St. Augustine and Administration: The Politics of Social Institutions in The City of God

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Introduction

It is sometimes suggested that administration is a modern phenomenon. Perhaps together with bureaucracy, it is assumed by some to be a product of the transition to modernity. The utopian socialist Saint-Simon certainly appears to have thought this when he suggested, in his *Catechism of the Industrialists* (1823-26), that 'an enlightened society only needs to be administered,' and that humanity 'was destined to pass from' an earlier form of 'governmental or military regime' to 'the administrative or industrial regime' of today or the very near future, 'once it had made sufficient progress in the positive sciences and industry.'[1] The notion of the 'administration of things' is central to the vision that Saint-Simon had of a new form of politics that would be appropriate for the modern world.

Nevertheless, it might be argued that this claim is mistaken. For the concept of administration is in fact much older than this. Indeed, it is to be found in the Roman law of corporations. In what follows I consider what St. Augustine, in particular, has to say about 'administration (*administrare*) in his writings, especially *The City of God*. [2] Augustine's views on this subject seem to me to have a remarkably modern ring to them. Moreover, Tthey also appear to have been largely overlooked outside the narrow circle of scholars specialising in the areas of Augustinian theology, and perhaps even within that circle. In my view they should be of interest to all of those who are interested in business ethics or in critical management studies, especially those who are concerned with the issue of the uses and abuses of power by managers in corporations or in other social institutions.[3] I consider this to be a form of politics. It is the micro-politics of social institutions.

One of the few scholars to draw attention to this issue is Anton Herman Chroust, who has pointed out, the idea of administration (or management) is an extremely important one for

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St. Augustine.[4] It is connected to his belief in the existence of a divine or cosmic order that is hierarchically constituted and regulated by the principles of natural law. Chroust notes that Augustine refers on more than one occasion to the idea of God as the divine 'Administrator' or 'Manager' of the world, including both the order of nature and that of human society.[5] For example, in his *Eighty Three Different Questions,* Augustine talks about that 'sublime management of things, which is the work of Divine Providence.'[6] In his *Two Books on Genesis Against the Manichees*, Augustine maintains that 'this universe with some beings perfect and others imperfect is perfect as a whole, and God its Maker and Creator does not cease to administer it with his just governance.'[7] In *The Literal Meaning of Genesis*, he maintains that 'God's providence rules and administers the whole of creation.'[8] And in *The City of God* he refers again to the 'laws of the supreme Creator and Ruler who directs,' administers , or manages, 'the peace of the whole scheme of things.'[9]

At this point it is necessary to say something about the English translation of the Latin terms which are employed by Augustine. As Chroust points out, the Latin word that is used by Augustine in his *On Order* (*De Ordine*), *On Different Questions* (*De Diversis Questionibus*) and *De Civitate Dei* (*The City of God*) is *administrare,* which might be variously translated into English as to administer, to manage, to order, or to direct.[10] In the case of The *City of God,* as Chroust also notes, at one point in the original Latin text Augustine uses the word *administratur*.[11] In the translation of *The City of God* which I am using for the purposes of this paper, by Henry Bettenson, this is rendered by the English word 'directs.'[12] Chroust, on the other hand, thinks that the concepts that are expressed by Augustine's use of the words *administrare* and *administratur* are best expressed in the English language by the words 'administrator,' 'administrated,' and the like.[13] I shall follow Chroust on this throughout. I shall, however, use the words 'administration' and 'management' interchangeably.

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Augustine on Order and Hierarchy

In *The City of God* Augustine attaches a considerable degree of importance to the concept and the value of order. However, the meaning of this concept is complex and multi-faceted. It does have associations with the notion of peace, or the absence of conflict, and Augustine is right to point this out. However, it also has a strong association with the notion of hierarchy. In the English language, the word 'order' might be used as a verb as well as a noun. And when we think of the activity of ordering, it is the notion of placing, locating or ranking, in terms of higher and lower, greater and lesser, better and worse, superior and inferior, and so on, that springs to mind. Understood in this second way, the notion of order is connected to that of degree, or degrees, which are sometimes (but not always) numerically quantifiable.

Augustine's use of the notion of order in this second sense, might be connected to his belief in the existence of an hierarchical natural or cosmic order that is a part of what he took to be God's divine plan for the universe, including humanity.[14] To cite just one instance, he says at one point that 'the peace of the whole universe is the tranquillity of order – and order is the arrangement of things equal and unequal in a pattern which assigns to each its proper position.'[15] As with a number of theologians in the medieval period, for Augustine also there is a 'great chain of being' that is associated with this hierarchical order.[16]

Augustine evidently thought that these two different ways of thinking about the concept of order are closely connected. Like Plato and Aristotle before him, he seems to have thought that the existence of order in the second of these senses (i.e. the presence of social hierarchy) is a necessary pre-condition for the existence of order in the first sense (i.e. the presence of peace or the absence of violent conflict). Most of those associated with the anarchist political tradition have disagreed with this assumption and would criticise Augustine for making it. In their opinion, it is possible in principle for a system of order, in the sense of peaceful co-

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existence between human beings living together in society, to obtain in the absence of hierarchy and social inequality.

Augustine on Civil Society and the Private Sphere

I now consider the question of where in society, according to Augustine, the idea of administration ~~or management~~ has an application. Here it should be noted that Augustine acknowledges the existence, in the society of his day, of non-political civil society groups or associations, that is to say private corporations, as that concept is formulated in the Roman law of corporations,[17] which occupy an intermediate social space between the family or household and the state.[18] Moreover, the fact that he does this is sometimes overlooked by commentators on his work. For example Sir Ernest Barker, has argued that Augustine distinguishes between just 'four grades (or, we may say, concentric rings) of human society,' namely the society that is associated with the household; that of the civitas or city-state; the 'whole human society which inhabits the Earth'; and 'the Universe' as a whole, which 'embraces the heavens and their constellations as well as the earth.'[19] It must be conceded that there is evidence in Augustine's *City of God* which does support Barker's reading of his views.[20] However, there is also evidence which counts against it. Augustine is not consistent on this issue and he does say things which support a different reading. On those occasions he does appear, if only implicitly, to acknowledge the existence of a fifth sphere or circle of human society, which modern commentators usually refer to as 'civil society,' which is located mid-way between the household and the state. This is the social space within which the citizens of a city-state interact with one another, but in a private capacity. Within this sphere they engage in social interactions

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which are often of an economic character. These interactions are essentially non-political, in the traditional sense of that term, because they have nothing at all to do with the public lives of the individuals in question, insofar as they are the citizens of a political society who are involved in the process of the making and enforcing of its laws. The view that outside of the household there was no private sphere at all in the Graeco-Roman world, and hence also nothing at all like a civil society as this notion is understood by modern thinkers, seems to me to be a myth.[21]

Augustine on the Division of Labour in Society:
My Station and its Duties

Of particular interest here is what St. Augustine has to say about the division of labour in society, about non-political social institutions outside of the family or household, and about ethical life insofar as it involves the principle of my station and its duties. Donald X. Burt has pointed out that according to Augustine 'all men ought to serve God,' but in different ways, depending on 'their several gifts, whereby this man has one function on the earth and that man has another,' that is to say, depending on their particular place or station in society, or 'the social condition of the human race,' which is of course premised on the existence of a division of labour. Thus, for example, we find that for Augustine 'kings, in the very fact that they are kings,' and not commoners, 'have a service which they can render to the Lord in a manner which is impossible for any who have not the power of kings.'[22]

This issue is connected to what Augustine has to say in his writings about questions of work or labour and various different occupations, vocations or callings. There has been some consideration of this subject, so far as the history of Christianity in general is concerned,[23]

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especially of course later Christianity at the time of the Reformation, in the writings of Martin Luther and John Calvin.[24] However, as Megan DeVore and Jeremy H. Kidwell have pointed out,[25] very little attention has been focused on the views of St. Augustine on this subject.[26] This is surprising given the fact that, as Arthur T. Geoghegan has noted, Augustine was 'the great authority on labour in the ancient Church,'[27] whose teaching on the subject 'exerted a tremendous influence on monastic legislation in the West.'[28] Nor has there been that much discussion of the ideas of St. Augustine in mainstream histories of economic thought which, if they mention Augustine at all, have a tendency to examine his views regarding merchants, wealth and property, slavery, money-making, usury, or the theory of the just price, rather than his views regarding work and labour.[29]

