

Manichaeism and Its Legacy

Nag Hammadi and Manichaean Studies

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Manichaeism and Its Legacy

by

J. Kevin Coyle



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To all my brothers and sisters and our beloved parents
John Valois and Geraldine-Marie.

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3. "A Clash of Portraits: Contrasts between Archelaus and Mani in the *Acta Archelai*" (J. BeDuhn and P. Mirecki, eds., *Frontiers of Faith: The Christian Encounter with Manichaeism in the Acts of Archelaus* [NHMS, 61], Leiden and Boston: E. J. Brill, 2007, 67–76).
4. "The Idea of the 'Good' in Manichaeism" (R. E. Emmerick, W. Sundermann and P. Zieme, eds., *Studia Manichaica: IV. Internationaler Kongress zum Manichäismus, Berlin, 14.–18. Juli 1997* [Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Berichte und Abhandlungen, Sonderband 4], Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2000, 124–37).
5. "Good Tree, Bad Tree: The Matthean/Lukan Paradigm in Manichaeism and Its Opponents" (L. Di Tomasso and L. Turcescu, eds., *The Reception and Interpretation of the Bible in Late Antiquity: Proceedings of the Montreal Colloquium in Honour of Charles Kannengiesser, 11–13 October 2006* [The Bible in Ancient Christianity, 6], Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2008, 121–44).
6. "Hands and Imposition of Hands in Manichaeism" (A. Kessler, T. Ricklin and G. Wurst, eds., *Peregrina Curiositas: Eine Reise durch den orbis antiquus. Zu Ehren von Dirk van Damme* [Novum Testamentum et Orbis Antiquus, 27], Fribourg: Universitätsverlag/ Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1994, 181–90).
7. "Healing and the 'Physician' in Manichaeism" (J. K. Coyle and S. C. Muir, eds., *Healing in Religion and Society from Hippocrates to the Puritans: Selected Studies* [Studies in Religion and Society, 43], Lewiston-Queenston-Lampeter: Edwin Mellen Press, 1999, 135–58).
8. "The Gospel of Thomas in Manichaeism?" (L. Painchaud and P.-H. Poirier, eds., *Colloque international «L'Évangile selon Thomas et les textes de Nag Hammadi», Québec, 29–31 mai 2003* [Bibliothèque copte de Nag Hammadi, Section « Études », 8], Quebec: Les Presses de l'Université Laval / Leuven and Paris: Éd. Peeters, 2007, 75–91).

9. "Prolegomena to a Study of Women in Manichaeism" (P. Mirecki and J. BeDuhn, eds., *The Light and the Darkness: Studies in Manichaeism and Its World* [NHMS, 50], Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2001, 79–92).
10. "Mary Magdalene in Manichaeism?" (*Le Muséon* 104 [1991]: 39–55).
11. "Rethinking the 'Marys' of Manichaeism" (originally "Twelve Years Later: Revisiting the 'Marys' of Manichaeism," in D. Good, ed., *Mariam, the Magdalen, and the Mother*, Bloomington and Indianapolis: University of Indiana Press, 2005, 197–211).
12. "Women and Manichaeism's Mission to the Roman Empire" (*Mission* 13 [2006]: 43–61).
13. "Augustin et le manichéisme" (*Connaissance des Pères de l'Église*, no. 83 [2001]: 45–55).
14. "De moribus ecclesiae catholicae: Augustin chrétien à Rome" (J. K. Coyle et al., «*De moribus ecclesiae catholicae et de moribus Manichaeorum*; «*De quantitate animae*» [*Lectio Augustini*, 7], Palermo: Edizioni 'Augustinus,' 1991, 13–57).
15. "What Did Augustine Know about Manichaeism When He Wrote His Two Treatises *De moribus*?" (J. van Oort, O. Wermelinger and G. Wurst, eds., *Augustine and Manichaeism in the Latin West: Proceedings of the Fribourg-Utrecht International Symposium of the International Association of Manichaean Studies* [NHMS, 49], Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2001, 43–56).
16. "God's Place in Augustine's Anti-Manichaean Polemic" (*AugSt* 38 [2007]: 87–102).
17. "Augustine and Manichaeism on Contraception" (translation and revision of "Agustín, el maniqueísmo y la contracepción," *Avgvstinvs* 44 [1999]: 89–97).
18. "Revisiting the Adversary in Augustine's *Contra aduersarium legis et prophetarum*" (M. F. Wiles and E. J. Yarnold, eds., *Studia Patristica 38: Papers presented at the Thirteenth International Conference on Patristic Studies held in Oxford 1999*, Leuven: Peeters, 2001, 56–63).
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J. Kevin Coyle

INTRODUCTION

This volume reproduces chapters and articles that first saw light in diverse learned journals and conference proceedings published between 1991 through 2008. They address Manichaeism, the religion founded by and named after Mani in the third century CE; and they discuss its contacts with Augustine of Hippo, its most famous convert and also its best-known adversary. Details on Manichaeism and its founder will be found dispersed through the volume's contents. Briefly, however, and for introductory purposes, the salient points are these:¹

Manichaeism² is named after its founder, Mani. He was born in Mesopotamia (now Iraq, but then under Persian control) in 216. Gradually, he became convinced that previous revelations from God, especially to Buddha, Zoroaster and Jesus, had been authentic but incomplete; it was Mani who was to bring divine revelation in full to the world. This conviction led him to establish a movement he called “the Religion of Light”. Persia’s king had him executed in 274 or 277. By then he had sent out missionaries, at least one of whom reached Egypt, whence the religion spread into northwest Africa. Eventually, Manichaeism stretched across the Roman Empire, where traces remained in the 6th century, and advanced eastward as far as China’s Pacific coast, where it endured until the 17th century. In Roman territory, Manichaeism

¹ For a longer but still succinct account of Manichaean doctrine, see J. K. Coyle, “Mani, Manichaeism,” in A. D. Fitzgerald, ed., *Augustine through the Ages: an Encyclopedia* (Grand Rapids, Mich. and Cambridge, U.K.: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1999), 520–25. For a more detailed presentation see S. N. C. Lieu, *Manichaeism in the Later Roman Empire and Medieval China: A Historical Survey* (WUZNT, 63), 2nd ed., Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1992, 7–32; and I. Gardner and S. N. C. Lieu, *Manichaean Texts from the Roman Empire*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004, 8–21.

² Only detractors and students of Manichaeism have called it such, a possible exception being the Roman Manichaean Secundinus who, in a letter to Augustine of Hippo, accuses the latter of never having been a true *Manichaeus*: see *Secundini Manichaei ad sanctum Augustinum epistula* (CSEL 25/2, p. 895.17–18). The usual way for Manichaeans in the empire to refer to their movement seems to have been as “the Church.” See e.g., Evodius, *De fide contra Manichaeos* 5, quoting Mani’s Treasure (CSEL 25/2, p. 953.2–3): “...sanctam ecclesiam atque electos in eadem constitutos...” See also S. Clackson, E. Hunter, and S. N. C. Lieu, *Dictionary of Manichaean Texts 1 (Texts from the Roman Empire)* (CFM, Subsidia 2), Turnhout: Brepols, 1998, 220, s.v. “church.”

soon encountered opposition from successive governments, starting with Diocletian (284–305).

Mani's system is based on a fundamental question—Why does evil exist?—and on its solution, both anchored in a cosmogony, that is, an explanation of the origin of the present world. This cosmogony describes three moments or phases—the original separated existence of good (synonymous with spirit and light) from evil (identified with matter and darkness); their current intermingled state; and the ultimate return of good and evil to their separate realms. In the first moment, two co-eternal principles exist in total separation from each other. One, all good, is God, the Father of Greatness, Light itself dwelling in a realm of light made up of this principle's substance. The other principle, Darkness, is intrinsically evil and disagreeable. Often called simply “Matter,” Darkness inhabits the realm of its own dark substance. Each realm is made up of five trees or elements. On three sides both realms stretch to infinity, but on their fourth side they touch each other. From eternity the two principles have been completely apart; but the second (or middle) moment begins when the evil principle rises to his border with light, which it sees, desires and attacks. In the ensuing war, particles of the divine light-substance are imprisoned in the darkness. To free the light from the darkness with which it has become entangled, God tricks the evil principle's demons into fashioning the visible universe out of the mixture. God then designs a celestial mechanism made up of the moon, sun and planets. These are to serve as collector stations for any light that might be released from its dark prison; in turn, they will pass that light back to its divine home, where it will re-attach to the principle of goodness. The material creation is thus an act of necessity, a means for the light-substance to recover what it has lost of itself.

As a counter-measure the evil principle causes two demons to mate, and their union produces Adam and Eve. The first human couple, therefore, far from being a creation of God, results from evil's initiative, and is intended to keep as much light trapped in the visible world as possible, chiefly by generating offspring. To offset this new tactic of Darkness, “Jesus” is sent from the light-realm to reveal to Adam and Eve knowledge (*gnosis*) of how to obtain salvation. Manichaeism proposed several beings labelled Jesus or Christ, although none of them could authentically be called a saviour, except as the bringer of saving knowledge; and the Jesus central to Christian orthodoxy was considered by Manichaeans a total charlatan, the devil in disguise. The

definitive revelation of how humankind could be saved was to come from Mani. It is for this reason that Mani's followers referred to him as the one in whom the Paraclete resides.

In the Manichaean perspective, each living being on earth is a microcosm of the primordial battle, for each contains both matter and light-substance. That is especially true of human beings who, paradoxically, are also meant to be the true instruments of salvation by removing themselves as far as possible from the consequences of this mixed condition and by actually bringing salvation about. Of course, not everyone responds to this divine calling, or is even aware of it. Manichaeans saw themselves as men and women who heard the call clearly and knew how to answer it. Those who responded unconditionally thereby became adherents of Manichaeism's inner circle—the Elect (perfect, or holy ones). They were the primary instruments for releasing light from its material prison, a sacred task achieved by eating and digesting certain prescribed foods. This is why they were required to practise a rigorous asceticism, consisting of three “seals” and five “commandments”. They were also obliged to frequent prayer and to break with family and all possessions, and so it was assumed that (at least in western forms of Manichaeism) the Elect would be perpetual wanderers. Since they could not even collect their own food, this task fell to the other main division of Manichaean membership, the Hearers (or catechumens), for whom looking after the needs of the elect was the primary religious duty. Hearers were subject to a less demanding code of behaviour: they could perform manual labour, own property and ‘kill’, that is, harvest and prepare the food they offered to the Elect. They had to observe fewer fasts and less frequent prayers, and could marry, though procreation was discouraged. The hope of Hearers was that, after faithful service, they might be reborn as Elect, and so become eligible to be both saviours and saved. For at death the Elect's destiny was to have his or her personal light-substance start on its journey back to the light-realm.

The end of creation and the cosmogony's third and final phase will come when as much light as possible has been released from darkness through the agency of the Elect. The physical universe will then disappear, and the evil principle and all its substance will be forced to withdraw into the dark realm, which will once more be completely separated from the light. But the restored order will not be exactly what it was at the beginning, for some of the light will remain entrapped in the darkness forever.

Manichaeism borrowed from other religious traditions, especially Christianity. But since Mani considered matter to be synonymous with evil, and saw the material creation as a work of necessity rather than of love, he reworked the creation accounts in *Genesis*. In addition, he rejected most of the Old Testament, as well as everything he considered to be ‘Jewish interpolations’ in the New Testament. Although Mani attributed a revelatory (albeit limited) status to what remained of the New Testament (especially Paul) after its ‘decontamination,’ and also employed some of the New Testament pseudepigrapha, Manichaeism’s primary sacred canon would always be the writings of its founder.

*

The first of this collection’s four parts contains three entries that bear on perceptions of Mani within the empire, perceptions that were almost unanimously negative. In fact, the first title, *Foreign and Insane*, just about sums up the view of both the founder and his creed by outsiders, who made polemical hay out of Manichaeism’s origins in Persia (Rome’s archenemy at the time) and the proximity of Mani’s name to “mania”. Emperor Diocletian already played on the former theme in a rescript against the movement at the beginning of the fourth century, and the pagan Alexander of Lycopolis exploited the latter by querying the rationality of Manichaean beliefs. Christian adversaries worked both themes, adding that Manichaeism was neither original nor Christian (as its adherents in the empire claimed). Toward the end of the fourth century, Roman legislation, now influenced by Christianity, exerted increasing pressure against Manichaeism and referred to its suspect behaviour. This polemical context helps us to read statements in surviving Manichaean works that seem to contain a *riposte* to these charges.

Hesitant and Ignorant and *A Clash of Portraits* spotlight the *Acts of Archelaus*, one of the earliest Christian anti-Manichaean writings. In the first of these two items, I view the portrayal of Mani by the *Acts*, and in the second I compare that depiction with the one the same source presents of the eponymous Archelaus. The first item notes the use of a discourse to describe Mani that had already been established in Christian anti-heretical literature; it also examines the author’s own verbal strategy in presenting both Mani and *his* discourse, all with the intention of demonstrating how to best Manichaeism in debates. In the second item, the discourses of both Mani and Archelaus are examined for their style and content, initially in the epistolary exchange between

Mani and Marcellus, and then in the first of two public debates between Mani and Archelaus. In the latter case, both participants employ a modicum of philosophical reasoning, but their real point of reference is Scripture, though with an approach that is far from exegetical. The ultimate goal of the *Acts of Archelaus*, it appears, is to cast Manichaean oratorical powers of persuasion in doubt.

* * *

The five entries in the second part look at select aspects of Manichaean thought, beginning with one of its seminal concepts—the ‘good,’ little treated by scholars, who seem to have been more interested in Manichaean ideas on ‘evil.’ *The Idea of the ‘Good’* contends that Manichaeans did not contemplate good or evil in the abstract, nor did they attribute qualitative or quantitative degrees to either; instead they thought of good and evil as absolute (primordial) states, or as mixed with each other. The problem with the latter, as Manichaeism’s opponents were quick to point out, is that good and evil, if mixed, were somehow mutually attracted, or at least evil was attracted to good. Good in the concrete would be what is aesthetically pleasing, that is, what reflects the presence of the divine light within it. Morally, acts are good insofar as they contribute to the release of light from its imprisonment in matter. But since all human beings are deemed mixtures of good and evil, the issue arises of responsibility for human acts. Manichaeans seem to have recognised the problem, but without solving it. The next entry (*Good Tree, Bad Tree*) develops a theme that is raised in the preceding. The ‘two trees,’ it turns out, were more than a metaphor for good and evil in Manichaean discourse: besides representing the presence of these opposites in the world, and especially in human beings, they were seen as the cosmogony in its primordial condition, and it is therefore not surprising that Manichaeism’s detractors were quick to seize on the paradigm.

Hands and Imposition of Hands moves to Manichaean liturgical practice. The term ‘hand’ (or ‘hands’) appears frequently in Manichaean documents, with the right hand holding special significance. Right hands were clasped in greeting (as elsewhere in the ancient world); but for Manichaeans this gesture evoked their cosmogonical myth, and it was the right hand that was imposed as a liturgical action, one also stemming from the cosmogony and essential for admitting qualified persons to the rank of Elect, as well as for mandating Elect to a position in the Manichaean hierarchy. The imposition of hands did not, it

would seem, play any part in healing rites among Manichaeans, since their view of the body did not include an interest in keeping the body alive. Yet healing there was, as *Healing and the ‘Physician’* shows. Mani himself is presented by Manichaeans as a healer, and this sometimes in a physical sense. Moreover, “healing” language may at times have applied to spiritual cures; but some Manichaean texts suggest that it also had the cure of bodily ills in view despite the Manichaean notion of the physical body’s demonic origins and the apparent repudiation of medical treatment. This seeming paradox is resolved if we remember that the bodies of the Elect were seen as vehicles of salvation, that is, of release of divine light from matter. It would have been desirable, therefore, to keep those bodies at their salvific task for as long as possible: hence the prayers we sometimes run across for bodily as well as spiritual healing.

The final item in this section turns to a dual question much discussed since the discovery of Gnostic texts at Nag Hammadi in Egypt in 1945: Since we know that Manichaeism borrowed from other faith systems, do any of these texts show influences by or upon Manichaeism? and, since we know that Manichaeans availed themselves of biblical pseudepigrapha, is there evidence that they borrowed from or influenced Nag Hammadi’s *Gospel of Thomas*, a collection of sayings attributed to Jesus? This paper discusses possible Jesus-sayings that might be reflected in Manichaean texts, with the focus on three suggested by Wolf-Peter Funk. A comparison of these and other possible allusions to the *Gospel of Thomas* (as we have it) does not wholly support the latter as a direct source for those allusions. However, the *Gospel of Thomas* and Manichaean texts could have drawn from a common source; or the latter could have mined other collections of Jesus sayings.

* * *

The third section deals with a topic that is both important and neglected: the place of women in Manichaeism. The scholarly inattention is a curious oversight, given the place that Manichaeism seems to have set for female figures (and real women), and the attention that scholars have lavished on women in the Judaeo-Christian scriptures and in Gnostic movements. Thus it was *faute de mieux* that I authored *Prolegomena* in 2001: at the time there simply was no comparable study, though what I then wrote was brief and meant as a prelude to further studies. Yet, despite additional work since by Madeleine Scopello and Majella Franzmann, the assertion of this preliminary study still holds true: an

in-depth investigation of female figures (indeed, of the feminine) in Manichaeism still wants doing. *Prolegomena* attempts to define the parameters of that extended investigation, the hermeneutical considerations to be kept in mind when undertaking it, and where future investigative avenues may lie.

Next come two studies, separated by a dozen years, on whether the Mary Magdalene of the Christian gospels figured in Manichaean hagiography. This is no small task, given that references there to ‘Mary’ do not clearly refer to the same individual (any more than they do in the gospels, New Testament pseudepigrapha, or Gnostic texts). In the first study I look chiefly at the identity of various persons named Mary in the Coptic Manichaean psalter (of all extant Manichaean writings, the one where the name ‘Mary’ most often appears). There, at least, Mary of Magdala is (sometimes) unequivocally present, as the ideal believer entrusted with rallying the Eleven to Jesus—her primary task. In 2003 a conference in New York was the welcome occasion to revisit the ‘Mary’ question. *Rethinking the ‘Marys’* goes over my earlier assertions, then gives a summary of scholarship on the Magdalene figure that appeared in the interval, including reactions to my earlier study. In the later item I underscore that, whether or not allusions to ‘Marihamme’ in Manichaean Coptic texts refer to Mary of Magdala (or possibly Mary of Bethany), in no way could they refer to the New Testament’s Mary of Nazareth. The last article in this section concentrates on the role of women in spreading Manichaeism in Roman territory. Starting with a brief overview of Manichaeism, especially its spread from its birthplace into Roman territory, it goes on to present virtually everything we know to date about the place of women in that westward movement. It also discusses factors that might have drawn women to Manichaeism in the first place.

* * * *

Even the most cursory glance at this volume’s offerings reveals the generous attention it affords to the relationship between Manichaeism and Augustine of Hippo. In the first of the seven contributions to this section, *Augustin et le manichéisme*, I offer a short account of the Catholic Augustine’s first formal response to his former faith, mediated through the twin treatises *De moribus ecclesiae catholicae* and *De moribus Manichaeorum*. The following two items provide sharper focus to these treatises: *Augustin chrétien à Rome* examines the first in detail, noting how it was undertaken shortly after Augustine’s baptism

and while he was sojourning in Rome for a second time. In addition to information on the date and place of writing, this item discusses Augustine's motivation for writing the first treatise, before it moves to a detailed account of its content. There the neophyte Augustine presents the notion of God (as he understands it in those early post-baptismal days), the collaboration between faith and reason, the revelatory value of both biblical Testaments, the four cardinal virtues as the foundation for ethics, and the ascetical life. He does this to affirm what his Catholic readers should believe and practise, but also to prepare for the sister treatise, where he will attack Manichaeism (especially its practices) more directly.

But how much did Augustine really know of Manichaeism at this stage of his life? That is the subject of the next entry, which focuses on what Augustine knew while he was a Manichaeian rather than on what he might have gleaned after departing from the religion. As a Hearer, he would not have had access to all that was made available to the Elect; but he certainly knew the basic tenets of the Manichaeian religion as those were propagated in Roman Africa and Italy (especially the cosmogony and its corollary, the explanation of evil). No doubt he listened to readings—and possibly read—from works composed by Mani's followers, even from the New Testament. He knew of the Manichaeian predilection for Paul and “the gospel”, especially those passages that resonated with them (a knowledge he employed to advantage in the ‘*De moribus*’ treatises). He was also aware of Manichaeian explanations for those and other biblical passages, and of Manichaeian religious imagery. It may also have been through Manichaeism that Augustine first conceived the notion of a communal religious life.

The next three items in this section focus on aspects of the Augustinian anti-Manichaeian polemic. When confronting Manichaeism, Augustine's primary conceptual interest was not the meaning of evil, but the meaning of God and the delineation of the divine attributes: God as the sole uncreated, the sole unchanged and unchanging, and so on. This is demonstrated by showing the consistency of Augustine's presentation of God throughout his anti-Manichaeian writings. *Augustine and Manichaeism on Contraception* translates and expands a communication first presented in Oxford and subsequently published in Spanish. Looking over Augustine's references to contraception in his various Catholic works, I was struck by the consistency of his comments on it. His attack on the Hearers' practice of birth con-

trol (a practice Augustine had taken seriously in his Manichaean days) first appears in his *De moribus Manichaeorum*. The attack contains eleven points—a rather narrow band of arguments that are in the main classical and non-Christian, drawn as they are from Stoic philosophy, social theory, and (natural) law. Thus they neither originated with Augustine nor underwent significant change by him in the following years, as he returned to the theme from time to time. This suggests that Augustine's arguments against contraception must be used with caution in a Christian discourse, and with due regard for their anti-Manichaean context. In *Revisiting the Adversary*, another Oxford paper, I trace scholarly discussion on the opponent Augustine had in mind when he wrote *Contra aduersarium legis et prophetarum*. The work he sought to refute rejected the God of the Old Testament, as well as the Old Testament itself. Here I undertake to show that, though Augustine himself doubted that the writing in question had a Manichaean for an author, such a possibility is the best solution proposed so far to the question of the author's ideology, although the writer may have put his own "spin" on some aspects of the Manichaean outlook he was trying to promote.

Finally, *Saint Augustine's Manichaean Legacy* (the Saint Augustine Lecture at Villanova University for 2000) points out that an understanding of Augustine is enhanced by knowledge of Manichaeism and of Augustine's involvement with it, as both adherent and opponent. This entry offers, once again, a brief outline of Mani's religion, and of Augustine's own knowledge and attachment to it before finally abandoning it after a decade or so. It also reviews the elements Augustine carried with him into his new (or renewed) faith, Catholic Christianity, before it broaches the issue of whether he ever ceased to be a Manichaean (as some contend, citing, for instance, his stance on the 'two cities,' aspects of his anthropology, his attitude toward sexuality, approach to theological debate, concern with explaining the creation account in *Genesis* 1, and notions on predestination. The least that can be said is that Manichaeism formed for Augustine the conscious foil against which he measured his Christian orthodoxy, affecting the choice of the themes he worked with and of how he dealt with them. Augustine without Manichaeism would have been a Catholic thinker of a somewhat different stamp.

As closely as possible, these nineteen articles reproduce their originals, with adjustments for cross-referencing, newer editions, and the

like (including the addition of footnotes to *Foreign and Insane* and *Healing* due to a change from the social sciences referencing system). It is my hope that bringing these articles together will help make them accessible to a new readership among those who follow the fortunes of Mani's religion in the Roman Empire and/or the 'Manichaean' aspects of Augustine of Hippo.

J. Kevin Coyle

Ottawa, April 25, 2009

ABBREVIATIONS

PATRISTIC COLLECTIONS

CCL	Corpus Christianorum, series Latina
CSCO	Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium
CSEL	Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum
GCS	Die griechische christliche Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte
PG	Patrologiae Cursus Completus, series graeca
PL	Patrologiae Cursus Completus, series latina
PLS	Patrologia, series latina, supplementum
PO	Patrologia Orientalis

MODERN SERIES

AA	Acta Archelai (Acts of Archelaus)
AI	Acta Iranica
AL	C. Mayer, ed., <i>Augustinus-Lexikon</i>
AM	<i>Augustinus Magister: Congrès international augustiniens, Paris, 21–24 septembre 1954</i> , 3 vols., Paris: Études Augustiniennes, 1955
APAW	Abhandlungen der (up to 1918: Königlich) Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Philosophisch-historische Klasse
ARWAW	Abhandlungen der rheinisch-westfälischen Akademie der Wissenschaften
AZR	Arbeitsmaterialien zur Religionsgeschichte
BA	Bibliothèque Augustinienne
BT	Berliner Turfantexte
CFM	Corpus Fontium Manichaeorum
CMC	Cologne Mani Codex
EPRO	Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'Empire romain
HR	Homo Religiosus
LSAAR	Lund Studies in African and Asian Religions

MA	<i>Miscellanea Agostiniana</i> 2, Rome: Tipografia Poliglotta Vaticana, 1931
MHSCB	Manichäische Handschriften der Sammlung A. Chester Beatty
MHSMB	Manichäische Handschriften der Staatlichen Museen Berlin
MMCBC	Manichaean Manuscripts in the Chester Beatty Collection
MS	Manichaean Studies
NHMS	Nag Hammadi and Manichaean Studies
NHS	Nag Hammadi Studies
RGRW	Religions in the Graeco-Roman World
SEA	Studia Ephemeridis Augustinianum
SHR	Studies in the History of Religions
SOR	Studies in Oriental Religions
SP	Studia Patristica
SPA W	Sitzungsberichte der (up to 1918: Königlich) Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Philosophisch-historische Klasse
SVC	Supplements to <i>Vigiliae Christianae</i>
TU	Texte und Untersuchungen
WDF	Wege der Forschung
WUZNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament

JOURNALS

Aug	Augustiniana
Aug (R)	Augustinianum
AugSt	Augustinian Studies
JTS	Journal of Theological Studies
REA	Revue des Études Augustiniennes
RechAug	Recherches Augustiniennes
VC	<i>Vigiliae Christianae</i>
ZNW	Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft

OTHER

c. column(s) *ed.* edited, editor(s) *repr.* reprint(ed)
trans. translation (by)

PART ONE

MANI

CHAPTER ONE

FOREIGN AND INSANE: LABELLING MANICHAEISM IN THE ROMAN EMPIRE

The labels groups give to themselves (*ab intra*) are obviously meant to express self-identity; those bestowed on them by others (*ab extra*) express observations or seek to impose a conflicting identity. Three factors are thus at work when a religious group is labelled: the motive behind the labelling (*ab intra* or *ab extra*); the context of an *ab extra* discourse that is always descriptive and may be polemical; and the context of an *ab intra* discourse that has either triggered the polemic/description or is a defence (counter-discourse) against perceived polemics.

This article will focus on two labels applied by polemical discourse to Manichaeism,¹ a religion in serious competition with Christianity in Late Antiquity. The article will chart the progression of these and some related labels touching on Manichaeism's Western manifestations (i.e., within the Roman Empire), from their entry into the empire to the disappearance of the empire's Western part in 476. What discourse, then, was employed to identify Manichaeism *ab extra*, and how did that discourse relate to Manichaeans' *ab intra* expressions of their religious identity?

‘MANICHAEAN’

It is useful to first consider that ‘Manichaean’ was not a descriptor Manichaeans readily applied to themselves—and with good reason. Early in the 5th century C.E. Mark the Deacon claimed that the term ‘Manichaean’ derived from the name of the movement’s eponymous founder Mani.² Before Mark, the Syrian Ephrem (d. 373) maintained

¹ For details on Manichaeism see S. N. C. Lieu, *Manichaeism in the Later Roman Empire and Medieval China*, 2nd ed. (WUZNT, 63), Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1992 (1985).

² *Life of Porphyry of Gaza* 91.

that Mani had actually bestowed the name on his followers.³ One would expect to find these affirmations, if historically accurate, echoed in Manichaean literature, but they are not: Manichaeans almost never described themselves as such. The single unequivocal exception to this is in the letter (*ca.* 404) of the Manichaean who told Augustine of Hippo that “I thought, and it is certainly the case, that you were never a Manichaean.”⁴ Allusions to *Manichaios* in the Coptic Manichaean *Kephalaia*⁵ really signify ‘Mani’ or ‘of Mani’ since, as found there, they could mean either Mani or his followers.⁶ But even if the term ‘Manichaean’ had originated with Mani, two factors would have militated against Manichaeans using it as a self-descriptor within the Roman Empire: (1) the foreign origin polemicists ascribed to it and (2) the etymology they proposed for it.

‘MANICHAEAN’ = ‘PERSIAN’

The ascription of ‘foreignness’ to Mani was an early by-product of *ab extra* hostility.⁷ Conceived and fashioned near Babylon, a region controlled by Rome’s archenemy Persia, Mani’s religion had burst into Roman territory before the end of the 3rd century C.E. At the end of that century Emperor Diocletian addressed a rescript (*De maleficiis et Manichaeis*) to the proconsul of Africa,⁸ in which he declared:

³ *Hymns against Heresies* 56.1–2, in E. Beck, *Des heiligen Ephraem des Syrers Hymnen contra haereses*, Leuven: Imprimerie Orientaliste, 1957, 199 (CSCO 169) and 178 (CSCO 170).

⁴ *Letter of Secundinus*, in CSEL 25/2, 895: “uisus enim mihi es—et pro certo sic est—et numquam fuisse manichaeum.” Trans. R. Teske, *The Manichean Debate* (The Works of Saint Augustine: A Translation for the 21st Century, 1/19), Hyde Park, NY: New City Press, 2006, 358.

⁵ H. Ibscher, H. J. Polotsky and A. Böhlig, *Kephalaia: 1. Hälfte (Lieferung 1–10)* (MHSMB 1). Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1940, p. 100; A. Böhlig, *Kephalaia: 2. Hälfte (Lieferung 11–1, Seite 244–291)*. (MHSMB 1), Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1978, p. 271.

⁶ See I. Gardner, *The Kephalaia of the Teacher: The Edited Coptic Manichaean Texts in Translation with Commentary* (NHMS, 37), Leiden—New York—Köln: E. J. Brill, 1995, 278 n.

⁷ I. Gardner, “Personal letters from the Manichaean community at Kellis,” in L. Cirillo and A. van Tongerloo, eds., *Atti del Terzo Congresso Internazionale di studio “Manicheismo e Oriente Cristiano Antico” Arvacata-di Rende-Amantea, 31 agosto–5 settembre 1993* (MS, 3), Turnhout: Brepols, 1997, 89.

⁸ Traditionally, scholarship—e.g., P. Beskow, “The Theodosian laws against Manichaeism,” in P. Bryder, ed., *Manichaean Studies: Proceedings of the First International Conference on Manichaean Studies, August 5–9, 1987, Department of History of Religions, Lund University, Sweden* (LSAAR, 1), Lund: Plus Ultra, 1988, 6; L. J. Van

We have heard that the Manichaeans [...] have set up new and hitherto unheard-of sects in opposition to the older creeds so that they might cast out the doctrines youschafed to us in the past by the divine favour for the benefit of their own depraved doctrine. They have sprung forth very recently like new and unexpected monstrosities among the race of the Persians—a nation still hostile to us—and have made their way into our empire, where they are committing many outrages, disturbing the tranquillity of the people and even inflicting grave damage to the civic communities. We have cause to fear that with the passage of time they will endeavour, as usually happens, to infect the modest and tranquil Roman people of an innocent nature with the damnable customs and perverse laws of the Persians as with the poison of a malignant (serpent).⁹

This “first evidence of the official reaction to the spread of Manichaeism”¹⁰ twice identifies Mani’s movement as coming out of Persia. If Lieu’s remark that “the Persian connection was stressed in the rescript because it made the sect sound more foreign and dangerous” is accurate,¹¹ it applies only to this particular legislation, for being ‘Persian’ did not factor in later anti-Manichaeian laws. However, the label was to enjoy a long life in polemics. In the socio-political climate of Late Antiquity, the charge of being ‘Persian’ was tailor-made for the refutation of the Manichaeian phenomenon: it was a “[s]tandard polemical formula intended to make Mani appear both foreign and uncultured.”¹²

der Lof, “Mani as the danger from Persia in the Roman Empire,” Aug 24 (1974): 75, 83–4—has dated the rescript to March 31, 297. A more recent consensus—F. Decret, *L’Afrique manichéenne (IV^e–V^e siècles): Étude historique et doctrinale*, Paris: Études Augustiniennes, 1978, 162–64; Lieu, *Manichaeism*, 121; *Idem*, “Some themes in later Roman anti-Manichaeian polemics,” in *Idem, Manichaeism in Mesopotamia and the Roman East* (RGRW, 118), Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1994, 157; *Idem*, “The Self-identity of the Manichaeans in the Roman East,” *Mediterranean Archaeology* 11 (1998): 205—places it in 302.

⁹ Lieu, *Manichaeism*, 121–22, who also provides the Latin text (122 n. 4): “De quibus sollertia tua serenitati nostrae retulit, Manichaei, audiuiimus eos nuperimme ueluti noua et inopinata prodigia in hunc mundum de Persica aduersaria nobis gente progressa uel orta esse et multa facinora ibi committere, populos namque quietos perturbare nec non et ciuitatibus maxima detrimenta inserere: et uerendum est, ne forte, ut fieri adsolet, accidenti tempore conentur per execrandas consuetudines et scaeuas leges Persarum innocentioris naturae homines, Romanam gentem modestam atque tranquillam et uniuersum orbem nostrum ueluti uenenis de suis maliuolis inficere.”

¹⁰ Van der Lof, “Mani”: 75.

¹¹ Lieu, *Manichaeism*, 122.

¹² S. N. C. Lieu, in M. Vermes, *Hegemonius, Acta Archelai (Acts of Archelaus)*. Translated by M. Vermes, with introduction and commentary by S. N. C. Lieu, with

In *Against the Teachings of Mani*, a treatise he wrote in Egypt at about the same time as the rescript, the non-Christian Alexander of Lycopolis repeated (or, depending on the exact date of his work,¹³ anticipated) the imperial rhetoric by also pointing out that Mani had come out of Persia.¹⁴ That observation was then taken over by Christian anti-Manichaean literature. The erstwhile Manichaean Augustine of Hippo (d. 430) habitually recalled Manichaeism's 'Persian' roots.¹⁵ The framework of the *Acts of Archelaus* (AA), attributed to one Hegemonius and likely composed in the second quarter of the 4th century C.E.,¹⁶ is an encounter alleged to have occurred in the third quarter of the previous century between Mani and Archelaus, bishop of 'Carchar,' a Roman town situated on the border with Persia.¹⁷ If, as seems likely, these *Acts* were composed in Greek, they also circulated in Coptic (and possibly Syriac), as well as in the Latin version in which they have come down to us complete.¹⁸ This suggests the extent to which the work influenced Christian polemic, particularly in its 'biographical' details on Mani,¹⁹ including the following description:

He wore a kind of shoe which is generally known as the 'trisolium', and a multi-coloured cloak, of a somewhat ethereal appearance, while in his

the assistance of K. Kaatz (MS, 4), Turnhout: Brepols, 2001, 105 n. 211; see Beskow, "The Theodosian Laws," 7.

¹³ A. Villey, *Alexandre de Lycopolis, Contre la doctrine de Mani* (Sources gnostiques et manichéennes, 2), Paris: Cerf, 1985, 22, dates Alexander of Lycopolis' writing between 277 and 297, though A. Brinkmann, *Alexandri Lycopolitani contra Manichaei opiniones disputatio*, Leipzig: Teubner, 1895, xiv, refers only to a date "minus exeunte saeculo tertio, priore certe quarti parte."

¹⁴ Alexander of Lyc., *Against the Teachings of Mani* 2, in Brinkmann, *Alexandri Lycopolitani*, 4.

¹⁵ Aug., *De utilitate credendi* 18.36; *Contra Faustum* XII,45, XIII,2, and XXVIII, 4; *Contra Secundinum Manichaeum* 2; *De haeresibus* 46.1.

¹⁶ S. N. C. Lieu, "Fact and Fiction in the *Acta Archelai*," in *Idem, Manichaeism in Mesopotamia*, 136; revised from Bryder, ed., *Manichaean Studies*, 73; *Idem* in Vermes, *Hegemonius*, 6; M. Scopello, "Vérités et contre-vérités: la vie de Mani selon les *Acta Archelai*," *Apocrypha* 6 (1995): 204; *Eadem*, "Hégémonius, les *Acta Archelai* et l'histoire de la controverse antimanchéenne," in R. E. Emmerick, W. Sundermann, and P. Zieme, eds., *Studia Manichaica: IV. Internationaler Kongreß zum Manichäismus, Berlin, 14.–18. Juli 1997* (Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Berichte und Abhandlungen, Sonderband 4), Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2000, 532.

¹⁷ See Lieu, "Fact and Fiction," 140–46 (1988: 76–81); *Idem* in Vermes, *Hegemonius*, 16–23; Scopello, "Hégémonius," 534–35.

¹⁸ Lieu, "Fact and Fiction," 137–40 (1988: 74–6); *Idem, Manichaeism*, 128–29; *Idem* in Vermes, *Hegemonius*, 12–3).

¹⁹ Scopello, "Vérités": 204; *Eadem*, "Hégémonius," 531 and 541–44.

hand he held a very strong staff made of ebony-wood. He carried a Babylonian book under his left arm, and he had covered his legs with trousers of different colours, one of them scarlet, the other coloured leek-green. His appearance was like that of an old Persian magician or warlord.²⁰

This depiction of Mani's "weird appearance"²¹ was meant to emphasize that he (and his religion) came from beyond the Greco-Roman world:²² he wore an unusual ensemble and looked like a "Persian magician or warlord." The depiction had the desired effect: Mani's opponent Archelaus "was inwardly eager to launch an attack on Manes because of his costume and appearance."²³ The 'warlord' simile speaks for itself—the threat of military clashes with Persians was always real in the border area, and the writer of the *Acts* was exploiting the anti-Persian sentiment already seen in Diocletian and Alexander. Behind the label lies what Madeleine Scopello identifies as "L'effroi du perse barbare, l'ennemi par excellence du romain, [qui] ressort de cette première description de Mani."²⁴ Similarly, "the description of Mani as a magus-type figure is clearly intended to accentuate his connection with a still-hostile Persia."²⁵ It also infers that—in an expansion of Diocletian's association of *Manichaei* with *maleficii* (sorcerers)²⁶—he dabbled in the occult. Jason BeDuhn observes that "We can be just as confident that when examining Manichaean literature, we will find accusations and condemnations of magic aimed back the other way,

²⁰ 14.3, in Vermes, *Hegemonius*, 58; GCS 16, pp. 22.25–23.1: "[H]abebat enim calciamenti genus, quod trisolum vulgo appellari solet; pallum autem varium, tamquam aërina specie; in manu vero validissimum baculum tenebat ex lingo ebelino; Babylonum vero librum portabat sub sinistra ala; crura etiam bracis obtexerat colore diverso, quarum una rufa, alia velut prasini coloris erat; vultus vero ut semis Persae artifices et bellorum ducis videbatur."

²¹ Lieu, "Fact and Fiction," 134 (1988: 71); *Idem*, "The Self-identity": 207; *Idem* in Vermes, *Hegemonius*, 4.

²² R. Lim, "Manichaeans and Public Disputation in Late Antiquity," in *Idem, Public Disputation, Power, and Social Order in Late Antiquity* (The Transformation of the Classical Heritage, 23), Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995, 77, revised from RechAug 26 (1992): 241; Scopello, "Vérités": 205; *Eadem*, "Hégémonius," 537–38 and 545; van der Lof, "Mani": 79–80.

²³ 14.4, in Vermes, *Hegemonius*, 59; GCS 16, p. 23.3: "invehi in eum animo urgebatur ex ipso habitu et specie eius."

²⁴ Scopello, "Hégémonius," 538.

²⁵ Lieu in Vermes, *Hegemonius*, 58 n. 81.

²⁶ See Lieu, *Manichaeism*, 142.

and we do,”²⁷ for example, in the Coptic work known as *Kephalaina*.²⁸ BeDuhn thinks that when such accusations appear in Western Manichaean literature, they may be directed at “the notoriously persecutory Zoroastrian hierarchy.”²⁹ That is possible, but more striking is that when Manichaean sources speak of Magians they often associate them with Jews, as in two Coptic *Psalms*:

I have heard concerning you, O Magians, the priests of the fire, that you seized my God (Mani?) in your foul hands, impious men, mad and godless, the brothers of the Jews, the murderers of Christ.

Woe unto them, the children of fire; for they sinned against thy holy body. I was speaking of the Magians who looked upon thy blood. They loved the evil-genius of the Jews, the murderers of God.³⁰

In other words, if the Magians ever had a claim as a revealed religion, their legitimacy had been forfeited: they were now no better than Jews.³¹

²⁷ J. D. BeDuhn, “Magical Bowls and Manichaeism,” in M. Meyer and P. Mirecki, eds., *Ancient Magic and Ritual Power* (RGRW, 129), Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1995, 425.

²⁸ *Keph.* 6, in Ibscher *et al.*, *Kephalaina*, 1. *Hälften*, p. 31.17–28; trans. in Gardner, *The Kephalaina*, 35.

²⁹ BeDuhn, “Magical Bowls,” 425 n. 25. For its part, “Zoroastrian literature depicts the Manichaeans as the antithesis of Persian values, hating everything good, loving everything bad” (*op. cit.*, 422 n. 13).

³⁰ Psalms 225 and 241, in C. R. C. Allberry, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book, Book II* (MMCBC, 2), Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1938, pp. 15.9–12 (ἀϊσωτηε ἐτκετηηε Ἐηαγογσαιοс πογηв ἥт сете χε ατετπι6ап πаноуте շիиетпі6а εт ձաշme πасевнс етларе патноуте πсчнүг πиioγдaиoс πрeψuтre πiпxрc oтквoт πtдaц) and 43.15–20 (օցaи нeց πaփире πtсeтe χe аyրиахe агiek сѡиa εtouяaвe нeչeх eппaгoցaиoс петaյшaшт aхn пекенaц aгmepi тmпtвanшaй πpiioγдaиoс nиzatвe нoутe).

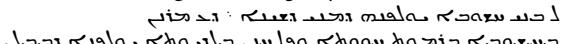
³¹ Jews are not often named as such in Manichaean sources, but attacks against the Old Testament may also be read as targeting the Jewish faith. In addition, New Testament allusions reveal both an appropriation of and tension with Christian frames of reference. See *Kephalaina* 1 (Ibscher *et al.*, *Kephalaina*, 1. *Hälften*, p. 12.26–32; trans. Gardner, *The Kephalaina*, 18): “He manifested to the world in the sect of the Jews.... Afterwards, the evil one awoke envy in the sect of the Jews. Satan went into Judas Iscariot, one among the twelve of Jesus. He accused him before the sect of the Jews.” See further examples in J. Lieu and S. N. C. Lieu, “Mani and the Magians (?): CMC 137–140,” in A. van Tongerloo and S. Giversen, eds., *Manichaica Selecta: Studies Presented to Professor Julien Ries on the Occasion of his Seventieth Birthday* (MS, 1), Leuven: International Association of Manichaean Studies, 1991, 213–15; repr. in Lieu, *Manichaeism in Mesopotamia*, 12–4. There seems to have been no explicitly anti-Manichaean polemic in Judaism, which, however, is replete with warnings against radical dualism. See H. W. Basser, “Allusions to Christian and Gnostic Practices in Talmudic Tradition,” *Journal for the Study of Judaism* 12 (1981): 87–105.

The AA compounds the suggestion of the occult when it says that Mani “carried a Babylonian book.” “You barbarian Persian,” says Archelaus to Mani, “you have been unable to gain knowledge of the Greek language, or the Egyptian, or the Roman, or any other language; but only that of the Chaldaeans.”³² Between 337 and 345, the Syrian Aphrahat inquired: “Who would give any reward to the ‘Sons of Darkness,’ the school of thought of that criminal Mani, who dwell in darkness like serpents and cultivate the arts of the Chaldaeans and the teaching of Babel?”³³

No Western Manichaean source carries the word ‘Chaldaean,’ and only once is Mani’s *Persian* connection acknowledged. This is in the letter to Augustine from Secundinus, who mentions it mainly to highlight ‘Phoenician’ (i.e., Augustine’s Punic) cultural inferiority: “The Persian whom you attacked will not be there. Apart from him who will console you as you weep? Who will save this Punic man?”³⁴ Mani as a ‘Babylonian’ was another matter, if it could be kept distinct from ‘Persian,’³⁵ as in the *Kephalaia*: “from the land of Persia I came to the land of Babylon.”³⁶ The Manichaean Coptic *Homilies* never refer to Mani as from Persia, but as “the great presbyter from the country of the great Babylon” and “the interpreter from the country of the great Babylon.”³⁷ BeDuhn has remarked that “Mani’s various titles place him as heir to the collective wisdom of Babylon,”³⁸ and he explains that in the face of opposition the Manichaeans had to choose between assimilation and emphasizing the exotic so as to “cultivate dread, play upon fear and insinuate power barely held in check. The Manichaeans did indeed accentuate their exotic character, not only by claiming

³² 40.5, in Vermes, *Hegemonius*, 105; GCS 16, p. 59.19–21: “Persa barbare, non Graecorum linguae, non Aegyptiorum, non Romanorum, non ullius alterius linguae scientiam habere potuisti; sed Chaldaeorum solam...”

³³ Aphrahat, *Third Demonstration, on Fasting* 9 (Patrologia Syriaca, 1/1, c. 116.13–16:



³⁴ Secundinus, *Epist. ad Augustinum* (CSEL 25/2, p. 896.7–9): “Persa, quem incusasti, non aderit, hoc except quis te flentem consolabitur? quis Punicum saluabit?” Trans. Teske, *The Manichean Debate*, 359.

³⁵ See BeDuhn, “Magical Bowls,” 421.

³⁶ Keph. 1, in Ibscher et al., *Kephalaia*, 1. *Hälften*, p. 15.29–30: αἴχορε ἀν ιτγωρά ιηζιτογ ἀπκαզ ιιπερχης ςῆ ι πκαզ ἀν ιιπερχης αἴει ἀπκαզ ιιβαγγλωη; trans. Gardner, *The Kephalaia*, 21; see also 195, 197.

³⁷ H. J. Polotsky, *Manichäische Homilien* (MHSCB, 1), Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1934, pp. 29.9–10, 54.13–15, and 61.14–17.

³⁸ BeDuhn, “Magical Bowls,” 422. See van der Lof, “Mani”: 82–3.

citizenship in a supracelestial paradise of light but also by embracing an earthly aura of antiquity, wrapping themselves in the geographic prestige of Babylon.”³⁹

‘MANICHAEAN’ = ‘INSANE’

Alexander of Lycopolis’ chief objection to Manichaean doctrine was that it lacked philosophical foundations.⁴⁰ Christian polemical discourse expanded ‘non-philosophical’ to ‘irrational.’ Eusebius of Caesarea (between 326 and 330) did not even bother to refer to Mani by name: ‘madman’ (*μωνείς*, named *after* his own heresy!) was good enough.⁴¹ Augustine, who made ample use of the Mani/insanity connection,⁴² explained that the link between Μανῆς and *μωνείς*, the aorist passive participle of the Greek *μαίνομαι* (to become or be mad), compelled Manichaeans to alter their founder’s name by doubling the Greek letter *nu* in order to extract the reading Μαννιχαῖος.⁴³ There is support for this assertion in the occasional double *nu* in Mani’s name (Μαννιχαῖος) in Manichaean Greek and Coptic texts,⁴⁴ though whether in reaction to the polemical etymology is unclear, since Manichaean works surviving from the Roman Empire more often give the reading Μανιχαῖος.⁴⁵

It remains that, because Mani’s name lent itself to it so readily, the charge of ‘insanity’ became a staple of the anti-Manichaean lexicon.⁴⁶

³⁹ BeDuhn, “Magical Bowls,” 420–21.

⁴⁰ *Against the Teachings of Mani*, 5.

⁴¹ See below, 14.

⁴² See J. van Oort, “Manichaeism and anti-Manichaeism in Augustine’s *Confessiones*,” in Cirillo and Tongerloo, eds., *Atti del Terzo Congresso Internazionale di studio “Manicheismo e Oriente Cristiano Antico”*, 236 and 238–40; *Idem*, “Mani and Manichaeism in Augustine’s *de haeresibus*: An Analysis of *haer. 46.1*,” in Emmerick *et al.*, eds., *Studia Manichaica*, 457–61 and n. 33.

⁴³ Aug., *De haeresibus* 46.1; C. Faustum XIX,22.

⁴⁴ E.g., CMC 66.4–5, in L. Koenen and C. Römer, eds., *Der Kölner Mani-Kodex über das Werden seines Lebens: Kritische Edition* (ARWAW, Sonderreihe Papyrologica Coloniensis, 14), Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1988, 44; *Homilies*, in Polotsky, *Manichäische Homilien*, pp. 7.4, 28.6, 31.3, 56.9, and 86.1.

⁴⁵ See J. Tubach and M. Zakeri, “Mani’s Name,” in J. van Oort, O. Wermeling and G. Wurst, eds., *Augustine and Manichaeism in the Latin West: Proceedings of the Fribourg-Utrecht International Symposium of the International Association of Manichaean Studies* (NHMS, 49), Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2001, 272–75.

⁴⁶ See Lieu, *Manichaeism*, 92; and E. Beck, *Ephrems Polemik gegen Mani und die Manichäer im Rahmen der zeitgenössischen griechischer Polemik und der des Augustinus* (CSCO 391), Leuven: Secrétaire du CorpusSCO, 1978, 1–2.

In a letter written around the same time as Alexander's treatise and Diocletian's rescript, an unknown Egyptian bishop (possibly Theonas of Alexandra)⁴⁷ accused Manichaeans of 'madness' (*μανία* appears four times in ten lines of Greek text):

We can easily conclude that the Manichaeans are filled with such *madness*; especially since this [...] is the work of a man filled with such *madness* [...]. I have cited [...] from the document of the *madness* of the Manichaeans that fell into my hands, that we may be on our guard against those who with deceitful and lying words steal into our houses, and particularly against those women whom they call 'elect' and whom they hold in honour, manifestly because they require their menstrual blood for the abomination of their *madness*.⁴⁸

Titus of Bostra (d. 379) said that Mani took his name from "barbarians and madness."⁴⁹ In the mid-fifth century Leo I, Bishop of Rome, referred several times to Manichaean 'insanity'.⁵⁰ Ephrem the Deacon called Manichaeism "this doctrine of madmen,"⁵¹ indicating that at least one Syrian writer knew of the Greek polemical derivation of Mani's name.⁵²

Syrian polemicists offered an etymology of their own, derived from the word *μάνη* (*m'n*), meaning 'vessel' or 'garment'.⁵³ Ephrem said that Mani's writings were "a vessel full of hidden poison,"⁵⁴ and "a garment that wastes the wearer away."⁵⁵ Some Greek writers were aware

⁴⁷ See C. H. Roberts, "Epistle against the Manichees," in *Catalogue of the Greek and Latin Papyri in the John Rylands Library, Manchester 3*, Manchester: University Press, 1938, 39; Lieu, "Some Themes," 157; Scopello, "Hégémonius," 532.

⁴⁸ Roberts, "Epistle," 42.26–35 (trans. on 43): οθεγ εικοτως εστιν γνωσαι οτι πολλης μανιας πεπληρωνται οι Μανιχις· και μαλιστα επι και η προς τον αρτον αυτων απολογιον εργον εστιν αν(θρω)που πολλης μανιας πεπληρουμενου· ταυτα ως προειπον εν στυντομω παρεθεμην απο του παρε[μ]πεσοντος εγγραφου της μανιας των Μανιχεων· ιν επιτρωμεν τους εν απαταις και λογοις ψευδεσι εισδυνον τας εις τας οικιας· και μαλιστα τας λεγομενας παρ αυτοις εκλεκτας ας εν τιμη εχουσιν δια το δηλονοτι χρηζειν αυτους του απο της αφεδρου αιματος αυτων εις τα της μανιας αυτων μυσαγματα.

⁴⁹ Titus, *Against the Manichaeans* 1.1.

⁵⁰ E.g., *Sermon* 16 4 and 24 4; *Letter* 15.

⁵¹ *Second Discourse to Hypatius*, in C. W. Mitchell, S. Ephraim's Prose Refutations of Mani, Marcion and Bardaisan 1, London and Oxford: Williams and Norgate, 1912, xxxiii (English: 9).

⁵² See Ephrem's *Hymns against Heresies* 52.3, in Beck, *Des heiligen Ephraem des Syrers Hymnen contra haereses*, 199 (CSCO 169) and 178 (CSCO 170).

⁵³ Tubach and Zakeri, "Mani's Name," 276–78.

⁵⁴ *On the Crucifixion* 5.11, in E. Beck *Des heiligen Ephraem des Syrers Paschalhymnen*, Leuven: Secrétariat du CorpusSCO, 1964, 62 (CSCO 248) and 50 (CSCO 249).

⁵⁵ *Hymns against Heresies* 2.1, in Beck, *Des heiligen Ephraem des Syrers Hymnen contra haereses*, 5 (CSCO 169) and 7 (CSCO 170).

of the Syriac derivation: the AA addresses Mani as “a vessel of the Antichrist; and not a good vessel, but a filthy and worthless one.”⁵⁶ Quoting the Greek version of the AA, between 374 and 376 Epiphanius of Salamis combined the two derivations:

Mani was from Persia, and was originally named Cubricus. But he changed his name to Mani [Μανῆς] to call himself mad, I suspect, by God’s providence. And, as he thought, he was calling himself “vessel,” in Babylonian, if your please; “vessel” translated from Babylonian [Syriac ↗] to Greek [μάνη] suggests the name. But as the truth shows, he was named for the madness (μανία) which caused the wretch to propagate his heresy in the world.⁵⁷

Yet, while Manichaeism’s own literature frequently alludes to both the ‘garment’ and ‘vessel’ themes,⁵⁸ it never applies them to Mani.⁵⁹

ONCE NOVEL, NOW UNORIGINAL

Three other labels—novel, heretical, and immoral—were touched on in the examination of the first two. The first of these other labels occurred as early as Diocletian, whose rescript had found fault with Manichaeism as “new and hitherto unheard-of.” Diocletian’s contemporary Alexander of Lycopolis also accused Mani of being (or introducing) a ‘novelty’ (καινοτομία).⁶⁰ These pagan reactions scored the recent importation of ideas and practices as not only new, but inimical

⁵⁶ 40.2, in Vermes, *Hegemonius*, 104 (GCS 16, p. 59.3–4: “Vas es Antichristi et neques bonum vas, sed sordidum et indignum”); see Tubach and Zakeri, “Mani’s Name,” 276–77).

⁵⁷ *Panarion* 66.1.4–5, trans. F. Williams, *The Panarion of Epiphanius of Salamis: Books II and III (Sects 47–80, De Fide)* (NHMS, 36), Leiden-New York-Köln: E. J. Brill, 1994, 220. GCS 37, pp. 14.7–15.6: Μάνης δὲ οὗτος ὅπὸ τῆς τῶν Περσῶν ὡράματο γῆς, Κούβρικος μὲν τὸ πρῶτον καλούμενος, ἐπονομάσας δὲ ἔαυτᾶν τού Μάνη ὄνομα, τάχα οἵμαι ἐπὶ τῆς τού θεού οἰκονομίας τὸ μανιάδες ἔαυτᾶν ἐπισπασάμενος ὄνομα. καὶ ὡς μὲν αὐτὸς ὥστο, κατὰ τὴν τῶν Βαβυλωνίων γλώτταν δῆθεν σκεύος ἔαυτᾶν τὸ ὄνομα ἐπεθέτο· τὸ γάρ Μάνη ἀπὸ τῆς Βαβυλωνίας εἰς τὴν Ἑλληνίδα μεταφερόμενον σκεύος ὑποφαίνει τούνομα· ὡς δὲ ἡ ἀλήθεια ὑποφαίνει, τῆς μανίας τὸ ἐπώνυμον κέκτηται, δι’ ἣν ἐνεβροντήθη ὁ ἐλεεινὸς τῷ κοσμῷ ὑποσπεῖροι κακοδιδασκαλίαν.

⁵⁸ See S. Clackson, E. Hunter, and S. N. C. Lieu, *Dictionary of Manichaean Texts 1* (CFM, Subsidia, 2), Turnhout: Brepols, 1998, 226 and 244.

⁵⁹ According to Augustine, Manichaeans in North Africa connected Mani’s name with the heavenly manna of the Hebrew exodus (*De haeres.* 46.1; *C. Faust.* XIX,22). Mani is referred to as “manna of the Land of Light” and “manna of the skies” in a Coptic Manichaean psalm (Allberry, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, pp. 136 and 139).

⁶⁰ *Against the Teachings of Mani* 4.17, in Brinkmann, *Alexandri Lycopolitani*, 4.

to the fabric and formal religion of Roman society. Though Christian polemicists noted Manichaeism as a Johnny-come-lately, they were more interested in claiming that it lacked originality (as though they would have found real ‘novelty’ more acceptable!) by stealing and reassembling ideas from earlier condemned movements. This made Mani’s movement the end link in a ‘chain of heresies,’ to borrow Scopello’s expression.⁶¹ The AA (62–65) was already accusing Mani of plagiarism,⁶² about the same time that Cyril of Jerusalem enjoined his flock to spurn all heretics, “but especially the one with the manic name [...] the vessel of all uncleanness, the garbage heap of all the heresies [...] combining all heresies into a single one, brimming with blasphemies and every iniquity.”⁶³ Ephrem said that all previous heresies, especially those of Marcion and Bardaisan, were subsumed into Mani’s.⁶⁴ In Mark the Deacon’s *Life of Porphyry* (86) Manichaeism was said to have “mixed the venom from various reptiles to make a deadly poison capable of destroying human souls.”⁶⁵ The objective here was to undermine Manichaeism’s credentials as a religion in its own right by casting it as a faulty copy of something else, a tactic Irenaeus of Lyons had employed on Gnostics in the 2nd century C.E.⁶⁶

HERETICAL, BUT NOT CHRISTIAN

Some of the sources already mentioned brought up the notion of heresy—an extraordinarily complex notion in antiquity, but at its simplest signifying doctrine gone awry.⁶⁷ Eusebius was the first to label

⁶¹ Scopello, “Hégémonius,” 529.

⁶² Scopello, “Hégémonius,” 539.

⁶³ *Catecheses* 6.20 (PG 33, c. 572–73): Καὶ μίσει μὲν πάντας αἱρετικοὺς, ἐξαιρέτως δὲ τὸν μανίας ἐπώνυμεν [...] τό δοχεῖον παντὸς ῥύπου, τὸν πάστης αἱρέσεως βόρβορον ὑποδεξάμενον. φιλοτιμούμενος γὰρ ἐν κακοῖς ἐξαιρέτος γενέσθαι, τὰ πάντων λαβὼν καὶ μίαν αἱρεσίν πεπληρωμένην βλασφημιῶν, καὶ πάστης παρανομίας συστησάμενος. My translation.

⁶⁴ S. H. Griffith, “The Thorn among the Tares: Mani and Manichaeism in the Works of St. Ephraem the Syrian,” in M. F. Wiles and E. J. Yarnold, eds., SP 35: *Papers presented at the Thirteenth International Conference on Patristic Studies held in Oxford 1999*, Leuven: Peeters, 2001, 410–11 and 416–20.

⁶⁵ Lieu, “The Self-identity,” 222.

⁶⁶ *Against Heresies* 2.14.1–7; see Scopello, “Hegemonius,” 529.

⁶⁷ On the concept’s evolution see J. B. Henderson, *The Construction of Orthodoxy and Heresy: Neo-Confucian, Islamic, Jewish, and Early Christian Patterns*, Albany: State University of New York Press, 1998, 120–22, 134–40, and 157–59; A. Le Boulluec, *La notion d’hérésie dans la littérature grecque aux II^e et III^e siècles* (Collection des

the thought of Mani (whom he felt no obligation to name) as a *haeresis*,⁶⁸ an accusation he mediated through a reference to Diocletian (in italics):

At that time the madman (*μανείς*), named after his demonic heresy (*δαιμονώσης αἵρέσεως*), armed himself with twisted reason, in that a demon, the very Satan who is the enemy of God, advanced this man for the ruin of many. In his lifestyle he was by speech and habits a barbarian; in his nature he was demonic (*δαιμονικός*) and irrational (*μανιώδης*) [...]. *From the land of the Persians he spread to our world a deadly poison.* Because of him the profane name of the Manichaeans (*τὸ Μανιχαίων δυσσεβεῖς ὄνομα*) is now pronounced by many.⁶⁹

The ‘poison’ allusion had long been employed to remind Christians of the serpent’s role in the Genesis account of the Fall and its deadly consequences.⁷⁰ As Eusebius illustrates, from that paradigm the argument had moved easily to another, the diabolic.⁷¹ It was customary for Christian heresiology to ascribe demonic origins to heresies,⁷² but both the poison/serpent and demon epithets had special significance in anti-Manichaean discourse. Augustine joined other polemicists in calling Manichaeans “devil’s snares,”⁷³ but went further when he traced Manichaeism’s explicit condemnation to the Bible itself: in 1 Corinthians 11:19, he affirmed, Paul had foretold Manichaeism when he declared that heresies would come (“oportet multas haereses esse” in Augustine’s version).⁷⁴ In another strategy—appropriation of

Études Augustiniennes, série Antiquité, 110–111), Paris: Études Augustiniennes, 1985, 41–51 and 264–70.

⁶⁸ J.-D. Dubois, “Le manichéisme vu par l’*Histoire Ecclesiastique* d’Eusèbe de Césarée,” *Études théologiques et religieuses* 68 (1993): 336–39.

⁶⁹ Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History* 7.31, my translation. Greek in J. E. L. Oulton, *Eusebius, the Ecclesiastical History* (Loeb Classical Library), Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press / London: William Heinemann, 1942, 226: Ἐν τούτῳ καὶ ὁ μανείς τὰς φρένας ἐπώνυμος τε τῆς δαιμονώσης αἵρέσεως τὴν τού λογισμὸν παρατροπὴν καθωπλίζετο, τὸν δαιμονὸς, αὐτὸν δὴ τὸν θεομάχον, σατανᾶ, ἐπὶ λύμῃ πολλῶν τὸν ἄνδρα προβεβλημένου. Βάρβαρος δῆτα τὸν βιὸν αὐτῷ λόγῳ καὶ πρόπτω τὴν τε φύσιν δαιμονικός τις ὡν καὶ μανιώδης [...] ἐκ τῆς Περσῶν ἐτί τὴν καθ' ἡμᾶς οἰκουμένην ὥσπερ τινὰ θανατηφόρον ἴον εξωμόρξατο, ἀφ' οὐδὲ τὸ Μανιχαίων δυσσεβεῖς ὄνομα τοῖς πολλοῖς εἰς ἔτι νῦν ἐπιπολάζει.

⁷⁰ On this connection in Irenaeus of Lyons see Le Boulluec, *La notion*, 23, 172, and 226.

⁷¹ See Le Boulluec, *La notion*, 645 s.v. ‘diabol,’ and 652 s.v. ‘serpent.’

⁷² Le Boulluec, *La notion*, 29–31, 64–67, and 84.

⁷³ Aug., *Confessions* 2.6.10 and 5.3.3.

⁷⁴ Aug., *De moribus ecclesiae catholicae* 17.30.

the target's own discourse—he could claim that, while Manichaeans likened the Jesus of Catholic Christianity to the serpent,⁷⁵ in reality it was they who were “friends of the serpent,”⁷⁶ who in turn could be identified with Mani.⁷⁷ Here Augustine was clearly retaliating against the Manichaean bishop Faustus of Milevis, whose declared purpose in penning his *Chapters (Capitula)* between 386 and 390 had been to arm his coreligionists “with replies to the specious objections of our adversaries” who had “the cunning serpent for an ancestor.”⁷⁸

With Eusebius, intertextuality brokered the embrace of once-hostile legislative terminology by standard Christian polemical discourse. By the last quarter of the 4th century C.E. the label ‘heretical’ was appearing in earnest in Christian attacks on Manichaeism. Around 385 Philaster of Brescia wrote of “certain heretics, such as Manichaeans.”⁷⁹ However, opponents were ambivalent about what sort of heresy Manichaeism was: if ‘heresy’ meant a corruption of correct Christian teaching, were Manichaeans real heretics, or were they to be regarded as never having been Christian at all? Augustine included Manichaeism in his *Heresies* and often referred to it as such,⁸⁰ yet followed some of his fellow polemicists in putting it in a class by itself.⁸¹ For Mark the Deacon, not only was Manichaeism an *abominable* heresy, it was an *atheistic* one;⁸² and John Chrysostom (d. 406) called Manichaeans both heretical and pseudo-Christian.⁸³

⁷⁵ Aug., *De haeresibus* 46.15 (CCL 46, pp. 317.151–318.1): “Christum autem fuisse affirmant, quem dicit nostra scriptura serpentem.” This was already a Christian accusation against Gnostics: see A. Böhlig, “Zum Selbstverständnis des Manichäismus.” in J. Duchesne-Guillemin, W. Sundermann and F. Vahman, eds., *A Green Leaf: Papers in Honour of Jes P. Asmussen* (AI, 2e série, 13), Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1988, 332–34; repr. in *Idem, Gnosis und Synkretismus: Gesammelte Aufsätze zur spätantiken Religionsgeschichte* 2 (WUZNT, 48), Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1989, 542–44.

⁷⁶ Aug., *C. Faustum* XXII,49 (CSEL 25/1, p. 642.9): “huic serpenti amici sunt isti.”

⁷⁷ Aug., *C. Faustum* I,3.

⁷⁸ In Augustine, *C. Faustum* I,2.

⁷⁹ Philaster, *Book of Various Heresies* 129.1 (PL 12, c. 1256C): “Sunt quidem haeretici, ut Manichaei...”

⁸⁰ Aug., *De mor. eccl. cath.* 9.15, 10.17, 30.64, and 33.72; *De moribus Manichaeorum* 8.11, 20.75; *De dono perseuerantiae* 24.67; *Epist.* 140 83; *Contra Cresconium* 4.64.69.

⁸¹ As in his *Epist.* 64 3 (CSEL 34/1, p. 231.2–4): “his enim haeretici et maxime Manichaei solent imperitas mentes euertere”; *De Genesi contra Manichaeos* 2.25.38 (CSEL 91, p. 163.15–16): “haereticorum uenena significat et maxime istorum Manichaeorum”; and *Enarratio in ps.* 123 14 (CCL 40, pp. 1834–835): “Solent enim homines haeretici, maxime Manichaei.”

⁸² *Life of Porphyry* 85.

⁸³ *Homily on Hebrews* 8.4.

The AA have Mani claiming to be a true Christian before the claim is refuted,⁸⁴ but in Roman territory only Latin-speaking Manichaeans appear to have co-opted the ‘Christian’ label for themselves. Writing from Rome, the Hearer Secundinus said that in Augustine’s writings he “never found the Christian.”⁸⁵ He implied rather strongly that this was because Augustine had never really been a Manichaeans.⁸⁶ In North Africa Faustus, a convert from paganism to Manichaeism, branded Judaism as a ‘superstition’ and Catholics as ‘semi-Christian’;⁸⁷ and if he could call himself a Christian, it was because Mani had made him so.⁸⁸ Faustus, the full title of whose *Chapters* was *On Christian Faith and Truth (Capitula de christiana fide et ueritate)*, insisted that Manichaeism be recognized as Christianity’s most authentic representative (*secta christianorum*) rather than a breakaway (*schisma*) or totally extraneous movement (*secta gentium*).⁸⁹ Thus the Manichaeans *doctor* Felix could publicly describe himself in 404 as “a Christian, an observer of Mani’s law.”⁹⁰

On the other hand, Manichaeans sources from Egypt offer only one clear-cut example of such an appropriation.⁹¹ To Egyptian Manichaeans, their detractors were the heretics, as in *Kephalaiion* 90 (notice the association of error—sect—insanity):

He [Mani] shall choose the forms of his entire church (ἐκκλησία) and make them free.... Now, when he comes and finds them amongst various sects (δόγμα) [and] heresies (αἵρεσις), he shall choose them by his light word. And when he chooses them and makes them free from the

⁸⁴ Compare Hegemonius, AA 61.6 with 65.5.

⁸⁵ Secundinus, *Epist. ad Augustinum* (CSEL 25/2, p. 895.13): “nusquam uero conperi christianum.”

⁸⁶ Secundinus, *Epist. ad Augustinum* (CSEL 25/2, p. 895.17–18): “uisus enim mihi es—et pro certo sic est—et numquam fuisse manichaeum.”

⁸⁷ In Aug., *C. Faustum I,2* (CSEL 25/2, p. 252.23).

⁸⁸ In Aug., *C. Faustum XIX,5* CSEL 25/1, p. 501.1–2): “ego praeceptori meo refero gratias, qui me similiter labentem retinuit, ut essem hodie christianus.” See also XIII,1.

⁸⁹ See M. Tardieu, “Une definition du manichéisme comme *secta christianorum*,” in A. Caquot and P. Canivet, eds., *Ritualisme et vie intérieure: Religion et Culture. Colloques 1985 et 1987, Société Ernest Renan, Histoire des Religions* (Le point théologique, 52) Paris: Beauchesne, 1989, 167–77.

⁹⁰ In Augustine, *Contra Felicem* 1.20; 2.12.

⁹¹ In a Coptic homily (Polotsky, *Manichäische Homilien*, p. 72).

error (*πλάνη*) of the sects (*δόγμα*), even all their misdeeds that occur in madness (*μανία*)...⁹²

To designate themselves, Egyptian and other Manichaeans preferred ‘church’ (*ἐκκλησία*),⁹³ since they regarded their communities as veritable ‘assemblies’ (*ἐκκλησίαι*) of saints.⁹⁴ References to *their* ‘church’ abound in Manichaean writings from all over the Roman Empire.⁹⁵ “Clearly the followers of the sect saw themselves as a chosen élite in the Christian sense. They promoted themselves as the Church of the Paraclete and as such were *the* Christians in the Dakhleh Oasis.”⁹⁶ Mani was said to surpass all previous apostles, meaning bearers of a previous revelation that, though authentic, would only be completed by his, “the last church.”⁹⁷ This being so, and with their founder considered the last authentic revealer for all time, other religious systems were necessarily defective. As Mani put it:

[Jesus] chose his church in the west, his church did not reach the east. [Buddha] chose his church in the east, his choice did not reach the west. But I have arranged for my hope so that it reaches the west and is also carried to the east, and the sound of its preaching will be heard in every language and proclaimed in every town. This is the first point on which my church is superior to all the churches that have gone before, because those that have gone before were chosen only for particular regions and towns.⁹⁸

⁹² Gardner, *The Kephalaia*, 233; Coptic in Ibscher et al., *Kephalaia*, 1. *Hälften*, p. 225.1–9: φαψιωτῆς ἑιρφάγε πτέρεκκανια τῆρες ἐψειτο[γ] πρῆγε [...] πιστὴ οὐν ετψαει πιψαττογ 2ῆ 2ῆλογμα λογμα [2η 2η] 2αρεσις 2αρεσις φαψισατπογ 2ῆ πεψελε πογαῆνε πνευ οὐν ετψασατπογ πισεγ πρῆγε αβαλ πτιλανη π λογμα πογκεψινε αη τηρου ετψωοπ 2ῆ μανια. See *ibid.*, pp. 7.3, 21.19–31, 27.13–19, 30.1, and 44.25–26; also Bema-psalms 220 and 241 (Allberry, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, pp. 4.30 and 42.24–25).

⁹³ See Clackson et al., *Dictionary*, 220.

⁹⁴ As in Mani’s biography, CMC 111 (Koenen and Römer, *Der Kölner Mani-Kodex*, 78: ἐν [τη] ἐκ] κλησίαι τῶν ἀ[γίον]. Lieu observes (“The Self-Identity”: 224) that “The newly discovered documents from Kellis, especially the personal letters, abound in specific Manichaean terminology as well as phrases like ‘the members of the holy church,’ ‘children of the living kindred’ and ‘the children of God’ which were commonly used in Christian epistolography.”

⁹⁵ See Clackson et al., *Dictionary*, 17, 67, 188, and 200.

⁹⁶ Lieu, “The Self-Identity”: 224 (author’s emphasis).

⁹⁷ *Kephalaion* 1, in Ibscher et al., *Kephalaia*, 1. *Hälften*, pp. 13–30 (trans. Gardner, *The Kephalaia*, 18–9).

⁹⁸ *Kephalaion* 154, in the unedited section of *Dublin Codex C*. Here I follow Michel Tardieu’s translation as reproduced in Scopello, “Vérités”: 213 n. 46. See also the introduction to the *Kephalaia* in Gardner, *The Kephalaia*, 13.

Naturally, opponents took the contrary view: if its Christian credentials were in doubt, Manichaeism could not be a real church. “The Manichaeans do not have the *Christian* faith,” scoffed Augustine,⁹⁹ whatever Manichaeans might claim.¹⁰⁰ And, in retaliation for Faustus’ slur: “Just as your intention is to warn against the *semi*-Christians you accuse us of being, our intention is to show you up for the *pseudo*-Christians you are.”¹⁰¹

ILLEGAL AND UNCLEAN

By the fifth century C.E. it was standard practice in Christian polemics to connect heresy and immorality.¹⁰² Ephrem branded Manichaeism as ‘iniquity’¹⁰³ and ‘polluted teaching’.¹⁰⁴ In 384 Jerome singled out “that most impure Mani” from among all the heretics.¹⁰⁵ During the 380s the anonymous writer known as Ambrosiaster, like Eusebius a half-century earlier, put his own embellishment on Diocletian’s rescript. That emperor, he affirmed, had condemned Manichaeism, “as recently come out of Persia, a heresy (!) both impure and unclean.”¹⁰⁶ Ambrosiaster based the charges of immorality and uncleanness on behaviour he was only too happy to specify. In 389 Augustine wrote of

⁹⁹ Aug., *De mor. eccl. cath.* 18.33 (CSEL 90, p. 38.2): “neque apud Manichaeos esse christianam fidem”; trans. Teske, *The Manichean Debate*, 46–7 (my emphasis); see also 30.62.

¹⁰⁰ Aug., *De util. cred.* 14.30; *Contra epistulam quam uocant fundamenti* 4.

¹⁰¹ Aug., *C. Faustum* I,3 (CSEL 25/2, p. 252.13–15): “Tu semichristianos cauendos putas, quod nos esse dicis; nos autem pseudochristianos cauemus, quod uos esse ostendimus.” My translation. See J.-P. Weiss, “La méthode polémique d’Augustin dans le ‘Contra Faustum’,” in *Inventer l’hérésie? Discours polémiques et pouvoirs avant l’Inquisition* (Collection du Centre d’Études Médiévales de Nice, 2), Nice: Centre d’Études Médiévales, 1998, 34.

¹⁰² See R. M. Grant, “Charges of ‘Immorality’ against Various Religious Groups in Antiquity,” in R. Van den Broek and J. Vermaseren, eds., *Studies in Gnosticism and Hellenistic Religions Presented to Gilles Quispel on the Occasion of his 65th Birthday* (EPRO, 1), Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1981, 161–70.

¹⁰³ *Hymns against heresies* 56.8, in Beck, *Des heiligen Ephraem des Syrers Hymnen contra haereses*, 211 (CSCO, 169) and 192 (CSCO, 170).

¹⁰⁴ *Second Discourse to Hypatius*, in Mitchell, S. *Ephraim’s Prose Refutations*, xxxv and 13.

¹⁰⁵ Jerome, *Epist.* 22 38.7.

¹⁰⁶ Ambros., *Ad Timotheum secunda* 3.7.2 (CSEL 81/3, p. 3112.18–20): “Diocletianus imperator constitutione sua designat dicens: sordidam hanc et impuram heresim, quae nuper, inquit, egressa est de Persida.”

Manichaean nocturnal orgies,¹⁰⁷ reviving rumours that had circulated about Christians during the persecutions.¹⁰⁸ Augustine also referred to Manichaean ritual consumption of human semen and menstrual blood,¹⁰⁹ the latter accusation already made by Theonas and once levelled at Gnostics,¹¹⁰ though probably without real foundation where Manichaeans were concerned.¹¹¹

Only toward the end of the 4th century C.E. did the voice of jurisprudence add its own attacks on Manichaean ‘heresy’ and ‘immorality.’ True, Ammianus Marcellinus reported that in the 330s Constantine I appointed one Strategius Musonianus to investigate “Manichaeans and similar groups” (“sectas, Manichaeorum et similium”),¹¹² but true Manichaeans may not have been involved,¹¹³ and anyway nothing seems to have come of this inquiry.¹¹⁴ It was in 372 that Valentinian I and Valens became the first rulers since Diocletian to legislate explicitly against Manichaeism. Enlarging on the ‘unclean’ motif, they branded it “segregated from the company of men as infamous and ignominious.”¹¹⁵ Here the accent was still on social rather than religious aspects, as was that of the next law, enacted in 381 by Gratian, Valentinian II, and the redoubtable Theodosius I. This piece of legislation predicted that Mani’s followers would forever be associated with infamy, and (harking back to the language of Diocletian) declared them guilty of unspecified ‘criminal acts.’ The same law forbade Manichaeans from masking their true identity under other names, specifically, *Encratitae* (‘Practitioners of continence’), *Apotactitae* (‘Practitioners of

¹⁰⁷ Aug., *De mor. Manich.* 19.70.

¹⁰⁸ See A. Henrichs, “Pagan Ritual and the Alleged Crimes of the Early Christians: A Reconsideration,” in P. Granfield and J. A. Jungmann, eds., *Kyriakon: Festschrift Johannes Quasten* 1, Münster/W: Aschendorff, 1970, 18–35.

¹⁰⁹ Aug., *De mor. Manich.* 19.66; *De natura boni* 47.

¹¹⁰ See L. Fendt, *Gnostische Mysterien: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des christlichen Gottesdienstes*, Munich: Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 1922: 9–10 and 13–4.

¹¹¹ Lieu, *Manichaeism*, 143; Roberts, “Epistle against the Manichees,” 45.

¹¹² Ammianus, *Res gestae* 15.13.2, in Loeb Classical Library series, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press / London: Heinemann, 1982 (1925), 198.

¹¹³ See Beskow, “The Theodosian Laws,” 6 n. 18; and D. Woods, “Strategius and the ‘Manicheans,’” *Classical Quarterly* 51 (2001): 255–64.

¹¹⁴ See F. J. Dölger, “Konstantin der Grosse und der Manichäismus,” in *Idem, Antike und Christentum* 2, Münster/W: Aschendorff, 1931, 304–06.

¹¹⁵ *Codex Theodosianus* 16.5.3 (March 2), in T. Mommsen, *Theodosiani Libri XVI* I/2, 2nd ed., Berlin: Weidmann, 1905 (repr. 1954), 855: “infamibus atque probrosis a coetu hominum segregatis.” Trans. C. Pharr, *The Theodosian Code and Novels and the Sirmontian Constitutions*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1952, 450.

renunciation'), *Hydroparastatae* ('Servants of water'), or *Saccofori* ('Wearers of sackcloth').¹¹⁶ A law enacted in 382 added a religious aspect by calling Manichaean assemblies "secret gatherings of the lowest classes," and a devotee "a profaner and corruptor of the Catholic discipline."¹¹⁷ Sometimes the laws simply listed Manichaeism among any number of heresies.¹¹⁸ In 407, for instance, Manichaeans were lumped in with Donatists "or of any other depraved belief and sect who have congregated for profane rites."¹¹⁹ Ten days later (*Sirmonidian Constitutions* 12) and twice in 423 (C.T. 16,5,59 and 10,24, April 9 and June 8) the earlier laws were confirmed against Manichaeans along with other *haeretici*. In 425 Manichaeans were specifically named with "all other heretics, whether schismatics or astrologers, and every sect that is inimical to the Catholics."¹²⁰

Legislation came full circle to Diocletian in 445 when the *Constitution* of Valentinian III recalled how Manichaeism had been "a superstition condemned in pagan times, inimical to the Christian faith." In addition to mixing Christian and pre-Christian terms of reference, the *Constitution* is interesting for its intertextual relationship with Leo I of Rome, whom it specifically names and to whom it owes its preservation. The *Constitution* certainly has some of Leo's recent anti-Manichaean oratory in mind,¹²¹ as can be seen by a comparison of some of the Latin from both:

¹¹⁶ *Cod. Theod.* 16.5.7 (May 8), in Mommsen, *Theodosiani Libri*, 857–58. On these four groups see Beskow, "The Theodosian Laws," 8–11.

¹¹⁷ *Cod. Theod.* 16.5.9 (March 31), in Mommsen, *Theodosiani Libri*, 858: "turbas eligit pessimorum, ita ut profanator atque corruptor catholicae." Trans. Pharr, *The Theodosian Code*, 452.

¹¹⁸ As in *Cod. Theod.* 16.5.11,18 (July 25, 383 and June 17, 389), in Mommsen, *Theodosiani Libri*, 351 and 861–62.

¹¹⁹ *Cod. Theod.* 16.5.41 (Nov. 15), in Mommsen, *Theodosiani Libri*, 868: "vel cuiuscumque alterius pravae opinionis ac sectae profanis ritibus adgregati." Trans. Pharr, *The Theodosian Code*, 457. This association is probably due to the fact that the addressee of the law was the proconsul in North Africa, where Manichaeism and Donatism were the main religious problems. See also *Cod. Theod.* 16.5.38 (Feb. 12, 405, in Mommsen, *op. cit.*, 867); and *Code of Justinian* 1.5.4 (Feb. 12, 407), in P. Krueger, *Corpus iuris civilis* 2, 10th ed., Berlin: Weidmann, 1929, 51.

¹²⁰ (*Sirmonidian Const.* 6, July 9 [or August 6], in Mommsen, *Theodosiani libri*, 912: "Manichaeos omnesque haeticos vel schismaticos sive mathematicos, omnemque secum catholicis inimicam"; trans. Pharr, *The Theodosian Code*, 480. See also *Cod. Theod.* 16.5.62 and 64 (Aug. 6 [or July 17]), in Mommsen, *Theodosiani Libri*, 877–78.

¹²¹ See Scopello, "Hégémonius," 528: "Léon I^r—il est vrai avec un langage particulièrement virulent—, ne fait toutefois que s'insérer dans un filon de polémique déjà bien établi au V^e siècle."

<p>Valentinian III, <i>Constitution</i>, June 19, 445</p> <p><i>Supersticio</i> paganorum quoque damnata temporibus inimica publicae disciplinae, et hostis fidei christianae, ad excidium sui... prouocauit. Manichaeos loquimur, quos <i>exsecrabilis</i>... statuta iudicarunt.... Quae enim et quam dictu audituque <i>obscena</i> in iudicio beatissimi papae <i>Leonis</i>... <i>confessione patefacta</i> sunt....¹²²</p>	<p>Leo, <i>Sermon 24</i> 4 (Christmas, 443)</p> <p>Insanus Manichaeorum error est.... Ingressi enim praeruptam <i>exsecrandi</i> dogmatis uiam...ut et in dogmatibus suis impii, et in sacris inueniantur <i>obsceni</i>... sicut proxima eorum <i>confessione</i> <i>patefactum</i> est.¹²³</p> <p><i>Sermon 76</i> 6 (Pentecost, 444) Manes igitur minister falsitatis diabolicae et conditor <i>superstitionis</i> <i>obscenae</i>....¹²⁴</p>
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His *Sermon 24* hints that by the end of 443 Leo himself was reprising ideas (and sometimes language) found in earlier legislation. No doubt basing himself on personal dealings with Manichaeans,¹²⁵ he sometimes mediated his experience through legislative discourse.¹²⁶

<p>C.T. 16,5:35 (May 17, 399)</p> <p>... <i>noxios</i> Manichaeos <i>exsecrabilis</i> que eorum conuentus.... Quapropter quaesiti adducantur in publicum ac detestati criminosi</p>	<p>Leo, <i>Sermon 16</i> 4 and 6 (Advent, 443)</p> <p>... arcem tamen sibi in Manichaeorum struxit insania..., ubi non unius <i>prauitatis</i> speciem, sed omnium simul errorum</p>
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¹²² In Leo, *Epist. 8* (PL 54, c. 622), trans. by H. G. Schipper and J. van Oort, *St. Leo the Great: Sermons and Letters Against the Manichaeans. Selected Fragments* (CFM, Series Latina, 1), Turnhout: Brepols, 2000, 49: “A superstition, condemned also in pagan times, inimical to public discipline and hostile to the Christian faith, has provoked...to its own destruction. We speak of the Manichaeans, whom the statutes have judged execrable.... For what things and how obscene to tell and to hear have been brought to light...by their public confession in the court of the most blessed Pope Leo....”

¹²³ CCL 138, p. 113.87–97, trans. Schipper and van Oort, *St. Leo the Great*, 29: “... the insane error of the Manichaeans.... Having entered the precipitous path of execrable doctrine... (as was revealed by their most recent confession)... they are found [to be] as obscene in their doctrines as [they are] in their rites.”

¹²⁴ CCL 138A, p. 481.139–142; trans. Schipper and Oort, *St. Leo the Great*, 43: “Mani therefore, the minister of a diabolical falsity and the author of an obscene superstition...”

¹²⁵ See Schipper and Oort, *St. Leo the Great*, 18–9.

¹²⁶ Suggested by Schipper and Oort, *St. Leo the Great*, 55 n. 71, but only with reference to Leo’s *Letter 15 to Turibius*.

<p>congrua et seuerissima emendatione resecentur.¹²⁷</p> <p>C.T. 16,5:41 (Nov. 15, 407) Manichaei uel cuiuscumque alterius <i>prauae</i> opinionis ac sectae <i>profanis</i> <i>ritibus</i> adgregati....¹²⁸</p>	<p>impietatumque mixturam generaliter possideret....</p> <p>De <i>sacris</i> tamen eorum, quae apud illos tam <i>obscena</i> sunt quam nefanda (Deus)....</p> <p>partem prodidit hominum <i>noxiorum</i>.¹²⁹</p>
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CONCLUSIONS

After Valentinian III we find no new legislation on Manichaeism from the Western part of the Roman Empire. Twenty years after Valentinian's death (455) the *pars Occidentis* ceased to exist and in the empire's *pars Orientis* both polemic and legislation against Manichaeism began to abate. But the *language* these had generated would long outlive the original targets, and the frequency of the legislation and polemics all during the 4th century and the first half of the 5th show how great a danger Manichaeism was thought to pose.

Just as the Christian discourse had begun by overlapping with the legislative, near the collapse of the Western part of the Roman Empire the two discourses were fuelling each other. Both gradually expanded the standard semantic weaponry applied to many religious movements of Late Antiquity, forging some of its elements into the ordnance of choice for Manichaeian targets. Foreign, insane, demonic, unoriginal, heretical, illegal, and impure—by the end of the 4th century C.E. these labels, long part of the heresiologist's vocabulary, had been applied regularly to Manichaeism. Two of them applied in a special way: one used Mani's own name to call him and his movement 'insane,' while

¹²⁷ "...the obnoxious Manichaeans and their accursed assemblies.... Therefore they are to be sought out, they are to be brought before the public [tribunal], and the detestable criminals are to be reined in by the appropriate severest sanctions."

¹²⁸ "... Manichaeans or [those] of any other depraved opinion or sect come together for profane rites...."

¹²⁹ CCL 138, pp. 64.80–94 and 66.137–138, trans. Schipper and van Oort, *St. Leo the Great*, 25–9: "... (the devil) has constructed a stronghold unto himself in the insanity of the Manichaeans...; for there, he takes into his possession not only one species of perversity, but at the same time a mixture of every error and impiety.... As to their sacred rites, however, which among them are as obscene as they are nefarious...God delivered unto us a certain number of those obnoxious people."

the other exploited social and political concerns to label them not just ‘foreign,’ but ‘Persian.’

What of Western Manichaeism’s own polemical language? Since far less of its literature has survived than from ‘orthodox’ Christianity, it would be dangerous to offer generalizations about it. It may be assumed that the Manichaean self-descriptive vocabulary was either the inspiration for or a defence against the opposing one; however, Manichaean polemical discourse seems more muted when directed against Christianity than against, say, Magians and Jews, perhaps because from within the Roman Empire one could afford to look on Jews as powerless and Magians as far away. With respect to Christianity, Manichaeans tended to target ideas rather than specific personalities, but in general the objective was less to attack the tenets of others than to advance their own.¹³⁰ Finally, anti-Manichaean discourse borrowed from any earlier source that served its purpose, even if the original context was anti-Christian, while in Manichaeism we witness a transformation of discourse usually once ‘owned’ by Christianity, then appropriated by Manichaeans for themselves.

¹³⁰ *Pace* F. Decret, “Le manichéisme présentait-il en Afrique et à Rome des particularismes régionaux distinctifs?,” *Aug(R)* 34 (1994): 27, who claims that Manichaeans were “Plus à l’aise, comme le constatait Augustin, sur le terrain de la polémique anticatholique que dans la défense de leur propre doctrine.”

CHAPTER TWO

HESITANT AND IGNORANT: THE PORTRAYAL OF MANI IN THE ACTS OF ARCHELAUS

It is a commonplace that the *Acts of Archelaus* (AA) were highly influential in early Christian heresiology; a commonplace, too, that this influence extended mainly to the work's outline of the Manichaean cosmogony, and to the biographical details it supplied on Mani.¹ Here I will look at the agenda behind those details and the general picture of Mani they seek to convey, as a way toward a further understanding of the AA's inner structure and purpose.²

Different schemas have been suggested for how the content of the AA should be divided; my preference is to see four more or less distinct parts within it.³ Part I includes the introduction of Marcellus (AA 1–3), Mani's letter to him and his to Mani (4–6), and Turbo's summary of Manichaean cosmogony (7–13). Part II presents the first encounter between Archelaus and Mani (14–43.2). Part III covers Mani's flight to 'Diodoris' (43.3–5), the eponymous Diodorus' letter to Archelaus and Archelaus' to him (44–51), and the confrontation between Mani and Diodorus (52), all as the preamble to Mani's second encounter with Archelaus (53–60). Part IV is composed of Archelaus' presentation of Mani's antecedents and earlier life (61–68), interrupted by the author's brief account of Mani's criminal end (66). The arrangement is thus:

¹ See M. Scopello, "Hégémonius, les *Acta Archelai* et l'histoire de la controverse anti-manichéenne," in R. E. Emmerick, W. Sundermann and P. Zieme, eds., *Studia Manichaica: IV. Internationaler Kongreß zum Manichäismus, Berlin, 14.–18. Juli 1997* (Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Berichte und Abhandlungen, Sonderband 4), Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2000, 541–44.

² Be it noted that, although Manes and Manichaeus are the names given Manichaeism's founder in the AA, he is commonly called Mani by modern scholars, and that is what I will call him here, except when passages cited include some other form. Mani is referred to as 'Manichaeus' only in the vocative, in 20.1 and 26.2 (by the judges, who call him 'Manes' in 27.1) and 27.8, 54.3, and 58.11 (by Archelaus, who otherwise calls him 'Manes'). The narrator always refers to 'Manes.'

³ For a different quadripartite division see H. von Zittwitz, "Acta disputationis Archelai et Manetis nach ihrem Umfang, ihren Quellen und ihrem Werthe untersucht," *Zeitschrift für die historische Theologie* 43 (1873): 468–70.

Arrangement of the *Acta Archelai*

- Part I: a. Introduction of Marcellus (1–3)
 - b. exchange of letters: Mani and Marcellus (4–6)
 - c. Turbo’s summary of Manichaean cosmogony (7–13)
- Part II: first encounter between Archelaus and Mani (14–43,2)
- Part III: a. Mani’s flight to ‘Diodorus’ (43,3–5)
 - b. exchange of letters: Diodorus and Archelaus (44–51)
 - c. encounter between Mani and Diodorus (52)
 - d. Mani’s second encounter with Archelaus (53–65)
- Part IV: Archelaus’ presentation of Mani’s antecedents and earlier life (61–68), interrupted by the author’s brief account of his inglorious end (66).
- Epilogue

I

Both antagonists, Mani and Archelaus, are introduced in the way the author means them to go on. The reader first meets Mani in chapter 4, where he is quickly cast in an unfavourable light: “he debated with himself very seriously as to how he could ensnare him [Marcellus] in the nets of his own doctrine” (4.1).⁴ This despite Mani’s demurral in his letter to Marcellus, where, quoting 1 Cor 7:35, he asserts that he does not need to set a snare for anyone (5.6).⁵ But, if he really is a snarer, he

⁴ *Hegemonius, Acta Archelai (The Acts of Archelaus)*, translated by Mark Vermes, with introduction and commentary by Samuel N. C. Lieu (MS, 4), Leuven: Brepols, 2001, 39 (GCS 16, p. 4.23–24: “plurimum ipse secum volvebat quemadmodum eum doctrinae suae posset laqueis inretire”). All English citations of the AA are from Vermes’ translation. Marcellus is also the name of the prominent citizen who welcomes Simon Magus to Rome, in the *Acts of Peter*, as pointed out by several commentators. See B. R. Voss, *Der Dialog in der frühchristlichen Literatur* (Studia et Testimonia Antiqua, 9), Munich: Fink, 1970, 150–51; and A. Ferreiro, *Simon Magus in Patristic, Medieval and Early Modern Traditions* (Studies in the History of Christian Traditions, 125), Leiden and Boston: E. J. Brill, 2005, *passim*, esp. 62–3. On further connections with Simon, see E. Spät, “The ‘Teachers’ of Mani in the *Acta Archelai* and Simon Magus,” VC 58 (2004): 1–23, esp. 5–18. R. Lim, “By Word or by Deed? Two Modes of Religious Persuasion in Late Antiquity,” in M. Dillon, ed., *Religion in the Ancient World: new Themes and Approaches*, Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1996, 262 n. 21, observes that in both cases “the issue was the securing of the foremost local notable.” In any case, the link between the two Marcelluses is intentional. See 3.5 (GCS 16, p. 4.11–12: “Marcelli veteris imitatus exempla”).

⁵ This element also appears at the beginning of Mani’s letter (5.1, Vermes, *Hegemonius*, 41): “may the Right Hand of Light preserve you...from the snares of

is portrayed as a cautious (cowardly?) one: “he feared that by an unexpected and sudden approach some harm might be generated to himself” (4.2).⁶ Then there is Mani’s appearance, “clearly intended,” says Lieu, “to accentuate his connections with a still hostile Persia.”⁷ The well-known description is short enough to be reproduced here (14.3):

He wore a kind of shoe usually referred to in common speech as a *trisole*; he also had a multicoloured cloak, somewhat ethereal in appearance; in his hand he held a very sturdy staff of ebony wood; under his left arm he carried a Babylonian book; his legs were wrapped in trousers of different colours, one leg in red and the other in green; and his whole appearance was like that of an old Persian wizard or warlord.⁸

Since I have addressed this description elsewhere,⁹ I need only point out here that, the historicity of the narrative aside,¹⁰ the otherwise gratuitous comment that Mani resembled some sort of warlord or wizard (*artifex*) may be intended to enhance his foreignness on the one hand and, on the other, to offset his reputation as a physician.¹¹

Archelaus, the otherwise unknown bishop of ‘Carchar,’ “was inwardly eager to launch an attack on Manes because of his costume

the evil one” (GCS 16, p. 5.27–6.17: “dextera lucis conservet te a...laqueis maligni”). This passage also survives in Greek. Archelaus picks up on the snare theme in the second encounter (59.11).

⁶ Vermes, *Hegemonius*, 39 (GCS 16, p. 5.2–3: “verebatur enim ne forte improviso et subito ingressu malum sibi aliquod nasceretur”).

⁷ Lieu, in Vermes, *Hegemonius*, 58 n. 81. See Scopello, “Hégémonius,” 537–38.

⁸ Vermes, 58 (GCS 16, pp. 22.25–23.1: “habebat enim calcamenti genus, quod trisolum vulgo appellari solet; pallium autem varium, tamquam aërina specie; in manu vero validissimum baculum tenebat ex ligno ebelino; Babylonium vero librum portabat sub sinistra ala; crura etiam bracis obtexerat colore diverso, quarum una rufa, alia velut prasini coloris erat; vultus vero ut senis Persae artificis et bellorum ducis videbatur”).

⁹ “Foreign and Insane: Labelling Manichaeism in the Roman Empire” in this volume.

¹⁰ S. N. C. Lieu, “Captives, Refugees and Exiles: A Study of Cross-Frontier Civilian Movements and Contacts between Rome and Persia from Valerian to Jovian,” in P. Freeman and D. Kennedy, eds., *The Defence of the Roman and Byzantine East: Proceedings of a Colloquium held at the University of Sheffield in April 1986* 2 (British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara Monograph No. 9, BAR International Series 297), Oxford: B. A. R., 1986, 489–90, regards the whole account, including ‘Carchar,’ as fictional. So does Spät, “The ‘Teachers’,” who sees an influence of accounts of Simon Magus. This was already suggested by F. C. Baur, *Das manichäische Religionsystem nach den Quellen neu untersucht und entwickelt*, Tübingen: C. F. Osiander, 1831 (repr. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1928; Hildesheim and New York: Olms, 1973), 467–75. For other early opinions on the account’s historicity, see F. A. Pennachietti, “Gli ‘Acta Archelai’ e il viaggio di Mani nel Bēt ‘Arbāyē,’ *Rivista di storia e letteratura religiosa* 24 (1988): 504–05.

¹¹ On Mani as a physician in Manichaean sources see “Healing and the ‘Physician’ in Manichaeism” in this volume, esp. 116–21.

and appearance” (14.4).¹² In fact, Archelaus had been spoiling for a fight from the start. Before even laying eyes on his opponent, his reaction to Mani’s letter, as Marcellus read it aloud, was immediate: he “received the contents as they were read without any pleasure, and gnashed his teeth like a caged lion [see 1 Pet 5:8], eager to get his hands on the author of the letter” (6.1).¹³ Again, hearing Turbo’s account of Manichaean cosmogony, Archelaus was “greatly incensed” (14.1).¹⁴ Contrast this with the layperson Marcellus, who remained both calm and calming (14.1). As though realizing a potentially damaging comparison, the author of the AA, while admitting Archelaus’ lack of self-control, hastens to excuse his behavior with the aid of a curious simile: “Archelaus was anxious for his people, like a shepherd for his sheep, when traps are being set by wolves” (14.1).¹⁵

II

Such is the preamble to the two encounters between Archelaus and Mani. Mani begins the first in classic Manichaean fashion, over the issues of evil’s origin and of dualism.¹⁶ But he is confounded by the first question put to him: “At this Manes hesitated because he could not find a reply. For he was examining the conclusion that would follow from either answer, and reconsidering his position” (17.5);¹⁷ and he

¹² Vermes, *Hegemonius*, 59 (GCS 16, p. 23.3: “invehi in eum animo urgebatur ex ipso habitu ac specie eius”).

¹³ Vermes, *Hegemonius*, 42–43 (GCS 16, p. 8.6–8: “Archelaus vero ea quae lecta sunt non libenter amplexus velut leo conclusus dentibus infrendebat, auctorem epistulae sibi desiderans dari”).

¹⁴ Vermes, *Hegemonius*, 58 (GCS 16, p. 22.16: “vehementer accendebatur”).

¹⁵ Vermes, *Hegemonius*, 58 (GCS 16, p. 22.18–19: “Archelao autem erat cura pro populo, tamquam pastori pro ovinis, cum luporum parantur insidiae”). Vermes’ translation here is somewhat misleading.

¹⁶ See R. Lim, “Manichaeans and Public Disputation in Late Antiquity,” in *Idem, Public Disputation, Power, and Social Order in Late Antiquity* (The Transformation of the Classical Heritage, 23), Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995, 89 (evil) and 75 (dualism). Lim’s article revises one with the same title in *RechAug* 26 (1992): 233–72.

¹⁷ Vermes, *Hegemonius*, 65 (GCS 16, p. 28.8–10: “At vero Manes remoratus est non inveniendo responsum; intuebatur enim quod ex utroque concluderetur, retractans”). This is precisely the reaction of the Indian (or Iranian?) sage Gwndyś when challenged by Mani to explain the origins of the world, in Turfan fragment M 6041, R18 (1377)–V5 (1395), in W. Sundermann, ed., *Mitteliranische manichäische Texte kirchengeschichtlichen Inhalts* (BT, 11), Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1981, 86–89 (= 4b.1). See Lim, “Manichaeans,” 86: “Reducing someone to a state of literal *aphōnia* was a

will hesitate again during the encounter (18.2). (Here, as earlier in 4.2, we note how the author presumes to know what is going on in Mani's head: see also 53.2).

In contrast, Archelaus loses his cool but never his confidence. His opening gambit already makes it personal. Mani, he says, seems "full of insanity" and his doctrine is "grotesque" (17.3).¹⁸ He is "delirious" and forgetful (17.7;¹⁹ see 59.10), and a devious prevaricator (26.6).²⁰ In what is by now standard anti-heretical discourse,²¹ he calls Mani ignorant and short on intelligence (27.3).²² He is a "false Christ and a false prophet" (39.9;²³ see 42.11), a Satan and "vessel of the Antichrist" (40.1–2; see 64.9).²⁴ He is more heretical and lower in intellect than Marcion, Valentinus, and Basilides (42.1). He is a barbarian Persian (40.5), a "barbarian priest and conspirator with Mithras" (40.7).²⁵ And early on, Archelaus informs the judges (without further proof) that "it is sufficient for me to have made these statements [...] to show you what sort of man he was" (41.14).²⁶

These four judges (who, though given individual names, never act as individuals) have been chosen for this encounter to project the

complete refutation and triumph in a public debate. To an undiscriminating audience, it did not much matter whether success came from one's own arguments, or from divine intervention."

¹⁸ Vermes, *Hegemonius*, 65 (GCS 16, 27.30–28.2: "Insaniae magis quam prudentiae videtur mihi plenus iste [...]. Ingentem doctrinam ferens ades").

¹⁹ Vermes, *Hegemonius*, 65 (GCS 16, p. 28.15–16: "Videris mihi delirus esse et obliviscens propositionum tuarum").

²⁰ GCS 16, p. 39.4: "nolo moretur hic perfidus, sed iam confiteatur dualitatis suae in unum refusam esse substantiam".

²¹ See the *index général* in A. Le Boulluec, *La notion d'hérésie dans la littérature grecque (II^e–III^e siècles)* (Collection des Études Augustiniennes, série Antiquité, 110–111), Paris: Études Augustiniennes, 1985, s. v. *altérité, Barbare, folie, ignorance, Satan, Antichrist, plagiat, falsification, and prophètes (faux)*.

²² See Archelaus' condescending tone in 27.4.

²³ Vermes, *Hegemonius*, 105 (GCS 16, p. 58.14: "falsum Christum et falsum prophetam").

²⁴ Vermes, *Hegemonius*, 104 (GCS 16, p. 59.1–3: "anathema es, Satana [...]. Vas es Antichristi"). The 'vessel' reference plays on Mani's name: see "Foreign and insane" in this volume, 11–2.

²⁵ Vermes, *Hegemonius*, 105 (GCS 16, p. 59.27–28: "o barbare sacerdos Mithrae et conlusor").

²⁶ Vermes, *Hegemonius*, 108 (GCS 16, p. 61.30–31: "ista me sufficit protulisse [...] ut istum vobis qualis esset ostenderem").

illusion of impartiality.²⁷ They are clearly pagan (*religione gentiles*, 14.5;²⁸ see also 18.1), but it is also clear early in the debate whose side they are on. They even quote Scripture (25.1 and 41.2)!—in one instance, conveniently leading into Archelaus’ remark that “the Gospel is much better understood by you than by him” (25.3; see 26.1 and 29.4). In chapter 20 they pose a leading question that Mani answers with a single word, while Archelaus’ response takes up three chapters. In 41.1 they say that, when Archelaus speaks, it is “just as if the Apostle Paul were speaking.”²⁹ This admiration is reciprocated by Archelaus, who calls the judges “excellent gentlemen and most sagacious listeners” 20.3),³⁰ and “the most intellectually gifted that God could have provided” (26.7;³¹ see 30.1). In this love-in, Mani is the outsider; and when we look at the space the text provides for his utterances in both encounters, we find that, in this respect as in others, he has been heavily outgunned by Archelaus. Further, whatever ‘Hegemonius’ precise agenda might be, it is clear from the start who will do most of the talking, as the chart appended to this article shows. This is not, therefore, the confident Manichaean disputational technique we know, whereby the followers of Mani get to speak at length,³² even against the formi-

²⁷ Or is this rather an example of what C. Andresen calls a “gemeinsame Abwehrfront von Christen und Neuplatonikern gegen den Manichäismus,” the title of a section in his “Antike und Christentum,” *Theologische Realenzyklopädie* 3 (Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1978), 69?

²⁸ Voss, *Der Dialog*, 155, thinks that, given the involvement of an orthodox bishop with the *founder* of a heterodox movement, the presence of the judges is paramount. But this will not be true of the second encounter, where the *crowd* is the judge. *Pace* S. N. C. Lieu, “Fact and Fiction in the *Acta Archelai*,” in *Idem, Manichaeism in Mesopotomia and the Roman East* (RGRW, 118), Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1994, 134, the text does more than *imply* that the judges were pagan. Lieu’s article revises one with the same title he published in P. Bryder, ed., *Manichaean Studies: Proceedings of the First International Conference on Manichaeism, August 5–9, 1987, Department of History of Religions, Lund University, Sweden*, (LSAAR, 1), Lund: Plus Ultra, 1988, 69–88.

²⁹ Vermes, *Hegemonius*, 106 (GCS 16, p. 60.5: “Sicut ex te comperimus, tamquam apostolo Paulo dicente...”).

³⁰ Vermes, *Hegemonius*, 69 (GCS, p. 31.19–20: “optimi viri et prudentissimi auditores”).

³¹ Vermes, *Hegemonius*, 78 (GCS 16, p. 39.8–9: “iudices, quos deus plenissime repletos intellectu misit”). Perhaps Archelaus is not *entirely* sure of the judges’ partiality: they do, after all, steer him back on track at one point (34.1).

³² On Manichaean disputational techniques see Lim, “Manichaeans,” 70–108; also Lieu in Vermes, *Hegemonius*, 24–31; *Idem*, “Fact and Fiction,” 146–49.

dable Augustine.³³ Mani was not looking for a public display: debate has been ‘thrust upon’ him.³⁴

III

During the first encounter, the gathered public remains passive, except to once applaud Archelaus and at the same time move to take hold of Mani (23.1), which they will attempt again at the encounter’s conclusion (43.1), forcing Mani to run away in confusion. After being declared the loser in ‘Carchar’ (by the public, let us note, not the judges, 43.1), he surfaces in ‘Diodoris,’ whose presbyter (Diodorus) seems highly impressed by Mani’s appearance and dress (44.4). Back in ‘Carchar,’ Archelaus receives a letter from the presbyter, which he answers (“briefly,” he claims in 46.3, before going on for six chapters: see 51.8). Some time later comes the first day of a disputatious encounter between Diodorus and Mani, but it is wholly one-sided: at its conclusion the former is said to have vanquished the latter (52.2), even though Mani is not reported to have uttered a single word. As the second day of this confrontation gets under way, Archelaus appears, unexpected and unannounced, to take over the course of the debate. The public gathered for this event goes wild over this new development (53.3), hailing Archelaus as though he were an apostle (53.4); *they* will be the only judges this time, but scarcely less partial than those at the first encounter (see 56.1).³⁵ Again Mani shows reluctance: “But when Manes had seen Archelaus, he at once stopped his insulting behaviour and humbled his pride considerably; and it was plain to see that he wanted to avoid the contest” (53.4;³⁶ see 54.5,9). It is difficult not to see

³³ On Augustine’s public disputation with the Manichaeans Felix and Fortunatus, see F. Decret, *Aspects du manichéisme dans l’Afrique romaine: Les controverses de Fortunatus, Faustus et Felix avec saint Augustin*, Paris: Études Augustiniennes, 1970, esp. 39–50 and 71–89; and Lim, “Manichaeans,” 93–96 and 99–102.

³⁴ Lim, “Manichaeans,” 103. It is unusual that all of this is occurring to *Mani*. Voss, *Der Dialog*, 151–52, remarks that “Für das beispielhafterbaulicher Moment ist von Bedeutung daß nicht irgendein Manichäer, sondern Mani selbst es ist, der überwunden wird. Dabei ist nicht so sehr die Argumentation wichtig, sondern die Tatsache der Disputation und, selbst-verständlich, der Überwindung des Widersaches.” On the reluctance of Manichaeans to be drawn into public debate see Lim, *art. cit.*, 86.

³⁵ This makes 53.9, 61.1,5, 66.1–2,4, and 68.5 all the more ironic.

³⁶ Vermes, *Hegemonius*, 126 (GCS 16, p. 78.13–15: “Cum autem vidisset Archelaum Manes, cessavit quidem continua ab insultatione et superilio non parum deiecto manifeste intellegebatur quod conflictum vellet effugere”).

a *contre-temps* here, since Mani has still said nothing. His reluctance to speak is justified when Archelaus immediately wades in by accusing him of “disparaging our ancestral traditions” (54.3),³⁷ of being a “madman, and no real human being” (59.10).³⁸ For his part, Mani accuses Archelaus of “pulverizing me with very annoying words” (54.1).³⁹

IV

In the ‘biography’ that closes the entire account (chaps. 61–68), Mani is depicted as an ex-slave (64.2),⁴⁰ unoriginal (62.2), a quack,⁴¹ a plagiarizer (64.5 and 67.1–3),⁴² deceitful (65.6), and (again) a false prophet (65.8). With his forerunners Scythianus and Terebinthus, he forms an “Unholy Trinity,”⁴³ and in the excursus he is described as a deservedly executed criminal (66.3).⁴⁴

CONCLUSIONS

- (1) Richard Lim has invoked the AA to endorse his claim that, in the confrontation between Christians and Manichaeism,

A collective catharsis was needed, one similar to the *apopompē* or communal expulsion of scapegoats, in order to bring the crisis to the forefront of people’s attention and to allay the fear of the unknown. Historically, such an act might showcase a dramatic public confrontation with a representative of the Other. If no such representative could be found to take the stand for this purpose, or if the catharsis was meant to extend to several locales, then a written account could be substituted, complete with crisis, confrontation, and resolution.⁴⁵

³⁷ Vermes, *Hegemonius*, 127 (GCS 16, p. 79.17–18: “cum detrahentes de paternis nostris traditionibus”). One perceives an old anti-Christian accusation here.

³⁸ Vermes, *Hegemonius*, 137 (GCS 16, p. 87.14: “Delire, non homo...”). See 17.7 (above, p. 29, n. 19).

³⁹ Vermes, *Hegemonius*, 127 (GCS 16, p. 79.10: “Verbis molestissimis obtundis”).

⁴⁰ M. Scopello, “Vérités et contre-vérités: la vie de Mani selon les *Acta Archelai*,” *Apocrypha* 6 (1995): 223, suggests that this is meant to offset the claim that Mani had royal connections.

⁴¹ See Scopello, “Vérités”: 228–29.

⁴² Spät, “The ‘Teachers’,” focuses on this particular accusation. See also Scopello, “Vérités”: 214–19.

⁴³ So Spät, “The ‘Teachers’”: 15 and 23.

⁴⁴ See Scopello, “Vérités”: 230 and 233–34.

⁴⁵ Lim, “Manichaeans,” 76.

But there is more here than that. In the genre of *disputationes cum Manichaeis*, the AA stands out, in the words of Eszter Spät, as “a traditional description of doctrinal debate between an orthodox and a heretic interpolated with the elements of a romance.”⁴⁶ In other words, there are aspects here (biographical details, applauding crowds, Marcellus and the Persian captives, and Turbo’s journey to ‘Carchar’)⁴⁷ not found in other *disputationes*.

- (2) Now, a long debate has ensued over the historical character of this text, the emergent options of which are that the document is entirely historical, entirely fictional, or a combination of the two, that is, a more or less fictionalized elaboration of some historical event. For present purposes, it matters little which option is followed, for the fact is that, in selecting, arranging, and presenting the components that make up the text, the author was pursuing a particular agenda, which a historical or a fictional discourse could mediate equally well.
- (3) It follows that the purpose of the AA, whatever its sources, is not to relate history, but to demonstrate a polemic, by underscoring Mani’s (and therefore Manichaeism’s) alien character and by discrediting the powers of persuasion of both the founder and his system. Thus I agree with Madeleine Scopello that ‘Hegemonius’ is targeting, not only Mani’s person and teaching, but his religious structures, in speeches laced with irony and sarcasm, and in a series of contrasting notions (‘vérités et contre-vérités’), whereby Archelaus means to say that he is none of the things he attributes to Mani.⁴⁸
- (4) In point of fact, despite the AA’s Latin *incipit*,⁴⁹ there are no real *disputationes* here. Even if the first of the two encounters between Mani and Archelaus takes place before judges, this is, as Bernd Reiner Voss has pointed out, really a ‘dispute’ (*Streitgespräch*) masquerading as a classic *disputatio*. The second encounter appears

⁴⁶ Spät, “The ‘Teachers’”: 16. Scopello, “Vérités”: 217, calls it a “roman hérétique.”

⁴⁷ I believe that Scopello’s assessment of the two latter points as explaining Mani’s presence in Roman territory is essentially correct (“Hégémonius,” 535): “Dans l’optique d’Hégémonius, ces événements n’ont qu’un but: créer le prétexte d’une rencontre entre Mani, le perse, et Marcellus, le romain.”

⁴⁸ Scopello, “Vérités”: 207–14.

⁴⁹ 1.1 (GCS 16, p. 1.2): “Thesaurus verus sive disputatio...”

even less formal: it is “nur mehr ein Fall von Auseinandersetzungen mit dem Manichäismus.”⁵⁰ The AA, then, comes across exactly as it was meant to—as a demonstration to would-be polemicists of how to refute Manichaeism’s fundamental doctrines. If Archelaus could defeat the founder of the movement, surely others could confound his followers.

⁵⁰ Voss, *Der Dialog*, 154–55.

APPENDIX

Distribution of interventions in the first encounter between Mani and Archelaus (15–42)

Chapter	Mani	Archelaus	Judges
15	1–16		
16	1b–10		1a
17	2c, 6	2b, 3–4, 7–8	1–2a
18		2b–7	1–2a
19	1a, 3b, 4b, 5b, 6b, 8b (1 word), 9a, 9c (2 words), 11a	1b–3a, 4a, 5a, 5c, 6a, 7–8a, 8c, 9b, 10, 11b	3–11
20	2b (1 word)		1–2a
21		1–6	
22		1–7	
23		3–5	
24		3–8	
25		3–12	1–2
26		4–7	1–3
27		4–12	1
28	2 1–3, 4b, 5b, 9, 10b	4a, 5a, 6–8, 10a, 11–13	
29			1–4
30		1–6	
31		1–9	
32	1–4	5–11	
33	1–2, 3b, 5b, 6b, 6d, 7b, 8b, 9b	3a, 4–5a, 6a, 6c, 7a, 8a, 9a, 10	
34		1b–11	
35		1–11	
36	6b (2 words)	1–6a, 7–11	
37	1b, 2b, 4a	2a, 3, 4b–16	1a
38		1–13	
39		1–11	
40		1–8	
41		4–14	1–3
42		1–11	

Distribution of interventions in the second encounter between Mani and
Archelaus (53–65)

Chapter	Mani	Archelaus
53		5b–9
54	1–2, 5, 6b, 9–10a, 11–12a	3–4, 6a, 7–8, 10b, 12b
55	1–7	
56		2–7
57		1–10
58		1–13
59	1–6	7–12
60	10b, 11a	1–10a, 10c (1 word), 11b
61		3–8
62		1–7
63		1–6
64		1–9
65		1–9

CHAPTER THREE

A CLASH OF PORTRAITS: CONTRASTS BETWEEN ARCHELAUS AND MANI IN THE ACTA ARCHELAI

The preceding contribution to this volume (“Hesitant and Ignorant”) was an effort toward a better understanding of the inner structure and purpose of the *Acts of Archelaus* (AA). My finding there was that in choosing, arranging, and presenting the components that make up the text, the author was pursuing a particular agenda that could have been served equally well by either an historically-based event or a purely fictional creation.

Here I seek a closer comparison of the two main protagonists, Mani and Archelaus, with particular attention to the style and points of reference in their discourse. The present study is part of a broader attempt to understand the language of ancient heresiology, and it seems particularly appropriate that it be applied to a Christian polemical work that influenced so much of subsequent Christian anti-Manichaica.¹

I begin with Madeleine Scopello’s observation that:

The same points that attracted heresiology’s attention have also seduced modern criticism. The other parts of the *Acta Archelai*, made up of the theological controversies between Mani and the bishop of Carchar, and that in fact comprise the majority of the text, were commented on only very rarely.²

¹ M. Scopello, “Hégémonius, les *Acta Archelai* et l’histoire de la controverse anti-manichéenne,” in R. E. Emmerick, W. Sundermann and P. Zieme, eds., *Studia Manichaica: IV. Internationaler Kongreß zum Manichäismus, Berlin, 14.-18. Juli 1997* (Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Berichte und Abhandlungen, Sonderband 4), Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 2000, 531: “Les *Acta Archelai* sont très vite devenus, quelques décennies après leur parution, l’indispensable outil lorsqu’on parle de manichéisme. Repris dans les catalogues d’hérésies, remaniés dans les œuvres de réfutation plus complexes, on les a accommodés à toutes les sauces.” See also 541–44; E. Spät, “The ‘Teachers’ of Mani in the *Acta Archelai* and Simon Magus,” VC 58 (2004): 2; and M. Tardieu, “Archelaus,” in E. Yarshater, ed., *Encyclopaedia Iranica* 2, London and New York: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1987, 279.

