

FUSCA SUM ET DECORA
THE INFLUENCE OF TYCONIUS ON AUGUSTINE'S
TEACHING OF THE *ECCLESIA PERMIXTA*

MARCELA ANDOKOVÁ (Bratislava)

ABSTRACT

The verse from the *Song of Songs*, “I am black and beautiful”, quoted by Tyconius in the *Rule II* of his work *Liber regularum*, represents a famous passage considered a characteristic of his concept of the bipartite church. The African Donatist lay theologian became famous mostly for his seven rules of the interpretation of Scriptures as well as for his arduous critique of the Donatists who denied the universality of the church and limited her exclusively to the territory of North Africa. The aim of the present article is to analyse to which extent Augustine had got use of Tyconius's book in the period of his polemic with the Donatists, and whether its reading could, eventually, have stood at the origin of his choice of biblical texts, the ones he commented on as a preacher between the years 406–407. In the selected texts I have observed a certain predilection for a particular set of scriptural quotations used both as an argument and as an illustration to support Augustine's and Tyconius's thought concerning the universality of the church. Despite the fact that we have no direct proofs about the inspiration sources of Augustine's anti-Donatist preaching between the years 406–407, the similarities in the use of scriptural citations used by both authors show that Tyconius's *Book of Rules* might have stood at the origin of Augustine's inspiration and argumentation. However, it does not prove a direct influence of Tyconius on Augustine's teaching on the *ecclesia permixta* and on the ecclesiastical tolerance since the bishop of Hippo, unlike Tyconius, does not see the church as a twofold body, rather he understands it as a mixture in which the good and the bad are in time mixed in together.

Key words: Tyconius; The Book of Rules; biblical hermeneutics; Saint Augustine; *ecclesia permixta*; ecclesiastical tolerance; the Donatist Church

“I am black and beautiful”¹ (Cant. 1, 5),² This verse from the *Song of Songs*, quoted by Tyconius in the *Rule II* of his work *Liber regularum*³, represents a famous passage

¹ Tycon. *Reg.* II, 18–19: *Fusca sum et decora*. In this article I use the bilingual Latin-English edition by Babcock (1989). I also refer to a more recent critical Latin-French edition of the *Book of Rules* by Vercruyse (2004).

² In accordance with the Septuagint and *Vetus Latina*, the conjunction *et* is used in this verse. It was the Vulgate which introduced an idea of *sed* to substitute this *et*. See more closely Gaeta (1985: 121).

³ A standard monograph devoted to the Tyconian rules of the biblical interpretation is Bright (1988). Three articles in Bright (1986a) concerning Tyconius's *Book of Rules* are of particular interest: Bright

considered a characteristic of his concept of the bipartite church (*ecclesia bipertita*)⁴. The African Donatist lay theologian⁵ became famous mostly for his seven rules⁶ of the interpretation of Scriptures as well as for his arduous critique of the Donatists who denied the universality of the church and limited her exclusively to the territory of North Africa. Although he never stopped being one of them, Tyconius did not refuse the idea of the church spread throughout the whole world. Moreover, he repeatedly insisted on the fact that the bad in the church should be tolerated among the good until the last judgement of the Lord. Together with the numerous biblical citations, both from the Old and the New Testaments, by which Tyconius supports his argumentation, these ideas find, to a certain degree, their echo in Augustine's understanding of the *ecclesia permixta*, and are also reflected in his teaching on ecclesiastical tolerance⁷, the topic which acquired its sharpest traits in the time of his controversy with the Donatists (400–411). This fact is clearly manifested in his polemic writings as well as in his sermons and exegetical homilies dating back to the same period.

Therefore, this article aims to examine to what extent the influence of Tyconius's vision of the bipartite church is present in Augustine's reflection on the relationship between the good and the bad within the church. At the same time, I ask myself whether the reading of Tyconius's *Book of Rules* could have exercised the influence on Augustine's selection of scriptural citations in his defense of the universality of the church vis-à-vis his Donatist opponents. For the purpose of the present article I will thus focus on Augustine's anti-Donatist preaching activity, in particular on his exegetical homilies delivered between the years 406/407⁸, i.e., on his *Enarrationes in Psalmos* 119–133, *Tractatus in Primam Epistolam ad Parthos* and *Tractatus in Iohannis Euangelium*, which represent a unique endeavour in Augustine's preaching career and, as being interdependent in the

(1986b); Kugler (1986); Kannengiesser (1986). In this connection see also another article by Kannengiesser (2002: 297–311) and by Ratzinger (1956: 173–185, mainly 185) who in his article emphasizes that although Tyconius refuted Donatist particularism of the African church, he nevertheless remained distant from the Catholic church by his theoretical positions. A thorough study of the influence of Tyconian seven rules on Augustine's hermeneutics in his work *On Christian Doctrine* offers Bochet (1997: 562–581). A huge bibliography on the topic is listed also in Vercruysse (2004: 117–128).

⁴ Tycon. *Reg.* II, 18–19: *Iterum breuiter bipertitum ostenditur Christi corpus.*

⁵ Tyconius (ca. 330–390) was an African Donatist writer about whom we have only little information. We know that in the year 380 he was excommunicated from the Donatist church; nevertheless he remained one of them and refused to become a Catholic. The *Book of Rules*, written probably in 383, is his major work presenting the first system of Christian hermeneutics. His *Commentary on the Apocalypse* (preserved only in fragments) was also of great importance. Donatist Parmenianus wrote a letter against him which is quoted by Aug. *C. Parm.* I, 1 (CSEL 51, 19–20). He also cites and explains the *Book of Rules* in his *On Christian Doctrine* and his authority gave it great importance for many centuries in the Latin West.