When discussing the general issue of the division of labour in society and the different professions or occupations that are associated with it, Augustine distinguishes between those occupations or professions that ought to be approved of, ethically speaking, and those which ought not to be. He refers with disapproval to a number of occupations. For example, at one point he states that 'one thing I know,' namely that St. Paul, 'neither did steal, nor was a housebreaker or highwayman, nor chariot driver or hunter or player,' but 'innocently and honestly wrought things which are fitted for the uses of men; such as are the works of carpenters, builders, shoemakers, peasants, and such like.'[30]

It is true that there is relatively little in Augustine's *The City of God* concerning this issue. It could hardly be said to be one of Augustine's primary concerns. However, discussion of it is not entirely absent from this text. For example, E. Booth has emphasised the significance of what Augustine says in Chapter 4 of Book VII about the division of labour in society.[31] Although Sir Moses Finley has suggested otherwise,[32] it seems to me that St. Augustine's remarks about this subject, like those of Xenophon in his *Cyropaedia*,[33] do prefigure in a striking way the views of Adam Smith, much later, in his *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes*

of the Wealth of Nations (1776).[34] As in the case of Plato and Xenophon before him, and in

that of both Adam Smith and Emile Durkheim after him,[35] Augustine assumes that the

existence of a division of labour in society is a good thing. It is a part of God's divine plan.

One point of interest here, as Booth points out, is that it shows that Augustine did not share the

disdain of his predecessors, especially Plato and Aristotle, for the manual labour of craftsman.

He embraces the idea, which he rightly associates with the *Epistles* of St. Paul, that there is no

indignity involved in the performance of such labour.

 A second reason why the brief passage from the *City of God* in which Augustine

discusses the division of labour is of interest is because in it, as again Booth has noted,

Augustine refers there to *collegia,* specifically the *collegium* of silversmiths, that existed in the

cities of Hippo, Carthage and Rome at the time when he was writing. This is noteworthy

because it demonstrates that Augustine was aware of the existence in the Roman society of his

day of what were essentially private associations, societies or corporations, which existed

outside of the household but independently of the state. Of course, in one sense at least, this is

hardly surprising, for as A. J. Carlyle points out, the early Christian Church was itself a

'voluntary society' of this kind.[36] However, Augustine's remarks about the *collegium* of

silversmiths in the City of God indicate that he was also aware of the existence of other

voluntary societies which were not specifically ecclesiastical in nature. They were neither

churches nor monasteries or convents. This immediately raises the question of Augustine's

views regarding the internal structure or organization of these societies, their decision-making

procedures, how exactly they were or should be administered or managed, and so on.

Augustine on Monasteries and their Administration

For Augustine's opinions on the subject of administration or management within non-political

social institutions, it is helpful to consider what he has to say, in his *Of the Work of Monks,*[37]

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and *The Rule of St. Augustine*,[38] about institutional life within a monastery.[39] Also helpful is Augustine's correspondence, especially his *Letter 211*, which more or less duplicates what is said in *Of the Work of Monks* for the benefit of nuns who are living in a convent,[40] and his retrospective reflections on the first of the above works in his later *Retractations*.[41]

One reason for attaching importance to what Augustine has to say about the work of monks is because St. Augustine's reference to the notion of one's degree, as well as to that of one's office, in a passage cited earlier, implies his acceptance of St. Paul's view that each individual ~~moral~~ agent occupies a certain place or station within a particular hierarchical social or institutional order. It is clear from what Augustine says about this issue that a monastery is a social institution in Emile Durkheim's sense of the term.[42] For within it we find a social division of labour, differential social roles, and a corresponding framework of relative rights and duties that are associated with these roles. For example, Augustine refers at one point to the monks who are 'in charge of the pantry, or of clothing and books,'[43] and on another occasion he distinguishes between those who are responsible for 'the care of the sick,'[44] and to those who work in the laundry.[45]

In *Of the Work of Monks* Augustine states explicitly that being a monk is a profession.[46] He also says at one point that it is 'according to our degree and office' that 'we labour' in the monastery.[47] This remark is interesting for two reasons. The first of these is that it indicates clearly that Augustine agreed with what St. Paul had to say in his *Epistles* about the principle of my station and its duties. He too endorses the idea that all human beings have certain relative duties that are associated with their particular occupation, office or calling, no matter what that happens to be, whether it is that of a slave, as in the case of Epictetus, or that of an emperor, as in that of Marcus Aurelius, or that of a monk in a monastery, as in Augustine's own case.[48]

When discussing the division of labour within a monastery, Augustine distinguishes between manual labour and non-manual labour. In the case of manual labour or 'corporal

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work,' he talks about the work of 'hand craftsmen' in the cities, as well as to that of 'husbandmen' in agriculture.[49] As in *The City of God*, he speaks with approval of manual labour and sees no indignity in it. For it is manual labour, primarily, that secures 'what we shall eat, or what we shall drink, or wherewithal we shall be clothed.'[50] Augustine refers in this context to 'corporal and temporal things,'[51] or to 'the necessities of this life.'[52] These are the things which, according to R. A. Markus, are required to satisfy our 'material needs.'[53] Augustine points out that St. Paul 'would not disdain either to take in hand any of the work of peasants, or to be employed in the labour of craftsmen,'[54] and refers with disapproval to the prejudice of some of his contemporaries against 'a common workman.'[55]

One question that Augustine considers in these writings is whether all of the monks in a monastery should be engaged in manual labour, which was a controversial issue in his day. Augustine points out that there are cases where wealthy people have joined a monastery and donated all of their property to it. They have, he says, voluntarily 'relinquished or distributed' their own wealth and have chosen 'to be numbered among the poor of Christ,' alongside those members of the community who 'come from a more humble condition of life.'[56] Given this, Augustine asks whether it would be right to expect these members of the monastic community to work with their hands as the other monks do. Augustine concludes that it would be wrong to 'compel them' to do this.[57] Nevertheless, he argues, 'not even they,' who have contributed so much, 'may eat their bread for nought,' because their former wealth 'is now become the common property.'[58] Consequently, 'there ought to be found for them' other forms of work in the monastery, having to do with the 'administration' of its affairs.[59] These remarks indicate that, as one aspect of the division of labour within a monastery, Augustine recognized the need for clerical work. He envisaged the existence of a number of offices or occupations having to do with the ~~management or~~ administration of this particular social institution.

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It might be suggested that Augustine's understanding of what is involved in the administration ~~or management~~ of a social institution such as a monastery is a reflection of the influence that his engagement with the philosophy of Plato had upon him.[60] From this point of view, Augustine's administrators are the monastic equivalent of Plato's guardians. Augustine makes it very clear that he regards the work that is associated with administration or management as being very much a duty and, so far as he personally was concerned, an unpleasant one. In his own case, he thought of this as being very much a chore. Echoing what Plato says in the *Republic* about the duties of his Guardians,[61] Augustine says that he would much prefer to 'do some work with my hands, and have the remaining hours free for reading and praying,' than to have to deal with petty squabbles or the 'annoying perplexities of other men's causes.'[62]

Augustine on the Need for Authority and Discipline

Augustine makes it clear that in his view a monastery both is and ought to be an hierarchical social institution within which those who are responsible for the administration ~~or management~~ of its daily affairs are in positions of authority in relation to others who, although not perhaps their inferiors, are undoubtedly their subordinates. He associates the concept of authority, like that of law, with the possession by superiors of both the right and the duty to 'command' their subordinates,[63] as well as to discipline or punish them if they disobey those commands.[64]

Augustine suggests that those monks who consider it inappropriate for them to carry out manual labour, or who refuse to perform it when asked to do so by a superior, are not only 'lazy' but also 'disobedient.'[65] He maintains that they advocate 'the dissolute license of vacation from labour,' in 'the false name of sanctity.'[66] He also says that they 'wish to be obeyed by inferiors' but 'refuse to obey superiors,' which in his view is an 'iniquity.'[67] As St. Paul says, in his epistle to the Thessalonians, about a group of Christians from Thessalonica, who held very similar views to those which are criticised by Augustine in *Of the Work of*

