

“Modern, Anti- and Post- Modern Augustines”
for
“In Dialogue with Augustine”
Villanova University July 23-27, 2001.
An intensive seminar
(three hours, Monday through Friday).
Fifteen Hours

Taking Descartes’ use and reworking of Augustine as defining his modern reception, the course will examine this modern Augustine, its developments, the alternatives to it and reactions against it. Topics and figures considered will include Early Modern Augustinian predecessors of Descartes like Jean Calvin, Richard Hooker and the Cardinal de Bérulle; fellows in the Cartesian project to employ an Augustinian logic for a revolution in the Christian relation to the cosmos like Galileo; the continuation of Augustinian scholasticism; the modern Augustinian reactions against modern secularity like those of Pascal, his Jansenist friends, and Kierkegaard; continuations of Augustinian Christian Platonism in the Cambridge Platonists, Ontologism, German Idealism, and in the retrieval of the Fathers of the Church. Other Twentieth-century interpretations will include the reassertion of a modern Augustinianism with Phenomenology, Charles Taylor and Stephen Menn and its opposite in the Protestant Orthodoxy of Karl Barth and his postmodern heirs, Jean-Luc Marion and Radical Orthodoxy. Finally, connections of these with the Jewish Augustine of Jacques Derrida and the revival of theurgic Neoplatonism will be considered. The aim will be to demonstrate the mutual dependence of the modern and anti-modern, the philosophical and religious forms of our following of Augustine.

A Note on the Reading List

It is not intended that every item on the list be required for each participant, although it will be clear that some of the readings are necessary for everyone. The requisites are marked with an #, but in some cases an alternative is also marked with the same symbol. Some recur under more than one heading. In general alternatives are provided so as to allow for relative accessibility and for differences between the linguistic attainments of the participants. There is an excessive number of references to my own publications. Many of them are not required, several of them repeat parts of others, but many are listed in the hope that some will be more readily accessible to particular members of the seminar. Most will provide some treatment of the themes of the seminar, give additional bibliography, and indicate what parts of the other readings are most relevant to our discussions. They may be found on my Website at http://classics.dal.ca/Faculty%20and%20Staff/Wayne_J._Hankey.php

I. INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND, Monday, July 23, 2001

A. Problematic and Argument

- i) Augustine preeminently gives Western Christianity its particular form.
- ii) Our relation to him is as varied and contradictory as what we have made ourselves.
- iii) This is a selection from this variety, there is no pretense to completeness, nor to having selected (as if we could know!) what is most important. Some significant texts (e.g. those of Rousseau) are only mentioned, others (e.g. the *Meditations*) are treated carefully.
- iv) My major thesis is that the philosophical and religious aspects of Augustine’s work are mutually dependent, that this mutuality characterised the mediaeval Augustinianisms, and

that essential to Modern and Postmodern Augustinianisms is setting one of these aspects of Augustine against the other.

- v) My second thesis is that both religious and philosophical forms of Modern Augustinianism, though opposed, have, in fact, the same principle and effect, namely, the immediate union of the divine and the human. Further, though the Postmodern forms set themselves against this immediate unity, they in fact assume and continue it.
 - vi) We will consider a formal problem, namely, whether it is possible to represent Augustine's thought. Can we tell the truth about Augustine? or is he so contradictory and many-sided that the endeavour for scholarly adequacy is misplaced? The judgments of the Catholic Church on this question in the Modern period will be considered. The indicated result is that the history of theology and theology itself, the history of philosophy and philosophy itself, and philosophy and theology must be done together. Put in other terms, the use of a theological authority in the church cannot be independent of doctrinal construction and dogmatic judgment.
- a) #W.J. Hankey, "Between and Beyond Augustine and Descartes: More than a Source of the Self," *Augustinian Studies*, 32:1 (2001), 65-88.
 - b) Maurice Blondel, "The Latent Resources in St. Augustine's Thought," in *A Monument to Saint Augustine* (London: Sheed and Ward, 1930), 317-353.