⁶ Seven rules, or keys, for the interpretation of the scriptures, listed at the end of Tyconius's Prologue, are as follows: 1. The Lord and His Body (*De Domino et corpore eius*); 2. The Lord's Bipartite Body (*De Domini corpore bipertito*); 3. The Promises and the Law (*De promissis et lege*); 4. The Particular and the General (*De specie et genere*); 5. Times (*De temporibus*); 6. Recapitulation (*De recapitulatione*); and 7. The Devil and His Body (*De diabolo et eius corpore*). See Tycon. *Reg.* prolog. 2–3.

⁷ The term tolerance (*tolerantia*) applied here has nothing to do with its modern connotation. For more details see for example Lichner (2011: 16–28) and Andoková (2011: 115–132).

⁸ Though there are certain indications which talk in favour of a later date (407–408), I am referring here to the opinion of La Bonnardière (1965: 51–53) who placed this series of homilies between the years 406–407.

discussed themes as well as in the use of biblical citations and images, they should be considered and treated as a whole.

Like other scholars⁹ I also ask myself why in this period Augustine explained systematically Psalms 119–133 and at the same time the first chapters on Saint John's gospel which he subsequently complemented by his commentary on the First Epistle of Saint John. What inspired him in his pastoral activity to take such an exceptional step? Was it merely a fortuitous event or should we say a deliberate intention of the author? In fact, never before the year 406 had Augustine commented on a series of scriptural texts verse by verse as he did in the case of these three homiletical series.¹⁰ Unfortunately, it is very difficult to give a satisfactory answer to this question because the author himself did not leave us any concrete indication which could enable us to elucidate in a clear way his intellectual step. Nonetheless, we might assume that in this situation he saw in the systematic teaching an efficient means of persuading the faithful to return to the Catholic church in a peaceful way¹¹ since his diplomacy in this matter turned out to be inefficient.¹²

In addition, a more detailed analysis of Tyconius's *Book of Rules* and Augustine's above-mentioned exegetical homilies from the period of his anti-Donatist controversy show certain similarities, both in the usage of particular scriptural citations (especially of certain biblical images used for illustration) as well as in their application in the argumentation of both authors respectively. Therefore I would like to demonstrate whether Tyconian work could be, to a lesser or higher degree, a source text which inspired Augustine's anti-Donatist preaching. However, to analyse all biblical quotations common to both Tyconius and Augustine would be a task far beyond the scope of the present work. I will thus concentrate only on those selected scriptural passages regarding the universality of the church which are common to both of these African authors.

At the same time, we should keep in mind that Augustine is an heir of the triple tradition: Firstly he knew the classical Graeco-Roman culture thanks to his study of rhetoric; then the tradition of the Holy Scriptures (*Veteres Latinae*); and finally, the Christian tradition of the first centuries. But in this article I am not going to deal with the theological differences concerning the ecclesiology of these two authors. These questions have already been treated at length by other scholars to whom I refer in the course of my argumentation. What interests me here more particularly is the question whether Augustine had had at hand Tyconius's book in the period of his polemic with the Donatists, and whether its reading could, eventually, have stood at the origin of his choice of biblical texts, the ones he commented on as a preacher between the years 406–407. Even a less detailed reading reveals that there are certain similarities in using the same or similar scriptural texts in the argumentation by both authors. But do these similarities suffice to prove that the *Book of Rules* was a possible source text in Augustine's argumentation?

⁹ Cf. La Bonnardière (1965: 46); Berrouard (1971: 119); Harmless (1995).

¹⁰ Cf. Fiedrowicz (1997: 430–439).

¹¹ Cf. Andoková (2013: 61).

¹² For more details see, e.g., Lancel (1999: 390).

Augustine's estimation of Tyconius's work

Before examining the texts themselves a preliminary question should be put forth: What was Augustine's view of the Donatist dissident Tyconius? We know, in fact, that when he worked on the third book of the *On Christian Doctrine*, Augustine did not incorporate Tyconian rules into it but returned to them only thirty years later in 426.¹³ Since Tyconius defended the idea of the universal church and claimed that "the righteous are not infected by the sins of others when they share with them in the sacraments"¹⁴, Augustine referred to him several times in his writings during his polemic with the Donatists. Let us recall briefly his *Letter 249* to a deacon named Restitutus written some time between the years 395 and 411 concerning how one should tolerate bad Christians and scandals in the church. There Augustine urged him to read Tyconius and the Scriptures themselves:

Read Tyconius, therefore, whom you know well – not, of course, in order to approve of everything. For you know what must be avoided in him. I think, nonetheless, that I have thoroughly treated and resolved this question of how, while preserving the bond of unity, we must tolerate disorders and sins in the Church, if there should be any that we cannot correct or eliminate. And yet, once we have corrected only the intention in his writings, we must return to the very sources of the divine scriptures in order that we may see in them how few testimonies to opinions or examples of actions he cited and how no one could cite all of them except someone who was willing to copy nearly all the pages of the holy books into his writings.¹⁵

In this period Augustine speaks of Tyconius as of a man of sharp intellect and abundant eloquence¹⁶ whose conduct, however, it is hard to understand because

... though he says such things about the church spread throughout the whole world and claims that the sins of others stain no one in its unity, he removed himself from the contagion of the Africans, as if they were traitors, and become a member of the sect of Donatus.¹⁷

In addition to that, an interesting point regarding this topic is also raised in the third book of Augustine's treatise *Against Parmenianus* where we read that Parmenianus tried

¹³ Cf. *Aug. Doctr. christ.* III, 30, 42–37, 55 (CCSL 32, 102–115).

¹⁴ *Aug. Epist.* 93, 10, 37 (CCSL 31A, 194–195): ... *non contaminari iustos peccatis alienis, quando cum eis sacramenta communicant.* Transl.: WSA II/1, 399.