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Monks, they '"walketh unquietly".'[68] Indeed, according to R. W. Carlyle and A. J. Carlyle, the earlier group might plausibly be said to have had an outlook that is properly described as 'anarchist.'[69] In Augustine's view, such unruly individuals need to be 'corrected.'[70] Augustine makes an issue of the length of the hair of the disobedient monks who refused to do manual labour, as of course did those who, much later, were to criticise the young 'hippies' and 'drop-outs' of the nineteen sixties.[71]

On the issue of discipline and punishment, Augustine's views are inconsistent. On occasions he suggests that in a truly Christian community, which ought of course to be regulated by the principles of charity, love and friendship,[72] there should and would be no need for it. In an interesting turn of phrase, Augustine remarks that the members of such a community should be thought of 'not as slaves living under the law,' that is to say, presumably, subject to commands which are enforced by the threat of punishment, but rather 'as men and women living in freedom under grace,' and therefore voluntarily accepting the direction and guidance that they receive from those who are their superiors, if not their betters.[73] He says to subordinates that 'you should obey superiors as fathers or mothers with the respect due them so as not to offend God in their persons.'[74] And he emphasises that 'it is by willing obedience, therefore, that you show mercy not only toward yourselves, but also toward superiors, whose higher rank among you exposes them all the more to greater peril.'[75]

On the other hand, however, ~~there is also an authoritarian dimension to St. Augustine's thinking about this subject. i~~In both *Of the Work of Monks* and *The Rule of St. Augustine,* there are numerous references to the need for discipline and punishment, even with the supposed Christian community that is a monastery. One of the principal tasks of those in authority, Augustine maintains, is to 'admonish the unruly.'[76] They must 'love discipline and instil respect for it' in their subordinates. In a striking phrase, which echoes the ideas of Machiavelli long afterwards, Augustine advice to subordinates is that although both love and fear are

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necessary components of the relationship between them and their superiors, nevertheless those in authority over them 'should strive to be loved by you rather than feared, ever mindful that they must give an account of you to God.'[77]

Augustine argues that within a monastery no transgression should be 'carelessly overlooked' and all must be appropriately 'punished and corrected,' although superiors in authority should take care not exceed the 'limit and power of their office.'[78] He states that 'once proven guilty,' those who have committed offences, 'must undergo salutary punishment according to the judgment of the superior or priest having the proper authority,[79] and emphasises the need for offences to be punished 'with due severity.'[80] Such individuals must, he argues, be 'severely chastised according to the judgment of the priest or superior.'[81] As Henry Chadwick has noted, the different forms of punishment that were envisaged by Augustine included corporal punishment. According to Chadwick, 'we (once only) hear of corporal punishment being administered to a young monk found chatting with the nuns at an "unfitting hour".'[82] Augustine also advises those who are in positions of authority within a monastery, and who are responsible for its administration or management, that 'whenever the need of maintaining discipline forces you to use harsh words in imposing order on younger members,' you should never ask for forgiveness for the fact that you have been 'unduly harsh in your language,' because by doing so you might 'undermine the authority of your office in the eyes of those who must be subject to you.'[83]

This seems to me to be the outlook of an authoritarian thinker. Eugene TeSelle has rightly observed that there are occasions when Augustine prefers to use the language of 'correction,' rather than that of punishment, in this ontext. In modern parlance, the treatment that he thinks should be meted out to offenders, whether in a monastery our outside of it, involves the notion of 'tough love.' According to TeSelle, Augustine employs 'the famous

dictum "Love and do what you will"' in his writings as 'a way of justifying' what is basically 'the use of harsh measures for the correction of those in error.'[84] At the same time, however, Augustine wanted this 'to be seen as correction, not compulsion.'[85]

Augustine's views regarding the administration or management of a monastery are significant because they also have an application to wider society outside of the monastery. As Arthur T. Geoghegan has noted, Augustine's views regarding the relative duties of monks 'apply equally' to the 'labour of laymen' outside of that particular social institution. According to Augustine, 'every working man is instructed to labour with an eye to serving God rather than Mammon,' to 'remember that the fruits of labour are an evidence of divine governance,' and 'to be content with his own calling, mindful of the fact that those who are given less burdensome work are more talented.'[86]

I have suggested that what Augustine has to say about the authority of administrators or managers within a monastery is symptomatic of his attitude towards authority relationships in wider society. A monastery is a community of committed Christian believers. Insofar as it is at all possible for the City of God to be actualised here on earth, then this could only happen, if it happens at all, in social institutions of this kind. It is, therefore, a matter of some significance that Augustine attaches so much importance to the need to ensure discipline within a monastery by an ordered system of regulations enforced by associated forms of coercion and punishment.

Augustine on Authority in the Two Cities:
The City of God and the City of Man

It is useful to consider what has been said above about St. Augustine's views regarding the management or administration of the affairs of a monastery, and by implication other social institutions also, for example schools, in the light of the distinction that he makes in *The City of God* between the two cities, the City of Man and the City of God. There Augustine

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distinguishes between these two cities or societies by saying that in the former, because of the corruption of human nature by 'sin' after 'the Fall of man,'[87] the motivational principle that regulates human conduct is 'love of self,' whereas in the City of God it would be the love of God.'[88] The inhabitants of the City of Man 'choose to live by the standard of the flesh,' or by the bodily emotions and desires which are associated with his animal or lower' nature,[89] whereas in the City of God they would 'choose to live by the standard of the spirit.'[90] Augustine associates life in the City of Man with egotism, selfishness and greed, which he contrasts with life in the City of God, which would involve the principles of altruism, virtue, charity and love. Ethically speaking, of course, agents within the City of Man and the actions they perform are characteristically thought of by Augustine and other Christian theologians in the medieval period as being evil, bad or wicked, in short 'sinful,' whereas in the City of God Augustine suggests that they would be caring, benevolent, virtuous, righteous and good, that is to say, ethical or moral rather than unethical or immoral.

Augustine associates the selfishness of corrupted human nature, not only with the desire to pursue money, wealth and property, but also with a *libido dominandi*: the desire to control, dominate and oppress others, to bend them to our own will, in short to enslave them, which he associates with egotism and self-love or pride. In his view, this is the dominant psychological characteristic of all of those who inhabit the City of Man, whose conduct is influenced to a considerable degree by this pattern of motivation. In the City of Man it is, he says, this 'lust for domination' which 'lords it over princes as over the nations it subjugates.'[91] Indeed, his views on this issue appear at times to offer a distant echo of the views of Friedrich Nietzsche on the same subject.[92] In Augustine's case, it is suggested that the motivation for this particular manifestation of egotism lies not so much in the sin of avarice or greed, but in that of pride. On more than one occasion Augustine suggests that it is not money, but pride, that is the root of

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all evil. It is pride, he maintains, that is the start of every sin.[93] It is above all man's pride that 'seeks to impose its own dominion on fellow men, in place of God's rule.'[94]

The distinction that Augustine draws between the two cities influences the way in which he thinks about authority. As he puts it in *The Literal Meaning of Genesis,* so far as the notion of authority is concerned we might again distinguish between these two cities, 'one of them exercising authority over its neighbour for its neighbour's good, the other for its own.'[95] Augustine distinguishes, therefore, between authority as it would exist in the City of God and as it ought to exist in the City of Man, on the one hand, and authority as it actually exists in the City of Man on the other. So far as the first of these two ways of thinking about authority is concerned, Augustine follows Plato closely. He too is a paternalist who views regarding authority are very much influenced by his understanding of the role of the male head of the household within a patriarchal family. Norman H. Baynes has observed that Augustine's 'small states would be like large human families.' He points out that, according to And, as Baynes points out, John Neville Figgis, has also stated that 'it is always on the analogy of the family that Augustine thinks".'[96]

When discussing authority relationships in the City of God and as they ought to be in the City of Man, Augustine states that 'both those put in authority and those subject to them serve one another in love.'[97] Again, the model for this is that of the family or household. For it is there Augustine claims, that we ought to find an 'ordered agreement between those who live together about giving and obeying orders.'[98] It is there, he suggests, that orders ought to be 'given by those who are concerned for the interests of others.' Thus, for example, 'the husband gives orders to the wife, parents to children,' and 'masters to servants'; while 'those who are the objects of this concern' obey those orders; that is why 'wives obey husbands, the children obey their parents, the servants their masters.' Augustine insists, however, that 'those who give orders' are or would be nevertheless also 'the servants of those whom they appear to

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command,' for they 'do not,' or would not, 'give orders because of a lust for domination but from a dutiful concern for the interests of others, not with pride in taking precedence over others, but with compassion in taking care of others.'[99] They would, in short, not rule in their own interests, but rather (as parents are assumed to do with their children) in the interests of those over whom they have authority. This way provides us with an indication of Augustine's views regarding how things ought to be, so far as the administration or management of non-state social institutions, such as monasteries and schools, is concerned.