² Scopello, “Hégémonius,” 544: “Les mêmes points qui attirèrent l’attention de l’hérésiologie ont également séduit la critique moderne. Les autres parties des *Acta Archelai* constituées par les controverses théologiques entre Mani et l’évêque de Carchara, et qui occupent en réalité la plus grande partie du texte, ne furent que très rarement commentées.”

In other words, the AA's influence, considerable though it was, extended only to the more 'biographical' and narrative elements; the same is true of modern studies of the text. Thus, when Michel Tardieu says that "The literary interest of the *Acta Archelai* lies in its method of rebutting the adversary,"³ he is only half right; that *should* be the literary interest, but it is an interest commonly expressed through little more than a marshaling of the arguments the protagonists employ. In fact, Heinrich von Zittwitz has been the only one so far to broach the text's argumentative threads, and that was well before the close of the nineteenth century.⁴ Here I would like to expand on his work by examining both the content and the style of the arguments, and the discourse that mediates them, in the AA. The scope this time will be limited to the exchange of letters between Mani and Marcellus (chapters 5–6), and to the first of their two encounters (15–42). (Indeed, the AA begins by alluding only to the encounter in 'Carchar,' inferring that the first was the only one that actually took place, or at least that it was the only one the writer originally intended to report.)⁵

The key to my examination is the text's own technique of fault-finding comparison. Scopello and others have noted how the AA begins by describing itself as 'the true treasure' (1.1)—in contrast, of course, with Mani's *Treasury (of Life)*.⁶ The negative comparison is enhanced by the respective introductions of Mani and Archelaus. The latter, orthodox bishop of 'Carchar,' is in the company of the devout and charitable Christian layman Marcellus, first citizen of that (possibly fictional) Roman town on the border with Persia. We find these two righteous individuals comfortably esconced on their own turf, while the text devotes considerable space (1.2–3.6) to Marcellus' credentials. In contrast, Mani is on the move, on the move. The reader first meets him in chapter 4, where in a Persian border garrison he is scheming

³ Tardieu, "Archelaus," 280.

⁴ H. von Zittwitz, "Acta disputationis Archelai et Manetis," *Zeitschrift für die historische Theologie* 43 (1873): 467–528.

⁵ 1.1 (GCS 16, p. 1.3–4): "Thesaurus verus sive *disputatio habita in Carcharis civitate Mesopotamiae Archelai episcopi adversus Manen...*" (my emphasis).

⁶ Scopello, "Hégémonius," 530; G. C. Hansen, "Zu den Evangelienzitaten in den 'Acta Archelai,'" in F. L. Cross, ed., SP 7: *Papers presented to the Fourth International Conference on Patristic Studies held at Oxford 1963* 1 (TU, 92), Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1966, 475; and S. N. C. Lieu's comment in M. Vermes, *Hegemonius, Acta Archelai (The Acts of Archelaus)* (MS, 4), Leuven: Brepols, 2004, 35 n. 1.

to construct a means of ideological ingress into the Roman Empire, for which Marcellus is to serve as the access ramp:

he debated with himself very seriously as to how he could ensnare him in the nets of his own doctrine, hoping that Marcellus could be made a proclaimer of his own dogma. For Manes assumed that he would be able to seize the entire province provided he could first win over such a man to himself.⁷

To accomplish this, Mani will have to take account of Marcellus' fervent Christianity. To that end, he writes Marcellus a letter in which, as if to avert any suspicion about his intentions, he quotes 1 Corinthians 7:35 ("I do not 'cast a snare on anyone'") as a prelude to the assertion that he needs to set no snares (5.6)⁸ because, the text continues, "he feared that by an unexpected and sudden approach some harm might be generated to himself."⁹ From the start, then, Mani is made to seem both temerarious and timorous.

The letter to Marcellus is possibly derived from an authentic letter of Mani¹⁰ but, if that is the case, it has undergone some modifications. It begins as many authentic letters of Mani do, save for the mention of "all the saints and virgins with me" (5.1);¹¹ indeed, twenty-two young men and women 'elect' are said to accompany him to 'Carchar,'¹² after which nothing more is heard of them. The letter's overall purpose, it seems, is to have Mani invite himself to Marcellus' home (5.6)—after disparaging Marcellus' variety of religion (5.2). Indeed, the letter is rather short on diplomacy. Though sent, Mani says, "with a view to the salvation of your own soul, and...the salvation of those with you"

⁷ 4.1–2, Vermes, *Hegemonius*, 39 (GCS 16, p. 4.23–26: "plurimum ipse secum volvebat quemadmodum eum doctrinae suae posset laqueis inretire, sperans adserorem dogmatis sui fieri posse Marcellum. Praesumebat enim universam se posse occupare provinciam, si prius talem virum sibimet subdere potuisset").

⁸ The very accusation the narrator has just made. Archelaus will pick up on it in the second encounter (59.11).

⁹ 4.2, Vermes, *Hegemonius*, 39 (GCS 16, p. 5.2–3: "verebatur enim ne forte improviso et subito ingressu malum sibi aliquod nasceretur").

¹⁰ See I. Gardner, "Mani's Letter to Marcellus: Fact and Fiction in the *Acta Archelai* Revisited," in J. BeDuhn and P. Mirecki, eds., *Frontiers of Faith: The Christian Encounter with Manichaeism in the Acts of Archelaus* (NHMS, 61), Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2007, 33–48; also Zittwitz, "Acta disputationis": 474–93.

¹¹ GCS 16, p. 5.25–26: "qui mecum sunt omnes sancti et virgines" (οἱ οὖν ἐμοὶ πάντες ἄγιοι καὶ παρθένοι).

¹² 14.2, GCS 16, p. 22.21–22: "adducens secum iuvenes et virgines electos ad viginti duo simul."

(5.3),¹³ it contains no positive teaching—only an attack on the “indiscriminate opinions” (5.3)¹⁴ that evil and good share a common origin, that there is only one ultimate principle, and that no real distinction exists between good/evil, light/darkness, or the inner/outer person. “As we have described before,” adds Mani (5.3)¹⁵—as if Marcellus would have known that! Mani goes on to attack the notions that God (the good principle) created Satan (principle of evil), and that (the true) Christ had Mary for a mother (5.5).

For his part, Archelaus is portrayed as confident and confrontational. On hearing Mani’s letter, he “received the contents as they were read without any pleasure, and gnashed his teeth like a caged lion [see 1 Peter 5:8], eager to get his hands on the author of the letter” (6.1).¹⁶ Then, listening to the testimony of Mani’s letter-carrier Turbo, he is “greatly incensed” (14.1).¹⁷ He and Marcellus grill Turbo about Mani’s life and teaching—both apparently unknown to them before this (6.5).¹⁸ Turbo therefore provides them (in chapters 7 through 13) with the essentials of Mani’s doctrine (but nothing, we note, on Mani’s life). That his cosmogonical intervention is meant to set the stage for the main event, the first encounter between Archelaus and Mani, seems clear from the timing: “That very day Manes arrived” (14.2).¹⁹ So the speed with which Archelaus will be able to organize a rebuttal to Mani’s ideas is nothing short of remarkable.

Mani does not arrive expecting a formal debate. Richard Lim has remarked that Manichaeans were not disposed to initiate public dis-

¹³ Vermes, *Hegemonius*, 41 (GCS 16, p. 6.23–24: “ad salutem animae tuae, deinde et eorum qui tecum sunt”). Greek: πρὸς σωτηρίαν τῆς σεαυτοῦ ψυχῆς, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄμα σοι τυγχανόντων.

¹⁴ Vermes, *Hegemonius*, 41 (GCS 16, p. 6.24: “utine indiscretos animos geras”). Vermes’ translation here more closely approximates the Greek: πρὸς τὸ (μὴ) ἀδιακριτὸν σε ἔχειν τὸν λογισμόν.

¹⁵ Vermes, *Hegemonius*, 41 (GCS 16, p. 6.28: “sicut praediximus”). Greek: ὡς προείπομεν.

¹⁶ Vermes, *Hegemonius*, 42–43 (GCS 16, p. 8.6–8: “Archelaus vero ea quae lecta sunt non libenter amplexus velut leo conclusus dentibus infrendebat, auctorem epistulae sibi desiderans dari”).

¹⁷ Vermes, *Hegemonius*, 58 (GCS 16, p. 22.16: “vehementer accendebat”).

¹⁸ Vermes, *Hegemonius*, 43: “For both of them were enquiring in great detail into Manes’ practices, wanting to know who he was, where he came from and what his message was” (GCS 16, p. 9.8–9: “valde enim studiose uterque de Manis studiis perquirebant, scire cupientes quis unde vel quid verbi ferat”).

¹⁹ Vermes, *Hegemonius*, 58 (GCS 16, p. 22.21: “Eadem autem ipsa die adventavit Manes”).

putations;²⁰ that “Prominent set-piece debates with Manichaeans were initiated by their opponents, who sought through such high-profile encounters to stop the success of the Manichaeans’ proselytizing efforts;”²¹ and that in the literature Mani is mainly depicted as preaching, not debating²²—all certainly the case here. To Mani goes the opening statement of the first encounter (14.6) which, in classic Manichaean fashion, he delivers with a focus on the origin of evil and on its corollary, dualism,²³ the same themes with which he began his letter to Marcellus. Mani adds the accusation that Archelaus has enslaved Marcellus, whom Mani must therefore liberate (15.1) along with the entire city (15.2). For he, Mani, represents the truth (15.2,8), since he is the Paraclete who brings to completion a hitherto unfinished revelation (15.3). One must acknowledge his status as the elect apostle, or burn eternally (15.4; see 16.3). The doctrine Archelaus represents is absurd (15.8): God is not the originator of evil (15.5,7–10, 16.1), and the Old Testament has no value (15.11–16)—points Mani presents as “obvious to those who can show discernment” (15.14).²⁴

Indeed, the guiding theme of much of Mani’s exposition is the wrongness of his opponent’s doctrine. The judges finally have to insist that he stick to presenting his own teaching (16.1), and so he finally gets to its main pillars: radical dualism, and a source for evil other than God (16.2–10). Yet he is soon confounded by the first questions put to him, as though he has already painted himself into a corner (17.4–5):

‘What do you say then? Are those two natures unchangeable or changeable? or is one of them being changed?’ At this Manes hesitated because he could not find a reply. For he was examining the conclusion that would follow from either answer, or reconsidering his position.²⁵

²⁰ R. Lim, “Manichaeans and Public Disputation in Late Antiquity,” in *Idem, Public Disputation, Power, and Social Order in Late Antiquity* (The Transformation of the Classical Heritage, 23), Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995, 70–71, 74–75, and 103 (repr. from *RechAug* 26 [1992]: 233–34, 237–38, and 266–67).

²¹ Lim, “Manichaeans,” 71 (1992: 234).

²² See Lim, “Manichaeans,” 73 (1992: 236–37). Wolf-Peter Funk informs me that the final chapter of the Coptic *Kephalaia* shows Mani as a debater. This part of the *Kephalaia* is as yet unpublished. For the manuscript text see S. Giversen, *The Manichaean Coptic Papyri in the Chester Beatty Library, Facsimile Edition 1* (Cahiers d’Orientalisme, 14), Geneva: Patrick Cramer, 1986, 335–45.

²³ See Lim, “Manichaeans,” 75 (dualism) and 89 (evil) (1992: 238 and 253).

²⁴ Vermes, *Hegemonius*, 61 (GCS 16, p. 25.17–18: “Quod manifestum est his qui discretionem habere possunt”).

²⁵ Vermes, *Hegemonius*, 65 (GCS 16, p. 28.7–10: “Quid ergo ais? Duea istae naturae inconvertibles sunt an convertibiles, aut una earum convertitur? At vero Manes

The judges (who, though named as early as the AA's opening passage, never act individually) have been chosen for this encounter to project the illusion of impartiality. All seem to share an expertise in public discourse. Manippus knows grammar and rhetoric, Aegialeus is the public health officer²⁶ and learned in letters, and the brothers Claudius and Cleobalus are rhetors (14.5). All four are clearly pagan (14.5: *religione gentiles*; see 18.1); yet from the start it is also clear that they side with Archelaus (23.1–2, 26.1, and 29.4), who informs them (with no proof) that “it is sufficient for me to have made these statements... to show you what sort of man he was” (41.14).²⁷ *Was?* Why not *is*? Mani is supposedly standing right there. This inconsistency may be an indicator of the debate's non-historical character.

The judges employ a single simile (29.2–3), but the two main protagonists show a fondness for both simile and metaphor,²⁸ Mani three times (15.14, 16.9, and 28.2–3), and Archelaus no less than fifteen (21.5, 22.1, 6, 24.6, 26.5, 27.7, 28.13, 30.1, 3–6, 31.1–4, 37.12, 40.2–3, 41.10, 13, and 42.4). Mani explicitly identifies ‘parables’ (16.8: *parabolis*) or similes (28.1: *persimilitudines dicam*) as his methodology, while Archelaus invokes ‘examples’ (22.1: *exemplis*).²⁹ Once, Archelaus indulges in word play: rather than a *paracletus*, Mani is a *parasitus* (25.3).³⁰

There are some elements here of a rudimentary philosophy (kept so for the benefit of the audience?). “The judges [and we note that there is no philosopher among them] said: ‘changeability transforms the person to whom it occurs into someone else’” (18.1), but they use a

remoratus est non inveniendo responsum; intuebatur enim quod ex utroque concluderetur, retractans”). See Lim, “Manichaeans,” 86 (1992: 249): “Reducing someone to a state of literal *aphōnia* was a complete refutation and triumph in a public debate.”

²⁶ On the various functions represented by the term *archiater* (= ἀρχιατρός) see G. W. H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, Oxford: Clarendon, 1984, 236; and G. Wissowa, ed., *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* 2 (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1896), c. 464–66.

²⁷ Vermes, *Hegemonius*, 108 (GCS 16, p. 61.30–31: “ista me sufficit protulisse... uti istum vobis qualis esset ostenderem”).

²⁸ Or is the fondness the author's own? See 14.1 = Vermes, *Hegemonius*, 58: “Archelaus was anxious for his people, like a shepherd for his sheep, when traps are being set by wolves” (GCS 16, p. 22.18–19: “Archelao autem erat cura pro populo, tamquam pastori pro ovibus, cum luporum parantur insidiae”).

²⁹ Vermes, *Hegemonius*, 71–2: “But if this seems difficult for you (sing.) to comprehend and you do not acquiesce to these statements, at least I shall try to substantiate them for you (sing.) by means of examples” (GCS 16, p. 33.24–25: “Quod si id tibi difficile videtur intellectu nec adquiescis his dictis, saltem exemplis tibi adfirmabo”). Note the singular person in use here: these remarks are directed at Mani.

³⁰ Vermes, *Hegemonius*, 75 (GCS 16, p. 37.2).

rather mundane verb (*transfert*) and are thinking of religious conversion.³¹ In 18.2 Archelaus points out that two unchangeable natures could in fact be “one and the same,”³² and in 20.5 he states that “anyone who yearns or desires, desires something better and different.”³³ The human person (*persona*) is made up of the two elements of body and soul (21.2), though how the two relate goes unexplained. Archelaus challenges Mani to define evil rather than focus on its origin (18.7), although in 23.1–2 the judges show more interest in the origin of both good and evil. In 24.6–7 Archelaus argues against the existence of two unbegotten (and opposed) beings. On at least one occasion, his attempt at logic is specious: arguing in 20.6–7 that evil cannot be uncreated because a created human being can overcome it, he opens himself to the rebuttal (which Mani does not exploit) that the same argument could prove either that humans are uncreated or that the evil they overcome is simply the created expression of something uncreated—much like humans themselves. Thus the AA contains nowhere near the sophisticated philosophical discourse of, say, Alexander of Lycopolis.

However, philosophical terms do occur here and there:³⁴ Archelaus employs *substantia* (in 18.7, 21.2–3, 26.4, 27.8, 28.10, 33.10, and 36.7–11)³⁵ and ‘person’ (in 21.2).³⁶ The judges refer once to *accidens* (25.2).³⁷ Mani speaks of pre-existent matter in 16.5 (see 26.3),³⁸ and (once) of ‘philosophy,’ in a somewhat derogatory sense (16.7).³⁹ Both Archelaus (20.5 and 38.2) and Mani (19.11 and 28.4) make use of ‘nature,’ (*natura*: see also 33.10 and 36.10); but what Mani calls “the

³¹ Vermes, *Hegemonius*, 66 (GCS 16, p. 28.25–26: “Convertibilitas illum, cui accidit, transfert in alium”). See 18.2–3,6.

³² Vermes, *Hegemonius*, 66 (GCS 16, p. 29.3–4: “Si quidem incoversibiles [sic] esse dicit utrasque naturas, quid est quod impedit, uti ne unum atque idem eas esse opinemur?”).

³³ Vermes, *Hegemonius*, 69 (GCS 16, p. 31.29–30: “Qui enim zelatur aut concupiscit, meliora et aliena concupiscit”).

³⁴ But see Voss, *Der Dialog*, 153: “sie sind jedoch nicht mehr als Worte.”

³⁵ Vermes, *Hegemonius*, 67, 71, 78–79, 82, 89, and 95–96 (GCS 16, pp. 29.26, 33.1,3, 38.28, 40.6, 41.31, 47.22, 51.31, and 52.6,7,11,15,18). See also 21.3, and note *homou-sion* in 36.8.

³⁶ Vermes, *Hegemonius*, 71 (GCS 16, p. 33.2: “persona”). These Latin words—‘substantia’ and ‘persona’—pose a problem, because we do not have the Greek terms they are translating. Also, the translation may reflect the Latin vocabulary, or at least usage, of a time later than that of the original composition.

³⁷ GCS 16, p. 36.31.

³⁸ Vermes, *Hegemonius*, 63 (GCS 16, p. 26.25: “non subsistente materia”).

³⁹ Vermes, *Hegemonius*, 64 (GCS 16, p. 27.5: “philosophia”).

two natures” (16.1) the judges refer to as “two principles of nature” (17.1), or as the good and evil deities (23.2), and Archelaus as ‘two substances’ (26.4, 33.10).⁴⁰ Both Mani and Archelaus refer to the (*in*)convertibilitas of both nature (17.4,6) and God (36.7), and Mani speaks of ‘properties’ (17.6)⁴¹—concepts, says Archelaus, that Mani utters but does not understand (17.7–8).

More telling than philosophy is how *Scripture* is used. Indeed, the Bible is the only source to which both sides regularly appeal,⁴² in both cases with a heavy emphasis on Paul. But only Archelaus quotes the Old Testament (as in 34.5). Nowhere here is there anything approaching *exegesis*. In chapter 21, for example, Archelaus sees in the parable of new wine in old skins a simple argument for the compatibility of the human body and soul. He applies Jesus’ denunciation of the scribes and Pharisees (Matt 23:13–28 and par.) in similar fashion (25.1–5). At 25.4 he gives a curious interpretation of the creation of light and darkness, through an appeal to a ‘middle part’ (*medietas*)⁴³ that obviously draws on ancient cosmognomy (25.6–11): darkness exists because of the shadow thrown past an object in the path of light. Thus Mani will be pressed by both Archelaus and the judges to identify the builder of the ‘middle wall’ interposed between light and darkness to keep them separated (26.6–27.1). Mani’s response—that God placed the firmament in the middle—is dismissed by Archelaus as an admission that God would then be weak (27.2–4), or at least that the wall would have had to crumble for ‘the wicked one’ to invade the rival realm (27.6,8).

To conclude, I offer some reflections on the foregoing observations:

- (1) Eszter Spät has claimed that the global emphasis in the AA is placed on Mani’s life, work and appearance:

The ingenuity of Hegemonius lies in the fact that this ideological attack is not so much through open statements as to the execrable nature of the

⁴⁰ Note that in his exposé Turbo refers to Mani as worshipping “two divinities” (7.1, GCS 16, p. 9.18–19: “duos colit deos innatos”; Greek: δύο σέβει θεοὺς ἀγεννήτους). But Manichaean sources speak little of the two eternal principles as deities, and never of worshipping both of them. See J. K. Coyle, *Augustine’s “De moribus ecclesiae catholicae”: A Study of the Work, its Composition and its Sources* (Paradosis, 25), Fribourg: The University Press, 1978, 331–32.

⁴¹ Vermes, *Hegemonius*, 65 (GCS 16, p. 28.14: “propria”).

⁴² See Hansen, “Zu den Evangelienzitaten.” Note that even the pagan judges quote the Bible (25.1 and 41.2).

⁴³ Vermes, *Hegemonius*, 76 (GCS 16, p. 37.5,7).

heresy (as in “regular” anti-heretical writings), but through “biographical” elements that convey the same message.⁴⁴

That claim can be true only insofar as the biographical elements were the mainstay of subsequent interest in the AA. In the text itself, Mani’s characteristics form a framework for both debates, and the debates are mediated through rhetorical devices. On the other hand, biographically speaking the AA provides us with much on *Mani* and next to nothing on Archelaus. Yet *any* such description would be an anomaly in the heresiological genre, even in other public disputes between Manichaeans and Christians.

- (2) There are ‘props’ here (such as biographical details, applauding crowds, and the letter-carrier’s journey to ‘Carchar’)⁴⁵ not found in otherwise similar *disputationes*. But the AA is not out to convey history, but polemics, a goal achieved by highlighting Mani’s (and therefore Manichaeism’s) alien character, and by discrediting the powers of persuasion of both the founder and his system.
- (3) Nor does the AA constitute a true classical dialogue, even an imaginary one.⁴⁶ Unlike in other debates between individuals or groups that consider themselves Christian, the protagonists of the AA are not limited to pure doctrine, the assisting public and referees are free to intervene (even physically in the crowd’s case), and personal jibes are liberally dispensed.⁴⁷ The purpose here is not the orderly unfolding of a debating position, but (at least from Archelaus’ perspective) the simple annihilation of the opponent. The Bible is the weapon of choice. In the case of both protagonists (more obviously in Archelaus’) orthodoxy, not logic, rules: error has no rights, no matter how reasoned.⁴⁸ The author’s bias is also

⁴⁴ Spät, “The ‘Teachers’”: 3–4.

⁴⁵ I believe that M. Scopello’s assessment of the two latter points as devices to explain Mani’s presence in Roman territory is essentially correct (“Hégémonius,” 535: “Dans l’optique d’Hégémonius, ces événements n’ont qu’un but: créer le prétexte d’une rencontre entre Mani, le perse, et Marcellus, le romain”).

⁴⁶ Voss, *Der Dialog*, p. 155: “In dem Bereich, in dem die Acta Archelai entstanden sind und für den sie gedacht waren, kannte man zwar Disputationen, der Dialog als eigenständige Literaturform aber existierte dort nicht.”

⁴⁷ See Spät, “The ‘Teachers’”: 16.

⁴⁸ Voss, *Der Dialog*, 155: “Angestrebt ist Besiegung, im Grunde Vernichtung des Gegenübers. Infolgesessen wird in zunehmender Breite vorgetragen, was für die Orthodoxie spricht. Berücksichtigt werden allenfalls Bedürfnisse der Zuhörer— das bedeutet: der Leser. Ob die Argumente vom Partner voll Verständnis und mit

shown in inconsistencies. For instance, Archelaus claims of Mani: “In his preceding speech he stated that the darkness crossed from its own boundaries into the kingdom of the good God,”⁴⁹ although Mani has made no such claim. Again, Mani is accused of knowing no language but his own (40.5).⁵⁰ how, then, was the debate conducted?

- (4) Richard Lim has remarked that “descriptions of public debates, just as much as reports of miracles, adhere to listening and narrative conventions and deliver specific messages to desired audiences.”⁵¹ But here, unlike in, say, Pseudo-Mark the Deacon’s *Life of Porphyry of Gaza*, there are no miracles to carry the story forward. In fact, in the first encounter Archelaus seems to firmly rule them out (39.8–9; see 40.1,4). All is either narrative or disputation (the latter characterized by claiming logical reasoning for oneself and denying it to the other).⁵² Perhaps signs are considered “unnecessary when a society’s conflicting claims could still be satisfactorily adjudicated by referring to existing institutions and authorities.”⁵³
- (5) Whether the disputes are historical or not, their recitation is what matters most here. Their language (indeed, the tone of the entire AA) is, to judge by the Latin, simple in style and keeps syllogistic reasoning to a minimum. While this could be interpreted as a popularized guide on how to handle encounters with Manichaeans, it is more likely aimed at those who will have to deal directly with them.
- (6) Finally, since, as we noted, the AA begins with a reference only to the *first* encounter which, incidentally, it calls a (or ‘the’) ‘dis-

Überzeugung aufgenommen werden, ist innerhalb dieser Disputation nicht von Interesse.”

⁴⁹ Vermes, *Hegemonius*, 80 (GCS 16, p. 40.7–8): “In praecedentibus professus est, quia supervenerunt tenebrae ex propriis finibus in regnum dei boni.” See also 27.3.

⁵⁰ GCS 16, p. 59.19–22: “Persa barbare, non Graecorum linguae, non Aegyptiorum, non Romanorum, non ullius alterius linguae scientiam habere potuisti; sed Chaldaeorum solam, quae ne in numerum quidem aliquem ducitur; nullum alium loquentem audire potes.”

⁵¹ R. Lim, “‘By Word or by Deed?’: Two Modes of Religious Persuasion in Late Antiquity,” in M. Dillon, ed., *Religion in the Ancient World: New Themes and Approaches*, Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1996, 261.

⁵² On the notion of ‘the other’ in the AA, see Scopello, “Hégémonius,” 544–45 and “Vérités”: 210.

⁵³ Lim, “‘By Word or by Deed,’” 268. However, Archelaus will demand signs in the second encounter in the town of ‘Diodoris’ (54.4).

putation' (1.1), it leaves the impression that the first, in 'Carchar,' was the only one (assuming that any really took place).⁵⁴ A logical original stopping point for the text (most likely before its translation into Latin) would then have been 43.3:

Now since it has pleased Marcellus that this disputation should be recorded and written down, I have not been able to gainsay him, but have trusted in the good will of my readers, that they will pardon me, if my narration should sound at all naïve or colloquial. For my only purpose is this, that an awareness of what took place should not elude any serious enquirer.⁵⁵

⁵⁴ See the text above, p. 38 n. 5.

⁵⁵ Vermes, *Hegemonius*, 110–11 (GCS 16, pp. 63.28–64.1: "Quoniam vero placuit Marcello disputationem hanc excipi atque describi, contradicere non potui, confisus de benignitate legentium quod veniam dabunt, si quid imperitum aut rusticum sonabit oratio; hoc enim tantum est quod studemus, ut rei gestae cognitio studiosum, quemque non lateat").

PART TWO
MANICHAEAN THEMES

CHAPTER FOUR

THE IDEA OF THE ‘GOOD’ IN MANICHAEISM

INTRODUCTION

Anyone with the most superficial knowledge of Manichaean beliefs will appreciate that they were constructed upon a radical dichotomy between good and evil. The First Moment of the Manichaean cosmogonical drama posits the existence of two eternally co-existing principles, one good, of Light, the other evil, of Darkness. The present, or Middle, Moment, resulting from a primordial war between the two principles, is marked by the mixture of the good with the evil.¹ If this myth constituted the basis for an appealing solution as to why evil currently exists in the world, it also created for Manichaeans their primary metaphysical and moral dilemma: how, then, to distinguish good from evil? That the problem existed has always been known to manichaeologists; but, following the lead of early adversaries of Manichaeism such as Alexander of Lycopolis and Augustine of Hippo, they chose to focus on how the system viewed evil, rather than on how it perceived good.²

Indeed, the issue of the nature of evil is the keystone of the anti-Manichaean polemic of Augustine, even if he titled one of his last formally anti-Manichaean works *The Nature of the Good*,³ a treatise

¹ A good summary of the cosmic drama can be found in S. N. C. Lieu, *Manichaeism in the Later Roman Empire and Medieval China*, 2nd ed. (WUZNT, 63), Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1992 (1985), 10–21.

² See among more recent studies A. Böhlig, “Das Böse in der Lehre des Mani und des Markion,” in W. Strothmann, ed., *Makarios: Symposium über das Böse, Vorträge der Finnisch-Deutsche Theologentagung in Goslar 1980* (Göttinger Orientforschungen, Reihe 1: Syriaca, 24), Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1983, 18–35, repr. in A. Böhlig, *Gnosis und Synkretismus: Gesammelte Aufsätze zur spätantiken Religionsgeschichte*, 2 (WUZNT, 48), Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1989, 612–37; G. Sfameni Gasparro, “Natura e origine del male: alle radici dell’incontro e del confronto di Agostino con la gnosi manichea,” in *Il mistero del male e la libertà possibile: Lettura dei Dialoghi di Agostino* (SEA, 45), Rome: Institutum Patristicum Augustinianum, 1994, 7–55; and Lieu, *Manichaeism*, 187–90.

³ On the date of this work see F. Decret, *L’Afrique manichéenne* (IV^e–V^e siècles): Étude historique et doctrinale 1, Paris: Études Augustiniennes, 1978, 725–26. It is

which itself has received little scholarly attention.⁴ However, Kam-lun Edwin Lee has examined Augustine's perception of the Manichaean notion of good. Beginning with his first work, *De pulchro et apto*, Lee concluded that Augustine understood Manichaeism to equate 'goodness' with 'beauty'⁵ or 'tranquil pleasure,' an equivalence which would primarily engage sensory perception⁶ (and, by way of a corollary, identify 'evil' with 'that which causes pain').⁷

My purpose here is to enquire whether the equivalence was actually made by Manichaeans themselves. The focus, then, will not be on anti-Manichaean polemics, or on the sources for whatever Manichaean notions may be uncovered, but on what Manichaeism itself seemed to say, and its significance. Nor am I addressing 'the good' in the sense of the Manichaean principle co-eternal with its opposite number, or as the ubiquitous Light-substance (which is simply begging the question). Instead, I query what, in the eyes of Manichaeans, enabled them to label some persons, objects, actions, and events as 'good' and others as 'bad.'

certainly interesting that Augustine would have written a treatise entitled 'The Nature of the Good' with Manichaeans specifically in mind.

⁴ The only study on it I know is A. A. Moon, *The De Natura Boni of Saint Augustine: A Translation with an Introduction and Commentary* (Catholic University of America Patristic Studies 88), Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1955.

⁵ The title of this first work—written during Augustine's Manichaean period (ca. 380)—then acquires added significance, as does the fact that he later emphasized enjoyment (*fruitio*) of the *summum bonum* as the *finis* of all other goods: see, e.g., *De moribus ecclesiae catholicae* 8.13 (CSEL 90, pp. 15.7–16.1); and *epist. 118* 3.13 (CSEL 34/2, pp. 677.22–678.16).

⁶ See Aug., *De moribus Manichaeorum* 16.39 (CSEL 90, pp. 123–24); *De haeresibus* 46.7 (CCL 46, p. 314.39–43): "lucemque istam corpoream animantium mortalium oculis adiacentem [...] dei dicunt esse naturam"; and *De Genesi contra Manichaeos* 1.3.6 (CSEL 91, p. 72.5–6): "Non enim norunt isti lucem nisi quam carnis oculis uident."

⁷ K. E. Lee, *Augustine, Manichaeism, and the Good* (Patristic Studies, 2), New York: Lang, 1999. See Aug., *De mor. Man.* 3.5 (CSEL 90, p. 91.5–6): "Percunctor uos iterum quid sit malum. Si dixeritis id quod nocet, neque hic mentiemini"; and 9.16 (pp. 101.22–102.15). Another way to consider evil in this context would be as 'loss of tranquillity.'

THE OBJECTIVE GOOD: THE AESTHETICALLY PLEASING

As a rule, the surviving Manichaean documents are products of a catechetical or liturgical agenda.⁸ Despite his careful construction of a system to respond to the dilemma of good and evil, Mani seems to have avoided philosophizing about the nature of either, beyond calling them, respectively, Light and Darkness (Matter).⁹ Thus we have a mythologization (or, more appropriately perhaps, concretization) of what in a deliberately philosophical construction would constitute a metaphysical premise.¹⁰ (Something similar occurs, by the way, in Mani's answers to the questions, 'what is love?' and 'what is continence?')¹¹ This approach would have left his followers free to describe good and evil more or less as they saw fit, so long as the cosmogonical

⁸ See T. Katô, "Melodia interior: sur le traité *De pulchro et apto*," REA 12 (1966): 233.

⁹ C. J. Brunner, "The Ontological Relation between Evil and Existents in Manichaean Texts and in Augustine's Interpretation of Manichaeism," in P. Morewedge, ed., *Philosophies of Existence, Ancient and Medieval*, New York: Fordham University Press, 1982, 79: "Manichaeism enunciated a history rather than an ontology (reflecting the discipline of philosophy) or a science of symbols (by which metaphysical concepts were systematically translated into imagery)." See H.-C. Puech, "Le prince des ténèbres et son royaume," in *Satan*, Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, 1948, 105 (repr. in *Idem, Sur le manichéisme et autres essais*, Paris: Flammarion, 1979, 118): "Le dualisme manichéen repose, on le sait, sur l'opposition absolue de deux Substances, Natures ou Racines, de deux Principes l'un et l'autre incréés et infinis, coéternels et, en tout, incompatibles: le Bien et le Mal, Dieu et la Matière. Mais, en raison du type de pensée dont il relève, et qu'elles qu'aient été là-dessus les prétensions de son fondateur, le manichéisme n'est jamais parvenu à maintenir cette opposition sur le plan strictement rationnel ni à en saisir et à en formuler les termes sous forme de purs concepts." See also the interesting remarks of A. Böhlig, "Mani und Platon—ein Vergleich," in A. van Tongerloo and S. Giversen, eds., *Manichaica Selecta: Studies presented to Julien Ries on the occasion of his seventieth birthday*, (MS, 1), Leuven: International Association of Manichaean Studies, 1991, 21–4.

¹⁰ So R. Merkelbach, *Mani und sein Religionssystem* (Rheinisch-Westfälische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Vorträge, G 281), Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1986, 35: "Wenn also die Manichäer in der Auseinandersetzung mit den Christen an die Vernunft, an die *ratio* appellierten und nur das gelten lassen wollten, was rational begründet werden konnte, so war dies ein Prinzip das ihnen gelegentlich half, sich aber in den Augen philosophisch gebildeter Griechen und Römer viel öfters gegen sie wandte; denn der Kern der manichäischen Lehre war in einer langen mythologischen Erzählung niedergelegt und ließ sich nicht mit den rationalen Mitteln der griechischen Philosophie darstellen."

¹¹ Coptic *Kephalaia* 63 and 98, in I. Ibscher, H. J. Polotsky, and A. Böhlig, *Kephalaia, 1. Hälfte, Lieferung 1–10* (MHSMB, 1), Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1940, pp. 155–56 and 248–49; English in I. Gardner, *The Kephalaia of the Teacher: The edited Coptic Manichaean texts in translation with commentary* (NHMS, 37), Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1995, 164–65 and 254–55.

myth was preserved. But they, too, refrained from abstract definitions: there is no Manichaean writing that speculates on “The Nature of the Good.” What seems clear, however, is that Manichaeism in general perceived good and evil each as a strict absolute,¹² which is why in their rebuttal its opponents—Augustine in particular—insisted on a hierarchy of ‘goods’ (though stemming from the ‘supreme good’).¹³ Adolf Harnack’s concise summation therefore seems perfectly accurate: “light is actually the only good, and darkness the only evil.”¹⁴ Mani’s *Letter of the Foundation* asserts that “the Father, who generated there the sons of light, and the air and the earth itself and those sons, are one substance and all are equal.”¹⁵ In this system there would be no such thing as ‘degrees of goodness.’ Hence, a bad tree really is bad;

¹² See on this U. Bianchi, “Sur la théologie et l’anthropologie de Mani,” in P. Bilde, H. K. Nielsen and J. Podemann Sørensen, eds., *Apocryphon Severini presented to Søren Giversen*, Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 1993, 19–28, esp. 19–21. Alexander of Lycopolis, *Against the Teaching of Mani* 2 (in A. Brinkmann, *Alexandri Lycopolitanus contra Manichaei opiniones disputatio*, Leipzig: Teubner, 1895 (repr. 1989), pp. 4.24–5.3) says that Mani “set forth as principles God and Hylè—God as the good, Hylè as the bad, whereby the substance of God’s goodness is widely separated from Hylè’s substance of badness.” H. J. W. Drijvers, “Conflict and Alliance in Manichaeism,” in H. G. Kippenberg, ed., *Struggles of Gods: Papers of the Groningen Work Group for the Study of the History of Religions* (Religion and Reason, 31), Berlin-New York-Amsterdam: Mouton, 1984, 103, sees the powers of good and evil as “quite uneven.” On this see G. Stroumsa, “König und Schwein: Zur Struktur des manichäischen Dualismus,” in J. Taubes, ed., *Gnosis und Politik* (Religionstheorie und politische Theorie, 2), Munich: Fink, 1984, 141–53, esp. 142.

¹³ Aug., *De natura boni* 1 (CSEL 25/2, p. 855.13–20): “Quia ergo bona omnia, siue magna siue parua, per quoslibet rerum gradus non possunt esse nisi a deo [...] quia omnia etiam non summa bona, sed propinqua summo bono et rursus omnia etiam nouissima bona, quae longe sunt a summo bono, non possunt esse nisi ab ipso summo bono.” See also *De mor. Man.* 4.6 (CSEL 90, p. 92.3–21); *Contra Faustum* XXI,4 (CSEL 25/1, pp. 572–573); and *Contra epistolam quam uocant Fundamenti* 25 (p. 223.12–19).

¹⁴ A. Harnack, “Manichaeism,” in *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th ed., vol. 15, London: Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1911, 483 (repr. from the 9th edition [1883] with changes by F. C. Conybeare; trans. from A. Harnack, *Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte* (vol. 2 in the 4th ed., Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1909, 518). According to Epiphanius, *Panarion* 66.14 (GCS 37, p. 36.3–4), Mani’s *Book of Mysteries* began: “There was God and Hylè, Light and Darkness, Good and Evil, and every dissimilarity possible, so that they had absolutely nothing in common.”

¹⁵ Aug., *Contra Felicem* 1.19 (CSEL 25/2, p. 825.24–26): “...pater, qui generauit ibi lucis filios, et aer et ipsa terra et ipsi filii una substantia sunt et aequalia sunt omnia.” See Brunner, “The Ontological,” 86: “Thus each existent creature is genetically linked with one of the two self-existent beings and shares its nature.”

and a good tree bears literally good fruit; and neither has anything to do with the other.¹⁶

Yet these two absolutes managed to mix when the Principle of Darkness rose to the northernmost border of his kingdom, and, perceiving the beauty of the realm of Light, desired to possess it. In the ensuing battle the Primal Human was captured: “The beautiful son, who does no harm, why is he torn apart by demons?”¹⁷ As Christopher Brunner explains, “Each being which manifests this mixing of Light with Darkness is thereby an integral part of the cosmic struggle and an object of God’s (and the believer’s) concern in his efforts to reclaim his lost substance.”¹⁸ Thus Mani’s ‘biography’ declares:

[The Syzygos] revealed to me the secrets about himself, his undefiled father, and all the cosmos. He disclosed to me how they were before the world’s foundation, how the behaviour of all good and evil deeds has been laid, and how in these they have constructed those things which are of mixture.¹⁹

It is this over-riding consideration to free the Light that explains the intensity of Manichaean practices, even if these threatened to result in the extinction of Manichaeism itself.

¹⁶ So the third Coptic *Kephalaion* (Ibscher et al., *Kephalaia*, 1. Hälfte, pp. 22.35–23.3; Gardner, *The Kephalaia*, 26): “Blessed is [every one.../ these [t]wo trees, and separates them on[e] from [an]other. / He understands that they did not arise out of one another, nor did [th]ey come / from one another. They did not come from one.” See also *Keph.* 120, in A. Böhlig, *Kephalaia*, 2. Hälfte, Lieferung 11/12, Seite 244–291 (MHSMB, 1), Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1966, pp. 286.24–288.18 (Gardner, *op. cit.*, 288–89). The Chinese “Compendium of the Teachings and Rules of Mani, the Buddha of Light” (British Museum, S.3969), c28 (H. Schmidt-Glintzer, *Chinesische Manichaica* [SOR, 14], Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1987, 75) states that “Anyone wishing to enter the monastic state must understand that the Principle of Light and the Principle of Darkness are absolutely distinct in nature.”

¹⁷ Turfan fragment M 33 R II, in W. B. Henning, “Mitteliranische Manichaica aus Chinesisch-Turkestan,” 3, SPAW, Jhg. 1934: 877, repr. in *Idem, Selected Papers* 1 (AI, 14), Leiden: E. J. Brill / Teheran: Bibliothèque Pahlavi, 1977, [304].

¹⁸ Brunner, “The Ontological,” 86.

¹⁹ P. Colon. 4780, 65.12–20, in L. Koenen and C. Römer, *Der Kölner Mani-Kodex über das Werden seines Leibes: Kritische Edition* (ARWAW, Sonderreihe Papyrologica Coloniensia, XIV), Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1988, 44. See also the first Coptic *Kephalaion* (Ibscher et al., *Kephalaia*, 1. Hälfte, p. 15.1–7; Gardner, *The Kephalaia*, 20); and Turfan fragment M 9 I R (in W. B. Henning, “Mitteliranische Manichaica aus Chinesisch-Turkestan,” 2, SPAW, Jhg. 1933: 298; *Idem, Selected Papers* 1, [195]): “Were one not to see in the world the finite and passing good-with-evil, and the mixture of one with the other, the command to stay away from evil and to approach the good could occur to no one’s thinking.”

To return now to the cosmogonical myth and its two primordial essences:²⁰ the Kingdom of Light (or Good) is characterised by, besides five good elements (clear water, and so on),²¹ five ‘dwellings,’ i.e., spiritual qualities. The lists differ according to the time and place of their composition, but are reflected in a Coptic psalm ‘of the Wanderers’ (*Σαρακωτῶν*) which, though not completely preserved, clearly terms them all ‘fair’ (or ‘beautiful’: *νεκές*):

Fair..... God, he singing hymns.
 Fair is an Intelligence] collected if it has received the
 love of [God].
 Fair is a perfect [Thought] which Perfection...
 Fair is a [Reason of] Light which Faith has reached [...].
 Fair is a good Counsel that has given place to endurance.
 Fair is a blessed Intention that has been flavoured with Wisdom.²²

This has strong echoes in the second Coptic *Kephalaion* (‘Parable of the Tree’), where the fruits of the ‘good tree’ are

consideration, counsel, insight, thought,
 [mind. I]ts consideration is the ho[ly] church. [Its counsel]
 is [the Pil]lar of Glory, the Perfect
 Man. [Its insight
 is the Fir]st Man who dwells in the ship of [living] wa[ters].
 Its thought is the Third Ambassador
 [who dwells in] the ship of living fire, that shines in
 [...] Also, the min[d] is the Father who dwells in
 [greatness (?)].²³

²⁰ Brunner, “The Ontological,” 83–4: “If Manichaean doctrine elevates the metaphysical status of evil by recognizing it as existent and primordial (see, e.g., [Augustine,] *Retractationes* 1.9.2), its intent is only to discover the truth of the cosmic drama.”

²¹ On this see P. van Lindt, “Studies on the Manichaean Myth,” in R. E. Emmerick, W. Sundermann and P. Zieme, eds., *Studia Manichaica: IV. Internationaler Kongreß zum Manichäismus, Berlin, 14.–18. Juli 1997* (Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Berichte und Abhandlungen, Sonderband 4), Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2000, 387–97.

²² C. R. C. Allberry, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book, Part II* (MMCBC, 2), Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1938, p. 174.12–18.

²³ Ibscher et al., *Kephalaia, 1. Hälfte*, p. 20.13–20; Gardner, *The Kephalaia*, 25. In *Keph.* 21 and 25 the ‘fruits’ are styled “light limbs of the Father” (Ibscher et al., *op. cit.*, pp. 64.20–23 and 76.15–23; Gardner, *op. cit.*, 67 and 77), and are then (*Keph.* 38) affirmed to be reflected in the soul (Ibscher et al., *op. cit.*, pp. 95.17–23 and 96.27–97.4; Gardner, *op. cit.*, 100–01). The bad tree has similar qualities, but in a negative sense (Ibscher et al., *op. cit.*, p. 21.28–36; Gardner, *op. cit.*, 26). On the image of the tree, see V. Arnold-Döben, “Die Symbolik des Baumes im Manichäismus,” *Symbolon* N. F.

We can add that the ‘Tree of Life’—one further manifestation of the primordial Principle of Good/Light—is, according to Severus of Antioch, “adorned with all that is beautiful and is filled and clad with all good things.”²⁴ It therefore stands to reason that evil, if identified with Darkness, whether primordial or in the current mixed state, is the antithesis of whatever characterizes the good. Indeed, the discourse employed to describe the Kingdom of Darkness and all its works²⁵ (stench, polluting winds, and the like) may be summed up in a single word: repulsiveness.²⁶ Among the properties of the Principle of Darkness are gloom, decay, ugliness, bitterness, and “burning,”²⁷ and objects of false worship are said to be “ugly in their appearances and their forms.”²⁸

However, the mixed state that denotes the current or Middle Moment²⁹ poses a real metaphysical conundrum, for it exists because one primordial essence was attracted to the other, which, as Manichaeism’s adversaries were quick to point out, implied that the

5 (1980): 9–29; also E. Waldschmidt and W. Lentz, “Die Stellung Jesu im Manichäismus,” APAW, Jhg. 1926, Nr. 4: 16–8 and 42.

²⁴ Severus of Antioch, *Hom.* 123 (PO 29, c. 154.8–10; also in F. Cumont, *Recherches sur le manichéisme* 2, Brussels: Lamertin, 1912, 100). The Manichaean Fortunatus invokes the same image in his debate with Augustine: *Contra Fortunatum* 21 (CSEL 25/1, p. 109.9–21). It is often used by Manichaeans in reference to Matt 7:17–20 (Luke 6:43). See e.g., *Keph.* 2 (Ibscher *et al.*, *Kephalaia*, 1. *Hälften*, p. 17.7–9; Gardner, *The Kephalaia*, 23).

²⁵ Examples in Lieu, *Manichaeism*, 12–3.

²⁶ Or, as Augustine would say, ‘corruption’: see *De mor. Man.* 5.7 (CSEL 90, p. 93.1–3): “Quaeram ergo tertio quid sit malum. Respondetis fortasse: corruptio. Quis et hoc negauerit, generale malum esse? Nam hoc est contra naturam, hoc est quod nocet”; also 6.8 and 9.18 (pp. 93.19–23 and 103.21–104.12); *C. epist. Fund.* 34–35 and 38 (CSEL 25/1, pp. 239.16–240.6 and 244.1–26). By the same token, something is good to the degree of its incorruptibility: Aug., *De nat. boni* 6 (CSEL 25/2, p. 857.27–28): “...omnis natura, quae corrumpi non potest, summmum bonum est, sicut deus est.” If there is some justification in wondering how effective Augustine’s insistence on ‘degrees of being’ might have been with Manichaeans, it is still possible that addressing evil as ‘corruption’ in the anti-Manichaean polemic would have met with some success.

²⁷ *Keph.* 6 (Ibscher *et al.*, *Kephalaia*, 1. *Hälften*, p. 31.3–7; Gardner, *The Kephalaia*, 35). See Severus’ report on the ‘Tree of Death’ in *Hom.* 123 (PO 29, c. 162.6–13; Cumont, *Recherches*, 117–18).

²⁸ *Keph.* 38 (Ibscher *et al.*, *Kephalaia*, 1. *Hälften*, p. 90.1–2; Gardner, *The Kephalaia*, 100).

²⁹ See H.-C. Puech, “La conception manichéenne du salut,” in *Idem, Sur le manichéisme*, 35–6.

two had something in common,³⁰ in turn suggesting an inner confusion created by the Manichaean myth itself. Light is currently mixed with Matter—and good with evil—because, in the primordial state of affairs, the powers of evil saw the Light, found it pleasing, coveted it, and invaded its realm.³¹ This means that even an evil being can be attracted to the good (which implies some goodness in that being),³² and that, on the other hand, the God of Light may not be entirely good, since he surrendered some of his substance.³³

Confusion aside, it was the Manichaean's task to assist in separating the two. A 'Psalm of Thom' proclaims: "I will uproot the Evil (*p̄pethau*) and cast it out and plant the Good (*petnanouf*) in its place."³⁴ A Bema-psalm describes the end result of this process: "Lo, all trees... have become new again. Lo, the roses have spread their beauty abroad, for the bond (?) has been severed that does harm to their leaves."³⁵ A psalm 'of the Wanderers' proclaims: "Good the soil, good the tree, good the fruit (*κορπός*), good [the] taste also."³⁶

But what defines these objects as 'good'? The Manichaean would call the sun or moon good, because they were composed of good itself—Light-particles freed from 'Matter,' deemed good's antithesis. Manichaeans knew that the good could in this case literally be identified with Light, because they could see the brightness of sun and moon.³⁷ As much can be said of the vegetables and fruits that made up

³⁰ So already Alexander of Lycopolis, *Against the Teaching of Mani* 15.9–16.18 (Brinkmann, *Alexandri Lycopolitani*, pp. 22–4). See the remarks of A. Villey, *Alexandre de Lycopolis: Contre la doctrine de Mani* (Sources gnostiques et manichéennes 2), Paris: Cerf, 1985, 244–47; also Brunner, "The Ontological," 83.

³¹ So Mani's *Treasury*, quoted in Aug., *De nat. boni* 44 (CSEL 25/2, pp. 881–84).

³² Augustine would argue that a modicum of peace has to be present for any real appropriation to take place; in other words, there has to be a certain order of the senses; and so the evil power would have had to be somehow good even to perceive the goodness, let alone desire it. See Lee, *Augustine, Manichaeism, and the Good*, 65–6.

³³ See the remarks of Puech, quoted p. 53 n. 9, and of Merkelbach, below, n. 56.

³⁴ Allberry, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, p. 207.9–10.

³⁵ Allberry, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, p. 8.14–16.

³⁶ Allberry, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, p. 176.24–25; see also p. 171.11, and compare Matt 3:10.

³⁷ Thus a psalm 'of the Wanderers' (Allberry, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, p. 166.6–7): "Be thou like the sun, o faithful man, for he does not [say]: 'Fair am I' (νεκώι), though the Lights are a thing of beauty (εγκαίε)." Compare Augustine, *Confessiones* 3.6.10 (CCL 27, p. 31.7–16): "... falsa loquebantur non de te tantum, qui uere ueritas es, sed etiam de istis elementis huius mundi, creatura tua, de quibus etiam uera dicentes philosophos transgredi debui prae amore tuo, mi pater summe bone, pulchritudo

the diet of the Elect.³⁸ To the Manichaean, physical brightness would be good, because it bespeaks Light; by the same token, the brighter something is, the more readily it can be seen.

In an extension of the basic dualistic premise, creatures are deemed 'bad' or 'good' according to their discord/harmony, disunity/unity, deformity/pleasing appearance.³⁹ It might, however, be more accurate to say that a thing (or an act) was aesthetically pleasing = beautiful = good in direct ratio to its dematerialization (or, conversely, to the strength of Light-substance present).⁴⁰ But, given the Manichaean view of the physical world's origin, the idea of 'beauty' can hardly be limited to the physically pleasing: "They that glory in their beauty gladly let it decay," says a 'Psalm of Heracleides.'⁴¹ A hymn attributed to Mani's disciple Mār Ammō (3rd cent.) is more explicit: "Come yet nearer, and do not dote on this worldly beauty that perishes in all (its) variety. It falls and melts as snow in the sunshine, for no fair form survives."⁴²

THE MORAL GOOD

In human terms, 'good' can also imply a note of righteousness, in the sense of that which a being needs to fulfill its nature. But what of its application to human behaviour? Simply put, good acts are such if they contribute to the task of every conscientious Manichaean, which is to assist in liberating the entrapped Light of the present Middle

pulchrorum omnium [...]. Et illa erant fercula, in quibus mihi esurienti te inferebatur pro te sol et luna, pulchra opera tua, sed tamen opera tua, non tu, nec ipsa prima."

³⁸ See Augustine's argument in *De mor. Man.* 16.39–52 (CSEL 90, pp. 123–34).

³⁹ Aug., *C. epist. Fund.* 35 (CSEL 25/1, pp. 239.22–240.1); *De mor. Man.* 6.8 (CSEL 90, p. 94.22–26).

⁴⁰ Lieu notes (*Manichaeism*, 188): "The Manichaean view of evil was not merely confined to acts of deliberate malevolence or natural catastrophes. Anything which could inconvenience a congenial existence was seen as evil." See Turfan fragment *M* 183 (Parthian) I R, lines 1–12, in W. Sundermann, *Mittelpersische und parthische kosmogonische und Parabeltexte der Manichäer* (BT, 4), Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1973, 62 (lines 1174–1187): the Kingdom of Light is devoid of deceit, disruption, pillage, and sin, and also free from extreme heat and cold, hunger, thirst, sickness, and aging.

⁴¹ Allberry, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, p. 195.7.

⁴² H.-J. Klimkeit, *Gnosis on the Silk Road: Gnostic Texts from Central Asia*, New York: HarperCollins, 1993, 115. See *Keph.* 83 (Ibscher *et al.*, *Kephalaia*, 1. Hälften, pp. 200.9–201.31; Gardner, *The Kephalaia*, 209–10). On Mār Ammō see Henning, "Mitteliranische," 2: 302 (*Selected Papers* 1, [199]) n. 6; 3, 854 (*Selected Papers* 1, [281]) n. 1.

Moment, and so speed the coming of that glorious Third Moment when all possible Light has been released and Light and Darkness—good and bad—are once more separated. Thus Turfan fragment *M 9 I V*:

And if the human soul does not perceive the worthwhileness of recognising the eternal, timeless and unmixed goodness then it needs a leader and signpost which knows the way and path that lead it to deliverance from badness and to sufficiency for the soul, that is, to the eternal, unmixed and everlasting goodness.⁴³

In *Kephalaion* 89, a ‘Nazorean’ (ΝΑΖΟΡΕΥC) asks ‘the Master’ (Mani), “Is the god to whom you pray and in whom you believe good or bad?” In his answer, the Master says:

My god is a judge [...]. The judge is no evildoer, but [his] work is to annihilate the badness (ΜΗΤΡΟΩΝE) [thus] confining evil [...]. Whoever commits evil brings evil on his own head. On the other hand, whoever has done what is constant and good (ΜΗΤΗΑΓΡE) fills himself with the reward of the good that he has done.⁴⁴

The Master then returns to the ‘Nazorean’s’ question:

Each of those who do good he rewards in measure with the good of their goodness. He returns to them the good measure and gives them the Kingdom of Light and has them inherit eternal life. So you see that God is a judge, in that he does not do evil, but afflicts the bad, by removing it out of the Middle [Moment].⁴⁵

The idea of ‘doing no evil’ is more clearly associated with beauty in a Parthian hymn: “The son of the primeval Father, the prince, the son of the king [...], the beautiful son who does harm to no one [...], the one beautiful forever, of dazzling appearance...”⁴⁶ One primeval force

⁴³ In Henning, “Mitteliranische,” 2: 298 (*Selected Papers* 1, [195]).

⁴⁴ Ibscher *et al.*, *Kephalaia*, 1. Hälfte, pp. 221.33–222.29; Gardner, *The Kephalaia*, 229–30. On the sun-god (Jesus) as just judge, see also *Keph.* 16 (Ibscher *et al.*, *op. cit.*, pp. 50.29–52.9; Gardner, *op. cit.*, 56–7); Turfan fragments M 39 R I, R II and V I (Henning, “Mitteliranische,” 3: 884–85; repr. in *Idem*, *Selected Papers* 1, [311–12]), M 77 R–V (*ibid.*, 887–88 [314–15]), and M 83 (Waldschmidt and Lentz, “Die Stellung Jesu”: 117).

⁴⁵ *Keph.* 89 (Ibscher *et al.*, *Kephalaia*, 1. Hälfte, p. 223.10–16). The translation offered here differs somewhat from Gardner’s (*The Kephalaia*, 230–31).

⁴⁶ Turfan fragment *M 33 II R II–VI*, in Henning, “Mitteliranische,” 3: 877 (*Idem*, *Selected Papers* 1, [304]; German reproduced in H.-J. Klimkeit, *Hymnen und Gebete der Religion des Lichts: Iranische und türkische liturgische Texte der Manichäer Zentralasiens* (ARWAW, 79), Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1989, 84–5; English in *Idem*,

is ‘good-doing,’ the other a ‘doer of evil,’ as Faustus notes: “I teach two principles, God and Hylè [...]. We attribute every evil-doing force to Hylè and every good-doing one to God, as is fitting.”⁴⁷ So Jesus the Splendour is a ‘good-doing’ god and physician.⁴⁸ The corollary to this is that the good-acting person reflects the ‘good-doing’ god.⁴⁹ Conversely, ‘doing no evil’ means not exhibiting those qualities attributed to the Principle of Darkness, as when he employs magic for sinister purposes:

[H]e wounds [an]d kills by the word of his magic arts [...]. Concerning this, I command you all the [ti]me: K[ee]p away from the magic arts and enchantments [of] darkness! For any person who will be taught them, and who [d]oes and accompl[ishes them], in the end, in the place wh[ere] will be bound the King [of] the realm of Darkness with his pow-ers, there they will bind t[hat] one also.⁵⁰

On balance, Manichaeans counted themselves “with the doers of good and not with the doers of evil.”⁵¹ According to Turfan fragment *M 475*, to be among the Elect is tantamount to being ‘doers of good,’ while anyone who has ignored ‘the Call’ to salvation is an evildoer.⁵²

If the foregoing remarks have addressed the question of moral good in Manichaeism, there remains the problem of the precise subject of a specifically human act. If every human being is composed of both Light/good and Dark/evil—often respectively identified with one’s own

Gnosis, 49; and in M. Boyce, *A Reader in Manichaean Middle Persian and Parthian: Texts with Notes* (AI, 9), Leiden: E. J. Brill / Teheran and Liège: Bibliothèque Pahlavi, 1975, 111.

⁴⁷ Aug., *C. Faustum XXI,1* (CSEL 25/1, p. 568.23–26): “Duo principia doceo, deum et hylen [...]. uim omnem maleficam hyle adsignamus et beneficam deo, ut congruit.”

⁴⁸ Turfan fragment *T II D 169* (Sogdian) in Waldschmidt and Lentz, “Die Stellung”: 94 and 96; German reproduced in Klimkeit, *Hymnen*, 101; English in *Idem, Gnosis*, 63.

⁴⁹ Turfan fragment *M 32*, in F. W. K. Müller, “Handschriften-Reste in Estrangelo-Schrift aus Turfan, Chinesisch-Turkestan,” 2 (APAW, Jhg. 1904, Abh. 3): 63.

⁵⁰ *Keph. 6* (Ibscher et al., *Kephalaia, 1. Hälfte*, p. 31.16–29; Gardner, *The Kephalaia*, 3).

⁵¹ Turfan fragment *M 20* (Persian), in Müller, “Handschriften-Reste,” 2: 45; a more complete German text in Klimkeit, *Hymnen*, 201; English in *Idem, Gnosis*, 160 and Boyce, *A Reader*, 192.

⁵² Boyce, *A Reader*, 78. See a psalm ‘of the Wanderers’ (Allberry, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, p. 164.16–26), and Mani’s own comments in the *Treasury*, quoted by Augustine, *C. Felicem* 2:5 (CSEL 25/2, p. 832.22–27) and Evodius, *De fide contra Manichaeos* 5 (p. 952.23–27). On the ‘Call and Answer’ motif see J. Ries, “Le dialogue gnostique du Salut dans les textes manichéens coptes,” *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica* 6/7 (1975/76): 509–20, esp. 515 and 517–19.

soul and body⁵³—, and if these are in themselves absolutes, who is the act-or? Manichaeans of Turfan appear to have recognised the problem: “Teach the mixing of the pious and the bad thought, and separate one from the other. Understand your being, the pure discourse, which is the guide of the soul in the body [...] and the lie-filled discourse, which leads to the hell of darkness.”⁵⁴ Coptic *Kephalaion* 86 also seems aware of the difficulty. There the question put to Mani is why an Elect, though behaving ‘by the book,’ may still be plagued by such passions as greed, anger, envy, and lust: “I do not comprehend, because there is no single shape in all these cou[ns]els that have entered me. Are they revealed to me, or in[deed did] they enter me from outside and have been shaken into me?” Mani answers that the soul will be tranquil so long as it has complete mastery over the body; however, trouble can enter the Elect through food and water, or “through his birth-signs and his difficult stars.”⁵⁵

Though (as usual) the enquirer expresses his admiring gratitude for this enlightenment, the modern reader may be forgiven for bewilderment over Mani’s advice. There are indications, in fact, that Mani’s own followers were no clearer on the issue: Secundinus claimed to Augustine that the soul does not always sin by its own will but may be drawn to evil simply through “fleshly association.”⁵⁶

⁵³ See Böhlig, “Das Böse,” 22–5, repr. in *Idem, Gnosis und Synkretismus*, 616–19.

⁵⁴ Turfan fragment M 7 II R I, in Henning, “Mitteliranische,” 3: 873 (*Idem, Selected Papers* 1, [300]).

⁵⁵ Ibscher et al., *Kephalaia*, 1. Hälfte, pp. 213.21–216.30; Gardner, *The Kephalaia*, 221–24.

⁵⁶ CSEL 25/2, p. 894.17–20: “carnis enim commixtione ducitur non propria uoluntate. at si cum se ipsam cognouerit, consentiat malo et non se armet contra inimicum, uoluntate sua peccauit.” H.-C. Puech, “Péché et confession dans le manichéisme,” Institut de France: Séance publique annuelle des cinq Académies, lundi 25 octobre 1965, Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1965, 20 (repr. in *Idem, Sur le manichéisme*, 170), sums up the problem thus (author’s emphasis): “Puisque, pour lui [Mani], nous sommes composés d’un amalgame de chair et d’esprit, d’un corps, qui est conjoint à nous sans être *nôtre*, et d’une âme, qui, parcellle de lumière, fragment de la substance même de Dieu, s’identifie à notre «moi», à ce que nous sommes véritablement *nous-mêmes*, ne s’ensuit-il pas que l’auteur du péché ne peut être que le corps [...]? L’âme, au contraire, bonne en soi et tendant naturellement au bien, est incapable de pécher de son chef, ou, si elle pèche, c’est poussée et contrainte par la chair. En conséquence, de deux choses l’une.” Merkelsbach (*Mani*, 35) puts the problem another way: “Die Seele ist doch identisch mit dem Guten, mit den Lichtelementen, ist eine Emanation Gottes; wie kann sie sich zum Bösen wenden? Die westlichen Manichäer halfen sich mit der Annahme, daß es im Menschen zwei Seelen gebe, eine gute und eine böse. Aber damit war das ganze System Manis verdorben, das ja auf dem Gegensatz von Gut = Seele einerseits und Böse = Materie andererseits beruht; dann war das Gute, die Seele möglicherweise auch böse, und das Böse, insofern es Seele seine konnte, möglicherweise auch gut.”

CONCLUSIONS

From the foregoing, a few conclusions may be drawn. These (in good Manichaean fashion) will be five in number:

- 1) From one perspective, it may truly be said that the 'good' in Manichaeism does signify the aesthetic. But this is not the whole picture, for in the end the good is, morally speaking, whatever aids in resolving the mixed situation of the Middle Moment in the cosmic drama.
- 2) If Manichaeism was not overly given to conceptualising either good or evil, it is clear that the tree image serves as a paradigm for both. The fact that it is found so widely in Manichaean literature indicates that it belongs to the earliest stratum of the system.
- 3) 'Good' or 'bad' cannot be defined for Manichaeism apart from its cosmogonical myth. This is reinforced in the commandments which Elect and Hearers had to follow.⁵⁷ However, as we saw, the myth is somewhat self-contradictory. Moreover, it seems to ascribe an ultimate victory of sorts to evil, for, while in the First Moment good is quantitatively superior, it loses substance to its 'absolute' opposite number, and some of that lost substance will never be regained. The Light (good) which cannot be freed from Matter will, in the Third Moment, suffer enclosure with Matter (evil) for eternity.⁵⁸
- 4) Given the scarcity of data Manichaeism itself provides, it may be necessary to delve into the religion's purported sources, such as Zoroastrianism, for further clues to its understanding of such abstract concepts as 'the good.'⁵⁹

Wenn man die mythischen Bilder Manis in die abstrakte Sprache der griechischen Philosophie zu übertragen versuchte, kam man in die größten Schwierigkeiten, und in den Diskussionen zwischen Christen und Manichäern fiel es den Christen leicht, den Manichäern logische Widersprüche nachzuweisen." See Aug., *De duabus animabus* 16 (CSEL 25/1, p. 71.15–22; *De haer.* 46.19 (CCL 46, p. 319.189–201); *Conf.* 5.10.18 and 8.10.22 (CCL 27, pp. 67.6–12 and 127.1–4); *Opus imperfectum contra Iulianum* 3.172 (CSEL 85/1, pp. 473–74); and Evodius, *De fide* 42 (CSEL 25/2, p. 971.21–23).

⁵⁷ See N. Sims-Williams, "The Manichaean Commandments: A Survey of the Sources," in *Papers in Honour of Professor Mary Boyce* 2 (AI, 2^e série, 10), Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1985, 573–82.

⁵⁸ See J. P. Asmussen, *X^uastvanift: Studies in Manichaeism* (Acta Theologica Danica 7), Copenhagen: Prostant, 1965, 15–6; and A. V. W. Jackson, "The Doctrine of Metempsychosis in Manichaeism," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 45 (1925): 246–68.

⁵⁹ See H.-P. Hasenfratz, "Iran und der Dualismus," *Numen* 30 (1983): 35–52.

- 5) Finally, to return to our starting-point, we may wonder whether on his conversion to Manichaeism Augustine was already struck by the absence of a metaphysical approach to good and evil in his new religion; or whether, on the other hand, the absence of such an approach was one of the things about it which attracted him. In his *De duabus animabus* he was to say that “two things easily ensnare that reckless age where I was and lead it down strange paths. One was the companionship induced by a certain appearance of goodness.”⁶⁰ François Decret says this meant that Augustine had been seduced “par l’atmosphère chalereuse de la secte.”⁶¹ But might it not rather mean that he was seduced by Manichaean ideas about goodness itself? This would help to explain Augustine’s choice of topic for his very first work, *De pulchro et apto*.

⁶⁰ Aug., *De duab. an.* 11.11 (CSEL 25/1, p. 65.19–22): “Sed me duo quaedam maxime, quae incautam illam aetatem facile capiunt, per admirabiles adtriuere circuitus quorum est unum familiaritas nescio quomodo repens quadam imagine bonitatis”.

⁶¹ F. Decret, “Saint Augustin témoin du manichéisme dans l’Afrique romaine,” in C. Mayer and K. H. Chelius, eds., *Internationales Symposium über den Stand der Augustinus-Forschung vom 12. bis 16. April 1987 im Schloß Rauischholzhausen der Justus-Liebig-Universität Gießen* (Cassiciacum, 39/1), Würzburg: Augustinus Verlag, 1989, 95, repr. in F. Decret, *Essais sur l’Église manichéenne en Afrique du Nord et à Rome au temps de saint Augustin: Recueil d’Études* (SEA, 47), Rome: Institutum Patriticum Augustinianum, 1995, 23.

CHAPTER FIVE

GOOD TREE, BAD TREE: THE MATTHEAN/LUKAN PARADIGM IN MANICHAEISM AND ITS OPPONENTS

While investigating the Manichaean notion of ‘the good’ a decade ago, I was struck by frequent allusions to the ‘good tree/bad tree’ theme, in both Manichaean writings and writings against Manichaeism, as a metaphor for radical dualism. I noted then: “In this system there would be no such thing as ‘degrees of goodness’. Hence, a bad tree really is bad; and a good tree bears literally good fruit; and neither has anything to do with the other.”¹ That observation did not make me the first to remark on the presence of the ‘trees’ image in Manichaeism. Victoria Arnold-Döben, who more than anyone has studied Manichaean symbolism, asserted in 1978: “Eines der zentralen Symbole im Manichäismus ist das des Baumes (damit verkunden das Symbol der Frucht, der Wurzel, der Zweige).”² But she did not pursue the aspect I will examine here, viz., the *Synoptic Gospel* image of the *two trees*.³ I will look at the related symbols of fruit, root, and branch only inasmuch as they enhance the basic Manichaean cosmogonical myth as mediated by ‘the two trees’.⁴ I will also leave aside other uses of the tree metaphor, such as the ‘Tree of Knowledge’.⁵ Further, I will focus on the Roman Empire, whence our oldest Manichaean and anti-Manichaean sources derive, and I will concentrate on texts that—

¹ “The Idea of the ‘Good’ in Manichaeism” in this volume, 54–5.

² V. Arnold-Döben, “Die Symbolik des Baumes im Manichäismus,” *Symbolon* N. F. 5 (1980): 10. Be it noted, however, that she extracts her sources without regard to chronology or geography. See *Eadem*, *Die Bildersprache des Manichäismus* (AZR, 3), Köln: E. J. Brill, 1978, 7–44 (including the symbols of fruit, root, and branch).

³ Timothy Pettipiece also devotes some attention to the theme in “Separating Light from Darkness: Manichaean Use of Biblical Traditions in the *Kephalaiā*,” in L. DiTommaso and L. Turcescu, eds., *The Reception and Interpretation of the Bible in Late Antiquity: Proceedings of the Montreal Colloquium in Honour of Charles Kannengiesser, 11–13 October 2006* (Bible in Ancient Christianity, 6), Leiden and Boston: E. J. Brill, 2006, 419–27.

⁴ Ephrem the Deacon and Serapion of Thmuis, for instance, both allude to the ‘root’ image in their refutation of Manichaeism, but not to that of the ‘trees.’

⁵ On which see Arnold-Döben, “Die Symbolik”: 11–2; *Die Bildersprache*, 10–2.

indisputably—allude to the Christian scriptural canon. The objective in all of this is to illustrate exegetical methods in Manichaeism and its opponents.

First, though, it will be helpful to offer a (simplified) version of Manichaeism's cosmogony. Mani (216–277 C.E.),⁶ the founder of Manichaeism, came from Mesopotamia. His teaching started with a fundamental question: Why does evil exist? He sought the answer in a radical dualism, “the fundamental datum of Manichaeism,”⁷ in which two principles or natures or roots, completely separated from one another, co-existed from before time. One, the good, displayed only agreeable qualities (peace, intelligence, and so on), and dwelt in the realm of Light that was composed of the good principle's Light-substance. This principle is God, usually called the 'Father of Greatness.' The other principle is intrinsically evil and disagreeable. Often called 'matter' (*Hylē*) or Satan, it inhabited the realm of its own substance, which is Darkness. But the separation between them was, though radical, not absolute, and eventually the separated state of affairs ended when, during the turmoil that endlessly took place in the realm of Darkness, the evil principle rose to the border of its realm. There it perceived the Light, desired it, and invaded it with Archons composed of its dark, evil substance. To defend the Light, the good principle called Aeons into existence, all composed of its own Light-substance. After a long battle, the evil cohorts overcame one of the Aeons (Primal Human) and captured his Light, though forces of the Light-realm in turn captured some of the Archons. That is how Light and Darkness, good and evil, spirit and matter, came to be mixed. Now the good principle sent other beings to free the Primal Human and construct the physical world out of parts of the captive Archons. In this they succeeded, but some particles of Light remained mixed with Darkness. It is of this mixture of light and dark elements that our present, visible world is constituted, such that whatever we find pleasing in it is attributable to the presence of entrapped Light, and whatever is disagreeable is due to the Darkness that is the Light's prison. Thus creation is a trap,

⁶ In the various languages of Western sources he is also called Manes or Μάνης, Manichaeus, Μαν(υ)ιχαῖος or ΜΑΝΙΧΑΙΟΣ, and مانی or مانیه.

⁷ N. J. Baker-Brian, “‘...quaedam disputationes Adimanti’ (Retr. I.xxii.1): Reading the Manichaean Biblical Discourse in Augustine's *Contra Admantum*,” AugSt 34 (2003): 184.

reluctantly brought into existence by the true, good God only to free imprisoned Light and regain it for the Light-realm.

To provide a way of freeing this imprisoned Light, the good principle took two steps. First, the Father of Greatness created a mechanism, constructed of uncontaminated Light-substance and including the moon and sun, to serve as collector stations for Light that had been freed and funnelled to them through the Milky Way. Moon and sun would then send the Light to the Light-realm. The evil principle countered by creating a rival to the Primal Human. This was accomplished by having a male and female Archon devour the Light fallen to earth (as ‘abortions’), then mate. Their union produced Adam, the first earthly man. Adam was the world in miniature, a microcosm, since he contained within himself both spirit-Light (soul) and matter-Darkness (body). Later the Archons mated again and produced Eve, the first woman. The first human couple, far from being God’s creation, thus resulted from Evil’s initiative, and were intended to keep as much Light trapped in the visible world as possible, chiefly by generating offspring.⁸

Adam and Eve were unaware of the Light-particles trapped within them. To offset this new tactic of Darkness, ‘Jesus’ (called ‘Splendour’) was sent from the Light-realm to reveal to Adam and Eve knowledge (*gnōsis*) of how to obtain salvation.⁹ Finding them in a deep sleep, Jesus roused them to wakefulness. Then he showed them their condition: demonic in origin, prisons of the captured Light, with a soul of

⁸ S. N. C. Lieu, *Manichaeism in the Later Roman Empire and Medieval China*, 2nd ed. (WUZNT, 63), Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1992 (1985), 21: “Thus created, Adam was a microcosm, an exact miniature of the universe (macrocosm) since both possessed a mixture of Light and Matter [...] As the microcosm, man was designed to perpetuate the confinement of the soul in body through lust and procreation. The archons had so fashioned him that they intended to rule the world through him.”

⁹ According to I *Kephalaia* 1 (H. Ibscher, H. J. Polotsky and A. Böhlig, *Kephalaia: 1. Hälfte [Lieferung 1–10]* [MHSMB, 1], Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1940, p. 11) and Theodore bar Khonai, *Liber Scholiorum* 11, written ca. 790 (in H. Pognon, *Inscriptions mandaites des coupes de Khouabir: Texte, traduction et commentaire philologique, avec quatre appendices et un glossaire*, Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1898–1899, 131, French translation 193), by having them taste from the Tree of Life. In the Coptic psalm 248 to Jesus (in C. R. C. Allberry, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book Part II* [MMCBC, 2], Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1938, p. 57.7–10), the evil author of the Old Testament had prevented this: “When Adam and Eve were created and put in Paradise, who was it that ordered them: ‘Eat not of the Tree’, that they might not distinguish the evil from the good? Another fought against him and made them eat of the Tree.” It would be interesting to examine other allusions to the theme of the good and bad fruit for a connection to the Manichaean dietary regime.

divine composition but a body that was material and therefore in a bad state. Jesus further “warned Adam of the danger of lust and the need to restrain himself from having intercourse with Eve. Adam obeyed him but the male archon had intercourse with Eve his daughter and she gave birth to Cain. Cain in turn had intercourse with his mother and she gave birth to Abel.”¹⁰ So humanity remained flawed and continued to serve the demonic purpose. But the realm of Light continued to send revealers, among them the Buddha, Zoroaster, and Jesus the Messiah. Mani was convinced that the revelations of previous religious founders, though authentic, were incomplete, and that it was his task to bring to the world the fullness of revelation, through what he called ‘the Religion of Light.’ The primary task of Manichaeans was to release the Light trapped in matter (through digestion), so it could return to the Light-realm, its true home.

At this juncture I might be expected to present the Manichaeian interpretation of the Judaeo-Christian scriptures; but others have largely accomplished that task.¹¹ Here let it suffice to provide a brief account of Manichaeans’ approach to ‘canon’ before looking at their treatment of the New Testament image of ‘the two trees.’

1. MANICHAEISM, THE CANON, AND THE SYNOPTIC ‘TREES’

The sketch of the Manichaeian cosmogony, brief as it is, has touched on how Manichaeans reworked the Genesis creation account. Since their starting-point was a radical dualism, they could not ascribe to the ‘Father of Greatness’ any direct responsibility for material creation, thus rendering the Old Testament creation myth null and void. And since they considered matter to be synonymous with evil,

¹⁰ Lieu, *Manichaeism*, 22.

¹¹ F. Trechsel, *Ueber den Kanon, die Kritik und Exegese der Manichäer*, Bern: Jenni, 1832; A. Böhlig, “Die Bibel bei den Manichäern”: Inaugural-Dissertation zur Erlangung der Doktorwürde der evangelisch-theologischen Fakultät der Westfälischen Landesuniversität zu Münster i. W. (January 22, 1947, unpublished); H.-J. Klimkeit, “The Use of Scripture in Manichaeism,” in M. Heuser and H.-J. Klimkeit, *Studies in Manichaean Literature and Art* (NHMS, 46; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1998), 111–22, trans. of “Der Gebrauch Heiliger Schriften im Manichäismus,” in G. Schölgren and C. Schotten, eds., *Stimuli: Exegese und ihre Hermeneutik in Antike und Christentum. Festschrift für Ernst Dassmann* (Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum, Ergänzungsband 23), Münster/W: Aschendorff, 1996, 191–99; and especially M. Tardieu, “Principes de l’exégèse manichéenne du Nouveau Testament,” in *Idem*, ed., *Les règles de l’interprétation*, Paris: Cerf, 1987, 123–46.

and saw the material creation as a work of necessity rather than of love, Manichaeans repudiated the presentation of creation found in Genesis, along with its creator god (identified with the principle of evil or one of the Archons). Manichaeans went on to reject the remainder of the Old Testament (termed ‘the Law and the Prophets’)¹² as well as everything they deemed ‘Jewish interpolations’ in the New, leaving only some of the gospel material and the letters of Paul¹³ (thus terming the New Testament ‘the Gospel and the Apostle’).¹⁴ Nevertheless, Manichaeans did attribute a revelatory (albeit imperfect) character to what remained of the New Testament after its ‘decontamination’.¹⁵ Naturally, they favoured passages and symbols there that would serve to promote their particular doctrine, especially for regions where the population might have a ready familiarity with the New Testament. The Law and the Prophets, they said, were designed to conceal the truth of the world’s origin, through “a complex series of lies, which were intended to deceive the religious adherent who abided by the Law into believing that the author of the work was God the Father, and that God was responsible for the occurrences of good and evil in the composite texts and, therefore, in the visible world [...]. It fell to the chain of apostles to break this influence by demonstrating that the claims of the Law were false.”¹⁶ For its part, the Manichaean canon consisted, first, of Mani’s own works, then of ‘the Gospel and the Apostle,’ and finally of some later Manichaean writings.¹⁷

Though he does not develop his remark, Nic Baker-Brian is basically correct when he affirms that, when it came to the New Testament, “The teachings of Jesus in the Gospel and of Paul in the letters were understood by Manichees to present the true situation: thus, one of the most important sayings of Jesus for the Manichaean community was the account of the Two Trees (v. Matt 7.17–19) which was understood to maintain the exclusive origins and forms of the two natures

¹² See Matt 5:17.

¹³ On this see A. Viciano, “Notions and Methods of [Manichaean] Exegesis,” in C. Kannengiesser, *Handbook of Patristic Exegesis* 1 (Bible in Ancient Christianity, 1), Leiden and Boston: E.J. Brill, 2004, 658–65; also Tardieu, “Principes”; and Baker-Brian, “...quaedam disputationes”: 180–86.

¹⁴ See Tardieu, “Principes,” 140–42.

¹⁵ Tardieu, “Principes,” 128–31.

¹⁶ Baker-Brian, “...quaedam disputationes”: 184.

¹⁷ See Baker-Brian, “...quaedam disputationes”: 181; Böhlig, “Die Bibel bei den Manichäern,” 74.

and their patterns of influence.”¹⁸ Whether or not one might be prepared to go quite as far as this, the good and bad trees undeniably stand among those New Testament symbols Manichaeans adopted. In the canonical New Testament, the pertinent passages¹⁹ read:

Matthew	Luke
3:10: ἥδη δὲ ἡ ἀξίνη πρὸς τὴν ρίζαν τῶν δένδρων κεῖται· πᾶν οὖν δένδρον μὴ ποιοῦν καρπὸν καλὸν ἐκκόπτεται καὶ εἰς πῦρ βάλλεται.	3:9: ἥδη δὲ καὶ ἡ ἀξίνη πρὸς τὴν ρίζαν τῶν δένδρων κεῖται. πᾶν οὖν δένδρον μὴ ποιοῦν καρπὸν καλὸν ἐκκόπτεται καὶ εἰς πῦρ βάλλεται.
7:17–20: οὕτως πᾶν δένδρον ἀγαθὸν καρποὺς καλοὺς ποιεῖ, τὸ δὲ σαπρὸν δένδρον καρποὺς πονηρούς ποιεῖ. ¹⁸ οὐ δύναται δένδρον ἀγαθὸν καρποὺς πονηρούς ἐνεγκεῖν, οὐδὲ δένδρον σαπρὸν καρποὺς καλοὺς ἐνεγκεῖν. ¹⁹ πᾶν δένδρον μὴ ποιοῦν καρπὸν καλὸν ἐκκόπτεται καὶ εἰς πῦρ βάλλεται. ²⁰ ὕραγε ἀπὸ τῶν καρπῶν αὐτῶν ἐπιγνώσεσθε αὐτούς.	6:43–44: οὐ γάρ εἰστιν δένδρον καλὸν ποιοῦν καρπὸν σαπρόν, οὐδὲ πάλιν δένδρον σαπρὸν ποιοῦν καρπὸν καλόν. ⁴⁴ οὐδὲ πάλιν δένδρον γάρ δένδρον ἐκ τοῦ ιδίου καρποῦ γινώσκεται.
12:33: “Ἡ ποιήσατε τὸ δένδρον καλὸν καὶ τὸν καρπὸν αὐτοῦ καλόν, ἡ ποιήσατε τὸ δένδρον σαπρὸν καὶ τὸν καρπὸν αὐτοῦ σαπρόν.	6:43–44

2. COPTIC MANICHAEAN SOURCES

Victoria Arnold-Döben has claimed that in Manichaean sources from the Roman Empire, the ‘tree’ symbol appears most often in Coptic writings.²⁰ She means writings that belonged to a fourth century

¹⁸ Baker-Brian, “...*quaedam disputationes*”: 184.

¹⁹ Matt 15:13 (Πάσα φυτεία, ἦν οὐκ ἐφύτευσεν ὁ πατέρων μου ὁ οὐράνιος, ἐκριζωθήσεται)—there is no Synoptic parallel—is of marginal relevance to our topic.

²⁰ Arnold-Döben, “Die Symbolik”: 10; *Die Bildersprache*, 7.

library discovered in 1930 in Egypt (Medinet Madi, the Narmouthis of ancient times),²¹ including two works called *Kephalaia* (Chapters) and a book of psalms.²² Sometimes their imagery of the ‘two trees’ is of obviously Synoptic inspiration. The classic instance of this is in the *Kephalaia*.²³ After an introduction and first chapter (κεφαλαιον) “On the coming of the Apostle [Mani],” in which Mani leaves behind a tree laden with fruits to be picked by his followers,²⁴ I Ke moves directly to the chapter “Concerning the Parable of the Tree,” in which Mani’s followers query him about the trees Jesus spoke of, and Mani exegetes the Synoptic pericope. The pertinent excerpts from I Ke 2 are:

We beseech you, our master, that you may recount and explain to us about these two trees that Jesus preached to his disciples. As it is written in the Gospel, he says: *The good tree shall give good fruit; also the bad tree shall give bad fruit. There is no good tree that shall give bad fruit; nor a bad tree that shall give good fruit. One knows each tree by its fruits [...].* Then speaks our master Manichaios, the apostle of greatness, to his disciples [...]. Judas Iscariot, first they called him a good man; but... traitor and murderer... It is written about Paul, that first he was acting persecutor... church of God... Behold,...the explanation of the sects [δόγμα]...listen and I will reveal to you concerning the... that the saviour preached in the parable about the good tree and the bad tree... The fruits of the good tree are glorious Jesus the Splendour, the father of all the apostles. Yet, the taste of the fruits of the good tree is the holy church... However, the taste of these bad fruits is these evil people, the sects... which are bound in law after law, they and their teachers...the law of death... This is the tree that shall give good fruit; the one that our master called the good tree shall give good fruit... Also, the bad tree is Matter [ὕλη]...Blessed is every one...these two trees, and separates

²¹ On the discovery and contents see C. Schmidt and H. J. Polotsky, “Ein Mani-Fund in Ägypten: Originalschriften des Mani und seiner Schüler,” SPAW, Jhg. 1933: 4–90; also Lieu, *Manichaeism*, 9–10.

²² Homilies also found in the collection contain no texts for our purposes: see H. J. Polotsky, *Manichäische Homilien* (MHSCB, 1), Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1934.

²³ Two codices bearing this name came to light at Medinet Madi. Only one has been published, and that not completely: this is the ‘Kephalaia of the Teacher,’ also known as the *Berlin Kephalaia* after the city where it is conserved (Berlin P. 15996). It will be referred to here as *I Ke*. The other work (‘Kephalaia of the Wisdom of My Lord Mani’ = *II Ke*) is conserved in Dublin (Codex C), and is as yet unedited. See Pettipiece, “Separating Light from Darkness.”

²⁴ As in a Coptic Psalm of Thom: see Allberry, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, pp. 218.15–21.

them one from another. He understands that they did not arise out of one another, nor did they come from one another. They did not come from one!²⁵

There is more (for example, the description of the five limbs on each tree), but the main points here are that the parable of the two trees leads directly to a vindication of Manichaeism's basic dualistic construct; and that, though there is no explicit connection here with any specific gospel passage, the metaphor is said to come from 'the Gospel.'²⁶ As in Matt 7:20 (Luke 6:44), Mani explains that the fruit it produces exposes the true nature of the tree. The real intention of this *Kephalaion*, however, is to expand the metaphor to the point where it can serve as a vehicle for presenting the Manichaean cosmogony. Appearances can be deceiving: Judas was an apostle, but betrayed his master. Paul began as a persecutor of the Church, only to become its most important promoter. Thus Manichaeism employs 'the two trees'

²⁵ Translation by I. Gardner, *The Kephalaia of the Teacher: The Edited Coptic Manichaean Texts in Translation with Commentary* (NHMS, 37), Leiden-New York-Köln: E. J. Brill, 1995, 22–6 (my italics, and omitting here some passages indicated by [...], and diacritical and editorial marks, except where the text is missing from the original, indicated as ...). Coptic text in H. Ibscher *et al.*, *Kephalaia: 1. Hälfte*, pp. 17.2–23.3: Τῆτοιρ μμ[ά]κ πᾶν χαῖς κε εκατ... ηηκωρημηγε ι[ε]η ετειρ πι [ω] ήηι σηγε [ετα ιηc τεο]γαγ αιεψιαθητης εγχιρ α[π]εγαγγε[λιοη εφκω] ηηας κε πωηη εταηιτ ψαψ[τ] καρπο[ς] εφαηιτ πωηηη αη ετεγαγ ψαψ[τ] καρπο[ς] ε[ψ]αηιτ ε[ψ]αψ[τ] [σογ]ωη [ψηη ηηη ηη] ηεψκαρπο[...] τοτε παχε πηηχα[τ] παποстολοс [ηтe тиη]тина аиепмактигic [...] ιογλас οуη πискар[втнс ау]ноуте ара[п]арти[к]е ρωиe εφаиit ηεψ ηι πрoдoгtиc 21 рeψqwtbe [...] [ccsiq εтbe] πaχyoc κe ηeψo πaιoкtиc πaψapri [...] ηekkai] ηiaηηηoутe εψlωkе [...] eistе... te... [..т2eр]иинia πiлoгiиa сi [...] сoтiи πtaoγw[2] ηiтiи aвaл eтbe [...] [...] εta πiçir тeоγaу 2и t[paρaкоi] eтbe πowи εtaηiit ήiηi πowи εtегaу [...] ηiкарpоc ήiηi πowи εtaηiit pe iie πiпiрie eto neax piot [ηiηapоi]сt[о]lyoc тiroу t[ti]e le ηiηapоc mpojhi [εtaηiit te t[е]] kklacia etoγake [...] t[ti]e 2ωq [ηiη]κaрpоc εtегaу pe πiрiвiиeк iлoгiиa [...] [e]t[ti]i 2и siihonoсo nohoc ntaу πiпiу noycag [...] [ηiη]oмoс πiпiоq [...] pei pe πowи e[ψ]aψ[τ] κaрpоc ε[η]aпoуq peta πiпiхa[т] ήoутe аra[п] κe πowи εtaηiit e[ψ]aψ[τ] κaрpоc εnaпoуq [...] πiпiу 2ωq εtегaу te t[ti]i [...] neiетq πoγan ηiηi [...] пi]owи [c]neу πiпiарxоу aвaл ηiηi [o]y]eрhу πiпiиe κe πiгaγψoпe eи aвaл πiюγeрhу [pi]aγei aвaл eи πiюγeрhу πiгaγei aвaл eи πiюe.

²⁶ S. N. C. Lieu, in M. Vermes, *Hegemonius, Acta Archelai (The Acts of Archelaus)* (MS, 4), Turnhout: Brepols, 2001, 67 n. 108, says Luke is the source of the (italicized) quote. A. Baumstark, "Ein 'Evangelium'-Zitat der manichaischen Kephalaia," *Oriens Christianus* 34 (1937), 169–91, saw the whole citation as Diatesseronic. More accurately, Baker-Brian, "...quædam disputationes": 184 n. 27, points to Luke 6:43 as the reference, with the first line coming from Matt 7:17. But it is most precise to say that all but the first line comes from Luke 6:43–44. In *I Ke* 'gospel' usually refers to Mani's own *Living Gospel*.

of Matthew/Luke primarily as a metaphor for the two eternal principles: ‘The bad tree is *Hylē*,’ the Father of Greatness is therefore the good tree, and good and bad have nothing to do with each other.²⁷

Though this *Kephalaion* has lost its description of the fruits of the bad tree, the good tree/bad tree image (and the respective fruits) appears fairly frequently in the *Kephalaia of the Teacher*. In I Ke 148 Mani’s works are “the good fruit that I have given from the good tree.”²⁸ Matter formed bad trees (I Ke 56),²⁹ so must be cut out of them at the root (I Ke 17).³⁰ I Ke 18 quotes Matt 3:10 (“As the saviour has said: *Behold, the axe is put to the root of the evil tree, so that from this time it cannot bear evil fruit*”).³¹ In a Manichaean psalm to Jesus (271) there is a clear blend of Matt 15:13 and 3:10 (or Luke 3:9): “*Every branch that shall give bad fruit is cut with its root and is cast into the fire... because it gave not good fruit*”.³² And a Psalm of the Wanderers has “Thou art the two-edged axe wherewith they cut the bitter root.”³³

In I Ke 16 Jesus the Splendour has planted “the tree of life that will make good fruit.”³⁴ According to I Ke 87 the church “is like a

²⁷ Baker-Brian, “...*quaedam disputationes*”: 184, observes: “For Manichees, the saying of Jesus from the Gospel (*a good tree bears good fruit and a bad tree bears bad fruit*) represented arguably their most important biblical text. The Manichaean attachment to the verse meant that they stood in the tradition of Gnostic dualistic movements who regarded the verse as a proof-text for dualism [...] Adimantus considered Christian malfeasance to lie in their attempt to hold by both passages (Amos 3:3–6 and Matt 7:17), when in fact the saying of Jesus ought to be regarded as providing the definitive statement that corrected the erroneous and maleficent verse from the prophet.” Baker-Brian does not reference his claim about Gnostics, but an interesting adjunct to this study would be one on both ‘tree’ and the ‘two trees’ in the Synoptics as appropriated by Gnostic writings. See also Klimkeit, “The Use of Scripture,” 112 (“Der Brauch,” 192).

²⁸ W.-P. Funk, *Kephalaia I, Zweite Hälfte, Lieferung 13/14* (MHSMB, Band 1), Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, [1999]), p. 355.17–18: πεῖ πε πικρπος ετανιτ ε[τ]χειτεεψ [ηπηνε] αραλ πιπωψι ετανιτ.

²⁹ Ibscher et al., *Kephalaia: 1. Hälfte*, p. 138.6–9.

³⁰ Ibscher et al., *Kephalaia: 1. Hälfte*, p. 58.7–19.

³¹ Gardner, *The Kephalaia*, 62; Ibscher et al., *Kephalaia: 1. Hälfte*, p. 58.18–19: [ηπε] ετα πιπρ ςοος κε εις πικλλαψιν κατ 2α θηψη[ε πι]ψη ετραγ κε νεψτ καρποс εραγ ςη ηπηνεу.

³² Allberry, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, p. 91.5–7: φλωη ι[η]μ ετα τ καρπ[οс ετραγ се]ψατ[η] μητ[η]νοη[е] πισεηах[η] атсе[т]е...х[е]е πиц[и]т оутау енаноу[е]. See also p. 136.20–21 (the good tree did not give bad fruit).

³³ Allberry, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, pp. 162.31–163.1: ητο πε πικλлави εтο πио сиен[е] εтакш[е]е нюн[и]т[η]и[η]и[е] εт[е]ш[е]. See also p. 178.7–8.

³⁴ Gardner, *The Kephalaia*, 58; Ibscher et al., *Kephalaia: 1. Hälfte*, p. 53.26–7: [ηψη ητε πωи[2] εтнар[и] 2ηккарп[о]с εγанит.

good tree.”³⁵ In a Bema-psalm (227) we read: “Glory and victory to the Paraclete-Spirit, the fruitful tree of life.”³⁶ A psalm to Jesus (248) affirms: “I have distinguished this pair of trees of this pair of kingdoms, … the bitter fountain and the holy essence of God. The Light I have distinguished from the Darkness, life from death, Christ and the church I have distinguished from the deceit of the world”;³⁷ and the following psalm (249) prays: “pluck me as I flourish on the pleasant tree (*κω*) of the church. I am a flourishing fruit, pure from my youth up.”³⁸ The Father of Greatness is the “Good tree, that gave not bad fruit” in the second psalm of the Wanderers.³⁹ In the preceding psalm, “The fruits of the good tree are Christ who is in the Church,”⁴⁰ while later on in the same collection Jesus is “the flourishing fruit of the unperishing tree.”⁴¹ A psalm to the Trinity speaks of “Jesus, the Tree of Life.”⁴²

Elsewhere, the bad tree is given a parallel origin. A Jesus-psalm (251) prays to “the lamb of God on high, who has plucked out the root of the tree of sin.”⁴³ Further on (psalm 255), the psalmist proclaims:

³⁵ Gardner, *The Kephalaia*, 225; Ibscher et al., *Kephalaia: 1. Hälfte (Lieferung 1–10)*, pp. 217.32–218.1: οὐρέ οὐψην ετανίτ.

³⁶ Allberry, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, p. 22.22–23: ογεαγ [μηογε]ρο πιπ[πικ]λ[σ] [c] πιπικά πιψην πιπιωνή πιται[ογταζ].

³⁷ Allberry, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, p. 56.21–25: α[πωρ]ξ πιπισαϊψ πιψην πιτε τσαϊψ πιπιτρρο.....αι θαληε ετεαψε μητρογεια πιπιουτε ετογ]λαψε πογαηне αηπαρχαζ αβαλ πιπικεκε πωιο] αβαλ πιπιογ πιχρε μητρεκκλенсia αηпархоз πиғлапти πиқоснс.

³⁸ Allberry, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, p. 58.9–10: η...αγκαλτ' ειραγτ' ωπιτρω ετηταθε πιτεκк[λициа] αηак огк[л]ртюс ειραгт' ειтогвагт' αтп[там]иitкоу.

The use of *κω* for ‘tree’ is infrequent in the Psalms, which usually employ φην. ³⁹ Allberry, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, p. 136.20–21: πιψην εтанит пете πипцт κарпюс εфдаг.

⁴⁰ Allberry, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, p. 134.19–20: π]κарпюс πиpsiηн εтанит пе пихре εтжитреккаки.

⁴¹ Allberry, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, p. 185.10: πиκарпюс εтрагт πте пи[ни πа]ттеко.

⁴² Allberry, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, p. 116.7: πиc πиpsiηн πипион. See also p. 154.22, and Turbo’s testimony in AA (see below) ascribed to Hegemonius 11.1 (GCS 16, p. 18.3–4): τὸ δὲ ἐν παραδείσῳ φυτὸν ἐξ οὗ γνωρίζουσι τὸ καλόν, αὐτὸς ἔστι ὁ Ἰησοῦς. But Mani, too, is this tree (Allberry, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, pp. 80.24 and 219.28), while Jesus (or Christ) is also the fruit of the good tree (Allberry, *op. cit.*, pp. 134.19 and 185.10).

⁴³ Allberry, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, p. 60.22–23: πиui πипиоуте εтхасе петаç ү[арк абах] πипиоуне πипиаве. One need not infer from this that Manichaeans employed the New Testament *Book of Revelation*, even though the Tree of Life figures there in 2:7 and 22:2, 14. On possible background for Christ as the Tree of Life in Manichaeism see R. Murray, *Symbols of Church and Kingdom*

"I have known and understood that which is and that which shall be: what is mortal and what on the other hand is immortal; and what is the King of Light who is the tree of life, and what again is the Darkness which is the tree of death."⁴⁴ So the image and its Synoptic inspiration are clear in these texts, the image being extended to connect with the cosmogonical principles on the one hand, and to Mani, his church, and the individual believer on the other.

3. GREEK SOURCES FROM MANICHAEISM AND ITS ADVERSARIES

No anti-Manichaean work has been preserved in Coptic; for such sources, we need to turn to other languages. In Egypt, whence the Coptic *Manichaica* come, Didymus (the Blind) of Alexandria (died before 400) briefly recalls in his treatise against Manichaeans how Mani applied the 'tree' image, in a manner surprisingly similar to Augustine, as we will see: "He refers to [bad] trees, not as something plain to the senses, but [as] human beings constituted by wickedness. The root of these trees is very bad, and from it arises no edible fruit, but one that is noxious."⁴⁵ Didymus' affirmation is backed up by the *Acts of Archelaus* (AA), which may be his source for this. At any rate, this is the extent of the polemical response in Egypt to Manichaean exegesis of 'the two trees.'

Though the surviving Coptic Manichaean works were not part of Manichaeism's primary canon, Severus, Monophysite Patriarch of Antioch,⁴⁶ traced the 'two trees' image back to Mani himself, who, he says, called the two eternally opposed principles 'Tree of Life' and 'Tree of Death,' or respectively 'Tree of Light' and 'Tree of Darkness.' Severus wrote and preached in Greek but his *Cathedral Homilies*

የኢትዮጵያ የአዲስ አበባ: *A Study in Early Syriac Tradition*, 2nd ed., Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2004 (1975), 124–29.

⁴⁴ Allberry, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, p. 66.25–28: αϊσαγηε αϊπηε αιπετψοοπ ιηπιετηαιψωπε χε εγ [π]ετεψαψτεκο ι εγ πταψ πετεναψτεκο ι εγ ιε πρό ιηπογδηε ετε πταψ πε πωηη ιηπωηη ι εγ ψωωψ πε πκεκε ετε πταψ πε πωηη ιηπηου.

⁴⁵ Didymus, *Κατὰ Μανιχαῖῶν* 17. My translation. PG 39, c. 1108C: Δένδρα δὲ οὐκ αἰσθητὰ λέγει, ἀλλ’ ἀνθρώπους κατὰ κακίαν πεποιημένους. Ρέζα δὲ τῶν δένδρων τούτων ἡ χειρίστη ἔξις, ἀφ’ ἣς καρπὸς οὐκ ἐδώδιμος, ἀλλὰ δηλητήριος γίνεται.

⁴⁶ For background on Severus see J.C. Reeves, *Jewish Lore in Manichaean Cosmogony: Studies in the Book of Giants Traditions*, Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 1992, 165.

survive only in a sixth century Syriac translation. His *Homily 123* (from the year 518) is of interest here, being, in the words of René Roux, “pratiquement un traité contre les Manichéens.”⁴⁷ Severus actually appears to be quoting a work by Mani when he further informs us: “And they say: ‘That which is Good, also named Light and the Tree of Life, possesses those regions which lie to the east, west, and north; for those (regions) which lie to the south and to the meridian belong to the Tree of Death’.”⁴⁸ Still quoting the same source, Severus adds:

For he says in one of his books (those which are in secret); or rather, those which deserve (to be named) “darkness” and “error,” thusly: These are they which are unceasing and which have existed eternally, from the beginning—he speaks here of Hyle and God—everything in its essence has come from them. Likewise does the Tree of Life exist, which is there adorned with every sort of pleasing and lovely, beautiful thing [...]. And below there is nothing that has sunk or withdrawn from it not even into any of the regions; rather, it extends infinitely both beyond and below.⁴⁹

Again, citing (probably) the same work,

The Tree of Death is divided into many (parts); war and bitterness characterize them, for they are strangers to (the concept of) peace, and are full of every sort of wickedness. Good fruits are never upon them. (The Tree) is divided against its fruits, and the fruits are also divided against the Tree [...]. The Tree is wholly evil, and it never produces any good

⁴⁷ R. Roux, *L'exégèse biblique dans les Homélies Cathédrales de Sévère d'Antioche* (SEA, 84), Rome: Institutum Patristicum Augustinianum, 2002, 12. But Roux makes no other mention of Manichaeans in his study, nor does he refer there to the ‘two trees’ image in Severus.

⁴⁸ Severus, *Hom. 123 96*. Translation in Reeves, *Jewish Lore*, 167, whose sections correspond to page numbers in F. Cumont, *Extrait de la CXXIII^e homélie de Sévère d'Antioche* (Le manichéisme, 2), Brussels: Lamertin, 1912. PO 29, p. 152.14–17: سَيِّدُ الْمُحْكَمَاتِ وَالْمُعَادِنَاتِ وَالْمُجَاهِدَاتِ ،سَيِّدُ الْمُرْكَبَاتِ وَالْمُرْكَبَاتِ ،سَيِّدُ الْمُرْكَبَاتِ وَالْمُرْكَبَاتِ .

⁴⁹ Severus, *Hom. 123 99–101*, trans. Reeves, *Jewish Lore*, 168. PO 29, p. 154.6–14: سَيِّدُ الْمُحْكَمَاتِ وَالْمُعَادِنَاتِ وَالْمُجَاهِدَاتِ : سَيِّدُ الْمُرْكَبَاتِ وَالْمُرْكَبَاتِ .

See also PO 29, pp. 154.26–156.8 .

thing, but remains divided against itself, and all of its parts corrupt whatever draws near it.⁵⁰

There is no clear Synoptic reference here—the focus is cosmogonical—but the Synoptics would seem to be the image’s inspiration, as can be inferred from other texts that, we have seen, were read with a Manichaean perspective identifying the trees with the principles. Severus does not spend nearly as much space refuting these ideas as he does reporting them. His refutation of the cosmogony, such as it is, is constructed around the two trees and their fruit:

Let them say if these [bad] fruits grew at the same time as Matter, from the beginning and the origin, or if they were added later. If from the beginning, they are numerous, without beginning and uncreated [...]. But if, like a tree, [Matter] made those fruits over time and produced all the charge of wickedness, part would be revealed [from the beginning], but many [parts would be] created afterwards. How can one consider the same essence to be both created and uncreated?⁵¹

Prior to Severus there were already other Christian anti-Manichean works on the same theme. The AA, attributed to one Hegemonius and likely composed in the second quarter of the fourth century,⁵² describes two encounters alleged to have occurred in the third quarter of the previous century between Mani and Archelaus, bishop of ‘Carchar,’ apparently a Roman town situated on the border with Persia. If, as seems likely, the work was composed in Greek, it also circulated in Coptic (and possibly Syriac), as well as in the Latin version in which it has come down to us complete. In the AA, a letter from Mani to Marcellus attacks those who “attribute the beginning and the end, and

⁵⁰ Severus, *Hom.* 123 117-8, trans. Reeves, *Jewish Lore*, 168-69. PO 29, p. 162.6-9:

⁵¹ Severus, *Hom.* 123. 130-1. My translation. PO 29, pp. 166.26-168.4:

⁵² On the *Acts of Archelaus* see S. N. C. Lieu, "Fact and Fiction in the *Acta Archelai*," in *Idem, Manichaeism in Mesopotamia and the Roman East* (RGRW, 118; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1994), 132–55; revised from P. Bryder, ed., *Manichaean Studies: Proceedings of the First International Conference on Manichaean Studies, August 5–9, 1987, Department of History of Religions, Lund University, Sweden* (LSAAR, 1); Lund: Plus Ultra, 1988, 69–88.

the father of these evils, to God [...]. For they do not believe in the words spoken in the Gospels by our Saviour and Lord Jesus Christ, that ‘a good tree cannot bear bad fruit nor a bad tree good fruit.’”⁵³ Then, Mani’s opening gambit in his first disputation with Archelaus speaks in terms strongly reminiscent of I Ke 2: “[W]ho should be believed? Those teachers of yours, who feast on meat and enjoy most abundant delights, or the Saviour Jesus Christ who says, as is written in the book of the Gospels, *a good tree cannot bear bad fruit, nor a bad tree bear good fruit?*”⁵⁴ Later, Archelaus flings the ‘trees’ reference back at Mani, whom he identifies with the ‘bad tree’: “Let him say what evil is, in case he is defending or constructing the mere name. But if it is not the name of evil but its substance, let him expound to us the fruits of this wickedness and iniquity, since the nature of a tree can never be recognised without its fruit.”⁵⁵ As the debate continues, Mani bolsters the ‘two trees’ image by invoking the ‘root’ also present in Matt 3:10:

Manes said: “Let it first be agreed by you that there is another root of wickedness, which God did not plant; and then I shall tell you its fruits.” Archelaus said: “Consideration of the truth demands the opposite, for I shall not agree with you that there is a root of such an evil tree, of whose fruits no one has ever tasted [...], I shall not agree with you that it is an evil and very bad tree, until the quality of its fruits is made known. For it is written that *a tree is known by its fruits* (Matt 7:16). So tell us, Manes: with that tree that is called evil, what fruit does it produce, or what is its nature and what power does it possess, so that we may believe that the root of that tree is of the same kind?” Manes said: “The root is indeed evil, and the tree very bad, but its growth comes not from God, and its

⁵³ AA 5.4. The translation is from Vermes, *Hegemonius*, 42, but I have corrected his inversion, which is based on the Latin, not the Greek text (in GCS 16, p. 7.1–6): ἀρχὴ γὰρ καὶ τέλος καὶ τὸν τούτων πατέρα τῶν κακῶν ἐπὶ τὸν θεὸν ἀναφέρουσιν [...] οὐτέ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς εἰρημένοις <ἐν> εὐ'αγγελίοις παρ' αὐτῷ τοῦ σωτῆρος ήμῶν καὶ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ πιστεύουσιν, ὅτι οὐ δύναται δένδρον καλὸν καρποὺς κακοὺς ποιῆσαι, οὐδὲ μῆτ δένδρον κακὸν καλοὺς καρποὺς ποιῆσαι.

⁵⁴ AA 15.6, trans. Vermes, *Hegemonius*, 60. GCS 16, p. 24.15–19: “Cui enim oportet credi? Magistris vestris istis, qui carnibus vescuntur et affluentissimis deliciis perfruuntur, aut salvatori Iesu Christi dicenti, sicut scriptum est in evangeliorum libro: *Non potest arbor bona malos fructus facere, neque arbor mala bonos fructus facere?*”

⁵⁵ AA 18.7, trans. Vermes, *Hegemonius*, 67. GCS 16, p. 29.24–28: “Sed postremo dicat quid est malum, ne forte nomen solum defendat aut adstruat. Quod si non nomen mali, sed substantia, fructus nobis malitiae et nequitiae huius exponat, quoniam non agnoscitur umquam arboris natura sine fructu.”

fruits of fornication, adulteries, murders, avarice and all evil deeds come from that evil root.”⁵⁶

Also writing in Greek, Titus of Bostra (in Roman Arabia) says in the fourth book of his Πρὸς Μανιχαίους (written soon after 363)⁵⁷ that Mani made express use of Matt 7:18 to speak of the two eternal natures (τύποι). Mani, he says,

moves on to the following Gospel passage: *A good tree cannot bear bad fruit, nor a bad tree good fruit. Every tree will be known by the fruit it gives* (Luke 6:43–44). Here again with dangerous cunning or irrational stupidity he seizes upon a word without regarding anything beyond custom and behaviour for his doctrine of two conflicting natures. For our Lord plainly clarifies this image through what follows, and he says: *A good man brings good out of the good treasure in his heart; but a bad man [brings] evil out of the evil treasure in his heart; for the mouth speaks out of the heart's fullness* (Luke 6:45). Here he clearly calls the heart a treasure, because of the freedom of the will; but he does not rebuke another principle, or anything else. For were something to originate from some principle with no beginning, he would have called “treasure of evil” that principle without a beginning, not the heart, which plainly receives the evil that does not, however, derive from it. But since the treasure of evil is not in another place, but only in the heart, that is where the treasure of evil also is; and clearly so is the origin of the evil that comes into being through the will’s cunning and not from a principle with no beginning.⁵⁸

⁵⁶ AA 19.1–3, trans. Vermes, *Hegemonius*, 67. GCS 16, pp. 29.29–30.10: “Manes dixit : Constat apud te prius, quia est radix alia malitia, quam non plantavit deus, et tunc dicam fructus eius. Archelaus dixit: Non hoc veri expedit ratio; neque enim adsentiar tibi radicem esse malae arboris illius, de cuius fructibus numquam ullus gustaverit [...]; ita neque ego tibi adsentiar esse arborem malam et pessimam nisi prius qualitas fructuum eius fuerit manifestata; scriptum est enim quia *de fructibus arbor cognoscitur*. Dic ergo nobis, o Manes, arbor quae dicitur mala quem adferat fructum, aut cuius naturae sit, quam virtutem habeat, ut tibi credamus etiam radicem arboris ipsius esse talem. Manes dixit: Radix quidem mala, arbor autem pessima, incrementum vero non ex deo, fructus autem fornicationes, adulteria, homicidia, avaritia et omnes mali actus malae illius radicis.”

⁵⁷ The fourth book of Titus’ original Greek work is extant only in Syriac. On the ‘Tree of Life and Tree of Death’ in Titus, see N. A. Pedersen, *Demonstrative Proof in Defence of God: A Study of Titus of Bostra’s Contra Manichaeos—The Work’s Sources, Aims and Relation to its Contemporary Theology* (NHMS, 56), Leiden and Boston: E. J. Brill, 2004, 240–43. On Titus see also J.-M. Lavoie, P.-H. Poirier, and T. S. Schmidt, “Les Homélies sur l’Évangile de Luc de Titus de Bostra,” in DiTomasso and Turcescu, eds., *The Reception and Interpretation*, 253–85.

⁵⁸ Titus, Πρὸς Μανιχαίους 4.47. My translation. P. A. de Lagarde, *Titus Bostreni Contra Manichaeos libri quatuor syriace*, Berlin: G. Schultze, 1859 (repr. Hanover: H. Lefaire, 1924; Osnabrück and Wiesbaden: Zeller / Harrassowitz, 1967), p. 152.13–29:

Chronologically, Titus is the first to introduce the connection of the ‘trees’ image with the will, that is, with moral choice.⁵⁹ He goes further than anyone else we have seen (or will see) in invoking the next verse in Luke (which has no parallel in Matthew) to clarify the meaning of the image in 6:43–44.

Like Titus, Epiphanius, bishop of Salamis (in Cyprus), in his *Panarion* (written between 374 and 377) ascribes to Mani himself the use of Matt 7:18 and 20 (Luke 6:44) as denoting the two principles:

Again, [Mani] uselessly cites a text to prove the existence of the dyad he believes in and distinguish between the two first principles: the Savior's words, *A good tree cannot bring forth evil fruit, neither can a corrupt tree bring forth good fruit; for by its fruit the tree is known*. And notice his shallow mind, which does not understand the contents of sacred scripture in any depth! If there are trees they have a cultivator; trees are growing things, and must have been planted by someone. But nothing planted is beginningless; it has its beginning. But since it has a beginning, it will have an end as well. The corrupt tree was not always there, then; it had been planted [...]. These two trees are figurative expressions for righteousness and sin; but in this barbarous Mani's opinion, [one] means God and [the other] means the devil. And yet, it is plain that no one can dare to say that God will ever create evil—perish the thought!—or that the devil does good. All good things are made by God, and nothing evil has been created or made by him [...]. Mani's argument

⁵⁹ Pedersen, *Demonstrative Proof*, 56: "Mani similarly quoted Lk. 6:43-45 on the two trees and interpreted the verses as references to the two principles. However, the sequel (Lk. 6:45) shows that Jesus was not speaking of the two principles but about ethics (IV.47). For instructive purposes Jesus used unfree things from nature such as the two trees in order to speak about the freedom of the will (IV.48). The difference between necessity of nature and freedom is expressed by Jesus saying on the one hand good trees cannot bring forth bad fruit, nor bad trees good fruit, but on the other hand, despite His assertion that the evil person produces evil deeds, He does not say that such a person cannot also do good."

has failed. The evil and good trees refer to good and evil works and not to the Old and the New Testaments, the position Mani takes.⁶⁰

Following an approach similar to that of Titus, Epiphanius is less intent on reporting than on rebuttal. It is unclear whether he is drawing directly on a Manichaean source or on an earlier anti-Manichaean one. The Old and New Testaments have suddenly appeared in his refutation; in his text there is no preceding explicit connection between them and the trees, although there is a discussion of Mani's rejection of the Old Testament.

Finally, Theodore of Khrros (or Cyrrhus, in Syria), who died in 466, provides an account similar to Severus':

(Mani) said that there are two unbegotten and eternal beings, God and Matter (*Hylē*), and he called God Light, Matter Darkness, Light Good, Darkness Bad. And he employed other names (for them). For Light he called a good tree, with good fruit, and Matter a bad tree bearing bad fruit, corresponding to [its] root.⁶¹

But this takes the nature of a simple report; as in Severus, there is no attempt to expand on or confute it.

⁶⁰ Epiphanius, *Panarion* 66.62.1–3 and 11–14. Translation by F. Williams, *The Panarion of Epiphanius of Salamis, Books II and III (Sects 47–80, De fide)* (NHMS 36); Leiden-New York-Köln: E. J. Brill, 1994, 279–81. GCS 37, pp. 99.23–100.3 and 101.4–15: Πάλιν δὲ βούλεται φέρειν μαρτυρίαν. ἵνα παραστήσῃ τὴν παρ’ αὐτῷ λεγομένην δυάδα καὶ διέλῃ ἀνὰ μέσον τῶν δύο ὄρχων, κενῶς ἐν τῷ εἰπεῖν τὸν σωτῆρα οὐκ δύναται δένδρον ἀγαθὸν καρπούς κακοὺς ποιῆσαι, οὐδὲ δένδρον σαπρὸν καρπούς ὄγαθούς ποιῆσαι· ἐκ γὰρ τοῦ καρποῦ τὸ δένδρον γινώσκεται· καὶ ὅρα μοι τὴν ἐλασφρὰ διάνοιαν καὶ μηδὲν ἐν βάθει τὰ τῆς θείας γραφῆς κατανοοῦσαν. εἰ μὲν γὰρ δένδροι εἰσίν, ὅρα καὶ γεωργὸν ἔχουσι, καὶ φυτὰ τυγχάνοντα καὶ πάντως ὑπὸ τινός εἰσι πεφυτευμένα. πᾶν δὲ τὸ πεφυτευμένον οὐκ ἔστιν ἄναρχον. ἀλλὰ ὄρχὴν ἔχει. ὄρχὴν δὲ ἔχον καὶ τέλος ὑφέξει. τοίνον τὸ σαπρὸν δένδρον οὐκ ἦν ἀεί, ἀλλὰ πεφύτευται [...] Ταῦτα τὰ δύο δένδρα περὶ δικαιουσύνης καὶ περὶ ἀμαρτίας [τοῦτον] ἔχει τὸν τρόπον· ως δὲ οὗτος ὁ βάρβαρος Μάνης διανοείται, περὶ θεοῦ βούλεται λέγειν καὶ περὶ τοῦ διαβόλου. καὶ ὅτι περὶ θεοῦ οὐδεὶς δύναται τολμῆσαι καὶ εἰπεῖν ὅτι κακὸν ποιήσει ποτέ (μὴ γένοιτο), καὶ οὕτε περὶ τοῦ διαβόλου, ὅτι ἀγαθὸν ἐργάζεται, τοῦτο δῆλον. ἀλλὰ διὰ θεοῦ πάντα γίνεται τὰ ἀγαθά, καὶ φαῦλον ἔξ αὐτοῦ οὐδὲν κέκτισται οὐδὲ γίνεται [...] διέπεσεν ὁ αὐτοῦ λόγος. τὸ γὰρ σαπρὸν δένδρον καὶ ἀγαθὸν δένδρον περὶ ἀγαθῶν ἔργων τυγχάνει καὶ περὶ φαύλων καὶ οὐκ ἔστι περὶ παλαιᾶς διαθῆκης καὶ καινῆς, καθὼς βούλεται ὁ [τοῦ] Μάνη<ς>, λόγος.

