

**THE DONATIST CONTROVERSY AND THE AUGUSTINIAN RESPONSE,
WITH A REFLECTION ON THE EVOLUTION OF AUGUSTINIAN
THEOLOGY DURING THE MIDDLE AGES***

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The Donatist Controversy was a period of violence between the ‘Donatists’ and the orthodox Christian Church in North Africa during the 4th and early 5th centuries AD. It stemmed from divisions within the church that were exacerbated following the Diocletianic Persecution of 303, in which the Emperor Diocletian attempted to suppress Christianity, in part through the confiscation of sacred texts.¹ This paper will provide a brief background to the controversy and the Donatist response to the sin of *traditio*, versus that of the Catholic Church.² It will then explore the involvement of Saint Augustine of Hippo (354–430) with particular regard to his notion of the catholicity of the true church. It will show how he used this, coupled with his theory of original sin, to justify the use of coercion against the Donatists. This justification is widely recognised as the foundation of our idea of ‘just war’, and many scholars have pointed to the influence of Augustine on this and other areas of Christian thought and the evolution of Western culture.³ After reviewing the Donatist Controversy, this paper will conclude with a brief look at three specific case studies in an effort to illustrate how Augustine’s writing continued to impact on Christian thought throughout the medieval period.

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¹ See H Chadwick, ‘Augustine’, in RM Hare, J Barnes & H Chadwick, *Founders of thought*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1991, p. 259; GG Willis, *Saint Augustine and the Donatist controversy*, Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, London, 1950, p. 3.

² See below for a brief definition of *traditio*. The term ‘Catholic’ will be the used in this paper to refer to the orthodox Christian church of the time.

³ See, for example, DM Bell Jr, “‘The fragile brilliance of glass’: empire, multitude and the coming community”, paper presented to ‘The Grandeur of Reason’ conference of the Centre of Theology and Philosophy, Rome, 1–4 September, 2008, passim; Pope Benedict XVI, General audience: 9 January 2008, Libreria Editrice Vaticana, Vatican City, 2008, para. 1. Viewed 1 April 2009, <http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/benedict_xvi/audiences/2008/index_en.htm>.

I. The Donatists and the Donatist Controversy

The Diocletianic Persecution left the Christian church in Numidia (a Roman province in North Africa) divided. Even prior to the Persecution, two opposing factions had been forming. Those that would come to be called the Donatists were convinced that theirs was the one true church and would not tolerate those whom they deemed to be heretics.⁴ This intolerance was unusual however, in that the purity they espoused for themselves was concerned with only one particular sin – that of *traditio*, the sacrificing of sacred texts – which they believed to be the ultimate apostasy.⁵ The repercussion of this was their belief that a sacrament performed by a *traditor* (someone who had committed *traditio*) was invalid. As will be discussed below, this notion of the Donatists' belief in theirs being the one true church was central to the way Augustine would approach the issue of reinforcing church unity in Numidia.

The Donatist movement was no small breakaway movement of the Christian church. When Augustine was appointed Bishop at Hippo, it was the dominant church in Numidia.⁶ The Donatists built enormous churches, around which villages grew. As such, Donatism was not only a challenge to the authority of the Catholic government; it influenced the very culture of the Numidian people.⁷ The Donatists' fear of heretics was founded in the Bible and they believed that if they tolerated sinners within their church, they were in danger of being excluded from God's favour.⁸ Consequently, they refused to liaise with secular authorities, instead putting all their efforts into the preservation of God's law.⁹ It also meant that a *traditor* could not be readmitted to the church without rebaptism, a practice that the Catholic Church regarded as sinful.¹⁰ The Donatists used this exclusion of *traditores* to justify theirs as the one true church, believing that the church gained its purity from that of its

⁴ St Optatus of Milevis, *Against the Donatists*, trans. OR Vassall-Phillips, vol. 1, Longmans Green & Co, London, 1917, p. 13.

⁵ P Brown, *Augustine of Hippo: a biography*, 2nd edn, Faber and Faber, London, 2000, p. 215; See also Chadwick, op. cit., p. 260.

⁶ Brown, op. cit., p. 211.

⁷ *ibid.*, p. 216.

⁸ *ibid.*, p. 214.

