

ESCHATOLOGY AND THE POLITICAL ORDER:
A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF MOLTSMANN AND
AUGUSTINE'S "CITY OF GOD".

by

RODNEY LESLIE MOSS

Submitted in part fulfilment of the
requirement for the degree of Master
of Theology in the Department of
Systematic Theology and Ethics, Faculty
of Theology, at the University
Durban-Westville

Supervisors: Rev. A. Pitchers

Prof. W.A. Krige

November 1985

ABSTRACT

Moltmann's political theology and Augustine's City of God provide a suitable eschatological basis for a critical approach to the political order. Though separated in time by one thousand five hundred years, a comparative study of their respective approaches to the world makes for a credible critique of final political solution. Eschatology is the key to their analyses of society. Partial realities are evaluated from the fullness of truth unveiled in the eschaton.

Augustine's City of God sought to counter the anti-Christian propaganda occasioned by the impending fall of the Roman Empire. Augustine's apologia provides for a church freed from a necessary dependence upon the secular and political milieu. Thus any social theory is provisional and haphazardous. However, Augustine has no constructive social criticism. The Christian is a stranger in a disordered, fallen, earthly city. The social manifestations of sin are not clearly identified for they do not affect man's eternal destiny. So Augustine left the world disordered without a constructive divine redemptive plan that would be partially anticipated within the saeculum. His weakness lay in identifying the "negative" within society with the fall.

Moltmann's political theology, however, identifies the "negative" with the Cross. The crucified Jesus reveals what is wrong with the world. He identifies the sinful, Godforsaken forces within creation. The "promise" of God is validated within history in the event of the Resurrection, that is, the anticipation within time of the eschaton towards which history is moving. Although the Resurrection is the eschatological event within history, "creative acts" that are the "negation of the negative" (the "negative" is identified by the Cross) are anticipations of the eschaton. These "creative acts" open up the "closed systems" of the world. Thus

history is not a return to the "golden age" of the beginning but an "opening up" to the "promise". This promise is contradicted within the "closed systems" of history by the crucified One. Yet, it is confirmed and anticipated in the resurrection of Jesus. The eschatological nature of Moltmann's theology lays stress on both the distinctiveness of the Christian faith and its relevance as a solution to the problem of "unfree" creation. Eschatological faith is distrustful of any "final solution"; for Moltmann, political theology destroys the "idols" of contemporary and future society. Society absolutizes partial solutions and thus retards the creative transformation of the world. Moltmann speaks of five "vicious circles of death" that he identifies with political oppression, economic inequality, cultural discrimination, ecological death and personal apathy. In the spirit of Christ and by the believer's missionary outreach, the progressive transformation of the world is achieved. The eschaton is God's gift anticipated within history in the resurrected Christ and foreshadowed by progressive "creative acts" that overcome the "vicious circles of death".

Both Moltmann and Augustine's City of God permitted no final secular solution. The secular political order is assessed from beyond not merely from within. Augustine assesses almost exclusively from beyond; Moltmann both from beyond and within. In this respect they provide a valuable critical corrective to the dogmatism of final political solutions.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>PAGE</u>
CHAPTER 1 : INTRODUCTION	1
CHAPTER 2 : MOLTSMANN'S TREATMENT OF ESCHATOLOGY AND ITS INFLUENCE UPON HIS VIEW OF CHRISTIANITY, THE CHURCH AND THE POLITICAL ORDER.	
I. MOLTSMANN: THE NATURE OF CHRISTIAN ESCHATOLOGY	6
II. ESCHATOLOGY AND REALISM: "THE CRUCIFIED GOD"	10
III. ESCHATOLOGY AND HISTORY	14
IV. POLITICAL THEORY	21
V. THE STATE, THE CHRISTIAN AND THE CHURCH	27
CHAPTER 3 : AUGUSTINE'S "CITY OF GOD": THE ESCHATOLOGICAL NATURE OF THE TWO CITIES AND THEIR BEARING UPON THE POLITICAL ORDER.	
I. THE ORIGIN AND IDENTITY OF THE TWO CITIES	41
II. AUGUSTINE'S PHILOSOPHY OF HISTORY	43
III. AUGUSTINE'S POLITICAL ORDER	45
IV. THE STATE, THE CHRISTIAN AND THE CHURCH	52
CHAPTER 4 : A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE ESCHATOLOGICAL NATURE OF THE POLITICAL ORDER IN THE THEOLOGY OF MOLTSMANN AND IN AUGUSTINE'S CITY OF GOD	
I. A BASIS FOR COMPARISON	62
II. THE DISTINCTIVENESS OF CHRISTIANITY WITHIN AN ESCHATOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE	64
III. THE RESPECTIVE APPROACH OF MOLTSMANN AND AUGUSTINE TO THE NATURE OF ESCHATOLOGY AND HISTORY	65

	<u>PAGE</u>
IV. THE POLITICAL ORDER: DETACHMENT AND INVOLVEMENT	73
V. CHRISTIANITY AND THE POLITICAL ORDER	84
CHAPTER 5 : GENERAL OBSERVATIONS AND CONCLUSION	93
BIBLIOGRAPHY	99

C H A P T E R 1

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

There is a perennial, insoluble tension between the future-oriented thrust of Christianity and the political aspirations of society. On the one hand, the political order addresses an evolving society from within. On the other hand, Christianity is basically eschatological, with a destiny surpassing all merely worldly fulfilment. Confrontation with the social realm must be both from within and beyond. This dissertation will therefore support the following propositions : Christianity is distinctive and can offer a unique vision of life. Although incarnated in society and the world, it is, nevertheless, a leaven in the mass of humanity.

A sense of unease is occasioned by an inner inconsistency in the attempts of Christianity to "adapt" and become openly "relevant". This dissertation will accept as a basic premise that merely political solutions endanger the identity and distinctiveness of Christianity. Moltmann records the ideological danger posed by such solutions as they affect theology's attempts to accommodate the secular order. He states :

Does not theology lose its Christian identity if it is determined to do nothing more than to adapt itself to the constantly changing 'spirit of the times'? Does it not become a chameleon always taking on the colours of its environment in order to adapt itself and remain unnoticed?

Christianity is not one of the past or current ideologies; it is anti-ideological. Moltmann contends:

[It] is completely and entirely and utterly hope - a looking forward and a forward direction; hope is not just an appendix. So Christianity inevitably means a new setting forth and a transformation of the present.²

So being a Christian, for Moltmann, has a future quality about it³; it is

a process of becoming⁴; a continual new start in a new direction.⁵ Eschatology is not one of the many doctrines of Christianity; it is the decisive doctrine. Moltmann believed that, "... the Christian faith lives from the raising of the crucified Christ and reaches out towards the promise of Christ's universal future."⁶ Because the Christian is a citizen of "Mount Zion ... the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem"⁷ and consequently, one who lives from the hope of the resurrection of Jesus; his faith has about it a quality of restlessness, impatience and resistance to existing reality. The transformation of what is to what will be makes the Christian critical of every temporary solution, especially where there is "uncritical assimilation of the surrounding culture".⁸

An early and abiding interest in Augustine's theology by the writer of this dissertation led to an attempt at an investigation into the eschatological nature of Christian political thought in the light of Augustine's City of God. In this source according to the writer of this dissertation is the first serious attempt of a Christian thinker to probe the relationship between the political realm and the Christian faith. Moreover the City of God is the only work of Augustine that investigates the problem. The Augustinian scholar, Fortin believes:

St. Augustine was the most profound political thinker of the early Church, and in seeking to integrate the Christian faith and the philosophy of Greece and Rome, he was the only one to deal with the complex problem of political idealism in its relationship with the Christian faith.

For Augustine, the institutions of political and social life have no real positive value. Nevertheless, they move the individual in the direction of a good which transcends the political, and so prepare him for the kingdom of hope, that is, the City of God. The following quotation indicates that Augustine liberated the Church from dependence on any

secular framework. For Augustine, the Church holds an analogous relationship with the world and can never be fully part of a sacral society or political organisation. Markus asserts that for Augustine:

The Christian community was quite simply the world as redeemed and reconciled. What defined it against the world was not sociological separation but its eschatological orientation.¹⁰

For a Christian, then, worldly values or secular policies are neither accepted nor rejected; they are assessed eschatologically. The gospel is in a state of essential and permanent tension with the world. In its essence the gospel is "anti-ideological and anti-utopian".¹¹ Augustine dismissed all politics of perfection or any resolution of tension inherent in the world. The state is not and cannot become the kingdom of God.¹²

This dissertation will attempt to establish that the theologies of Moltmann and Augustine support the contention that Christianity is the herald of, and the pointer to, the coming kingdom. The Christian Faith does not transform societies and the world into the kingdom of God. It should, however, inspire creative initiatives to make better societies. Further, the Christian faith subjects all worldly institutions to a critical scrutiny that arises from the hope of the future kingdom.

The second chapter of this study will attempt an analysis of Moltmann's special treatment of eschatology and its influence upon his political thought. Eschatological faith is a faith in the resurrection, and the raising of Jesus is God's protest against the "vicious circles of death".¹³ These involve the hopeless economic, social and political patterns which drive life towards death and frustrate the growth of the seeds of the kingdom.¹⁴

In the third chapter there is a treatment of Augustine's City of God with particular attention to the eschatological nature of the two cities and

their bearing upon the political order. These two cities, the Civitas Dei and the Civitas Terrena, are intertwined in human history; both touch on church and state. Within the scope of this relationship, a specific, distinctive, Christian eschatological approach to the state and the political order will be suggested.

Chapter four will compare the contrast Moltmann's and Augustine's particular contribution to the field of study proposed by this dissertation. For both eschatology is the key to the understanding of the problem. There are no final political solutions prior to the last day. All is provisional and imperfect and subject to the critical scrutiny of the Gospel.

In an attempt to evaluate Moltmann and Augustine, chapter five will give special attention to the provisional and haphazardous nature of events in human history. Although the revelation of God's purposes impinges on time, the final solution is beyond time. No political system or solution can ever be adequate for the Christian. This is the basic contention of this dissertation.

This study will draw chiefly from Moltmann's original sources as well as from various commentaries on his theology. For Augustine, the sole source is the City of God. (translated: G. Walsh, D. Zema, G. Monahan and D. Honan, Image Books, 1958). The reasons for this were suggested earlier in the chapter.¹⁵ Commentaries and periodicals will aid in the interpretation and specific understanding of his thought.

FOOTNOTES

1. J. Moltmann, The Crucified God, p. 11.
2. J. Moltmann, Experience of God, p. 11.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 5.
4. *Ibid.*
5. *Ibid.*, p. 4.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 12.
7. Hebrews 12:22.
8. J. Moltmann, The Crucified God, p. 21.
9. E. Fortin, Political Idealism and Christianity in the Thought of St. Augustine, p. 3.
10. R. Markus, Saeculum: History and Society in the Theology of St. Augustine, p. 167.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 177.
12. See chapter three IV.
13. J. Moltmann, The Crucified God, pp. 327 - 352.
14. *Ibid.*
15. See chapter one, p. 2.

C H A P T E R 2

MOLTMANN'S TREATMENT OF ESCHATOLOGY AND ITS INFLUENCE UPON HIS VIEW OF CHRISTIANITY, THE CHURCH AND THE POLITICAL ORDER

I. MOLTMANN: THE NATURE OF CHRISTIAN ESCHATOLOGY

Jürgen Moltmann came into international theological prominence as a result of his work Theology of Hope that first appeared in 1964. It is the contention of this dissertation that this work makes the truth of Christian revelation intelligible within the context of the modern man's framework of thought; yet, without distorting the unique content of the Christian message.

Moltmann's theology of hope reflects the thought of Karl Barth, on the one hand, and Ernst Bloch on the other.¹ From Barth he has inherited the concept of the "wholly otherness" of God. From Ernst Bloch he learnt not to reduce hope to inwardness and self-transcendence. Rather, man's hope is open to the world processes by a positive transformation of man's total reality.² Moltmann expresses this concept thus:

Everything real goes beyond its processual front into the possible. Only the real-possible (Real-Mögliche) provides the Utopian³ imagination of man with its concrete correlative.

It is in the world-transforming aspects of Christian eschatology as they are combined with objective possibility that makes tangible the "world-overcoming hope of Christianity."⁴

Moltmann expresses the above sentiment in the following words:

A Christianity which has for so long believed in God without his future in the world, now will seek, in recognizing the practical responsibility of hope for the future of man and the earth, to shape the possibilities and forces of the contemporary world which arise in an almost unmanageable intensity. It

will do this for the sake of a ⁵world which is developing towards the future of God.

The basis for this hope does not arise from the processes of the world nor from the transcendence of history, but is the promise of the coming of God that has been incarnated both in the history of Israel, and in the promissory history of Jesus of Nazareth.⁶

The history of revelation of Jahweh in the Old Testament is directed "away from the appearances in which [the promise] is uttered into the yet unrealized future which [the promise] announces."⁷ Thus when Israel entered the promised land, she recognized her new life in Canaan as a fulfilment of the promise. This promise was given to the Israelites in the wilderness and caused their fathers to journey to this the promised land. After Israel had settled in the promised land she continued to live, in spite of continual temptation to do otherwise, in terms of the God of the Exodus. He was the God of the Covenant and hope who was guiding his people into a future that he had promised them. Even the experiences of judgement upon Israel at the time of the collapse of the two kingdoms (this meant the annihilation of all the assurances of her previous history and the covenant with God) were not for the prophets the annihilation of God's faithfulness to his people.⁸ Indeed, Yahweh's judgement served to strengthen the prophets' conviction that out of the future would come an unheard-of new salvation. A new covenant would arise. One that would bring salvation not only to Israel but to all nations involved in the history of Yahweh's relationship with Israel.⁹

Thus, for Moltmann, hope is the power that is aroused in man in the light of his faith in God's promises of a definite future existence for man. Hope mediates the future to the present. It thereby releases man from the claims of the present making it possible for him to share now in the light and freedom of the future kingdom. Yahweh is, above all, the coming God.

In the words of Moltmann,

The future is, therefore, not a dimension of his eternity, but is his own movement in which he comes to us. This gives the future of God a pre-eminence over his past and his present in history. His actions in history in the past and the present are aimed at this coming and attain their significance from his future. Who God in himself is will be revealed then. We know about God here only in an historically provisional way.¹⁰

There is then only one real problem in Christian theology and that is the problem of the future. As has been noted, God is not the "eternal present" but reveals himself in the form of promise.¹¹ In the appearing of Yahweh and the uttering of the word of promise there is no religious sanctioning of the present, but a breaking from the present towards the future. God reveals himself by proving his faithfulness. In fact, the essential predicate of God is the fulfilment of his promises.¹²

Moltmann understands the resurrection of Jesus as the event in which the New Testament witnesses saw the certainty of the future fulfilment of the promises of God.¹³ The resurrection did not in itself bring the fullest realization of the promise; rather, it became the guarantee of that future God intended for his creation.¹⁴ Moltmann expresses himself thus:

... the full redeeming mode of man is present, and is only present, in history in the helpless power of the crucified Christ who was raised. Christ is the anticipation of the coming God, and of the transformation and redemption of the world that will come, together with the humanity of the new man contained in that transformation.¹⁵

Moltmann sees the Christian message as essentially an eschatological one. The Christian faith is grounded in the occurrence of an "historical event", the raising of Jesus. Faith therefore lives from the promise of the fulness of that event. Because of the resurrection of Jesus, the

fulfilment of God's promises is certain.¹⁶ The raising of Jesus is to be understood in the way of a promise. It is both the eschatological authentication of God's promise and the dawning of its fulfilment. The content of the promise of the future of Yahweh reaches staggering proportions in the Christ event. It is seen as directed towards the universal community of mankind and involving the annihilation of all the contrary and negative aspects of life such as, sin, death and the law.¹⁷

This future realized in the parousia is a real future. It will therefore be a new creation. It is not the return of someone who has departed but the imminent arrival of something new.¹⁸ It is not totally separate from the reality which we now experience. It works upon the present by awakening hopes and establishing resistance to the present. In this way it breaks away from the past towards the things that are to come. Therefore the eschaton is not merely unveiling, but also final fulfilment.

In The Future of Creation Moltmann addresses the question whether the present determines the future, or the future the present. He asks, "Is the future the 'revelation' of the present [apocalypse] or is the present the realized anticipation of the future. [fulfilment]?"¹⁹ He dismisses Barth's eschatology for therein "nothing new" is revealed, only the revelation of what "has already been completed."²⁰ As a corrective, he cites Paul who would have Christians participate now in the cross of the present sustained by the promise of what will be. Moltmann says, speaking of Paul:

... he moved statements about the universal lordship of Christ not only into present hiddenness, but out of the perfect and present into the future (1 Cor. 15:28) and consequently did not bestow the title of cosmocrator on Jesus.²¹

Rather, Moltmann sees that the "end of history" is not its "completion and revelation but its key".²² The future, then, does not emerge from the

present; rather, the present becomes "... the anticipation, the prolepsis, the sending ahead of God's future."²³ In this life justification and reconciliation are the start of the transformation of the present life into the divine righteousness of the last day.²⁴ He rejects eschatological extrapolation which would see the future as already given in Christ. Rather, he insists that the eschaton is now hidden within the present. The eschaton is a "beginning" that strives to complete itself.²⁵ However, not all experiences of the present may be regarded as eschatological statements; they are only eschatological to the degree that they herald the eschatological promise. Moltmann expresses it thus: "In so far, therefore, as the eschatological future has entered into our historical present, the present becomes the foundation of our knowledge about that future."²⁶

Christian eschatology does not report future history. It is not an extrapolation of the future from within history. Rather, it formulates an anticipation of history's future from within the midst of history.²⁷ The basis then of historical eschatology lies in the eschatological history of Jesus Christ. Christ risen is the beginning of the eschatological end.²⁸

II ESCHATOLOGY AND REALISM: "THE CRUCIFIED GOD"

The Resurrection of Christ is the pledge of the universal future. It is a "nova creatio", the vanguard of the future kingdom. It is the antithesis and contradiction of a God-less and God-forsaken world; therefore, the yet unrealized future of the promise is contradicted by given reality. The Spirit of the risen Christ as promised transforms the negative, contradictory aspects of the world.