The implications of this view for those who wish to understand Augustine's views regarding administration ~~or management i~~in the City of Man are plain. His remarks clearly imply that in the City of Man, because of the egotism that is associated with the corruption of human nature, there is a propensity for those administrators ~~or managers~~ who rule over others in positions of authority, whether in the political institutions of the state or in non-state social institutions, to rule unjustly in their own interests, rather than in the interests of their subordinates. In the City of Man administrators are likely ~~or managers will tend~~ to 'give orders because of a lust for domination' rather than because of any 'dutiful concern for the interests of others' who are their subordinates. They will tend to rule over their subordinates not at all 'with compassion in taking care of others,' but rather 'with pride in taking precedence over others.'[100]

It should be noted at this point that, so far as relationships of authority are concerned, paternalism on the one hand and authoritarianism on the other are the only two possibilities that Augustine considers. In both cases, of course, he adopts what is very much a top-down rather than a bottom up way of thinking. I have difficulty, therefore, accepting T. J. van Bavel's claim that a monastery, as Augustine conceived of it, might be said to be a democratic institution. It seems to me, rather, that the very opposite is the case.

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We saw earlier that in Augustine's view 'human society is generally divided against itself.' One of the things that Augustine means by this is that it is riven with conflict. Hence the need for peace and order at any price. However, another of the things that Augustine has in mind is that all of the authority relationships that exist in the City of Man tend to be relationships of domination and oppression. Augustine suggests that in the City of Man those administrators or managers who occupy positions of authority are likely to be driven by 'the lust for domination.'[101] Consequently, they will always be tempted to seek 'to impose their will on other peoples' lives' and, if they can 'to subject them,' to make them obedient to their 'beck and call.'[102] Augustine states explicitly at one point that in the City of Man 'one part of it' always 'oppresses another, when it finds itself the stronger.'[103] According to Augustine, this explains the origins of slavery, the emergence of just two basic categories of person in the City of Man, namely masters and their slaves. The implication, of course, is that in the City of God there would be no slavery at all, of any kind.

Despite his acknowledgement of the existence of domination, oppression and injustice within the City of Man, Augustine follows St. Paul, in his *Epistle to the Romans*, and strongly emphasises the importance of passive or blind, unquestioning obedience to the commands of the administrators or managers who are in positions of authority there. In the *City of God* Augustine closely associates the egotism of corrupted human nature with a tendency to challenge or question the authority of one's superiors, whether in political society or in social institutions such as monasteries, to refuse to blindly obey their orders without questioning them, and perhaps to refuse to obey those orders at all. This 'sin' of disobedience is indeed man's first or original sin, as the story of the 'fall of man' is told in the *Book of Genesis*.[104] It is the sin of pride, of getting ideas that are above one's station, both in society and in the world. As Augustine puts it, '"pride is the start of every kind of sin",' but 'what is pride except a longing for a perverse kind of exaltation?'[105] When arguing in this way, Augustine assumes

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~~that those in positions of authority are in fact ruling justly, rather than unjustly, because their own station in society has been sanctified by God and because they are doing nothing more than obeying the commands of God. In his view, therefore, disobedience to their commands would constitute an injustice.~~

Augustine's views regarding authority apply ~~do apply~~ to the rulers of political societies, for example kings or emperors. Augustine often appears to be thinking of political rule, or of relationships of political authority in the traditional sense of the term, which have to do with the state and its coercive laws. It should be emphasised, however, that Augustine's views also~~do~~ have a ~~more general or a~~ wider application. For example, they also apply to those who are in positions of authority, at a lower level of officialdom, within non-state social institutions such as monasteries. So far as the latter are concerned, Augustine seems oblivious to the possibility that administrative officials who are charged with the responsibility for the administration ~~management~~ of the affairs of these institutions might~~could~~ abuse their authority. Nor does he allow for the possibility that they might legitimately be criticised and held to account whenever they do so.

Augustine on Slavery in Social Institutions

In the *City of God* Augustine argues that subordinates who obey the commands of thei~~r~~ administrators ~~or managers,~~ who are in positions of authority over them, as he thinks they ought to do, are not morally responsible for the~~ir own~~ actions ~~that they perform~~. Rather, they should be thought of as being nothing more than puppets or automata. They are, he says, nothing more than 'instruments' for carrying out the will of their superiors.[106] These remarks, combined with what Augustine says about the duties of the monks, suggest that, he associates authority with a justified demand, made by superiors, for blind, unquestioning, but nevertheless voluntary

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obedience to their commands on the part of their subordinates. Janet Coleman has suggested that for Augustine this principle applies especially in the case of the 'institutional employees' of the state, for example soldiers and public officials such as 'hangmen.'[107] However, there is no reason to think that Augustine would not have wished to apply the same principle in the case of other institutional roles also. As we saw earlier, when discussing Augustine's views regarding the need for discipline, he certainly seems to have thought that this principle applies within a monastery.

The above passage from the *City of God* is of considerable interest and has been cited more than once, for example by Aquinas in his *Summa Theologiae*.[108] One reason for this is because Augustine's demand for blind, unquestioning obedience is something that he evidently considered to be appropriate in all authority relationships everywhere, whether within the family or household, within monasteries or other civil society institutions, or within the political institutions associated with the state. This is an attitude that was inherited by Christian theologians after Augustine, including Aquinas. As Anton Hermann Chroust has noted,[109] 'the unquestioning submission of man to his superiors became a basic rule of the natural law,' as it was understood throughout the medieval period.[110] The demand for such obedience It has been the target of criticism ever since then, especially of course by those who are associated with the anarchist tradition, from at least the late eighteenth century onwards, if not before during the eighteenth century. For example, the rejection of this demand lies at the heart of Immanuel Kant's understanding of the Age of Enlightenment.[111]

Another reason why Augustine's remarks concerning authority are interesting is because his belief that individual human beings have been in some way reduced to the status of mere automata, things or instruments whose sole function or *raison-d'etre* in life is to unquestioningly obey the commands of a superior in authority over them, who possesses the power to coerce or punish them (whether physically or in some other way), is commonly

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regarded as one of the characteristics of slavery. ~~Again therefore we have the suggestion that Augustine's understanding of authority relationships generally, wherever they are to be found, is basically authoritarian.~~ When defending the principle of authority in social institutions or elsewhere, Augustine goes so far that in effect he reduces all subordinates to a condition of servitude. ~~In at least some cases, for example those who freely choose to enter a monastery, or some other social institution, this might possibly be said to be a matter of *voluntary* servitude, because those concerned may enter or leave the monastery at will. However, it might be argued that those monks who would have been indigent or poor were they to choose to leave the monastery could hardly be said to have had a genuinely free choice in the matter.~~

According to Augustine, the master of these '~~voluntary~~ slaves' within a monastery is, in the first instance, the individual who occupies the role of the superior, and who has authority and overall responsibility for the administration of its affairs. In the final analysis, however, there is only one Master, namely God, who has the ultimate responsibility for the administration ~~or management~~ of the <u>entire</u> world in general and of everything that it contains. In *On the Literal Meaning of Genesis,* Augustine states explicitly that God is and ought to be 'the lord and master of obedient subordinates.'[112] He argues there that human beings both are and ought to be the 'servants and slaves' of God. Moreover, he maintains that this relationship of servitude is 'for our benefit and welfare, not for his.'[113]

~~——~~In Augustine's view, then, hierarchical relationships of authority within social and political institutions generally might be said to constitute a system. Within this system, no individual human being should be regarded as morally responsible for any of the things that they do or fail to do, <u>provided</u> ~~if~~ they do it because they have been commanded to do so by a superior who is in authority over them. ~~Hannah Arendt, an enthusiastic student of St. Augustine, has some interesting things to say in *Eichmann in Jerusalem* about the idea that one is 'only obeying orders' might serve as an excuse for the abuse of power by officials within~~

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bureaucratised social and political institutions.[114] One of the ultimate sources for the view that subordinate officials within social and political institutions can legitimately claim to have such an excuse is St. Augustine's *The City of God*.

