276, 279–280, 290–291, 294–295
- *Augustinian* 9, 22, 44, 46, 74, 78–81, 91, 95–96, 109, 120–127, 136–137, 143–146, 150, 153, 158–161, 164, 167–168, 170–171, 174–176, 178, 180–183, 188–189, 198, 202, 204–205, 210–211, 213, 218–221, 232–233, 237–238, 241, 243, 249–250, 261, 263, 265–269, 275, 279–280, 290–291, 295, 304–305
- *inherited/original guilt* 2–3, 7, 46, 58, 60, 62, 70–72, 74–76, 79–81, 87, 90–93, 95, 98, 101, 109–111, 114, 117–121, 123, 127–128, 130, 134, 137, 139–140, 143–144, 147, 150, 158–162, 167, 169–170, 173, 175–183, 187–189, 192–193, 195, 197, 204–205, 210–211, 213, 219, 221, 223, 229, 233, 245, 247–250, 261–262, 265–269, 275, 279–280, 286, 290, 295–296, 304, 306
- *peccatum originale* 126, 139, 144, 158, 160, 170, 176, 178, 194–195, 197, 266–268
- *pre-Augustinian (traditional)* 2–3, 9, 45–46, 48–52, 58–62, 70–76, 79, 81, 83–93, 98, 100–101, 103, 109, 111, 113–114, 116–118, 122–124, 126–128, 130, 132–134, 139–140, 144, 146–147, 157, 159, 161, 173, 183, 204, 207, 210–211, 215–217, 220, 232–233, 241–243, 247–248, 251, 262, 265–269, 274–275, 279–280, 290–291, 295, 304–305
- paedobaptism 9, 44, 61–62, 70–76, 79–81, 84, 87, 97–98, 119, 121, 128, 137, 143, 147, 150, 157–162, 164–165, 167, 169–176, 178, 181–183, 187, 189, 204–205, 210–211, 213, 218–221, 226, 228–229, 231–233, 235, 238, 242, 244–245, 248–249, 253, 256–258, 264–268, 271, 277–279, 281–282, 285, 292–293, 295, 297–298, 304–305
- *a type of NT circumcision* 72, 75, 79–80, 170, 175, 180, 188, 194, 250, 265
- Panaetius 17, 311
- Paulinus 137, 223, 230, 279
- Pelagians/Pelagianism 1, 5–6, 8–10, 46, 51, 59, 73, 76, 95, 117, 123, 131, 137, 141, 144, 148–150, 154, 157–158, 161–163, 165–166, 168, 172–173, 175–176, 183–184, 187–188, 197–202, 204, 206–212, 217, 220–221, 225–232, 234, 236–237, 242, 244–251, 256, 258, 260, 264, 266–267, 269, 271, 273–274, 276–277, 279–281, 284–285, 296–298, 304
- *Semi-Pelagian* 296–297
- Pelagius 6, 51, 95, 123, 141, 148–149, 154, 157–158, 163, 165–166, 168, 175, 204, 210–211, 221, 227, 231, 241, 249, 258, 267, 274, 276–277, 279–281, 309, 314
- perseverance 2, 4, 9–10, 24, 95, 103, 121, 123, 134, 154, 174, 184–185, 187, 189, 191, 200, 202–203, 205, 208, 211–213, 217, 220, 222–224, 228, 234–235, 237, 243–244, 286, 294, 305–306
- Petilianus 118–120, 133
- Pharaoh 15, 19, 61, 66, 85, 108, 110
- Pharisee(s) 28, 30, 287
- Philo Judaeus 26, 28–30, 36–37, 59, 289, 312
- Plato 11–12, 19, 54, 56, 192, 311

- Platonism/Platonic/Platonists 16, 28–30, 32–34, 45, 60, 70–71, 74, 95, 282
- Pliny the Elder 37
- Plotinus 13–14, 32–34, 36, 38, 96–97, 122, 126, 150, 168, 186, 196, 218, 236, 252, 254, 262, 283, 288, 290, 295–296, 313