Can mankind hope without acceptance of the reality of suffering? Can Christ be risen without the suffering and death of the Cross? In fact,

there is no true theology of hope which is not first of all a theology of the cross. Suffering and hope are held in creative tension. Both are aspects of Christian eschatology; hope relates to the future and suffering to the present. Both are contained within the other.

A Christian understanding of the reality of suffering is impossible without the Cross. According to Moltmann, the crucified Jesus, far from being interpreted merely soteriologically, becomes a statement about God himself. He expresses this thought in these words:

... but if the death of Jesus is supposed to be first a statement about God before it is an assurance of salvation addressed to men, does this not mean "a revolution in our concept of God" (Alain)?²⁹

Moltmann rejects theism (God is an all-powerful, perfect and infinite being) and atheism for both begin with the pre-supposition that God and man are fundamentally one being. He comments: "What is ascribed to God must be taken from man and what is ascribed to man must be taken from God."³⁰ Moltmann feels that the God of theism conceived in perfection has removed man from his humanity for men appear as helpless, imperfect and finite. Conversely, atheism by raising fallible humanity to the level of perfection is another dehumanization.³¹ A Godhead who is perfect needs nothing, for pure causality cannot suffer. Without emotions he is apatheia (unchangeable). In contrast pathos denotes need, dependence and unwilling suffering. As the God of pathos he is affected by human suffering in history since he is interested in his creation. It is important to note that this pathos of God is expressed in the relationship of God to his people and is not an aspect of his being. Taking his inspiration from Rabbi Abraham Hershel, Moltmann writes of the pathos of God in these words:

In his pathos the Almighty emerges from himself and enters into the destiny of the chosen people. In his

passion he shifts his esse into an inter-est through his covenant with people. Consequently he himself is affected by the actions and passions of his people He takes the people of his love seriously to the point of suffering under their actions and ³² of being capable of being hurt by their disobedience.

What are the implications for man of this "new" concept of God? If God is apathetic man becomes homo apathetikos; if God is divine pathos, man becomes homo sympathetikos.³³ It is evident then that man's view of God affects man's view of man. The consequences of this equation for mankind and history will be explored in the next section of this chapter.

God enters par excellence into the relationship of pathos and sympatheia in Jesus Christ. This was principally for those unable to satisfy the conditions: sinners, the godless and those forsaken by God.³⁴ Moltmann expresses the pathos of God thus:

The Godforsaken Son of God takes the eternal death of the forsaken and damned upon himself in order to become God of the forsaken and brother of the damned. Every person damned and forsaken by God can, in the crucified one, experience community with God. The incarnate God is present and accessible in the humanity of every man.³⁵

However, the pathos of God is not merely vicarious suffering for us. God not only participates in the suffering of humanity and the world but he makes human suffering his own by taking death into his very life. Consequently, the death of Jesus was a "happening" within the very Godhead. Jesus died because God his Father abandoned him. Thus the agony of the Son in this Godforsakenness is also the agony of the Father; it is a "happening" between God and God.³⁶ Moltmann stresses strongly that the death of Jesus Christ can only be understood in trinitarian terms if it is to belong to the very being of God and "theopaschite" terms are to be avoided. The death of Jesus is more than "for us".³⁷ The Father forsakes his own Son and rejects Him. Jesus is the forsaken God. However, the

Father suffers the death of the Son in the passion that is his love; but the suffering of the Father is different from the suffering of the Son.

Moltmann affirms:

... both Father and Son act and suffer in the surrender; and the cross brings the Son together with the Father into a complete fellowship of the will which is called love On the cross Jesus and his God and Father are divided as deeply as possible through the accursed death, and yet they are most deeply one through their surrender. Out of this happening between the Father and the Son the surrender itself emerges, the Spirit which accepts the forsaken, justifies the godless and makes the dead live.³⁸

As a consequence of this "happening" within the Trinity the being of God is open to man and to history for the sake of the crucified Christ.³⁹

Moltmann expresses the consequences for history and the world in these words:

World history- creation's history of suffering and history of hope - is integrated in the trinitarian process of God and is experienced and formed theologically in the light of this presupposition. To recognize the crucified God therefore means seeing oneself together with suffering creation in this history of God.⁴⁰

Consequently, the distinction between the immanent Trinity and the economic Trinity is not valid; the Trinity is not a self-contained community in heaven but becomes an eschatological process open to history and to mankind. The cross becomes the central point in the history of God. The conclusion of this history is the handing over of the sovereign rule of the Son to the Father. In this act of fulfilment the crucified Christ does not disappear, but in the words of Moltmann he

... becomes the ground of redeemed existence in God and the indwelling of God in all. In that event the crucified Christ no longer has representative functions. But the new existence is indebted to him forever. The functional and soteriological representative - Christology then becomes a doxological Son - Christology.⁴¹

The concept of the "Crucified God" now provides an opening for Moltmann's distinctive Christian eschatology. His eschatology is an opening up of history, the political order and unglorified creation to the hope of the fulfilment of that promise. This promise is validated and assured by the raising of the crucified Jesus. Thus the present is opened up to the future promise. In other words, history is not unrelated to the future. It anticipates the future.

III ESCHATOLOGY AND HISTORY

For Moltmann, history is the concrete mode of existence created between the revelation of the promise of God and its fulfilment. It is the movement of man and all creation towards the realization of the eschaton. This is the promise of God guaranteed in time by Christ and fulfilled in him.

Eschatological history is strictly linear. This means it is an irreversible movement towards that which will be. It is in contrast to the so-called epiphany religions. These religions sanction the "present" in order to overcome the threat to human existence posed by the power of chaos and annihilation.⁴² The very destructiveness of time is transcended by a periodic return through religious festivals to the first beginnings. For Moltmann, history is not understood as origin, or as the need to restore the original golden age of remembrance. In fact, the real category of history is no longer the past but the future. The history of mankind is decided by humanity's future state.

The "promise" of Yahweh does not sanction the present nor return to the "golden age" where the last perfection is found. It breaks away from the present and moves towards the future. However, there are partial fulfilments of the promise within history. Moltmann states:

The peculiar character of the Old Testament promises can be seen in the fact that the promises are not liquidated by the history of Israel - neither by disappointment nor by fulfilment - but on the contrary Israel's experience of history gave them a constantly new and wider interpretation.⁴³

The "future" of history is qualitatively different from the history we experience at the "present". Yet, there should be no overstress on this qualitative difference between the present facts of history and the eschatological future. Such an emphasis negates the world and its history. On the other hand, a correspondence between history and the future can dilute the very transcendence that is the eschaton. Every "temporary" fulfilment would in turn seek transcendence, consequently negating the expectation of a wholly different future. As Moltmann expresses it, "There will only be a meaningful reconciliation when the transcendence that surpasses history is linked with actual historical transcending;"⁴⁴ Thus it is observed that the future promise has to be linked to its anticipation in history.

In the Christian faith history and the future come together in Christ in whom that qualitatively new future is present under the conditions of history. This means the end of history is present in the midst of history.⁴⁵ The transcendence of Christ is not to be interpreted metaphysically, nor existentially but eschatologically. This means that the transcendence experienced in suffering is sustained by an active hope.⁴⁶ Eschatological transcendence is allied to the cross and hence with those whose suffering is revealed by the cross, that is, the dispossessed and downtrodden victims of present society. Thus Moltmann declares: "The transcendence of the future of a 'wholly other' begins for its dialectically, in the lifting up of those who are 'the others' in a particular present and in particular societies."⁴⁷

Is history a closed or an open system? For Moltmann, this is a crucial

question; indeed one on which hinges the coherence of his historical eschatology. It is "open" because the limiting and binding factors of sin, death and law have been "broken through" in the death and resurrection of Christ. Furthermore, it is also "open" because of the fact that the action of this movement of history is unfinished. History is a movement that is really going somewhere, towards something that has never been before. It exists in the present time only in the form of promise and hope.⁴⁸

To illustrate further what he means by "open" history Moltmann contrasts this with "closed history". In a closed system history begins with the fall of man and ends with the restoration of creation in redemption. Creation is thus closed and redemption is the way back, a "paradise regained".⁴⁹ For Moltmann, Israelite belief in creation developed out of God's actions in the history of his people, through events such as the exodus, the covenant, and the occupation of the promised land. As he expresses it, Israel had a "soteriological understanding of creation."⁵⁰ Moltmann insists that,

... [creation] embraces the initial creative activity, creative activity in history, and eschatological consummation. The reduction of the concept of creation to creation in the beginning has led traditionally either to the cleavage between "creation" and "redemption" and between "nature" and "supernature", or a division between "first and second creation". But this calls in question the continuity and unity of the divine activity itself.⁵¹

So, in Moltmann's view, the initial act of creation points towards salvation history. Both initial creation and salvation look toward the eschaton. The future is determinate of both creation in the beginning and creative acts in history. This creation in the beginning is not perfect but rather perfectible for it is subject to positive and negative forces such as disaster and salvation. Moltmann expresses it as follows:

"Creation at the beginning is the creation of conditions for the potentiality of creation's history It is open for time and for its alteration in time."⁵²

Thus hope's action in history takes the form of the creative transformation of reality; a process in which there is a constant leaving behind of the old and a moving in the direction of what is new. As Moltmann sees it, God's creative acts in history are related to the "opening up" of closed systems. These systems insulate themselves against the development of potentialities. Sin and slavery are related theologically to salvation and redemption. They are a self-perpetuating of the imperfections of present reality. Moltmann comments in these words on "closed systems" within historical reality:

If a human society settles down to a closed system, seeking to be self-sufficient, then something ... happens ... for this society; the future ceases to offer scope for possible change and in this way the society also surrenders its freedom. A society of this kind becomes societas incurvata in se.⁵³

As seen from the previous section of this chapter, the opening up of closed systems within societies and history cannot come about without suffering. The suffering and death of Christ is the completion of the process of creation; it is God's openness to the world and brings a limited openness of God in history through the life-giving Spirit of the Kyrios. The Spirit is operative in those who are involved in creative acts that involve suffering. Moltmann expresses the process in these words, "... salvation [is a] universal opening up of closed and isolated men and women and this closed world for the fulness of divine life."⁵⁴

The completion of the creative process in the eschaton is the indwelling of God within the new creation. Creation will be free from enslavement to futility, and glorified man will be free to enjoy the abundance of the

freedom of God. Here too, the eschaton is not a closed system for as Moltmann expresses it,

... it will therefore be permissible for us to assume that there will be time and history, future and possibility in the kingdom of glory as well, in that they will be present in unimpeded measure and in a way that is no longer ambivalent. Instead of timeless eternity we would therefore do better to talk about eternal time, and instead of the end of history to speak of the end of pre-history and the beginning of the eternal history of God, man and nature.⁵⁵

From this incisive quotation it can be seen that even eternity is an "open" system. The fulfilment of the promise in the eschaton begins "eternal history". The openness of creation is continued into eternity itself.

Eschatological history must find its origin and its end within the history of God in his dealings with man and creation. In the previous section of this chapter, it was seen how God as Trinity opened himself in love to creation through the sending of the Son and the Spirit. God, while transcending history, also experiences history.⁵⁶ Therefore, rejecting older philosophic categories about the nature of God, Moltmann can say:

God is not unchangeable, if to be unchangeable means that he could not in the freedom of his love open himself to the changeable history with man and creation. God is not incapable of suffering, if this means that in the freedom of his love he could not be receptive to suffering over the contradiction of man and the self-destruction of his creation. God is not perfect, if this means that he did not in the freedom of his love want the humanity and creation which he loves to be necessary to his perfection. God is not invulnerable, if this means that he could not open himself to the experience of the cross.⁵⁷

History "changes" God; he is not unaffected by his experience through and with his creation. Moltmann says that the relationship between Father and Son after the return of the Son to the Father is no longer exactly the same for God has experienced the pains involved in the redemption of the

world.⁵⁸ He has, absorbed the experience of the cross into his eternal life. Having experienced history, God is glorified through man in his new creation by the power of the Holy Spirit. By means of his salvific activity in history, God has experienced suffering, death and even hell itself. God's glory is the glorification of the new creation.⁵⁹

As seen in the previous section of this chapter, the "suffering" of God in himself and creation can be understood through the doctrine of the Trinity centred in the crucified Jesus. Consequently, the salvific mission of God in history finds both its origin and end in the Trinity. Traditionally the doctrine of the Trinity has been understood in the "sending".⁶⁰ Moltmann explains as follows: In history it is the Father who sends the Son, therefore within the life of the Trinity the Father precedes the Son. The Trinity in the "sending" is directly related to the Trinity in its essence. Therefore the Son is begotten of the Father before time began. The experience of the Holy Spirit expresses the liberating and unifying fellowship of Jesus with the Father who has sent him. So the action of the Trinity within history shows the superabundant being and love of God. This love is "open" from all eternity to the experience of history through the action of "sending".

Yet, as Moltmann suggests, the history of God in creation has two aspects - protological and eschatological. The "sending" of the Son into the world points to his origin with the Father whereas the resurrection of Jesus points to his future with the Father. However, both are intimately linked as Moltmann suggests when he says:

His messianic mission in the world corresponds to his eschatological gathering of the world. His pre-existent origin corresponds to his eschatological future. His becoming man in time corresponds to his being God (theosis) in eternity. His surrender to death on the cross corresponds to his exaltation to

the right hand of God. His passion corresponds to his glorification and his descent into hell to the ascension When we relate an historical narrative we always begin at the beginning, and ultimately come to the end. But when we think eschatology we begin with the end and from there arrive at the beginning. Historically we understand an event in the light of its origin and we ask about its beginnings, its grounds and its origin. Eschatologically we understand an event in the light of the future, and ask about its goal, its end and its meaning. The two ways of looking at things do not exclude one another; they are complementary, and belong together if we⁶¹ are to achieve a full understanding of history.

In the above quotation it can be seen that a concentration on the "sending" of the Son stressed the events of the incarnation, the passion and the death on the cross. Eschatologically considered, however, the resurrection, exaltation and handing over of sovereignty to the Father are stressed.

Within eschatological thought the action of the Holy Spirit is paramount in creation; all activity within history proceeds from the Holy Spirit who through his activities glorifies the Son and the Father. Protologically, the Father is the active agent in the "sending", the Son and the Holy Spirit being relegated a more passive role. Eschatologically however, the Holy Spirit is the active agent in creation. Through his creative and regenerative activity in history, he glorifies both Son and Father.⁶²

In conclusion, it is evident that Moltmann rejects many aspects of the scientific-positivistic approach in history where facts alone are evaluated. Historical facts are to be ascertained and evaluated in relationship with others. History itself is understood in terms of the direction in which it is moving.⁶³ For Moltmann,

... history cannot be understood positivistically as a closed area of events which are dated and fixed in a calendar. Nor can history be understood as existential. Rather, history must be seen as the sphere of action of revelation, in which the judicial

process of truth takes place.⁶⁴

Since the eschaton has not yet come to be, history is a process of moving towards the realization of truth, its essential being. Truth then, is primarily something that is becoming realized in history and that will be realized in the future. The truth of history lies ahead. The Christ event is not an event that can be circumscribed within history, rather it is an occurrence that opens up history to a definite future. Therefore, the Christ event is essentially a revelation in time and history of the future towards which history itself is destined.

All history has its time ahead of it. The "past" becomes the already anticipated revelation of the future. The "present" becomes the present anticipation for future reality. The future is an oncoming disclosure of the truth of the promises of God realized in the eschaton. The truth content of present statements is not destroyed by understanding them as anticipation of the future. Rather, truth is made temporary and provisional. Moltmann sees truth as residing not at the beginning of creation but at the end. History becomes what Moltmann calls a "judicial process of truth."⁶⁵ It is the process of the struggle of history to come to its truth. The whole present situation must be understood in the light of its historic possibilities. This means that it is grasped within the spectrum of the future of the truth. Political theology which will to be dealt with in the next section must be understood from this centre - the truth lies ahead.

IV POLITICAL THEOLOGY

Political theology cannot be understood unless the concepts outlined in the previous section have been grasped. It is at its core the application of the theology of the cross to the world. It is the rule of the

crucified Christ in a world enslaved by "vicious circles of death" on the one hand, yet open to the liberating experience of the promise to be revealed and actualized in the eschaton. As seen previously, the theology of the cross leads beyond the apathetic God of theism to the God of pathos; the God whose being is suffering in love. The consequences of a "crucified God" for society, history and especially the political order are enormous. Moltmann deduces:

If this crucified Man has been raised from the dead and exalted to be the Christ of God, then what public opinion holds to be the lowest is changed into what is supreme. In that case the glory of God does not shine in the crowns of the almighty but from the face of the crucified Christ.⁶⁶

By "almighty" Moltmann means those whom the world regards as powerful and influential. It is in the cross therefore, that the Christian faith distinguishes itself from other religions and theologies and from various forms of idolatry. If the Christian faith is to remain consistent with its identity it cannot accommodate itself to the various political religions of society. The Christian faith in the crucified One is the power of liberation from these ideologies and idolatries.

Moltmann does not wish to make political questions a central theme of theology. However, Christianity has been politicized since the time of Constantine as it has taken over the political and social mores of society. It is also true that it has Christianised the state religions. Churches that wish to remain socially neutral are never non-political. Moltmann contends: "... they fulfil needs in the fashion of a political religion; that is, they provide for the symbolic integration of society as its homogenization and self-confirmation."⁶⁷

Political theology is hermeneutical in the sense that it moves beyond mere existential and personalistic interpretations of scriptural texts.