Conclusion

On the whole Augustine's view of the hierarchical social and political institutions in the society of his day is that they are legitimate because they are integral components of God's divine plan. Consequently, he attempts to justify the conduct of those administrators or managers who are in positions of authority within these institutions, rather than to criticise them. As in the case of his defence of the coercive power of the state, Augustine believes that those who are dominated orand enslaved by these institutions deserve to be so because they are sinners. Their enslavement is a punishment for their sins. According to Augustine, ethical life properly so-called, together with the final over-coming of all social relationships of domination and servitude, could occur only in the City of God. In his view, it is only after the redemption of humanity's sins that there would no longer be a state and coercive laws. More to the point however, in the present context, it is only in the City of God that there would no longer be any administration, or management, as it is these things are presently constituted in the City of Man. This might perhaps be said to be the utopian dimension to St. Augustine's views regarding the politics of social institutions.

This does not, however, necessarily imply that for Augustine administration, or management, or indeed relationships of order, hierarchy and authority, would be entirely absent from the City of God. Augustine does not on the whole think that the difference between the City of Man and the City of God is that order, hierarchy and authority exist within the former, whereas they do not in the latter. For example, at one point in *The City of God* Augustine states

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that although it is unclear 'what will be the grades of honour and glory' that will exist in the City of God, nevertheless that 'there will be such distinctions; of that there can be no doubt.'[115] There are occasions, then, when Augustine associates even the 'perfectly ordered and completely harmonious fellowship' that would exist in the City of God with an hierarchical social and political order which would persons in positions of authority who issue commands to their subordinates, who it is assumed would voluntarily obey those commands without questioning them, as small children obey their parents.[116] In his view, therefore, even in the City of God there would be a need for a certain kind of administration ~~or management~~, which he thinks would be non-coercive and ethically defensible.

It should be noted, however, that Augustine does not always argue in this way. For example at one point he argues that in the City of God there would no longer be any need for superiors in positions of authority. Nor would it 'be a necessary duty' there 'to give orders to men [sic].' This is because there would be no need there for anybody 'to be concerned for the welfare of those who are already in the felicity of that immortal state.'[117] On this occasion at least, if not elsewhere, Augustine suggests that what is significant about the society of the City of God is that within it there would be no social hierarchy, no relationships of authority, or of superiority and subordination, and therefore also no longer any need for administration ~~or management~~ of any kind. ~~Although it is of course a minority position in Augustine's own writings, this view seems to me to be of great significance for the later history of political thought, especially in relation to anarchism and the anarchist critique of authoritarianism and the abuse of power by managers within social institutions.~~

The account of Augustine's views that is offered above implies that in his opinion, at least some of the time, so far as the City of Man is concerned there is no distinction at all to be made between authority on the one hand and domination on the other. This is so because, as Augustine sees it, all social relations involving the giving of orders by administrators ~~or~~

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managers in positions of authority and the taking of those orders by their subordinates, are of necessity nothing more than power relations which involve the pursuit of self-interest by superiors and their attempted domination or enslavement of those who occupy positions beneath them in an institutional hierarchy. According to this reading, given Augustine's views regarding the corruption of human nature, the presentation of these authority relations as ethical relations, which are associated with role obligations, and which involve differential and asymmetrical relative rights and duties for those who occupy the social roles in question, can be nothing more than a fiction or a mystification which disguises the true character of the social relation in question as Augustine understands it.

There are occasions when Augustine's remarks about corrupted human nature in the City of Man clearly imply that in his view institutional life, or ethical life within existing society and its institutions, especially the relationship that exists between superiors and their subordinates, can be nothing more than a manifestation of the attempted enslavement of the latter by the former. Augustine's *The City of God* contains, therefore, the seeds of a possible critique of managerialism and of the abuse of power in contemporary social institutions. [118] It must be conceded, however, that any reading of Augustine along these lines would be a highly selective and therefore also a controversial one. Such a reading would constitute an appropriation of just some of Augustine's ideas on the subject of administration, is particular subject, rather than an attempt to present a balanced interpretation of his thinking views as a whole.[119] For those who accept that it is permissible to read Augustine in this way, his views could be of interest to students of business ethics or critical management studies, especially those who are concerned with a type of the micro-politics which has to do with the uses and abuses of power by managers in contemporary social institutions.

Notes

[1]Saint-Simon, *Catechism of the Industrialists*, 188, 195.

Notes

[2]St. Augustine, *Concerning the City of God. Against the Pagans*, tr. Henry Bettenson, intro. John O'Meara (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1972).

[3]See for example ple Willard E. Enteman, *Managerialism: The Emergence of a New Ideology* (University of Wisconsin Press, 199: 3); Thomas Klikauer, *Managerialism: A Critique of an Ideology* (London: Palgrave, 2013); Judith A. Merkle, *Management and Ideologyy: The Legacy of the International Scientific Movement* (Berkeley, Ca: University of California Press, 1980); Martin Parker, *Against Management.: Organization in the Age of Managerialism* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2002).

[4]Anton Hermann Chroust, "'The Fundamental Ideas"; in St. Augustine's Philosophy of Law,' *The American Journal of Jurisprudence,* pp. 57-79, at pp. 64, 66; Anton Hermann Chroust, "'The Philosophy of Law of St. Augustine";' *Philosophical Review,* LIII, 2 (1944), pp. 195-202, at p. 198; Anton Hermann Chroust, "'The Corporate Idea and the Body Politic"; in the Middle Ages,' *The Review of Politics,* 9, 4 (1947), pp. 423-52, at pp.425fn8, 426-27; Anton Hermann Chroust, "'The Function of Law and Justice" in the Ancient World and the Middle Ages,' *Journal of the History of Ideas,* 7, 3 (1946), pp. 298-320, at pp. 311-12; Anton Herman;n Chroust, "'St. Augustine's Philosophical Theory of Law.";' *Notre Dame Lawyer,* 25 (1950), pp. 285-315. At pp. 296, 299, 305, 314

[5]For Augustine on the idea of administration or management, in addition to the works of Chroust, see already cited, see also Donald X. BBurt, *Friendship & Society: An Introduction to Augustine's Practical Philosophy* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 1999), pp. 72-73, 143-45; Neil B. McLynn, "'Administrator : Augustine in His Diocese,' in Mark Vessey and Shelley Reid eds., *A Companion to Augustine* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), pp. 310-22";

Eugene TeSelle, "'Toward an Augustinian Politics,"',' in William S. Babcock ed., *The Ethics of St. Augustine* (Atlanta, Ge.: Scholars Press, 1991), pp. 147-68, at pp. 162-63.

[6]St. Augustine, *Eighty Three Different Questions,: A New Translation,* trans David L. Mosher (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America, 2002 [1982]), Question 53.2, p. 92.

[7]St. Augustine, *Two Books on Genesis Against the Manichees,* in St. Augustine, *On Genesis: Two Books on Genesis Against the Manichees and On the Literal Interpretation of Genesis: An Unfinished Book,* trans. Roland J. Teske (Washington, D. C.: Catholic University of America, 1991), Book II, Chapter 29, Paragraph §43, p. 141.

[8]St. Augustine, *The Literal Meaning of Genesis,* in *On Genesis,* Vol. 1 of *The Works of Saint Augustine* in 13 Volumes, ed. Ramsey Boniface, trans. Edmund Hill (New York: New City Press, 2004), Book VIII, Chapter 44, p. 371; also VIII, 48, p. 373; IX, 28, p. 392.

[9]St. Augustine, *City of God*, XIX, 12, pp. 869-70; also VII, 30, p. 292.

[10]See Chroust, "'St. Augustine's Philosophical Theory of Law,"' fn53, p. 298; fn45, p. 296 and fn83, p. 305 respectively.

[11]Chroust, "'St. Augustine's Philosophical Theory of Law,"' fn83p305.

[12]St. Augustine, *City of God*, XIX, 12, pp. 869-70.