⁹ *ibid.*, p. 213; Chadwick, op. cit., p. 259.

¹⁰ See, for example, St Augustine of Hippo, 'Letter XXIII: To Maximin...', in P Schaff (ed.), *A select library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene fathers of the Christian church*, ser. 1, vol. 1, *The confessions and letters of St Augustin, with a sketch of his life and work*, Christian Classics Ethereal Library, Grand Rapids, 1886–1890, p. 242.

members; this was the key doctrinal difference between the Donatist movement and the Catholic church of the day.¹¹

The exhibition of this difference reached its peak in the consecration of Majorinus in 312. Both contemporary and more recent scholars note this event as the beginning of what we know as the Donatist Controversy.¹² As Caecilian, the incumbent bishop of Carthage, had been ordained by a *traditor*, the Donatists believed that his consecration was invalid, and they took the opportunity to ordain a member of their church (Majorinus) in his place.¹³ Once one bishop had been set up against the Catholics, the door was open for many more. Between the two churches, a flood of consecrations resulted in there being over six hundred bishops in Numidia by 395.¹⁴ The enormous growth of Donatism and the threat it posed to secular authority led the government to adopt coercive measures to quell the dissenters around 405.¹⁵

There is some debate as to whether the coercive measures of the Catholics were spurred by Donatist violence or vice versa. Brown argues that the Donatist violence was in response to pressure from the Catholic government¹⁶, while Chadwick characterises the Catholics' measures as a response to 'Donatist atrocities'.¹⁷ Brown's more nuanced account attributes this violence to an extreme wing of the Donatists known as the Circumcellions¹⁸, and while Chadwick acknowledges that it was primarily at the hands of 'the rural clergy', his portrayal is very clearly that of the Donatists viciously attacking the Catholic Church and its members.¹⁹ Chadwick goes further still by characterising the Donatists as 'hawks', resolutely opposed to toleration of heretics and engagement with secular authorities, and the Catholics as 'doves', yearning only to live together in peace.²⁰ This somewhat biased depiction, and the lack of scope afforded by Chadwick's treatment, would suggest that Brown's is more tenable. Regardless of the subtleties of interpretation, it is clear that there

¹¹ See Brown, *op. cit.*, pp. 213–217.

¹² See, for example, JR King, 'Preface', in P Schaff (ed), *op. cit.*, vol. 4, *Augustin: the writings against the Manichaeans and against the Donatists*, p. 405; Optatus, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 29; Willis, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

¹³ Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 210.

¹⁴ *ibid.*, p. 198.

¹⁵ *ibid.*, p. 230.

¹⁶ *ibid.*, p. 224.

¹⁷ Chadwick, *op. cit.*, p. 262.

¹⁸ Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 225.

¹⁹ Chadwick, *op. cit.*, p. 261.

²⁰ *ibid.*, p. 259.

evolved a situation in which both parties were engaged in violent acts toward each other, and it is Augustine's response to the Donatist notion of one true church, and to this violence, that will now be explored.

II. Augustine, the Donatists, and the catholicity of the 'True Church'

Augustine was certainly not one to tolerate hypocrisy, in himself or in others. We see an example of this when he was grappling with the question of the origins of the soul. When he found himself unable to reconcile differences between competing answers to this question, he acknowledged that perhaps he did not have the capacity to answer it, rather than adopt an explanation simply to placate those who sought one.²¹ So it should come as no surprise that he was particularly vocal when he saw hypocrisy in the practices of the Donatists. Their insistence that the purity of the church existed in that of its members was an assertion fraught with difficulties. Many of their own number were *traditores*²², and if the Donatists were to stand by their stance on such apostasy, any sacraments performed by these *traditores* would be invalid. This does not appear to have mattered too much to the laity²³, but in defending themselves against the Catholic bishops, how could they truly claim that their church 'was watertight...[keeping] out the defiling waters of the world'?²⁴ This was exacerbated by their readmittance of their own schismatics, the Maximians, without rebaptism, and Augustine did not hesitate to point this out to them.²⁵ He also held objection to the Donatists' protestations against Catholic violence. As he saw it, the coercion by the Catholics was in retribution for Donatist crimes, not as persecution for their religion. He points to various acts of violence by the Donatists and the governmental authority of the Catholic Church to justify this.²⁶

²¹ *ibid.*, p. 237.

²² Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 210.

²³ See, for example, *ibid.*, p. 223.

²⁴ *ibid.*, p. 216.

²⁵ Augustine, 'Letter LXXVI: to the Donatists', trans. JG Cunningham, in P Schaff (ed), *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 344.

²⁶ Chadwick, *op. cit.*, p. 265.

Augustine was initially staunchly opposed to any use of violence in the conversion of the Donatists²⁷, however his philosophical and theological sensibilities developed in time to permit the justification of its employment in particular circumstances. His approach to the resolution of conflict was always characterised by a balance of coercion and dialogue. Despite his willingness to engage in at least some form of coercion, his preference was always for a peaceful resolution and he would speak until hoarse in an effort to quell disquiet rather than risk revolt.²⁸ Augustine spoke from the Scriptures when addressing such situations, and did so also when addressing the Donatists; he felt that the awe of God's word could do more to deter people from violence than he could.²⁹ Brown argues that this reliance on the Scriptures allowed Augustine to separate himself from the situation, to argue with 'impersonal intensity', and that this led to his later adoption of 'harsh police-measures' in the suppression of the Donatist cause.³⁰ He portrays Augustine as a manipulator, someone who was willing to employ almost any verbal means to achieve his own ends. This must be contrasted with Brown's own discussion of Augustine's later justification of the pressure that the Catholic government placed on the Donatists.

Augustine justified the use of coercion in the suppression of the Donatists by focussing on the ends to which he and his colleagues were working. He saw the success that the Catholic pressure was having in bringing Donatists back into the fold, and came to the position 'that the thing to be considered when any one is coerced, is not the mere fact of the coercion, but the nature of that to which he is coerced[.]'³¹ As usual, he found support for his opinion in the Bible, finding solace in Proverbs 9:9: 'Give opportunity to a wise man, and he will be yet wiser.'³² Augustine never denied a free will, however he felt it perfectly justified to set up an uncomfortable path of education that would ultimately result in the will making the correct choice. This coercion was his way of rescuing those that had strayed.³³ Augustine's notion of original sin is inherent in this approach. This concept

²⁷ *ibid.*, pp. 262–263.

²⁸ See, for example, Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 202.

²⁹ *ibid.*, pp. 201–202. See also, for example, Augustine, *op. cit.*, 'Letter LXXVI', pp. 343–344, *passim*.

³⁰ Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 203.

³¹ Augustine, 'Letter XCIII: To Vincentius...', trans. JG Cunningham, in P Schaff (ed.), *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 388.

³² Quoted in Augustine, *ibid.*

³³ See Brown, *op. cit.*, pp. 232–233; Chadwick, *op. cit.*, p. 265.

manifests itself in the process of learning that all people experience in life. Chadwick notes that Augustine argues the ‘ignorance and difficulty’ that people face is our punishment for the original sin of Adam and Eve: a pure humanity had only ever existed in Adam before the Fall, and in Christ.³⁴ Brown notes that Augustine saw his role as a bishop similarly to that modelled by St Paul, with a rigid insistence that his flock follow at all times.³⁵ In fulfilling this role and observing the effect of the Catholic pressure on the Donatists, Augustine came to realise that, as Brown says, ‘Fallen men had come to need restraint’.³⁶ Augustine acknowledged that his own path of erudition had also been one of discomfort, even of terror, and Brown notes that without it he would not have been the ‘great intellect’ that he was.³⁷ Thus, in his understanding of original sin, Augustine was able to justify some of the violent practices against the Donatists. By bringing them back to the Catholic fold, he was in fact doing them a favour, and they would appreciate it in time.³⁸ Despite this justification of the use of violence, Augustine continued to insist on a balance of dialogue and force. He writes in one of his letters to Vincentius: ‘For if they were only made afraid, and not instructed, this might appear to be a kind of inexcusable tyranny.’³⁹

We have seen that Augustine justified some of the violent practices of the Catholic Church as a means to an end, and we will now look at why the end was so important. As far as he could see, the Donatist ideal of one true church simply did not equate with what he had read in the Scriptures. He read in the Scriptures that *God* would separate the wheat from the tares – it was not up to people to stand in judgement. He also noted that God had given his blessing to all the nations of the world, not just to Africa. How could Donatism, in separating itself from the Catholic Church (the ‘wheat’ from the ‘tares’), and in claiming its existence only in Africa, be the one true church? According to Augustine, it could not.⁴⁰ For him, the catholicity of the true

³⁴ *ibid.*, p. 228.