Moltmann would express the relationship thus: "Political theology unites cosmological theology and theology of existence in the eschatological understanding of the history of man and the world."⁶⁸ Theology is not pure theory nor is it blind activism. Theory, together with the political and ethical, complement each other. Political theology would like to interpret the message of Christ within the conditions of contemporary society. The purpose is to be able to free man from the restrictions, coercions and limits of society and so prepare the way for the eschatological freedom of the new man.⁶⁹ No New Testament text can be understood apart from the definite social inclinations that have brought the text into existence. In addition it must also be understood in terms of conditions which lie behind efforts to overcome the real misery of the time. Form criticism, for Moltmann, has tried to understand texts within their social and political situation. However, the texts need a further understanding in terms of the criticism of religion and the criticism of society.⁷⁰

In The Experiment Hope, Moltmann expresses his concern that theology should not lose its Christian identity in striving to "adapt" itself to society. In association with political and social movements it risks becoming a religion of society. Thus he says:

A modern theology which desires merely to be a "contextual theology" is often similar to a chameleon that always assumes the colour of its environment ... but Christian theology should not adapt itself in order to hide; it is required to reveal what is specifically its own in the changing times. Christian theology should rather be "anti-chameleon theology" and that means displaying colours in contrast with its environment.

A Christian identity should enable the Christian to stand back from partial historical realities and movements that have been idolized and uncritically assimilated from the surrounding culture.

Moltmann feels that the inner essence of Christian identity (in its identification with the crucified Christ) has the power to resist the idolatries of historical society. In the crucified One, God has identified with the godless and the godforsaken. The doctrine of the Trinity, the eschatological concept of peace and the prohibition and idolatry in the Second Commandment, provide a basis for a critical appraisal of historical society by Christianity. Strict monotheism had canonized an hierarchical-monarchical structure of society. The unity of God had its political counterpart in one emperor, one empire and one church.⁷² However, three-in-oneness exists only with the Godhead and consequently has no political counterpart. Thus over a period the developing doctrine of the Trinity caused a disintegration of what Moltmann calls "political metaphysics".⁷³ The eschatological peace of Christianity could be equated neither with the peace of the Roman Empire, nor the peace of Christian Europe. Its hope lay in a universal peace, secured not by naked power, but by the powerlessness of the crucified One. Old Testament prohibition of images forbade not only religious idolatry but also political idolatry. The Christian faith in the crucified One is, for Moltmann, a radical realization of the Old Testament prohibition of images. He affirms:

... the freedom that is opened up to it [the Christian faith] will enter into a permanent iconoclasm against political personality cults and national religions and against money and commodity fetishism. It seems to me that Christianity should lead the way in the desacralization and democratization of political rule.⁷⁴

The above quotation indicates that political, national and cultural idols are seen as attempts at self-justification. All "works-righteousness" makes men slaves of their own works. They force the creator to bow down before the creature. However, God has justified the sinner through the death and resurrection of Jesus. He died in the name of the law and was

condemned and cursed by God. The judgement passed on Jesus on the cross ends with his resurrection and is turned into grace. This justification of the "sinless one" who was made "sin" must be understood as a new creation.⁷⁵ A nova creatio is revealed in the raising for everyone of this one man. Through the "negation of the negative" (effected in resurrecting the crucified One) God has created new possibilities for history by justifying the unjustified and reconciling the Godless. God has in the resurrected Christ created all things out of nothing. Moltmann contends: "The event of justification in man is part of a universal transfiguration of the world, and to be understood as its beginning."⁷⁶

The act of God in Christ's crucifixion and resurrection must lead ultimately, through the justification of the sinner, to God's own glory in the new creation. In the justification of the godless the transformation of creation is seen. Justification is directed ultimately to the eschatological transformation of an unjust world. Therefore it is the oppressed who are the hope for the liberation of humanity.

In the identification of God with the crucified one there is a partisanship (an identification of God with the "others" of society) with those who are socially outcasts, politically unimportant and economically destitute. Meeks, in a comment upon Moltmann's concept of the "partisanship" of God says:

For Moltmann, the public shape of Jesus' ministry demonstrates the partisan, creative love of God. His incarnating love is manifest not in an ideal humanity, but in the real inhumanity of man This lowliness becomes the locus of the Son of Man's parousia and the kingdom and the justice of God find their way into the world among the poor and the unjust.⁷⁷

Thus it can be seen, that for Moltmann, God is present and active especially with the "negative" within history. God suffers within and

through his enslaved creation. He has created mankind for liberty and freedom. The suffering, the failures and the "negative" within unglorified creation are linked to the suffering of the God of pathos.⁷⁸ Therefore, the Christian faith is a liberation born from the resurrection of Christ. In this liberation men are raised into the creative liberty of God where they act in terms of its potentialities. Through acts of liberation the eschaton in all its freedom is already anticipated.⁷⁹

However, for Moltmann, man is not a one-dimensional being. Mankind suffers in many different dimensions of life and therefore liberation is a struggle against five "vicious circles of death"⁸⁰ that drive life towards death. Liberation takes place in the following areas: in the struggle for economic justice and against the exploitation of man, in the confrontation for political rights and the recognition of human dignity, in the fight for human solidarity against racial, cultural and sexual domination and exploitation, in the battle for peace and communion with nature threatened by the consequences of the industrial pollution and exploitation of the environment, and in the struggle for hope, for meaning and fulfilment in a personal life so often beset by apathy.⁸¹

There is such an interdependence between the various forms of oppression, that co-operation between the different types of liberation is essential. Oppression and liberation operate simultaneously at many levels of the human situation. Moltmann contends:

These five dimensions hang so closely together that there can be no economic justice without overcoming cultural alienation and without personal conversion from apathy to hope. Whoever does not understand salvation in the most comprehensive liberal sense and does not strive for a network of saving anticipation over the various field of devastation, does not understand salvation holistically.⁸²

Through these messianic acts of liberation God's promise in history is

both celebrated and anticipated. They are furthermore sacramental, for each of them is a veiled presence of God; a presence incarnated in time, yet straining beyond itself to a greater presence where God's indwelling will be all in all.⁸³

In concluding this section of chapter two it has become evident that the principal insight of Moltmann's political theology has been in the theoretical and practical combining of hope (resurrection) with the "negative" (the cross) in contemporary existence. This means that in politics Christians will, in Moltmann's words, "... realistically realize and accept the real and objective possibilities that there is some correspondence with the future set before them."⁸⁴ Attention must now be focussed on the specific Christian confrontation with the political order. What is expected of the individual Christian in his calling? What is the mission of the church in relation to society and its problems?

V THE STATE, THE CHRISTIAN AND THE CHURCH

The vexed question of the relationship of the Church to the political community is for Moltmann of seminal importance. From tradition, he cites the models of "unburdening" and "correspondence" that have been used to relate the Christian faith to the political situation. According to the first model, the Church and political society must separate in order that each may be free to follow its own demarcated path. In the second model use is made of correspondences between faith free from social conformity, and the unfree social situations enslaved by various "circles of death". However, both models distinguish God and the world, and only secondarily ask about the correspondence of faith to God in the world.⁸⁵

Moltmann outlines various roles that the church has adopted in its relation to the political society. In a comparison of the two approaches

of Luther and Calvinism (represented chiefly by Barth) he attempts to come to an acceptable synthesis in order to find a positive role for the church within the historical society.⁸⁶ The church, for Moltmann, personified eschatological hope. It attempts through historical acts to be a force within history that leads it to its goal. The church can now become a community that personifies eschatological history.

Following the collapse of the Roman Empire, the church emerged as a reconciling centre of society. It became the religion of the Empire and the cult of the state. After the Industrial Revolution men associated for purposes of industrial production, commerce and consumption. Later modern society released man into a new category of subjectivity where a personal search for meaning and existence could replace the former corporate life. Thus religion lost much of its social relevance and became a cultus privatus. Moltmann concludes:

The public vitality of Christianity declines in proportion to the emancipation of the "society of needs" from the religious needs of society, on the one hand, and the growth in the Church of liberal, pietistic or existential inwardness, on the other.⁸⁷

The result is that the church does not disturb the social realm. It becomes socially irrelevant. It is an institution where the individual unburdens himself in his search for a subjectivity meaningful faith. Thereafter, the church was seen as a community within the larger body of society. Its purpose was to provide warmth, understanding and neighbourliness. It thus becomes for Moltmann "... a Noah's Ark for socially alienated man"⁸⁸ with no effect on the public activity of society. Eventually, the church conformed to the model of "institution" where it became yet another institution with society. It provided security against the alienated and depersonalized greater mass society.

In his book On Human Dignity Moltmann rejects the inadequacies of Luther

and Calvinism (represented chiefly by Barth).⁸⁹ They attempt to create an understanding of the relationship between the church and the political order. Luther's "two kingdoms" doctrine had clearly sought to define the two realms, one where the righteous keep God's laws, and the other where the mass of humanity live in lawlessness. The first is ruled by the gospel and the second by the sword; neither gospel nor sword must intrude in the realm of the other. However, as Moltmann suggests, the gospel cannot originate in the ongoing battle between the kingdom of God and the kingdom of the devil. It should begin rather from God's victory over Satan in the cross and resurrection of Christ.⁹⁰ Moreover, the injustice pertaining in the political kingdom ruled by the sword is unaffected by the justice-creating nature of the gospel. In addition, there is no specific Christian ethic, but there is an acceptance of the ethic of the worldly order. Consequently, there is no world-transforming hope.

In contradistinction, Calvin placed the whole of public life under the command of God. Christian critical scrutiny thus extended beyond the morality of individuals into culture and society. The discipleship of Jesus covers all areas of life. This includes personal life, economic ethics and political ethics. Personal life for the Christian involves the double aspects of calling and sanctification. Although sanctification means election to a different kind of life and to a particular service, it also means the transformation of life as well as the transformation of society.⁹¹ Moltmann feels that political theology can learn much from the Reformed injunction to be different from others so as to "be for others"; otherwise, it is a case of "like" attracting "like".⁹² The political ethics of Reformed theology with its theory of a state contract in which God made a double covenant with his people (first with the whole people and then with the king) was to lead to the growth of modern democracy. The king derived his sovereignty from the people as the people of God and

should he break the covenant, sovereignty would revert to the people. Moltmann feels that Calvin translated Luther's concept of the "universal priesthood of all believers" into "the universal kingship of all believers"⁹³ thus preparing the ground for responsible Christian political action.

According to Moltmann, in Barth's political theory, there are further consequences to the Calvinistic doctrine of the lordship of Jesus Christ. First, the whole world is objectively under Christ and his lordship. Second, the state, although independent of the Christian society, serves the work of Jesus Christ and is therefore orientated towards the coming lordship of Jesus.⁹⁴ Moltmann shows how Barth conceives of the relationship between the Christian community and the civil community in terms of concentric circles. The church, the inner circle, proclaims the liberating lordship of Jesus. The civil community, the outer circle, in preserving the world from chaos and promoting freedom, keeps the political kingdom open to the kingdom of God. Thus, in the words of Moltmann, Barth states:

Politics on earth remains an imperfectible process of freedom and justice. Whoever tries to perfect this process delivers the world to the tyrants; whoever resigns to this process delivers the world to tyrants. Barth seems to see the indirect effect of Christ's proclamation and the Christian community on the civil community in the fact that political situations remain changeable and political changes are kept historically imperfectible. The Church does not divinize politics, but it does not demonize politics either. It brings politics humanly into the suspension of permanent improvability and historical imperfectibility.⁹⁵

In formulating Moltmann's distinctive approach, which has been affected by the above historical sketch, note must be taken of two pertinent criticisms of Barth. First, Barth's doctrine of the lordship of Jesus means that Christ already rules over heaven and earth. However, for

Moltmann, the lordship of Christ is not that of a powerful king, rather it is the lordship of the crucified One who conquers not through the power of the resurrection but through weakness. The kingdom of glory lies ahead. Second, the lordship of Christ applies to the discipleship of believers and therefore it is invalid to supply an apolitical philosophy relevant for both Christian and non-Christian alike.⁹⁶

Seminal to Moltmann's concept of the role of the individual Christian and of the Christian community is that of mission. The promise realized in the resurrection of the man, Jesus, points towards the future universal realization of the promise. So as Moltmann contends, "The link between the coming history and past history is provided in the light of this forward-moving historic mission."⁹⁷ The Christian of the apostolate is called upon to concern himself not only with what is but with what ought to be. Through the creative transforming action of faith and love he must decrease the discrepancy between present reality and God's promised reality. The crisis-causing conditions must be transformed so as to correspond with the promised "new". Mission is the opening up to the genuine possibilities of what can be. Indeed, even history has a missionary structure. The "latency" of life is opened up by the eternal life created by the resurrection of the crucified One. There is a corresponding "tendency" that drives the "latency" towards an eschatological goal of reconciliation.⁹⁸ The Spirit directs this process in which the power of life out of death is mediated to all creation. Hence Moltmann can say: "The Spirit subjects man to the tendency of the things which are latent in the resurrection of Jesus and which are the intended goal of the future of the risen lord."⁹⁹

Man in his missionary dimension must be seen as one who hopes. Von Rad had seen mankind as an eschatologically determined being. He is determined not by capricious events, but by the continuity of God's

sameness in historical events in history.¹⁰⁰ Moltmann, in similar vein, would see man as determined by the promised eschaton of the future. Man bears his nature not from himself nor from nature but from the future to which mission leads him. Thus Moltmann observes:

Man attains to knowledge of himself by discovering the discrepancy between the divine mission and his own being, by leaving what he is, and what he is to be, yet of himself cannot be In his call man is given the prospect of new ability to be.¹⁰¹

Mission, therefore, opens up man to new possibilities. The whole present situation is understood in all its historic possibilities in respect of the future of the truth. Man in seeking the "new Jerusalem" has been summoned by the divine promise. Therefore he must adjust himself to the universal, salvific, reconciling future of God.¹⁰²

Turning now from the individual's call to the church's call, it is discovered that Moltmann regards the church as the "community of eschatological salvation."¹⁰³ He maintains:

The church lays claim to the whole of humanity in mission. This mission is not carried out within the horizon of expectation provided by the social roles which society concedes to the church, but it takes place within its own particular horizon of the eschatological expectation of the coming kingdom of God, of the coming righteousness and the coming peace, of the coming freedom and dignity of man. The Christian Church has not to serve mankind in order that this world may remain what it is, or may be preserved in the state in which it is, but in order that it may transform itself and become what it is promised to be.¹⁰⁴

Thus the church is a veiled anticipation of the kingdom in so far as it creates in this world genuine anticipations of the end-time community. Moltmann equates the "world" and the "church" with the "old and the "new". The "world" represents the spirit of sin, law and death. The "church" in her witness, represents freedom from these. Moltmann emphasises the

active role of the church in the creation and transformation of history. As the church is a force that leads history to its goal, it is the "exodus church". Thus the salvation that is promised by faith far transcends the private as observed in Luther's "two kingdoms" theory. It is a public salvation and hence a political salvation. Consequently, the church, as it is the community of hope, does not have to centre on itself but on the future.¹⁰⁵

The two models mentioned earlier of "unburdening" and "correspondence" are inadequate for Moltmann. He maintains:

... must we not ... start [to] understand God in the world, the beyond in the this-wordly, the universal in the concrete and the eschatological in the historical, in order to arrive at a political hermeneutic of the crucified Christ and a theology of real liberation.¹⁰⁶

Liberation depends on the presence in Christ that is active in history. However, this "opening up" of the church to the world in hope is also bound up with an acceptance of suffering. In an expectation of this future, the suffering church is to take upon itself the cross of the present. As Moltmann explains the creative suffering of the Church is,

... the "yes" of faith to the cross of true love, [it] bears the fate of the present and yet lives in the life-giving spirit of the resurrection. It does not soothe and calm the tensions of brokenness and the devastations of our society, but rather it brings these to a head and confronts them with the divine transformation.¹⁰⁷

Moltmann summarizes the church's identity in the modern world and its specific role in the creation of hope in The Church in the Power of the Spirit. He believes its four marks to be "one, holy, catholic and apostolic." The unity of the church lies in the ingathering and unifying action of the church rather than in the unity of its own members. It is further evidenced in its concern for the suffering and in the testimony of

other "deprived" communities that it sees as its own. The catholicity of the church is manifest in its mission. There is no sphere of life which Christ has not claimed as his own. This catholicity is shown, too in the church's partisanship on behalf of both the oppressed and the oppressor. Both need reconciliation. It is for the sake of the kingdom that catholicity must be partisan. The holiness of the church is exhibited in its poverty and in its fellowship with the outcasts of society. This fellowship is an expression of love and solidarity with the poor. Finally, the church is apostolic in its suffering. Participation in the apostolic mission of Christ leads the church inescapably into suffering, contradiction and confrontation with the vicious circles of death.¹⁰⁸

In concluding this chapter it can be said that Moltmann has presented a view of Christianity as a critical force in the world. It is a power that can address the political order from both within and from beyond. While not accommodating itself to the spirit of the times, Moltmann's theological position is nevertheless "relevant" in that it confronts contemporary problems especially political ones. However, its relevancy comes from the crucified Christ. This is observed in its "testing" of the modern spirit that reaches out from the cross of the crucified Christ to the hope of the resurrection. While not "enslaved" by the contemporary situation, Moltmann directs attention to the problem of society in general. The purpose is to make Christianity relevant to this politically oriented world.

In the next chapter an investigation of Augustine's City of God will provide a basis for a later comparison with Moltmann's position. Both have an eschatological orientation towards the political order. This means that there are only provisional solutions that affect the political realm. There are no final solutions.

FOOTNOTES

1. M. Douglas Meeks, Origins of the Theology of Hope, p. 16.
2. J. Moltmann, The Experiment Hope, p. 37.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 33.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 38.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 41.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 45.
7. J. Moltmann, Theology of Hope, p. 100.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 127.
9. *Ibid.*, pp. 128 - 130.
10. J. Moltmann, The Experiment Hope, p. 52.
11. J. Moltmann, Theology of Hope, pp. 95 - 102.
12. *Ibid.*, pp. 102 - 106.
13. *Ibid.*, pp. 203 - 208.
14. J. Moltmann, The Future of Creation, p. 52.
15. *Ibid.*, pp. 52 - 53.
16. J. Moltmann, Theology of Hope, pp. 203 - 208.
17. *Ibid.*
18. *Ibid.*, p. 277.
19. J. Moltmann, The Future of Creation, p. 20.

