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FRIENDSHIP AND POLITICAL SOCIETY IN AUGUSTINE'S *CONFESSIONS*

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In discussions about Saint Augustine's political theology, his tome *The City of God* overshadows all his other works. The reasons for this are numerous. *The City of God* presents mature and incisive thought on the teleological natures of the City of Man and the City of God. Saint Augustine was writing down his ruminations on the transience of human society during the upheaval of one of the most successful empires in human history. Both its content and its timing solidify *The City of God* as Augustine's most enduring political work. That said, the fundamental notion developed in this work, namely the nature of the human society over against God's society, is a dominant notion in Augustine's earlier works, as is the case with the *Confessions*. Often, the *Confessions* is viewed as merely a spiritual autobiography. It is credited with inaugurating the interiorizing trajectory into Christianity. Yet, if the reader pays close enough attention to the unfolding of Augustine's life, she will recognize that Saint Augustine is rarely, if ever, alone. Augustine appears to be always in the company of another. Friendship performs a decisive role in the *Confessions* and Augustine's descriptions of his friendships hint at his later, more developed, political thought. Augustine understands political societies as premised upon friendship because friendship alone has the potency to create oneness out of many, or *concordia*. This ability is based on adherence to the natural, hierarchical order of nature. Friendship is a unique human society that allows humanity to return to the social harmony of God's original creation.

This paper will unfold in three movements: (1) an explication of Augustine's understanding of friendship with special reference to Cicero, (2) a close reading of two important episodes in the *Confessions* that prefigure Augustine's later development of the famous Jerusalem-Babylon dichotomy, and (3) an explanation of the distinction between authority and dominion in Augustine's interpretation of Genesis 1:26.

Augustine's notion of friendship underwent its own form of conversion throughout his life. As a student of classical culture, Augustine's thought on friendship was greatly influenced by Latin and Greek poets and philosophers and their thoughts on friendship. Cicero (106-43 BC) was Augustine's ever-present dialogue partner and proved to be a great influence on Augustine's intellectual development. Augustine records his first encounter with the famed Latin orator and statesman in Book III of the *Confessions*. As a successful eighteen-year-old student of rhetoric, the young Augustine was "inflated with conceit" as a future in the law courts became more tenable.¹ As a part of his curriculum, Augustine read Cicero's *Hortensius*² and, as he says, "[t]he book changed my feelings. It altered my prayers, Lord, to be towards you yourself. It gave me different values and priorities. Suddenly, every vain hope became empty to me."³ Cicero's work incited Augustine to "long", with very much the same emotional intensity as sexual lust, after "the immortality of wisdom."⁴ As Gilian Clark says, "the *Hortentius* did what protreptic was meant to do: it inspired Augustine to read philosophy."⁵ From this point on, Ciceronian influence populates much of the *Confessions*.

Cicero's definition of friendship, which is the most evident classical definition in the *Confessions*, says that friendship is "a relationship based agreement about all human and divine

¹ *Confessions* III.iv (7).

² This work is lost save the extended quotations found in Augustine's *Confessions* and *On the Trinity*.

³ *Confessions* III.iv. (7).

⁴ *Confessions* III.iv. (7).

⁵ Gilian Clark, "Philosopher: Augustine in Retirement" in *A Companion to Augustine*, ed. Mark Vessey and Shelley Reid (West Sussex: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), 259-260.

matters, together with good-will and affection.”⁶ This definition, taken from the work *Laelius*, introduces an affective element in the philosophy of friendship that was not as clearly present in previous classical definitions of friendship. For Cicero, a person’s friend was like “a second self.”⁷ Through friendship, two people were initiated into the process of inhabiting one soul. This union of persons was both intellectual and affective because virtue, which is the highest good for Cicero, comprises both. It is this version of friendship that is present in Augustine’s writings. As Donald Burt says, “Augustine agrees with Cicero that friendship involves both an intellectual and affective element. There is a substantial ‘thinking alike’ on temporal and eternal affairs, on goals and values. But friendship does not stop with such bland consensus. There is also a true affection for the other and a benevolence (a ‘wishing well’) directed to the other. Friendship is not just a meeting of minds. It is a union of hearts, a *concordia*.”⁸

What is true of friendship is also true of political communities because each one constitutes a *societas*. In *De Re Publica* (54-51 BC), Cicero develops an understanding of the “Commonwealth” (*res publica*) that echoes his philosophical understanding of friendship. Through the character of Scipio, Cicero says “a commonwealth is the property of a people. But a people is not any collection of human beings brought together in any sort of way, but an

⁶ Caroline White, *Christian Friendship in the Fourth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 32.