- Polycarp 42, 56, 266, 309, 316
- Pope Benedict 191, 227, 275
- Porphyry 13, 33, 37, 132, 201, 224, 283–284, 313
- Possidius 137, 152, 285, 294
- predestination 3, 5–7, 9–10, 14, 16, 23–25, 27, 34, 38, 46–47, 54–55, 58, 63, 68–69, 92–93, 108, 118, 131, 134–135, 141, 153, 159, 175, 186–187, 194, 196, 202–206, 208, 213, 218–220, 228, 236–237, 243, 246, 260–262, 269, 273, 276, 286–287, 292, 294, 296
- predetermination 1, 3–4, 9, 10, 12–16, 20–21, 23–25, 28, 34, 36–39, 41, 43, 46–47, 50, 52–53, 55, 57–58, 61–63, 65, 68–69, 76–77, 83, 86, 88, 94–95, 100, 123–124, 128–129, 131, 134, 148, 154, 161–162, 164–166, 172–174, 177–178, 181–193, 195, 201–202, 205–206, 208–209, 211, 213, 233, 236–239, 245–248, 250, 252, 259, 262, 269–271, 273–274, 279, 281–298; see also DUPIED
- *πρωορίζω/proorizo* 55, 68
- pride 7, 97, 114, 122–124, 133, 164–165, 168, 173, 176, 185, 192, 208, 211, 216–217, 223, 225–226, 228, 245, 248, 254, 260, 271, 284–285, 298, 305; see also *superbia*
- Proclus 32, 313
- proof texts 69, 106, 120, 136, 148–149, 160, 162, 164, 166, 173–176, 179–181, 184–185, 201–202, 219–221, 228–229, 235, 237, 249–251, 253–255, 260–261, 264–265, 270–271, 293, 295–296
- propitiation 69, 71, 236, 241, 261
- Prosper 206, 236
- Providence
- *Judaean-Christian type* 3, 11–12, 16–20, 22–23, 30–32, 36, 39, 53, 61, 63, 76–77, 86, 98, 106, 108–110, 149
- *Stoic type* 9, 16–19, 26–27, 29–30, 33–34, 37–39, 47, 54, 62–63, 68, 77, 86, 96–98, 101, 104, 110–111, 118–119, 122, 126, 128–129, 132–133, 148–149, 161–164, 166, 168–169, 173, 177–178, 180, 182–183, 186–187, 189, 192, 195–196, 201, 204–206, 218, 227, 229, 234–235, 237–238, 246, 248, 253, 258, 261, 263, 271, 273, 276, 282–283, 285, 287–289, 291–293, 296–297
- Pythagoras/Pythagoreanism 15, 112, 131
- Qumran (Essenes) 23–28, 30, 36–38, 72, 173, 258, 273, 286–289
- Quodvultdeus 238
- reatus* 2, 4, 7, 9–10, 59, 87, 93, 95, 98, 110, 112–113, 115, 117, 121, 127–128, 131, 134, 137, 140, 143–144, 146, 150, 153, 158–162, 164, 167, 169–170, 173, 175–183, 186–187, 189, 191, 193, 195, 197, 202, 204–205, 210–213, 216, 221, 224, 229, 233, 245, 248–250, 261–262, 265–269, 275–276, 280, 282, 286, 290, 295–296, 304, 306; see also *guilt*
- *originali reatu* 7, 143–144, 268, 275
- regeneration 15, 42, 54, 83, 95, 108, 114–115, 128–129, 158, 169–170, 172–173, 175, 178–179, 184–185, 195, 202, 218–219, 234, 239, 241, 267, 304–306
- regula fidei* 2, 4, 61–62, 66, 74–76, 93–94, 109, 111, 126, 140, 143, 145, 169, 182, 209, 237, 257–258, 267–268, 273, 279–280, 285, 287, 293, 297
- rhetoric 8–9, 41, 80, 118, 129, 132, 146, 160–161, 168, 173, 176, 181–183, 192, 197, 200, 203–205, 220, 223, 226, 247, 260, 275, 277, 280–283, 285, 289, 295, 298