20. *Ibid.*
21. *Ibid.*, p. 25.
22. *Ibid.*, p. 26.
23. *Ibid.*, p. 29.
24. *Ibid.*, p. 30.
25. *Ibid.*, p. 44.
26. *Ibid.*, p. 45.
27. *Ibid.*, p. 47.
28. *Ibid.*, p. 48.
29. J. Moltmann, The Future of Creation, p. 62.
30. J. Moltmann, The Crucified God, p. 249.
31. *Ibid.*, p. 251.
32. J. Moltmann, The Future of Creation, p. 69.
33. J. Moltmann, The Experiment Hope, p. 76.
34. J. Moltmann, The Crucified God, p. 275.
35. J. Moltmann, The Experiment Hope, p. 79.
36. J. Moltmann, The Future of Creation, p. 65.
37. *Ibid.*, p. 73.
38. *Ibid.*
39. *Ibid.*, p. 74.

40. *Ibid.*, p. 75.
41. J. Moltmann, The Crucified God, p. 266.
42. J. Moltmann, Theology of Hope, p. 98.
43. *Ibid.*, p. 104.
44. J. Moltmann, The Future of Creation, p. 16.
45. *Ibid.*, p. 17.
46. *Ibid.*
47. *Ibid.*
48. *Ibid.*, pp. 118 - 119.
49. *Ibid.*, p. 117.
50. *Ibid.*, p. 118.
51. *Ibid.*, p. 119.
52. *Ibid.*, p. 120.
53. *Ibid.*, p. 122.
54. *Ibid.*, p. 124.
55. *Ibid.*, p. 126.
56. *Ibid.*, p. 93.
57. *Ibid.*
58. *Ibid.*
59. *Ibid.*, p. 94.

60. *Ibid.*, p. 86.
61. *Ibid.*, pp. 86 - 87.
62. *Ibid.*, p. 88.
63. J. Moltmann, Hope and Planning, p. 82.
64. *Ibid.*, p. 84.
65. *Ibid.*
66. J. Moltmann, The Crucified God, p. 327.
67. J. Moltmann, The Experiment Hope, p. 105.
68. J. Moltmann, The Future of Hope: Theology as Eschatology, p. 48.
69. J. Moltmann, The Experiment Hope, p. 103.
70. M. Douglas Meeks, Origin of the Theology Hope, pp. 141 - 142.
71. J. Moltmann, The Experiment Hope, p. 3.
72. *Ibid.*, pp. 106 - 107.
73. *Ibid.*
74. *Ibid.*, pp. 114 - 115.
75. Galatians 3:17.
76. J. Moltmann, The Future of Creation, p. 170.
77. M. Douglas Meeks, Origin of the Theology of Hope, p. 144.
78. J. Moltmann, The Future of Creation, p. 99.
79. *Ibid.*, p. 102.

80. J. Moltmann, The Crucified God, p. 329.
81. *Ibid.*, pp. 332 - 335.
82. J. Moltmann, On Human Dignity, p. 110.
83. *Ibid.*, p. 111.
84. J. Moltmann, Religion, Revelation and Future, p. 106.
85. M. Douglas Meeks, Origins of the Theology of Hope, pp. 131 - 132.
86. J. Moltmann, Hope and Planning, pp. 131 - 150.
87. *Ibid.*, p. 134.
88. *Ibid.*, p. 137.
89. J. Moltmann, On Human Dignity, pp. 61 - 96.
90. *Ibid.*, p. 76.
91. J. Moltmann, The Experiment Hope, pp. 121 - 122.
92. *Ibid.*, p. 124.
93. *Ibid.*, p. 128.
94. J. Moltmann, On Human Dignity, p. 85.
95. *Ibid.*, p. 88.
96. *Ibid.*, pp. 93 - 95.
97. J. Moltmann, Theology of Hope, p. 284.
98. *Ibid.*, pp. 259 - 261, 284.
99. J. Moltmann, Religion, Revelation and Future, p. 217.

100. G. von Rad, Old Testament Theology Volume Two, pp. 426 - 428.
101. J. Moltmann, Theology of Hope, p. 285.
102. *Ibid.*, pp. 289 - 290.
103. *Ibid.*, p. 325.
104. *Ibid.*, p. 327.
105. *Ibid.*, pp. 325 - 338.
106. J. Moltmann, The Crucified one, p. 321.
107. J. Moltmann, Hope and Planning, p. 150.
108. J. Moltmann, The Church in the Power of the Spirit, pp. 337 - 361.

C H A P T E R 3

AUGUSTINE'S "CITY OF GOD": THE ESCHATOLOGICAL NATURE OF THE TWO CITIES AND THEIR BEARING UPON THE POLITICAL ORDER

I. THE ORIGIN AND IDENTITY OF THE TWO CITIES

The Civitas Dei does not propound a political programme as such. Augustine's doctrine of the state can be understood and expounded only within the wider vision of his particular conception of society. Civitas is not synonymous with res publica or the state; rather, the distinction is one between two societies: the society of the Civitas Terrena and the society of the Civitas Dei. These societies, in the words of Dorothy Donnelly, "... are distinguished not by social or political arrangements nor by allegiance to any earthly polity, but, rather, by the commitment of their love."¹

Augustine sees the whole course of created existence as a conflict of two loves: what has been called "a metaphysic of will".² The Civitas Dei and the Civitas Terrena are mystical symbols for the good and bad among men and angels. Indeed, the beginnings of the two cities as an expression of man's political and social life antedates human history. The Civitas Dei begins with the creation of light and the Civitas Terrena with the sin of Satan.³ Book XV begins with the contrary course of the two cities in history. The consequences of the fall that dominates Augustine's thought is reflected in Adam's children. Here two sorts of men are revealed. Though born of the same parents and sharing the same nature they are characterised by two dissimilar wills.⁴ Augustine states:

The chronology of the two cities is begun only when both cities have been presented to the reader as issuing from the single gate of our mortality which Adam opened. One is the city of 'belonging' here in this world; the other is the city of 'longing for God'.⁵

Thus the Civitas Terrena appears in the corporeal world not as a result of creation but as a result of the fall of man. The sin in Adam has become the property of the whole human race. Augustine observes:

... what we see, then, is that two societies have issued from two kinds of love. Worldly society has flowered from a selfish love which dares to despise even God, whereas the communion of saints is rooted in a love of God that is ready to trample on self.

With profound psychological insight Augustine surveys the complexity of the human psyche with its variety of loves. The question to which of the two cities one belongs, is addressed to the object of one's will. Hardy comments:

He sees mankind as occupying a battlefield between two loyalties, heavenly and earthly; the self-denying love of God and the God-denying love of self. Every area of human life is a spiritual field of battle.

The Civitas Dei consists of those who acknowledge Christ as head, and the Civitas Terrena includes those wicked who acknowledge Satan as head. The former are predestined to reign with Christ, the latter to eternal damnation and separation from God. These two cities are intertwined in human history and like the wheat and tares are allowed to grow together. There is no simple answer to what exactly the two cities represent in history. They are not church and state, nor are they Empire and Papacy. Christopher Morris says:

The Civitas Terrena is par excellence a society of men and excludes from the lower order of creation. Moreover, the Civitas Terrena is likely, at any given moment, to overlap with the Civitas Dei, by dint of including some souls predestined for salvation.⁸

The course of the two cities in history continues in the second period, that of Abraham. This is followed by the third period, that of the Mosaic Law. For practical purposes the "City of God" now becomes represented by

the Hebrew nations. Later it takes on qualities of an earthly state. However, the promises of the Old Testament find their fulfilment in the eternal city as promised to David.⁹ In Book XVIII of the Civitas Dei, the "City of God" is beginning to be implicitly identified with the church but its true membership is uncertain owing to the scarcity of the elect.¹⁰ It should be clear that de Civitas Dei is a judgement upon persons and things, partly contained and inserted in history and partly mystical in the sense that it concerns the individual soul's relationship with God. It is an analysis of the plan and purposes of God for mankind that is primarily eschatological. Markus discerns clearly its eschatological purpose when he states:

The fulfillment promised to man is revealed as a unique possibility given in Christ and only achieved in His Kingdom It is an act of God, or rather a history of God's acts concluded in Jesus, that fully revealed the promise; and it is only God's act that will, finally, fulfil it. Augustine knew that the Christian hope was too radical to require the buttress of any optimism about the future.¹¹

Thus Christian hope has its fulfilment as God's action in the eschaton. However, hope must have some realization in history for history is the arena of the divine-human encounter.

II AUGUSTINE'S PHILOSOPHY OF HISTORY

Augustine saw value in history. It was the unfolding of a great drama that takes place within time and in relation to a timeless deity.¹² History is not cyclic nor is it merely terrestrial; the beginning of the two societies is in the sin of Satan. This sin impinges upon history in the sin of Adam.¹³ The most blatant symbol of the fall is the inversion of the harmonious order established by God.¹⁴ The notions of "order" and "love" are rooted within the divine nature itself,¹⁵ and are thus at the heart of Augustine's thought about society. The rational creature, that is

man, is part of a cosmic structure rising from inanimate, through life, to intelligence, and finding its apex in God the Creator.¹⁶ Every creature endowed with reason, if he is to reach his end, must observe a hierarchy of love that corresponds to the order of goodness and being. D. MacQueen considers that, "One of Augustine's preferred definitions of 'order' is precisely a virtue which enables its recipient to discern and use means as means and ends as ends."¹⁷ Disorder is the corruption of order and occurs when the hierarchy of love is reversed or inverted. In all loves, except that of God, in which no excess is possible, moderation must be observed.¹⁸ To live virtuously is to live a perfectly ordered life.¹⁹

Adam introduced disorder and non-being²⁰ into creation, and his sin, like that of Satan, was an act of free will. Moral evil came into the world by the wrong use of free will from the outset. After that one evil act, the will is dominated by concupiscence in every member of the human race.²¹ All men without exception are by nature descended from the racial stock of Adam; however, their will divides them into two classes of men.²² MacQueen can then declare:

The first of these, the Civitas Dei, consists of those who, acknowledging Christ as their leader, are predestined to reign with him forever. The title of the second is Civitas Diaboli or Civitas Terrena, and described the hosts of the wicked who, since they follow Satan as their chief, are predestined with him to external separation from God in hell.²³

While it would be true to say that the sketch of world history is the weakest section of the book, Augustine emphasises the unity of history and the solidarity of mankind. Figgis suggests:

Two presuppositions of any philosophy of history are in the mind of St. Augustine throughout. (1) The units of the human race, including as its corollary, the doctrine of (2) the essential sociability of man. The Civitas Dei, he says, can mean nothing less than the social life of the children of God. That one

principle alone²⁴... is a contribution of high value to world history.

Thus the earthly city is part of God's purposes for man however imperfect and disordered it may be. It is part of a plan that God is working out in history. Augustine gives no evidence of an imminent cataclysmic ending to the world. The world will continue and somehow Christians must come to terms with it. Augustine has a positive valuation of social life in spite of its imperfections and its temporary nature.²⁵ For Augustine, "Blessedness is not absorption but eternal enjoyment of God and one another in God."²⁶

The earthly city is imperfect and rooted in man's corruption. However, it is necessary for the building up of the "City of God". If, as Augustine suspects, it is going to last for many ages, corrupt though it is, it is necessary for the heavenly pilgrimage. It can never be perfected or fully regenerated.²⁷ However, its worst horrors can be controlled and the world can be made tolerably safe for Christians to live in. Even if world activities are often viewed pessimistically, they are counterbalanced by history as a work of art where God, the eternal Being, reveals himself.²⁸ The fulfilment of history in the City of God is eschatological because it lies beyond history and is revealed when history is complete. Thus all human judgement of events in history is provisional and haphazardous.²⁹ The revelation of God's purposes is beyond time. Therefore, the political society set in time is subject to eschatological assessment.

III AUGUSTINE'S POLITICAL ORDER

The organised expression of man's political and social life, the Civitas, is prior to the earliest records of secular history. This institution stems from a unity and fellowship that depends upon the fact that all men without exception, and irrespective of their nationality, language and

physical appearance, are descended from Adam, the first representative of the human race and its patriarch.³⁰ Adam's offspring, Cain and Abel, are men who share the same nature but reveal two divergent wills or loves. This distinction is displayed throughout history between the "reprobate" and the "communio sanctorum". This division shall be fully revealed at the last judgement. Meanwhile, the earthly distinctions are but symbols of the final separation between the sheep and the goats. As long as the world lasts, the lovers of earthly things and the lovers of heavenly things are fused together.³¹

Political activity itself gravitates around the problem of man's behaviour in politics. In politics we express those orientations that lie far deeper in ourselves. So in the words of D.J. MacQueen it is observed that,

It is the will, or love - enlightened by reason - that orientates a man's moral and intellectual life towards God, his final end; to material things;³² and to his fellow creatures considered as persons.

Augustine's theory of love lies then at the heart of his thought in relation to society. As has already been noted, Augustine's social theory does not dissociate the individual person from the larger unity of society. MacQueen makes the following observation with regard to Augustine when he says that, "For him this solidarity is nowhere more strikingly apparent than in the nature and activity of love as it attracts and unites man to his fellows."³³ Augustine makes the activity of "love" the specific principle of a people or commonwealth (res publica). His City of God must be understood, as Fortin rightly suggests, as directed against the idealism of Plato's work, The Republic.³⁴ Fortin maintains that,

Plato is essentially right in his estimation of what men ought to do and how they should live in society, but he was incapable of providing the means by which that ideal could be translated into practice.³⁵

In Book XIX Augustine turned his attention to the constitutive principle of the res publica (commonwealth). In De Republica, Cicero had made justice the essence of the state.³⁶ Augustine opposed this, arguing that if justice in the absolute sense is required to constitute a true commonwealth, then neither Rome nor any pagan state was a true commonwealth. There is no true justice where the true God is not worshipped; the only commonwealth would be that where Christ is King.³⁷ Cicero had proposed a definition of a perfect state in its most ideal form. Augustine wished to reduce the definition to its lowest terms, irrespective of its moral character, and to find one which would include even evil people. Since the fall no earthly state can ever possess or even attain true justice.³⁸ This is not a rejection of the state by Augustine; rather, he rejects the Ciceronian definition of a "just society" and argues that a res publica is a "... multitude of reasonable being voluntarily associated in the pursuit of common interests (or loves)."³⁹

For Augustine, there exist as many societies as there are collective loves, and to know the object of a people's love is to know the people itself.⁴⁰ The state, or the society, exists only to the extent that it is united by a love in which all its members participate. Love, albeit tainted and corrupted love, is the unifying principle of every true society. "Concord", "harmony" and "order" are the soul of society. D. MacQueen states that,

According to Augustine, the earthly city, also possesses a distinctive form of imitation, love, and therefore unity. But this imitation is perverse, being both 'privative' and 'separative'. It is 'privative' precisely because depriving the society's

members of their common good, it induces them to seek their good within themselves. This self-love is also 'separative' in as much as it allienates and⁴¹ divides each member both from God and his neighbour.

Thus the consequence of Augustine's analysis is that the earthly society "is not", that is, it lacks unity, goodness, and hence being. Because it is disordered, it moves towards non-being, and hence evil.

On the other hand, although Augustine believes that a true res publica is impossible, at the same time he conceives of the state as part of God's divine providence. It has a specific role in human history.⁴² While it is true that he says the king is distinguished from the robber not by the absence of wickedness but rather by his exalted position,⁴³ kings are not bad. The Civitas Terrena is disordered so the state exists to save mankind from total anarchy that wickedness would otherwise bring about. Therefore, in the words of D. Deane,

The State is thus a gift of God to man despite the inadequacies and imperfections that necessarily mark the peace and justice that it can maintain among the unredeemed.⁴⁴

Moreover, a disordered society needs a strong power to restrain the ceaseless conflicts of men. The state exists for external order. It restrains the citizen from harmful and criminal acts. Its purpose is to inhibit the destructive manifestations of human egotism.⁴⁵ Augustine's concern with the most fundamental needs in a fallen society leads him to find the need in the human desire for peace. He contends:

The peace, then, of the body lies in the ordered equilibrium of all its parts; the peace of the irrational soul, in the balanced adjustment of its appetites; the peace of the reasoning soul, in the harmonious correspondence of conduct and conviction; the peace of body and soul taken together, in the well-ordered life and health of the living whole. Peace between a mortal man and his Maker consists in ordered obedience, guided by faith, under God's eternal law; peace between man and man consists in

regulated fellowship. The peace of the home lies in the ordered harmony of authority and obedience between the members of a family living together. The peace of the political community is an ordered harmony of authority and obedience between citizens. The peace of a heavenly City lies in a perfectly ordered and harmonious communion of those who find their joy in God and one another in God. Peace, in its final sense, is the calm that comes from order. Order is an arrangement of like and unlike things, whereby each of them is disposed in its proper place.⁴⁶

Peace in the resolution of tensions, the reordering of the hierarchy of established powers in the human being and in society. It is an orientation towards love and hence salvation.