⁷ In *Confessions* IV.vi (11), Cicero’s understanding of friendship is evident as Augustine wrestles with the death of his anonymous Manichean friend. Augustine laments the loss, while also reflecting on fear of his own death, saying, “[h]e was half my soul.’ I had felt that my soul and his soul were ‘one soul in two bodies.’ So my life was to me a horror. *I did not wish to live with only half of myself.*” Augustine, *Confessions*, trans. Henry Chadwick (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), my *italics*.

⁸ Donald X. Burt, *Friendship and Society: An Introduction to Augustine’s Practical Philosophy* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1999), 59. Author’s *italics*.

assemblage of people in large numbers associated in an agreement with respect to justice and a partnership for the common good.”⁹ While the *concordia* shared between two friends may be more intimate and personal, *concordia*, as a fundamental agreement on goodness, truth, and justice, is also necessary for any valid governmental system. Friendships and republics are societies¹⁰ because both exist only where fundamental agreement between two or more people is present. In order to capture the expansive meaning of *societas*, which Augustine uses synonymously with *civitas* in *City of God*¹¹, Van Oort aligns it with the Greek understanding of the *polis*, or city-state. “A *civitas* [or *societas*] is not just a group of people living together, but a *community* with its own religion, legal standards, cultures, and moral values...Here [as with the *polis*] the elements of community, politics, and religion are inseparable.”¹² Ciceronian *societas* was an important dialogue partner in Augustine’s thought.¹³ While Augustine is clear on where he breaks with Cicero, echoes of the Roman statesman’s thought figure themselves into Augustine’s famous antithesis: Jerusalem and Babylon. The distinguishing factor between these two cities is not that one is cultured and the other is not, but that one city’s fundamental agreement on its proper end is emphatically incompatible with the other’s.

⁹ Cicero, *De Re Publica* I.XXV.39. Loeb Classical Library, Vol. XVI: “De Re Publica, De Legibus”, trans. by Clinton Walker Keyes, ed. G.P. Goold (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1977), 65.

¹⁰ Burt defines a *society* as “a moral union of two or more persons striving for a common good by cooperative activity.” Burt, *Friendship and Society*, 68.

¹¹ Johannes Van Oort, *Jerusalem and Babylon: A Study in the Augustine’s City of God and the Sources of His Doctrine of the Two Cities* (Leiden: Brill, 1991), 103.

¹² Van Oort, *Jerusalem and Babylon*, 104.

¹³ See Augustine’s discussion on Cicero’s definition of a “commonwealth” in *City of God* II.21.

The antithetical relationship between Jerusalem and Babylon was a common motif in Augustine's writings beginning around 395 AD.¹⁴ Augustine utilized the images of Jerusalem and Babylon to denote the *telos* of the *civitate* ruled by love of God and the *civitate* ruled by human pride. While *City of God* is renowned as Augustine's most developed and precise treatment of Jerusalem and Babylon as politico-spiritual societies, the *Confessions* prefigure these realities in Augustine's concrete relationships. In *Confessions*, Augustine, with profound literary genius, displays the fundamental natures of Jerusalem and Babylon as he prayerfully narrates his life to God. Conceiving of the *Confessions* foreshowing the *The City of God* possesses substantial merit. As mentioned above, the dichotomous relationship becomes a characteristic feature of Augustine's thought by 395 (*Confessions* was written from 397-400). What is more, Augustine uses the *City of God* to elaborate on and interpret certain episodes from *Confessions*. For example, Augustine introduces the infamous episode pertaining to the pear tree, which will be discussed in detail below, by saying that "[t]he mother of my flesh already had fled from the center of Babylon (Jer. 51:6)."¹⁵ In *City of God* XVIII.18, Augustine elaborates on his citation of the prophetic imperative. "And what can we say, except that we should 'escape from the midst of Babylon'? This prophetic instruction is spiritually interpreted as meaning that we should escape from the city of this world...advancing by the steps of faith which 'becomes active in love', to take refuge in the living God."¹⁶ Monica's flight is portrayed as the appropriate response for a saint, living in a Babylon-

¹⁴ Van Oort cites Augustine's sermons on Psalm 148 and 145, preached in early 395, as the first elaboration on this fundamental antithesis. In 400, Augustine publishes a work entitled *The Catechizing of the Uninstructed* where the contrastive relation between Jerusalem and Babylon receives a more formal, and didactically-oriented, manner. Van Oort, *Jerusalem and Babylon*, 188.