¹⁵ *Aug. Epist.* 249 (CSEL 57, 592): *Lege itaque Tyconium, quem bene nosti, non quidem omnia probaturus; nam quae in illo cauenda sint, bene nosti, hanc tamen quaestionem, quo modo in ecclesia Dei, si qua forte peruersa uel etiam scelerata corrigere aut extinguere non ualemus, saluo unitatis uinculo toleranda sint, strenue mihi uidetur tractauisse atque soluisse. Quamquam in eius litteris tantum modo intentione correctae ad ipsos diuinarum scripturarum fontes recurrere nos oportet, ut ibi uideamus, quam pauca de hac re testimonia sententiarum uel exempla gestorum posuit et quam nemo possit omnia ponere, nisi qui paene omnes sanctorum librorum paginas in sua scripta transferre uoluerit.* Transl.: WSA II/4, 182.

¹⁶ *Aug. C. Parm.* I, 1 (CSEL 51, 19): *hominem quidem et acri ingenio praeditum et uberi eloquio.*

¹⁷ *Aug. Epist.* 93, 10, 44 (CCSL 31A, 199): ... *eum premit quod, cum talia diceret de ecclesia toto orbe diffusa et quod neminem in eius unitate macularent aliena peccata, ab Afrorum se tamen quasi traditorum contagione remouebat; et erat in parte Donati.* Transl.: WSA II/1, 402.

to refute Tyconius's view that the good should through the bond of love tolerate the bad in unity until the final separation at the last judgement.¹⁸ Furthermore, at the end of his letter he urged Tyconius to remain in the Donatist party and suffer persecution till the end.¹⁹ In fact, in Tyconius's view the church had always been penitent and suffering; she was at once *sine macula* (Eph. 5, 27) and the chaff among the wheat (Matth. 3, 12).²⁰ But why then did he remain a Donatist? This question perplexed Augustine so much that, when speaking of Tyconius in the last section of his *On Christian Doctrine* III devoted to Tyconian seven rules, he states:

There was a man called Tyconius, who wrote against the Donatists in a manner that it is quite possible to refute, and whose unwillingness to part company with them completely reveals the utter absurdity of his attachments. He composed what he called a book of Rules ...²¹

From the first two words *Tyconius quidam*²², until the end of Book III,²³ the citation and discussion of the *Book of Rules* is conducted in a decidedly depreciative and antagonistic spirit. Augustine's final observation about "all these rules" states that what the Tyconian rules have in common "is the characteristic of metaphorical diction, which is too broad a category to be embraced in its entirety by a single person".²⁴

Did the fact that Tyconius remained a Donatist even after his excommunication from the Donatist party disappoint Augustine so much? Many scholars today seem to be astonished at Tyconius's attitude towards the church and speculate over his reasons for remaining a Donatist.²⁵ Since Parmenianus encouraged him to stay in their party even with the risk of undergoing persecution, I am inclined to agree with M. Dulaey who explains that, in Tyconius's view, by persecuting the Donatists, the Catholics manifested that they were not Christ's disciples nor did they form the true church.²⁶ Obviously, Tyconius could not join them without hesitation. So it appears to me that it was not the question of inconsistency of Tyconius's conduct that urged him to remain in the Donatist party; just the contrary, it was probably easier for him to accept the suffering than to understand why the Catholics, whose stance he defended, persecuted so severely their brothers in the faith. He believed that there were *duae partes in ecclesia* and as the wheat and the weed grow together until the harvest (cf. Matth. 13, 30)²⁷, it had, in his eyes, no sense to quit the

¹⁸ Aug. *C. Parm.* III, 3, 17 (CSEL 51, 121).

¹⁹ Aug. *C. Parm.* III, 6, 29 (CSEL 51, 137–139).

²⁰ Cf. Aug. *C. Parm.* II, 21, 40 (CSEL 51, 95).

²¹ Aug. *Doctr. christ.* III, 30, 42 (CCSL 32, 102–103): *Tyconius quidam, qui contra Donatistas inuictissime scripsit, cum fuerit Donatista, et illic inuenitur absurdissimi cordis, ubi eos non omni ex parte relinquere uoluit, fecit librum ...* Transl.: WSA I/11, 187.

²² Cf. Aug. *Doctr. christ.* III, 30, 42 (CCSL 32, 102–103).

²³ Cf. Aug. *Doctr. christ.* III, 37, 55 (CCSL 32, 114–115).

²⁴ Kannengiesser (1986: 172).

²⁵ For the overview of different opinions concerning the Tyconian attitude towards the Catholics see a more detailed discussion in Vercruyse (2004: 375–381).

²⁶ Cf. Dulaey (1991: 1350); Cazier (1992: 128). See also Tycon. *Reg.* VI, 110f.

²⁷ Cf. Tycon. *Reg.* III, 52–53.

party of Donatus and join the camp of the Catholics. Rather, it was necessary to patiently put up with the evil Christians wherever he found himself.²⁸

Taking into account these Augustine's remarks concerning Tyconius, it comes out that, though Augustine took certain distance vis-à-vis Tyconius's biblical hermeneutics, he often appealed to him and especially to his view of the universal church mostly in the period of his anti-donatist controversy. Surely, he corrected, first and foremost, Tyconius's understanding of the bipartite body of the Lord which becomes evident from his words concerning the *Rule II* in his *On Christian Doctrine*:

The second one is "about the twofold body of the Lord". It should not in fact have been called that, because that which will not remain with him for ever in eternity is not really the body of the Lord; but it should have been called "about the true and the mixed body of the Lord", or "the true and pretended body", or something else like that; because it is not only in eternity but even now that hypocrites should not be said to be with him, even though they appear to be in his Church. Hence this rule could also have been given a name and title such as "about the Church as a mixture". [...] This from the Song of Songs, for example: "I am swarthy and beautiful as the camps of Kedar, as the tents of Solomon" (Cant. 1, 5). She did not say, you see, "I was dusky as the camps of Kedar, and I am beautiful as the tents of Solomon," but she said she was each of them at the same time because of the temporary unity within a single net of both good and bad fish together.²⁹