⁶¹ Theodore, *Haereticarum fabularum compendium* 26. My translation. PG 83, c. 377B: Οὗτος δύο ἀγεννήτους καὶ ἀιδίους ἔφησεν εἶναι, θεὸν καὶ ὥλην, καὶ προστηγόρευσε τὸν μὲν θεὸν φῶς, τὴν δὲ ὥλην σκότος· καὶ τὸ μὲν φῶς ἀγαθὸν, τὸ δὲ σκότος, κακόν· ἐπιτέθεικε δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ὄνόματα· τὸ μὲν γὰρ φῶς ὀνόμασε δένδρον ἀγαθὸν, ἀγαθὸν πεπληρωμένον καρπῶν τὴν δὲ ὥλην, δένδρον κακόν, συμβαίνοντας τῇ ρίζῃ φέρον καρπούς.

4. LATIN SOURCES FROM MÁNICHAEISM AND AUGUSTINE OF HIPPO

In the Latin world, our principal (indeed, only) source for the ‘two trees’ image is Augustine, Catholic bishop of Hippo; in him we have a former Manichaean as well as a participant in real Catholic-Manichaean debates, both oral and written (whatever one may think of the authenticity of the AA), and the accounts of these preserve some words of his Manichaean opponents. Reading those disputes makes it clear that the ‘two trees’ image plays an important role here. Consider the declaration to Augustine (then a presbyter) by the Manichaean presbyter Fortunatus, during a public disputation that took place in 392.⁶² It is Fortunatus who brings the ‘two trees’ into the discussion:

[F]rom the facts themselves it is evident that darkness and light are not at all alike, that the truth and a lie are not at all alike, that death and life are not at all alike, that soul and body are not at all alike, nor are other things like these, which differ from one another by their names and appearances. And our Lord was right to say: *The tree that my heavenly Father has not planted will be uprooted* (Matt 15:13), because *it does not bear good fruit* (Matt 3:10), and there is also the tree that he has planted. Hence, it is very clear from the nature of things that there are two substances in this world, which differ in their appearances and names; one of these is that of the body, but the other is eternal, which we believe is the substance of the almighty Father.⁶³

Like I Ke 2, Fortunatus is patently employing the ‘two trees’ imagery to promote a radical dualism. He dilutes the classic Manichaean points of reference somewhat but, in the end, for him the ‘two trees’ not only stand for, but *are*, the two eternal substances. In his retort, Augustine addresses covetousness (*cupiditas*) as the root of all evils (see 1 Tm

⁶² See F. Decret, *Aspects du manichéisme dans l’Afrique romaine: Les controverses de Fortunatus, Faustus et Felix avec saint Augustin*, Paris: Études Augustiniennes, 1970, 39–50.

⁶³ Aug., *Contra Fortunatum* 14. Translation by R. Teske, *The Manichean Debate* (The Works of Saint Augustine: A Translation for the 21st Century, I/19), Hyde Park, NY: New City Press, 2006, 149–50. CSEL 25/1, p. 91.8–18: “rebus ipsis paret, quia nihil simile tenebrae et lux, nihil simile umerita et mendacium, nihil simile mors et uita, nihil simile anima et corpus et cetera istis similia, quae et nominibus et speciebus distant ab iniucem, et merito dixisse dominum nostrum: *arbor, quam non plantauit pater meus caelensis, eradicabitur et in ignem mittatur, quae non adferet fructus bonos, et esse arboreum radicatam. hinc uero constat et ratione rerum, quod duea sunt substantiae in hoc mundo, quae speciebus et nominibus distant: quarum est una corporis, alia uero aeterna, patris omnipotentis quam esse credimus.*” Notice the introduction here of Matt 15:13.

6:10), providing Fortunatus with the opportunity to link ‘root’ and ‘tree’ to express the notion of the reality of evil within each human as particles of Darkness:

[C]ovetousness, which you said is the root of all evils, is not understood in a single way as if it were found only in our bodies. For it is clear that the evil that is found in us comes from an evil author and that this root, which you say exists, is a small portion of the evil. Thus the evil that is found in us is not itself the root but a portion of the evil—of the evil that is found everywhere. Our Lord also called that root the bad tree that never bears good fruit, the tree that his Father did not plant and that is rightly uprooted and cast into the fire.⁶⁴

Then Augustine addresses the significance of the two trees, with a classic element of Augustinian anti-Manichaean rebuttal—free choice, an application already made by Didymus, Titus, and Epiphanius:⁶⁵

[T]he Lord said with perfect truth that the two trees which you mentioned, the good tree and the bad tree, have their own fruit; that is, the good tree cannot produce bad fruit, nor can the bad tree produce good fruit, but only as long as it is bad. Let us take two human beings, one good and the other bad. As long as the one is good, he cannot produce bad fruit; as long as the other is bad, he cannot produce good fruit. But in order that you may understand that the Lord mentioned these two trees in order to signify free choice, and that those two trees are not our natures but our wills, he said in the gospel, *Either make the tree good, or*

⁶⁴ Aug., *C. Fort.* 21, trans. Teske, *The Manichean Debate*, 156. CSEL 25/1, p. 102.15–23: “cupiditas uero non uno modo intellegitur, quam dixisti radicem omnium malorum, quasi quae in cordibus nostris solum uersetur, cum constet hoc quod in nobis uersatur malum, ex auctore malo descendere et portiunculam esse mali hanc radicem, quam tu esse dicis, ut non sit ipsa radix, sed sit portiuncula mali, eius mali, quod ubique uersatur. quam radicem et arborem malam dominus noster appellauit numquam fructus bonos adferentem, quam non plantauit pater suus, ac merito eradicari et in ignem mitti.” Teske has chosen the reading *corporibus* found in Migne (PL 34, c. 123) instead of *cordibus* in CSEL, though the latter seems to me the better choice, because Augustine has just been making a point about free will. See the allusion to Luke 6:45 in Titus of Bostra, above.

⁶⁵ Augustine makes similar applications in his non-Manichaean works as well. Good examples of this are in *De nuptiis et concupiscentia* 2.48 and *Contra Iulianum* 5.21,23. He applies Matt 7:17–20 to the will as well in *De ciuitate dei* 14.11, 13. See also his *Sermo* 72, which speaks of the two roots: “Sicut est enim radix omnium malorum cupiditas, sic et radix omnium bonorum caritas.” PL 38, c. 467–470, as edited by P.-P. Verbraken, “Le sermon LXXII de saint Augustin sur l’arbre et son fruit,” *Forma Futuri: Studi in onore del Cardinale Michele Pellegrino*, Turin: Bottega d’Erasmo, 1975, 800–04. This is because for Augustine good and evil are the will’s fundamental choices: see N. Fischer, “Bonum,” in AL 1, 675–77. Once, in *De sermone dom. in monte* 2.24.78–9, Augustine opposes exegeting the ‘two trees’ as signifying two natures.

make the tree bad (Matt 12:33). Who is there who can make a nature? If, then, we are commanded to make a tree good or bad, it is up to us to choose what we want.⁶⁶

In *Contra Adimantum* (written perhaps in 394), Augustine portrays Mani's close disciple Adimantus (Addai or Addā), highly revered by Faustus,⁶⁷ as comparing Matt 7:17 with Amos 3:3–6 to show that nothing evil can be associated with God.⁶⁸ In this case, Augustine uses Matthew 12:33 along with 7:17 as the counterpoint, and the 'bad' they mention to indicate God's punishment for sin:

And so, insofar as it pertains to him, he causes something good, because everything just is good, and that punishment is just. Hence, Adimantus' objection that the Lord said, *A good tree produces good fruit, but a bad tree produces bad fruit*, is not contrary to this. For, though hell is evil for someone damned, the justice of God is good, and this fruit comes from a good tree [...]. And yet these two trees were most clearly presented as a likeness of two human beings, that is, of someone just and of someone unjust, because, unless someone changes his will, he cannot do what is good. In another passage the Lord teaches that this is placed in our power, where he says, *Either make the tree good and its fruit good, or make the tree bad and its fruit bad [...]*. A bad tree, therefore, cannot produce good fruit; but it can become a good tree from a bad one in order that it might bear good fruit. The apostle says, *For you were once darkness, but now you are light in the Lord* (Eph 5:8[a]), as if he had said, "You were once bad trees and for that reason you were able to produce only bad fruit. *But now you are light in the Lord*, that is, now that you have become good trees, bear good fruit." He says the following: *Walk*

⁶⁶ Aug., C. Fort. 22, trans. Teske, *The Manichean Debate*, 158. CSEL 25/1, p. 105.4–17: "ex quo illae duae arbores, bona arbor et mala arbor, quas commemorasti, uerissime dictum est a domino quod suos fructus habeant, id est neque bonam posse dare malos fructus neque malam bonos, sed malos quamdui mala est. Accipiamus duos homines: bonum hominem et malum hominem; quamdui bonus est, malos fructus dare non potest; quamdui malus est, fructus bonos dare non potest. sed ut intellegas istas duas arbores sic esse a domino positas, ut ibi significaretur liberum arbitrium, non naturas esse istas duas arbores, sed uoluntates nostras, ipse ait in euangelio: *aut facite arborem bonam aut facite arborem malam.* quis est, qui possit facere naturam? Si ergo imperatum est nobis, ut faciamus arborem aut bonam aut malam, nostrum est eligere, quid uelimus." For the underlined *bad* Teske has *good*.

⁶⁷ He calls him *theologus noster* (Aug., *Contra Faustum* I.2). On Adimantus see Tardieu, "Principes," 133–34.

⁶⁸ On Adimantus' agenda see Baker-Brian, "... *quaedam disputationes*," 187; also 194: "For Adimantus the passage from Amos was yet another example of the Law's attempt to conflate the two natures (good and evil) in the one God and thereby mislead humanity over the true nature of its being. Adimantus demonstrated that the antidote to the passage was the knowledge taught by Jesus, who had been sent by God the father to enable believers to recognise the dualistic origins of good and evil."

like children of the light, for the fruit of the light is found in all righteousness and truth. Give your approval to what is pleasing to the Lord (Eph 5:8[b]–10) [...]. For the Lord says there what Adimantus also quoted: *Every tree that does not bear good fruit will be cut down and cast into the fire.* These are the evils that God produces, that is, punishment for sinners, because he casts into the fire the trees that persevered in their wickedness and refused to become good, although this is the evil for the trees themselves. But God, as I have often said, does not bear evil fruit, because the punishment of sin is the fruit of justice.⁶⁹

In his public debate with Augustine in 404, the Manichaean *doctor* Felix⁷⁰ was even more succinct than Fortunatus, yet more direct, easily providing the most explicit link we have yet seen between the Synoptic image (Matt 7:17) and Manichaean dualism:

Mani says that there are two natures, and now he is blamed because he said that there are two, a good nature and a [sic] evil nature. In the gospel Christ says that there are two trees: *The good tree never produces bad fruit, and the bad tree never produces good fruit.* There you have two natures.⁷¹

⁶⁹ Aug., *Contra Adimantum* 26, trans. Teske, *The Manichean Debate*, 219–20. CSEL 25/1, pp. 185.3–186.12: “Itaque ipse, quantum ad se pertinet, bonum facit, quia omne iustum bonum est, et iusta est illa iudicatrix, et ideo non est contrarium, quod Adimantus obicit dixisse dominum: arbor bona fructus bonos facit; mala autem arbor malos fructus facit. quamvis enim malum sit gehenna damnato, iustitia tamen dei bona est et ipse fructus est ex arbore bona [...]. quamquam duae istae arbores manifestissime in similitudine duorum hominum positae sint, id est iusti et iniusti, quia nisi quisque uoluntatem mutauerit, bonum operari non potest. quod in nostra potestate esse positum alio loco docet, ubi ait: *aut facite arborem bonam et fructum eius bonum; aut facite arborem malam et fructum eius malum* [...]. mala ergo arbor fructus bonos facere non potest; sed ex mala fieri bona potest, ut bonos fructus ferat. *fuistis enim aliquando tenebrae, inquit, nunc autem lux in domino.* tamquam si diceret: fuistis aliquando arbores malae et ideo tunc non poteratis nisi malos fructus facere; *nunc autem lux in domino*, id est iam facti arbores bonae date fructus bonos; quod sequitur dicens: *sicut filii lucis ambulate—fructus enim luminis est in omnia iustitia et ueritate—probantes quid sit beneplacitum deo [...].* ibi enim ait dominus, quod etiam iste commemorauit: *omnis arbor, quae non facit fructus bonos, excidetur et in ignem mittetur.* haec sunt mala, quae deus facit, id est peccatoribus poenas, quod in ignem mittet arbores, quae in malitia perseuerantes fieri bonae noluerint, cum hoc ipsis arboribus malum sit. deus autem, ut saepe dixi, non dat fructus malos, quia iustitiae fructus est iudicatrix peccati.”

⁷⁰ On Felix and the debate see *Decret, Aspects*, 71–89.

⁷¹ Aug., *Contra Felicem* 2.2, trans. Teske, *The Manichean Debate*, 299. CSEL 25/2, p. 829.13–17: “Felix dixit: Manichaeus dicit duas esse naturas et modo inde culpatur, quia dixit duas esse, bonam et malam. Christus in euangelio duas dicit esse arbores: *arbor bona numquam facit fructum malum, et arbor mala numquam facit fructum bonum.* ecce duas naturas.”

Once again Augustine replies that the gospel citation in question refers to proper and improper use of free will. And again he invokes Matt 12:33:

Listen first, then, to the Lord himself concerning free choice, where he speaks of the two trees, of which you yourself made mention. Listen to him as he says, *Either make the tree good and its fruit good, or make the tree bad and its fruit bad.* When, therefore, he says, “Either do this or do that,” he indicates a power, not a nature. After all, only God can make a tree. But each person has it in his will either to choose what is good and to be a good tree or to choose what is evil and to be a bad tree, not because the evils that we choose have some substance in themselves but because God created all the things that he created in their different ranks and distinguished them in their kinds. He created heavenly things and earthly things, immortal things and mortal things, all good, each in its own kind, and he placed the soul that has free choice under himself and above other things. In that way, if the soul served what was above it, it would rule what was beneath it. But if it offended what was above it, it would experience punishment from what was beneath it. And so, when the Lord said, “Either do this or do that,” he showed that what they would do was in their power, while he was secure and certain in himself as God, and that, if they chose the good, they would receive a reward from him, while if they chose evil, they would feel punishment from him. But God is always just, whether he rewards or condemns.⁷²

This is reminiscent of Fortunatus’ radical division between light and dark, and so on, except that Augustine attributes everything with real existence and that is not God to God’s creating power. But evil has no real existence, and does not, therefore, originate with God or any other uncreated power. It is, so to speak, the creation of a human (and

⁷² Aug., *C. Fel.* 2.4, trans. Teske, *The Manichean Debate*, 301. CSEL 25/2, pp. 831.26–832.16: “Audi ergo de libero arbitrio primo ipsum dominum, ubi duas arbores commemorat, quarum mentionem ipse fecisti, audi dicentem: *aut facite arborem bonam et fructum eius bonum aut facite arborem malam et fructum eius malum.* cum ergo dicit ‘aut hoc facite aut illud facite,’ potestatem indicat, non naturam. nemo enim nisi deus facere arborem potest; sed habet unusquisque in voluntate aut eligere, quae bona sunt, et esse arbor bona, aut eligere, quae mala sunt, et esse arbor mala, non quia mala ipsa, quae eliguntur, aliquam habent in se ipsis substantiam, sed quia deus omnia, quae condidit, gradibus suis condidit generibusque distinxit, caelestia atque terrena, immortalia atque mortalia et omnia bona in suo quodque genere condidit, animalia habentem liberum arbitrium sub se ipso et supra cetera collocavit: ut si seruiret superiori, dominaretur inferiori; si autem offenderet superiori, poenam ex inferiore sentiret. hoc ergo dominus dicens ‘aut facite illud aut facite illud’ ostendit esse in potestate quid facerent, ipse securus et certus in se tamquam deus, et quia si bonum eligerent, praemium eius acciperent, si malum eligerent, poenam eius sentirent; semper autem ille iustus est aut remunerator aut damnator.”

therefore created) choice; and that is what the good and bad trees are meant to symbolize.

Finally, in *Contra Secundinum* 2 (written after 404), Augustine appeals to Matt 12:33 to speak of wills culpably perverted from the good.⁷³ It is interesting that in his letter to Augustine (1), Secundinus refers to Matt 7, but skirts around the ‘two trees,’ employing instead the ‘two houses’ of verses 24–28, as well as verses 13 and 14.⁷⁴ This may be why Augustine pays no further attention to the image in his reply.

5. CONCLUSIONS

1. My conclusions begin with another remark from the article I cited at the beginning: that “If Manichaeism was not overly given to conceptualising either good or evil, it is clear that the tree image serves for both. The fact that it is found so widely in Manichaean literature indicates that it belongs to the earliest stratum of the system”⁷⁵—probably, I would now add, to Mani himself.

2. From this study a definite pattern has emerged, wherein the Manichaean use of the ‘two trees’ image is meant to demonstrate the fundamental difference between good and bad, and to trace that difference all the way back to the two eternal principles. But the ‘two trees’ imagery not only serves to mediate Manichaean teaching on the two eternal principles, the trees are even *identified* with them. On the ethical plane, the objective is to argue that the good (i.e., God) is in no way responsible for anything, including moral evil, that may be deemed bad.

3. A corollary is that the image is meant to drive home the disparity between the claims of the Old Testament (Law and Prophets) and New Testament (Gospel and Apostle) to revealed status. The latter unveils evil’s true origin in the world, while the former seeks to cover it up.

4. A second corollary is the moral lesson: the good and bad trees, since they stem from the two principles, teach about the presence of virtue and vice.

5. In areas where the Christian scriptures would have a strong following (such as Egypt, Syria, and North Africa), the image serves as

⁷³ CSEL 25/2, p. 907.3–11.

⁷⁴ CSEL 25/2, pp. 893–96.

⁷⁵ “The Idea of the ‘Good’ in Manichaeism,” above, 63.

a (perhaps *the*) major vehicle to mediate this. Thus, while there may not be enough evidence to support Baker-Brian's claim that in the two trees image we have "one of the most important sayings of Jesus for the Manichaean community,"⁷⁶ there is enough to temper Arnold-Döben's remark⁷⁷ that in Western Manichaeism the image is mostly found in the Manichaean Coptic library.

6. The Manichaean application of the image is not intended as an exegetical justification of doctrine (the two principles) but rather as mediating doctrine arrived at independently of the New Testament.

7. The anti-Manichaean response consists of (a) the argument that the application of the image to cosmogony is inappropriate; (b) the invalidation of the cosmogony behind it; and (c) a rebuttal that either (i) focuses on the absurdity of trees as eternal or infinite; or (ii) insists on the value of the New Testament image as symbolizing the two fundamental paths of the moral life, between which each person must choose.

⁷⁶ Baker-Brian, 184. He does not expand on this affirmation.

⁷⁷ Both authors are cited near the beginning of this article.

CHAPTER SIX

HANDS AND IMPOSITION OF HANDS IN MANICHAEISM*

Little firsthand information is available regarding Manichaean rituals, and still less on the place and meaning Manichaeism ascribed to specific ritual gestures. Studies on the history of one of these gestures, the imposition of hands, pay virtually no attention to its employment by Manichaeans,¹ while the two chief authorities on Manichaean ritual have on the whole focused elsewhere.² This article aims to carry consideration of the gesture in Manichaeism a little further. It is recognized that, as for other religions (including Christianity),³ any research of ritual practices and gestures in Manichaeism, whose thorough study

* In honour of Professor Dirk van Damme, of the University of Fribourg, with whom I studied Syriac and Armenian, and who was also a reader of my dissertation. *Առաջնահայտ աշխատանք մասնակիութեան մասին պահանջման համար*

¹ J. Behm, *Die Handauflegung im Urchristentum nach Verwendung, Herkunft und Bedeutung in religionsgeschichtlichem Zusammenhang untersucht*, Leipzig: Deichert, 1911 (repr. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1968), 144–45, makes a single mention, but in regard to medieval ‘Manichaeans’.

² Henri-Charles Puech published a series of reports on courses given between 1952 and 1972, in *Annuaire du Collège de France*, vols. 58 (1958) to 71 (1971), repr. together as “Liturgie et pratiques rituelles dans le manichéisme,” in *Sur le manichéisme et autres essais*, Paris: Flammarion, 1979, 235–394. This contains (359–89) the most thorough treatment to date of our subject, but concentrates on a single document (the ninth *Kephalaion*). See also “Le manichéisme,” in *Idem*, ed., *Histoire des Religions* 2 (Encyclopédie de la Pléiade, 34), Paris: Gallimard, 1972, 592–628. The publications of Julien Ries on liturgical themes and practices in Manichaeism include: “La Gnose manichéenne dans les textes liturgiques manichéens coptes,” in U. Bianchi, ed., *Le origini dello gnosticismo. Colloquio di Messina, 13–18 aprile 1966* (SHR, 12), Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1967, 614–24; “La fête de Bêma dans l’Eglise de Mani,” *REA* 22 (1976): 218–33; “La prière de Bêma dans l’Église de Mani,” in H. Limet et J. Ries, eds., *L’expérience de la prière dans les grandes religions: Actes du Colloque de Louvain-la-Neuve et Liège (22–23 novembre 1978)* (HR, 5), Louvain-la-Neuve: Centre d’Histoire des Religions, 1980, 375–90; and “Sacré, sainteté et salut gnostique dans la liturgie manichéenne copte,” in J. Ries et al. *L’expression du sacré dans les grandes religions* 3 (HR, 3), Louvain-la-Neuve: Centre d’Histoire des Religions, 1986, 257–88.

³ See P. and R. Lerou, “Objets de culte et pratiques populaires: Pour une méthode d’enquête,” in B. Plongeron, ed., *La religion populaire dans l’Occident chrétien. Approches historiques* (Bibliothèque Beauchesne, 2), Paris: Beauchesne, 1976, 195–237, esp. 219.

has yet to be done,⁴ is hampered by geographical and chronological variations,⁵ and by a dearth of clear data.

The early Christian view of external rites (including imposition of hands) is, as Tertullian expressed it, that they take place over the body because of its close attachment to the soul.⁶ Such a view flies in the face of Manichaeism's profound suspicion of all matter.⁷ And, indeed, the North African Manichaean leader Faustus of Milevis intimates that his religion repudiated *all* trappings of external cult.⁸ Still, as Puech observed, one should not take this claim at face value.⁹ There are, for one thing, the examples from Gnostic circles.¹⁰ The *Acts of Thomas*—undoubtedly adapted to Manichaean use—present the apos-

⁴ On connections with Buddhism see H.-J. Klimkeit, "Manichäische und buddhistische Beichtformeln aus Turfan: Beobachtungen zur Beziehung zwischen Gnosis und Mahāyāna," *Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte* 29 (1977): 193–228. For some parallels between Manichaean and Christian liturgies, see A. Böhlig, "Christliche Wurzeln im Manichäismus," in *Mysterion und Wahrheit: Gesammelte Beiträge zur spätantiken Religionsgeschichte*, Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1968 (repr. from *Bulletin de la Société d'Archéologie copte* 15 [1960]: 41–61; repr. in G. Widengren, ed., *Der Manichäismus* [WDF, 148], Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1977, 225–46), 217–18.

⁵ For aspects of this problem see L. H. Grondijs, "Analyse du manichéisme numidien au IV^e siècle," in AM 3, 391–410, esp. 391–5; *Idem*, "Numidian Manicheism in Augustinus' Time," *Nederlands Theologisch Tijdschrift* 9 (1954): 21–42; *Idem*, "La diversità delle sette manichee," in *Silloge Bizantina in onore di Silvio Giuseppe Mercati (Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici, 9)*, Rome: Associazione Nazionale per gli Studi Bizantini, 1957, 176–87; D. McBride, "Egyptian Manichaeism," *Journal for the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities* 18 (1988): 80–98; and R. Lim, "Unity and Diversity Among Western Manichaeans: A Reconsideration of Mani's *sancta ecclesia*," REA 35 (1989): 231–50.

⁶ Tert., *De resurrectione mortuorum* 8:2–3 (CCL 2, p. 931.5–13).

⁷ Expressed in e.g., Middle Persian Turfan fragments M 9 (W. B. Henning, "Mitteliranische Manichaica aus Chinesisch-Turkestan. Von F. C. Andreas," 2, in SPAW, Jhg. 1933: 297–300, repr. in W. B. Henning: *Selected Papers*, I [AI, 14], Leiden: E. J. Brill / Teheran: Bibliothèque Pahlavi, 1977, [194–7]); and S 9 (*Idem*, "Ein manichäischer kosmogonischer Hymnus" in *Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, Jhg. 1932: 215–16, repr. in *Selected Papers*, [50–1]; English in J. P. Asmussen, *Manichaean Literature: Representative Texts Chiefly from Middle Persian and Parthian Writings*, 2nd ed. (UNESCO Collection of Representative Works, Persian Heritage Series, 22), Delmar, NY: Scholars' Facsimiles & Reprints, 1977 [1975], 133–34); and *Kephalia* 83 and 91, published in H. Ibscher, H. J. Polotsky and A. Böhlig, *Kephalia. 1. Hälfte (Lieferung 1–10)* (MHSMB, 1), Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1940, pp. 200–04 and 228–34.

⁸ In Augustine, *Contra Faustum* 20:3–4 (CSEL 25/1, pp. 537–8).

⁹ Puech, "Le manichéisme," 592.

¹⁰ According to D. Roché, *Le catharisme* 2, Narbonne: Cahiers d'études cathares, 1976, 10, the Gnostic *Pistis Sophia* mentions three uses of laying on of hands; but the single expression "accomplished over the head" is too vague to support the theory: see *Pist. Soph.* 97 (GCS 45, p. 173; GCS 45^{bis}, p. 153).

tle as curing a woman, then laying hands upon her after she requests ‘the seal of baptism.’¹¹ Clement of Alexandria claims that Valentinian Gnostics linked the laying on of hands to the idea of deliverance.¹² And Hippolytus reports that the Marcosians celebrated an initiation rite which included laying on hands.¹³

THE HANDS AND ‘THE RIGHT’

A second reason for qualifying (if not disregarding) Faustus’ claim is evidence that Manichaeism, “le plus parfait exemple qui se puisse trouver d’une religion du type gnostique,”¹⁴ inculcated external symbols and rituals, at least in fourth-century Egypt. Among these symbols was that of the hand, important to virtually all ancient cultures.¹⁵ Particularly, the right hand bore positive connotations of power, justice, protection, and so forth, while the left was associated with contemptible qualities and behaviour.¹⁶ These ideas are reflected in Egyptian Manichaeism:

¹¹ *Acta Thomae* 49, in R. A. Lipsius and M. Bonnet, *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha*, II/2, Leipzig: H. Mendelssohn, 1903 (repr. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1959), p. 165.10–17). See also 54 (p. 170.15–18). On the use of these Acts in Manichaeism see G. Bornkamm, *Mythos und Legende in den apokryphen Thomas-Akten: Beiträge zur Geschichte der Gnosis und zur Vorgeschichte des Manichäismus* (Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments, 49), Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1933, *passim*; W. Schneemelcher, *New Testament Apocrypha*, 2nd ed. (trans. of *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen*, 6th ed., Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1989), 2, Louisville: Westminster/John Knox, 1992, 337–38; and P. Nagel, “Die apokryphen Apostelakten des 2. und 3. Jahrhunderts in der manichäischen Literatur: Ein Beitrag zur Frage nach den christlichen Elementen im Manichäismus,” in K. W. Tröger, ed., *Gnosis und Neues Testament: Studien aus Religionswissenschaft und Theologie*, Berlin: Mohn, 1973, 171–73.

¹² Clem. Al., *Excerpta ex Theodozo* 22:5 (GCS 3, p. 114.8–9), on which see J.-M. Sevrin, “Les noces spirituelles dans l’Évangile selon Philippe” in *Le Muséon* 87 (1974): 151 n. 25.

¹³ Hippolytus, *Elenchus* VI,41:4 (GCS 26, p. 173.3–5). See H. Söderberg, *La religion des cathares: Étude sur le gnosticisme de la basse antiquité et du Moyen Âge*, Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1949, 226.

¹⁴ Puech, “Le manichéisme,” 523. See also Ries, “La Gnose manichéenne.”

¹⁵ See H. Focillon, “Éloge de la main” in *Idem, Vie des Formes, cinquième édition, suivie de l’Éloge de la main*”, Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1964, 103–28.

¹⁶ See the important essay of R. Hertz, “La prééminence de la main droite: étude sur la polarité religieuse,” originally published in *Revue philosophique* 68 (1909): 553–80, repr. in *Idem, Sociologie religieuse et folklore*, 2nd ed., Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1970, 84–109; English in *Idem, Death and The Right Hand*, Aberdeen and Glencoe, Ill: Cohen & West, 1960, 89–113.

"He appointed him [Mani] to three powers, to tribulation, to a right hand (*ογνεμ*), to bliss."¹⁷

To Manichaeans, though, 'hand' and 'hands' on their own could also symbolize wrongdoing, i.e., doing violence to the Light trapped in matter. Thus the Primal Human (*primus homo*, πρώτος ἀνθρωπος), from whose hand none of the Sons of Darkness can escape,¹⁸ is "freed from the hands of enemies."¹⁹ It follows the *signaculum manuum*, though sometimes referred to in connection with 'rest' or 'peace,' carries the same note of avoiding harm to the imprisoned Light. An Iranian text, for instance, accuses Hearers:

Like a highwayman [who] killed [those] sons, so also are all of you, who lay hands on the earth with... and torture (it) in every way. And with your whole [body] you move over the earth and wound... And this Living [Self] from whom you were born, you violate and injure. And over your hand it always weeps and complains.²⁰

Manichaeans also occasionally ascribed a positive symbolism to 'hand(s).' A Chinese document (probably in reference to the Primal Human) speaks of "the compassionate hand which delivers from the pit of fire."²¹ In Turfan fragment M 99 an Eon maintains the bottom-most heaven "over his head with his hand."²² In another Turfan docu-

¹⁷ Bema-psalm 228, in C. R. C. Allberry, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book, Part II* (MMCBC, 2), Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1938, p. 23.4–5.

¹⁸ Keph. 17 (Ibscher et al., *Kephalaia*, 1. Hälfte, p. 55.30–1).

¹⁹ Keph. 26 (Ibscher et al., *Kephalaia*, 1. Hälfte, p. 77.10). On the identity of the Primal Human see W. B. Henning, "Geburt und Entsendung des manichäischen Urmenschen" in *Nachrichten* (see p. 90, n. 7), Jhrg. 1933: 306–18, repr. in *Selected Papers*, [261–73]; H. H. Schaeder, "Urform und Fortbildungen des manichäischen Systems," in *Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg*, Vorträge 1924–5, Leipzig: Teubner, 1927, 110–12, repr. in C. Colpe, ed., *Studien zur orientalischen Religionsgeschichte*, Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1968, 60–2; and I. Schefterowitz, "Der göttliche Urmensch in der manichäischen Religion," in *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 28 (1930): 212–40, who remarks (227) that Augustine "kennt nur die manichäische Lehre, daß Christus der Sohn des göttlichen Urmenschen ist."

²⁰ Turfan Parthian fragment M 580, in W. Sundermann, *Mittelpersische und parthische kosmogonische und Parabeltexte der Manichäer* (BT, 4), Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1973, lines 2024–030; English in Asmussen, *Manichaean Literature*, 34. Puech, "Liturgie," 309–13, gives numerous examples. See also 314–19, 340–2, and 349–53, esp. regarding the meaning of 'seal' in Manichaeism.

²¹ E. Waldschmidt and W. Lentz, "Die Stellung Jesu im Manichäismus," APAW, Jhg. 1926, Abh. 4: 125.

²² F. W. K. Müller, "Handschriften-Reste in Estrangelo Schrift aus Turfan, Chinesisch-Turkestan," 2, APAW, Jhg. 1904, Abh. 3: 42.

ment the Manichaean prays to be held in God's hand.²³ The 'Great Holy One,' described in a Chinese document as "the great physician-healer for all who possess a soul,"²⁴ is called upon in another Chinese source to "extend the hand of compassion and hold your hand over the radiant head of my Buddha-nature,"²⁵ to lay a hand "upon my thrice-pure Law-body, banish and destroy all fetters of past times," and "swiftly extend your hand of compassion and light."²⁶

The 'Great Holy One' is probably Mani himself. Often referred to as a healer, in a Coptic psalm Mani descends upon the ceremonial chair (*bēma*), there being given "into his hands the medicine of life that he might heal the wounded."²⁷ His powers (of healing?) have come "through the hand" of a heavenly power:

[From] the waters [the face] of a man appeared to me, showing with his hand the Rest... In this way, from my fourth year until I attained my bodily maturity, by the hands of the most pure angels and the powers of holiness I was protected.²⁸

Whenever the *right* hand is specified, the tone is positive, as in a Coptic homily: "Salvation to the Elect and the Catechumens, that they have joined to the right (ογνει) and... to the good."²⁹

Jesus is occasionally referred to as 'hand'³⁰ or 'right hand.'³¹ In Bema-psalm 219 the Living Spirit is "our first Right Hand" (τῆμαρπī

²³ M 67, in W. B. Henning, "Mitteliranische Manichaica aus Chinesisch-Turkestan. Von F. C. Andreas" 3 in SPAW, Jhg. 1934: 888; repr. in *Idem, Selected Papers*, [315].

²⁴ H. Schmidt-Glintzer, *Chinesische Manichaica* (SOR, 14), Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1987, 101; also É. Chavannes and P. Pelliot, "Un traité manichéen retrouvé en Chine," *Journal Asiatique*, X^e série, t. XVIII (1911): 586.

²⁵ Schmidt-Glintzer, *Chinesische Manichaica*, 14; Waldschmidt and Lentz, "Die Stellung": 104.

²⁶ Schmidt-Glintzer, *Chinesische Manichaica*, 17; Waldschmidt and Lentz, "Die Stellung": 107–08.

²⁷ Bema-psalm 228 (Allberry, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, pp. 22.28–23.7). See the following chapter.

²⁸ CMC 12.1–15, in L. Koenen and C. Römer, eds., *Der Kölner Mani-Kodex. Über das Werden seines Leibes. Kritische Edition* (ARAWAW, Sonderreihe Papyrologica Coloniensis, 14), Opladen: Westdeutsche Verlag, 1988, 8. In this respect, it is significant that "by the hands" of angels are also purified the faithful Elect: Keph. 90 (Ibscher et al., *Kephalaia*, 1. Hälfte, p. 225.29).

²⁹ In H. J. Polotsky, *Manichäische Homilien*, (MHSCB, 1) Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1934, p. 13.8–9.

³⁰ Waldschmidt and Lentz, "Die Stellung": 39–40.

³¹ Turfan fragment M 36 (Henning, "Mitteliranische" 2: 326 [223]): "the right hand of health." See also the link of the "right hand" to healing in an address to Jesus in the Coptic Ψαλμοὶ Σαρακωτῶν (Allberry, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, p. 153.2–4).

πογνημ).³² And the *Acts of Archelaus* depicts a “right hand of light” (δεξιὰ τοῦ φωτός—*dextera lucis*) as a luminous power sustaining all souls which in matter struggle against evil.³³ The same ‘light-hand’ idea appears in a Chinese Manichaean hymn of praise to Jesus.³⁴ Though all these references appear to be purely figurative, other sources indicate that *physical* hands are excluded neither symbolically nor ritually.

The clasp of right hands may have been a conventional salutation in contemporary cultures and religions;³⁵ but to Manichaeans it was undoubtedly more. Besides the associations already noted, there is a rich liturgical significance, an act recognizing those filled (hence, saved) by the Living Spirit (the ‘first right hand’). The ninth chapter of the Coptic *Kephalaia* stipulates that “when he (the candidate) receives the right hand, the Light-*Nous* draws him to itself and places him in the Church. Through the right hand he receives the Kiss [of Love] and becomes a Son of the [Church].”³⁶ We will return to this idea shortly.

IMPOSITION OF THE HAND

In Turfan Parthian fragment M 47, Mani heals the brother of King Shapur by laying his hand on the unconscious man’s head. Recovered, the man grips the healer’s right hand—presumably the one whereby he was cured.³⁷ Certainly Mani’s hands held special meaning for his

³² Allberry, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, p. 2.5.

³³ AA 5 (GCS 16, p. 5.27). See also Augustine, *Cont. epist. quam uocant fundamenti* 11 (CSEL 25/1, p. 207.18); *Contra Felicem* 1.16 (CSEL 25/2, p. 819.12).

³⁴ Waldschmidt and Lentz, “Die Stellung,” 108.

³⁵ H. Jonas, *The Gnostic Religion: The Message of the Alien God and the Beginnings of Christianity*, 2nd ed., Boston: Beacon Press, 1972 (1958), 223 n. 25, remarks that “clasping hands had been in use in antiquity as a symbolic act on certain legal occasions (conclusion of contracts), but not as a salutation” (author’s emphasis). Thus in Galatians 2:9 an agreement between apostles is sealed by giving “the right hand of fellowship.” On the joining of right hands in Mithraism and Mandaeism see C. Giuffrè Scibona, “Gnosi e salvezza manichee nella polemica di Agostino. Contributo alla definizione della specificità dei concetti di gnosi e salvezza e del loro funzionamento nel sistema manicheo” in J. Ries, Y. Janssens and J.-M. Sevrin, eds., *Gnosticisme et monde hellénistique. Actes du Colloque de Louvain-la-Neuve (11–14 mars 1980)* (Publications de l’Institut Orientaliste de Louvain, 27), Louvain-la-Neuve: Institut Orientaliste, Université Catholique de Louvain, 1982, 187.

³⁶ Keph. 9 (Ibscher et al., *Kephalaia*, 1. Hälfte, p. 40.31–34).

³⁷ Müller, “Handschriften-Reste” 2: 84; M. Boyce, *A Reader in Manichaean Middle Persian and Parthian* (AI, 9), Leiden: E. J. Brill/Teheran: Bibliothèque Pahlavi, 1975, 37–8; Asmussen, *Manichaean Literature*, 20; and W. Sundermann, *Mitteliranische*

followers: according to a Turfan Parthian fragment, after Mani's death his hands were kept as relics, along with his Gospel, his picture-book (*Ardhang*), and his robe.³⁸

Perhaps it is to his power to heal that Mani alludes in the Cologne Mani-Codex: "The truth and the secrets which I speak about—and the χειροθεσία which is in my possession—not from men nor carnal creatures nor book-learning have I received it."³⁹ Specific allusions like this to imposing hands, already implied in a Chinese text quoted earlier,⁴⁰ are frequent enough to be more than merely figurative, or, for that matter, more than a peculiarity of Manichaeans of Central Asia. Augustine of Hippo, the former Manichaean, informs us that "ipso auditores ante electos genua figunt, ut eis manus supplicibus imponatur non a solis presbyteris uel episcopis aut diaconis eorum sed a quibuslibet electis."⁴¹ It is hard to know the precise context to which Augustine alludes, or to draw from it any details; but it seems clear that a single hand is imposed (*inponatur*) and, from foregoing passages and what follows, it may be inferred that it is always the *right* hand which is imposed.

Augustine also informs us that Manichaeism's central feast, the *Bēma*, "pro pascha frequentabatur,"⁴² and Ries has demonstrated parallels between the *Bēma*-feast and the Christian Easter celebration.⁴³ A major feature of the latter, of course, was the baptism/confirmation of converts, to the accompaniment of avowals of sin and gestures of forgiveness. Ries suggests that "le sacré du *Bēma* est un sacré fonctionnel du fait de sa mission, d'une part dans le pardon des péchés, d'autre part dans l'initiation gnostique."⁴⁴ Pardon of sins is much in evidence in Manichaeism and, if we can believe the Coptic sources, goes back

manichäische Texte Kirchengeschichtlichen Inhalts (BT, 11), Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1981, 103.

³⁸ M 5569 (= T II D 79), in Henning, "Mitteliranische" 3: 862 [289]; Boyce, *A Reader*, 48; and Asmussen, *Manichaean Literature*, 56.

³⁹ CMC 64.8–15 (Koenen and Römer, *Der Kölner*, 44). See also 20.3–6 and 70.3 (*ibid.*, 12 and 48).

⁴⁰ See above, p. 93.

⁴¹ Aug., *Epist. 236 2* (CSEL 57, p. 524.14–17).

⁴² Aug., *Contra epistulam quam uocant Fundamenti* 8 (CSEL 25/1, p. 203.2).

⁴³ Ries, "La fête," 218, 220–21, and 227. On the *Bēma*-feast see also "Sacré," 282–85; "La prière"; Puech, "Liturgie," 389–94 (essentially repeated in "Le manichéisme," 625–28); and C. R. C. Allberry, "Das manichäische Bema-Fest" in ZNW 37 (1938): 2–10.

⁴⁴ Ries, "Sacré," 284.

to Mani himself.⁴⁵ It may also have figured largely in the celebration of the *Bēma*,⁴⁶ though it cannot be said with any certainty that it involved the imposition of a hand.

A clearer use and context emerge from the ninth Coptic *Kephalaion* (“la pièce essentielle du dossier”),⁴⁷ which lists five ‘mysteries’ or ‘signs,’ among them ‘the right’ (*ογκεμ*) and the ‘laying on of hand(s)’ (*χειροτονία*).⁴⁸ These five ‘signs’ appear to form a single series of acts in the ceremony of initiation. In the first step, the candidate is greeted with a sign of peace, then clasps with his/her right hand that of each Elect present. Of these the one presiding is greeted last, and this individual then leads the candidate to the centre of the ceremonial space, called the *ekklēsia* and representing the universal Manichaean Church. There the candidate exchanges with the attending Elect a ‘kiss of love’ and a gesture of veneration. Finally comes “le rite essentiel de l’initiation,”⁴⁹ the *χειροτονία*, whereby a grace or power is transmitted from ‘ordainer’ to ‘ordained,’ and the latter is confirmed in his/her status as an Elect.⁵⁰

This rite is essentially the same for promoting Manichaean Elect to hierarchical rank. Augustine says that Manichaean *episcopi* are ‘ordained’ (*ordinantur*) by *magistri*, and the *presbyteri* are ‘ordained’ *ab episcopis*.⁵¹ In the tradition inherited by the bishop of Hippo, *ordinare* would imply laying on hands,⁵² and so the attribution of this term to a Manichaean ritual appears deliberate. In fact, it is Manichaean terminology. The ninth chapter of the *Kephalaia* also informs that ‘the

⁴⁵ See Ries, “La fête,” 229–30. J. P. Asmussen, *X^uastvanif: Studies in Manichaeism* (Acta Theologica Danica, 7), Copenhagen: Prostant, 1965, 124, affirms that “the Manichaean [confessional] texts must be considered and studied as an exclusively Central Asian phenomenon, created in Central Asia and enforced by religio-historical conditions there.” This does not, of course, exclude confession elsewhere, even if no precise formulae were prescribed.

⁴⁶ Ries, “La fête,” 222–26 and 229; and “La prière,” 381–85. See Puech, “Liturgie,” 301–03.

⁴⁷ Puech, “Liturgie,” 359.

⁴⁸ Keph. 9 (Ibscher et al., *Kephalaia*, 1. Hälfte, pp. 37.29–30 and 38.1).

⁴⁹ Söderbergh, *La religion*, 226.

⁵⁰ Puech (“Liturgie,” 387) disagrees with D. Roché (*Études manichéennes et cathares*, Paris-Toulouse: Librairie Vega—Institut d’Études Occitanes, 1952, 166) that the imposition of hand(s) was also employed to admit neophytes to the rank of hearers/catechumens.

⁵¹ Aug., *De haeresibus* 46:16 (CCL 46, p. 318.172–174).

⁵² See P. van Beneden, *Aux origines d’une terminologie sacramentelle: Ordo, Ordinare, Ordinatio dans la littérature chrétienne avant 313* (Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense, 38), Leuven: Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense, 1974.

great χειροτονία' is the rite for admitting Elect to the rank of 'master,' 'deacon/bishop,' or 'presbyter.'⁵³

The ninth *Kephalaion* itself explains that the choice of the term χειροτονία is deliberate. It draws a parallel between the five 'signs' of this rite and the five steps whereby the Primal Human is rescued from the prison of Darkness by the Living Spirit and received into the Kingdom of Light. Thus "the first 'right hand' is that which the Mother of Life gave to the Primal Human when he was about to go forth into battle,"⁵⁴ and "the second 'right hand' is that which the Living Spirit gave to the Primal Human when he led him up out of the battle. In the image of the mystery of that right hand originated the right hand that is in use among men in giving it to one another."⁵⁵

Puech opines that the ninth *Kephalaion* could have better chosen χειροθεσία, since the purpose of the gesture expressed by the term χειροτονία is to 'confirm' the candidate in his/her dignity as an Elect or someone in the higher ranks of the hierarchy.⁵⁶ This is to overlook that χειροθεσία was probably unknown to Coptic-speaking Manichaeans, since it appears nowhere in Coptic literature. Still, both terms have the sense of 'election,' and we have seen that χειροθεσία does appear in Greek Manichaean usage: in the Cologne Mani-Codex it indicates the act whereby Mani receives from God the revelation of his calling and is set aside for his mission.⁵⁷

Like the clasp of right hands, the imposition of hands arises from the Manichaean cosmogonical myth. "The first χειροτονία is that which the Mother (of Life) laid upon the head of the Primal Human. She armed him, made him strong, laid her hand(s) (χειροτονί) on

⁵³ Ibscher et al., *Kephalaia*, 1. Hälften, p. 42.2–6. On these hierarchical terms see J. K. Coyle, *Augustine's "De moribus ecclesiae catholicae": A Study of the Work, its Composition and its Sources* (Paradosis, 25), Fribourg, Switzerland: The University Press, 1978, 350–51; and Puech, "Liturgie," 383–85.

⁵⁴ Keph. 9 (Ibscher et al., *Kephalaia*, 1. Hälften, p. 38.20–21).

⁵⁵ Keph. 9 (Ibscher et al., *Kephalaia*, 1. Hälften, p. 39.20–23). Essentially the same idea is found in *Acta Archelai* (7.4–5, GCS 16, pp. 10.24–11.15): "Tunc ibi uehementer adflictus est deorsum pater et misisset alteram uirtutem, quae processerat ex se, quae dicitur spiritus uiuens, et descendens porrexisset ei dexteram et eduxisset eum de tenebris, olim primus homo periclitaretur. Ex eo ergo deorsum animam reliquit, et propterea Manichaei cum sibi inuicem occurrunt, dant sibi dexteras huius signi gratia, tamquam ex tenebris liberati." Greek in Epiphanius, *Panarion* 66.25 (GCS 37, pp. 55.5–56.7).

⁵⁶ Puech, "Liturgie," 382–83.

⁵⁷ Above, p. 95.

him and sent him into battle.”⁵⁸ From his imprisonment in Darkness the Living Spirit leads the Primal Human (by the right hand) to Light: and “the second χειροτονία is that whereby, once the Living Spirit had led the Primal Human on high from the war and had saved him from every wave, he had him come to rest among the great Light-Eons which belong to the house of his own (i.e., his family), and placed him before the Father, Lord of All.”⁵⁹ Then the Primal Human receives the χειροτονία which becomes the model for its use among Manichaeans:

He received the great χειροτονία, thereby becoming the chief of his brothers in the New Eon. Appropriately this χειροτονία is [re]produced [in] the χειροτονία which endures among men, that they may lay their hand (χειροτόνη) upon one another, and the greater thereby give power to the lesser.⁶⁰

The primary context for the imposition of the hand, as the essential act whereby Hearers become Elect, or Elect advance in the hierarchy, is therefore eschatological: the gesture is a pledge that the Primal Human’s destiny awaits the faithful Elect. Hence the self-appellation, “Sons of the Right,”⁶¹ which has a dual significance: Elect are carriers of ‘the Right’ of which the Church is the earthly embodiment; and they look forward to the Last Judgement when they will be welcomed by the right-hand clasp (as was the Primal Human) and will join all the righteous “at Christ’s right hand.”⁶² Hence, with the imposition of the hand the candidate becomes, as the Spirit’s dwelling-place, “part of a great mystery,” deserving of “honour” and “veneration.”⁶³ Those who refuse to recognize the sign of the laying on of hands (by refusing to

⁵⁸ Keph. 9 (Ibscher et al., *Kephaliaia*, 1. *Hälften*, p. 39.3–5).

⁵⁹ Keph. 9 (Ibscher et al., *Kephaliaia*, 1. *Hälften*, p. 40.5–10).

⁶⁰ Keph. 9 (Ibscher et al., *Kephaliaia*, 1. *Hälften*, p. 40.15–19).

⁶¹ As in Turfan fragments M 4 (Müller, “Handschriften-Reste” 2: 58); and M 36 (Henning, “Mitteliranische” 2: 326 [223]).

⁶² See the allusions to the separation of the just on the right and sinners on the left (Matthew 25:31–46) in a Psalm of the Wanderers and a Psalm of Heracleides (Allberry, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, pp. 154.12 and 202.20); possibly also in the Manichaean homily published by Polotsky, *Manichäische Homilien*, p. 38.2–3,12,17,24; and in the ninth chapter of the *Kephaliaia* (Ibscher et al., *Kephaliaia*, 1. *Hälften*, p. 16.16–17). See also M. Boyce, *The Manichaean Hymn-Cycles in Parthian* (London Oriental Series, 3), London: Oxford University Press, 1954, 15–22.

⁶³ Keph. 9 (Ibscher et al., *Kephaliaia*, 1. *Hälften*, p. 41.5).

recognize its effects in those who have received it) sin against God and Mani.⁶⁴

CONCLUSION

When Augustine speaks of the laying on of hands, he is obviously referring to the gesture first and foremost as he knows it in the Catholic tradition he represents; but it is more than plausible that he never loses sight of its use in his former religion, which thus becomes the foil (even if an invisible one) for all he wishes to say on the subject to readers and listeners considered more orthodox.

Among Coptic Manichaeans, *χειροτονία* belongs to the liturgical vocabulary, where it expresses the imposition of a single (right) hand. In Greek usage, not *χειροτονία*, but *χειροθεσία* is the favoured term, but its use may be non-liturgical. There are at least two contexts wherein the gesture is a *sine qua non* in (Egyptian) Manichaeism: the admission of Hearers to membership in the Elect, and of Elect to the hierarchy. Other liturgical elements, such as anointing, if included,⁶⁵ can only have been ancillary to the essential rite of imposing the right hand.

Was an initiation rite celebrated on the great *Bēma*-feast, in the way Christian baptism was ordinarily celebrated at Easter? The rite—or at least the cosmogony behind it—seems hinted at in a psalm sung at the *Bēma*-feast among Coptic Manichaeans:

From the beginning
the First Man is this way and
Jesus the Dawn and the Paraclete-Spirit, they have summoned you, o
Soul
that by it you may make your journey on high.
Receive the Holy Seal (*σφραγίς*) from the Mind of the Church
and fulfil the commandments. The judge himself that is in
the air will give you three gifts—the baptism (*βάπτισμα*)
of the Gods will you receive in the Perfect Man; the
Luminaries will make you perfect and take you to your kingdom.⁶⁶

⁶⁴ See Puech, “Liturgie,” 356–7, 379, and 385–7; also noted by Roché, *Études*, 166–67 and 179, n. 43.

⁶⁵ See Puech, “Liturgie,” 238, 325–7, 332–5, 348–9, and 599–600.

⁶⁶ Psalm 227 (Allberry, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, p. 22.7–15). The “three gifts” may be those described as given to Mani in psalm 228 (see above, p. 92).

CHAPTER SEVEN

HEALING AND THE ‘PHYSICIAN’ IN MANICHAEISM

[Make an inspection of] yourselves as to what your purity [really is. For it is impossible] to purify your bodies entirely—for each day the body is disturbed and comes to rest through the secretions of sediments from it—so that the action comes about without a commandment of the Saviour. The purity, then, which was spoken about, is that which comes through knowledge, separation of Light from Darkness and of death from life, and of living waters from turbid [...]. This is in truth the genuine purity.

The profusion of medical terminology in Manichaean texts, as in this address by Mani to the Elchasaites in the Cologne Mani Codex (CMC),¹ poses what Jason BeDuhn calls a “discursive dilemma”—the kind that results when medical terminology appears in a context that does not immediately appear appropriate: “If this is a medical text, why the appeal to a Savior? If this is a religious text, why is it so immersed in medical language and concerns?”²

THE NOTION OF HEALING IN MANICHAEISM

BeDuhn is the only one so far to have engaged the medical language in Manichaeism as a discursive problem; but where his focus is on the terminology itself, mine is more thematic, as I first examine the significance of the related motifs of sickness and healing in Mani’s religion, and then its use of the title of ‘physician.’ This section will conclude by dealing with the well-known Manichaean pessimism regarding the physical body, and with BeDuhn’s claim that “the engagement with

¹ CMC 83.20–85.3, cited by J. BeDuhn, “A Regimen for Salvation: Medical Models in Manichaean Asceticism,” *Semeia* 58 (1992): 111. Critical edition in L. Koenen and C. Römer, *Der Kölner Mani-Kodex: über das Werden seines Leibes. Kritische Edition* (ARWAW, Sonderreihe Papyrologica Coloniensis, 14), Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1988, 58; Greek (pre-critical) text and English translation (ET) in R. Cameron and A. J. Dewey, *The Cologne Mani Codex (P. Colon. inv. nr. 4780)* “Concerning the origin of his body” (Texts and Translations, 15; Early Christian Literature, 3), Missoula, Mont.: Scholars Press, 1979, 66–9.

² BeDuhn, “A Regimen for Salvation”: 111.

medical concerns found in Manichaean asceticism totally belies its traditional interpretation in terms of spirit/matter duality or a disdain for all things bodily.”³

HEALING AND SICKNESS

As with any thematic approach to Manichaeism, two *caveats* are in order here: (1) next to nothing is known about the social setting of the texts the movement produced; and (2) these texts represent a vast geographical range and a considerable chronology.⁴ Nevertheless, the motifs of sickness and healing appear in sources sufficiently diverse to permit at least one generalization, namely, that the condition of the soul in the material body is usually described in Manichaeism as one of pain, sickness or wounding.⁵ Ultimately stemming from the primordial battle between Good/Light and Evil/Darkness, this wounded condition is variously described as the soul’s loss of awareness of its true origin,⁶ as *anomia* or separation from Mani’s saving law,⁷ or as a failure to heed the call to return to the path of Light that, according to Coptic *Kephalaion* 65, “removes the pain of mankind’s wound.”⁸

However, the painful, sick or wounded condition of the soul can be salvific. The Chinese hymn-scroll, *British Museum, Stein 2659* (8th

³ BeDuhn, “A Regimen for Salvation”: 121.

⁴ J. BeDuhn, “The Battle for the Body in Manichaean Asceticism,” in V. L. Wimbush and R. Valantasis, eds., *Asceticism*. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995, 513: “The quest for a unified Manichaean tradition, if such existed, must be based on careful comparison of distinct lines of tradition, with due regard for regional variation, in search of those elements that, by their ubiquity in the sources, reveal themselves to be fundamental to Manichaeism as a whole.”

⁵ W. B. Oerter, “Mani als Arzt? Zur Bedeutung eines manichäischen Bildes,” in V. Vavřínek, ed., *From Late Antiquity to Early Byzantium: Proceedings of the Byzantinological Symposium in the 16th International Eirene Conference*, Prague: Academia, 1985, 222; V. Arnold-Döben, *Die Bildersprache des Manichäismus* (AZR, 3). Köln: E. J. Brill, 1978, 97.

⁶ Coptic Jesus-psalm 248, in C. R. C. Allberry, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book, Part II* (MMCBC, 2). Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1938: pp. 56.19–57.21): “Thou hast driven away from me the oblivion of Error [...]. Drink of the water of memory, cast away oblivion.”

⁷ Psalms ‘of the Wanderers’ (Σαρακοτῶν) (Allberry, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, p. 152.22–23): “Be not far from me, o Physician that hast the medicines of life... do thou heal me of the grievous wound of lawlessness (ἀνομία).” See A Arnold-Döben’s comments on this (*Die Bildersprache*, 99).

⁸ I. Ibscher, H. J. Polotsky, and A. Böhlig, *Kephalaia, 1. Hälfte* (Lieferung 1–10) (MHSMB, Band I). Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1940, p. 160.7–8.

cent.?) of Dunhuang (Tun-Huang) refers to 'healing sicknesses,'⁹ presumably because they can lead the soul to awareness of its need for the necessary remedies. These remedies are mentioned often, particularly in the Coptic sources, where we find, for instance, allusions to "the sweetness of the medicine of God."¹⁰ A psalm 'of the Wanderers' confidently asserts: "Lo, the medicine-chest of the physician will heal thy wounds."¹¹ Another has the beseecher pray: "In a moment, my God, thy mercy became one with me. Because of thy strong protection, lo my diseases passed far from me."¹² Coptic *Kephalaion* 42 refers to

...the way of a person who has fallen into a festering illness, while still other [wounds and sicknesses are in the body, while gall and other poison are in his inner limbs. He goes at the proper time to the wise physician, who has him drink an antidote and induces his putrefaction to break open; then he has him drink another remedy and induces the illness to pour itself out, [and he has him] drink still another remedy and drives his wounds from him... in rest and silence. In the skill of a wise physician, with his good, devouring remedies, which take away all sickness in this fashion and break up all spells, the physicians care for... they heal through the odour of the medication, other wounds... what is hidden, they rip them out... will be made known above and below.... through the odour of the devouring medicines remedies which will be laid upon them.¹³

The double allusion to the remedies as 'devouring' (ηπιαρπε ετογομ)¹⁴ implies that they are not easy to take, though necessary, as *Kephalaion* 85 makes clear:

The [Living Soul] is like a person who catches a sickness in his limbs, whose heart is heavy, and whose soul is afflicted, who in sickness has

⁹ Verse 81c, in E. Waldschmidt and W. Lentz, "Die Stellung Jesu im Manichäismus," APAW, Jhg. 1926, Abh. 4: 111; H. Schmidt-Glintzer, *Chinesische Manichaica* (SOR, 14), Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1987, 19. Here we also find the refrain (verses 33 and 38, in Schmidt-Glintzer, *op. cit.*, 14): "Reveal to me the remedy of the great Law and let me be restored to health." On the scroll see S. N. C. Lieu, "Precept and Practice," JTS n.s. 32 (1981): 153–73; and P. Bryder, "On the Sunny Side of the Moon," in P. Gilde et al., eds., *Apocryphon Severini presented to Søren Giversen*, Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 1993, 46.

¹⁰ Jesus-psalm 245 (Allberry, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, p. 53.3). See also the homilies in H. J. Polotsky, *Manichäische Homilien* (MHSCB, 1), Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1934, pp. 29.32 and 84.5.8.

¹¹ Allberry, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, p. 163.23; see 178.29.

¹² Allberry, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, p. 153.2–3.

¹³ Ibscher et al., *Kephalaia, 1. Hälfte*, p. 107.1–15.

¹⁴ See also *Keph.* 85 (Ibscher et al., *Kephalaia, 1. Hälfte*, pp. 211.31 and 212.1).

pains and seeks a physician for healing, to make strong, to treat and give health in the sickness with which he is struck, because he [the physician] knows it; and there comes a wise man, who knows how to take stock, because he is a skilled physician, he accomplishes healing...and he also treads with his foot upon all that person's limbs. Every person who is sick knows that he treads on him to achieve healing; he does not do this out of enmity, as holding something against him. Everything he does, he does in order to treat the body and to drive from it the sickness and the pain in order to benefit [him]. Every sick person will harbour neither hostility nor hatred against the physician who treads on him. He will not hate him out of enmity. For he knows that he does this to him for his benefit.¹⁵

The remedies restore or enhance the believer's attachment to the Manichaean community. In the eighth-century Chinese *Compendium of the Doctrines and Styles of The Teaching of Mani, the Buddha of Light* (*Mo-ni kuang-fo chiao-fa yi-lueh*), "Those who act in this [evil] way are called sick; it is in this way that, in the world, a sick person tormented by his evil must always remain alone."¹⁶ On the other hand, if the body is never completely pure (as our opening quotation makes clear), the 'wounded' condition of the soul, and therefore its need for 'medical' attention, is also unceasing, even for one who attempts to live by the law of Mani. According to a fragment (*M 580*) from Cotscho, today Turfan in northwest China,

The Perfect Hearers are like a man [who is] without pain and healthy, who all over his body is without pain and healthy, nor is there other pain and suffering in him. But he scratches a limb a little, and becomes nervous; turning constantly to it, he considers when the scratch will be healed so that he will be healthy and painless all over his body.¹⁷

Behind these lines is the paradox that the process of releasing it brings harm to the Light when the fruits and vegetables that contain it are picked. Both the Hearer and the 'Saviour'-Elect scratch the soul's wound even while trying to improve the condition of the Light whose substance it is.

¹⁵ Ibscher et al., *Kephalaia*, 1. *Hälften*, pp. 209.30–210.19. See also later in the same *Kephalaion* (*ibid.*, pp. 211.27–212.13); and *Keph.* 93 (*ibid.*, pp. 237.11–238.8).

¹⁶ T.84c2, in E. Chavannes and P. Pelliot, "Un traité manichéen retrouvé en Chine" 1, *Journal Asiatique*, X^e série, t. 18 (1911): 573–74; Schmidt-Glintzer, *Chinesische Manichaica*, 95. On the *Compendium*, see Lieu, "Precept and Practice": 160.

¹⁷ Lines 2042–49, in J. P. Asmussen, *Manichaean Literature: Representative Texts Chiefly from Middle Persian and Parthian Writings*, 2nd ed. Delmar, NY: Scholars' Facsimiles and Reprints, 1977 (1975), 35.

BEDUHN'S THESIS

BeDuhn argues that scholars who see in the Manichaean deployment of medical discourse no more than metaphorical allusions "engage in an ideological imperialism that re-cuts another culture's world to the shape of their own."¹⁸ His own approach to the discourse is to focus on the terminology as it governs the daily ritual central to the Manichaean salvation- process, wherein the consumption and subsequent digestion of prescribed food, or 'alms' by the Elect released the Light-particles trapped in it. "Are we," he asks, "to take these central practices of Manichaean life as enacted metaphors for some spiritual truth? Not a single shred of evidence lends itself to such an interpretation." Rather, all of the available evidence directs us to the conclusion that the process "was believed to function literally, exactly as presented, as a physiological resolution of an existential conflict."¹⁹ The body was the real medium of this liberation:²⁰ "We should not be misled by the use of *gnosis* in the CMC and elsewhere into thinking that this was a philosophized, abstracted, or merely mental (i.e., metaphorical) process of liberation."²¹ Hence,

Manichaean statements about the body were central to the daily practices which established community identity and gave that community its *raison d'être*. These statements, therefore, belonged to the field of presence enunciated by Manichaean discourse. Physiological models from medical disciplines were taken up directly, and put in immediate relation to Manichaean ascetic and salvational themes.²²

In this interpretation, then, it would be literally true that a physical function of the body (digestion) is considered a direct salvific medium.²³

¹⁸ Beduhn, "A Regimen for Salvation": 121.

¹⁹ Beduhn, "A Regimen for Salvation": 114–15.

²⁰ See the remarks of C. Giuffrè Scibona, "Gnosi e salvezza nel Codex Manichaicus Coloniensis," in L. Cirillo and A. Roselli, eds., *Codex Manichaicus Coloniensis: Atti del Simposio Internazionale (Rende-Amantea 3–7 settembre 1984)* (Studi e Ricerche, 4), Cosenza: Marra Editore, 1986, 355–70, esp. 356, 358 and 362–3.

²¹ Beduhn, "A Regimen for Salvation": 129 n. 35.

²² Beduhn, "A Regimen for Salvation": 124.

²³ Beduhn, "A Regimen for Salvation": 124 (author's emphasis): "The Manichaeans would have been speaking metaphorically when they said that 'salvation is digestion' if they had taught that *the point* of salvation is the separation of good from evil as digestion is the separation of nutrient from excrement. This would have been the construction of an intelligible analogical model by a transference of statements from another discourse. But it is quite another thing to have said, as the Manichaeans did,

If such may be predicated of the language of a rudimentary bodily function like digestion (and here BeDuhn seems to be entirely accurate), it is possible that the healing terminology I noted at the beginning also represents something more than strict metaphor.

MEDICAL DISCOURSE AND THE BODY

The role of the Elect in freeing the Light trapped in fruits and vegetables is compared to that of a physician in *Kephalaion* 85: “In this sense is the physician like the Elect who builds up alms and gathers them, in that he brings them to the church. At the same time the alms resemble the sick person, for the power of the enemy is mingled with them.”²⁴ Thus we return to the motif of incessant sickness and the corresponding need for medical attention. Even the Elect cannot help but be ill: in the very process of releasing the Light, they are afflicted by the Darkness with which the Light has been mingled. In the earthly life their wounded condition, like the process of release itself, must be never-ending. This seems to be the sense of a reference to illnesses of the Elect in an Uigur text (10/11th cent.) of Turfan.²⁵

BeDuhn asks how a salvific process accomplished through a bodily function may be reconciled with the view that Manichaeism set no value on the physical aspects of human existence. It is a valid question; but I am not quite certain of the correctness of his assumption—namely, that scholars of Manichaeism (virtually all of them) have got

that salvation is the *product* of digestion [...]. This is no longer metaphor (or putting one thing in terms of another); it is identification—it is enunciated as a direct description of reality.” Peter Brown makes a similar point in *The Body and Society: Men, Women, and Sexual Renunciation in Early Christianity*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1988, 199.

²⁴ In Ibscher et al., *Kephalaia*, 1. Hälfte, p. 212.10–14). See V. Arnold-Döben, “Die Bildhaftigkeit der manichäischen Texte,” in A. van Tongerloo and S. Giversen, eds., *Manichaica Selecta: Studies presented to Julien Ries on the Occasion of his Seventieth Birthday* (MS, 1), Leuven: International Association of Manichaean Studies, 1991, 6: “Denn das Almosen ist Teil der Lebendigen Seele, der mit Hilfe der Electen durch Kult und Ritus freigesetzt wird. So hat z.B. das tägliche gemeinsame Mahl der Electen sacramentalen Charakter, da es dazu dient, eben dies Almosen zu läutern.” *Keph.* 79 (Ibscher et al., *op. cit.*, p. 191.16–19) is enlightening in this regard.

²⁵ In P. Zieme, “Ein uigurischer Text über die Wirtschaft manichäischer Klöster im uigurischen Reich,” in L. Ligeti, ed., *Researches in Altaic Languages: Papers Read at the 14th Meeting of the Permanent International Altaistic Conference Held in Szeged, August 22–28, 1971* (Bibliotheca Orientalis Hungarica, 20), Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 337.

it all wrong. Too many sources recount how Manichaeans despised the body as being, in Augustine’s words, *ex tenebrarum gente*.²⁶ This is not merely the language of polemic. A direct confirmation of this view appears in a Coptic psalm that labels the body “the offspring of Hell.”²⁷ A psalm ‘of the Wanderers’ declares: “While we are in the body we are far from God: rest has not overtaken us, for we have been housed in it. None shall be able to glory while he is yet an hour in this prison.”²⁸ In the same collection we also read: “The creature of the Darkness is this body which we wear.”²⁹ An Iranian fragment from Turfan refers to the body as an “edifice of horror... stronghold of death... poisonous form.”³⁰

The allusions are therefore too clear and too numerous to ignore and, given the attitude they express, a repudiation of the healing arts would not seem illogical. Indeed, some sources explicitly deny to the Manichaean any recourse to medical attention. A Chinese Manichaean

²⁶ Augustine, *Contra Faustum* XX,11 (CSEL 25/1, p. 551.3). See also 22 (p. 565.28); *Acta Archelai* (AA) 16.10 (GCS 16, p. 27.16); and Abu'l Faradj Mohammed ibn Ishaq (= An-Nadim), *Fihrist al-âlum*, in G. Flügel, *Mani, seine Lehre und seine Schriften: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Manichäismus*, Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1862 (repr. Osnabrück: Biblio-Verlag, 1969), 100.

²⁷ Bema-psalm 248 (Allberry, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, p. 99.4). See *Kephalaia* 70 (Ibscher et al., *Kephalaia*, 1. Hälfte, pp. 169.31–170.1): “The composition of the body of [the Elect’s] flesh bespeaks its likeness (ειμε) to the world.” See also the Middle Persian Turfan fragment M 9, in W. B. Henning, “Mitteliranische Manichaica aus Chinesisch-Turkestan. Von F. C. Andreas,” 2, SPAW: 297–300, repr. in *Idem, Selected Papers*, 1 (AI, 14), Leiden: E. J. Brill/Teheran: Bibliothèque Pahlavi, 1977, [194–97]; and S 9, in *Idem*, “Ein manichäischer kosmogonischer Hymnus,” *Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philosophisch-historische Klasse*, Jhg. 1932: 217, repr. in *Idem, Selected Papers*, 1, [52]; trans. in Asmussen, *Manichaean Literature*, 133–34); also *Kephalaia* 83 and 91 (Ibscher et al., *op. cit.*, pp. 200–04 and 228–34).

²⁸ Allberry, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, p. 135.21.

²⁹ Allberry, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, p. 159.31. See the commentary by A. Villey, *Psaumes des Errants: Écrits manichéens du Fayyum* (Sources gnostiques et manichéennes, 4), Paris: Cerf, 1994, 337–38.

³⁰ M 131 in W. B. Henning, “Ein manichäisches Bet- und Beichtbuch,” APAW, Jhg. 1936, Abh. 10: 43 (repr. in *Idem, Selected Papers* 1, [459]): “In höherem und grösserem Masse, da ich in diesem Schreckenswunderbau, diesem Todesschloss, dieser Giftgestalt, dem knöchigen (?) Körper geboren bin.” See Evodius, *De fide contra Manichaeos* 40 (CSEL 25/2, pp. 970–71). Also M 801a (Sogdian) in Henning, “Ein manichäisches Bet- und Beichtbuch”: 33 (*Selected Papers*, 1, [449]); and in H.-J. Klimkeit, *Hymnen und Gebete der Religion des Lichts: Iranische und türkische liturgische Texte der Manichäer Zentralasiens* (ARWAW, 79), Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1989, 174; trans. in *Idem, Gnosis on the Silk Road: Gnostic Texts from Central Asia*, San Francisco: Harper, 1993, 139.

document maintains that “in case of sickness, no medication is taken.”³¹ In a Turfan confessional book the Manichaean asks for forgiveness “if I... should have taken a remedy or medicine into my mouth.”³² A letter in Sogdian repudiates female Elect who engage in bloodletting and collect their own medicinal plants.³³ Such references, however, are few, and appear to stem exclusively from Eastern Manichaean sources.³⁴ And they have to be measured against the confidence expressed in the same text- collections, as in this prayer: “As wares for sale are sliced up, so also may the sicknesses in the body, the dangers, be lopped off and cut up.”³⁵ Elsewhere, a Manichaean suppliant is certain that “my body he (Jesus?) shall cure from pain.”³⁶

The hard reality, of course, is that physical pain and illness are all too real and so, like everyone else, Manichaeans would have had to somehow take them into account. Indeed, the body, says *Kephalaion* 73, does suffer from illness and pain.³⁷ The Chinese *Compendium* (lines 121–122) directs that monasteries have a special room for ailing Elect,³⁸ and that physicians are to live with the community; and it mentions medicines for those who fall ill.³⁹ We should refrain, however,

³¹ E. Chavannes and P. Pelliot, “Un traité manichéen retrouvé en Chine” 2, *Journal Asiatique*, XI^e série, t. I (1913): 354–55.

³² M 801a in Henning, “Ein manichäisches Bet- und Beichtbuch,” 33 (*Selected Papers*, 1, [449]); repr. in Klimkeit, *Hymnen und Gebete*, 175; trans. in *Idem, Gnosis*, 139.

³³ M 112, 146a, 336c, in W. Sundermann, “Probleme der Interpretation manichäisch-soghdischer Briefe,” in J. Harmatta, ed., *From Hecataeus to Al-Huwarizmi: Bactrian, Pahlavi, Sogdian, Persian, Sanskrit, Syriac, Arabic, Chinese, Greek and Latin Sources for the History of Pre-Islamic Central Asia*, Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1984: 308. I owe this reference to the kindness of Jason BeDuhn.

³⁴ Chavannes and Pelliot, “Un traité manichéen retrouvé en Chine” 2: 160; J. K. Coyle, *Augustine’s “De moribus ecclesiae catholicae”: A Study of the Work, its Composition and its Sources* (Paradosis, 25), Fribourg, Switzerland: The University Press, 1978, 390 and 415–16.

³⁵ Turfan fragment *T II D 66* (= U 131), in P. Zieme, *Manichäisch-türkische Texte: Texte, Übersetzung, Anmerkungen* (BT, 5), Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1975, 29. See also *T II D x 3* (= U 230), in Zieme, *op. cit.*, 39.

³⁶ M 564 (Middle Persian) in Asmussen, *Manichaean Literature*, 81. See also *Keph.* 122 (Ibscher et al., *Kephalaia*, 1. Hälfte, p. 292.29); and A. Böhlig, 1985 “Ja und Amen in manichäischer Deutung,” *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 58 (1985): 62. The latter suggests (68) that this reference “könnte auf einen liturgischen Akt bei Krankenheilung hinweisen.”

³⁷ Ibscher et al., *Kephalaia*, 1. Hälfte, p. 180.3. See also *Keph.* 70 (p. 175.16–24); and the references in Zieme, *Manichäisch-türkische Texte*, 40 and 43.

³⁸ Lieu, “Precept and Practice”: 161; Chavannes and Pelliot, “Un traité manichéen retrouvé en Chine” 2: 10 n. 1.

³⁹ Lieu, “Precept and Practice”: 171; Zieme, “Ein uigurischer Text,” 337.

from regarding these references as the norm for all Manichaeans.⁴⁰ That said, the crux of the matter is this: *What if, due to physical complications, an Elect should be prevented from accomplishing the sacred process of liberating the Light through digestion?* The citations just given hint that, however universal the ban on medical treatment, there were cases where recourse to healing, through prayer if not through a physical agency, was possible. My thesis is that concern for the Elect's digestive system to continue its sacred ritual task was one such justification—perhaps the only one.⁴¹ Just as the body was suspect because of its origins, but nonetheless became the medium of salvific release of the Light,⁴² so a physically afflicted body was not considered worth curing, except to restore its utility to the salvific process. And then the medium of healing could not be medicinal remedies (not, after all, included in the Elect's strict diet), but prayer, making the outcome wholly dependent on destiny (or divine will), rather than on any purely human—or worse, material—intervention.

Assumed in this view is the truism that the distinction between spiritual malaise and physical ailments would have been much less starkly drawn in antiquity than now. Or, in the words of BeDuhn,

Perhaps the most important corollary of such discursive permeability is that the concerns of what we call the human 'soul' were considered fully a part of science and medicine, as well as religion.⁴³

⁴⁰ Lieu, "Precept and Practice": 171: "The use of medicine for illness is again a relaxation of the rules of the sect."

⁴¹ In the Sogdian letter mentioned earlier, a Manichaean accuses a rival group: "Denn ihr Oberhaupt, welches *Mihr-padar* ist, war krank; er hatte ein Leiden unter dem Fuß, und ein gemietetes Mädchen trat bei ihm ein [...], und die Electi stellten eine Nachforschung an." Whether or not 'backdoor [anal] malady' or 'Unterleibskrankheit' better translates *psyy ḏṣry* (see Sundermann, "Probleme der Interpretation": 313) than does "a sore on the bottom of the foot," it seems clear that the problem has to do with giving medical treatment to an Elect. But what is the precise nature of the problem: that an Elect is being treated? or is treated for something that has nothing to do with digestion? or is cared for by women?

⁴² BeDuhn, "The Battle for the Body": 518: "In Manichaeism the body is not to be rejected as base and worthless, but to be subjugated, perfected and put into use in the process of salvation."

⁴³ BeDuhn, "A Regimen for Salvation": 116. There are 'body and soul' references in Turfan fragments Parthian *M 4* (F. W. K. Müller, "Handschriften-Reste in Estrangelo-Schrift aus Turfan, Chinesisch-Turkestan" 2, APAW, Jhg. 1904, Abh. 3: 49–54), and Sogdian *M 114* (Henning, "Ein manichäisches Bet- und Beichtbuch": 46–7 (*Selected Papers* 1, [462–63])). On the connection between body and soul in ancient medicine, see H. C. Kee, *Medicine, Miracle and Magic in New Testament Times* (Society of New Testament Studies, Monograph Series, 55), Cambridge: Cambridge University Press,

Manichaeans could not practise medicine in the strict sense, but at least they could pray for a cure. On the basis of the Chinese *Compendium*, Chavannes and Pelliot suggested that Manichaeans would have “traité les maladies par la prière.”⁴⁴ Two other texts from Turfan, apparently the product of an eighth-century Manichaean colony, point in a similar direction. One contains a spell in Middle Persian directed against fever which, if it “does not go [of its own accord], then it shall come out [of the body] of NN. son of NN. and vanish in the name of the Lord Jesus.”⁴⁵ A formula in Parthian takes more the form of an exorcism against “demons [...] and spirits of evil. All ye sons of darkness and night, fear and terror, pain and sickness... and old age.”⁴⁶

The emergent picture of healing in Manichaeism is therefore one where prayer to obtain it was allowed, though medical intervention was not. This picture fits in with BeDuhn’s comments on the body as the medium of liberation, and therefore not intrinsically evil; but it needs to be shaded with the observation that, while considered as the instrument of salvation, the body was of undoubtedly evil *origin*. It was required in order to liberate the Light-particles trapped in the prescribed fruits and vegetables; but only the need to restore the Light-freeing process in a physically incapacitated Elect could justify a request for physical healing—not through medicine, but through prayer.

1986; and S. Walker-Ramisch, “‘This Bubbling Brew’: Healing in the Greek Magical Papyri,” in J. K. Coyle and S. C. Muir, eds., *Healing in Religion and Society from Hippocrates to the Puritans: Selected Studies* [Studies in Religion and Society, 43], Lewiston-Queenston-Lampeter: Edwin Mellen Press, 1999, 65–84.

⁴⁴ Chavannes and Pelliot, “Un traité manichéen retrouvé en Chine,” 2: 55 n. 1.

⁴⁵ M 781 i R-V in W. B. Henning, “Two Manichaean Magical Texts,” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 12/1 (1947): 40, reproduced in Asmussen, *Manichaean Literature*, 44–5. A fifth-century amulet in Middle Persian, containing a reference to “healing and a remedy,” is perhaps Manichaean: see P. O. Skjaervø, “A Seal-Amulet of the Sasanian Era: Imagery and Typology, the Inscription, and Technical Comments,” 2 (The Inscription), *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* n.s. 6 (1992): 49–56. I am grateful to Dr. Erica Hunter of Cambridge for this reference.

⁴⁶ T 1 φ = M 1202 (Henning, “Two Manichaean Magical Texts”: 51, repr. in Asmussen, *Manichaean Literature*, 45). It would be interesting to pursue the connection between physical ailments and demonic possession in Manichaeism. On the latter concept see H.-C. Puech, “The Prince of Darkness in His Kingdom,” in *Satan*, London/New York: Sheed and Ward, 1951, 127–57; trans. of “Le prince des ténèbres en son royaume,” in *Satan*, Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, 1948 (repr. 1978), 94–132. See also the final footnote below.

THE PHYSICIAN TITLE IN MANICHAEISM

The objective of this second part is threefold: first, to summarize what is known about the image of the 'physician' popular in Manichaean circles;⁴⁷ then briefly to review the scholarly debate on the attribution of this title to Mani;⁴⁸ and, thirdly, to suggest a modified interpretation of the attribution.

The view of the human soul as 'wounded' by its exile from the Light-kingdom and entrapment in matter explains the references to various 'healers' and their cures.⁴⁹ It is in this figurative sense that we should understand many of the allusions to sickness and healing, as in Coptic Jesus-psalm 248: "He that is wounded and desires healing, let him come to the physician."⁵⁰

CELESTIAL 'PHYSICIANS'

Bearing in mind the two earlier *caveats*, the following assertions would still seem to be valid for the extant Manichaean writings as a whole: the image of the physician is applied to three beings of the heavenly realm, most frequently to Jesus; and, among human beings, it is most often associated with Mani.

The two main celestial proprietors of the title are the 'Living Spirit' and 'Jesus the Splendour'.⁵¹ According to a Coptic *Kephalaion*, "the

⁴⁷ J. Ries, "La fête de Bêma dans l'Église de Mani," REA 22 (1976): 226: "Le thème du médecin rencontre toutes les faveurs de la liturgie de Médinet Mádi."

⁴⁸ Modern commentary on the Manichaean use of the title has not been extensive. See the section on "Mani as the Great Physician" in L. J. R. Ort, *Mani: A Religio-historical Description of His Personality* (Dissertationes ad historiam religionum pertinentes, 1), Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1967, 95–101, summarized in *Idem*, "Mani's Conception of Gnosis," in U. Bianchi, ed., *Le origini dello gnosticismo: Colloquio di Messina 13–18 aprile 1966* (SHR, 12), Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1967, 608–09; also Oerter, "Mani als Arzt?"; Arnold-Döben, *Die Bildersprache*, 97–107; *Eadem*, "Die Bildhaftigkeit."

⁴⁹ H. Jonas, *The Gnostic Religion: The Message of the Alien God and the Beginnings of Christianity*, 2nd ed., Boston: Beacon Press, 1970, 231 n. 37: "The 'wounded' condition of 'soul' in the physical creation, ultimately dating back to the primordial struggle, explains the frequent appellation 'Jesus, the Physician of the wounded' in the Manichaean psalms." Transl. of *Gnosis und spätantiker Geist* 1 (Die mythologische Gnosis), 3rd ed., Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1964.

⁵⁰ Allberry, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, p. 57.21–22. See also Psalm 252 (*op. cit.*, pp. 61.28–29 and 62.7–8); and a psalm 'of the Wanderers' (*op. cit.*, p. 180.26–28).

⁵¹ P. Nagel, *Die Thomaspsalmen des koptisch-manichäischen Psalmbuches* (Quellen, N. F., 1). Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1980, 115, therefore seems not quite correct when he affirms that the notion of 'physician' is "spezifisch mit drei Erlösergestalten

Living Spirit is like the clever physician. The three medications are the three robes which the Living Spirit puts on his body: that of Wind, that of Water, that of Fire.”⁵² In the seventh ‘Psalm of Thom’ this entity “healed them that were wounded.”⁵³ The application of the image to the Living Spirit is infrequent, however, and apparently confined to Coptic sources.

On the other hand, its attribution to the mysterious ‘Third Messenger’⁵⁴ appears limited to a single Iranian source—and an oblique one at that. In a Turfan fragment, the Third Messenger (who seems to be Manichaeism’s ‘Cosmic Saviour’) “gives health and joy to the world

verbunden: dem Glanz-Jesus, dem Licht-Nous und Mani.” In this he is following Arnold-Döben, *Die Bildersprache*, 104–07 (see also *Eadem*, “Die Bildhaftigkeit,” 3–6).

⁵² Keph. 42 (Ibscher et al., *Kephalaia*, 1. Hälfte, p. 107.18–21). See the remarks of Arnold-Döben, *Die Bildersprache*, 98. On the Living Spirit see P. van Lindt, *The Names of Manichaean Mythological Figures: A Comparative Study on Terminology in the Coptic Sources* (SOR, 26), Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1992, 81–9.

⁵³ Allberry, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, p. 213.10.

⁵⁴ On the confusion surrounding the role of the Third Messenger, see H. J. Polotsky, “Manichäische Studien,” *Le Muséon* 46 (1933): 252–54, repr. in *Idem, Collected Papers*, Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1971, 653–55; W. B. Henning, “Zum zentralasiatischen Manichäismus,” *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 37 (1934), c. 6–8; L. H. Grondjies, “La diversità delle sette manichee,” in *Sillogio Bizantino in onore di Silvio Giuseppe Mercati* (Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici, 9), Rome: Associazione Nazionale per gli Studi Bizantini, 1957, 185; and G. Widengren, *Mesopotamian Elements in Manichaeism (King and Saviour 2): Studies in Manichaean, Mandaean, and Syrian-Gnostic Religion* (Uppsala Universitets Årsskrift 1946/3), Uppsala: Lundequist/Leipzig: Harrassowitz, 1946: 167–75. H. Jonas, *Gnosis und spätantiker Geist*, 1 (Die mythologische Gnosis), 3rd ed., Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1964, 306 n. 4, terms the Third Messenger “die heilspraktisch zentrale Figur der manichäischen Spekulation.” In North African Manichaeism Jesus (the Splendour?) appears to replace (or to be identified with) the Third Messenger, as indicated by the *Capitula* of Faustus of Milevis. See A. Böhlig, “Christliche Wurzeln im Manichäismus,” in *Idem, Mysterion und Wahrheit: Gesammelte Beiträge zur spätantiken Religionsgeschichte*. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 218; repr. from *Bulletin de la Société d’Archéologie Copte* 15 (1960): 57; repr. in *Idem, ed., Der Manichäismus* (WDF, 148), Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1977, 241; and I. Scheftelowitz, “Der göttliche Urmensch in der manichäischen Religion,” *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 28 (1930): 228–31. However, both Augustine (*De natura boni* 44, CSEL 25/2, pp. 881–82) and Evodius (*De fide contra Manichaeos* 14, CSEL 25/2, p. 956) quote Mani’s *Treasury of Life* as giving the Third Messenger’s role to the ‘Blessed Father.’ On Coptic Manichaean usage, which seems to follow none of these, see van Lindt, *The Names of Manichaean Mythological Figures*, 109–18. Rather than a divergence of traditions, Scheftelowitz suggests (*op. cit.*, 232; see 239) “wohl bereits Mani hat den Beatus Pater mit Jesus identifiziert.”

[...]. All the demons, wild beasts and vermin are afraid; they depart afar off from him... and he puts an end to pain.”⁵⁵

‘Physician,’ it was said earlier, occurs most frequently as a title for Jesus the Splendour (or his emanation, the Mind of Light).⁵⁶ Other Manichaean sources that allude to the title are plentiful. The Coptic Bema-psalm 239, for example, declares:

The physician of souls, he is the Light-Mind; this is the New Man: the burning medicines are the commandments. But the cool medicines, they are the forgiveness of sins: he that would be healed, lo, of two kinds are the medicines of life.⁵⁷

In the Coptic ‘Psalms of Heracleides,’ Jesus is called the “physician of souls.”⁵⁸ In the Chinese hymn-scroll he is the “healing king of all the sick.”⁵⁹ An Iranian text contains the invocation:

Hither for health, o Saviour of the fettered and Physician of the wounded!
Hither for health, o Awakener of sleepers, and Shaker of the drowsy,
who art the Raiser of the dead!⁶⁰

⁵⁵ M 30 (in Asmussen, *Manichaean Literature*, 142). Another Turfan fragment, T II D 77 I = M 5532, in W. B. Henning, “Mitteliranische Manichaica aus Chinesisch-Turkestan. Von F. C. Andreas” 1, SPAW, Jhg. 1932: 192 (repr. in *Selected Papers*, 1, [18]) n. 6 (trans. in Asmussen, *op. cit.*, 142), speaks of “the luminescence of this righteous deity, who himself is *Narisahyazd* (god *Narisah*), the pilot of the light-ships. A reviver, physician, and redeemer...” See the collection of hymns to this entity in Klimkeit, *Hymnen und Gebete*, 90–9 (trans. in *Idem, Gnosis*, 55–62).

⁵⁶ See Oerter, “Mani als Arzt?,” 220. On the place of Jesus in Manichaeism, see Waldschmidt and Lentz, “Die Stellung Jesu”; Rose, *Die manichäische Christologie* and “Die manichäische Christologie”; and J. Ries, “Jésus-Christ dans la religion de Mani: Quelques éléments d'une confrontation de saint Augustin avec un hymnaire christologique manichéen copte,” Aug 14 (1964): 437–54. However, Ries makes no reference to the ‘physician’ title. On Jesus the Splendour in the Coptic *Manichaica* see van Lindt, *The Names of Manichaean Mythological Figures*, 133–48.

⁵⁷ Allberry, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, p. 40.13–16. See the commentary by Arnold-Döben, *Die Bildersprache*, 99. Such Coptic references to ‘hot’ and ‘cold’ remedies suggest the influence of ancient Greek medical theory.

⁵⁸ Allberry, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, p. 193.13. See also Bema-psalm 219 and Jesus-psalm 252 (Allberry, pp. 2.24 and 61.29).

⁵⁹ Brit. Mus. Stein 2659, verse 36 (Waldschmidt and Lentz, “Die Stellung Jesu”: 120; Schmidt-Glintzer, *Chinesische Manichaica*, 14). See also verse 51 (*op. cit.*, 16).

⁶⁰ M 28 R I 26–31 (Widengren, *Mesopotamian Elements*, 164). See also R II in the same fragment, especially lines 16–17 (Henning, “Mitteliranische Manichaica” 2: 21–2, repr. in *Idem, Selected Papers* 1, [312–13]; trans. [modified] in Asmussen, *Manichaean Literature*, 107–08): “You are, you are the Righteous [God], a [noble] healer, the most beloved Son [...]. Come to heal, redeemer of the captive and physician of the wounded”; and a psalm “of the Wanderers” (Allberry, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, p. 145.6): “Jesus, the Physician of the wounded.”

In other Turfan texts Jesus takes away sickness,⁶¹ he is “the right hand of health.”⁶² In Turfan fragment *M 801* Jesus, along with the Virgin of Light and the Mind of Light, is styled “reviver of the dead.”⁶³ It is probably he who, described as the ‘Great Holy One’ in the Chinese *Compendium*, is “the great physician for all who possess a soul.”⁶⁴ The same document affirms that “as king of healing he distributes the medication of the Law.”⁶⁵ Jesus is probably the one thus addressed in a psalm ‘of the Wanderers’: “Lo, I have shown my wounds: it is thine [to] give thy cures.”⁶⁶ He is a healer because he is a liberator,⁶⁷ because he saves from error.⁶⁸

ELECT AND HEARERS

It was noted above how the ‘physician’ title is extended to members of the Manichaean community by virtue of their fulfillment of the religion’s

⁶¹ *T II D 178 III R = M 6222*, and *IV V = M 6223* (Waldschmidt and Lentz, “Die Stellung Jesu”: 113–14).

⁶² *M 36 V 11* (Henning, “Mitteliranische Manichaica,” 2: 326, repr. in *Idem, Selected Papers* 1, [223]). There is a link of the ‘right hand’ to healing in an address to Jesus in a psalm ‘of the Wanderers’ (Allberry, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, p. 153.2–4): “In a moment, my God, thy mercy became one with me. Because of thy strong protection, lo my diseases passed far from me. Lo, joy has overtaken me through thy right hand that came to me.” For further references see Henning, “Ein manichäisches Bet- und Beichtbuch”: 23, repr. in *Idem, Selected Writings* 1, [439]; and Waldschmidt and Lentz, “Die Stellung Jesu”: 37–40, 96, 118–19, and 121. On the ‘healing hand’ in antiquity, see O. Weinreich, *Antike Heilungswunder. Untersuchungen zum Wunderglauben der Griechen und Römer* (Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten, VIII/1), Giessen: A. Töpelmann, 1909 (repr. Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1969), 1–75.

⁶³ J. P. Asmussen, *Der Manichäismus* (Die Gnosis, 3), Zurich and Munich: Artemis, 1980, 247; trans. in *Idem, Manichaean Literature*, 67). The same three beings are associated in a psalm ‘of the Wanderers’ (Allberry, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, p. 145.6–8).

⁶⁴ T.85c27, in Chavannes and Pelliot, “Un traité manichéen” 1: 586; Schmidt-Glintzer, *Chinesische Manichaica*, 101.

⁶⁵ 1279c27–28, in Schmidt-Glintzer, *Chinesische Manichaica*, 69; Chavannes and Pelliot, “Un traité manichéen” 2: 131.

⁶⁶ Allberry, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, p. 147.64–65.

⁶⁷ See Widengren, *Mesopotamian Elements*, 159: “It will be clear from these [Coptic] psalms, as well as from the Iranian hymns, that the epithet of Physician was a very common one ascribed to the Saviour.” See also A. Böhlig, “Die Bibel bei den Manichäern” (Inaugural-Diss., typed), Evangelisch-theol. Fakultät, Münster/W, 1947, 19.

⁶⁸ See Böhlig, “Die Bibel bei den Manichäern,” 58–60; and Jesus-Psalm 248 (Allberry, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, p. 56.15–20). On ‘redemption’ in Iranian languages, see W. Bang, “Manichäische Hymnen,” *Le Muséon* 38: 40–52.

requirements, especially that of freeing the Light,⁶⁹ a task accomplished by Hearers in their collection of the prescribed foods, and by the Elect in their ritual consumption. The 'alms' are those fruits and vegetables designated for the Hearers to collect and bring to the Elect,⁷⁰ who through digestion will release the Light-particles trapped in them. Because they contribute directly to the Light-liberating process, and thus prepare the future glorious state to which the Manichaean faithful's now-wounded soul will eventually return,⁷¹ the Elect are addressed thus in Coptic *Kephalaion* 82:

You are like a wise physician, whose hand bears with [...] to whom the wounds which he heals are burdensome [...] on certain wounds he lays a [hot] medication, on others he lays a [cool medicine] [...] Through the hard word... wounds which are treated through the medication [...] To heal with cool medicine [...] The wise man resembles the sensible physician.⁷²

But the Hearers also participate, though less directly, in the sacred Light-liberating process. In *Kephalaion* 93, Mani assures a Hearer that, even if the latter has brought harm to fruits and vegetables in the course of gathering and preparing them for the Elect, "when you give alms, you are like this prudent physician."⁷³ This assurance refers to the paradox mentioned earlier: the soul, even of the Elect, is always in a wounded state, because it, too, is imprisoned in matter, and because the saving task of gathering, consuming, and digesting the foods which are Light mixed with matter (note the expression in *Kephalaion* 85, quoted above: "the power of the enemy is mingled with them"), at the same time does harm to the Light within the Manichaeans themselves, wounding

⁶⁹ Oerter, "Mani als Arzt?", 115.

⁷⁰ On this obligation of Hearers see Coyle, *Augustine's "De moribus,"* 20 nn. 782–83; H. C. Puech, "La conception manichéenne du salut," in *Idem, Le manichéisme et autres essais*, Paris: Flammarion, 1979, 73–5; and Brown, *The Body and Society*, 199–200. For primary texts see *Khuastuanift XI B*; transliteration with German trans. in W. Bang, "Manichäische Laien-Beichtspiegel," *Le Muséon* 36 (1923): 161–62 (trans. in J. P. Asmussen, Asmussen, *Xuastvanift: Studies in Manichaeism* (Acta Theologica Danica, 7), Copenhagen: Prostant, 1965, 197; *Idem, Manichaean Literature*, 74–5).

⁷¹ This process also achieves a victory over evil. See *Keph.* 79 (Ibscher *et al.*, *Kephalaia, 1. Hälfte*, p. 191.16–19); and Arnold-Döben 1991: 6.

⁷² Ibscher *et al.*, *Kephalaia, 1. Hälfte*, pp. 198.26–199.9.

⁷³ Ibscher *et al.*, *Kephalaia, 1. Hälfte*, p. 237.28–29; compare p. 236.8–20. On these passages see A. Böhlig, "Zur Vorstellung vom Lichtkreuz in Gnostizismus und Manichäismus," in B. Aland, ed., *Gnosis: Festschrift für Hans Jonas*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1978, 489.

over and over those who engage in the process, even as they help free the Light.

MANI THE PHYSICIAN

All attributions of the physician title to heavenly beings appear to be in the spiritual sense, that is, their area of concern is the ‘wounded’ condition of the soul, and they are not seen to normally involve these beings in *physical* cures. As much appears to be true of the image’s application to Manichaean Hearers and Elect.

When we come to Mani himself, however, the context is much more ambiguously ‘spiritual’ than for any other holder of the title. Next to Jesus, he is the one most frequently addressed as ‘physician.’ An elaborate expression of this ascription can be found at the end of the last Coptic Bema-psalm:

Lo, the] great Physician has come: he knows how to heal all people. He has] spread his medicine-chest, he has called out, “Whoever wishes, be cured.” Look at the multitude of his cures: there is no cure save in him. He does not recoil from the one who is sick, does not mock the person with a wound. A skilful one is he in his work: his mouth also is sweet in [its] words. He knows how to cut a wound, to put a cool medication on it. He cuts and he cleanses, cauterizes and soothes (?) in a single day. Look, his loving kindness has made each one of us reveal his sickness. Let us not hide our sickness from him and leave the cancer in our limbs, the fair and mighty image of the New Man, so that it destroys it. He has the antidote that is good for every suffering. There are twenty-two components in his antidote: His *Great Gospel*, the good tidings of all them that are of the Light. His water-pot is the *Thesaurus*, the treasure of life. In it there is hot water: there is some cold water also mixed with it. His soft sponge that wipes away bruises is the *Pragmateia*. His knife for cutting is the *Book of Mysteries*. His excellent swabs are the *Book of the Giants*. The (fennel?) of every cure is the book of his *Letters*... Lo,] the test of our Physician: my brethren, let us implore him. May he] give us a cure that heals our... The forgiveness of our sins, that he may bestow it upon us all. May he] wipe away our iniquities, the scars that are branded on our souls.⁷⁴

⁷⁴ Bema-Psalm 241 (Allberry, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, p. 46.1–47.10). Ries, “La fête de Bêma”: 26, observes that this psalm “développe longuement l’allégorie de Mani médecins des âmes montrant que toute l’œuvre du Sauveur est l’action d’un médecin

Scholarly opinion has divided over whether the references to Mani as a physician meant that he actually was one in the medical sense. Both Arnold-Döben and Ort opined that he was.⁷⁵ But this was contested by Asmussen and Sundermann;⁷⁶ and Oerter took the view that, since all references to the soul's 'wounding' must be in a spiritual sense, a *seelisch Leidende*, the use of 'physician' as a descriptor of Mani could only refer to a (spiritual) *Erlöser*.⁷⁷ These same authors assert that it is simply his association with Jesus that allows Mani to be called 'physician,' and therefore, we would have to conclude, only in the spiritual sense.⁷⁸

qui se penche sur l'humanité blessée." In Bema-psalm 228 (Allberry, *op. cit.*, p. 23.6–7) Mani descends to sit upon the Bema (throne), and there is "given into his hands the medicine of life that he might heal the wounded." By association, as Mani's visible representative, the Bema is "the medicine of the healing of our wounds" (Bema-psalm 230, Allberry, *op. cit.*, p. 26.21–22). Christian opponents of Mani do not refer to him as a physician, although Augustine's insistence on spiritual 'medicine' and reference to *medici* (e.g., in *De moribus ecclesiae catholicae* 27.52, CSEL 90, p. 56) could be understood as a response to these themes in Manichaeism. On this see Asmussen, *X^uastvanift*, 232.

⁷⁵ Arnold-Döben, *Die Bildersprache*, 102: "Ganz offensichtlich haben wir es hier mit der Tätigkeit eines Arztes im üblichen Sinn zu tun, welche Mani ausübt, nämlich Kranke zu heilen; gleichzeitig aber hat auch hier seine Tätigkeit schon einen religiösen Aspekt, denn das geheilte Mädchen nennt ihn ihren 'Gott und Beleber'. [On this incident see below, p. 119.] Trotzdem ist auf Grund dieses Textes nicht daran zu zweifeln, dass Mani tatsächlich als Arzt aufgetreten ist, sich aber wahrscheinlich mit Wunderheilungen und auch Dämonenaustreibungen hervorgetan hat." Taking issue with Widengren (*Mesopotamian Elements*, 164), Ort says (*Mani*, 101): "We are convinced that the Manichaeans would never have chosen the symbol of 'the great physician' if Mani had not clearly expressed that he was 'a doctor.' Note that Mani's criticism of the purificatory baptisms of the Elchasaites (CMC 80.22–82.23, 83.20–85.3) is "heavily laced [...] with medical terminology" (BeDuhn, "A Regimen": 111).

⁷⁶ Asmussen, *Manichaean Literature*, 9; W. Sundermann, *Mitteliranische manichäische Texte kirchengeschichtlichen Inhalts* (BT, 11), Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1981, 23 n. 25.

⁷⁷ Oerter, "Mani als Arzt?," 222. On Mani as *Erlöser* see Turfan fragment M 4 (Müller, "Handschriften-Reste": 53–4); M 501b V I (in E. Waldschmidt and W. Lentz, 1933 "Manichäische Dogmatik aus chinesischen und iranischen Texten," SPAW, Jhg. 1933: 553); and Coptic Homilies 1 and 2 (Polotsky, *Manichäische Homilien*, pp. 6.10 and 11.24).

⁷⁸ Such is also the view of Ries, "La fête de Bêma": 226 (see also 230): "Cette oeuvre de Mani médecin ne fait que continuer l'oeuvre de Jésus qui l'a envoyé et qui reste avec lui le médecin qui guérit l'humanité blessée." For Oerter ("Mani als Arzt?," 222), "die Lobpreisungen und Anrufungen Manis als Arzt erfolgen unter dem Aspekt des Erlösers. Damit wird an ein Bild angeknüpft, unter dem die mit der Erlösung des Menschen betrauten Gestalten des manichäischen Mythos beschrieben sind, denn auch Mani ist seinem und der manichäischen Gemeinde Verständnis nach ein Erlöser, dazu berufen, der Menschheit die endgültige Offenbarung zu bringen."

It is true that Mani shares other aspects of healing as well with Jesus. In two Middle Persian fragments from Turfan, Mani, too, is the reviver of the dead,⁷⁹ and a saviour.⁸⁰ The Chinese hymn-scroll styles him, like Jesus, “the great healing King.”⁸¹ Nevertheless, both Oerter and Asmussen are prepared to admit that Mani was at least *viewed* as a physical healer. As Asmussen phrases it,

There is no fixed literary statement that Mani was a physician by profession, in the strict sense of the word. He was the physician of the souls [...], just like Buddha and above all Jesus (*Christus medicus*), who by his spiritual power also cured people physically.⁸²

Logically, then, if the title’s attribution to Mani is only an extension of some predicate of Jesus, Mani would be a physician mainly in a spiritualised sense, and medically only *honoris causa*; for, in contrast to the New Testament and early post-biblical Christian literature, but in line with Gnostic literature,⁸³ no physical remedial interventions are associated with the name of Jesus in Manichaeism.

But does the accolade of Mani as physician stem solely from the role of Jesus in Manichaean theology? In the Parthian Turfan fragment M 566 (I R, lines 15–19), Mani describes himself to King Shapur I as “a physician (*bzysk*) from the land of Babylon.”⁸⁴ This self-stylization introduces, according to Ort,

⁷⁹ M 224 I (Henning, “Mitteliranische Manichaica” 2: 322; repr. in *Idem, Selected Papers* 1, [219]; trans. in Asmussen, *Manichaean Literature*, 52); and M 311 (Müller, “Handschriften-Reste”: 66–7; trans. in Asmussen, *loc. cit.*, 52).

⁸⁰ Turfan fragments T III D 267 = M 8171 (W. B. Henning, “Mitteliranische Manichaica aus Chinesisch-Turkestan. Von F. C. Andreas” 3, SPAW, Jhg. 1934: 869, repr. in *Idem, Selected Papers* 1, [296]; trans. in Asmussen, *Manichaean Literature*, 111); M 1202 (Henning, “Two Manichaean Magical Texts”: 50; repr. in Asmussen, *Manichaean Literature*, 45); and M 42 (Henning, *Mitteliraische Manichaica*” 3: 881; repr. in *Idem, Selected Papers* 1, [308]).

⁸¹ *Brit. Mus. Stein* 2659, verse 374 (Schmidt-Glintzer, *Chinesische Manichaica*, 59; Chavannes and Pelliot, “Un traité manichéen” 2: 131). There was a time when I mistakenly applied this text to Jesus himself (Coyle, *Augustine’s “De moribus,”* 391).

⁸² Asmussen, *Manichaean Literature*, 9. See also Oerter, “Mani als Arzt?,” 222: “Est ist daher nicht auszuschließen, daß man auch an Mani die Erwartung knüpfte, er könne physische Gebrechen heilen. In ihm aber einen Vertreter des ärztlichen Berufsstandes sehen zu wollen ist nach Auskunft und Lage der Quellen verfehlt.”

⁸³ See E. Sauser, “Christus medicus—Christus als Arzt und seine Nachfolger im frühen Christentum,” *Trierer theologische Zeitschrift* 101 (1992): 103.

⁸⁴ Sundermann, *Mitteliranische manichäische Texte*, 23; Müller, “Handschriften-Reste”: 87; trans. in Asmussen, *Manichaean Literature*, 9. See Ort, *Mani*, 51 and 95–6.

...three possibilities: a) I am a doctor, i.e. in the normal sense of the word; b) I am a doctor, i.e. by means of divine assistance I can perform miraculous healings; c) I am a doctor, i.e. I am a physician who heals spiritual sickness, *viz.* the sins of man [...]. We are inclined to state that Mani saw himself as a doctor in the normal sense of the word and as a physician who could perform miraculous healings. The third meaning of the term physician was added—in all probability—by Mani's followers.⁸⁵

Ort's analysis is to some extent substantiated by the reverse side of fragment *M* 566, where Mani heals a girl, an event similar to the following account in the CMC:

(The father said to Mani): "Who are you? What is your [profession]?" [I replied to him:] "I am a physician." He [answered] me: "If you agree, come into my house, for my daughter is all out of sorts from [an illness]." I went with him and found the girl out of her senses and [sick].⁸⁶

Six lines are missing from the bottom of page 122 of the little manuscript entitled "On the Becoming of his Body" where, no doubt, the actual healing was described. It is interesting that Turfan fragment *M* 566 is part of a conversion account, and that Mani's declaration answers the question: "Where are you from, my God and Lifegiver?"⁸⁷ Here is a suggestion—in keeping with antiquity's notion of the healing arts—that Mani is a healer in more ways than one.⁸⁸ As Ort points out, the whole debate surrounding Mani as physician has tended to overlook the role of the *medicus* in antiquity, where the world of the body, and the ills afflicting it, often spilled over into the realm of the spiritual and moral life. Ort states:

It is necessary to remember that the function and the working-methods of a doctor in Mani's days were closely related to religious phenomena

⁸⁵ Ort, *Mani*, 98. See also 99–101, and *Idem*, "Mani's Conception of Gnosis," 608 and 613. But why would this aspect of healing be emphasized, given Manichaean repudiation of the body and of recourse to medical remedies? Ort does not say.

⁸⁶ CMC 122.4–16 (Koenen and Römer, *Der Kölner Mani-Kodex*, 86).

⁸⁷ M 566, I V line 15, in Sundermann, *Mitteliranische manichäische Texte*, 24; also Müller, "Handschriften-Reste": 87. Noted by Oerter, "Mani als Arzt?", 221 (following Sundermann, *op. cit.*, 19–20). See also W. Sundermann, "Iranische Lebensbeschreibungen Manis," *Acta Orientalia* 36 (1974): 130–31.

⁸⁸ As I. Gardner notes, "The Docetic Jesus," in *Idem*, *Coptic Theological Papyri 2: Edition, Commentary, Translation. Textband* (Mitteilungen der Papyrussammlung der österreichischen Nationalbibliothek, Neue Serie, XXI. Folge), Vienna: In Kommission bei Verlag Brüder Hollinek, 1988, 71, Turfan fragment M 5661 states that Mani heals "in the whole body."

[...]. The religious aspect of Mani's "doctoring" is not restricted to a certain "spiritual aspect" in his healing power.⁸⁹

Some support for this comes from a passage in the Manichaean Parthian Hymn-Cycles reconstituted by Mary Boyce as:

The [Third?] Envoy of...heals souls...In the bodies they possess there is no sickness...Precious are they [with forms that are free from injury.] And feebleness and [age do not affect their limbs].⁹⁰

Since the word 'Third' is a conjecture, and *physical* healing is also alluded to, this passage more likely describes Mani, the "Apostle of Light."⁹¹

Be that as it may, in Turfan Parthian fragment *M* 47 (I V 1, lines 11–16), Mani's gesture of healing definitely extends to the physical. Mihrshah, brother of King Shapur I, has fallen into a trance, lasting three hours. "Then the Apostle [Mani] laid his hand on his head [i.e., of Mihrshah]. He [Mihrshah] returned to consciousness."⁹² Perhaps it is this power to heal which is meant by the CMC: "The truth and the secrets of which I speak-and the laying on of hands (*χειροθεσία*) which is in my possession—not from men nor material creatures nor book-learning have I received it."⁹³

In a well-known Middle Persian fragment from Turfan (*M* 3), prior to executing Mani for failing to cure the king's sister, Bahram I accuses him: "What are you good for, since you go neither fighting nor hunting?

⁸⁹ Ort, *Mani*, 96. Commenting on fragment M 3, Arnold-Döben, *Die Bildersprache*, 103, says: "Hier betont Mani selbst, dass er als Arzt und Wunderheiler tätig war. Wenn wir das Bild vom Arzt untersuchen, so haben wir es nicht mit der tatsächlichen Tätigkeit des Arztes zu tun, sondern mit einer übertragenen. Wenn Mani auch wirklich als Arzt gearbeitet hat, so war er gleichzeitig auch noch Arzt im übertragenen Sinne, nämlich in der Funktion des Erlösers der Seelen, womit er an die Bezeichnungen Jesu als Arzt anknüpft."

⁹⁰ M. Boyce, *The Manichaean Hymn-Cycles in Parthian* (London Oriental Series, 3), London and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1954, 66–7; repr. in Asmussen, *Manichaean Literature*, 81–2.

⁹¹ Mani also appears to be the only personage associated by his religion with the 'physician' title whose activities are sometimes described with the vocabulary of surgery.

⁹² Müller, "Handschriften-Reste": 84; Asmussen, *Der Manichäismus*, 91; Sundermann, *Mitteliranische manichäische Texte*, 103. Trans. in M. Boyce, *A Reader in Manichaean Middle Persian and Parthian* (AI, 9). Leiden: E. J. Brill/Teheran and Liege: Bibliothèque Pahlavi, 1975: 37–8; and Asmussen, *Manichaean Literature*, 20.

⁹³ CMC 64.8–12 (Koenen and Römer, *Der Kölner Mani-Kodex*, 44; trans. in Cameron and Dewey, *The Cologne Mani Codex*, 50–1). See also 70.1–4 (Koenen and Römer, *op. cit.*, 48; trans. In Cameron and Dewey, *op. cit.*, 1979: 54–5).

But perhaps you are needed for this doctoring and physicking? And you don't even do that!"⁹⁴ The fragment then continues:

The Lord [Mani] replied thus: "...Always I have done good to you and your family. Many and numerous were your servants whom I caused to rise from their illness. Many were those from whom I averted the numerous kinds of fever. Many were those at the point of death, and I [revived] them."⁹⁵

Note that the parallel to the cure of the girl in the Greek CMC (probably a translation from Syriac) and the texts from Turfan are all from Mani's 'biography'. The Greek parallel may have preserved an original tradition, still kept in the Iranian passages, which considered Mani as, quite literally, a physician. The further from its roots this tradition was removed, the more allegorized the title became. Ort's summation of the options made available by this title for Mani, while helpful, therefore needs to be modified. Mani was truly a *medicus*, which in his world already made him a healer both physically and spiritually. This goes a long way toward explaining why Manichaeans so favoured the title for their founder. With time, the 'spiritual' aspect of his doctoring, though not added by them, as Ort contends, would have become paramount in the minds of his followers, until, in the end, it stood virtually alone.

⁹⁴ A similar charge is implied in the AA 64.8–9 (GCS 16, p. 93.20–25). On the implication that Mani had been neglecting his physician's duties, see W. B. Henning, "Mani's Last Journey," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 10 (1942): 953 (repr. in *Idem, Selected Papers 2*, [93]) n. 2.

⁹⁵ Trans. based on Henning, "Mani's Last Journey": 951–52 (repr. in *Idem, Selected Papers 2*, 91–2, in Asmussen, *Manichaean Literature*, 54–5, and in Ort, *Mani*, 52–3, with comments, 98–9); text and German translation in Müller, "Handschriften-Reste": 81–2. Oerter, "Mani als Arzt?", 221, explains: "Die Manichäer sind in Bahrams Augen medizinische Versager—der anscheinend ihrem Meister vorauselte Ruf, ein Heilkundiger zu sein, ist wohl beim Hofe gründlich Mißverstanden worden. Manis Entgegnung an der König nur der entschiedene Versuch einer Rechtfertigung, sondern enthält auch einen klaren Hinweis auf sein Selbstverständnis von der Rolle als 'Arzt.' Das von ihm ins Feld geführte Argument seiner exorzistischen Fähigkeiten hat überdies seine dogmatisch begründete Parallele dort, wo in den manichäischen Texten vom Wirken des Erlösers die Rede ist." Oerter then gives the example of the fourteenth "Psalm of Thom" (in Allberry, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, pp. 220.26–221.7), in which the physician (whoever this may be) is identified as an exorcist (literally, 'charm-looser,' Coptic *βαλγικ*).

CHAPTER EIGHT

THE GOSPEL OF THOMAS IN MANICHAEISM?

INTRODUCTION: BIBLICAL APOCRYPHA IN MANICHAEISM

Since the fourth century it has been asserted that Manichaeism freely availed itself of pseudepigraphal biblical literature.¹ Of the accuracy of this assertion there seems little doubt. A Middle Persian fragment from Turfan has Mani declare: “all the writings, wisdom and parables of earlier religions, since (they) [have come] to this [my religion] ...”² Augustine of Hippo accused the Manichaeans he knew of claiming that falsifications had been perpetrated on the canonical New Testament, while accepting the authenticity of New Testament apocrypha passing “sub nomine apostolorum.”³ Such, it seems, was the spirit in which the Manichaean bishop Faustus of Milevis referred⁴ to apocryphal Acts of Andrew,⁵

¹ Still worth consulting on this topic are I. de Beausobre, *Histoire critique de Manichée et du manichéisme* 1, Amsterdam: Bernard, 1734 (repr. Leipzig: Zentralantiquariat der DDR, 1970; Amsterdam: Gieben, 1988), 337–425; and P. Alfaric, *Les écritures manichéennes* 2, Paris: Nourry, 1919, 149–59 and 169–95.

² T II D 126 1 V in W. B. Henning, “Mitteliranische Manichaica aus Chinesisch-Turkestan” 2 (SPAW, Jhg. 1933): 296, repr. in *Idem, Selected Papers* (AI, 14), Leiden: E. J. Brill: 1977, [193].

³ Augustine, *Contra Faustum* XXII,79 (CSEL 25/1, p. 681.6–8): “legunt scripturas apocryphas manichaei a nescio quibus sutoribus fabularum sub apostolorum nomine scriptas.” See *De haeresibus* 46.15 (CCL 46, p. 318): “Ipsiisque testamenti noui scripturas tamquam infalsatas ita legunt, ut quod uolunt inde accipiant, et quod nolunt reiciant; eisque tamquam totum uerum habentes nonnullas apocryphas anteponunt”; also *epist. 64 ad Quintianum* 3; *De sermone domini in monte* 1.20.65; *Contra Adimantum* 17.5; and *epist. 237 ad Ceretium* 2.

⁴ Augustine, *C. Faust.* XXX,4 (CSEL 25/1, pp. 751.8–752.5).

⁵ See P. Nagel, “Die apokryphen Apostelakten des 2. und 3. Jahrhunderts in der manichaischen Literatur: Ein Beitrag zur Frage nach den christlichen Elementen in Manichäismus,” in K.-W. Tröger, ed., *Gnosis und Neues Testament: Studien aus Religionswissenschaft und Theologie*, Gütersloh: Mohn, 1973, 159–65.

John,⁶ Paul,⁷ Peter,⁸ and Thomas.⁹ In turn, Faustus' allusions have led to modern conjectures that the five Acts in question constituted a sort of scriptural pentad for Manichaeans¹⁰ and were the only New Testament

⁶ É. Junod and J.-D. Kaestli have assembled all the pertinent Manichaean references in *L'histoire des Actes apocryphes des apôtres du III^e au IX^e siècle: Le cas des Actes de Jean* (Cahiers de la Revue de Théologie et de Philosophie, 7), Geneva—Lausanne—Neuchâtel: La Concorde, 1982, 49–86.

⁷ See Beausobre, *Histoire critique*, 422 n. 6; and Nagel, “Die apokryphen Apostelakten,” 153–56.

⁸ Nagel, “Die apokryphen Apostelakten,” 156–58.