³⁵ Brown, *op. cit.*, pp. 201–202.

³⁶ *ibid.*, p. 234. Brown intentionally capitalises ‘Fallen’ here in an effort to identify the adjective with the original ‘Fall’ of man in the sin of Adam and Eve.

³⁷ *ibid.*; See also, for example, Augustine, *Confessions*, trans. RS Pine-Coffin, Penguin, London, 1961, p. 39.

³⁸ See, for example, Augustine, ‘Letter XCIII: To Vincentius’, trans. JG Cunningham, in P Schaff (ed.), *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 382.

³⁹ *ibid.*, p. 383.

⁴⁰ *id.*, ‘Letter LXXVI: To the Donatists’, trans. JG Cunningham, in P Schaff (ed.), *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 343.

church was paramount. When writing about the ‘love which the Holy Spirit teaches us to render...to all’⁴¹, he echoes the sentiments of Saint Optatus of Milevis who, in writing against the Donatists around thirty years earlier, made certain that his reader still understood that he considered the Donatists his ‘brethren’.⁴² As O’Donnell puts it, Augustine believed ‘[c]harity dictated that the visible church be open to all, not lorded over by a few self-appointed paragons choosing to admit only their own kind.’⁴³ To this end, he worked to ensure the true church was universal, and to bring the Donatists back in order that they might receive salvation.⁴⁴ This catholicity is seen throughout Augustine’s work and has been described as his ‘desire to see the circle of communion extended until all space is become the smooth space of fraternity’.⁴⁵ This passion was driven by his certainty that he was doing the true work of God. No doubt the Donatists felt the same, however contemporary authors cite little evidence that the Donatist party was able to defend itself against the arguments that Augustine put forth from the Scriptures.⁴⁶

III. The Evolution of Augustinian Theology

Ever since his death in 430, Augustine has had a profound influence on Christian thought. His approach to the Donatists set the foundation for how he would later address the Pelagian heresy in Britain,⁴⁷ and his work was acknowledged by Pope Paul VI as the foundation of ‘the whole doctrinal tradition of succeeding ages’.⁴⁸ Approximately one thousand works of his have survived the last sixteen centuries, and it is estimated that he wrote two or three thousand more during his lifetime.⁴⁹ As such, it is impossible to analyse the content of his writings or the scope of his

⁴¹ id, ‘Letter XLIII: To Glorius, Eleusius, the two Felixes...’, trans. JG Cunningham, in P Schaff (ed.), op. cit., vol. 1, p. 276.

⁴² Optatus, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 6.

⁴³ JJ O’Donnell, *Augustine the African*, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, 2003, para. 36. Viewed 27 March 2009, <<http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/jod/twayne/aug1.html>>.

⁴⁴ See, for example, Augustine, op. cit., ‘Letter LXXVI’, passim; Possidius, *Life of St Augustine*, trans. HT Weiskotten, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1919, pp. 54–60, passim.

⁴⁵ Bell Jr, op. cit., p. 10.

⁴⁶ See, for example, Possidius, op. cit., p. 60.

⁴⁷ See Brown, op. cit., pp. 232, 385–386.

⁴⁸ Pope Paul VI, ‘Inaugural address at the Patristic Institute of the “Augustinum”’, 4 May 1970, quoted in Pope Benedict XVI, op. cit., para. 2.

⁴⁹ Pope Benedict XVI, General audience: 20 February 2008, Libreria Editrice Vaticana, Vatican City, 2008, para. 2. Viewed 1 April 2009, <http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/benedict_xvi/audiences/2008/index_en.htm>.

influence in any meaningful way here. Instead, this paper will now illustrate three instances in which his theology has influenced later thinkers. It will briefly look at the similarities of his thought on the Trinity with that of Saint John of Damascus (c.678–749), of his reflections on the nature of God with those of Blessed John of Ruysbroeck (1293–1381), and of his notion of original sin with that of Julian of Norwich (c.1342–c.1413). These three people have been chosen simply to show how elements of Augustine’s theology continued to influence Christian thinkers during the medieval period.