It is quite surprising that the cited verse *Fusca sum et decora*³⁰ is very rarely quoted by Augustine in his oeuvre. We encounter it for instance in his *Exposition of Psalm 73* (delivered probably in 411/412)³¹ where he offers its slightly different interpretation which appears to be closer, for example, to that of Ambrose of Milan.³² When elucidating the verse: "You broke the dragon's head in pieces, you gave to Ethiopian peoples to eat" (Psalm. 73, 14), Augustine explains who Ethiopian peoples are by saying:

How am I to interpret Ethiopian peoples? Obviously as "all nations". Now Ethiopians are black, and it is fitting that black people should stand for the Gentiles. People who were formerly black, and they most especially, are called to faith, so that scripture can say to them, "you were darkness once, but now you are light in the Lord" (Eph. 5, 8). These black

²⁸ That is why I could hardly agree with Chadwick (1989: 54) who sees in Tyconius's attitude an œcumenic effort. In fact, in the time of both Tyconius and Augustine, we cannot yet talk about œcumenism because, as it was then believed, there was only one true church.

²⁹ Aug. *Doctr. christ.* III, 32, 45 (CCSL 32, 104–105): '*Secunda est de Domini corpore bipertito, quod quidem non ita debuit appellare; non enim re uera Domini corpus est, quod cum illo non erit in aeternum, sed dicendum fuit: de Domini corpore uero atque permixto aut uero atque simulato uel quid aliud, quia non solum in aeternum, uerum etiam nunc hypocritae non cum illo esse dicendi sunt, quamuis in eius esse uideantur Ecclesia. Vnde poterat ista regula et sic appellari, ut diceretur de permixta ecclesia. [...] Ad hoc pertinet in Cantico Canticorum: 'Fusca sum et speciosa ut tabernacula Cedar, ut pelles Salomonis'. Non enim ait: fusca fui ut tabernacula Cedar et speciosa sum ut pelles Salomonis, sed utrumque se esse dixit propter temporalem unitatem intra una retia piscium bonorum et malorum.* Transl.: WSA I/11, 189.

³⁰ In the time of Augustine, the Latin translation of this biblical verse offers different readings, which however express the same idea. I point to these different translations further in this article.

³¹ Cf. Fiedrowicz (1997: 434).

³² See for instance Ambr. *In psalm. 118* 18, 33 (CSEL 62, 415): *Sic et ibi: nigra sum superiore peccato, sed decora confessione peccati et correctionis studio atque amore uirtutis.*

people are called indeed, but not destined to remain black, because from them is formed the Church, of which scripture says, “who is this who comes up, made white?” (Cant. 8, 5 [LXX]). What of the black bride? She tells us: “I am dark-skinned and beautiful” (Cant. 1, 4).³³

Although this passage provides us with some interesting ideas concerning Augustinian ecclesiology, it becomes evident that it does not shed much light on the topic of possible Tyconian influence on Augustine’s choice of scriptural citations regarding the universality of the church.³⁴ Therefore I find it more useful now to take a detailed look at the occurrences of other scriptural passages regarding the present topic cited by Tyconius in his *Rule* II and reproduced by Augustine in his exegetical homilies.

A possible influence of Tyconius on Augustine’s anti-Donatist preaching

Firstly, we are interested in how Tyconius himself presented the famous passage on the bipartite body of the Lord:

Again, the bipartite character of Christ’s body is indicated in brief: “I am black and beautiful” (Cant. 1, 5). By no means is the church – “which has no spot or wrinkle” (Eph. 5, 27), which the Lord cleansed by his own blood – black in any part, except in the left-hand part through which “the name of God is blasphemed among the gentiles” (Rom. 2, 24). Otherwise it is wholly beautiful, as he says: “you are wholly beautiful, my love, and there is no fault in you” (Cant. 4, 7). And indeed she says why it is that she is both black and beautiful: “like the tent of Kedar, like the tent-curtain of Solomon” (Cant. 1, 5). She shows that there are two tents, one royal and one servile. Yet both spring from Abraham, for Kedar is Ishmael’s son. And furthermore, in another passage, the church groans that it has dwelt so long with this Kedar, i.e., with the servant descended from Abraham: “Woe is me that my sojourn has been so lengthy, that I have lived among the tents of Kedar. Too long has my soul been on sojourn. With those who hate peace, I was peaceful; when I spoke to them, they made war against me” (Psalm. 119, 5–7).³⁵

³³ Aug. In *Psalm*. 73, 16 (CCSL 39, 1014): *Quomodo intellego populos Aethiopes? Quomodo nisi per hos, omnes gentes? Et bene per nigros; Aethiopes enim nigri sunt. Ipsi uocantur ad finem, qui nigri fuerunt; ipsi prorsus, ut dicitur eis: ‘Fuistis enim aliquando tenebrae; nunc autem lux in Domino.’ Ipsi prorsus uocantur nigri; sed ne remaneant nigri; de his enim fit ecclesia, cui dicitur: ‘Quae est ista quae ascendit dealbata?’ Quid enim de nigra factum est, nisi quod dictum est: ‘Nigra sum, et speciosa?’* Transl.: WSA I/11, 189–190. In the English text of Cant. 1, 5 I differ from the official translation made by WSA, and propose a translation which follows more closely the Augustinian text.

³⁴ One of the possible reasons for Augustine not using this scriptural citation more often in his argumentation might be the fact that Tyconius employed it to defend his vision of the twofold body of the Lord. On the other hand, Augustine in the third book of his *On Christian Doctrine* clearly opposes Tyconius’s idea and states that since hypocrites cannot be part of the Lord’s true body, this Tyconian rule should be better called “about the true and the mixed body of the Lord”. Cf. Aug. *Doctr. christ.* III, 32, 45 (CCSL 32, 104).

