

PARADOSIS

Contributions to the History of Early Christian Literature and Theology
Edited by Othmar Perler

XXV

JOHN KEVIN COYLE

AUGUSTINE'S
"DE MORIBUS ECCLESIAE CATHOLICAE"

A STUDY OF THE WORK, ITS COMPOSITION AND ITS SOURCES

THE UNIVERSITY PRESS, FRIBOURG SWITZERLAND
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Dissertation submitted to the Faculty of Theology
of the University of Fribourg, Switzerland,
to obtain the Doctoral degree.

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FOREWORD

A book is like the tip of an iceberg. It is the visible one-fifth or so that is left of the writing and re-writing, editing and re-editing, research and revision that lie beneath it and have produced it.

This particular result would never have appeared had it not also been for the involvement of others besides myself: of Mgr. Othmar Perler, who suggested the original topic, gave his constant encouragement and assistance, and guided the work to its conclusion; of Mila Wettstein, who typed the manuscript with such great patience and care; of Colin and Hania Burnell, who bore my presence and eccentricities with great equanimity during the two months it took to put together the final draft; of Fr. James Tursi, O.S.A., of the "Augustinianum" Patristic Institute in Rome, who looked after the many technical considerations necessary in having the text printed; and of the Research Centre of Saint Paul University, Ottawa, for a grant which lightened the task of indexing.

Finally, I would like to mention my brethren of the Canadian Province of the Order of Saint Augustine, who sent me for my doctorate in the first place.

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ABBREVIATIONS

I. General works and periodicals

AM	= <i>Augustinus Magister. Congrès International Augustinien</i> , Paris, 21-24 septembre 1954: I-II: Communications; III: Actes
AMaj	= <i>Asia Major. A British Journal of Far Eastern Studies</i> (London)
APAW	= <i>Abhandlungen der Königlich Preussischen</i> (after 1918: simply <i>Preussischen</i>) <i>Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin</i> , Philologisch-historische Klasse
Aug	= <i>Augustiniana. Tijdschrift voor de studie van Sint Augustinus en de Augustijneorde</i> (Louvain)
August	= <i>Augustinus. Revista Trimestral publicada por los Padres Agustinos Recoletos</i> (Madrid)
BLE	= <i>Bulletin de Littérature Ecclésiastique</i> (Toulouse)
BSOAS	= <i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies</i> (University of London)
CCL	= <i>Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina</i> (Turnhout, Belgium) *
CSCO	= <i>Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium</i> (Louvain)
CSEL	= <i>Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum</i> (Vienna) *
DACL	= <i>Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie</i> (Paris)
DB	= <i>Dictionnaire de la Bible</i> (Paris)
DHGE	= <i>Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie Ecclésiastiques</i> (Paris)
DTC	= <i>Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique</i> (Paris)
EJ	= <i>Eranos-Jahrbuch</i> (Zurich)
ELC	= Christine Mohrmann, <i>Études sur le latin des chrétiens</i> (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura): I. Le latin des chrétiens (t. 64: 1958); II. Latin chrétien et médiéval (t. 87: 1961); III. Latin chrétien et liturgique (t. 103: 1965)
Enn	= Plotinus, <i>Enneads</i> (Bréhier's edition)
GCS	= <i>Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte, herausgegeben von der Kirchenväter-Commission der (Königlich Preussischen) Akademie der Wissenschaften</i> (Leipzig)

* References to CCL or CSEL are given in the abbreviated form: thus CSEL 63/91.16 = CSEJ., vol. 63, p. 91, line 16.

JA	= <i>Journal Asiatique. Recueil de mémoires et de notices relatifs aux études orientales publié par la Société Asiatique</i> (Paris)
JAOS	= <i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i> (New Haven)
JRAS	= <i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland</i> (London)
JTS	= <i>The Journal of Theological Studies</i> (Oxford)
MA	= <i>Miscellanea Agostiniana. Testi e studi pubblicati a cura dell'Ordine eremitano di S. Agostino nel XV centenario dalla morte del santo dottore II: Studi agostiniani</i> (Tipografia Poliglotta Vaticana, Rome, 1931)
MH	= <i>Museum Helveticum. Schweizerische Zeitschrift für klassische Altertumswissenschaft</i> (Basel)
MREO	= <i>Le Muséon. Revue d'Études Orientales</i> (Louvain)
NCE	= <i>New Catholic Encyclopedia</i> (New York)
NGWG	= <i>Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philosophisch-historische Klasse</i>
OLZ	= <i>Orientalische Literatur-Zeitung</i> (Leipzig)
PG	= <i>Patrologiae Cursus Completus, Series Graeca</i> , accurate J.-P. Migne (Paris) *
PL	= <i>Patrologiae Cursus Completus, Series Latina</i> , accurate J.-P. Migne (Paris) *
PLS	= <i>Patrologiae Latinae Supplementum</i> , accurate Adalberto Hamman (Paris)
RA	= <i>Recherches Augustiniennes</i> (Paris)
RAp	= <i>Revue Apologétique</i> (Paris)
RB	= <i>Revue Bénédictine</i> (Maredsous)
REA	= <i>Revue des Études Anciennes</i> (Bordeaux)
REAug	= <i>Revue des Études Augustiniennes</i> (Paris)
REL	= <i>Revue des Études Latines</i> (Paris)
RHE	= <i>Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique</i> (Louvain)
RHLR	= <i>Revue d'Histoire et de Littérature Religieuses</i> (Paris)
RHPR	= <i>Revue d'Histoire et de Philosophie Religieuses</i> (Strasbourg)
RHR	= <i>Revue de l'Histoire des Religions</i> (Paris)
RP	= <i>Revue de Philosophie</i> (Paris)
RQ	= <i>Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und für Kirchengeschichte</i> (Freiburg im Breisgau)
RSR	= <i>Recherches de Science Religieuse</i> (Paris)
RTP	= <i>Revue de Théologie et de Philosophie</i> (Lausanne)
SC	= <i>La Scuola Cattolica</i> (Milan)
SM	= <i>Studia Monastica</i> (Montserrat)
SPAW	= <i>Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preussischen</i> (after 1918: simply <i>Preussischen</i>) <i>Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin</i> , Philologisch-historische Klasse

* References to PG or PL are given in the abbreviated form: thus PL 32/1038 = PL, t. 32, c. 1038.

TLL	= <i>Thesaurus Linguae Latinae</i> (Leipzig - Munich) : complete only to "M"
TU	= <i>Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur</i> (Leipzig-Berlin)
VC	= <i>Vigiliae Christianae. A Review of Early Christian Life and Language</i> (Amsterdam)
VL	= <i>Vetus Latina. Die Reste der altlateinischen Bibel nach Petrus Sabatier, neu gesammelt und herausgegeben von der Erzabtei Beuron.</i> (So far Genesis, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians and the Catholic Epistles have been published)
Vulg	= <i>Biblia Sacra iuxta Vulgatam Versionem</i> , ed R. Weber, 2 vols., Württembergische Bibelanstalt, Stuttgart, 1969; also, for the books published to date — Gen., Ex., Lev., Num., Deut., Jos., Judg., Ruth, Sam., Mal., Paral., Ezra, Tob., Est., Job., Ps., Prov., Eccl., Cant., Wis. and Sir. — <i>Biblia sacra iuxta latinam vulgatam versionem</i> , cura et studio monachorum Ordinis sancti Benedicti, Typis Polyglottis Vaticanis, Rome, 1926ff. Unless otherwise indicated, all scriptural quotations and references are according to this version.
ZKG	= <i>Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte</i> (Gotha)
ZNW	= <i>Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche</i> (Giessen-Berlin)

II. Works of Augustine most often cited

<i>Acad.</i>	= <i>Contra Academicos libri III</i> , CSEL 63/3-61
<i>Adimant.</i>	= <i>Contra Adimantum</i> , CSEL 25, 1/115-190
<i>adu. leg.</i>	= <i>Contra aduersarium legis et prophetarum</i> , PL 42/603-666
<i>ag. christ.</i>	= <i>De agone christiano</i> , CSEL 41/101-138
<i>bon. con.</i>	= <i>De bono coniugali</i> , CSEL 41/187-231
<i>b. uita</i>	= <i>De beata uita</i> , CSEL 63/89-116
<i>cat. rud.</i>	= <i>De catechizandis rudibus</i> , CCL 46/121-178
<i>ciu. dei.</i>	= <i>De ciuitate dei libri XXII</i> , CSEL 40, 1 (I-XIII) and 2 (XIV-XXII)
<i>conf.</i>	= <i>Confessionum libri XIII</i> , CSEL 33. (I have chosen to follow this edition as more recent than PL and more accessible than the best edition to date, which is that of Martin Skutella, Teubner, Berlin, 1934, with corrections by H. Jürgens and W. Schaub, Teubner, Stuttgart, 1969.)
<i>cont.</i>	= <i>De continentia</i> , CSEL 41/141-183
<i>doct. christ.</i>	= <i>De doctrina christiana libri IV</i> , CSEL 80
<i>dono pers.</i>	= <i>De dono perseuerantiae</i> , PL 45/993-1034
<i>duab. an.</i>	= <i>De duabus animabus</i> , CSEL 25,1/51-80
<i>ench.</i>	= <i>Enchiridion ad Laurentium</i> , CCL 46/49-114

<i>enarr.</i>	= <i>Enarrationes in psalmos</i> , CCL 38 (1-50), 39 (51-100), 40 (101-150)
<i>epist.</i>	= <i>Epistulae</i> , CSEL 34,1 (1-30), 34,2 (31-123), 44 (124-184), 57 (185-270)
<i>epist. fund.</i>	= <i>Contra epistulam quam uocant fundamenti</i> , CSEL 25,1 / 193-248
<i>Faust.</i>	= <i>Contra Faustum libri XXXIII</i> , CSEL 25,1/251-797
<i>Fel.</i>	= <i>Contra Felicem libri II</i> , CSEL 25,2/801-852
<i>Fort.</i>	= <i>Contra Fortunatum disputatio</i> , CSEL 25,1/83-112
<i>Gen. ad litt.</i>	= <i>De Genesi ad litteram libri XII</i> , CSEL 28,1/3-435
<i>Gen. c. Man.</i>	= <i>De Genesi contra Manicheos libri II</i> , PL 34/173-220
<i>Gen. imp.</i>	= <i>De Genesi ad litteram imperfectus liber</i> , CSEL 28,1/459-503
<i>haer.</i>	= <i>De haeresibus</i> , PL 42/21-50
<i>inmort.</i>	= <i>De immortalitate animae</i> , PL 32/1021-1034
<i>Ioh. euang.</i>	= <i>In Iohannis euangelium tractatus CXXIV</i> , CCL 36
<i>Iul.</i>	= <i>Contra Iulianum libri VI</i> , PL 44/641-874
<i>Iul. imp.</i>	= <i>Contra Iulianum opus imperfectum</i> , PL 45/1049-1608
<i>lib. arb.</i>	= <i>De libero arbitrio libri III</i> , CSEL 74
<i>mag.</i>	= <i>De magistro</i> , CSEL 77,1
<i>men.</i>	= <i>De mendacio</i> , CSEL 41/413-466
<i>mor. I</i>	= <i>De moribus ecclesiae catholicae</i>
<i>mor. II</i>	= <i>De moribus Manicheorum</i> , PL 32/1345-1378
<i>mus.</i>	= <i>De musica libri VI</i> , PL 32/1081-1194
<i>nat. boni</i>	= <i>De natura boni</i> , CSEL 25,2/855-889
<i>nupt.</i>	= <i>De nuptiis et concupiscentia libri II</i> , CSEL 42/211-319
<i>op. mon.</i>	= <i>De opere monachorum</i> , CSEL 41/530-596
<i>ord.</i>	= <i>De ordine libri II</i> , CSEL 63/121-185
<i>Petil.</i>	= <i>Contra litteras Petiliani libri III</i> , CSEL 52/3-227
<i>praed.</i>	= <i>De praedestinatione sanctorum</i> , PL 44/959-992
<i>quaest.</i>	= <i>De diuersis quaestionibus LXXXIII</i> , PL 40/11-100
<i>quant.</i>	= <i>De quantitate animae</i> , PL 32/1035-1080
<i>retr.</i>	= <i>Retractationum libri II</i> , CSEL 36
<i>Secund.</i>	= <i>Contra Secundinum</i> , CSEL 25,2/905-947
<i>serm.</i>	= <i>Sermones</i> , PL 38 (1-340) and 39/1443-1638 (341-363)
<i>serm. dom.</i>	= <i>De sermone domini in monte libri II</i> , CCL 35
<i>sol.</i>	= <i>Soliloquiorum libri II</i> , PL 32/869-904
<i>trin.</i>	= <i>De trinitate libri XV</i> , CCL 50 (I-XII) and 50 A (XIII-XV)
<i>uera rel.</i>	= <i>De uera religione</i> , CSEL 77,2
<i>ut. cred.</i>	= <i>De utilitate credendi</i> , CSEL 25,1/3-48

III. Other abbreviations and signs

c., cc.	= column(s)
cf.	= refer to (Latin <i>confer</i>)
diss.	= (doctoral) dissertation
ed.	= edited by

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e.g.	= for example (Latin <i>exempli gratia</i>)
f., ff.	= and following (year, line, page, chapter)
<i>loc. cit.</i>	= in the place cited (Latin <i>loco citato</i>)
ms., mss.	= manuscript(s)
n., nn.	= note(s)
<i>op. cit.</i>	= in the work cited (Latin <i>opere citato</i>)
p., pp.	= page(s)
repr.	= reprinted
t., tt.	= tome(s)
var.	= variant reading(s)
vol.	= volume(s)
§	= paragraph (of the Latin text of <i>mor. I</i> numbered according to PL 32)

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PART I
STUDY OF THE WORK

INTRODUCTION

The crowded condition of the 'Augustine' section in any well-stocked theological library obliges me to begin this study with an *apologia*. The year 1930 alone managed to produce about 800 books and articles dealing in some way with the Bishop of Hippo. Doubtless the fifteenth centenary of Augustine's death in that year rendered 1930 exceptional; but that is small consolation to the student of Augustine who must sift this mass to separate the good from the bad, while he acknowledges all the evidence that interest in Augustine has scarcely diminished since that time. Some idea of how much literature appeared since can be gained from Van Bavel's *Répertoire*, which for the decade 1950-1960 lists about 5000 books and articles concerning Augustine.¹

Why, then, add to this crowded state? This is not a question I myself could have confidently answered when I began this. The suggestion that I do a study of Augustine's "De moribus" came from Prof. Othmar Perler, who undertook to guide the dissertation it became. In the course of gathering materials it dawned on me why he had suggested this particular bit of research. For, with the single (and otherwise unremarkable) exception of Moon's examination of *De natura boni*, no extensive study exists of any of the works Augustine directed to Manichaeism² - a strange *lacuna* when one takes into account the number of these works, the large fraction of Augustine's life

¹ Tarcisius VAN BAVEL, *Répertoire bibliographique de saint Augustin*, Nijhoff, The Hague, 1963.

² Cf. RIES, *La Bible*, p. 233: "Un rapide coup d'oeil sur les bibliographies augustinienes impose une constatation: on a beaucoup étudié la polémique d'Augustin contre le donatisme et le pélagianisme. L'étude de sa controverse avec les manichéens reste pratiquement à faire. Cette période de la vie d'Augustin nous semble cependant importante. Elle s'échelonne en effet sur quinze années d'une intense activité littéraire et pastorale, consacrée principalement à la défense de la Bible et à l'élaboration des principes de l'exégèse chrétienne occidentale."

(388-405) they represent, and all that has been written about his works in other fields; and the strangeness increases when one ponders the observation of Harnack that just before Augustine came into the world the three great religious movements then propagating themselves in the Roman Empire were Neoplatonism, Catholicism and Manichaeism.³ To each of these Augustine himself belonged at one time or another; but only his relations with the first two have received the attention from scholars they deserve. Despite the new life injected into Manichaean studies by this century's discoveries, little has been done to apply the results of those studies to the considerable literature directed by Augustine at his erstwhile co-religionists.

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But, whether we interpret the term narrowly or broadly, Manichaeism is obviously not the only source to be taken into account. Augustine's range of experience enclosed such a welter of influences, encountered in education, in faith, in personal contacts, and in private reading, that — unless he explicitly does it for us — one scarcely dares to identify with certainty any but a few of them. This is particularly true of that "early period"⁷ into which "De moribus"

⁵ Du Roy, *L'intelligence*, p. 227, n. 2: "...les rapprochements que nous avons été amené à faire accusent le caractère très oriental de la théologie trinitaire du *De mor.* et rendent souhaitable une étude plus poussée des sources de cet écrit."

⁶ Cf. ADAM, *Das Fortwirken*.

⁷ Cf. DUTOIT, *Augustin*, p. 48: "Ceci nous oblige à constater encore une fois combien difficile et complexe est le problème des sources quand il s'agit principalement des premiers écrits de saint Augustin. Le néo-platonisme avait lui-même absorbé quantité de courants: platonicien, péripatéticien, stoïcien. De son côté, le néo-pythagorisme était encore vivace. Enfin Augustin lisait des encyclopédistes comme Celse et Varron; il s'informait dans des histoires ou des abrégés d'histoire de la philosophie comme l'ouvrage de Manlius Theodorus consacré aux écoles philosophiques grecques, ou simplement les *Academica* et le *De finibus* de Cicéron. Il n'est dès lors pas étonnant que l'on éprouve une telle perplexité lorsqu'on veut déterminer exactement, devant telle ou telle formule, tel ou tel énoncé, si c'est Plotin ou Porphyre, Cicéron, Varron ou Sénèque, qui en est la source.

falls. And so this study's "conclusions" will often be vaguely framed: "Here *perhaps* Ambrose; there *possibly* Cicero." No doubt this is a vexation but, given the nature of Augustine's own intellectual makeup, it cannot be helped.

To return for the moment to Manichaeism. It will be the first subject treated in this study, for the reasons I have already given. One simply cannot hope to understand a work of refutation if one does not understand what is being refuted, hence one cannot understand "De moribus" without understanding Manichaeism. More, given the part it had played in his own life, one cannot understand *Augustine* if one does not understand Manichaeism. Viewed in this way, the amount of attention I have given to Mani's religion (with special but not exclusive attention to Augustine's view of it) may not seem as inordinate as it otherwise might. It is unfair to enquire what Augustine's understanding of Manichaeism was without at least presenting the "other side" and seeking in the maze of its teaching an answer to the question, "Was that understanding of Augustine accurate?"

Chapter I of this study is therefore a presentation of Manichaeism itself, and Chapter II will consider this first *formal* response of Augustine to it: when and where it was composed, under what circumstances, and what it generally has to say. In Chapter III the contents are examined more closely, as are the method Augustine chooses for his response, and what we can learn from it about his philosophical and religious understanding at the time. The last two chapters are concerned with two major themes in the work: the Bible in Manichaeism and its presentation in "De moribus" (Chapter IV); and the ascetical practices of Manichaeism, with a presentation by Augustine of genuinely Christian examples (Chapter V). To conclude there is a brief investigation of a late-comer to the text: Augustine's first explicit treatment of the Trinity (Excursus).

The nature of "De moribus'" composition discourages a systematic presentation of the ideas it contains. Therefore whatever I have, in regard to historical data or questions on meaning and sources, neglected to mention in these chapters will, I hope, be covered in the Commentary. The text to which the study and the commentary address themselves can be found after the concluding remarks following the Excursus. This is no new critical edition, but the one

Saint Augustin lui-même aurait-il été toujours capable de trancher? Il est permis d'en douter."

published by the Maurists in 1679 and reprinted by Migne. However, as part of a long-range preparation for a new edition, I have included the more interesting variants encountered in reading some of the manuscripts. These variants have been added to the Commentary, which together with the Latin text constitutes Part II.

It is unnecessary to include here an introduction to Augustine himself. His life is well-known, and the books and articles describing it are legion.⁸ No more need be done here than conclude with a brief sketch of the events in Augustine's life which preceded the work with which we are concerned.

By the year 373 Manichaeism had gained many followers in Carthage, and it was there that Augustine subscribed to it in his twentieth year.⁹ For at least nine years he was formally a Manichaean, though he began having doubts about the religion long before he outwardly abandoned it.¹⁰ In the meantime he awaited the arrival of Faustus of Milevis, a bishop of Manichaeism who would, he was told, solve all his difficulties.¹¹ But when (at the end of 382 or the beginning of 383) Faustus finally appeared in Carthage,¹² he proved to be a crushing disappointment. Augustine found him to be all rhetoric and no depth,¹³ and when he left shortly thereafter for Rome he had ceased, though outwardly still a member, to give his heart and mind to Manichaeism.¹⁴

In Rome, through the good offices of the Prefect Symmachus and with some help from Manichaean friends,¹⁵ he was able to secure

⁸ Recommendable from the standpoint of brevity are PORTALIÉ, *Augustin*, cc. 2268-2284, and DU ROY, *Augustine*, pp. 1040-1048.

⁹ "Within a few days," he says in *duab. an.* 1 (p. 51.6).

¹⁰ Augustine, *conf.* III,10:18 (p. 59.19). Cf. COURCELLE, *Recherches*, pp. 17-26.

¹¹ Augustine, *conf.* V,3:3 (p. 90.16).

¹² Augustine, *conf.* V,6:10 (p. 96.4): "Et per annos ferme ipsos nouem, quibus eos animo uagabundus audiui, nimis extento desiderio uenturum expectabam istum Faustum." On the date of Faustus' arrival, cf. MONCEAUX, *Le manichéen*, p. 10.

¹³ Augustine, *conf.* V,6:11 (p. 97.17). Cf. DE STOOP, *Essai*, pp. 103-106.

