

The Gustatory Augustin*

To the casual reader, the early pages of the *Confessions* seem obviously concerned with Augustine's unsuccessful struggles against the emerging sexual powers of his youthful years. Such is particularly the case in the dark allusions to lust and fornication in the second book of the work¹). Those insistent urges proved to be too much, so that he took a mistress (*Conf.* IV, ii, 2) with whom he was to spend the next thirteen years of his life. Nevertheless, judging by the many self-recriminations in the later pages of the *Confessions*, his life with this woman did little to soothe the guilt which plagued Augustine on account of his own restless indulgence of his sexual desires. It would seem that nothing short of a life of complete celibacy was to satisfy the idealistic Augustine.

Consequently, the events of the *Confessions* lead with a certain inevitability to the final rejection of all forms of sexual indulgence during the now-famous garden-scene (*Conf.* VIII, xii, 28-29). In a fine study of that scene²) one author has shown the central importance of sex as the issue above all others, about which Augustine's decisive struggle with himself occurred.

However, the aim of the present study is to demonstrate the major importance of another and less obvious struggle which was to be of more enduring concern to Augustine. This was his struggle in regard to the enticements of the sense of taste- whence the title of the present article. Moreover, as will be shown, his anxieties in regard to that particular sense become more understandable from a consideration of the known events of his earlier life.

One first becomes aware of Augustine's concern about taste (as it concerns food and drink) during the stern self-examination of the tenth book of the *Confessions*. The self-examination is conducted under the three headings of lust of the flesh, lust of the eyes and pride of life (*Conf.*

* The older spelling of the name is used in the title in the interest of assonance.

¹) See Leo C. Ferrari, «Symbols of Sinfulness in Book II of Augustine's *Confessions*», *Augustinian Studies* 2 (1971) 93-104. For a much more general treatment of Augustine's feeling of culpability in the *Confessions* the reader is referred to Peter Schäfer, *Das Schuldbewusstsein in den Confessiones des heiligen Augustinus* (Würzburg, 1930).

²) Vinzenz Buchheit, «Augustinus unter dem Feigenbaum (zu *Conf.* VIII)», *Vigiliae Christianae* 22 (1968) 257-271.

X, xxx-xli)³). Of these, the first receives the greatest amount of attention. Under the heading of lust of the flesh, Augustine examines temptations arising from the various senses of the body. First to come under consideration is the sense of touch, from which arise sexual temptations. Here, Augustine makes the surprising statement that he is no longer troubled by such temptations, except in his dreams. (*Conf.* X, xxx, 41 and 42). This seems to illustrate yet again, the power of the experience which he underwent in the garden-scene of the eight book, where he rejected all forms of sexual indulgence.

Next, Augustine examines the temptations arising from the sense of taste. From his pained and lengthy considerations, it is obvious that he was much preoccupied with the power of that sense to lead to excesses at the table. (*Conf.* X, xxxi, 43-47). Furthermore, as he openly confesses (*Ibid.*, paragraph 45), he was never troubled by drunkenness, so that his concern focuses clearly on his temptations to over-indulge in food and drink. This domain would therefore appear to be the proper subject of the present study.

Such temptations were so painfully present to Augustine because he was not able to renounce food once and for all, as he was able to do with sex (*Ibid.*, paragraph 47). Consequently, at the time of writing the *Confessions* he was still engaged in a daily struggle against his longing for food and drink. Indeed, so violent was that struggle that it finds repeated expression in his anguished self-examination- «adversus istam suavitatem pugno ne capiar» (para. 43); «his tentationibus quotidie conor resistere» (para 44) and «in his ergo tentationibus positus, certo quotidie [pugno] adversus concupiscentiam manducandi et bibendi» (para. 47).

In view of the previous considerations, it is surprising, to say the least, that the struggle does not figure more prominently in the preceding pages of the story of Augustine's conversion. Part of the reason for this omission would seem to be that gluttony became an issue only *after* Augustine's conversion, when he was farther advanced along the way of perfection⁴). Moreover, as I have explained elsewhere⁵), food does

³) «Concupiscentia carnis, concupiscentia oculorum, et ambitio saeculi» — the division is from I John 2.16.

⁴) Though the prohibition against drunkenness and gluttony was already present (and indeed in the very first words) in the text of Romans 13.13, to the reading of which Augustine attributes his conversion (*Conf.* VIII, xii, 29). This point will be considered later on in the present article.