- Romanianus 96
 Romanus 223
 Rufinus of Aquileia 72–74, 309, 314
 Rufinus of Syria 157, 276–280, 309, 314
- Sadducees 30
- salvation 2, 13–16, 24, 27, 29, 35–39, 42–44, 46–47, 53–55, 57–59, 61, 65–69, 76, 83–85, 88, 90, 93–95, 99, 102–105, 108–109, 111, 120–123, 125, 128, 130–131, 134, 137, 147–148, 150, 154, 158, 161–162, 164, 167–172, 174, 177–178, 185–189, 193, 196, 201, 203, 205–206, 209–213, 219–222, 226, 230–232, 235–238, 242, 244, 246, 248, 250, 254, 257, 260, 262–264, 269–271, 274, 276–279, 282, 285, 292, 296, 304–306
- *discriminatory salvation/grace* 61, 65, 104, 110, 132, 162, 174, 185–186, 188, 194, 196, 220–221, 230, 269, 296, 298
- self-determination 18, 22, 43
- ἀὐτεξούσιον 15, 33, 59–60, 65–66, 84, 87–90
- Seneca 17, 19, 192, 291, 311
- Severus 223
- Shepherd of Hermas* 41–42, 62, 307, 314
- Simplicianus, Bishop 1, 5, 7, 125, 139, 145, 152, 198–200, 207–209, 223, 275–276, 294
- sin
- *Adam's sin/fall* 1, 9, 21–22, 32, 35, 43, 45–52, 58–60, 62, 70, 74–76, 78–82, 84–87, 89, 93, 95, 98–101, 103, 107, 109, 111, 114–119, 122–123, 128, 133–134, 136–137, 143, 147, 150, 153, 158–159, 162, 167–168, 171, 173, 181, 195, 207, 215–217, 219, 224, 233, 243–244, 247, 249–251, 266–267, 273, 278–279, 288, 292, 296, 304, 306
 - *contagion of sin* 78–82, 84, 93, 133–134, 178, 219, 250, 267
 - *hereditary transmission* 7, 21, 43, 46, 60, 76, 79, 90–93, 107–108, 110, 112, 117, 120–121, 126–128, 131, 139–140, 143–144, 146–147, 150, 153, 157, 159–162, 164–165, 167, 169–170, 172, 175–178, 180–183, 187–189, 191, 193–195, 197, 202, 204–205, 207, 210–213, 215, 219–224, 229, 231, 232–233, 242–243, 245, 249–250, 261–263, 265–269, 274–275, 278–280, 282, 286, 288, 290, 292, 295–296, 304, 306; see also original sin–*inherited/original guilt*, and *reatus*
 - *traduce peccati* 7, 73, 143–144, 146, 242–243, 259, 262, 266, 275
 - *sin nature/propensity/principle* 9, 21–22, 31, 51, 60, 62, 69–70, 74, 76, 81, 83, 86, 88–89, 91–93, 101, 107, 109, 122, 126–127, 139, 143–144, 157, 160–161, 170, 178–180, 183, 191, 194, 210, 220, 233, 237, 243, 259, 262, 266, 268, 273–274, 279–280, 304; see also concupiscence and *yēser hā-ra'*
- soul (see *anima/soul*)
- sovereignty of God 3, 12–17, 19–26, 28–38, 41, 44, 47, 50–55, 58, 60–63, 66–68, 76–78, 81, 83, 85–86, 88, 93, 95, 110–111, 114, 119, 161, 178, 182, 184–185, 192, 235, 238, 245–247, 253, 262, 283, 289, 307
- *Judaean-Christian view* 3, 13–14, 19–23, 36, 39, 41, 44, 47, 50–55, 58, 60–63, 66–68, 76–78, 81, 83, 85–86, 88, 93, 114, 182, 185, 283, 289
 - *Stoic/Manichaeon/Neoplatonic view* 3, 12, 16–17, 24–26, 28–38, 47, 53–54, 95, 110–111, 119, 161, 178, 182, 184–185, 192, 235, 238, 245–247, 253, 262, 283, 289, 306