¹⁴ Augustine, *conf.* V,7:13 (p. 99.6): "Refracto itaque studio, quod intenderam in Manichaei litteras ... ceterum conatus omnis meus, qui proficere in illa secta statueram, illo homine cognito prorsus intercidit, non ut ab eis omnino separer, sed quasi melius quicquam non inueniens eo, quo iam quoquo modo inrueram, contentus interim esse decreueram, nisi aliquid forte, quod magis eligendum esset, eluceret." Cf. Pierre COURCELLE, "Saint Augustin manichéen à Milan?", in *Orpheus. Revista di umanità classica e cristiana* 1 (Turin, 1954), pp. 81-85; also NÖRREGAARD, *Augustins Bekehrung*, p. 56.

¹⁵ According to the edict issued by Valentinian II (in reality Theodosius I) at Rome in 389, Manichaeans were then plentiful there: cf. *Cod. Theod.* XVI, 5:18 (MOMMSEN-MEYER, *Theodosiani libri*, p. 861f).

the post of professor of rhetoric at Milan.¹⁶ There he began listening to the sermons of the bishop, Ambrose, at first for their declamatory style,¹⁷ but then increasingly for their content.¹⁸ Further reading of Scripture and conversations with such Christians as the layman Pontitianus and the priest Simplicianus¹⁹ caused his remaining uncertainties to gradually disappear, and he began preparing for baptism by withdrawing with friends to a country villa at Cassiciacum, where he composed the first of his extant works (the so-called *Dialogues*): *Contra Academicos*, *De beata uita*, *De ordine*, *Soliloquia*. When he returned to Milan early in 387, he added *De immortalitate animae* to the list.

Having received baptism on Easter night of that same year from Ambrose,²⁰ he set out on the return journey to Africa, accompanied by his mother Monnica, his son Adeodatus, and some friends. But while the group was awaiting transportation at Ostia, Monnica died.²¹ This unexpected event and the current political upheaval forced the party to return to Rome, where they waited until they could leave in the following summer.²² It was during this second sojourn at Rome that Augustine began to write "De moribus ecclesiae catholicae."

¹⁶ Augustine, *conf.* V,13:23 (p. 109.22).

¹⁷ *Ibid.* (p. 110.13): "Studiose audiebam disputantem in populo, non intentione, qua debui, sed quasi explorans eius facundiam, utrum conueniret famae suae an maior minorue proflueret, quam praedicabatur, et uerbis eius suspendebar intentus, rerum autem incuriosus et contemptor adstabam et delectabar sermonis suauitate..." Cf. COURCELLE, *Recherches*, pp. 94-96.

¹⁸ Augustine, *conf.* V,14:24 (p. 111.6): "Ueniebant in animum meum simul cum uerbis, quae diligebam, res etiam, quas negligebam, neque enim ea derimere poteram. Et dum cor aperirem ad excipiendum, quam diserte diceret, pariter intrabat et quam uere diceret, gradatim quidem."

¹⁹ Cf. below, pp. 113f. and 244f.

²⁰ On the date, cf. TILLEMONT, *Mémoires*, Note IV (pp. 954-959: "Que S. Augustin a esté converti en 386") and Note VII (p. 962). He sets the *Gartenerlebnis* of Milan in August or September 386, and the baptism on the night of April 24-25 of the following year. This date is generally accepted (cf. PERLER, *Les voyages*, p. 142).

²¹ Augustine, *conf.* IX,8:17 (p. 210.4).

²² Cf. below, pp. 66 and 70.

CHAPTER I

MANICHAEISM

In order to understand the works of Augustine which deal with Manichaeism — and, for that matter, in order to understand Augustine himself — it is indispensable to have some idea of the religion to which he once belonged.

For a long time — from the beginnings of Manichaean studies with the publication of Spangenberg's *Historia Manichaeorum* in 1578²³ until well into the last century — it was generally held that Manichaeism was no more than a sect of Christianity.²⁴ With the discovery and publication of Oriental works which treated the subject, the general opinion began to regard it as a form of one of the Eastern religions - Zoroastrianism perhaps, or Buddhism.²⁵ Most students of Manichaeism now believe that it was not a sect of anything: it was a full-blown religion in its own right, composed of various Oriental

²³ Cyriacus SPANGENBERG, *Historia Manichaeorum*. The copy I have read is in the British Museum library (295 k 2). The work was written against one Matthias Flacius of Dalmatia (= Flaccus Illyricus), whose teachings seemed to recall Manichaeism, and is largely a defense of Lutheranism. On the events leading up to the appearance of this work, cf. RIES, *Introduction* I, p. 455f.

²⁴ DE BEAUSOBRE (*Histoire*) devoted a large part of his work to contradicting Augustine on this point. Closer to our own day DE MENASCE (*Augustin*, p. 87), DE STOOP (*Essai*, pp. 28-32) and BURKITT (*Polotsky's Manichaean Homilies*, p. 359; *The Religion*, pp. 14, 39-44 and 74-86; and his introductory essay to MITCHELL, *S. Ephraim's Prose Refutations* II, pp. cxi-cxlii) continued to look upon Manichaeism as essentially Christian (in a Marcionite form) with trappings borrowed from other religions. This position is not seriously held now by anyone but QUISPEL (*Mani the Apostle*). For a bibliography on the controversy over Manichaeism's true composition, cf. NYBERG, *Forschungen*, p. 81-88, and especially RIES, *Introduction*.

²⁵ Thus already BAUR (*Das manichäische Religionssystem*), and in 1875 A. GEYLER in a dissertation presented to the University of Jena (*Das System des Manichäismus und sein Verhältnis zum Buddhismus*) considered it as basically of Buddhist inspiration. On the various opinions held up to the end of the XIX century, cf. RIES, *Introduction*.

elements,²⁶ with its own founder, its own sacred writings, its own set of dogmas, its own "canon law" and its own hierarchical system.²⁷

The sources

Because Roman civil authorities and Christian leaders in the West, and Oriental non-Christian rulers, attempted to destroy every writing of the religion they could find,²⁸ until the beginning of the XX century everything we knew about Manichaeism came from its adversaries. For information on its doctrines we depended chiefly on the following sources:

1. In the *East*, on two *Syriac* writers: (a) Ephrem the Deacon (died 373), whose anti-Manichaean writings are mostly contained in a single ms. (almost all of it palimpsest) of the VI century, now in the British Museum;²⁹ and (b) the eleventh chapter of the *Book of Scholia* by the Nestorian Theodore bar Khôni (or Kônai), written about 791.³⁰ In *Arabic*, there were: (a) Ibn Wâdih al-Ya'qûbi, who wrote a *Pre-Islamic History* which ends with the year 872;³¹ (b) Ahmad ibn Yahyâ al-Murtaḍa, author of *Al-bahr az-zahhar* ("The

²⁶ The structure is thought to be basically Iranian, with other elements added to make it acceptable to whatever region to which it spread: cf. GRESSMANN, *La religion*, p. 259f.; GRONDIJS, *Analyse*, p. 393f.; KESSLER, *Mani*, pp. 21-28; HOPPER, *The Anti-Manichaean Writings*, pp. 153-155; SCHEFTELOWITZ, *Die Entstehung*, pp. 7-40 and 44-49; SCHAEFER, *Der Manichäismus*, pp. 95-97; SESTON, *La découverte*, p. 258f.; and WESENDONK, *Die Lehre*, pp. 48f., 59-64 and 68f.

²⁷ NEWMAN's *Introductory Essay* (pp. 5-7) has an excellent detailed bibliography on Manichaeism for works up to 1886; cf. also ALFARIC, *Les écritures* (up to 1918) and ASMUSSEN, *Xuastvanift*, pp. 265-278 (up to 1964).

²⁸ So Augustine in *Faust.* XIII,18 (p. 399.19), and a Chinese edict (in CHAVANNES-PELLIOT, *Un traité* II, p. 298). Cf. FRENZ, *The Gnostic-Manichaean Tradition*, p. 16; ALFARIC, *Les écritures* I, pp. 92-110; GRONDIJS, *Analyse*, p. 393; DE BEAUSOBRE, *Histoire* I, p. 218; and BARDY, *Manichéisme*, c. 1852f. Cf. also below, n. 132.

²⁹ British Museum, ms. *Add.* 14263, published with an English translation by MITCHELL, *S. Ephraim's Prose Refutations*. For Manichaean allusions in Ephrem's other writings, cf. BARDY, *Manichéisme*, c. 1855.

³⁰ Text in SCHER, *Theodorus*; also in POGNON, *Inscriptions*, pp. 109-158 (Part 2), followed by a French translation (pp. 159-232). The part on Manichaeism is on pp. 125-131, with the translation on pp. 181-193. A commentary and correction of Pognon's text can be found in CUMONT, *Recherches* I. On the date, cf. POGNON, *op. cit.*, p. 105f. (Part 2), and LEGGE, *Western Manichaeism*, pp. 696-698.

³¹ German translation in KESSLER, *Mani*, pp. 323-331.

Full Sea"), written sometime between the VII and X centuries,³² (c) Abu'l Faradj Mohammed ibn Ishaq (usually called An-Nadim), who in 987 A.D. completed the *Fihrist al-âlum* ("Catalogue of Sciences");³³ (d) Abû-Raiḥan Mohammed ben 'Ahmad Albîrûnî (known usually as Alberuni), who died in 1048 A.D. and who about the year 1000 wrote *Alâthâr Abâkiya 'an-il-Kûrûn Alkhâliya* ("Monuments of Generations of the Past");³⁴ he also devotes a few passages of his *'Ivḍiḥâ* (written in 1030) to Manichaeism;³⁵ and (e) Abu'l Fath' Mohammed ibn Abu'l Kâsim 'Abd-al Karîm ibn Abu Bakr Ahmad ash-Sharastâni (1086-1153, also known as Sharastani), who wrote *Kitâb al-milal wan-niḥal* ("Book of Religious Sects and Philosophical Schools").³⁶ In *Persian* (Pazand) there is the work of Martan Farrux i Ohrmaz-datan, *Shkand-vimânîk Vishâr*; written in the IX century originally in Pahlavi (of which a ms. has yet to be discovered), its sixteenth chapter is devoted to the Manichaeans.³⁷

2. In the *West*, these sources are all Greek or Latin. In *Greek* anti-Manichaean writings abound,³⁸ but they depend on a few original

³² Text and German translation in KESSLER, *Mani*, pp. 346-355.

³³ The part on Manichaeism was edited and translated into German with a commentary by FLÜGEL, *Mani*. Text and translation are also in KESSLER, *Mani*, pp. 382-401, and the corrected Arabic text of the entire work was published by Flügel as *Kitâb al-Fihrist* (Leipzig, 1871) followed in 1872 by his posthumous *Anmerkungen und Indices*. On Flügel's work, cf. RIES, *Introduction* II, pp. 374-378.

³⁴ English translation in SACHAU's *Chronology* (he had already published a German translation under the title, *Chronologie orientalischer Völker von Albêrûnî*, Brockhaus, Leipzig, 1878). On Alberuni, cf. KESSLER, *Mani*, pp. 304-323 and RIES, *Introduction* I, p. 378f.

³⁵ In SACHAU, *Alberuni's India*, *passim*.

³⁶ Text edited by W. CURETON, *Book of Religious and Philosophical Sects by Muhammed Al-Sharastâni*, 2 vols., Society for the Publication of Oriental Texts, London, 1842-1846. The notice on Manichaeism is in vol. I, pp. 188-192, and can be found in a German translation in HAARBRÜCKER, *Scharastâni's Religionspartheien* I, pp. 285-291. Cf. RIES, *Introduction* II, p. 373f.

³⁷ English translation in E.W. WEST, *Pahlavi Texts*, vol. III, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1885 (The Sacred Books of the East, vol. 24), repr. by Motilal BANARSIDASS (Delhi, 1965), pp. 243-251; text edited with a Sanscrit translation by Hôshang Dastur Jâmâspji JÂMÂSP-ASÂNÂ and E.W. WEST, *Shikand-Gûmânîk Vijâr*, Government Central Book Depot, Bombay, 1887; transliterated text and German translation in SALEMANN, *Ein Bruchstück*, pp. 18-24; transliterated text and French translation in DE MENASCE, *Une apologétique*, pp. 252-259 (with introduction, pp. 226-251 and commentary, p. 260f.). For other editions and translations, cf. DE MENASCE, *op. cit.*, p. 227.

³⁸ Cf. ALFARIC, *Les écritures* I, pp. 55-60 and 66-71, and RIES, *Introduction* I, pp. 460-466; II, pp. 398-400 and 402-408.

authorities, these being: (a) the Neoplatonist Alexander of Lycopolis (Assiut in Egypt), Λόγος πρὸς τὰς Μανιχαίου δόξας, written ca. 300;³⁹ (b) *Acta Archelai*, attributed to one Hegemonius (otherwise unknown), written in the first quarter of the IV century and fully preserved only in a Latin translation made about 400;⁴⁰ (c) Serapion of Thmuis († about 358), Κατὰ Μανιχαίων, IV century;⁴¹ (d) Titus of Bostra († 371), Πρὸς Μανιχαίους, written about 363: extant in Greek up to Chapter III,7⁴² and complete in a Syriac translation.⁴³ He also has anti-Manichaean allusions in his *Homilies on Luke*;⁴⁴ (e) Epiphanius, Bishop of Salamis, *Panarion* 66, written between 374 and 377;⁴⁵ (f) Theodoret of Kyrrhos († 466), *Haereticarum fabularum compendium* I,26, written 451-458;⁴⁶ (g) Severus, Monophysite Patriarch of Antioch, *Homily* 123, delivered in 518,

³⁹ Text in PG 18/409-448, where he is mistakenly called a bishop; but there is no evidence that he was even Christian. The critical edition, which I was unable to obtain, is by August BRINKMANN, *Alexandri Lycopolitani contra Manichaei opiniones disputatio*, Leipzig, 1895. On Alexander, cf. Brinkmann's Praefatio; also SCHAEFER, *Urform*, pp. 106-110.

⁴⁰ Latin text and Greek fragments (as given by Epiphanius; cf. below, n. 45) edited by BEESON, *Hegemonius*. A resumé is given by FLÜGEL, *Mani*, pp. 5-17. The *Acta* purport to be the record of a public *disputatio* between Mani and Archelaus, Bishop of Kashkar in Mesopotamia. This, as DE BEAUSOBRE has shown (*Histoire* I, pp. 9-154), they certainly are not; but they supply some valuable information about Manichaeism, and include some Manichaean documents. On the author and contents, cf. ALFARIC, *Les écritures* II, p. 7f.; KLIMA, *Manis Zeit*, p. 288, n. 18; KESSLER, *Mani*, pp. 169-171; PUECH, *Le manichéisme*, pp. 22-26; and RIES, *Introduction* I, pp. 458-460 and II, pp. 395-398. Kessler (*op. cit.*, pp. xxi and 87-166) believes (following Jerome, *De uiris illustribus* 72, PL 23/683 A) that the work was originally written in Syriac. This opinion is contested by DE BEAUSOBRE (*op. cit.* I, p. 132). HARNACK first agreed with it (*Die Acta*, p. 137, n. 1 and p. 152f.) but later became more cautious (cf. RIES, *Introduction* II, p. 398).

⁴¹ Edited by CASEY, *Serapion*. Cf. BRINKMANN, *Die Streitschrift*, pp. 487-491.

⁴² Text in PG 18/1069-1264. Critical edition by Paul Anton DE LAGARDE, *Titi Bostreni quae ex opere contra Manichaeos in codice Hamburgensi servata sunt graece*, Berlin, 1859. On this cf. BRINKMANN, *Die Streitschrift*, pp. 479-485, and RIES, *Introduction* II, p. 398.

⁴³ Text edited by Paul Anton DE LAGARDE, *Titi Bostreni contra Manichaeos libri quatuor syriace*, Berlin, 1859.

⁴⁴ Edited by SICKENBERGER, *Titus*, pp. 140-245.

⁴⁵ Edited by HOLL, *Epiphanius*, pp. 13-132. For the dates, cf. ALFARIC, *Les écritures* II, p. 8, and CUMONT, *Recherches* II, p. 158, n. 1. Epiphanius is heavily dependent on the *Acta Archelai* and Titus of Bostra, but does give the full account of Manichaeism as contained in the *Acta*, which we otherwise possess only in a Latin translation of the latter (cf. above, n. 40).

⁴⁶ Text in PG 83/377-381.

extant in a VI century Syriac translation;⁴⁷ (h) the Neoplatonist Simplicius (or Simplikios), 'Εξηγήσεις εἰς τὸ 'Επιχτήτου 'Εγγχειρίδιον, 27, written in the VI century;⁴⁸ (i) a *Formula of Abjuration* dating from the VI century, pronounced by converts from Manichaeism upon their reception into the Church;⁴⁹ and (j) a *second Formula of Abjuration*, IX century.⁵⁰

In *Latin* (a) in the early IV century, Caius Fabius Marius Victorinus (usually known by the last two names) wrote a *Liber ad Iustinum manicheum*;⁵¹ (b) the *De fide contra Manicheos* is commonly attributed to Augustine's disciple, Evodius, Bishop of Uzala;⁵² and (c) the *Commonitorium* is attributed, but falsely, to Augustine.⁵³

This brings us to the principle source in Latin for information on Manichaeism - Augustine himself. For convenience's sake those works that deal with Manichaeism are divided here into (a) titles supplied by Possidius; (b) works not classified by Possidius as "contra Manicheos"; (c) *Epistulae*; and (d) *Sermones*.

(a) As Possidius of Calama gives the list of Augustinian works dealing with Manichaeism,⁵⁴ we have:

- (1) *De moribus ecclesiae catholicae et de moribus eorum* (= *Manicheorum*) *libri duo*.

⁴⁷ Edited by RAHMANT (following mss. *Vat. Syr.* 143 and 256) in *Documenta*, pp. 20-21 (with a Latin translation, pp. 50-63) and by M.-A. KUEGENER (following British Museum ms. *Add.* 12159 = a translation by Jacob of Edessa made in 700) in CUMONT, *Recherches* II, pp. 89-150. The two versions differ widely, and references are therefore given to both. On the date, cf. CUMONT, *op. cit.*, p. 87, n. 4.

⁴⁸ Edited by DÜBNER, *Theophrasti Characteres*, pp. 69-72 (repr. in ADAM, *Texte*, pp. 71-74).

⁴⁹ In PG 100/1321-1325 (partly repr. in ADAM, *Texte*, pp. 93-97). Cf. ALFARIC, *Les écritures* I, pp. 67f. and 117f.

⁵⁰ In PG 1/1461-1469 (repr. in part in KESSLER, *Mani*, pp. 403-405, with a German translation and a commentary, pp. 358-365, and in ADAM, *Texte*, pp. 97-103).

⁵¹ Text in PL 8/999-1010.

⁵² Text, CSEL 25,2/951-975.

⁵³ Text, CSEL 25,2/979-982.

⁵⁴ Text in PL 46/6f.; critical edition by A. WILMART in MA II, pp. 149-234 (on which cf. MAYER, *Die antimanichäischen Schriften*). Dates given by PERLER are in *Les voyages*, pp. 430-477, those of ZARB are in his *Chronologia operum*, of DOUAIS in *Saint Augustin contre le manichéisme* I, p. 395, of MANNUCCI in his article *S. Agostino*, PORTALIE's are in *Augustin*, cc. 2286-2314, and BARDENHEWER's are in his *Geschichte*, vol. IV.

- (2) *De duabus animabus* (= *duab. an.*) dated by Mannucci in 390, by Bardenhewer and Douais in 391, by Perler in 391-392, by Portalié "avant août 392," by Zarb in 392-393.
- (3) *Vnde malum et de libero arbitrio* (= *lib. arb.*), begun, according to Perler, Portalié, Mannucci, and Bardenhewer, in 388 and completed in 395.
- (4) *Acta contra Fortunatum manicheum* (= *Fort.*), dated by Bardenhewer, Portalié, Mannucci and Douais in 392 (Decret, *Aspects*, p. 43 places it on August 28-29 of that year); Perler sets it in 391 or 392.
- (5) *In Genesim contra Manicheos* (= *Gen. c. Man.*): on the date, cf. below, pp. 71-76 and 94.
- (6) *Contra epistulam fundamenti* (= *epist. fund.*), dated by Perler in 396 and by Bardenhewer, Mannucci, Portalié and Douais in 397.
- (7) *Contra Adimanti calumnias quaestiones diuersae numero uiginti octo* (= *Adimant.*) dated by Douais in 393, by Perler in 393 or 394, by Mannucci and Bardenhewer in 394 and by Portalié in 395 or 396.
- (8) *De diuersis quaestionibus LXXXIII* (= *quaest.*), composed, according to Zarb and Bardenhewer, from 388-395 and, according to Portalié, from 389-396. The *quaest.* which concern Manichaeism are: II (c. 11), VI (c. 13), X (c. 14), XIV (c. 14), XXI (c. 16), XXII (c. 16), XXIV (c. 17), XXV (c. 17), XL (c. 27), XLIII (c. 28), XLIX (c. 31), LI (c. 32f.), LII (c. 34), LIII (cc. 34-37), LV (c. 38f.) and LXXIII (c. 84f.).
- (9) *Contra epistulam Secundini* (= *Secund.*), dated by Perler in 398, Zarb in 399, and Bardenhewer, Mannucci and Douais in 405. Portalié wavers between 405 and 406.
- (10) *Acta habita cum Felice* (= *Fel.*), set by all authors (with the exception of Zarb, who places this work in 398) in 404.
- (11) *De natura boni* (= *nat. boni*), dated by Perler in 398, Zarb in 399, Bardenhewer "bald nach 404," Portalié in 405.
- (12) *Contra Faustum* (= *Faust.*), set by Perler between 397 and 399, by the other authors in 400.
- (13) *Epistula ad Honoratum* (= *epist. 140*): cf. below.