⁵) Leo C. Ferrari, «The Food of Truth in Augustine's Confessions», *Augustinian Studies* 9 (1978), (in press).

indeed figure most prominently in the *Confessions*, though on a literary and even spiritual level.

Returning to Augustine's self-examination, this is conducted with careful analysis (manifesting the importance he imputed to it) and with a severity which would surprise the modern reader. Thus he observes of his own act of eating:

During the time that I am passing from the uneasiness of want to the calmness of satiety, even in the very passage doth that snare of concupiscence [*laqueus concupiscentiae*] lie in wait for me. For the very passage itself is pleasure, nor is there any other way of passing whither, whither necessity compels us to pass⁶).

As he proceeds further to explain, the result all too easily is that what should be done only for nourishment is done rather for pleasure. In order to preclude such an eventuality, he strives constantly to regard food merely as medicine (para. 44). This stratagem however still does not solve the problem of exactly where to draw the line between excess and defect; a problem which is implicitly acknowledged as unsolved when he concludes his initial analysis, by alluding to the very same problem with the words: «as yet I have no resolve in this matter» (para 44).

There follow next, two paragraphs (45 and 46) which are concerned with comments on passages from the Scriptures rather than with Augustine's personal struggles against gluttony. The interjection of these two paragraphs is ostensibly to buttress Augustine's attack on gluttony, by giving that attack a scriptural basis. Accordingly, considerations of those paragraphs will be postponed until after treating the concluding paragraph (para. 47) which resumes and concludes the subject of Augustine's personal struggles against gluttony.

In that concluding paragraph, having admitted that his longing for food and drink was not something which he could give up once and for all, as he had done with sex, Augustine at last formulates his policy in regard to the daily temptations arising from the sense of taste:

The bridle of the throat, therefore, is to be held in the mean of slackness and tightness. And who, O Lord, is he who is not in some degree carried away beyond the bounds of necessity?

This observation virtually concludes Augustine's stern self-examination of the temptations arising from the sense of taste.

⁶) *Conf.* X, xxxi, 44. Citations are from the Pilkington translation.

Going back now to the two paragraphs of biblical excerpts with comments, which paragraphs are purportedly interjected to buttress Augustine's condemnation of gluttony, some interesting features emerge on closer examination.

In the first place, Augustine remarks no less than five times on having heard the voice of God, or of one of his appointed ones, instructing him in the general context of food and drink. One is reminded of a similar episode involving the conjunction of the voice of God and the subject of food. The occasion was the vision which Peter had of the great sheet let down from heaven (*Acts* 10, 9-10). The voice of God commanded him to kill and eat of the great diversity of animals which the sheet contained. This is an episode which is featured on several occasions in Augustine's writings, but without particular significance for the present context.

What is of interest here is that the episode of Peter's vision concerned, not gluttony, but dispensation from the customary dietary laws of Judaism. This dietary aspect could well have been in the back of Augustine's mind when considering the subject of food. Such a suspicion is also reinforced by the prominence which Augustine gives to Paul's various statements on the irrelevance of various dietary considerations in the new dispensation⁷). Augustine follows these statements with examples of biblical personalities who were not polluted by the food that they ate; all of which is very interesting, but scarcely of direct relevance to the subject of gluttony which his self-examination is supposed to concern. It is noteworthy that running through many of the examples given by Augustine is what is implicitly a recurring denial that the eating of flesh meat defiles the eater.

Augustine's predominant interest in the dietary aspects of food is again brought home by yet another detail earlier in the scriptural citations. He cites *I Corinthians* 8, 8: «Neither if we eat, are we the better; neither if we eat not, we the worse». Of this he observes: «And by Thy favour have I heard this saying likewise, *which I have much delighted in (quam multum amavi)*»⁸). This remark of Augustine's becomes all the more significant when it is observed that Paul's advice which so much delighted him was in regard to the question of eating meat which had

⁷) Thus, in *Conf.* X, xxxi, 46, the following quotes from Paul are employed to the present end: *Romans* 14.20; *I Corinthians* 8.8; *Colossians* 2.16 and *Romans* 14.3.