B. Mediaeval Background

- i) Augustine and pseudepigrapha
 - ii) Augustine against himself and consequent necessity of scholasticism, the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard (c.1100-60) -- an Augustinian Breviary
 - iii) Augustinians need pseudo-Dionysius and Aristotle -- see notably Bonaventure (1217-1274).
 - iv) "Our philosophy is Christianity", the unity of philosophy and revealed theology for Augustinians.
 - v) Characteristics of Augustinian philosophy: Intellectual intuition, direct self-knowledge, priority of the knowledge of God, use of the so-called 'ontological' argument for the existence of God. John Wyclif (c.1330-84) while self-consciously anti-philosophical provides an example of some of them in the 14th century. These philosophical positions continue with the Scotists and there are some lines of connection between the Franciscan Duns Scotus (c.1265-1308) and the Jesuit Francisco Suárez (1548-1617), on the one side, and René Descartes (1596-1650) and the Oratorian Nicolas Malebranche (1638-1715), on the other (see Bardout, *Malebranche*, below).
- a) #W.J. Hankey, "Magis... Pro Nostra Sentencia?: John Wyclif, his mediaeval Predecessors and reformed Successors, and a pseudo-Augustinian Eucharistic Decretal," *Augustiniana*, 45, fasc. 3-4 (1995), 213-245
OR
 - b) #W.J. Hankey, "Dionysian Hierarchy in St. Thomas Aquinas: Tradition and Transformation," in *Denys l'Aréopagite et sa postérité en Orient et en Occident, Actes du Colloque International Paris, 21-24 septembre 1994*, éditées Ysabel de Andia, Collection des Études Augustiniennes, Série Antiquité 151 (Paris: Institut d'Études Augustiniennes, 1997), 405-438.

- c) Jacques-Guy Bougerol, "The Church Fathers and the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard," in *The Reception of the Church Fathers in the West from the Carolingians to the Maurists*, edited Irena Bachus, 2 volumes (Leiden: Brill, 1997), vol. 1, 113-164.
- d) Roland Teske, "Saint Augustine as Philosopher: The Birth of Christian Metaphysics," *Augustinian Studies*, 23 (1992), 7-32.
- e) W.J. Hankey, Review of Brennan Mary, ed. and trans. John Scottus Eriugena: *Treatise on Divine Predestination*. Notre Dame Texts in Mediaeval Culture, Vol. 5. (University of Notre Dame Press, 1998) for *The Medieval Review*, [<http://dns.hti.umich.edu/misc/bmr/tmr.html>] (2000), TMR 00.10.02.
- f) W.J. Hankey, "Dionysius becomes an Augustinian. Bonaventure's *Itinerarium vi*," *Studia Patristica*, vol. XXIX, edited by Elizabeth A. Livingstone, (Leuven: Peeters, 1997), 252-59 (marginally useful).

C. Humanism and the Great Reform

- i) Humanism -- the literary movement that cultivated Classical Latin and Greek as the languages of civilized humanity's loftiest texts --demanded textual accuracy and whole texts versus mediaeval 'auctoritates'.
 - ii) Printed *opera omnia* of Augustine begin with that of Amerbach in Basel (1490-1506). The great Maurist edition was finished in 1690.
 - iii) Erasmus, the great Patrologist of the age (died 1536). Essentials are moral and inner religion -- but without philosophical theology or deep theological inquiry -- purifying the text, he produced his own edition of Augustine. Sought learning and holiness in the Fathers. Augustine important for his Christian humanism but Erasmus preferred Jerome and the Greek Fathers.
 - iv) Martin Luther (1483-1546), Augustinianism against philosophy and beyond Augustine (Lutheran/Calvinist *imputed* righteousness versus Augustine and the continuing Catholic tradition maintaining *infused* righteousness). Augustine, the *Doctor Ecclesiae*, as the great interpreter of Paul on Justification, is both authority and self-consciously exceeded. For Luther Pelagianism the crucial present heresy among Christians and he reverses Erasmus' preference for Jerome versus Augustine. In the end, however, the authority of all tradition, including that of the Fathers, is rejected in favour of his own reading of Scripture.
 - v) Jean Calvin, (1536 *Institutes of the Christian Religion*) Augustine, best known of the Fathers and most cited, but it is the late Augustine and without philosophy, so we have the fallen human face to face with the divine will with the consequent problems of freedom, grace and predestination. Calvin's use of him is mostly polemical.
 - vi) Edmund Spenser (c.1552-1599), a Protestant reversal of the hierarchies.
 - vii) Richard Hooker (c.1554-1600), Calvinist Platonism, a moderate Augustinianism -- the double degree denied.
 - viii) The demand for textual accuracy increases with the Protestant / Catholic division and the disputes over the right interpretation of Augustine on grace.
- a) #W.J. Hankey, "Augustinian Immediacy and Dionysian Mediation in John Colet, Edmund Spenser, Richard Hooker and the Cardinal de Bérulle," in *Augustinus in der Neuzeit, Colloque de la Herzog August Bibliothek de Wolfenbüttel, 14-17 octobre, 1996*, sous la direction de Kurt Flasch et Dominique de Courcelles, éd. Dominique de Courcelles, (Turnhout: Editions Brepols, 1998), 125-160.