(b) To these titles we must add:

- (1) *uera rel.*, dated by Perler, Mannucci and Bardenhewer in 390 and by Portalié between 389 and 391.

- (2) *ut. cred.*, dated by Mannucci in 390, by Bardenhewer and Douais in 391, by Perler and Portalié in 391-393, by Zarb in 392.
- (3) *cont.*, dated (with the exception of Portalié, who places it in either 394 or 395) in 395.
- (4) *ag. christ.*, placed by Perler and Zarb in 396, and by Douais, Portalié, Mannucci and Bardenhewer in 396-397.
- (5) *conf.*, which are in large part (particularly in the last three books, which treat Gen. 1-3) directed against the Manichaeans.⁵⁵ The date at which they were begun is uncertain, but most authors (with the exception of Perler, who says 401) consider them to have been completed by 400.
- (6) *adu. leg.*, generally dated in 420.⁵⁶
- (7) *haer.* 46. The work is considered by Perler and Zarb to have been completed in 429, and by Douais, Bardenhewer, Mannucci and Portalié in 428.

(c) With the exception of *epist. 140 ad Honoratum*, Possidius does not mention any of Augustine's *letters* which concern or make allusions to Manichaeism. The list of these includes:⁵⁷

- 18 (p. 44f.), dated by Goldbacher in 390.
- 36 (pp. 31-62), set by Goldbacher before 397.
- 55 (pp. 169-213), set by Goldbacher ca. 400 and by Perler in 401.
- 64 (pp. 229-232), dated by Goldbacher and Perler in 401.
- 79 (p. 345f.), dated by Goldbacher in 404.⁵⁸
- 82 (pp. 351-387), dated by Goldbacher before 405.
- 140 (pp. 155-234), dated by Goldbacher and Perler in 412.
- 166 (pp. 545-585), dated by Goldbacher and Perler in 415.
- 222 (pp. 446-449), dated in 427-428 by Goldbacher and in 428 by Perler.
- 236 (pp. 523-525), dated by Goldbacher "post an. 395."

⁵⁵ Cf. A. VECCHI, "L'antimancheismo nelle 'Confessioni' di Sant'Agostino," in *Giornale di metafisica* 20 (Genoa, 1965), pp. 91-121.

⁵⁶ So DOUAIS, *op. cit.*, p. 404.

⁵⁷ GOLDBACHER's dates are given in CSEL 58/12-63; those of PERLER are in *Les voyages*, pp. 430-477. Here I am siding with Kunzelmann against MAYER's statement (*Die Zeichen* II, p. 83f.): "Abgesehen von der in der Liste der Werke aufgenommenen 'epistula' Contra Secundinum und der ebenfalls als opus zu betrachtenden 'epistula ad Honoratum' dürfen eigentlich nur die Briefe XVIII und LXXIX — streng genommen nur der letztere — unter das antimanichäische Schriftum des Kirchenvaters gerechnet werden."

⁵⁸ DECRET (*Aspects*, pp. 74-76) thinks it is addressed to the Manichaean Felix.

(d) Possidius mentions five *Sermones* which deal with Manichaeism: ⁵⁹

"De *In principio fecit deus caelum et terram*" (= *serm.* 1, cc. 23-26, dated by Kunzelmann between 391 and 393);

"De eo quod in Aggeo propheta scriptum est: *Meum est aurum...*" (= *serm.* 50, cc. 326-332, dated by Kunzelmann in 394-395);

"De die domini secundum Sophoniam prophetam contra quos supra" (unknown);

"De sacrificiis spiritalibus contra quos supra" (unknown);

"De eo quod in Iob scriptum est, *Uenerunt angeli...*" (= *serm.* 12, cc. 100-106, dated by Kunzelmann in 394-395).

Others are:

2 (cc. 26-32), which Kunzelmann places *circa* 391.

75 (cc. 474-479), set by Kunzelmann before 400.

92 (c. 572f.), set by Kunzelmann between 391 and 405 and by Perler between 426 and 430.

116 (cc. 657-661), placed by Kunzelmann between 400 and 405.

153 (cc. 825-832), dated by Kunzelmann in 418 and by Perler in 419.

182 (cc. 984-988), set by Kunzelmann after 416.

190 (cc. 1007-1009), dated by Kunzelmann between 391 and 400.

236 (cc. 1120-1122), 402 or 404.

237 (cc. 1122-1124), dated by Kunzelmann between 402 and 404.

247 (cc. 1156-1158), set by Kunzelmann *circa* 400.

Sermo Mai 95 (PLS 2/489-494), dated by Kunzelmann between 402 and 404.

enarr. 140 (pp. 2025-2045, dated by Zarb (*Chronologia Enarrationum* VII, pp. 275-284) in 414 or 415.

For our information on Mani's life we depended on An-Nadim, Alberuni, Theodoret, the *Acta Archelai*, Titus, Epiphanius and Alexander. But in regard to both the life and teachings of Mani there was no way of accurately knowing how much all of these sources themselves depended on original Manichaean works; nor in most cases was it possible to separate fact from fiction.

Then, at the beginning of this century, scientific expeditions to Chinese Turkestan resulted in the discovery of hundreds of Mani-

⁵⁹ For PERLER's dates, cf. n. 57; those of KUNZELMANN are to be found in his *Die Chronologie*.

chaeae manuscript fragments from the VIII century, chiefly in the area of Turfan and Kotjo (Cara Codsha)⁶⁰ and near Tuen-Huang in the Chinese province of Sinkiang.⁶¹ Contained in these are: *Khuastuanift*, which is a confession formulary for "Hearers";⁶² a collection of dogmatic texts taken from various works of Mani; and various liturgical texts.⁶³ These fragments are unfortunately all in bits and pieces, and reading them has not been made easier by the fact that they are written in Chinese or various Iranian languages, or in Uigur Turkish, languages for the most part but little known.⁶⁴ Moreover, the authorship and original dates of these writings remain a mystery. But in spite of such difficulties these discoveries serve to substantiate what was already known about Manichaeism from polemical sources, which in turn have proved to be of great assistance in understanding what can be read in the fragments.⁶⁵

In 1930 a second such discovery was made, this time of an entire Manichaeae library at Medînet-Mâdi in Egypt,⁶⁶ consisting of seven large papyrus volumes written in sub-Achmimic Coptic, perhaps early in the V century. Originally the contents included letters of Mani;⁶⁷

⁶⁰ For a complete account of the Turfan expeditions and a list of all Manichaeae manuscripts discovered there and where (when published) these can be found, cf. BOYCE, *A Catalogue*. Cf. also NYBERG, *Forschungen*, pp. 77-80; LEGGE, *Western Manichaeism*; and SCHAEDEER, *Der Manichäismus*, pp. 87-90.

⁶¹ On Tuen-Huang cf. BARDY, *Manichéisme*, c. 1850, and SCHAEDEER, *Der Manichäismus*, p. 90f. Texts are in the works of CHAVANNES-PELLIOT, WALDSCHMIDT-LENTZ, and HALOUN-HENNING.

⁶² Edited with a German translation by RADLOFF, *Chuastuanift* (cf. also his *Nachträge*); corrected by VON LE COQ in *Chuastuanift* (cf. also *Dr. Stein's*); transliterated with a German translation by BANG, *Manichäische Laien-Beichtspiegel*; transliterated text followed by an English translation and notes in ASMUSSEN, *Xuastvanift*, pp. 167-261.

⁶³ On these, cf. BARDY, *Manichéisme*, c. 1851.

⁶⁴ Cf. BOYCE, *A Catalogue*, pp. 147 and 150; also V. FOY, *Die Sprache der türkischen Turfanfragmente in manichäischen Schrift*, in SPAW, 1904, p. 1389f.

⁶⁵ The Turfan documents have mainly been published in the works of BANG, VON LE COQ, MÜLLER, RADLOFF and SALEMANN (cf. the bibliography under these names).

⁶⁶ On this discovery cf. SCHMIDT, *Neue Originalquellen*; SCHMIDT-POLOTSKY, *Ein Mani-Fund* (summed up by SESTON, *La découverte*); ALLBERRY, *Manichaeae Studies*, pp. 340-349; BÖHLIG, *Mysterion*, pp. 177-187; and J. BIDEZ, "La bibliothèque d'un manichéen d'Egypte," in *Bulletin de l'Académie Royale de Belgique, Classe des lettres et des sciences morales et politiques*, 5^e Série, t. 18 (Brussels, 1932), pp. 462-469.

⁶⁷ Cf. SCHMIDT, *Neue Originalquellen*, p. 10f., and SCHMIDT-POLOTSKY, *Ein Mani-Fund*, pp. 24-27. The manuscripts containing the letters were carried

the *Kephalaia*, a collection of Mani's sayings;⁶⁸ and homilies and prayers (including a book of "psalms") by members of the religion.⁶⁹ Though these manuscripts were more complete than those found in Asia, their state of preservation was likewise very bad. But, together with the Asian discoveries, they have the distinction of being the first writings we possess that come directly from Manichaean sources,⁷⁰ and therefore we are no longer totally dependent for our information on writers who were attacking Manichaeism and prone to distort their data.

The founder

Mani (in Syriac ܡܢܝ or ܡܢܝܐ and in Coptic MANIXAIOC)⁷¹

off by the Russians from Berlin at the close of World War II and are now lost. PUECH, writing in 1949 (*Le manichéisme*, pp. 28 and 47), WIDENGREN in 1961 (*Mani*, p. 82) and DECRET in 1970 (*Aspects*, p. 106) seem to be unaware of this. Cf. BÖHLIG, *Mysterion*, p. 184, and RIES, *Manichaeism*, p. 159.

⁶⁸ SCHMIDT at first believed the *Kephalaia* to be a writing of Mani himself (*Ein Mani-Fund*, pp. 18-24; *Neue Originalquellen*, pp. 5, 7f. and 14) but later abandoned this view. On the *Kephalaia*, cf. also WIDENGREN, *Mani*, p. 84; ALLBERRY, *Symbole*, p. 119f.; SCHAEDEER, *Der Manichäismus*, pp. 92-94; and BÖHLIG, *Mysterion*, pp. 228-266.

⁶⁹ For the principal editions and literature of the Coptic manuscripts published thus far, cf. the bibliography under ALLBERRY, BÖHLIG, POLOTSKY and SCHMIDT. Augustine refers to Manichaean "psalms" in *mor. II*, 15:36 (c. 1361).

⁷⁰ Mention should also be made of part of a Latin text (Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. *Nouvelle acquisition latine 1114*) written before 400 and discovered in 1918 near Tebessa, Algeria. Published by ALFARIC (*Un manuscrit*, repr. in ADAM, *Texte*, p. 34f. and PLS II, 1378f.), it mentions "electi" and "auditores" and was thought by Alfarcic to be the translation of a work of Mani himself. This is contested by FREND (*The Gnostic-Manichaean Tradition*, p. 22, n. 3) who agrees, however, that the document is Manichaean. There is also a Greek ms. of the V century (or IV, if one accepts the opinion of QUISPÉL, *Mani the Apostle*, p. 668), now in Cologne and published by HENRICHS-KOENEN, *Ein griechisches Mani-Codex*. On this cf. below, n. 75. In Egypt a few fragments of a Manichaean document in Syriac were also discovered, and have been published by BURKITT, *The Religion*, pp. 111-119.

⁷¹ The Coptic form appears in genuine Manichaean writings; the Syriac is found only in adversaries of Manichaeism, but is probably a genuine form. In Greek oponents we sometimes find *Manes* and in Latin *Manichaeus*. Augustine claimed (*Faust. XIX*, 22, p. 520.21) that the meaning ascribed by the Greeks to Μανής had forced his followers to modify it to Μανιχαίος: "...et per dominum uestrum Manichaeum, qui Manis lingua patria uocabatur. sed uos, ut apud Graecos nomen *insaniae* uitaretis, uelut declinato et prolongato nomine quasi fusionem addidistis, ubi amplius laberemini. sic enim mihi quidem uestrum exposuit, cur appellatus sit Manichaeus, ut scilicet in graeca lingua tamquam

was born in Babylonia on April 14, 216 A.D.⁷² He claims to have received a revelation of divine truth at the age of twelve,⁷³ and a second at the age of twenty-four, when he was also given the task of preaching the "true religion" or "Religion of the Light."⁷⁴ Apart from these few facts, the accounts of his life differ greatly, and Asmussen is not exaggerating when he says that "it is extremely complicated to find one's way out of this tangle and attain to the historical facts."⁷⁵

Manichaeism was a "religion of the book." One of Mani's claims, in fact, for the superiority of his religion over all those which had preceded it was that he was the first religious founder to personally

manna fundere uideretur, quia graecè *fundit* χεῖ dicitur: ubi quid egeritis nescio, nisi ut expressius uobis somniaremini *insaniam*. neque enim addidistis in parte priore nominis unam litteram, ut agnosceretur *manna*, sed addidistis in posteriore duas syllabas, non appellantes Mannichaeum sed Manichaeum, ut nihil aliud uobis tam prolixis et uanis sermonibus suis nisi *insaniam fundere* sonaret." Augustine gives a similar etymology in *haer.* 46 (c. 34); but, ingenious though it is, it has no basis in fact. The Greek term is a derivation of a Syriac title for Mani, ܡܢܝ ܚܝܘܢ "living Mani." For the real meaning of Mani's name, cf. PUECH, *Le manichéisme*, p. 113, nn. 102-105; FLÜGEL, *Mani*, pp. 113-116; RAHMANI, *Documenta*, p. xv, n. 1; KESSLER, *Mani*, pp. 30-42; BÖHLIG, *Mysterion*, p. 265; and KLIMA, *Manis Zeit*, pp. 260-270. Cf. also HENRICHS-KOENEN, *Ein griechisches Mani-Codex*, p. 199 (cited below, n. 104) for the spelling Μανιχαῖος.

⁷² On the place of birth, cf. RIES, *Manichaeism*, p. 153; PUECH, *Le manichéisme*, p. 34f.; GRESSMANN, *La religion*, pp. 245-248 and 255-257; SCHEFTELOWITZ, *Die Entstehung*, pp. 2-6; and DE BEAUSOBRE, *Histoire I*, pp. 66-68. There is general agreement on the date (cf. PUECH, *op. cit.*, p. 33; HENRICHS-KOENEN, *Ein griechisches Mani-Codex*, p. 123; HALOUN-HENNING, *The Compendium*, pp. 197-201).

⁷³ So An-Nadim (FLÜGEL, *Mani*, p. 84) and Alberuni (SACHAU, *Chronology*, p. 121). On the date, cf. TAQIZADEH-HENNING, *The Dates*, p. 108. It receives confirmation in the first of the *Kephalaia*, translated by SCHMIDT (p. 14f.).

⁷⁴ On this cf. TAQIZADEH-HENNING, *The dates*, pp. 108-110. The information is supplied by An-Nadim (FLÜGEL, *Mani*, p. 84, and KESSLER, *Mani*, p. 384f.) and Alberuni (SACHAU, *Chronology*, pp. 108 and 208). Cf. also HENRICHS-KOENEN, *Ein griechisches Mani-Codex*, pp. 120-132. The title, "Religion of the Light," appears in CHAVANNES-PELLIOT, *Un traité II*, pp. 347 and 351. Cf. also p. 375, where the authors remark: "La religion de la Lumière ... est le nom traditionnel du manichéisme en Chine depuis le VIII^e jusqu'au XII^e siècle."

⁷⁵ ASMUSSEN, *Xuastvanift*, p. 10. For Mani's life in detail, cf. KLIMA, *Manis Zeit*, pp. 217-532; WIDENGREN, *Mani*, pp. 30-47; and ORT, *Mani*, pp. 142-224. The Greek ms. published by HENRICHS-KOENEN (cf. above, n. 70) contains a life of Mani, whose data are accepted by QUISPEL (*Mani the Apostle*); but some of them are scarcely credible - for instance, that Mani was born of Jewish parents.

write anything.⁷⁶ Seven principal works have been assigned to him by the various sources:⁷⁷ (1) *Shâpûrakân*, written in Middle Persian and dedicated, it seems, to King Shapur I.⁷⁸ The other six works were written in what is usually termed in these sources as "Syriac" - probably a form of Aramaic:⁷⁹ (2) *Great (or Living) Gospel*; ⁸⁰ (3) *Treasure of Life*; ⁸¹ (4) *Pragmateia*; ⁸² (5) *Book of Mysteries*; ⁸³ (6)

⁷⁶ Cf. the introduction to the *Kephalaia* (SCHMIDT, p. 8f.). On the allegedly divine origin of Mani's writings, cf. HALOUN-HENNING, *The Compendium*, p. 208f.

⁷⁷ The order of the writings as given here seems to be the correct one (cf. ASMUSSEN, *Xuastvanift*, p. 20, n. 21; ALLBERRY, *Manichaeen Studies*, p. 347; and WIDENGREN, *Mani*, pp. 79-83). However, there is some argument about this (cf. ALFARIC, *Les écritures* II, p. 16f.; and SCHMIDT-POLOTSKY, *Ein Mani-Fund*, pp. 36-41) as we have many lists and most of them are arranged differently: cf. An-Nadim (FLÜGEL, *Mani*, p. 102f. and KESSLER, *Mani*, p. 179f.), Alberuni (SACHAU, *Chronology*, p. xxxviii and KESSLER, *op. cit.*, p. 179), al-Ya'qûbi (KESSLER, *ibid.*, p. 328f.), *Kephalaia* 148 (SCHMIDT-POLOTSKY, *Ein Mani-Fund*, p. 86), *Bema-Psalm* 241 (ALLBERRY, *A Manichaeen Psalm-Book*, p. 46f.), one of the Coptic homilies (POLOTSKY, *Manichäische Homilien*, p. 25) and a Chinese ms. from Tuen-Huang (HALOUN-HENNING, *The Compendium*, p. 204f., cf. also pp. 206-208).

⁷⁸ There are two citations of this first work of Mani (ALFARIC, *Les écritures* II, pp. 48-54; KESSLER, *Mani*, p. 180) in Alberuni (SACHAU, *Chronology*, pp. 121 and 190), one of which is quoted on p. 24 (cf. below, n. 102), and one citation in Sharastani (HAARBRÜCKER, *Scharastâni's* I, p. 290); also a few fragments from Turfan edited by MÜLLER, *Handschriften-Reste* II, p. 16f. On the *Shâpûrakân*, cf. An-Nadim (FLÜGEL, *Mani*, p. 84), al-Ya'qûbi (KESSLER, *Mani*, p. 328), and al-Murtada (*ibid.*, p. 350). Eschatological in content, it does not appear to have been known in the West, at least under that title. Possibly it is the same as the *Book of Secrets* mentioned by the second *Formula of Abjuration* (PG 1/1465).

⁷⁹ Thus M. LIDZBARSKY, "Warum schrieb Mânî aramäisch?", in OLZ 30 (1927), cc. 913-917. Cf. also BURKITT, *The Religion*, p. 116; KLIMA, *Manis Zeit*, p. 285, n. 13; and POLOTSKY, *Manichäismus*, c. 243.

⁸⁰ Quoted in the Greek ms. of Cologne (HENRICHS-KOENEN, *Ein griechisches Mani-Codex*, pp. 189-202), and in Turfan fragments M 2 (HENNING, *Mitteliranische* II, p. 301), T II D 79 (*ibid.* III, p. 862), M 17 (MÜLLER, *Handschriften-Reste* II, p. 26f.) and M 172 (*ibid.*, p. 101). Reference is made to it in a Coptic "psalm" (ALLBERRY, *A Manichaeen Psalm-Book*, p. 139.55), the *Kephalaia* 61 (SCHMIDT, p. 153), Alberuni (in SACHAU, *Chronology*, pp. 27 and 190), al-Ya'qûbi (in KESSLER, *Mani*, p. 329), al-Murtada (*ibid.*, p. 350), the *Acta Archelai* 62 (in BEESON, *Hegemonius*, p. 91.6), and the first and second *Formula of Abjuration* (PG 100/1321 and 1/1465).

⁸¹ Augustine quotes from it in *nat. boni* 44 (p. 881.24) and *Fel.* II,5 (p. 832.22), as does Evodius in *De fide* 5 (CSEL 25,2/952.23) and 14-16 (p. 956.2). It is referred to in *Fel.* I,14 (p. 817.27), *Kephalaia* 91 (SCHMIDT, p. 230), a Turfan document (SALEMANN, *Manichaica* III, p. 14), Alberuni (in SACHAU, *Chronology*, p. 191; *Alberuni's India* I, p. 39), Epiphanius, *Panarion* 66:13

Book of the Giants; ⁸⁴ and (7) a collection of *letters*,⁸⁵ of which we possess two: one, addressed to the virgin Menoch, is given in

(HOLL, *Epiphanius*, p. 35.9), the *Acta Archelai* 62 (BEESON, *Hegemonius*, p. 91.6), and Victorinus, *Liber ad Iustinum* 1 (PL 8/999 C). On this work, cf. KLIMA, *Manis Zeit*, pp. 404-407; FLÜGEL, *Mani*, pp. 367-369; ALFARIC, *Les écritures* II, pp. 43-48; and KESSLER, *Mani*, p. 203f. It discusses the creation of the world and the process for releasing trapped Light-particles.