⁸) *Conf.* X, xxxi, 45. Italics are added in the English extract.

been used in the worship of idols⁹). Further, it is noteworthy that Augustine returns to the same citation from Paul later on in the same paragraph. From this and the preceding observations one is left with the impression that during, or before the writing of the *Confessions*, Augustine had been much concerned with religiously sanctioned dietary laws. This will be the subject of subsequent considerations.

Turning next to those biblical citations used by Augustine to buttress his condemnation of gluttony, it is difficult, if not impossible to find one which deals explicitly with the subject of gluttony itself. The opening quote from *Luke* 21, 34 bears more upon drunkenness: «Non graventur corda vestra in crapula et ebrietate»¹⁰). The quote from *Ecclesiasticus* 18, 30 concerns the subject of concupiscence in general: «Post concupiscentias tuas non eas». (*Ibid.*) At least this receives attention from Augustine in several other places, besides the *Confessiones*, but without narrowing the meaning of «concupiscentiae» down to gluttony¹¹). A second quote from *Ecclesiasticus* (23, 6) does limit the concupiscences down to the region of the belly: «Aufer a me concupiscentias ventris». (*Ibid.*) However this is still not specific, since sexual concupiscence also comes under the same description.

At this point it is timely to ask whether the lack of apposite scriptural citations is entirely the fault of Augustine. To the best of my knowledge, gluttony is not dealt with explicitly and in isolation in the Bible. An unusual exception is *Proverbs* 23, 20: «Be not among winebibbers, or among gluttonous eaters of meat». However, this condemnation is not cited by Augustine in the present context. Nor does it seem to be featured at length anywhere else in his writings. As for the presence of gluttony elsewhere in the Bible, it generally seems to have an implied presence, or to be present as one item in a catalogue of vices. Augustine's beloved Apostle, Paul, provides good examples of both manners of presence and one would therefore expect to find these instances cited in the present context. Such however, does not prove to be the case. Thus, gluttony is implied in Paul's condemnation of those whose God is their belly (*Romans* 16, 18 and *Philippians* 3, 19), though sex would also come under the condemnation. However, neither passages are cited by Augustine in the present context, nor do they seem to be

⁹) I Corinthians 8, 8. Cf.: I Corinthians 8, 1, 4 and 7-13; 10, 21, 25 and 27-31; Colossians 2, 16 and Romans 14 throughout.

¹⁰) Luke 21, 34.

¹¹) *Sermo CLI*, 3, 3; *Sermo CLIV*, 6, 8; *Sermo CLV*, 9, 9; *Sermo CCX*, 9, 11, etc...

featured prominently elsewhere in his works. Paul also provides an example of gluttony being present in a list of vices, with his listing of the works of the flesh in *Galatians* 5, 19-21. Again however, this is not featured in the present context, nor is it the subject of extensive considerations elsewhere in Augustine's writings.

One is therefore left with the impression that Augustine's use of scriptural citations in the context of *Conf.* X, xxxi, 45-46 is not specifically for purposes of buttressing his condemnation of gluttony. Judging by the citations, concupiscence in general is the subject of attack, rather than gluttony in particular. Further, as has been observed, a large proportion of the texts is concerned with the dietary aspect of eating; a fact which is particularly evident in paragraph 46 which contains more than a half-dozen references to the eating of meat. In that place Augustine seems anxious to prove that such eating of meat is not sinful, but is rather sanctioned by the various individual cases cited from the Scriptures. Further, as has been seen, that this dietary aspect was of personal importance to Augustine was clearly evidenced by his own words in regard to the dietary dispensations implied in *I Corinthians* 8, 8: «I have heard this saying likewise, which I have much delighted in». As to why Augustine introduced these extraneous dietary digressions into his self-examination in regard to gluttony, these strange digressions will be the subject of examination in subsequent pages.

Before proceeding to those considerations, it is instructive to observe how the previous pages point up a new element in the famous text from Paul, to the reading of which Augustine attributes his conversion (*Conf.* VIII, xii, 29). Taking up the volume of Paul in response to a heavenly command, Augustine was converted by the advice of the first passage upon which his eyes fell. The passage is from *Romans* 13, 13-14:

Not in rioting and drunkenness, not in chambering and wantonness, not in strife and envying; but put ye on the Lord Jesus Christ, and make not provision for the flesh, to fulfil the lusts thereof.