Thus the function of the state is to maintain peace. It maintains "remedial order" that makes possible a temporal peace. A temporal peace is not comparable to the true peace found only in the "City of God" that is beyond time. Peace is in Augustine's words "... not to be scorned ... for, as long as the two cities are mingled together, we can make use of the peace of Babylon."⁴⁷ Augustine thought that a state possessing the authority to maintain order and peace was divinely ordained for its afforded the individual the opportunity to love and serve God. Without the state anarchy would ensure and men would destroy each other because their criminal instincts would lead them towards "love of self" rather than "love of God". The peace and order provided by the state maintains the external conditions necessary for the individual to pursue his own personal salvation through the grace of God. The peace and order provided by the state maintains the external conditions necessary for the individual to pursue his own personal salvation through the grace of God. The Peace of Babylon (the peace provided by the state) is so necessary for the state to attain its goal as an instrument of salvation. It needs an hierarchical principle, a pattern of authority where some rule, while others obey. What is inferior in being must obey the superior.⁴⁸ in the same way that the father rules the members of his household.⁴⁹ The human

being is composed of two parts or elements, body and soul one of which must control the other. (The soul, the higher, is the seat of the intellect and wisdom; the body, the lower, is ruled by passions and appetites.) Similarly, within the family, the maintenance of a proper relationship between the father and the children, the master and the slaves, is the proper basis of authority and peace. So within the state itself, officials of high rank, that is, king and magistrate, exercise supreme control while the citizen body owe them respect and obedience.⁵⁰ Thus an ordered hierarchy of established powers can canalise and hold in check the human lust for domination and vengeance.⁵¹

The political society can never be just. The state will always be an imperfect replica of true justice. It is tolerated as a dreadful instrument of repression, because through repression sinful men are restrained and peace and security safeguarded. Even the state's legal and punitive system do not require good and just men, for true justice is never expected of the state. According to Deane,

The State and its instruments of coercion and punishment are in Augustine's view divinely ordained instruments designed as remedies as well as punishments for the sinful condition of fallen men. God uses the evil desires of fallen men as a means for the establishment of earthly peace and order and for the just punishment of vices.⁵²

Thus Augustine sees that the highest earthly good is peace. It is an absolute prerequisite for all other satisfactions and accomplishments. The state exists to preserve the external peace and order (Peace of Babylon) and not to mould and change the internal desires, activities and beliefs of the citizens. The worst possible government is far better than anarchy that destroys the frame work of peace and order and prevents the individual from pursuing the goal of loving and knowing God.

A summary of Augustine's notion of peace in society is given by S. Wolin in which he states:

To the degree that a political society promoted peace it was good; to the degree that it embodied a well-ordered concord among its members it was even better; to the extent that it encouraged a Christian life and avoided a conflict in loyalties between religious and political obligations, it had fulfilled its role within the universal scheme.⁵³

Within the state the king or prince is established by God, and no matter how wicked or unjust he may be, his powers may not be limited by his subjects and there may be no disobedience or resistance to his commands.⁵⁴

While it would be true that Augustine teaches kings to be humble before God and to seek the good of their people, this is not absolutely necessary.⁵⁵ A person may only passively refuse to obey the ruler when his commands are contrary to God's laws. Rulers are to be given absolute obedience provided that they do not command their subjects to do what God forbids, or omit what God commands.⁵⁶

Augustine gives little discussion to the merits of various forms of government and nowhere does he produce a theory of the state. There is a passage known as the "Mirror of Princes" where he describes the abilities of a good king in the following way:

We call those Christians happy who govern with justice, who are not puffed up with the tongues of flatterers or the services of sycophants, but remember that they are men. We call them happy when they think of sovereignty as a ministry of God and use it for the spread of true religion; when they fear and love and worship God; when they are in love with the kingdom in which they need fear no fellow-sharers; when they are slow to punish, quick to forgive; when they punish, not out of private revenge, but only when forced by the order and security of the republic, and when they pardon, not to encourage impunity, but with the hope of reform; when they temper with mercy and generosity the inevitable harshness of their decrees.⁵⁷

Augustine further favours a series of small states, living side by side in

peace and contentment, such as a "League of Nations". This is likely to provide greater peace and equity since it is based upon the model of the Civitas.

The institutions of political and social life thus have no real positive moral value. They hold down the dark and sinful passions of man, provide a measure of peace and stability, and move the individual in the direction of that good which transcends the political. In this way they open him to that kingdom of hope, the "City of God". However, the Christian pilgrim must take note of the state.

IV THE STATE, THE CHRISTIAN AND THE CHURCH

As stated previously the Civitas Dei is strictly not the visible church. It is the communio sanctorum, the body of the elect, including within its ranks those from pre-Christian times (including heathens) and excluding on the other hand, many of the baptised.⁵⁸ It is moreover the eschatological fulfilment of history; yet now in history the two cities are inextricably intermingled. Although the communities overlap, it may be assumed that the predestined, with few exceptions, will be found within the church. The visible church militant is then the symbolic and inadequate representation of the Civitas Dei. The kingdom is not of this world, although partially and imperfectly within it.

What is the relationship between the christian and the state in the Christian Commonwealth? John Burleigh felt that if

Augustine has contributed anything of value to the idea of the Christian State, it is the conception of a region "beyond politics" where man must look for his chief good.⁵⁹

Whatever the state's positive value, the Christian has an eternal destiny

with which the state has no concern. However useful the state may be, it can never be an absolute and ultimate end for the Christian.

Nevertheless, the state is valid and has a place within the universal order and is God's plan for a fallen world. The Christian must take a lively interest in the welfare of the whole community of which he is a part. However, the rebuilding of the political society is not the ultimate task of the Christian. Augustine's thought has no place for a vision of a politics of perfection. According to Deane, for Augustine, "politics is a realm in which fallible sinful men work out imperfect precarious solutions to recurring difficulties and tensions."⁶⁰ The state exists to maintain earthly peace so that men can live and work together, but its peace and justice will always be faulty, unstable and imperfect. Even the pilgrim members of the "City of God" need the state and its earthly peace.

Although it is true that Augustine's view of the secular realm often lacks consistency,⁶¹ he nevertheless regards it positively for it at least makes a corrupt world tolerably safe. Human laws are necessary for imperfect men - they preserve life and external morality. However, they cannot save souls⁶² for they do not deal with evil wills. Nevertheless, since the Christian benefits from the advantages of civil society, he must remain subject to its authority and bound by its laws in all matters pertaining to earthly existence.

The problem arises as to how a moral man can live and operate within an immoral society. Augustine's answer is somewhat paradoxical. Social injustice is not solved by revolt or rebellion, nor is it solved by turning one's back on one's fellow human beings. There is an inescapable tension between one's perfection as a Christian and as a citizen. The Christian, as seen earlier, can never be fully integrated into political

life; he moves beyond it in the direction of a transpolitical and other-worldly good. As Fortin sees it,

In a spirit of moderation and charity it simply teaches that a Christian should bear with equanimity the inescapable evils of life without ceasing to toil unswervingly for the suppression of those evils which can be successfully overcome by human effort and perseverance.⁶³

Although the Christian state is unjust individual rulers can be good and pious men,⁶⁴ and are bound to use their power to promote true religion and the worship of the one true God. However, even justice in a well-ordered state is an imperfect replica of true justice.⁶⁵ The important point is that the authority of the king or prince is established by God, and Christians have a solemn duty to obey the laws and commands of rulers, no matter how tyrannical or wicked they may be. In fact, the Christian because of his faith ought to show these evil rulers an even greater respect and obedience than do earthly men.⁶⁶ Lawful disobedience is only possible, as seen earlier, when the rulers' orders are contrary to God's law. Foreshadowing the later Gelasian doctrine of the two swords, Augustine states that consisting as we do of body and soul, the former must be submitted to the worldly power and the latter must be subject only to God.⁶⁷ Evil rulers can never destroy our inner freedom or retard true spiritual progress.

In the City of God, Augustine wished to accommodate the church to its role as the established religion of the empire on the one hand, and yet on the other hand, to free the Church from dependence upon any secular framework. The Christian could take part in political activities, render military service and participate in the work of the state as emperor or magistrate. Yet, the state is not sacred and has no absolute value. However, when Augustine used the political authorities to punish the Donatists for their heresy, he introduced a new and dangerous element into church-state

relationships with serious repercussions for the Middle Ages.⁶⁸

In conclusion, the eschatological essence of the City of God, with its theme of enduring hope midst sin and disorder is captured in the words of Peter Brown who declares:

The obvious feature of man's life in this saeculum is that it is doomed to remain incomplete. No human potentiality can ever reach its fulfilment in it; no human tension can every be fully resolved. The fulfilment of the human personality lies beyond it; it is infinitely postponed to the end of time, to the Last Day and the glorious resurrection Augustine, in the City of God, told him for what he must live in hope. It is a 'profound change. In substituting for the classical ideal of an available self-perfection the idea of a man, placed as a stranger in an uncomprehending land, a man whose virtue lies in a tension towards something else, in hope, in faith, in an ardent yearning for a country that is always distant, but made ever-present by the quality of his love, that 'groans' for it Augustine could well be called the first Romantic.⁶⁹

The political order lacks its fulfilment in history; it too "has been groaning in one great act of giving birth".⁷⁰

This chapter has not so much summarized the political ideas of St. Augustine as such, but rather delineated the manner in which he thought about the human political society. He was revolutionary in his time in discovering that the measure of rational control that man exercised over his political environment was limited. Yes, the political realm is indeterminate, provisional and subject to irrational human factors that make final political solutions unsafe and often, inhuman. If, as Augustine has shown, man cannot fully determine himself in consciousness and moral intention, how much less can he claim complete self-determination in politics.

In the next chapter, Augustine's valuable contribution will be compared and contrasted with Moltmann's more developed synthesis of eschatology and

politics. There is a common basis, albeit embryonically, of which Moltmann is the heir. Augustine makes final political solutions untenable. Moltmann demolishes political idols. Both are critical of any conceivable political establishment. Moltmann, unlike Augustine, suggests a critical, yet constructive, Christian polity that will be explored in chapter four.

FOOTNOTES

1. Dorothy F. Donnelly, The City of God and Utopia: A Revaluation in Augustine Studies, Vol 8, 1977, p. 116.
2. J. Burleigh, City of God: A Study of St. Augustine's Philosophy, p. 154.
3. St. Augustine, City of God, XI, 19, p. 225.
4. *Ibid.*, XV, 1, pp. 324 - 325.
5. *Ibid.*, XV, 21, p. 361.
6. *Ibid.*, XIV, 28, p. 231.
7. R.W. Battenhouse (ed.), A Companion to the Study of St. Augustine, p. 257.
8. C. Morris, Western Biblical Thought, p. 222.
9. St. Augustine, City of God, XVII, 16, pp. 385 - 388.
10. *Ibid.*, XVIII, 51, pp. 418 - 420.
11. R. Markus, Saeculum: History and Society in the Theology Of St. Augustine, p. 166.
12. J. Figgis, The Political Aspects of St. Augustine's City of God, p. 39.
13. St. Augustine, City of God, XII, 28, p. 268.
14. *Ibid.*, XII, 6, pp. 250 - 253.
15. St. Augustine, The Trinity, CI, 10, 2, pp. 212 - 214.
16. St. Augustine, City of God, XI, 28, pp. 238 - 239.

17. D. MacQueen, "The Origin and Dynamics of Society and State according to St. Augustine", p. 93.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 97.
19. St. Augustine, City of God, XV, 21, pp. 360 - 362.
20. D. MacQueen, "The Origin and Dynamics of Society and State according to St. Augustine", p. 77.
21. St. Augustine, City of God, XIII, 3, pp. 271 - 272.
22. *Ibid.*, XV, 1, pp. 232 - 233.
23. D. MacQueen, "The Origin and Dynamics of Society and State according to St. Augustine", p. 79.
24. J. Figgis, The Political Aspects of St. Augustine's City of God, p. 38.
25. C. Morris, Western Political Thought, p. 223.
26. J. Burleigh, City of God : A Study of St. Augustine's Philosophy, p. 161.
27. St. Augustine, City of God, XIX, 17, pp. 463 - 466.
28. J. Figgis, The Political Aspects of St. Augustine's City of God, p. 45.
29. St. Augustine, City of God, XIX, 17, pp. 463 - 466.
30. *Ibid.*, XIII, 3, p. 271.
31. E. Fortin, Political Idealism and Christianity in the Thought of St. Augustine, p. 129.

32. D. MacQueen, "The Origin and Dynamics of Society and State according to St. Augustine", p. 98.
33. *Ibid.*, p. 92
34. E. Fortin, Political Idealism and Christianity in the Thoughts of St. Augustine, p. 7.
35. *Ibid.*, p. 8.
36. St. Augustine, City of God, XIX, 21, pp. 468 - 471.
37. *Ibid.*
38. *Ibid.*
39. *Ibid.*, XIX, 24, p. 478.
40. *Ibid.*
41. D. MacQueen, "The Origin and Dynamics of Society and State According to St. Augustine", p. 100.
42. St. Augustine, City of God, V, 21, p. 116.
43. *Ibid.*, V, 4, p. 89.
44. H. Deane, The Political and Social Ideas of St. Augustine, p. 143.
45. E. Fortin, Political Idealism and Christianity in the Thought of St. Augustine, p. 9.
46. St. Augustine, City of God, XIX, 13, p. 456.
47. *Ibid.*, XIX, 26, p. 480.
48. *Ibid.*, XIX, 16, pp. 462 - 463.

49. *Ibid.*
50. *Ibid.*, V, 21, pp. 116 - 117.
51. P.R.I. Brown, Religion and Society in the Age of St. Augustine, p. 41.
52. H. Deane, The Political and Social Ideas of St. Augustine, p. 143.
53. S. Wolin, Politics and Vision: Christianity and Innovation in Western Political Thought, quoted in D. Donnelly, "The City of God and Utopia: A Re-evaluation", p. 120.
54. St. Augustine, City of God, V, 21, pp. 116 - 117.
55. *Ibid.*, V, 24, pp. 117 - 118.
56. *Ibid.*, V, 17, p. 113.
57. *Ibid.*, 24, pp. 117 - 118.
58. *Ibid.*, XIX, 17, pp. 463 - 466.
59. J. Burleigh, City of God : A Study of St. Augustine's Philosophy, p. 177.
60. H. Deane, The Political and Social Ideas of St. Augustine, p. 222.
61. C. Morris, Western Political Thoughts, p. 224.
62. St. Augustine, City of God, XIX, 17, pp. 463 - 466.
63. E. Fortin, Political Idealism and Christianity in the thought of St. Augustine, p. 33.
64. St. Augustine, City of God, V, 19, p. 114.
65. H. Deane, The Political and Social Ideas of St. Augustine, p. 144.

66. *Ibid.*, p. 146.

67. *Ibid.*, 148.

68. J. Figgis, The Political Aspects of St. Augustine's City of God, pp. 81 - 100.

69. P.R.I. Brown, Religion and Society in the Age of St. Augustine, pp. 38 - 39.

70. Romans 8:23.

CHAPTER 4

A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE ESCHATOLOGICAL NATURE OF THE POLITICAL ORDER IN THE THEOLOGY OF MOLTSMANN AND IN AUGUSTINE'S CITY OF GOD

I. A BASIS FOR COMPARISON

In this chapter the basis of comparison will be related to what has been previously expounded in chapters two and three.

Augustine and Moltmann are separated in history by more than one thousand five hundred years. During this time profound sociological, historical, scientific, cultural and psychological movements affected the articulation, understanding and practice of the Christian faith. However, both Augustine and Moltmann adopt a particular and consistent approach to their society in its relationship to Christian faith. The future orientated thrust of the Christian faith, that is, its eschatology, combined with a deep perception of the power of the "negative" within the historical process, provides Moltmann and Augustine with a critically constructive approach to any politics of perfection affecting a Utopia. The Christian is a pilgrim. The gospel is in a permanent state of tension with the world that no purely human means can alleviate. The Christian's eschatological hope is the very negation of any political ideology. Moltmann and Augustine, though in vastly different degrees, do not tether the Christian to any ideology or to any final political vision. Their respective secularization of politics implies a basis for, what Markus would call, "... a pluralistic, religiously neutral civil community."¹ There can be no sacral society or civil religion. This is their single greatest achievement.

Augustine freed the church from dependence upon the secular order thus allowing it to subject temporality to a questioning more radical than any

political programme. Nevertheless, Augustine formulated no "positive" Christian political ethics. He allowed the state a free reign with one stipulated restriction: this was the freedom for the believer to practise faith as desired.² However, Augustine has no criterion for specific Christian public ethics. Secular ethics thus become the ethics of the prevailing worldly power for it is not challenged by any Christian social doctrine.

This, for Moltmann, is clearly unacceptable for, how then can the political order become truly human?³ The following words of Moltmann could be used in criticism of Augustine and in vindication of his specific approach:

For Christian hope, the world is not an insignificant waiting room for the soul's journey to heaven, but the "arena" of the new creation of all things and the battleground of freedom It must ... draw the hoped-for future already into the misery of the present and use it ⁴ in practical initiatives for overcoming this misery.

Thus in any comparison of Augustine and Moltmann, the above introductory observations are crucial. It is the contention of this dissertation that despite very obvious differences neither Augustine nor Moltmann sacrificed the distinctiveness or relevance of the Christian faith in its relationship with the political milieu. Both in different ways opened up Christianity to the world processes. Augustine wished primarily to protect the sacred from the secular. However, indirectly he provided the machinery for the criticism of all temporary secular solutions. Moltmann, in contradistinction, endeavoured to insert the sacred into the secular processes and so lead them to the liberating freedom of God's transforming future. The distinctiveness of Christianity is starting point for both Moltmann and Augustine.⁵

II THE DISTINCTIVENESS OF CHRISTIANITY WITHIN AN ESCHATOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

From the previous section of this chapter it can be seen that both Moltmann and Augustine would agree that Christianity is distinctive and unique. Both seek to preserve, foster and use that distinctiveness to encourage a particular vision of society. Augustine's City of God preserves the autonomy of the Christian community within its sociological interplay with the secular realm. It provides a basis for later criticism of "establishment" political theology. The Civitas Dei is within history and yet its fulfilment lies beyond. Secular or worldly values cannot be simply endorsed, ratified or even rejected; they must be assessed within their eschatological perspective. The Christian cannot simply identify himself with the values of the Civitas Terrena. Even the fullest possible endorsement of secular values must remain tinged with criticism; for man's end lies beyond politics. Within an eschatological perspective there is no existing or even possible society in which there is nothing to criticize. Christian eschatology must question the roots of all social order. Augustine's eschatology in the City of God had an unsettling effect upon attempts to canonize existing structures. These are imperfect, provisional and tinged with that disorder resulting from the fall; therefore, they must be suspect.⁶ The tension inherent in a fallen society can never be fully resolved by human means; consequently eschatological hope renders any ideology suspect. The Gospel is in radical conflict with the world, a conflict that the eschaton alone will resolve. Any solution is partial; there is no final political solution prior to the last day.