⁸² According to ALFARIC (*Les écritures* II, pp. 58-68), this is to be identified with the *Great Epistle to Patticius*, also known as the *Letter of the Foundation* (which HARNACK, *Manichaeism*, p. 573, thinks is a separate work). We possess some of the *Letter of the Foundation* through Augustine, who in *epist. fund.* undertook to refute it; his intention was to cite each passage of the *Letter* and follow it with a rebuttal, but unfortunately he stopped after completing only part of it. That and the extracts in *nat. boni* (pp. 844 and 877) are all we now possess of it. Reference is made to it several times in *Fel.* (cf. I,1 and 15, pp. 801.10 and 25 and 819.3). It is possibly the work called by An-Nadim (FLÜGEL, *Mani*, p. 102) the *Book of Precepts for Hearers*, and called *Capitula* (Κεφάλαια) by the *Acta Archelai* 62 (BEESON, *Hegemonius*, p. 91.5), Titus of Bostra, Πρὸς Μανιχαίου (PG 18/1209), Theodore of Kyrrhos (PG 83/381 B), and Theodore bar Khôni (POGNON, *Inscriptions*, p. 126). On the *Letter of the Foundation*, cf. ALFARIC, *op. cit.* II, pp. 21-34; CUMONT, *Recherches* I, p. 4, n. 2; CHAVANNES-PELLIOT, *Un traité* II, pp. 143-145; and KLIMA, *Manis Zeit*, pp. 417-419. I do not know on what basis GRONDIJS asserts (*Numidian Manicheism*, p. 37f.) that "for the African Manicheans ... the belief in the 'Epistola Fundamenti' of Mani rendering superfluous faith in the Gospels ... was alone indispensable for salvation."

⁸³ Quoted by Alberuni (in SACHAU, *Alberuni's India* I, p. 54f.), and referred to by him (in SACHAU, *Chronology*, p. 191) and by An-Nadim (in FLÜGEL, *Mani*, p. 102f.), al-Ya'qûbi (in KESSLER, *Mani*, p. 329), the *Acta Archelai* 62 (BEESON, *Hegemonius*, p. 91.5), Epiphanius, *Panarion* 66:13 (HOLL, *Epiphanius*, p. 35.9), the first *Formula of Abjuration* (PG 100/1321), and Titus of Bostra, Πρὸς Μανιχαίου (PG 18/1076). On this writing, cf. ALFARIC, *Les écritures* II, pp. 17-21; KESSLER, *op. cit.*, pp. 191-198; and KLIMA, *Manis Zeit*, pp. 405-407. It seems to have largely been an attack on Bardesan's teachings and on Christian interpretations of Scripture.

⁸⁴ Some fragments were found at Turfan and have been edited by HENNING (*The Book of the Giants*). It is also quoted by Sharastani (in HAARBRÜCKER, *Scharastânis* I, p. 290), and is referred to by Alberuni (in SACHAU, *Chronology*, p. 191). On this work cf. KESSLER, *Mani*, pp. 198-201, and KLIMA, *Manis Zeit*, pp. 408-414. Possibly it is not of Manichaean origin at all, but is the Enochic work of the same name.

⁸⁵ Referred to by Augustine, *epist. fund.* 6 (p. 199.10) and *Faust.* XIII,4 (p. 361.4); also by An-Nadim (in FLÜGEL, *Mani*, pp. 103-105), who lists 76 of them (on which cf. KESSLER, *Mani*, pp. 213-242, and ALFARIC, *Les écritures* I, pp. 29f. and 55-91, and II, pp. 68-137), and by the second *Formula of Abjuration* (PG 1/1465). Cf. KLIMA, *Manis Zeit*, pp. 420-431, and HENRICHs - KOENEN, *Ein griechisches Mani-Codex*, p. 108f.

part in Augustine's *Iul. imp.*; ⁸⁶ the other, written to one Marcellus of Kashkar, has been preserved for us by the *Acta Archelai*.⁸⁷ However, it is not known whether all this literature was actually composed by Mani, or whether it became associated with his name, wholly or in part, after his death.⁸⁸

Perhaps only five of the above seven works were ever known in North Africa: (1) *Treasure of Life*; ⁸⁹ (2) *Pragmateia* (if it is to be identified with the *Epistula Fundamenti*); ⁹⁰ (3) *The Great Gospel*; ⁹¹ (4) *Book of Mysteries*; ⁹² (5) some of the *letters*.⁹³ Possibly it was against these five that Augustine wrote the anti-Manichaean 'Pentateuch' spoken of by Paulinus.⁹⁴

Besides the works of Mani himself — naturally, considered by his followers to be their most sacred texts — mention must also be made of Manichaeism's "deutero-canonical scriptures." These consisted either of works written before Mani's time and to which he made reference, or of those written by various followers after his death. The former seem to have been mostly Gnostic in inspiration: ⁹⁵ it is not, at any rate, difficult to perceive a Gnostic

⁸⁶ Cited in III,166 and 172f. (cc. 1316 and 1318). Cf. also IV,109 (c. 1404). Augustine himself doubted the letter's authenticity. ALFARIC (*Les écritures* II, p. 74) considers it a fabrication of adversaries of Manichaeism. On the other hand, G.J.D. AALDERS ("L'Épître à Menoch, attribuée à Mani," in VC 14 [1960], pp. 245-249) thinks it apocryphal, although of Manichaean origin.

⁸⁷ In the *Acta Archelai* 5 (BEESON, *Hegemonius*, pp. 5-8) and Epiphanius, *Panarion* 66 (HOLL, *Epiphanius*, pp. 25-27). On this cf. KESSLER, *Mani*, p. 240; also Wolfgang SPEYER, *Die literarische Fälschung im heidnischen und christlichen Altertum. Ein Versuch ihrer Deutung*, Beck, Munich, 1971 (= Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft, Erste Abteilung, Zweiter Teil), p. 79 (he considers it to be apocryphal).

⁸⁸ The Coptic mss. often mention Mani's **ṢIKWŌN** (cf. e.g. POLOTSKY, *Manichäische Homilien*, p. 18.5), which seems best translated as "Picture-Book"; probably this is what is meant by the mention of *Ertenk* in the Turfan fragments. Augustine (*mor.* II,17:55, c. 1369; *Faust.* XIII,18, p. 400.7; and *enarr.* 140,12, p. 2035.22) and Epiphanius (*Panarion* 66:13, in HOLL, *Epiphanius*, p. 35.11) mention psalms and prayers attributed to Mani; and An-Nadim (FLÜGEL, *Mani*, p. 103) speaks of some works on astrology authored by him.

⁸⁹ Cf. the references in Augustine's works, above, n. 81.

⁹⁰ Cf. above, n. 82.

⁹¹ Cf. above, n. 80.

⁹² Cf. above, n. 83.

⁹³ Cf. above, p. 21.

⁹⁴ Paulinus, *Epistula* 4,2 (CSEL 29/20.9 = *epist.* 25 inter augustinianas, p. 79.17): "...cum hoc Pentateucho tuo contra Manicheos me satis armaueris."

⁹⁵ SCHMIDT (*Neue Originalquellen*, p. 28) says, "Mani ist der letzte Gnos-

influence on Mani's teaching (probably through the Sabaeans, to whom he may have belonged as a youth),⁹⁶ particularly in his employment of Scripture.⁹⁷ Those works which post-dated him consisted of commentaries on his own writings (like the *Kephalaia*), works by succeeding leaders of the religion (ἀρχηγοί),⁹⁸ liturgical texts (such as the *Amatorium canticum*)⁹⁹ or personal writings by individual followers (such as the *Capitula* of Faustus of Milevis¹⁰⁰ or the book of Adimantus).¹⁰¹ But being the first religious founder to write something for posterity was not Mani's sole claim to being the teacher of "the perfect religion": of all the great prophets who had preceded him, and who had taught some parts of the truth, he was the last and the greatest, divinely appointed to bring full

tiker." Cf. also SCHAEGER, *Urform*, p. 121, and *Der Manichäismus*, pp. 97-99; FREUND, *The Gnostic-Manichaean Tradition*, p. 21; WUNDT, *Augustinus Konfessionen*, p. 191f.; and PUECH, *Der Begriff*, p. 211f., who says: "Der Manichäismus ist eine Religion des Noûç. Die Erlösung ist eine Frage der Einsicht und wird in ihr durch einen Akt des Intellektes und in einer anscheinend objektiven Weise gelöst. Die Erlösung ist Wissen und das Wissen Erlösung. Gewiss ist er eine Gnosis, aber eine Gnosis intellektuellen Typs". On Gnostic writings and teachings cf. ALFARIC, *Les écritures* I, pp. 1-16, and Robert M. GRANT, *Gnosticism. An Anthology*, Collins, London, 1961. On the gnôsis in Manichaeism, cf. two articles in *Le origini dello gnosticismo. Colloquio di Messina, 13-18 Aprile 1966*, Brill, Leiden, 1967 (*Studies in the History of Religions*, XII): L.J.R. ORT, "Mani's Conception of Gnosis" (pp. 604-613); and Julien RIES, "La Gnose dans les textes liturgiques manichéens coptes" (pp. 614-624).

⁹⁶ According to An-Nadim (FLÜGEL, *Mani*, p. 83f.; KESSLER, *Mani*, p. 384) this was a branch which called itself *Mughtasilah* ("Baptisers"): cf. Flügel's comments, *op. cit.*, pp. 132-134; PUECH, *Le manichéisme*, p. 39f.; GRESSMANN, *La religion*, pp. 250-252; HENRICHS-KOENEN, *Ein griechisches Mani-Codex*, pp. 116-119 and 133-140; SCHEFTELOWITZ, *Die Entstehung*, p. 2, n. 1 and p. 17; SCHAEGER, *Der Manichäismus*, p. 97, n. 1; BÖHLIG, *Mysterion*, pp. 188-201; WESENDONK, *Die Lehre*, p. 16, n. 3; and KLIMA, *Manis Zeit*, pp. 268-270. If FREUND (*The Gnostic-Manichaean Tradition*, p. 20f.) is correct, Manichaeism in North Africa was especially influenced by the teachings of Marcion. On this cf. DECRET, *Aspects*, p. 154, n. 1; WESENDONK, *op. cit.*, pp. 65-68; BÖHLIG, *op. cit.*, p. 207-213; and ASMUSSEN, *Xuastvanift*, p. 22, n. 37 and p. 24, n. 58.

⁹⁷ Cf. below, pp. 145-149.

⁹⁸ Cf. Commentary, 542.

⁹⁹ Mentioned in Augustine, *Faust.* XV,5 (p. 425.4).

¹⁰⁰ Cf. *Faust.* I,1 (p. 251.8) and *retr.* II,33 (p. 138.19). For a full treatment of Faustus and his work, cf. MONCEAUX, *Le manichéen*; also Paul CANTALOUPE, *L'harmonie des deux testaments dans le Contra Faustum Manichaeum de saint Augustin*, Thesis (typewritten), Institut Catholique de Toulouse, 1955, pp. 200-216 (= critique of Monceaux, *op. cit.*).

¹⁰¹ Cf. *Adimant.* 12 (p. 139.9); *Faust.* I,2 (p. 252.2); *retr.* I,21:1 (p. 100.10); and *adu. leg.* 12:42 (c. 666).

knowledge (*gnôsis*), the truth in its entirety, as we are told in his *Shâpûrakân*:

Wisdom and deeds have always from time to time been brought to mankind by the messengers of God. So in one age they have been brought by the messenger, called Buddha, to India, in another by Zarâdusht to Persia, in another by Jesus to the West. Thereupon this revelation has come down, this prophecy in this last age through me, Mânî, the messenger of the God of truth to Babylonia.¹⁰²

To endorse this claim, he pretended to be the Paraclete whom Jesus had promised,¹⁰³ his apostle (lines 1220-1222),¹⁰⁴ or the "Apostle (Mes-

¹⁰² Cited by Alberuni (SACHAU, *Chronology*, p. 190; cf. also KESSLER, *Mani*, p. 197). The same idea is implied in Turfain fragment M 299a (in HENNING, *Ein manichäisches Henochbuch*, p. 27f.: "...und hernach, in den verschiedenen Zeiten machte ebenfalls der Heilige Geist seine Grösse kund durch den Mund der Propheten der Gegenden, welche sind Sēm, Sem, Enos, Nikotheos (?) ... und Henoch"); cf. also HENNING's *Book of the Giants*, p. 63 ("But God, in each epoch, sends apostles: Sit [il, Zarathushtra,] Buddha, Christ..."); and Ephrem (in MITCHELL, *S. Ephraim's Prose Refutations II*, p. xcvi: "[The Manichaeans] say about Hermes in Egypt, and about Plato among the Greeks, and about Jesus who appeared in Judaea, that 'they are Heralds of the Good One to the world'").

¹⁰³ Felix makes this claim in Augustine, *Fel. I,9* (p. 811.15): "Docuit nos (Manicheus) de cursu solis et lunae. hoc in Paulo non audiui nec in ceterorum apostolorum scripturis; *hoc credimus quia ipse est paracletus*." This confirms the charge made by Manichaeism's adversaries, that its founder had appropriated this title for himself: cf. Ephrem, in MITCHELL, *S. Ephraim's Prose Refutations II*, p. 209.11 (translated by Mitchell, p. xcvi, as: "...he who they say is the Paraclete"); also the *Acta Archelai* 15 (BEESON, *Hegemonius*, p. 24.3); An-Nadim (FLÜGEL, *Mani*, p. 86; KESSLER, *Mani*, p. 386); Alberuni (SACHAU, *Chronology*, p. 190); Eusebius, *Historia ecclesiastica* VII,31 (PG 20/720 C); and Augustine, *haer.* 46 (c. 38). It was the contention of DE BEAUSOBRE (*Histoire I*, pp. 263-268) that the claim was made only by the *adversaries* of Manichaeism, that Mani himself never laid claim to this title, and that Manichaeans never went further than saying that the Paraclete *resided* in Mani. But De Beausobre never saw any genuine Manichaean works; they, too, attribute the title of "Paraclete" to Mani: cf. the mention of ΠΠΑΡΑΚΛΗΤΟΣ ΠΜΑΝΙ-ΑΙΟΧC in *Kephalaia* 1 (SCHMIDT, pp. 14 and 16), and in the Coptic *Bema-Psalms* CCXX (ALLBERRY, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, p. 3.21) and especially CCXXVII (*ibid.*, pp. 20.19-25 and 22.22-25). Cf. also *Bema-Psalms* CCLXIII (*ibid.*, p. 80.23-24, text below, n. 105). On this title, cf. KESSLER, *op. cit.*, p. 246f.; KLIMA, *Manis Zeit*, pp. 310-315; and SCHMIDT-POLOTSKY, *Ein Mani-fund*, p. 55.

¹⁰⁴ Thus the end of the Coptic *Bema-Psalms* CCXXVII (Allberry, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, p. 22.22-25). In *Faust.* XIII,4 (p. 381.4) Augustine says that all of Mani's letters began with the phrase, "Mani, the apostle of Jesus Christ": cf. also *Faust.* VII,2 (p. 305.3) and XIII,17 (p. 398.26); *epist. fund.* 5 (p. 197.10)

senger, Ambassador) of the Light," ¹⁰⁵ appointed to replace the partial and confused knowledge in all former religions with his own full

and 6 (p. 199.10); *Fel.* I,1 (p. 801.16) and 14 (p. 817.21); and *Iul. imp.* III,172 (c. 1318). Not only is this also alleged by other anti-Manichaean writers (cf. *Acta Archelai* 15, in BEESON, *Hegemonius*, p. 23.17; also Epiphanius, *Panarion* 66:6, in HOLL, *Epiphanius*, p. 25.14), but the title, "apostle," is affirmed in Manichaean documents, both Western (as in ALLBERRY, *op. cit.*, p. 143.16; *Kephalaia* 1, in SCHMIDT, p. 16; and the expression, ἐγὼ Μαννιχαῖος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀπόστολος, from Mani's *Living Gospel* as quoted in HENRICHS-KOENEN, *Ein griechisches Mani-Codex*, p. 199) and Oriental (as in HALOUN-HENNING, *The Compendium*, p. 192; the citation from Mani's *Gospel* in MÜLLER, *Handschriften-Reste* II, pp. 26-28; Turfan fragment M 8171 in HENNING, *Manichaica* III, p. 869; and fragment T III D 260, in BANG-GABAIN, *Türkische* III, p. 189).

This general use of the title in Manichaeism is not enough to prove a notable Christian influence on Mani himself, as GRONDIJS points out (*Analyse*, p. 394): "On peut ... douter que le manichéisme ait jamais été — parmi les gnosés de toute provenance — une gnose chrétienne, et qu'on puisse pour la reconstitution du manichéisme original attribuer la moindre valeur au titre de 'discipulus' ou d' 'apostolus' *Jesu Christi*, que toutes les sectes vivant sous la ferule byzantine ont prêté à leur Prophète." In another article (*Numidian Manicheism*, p. 29) Grondijs maintains that the full title, "Apostle of Jesus Christ," was "only to be found within the Christian Oikumenè. Elsewhere, in order to spread or to protect their creed, the Manicheans had no need to refer in any way to Christ's teaching... In several of the Turfan-fragments Mani is described as the Great Apostle, as the Saviour, who will return on Judgment Day as the Supreme Judge, and who will lead his followers to paradise. Wherever Christ is mentioned in the East, i.e. outside the Christian world..., Jesus is neither the First Man, nor the Perfect Man, he is neither Ormuzd nor Srosh." The fact that some Turfan documents *do* mention Mani specifically as "the apostle of Jesus" (cf. WALDSCHMIDT-LENTZ, *Die Stellung*, p. 59) means that this assertion of Grondijs must be qualified; he is probably correct about the place of Jesus (and therefore of the title of his "apostle") in early forms of Eastern Manichaeism, but the later attribution to Mani of this title even outside Christendom means there were Christian influences at some period. On the title, cf. DE BEAUSOBRE, *Histoire* I, pp. 263-268, and HENRICHS-KOENEN, *op. cit.*, p. 107f.

¹⁰⁵ Cf. Coptic Psalm CCLXIII (ALLBERRY, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, p. 80. 23 - 24) :

ΟΥΕΛΥ ΜΝΟΥΕΡΟ ΜΠΚΛΑΣ ΠΝΧΑΪΣ ΠΝΟΥΑΪΝΕ ΠΜΑ
ΝΙΧΑΙΟΣ ΠΨΗΝ ΜΠΩΝΖ ΠΑΝΚΑΡΠΟΣ ΕΤΡΑΥΤ

Cf. also the references to Mani as ΠΑΠΟCΤΟΛΟC ἸΗCΟΥΑΪΝΕ (e.g. in POLOTSKY, *Manichäische Homilien*, p. 25.10, and in ALLBERRY, *op. cit.*, pp. 30.17 and 139.48) and as φωστήρ (e.g. in Allberry, *ibid.*, p. 8.31); also the references to "the Apostle of Light" in the Eastern documents: HALOUN-HENNING, *The Compendium*, p. 189; CHAVANNES-PELLIOT, *Un traité* I, p. 509, n. 3 and II, p. 125, n. 1 and pp. 327 and 348; DE MENASCE, *Fragments*, p. 304; HENNING, *Ein manichäisches Bet- und Beichtbuch*, p. 27, and *Mittelliranische* II, p. 332 and III, pp. 860 and 862; and WIDENGREN, *The Great Vohu Manah*, pp. 29-38.

vision of divine truths and thus be the herald of the first truly universal religion.¹⁰⁶ This is made explicit in one of the Turfan fragments, where the Manichaeon prays:

Die Religion, die ich erwählt habe, ist ... vorzüglicher und besser (?) als die anderen, früheren Religionen.

Erstens: die früheren (?) Religionen waren (nur) in einem Land und in einer Sprache. Da ist (nun) meine Religion derart, dass sie sich in jedem Land und in allen Sprachen Zeigen und in den fernsten (lit. fernen) Ländern gelehrt werden wird.

Zweitens: die früheren Religionen (Gemeinden) (waren) so lange (in Ordnung), als die reinen Führer in ihnen waren. Wann aber die Führer erhoben (=gestorben) waren, dann gerieten ihre Religionen (Gemeinden) in Verwirrung und wurden lässig in Geboten und Werken. ... (Aber meine Religion dank ihrer guten Organisation durch) die lebendigen (?) ... [Henning suggests 'Schriften' as the missing word], (durch) Lehrer, Bischöfe, Erwählte und Hörer und durch Weisheit und Werke wird bis zum Ende (sc. der Welt) dauern.

Drittens: Jene früheren Seelen, die in ihrer Religion die Werke nicht vollbracht haben, werden zu meiner Religion kommen, die für sie selbst das Tor der Erlösung werden wird.

Viertens: diese meine Offenbarung der beiden Prinzipien und (meine) lebendigen Schriften, Weisheit und Wissen sind vorzüglicher und besser als die der früheren Religionen.

Fünftens: alle Schriften, Weisheit und Parabeln der früheren Religionen, da (sie) zu dieser (meiner Religion hinzugekommen sind)...¹⁰⁷

In 242 or 243 — the date of the Sassanid King Shapur's coronation — Mani publicly proclaimed his divine mission before the king and, it seems, met with his approval.¹⁰⁸ But later, under pressure from the official Magi religion, Shapur had Mani sent into exile and his followers persecuted.¹⁰⁹ Mani seems to have then embarked on a missionary journey, which took him through the Transoxanian region, Western China and part of India.¹¹⁰ Upon

¹⁰⁶ Cf. above, n. 102.

¹⁰⁷ Fragment M 5794 (in HENNING, *Mitteliranische* II, p. 295f.).

¹⁰⁸ Cf. the mention of Shapur in *Kephalaia* 1 (SCHMIDT, p. 15); also in An-Nadim (FLÜGEL, *Mani*, p. 84; KESSLER, *Mani*, p. 384f.) and Alberuni (SACHAU, *Chronology*, pp. 188 and 208). On the date, cf. PUECH, *Le manichéisme*, p. 46, and TAQIZADEH-HENNING, *The Dates*, pp. 107-113. This relationship between Mani and Shapur is contested by BROWN, *Religion*, p. 98.