As Buchheit has well observed¹²), the preceding details have been concerned above all with depicting Augustine's struggle against sexual concupiscence. Consequently, the reader's attention tends to focus immediately on the reference to «chambering and wantonness» in the

¹²) *Art. cit.*

above extract. The very first words of the above passage, referring to wild parties and drunkenness (the Latin has it as: *Non in comessationibus et ebrietatibus*), tend to be passed over. In essence, this easily ignored detail is a prohibition against the twin excesses of gluttony and drunkenness. As Augustine confesses in the section of the *Confessions* which has been examined in the previous pages, it was precisely the prohibition expressed in these few words which was to cause him so much suffering in later life, for his longing for food and drink was not something which he could give up once and for all as he had done with sex (*Conf.* X, xxxi, 47).

Turning next to considerations of relevant details of Augustine's earlier life, the above-mentioned conversion was eventually a renunciation of the Manichean religion which had claimed his allegiance for some nine years, during his twenties. That exotic creed was much preoccupied with the denizens of the heavens and indeed worshipped the sun and moon as divine beings. Nevertheless, and in line with present considerations, the abovementioned preoccupation did not prevent Augustine from depicting his first encounter with that sect in gastronomic terms. Thus he says (*Conf.* III, vi, 10) of the teaching with which they wooed him:

And these [the teachings] were the dishes (*fercula*) on which to me, hungering for Thee (*mihi esurienti te*), they, instead of Thee, served up the sun and the moon, Thy beauteous works—but Thy works, not Thyself.

However, this alimentary allusion is not as incongruous as may at first sight appear. Interestingly enough, by a strange coincidence, besides their interest in the sun and the moon, the Manichees were also very preoccupied with dietary details. Thus, all flesh was forbidden as food because it was the polluted product of sexual intercourse¹³). The Manichees were therefore vegetarians. Again, even all vegetative foods were distinguished on the basis of their colour; the more lightly coloured, the holier they were thought to be¹⁴). In view of these considerations, Augustine's digressions about dietary details and the eating of flesh meat, during his treatise on gluttony, is a digression which becomes more understandable. Though he had renounced Manicheism some ten years

¹³) *De moribus Manichaeorum*, 15, 36-37 and 16, 49.

¹⁴) *Ibid.*, 16, 39. That the dietary exigencies of the Manichees were of lasting concern to Augustine is demonstrated by the gustatory metaphors with which he alludes to them in the *Confessions*. This topic is investigated in my article on the Food of Truth, to which reference has already been made (see footnote 5).

before writing the *Confessions* an abiding concern about religiously sanctioned diet seems still discernible in his treatise on gluttony¹⁵).

Nor did the attention of the Manichees confine itself to diet. It is noteworthy for present considerations that digestion itself played an exalted role in their system of redemption. As Augustine himself informs us, the Manichean «elect», or priestly members of the sect, could, by their very own digestive processes, play an important part in the liberation of the pieces of divinity entrapped in material things (*Conf.* III, x, 18). Moreover, Augustine confesses that he himself spent some nine years carting food to those «elect» so that «in the laboratory of their stomachs, they should make for us angels and gods, by whom we might be liberated» (*Conf.* IV, i, 1). His involvement in the alimentary aspects of that sect was not therefore merely an intellectual escapade, but very much a lived experience.

It is noteworthy here that the liberation of the divinity trapped in food by the chewing and digestion of the Manichean elect, throws some light upon one of his passages which seems to have puzzled even Augustine himself. The passage in question is from that part of the *On Christian Doctrine* Which was written about the same time as the *Confessions*. Augustine's puzzlement is expressed as follows:

And yet, I don't know why, I feel greater pleasure in contemplating holy men, when I view them as the teeth of the Church, tearing men away from their errors, and bringing them into the Church's body, with all their harshness softened down, just as if they had been torn off and masticated by the teeth¹⁶).

Returning next to the feeding of the Manichean elect, this was also spiritually beneficial to the providers of the food, as Augustine informs the reader when recounting the ritual. Through the prayers of the elect, there was effected the moral cleansing of the providers of the food. Again, on a more mundane level, the nourishing of the elect was undoubtedly an important criterion of the degree of commitment of each

¹⁵) This conclusion is strengthened by the observation that the very text from I Corinthians 8, 8 (as well as Pauline texts similar to it), is featured conspicuously in the anti-Manichean polemics of the preceding years. Similar to I Corinthians 8, 8 are the following texts from Paul: Romans 14 (throughout); Colossians 2, 16; I Corinthians 8, 1, 4, 7-13 and I Corinthians 10, 21, 25 and 27-31. These are cited, often at great length, in the following anti-Manichean treatises of the years prior to the *Confessions*: *De moribus ecclesiae catholicae et manichaeorum* 1, 33, 71; 2, 14, 33 and 34; *Contra Adimantum* 14, 1, 2, 3 and 15, 1 and 3 and *Contra Faustum* 6, 2 and 32, 9.