Moltmann stressed the distinctiveness of Christian identity even more forcibly than Augustine. The eschatological nature of his theology is grounded in the resurrection of the crucified man, Jesus, rather than in

the fall. In the resurrection of Christ the future fullness of truth is revealed. In this truth revealed by the eschaton all things will attain their final state of being. Meanwhile, within history the secular realm contradicts the future truth opened up by the resurrection. In its identification with the crucified Christ, eschatological truth is revealed in history within the sign of contradiction. This means that the path to future liberation and truth is revealed in those who suffer, are powerless, and rejected within society. To the extent that the "vicious circles of death" are being destroyed by "creative acts", eschatological truth is being realized within history. Consequently, present statements of truth are anticipations of the future and are hence only temporary and provisional. Therefore, the present situation can never be absolutised; there is no sacral society. Rather, creative possibilities within history are pointers to the future of the truth. Thus history is the key to any understanding of eschatology.

III THE PERSPECTIVE APPROACH OF MOLTSMANN AND AUGUSTINE TO THE NATURE OF ESCHATOLOGY AND HISTORY

Moltmann and Augustine have different bases for their eschatology. Moltmann's is grounded in a definite historical event. This is the resurrection of Jesus and it lives from the future of that event. Eschatological truth is something new, a creatio ex nihilo, anticipated in the resurrection of Jesus, but revealed as entirely new. It is not extrapolated from history but anticipated in history. Further, although it is something new, it is not entirely separate from present reality. It is anticipated through the "creative acts" that are mentioned above.

Augustine's eschatology is more transworldly and less historical than Moltmann's, for it precedes creation itself. The Civitas Dei begins with the creation of light and the Civitas Terrena with the sin of Satan. In

the event of the fall they impinge on the historical. However, as different expressions of man's will they become symbolic of man's deeper spiritual and psychological desires. In this sense they affect history and man's social condition indirectly. Augustine's concern lay in the transformation of the disordered will of the individual soul rather than in the transformation of the social framework in which the person existed. It is true that he regarded the Civitas Terrena (imperfect, disordered and infected by sin as it is) as part of God's plan in history. However, there is no real transformation except in the individual soul. The earthly city is necessary for the individual heavenly pilgrimage, but its eschatological purpose does not serve the transformation of all God's creation. Augustine's eschatology allows for no real possibility for the improvement of the temporal world. Though the gospel lives in a state of tension, disquiet and often open hostility with the world; nevertheless, it has the power to affect political, social and economic institutions. The Christian God must not be regarded as a heavenly guarantor of the status quo nor may mankind merely wait around passively for the kingdom of God. The kingdom is a divine gift but mankind may even now live in the spirit of that kingdom. In agreement with Moltmann, it can be said,

The salvation which faith embraces in hope is therefore not a private but a public salvation, not only spiritual but also bodily, not a purely religious but a political salvation. We may not separate them into two kingdoms but must recognize the cruciform character of this Saviour and his salvation in all dimensions of life.

Thus man's hopes may not, as Augustine has done, be reduced to mere inwardness, postponing the fulfilment to the hereafter. The hope and promise to which God calls man must correspond to possibilities within the processes of the world. The world cannot be consigned to the kingdom of Satan. Even according to Moltmann, it is held within the throes of

death processes. However, by identification with the crucified One and within the "boundary experiences" of suffering, rejection and Godforsakeness, there are "creative acts" that transcend these negative experiences and anticipate the coming kingdom.

The key to Moltmann's eschatology is the "end" whereas for Augustine's eschatology it is the "beginning". What are the consequences? Augustine's search is for "paradise regained". History between creation and redemption is a history of the fall. It brings nothing new; there is no positive transformation. Instead, there is deterioration and ageing. Redemption itself is only the restoration of that which has been lost by the fall. It would be untrue to say that Augustine lacked an historical mind. He does have a philosophy of history for the divine purpose takes the form of the "City of God". This philosophy of history manifests itself in human society but it lacks visibility and prophetic power. It is hidden and unsacramental. Terrestrial society cannot hope for any meaningful evolution. The best it may hope for, is that it may be well-ordered and make life tolerably safe for the heavenly pilgrims.⁸ Despite Augustine's appreciation of history and its artistic and human spiritual formative qualities, it is a "closed" rather than an "open" system. As Moltmann contends, speaking of "closed systems",

It is first of all paradise lost, then the road to exile. What is redemption? It is the way back and as the final outcome, paradise regained. Sin perverts the good creature. Grace restores it. What emerges from the history of sin and grace is the good creation as it was originally History only begins with the fall of man and ends with the restoration of creation in redemption The picture of creation which is painted in this way is the picture of a closed system, perfecting itself and totally self-sufficient.⁹

Thus for Moltmann, creation is not only found in the beginning, but also in history and fully in the consummation.¹⁰ There is continuity, unity

and evolution in the divine creative activity. Moltmann observes: "The initial creation, points towards salvation history, and both point beyond themselves to the Kingdom of glory."¹¹ Therefore it may be said, that for Moltmann, initial creation is an open, perfectible potentiality within the historical interplay of grace and freedom. For Augustine, the fall represented a move from perfection to corruption, for a grace-filled existence to a sin-infected alienation, from order to disorder and from being to non-being. Redemption is, consequently, the inversion of corruption and non-being in the glory of the consummation.¹²

Moltmann's "open" concept of creation belongs to the language of promise and covenant; it is "experimental".¹³ There is only one certainty; this is the faithfulness of God to himself and his promise already validated eschatologically within history in the event of the resurrection. All reality is open to the future, is "going somewhere", and its final transformation is provisionally embodied within the present. Thus the present has a promissory character. As Moltmann argues, "Hope is an experiment with God, with oneself, and with history."¹⁴ The "experiment hope" is an experiment in historical existence (in its "experience" and "temptation"¹⁵) partially fulfilled in "creative acts".¹⁶ These are the "opening up" of the "closed systems". These systems, which militate against life and the future eschatological fulfilment, are brought to life in order to transform present reality. Furthermore, they allow it to reach towards its potentialities that are revealed in history in the raising of the crucified one. In fact, the opening up of closed systems can only come about through the acceptance of suffering. God's openness to the world is manifested through the suffering and death of Christ.¹⁷ To the extent that the "experiment hope" is open to the coming kingdom, those associated with it, in faith and trust, experience the groaning of unredeemed creation.¹⁸

Moltmann and Augustine address the problem of the "unredeemed", "closed" or "fallen" (sin-tainted) world from different theological perspectives. Both see the reality and profundity of sin in its various manifestations and thus the question of theodicy is crucial. Sin exists and its manifestations are many and varied. Thus the hoped-for historical future is within a realm of tension and disorder that no socio-political system can fully resolve.

The City of God can be seen as directed against the idealism of Plato's work The Republic. Plato proposed what men ought to do. Augustine demonstrated the inescapable conclusion that the perfect society was beyond the scope of human capacity. For Augustine classical thought had failed due to its high expectations for fallen man. The classicists, lacking a notion of the fall of man, relied on human reason and human means to bring about noble social and individual goals. However, the problem lay not in man's rationality, but in his will. This involved the conflict of loves that originates historically in the fall. The fall is crucial to Augustine's concept of society as it is to everything else in his theology. As a consequence of the fall, the will is tainted and corrupt. One evil act corrupted the will in every member of the human race,¹⁹ thereby introducing disorder. For Augustine, sin or non-being, is a psycho-spiritual disorder profoundly affecting man's personal life and his communal existence. These are now dominated by the lust for power and self-love. Society is thus privative because man seeks his ground within himself. It is furthermore separative as it divides members of society from one another. Therefore, the best that the Civitas Terrena can hope for is good order aimed at providing purely mundane benefits for society. Though it is rooted in man's corruption, there is the hope that it may save man from himself and assist him on his pilgrimage to the heavenly city.

Unlike Augustine who sees the world as "disordered", Moltmann sees creation as "unfree". The former sees corruption of the original good, the latter undeveloped potential. Moltmann recognizes that,

A Christian theology of liberation sees a primal fear of cosmic breadth and trans-personal depth at work in, together with and beneath the repressions in the different sectors of life - a fear which is always and everywhere turning into aggression.²⁰

For Augustine sin is non-being. Moltmann uses terms such as "enslavement", "primal fear", "non-creative", "alienation", and a "closed system". Sin does not originate in the fall but in the creation of an open system. Moltmann explains:

Creation in the beginning is also the creation of time. It must therefore be understood as creatio mutabilis. It is perfectible, not perfect, for it is open for the history of both disaster and salvation, for both destruction and consummation. If we understand creation indivisibly and as a whole as an open system, then its beginning is at the same time the condition for its history and its completion. Creation in the beginning is the creation of conditions for the probabilities of creation's history. It pegs at the experiential field of constructive and destructive possibilities. It is open for time and for its alteration in time. We cannot see in initial creation the invariant nature of history,²¹ but we can see the beginnings of nature's history.

Thus the origin of sin is implicit in the very creation of the "possibilities", "potentialities" and "freedom" of God's initial creative act. Sin is not "transmitted" in the Augustinian sense but it is endemic within the structure of a still unfree creation (original sin) evolving towards the all-embracing freedom for which all men and all things yearn.

In again focusing attention of the City of God, the problems confronting the analysis of such an infinitely flexible wide-ranging book that at times lacks a logical coherence, are immense. It is clear that the relationship of God to the saeculum is complex and defies a simplistic

analysis. The Civitas Terrena is part of God's plan in history for a disordered imperfect world. It is, as has been seen, necessary for the building up of the "City of God". Its very corruption can be harnessed to serve the divine purpose for it is part of God's providence. The Civitas Terrena's specific purpose in history is to save mankind from total anarchy and disorder²² so as to offer the individual soul the opportunity to love and serve God and his fellow men. While it would be untrue to conclude that God has simply abandoned the Civitas Terrena to the powers of darkness, nevertheless, it would be equally difficult to conclude that Augustine would see God as open in a positive sense to the world processes. Here Moltmann provides the corrective. Augustine's Civitas Dei merely "impinges" on history; there is no reign of God "within" history until the last day.

Moltmann anticipates the coming kingdom in history in the eschatological event of the raising of Jesus. He affirms:

... that the coming kingdom of God is not to be found anywhere on earth, except at the cross of Golgotha. The divine future confronts us, not in the dreams of the future, but in the face of the crucified Christ. In the crucified Jesus, the risen Christ is present on earth - present and seeable and tellable ... the crucified Christ manifests what is really wrong with this world. The cross of Christ reveals the Godlessness and God-forsakeness of the world.²³

Thus in placing the cross at the centre of world history (not in the fall), God is linked and opened to the processes of unredeemed creation. The Civitas Terrena is not debased. Although, for Moltmann, "... the forces of history bear the names of law, sin and death"²⁴ they demonstrate the path to salvation within history. This is achieved in identification with the victims of social history - the downtrodden, oppressed and Godforsaken. Such a path is demonstrated in the model of Jesus in representative suffering and in solidarity with all who suffer in

unredeemed existence.²⁵ Unlike the Platonic concept of God's perfection (apatheia), for Moltmann, God too, suffers in and through his creation. He is the God of pathos who enters into a relationship with the history of his people making their burdens and suffering his own.²⁶ So for Moltmann,

The history of God's self-humiliation begins with creation and reaches to the end. God is present in two ways; he dwells in heaven and also among the humiliated. He is exalted yet cares for those who are humbled²⁷ These are the accommodation of God to human history.

Therefore, God's very being-in-itself is open to the suffering of the saeculum. The love of the Trinity is reflected within the processes of history in the raising of the crucified One. This allows the Trinity to incorporate man's history and salvation. Moltmann contends:

God's history is not a fact that could be regarded as detached, as something finished and complete, once and for all. For through the Holy Spirit the history of Christ with God and the history of God with Christ becomes the history of God for us and hence our history with God.²⁸

Therefore, in the sending of the Son and the Spirit, the Trinity reveals its inner essence and opens itself for history and all human experience. In the eschatological act of the Resurrection of Christ however, the future unity of the world, and the divine glorification of the Trinity, is anticipated within history.²⁹ Protologically (in its origins) and eschatologically (in its end) then, the Trinity is associated in its essence with the history of all creation. God experiences history in its breadth and depth.³⁰ Moltmann explains:

God experiences history in order to create history. He goes out of himself in order to gather to himself. He becomes vulnerable, takes suffering and death in himself in order to heal, to liberate and to confer his eternal life.³¹

However, Augustine's City of God had stressed God in the origin and

sending. Consequently, God disappeared into the background of earthly messianic activity. God awaits the final consummation. He works His mysterious purposes within history awaiting the judgement and consummation. His "grace" is available but it affects comparatively few persons. The greater mass of humanity is "separated" from his creative activity.³²

Moltmann thinks primarily in terms of the eschatological glorification. Here God is "in front" or "ahead"; he is leading, experiencing and gathering creation to himself. He is an "active" agent in the transformation of history into the glory that is the consummation.

This analysis of the historical basis of Moltmann and Augustine's thought has prepared the ground for a full treatment of their attitude to the realm of politics.

IV THE POLITICAL ORDER: DETACHMENT AND INVOLVEMENT

It has been seen that Christian hope is a permanently unsettling force for Christians. It is always inclined to treat the political and social establishment with suspicion. It seeks to prevent social institution from becoming rigid and dogmatically inflexible. It is the very negation of ideology, for it asserts that the Gospel is in radical conflict with the world. In place of rigid ideologies, it sets provisional goals to be realised in the light of political experience and within the horizon of eschatological expectation. Yet, on the other hand, Christian hope draws the believer into participation in the political life and into membership of his society. However, it does not tether him to a particular ideology or final political vision.

Both Moltmann's and Augustine's political theologies sense the provisionality of political life in the incompleteness of the saeculum. Yet

for both, the Christian must take a positive interest in the welfare of his society without being fully and uncritically integrated into its political ethos.

Augustine is concerned for the Christian to be a stranger in an uncomprehending land. He is inclined towards a static view of political society and disavows the use of power to improve the lot of man on earth. Augustine rejected any identification of the church's destiny with that of the Empire. Further, he strongly resisted any attempts to tie the church to a temporary societal structure within history. The secular order had a contribution to make to the church's life. However, nothing essential to the church's mission can be lost should any partial structure within evolving society collapse or disappear. Unlike Moltmann, Augustine felt the church had no positive norms to judge historical development. No means were available whereby one could locate the two cities in secular history. Until the last day, they are inextricably intertwined. Any positive evaluation of a society tainted by sin was beyond the scope of Augustine's vision. The fulfilment promised to man is revealed as a unique gift anticipated in Christ and yet only revealed in his eschatological kingdom. For Augustine, Christian hope was too radical to require much optimism about the future. It had no real basis in history. In the City of God Augustine's attack on the "sacral" concept of the Empire prepared the way for the liberation of society and indeed all politics from civil religion. Society was in the future³³ to become increasingly "secular" and uncommitted to any ultimate loyalty. It supported increasingly religious and ideological pluralism.

Augustine had been unable to formulate the theological and biblical rationale with which to positively and critically evaluate the Civitas Terrena. His evaluation was basically negative, because he saw the origin of the saeculum in the fall. Tainted, fallen humanity was

"disordered". It tended to disperse itself in the search for the restitution of a lost harmony in a multiplicity of intense but incomplete loves.³⁴ In classical political theory politics is perfectible, justice attainable and reason exalted over will. For this reason the classicists were in no position to understand the psychological and spiritual poverty of fallen man. Speaking of Augustine, Peter Brown says,

... for him, man is so indeterminate, so discontinuous, so blind in his intentions and haphazard in his attempts to communicate, that he must be determined by some force outside the horizon of his immediate consciousness - for Augustine, of course, by God.³⁵

Augustine's central problem is that dilectio (the orientation of one's whole personality), militates against the possibility of a strong measure of rational control over the political environment. In short, Augustine focuses attention upon the will. The will including the irrational is emphasized to the virtual exclusion of the structures in political society. However, the irrational is beyond all but the most basic solution. This would involve an ordered hierarchy of power to hold in check the harmful criminal acts of wilful children. In this way a basic remedy is provided for man's sinful condition. Augustine was so appalled by the self-centredness of human life that he concluded anarchy would ensue. All that was required of the state to stem these destructive tides within the human psyche was the maintenance of earthly justice, peace and order as manifested in the Peace of Babylon. A Christian ruler or magistrate is urged to use his power to secure peace and prosperity for the people. He must further promote true piety and religion. These latter duties are those of a Christian seeking his eternal salvation. However, they are not those of a ruler *per se*. Though the individual ruler might be pious or just, the political order cannot be so. The Civitas Terrena might be compared with a land of "dying people" subject to sin, suffering and misfortune. There is little room in Augustine's thought

for power to be used as an instrument to improve the lost of men on earth.

Augustine had to accommodate the church to its new role as the established religion of the empire. He had to insist that Christians take part in political activities without violating the commands of Christ. Nevertheless, he restricted the saeculum to the periphery of the Christian life. Augustine had gone further than any of his predecessors in "accommodating" Christianity to a dangerous secular world. Yet his basic thrust was one of tacit withdrawal, rather than meaningful involvement with secular society. Deane observes:

Augustine's keen sense of the perpetual power of human pride and sinfulness compelled him to reject any hope that the future would bring enduring peace and progress. Both his beliefs and his experience and observation of men's actions in an age of disorder enforced upon him an attitude of pessimistic realism, which would not allow him to sentimentalize or evade the darker aspects of social and political life.³⁶

On the other hand, Moltmann's involvement with secular society was combined with a deep sense of both Christian identity and relevance. This was centred in the crucified Christ who reveals the malevolence of the saeculum. It is the "promise" that spurs on involvement. This promise is revealed in history and eschatologically fulfilled in the raising of Jesus. This resurrection proleptically proclaims the parousia.