¹⁰⁹ So Alberuni (SACHAU, *Chronology*, p. 191) and al-Ya'qûbi (KESSLER, *Mani*, p. 330). In disagreement are BARDY (*Manichéisme*, c. 1861) and PUECH (*Le manichéisme*, p. 132, nn. 186 and 187).

¹¹⁰ Cf. *Kephalaia* 1 (SCHMIDT-POLOTSKY, *Ein Mani-Fund*, p. 48), An-Nadim

the death of Shapur's successor Hormuzd (273) he returned to Persia and is said to have been crucified, perhaps in 275,¹¹¹ by order of the new king, Bahrâm I - again at the insistence of the Magi priests. The day of his death came to be celebrated by his followers as their principal religious feast (*Bema*).¹¹²

(FLÜGEL, *Mani*, p. 85; KESSLER, *Mani*, p. 386), Alberuni (SACHAU, *Chronology*, p. 192); also ORT, *Mani*, pp. 209-224; KLIMA, *Manis Zeit*, pp. 320-344; PUECH, *Le manichéisme*, p. 44f.; and HENNING, *Neue Materialien*, pp. 6-8.

¹¹¹ Cf. the Coptic Bema-Psalm CCXXV (ALLBERRY, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, p. 16.19): "The lover of fighting, the peaceless one, roared in flaming anger, he commanded them to fetter the righteous one that he might please the Magians, the teachers of Persia, the servants of fire. This is the way they gave judgment upon the victor, the angel, the Paraclete." Later in the same "psalm" we find (*ibid.*, p. 17.24): "On the second day of the week thou didst receive the glory of victory ... in the month Phamenoth, on the fourth day, Monday, thou didst receive thy garland"; cf. also p. 18.6. VON LE COQ, basing himself on a Turfan document (in *Türkische I*, p. 39, n. 16), places Mani's death in 273. HALOUN-HENNING (*The Compendium*, p. 201) at first dated it on March 2, 274; this date was contested by TAQIZADEH (*The Dates*, pp. 113-115), who settled on February 26, 277, subsequently accepted by HENNING (*The Manichaean Fasts*, p. 163) and PUECH (*Le manichéisme*, pp. 20, 53 and 103, n. 35). On the strength of An-Nadim's information, FLÜGEL (*Mani*, p. 333) sets the death in 274 or 275, HARNACK (*Manichaeism*, p. 573) and RIES (*Manichaeism*, p. 154) in 276 or 277, and KLIMA (*Manis Zeit*, pp. 381f. and 527) on March 20, 276. In favouring the year 275 I am following ORT (*Mani*, p. 154f.) and ALFARIC (*Les écritures I*, p. 25).

Curiously, we can be more certain about the day of the week on which Mani died, as well as the month of the year, than we can about the year itself. The Coptic Bema-psalm quoted above says that Mani died on a Monday, and Augustine says (*Faust. XVIII.5*, p. 494.18; *epist. fund. 8*, p. 202.11) that the anniversary of his death was celebrated in March. On this latter point, however, Augustine has been criticised by KESSLER (*op. cit.*, pp. 180 and 186) and by HENNING (*The Manichaean Fasts*, p. 161).

If there is controversy over the date there is also disagreement over the manner of Mani's death (remarked already by An-Nadim, in FLÜGEL, *op. cit.*, p. 99f., and by Alberuni, in SACHAU, *Chronology*, p. 191f.). Some sources contend that he was flayed alive; others say that he was burned and then decapitated. On these two versions cf. ORT, *op. cit.*, p. 158 and PUECH, *op. cit.*, pp. 21, 52-57 and 105, n. 47. Sometimes a "crucifixion" is mentioned (as in Coptic Bema-psalm CCXXVI, in ALLBERRY, *op. cit.*, p. 19.21: "They in their cruelty crucified [σταυροῦν] me"), but PUECH (*op. cit.*, pp. 52 and 107, n. 64) and BURKITT (*Polotsky's Manichaean Homilies*, p. 359) take this to mean simply "martyrdom."

¹¹² The *Bema* is mentioned by Augustine (references above, n. 111) and often in the Coptic sources (cf. POLOTSKY, *Manichäische Homilien*, p. 1*, and ALLBERRY, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, p. 2*, under the word, βῆμα); it is also spoken of in the Turfan fragments (cf. HENNING, *Ein manichäisches Bet- und Beichtbuch*, pp. 18-21). Cf. ALLBERRY, "Das manichäische Bema-Fest" in *ZNW* 37 (1938), pp. 2-10.

After Mani's death his followers also had to endure renewed persecution in Persia, and many of them fled eastward across the Oxus and probably also westward into Syria;¹¹³ but the residence of their leader continued to be in Babylon until the X century, when it was transferred to Samarkand.¹¹⁴ In 661, after the Arab conquest of Persia, the Manichaeans attempted to return there, but were expelled between 908 and 932.¹¹⁵ Nevertheless they appear to have become very numerous farther East, and Alberuni speaks of them as still existing in large numbers in Moslem lands at his time.¹¹⁶ They were also well received by the Uigur Turks, among whom Manichaeism actually became for a short time (762 - *ca.* 840) the "state religion."¹¹⁷ From the Tuen-huang manuscripts and official documents we know that Manichaeism made its way well into China,¹¹⁸ and in the East we find traces of its presence up to the XV century.¹¹⁹

In the West Manichaeism took on a somewhat different form, since it had to take Christianity into account. To do this, it presented the Christ of the Gospels as the last in the series of true prophets before the coming of Mani with his complete revelation; hence even the New Testament, while accepted, could not be considered as anything more than a partial revelation, whose fulness was revealed only in Mani himself.¹²⁰ In this view, the Manichaean version of Christianity could be the only true one, and that is how it was presented: "Ego praeceptori meo refero gratias," says Faustus, "quia me similiter labantem retinuit, ut essem hodie *christianus*."¹²¹ That

¹¹³ Cf. An-Nadim (FLÜGEL, *Mani*, p. 105) and DE STOOP, *Essai*, p. 60f.

¹¹⁴ An-Nadim (FLÜGEL, *op. cit.*, pp. 98, 105 and 108).

¹¹⁵ An-Nadim (FLÜGEL, *op. cit.*, p. 105f.). Cf. GRESSMANN, *La religion*, p. 262.

¹¹⁶ Cf. SACHAU, *Chronology*, p. 191.

¹¹⁷ This was already known through Alberuni (in SACHAU, *op. cit.*, p. 191) and has been confirmed by the Turfan fragments, notably T M 276^a (in BANG-GABAIN, *Türkische II*, p. 415). On this cf. BARDY, *Manichéisme*, c. 1869 f.; HENNING, *Neue Materialien*; ASMUSSEN, *Xuastvanift*, pp. 147 and 149; and SCHAEDEER, *Der Manichäismus*, p. 89.

¹¹⁸ Again, previously known from information provided by Alberuni (in SACHAU, *op. cit.*, p. 191) and confirmed by discoveries at Tuen-Huang and by Chinese official records. Cf. ALFARIC, *Les écritures I*, pp. 82-90; CHAVANNES-PELLIOT, *Un traité II*, pp. 147-199 and 261-378; and M.G. DEVÉRIA, "Musulmans et manichéens chinois," in JA, Série IX, 10 (1897), pp. 445-484.

¹¹⁹ Cf. ALFARIC, *op. cit.* I, pp. 121-128; CHAVANNES-PELLIOT, *op. cit.* II, pp. 312-370; and WESENDONK, *Die Lehre*, p. 51.

¹²⁰ Cf. DECRET, *Aspects*, p. 117f.

¹²¹ Augustine, *Faust.* XIX,5 (p. 501.1). Cf. HOLL, *Augustins innere Entwicklung*, p. 4f.

this deception was successful and resulted in the conversion of many from more orthodox forms of Christianity — Augustine was also attracted in part because “the name of Jesus was always in their mouths” ¹²² — is borne out by the abundance of anti-Manichaean literature from Christian sources. Making its way through Syria and Cappadocia,¹²³ the religion may have appeared in Carthage before the end of the III century ¹²⁴ — about the same time as it reached Egypt.¹²⁵ It seems to have made great progress in North Africa, whence it spread to Spain,¹²⁶ Gaul,¹²⁷ and Italy.¹²⁸ Particularly in 372 Valentinian I, in 381, 382 and 389 Theodosius I, and in 399 Honorius, issued bloody edicts against the religion: ¹²⁹ but, as the

¹²² Augustine, *conf.* III,6:10 (p. 50.15): “Itaque incidi in homines superbe delirantes, carnales nimis et loquaces, in quorum ore laquei diaboli et uiscum confectum conmixtione syllabarum nominis tui et domini Iesu Christi et paracleti consolatoris nostri spiritus sancti. *haec nomina non recedebant de ore eorum...*”

¹²³ Cf. BROWN, *Religion*, pp. 102-105.

¹²⁴ According to an edict attributed to Diocletian (text in KRUEGER, *Collectio* III, p. 187f.; repr. in ADAM, *Texte*, p. 82f.) and supposedly addressed in 297 (or, according to DOUAIS, *Saint Augustine contre le manichéisme* II, p. 207, n. 1, in 302) to Julianus, Pro-Consul of Africa, Manichaean leaders were condemned to be burned along with their books, and their followers were to be beheaded. The authenticity of this edict is accepted by DE STOOP (*Essai*, pp. 34-39), SCHAEDEER (*Der Manichäismus*, p. 80, n. 1), and William SESTON, “De l’authenticité et de la date de l’édit de Dioclétien contre les manichéens,” in *Mélanges de philologie, de littérature et d’histoire anciennes offerts à Alfred Ernout*, Klincksieck, Paris, 1940, pp. 345-354 (and cf. his *L’Égypte manichéenne*, p. 367f., where, however, I fail to see the validity of his argument that the edict was provoked by a revolt in Egypt in which Manichaeans supposedly participated).

¹²⁵ WIDENGREN (*Mani*, p. 118) says this occurred “vor dem Jahre 261” and PUECH (*Le manichéisme*, p. 134, n. 191) says, “244 au plus tôt.” Cf. ALLBERRY, *Manichaean Studies*, p. 348f., and SESTON, *L’Égypte manichéenne*.

¹²⁶ Cf. Philastrius of Brescia, *De haeresibus* 61 (PL 12/1176 A), written between 383 and 391. SCHAEDEER (*Der Manichäismus*, p. 82, n. 3) cautions: “So hat er dabei die Anhänger Priscillianis im Auge”; but Philastrius seems to know the difference between Spanish Manichaeans (*loc. cit.*) and Priscillianists (*op. cit.* 84, c. 1196f., with the notes). Cf. DE STOOP, *Essai*, p. 97.

¹²⁷ Philastrius, *op. cit.* 61. Cf. also Augustine, *nat. boni* 47 (p. 887.3).

¹²⁸ At Milan Ambrose mentions them in his *Epistulae* 23,11 and 24,12f. (PL 16/1029 C and 1128); cf. also Commentary, 838-839. The earliest mention of them in Rome is in a rescript of Pope Miltiades (311-314): cf. DUCHESNE, *Le Liber pontificalis* I, p. 169, n. 3.

¹²⁹ *Cod. Theod.* XVI,5:3 (March 2, 372: MOMMSEN-MEYER, *Theodosiani*, p. 855, repr. in ADAM, *Texte*, p. 84), 7 (May 8, 381: MOMMSEN-MEYER, p. 857f.), 9 (March 31, 382 (*ibid.*, p. 858), 18 (June 17, 389: *ibid.*, p. 861f.; text above, n. 15) and 35 (May 17, 399: *ibid.*, p. 866; this last is directed to Dominator,

list of his works on Manichaeism shows, Augustine was still contending with them in North Africa in the V century,¹³⁰ Pope Leo was preaching against them in Rome in 444,¹³¹ and the *Liber pontificalis* says that Pope Hormisdas († 523) had to send a number of them into exile.¹³² In 529 Emperor Justinian once more threatened Manichaeism's adherents with death,¹³³ and around 590 Pope Gregory the Great mentions them as still present in Sicily and North Africa.¹³⁴ After the VI century no more is heard from them in the West as a distinct group, but up to the XIII century their influence can be traced in such groups as the Paulicians, Bogomiles, Catharists and Albigensians.¹³⁵

The system

To give a clear and concise *précis* of Manichaean tenets and at the same time do justice to their complexity is an almost impossible task. Mani's speculations were full of allegory,¹³⁶ and in the centuries following his death there was great diversity as to the manner in which they were expressed by his followers, according to the *milieu* where they found themselves.¹³⁷ The obvious course in presenting

Vicar of Africa). Cf. DECRET, *Aspects*, p. 331, n. 4, and KADEN, *Die Edikte*, pp. 58-61.

¹³⁰ Cf. — besides the works listed above, pp. 13-16 — *Petil.* III,25:30 (p. 185.23).

¹³¹ Leo, *Sermo* 16,4f. (PL 54/178f.). Cf. also Prosper of Aquitaine, *Chronicon* (PL 51/600).

¹³² DUCHESNE, *Le Liber pontificalis* I, p. 270f.: "Hic invenit Manicheos, quos etiam discussit cum examinatione plagarum, exilio deportavit; quorum codices ante fores basilicae Constantinianae incendio concremavit."

¹³³ *Codex Iustinianus* I,5, 12 and 15-16 (KRUEGER, *Codex*, pp. 53-56).

¹³⁴ Gregory, *Epistularum liber* II, 37 (PL 77/575 C) and *liber* V,8 (c. 729). Cf. DUFOURCQ, *De Manicheismo*, pp. 54-61.

¹³⁵ Cf. LEGGE, *Western Manichaeism*, p. 73; ASMUSSEN, *Xuastvanift*, pp. 11f. and 23, n. 39; SCHAEDEER, *Der Manichäismus*, p. 83f.; and WESENDONK, *Die Lehre*, p. 54f.

¹³⁶ A term that seems preferable to "mythology": cf. WESENDONK, *Die Lehre*, p. 21, n. 2 (he speaks of "analogy"); POLOTSKY, *Manichäismus*, c. 243; BAUR, *Das manichäische Religionssystem*, p. 9f.; and DECRET, *Aspects*, pp. 185-189.

¹³⁷ Cf. NEWMAN'S *Introductory Essay*, p. 31: "Manichaeism was a product of the East, and in the East it met with most acceptance. To the spirit of the West it was altogether foreign, and only in a greatly modified form could it have flourished there." SCHMIDT (*Neue Originalquellen*, p. 24), and BAUR (*op. cit.*, p. 4f.) make similar conclusions, and I do not see with what justification ORT says (*Mani*, p. 158) that Mani "laid down all rules for the Manichaeans during his life, so that there was very little room for them to

Manichaeism would be, if it were possible, to show what had been originally taught by Mani himself, and how this fundamental teaching evolved in different times and places. But Manichaean studies have not yet brought us to the point where this can be safely done.¹³⁸ On nearly every point of that teaching one can find almost as many opinions and interpretations as there are commentators, and strong disagreement over whether a given point belongs to the *Urform* of Manichaeism or whether it represents a later addition made necessary by local circumstances. Therefore no serious effort has been made here to separate the "Western" form of Manichaeism from specifically Eastern forms - a task that would go far beyond the scope of the present study. Instead, the aim will be to give a general presentation of Manichaeism with special reference to Augustine and his views on the subject, whenever his information is available, and to other non-Manichaean and Manichaean sources where these serve to corroborate what Augustine tells us, or where some clarification on the information provided by him is called for.¹³⁹

carry out local or national initiatives." The judgment of SCHAEFER (*Der Manichäismus*, p. 97) is on the whole much closer to the fact: "Darum trage er, Mani, für die Aufzeichnung seiner Lehrverkündigung und dafür Sorge, dass sie jedem Volk in seiner Sprache vermittelt werde. Daraus erklärt sich der zunächst auffallende Formunterschied zwischen der von den christlichen Polemikern und den koptischen Texten einerseits, der turkestanischen Überlieferung andererseits vertretenen Lehrdarstellung." Cf. above, n. 26.

¹³⁸ Even though I quite agree with GRONDIJS (*Numidian Manichaeism*, p. 33): "It can be useful to compare the doctrines of these [Manichaean] sects, but each should be judged according to its own merits, in order to discern its own sources. Combining several manichean theologies, filling up gaps in one of them with elements taken from another, will perhaps only serve to increase the confusion." The problem is in knowing what elements are peculiar to a given "sect." Grondijs himself has made attempts to discover the North African version of Manichaeism (*Analyse; La diversité*; and the work just quoted) but his conclusions are not always to be trusted (cf. VAN DER LOF's criticism in *Der numidische Manichäismus*). NÖRREGAARD's presentation, using information from Augustine exclusively (*Augustins Bekehrung*, pp. 28-51) reveals that such an approach is inadequate to determine both Manichaeism's complexity and Augustine's accuracy.

¹³⁹ A comparison of the data given by Augustine with the Coptic *Kephalaia* will be found in John P. MAHER, *Saint Augustine's Defense of the Hexameron Against the Manichaeans*, Rome, 1946 (Diss., Universitas Gregoriana), pp. 55-82 and 86f. For a detailed exposé of Manichaean doctrine, cf. POLOTSKY, *Manichäismus*; RIES, *Manichaeism*; HOPPER, *The Anti-Manichaean Writings*, pp. 149-155; WESENDONK, *Die Lehre* (especially for the Orient); BAUR, *Das manichäische Religionssystem*; and ALFARIC, *Les écritures* I, pp. 32-53 and (especially for Augustine's presentation) *L'évolution*, pp. 95-125.

Dualistic in its essence, Manichaeism takes the form of a "religion of nature" seeking to provide an answer to the question, *unde malum?* In its cosmogony it distinguishes three Moments or Phases:¹⁴⁰ the first of these, the *Beginning* Moment, concerns the primeval condition of everything. There are, said Mani, two eternal Principles (or 'stocks' or 'roots')¹⁴¹ separated from and completely opposed to one another.¹⁴² One eternal Principle is good, glorious, orderly, peaceful, intelligent, King of the Paradise of Light;¹⁴³ this Principle of Light is God, "Father of Greatness," who dwells in his Light-kingdom with his Light, Power and Wisdom.¹⁴⁴ The other eternal Principle is Matter or *ὕλη*:¹⁴⁵

¹⁴⁰ Mention is made of the three Moments in many Manichaean documents: cf. Coptic Bema-psalm CCXXI (ALLBERRY, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, pp. 7.9 and 11.31); *Kephalaia* 17 (SCHMIDT, pp. 55-57); *Khuastuanift* (VON LE COQ, *Dr. Stein's*, p. 290; ASMUSSEN, *Xuastvanift*, p. 190); Turfan fragment T II D 171 (VON LE COQ, *Türkische I*, p. 26); a Coptic homily (POLOTSKY, *Manichäische Homilien*, p. 7.12-13); and the documents in Chinese (WALDSCHMIDT-LENTZ, *Manichäische Dogmatik*, p. 491; HALOUN-HENNING, *The Compendium*, p. 192; CHAVANNES-PELLIOT, *Un traité* II, pp. 114-116, 123, 137-140 and 335). These all serve to confirm what we are told by Martan Farrux, *Shkand-vimānik Vishār* (DE MENASCE, *Une apolo-gétique*, p. 253) and by Augustine, *Fel.* I,6 (p. 807.18) and 9 (p. 811.13) and II,1 (p. 828.25).

¹⁴¹ BANG (*Manichäische Laien-Beichtspiegel*, p. 204) does not agree that Manichaeism taught two eternal Principles: but the evidence is overwhelmingly against him. Cf. the mention of the two Principles in the *Khuastuanift* (VON LE COQ, *Dr. Stein's*, p. 291; RADLOFF, *Nachträge*, p. 890; ASMUSSEN, *Xuastvanift*, p. 190); WALDSCHMIDT-LENTZ, *Manichäische Dogmatik*, p. 491; CHAVANNES-PELLIOT, *Un traité* I, p. 579 and II, pp. 114, 123, 335 and 353f.; also Theodore bar Khôni (POGNON, *Inscriptions*, p. 127, and CUMONT, *Recherches* I, p. 7); Sharastani (HAARBRÜCKER, *Scharastānis* I, p. 285); Ephrem (MITCHELL, *S. Ephraim's Prose Refutations* I, pp. 10.2 and 130.1); the *Acta Archelai* 19 (BEESON, *Hegemonius*, p. 29f.); and the quotations in Commentary, 284-285.

¹⁴² Augustine, *epist. fund.* 13 (p. 209.11) and *haer.* 46 (c. 34); Titus of Bostra (PG 18/1076 C); Severus (CUMONT, *Recherches* II, pp. 90-92 and RAHMANI, *Documenta*, p. ~~30~~ line 20 - 30 line 12); Alexander of Lycopolis, Λόγος (PG 18/413); al-Ya'qûbi (KESSLER, *Mani*, p. 327); An-Nadim (FLÜGEL, *Mani*, p. 86, and Kessler, *op. cit.* p. 386); Epiphanius, *Panarion* 66:14 (HOLL, *Epiphanius*, p. 36); and CHAVANNES-PELLIOT, *Un traité* II, p. 115.

¹⁴³ The *Letter of the Foundation*, in Augustine, *epist. fund.* 13 (p. 209.11); An-Nadim (FLÜGEL, *Mani*, pp. 86 and 95, and KESSLER, *Mani*, p. 387); Al-Murtada (Kessler, *op. cit.*, p. 350); Sharastani (HAARBRÜCKER, *Scharastānis* I, p. 286): cf. the *Kephalaia*, introduction (SCHMIDT, p. 5) and 11 (*ibid.*, p. 43); and a Coptic "psalm" (ALLBERRY, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, p. 9.10-11).