¹⁶) *On Christian Doctrine* 2, 6, 7.

individual believer. Therefore, for those who ambitiously sought promotion within the sect, this caring for the elect was a practice to be assiduously cultivated. In this regard, we have Augustine's own admission that he once had ambitions of rising to eminence in that religion. Thus, he says of his disillusionment upon meeting the long-awaited and famous Manichean, Faustus: «Caeterum conatus omnis meus, quo proficere in illa secta statueram, illo homine cognito prorsus intercidit». (*Conf.* V, vii, 13). One can reasonably conclude of Augustine's ambitions, that the feeding of the elect had been an important element (among others) in the realising of those aspirations.

Looked at in its crude essentials, what was basically involved in that particular aspect of Augustine's associations with the Manichees was the giving of food in the hope of obtaining favours. It is instructive to realise that this practice was not new to Augustine. He himself has supplied us with a significant detail from his earliest years—as a child he used to steal food at home to give such stolen victuals to other boys in order to induce them to play with him:

Pilferings I committed from my parents' cellar and table, either enslaved by gluttony, or that I might have something to give to boys who sold me their play, who, though they sold it, liked it as well as I. (*Conf.* I, xviii, 30).

Thus, it appears that even as a child, Augustine had become apprenticed in the power of food to win favours from others. The young mind would therefore see food as a means of controlling the actions of others. In the previous example, it was by the giving of food. But control could also be effected by withholding food, or by the threat of withholding the same. In this regard, we have an interesting incident from Augustine's adult life which would also be consistent with the apprenticeship he underwent as a child.

On the evidence of his friend and fellow-religious, Possidius, in later life Augustine had devised an ingenious method of preventing defamation of character among the members of his little religious community. He had the following advice carved into the table at which the members took their meals:

«Let he who takes pleasure in mauling the lives of the absent, Know his own is not such as to fit him to sit at this table¹⁷).

¹⁷) *The Life of Saint Augustine, Written by Bishop Possidius*, chapter 22.

Furthermore, this threat of exclusion from the communal table had a significant precedent in Augustine's own earlier life. At about the age of twenty-one, after several years of study at distant Carthage, he returned home, only to find himself excluded from the family table by his angered mother; Monica (*Conf.* III, xi, 19). According to Augustine's account, the chief reason for this exclusion was the fact that in his absence from home he had abandoned the christian faith of his childhood and joined the heretical Manichees. In addition, the thought occurs that Monica may well have been angered by the discovery of her son's mistress and their illegitimate offspring.

In any case, this episode of being excluded from the family table makes one wonder whether the use of food in rewarding and punishing children had been a regular feature of Augustine's childhood. If so, the intelligent child would tend to see the stealing of food as a means of circumventing the parental system of rewards and punishments. Accordingly, it is interesting to remark upon the presence of three accounts of the thievery of victuals in the *Confessions*. The most obvious one is the theft of pears about which Augustine berates himself at length (*Conf.* II, iv, 9 to x, 18). This occurred during his sixteenth year (*Conf.* II, ii, 4). Again, earlier in life he had been accustomed to steal food from the home supplies, with which to bribe other children, as has already been observed. This practice reminds one of a third episode, namely that of his mother Monica's own thievery from the family's larder when she was a little girl (*Conf.* IX, viii, 18), with the difference that it was question, not of food but of wine.

According to Augustine's interpretation of that tippling, were it not for the divinely inspired intervention of a family servant, the young Monica's habit of indulging herself would have led her on to a life of drunkenness. As it was, she was so cured that her habitual temperance in regard to wine became the subject of a eulogy in the earlier pages of the *Confessions* (*Conf.* VI, ii, 2). Apparently her son profited much by her example, for as has been noted, Augustine confesses to his readers that drunkenness was far from being one of his vices (*Conf.* X, xxxi, 45).