[13]Chroust, 'The Fundamental Ideas," in St. Augustine's Philosophy of Law,' p. 64.

[14]St. Augustine, *City of God,* I, V, 11, p. 198; I, VII, 3, p. 257; II, XI, 16, pp. 447-48; II, XI, 22, p. 454; II, XII, 3, p. 473; II, XII, 4, p. 475; II, XII, 5, p. 476. See also St. Augustine, *Confessions,* trans. & intro. R. S. Pine-Coffin (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1984 [1961]), Book IV, Chapter 13, p. 83; VII, 15-16, p. 150; VIII.15, p.150; X, 33, p. 238.

[15]Augustine, *City of God,* II, XIX, 13, p. 870.

[16]The classic source for this is Arthur O. Lovejoy, *The Great Chain of Being; : A Study of the History of an Idea* (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1960 [1936]); see also Marion L. Kuntz and & Paul G. Kuntz, *Jacob's Ladder; and the Tree of Life: Concepts of Hierarchy and the*

Great Chain of Being ~~(New York: Peter Lang, 1988); a~~and ~~Daniel J.~~ Wilson, "~~'~~Lovejoy's *The Great Chain of Being* after Fifty Years~~.~~", ~~' Journal of the History of Ideas, 48, 2 (1987), pp. 187-206.~~

[17] ~~See Patrick W.~~ Duff, *Personality in Roman Private Law*~~;~~ (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1938); ~~Myron Piper~~ Gilmore, *Argument from Roman Law in Political Thought*~~; : 1200-1600~~ (New York: Russell &~~Russell~~, 1941); ~~Max Ra~~Radin, *The Legislation of the Greeks and Romans on* ~~Corporations~~ (Columbia University, Doctoral Dissertation, 1910); ~~Alan~~ Watson, *The Law of Persons in the Later Roman Republic*~~.~~ (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1967).

[18] For this see ~~Otto von~~ Gierke, *Associations and Law*~~: The Classical and Early Christian Stages~~ trans. & intro. George Heiman (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1977); also ~~R. S.~~ Ascough, ~~P. A.~~ Harland and ~~J. S.~~ Kloppenborg ~~(2012),~~ *Associations in the Greco-Roman World*~~: A Sourcebook~~ (Waco: Baylor University Press, 2012); ~~J. S.~~ Kloppenborg and ~~& S. G.~~ Wilson eds., *Voluntary Associations in the Graeco-Roman World*~~.~~ (London and New York: Routledge, 2011 [1996]).

[19] ~~Sir Ernest~~ Barker, "~~'~~St. Augustine's Theory of Society,"~~ ' Essays on Government, 2nd ed~~ (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965 [1945]), pp. 234-69, at p. 240.

[20] St. Augustine, *City of God,* II, XIX, 3, ~~p.~~ 851.

[21] The situation in ancient Rome is not so ~~less~~ contentious. For the existence of a private sphere outside of the household in ancient Greece see ~~Cynthia~~ Farrar, "~~'~~Plato and Aristotle: The Retreat from Politics"~~; ' in The Origins of Democratic Thinking: The Invention of Politics in Classical Athens~~ (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp. 266-74; ~~Sally C.~~ Humphreys, "~~'~~Function and History,"~~ : Approaches to the Study of Structural Differentiation,' Anthropology and the Greeks~~ (London: Routledge, 1978), pp. 242-75, at pp. 257-61; ~~Sally C.~~ Humphreys, "~~'~~Public and Private Interests,"~~ in The Family, Women and Death~~ (London: Routledge, 1983), p. 24; ~~Pauline~~ Schmitt-Pantel, "~~'~~Collective Activities,"~~ and the Political in~~

the Greek City,' in ~~Oswyn Murray & Simon Price eds.,~~ *The Greek City from Homer to Alexander* ~~(Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), pp. 119-213 at pp.~~ 205-08; ~~Judith A.~~ Swanson, *The Public and the Private in Aristotle's Political Philosophy*; ~~(Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992);~~ and ~~Bernard~~ Yack, *The Problems of a Political Animal*, ~~: Community, Justice and Conflict in Aristotelian Political Thought (Berkeley & Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1993), pp.~~ 79-84.

[22]~~Donald X.~~ Burt, "St. Augustine's Evaluation of Civil Society," *Augustinianum*, 3, 1 (1963), ~~pp. 87-94, at p. 99~~0; citing Augustine, *Contra epistolam Petiliani*, II, 92, 210.

[23]See ~~Stephen J.~~ Wellum ed., *Vocation*; ~~. Special issue of *The Southern Baptist Journal of Theology*, 22, 1 (2018); see also Robert M.~~ Adams, "Vocation"; ~~,' *Faith and Philosophy*, 4 (1987), pp. 448-62; J. Karl~~ Holl, "The History of the Word Vocation (*Beruf*)"; ~~," trans. H. F. Peacock, *Review and Expositor*, 55 (1958), pp. 126-154; Paul A.~~ Marshall, "Work and Vocation"; ~~: Some Historical Reflections,' *Reformed Journal*, 30, 9 (1980), pp. 16-20; Paul A.~~ Marshall, *A Kind of Life Imposed on Man:* Vocation and Social; ~~Order from Tyndale to Locke (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996); William~~ Placher, *Callings: ~~Twenty Centuries of Christian Wisdom on Vocation (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2005); G.~~ Wingren, "The Concept of Vocation."; ~~: Its Basis and its Problems,' *Lutheran World*, 15 (1968), pp. 87-95.~~

[24]The classic study is ~~Max~~ Weber, *The Protestant Ethics and the Spirit of Capitalism*~~, trans. Talcott Parson, foreword R. H. Tawney (London: Unwin Books, 1967 [1904-05])~~. For recent discussion see the contributions to Wellum ed., *Vocation*, especially ~~Leland~~ Ryken, "~~Some Kind of Life to Which We Are Called of God": ~~The Puritan Doctrine of Vocation"; ~~,' in pp. 45-66; ~~; also ~~Arnold~~ Eisen, "Called to Order"; ~~: The Role of the Puritan *Berufsmensch* in Weberian Sociology,' *Sociology*, 13 (1979), pp. 203-18; R. S.~~ Michaelson, "~~Changes in t~~The Puritan Concept of Calling or Vocation"; ~~,' *New England Quarterly*, 26 (1953), pp. 315-36; G.~~ Wingren, *Luther on Vocation*~~, trans C. C. Rasmussen (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1957)~~.

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[25]~~Megan~~ DeVore, "~~"~~"The Labours of Our Occupation"~~:~~ Can Augustine Offer *Any* Insight on Vocation?," 21-22; ~~*The Southern Baptist Journal of Theology*, 22, 1 (2018), pp. 21-44, at pp. 21-22; Jeremy H.~~ Kidwell, "'Labour in St. Augustine,~~"~~' 783. ~~in Karla Pollmann ed, *Oxford Guide to the Historical Reception of Augustine* (Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 779-84, at p. 783.~~

[26]Exceptions include ~~Rudolf~~ Arbesmann, "'The Attitude of St Augustine Toward Labour"~~; ~~' ~~in David Neiman and Margaret Schatkin eds., *Heritage of the Early Church* (Rome: Pontificio Istituo Orientale, 1973), pp. 245-59; Arthur T.~~ Geoghegan, "'St. Augustine's Teaching on Labour"~~; ~~' ~~in *The Attitude Towards Labour in Early Christianity and Ancient Culture* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America 1945), pp. 201-11; Ernest~~ Kilzer, "'The Social Thought of St. Augustine,"~~; ~~' ~~*The American Benedictine Review,* 3, 4 (1952), pp. 293-306, especially what is said about Augustine's views in 'Work and Occupations,' at pp.~~ 302-03; ~~and Ernest~~ Kilzer and ~~& E. J.~~ Ross, *Western Social Thought*, ~~(Milwaukee: Bruce, 1954),~~ ~~p.~~ 107.

[27]Geoghegan, 'St. Augustine's Teaching on Labour,' ~~p.~~ 201.

[28]Geoghegan, 'St. Augustine's Teaching on Labour,' ~~p.~~ 207.