¹⁴⁴ In Greek the God of Light was called, in view of these four aspects, τετραπρόσωπος — 'Four-faced' (cf. the second Greek *Formula of Abjuration*, PG 1/1461). That the name was confined neither to Manichaeism's adversaries nor to Greek is demonstrated by a Coptic "psalm" (ALLBERRY, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, p. 191.12: AMHN AMHN AMHN AMHN AN ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΗΤΟΥΖΟ).

in contrast to the good Principle, here are found only Darkness, evil, chaos and anarchy.¹⁴⁶ Upwards, the Light-kingdom has no limits, but with its lowest side it touches the Darkness, which similarly has no boundary downwards.¹⁴⁷





On the name, cf. CUMONT, *Recherches* I, p. 8, n. 2, and KESSLER, *Mani*, p. 359, n. 5. The Father of Greatness is named together with his Light, Power and Wisdom also by An-Nadim (FLÜGEL, *Mani*, p. 95), Theodore bar Khôni (CUMONT, *op. cit.* I, p. 8; POGNON, *Inscriptions*, p. 127; SCHER, *Theodorus*, t. 66, p. 313.15); and in Manichaean documents - Coptic (*Kephalaia* 63, SCHMIDT, p. 156; ALLBERRY, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, pp. 134.6, 186.9 and 190.17), Chinese (WALDSCHMIDT-LENTZ, *Manichäische Dogmatik*, pp. 488-551) and those from Turfan (VON LE COQ, *Türkische* II, p. 10; BANG, *Manichäische Hymnen*, p. 23; MÜLLER, *Handschriften-Reste* I, p. 350, and II, p. 62; HENNING, *Mitteliranische* II, pp. 326 and 329, and *Ein manichäisches Bet- und Beichtbuch*, p. 25f.). On this fourfold title for the God of Light, cf. especially JACKSON, *The Fourfold Aspect*; also WIDENGREN, *Mani*, p. 51; SCHMIDT-POLOTSKY, *Ein Mani-Fund*, p. 66; SCHAEDEER, *Urform* (who thinks this notion has its origins in Zarvanism) and (against Schaeeder) SCHEFTELOWITZ, *Der göttliche Urmensch*, pp. 234-238.



¹⁴⁵ Cf. Epiphanius, *Panarion* 66:14 (HOLL, *Epiphanius*, p. 36.3). Many non-Greek sources have this Greek term as well: Augustine, *nat. boni* 18 (p. 862.8) and *Faust.* XX,3 (p. 537.13) and XXI,1 (p. 568.14); *Kephalaia* 4 (SCHMIDT, p. 26), 6 (p. 31), 24 (p. 74) and 27 (p. 78); Severus (CUMONT, *Recherches* II, p. 90 and RAHMANI, *Documenta*, p. 𐭪𐭫 line 21). Cumont (*op. cit.*, p. 163), BAUR (*Das manichäische Religionssystem*, p. 20f.) and FLÜGEL (*Mani*, p. 192) believe that the term ὕλη is either a transposition of some Iranian term or else a hellenisation made after Mani's time; SCHAEDEER (*Urform*, pp. 112-118); BURKITT (*The Religion*, p. 95) and PUECH (*Le manichéisme*, p. 161, n. 286) prefer to think that Mani himself borrowed the term from Marcion or Bardesan. RIES (*Manichaeism*, p. 156) takes the term to represent, not some definite being co-eternal with God, but the matter that came into being as a result of the mixture of Light and Darkness.

¹⁴⁶ The *Letter of the Foundation*, in Augustine, *epist. fund.* 28 (p. 228.18); Simplicius (DÜBNER, *Theophrasti Characteres*, p. 69f.); HALOUN-HENNING, *The Compendium*, p. 192f. It is BURKITT's opinion (*The Religion*, p. 20) that at first the Darkness was not evil: "Evil began when the Dark invaded the Light." Be that as it may, it remains unclear whether Mani intended to identify God with his Kingdom of Light and the Principle of Evil with the Darkness-kingdom: cf. the *Khuastuanift* (ASMUSSEN, *Xuastvanift*, p. 196).



¹⁴⁷ Augustine, *conf.* VII,5:7 (p. 146.6); *epist. fund.* 20-24 (pp. 217-223); Simplicius (DÜBNER, *Theophrasti*, p. 70f.); An-Nadim (FLÜGEL, *Mani*, p. 86 and KESSLER, *Mani*, p. 387); Sharastani (HAARBRÜCKER, *Scharastânis* I, p. 286); Al-Murtada (Kessler, *op. cit.*, p. 350). Sometimes this primordial condition is presented as two trees: the Tree of Life, filling all that extends North, East and West, and the Tree of Death, filling the South (cf. *Kephalaia* 2, SCHMIDT, p. 22: "(Der) schlechte Baum aber ist die Hyle..."); and each tree produces fruit according to its nature: cf. Augustine, *Fort.* 14 (p. 91.12); Theodoret (PG 83/377 B); Severus (CUMONT, *Recherches* II, pp. 96, 100-106, 112, 117f., 125 and 127; RAHMANI, *Documenta*, pp. 𐭪𐭫 line 19 (but which is not given as a quotation from Mani); 𐭪𐭫 line 19 — 𐭪𐭫 line 5; 𐭪𐭫

The second or *Middle* Moment is the order of things as they are at present, the mixture of good and evil one finds in the world. This mixture results from a great conflict which took place between the Kingdoms of Light and Darkness. In the beginning they were completely separated;¹⁴⁸ but within the Kingdom of Darkness there waged ceaseless strife, and this unrest eventually caused the Principle of Evil — or his Five Dark Elements: darkness, evil water, evil wind, evil fire and smoke¹⁴⁹ — to rise to the uppermost border of the Darkness-kingdom where, perceiving the Light, he desired to possess it, and therefore invaded the Light-kingdom.¹⁵⁰ When God, the Father of Greatness, learned of this, he sought a means of repelling the invasion because his Light-kingdom was without defenses.¹⁵¹ Finally

line 21 —  line 2;  line 13;  line 17; and  line 10). Cf. also the commentary by Cumont, *op. cit.*, pp. 163-170, and by CHAVANNES-PELLIOT, *Un traité* II, pp. 102, n. 2 and 137, n. 2.

¹⁴⁸ Al-Murtada (KESSLER, *Mani*, p. 350), *Kephalaia* 115 (BÖHLIG, p. 1079 b), Titus of Bostra, *Πρὸς Μαριχάλου* I, 7 (PG 18/1077 A), and Severus (RAHMANI, *Documenta*, pp.  line 10 and  line 4; CUMONT, *Recherches* II, pp. 103 and 106 — but in Cumont God is said merely to have “fortified the place”) speak of a wall constructed by the God of Light. Cf. the remarks of PUECH, *Le manichéisme*, p. 162, n. 293.

¹⁴⁹ Augustine, *mor.* II, 9:14 (c. 1351), *haer.* 46 (c. 35) and *epist. fund.* 28 (p. 228.18); *Kephalaia* 4 (SCHMIDT, p. 25), 18 (p. 58) and 23 (p. 68f.); one of the Coptic “psalms” (ALLBERRY, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, p. 9.17); An-Nadim (FLÜGEL, *Mani*, p. 86; KESSLER, *Mani*, p. 387); Sharastani (HAARBRÜCKER, *Scharastânis* I, p. 287); and Theodore bar Khôni (POGNON, *Inscriptions*, pp. 127 and 184). Cf. the remarks of CHAVANNES-PELLIOT, *Un traité* I, p. 511, n. 2; also HENNING, *Ein manichäischer kosmogonischer Hymnus*, p. 216 and n. 5.

¹⁵⁰ Augustine, *mor.* II, 9:17 (c. 1352); Ephrem (MITCHELL, *S. Ephraim's Prose Refutations* I, p. 1.30 and II, p. 210.16); Theodoret of Kyrrhos (PG 83/377); Titus of Bostra, *Πρὸς Μαριχάλου* I, 16-19 (PG 18/1089-1093), 21-22 (cc. 1096-1098) and 34 (c. 1125 C); Alexander of Lycopolis, *Λόγος* (PG 18/413 D); Simplicius (DÜBNER, *Theophrasti Characteres*, p. 71); Severus (CUMONT, *Recherches* II, pp. 114-126; RAHMANI, *Documenta*, pp.  line 14 -  line 3); An-Nadim (FLÜGEL, *Mani*, p. 87); Al-Murtada (KESSLER, *Mani*, p. 352); and Sharastani (HAARBRÜCKER, *Scharastânis* I, p. 288). Confirmed in a Chinese source (CHAVANNES-PELLIOT, *Un traité* I, p. 546) and in Coptic mss. (*Kephalaia*, introduction, SCHMIDT, p. 4; ALLBERRY, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, p. 9.22-23).

¹⁵¹ Cf. Augustine, *uera rel.* 48 (p. 14.29): “...sed quodam tempore aduersus deum rebellasse, deum autem, qui aliud quod faceret non haberet et quomodo aliter possit resistere non inueniret, necessitate oppressum misisse huc animam bonam et quandam particulam substantiae suae, cuius conmixtione atque miseria hostem temperatum esse somniant et mundum fabricatum.” Cf. also Evodius, *De fide* 31 (CSEL 25,2/964.32: “Deus uester, o Manichaei, labe ac uastitate inpendente pressus est, non libera uoluntate processit ad pugnam, sed necessitate compulsus est”); Alexander of Lycopolis, *Λόγος* (PG 18/413 D); Severus

he evoked¹⁵² the "Mother of Life,"¹⁵³ who in turn evoked the Primeval Man.¹⁵⁴ This latter was commissioned by the Father of Greatness to battle the Darkness, having as his weapons the Five Pure Elements: gentle breeze, cooling wind, bright light, living fire and clear water.¹⁵⁵ After a long battle the Principle of Evil overcame the Primeval Man, devoured the Five Pure Elements — thus mixing

(CUMONT, *Recherches* II, p. 142f.; RAHMANI, *Documenta*, p. ١١١, line 20); and An-Nadim (FLÜGEL, *Mani*, p. 87). According to Theodoret of Kyrrhos (PG 83/377), Theodore bar Khôni (Cumont, *op. cit.* I, p. 13), Simplicius (DÜBNER, *Theophrasti Characteres*, p. 72; ADAM, *Texte*, p. 71) and Augustine (*mor.* II, 12:25, c. 1356; *Faust.* X, 4, p. 276.4; *enarr.* 140, p. 2033.12), God was "seized with fear." On this, cf. PUECH, *Le manichéisme*, p. 168, n. 309; also DE BEAUSOBRE, *Histoire* II, pp. 306-309.

¹⁵² Manichaean sources are always careful to avoid such terms as "propagated" or "created" in this regard: cf. MITCHELL, *S. Ephraim's Prose Refutations* II, p. cxxxiii, n. 1; also JACKSON, *Researches*, p. 9: "'Evoked' (not generated) is the true Manichaean word for this act, since Mānī never employed any term that would imply the idea of sexual generation in the transcendental Realm of Light." Cf. also *ibid.*, p. 224, n. 8, and CUMONT, *Recherches* I, p. 14, n. 4. On the usual Manichaean terms for this act (in Coptic **TWZME**, in Syriac **ܬܘܙܡܐ**) cf. WIDENGREN, *The Great Vohu Manah*, p. 20, n. 1.

¹⁵³ On the rôle of this personage, cf. CHAVANNES-PELLIOT, *Un traité* I, p. 511, n. 1.

¹⁵⁴ In Greek **πρῶτος ἄνθρωπος** (cf. Alexander of Lycopolis, **Λόγος** 3, PG 18/413 D). Augustine calls him "primus homo" (references below, n. 156). Cf. also *Kephalaia* 9 (SCHMIDT, p. 39), 16 (p. 49), 18 (p. 58) and 24 (p. 71); ALLBERRY, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, p. 141.4; POLOTSKY, *Manichäische Homilien*, p. 86.3; Ephrem (MITCHELL, *S. Ephraim's Prose Refutations* I, p. 121.36); Theodore bar Khôni (SCHER, *Theodorus*, t. 66, p. 313.28; CUMONT, *Recherches* I, p. 14; POGNON, *Inscriptions*, p. 127); An-Nadim (FLÜGEL, *Mani*, p. 87f.; KESSLER, *Mani*, p. 389). For various theories on the Primeval Man, cf. Flügel, *op. cit.*, pp. 200-203; HENNING, *Mitteliranische* I, p. 178, n. 5 and pp. 219 and 221; also the article, "Geburt und Entsendung des manichäischen Urmenschen" in NGWIG, 1933, pp. 306-318; SCHAEFER, *Urform*, p. 111f.; SCHEFTELOWITZ, *Die Entstehung*, pp. 57-69; also *Der göttliche Urmensch*; SCHMIDT-POLOTSKY, *Ein Mani-Fund*, p. 66; and DE BEAUSOBRE, *Histoire* II, pp. 311-319.

¹⁵⁵ Augustine lists them in *Faust.* II, 3 (p. 256.3) and XI, 3 (p. 316.24), and in *haer.* 46 (c. 35); so do the *Acta Archelai* (7, BEESON, *Hegemonius*, p. 10.7) and An-Nadim (FLÜGEL, *Mani*, p. 87f.). The list is confirmed by a Coptic "psalm" (ALLBERRY, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, p. 201), the *Kephalaia* (4, 10, 23 and 51, SCHMIDT, pp. 25, 43, 69 and 127), the *Khuastuanift* (ASMUSSEN, *Xuastuanift*, p. 194; VON LE COQ, *Dr. Stein's*, p. 284f.; RADLOFF, *Nachträge*, p. 891), and Turfan fragments T II K 2a (VON LE COQ, *Türkische* I, p. 21), T II D 119 (*ibid.* III, p. 16) and M 133 (MÜLLER, *Handschriften-Reste* II, p. 99). Cf. also CHAVANNES-PELLIOT, *Un traité* I, p. 513, n. 1; CUMONT, *Recherches* I, pp. 14-16; and BURKITT, *The Religion*, pp. 107-111. Sometimes the Five Pure Elements are referred to simply as "the five gods."

the Light with Darkness — and surrounded the Primeval Man with his own Dark Elements.¹⁵⁶ However, the mixing of Light with Darkness had succeeded in slowing down the invasion,¹⁵⁷ and so the Father of Greatness was able to send a new warrior, the "Friend of Light,"¹⁵⁸ who together with the "Great Builder (or Bān)"¹⁵⁹ and the "Living Spirit"¹⁶⁰ freed the Primeval Man and routed the Darkness.¹⁶¹ At

¹⁵⁶ Augustine, *Faust.* II,5 (p. 258.7), XIII,18 (p. 400.1) and XX,9 (p. 545.28) and 17 p. 557.6), and *ag. christ.* 4 (p. 105.12); Ephrem (MITCHELL, *S. Ephraim's Prose Refutations* I, pp. 81.44 and 112.15 and II, p. 204.17); and An-Nadim (FLÜGEL, *Mani*, p. 87f.); confirmed in the *Kephalaia* 16 (SCHMIDT, p. 50).

¹⁵⁷ Augustine, *uera rel.* 48 (text above, n. 151), and An-Nadim (FLÜGEL, *Mani*, p. 88f.); cf. the *Khuastuanift* (ASMUSSEN, *Xuastvanift*, p. 193). According to Severus (CUMONT, *Recherches* II, p. 128; RAHMANI, *Documenta*, p. 3 line 16), Theodoret of Kyrrhos (PG 83/377 C), and Titus of Bostra (PG 18/1092 A), the God of Light *deliberately* released part of his own Light-substance so that the forces of Darkness would devour it and their attack thus be weakened.

¹⁵⁸ Mentioned by Theodore bar Khôni (CUMONT, *Recherches* I, p. 20; POGNON, *Inscriptions*, p. 127f.) and An-Nadim (FLÜGEL, *Mani*, p. 88); confirmed in ALLBERRY, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, p. 144.20, and HENNING, *Mitteliranische* III, p. 910, and *Zum zentralasiatischen*, c. 5f. On this cf. Flügel, *op. cit.*, p. 207f.; SCHMIDT-POLOTSKY, *Ein Mani-Fund*, p. 66; WALDSCHMIDT-LENTZ, *Manichäische Dogmatik*, pp. 549 and 555; and JACKSON, *Researches*, pp. 273-283.

¹⁵⁹ The latter term is found in the Syrian writers Ephrem (MITCHELL, *S. Ephraim's Prose Refutations* I, p. 39.20) and Theodore bar Khôni (CUMONT, *Recherches* I, p. 20; POGNON, *Inscriptions*, p. 128). The "Great Builder" is also mentioned in Manichaean sources: a Coptic "psalm" (ALLBERRY, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, pp. 1.32, 137.61 and 144.21); *Kephalaia* 11, 29 and 46 (SCHMIDT, pp. 44, 82 and 118); and WALDSCHMIDT-LENTZ, *Manichäische Dogmatik*, pp. 501 and 545. Cf. also JACKSON, *Researches*, pp. 283-287.

¹⁶⁰ Augustine calls him "spiritus potens" (*Faust.* XX,9, p. 545.28). He is named as "Living Spirit" by Alberuni (SACHAU, *Chronology*, p. 267), Theodore bar Khôni (SCHER, *Theodorus*, t. 66, p. 314.15; CUMONT, *Recherches* I, p. 20; POGNON, *Inscriptions*, p. 128), the *Acta Archelai* (7, BEESON, *Hegemonius*, p. 10.13); and by Manichaean sources: cf. *Kephalaia* 4, 7, 16 and 32 (SCHMIDT, pp. 25f., 34, 49 and 85); POLOTSKY, *Manichäische Homilien*, p. 40.5; ALLBERRY, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, pp. 2.5 and 144.22; WALDSCHMIDT-LENTZ, *Manichäische Dogmatik*, pp. 545f. and 549; VON LE COQ, *Türkische* II, p. 9f.; and HENNING, *A Soghdian Fragment*, p. 314, *Zum zentralasiatischen*, c. 5, and *Ein manichäisches Bet- und Beichtbuch*, p. 122. On the name of this figure and its rôle, cf. HENNING, *Mitteliranische* I, p. 177, n. 3 and p. 184, n. 1, and III, p. 910f.; CHAVANNES-PELLIOT, *Un traité* I, p. 510, n. 4 and p. 557; JACKSON, *Researches*, pp. 288-295; and SCHAEDEER, *Studien*, p. 243, n. 2, and *Urform*, p. 135, n. 2.

¹⁶¹ An-Nadim (FLÜGEL, *Mani*, p. 88; KESSLER, *Mani*, p. 389); Theodore bar Khôni (CUMONT, *Recherches* I, p. 24f.); and CHAVANNES-PELLIOT, *Un traité* I, p. 520f. and 530. Cf. JACKSON, *Researches*, pp. 255-270. Here it should

the moment of his liberation the Primeval Man cut the roots of the generations of Darkness, so that they could increase no further.¹⁶² But the damage had been done, for in the battle the Five Pure Elements had become mixed with elements of the wholly material kingdom of Darkness.¹⁶³ It is of these mixed elements that the present visible world is composed: ¹⁶⁴ whatever we find agreeable in it can be attributed to the Light-elements and whatever is disagreeable to the elements of Darkness.¹⁶⁵

To provide for the escape of those Light-elements which had thus become mixed with Dark-elements, the Father of Greatness ordered that the world be created.¹⁶⁶ Through an angel ¹⁶⁷ he constructed ten

be pointed out that Mani actually proposed a battle between the chief of the forces of Darkness and an inferior *representative* of the God of Light, attempting to thus avoid the idea that God himself could have lost a battle with the Principle of Evil. But to say that the battle was lost by a champion of God made from his own Light-substance amounts to saying that God himself fought and lost; Augustine attacks this weak point in *mor.* II,12:25 (c. 1355f.), *conf.* VII,2:3 (p. 142f.) and *Secund.* 20 (p. 935f.).

¹⁶² An-Nadim (FLÜGEL, *Mani*, p. 90; KESSLER, *Mani*, p. 391).

¹⁶³ *Kephalaia* 1 and 29 (SCHMIDT, pp. 15 and 104); CHAVANNES-PELLIOT, *Un traité* I, p. 514; *Khuastuanift* (VON LE COQ, *Chuastuanift*, p. 8, and *Dr. Stein's*, p. 280; RADLOFF, *Nachträge*, p. 890). Cf. also An-Nadim (FLÜGEL, *Mani*, p. 88; KESSLER, *Mani*, p. 390) and the Turfan fragment published by HENNING, *Ein manichäisches Bet- und Beichtbuch*, p. 44: "...wer hat Dich in so vielfache Formen verwandelt? Und wer hat Dich beschämt in männliche und weibliche Körper geworfen? O lichter Gott, liebe Seele! Wer hat Dir Dein liches Auge blind gemacht? ... Und wer hat Dich aus Deinem gottherrlichen Lande in die Verbannung geführt, und wer hat Dich gefesselt und wer Dich eingeschlossen in diesem finstren Gefängnis, diesen Oubliettes, diesem Orte ohne Zuflucht, den dieser Fleischeskörper darstellt? O lichter Gott, liebe Seele! Warum und wer hielt Dich in der teuflischen Schöpfung fest, die da süßes Gift austreut? Und wer hat Dich zum Knecht dem Teufel gegeben, der sich in diesem Körper nährt, in dem auch seine grosse Schlange haust? Und wer hat Dich zum Diener seines unverschämten finsternen fressenden Feuers gemacht, seines unersättlichen schamlosen?"

¹⁶⁴ Thus Augustine, *haer.* 46 (c. 35): "...mundum a natura boni, hoc est, a natura dei factum, confitentur quidem, sed de conmixtione boni et mali, quae facta est quando inter se utraque natura pugnavit." Cf. also *Iul. imp.* III,186 (c. 1325); Victorinus, *Liber ad Iustinum* 1 (PL 8/1000 D); Simplicius (DÜBNER, *Theophrasti Characteres*, p. 71); and An-Nadim (FLÜGEL, *Mani*, p. 88f.).