³⁵ Tycon. *Reg.* II, 18–19: *Iterum breuiter bipertitum ostenditur Christi corpus: ‘Fusca sum et decora’. Absit enim ut Ecclesia ‘quae non habet maculam, aut rugam’, quam Dominus suo sanguine sibi mundauit, aliqua ex parte fusca sit nisi in parte sinistra per quam ‘nomen Dei blasphematur in gentibus’. Alias tota speciosa est, sicut dicit: ‘Tota speciosa es proxima mea et reprehensio non est in te’. Etenim dicit quae de causa sit fusca et speciosa: ‘Vt tabernaculum Cedar ut pellis Salomonis’. Duo tabernacula ostendit,*

The last verses cited in this passage from the Psalm 119 are echoed in Augustine's *Exposition of Psalm 119* where they are cited in practically the same form as in Tyconius's book. This homily is the first in Augustine's series of homilies on the *Psalms of degrees* which occupy a unique place in his anti-Donatist preaching activity. A thorough reading of Augustine's *Expositions of Psalms 119–133* has led me to a conclusion that the first impulse for explaining these psalms might have been the Psalm 119, and especially its verses 6 and 7: "My soul has been on pilgrimage for a long time. I dealt peaceably with those who hated peace (cf. Psalm. 119, 6–7)."³⁶ In fact, this theme is in different ways, more or less, present in all other homilies in the whole series. But what led Augustine to choose these psalms for systematic teaching within the context of his polemic with the Donatists? There are several factors that come at play.

First and foremost, these psalms concentrate on the Mount of Zion and on the Jerusalem temple which was for the Jews a privileged place of God's cult.³⁷ This temple was a place where the pilgrims were annually coming to celebrate main Jewish feasts. Since in the turn of the 4th and 5th centuries two churches existed in Africa (i.e. the Donatist and the Catholic church), it was necessary to establish the unity, so to speak "one privileged place of the cult," which was in Augustine's view the Catholic church. In this regard, it was probably the image of Jerusalem, symbol of spiritual unity, which attracted him a lot.³⁸

But in connection with Tyconius it is interesting to make a more detailed analysis of how Augustine cites the verse of Psalm. 119, 5: *Heu me quod incolatus meus longinquus factus est inhabitavi cum tabernaculis Cedar*.³⁹ For the translation of the expression "tents of Kedar" he uses the substantive *tabernacula*.⁴⁰ Apart from Augustine's text of the Psalter, the term used in this verse is not attested in any other old Latin Psalters.⁴¹ Even the Vulgate offers another reading: *cum habitationibus Cedar*⁴². So it is likely that in this case Augustine was influenced by the Greek text of the Septuagint which he usually referred to in his revision of the Scriptures. There it is written:

οἴμμοι, ὅτι ἡ παροικία μου ἐμακρύνθη,
κατεσκίηνωσα μετὰ τῶν σκηνωμάτων Κηδαρ.
πολλὰ παρέκρησεν ἡ ψυχὴ μου.

regium et seruire: utrumque tamen semen Abrahae; Cedar enim filius est Ismahel. Alio denique loco cum isto Cedar, id est cum seruo ex Abraham, diuturnam mansionem sic ingemescit Ecclesia dicens: 'Heu me quoniam peregrinatio mea longinqua facta est, habitavi cum tabernaculis Cedar, multum peregrinata est anima mea. Cum odientibus pacem eram pacificus, cum loquebar illis debellabant me.' Non possumus autem dicere tabernaculum Cedar praeter Ecclesiam esse. Ipse autem dicit tabernaculum 'Cedar et Salomonis' unde 'fusca sum', inquit, 'et decora'. Non enim Ecclesia in his qui foris sunt fusca est.

³⁶ Aug. *In Psalm. 119*, 8–9 (CSEL 95/3, 53–57): *Multum peregrinata est anima mea. Cum his qui oderant pacem eram pacificus cum loquerer illis debellabant me gratis.* Transl.: WSA III/19, 507.

³⁷ Augustine is inspired by the text from Is. 2, 2 where the prophet presents the Jerusalem temple as the symbol of unity and of God's presence.

³⁸ Cf. Andoková (2013: 65).

³⁹ Aug. *In Psalm. 119*, 7.9 (CSEL 95/3, 53.55). Transl.: WSA III/19, 505–507: "Alas, how long-drawn-out is my exile! I have been dwelling among the tents of Kedar."

⁴⁰ We find this biblical verse cited in the same form also in Paulinus of Nola who says (Paul. Nol. *Epist.* 13, 6 [CSEL 29, 89]): *Causam uero gemitus et timoris sui hanc esse testatur, quod habitaret cum tabernaculis Cedar, id est in tenebris istius mundi.*

⁴¹ Cf. Weber (1953: 313): *cum habitantibus Cedar.*

⁴² I.e., the "dwellings of Kedar"; Psalm. 119, 5 (Vlg.): *Heu mihi quia incolatus meus prolongatus est habitavi cum habitationibus Cedar.*

μετὰ τῶν μισούντων τὴν εἰρήνην ἤμην εἰρηνικός
ὅταν ἐλάλουν αὐτοῖς, ἐπολέμουν με δωρεάν.
(Psalm. 119, 5–7 [LXX])

Hence the word *tabernaculum* is the Latin translation of the Greek word σκῆνωμα. However, I think that we might see also other than just a philological intention in Augustine's choice of the term. On a symbolic level, the expression *tabernaculum* (tent) can denote also something temporal and provisional, in contrast to a house (*domus, mansio*), being a symbol of stability and eternal dwelling as well as an object of contemplation.⁴³ On the other hand, it is not unlikely that while citing this text Augustine might have used Tyconius's *Book of Rules* as a source. Here are the two Latin texts:

*Heu me quoniam peregrinatio mea longinqua facta est, habitavi cum tabernaculis Cedar, multum peregrinata est anima mea. Cum odientibus pacem eram pacificus, cum loquebar illis debellabant me.*⁴⁴

*Heu me quod incolatus meus longinquus factus est inhabitavi cum tabernaculis Cedar. Multum peregrinata est anima mea. Cum his qui oderant pacem eram pacificus cum loquerer illis debellabant me gratis.*⁴⁵

In addition, on a spiritual level we all are pilgrims being on a way with an uncertain shelter and the goal of our pilgrimage is a permanent dwelling in the eternal Jerusalem. In many places of his homilies Augustine reminds his faithful that heavenly Jerusalem is our real homeland.⁴⁶ In the *Exposition of Psalm 125* he even calls her *mater nostra* when saying:

You know too that this psalm, like the others, is sung by people who are ascending. And to what other place can they be ascending but to the Jerusalem on high that is the mother of us all, the city in heaven? (cf. Gal. 4, 26; 2 Cor. 5, 1).⁴⁷

Besides the image of heavenly Jerusalem as the goal of our pilgrimage, the bishop of Hippo develops during his controversy with the Donatists another topic which is probably dearest to his heart, i.e. the *Ecclesia Mater, Una Catholica*. In the *Exposition of Psalm 121, 4* he explains to his audience the meaning of the Psalm verse: "Jerusalem that is being built like a city" (Psalm. 121, 3), and says that there Jerusalem should be understood as the church, the temple of God, like living stones built into a spiritual house (cf. 1 Petr. 2, 5)⁴⁸. Subsequently he adds:

⁴³ Cf. Poque (1975: 193).

⁴⁴ Tycon. *Reg.* II, 18–19. Transl.: "Woe is me that my sojourn has been so lengthy, that I have lived among the tents of Kedar. Too long has my soul been on sojourn. With those who hate peace, I was peaceful; when I spoke to them, they made war against me."

⁴⁵ Aug. *In Psalm.* 119, 6–9 (CSEL 95/3, 53–57). Transl.: WSA III/19, 505–509: "Alas, how long-drawn-out is my exile! I have been dwelling among the tents of Kedar. My soul been on pilgrimage for a long time. I dealt peaceably with those who hate peace. I have dealt peaceably with those who hate peace; when I spoke to them, they waged war on me without justification."

⁴⁶ Cf. Aug. *In Psalm.* 119, 6 (CSEL 95/3, 49–50).

⁴⁷ Aug. *In Psalm.* 125, 1 (CSEL 95/3, 162); see also 121, 3, 86: *Est autem, sicut nostis, uox ascendentium: quo, nisi ad illam supernam Ierusalem, matrem omnium nostrum, quae est in caelis?* Transl.: WSA III/20, 68.

⁴⁸ Cited by Aug. *In Psalm.* 121, 4 (CSEL 95/3, 87).

What is implied by “allow yourselves to be built, like living stones”? You are alive if you believe; and if you believe you are being made into God’s temple, for the apostle Paul teaches, “God’s temple is holy, and that temple is yourselves” (1 Cor. 3, 17). This is the city which is now a-building. Stones are hewn out of the mountains by the hands of those who preach the truth, and squared to fit into an everlasting structure.⁴⁹

The same biblical text is quoted also by Tyconius in his *Rule* VII where we read:

Peter calls the church stones: “and like living stones”, brothers, “be yourselves built up as a spiritual house” (1 Petr. 2, 5); God calls this a house of fire and says that it will burn against the evil brothers: “the house of Jacob will be a fire, the house of Joseph a flame, and the house of Esau stubble” (Abd. 18).⁵⁰

In this connection, another interesting observation is worth mentioning: the use of Daniel 2, 34–35 and of the biblical image of the mountain closely linked with it. In his *Rule* I entitled *On the Lord and his body* Tyconius explains:

Daniel, too, calls the Lord “a stone cut from the mountain” and says that he “struck” the body of the kingdoms of the world and “ground it into dust”, but that his own body “became a mountain and filled the whole earth” (Dan. 2, 34–35). For it is not that the Lord filled the whole earth with his power rather than with the fullness of his body. Some make this claim – which I do not report without sorrow – to the dishonor of God’s kingdom and of Christ’s unvanquished inheritance. [...] If he had filled the whole earth not with his body but with his power, he would not be compared to a stone. Power is intangible; but a stone is a tangible body.⁵¹

Although Augustine does not refer to the same biblical text in his *Expositions of Psalms* 119–133, he makes use of it in his elucidation of the First Epistle of John when saying:

Isn’t Christ, who apart from sexual intercourse is from the kingdom of the Jews, the stone that was broken off from the mountain without hands? Didn’t that stone break up all the kingdoms of the earth – that is, all the ruling powers of the idols and demons? Didn’t that stone grow in size and become a great mountain and fill the whole world? (cf. Dan. 2, 34–35).⁵²

⁴⁹ Aug. *In Psalm.* 121, 4 (CSEL 95/3, 87–88): *Quid est: ‘lapides uiui coaedificamini?’ Viuis, si credis; si autem credis, efficeris templum Dei, quia dicit apostolus Paulus: ‘Templum enim Dei sanctum est, quod estis uos.’ Ipsa ergo modo ciuitas aedificatur; praeciduntur de montibus lapides per manus praedicatorum ueritatem, conquadrantur ut intrent in structuram sempiternam.* Transl.: WSA III/20, 16.