⁹ See Augustine, *C. Faust.* XXII,79; also Nagel, “Die apokryphen Apostelakten,” 171–73; A. Henrichs and L. Koenen, “Ein griechischer Mani-Codex (P. Colon. inv. nr. 4780).” *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 5/2 (1970): 171–92; G. Widengren, *The Great Vohu Manah and the Apostle of God: Studies in Iranian and Manichaean Religion* (Uppsala Universitets Arsskrift, 1945/5), Uppsala: Lundeqvist, 1945, 26–8; and W. Boussel, “Manichäisches in den Thomasakten: Ein Beitrag zur Frage nach den christlichen Elementen im Manichäismus,” *ZNW* 18 (1917–18): 1–39, who sees (9–11) connections between these Acts (6–7, 39, and 48) and Manichaean doxologies (as in *Acta Archelai* 5 [6], Turfan fragment M172, and Augustine, *C. Faustum* I,16). P.-H. Poirier, “L’Hymne de la Perle et le manichéisme à la lumière du Codex manichéen de Cologne,” in L. Cirillo, ed., *Codex Manichaicus Coloniensis: Atti del Simposio Internazionale (Rende-Amantea 3–7 settembre 1984)*, Cosenza: Marra Editore, 1986, 235–48, has added substance to the theory that the Hymn of the Pearl (nos. 108–113) is a Manichaean addition to the *Acts of Thomas*, though this need not signify that the Hymn is itself of Manichaean provenance. See also *Idem*, *L’Hymne de la Perle des Actes de Thomas: Introduction—Texte—Traduction—Commentaire* (HR, 8), Louvain-la-Neuve: Centre d’histoire des religions, 1981, 59–61, 114–16, 132–33, 144, and 310–17; *Idem*, “Les Actes de Thomas et le manichéisme,” *Apocrypha* 9 (1998): 263–89, esp. 274–87; and Boussel, *art. cit.*: 23–30.

¹⁰ On the corpus idea, see Nagel, “Die apokryphen Apostelakten,” 149–82, esp. 152–53; and K. Schäferdiek, “The Manichaean Collection of Acts and Leucius Charinus,” in W. Schneemelcher, ed., *New Testament Apocrypha* 2, 2nd ed., Louisville: John Knox Press, 1992, 87–100; trans. of “Die Leukius Charinus zugeschriebene manichäische Sammlung apokrypher Apostelgeschichten,” in W. Schneemelcher, ed., *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen in deutscher Übersetzung* 2, 5th ed., Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1989, 82–6. The notion is questioned by J.-D. Kaestli, “L’utilisation des Actes apocryphes des apôtres dans le manichéisme,” in M. Krause, ed., *Gnosis and Gnosticism: Papers read at the Seventh International Conference on Patristic Studies (Oxford, September 8th–13th, 1975)* (NHS, 8), Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1977, 108–12. F. Bovon, “Canonical and Apocryphal Acts of Apostles,” *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 11 (2003): 167 n. 8, thinks that “The Manichaeans are probably at the origin of the collection of five Acts.” The tradition of linking *Actus Apostolorum* to Leucius Charinus goes back to the fifth century: Augustine, *Contra Felicem* 2,6 and *epist. 237 ad Ceretium* 2; Evodius, *De fide contra Manichaeos* 5; and Innocent I, *Epist. 6 ad Exsuperium* 7. See Alfaric, *Les écritures*, 191–94; and Schäferdiek, “The Manichaean Collection,” 93–4 (German: 91–3). But B. Altaner, “Augustinus und die neutestamentlichen Apokryphen, Sibyllinen und Sextussprüche: Eine quellenkritische Untersuchung,” *Analecta Bollandiana* 67 (1949): 241, believes these are to be identified with the *Acts of John*. In this he follows Schäferdiek, *art. cit.*, 94 (German: 92), and C. Schmidt, *Die alten Petrusakten, im Zusammenhang der apokryphen Apostelliteratur*

pseudepigrapha Faustus would have known.¹¹ Though it is true that he referred to no others,¹² it has been demonstrated (or at least suggested) that, in addition to the five Acts he mentioned, Manichaeans had access to (in some cases rewriting)¹³ a *Gospel of Eve*,¹⁴ an *Evangeliū de nativitate Mariae*,¹⁵ gospels of *Bartholomew*,¹⁶ *Peter*,¹⁷ and *Philip*,¹⁸ a *Memoria Apostolorum*,¹⁹ a *Gospel of the Twelve Apostles*,²⁰ and *Acts of Philip*.²¹ In addition, modern commentators have discerned traces of Manichaeian reworking of some Nag Hammadi treatises, such as *The Origin of the World*.²²

Of course, what is attributed to some Manichaeans, however accurately, need not have applied to all. But what would have led *any* Manichaeans to employ pseudepigrapha, these in particular? In the

¹¹ *nebst einem neuentdeckten Fragment* (TU, 24, N.F. 9/1), Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1903, 27–77. See Junod and Kaestli, *L'histoire*, 137–45; and Nagel, *art. cit.*, 165–71.

¹² So Bousset, “Manichäisches”: 38; and Nagel, “Die apokryphen Apostelakten,” 152.

¹³ He does mention some relating to the Old Testament: see Augustine, *C. Faustum XIX*, 3.

¹⁴ So Turibius of Astorga (fifth cent.), *Epist. ad Idacium et Ceponium* 5, and Leo I, *Sermo 34* 4. See Junod and Kaestli, *L'histoire*, 70–2.

¹⁵ H.-J. Klimkeit, “Apocryphal Gospels in Central and East Asia,” in M. Heuser and H.-J. Klimkeit, *Studies in Manichaean Art and Literature* (NHMS, 46), Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1998, 200–01, trans. of “Die Kenntnis apokryphen Evangelien in Zentral- und Ostasien,” in A. van Tongerloo and S. Giversen, eds., *Manichaica Selecta: Studies presented to Professor Julien Ries on the occasion of his seventieth birthday* (MS, 1), Leuven: International Association of Manichaean Studies, 1991, 162–63.

¹⁶ Augustine, *C. Faustum* XXIII, 4 and 9. See Alfaric, *Les écritures*, 169–70.

¹⁷ See J.-D. Kaestli, Introduction, *Questions de Barthélémy*, in F. Bovon and P. Geoltrain, eds., *Écrits apocryphes chrétiens* I (Bibliothèque de la Pléiade), Paris: Gallimard, 1997, 258.

¹⁸ Turfan fragment M18, in F. W. K. Müller, “Handschriften-Reste in Estrangelo-Schrift aus Turfan, Chinesisch-Turkestan” 2, SPAW 9 (1904): 34 (see also 108–09); and possibly M4574, in W. Sundermann, *Mitteliranische manichäische Texte kirchengeschichtlicher Inhalts* (BT, 11), Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1981, 79–81.

¹⁹ See Klimkeit, “Apocryphal Gospels,” 197–200 (“Die Kenntnis,” 158–62).

²⁰ Schneemelcher, ed., *New Testament Apocrypha* 1, 376–78 (German: 301–03); and Klimkeit, “Apocryphal Gospels,” 201–03 (“Die Kenntnis,” 164–65).

²¹ Klimkeit, “Apocryphal Gospels,” 202–03 (“Die Erkenntnis,” 164–65); and Schneemelcher, ed., *New Testament Apocrypha* 1, 378–79 (German: 303–04).

²² Alluded to in a Coptic Psalm of Heracleides, in C. R. C. Allberry, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book Part II* (MMCBC, 2), Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1938, p. 192.10. With the five mentioned by Faustus, these appear to be the only apocryphal Acts of an apostle associated with Manichaeism. But see Kaestli, “L'utilisation,” 110–11.

²³ L. Painchaud, *L'Écrit sans titre: Traité sur l'Origine du Monde* (NH II, 5 et XIII, 2 et Brit. Lib. Or 4269[1]) (Bibliothèque Copte de Nag Hammadi, Section «Textes», 21), Quebec: Presses de l'Université Laval / Leuven and Paris: Peeters, 1995, 345 and 349–50.

case of the various Acts, it has been suggested that Manichaeans treasured them for the importance they ascribed to the apostle figure,²³ to the ideal of asceticism (especially continence),²⁴ to the fortitude of the Acts' protagonists in the face of suffering,²⁵ to some liturgical themes,²⁶ or to the notes of partnership with a heavenly companion²⁷ and of missionary endeavour.²⁸

THE GOSPEL OF THOMAS AND MANICHAEISM

If these “Motive der Übernahme”²⁹ explain why Manichaeans had recourse to apocryphal Acts of apostles,³⁰ the motives are less obvious when it comes to the possibility that they appropriated the collection of disparate sayings of Jesus known to us as the *Gospel of Thomas* (*Gos. Thom.*). The writing with this title—more than any other, responsible for Nag Hammadi’s fame—is most likely a mid-fourth century translation from an original in Syria (though probably composed, or at least

²³ G. H. Poupon, “L’origine africaine des *Actus Vercellenses*,” in J. N. Bremmer, ed., *The Apocryphal Acts of Peter: Magic, Miracles and Gnosticism* (Studies on the Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles, 3), Leuven: Peeters, 1998, 197; Nagel, “Die apokryphen Apostelakten,” 174 and 178; Kaestli, “L’utilisation,” 112; and Junod and Kaestli, *L’histoire*, 79–80.

²⁴ Poupon, “L’origine,” 197; Nagel, “Die apokryphen Apostelakten,” 176–77; and Kaestli, “L’utilisation,” 113.

²⁵ Poupon, “L’origine,” 197; and Nagel, “Die apokryphen Apostelakten,” 175–76 and 181.

²⁶ Kaestli, “L’utilisation,” 114.

²⁷ Nagel, “Die apokryphen Apostelakten,” 179–80.

²⁸ Nagel, “Die apokryphen Apostelakten,” 180–81. Poupon, “L’origine,” 198–99, adds that Manichaeans also saw in the *Acts of Peter* a covert but radical opposition between visible and invisible; he even thought that the Latin (Vercelli) text of these Acts almost certainly had, not just an African, but a Manichaeian origin.

²⁹ Nagel’s expression: “Die apokryphen Apostelakten,” 174.

³⁰ Especially with regard to the apostle figure. Coptic *Kephalaion* 105 proclaims Mani equal to all the original apostles: see A. Böhlig, *Kephalaia, 2. Hälfte, Lieferung 11/12* (MHSMB, 1), Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1966, p. 259.16–19. In *Kephalaion* 38 he is superior to all other apostles: “Apostles and ambassadors I have sent to all countries. Therefore, the former apostles who came before them did not do as I have done in this hard generation; apart from Jesus only, the son of greatness, who is the father of all the apostles.” Trans. I. Gardner, *The Kephalaia of the Teacher: The edited Coptic Manichaean texts with translation and commentary* (NHMS, 37), Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1995, 105.

compiled, in Greek)³¹ before the mid-second century, but in any case before Mani himself.

In 2002 Wolf-Peter Funk observed: “That the Manichaeans made use of a Gospel of Thomas has been part of conventional knowledge from the Church Fathers on. Since the discovery of the Nag Hammadi texts first allowed our acquaintance with the contents of a gospel bearing this name, the question has arisen whether this is *the* Gospel of Thomas also used by Manichaeans.”³² Beate Blatz and others³³ have identified Nag Hammadi’s *Gos. Thom.* with a work that ancient sources, beginning with Cyril of Jerusalem,³⁴ associated with Manichaeism. Those who perceive a direct connection between the two argue that either the *Gos. Thom.* served as one of the sources for Mani’s own *Gospel*,³⁵ or that Manichaeans influenced the wording of at least some of the *Gos. Thom.*’s *logia*,³⁶ or, again, that they simply used them as they found them. In the last category, Jacques-É. Ménard noted that “Pour se

³¹ On the language and provenance issues, see J.-M. Sevrin, “L’Évangile selon Thomas: Parole de Jésus et révélation gnostique,” *Revue théologique de Louvain* 8 (1977): 270–75.

³² W.-P. Funk, “Einer aus tausend, zwei aus zehntausend”: Zitate aus dem Thomas-Evangelium in den koptischen Manichaica,” in H.-G. Bethge, S. Emmel, K. L. King and I. Schleitterer, eds., *For the Children, Perfect Instruction: Studies in Honor of Hans-Martin Schenke on the Occasion of the Berliner Arbeitskreis für koptisch-gnostische Schriften’s Thirtieth Year* (NHMS, 54), Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2002, 68 (author’s emphasis): “Dass die Manichäer *ein* Thomasevangelium benutztten, gehört seit den Kirchenvätern zum tradierten Wissen. Seit der Textfund von Nag Hammadi uns erst malig mit dem Inhalt eines Evangelium, das diesen Namen tragt, bekannt mochte, erhob sich die Frage, ob dies *das* Thomasevangelium ist, das auch die Manichäer benutzten.”

³³ B. Blatz, “The Coptic Gospel of Thomas,” in Schneemelcher, ed., *New Testament Apocrypha* 1, 112 (trans. of “Das Thomas-Evangelium,” in *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen* 1, 95): “It is certain that the Gospel of Thomas was known and used in Manichaeism.” See also 115 n. 20; and J.-D. Kaestli, “L’Évangile de Thomas: son importance pour l’étude des paroles de Jésus et du gnosticisme chrétien,” *Études théologiques et religieuses* 54 (1979): 78.

³⁴ Cyril, *Catechesis* 4.36 (PG 33, 500B). In *Cat. 6* 31 (c. 593A) Cyril ascribes its authorship to “one of the three wicked disciples of Mani.” The list of ancient sources is supplied by H.-Ch. Puech, *Sur l’Évangile selon Thomas: Esquisse d’une interprétation systématique* (En quête de la gnose, 2), Paris: Gallimard, 1978, 37 n. 2. See also Alfaric, *Les écritures*, 184–85, and W. L. Petersen, *Tatian’s Diatesseron: Its Creation, Dissemination, Significance, and History in Scholarship* (SVC, 25), Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1994, 277.

³⁵ So H. W. Attridge, appendix to B. Layton, ed., *Nag Hammadi Codex II,2–7, together with XIII,2**, *Brit Lib. Or. 4926(1)*, and *P. Oxy I,654, 655* (NHS, 20), Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1989, 104; and H.-Ch. Puech, “The Gospel of Mani,” in Schneemelcher, ed., *New Testament Apocrypha* 1, 402, trans. of “Das Evangelium des Mani,” in Schneemelcher, ed., *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen* 1, 320.

³⁶ See Funk, “Einer aus tausend,” 70–1.

convaincre que le fondateur du manichéisme connaissait notre opuscule et qu'il a été influence par lui, il suffit de comparer le Prologue du nouvel Évangile avec le début de l'*Epistula Fundamenti*.³⁷ He had in mind the expression ‘Living Jesus’ he claimed was widely present in Manichaean writings,³⁸ though he only justified this by referring to Puech.³⁹ In the middle category, Jan Helderman detected an affinity of ideas and philological resemblances with logia 96 to 98, cautiously concluding that it was “nicht von vornherein auszuschließen, daß ein manichäischer ‘Redaktor’ verantwortlich ist für den Wortlaut der drei Logien, wie sie jetzt vorliegen.”⁴⁰

To bolster this position, some commentators have relied on thematic or semantic associations between the *Gos. Thom.*’s logia and Manichaean sources. Hans-Jonas Klimkeit proposed the ‘ubiquity of the saviour’ theme as a point of contact.⁴¹ Other logia singled out as co-opted by Manichaeans (but, in my view, with little likelihood) are 38, 57, and 77,⁴² the latter seen by Helderman as reflecting the Manichaean *Jesus patibilis*.⁴³ Bertil Gärtner argued for a connection through a shared emphasis on ‘interpretation’ (ερμηνεία), three secret words,⁴⁴

³⁷ J.-É. Ménard, *L’Évangile selon Thomas* (NHS, 5), Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1975, 2.

³⁸ Ménard, *L’Évangile selon Thomas*, 27.

³⁹ See Puech, “The Gospel of Mani,” 405 (German: 323).

⁴⁰ J. Helderman, “Manichäische Züge im Thomasevangelium,” in S. Emmel, M. Krause, S. G. Richter, and S. Schaten, eds., *Ägypten und Nubien in spätantiker und christlicher Zeit: Akten des 6. Internationales Koptologenkongresses*, Münster, 20.–26. Juli 1996 2 (Sprachen und Kulturen des christlichen Orients, 6/2), Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1999, 488–93 (citation from p. 493). See *Idem*, “Log 97 vom manichäischen Gesichtspunkt augesehen,” in W. Beltz, ed., *Der Gottesspruch in der kop. Literatur: Hans-Martin Schenke zum 65. Geburtstag* (Hallesche Beiträge zur Orientwissenschaft, 15), Halle: Druckerei der Martin-Luther-Universität, 1994, 149–61.

⁴¹ Klimkeit, “Apocryphal Gospels,” 195–97 (“Die Kenntnis,” 156–58).

⁴² See Puech, “The Gospel of Mani,” 403 (German: 321); and Klimkeit, “Apocryphal Gospels,” 195 (“Kenntnis,” 156).

⁴³ Helderman, “Manichäische Züge,” 485–86. See Ménard, *L’Évangile selon Thomas*, 177.

⁴⁴ As in the introduction to the *Kephalaia*, in H. Ibscher, H.J. Polotsky and A. Böhlig, *Kephalaia, 1. Hälfte, Lieferung 1–10* (MHSMB, 1), Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1940, p. 5.21. See the critique of this idea in Funk, “Einer aus tausend,” 69. E. Feldmann, *Die “Epistula Fundamenti” der nordafrikanischen Manichäer: Versuch einer Rekonstruktion*, Altenberge: Akademische Bibliothek, 1987, 28–9, relates this theme in *Kephalaion* 5 to *Gos. Thom.*’s *logion 13* and *Acts of Thomas* 47, or at least sees a relation of the ‘bubbling spring’ in *logion 13* to the ‘perennis ac uiuus fons’ of Mani’s *Letter of the Foundation* (CSEL 25/1, pp. 197.12 and 206.18). But the source of the image could just as well be John 4:13–15.

and the kingdom of heaven that is both within and without.⁴⁵ He also perceived in the clause “and which hand has not touched,” added by the *Gos. Thom.*’s logion 17 (“I shall give you what no eye has seen and what no ear has heard and what no hand has touched and what has never occurred to the human mind”) to Isa. 64:3/1 Cor 2:9, a resonance with the *Gospel of Mani*: “the additional clauses in the version of the text in the *Gospel of Thomas* recur in Mani, which supports the contention that Mani had access to gospel traditions which recur in the *Gospel of Thomas*, or indicates purely and simply that he made use of the gospel itself.”⁴⁶ Others⁴⁷ see connections between logion 17 and Turfan fragments M551, M789 and M18220 (= TM389α).⁴⁸

For his part, Funk views the whole issue at a more fundamental level: “while for some the *Gos. Thom.* does not seem Manichaean enough to have been *used* by Manichaeans, for others it appears too Manichaean not to have been *influenced* by Manichaeans.”⁴⁹ He considers it ‘unlikely’ that, if Manichaeans did employ the *Gos. Thom.*, they would all have referred to the same version.⁵⁰ He compares four Nag Hammadi *Gos. Thom.* logia (5, 23, 40, and 44) with the Manichaeian *Kephalaia* (translated into Coptic ca. 400). Of these, he rules out logion 40.⁵¹ After discussing his views on the three remaining logia, we will

⁴⁵ B. Gärtner, *The Theology of the Gospel of Thomas*, New York: Harper, 1961 (trans. of *Ett nytt Evangelium? Thomasevangeliets hemliga Jesusord*, Stockholm: Diakonistyrelsens Boekfoerlag, 1960), 107 n. 1, 123–24, and 214–15.

⁴⁶ Gärtner, *The Theology*, 148–49. In an annual report on his study group on ‘Gnose et manichéisme’ Michel Tardieu notes that “dans le premier logion du *Keph.* 38, Mani traduit en positif le contenu du logion 17”: *Annuaire de l’École Pratique des Hautes Études, V^e Section—Sciences Religieuses: Résumé des conférences et travaux* 91 (1982–83): 370.

⁴⁷ Klimkeit, “Apocryphal Gospels,” 192–95 (“Die Kenntnis,” 153–55); Ménard, *L’Évangile selon Thomas*, 105; and H.-Ch. Puech, “Saint Paul chez les manichéens d’Asie centrale” in *Idem, Sur le manichéisme et autres essays*, Paris: Flammarion, 1979, 156–57, repr. from *Proceedings of the IXth International Congress of the International Association for the History of Religions*, Tokyo: Maruzen, 1960, 178–79.

⁴⁸ M551 and M789 in Müller, “Handschriftenreste”: 68; M18220 in Sundermann, *Mitteliranische*, 36–41 (= 3.2).

⁴⁹ Funk, “‘Einer aus tausend,’” 71 (author’s emphasis): “Während den einen das EvThom nicht manichäisch genug erscheint, um von Manichäern *benutzt* worden zu sein, erscheint es den anderen zu manichäisch, um nicht von Manichäern *beeinflusst* zu sein.”

⁵⁰ Funk, “‘Einer aus tausend,’” 71–72 (author’s emphasis): “Welche Textfassung des Thomasevangeliums wurde von *welchen* Manichäer benutzt? [...] Ich halte es für wenig wahrscheinlich, dass alle manichäischen Autoren, von denen uns literarische Werke vorliegen, die gleiche Fassung des Thomasevangeliums benutztzen.”

⁵¹ Funk, “‘Einer aus tausend,’” 76–79.

move to the few other instances suggestive of a connection between the *Gos.* *Thom.* and Manichaeism.

It has long been recognised⁵² that logion 5 (“Know what is before your [sg.] sight, and that which is hidden from you [sg.] will become plain to you [sg.]”)⁵³ resembles a passage in Coptic *Kephalaion* 65 (“Recognize [pl.] what is before your [pl.] sight, and that which is hidden to you [pl.] will become plain to you [pl.]”).⁵⁴ Neither Coptic reference, nor the incomplete Greek fragment of *Gos. Thom.* in *Papyrus Oxyrhynchus* 654—“K[now what is in] your (sg.) sight, and [that which is hidden] from you (sg.) will become plain to you (sg.)”⁵⁵—, exactly coincides with the canonical equivalent of the saying (Matthew 10:26 and Mark 4:22). The Coptic sources agree with each other in their use of the uncanonical phrase “before (your) sight” (ΜΗΜΤΟ ΜΠΩΟ), and of the second person, though the *Kephalaion* eschews the *Gos. Thom.*’s use of the singular. The difference may be due to context: the address to Mani’s disciples in the Manichaean text necessitates the plural. The *Gos. Thom.* supplies no context at all, so that one does not know the addressee. Other than this change of persons, Funk finds the two Coptic versions identical as to content, although with some grammatical and semantic variations.⁵⁶ But I think that we may push the difference further. Matthew 10:26 suggests that the Synoptic context is plural (“have no fear of *them*”), indicating that the Manichaean appropriation might be inspired directly by the Matthaean saying. Further—and this may be the most important difference of all—in the *Gos. Thom.* Jesus does the talking, while in the *Kephalaion* it is Mani (‘the apostle’) who reports the word of ‘the saviour,’ then applies it to a most Manichaean theme: “the mystery of the darkness [...] hidden from the sects.” Funk acknowledges that “Die Kürze des Kephalaia-Zitats bringt uns hier um die einzige Chance, ein Zusammensehen mit einer bestimmten Textform in der Überlieferung des Thomasevangeliums

⁵² See Funk, “‘Einer aus tausend,’” 74–75; Ménard, *L’Évangile selon Thomas*, 6; Puech, “Saint Paul,” 216 (1959); and Gardner, *The Kephalaia*, 172 and 307.

⁵³ Layton, ed., *Nag Hammadi Codex II,2–7*, p. 54.12–13: σογων πετηπιπτο μπεκρο ερολ αγω πεθηπτ εροκ ψια6ωλτ ερολ ιακ.

⁵⁴ Ibscher, *Kephalaia*, p. 163.28–29: ΠΗΜΕ απετψωοι πηπιπτο αβαλ ι[π]ετηρο αγω πετηπιπ <γαρ> αρωτηε ια6ωλη ιηπηι ιαχλ.

⁵⁵ P. Oxy 654.27–29 (Layton, *Nag Hammadi Codex II,2–7*, p. 115): γ[νῶθι τὸ ὄν ἔμπροσ] θεν τῆς ὄψεως σου, καὶ [τὸ κεκαλύμμενον] ἀπὸ σου ἀποκαλυφθήσει [τοιί σου]. The fragment, from the mid-third century, points to a different revision than that behind the text of the logia in either *Keph.* or *Gos. Thom.*

⁵⁶ Funk, “‘Einer aus tausend,’” 75.

zu bestimmen.”⁵⁷ Yet its brevity is also part of the problem that disallows an unqualified ascription of the saying in the *Kephalaion* to the *Gos. Thom.*

In the Coptic (there is no extant Greek equivalent), logion 23 reads “Jesus said, ‘I shall choose you, one out of a thousand, and two out of ten thousand, and they shall stand as a single one.’”⁵⁸ The logion’s components (choosing, one out of a thousand, two out of ten thousand) are common enough,⁵⁹ but here Funk⁶⁰ looks to *Kephalaion* 76 (“I chose a few from among the many”),⁶¹ which seems far too ‘generic’ to be of much help here. He also looks to *Keph.* 119 where, after an uncertain preceding line, we have “two in ten thousand after the likeness of the Primal Man”.⁶² One might, he adds, also look to Bema-psalm 220,⁶³ but there the text is lacunary.⁶⁴ Funk views *Kephalaion* 119 as a strong instance of Manichaean appropriation of a *Gos. Thom.* logion, in this case because the aim is to apply it to the calling and (lonely) lifestyle of the Elect.⁶⁵ He offers a new and masterful translation of the *Kephalaion* to support this.⁶⁶ But the issue here is not the precise role given the saying “one out of a thousand, two out of ten thousand” in the Manichaean text; rather, it is where the Manichaeans got the saying. The phrase in logion 23 matches the numbers in Deuteronomy 32:30 (“How else could one man rout a thousand, how could two put ten thousand to flight?”).⁶⁷ Though this would be an unlikely direct source for the Manichaean or the Gnostic use, the example serves

⁵⁷ Funk, “‘Einer aus tausend’,” 75.

⁵⁸ Layton, *Nag Hammadi Codex II*, 2–7, p. 64: περε ἣς καὶ τινας οὐαί εροι 2η ψω ἀγω σταύρου τρά αγω σειασθε ερατοι εγο ουα ουωτ.

⁵⁹ Klimkeit, “Apocryphal Gospels,” 194 (“Die Kenntnis,” 155).

⁶⁰ Funk, “‘Einer aus tausend’,” 85–92.

⁶¹ Ibscher et al., *Kephalaia*, pp. 187.32–188.1: αἴσαται ἡρῷον οὐε αράλ ουτωψ πημηψε. Funk (“‘Einer aus tausend’,” 87) rightly corrects the last word to πημηψε (‘from a crowd’: see p. 187.16 in the same *Kephalaion*).

⁶² Böhlig, *Kephalaia*, p. 285.25: στεγ 2η ουτρα απεινε πημαρρῆπη ιρωμε.

⁶³ Funk, “‘Einer aus tausend’,” 67 and 85.

⁶⁴ Allberry, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, p. 4.19: “which one in a thousand beholds,” followed by a very defective line.

⁶⁵ Funk, “‘Einer aus tausend’,” 88: “Dass ich dem eingangs angedeuteten Vorbehalt zum Trotz nun doch für vertretbar halte, den Gebrauch der Wendung ‘einer aus tausend, zwei aus zehntausend’ in Kap. 119 als Zitat aus dem EvThom anzuführen, liegt daran, dass man dieses ganze Kephalaion in wesentlichen Zügen als eine manichaische Aneigung und Weiterentwicklung des gedanklichen Komplexes von ‘eins/einer sein’ und ‘allein stehen’ kann.”

⁶⁶ Funk, “‘Einer aus tausend’,” 89–90.

⁶⁷ See Funk, “‘Einer aus tausend’,” 85 n. 41.

to show how widespread the components of the logion were,⁶⁸ for they are echoed in Turfan (Parthian) fragment M763: “Chosen and selected are you from many, one from a thousand and two from ten thousand.”⁶⁹ Thus there is no doubt about the expression’s popularity among Manichaeans. That it also circulated beyond Manichaeism precludes a definite conclusion as to its influence upon or by the *Gos. Thom.*

Finally, Funk thinks that in logion 44 we may have the source of a Jesus-saying in the still unedited *Kephalaion* 341,⁷⁰ whose pertinent section he deciphers as:

Whoever blasphemes the Father, it will be forgiven him; whoever blasphemes the Son, it will be forgiven him; but whoever blasphemes the Holy Spirit, it will not be forgiven either on earth or in the heavens, but (he will be) damned under eternal...⁷¹

This seems to be part of a longer saying, but the entire passage is very difficult to read. Nonetheless, Funk’s reading seems accurate: I have checked it against the photographic edition of the manuscript⁷² where it is repeated twice.⁷³ The passage is certainly understood as a Jesus-saying, being introduced by the words “Jesus said:” (ἄπειρος οὐκ εἶ).

Gos. Thom.’s logion 44 reads:

Jesus said: “Whoever blasphemes against the Father will be forgiven, and whoever blasphemes against the Son will be forgiven, but whoever

⁶⁸ See allusions in Josue 23:10 and Isaiah 30:17. Explicit references (referring to Basilides) in Irenaeus, *Aduersus haereses* (1.24.6), Origen, Περὶ ποσχά (1.101), and Epiphanius, *Panarion* (24.5.4); also *Pistis Sophia* 350.21–22.

⁶⁹ Cited in Klimkeit, “Apocryphal Gospels,” 192 (“Die Kenntnis,” 155). The fuller text is supplied in *Idem, Gnosis on the Silk Road: Gnostic Texts from Central Asia*, New York: HarperCollins, 1993, 127–28, trans. of *Hymnen und Gebete der Religion des Lichts: Iranische und türkische liturgische Texte der Manichäer Zentralasiens* (ARWAW, 87), Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1989, 163.

⁷⁰ In the facsimile edition by S. Giversen, *The Manichaean Coptic Papyri in the Chester Beatty Library* 1 (Cahiers d’Orientalisme, 14), Geneva: Patrick Cramer, 1986, plate 278.12–16.

⁷¹ Funk, “‘Einer aus tausend,’” 80. On Funk’s numbering of this *Kephalaion* (2 Keph 416) see his “The Reconstruction of the Manichaean Kephalaia,” in P. Mirecki and J. BeDuhn, eds., *Emerging from Darkness: Studies in the Recovery of Manichaean Sources* (NHMS, 43), Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1997, 159.

⁷² πέταξι οὐα ἀ[πιωτ] | σε[πακω η]εψ αβαλ πέταξι οὐα απιψηρε σενακω η[εψ] | [αβαλ πετ]αξι οὐα ππαλ απιπτα ετογαρε σενακ[ω] | [ηεψ αβα]λ εηι γιχπικα2 ουτε γιχπιογε αλ[αλ ζα] | [φωτιε εφτα]χαϊτ զա[2]ինե φանηε.

⁷³ Giversen, *The Manichaean Coptic Papyri*, plates 305 and 306.

blasphemes against the Holy Spirit will not be forgiven on earth or in heaven.”⁷⁴

The similarity between the two Coptic texts is very striking, especially when one allows for dialectic differences. Funk enumerates as possible reasons for the close resemblance: the influence on both of a gospel harmony such as the *Diatesseron*, a Manichaean appendage to some form of the *Gos. Thom.* logion, or separate though similar sources.⁷⁵ The latter seems to me the most likely possibility. The similarities between the two Coptic renderings persist until one arrives at the phrase ‘in heaven,’ which the *Kephalaion* puts in the plural, adding the phrase “but (he will be) damned under eternal.” Both Coptic sources evoke the Synoptics (Mark 3:29 and par.), none of which, however, mentions the note of blasphemy against the Father. This provides a trinitarian emphasis to the Coptic versions,⁷⁶ an aberration in Coptic Manichaica.⁷⁷ But the *Kephalaion* appears to be conflating Matthew 12:32 (“Whoever says a word against the Son of man will be forgiven; but whoever speaks against the Holy Spirit will not be forgiven, either in this age or in the age to come”), while logion 44 would instead be enlarging on Luke 12:10 (“Everyone who speaks a word against the Son of man will be forgiven; but he who blasphemes against the Holy Spirit will not be forgiven”).⁷⁸

OTHER POSSIBLE CONNECTIONS

In this final section we will look at the—to my mind—only other instances of possible contact between the *Gos. Thom.* and Manichaica, mainly Coptic psalms. The Coptic Manichaean psalter, discovered along with the *Kephalaia* at Medinet Madi in 1930, dates in its present

⁷⁴ Trans. in Layton, *Nag Hammadi Codex II,2–7*, 71. The Coptic reads (p. 70): πεκε τὶς λε πεταχε οὐδα απειωτ’ σενάκω ερολ ηαζ’ αγω πεταχε οὐδα επιφηρε σενάκω ερολ ηαζ’ πεταχε οὐδα δε απιχπια ετογααρ σενάκω αη ερολ ηαζ οὔτε γῆ πικαζ οὔτε γη τηιε. There is no corresponding Greek.

⁷⁵ Funk, “‘Einer aus tausend,’” 84–5.

⁷⁶ Funk, “‘Einer aus tausend,’” 81.

⁷⁷ Rare in the psalter, it is otherwise non-existent in the *Kephalaia*. See Funk, “‘Einer aus tausend,’” 82 n. 32.

⁷⁸ Funk, “‘Einer aus tausend,’” 83, notes a similar Jesus-saying in the *Apocryphon of John*, where it stands alone (“everyone who has blasphemed the Holy Spirit will be punished; they will be tortured with eternal punishment”).

form from *ca.* 340, but the collections from which it was compiled probably hark back to Syriac originals at the end of the third century.⁷⁹

Paul Mirecki and Hans-Jonas Klimkeit⁸⁰ see affinities of logion 1 (“whoever finds the interpretation of these sayings will not experience death”)⁸¹ with both a Manichaean Psalm of the Wanderers (“he that will know you shall not taste [κι τιε] death”)⁸² and a Turfan fragment.⁸³ But the saying in its Manichaean form also recalls Matthew 16:28 and John 8:52, and it is particularly on the latter that it seems to rely;⁸⁴ for John 8:52 is certainly reflected in the psalm’s next line: “But he has his rest in life forever and ever.” The opposite, tasting life, is found in another psalm of the same collection (“Taste and know that the Lord is sweet”),⁸⁵ recalling Psalm 34 (Vulgate 33):8 or (more likely) I Peter 2:3. The theme’s application in a third Psalm of the Wanderers is arresting, but brings us still further away from the logion: “Death tasted life, but life tasted death.”⁸⁶ In any event, I look to the canonical New Testament as a source at least as plausible as the *Gos. Thom.* for the Manichaean rendering of the saying.

A Psalm of Heracleides (“The grey-haired old men—the little children instruct them. They who are six years old instruct those who are sixty years old”)⁸⁷ has the same idea as logion 4,⁸⁸ although the chronologies have changed (“The man old in days will not hesitate to ask a

⁷⁹ Junod and Kaestli, *L’histoire*, 81; Kaestli, “L’utilisation,” 114–15.

⁸⁰ P. A. Mirecki, “Coptic Manichaean Psalm 278 and Gospel of Thomas 37” in Tongerloo and Giversen, eds., *Manichaica Selecta*, 255 n. 19; and Klimkeit, “Apocryphal Gospels,” 195 (“Die Kenntnis,” 156).

⁸¹ Layton, *Nag Hammadi Codex II*, 2–7, p. 52.13–14: πεταγε εθερμηνεια πιπειωσαχε φηακι τιε αι πιπιου. Greek (P. Oxy 654, in Layton, p. 113): [δος ἀν τὴν ἐρμηνεῖ] αν τῶν λόγων τούτ [ων εὔρῃ, θανάτου] οὐ μὴ γεύσηται.

⁸² Allberry, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, p. 185.23: πετηασπιογωῆ γαρ φακι τιε ει πιπιου.

⁸³ T II D II 134 (= M5815) I, in W. B. Henning, “Mittleiranische Manichaica aus Chinesisch-Turkestan” 3, SPAW, Jhg. 1934: 856, repr. in *Idem, Selected Papers*, [283].

⁸⁴ So Puech, “The Gospel of Mani,” 401–10 (German: 320–29), who also sees a connection with Mani’s *Letter of the Foundation* (CSEL 25/1, p. 206.20): “numquam erit morti obnoxius.”

⁸⁵ Allberry, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, p. 158.18.

⁸⁶ Allberry, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, p. 172.8–9.

⁸⁷ S. G. Richter, *Die Herakleides-Psalmen* (CFM, Series Coptica, I: Liber Psalmorum, Pars II, fasc. 2), Turnhout: Brepols, 1998, p. 68 (= Allberry, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, p. 192.3–4): ιιωλλαὶ να πικκιν πικογι ιιλλογ ηεττ̄ σρω νεγ να τ̄σε πραμπε ηεττ̄ σρω πιιν τ̄σε πραμπε.

⁸⁸ Noted by Ménard, *L’Évangile selon Thomas*, 6.

small child seven days old...").⁸⁹ I have searched the rest of the Coptic Manichaica in vain for allusions to old men consulting infants of any age, and for another association of the numbers six (coe) and sixty (ce). Though the ideas between the logion and the Manichaean psalm are undoubtedly similar, the difference in numbers seems to preclude a direct influence of one upon the other.⁹⁰

Commentators⁹¹ have noted a possible parallel between logion 19 (“For there are five trees for you in Paradise, which remain undisturbed in summer and winter”)⁹² and another Psalm of the Wanderers (“For [five] are the trees in Paradise... in summer and winter”).⁹³ The lacuna in the Manichaean version may correspond to the clause “which remain undisturbed” in logion 19, but that is all that can be affirmed, save that the ‘five trees’ is a common enough image in Manichaeism, but linked nowhere else to summer/winter imagery.⁹⁴

In another Psalm of Heracleides (278) we read: “The word [or: saying] of Jesus the Saviour came to [me, as is?] fitting. The vain garment of this flesh I put off (healthy and holy!); I caused the clean feet of my soul to trample confidently upon it; the gods who are clothed with Christ, with them I stood in line.”⁹⁵ But it is unclear that the text following ‘fitting’ is attributable to anyone but the psalmist, who has been recounting a dire situation (lines 4–8) from which he cried out for the help (9a) that, though unworthy (9b–25), he has received.

⁸⁹ Layton, *Nag Hammadi Codex II*, 2–7, p. 54.6–7: φιλανθαρία ἀντὶ ποιησεῖς ἔλλοντος τῆς ιεροφύγου εχεις ογκογει τιμηρές φυτήν εὐρητήν. Here the Greek resembles the Coptic: P. Oxy 654 (Layton, p. 115): οὐκ ἀποκνήσει ἄνθρωπος παλαιός ήμερών ἐπερωτήσει παιδίον ἐπτά ή μερώς...

⁹⁰ S. G. Richter, *Exegetisch-literarkritische Untersuchungen von Herakleidespsalmen des koptisch-manichäischen Psalmenbuches* (Arbeiten zum spätantiken und koptischen Ägypten, 5), Altenberge: Oros Verlag, 1994, 168–69, speaks of a ‘Verwandschaft,’ but mainly demonstrates uses in antiquity of the ‘child’ and ‘seven day’ themes. See Mirecki, “Coptic Manichaean Psalm,” 255 n. 39; and Ménard, *L’Évangile selon Thomas*, 2.

⁹¹ E.g., Ménard, *L'Évangile selon Thomas*, 107.

⁹² Layton, *Nag Hammadi Codex II*, 2-7, p. 60.21-22: οὐπτικῆς γαρ τίμας ήτού πάσιν τῇ παράδιος εσεκίνη καὶ πάσιν τίτιρω. There is no corresponding Greek.

⁹³ Allberry, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, p. 161.17–18: τογ] γαρ πάμιν οετζηπαρ
αλις οο... αε γη πιωμιν αγω μηπτρω.

⁹⁴ On the latter see Allberry, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, pp. 93.17, 94.20, and 156.18.

⁹⁵ Allberry, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, p. 99.26–30, with emendations by Mirecki, “Coptic Manichaean Psalm,” 253. Coptic text in Richter, *Die Herakleides-Psalmen*, p. 24 (= Allberry, *op. cit.*, p. 99.26–30): πεσεχε πήπις πρεψωτε αλφωτε ἀ[.....] ε[γ]ραμε· τωτην ἐτωφούττητε ταρξ ἀβωφ[τ] πῆμας εῖογαχ εῖογακε· αἴτρε πουρητε ἐτσατά πᾶγκγχι κων αλως 2η ογκαθηφ πηούτε ἐτβαλε πηεχρις αἴτωκ αρετ ιηηευ απωδημε.

The saying, then, would not be ascribed to Jesus. More, the psalmist appears to add a value-judgment ('fitting'). The saying (σέχε) "is a variation of a traditional saying already known in various forms and in several sources."⁹⁶ The best known of these is the *Gos. Thom.*'s logion 37 which reads in the Coptic (the Greek here is very defective): "Jesus said, 'When you disrobe (ψάκετε) without being ashamed and take up your garments and place them under your feet like little children and tread (χοριζτε) on them, then [will you see] the son of the living one and you will not be afraid.'"⁹⁷ The verb χοριζτε appears only once in the (published) Manichaean psalter, in a Jesus-psalm with a very different context.⁹⁸ The notion of treading is explicit in the Heracleides psalm which, with its different verb ζωμ (entirely absent from the Coptic *Gos. Thom.*),⁹⁹ ascribes the feet to the *soul*, rather than regarding them as mere physical extremities. That, in Paul Mirecki's words, "The psalmist retains the awkward anthropomorphic image of human feet when describing the soul despite its radical inappropriateness to Manichaean theological sensibilities,"¹⁰⁰ suggests that the saying is not a Manichaean creation.¹⁰¹ The saying goes on to make the identification 'garment = flesh' explicit. The idea of 'trampling' or 'treading' (ζωμ) is probably a reference to the 'old man' once it has been put off or stripped away (κυω).¹⁰² Still, it is not the theme of the old/new man, nor even than of trampling, that is of primary interest here, but

⁹⁶ Mirecki, "Coptic Manichaean Psalm," 254.

⁹⁷ Layton, *Nag Hammadi Codex II,2–7*, p. 68: περὶ τὸ κεῖται εὐτελῆσακεν τηγτὴ εἴδη πιπετῆσιν αἷς πτετὶντι πιπετῆσθην πτετῆκαλγ δι πεστὴ πιπετῶγερητε οὐοε πιποκογει πιφηρε φινὶ πτετῆκοπᾶπι μηοογ τοτε [τετ]ημαλγ * επιφηρε πιπετονὶ αἷς τετηλγ κοτε αη.

⁹⁸ χεπχωτ in Jesus-psalm 258 (Allberry, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, p. 70.5).

⁹⁹ The word appears six times in the Coptic Manichaean psalter, e.g., in a Jesus-psalm (261) that expresses these ideas in terms somewhat similar to the *Gos. Thom.* logion (Allberry, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, p. 76.13–15): "the evil form, I am not afraid of it, this consumer of souls that is full of Error, of which the godless are afraid, the ministers of God have trampled (ζωμ) upon it." See Jesus-Psalm 254 (Allberry, *op. cit.*, p. 64.23–24): "You have thrown upon the earth the garment of sickness; you have trodden (ζωμ) on overweening pride which is deceitful and cruel."

¹⁰⁰ Mirecki, "Coptic Manichaean Psalm," 259.

¹⁰¹ The only other Manichaean parallel I know is in a Middle Persian fragment of the *Book of Giants*: "Again he purified the mind... And he stripped it of greed, derision..., death": W. Sundermann, "Ein weiteres Fragment aus Manis Gigantenbuch," in *Orientalia J. Duschesne-Guillemain emerito oblate*, Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1984, 504.

¹⁰² As in Jesus-psalm 250 (Allberry, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, p. 59.3 and 8): "The plasma of the earth I will put off (κυω) [...] I will strip (κυω) myself of the world." See Ménard, *L'Évangile selon Thomas*, 137 and 159.

the notion of *stripping off*, an idea that appears close to our context in two Manichaean psalms: “strip (κωψ) yourself of the world”,¹⁰³ and “Hail, resurrection of the dead, new Aeon of the souls of men, who has stripped (κωψ) us of the Old Man and put on the New Man [...] for there is no one in this flesh who is safe from the sin in his heart”.¹⁰⁴ All is stated in the first person singular, as opposed to the direct, plural address of the *Gos. Thom.* This is because the latter is didactic, while the Manichaean ‘saying’ is narrative, describing the result of the soul’s liberation. At most, there is an elaboration of the logion’s terms in the Manichaean appropriation—if appropriation there is.¹⁰⁵

CONCLUSION

Apocryphal biblical literature was undoubtedly part of Mani’s religious storehouse, intended—like the parts of the New Testament canon his movement accepted—to serve the task of meeting Manichaean agendas; that is, apocrypha could be quoted, sometimes adapted, possibly even created, as missionary objectives dictated. If that is a given, care has to be taken when tracking the transmission of particular—and in the present instance, all too brief—texts. In every case of an echo of pseudepigrapha (or, for that matter, canonica) in Manichaean sources, a context is always provided: unlike in the *Gos. Thom.*, there are no stand-alone sayings.

Is it a problem that no Manichaean source explicitly mentions a gospel attributed to Thomas? Given the indisputable Manichaean reference to other New Testament pseudepigrapha (none of them explicitly identified, either), the silence proves nothing either way. That Manichaeans used the *Gos. Thom.* (at least, in some form) remains a possibility, but only that. The suggested points of contact between Manichaeism and the *Gos. Thom.* are simply too imprecise or too incomplete to advance the conclusion that Manichaeans referred directly to—still less influenced—the *Gos. Thom.* as it has come down to us, but only that they had access to one or more collections of sayings of Jesus akin to the

¹⁰³ Psalm of the Wanderers (Allberry, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, p. 167.49).

¹⁰⁴ Bema-Psalm 229 (Allberry, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, p. 25.12–14, 21–22).

¹⁰⁵ S. G. Richter takes Mirecki to task over the latter’s insistence that there is an appropriation, in *Die Aufstiegspsalmen des Herakleides: Untersuchungen zum Seelenaufstieg und zur Seelenmesse bei den Manichäern* (Sprachen und Kulturen des christlichen Orients, 1), Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 1997, 139–41.

Gos. Thom., some of whose sayings they shared.¹⁰⁶ Of the 114 logia of the *Gos. Thom.*, only three (5, 19, and 23) really suggest some sort of affinity with Manichaean sources (at least, Coptic ones); and there the similarities could be due to a single common source, to separate collections, or to independent logia ('wandering sayings,' to use Blatz's expression).¹⁰⁷ For there is no reason to think that any of the sayings shared by the *Gos. Thom.* and Manichaean documents were their private preserve.

¹⁰⁶ Privately, Wolf-Peter Funk has pointed out that if the Jesus sayings in Manichaica did not come directly from the *Gos. Thom.*, we are left with the problem that they appear in no other extant sayings collection. Perhaps not; but some of them do appear individually. Such are logia 23 (see above, pp. 131–32) and 44 (above, pp. 132–33).

¹⁰⁷ Blatz, "The Coptic Gospel of Thomas," 112 (German: 95). See Funk, "'Einer aus tausend,'" 72–4.

PART THREE
WOMEN IN MANICHAEISM

CHAPTER NINE

PROLEGOMENA TO A STUDY OF WOMEN IN MANICHAEISM

The word ‘prolegomena’ did not find its way lightly to my title, but it is apt. There was even a moment when I thought of adding ‘Virgin Territory’ as a subtitle and a means of emphasizing how inattentive scholars have been to the place of women in a religion associated in the modern mind with extreme dualistic asceticism. This scholarly oversight strikes me as strange for several reasons. First, because it is as much a commonplace to hold Augustine of Hippo responsible for many of current Christianity’s perceived shortcomings where the role of women is concerned,¹ as it is to ascribe his own perceived ‘misogyny’ to his never quite repudiated Manichaean loyalties.² Yet no one has bothered to winkle out what Manichaeism itself *really* had to say on the subject of women.

A second reason why the silence is puzzling is the attention scholars have devoted in recent decades to women and the feminine in Gnosticism.³ Whether or not Manichaeism really constitutes Gnosticism’s final performance on the stage of late classical antiquity,⁴ there are

¹ See, for example, V. L. Bullough, *The Subordinate Sex: A History of Attitudes toward Women*, Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1973, 97–120.

² See E. Pagels, *Adam, Eve, and the Serpent*, New York: Random House, 1988, chap. 5; J. van Oort, “Augustine and Mani on concupiscentia sexualis,” in J. den Boeft and J. van Oort, eds., *Augustiniana Traiectina: Communications présentées au Colloque international d’Utrecht, 13–14 novembre 1986*, Paris: Études Augustiniennes, 1987, 137–52; and Bullough, *The Subordinate Sex*, 118.

³ For example, see J. J. Buckley, *Female Fault and Fulfillment in Gnosticism*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1986; the articles collected in K. L. King, ed., *Images of the Feminine in Gnosticism*, Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1988; and G. Casadio, “Donna e simboli femminili nella gnosi del II secolo,” in U. Mattioli, ed., *La donna nel pensiero cristiano antico*, Genoa: Marietti, 1992, 305–29 (including an interesting bibliographical note).

⁴ This is the view of K. Rudolph, “Mani und die Gnosis,” in P. Bryder, ed., *Manichaean Studies: Proceedings of the First Conference on Manichaeism, August 5–9, 1987, Department of History of Religions, Lund University, Sweden* (LSAAR, 1), Lund: Plus Ultra, 1988, 194: “Ergebt sich ohne Zweifel, daß Mani der christlich gnostischen Tradition verpflichtet ist. Daher ist in den letzten Jahren mit Recht um Manichäismus als einer gnostischen Weltreligion gesprochen worden.”

undeniable points of similarity between the two,⁵ but so far the affinities have failed to move anyone to compare their understanding of women. And a third component in the mystery is that the authors of those studies that address women in medieval ‘Neo-Manichaean’ sects have not attempted to ferret out parallels among the Manichaean roots whence the medieval groups purportedly sprang.⁶

Still, the ‘Manichaean’ (or ‘Neo-Manichaean’) label at least serves to remind how readily conventional wisdom affixes it to any *méprise* of women, the body, and sexuality.⁷ One might be excused, therefore, for concluding that the usual accusations against a movement as ascetical as this one is considered to have been—particularly in its cosmogony and related moral code—must imply an undervaluing of woman as both symbol and reality.⁸ Such seems to be the inference of Henry Chadwick’s curt summation: in the Manichaean creation theory, he says, “the differentiation of gender [is] a particularly diabolical invention.”⁹

⁵ So D. McBride, “Egyptian Manichaeism,” *Journal for the Society of the Study of Egyptian Antiquities* 18 (1988): 80–98, esp. 92–3.

⁶ See R. Abels and E. Harrison, “The Participation of Women in Languedocian Catharism,” *Mediaeval Studies* 41 (1979): 215–51 (with numerous bibliographical references); also G. Koch, *Frauenfrage und Ketzertum im Mittelalter: die Frauenbewegung im Rahmen des Katholizismus und des Waldenseriums und ihrer sozialen Wurzeln, 12.–14. Jahrhundert* (Forschungen zur mittelalterlichen Geschichte 9), Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1962; J. Duvernoy, *Le Catharisme: la religion des Cathares*, Toulouse: Privat, 1976, 264–65; and esp. A. Brenon, *Les femmes cathares*, Paris: Perrin, 1992.

⁷ For instance, L. F. Cervantes, in “Woman,” *New Catholic Encyclopedia* 14 (New York: McGraw Hill, 1967), 994, confines his remarks on the subject to the following: “The irony of accusing the early Church of antifeminism is that there was a curious and powerful force in the world, outside and in opposition to, historical Christianity, that was undoubtedly antisexual, antifeminine, and antifamilial. This was Manichaeism...” See also P. Brown, *The Body and Society: Men, Women and Sexual Renunciation in Early Christianity*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1988, 200–01 and 391–92.

⁸ Again, there is surprisingly little literature that directly addresses Manichaean asceticism, a topic most seem to have taken for granted. See J. K. Coyle, *Augustine’s “De moribus ecclesiae catholicae”: A Study of the Work, its Composition and its Sources* (Paradosis, 25) Fribourg, Switzerland: The University Press, 1978, 194 n. 733, for bibliography available to 1975; and now S. N. C. Lieu, *Manichaeism in the Later Roman Empire and Medieval China*, 2nd ed. (WUZNT, 63), Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1992 (1985), 180–87.

⁹ H. Chadwick, “The Attractions of Mani,” *Compostellanum* 34 (1989): 213 n. 71, repr. in *Idem, Heresy and Orthodoxy in the Early Church* (Collected Studies Series, CS342), Aldershot: Variorum Reprints, 1991. See also H. C. Puech, “La conception manichéenne du salut,” in *Idem, Le manichéisme et autres essais*, Paris: Flammarion, 1979, 26–7.

But what do modern assertions such as this have to do with the reality of women Manichaeans? This question, as I see it, would ultimately engage three lines of inquiry: Manichaeism's idea of femaleness; its view of women in general; and the role(s) to which its female followers were permitted access. The last line will be lightly addressed here, in the framework of delineating considerations that need to be taken into account in any serious scholarly approach to the question. These considerations are: the data already available, the methodology to be assumed, and the indicators for future research.

1. WHAT IS KNOWN

Despite the obvious difficulties in gleaning information from primary sources that are now lacunary at best and seldom seem to give specific attention to the topic of women, some constants do appear:

1.1. We know for a fact that there were women Manichaeans, and that like their male counterparts they were divided into Hearers¹⁰ and

¹⁰ Coptic *Kephalaion* 115 refers to female catechumens: see A. Böhlig, *Kephalaia, 2. Hälfte (Lieferung 11–1, Seite 244–291)* (MHSMB, 1), Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1966, p. 279.14; English in I. Gardner, *The Kephalia of the Teacher: The Edited Coptic Manichaean Texts in Translation with Commentary* (NHMS, 37), Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1995, 283. See also verses 342–344 of the British Museum's Chinese hymn scroll (Or. 8210 / Or. S.2659) titled *Moni jiao xia bu zan* ("The Lower [or Second] Section of the Manichaean Hymns") in H. Schmidt-Glintzer, *Chinesische Manichaica* (SOR, 14), Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1987, 53. In two Middle Persian documents from Turfan the reader finds *niyōšačān* = 'female hearer,' *auditrix*: M 801a in W. B. Henning, "Ein manichäisches Bet- und Beichtbuch," APAW, Jhg. 1936, Abh. 10: 25; and M. Boyce, *A Reader in Manichaean Middle Persian and Parthian: Texts with Notes* (AI, 9, 3e série: Textes et mémoires, 2), Leiden: E. J. Brill / Teheran and Liège: Bibliothèque Pahlavi, 1975, 153 and 156; another German translation in H. J. Klimkeit, *Hymnen und Gebete der Religion des Lichts: Iranische und türkische liturgische Texte der Manichäer Zentralasiens* (ARWAW, 79), Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1989, 167 and 170; in English, *Idem, Gnosis on the Silk Road: Gnostic Texts from Central Asia*, San Francisco: Harper, 1993, 134 and 136. The other document is M 1 (8th/9th cent.) in F. W. K. Müller, "Ein Doppelblatt aus einem manichäischen Hymnenbuch (*Mahrnamâg*)," APAW, Jhg. 1912, Abh. 5: 14–5 (see 34–6); another German translation in Klimkeit, *Hymnen*, 197. See also T. M. 164 (Proto Turkish) R, line 6 and V, line 3 (*niyōšakanč*), in A. von Le Coq, "Türkische Manichaica aus Chotscho" 3, APAW Jhg. 1922, Abh. 2: 41–2.

Elect.¹¹ The existence of both groups is attested by Manichaeans themselves, as well as by Christian opponents.¹²

1.2. On the other hand, nothing has yet come to light to unequivocally demonstrate that women held rank in the three-tiered Manichaeian hierarchy of presbyters, bishops, and apostles.¹³ Nor do they appear to have shared the rootlessness that often characterized male Elect,¹⁴ at least in the West.¹⁵ And no evidence has yet emerged that women

¹¹ *Electae* are shown in frescoes (9/10 cent.) at Kara Kotscho in Chinese Turkestan; see H. J. Klimkeit, *Manichaean Art and Calligraphy* (Iconography of Religions 20), Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1982, 44–5, ill. 41a and 43; A. von Le Coq, *Chotscho: Facsimile Wiedergaben der wichtigeren Funde der ersten königlich preussischen Expedition nach Turfan in Ost Turkistan*, Berlin: Dietrich Reimer und Ernst Vohsen, 1913 (repr. Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1979), plate 3a; *Idem*, *Die Manichäischen Miniaturen* (Die buddhistische Spätantike in Mittelasien, 2), Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, 1923 (repr. Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1973), 36–7 and plate 2.

¹² See Ephrem, *Fifth Discourse to Hypatius*, in C. W. Mitchell, *S. Ephraim's Prose Refutations of Mani, Marcion and Bardaisan* 1, London and Oxford: Williams and Northgate, 1912, p. 128.2 (English, p. xciii); and the second Greek formula of abjuration (PG 1, c. 1468). Augustine refers several times to Manichaeian *sanctimoniales*, even providing the name of one of them (*De haeresibus* 46, CCL 46, p. 315.73): “Eusebiām quandam manichaeam quasi sanctimoniale...” See the reference to women Elect in a letter ascribed to Theonas, bishop of Alexandria, ca. 300 (Papyrus Rylands 469, ff. 31 32) in C. H. Roberts, *Catalogue of the Greek and Latin Papyri in the John Rylands Library, Manchester* 3, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1938, 42 and 45; also in A. Adam, *Texte zum Manichäismus*, Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1954, 53.

¹³ On these ranks see Coyle, *Augustine's "De moribus,"* 348–51. In Turfan fragment M 801a women Elect are named after all the ranking males, including male Elect: see Klimkeit, *Hymnen*, 172 (*Idem*, *Gnosis*, 137); and Henning, “Ein manichäisches”: 24–5. The only text that might indicate higher ranks for women is the ambiguous passage (85 c22) of the Chinese treatise (ca. 900) first edited by Chavannes and Pelliot, “Un traité manichéen retrouvé en Chine” I, *Journal Asiatique X^e série*, t. XVIII (1911): 585: “and the community of the Four Groups, men and women...” (also in Schmidt-Glintzer, *Chinesische Manichaica*, 101). This document, known as the “Compendium of Mani, the Buddha of Light” (*Moni quang fo jiao fa i lüeh*, British Museum Or. S.3969), and written in 731 C.E. according to Schmidt-Glintzer, *op. cit.*, 73, or in 724 according to G. Haloun and W. B. Henning, “The Compendium of the Doctrines and Styles of the Teaching of Mani, the Buddha of Light,” *Asia Major* n.s. 3, part 2 (1952): 198 n. 4, refers to these groups (the fifth comprises the Hearers) again in verses 80 b27 c6 (Schmidt Glintzer *loc. cit.*, 73; Haloun and Henning, *op. cit.*, 195).

¹⁴ What Abels and Harrison affirm of Catharism (“The Participation”: 226) also seems applicable to Manichaeans, even if no true historical link exists between the two groups: “Clearly, then, *perfectae* were far less active than their male counterparts. A partial explanation may be in the nature of their respective activities. While the *perfecti*, especially the bishops and deacons (positions filled only by men), traveled extensively, preaching and administering the *consolamentum*, female perfects [...], by and large, did not.” In fact, the Cathar *perfectae* seem to have become wanderers only after the Inquisition made their settled communal lifestyle impossible.

¹⁵ One must therefore be wary of Brown’s assertion (*The Body and Society*, 202) that “throughout the late third and fourth centuries, Paul and Thecla walked the roads of

exercised ‘special’ ministries carried out by the Elect, such as preacher, lector, scribe, or cantor.¹⁶

1.3. Yet Manichaean literature offers no explicitly ‘misogynistic’ texts. There is none of the “devil’s gateway” rhetoric of a Tertullian,¹⁷ nor even—whatever its intended meaning—the Gnostic symbol of the female having to become male in order to attain perfection, as in the *Gospel of Thomas*.¹⁸ A well known passage in a Coptic Manichaean Jesus psalm appears to be directed against the Christian doctrine of Incarnation, rather than against women and/or childbirth *per se*:

Shall I lay waste a kingdom that I may furnish a woman’s [womb]?...
Thy holy womb is the Luminaries that conceive thee.
The trees and the fruits—in them is thy holy body.¹⁹

While, as we have seen Chadwick observe, sexual differentiation was to Manichaean thinking probably not a good thing,²⁰ Manichaeans seem to have resigned themselves to its inevitability; and women, their child-bearing capabilities notwithstanding,²¹ were not only tolerated in the Coptic Manichaean tradition, but specific women were even revered.²²

Syria together, in the form of the little groups of ‘Elect’ men and women, moving from city to city. As members of the ‘Elect,’ Manichaean women traveled on long missionary journeys with their male peers.” What sources support this? But see “Women and Manichaeism’s Mission to the Roman Empire” in this volume.

¹⁶ See Turfan fragment M 801a (Boyce, *A Reader*, 158; Klimkeit, *Hymnen*, 172; *idem*, *Gnosis*, 137). But see also below, n. 24.

¹⁷ Tert., *De cultu feminarum* 1.1.2 (CCL 1, p. 343.16).

¹⁸ *GosThom.* logion 114. On this motif see K. Aspren, *The Male Woman: A Feminine Ideal in the Early Church* (Uppsala Women’s Studies, A: Women in Religion 4), Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1990, esp. chap. 8; also F. Wisse, “Flee Femininity: Antifemininity in Gnostic Texts and the Question of Social Milieu,” in King, ed., *Images*, 297–307, repr. in D. M. Scholer, ed., *Gnosticism in the Early Church* (Studies in Early Christianity 5), New York and London: Garland Publishing, 1993, 161–71. This theme was apparently shared by Cathars: see Duvernoy, *Le Catharisme* 98–9 and 265.

¹⁹ C. R. C. Allberry, *A Manichaean Psalm Book, Part II* (MMCBC, 2), Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1938, p. 121.29–32; see also 52.22–26 and 122.19–25.

²⁰ See Coptic *Kephalaion* 41, in H. Ibscher, H. J. Polotsky and A. Böhlig, *Kephalaia: 1. Hälfte, (Lieferung 1–10)* (MHSMB, 1), Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1940, p. 105.31–33; English in Gardner, *The Kephalaia*, 110; also Augustine, *De continentia* 10.24 (CSEL 41, p. 171.8–10).

²¹ On the Manichaean notion of conception and gestation see R. Kasser, “Sagesse de Mani célébre ou manifestée,” *Bulletin de la Société d’Archéologie copte* 30 (1991): 36–8.

²² Such is inferred in the Kellis materials: see I. Gardner, “The Manichaean Community at Kellis: A Progress Report,” in P. Mirecki and J. BeDuhn, eds., *Emerging*

(Still, women do not figure very much in the Manichaean ‘biographies’ of their founder.)²³

1.4. The absence of specifically ‘misogynistic’ literature suggests, in fact, that Manichaeans were no more ‘anti women’ than any other religious group of their time(s), and possibly less so than some. But if there was no blatant ‘misogyny’ as such in Manichaeism, there also appears to have been less scope for female than male initiative. There is no clear indication of a woman having authored any of its literature,²⁴ nor of women’s independent missionary activity.

1.5. In contrast to Gnostic speculation, the female figure Psychè/Sophia of Manichaeism has never fallen.²⁵ Here Douglas Parrot suggests an interesting avenue of research, as he speculates on why this figure was the one to fall in Gnostic reflection: “It seems to me that the reason was that the Gnostics found that a basic conviction about women converged with their basic attitude about the soul. They were therefore able to use the story of a female to tell about the soul [...] becoming male.”²⁶ If what he says rings true, might not the omission of a feminine symbol of a ‘fall’ which, after all, Manichaeans held to be real, indicate a different attitude toward both the soul and the female? However that question should be answered, one cannot exclude the possibility of Gnostic influences on the role certain female

from *Darkness: Studies in the Recovery of Manichaean Sources* (NHMS, 43), Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1997, 170 and 174.

²³ Jan Bremmer may have lapsed into generalization when he says, in “Why Did Early Christianity Attract Upper Class Women?,” in A. A. R. Bastiaensen, A. Hilhorst and C. H. Kneepens, eds., *Fructus Centesimus: Mélanges offerts à Gerard J.M. Bartelink à l’occasion de son soixante cinquième anniversaire* (Instrumenta Patristica, 19), Steenbrugge, Belgium: in Abbatia S. Petri, 1989, 39: “Mani also paid attention to women, who proved to be so important for his religion that the Manichaean tradition related the simultaneous conversion of his father Pattikios and an unnamed woman.” He refers here to the Cologne Mani Codex, 117, and the commentary of A. Henrichs and L. Koenen in “Der Kölner Mani Codex (P. Colon. inv. nr. 4780),” *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 44 (1981): 308.

²⁴ Although, on phonetic grounds, Peter Bryder considers verses 120–153 of the Chinese hymn scroll (Schmidt Glintzer, *Chinesische Manichaica*, 26–9) to have been composed by a Manichaean ‘teacher’ named Maria, “contrary to earlier translations” (E mail message of August 9, 1994, ID <01HFP6S66UJE000RC6\$gemini.ldc.lu.se>).

²⁵ See “Mary Magdalene in Manichaeism?” in this volume. On Sophia’s Fall in *The Wisdom of Jesus Christ* see C. Barry, “La dynamique de l’histoire dans un traité gnostique de Nag Hammadi, *La Sagesse de Jésus Christ*,” *Le Muséon* 105 (1992): 267–68; more generally, G. C. Stead, “The Valentinian Myth of Sophia,” *JTS* n.s. 20 (1969): 75–104; and P. Perkins, “Sophia as Goddess in the Nag Hammadi Codices,” in King, ed., *Images*, 96–112.

²⁶ D. M. Parrot, response to M. Scopello in King, ed., *Images* 93–4.

figures are given in Manichaeism, including Mary, Martha, Salome, and Arsinoe.²⁷

2. HERMENEUTICAL CONSIDERATIONS

There are, of course, principles of interpretation to be applied in any scholarly endeavour. But what principles are particularly germane to a study like this, especially given the dearth of previous work on the subject? Though far from exhaustive, here is a list of hermeneutical considerations the researcher ought to bear in mind:

2.1. In 1992 Winsome Munro wrote:

Crucial to feminist scholarship is obviously its selection of subjects for investigation. Who and what to notice or overlook, what questions to ask, what to leave unasked, what to highlight or ignore, all have much to do with the life stance, values, and interest of the researcher. Feminist scholars consciously bring their stance with them into their scholarship. The stance of androcentric scholars, on the other hand, is almost always unconscious, because androcentrism is still the unacknowledged norm that passes for objectivity in New Testament scholarship as elsewhere in the academy.²⁸

Conscious or not, androcentrism must be counted among the hazards the would-be investigator could risk. There are other perils as well; that, for example, of forgetting that Manichaeism was a phenomenon marked by great geographical diversity and impressive longevity, encompassing in both respects a vista more sweeping than Gnosticism ever did. It would therefore be too much to expect to find, throughout Manichaeism's entire tenure, a single, homogeneous approach to a matter with such practical implications as the role of women. Should evidence eventually come to light to alter the observations made in the first section of this article, any definitively identified witnesses must

²⁷ They appear together in the Coptic Psalms of Thôm (Allberry, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, pp. 192.21–24 and 194.19–22). Mary, Salome, and Arsenoe are named together in Turfan fragment M 18 (Parthian), verse 3 (Müller, "Handschriften Reste": 35; Boyce, *A Reader*, 126; another German translation in Klimkeit, *Hymnen*, 109; English in *Idem, Gnosis*, 70); and—probably influenced by Mark 16:1—"Mariam, Shalom, Mariam" are mentioned on the reverse side of the same fragment (Müller, *art. cit.*: 34, Klimkeit, *loc. cit.*, and Boyce, *loc. cit.*).

²⁸ W. Munro, "Women Disciples: Light from Secret Mark," *Journal of Feminist Studies in Religion* 8 (1992): 47.

still be placed within a range of religious, social, and anthropological assumptions differing according to the contemporary societies of which Manichaeism was a component.

2.2. Careful reflection is also required before extrapolating from the recoverable elements of defunct cultures to self-assured assertions regarding a smaller group within those cultures. It is no exaggeration to stress that the elements that particularize a smaller group are precisely those that distinguish it from the larger, surrounding community. We may not assume, for instance, that we know all about women in mystery religions simply because we have recovered considerable data about women in Greco-Roman society; just as knowing about Collyridians would not necessarily provide much general information about women of fourth century Roman Arabia.

In the case of Manichaean women, the alternative would be to assume that their coreligionists viewed them (or that they saw themselves) in the same way women lived and were regarded in contiguous societies of the ancient world. That would be an assumption in search of a foundation, since the available details about Manichaean social life are both sparse and inconclusive.²⁹ Moreover, the assumption, as phrased, itself supposes one or more of three implausible scenarios: that women did not exercise different social roles in different areas of the ancient world; that they all shared the same or similar views regarding their societal role; and that such common views remained constant throughout Manichaeism's entire existence, from the third to the fourteenth centuries, and in diverse cultural settings, ranging from North Africa to China.

Besides, the assumption would merely lead to a still broader line of interrogation: how did Manichaeism itself fit into those various ancient societies wherein it moved? Or, as François Decret has put it,

Nos nouveaux philosophes et théologiens, avec la formation plus modeste qui est souvent la leur, tentent habituellement [...] de dresser un sys-

²⁹ Pace Madeleine Scopello, who asserts in “Jewish and Greek Heroines in the Nag Hammadi Library,” in King, ed., *Images*, 87 (see also Scopello, *Femme, Gnose et Manichéisme*, 174) that “It is a matter of fact that we lack texts describing common gnostic ways of life, their habits and daily customs. So, it is more difficult than with other groups of people, for example, the Manicheans, to learn about the style of life they lived and, as is our purpose here, to know which roles women played in gnostic ‘society’ and, more specifically, in the society of their time.” Scopello goes on to suggest (90) that women would have been attracted to Gnosticism in part “by a mythology where feminine figures played such an important role.”

tème, une sorte d'épure doctrinale, dégage des contingences de l'histoire. Exercices fort vains, en réalité, que ces «montages» prétendent, à travers des opuscules, présenter, exposer *le manichéisme*, un manichéisme coupé de tout substrat d'époque et de région, un manichéisme a-historique et de nulle part. Or, l'hésiologue Saint Épiphane ne qualifiait il pas la secte d'*«hérésie à plusieurs têtes»* et de *«serpent polychrome se confondant avec le milieu qui l'entoure»* [Haer. 66.87, PG 42, c. 171]? Au lieu d'un essai de synthèse accolant des éléments disparates, d'époques diverses et provenant de milieux différents, il importe, pour une étude cohérente, de situer le mouvement manichéen dans l'histoire des mentalités, au cœur des patrimoines culturels de populations où il s'est diffusé, avec des bonheurs inégaux, qu'il a, peu ou prou, marqués et dont il porte lui-même l'empreinte.³⁰

Decret's warning should be heeded, not because the *experience* of women in any particular group would have gone totally unrelated to the experience of women in other contemporary groups within the same society, but because ancient authors who broached (however marginally) the topic of women and their activities must have operated from rather precise (and perhaps unchallenged) premises regarding the particular societal role women were expected to play, a role defined according to an ideological perspective that surely did not always represent the views nor the experience of women themselves, and was not overly concerned with referring to women's own language, symbols, or frames of reference.

Indeed, even what we know about women (or the feminine) in Manichaean literature is usually applicable only to a narrow band of time and space. For example, more than other Manichaean literature, the Coptic *Manichaica* single out individual women for special mention, be they figures borrowed from Christian writing,³¹ or heroes from Manichaeism's own martyrology.³² And doxologies that consistently speak of women—and always of one particular woman—appear to be a feature confined to the Coptic Manichaean Psalmbook.³³

³⁰ F. Decret, “Saint Augustin, témoin du manichéisme dans l'Afrique romaine,” in C. Mayer and K. H. Chelius, eds., *Internationales Symposium über den Stand der Augustinus-Forschung vom 12. bis 16. April 1987 im Schloß Rauschholzhausen der Justus-Liebig Universität Gießen* (Cassiciacum, 39/1), Würzburg: Augustinus Verlag, 1989), 87–8 (author's emphasis).

³¹ The influence of apocryphal Acts of apostles on the Coptic Psalm book is interesting in this regard. See “Mary Magdalene In Manichaeism?,” below, 157.

³² “Mary Magdalene in Manichaeism?,” below, 167–68.

³³ “Mary Magdalene in Manichaeism?,” below, 168–70. One name that appears in every (legible) doxology of the Psalmbook is that of *Marihamme*; next in frequency is

2.3. As Isaac de Beausobre pointed out long ago, the reports of their adversaries have to be distinguished from what Manichaeans themselves taught and believed.³⁴ Yet, if an ancient society held to the view that women should play no role in public life, while Manichaeans adherents to the same society entertained a different perspective on that issue, we would expect that adversaries would have lost no time in publicizing the fact. This seldom seems to have been the case. Augustine, for one, confines himself mainly to portraying women as *victims* of Manichaeans, even in those passages—of dubious worth, one might add—where he speaks of their participation in obscene rituals.³⁵ Augustine’s sympathetic approach was not, of course, shared by all Manichaeism’s adversaries. In a statement that smacks more of rhetoric than reality, Jerome in 384 informed the young woman Eustochium that “virgins such as are said to associate with diverse heresies, and those in league with the vile Mani, are to be considered not virgins, but prostitutes.”³⁶ Writing some twenty years earlier, Ephrem was scarcely kinder. His *Fifth Discourse to Hypatius* compares “those idle women of the party of Mani—those whom they call ‘the Righteous Ones’ (*zaddiqāthā*)” to “those vain mourning women who were bewailing the god Tammuz [see Ezek 8:14].”³⁷

that of *Theona*. On this, McBride, “Egyptian Manichaeism”: 91, observes: “When one considers that the references to Mary and Theona are more than double those of all the other members of the Manichaeian church, one may conclude that these women occupied a position of great importance in the Manichaeian church in Egypt [...]. This stands in marked contrast with Manichaeism outside of Egypt which, while certainly affording women the roles of Elect teachers and missionaries, did not go so far as to venerate historical women in their liturgy.”

³⁴ See *Histoire critique de Manichée et du manichéisme*, for example t. 2, (Amsterdam: Bernard, 1739), 404–18 (on the formation of the human race).

³⁵ See Aug., *De moribus Manichaeorum* 19.67–20.75 (CSEL 90, pp. 148–56), some of which is repeated in *De haeresibus* 46.5, 9–10 (CCL 46, pp. 314–17). See also *De continentia* 12.27 (CSEL 41, p. 177); *De natura boni* 45.47 (CSEL 25/2, pp. 884–88); and *Contra Fortunatum* 3 (CSEL 25/1, p. 85). The comments on this issue by Beausobre, *Histoire critique* 725–62, are interesting. On the ritual allegations, see also H. C. Puech, “Liturgie et pratiques rituelles dans le manichéisme,” in *Idem, Le manichéisme*, 241–47 (compte-rendu d’un cours fait au Collège de France en 1954–55).

³⁶ Jerome, *Epist. 22 ad Eusedochum* 38 (CSEL 54, p. 204.17): “...uirgines, quales apud diuersas hereses et quales apud inpurissimum Manicheum esse dicuntur, scorta sunt aestimanda, non uirgines.”

³⁷ In Mitchell, *S. Ephraim’s Prose Refutations*, p. 128.3–6 (English, xciii).

3. FUTURE AVENUES OF INVESTIGATION

3.1. The preceding points suggest that one approach to the task would be to tear a leaf from Margaret MacDonald's study of pagan views of women in ancient Christianity and attempt to discern how adverse criticism targeting Manichaean women might have affected the movement's own view of them.³⁸

3.2. Another question inviting exploration must surely be the significance of female entities of the Manichaean cosmogony. What does it mean, for instance, that in this cosmogony, at least as the Iranian sources have it, Āz (or her Greek counterpart *Hylē*)³⁹ is "the bad mother of all the demons," the personification of the powers of darkness,⁴⁰ which can themselves be male or female,⁴¹ and which were created as counterparts to the male and female emanations or figures of the God Narisah?⁴² And what is the purpose of allusions to the 'Virgin

³⁸ M. Y. MacDonald, *Early Christian Women and Pagan Opinion: The Power of the Hysterical Woman*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.

³⁹ On Āz see van Oort, "Augustine and Mani," 143–44.

⁴⁰ Turfan fragment S 9 (Middle Persian) in W. B. Henning, "Ein manichäischer kosmogonischer Hymnus," *Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philosophisch historische Klasse*, Jhg. 1932: 215–20; repr. in *Idem, Selected Papers 1* (AI, 14), Teheran and Liège: Bibliothèque Pahlavi / Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1977, [50]–[55]; German also in Klimkeit, *Hymnen*, 69 (English in *Idem, Gnosis*, 38). And (I thank Peter Bryder for drawing my attention to this reference) see T II D 169 (Proto Turkish), verses 12–21 (A. von Le Coq, "Türkische Manichaica aus Chotscho," 2, APAW, Jhg. 1919, Abh. 3: 11; Klimkeit, *Hymnen*, 229–30; English translation—amended here—in *Idem, Gnosis*, 293): "She [the demoness of darkness] sits down on his breast and makes him dream... / She comes, a deceptive, hoary old she demon, covered with hair; / Like a hail cloud she is *tonqi-* (?) browed, like a bloody *bçana* (?) is her glance; / The nipples of her breasts are like black pegs,... / A gray cloud billows from her nose; / Black smoke issues from her throat; / Her breasts consist entirely of snakes—ten thousand of them."

⁴¹ Turfan frag. M 3 (Müller, "Handschriften Reste": 82; Boyce, *A Reader*, 45); T III D 260 I R II a (= M 7983) I V II and e (= M 7984) I v II (Middle Persian) in Boyce, *op. cit.*, 100 01, Henning, "Mitteliranische" 1: 186 and 194 [12 and 20], and M. Hutter, *Manis kosmogonische Sāburagān-Texte: Edition, Kommentar und literaturgeschichtliche Einordnung der manichäisch-mittelpersischen Handschriften M 98/99 I und M 7980–7984* (SOR, 21), Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1992, 84 and 94; S 13 (Middle Persian): German translation in Klimkeit, *Hymnen*, 69–70 (English in *Idem, Gnosis*, 38–9).

⁴² Turfan fragments M 98 I R, in Boyce, *A Reader*, 61, Müller, "Handschriften Reste": 38, and Hutter, *Manis*, 10; and T III D 260 e (= M 7984) I V I in Henning, "Mitteliranische," 1: 193 [19], and Hutter, *Manis*, 82.

of Light,’⁴³ the ‘Mother of the Living’ (or ‘of Life’ or ‘of the Just’),⁴⁴ or the ‘Mother of the Truthful?’⁴⁵

3.3. Douglas Parrot says that, unlike Gnosticism, early orthodox Christianity had “no negative characteristic branded as feminine, that was enshrined in the cosmic order.”⁴⁶ The same may not be true of Manichaeism, which presents the great pristine war⁴⁷ as occurring between a Principle of Light, referred to in male terms (e.g., the Father of Greatness), and a Principle of Darkness, often referred to in the female terms we saw earlier (*Āz* or *Hylē*). Still, it should not be simply taken for granted that this gender specific discourse had direct repercussions on Manichaeism’s view of women.

3.4. Now, what sort of woman would have been drawn to Manichaeism? This is a question that may be answerable only after further investigation of Manichaean methods of proselytization. So, too, might be the related question: What in the Manichaean doctrine itself would have encouraged the active, if limited, participation of women in the religion?

3.5. If women did, indeed, take some active role in this religion, we may be nearer to answering this related question: What would have drawn any woman to Manichaeism? Here we would need to stress the importance of distinguishing the Elect from the Hearers, and therefore we should take Peter Brown’s *caveat* to heart:

⁴³ As in Turfan fragments M 2 a V I (Henning, “Mitteliranische,” 3: 852 [279]; M 90 (Parthian), in E. Waldschmidt and W. Lentz, “Manichäische Dogmatik aus chinesischen und iranischen Texten,” SPAW, Jhg. 1933: 555; another German translation in Klimkeit, *Hymnen*, 165 (English in *Idem, Gnosis*, 129); M 311 (Müller, “Handschriften Reste”: 67); T. M. 147, R, line 2 (Le Coq, “Türkische,” 3: 6); T II D 176, lines 14 and 21 (*Ibid.*: 15); and CL/U 6818 v, in P. Zieme, *Manichäische türkische Texte: Schriften zur Geschichte und Kultur des Alten Orients* (BT, 5), Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1975, 33.

⁴⁴ See the references in Coyle, *Augustine’s “De moribus,”* 35–43, *passim*.

⁴⁵ Turfan fragments M 2 a V I (Henning, “Mitteliranische,” 3: 852 [279]); M 77 (Parthian) R V (Henning, *op. cit.*: 887 [314]; Boyce, *A Reader*, 117); German also in Klimkeit, *Hymnen*, 94 (English in *Idem, Gnosis* 57); M 21 (Parthian) in Henning, *op. cit.*: 891 [318]; Boyce, *op. cit.*, 59). In T III D 260 e (= M 7984) II R II she is called “the one who appears in womanly form” (Henning, “Mitteliranische,” 1: 178 [4] n. 5; Hutter, *Manis* 30).

⁴⁶ Parrot, response to M. Scopello, in King, ed., *Images*, 95.

⁴⁷ On which see F. Decret, “L’utilisation des Épîtres de Paul chez les manichéens d’Afrique,” in J. Ries, F. Decret, W. H. C. Frend and M. G. Mara, *Le Epistole paoline nei Manichei i Donatisti e il primo Agostino*, (Sussidi Patristici, 5), Rome: Istituto Patristico Augustinianum, 1989, 69–79 (repr. in F. Decret, *Essais sur l’Église manichéenne en Afrique du Nord et à Rome au temps de saint Augustin: Recueil d’Études* (SEA, 47), Rome: Institutum Patristicum Augustinianum, 1995, 86–102).

It is extremely difficult to know what Manichaeism meant to the average supporters of the church of Mani. It is easy to exaggerate the extent of the impact upon them of Mani's powerful myths. They were not expected to view themselves or to attempt to behave in the same manner as did the austere Elect.⁴⁸

Still, the Manichaean use of apocryphal 'Acts' of apostles may provide a clue to Manichaeism's drawing power. These writings seem to argue for a wider attraction to ascetical practices that included Gnostics as well as Christians—and some of the same practices were certainly in use in Manichaean circles.⁴⁹ If Virginia Burrus and others are correct, the ascetical movement offered "autonomy through chastity."⁵⁰ The force of that movement would have accelerated with the coming of Constantine, i.e. shortly after Manichaeism reached the Eastern Mediterranean provinces.⁵¹ It is not unlikely that the appeal of Manichaeism fits into the larger attraction to ascetical movements within the Roman Empire, particularly during the fourth century.⁵² In fact, this avenue seems

⁴⁸ Brown, *The Body and Society*, 201.

⁴⁹ Coyle, *Augustine's "De moribus,"* 149 n. 612. See also G. Petersen Szemerédy, *Zwischen Weltstadt und Wüste: Römische Asketinnen in der Spätantike. Eine Studie zu Motivation und Gestaltung der Askesechristlicher Frauen Roms und auf dem Hintergrund ihrer Zeit* (Forschungen zur Kirchen- und Dogmengeschichte, 54), Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993, 103–04.

⁵⁰ V. Burrus, *Chastity as Autonomy: Women in the Stories of Apocryphal Acts* (Studies in Women and Religion, 23), Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 1987; also R. S. Kraemer, "The Conversion of Women to Ascetic Forms of Christianity," *Signs* 6 (1980): 298–307, esp. 301–07. On the role of the apocryphal Acts in this regard, see G. P. Corrington, "The 'Divine Woman'? Propaganda and the Power of Chastity in the New Testament Apocrypha," *Helios* n.s. 13/2 (1986): 151–62. But Kraemer may be in error when she deems the apocryphal Acts to be indicative rather than exceptional, speculative, or merely wishful in this regard: see Bremmer, "Why Did Early Christianity," 43.

⁵¹ See J. A. McNamara, "Sexual Equality and the Cult of Virginity in Early Christian Thought," *Feminist Studies* 3 (1976): 145–58, esp. 150–52; A. C. Wire, "The Social Function of Women's Asceticism in the Roman East," in King, ed., *Images*, 308 23 (with E. Schüssler Fiorenza's response, 324–28); and Coyle, *Augustine's "De moribus,"* chap. 5, esp. 226–32.

⁵² See e.g., J. Simpson, "Women and Asceticism in the Fourth Century: A Question of Interpretation," *Journal of Religious History* 15 (1988): 38–60; repr. in D. M. Scholer, ed., *Women in Early Christianity* (Studies in Early Christianity, 14), New York and London: Garland Publishing, 1988, 296–318. (However, much of this article is taken up with accusing Elizabeth Clark and Rosemary R. Ruether of writing revisionist history.) As Samuel Lieu astutely remarks (*Manichaeism*, 180), "the diffusion of Manichaeism coincided with the Christianisation of the Empire and an important feature of the latter was the increasing popularity of the practice of asceticism." Lieu alludes to Ephrem as claiming that women were being 'seduced' into Manichaeism, "one by

especially promising for understanding Manichaeism's success, in particular, for explaining its attraction for women.⁵³

3.7. Of course, the likelihood exists that individuals had their own reasons to be attracted, just as the possibility exists that motivation varied from one culture to another, and from one historical period to another. For instance, Daniel McBride has argued that some in Egypt perceived in Manichaeism a reflection of "three specific Egyptian variants found in traditional religious expression: negative confessions, apocalypticism, and heliocentrism."⁵⁴ In such an event, would women have been attracted for the same reasons as men?

3.8. Wherever these inquiries may lead, Henry Chadwick raises an interesting issue when he asserts that "the religion of Mani was going to be attractive only to those who were at least touched by Catholic communities and wanted some form of Christianity."⁵⁵ This could only be true for areas where Christianity (in whatever guise) already enjoyed a discernible presence. The reason(s) for joining Manichaeism in predominantly non Christian areas like Chinese Turkestan and, later, China itself might have to be sought elsewhere.

3.9. As a conclusion, I refer to my opening remarks on Augustine and Manichaeism in order to suggest the following prospect: should it transpire that Manichaeism's stance on women was actually more positive—or at least no more hostile—than that of rival religious movements in the Roman Empire, one would need to seriously consider that Augustine's own position on the issue was less negative than so often claimed; or, if indeed negative, that its origin would lie elsewhere than in the Manichaean affiliation of his youth.

fasting, another by sackcloth and vegetables": *Hymni 56 contra haereses* 23.7.5–10 (CSGO 169, p. 88.21–26). But the context of Ephrem's statement is unclear.

⁵³ In this regard Jerome's report that women who appeared ascetic were styled 'Manichaean' may be indicative: see his *Epist. 22 ad Eustochium* 13 (CSEL 54, p. 161.4–5): "Et quam uiderint tristem atque pallentem, miseram et monacham et manicheam uocant." At a more general level, opponents of ascetical practices also labelled them 'Manichaean': see *Idem, Epist. 48 (49) ad Pammachium* 2–3 and 8 (CSEL 54, pp. 352–55 and 361), *112 ad Augustinum* 14 (CSEL 55, p. 384), and *133 ad Ctesiphontem* 9 (CSEL 56, p. 254).

⁵⁴ McBride, "Egyptian Manichaeism": 81–8 and 93.

⁵⁵ Chadwick, "The Attractions": 214.

CHAPTER TEN

MARY MAGDALENE IN MANICHAEISM?

“Mary Magdalene,” wrote Victor Roland Gold in 1952, “played an important role in Gnostic literature [...]. The popularity of Mary Magdalene continued among the Manichaeans as illustrated by the Manichaean writings discovered in the Fayyum.”¹

More than thirty years were to pass before the first brief (and so far only) follow-up to the second part of Gold’s remark,² even though in the interval Mary Magdalene has been the object of considerable interest, scholarly and otherwise. In the arts, one need only recall her major role in the film and book versions of Nikos Kazantzakis’ *The Last Temptation of Christ*, and in the musical *Jesus Christ Superstar*. On a more speculative plane, the theory that Jesus might have been married favours the Magdalene as the prime spousal candidate.³ Then there are the studies that have traced her presence in the history of Christian devotion, art and literature.⁴ Scholars—feminists in particular⁵—have

¹ V. R. Gold, *The Gnostic Library of Chenoboskion*, in G. E. Wright and D. N. Freedman, eds., *The Biblical Archaeologist Reader*, Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1961 (repr. from *The Biblical Archaeologist*, 15/4 [Dec., 1952]: 70–88), 313 n. 14.

² F. Bovon, in “Le privilège pascal de Marie-Madeleine,” *New Testament Studies*, 30 (1984): 56. P.-M. Guillaume, “Marie-Madeleine (sainte),” *Dictionnaire de spiritualité* 10, c. 564, merely cites part of the ‘Psalms of Heracleides’ (treated below). See also J. Doresse, *Les livres secrets des gnostiques d’Egypte*, 1, Paris: Plon, 1958, 273 n. 82: “Les écrits manichéens retrouvés en Egypte la connaissent aussi...” Translated as *The Secret Books of the Egyptian Gnostics: An Introduction to the Gnostic Coptic Manuscripts Discovered at Chenoboskion*, New York: AMS Press, 1970.

³ See for example W. E. Phipps, *Was Jesus Married? The Distortion of Sexuality in the Christian Tradition*, Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, 1986; also M. Baigent, R. Leigh, and H. Lincoln, *The Holy Blood and the Holy Grail*, 2nd ed., London: Century, 2005 (1982), *passim*.

⁴ V. Saxer, *Le culte de Marie Madeleine en Occident, dès origines à la fin du Moyen Âge*, 2 vols., (Cahiers d’archéologie et d’histoire, 3), Auxerre: Publication de la Société des fouilles archéologiques et des monuments historiques de l’Yonne, 1959; M. M. Malvern, *Venus in Sackcloth: The Magdalen’s Origins and Metamorphoses*, Carbondale-Edwardsville, Ill.: Southern Illinois University Press, 1975. For earlier literature see E. Kirschbaum and W. Bromfels, eds., *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie* 8, c. 541. Further references in S. Ussia, *Il tema letterario della Maddalena nell’età della Controriforma*, in *Rivista di Storia e letteratura religiosa*, 24 (1988): 385–424.

⁵ For the biblical (esp. Johannine) context see E. Schüssler Fiorenza, *In Memory of Her. A Feminist Theological Reconstruction of Christian Origins*, New York: Crossroad, 1983, 320–33.

noted how all four canonical gospels present Mary of Magdala as the chronologically first (if not the most important) witness to the resurrection.⁶ Rosemary Radford Ruether, for instance, has suggested that “the Mary whom we should venerate may not be Mother Mary,” whom she regards as a symbol of the patriarchal view that woman’s first function is childbearing; rather, it might be “the repressed and defamed Mary of the Christian tradition, Mary Magdalene, friend and disciple of Jesus, the first witness of the resurrection, the revealer of the Christian Good News.”⁷

But it is especially to Gnosticism,⁸ where allusions to ‘Mary’ abound,⁹ that recent scholarly interest in the Magdalene has been directed. This is not the place to review all the findings of these studies. Suffice it to say that the multiple references to ‘Mary’ in Gnostic writings raise three major questions.

The first of these is, Do these references consciously envisage Mary *Magdalene*? For it is not certain that the same person is always meant, whether by the same name in different documents, or within the same text under different names. Even in non-Gnostic literature¹⁰ her identity is somewhat ambiguous, with no clear distinction made between the tearful sinner (Luke 7:36–50), Mary of Bethany (Luke 10:38–42; John 11:1–32 and 12:1–8; see Matthew 26:6–13 and Mark 14:3–9) and the person explicitly called Mary of Magdala (or Magdalene) in the

⁶ On this see M. Hengel, “Maria Magdalena und die Frauen als Zeugen,” in O. Betz, M. Hengel and P. Schmidt, eds., *Abraham unser Vater: Juden und Christen im Gespräch über die Bibel. Festschrift für Otto Michel zum 60. Geburtstag* (Arbeiten zur Geschichte des Spätjudentums und Urchristentums, 5), Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1963, 243–56; Bovon, “Le privilège”; and G. O’Collins and D. Kendall, “Mary Magdalene as Major Witness to Jesus’ Resurrection,” *Theological Studies* 48 (1987): 631–46.

⁷ R. R. Ruether, *New Woman, New Earth. Sexist Ideologies and Human Liberation*, New York: Seabury, 1975, chap. 2 (“Mistress of Heaven: The Meaning of Mariology”), 59.

⁸ E. Pagels, *The Gnostic Gospels*, New York: Random House, 1979, esp. 11 and 64–7; also J. J. Buckley, *Female Fault and Fulfilment in Gnosticism*, Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1986, esp. chap. 6 (“The Holy Spirit is a Double Name”), reworked and condensed in K. L. King, ed., *Images of the Feminine in Gnosticism* (Studies in Antiquity and Christianity, 3), Philadelphia: Fortress, 1988, 211–27 (response of K. Rudolph, 228–38).

⁹ M. Tardieu, *Codex de Berlin* (Sources gnostiques et manichéennes, 1), Paris: Cerf, 1984, 20: “Rares sont les écrits chrétiens, utilisés ou composés par les gnostiques, qui ne font pas mention de son personnage, tantôt magnifié, tantôt minimisé.”

¹⁰ For a history of the discussion see Guillaume, “Marie-Madeleine,” c. 559–75; and U. Holzmeister, “Die Magdalenenfrage in der kirchlichen Überlieferung,” *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie* 46 (1922): 402–22 and 556–84.

four canonical gospels.¹¹ A similar confusion reigns in the apocryphal scriptures, Gnostic or not. In the non-Gnostic apocryphal Acts, Μαριάμ refers to the mother of Jesus.¹² Μαριάμη (or Μαριάμνη) appears only in the (Encratite?) *Acts of Philip*, where on two occasions (one of them in association with Martha)¹³ she is called Philip's 'sister'¹⁴ and where Μαρία refers to the mother of Jesus.¹⁵ In Gnostic pseudepigrapha there seems to be somewhat more consistency in the nomenclature, the mother of Jesus being usually referred to as Maria, and the 'Mary' of the post-resurrection appearances as *Marihamme*.¹⁶ But here, too, the latter's identity is sometimes unclear. In *Dialogue of the Saviour* (II century?), seemingly the same personage is referred

¹¹ Matt 27:56,61; 28:1; Mark 15:40,47; 16:1,9; Luke 8:2; 24:10; John 19:25; 20:1,18. With one exception (Luke 8:2, where she is referred to as "Mary who is called Magdalene") all her appearances are as 'Mary (the) Magdalene' and are connected with the passion or resurrection narratives. See H. Lesêtre, "Marie-Madeleine," in *Dictionnaire de la Bible* 4, c. 809–18, who discusses the tradition (going back at least to Clement of Alexandria, *Paidagogos* 2.8) of identifying the three Marys, with the arguments for and against. See also Holzmeister, *Die Magdalenenfrage*. A. Feuillet in 1975 still persisted in identifying all three, in "Les deux onctions faites sur Jésus, et Marie-Madeleine: Contribution à l'étude des rapports entre les Synoptiques et le quatrième évangile," *Revue Thomiste* 75: 357–94. For a Syrian tradition of confusing these three Marys with the mother of Jesus as well as with one another, see R. Murray, *Symbols of Church and Kingdom: Καταλογός Αρχών Εκκλησίας: A Study in Early Syriac Tradition*, 2nd ed., Piscataway, N.J.: Gorgias Press, 2004 (1975), 146–48 and 329–35.

¹² *Acta Andreeae et Matthiae*, 12 and *Passio Bartholomaei*, 4 (in R. A. Lipsius and M. Bonnet, *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha*, 2/1, Leipzig, Mendelssohn, 1898 [repr. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1959], pp. 78.16 and 135.32).

¹³ *Acta Philippi*, 94, though E. Peterson, "Die Häretiker der Philippus-Akten," ZNT 31 (1932): 106, considers this a gloss.

¹⁴ *Acta Philippi*, 94 and 109 (Lipsius and Bonnet, *Acta Apostolorum*, 2/2, pp. 36.29 and 42.1).

¹⁵ *Acta Philippi* 77 (Lipsius and Bonnet, *Acta Apostolorum*, 2/2, p. 30.14). See Bovon, *Le privilège*, 57–8; and J. Bergman, "Kleine Beiträge zum Naassenertraktat," in *Proceedings of the International Colloquium on Gnosticism, Stockholm, August 20–25 1973*, Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1977, 84–6.

¹⁶ In the *Pistis Sophia*, where the simple name Μαριάμη is preponderant in one manuscript (see C. Schmidt, *Gnostische Schriften in koptischen Sprache aus dem Codex Brucianus* [TU, 8/2], Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1892, 452 n. 1), and where by contrast Jesus' Mother is always identified as such (e.g. 59, in GCS 45^{bis}, p. 75.10), she is occasionally called by her full name (thus 96–7, in GCS 45^{bis}, pp. 148.25 and 149.12: Μαρία ΤΗΑΓΔΔΛΗΗΗ, in J. H. Petermann and M. G. Schwartz, *Pistis Sophia: Opus gnosticum Valentino adiudicatum*, Berlin: Duemmleri, 1851, pp. 231.20 and 232.15). In the *Codex Askewianus* the form is Μαριχάμ (e.g. 1,17 in C. Schmidt and V. MacDermot, *Pistis Sophia* [NHS, 9], Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1978, p. 26.12) or, more often, Μαρία (1,18, p. 28.20). For C. Schmidt, (*Pistis Sophia: Ein gnostisches Originalwerk des dritten Jahrhunderts aus dem Koptischen übersetzt*, Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1925, lxxxviii), there is no question that the two are the same.

to as both ΜΑΡΙΩΑΜΗΕ and ΜΑΡΙΩΑΜ.¹⁷ Of the *Gospel of Philip* 59:6–18 (*EvPhil*, 3rd–4th cent.), Jorunn Jacobsen Buckley notes that there are three Marys, who “comprise Jesus’ mother, Mary Magdalene, and Jesus’ mother’s sister, but the three sometimes blend into interchangeable personalities [...]. The elusive Mary, the Holy Spirit, and the double Sophia seem to play similar parts and often appear outrightly identified with one another.”¹⁸ Undaunted, virtually all commentators on the Gnostic writings identify their ‘Mary’ (or one of them) as the Magdalene,¹⁹ although this identification is explicit only in *EvPhil* and *Pistis Sophia* (*PistSoph*, 3rd cent.).

The second preliminary question is: What is the role of ‘Mary’ (whoever she may be) in Gnosticism? In all the Gnostic passages which allude to her, the basis of her role is presumed to be the point at which the canonical accounts last mention Mary Magdalene—as first witness to the resurrection. In the *Gospel of Thomas* (*EvTh*, 2nd–3rd cent.) ΜΑΡΙΩΑΜ, as she is called there, is the only woman to ask a question,²⁰ for which act she is attacked by Simon Peter,²¹ as she is in the *Gospel*

¹⁷ Compare 126.17 with 131.19, in S. Emmel, ed., *Nag Hammadi Codex III,5: The Dialogue of the Savior* (NHS, 26), Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1984, pp. 52, 62 and *passim*.

¹⁸ Buckley, *Female Fault*, 105; see also 107–08. Bovon (“Le privilège”: 55) makes a similar remark: “Un seul être en trois personnes ou, mieux, sous trois vocables différents.” On the confusion in other writings see W. Bauer, *Das Leben Jesu im Zeitalter der neutestamentlichen Apokryphen*, Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1909 (repr. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1967), 450–51. On ‘Mary Magdalene’ in these writings see Bovon, *art. cit.*, 52–7.

¹⁹ H. Leisegang (*Die Gnosis [Kröners Taschenausgabe]*, 32], 4th ed., Stuttgart: Kröner, 1955, 113–14), notes the importance of *Mariamne* among the Ophites, adding, “Diese Mariamne ist aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach Maria Magdalena.” See also Buckley, *Female Fault*, esp. chap. 6; Pagels, *Gnostic Gospels*, *passim*; Bovon, “Le privilège”; Malvern, *Venus*, chaps. 3 and 4; and Bergman, “Kleine Beiträge,” 81.

²⁰ Logion 21, in A. Guillaumont et al., *The Gospel according to Thomas*, Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1959, 14. Of ΜΑΡΙΩΑΜ in *EvTh*, M. W. Meyer says (“Making Mary Male: the Categories ‘Male’ and ‘Female’ in the Gospel of Thomas,” *New Testament Studies* 31 [1985]: 562): “A definite identification of this Mary is impossible; the possibilities include (in descending order of likelihood) Mary Magdalene, certainly the best single choice, Mary the mother of Jesus, Mary Salome, or some other Mary. Perhaps the safest conclusion is that a ‘universal Mary’ is in mind, and that specific historical Marys are no longer clearly distinguished...” A. Pasquier, *L’Évangile selon Marie (BG 1)* (Bibliothèque copte de Nag Hammadi, Section «Textes», 10), Quebec: Presses de l’Université Laval, 1983, 23 n. 75, affirms: “Outre l’EvMar et la *Pistis Sophia*, Marie-Madeleine est présente dans l’EvTh, l’EvPhil, le DialSauv, la SJC ainsi que dans les deux *Livres de Jeû*.” Doresse, *Livres secrets* 1, 273 n. 82, expresses more caution about the identity: “On s’est demandé s’il s’agissait de Marie mère de Jésus ou plutôt de Marie-Madeleine”; nor is he sure (95) whether even the *Gospel according to Mary* refers to Mary Magdalene.

²¹ Logion 114 (in Guillaumont et al., *The Gospel*, 56). For a commentary see Buckley, *Female Fault*, chap. 5. See also *Pistis Sophia* 36.11–14 (in Schmidt and MacDermot, *Pistis Sophia*, 58).

of Mary (*EvMar*, 2nd cent.?).²² The latter, the only gospel attributed to a New Testament woman,²³ “proclame donc la supériorité d’un disciple, jugé même supérieur à Pierre, qui non seulement n’a jamais été reconnu comme apôtre dans la tradition orthodoxe, mais qui de plus est une femme.”²⁴

In the *Sophia of Jesus Christ* (3rd cent.?), of seven women followers of Jesus, Μαριγαμμη is the only one to be named.²⁵ In *PistSoph* Μαρια (Μαγλαληνη) is portrayed as the chief questioner and explainer of the teachings of Jesus.²⁶ In *EvPhil*, Μαρια is described as Jesus’ constant companion,²⁷ whom he loved “more than [all] the disciples and kissed often on the [mouth].”²⁸ In the *Dialogue of the Saviour* (3rd–4th cent.?) Μαριγαμ(μη) is an apostle more excellent than the others, a “woman who knew the All (i.e. understood completely).”²⁹

²² *Papyrus Berolinensis* 8502, I:7.1–19.5, under a similar form of her name (Μαριγαμμη in the title, Μαριγαμ in the text itself, and Μαριάμνη in the Greek); D. W. Parrott, ed., *Nag Hammadi Codices V,2–5 and VI with Papyrus Berolinensis 8502, 1 and 4* (NHS, 11), Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1979, 457–71.

²³ Malvern, *Venus*, 12 and 35. Tardieu, *Codex de Berlin*, pp. 20–25 and 230–236, is taken to task by E. Lucchesi, “Évangile selon Marie ou Évangile selon Marie-Madeleine?,” *Analecta Bollandiana*, 103 (1985): 366, for identifying Mary as the Magdalene, “ce qui est loin d’être prouvé.”

²⁴ Pasquier, *L’Évangile*, 6. She adds: “Ce choix répond essentiellement [...] à une conception androgynique de Dieu.”

²⁵ NH Codex III,4, 98.9 and 114.9, in J. M. Robinson, ed., *The Nag Hammadi Library in English*, 3rd ed., New York: HarperCollins, 1990, 226 and 239.

²⁶ 113–121, in Schmidt and MacDermot, *Pistis Sophia*, 292–309. Schmidt notes that her role throughout this work is much more prominent than the Mother of Jesus (*ibid.*, p. LXXXVII). M. Tardieu and J.-D. Dubois, *Introduction à la littérature gnostique* 1, Paris: Cerf, 1986, 103, remark that here “le nom de Marie [...] désigne Marie-Madeleine, et non pas Marie, la mère de Jésus.” In *Pistis Sophia*, of the 46 questions addressed by the disciples to Jesus, 39 are placed in the mouth of Mary (Magdalene).

²⁷ NH Codex II,3, 61.6–11, in J. E. Ménard, *L’Évangile selon Philippe: Introduction, texte traduction, commentaire*, Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1967, 62. For Meyer, *Making Mary Male*, 562, it is Mary Magdalene who plays “a leading and specific role in such Gnostic documents as the *Gospel of Philip*.”

²⁸ 65.35–37, in Ménard, *L’Évangile*, 70. Here the identification is explicit: Μαρια ΤΗΑ[ΓΔΛ]ΛΙΠΗ (text as reconstructed by J.-M. Sevrin, “Les Noces Spirituelles dans l’Évangile selon Philippe,” *Le Muséon* 87 [1974]): 162 n. 62. On this passage see Buckley, *Female Fault*, 109–11. See also *EvMar* 10.1–3 (in Pasquier, *Évangile selon Marie*, 37): “Pierre dit à Marie: ‘Soeur, nous savons que le Sauveur te préférait aux autres femmes’.”

²⁹ 139.12–13 (Emmel, ed., 79). See also *EvMar* 10.4–8 (in Pasquier, *Évangile selon Marie*, 37). For Meyer, *Making Mary Male*, 562), the ‘Mary’ of this document is “probably Magdalene.” Malvern, *Venus*, 31, observes: “Although again and again damned by Peter as a female and therefore not worthy of life, the Magdalene is, particularly in the *Gospel of Mary* and in the *Pistis Sophia*, the woman privileged to share with Jesus his *gnosis*.” See also 33: “The second-century ‘pure spiritual’ Magdalen is pictured in both the *Gospel of Mary* and the *Pistis Sophia* as one of the few people privileged to receive the *gnosis* brought by Jesus from the realm of light.”

There remains one further question for our preliminary consideration: Why all this attention given to ‘Mary’ in Gnostic writings?³⁰ To suggest that it is merely because of her role in announcing the resurrection in Matthew, Mark, Luke and John is to beg the question, for the early streams of what became orthodox Christianity chose to perceive no special significance in this. Other suggested answers fall into four main categories, each of which may be valid, depending on the Gnostic system in question:³¹ (1) *Sociologically*, Mary’s presence is highlighted in an attempt to restore the position of women suppressed in society and in what came to be known as the ‘orthodox’ church, with the latter represented by Simon Peter;³² (2) *allegorically*, it symbolizes the feminine aspect of salvation—specifically, as the fallen and restored Sophia;³³ (3) *mythologically*, it is an extension (through the couple Jesus/Mary) of the old Gnostic view of humanity as primordially androgynous, a view at one time symbolized by Simon Magus/Helen;³⁴ or (4) *literarily*,

³⁰ The same question is raised by Bovon, “Le privilège”: 56; and Guillaume, “Marie-Madeleine,” c. 563.

³¹ This is an adaptation of the treatment by Bovon, who observes (“Le privilège”: 56–7): “Ces hypothèses, qui ne s’excluent du reste pas, n’expliquent pas tout. Elles restent muettes en particulier face au choix de Marie-Madeleine comme partenaire de Jésus et comme croyante idéale. Seul le recours à une ou des traditions paléo-chrétiennes, discrètement écartées par la Grande Église, explique cette survie. Le poids culturel, historique, sociologique et même mythologique de l’époque a amplifié, modifié ou même tordu ce vieil héritage, comme la lecture des témoignages avancés suffit à nous en convaincre. Mais il n’a pas donné naissance à ces vieilles traditions.”

³² Schüssler Fiorenza, *In Memory of Her*, 304–06; P. Perkins, “Peter in Gnostic Revelation,” in *SBL Seminar Papers* 8 (Missoula, Mont.: Scholars Press, 1974), pt. 2, 1–13; M. Mies, “Das Petrusbild nach ausserkanonischen Zeugnissen,” *Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte*, 27 (1975): 193–205; and Pasquier, *Évangile selon Marie*, 6 and 24.

³³ So Buckley, *Female Fault*. On Sophia in Gnosticism see D. J. Good, *Reconstructing the Tradition of Sophia in Gnostic Literature* (SBL Monograph Series, 32), Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987; J. Zandee, “Die Person der Sophia in der vierten Schrift des Codex Jung,” in U. Bianchi, ed., *Le origini dello Gnosticismo: Colloquio di Messina 13–18 aprile 1966* (SHR, 12), Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1967, 203–14; P. Perkins, “Sophia as Goddess in the Nag Hammadi Codices,” in King, ed., *Images*, 96–112 (with bibliography); and R. H. Arthur, *The Wisdom Goddess. Feminine Motifs in Eight Nag Hammadi Documents*, Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, 1984.

³⁴ So Leisegang, *Gnosis*, 114–15, and Pasquier, *Évangile selon Marie*, 24. See Bergman, “Kleine Beiträge,” 81–4. On the question of androgyny see Meyer, *Making Mary Male*, 560–61, who prefers to think that Gnostics envisaged a future unified asexual state rather than simply a restored pristine androgyny. On androgyny as a general theme in antiquity see W. A. Meeks, “The Image of the Androgyne: Some Uses of a Symbol in Earliest Christianity,” *History of Religions* 13 (1973): 165–208, esp. 183–97.

the story of Jesus and ‘Mary’ displays the hallmarks of the hellenistic romance novel.³⁵

We cannot, of course, attempt to resolve such complex questions here. But we should keep them in mind as we proceed to our main query: Does a figure corresponding to the prominent ‘Mary’ of Gnosticism appear as well in the literature of Gnosticism’s spiritual heir, Manichaeism? and, if so, is she the Magdalene?

In a collection of psalms found among the Coptic Manichaica referred to by Gold, the name Μαριχαμμη appears in three psalms attributed to ‘Heracleides.’³⁶ In the first of these (titled “There were ten virgins...”) Μαριχαμμη appears to be, by association with ‘her sister’ Martha, identified as Mary of Bethany:

A net-caster is Μαριχαμη, hunting for the eleven others that were wandering...

A joyous servant is Martha her sister also.³⁷

This passage forms the transition from praise of the qualities of ‘the eleven’ (the apostles, named from Peter through Paul) to the eulogy

³⁵ So Tardieu, *Codex de Berlin*, 22–5.

³⁶ In the portion edited by C. R. C. Allberry, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book, Part II* (MMCBC, 2), Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1938. (Translations cited from this portion are those of Allberry.) Another psalm (128) attributed to the same person is found in the unedited portion, now available in the fine facsimile edition produced by S. Giversen, *The Manichaean Coptic Papyri in the Chester Beatty Library*, 3: Psalm Book Part I (Cahiers d’Orientalisme, 16), Geneva: Cramer, 1986, 177–78. Nowhere in the newly available portion have I so far been able to discern the name of Μαριχαμμη.

³⁷ In Allberry, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, p. 192.21–23. It is interesting that the same psalm refers (p. 192.2–3) to *EvTh* 4. The unusual form of ‘Marihammē’s’ name is endorsed in the papyrus: see the facsimile edition in S. Giversen, *The Manichaean Coptic Papyri in the Chester Beatty Library*, 4: *Psalm Book*, Part II (Cahiers d’Orientalisme, 17), Geneva: Cramer, 1986, 292. In the Cologne Mani Codex (92.16–93.1) we find a reference to Martha and Μαρία (cf. Luke 10:38–42); see R. Cameron and A. J. Dewey, *The Cologne Mani Codex* (P. Colon. inv. nr. 4780) “Concerning the Origin of his Body” (Texts and Translations Number 15: Early Christian Literature Series, 3), Missoula, Mont.: Scholars Press, 1979, 74. In the Latin Manichaean 4th or 5th century manuscript of Tebessa (text as established by H. Omont and P. Alfaric in *Patrologiae Latinae Supplementum* 2, c. 1380), Mary of Bethany symbolises the Elect, just as Martha represents the Hearers. On this see F. Decret, “Aspects de l’Église manichéenne. Remarques sur le Manuscrit de Tébessa,” in A. Zumkeller, ed., *Signum Pietatis: Festgabe für Cormelius Petrus Mayer OSA* (Cassiciacum, 40), Würzburg: Augustinus Verlag, 1989, 128, 138–39, 143 and 149–50. There is also a possible reference to ‘mrym’ (Mary) in Turfan fragment M 380, but the reading is uncertain: see W. Sundermann, *Mitteliranische manichäische Texte kirchen-geschichtlichen Inhalts* (BT, 11), Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1981, 140, line 2399.

of certain women, the list of whom, beginning with Μαριγαμμη and Martha, probably also originally numbered eleven.³⁸ In the next psalm (“The Son of the living God...”) we find another list of eleven apostles (similar to the first, except that Paul is excluded and a second James has been added). Then we read:

He chose Μαριγαμμη, the Spirit of wisdom (πνεύμα ἡγεσία)
He gave life to Martha, the breath of discretion.³⁹

This time the list clearly includes only two other women: Salome, “the *charis* of peace”⁴⁰ (named with Mary Magdalene in Matt. 27:56, Mark 15:40 and 16:1, and Luke 8:2–3)⁴¹ and Arsenoe (“set in the garland of Truth”).⁴² That here we touch on a tradition not restricted to the Egyptian form of Manichaeism is shown by the naming together in an Oriental Manichaean fragment⁴³ of ‘Maryam,’ ‘Salôm,’ and ‘Arsanîâh’ as the women who visited Jesus’ tomb on Easter morning (see Luke 24:5).

What is the “Spirit of wisdom” linked to Μαριγαμμη in our second psalm? The expression possibly also appears in another Manichaean psalm,⁴⁴ but in reference to Μαρια (to whom we will return). In any event, it is found nowhere in the Nag Hammadi texts.⁴⁵ The phrase

³⁸ The top of the following page (193.2) has a lacuna, and only ten names remain. The names following Martha’s are drawn from the apocryphal Acts.

³⁹ In Allberry, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, p. 194.19–20. Martha also appears in *PistSoph* 38 (Schmidt and MacDermot, *Pistis Sophia*, 61–2), 57 (11–2), 73 (163–64), and 80 (176–77).

⁴⁰ The only other woman named in *PistSoph* (54, 58, 132, and 145, in Schmidt and MacDermot, *Pistis Sophia*, 102–03, 114–15, 338–39, and 376; see Bauer, *Leben*, 449–50) and in *EvTh* 61 (Guillaumont et al., *Gospel*, 34). See Buckley, *Female Fault*, 99–104; C. Trautmann, “Salomé l’incrédule, récits d’une conversion,” in *Écritures et traditions dans la littérature copte: Journée d’études coptes, Strasbourg 28 mai 1982* (Cahiers de la Bibliothèque copte, 1), Leuven, Peeters, 1983, 61–72, esp. 68–70. Salome appears alone in the sixteenth *Psalm of Thom* (Allberry, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, p. 222.19,26). On *Charis* as another name for ‘Holy Spirit,’ ‘Mother of the Living,’ and ‘Virgin of Light’ in Valentinian Gnosticism, see L. Fendt, *Gnostische Mysterien: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des christlichen Gottesdienstes*, Munich: Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 1922, 41–2.

⁴¹ On Salome in the New Testament see L. Fillion, “Salomé,” in *Dictionnaire de la Bible* 5, c. 1380–381.

⁴² Allberry, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, p. 194.21–22. Compare 192.24: “Obedient sheep are Salome and Arsenoe.” On the name Arsenoe in antiquity, see U. Wilcken, *Arsinoë*, in G. Wissowa, ed., *Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, 2, 2nd ed. (1896), c. 1277–289.

⁴³ M18, in F. W. K. Müller, “Handschriften-Reste in Estrangelo-Schrift aus Turfan, Chinesisch-Turkistan,” 2, APAW, Jhg. 1904, Abh. 3: 35 (cited below, n. 75).

⁴⁴ Bema-psalm 227, in Allberry, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, p. 22.26.

⁴⁵ Although in the *Apocryphon of John* (NH Codex II,1) Sophia is linked to Pneuma as her *syzygy* (9.25–35).

recalls, of course, Isaiah 11:2 of the Septuagint, and Ephesians 1:17 ($\pi\nu\epsilon\mu\alpha\ \sigma\omega\pi\alpha\zeta$), and we know that Manichaeans made use of the latter epistle.⁴⁶ The Manichaean Coptic homilies often speak of $\kappa\omega\pi\alpha$,⁴⁷ more often than does the psalm-book (edited and unedited), whose most important reference in this regard is:

I have constantly practiced in thy holy wisdom
which has opened the eyes of my soul unto the Light of
thy glory and made me see the things that are hidden and that are
visible, the things of the abyss and the things of the height.⁴⁸

References to ‘Wisdom’ abound in both Western and Eastern Manichaeism, often including her identification with the ‘Virgin of Light’⁴⁹ (identified

⁴⁶ See I. de Beausobre, *Histoire critique de Manichée et du manichéisme*, I, Amsterdam: Bernard, 1734, 292–95; F. Trechsel, *Ueber den Kanon, die Kritik und Exegese der Manichäer. Ein historisch-kritischer Versuch*, Bern: Jenni, 1832, 38; and Decret, “Aspects,” 131 and 141.

⁴⁷ See G. Widengren, “La Sagesse dans le manichéisme,” in *Mélanges d’histoire des religions offerts à Henri-Charles Puech*, Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1974, 501–02.

⁴⁸ Jesus-psalm 248, in Allberry, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, p. 86.23–26.