- b) #Eric L. Saak, "The Reception of Augustine in the Later Middle Ages," in *The Reception of the Church Fathers in the West from the Carolingians to the Maurists*, vol. 1, 367-404.
- c) #Leszek Kolakowski, *God Owes Us Nothing: A Brief Remark on Pascal's Religion and the Spirit of Jansenism* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press: 1995), note 93, pp. 210-211 for Calvin's Augustinianism.
- d) Nikolaus Staubach, "*Memores Pristinæ Perfectionis*. The Importance of the Church Fathers for the *Devotia Moderna*," in *The Reception of the Church Fathers in the West from the Carolingians to the Maurists*, vol. 1, 405-469.
- e) Manfred Schulze, "Martin Luther and the Church Fathers," in *The Reception of the Church Fathers in the West from the Carolingians to the Maurists*, vol. 2, 571-625.
- f) Johannes Van Gort, "John Calvin and the Church Fathers," in *The Reception of the Church Fathers in the West from the Carolingians to the Maurists*, vol. 2, 661-700.

II. CONTINUITY AND TRANSITION, Tuesday, July 24, 2001

Dates

- 1) Luis de Molina (1535-1600) *Concordia liberi arbitrii cum gratiae donis* - 1588. With Suárez Molina taught that the efficacy of divine grace was not from within the gift itself but from God's foreknowledge of the human free co-operation with the gift.
- 2) Congregations *de auxiliis divinae gratiae* begin in 1598.
- 3) Congregations *de auxiliis* suspended in 1607.
- 4) 1607 and 1625 silence imposed by Papal bull on the questions *de auxiliis*.
- 5) 1640 the *Augustinus*, a work of positive theology, of Jansenius appears, two years after the author's death.
- 6) 1641-43 by the bull *In eminenti*, *Augustinus* is condemned for breaking the silence on *de auxiliis*.
- 7) 1653 in *Cum occasione* five propositions condemned (for texts see Kolakowski, pp. 9-29).
- 8) 1713 in the bull *Unigenitus*, 101 propositions from the Jansenist Oratorian Pasquier Quesnel (1634-1719) condemned. (Kolakowski, pp. 103-108).
- 9) Same struggle taking place among the Protestants. Synod of Dort TULIP (1619): Total depravity, Unconditional election, Limited atonement, Irresistible grace, final Perseverance of the saints. Their opponents were known as Arminians.

A. Continuing Scholasticism, Positive (i.e. historical) theology, and the Augustinian School struggling between a Rock and a Hard Place

- i) A Scholastic tradition of the Order of Saint Augustine
- ii) Deriving from Giles of Rome (died 1316) and Gregory of Rimini (died 1358)
- iii) Officially supplemented by St. Thomas Aquinas from 1539.
- iv) Modern Augustinian scholasticism is theological not philosophical, Augustine reduced to being "the Doctor of Grace"
- v) Caught between the Jesuits and the Calvinists
- vi) Functioned in the midst of suspicion of Augustine
- vii) Simultaneously Positive and Speculative
- viii) Assumes that the historical Augustine cannot be set against the dogmatic decisions of the Catholic Church.