⁵⁰ Tycon. *Reg.* VII, 140: *Lapides Ecclesiam dicit Petrus: ‘Et uos fratres tamquam lapides uiui coaedificamini domus spiritalis’, quam domum igneam esse et hanc in malos fratres ardere sic dicit Deus: ‘Erit domus Iacob ignis, domus autem Ioseph flamma, domus uero Esau stipula; et exardescent in illos et comedent eos, et non erit ignifer in domo Esau, quoniam Dominus locutus est.’*

⁵¹ Tycon. *Reg.* I, 4–5: *Daniel quoque ‘lapidem de monte praecisum’ et ‘impegisse’ in corpus regnorum mundi et ‘in puluerem commoluisse’ Dominum dicit, ‘montem’ uero ‘effectum et impleuisse uniuersam terram’ corpus eius. Non enim – sicut quidam dicunt in contumeliam regni Dei inuictaeque hereditatis Christi, quod non sine dolore dico – Dominus totum mundum potestate et non sui corporis plenitudine occupauit. [...] Quod si potestate implesset uniuersam terram non corpore, lapidi non compararetur. Potestas res est impalpabilis, lapis uero corpus palpabile.*

⁵² Aug. *In epist. Ioh.* 1, 13 (BA 76, 100): *Nonne lapis ille qui praecisus est de monte sine manibus, Christus de regno Iudaeorum sine opere maritali, nonne ille lapis confregit omnia regna terrarum, id est omnes*

In fact, he frequently uses Daniel's image of the stone that has grown into a mountain to symbolise Christ. In its having broken off from the mountain without the intervention of human hands it suggests his virginal conception.⁵³ In its growth into a great mountain which fills the whole world, however, it symbolises the Church in its universality.⁵⁴

In accordance with the biblical text, both Tyconius and Augustine explain that the mountains symbolise on a more general level either the proud people or Christ and his church. Tyconius expresses it in a clear way in his *Rule VII* called *On the devil and his body*:

"I will sit on the high mountain above the high mountains to the north, I will rise above the clouds, I will be like the Most High" (Is. 14, 13–14). The "high mountain" is a people puffed up with pride; the "high mountains" are all the individuals puffed up with pride. Joined together, they make the mountain, i.e., the devil's body. [...] For even if the Lord's body, i.e., the church, is called a mountain, the individuals who make up the church are also called mountains, as it is written: "by him was I made king on Zion, his holy mountain, proclaiming his decrees" (Psalm. 2, 6–7).⁵⁵

Similar ideas are echoed also in Augustine's exegetical homilies. When the preacher develops the idea of mountains and valleys, he identifies these *ualles* with the humble people⁵⁶ and puts them in opposition to the proud whom he calls *montes*.

Clearly the mountains intended by the psalm must be different: mountains worthy of our love, lofty mountains, preachers of the truth, whether they be angels or apostles or prophets.⁵⁷

In his *Exposition of Psalm 125*, Augustine warns the faithful against dangerous mountains, i.e., against false preachers of God's word, naming them concretely:

Think of Donatus, and how remarkable he was! And then Maximianus: there is a splendid character for you! Then there was someone else called Photinus: what a great man! And what about Arius? He was undoubtedly important. I have listed all these mountains, but be wary, for they cause shipwrecks. You see them emitting beams of light in the way of inflammatory exhortations, and some fire is kindled from them. If you are piloting your boat and darkness has overtaken you (the obscurity of this life, I mean), do not let them

dominationes idolorum et daemoniorum? Nonne ille lapis creuit et factus est mons magnus et inpleuit uniuersum orbem terrarum? Transl.: WSA I/14, 35. See also Aug. *In euang. Ioh.* 4, 4 (CCSL 36, 32).

⁵³ Cf. Aug. *In Psalm.* 101, 1, 1 (CCSL 40, 1425–1426).

⁵⁴ Cf. Aug. *In Psalm.* 57, 9 (CCSL 39, 716).

⁵⁵ Tycon. *Reg.* VII, 118–119: 'Sedebo in monte alto super montes altos in Aquilonem, ascendam super nubes, ero similis Altissimo. Mons altus' *populus est superbus; 'montes alti' singuli quique superbi, qui adunati montem faciunt, id est corpus diaboli. [...] Nam et si corpus Domini id est Ecclesia mons dicitur, et singuli qui Ecclesiam faciunt montes, sicut scriptum est: 'Ego autem constitutus sum rex ab eo super Sion montem sanctum eius adnuntians imperia eius.'*

⁵⁶ Cf. Aug. *In Psalm.* 124, 4.6 (CSEL 95/3, 151.155).

⁵⁷ Aug. *In Psalm.* 124, 4 (CSEL 95/3, 150–151): *Alii sunt ergo montes amabiles, montes excelsi, praedicatores ueritatis, siue angeli, siue apostoli, siue prophetae.* Transl.: WSA III/20, 59.

deceive you into setting your course in their direction. You will hit the rocks. Disastrous wrecks occur there.⁵⁸

These are the schismatics and heretics who broke away from the unity of the church. The one who wants to be called good and just should then come to the church and bear good fruit in the Catholic peace, “because there isn’t really any fruit where it is not accompanied by patient tolerance.”⁵⁹ The one who comes in and becomes a Catholic will be good, not making himself good, but hoping to be made so by God.⁶⁰

When defending the idea of the church universality, both authors put emphasis mostly on one phenomenon, closely connected with the present topic, that is the Christian charity (*caritas*), love of God and of our neighbours which should be manifested not only by our words but also by our actions. In this respect, they both draw their ideas and inspiration on the First Epistle of Saint John which is hugely cited in their works.