⁴⁹ See p. 162, n. 40. In the psalm-book the Virgin of Light is identified with the Holy Spirit (e.g. in Allberry, *A Manichaean Psalm-book*, p. 116.8–12). On this entity see F. Cumont, *Recherches sur le manichéisme* 1, Brussels: Lamertin, 1908, 64–5; C. Schmidt and H. J. Polotsky, “Ein Mani-Fund in Ägypten: Originalschriften des Mani und seiner Schüler,” SPAW 1933, Abh. 1: 66 n. 3 and 68; and C. Colpe, “Dæna-, Lichtjungfrau, Zweite Gestalt: Verbindungen und Unterschiede zwischen zara-thustrischer und manichäischer Selbst-Anschauung,” in R. Van den Broek and J. M. Vermaseren, eds., *Studies in Gnosticism and Hellenistic Religions Presented to Gilles Quispel on the Occasion of his 65th Birthday* (ÉPRO, 91), Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1981, 58–77. In Gnosticism the expression describes an aeon: see *Second Book of Jeu 46* (in C. Schmidt and V. MacDermot, *The Books of Jeu and the Untitled Text in the Bruce Codex* [NHS, 13], Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1978, 110–11); *PistSoph* 7, 84, and 98 (in Schmidt and MacDermot, *Pistis Sophia*, pp. 12.19, 186.21, and 240–41), and esp. 59 (pp. 116.25–117.2): “Jesus answered and said, ‘Thou also, Mary [μαρία, i.e. the mother of Jesus], thou hast received form which is in the Barbelo according to the matter, and thou hast received likeness which is in the Virgin of the Light (τηλφενός μήτογην) according to the light, thou and the other Mary (see Matt 27:61), the blessed one (τκεναριζαν τηλκαριον).’” On Barbelo as Sophia see Perkins, “Sophia,” 104. In the *Acts of Thomas* (Hymn of the Bride, 6–7) the ‘Daughter of Light’ seems to be the bride of Christ and to be identified with Sophia-Achamoth (in Lipsius and Bonnet, *Acta Apostolorum*, 2/2, 109–10). On the connection of these *Acts* with Manichaeism see K. Schäferdiek, “The Manichaean Collection of Acts and Leucius Charinus,” in W. Schneemelcher, ed., *New Testament Apocrypha* 2, 2nd ed., Louisville: John Knox Press, 1992, 337–38; trans. of “Die Leukius Charinus zugeschriebene manichäische Sammlung apokrypher Apostelgeschichten,” in *Idem*, ed., *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen in deutscher Übersetzung* 2, 5th ed., Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1989; also W. Bousset, “Manichäisches in den Thomasakten,” ZNW 18 (1917/18):1–39, esp. 20–33.

also with Jesus).⁵⁰ Wisdom as the fourth aspect of the tetraprosopic (four-faced) God appears in both Eastern and Western Manichaeism, including the Coptic psalm-book.⁵¹ A Pahlavi treatise, fittingly titled *The Spirit of Wisdom* (*Mēnōk i Xrat*),⁵² gives to this entity the task of guide and instructor. Such is the role of ‘Mary’ in many Gnostic writings and of ΜΑΡΙΩΔΗΜΗ in the ‘Psalms of Heracleides’.⁵³

We therefore see, even without entering directly into the vexing question of influences (Gnostic, Christian or Christian-Gnostic) on Manichaeism’s original form,⁵⁴ that there are grounds for regarding the ΜΑΡΙΩΔΗΜΗ figure of Manichaeism as a continued or revived Gnostic tradition. To this consideration the following can be added: (1) the likely spot for a Manichaean figure corresponding to the Gnostic ‘Mary’ to appear would be, as Gold suggested, in the Coptic library discovered in the Egyptian Fayyum in 1930, since this library was copied in the same general period (350–400), and in a dialect of the same region (Assiut),⁵⁵ as the Nag Hammadi texts that surfaced fifteen years later; (2) Manichaeans had knowledge of at least some Gnostic apocrypha,⁵⁶ including *EvTh*,⁵⁷ possibly also *EvPhil*;⁵⁸ and (3) the practices attributed by some patristic authors to Manichaean

⁵⁰ As in *Kephalaios* 7 (H. Ibscher, H. J. Polotsky and A. Böhlig, *Kephalaios, 1. Hälfte* [MHSMB, 1], Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1940, p. 35.15); also in Turfan fragments M3, 15 R20 (in W. Bang, “Manichaeische Hymnen,” *Le Muséon* 38 [1925]: 20), T II D 176 (in E. Waldschmitz and W. Lenz, “Die Stellung Jesu im Manichäismus,” APAW, Jhg. 1926, Abh. 4: 56; A. von Le Coq, “Türkische Manichaica,” 3, in APAW, Jhg. 1922, Abh. 2: 15) and M38 (in Müller, “Handschriften-Reste,” 2: 77); perhaps also M74 (*ibid.*, 75).

⁵¹ Allberry, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, pp. 134.6, 186.9, 190.17, and 191.12. For other references see Widengren, “La Sagesse,” 506–07; and J. K. Coyle, *Augustine’s “De moribus ecclesiae catholicae”: A Study of the Work, its Composition and its Sources* (Paradosis, 25), Fribourg, Switzerland: The University Press, 1978, 32 n. 144.

⁵² Widengren, “La Sagesse,” 508–12, who considers the work to be of Zervanite origin, but with an influence on Manichaeism.

⁵³ Widengren, “La Sagesse,” 510: “Il faut observer que la Sagesse, en effet, non seulement montre le chemin pour le salut des âmes, mais aussi donne les moyens d’une bonne et sage existence pendant la vie terrestre.”

⁵⁴ See J. K. Coyle, “The Cologne Mani-Codex and Mani’s Christian Connections,” *Église et Théologie* 10 (1979): 179–93.

⁵⁵ See Schmidt and Polotsky, “Ein Mani-Fund”: 7–11; and S. Giversen, *The Manichaean Coptic Papyri in the Chester Beatty Library*, vol. I. *Kephalaios* (Cahiers d’Orientalisme, 14), Geneva: Cramer, 1986, xvi.

⁵⁶ See Coyle, *Augustine’s “De moribus”*, 149 n. 612; and p. 163, n. 49.

⁵⁷ See “The Gospel of Thomas in Manichaeism?” in this volume.

⁵⁸ There may be a reference to *The Gospel of Mary* in the Manichaean Jesus-Psalm 274 (in Allberry, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, p. 94.24–25).

ritual (including sexual intercourse and *spermatodulia*, or the ritual consumption of semen)⁵⁹ recall what is said by heresiologists concerning some Egyptian Gnostics (variously referred to as Nicolaitans, Phibionites or Boroborites),⁶⁰ and—whatever their basis in fact⁶¹—appear to have been inspired by the Gnostic notion of the *syzygy* of the Saviour with (fallen and restored) Sophia,⁶² an idea subsequently transferred to the figures of Simon Magus with Helen and thence to Jesus with ‘Mary’.⁶³

Such arguments—particularly the last—are by themselves feeble at best, and might help to explain only how ‘Mary’ came to Manichaean attention in the first place. With more certainty, however, it can be said that a Mary figure corresponding in some degree to the Gnostic one is indeed present among Manichaean writings. But these writings go further than do Gnostic ones when they identify ΜΑΡΙΩΔΗΜΗ with the Spirit of Wisdom. Shortly before the assertion, “He chose ΜΑΡΙΩΔΗΜΗ, ΠΙΤΤΑ ΝΤΣΟΦΙΑ,” comes a reference to the “Wisdom of Truth, who instructs souls.”⁶⁴ Thus, whatever connection is intended

⁵⁹ Augustine, *De moribus Manichaeorum* 18.66 (CSEL 90, pp. 147.17–148.10) and 19.70 (pp. 150.17–151.5); *De haeresibus* 46.9–10 (CCL 46, pp. 314–16); *De natura boni* 45–47 (CSEL 25/2, pp. 884–88); and possibly Ambrose, *Epist. 50 ad Chromatium* 14 (PL 16, c. 1139A). See the discussion by A. A. Moon, *The De Natura Boni of Saint Augustine: A Translation with an Introduction and Commentary* (The Catholic University of America Patristic Studies, 88), Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1955, 239–42.

⁶⁰ See Epiphanius, *Panarion*, 25.3.2, 26.4.1–8, 8.4–9.9, and 10.8–9 (GCS 25, pp. 269.24, 280–81, 284–86, and 288.7). Compare Hippolytus, *Refutatio*, 5.7.18,21 and 27–28 (GCS 26, pp. 82.22, 83.16, and 85.4). For a study of this whole matter see Fendt, *Gnostische*, 3–22.

⁶¹ On the question of the historical accuracy of these reports see J. E. Goehring, “Libertine or Liberated: Women in the So-called Libertine Gnostic Communities,” in King, ed., *Images*, 338–44.

⁶² On this theme see Buckley, *Female Fault*, *passim*, esp. chap. 5; and Sevrin, “Les Noces”: 154–61. For the background see R. A. Horsley, “Spiritual Marriage with Sophia,” VC 33 (1979): 30–54.

⁶³ *Great Questions of Mary*, in Epiphanius, *Panarion* 26.8.2–3, GCS 25, p. 284.17–24. See Fendt, *Gnostische*, 78 n. 17; Buckley, *Female Fault*, 102–04; Sevrin, “Les Noces”: 161–63; and K. L. King, “Sophia and Christ in the ‘Apocryphon of John,’” in *Eadem*, ed., *Images*, 158–76 (response of J. D. Turner, 177–86). Referring to Hippolytus, W. A. Bienert in Schneemelcher, *New Testament Apocrypha* 1, 474, notes that “it is said of the Naassenes that they traced their teachings back to James the Lord’s brother, who transmitted them to Mariamne.” On this see Bergman, “Kleine Beiträge,” esp. 78–87. Hippolytus’ allusions to Naassenes (*Refutatio*, 5.7.1) refer to this person as Μαριάδημη (GCS 26, pp. 78.23 and 79.1) and once in another context (10.9.3) as Μαριάδηνη (p. 268.23).

⁶⁴ Allberry, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, p. 190.20.

between ΜΑΡΙΩΔΑΜΗ and σοφία in Gnostic literature,⁶⁵ an identification of the two is explicit in Manichaeism.

ΜΑΡΙΩΔΑΜΗ's principal appearance in the 'Psalms of Heracleides' is clearly inspired by *John* 20:11–18,⁶⁶ which serves as the context wherein the entire psalm is addressed to her by Jesus:

ΜΑΡΙΩΔΑΜΗ, ΜΑΡΙΩΔΑΜΗ, know me; do not [touch me].
 Stem] the tears of thy eyes and know me that I am thy master. Only
 touch me not, for I have not yet seen the face of my Father...
 I am not the gardener...⁶⁷

The spirit of this passage approaches that of the Johannine pericope, where Mary's weeping (mentioned four times in John) reveals both emotional intensity and ignorance regarding the true significance of Jesus' death,⁶⁸ an ignorance lifted only at the utterance of her name (repeated in the Manichaean psalm, in contrast to verse 16 of John 20, and directly associated to her weeping, in contrast to verse 15). Further, in the Manichaean psalm Jesus *informs* her he is not the gardener, before entrusting her with a mission that goes well beyond the simple Johannine proclamation (in verses 17–18) that Jesus is risen.

Further on, we see an allusion which may explain the earlier reference to ΜΑΡΙΩΔΑΜΗ as a "net-caster":⁶⁹

⁶⁵ The identification seems to be made in the *Gospel of Philip*; see C. Trautmann, "La parenté dans 'L'Évangile selon Philippe'", in B. Barc, ed., *Colloque international sur les textes de Nag Hammadi* (Québec, 22–25 août 1978) (Bibliothèque copte de Nag Hammadi, Section «Etudes», 1), Quebec: Presses de l'Université Laval/Leuven: Peeters, 1981, 273. Pasquier, *L'Évangile selon Marie*, 26, observes: "[Marie-Madeleine] est appelée aussi soeur et mère, termes qui ailleurs désignent la Sophia." But Sevrin, "Les Noces": 162–63, is more skeptical.

⁶⁶ So F. S. Pericoli Ridolfini, "Il salterio manicheo e la gnosi giudaico-cristiana," in Bianchi, ed., *Le origini*, 598. But see A. Böhlig, "Christliche Wurzeln im Manichäismus," in *Idem, Mysterion und Wahrheit: Gesammelte Beiträge zur spätantiken Religionsgeschichte*, Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1969 (repr. from *Bulletin de la Société d'Archéologie copte* 15 [1960]: 41–61; repr. in G. Widengren, ed., *Der Manichäismus* [WDF, 148], Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1977, 225–46), 215–16: "Bezeichnend ist der zusammengesetzte Charakter des Psalms. Die Grundlage bildet der Johannesabschnitt. Doch sind synoptische und auch apokryphe Züge mitgereingenommen. Bei Johannes handelt es sich um Maria Magdalena. In unserem Hymnus ist das nicht besonders ausgesprochen. Oder genügt bereits die Tatsache, daß hier der Lehrer mit der Schülerin zu sprechen scheint, für die Deutung auf Magdalena?"

⁶⁷ In Allberry, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, p. 187.2–8.

⁶⁸ Guillaume, "Marie-Madeleine," c. 562: "Elle est si préoccupée de retrouver le corps qu'elle est incapable de reconnaître le Vivant."

⁶⁹ See Bovon, "Le privilège": 56 (referring to the earlier quote): "Ces mots reflètent la tradition selon laquelle Marie-Madeleine a pour ainsi dire repêché les disciples de Jésus désemparés par le départ de leur maître."

Make haste rejoicing, and go unto the Eleven. Thou shalt find them gathered together on the bank of the Jordan.

The traitor persuaded them to be fishermen as they were at first and to lay down their nets with which they caught men unto life.

Say to them, ‘Arise, let us go, it is your brother that calls you.’⁷⁰

Then comes a reference to Logion 38 of the *Gospel of Thomas*:

Use all skill and advice until thou hast brought the sheep to the shepherd [see John 10:3].

If thou seest that their wits are gone, draw Simon Peter unto thee; say to him,

‘Remember what I uttered between thee and me.

‘Remember what I said between thee and me in the Mount of Olives:

“I have something to say, I have none to whom to say it.”⁷¹

In the final section ΜΑΡΙΩΑΜΗ responds:

Rabbi, my master, I will serve thy commandment in the joy of my whole heart.

I will not give rest to my heart, I will not give sleep to my eyes,
[I will not give rest to my feet until I have brought the sheep to the fold.]⁷²

A doxology follows, addressed first to ‘Marihamme’ (“Glory to ΜΑΡΙΩΑΜΗ, because she hearkened to her master, / she] served his commandment in the joy of her whole heart”); then to ‘Maria’ (“Glory and] victory to the soul of the blessed ΜΑΡΙΑ”).⁷³

This ΜΑΡΙΑ does not seem to be same personage as ΜΑΡΙΩΑΜΗ,⁷⁴ not only because each has her own name-form, but also because each has a distinct mention within the same doxology.⁷⁵ Be that as it may, this ΜΑΡΙΑ is present all through the Coptic Manichaean psalms, always as part of a doxology (which means that she is absent from the Psalms

⁷⁰ In Allberry, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, p. 187.13–19.

⁷¹ Allberry, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, p. 187.22–29.

⁷² Allberry, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, p. 187.30–33.

⁷³ Allberry, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, p. 187.34–36.

⁷⁴ Pace Guillaume, “Marie-Madeleine,” c. 564, who thinks that “d’après le contexte, la doxologie finale s’adresse à Marie-Madeleine et aussi, semble-t-il, celle de nombreux psaumes.”

⁷⁵ In Turfan fragment M18 we find: “On Sunday, at the birdsong’s beginning, there came Maryam Salome Maryam among the many other women...” (Müller, “Handschriften-Reste,” 2: 34–5, my translation). But should the first two (or last two) names be read separately or together?

of Thomas, which have none).⁷⁶ Allberry thought that this name might refer to a convert to Manichaeism «martyred in the early days of the Egyptian mission», and that the doxologies were therefore “local in origin.”⁷⁷ Säve-Söderbergh also pointed out that “this martyrological doxology does not belong to the hymn proper.”⁷⁸ However, for several reasons, the identification of the doxological Μαρία as a martyr is not beyond dispute:⁷⁹ nowhere do the Manichaean psalms explain how she became a martyr, or that she even might be such.⁸⁰ On the other hand, she is not included in the list of women noted earlier.⁸¹

It remains that in the edited portion of the Manichaean psalm-book Μαρία is the only person to unfailingly appear in those doxologies whose text can be sufficiently deciphered, many times by herself, and usually with the adjective μακαρία, which is attributed only to her and which recalls a passage in *PistSoph.*⁸² Often she is named alone with Mani (even when the ‘Elect’ are referred to in the same psalm), at one point in a setting that recalls a theme popular in Gnostic literature—the bridal chamber:⁸³

Let us not slumber and sleep until our Lord takes
us across, his garland upon his head, his palm
in his hand, wearing the robe of his glory, and we go within
the bride-chamber and reign with him, all of us together
and the soul of the blessed (μακαρία) Μαρία. Amen.⁸⁴

⁷⁶ T. Säve-Söderbergh, *Studies in the Coptic Manichaean Psalm-Book: Prosody and Mandaean Parallels* (Arbeten utgivna med understöd av Vilhelm Ekmans universitetsfond, 55), Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1949, 29: “In this respect the Psalms of Thomas have kept the original form, in so far as the ‘Egyptian doxology’ has not been added.”

⁷⁷ Allberry, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, xx.

⁷⁸ Säve-Söderbergh, *Studies*, 28.

⁷⁹ See in this volume “Women and the Expansion of Manichaeism,” 203–04.

⁸⁰ She is not among those whose martyrdom is described in Allberry, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, pp. 142–43. However, there is a rather ambiguous reference to Μαρία Θεοντα Μαρτύρε in each of two ψαλμοὶ Σαρακωτῶν (*ibid.*, pp. 157.13 and 173.12).

⁸¹ Allberry, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, pp. 192–93.

⁸² Cited on p. 163, n. 49. The Manichaean Μαρία is referred to as ‘Daughter of Light’ in the psalm-book (Allberry, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, p. 101.33).

⁸³ See Meeks, “The Image”: 189–93; Sevrin, “Les Noces”; Meyer, “Making Mary Male”: 557–58; Buckley, *Female Fault*, 76–83, 99–101, 109–25, and 136–38, with the remarks of K. Rudolph in King, ed., *Images*, 235–38; and R. M. Grant, “The Mystery of Marriage in the Gospel of Philip,” *VC* 15 (1961): 129–40. The theme is especially strong in the Hymn of the Bride of the *Acts of Thomas* 6–7: see Schneemelcher, *New Testament Apocrypha* 2, 341–42.

⁸⁴ Allberry, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, p. 193.8–12. See also pp. 54.5–6, 63.3–4, 79.17–23, 81.13–14, and 102.31–33.

Though preceded by a clear reference to the psalm's entire setting (the Parable of the Ten Virgins in Matthew 25:1–13), the words here probably imply more, for there are too many other similar references in Manichaean writings,⁸⁵ “and where no connexion with the Synoptic parable can be found.”⁸⁶ In fact, I would go so far as to say that all that has been said of this Μαρία applies to the unedited portion of the Manichaean psalm-book as well. An examination of it shows that, in every case of a psalm with a doxology which can be more or less clearly deciphered, she is present, sometimes alone (usually with the qualifier Μακαρία) or only with Mani,⁸⁷ at other times with other persons, including virtually all those mentioned in the doxologies of the edited part of the psalm-book.⁸⁸ Thus we find, at the end of a psalm (136) now partially translated by Giversen,⁸⁹ the name of Plousiane.⁹⁰ This name also appears elsewhere, as do those of Theona, Pshai, Panai, Jmnoute and (once) Eustephios.⁹¹ Where the name Μαρία is not visible, but the adjective Μακαρία or one or other of these names appears in a fragmentary doxology, it is reasonable to suppose that Μαρία lurks in

⁸⁵ See G. Widengren, *Mesopotamian Elements in Manichaeism (King and Saviour II): Studies in Manichaean, Mandaean, and Syrian-Gnostic Religions* (Uppsala Universitets Årsskrift, 1946/3), Uppsala: Lundeqvistska Bokhandeln / Leipzig: Harrassowitz, 1946, 109–22; and V. Arnold-Döben, *Die Bildersprache des Manichäismus* (AZR, 3), Köln: E. J. Brill, 1978, 78–81.

⁸⁶ Widengren, *Mesopotamian*, 111.

⁸⁷ Giversen, *The Manichaean Coptic Papyri*, 19, last line; 95.6 *ab imo* (end of Psalm 66); 107.19 (Ps. 72); 109.13 (Ps. 73); 123.13 *ab imo* (Ps. 80); 137.12 *ab imo* (Ps. 87); 142.3 (Ps. 97); 155.14 (Ps. 110?); 180.10 *ab imo* (Ps. 129); 214.8 (Ps. 157); 227.15 *ab imo* (Ps. 203); and 309.10. See also below, n. 93.

⁸⁸ References in Allberry, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, p. 44*. The only name missing in the unedited portion is that of Cleopatra (*ibid.*, p. 64.8). But a new personage, Μαρτυριος, appears on the last line of p. 294 of the unedited portion photographed by Giversen.

⁸⁹ S. Giversen, “The Manichaean Papyri of the Chester Beatty Library”, *Proceedings of the Irish Biblical Association* 11 (1988): 16. Giversen renders only that part of the psalm that runs to the bottom of p. 189 in the unedited portion.

⁹⁰ Giversen, *The Manichaean Coptic Papyri*, p. 190.7 *ab imo*: ογδρο ἦ τῇγχῃ πῖπλογιαν(ε) ιῆτηκαρ' Μαρίᾳ.

⁹¹ Giversen, *The Manichaean Coptic Papyri*, p. 72.7 *ab imo* (end of Psalm 47): θεονα; 73.5 *ab imo* (Ps. 54): θεονα; 83.7 *ab imo* (Ps. 58): πιναι; 113.28 (Ps. 75): πιναι; 115.26 (Ps. 76): πλογιανος (sic); 119.24 (Ps. 78): πλογιανε; 139.6 *ab imo* (Ps. 83): πολγλοζος; 143.11 (Ps. 101): πιναι, χηνούτε; 152.7 *ab imo* (Ps. 107): πιναι; 164.7 *ab imo* (Ps. 120): πολγλοζος; 175.4 *ab imo* (Ps. 126): θεονα; 177.11 *ab imo* (Ps. 127): πιναι, χηνούτε, θεονα; 196.7 *ab imo* (Ps. 139): εγστεφιος; 197.3 *ab imo* (Ps. 140): θεονα; 201.12 *ab imo* (Ps. 142): θεονα; 212.11 *ab imo* (151): θεονα, πιναι, χηνούτε; 213.14 (Ps. 156): θεονα; 222.4 *ab imo* (Ps. 183?): θεονα; 229, *ultima linea*: θεονα; 322.10 *ab imo*: θεονα.

the part that can no longer be read.⁹² And since none of these names appears outside a doxology, we may be sure that wherever we find them we are at the conclusion of a psalm.⁹³

Besides these conclusions on the doxological Μαρία, can any others be made at this point regarding the presence of Mary Magdalene in Manichaeism? I think there can, and (in good Manichaean tradition) they will be five in number:

- 1) Gold's affirmation that it is the Magdalene who is the important Mary in Gnosticism continues to invite further investigation; but less equivocal is her identification in Manichaeism. While this would not justify an *a posteriori* argument that, if Μαριχαμμή is Mary Magdalene in Manichaeism, the same name must represent Mary Magdalene in Gnosticism, we may turn the syllogism on its head and say that Manichaeans must have understood the predominant 'Mary' they encountered in their Coptic Gnostic sources as indeed referring to the Magdalene, regardless of how the Gnostics themselves thought of her. One needs to bear in mind, however, that the Coptic Manichaica are an Egyptian phenomenon not found elsewhere.
- 2) Though bereft of much of the symbolism associated with 'Mary's' Gnostic context, Μαριχαμμή in Manichaeism exercises a similar role as the ideal believer, in a privileged relationship to the risen Jesus, whom she meets alone (for the 'Eleven' are gone, lured away). This conforms to a general pattern in Christian literature—reaching back to the New Testament itself—of authenticating leaders through Jesus' post-resurrection appearances to them.⁹⁴ While not as elaborate as that of the 'Mary' of Gnosticism, the Manichaean Μαριχαμμή's role

⁹² As in Giversen, *The Manichaean Coptic Papyri*, p. 55.15 (end of Psalm 36); 86.5 (Ps. 61), 97.7 (Ps. 67) and 206.7 (Ps. 147?).

⁹³ See the comment of Allberry, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, p. 5: “‘Theona’ coming alone in l. 19 makes it certain that in that line Ps. 220 ends.” Giversen, in the facsimile edition of the first part of the psalm-book, has noted all the places where he thinks psalms begin or end, but the presence of doxological names helps identify a few more. See Giversen, *The Manichaean Coptic Papyri*, p. 169.5: Τύγχη Θεονα... Ηπτηλακαρία ίη; 241, three last lines (end of Ps. 209?): [ο]δρο νεκ πιληχαιος πιηενη շմագաթօς ίη / πα... εσα.. τηρդ նուցանէ հիտեր. πεηιου / τε հիրդիչի հիրդիկարի նմարի; 253, last line: Μαρι; 294 (see 169, n. 88); 307, last three lines: [ο]γεա[γ]... մ ուսքաէ Շմանիχαιօս... ըն / ... հինուցան նի ըւմա... / ... [հի]τύγχη պիτηλակար’ նմարի; 310, last line: [հիտի]լակարια Μαρια Թεοնα պաժ, չխոյցե.

⁹⁴ See Bovon, “Le privilège”: 51.

is certainly more notable than in the canonical gospels, which on the other hand (as in Gnosticism) form the *point de départ* for her introduction into the Manichaean psalms.

- 3) In contrast to the Gnostic writings, in the Manichaean psalms ΜΑΡΙΩΔΑΜΜΗ gives no teaching of her own. However, she is the bearer of the first message from the risen Jesus, and she exercises a clear leadership role over the Eleven, notably Simon Peter (with whom there appears to be no conflict); it is she who is charged with leading “the sheep back to the shepherd,” and with a proclamation more extensive than the simple Johannine announcement that she has met the risen Lord or that he is to precede the Eleven into Galilee.
- 4) If the association of Mary Magdalene with Jesus is meant to enlarge on the Sophia/Saviour couple of Gnostic writings, there is an all-important difference, in that Manichaeism does not view Wisdom as ever having fallen, nor as a manifestation of feminine instability.⁹⁵ This would obviate the need for Jesus to complete the return of the Gnostic fallen Sophia to the Pleroma. True, Manichaeism envisages the involuntary loss of divine substance: but that is not a ‘fall’ in the Gnostic sense. The Manichaean ΜΑΡΙΩΔΑΜΜΗ of the post-resurrection appearances may be confused with Mary of Bethany, but never with the tearful sinner.
- 5) On the other hand, the identification of ΜΑΡΙΩΔΑΜΜΗ with Wisdom, and her close association with Jesus (himself often identified as Wisdom),⁹⁶ may be intended to express a feminine aspect in

⁹⁵ U. Bianchi, “The Contribution of the Cologne Mani Codex to the Religio-Historical Study of Manichaeism,” in *Papers in Honour of Professor Mary Boyce*, 1 (AI, ser. 2, vol. 10), Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1985, 20: “No guilty Sophia or degraded Ennoia-Helena would be conceivable in Manichaeism; no peripheral, feminine and (for both reasons) intrinsically or potentially unstable or ‘insufficient’ hypostasis belonging to a Pleroma [...] could have been accepted by Mani.”. See also E. Rose, *Die manichäische Christologie*, (SOR, 5), Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1979, 173: “...hat jedenfalls die manichäische Lichtjungfrau nicht das Geringste mit der gefallenen *Sophia-Achamoth* zu tun.” On the fall of Sophia in the system of Valentinus, see P. Brown, *The Body and Society: Men, Women and Sexual renunciation in Early Christianity*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1988, 108–09 and 112; also A. Pasquier, “Prouneikos. A Colorful Expression to Designate Wisdom in Gnostic Texts,” in King, ed., *Images*, 47–66 (response of M. W. Meyer, 67–70).

⁹⁶ Doubtless under the influence of 1 Cor 1:24: see Coyle, *Augustine’s “De mortibus,”* 242–43 and 357.

Jesus.⁹⁷ The Magdalene, then, would serve Manichaean christology/soteriology in a dual capacity: first, as personifying Sophia and, secondly, as an essential complement to the Christ-Saviour figure.

⁹⁷ So E. Rose, "Die manichäische Christologie," *Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte* 32 (1980): 224: "aus seiner doppelten Residenz fließt die übernommene gnostische Auffassung von einer Doppelgestalt des kosmischen Befreiers, in der eine uralte androgyn Konzeption fortwirkt. Ihr gemäß hat der kosmische Christus als 'Vir-tus' eine männliche Seite, die in der Sonne, und als 'Sophia' = 'Sapientia' eine weibliche, die im Mond residiert." On the equation 'Jesus—Virgin of Light—Sophia' see Idem, *Christologie*, 166–73.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

RETHINKING THE ‘MARYS’ OF MANICHAEISM

To my knowledge the article I originally published in 1991 under the title “Mary Magdalene in Manichaeism?” was the first sustained attempt at addressing personages named ‘Mary’ in Manichaean texts.¹ In that article I asked: “Does a figure corresponding to the prominent ‘Mary’ of Gnosticism appear as well in the literature of Gnosticism’s spiritual heir, Manichaeism? and, if so, is she the Magdalene?”² My attempt to answer these questions attracted a number of responses,³ in light of which I wish to update my thoughts on the ‘Mary’ figures in the Manichaean religion.⁴

MANICHAEISM AND THE NEW TESTAMENT

For nearly three centuries, scholars have discussed Manichaeism’s exact relationship with other religious movements, including what became orthodox Christianity and various forms of Gnosticism. Scholarship now leans toward the view that Manichaeism’s founder Mani (216–277 C.E.) was more strongly influenced by some form of Christian ideas than by

¹ “Mary Magdalene in Manichaeism?,” the preceding article in this volume.

² “Mary Magdalene in Manichaeism?,” above, 161.

³ Especially by S. Richter, *Exegetisch-literarkritische Untersuchungen von Herakleidespsalmen des koptisch-manichäischen Psalmenbuches* (Arbeiten zum spätantiken und koptischen Ägypten, 5), Altenberge: Oros Verlag, 1994, *passim*. See also P. Nagel, “Mariammē—Netzwerferin und Geist der Weisheit,” in C. Fluck, L. Langener, S. Richter, S. Schaten and G. Wurst, eds., *Divitiae Aegypti: Koptologische und verwandte Studien zu Ehren von Martin Krause*, Wiesbaden: L. Reichert Verlag, 1995, 223–28; A. Marjanen, *The Woman Jesus Loved: Mary Magdalene in the Nag Hammadi Library and Related Documents* (NHMS, 40), Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1996, 206–15; S. J. Shoemaker, “Rethinking the ‘Gnostic Mary’: Mary of Nazareth and Mary of Magdala in Early Christian Tradition,” *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 9 (2001): 555–95; and J. Schaberg, *The Resurrection of Mary Magdalene: Legends, Apocrypha, and the Christian Testament*, New York: Continuum, 2002, chap. 4, *passim*.

⁴ For a brief survey of Mani and Manichaeism, see the pertinent article in A. Fitzgerald, ed., *Augustine through the Ages: an Encyclopedia* (Grand Rapids, Mich. and Cambridge: William B. Eerdmans, 1999, 520–25. A more thorough treatment is supplied by S. N. C. Lieu, *Manichaeism in the Later Roman Empire and Medieval China*, 2nd ed. (WUZNT, 63), Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1992 (1985).

any other religious factor. Still, the Christian elements were emphasized to a greater or lesser degree by the religion's proponents according to significant religious traditions in whatever geographical region they sought to proselytize; but their emphasis did not overlook acknowledged and profound differences with the Judeo-Christian traditions.

Its docetism was one of the main points of contention between Manichaeism and 'mainstream' Christianity: Manichaeism's 'true Jesus' could not have been born of Mary, not having been born at all. Further, Manichaeism repudiated the presentation of creation found in Genesis, along with its creator God (identified with the principle of evil). It went on to reject the Old Testament itself as well as everything it considered 'Jewish interpolations' in the New Testament. Nevertheless, Manichaeans attributed a revelatory (albeit imperfect) character to what remained of the New Testament after appropriate 'decontamination.' In Egypt, Manichaeism availed itself of some of the pseudepigrapha, in particular those it found in use among Gnostics of Egypt, such as the Acts of Thomas and the Acts of Peter.⁵ These they sometimes revised for their own purposes.⁶

THE 'MARYS' OF MANICHAEISM

Until early in the twentieth century, what was known about Manichaeism was sparse and wholly dependent on information supplied by its

⁵ See below, n. 17.

⁶ On Manichaean use of New Testament apocrypha, especially from Gnostic sources, see G. Bornkamm, *Mythos und Legende in den apokryphen Thomas-Akten: Beiträge zur Geschichte der Gnosis und zur Vorgeschichte des Manichäismus* (Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments, 49), Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1933, esp. 103–11; P. Nagel, "Die apokryphen Apostelakten des 2. und 3. Jahrhunderts in der manichäischen Literatur: Ein Beitrag zur Frage nach den christlichen Elementen im Manichäismus," in K. W. Tröger, ed., *Gnosis und Neues Testament: Studien aus Religionswissenschaft und Theologie*, Gütersloh: Morn, 1973, 149–82; J.-D. Kaestli, "L'utilisation des Actes apocryphes des apôtres dans le manichéisme," in M. Krause, ed., *Gnosis and Gnosticism: Papers read at the Seventh International Conference on Patristic Studies (Oxford, September 8th–13th 1975)* (NHS, 8), Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1977, 107–16; "Mary Magdalene in Manichaeism?," above, 165–67; and H.-J. Klimkeit, "Die Kenntnis apokrypher Evangelien in Zentral- und Ostasien," in A. van Tongerloo and S. Giversen, eds., *Manichaica Selecta: Studies presented to Julien Ries on the occasion of his seventieth birthday* (MS, 1), Leuven: International Association of Manichaean Studies, 1991, 149–75. Kaestli thinks (*art. cit.*, 114) that in such usage "it is not a matter of a secondary development, nor of an adaptation to the requirements of the mission to the Christians, but of a primitive trait of the new religion with roots in the spiritual evolution of Mani himself" (my translation).

detractors. Discoveries in northwest China in the early 1900s, and in Egypt in the 1930s and since the mid 1980s, have given us a more balanced view, for the first time providing access to documents from Manichaeism itself.

In the Egyptian Manichaica, two figures appear whose names may be translated as ‘Mary.’ These appearances are confined to a collection of psalms, part of a fourth-century library of Manichaean writings, all of them in Coptic (dating in that language from about 340 C.E.)⁷ and discovered at an abandoned oasis in 1930.⁸ Two hundred eighty-nine of the psalms are numbered, with still others unnumbered but grouped under general titles (e.g., Psalms of the Wanderers). All are contained in a single codex, only the second half of which has been edited.⁹ In these psalms, the name forms approximating ‘Mary’ are μαρια (Maria), μαριγαμμη (Marihammē), and μαριγαμα (Marihamma)¹⁰—though the last two likely refer, as we shall see, to the same figure.

Throughout both halves of the psalter, the name μαρια (corresponding to the form in the Coptic of John 20:1)¹¹ appears in virtually every legible doxology at the end of a psalm, whereas μαριγαμμη is confined to the psalm group attributed to the authorship of Heracleides (one of twelve disciples of Mani himself).¹² Of the seven unnumbered

⁷ For the date, see C. R. C. Allberry, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book, Part II* (MMCBC, 2), Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1938, xix–xx. If Kaestli (“L’utilisation,” 114–15) is right in considering the Coptic collection as derived from a Greek model, “itself dependent on a Syriac original” (*lui-même dépendant d’un original syriaque*), then the original psalter must date, according to him, from the last quarter of the third century.

⁸ On this discovery see C. Schmidt, H. J. Polotsky and H. Ibscher, “Ein Mani-Fund in Aegypten: Originalschriften des Mani und seiner Schüler,” SPAW, Jhg. 1933: 4–90. Polotsky’s contribution (63–82) is reproduced in his *Collected Papers*, Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1971, 673–98.

⁹ With an English translation, by Allberry, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*. The “Corpus Fontium Manichaeorum” (CFM) collection offers a new edition and German translation of the Manichaean psalms in its Series Coptica, vol. 1 (*Liber Psalmorum*). To date, three fascicles have appeared of this volume: G. Wurst, *Die Bema-Psalmen* (1996); *Idem, Psalmoi sarakōtōn* (1996–98), and S. G. Richter, *Die Herakleides-Psalmen* (1998).

¹⁰ On these forms see S. Petersen, “Zerstört die Werke der Weiblichkeit”: *Maria Magdalena, Salome und andere Jüngerinnen Jesu in christlich-gnostischen Schriften* (NHMS, 48), Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1999, 95 and 189; and Marjanen, *The Woman Jesus Loved*, 78.

¹¹ Jesus calls Mary of Magdala μαρια in the Coptic John 19:25 and 20:11,18. On the forms ‘Maria’ and ‘Mariam,’ see J. D. M. Derrett, “Miriam and the Resurrection (John 10, 16),” *Downside Review* 111 (1993): 176–78 and 183.

¹² Richter, who has studied them intensively, identifies five clusters of Psalms of Heracleides, in addition to a freestanding psalm: *Exegetisch-literarkritische*, 3–4; *Die Herakleides-Psalmen*, 3–5.

psalms comprising what Siegfried Richter has identified as the fourth Heracleides cluster,¹³ three—the first, fifth, and sixth—refer to ΜΑΡΙΩΔΗΜΗ (or ΜΑΡΙΩΔΑ).¹⁴ The fifth Psalm of Heracleides contains the following lines:

A net-caster is ΜΑΡΙΩΔΑ, hunting for the eleven others
that were wandering...
A joyous servant is Martha her sister also.
Obedient sheep are Salome and Arsenoe.¹⁵

Here ΜΑΡΙΩΔΑ¹⁶ is the first of eleven women named in a list that immediately follows the names of eleven of the apostles, from Peter through Paul. The first two names following ΜΑΡΙΩΔΗΜΗ's are biblical, while those of Arsenoe and the seven other women are drawn from various apocryphal (but not necessarily Gnostic) Acts of apostles.¹⁷

The reference to “Martha (ΜΑΡΘΑ) her sister” strongly, if not irrefutably, indicates that in ΜΑΡΙΩΔΑ the psalmist has Mary of Bethany in mind (see Luke 10:38–41); this would not preclude an association with Mary of Magdala¹⁸ that both early Christian and Gnostic traditions make.¹⁹ The Manichaean ΜΑΡΙΩΔΑ plays a role more active than the canonical Marys: she hunts, she casts the net, and later, like her Gnostic counterpart, she becomes talkative.²⁰ The Manichaean Martha, on the other hand, is a servant (though a joyful one), and the other

¹³ Richter, *Die Herakleides-Psalmen*, 51–103.

¹⁴ I agree with Richter (*Exegetisch-literarkritische*, 16 n. 63) that “all three instances of the Psalms of Heracleides have the same Mary in mind” (*alle drei Belege der Herakleidenpsalmen die gleiche Maria meinen*).

¹⁵ Allberry, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, p. 192.21–24.

¹⁶ Marjanen, *The Woman Jesus Loved*, 208 n. 18, considers this “a spelling error or variant” for ΜΑΡΙΩΔΗΜΗ.

¹⁷ Thecla in the Acts of Paul and Thecla; Maximilla and Iphidam(i)a in the Acts of Andrew; Aristobula and Drusiana in the Acts of John; Eubula in the Acts of Peter and Acts of Paul; and Mygdonia in the Acts of Thomas.

¹⁸ See Nagel, “Mariammē,” 224 n. 13: “The link Manicheans made (and not only they) of Mary Magdalene with Mary of Bethany does not alter the fact that Mary Magdalene is meant” (*Dass Maria Magdalena bei den Manichäern [und nicht nur bei diesen] sekundär mit Maria von Bethanien verbunden werden ist, ändert nichts daran, dass Maria Magdalena intendiert ist*).

¹⁹ See “Mary Magdalene in Manichaeism?,” above, 156–58; Marjanen, *The Woman Jesus Loved*, 208; A. Feuillet, “Le récit johannique de l’onction de Béthanie,” *Esprit et Vie* 95/14 (April 1985): 198–201; E. Dauzat, *L’invention de Marie-Madeleine*, Paris: Bayard, 2001, 39–45, 63–65, and 73–85; and especially V. Saxon, “Marie-Madeleine dans les évangiles: «La femme coupée en morceaux»?,” *Revue Thomiste* 92 (1992): 674–701 and 818–33.

²⁰ See Dauzat, 148–57; and Schaberg, 141–44.

two women are “obedient sheep.” A Martha and a Mary are associated in two other Western Manichaean sources,²¹ the Cologne Mani Codex (92.15–22),²² and the Latin fragment from Tebessa.²³ The other two names, Salome and Arsenoe, we will take up shortly.

The ‘netcaster’ theme, when coupled to Μαριγάμη as hunting, recalls another Coptic Manichaean document, the *Kephalaia*, in which the ‘four Light-hunters’ cast their nets to bring souls to redemption. Of these,

The third hunter is Je[sus] the Splendour who came from the] great|[ness], who hunts after the light and lif[e; and he leads?] it | to the heights. His net is his wisdom (σοφία), [the] lig[ht wisdom] | with which he hunts the souls, catching them in the n[et...]. The sea is | the error of the universe, the law o[f sin...] | the souls that are drowning in it [...]. He catch[es] | them in his net.²⁴

There is, then, a link between Μαριγάμη’s hunting and her net-casting, and another between Jesus the hunter, his net (which is ‘wisdom’), and Μαριγάμη the net-caster,²⁵ rendered explicit in the next text:

He chose Μαριγάμη, the spirit of wisdom.
He gave life to Martha, the breath of discretion.
He summoned Salome, the grace of peace.
He called Arsenoe, he set her in the garland of Truth.²⁶

²¹ See “Mary Magdalene in Manichaeism?,” 161 n. 37. On Martha and Mary in the New Testament, see S. Petersen, *Zerstört*, 254–55.

²² Greek text and English translation by R. Cameron and A. J. Dewey, *The Cologne Mani Codex (Colon. inv. nr. 4780) “Concerning the Origin of His Body”* (Texts and Translations, 15: Early Christian Literature Series, 3), Missoula, Mont.: Scholars Press, 1979, 74–75.

²³ On this text see F. Decret, “Aspects de l’Église manichéenne: Remarques sur le manuscrit de Tebessa” in A. Zumkeller, ed., *Signum Pietatis: Festgabe für Cornelius Petrus Mayer OSA* (Casicium, 40), Würzburg: Augustinus-Verlag, 1989, 138–43; and J. BeDuhn and G. Garrison, “The Tebessa Codex: A Manichaean Treatise on Biblical Exegesis and Church Order,” in P. Mirecki and J. BeDuhn, eds., *Emerging from Darkness: Studies in the Recovery of Manichaean Sources* (NHMS, 43), Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1997, 33–87, esp. 43, 69–70, 79–80, and 85–86.

²⁴ *Kephalaion 5*: Coptic in H. Ibscher, H. J. Polotsky and A. Böhlig, *Kephalaia, 1. Hälfte, Lieferung 1–10* (MHSMB, 1), Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1940, p. 28.26–33; trans. I. Gardner, *The Kephalaia of the Teacher: The Edited Coptic Manichaean Texts in Translation with Commentary* (NHMS, 37), Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1995, 32.

²⁵ Already noted by Nagel, “Mariammē,” 226–27, although he thinks that the Magdalene’s “personality is transferred to the πνεῦμα σοφίας—but not to σοφία herself” (*Persönlichkeit wird überholt zum πνεῦμα σοφίας—aber nicht zur σοφίᾳ selbst*). His association (225–28) of her as Spirit of Wisdom with the ‘net-caster’ theme via the notion of the four ‘hunters of light’ and the Virgin of Light is interesting, but more problematic: see S. Petersen, “Zerstört,” 193.

²⁶ Allberry, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, p. 194.19–22.

These lines appear in the long sixth Psalm of Heracleides where, again, they immediately follow a list of eleven apostles (not in all respects the same as the preceding,²⁷ though Peter is once more named first).²⁸ This time only three, rather than ten, female names accompany ΜΑΡΙΩΔΙΜΗ's: these are Martha, Salome (ΣΑΛΩΜΗ) and Arsenoe (ΑΡΣΕΝΟΗ), in the same order as in the fifth Psalm of Heracleides, with ΜΑΡΙΩΔΙΜΗ (rather than ΜΑΡΙΩΔΑ) retaining the first place. Their presence together in two Psalms of Heracleides suggests that the four names held special significance for Manichaeans.²⁹ In addition, a Turfan fragment (M18, Middle Persian) mentions two of the four together:

On Sunday, at the birdsong's beginning, there came Maryam Salome
Maryam among the many other women, bringing aromatic nard-
plants...³⁰

This is an apparent allusion to Mark 16:1 ("Mary Magdalene, Mary the mother of James, and Salome brought spices..."); but the allusion is problematic, in that further on in the same fragment 'Maryam,' 'Šalôm,' and 'Arsanîâh' are the women who visit Jesus' tomb on Easter morning (see Luke 24:5).³¹ Unmentioned in both groups is Martha (who is not

²⁷ On the two lists see Richter, *Exegetisch-literarkritische*, 193–210.

²⁸ But F. S. Pericoli Ridolfini, "Il salterio manicheo e la gnosi giudaico-cristiana," in *The Origins of Gnosticism: Colloquium of Messina, 13–18 April 1966*, ed. U. Bianchi (SHR, 12), Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1967, 598, reads too much into this when he claims that "Mary appears there as coordinator of the apostles, and Simon Peter as the principal recipient of the Gnostic revelation of Jesus" (*Maria vi appare como coordinatrice degli apostoli e Simone Pietro como il principale depositario della rivelazione gnostica di Gesù*).

²⁹ See R. Bauckham, "Salome the Sister of Jesus, Salome the Disciple of Jesus, and the Secret Gospel of Mark," *Novum Testamentum* 33 (1991): 264–65, who says that, for the author of *The Testament of Our Lord* (Syriac, fourth century), "Martha, Mary and Salome are the most prominent female disciples of Jesus, just as Peter, John, Thomas, Matthew, Andrew and Matthias are the most prominent of the twelve."

³⁰ In F. W. K. Müller, "Handschriften-Reste in Estrangelo-Schrift aus Turfan, Chinesisch-Turkistan," 2, APAW, Jhg. 1904, Abh. 3: 34–5 (my translation). For W. L. Petersen the quotation, "because of its length, complexity and uniqueness, establishes with absolute certainty the dependence of this Manichaean Fragment upon Tatian's Diatesseron": "An Important Unnoticed Diatesseronic Reading in Turfan Fragment M-18," in T. Baarda, A. Hilhorst, G. P. Luttikhuijzen and A. S. van der Woude, eds., *Text and Testimony: Essays on New Testament and Apocryphal Literature in Honour of A. F. J. Klijn*, Kempen: Kok, 1988, 189. There is a reference as well to a 'myrm' in another Turfan fragment (M 380), although the reading is uncertain. See W. Sundermann, *Mitteliranische manichäische Texte kirchen-geschichtlichen Inhalts* (BT, 11), Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1981, p. 140, no. 2399.

³¹ "Mary Magdalene in Manichaeism?," above, 162 and 167.

placed at the tomb by John or the Synoptics, either, although in *The Letter of the Apostles* [9] she is an ointment-bearer).

The association of Salome with Mary of Magdala in Mark 15:40 and the possible allusion to Mark 16:1 recall that the Manichaean psalmist is thinking specifically of the Magdalene. Mark 15 and 16 are the only New Testament appearances of a Salome other than Herodias’s daughter, though the name is common enough in apocryphal writings. The original inspiration for the Manichaean Salome (the name reappears in the sixteenth Psalm of Thom)³² is probably the New Testament, since “Salome seems to have been a peculiarly Palestinian name.”³³ However, she also appears in the *Gospel of the Egyptians* (if we may believe Clement of Alexandria),³⁴ the *Pistis Sophia* (132, along with Μαρία) and the *Gospel of Thomas* (61),³⁵ where we also find Μαριώμ (though not in the same logion).³⁶

The name of Arsenoe (who seems to attract more attention from Manichaeism than from any other religious tradition of antiquity)³⁷ has no biblical witness, but appears in 3 Maccabees 1:1,4 and once in the *First Apocalypse of James* (40:26). In fact, all four women appear here (40.22–29)—insofar as the text is legible—, although one cannot simply argue, as Silke Petersen does, that the list is “probable, because

³² Allberry, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, p. 222.19–20, 26–27: “Salome built a tower upon the rock of truth and mercy [...]. Salome gave a parapet to the tower...” For a discussion of these lines see S. Petersen, “Zerstört,” 237–40. Oddly, not Salome, but Mary Magdalene is the one usually associated with the tower image: see M. Scopello, “Marie-Madeleine et la tour: *pistis et sophia*,” in *Figures du Nouveau Testament chez les Pères* (Cahiers de Biblia Patristica, 3), Strasbourg: Centre d’Anayse et de Documentation Patristiques, 1991, 179–96.

³³ Bauckham, “Salome”: 254. See also T. Ilan, “Notes on the Distribution of Jewish Women’s Names in Palestine in the Second Temple and Mishnaic Periods,” *Journal of Jewish Studies* 40 (1989): 191–92; and S. Petersen, “Zerstört,” 195–96.

³⁴ Clement, *Stromata* 3.6.45.

³⁵ In Bauckham’s view (“Salome”: 263) “Salome’s prominence in Gnostic Gospel traditions should not be exaggerated. She appears only in the East Syrian tradition (from which the Manichaean tradition about her probably also derives) and the Egyptian tradition.”

³⁶ M. Fieger, “Die Frau im Thomasevangelium,” in R. Schulz and M. Görg, eds., *Lingua restituta orientalis: Festgabe für Julius Assfalg* (Ägypten und Altes Testament 20), Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1990, 103: “By Mariham, a name encountered also in Logion 114, only Mary Magdalene can be meant” (*Mit Mariham, dieser Name begegnet auch in Spruch 114, kann nur Maria Magdalena gemeint sein*). On the various forms of the name ‘Mary’ in Gnostic and other texts, see Schaberg, *The Resurrection*, 126–27.

³⁷ See S. Petersen, “Zerstört,” 258–60.

the names of these four women are mentioned in two Manichaean psalms.”³⁸

Μαριχάμ (or Μαρία), Martha, and Salome are all named in *Pistis Sophia* (Martha in 38–39, 57, 73, and 80)³⁹ as well as in Origen’s *Contra Celsum* (5.62) where, speaking of Gnostic groups, he mentions “Harpocratians from Salome, others from Mariamme, others from Martha.” As Mary, even though accompanied by Martha, is specifically identified as the Magdalene in *Pistis Sophia* and the *First Apocalypse of James* (40.25), we have a strong basis for seeing here a mix of the Magdalene with Mary of Bethany.⁴⁰

If the Manichaean Μαριχάμη is meant to personify or recall something about Wisdom, it is not, as in the *Gnostic Gospel of Philip*, of Wisdom as fallen.⁴¹ But Richter and Silke Petersen were right to challenge my observation that Μαριχάμη is identified with Wisdom *tout court* rather than with the *spirit* of wisdom.⁴² I now believe that here we have a demonstration of Geo Widengren’s insight that ‘wisdom’ is

³⁸ S. Petersen, “Zerstört,” 249: “wahrscheinlich, weil in zwei manichäischen Psalmen diese vier Frauennamen zusammen genannt werden” (my translation).

³⁹ See G. Casadio, “Donna e simboli femminili nella gnosi del II secolo,” in U. Mattioli, ed., *La donna nel pensiero cristiano antico* (Saggi e ricerche), Genoa: Marietti, 1999), 319: “In *Pistis Sophia* [...] Mary is the principal personality along with Jesus: there she appears as the pneumatic figure par excellence, predestined to enter the πλήρωμα, with the Kingdom of Light for her inheritance” (*Nella Pistis Sophia [...] Maria e il personaggio principale insieme a Gesù: ivi essa appare come la figura pneumatica per eccellenza, predestinata a entrare nel πλήρωμα, ereditando il regno della luce*).

⁴⁰ Bauckham, “Salome,” 257: “throughout the whole of Gnostic literature no more than six women disciples of Jesus are ever named (Mary [Magdalene], Martha, Salome, Arsenoe, Mary the mother of Jesus, Mary the sister of Jesus) and no more than four in any work.” The Manichaean literature seems to follow the same pattern. According to A. Veilleux, *La première Apocalypse de Jacques* (NH V,3) (Bibliothèque copte de Nag Hammadi, Section «Textes», 17), Quebec: Presses de l’Université Laval, 1986, 94 n. 54, “The reconstruction ‘[Ars]inoé’ in 40,26 is fairly certain” (*La reconstruction «[Ars]inoé» en 40,26 est assez certaine*), but “the mention of Martha is much more hypothetical” (*la mention de Marthe est beaucoup plus hypothétique*). He admits that his reconstruction, too, is based on the Manichaean psalm book. On the ‘Mary’ of the *First Apocalypse of James*, see also S. Petersen, “Zerstört,” 250–54.

⁴¹ On Sophia’s fall see G. C. Stead, “The Valentinian Myth of Sophia,” JTS n.s. 20 (1969): 75–104, esp. 78–89.

⁴² Richter, *Exegetisch-literarkritische*, 212, referring to “Mary Magdalene in Manichaeanism?,” (above, 166); see also S. Petersen, “Zerstört,” 193, and above, 177. But that would not rule out the notion of a spirit (which is) of wisdom: see G. W. MacRae, “The Jewish Background of the Gnostic Sophia Myth,” *Novum Testamentum* 12 (1970): 90.

a frequent term for Mani’s teaching.⁴³ It remains that the connection between ΜΑΡΙΩΔΗΜΗ and the spirit of wisdom (ΠΙΓΗΔΑ ΝΤΣΟΦΙΑ) constitutes the passage’s prime interest.

The final appearance of ΜΑΡΙΩΔΗΜΗ under consideration here comes in the first Psalm of Heracleides, all of which (save for her response, in two strophes) is addressed to her by Jesus:⁴⁴

“ΜΑΡΙΩΔΗΜΗ, ΜΑΡΙΩΔΗΜΗ, know me: do not touch me.
 [...Stem] the tears of thy eyes and know me that I am thy master.
 Only touch me not, for I have not yet seen the face of my Father.
 Thy God was not stolen away, according to the thoughts of thy littleness:
 thy God did not die, rather he mastered death.
 I am not the gardener: I have given, I have received the...,,
 I appeared(?) [not] to thee, until I saw thy tears and thy grief... for (?)
 me.
 Cast this sadness away from thee and do this service (λειτουργία): be a
 messenger for me to these wandering orphans.
 Make haste rejoicing, and go unto the Eleven. Thou shalt find them gath-
 ered together on the bank of the Jordan.
 The traitor persuaded them to be fishermen as they were at first and to
 lay down their nets with which they caught men unto life.
 Say to them, ‘Arise, let us go, it is your brother that calls you.’ If they
 scorn my brotherhood, say to them, ‘It is your master.’
 If they disregard my mastership, say to them, ‘It is your Lord.’ Use all
 skill and advice until thou hast brought the sheep to the shepherd.
 If thou seest that their wits are gone, draw Simon Peter unto thee; say to
 him, ‘Remember what I uttered between thee and me.
 Remember what I said between thee and me in the Mount of Olives: I
 have something to say, I have none to whom to say it.’”
 “Rabbi, my master, I will serve (διακονεῖν) thy commandment in the joy
 of my whole heart.
 I will not give rest to my heart, I will not give sleep to my eyes, I will not
 give rest to my feet until I have brought the sheep to the fold.”
 Glory to ΜΑΡΙΩΔΗΜΗ, because she hearkened to her master, she] served
 (διακονεῖν) his commandment in the joy of her whole heart.
 Glory and] victory to the soul of the blessed ΜΑΡΙΑ.⁴⁵

⁴³ G. Widengren, “La Sagesse dans le manichéisme,” in *Mélanges d’Histoire des Religions offerts à Henri-Charles Puech*, Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1974, 501–15.

⁴⁴ Richter, *Exegetisch-literakritische*, 59, believes that the dialogue of this psalm, which he dates between 275 and 300, is inspired by an earlier Manichaean work.

⁴⁵ Allberry, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, p. 187.

The inspiration for the first five lines is the canonical John 20:11–18,⁴⁶ where Mary of Magdala is explicitly named. Here the one who addresses her at the tomb is also Jesus—but not the one of orthodox Christianity (who is “the traitor”: προδότης), and not risen, for there has been no death; but not yet returned to the divine realm of Light, either. ΜΑΡΙΩΔΗΜΗ weeps, but is not to touch the narrator, who has “not yet seen the face of my Father,”⁴⁷ recalling John 20:16–17, but expressed in a very Manichaean manner: Jesus has not yet seen the face of God. The fourth Psalm of Heracleides refers to “the four-faced God,” who is “the Father of Greatness,” and to Jesus as “the son of Amen.”⁴⁸

Of interest, too, is that ΜΑΡΙΩΔΗΜΗ is given a mission which essentially spells out what ‘net-casting’ and ‘hunting’ mean: they are a *leitourgia*⁴⁹—work, task, or mission—as “a messenger [...] unto the Eleven,” far more explicit than even in John. And she is not just to carry a message, but to make herself the spokesperson of Jesus: she is to recall the eleven to the real net-casting (for souls) from which the traitorous Jesus lured them. She is to speak in the name of the real Jesus: “Say to them, ‘Arise, let us go, it is your brother that calls you’ [...]. Say to them, ‘It is your master’ [...]. Say to them, ‘It is your Lord.’” And she is to bring “the sheep to the shepherd.” The identification of Jesus with ΜΑΡΙΩΔΗΜΗ is especially striking in its reference to Peter (who, it will be remembered, is named first among the eleven in the fifth and sixth psalms): she is to call him to remembrance. “Say to him: ‘Remember what I uttered [...]. Remember what I said...’”

ΜΑΡΙΩΔΗΜΗ’s two-strophed response is to the effect that she will be true to the mission entrusted to her: she is, then, a model of obedient fidelity,⁵⁰ although the verb διοκοῦειν implies ministry or service rather than passive obedience. She promises not to rest “until I have brought the sheep to the fold”—curiously, not now to the shepherd,

⁴⁶ For opposing views see “Mary Magdalene in Manichaeism?,” above, 166 n. 66. On differences with the canonical text, see Marjanen, *The Woman Jesus Loved*, 207 n. 16.

⁴⁷ Allberry, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, 187, refers at this point to C. Schmidt, *Gespräche Jesu mit seinen Jüngern nach der Auferstehung* (TU, 43), Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1919, 38–9 (Ethiopic and Coptic).

⁴⁸ Allberry, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, p. 191.12–14. On the four-faced God see J. K. Coyle, *Augustine’s “De moribus ecclesiae catholicae”: A Study of the Work, its Composition and its Sources* (Paradosis, 25), Fribourg, Switzerland: The University Press, 1978, 32 n. 144.

⁴⁹ On the meaning of this term here see Richter, *Exegetisch-literarkritische*, 46 n.

⁵⁰ See Marjanen, *The Woman Jesus Loved*, 212 and 215.

as per Jesus’ instruction, although the psalmist’s intention may be to draw on the proximity of the Coptic (Subachmimic) word ψειρε (sheepfold) to ψηρε (child).⁵¹ The psalm does not inform whether Μαριγαμμη actually keeps her promise; but just before the usual doxology (with its customary mention of Μαρια) ⁵² is one just for her: “Glory to Μαριγαμμη, because she hearkened to her master [i.e., took him seriously, apparently unlike the eleven], she served (διακονεῖν = ministered?) his commandment in the joy of her whole heart.” Again, we note the emphasis on faithful (though active) obedience.

CLARIFICATIONS

The dozen years since my first article on this subject have seen the publication of many new studies on Mary Magdalene.⁵³ Among them

⁵¹ See, e.g., the thirteenth Psalm of Thom (Allberry, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, p. 220.2–3): παύητε πτέριατογς [...] παύητε πτιχητ.

⁵² Every Coptic Manichaean psalm, edited or not, with a legible doxology mentions Μαρια, who cannot be our Μαριγαμμη, because each name form appears here in a juxtaposed but separate doxological passage. The phenomenon is so unique as to have me agree with Marjanen (*The Woman Jesus Loved*, 206–07) that in this case the name-difference is significant. See below.

⁵³ See—besides the references in preceding notes—B. Neipp, *Marie-Madeleine, femme et apôtre: La curieuse histoire d'un malentendu*, Aubonne (Switz.): Éd. du Moulin, 1991; Saxer, “Marie-Madeleine dans les évangiles”: 674–701 and 818–33; R. Attwood, *Mary Magdalene in the New Testament Gospels and Early Tradition* (European University Studies: Series 23, Theology, vol. 457), Bern: Lang, 1993; S. Haskins, *Mary Magdalene, Myth and Metaphor*, New York: Harcourt Brace, 1993; J. Moreno Garrido, “María Magdalena en los textos gnósticos de Nag Hammadi,” *Seminarios de Filosofía*, volumen especial (1993): 135–54; C. Ricci, *Mary Magdalene and Many Others: Women Who Followed Jesus*, Minneapolis: Fortress, 1994, trans. of *Maria di Magdala e le molte altre* (La Dracone, 2), Naples: M. d’Auria Editore, 1991; H. Koivunen, *The Woman Who Understood Completely: A Semiotic Analysis of the Mary Magdalene Myth in the Gospel of Mary* (Acta Semiotica Fennica), Imatra, Finland: International Semiotics Institute, 1994; H. van Reisen, “Verrezen tot leerlinge van de Haer.: Maria Magdalena in de verkondiging Augustinus,” *Tijdschrift voor Liturgie* 79 (1995): 98–110; E. de Boer, *Mary Magdalene: Beyond the Myth*, London: SCM Press, 1997, trans. of *Maria Magdalena: De mythe vorbij: Op zoek naar wie zij werkelijk is*, Zoetermeer: Meinema, 1996; M. Arminger, *Die verratene Päpstin: Maria Magdalena, Freundin und Geliebte Jesu, Magierin der Zeitenwende*, Munich: List, 1997; J.-Y. Leloup, *L’Évangile de Marie: Myriam de Magdala*, Paris: Éd. Albin Michel, 1997; K. L. King, “Canonization and Marginalization: Mary of Magdala,” *Concilium* 3 (1998): 29–36; M. R. D’Angelo, “Reconstructing ‘Real’ Women from Gospel Literature: The Case of Mary Magdalene,” in R. S. Kraemer and M. R. D’Angelo, eds., *Women & Christian Origins*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1999, 105–28; E. Mohri, *Maria Magdalena: Frauenbilder in Evangelientexten des 1. bis 3. Jahrhunderts*, Marburg:

is Antti Marjanen's, in which he judges that my "claim that the figure of Mary Magdalene is somehow mirrored in the Mary of the doxologies remains unfounded."⁵⁴ Silke Petersen is blunter: I have, she says, "tried without basis to establish a connection [of Μαρία] to Mary Magdalene."⁵⁵ A claim and a connection I would cheerfully retract—had I made them. But I fear they are due to misreading the orientation of my question: "Besides these conclusions on the doxological Μαρία, can any other be made at this point regarding the presence of Mary *Magdalene* in Manichaeism?"⁵⁶ It is all a matter of inflection, in a query immediately following the statement that: "This Μαρία does not seem to be the same personage as Μαριγλωμή, not only because each has her own name-form, but also because each has a distinct mention within the same doxology."⁵⁷

In an intensive article published in 2001, Stephen Shoemaker argues for a rethinking of the general consensus that 'Mary' in Gnostic writings signifies Mary of Magdala rather than Mary of Nazareth. He quotes my remark that Mary Magdalene is explicitly identified as such only in the *Gospel of Philip* and the *Pistis Sophia*, then cautions that "the identity of 'Mary' even in these texts is more complex than Coyle here suggests."⁵⁸ This is an evaluation with which I have no quarrel, since I was merely noting the infrequency with which she is specifically called the Magdalene. Shoemaker goes on to observe that the identity of the Gnostic Mary "must be supplied from one or a combination of at least two possibilities, Mary of Nazareth and Mary of Magdala."⁵⁹ That is as may be where Gnostic, canonical, and Christian non-biblical literatures are concerned; but when it comes to Manichaeism, there is no danger of confusing Mary of Magdala with Mary of Nazareth, for Manichaeism never pays attention to a woman who would have,

Elwert Verlag, 2000; and F. S. Jones, ed., *Which Mary? The Marys of Early Christian Tradition* (SBL Symposium Series, 19), Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2002.

⁵⁴ Marjanen, *The Woman Jesus Loved*, 207 n. 11.

⁵⁵ S. Petersen, "Zerstört," 191 n. 436 (referring to "Mary Magdalene in Manichaeism?," above, 168–70): "unbegründeterweise versucht, einen Zusammenhang mit Maria Magdalena herzustellen."

⁵⁶ "Mary Magdalene in Manichaeism?," above, 170. Richter, *Exegetisch-literarkritische*, 16, n. 63, cites this sentence, also with the conclusion that I implied that the Μαρία of the doxologies is Mary Magdalene.

⁵⁷ "Mary Magdalene in Manichaeism?," above, 167. The first argument is also employed by Marjanen, *The Woman Jesus Loved*, 206. But see below, 185–86.

⁵⁸ Shoemaker, "Rethinking": 557 n. 4.

⁵⁹ Shoemaker, "Rethinking": 589.

at best, mothered the wrong Jesus and, at worst, desecrated him with her womb.⁶⁰ As noted, the favoured Jesus is a docetic one: he has no earthly mother. This does not mean, however, that the Manichaean ΜΑΡΙΩΔΗΜΗ could not bear traits of more than one New Testament ‘Mary’;⁶¹ but Mary of Nazareth would not be one of them.⁶² The Marys of Magdala and of Bethany are much more likely candidates for the sort of conflation Shoemaker suggests. To that conclusion five others can be added:

- (1) In 1991 I quoted Victor Gold as affirming that it is the Magdalene who is the popular Mary in Manichaeism.⁶³ If that is truly the case, the affirmation might still only be valid for Western Manichaeans, and then not (at least in some cases) to the exclusion of Mary of Bethany. But unlike the composite formed of her in Christian tradition, Manichaeism’s Mary Magdalene does not include the sinner.⁶⁴
- (2) In the Egyptian Manichaean psalms, ΜΑΡΙΩΔΗΜΗ plays a role that may not be as important as in some Gnostic writings, but is certainly more pronounced than in the canonical gospels: she is a guide, a teacher, even a stand-in for Jesus.⁶⁵
- (3) In contrast with Gnostic tendencies, she engages in conflict with neither Peter nor any other apostle.⁶⁶ Her teaching is entirely positive and nonconfrontational. But if in Gnostic writings (notably, *Gospel of Mary* and *Gospel of Thomas*) Mary provides a teaching of her own, the Manichaean ΜΑΡΙΩΔΗΜΗ does not. Yet she resembles her Gnostic homologue in her leadership role over the eleven and (as in canonical writings as well) in bringing the first message from

⁶⁰ See Allberry, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, pp. 121.29 and 175.16.

⁶¹ See Shoemaker, “Rethinking”: 560: “there is much to suggest that the gnostic Mary is in fact a composite figure, and that she has absorbed elements of both the Magdalene’s and the Virgin’s identities. Her simple identification with one or the other figure simply cannot accommodate all of the evidence.”

⁶² Pace Shoemaker, “Rethinking”: 586–87.

⁶³ “Mary Magdalene in Manichaeism?,” above, 155.

⁶⁴ On this see I. Maisch, *Mary Magdalene: The Image of a Woman through the Centuries*, Collegeville, Minn: Liturgical Press, 1998, 43–6; trans. of *Maria Magdalena zwischen Verachtung und Verehrung: Das Bild einer Frau im Spiegel der Jahrhunderte*, Freiburg-Basel-Vienna: Herder, 1996, 51–4.

⁶⁵ See “Mary Magdalene in Manichaeism?,” above, 164.

⁶⁶ See Maisch, *Mary Magdalene*, 26–7 (*Maria Magdalena*, 34–5); and Schaberg, *The Resurrection*, 156–66.

the risen Jesus. Nevertheless, the influence of Gnostic (or at least pseudepigraphical) writings on the form Manichaeism gives to her name is certain.⁶⁷ But, while there is explicit mention of Μαρία (τ)ΜΑΓΛΑΛΗΝΗ in some Gnostic works,⁶⁸ we never find this form in Manichaean documents, which is one reason why a composite figure cannot be ruled out.

- (4) The Manichaean Μαριχάμμη is associated with Jesus who is the Wisdom of God (see 1 Cor 1:24, a favourite Manichaean passage). The intention, therefore, may be to express Jesus' feminine side through Μαριχάμμη. I emphasize, though, that I advanced this in 1991 only as a *possibility*, in terms of the Magdalene as (the spirit of) Wisdom, and as "an essential complement to the Christ-Saviour figure."⁶⁹
- (5) As in both Gnostic and non-Gnostic Christian groups, the Manichaean Miriamic (or should we say, Marihammic?) figure plays the role of the ideal believer; that is, she embodies the virtues—in the event, obedience and fidelity—of the appropriate group: in the event, of Manichaeism.

⁶⁷ See, for example, the Gnostic *Dialogue of the Saviour* 126.17 and 131.39 and *Sophia of Jesus Christ*, NH III,4, 98.9 and 114.9; also the forms Μαριανή (or Μαριανῆ) in one manuscript of *Pistis Sophia* (see "Mary Magdalene in Manichaeism?", above, 157 n. 16) or Μαριχάμ (Gospel of Thomas 114; Gospel of Mary 9–10, 17–19). On various forms of names for 'Mary' in Gnostic writings see Shoemaker, "Rethinking": 582–86.

⁶⁸ As in *Pistis Sophia* 113–21.

⁶⁹ With respect to this issue neither Nagel, "Mariammē," 225 n. 18 and 228, Marjanen, *The Woman Jesus Loved*, 214, nor Richter, *Exegetisch-literarkritische*, 212, has quoted me *in toto*. Casadio, "Donna e simboli," 319, says that in the Gnostic writings "Magdalene (the 'Mary' par excellence) is the ultimate incarnation of Sophia, the final feminine bearer of Gnostic revelation, and, like Eve and Norea, the σύζυγος of a Gnostic saviour" (*Maddalena [la «Maria» per eccellenza] è l'ultima incarnazione di Sophia, l'ultima detentrice al femminile della rivelazione gnostica, e, come Eva, come Norea, la σύζυγος di un salvatore gnostico*).

CHAPTER TWELVE

WOMEN AND MANICHAEISM'S MISSION TO THE ROMAN EMPIRE

The eminent social historian Peter Brown once observed, without further elaboration:

[T]hroughout the late third and fourth centuries, Paul and Thecla walked the roads of Syria together, in the form of the little groups of “Elect” men and women, moving from city to city. As members of the “Elect,” Manichaean women travelled on long missionary journeys with their male peers.¹

Thirteen years after Brown wrote this, I published an article querying its accuracy,² but upon reflection I have come to see a stronger basis for his claim than I once thought. This item will therefore be an exploration of the evidence for Brown’s assertion.

MANICHAEISM ON THE ORIGIN OF THE HUMAN COUPLE

The great pristine war that took place between the two eternal co-principles of good and evil resulted in the mixing of their substances. To free the good, spiritual light from the evil, material darkness with which it had become enmeshed, the good principle tricked the evil counterpart into fashioning the visible universe out of the mixture. This good principle then designed a celestial mechanism made up of the moon, sun, and planets to serve as collector stations for any light that might be released from its dark prison. In turn, the celestial bodies would pass that light back to its divine home, where it would re-attach itself to the realm of goodness. Since he considered matter to be

¹ P. Brown, *The Body and Society: Men, Women, and Sexual Renunciation in Early Christianity*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1988 202.

² “Prolegomena to a Study of Women in Manichaeism” in this volume, 144 n. 15, reproducing the same citation from Brown, asks, “what sources support this?” and concludes that women do not “appear to have shared the rootlessness that often characterized male Elect, at least in the West.” One could argue that there are fewer claims for this assertion than for Brown’s.

synonymous with evil, and saw the material creation as a work of necessity rather than of love, Mani reworked the creation accounts in *Genesis*. According to him, in order to offset the tactic of the good God, the evil principle caused two demons to mate, and their union produced Adam and Eve.³ This couple was the world in miniature, since they contained the mixture of goodness/light/spirit (soul) and evil/darkness/matter (body) to a high degree. Not God's creation, humanity had been given existence only to keep as much light entrapped in the material world as possible, chiefly by generating offspring. In a divergence from the New Testament, the good principle deflected the demonic creation called humanity toward a more positive purpose by sending the couple 'Jesus' from the light-realm to reveal divine knowledge (*gnōsis*) to them.

From the Manichaean viewpoint, each living being on earth was a microcosm effected by the pristine war, a mixture of light and dark substances, such that whatever one found pleasing in the world could be ascribed to the presence of entrapped light, and whatever was disagreeable must be due to the darkness that constituted the light's prison. That was especially true in the case of human beings; but, paradoxically, they were to be the true instruments of salvation. All men and women were called to remove themselves as far as possible from the consequences of their mixed condition, and to undo the imprisonment of light. Not all, of course, would respond to the call, nor even be aware of it. Those who answered unconditionally thereby became adherents of Manichaeism's inner circle—the Elect (perfect, or saints). These were the true instruments of salvation, of the release of light achieved by eating and digesting certain prescribed foods. This, their most sacred task, would be accomplished through bodies that, though burdened by a demonic origin, were at the same time viewed as the

³ On the demonic origin of the human body and its status as a prison of divine light, see P. Nagel, "Anatomie des Menschen in gnostischer und manichäischer Sicht" in *Idem*, ed., *Studien zum Menschenbild in Gnosis und Manichäismus* (Wissenschaftliche Beiträge, 1979/39 [K5]), Halle-Wittenberg: Martin-Luther-Universität, 1979, 85–92; also K. M. Woschitz, M. Hutter, and K. Prener, *Das manichäische Urdrama des Lichtes: Studien zu koptischen, mitteliranischen und arabischen Texten*, Vienna: Herder, 1989, 84–5; and E. Buonaiuti, "La prima coppia umana nel sistema manicheo," *Revista degli studi orientali* 7 (1916): 663–86. Unlike in classic Judaeo-Christian thought (see E. Pagels, *Adam, Eve, and the Serpent*, New York: Random House, 1988, *passim*), in Manichaeism neither Adam nor Eve is responsible for the present human condition of redeemable sinfulness. The mixture of light and darkness preceded them, and they were created to guarantee the mixture's perpetuation.

means for liberated light to return to its divine source.⁴ That is why the Elect were required to practise a rigorous asceticism, including celibacy, for they more than all other members of the human race had to be as uninvolved with matter as possible for the achievement of their task. This class of believers, open to both men and women,⁵ had the further duty of unceasing missionary activity, “charge essentielle des Parfaits.”⁶ That was the practical reason why they could have no family ties nor own anything, and this turned them into perpetual wanderers.⁷

Women also belonged to the class of Manichaean Hearers (catechumens),⁸ whose primary religious duty was to gather and prepare food for the Elect. They were allowed to marry but discouraged from having children.⁹ An undated document from North Africa reproduces the following abjuration by one Cresconius, recently converted from Manichaeism:

I know there are Manichaeans in the area of Caesaria [in Numidia]: Maria and Lampadia, the wife of the merchant Mercurius—we even prayed together with them at the home of Eucharistus the Elect; Caesaria and Lucilla, her daughter; Candidus, who lives in Tipasa; Victorinus and

⁴ On this see J. D. BeDuhn, *The Manichaean Body in Discipline and Ritual*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000.

⁵ See the term *εκλεκτοί* in H. J. Polotsky, *Manichäische Homilien* (MHSCB, 1), Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1934, p. 24.9, and in *Kephalaion 91* in H. Ibscher, H. J. Polotsky and A. Böhlig, *Kephalaia, 1. (Lieferung 1–10)* (MHSMB, 1), Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1940, p. 229.10. Further references in J. K. Coyle, *Augustine's "De moribus ecclesiae catholicae": A Study of the Work, its Composition and its Sources* (Paradosis, 25), Fribourg, Switzerland: The University Press, 1978, 349–50. See also “Prolegomena,” above, 144 n. 11.

⁶ F. Decret, “Aspects de l’Église manichéenne: Remarques sur le manuscript de Tebessa,” in A. Zumkeller, ed., *Signum Pietatis: Festgabe für Cornelius Petrus Mayer OSA zum 60. Geburtstag* (Cassiciacum, 40), Würzburg: Augustinus-Verlag, 1989, 141–42; repr. in *Idem, Essais sur l’Église manichéenne en Afrique du Nord et à Rome au temps de saint Augustin: Recueil d’études* (SEA, 47), Rome: Institutum Patristicum Augustinianum, 1995, 43. Whether this was the duty of the Elect alone is debated, although R. Lim, “Unity and Diversity Among Western Manichaeans: A Reconsideration of Mani's *sancta ecclesia*,” *REA* 35 (1989): 247, does not substantiate the claim that “We know that non-elect Manichaeans often went from door to door canvassing for support and arguing with people, particularly with unsuspecting and inexperienced catholic Christians, with a view to converting them” (my emphasis).

⁷ See Coyle, *Augustine's "De moribus,"* 198.

⁸ See κατηχούμενη in *Kephalaia 73* in Ibscher et al., *Kephalaia, 1. Hälften*, p. 179.27) and 115, in A. Böhlig, *Kephalaia, 2. Hälften: Lieferung 11/12 (Seite 244–291)* (MHSMB 1), (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1966), p. 279.14.

⁹ See Coyle, *Augustine's "De moribus,"* 199–201.

Hispana...; Paul and his sister, who live in Hippo, and whom I knew as Manichaeans through Maria and Lampadia.¹⁰

From this we learn about six Manichaean women, five of them named explicitly in addition to the sister of Paul. Lampadia was married and Caesaria had a daughter, so they were likely not Elect. The status of the others is impossible to determine, though it is reasonable to suppose that Cresconius would have labelled them as such (as he does for Eucharistus) if they really did belong to Manichaeism's inner circle.

MANICHAEISM'S SPREAD WESTWARD

The history of Manichaeism is a largely missionary one,¹¹ beginning with Mani's own example.¹² However, while the focus of his missionary activity was beyond Roman territory, here we follow his followers' progress within the empire, where the story of their expansion rivals what we know of Christianity's spread in its first centuries. By the time of his death (in 274 or 276) Mani had sent out missionaries both eastward and westward from Persian Mesopotamia. Influenced more by Christianity than by any other source, Manichaeism's Christian elements were emphasized by its advocates in direct proportion to Christianity's strength in the geographical region targeted for proselytization. Mani's followers probably entered the empire through Syria, whose indigenous language was similar to Mani's own. This may have occurred as early as 240.¹³ It is at any rate along the Mesopotamian

¹⁰ *Testimonium de Manichaeis sectatoribus* (PLS 2, c. 138): "Scio esse Manichaeos in partes caesarienses Mariam et Lampadiam uxorem Mercurii argentarii; cum quibus etiam apud electum Eucharistum pariter orauimus; Caesariam et Lucillam filiam suam; Candidum qui commoratur Thipasae, Victorinum, Hispanam...; Paulum et sororem suam, qui sunt Hippone, quos etiam per Mariam et Lampadiam sciui esse Manichaeos." On the identity of Cresconius see S. N. C. Lieu, *Manichaeism in the Later Roman Empire and Medieval China*, 2nd ed. (WUZNT 63), Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1992 (1985), 200–01.

¹¹ E. de Stoop, *Essai sur la diffusion du manichéisme dans l'Empire romain* (Université de Gand, Recueil de travaux publiés par la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres, 38) Ghent: E. van Goethem, 1909, 34: "peu de religions semblent possédées d'un désir aussi intense de conquérir le monde."

¹² On which see Lieu, *Manichaeism*, 70–5.

¹³ See H. J. W. Drijvers, "Addai und Mani: Christentum und Manichäismus im dritten Jahrhundert in Syrien," in R. Lavenant, ed., *III^e Symposium Syriacum 1980: Les contacts du monde syriaque avec les autres cultures (Goslar 7–11 septembre 1980)* (Orientalia Christiana Analecta, 221), Rome: Pontificium Institutum Studiorum Orientalium, 1983, 175.

border between the Roman and Persian empires that one of the earliest Christian anti-Manichaean polemics, the *Acts of Archelaus*, locates two encounters between Mani and a Christian bishop.¹⁴ Even if, as seems to be the case, the *Acts* is fictional, it does associate the region with Manichaean incursion at a time close to Mani's death. Epiphanius reports Manichaeism as present in Palestine around the same time, the fourth year of Aurelian's reign (273/274).¹⁵ By then the system had reached Egypt, perhaps "between 244 and 261."¹⁶ Evidence for its spread there is abundant,¹⁷ and Egypt has given us the largest collection of Manichaean texts from Roman territory.¹⁸ It was likely from Egypt that the movement spread into Roman Africa (constituting modern Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, and western Libya).¹⁹ The precise date for this is not known, but Diocletian's famous rescript, issued most likely in 302,²⁰ to the prefect of Africa condemns a movement that must have been already active there for a decade or two. Émile de Stoop affirms: "C'est sans doute par l'Égypte que le manichéisme pénétra dans cette

¹⁴ Latin text and Greek fragments in GCS 16. For an English translation see M. Vermes, *Hegemonius: Acta Archelai (The Acts of Archelaus) with introduction and commentary by S. N. C. Lieu* (MS, 4), Turnhout: Brepols, 2001, 35–159.

¹⁵ Epiph., *Panarion* 66.1. On further Manichaean activities there see G. G. Stroumsa, "Gnostics and Manichaeans in Byzantine Palestine," in SP 18: *Papers of the 1983 Oxford Patristics Conference* 1, Kalamazoo, Mich.: Cistercian Publications, 1986, 274–76.

¹⁶ S. N. C. Lieu, "From Mesopotamia to the Roman East—The Diffusion of Manichaeism in the Eastern Roman Empire (with a contribution by Dominic A. S. Montserrat)" in *Idem, Manichaeism in Mesopotamia and the Roman East* (RGRW, 118), Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1994, 26.

¹⁷ See Lieu, "From Mesopotamia," 92–103; L. Koenen, "Manichäische Mission und Klöster in Ägypten," in *Das römisch-byzantinische Ägypten* (Aegyptica Treverensia, 2), Mainz: von Zabern, 1983, 93–108, esp. 94–8; J. A. L. Vergote, "Der Manichäismus in Ägypten," in G. Widengren, ed., *Der Manichäismus* (WDF, 168), Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1977, 385–99, trans. of "Het Manicheisme in Egypt," *Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Genootschaap "Ex Oriente Lux"* 9 (1944): 77–83; *Idem*, "L'expansion du manichéisme en Égypte," in C. Laga, J. A. Munitiz, and L. van Rompay, eds., *After Chalcedon: Studies in Theology and Church History offered to Professor Albert van Roey for his seventieth birthday* (Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta, 18), Leuven: Peeters, 1985, 471–78; D. McBride, "Egyptian Manichaeism," *Journal for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities* 18 (1988): 80–98; M. Tardieu, "Les manichéens en Égypte," *Bulletin de la Société Française d'Égyptologie* 94 (1982): 5–19; and G. G. Stroumsa, "The Manichaean Challenge to Egyptian Christianity," in B. A. Pearson and J. E. Goehring, eds., *The Roots of Egyptian Christianity*, Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1986, 307–19.

¹⁸ On these texts see Lieu, "From Mesopotamia," 64–78.

¹⁹ See F. Decret, *L'Afrique manichéenne (IV^e–V^e siècles)* 1, Paris: Études Augustiniennes, 1978, 161–77; 2 (notes), 111–24.

²⁰ On the rescript and its date see "Foreign and Insane: Labelling Manichaeism in the Roman Empire" in this volume, 4–5.

province; sa présence en Europe ne nous est attestée que beaucoup plus tard.”²¹ He goes on to say that Africa is where Manichaean proselytization met its greatest success in the Roman Empire, and we know that there it found its most famous convert in Augustine of Hippo.

Around 350, Cyril, bishop of Jerusalem, referred to converts from Manichaeism among his flock,²² and in 364 the pagan sophist Libanius felt compelled to intercede on behalf of Manichaeans in Palestine.²³ In east Syria (Roman Mesopotamia) Ephrem the Deacon (d. 373) dealt at length with Manichaean doctrine.²⁴ From Roman Arabia Titus of Bostra (modern Busra) wrote against Manichaeism in the 360s. The movement reached Rome itself relatively late,²⁵ probably from Egypt or North Africa, and was still active there in the 370s and 380s.²⁶ It is almost certainly from Africa that Manichaeism made its way into the Iberian peninsula. If we can trust Philaster of Brescia not to have confused them with Priscillianists, Manichaeans had penetrated Spain and southern Gaul by his time (between 380 and 390).²⁷ In Rome, bishop Siricius (385–399) sent those convicted of being Manichaeans into exile if they did not repent, and into monasteries if they did.²⁸ His successor Anastasius (399–401) referred to Manichaeans as still at Rome in his time,²⁹ and just past the mid-fifth century Leo the Great (444–461) succeeded in bringing Manichaeans, both men and women, to trial.³⁰

²¹ De Stoop, *Essai*, 87.

²² Cyril, *Catecheses* 17.2.6.

²³ Libanius, *Epist. 1253 ad Priscianum*.

²⁴ See Lieu, *Manichaeism*, 133–37.

²⁵ The first mention of it there is in the *Liber Pontificalis* 33 which relates how Miltiades “discovered Manichaeans in the city” after he became Rome’s bishop (311–314): see R. Davis, *The Book of Pontiffs (Liber Pontificalis)* (Translated Texts for Historians, Latin series, 5), Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1989, 14.

²⁶ De Stoop, *Essai*, 120–23.

²⁷ Philaster, *Diuersorum hereseon liber* 61.5. R. M. Grant, “Manichees and Christians in the Third and Early Fourth Centuries,” in *Ex Orbe Religionum: Studia Geo Widengren Oblata* (SHR, 21), Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1972, 438, observes: “Unfortunately he does not tell us how they got there. It has reasonably been supposed that they came from Africa.”

²⁸ *Liber Pontificalis* 40.

²⁹ *Liber Pontificalis* 41.

³⁰ See H. G. Schipper and J. van Oort, *St. Leo the Great: Sermons and Letters against the Manichaeans. Selected Fragments* (CFM, series Latina, 1), Turnhout: Brepols, 2000, 1; also Lieu, *Manichaeism*, 204–05.

WOMEN'S ATTRACTION TO THE MOVEMENT

Some of the reasons that gained recruits to Manichaeism were those that also won converts to Christianity in the third and fourth centuries. Mani's religion entered the Roman Empire at a time of considerable religious unrest that included a growing dissatisfaction with traditional Greco-Roman religion (including Rome's official cults) and a mood of experimentation with new religious expressions imported from the east.³¹ Further, women were attracted to Manichaeism as part of a broader attraction to asceticism,³² particularly in eastern provinces of the empire.³³ Manichaean asceticism laid particular emphasis on virginity, which was viewed as a condition *sine qua non* for overcoming the bonds of the cosmogonic darkness.³⁴ It is also possible that mystical elements of Manichaean ritual³⁵ and teaching played a role: Daniel McBride ascribes the attraction to Manichaeism in (Upper) Egypt to the shared traits of confessing one's innocence, apocalypticism, and heliocentrism.³⁶ Finally, it appears certain that Manichaeans provided a more public and (to a certain extent, anyway) equal status to women, which could have been another factor in the attraction.

³¹ See de Stoop, *Essai*, 210; and R. Turcan, *Les cultes orientaux dans le monde romain*, Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1989.

³² G. Petersen-Szemerédy, *Zwischen Weltstadt und Wüste: Römische Asketinnen in der Spätantike: Eine Studie zu Motivation und Gestaltung der Askese christlichen Frauen auf dem Hintergrund ihrer Zeit* (Forschungen zur Kirchen- und Dogmengeschichte, 54), Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993, 104, suggests an inverse influence: "Frauen, die diese Religion kannten, mögen versucht haben, Tendenzen des Christentums in die gleiche Richtung zu betonen und für sich zu nutzen."

³³ R. S. Kraemer, "The Conversion of Women to Ascetic Forms of Christianity," *Signs* (1980): 298, repr. in D. M. Scholer, ed., *Women in Early Christianity* (Studies in Early Christianity, 14), New York and London: Garland Publishing, 1993, 252. For a survey and critique of modern literature on asceticism's attraction for Christian women see J. Simpson, "Women and Asceticism in the Fourth Century: A Question of Interpretation," *Journal of Religious History* 15 (1988): 38–60, repr. in Scholer, *op. cit.*, 296–318. On the nature of Manichaean asceticism see H. Chadwick, "The Attractions of Mani" in E. Romero-Pose, ed., *Pleroma, Salus Carnis = Compostellanum* 34 (1989): 205–08, repr. in *Idem, Heresy and Orthodoxy in the Early Church* (Collected Studies Series, 342), Aldershot, U. K.: Variorum Reprints, 1991; and Lieu, *Manichaeism*, 180–87.

³⁴ See Woschitz et al., *Das manichäische Urdrama*, 142–43.

³⁵ Suggested by de Stoop, *Essai*, 19. On Manichaean ritual see H.-C. Puech, "Liturgie et pratiques rituelles dans le manichéisme," in *Idem, Sur le manichéisme et autres essais*, Paris: Flammarion, 1979, 235–394 (compte-rendu de cours faits au Collège de France de 1952 à 1972); BeDuhn, *The Manichaean Body*, chapter 4, esp. 126–33 and 145–48; and most recently I. Gardner, and S. N. C. Lieu, *Manichaean Texts from the Roman Empire*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004, 21–5.

³⁶ McBride, "Egyptian Manichaeism."

Despite its demonic origins the ‘virginal’ body,³⁷ whether male or female, was viewed as salvific, that is, as a means to (rather than a mere symbol of) sanctification. In a sense then, it was ‘ultrasexual’,³⁸ implying a spiritual equality of the genders, at least among the Elect—surely part of the motivation behind the attacks on Manichaean women.

WOMEN AND THE PROPAGATION OF MANICHAEISM

Since all Elect were supposed to lead a vagabond life, it might be concluded that there is ample evidence that the *electae*, too, had to wander, probably in the company of male Elect, as Brown suggests. Perhaps this has been simply assumed: to this point, only Madeleine Scopello, in two brief popularizations, has pursued the aspect of women Manichaean missionaries.³⁹ In the remainder of this article I will present her evidence, then expand on it.

Scopello observes: “Une des raisons, aux yeux de Mani, de la supériorité de sa religion par rapport à celles qui l’ont précédée est que la sienne est diffusée en toute contrée et en toute langue.”⁴⁰ In support, she cites two Manichaean texts, one in Middle Iranian (eighth century?), the other in Coptic and from third- or fourth-century Egypt (therefore more germane to our study), where we read:

He [Jesus] who has his church in the West, he and his church have not reached the East; the choice of him [Buddha] who has chosen his church in the East has not come to the West...But my Hope, mine, will go towards the West, and she will go also towards the East. And they shall hear the voice of her message in all languages, and shall proclaim her in all cities. My Church is superior in this first point to previous churches, for these previous churches were chosen in particular coun-

³⁷ See “Healing and the ‘Physician’ in Manichaeism” in this volume, 106–07.

³⁸ On salvation through the human body, see H.-C. Puech, “La conception manichéenne du salut,” in *idem, Sur le manichéisme*, 59–101; and BeDuhn, *The Manichaean Body*, esp. 211–22.

³⁹ M. Scopello, “Femmes et propagande dans le manichéisme,” *Connaissance des Pères de l’Église* n° 83 (2001): 35–44; *Eadem*, “Les passionarias du manichéisme: le rôle des femmes dans la propagande,” *Religions et histoires* n° 3 (juillet-août 2005): 44–7. On a more scholarly but less direct plane, one may mention her “Julie, manichéenne d’Antioche (d’après la *Vie de Porphyre de Marc le Diacre*, ch. 85–91),” *Antiquité Tardive* 5 (1997): 187–209, repr. in *Eadem, Femme, Gnose et Manichéisme: De l’espace mythique au territoire réel* (NHMS, 53), Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2005, 237–91.

⁴⁰ Scopello, “Femmes et propagande”: 35.

tries and in particular cities. My Church, mine shall spread in all cities and my Gospel shall touch every country.⁴¹

Scopello then affirms: "Dans ce vaste projet missionnaire, les femmes n'étaient pas exclues, loin de là."⁴² In support she invokes the letter of an early Egyptian bishop, the case of Julia of Antioch, and the monument to Bassa. We will stop to look at all three before moving to other sources:

- 1) In the *Rylands 469* papyrus we have what is probably the oldest Christian document referring to Manichaeism. It is part of a letter ascribed to Theonas, bishop of Alexandria from 282 to 300, in which the author cautions against "those who with deceitful and lying words steal into our houses, and particularly against those women whom they call 'elect' and whom they hold in honour, manifestly because they require their menstrual blood for the abominations of their madness."⁴³ Scopello thinks that "Ce texte montre... que la pratique d'envoyer des femmes en mission remonte aux premières générations des disciples de Mani."⁴⁴ As to the unsavory reason offered by the author for the inclusion of women among the Elect, we may note in passing that Cyril of Jerusalem, Ambrose of Milan, and Augustine of Hippo make similar accusations;⁴⁵ but for our purposes the more interesting (and factual?) aspects of this text are that these women conducted door-to-door canvasses, and that

⁴¹ Coptic *Kephalaion* 154, English version in J. Stevenson, *A New Eusebius: Documents illustrating the history of the Church to AD 337*, 2nd ed., London: SPCK, 1987 (1968), 266.

⁴² Scopello, "Femmes et propagande": 35.

⁴³ Rylands Papyrus 469, c. 2, lines 31–35, in C. H. Roberts, "Epistle Against the Manichees," *Catalogue of the Greek and Latin Papyri in the John Ryland Library, Manchester 3*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1938, 42. Roberts' translation (*op. cit.*, 43) is reproduced in Gardner and Lieu, *Manichaean Texts*, 115, and is the one given here.

⁴⁴ Scopello, "Femmes et propagande": 37. On this text the observation of Kraemer, "The Conversion," 305 (259) with regard to women in the pseudepigrapha is apt: "Women who defy traditional expectations are ostracized through the label of insanity." See the bibliography she provides at n. 33, to which may be added M. Y. MacDonald, *Early Christian Women and Pagan Opinion: The Power of the Hysterical Woman*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.

⁴⁵ Cyril of Jer., *Catecheses* 6.23; Ambrose, *Epist. 50 ad Chromatium* 14; Augustine, *De haeresibus* 46.5.9–10, *De moribus Manichaeorum* 19.67–20.75, *De natura boni* 45–47, *De continentia* 12.27, and *Contra Fortunatum* 3. On the reliability of these accusations see de Stoop, *Essai*, 22–4.

they were indeed Elect, enhancing the impression that Manichaean missionary activity was confined to that class and that women were participants.

- 2) The episode of Julia is recounted in the *Life of Porphyry of Gaza* (d. 420) by Mark the Deacon (otherwise unknown).⁴⁶ Probably composed in the sixth century, it tells how, about the year 400, this woman⁴⁷ from Antioch appeared (ἐπεδήμησεν) in Gaza in Palestine.⁴⁸ The verb ἐπιδέμεο here suggests that she intended to settle in Gaza, and/or that she constituted a veritable *epidemic* for all right-believing Christians.⁴⁹ Four younger persons, two men and two women, accompanied her. In this the account bears a resemblance to the arrival of Mani on Roman territory, as portrayed in the Christian anti-Manichaean polemic, the (probably fictional) *Acts of Archelaus* (14.2), in which Mani is accompanied by twenty-two men and women, all young and all Elect.⁵⁰ But, unlike the portrayal of Mani given there,⁵¹ no such description of Julia is offered by Mark, other than mentioning that she was a *femme d'un certain âge*. Julia was on a missionary journey that involved targeting recently converted Christians and trying to indoctrinate them with Manichaean teaching. She could convince only “childish men and silly little women (*γυναικάρια*)”,⁵² the account says, and, where words failed, she tried to win converts with money.⁵³ Her four followers

⁴⁶ *Life of Porphyry*, 85–91. English in Gardner and Lieu, *Manichaean Texts*, 126–29. Greek critical text and French translation in H. Grégoire and M.-A. Kugener, eds., *Marc le Diacre, Vie de Porphyre évêque de Gaza*, Paris: Société d'édition «Les Belles Lettres», 1930, 66–71. In “Julie” Scopello reproduces and corrects the Greek, provides a new French translation, and gives a lengthier commentary of the account, “qui n'a pas particulièrement retenu l'attention des éditeurs” (188; *Femme, Gnose et Manichéisme*, 238).

⁴⁷ Pace Lim, “Unity and Diversity,” 249, who describes her as an ἐκλεκτά (sic), Julia is referred to by Mark simply as a γυνῆ.

⁴⁸ Scopello, “Femmes et propagande”, 38 n. 18, thinks that Manichaeans had come to Antioch already with the troops of the Palmyran Queen Zenobia in 270. See also *Eadem*, “Julie”: 191 (*Femme, Gnose et Manichéisme*, 247). On Zenobia's links to Manichaicism see Vergote, “L'expansion,” 472–75.

⁴⁹ See Scopello, “Julie”: 192 (*Femme, Gnose et Manichéisme*, 249).

⁵⁰ See below, 200.

⁵¹ See above, 6–7 and 27.

⁵² This term is probably inspired by its appearance in 2 Tim 3:6 (see below). In *Aduersus Haereses* 1.7.2,5 Irenaeus of Lyons applies it to the Marcosians. The Greek is usually translated into Latin as *mulierculae*; both terms literally mean ‘little women,’ but in a pejorative way, hence ‘silly little women,’ perhaps because they do not behave as mature women (*γυνάκες, mulieres*) should.

⁵³ But note that this is the only time a Manichaean adversary levels the accusation of bribery at a Manichaean. This may be the author's way of saying that Manichaean propaganda attracted only the greedy.

may have been involved in this canvassing, because the text says, “All of them, especially Julia, based their reasoning on the order of world knowledge. Their attitude was humble and they spoke quietly...”⁵⁴ After this had gone on for several days, Porphyry, the bishop of Gaza, summoned Julia to a debate. Now Julia became the sole protagonist, answering Porphyry’s challenge by taking the initiative and speaking for hours. Or, as de Stoop puts it, “c’est une femme qui dirige la propagande, qui soutient une dispute contre l’évêque, qui prend la parole au nom de tous.”⁵⁵ Mark does not report what she said, only that, when she had finished, the bishop did not rebut, instead guaranteeing her silence by uttering a curse that resulted in her death.⁵⁶ Seeing this, her four followers were converted to orthodox Christianity on the spot. This is, of course, a heresiologist’s perspective. There is no reason to think that Julia was not a historical person whose coreligionists would doubtless have cast her missionary endeavours in a very different light.⁵⁷

- 3) The Bassa inscription, probably funerary and likely from the early fourth century, was discovered in 1906 near Salona (modern-day Split in Croatia), and attests to Manichaeism’s presence on the eastern side of the Adriatic. The inscription received a few pages of close study by Franz Cumont in 1912⁵⁸ but, as Scopello notes, “une étude sur ce document reste à faire.”⁵⁹ The four words of the inscription that are still legible (BACCA ΠΑΡΘΕΝΟC ΛΥΔΙΑ MANIXEA) inform us of a woman named Bassa who was a virgin from Lydia and a Manichaean. Lydia was a province of Roman Asia, that is, Asia Minor. Writing around 405, Augustine refers to Manichaeans

⁵⁴ *Life of Porphyry*, 88, trans. in Gardner and Lieu, *Manichaean Texts*, 127.

⁵⁵ De Stoop, *Essai*, 36.

⁵⁶ On the account see R. Lim, “Manichaeans and Public Disputation in Late Antiquity,” chap. 3 of his *Public Disputation, Power, and Social Order in late Antiquity (The Transformation of the Classical Heritage, 23)*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995, 82–8; this is a revision of his article of the same title in *RechAug* 26 (1992): 245–51.

⁵⁷ This prescinds from the other, but no less important consideration, already suggested in the term γυναικόρια, that women viewed as ‘heretical’ in Christian antiquity are customarily attacked by male authors for not accepting their place in society. See V. Burrus, “The Heretical Woman as Symbol in Alexander, Athanasius, Epiphanius, and Jerome,” *Harvard Theological Review* 84 (1991): 229–48, esp. 230–31 and 248.

⁵⁸ F. Cumont, *L’inscription manichéenne de Salone* (Recherches sur le manichéisme, 3), Brussels: Lamertin, 1912, seems inclined to date the inscription to before Diocletian’s rechrist, but Scopello, “Femmes et propagande”: 43, prefers to place it “après l’accalmie qui suivit cette persecution,” therefore after 302.

⁵⁹ Scopello, “Femmes et propagande”: 41 n. 35.

in Paphlagonia (in Asia Minor and roughly corresponding to modern eastern Turkey) at his time, though this is based on hearsay.⁶⁰ ‘Virgin’ likely stands for ‘Elect.’⁶¹ Scopello concludes that Bassa “est de toute vraisemblance une religieuse itinérante, venue en Dalmatie diffuser l’enseignement des Deux Principes,”⁶² an interpretation that the evidence, sparse as it is, neither endorses nor precludes.

All of these examples emanate from the eastern Roman Empire. Only the first two refer unambiguously to women Manichaean missionaries (and only in the first case is there a clear reference to them as Elect). Both come from anti-Manichaean sources, in each case from a work ascribed to a male author (Theonas and Mark). However, some further information can be gleaned from sources emanating from the western (Latin) empire. The anonymous Roman author known as Ambrosiaster accused Manichaeans (ca. 370) of possessing books “with inflated titles and frivolous and raving content.”⁶³ Then, after quoting the warning of 2 Tim 3:6–7 about teaching absorbed and passed on by ‘silly little women’ (*mulierculae*), the author has this to say:

Although this would fit all heretics, as they (all) inveigle themselves into houses and charm women with persuasive and crafty words so that through them they might deceive the men in the fashion of the devil their father who defrauds Adam through Eve, it matches the Manichaeans above all others.⁶⁴

Writing in Bethlehem between 412 and 420, Jerome applies the same New Testament text to the role of women in propagating past and current heresies:

⁶⁰ Aug., *De natura boni* 47. It likely would have come there through Syria.

⁶¹ As it does in Coptic Manichaica: see e.g., the *Homilies* (Polotsky, *Manichäische Homilien*, p. 22.6).

⁶² Scopello, “Femmes et propagande”: 42. See *Eadem*, “Bassa la Lydienne,” in *Eadem, Femme, Gnose et Manichéisme*, 293–315.

⁶³ Ambrosiaster, *In epist. 2 ad Tim. resp. 4.4.3* (CSEL 81/3, p. 316.8–10): “quam Manichaeis, qui nescio quae habent diuersa commenta inflatis nominibus nuncupata, cum sint res friuolae et quaedam deliramenta.” My translation.

⁶⁴ Ambrosiaster, *In epist. 2 ad Tim. resp. 3.6–7* (CSEL 81/3, pp. 311.27–312.8): “Ex his sunt enim, qui inrepunt in domos et captiuas ducunt mulierculas oneratas peccatis, quae ducuntur uariis desideriis, semper discentes et numquam ad scientiam ueritatis peruenientes. quamuis omnibus hereticis hoc conueniat, ut subintrantes domos mulieres subdolis et uersutis uerbis capiant, ut per eas uiros decipient more patris sui diaboli, qui per Euam Adam circumuenit, Manichaeis tamen prae ceteris congruit.” Trans. in Gardner and Lieu, *Manichaean Texts*, 119.

What object is served by miserable “silly women (*mulierculae*) laden with sins, carried about with every wind of doctrine, always learning and never coming to the knowledge of the truth” (2 Tim 3:6; Eph 4:14; 2 Tim 3:7)?... It was with the help of Helen the whore that Simon Magus founded his sect. Bands of women were led by Nicholas of Antioch, that deviser of all uncleanness. Marcion sent a woman before him to Rome to prepare the minds of the women (she) ensnared. In Philomena Apelles possessed an associate in his false doctrines. Montanus, that mouth-piece of an unclean spirit, used two rich and wellborn ladies, Prisca and Maximilla, first to bribe and then to pervert many churches. Leaving ancient history I will pass to times nearer our own. To lead the world astray Arius started by misleading the Emperor’s sister [Constantia]. The resources of Lucilla helped Donatus defile with his polluting waters many unfortunate persons throughout Africa. In Spain the blind woman Agape led the blind man Elpidius into the ditch (see Matt 15:14). He was succeeded by Priscillian, an enthusiastic adept of the magian Zoroaster and a magian himself before becoming a bishop. A woman called Galla (because of her name, not where she came from) seconded his efforts and left as her heir a sister who ran here and there perpetuating a second, related heresy.⁶⁵

Jerome thus focuses on women’s contributions to the proselytizing efforts of heterodox groups that include Gnostics⁶⁶ but, strangely, not Manichaeans, even though it is plain that he associates women with the spread of unorthodox movements generally, and that elsewhere he pays (unkind) attention to Manichaean women. In his famous letter to the young Christian woman Eustochium, written at Rome in 384, he had claimed that “virgins such as are said to be among the various heresies and among the followers of the vile Mani are to be considered not virgins but whores,”⁶⁷ an affirmation that four or five years later Augustine extends to Hearers when he says that husbands turn their wives into prostitutes.⁶⁸

We also saw Mark the Deacon mention two men and two women who accompanied Julia to Gaza. He refers to them as ‘good-looking’

⁶⁵ Jerome, *Epist. 133 ad Ctesiphontem* 4.1–3 (CSEL 56/1, editio altera [1996], pp. 247.22–248.15). My translation.

⁶⁶ In addition, Irenaeus of Lyons, *Adversus Haereses* 1.25.6, reports that a certain Marcellina first brought the doctrine of the Carpocratians to Rome. See also Origen, *Contra Celsum* 5.62; Epiphanius, *Panarion* 27.6.1; and Augustine, *De haeresibus* 7.

⁶⁷ Jerome, *Epist. 22 ad Eustochium* 38.7 (CSEL 54, pp. 204.17–205.2): “uirgines quales apud diuersas haereses et quales apud inpurissimum Manichaeum esse dicuntur, scrota sunt aestimanda, non uirgines.” My translation.

⁶⁸ Aug., *De mor. Man.* 18.65.

but ‘pale’.⁶⁹ This is not the only instance of Manichaean women reported as travelling in the company of Manichaean men. The *Acts of Archelaus* tells how Mani arrived in the Roman border town of ‘Carchar’ with twenty-two young men and women.⁷⁰ Paleness seems to have been a hallmark of the Manichaeans, at least of Elect, especially females. Jerome refers to women who “when they see a[nother] woman with a pale, sad face, call her ‘a miserable Manichaean nun’.”⁷¹ In Syria, Ephrem the Deacon also linked women Elect to sad faces: “corresponding to those vain mourning women who were bewailing the god Tammuz... come see here also those idle women of the party of Mani—those whom they call ‘the Righteous Ones’ ...”⁷² Is all of this mere hyperbole, or were these particular Manichaean women really so haggard? If so, it is hard to see how such consistently dour faces could have attracted many prospective converts.

NEW TESTAMENT AND PSEUDEPIGRAPHICAL REFERENCES

Brown’s reference to Thecla in the citation that introduced this article suggests that we should also pay attention to the indirect witness of New Testament pseudepigrapha. Manichaeans employed some of these, as a well-known Manichaean psalm from Egypt clearly shows:

- A net-caster is Marihamme, hunting for the eleven others that were wandering.
- A joyous servant is Martha her sister also.
- Obedient sheep are Salome and Arsenoe.
- A despiser of the body is Thecla, the lover of God.
- A shamer of the serpent is Maximilla the faithful.
- A receiver of good news is Iphidama her sister also, imprisoned (?) in the prisons.
- A champion in the fight is Aristobula the enduring one.
- A giver of Light to others (?) is Eubula the noble woman, drawing the heart of the prefect.

⁶⁹ Mark the Deacon, *Life of Porphyry* 88 (Grégoire and Kugener, 68–9; Scopello, “Julie”: 190; *Femme, Gnoe et Manichéisme*, 243).

⁷⁰ AA 14.2, in Vermes, *Hegemonius*, 58. The twenty-two are not heard from again.

⁷¹ Jerome, *Epist. 22* 13.4 (CSEL 54, p. 161.4–5): “Et quam uiderint tristem atque pallentem, miseram et monacham et Manichaem uocant.” My translation.

⁷² Ephrem, *Fifth Discourse to Hypatius*, in. C. W. Mitchell, *S. Ephraim's Prose Refutations of Mani, Marcion, and Bardaisan*, 2, London and Oxford: Williams and Norgate, 1921, p. xciii (Syriac in 1 [1912], p. 128.3–6).

A... that loves [her] master is Drusiane, the lover of God, shut up for fourteen days, questioning her Apostle.
..... who was found is Mygdonia in the land of India.⁷³

This list of women immediately follows one of apostles and disciples of Jesus,⁷⁴ among them Peter, Andrew, John, Philip, Matthew, Thomas, Bartholomew, and Paul, all of whom exercised a missionary function according to one Christian tradition or another. In the women's list, Thecla has been brought in from the *Acts of Paul and Thecla*, where she plays a central role.⁷⁵ Mygdonia comes from *Acts of Thomas*, Drusiane⁷⁶ and Aristobula from *Acts of John*,⁷⁷ Iphidam(i)a and Maximilla from *Acts of Andrew*,⁷⁸ and Eubula from *Acts of Peter* and/or *Acts of Paul*. The source for Arsenoe is uncertain,⁷⁹ but from the canonical gospels we have Marihamme (i.e., Mary Magdalene),⁸⁰ Salome,⁸¹ and Martha.⁸²

⁷³ *Psalms of Heracleides*, Coptic text and translation in C. R. C. Allberry, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book, Part II* (MMCBC, 2), Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1938, pp. 192.21–193.3. Updated Coptic edition and German translation by S. G. Richter, *Die Ḧerakleides-Psalmen* (CFM, series Coptica 1, pars 2/2), Turnhout: Brepols, 1998, pp. 70–3.

⁷⁴ Allberry, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, p. 192.5–20.

⁷⁵ Thecla appears as well in two *Psalms of the Wanderers* (Ψαλμοὶ Σαρακωτῶν): see Allberry, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, pp. 143.4–10 and 180.29.

⁷⁶ She is also in the same Ψαλμοὶ Σαρακωτῶν with and immediately after Thecla: see Allberry, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, pp. 143.11 and 180.30. On both figures see A. Villey, *Psaumes des errants: Écrits manichéens du Fayyûm* (Sources gnostiques et manichéennes, 4), Paris: Cerf, 1994, 230–32.

⁷⁷ And in the same line of the same psalm Σαρακωτῶν with Maximilla: see the preceding note. On both female figures see Villey, *Psaumes des errants*, 232–33.

⁷⁸ Maximilla is also in a psalm Σαρακωτῶν with Thecla and Drusiane: Allberry, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, p. 143.13.

⁷⁹ She appears in the next *Psalm of Heracleides* (with Martha: Allberry, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, p. 194.22) and in an Eastern Manichaean source: see “Mary Magdalene in Manichaeism?” in this volume, 162; also 178.

⁸⁰ This figure is also present in a number of pseudoecclesiastical writings to which Manichaeans had access: see “Mary Magdalene in Manichaeism?”, also “Rethinking the ‘Marys’ of Manichaeism” in this volume.

⁸¹ Also in Allberry, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, pp. 194.21 (the next *Psalm of Heracleides*) and 222–23 (exceptionally, a *Psalm of Thom*). Salome also figures in the *Gospel of Thomas* 61. On Salome see “Rethinking the ‘Marys’,” above, 179; and C. Trautmann, “Salomé l'incrédule, récits d'une conversion,” in *Écritures et traditions dans la littérature copte* (Cahiers de la Bibliothèque Copte, 1), Leuven: Peeters, 1983, 68–70. On possible Manichaean use of the *Gospel of Thomas* see “The Gospel of Thomas in Manichaeism?” in this volume.

⁸² Also in the next *Psalm of Heracleides* (Allberry, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, p. 194.20). It is hard to understand Martha’s place here, but the reference to her as ‘joyous servant’ provides a clue. In Latin Manichaean fragments from Theveste (now Tebessa in Algeria) she is a model for Hearers, just as her sister Mary is for the Elect: see Decret, “Aspects,” 138–39 and 143 (*Essais*, 40 and 45). Origen, *Contra Celsum* 5.62, claims that Celsus knew of (Gnostic?) groups who claimed allegiance to one or another of these three biblical women.

In those gospels Salome and Mary Magdalene are among witnesses to the risen (signifying, for Manichaeans, disincarnated) Jesus (see Matt 28; Mark 16; Luke 24; John 20). Thecla and Mygdonia are both teachers of salvation. All the women from the canonical as well as the pseudepigraphical works are probably considered celibate: Manichaean writings seem uninterested in those who are not.⁸³ True, Aristobula is a widow and Drusiane and Mygdonia *are* married; but all have decided to live as celibates. Thecla is the least surprising presence, as not only is she “le modèle de la sainteté féminine dans la virginité”⁸⁴ in Christian piety, but the Manichaean discourse adds the particular note that she “despises the body.”

For the most part the non-canonical works referred to concern the missionary activity of men; but in the Acts alluded to here the apostle is given a female associate, who may even overshadow the apostle.⁸⁵ For instance, Tertullian was hostile to Thecla because her *Acts* depicts her as teaching and baptizing, which might give contemporary Christian women unsettling ideas.⁸⁶ Do the mentions of these pseudepigraphical female figures indicate that they were popular in Manichaean circles for that reason? Though there is neither time nor space to pursue that aspect here, Tertullian’s attitude to Thecla reminds us that we need to cast the hostile Christian reaction to Manichaean women,⁸⁷ especially the more prominently active ones, against the backdrop of general

⁸³ Hence, no concubine mentioned in the pseudepigrapha—Agrippina, Niceria, Euphemia, and Doris in the *Acts of Peter*; Trophima in the *Acts of Andrew*—appears in the Manichaica that make use of these writings. On celibacy as a characteristic of women protagonists in the New Testament pseudepigrapha see G. P. Corrington, “The ‘Divine Woman?’ Propaganda and the Power of Celibacy in the New Testament Apocrypha: A Reconsideration,” *Anglican Theological Review* 70 (1988): 207–20, repr. in Scholer, ed., *Women in Early Christianity*, 164–82.

⁸⁴ P.-L. Gatier, “Aspects de la vie religieuse des femmes dans l’Orient paléochrétien: ascétisme et monachisme,” in *La femme dans le monde méditerranéen* 1 (Travaux de la maison de l’Orient, 10), Lyons: G. S.—Maison de l’Orient, 1985, 167 n. 11. Petersen-Szemerédy, *Zwischen Weltstadt und Wüste*, 104, affirms: “Thecla ist der Typos der Jungfrau, der *electa*; Drusiane [...] ist der Typos der Enthaltsamen, der Hörerin (*auditor*). Das bedeutet also, daß nur asketisch lebende Frau im Manichäismus so etwas wie Gleichberichtigung erfuhr.” See also Brown, *The Body*, 158.

⁸⁵ See V. Burrus, *Chastity as Autonomy: Women in the Stories of Apocryphal Acts* (Studies in Women and Religion, 23), Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 1987; *Eadem*, “Word and Flesh: The Bodies and Sexuality of Ascetic Women in Christian Antiquity,” *Journal of Feminist Studies in Religion* 10/1 (1994): 45–8 (Thecla).

⁸⁶ Tert., *De baptismo* 17.5.

⁸⁷ There are no extant pagan views of Manichaean women *per se*.

perceptions of woman in the late Roman Empire,⁸⁸ as well as attitudes toward women in early Christianity.⁸⁹

PROMINENT WOMEN OF THE MANICHAEAN COMMUNITY

The Coptic Manichaean psalms mention other women, non-literary characters quite possibly connected to Manichaeism's missionary history in Egypt. A name that appears with great regularity in the psalms' doxologies is that of Theona. In addition, the name 'Maria' is in every legible psalmic doxology, and always with the qualifier 'blessed' (ΜΑΡΑΠΙΑ), attributed only to her.⁹⁰ Perhaps the two were "martyred in the early days of the Egyptian mission," as Charles Allberry thought Maria had been.⁹¹ However, there are a couple of reasons to question the identification of either as a martyr. The Manichaean bishop Faustus of Milevis scorned the veneration of martyrs so popular among both Catholics and Donatists of North Africa;⁹² and nowhere do the Manichaean psalms say that they *were* martyrs, let alone how they might have become such.⁹³ On the other hand, neither is included in other lists of legendary women we have seen, and the practice of doxologies at the end of most Coptic psalms seems to be "local in origin."⁹⁴

⁸⁸ See P. Grimal, "La femme à Rome et dans la civilisation romaine," in *Histoire mondiale de la femme* 1, Paris: Nouvelle Librairie de France, 1965, 474–85; Petersen-Szemerédy, *Zwischen Weltstadt und Wüste*, 63–85.

⁸⁹ The literature on this is vast. Examples are A. Cameron, "Early Christianity and the Discourse of Female Desire," in L. J. Archer, S. Fischler, and M. Wyke, eds., *Women in Ancient Societies: An Illusion of the Night*, New York: Routledge, 1994, 152–68; and, for the first two centuries, K. Aspégren, *The Male Woman: A Feminine Ideal in the Early Church* (Uppsala Women's Studies, A: Women in Religion, 4), Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1990.