¹⁵ *Confessions*. II.iii (8).

¹⁶ *City of God* XVIII.18

like city, to make. The characters who make up the friendships/companionships in the *Confessions* anticipate the politico-spiritual communities of *The City of God*.

Two episodes in the *Confessions* display Augustine's philosophy of friendship as well as the relationship between *societas* as microcosm and *societas* as macrocosm. One of these instances occurs before his conversion, in his rambunctious adolescence and the other occurs just before the death of his mother Monica at Ostia. Augustine's relationships become more Christian as they move from the crudeness of his adolescence to a real, but vanishing, vision of heavenly bliss with his mother. In Augustine's mind, what is true of the microcosm of human relations is also true of the macrocosm of political society. Interestingly, the Ciceronian categories are deployed to explicate the contours of these friendships. Yet, as the narrative of the *Confessions* progresses, the reader can discern a Christianization of Ciceronian, classical friendship.

The first episode is the famous Pear Tree incident found in Book II. Augustine's moral thrust behind this event is the absurdity of evil. Not only is evil absurd, but man, too, is absurd in his desire to commit evil. Augustine, reflecting on the situation says,

“I wanted to carry out an act of theft and did so, driven by no kind of need other than my inner lack of any sense of, or feeling for, justice. Wickedness filled me. I stole something which I had in plenty and of much better quality. My desire was to enjoy not what I sought by stealing but merely the excitement of thieving and the doing of what was wrong.”¹⁷

Augustine credits the wickedness that “filled” him as the engine behind his tenacious desire to do evil for no other reason than the pleasure it brought. Often, when the reader arrives at this point in the *Confessions*, her immediate reaction is to tie this event in with the Fall in the Garden of Eden.

¹⁷ *Confessions*. II.iv.9.

Both events center around fruit as pernicious objects of desire. However, Augustine makes no parallels between himself and Adam and Eve. Instead, his language echoes the actions of Lucifer. As he says, “I had no motive for my wickedness except wickedness itself...I loved the self-destruction, I loved my fall, not the object for which I had fallen but my fall itself. My depraved soul leapt down from your firmament to ruin”¹⁸ Augustine is not equating himself with Satan. In fact, how Augustine opens this episode clarifies his intense language.

In the previous paragraph, Augustine offers a telling description of his companions. “Such were the companions with whom I made my way through the streets of Babylon. With them I rolled in its dung as if rolling in spices and precious ointments.”¹⁹ Augustine’s comparison of his native Thagaste with the infamous city of Babylon is a statement on Thagaste’s spiritual and moral ethos. There is a dynamic at play in this section of the *Confessions* that is common in much of Augustine’s work. Human relationships, or societies, can be either expressions of Babylon, a symbol of the extent of human selfishness and pride, or Jerusalem, a symbol of humility and genuine praise to the true God. As Burt says, “Since humans in this life are mixed and not fixed in their loves (neither all good nor all bad), none of the societies they form can be identified as perfect examples in time of either of the two transcendent cities. The supra-temporal societies of Babylon and Jerusalem exist in their fullness only in hell and heaven.”²⁰ Thus, not only is Thagaste’s lewdness representative of Babylon, but the “society” formed by Augustine and his companions is also a manifestation of Babylon. The brashness with which Augustine and his companions

¹⁸ *Confessions*, II.iv.9.

¹⁹ *Confessions*. II.iii.8

²⁰ Burt, *Friendship and Society*, 120.

committed evil deeds evidences that they themselves participated in Babylon. To participate in Babylon is to give oneself over to the influence of devils. More specifically, to participate in Babylon is to transgress the Greatest Commandment [Matt. 22:37-40] through pursuing one's desires at the expense of one's neighbor.