¹⁶⁵ Thus the Chinese ms. in CHAVANNES-PELLIOT, *Un traité* I, p. 537; cf. also al-Ya'qûbi (KESSLER, *Mani*, p. 327), and An-Nadim, who gives this example (KESSLER, *op. cit.*, p. 390f.; FLÜGEL, *Mani*, p. 88): the fact that gold, silver, or anything similar have any brightness, purity, beauty, or the like, is due to the Light-elements in them; whatever they have of tarnish, impurity, density or hardness is attributable to the Dark-elements in them.

¹⁶⁶ Cf. Augustine, *haer.* 46 (cited above, n. 164); also Evodius, *De fide* 49

heavens and eight earths,¹⁶⁸ various angels (or "eons") being appointed to hold heavens and earths in their proper places.¹⁶⁹ The stars were created of Light-elements only slightly contaminated by the Darkness, while the sun and moon, made of completely uncontaminated Light-particles, were intended to be "receiving-stations" for the Light that would be freed from its mixture with Darkness.¹⁷⁰ Therefore, when it has been freed, the Light travels to these "Light-ships" along the

(CSEL 25,2/974.22): "Manichaeus enim duas dicit esse naturas, unam bonam et alteram malam; bonam quae fecit mundum, malam, de qua factus est mundus."

¹⁶⁷ The Coptic Bema-psalm CCXXIII (ALLBERRY, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, p. 10.21) calls this angel "the second son"; Theodore bar Khôni (SCHER, *Theodorus*, t. 66, p. 315.9; POGNON, *Inscriptions*, p. 128) identifies it with the Mother of Life; and the *Kephalaia* (19, 44, 47 and 54, in SCHMIDT, pp. 60, 115, 118 and 131), a Chinese document (CHAVANNES-PELLIOT, *Un traité* I, p. 514) and the *Acta Archelai* (8, BEESON, *Hegemonius*, p. 11.4) identify this agent with the Living Spirit. But Severus says (CUMONT, *Recherches* II, p. 148; RAHMANI, *Documenta*, p. A line 17, as part of a citation) that this figure is made up of those Light-particles which had become mixed with the Darkness. Cf. also An-Nadim (FLÜGEL, *Mani*, p. 89; KESSLER, *Mani*, p. 391).

¹⁶⁸ These are the numbers given in many sources: cf. ALLBERRY, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, p. 10.25; WALDSCHMIDT-LENTZ, *Manichäische Dogmatik*, p. 486; CHAVANNES-PELLIOT, *Un traité* I, pp. 514-516; the *Khuastuanift* (ASMUSSEN, *Xuastvanift*, p. 194); HENNING, *A Soghdian Fragment*, p. 312f.; Turfan fragment T II D 173b (VON LE COQ, *Türkische* I, p. 14f.); MÜLLER, *Handschriften-Reste* II, p. 97; *Acta Archelai* 8 (BEESON, *Hegemonius*, p. 11.9); An-Nadim (FLÜGEL, *Mani*, p. 89; KESSLER, *Mani*, p. 391); and Augustine (*Faust.* XXXII,19, p. 781.1). However, the number varies in some sources: cf. HENNING, *Mitteliranische* I, pp. 177 (four earths) and 183 (eleven heavens). Cf. also the remarks of PUECH (*Le manichéisme*, p. 170, n. 319), Asmussen (*op. cit.*, p. 215), CUMONT (*Recherches* I, pp. 25f. and 28, n. 2) and JACKSON (*Researches*, pp. 25-73 and 314-320).

¹⁶⁹ So An-Nadim (FLÜGEL, *Mani*, p. 89; KESSLER, *Mani*, p. 391). Cf. ALLBERRY, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, pp. 133 and 139, and CHAVANNES-PELLIOT, *Un traité* I, p. 125.

¹⁷⁰ Augustine, who adds the information (*haer.* 46, c. 35) that the moon was considered to be made of "good water" and the sun of "good fire," calls them "naues lucidae": cf. also the quotation from the *Treasure of Life* in *nat. boni* 44 (pp. 881.24, 882.21 and 883.5), and in Evodius, *De fide* 17 (CSEL 25, 2/ 957.32). The term, "ships," is attested to by Manichaean sources: cf. ALLBERRY, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, p. 75.4 ("...the ships of my Father, the sun and the moon (?) ...") and p. 134.24 ("The ships are the sun and the moon"); also *ibid.*, p. 168.6; Turfan document M 98 (MÜLLER, *Handschriften-Reste* I, p. 37f.); HENNING, *Mitteliranische* I, pp. 186-188; Martān Farrux (DE MENASCE, *Une apologétique*, p. 253); An-Nadim (FLÜGEL, *Mani*, p. 89; KESSLER, *Mani*, p. 392); Theodore bar Khôni (CUMONT, *Recherches* I, p. 29; POGNON, *Inscriptions*, p. 129); and the *Acta Archelai* 8 and 13 (BEESON, *Hegemonius*, pp. 12.29 and 21f.). Cf. the commentaries on this by BAUR (*Das manichäische Religionssystem*, p. 306f.), CHAVANNES-PELLIOT (*Un traité* I, pp. 531-534 and 564), GRONDIJS (*Analyse*, p. 407) and BUONAIUTI (*La prima coppia*, p. 673).

Milky Way.¹⁷¹ During the first half of each month the moon (where the Mother of Life has her throne) collects the Light and during the second half pours it into the sun (the dwelling-place of the Primeval Man).¹⁷²

Yet there still remained the problem of those Light-elements which had become thoroughly mixed with Darkness. The Father of Greatness accordingly sent the "Third Messenger" ¹⁷³ who appeared with his

¹⁷¹ The Manichaeans called it "Column of Glory" (with the exception of a Chinese source in CHAVANNES-PELLIOT, *Un traité* I, p. 558, which speaks of it as "colonne d'appui"): cf. HENNING, *Mitteliranische* III, p. 861; ALLBERRY, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, pp. 37.2, 103.35 and 133.24; *Kephalaia* 2 and 4 (in SCHMIDT, pp. 20 and 25); WALDSCHMIDT-LENTZ, *Die Stellung*, p. 57f., and *Manichäische Dogmatik*, p. 546; An-Nadim (FLÜGEL, *Mani*, pp. 90 and 100); Sharastani (HAARBRÜCKER, *Scharastānis* I, p. 289); and Ephrem (MITCHELL, *S. Ephraim's Prose Refutations* II, p. 208.37). On the sources of this idea, cf. WIDENGREN, *The Great Vohu Manah*, pp. 12-16. In the *Acta Archelai* 8 (BEESON, *Hegemonius*, p. 13.11) it is Jesus who constructs the mechanism for transporting the Light-particles to the moon and thence to the sun; but this is the only source which portrays Jesus as fulfilling this task.

¹⁷² So Simplicius (DÜBNER, *Theophrasti Characteres*, p. 72): "Καὶ τὸ φῶς τῆς σελήνης οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου νομίζειν, ἀλλὰ ψυχὰς εἶναι, ἃς ὑπὸ νομηνίας ἕως πανσελήνου ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἀνασπῶσα, ἀπὸ πανσελήνου πάλιν ἕως νομηνίας εἰς τὸν ἥλιον μεταγγίζει". Cf. also Augustine, *nat. boni* 44 (p. 881.24) and *epist.* 55,6 (p. 176.4); Ephrem (MITCHELL, *S. Ephraim's Prose Refutations* I, p. 15.28); Sharastani (HAARBRÜCKER, *Scharastānis* I, p. 289); *Kephalaia* 15 (SCHMIDT, pp. 158-164); and Turfan fragment T M 291 (VON LE COQ, *Türkische* III, p. 7f.; HENNING, *Mitteliranische* I, pp. 188-190). On sun and moon as dwelling-places, cf. Commentary, 657-658. According to the *Kephalaia* (2, 5, 14, 20 and 29, in Schmidt, pp. 20, 28, 47, 63f. and 82) it is the Third Messenger who dwells in the sun and the "Virgin of Light" who dwells in the moon with the Primeval Man. But apparently there were several versions: cf. ASMUSSEN, *Xuastvanift*, p. 208.

¹⁷³ Cf. CUMONT, *Recherches* I, p. 34: "Pourquoi Mani a-t-il ajouté à ses deux triades cette nouvelle créature du Père? Sans doute pour arriver comme total, au chiffre sacré de sept." But according to BURKITT (*The Religion*, p. 30) the reason is more complex: "The reason why the 'Messenger' must be introduced in any account of the Manichaean cosmogony is that he is the heavenly prototype of the later, human Messengers of the Powers of Light..., such finally as was Mani himself. These Messengers of the Light, accompanied by their virtues, come to men and are the main agents whereby the remaining Light in this dark world is to become separated and rescued from its surroundings." The "Tertius Legatus" is mentioned by Theodore bar Khōni (Cumont, *op. cit.* I, p. 33; POGNON, *Inscriptions*, p. 129), Evodius (*De fide* 17, CSEL 25,2/958.1), the *Kephalaia* (introduction, 2 and 48, in SCHMIDT, pp. 4, 20 and 121f.) and the Coptic "psalms" (ALLBERRY, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, pp. 2.31, 133.15 and 138.60). On this personage cf. HENNING, *Zum zentralasiatischen*, cc. 6-8; POLOTSKY, *Manichäismus*, c. 254f.; and SCHMIDT-POLOTSKY, *Ein Mani-Fund*, p. 67.

attendants to the demons (or "Archons") captured in the great battle, to each of them in the form of a beautiful person of the opposite sex, so that they in a passion of desire began releasing the Light-elements they had absorbed.¹⁷⁴ With the Liberated Light there also came out some of the 'sin' engrained in the substance of these demons; the Light was gathered and taken up to the "Light-ships," while the 'sin' (sometimes referred to as "seed of the he-devils" or "abortions of the she-devils") was allowed to fall to the (visible) earth. That which fell upon dry land turned into five species of good and five species of bad trees.¹⁷⁵ After this, according to Ephrem, some Light still remained in the frames of the captured demons, so the Primeval Man

flayed them, and made this Sky from their skins, and out of their excrement he compacted the Earth, and out of their bones, too, he melted and raised and piled up the mountains ... that by means of the rain and dew whatever was swallowed by them might be purged out.¹⁷⁶

From their hair, according to other sources, plants came into being and from their gall, wine.¹⁷⁷ The lower animals of our world were considered to have been produced by spontaneous generation.¹⁷⁸ The

There is some confusion about who the other two Messengers are supposed to be. Normally the "Primus Legatus" is the Primeval Man and the "Secundus Legatus" is the Living Spirit; but, according to a Chinese source (WALDSCHMIDT-LENTZ, *Manichäische Dogmatik*, p. 565), "der Freund des Lichts-Gott" is "der zweite Gesandte," and (*ibid.*, p. 566) "der Sonnengott" is "der dritte Gesandte."

¹⁷⁴ So the *Treasure of Life*, as quoted by Augustine, *nat. boni* 44 (p. 882.4), and by Evodius, *De fide* 14-16 (CSEL 25,2/956f.). Cf. also *Faust.* XX,6 (p. 540.20), Theodore bar Khôni (SCHER, *Theodorus*, t. 66, p. 317.3; CUMONT, *Recherches* I, p. 38, with the commentary, pp. 54-68; and POGNON, *Inscriptions*, p. 129), and Martan Farrux (DE MENASCE, *Une apologétique*, p. 253).

¹⁷⁵ Augustine, *Faust.* VI,8 (p. 297.19); Theodore bar Khôni (CUMONT, *Recherches* I, p. 39f.; POGNON, *Inscriptions*, p. 130; SCHER, *Theodorus*, t. 66, p. 316); VON LE COQ, *Türkische* III, p. 61; WALDSCHMIDT-LENTZ, *Die Stellung*, p. 123; and CHAVANNES-PELLIOT, *Un traité* I, pp. 528f. and 559-563.

¹⁷⁶ Ephrem, as translated by MITCHELL (*S. Ephraim's Prose Refutations* I, p. xxxiiiif.). Cf. also Theodore bar Khôni (CUMONT, *Recherches* I, pp. 25-27) and Martan Farrux, *Shkand-vimânîk Vishâr* (DE MENASCE, *Une apologétique*, p. 253). According to Augustine, *Faust.* VI,8 (p. 296.17) it is the Primeval Man who created the visible world; but in XX,9 (p. 545.28) it is the Living Spirit.

¹⁷⁷ Cf. Augustine, *mor.* II,16:44 (c. 1364) and *haer.* 46 (c. 37). For other references cf. ALFARIC, *Les écritures* I, p. 38.

¹⁷⁸ So, at least, Augustine, *mor.* II,16:49 (c. 1366) and 17:63 (c. 1372) and *Faust.* VI,8 (pp. 297.18 and 298.20): but I have found no other source that supports Augustine's affirmation or contradicts it.

higher forms were divided into five classes, with the same origin as the five species of trees.¹⁷⁹

The sole object of creation, therefore, was the liberation of the trapped Light-elements.¹⁸⁰ Those demons who had escaped capture in the battle, beginning now to fear that through creation they would lose all the Light they had absorbed, decided to set up a rival to Primeval Man.¹⁸¹ A she- and he-devil copulated and produced Adam, the first earthly man, made in the image of Primeval Man.¹⁸² Adam was a true microcosm,¹⁸³ the macrocosm of the universe in miniature with a similar mixture of God and Matter.¹⁸⁴ Afterwards the same

¹⁷⁹ According to Augustine, *epist. fund.* 31 (p. 233.13) the five species of animals are "animalia serpentina, natantia, uolantia, quadrupedia, bipedia." Cf. also the Manichaean sources in VON LE COQ, *Chuastuanift*, p. 286; HENNING, *Mitteliranische* I, p. 183; CHAVANNES-PELLIOT, *Un traité* I, p. 526, n. 6; and WALDSCHMIDT-LENTZ, *Die Stellung*, p. 123.

¹⁸⁰ Therefore, says Augustine (*uera rel.* 48, cited above, n. 151), God would have created out of necessity. Regarding the purpose of creation in the Manichaean view, cf. *haer.* 46 (c. 35); *Acta Archelai* 7-8 (BEESON, *Hegemonius*, p. 10f.); and Severus (CUMONT, *Recherches* II, p. 149; RAHMANI, *Documenta*, p. 3, line 19, as part of a citation). A Chinese ms. (CHAVANNES-PELLIOT, *Un traité* I, p. 515) confirms the data of these anti-Manichaean sources. Cf. also the remarks of DE BEAUSOBRE, *Histoire* II, p. 293; CUMONT, *op. cit.* I, pp. 25-41; and BAUR, *Das manichäische Religionssystem*, p. 57.

¹⁸¹ CHAVANNES-PELLIOT, *Un traité* I, p. 531.

¹⁸² A Coptic "psalm" (ALLBERRY, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, p. 142.3) calls Adam "the Second Man," but the *Kephalaia* (1, SCHMIDT, p. 15) calls him "der erste Mensch." Cf. also Augustine, *Faust.* XIX, 29 (p. 532.19), *nat. boni* 46 (pp. 884-886) and *haer.* 46 (c. 37); Theodore bar Khôni (SCHER, *Theodorus*, t. 66, p. 317.14; CUMONT, *Recherches* I, pp. 42-44; POGNON, *Inscriptions*, p. 130); Titus of Bostra, *Πρὸς Μανιχαίους* 3, preface (PG 18/1212); An-Nadim (FLÜGEL, *Mani*, p. 90f.; KESSLER, *Mani*, p. 383); and some of the Chinese fragments (in CHAVANNES-PELLIOT, *Un traité* I, pp. 523-526, and BUONAIUTI, *La prima coppia*, pp. 672-675).

¹⁸³ The terms "microcosm" and "macrocosm" are employed by the Manichaeans themselves: cf. WALDSCHMIDT-LENTZ, *Die Stellung*, pp. 14-16; HENNING, *Mitteliranische* I, pp. 183 and 192; and CHAVANNES-PELLIOT, *Un traité* I, p. 526f. The terms also appear in anti-Manichaean sources: cf. *Acta Archelai* 8 (BEESON, *Hegemonius*, p. 12.5) and 9:4 (p. 14.12); Epiphanius, *Panarion* 66:27 (HOLL, *Epiphanius*, p. 62.7); and Martan Farrux, *Shkand-vimānik Vishâr* (DE MENASCE, *Une apologétique*, p. 253).

¹⁸⁴ Cf. BURKITT, *The Religion*, p. 39f.: "To Mani the ultimate antithesis was not between God and Man, but between Light and Dark. A Man was not a simple unit, much less an elemental unit, but a particle of Light enclosed in an alien and irredeemable envelope: there is no hope for a Man as such, for he is essentially a fortuitous conglomeration. The hope is that his Light-particles — roughly speaking, very much what we mean by his 'better self' — may escape at death from the dark prison-house of the body." DE BEAUSOBRE

devil-parents produced Eve, but she had less of the Light within her than did Adam.¹⁸⁵ The first human parents were therefore not the creation of the God of Light, but of the forces of Darkness;¹⁸⁶

(*Histoire* II, pp. 339-362) contests the idea that in Manichaeism the human soul, because it is composed of trapped Light-elements, could then be considered *consubstantial* with God. Augustine, who makes the affirmation of God's *immutability* such a strong point in his anti-Manichaean reply (cf. Commentary, 310-324), obviously thinks differently.

Both he and Serapion of Thmuis (Κατὰ Μανιχαίων 21, in CASEY, *Serapion*, p. 38.18) contend that in Manichaean teaching every man possesses two souls, one good and one bad. All our good deeds can be attributed to the action of our good soul, and all our bad deeds to the bad soul. It was against this notion that Augustine wrote both *duab. an.* and *lib. arb.*, for the logical conclusion of the Manichaean view would be that Man is completely bereft of free will and can only stand helplessly by while his two souls war with one another (*haer.* 46, c. 38). Augustine affirms many times (cf. *retr.* I,14, pp. 71-81; *Iul. imp.* III,172, c. 1319) that Manichaeism held a "two-soul" theory (as, of course, the title *De duabus animabus* suggests); Ephrem, on the other hand, although he *does* speak of Light and Darkness mingled and in conflict within the individual man, and although he *does* point out that this doctrine would result in the negation of free will (MITCHELL, *S. Ephraim's Prose Refutations* I, pp. xviif. and cxviif., with the commentary by ASMUSSEN, *Xuastvanift*, p. 17f.), does not mention "two souls"; nor is there any such expression in the Manichaean sources themselves. In fact, the favorite way of expressing the internal war in Man seems to have been in speaking of the "old" and "new" man (cf. Commentary, 633-641). Augustine himself seems uncertain about the correctness of his terminology: in *haer.* 46 (c. 38) he speaks of "*duas animas uel duas mentes*," and in *uera rel.* 46 (p. 14.18) of "*duas naturas uel substantias*," changing only thereafter (p. 14.24) to "*duas animas*." Nor does he find it any easier to make up his mind in *Iul. imp.* VI,5 (c. 1510: "*Manichaeus ergo duas animas, siue spiritus, siue mentes... in homine uno esse contendit*"), and in *nupt.* II,3:9 he does not mention "two souls" at all (p. 260.29: "...de conmixtione *duarum naturarum*, quae semper fuerunt, una bona et una mala"), as in *conf.* VIII,10:22 (p. 188.19: "...*duas naturas* *duarum mentium* esse adseuerant, unam bonam, alteram malam"); cf. also 23f. (pp. 189-191). So we must conclude that there is a misunderstanding on Augustine's part (perhaps shared by Western Manichaeans) of what in its origins was not a teaching on two souls at all, but simply the affirmation of the mixture of good and evil in every man. Cf. the commentaries on this by WALDSCHMIDT-LENTZ (*Die Stellung*, p. 75f.), NAVILLE (*Saint Augustin*, p. 21, n. 1), BAUR (*Das manichäische Religionssystem*, pp. 162-177), PUECH (*Der Begriff*, pp. 239f. and 250-253) and ASMUSSEN (*Xuastvanift*, p. 16).

¹⁸⁵ So An-Nadīm (FLÜGEL, *Mani*, p. 91) and Theodoret of Kyrrhos (PG 83/377f.).

¹⁸⁶ Cf. Augustine, *Iul. imp.* III,154 (c. 1309): "*Ille ergo dicit a principe tenebrarum, id est auctore mali, de duarum conmixtione naturarum bonae et malae, hominem creatum fuisse*." Cf. also *mor.* II,19:73 (c. 1375f.), *nat. boni* 46 (pp. 884-886), *cont.* 10:24 (p. 171.8) and *Faust.* XXIV,1 (p. 720.1) and

as the macrocosm had been created by the God of Light to release Light and imprison the demons, so the microcosm was created by the demons to keep as much Light imprisoned as possible. This would happen through propagation, whereby the liberating process by the sun and moon would be slowed down, if not completely halted. A passage in the *Kephalaia* proclaims this essentially pessimistic view of the human race:

(Die) Archonten haben Adam angeordnet und gebildet, damit sie (durch ihn) herrschten und das Reich empfangen...¹⁸⁷

Seeing the creation of earthly Man and its intended purpose, the Third Messenger, the Mother of Life, the Living Spirit and Primeval Man consulted together and decided to send someone who could free Man from the power of Darkness and save him by revealing to him knowledge (*gnôsis*) and righteousness.¹⁸⁸ The one they sent was "Jesus": he began the freeing process by appearing to Adam in order to teach him the divine truths.¹⁸⁹

This insertion of "Jesus" into the Manichaean cosmogony raises certain problems. First, the origins of this "Jesus" are unclear:

XXIX,2 (p. 744.20); Evodius, *De fide* 12 (CSEL 25,2/955.16); *Commonitorium* 4 (CSEL 25,2/980.24); *Acta Archelai* 8 (BEESON, *Hegemonius*, p. 13.8); and the Manichaean sources: *Kephalaia* 64 (SCHMIDT, p. 157), BUONAIUTI, *La prima coppia*, p. 673, and CHAVANNES-PELLIOT, *Un traité* I, pp. 523-530.