- 1) Cardinal Enrico Norris (1631-1704)
- 2) Fulgenius Bellelli (1677-1742)
- 3) Gianlorenzo Bertì (1696-1766)

- a) #H. de Lubac, *Augustinianism and Modern Theology*, trans. L. Sheppard (London: Chapman, 1969).
- b) #R.J. Teske, "Augustinus, Jansenius, and the State of Pure Nature," in *Augustinus in der Neuzeit*, 161-174.
- c) #Kolakowski, *God Owes Us Nothing*.
- d) #Jean-Louis Quantin, "The Fathers in Seventeenth Century Roman Catholic Theology," in *The Reception of the Church Fathers in the West from the Carolingians to the Maurists*, vol. 2, 951-986.
- e) H. de Lubac, *The Mystery of the Supernatural*, trans. R. Sheed (New York: Herder and Herder, 1967).
- f) B. Neveu, "Pour une histoire de l'Augustinianisme," in *Augustinus in der Neuzeit*, 175-201.
- g) B. Neveu, "Le statut théologique de saint Augustin au xvii^e siècle," in *Troisième Centenaire de l'Édition Mauriste de saint Augustin*, Collection des Études Augustiniennes, Série Antiquité 127 (Paris: Institut d'Études Augustiniennes, 1990), 15-28 [the collection as a whole will interest those who want to understand the history of Augustine's texts and how they have been edited] reprinted in Bruno Neveu, *Erudition et religion aux xvii^e et xviii^e siècles*, Bibliothèque Albin Michel Histoire (Paris: Albin Michel, 1994), 473-490.
- h) W. Bocxe, "Introduction to the Teaching of the Italian Augustinians of the 18th Century on the Nature of Actual Grace," *Augustiniana*, 8 (1958), 356-396.
- i) B. Hwang, "The Nature and Destiny of Man according to Fulgenius Bellelli," *Augustiniana*, 3 (1953), 224-259.
- j) B. Neveu, "Augustinisme janséniste et magistère romain," in Bruno Neveu, *Erudition et religion aux xvii^e et xviii^e siècles*, Bibliothèque Albin Michel Histoire (Paris: Albin Michel, 1994), 451-472.

B. A Copernican Revolution in Religion, theology and nature

- i) Skepticism and the need for a new Christian philosophy
 - ii) The Cardinal de Bérulle (1575-1629) and an Augustinian reversal of the Dionysian hierarchies [proclaimed by him in 1614], a Christocentric "Copernican" revolution.
 - iii) Reform and Counter-Reformation
 - iv) Johann Kepler (1571-1630) and a Christian physics
 - v) Galileo Galilei (1546-1642) and Augustine
- a) #Berulle and the French School, *Selected Writings*, edited and introduced by W.M. Thompson, The Classics of Western Spirituality (New York: Paulist Press, 1989), **Discourse on the State and Grandeurs of Jesus, Second Discours, pp. 114-126.**
 - b) #Jean-Luc Marion, "The Idea of God," *The Cambridge History of Seventeenth-century Philosophy*, ed. Daniel Graber and Michael Ayres, 2 vol. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 265-304.
 - c) #Pietro Redondi, "From Galileo to Augustine," and #Ernan McMullin, "Galileo on science and Scripture," in *The Cambridge Companion to Galileo*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 175-210 and 271-347.
 - d) See Hankey, "Augustinian Immediacy and Dionysian Mediation in John Colet, Edmund Spenser, Richard Hooker and the Cardinal de Bérulle," (full reference above); Janowski, *Cartesian Theodicy. Descartes' Quest for Certitude* and Menn, *Descartes and Augustine* (full references below).