Moltmann's political theology is not one of undue optimism nor one containing a strong theory of social progress. In the presence of the cross he sees the negative and critical elements of despair that arise from this-worldly human expectations. These centre in the contradictions, inconsistencies and self-centredness of human existence. Mankind lives in a world where nothing as yet seems to correspond to the "promise" and where there is a continual tension between the "now" in which the promise is proclaimed and the "new" in which the promise is fulfilled.³⁷

Augustine's political theology was based on the fall. This was an event wholly negative in its historical consequences. The consequent deep distrust of fallen man prevented a creative involvement with the world. Moltmann centres his political theology in the death and resurrection of Christ. This is an event circumscribed within history, but an occurrence that opens up history to a definite future. The death of the crucified One reveals the truth of the human, social and political predicament of unredeemed man. Therefore, it becomes a critical and liberating theology that makes man aware of the contradiction between the hoped-for future and the limitations of the present. The crucified Lord demonstrates what is wrong with the world; the risen Christ is the messianic anticipation of the end-time. However, the healing, liberating and saving actions can be experienced now. The end of history is already present in the midst of history. Thus Moltmann contends:

But if Jesus is the anticipation of God, then he must simultaneously and unavoidably become the sign of resistance to the powers of the world which contradict God and to the laws of the world which is closed to the future Thus eschatological anticipation inevitably brings forth historical resistance. Salvation can enter the situation of misery in no other way; liberation can enter the world of oppression in no other way.³⁸

Therefore the resurrection of Jesus is an eschatological anticipation and the beginning of the resurrection process in the world's new creation. God becomes the power of the future in the midst of history. There is a history of hope in the event of the resurrection and this means that the expectation of man can be partially, though certainly, realized in history. In the hopes of the "eschatologically determined being"³⁹ (man), the certain liberating future of God becomes the basis for his transcending every present historical limitation.

If Augustine sees a sin-disordered saeculum moving towards non-being, how

then does Moltmann view the reality of the social and political order? It too, is under sentence of death, enslaved by the forces of law, sin and death.⁴⁰ Arising from this forsaken creation is the cry for liberty that runs through man, creation, and even the Godhead.⁴¹ This cry for freedom is a universal one. Moltmann declares:

It [the cry for freedom] is the hope of men and women. It is the desire of nature. It is the passion of God, as it was revealed in the crucified Christ A theology of liberation sees all individual suffering and failures in the world against the background of God's patient suffering. It therefore sees all partial movements towards liberation against the horizon of⁴² God's own perfect and final history of liberation.

Moltmann sees this cry for freedom as a "passion for the possible".⁴³ Augustine's "fallen creation" is the banishment from Eden in the exile of sin. It does not hear this cry for freedom from within the midst of unredeemed creation. Augustine clearly recognizes that freedom is dangerous. It entails many risks for it is a participation in the creative act of God that is open to all the human abuses of self-interest and power. Moltmann, well aware of these dangers says:

The risk of freedom in an unfree world is a big one ... And it is true that everyone who is prepared for freedom must be prepared for the⁴⁴ Cross Freedom on the Cross: that is the Gospel.

God identifies the "unfree world" with the negative. At this point, according to Meeks, he "makes the pain of his lordship known".⁴⁵ The "negative", for Moltmann, is the "others": the socially and culturally outcast, those who suffer economic destitution, the exploited environment and those who live in the apathy of personal despair and hopelessness.⁴⁶ These "vicious circles of death" are laid bare by God's suffering - identity with the crucified One. Therefore Christians are to be sensitive to radical evil. This evil is the the unspeakable suffering of society,

the world and nature as subject to various kinds of slavery. Augustine calls upon mankind to live with and alongside the "negatives" of existence and to use their failures and exploitation. Sinful men who occupy positions of power and authority are to be obeyed. Their cruelty is accepted as a divinely ordained discipline and punishment.⁴⁷ However, Moltmann brings to political activity a sensitivity for transcendence whereby the negative can be negated (the negation of the negative). He identifies the "negatives" within contemporary existence and calls upon Christians to "... realistically recognize and accept the real and objective possibilities that bear some correspondence with the future set before them."⁴⁸ The actualizing of these possibilities, are for Moltmann, God's creative acts within history. God's providential action in creation, for Augustine, are hardly tangible; rather, they impinge upon creation. As seen in Chapter Three, God reveals himself within history, his work of art. It is a "hidden", indirect revelation.

God's acts, for Moltmann, are most positively identifiable in the "negation of the negative" within creation. Augustine and Moltmann differ in this way: Augustine sees sin and forsakenness but Moltmann sees the presence and power of the lordship of the Crucified Christ even in the sphere of sin's reign. The negative, that is, sin, can be negated. Moltmann identifies God's presence in Christ in the community of sin and Godforsakenness. The Christian faith turns to these "negatives" in order to proclaim and practise the "negation of the negative". This means that through God's creative acts in history, closed moribund systems as presented in Augustine's saeculum are revived. The future becomes a transformation, of what Moltmann terms, "non-human life systems".⁴⁹ The opening-up of these systems is impossible without the acceptance of creative suffering. In the same way as God's openness for the world is manifested in the suffering and death of Jesus, so the "negation of the

negative" within history is likened to the quickening of life through the process of death and re-creation.⁵⁰

Augustine's and Moltmann's respective concepts of peace further highlight "detachment" and "involvement" as symptomatic of their approach to society and the political order. It should be noted that it is the contention of this dissertation that Moltmann and Augustine espouse both models, that is, "detachment" and "involvement". "Involvement", however, for Moltmann, is far stronger and more developed. The reason for Moltmann's developed exposition lies in his concept of the centrality reflected in the raising of the crucified one. It is an event within history. It therefore provides a stronger basis for the eschatological future of history.

Peace, for Augustine, is the obverse of tension. There is within fallen creation an unresolved and unresolvable tension that runs through body and soul, man and man and consequently, through all aspects of social life. Peace then, would be the avoidance and finally the resolution of these tensions. Peace is so fundamental to human happiness and spiritual well-being that the state authorities have the divine-given duty to cancel out as many of these tensions as possible. Since the event of the fall, the domination of man over man has arisen and it is through this domination that at least some tensions are cancelled and human selfishness curbed. Strong governmental power alone can channel the human lust for domination and vengeance. Such a concept of peace must therefore imply passivity within the citizen body and a consequent static view of the political society.

In Moltmann's view, Augustine's negative description of peace would not go far enough; it lacks a positive vision.⁵¹ The absence of peace is symptomatic not merely of "wilful children", but of "vicious circles of death" that enslave and frustrate creation's universal cry of freedom.

Moltmann contends:

The road to peace leads right through these vicious circles Today these vicious circles have devilish power; they interlock like links in a chain; and they lead to death. Peace work, therefore, must look for political, economic, cultural and religious ways that lead to life. Hope in action must produce images and adaptations⁵² of peace that would make the hope of faith credible.

As can be concluded from the above quotation, peace for Moltmann involves an active evangelical church life. The gospel of peace is put into action in the "vicious circles" where human potential is stunted and the threat of universal death most real. Future peace means redistribution of economic power and the recognition of human rights. (Augustine recognizes no possibilities here). Peace involves in addition mutual respect for racial, cultural and sexual identity and partnership with, reverence for, and communion with nature. Finally it involves an appreciation for the quality of personal life. Moltmann recognizes that, "Buying is more than having, the joy of living is more than maximizing profits, peace is worth more than power."⁵³

Moltmann has a distinct, identifiable Christian polity. Augustine, on the other hand, never intended Christianity to be a substitute for political life. The sacred and secular co-exist uneasily. Occasionally they might co-exist in a single subject, the person of the Christian ruler, but they never merge. Christian citizens are to comply with the obligations of political life but they must never allow their souls to be moulded by the opinions of the regime under which they happen to live. The Christian must bear with equanimity the tensions and evils of life; yet strive unceasingly for the suppression of those evils which can be overcome by human effort and endurance. While Moltmann would dispute that there can be an apologetic religion,⁵⁴ Augustine would agree to such a concept. He tried to dispose of the problem of political life by moving beyond the

political order in the direction of transpolitical and otherworldly good.⁵⁵ Moltmann would contend that an approach such as Augustine's, would lead indirectly to the very politicization the church sought to escape. Detachment from does not escape involvement in the political order. Moltmann would assert that in order to avoid the danger of civil religion and to maintain its distinctive identity, Christianity must become the power of liberation from political idols.⁵⁶ He states:

Political religion would like to interpret the dangerous memory of the messianic message of Christ within the conditions of contemporary society in order to free man practically from the coercions of the society and to prepare the way for the eschatological freedom of the new man.⁵⁷

It is observed that Moltmann does not want to make political questions the main concern of theology, nor does he wish to politicize the church. He wishes rather to Christianize the political order while maintaining the distinctiveness of Christian identity. Political religions, for Moltmann, make an idol of the soul of the nation by replacing history with mythology. An example of this attitude would be found in Hitler's Herrenvolk. While it is often true that these state religions have been Christianized, nevertheless, in the process Christianity itself has been politicized so providing what Moltmann calls, the "current raison of the state."⁵⁸ As he has shown in chapter two, monotheism has bolstered the monarchical structures in society and so provided a basis for a political religion. Christianity has the inner consistency and power (through the doctrine of the Trinity, the prohibition of the worship of idols, and the eschatological concept of universal peace) to break loose from politico-religion. The symbol of the cross distinguishes the Christian faith from any other religion or ideology for it deprives the state or society of any religious justification. What the natural order holds sacred - power and authority - the cross demolished in exalting its antithesis, which is

freedom. Consequently, the Christian faith becomes the power of liberation from "political idols".⁵⁹

While it can be clearly seen that Moltmann "freed" the Christian faith from politicization, Augustine, ironically, provided a rationale for Church politicization. He had justified the state by the "laws of man's nature".⁶⁰ The family is the primal social unit that results in the good state.⁶¹ The ruler is divinely appointed like the father and is to receive honour and be obeyed unless his commands are in conflict with those of God.⁶² It is true that Augustine clearly established that the political society can never be the final and ultimate task for the Christian. He provided for a trans-political religion where man must look for his ultimate good. Unfortunately, his negative attitude to the saeculum was dangerous; for Augustine's central political insight - a politics of imperfection - was obscured under the impact of the sanctification of the state by theocratic ideas. In the City of God he used earthly concepts such as "power" and "authority", as representative of the divine influence in politics. Moltmann used the "crucified One" to provide a permanent symbol for the iconoclasm that he waged against any political religion. It is important to see the distinction between traditional theology represented by Augustine and the new emphasis reflected in Moltmann. It must be noted that the fall, unlike the cross, could not provide a sufficient theological basis for the criticism of social structure. Social failures are not reflected by the fall but are clearly seen in the cross. The cross, unlike the fall, reveals what is wrong with the world. Therefore Moltmann's "raising of the crucified One" provides a corrective to the critical limitation of the City of God for it provides a perennial symbol of resistance to the status quo. It is not sufficient to be detached from the saeculum without a corresponding effective involvement in the secular realm. Without this it is not

possible to address effectively the political order from within the Christian ethos. Moltmann has succeeded in providing a strong Christian critique of the political realm. Augustine withdraws from, without being effectively involved in, the Civitas Terrena. He has little to say to secular society. Moltmann withdraws from political society in order to seek Christian social identity. Nevertheless, he is simultaneously involved in freeing society from political religion in order to open the world to the liberating freedom of Jesus Christ.

V. CHRISTIANITY AND THE POLITICAL ORDER

As seen earlier there is an inescapable tension between man's perfection as a citizen and his perfection as a Christian and as a human being. The Christian grounded in imperfection, yet sustained by grace, is inextricably linked to the social milieu. The sociological separation advocated in the early church is not possible. An identification of the church with the social order is a danger to its identity and mission. Augustine and Moltmann both advocated an eschatological separation that would allow the church the freedom to pursue its prophetic challenge to the contemporary world.

Augustine's City of God wished to free the church from the framework of the Roman Empire that many regarded as a God-willed political and social milieu. There is no social or political milieu in which the church may find itself "at home". The eschatological hope proposed by the intertwined cities must inevitably lead the Christian to an analogous relationship with the world. Both the sociological separation proposed by the Donatists, and a sacral society, are untenable solutions. The church is an eschatological community that lives in the end-time. Thus it is a permanently unsettling force in the sense that it seeks to prevent the "idolizing" of present social situations. The gospel is in a state of

radical and permanent conflict with a fallen world. It must question all forms of societal order; yet, on the other hand, the believer must be drawn into the political life of his society freed from the restrictions imposed by any ideology or final political vision. The Christian is to obey and support the state but he can give it no final loyalty. He lives in exile in the Civitas Terrena, but the Civitas Dei is his home.

Peter Brown suggests: "Augustine's political thought gravitates around the problem of man's behaviour in politics."⁶³ All actions, including the discharge of political duties, reveal the quality of one's loves. The Christian as an individual must loyally support and obey the state. He must do this in order to undo the effects of the fall. These are the dislocation of the harmonious order established by God and its most basic symptom, domination. Only the state can check the human lust for domination and vengeance. Furthermore, the Christian is passive before the state because through it God's hidden ways are revealed; it is part of his plan for a fallen world. However, the church has nothing effective to say to the state. It can encourage the "Godly prince"⁶⁴ but one's eternal salvation is unaffected by the quality of political rule. Augustine taught the Christian to look for his final goal beyond the saeculum. In all things except his deeper spiritual self he is totally subject to its tyranny.

Can the Christian sustain the dichotomy - free in spirit, enslaved in body? Christian faith and the political order address the whole person who has been born into the liberty and freedom of the children of God. Can the Christian satisfactorily enjoy God's freedom in an unfree world?

Moltmann would contend that the Christian's personal salvation is linked to his transforming mission to the world. The world can be changed by the God of hope. The Christian is directed as individual, and church towards

the possibilities of what will be. Moltmann contends:

The theory of world-transforming, future-seeking missionary practice does not search for eternal orders in the existing reality of the world, but for possibilities that exist⁶⁵ in the world in the direction of the promised future.

It can be seen, that for Moltmann, the believer through his faith in the resurrected one and the promise of his future, must transform existing reality in the power of the spirit of the crucified one. His salvation is not only personal and social but one in solidarity with the whole creation. The believer stands in obedience to the world-transforming mission in the service of reconciliation. Moltmann maintains the believer

... does not link things, as in technical positivism, but with his own subjectivity. Rather he adjusts being to the universal, rectifying future of God. Thus his mediation serves the reconciliation of the world with God This understanding consists in the fact that in sympathy with the misery of being he anticipates the redeeming future of being and so lays the foundations⁶⁶ of its reconciliation, justification and stability.

The practice and the realization of a Christian mission in the world is a political question. Theology has to be critically conscious of the social and political context. The believer and his environment are open to the salvific acts initiated by the resurrection of Christ. Salvific reconciliation is a process of liberation. It is the opening-up of closed systems to their future potential in the fulfilment. Liberation is multi-dimensional: freeing theology from religious idolatry, politics from political idolatry and the church from political and civil religion. The liberating service of the Christian is reflected in his concrete involvement in the transformation of the world.

The church is to be an "exodus church" and no longer the religion of society, the cultus publicus, representing the highest good of society.

Rather, it is the church for the world. It is the expectation of the coming kingdom of God and the vanguard of the coming righteousness. The church serves mankind by assisting the world to transform itself. It does this in serving what is to be. This for Moltmann

... does not merely mean salvation of the soul, individual rescue from the evil world, comfort for the troubled conscience, but also the realization of the eschatological hope of justice, the humanizing of man, the socializing of humanity, peace for all creation.⁶⁷

It is clearly seen that discipleship for Christians is a sacrifice of the whole of life including social and public life. Creative discipleship⁶⁸ suffers under the cross of the present. It is never an adaptation to the existing social patterns. It opens the present to the creative possibilities in reconciling the world to God and his future. In so doing discipleship restructures social institutions in order that mankind may live in a world of possibilities that can serve the future promise. Christian discipleship has political consequences but these aim to give the church political liberty. This liberty will enable the church to have a critical liberating task over and against the "vicious circles of death" that enslave the world. The church's involvement in liberation means that it must take sides; it is partisan on behalf of those whose suffering is revealed by the cross. There is no danger of the church and the Christian "conforming" to the world if they seek their identity in the cross. In the church's identity with the "lowly" it will have the freedom to stand back from partial historical realities, political, cultural and religious idols, and any uncritical assimilation of culture. The cross will always have the power to contradict the present, but yet unfulfilled-reality. It will contradict the is and through its link with the resurrection, open reality to the ought, that is, the promise of the future fulfilment in the eschaton. Moltmann concludes:

To act ethically in a Christian sense means to participate in God's history in the midst of our own history, to integrate ourselves into the comprehensive process of God's liberation of the world, and to discover our own role in this according to our calling and abilities. A messianically orientated ethics makes people co-operators for the kingdom of God. It assumes that the kingdom of God is already here in concrete, if hidden form. Christian ethics integrates suffering and ailing people into God's history with this world; it is fulfilled by the hope of the completion⁶⁹ of God's history in the world by God himself.

Thus Christian creative discipleship anticipates the kingdom.

To conclude this chapter it can be said that Augustine's Christian is a "stranger in an uncomprehending land".⁷⁰ His destiny is unaffected by the flux of disorder. On the other hand, he is one who has to come to terms with the nature of a "fallen" world and use its disharmony to provide security, peace and order. The transformation of a fallen world in all its multi-dimensional facets is beyond his scope. Nevertheless, whatever its limitations the City of God encouraged the Christian to free himself from dependence upon any existing or future social or political order.

Moltmann's Christian is also a stranger, not in an uncomprehending land but in a world opened up to a promised future in the resurrection of Christ. However, in the present he lives under the shadow of the cross. His world contradicts the future promise. From the spirit of the crucified one comes the divine mandate. This involves the transformation of a given "latency" into the "tendency" of the eschatological kingdom of hope.

Chapter five, the final chapter of this dissertation, will draw from both Moltmann and the City of God in order to formulate some guidelines for a Christian appraisal of liberation theology and its political connotations.