In his *City of God*, Augustine speaks of God (the Father) as a ‘simple good’, from which is begotten the Son, and with which exists the Holy Spirit, which He has created.⁵⁰ At the same time, the Father, Son and Holy Spirit are not exclusive of this ‘good’; indeed Augustine says that they *are* this ‘good’. In this complex picture of the nature of the Trinity, he claims that each element ‘is what it has’. That is, while each element *possesses* each other, they also *are* each other. Each also exists with and because of each other. As such, Augustine refers to each element as “‘another,” not “another thing””, for each is the other and vice versa. His analogy of the hand in discussing the incorruptibility of the body promised to the saints can be used to illustrate this:

For the hand, *e.g.*, is not more incorrupt than the finger because it is larger than the finger; so, though finger and hand are unequal their incorruptibility is equal.

Thus the separate elements (the Father, Son and Holy Spirit) exist as discrete elements while being inherent (as the Trinity) within each other.

John of Damascus’ notion of the Trinity is very similar to Augustine’s.⁵¹ He also points to the Holy Spirit as created rather than begotten, and of the Son as begotten

⁵⁰ The following discussion of Augustine’s notion of the Trinity is based on Augustine, ‘City of God’, trans. M Dod, in P Schaff (ed.), *op. cit.*, vol. 2, *St Augustin’s city of God and Christian doctrine*, book XI, ch. 10, pp. 210–211.

⁵¹ The following discussion of John’s notion of the Trinity is based on St John of Damascus, ‘Exposition of the orthodox faith’, trans. SDF Salmond, in P Schaff & H Wace (eds), *A select library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene fathers of the Christian church*, ser. 2, vol. 9, *Hilary of Poitiers, John*

of the Father. His thoughts on their coexistence are very similar as well, though he uses the more illustrative analogy of fire and light in relation to the Father and the Son:

...just as light is ever the product of fire, and ever is in it and at no time is separate from it, so in like manner also the Son is begotten of the Father and is never in any way separate from Him, but ever is in Him.⁵²

In this way, John demonstrates the principle that Augustine was putting forth with his discussion of incorruptibility. The elements of the Trinity (the ‘three perfect subsistences’) exist separately from each other and at the same time within and of each other (in ‘one simple essence’), just as in Augustine’s theology. John has taken the building blocks of Augustine’s discussion and arranged them so that they are more accessible for the lay reader.

In his *Confessions*, Augustine engages in a one-sided dialogue with God in an effort to understand His nature.⁵³ He questions the being of God, but finding no answer to this, attempts to explain God in terms of His attributes. He paints a vivid picture of a deity endowed with traits glorious in desirability and number, primarily concerned with those that can be associated with empathy and care. He writes of His mercy, love and justice; of His care, compassion and charity. Augustine’s God is one who is omnipotent but not arrogant, angry yet fair and mournful without suffering. Although he is not able to answer the question of God’s being, Augustine in his reflections is able to answer the question of *what* God is, and concludes his conversation thus:

You are my God, my Life, my holy Delight, but is this enough to say of you? ...even those who are most gifted with speech cannot find words to describe you.⁵⁴

of *Damascus*, Christian Classics Ethereal Library, Grand Rapids, 1898, pp. 6b–10b. See also *ibid.*, p. 10a, n. 1551.

⁵² *ibid.*, p. 8b.

⁵³ The following discussion of Augustine’s understanding of the attributes of God is based on Augustine, *op. cit.*, *Confessions*, pp. 22–23.

⁵⁴ *ibid.*, p. 23.

John of Ruysbroeck's image of God contains many attributes that parallel those of Augustine's.⁵⁵ John, like Augustine, does not attempt to answer the question of God's being, but explains the nature of God through His attributes. Although John follows Augustine's vein in elucidating those traits that we can associate with empathy and care, he spends as much time emphasising the awesome power of God in His omnipotence. Thus, we find next to his descriptions of God's love, mercy and benevolence, such potent adjectives as 'inconceivable', 'limitless' and 'incomprehensible'. He also spends time, as Augustine did, expounding God's infinite presence and all seeing gaze. However in every phrase, every nuance of his description, he ensures that his audience is aware of God's sheer glory. There is truly nothing that can match the unparalleled power of this deity, and John wants his reader to know it. In evolving his vision of God, he has utilised the attributes already identified by Augustine⁵⁶, and has paired them with powerful adjectives to exemplify their desirability and His power.