III. **A CHRISTIAN METAPHYSICS, THE BASIS OF A NEW NATURAL, MORAL AND POLITICAL WORLD. THE MODERN PHILOSOPHICAL AUGUSTINE, DESCARTES, HIS CONTEMPORARIES AND FOLLOWERS, Wednesday, July 25, 2001.**

- i) Using Janowski's *Index*, we will compare Descartes' *Meditations* with the sources attributed to it doctrines and images in Augustine.
- ii) Claims about the nature of the differences between the two made by Mennel, Marion, Milbank, Williams, etc. will be examined.
- iii) As will claims about the similarities made by Taylor, Janowski, and Menn (for page references see my "Between and Beyond Augustine and Descartes" [reference above] or my "Self-knowledge and God as Other in Augustine: Problems for a Postmodern Retrieval" [reference below]).
- iv) The philosophical side of Augustinianism as developed in the Middle Ages is diminished there by the turn to Aristotle and Proclus (via Dionysius). Subsequently, so far as the Augustinian School is Thomist, where it does not follow Gilles of Rome (himself imbued with Thomism), and, because within both the Great Reform and Counterreformation Catholicism the theological not the philosophical positions of Augustine are retrieved, Augustine's philosophical logic is lost within both within Augustinian scholasticism and Augustinian positive theology. This lost Augustinian philosophy is now reasserted by Descartes and his heirs.
 - a) #Descartes, *Mediations on First Philosophy*
 - b) #Z. Janowski, *Index Augustino-Cartésien: Textes et Commentaire*, Histoire de la philosophie (Paris: Vrin, 2000)
OR
 - c) #Z. Janowski, *Cartesian Theodicy. Descartes' Quest for Certitude*, International Archives of the History of Ideas 168 (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 2000)
 - d) Stephen Menn, *Descartes and Augustine* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).
 - e) Jean-Luc Marion, "Formulations augustiniennes et cartésiennes," *Questions cartésiennes, II, Sur l'ego et sur Dieu* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1997), 37-43.
OR
 - f) Jean-Luc Marion, *Sur le prisme métaphysique de Descartes. Constitution et limites de l' onto-théo-logie dans la pensée cartésienne*, Épiméthée (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1986).
[translation: *On Descartes' Metaphysical Prism. The Constitution and the Limits of Onto-theo-logy in Cartesian Thought*, Trans. by Jeffrey L. Kosky, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1999), 128-142.]
 - g) C. Taylor, *Sources of the Self: The Making of the Modern Identity* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1989)
 - h) Gareth B. Matthews, *Thought's Ego in Augustine and Descartes* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1992) [from within a philosophical perspective of an Analytical type much seems common between A. and D., but clearly Augustine does not carry through "a rational reconstruction of knowledge ... from the viewpoint of thought's ego" (199)].
 - i) R. Williams, "The Paradoxes of Self-Knowledge in the *De Trinitate*," J.T. Lienhard et al., eds., *Collectanea Augustiniana. Augustine: Presbyter Factus Sum*, (New York & Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1993), 121-134.
 - j) R. Williams, "*Sapientia* and the Trinity: Reflections on the *De Trinitate*," *Collectanea Augustiniana. Mélanges T.J. van Bavel*, *≡Augustiniana*, 40:1-4 (1990)], 317-332.

- k) S. Mennel, "Augustine's 'I': The 'Knowing Subject' and the Self," *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 2 (1994): 291-324.
- l) B. Stock, *Augustine the Reader. Meditation, Self-Knowledge, and the Ethics of Interpretation*, (Cambridge, Mass.: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1996), 261 ff.
- m) B. Stock, "'Intelligo me esse': Eriugena's 'cogito,'" *Jean Scot Érigène et l'histoire de la philosophie*, éd. R. Roques, (Paris: C.N.R.S., 1977), 327-335.

IV. REACTIONS, ALTERNATIVES AND DEVELOPMENTS, Thursday, July 26, 2001

A. Jansenism and Pascal.

- a) #Something from the *Pensées* or *Lettres Provinciales* of Blais Pascal (1623-1662). I suggest *Pensées*, Section 14 or *Lettres Provinciales*, letter 4.
- b) #Teske, "Augustinus, Jansenius, and the State of Pure Nature" (see above).
- c) #Kolakowski, *God Owes Us Nothing* (see above)
- d) #Marion, "The Idea of God" (see above)
- e) Philippe Sellier, *Pascal et saint Augustin*, 2nd edition, Bibliothèque de l'Évolution de l'Humanité (Paris: Albin Michel, 1995)

B. Augustine Enlightened, Subverted, Secularized and Modernised: Rousseau (1712-1778)

- i) Pure Nature again
- ii) The *Confessions* of a modern psyche

A. Hartle, "Augustine and Rousseau: Narrative and Self-Knowledge in the Two *Confessions*," in Gareth Matthews, *The Augustinian Tradition* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 263-285.