In his *Rule VI* Tyconius says:

And again: “anyone who says that he loves God and hates his brother is a liar” (1 Ioh. 4, 20). For if he does love God as he says, let him show it by his works. Let him cling to God (cf. Psalm. 73, 28). Let him love God in his brother. If he believes in Christ incarnate, let him stop hating the members of Christ.⁶¹

Similarly, in the tenth homily on the First Epistle of John Augustine states:

He was speaking shortly before of brotherly love, and he said, “How will he who does not love his brother, whom he sees, be able to love God, whom he does not see?” (1 Ioh. 4, 20). But, if you love your brother, perhaps you love your brother and don’t love Christ? How can that be, when you love Christ’s members? When you love Christ’s members, then, you love Christ; when you love Christ, you love the Son of God; when you love the Son of God, you also love his Father. Love, then, cannot be separated. Choose for yourself what to love; other things come to you as a result.⁶²

⁵⁸ Aug. *In Psalm.* 124, 5 (CSEL 95/3, 153–154): *Qualis fuit ille Donatus! Qualis est Maximianus! Et nescio quis Photinus, qualis fuit! Et ille Arius qualis fuit! Omnes istos montes nominavi, sed naufragos. Videtis quia lucet de illis aliqua flamma sermonis, et aliquis de ipsis ignis accenditur. Si navigatis in ligno, et noctem patimini, id est, caliginem huius uitae; non uos fallant, nec dirigatis illuc nauim: Ibi sunt saxa, ibi naufragia magna fiunt.* Transl.: WSA III/20, 61. See also Aug. *In euang. Ioh.* 1, 3 (CCSL 36, 2).

⁵⁹ Aug. *Serm.* 47, 17 (CCSL 41, 589): *quia et fructus non est, ubi non est cum tolerantia.* Transl.: WSA III/2, 311.

⁶⁰ Cf. Aug. *Serm.* 47, 18 (CCSL 41, 589–590).

⁶¹ Tycon. *Reg.* VI, 112–113: *Et iterum: ‘Qui dixerit quoniam diligit Deum, et fratrem suum odit, mendax est.’ Si enim ut dicit diligit Deum, doceat operibus, adhaereat Deo, diligit Deum in fratre. Si credit Verbum carnem factum, quid persequitur Verbum in carne? Si credit quod dixit Dominus: ‘Quamdiu fecistis uni ex istis fratribus meis minimis in me credentibus, mihi fecistis’, non operetur malo Christo in carne, id est in seruis eius, quoniam Dominus et Ecclesia una caro est.*

⁶² Aug. *In epist. Ioh.* 10, 3 (BA 76, 404): *Dicebat paulo ante de dilectione fraterna et ait: ‘Qui non diligit fratrem quem uidet, Deum quem non uidet quomodo poterit diligere?’ Si autem diligis fratrem, forte fratrem diligis et Christum non diligis? Quomodo quando membra Christi diligis? Cum ergo membra Christi diligis, Christum diligis; cum Christum diligis, Filium Dei diligis; cum Filium Dei diligis, et Patrem diligis. Non potest ergo separari dilectio. Elige tibi quid diligas; sequuntur te cetera.* Transl.: WSA I/14, 148.

Conclusion

The idea of the universal church presented in the above-discussed works of both African authors is so to speak the “red thread” spreading throughout all *Expositions of Psalms* 119–133 and through the *Commentaries on John’s Gospel* and *on the First Epistle of John*, but finds its place also in Tyconius’s *Book of Rules*. In the selected texts I have observed a certain predilection for a particular set of scriptural quotations used both as an argument and as an illustration to support Augustine’s and Tyconius’s thought concerning the universality of the church. There are undoubtedly many more examples of the kind elucidating this topic to be found by both the authors, but I hope that the ones pointed out here might suffice to support my argumentation. Apparently, there is a great number of biblical passages and images occurring in the works of both African authors not only in close link with the topic of the church universality, which is however predominant, but also with regard to other themes connected with it. Despite the fact that we have no direct proofs about the inspiration sources of Augustine’s anti-Donatist preaching between the years 406–407, the similarities in the use of scriptural citations used by both authors have led me to a conclusion that Tyconius’s *Book of Rules* might have stood at the origin of Augustine’s inspiration and argumentation. By saying so, I do not, however, insist on a direct influence of Tyconius on Augustine’s teaching on the *ecclesia permixta* and on the ecclesiastical tolerance since the bishop of Hippo, unlike Tyconius, does not see the church as a twofold body, rather he understands it as a mixture in which the good and the bad are in time mixed in together. This might be also the reason why Augustine does not use, to support his argumentation concerning the tolerance of the bad in the church, the scriptural passage from Cant. 1, 5. By doing so he clearly distinguishes himself from the teaching of Tyconius based on his understanding of the twofold body of the Lord.

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FUSCA SUM ET DECORA
TYCONIŮV VLIV NA AUGUSTINOVU NAUKU O ECCLESIA PERMIXTA

Shrnutí

Verš z *Písňe písni* „Černá jsem, a přece půvabná“, citovaný u Tyconia v *Pravidle* II jeho knihy *Liber regularum*, představuje slavnou pasáž, kterou je možno považovat za základ jeho koncepce dvojité církve (*ecclesia bipertita*). Africký donatistický laický teolog se proslavil v první řadě svými sedmi pravidly interpretace Písma a zároveň svou neochvějnou kritikou donatistů, kteří popírali univerzalitu církve a omezovali ji výlučně na území severní Afriky. Cílem této studie je prozkoumat, do jaké míry se Tyconiovo chápání vztahu dobrých a zlých v církvi promítá do Augustinova učení o *ecclesia permixta* a o církevní toleranci v době jeho polemiky s donatisty. Zároveň si klademe otázku, zda četba *Liber regularum* mohla být zdrojem Augustinova výběru biblických textů, které jako kazatel komentoval na přelomu let 406–407. I při zběžném čtení jsou totiž patrné určité paralely v používání stejných biblických textů u obou autorů. Jejich srovnání ukazuje, že i když Augustinus od Tyconia a jeho biblické hermeneutiky zachovával odstup, přesto jej v době kontroverze s donatisty hojně cituje a ve své argumentaci přebírá z jeho díla biblické obrazy často citované doslovně. Zásadní výjimku představuje rozdílný způsob použití biblického citátu *fusca sum et decora* u obou autorů, který potvrzuje jejich rozdílné chápání *ecclesia bipertita* a *ecclesia permixta*.