In her *Revelations of Divine Love*, Julian of Norwich portrays a notion of original sin with remarkable parallels to that of Augustine's.⁵⁷ Indeed, the following statement of Julian's virtually summarises Augustine: 'If sin had not been, we should all have been clean...'.⁵⁸ As in Augustine's theology, Julian posits that if people had never been allowed to sin, then we would not face the challenges in life that we do today. These challenges are our punishment. Julian speaks of pain as the manifestation of sin: the thing that 'purgeth, and maketh us to know ourselves and to ask mercy.' Only through this experience of sin and pain can we receive God's mercy. There is sin and pain in this mortal life, however in the end 'all will be well'. Julian also attempts to answer the *why* question behind the Fall. She does not answer the question of why, if God is omnipotent, did He not grant people salvation without the pain of sin; rather, she hypothesises that it is beyond our corporeal abilities to understand the answer. Without these experiences, we would not be able to gain

⁵⁵ The following discussion of John's understanding of the attributes of God is based on St John of Ruysbroeck, 'The adornment of the spiritual marriage', book 2, ch. XXXVII, in St John of Ruysbroeck, *The adornment of the spiritual marriage, the sparkling stone, the book of supreme truth*, trans. CA Wynshenk, E Underhill (ed.), Christian Classics Ethereal Library, Grand Rapids, 1916.

⁵⁶ *ibid.*, n. 52.

⁵⁷ The following discussion on Julian's notion of original sin is based on St Julian of Norwich, *Revelations of divine love*, trans. G Warrack, Christian Classics Ethereal Library, Grand Rapids, 1901, pp. 54–56.

⁵⁸ *cf.*, for example, above, pp. 5–6.

access to heaven, and it is there that we will discover the reason for the Fall. Augustine, conversely, does not really find an answer to this question. Rather than a concrete conclusion (even if it is that we will find out in heaven), he suggests that perhaps God permits the existence of evil in order to demonstrate how, in His omnipotence, He can make good use even of wickedness.⁵⁹ Thus, Julian does with Augustine's notion of original sin what John of Damascus did for his interpretation of the Trinity and what John of Ruysbroeck did for his description of God: she took Augustine's foundation and built on it, evolving Augustine's own arguments a little more and adding something new for later generations to develop even further.

IV. Conclusion

Although his influence in his own time is now being called into question⁶⁰, Saint Augustine of Hippo has since proved undoubtedly to be one of the most significant church figures of late antiquity. His impact on the Christian church has been penetrating and consistent ever since his death almost 1600 years ago. This influence has had a significant part to play in how Western culture has evolved during that time. This paper has explored very briefly his concept of original sin and his justification of the use of force against the Donatists, as well as sketching three specific instances in which we can see his influence working long after his death. Today, our concept of 'just war' finds its roots in Augustine's notion of original sin and the suppression of the Donatists⁶¹; his belief in the catholicity of the true church can still be seen in the words of our preachers⁶²; and his *City of God* continues to influence ideas on the authority of church and state.⁶³

⁵⁹ Augustine, op. cit., 'City of God', p. 272.

⁶⁰ See, for example, MC McCarthy, "We are your books": Augustine, the Bible, and the practice of authority', *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, vol. 75, no. 2, p. 326.

⁶¹ DC Fink, "The doers of the law will be justified": the exegetical origins of Martin Bucer's *Triplex Iustificatio*', *Journal of Theological Studies*, vol. 58, no. 2, p. 489.

⁶² See, for example, Benedict XVI, General audience: 16 January 2008, Libreria Editrice Vaticana, Vatican City, 2008, paras 10–11. Viewed 1 April 2009, <http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/benedict_xvi/audiences/2008/index_en.htm>.

⁶³ See, for example, Bell Jr, *ibid.*, passim.

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