C. Augustinian Idealisms -- the reunion of Augustinian philosophy and religion, epistemology discloses Christ's meditation: Ontologism.

- iii) N. Malebranche, 1638-1715, *penser en Dieu*
 - iv) Cardinal H.-S. Gerdil (1718-1802)
 - v) Nineteenth-century Ontologism
 - 1) Antonio Rosmini-Serbati (1797-1855)
 - 2) V. Gioberti (1801-1832)
 - 3) Important in the Nineteenth century French context, though not an ontologist, is Victor Cousin (1792-1867)
 - 4) Louis Branchereau (1819-1913)
 - 5) Flavien Hugonin (1823-1898)
 - 6) G. Ubaghs (1800-1875)
- Ontologism was condemned by the Holy Office in 1861 but Rosmini is recommended in *Fides et Ratio*.

D. Augustine and German Idealism and Reactions: God in history or the Anti-Christ

G.W.F. Hegel (1770-1831) and
Soren Kierkegaard (1813-1855)

Readings for IV.C and IV.D

- a) # Malebranche, *De la Recherche de la verité*, Book III: Part 2, Chapter 6-9 [translation *The Search after Truth*, edited T.M Lennon and P.J. Olscamp, Cambridge Texts in the History of Philosophy (Cambridge; Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 230-251]
- b) # Malebranche, *Entretiens sur la métaphysique et sur la religion*, II [translation *Dialogues on Metaphysics and on Religion*, edited N. Jolley and David Scott, Cambridge Texts in the History of Philosophy (Cambridge; Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 19-30], reference will also be to dialogues V, XIII and XIV.
- c) #Erich Przywara, “St. Augustine and the Modern World,” in *A Monument to Saint Augustine* (London: Sheed and Ward, 1930), 249-286.
- d) Étienne Gilson, “The Future of Augustinian Metaphysics,” in *A Monument to Saint Augustine* (London: Sheed and Ward, 1930), 287-315.
- e) Werner Beierwaltes, *Platonisme et Idéalisme*, trad. M.-C. Chaliol-Gillet, J.-F. Courtine et P. David, éd. revue et corrigée, Bibliothèque d’histoire de la philosophie (Paris: Vrin, 2000), 155-185.
- f) E. Booth, *Saint Augustine and the Western Tradition of Self-Knowing*, The Saint Augustine Lecture 1986 (Villanova: Augustinian Institute, Villanova University, 1989).
- g) J.A. Doull, “What is Augustinian *Sapientia*?” *Dionysius*, 12 (1988), 61-67.
- h) Douglas Hedley, “Was Schleiermacher a Christian Platonist,” *Dionysius*, 17 (1999), 149-168 (see especially 150-51, 155-167).
- i) Louis Foucher, *La philosophie catholique en France au XIX^e siècle avant la renaissance thomiste et dans son rapport avec elle (1800-1880)*, Bibliothèque de la société d’histoire ecclésiastique de la France (Paris: Vrin, 1955) [contains one of the few surveys of ontologism and of Augustinian criticisms of Thomism in the nineteenth-century.]
- j) Jean-Christophe Bardout, *Malebranche et la métaphysique*, Épiméthée (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1999).

F. Augustine, NeoScholasticism and Modernity

- i) Return to Patristic studies
- ii) From Augustine to Hegel, Augustine’s two faces
 - a) de Lubac (1896-1991), *Augustinianism and Modern Theology*
 - b) de Lubac, *The Mystery of the Supernatural*
 - c) W.J. Hankey, “French Neoplatonism in the 20th century,” for *Animus*, 4 (1999) an electronic journal at <http://www.mun.ca/animus/1999vol4/1999vol4.htm>.
 - d) Jean-Louis Quantin, “The Fathers in Seventeenth Century Anglican Theology,” in *The Reception of the Church Fathers in the West from the Carolingians to the Maurists*, vol. 2, 987-1008.