The nature of Babylon, in its political capacity, is seen in *City of God* XVIII.2 where Augustine attempts to trace a history of the City of Man beginning with Abraham. He says,

the society of mortal men spread everywhere over the earth; and amid all the varieties of geographical situation it still was linked together by a kind of fellowship based on a common nature, although each group pursued its own advantages and sought the gratification of its own desires. In such pursuits not everyone, perhaps no one, achieves complete satisfaction because men have conflicting aims. Hence, human society is generally divided against itself, and one part of it oppresses another, when it finds itself stronger.²¹

Fundamentally, "Babylonian" society is combative rather than humble. It harms its neighbors in its prideful pursuit of its own desires. To return to the pear tree episode, Augustine and his companions manifest a Babylonian society because they do violence against the owner of the vineyard for no other reason than inciting excitement within themselves. The wickedness that filled Augustine is inextricably linked to the sociality of the event. In his reflection, Augustine confesses that "[b]ut alone I would not have done it, could not conceivably have done it by myself."²² The language of Satan's fall that he uses to describe the instance paints a vivid picture of how tainted and dysfunctional this "society" was.

²¹ Augustine, *The City of God against the Pagans*, trans. Henry Bettenson (London: Penguin Books, 1983), 762.

²² *Confessions*. II.ix.17.

Augustine's adolescent companions are examples of friendship that runs contrary to the high ideals of Cicero's classical understanding. Rather than pursuing virtue, Augustine and his companions pursue wickedness. Rather than experiencing the pleasure of agreement on matters both divine and temporal, they are all too self-absorbed with their own passions. In his recounting of his adolescent days, Augustine dances between re-narrating the events and offering his developed understanding on the topic of friendship. "Human friendship," the matured Augustine says, "is also a nest of love and gentleness because of the unity it brings about between many souls."²³ At Ostia, Augustine and his mother Monica converse about divine things and share a fleeting glimpse of heavenly bliss. In contrast to the pseudo-friendships Augustine had in his adolescence, the episode at Ostia displays true friendship according to Augustine's definition.

It is important to note the narrative placement of Augustine and Monica's vision at Ostia. At this point in *Confessions*, Augustine has been converted. Because of his conversion, Augustine's secular ambitions begin to fade. On this point Augustine says, "[t]he effect of your converting me to yourself was that I did not now seek a wife and had no ambition for success in this world."²⁴ Renouncing marriage to a young girl of status barred Augustine from entering the political court in Milan. Furthermore, he began to experience chest pains which made it necessary for him to step down from his teaching positions.²⁵ No longer burdened with teaching responsibilities, Augustine embarks on an intellectual retreat at a villa in Cassiciacum from July

²³ *Confessions*. II.v.10.

²⁴ *Confessions*. VIII.xii.30.

²⁵ "I tolerated that interval of time [of rest] until it was over—it may have been about twenty days. Yet it required courage to be tolerant, because I no longer had the interest in money which ordinarily enabled me to endure a heavy work-load." *Confessions*. IX.ii.4.

386 to Easter Sunday 387. During this time, he writes the notably Neoplatonic works *Against the Academics*, *Soliloquies*, *The Happy Life*, and *Order*. He is then baptized by Ambrose in Milan on Easter Sunday.

After this, Augustine and Monica began to plan their return to Africa. However, Monica's health waned quickly. They rested in Ostia, which was "on the Tiber."²⁶ Augustine sets the stage for the vision at Ostia, saying

[a]lone with each other, we talked very intimately. 'Forgetting the past and reaching forward to what lies ahead (Phil. 3:13), we were searching together in the presence of truth which is you yourself. We asked what quality of life the eternal life of the saints will have, a life which 'neither eye has seen nor ear heard, nor has it entered into the heart of man' (1 Cor. 2:9).²⁷

In Augustine's description, the reader can discern the classical definition of friendship at work. The relationship shared between Augustine and Monica is deeply affective as seen in his word choice of "talked very intimately." The content of their intimate discussion was also a matter of agreement between Augustine and Monica. As baptized believers, they were sure that they would be resurrected with Christ. Furthermore, Augustine says that they were searching for truth in the presence of truth. God's presence guaranteed agreement between Augustine and Monica.