[29]See, for example, ~~, ~~~~Eric~~ Roll, ~~in~~ *A History of Economic Thought*~~, revised and enlarged~~ (London: Faber & Faber, 1953 [1938]); ~~Allessandro~~ Roncaglia *, The Wealth of Ideas: ~~A History of Economic Thought~~* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005); ~~Murray N.~~ Rothbard, *Economic Thought Before Adam Smith*~~; : An Austrian Perspective~~ (The Ludwig von Mises Institute, 1995; ~~Joseph~~ Schumpeter *History of Economic Analysis* ~~(New York: Oxford University Press, 1976 [1954]).~~ None of these works says much at all about the ideas of St. Augustine.

[30]Augustine, *Of the Work of Monks*, 14, ~~p.~~ 511.

[31] ~~E.~~ Booth, "~~"A~~ Marginal Comment on ~~of St. Augustine on the Principle of~~ the Division of Labour"; ~~(*De Civ Dei* VII.4),' *Augustinianum,* 17 (1977), pp. 249-56;~~ St. Augustine, *The City of God,* VII~~,~~ 4, ~~pp.~~ 260-61.

[32] ~~Moses~~ Finley, "~~"~~Technical Innovation in the Ancient World~~,~~"~~,'~~ ~~*Economic History Review,*~~ ~~18, 1 (1965), pp. 29-45, at pp.~~ 38-39; ~~Moses~~ Finley, "~~"~~Aristotle and Economic Analysis,~~'"~~ ~~*Past & Present,* 47 (1970), pp. 3-25, at pp.~~ 3-4.

[33] Xenophon, *Cyropaedia,* ~~trans. Walter Miller (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1914),~~ VIII, II, 5-6, ~~pp.~~ 333-35.

[34] ~~Adam~~ Smith, *~~An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of T~~the Wealth of Nations,* ~~ed. W. B. Todd (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976), Vol.~~ I, ~~Book~~ I, ~~Chapter~~ 1, ~~pp.~~ 13-24.

[35] ~~Emile~~ Durkheim, *~~The~~ Division of Labour in Society~~,~~ trans George Simpson (New York: Free Press, 1964 [1893])~~.

[36] ~~R. W.~~ Carlyle and ~~& A. J.~~ Carlyle, *A Histor~~y~~y of Mediaeval Political Theory ~~in the West~~,* ~~in 6 Volumes~~, Vol. I, *~~The Second Century to the Ninth~~* ~~(Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1930), p.~~ 176.

[37] St. Augustine, *Of the Work of Monks,* ~~trans. H. Browne, in Philipp Schaff ed., *A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church,* First Series, Vol. 3, (Buffalo, NY: Christian Literature Publishing Co., 1887), pp.~~ 503-24.

[38] ~~See T. J.~~ van Bavel, *The Rule of St. Augustine~~: Masculine and Feminine Versions: With Introduction and Commentary~~,* ~~trans Raymond Canning (London: Darton, Longman & Tod, 1984);~~ see also ~~J.~~ Chapman, "~~"~~The Origin of the Rules of St. Augustine"; ~~' *The Downside Review,* 49 (1931), pp. 395-407; P.~~ Grech, "~~"~~The Augustinian Community and the Primitive Church"; ~~' *Augustiniana,* 5 (1955), pp. 457-70; M. B.~~ Hackett, "~~"~~The Rule of St. Augustine and Recent Criticism."~~,' *The Tagastan,* 20 (1958), pp. 43-50.~~

[39] See ~~Charles W.~~ Brockwell jnr., "~~"~~Augustine's Ideal of Monastic Community"; ~~: A Paradigm for His Doctrine of the Church,' *Augustinian Studies,* 8 (1977), pp. 91-109;~~ and ~~Adolar~~

Zumkeller, *Augustine's Ideal of the Religious Life*. ~~(New York: Fordham University Press, 1986).~~

[40]See ~~W. J.~~ Sparrow-Simpson, *The Letters of St. Augustine*, ~~(New York & London: Macmillan 1919), pp.~~ 273-74.

[41]St. Augustine, <u>"One Book on the Work of Monks,"</u> *The Retractations*, ~~trans. Mary Inez Bogan (Catholic University of America Press, 1999 [1968]), Book~~ II, ~~Chapter~~ 47, ~~'One Book on the Work of Monks,' pp.~~ 162. ~~-63, at p. 162.~~

[42]See ~~Emile~~ Durkheim, *~~The~~ Division of Labour in Society*~~, trans George Simpson (New York: Free Press, 1964 [1893]; ;~~ *The Rules of Sociological Method*~~;~~ ~~eighth ed., trans Sara A. Solovay & John H. Mueller, ed. George E. G. Catlin (New York: The Free Press, 1966 [1895]; Emile Durkheim,~~ *Suicide: A Study in Sociology;* ~~, trans. John A. Spaulding & George Simpson, ed. & intro George Simpson (London: Routledge, 1970 [1897]); Emile Durkheim,~~ *The Elementary Form of Religious Life* ~~trans. Joseph Ward Swain (London: Allen & Unwin, 1964 [1912].~~

[43]Augustine, *The Rule of St. Augustine*, 5.38.

[44]Augustine, *The Rule of St. Augustine*, 5.37.

[45]Augustine, *The Rule of St. Augustine*, 5.33.

[46]Augustine, *Of the Work of Monks*, 1, ~~p.~~ 503.

[47]Augustine, *Of the Work of Monks*, 37, ~~pp.~~ 522.

[48]St. Paul, *First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 7.20-24, ~~p.~~ 95.

[49]Augustine, *Of the Work of Monks*, 2, ~~p.~~ 503.

[50]Augustine, *Of the Work of Monks*, 2, ~~p.~~ 504.

[51]Augustine, *Of the Work of Monks*, 3, ~~pp.~~ 504; 9, ~~p.~~ 508; 35, ~~p.~~ 521.

[52]Augustine, *Of the Work of Monks*, 5-6, ~~p.~~ 506; 8, ~~5p. 5~~07; 13, ~~p.~~ 510; 14, ~~p.~~ 511; 16, ~~p.~~ 512; 17, ~~p.~~ 513; 27, ~~p.~~ 517; 31, ~~p.~~ 518; 34, ~~p.~~ 519; 35, ~~p.~~ 521.

53R. A. Markus, "The Latin Fathers," in J. H. Burns ed, *The Cambridge History of Medieval Political Thought: c350-c1450* (Cambridge University Press, (1991 [1988]), pp. 92-122; at pp. 107, 110.

54Augustine, *Of the Work of Monks*, 14, p. 511.

55Augustine, *Of the Work of Monks*, 32, p. 518. However, see also his remark, at 33, p. 519, that "it is by no means seemly" that "where senators become men of toil," there "common workmen should become men of leisure."

56Augustine, *Of the Work of Monks*, 33, p. 519.

57Augustine, *Of the Work of Monks*, 33, p. 519.

58Augustine, *Of the Work of Monks*, 33, p. 519.

59Augustine, *Of the Work of Monks*, 33, p. 519.

60For Augustine and Christian Platonism see A. H. Armstrong, *St. Augustine and Christian Platonism* (Pennsylvania: Villanova University Press, 1966); Janet Coleman, "St. Augustine: Christian Political Thought"; at the End of the Roman Empire,' in Brian Redhead ed., *Plato to Nato: Studies in Political Thought* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1995 [1988]), pp. 45-60; Janet Coleman, "The Christian Platonism of St. Augustine"; ,' in Anna Baldwin & Sarah Hutton eds., *Platonism and the English Imagination* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 27-37; Robert J. O'Connell, *Saint Augustine's Platonism* (Pennsylvania: Villanova University Press, 1984).

61Plato, *Republic, trans. H. D. Lee, ed & Intro Melissa Lane (London: Penguin, 2007), Book,* IV, 419-20, pp. 119-20.

62Augustine, *Of the Work of Monks*, 37, p. 521.

63Augustine, *Of the Work of Monks*, 39, p. 522.

64Augustine, *The Rule of St. Augustine,* 4.26-29, 6.43, 7.45.

65Augustine, *Of the Work of Monks*, 38, p. 52.

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[66]Augustine, *Of the Work of Monks*, 38, ~~p.~~ 522.

[67]Augustine, *Of the Work of Monks*, 39, ~~p.~~ 522.

[68]Augustine, *Of the Work of Monks*, 4, ~~p.~~ 505.