⁹⁰ E.g., "Glory and] victory to the soul of the blessed ΜΑΡΙΑ" (Allberry, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, p. 187.34–36).

⁹¹ Allberry, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, xx. Lieu, "From Mesopotamia," 97, thinks that Theona was one of several Manichaeans martyred in the wake of Diocletian's rescript.

⁹² Quoted by Augustine, *Contra Faustum* 20.4 (CSEL 25/1, p. 538.6): "Sacrificium uero eorum [Iudeorum] uertistis in agapes, idola in martyres..."

⁹³ They are not among those whose martyrdom is described in a psalm (Allberry, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, pp. 142–43). However, there is a rather ambiguous reference to ΜΑΡΙΑ ΘΕΟΝΙΑ ΜΑΡΤΥΡΕ in each of two Ψαλμοὶ σαρακωτῶν (*ibid.*, pp. 157.13 and 173.12).

⁹⁴ T. Säve-Söderbergh, *Studies in the Coptic Manichaean Psalm-Book: Prosody and Mandaean Parallels* (Arbeten utgivna med understöd av Vilhelm Ekmans universitetsfond, 55), Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1949, 28.

These two women may have been important to Egyptian Manichaeans, either because they were indeed martyrs, or (more likely, because of the reasons given above) because they were associated with the early, missionary history of Manichaeism in the region.

CONCLUSION

Little is heard of Manichaeism in the western Roman Empire after the latter's collapse in 476,⁹⁵ and by then Manichaeism was on the wane even in the *Pars Orientis*, which was to survive as the Byzantine Empire for another millennium.⁹⁶ If Manichaean missionary activity continued in the former Roman territories, we do not hear of it—only of the exposure here and there of Manichaean groups or individuals.

As to missionaries prior to the mid-fifth century, we have reviewed some evidence supporting Brown's reference to the women among them; but the evidence is not abundant, and perhaps he has extracted too broadly from the available information. Some few references to Manichaean 'Theclas' are present, but they all come from Manichaeism's opponents, and their "long missionary journeys" have to be conjectured. In addition to its scarcity and polemicizing a further problem with the evidence is that nothing in Manichaean sources *themselves* clearly indicates that any woman collaborated in spreading Manichaeism, on Mani's home turf or elsewhere.

Now, Manichaeism is widely regarded as the last manifestation in antiquity of unorthodox Gnostic tendencies. At least for the Roman Empire there is more evidence on the status of women in it—and on the role they played in its expansion—than for its Gnostic antecedents.⁹⁷ Feminine revealers in the Gnostic pantheon⁹⁸ are not much paralleled in Manichaean cosmogony/soteriology, where the revealers are male divine beings; however, the *saviours* are *human*, and they include women,. Perhaps that is why the little we know of women in Manichaeism easily outstrips the available information on Gnostic

⁹⁵ On the last vestiges see Lieu, *Manichaeism*, 206–07.

⁹⁶ On Manichaeism in early Byzantium see Lieu, *Manichaeism*, 207–16.

⁹⁷ On the state of the question in Gnostic studies see B. J. MacHaffie, *Her Story: Women in Christian Tradition*, Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1986, 32–3.

⁹⁸ See the articles collected in K. L. King, ed., *Images of the Feminine in Gnosticism*, Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1988, especially those by P. Perkins, L. Abramowski, J. J. Buckley, and A. McGuire.

women missionaries. Moreover, because of the ‘ultragender’ nature of the Elect’s redeeming body, there is none of the ‘female becoming male’ discourse in Manichaean sources that we perceive in some Gnostic and Christian texts.⁹⁹ Perhaps that discourse is absent from Manichaeism because that system did not entertain the possibility of a bodily resurrection, let alone the continuation of sexual differentiation.¹⁰⁰

In the words of de Stoop, Manichaean women “peuvent devenir élues et, chose unique pour l'époque, on les voit s'astreindre à la vie errante imposée aux élus, se faire missionnaires, soulever des disputes publiques”;¹⁰¹ and, we may add, they do so without becoming male. If a woman was an Elect, she *may* have been obliged to wander; on the other hand, missionary activity may not have been the norm for every woman Elect. Some probably practised it, but we have seen how much we depend on anti-Manichaean sources to reach this conclusion, and how few those sources are.

⁹⁹ See Aspégren, *The Male Woman*; K. Vogt, “Becoming Male: A Gnostic and Early Christian Metaphor,” in K. E. Børresen, ed., *Image of God and Gender Models in Judaeo-Christian Tradition*, Oslo: Solum Forlag, 1991, 172–87; Petersen-Szemerédy, *Zwischen Weltstadt und Wüste*, 188–90; and J. A. McNamara, “Sexual Equality and the Cult of Virginity in Early Christian Thought,” *Feminist Studies* 3 (1976): 145–58, esp. 152–55, repr. in Scholer, ed., *Women in Early Christianity*, 219–32. Is the theme of women becoming male in orthodox writing a reaction to this Gnostic discourse?

¹⁰⁰ See G. Sfameni Gasparro, “Image of God and Sexual Differentiation in the Tradition of Enkrateia,” in Børresen, ed., *Image of God*, 138–71, esp. 149–51.

¹⁰¹ De Stoop, *Essai*, 18.

PART FOUR

MANICHAEISM AND AUGUSTINE OF HIPPO

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

AUGUSTIN ET LE MANICHÉISME

Augustin d'Hippone (354–430) s'avère un témoin exceptionnel du manichéisme. En effet, il adhéra pendant à peu près dix ans à ce mouvement religieux, et celui-ci devint par la suite la première cible de ses écrits polémiques. Pourtant, ses ouvrages antimanicéens ont été plutôt négligés par ceux et celles qui étudient les religions, et même le christianisme de l'antiquité tardive. Voilà qui est curieux, puisque l'on comprend difficilement la pensée d'Augustin sans tenir compte de son passé manichéen. En outre, les informations que nous offrent ses écrits sur le mouvement inspiré par Mani complètent avantageusement ce que nous apprend la littérature provenant des adeptes de celui-ci.

C'est vers 373 qu'Augustin fut séduit par le manichéisme. Bien des raisons peuvent expliquer cet attrait. Par exemple, l'accueil que les manichéens réservèrent à Augustin fut chaleureux. Par ailleurs, ils prétendaient lui offrir, par leur doctrine dualiste, une solution cohérente au problème du mal. En outre, ils lui promettaient la possibilité de vivre en «auditeur» (ou «catéchumène») sans devoir réellement changer sa vie, et de devenir après la mort un «élu» (ou «saint») et ainsi d'atteindre le salut. Qui plus est, ils proposaient une science conduisant à la vérité par la raison, évitant ainsi le recours à l'autorité, en particulier celle de la Bible, dont le texte «barbare» avait posé de nombreuses difficultés à Augustin. Enfin, le futur évêque avait eu l'impression que chez les manichéens *«le nom de Jésus était constamment dans leurs bouches»* (*Confessions III,6,10*). Donc, en adhérant au manichéisme Augustin croyait embrasser une version du christianisme supérieure à celle de sa mère et de son enfance.

Toutefois, des doutes s'imposèrent peu à peu chez lui à l'égard de sa religion d'adoption. En particulier, la solution manichéenne à la question du mal (*unde malum*) lui parut de moins en moins satisfaisante. Augustin demeura pourtant manichéen pendant à peu près dix ans. Il passa ensuite par diverses philosophies jusqu'à sa conversion, en 386, à l'Église catholique.

1. AUGUSTIN CONTRE LE MANICHÉISME

Peu après son baptême (en avril 387), Augustin entame la rédaction de textes polémiques visant son ancienne religion. Il s'agit des deux traités *De moribus*, premiers de toute une série d'ouvrages que pendant vingt ans Augustin destinera à ses anciens coreligionnaires. Ce sont ces deux traités «jumeaux» que le présent article introduit. «Jumeaux», non seulement parce que leurs titres se ressemblent (en latin, *De moribus ecclesiae catholicae* et *De moribus Manichaeorum*), mais aussi parce que c'est leur auteur même qui, vers la fin de sa vie, en parle comme de deux parties (*libri*) du même ouvrage¹. Les deux traités *De moribus* forment donc en quelque sorte un diptyque dont le premier volet porte sur la doctrine et la conduite morales des catholiques, et le second sur celles des manichéens.

Par *mores* Augustin entend non seulement «les moeurs», mais aussi «la tradition» ou «les coutumes»; il s'agit là, bref, de «la pratique de la vie morale». Dans ces deux traités, Augustin insiste sur le fait qu'à la différence des manichéens, les chrétiens orthodoxes harmonisent pratiques et croyances, et que chez eux toutes deux s'inspirent de la parole de Dieu. Le contenu de ces traités est esquissé dans les pages qui suivent.

2. PREMIER TRAITÉ *DE MORIBUS*

Au tout début du premier traité (1,2), Augustin identifie les deux objectifs qu'il s'est fixés: défendre le caractère divinement inspiré de l'Ancien Testament, et démontrer que la vie morale que pratiquent les chrétiens catholiques est supérieure à celle des manichéens. Or, le premier objectif avait déjà été atteint dans un autre ouvrage, soit *Sur la Genèse, contre les manichéens*, qu'Augustin avait entrepris et achevé avant d'avoir terminé la rédaction du premier «*De moribus*». Le passage suivant de ses *Révisions* de 426 le confirme:

Après mon baptême, tandis que j'étais à Rome, je ne pus supporter en silence la vantardise des manichéens sur la continence ou l'abstinence fausse et fallacieuse qui les pousse, pour tromper les ignorants, à se préférer aux vrais chrétiens, avec lesquels ils ne sauraient être comparés.

¹ Voir la citation ci-dessous.

J'écrivis donc deux livres: l'un Sur la vie morale de l'Église catholique et l'autre Sur la vie morale des manichéens².

On remarque qu'aucune mention n'est alors faite de l'objectif de défendre l'Ancien Testament contre ses détracteurs. Ce passage des *Révisions* reconnaît plutôt un seul objectif aux deux ouvrages mentionnés, soit répondre au faux ascétisme des manichéens. D'ailleurs, Augustin affirme au début du premier traité (1,1) qu'il « pense avoir suffisamment traité, dans d'autres livres, de la manière de répondre aux invectives maladroites et impies que les manichéens prodiguent contre la Loi qu'on appelle l'Ancien Testament ». Le thème de l'ascétisme n'est abordé que vers la fin du même traité, et sous un aspect positif (puisque l'attention se porte sur l'ascétisme des chrétiens), l'aspect négatif l'ascétisme trompeur des manichéens étant réservé au deuxième traité.

Pour le moment, Augustin se contente de privilégier deux thèmes, soit la philosophie et la Bible. Presque d'entrée de jeu, il se lance (3,4) dans une discussion « philosophique » sur le désir du bonheur que ressent tout être humain, désir qui ne sera satisfait que par un bien que l'on peut à la fois posséder et aimer. Un tel bien s'avère supérieur à l'être humain (3,5; voir 5,7), qui est composé d'une âme et d'un corps (4,6). L'âme étant cependant supérieure au corps, le Souverain Bien est ce qui rend parfaite l'âme ou l'âme avec son corps (5,7.8). Or, l'âme est rendue parfaite, donc heureuse, par la vertu (6,9) qui, pour sa part, trouve sa signification dans la mesure où elle nous conduit vers Dieu, car Dieu est le Souverain Bien (6,10).

Se tournant ensuite vers la Bible, Augustin affirme que si en principe la raison devrait suffire pour conduire l'être humain sage à la vie heureuse, en réalité l'autorité est nécessaire pour tous. Or cette autorité, c'est l'Écriture sainte, dont le texte et l'interprétation sont assurés par l'Église.

Ni l'espace ni le temps ne permettent de reprendre ici toutes les idées manichéennes sur la Bible. Qu'il suffise de dire que pour les disciples de Mani, seul le Nouveau Testament, et dans une forme tronquée³, méritait d'être lu; on comprendra dès lors que, dans la partie « exégétique » de notre traité, Augustin cherche à montrer comment

² Augustin, *Retractationes* I,7(6),1. Traduction (légèrement modifiée) de G. Bardy, *Les Révisions* (BA, 12), Paris, Desclée de Brouwer, 1950, p. 299.

³ Voir M. Tardieu, « Principes de l'exégèse manichéenne du Nouveau Testament » dans *Idem, Les règles de l'interprétation*, Paris, Cerf, 1987, p. 128–129.

certains passages du Nouveau Testament, de la littérature paulinienne en particulier, ont trouvé leur inspiration dans l'Ancien. La prépondérance des citations de Paul découle logiquement de l'importance attribuée à la lecture de «l'Apôtre» dans les *Confessions*, et des ressemblances intentionnelles qui s'y trouvent entre le récit de la conversion d'Augustin et celui de la conversion de Paul. Ainsi, Augustin se situe-t-il dans un processus de redécouverte de Paul qui remonte au début du IV^e siècle⁴.

Augustin fait fréquemment allusion à *Mt* 22,37, passage qui, à son tour, invoque *Dt* 6,5 et *Lv* 19,18: «Tu aimeras le Seigneur ton Dieu de tout ton cœur, etc., et ton prochain comme toi-même». Bien qu'il rompe ici avec la pure raison pour s'appuyer sur l'autorité de la Bible, il continue de s'exprimer philosophiquement: Dieu est l'Être par excellence (14,24: *id ipsum esse*), ne changeant en rien sa nature ou sa substance (10,17 et 13,23); cette «fin des biens», cette «somme des biens» (8,13) qu'est Dieu, le Christ lui-même nous commande de l'aimer. De plus, c'est le même Dieu dont parlent les deux Testaments (9,14), tout comme nous trouvons dans chaque Testament le même principe fondamental de la loi divine: le Grand Commandement de l'amour de Dieu et du prochain. Cette proposition théologique procède logiquement de l'idée de la supériorité de Dieu par rapport à l'être humain (voir 26,49).

Le critère qui, dans le cas cité ci haut, gouverne le choix des passages scripturaires, c'est la *morale*, bien qu'un souci pour la simple synonymie ou la consonance—comme le confirment des expressions telles que *consonare* (16,28), *congruere* (17,30) ou *concitare* (18,34)—joue le rôle principal dans cette «exégèse». Cela dit, c'est ici que pour la première fois chez Augustin on trouve d'abondantes citations tant de l'Ancien que du Nouveau Testament. A ce stade, toutefois, Augustin se contente d'attaquer la distinction manichéenne entre le Dieu prêché par l'Ancien Testament et celui que proclame le Nouveau, de même que la notion d'un Dieu matériel et spatialement limité (10,16.17). Dans un commentaire sur *Rm* 8,38–39 il oppose aux manichéens un Dieu qui est «partout tout entièrement» (*ubique totus*) sans pour-

⁴ Voir sur ce thème W. Erdt, *Marius Victorinus Afer, der erste lateinische Pauluskommator. Studien zu seinen Pauluskommentaren im Zusammenhang der Wiederentdeckung des Paulus in der abendländischen Theologie des 4. Jahrhunderts* (coll. «European University Studies», series XXIII: Theology, 135), Francfort, Lang, 1980.

tant être contenu dans aucun lieu (11,19), un Dieu créateur toujours subsistant de par sa nature inviolable et inchangeable (12,21), le Dieu unique dont parlent comme d'une voix unique les deux Testaments (17,30).

C'est la recherche de ce Dieu qui constitue le désir du bonheur, et c'est en le trouvant qu'on parvient à la vie heureuse (11,18). Or, «bien vivre» (*bene uiuere*) n'est pas la même chose que «posséder Dieu» (*habere Deum*), de même que «posséder Dieu» ne suffit pas pour être heureux: il faut aussi que Dieu soit *aimé* (13,22), et que *lui seul* soit aimé (20,37). Si suivre Dieu, c'est avoir le goût du bonheur, on le suit en aimant le prochain et on arrive ainsi à prendre part à la vérité et à la sainteté divines (11,18).

Quel est précisément cet amour dont parle tant Augustin? Dans le premier *De moribus* il ne risque pas une définition précise (14,24), à ceci près que la *caritas* est toujours théocentrique, un amour centré sur Dieu (voir 26,51). Revenant à plusieurs reprises au thème de la charité, Augustin soutient que les manichéens ne la possèdent pas, puisque la vraie foi leur manque. Et il précise que l'amour du prochain est «l'étape la plus certaine vers l'amour de Dieu» (26,48). Le Dieu qu'aiment les vrais chrétiens est «*l'Unité trine, Père et Fils et Saint Esprit*»—un seul Dieu, que la raison et l'autorité nous enseignent être notre Souverain Bien, «*le Dieu auquel nous ne sommes dignes d'adhérer que par la dilection, l'amour, la charité*» (14,24).

Le Fils, égal au Père (16,28), est déjà identifié dans l'Ancien Testament (Sg 9,9) à la sagesse dont parle Paul dans *1 Co* 1,24 (16,28). Cette christologie encore très embryonnaire ne répond qu'aux soucis immédiats de l'auteur, à savoir de souligner l'égalité du Fils avec le Père et sa véritable humanité. Plus originale est l'idée, inspirée de la notion de l'amour comme condition indispensable à la vie chrétienne, qu'Augustin propose de l'Esprit Saint comme charité par excellence (13,23; voir aussi 16,29) par laquelle «nous devenons conformes à Dieu», et comme la paix et la concorde qui garantissent l'unité des Testaments (18,34). Pas plus que le Père ou le Fils, l'Esprit n'est une créature, bien que de la nature de Dieu et de sa propre substance.

La discussion sur la Trinité est insérée entre deux sections (15,25–16,26 et 19,35–25,47) sur les vertus, qui sont toutes réduites à notre amour de Dieu (15,25). En procède la définition des quatre vertus cardinales (la tempérance, la force, la justice et la prudence) comme quatre aspects du même amour. Ces vertus, dont les définitions

fondamentalement philosophiques révèlent l'influence de Paul⁵, se réduisent donc à une seule, la charité. Il faut aimer Dieu et le prochain, principe que les manichéens acceptent aussi (voir 28,57), sans pourtant admettre que l'Ancien Testament nous incite à l'amour aussi bien que le Nouveau. C'est pourquoi Augustin aborde ce thème lorsqu'il revient sur celui de l'amour (18,34) pour apporter des précisions—mais à l'aide de quelques *exempla* (modèles) bibliques—au sujet du thème de l'amour du prochain, auquel les quatre vertus sont aussi ordonnées (25,46). Le Grand Commandement nous oblige à aimer non seulement Dieu, mais aussi le prochain (25,47–28,58), jusqu'à secourir non seulement son âme par la «médecine de l'âme» (= la discipline: 27,52; 28,55.56), mais aussi son corps par la médecine du corps, c'est-à-dire en faisant des actes miséricordieux (27,52–54).

De cette obligation procèdent donc nos devoirs par rapport à la communauté humaine (26,49). C'est pourquoi l'Église est—and les manichéens ne sont pas—in mesure de régler les divers aspects de la vie humaine (29,59–30,64). L'Église, «*mère vérissime des chrétiens*» (30,62), nous nourrit jusqu'au rassasiement (30,64), alors que le manichéisme avait laissé Augustin affamé (18,33). La *Catholica* est une véritable «Église des saints», qui sert au perfectionnement des chrétiens de tout genre et s'oppose donc à la prétendue sainteté de l'*«Église»* de Mani.

Les cinq derniers chapitres du premier traité sont en quelque sorte le contrepoint de ce qui va suivre dans le traité suivant. C'est dans cette section qu'Augustin nous fait part de sa décision d'écrire un deuxième traité dans lequel d'autres questions seront abordées: «Combien ces préceptes sont vains, combien nuisibles et sacrilèges, et de quelle façon la plupart d'entre vous, disons presque vous tous, vous vous dispenserez de les observer, j'ai résolu de le montrer dans un autre volume» (34,75).

Ces chapitres nous présentent la vie d'ascètes en tout genre, en premier lieu ceux qui vivent dans les lieux déserts (31,65–68). Leur mention ne devrait pas étonner vu l'importance que les *Confessions* attribuent à l'*exemplum* de S. Antoine, même si le «Père du monachisme» n'est pas mentionné dans notre traité. Le fait est que, même

⁵ J. Doignon, «La problématique des quatre vertus dans les premiers traités de saint Augustin» dans *L'umanesimo di sant'Agostino. Atti del Congresso internazionale: Bari 28–30 ottobre 1986*, Bari, Levante, 1988, p. 180.

dans les *Confessions*, Augustin s'intéresse moins à la personne d'Antoine qu'au style de vie qu'il représente. Au fond, ce n'est pas tant la vie solitaire que l'idée de communauté qui exerce un attrait personnel sur lui: il n'aborde donc que rapidement le premier genre de vie (31,65.66) pour s'attacher au second. Dans ces communautés il s'agit d'hommes (et de femmes: 31,68) qui, «*réunis en une vie commune bien chaste et sainte [...] offrent à Dieu une vie qui est marquée par la concorde et par la contemplation de lui*» (31,67). Ces gens passent leurs journées à méditer les psaumes⁶, à étudier la Bible, à écouter les exhortations de leurs supérieurs (31,67). Ici commence à paraître le premier indice du rôle prépondérant que sera appelé à jouer un autre *exemplum*, celui de la communauté apostolique de Jérusalem (*Ac 4,32–35*), dans la conception augustinienne de la vie «monastique». On discerne aussi l'importance accordée à l'idée que les chefs de communautés cénotibitiques (pachomiennes) s'appellent «pères», en des termes qui semblent symboliser la présence divine.

Afin de ne pas donner l'impression que seules les personnes qui vivent dans le désert peuvent parvenir à la perfection (et ainsi en faire l'équivalent des «élus» manichéens), Augustin mentionne d'autres ascètes, en premier lieu des membres du clergé (32,69). Il a connu personnellement, dit-il, beaucoup de ministres de tous les rangs dont il trouvait la pratique des vertus admirable, bien qu'il leur fallût la porter «*au milieu d'une vie plus turbulente*». Une autre préférence personnelle de l'auteur nous est ici révélée: l'*«oisiveté divine»* (*otium diuinum*) que leurs devoirs rendent difficilement accessible au clergé.

Vient ensuite la description de la vie d'ascèse qu'on mène dans les villes comme Milan et Rome, mais dans un esprit qui éloigne ses pratiquants de «*la vie vulgaire*» (33,70). Là aussi, Augustin peut faire appel à des expériences de première main pour témoigner d'une vie vécue «*dans la charité, la sainteté et la liberté chrétiennes*» par des hommes et des femmes qui travaillent «*à l'orientale*» (*Orientis more*) tout en pratiquant des jeûnes incroyables.

Augustin achève sa présentation de la vie des chrétiens en faisant remarquer que ces formes de l'ascèse chrétienne sont solidement fondées sur la charité (33,71.72.73). L'insistance inlassable sur l'amour rappelle la théologie paulinienne de la charité, invoquée déjà dans les

⁶ Sur le couple prière psaumes voir A. Davril, «La Psalmodie chez les Pères du Désert», *Collectanea Cisterciensia* 49, 1987, p. 132–139.

Soliloques et que suppose ici l'exposé du jeûne des chrétiens. Elle rappelle aussi l'importance de l'amitié dans la vie d'Augustin, et l'attrait qu'il avait naguère ressenti pour l'aspect communautaire du manichéisme. Certaines pratiques, en effet méprisées par les manichéens, sont permises par l'Écriture (ici l'argument est renforcé de longues citations de Paul) à condition qu'elles soient ordonnées «*à la fin qui est la charité*» (33,71). En d'autres termes, on doit savoir bien distinguer entre leur usage et leur jouissance (35,77.78,79)—c'est la fameuse distinction augustinienne entre *frui* et *uti*. Le principe de «la charité en tout» prouve combien l'ascèse des chrétiens est supérieure à celle des manichéens (34,74)⁷. Par contre, l'ascèse manichéenne—nous arrivons à l'exhortation finale—doit s'avérer toujours inférieure (34,76–35,80) car, en fin de compte, le manichéisme n'a pu détourner Augustin des vices ou des ambitions séculières (22,41)⁸ auxquels il avait renoncé en 386, et dont il sait maintenant que l'humilité (31,67), la pauvreté (31,67), la chasteté (31,65) et, chez les chrétiens laïcs, le bon usage des biens et du mariage (35,77.78.79.80) constituent l'antidote. Pour conclure, Augustin loue, se souvenant sans doute de sa propre expérience, l'efficacité morale du baptême (35,80) qui peut rendre les catholiques moralement supérieurs aux adeptes du manichéisme. La perfection morale ne peut en effet se trouver que dans la vraie foi qui est celle de l'Eglise catholique.

3. DEUXIÈME TRAITÉ *DE MORIBUS*

Le ton du premier traité était conciliant et son idée principale positive, à savoir que la raison et l'Écriture (et surtout Paul) indiquent toutes les deux que le bonheur se trouve dans l'amour de Dieu. A l'opposé, l'objectif du deuxième traité sert de révéler le caractère inférieur de l'ascétisme manichéen, bien que dans cet ouvrage Augustin n'ait aucunement l'intention de décrire systématiquement le système moral des manichéens. Il a plutôt un objectif bien pragmatique, soit

⁷ Voir D. Dideberg, «Caritas. Prolégomènes à une étude de la théologie augustinienne de la charité», dans A. Zumkeller, dir., *Signum Pietatis: Festgabe für Cornelius Petrus Mayer OSA zum 60. Geburtstag* (coll. «Cassiciacum», 40), Wurtzbourg, Augustinus-Verlag, 1989, p. 370.

⁸ Voir C. Lepelley, «Un aspect de la conversion d'Augustin: la rupture avec ses ambitions sociales et politiques» dans *Bulletin de littérature ecclésiastique* 88, 1987, 229–246.

d'arracher au manichéisme les adeptes de celui-ci (3,4) et empêcher ses nouveaux coreligionnaires d'y adhérer.

D'une longueur égale à celle du premier, le deuxième traité *De moribus* se présente selon un plan plus logique et plus équilibré. D'entrée de jeu, Augustin pose la question de la nature du mal (2,2), convaincu que l'on doit savoir de quoi on parle avant d'en rechercher l'origine. Réponse: le mal ne possède aucune nature, aucune substance, donc aucune existence; il est l'absence de ce qu'un être ou une chose devrait avoir ou être (5,7–6,8). Ceci signifie encore une fois que le Souverain Bien, c'est Dieu, car Dieu seul ne peut rien perdre de son essence (3,5). Rien n'existe qui puisse s'opposer à Dieu, car puisque Dieu est l'Être par excellence, son antithèse serait le non-être. Il n'y a donc pas de Principe du Mal opposé au Principe du Bien, comme l'affirment les manichéens. De plus, rien qui existe n'est intrinsèquement mauvais, toute chose, en tant qu'elle est, étant bonne (9,14–18).

Ensuite, Augustin révèle (10,19–18,66) les divers préceptes de morale que le manichéisme regroupe dans le principe des trois «sceaux», de même que les inconséquences qu'il y perçoit. «*Qu'est-ce que [ce principe] signifie? Que l'être humain doit être chaste et innocent dans sa bouche, dans ses mains et dans son sein*» (10,19). Ce qui représente aux yeux des manichéens une véritable «règle de sainteté» (13,30). Du «sceau de la bouche» découlent deux impératifs: l'interdiction de blasphémer et l'obligation de s'abstenir de certains aliments et boissons, surtout de la viande (15,37) et du vin (16,44). Le «sceau des mains» défend de tuer, d'apporter toute atteinte contre un être vivant, même le végétal (17,54–62).

La substance de Dieu qui a été mêlée dans la matière est dispersée sur toute la terre et se trouve donc absorbée par les racines des arbres et des plantes avant de passer dans leurs fruits et légumes, où elle attend sa libération par l'acte digestif des «élus» (17,57). Évidemment, ce principe ne s'applique au sens strict qu'aux «élus»⁹. Les «auditeurs», pour leur part, doivent aller à l'encontre de ces prescriptions pour approvisionner les «saints». Le troisième sceau, celui «du sein», impose la chasteté parfaite (18,65–66), mais seulement aux «élus». Les «auditeurs»

⁹ Non sans raison, François Decret remarque que «ce traité polémique pourrait s'intituler plus justement *De moribus electorum sanctorumque manichaeorum*» (F. Decret, «Livre II—*De moribus Manichaeorum*» dans J. K. Coyle et al., *De moribus ecclesiae catholicae et De moribus Manichaeorum, De quantitate animae di Agostino d'Ippona* (coll. «Lectio Augustini», 7), Palermo, Edizioni «Augustinus», 1991, p. 119).

pour leur part peuvent prendre un conjoint, et même vivre dans le mariage, bien qu'il leur soit conseillé d'éviter la conception.

La dernière partie du traité (19,67–20,75) dénonce, au moyen d'*exempla* (négatifs cette fois-ci), l'hypocrisie de quelques «élus» qui ont transgressé la morale manichéenne. Et Augustin d'ajouter que la perception de la matière comme étant mauvaise non seulement implique que la création n'est pas bonne, mais elle est aussi un contresens. D'une part, en effet, les fruits et légumes donnés aux «élus», et que ces derniers mangent et digèrent pour libérer la substance de la lumière qui y est prisonnière (15,37), sont jugés «bons» par leur couleur (13,29; 16,39–41)¹⁰; d'autre part, le code moral des «auditeurs» est forcément moins exigeant pour permettre à ces derniers de remplir leur tâche principale, qui est de servir les «aumônes» alimentaires aux «élus» (17,62,64).

Les allégations parfois très choquantes au sujet de certains actes d'immoralité chez les «élus», qui ne sont fondées que sur des rumeurs (et trouvent d'ailleurs écho chez S. Ambroise de Milan et Épiphane de Salamine), constituent l'aspect le plus inquiétant du deuxième traité, d'autant plus parce qu'Augustin affirme ailleurs (*Contre Fortunat* 3) qu'il n'a jamais vu des actes scélérats lors du culte des «auditeurs», et qu'il ne pouvait savoir ce qui se passait au culte des «élus».

4. CONCLUSION

On trouve, dans ces deux traités, la première déclaration du christianisme sur l'ascétisme des manichéens, de même que la première initiative, par Augustin, d'y répondre directement. Ces traités, tout en révélant bien l'état religieux et psychologique du nouveau baptisé, annoncent déjà bon nombre de thèmes classiques de sa pensée ultérieure: la nature de Dieu, la nature du bien et du mal, la relation entre Dieu et le monde, la composition de l'homme et le processus de la rédemption.

Le portrait esquisse par Augustin du manichéisme est-il fiable? Précisons: il n'a connu celui-ci que dans sa forme occidentale (tel qu'on

¹⁰ Sur l'idée du bien qu'Augustin attribue aux manichéens voir K. E. Lee, *Augustine, Manichaeism, and the Good* (coll. «Patristic Studies», 2), New York, Lang, 1999, p. 13–25.

le trouvait en Afrique du Nord et en Italie)¹¹. Signalons aussi qu'il dit très peu de choses au sujet du fondateur Mani. Quant aux doctrines manichéennes, en tant qu'« auditeur » il n'aurait eu accès qu'aux seuls éléments que son statut de « laïc » autorisait (ce qu'il admet lui-même dans *Les deux âmes* 12,16). En tant qu'« auditeur », il aurait appris un certain catéchisme de base, et participé aux assemblées liturgiques que fréquentaient les membres « laïcs » (*Contre Fortunat* 3). Devenu chrétien catholique, il apprit davantage sur le manichéisme tant par ses discussions avec des manichéens ou ex-manichéens que par ses lectures des écrits du système qui lui tombaient entre les mains. Augustin fait souvent allusion aux doctrines et aux pratiques manichéennes dans ses écrits et sermons contre ceux-ci, ou lors des débats publics avec des adeptes du mouvement. On ne saurait croire que dans ces circonstances il avait l'intention de fausser le portrait du manichéisme, surtout s'il voulait encourager la conversion des manichéens au catholicisme. En outre, il voulait certainement éviter d'être accusé de mensonge. Ceci dit, il y a des aspects de son ancienne religion qu'Augustin aurait pu mal comprendre, tel celui de l'être humain comme possédant « deux âmes ». Quoiqu'il en soit, sa représentation du manichéisme semble en règle générale un reflet fidèle de la version qu'il avait connue comme « auditeur ». Il est donc un témoin important pour l'étude de cette religion, surtout dans sa manifestation « latine », et de la lutte menée contre elle par le christianisme ancien.

¹¹ Sur le système manichéen tel qu'il se manifestait en milieu nord-africain voir F. Decret, *Aspects du manichéisme dans l'Afrique romaine. Les controverses de Fortunatus, Faustus et Félix avec saint Augustin*, Paris, Études Augustiniennes, 1970; *Idem, L'Afrique manichéenne (IV^e-V^e siècles). Étude historique et doctrinale*, 2 vols., Paris, Études Augustiniennes, 1978.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

DE MORIBUS ECCLESIAE CATHOLICAE: AUGUSTIN CHRÉTIEN À ROME

Comme j'ai déjà publié, en 1978, une étude du *De moribus ecclesiae catholicae*¹ qui considérait l'ensemble de la littérature pertinente parue avant 1975 (date de la soutenance de ma thèse), je me référerai davantage dans cette contribution aux recherches faites au cours des quinze dernières années. De plus, les limites de temps et d'espace ne permettraient pas de revoir tout l'ouvrage d'Augustin², non plus que de récapituler le contenu de l'étude de 1978. Je n'en rappellerai ici que ce qui a trait à la date, au lieu et aux circonstances de rédaction du *De moribus ecclesiae catholicae* (le premier *De moribus*). À cela, j'ajouterai une brève esquisse du traité où s'insérera l'examen de thèmes particuliers. Pour finir, je risquerai quelques modestes conclusions.

I. INTRODUCTION: LE RÉCIT DES RÉVISIONS

En 426, lorsqu'il passe tous ses écrits en revue, Augustin fait la remarque suivante à l'égard de notre traité :

Après mon baptême, tandis que j'étais à Rome, je ne pus supporter en silence la vantardise des manichéens sur la continence ou l'abstinence fausse et fallacieuse qui les pousse, pour tromper les ignorants, à se préférer aux vrais chrétiens, avec lesquels ils ne sauraient être comparés. J'écrivis donc deux livres: l'un *De moribus ecclesiae catholicae*; l'autre *De moribus Manicheorum*³.

¹ J. K. Coyle, *Augustine's «De moribus ecclesiae catholicae». A Study of the Work, Its Composition and Its Sources* (coll. «Paradosis», 25), Fribourg-en-Suisse, University Press, 1978.

² Pour un résumé du texte voir Coyle, *Augustine's «De moribus»*, p. 79–83.

³ Aug., *Retractationes* I,7 (6),1 (CCL 57, p. 18.3): «Iam baptizatus autem cum Romae essem, nec tacitus ferre possem Manicheorum iactantiam de falsa et fallaci continentia uel abstinentia, qua se ad imperitos decipiendos ueris christianis, quibus comparandi non sunt, insuper preeferunt, scripsi duos libros, unum de moribus ecclesiae catholicae et alterum de moribus Manicheorum». Traduction basée sur celle de G. Bardy, *Les Révisions* (BA, 12), Paris, Desclée de Brouwer, 1950, p. 299.

1. «*Après mon baptême, tandis que j'étais à Rome...*»

Augustin reçut le baptême à Milan la nuit du 24/25 avril 387. Peu après, il quitta la ville avec sa mère, son fils et quelques amis pour reprendre le chemin de l'Afrique. À Ostie, port de Rome, on attendait le départ d'un navire qui devait amener le petit groupe à Carthage⁴. Mais avant que le voyage ne put s'effectuer, Monique tomba malade et mourut neuf jours plus tard⁵. C'est avec les obsèques de sa mère qu'Augustin termine la partie autobiographique des *Confessions*. Par la suite, le voilà de nouveau à Rome où, selon toute apparence, ses compagnons seraient retournés avec lui⁶. Il y séjourne au cours de l'hiver 387–388⁷, et c'est là qu'il aurait rédigé non seulement les deux traités *De moribus*, mais aussi le *De animae quantitate*, et qu'il aurait commencé le *De libero arbitrio*⁸.

Il s'agissait là du second séjour d'Augustin à Rome mais son premier comme chrétien⁹. C'est le moment qu'il choisit pour rédiger sa première réponse dirigée ouvertement contre les manichéens¹⁰. Ce sera aussi le premier écrit qu'il entreprendra en tant que nouveau baptisé.

⁴ Sur le séjour à Ostie tel que présenté dans *Conf. IX*, voir P. Siniscalco, «Le tappe di un itinerario interiore ed esterno del IX libro delle *Confessiones* di Agostino», dans AA. VV., «*Le Confessioni*» di Agostino d'Ippona, *Libri VI–IX* (coll. «Lectio Augustini», 3), Palermo, Edizioni «Augustinus», 1985, p. 103–108.

⁵ *Conf. IX,11,28.*

⁶ Voir ci-dessous, n. 8.

⁷ Coyle, *Augustine's «De moribus»*, p. 8 et 66. Henry Chadwick, *Augustine*, Oxford-New York, Oxford University Press, 1986, p. 38 et 44, prétend que Monique passa l'hiver à Rome en compagnie d'Augustin, ne subissant la mort que vers l'automne 388.

⁸ *Retr. I,8 (7),1* (CCL 57, p. 21.2): «In eadem urbe scripsi dialogum, in quo de anima multa queruntur ac disseruntur [...] Totus liber nomen accepit, ut appellaretur *De animae quantitate*»; *I,9 (8),1* (p. 23.1): «Cum adhuc Romae demoraremur, uoluimus disputando querere, unde sit malum. Et eo modo disputauimus, ut, si possemus, id quod de hac re diuinae auctoritati subditi credabamus, etiam ad intelligentiam nostram, quantum disserendo opitulante deo agere possemus, ratio considerata et tractata perduceret. Et quoniam constituit inter nos diligenter ratione discussa malum non exortum nisi ex libero uoluntatis arbitrio, tres libri quos eadem disputatio peperit appellati sunt *De libero arbitrio*. Quorum secundum et tertium in Africa iam Hippone Regio presbyter ordinatus, sicut tunc potui, terminaui».

⁹ Le premier séjour (383–384) avait été consacré à la rupture définitive avec les manichéens et à la poursuite d'une carrière. Voir L. F. Pizzolato, «L'itinerario spirituale di Agostino a Milano» dans AA. VV., *Agostino a Milano: Il battesimo. Agostino nelle Terre di Ambrogio* (22–24 aprile 1987) (coll. «Augustiniana—Testi e Studi», 3), Palermo, Edizioni «Augustinus», 1988, p. 24.

¹⁰ Coyle, *Augustine's «De moribus»*, p. 72–74.

Ce n'est pas ici le lieu de parler longuement du manichéisme dans toute sa complexité. L'éminent Professeur Decret est très qualifié dans le domaine pour nous renseigner, dans le cadre de son étude du traité suivant, au sujet des développements récents dans l'étude du manichéisme¹¹ tout autant que des progrès faits dans la publication ou l'examen de sources primaires¹². Je me contenterai donc de quelques références nécessaires à comprendre les aspects de la doctrine manichéenne auxquels Augustin répond.

2. «Je ne pus supporter en silence...»

Le passage des *Révisions* que j'ai cité affirme que l'objectif de l'ouvrage était de répondre au prétendu ascétisme des manichéens¹³. Or, le thème de l'ascétisme n'est abordé qu'au 31^e chapitre, pour une grande part d'une façon positive (puisque l'attention se porte sur l'ascétisme des chrétiens), l'aspect négatif (l'ascétisme trompeur des manichéens) étant en général réservé au *De moribus Manicheorum*. De fait, c'est des Saintes Écritures qu'Augustin parlera jusqu'à la fin du 30^e chapitre. Il se concentrera sur une comparaison du Nouveau Testament avec l'Ancien,

¹¹ Voir P. Bryder, dir., *Manichaean Studies. Proceedings of the First International Conference on Manichaeism* (LSAAR, 1), Lund, Plus Ultra, 1988.

¹² S. Giversen, *The Manichaean Coptic Papyri in the Chester Beatty Library, Facsimile Edition*, 4 vols. (coll. «Cahiers d'Orientalisme», 14–17), Genève, P. Cramer, 1986–1988. Sur ces papyrus voir A. Henrichs, «The Cologne Mani Codex Reconsidered» dans *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 83, 1979, p. 339–367; A. Böhlig, «Neue Initiativen zur Erschließung der koptisch-manichäischen Bibliothek von Medinet Madi» dans ZNW 80, 1989, p. 240–262; *Idem*, «2. Internationales Symposium 'Il Codice Manicheo di Colonia (CMC). Primi risultati e nuovi sviluppi' in Cosenza, 27.–28. maggio 1988» dans *Oriens Christianus* 72, 1988, p. 211–212; L. Koenen, «Augustine and Manichaeism in Light of the Cologne Mani Codex» dans *Illinois Classical Studies* 3, 1978, p. 154–195; U. Bianchi, «The Contribution of the Cologne Mani Codex to the Religio-Historical Study of Manichaeism» dans *Papers in Honour of Professor Mary Boyce*, I (AI, série 2, vol. X), Leyde, E. J. Brill, 1985, p. 15–24; et J. Ries, «Aux origines de la doctrine de Mani. L'apport du Codex Mani» dans *Le Muséon* 100, 1987, p. 283–295. Pour une étude récente de sources chinoises, voir H. Schmidt-Glintzer, *Chinesische Manichaica* (SOR, 14), Wiesbaden, Harrasowitz, 1987.

¹³ Sur l'ascèse chez les manichéens, voir Coyle, *Augustine's "De moribus"*, p. 194–201; J. Ries, «L'enkrateia et ses motivations dans les *Kephalaia* coptes de Médinet Mâdi» dans U. Bianchi, dir., *La tradizione dell'enkrateia. Motivazioni ontologiche e protologiche. Atti del Colloquio internazionale, Milano, 20–23 aprile 1982*, Rome, Edizioni dell'Ateneo, 1985, p. 369–391; et S. N. C. Lieu, «Precept and Practice in Manichaean Monasticism» dans *JTS* n.s. 32, 1981, p. 153–173.

afin de démontrer combien d'idées sont partagées par les deux¹⁴. S'il n'aborde l'autre thème qu'au chapitre 31, c'est précisément pour ouvrir une section qui a probablement été ajoutée après la décision d'écrire un second traité *De moribus*. Or, pour s'accommoder à la nouvelle situation, Augustin se trouve obligé d'introduire un nouveau paragraphe initial (le premier du texte actuel) devant le paragraphe d'introduction original (qui devient donc le second paragraphe du texte actuel)¹⁵.

Ce nouveau paragraphe introductif mentionne d' « autres livres » (*aliis libris*) où Augustin aurait déjà parlé à suffisance des idées manichéennes sur l'Écriture :

Je pense avoir suffisamment traité, dans d'autres livres, de la manière de répondre aux invectives maladroites et impies que les manichéens prodiguent contre la Loi qu'on appelle l'Ancien Testament...¹⁶

Il s'agit là des *Libri duo de Genesi contra Manicheos*, rédigés en Afrique¹⁷ mais parus avant les deux traités *De moribus* (comme nous allons le voir). Or, le second paragraphe du texte actuel envisage comme sujet *et* l'Écriture *et* les pratiques ascétiques (sans mentionner l'existence d'un second livre) :

Mais puisque les manichéens se servent surtout de deux artifices pour tromper les naïfs et s'en faire les instituteurs, l'un qui est de critiquer les Écritures, qu'ils entendent mal ou veulent qu'on entende mal; et l'autre qui est d'afficher une vie chaste et une extraordinaire continence : ce livre

¹⁴ Dans Coyle, *Augustine's « De moribus »*, p. 111, j'ai signalé l'intérêt que ce thème portait pour Ambroise. Voir maintenant L. F. Pizzolato, *La dottrina esegetica di sant' Ambrogio* (coll. « Studia Patristica Mediolanensis », 9), Milan, Vita e Pensiero, 1978, p. 43–87.

¹⁵ Ce n'est que dans ce sens que je suis de l'avis de F. Decret, *L'Afrique manichéenne (IV^e–V^e siècles). Étude historique et doctrinale*, t. I, Paris, Études Augustiniennes, 1978, p. 20, qu'Augustin aborde « le problème scripturaire dans un traité dont tel n'était pas l'objet initial ». Pour une étude des idées manichéennes sur la Bible, voir A.-M. La Bonnardière, « L'initiation biblique d'Augustin » dans *Eadem*, dir., *Saint Augustin et la Bible* (coll. « Bible de tous les temps », 3), Paris, Beauchesne, 1986, p. 27–47, surtout p. 34–37.

¹⁶ *De moribus eccl. cath.* 1,1: « In aliis libris satis opinor egisse nos quemadmodum Manicheorum inunctionibus, quibus in legem, quod uetus testamentum vocatur, imperite atque impie feruntur [...] possimus occurrere ». Je reprends, avec quelques retouches orthographiques, le texte latin reproduit dans CSEL 90. La traduction est basée sur celle de B. Roland-Gosselin, *La morale chrétienne* (BA, 1), Paris 19492, p. 137 (texte latin des Mauristes reproduit en regard).

¹⁷ *Retr. I,10 (9), 1* (CCL 57, p. 29.2): « Iam uero in Africa constitutus, scripsi duos libros *De Genesi contra Manicheos* ».

contiendra, en conformité avec la discipline catholique, notre doctrine sur la vie et la pratique de la foi...¹⁸.

On peut donc parler d'un double objectif du texte tel qu'il existe actuellement¹⁹.

3. «J'écrivis deux livres...»

S'il faut nuancer les informations que nous donnent les *Révisions* concernant l'objectif et la motivation du traité, on doit aussi le faire en ce qui concerne les indications relatives à la date et au lieu de sa rédaction.

Si nous prenons au pied de la lettre les renseignements que nous communiquent les *Révisions*, Augustin aurait achevé la rédaction des deux traités *De moribus* avant de quitter Rome pour la dernière fois, probablement au printemps ou à l'été de 388. La vérité est plus complexe²⁰. De fait, il aurait seulement commencé le premier *De moribus* à Rome; il l'aurait terminé, ainsi que le *De moribus Manicheorum*, après son retour en Afrique, en toute vraisemblance à Thagaste. Les cinq derniers chapitres du premier traité serviraient comme d'un 'pont' conduisant au second, qui cependant doit être regardé comme un traité à part, et non comme le second livre du même ouvrage. C'est seulement vers la fin de la rédaction définitive de l'œuvre qu'il nous fait part de sa décision d'écrire un autre traité dans lequel d'autres questions seraient abordées:

Combien ces préceptes sont vains, combien nuisibles et sacrilèges, et de quelle façon la plupart d'entre vous, disons presque vous tous, vous vous dispensez de les observer, j'ai résolu de le montrer dans un autre volume²¹.

¹⁸ 1,2: «Sed quoniam dueae maxima sunt inlecebrae Manicheorum quibus decipiuntur incauti, ut eos uelint habere doctores, una, cum scripturas reprehendunt uel quas male intellegunt uel quas male intellegi uolunt; altera, cum uitiae castae et memorabilis continentiae imaginem preeferunt: hic liber congruentem catholicae disciplinae sententiam nostram de uita et moribus continebit».

¹⁹ Voir Coyle, *Augustine's «De moribus»*, p. 76–79.

²⁰ Je résume ici mes arguments dans Coyle, *Augustine's «De moribus»*, p. 66–79.

²¹ 34,75: «Sed et illa quam uana sint, quam noxia, quam sacrilega, et quemadmodum a magna parte uestrum atque adeo pene ab omnibus uobis non obseruentur, alio uolumine ostendere institui».

Au début, le *De moribus ecclesiae catholicae* avait (du moins dans l'intention) une existence indépendante de celle du *De moribus Manicheorum* qu'Augustin n'avait pas d'abord l'intention d'écrire. Ce n'est que vers la fin de la rédaction du premier brouillon qu'il a conçu l'idée d'en écrire la 'suite', même s'il n'a jamais voulu que les deux écrits soient publiés séparément²².

Toutefois, il se trouve que, dans l'histoire de la transmission textuelle des deux traités, le premier paraît souvent seul. On verra à cela deux raisons possibles: soit qu'on faisait peu de cas des *Révisions* et de l'inventaire (*Elenchus*) de Possidius²³, qui les nomment comme deux parties (*libri*) du même ouvrage; soit qu'on constatait que le premier traité présente plus d'intérêt spirituel pour les lecteurs, alors que le second est trop marqué par les soucis d'une polémique tout à fait particulière²⁴. Quoiqu'il en soit, sur les 94 manuscrits qui nous ont transmis le texte du *De moribus ecclesiae catholicae*, il n'y en a que 57 qui contiennent aussi le *De moribus Manicheorum*. Cette 'tradition' de les reproduire séparément a d'ailleurs été suivie par les premières éditions imprimées²⁵.

II. LECTURE DE L'OUVRAGE

Comme je l'ai précisé, ne seront présentées ici que les grandes lignes du traité, avec une mention spéciale de quelques thèmes particuliers.

On rend mal le titre «*De moribus*» en le traduisant par «*Sur les mœurs*», car il ne s'agit pas de mœurs, encore moins de 'coutumes' ou

²² Coyle, *Augustine's «De moribus»*, p. 74–76 et 93–94.

²³ A. Wilmart, «Operum S. Augustini Elenchus a Possidio eiusdem discipulo Calamensi episcopo digestus post Maurinorum labores novis curis editus critico apparatus numeris tabellis instructus» dans MA, p. 165, où les deux traités *De moribus* sont les premiers inventoriés «contra Manicheos».

²⁴ Pourquoi Augustin s'exprime-t-il de manière si négative lorsqu'il parle des manichéens dans le second traité? Aurait-il été mal accueilli par les chrétiens à son retour en Afrique (comme Paul à Damas), et lui aurait-il fallu donc démontrer combien sa conversion était sincère? Ou bien, le traité rédigé entre le premier *De moribus* (chap. 30) et le second aurait-il été mal reçu chez les chrétiens? On sait que le *De Genesi contra Manichaeos* est difficile dans son langage comme dans son contenu. Ce premier essai d'exégèse démontre combien Augustin était alors novice dans le domaine.

²⁵ J. K. Coyle, «Augustine's two treatises 'De moribus'. Remarks on their textual history» dans A. Zumkeller, dir., *Signum Pietatis. Festgabe für Cornelius Petrus Mayer OSA zum 60. Geburtstag* (coll. «Cassiciacum», 40), Wurtzbourg, Augustinus-Verlag, 1989, p. 75–90.

de ‘traditions’. Augustin entend plutôt par *mores* ‘la foi mise en pratique’²⁶. Dans les deux traités *De moribus* il insistera donc sur le fait que, à l’encontre des manichéens, les chrétiens orthodoxes réalisent un accord entre leurs croyances et leurs pratiques, et que leurs croyances se fondent sur la parole de Dieu.

Au second paragraphe (premier de la rédaction originale) de notre traité, Augustin invoque la *catholica disciplina*, source de sa propre opinion (*sententia*) regardant la vie et les *mores*²⁷. C'est aussi grâce à l'*apostolica disciplina* qu'on peut se servir d'idées contenues dans l'Ancien Testament. Au paragraphe suivant (2,3), l'auteur précise la méthode qu'il va suivre, proposant de fonder son propos tant sur la raison que sur l'autorité²⁸.

Le reste du traité se divise en trois sections : philosophie, Bible, ascèse. Mais il faut toujours rappeler que c'est le même Augustin qui écrit, dans l'espace d'un an ou deux. On peut donc s'attendre à ce que les sections se recoupent.

1. Section ‘philosophie’ (3,4–7,12)

Qui ne connaît le rôle qu'a joué le néoplatonisme dans la conversion d'Augustin? Nous ne pouvons reprendre ici toute la question des sources précises (Plotin ou Porphyre?)²⁹. Il est plus essentiel de noter que, après

²⁶ Coyle, *Augustine's «De moribus»*, p. 91. Voir R. Canning, «The Distinction Between Love for God and Love for Neighbour in Saint Augustine» dans Aug 32, 1982, p. 12 n. 13.

²⁷ Texte cité ci-dessus, p. 225 n. 18.

²⁸ Sur les rapports entre l'autorité et la raison voir Coyle, *Augustine's «De moribus»*, p. 126–143; et J. Doignon, «Le *De ordine*, son déroulement, ses thèmes» dans AA.VV, *L'opera letteraria di Agostino tra Cassiciacum e Milano. Agostino nelle Terre di Ambrogio* (1–4 ottobre 1986) (coll. «Augustiniana—Testi e Studi», 2), Palermo, Edizioni «Augustinus», 1987, p. 131–136.

²⁹ Coyle, *Augustine's «De moribus»*, p. 104–108. Pour des discussions plus récentes sur cette question voir E. Feldmann, «Konvergenz von Strukturen? Ciceros Hortensius u. Plotins Enneaden im Denken Augustins. Ein Beitrag zur Strukturfrage augustinischer Theologie» dans *Congresso internazionale su S. Agostino nel XVI centenario della conversione, Roma, 15–20 settembre 1986. Atti, I* (SEA, 24), Rome, Institutum Patristicum Augustinianum, 1987, p. 315–319; P. García Castillo, «Antecedentes neoplatónicos de San Agustín. De la retórica a la époptica» dans *La Ciudad de Dios* 202, 1989, p. 5–22 (il favorise surtout Porphyre); A. W. Matthews, *The Development of St. Augustine from Neoplatonism to Christianity, 386–391 A.D.*, Washington, D.C., University Press of America, 1980, p. 26–28 (Plotin et Porphyre); et P. F. Beatrice, «Quosdam Platonicon libros. The Platonic Readings of Augustine in Milan» dans *VC* 43, 1989, p. 248–281 (Porphyre, et rien que son *De regressu animae*).

de longs débats, la question de savoir si Augustin s'est converti à la philosophie ou au christianisme en 386 se révèle être un *Scheinproblem*, pour employer l'expression d'Eckard König³⁰: car le nouveau converti en effet a pu enfin reconnaître dans le christianisme lui-même la *uerissima philosophia*³¹. C'est justement ce que l'on aperçoit ici.

Augustin commence ses arguments tirés de la raison en faisant appel à l'eudémonisme: tout être humain désire le bonheur, affirme-t-il (3,4: *Beate certe omnes uiuere uolumus*)³². L'être humain ne trouve ce bonheur que dans un bien qu'il puisse à la fois posséder et aimer (ce dernier terme est l'équivalent à 'jouir', *frui*: 3,4.5)³³. Or, un tel bien doit s'avérer supérieur à l'être humain (3,5; voir 5,7).

Pour mieux préciser la nature du bien en question il faut déterminer plus précisément ce qu'est un être humain (4,6). Ici Augustin se contente d'affirmer que nous sommes tous composés d'une âme et d'un corps. Or, il s'abstient de choisir entre trois définitions possibles³⁴—l'âme seule, le corps seul ou les deux ensemble—and l'on comprend pourquoi: car même si son néoplatonisme lui permet d'identifier l'homme avec l'âme, Augustin ne saurait donner l'impression qu'il s'entend avec les manichéens à mépriser le corps. Que le corps soit inclus dans la définition de l'homme ou non, il ne reste pas moins vrai que l'âme est supérieure au corps³⁵, d'où il suit que le Souverain Bien est ce qui rend

³⁰ Voir P. F. Beatrice, «Quosdam Platonicorum libros», p. 248 et 268 n. 4.

³¹ *Contra Academicos* III,19,42 (CSEL 63, p. 79.17): «...una uerissimae philosophiae disciplina. Non enim est ista huius mundi philosophia...». Voir Coyle, *Augustine's "De moribus"*, p. 115–122.

³² Sur ce thème voir Coyle, *Augustine's "De moribus"*, p. 308–310; J. Brechtken, *Augustinus Doctor Caritatis. Sein Liebesbegriff im Widerspruch von Eigennutz und selbstloser Güte im Rahmen der antiken Glückseligkeits-Ethik* (coll. «Monographien zur philosophischen Forschung», 136), Meisenheim am Glan, Hain, 1975, p. 13–26; M. A. Santiago de Carvalho, «'Beatos esse nos volumus'. Uma leitura do *De beata vita* de St. Agostinho» dans *Humanistica e Teologia* 9, 1988, p. 69–95 et 187–222; et J. Doignon, «Saint Augustin et sa culture philosophique face au problème du bonheur» dans *Freiburger Zeitschrift für Philosophie und Theologie* 34, 1987, p. 339–359. Sur la notion platonicienne du bonheur voir G. Remy, *Le Christ médiateur dans l'œuvre de saint Augustin*, t. 1, Paris-Lille, Librairie H. Champion, 1979, p. 83–96.

³³ Sur cette équivalence voir J. Brechtken, *Augustinus Doctor Caritatis*, p. 46–48 et 55–57 et, sur l'idée du bien dans l'éthique d'Augustin, p. 58–77.

³⁴ «Nec nunc definitionem hominis a me postulandum puto [...] difficile est istam controversiam dijudicare». Augustin ne se prononcera pas sur cette question avant 417 (*De ciuitate dei* XIII,14). Sur l'anthropologie d'Augustin voir A. W. Matthews, *The Development*, p. 87–111.

³⁵ Augustin prend pour acquis que l'âme est immatérielle (*Conf.* VI,3,4). Voir Coyle, *Augustine's "De moribus..."*, p. 384; et L. Hoelscher, *The Reality of the Mind*.

parfaite l'âme ou l'âme avec son corps (5,7.8). Or, l'âme est rendue parfaite, donc heureuse, par la vertu (6,9) qui, elle, trouve sa signification dans la mesure où elle conduit vers Dieu, car c'est Dieu qui est le Souverain Bien (6,10)³⁶.

a. *Le thème de Dieu*

Dans une étude présentée au Congrès international augustinien de Rome en 1986, Basil Studer distingue trois aspects de l'idée de Dieu chez Augustin³⁷, soit (i) l'objet d'une quête par la raison humaine, (ii) le Dieu de la Bible et de la foi chrétienne, et (iii) le Dieu de l'expérience personnelle. Tous les trois aspects se retrouvent dans notre traité.

1. Le *premier aspect* s'exprime par la notion du Souverain Bien. On remarquera que, dans la première section, Augustin se sert souvent de termes néoplatoniciens pour parler de la quête de Dieu par l'âme humaine³⁸. Mais en même temps il anticipe la section suivante lorsqu'il parle de la voie³⁹ que Dieu nous a ménagée par les patriarches, la loi et les prophètes, l'Incarnation, les apôtres et martyrs et enfin l'évangélisation des peuples (7,12).

2. *Deuxième aspect*. Déjà dans la section philosophique (6,10) l'idée de la vertu nous est suggérée par une référence à *1 Cor* 1,24 («la *uirtus* et la *sapientia* de Dieu»). Immédiatement après, Augustin introduit sa première «étude» de l'Écriture à laquelle, au cours de notre traité, la raison cède visiblement la place⁴⁰. Donc, déjà dans la section philosophique Augustin prépare la section biblique, tout au long de

St. Augustine's Philosophical Arguments for the Human Soul as a Spiritual Substance, Londres-New York, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1986.

³⁶ «Deus igitur restat, quem si sequimur, bene; si adsequimur, non tantum bene, sed etiam beate uiuimus». Cette idée est peut-être empruntée directement aux stoïciens: voir M. L. Colish, *The Stoic Tradition from Antiquity to The Middle Ages*, t. II (coll. «Studies in The History of Christian Thought», 35), Leyde, E. J. Brill, 1985, p. 213–220.

³⁷ B. Studer, «*Credo in deum patrem omnipotentem*. Zum Gottesbegriff des heiligen Augustinus» dans *Congresso internazionale su S. Agostino...*, Atti, I, p. 163–188.

³⁸ Par ex., 7,11: «Ubi ad diuina peruentum est, auertit sese; intueri non potest, palpitat, aestuat, inhiat amore, reuerberatur luce ueritatis, et ad familiaritatem tenebrarum suarum, non electione sed fatigacione conuertitur».

³⁹ «Uerae religionis fide praeceptisque seruatis non deseruerimus uiam». Sur les thèmes de 'la voie' et de 'la patrie' voir G. Madec, «La délivrance de l'esprit (*Confessions VII*)» dans AA.VV., «*Le Confessioni* di Agostino d'Ippona, Libri VI–IX, p. 58–69. Sur l'identité de la 'voie' avec le Christ voir G. Remy, *Le Christ*, t. I, p. 28–34 (p. 34–40: le Christ médiateur dans le manichéisme).

⁴⁰ Coyle, *Augustine's «De moribus»*, p. 144–145.

laquelle se révéleront le second et même le troisième aspect de Dieu (le Dieu de la Bible et de la foi et, après, Dieu-Esprit comme *concordia, caritas, pax*).

2. Section ‘Bible’ (8,13–30,64)

Si, en théorie, la raison devait suffire pour conduire l’homme sage à la vie heureuse, en réalité l’autorité est nécessaire pour tous (ou peu s’en faut: 25,47)⁴¹. Or, on doit identifier l’autorité à l’Écriture sainte, dont le texte et l’interprétation sont assurés par l’Église⁴².

Avant le second séjour à Rome, l’initiation d’Augustin à la doctrine chrétienne se limitait à des sermons d’Ambroise et aux textes que le catéchuménat exigeait que les aspirants au baptême se mettent à lire, c’est-à-dire la *Sagesse*, l’*Ecclésiastique*, l’*Ecclésiaste* et les *Proverbes*. Or, tous ces livres sont cités dans le premier *De moribus*. Les citations qu’en fait Augustin constituent même, avec celles-ci de *Deutéronome* et des *Psaumes*, la totalité de ses citations vétéro-testamentaires⁴³. On peut se demander quelles autres lectures bibliques Augustin aurait pu faire avant de rédiger le premier *De moribus*. Au conseil d’Ambroise, il avait lu Isaïe⁴⁴: mais cette première rencontre avec le prophète fut moins qu’heureuse, et en tout cas Augustin n’y fait pas allusion ici⁴⁵. Par contre, «la grande révélation biblique d’Augustin, pendant le séjour à Cassiciacum, fut celle des Psaumes davidiques»⁴⁶, et, de fait,

⁴¹ Sur cette nécessité voir R. B. Eno, «Doctrinal Authority in Saint Augustine» dans AugSt 12, 1981, p. 133–172, surtout 134–142; et K. Flasch, *Augustin. Einführung in sein Denken*, Stuttgart, P. Reclam Jun., 1980, p. 80–86. Augustin veut-il faire de lui-même une exception à cette nécessité, à la lumière de l’‘extase’ d’Ostie? Sur cette question voir J. K. Coyle, «In Praise of Monica: A Note on the Ostia Experience of *Confessions IX*», dans AugSt 13, 1982, p. 87–96; réponse de T. Kato, «L’extase à deux» dans *Congresso internazionale su S. Agostino nel XVI centenario della conversione, Roma, 15–20 settembre 1986. Atti, II* (SEA, 25), Rome, Institutum Patristicum Augustinianum, 1987, p. 85–93.

⁴² Sur le rôle de l’autorité de la Bible dans la conversion d’Augustin voir J. M. Rodriguez, «El libro VI de las *Confesiones*» dans AA.VV., «Le *Confessioni* di Agostino d’Ippona, Libri VI–IX», p. 30–35 (étapes de la conversion d’Augustin d’après *Conf. VI*); voir aussi L. F. Pizzolato, «Il *De beata vita* o la possibile felicità nel tempo» dans AA.VV., *L’opera letteraria*, p. 96.

⁴³ Coyle, *Augustine’s «De moribus»*, p. 158–162. Voir A.-M. La Bonnardière, «L’initiation», p. 46–47.

⁴⁴ *Conf. IX,5,13*.

⁴⁵ La première citation directe (*Is 7,9*) se trouve dans le *De libero arbitrio I,2* et *II,2*.

⁴⁶ A.-M. La Bonnardière, «L’initiation», p. 44.

l'on remarque ici, pour la première fois, la présence de plusieurs citations de cette source⁴⁷. On peut conjecturer aussi que le nouveau baptisé, rempli d'enthousiasme mais conscient du degré de son ignorance de la doctrine chrétienne, aurait passé beaucoup de temps à se familiariser avec la Bible⁴⁸—sinon la littérature—des chrétiens, peut-être dans ces *bibliothecae ecclesiarum* qui se trouvaient déjà à Rome à l'époque du Pape Damase⁴⁹.

Comme le dit Julien Ries, «l'exégèse manichéenne de la Bible avait provoqué l'adhésion du jeune Augustin à la communauté gnostique. C'est la même exégèse qui finira par le faire douter et l'amènera à écouter les homélies d'Ambroise de Milan»⁵⁰. On n'aura pas le temps ici de reprendre toutes les idées manichéennes sur la Bible. Qu'il suffise de dire qu'elles n'en gardaient comme méritoire que le Nouveau Testament, et celui-ci dans une forme tronquée⁵¹; l'objectif de la partie ‘exégétique’ de notre traité est donc, bien sûr, de montrer comment certains passages du Nouveau Testament, surtout de l'apôtre Paul (12,20: *O altissimorum mysteriorum uirum!*)⁵² ont trouvé leur inspiration dans l'Ancien⁵³. La prépondérance des citations de Paul découle logiquement de l'importance attribuée à la lecture de ‘l'Apôtre’ dans les *Confessions*⁵⁴, et des ressemblances intentionnelles qui s'y trouvent entre le récit de la conversion d'Augustin et celui de la conversion de

⁴⁷ Coyle, *Augustine's «De moribus»*, p. 159 et 190.

⁴⁸ Il n'aurait peut-être pas eu cette occasion auparavant. Voir A.-M. La Bonnardière, «L'initiation», p. 40: «Il est curieux de remarquer qu'en 384 les connaissances bibliques qu'avait jusqu'alors acquises Augustin—soit chez les manichéens, soit en écoutant Ambroise—lui étaient parvenues à l'audition beaucoup plus qu'à la lecture. Par rapport aux moeurs du temps et à l'importance de l'enseignement oral, le fait est moins étonnant».

⁴⁹ C. Pietri, «Damase, évêque de Rome» dans *Saecularia Damasiana. Atti del Convegno internazionale per il XVI centenario della morte di Papa Damaso I (11-12-384-10/12-12-1984)* (coll. «Studi di Antichità cristiana», 39), Città del Vaticano, Pontificio Istituto di archeologia cristiana, 1986, p. 48.

⁵⁰ J. Ries, *Les études manichéennes des controverses de la Réforme aux découvertes du XX^e siècle* (coll. «Cerfaux-Lefort», 1), Louvain-la-Neuve, Centre d'histoire des religions, 1988, p. 192.

⁵¹ Coyle, *Augustine's «De moribus»*, p. 145–149; M. Tardieu, «Principes de l'exégèse manichéenne du Nouveau Testament» dans *Idem*, dir., *Les règles de l'interprétation*, Paris, Cerf, 1987, p. 128–129; et S. N. C. Lieu, *Manichaeism in the Later Roman Empire and Medieval China*, (WUZNT 63), Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 19922 (1985), p. 155–158.

⁵² Coyle, *Augustine's «De moribus»*, p. 187–189; M. Tardieu, «Principes», p. 132–133.

⁵³ Coyle, *Augustine's «De moribus»*, p. 150–154.

⁵⁴ Aug., *Conf.* VIII,6,14 et 12,29. L. C. Ferrari, «Paul at the Conversion of Augustine (*Conf.* VIII, 12,19–30)» dans *AugSt* 11, 1980, p. 5–20, ne regarde pas le second de ces

Paul⁵⁵. Ainsi, Augustin se situe-t-il dans un processus de redécouverte de Paul qui remonte au début du IV^e siècle⁵⁶.

Ici le principe qui gouverne le choix des passages scripturaires, c'est la *morale*. Mais la réalité est qu'un souci de la simple synonymie ou de la consonance, comme l'affirment des expressions telles que *consonare* (16,28), *congruere* (17,30) ou *concitare* (18,34), joue le rôle principal dans l'interprétation⁵⁷. Cela dit, pour la première fois dans un ouvrage d'Augustin, on trouve ici d'abondantes citations tant de l'Ancien que du Nouveau Testament.

Le commencement de la section biblique (8,13) est clairement marqué par la première citation de l'Écriture (*Matt 22,37—Dt 6,5: Diliges dominum deum tuum*). Bien qu'il rompe avec la pure raison pour s'appuyer sur l'autorité de la Bible, Augustin insiste encore sur beaucoup de points philosophiques: Dieu est *id ipsum esse* (14,24)⁵⁸, il ne peut changer en rien sa *natura* ou *substantia* (10,17 et 13,23)⁵⁹, il est notre lumière (11,18). Mais cette *bonorum summa*, cette *finis bonorum*, le Christ lui-même nous commande de l'aimer. De plus, c'est le même Dieu dont parlent les deux Testaments (9,14), tout comme

passages comme historique. Par contre, il accepte le premier passage dans ce sens, ainsi que *Cont. Acad.* II,2,5.

⁵⁵ L. C. Ferrari, «Saint Augustine on the Road to Damascus» dans AugSt 13, 1982, p. 151–170.

⁵⁶ Voir W. Erdt, *Marius Victorinus Afer, der erste lateinische Pauluskommentator. Studien zu seinen Pauluskommentaren im Zusammenhang der Wiederentdeckung des Paulus in der abendländischen Theologie des 4. Jahrhunderts* (European University Studies, series XXIII, Theology, 135), Francfort, Lang, 1980.

⁵⁷ Coyle, *Augustine's «De moribus»*, p. 154 et 244–245. C'est d'ailleurs la méthode préférée dans l'exégèse d'Ambroise, comme l'a bien montré L. F. Pizzolato, *La dottrina*, p. 9 et *passim*. Dans les *Confessions* (VI,4,6) Augustin semble attribuer la méthode qu'il suit ici directement à Ambroise. A. Trapè, «S. Agostino esegeta: teoria e prassi» dans *Lateranum* 48, 1982, p. 225, explique l'approche que prennent les traités *De moribus* à la Bible de la façon suivante: «In quest'opera non c'era bisogno di ricorrere alla allegoria perchè la tesi di fondo era ed è il precetto della carità presente nel N. come nel V. T. e il confronto tra la vita dei cristiani è quella dei manichei». Mais Augustin aurait-il été alors déjà capable de recourir à la méthode allégorique?

⁵⁸ Sur cette idée chez Augustin voir W. Geerlings, *Christus Exemplum. Studien zur Christologie und Christusverkündigung Augustins* (coll. «Tübinger theologische Studien», 13), Mayence, Grünewald, 1978, p. 28–31.

⁵⁹ Augustin choisit le mot *substantia* (voir aussi *De mor. Man.* 2,2) probablement à cause de son emploi manichéen, comme dans un fragment de la *Epistula Fundamenti (Contra Felicem I,19, CSEL 25/2, p. 825.24)*: «Pater, qui generauit ibi lucis filios, et aer et ipsa terra et ipsi filii una substantia sunt et aequalia sunt omnia». Mais il insistera, à l'encontre des manichéens, que la *substantia* divine est une et immuable. Voir W. Mallard, «The Incarnation in Augustine's Conversion» dans *RechAug* 15 (1980), p. 92; et W. Geerlings, *Christus Exemplum*, p. 33–42.

nous trouvons dans chaque Testament le même principe fondamental de la loi divine—le Grand Commandement de l'amour de Dieu et du prochain. Inspirée de *Matt 22,37–39* et illustrée à l'aide de *Rom 8,28* (9,14.15) et *8,38.39* (11,18–12,21), cette proposition théologique résulte logiquement de l'idée de la supériorité de Dieu par rapport à l'être humain (voir 26,49), et elle se sert déjà de la distinction *frui-uti* (18,33) qui sera approfondie vers 396 dans le *De diuersis quaestzionibus octoginta tribus* et le *De doctrina christiana*⁶⁰.

Pour l'instant, cependant, Augustin se contente d'attaquer (10,16.17) la distinction manichéenne entre le Dieu préché par l'Ancien Testament et celui que proclame le Nouveau, de même que la notion d'un Dieu matériel et coincé dans un espace. Dans un commentaire sur *Rom 8,38s.* il oppose aux manichéens un Dieu qui est *ubique totus* sans être contenu dans aucun lieu (11,19)⁶¹, un Dieu-créateur toujours subsistant *natura inuiolabili et incommutabili ueritatis atque sapientiae* (12,21), le Dieu unique dont parlent les deux Testaments (17,30: *Utriusque testamenti deus unus est*).

C'est la recherche de ce Dieu qui constitue le désir du bonheur, comme c'est en le trouvant que nous arrivons à la vie heureuse (11,18)⁶². Or, 'bien vivre' (*bene uiuere*)⁶³ n'est pas la même chose que

⁶⁰ *De diu. qu. LXXXIII*, qu. 35 et 36; *De doct. chr. I,20–38*. Voir D. Dideberg, «Caritas. Prolégomènes à une étude de la théologie augustinienne de la charité», dans A. Zumkeller, dir., *Signum Pietatis*, p. 370. Sur la distinction voir Coyle, *Augustine's «De moribus»*, p. 86, n. 345; et J. Brechtken, *Augustinus Doctor Caritatis*, p. 27–46. Pour une étude plus fouillée du double commandement chez Augustin, voir la série d'articles par R. Canning dans Aug: «The Distinction», 32, 1982, p. 5–41; «Love of Neighbour in Saint Augustine», 33 (1983), p. 5–57; «The Augustinian uti/frui Distinction in the Relation between Love for Neighbour and Love for God», 33, 1983, p. 165–231; «Love Your Neighbour as Yourself» (Matt. 22,39). Saint Augustine on the Lineaments of the Self to be Loved», 34, 1984, p. 145–197; «Augustine on the Identity of the Neighbour and the Meaning of True Love for Him 'As Ourselves' (Matt. 22,39) and 'As Christ Has Loved Us' (Jn. 13,34)», 36, 1986, p. 161–239; et «The Unity of Love for God and Neighbour», 37, 1987, p. 38–121. Dans ces articles Canning regarde le premier *De moribus* comme le point de départ de tous les thèmes qu'ils annoncent.

⁶¹ «Postremo, quis me locus ab eius caritate diuellet, qui non ubique totus esset, si ullo contineretur loco?» Sur *l'ubique totus* voir Coyle, *Augustine's «De moribus»*, p. 338–340; et E. Samek Lodovici, *Dio e mondo. Relazione, causa, spazio in S. Agostino* (coll. «La Cultura», 19), Rome, Edizioni Studium, 1979, p. 266–275.

⁶² «Secutio igitur dei beatitatis adeptitus est; consecratio autem ipsa beatitas. At eum sequimur diligendo, consequimur uero, non cum hoc omnino efficimur quod est ipse, sed ei proximi...». Voir I. Bochet, *Saint Augustin et le désir de Dieu*, Paris, Études Augustiniennes, 1982, III^e partie.

⁶³ 13,22: «Si quaerimus quid sit bene uiuere, id est ad beatitudinem bene uiuendo tendere, id erit profecto amare uirtutem, amare sapientiam».

de ‘posséder’ Dieu (*habere Deum*)⁶⁴, de même que ‘posséder Dieu’ ne suffit pas à être heureux⁶⁵: il faut aussi que Dieu soit *aimé* (13,22), et que lui seul soit aimé (20,37)⁶⁶.

Si suivre Dieu c'est avoir le goût du bonheur, on le suit en aimant le prochain⁶⁷ et on arrive ainsi à prendre part à la vérité et à la sainteté divines (11,18)⁶⁸. L'insistance sur la *sanctitas* aura des échos dans le traitement sur la force (22,40), la description de la vie des moines d'Orient (31,66) et la mention de la vie « religieuse » à Rome (33,70)⁶⁹.

Quel est précisément cet amour dont parle tant Augustin? Dans le premier *De moribus* il ne risque pas une définition précise, et ne distingue même pas entre *amor*, *caritas*, *dilectio* (14,24), à ceci près que la *caritas* est toujours théocentrique, un *amor Dei* (voir 26,51)⁷⁰. Mais en revenant plusieurs fois au thème de la charité, Augustin cherche à faire comprendre que les manichéens ne la possèdent pas, puisque la vraie foi leur manque (cet argument deviendra plus explicite dans le *Contra Faustum*)⁷¹.

C'est par l'amour, dira Augustin en des termes nettement évangéliques, que, aidé par l'Ancien Testament, on demande, on cherche, on

⁶⁴ Sur l'évolution de cette expression chez Augustin voir R. Canning, «The Augustinian uti/frui Distinction», p. 177–178.

⁶⁵ Idée développée déjà dans le *De beata vita*. Voir L. F. Pizzolato, «Il *De beata vita*», p. 90–91; et W. Beierwaltes, *Regio Beatitudinis. Zu Augustins Begriff der glücklichen Lebens* (Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, Jhg. 1981, Bericht 6), Heidelberg, Carl Winter Universitäts-Verlag, 1981, p. 41–42.

⁶⁶ Texte ci-dessous, n. 97. Voir W. Beierwaltes, *Regio Beatitudinis*, p. 26–36; et J. Brechtken, *Augustinus Doctor Caritatis*, p. 95–102.

⁶⁷ O. O'Donovan, *The Problem of Self-Love in Saint Augustine*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1980, a montré que cette idée n'a rien d'égoïste. Voir aussi J. Brechtken, *Augustinus Doctor Caritatis*, p. 50–52, 78–84 et 136–144. K. Flasch, *Augustin*, p. 144, préfère parler d'un «idealistic Egoismus».

⁶⁸ «At eum sequimur [...] mirifico et intellegibili modo contingentes eiusque ueritate et sanctitate penitus inlustrati atque comprehensi. Voir 25,47: Sed eius largitorem potius audiamus: 'Haec est', inquit, 'uita aeterna, ut cognoscant te uerum deum, et quem misisti Iesum Christum' (Jn 17,3). Aeterna igitur uita est ipsa cognitio ueritatis».

⁶⁹ Voir Coyle, *Augustine's «De moribus»*, p. 447, s.v. *sanctificare* et *sanctificatio*.

⁷⁰ Coyle, *Augustine's «De moribus»*, p. 89 et 248 (n. 949). Voir *Sermo* 53 11 (PL 38, 369: «Nihil aliud caritas quam dilectio») et *Sermo* 349 1 (PL 39, 1529: «Duo [...] nomina habet quae graece ἀγάπη dicitur»). Dans le *De ciuitate Dei* XIV,7 (CCL 48, p. 422,28) Augustin attribue l'absence de distinction directement à la Bible: «Sed scripturas religionis nostrae, quarum auctoritatem ceteris omnibus litteris anteponimus, non aliud dicere amorem, aliud dilectionem uel caritatem, insinuandum fuit». Sur ce passage voir I. Bochet, *Saint Augustin*, p. 280; et J. Brechtken, *Augustinus Doctor Caritatis*, p. 48–50.

⁷¹ V,5.11 (CSEL 25/1, p. 276–277 et 283–284).

frappe à la porte, on découvre, et qu'on demeure enfin dans ce qui a été découvert (17,31). Là il est clair que *l'amor proximi* est « l'étape la plus certaine vers l'amour de Dieu » (26,48 : *nullus certior gradus ad amorem dei*), idée qui ne sera précisée qu'en 394 dans le *Contra Adimantum*⁷². Mais on ne saurait en conclure, comme l'implique la traduction du même passage par Bernard Roland-Gosselin, que l'amour du prochain n'existe *que* « pour s'élever à l'amour de Dieu »⁷³.

3. *Le troisième aspect* de Dieu apparaît au 12^e chapitre qui se conclut avec une citation de *Rom* 8,39 : « la charité de Dieu, qui est dans le Christ Jésus, notre Seigneur » (12,21). C'est ainsi que nous passons à l'*excursus* (en deux parties : 13,22–14,24 et 16,27–18,34) sur le Dieu trinitaire et ses liens avec le Grand Commandement⁷⁴, introduit par la citation de *1 Cor* 1,23.24 (déjà annoncé en 6,10) et interrompu par un premier traitement de certaines vertus particulières.

On me dira peut-être que la dimension trinitaire serait mieux à sa place dans la section portant sur le Dieu de la Bible et de la foi chrétienne; mais Augustin, même s'il mentionne en passant la « doctrine officielle » du Dieu trinitaire, le fait à sa façon à lui, car la Trinité est pour lui bien plus qu'une idée ou même une croyance de l'Église : Augustin lui confère une signification tout à fait personnelle.

Cependant, on ne connaît ni la motivation exacte de l'inclusion de cet *excursus* dans le premier *De moribus*, ni ses sources⁷⁵ : mais il est certain qu'il s'y trouve en partie pour répondre à ces « pièges du diable »⁷⁶ que posaient pour Augustin les noms de la « Trinité » manichéenne⁷⁷ :

⁷² 6 (CSEL 25/1, p. 126,20) : « Dilectio proximi certus gradus est ad dilectionem dei ».

⁷³ B. Roland-Gosselin, *La morale chrétienne*, p. 209. Notion reprise par D. Dideberg, *Saint Augustin et la première Épître de saint Jean. Une théologie de l'agapè* (coll. « Théologie historique », 34), Paris, Beauchesne, 1973, p. 138; *Idem*, « Esprit Saint et charité. L'exégèse augustinienne de I Jn 4,8 et 16 » dans *Nouvelle Revue Théologique* 97, 1975, p. 230 (« un degré pour s'élever à l'amour de Dieu, un moyen de s'y exercer »).

⁷⁴ Coyle, *Augustine's « De moribus »*, p. 245–248.

⁷⁵ Voir Coyle, *Augustine's « De moribus »*, p. 241–259. On notera, en plus des suggestions qui y sont faites, une réminiscence du *De trinitate* (27) de Novatien dans 15,25.

⁷⁶ *Conf.* III,6,10 (CCL 27, p. 31,2) : « laquei diaboli ».

⁷⁷ Sur cette trinité et ses rapports avec le gnosticisme voir J. Ries, « Saint Augustin et le manichéisme à la lumière du livre III des *Confessions* » dans AA.VV., « *Le Confessioni di Agostini d'Ippona, Libri III-V* (coll. « Lectio Augustini », 2), Palermo, Edizioni « Augustinus », 1984, p. 10–14; et A. Böhlig, « Der Name Gottes im Gnostizismus und Manichäismus » dans H. von Stietencron, dir., *Der Name Gottes*, Düsseldorf, Patmos Verlag, 1975, p. 140–146. Voir aussi J. Ries, « Sacré, sainteté et salut gnostique dans la liturgie manichéenne copte » dans *Idem*, dir., *L'expression du sacré dans les grandes*

le Père, Jésus-Christ⁷⁸, et l'Esprit Saint (le Paraclet descendu sur Mani). Même si l'on ne saurait identifier avec précision les sources de l'excursus, on sait que ce n'est pas la première fois qu'Augustin fait allusion au Dieu trinitaire⁷⁹: mais ici sa conception s'éloigne visiblement du cadre de la triple hypostase néoplatonicienne, encore prépondérant dans les écrits précédents⁸⁰.

Le Dieu que nous devons aimer est *trina quadam unitas, pater et filius et spiritus sanctus* (14,24)⁸¹—Augustin attribue cette idée à la doxologie de *Rom 11,36*, bien qu'il s'agisse peut-être ici d'une formule liturgique—un seul Dieu, que la raison et l'autorité nous ont montré être notre Souverain Bien, le Dieu *cui haerere certe non ualemus nisi dilectione, amore, caritate*.

Le Fils, qui *cum ipso patre aequalitatem clamat atque adserit* (16,28)⁸², s'identifie déjà dans l'Ancien Testament avec la sagesse et la vérité de *1 Cor 1,24* (16,28)⁸³. Cette christologie encore très embry-

religions, 3 (HR, 3), Louvain-la-Neuve, Centre d'histoire des religions, 1986, p. 262–271; et L. Koenen, «Augustine and Manichaeism», p. 167–176.

⁷⁸ Sur la christologie manichéenne voir E. Rose, *Die manichäische Christologie* (SOR, 5), Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz, 1979; résumé dans «Die manichäische Christologie» dans *Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte* 32, 1980, p. 219–231. Voir aussi J. P. Asmussen, *Manichaean Literature. Representative Texts Chiefly from Middle Persian and Parthian Writings* (coll. «UNESCO Collection of Representative Works, Persian Heritage Series», 22), Delmar, NY, Scholars' Facsimiles & Reprints, 1975, p. 98–112; G. Madec, *La patrie et la voie. Le Christ dans la vie et la pensée de saint Augustin* (coll. «Jésus et Jésus Christ», 36), Paris, Desclée, 1989, p. 28–31; et W. Geerlings, *Christus Exemplum*, p. 241–258.

⁷⁹ Coyle, *Augustine's «De moribus»*, p. 245. Voir J. Doignon, «La triade trinitaire» Note complémentaire 19 dans *La vie heureuse* (BA, 4/1B), Paris, Institut d'Études Augustiniennes, 1986, p. 151–152; et J. Verhees, «Augustins Trinitätsverständnis in den Schriften aus Cassiciacum» dans *RechAug* 10, 1975, p. 45–75.

⁸⁰ Par ex., le Père est encore le *summum bonum*, mais—pour combattre la notion d'un Dieu par trop éloigné de la vie des hommes—d'ordre trinitaire et scripturaire. Voir J. Oroz Reta, «El conocimiento de Dios y del alma en torno a los *Soliloquios* de San Agustín» dans AA.VV., *L'opera letteraria*, p. 154–155; L. F. Pizzolato, «Il *De beata vita*», p. 96–100, à comparer avec Coyle, *Augustine's «De moribus»*, p. 241–251; et I. Bochet, *Saint Augustin*, p. 152 n. 2.

⁸¹ Voir aussi 16,29 (*trinitas*). À noter qu'Augustin ne semble pas faire allusion directe au Symbole de Nicée avant 393. Voir B. Studer, «Augustin et la foi de Nicée» dans *RechAug* 19, 1984, p. 133–154, surtout 141 et 146–147.

⁸² Sur l'idée ultérieure d'Augustin concernant l'égalité divine, voir B. Studer, «Augustin et la foi», p. 141–152.

⁸³ Comme déjà aux dialogues de Cassiciacum: voir Coyle, *Augustine's «De moribus»*, p. 341–342; G. Madec, *La patrie*, p. 52–55; et E. Feldmann, «Konvergenz», p. 320–321, d'après qui Augustin aurait découvert ce texte et son lien christologique chez les manichéens.

onnaire ne répond qu'aux soucis immédiats de l'auteur⁸⁴, à savoir de souligner l'égalité du Fils avec le Père et sa véritable humanité⁸⁵ (déjà dans 7,12 : *suscepti hominis sacramentum*)⁸⁶.

À partir de l'idée de l'amour comme la *conditio sine qua non* de la vie chrétienne, Augustin développera l'idée de l'Esprit Saint comme charité par excellence (13,23; voir aussi 16,29)⁸⁷ par laquelle « nous devenons conformes à Dieu », et comme la paix et la *concordia* qui

⁸⁴ Il n'y a, par ex., aucune mention de la croix—sauf dans un passage dont l'origine augustinienne me paraît douteuse (voir Coyle, *Augustine's "De moribus"*, p. 307–308)—peut-être pour ne pas devoir parler du *Iesus patibilis*. Voir Coyle, *op. cit.*, p. 45; L. Koenen, « Augustine and Manichaeism », p. 176–187; et J. M. Dewart, « Augustine's Developing Use of the Cross: 387–400 » dans AugSt 15, 1984, p. 15–33. La première référence explicite au Christ qui « uixit et mortuus est et resurrexit, ut et uiuorum et mortuorum dominetur » se trouve dans le *De moribus Manicheorum* 14,32. Il s'agit d'une citation de *Rom* 14,9.

⁸⁵ Il faut donc préciser l'affirmation de W. Mallard, « The Incarnation », p. 82, que l'Augustin qui se présente dans *Conf.* VII « surely [...] would have had no difficulty with the divinity of Christ, the pre-existent Word, but only with the divine-human Jesus ». Non seulement les manichéens ne concevaient pas Jésus Christ comme étant égal au Père divin; Augustin avait vécu une période où il épousait ce qu'il appelait plus tard le photinisme, c'est-à-dire l'idée que le Christ est un homme déifié (*Conf.* VII,19,25, CCL 27, p. 108) : « Ego uero aliud putabam tantumque sentiebam de domino Christo meo, quantum de excellentis sapientiae uiro [...]. Quid autem sacramenti haberet uerbum caro factum, ne suspicari quidem poteram [...]. Quia itaque uera scripta sunt, totum hominem in Christo agnoscebam, non corpus tantum hominis aut cum corpore sine mente animum, sed ipsum hominem, non persona ueritatis, sed magna quadam naturae humanae excellentia et perfectiore participatione sapientiae praeferri ceteris arbitrabar [...]. Ego autem aliquanto posterius didicisse me fateor, in eo, quod uerbum caro factum est, quomodo catholica ueritas a Photini falsitate dirimatur »). Sur ce passage voir Mallard, *op. cit.*, p. 82–90; et W. Geerlings, *Christus Exemplum*, p. 111–118. Sur les Photiniens voir L. A. Speller, « New Light on the Photinians: The Evidence of Ambrosiaster » dans JTS n.s. 34, 1983, p. 99–113.

⁸⁶ Sur cette expression voir A. Solignac, « Le Christ 'sacrement' et 'exemple' d'après saint Augustin » dans *Christus* 34, 1987, p. 75–82; W. Geerlings, *Christus Exemplum*, p. 131–140; et G. Remy, *Le Christ*, t. I, p. 325–337.

⁸⁷ J. Verhees, « Heiliger Geist und Inkarnation in der Theologie des Augustinus von Hippo. Unlöslicher Zusammenhang zwischen Theologie und Ökonomie » dans REA 22, 1976, p. 235, déclare : « Zum ersten Mal wird der Geist mit der Inkarnation in Verbindung gebracht in *De Genesi contra Manichaeos* aus 388–389 ». Il prétend (p. 246) que la citation de *Rom* 5,5 (dans 13,23 et 16,29) prouve que déjà dans notre traité Augustin « speziell mit dem Geist die 'Liebe Gottes' verbindet oder sogar identifiziert ». Voir aussi p. 249 : « Seit *De moribus* (387–388) hat er ja anlässlich *Rom* 5,5 die Liebe und Mitteilsamkeit Gottes schon oft mit dem Geist, den er seitdem auch mehrmals 'Gabe Gottes' gennant hatte, auf spezielle Weise in Verbindung gebracht... » C'est seulement en 393 qu'Augustin emploie pour la première fois des versets de 1 Jean pour mieux exprimer cette notion: voir D. Dideberg, « Esprit Saint et charité », p. 100.

garantissent l'unité des Testaments et de la personne de foi (18,34)⁸⁸. Comme le Père, l'Esprit n'est pas une créature (voir aussi 23,43: *uno sancto dei spiritu*), il reste toujours en état d'intégrité et d'immutabilité⁸⁹, il est de la nature de Dieu et de sa propre substance⁹⁰. Mais voilà à peu près tout ce qu'il a à dire au sujet de l'Esprit. Or, s'il n'y a pas d'allusion directe au Concile de Nicée tenu en 325, on ne saurait prétendre qu'Augustin n'a pas senti l'influence du plus récent Concile de Constantinople en 381 (à travers la catéchèse donnée par Ambroise?). De toute façon, ce qu'Augustin semble trouver de plus signifiant dans la théologie orthodoxe de la Trinité, c'est la nature *consubstantielle* des Personnes (même si ces mots plutôt techniques ne figurent pas dans le traité)⁹¹.

b. Le thème des vertus

Revenons maintenant aux deux sections (15,25–16,26 et 19,35–25,47) sur les vertus. De fait, toute vertu se réduit à notre amour de Dieu (15,25: *Nihil omnino esse uirtutem adfirmauerim, nisi summum amorem dei [...] id est summi boni, summae sapientiae, summaeque concordiae*), d'où la définition des quatre vertus cardinales (la tempérance, la force, la justice et la prudence) comme quatre aspects du même amour (*Quadripartita dicitur uirtus, ex ipsius amoris quodam affectu*). Ces vertus, dont les définitions fondamentalement philosophiques⁹² révèlent aussi l'influence de Paul⁹³, se réduisent donc à une seule⁹⁴.

⁸⁸ Déjà Paul appelle l'Esprit Saint «paix»: voir Coyle, *Augustine's «De moribus»*, p. 249–250. Mais c'est Augustin qui, le premier, se sert du titre *concordia* pour affirmer que l'Esprit saint lie les deux Testaments l'un à l'autre. Voir Coyle, *op. cit.*, p. 247–248; et J. K. Coyle, «Concordia: The Holy Spirit as Bond of the Two Testaments in Augustine» dans Aug(R) 22, 1982, p. 427–456.

⁸⁹ 13,23: «Nullo modo autem redintegrari possemus per spiritum sanctum, nisi et ipse semper et integer et incommutabilis permaneret».

⁹⁰ 13,23: «Quod profecto non posset, nisi dei naturae esset ac ipsius substantiae, cui soli incommutabilitas atque, ut ita dicam, in[con]uertibilitas semper est». Sur le choix de lecture variante, voir Coyle, *Augustine's «De moribus»*, p. 343.

⁹¹ Sur le concept de *persona* chez le jeune Augustin voir W. Mallard, «The Incarnation», p. 96; et B. Studer, «*Credo*», p. 168.

⁹² Sur l'influence de Cicéron ici voir J. Doignon, «La première exégèse augustinienne de Rm 8,28 et l'unité formulée 'more tulliano' des quatre vertus dans l'amour» dans *Cristianesimo nella storia* 4, 1983, p. 285–291.

⁹³ J. Doignon, «La problématique des quatre vertus dans les premiers traités de saint Augustin» dans *L'umanesimo di sant'Agostino. Atti del Congresso internazionale tenutosi a Bari il 28–30 ottobre 1986*, Bari, Levante, 1988, p. 180.

⁹⁴ Idée qu'Augustin ne développera qu'en 415 (*Epist. 167*): voir J. P. Langan, «Augustine on the Unity and Interconnection of the Virtues» dans *Harvard Theological*

Il faut aimer Dieu et le prochain : là aussi les manichéens sont d'accord (voir 28,57), mais sans admettre que l'Ancien Testament nous incite à l'amour aussi bien que le Nouveau. C'est pourquoi Augustin aborde ce thème lorsqu'il revient sur celui de l'amour (18,34), pour apporter des précisions au sujet de chacune des quatre vertus et leur place dans la vraie philosophie. La tempérance d'abord (19,35–21,39), dont l'office «est de réprimer et de calmer les passions» qui nous détournent de Dieu, c'est-à-dire de la vie heureuse (19,35). A la *cupiditas* s'oppose l'*amor castus* (22,41)⁹⁵, à la *curiositas* la vraie *philosophia* (21,38). La foi devient donc nécessaire, car c'est la foi qui nous ordonne de mépriser les séductions des *sensibilia* (20,37) et de la gloire populaire (21,38), à l'encontre de ceux qui (comme les manichéens) rendent un culte au soleil et à la lune ou qui regardent la philosophie comme n'ayant pour objet que «les éléments de ce monde» (21,38.39)⁹⁶, dont on peut se servir mais non se jouir⁹⁷. Et Augustin de conclure que «l'homme tempérant a une règle de vie fondée sur l'un et l'autre Testament» (21,39).

Il passe ensuite à la force sur laquelle, dit-il, «il n'y a pas beaucoup à dire». Pourtant il y consacre trois paragraphes (22,40–23,43). L'amour se montre fort lorsqu'il abandonne les choses de ce monde, le corps surtout («la plus lourde chaîne [...] à cause de l'antique péché»)⁹⁸. En d'autres termes, nous souffrons tous, surtout de la crainte de la mort (il s'agit là peut-être d'une réflexion de l'expérience personnelle)⁹⁹;

Review 72, 1979, p. 81–95. Peu après les traités *De moribus*, Augustin reprendra ses définitions des quatre vertus, «dans le langage mystico-philosophique apparu avec le second livre du *De libero arbitrio*», et dans le sixième livre du *De musica* il parlera longuement de leur caractère éternel. Voir J. Doignon, «La problématique», p. 178–190.

⁹⁵ Sur les diverses significations de *cupiditas*, voir I. Bochet, *Saint Augustin*, p. 36–42 et 55–61; et, sur la paire *cupiditas/amor*, J. Brechtken, *Augustinus Doctor Caritatis*, p. 52–55.

⁹⁶ Qu'Augustin entend par-là la doctrine manichéenne semble indiqué par *Conf.* VII,6,10 (CCL 27, p. 31): «Et dicebant: 'Veritas et ueritas' et multum eam dicebant mihi, et nusquam erat in eis, sed falsa loquebantur non de te tantum, qui uere ueritas es, sed etiam de istis elementis huius mundi, creatura tua».

⁹⁷ 20,37: «Amandus igitur solus deus est: omnis uero iste mundus, id est omnia sensibilia contemnenda; utendum autem his ad huius uitiae necessitatem». Voir aussi 23,42: «Multum enim mirabilius est non inhaerere istis quamuis possideas, quam omnino ea non possidere».

⁹⁸ Sur les sources de cette idée voir Coyle, *Augustine's «De moribus»*, p. 368–370. Mais ce n'est pas le mépris du corps qu'Augustin propose ici. Il veut affirmer tout simplement combien l'âme, quoique spirituelle, reste attachée à son corps. Voir ci-dessous, n. 114.

⁹⁹ Voir Coyle, *Augustine's «De moribus»*, p. 366–368.

or, loin de nous faire craindre la mort, l'amour de Dieu nous la rend désirable. Libéré de la crainte «l'amour emportera l'âme vers Dieu, elle volera libre et admirable au-dessus de toutes les tortures, avec les ailes toutes belles et toutes pures sur lesquelles s'appuie le chaste amour pour embrasser Dieu»¹⁰⁰.

Dans mon étude de 1978 je signalais l'importance des *exempla* dans ce traité comme une des autorités auxquelles Augustin fait confiance¹⁰¹. Il invoque ici deux de ces *exempla* empruntés à l'Ancien Testament¹⁰². Le premier *exemplum* de la force (et plus précisément de la patience) est Job¹⁰³. Ici, la source d'inspiration la plus directe est peut-être Ambroise, qui parle souvent de ce personnage¹⁰⁴, et parfois, justement, comme d'un *exemplum* de la force, sinon de la patience¹⁰⁵. Cela dit, il faut reconnaître qu'ici Augustin n'attribue rien de négatif à Job, comme c'est parfois le cas chez Ambroise¹⁰⁶. L'autre *exemplum*, dont la mention est encore plus laudative, est celui de la mère des sept Maccabées (2 *Macc* 7), *illa stupendae fortitudinis femina* (23,43). Il est vrai qu'Augustin parle ailleurs collectivement des femmes comme de l'*imbecillior sexus* (30,62); mais juste avant d'introduire son second *exemplum* il parle encore de Job qui «quoique grand, quoique invaincu, [fut] pourtant un homme»¹⁰⁷. De plus, Adam, le premier homme déchu (19,36), sera ici le seul à se voir inculpé de l'*antiquum peccatum* (22,40), afin de le mieux opposer au Christ, l'homme nouveau¹⁰⁸. Pour un traitement de la présence comme de la coopération

¹⁰⁰ 22,41: «Quo cum se anima rapiet in deum, super omnem carnificinam libera, et admiranda uolitabit pennis pulcherrimis et integerrimis, quibus ad dei amplexum amor castus innititur». Pour un aperçu général de la pensée d'Augustin sur le mouvement vers Dieu, voir I. Bochet, *Saint Augustin*, II^e partie.

¹⁰¹ Coyle, *Augustine's «De moribus»*, p. 194 et 207. Sur l'autorité de l'*exemplum* chez Augustin, voir W. Geerlings, *Christus Exemplum*, p. 146–187, surtout 148–151, 155–158 et 183–187.

¹⁰² Coyle, *Augustine's «De moribus»*, p. 379.

¹⁰³ 23,42: «Sed etiam exemplis eorum qui dixerunt, probatum atque firmatum, de ueteri potius testamento, in quod illi rabide saeuunt, excitabo exemplum patientiae».

¹⁰⁴ Voir J. R. Baskin, «Job as Moral Exemplar in Ambrose» dans VC 35, 1981, p. 222–231.

¹⁰⁵ Par ex., dans *De officiis* I,39,204; et *Comment. in Luc. eu.* IV,41.

¹⁰⁶ J. R. Baskin, «Job», p. 225–227. Sur le traitement ultérieur de Job par Augustin, voir C. Riggi, «S. Agostino perenne maestro di ermeneutica» dans *Salesianum* 44, 1982, p. 89–95.

¹⁰⁷ 23,43: «Relinquo istum uirum, licet magnum, licet inuictum, uirum tamen».

¹⁰⁸ Sur le parallèle Adam-Christ, inspiré de Rom 5, voir W. Geerlings, *Christus Exemplum*, p. 74–77.

d'Ève à la chute, on devra attendre le *De Genesi contra Manichaeos*¹⁰⁹. Ainsi l'allusion à la création, surtout celle de l'homme (26,49: *id quod ad creatoris similitudinem creatum est*), reste-t-elle très vague et, pour ainsi dire, asexuelle. D'ailleurs c'est le générique *homo (interior)* qui est rendu nouveau (*renovari*) en Dieu¹¹⁰, en devenant conforme à son Fils, véritable image de Dieu en qui l'homme doit être re-formé¹¹¹ pour devenir enfin l'*homo caelestis* (19,36)¹¹².

Augustin conclut son traitement des vertus par une courte discussion (sans *exempla*) de la justice (24,44: *Norma uiuendi [...] utriusque testamenti auctoritate roborata*) et de la prudence (24,45: *dignoscere [...] appetendorum et uitandorum*). Il revient alors sur le thème de l'amour du prochain, auquel les quatre vertus sont aussi ordonnées (25,46). Le Grand Commandement nous oblige à aimer non seulement Dieu, mais aussi le prochain (25,47–28,58)¹¹³, jusqu'à secourir non seulement son âme par la *medicina animi = disciplina* (27,52; 28,55.56), mais aussi son corps par *illa [medicina] corporis*, c'est-à-dire par des actes miséricordieux (27,52–54). Cette notion répond à la perception que, selon toute apparence, l'homme *anima rationalis est mortali atque terreno utens corpore* (27,52)¹¹⁴.

¹⁰⁹ Voir N. Blásquez, «Feminismo agustiniano» dans *Avgystinus* 27, 1982, p. 4–7.

¹¹⁰ 19,36 et 38,80; voir aussi 35,78: «fideles iam baptismate renouati».

¹¹¹ Coyle, *Augustine's «De moribus»*, p. 372–274, 383–388.

¹¹² Sur les trois thèmes de l'homme «nouveau», «intérieur» et «céleste» traités plus tard par Augustin, voir V. Capánaga, «Tres adjetivos en la antropología religiosa agustiniana» dans *Avgystinus* 22, 1977, p. 3–37.

¹¹³ Surtout 26,51: «Ne se quisquam credit, contempto proximo, ad beatitudinem et ad deum quem diligit esse uenturum».

¹¹⁴ Voir W. Geerlings, *Christus Exemplum*, p. 103–111. Cette «définition» de l'homme comme une âme se servant d'un corps n'exclut point la femme, comme remarque C. W. Wolfskeel, «Some Remarks with Regard to Augustine's Conception of Man as the Image of God» dans *VC* 30, 1976, p. 63. Pour le changement de perspective qu'a fait Augustin sur la signification de l'amour du prochain entre 389 (*De uera religione*) et 397 (*De doctrina christiana*), voir R. J. Teske, «Love of Neighbor in St. Augustine» dans *Congresso internazionale su S. Agostini nel XVI centenario della conversione, Roma, 15–20 settembre 1986. Atti, III (SEA, 26)*, Rome, Institutum Patristicum Augustinianum, 1987, p. 81–102. D'après celui-ci, dans le premier de ces deux traités c'est l'*âme* qu'on devrait aimer dans le prochain, à l'exclusion de son corps; ni les relations «temporelles» (tel le mariage) n'y figurent-elles. Pour R. Canning, «Augustine on the Identity», p. 161–179, Augustin a toujours inclus le corps dans sa conception de l'amour du prochain—ce qui est sans doute le cas dans le premier *De moribus*. Même Teske avoue (p. 90 n. 22) que le traitement du sujet dans notre traité «seems much less austere than that in *vera rel.*».

c. *Le thème de la communauté ecclésiale*

De cette obligation procèdent nos devoirs par rapport à la communauté humaine (26,49: *ex hoc praecepto nascuntur officia societatis humanae*): c'est la raison pour laquelle l'Église est—and les manichéens ne sont pas—éminemment en mesure de régler les divers aspects de la vie de l'homme (29,59–30,64). Augustin souligne l'aspect ecclésial même lorsqu'il affirme que l'homme peut dépasser toute douleur et atteindre la perfection *dum terrae huius inhabitator est* (30,64; voir aussi 27,53). On assiste ici à la reconnaissance, par Augustin, du rôle qu'a joué l'Église dans sa conversion, et cela sous un double aspect: *psychologiquement*, on sait combien Augustin chérissait l'amitié et avait besoin du sens d'appartenir à une communauté, autrement sa conversion n'aurait peut-être pas eu lieu¹¹⁵; et *symboliquement*, puisque l'Église catholique lui représente tout ce qui manque à l'Église manichéenne, en premier lieu une vraie autorité qui dépasserait la raison (25,47: *nihil in ecclesia catholica salubrius fieri, quam ut rationem praecedat auctoritas*). Il trouve bon aussi que les deux Testaments nous parlent de la crainte et de l'amour comme de composantes de la *disciplinae regula* (28,56), en nous offrant des *mores* parfaits, «par lesquels nous acquérons aussi la connaissance même de la vérité» (28,56).

Pour conclure cette partie, et ainsi marquer la fin de la rédaction originale, l'auteur fait l'éloge de l'Église catholique (30,62.63.64). La *Catholica*, la *mater Christianorum uerissima* (30,62), nourrit jusqu'au rassasiement complet (30,64), alors que le manichéisme laissait Augustin sans nourriture (18,33)¹¹⁶. La *Catholica* est aussi une véritable 'Église des saints', qui sert au perfectionnement des chrétiens de tout genre et s'oppose à la prétendue sainteté de l'Église de Mani¹¹⁷.

¹¹⁵ Voir N. Lanzi, «La Chiesa nel ritorno di Agostino alla fede cattolica» dans *Doctor Communis* 42, 1989, p. 42–62; J. McEvoy, «*Anima una et cor unum*: Friendship and Spiritual Unity in Augustine» dans *Recherches de Théologie ancienne et médiévale* 53, 1986, p. 40–92; et, sur l'amitié, W. Geerlings, «Das Freundschaftsideal Augustins» dans *Theologische Quartalschrift* 16, 1981, p. 265–274.

¹¹⁶ Voir *Conf.* III,1,1 (CCL 27, p. 27.5): «Fames mihi erat intus ab interiore cibo, te ipso, deus meus, et ea fame non esuriebam»; et 6,10 (p. 32.24): «Nec nutriebar eis, sed exauriebar magis». On se demande si la paire faim/nourriture ne résulte pas de la notion manichéenne du salut obtenu au moyen de la digestion faite par les élus: voir Coyle, *Augustine's «De moribus»*, p. 198–199.

¹¹⁷ Voir J. Ries, «Sacré», p. 276–282.

3. Section ‘ascèse’ (31,65–35,80)

Ainsi nous parvenons au ‘pont’ indiqué au début—à ces cinq chapitres traitant de l’ascèse chrétienne qui servent comme d’un contre-poids à ce qui va suivre dans le *De moribus Manicheorum*. La fascination qu’exerçait le monachisme pour Augustin et le rôle que cet idéal a joué dans sa conversion nous sont trop bien connus pour qu’on doive les discuter ici¹¹⁸. Mais dans ces passages se dessine l’esquisse d’idées personnelles face à ce phénomène.

Je dois à Peter Brown¹¹⁹ d’avoir compris que vers la fin du IV^e siècle la notion de ‘saint’ commençait à s’identifier avec celle d’ ‘ascète’. Or, le néophyte Augustin s’avère être un témoin de cette tendance, tout inconscient qu’il puisse être encore de son émergence dans le développement de la spiritualité de son temps.

Les cinq chapitres nous présentent la vie d’ascètes de tout genre, et premièrement ceux (et celles?)¹²⁰ qui vivent dans les lieux déserts (31,65–68). Cela ne devrait pas étonner, vu l’importance que les *Confessions* attribuent à l’*exemplum* de saint Antoine¹²¹, même si le ‘Père du monachisme’ n’est pas mentionné dans notre traité: le fait est que, même dans les *Confessions*, Augustin s’intéresse moins à la personne d’Antoine qu’au style de vie qu’il représente. Au fond, ce n’est pas la vie solitaire mais l’idée de communauté qui exerce un attrait personnel sur lui¹²²: il ne touche donc que légèrement au premier genre de vie (31,65.66) pour passer au second, dont la présentation nous permet de discerner l’influence littéraire de Jérôme, surtout de sa *Lettre 22*¹²³. Il s’agit d’hommes *in communem uitam castissimam sanctissimamque congregati qui concordissimam uitam et intentissimam in*

¹¹⁸ Lire, à ce propos, l’article de L. Cilleruelo, «Evolución del monacato agustinoano» dans *Estudio Agustiniano* 15, 1980, p. 171–198. Voir aussi Coyle, *Augustine’s De moribus*, p. 193–194.

¹¹⁹ P. Brown, *The Making of Late Antiquity* (The Carl Newell Jackson Lectures for 1976), Cambridge, Mass.—Londres, Harvard University Press, 1978, surtout le chap. 4.

¹²⁰ J. Laporte, *The Role of Women in Early Christianity* (coll. «Studies in Women and Religion», 7), New York-Toronto, Edwin Mellen Press, 1982, p. 79–80: «Compared to the number of cenobites, hermits were few. However, cases of women living as hermits are known».

¹²¹ Coyle, *Augustine’s De moribus*, p. 208–211. Voir M. G. Mara, «La ‘conversione’, le ‘conversioni’, l’ ‘invito alla conversione’ nell’ VIII libro delle *Confessioni*» dans AA.VV., «Le *Confessioni* di Agostino d’Ippona, Libri VI–IX, p. 80–82.

¹²² Coyle, *Augustine’s De moribus*, p. 237–240.

¹²³ Signalé dans Coyle, *Augustine’s De moribus*, p. 211–221. Sur une description de la vie ascétique donnée par Jérôme, voir R. Byrne, «The Cenobitic Life: A

deum gratissimum munus ipsi offerunt (31,67), et de femmes (31,68) qui suivent, elles aussi, un style de vie commune. Ici on remarquera le premier indice du rôle prépondérant que sera appelé à jouer un autre *exemplum*, celui de la communauté apostolique de Jérusalem (*Actes des Apôtres* 4,32–35), dans la conception augustinienne de la vie ‘monastique’¹²⁴.

Dans cette description, Augustin souligne l’importance du travail manuel¹²⁵ tant pour les hommes¹²⁶ que pour les femmes¹²⁷, et au désert comme à Rome (33,70)¹²⁸. Les cénobites masculins passent leurs jours *in orationibus, in lectionibus, in disputationibus* (31,67), c’est-à-dire en méditant les psaumes¹²⁹, en étudiant la Bible¹³⁰, en écoutant les exhortations des supérieurs. On discerne ici l’importance rattachée à l’idée que les chefs de communautés cénobitiques (pachômiennes) s’appellent ‘pères’¹³¹ (quatre fois dans 31,67), en des termes qui semblent symboliser la présence divine (*Reddunt uni, quem patrem appellant [...] Conueniunt [...] ad audiendum illum patrem*).

Pour ne pas donner l’impression que seules les personnes qui vivent dans le désert peuvent parvenir à la perfection (et ainsi en

Digression in Jerome’s Letter Twenty-Two to Eustochium » dans *The Downside Review* 105, 1987, p. 277–293.

¹²⁴ Voir Coyle, *Augustine’s «De moribus»*, p. 403–405; et L. Verheijen, *Saint Augustine’s Monasticism in the Light of Acts 4.32–35* (The Saint Augustine Lecture 1975), Villanova, Penn., Villanova University Press, 1979.

¹²⁵ Sur le travail chez les moines voir A. Quacquarelli, *Lavoro e ascesi nel monachesimo prebenedittino del IV e V secolo* (coll. «Quaderni di ‘Vetera Christianorum’», 18), Bari, Istituto di Letteratura Cristiana Antica, 1982; et A. Sánchez Carazo, «El trabajo en el pensamiento de San Agustín» dans *Avgvstinus* 30, 1985, p. 257–294.

¹²⁶ 31,67: «Nemo quidquam possidet proprium, nemo cuiquam onerosus est. Operantur manibus ea quibus et corpus pasci possit, et a deo mens impediri non possit».

¹²⁷ 31,68: «Lanificio namque corpus exercent atque sustentant». Sur les femmes pachômiennes voir J. Laporte, *The Role*, p. 77–81.

¹²⁸ «Ne ipsi quidem cuiquam onerosi sunt, sed Orientis more, et Pauli apostoli auctoritate, manibus suis se transigunt».

¹²⁹ Sur le couple prière-psaumes voir A. Davril, «La Psalmodie chez les Pères du Désert» dans *Collectanea Cisterciensia* 49, 1987, p. 132–139. Il n’y a aucune mention explicite ici du Psautier, peut-être parce que les manichéens s’adonnent eux aussi *orationibus et psalmis* (*De mor. Man.* 17,55; voir aussi 15,36 et *Enarratio in ps. 140* 12).

¹³⁰ Pour des précisions sur la *lectio*, voir A. de Vogué, «La lecture quotidienne dans les monastères (300–700)» dans *Collectanea Cisterciensia* 51, 1989, p. 241–251; texte français d’un article paru en italien dans le recueil de S. A. Panimolle, *Ascolto della Parola e preghiera: la «lectio divina»* (coll. «Teologia sapienziale», 2), Rome, Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1987, p. 143–157.

¹³¹ Voir B. Baroffio, «La paternità dell’abate nel monachesimo primitivo» dans *Renovatio* 12, 1977, p. 67–79.

faire l'équivalent des élus manichéens), Augustin mentionne d'autres ascètes, en premier lieu les membres du clergé (32,69). Il a connu personnellement, dit-il, beaucoup de ministres de tous les rangs, dont il trouvait la pratique de la vertu admirable, surtout parce qu'il leur fallait la porter «au milieu d'une vie plus turbulente». Là nous sommes mis au courant d'une autre préférence personnelle de l'auteur : l'*otium diuinum* que la vie de clerc rend impossible ou peu s'en faut (*difficilimum est hic tenere optimum uitae modum*)¹³².

Vient ensuite la description de la vie d'ascèse qu'on mène dans les villes comme Milan et Rome, mais dans un esprit qui rend ses pratiquants *a uulgari uita remotissimi* (33,70). Là aussi Augustin peut faire appel à des expériences de première main (*uidi ego [...], cognoui...*) pour témoigner d'une vie vécue *christiana caritate, sanctitate et libertate* par des hommes et des femmes, qui travaillent *Orientis more* tout en pratiquant des jeûnes incroyables¹³³. L'insistance inlassable sur l'amour rappelle la théologie paulinienne de la charité, invoquée déjà dans les *Soliloques* et que suppose ici l'exposé du jeûne des chrétiens¹³⁴. Elle rappelle aussi l'importance de l'amitié dans la vie d'Augustin¹³⁵, et l'attrait qu'il avait naguère ressenti pour l'aspect communautaire du manichéisme¹³⁶.

Augustin termine sa présentation de la vie des chrétiens en remarquant que ces formes de l'ascèse chrétienne sont solidement fondées sur la charité (33,71.72.73). Certaines pratiques, en effet méprisées par les manichéens, sont permises par l'Écriture (ici l'argument est renforcé de longues citations de Paul) à condition qu'elles soient *ad finem caritatis* (33,71), en d'autres termes qu'on sache bien distinguer entre leur usage et leur jouissance (35,77–79). C'est le principe de «la charité en tout» qui prouve combien supérieure à l'ascèse manichéenne est

¹³² Coyle, *Augustine's «De moribus»*, p. 410–411. Voir S. Alvarez Turienzo, «San Agustín: Utopia moral en los diálogos filosóficos de Casisiaco» dans *Religion y Cultura* 33, 1987, p. 10–15.

¹³³ À noter qu'Augustin limite les activités de ces ascètes, tant masculins que féminins, au jeûne et au travail manuel. Rien n'est dit, par ex., de l'enseignement. Voir J. Simpson, «Women and Asceticism in the Fourth Century» dans *Journal of Religious History* 15, 1988, p. 51–52.

¹³⁴ Voir J. Oroz Reta, «El conocimiento», p. 159–160.

¹³⁵ Coyle, *Augustine's «De moribus»*, p. 238. Voir C. W. Brockwell, «Augustine's Ideal of Monastic Community. A Paradigm for his Doctrine of the Church» dans *AugSt* 8, 1977, p. 91–109, surtout 93–96.

¹³⁶ Coyle, *Augustine's «De moribus»*, p. 55. Voir aussi S. N. C. Lieu, *Manichaeism*, p. 168–174; et L. Koenen, «Augustine and Manichaeism», p. 164–166.

celle des chrétiens (34,74). Même la mention de chrétiens qui ne remplissent pas leurs obligations ne suffit pas à leur retirer cette supériorité (34,75). Par contre, l'ascèse manichéenne—c'est l'exhortation finale—doit s'avérer toujours inférieure (34,76–35,80), car, en fin de compte, le manichéisme n'a pu détourner Augustin des vices ou des ambitions séculières (22,41 : *aurum, laus, feminae*)¹³⁷ auxquelles il avait renoncé en 386¹³⁸ et dont il sait maintenant que l'humilité (31,67), la pauvreté (31,67), la chasteté absolue (31,65 : *continentia singularis, summa continentia*) et le bon usage des biens et du mariage chez les chrétiens 'ordinaires' (35,77–80) constituent l'antidote. En tout dernier lieu, Augustin loue, sans doute se souvenant de sa propre expérience, l'efficacité morale du baptême (35,80: *illud sacrosanctum lauacrum*) qui rend les catholiques, même les *imbecilliores*, plus parfaits que tout adhérent au manichéisme. Car la perfection morale ne peut se trouver que dans la vraie foi qui est celle de l'Église des catholiques.