The dialogue crescendos with a grand ascent towards heavenly pleasures. Augustine beautifully captures this experience when he says,

The conversation led us towards the conclusion that the pleasures of the bodily senses, however delightful in the radiant light of this physical world, is seen by comparison with the life of eternity to be not ever worth considering. *Our minds were lifted up by an ardent affection towards eternal being itself...*we entered into our own minds. We moved

²⁶ *Confessions*. IX.x.23.

²⁷ *Confessions*. IX.x.23.

beyond them so as to attain to the region of inexhaustible abundance where you feed Israel eternally with truth for food.²⁸

The process of two persons becoming one soul is achieved, even if it was only for a split second. The friendship exhibited by Augustine and Monica is true friendship because it leads both to praise God. Their relationship is harmonious because the true and proper object of desire and worship is equally adored by both. Thus, the vision at Ostia creates a society that manifests the heavenly city, Jerusalem.

Even though the vision at Ostia occurs between two people, it is valid to say that Augustine and Monica constitute a “society” through their friendship. Because of the nature and object of their love, God, they manifest the heavenly city in contrast to Augustine’s adolescent companions who manifested Babylon. As Augustine says in *The City of God*, “[w]e see that the two cities were created by two kinds of love: the earthly city was created by self-love reaching the point of contempt for God, the Heavenly City by the love of God carried as far as contempt for self.”²⁹ The mother and son participate in Jerusalem because the divinely-inspired agreement between them. As Henry Chadwick says, “[t]he ultimate power of mutual understanding between friends, [Augustine] believed, rested on common participation in divine Reason.”³⁰

As mentioned above, Augustine, even after repudiating much of his classical heritage, continues to use Ciceronian categories to aid him in discerning and defining true friendship. Augustine’s friendship with Monica is true in Ciceronian categories precisely because the mother

²⁸ *Confessions*. IX.x.24. My italics.

²⁹ *City of God* XIV.28.

³⁰ Henry Chadwick, *Augustine: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 51.

and the son agree on matters both divine (eternal life) and temporal (material life's less-privileged status in comparison to spiritual life). Thus, Christian friendship, for Augustine, is the fulfillment of the classical ideals found in Cicero's thought.

In this final section, the focus will be placed upon whether the *concordia* inherent within true friendship justifies the state, as a macrocosm of *concordia*, as a natural institution. A phrase that has occasionally occurred in this essay is that "what is true of the microcosm (friendship) is also true of the macrocosm (political society)." By equivocating these two societies and placing them under the same standard of judgement, the reader may think it is right to conclude that if the sociality of friendship is natural, then so too is the social institution of the state. The truth of the matter is that, for Augustine, is more complex and requires clarification on the differences between authority and dominion.

As seen in both Cicero and Augustine's definition of friendship, the goal of friendship is harmony or making the many into one. In order to accomplish this, friendship must possess order. Harmony cannot exist without order. For Augustine, the harmony of nature and the harmony of human relationships evidenced an underlying order. The description of human friendship quoted above³¹ arises from Augustine's reflection on the harmony found in nature.³² Necessary for order, though, is hierarchy and subordination. Burt explains the necessity of order in Augustinian

³¹ "Human friendship is also a nest of love and gentleness because of the unity it brings about between many souls", page 9.

³² "The life which we live in this world has its attractiveness because of a certain measure in its beauty and its harmony with all these inferior [sensual] objects that are beautiful" *Confessions*. II.v.10.

friendship when he says “[o]rder makes a ‘oneness of heart’ possible even between the greater and the lesser.”³³ Oneness of heart, or *concordia*, was the original intent for humanity.

Augustine takes the naturalness of order and hierarchy found in friendship and grounds it in his exegesis of the Garden of Eden. The relationship between Adam and Eve, as the first human society, exhibited hierarchy, namely Adam was created first and then Eve. Thus, the *paterfamilias* becomes the ideal form of the rightful execution of authority.³⁴ The relational dynamic shared between the members of the first family was that of authority (to Adam) and obedience (of Eve and sons). Natural authority, colored by Augustine’s conception of the *paterfamilias*, can be thought of as merciful guidance towards ordered peace. On this point he says, the *paterfamilias* “is where domestic peace starts, the ordered harmony about giving and obeying orders among those who live in the same house. For the orders are given by those who are concerned for the interests of others; thus, the husband gives orders to the wife, parents to the children, masters to servants.”³⁵ *Concordia* was characteristic of Adam and Eve’s society, not despite hierarchy and subordination, but because of it. In maintaining a hierarchy of those who order and those who obey, they retained God’s original and harmonious creational intent. Thus, in the Garden of Eden, August figures both hierarchy and peace as natural attributes in Adam and Eve’s society.