V. MODERN, ANTI- AND POST- MODERN AUGUSTINES, Friday, July 27

A. Two opposed political and ethical Augustinianisms of the Twentieth-century

- i) Augustine with no room for the secular
- ii) An Augustinian ethics without Christianity
 - a) #W.J. Hankey, “Dionysius dixit, Lex divinitatis est ultima per media reducere?: Aquinas, hierocracy and the ‘augustinisme politique’,” in *Tommaso D’Aquino: proposte nuove di lettura*.

Festschrift Antonio Tognolo, edited Ilario Tolomio, *Medioevo. Rivista di Storia della Filosofia Medievale*, 18 (Padova: Editrice Antenore, 1992), 119-150.

- b) #David Grummett, "Arendt, Augustine and Evil," *The Heythrop Journal*, 41:2 (2000), 154-69.

B. Modern and Postmodern Augustines

- i) Stephen Menn and Charles Taylor
 ii) Karl Barth (1886-1968)
 iii) Jean-Luc Marion, questions about the theological turn in Phenomenology
 iv) Jacques Derrida and Jack Caputo
 v) Radical Orthodoxy
- a) #Jacob Schmutz, "Escaping the Aristotelian Bond: the Critique of Metaphysics in Twentieth-Century French Philosophy," *Dionysius*, 17 (1999), 169-200.
 b) Dominique Janicaud, *Le tournant théologique de la phénoménologie française* (Paris: Editions de L'éclat, 1991).
 c) *Phénoménologie et théologie*, présentation de Jean-François Courtine (Paris: Critérian, 1992).
 d) Dominique Janicaud, *La phénoménologie éclatée* (Paris: Editions de l'Eclat, 1998). [for a good summary of the issues in Janicaud and the responses see Schmutz].
 e) #R. Dodaro, "Loose canons: Augustine and Derrida on Their Selves," in *God, the Gift and Postmodernism*, edited by John D. Caputo and Michael J. Scanlon, Indiana Series in the Philosophy of Religion (Bloomingham and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1999), 79-111 and Derrida's "Response".
 f) G. Bennington and J. Derrida, *Jacques Derrida*, trans. by G. Bennington, (Chicago 1993).
 g) J. D. Caputo, *The Prayers and Tears of Jacques Derrida: Religion without Religion* (Bloomington - Indianapolis 1997).
 h) J.D. Caputo, "Philosophy and Prophetic Postmodernism: Toward a Catholic Postmodernity," *American Catholic Philosophical Quarterly*, 74:4 (2001), 549-567.
 i) #John Milbank, "Postmodern Critical Augustinianism?: A Short *Summa* in Forty Two Responses to Unasked Questions," *Modern Theology*, 7:3 (April, 1991), 225-37.
 AND
 j) #W.J. Hankey, "ReChristianizing Augustine Postmodern Style: Readings by Jacques Derrida, Robert Dodaro, Jean-Luc Marion, Rowan Williams, Lewis Ayes and John Milbank," *Animus*, 2 (1997) an electronic journal at <http://www.mun.ca/animus/1997vol2/1997vol2.htm>.
 OR
 k) #W.J. Hankey, "Stephen Menn's Cartesian Augustine: Metaphysical and Ahistorically Modern," Review Article devoted to Stephen Menn. *Descartes and Augustine*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998 for *Animus*, 3 (1998) an electronic journal at <http://www.mun.ca/animus/1998vol3/1998vol3.htm>.
 OR
 l) #W.J. Hankey, "Self-knowledge and God as Other in Augustine: Problems for a Postmodern Retrieval," *Bochumer Philosophisches Jahrbuch für Antike und Mittelalter*, 4 (1999), 83-127.
 m) W.J. Hankey, "*Theoria versus Poesis*: Neoplatonism and Trinitarian Difference in Aquinas, John Milbank, Jean-Luc Marion and John Zizioulas," *Modern Theology*, 15:4 (October 1999), 387-415.

- n) J. Milbank, "Sacred Triads: Augustine and the Indo-European Soul," *Modern Theology*, 13 (1997), 451-474.