- superbia* 96, 99, 101–102, 119, 121, 132–133, 185–186, 208, 220, 235, 245, 249, 256, 282, 284–285, 297; see also pride
- Tatian 39, 47, 307, 314
- Tertullian 13, 16, 19, 37, 59–62, 72, 75, 78, 81–84, 86–87, 153, 167, 232, 266, 282, 308, 314

- theodicy 22, 47, 60, 76, 188, 192, 194–195, 216, 229, 233, 235, 248, 263, 269, 288, 292
- Theodore of Mopsuestia 90, 309, 314
- Theophilus of Alexandria 277–278, 307, 314
- Theophilus, Bishop of Caesarea 48, 50, 309, 314
- Tichonius (Tychonius) 4, 104–108, 112, 133–134, 143, 145, 160, 182, 186–187, 191, 215, 248, 259, 274, 276, 309, 314
- total depravity/incapacity 9, 16, 32–38, 43, 49, 54, 87, 93, 95, 121, 127–128, 132, 149–150, 153, 177, 194, 221–222, 232, 257–258, 261, 269, 306
- *residual capacity* 22, 39, 42, 45, 48–49, 54, 60, 62–63, 70, 93, 99, 113–115, 123, 125, 127–128, 130, 132, 134, 164, 215–217, 222, 237, 259, 270, 273
- traduce peccati* (see sin under this subsection)
- Trinity 77, 191
- Valentinian (the Gnostic) 13–15, 38, 68, 259
- Valentinian (the Catholic) 226, 295
- Vetus Latina 158
- Victorinus, Gaius Marius 6, 102–103, 107–108, 112, 125, 144, 208, 248, 250–253, 257, 262, 276, 282, 309, 314
- Vincentius Victor 174–175
- Virgil 119, 126, 244, 313
- virgin/virginity 52, 71, 80, 87, 124, 192, 274, 292, 305
- Vitalis 234–236
- vitium* 62, 140, 160
- ‘(the) will’ 7, 12, 16–20, 33–34, 36, 45, 48–49, 66–67, 86, 92, 98–99, 101, 109, 114–115, 117, 119, 121, 123, 125, 127, 129–132, 135–137, 142–145, 147–149, 152, 160, 162–163, 165–167, 169, 172, 184, 186–189, 192, 194, 197–200, 206, 220–221, 225–226, 228, 230, 232–235, 245, 248, 251–256, 263, 270–271, 275, 288–292
- *Augustine’s ‘good will(er)’ versus ‘evil will(er)’* 96, 98, 101, 105, 117, 121, 127, 136, 142–144, 148–149, 160–161, 164, 166, 169–170, 172, 178, 187, 192, 220–221, 231, 235, 245, 248, 251–257, 259–260, 263–264, 270–271, 283, 286, 290–291, 295
- *desiring-faculty* 160, 251–254, 256, 259
- *in Romans 7* 69–70, 109, 127, 145, 170, 198, 244–245, 283, 288, 291–292
- *Stoic/Gnostic/Manichaean type*
- 33–34, 36–38, 54, 98, 101, 134, 136, 145, 153, 160–161, 164, 169, 187–188, 192, 251–257, 259, 270–271, 283–284, 286, 288, 290–291, 293, 295
- *Stoic dead will* 38, 173, 189, 213, 225, 234–235, 253, 257–258, 270, 283–284, 287
- *Stoic “non-free free will”* 18, 23–26, 28, 30, 34, 37–39, 52, 94–95, 145, 172, 174, 186, 188–189, 194, 223, 234, 254, 258, 269–270, 279–281, 283, 288–289, 295, 297–298
- *προαίρεσις* 11–12, 15, 17, 59, 89
- yēšer hā-ra’* 31, 36, 47, 288
- Zarathushtra 35
- Zoroaster 35, 37
- Zoroastrianism 26, 34–35, 290
- Zosimus, Pope 232–233, 267