III. CONCLUSIONS

Pour conclure cette présentation je ferai quelques observations à propos des recherches éventuelles qui seraient aptes à contribuer à notre compréhension du traité et du jeune Augustin.

Il y a d'abord la question du texte, dont une édition critique moderne se produisit en 1992, mais qui n'est pas sans ennuis¹³⁹. Celle des Mauristes, publiée en 1679 et reproduite dans la *Patrologia latina* de Migne reste toujours utile.

Le plus souvent, les commentateurs glissent rapidement sur le second séjour romain d'Augustin; cependant, pour mieux connaître le contenu de son texte, il faudrait aussi tenir compte des contextes social, politique et religieux de Rome vers 390. On sait que l'invasion de l'Italie en 388 par Magnus Maximus¹⁴⁰ avait eu comme résultat la venue de Théodore le Grand, arrivé d'Orient pour combattre et enfin vaincre l'usurpateur. Théodore resta en Italie jusqu'en 391: Augustin

¹³⁷ Voir C. Lepelley, «Un aspect de la conversion d'Augustin: la rupture avec ses ambitions sociales et politiques» dans *Bulletin de littérature ecclésiastique* 88, 1987, p. 229–246.

¹³⁸ *Conf.* VIII,12,30; voir IX,10,26.

¹³⁹ Édition de J. B. Bauer, dans CSEL 90.

¹⁴⁰ Coyle, *Augustine's «De moribus»*, p. 66, n. 273. Voir M. Sordi, «Milano al tempo di Agostino» dans AA. VV., *Agostino a Milano: Il battesimo*, p. 17–18.

était-il alors conscient de la présence impériale et de ce que Théodose signifiait pour l'avenir de l'empire et de la religion catholique? On doit constater qu'il ne mentionne nulle part les édits que Théodose avait promulgués contre les manichéens en 381 et 382¹⁴¹.

Quant à la question de l'ambiance religieuse qui régnait à Rome lors du second séjour d'Augustin, on aimeraît disposer d'une étude comme celle de Marta Sordi pour le cas de Milan¹⁴². On a certes les recherches de Charles Pietri sur Damase, évêque de 366 à 384¹⁴³; mais il nous faudrait un travail du même genre sur son successeur Sirice (385–399)¹⁴⁴. On peut néanmoins constater la présence d'une insistance grandissante sur l'évêque de Rome comme véritable successeur de Pierre¹⁴⁵. Or, ni ce thème ni celui de la succession apostolique de la hiérarchie¹⁴⁶ ne se retrouvent parmi les arguments qu'avance le premier *De moribus* pour prouver l'authenticité de la religion catholique¹⁴⁷. Augustin exploitera la notion de la succession apostolique dans de futures rencontres avec ses anciens coreligionnaires¹⁴⁸, mais ici il se limite aux thèmes de l'expansion géographique de l'Église, du martyre, et, bien sûr, de l'ascèse.

On sait aussi que la communauté chrétienne de Rome restait, à ce moment, toujours minoritaire¹⁴⁹, mais on ne sait pratiquement rien du

¹⁴¹ *Code Théodosien XVI,5,7.9*. Voir S. N. C. Lieu, *Manichaeism*, p. 144–148.

¹⁴² M. Sordi, «Milano», p. 13–22.

¹⁴³ C. Pietri, «Damase», qui signale d'ailleurs (p. 31–32) les problèmes rattachés à une telle requête.

¹⁴⁴ Le début d'un tel travail a été fait par C. Pietri, *Roma Christiana. Recherches sur l'Église de Rome, son organisation, sa politique, son idéologie de Miltiade à Sixte III (311–440)*, t. I, Rome, École française de Rome, 1976, p. 431–441.

¹⁴⁵ Voir E. C. Brooks, «The 'Epistula Clementis'—a Petrine Infusion at Rome c. A.D. 385» dans *SP XV. Papers Presented to the Seventh International Conference on Patristic Studies Held in Oxford 1975, Part I* (TU, 128), Berlin, Akademie-Verlag, 1985, p. 212–216; C. Pietri, «Damase», p. 55–58; *Idem, Roma*, t. 1, p. 272–401.

¹⁴⁶ Abordé par Augustin seulement en 396 (*De doctrina christiana II,8–12*). Voir J. Pintard, «Sur la succession apostolique selon saint Augustin» dans *Forma Futuri. Studi in onore del Cardinale Michele Pellegrino*, Turin, Bottega d'Erasmo, 1975, p. 884–895.

¹⁴⁷ Bien que d'autres aient déjà invoqué la notion de la succession apostolique dans leur polémique, par ex., Epiphane dans la section du *Panarion* qu'il consacre aux manichéens, 66,20,1–6 (GCS 37, p. 44.19–48.12). L'exemple proposé est celui de Jérusalem.

¹⁴⁸ *Cont. Faust. XI,2* (CSEL 25/1, p. 315.19); et *Contra epistulam quam uocant Fundamenti 4* (CSEL 25/1, p. 196.13: «sedes Petri apostoli»). Voir R. B. Eno, «Doctrinal Authority», p. 150–151 et 165–167.

¹⁴⁹ C. Pietri, «Damase», p. 38.

culte¹⁵⁰ ni de la vie intellectuelle qui s'y déroulait. On aimeraient mieux connaître, par exemple, l'état de la vie ascétique à Rome pendant cette période, tant chez les manichéens que chez les chrétiens orthodoxes¹⁵¹. Les deux traités *De moribus* expriment les premières idées d'Augustin néophyte chrétien sur le manichéisme¹⁵² et sur l'ascèse mais, comme l'observe Louis Bouyer, «il paraît impossible de rien tirer du manichéisme pour expliquer ni l'anachorèse primitive, ni l'ascèse dont elle s'accompagne d'emblée»¹⁵³. Tout au contraire, Augustin semble s'inspirer de l'anachorèse et d'autres formes de la vie monastique pour montrer combien l'ascèse et la doctrine des manichéens sont fausses¹⁵⁴.

Quant à la présence manichéenne à Rome, on n'en sait pratiquement rien non plus, à part ce qu'Augustin lui-même nous en apprend.

À en croire l'auteur romain d'une compilation hérésiologique rédigée au Ve siècle—la *Praedestinatus*, Damase adressa un rapport au prince [Valentinien I^e] contre les manichéens que la législation romaine pourchassait avec une attentive vigilance : en tout cas, dès 372, le préfet de la Ville reçut ordre de confisquer les lieux de leurs réunions¹⁵⁵.

Malgré de telles mesures de répression, les manichéens sont toujours à Rome en 384, lorsqu'ils exercent de l'influence sur Symmaque, alors préfet, pour nommer Augustin comme rhéteur à la cour milanaise¹⁵⁶. Ils renouvèlent aussi leurs efforts pour y rétablir une *domus*¹⁵⁷.

IV. UN DERNIER BILAN

Claudio Basevi, dans son étude de l'interprétation augustinienne de la Bible, affirme que «le 'De moribus ecclesiae et manichaeorum' marque

¹⁵⁰ C. Pietri, «Damase», p. 47–52; *Idem, Roma*, t. I, p. 121–129 et 461–645; et V. Sacher, «Damase et le calendrier des fêtes des martyrs de l'Église romaine» dans *Saecularia Damasiana*, p. 59–88.

¹⁵¹ Coyle, *Augustine's «De moribus»*, p. 228–231.

¹⁵² F. Decret, *L'Afrique*, 1, p. 21–24.

¹⁵³ L. Bouyer, *La Vie de saint Antoine. Essai sur la spiritualité du monachisme primitif* (coll. «Spiritualité orientale», 22), Bégrolle en Mauges, Éditions de Bellefontaine, 1978², p. 223.

¹⁵⁴ Sur la doctrine des manichéens (surtout leur astrologie) comme *superstitio*, voir L. F. Pizzolato, «Il *De beata vita*», p. 59–60.

¹⁵⁵ C. Pietri, «Damase...», p. 40. Voir *Cod. Théod. XVI,5,3*.

¹⁵⁶ *Conf. V,13,23*.

¹⁵⁷ *De mor. Man.* 20,74; et *Cont. Faust.* V,5.

le commencement de l'activité théologique du saint Docteur »¹⁵⁸. Parler d'une « théologie » est peut-être trop dire: par exemple, aucun vrai sens de la tradition chrétienne ne s'y laisse manifester. Il demeure que, vu de plusieurs perspectives, le premier *De moribus* est un véritable tournant dans la carrière littéraire d'Augustin. Ce traité n'est ni une lettre, ni un dialogue, ni un soliloque. Encore moins est-il un écrit philosophique du genre de ceux qui l'ont précédé. Il s'agit moins d'un ouvrage de polémique contre les manichéens que d'une apologie des chrétiens catholiques. Cela, d'ailleurs, n'empêche pas l'auteur de flétrir les disciples de Mani comme 'indoctes', 'obstinés' (par ex., 28,58) ou 'hérétiques' (par ex., 9,15), ou de se mettre à attaquer leurs doctrines et leurs pratiques (20,37; 28,57–29,61; et 34,74).

C'est le premier écrit chrétien sur l'ascétisme des manichéens, et le premier ouvrage qu'Augustin leur adresse directement. C'est aussi un écrit qui révèle bien l'état religieux et psychologique d'Augustin nouveau baptisé, et qui annonce déjà bon nombre de thèmes classiques de sa pensée ultérieure.

Qu'Augustin se soit converti au néoplatonisme ou au christianisme à Milan en 386, peu importe¹⁵⁹: l'auteur du *De moribus ecclesiae catholicae* s'avère être nettement chrétien. Le conflit entre Cicéron et la Bible dont il s'était aperçu en 373 s'est dissipé¹⁶⁰: la raison et l'autorité sont fort présentes, toutes les deux, et une longue controverse est alors résolue¹⁶¹. Mais Augustin ne s'est pas encore intégré dans la vie d'une communauté chrétienne. Pour que cela se fasse, il faudra attendre son retour en Afrique. Alors il aura l'occasion de fonder sa propre communauté et d'y vivre jusqu'au moment où il sera choisi par une autre et devra donc abandonner son *otium diuinum* bien aimé pour une nouvelle carrière, celle du ministère presbytéral.

¹⁵⁸ C. Basevi, *San Agustín. La interpretación del Nuevo Testamento. Criterios exegéticos propuestos por S. Agustín en el “De Doctrina Christiana”, en el “contra Faustum” y en el “De Consensu Evangelistarum”*, Pampelune, Ediciones Universidad de Navarra, 1977, p. 36.

¹⁵⁹ Pour l'histoire de cette discussion voir A. W. Matthews, *The Development*, p. 29–32. Voir aussi W. Mallard, «The Incarnation», p. 80–81 et 93–95; et G. Madec, *La patrie*, p. 43–46.

¹⁶⁰ *Conf.* III,5,9.

¹⁶¹ Voir A. Mandouze, «Le livre V des *Confessions* de saint Augustin» dans AA.VV., «*Le Confessio*n di Agostino d'Ippona, Libri III–V», p. 49–55.

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

WHAT DID AUGUSTINE KNOW ABOUT MANICHAEISM WHEN HE WROTE HIS TWO TREATISES *DE MORIBUS*?

Augustine of Hippo is one of the few Latin sources for our knowledge of Manichaeism in late antiquity, and of all non-Manichaean authorities he is surely the most prolific. These assertions have long been *monnaie courante* among manichaeologists, and made Augustine a highly respected witness on the subject already in his own lifetime. But his reliability has not gone wholly uncontested. In the 18th century Isaac de Beausobre became the first to suggest that the accuracy of Augustine's portraits of Manichaean ideas and practices cannot be taken for granted, not least because he had only been a Hearer and, as such, would not have had direct access to Manichaean writings.¹

Beausobre's view has not prevailed. For one thing, he failed to take account of the data on the movement Augustine would have gone on acquiring later in life. For another, he overlooked that Augustine was deliberately selective in his presentations. We need only recall François Decret's admonition: "Il importe de ne pas perdre de vue que, parfaitement informé, certes, de la situation du manichéisme dans les provinces romaines d'Afrique, dont il peut parler en expert, l'évêque d'Hippone n'a pas voulu faire oeuvre d'historien, mais que son témoignage doit toujours être reçu comme celui d'un polémiste."² Further, the writings

¹ I. de Beausobre, *Histoire critique de Manichée et du manichéisme* 1, Amsterdam: Bernard, 1734, 227–231, 426, and 436–437; 2 (1739), 745; repr. Leipzig: Zentralantiquariat der DDR, 1970; Amsterdam: Gieben, 1988.

² F. Decret, "Le manichéisme présentait-il en Afrique et à Rome des particularismes régionaux distinctifs?", Aug(R) 34 (1994): 8; repr. in *Idem, Essais sur l'Église manichéenne en Afrique du Nord et à Rome au temps de saint Augustin: Recueil d'études* (SEA, 47), Rome: Institutum Patristicum Augustinianum, 1995, 212. See also *Idem, Aspects du manichéisme dans l'Afrique romaine: Les controverses de Fortunatus, Faustus et Felix avec saint Augustin*, Paris, Études Augustiniennes, 1970, 31 (author's emphasis): "Il n'est pas nécessaire d'éprouver la moindre sympathie envers la religion de Mani, pour ressentir, à la lecture de tels traités [...], que leur auteur est un polémiste et qu'il ne prétend, d'ailleurs, nullement offrir une étude systématique du «catéchisme» manichéen [...]. Mais il ne s'agit pas là, à proprement parler, de falsifications. Ces œuvres anti-manichéennes constituent un *témoignage véritable* sur le manichéisme qu'Augustin a bien connu, *mais non sur tout* le manichéisme."

of Augustine which allude to Manichaeism were targeting, not only Catholics, but Manichaeans themselves; consequently, he would have had little to gain (and much to lose) by deliberately distorting citations or facts. When he quotes, when he reports, he does so in line with both the texts and the facts. As *he knows* those texts and facts: for Beausobre had raised the important issue of how much Augustine could have known about Manichaeism as the direct consequence of once subscribing to it.

Since Ferdinand Christian Baur early in the nineteenth century,³ Augustine's reliability as a source for Manichaeism has been steadily reconfirmed. In the twentieth century, Prosper Alfaric and numerous others have demonstrated a basic congruence between Augustine's claims and information supplied through Manichaeism's own writings, including Oriental ones.⁴ So it was that the Dominican Pierre Jean de Menasce found it useful to refer to Augustine in 1945, while commenting on references to Manichaeism in a ninth-century Mazdaean apologetic work, "The Decisive Resolution of Doubts."⁵ Even more germane to the present topic is the article the same author published about a decade later, in which he sought to shed light on "la vie religieuse d'Augustin manichéen."⁶ On the premise that "Augustin était bien loin d'être indifférent" to the religion that had taken up so much of his young manhood,⁷ Menasce opined that "nul ne songe à mettre en doute la connaissance très précise et très complète qu'Augustin avait prise de la doctrine et de la pratique manichéennes. Nous sommes en

³ F. C. Baur, *Das manichäische Religionssystem nach den Quellen, neu untersucht und entwickelt*, Tübingen: Ostander, 1831 (repr. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1928; Hildesheim and New York: Olms, 1973), 7–8 and *passim*.

⁴ P. Alfaric, *L'évolution intellectuelle de saint Augustin*, Paris: Nourry, 1918, esp. 215–25. See C. R. C. Allberry, "Manichaean Studies," JTS 39 (1938): 337; and J. Ries, "Jésus-Christ dans la religion de Mani: Quelques éléments d'une confrontation de saint Augustin avec un hymnaire christologique copte," Aug 14 (1964): 439–41. For two more recent views, one on either side of the debate, see E. Feldmann, "Der Übertritt Augustins zu den Manichäern," in A. van Tongerloo, ed., *The Manichaean NOYΣ: Proceedings of the International Symposium organized in Louvain from 31 July to 3 August 1991* (MS, 2), Leuven: International Association of Manichaean Studies, 1991, 103–04.

⁵ P. J. de Menasce, *Une apologétique mazdéenne du IX siècle: Škand-Gumānīk Vičār. La solution décisive des doutes* (Collectanea Friburgensia, 30), Fribourg: Librairie de l'Université, 1945, notably 229 and 236.

⁶ P. J. de Menasce, "Augustin manichéen," in *Freundesgabe für Ernst Curtius zum 14. April 1956*, Bern: Francke, 1956, 79.

⁷ Menasce, "Augustin manichéen," 82.

mesure de la contrôler à mesure que s'étend notre propre information grâce aux textes d'Asie centrale et d'Égypte.”⁸ Or, as Johannes van Oort has more recently stated the case, “these discoveries have not diminished the value of what Augustine handed down from Manichaean writings: he proves to be a valuable witness.”⁹ Another point emphasized by Menasce, one no more easily dismissed, is that Augustine’s initial involvement in Manichaeism was genuine,¹⁰ and so he would have tried to learn everything about it which seemed of importance.¹¹ What would he have considered ‘important’?¹²

As far as I know, van Oort is the only present-day scholar to have seriously taken up Beausobre’s question—how much did Augustine actually know about Manichaeism, and when did he know it?—, but without really distinguishing between knowledge gained in his Manichaean period and knowledge obtained after it.¹³ Focusing first

⁸ Menasce, “Augustin manichéen,” 83.

⁹ J. van Oort, *Jerusalem and Babylon: A Study into Augustine’s City of God and the Sources of His Doctrine of the Two Cities* (SVC, 14), Leiden and New York: E. J. Brill, 1991, 45. Van Oort’s book translates his doctoral thesis (University of Utrecht, 1986): *Jeruzalem en Babylon: Een onderzoek van Augustinus’ De stad van God en de bronnen van zijn leer der twee steden (rijken)*, ’s-Gravenhage: Uitgeverij Boekencentrum, 1987 (4th ed.: 1995).

¹⁰ Menasce, “Augustin manichéen,” 87: “...l’intérêt qu’Augustin a porté à la religion dont il a été si longtemps un adepte fervent...” See also the remarks of Decret, *Aspects*, 28–31.

¹¹ Menasce, “Augustin manichéen,” 92: “C’est dans cette Église de Mani qu’Augustin était entré en quête d’une vérité qu’il ne trouvait pas dans le catholicisme: nous ne pensons pas que le seul sentiment, que la seule piété, ait suffi à l’y retenir.” But he laments that no study has been done on residual elements of Manichaean spirituality in Augustine. Johannes van Oort raises a similar concern in “Augustin und der Manichäismus,” *Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte* 46 (1994): 130 (transl. of “Augustinus en het Manicheïsme,” *Nederlands Theologisch Tijdschrift* 47 [1993]: 276–91), repr. in van Tongerloo, ed., *The Manichaean NOYΣ*, 293; then briefly refers to the theme in “Manichaeism: Its Sources and Influences on Western Christendom,” in R. van den Broek and W. J. Hanegraaff, eds., *Gnosis and Hermeticism from Antiquity to Modern Times*, Albany: State University of New York Press, 1998, 47.

¹² Not that he accepted everything without question: he says in *De moribus Manichaeorum* (17.64) that he was troubled by exceptions Manichaeans allowed to the commandment against killing, because there would be no metaphysical reason against exterminating any life-form, once it became permissible to crush a gnat. See also *De beata uita* 1.4 (CCL 29, p. 67.86–87): “Non adsentiebar sed putabam eos magnum aliquid tegere illis inuolucris, quod essent aliquando aperture.”

¹³ Van Oort, “Augustin,” 128 (1995: 291): “Damit wir unser Thema richtig ansteuern, möchte ich die beiden folgenden Punkte erörtern: I. Inwiefern lernte Augustin den Manichäismus kennen, in seiner manichäischen Zeit und später im Bischofsamt, und in welcher Form zeigte er sich ihm?” See also his *Jerusalem*, 45, where he again raises the question with respect to the young Augustine, but leaves it unanswered. J. Rickaby, *The Manichees as Saint Augustine Saw Them*, New York-Cincinnati-Chicago: Benziger,

on the sister treatises *De moribus ecclesiae catholicae* and *De moribus Manichaeorum*, van Oort then moved to the *Confessions*, *Contra Fortunatum*, and *Contra Faustum*, before concluding: “zwar nicht alles weiß er, wohl aber sehr vieles.”¹⁴ This is, I believe, essentially correct. But here, limiting the quest to what Augustine could have known as a Manichaean, we must curtail the range of texts examined to his early writings, especially the aforementioned two treatises *De moribus*.¹⁵ These were begun at Rome between the summers of 387 and 388, and completed in Africa in late 388 or early 389,¹⁶ that is, before his later contacts with Manichaeans could have effected too much embellishment of the memories garnered while among them. Still, he was already picking up rumours at an early post-Manichaean stage: “I recently heard in Carthage,” he says in *De moribus Manichaeorum*.¹⁷ For present purposes, then, later writings of Augustine will be drawn upon only insofar as they corroborate what is found in these earlier texts.¹⁸

“I have a more than passing acquaintance with you,” Augustine tells the Manichaeans in *De moribus ecclesiae catholicae*.¹⁹ After at least nine years as one of them, this was an affirmation he could make without

1924, drew even less distinction between the Manichaean and post-Manichaean stages of Augustine’s life. The issue is briefly touched on in J. K. Coyle, *Augustine’s “De moribus ecclesiae catholicae”: A Study of the Work, its Composition and its Sources* (Paradosis, 25), Fribourg, Switzerland: The University Press, 1978, 50–2.

¹⁴ Van Oort, “Augustin,” 131 (1995: 294).

¹⁵ *De Genesi contra Manichaeos* was begun only after Augustine’s return to Africa: *Retractationes* 1.10(9).1 (CCL 57, p. 29): “Iam uero in Africa constitutus scripsi duos libros de Genesi contra Manichaeos.”

¹⁶ On the dating see Coyle, *Augustine’s “De moribus,”* 66–76.

¹⁷ 12.26 (CSEL 90, p. 110.23–24): “Illud uero nondum dictum erat quod nuper apud Carthaginem audiuī”.

¹⁸ Without prejudice to W. H. C. Frend, “Manichaeism in the Struggle between Saint Augustine and Petilian of Constantine,” in AM 2, Paris: Études Augustiniennes, 1954 (repr. in *Idem, Religion Popular and Unpopular in the Early Christian Centuries*, London: Ashgate, 1976), 863: “as is clear from his writings, he remembered for [sic] more about Manichaean literature and ideas than would be expected in an African Catholic bishop.”

¹⁹ 17.30 (CSEL 90, p. 35.7–8): “Non parum mihi cogniti estis.” See also 1.2 (pp. 4.17–5.1): “Eum sane modum tenebo, si potero, ut neque in illorum morbos, qui mihi sunt notissimi...”; 18.34 (p. 39.8–9): “audite doctos ecclesiae catholicae uiros tanta pace animi et eo uoto quo uos audiuī”; *De moribus Manichaeorum* 8.11 (p. 96.20–21): “unus de primatis huius haeresis, quem familiarius crebriusque audiebamus”; 12.25 (p. 110.1–2): “cum studiose uos audiremus”; 19.68 (p. 149.5–6): “Nouem annos tota magna cura et diligentia uos audiuī...”; 19.71 (p. 151.16–21): “Duo quidam erant [...] nobis amplius quam ceteri familiariusque coniuncti. Quorum unus qui propter studia etiam liberalia nobis artius adhaerebat, hic nunc ibi esse presbyter dicitur”; and *De utilitate credendi* 1.2 (CSEL 25/1, p. 4.14–16): “Quid enim me aliud cogebat annos

inviting much contradiction.²⁰ In the sister treatise he characterizes a number of their ideas as habitual: *dicere desinatis, ea quae proxime soletis commendare, quotidie in ore uestro habitent, soletis et uos dicere, inquiunt, nam etiam hoc dicitis, secundum uestram sententiam, perhibetis, nonne uos estis qui nos soletis monere.*²¹ This does not mean that Augustine always gets it right: he claims, for instance, that Manichaeans believe in ‘two gods’ and worship the sun and moon—two interpretations with which more sophisticated Manichaeans would not have agreed.²² Unless on these occasions he was being deliberately obtuse, he does not seem to have always understood even what he knew.

And he did not know everything, as van Oort has pointed out and Augustine himself admits. In his public debate with Fortunatus he says that he never personally witnessed anything morally untoward during Manichaean prayer services for Hearers and had no way of knowing what went on among the Elect, “because I was a Hearer.”²³ That was in 392. Only a few years before, however, in *De moribus Manichaeorum*, he is much more confident—and graphic—in his assertions: “none of the Elect I knew,” he says there, “was innocent of sinning against their own precepts, or at the least was not above suspicion”;²⁴ and he goes on to relate instances of the most scurrilous deportment by Manichaean Elect, some corroborated by the witness of his own

fere nouem spreta religione, quae mihi puerulo a parentibus insita erat, homines illos sequi ac diligenter audire...?”

²⁰ See the references in Coyle, *Augustine’s “De moribus,”* 352.

²¹ *De mor. Manich.* 9.14, 11.20, 16.39.42–43,50, 17.56, and 18.65 (CSEL 90, pp. 100.4, 105.23, 111.12–13, 112.7–9, 123.5, 126.10, 128.6, 139.12, and 147.1). See also *De mor. eccl. cath.* 28.58 (p. 61.9–10: “hoc solent dicere”) and 30.62 (p. 65.4: “haec audent dicere”).

²² *De mor. eccl. cath.* 10.16 (CSEL 90, p. 19.6–7): “Duos enim deos, unum bonum, alterum malum esse perhibetis”; 20.37 (CSEL 90, p. 42.11–12): “solem et lunam non modo diligendos sed etiam colendos putant”. See also *De mor. Manich.* 8.13 (p. 99.15); *Tractatus in Iohannis euangelium* 34.2 (CCL 36, p. 311); and Coyle, *Augustine’s “De moribus,”* 331–32 and 355–59.

²³ *Contra Fortunatum* 3 (CSEL 25/1 pp. 84.25–85.1): “De moribus autem uestris plene scire possunt, qui electi uestri sunt. nostis autem me non electum uestrum, sed auditorem fuisse.”

²⁴ 19.68 (CSEL 90, p. 149.5–8): “Nouem annos tota magna cura et diligentia uos audiui; nullus mihi electorum innotescere potui, qui secundum haec praecepta non aut deprehensus in peccato, aut certe suspicioni subditus fuerit.” See also *De mor. eccl. cath.* 34.75 (p. 81.4–6): “in uestra paucitate magnas patiamini angustias, dum a uobis exigitur uel unus ex his quos electos uocatis, qui praecepta illa ipsa custodiat, quae irrationabili superstitione defenditis.”

eyes.²⁵ Such allegations are the most unsettling aspect of *De moribus Manichaeorum* because, besides contradicting Augustine's later admission to Fortunatus, some of them are based on hearsay,²⁶ which is not enough to prevent similar charges in *De natura boni* (written between 404 and 411), and again in his entry on Manichaeism in *De haeresibus* (428/9).²⁷

Augustine's excuse that instances of inappropriate Manichaean behaviour would have escaped his notice "because I was a Hearer" can certainly be applied as well to his familiarity with Manichaean teachings and writings: a member of the group who, by definition, was considered unready to live Manichaeism's tenets to the full would have enjoyed less than full access to its 'higher knowledge' and most sacred texts. Yet, in the *Confessions* Augustine relates how, while a Manichaeans, he "studied writings of Mani."²⁸ A similar claim is already implied in *De moribus Manichaeorum* where, speaking of a particular interpretation of the primordial struggle between good and evil in the Manichaeans cosmogony, he remarks that nothing like it appears "in Mani's books."²⁹ But does he mean works actually traceable to Mani, or simply writings in use among his followers? And, either way, which

²⁵ *De mor. Manich.* 19:68–20.74 (CSEL 90, pp. 149–156). For a discussion of Augustine's more pertinent passages see F. Decret, "De moribus ecclesiae catholicae et de moribus Manichaeorum livre II," in J. K. Coyle et al., «*De moribus ecclesiae catholicae et de moribus Manichaeorum*,» «*De quantitate animae*» (Lectio Augustini, 7), Palermo: Edizioni 'Augustinus,' 1991, 100–08; *Idem*, *L'Afrique manichéenne (IV^e–V^e siècles): Étude historique et doctrinale* 1, Paris: Études Augustiniennes, 1978 (Collection des Études Augustiniennes, Série Antiquité, 74), 30–6 (notes in 2: 36–8).

²⁶ *De mor. Manich.* 16.52 (CSEL 90, p. 135.12): "Quod non crederem, nisi scirem"; 18.66 (p. 148.15–16): "Quae si non facitis, quod utinam sit, uidetis tamen quantae suspicioni uestra superstitione ateat..."; 19.68 (p. 149.9–12): "Sed haec audiebamus. Nonnulli alienas feminas seduxisse approbati sunt, ita ut hinc plane dubitare non possum. Sed sit et haec magis fama quam uerum"; 19.71 (p. 151.11): "Suspicionibus uero ianuae quantae aperiebantur..."; and 20.74 (p. 154.8–13): "Romae autem me absente quid gestum sit [...] et ego quidem postea Romae cum essem, omnia uera me audisse firmaui; quamuis tam familiaris et mihi probatus, qui praesens erat, ad me rem pertulerat, ut omnino dubitare non possem." On similar charges levelled against opponents by the Christian apologists, see R. M. Grant, "Charges of 'Immorality' against Various Religious Groups in Antiquity" in R. van den Broek and M. J. Vermaseren, eds., *Studies in Gnosticism and Hellenistic Religions presented to Gilles Quispel on the Occasion of his 65th Birthday* (EPPO, 91), Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1981, 161–70.

²⁷ *De nat. boni* 47 (CSEL 25/2, pp. 886–87); *De haer.* 46.9–10 (CCL 46, pp. 314–16).

²⁸ *Conf.* 5.7.13 (CCL 27, p. 63.22–23): "Refracto itaque studio, quod intenderam in Manichaei litteras."

²⁹ 12.25 (CSEL 90, p. 110.12–14): "Non hoc sonant libri Manichaei; causisse deum ne inuaderetur ab hostibus, saepissime ibi significatur, saepissime dicitur."

works? And what does he mean by having ‘studied’ them? We know, of course, that Manichaean writings circulated in Latin, the only language with which Augustine was truly at ease: he relates in *De moribus Manichaeorum* how the Hearer Constantius had proposed that Elect at Rome live a common life according to principles set out in a letter of Mani.³⁰ We also have: the Tebessa manuscript,³¹ Augustine’s other passing references to Manichaean works (in Latin),³² and his quotations from some of those works, even from Mani himself.³³ Yet, any attempt to identify *specific* works, whether of Mani or of his followers, which might have been at Augustine’s disposal before he broke with the movement, draws an almost perfect blank. Augustine quotes directly from a Manichaean text for the first time only in or about 393 (*Contra Adimantum*), explaining elsewhere that this writing—of Mani’s close disciple Adda (Addai or Addas)—“fell into my hands” when he was already a Catholic presbyter.³⁴ In his refutation of the *Letter of the Foundation* he clearly states that while he was a Hearer

³⁰ 20.74 (CSEL 90, p. 155.7–8): “Proposita est uiuendi regula de Manichaei epistula.” On this letter’s identity see Decret, “Le manichéisme,” 17–8, repr. in *Idem, Essais*, 220. On this incident at Rome see also S. N. C. Lieu, “Precept and Practice in Manichaean Monasticism”, JTS n.s. 32 (1981): 153–55. We learn Constantius’ name from *Contra Faustum* V,5 (CSEL 25/1, p. 277.22).

³¹ See P. Alfaric, “Un manuscrit manichéen,” *Revue d’Histoire et de Littérature religieuses* n.s. 6 (1920): 62–98; R. Merkelbach, “Der manichäische Codex von Tebessa,” in P. Bryder, ed., *Manichaean Studies: Proceedings of the First International Conference on Manichaeism, August 5–9, 1987, Department of History of Religions, Lund University, Sweden* (LSAAR, 1), Lund: Plus Ultra, 1988, 229–64; F. Decret, “Aspects de l’Église Manichéenne—Remarques sur le Manuscrit de Tebessa” in A. Zumkeller, ed., *Signum Pietatis: Festgabe für Cornelius Petrus Mayer OSA zum 60. Geburtstag* (Cassiciacum, 40), Würzburg: Augustinus-Verlag, 1989, 123–51, repr. in *Idem, Essais*, 27–53; and J. BeDuhn and G. Garrison, “The Tebessa Codex: A Manichaean Treatise on Biblical Exegesis and Church Order,” in P. Mirecki and J. BeDuhn, eds., *Emerging from Darkness: Studies in the Recovery of Manichaean Sources* (NHMS, 43), Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1997, 33–87.

³² *Conf.* III,6.10 (CCL 27, p. 31.13–14): “illi sonarent mihi frequenter et multipliciter uoce sola et libris multis et ingentibus”; V,6.11 (p. 62.41–42): “[Faustus] et suaे sectae si qua uolumina latine atque composite conscripta erant...”; C. *Faust.* XIII,6 (CSEL 25/1, p. 384.12–13): “tam multi et tam grandes et tam pretiosi codices uestri”; and 18, *passim* (pp. 399–400). The above passage from the *Confessions* suggests a distinction between what was taught *without* the use of books, and things taught by reading (to the assembled group) *from* books.

³³ See below, n. 36.

³⁴ *Retr.* 1.22.1 (CCL 57, p. 63): “Eodem tempore uenerunt in manus meas quaedam disputationes Adimantus, qui fuerat discipulus Manichaei...” On Adda see M. Tardieu, “Principes de l’exégèse manichéenne du Nouveau Testament” in *Idem*, ed., *Les règles de l’interprétation*, Paris: Cerf, 1987, 133–34.

this writing was *read* to him as part of a group (*ipsa enim nobis illo tempore miseris quando lecta est, inluminati dicebamur a uobis*),³⁵ as were, it seems, other letters of Mani.³⁶ These are the only direct literary contacts Augustine explicitly associates with his Manichaean days. Moreover, he never says that he actually *read* any Manichaean texts in those days (he was a *Hearer*, after all!).³⁷ Over the course of his entire literary career he only quotes from the Manichaean literary corpus infrequently, in each instance from writings *recently* acquired.³⁸ So on this point Beausobre appears to have been correct.

The issue of what knowledge about Manichaeism Augustine might have gained from his early contact with it must, it therefore seems to me, be couched in subtler terms having less to do with Manichaeism's writings than with its *methods* and *practices*. From that perspective, an obvious avenue of enquiry is the deployment of Christian canonical scriptures.³⁹ It was quite probably through Manichaeism

³⁵ *Contra Epistulam quam uocant Fundamenti* 5 (CSEL 25/1, p. 197.8–10). On this letter see E. Feldmann, *Die "Epistula Fundamenti" der nordafrikanischen Manichäern: Versuch einer Rekonstruktion*, Altenberge: Akademische Bibliothek, 1987.

³⁶ C. *Ep. Fund.* 6 (p. 200.11–12): “...ut iam cum audimus Manichaeum spiritum sanctum, intelligamus apostolum Iesu Christi...” See *Conf.* 5.7.12 (CSEL 27, p. 63.7–9): “conlatis numerorum rationibus, quas alibi ego legeram, utrum potius ita essent, ut Manichaei libris continebantur...”

³⁷ Pace J. van Oort, “Manichaeism and Anti-Manichaeism in Augustine’s *Confessiones*,” in L. Cirillo and A. van Tongerloo, eds., *Manicheismo e Oriente cristiano antico: Atti del Terzo Congresso Internazionale di Studi, Arvacata di Rende—Amantea, 31 agosto–5 settembre 1993* (MS, 3), Turnhout: Brepols, 1997, 242.

³⁸ Mani’s *Treasury of Life* (*De nat. boni* 44, CSEL 25/2, p. 881.24; *Contra Felicem* II,5, p. 833.22; and referred to in *ibid.* 1.14, p. 817.27); the *Letter of the Foundation* (C. *ep. Fund.*, *passim*; *De nat. boni* 42 and 46, pp. 877, 884, and 886; and referred to in C. *Fel.* 1.1,15, pp. 801.10,25 and 817.3); the *Letter to Menoch* (but only after Julian of Eclanum had brought it to Augustine’s attention: *Contra Iulianum opus imperfectum* 3.166,172–173, CSEL 85/1, pp. 469 and 473–75); and writings of two of Mani’s more recent followers, Faustus and Secundinus. See Coyle, *Augustine’s “De moribus,”* 23.

³⁹ On Manichaean use of the Bible see F. Trechsel, *Ueber den Kanon, die Kritik und Exegese der Manichäer: Ein historisch-kritischer Versuch*, Bern: Jenni, 1832; A. Böhlig, “Die Bibel bei den Manichäern” (typed Inaugural-Diss.), Evangelisch-theol. Fakultät, Münster/W, 1947; J. Ries, “La Bible chez saint Augustin et chez les manichéens,” REA 7 (1961): 238–39; and H.-J. Klimkeit, “Der Gebrauch Heiliger Schriften im Manichäismus,” in G. Schöllgren and C. Scholten, eds., *Stimuli: Exegese und ihre Hermeneutik in Antike und Christentum. Festschrift für Ernst Dassmann* (Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum, Ergänzungsband 23), Münster/W: Aschendorff, 1996, 191–99. On Manichaean influence on Augustine’s own exegesis see A. Allgeier, “Der Einfluß des Manichäismus auf die exegetische Fragestellung bei Augustin: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte von Augustins theologischer Entwicklung,” in M. Grabmann and J. Mausbach, eds., *Aurelius Augustinus: Die Festschrift der Görresgesellschaft zum 1500. Todestag des heiligen Augustinus*, Köln: Bachem, 1930, 1–13; C. Walter, *Der Ertrag der Auseinander-*

that Augustine first came to know of Paul,⁴⁰ so influential in his later life:⁴¹ he tells us that, so far as the New Testament was concerned, the Manichaeans he knew favoured both ‘the apostle’ and the gospels.⁴² It was doubtless owing to Manichaeism that Augustine became aware of certain scriptural passages (and their Manichaean exegesis), including I Corinthians 1:24, the first biblical (Pauline!) verse he ever alludes to,⁴³

setzung mit den Manichäern für das hermeneutische Problem bei Augustin, 2 vols., Munich: Dissertationsdruck Schön, 1972; E. Feldmann, “Der Einfluß des Hortenius und des Manichäismus auf das Denken des jungen Augustinus von 373” (Inaugural-Dissertation, Fachbereich Katholische Theologie der Wilhelms-Universität), Münster/W, 1975 (typed), 1, 540–81 (notes in 2, 243–53); and Tardieu, “Principes,” 123–46. G. Wenning, “Der Einfluß des Manichäismus und des Ambrosius auf die Hermeneutik Augustins,” REA 36 (1990): 80–90, believes that this influence can be seen particularly in Augustine’s fondness for allegory.

⁴⁰ Menasce, “Augustin manichéen,” 79 n. 2: “Augustin une fois converti s’est mis à relire Saint Paul avec des yeux nouveaux, mais il connaissait certainement ce que les Manichéens, et sans doute avant eux les Marcionites, en avaient retenu, c'est-à-dire une portion considérable.” See Coyle, *Augustine’s “De moribus,”* 187–89; H.-C. Puech, “Saint Paul chez les manichéens d’Asie centrale,” in *Idem, Sur le manichéisme et autres essais*, Paris: Flammarion, 1979, 153–67 (repr. from *Proceedings of the IXth International Congress of the International Association for the History of Religions*, Tokyo: Maruzen, 1960, 176–87); H.-D. Betz, “Paul and the Mani Biography (Codex Manichaicus Coloniensis),” in L. Cirillo and A. Roselli, eds., *Codex Manichaicus Coloniensis: Atti del Simposio Internazionale (Rende-Amantea 3–7 settembre 1984)* (Studi e Ricerche, 4), Cosenza: Marra, 1986, 215–34; F. Decret, “L’utilisation des épîtres de Paul chez les manichéens d’Afrique,” in J. Ries, F. Decret, W. H. C. Frend and M. G. Mara, *Le Epistole Paoline nei Manichee, i Donatisti e il primo Agostino* (Sussidi Patristici, 5), Rome : Institutum Patristicum Augustinianum, 1989, 29–83, repr. in Decret, *Essais*, 55–106; and E. Feldmann, “Der junge Augustinus und Paulus—Ein Beitrag zur (manichäischen) Paulus-Rezeption,” in Cirillo and Tongerloo, eds., *Manicheismo*, 41–76.

⁴¹ See M. G. Mara, “L’influsso di Paolo in Agostino” in Ries *et al.*, *Le Epistole*, 125–62.

⁴² *De mor eccl. cath.* 8.13 (CSEL 90, p. 15.3–7): “Videamus, quemadmodum ipse dominus in euangilio nobis praeceperit esse uiendum, quomodo etiam Paulus apostolus; has enim scripturas illi condemnare non audent.” See also *De Gen. c. Man.* 1.2.3 (CSEL 91, p. 69.25–26): “Certe et ipsi Manichaei legunt apostolum Paulum et laudant et honorant”; and 2.13.19 (p. 140.8–11). To Augustine’s question (“apostolum accipis?”) Faustus replies: “et maxime” (C. Faust. XI,1, CSEL 25/1, p. 313.4). W. H. C. Frend, “The Gnostic-Manichaean Tradition in Roman North Africa”, *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 4 (1953): 22, observes that the Tebessa manuscript (see above, 257) “is practically a list of Pauline quotations”. Yet in Augustine’s discussions with Fortunatus, Faustus and Felix, Matthew is quoted even more frequently than Paul: see Decret, *Aspects*, 169–73.

⁴³ In *Contra Academicos* 2.1.1 (CCL 29, p. 18.26): “oro autem ipsam summi dei uirtutem atque sapientiam.” See also *De beata uita* 4.25,34 (CCL 29, pp. 79.59–60 and 84.249–51); *De mor. eccl. cath.* 12.21 (CSEL 90, p. 26.1); Coyle *Augustine’s “De moribus,”* 243 and 341–42; and Feldmann, “Der Übertritt,” 112.

and that his first ideas on God⁴⁴—certainly on christology and even pneumatology⁴⁵—began to crystallize.⁴⁶ Already alluded to in the *Soliloquies*, Matthew 7:7, John 14:6, and 1 Corinthians 15:54⁴⁷ are explicitly quoted in *De moribus ecclesiae catholicae*.⁴⁸ In addition, John 14:6 is cited in an even earlier Augustinian work, and the Manichaean presbyter Fortunatus quotes it in his debate with Augustine.⁴⁹ Further, in *De moribus ecclesiae catholicae* Augustine recounts the Manichaean habit of quoting Matt 7:7, seemingly in conjunction with Matt 10:26.⁵⁰ He also supplies the information that Manichaeans applied John 15:18 (“the world will hate you”) to themselves,⁵¹ and that they consistently quoted the first part of Romans 14:21 (“It is good not to eat meat, nor drink wine”) without the remainder (“nor do anything to offend, scandalize, or weaken your

⁴⁴ On the Trinity, see Feldmann, “Der Einfluß,” 1: 684–97 (2: 308–13). Augustine alludes to the Manichaean notion of God in *De mor. eccl. cath.* 10.17 (CSEL 90, pp. 20.12–21.5). See also *De Gen. c. Man.* 2.8.11 and 29.43 (CSEL 91, pp. 130–131 and 170–171).

⁴⁵ On this see Menasce, “Augustin manichéen,” 87–8; E. Waldschmidt and W. Lentz, “Die Stellung Jesu im Manichäismus,” APAW, Jhg. 1926, Abh. 4; J. Ries, “Les rapports de la Christologie manichéenne avec le Nouveau Testament dans l’eucolage copte de Narmouthis (Médinét Mâdi)” (Diss.), Leuven: 1953 (typed); *Idem*, “Jésus-Christ,” 441–54; *Idem*, “Jésus la Splendeur, Jesus patibilis, Jésus historique dans les textes manichéens occidentaux,” in H. Preißler and H. Seiwert, eds., *Gnosisforschung und Religionsgeschichte: Festschrift für Kurt Rudolph zum 65. Geburtstag*, Marburg: Diagonal-Verlag, 1994, 235–45; E. Rose, *Die manichäische Christologie*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1979; N. A. Pedersen, “Early Manichaean Christology, Primarily in Western Sources,” in Bryder, ed., *Manichaean Studies*, 157–90; Klimkeit, “Der Gebrauch,” 193–95; Decret, *Aspects*, 273–84, 291–93, and 297–300; *Idem*, “Le manichéisme,” 30–40, repr. in *Essais*, 232–40; *Idem*, “La christologie manichéenne dans la controverse d’Augustin avec Fortunatus,” Aug(R) 35 (1995): 443–55, repr. in *Essais*, 269–80; Feldmann, “Der Einfluß,” 1: 658–84 (2: 298–308); and van Oort, “Augustin,” 132–35 and 138–39.

⁴⁶ *Conf.* 3.6.10 (CCL 27, p. 31.1–5): “Itaque incidi in homines [...] in quorum ore laquei diaboli uiscum confectum commixtione syllabarum nominis tui et domini Iesu Christi et paracleti consolatoris nostri spiritus sancti. Haec nomina non recedebant de ore eorum.”

⁴⁷ *Soliloquia* 1.1.3 (CSEL 89, p. 7, where, however, the Johannine allusion is not indicated).

⁴⁸ See *De mor. eccl. cath.* 13.22, 17.31, and 30.64 (CSEL 90, pp. 26–27, 36 and 68).

⁴⁹ *De beata uita* 4.34 (CSEL 29, p. 84.255). See *C. Fort.* 3 (CSEL 5/1, p. 86.2–4).

⁵⁰ *De mor. eccl. cath.* 17.31 (CSEL 90, p. 36.3): “Hinc est illud, quod in ore habere etiam uos soletis...” Matt 7:7 is quoted in a Coptic Manichaean psalm: see C. R. C. Allberry, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book, Part II* (MMCBC, 2), Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1938, p. 134.30–31. It is unlikely that the conjunction of the two Matthaean verses can be traced to the Diatesseron, which does not include Matt 7:7. But see *De Gen. c. Man.* 1.1.2 and 2.21.32 (CSEL 91, pp. 68.18–19 and 155.19–20).

⁵¹ *De mor. Manich.* 19.69 (CSEL 90, p. 150).

brother").⁵² These remarks, which receive some corroboration from Manichaean texts,⁵³ suggest that Augustine is deliberately employing biblical verses his Manichaean days had taught him would be familiar to Manichaeans.⁵⁴ In fact, at the beginning of *De moribus ecclesiae catholicae* he clearly states that in that work he will refer only to New Testament passages that Manichaeans themselves accept.⁵⁵ But how tightly does he cling to his own agenda? Many of his biblical quotations in that work appear in no known Manichaean writing,⁵⁶ but we may at least assume that the few explicit biblical passages shared by both treatises *De moribus* (Rom 14:2–4.6.12.15.21 and 1 Cor 8:8) must have held positive significance for Manichaeans.

In brief, the information that Augustine's early writings provide on Manichaeism is not extensive and easily summarized: he is familiar with Manichaean methods of proselytism,⁵⁷ and the repudiation of some of the New Testament⁵⁸ as well as of the Old;⁵⁹ he knows some elements of its cult (comprising a 'liturgy for Hearers'),⁶⁰ about the

⁵² *De mor. Manich.* 14.31 (CSEL 90, p. 115.17–19): "Vos enim hoc solum nobis dicere soletis, *Bonum est, fratres, non manducare carnem, neque bibere uinum, non autem subiungere illud quod sequitur...*"

⁵³ Matt 11:27 and 22:39, quoted in *De mor. eccl. cath.* 16:28 and 28.57 (CSEL 90, pp. 33.9 and 60.13), reappear in Manichaean Coptic psalms: see Allberry, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, pp. 40.4 and 122.11. On Manichaean usage of Matt 25:31–46 (the 'corporal works of mercy'), referred to in *De mor. eccl. cath.* 27.53 (pp. 56.17–57.4), see M. Hutter, "Mt. 25:31–46 in der Deutung Manis," *Novum Testamentum* 33 (1991): 276–82.

⁵⁴ See Coyle, *Augustine's "De moribus,"* 192.

⁵⁵ 1.2 (CSEL 90, p. 5.3–6): "ea de scripturis assumam testimonia, quibus eos necesse sit credere de nouo scilicet testamento, de quo tamen nihil proferam eorum quae solent immissa esse dicere, cum magnis angustiis coartantur; sed ea dicam, quae et approbare et laudare coguntur."

⁵⁶ Coyle, *Augustine's "De moribus,"* 187–92.

⁵⁷ See the references in van Oort, *Jerusalem*, 36–42.

⁵⁸ *De mor. eccl. cath.* 9.14 (CSEL 90, p. 16.17–18): "Haec illi solent a corruptoribus scripturarum immissa esse dicere." See also 29.60–61 (pp. 62–5), and *De mor. Manich.* 17.55 (pp. 137–38).

⁵⁹ *De mor. eccl. cath.* 10.16 (CSEL 90, p. 18.16–22). See also 28.57 (p. 60.3–5); *De Gen. c. Man.* 1.1.2 and 2.7.8 (CSEL 91, pp. 67–8 and 127–28); and *Conf.* 3.7.12 (CCL 27, p. 33). But not all of the Old Testament was repudiated, at least in Egypt: compare the quotation of canonical Psalm 50(51):12 in *De mor. eccl. cath.* 19:36 (p. 41.11) and in a Coptic Manichaean "psalm of the Wanderers," in Allberry, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, p. 159.21–22.

⁶⁰ C. Fort. 1–2 (CSEL 25/1, p. 85.15–16): "[Fortunatus dixit:] interfueristi oratione? AUG. dixit: interfui." See also *De mor. Manich.* 17.55 (CSEL 90, p. 139.2): "orationibus et psalmis"; *Conf.* 3.7.14 (CCL 27, p. 34.49): "et cantabam carmina"; C. ep. *Fund.* 8 (p. 202.7–18); Feldmann, "Der Einfluß," 1: 698–711 (2: 314–18); and van Oort, "Augustin," 139 and 141 (1995: 298 and 304).

'three seals' and their implications⁶¹—including duties of Hearers⁶²—, about some tenets of its doctrine, above all concerning the origin and nature of evil,⁶³ and about their cosmogony in general.⁶⁴

It is also possible that Augustine's predilection for a communal rather than solitary life—clearly mirrored in his descriptions of monastic experiments in *De moribus ecclesiae catholicae*⁶⁵—is in part the consequence of a similar bent in Manichaeism.⁶⁶ Also worthy of note is a borrowed (consciously or not) imagery, of which the most striking examples in Augustine's early writings are Christ as 'physician'⁶⁷ and the deutero-pauline 'old and new persons' (*Colossians* 3:9–10; see *Ephesians* 4:22–24).⁶⁸ We also need to keep in mind that certain

⁶¹ *De mor. Manich.* 10.19–18.66 (CSEL 90, pp. 104–108). See also *De mor. eccl. cath.* 35.78,80 (pp. 83.4–6 and 86.1–3). On what Augustine mentions and omits on this point see Decret, "De moribus," 78–102; *Idem*, *L'Afrique manichéenne* 1: 25–30 (2: 34–6).

⁶² *De mor. Manich.* 17.57,61–62 and 18.65 (CSEL 90, pp. 139.22–23, 143.9–144.16, and 146.18–20).

⁶³ *De mor. Manich.* 2.2 (CSEL 90, p. 89.5–7); "Saepe [...] requiritis unde sit malum." See Feldmann, "Der Einfluß," 1: 599–616 (2: 261–74).

⁶⁴ *De mor. Manich.* 9.14, 11.20–12.25, 15.36, 17.60, and 19.73 (CSEL 90, pp. 100, 106–10, 121, 142, and 153–54). See also the allusion to metempsychosis in 17.55 (p. 138.11–14) and *Conf.* 3.6.11 and 3.10.18 (CCL 27, pp. 32 and 37).

⁶⁵ *De mor. eccl. cath.* 31.65–33.71 (CSEL 90, pp. 69–76).

⁶⁶ This would explain why Augustine singles out Elect at Carthage who did not live in common: *De mor. Manich.* 19.68 (CSEL 90, p. 149.21–22): "Non enim erant hi ex una domo, sed diuerse prorsus habitantes." See L. Bouyer, "Ascétisme chrétien et manichéisme" = Appendix B of his *La Vie de saint Antoine: Essai sur la spiritualité du monachisme primitif*, 2nd ed. (Spiritualité orientale, 22), Begrolles-en-Mauges: Abbaye de Bellefontaine, 1977 (1950), 221: "En effet, le manichéisme, bien loin de pousser les adeptes à quitter le monde, les y maintenait de la façon la plus catégorique. S'il peut faire penser à une forme de monachisme, ce n'est pas du tout à celui que nous étudions ici, au monachisme dont l'idéal est décidément anachorétique, mais à un cénobitisme fortement organisé et bien plus missionnaire que contemplatif."

⁶⁷ On this see R. Arbesmann, "Christ the medicus humilis in St. Augustine," in AM 2, 623–29; *Idem*, "The Concept of Christus Medicus in St. Augustine," *Traditio* 10 (1954): 1–28; and P. C. J. Eijkenboom, *Het Christus-medicusmotief in de preken van Sint Augustinus*, Assen: Van Gorcum, 1960. On the theme in Manichaeism, see V. Arnold-Döben, *Die Bildersprache des Manichäismus* (AZR, 3), Köln: E. J. Brill, 1978, 97–107; W. B. Oerter, "Mani als Arzt? Zur Bedeutung eines manichäischen Bildes," in V. Vavrinek, ed., *From Late Antiquity to Early Byzantium: Proceedings of the Byzantinological Symposium in the 16th International Irene Conference*, Prague: Academia, 1985, 219–23; and "Healing and the 'Physician' in Manichaeism" in this volume.

⁶⁸ Alluded to in *De mor. eccl. cath.* 19.36 (CSEL 90, p. 40.15–16). See Arnold-Döben, *Die Bildersprache*, 133–36; Decret, "L'utilisation," 65–7 (*Essais*, 89–91); *Idem*, "Giustificazione e salvezza dell' « uomo nuovo » secondo Fausto manicheo," Aug(R) 30 (1990): 21–9 (*Essais*, 107–13); and H.-J. Klimkeit, "Die manichäische Lehre vom alten und neuen Menschen," in G. Wießner and H.-J. Klimkeit, eds., *Studia Manichaica: II*.

conceptual notions from his Manichaean days had their effect as well on the later Augustine, in one way or another, particularly in the realm of sexuality.⁶⁹

But to follow that line of enquiry now would carry us well beyond the scope of this paper.⁷⁰ What these pages offer are possibilities for further exploration into what knowledge Augustine might have gained about Manichaeism through belonging to it. For the rest, let it be simply said that, if this knowledge was, in the words of Menasce, “très complete,” or at least “sehr vieles” (van Oort), those descriptors must be tempered by two cautionary remarks. The first is that Augustine’s knowledge extended to Western expressions of Manichaeism, the only forms he knew;⁷¹ and the second is that Augustine as a Catholic presbyter and bishop came to learn aspects of Manichaeism that had been beyond the reach of Augustine the Manichaean Hearer.

Internationaler Kongreß zum Manichäismus, 6.–10. August 1989, St. Augustin/Bonn (SOR, 23), Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1992, 131–50.

⁶⁹ See E. A. Clark, “Vitiated Seeds and Holy Vessels: Augustine’s Manichaean Past,” in *Eadem, Ascetic Piety and Women’s Faith* (Studies in Women and Religion, 20), Lewiston, NY: Mellen Press, 1986, 291–349; J. van Oort, “Augustine and Mani on concupiscentia sexualis,” in J. den Boeft and J. van Oort, eds., *Augustiniana Traiectina: Communications présentées au Colloque international d’Utrecht, 13–14 novembre 1986*, Paris: Études Augustiniennes, 1987, 137–52; and M. Lamberigts, “Some Critiques on Augustine’s View of Sexuality Revisited” in *SP 33: Papers presented at the Twelfth International Conference on Patristic Studies held in Oxford 1995*, Leuven: Peeters, 1997, 152–61.

⁷⁰ For a historical presentation of scholarship dealing with Manichaeism’s continued presence in Augustine, see J. Ries, “La Bible chez saint Augustin et chez les manichéens,” REA 10 (1964): 317–20. See also L. Cilleruelo, “La oculta presencia del maniqueismo en la «Ciudad de Dios»,” in *Estudios sobre la “ciudad de Dios”* 1 (= *La Ciudad de Dios*, 167), Madrid: Real Monasterio de San Lorenzo de El Escorial, 1955, 475–509; W. Geerlings, “Zur Frage des Nachwirkens des Manichäismus in der Theologie Augustins,” *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie* 93 (1971): 45–60; and van Oort, *Jerusalem*, 199–207, 212–29, and 351–52.

⁷¹ In opposition to L. H. Grondijs, Decret concludes in “Le manichéisme,” 40, that, with regard to doctrine at least, Manichaeism did not fundamentally differ from one region to another: “Cette religion du Livre, s’appuyant partout sur les Écritures de son fondateur, demeura fondamentalement la même et les quelques variantes qui apparaissent s’expliquent—comme pour les Églises locales de la *Catholica*—par des particularismes de cultures régionales et aussi les milieux sociaux et économiques sensiblement différents où se recrutaient les fidèles.” See also p. 11 n. 27 of the same article. Decret does not go far enough to satisfy M. Tardieu, “Vues nouvelles sur le manichéisme africain?,” REA 25 (1979): 249–55 (review of Decret’s *L’Afrique manichéenne*). For his part, R. Lim, “Unity and Diversity Among Western Manichaeans: A Reconsideration of Mani’s *sancta ecclesia*,” REA 35 (1989): 231–50, warns against “allowing our conception of western Manichaeism to be predetermined and overdetermined by a prior understanding of what Manichaeism ought to have been” (233).

CHAPTER SIXTEEN

GOD'S PLACE IN AUGUSTINE'S ANTI-MANICHAEAN POLEMIC

My perusal of the polemical works of Augustine of Hippo consistently confronts me with the question of their intentionality, which is to say, of Augustine's fidelity in reporting aspects of whatever system he had in his polemical sights. This intentionality would have implied faithfully reporting either the objective reality, or at the very least his own 'take' on that reality. I see no other option, for I exclude from his agenda any deliberate misrepresentation on his part. There could be no true advantage for the polemicist in that: misrepresentation, however indeliberate, could, if exposed, have invalidated any other claim the polemicist wanted to make.¹

The two options (what was being reported, or what reality Augustine thought he was reporting) may, in the end, come down to the same thing; but it is still worth examining both the reality described and the reality as described, to see how they intersect. When it comes to Augustine's response to Manichaeism, our task is facilitated by his quotations from Manichaeian works and by his two public debates with Manichaeans. My interest here is to view the portrayal of God in the Manichaeism Augustine knew, as well as his response to that portrayal, especially in terms of the link between God and evil.

Many scholars of Augustine hold that his basic problem with Manichaeism was its dualism—its radical distinction between God as the source of good alongside a coeternal principle of evil. This has led to academic concentration on what 'good' and 'evil' signified for Augustine,² and how he integrated those concepts into his response to

¹ See R. Teske, *The Manichean Debate* (The Works of Saint Augustine: A Translation for the 21st Century, I/19), Hyde Park, NY: New City Press, 2006, 9 n. 2: "Augustine was often attempting to convert Manicheans from their heresy to the Catholic Church, and he could not succeed in such an attempt if he described the tenets of Mani and of the Manichean religion incorrectly."

² See K. E. Lee, *Augustine, Manichaeism, and the Good* (Patristic Studies, 2), New York: Lang, 1999. A. Escher di Stefano, in *Il manicheismo in S. Agostino* (Pubblicazioni dell'Istituto universitario di magistero di Catania, Serie filosofica, Saggi e monografie,

Manichaeism. It would indeed have seemed logical to him to target the question of evil, given its importance in the Manichaean system. Geo Widengren, indisputably an expert on Manichaeism's associations with Iran, has declared: "The essential problem that Mani tried to solve was the existence of Evil and the situation of Man as dependent on the existence of Evil."³ But if that was Mani's perspective in articulating his thought, it was not Augustine's primary focus in combating it. For him, I will contend, the underlying (and, ultimately, more pressing) issue was what Mani's perspective on evil did to *God*.

MANICHAEAN COSMOGONY

Here it is appropriate to offer a brief description of the North African Manichaean explanation of the origin of the physical world (cosmogony),⁴ and of evil in particular. Mani's teaching began with the question: Why is there evil? His answer came in the form of a radical dualism, proposing an original phase when there existed two principles, co-eternal but entirely separate.⁵ One of these—the good—was God, 'Father of Greatness,' inhabiting the realm of Light that is God's own substance. The other principle was intrinsically evil.⁶ Often called

20), Padua: Casa Editrice Dottore Antonio Milani, 1960, 96, refers to evil as "lo spississimo problema" for Augustine.

³ G. Widengren, "Manichaeism and its Iranian Background," in E. Yarshater, ed., (*The Cambridge History of Iran*, 3/2), Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983, 973.

⁴ On Augustine's understanding of Manichaean cosmogony see J. P. Maher, "Saint Augustine and Manichaean Cosmogony," *AugSt* 10 (1979): 96–103 (comparison with the Coptic *Kephalaia*).

⁵ Ludwig Koenen thinks that the Cologne Mani Codex, a Greek document on Mani's early life, does not indicate that Mani at first entertained a view of the two eternal principles as equal. L. Koenen, "How Dualistic is Mani's Dualism?," in L. Cirillo, ed., *Codex Manichaicus Colonensis: Atti del secondo simposio internazionale* (Cosenza 27–28 maggio 1988) (Studi e ricerche, 5), Cosenza: Marra, 1990, 1, 23, and 31–4; expanded from "Wie dualistisch ist Manis Dualismus?," in P. Nagel, ed., *Carl-Schmidt Colloquium der Martin-Luther-Universität* (Martin-Luther-Universität, Halle-Wittenberg, Wissenschaftliche Beiträge 1990/23 [K 9]), Halle: VEB Kongreß und Werbedruck, 1990, 241–57.

⁶ On this principle see the classic article by H.-C. Puech, "The Prince of Darkness in his Kingdom," in *Satan*, London and New York: Sheed and Ward, 1951, 127–157; trans. of "Le prince des ténèbres en son royaume," in *Satan*, Études carmélitaines; Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, 1948, 136–74; repr. Bar-le-Duc: Imprimérie St. Paul, 1978, 94–132, and in H.-C. Puech, *Sur le manichéisme et autres essais*, Paris: Flammarion, 1979, 103–51.

'Matter' (*Hylē* in Greek) or Satan, this principle inhabited the realm of its own substance, which is the Darkness. The moment arrived when the principle of Darkness became aware of the Light-realm, desired it, and invaded it. A great battle ensued, in the course of which God deliberately allowed the Light and the Darkness to mingle. Though God eventually freed much of the Light thus imprisoned, some remains mixed with the Darkness, and our earthly existence reflects that mingled condition. For our lives experience good and bad, light and darkness, spirit and matter. In fact, the souls of good persons are the very substance of God, though trapped in their bodily prison. Even after the world (including all bodies) is destroyed, some of the Light will remain forever held fast in the Darkness. It is not our fault that both now coexist in the world, and that the world will know this mixture until its end. Nor is it God's fault; for God, all good, cannot be held responsible for evil, which can therefore be blamed only on the principle of Darkness.

There lies Manichaeism's basic thesis: God himself is going to confront the evil, and sacrifice himself in order to spare his world from aggression by delivering an emanation of his own substance up to the greed of Matter. Thus history will be summed up in an original disintegration of the divine substance, followed by a progressive reintegration.⁷

These words of Hervé Rousseau accurately depict, I believe, Augustine's own understanding and focus. The summary he provides of Mani's cosmogony in his *Catalogue of Heresies* (from 428 or 429) echoes the above sketch succinctly but at the same time is suggestive of where Augustine's priorities lay, at least by then:

This fellow devised two principles different from and opposed to each other and said that they are eternal and coeternal, that is, always existing. Following other older heretics, he thought that there were two natures or substances, namely the good and the evil. In accord with their teachings, they held that there was a battle between the good and the evil, a mutual mingling of them, a purification of the good from the evil, and the eternal damnation, along with the evil, of the good that could not be

⁷ H. Rousseau, *Le dieu du mal* (Mythes et religions, 47), Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1963, 96: "Là réside la thèse essentielle du manichéisme: c'est Dieu lui-même qui va affronter le mal, se sacrifier pour épargner l'agression à son monde, en livrant une émanation de sa propre essence à l'avidité de la Matière. Ainsi, l'histoire va se résumer en une désintégration originelle de la substance divine, suivie d'une réintégration progressive."

purified [...]. As a result of these foolish and wicked myths of theirs, they are forced to say that good souls are of the same nature as God, and they think that they need to be freed from being mixed with the bad souls that are, of course, of the opposite nature.⁸

So Augustine's main interest, close to the end of his life, has less to do with showing the absurdity of the 'myths' themselves or even with affirming the presence of good and evil in human beings, than with refuting the two eternal natures as the reason for that presence, which would impose the permanent loss of substance from God when the world reaches its end. This is clear from the concluding remarks of the same catalogue entry:

They attribute the origin of sins, not to the free choice of the will, but to the substance of the opposing nation which they teach was mingled with human beings. They hold that all flesh is the work, not of God, but of the evil mind which is coeternal with God, but from the contrary principle. They say that the concupiscence of the flesh, by which the flesh lusts against the spirit, is not a weakness present in us as a result of the nature that was vitiated in the first man. Rather, they insist that it is the contrary substance adhering to us in such a way that, when we are set free and purified, it is separated from us and it too lives immortally in its own nature. They say that these two souls, or two minds, one good, the other bad, are in conflict in a single human being [...] This defect is not, as we say, healed in us as something that will not exist at all. Rather, when this age has come to an end and the world has been destroyed by fire, this evil substance, once removed from and separated from us, will live forever in a globular mass, as if in an everlasting prison. They claim there will always come and adhere to this mass [...] some of the souls that are good by nature, but which could not, nevertheless, be cleansed from the contamination of the evil nature.⁹

⁸ *De haeresibus* 46.2–3 (CCL 46, p. 313.7–18): “Iste duo principia inter se diuersa et aduersa, eademque aeterna et coaeterna, hoc est semper fuisse composuit, duasque naturas atque substantias, boni scilicet et mali, sequens alios antiquos haereticos, opinatus est. Quarum inter se pugnam et commixtionem, et boni a malo purgationem, et boni quod purgari non poterit cum malo in aeternam damnationem [...] Ex his autem suis fabulis uanis atque impiis coguntur dicere animas bonas, quas censem ab animarum malarum naturae scilicet contrariae commixtione liberandas, eius cuius deus est esse naturae.” Translation by R. Teske, *Arianism and Other Heresies* (The Works of Saint Augustine: A Translation for the 21st Century, I/18), Hyde Park, NY: New City Press, 1995, 42.

⁹ *De haeresibus* 46.19 (CCL 46, pp. 319–20): “Peccatorum originem non libero arbitrio uoluntatis, sed substantiae tribuunt gentis aduersae, quam dogmatizant esse hominibus mixtam. Omnem carnem non dei, sed malae mentis esse perhibent officium, quae a contrario principio deo coaeterna est. Carnalem aiunt concupiscentiam,

The Manichaean explanations furnished opponents with the arguments that this cosmogony implied that God could be threatened, injured, and finally diminished, since all light—wherever found—belongs to the divine substance; and that, since it was somehow attracted to the good, the evil could not be entirely evil.¹⁰ In Gillian Evans' words,

The central paradox of the problem of evil can be briefly stated. If God is perfect goodness and if he is omnipotent, evil cannot exist. But it is manifestly a reality of some sort, and a formidably powerful one. So, if we are to concede its existence, one of the two other 'poles' must shift. Either we must say that God is not wholly good, and that he permits or is even the author of evil. Or we must say that God is not omnipotent, and although he is wholly good and would prevent evil if he could, he is powerless to stop it.¹¹

THE ORIENTATION OF AUGUSTINE'S EARLY WORKS

Now, according to *Confessions*, it was the problem of evil that brought Augustine to Manichaeism in the first place.¹² In Book 2 he discusses the nature of evil, a reflection triggered by the memory of that famous theft of pears (4.9–9.17). In Book 3 he speaks of his difficulties with Scripture (5.9) and how these difficulties precipitated him toward the Manichaeans (6.10). But in the same space he also brings up their notion of God, and *then* their notion of evil. In Book 4 he remarks in

qua caro concupiscit aduersus spiritum, non ex uitiata in primo homine natura nobis inesse infirmitatem, sed substantiam uolunt esse contraria; sic nobis adhaerentem ut quando liberamur atque purgamur, separetur a nobis, et in sua natura etiam ipsa immortaliter uiuat; easque duas animas, uel duas mentes, unam bonam, alteram malam, in uno homine inter se habere conflictum [...]; nec in nobis sanatur hoc uitium, sicut nos dicimus, nusquam futurum, sed a nobis seiunctam atque seclusam substantiam istam mali, et finito isto saeculo post conflagrationem mundi in globo quodam, tamquam in carcere sempiterno, esse uicturam. Cui globo affirmant accessum semper et adhaesurum [...] ex animabus natura quidem bonis, sed tamen quae non potuerint a naturae malae contagione mundari." Trans. Teske, *Arianism*, 46.

¹⁰ See in this volume "The Idea of the 'Good' in Manichaeism."

¹¹ G. R. Evans, "Evil," in A. D. Fitzgerald, ed., *Augustine through the Ages: An Encyclopedia*, Grand Rapids and Cambridge: W. B. Eerdmans, 1999, 340.

¹² Conf. 7.5.7. See also *De libero arbitrio* 1.2.4; and F. de Capitani, "Quid et unde malum: Il problema del male nel giovane Agostino, prima del ritiro a Cassiciacum," in L. Alici, R. Piccolomini, and A. Pieretti, eds., *Il mistero del male e la libertà possibile: Lettura dei Dialoghi di Agostino. Atti del V Seminario del Centro di Studi Agostiniani di Perugia* (SEA, 45); Rome: Institutum Patristicum Augustinianum, 1994, 57–80.

passing that he had yet to learn that evil is not a substance.¹³ In his scrutiny of ‘the philosophers’ in Book 5, it is still the idea of God that plagues him (3.5). Even after the disastrous encounter with Faustus in Carthage (6.11–7.13) he continued his contacts with other Manichaean elect in Rome (a good career move, as it turned out); and he did this, he reports, partly because he could not find an explanation of evil more convincing than theirs (10.18), but also because his notion of God remained corporeal (10.19). Immediately after, Book 5 takes up the topic of evil’s substantiality (10.20), but associates it directly with the question of divine substance.

After abandoning Manichaeism, Augustine still held out for God’s changeability. If we can rely on the same source (composed between 396 and 400), Augustine began letting go of a dimensional God in Milan around 385, and came quickly to accept God as incorruptible and inviolable and immutable.¹⁴ From divine (un)changeability proceeds the question of divine (in)corruptibility,¹⁵ and *thence* emerges the explanation of evil as corruption, as he notes in Book 7 (3.4–7.11):

I now tried to discover other truths, as I had already come to realise that incorruptible is better than corruptible, so that You must be incorruptible, whatever might be Your nature [...] Therefore since the incorruptible is unquestionably to be held greater than the corruptible and I so held it—I could now draw the conclusion that unless You were incorruptible there was something better than my God. But seeing the superiority of the incorruptible, I should have looked for You in that truth and have learned from it where evil is—that is learned the origin of the corruption by which Your substance cannot be violated. For there is no way in which corruption can affect our God, whether by His will or by necessity or by accident; for He is God, and what He wills is good, and Himself is goodness; whereas to be corrupted is not good [...] Why

¹³ *Conf.* 4.15.24 (CCL 27, p. 53): “Non enim noueram neque didiceram nec ullam substantiam malum esse...”

¹⁴ *Conf.* 7.1.1. Back in Carthage Nebridius had already got Augustine thinking along this trajectory. Nebridius’ query in *Conf.* 7.2.3 goes this way: Would an incorruptible God have bothered to attack the Darkness if the Darkness could do it no harm? See J. K. Coyle, *Augustine’s “De moribus ecclesiae catholicae”: A Study of the Work, its Composition and its Sources* (Paradosis, 25), Fribourg, Switzerland: The University Press, 1978, 332–34.

¹⁵ On this see F. de Capitani, “«Corruptio» negli scritti antimanichei di S. Agostino: Il fenomeno e la natura della corruzione,” *Rivista di filosofia neo-scolastica* 72 (1980): 640–69; 73 (1981): 132–56, 264–82.

indeed should I multiply reasons to show that the substance which is God is not corruptible, since if it were, it would not be God?¹⁶

It is in the same book that evil first receives close treatment in *Confessions* (5.7). Subsequently, Augustine reaffirms his acceptance of God's incorruptible nature (12.16–18), and *then* he is ready to deny any substantiality to evil (12.18–16.22). Is this order of affirmations faithful to the actual unfolding of Augustine's philosophical and religious progress as it occurred, or is it rather part of Augustine's (subsequent) argumentative design? The intellectual (and no doubt emotional) course he recounts is logical, but not necessarily autobiographical.¹⁷ I suspect that the pre-baptismal catechesis Augustine received at Milan in early 387, as well as the bishop Ambrose's liturgical exposés there, provided the arguments needed to address the Manichaean conception of God (Augustine suggests as much in *De quantitate animae* 34.77): he would not take on Manichaeism directly until *after* baptism, even though (Neo)Platonism had furnished earlier arguments against Manichaeism's notions on evil and divine immutability.¹⁸ And only then would his writings begin to speak of God as incorruptible.

¹⁶ *Conf.* 7.4.6 (CCL 27, p. 95): "Sic enim nitebar inuenire cetera, ut iam inuenieram melius esse incorruptibile quam corruptibile, et ideo te, quidquid esses, esse incorruptibilem confitebar [...] Cum autem uerissime atque certissime incorruptibile corruptibili praeponatur, sicut iam ego praeponebam, poteram iam cogitatione aliquid attingere, quod esset melius deo meo, nisi tu esses incorruptibilis. Vbi igitur uidebam incorruptibile corruptibili esse praferendum, ibi te querere debebam atque inde aduertere, ubi sit malum, id est unde sit ipsa corruptio qua uiolare substantia tua nullo modo potest. Nullo enim prouersus modo uiolat corruptio deum nostrum, nulla uoluntate, nulla necessitate, nullo improviso casu, quoniam ipse est deus et quod sibi uult, bonum est, et ipse est idem bonum; corrupti autem non est bonum [...] Et ut quid multa dicimus, cur non sit corruptibilis substantia, quae deus est, quando, si hoc esset, non esset deus?" Transl. by F. J. Sheed, *The Confessions of St. Augustine*, New York: Sheed & Ward, 1957 (©1943), 135. The argument surfaces again in *Contra epistolam Manichaei quam uocant fundamentum* 35.39–42.48.

¹⁷ As L. Ayres and M. R. Barnes caution in "God," in Fitzgerald, ed., *Augustine through the Ages*, 385, "It is extremely difficult to separate clearly those elements of his account of God which must have come from his 'Platonic' readings from those elements which must have come from his catechesis."

¹⁸ On these arguments see G. R. Evans, *Augustine on Evil*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982, 30–5. On evil in Augustine's *anti-Manichaica* see Escher di Stefano, *Il manicheismo in S. Agostino*, 96–119 (= chap. 5). More useful, despite its date, is R. Jolivet, *Le problème du mal d'après saint Augustin*, Paris: Beauchesne, 1936, *passim*.

GOD AND EVIL

That Augustine gives careful attention to the nature and origin of evil there is no doubt. References to them abound in his *anti-Manichaica* as elsewhere, and there is a wealth of modern commentary on them. But the subtext that emerges over time is God (how can there be evil if God is all good?); and God is the issue Augustine is ultimately out to address.¹⁹ To back this affirmation, I will trace Augustine's discussion of both God and evil in his early writings and in later, decidedly anti-Manichaean works.

In the Cassiciacum Dialogues, Augustine declares that he wishes to know God and the soul, and nothing else.²⁰ Everything else proceeds from these, so that "certitude, the nature of truth, the highest good of man, the exploration of order in the universe, the nature and attributes of God, his relation to the world and man, and the nature and immortality of the soul, are the chief questions discussed."²¹ Other subjects are touched on as well, but evil is not among them.²² The prayer that launches *Soliloquies* (1.1.2) includes the remark that evil has no existence of its own, but that is all. By contrast, references to the changelessness of God are much more frequent there and in other early works.²³ In turn, "The idea of God in the Cassiciacum Dialogues

¹⁹ On Augustine's earliest notion of God see M. Grabmann, *Die Grundgedanken des heiligen Augustinus über Seele und Gott*, 2nd ed., Köln: Bochem, 1929 (repr. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1967), 67–109 and *passim*; G. Madec, "Deus," in AL 2, fasc. 3–4 (1999), 323–31; and Ayres and Barnes, "God," 384–87.

²⁰ *Soliloquia* 1.2.7 (CSEL 89, p. 11): "A[ugustinus]. Deum et animam scire cupio. R[atio]. Nihilne plus? A. Nihil omnino."

²¹ W. P. Tolley, *The Idea of God in the Philosophy of St. Augustine*, New York: Smith, 1930, 29.

²² C. P. Bammel, "Pauline Exegesis, Manichaeism and Philosophy in the Early Augustine," in L. R. Wickham and C. P. Bammel, eds., *Christian Faith and Greek Philosophy in Late Antiquity: Essays in Tribute to George Christopher Stead in Celebration of his Eightieth Birthday, 9th April 1993* (SVC, 19), Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1993, 11: "Augustine's earliest extant works, which were composed after his conversion [...] before his return to Milan for his baptism, show him less immediately concerned with the exposition of new anti-Manichaean insights than with the refutation of the Academic position that truth is unattainable and the demonstration that his own search for truth is in accordance with the highest philosophy."

²³ Pace Madec, "Deus," 327, who contends that "Les entretiens de Cassiciacum n'ont pas pour objet propre le problème de Dieu [...]. Augustin] reprend avec son entourage les problèmes fondamentaux de la philosophie tels qu'on les concevait à l'époque: la béatitude et la sagesse."

is virtually that of the later works.”²⁴ In the first of the Dialogues, *De beata uita* (1.4), Augustine admits in passing to having been one of those who believed that God and the soul are corporeal. Later (2.11), he is ready to assert that God cannot undergo change. In *De ordine* (2.17.46) he refers to the Manichaean doctrine of evil’s origin and its power to provoke God, essentially reproducing Nebridius’ earlier argument,²⁵ and initiating the shift that takes firmer direction between an as yet unfinished *De moribus ecclesiae catholicae* and the composition of *De moribus Manichaeorum*.

Augustine undertook the first of these eponymous treatises at Rome in the months following his baptism in 387, probably completing it in North Africa after conceiving the project of a second treatise that would be completed in 388 or 389.²⁶ In the first treatise he pays a great deal of attention to God as ‘highest good’; but the word evil (*malum*) appears there only five times. Three of those are in Biblical quotations. Of the other two instances, one refers to what Augustine calls the ‘two gods’ of Manichaeism (10.16), while the other has to do with *committing* evil against one’s neighbour (28.57). Augustine has also chosen to deal with the nature of God (including immutability: 10:17, 13.22, and 30.62) before moving to the sister treatise. There, *malum* appears from the start and remains in strength: *unde sit malum?*—or better, *quid sit malum?* (2.2). Evil, Augustine affirms, is nothing more than the tendency toward non-being.²⁷ Therefore God cannot be the author of evil, because God is the author only of what *is* (2.3). Augustine continues in the same vein before attacking Manichaean moral ideas and behaviour head on; and it is evident (3.5) that he is presupposing much of what he said about the immutability of God in the companion treatise, before he equates evil with corruption (5.7–7.10).

In the interval between these two treatises, then, the emphasis on God has shifted from *immutability* to *incorrumpibility*,²⁸ the shift probably reflecting the new emphasis required for *De libero arbitrio*. This treatise *On Free Will* was begun at the same time as *De moribus*

²⁴ Tolley, *The Idea*, p. 43. This God is the source of all other being, for all else but God is created by God.

²⁵ See n. 14, above.

²⁶ On the dating see Coyle, *Augustine's "De moribus,"* 66–76.

²⁷ *De moribus Manichaeorum* 2.2 (CSEL 90, p. 90.24–26): “Id ipsum ergo malum est [...] deficere ab essentia et ad id tendere ut non sit.”

²⁸ See *De mor. Manichaeorum* 6.8.

ecclesiae catholicae (that is, in 387 or 388), with only its first book completed by the time Augustine left Rome for Africa.²⁹ The book—written with Manichaeism in mind³⁰—begins with a question Evodius had once asked, *unde malum?*, a question now treated in terms of sin, that is, human moral responsibility. In the second book (completed, along with the third, sometime around 395) the focus falls on human free will as the source of sin, while in the last book the shift is back to the denial of divine responsibility for evil. Either Augustine had been setting up the later books of *De libero arbitrio* when writing the first, or sometime between 387 and 395 he had reached the conclusion that Book 1's emphasis on evil needed rounding out.

That conclusion may have been a by-product of the two days of debate held between Augustine the Catholic presbyter and the Manichaean presbyter Fortunatus in 392.³¹ The debate's second day began with Fortunatus' classic statement of the Manichaean position:

I say that almighty God brings forth no evil from himself and that what belongs to him remains without corruption, having sprung from and been born from one inviolable source, but that the other contrary things that are found in the world do not flow and appear in this world with God as their principle, that is, they do not take their origin from him. We have therefore accepted in faith that these evils are foreign to God.³²

Augustine's immediate response does not address evil as such, nor even God's incorruptibility as such, but human free will: "And this is *our* faith: God is not the father of evils, nor did he make any evil nature. But since each of us agrees that God cannot be corrupted and defiled [...], evils are due to the voluntary sin of the soul, to which God

²⁹ If Augustine was already planning the remainder of *De libero arbitrio*, he may have shelved the project so he could write the second treatise *De moribus*. See Coyle, *Augustine's "De moribus,"* 71–6.

³⁰ See *Retractationes* 1.9.2.

³¹ On the content, see "Fortunatum Manicheum, Acta contra," in Fitzgerald, ed., *Augustine through the Ages*, 371–72; F. Decret, *Sanctus Augustinus, Acta Contra Fortunatum Manicheum* (CFM, Series Latina, 2), Turnhout: Brepols, 2004, 3–11.

³² Aug., *Acta disputationis habitae cum Fortunato manichaeo* 19 (CSEL 25/1, p. 97.15–21): "Fortunatus dixit: Dico, quod nihil mali ex se proferat omnipotens deus et quod quae sua sunt incorrupta maneant uno ex fonte inuiolabili orta et genita; cetera uero, quae in hoc mundo uersantur contraria, non ex deo manare nec principe deo paruisse in hoc saeculo, id est quod non ex ipso originem trahant. haec ergo in fide suscepimus, quod aliena sint mala a deo." Trans. Teske, *The Manichaean Debate*, 153–54.

gave free choice..."³³ Augustine continues urging this line of argument: moral evil comes from the bad act of a human nature that is fundamentally good because a good God created it (21–22). The debate finishes with an old theme: can God be harmed (23–37)?³⁴ However, it is worth emphasizing the *necessary but adjunct* character of free will alongside both God's blamelessness for evil and evil as non-being.

In *The Two Souls* (*De duabus animabus*), written between 391 and 395, God is again presented as the source of all other being: whatever exists and isn't God is made by God (1–3). This sets up the presentation on evil's origin (8.10) and (the third theme in the order of preference in Augustine's *anti-Manichaica*) human responsibility for sin (9–11, 14). Evil has no independent existence, therefore no creator. There is, then, no possibility of God's 'opposite number.' This is abundantly clear in section 30 of *The Nature of the Good* (*De natura boni*, written between 400 and 405), part of a treatise that begins with the sovereign Good, once again the primary focus (1). There could never be an Augustinian treatise *De natura mali*, because evil has no substance, no independent existence, no nature of its own. There are only beings that are in some way good (17), many of them, though, less good than they ought to be, and to that extent evil (3). To be less good in that sense, to be evil in that sense, that is corruption (4); yet only God is wholly incorruptible (6), since God alone absolutely is (19). Here, too, Augustine ends by introducing human responsibility for moral evil (31; 34–37).³⁵

Around the time (396 or 397) he was beginning *Confessions*, Augustine penned a critique of Mani's 'Foundation Letter.' But there it is hard to judge Augustine's prioritization of the themes, because his refutation follows the order set by the letter he is refuting.³⁶ He aims first at the Manichaean cosmogony (12.14–22.24) and its anthropomorphic

³³ C. Fortunatum 20 (pp. 97.22–98.5): "Augustinus dixit: Et nostra fides haec est, quod malorum genitor non sit deus neque ullam naturam fecerit malam. sed cum uterque nostrum consentiat incorruptibilem deum et incoinquinabilem [...], mala esse uoluntario peccato animae, cui dedit deus liberum arbitrium." Trans. Teske, *The Manichean Debate*, 154 (my emphasis).

³⁴ *De uera religione* (ca. 390) contains themes similar to those seen here: see 21.41–23.44 and 30.54–31.58.

³⁵ On *De natura boni* see L. Alici, "La natura del bene e l'abisso del malo," in *La polemica con i manichei di Agostini di Ippona: Lectio Augustini XIV—Settimana Agostiniana Pavese* (SEA, 69), Rome: Institutum Augustinianum, 2000, 71–95, esp. 75–93.

³⁶ See *Contra epistolam Manichaei quam uocant fundamenti* 5.

notion of God (23.25). Creatures are subject to corruption precisely because they are not composed of the substance of God (25.27); but they remain good (30.33–31.34; 33.36–34.38). Evil is only corruption (35.39–36.41), God is the highest good (37.42–43). Nature derives from God, corruption from nothing (38.44–42.48).³⁷

The Manichaean *episcopus* Faustus, in his *Capitula de christiana fide et ueritate* (written around 386) had alluded but rarely to Manichaean beliefs, being more interested in refuting Catholic doctrine. However, he ended his treatise with a defense of his system's conception of God. This is essentially contained in his chapters 31 (the oneness of God) and 33 (God's infinity),³⁸ as cited by Augustine in his reply to Faustus' work. On divine unity, Faustus had written:

We profess two principles, but [only] one of them do we call God, and the other *Hylē* or, if I may use the common term, a demon [...]. When I affirm two principles, God and *Hylē*, I should not for all that be seen as positing two gods to you. Or do you think it makes no difference to call each of them a god because, as is proper, we attribute every malicious power to *Hylē* and every benevolent one to God? If such were the case, you may as well think that, on hearing [the terms] “poison” and “antidote,” it makes no difference if both are called ‘antidote’ because each has its own ability, each functions and causes something to happen. If that is absurd, how much more absurd to think that God and *Hylē* are two gods because each of them causes something to occur?³⁹

Augustine's retort (in or shortly before 400)⁴⁰ targets, as we should expect by now, both of Faustus' assertions, not in view of evil *per*

³⁷ See *Conf.* 12.7.7, and A. Trapè, *La nozione del mutabile e dell'immutabile secondo sant'Agostino* (Quaderni della Cattedra Agostiniana, 1), Tolentino: Edizione Agostiniane, 1957, 41–57.

³⁸ Here I follow the order of Faustus' work as determined by P. Monceaux, “Le manichéen Faustus de Milev: Restitution de ses *Capitula*,” *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 43 (1925): 105–06 and 109–11.

³⁹ Aug., *Contra Faustum* 21.1 (CSEL 25/1, pp. 568.13–569.8): “[D]uo principia confitemur, sed unum ex his deum uocamus, alterum hylen, aut, ut communiter et usitate dixerim, daemonem [...] sic et cum duo principia doceo, deum et hylen, non idcirco uideri iam debeo tibi duos ostendere deos. an quia uim omnem maleficam hyle adsignamus et beneficam deo, ut congruit, idcirco nihil interesse putas, an utrumque eorum uocemus deum? quod si ita est, poteris et uenenum audiens et antidotum nihil interesse putare, an utrumque eorum uocetur antidotum, quia utrumque eorum uim suam habeat, utrumque agat aliquid et operetur. quodsi hoc facere absurdum est, quanto absurdius deum et hylen idcirco duos putare deos, quia eorum quisque aliquid operetur?” My translation.

⁴⁰ See “Faustum Manicheum, Contra,” in Fitzgerald, ed., *Augustine through the Ages*, 355–56.

se, but from the perspective of their impact on God. Faustus is not quite correct in calling the evil principle a demon, but the term would have resonated better with orthodox Christian belief that conceived of demons as inferior and subject to God. But Augustine is more interested in the content of Faustus' ideas than in their semantics. To the first affirmation of Faustus, he underscores the identity of the God of each Testament:

Faustus seems quick to defend himself when he says, "We do not speak of two gods, but of God and *Hylē*." But when you ask him what he means by "*Hylē*" you plainly hear another god being described [...]. Now how great an error, what great madness is this, that says the matter of bodies is the creator of bodies or that denies that God is the maker of bodies?⁴¹

Had Faustus known or considered this, he would not serve up "poison" and "antidote" as an example of the two natures of good and evil, as though God were the antidote and *Hylē* the poison [...]. So according to their fairy-tale their god might be said to have been poison for the nation of Darkness, for he so corrupted their bodies that he turned them from being strong to being utterly feeble. But as the Light itself was captured, subdued, and corrupted, both were poison to themselves [...]. Do you think there was no evil in the urgent necessity your god suffered before the mixture with the opposite nature, such that he was compelled to fight with it and to send his own members to be crushed in its gullet, so that it could not be wholly recovered? [...]. If his substance could be corrupted, you do not worship the incorruptible God of whom the apostle speaks (see 1 Tim 1:17). And then what? Does the liability to corruption, even apart from the nature actually undergoing corruption, but that another could corrupt it, not seem to you to be an evil in your god?⁴²

⁴¹ C. *Faustum* 21.4 (p. 572.23–30): "... cito uidetur Faustus se defendisse, cum ait: *non dicimus duos deos, sed deum et hylen.* porro autem eum quaesieris, quam dicat hylen, audies plane describi alterum deum [...] nunc uero quantus error est, quanta dementia uel materiem corporum dicere opificem corporum uel opificem corporum negare deum?" My translation.

⁴² C. *Faustum* 21.13–14 (pp. 585.4–12 and 586.26–587.7): "[Q]uod si sciret aut consideraret Faustus, non utique uenenum et antidotum pro exemplo duarum naturarum mali et boni poneret, tamquam deus sit antidotum et hyle uenenum [...]. itaque secundum eorum fabulam potest dici deus eorum fuisse uenenum genti tenebrarum, cuius corpora tam firma ita corrupit, ut infirmissima redderet; sed quia et lux ipsa capta, oppressa, corrupta est, inuicem sibi uenenum fuerunt [...] nullumne malum esse arbitramini duram necessitatem, quam patiebatur deus uester ante commixtionem naturae contrariae, ut cum ea bellare et in eius fauces sic obprimenda membra sua mittere cogeretur, ut non posset tota purgari? si poterat corrumpi eius substantia, non colitis deum incorruptibilem, quam apostolus praedicat. quid ergo? et ipsa corruptibilitas, qua quidem nondum corrumpebatur illa natura, sed tamen ab alia corrumpi poterat, non uobis in deo uestro uidetur malum?" My translation.

With respect to his other theme (divine infinity), Faustus had written in the final chapter of his work:

To determine whether the highest and true God is infinite or not, we can briefly refer to the opposition between good and evil. If evil does not exist, God is certainly infinite; but [God] has finitude if evil exists. But it is clear that evil exists; therefore God is not infinite: bad starts to happen where good reaches its limit.⁴³

But even though Faustus has provided him with a clear target (“God is not infinite”), Augustine does not bother to answer directly this time, speaking instead of how Faustus ought to know better than accept the materialistic conception of God that Manichaeism espouses.

In 404 Augustine takes up earlier ideas—and their arrangement—in the last segment of his *anti-Manichaica*. The second day of a public debate between Augustine and the Manichaean *doctor* Felix⁴⁴ moves from Manichaean dualism (2.2) to free will (2.3–5), and then to divine incorruptibility, when Augustine challenges (again, with reference to 1 Timothy 7:17):⁴⁵

[R]eply to the question I asked. If nothing was able to do harm to God, why did God mingle a part of himself—his own substance, that which he is—with demons so that it might be polluted and bound in them? This is something that you cannot find in any of the divine and canonical scriptures. But if something was able to do him harm, you do not worship the incorruptible God, of whom the apostle says, *But to the king of the ages, to the immortal, invisible, incorruptible God alone be honor and glory forever and ever.*⁴⁶

⁴³ Aug., *C. Faustum* 25.1 (CSEL 25/1, pp. 726.22–727.2): “[A]lioquin summum et umerum deum utrum sit idem infinitus necne, si quaeritur, de hoc uero nos boni et mali contrarietas breuiter poterit edocere. quoniam quidem si non est malum, profecto infinitus est deus; habet autem finem, si malum est; constat autem esse malum. non igitur infinitus est deus; illinc enim esse mala accipiunt, ubi bonorum est finis.” My translation.

⁴⁴ On this debate see “Felicem Manicheum, Contra,” in Fitzgerald, ed., *Augustine through the Ages*, 358.

⁴⁵ The study of Augustine’s use of this biblical verse could bear interesting results.

⁴⁶ *Contra Felicem* 2.7 (CSEL 25/2, pp. 833.30–834.6): “[R]esponde tu ad ad illud, quod iam interrogauit: si deo nocere nihil poterat, quare partem suam, substantiam suam, hoc quod ipse est, polluendam et ligandam daemonibus miscuerit, quod in nulla diuina scriptura canonica potueris inuenire; si autem nocere ei poterat, non deum incorruptibilem colitis, de quo apostolus dicit, *regi autem saeculorum inmortali, inuisibili, incorruptibili, soli deo honor et gloria in saecula saeculorum.*” Trans. Teske, *The Manichean Debate*, 302.

Felix does not answer this, whereupon Augustine steers the conversation back to sin and free choice, before returning to the question: "If nothing was able to harm God, why did he send us here? If something was able to harm him, God is not incorruptible."⁴⁷ Felix dodges the issue again (and is accused of doing so by an increasingly frustrated Augustine: 2.9). Finally, Felix points to the sending of Christ as evidence of a God acting out of necessity (2.10). This opens the way for Augustine's return to the soteriological motif: not God's need, but our sins, made Christ's advent necessary (2.11). But he does not let go of that first question: "The nation of darkness was unable to harm God. Why did he send here a part of himself to be mingled with and polluted by the nature of demons?"⁴⁸ Six more times (in 2.14) he asks Felix whether it should be anathema to claim that God is corruptible. In fact, divine corruptibility is the central issue from here to Felix's capitulation at the close of the debate. That Augustine has kept raising the issue shows how important it has become to his anti-Manichaean discourse.

Augustine's final anti-Manichaean work is his reply, probably after 404,⁴⁹ to a letter received from the Manichaean Hearer Secundinus. Again, it is channeled by the parameters his correspondent has staked out. Here Augustine pays little attention to the actual contents of the letter he is answering, preferring to dwell on subjects that, if not explicitly raised by the sender, are closer to Augustine's own interests. We should not be surprised if what is said here recalls earlier texts: this work is chronologically the last of the explicit *anti-Manichaica*, and by Augustine's own admission the work he most favours from this group.⁵⁰ Prominent among the themes here are the unchangingness of God and the insubstantiality of evil. A short way into his text, Augustine asks his correspondent:

⁴⁷ C. Felicem 2.8 (CSEL 25/2, p. 837.23–25): "[S]i deo nocere nihil poterat, quare huc nos misit? si nocere poterat, non est incorruptibilis deus." Trans. Teske, *The Manichaean Debate*, 305.

⁴⁸ C. Felicem 2.8 (CSEL 25/2, p. 841.23–25): "...responde, quod interrogo: nihil nocere poterat gens tenebrarum deo? quare huc misit partem suam miscendam et polluendam a natura daemonum?" Trans. Teske, *The Manichaean Debate*, 308.

⁴⁹ On the probable date, see "Secundinus Manicheum, Contra," in Fitzgerald, ed., *Augustine through the Ages*, 759.

⁵⁰ *Retractationes* 2.10 (CCL 57, p. 98): "...quod mea sententia omnibus quae aduersus illam pestem scribere potui, facile praepono."

[D]o you not recognize that there are already two natures apart from the nation of darkness, that one needs the help of the other, but that neither depends upon the other as its principle? You will of course reject this opinion because it is very much opposed to Mani, who tries to convince people not of two natures that are the king of lights and the lights over which he is king, but of two natures that are the kingdom of lights and the kingdom of darkness.⁵¹

Augustine goes on to discuss God as creator of all created substance, and substance as good insofar as it is (4). After moving through a brief christology (5), he goes on to God as unchanging and not sharing divine substance with any creature (6–8), then tackles the Manichaean conception, not of evil *per se*, but of the God who has chosen to be wounded by ‘the princes of evil’:

[T]he difference between your opinion and our belief is that you think that these princes originated from some nature of their own, which God neither made nor begot, but had next to him as an eternal neighbor, and that they waged war against God before the mingling of good and evil first imposed upon him the great evil of necessity [...] You see how foolish and fantastic it is to say this and the great crime of impiety in which it traps one.⁵²

Also more in evidence here is the conclusion that sin, like all evil, is the tendency toward non-being (11–18). Augustine then attacks the notion of moral evil as a substance—any substance, insofar as it is, is good (17)—rather than the result of voluntary consent (13–18). There is no ‘evil’ *per se*, only good beings who commit or suffer evil (19). This approach inevitably brings him back to the subject of God:

And yet, if you think of it correctly, no temporal mutability can be found in the nature of the highest good either from itself or from the approach

⁵¹ *Contra Secundinum* 3 (CSEL 25/2, p. 909.1–7): “[N]onne cognoscis, si ita est, excepta gente tenebrarum, iam duas esse naturas, alteram alterius egere, auxilio, sed neutram ex alterius pendere principio? hanc profecto opinionem tu repudiabis, quoniam Manichaeo maxime aduersa est, qui non duas naturas, regem luminum et lumina, quae reguntur, sed duas naturas, regnum luminum et regnum tenenbrarum, persuadere conatur.” Trans. Teske, *The Manichean Debate*, 365.

⁵² *C. Secundinum* 10 (CSEL 25/2, p. 919.11–21): “[S]ed hoc interest inter uestram opinionem et nostram fidem, quia uos eosdem principes ex sua propria quadam natura exortos, quam deus nec generit nec fecerit, sed habuerit aeterna uicinitate contiguam, aduersus deum belligerasse arbitramini eique intulisse ante commixtio nem boni et mali magnum primo necessitatis malum [...] quod cernis quam stulte fabuloseque dicatur, quanto scelere inpietatis obstringat.” Trans. Teske, *The Manichean Debate*, 372.

of anything else, as it can in the nature that Mani imagines and supposes is supremely good or even persuades those who believe him to think [...] When you believe that this mutability exists in the substance of the highest good, that is, in the substance of God, you see, if you are not being stubborn, the great folly with which you blaspheme. But when something of the sort is said of a creature, which God has neither begotten nor brought forth of his substance but made from nothing, one is not dealing with the highest good but with a good of the sort that could only be produced by the highest good, which is God.⁵³

Then in the following section we reach the core of the matter: the Manichaean view terminates in a corruptible God:

I beg you, what does it mean that, as I said before, you are not afraid to say that that nature can be violated and God can be corrupted in such a way that, if the nature of your God could not use his strength to avoid being captured, he could not at least, as a captive, preserve justice [...]? But the nature of God was taken captive; it became unjust; it cannot be purified wholly; it is forced to be condemned in the end [...] Can you understand anything incorporeal, after all, if you still do not believe that God is incorruptible?⁵⁴

These excerpts illustrate why *Against Secundinus* is the anti-Manichaean writing Augustine prefers. For in them he has summed up not only the essence of his argument, but also its course of action. Whatever previous developments have unfolded, in the last phase of his *anti-Manichaica* Augustine gives priority to the divine incorruptibility over the meaning of evil. The latter is designed to lead to the former, not the other way around.

⁵³ C. *Secundinum* 19 (CSEL 25/2, p. 934.9–24): “[Q]uamquam in natura summi boni, si eam recte cogites, nullam prorsus mutabilitatem temporis inueniri nec a se ipsa nec alterius cuiuslibet accessu possit, sicut in ea natura, quam Manichaeus fingit et summe bonum esse arbitratur uel etiam sibi creditibus persuadet [...]. haec ergo mutabilitas cum esse in substantia summi boni, hoc est in substantia dei creditur, si contentiosus non es, uides, quanta insipientia blasphematur. cum uero de creatura tale aliquid dicitur, quam deus nec genuit nec protulit de substantia sua, sed fecit ex nihilo, non de summo bono agitur, sed tamen de tali bono, quod nisi a summo, qui deus est, non posset institui.” Trans. Teske, *The Manichean Debate*, 381–82.

⁵⁴ C. *Secundinum* 20 (CSEL 25/2, pp. 937.15–938.12): “[N]am quale est, obsecro te, quod, ut ante dictum est, uiolabilem illam naturam et corruptibilem dicere non timetis, ut natura dei uestri, si fortitudinem, qua non caperetur, non potuit exercere, non potuerit saltem iustitiam captiuam seruare [...]. natura uero dei captiuam ducta est, iniqua facta est, non potest tota purgari, cogitur in fine damnari [...]. quid enim incorporeum intellegere poteritis, qui deum corruptibilem nondum creditis?” Trans. Teske, *The Manichean Debate*, 384.

CONCLUSION

Augustine's anti-Manichaean replies always draw an association between God and evil, not in the Manichaean sense of a necessary interaction between them, but in a comparison between pure and deficient being. Thus he always starts one of these writings with a discussion of divine nature, or at least with an approach to evil that will lead to discussing God, first as to unchangeability, and finally as to incorruptibility. There can't be any doubt that the aim of Manichaean cosmogony was to protect the integrity of God, whom Manichaeans genuinely regarded as inviolable, omnipotent, and so on. Augustine's point was that in fact they achieved the opposite, because they failed to give serious consideration to an inviolable God (Fortunatus had said that "what belongs to [God] remains without corruption," not that God is *incorruptible*). Here the root problem pertains to the traits of divinity itself, and particularly to the dilemma of how, if God is both good and without equal, evil can exist. The solution is decidedly a negative one: evil does not really exist. The positive assertion to which the negative is meant to lead is the existence of God—or rather, the transcendent conditions of that existence. I have insisted, therefore, that more basic in the end than the question *unde malum* is the one that asks: *quo deus*—what then is to become of God, should the Manichaean view prevail?

In Augustine's works, God precedes evil in importance (if not in the evolution of his thinking) as early as *Cassiciacum* so that, when he comes to focus directly on Manichaeism, his hermeneutical framework is well in place. Did Augustine have the refutation of Manichaean positions in mind from the beginning? Certainly by the time when, thanks to Neoplatonism, he had decided that immutability is a central hallmark of God. In the order of logic (if not in time) he had to establish this first, because the Manichaean cosmogony depended on a diminished God, who had become so by being encumbered with the attributes of length, breadth, and width.⁵⁵ Augustine's treatment of evil, even if extended at times, is meant to address a topic dear to Manichaeans and, once he has dismissed evil as devoid of existence, his real priority is to advance to the incorruptibility of God. Finally, in shifting from immutability to incorruptibility, Augustine has moved beyond Neoplatonism; but that avenue awaits a more thorough exploration.

⁵⁵ *Conf.* 3.7.12.

CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

AUGUSTINE AND MANICHAEISM ON CONTRACEPTION

No serious scholar of Christian history could readily dismiss the influence—for good or ill—of Augustine of Hippo on views of marriage in Western Christianity. Among those views, opposition to birth control has been a consistent feature, even if it no longer passes unchallenged. Yet, prior to John Noonan’s important work of 1965,¹ few scholarly studies had appeared on the history of birth control in the Christian tradition; and few have appeared since. In part, Noonan’s aim was to study the background of anti-contraceptive statements in Augustine, whom he saw as a major turning point in Christian discussion of the subject. But he gave only limited consideration to the contexts in which Augustine was writing. Inattention to context has also characterized the few other studies of Augustine’s stance on this matter.² Only Concetta Giuffrè Scibona has delved a little further into the question, albeit by an indirect path.³

This presentation will briefly examine Augustine’s response to contraception, insofar as it seems to have been dictated by his anti-Manichaean polemic, and will suggest that the polemical agenda imposed a narrow band of arguments that neither originated from nor underwent significant change by him, so long as Manichaean teaching was the issue.

¹ J. Noonan, *Contraception: A History of Its Treatment by the Catholic Theologians and Canonists*, Cambridge, Mass. and London: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1986. In the following references to this work, the pagination is the same as in the first edition (1966) by the same press.

² These are: A. Aróstegui, “El control de natalidad según san Agustín,” *Religión y Cultura* 11 (1966): 95–106; D. Covi, “El fin de la actividad sexual según san Agustín. Orden de la naturaleza y fin del acto sexual,” *Avgystinys* 17 (1972): 47–65; A. Trapè, “La contracczione in S. Agostino,” *Lateranum* n.s. 44 (1978): 32–47; and J.-C. Larchet, *Pour une éthique de la procréation: Éléments d’anthropologie patristique*, Paris: Cerf, 1998, 42–3. None of these does much more than summarize Augustine’s ideas on contraception.

³ C. Giuffrè Scibona, “Le motivazioni ontologiche e protologiche dell’enkratēia nel manicheismo occidentale,” in U. Bianchi, ed., *La tradizione dell’enkratēia: Motivazioni ontologiche e protologiche. Atti del Colloquio internazionale, Milano, 20–23 aprile 1982*, Rome: Edizioni dell’Ateneo, 1985, 679–88.

As Augustine reports it,⁴ the Manichaeans' attitude toward contraception was the child of their cosmogonical myth,⁵ according to which the conception of offspring (and not just by humans) promoted the entrapment of divine light in matter that had commenced in the great primeval battle between good and evil.⁶ Sex was therefore forbidden to the Manichaean Elect,⁷ and procreation to all Manichaeans, for Augustine reports that Manichaean 'Hearers' (or 'Catechumens') could, in contrast to the 'Elect' (or 'Perfect'), marry or possess a concubine,⁸ but were expected to avoid pregnancy.⁹ Sex, then, was deliberately detached from procreation. This, then, is the mindset Augustine both perceived and felt compelled to oppose, which he did on several occasions over a period of forty years. Of those occasions, we may note four in particular:

⁴ In e.g., *De haeresibus* 46.14 (CCL 46, p. 317.146–150). For brief resumés of the Manichaean myth as Augustine understood it, see B. Alvès Pereira, *La doctrine du mariage selon saint Augustin*, 2nd ed. (Études de théologie historique), Paris: Beauchesne, 1930, 33–5; and E. Schmitt, *Le mariage chrétien dans l'œuvre de saint Augustin: Une théologie baptismale de la vie conjugale*, Paris: Études Augustiniennes, 1983, 23–4.

⁵ In the words of Noonan (*Contraception*, 110), Augustine came to see this myth "as the epitome of sexual usage religiously dedicated to a non-productive end." The myth, which appears in *Contra Faustum* VI,8 (CSEL 25/1, p. 296.16–27) and *De haeresibus* 46.7–8 (CCL 46, p. 314.39–61), seems to have been shared by certain Gnostics: see Epiphanius, *Panarion* 26.5.2 (GCS 25, p. 281.21–24).

⁶ The entrapment theme is often repeated by Augustine, e.g., in *De haeresibus* 46.6 (CCL 46, pp. 313.31–314.34); *Contra Felicem* 1.12 (CSEL 25/2, p. 814.4–7), *Contra Faustum* VI,8 (CSEL 25/1, p. 296.14–17), XV,7 (pp. 429.22–430.15), XX,23 and 30 (pp. 567.4 and 624.16–21), and XXII,30 (p. 624.22–26): "Sed Manichaeus prolis deuittandae insana uanitate delirabat. Proinde ille naturae ordinem seruans nihil humano concubitu agebat, nisi ut homo nasceretur; iste peruersitatem fabulae obseruans nihil in quolibet concubitu timebat, nisi ne deus captiuaretur." See also *De moribus Manichaeorum* 18.65 (below, n. 12) and *Contra Secundinum* 21 (292 n. 42).

⁷ The same idea is reported in the early fourth century by Alexander of Lycopolis, *Contra Manichaei opiniones disputatio* (ed. A. Brinkmann, *Alexandri Lycopolitanus contra Manichaei opiniones disputatio*, Leipzig: Teubner, 1895, 37); and by John Chrysostom, *Commentary on Galatians* 3 (PG 61, c. 668), who alleges that some Elect went so far as to castrate themselves in order to avoid concupiscence.

⁸ Aug., *De moribus ecclesiae catholicae* 35.80 (CSEL 90, p. 86.1); *De moribus Manichaeorum* 18.65 (p. 146.12–20).

⁹ See e.g., *Contra Faustum* XXX,6 (CSEL 25/1, pp. 754.27–755.7): "Denique uos eum praecipue concubitum detestamini, qui solus honestus et coniugalis est et quem matrimoniales quoque tabulae prae se gerunt, liberorum procreandorum causa: unde uere non tam concubere quam nubere prohibetis. concubitur enim etiam causa libidinum, nubitur autem nonnisi filiorum. nec ideo nos dicatis non prohibere, quia multos uestros auditores in hoc oboediire nolentes uel non ualentes salua amicitia toleratis."

1. DE MORIBUS MANICHAEORUM

The first of these (also his first real statement on the theme *de nuptiis*) appears in Augustine's initial work against Manichaeism, *De moribus Manichaeorum*,¹⁰ completed shortly after his return to Africa from Italy, that is, in 388 or 389.¹¹ Because this passage comprises Augustine's most succinct statement against the Manichaean contraceptive mindset, it deserves to be quoted in full:

After all, you actually forbid not intercourse but marriage in the proper sense, as the apostle foretold long before, though marriage is the one moral defense of the act. Here I have no doubt you will cry out and stir up hatred by saying that you strongly recommend and praise perfect chastity yet do not forbid marriage, since your Hearers, who hold the second level of membership among you, are not forbidden to take and have wives [...]. Are you not the people who think that the begetting of children, by which souls are bound in the flesh, is a more serious sin than intercourse? Are you not the people who are accustomed to admonish us to observe, as much as we can, the time at which a woman is ready for conception after her menstrual period and to abstain from intercourse at that time so that a soul does not become entangled in flesh? From this it follows that you think that taking a wife is not for the sake of procreating children but for the sake of satisfying lust. But marriage, as the very laws of marriage cry out, unite [sic] a man and a woman for the sake of procreating children. Whoever, then, says that to beget children is a more serious sin than to have intercourse certainly forbids marriage and makes the woman no longer a wife but a prostitute.¹²

¹⁰ Although in the companion work, *De moribus ecclesiae catholicae* (30.63 and 35.79), we can anticipate the form that the commentary will take. In the first passage, in a panegyric of the Church, Augustine says of her, "You make women subject in chaste and faithful obedience to their husbands not for the satisfaction of lust but for the procreation of children and for the establishment of family life." (Translation by R. Teske, *The Manichean Debate* [The Works of Saint Augustine: A Translation for the 21st Century, I/19], Hyde Park, NY: New City Press, 2006, 59). Thus, from the outset, he anticipates his more positive teaching on marriage, developed later on in a non-Manichaean context. But in *De moribus Manichaeorum* marriage is the only valid setting for sex between humans, and the intention to have children is the only one that justifies sex.

¹¹ On the dates see J. K. Coyle, *Augustine's "De moribus ecclesiae catholicae": A Study of the Work, its Composition and its Sources* (Paradosis, 25), Fribourg, Switzerland: The University Press, 1978, 66–76.

¹² Aug., *De moribus Manichaeorum* 18.65 (CSEL 90, pp. 146.13–147.12): "Non enim concubitus, sed ut longe antea ab apostolo dictum est, uere nuptias prohibetis, quas talis operis una est honesta defensio. Hic non dubito uos esse clamatueros inuidiamque facturos dicendo, castitatem perfectam uos uehementer commendare atque laudare, non tamen nuptias prohibere; quandoquidem auditores uestri, quorum

Now, to remark on this passage is to comment on Augustine's complete strategy on this issue, for it assembles all of the essential arguments Augustine will ever use against contraception in his anti-Manichaean writings. We may discern here eleven of them:

1. The dubious claim of Manichaeans to praise chastity and tolerate marriage.
2. The reality, which is that they oppose marriage rather than sex.
3. Manichaean opposition to conception, because it entraps the divine substance.
4. The consequent encouragement of contraceptive acts (among Hearers).
5. The directive of 'the apostle' (that is, the author of 1 Timothy 4:3, the probable reference here) as foretelling Manichaeism when speaking of those who 'prohibit marriage.'
6. Permission for Manichaean Hearers to marry while avoiding conception.
7. The assertion that in Manichaeism marriage exists to satisfy lust, not to procreate.
8. Marriage as the only permissible context for marital intercourse.
9. The begetting of offspring as the true purpose of marriage,
10. as the marriage affidavit itself states.¹³
11. The claim that, in the end, Manichaeans turn their wives into prostitutes.

The same eleven points appear in various combinations in Augustine's attacks on the Manichaean contraceptive mentality over the next forty

apud uos secundus est gradus, ducere atque habere non prohibeantur uxores [...]. Nonne uos estis qui filios gignere, eo quod animae ligentur in carne, grauius putatis esse peccatum quam ipsum concubitus? Nonne uos estis qui nos soletis monere, ut quantum fieri posset, obseruaremus tempus quo ad conceptum mulier post genitalium uiscerum purgationem apta esset eoque tempore a concubitu temperaremus, ne carni anima implicaretur? Ex quo illud sequitur, ut non liberorum procreandorum causa, sed satianda libidinis habere coniugem censeatis. Nuptiae autem, ut ipsae nuptiales tabulae clamant, liberorum procreandorum causa marem feminamque coniungunt; quisquis ergo procreare liberos quam concubere grauius dicit esse peccatum, prohibet utique nuptias, et non iam uxorem sed meretricem feminam facit, quae donatis sibi certis rebus uiro ad explendam eius libidinem iungitur." Trans. Teske, *The Manichaean Debate*, 98.

¹³ Teske's 'marriage laws' translates *nuptiales tabulae* less accurately than does 'affidavit.' See B. Kübler, "Tabulae nuptiales," in *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, series 2/IV, Stuttgart: J. B. Metzler, 1932), c. 1949–955.

years, from about 388 to 428. But nowhere else do they all appear together, and nowhere so succinctly. To that observation may be added a few others about this text, and about the polemic as a whole:

First, Augustine begins here with the charge that, despite their claims, it is really marriage, not sex, that the Manichaeans oppose, and he does this with a passing reference to ‘the apostle’—that is, in a biblical allusion that he obviously expects his opponents to recognize.¹⁴ Secondly, Augustine twice employs a classical expression: *liberorum procreandorum causa*.¹⁵ In fact, he plays on it: a marriage intentionally contraceptive is a marriage contracted out of lust (*satiandae libidinis causa*). Not conception, but a marriage conducted with this lustful disposition, is what “entangles a soul in flesh.” Thus the Manichaeans’ turn of phrase is turned on themselves. The defense of the purpose of marriage here is therefore quite a traditional one: ‘the sake of procreating children’ is the only truly worthwhile reason for marrying.

The reference to the marriage affidavit (*nuptiales tabulae*) constitutes a distinctly legal argument that relies on the fact—often repeated by Augustine in later years¹⁶—that to be valid in Roman law such a document had to expressly mention the couple’s procreative intent (*tabulae ostendendae uoluntatis*).¹⁷ This was a byproduct of the famous Augustan legislation of 18 B.C.E and 9 C.E. (respectively *lex Iulia de maritandis ordinibus* and *lex de Papia Poppaea*) against celibates and childless marriages.¹⁸ The motivation behind that legislation is plain enough:

¹⁴ Faustus quotes 1 Tim 4:1–3 in Aug., *C. Faustum XXX,1* (CSEL 25/1, pp. 747.26–748.5), and in XXX,4 refers to verse 3 (p. 752.14).

¹⁵ On its use before Augustine see D. Daube, *The Duty of Procreation*, Edinburgh: University Press, 1977, 19–34; repr. in J. Martin and B. Quint, eds., *Christentum und antike Gesellschaft* (WDF, 649), Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1990.

¹⁶ E.g. in *Sermo 9 11.18* (PL 38, col. 88; CCL 41, pp. 143.648–144.653): “Cum ipsa uxore si exceditur concubendi modus procreandis liberis debitus, iam peccatum est. Ad hoc enim dicitur uxor: nam id etiam tabulae indicant ubi scribitur: *liberorum procreandorum causa*. Quando tu uti uxore amplius quam *necessitas procreandorum liberorum* cogit uolueris, iam peccatum est.” The date of this homily is unknown. See also 37 6.7 (c. 225), 51 13.22 (c. 345; *Revue Bénédictine* 91 [1981]: 36), 278 9.9 (c. 1272), 332 4 (c. 1463), *Enarratio in ps. 80 21* (CCL 39, p. 1133.13), *De ciuitate dei* 14.18 (CCL 48, p. 444.11–15), *De gratia Christi et de peccato originali* 2.38.43 (CSEL 42, p. 201.15–18), *De nuptiis et concupiscentia* 1.4.5 (pp. 215.20–216.6), and *Contra Iulianum* 3.21.43 (PL 44, c. 724).