[69]~~R. W. and A. J.~~ Carlyle and Carlyle~~,~~ ~~"'The~~ Political Theory of the New Testament~~," ,'~~ ~~in *A History of Medieval Political Theory in the West*, Vol. I, *The Second Century to the Ninth* (Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1930), pp. 81-101, at pp.~~ 94-95.

[70]Augustine, *Of the Work of Monks*, 38, ~~p.~~ 522.

[71]Augustine, *Of the Work of Monks*, 39-40, ~~pp.~~ 523-24.

[72]This is a core theme for Burt, *Friendship & Society~~: An Introduction to Augustine's Practical Philosophy~~;* see also ~~Maria Aquinas~~ McNamara, *Friendship in Saint Augustine*~~; . Studia Friburgensia, New Series, No. 20 (Fribourg: University of Fribourg, 1958); Maria Aquinas~~ McNamara, ~~"~~"St. Augustine's Conception of Christian Friendship"~~; ,' in *Friends and Friendship for Saint Augustine* (New York: Alba House, 1964), pp. 213-38; John~~ Von Heyking, ~~"~~"The Luminous Path of Friendship"~~; and : Augustine's account of Friendship and Political Order,' in John Von Heyking & Richard Avramenko eds., *Friendship and Politics: Essays in Political Thought* (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 2008), pp. 115-38; Caroline~~ White, ~~'Monasticism and Friendship' and 'Saint Augustine,' in~~ *Christian Friendship in the Fourth Century*~~. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp.~~ 164-84, 185-217.

[73]Augustine, *The Rule of St. Augustine,* 8.48.

[74]Augustine, *The Rule of St. Augustine,* 7.44.

[75]Augustine, *The Rule of St. Augustine,* 7.47.

[76]Augustine, *The Rule of St. Augustine,* 7.46.

[77]Augustine, *The Rule of St. Augustine,* 7.46.

[78]Augustine, *The Rule of St. Augustine,* 7.45.

[79]Augustine, *The Rule of St. Augustine,* 4.27.

[80]Augustine, *The Rule of St. Augustine,* 4.26.

[81]Augustine, *The Rule of St. Augustine,* 4.29.

[82]~~Henry~~ Chadwick, *Augustine: A Very Short Introduction,* ~~(Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001 [1986]), p.~~ 61; see also Burt, ~~'Crime and Punishment,' in~~ *Friendship & Society,* ~~: An Introduction to Augustine's Practical Philosophy,~~ ~~pp.~~ 184-99.

[83]Augustine, *The Rule of St. Augustine,* 6.43.

[84]TeSelle, 'Toward an Augustinian Politics,' ~~p.~~ 151.

[85]TeSelle, 'Toward an Augustinian Politics,' ~~p.~~ 151.

[86]Geoghegan, 'St. Augustine's Teaching on Labour,' ~~p.~~ 207.

[87]St. Augustine, *City of God,* II, XIII, 3, ~~pp.~~ 512-13; II, XIV, ~~p.~~ 547.

[88]St. Augustine, *City of God*, II, XIV, 13, ~~p.~~ 573; II, XIV, 28, ~~p.~~ 593.

[89]St. Augustine, *City of God*, II, XI, 2, ~~p.~~ 430; II, XIV 12, ~~p.~~ 571.

[90]St. Augustine, *City of God*, II, XIV, 1, ~~p.~~ 547.

[91]St. Augustine, *City of God*, II, XIV, 28, ~~p.~~ 593.

[92]See, for example, ~~Friedrich,~~ Nietzsche, *Beyond Good and Evil*~~, trans. J. Hollingdale (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1977 [1886]), ,~~ §259, ~~pp.~~ 174-75.

[93]St. Augustine, *City of God*, II, XIV~~, -~~13, ~~p.~~ 571.

[94]St. Augustine, *City of God*, II, XIX, 12, ~~pp.~~ 868-69.

[95]St. Augustine, *The Literal Meaning of Genesis,* XI, 19, ~~p.~~ 440.

[96]~~Norman H.~~ Baynes, *~~The~~ Political Ideas of St. Augustine,~~'s De Civitate Dei~~* (Historical Association, 1936), ~~p.~~ 14; ~~John Neville~~ Figgis, *~~The~~ Political Aspects of St. Augustine's City of God*~~, (London: Longman Green, 1921), p.~~ 59.

[97]St. Augustine, *City of God,* II, XIV, 28, ~~p.~~ 593.

[98]St. Augustine, *City of God,* II, XIX, 13, ~~p.~~ 870; also II, XIX, 14, ~~p.~~ 874; and II, XIX, 16, ~~p.~~ 876.

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99St. Augustine, *City of God,* II, XIX, 14, p. 874.

100St. Augustine, *City of God,* II, XIX, 14, p. 874.

101St. Augustine, *City of God,* II, XIV, 28, p. 593.

102St. Augustine, *City of God,* II, XIX, 17, p. 877.

103St. Augustine, *City of God,* II, XVIII, 2, p. 762.

104For Augustine on "rebellion and disobedience" in the *City of God,* see II, XIII, 3, pp. 512-13; and II, XIV, p. 547; II, XIV, 13, p. 571. See also *The Literal Meaning of Genesis.*

105St. Augustine, *City of God,* II, XIV, 13, p. 571; see also II, XVII, 4, p. 718; and II, XIX, 12, pp. 868-69; II, XIX, 14, p. 874.

106St.Augustine, *The City of God,* I, I, 21, p. 32; see also St. Augustine, "Question 53: On the Gold and Silver Taken by the Israelites From the Egyptians," in *Eighty Three Different Questions: A New Translation,* trans David L. Mosher (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America, 2002 [1982]), , Paragraph§ 2, pp. 92-93, where Augustine expresses much the same view.

107Janet Coleman, *A History of Political Thought,* : *From Ancient Greece to Early Christianity* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000), p. 333.

108See Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae*, Volume 38 (2a2ae 63-79), *Injustice,* ed. & trans. Marcus Lefebure (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), Q.64.3, ad. 1, p. 27; and, more recently, Coleman, *A History of Political Thought,* : *From Ancient Greece to Early Christianity*, p. 333.

109Chroust, "The Philosophy of Law of St. Thomas Aquinas," 18.

110Anton Hermann Chroust, "'The Philosophy of Law of St. Thomas Aquinas," : His Fundamental Ideas and Some of His Historical Precursors,' *The American Journal of Jurisprudence,* 19, 1 (1974), pp. 1-38, at p. 18.

111Kant, 'What is Enlightenment?' For discussion and criticism of the idea of blind or

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unquestioning obedience see Mary Wollstonecraft, *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman,* Chapter II, pp. 18, 23-25; XI, p. 158-60; and John Stuart Mill, *Considerations on Representative Government,* II, pp. 198-99; sSee also R. B. Friedman, ""Authority Reason and the ""Surrender of Private Judgment"; ",' in Joseph Raz ed., *Authority* (New York: New York University Press, 1990), pp. 63-68; E. D. Watt, *Authority,* (London: Croom Helm, 1982), pp. 33-34, 59; and Robert Paul Wolff, *In Defense of Anarchism,* 2nd edition (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1976 [1970), pp. 6, 14-16.

[112]St. Augustine, *The Literal Meaning of Genesis*, VIII, 25, p. 362.

[113]St. Augustine, *The Literal Meaning of Genesis*, VIII, 25, p. 361.

[114]Hannah Arendt, *Eichmann in Jerusalem, : A Report on the Banality of Evil* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 2006 [1963]), pp. 134-37; see also Alasdair MacIntyre, ""Social Structures and Their Threat to Moral Agency.",' in Alasdair MacIntyre, *Selected Essays,* Volume II, *Ethics and Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 186-204.

[115]St. Augustine, *City of God,* II, XXII, 30, p. 1088.

[116]St. Augustine, *City of God,* II, XIX, 17, pp. 878-79.

[117]St. Augustine, *City of God,* II, XIX, 16, p. 876.

[118]See for example Enteman, *Managerialism*; Klikauer, *Managerialism:* Merkle, *Management and Ideology:* Parker, *Against Management.*

[119]For the notion of an 'appropriation' see Tony Burns, ""Interpreting and Appropriating Texts in the History of Political Thought." : Quentin Skinner and Poststructuralism,' *Contemporary Political Theory*, 10, 3 (2011), pp. 313-31.

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