The *Confessions* hints at yet another and earlier source of this sobriety of mother and son. Apparently Monica was raised, not so much by her own mother as by an ancient woman-servant who had been with the family long enough to have carried Monica's father on her back when when he was a baby (*Conf.* XI, viii, 17). This crone of a servant used to prevent the children of the family from drinking water between

meals, no matter how parched they had become. According to Augustine, she did this with the express intention of training them for temperance in regard to wine, in later life (*Ibid.*).

As Augustine was to appreciate, one could not begin too early to curb the appetites of infants for food and drink. Indeed, his observance of the instinctive behaviour of mere suckling infants seems to have been one source of his important doctrine about the inherited perversity of the human will. Thus, he cites the experience of having seen an infant, so young as to be incapable of speech, becoming most angry that another babe was simultaneously drinking from the mother's other breast, even though there was a plentiful supply of milk for both babes (*Conf.* I, vii, 11). From witnessing such feeding episodes, Augustine seems to have concluded to the inherent malevolence of will even in mere infants: «In the weakness of the infant's limbs, and not in its will, lies its innocency». (*Ibid.*). Here, it would seem, lies one source of his doctrine about the inheritance of Original Sin. He came to see this as transmitted by the very act of sexual intercourse; a conclusion which seemed substantiated by the lines of Psalm 51: «Behold, I was brought forth in iniquity, and in sin did my mother conceive me». Accordingly Augustine says to God: «Before Thee none is free from sin, not even the infant which has lived but a day upon the earth». (*Ibid.*).

The previous pages have attempted to give some account of Augustine's heightened sensitivity to what can be described as the gustatory aspect of human experience. There remains one intense episode of his earliest years which involved both religion and his stomach and which may well have been one important basis for his later associations of the two:

Thou sawest, O Lord, how at one time, while yet a boy, being suddenly seized with pains in the stomach, and being at the point of death—Thou sawest, O my God, for even then Thou wast my keeper, with what emotion of mind and with what faith I solicited from the piety of my mother, and of Thy Church, the mother of us all, the baptism of Thy Christ, my Lord and my God. (*Conf.* I, xi, 17).

Significantly too, as Augustine goes on to inform the reader, preparations for the baptism were hardly begun when he suddenly recovered. The baptism was deferred and indeed it was not until the age of thirty-three that Augustine received the sacrament.

Summarizing then, the preceding speculations have attempted to throw some light upon the strange combination of considerations found under the topic of gluttony in *Confessions* X, xxxi, 43-47. It may seem rather far-fetched to claim that Augustine's dietary digressions in that place were a hang-over from his Manichean days, but on the other hand, it is to be observed that his allusions to that sect in the *Confessions* abound in alimentary analogies. Finally, and again by way of speculation, some of Augustine's earlier childhood experiences have been considered with a view to trying to understand better the general attitude of disquietude which he seems to manifest in regard to manducation.

While most of the evidence in the above study has been forthcoming from the pages of the *Confessions*, it is noteworthy that a cursory examination of his other works shows that his solicitude about gustatory experiences did not subsequently become an obsession. One criterion in this regard, is his attitude to fasting, which does not receive excessive emphasis. The subject does come under detailed consideration in *Epistola XXXVI* of 396, and therefore composed at about the same time as the *Confessions*. However, it is to be observed that the aim of Augustine in that letter was to answer tedious points raised by a treatise sent to him by a presbyter, Casulanus. In addition to the lengthy treatise, a very brief work of Augustine's: *On the Usefulness of Fasting* (*De utilitate jejunii*) is also extant. The date of composition is unknown. Finally, looking at Augustine's surviving sermons, with the exception of *Sermo CCX*, which treats of fasting at some length, the subject comes under brief consideration in only about half a dozen other sermons¹⁸).

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¹⁸) R. Arbesmann, «Fasting and Prophecy in Pagan and Christian Antiquity», *Traditio* 7 (1949-51) 1-71; F. Cremer, «Der Beitrag Augustins zur Auslegung des Fastenstreitgesprächs (Mk 2, 18-22 parr.) und der Einfluss seiner Exegese auf die Mittelalterliche Theologie», *Recherches Augustiniennes* 8 (1972) 301-373; L. Verheijen, «Eléments d'un Commentaire de la Règle de saint Augustin», *Augustiniana* 21 (1971) 5-23, 357-404.