¹⁷ See O. Robleda, *El matrimonio en derecho romano: Esencia, requisito de validez, efectos, disolubilidad*, Rome: Librería Editrice Università Gregoriana, 1970, 90–93.

¹⁸ The text of these laws may be found in C. G. Bruns, *Fontes Iuris Romani Antiqui*, Freiburg im Breisgau: J. C. B. Mohr, 1893, 118. On the Augustan laws see G. Brini, *Matrimonio e divorzio nel diritto romano I*, Bologna: N. Zanichelli, 1887 (repr. Rome:

the fear of under-population and eventual take-over by ‘foreigners’.¹⁹ This may not figure explicitly among Augustine’s own reasons—and in any case the substance of the anti-celibacy laws had already been repealed by Constantine in 320²⁰—, but the idea of progeny as a ‘civic duty’ endured.²¹ Nor would it have escaped his notice that one reason for the hostility of the Roman government to Manichaeism was the perception that it had originated in ‘Persia’ and therefore could be branded as a sort of fifth column infiltrating Roman lines with the express objective of undermining the empire’s society.²² As Christians in the centuries before Constantine had known only too well, failure to encourage offspring could easily translate into treason.²³

Manichaeian advice on birth control was apparently limited to telling Hearers to avoid sex during the woman’s fertile period²⁴—advice that seems to have worked well enough in Augustine’s case, for after Adeodatus,²⁵ after he joined the Manichaeans, Augustine fathered no more children.²⁶

G. Bretschneider, 1975), 63–66; P. E. Corbett, *The Roman Law of Marriage*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1930 (repr. 1969), 119–21; Daube, *The Duty*, 11–29; Noonan, *Contraception*, 20–25; and two articles by P. Jörs: “Die Ehegesetze des Augustus,” in P. Jörs, E. Schwartz and R. Reitzenstein, *Festschrift Theodor Mommsen zum fünfzigjährige Doctorjubiläum*, Marburg: Elwert, 1893, 1–65; and “Über das Verhältnis der Lex Iulia de maritandis ordinibus zur Lex Papia Poppaea”: Inaugural-Dissertation zur Erlangung der Doctorwürde bei der juristischen Facultät der Rheinischen Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Bonn, Bonn: Universitäts-Buchdruckerei, 1882; both repr. together as ‘*Iuliae Rogationes*: Due studi sulla legislazione matrimoniale augustea’, Naples: Jovene Editore, 1985.

¹⁹ See R. I. Frank, “Augustus’s Legislation on Marriage and Children,” *California Studies in Classical Antiquity* 8 (1975): 41–52, esp. 44–8.

²⁰ Corbett, *The Roman Law*, 121; Noonan, *Contraception*, 81. Under Majorian in 458, childless women would again be penalized (*N. Mai.* 6).

²¹ As is visible later in Augustine’s own case: see *De ciuitate dei* 19.1 (CCL 48, p. 658.53–54): “Pertinet quippe ad iuritutis officium et uiuere patriae et propter patriam filios procreare.”

²² Augustine later frequently alludes to Manichaeism’s ‘Persian’ origins, for example in *C. Faustum* XII,45 (CSEL 25/1, p. 374.23–25): “Sed uidelicet uetat nos Faustus de uero Christo Hebraeis prophetis testibus credere, qui de falso Christo Persarum erroribus creditit.”

²³ See J. K. Coyle, “Empire and Eschaton: The Early Church and the Question of Domestic Relationships,” *Église et Théologie* 12 (1981): 40–52.

²⁴ Similar advice is recalled—though never so explicitly—in *C. Faustum* XV,7 (CSEL 25/1, p. 429.22–25), XXII,30 (p. 624.16–21), and XXX,6 (p. 755.15–27), and in *De haeresibus* 46.13 (CCL 46, p. 317.139–141).

²⁵ Whose conception seems to have been unwanted: see Aug., *Confessiones* 4.2.2 (CCL 27, p. 41.14).

²⁶ Some understand Augustine’s *De bono coniugali* 5.5 to mean that he and Adeodatus’ mother practised birth control after the boy’s birth. See K. Power, “Sed unam

2. CONTRA FAUSTUM

All the points raised in that first passage from the late 380s resurface, although in scattered fashion, in the long treatise against Faustus, composed between 397 and 400:

1. VI,8 (CSEL 25/1, p. 299.2–4); XXII,50 (p. 644.21–24); XXX,6 (pp. 754.27–755.4)
2. XXX,6 (p. 754.25)
3. XXX,6 (p. 755.21–23)
4. XV,7 (p. 429.24–25)
5. XXX,5 (p. 753.15–19) and 6 (p. 755.5–7)
6. VI,8 (p. 298.14–17); XV,7 (p. 429.19–22); XXII,30 (p. 624.16–19,24–26); XXIII,10 (p. 716.24–27)
7. XV,7 (pp. 429.22–430.6); XXII,30 (p. 624.19–21)
8. XV,7 (p. 430.2); XXII,30 (p. 624.12–14) and 61 (p. 656.23–24)
9. XV,7 (p. 429.27); XXX,6 (p. 755.2–3)
10. XV,7 (p. 429.26); XXX,6 (p. 755.1–3)
11. XV,7 (pp. 429.26–430.7); XXII,61 (p. 656.23).

Here the same primary indictment recurs,²⁷ with basically the same rebuttal. Indeed, says Noonan, the charge remains “always the same. Denying procreation, the Manichees ‘make the bridal chamber a brothel’.”²⁸ But we should add that the anti-contraceptive polemic of *Contra Faustum* cannot be constricted to that idea alone. Still, this charge recalls the reference to Manichaean wives as ‘prostitutes’ in our first passage. Augustine also accuses Manichaeans of keeping none of the commandments, especially the fourth and fifth. Manichaean Hearers take steps to ensure that their women (*feminae*) do not conceive;²⁹ if despite those efforts conception occurs, the resulting offspring are

tamen: Augustine and his Concubine,” AugSt 24 (1993): 55; and P. Brown, *The Body and Society: Men, Women, and Sexual Renunciation in Early Christianity*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1988, 390.

²⁷ Aug., *Contra Faust.* VI,8 (CSEL 25/1, p. 299.2–4): “Aut si iam quicquid ex carne etiam sine concubitu nascitur, propterea putant inmundum, quia ipsa caro ex concubitu est.” See also XXII,50 (p. 644.17–24), XXX,5 (p. 753.15–20) and 6 (text above, n. 9).

²⁸ Noonan, *Contraception*, 121.

²⁹ Aug., *C. Faustum* XXII,30 (see p. 291 n. 37). Here, though, Augustine does not explain what the precautions were. He is equally vague in *De haeres.* 46.13 (see below, 293).

accepted only grudgingly³⁰ (which suggests that for Manichaeans abortion was out of the question). Manichaeans abhor marriage because it is the source of human progeny, and so they turn Hearers into adulterers with their own wives when they have them take precautions to avoid pregnancy. This action stems directly from the view that conception further imprisons the divine substance in matter. Augustine embellishes this with the added information that in the Manichaean view conception is therefore a diabolical invention.³¹

In *Contra Faustum* Augustine also introduces the biblical account of Onan's transgression (Gen 38:10)³² but, as Noonan notes, "rather surprisingly in such an argumentative tract, foregoes the opportunity to apply it to the Manichees."³³ But is that omission really so surprising? For first of all, as Noonan admits, in Christian writing up to Augustine's time there is "a general failure to invoke the story of Onan";³⁴ and secondly, what possible impression could an Old Testament account be expected to make on a religion that considered the Old Testament to be demonic?³⁵ Instead of that biblical paradigm, here Augustine advances an argument from what he calls the 'eternal law,' which he characterizes as "ratio diuina uel voluntas dei ordinem naturalem

³⁰ C. *Faustum* XV,7 (CSEL 25/1, pp. 429.16–430.8).

³¹ Aug., C. *Faustum* XIX,29 (p. 532.19–20): "uerum est diabolum fecisse atque iunxisse masculum et feminam." See also XV,7 (p. 429.19): "doctrina daemoniaca"; and XXIX,2 (p. 744.15–21): "Sed illud melius erat, quod fecit, ut etiam de uirgine nasceretur et utrumque sexum, pro quo liberando mortuus erat, dignaretur etiam commendare nascendo, masculino suo corpore ex femina procreato contra uos ipsos maxime facto ipso loquens uosque subvertens, qui masculum et feminam non dei, sed diaboli opus esse praedicatis"; and *De continentia* 9.23 (CSEL 41, p. 170.7–8): "et sexus uirilem atque muliebrem diaboli opera esse non dei."

³² C. *Faustum* XXII, 84 (CSEL 25/1, p. 687).

³³ Noonan, *Contraception*, 121. Augustine really uses the Onan story as an argument against contraception for the first time in *De coniugiosis adulterinis* 2.12.12 (CSEL 41, p. 396), written ca. 420. See also the contemporary *Quaestiones in Heptateuchum* 1.128 (CCL 33, pp. 49–50). He never uses the incident of Onan directly against Manichaeans.

³⁴ Noonan, *Contraception*, 101. A.-M. Dubarle, "La Bible et les Pères ont-il parlé de la contraception?", *Le supplément* 15 (1962): 605 n. 71, suggests that early Christian writers generally recognized the Onan story as primarily an account of the violation of fraternal obligation rather than an object-lesson of deviation of the purpose of sexual intercourse (a point on which some others disagree, e.g., Trapè, "La contracezione": 41–2).

³⁵ On the Manichaean attitude to the Old Testament see Coyle, *Augustine's "De moribus,"* 145–47. Augustine's allusions elsewhere to the biblical story, especially in his treatise on marriage, would eventually constitute "an exegesis of considerable, although not controlling, authority for later writers" (Noonan, *Contraception*, 138).

conseruari iubens, perturbari uetans" ("the will of God commanding that the natural order be preserved and forbidding that it be tinkered with").³⁶ This is developed within the justification of Abraham's taking the handmaid Hagar in order to produce an heir.³⁷ It is God's will to maintain the natural order; in other words, divine and natural law amount to the same thing, and that law decrees that marriage has but one purpose: propagation of the human race,³⁸ a point that simply enlarges on one made in *De moribus Manichaeorum*.

3. CONTRA SECUNDINUM

Augustine's refutation of Faustus precedes by a few years his reply to a letter received from the Manichaean Hearer Secundinus perhaps in 404.³⁹ This time Augustine's approach has been delineated by a string of Old Testament texts Secundinus has served up to demonstrate the immorality he claims they represent. These begin with Hosea's *uxor fornicaria* and her *fili fornicariae* (*Hos 1:2*), ending with the command

³⁶ Aug., *C. Faustum* XXII,27 (CSEL 25/1, p. 621.13–15). See also 28 (p. 622.22–23): "lex illa [...] qua naturalis ordo seruatur." My translation.

³⁷ Aug., *C. Faustum* XXII,30 (p. 624.11–26): "Sicut enim lex illa aeterna, id est uoluntas dei creaturarum omnium conditoris conseruando naturali ordini consulens, non ut satiandae libidini seruiatur, sed ut saluti generis prospiciatur, ad prolem tantummodo propagandem mortalis carnis delectationem dominatu rationis in concubitu relaxari sinit: sic e contrario peruersa lex Manichaeorum, ne deus eorum, quem ligatum in omnibus seminibus plangunt, in conceptu feminae artius conligetur, problem ante omnia deuitari a concubentibus iubet, ut deus eorum turpi lapsu potius effundatur quam crudeli nexu uinciatur. non igitur Abraham prolis habenda insana cupiditate flagrabat, sed Manichaeus prolis deuitandae insana uanitate delirabat. proinde ille naturae ordinem seruans nihil humano concubitu agebat, nisi ut homo nasceretur; iste peruersitatem fabulae obseruans nihil in quolibet concubitu timebat, nisi deus captiuaretur."

³⁸ Aug., *C. Faust.* XXII,61 (CSEL 25/1, pp. 656.19–25): "Consulta quippe aeterna lex illa, quae ordinem naturalem conseruari iubet, perturbari uetat, non nisi propagationi, causa statuit hominis concubitum fieri, et hoc non nisi socialiter ordinato conubio, quod non peruerterat uinculum pacis et ideo prostitutio feminarum non ad substituendam problem, sed ad satiandam libidinem propositarum diuina atque aeterna lege damnatur." See also *De adulterinis coniugis* 2.12.12 (CSEL 41, p. 396.15–17); and *Confessiones* 2.2.3 (CCL 27, pp. 18.15–19.1): "Quis mihi modularetur aerumnam meam et nouissimarum rerum fugaces pulchritudines in usum uerteret earumque suauitatibus metas praefigeret, ut usque ad coniugale litus exaestuarent fluctus aetatis meae, si tranquillitas in eis non poterat esse fine procreandorum liberorum contenta, sicut praescribit lex tua, domine, qui formas etiam propaginem mortis nostrae, potens imponere lenem manum ad temperamentum spinarum a paradiso tuo seclusarum?"

³⁹ Dates from 399 to 406 have been suggested for Augustine's answer, with the majority of more recent opinions leaning toward 404 or shortly thereafter.

crescite et multiplicamini of Gen 1:28.⁴⁰ Secundinus makes no allusion to contraception, but these references are all the excuse Augustine requires to bring up the issue in his reply. He prepares the ground by almost immediately quoting 1 Timothy 4:1–4, whose words, he says, “clearly described the Manicheans most of all.”⁴¹ He then turns his attention to other matters—all concerned with creation, corporality, or evil-, before briefly coming back to the biblical passages evoked by Secundinus where we find some (but not all) of the points raised in the first text, yet far fewer than those dispersed throughout *Contra Faustum*:

For you are not as displeased at the promiscuous woman because of her fornication as you are displeased that the fornication was changed into marriage and transformed into marital chastity [11]. For you believe that in marriage your God becomes bound in tighter chains of the flesh through the procreation of children [3] You think that prostitutes spare your God because they try not to conceive so that they may serve a lust that is free from the duty of bearing children [7]. In your eyes the new life in a woman is a prison and a chain for God [...]. For this reason you are displeased with the words, *Increase and multiply* (Gen 1:28), for fear that the prison cells of your God may be multiplied [3][...].

Hence, it is not surprising that what was foretold about such people—*They forbid marriage* (1 Tim 4:3)—is especially realized in you [5]. For you do not detest intercourse as much as marriage [2], because in marriage intercourse for the sake of propagating children is not a vice but a duty [9].⁴²

The six points indicated here (reproducing those drawn from *De moribus Manichaeorum*) are: the Manichaean view of God entangled in flesh through conception, Manichaean marriage as really prostitution,

⁴⁰ Secundinus, *Epist. ad Augustinum* (CSEL 25/2, p. 896.20–21).

⁴¹ Aug., *Contra Secundinum* 2 (p. 906.22–23): “Quibus uestris etsi alios fortasse haereticos, tamen maxime Manichaeos breuiter aperteque descriptis.” Trans. Teske, *The Manichean Debate*, 363–64.

⁴² C. Secundinum 21–22 (CSEL 25/2, pp. 938.22–940.2): “Non enim tibi tam fornacaria displicet in fornicatione, quam quod in matrimonium commutata est, et conuersa ad pudicitiam coniugalem: ubi deum creditis uestrum in procreando filios arctioribus carnis uinculis colligari. cui putatis parcere meretrices, quia dant operam ne concipient, ut ab officio pariendi liberae, libidini seruant. Feminae quippe conceptus apud uos carcer est et uinculum dei [...]. hinc tibi etiam illud displicet, ‘Crescite et multiplicamini’, ne dei uestri multiplicentur ergastula [...]. unde non mirum est, quia in uestib; maxime inpletur quod de talibus praedictum est, ‘prohibentes nuptias.’ neque enim tam concubitus quam nuptias detestamini: quoniam in eis concubitus causa propagandi non uitium, sed officium est.” Trans. Teske, *The Manichean Debate*, 384–85.

Manichaeans as enemies of marriage rather than of sex, marriage as serving lust rather than conception, the appeal to 1 Timothy 4:3, and conception as the purpose of intercourse. Here Augustine provides a twist to the ‘wives as prostitutes’ theme: his opponent’s religion prefers contraception within an act of prostitution to procreation through the act of a married couple.

4. DE HAERESIBUS

The fourth and final phase of Augustine’s attack comes with his *Heresies* in 428. Augustine first refers to the idea of conception as the further entrapment of light in matter.⁴³ After dealing with other consequences that Manichaeans attribute to the primeval battle between good and evil, he returns to the conception issue:

And if they consort with their wives, they avoid conception and generation [6], so that the divine substance, which enters them in their nourishment, may not be bound by fleshly chains in their offspring [3]. For they believe that souls come into all flesh through what is eaten and drunk. As a result they condemn marriage without hesitation [2] and, insofar as they can, disallow, when they forbid procreation, the very reason for which conjugal unions should take place [9].⁴⁴

As indicated by the numbers in the foregoing passage, this time only four of the original points are preserved, due to the very summary nature of *Heresies*, or perhaps because Augustine felt that the anti-Manichaeian period of his literary life must be drawing to a close. He had, after all, been returning to this theme off and on for forty years, and the arguments against the Manichaean contraceptive mentality and practice had become progressively fewer in number.

⁴³ Aug., *De haer.* 46.6,14 (CCL 46, pp. 313 and 317).

⁴⁴ *De haer.* 46.13 (CCL 46, p. 317.139–145): “Et si utuntur coniugibus, conceputum tamen generationemque deuident ne diuina substantia, quae in eos per alimenta ingreditur, uinculis carneis ligetur in prole. Sic quippe in omnem carnem, id est, per escas et potus uenire animas credunt. Unde nuptias sine dubitatione condemnant et, quantum in ipsis est, prohibent, quando generare prohibent, propter quod coniugia copulanda sunt.” My translation.

CONCLUSION

Noonan speaks of “the importance of the Manichaean position on procreation in Augustine’s own religious revolution.”⁴⁵ But the fact remains that, despite all the works Augustine has published in the meantime with the objective of presenting marriage in a somewhat positive light, the rebuttal of the *Manichaean* view of marriage is limited to an argument against contraception, and is devoid of a true evolution over those four decades. In fact, the polemic never returns to the succinctness or completeness of the first passage, not even in *Contra Faustum*. Augustine’s arguments, when the Manichaeans are the opponents, remain essentially classical (essentially Stoic),⁴⁶ and therefore pre-Christian, drawn as they are from philosophy, social theory, and (natural) law. In his own culture he has found a doctrine ready-made, for which he provides a classical expression while reducing it to its fundamental points. But those points are without real dependence on religion or Christian theology (except as filtered through a Christian outlook).

We see this in Augustine’s use of Scripture—or rather, absence of it—in this context. The New Testament affords precious little with respect to the divine will that couples generate offspring (except for what Augustine could glean from 1 Timothy 4), and using the Old Testament was impossible with those who rejected it out of hand (as Secundinus showed). Thus at no stage does the divine command *crescite et multiplicamini* of Gen 1:28 (quoted only against Secundinus, and only because Secundinus himself first referred to it) play a role in Augustine’s presentation of marriage and its purpose.⁴⁷

If, prior to Augustine, Christianity has afforded scant attention to contraception,⁴⁸ Augustine has broken new ground by the sheer quan-

⁴⁵ Noonan, *Contraception*, 122.

⁴⁶ See Noonan, *Contraception*, 46–9.

⁴⁷ See Alvès Pereira, *La doctrine*, 2–5. When Augustine refers to the Genesis verse in *De Genesi contra Manichaeos* 1.19.30—contemporary with *De moribus Manichaeorum*—, he merely observes that it is to be understood *spiritualiter* (CSEL 91, p. 97.5–7).

⁴⁸ In the view of K. Hopkins, “Contraception in the Roman Empire,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 8/1 (October 1965): 142 (repr. in A. K. Siems, ed., *Sexualität und Erotik in der Antike* [WDF, 605], Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1994, 192–93), contraception was “only a peripheral” issue for Christians before Augustine’s time. This suggests to some that Manichaeism had much to do with Augustine’s decision to deal with it. See Dubarle, “La Bible”: 608–09: “C’est la pratique et surtout la systématisation théorique des manichéens, adversaires de la génération,

tity he has penned on the issue, but not in terms of original formulations. His arguments are drawn from his culture, not from his religion: the one repeated scriptural reference, from 1 Timothy, is a sidebar that has nothing to do with contraception, and his choice of weapons is driven by his *former* religion. Whatever his motives in dealing with the subject, there is a lesson here that the appeal to Augustine to formulate a theology of marriage essentially oriented toward procreation should only be used with caution.

qui a provoqué chez Augustin une application particulière explicite d'attitudes et de connections diffuses à l'époque patristique.”

CHAPTER EIGHTEEN

REVISITING THE ADVERSARY IN AUGUSTINE'S CONTRA *ADUERSARIUM LEGIS ET PROPHETARUM*

Augustine of Hippo's *Contra aduersarium legis et prophetarum* was composed in or about the year 420,¹ in rebuttal to a writing which, after a public reading at Carthage, was submitted to his evaluation. By whom the targeted work was composed,² when and where, and in what language, were issues on which Augustine had no answer and that have not been clarified since.³ We do know that the refuted work, consisting of a single *liber*, was part of a *codex*.⁴ It was followed by a second work, "perhaps," Augustine thought, "from the same author, but doubtless based on the same errors." This second *liber* sought to prove that flesh is not the creation of God; but its text halted abruptly, after advancing a few supporting arguments.⁵

Augustine's allusions to and direct quotes from the refuted text comprise only about 6 percent of the *Contra aduersarium* (173 of 2872 lines, or 1/16). He has, then, preserved but little of the document he is refuting,⁶ which rules out a clear picture of the contents of the refuted

¹ On the date see T. Raveaux, *Augustinus, Contra adversarium legis et prophetarum: Analyse des Inhalts und Untersuchung des geistesgeschichtlichen Hintergrunds* (Casiciacum, 37); Würzburg: Augustinus-Verlag, 1987, 5–7.

² Aug., *Contra aduersarium legis et prophetarum* 1.1.1 (CCL 49, p. 35.8–9): "Iste autem, cuius nomen in eodem libro non comperi"; *Retractationes* 2.58 [84] (CCL 57, p. 136): "codex ipse qui missus est nomen non habebat auctoris."

³ T. Raveaux in his entry on the *Contra aduersarium* in AL 1, c. 107, suggests "Rom oder Nordafrika" as the place of composition and "die 2. Hälfte des 4. Jhs bzw. die ersten Jahre des 5. Jhs." as the date. See also *Idem, Augustinus*, 23–5. M. P. Ciccarese thinks that the writing Augustine read in Latin was a translation, perhaps of a Greek original: "Il *Contra aduersarium legis et prophetarum* di Agostino," *Atti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Memorie, classe di Scienze morali, storiche e filologiche*, serie 8, vol. 25, fasc. 3 (1981): 293.

⁴ Aug., *Adu. leg.* 1.1.1.; 19.38; and 2.12.42. See also *Retr.* 2.58 [84].

⁵ Aug., *Adu. leg.* 2.12.42 (CCL 49, p. 131.1306–1312): "Post hunc ergo finem libri rursus alterius apparet exordium, eiusdem forsitan hominis auctoris, eiusdem tamen, quod non dubitatur, erroris. Disputare autem cooperat, quod caro alium habet fabricatorem, non deum. Vnde cum per pauca dixisset, in ipso exordio coepita finita sunt. Sed utrum ipse auctor an scriptor codicis non potuerit implere quod cooperat, nescio."

⁶ The quotes and allusions have been collected by A. von Harnack, *Marcion: Das Evangelium vom fremden Gott*, 2nd ed. (TU, 45), Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1924,

work.⁷ But Augustine evidently wishes to convey to his reader that it denied that the true God was creator of the material world or to be identified with the deity of the Old Testament, who for his part was seen to be, as Augustine remarks in the *Revisions*, ‘a thoroughly evil demon’. By way of corollary, the Old Testament itself was deemed worthless.⁸

The anonymous author sought to appear Christian (a tactic Augustine denounces several times).⁹ This, of course, does not prove that the *aduersarius* did not genuinely consider himself to be such. Augustine criticises his ‘lack of training’ in handling the scriptures (2.9.34), but clearly the adversary accepts the New Testament (possibly in an ‘expurgated’ version). As well, he names Jesus “the true and highest God.”¹⁰

Only recently has the *Contra aduersarium* received the benefit of a critical edition—two, in fact: by Maria Pia Ciccarese in 1981, and by Klaus Dahr for the *Corpus Christianorum* in 1985.¹¹ Translations of the *Contra aduersarium* have also been scarce: the first in English appeared only in 1995.¹² Ciccarese opined that the question of the religious identity of the *aduersarius* is the most interesting the text of

repr. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1960 and 1985), pp. 426*–32* (= Beilage 10; Beilage 8 in the first edition); Ciccarese, “Il *Contra adversarium*”: 395–402; *Idem*, “Un testo gnostico confutato di Agostino,” *Vetera Christianorum* 15 (1978): 36–44; and K.-D. Daur in his edition (CCL 49), 31–4.

⁷ See Ciccarese, “Il *Contra adversarium*”: pp. 297–98; and Raveaux, *Augustinus*, 134–35. In large measure Augustine’s response is given to long biblical quotes (perhaps to counter those made by his opponent). If he followed the order of points as presented by the refuted *liber*, he found there the theme of material creation as not the work of the God of the New Testament, followed by the condemnation of the Old Testament, after which came a section titled “The discernment of good and evil spirits,” and then, possibly, another on the antichrist. See *Adu. leg.* 2.11.36 and 12.40.

⁸ Aug., *Retr.* 2.58 [84] (CCL 57, p. 136): “istum mundum non deus fecerit, nec deus legis quae data est per Moysen et prophetarum ad eandem legem pertinentium uerus sit deus sed pessimus daemon.”

⁹ Aug., *Adu. leg.* 1.1.1 (CCL 49, p. 35.15–17): “se quoquo modo christianum uidere cupit, unde et ex euangelio et ex apostolo ponit aliqua testimonia”; 1.2.3 (p. 37.53–55): “Et puto quod iste quamlibet haeresim sub nomine Christi teneat contra Christum, uitam sibi promittit in Christo utique beatam”; and 2.5.17 (p. 105.571): “cum uelit uideri Christianus.” See also 7.29, and the remarks of Raveaux, *Augustinus*, 26–7.

¹⁰ Aug., *Adu. leg.* 2.11.37 (CCL 49, p. 122.1070–1071): “Christum uerum ac sumnum deum.” See also 12.38.

¹¹ Ciccarese, “Il *Contra adversarium*”: 287–423; Daur in CCL 49, pp. 35–131. In this article I refer to Daur’s edition as more recent and more readily available than Ciccarese’s.

¹² R. Teske, *Augustine: Arianism and Other Heresies* (The Works of Saint Augustine: A Translation for the 21st Century, 18); New York, New City Press, 1995). The

Augustine's rebuttal has to offer, though she also judged it to be one with little possibility of solution.¹³ Indeed, whatever attention scholars have lent to Augustine's work has tended to focus on this issue. Certainly, what makes this work unique among Augustine's polemical writings is that he addresses it, not just to an adversary, but to an ideology whose identity he does not know. In his refutation, he refers to the issue of ideological orientation from the start,¹⁴ but arrives at no satisfactory conclusion, save that he doubts that the *liber*'s provenance could be Manichaean; for "it is not only Manichaeans who condemn the law and the prophets, but Marcionites and others whose sects have not gone unnoticed by Christians."¹⁵ Toward the end of the second book of his rebuttal, he repeats that his opponent is not linked to a group identifiable as Manichaean.¹⁶ He goes on to recite a list of heretics who over time have sought to differentiate the God of the Old Testament from the God of the New: Basilides, Carpocrates, Cerdon, Marcion, Apelles,¹⁷ and one 'Patricius' (2.12.40). He muses that the author of the refuted work might be a follower "of one of these." Twice he reports the claim of his unknown opponent to be a disciple of one Fabricius, otherwise unknown to Augustine (but whom he makes no attempt to link with 'Patricius').¹⁸ In short, he wavers; indeed, in the *Revisions* he is back to the simple conjecture that the *liber* in question stems from a Marcionite or "some other heretic."¹⁹

Augustine's brief notice in *De haeresibus* regarding the 'Patricians' simply paraphrases that of Philaster of Brescia, both reports limiting

only other translation I know of is the Spanish rendition by Teodoro Madrid (Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 512; Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 1990).

¹³ Ciccarese, "Il *Contra adversarium*": 289: "è forse il problema più interessante per chi si accinga a leggere il *Contra adv.*, ma offre purtroppo scarse possibilità di soluzione."

¹⁴ Aug., *Adu. leg.* 1.1.1 (CCL 49, p. 35.5): "prius quaeysiui, cuiusnam esset erroris."

¹⁵ Aug., *Adu. leg.* 1.1.1 (CCL 49, p. 35.5–13): "Non enim soli Manichaei legem prophetasque condemnant sed et Marcionistae et alii nonnulli, quorum sectae non ita innotuerunt populis christianis... Sed quamquam non mihi apparuerit cuius sectae sit iste blasphemus..."

¹⁶ Aug., *Adu. leg.* 2.12.40 (CCL 49, p. 130.1285–1286): "De aliqua istorum haeresi est iste, nam non eum puto esse Manichaeum."

¹⁷ On Apelles see Raveaux, *Augustinus*, 38 and 42.

¹⁸ Aug., *Adu. leg.* 2.2.3 (CCL 49, p. 90.94–96): "Hanc ei uidelicet erroris machinationem nescio quis Fabricius fabricauit quem uelut magistrum ueritatis Romae se inuenisse gloriatur"; and 2.12.41 (p. 130.1287–1288): "Sed cuiuslibet sit haeretici erroris uel ipse uel Fabricius nescio quis, cuius se gloriatur esse discipulum."

¹⁹ Aug., *Retr.* 2.58 [84] (CCL 57, p. 136): "Interea liber quidam cuiusdam haeretici siue Marcionistae siue cuiuslibet eorum quorum error opinatur..."

themselves to the charge that human flesh is ascribed to a diabolic source (as much a Manichaean idea as anything else).²⁰ But it does seem significant that, though it belongs to the latter part of *De haeresibus*, completed in 428 or 429, therefore after the *Contra aduersarium* and even the *Revisions* (426), Augustine's notice makes no mention of a possible link between that group and the refuted *liber*.

Though Augustine makes no such connection, 'Fabricius' has been identified by some modern commentators with a 'Patricius' first reported by Arnobius.²¹ Ambrosiaster furnishes the information that the followers of Patricius ('Patricians') denied the Incarnation, and forbade marriage and certain foods—points which, in Ambrosiaster's view, pretty much summed up not only Patricianism, but Marcionitism and, especially, Manichaeism.²² Augustine's biographer Possidius of Calama classified the *Contra aduersarium* as simply one of 202 *diuersi libri et tractatus uel epistulae ad utilitatem studiosorum omnium conscriptae*.²³ In other words, Possidius was at a loss as to how else he should catalogue this treatise. It was Cassiodorus who first deemed it

²⁰

Aug., *De haeresibus* 61 (CCL 46, pp. 328–29): "Patriciani, a Patricio nuncupati, substantiam carnis humanae non a deo sed a diabolo condita dicunt, eamque sic fugiendam et detestandam putant ut quidam eorum perhibeantur etiam morte sibimet illata carere carne uoluisse."

Fil., *Diuersarium hereseon* 62 (CSEL 38, pp. 32–3 = CCL 9, p. 243): "Alii sunt Patriciani, a Patricio quodam, qui fuit in urbe Roma. Hi carnem hominis non a deo factam adserunt, sed a diabolo arbitrantur. Hanc etiam contemnendam et modis omnibus abiciendam decernunt, ut etiam ultro quidam de eis sibi mortem inferre non dubitauerint."

Philaster's notice directly follows his entry on the Manichaeans, of whom he says: "hominis quidem animam de deo esse proprie putantes, corpus autem a diabolo factum arbitrantur." Compare the citation by Augustine and Evodius (below, n. 33). See also the anonymous *Praedestinatus* 1.61 (PL 53, c. 608) which adds the information that 'Patricians' were once found "in partibus Numidiae superioris et Mauritaniae."

²¹ See F. G. Sirna, "Arnobio e l'eresia marcionita di Patrizio," VC 18 (1964): 37–50; and F. Scheidweiler, "Arnobius und der Marcionitismus," ZNT 45 (1954): 42–67.

²² Ambrosiaster, *Comm. in 1 Tim. 4:5* 1–2 (CSEL 81/3, p. 272.15–21): "a diabolo composita doctrina haec esse sciretur [...] quae de incarnatione saluatoris adserit falsa, quae nunc in Marcionitis, quamuis paene defecerunt, uel Patricianis aut maxime in Manichaeis denotatur? Hi enim et nuptias prohibit et abstinentum a cibis tradunt."

²³ A. Wilmart, "Operum s. Augustini elenches a Possidio eiusdem discipulo Calamensi episcopo digestus," in MA, 180.

an anti-Manichaean work.²⁴ Without explanation, the Maurists placed the treatise at the end of Augustine's avowedly anti-Manichaean writings, a lead followed by Migne's *Patrologia Latina*.²⁵

In 1892 Theodor Zahn expressed the view that the *aduersarius* could be neither Manichaean nor Marcionite.²⁶ Since Zahn, attempts to identify the religious affiliation of the *aduersarius* have fallen into three main categories: he was a Gnostic, a Marcionite (or, for those who consider it a branch of Marcionism, a Patrician—though neither Augustine nor Philaster made that connection, either), or he was a Marcionite with supplementary tendencies.²⁷ Ciccarese is alone, I believe, in suggesting the Gnostic (Ophite) theory.²⁸ The chief drawback with it is the place the *aduersarius* seems to ascribe to Christ. As well, though their opponents do chide Gnostics for ascribing material creation to negative causes,²⁹ rarely are Gnostic texts themselves so forthcoming on this issue; nor does Augustine seem to have seriously entertained the possibility of a Gnostic provenance.

The majority of opinions since Zahn have favoured one of the latter two scenarios, that is, Marcionite/Patrician, or Marcionite with something else. Adolf von Harnack in the 1920s, followed by Felix Scheidweiler in 1955, Francesco Sirna in 1964, and Roland Teske in 1995 all thought of the *aduersarius* as Neo-Marcionite or Patrician.³⁰ Though Marcion's followers might not have faithfully reflected his thought in every respect, he appears to have attributed creation to the work of a Demiurge, who was not in himself considered evil, although the matter of creation certainly was.³¹ In his book of 1987, Thomas Raveaux leaned toward the theory that a Patrician was a Marcionite with Gnostic leanings. A year earlier, he had expressed himself a little

²⁴ Cassiodorus, *De institutione diuinarum litterarum* 1 (PL 70, c. 1110D).

²⁵ PL 42, c. 603–66.

²⁶ T. Zahn, *Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanons* 2, Erlangen: Deichert, 1892, 436.

²⁷ See the overview of opinions in Raveaux, *Augustinus*, 2–5 and 28–31 (and in AL 1, c. 110).

²⁸ Ciccarese, “Il *Contra adversarium*”: 287: “eum nec Manichaei nec Marcionis sed cuiusdam gnosticae doctrinae fortasse Ophitarum sectatorem fuisse insinuauit.” See also 289–93; *Eadem*, “Un testo,” 32–3.

²⁹ E.g., Irenaeus, *Aduersus haereses* 1.5.2–3.

³⁰ Harnack, *Marcion*, 424*; Scheidweiler, “Arnobius”; Sirna, “Arnobio”; R. J. Teske, “Sacrifice in Augustine's *Contra aduersarium legis et prophetarum*,” in SP 33: *Papers presented at the Twelfth International Conference on Patristic Studies held in Oxford 1995*, Leuven: Peeters, 1997, 256.

³¹ See Harnack, *Marcion*, 140–41 and 202–03.

differently: the *liber* refuted by Augustine was a ‘Misctext’, strongly Marcionite in character, but with Gnostic and Manichaean elements.³²

No one has considered Manichaeism itself as the religion that best describes Augustine’s anonymous adversary. My position is that this possibility has been too easily dismissed; that one need not look for other religious provenances where Manichaeism will do; and that in the *aduersarius* we find someone who is Manichaean at heart, but who may have borrowed ideas from elsewhere or, more simply, have carried certain Manichaean notions (especially that, in the words of Augustine and Evodius, a good God made the world, but reluctantly and out of an evil creation: matter³³) forward to what he saw as their logical conclusion. The rest of this article argues these affirmations.

First, the chief argument for excluding Manichaeism as the religious affiliation of the *aduersarius* is its rejection by Augustine himself. Ciccarese sums the matter up this way: (1) In *Contra aduersarium* 2.12.40 Augustine excludes ‘risolutamente’ any identification of the adversary with Manichaeans; (2) and in 1.1.1 Augustine himself points out that rejection of the Old Testament was not exclusive to Manichaeans.³⁴ But Augustine’s reservations about a Manichaean source, less resolute and decisive than what Ciccarese labels a “prova decisiva,”³⁵ are anchored on the adversary’s assertion (for which we have no direct quote) that material creation is the work of a malevolent demon, rather than of a good God.³⁶ That might appear to put closure to a Manichaean provenance;³⁷ but a little later in his refutation Augustine makes a guarded distinction: *even* Manichaeans would

³² Compare Raveaux, *Augustinus*, 28–31 and 137–40, with his article in AL 1, c. 111.

³³ Aug., *De haer.* 46.4 (CCL 46, p. 313.19–21): “mundum a natura boni, hoc est, a natura dei, factum confitentur quidem, sed de commixtione boni et mali quae facta est quando inter se utraque natura pugnauit”; Evodius, *De fide* 49 (CSEL 25/2, 974.22–24): “Manichaeus enim duas dicit esse naturas, unam bonam et alteram malam; bonam quae fecit mundum, malam, de qua factus est mundus.”

³⁴ Ciccarese, “Il *Contra adversarium*”: 290.

³⁵ Ciccarese, “Il *Contra adversarium*”: 291.

³⁶ Aug., *Adu. leg.* 1.1.1 (CCL 49, p. 35.8–12): “Iste autem, cuius nomen in eodem libro non comperi, detestatur deum mundi fabricatorem; cum Manichaei, quamuis librum Geneseos non accipiant atque blasphemant, deum tamen bonum fabricasse mundum etsi ex aliena natura atque materia confiteantur.”

³⁷ Thus Raveaux, *Augustinus*, 12–3.

judge the notion that a principle must have an end as ‘insane,’ although they would join in rejecting the law and the prophets.³⁸

Secondly, a particular difficulty with Augustine’s dismissal of a Manichaean provenance is, as Ciccarese herself admits,³⁹ the presence of passages in the *Contra aduersarium*, both in citations of the work refuted and in the refutation itself, which could easily apply to Manichaeism—and, in fact, suggest a “volentieri ricorso ad argomenti e passi scritturistici già sfruttati nell’annosa polemica contro i Manichei.”⁴⁰ Briefly, the points refuted by the *Contra aduersarium*⁴¹ are: (1) the demonic origin of material creation (1.1.1; 23.48), due to (2) the demonic nature of the creator-god (2.2.4–6; 7.24,29; 11.36; 12.38; and 20.40); (3) the deficient nature of the Old Testament proved by, among other things, its predilection for sacrifices (1.20.39; 2.3.10); (4) the denial of a bodily resurrection (2.6.22); (5) the attribution of bodily sickness to the devil (2.12.39); and (6) the theological worth of New Testament pseudepigrapha.⁴² Save for the first two, which are co-dependent, all of these points apply to Manichaeism.⁴³ So, too, do the claim to be Christian and the recognition of Jesus as divine.⁴⁴

³⁸ Aug., *Adu. leg.* 1.2.3 (CCL 49, p. 36.48–50): “Quod iste non uidit, qui putauit esse dicendum ac definiendum, nullum esse sine fine principium.” Here Augustine implies that the *aduersarius* included God among such principles, but that is not clear and no supporting citation is supplied; shortly thereafter (3.4), God’s exclusion appears to be recognized. Augustine responds to this in 3.5 (p. 38): “Dicat etiam hic, si audet: Nullum est principium sine fine, ut ab ipsis etiam Manichaeis, qui eum fortasse, quia inimicum legi prophetisque reperiunt, libentissime legunt, iudicetur insanus.” It is probable that a *double-entendre* is meant here: elsewhere Augustine makes much of the similarity between the Greek form of Mani’s name (*Μόνης*) and *μονία* (insanity): see *Contra Faustum* XIX,22 and *De haer.* 46, and “Foreign and Insane” in this volume.

³⁹ Ciccarese, “Il *Contra adversarium*”: 290. See also Raveaux, *Augustinus*, 43 and 136–37.

⁴⁰ This is not a new tactic for Augustine. See J. K. Coyle, *Augustine’s “De moribus ecclesiae catholicae”: A Study of the Work, its Composition and its Sources* (Paradosis, 25), Fribourg, Switzerland: The University Press, 1978, 424–26.

⁴¹ Augustine provides a resumé of topics relating to the Old Testament in 2.10.35.

⁴² Aug., *Adu. leg.* 1.20.39 (CCL 49, p. 70.1049–1050): “Sane de apocryphis iste posuit testimonia, quae sub nominibus apostolorum Andreeae Iohannisque conscripta sunt.” In 2.4.14 (p. 102.471–782) Augustine reports the adversary’s use of a pseudepigraphical source, identifiable as the *Gospel of Thomas* (logion 52). See Raveaux, *Augustinus*, 37–9.

⁴³ See Coyle, *Augustine’s “De moribus,”* 47–8, 147, and 149; also “Healing and the ‘Physician’ in Manichaeism” in this volume.

⁴⁴ See Coyle, *Augustine’s “De moribus,”* 28–9 and 43–7.

Along with the two *libri* already mentioned, the anonymous codex contained the work of the Manichaean Addas, which Augustine had refuted (in *Contra Adimantum*) over a quarter-century before.⁴⁵ Whoever compiled it obviously thought that the ideas of Addas meshed with the rest of the *codex*'s contents. This does not, of course, definitively prove Manichaean authorship of the refuted work; but nor can the inclusion of Addas' work simply be dismissed as insignificant.

At the end of the refuted *liber* the anonymous author admits that his followers are few;⁴⁶ why, then, would Augustine feel compelled to write a two-book refutation of a shadowy movement which seemingly posed little danger to orthodoxy? or why did he not content himself with a simple referral to or reproduction of arguments made in earlier works, if they addressed the objections he was now dealing with? That line of argumentation has, in fact, been used to assert that Augustine was true to his position that this *liber* represented something different than the Manichaeism he knew.⁴⁷ Yet, at the end of the *Contra aduersarium* he refers to both the *Contra Faustum* and the *Contra Adimantum*, going so far as to suggest that a careful reading of those works could have dispensed him from writing the present one.⁴⁸ Would he have said this if he did not feel that, in part at least, he was dealing with the same system, perhaps under a new guise?⁴⁹ All in all, if Augustine did not

⁴⁵ Aug., *Adu. leg.* 2.12.42 (CCL 49, p. 131.1320–1322): “Iam illud aliud, quod in eodem codice scribi cooperat, Adimanti opus est, illius discipuli Manichaei, qui proprio nomine Addas dictus est.”

⁴⁶ Aug., *Adu. leg.* 2.12.42 (CCL 49, p. 130.1300–1301): “Sane post finem libri, in quo paucitatem hominum in suo errore commendat...”

⁴⁷ What must also not be overlooked is that whenever he refuted Manichaeism, Augustine was refuting the *form in which he knew it*: there is no reason to believe that no variations on creation theory would have existed outside the Western (specifically, North African) form he was acquainted with. (This leaves aside the question whether Augustine always understood the Manichaean ideas he encountered. On both aspects see in this volume “What Did Augustine Know about Manichaeism When He Wrote the Two Treatises ‘De moribus?’” And, though no report from or about it gainsays this, it is above all a North African system that is so precise about the world (not matter) being created by the good First Principle: see the texts above, n. 33.)

⁴⁸ Aug., *Adu. leg.* 2.12.41 (CCL 49, p. 130.1294–1299): “Si autem recenseatis, quae contra Faustum Manichaeum scripsimus et contra Adimantum, qui Manichaei sectator cum ille uiueret fuisse iactatur, multa reperietis quae aduersus istum pariter ualeant. Et fortasse si illa legerentur uel non omnino uel non multum necessarium fuisset haec scribere.” See also 2.12.42 (p. 131.1312–1313): “De hac tamen dementia hominum non considerantium quid loquantur aduersus Manichaeos multa iam scripsimus.” See Ciccarese, “Il *Contra adversarium*”: 289.

⁴⁹ Raveaux, *Augustinus*, 9: “wird man feststellen können daß man aus der von Augustinus gewählten Überschrift nicht die Zugehörigkeit des adversarius zu mar-

believe his adversary to be Manichaean, for want of a closer identification he certainly treated him as one.

My third argument is that it is plausible that the anonymous adversary simply pushed the Manichaean cosmogony a little further than the one Augustine knew: even while maintaining that a good deity made the material world, all Manichaean systems would have agreed that it was made under duress and from matter, deemed the creation of ‘demons’.⁵⁰ In any event, the fundamental issue for the *aduersarius* is not what sort of entity created the world, but whether that creation is good: “If this is a good world,” he asks, “why did it not begin its existence at the same moment as everything that was better?”⁵¹

Finally, three allusions in Augustine’s text further advocate the theory of a (crypto-) Manichaean affiliation for the *aduersarius*. The first is an anthropological note, in which Augustine refers to the adversary’s idea of the soul as being ‘part of God’—a typically Manichaean notion.⁵² So is another which Augustine attributes to his adversary, that of light alone as truly good—because it is identified with God.⁵³ Nor should we forget that the truncated second *liber* of the *codex*, “doubtless based

cionitischen Kreisen, wohl aber die Ähnlichkeit seiner Argumente mit manichäischen Belegen herauslesen kann.”

⁵⁰ See on this Coyle, *Augustine’s “De moribus,”* 35–9. Raveaux’s comment is pertinent here (*Augustinus*, 12): “Wenn aber nun der Schöpfer, von dem im Alten Testamente die Rede ist, mit dem Schöpfer der inferioren Mächte gleichgesetzt wird, so bedeutet dies noch lange nicht eine generelle Ablehnung des creator. Die Manichäer kennen eben zwei Schöpfer.”

⁵¹ Aug., *Adu. leg.* 1.3.4 (CCL 49, p. 37.62–64): “Quaerit etiam: ‘Si mundus iste bonum aliquid est, cur non olim ex initio ab eo factum est, quod melius fuit?’” See also 1.23.49 (p. 81.1400): “ibi legitur creator bonorum, quod negat.”

⁵² Aug., *Adu. leg.* 1.14.21–22 (CCL 49, pp. 51.500–52.514): “Nec in homine pars dei resistit deo, quia si hominis anima pars dei esset, nec a se ipsa nec ab aliquo decipi nec ad aliquid male faciendum siue patiendum ulla necessitate compelli nec in melius uel deterius mutari omnino potuisse. Flatus autem ille dei qui hominem animauit factus est ab ipso, non de ipso [...]. Quodlibet autem horum credibilius ostendatur [...], animam tamen non esse partem dei nec de substantia eius creatam siue prolatam, sed ex nihilo factam dubitare fas non est.”

⁵³ Aug., *Adu. leg.* 1.8.11 (CCL 49, p. 43.259–261): “Quin etiam ‘stultitiae scribentis’ assignat, quod ‘tenebras’ dixerit ‘sine initio semper fuisse, lucem uero sumpsisse de tenebris.’” At least here some kind of distinction is evident, for Augustine quotes the *aduersarius* as avowing God to be “the incomparable splendour of incomprehensible light” (1.11.14, p. 45.315–316: “dicit se scire ‘summum deum incomparabilem splendorem incomprehensibilis esse lucis”), which recalls 1 Timothy 6:16 and is very close to Manichaean assertions: see Coyle, *Augustine’s “De moribus,”* 243. Indeed, Augustine seems unsure what his opponent thinks on this (1.11.15, p. 46.335–336: “Porro si huic displicet lucem initium sumpsisse de tenebris...”). See also 1.12.16 and 23.49; 2.11.36.

on the same errors" as the first, had for its theme the diabolic origin of human flesh—a Manichaean tenet if ever there was one.

In conclusion, we must say that Augustine's removal of a Manichaean label from the *aduersarius* is not as cleanly effected as some would have it, not even in his own eyes; that there are indications in what he tells us of the refuted *liber*'s contents which, combined with his references to his previous anti-Manichaean polemic, suggest an adversary who could be Manichaean, one perhaps who has either misunderstood some of his own religion's tenets, or has consciously chosen to broaden their implications.

CHAPTER NINETEEN

SAINT AUGUSTINE'S MANICHAEAN LEGACY

It may be helpful to introduce this topic by explaining how I came to it. My doctoral research in the 1970s was a study of *De moribus ecclesiae catholicae* ("Catholic Belief in Practice"), the first work Augustine began composing after his baptism in 387.¹

It is significant, I think, that this work was also his first open literary response to Manichaeism, his former religion. While I could not address them during my doctoral work, questions kept recurring then about the kind of Manichaeism Augustine knew, how much of it he knew, and whether it influenced him after he left it. At the same time, I became convinced that one understands Augustine more the better one understands Manichaeism. I believe Johannes van Oort was the first to put this insight into writing, about ten years ago:

More and more clearly, modern research has revealed the extent to which Augustine's life and works are linked to Manichaeism. His theology and philosophy would be difficult to understand without a basic knowledge of the 'Religion of Light,' its hymns and prayers, its ethical and dogmatic teaching, its mythology and theology.²

Van Oort is a professor of theology in the Netherlands, a lively and prolific student of Augustine's Manichaean connections, and current president of the International Association of Manichaean Studies. He is, in other words, a worthy example of the international (and interdisciplinary) character of current Manichaean scholarship. I want to present you now with the state of that scholarship as it pertains to Augustine of Hippo. To speak of a 'Manichaean Legacy' is to engage a threefold

¹ Published as Augustine's "De moribus ecclesiae catholicae": A Study of the Work, its Composition and its Sources (Paradosis, 25), Fribourg, Switzerland: The University Press, 1978.

² J. van Oort, "Augustinus en het manicheïsme," *Nederlands Theologisch Tijdschrift* 47 (1993): 276–77: "Naar in het moderne onderzoek steeds meer duidelijk wordt, waren leven en werk van de toekomstige kerkvader Augustinus nauw met het manicheïsme verbonden. Zijn theologie en filosofie zijn zonder een frondige kennis van de 'religie van het licht', haar psalmen en gebeden, haar ethieken en dogmatiek, haar mythologie en theologie zelfs moeilijk te begrijpen."

meaning: by it I mean Augustine's positive association with Manichaeism, his subsequent reaction to it, and its influences on him.

MANICHAEISM IN BRIEF³

What, then, was this 'Religion of Light,' as van Oort calls it, and as Manichaeism called itself? For it did not refer to itself as 'Manichaeism,' a word its adversaries coined from the name of the movement's founder, Mani. He was born in 216 C.E. in Babylonia, which fell soon afterward to Persian invaders. At the age of twelve he received a divine revelation, then another at twenty-four, that the revelations to previous religious founders, notably Buddha, Zoroaster, and Jesus, although authentic, were incomplete; and that it would be Mani's task to bring the fullness of revelation to the world. Eventually, he got on the wrong side of the Persian king and was thrown into prison, where he died in about 277. By then he had sent out missionaries, and his death sparked a more general exodus of followers, both eastward and westward. Moving west, Manichaeism reached Egypt, Rome, and Carthage toward the end of the third century. Eastward, it knew political success, becoming for almost a century the state religion in what today is northwest China. From there it advanced as far as the Pacific Ocean. Manichaeism endured until at least the seventeenth century; pockets of it may even survive in China today.

"Anti-Semitism of the current type [...] is a complete and irrational philosophy of life based on a Manichaean conception of the world." So Webster's Third New International Dictionary quotes the *Times Literary Supplement*.⁴ The very word, then, has worked itself into the English language to signify a radically dualistic perception about life and the cosmos.⁵ This was the reality of Manichaeism's answer to a question basic to all religious systems: Why does evil exist? Its answer came in the form of a cosmogony, an explanation of why the world began and how it came to its current state. It thought of a God of good-

³ For an excellent presentation of Manichaeism see S. N. C. Lieu, *Manichaeism in the Later Roman Empire and Medieval China: A Historical Survey*, 2nd ed. (WUZNT, 63), Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1992 (1985).

⁴ B. Gove, ed., *Webster's Third New International Dictionary of the English Language Unabridged*, vol. 2, Springfield, Mass.: G. & C. Merriam, 1981, 1375.

⁵ On Manichaean dualism see H. Häring, *Die Macht des Bösen: Das Erbe Augustins* (Ökumenische Theologie, 3), Köln: Benziger, 1979, 24–37.

ness, whose realm was light, and a dark counterpart, whose kingdom was composed of matter. Coeternal, at first the two existed completely apart; but then the evil principle perceived the light, desired it, and invaded it. In the course of the resulting battle, the substance of each became mixed with the other. This is how light and darkness, good and evil, came to form the composition of everything in the present, visible world. And nowhere was that mixed condition more palpable than in human beings, as the Manichaean reworking of the Biblical creation myth makes clear.

To free the light from the matter with which it was now entangled, the God of goodness constructed a celestial mechanism, including the moon, the sun, and the planets that make up the zodiac. These were to serve as collector stations for the light eventually freed; they in turn would pass that light back to its true home. To forestall this, the evil principle caused a male and female demon to mate, and their union produced Adam and Eve. They were the world in miniature, since they contained in themselves both light (soul) and matter (body). The first humans, therefore, were not a creation of God, but the consequence of an evil initiative, their sole purpose being to keep as much light entrapped in the visible world as possible, chiefly by generating offspring.⁶

However, the principle of light nudged this demonic creation called humanity toward something good, sending a being called 'Jesus' from the light-realm to reveal divine knowledge (*gnōsis*) to Adam and Eve. This Jesus is more complex than in orthodox Christianity, for Manichaeism proposed several entities labelled 'Jesus' or 'Christ.'⁷ Augustine,

⁶ See E. Buonaiuti, "La prima coppia umana nel sistema manicheo," *Rivista degli studi orientali* 7 (1916): 663–86; repr. in *Idem, Saggi sul cristianesimo primitivo*, Città di Castello: 'Il Solco,' 1923, 150–71; and in *Idem, Saggi di storia del cristianesimo* Vicenza: Neri Pozza Editore, 1957, 153–72.

⁷ For an intensive study of Manichaean christology see E. Rose, *Die manichäische Christologie*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1979; on 23–4 he judges that Augustine's reports on Manichaean christology have been verified by other sources, Manichaean and anti-Manichaean alike. See also N. A. Pedersen, "Early Manichaean Christology, Primarily in Western Sources," in P. Bryder, ed., *Manichaean Studies: Proceedings of the First International Conference on Manichaeism, August 5–9, 1987, Department of History of Religions, Lund University, Sweden* (LSAAR, 1), Lund: Plus Ultra, 1988, 157–90; F. Decret, *Aspects du manichéisme dans l'Afrique romaine: Les controverses de Fortunatus, Faustus et Felix avec saint Augustin*, Paris: Études Augustiniennes 1970, 273–84, 291–93, and 297–300; *Idem*, "Le manichéisme présentait-il en Afrique et à Rome des particularismes régionaux distinctifs?," (AugCR) 34 (1994): 30–40, repr. in *Idem, Essais sur l'Église manichéenne en Afrique du Nord et à Rome au temps de*

for instance, knew of at least three.⁸ None of these Christs was really considered a saviour, except insofar as one or the other might be the bearer of saving knowledge. On the other hand, the Jesus of Christian orthodoxy was considered false, the devil in disguise. It was he who was truly nailed to the cross, since he had a physical body—unthinkable for a being sent from the light-realm on a saving mission.

Manichaeism called on all humans to remove themselves as far as possible from the consequences of their mixed condition. An unqualified response to the call denoted the adherents of Manichaeism's inner circle—the Elect (perfect, or holy ones). Their ranks included both women and men, as did the other main division in Manichaeism, that of Hearers, or catechumens.⁹ The Elect were the real instruments for effecting the release of light from its material prison in this world, the real saviours (a point not lost on Augustine and other polemicists). This was their most sacred task, accomplished through digestion, for one of the paradoxes of the religion was that, though all human bodies had a demonic origin, these bodies were viewed as the immediate instruments of salvation, that is, of light's release. This is why the Elect were required to practise a rigorous asceticism, for they, more than all other members of the human race, had to be as uninvolved with matter as possible for the achievement of their task of releasing light. They had to observe frequent prayer and continuous fasting. They could have no family ties nor own anything, restrictions that, in theory at least, made them perpetual wanderers.

Hearers were bound by a less stringent set of rules. Their diet was less restrictive, and they had to pray and fast less frequently. They had to avoid lying, murder, theft, adultery, and the neglect of religious

saint Augustin: *Recueil d'études* (SEA, 47), Rome: Istituto Patristico Augustinianum, 1995, 232–40; *Idem*, “La christologie manichéenne dans la controverse d'Augustin avec Fortunatus,” Aug(R) 35 (1995): 443–55, repr. in *Essais*, 269–80; and van Oort, “Augustinus,” 281–84 and 286–87.

⁸ See Coyle, *Augustine's "De moribus,"* 43–47; and J. Ries, “Jésus la Splendeur, Jesus patibilis, Jésus historique dans les textes manichéens occidentaux,” in H. Preißler and H. Seiwert, eds., *Gnosisforschung und Religionsgeschichte: Festschrift für Kurt Rudolph zum 65. Geburtstag*, Marburg: diagonal-Verlag, 1994, 235–45.

⁹ For these two classes of Manichaeans, see J. D. BeDuhn, *The Manichaean Body in Discipline and Ritual*, Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000, *passim*; F. Decret, “Aspects de l'Église Manichéenne—Remarques sur le manuscrit de Tebessa,” in A. Zumkeller, ed., *Signum Pietatis: Festgabe für Cornelius Petrus Mayer OSA zum 60. Geburtstag* (Cassiciacum, 40), Würzburg: Augustinus-Verlag, 1989, 138–51; *Idem*, “Introduzione generale,” in *Sant'Agostino: Polemica con i Manichei* (Nuova Biblioteca Agostiniana, 13/1), Rome: Città Nuova Editrice, 1997, xcix–cxi.

tasks, but were permitted to engage in manual labour, to own property, and to 'kill,' that is, harvest and prepare the food they offered to the Elect—their primary religious duty. They could also marry (though procreation was discouraged). And they could hope that, after faithful service as Hearers, they might be reincarnated as Elect,¹⁰ whereupon they would become eligible for salvation—the return of their freed light-substance to the divine kingdom of Light.

Since Manichaeism saw matter as synonymous with evil, and the material creation as a work of necessity rather than of love, it repudiated the presentation of creation found in Genesis, along with its creator God (identified with the principle of evil). It went on to reject most of the Old Testament, as well as everything it considered 'Jewish interpolations' in the New.¹¹ It did, however, attribute a revelatory (albeit imperfect) character to what remained of the New Testament after its 'decontamination.'

WHAT WAS THE MANICHAEISM AUGUSTINE KNEW?

The issue of what sort of Manichaeism Augustine might have known only appears problematic if we realize that, organized as it was, like all widespread and long-standing religions Manichaeism took on different forms in diverse places and at various times. Though its belief system was highly complex, and couched in allegory and symbol, Manichaeism's main tenets seem to have been held by followers everywhere, but with differences regarding non-essentials, according to time, place, and ambient culture.¹² In areas with a sizable Christian population,

¹⁰ On the transmigration of Hearers' souls, see Coyle, *Augustine's "De moribus,"* 48 n. 205.

¹¹ See H. Chadwick, "The Attractions of Mani," in E. Romero-Pose, ed., *Pléroma: Salus Carnis. Homenaje a Antonio Orbe (= Compostellanus 34)*, Santiago de Compostela: Aldecoa, 1990, 211–16; repr. in *Idem, Heresy and Orthodoxy in the Early Church*, Aldershot: Variorum Reprints, 1991.

¹² A remark by Decret, "Le manichéisme présentait-il": 6 (= *Essais*, 206) seems pertinent here: "Il faut bien sûr dénoncer ces synthèses arbitraires et ces amalgames qui contiennent allègrement des textes provenant de divers horizons, et s'échelonnant dans le temps sur plusieurs siècles, pour composer une mosaïque présentée comme étant 'le manichéisme'. On n'en saurait toutefois, à l'inverse, partir d'une position méthodologique, certes justifiée, pour prétendre en tirer directement la conclusion que le système original de Mani se serait dilué à ce point à travers des cultures et fondu dans d'autres courants religieux qu'il n'en demeurerait rien d'authentique." But R. Lim, "Unity and Diversity among Western Manichaeans: A Reconsideration of

Manichaeans underscored the Christian nature of their creed, touted as Christianity's only authentic form. This tactic of emphasizing the Christian elements according to the religious traditions of the geographical region slated for proselytization¹³ makes it more difficult to discern whether those elements reached back to Manichaeism's roots, and to know what form of it Augustine knew.¹⁴

In a paper delivered in 1987 and published in 1989, François Decret, indisputably the doyen of scholars of North African Manichaeism, finally tackled the issue head on ("le manichéisme africain tel qu'il apparaît à travers l'œuvre d'Augustin"); but he limited himself to how Augustine saw Manichaeism primarily in terms of a Christian heresy.¹⁵ Decret has since assembled a more synthesized résumé, but from the writings of Augustine's entire career,¹⁶ which does not really solve the problem of what knowledge he had of Manichaeism when he himself was a Manichaean, a point to which I will return. However, it does not seem that any major difference existed between Manichaeism as he knew and reported it, and the information supplied by primary Manichaean sources of any place and time.¹⁷

Mani's *sancta ecclesia*," REA 35 (1989): 231–32, argues in favour of just the methodology Decret decries. See below, notes 14 and 17.

¹³ C. J. Brunner, "The Ontological Relation Between Evil and Existents, in Manichaean Texts and in Augustine's Interpretation of Manichaeism," in P. Morewedge, ed., *Philosophies of Existence, Ancient and Medieval*, New York: Fordham University Press, 1982, 80: "In spreading the prophet's religion westward from its original cultural area, the Manichaeans necessarily adapted to the pressures of Orthodox Christianity. The mythology must have been advanced from the beginning, together with some Christian imagery and Pauline terminology, plus Mani's claim to be the 'apostle of Jesus Christ.' But greater appearance of harmony with the Christian Scriptures had to be fashioned, and Mani's mission fitted into Christian history."

¹⁴ On peculiarities ascribed to North African Manichaeism, see L. H. Grondijs, "Analyse du manichéisme numidien au IV^e siècle," in AM 3, 391–410; *Idem*, "Numidian Manichaeism in Augustinus' Time," *Nederlands Theologisch Tijdschrift* 9 (1954): 21–42. Critiqued by L. J. van der Lof, "Der numidische Manichäismus im vierten Jahrhundert," in F. L. Cross, ed., SP 8: *Papers presented to the Fourth International Conference on Patristic Studies held at Christ Church, Oxford 1963* (TU, 93), Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1966, 118–29. On this debate see van Oort, "Augustinus," 281–82.

¹⁵ F. Decret, "Saint Augustin, témoin du manichéisme dans l'Afrique romaine," in C. Mayer and K. H. Chelius, eds., *Internationales Symposium über den Stand der Augustinus-Forschung vom 12. bis 16. April 1987 im Schloß Rauschholzhausen der Justin-Liebegg-Universität Gießen* (Cassiciacum, 39/1), Würzburg: Augustinus-Verlag, 1989, 87–97, esp. 88–93. See below, 315.

¹⁶ Decret, "Introduzione generale," xlvi–xciii.

¹⁷ In opposition to Grondijs, Decret concludes ("Le manichéisme," 40) that, at least with regard to doctrine, Manichaeism did not fundamentally differ from one region to another: "Cette religion du Livre, s'appuyant partout sur les Écritures de son fonda-

ONCE A MANICHAEAN?¹⁸

Augustine first met up with Manichaeans in Carthage in 373, and quickly joined them; he would later say that he did so within a few days.¹⁹ And yet the issue of whether he was ever *seriously* a Manichaeans goes back to the time of Augustine himself. Early in the fifth century Secundinus, a Manichaeans Hearer in Rome, informed his erstwhile coreligionist (all the while urging him to return to the ‘true faith’), “Not only were you never a Manichaeans, you never knew the secret, hidden teachings. And not only does this *seem* to be the case, but I know it for a fact.”²⁰ This particular accusation went unrepeated until Gaston Boissier took it up at the end of the 19th century: Augustine was never truly a Manichaeans, he said, for an intellect like his could not have been taken in by the system’s radical dualism, let alone its mythology.²¹ Seven decades later Olivier du Roy expressed a similar reserve: it was his view that, if Augustine had ever seriously espoused Manichaeism, it could only have been after customizing it to his own outlook.²² But Augustine says that after joining “instantly and without reserve,” he began proselytizing on Manichaeism’s behalf “right away.”²³ He drew in friends and acquaintances—Romanianus, Alypius,

teur, demeura fondamentalement la même et les quelques variantes qui apparaissent s’expliquent—comme pour les Églises locales de la *Catholica*—par des particularismes de cultures régionales et aussi les milieux sociaux et économiques sensiblement différents où se recrutaient les fidèles”; see also 11 n. 27. Decret does not go far enough to satisfy M. Tardieu, “Vues nouvelles sur le manichéisme africain?”, REA 25 (1979): 249–55 (review of Decret’s *L’Afrique manichéenne*). For his part, Lim, “Unity and Diversity”: 233, warns against “allowing our conception of western Manichaeism to be predetermined and overdetermined by a prior understanding of what Manichaeism ought to have been.”

¹⁸ Again, a good treatment of the material in this section is given by Lieu, *Manichaeism*, 152–90. See also L. C. Ferrari, *The Conversions of Saint Augustine* (The Saint Augustine Lecture 1982), Villanova, Penn.: Villanova University Press, 1984, esp. chaps. 2 and 3.

¹⁹ *De duabus animabus* 1 (CSEL 25/1, p. 51.6–7): “facile ac diebus paucis.”

²⁰ Secundinus, *Epistula ad Augustinum* (CSEL 25/2, p. 895.17–19): “uisus enim mihi es—and pro certo sic est—and numquam fuisse manichaeum nec eius te potuisse arcana incognita secreta cognoscere.”

²¹ G. Boissier, *La fin du paganisme* 1, 7th ed., Paris: Hachette, 1913 (1891), 302.

²² O. du Roy, *L'intelligence de la foi en la Trinité selon saint Augustin: Genèse de sa théologie trinitaire jusqu'en 391*, Paris: Études Augustiniennes, 1966, 43.

²³ *Contra epistolam Manichaei quam vocant Fundamenti* 3 (CSEL 25/1, p. 195.11): “et adtentate audiui et temere credidi et instanter, quibus potui, persuasi et aduersus alios pertinaciter animoseque defendi.”

Verecundus, Nebridius, Honoratus²⁴—so that there can be no doubting his initial enthusiasm.²⁵ But was his early zeal perhaps short-lived? Here again he leaves a different impression: “I followed step by step,” he says, “cautiously, but for a long time.”²⁶

Manichaeism’s claim to be the most authentic form of Christianity must doubtless account to some degree for Augustine’s attraction to it. Like many today, as a teenager he had decided he had outgrown the childish form of his mother’s religion; but he maintained an erratic orbit around it. For one thing, he discerned in Manichaeism improvements to some of the defects he attributed to Catholic Christianity. If he had difficulties understanding the Christian Bible, Manichaeism would teach him how to read it. If an amaterial God was the issue, Manichaeism would provide one of substance. If the prospect of chastity daunted him, Manichaeism would make the appropriate allowances. Proselytizers also assured him that he could come to the truth through independent reason,²⁷ and that he would be able to resolve the problem of good and evil—both promises designed to flatter his ego.²⁸ On a more spiritual plane, he could hope ultimately to attain salvation,²⁹ resolve his difficulties with the Old Testament through its

²⁴ *Contra Academicos* 1.1.3,74; *Confessiones* 5.6.7 and 9.3.6; *De utilitate credendi* 1.2.

²⁵ *De util. cred.* 1.2 (CSEL 25/1, p. 4.16): “homines illos sequi ac diligenter audire ...” Decret, *Aspects*, 28–9, has no doubt about Augustine’s heartfelt adherence.

²⁶ *De duab. an.* 9.11 (CSEL 25/1, p. 66.9–10): “ut quamuis pedetentim atque caute, tamen diu sequerer.”

²⁷ See *De util. cred.* 1.2 (CSEL 25/1, p. 4.22–25): “qualem me tunc, illi inuenerunt, spernentem scilicet quasi aniles fabulas, et ab eis promissum apertum et sincerum uerum tenere atque haurire cupientem?”; and *De beata uita* 1.4 (CCL 29, 67.83–84): “mihique persuasi docentibus potius quam iubentibus cedendum (credendum?).” See also F. Decret, *L’Afrique manichéenne (IV^e–V^e siècles): Étude historique et doctrinale* (Collection des Études Augustiniennes, Série Antiquité, 74) Paris: Études Augustiniennes, 1978, 1, 240–89; 2 (notes), 189–235. Ferrari, *The Conversions*, 19–20, says Augustine was led to Manichaeism “by the ardour of the Hortensius episode, and therefore under the influence of his yearning for philosophia.”

²⁸ *Conf.* 3.7.12; *De libero arbitrio* 1.2.4,10; *De morib[us] Manichaeorum* 2.2. See E. Feldmann, “Der Übertritt Augustins zu den Manichäern,” in A. van Tongerloo, ed., *The Manichaean NOYΣ: Proceedings of the International Symposium organized in Louvain from 31 July to 3 August 1991* (MS, 2), Louvain: International Association of Manichaean Studies, 1995, 103–28, esp. 122.

²⁹ P. J. de Menasce, “Augustin manichéen” in *Freundesgabe für Ernst Curtius zum 14. April 1956*, Bern: Francke, 1956, 79–93, may be right in seeing Augustine’s attraction (initially, at least) as an attempt to satisfy spiritual rather than intellectual needs. See 92: “C'est dans cette Église de Mani qu'Augustin était entré en quête d'une vérité qu'il ne trouvait pas dans le catholicisme: nous ne pensons pas que le seul sentiment, que la seule piété, ait suffi à l'y retenir.” But he laments that no study has been done on

simple excision, be assured of friendship,³⁰ and hold himself exonerated of moral responsibility.³¹ Nor should we discount Manichaeism's appeal to his astrological interests.³²

From the moment he started writing against Manichaeans, Augustine charged them with being devoid of true Christian faith.³³ But so much had he once thought of his old religion as Christian that even after his return to Catholicism he still contrived to view Manichaeism as a deformation of true Christianity, as references of the Catholic Augustine to Manichaeism as a 'sect,' a 'heresy,'³⁴ and as 'pseudo-Christian' show.³⁵ Still, he chose not to be an Elect, for that would have entailed embracing the stricter ascetical code which excluded his declared worldly goals of *honores*, *coniugium*, and *lucra*.³⁶ Then, after a decade-long formal association with the movement,³⁷ he moved on, claiming that intellectual doubts, for instance with regard to the system's complex myths,³⁸ conflicted with aspects he had found more

residual elements of Manichaeian spirituality in Augustine. Johannes van Oort raises a similar concern in "Augustinus," 278–79, then briefly returns to the theme in "Manichaeism: Its Sources and Influences on Western Christendom," in R. van den Broek and W. J. Hanegraaff, eds., *Gnosis and Hermeticism from Antiquity to Modern Times*, Albany: State University of New York Press, 1997, 47.

³⁰ A major consideration with him: see Coyle, *Augustine's "De moribus,"* 55 n. 245; and D. X. Burt, *Friendship and Society: An Introduction to Augustine's Practical Philosophy*, Grand Rapids, Mich. and Cambridge: William B. Eerdmans, 1999, 57–59.

³¹ *Conf.* 5.10.18. See Coyle, *Augustine's "De moribus,"* 52 n. 227.

³² On which see Chadwick, "The Attractions," 208–09; L. C. Ferrari, "Astronomy and Augustine's Break with the Manichees," REA 19 (1973): 263–76; and B. Bruning, "De l'astrologie à la grace," in *Collectanea Augustiniana: Mélanges T. J. van Bavel 2* (= Aug 41), Leuven: Institut Historique Augustinien, 1991, 575–643, esp. 584–92.

³³ *De moribus ecclesiae catholicae* 18.33, 20.37, and 30.62.

³⁴ *Secta in Contra Adimantum* 11, 13.1, and 16.3; *De mor. Man.* 9.14, 11.23, and 12.26; *haeresis* in *De mor. eccl. cath.* 9.15 and 33.72; *De mor. Man.* 8.11; *C. epist. fund.* 1 and 32. He uses both epithets in *De agone christiano* 4.4 and *De mor. Man.* 20.75. See Coyle, *Augustine's "De moribus,"* 329–30.

³⁵ The latter (see *Contra Faustum manichaeum* I,3) is especially retaliatory: Augustine was stung by the Manichaeian bishop Faustus' branding of Catholics as constituting a heresy (*C. Faustum* XVI,7), as "semi-Christian" (I,2), as turning the Christian faith into a 'centaur' (XVI,1, CSEL 25/2, p. 417.4–5: "christianam denique fidem hipocentaurum facite"). He appears to mean that Catholics are half-Christian and half-Jew: see the label *semiuidaei* in XXXIII,3 (p. 788.19).

³⁶ *De util. cred.* 2 (CSEL 25/1, p. 4.26–27): "ut me in illo gradu quem uocant 'auditorum' tenerem, ut huius mundi spem atque negotia non dimitterem." See *Conf.* 6.6.9.

³⁷ 'Nine years' is the number he always supplies. For references and discussion on this, see Coyle, *Augustine's "De moribus,"* 352. Additional references are: *De mor. eccl. cath.* 18.34; *De mor. Man.* 19.68; and *Conf.* 3.11.20, 5.1.1 and 6.10.

³⁸ See *Conf.* 5.3–6. Yet there is ambivalence here. Augustine believed in the Manichaeian 'myths,' specifically the *Iesus passibilis*, imprisoned in figs, for example, which

attractive. Doubtless something deeper was at work at well: hoped-for solutions to long-standing problems failed to materialize.³⁹

WHAT DID AUGUSTINE REALLY KNOW ABOUT MANICHAEISM?

“I have a more than passing acquaintance with you,” the newly baptized Augustine announced to the Manichaeans in 387.⁴⁰ After spending a decade or so as one of them, this seems a fairly unassailable claim. But here we must make a crucial distinction, between what Augustine could have known while a Manichaeans, and what he found out later.⁴¹ If we accept that his initial involvement with Manichaeism was genuine, and granting his intellectual curiosity, we may reasonably suppose that he tried to learn everything about it that seemed of importance and to which he had access. How much was that?

The scope and reliability of Augustine’s knowledge of Manichaeism became an issue in the wake of the Reformation, when Catholic polemics accused Protestantism of being essentially the reincarnation of Manichaeism, and Protestants replied that the Church Fathers, Augustine in particular, had created a false picture of Manichaeism, furnishing a convenient resemblance to what Catholics found wrong with Protestantism.⁴² In the eighteenth century the Calvinist Isaac de

therefore weep: see *Conf.* 3.6.11 and 10.18; also 4.15.24 and 5.3.6. But in *De beata uita* 1.4 he says that he looked for a meaning behind the myths, which he did not accept at face value (CCL 29, p. 67.86–87: “Non adsentiebar sed putabam eos magnum aliquid tegere illis inuolucris, quod essent aliquando aperture”). On Manichaeian mythical narrative see Brunner, “The Ontological Relation,” 79–82, and esp. 90 n. 6: “In the cultic context the believer experienced continuity with the divine substance; he passed through the full range of emotions associated with the sufferings and triumphs of Light.”

³⁹ The thesis that Augustine’s sharp reaction to Manichaeism stemmed from a sense of being let down merits consideration, but must be treated gingerly: see W. Eborowicz, “Le fonds psychologique de la critique du manichéisme dans les Confessions de saint Augustin,” in *Miscellanea Historiae Ecclesiasticae VI/1: Congrès de Varsovie, 25 juin—1^{er} juillet 1978, Section I (Les transformations dans la société chrétienne au IV^e siècle)* (Bibliothèque de la Revue d’Histoire Ecclésiastique, fasc. 67), Brussels: Nauwelaerts, 1983, 111–15.

⁴⁰ *De mor. eccl. cath.* 17.30 (CSEL 90, p. 35.7–8): “Non parum mihi cogniti estis.” See also 1:2 (pp. 4.17–5.1): “Eum sane modum tenebo, si potero, ut neque in illorum morbos, qui mihi sunt notissimi...”

⁴¹ I have addressed this distinction in “What Did Augustine Know about Manichaeism When He Wrote His Two Treatises *De moribus*?” included in this volume.

⁴² See J. Ries, “Introduction aux études manichéennes: Quatre siècles de recherches” 1, *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses* 33 (1957): 454–72, repr. in *Universitas*

Beausobre took a new approach to this: there might have been no intentional inaccuracies in Augustine's portrait of Manichaean ideas and practices, he said; but that portrait still could not be taken for granted, since Augustine's movements were limited to the system's outer circles, and therefore would not have been privy to every Manichaean activity and writing.⁴³ Two and a half centuries later, Beausobre's view continues to attract scholars;⁴⁴ but it has had to be nuanced, so that Augustine's work is not seen now as inaccurate, deliberately, or otherwise—merely incomplete. Since Ferdinand Christian Baur early in the nineteenth century,⁴⁵ Augustine's reliability as a source for Manichaeism has been steadily reaffirmed. In the early twentieth century, Prosper Alfaric went on to prove the fundamental congruence between Augustine's claims and Manichaeism as expressed through its own literature, including even later and Oriental sources.⁴⁶ Or, as van Oort stated the case in the mid-1980s, "these discoveries have not diminished the value of what Augustine handed down from Manichaean writings: he proves to be a valuable witness."⁴⁷

Van Oort has made the links between Augustine and Manichaeism his particular avocation, and has concluded that "Augustine did not know everything; but he knew a great deal."⁴⁸ And Decret has often insisted that Augustine would not have known everything about Manichaeism, either before or after his defection from it, which does

Catholica Lovaniensis: Sylloge excerptorum a dissertationibus ad gradum doctoris in Sacra Theologia... 31/3 (1957); and 2 (Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses, 35, 1959): 388–94.

⁴³ I. de Beausobre, *Histoire critique de Manichée et du manichéisme* 1, Amsterdam: Bernard, 1734, 227–31, 426, and 436–37; 2 (1739), 745. See Ries, "Introduction" 1: 473–77; *Idem, Les études manichéennes des controverses de la Réforme aux découvertes du XX^e siècle* (Collection Cerfaux-Lefort, 1), Louvain-la-Neuve: Centre d'Histoire des Religions, 1988, 36–42.

⁴⁴ Reprints are noted in the bibliography.

⁴⁵ F. C. Baur, *Das manichäische Religionssystem nach den Quellen, neu untersucht und entwickelt*, Tübingen: Ostander, 1831, 7–8 and *passim*. There have been two reprints, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1928; Hildesheim and New York: G. Olms, 1973.

⁴⁶ Alfaric, *L'évolution intellectuelle de saint Augustin*, Paris: Nourry, 1918, esp. 215–25. See Feldmann, "Der Übertritt," 103–04; and Decret, "Introduzione generale," viii–xxxvi.

⁴⁷ J. van Oort, *Jerusalem and Babylon: A Study into Augustine's City of God and the Sources of His Doctrine of the Two Cities* (SVC, 14), Leiden and New York: E. J. Brill, 1991, 45. This book translates van Oort's doctoral dissertation, *Jeruzalem en Babylon: Een onderzoek van Augustinus' De stad van God en de bronnen van zijn leer der twee steden (rijken)*, 4th ed., 's-Gravenhage: Boekencentrum, 1995 (1986).

⁴⁸ Van Oort, "Augustinus," 280: "Weliswaar niet alles wist hij, maar wel zeer veel."

not necessarily mean he was fabricating.⁴⁹ For the writings of Augustine that allude to Manichaeism were addressing not only Catholics, but Manichaeans themselves; consequently, he would have had little to gain (and much to lose) by deliberate misinformation. When he quotes, when he reports, he does so in keeping with both the texts and the facts as he knows them. With one exception.

In his public debate with Fortunatus in 392, Augustine reveals that he never personally witnessed anything morally untoward during Manichaean prayer services for Hearers; but that, where Elect were concerned, he had no way of knowing what went on in cultic gatherings from which he would have been excluded “because I was a Hearer.”⁵⁰ Yet, only three or four years before, his assertions were much more confident—and graphic. “None of the Elect I knew,” he says then, “were innocent of sinning against their own precepts, or at the least they were not above suspicion.”⁵¹ And he goes on to relate instances of the most scurrilous deportment by Manichaean Elect, some corroborated by the witness of his own eyes.⁵² Such allegations unsettle the reader because, besides seeming at direct odds with the confession to Fortunatus, some of them are based on hearsay.⁵³ This did not discour-

⁴⁹ *Decret, Aspects*, 31 (author’s emphasis): “Ces oeuvres anti-manichéennes constituent un témoignage véritable sur le manichéisme qu’Augustin a bien connu, mais non sur tout le manichéisme.”

⁵⁰ *Contra Fortunatum* 3 (CSEL 25/1, pp. 84.25–85.1): “De moribus autem uestris plene scire possunt, qui electi uestri sunt. Nostis autem me non electum uestrum, sed auditorem fuisse.”

⁵¹ *De mor. Man.* 19.68 (CSEL 90, p. 149.5–8): “Nouem annos tota magna cura et diligentia uos audiu; nullus mihi electorum innotescere potui, qui secundum haec praecepta non aut deprehensus in peccato, aut certe suspicioni subditus fuerit.” See also *De mor. eccl. cath.* 34.75 (p. 81.4–6): “in uestra paucitate magnas patiamini angustias, dum a uobis exigetur uel unus ex his quos electos uocatis, qui praecepta illa ipsa custodiat, quae irrationali superstitione defenditis.”

⁵² *De mor. Man.* 19.68–20.74. For a discussion of the pertinent passages see F. Decret, “De moribus ecclesiae catholicae et de moribus Manichaeorum livre II,” in J. K. Coyle et al., «*De moribus ecclesiae catholicae et de moribus Manichaeorum*», «*De quantitate animae*» (Lectio Augustini, 7), Palermo: Edizioni ‘Augustinus,’ 1991, 100–08; *Idem, L’Afrique manichéenne*, 30–6 (2: 36–8).

⁵³ *De mor. Man.* 19.68 (CSEL 90, p. 149.9–12): “Sed haec audiebamus. Nonnulli alienas feminas seduxisse approbati sunt, ita ut hinc plane dubitare non possim. Sed sit et haec magis fama quam verum”; and 20.74 (p. 154.8–13): “Romae autem me absente quid gestum sit [...] et ego quidem postea Romae cum essem, omnia uera me audisse firmaui; quamuis tam familiaris et mihi probatus, qui praesens erat, ad me rem pertulerat, ut omnino dubitare non possem.”

age their revival in Augustine's later writings, *De natura boni* (written after 403) and *De haeresibus* (428/9).⁵⁴

Augustine's plea of ignorance on the grounds of being a Hearer goes better with an issue to which he fails to apply it, that of Manichaean writings. A follower who declared himself unready to live Manichaeism's tenets to the full would hardly have been admitted to its 'higher knowledge' and most sacred texts; so, when he relates how, as a Manichaean, he "studied writings of Mani,"⁵⁵ or refers to "Mani's books,"⁵⁶ we may well ask: does he mean works stemming from Mani himself (the protocanon), from other close followers, or simply writings in use among them? And, either way, which specific works? And what does he mean by having 'studied' them? We know, of course, that Manichaean writings circulated in Latin, the only language with which Augustine was truly at ease. But little of that textual body has survived, and for most of what did we are indebted to Augustine.⁵⁷ And even that portfolio is thin: he quotes directly from a Manichaean text for the first time only in or about 393, explaining elsewhere that this writing "came into my hands" when he was already a Catholic presbyter.⁵⁸ In his refutation of Mani's *Letter of the Foundation* he clearly states that while he was a Hearer the writing in question was *read* to him.⁵⁹

⁵⁴ *De nat. boni* 47; *De haer.* 46.9–10. On the latter see J. van Oort, "Mani and Manichaeism in Augustine's *De haeresibus*: An Analysis of *haer.* 46.1," in R. E. Emmerick, W. Sundermann and P. Zieme, eds., *Studia Manichaica: IV. Internationaler Kongreß zum Manichäismus, Berlin, 14.–18. Juli 1997* (Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Berichte und Abhandlungen, Sonderband 4), Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2000, 451–63. He notes (455) that "the Manichaean problem is present right from the outset of the *De haeresibus* and, as in his *Unfinished Work against Julian*, it is this problem which once again occupies old Augustine most of all."

⁵⁵ *Conf.* 5.7.13 (CCL 27, p. 63.22–23): "Refracto itaque studio, quod intenderam in Manichaei litteras."

⁵⁶ *De mor. Man.* 12.25 (CSEL 90, p. 110.12–14): "Non hoc sonant libri Manichaei; cauisse deum ne inuaderetur ab hostibus, saepissime ibi significatur, saepissime dicitur." See *Conf.* 5.7.12 (CSEL 27, p. 63.7–9): "conlatis numerorum rationibus, quas alibi ego legeram, utrum potius ita essent, ut Manichaei libris continebantur..."

⁵⁷ See below, n. 61.

⁵⁸ *Retractationes* 1.22.1 (CCL 57, p. 63): "Eodem tempore uenerunt in manus meas quaedam disputationes Adimanti, qui fuerat discipulus Manichaei..."

⁵⁹ *C. epist. fund.* 5 (CSEL 25/1, p. 197.8–10): "ipsa enim nobis illo tempore miseris quando lecta est, inluminati dicebamus a uobis." See also 3 (p. 195.11): "adente audiui et temere credidi." On this letter see E. Feldmann, *Die "Epistula Fundamenti" der nordafrikanischen Manichäern: Versuch einer Rekonstruktion*, Altenberge-Soest: Akademische Bibliothek, 1987; J. Ries, "Notes de lecture du *Contra Epistulam Fundamenti* d'Augustin à la lumière de quelques documents manichéens," in M. Simonetti and P. Siniscalco, eds., *Studi sul cristianesimo antico e moderno in onore di Maria*

In addition, he frequently says that he *heard*, never that he actually *read*,⁶⁰ any innermost Manichaean texts *in those days*: we need to take Augustine's *Hearer* status seriously. Over the course of his entire literary career he quotes from the Manichaean textual corpus only infrequently, in each instance from writings recently acquired.⁶¹ If, then, we wish to ascertain what Augustine knew about Manichaeism when he was a Manichaean, we have to couch the question in subtler terms having less to do with Manichaeism's writings than with its *methods* and *practices*.

From that perspective, one avenue of enquiry is the Manichaean deployment of the Christian canonical scriptures.⁶² It was quite prob-

Grazia Mara 2 (= Aug[R] 35/2) Rome: Istitutum Patristicum Augustinianum, 1995, 537–48; and M. Scopello, "Agostino contro Mani: note sull'opera polemica del *Contra epistulam Manichaei quam vocant fundamenti*," in *La polemica con i manichei di Agostino di Ippona: Lectio Augustini XIV—Settimana Agostiniana Pavese* (SEA, 69), Rome: Institutum Patristicum Augustinianum, 2000, 7–34. Augustine is probably referring to Elect in the first italicised instance and to Hearers in the other, when he says in *De nat. boni* 44 (CSEL 25/2, 881.20–23): "Hoc infelices legunt, hoc dicunt, hoc audiunt, hoc credunt."

⁶⁰ *De mor. eccl. cath.* 18.34 (p. 39.8–9): "audite doctos ecclesiae catholicae uiros tanta pace animi et eo uoto quo uos audiui"; *De mor. Man.* 8.11 (p. 96.20–21): "unus de primatibus huius haeresis, quem familiarius crebriusque audiebamus"; and 12.25 (p. 110.1–2): "cum studiose uos audiremus."

⁶¹ Mani's *Treasury of Life* (*De nat. boni* 44; *Contra Felicem* 2.5; and referred to in *ibid.*, 1.14); the *Letter of the Foundation* (*C. epist. fund., passim*; *De nat. boni* 42 and 46; and referred to in *Contra Felicem* 1.1,15); the *Letter to Menoch* (but only after Julian of Eclanum had brought it to Augustine's attention: *Contra Iulianum opus imperfектum* 3.166,172–173). He also acquired the work of Adimantus (*Retr.* 1.21.1: see above, n. 58) and writings of two of Mani's Western followers, Faustus and Secundinus: see Coyle, *Augustine's "De moribus,"* 23. Besides these incomplete sources, and another from Evodius of Uzala (CSEL 25/2, pp. 952–58), only one actual Manichaean text survives in Latin. This is the Tebessa Codex (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Nouvelles acquisitions latines 1114), available in PLS 2, c. 1378–379. See P. Alfaric, "Un manuscrit manichéen," *Revue d'Histoire et de Littérature Religieuses* n.s. 6 (1920): 62–98; R. Merkelbach, "Der manichäische Codex von Tebessa," in Bryder, ed., *Manichaean Studies*, 229–64; Decret, "Aspects de l'Église Manichéenne," 123–51 (= *Essais*, 27–53); and J. BeDuhn and G. Harrison, "The Tebessa Codex: A Manichaean Treatise on Biblical Exegesis and Church Order," in P. Mirecki and J. BeDuhn, eds., *Emerging from Darkness: Studies in the Recovery of Manichaean Sources* (NHMS, 43), Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1997, 33–87. On the general question of Manichaean writings see Decret, "Introduzione generale," xxvii–xlvi.

⁶² On Manichaean use of the Bible see Coyle, *Augustine's "De moribus,"* 145–49; H.-J. Klimkeit, "Der Gebrauch Heiliger Schriften im Manichäismus," in G. Schöll-gren and C. Scholten, eds., *Stimuli: Exegese und ihre Hermeneutik in Antike und Christentum: Festschrift für Ernst Dassmann* (Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum, Ergänzungsband, 23), Münster/W: Aschendorff, 1996, 191–99, trans. as "The Use of Scripture in Manichaeism," in M. Heuser and H.-J. Klimkeit, *Studies in Manichaean Literature and Art* (NHMS, 46), Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1998, 111–22; and G. Wenning,

ably through Manichaeism that Augustine first came to know Saint Paul,⁶³ so influential in his later life.⁶⁴ Manichaeans felt a special affinity for Paul,⁶⁵ and probably share responsibility for the renewed interest in Pauline literature underway during the fourth century.⁶⁶ It was doubtless owing to Manichaeism that Augustine was first able to conceptualize God, however material the conception might be,⁶⁷ and

"Der Einfluß des Manichäismus und des Ambrosius auf die Hermeneutik Augustins," REA 36 (1990): 80–4.

⁶³ To Augustine's query ("Apostolum accipis?") Faustus replies "et maxime" (*C. Faust. XI,1*, CSEL 25/1, p. 313.4). See *De mor. eccl. cath.* 8.13 (CSEL 90, p. 15.3–7): "Videamus, quemadmodum ipse dominus in euangeliō nobis paeceperit esse uiuentum, quomodo etiam Paulus apostolus; has enim scripturas illi condemnare non audent." See also *De Genesi contra Manichaeos* 1.2.3 (CSEL 91, p. 69.25–26): "Certe et ipsi Manichaei legunt apostolum Paulum et laudant et honorant"; and 2.13.19. W. H. C. Frend, "The Gnostic-Manichaeian Tradition in Roman North Africa," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 4 (1953): 22, observes that the Tebessa manuscript "is practically a list of Pauline quotations"; repr. in *Idem, Religion Popular and Unpopular*, London: Variorum Reprints, 1976. See Coyle, Augustine's "De moribus," 187–89; H.-D. Betz, "Paul and the Mani Biography (Codex Manichaicus Coloniensis)," in L. Cirillo and A. Roselli, eds., *Codex Manichaicus Coloniensis: Atti del Simposio Internazionale (Rende-Amantea 3–7 settembre 1984)* (Studi e Ricerche, 4), Cosenza: Marra Editore, 1986, 215–34; J. Ries, "Saint Paul dans la formation de Mani," in J. Ries, F. Decret, W. H. C. Frend, and M. G. Mara, *Le Epistole Paoline nei Manichee, i Donatisti e il primo Agostino* (Sussidi Patristici, 5), Rome: Istitutum Patriticum Augustinianum, 1989, 7–27; in the same volume F. Decret, "L'utilisation des épîtres de Paul chez les manichéens d'Afrique," 29–83, repr. in *Idem, Essais*, 55–106; *Idem*, "La figure de saint Paul et l'interprétation de sa doctrine dans le manichéisme," in L. Padovese, ed., *Atti del I Simposio di Tarso su S. Paolo Apostolo* (Turchia, 5), Rome: Pontificio Ateneo Antoniano, 1993, 105–15.

⁶⁴ See M. G. Mara, "L'influsso di Paolo in Agostino," in Ries *et al.*, *Le Epistole*, 125–62; *Eadem*, "Agostino e la polemica antimaniche: il ruolo di Paolo e del suo epistolaro," Aug(R) 32 (1992): 119–43; L. C. Ferrari, "Augustine's 'Discovery' of Paul (*Confessions* 7.21.27)," AugSt 22 (1991): 37–61; C. P. Bammel, "Pauline Exegesis, Manichaeism and Philosophy in the Early Augustine," in L. R. Wickham and C. P. Bammel, eds., *Christian Faith and Greek Philosophy: Essays in Tribute to George Christopher Stead in Celebration of his Eightieth Birthday, 9th April 1993* (SVC, 19), Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1993), 1–25, esp. 2–8; and E. Feldmann, "Der junge Augustinus und Paulus—Ein Beitrag zur (manichäischen) Paulus-Rezeption," in L. Cirillo and A. van Tongerloo, eds., *Manicheismo e Oriente Cristiano Antico: Atti del Terzo Congresso Internazionale di Studi, Arcavacata di rende-Amantea, 31 agosto–5 settembre 1993* (MS, 3), Turnhout: Brepols, 1997, 41–76.

⁶⁵ He was favoured for a number of reasons: like Mani, he was an apostle and missionary; he placed the spirit of the law over its letter; and he opposed judaization.

⁶⁶ On this see "De moribus ecclesiae catholicae: Augustin chrétien à Rome" in this volume, 231–32.

⁶⁷ Thus the issue of divine immutability becomes very important to him: see G. Sfameni Gasparro, "Au coeur du dualisme manichéen: la polémique augustinienne contre la notion de « mutabilité » de Dieu dans le *Contra Secundinum*," in van Oort *et al.*, eds., *Augustine and Manichaeism in the Latin West*, 230–42.

to begin imagining some sort of (albeit ‘Manichaeanized’) christology and pneumatology.⁶⁸ Also worthy of consideration is a borrowed (consciously or not) imagery, of which the most striking examples in Augustine’s early writings are Christ as ‘physician’⁶⁹ and the deutero-pauline theme of ‘old’ and ‘new person’.⁷⁰ Later, he would deliberately employ biblical verses that his time with the Manichaeans had taught him were significant to them.⁷¹

In general, the information that Augustine’s early writings provide on, and show his familiarity with, Manichaeism is not extensive and easily summarized: he knew its methods of proselytization,⁷² and its repudiation of some of the New Testament,⁷³ along with the Old.⁷⁴ He was acquainted with some elements of its cult (the part, at least,

⁶⁸ *Conf.* 3.6.10 (CCL 27, p. 31.1–5): “Itaque incidi in homines [...] in quorum ore laquei diaboli uiscum confectum commixtione syllabarum nominis tui et domini Iesu Christi et paracleti consolatoris nostri spiritus sancti. Haec nomina non recedebant de ore eorum.” On this see Menasce, “Augustin manichéen,” 87–8. Decret, “Saint Augustin, témoin,” thinks that it was Manichaean christology and exegesis, in particular, which had attracted Augustine in the first place. On the Manichaean Trinity see E. Feldmann, “Der Einfluß des Hortenius und des Manichäismus auf das Denken des jungen Augustinus von 373” (Inaugural-Dissertation, Fachbereich Katholische Theologie der Wilhelms-Universität, Münster/W: 1975 [typed]), 1: 684–97 (notes in 2: 308–13).

⁶⁹ On this see “Healing and the ‘Physician’ in Manichaeism” in this volume.

⁷⁰ See V. Arnold-Döben, *Die Bildersprache des Manichäismus* (AZR, 3), Köln: E. J. Brill, 1978, 133–36; Decret, “L’utilisation,” 65–7 (= *Essais*, 89–91); *Idem*, “Giustificazione e salvezza dell’ ‘uomo nuovo’ secondo Fausto manicheo,” Aug(R) 30 (1990): 21–9 (= *Essais*, 107–13); and H.-J. Klimkeit, “Die manichäische Lehre vom alten und neuen Menschen,” in G. Wießner and H.-J. Klimkeit, eds., *Studia Manichaica: II. Internationaler Kongreß zum Manichäismus, 6.–10. August 1989, St. Augustin/Bonn* (SOR, 23), Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1992, 131–50; trans. as “The Manichaean Doctrine of the Old and the New Man,” in Heuser and Klimkeit, *Studies in Manichaean Literature*, 123–41.

⁷¹ See Coyle, *Augustine’s “De moribus”*, 192. On Manichaean influence on Augustine’s own exegesis see Feldmann, “Der Einfluß” 1: 540–81 (2: 243–53); and M. Tardeau, “Principes de l’exégèse manichéenne du Nouveau Testament,” in *Idem*, *Les règles de l’interprétation*, Paris: Cerf, 1987, 123–46. Wenning, “Der Einfluß,” 80–90, believes that this influence can be seen particularly in Augustine’s fondness for allegory.

⁷² See the references in van Oort, *Jerusalem*, 36–42.

⁷³ *De mor. eccl. cath.* 9.14 (CSEL 90, p. 16.17–18): “Haec illi solent a corruptoribus scripturarum immissa esse dicere.” See also 29.60–61, and *De mor. Man.* 17.55.

⁷⁴ *De mor. eccl. cath.* 10.16. See also 28.57; *De Gen. c. Man.* 1.1.2 and 2.7.8; and *Conf.* 3.7.12. Not all of the Old Testament was repudiated, at least in Egypt: compare the quotation of canonical Psalm 50(51):12 in *De mor. eccl. cath.* 19.36 (CSEL 90, p. 41.11) with a Coptic Manichaean ‘Psalm of the Wanderers,’ in C. R. C. Allberry, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book, Part II* (MMCBC, 2), Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1938, p. 159.21–22.

reserved to Hearers),⁷⁵ about the ‘three seals’ of the Manichaean ethical code and their implications⁷⁶—especially regarding the duties of Hearers⁷⁷—, about some of the doctrine, above all concerning the origin and nature of evil,⁷⁸ and about much of the Manichaean cosmogony.⁷⁹

This does not mean that Augustine always got it right: he claimed, for instance, that Manichaeans believed in ‘two gods,’ that they thought of every human as possessing ‘two souls,’ that they worshipped the sun and moon—allegations more sophisticated Manichaeans would have considered gross simplifications.⁸⁰ Unless on these occasions he was lying or being deliberately obtuse, he does not seem to have always understood even what he knew. For the rest, let it simply be said that whatever is affirmed about his knowledge must be tempered by two cautionary remarks. The first is that Augustine’s knowledge extended to Western (read: Latin, that is, African and Italian) expressions of Manichaeism, the only forms he could really know; and the second is that as a Catholic presbyter and bishop Augustine came to learn aspects of Manichaeism beyond the reach of Augustine the Manichaean Hearer.

⁷⁵ *De mor. Man.* 17.55 (CSEL 90, p. 139.2): “orationibus et psalmis.” See also *C. Fort.* 1–2 (CSEL 25/1, p. 85.15–16): “[Fortunatus dixit:] interfui oratione? AUG. dixit: interfui”; *Conf.* 3.7.14 (CCL 27, p. 34.49): “et cantabam carmina”; also *C. Epist. Fund.* 8; Feldmann, “Der Einfluß” 1: 698–711 (2: 314–18); and van Oort, “Augustinus,” esp. 283–89.

⁷⁶ *De mor. Man.* 10.19–18.66. See also *De mor. eccl. cath.* 35.78,80. On what Augustine mentions and omits on this point see Decret, “De moribus,” 78–102; *Idem, L’Afrique manichéenne* 1, 25–30 (2: 34–6).

⁷⁷ *De mor. Man.* 17.57,61–62, and 18.65.

⁷⁸ *De mor. Man.* 2.2 (CSEL 90, p. 89.5–7): “Saepe [...] requiritis unde sit malum.” See Feldmann, “Der Einfluß” 1, 599–616 (2: 261–74).

⁷⁹ *De mor. Man.* 9.14, 11.20–12.25, 15.36, 16.38, 17.60, 19.73, and 27.64. On Manichaean cosmogony and Augustine’s acquaintance with it, see N. J. Torchia, *Creatio ex nihilo and the Theology of St. Augustine: The Anti-Manichaean Polemic and Beyond* (American University Studies, Series VII: Theology and Religion, 205), New York and Bern: Lang, 1999, 65–163.

⁸⁰ *De mor. eccl. cath.* 10.16 (CSEL 90, p. 19.6–7): “Duos enim deos, unum bonum, alterum malum esse perhibet”; 20.37 (p. 42.11–12): “solem et lunam non modo diligendos sed etiam colendos putant”; *De duab. anim.* 1 (CSEL 25/1, p. 51.9–12): “primo animalium illa duo genera, quibus ita singulas naturas proprias tribuerunt, ut alterum de ipsa dei esse substantia, alterius uero deum ne conditorem quidem uelint accipi.” See also *De mor. Manich.* 8.13 (p. 99.15); *Tractatus in Iohannis euangelium* 34.2 (CCL 36, pp. 311–12); and Coyle, Augustine’s “De moribus,” 331–32 and 355–59.

ONCE A MANICHAEAN, ALWAYS A MANICHAEAN?⁸¹

This question, too, was first raised in Augustine's lifetime. I think he lived his entire Catholic life in dread of being branded a crypto-Manichaean, and that this apprehension goes a long way toward explaining the energy with which he dogged his old religion. His first surviving works, all following his conversion to Catholicism, already have anti-Manichaean nuances, and serve as the preparation for the anti-Manichaean period of his writing, meaning the fifteen or so explicitly anti-Manichaean works he produced between 387 and 411.⁸² How ironic, then, that at both the start and close of his episcopacy he should encounter that very accusation—and from other, though unorthodox, bishops.⁸³ One, Julian of Eclanum, saw Manichaeism particularly in Augustine's ideas on original sin.⁸⁴ After Julian we do see

⁸¹ For historical overviews of scholarship on Manichaeism's continued presence in Augustine see L. Cilleruelo, "La oculta presencia del maniqueismo en la «Ciudad de Dios»,⁸⁵ in *Estudios sobre la "Ciudad de Dios"* 1 (= *La Ciudad de Dios* 167), Madrid: Real Monasterio de San Lorenzo del Escorial, 1955, 475–509; J. Ries, "La Bible chez saint Augustin et chez les manichéens," *REA* 10 (1964): 317–20; and van Oort, *Jerusalem*, 199–207, 212–29, and 351–52.

⁸² See "Anti-Manichaean Works," in A. D. Fitzgerald, ed., *Augustine Through the Ages: An Encyclopedia*, Cambridge and Grand Rapids, Mich.: Willam B. Eerdmans, 1999, 39–41.

⁸³ See, e.g., Aug., *Contra litteras Petilianis* 3.11,16,19, and 20; *Contra Cresconium* 3.16.19 and 80.92; *Opus imperfectum contra Iulianum* 1.98, 2.31–33, and 4.4.2; and *Contra secundam Iuliani responsonem opus imp.* 1.24,115. Other references in Julian's *Ad Turbantium*: see M. Lamberigts, "Some Critiques on Augustine's View of Sexuality Revisited," in SP 33: *Papers presented at the Tenth International Conference on Patristic Studies held in Oxford 1995*, Leuven: Peeters, 1997, 153 n. 13; also W. H. C. Frend, "Manichaeism in the Struggle Between Saint Augustine and Petilian of Constantine," in AM 2, 859–66, repr. in *Idem, Religion Popular and Unpopular*. The view of E. A. Clark, "Vitiated Seeds and Holy Vessels: Augustine's Manichaean Past," in *Eadem, Ascetic Piety and Women's Faith: Essays in Late Ancient Christianity* (Studies in Women and Religion, 20), Lewiston, N. Y.: Edwin Mellen Press, 1986, 291–349 (repr. in K. L. King, ed., *Images of the Feminine in Gnosticism* [Studies in Antiquity and Christianity], Philadelphia: Fortress, 1988, 367–401), is that the Manichaean cosmogonic myth was the inspiration for Augustine's explanation of how human seed was passed on already corrupted. See the response to this by P. Fredriksen in King, ed., *op. cit.*, 402–09; and *Eadem*, "Beyond the Body/Soul Dichotomy: Augustine on Paul Against the Manichees and the Pelagians," *RechAug* 23 (1988): 87–114; this is a more recent version of an article (published subsequently) in W. S. Babcock, ed., *Paul and the Legacies of Paul*, Dallas: Southern Methodist University Press, 1990, 227–51 (with Babcock's response, 251–61).

⁸⁴ See P. F. Beatrice, *Tradux peccati: Alle fonti della dottrina agostiniana del peccato originale* (*Studia Patristica Mediolanensis*, 8) Milan: Vita e Pensiero, 1978, 58–61; and M. Lamberigts, "Was Augustine a Manichaean? The Assessment of Julian of Eclanum," in van Oort *et al.*, eds., *Augustine and Manichaeism in the Latin West*, 113–36.

little of this polemic until its revival by Albert Bruckner at the end of the 19th century,⁸⁵ and a generation later by Luigi Tondelli.⁸⁶ In the 1950's, Alfred Adam, Lope Cilleruelo, and William Frend all saw Manichaeism's influence particularly evident in Augustine's teaching on the 'two cities'.⁸⁷ In the early 1970s, Wilhelm Geerlings pushed the envelope by exploring themes in Augustine's anthropology, in particular the notions of sin and *concupiscentia*,⁸⁸ this last an area wherein more recently van Oort has also discerned a Manichaean influence.⁸⁹ And to my mind Elizabeth Clark has established that certain concep-

⁸⁵ A. E. Bruckner, *Julian von Eclanum: Ein Leben und seine Lehre. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Pelagianismus* (TU, 15/3), Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1897; contested by E. Buonaiuti, "Sant'Agostino," in *Idem, Il bando cristiano ed alcuni suoi interpreti*, Rome: De Carlo, 1946, 192, repr. from *Idem, Sant'Agostino*, 2nd ed., (Profilo, 44), Rome: A. F. Formiggini, 1923 (1917); and repr. in *Idem, "Agostino e la colpa ereditaria," Richerche religiose* 2 (1926): 426, repr. in *Idem, Saggi di storia del cristianesimo*, 324.

⁸⁶ L. Tondelli, *Mani: Rapporti con Bardesane, S. Agostino, Dante*, Milan: Vita e Pensiero, 1932, 75–105. See Ries, *Les études*, 170–73.

⁸⁷ A. Adam especially in "Der manichäische Ursprung der Lehre von der zwei Reichen bei Augustin," *Theologische Literaturzeitung* 77 (1952): c. 385–90, repr. in *Idem, Sprache und Dogma: Untersuchungen zu Grundproblemen*, Gütersloh: Mohn, 1969, 133–40, and in H.-H. Schrey, ed., *Reich Gottes und Welt: Die Lehre Luthers von den zwei Reichen* (WDF, 107), Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1969, 30–39. See also *Idem, "Das Fortwirken des Manichäismus bei Augustin," Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 69 (1958): 1–25, repr. in *Idem, Sprache und Dogma*, 141–66; and Cilleruelo, "La oculta presencia": 491–509. Frend, "The Gnostic-Manichaean Tradition," believes that Manichaean ideas served as models for Augustine's views on the two cities, predestination, and concupiscence (from which there is no obligation to conclude that Augustine never let go of Manichaeism). A. Böhlig sees Augustine's development of the theme of the two cities more in terms of a reaction to Gnosticism in general: see "Zu gnostischen Grundlagen der Civitas-Dei-Vorstellung bei Augustin," *ZNW* 60 (1969): 291–95. In *Jerusalem und Babylon*, 222–29, van Oort notes both differences and similarities between the Manichaean and Augustinian conceptions of the two kingdoms, and concludes that Augustine's dualism differs in that it is not ontological. Indeed, Brunner, "The Ontological Relation," 79, asserts that "The only truly ontological principle articulated in Manichaean doctrine is the fundamental one of *duo principia* [...]. Any further generalizations are those of the modern student of the religion, not the explicit concepts of the apostle [Mani] which were then clothed in mythic dress."

⁸⁸ Geerlings, "Zur Frage des Nachwirkens."

⁸⁹ J. van Oort, "Augustine and Mani on concupiscentia sexualis," in J. den Boeft and J. van Oort, eds., *Augustiniana Traiectina: Communications présentées au Colloque international d'Utrecht 13–14 novembre 1986* Paris: Études Augustiniennes, 1987, 137–52; more cautiously in J. van Oort, "Augustine on Sexual Concupiscence and Original Sin," in SP 22: *Papers presented to the Tenth International Conference on Patristic Studies held in Oxford 1987*, Leuven: Peeters, 1989, 382–86; and in *Idem, "Mani, Augustinus en de seksuele begeerte,"* in G. Quispel, ed., *Gnosis: De derde component van de Europese cultuurtraditie* Utrecht: HES, 1989, 127–29, repr. in J. van Oort, ed., *Augustinus: Facetten van leven en werk*, Kempen: Kok, 1991, 101–03.

tual notions from his Manichaean days may have affected the later Augustine, particularly in the realm of sexuality.⁹⁰ As well, van Oort perceives an enduring Manichaean presence in Augustine's antithetical approach to theological discussion, and in his long search for a plausible explanation of the creation account in Genesis (and, broadly, of the Old Testament itself).⁹¹ Augustine also appears to reach back to Manichaeism for aspects of his ideas on predestination.⁹²

Did Manichaeism, then, as van Oort framed the question in the early 1990s, continue to influence Augustine's theology?⁹³ The question (accusation, if you will) has some basis, in that Augustine refers to Manichaeism in ways other than simple citation and direct assault. His choice of themes is one such way. The Manichaean reworking of the creation story in Genesis shaped how much attention Augustine would give to the story and how he would treat it: he would write no less than five commentaries bearing on Gen. 1–3, all of them probably with Manichaeism in mind. By the same token, his anthropology was also affected, particularly concerning evil, which for him knew no separate existence and was inessential to human nature.⁹⁴ Affected, too, I think, was his notion of history, the center of trajectory for Manichaeism's cosmogony. If it thought of a pristine, pre-creation time,⁹⁵

⁹⁰ Clark, "Vitiated Seeds."

⁹¹ See van Oort, "Augustinus": 284–86.

⁹² E. Buonaiuti, "Manichaeism and Augustine's Idea of 'Massa Perditionis,'" *Harvard Theological Review* 20 (1927): 117–27; A. Magris, "Augustins Prädestinationslehre und die manichäische Quellen," in van Oort *et al.*, eds., *Augustine and Manichaeism in the Latin West*, 148–60; M.-A. Vannier, "Cosmogonie manichéenne et réflexion augustinienne sur la création," in M. Rassart-Debergh and J. Ries, eds., *Actes du IV^e Congrès Copte, Louvain-la-Neuve, 5–10 septembre 1988* 2 (Publications de l'Institut Orientaliste de Louvain, 41), Louvain-la-Neuve: Institut Orientaliste de l'Université Catholique de Louvain, 1992, 300–09; *Eadem*, "Manichéisme et pensée augustinienne de la création," in *Jornadas Agustinianas: Con motivo del XVI Centenario de la Conversión de San Augustín, Madrid 22–24 de Abril de 1987*, Valladolid: Estudio Agustíniano, 1988, 143–51, repr. in J. C. Schnaubelt and F. van Fleteren, eds., *Collectanea Augustiniana: Augustine—Second Founder of the Faith*, New York and Bern: Lang, 1990, 421–31.

⁹³ Van Oort, "Augustinus": 284: "Wanneer wij ons nu afvragen of dit manichéisme blijvende sporen heeft nagelaten in Augustinus' theologie."

⁹⁴ See Brunner, "The Ontological Relation," 88–9; and G. Sfameni Gasparro, "Natura e origine del male: Alle radici dell'incontro e del confronto di Agostino con la gnosi manichea," in L. Alici, R. Piccolomini and A. Pieretti, eds., *Il mistero del male e la libertà possibile: Lettura dei Dialoghi di Agostino: Atti del V Seminario del Centro di Studi Agostiniani di Perugia* (SEA, 45), Rome: Institutum Patristicum Augustinianum, 1994, 7–55.

⁹⁵ Refuted by Augustine in e.g., *De Gen. c. Man.* 2.2.3.

the current created time, and a future moment of final restoration, in which even the two coeternal principles would not be as they were at first, then, in Christopher Brunner's words,

St. Augustine, in reaction, carefully confined the notion of history to the human sphere. His stages are: God made man through his goodness, punished him through his justice, and redeemed him through his mercy (*De libero arbitrio* 3.4.15); thus any concept of a primeval, divine history is excluded.⁹⁶

In the same article (1982) Brunner summed up (though uncritically) the work carried out up to that time on the question, with the observation that

St. Augustine's polemics remain all the more interesting with the knowledge that doctrines and themes closely associated with Manichaeism remained prominent in his thought. His concept of the 'two cities' echoes the Manichaean perception of the metaphysical disparity of being. The prominence given to *concupiscentia* as the primary manifestation of human downfall and the explanation for the individual's moral enervation compares with the status of Greed and Lust in Manichaean cosmogony; functional equivalence is also close. Correspondingly, the decisive role of grace in Augustine's theology closely resembles the activity of the Light Nous. These continuing affinities in Augustine's thought and feeling with the spirit of the rejected religion may have inspired some of the vehemence in his attacks against it.⁹⁷

In other words, had Augustine never been a Manichaean, his theology would have been different, or at least expressed differently.

CONCLUSION

What to make of all this? My summation is simply this: that Augustine, once a sincere Manichaean, knew something but not everything about the religion he had left; but that, having really left it, he set for himself a course that steered him between trying to contain it and avoiding what would make his sincerity as a Catholic Christian suspect; and that, consciously or not, Manichaean concepts and themes spilled over into his views of the message of Catholic Christianity and how to present it.

⁹⁶ Brunner, "The Ontological Relation," 79.

⁹⁷ Brunner, "The Ontological Relation," 78.

Throughout his Catholic life, Augustine never lost sight of Manichaeism as a polemical target.⁹⁸ It is especially in that sense that I think he remained, in Pierre Courcelle's phrase, obsessed with Manichaeism.⁹⁹ As to a more positive influence on him, even if—as certainly seems to be the case—on some points Manichaeism continued to exercise a legacy on Augustine's thought, this need not unduly alarm us. As Ernesto Buonaiuti pointed out in 1927, "Manichaeism, on both the doctrinal and the practical side, followed like a shadow in the footsteps of orthodox Christianity, which very often could only overcome it by absorbing and making its own some of the fundamental Manichaean conventions."¹⁰⁰ We ought not to regard such possible influences as a necessarily bad thing; it might simply mean that that Augustine's experience with and knowledge of Manichaeism determined some of the themes that were to capture his interest and how he would develop them. In that paper he delivered in 1987, Decret remarked that his long association with the movement would have marked Augustine "deeply" and "brought him much."¹⁰¹

Long after the significant discoveries of Manichaeism's own works in the twentieth century, one must still know Augustine of Hippo to know Manichaeism better. He is one of the few Latin sources for our knowledge of it, and of all non-Manichaeian authorities he is surely the most prolific. The opposite also stands true: to know Augustine, one must know Manichaeism. Theories from the latter do show up in him, sometimes to be refuted, but sometimes to be borrowed. Without Manichaeism, there would still have been Augustine, perhaps even Augustine the great theologian; but it would have been a different Augustine, with a different theology.

⁹⁸ For example, in *De ciuitate dei* (written between 415 and 426) 1.20, 11.10,13,15, etc. See J. van Oort, "Manichaeism in Augustine's *de civitate dei*," in E. Cavalcanti, ed., *Il De Civitate Dei: L'opera, le interpretazioni, l'influsso*, Rome-Freiburg-Vienna: Herder, 1996, 193–214.

⁹⁹ P. Courcelle, "Saint Augustin manichéen à Milan?," *Orpheus* 1 (1954): 83: "À Cassiciacum, puis à Rome et très tard encore, Augustin restera comme obsédé par la pensée manichéenne, lors même qu'il la déteste." I would add "right to the end of his life."

¹⁰⁰ Buonaiuti, "Manichaeism": 126.

¹⁰¹ Decret, "Saint Augustin, témoin," 94: "L'Auditeur n'est pas resté [...] dans la secte [...] pour que ces années ne l'aient profondément marqué et ne lui aient aussi beaucoup apporté."

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