At this point, Burt concludes that, for Augustine, the state is a “natural *need*”³⁶ to vouchsafe the authority-obedience dynamic in accordance with inevitable population growth. However, such

³³ Burt, *Friendship and Society*, 59.

³⁴ R.A. Markus, *Saeculum: History and Society in the Theology of Augustine* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 198.

³⁵ *City of God* XIX.14

³⁶ Burt, *Friendship and Society*, 135.

a view fails to make the distinction that Augustine himself makes between authority and dominion. Whereas authority is given a concrete image in the *paterfamilias*, the content of dominion is expressed in the institution of slavery. Of course, God commands Adam to “have dominion over” creation [Gen, 1:26, ESV], but Augustine recognizes that this dominion is limited to non-rational creatures and does not subject one man to another. Augustine pinpoints Noah’s condemnation of Ham [Gen. 9:25-28] as the first instance of slavery and says, “[t]he first cause of slavery, then, is sin, whereby man was subjected in the condition of bondage.”³⁷ Slavery, thus, represents an expression of authority and subjugation outside of the *paterfamilias*. Instead of obedience being rendered to an authority figure on the basis of their virtue and evident care for the domestic household, slaves are obedient to their masters because they are involuntarily subjugated.

Augustine’s discussion on the distinction between authority and dominion is concerned with showing to what degree these two exercises of power align with the original harmonious nature of God’s creation. Rather than focusing on whether the institutional state is a natural extension of the Garden of Eden, Augustine utilizes this distinction to offer a moral standard by which all authorities should measure themselves. As Markus says, “[t]he crucial point at stake in the theological discussions of the origins of political authority is the question as to whether it is to be treated on the model of the authority of a master over his slave, or on that of a husband and a father over his wife and family. These are the paradigm which give us a clue to the senses in which the concept of nature is applied to social groupings.”³⁸

³⁷ *City of God* XIX.15.

³⁸ Markus, *Saeculum*, 210.

This brings back to the reader's mind Augustine's dichotomy between Babylon and Jerusalem. It is not the fact that Babylon, or the city of man, utilizes authority that makes it sinful. Babylon is wicked because as a *societas* it misuses authority and is ignorant of God. The structures of Babylon are ordered wrongly. Conversely, Jerusalem is not holy because there is no hierarchy or subordination. Instead, Jerusalem is holy because it acknowledges and abides by the natural hierarchy of a harmonious nature. It is ordered correctly. Because Jerusalem is ordered correctly, it is also characterized as a just society because Christ is her ruler. Referencing back to the episodes from the *Confessions*, one of the key differences between the two societies Augustine partakes in is on this very point. In Augustine's friendship with Monica, there is a clear hierarchy based on Monica's spiritual eldership and her maternal guidance. However, in Augustine's adolescent companionship, a clear hierarchical order is lacking. The society formed by Augustine and Monica, thus, is truer to the harmonious order of nature. The adolescent companions are contrary to the harmony of nature. For Augustine, a political community constituted by harmonious friendships will be just, peaceful, and natural because it envisions authority with the paradigm of fatherly care and guidance.

This paper has explored the political dimension of friendship in Augustine's thought. His definition of friendship relates to classical view of friendship that he inherited from Cicero. Friendship is true to the extent that it brings *concordia*. To achieve *concordia*, a friendship must be ordered according to the harmony of nature. The political state, composed of human societies like friendship, operates on the same schema. In the *Confessions*, the reader finds a host of examples of societies that land somewhere on this schema. Augustine's adolescent companions, as representative of Babylon, are a rejection of the natural harmony of ordered societies, while Augustine's relationship with Monica, as representative of Jerusalem, aligns itself with the ideals

of nature's orderliness. While these ideas receive their fullest expression in *The City of God*, the *Confessions* shows an acute awareness to the characteristics of a just and peaceable society as its antithesis.

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