FOOTNOTES

1. R. Markus, Saeculum: History and Society in the Theology of St. Augustine, p. 177.
2. St. Augustine, City of God, V. 17, p. 113.
3. J. Moltmann, The Experiment Hope, p. 102.
4. J. Moltmann, "Religion, Revolution and the Future", quoted in A Reader in Political Theology, p. 55.
5. see Chapter Two IV and Chapter Three III and IV
6. see Chapter Three III.
7. J. Moltmann, On Human Dignity, p. 104.
8. P.R.I. Brown, Religion and Society in the Age of St. Augustine, p 41.
9. J. Moltmann, The Future of Creation, pp. 116 - 117.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 118.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 119.
12. see Chapter Three III and IV.
13. J. Moltmann, The Experiment Hope, pp. X - XI
14. *Ibid.*, p. 187.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 188.
16. J. Moltmann, The Future of Creation, pp. 121 - 122.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 124.

18. J. Moltman, The Experiment Hope, p. 189.
19. St. Augustine, City of God., XIII, 2, pp. 271 - 273.
20. J. Moltmann, The Future of Creation, p. 100.
21. *Ibid.*, p. 120.
22. St. Augustine, City of God, V. 21, p. 116.
23. J. Moltmann, The Future of Creation, p. 53.
24. *Ibid.*
25. *Ibid.*, pp. 53 - 54.
26. J. Moltmann, The Experiment Hope, p. 76.
27. *Ibid.*, p. 77.
28. J. Moltmann, The Future of Creation, p. 82.
29. *Ibid.*, p. 90.
30. *Ibid.*, p. 93.
31. *Ibid.*, p. 95.
32. St. Augustine, City of God, XV, 1, 2, pp 323 - 327.
33. Augustine's ideas were misunderstood during the Middle Ages. Imperialists and Papalists both quoted him to their respective advantages. See Figgis, The Political Aspects of St. Augustine's City of God, pp 81 - 100.
34. See Chapter Three III.

35. P.R.I. Brown, Religion and Society in the Age of St. Augustine, p. 28.
36. H. Deane, The Political and Social Ideas of St. Augustine, p. 241.
37. See Chapter Two I.
38. J. Moltmann, On Human Dignity, pp. 202 - 103.
39. G. von Rad, Old Testament Theology 11, pp. 426 - 428.
40. J. Moltmann, The Crucified god., pp. 291 - 294.
41. J. Moltmann, The Future of Creation, p. 98.
42. *Ibid.*, p. 99.
43. *Ibid.*, p. 103.
44. *Ibid.*, p. 101.
45. M. Douglas Meeks, Origin of the Theology of Hope, p. 142.
46. J. Moltmann, The Crucified God, pp 329 - 335.
47. St. Augustine, City of God, V. 21, pp. 116 - 117.
48. J. Moltmann, Religion, Revelation and the Future., p. 106.
49. J. Moltmann, The Future of Creation, p. 122.
50. M. Douglas Meeks, Origin of the Theology of Hope, p 124.
51. J. Moltmann, The Experiment Hope, p. 175.
52. *Ibid.*, p. 176.
53. *Ibid.*, p. 186.

54. J. Moltmann, On Human Dignity., p. 99.
55. E. Fortin, Political Idealism and Christianity in the Thought of St. Augustine, p. 35.
56. J. Moltmann, The Experiment Hope, P. 111.
57. *Ibid.*, p. 103.
58. *Ibid.*, p. 105.
59. *Ibid.*, pp. 114 - 115.
60. St. Augustine, City of God, XIX, 12, pp. 451 - 456.
61. *Ibid.*, pp. 456 - 460.
62. *Ibid.*, V. 21, pp. 116 - 117.
63. P.R.I. Brown, Religion and Society in the Age of St. Augustine, p. 34.
64. St. Augustine, City of God, V. 24, pp. 117 - 118.
65. J. Moltmann, Theology of Hope, p. 288.
66. *Ibid.*, p. 296.
67. *Ibid.*, p. 329.
68. *Ibid.*, p. 334.
69. J. Moltmann, On Human Dignity, p. 111.
70. P.R.I. Brown, Religion and Society in the Age of St. Augustine, pp. 38 - 39.

C H A P T E R 5

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS AND CONCLUSION

In the General Introduction to this dissertation it was stated that merely political solutions endangered the distinctiveness and special identity of Christianity. Further, Augustine's City of God was said to provide a framework in terms of which men encapsulated within the unresolvable tension of the saeculum could seek a transpolitical good. Mankind's highest good was eschatological for it was contained within the "City of God". This made it necessary to assess worldly, political values within an eschatological perspective. No social order could ever be sacral and so be beyond critical scrutiny. In the political realm, imperfect, fallible men could seek only provisional solutions.

Moltmann had stressed that liberation cannot be strictly personal but must come into the social and even cosmic sphere. Consequently, social and political theology is not an appendage, but is intrinsically required for the liberation of the individual. Thus the personal liberation from sin must have a social dimension in order to re-establish the harmony of man with himself, with humanity and the rest of creation. Like Augustine Moltmann establishes that Christian hope is eschatological. Man lives in a constant state of travail, ensnared by evil ("vicious circles of death") in which every achievement is incomplete. Therefore, until the parousia Christian liberty will always be unfinished. Final political solutions are therefore superceded. It is evident that the confidence that comes from Christian hope in the raising of the crucified One must involve a systematic iconoclasm of any merely secular political hope. Christian hope is so radical that it stands in contrast, not only to existing reality, but also to any this worldly hope. Political solutions alone are inadequate for the Christian. They yearn for the perfect and absolute

here on earth. The Gospel is critical of any final political solutions. Thus eschatology must put the Christian on guard against confusing the growth of God's kingdom with some specific stage of history. For Moltmann, the kingdom is only anticipated within "creative acts" that contradict and open up existing reality to the future promise.

It could be said that Christian eschatology is primarily a theology of the future whose impact is realized in the present. It is a critical court of appeal designed to prevent any political or social absolutizing of the present. Hope stands opposed to any "closed" worldly system. Therefore, it can be said that the political theologies of Moltmann and Augustine stand opposed to any final political solution. Theirs is a "critico-prophetical"¹ activity that calls into question all theories and projects that enclose human beings solely within the saeculum and prevents eschatological assessment of the present. Political theology may not link God directly to politics as happens when it sees itself in positive and dogmatic terms. Only a "future", critical political theology based on eschatology (Moltmann and Augustine's City of God) can provide a stimulus towards the creative conversion of the world from the "latency" to the "tendency" of its possibilities.²

On the basis of the above analysis, it is observed that Moltmann and Augustine's City of God provide a constructive criticism and corrective for any final political solution.

First, social political theology must resist the temptation to espouse a new sacral order. It has to be critical of its own presuppositions in order to be a "secularized theology". It has to accept social, political and cultural pluralism. This is in order that the Church may be free from its earlier excessive integration with society. Only in this way can it carry out a mission of evangelization in a secularized world.

Second, any political system acceptable to Christians must bear in mind that until Christ comes again, Christian liberation will always be an ongoing, unfinished process threatened by the power of sin. Although, as Moltmann has shown, there are "creative acts" that are the "negation of the negative", these are only anticipations of the kingdom that open up "closed systems" to the future of the promise. There is no kingdom of God on earth before Christ comes again. Christian hope looks for its fulfilment after the second coming of Christ and in this respect differs essentially from this-worldly hope. Thus, until the parousia, Christian liberty will always be incomplete and under the constant threat of succumbing to egotism and pride. These negatives close the systems opened up by "creative acts".

Third, political theology must be indebted to both Moltmann and Augustine for their analysis of the social consequences of sin which are "disorder", "disharmony", and "vicious circles of death". Any new set of social conditions cannot be the same as the kingdom of God. There is within man a deep-rooted congenital inclination to evil. Augustine's "disordered will" and "variety of loves" together with Moltmann's "vicious circles of death" and "closed systems" provide an awareness of both the individual and social nature of sin. Their insights illustrate that liberation and redemption must be studied at a deeper level, both within man himself as an individual person, and within the social structures of any conceivable society. Therefore, the Christian cannot take seriously a political system that anticipates the liberation of man through mere economic and social emancipation.

Fourth, in virtue of its mission the Church is bound to no particular form of human culture, not to any political, economic or social system. Although Moltmann shows a preference for certain political and economic

forms (democracy, socialism), he is not categorical. The reason is that Christianity is both immanent, in the sense that it becomes part of human history, and transcendental, in the sense that it rises above the limits imposed by time, nature and history. The Christian Church is immanent, therefore it has to take flesh in the various cultures and systems of mankind. Similarly, because it is also transcendent, it is not bound exclusively to any race, nature, particular way of life or political system. For these reasons political theology may not link the Church in any exclusive way to a political or economic system that rejects any other system as incompatible with the gospel message of liberation.

Fifth, political theology can never reject spiritual and intellectual enrichment as "individualism" or "privatization of the faith". It is true that Augustine's concern is with the individual earthly pilgrim to the neglect of the social dimension of the liberation from sin. Yet, the personal liberation from sin has a social and cosmic dimension that is intrinsically required for the liberation of the individual. While Moltmann would agree, he nevertheless does not neglect or deny the personal dimension of faith. In his theology the loss of personal faith is one of the "vicious circles of death".³ However, Moltmann should be explicit in stating that liberation is first a personal liberation from the radical slavery of sin. It is true that liberation is indeed a salvation from different kinds of slavery, such as cultural, economic, social and political enslavement. All of these derive ultimately from sin. However, Christian liberty arises from the justification of the sinner into a new life of grace. This justification is applied to the individual believer. Therefore, social change also demands a constant need for inner individual conversion.

In conclusion, it could be said that the eschatological approach of

Moltmann and Augustine's City of God provide a useful and necessary corrective to any tendency towards a sacralization of the political order. Critical scrutiny from "beyond", common to both Augustine and Moltmann, is a challenge to any final political solution. Furthermore, Moltmann identifies the manifestations in history and society of imperfection and sin which are never resolved prior to the last day. However, they may be "creatively" and progressively overcome.

In using Moltmann and Augustine's City of God, this dissertation has sought to clearly establish that there are no final political solutions acceptable to the Christian. The Christian must be on his guard; all is provisional prior to the last day. The eschatological basis of the Christian faith makes it critical of any finality concerning the political order. Mere political solutions are never enough for the Christian. There is more; the Christ who will come again.

FOOTNOTES

1. A. Fierro, The Militant Gospel, p.356.
2. J. Moltmann, Theology of Hope, pp 259 - 261, 284.
3. See chapter four, pp. 78 - 79.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Single-Volume Works

- Barrow, R.H. Introduction to St. Augustine. The City of God.
London: Faber and Faber, 1950.
- Barth, K. Community, State and Church. Gloucester, Mass:
Peter Smith, 1968.
- Battenhouse, R.W. A Companion to the Study of St. Augustine. New
York: Oxford University Press, 1955.
- Brookes, E.H. The City of God and the Politics of Crisis. London:
Oxford University Press, 1960.
- Brown, P.R.I. Religion and Society in the Age of St. Augustine.
London: Faber and Faber, 1972.
- Augustine of Hippo. London: Faber and Faber, 1967.
- Burleigh, J.H. The City of God: A Study of St. Augustine's Philo-
sophy. London: Nisbet, 1949.
- Capps, W.H. Time invades the Cathedral, Tensions in the School
of Hope. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1972.
- Colbert, M.C. The Syntax of De Civitate Dei of St. Augustine.
Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America,
1923.
- Deane, H.A. The Political and Social Ideas of St. Augustine.
New York: Columbia University Press, 1963.
- Fierro, A. The Militant Gospel. London: S.C.M. Press, 1977.

- Figgis, J.N. The Political Aspect of St. Augustine's "City of God". Gloucester, Mass: P. Smith, 1963.
- Fortin, E.L. Political Idealism and Christianity in the Thought of St. Augustine. Villanova Pa: Augustinian Institute, 1972.
- Kee, A. A Reader in Political Theology. London: S.C.M. Press, 1974.
- Kloppenburger, B. Temptations for the Theology of Liberation. Chicago: Synthesis Series, Franciscan Herald Press, 1974.
- Lesaar, H.H. St. Augustine. New York: Benziger, 1931.
- Markus, R.A. Saeculum: History and Society in the Theology of St. Augustine. Cambridge University Press, 1970.
- Marrou, H. St. Augustine and His Influence through the Ages. New York: Harper Torch Books, 1957.
- Marshall, R.T. Studies in the Political and Socio-Religious Terminology of the De Civitate Dei. Washington D.C.: Catholic University of America, 1952.
- Meeks, M.D. Origin of the Theology of Hope. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1974.
- Moltmann, J. Experience of God. London: S.C.M. Press, 1980.
- Hope and Planning. London: S.C.M. Press, 1971.
- On Human Dignity. London: S.C.M. Press, 1984.

- Religion, Revelation and Fugure. New York: Charles
Scribner's Sons, 1969.
- The Church in the Power of the Spirit. London:
S.C.M. Press, 1977.
- The Crucified God. London: S.C.M. Press, 1974.
- The Experiment Hope. London: S.C.M. Press, 1975.
- The Future of Creation. London: S.C.M. Press,
1979.
- The Future of Hope: Theology as Eschatology. New
York: Herder and Herder, 1970.
- The Trinity and the Kingdom of God. London:
S.C.M. Press, 1981.
- Theology of Hope. London: S.C.M. Press, 1977.
- Theology of Play. New York: Harper and Raw, 1972.
- Morris, C. Western Political Thought. London: Longmans, 1976.
- Morse, C. The Logic and Promise in Moltmann's Theology.
Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1979.
- O' Meara, J.J. Charter of Christendom: The Significance of the
City of God. New York: Macmillan, 1961.
- Pope, H. St. Augustine of Hippo. Westminster, Maryland:
Newman Press, 1949.
- Rickaby, J. St. Augustine, City of God: A Views of the Con-
tents. London: B. Oates and Washbourne, 1925.

- Vega, A.C. St. Augustine. Philadelphia: Peter Reilly Co., 1931.
- Versveld, M. A Guide to the City of God. London: Sheed and Ward, 1958.
- von Rad, G. Old Testament Theology Volume Two. London: S.C.M. Press, 1965.

Classical Works

- St. Augustine. The City of God. New York: Image Books, 1958.
- "The Trinity". The Fathers of the Church. Washington D.C.: Catholic University of America, 1963.

Periodicals

- Armstrong, A.H. "Salvation, Plotinian and Christian", The Downside Review, 75 (1957), pp 126 - 139.
- Attfield, E.G. "Can God be crucified? A discussion of J. Moltmann", Scottish Journal of Theology, 30 (1977), pp 47 - 55.
- Barnes, T.D. "Aspects of the Background of the City of God", University of Ottawa Quarterly, 52 (1982), pp 64 - 80.
- Brown, P.R.I. "St. Augustine's Attitude to Religious Coercion", Journal of Roman Studies, 1iv (1964), pp 107 - 116.
- Bauckham, R. "Moltmann's eschatology of the Cross", Scottish Journal of Theology, 30 (1977), pp 301 - 311.

- Cranz, E. "The Development of Augustine's ideas in Society before the Donatist controversy", Harvard Theological Review, 47 (1954), pp 255 - 316.
- Donnelly, D. "The City of God and Utopia: A Re-evaluation", Augustinian Studies, 8 (1977), pp 111 - 123.
- Fiorenza, F.P. "Dialectical Theology and Hope I", Heythrop Journal, 9 (1968), pp 143 - 163.
- "Dialectical Theology and Hope II", Heythrop Journal, 9 (1968) pp 384 - 399.
- "Dialectical Theology and Hope III", Heythrop Journal, 10 (1969), pp 26 - 42.
- Fortin, E. "Augustine's City of God and Modern Historical Consciousness", Review of Politics, 41 (1979), pp 323 - 343.
- König, A. "Kan ons van die 'Gekruisigde God' praat", N.G. Teologiese Tydskrif, Deel 123, Nom. 2 (April 1982), pp 124 - 149.
- "The idea of 'the Crucified God'", Journal of Theology for Southern Africa, June 1982, pp 55 - 61.
- Lavere, G.J. "The Influence of St. Augustine in Early Medieval Political Theory", Augustinian Studies, 12 (1981), pp 1 - 9.
- Louw, D.J. "Die Teologie van Jürgen Moltmann: Eschatologia Crucis", Ned. Geref. Teologiese Tydskrif, Deel 14, Nom. 19, pp 107 - 113.

- MacQueen, D.J. "The Origin and Dynamics of Society and State according to St. Augustine", Part I, Augustinian Studies, 3 (1973), pp 73 - 101.
- Markus, R.A. "Two Conceptions of Political Theology: Augustine's De. Civ. Dei, XIX, 14 - 15 and some Thirteenth Century Interpretations", Journal of Theological Studies, XIV (1965), pp 68 - 100.
- McWilliams, W. "Divine Suffering in Contemporary Theology", Scottish Journal of Theology, 33 (1980), pp 35 - 52.
- Moltmann, J. "Bringing Peace to a Divided World", Theology Digest, 20 (Winter, 1972), pp 331 - 340.
- "Christian Theology and its Problems Today", Theology Digest, 19 (Winter, 1971), pp 308 - 317.
- "The 'Crucified God': God and the Trinity Today", Concilium, 6 (June, 1972), pp 26 - 37.
- "The 'Crucified God': A Trinitarian Theology of the Cross", Interpretation, 26 (July, 1972), pp 278 - 299.
- "Political Theology", Theology Today, 28 (April, 1971), pp 6 - 23.
- "Politics and the Practice of Hope", The Christian Century, 87 (March, 1970), pp 288 - 291.
- "The Realism of Hope: The Feast of the Resurrection and the Transformation of the Present Reality", Concordia Theological Monthly, 40 (March, 1969), pp 149 - 155.

- Ryan, J. "Augustinian Doctrine of Peace and War", American Ecclesiastical Review, June 1947, pp 401 - 421.
- Scott, D.A. "Ethics on a Trinitarian Basis. Moltmann's 'The Crucified God'", Anglican Theological Review, 60 (1978), pp 166 - 179.
- Tripole, M.R. "Ecclesiological Developments in Moltmann's Theology of Hope", Theological Studies, 34 (1973), pp 19 - 35.
- "A Church of the Poor and the World: At issue with Moltmann's Ecclesiology", Theological Studies, 42 (1981), pp 645 - 659.