¹⁸⁷ *Kephalaia* 64 (SCHMIDT, p. 157). This confirms Augustine's affirmation in *Iul. imp.* III,186 (c. 1325): "Etiam Manicheus ita disseruit: Operae, inquit, pretium est aduertere, quia prima anima quae a deo luminis manauit, accepit fabricam istam corporis, ut eam freno suo regeret." Elsewhere Augustine adds that human propagation was held in contempt, both because it furthered the entrapment of the Light-particles in matter (*nat. boni* 46, p. 885.23) and because it re-enacted the demonic act whereby the first human couple came into being (*haer.* 46, c. 35). On this cf. also Martan Farrux, *Shkand-vimânîk Vishâr* (DE MENASCE, *Une apologétique*, pp. 253-255) and the Chinese documents published in BUONAIUTI, *La prima coppia* (pp. 676-679) and CHAVANNES-PELLIOT, *Un traité* I (p. 533).

¹⁸⁸ An-Nadim (FLÜGEL, *Mani*, p. 91; KESSLER, *Mani*, p. 393). Cf. above, p. 23f.

¹⁸⁹ Al-Murtada (KESSLER, *Mani*, p. 354) and An-Nadim (FLÜGEL, *Mani*, p. 91; Kessler, *op. cit.*, p. 394) call him "Isâ." Cain and Abel were not considered to have been offspring of Adam, but the result of intercourse between Eve and an Archon (cf. An-Nadim, *loc. cit.*). Adam had been warned by "Jesus" not to yield to Eve's sensuality, but eventually succumbed, and of their union was born *Seth*, considered the true founder of the human race: cf. An-Nadim (*loc. cit.*), *Acta Archelai* 8:4 (BEESON, *Hegemonius*, p. 12.21) and 14 (p. 26f.) and the Turfan fragments in HENNING, *Ein manichäischer kosmogonischer Hymnus*, pp. 214-224.

Full as our accounts are of the Manichee cosmogony, no tale of theirs survives which purports to give the story of how He was 'evoked' or called into being. He is 'sent' when His presence is needed but no explanation is given who He is or how He came to be there.¹⁹⁰

Whether Mani's "Jesus" came directly from Christian sources is also debatable, for in fact Mani distinguished three aspects of him :

Postremo dicite nobis, quot christos esse dicatis. Aliusne est, quem de spiritu sancto concipiens terra patibilem gignit, omni non solum suspensus ex ligno, sed etiam iacens in herba, et alius ille, quem Iudaei crucifixerunt sub Pontio Pilato, et tertius ille per solem lunamque distentus?

So says Augustine,¹⁹¹ and while we never find them all together in Manichaeic sources, it seems that there were, indeed, three aspects of Jesus (or, as Augustine says, "three Christs"): "Jesus the Splendour" (Augustine's "ille per solem lunamque distentus");¹⁹² "Jesus Christ, son of God" (also called "Jesus of Light" or "Son of Greatness"), who *appeared* to suffer and die (in the Christian sense) but in fact did not (Augustine's "ille, quem Iudaei crucifixerunt sub Pontio Pilato");¹⁹³

¹⁹⁰ BURKITT, *The Religion*, p. 40.

¹⁹¹ Augustine, *Faust.* XX,11 (p. 550.4). For some idea of Manichaeic theories about Jesus, cf. ALLBERRY, *A Manichaeic Psalm-Book*, pp. 49-97. GRONDIJS (*Analyse*, p. 394f.; *La diversité*, pp. 178-183) attributes these three aspects of Jesus to a mixing of several traditions within Manichaeism itself. Cf. also his *Numidian Manicheism*, pp. 23-29; WESENDONK, *Jesus*; and FLÜGEL, *Mani*, pp. 254-258.

¹⁹² Cf. Turfan fragment M 176 (MÜLLER, *Handschriften-Reste* II, p. 60: "Jesus Gott und Vahman! Glanz Gott!"); also the references to "Jesus der Glanz" in HENNING, *Mitteliranische* III, pp. 313 and 316, and *Ein manichäisches Bet- und Beichtbuch*, p. 23; POLOTSKY, *Manichäische Homilien*, p. 86.10; and the *Kephalaia* 4, 16 and 29 (SCHMIDT, pp. 25, 50, 53 and 82) and 115 (BÖHLIG, p. 276). Probably this is the "Jesus" referred to in a Chinese source (CHAVANNES-PELLIOT, *Un traité* I, p. 566). He is also mentioned by Theodore bar Khôni (CUMONT, *Recherches* I, p. 48; POGNON, *Inscriptions*, p. 130), and by the second Greek *Formula of Abjuration* (PG 1/1464 D).

¹⁹³ Cf. *Kephalaia* 1 (SCHMIDT, p. 12): "...bis zum Kommen Jesu (Christi), des Sohnes der Grösse... Er kam ohne Leib. Seine Apostel wiederum haben verkündet über ihn, dass er eine Knechts-Gestalt angenommen hat, ein Aussehn wie Menschen." This passage goes on to speak of his crucifixion and resurrection, but mentions no suffering or death. Cf. also *Kephalaia* 112 (BÖHLIG, p. 267); HENNING, *Ein manichäisches Bet- und Beichtbuch*, p. 27; and An-Nadim (FLÜGEL, *Mani*, p. 91; KESSLER, *Mani*, p. 393). It therefore seems advisable

and the Jesus who is the Light which is suffering or "crucified" in matter (Augustine's "Iesus patibilis, quem de spiritu sancto concipiens terra patibilem gignit, omni non solum suspensus ex ligno, sed etiam iacens in herba").¹⁹⁴ The Jesus preached by the Christian Churches was considered to be a fake, Satan in disguise;¹⁹⁵ it was he, in fact,

to read passages such as the following (ALLBERRY, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, p. 142.10) as referring only to suffering *in appearance*:

All the blessed that have been have endured these pains,
down to the glorious one, the Beloved, Jesus, our Lord.
They put a crown of thorns on him, they...
They smote him in his face, they spat upon him.
They hung him to a cross, they nailed to him four...
Wine, vinegar, and myrrh they gave him and he took them.
All these things which he suffered he endured for our sake.

It is probably this "Jesus" who is meant in *Faust* II,4 (p. 257.2): "...huius primi hominis filium credi uultis dominum Iesum Christum."

¹⁹⁴ Here Augustine is taking his terminology from Faustus (Augustine, *Faust.* XX,2, p. 536.17): "Spiritus sancti, qui est maiestas tertia, aeris hunc omnem ambitum sedem fatemur ac diuersorium; cuius ex uiribus ac spiritali profusione terram quoque concipientem gignere *patibilem Iesum, qui est uita ac salus hominum, omni suspensus ex ligno.*" This "Iesus patibilis" is reborn every day in every new plant (cf. ALLBERRY, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, p. 121.32: "The trees and the fruits - in them is thy holy body"); each day he finds himself on the "Cross of Light" (cf. Augustine, *enarr.* 140,12, p. 2035.25: "...et ipse est Christus, dicunt, crucifixus in toto mundo"; also *mor.* II,17:54 (c. 1368); Allberry, *op. cit.*, pp. 86.27 and 209.12; and the *Kephalaia* 65-66, 80, 85, 88 and 112, in SCHMIDT, pp. 162, 164, 192, 208-213 and 220, and BÖHLIG, p. 268). He dies in every living thing that dies (Evodius, *De fide* 34, CSEL 25,2/965.31; Augustine, *Faust.* XX,13, p. 552.27). He is in the very stones (Titus of Bostra, *Πρὸς Μανιχαίους*, PG 18/1200 C). The "suffering Jesus" is also mentioned by Theodore bar Khôni (CUMONT, *Recherches* I, p. 48; POGNON, *Inscriptions*, p. 130f.). POLOTSKY (*Manichäismus*, cc. 259 and 267) and GRONDIJS (*Analyse*, p. 408f.) suggest that the idea of *Iesus patibilis* may be peculiar to North African Manichaeism, but HENNING (*Mitteliranische* II, p. 318, n. 4) and WALDSCHMIDT-LENTZ (*Die Stellung*, pp. 25-27) identify him with the "Living Self" (or "Living Soul") of the Turfan documents (as in Henning, *op. cit.* III, p. 881: "Auch diese Lebendige Seele, die im Fleisch und Holz (ist), kannst Du von der Äz (Gier) erlösen"). On *Iesus patibilis* cf. also BAUR, *Das manichäische Religionssystem*, pp. 71-77; SCHAEFER, *Urform*, pp. 151-155; and WIDENGREN, *The Great Vohu Manah*, p. 18f. Augustine stresses that, trapped as he is wherever Light-particles are mixed with matter, this "suffering Jesus" cannot be a Saviour but is himself in need of salvation: he is a "saved saviour" (*Faust.* II,5, p. 258.14; *enarr.* 140,12, p. 2035). On this cf. PUECH, *Der Begriff*, pp. 196-198 and 235-237; also *Le manichéisme*, p. 73. For the influence of "Iesus patibilis" on Augustine's own Christology, cf. Wilhelm GEERLINGS, "Der manichäische 'Jesus patibilis' in der Theologie Augustins," in *Theologische Quartalschrift* 152 (Tübingen, 1972), pp. 124-131.

¹⁹⁵ Cf. Augustine, *haer.* 46 (c. 37): "Christum autem fuisse affirmant quem

who had really been nailed to the Cross,¹⁹⁶ for the Manichaeans looked upon the historical Christ as a devil; their view of "Christ" the Saviour was (at least in the West)¹⁹⁷ a docetical one:¹⁹⁸ they were unable to accept the idea of a "god" voluntarily mixed with matter, and hence Christ could neither have been born, been incarnate, have really suffered nor really died:

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 concumbere quam nubere prohibetis. concumbitur enim etiam causa libidinum, nubitur autem nonnisi filiorum. nec ideo nos dicatis non prohibere, quia multos uestros auditores in hoc oboedire nolentes uel non ualentes salua amicitia toleratis ... hinc est, quod paulo ante distuleram dicere, cur uobis mors Christi uisa sit uel fallax et simulata praedicanda et non etiam natiuitas. mortem quippe tamquam separationem animae, id est naturae dei uestri a corpore inimicorum eius, hoc est a figmento diaboli, praedicatis atque laudatis. ac per hoc rem dignam fuisse credidistis, quam Christus etsi non moriens, tamen mortem simulans commendaret. in natiuitate autem

dicit nostra scriptura serpentem..." The charge is repeated in *Faust.* XV,9 (p. 436.15), and is substantiated in the *Letter of the Foundation*, quoted in Evodius, *De fide* 28 (CSEL 25,2/964.7): "...inimicus quippe, qui eundem saluatorem iustorum patrem crucifixisse se sperauit, ipse est crucifixus, quo tempore aliud actum est atque aliud ostensum." The only other Manichaean source to affirm this is Secundinus' letter to Augustine (CSEL 25,2/897.15), which indicates that we may be dealing here with an Africanism. On this concept, cf. BAUR, *Das manichäische Religionssystem*, pp. 160-162, and SCHEFTELOWITZ, *Die Entstehung*, p. 38f.

¹⁹⁶ Cf. Evodius, *De fide* 28 (text above, n. 195), and Augustine, *Faust.* XIV,1 (p. 401.2). The idea was widespread in Manichaeism: cf. ALLBERRY, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, p. 123.5 ("...thy cross, the enemy being nailed to it"), and An-Nadim (FLÜGEL, *Mani*, p. 100).

¹⁹⁷ But cf. WALDSCHMIDT-LENTZ, *Die Stellung*, p. 20: "Jesus als Erlösergott ist nicht eine Konzession abendländischer Gemeinden an die christliche Kirche, sondern für Mani ein wesentlicher Bestandteil seiner Lehre." Cf. also p. 77f., and SCHAEFER, *Urform*, pp. 150-157, who reaches the same conclusion. BURKITT (*Manichaica*, p. 184) regards Jesus as *central* to the Manichaean doctrine. This is certainly erroneous: cf. the objections of GRONDIJS, *Numidian Manicheism*, pp. 25-29, and ORT, *Mani*, p. 78f.

¹⁹⁸ As Augustine is fond of repeating: cf. *serm.* 92,3:3 (c. 573: "Qui negat hominem Christum, Manicheus est"); also *serm.* 2,2:2 (c. 28) and 183,1:1 (c. 988: "Negat Christum in carne uenisse Manicheus"), *epist.* 236,2 (p. 524.20), *haer.* 46 (c. 37) and *Faust.* V,2 (p. 272.8), XI,3 (p. 317.19), XX,11 (p. 549.8), XXIII,2 (pp. 707-709), XXVI,1 (p. 728f.), XXIX,2 (p. 744.13) and XXXII,17 (p. 766.15); and the *Acta Archelai* 5 (BEESON, *Hegemonius*, p. 7.10 = HOLL, *Epiphanius*, p. 27.9), 55 and 59 (Beeson, pp. 80.15 and 86.7).

quia non solui, sed ligari potius deum uestrum creditis, hanc nec saltem fallaciter imaginatum Christum credere uoluistis. ita ut non sic uobis Maria displiceret, si concubuisset et non concepisset, quomodo displicet, quia non concubuit et tamen peperit. uidetis ergo multum interesse inter hortantes ad uirginitatem bono minori bonum amplius praeponendo, et prohibentes nubere concubitum propagationis, qui solus proprie nuptialis est, uehementius accusando.¹⁹⁹

Not only was Jesus thought to have been not human — therefore not really the Christ of Christians²⁰⁰ — he was not, as Augustine was able to point out,²⁰¹ really the one who saves. Mani and his “electi” were the real “saviours,” for only through them could the necessary separation of the Light from Darkness take place.²⁰²

The third and *Final* Moment is a future one, and concerns the re-establishment of the pristine order. At the death of the individual, one of three things will happen to his soul: if he is a sinner, it will be condemned to eternal “Death” (Hell),²⁰³ which is also the

¹⁹⁹ Augustine, *Faust.* XXX,6 (p. 754.27). Cf. also the declaration of Faustus (XXIX,1, p. 744.1): “...nos specie tenus passum confitemur nec uere mortuum.” This rejection of a *voluntary* divine association with matter can be seen also in the Coptic “psalms”: cf. ALLBERRY, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, p. 175.16 (“I did not make my Lord be born in a womb defiled”) and p. 121.29 (“Shall I lay waste a kingdom that I may furnish a woman’s womb?”), to which Allberry adds the explanation: “The doctrine that Christ was born of Mary was repugnant to the Manichees... If Christ was conceived in a woman’s womb he cannot be divine: the whole structure of his royal origin (MNTĒPO) is brought tumbling to the ground in ruins (ΨΩΥ) by any that shall say he was born in a woman’s womb.” Cf. also Alexander of Lycopolis, Λόγος 24 (PG 18/445 A) and the *Acta Archelai* 50 (BEESON, *Hegemonius*, p. 74.14).

²⁰⁰ Cf. DECRET, *Aspects*, p. 12: “Ce Christ enseigné et chanté à Carthage et à Alexandrie n’est pas celui des chrétiens.” BURKITT thinks (*The Religion*, p. 41) that Mani’s idea of Jesus came (in part, at least) from the Marcionites: “It is improbable that he ever saw a copy of the Four Gospels, and if his knowledge was derived exclusively from the Epistles of Paul, the Syriac Diatesseron, and the Marcionite Gospel, — possibly from the Gospel of Peter as well, — I can scarcely wonder that he was unable to think of our Lord as a real human being...”

²⁰¹ Cf. above, n. 194.

²⁰² Cf. the mention of Mani as “Saviour” in Turfan fragments M 4 and M 83 (MÜLLER, *Handschriften-Reste* II, pp. 51, 53f. and 70) and in the Coptic homilies (POLOTSKY, *Manichäische Homilien*, pp. 6.10 and 11.24). Cf. also below, pp. 194 and 198.

²⁰³ So An-Nadim (FLÜGEL, *Mani*, p. 100f.), confirmed in a Coptic “psalm” (ALLBERRY, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, p. 179f.). On this cf. JACKSON, *The Doctrine*, pp. 247 and 260; also WESENDONK, *Die Lehre*, pp. 35 and 67, who notes that the division of all humanity into “Elect,” “Hearers” and “Non-

destiny of men's bodies;²⁰⁴ if the soul is that of a "Hearer," it must return to the "Mixture of Good and Evil" (Earth);²⁰⁵ and, in the case of an "Elect," it ascends to "Paradise" via the "Column of Glory," moon and sun.²⁰⁶ When moon and sun have liberated

Manichaeans" parallels the usual Gnostic classification into πνευματικοί, ψυχικοί and υλικοί.

²⁰⁴ Augustine says (*Faust.* XX,11, p. 551.3) that the Manichaeans considered the body to be "ex tenebrarum gente." Cf. also XX,22 (p. 565.28), and *Iul. imp.* III,174 (c. 1319 = a quotation from Mani's letter to Menoch) and 176 (c. 1320). That Manichaeans despised the body is also reported by the *Acta Archelai* (16:10, in BEESON, *Hegemonius*, p. 27.16) and An-Nadim (FLÜGEL, *Mani*, p. 100) and is confirmed in Manichaean sources. Cf. ALLBERRY, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, p. 135.21: "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 has yet an hour in this prison." That we have here more than the Christian longing for full union with God is demonstrated by another "psalm" (*ibid.*, p. 159.31): "The creature of the Darkness is this body which we wear: the soul which is in it is the First Man. The First Man who was victorious in the Land of the Darkness, he also today will be victorious in the body of death." Finally, a Chinese fragment (CHAVANNES-PELLIOT, *Un traité* I, p. 554f.) shows just how general this contempt for the body was: "S'il y a des tien-na-wou... purs qui de la sorte assurent la prospérité de la Loi correcte sans supérieure, et jusqu'à la fin de leur vie ne reviennent pas en arrière, après leur mort leur vieil homme, avec la force obscure non lumineuse de sa foule des soldats, tombera dans les enfers d'où il ne sortira jamais."

²⁰⁵ But cf. HARNACK, *Manichaeism*, p. 574: "He who during his lifetime did not become one of the elect, who did not completely redeem himself, has to go through a severe process of purification on the other side of the grave, till he too is gathered to the blessedness of the light. It is erroneous, however, to ascribe, as has been done, a doctrine of transmigration to the Manichaeans." KESSLER also insists (*Mani*, p. 362, n. 2) that Mani did not teach a doctrine of transmigration of souls (of Hearers), at least not in the strict sense: "Mani lehrte keine eigentliche Seelenwanderung, das ist kein Herumgehen der abgeschiedenen Seelen von Leib zu Leib, wie die Brahmanen und Buddhisten; die abgeschiedenen Seelen bleiben nach Mani vielmehr, in Konsequenz mit seiner sonstigen beschleunigenden Lösungstheorie, nach dem Tode körperlos, und nur eingebildete Schrebnisse durch visionäre Gestalten quälen die Seelen der noch nicht Geläuterten." It is in this way that Kessler interpreted references to a μεταγγισμός ψυχῶν found in the *Acta Archelai* (BEESON, *Hegemonius*, p. 15f.) and in An-Nadim (FLÜGEL, *Mani*, p. 100f.). But Augustine affirms many times (cf. *Faust.* V,10, p. 283.3; *haer.* 46, c. 37; and *Adimant.* 12, pp. 138-140) that the Manichaeans did, indeed, teach metempsychosis in the Brahman or Buddhist sense. If we had only his testimony to go on, we might be tempted to think that Augustine had invented it, or misunderstood some quite different doctrine, or at least reported a teaching found only among Manichaeans of North Africa. That none of these is the case is shown by the fact that Sharastani also speaks of it (HAARBRÜCKER, *Scharastânis* II, p. 419) and that it is in many Coptic sources: cf. *Kephalaia* 92 (SCHMIDT, p. 234): "Man fragt den Apostel:

all the Light from the earth they can, a Great Fire will break out upon it; it will burn for 1468 years, and after that no more Light will remain.²⁰⁷ Thereupon the Prince of Darkness and his followers (elements) will withdraw into a great pit prepared for them, in which they will be shut by a great stone.²⁰⁸ When all Light has been completely, or at least as much as possible, liberated from the world, the end of all things comes.²⁰⁹ All the glorious spirits assemble, the

Warum hast du alles im Bilde beschrieben? Nicht (aber) hast du die Reinigung der Katechumenen beschrieben die in der Seelenwanderung (μεταγγισμός) gereinigt werden." Cf. also 90, 94 and 98-99 (SCHMIDT, pp. 223-228, 240 and 249-251), and Turfan fragment M 817, translated by HENNING (*Mitteliranische* III, p. 869) as "Schöpfung, das Gebiet des Geburt-Todes," but by ORT (*Mani*, p. 242) as "creation, the district of the transmigration of souls." A good many modern commentators accept the position that Manichaeism, as Augustine claims, taught a real transmigration of the souls of Hearers: cf. WALDSCHMIDT-LENTZ, *Die Stellung*, p. 10; PUECH, *Le manichéisme*, p. 86; JACKSON, *The Doctrine*; WESENDONK, *Die Lehre*, p. 35f.; CHAVANNES-PELLIOT, *Un traité* I, p. 533, n. 4; WIDENGREN, *Mani*, pp. 69 and 98; SCHEFTELOWITZ, *Die Entstehung*, p. 41; and ASMUSSEN, *Xuastvanist*, p. 15, with the bibliography in support of this position, p. 24, n. 60. Cf. also DE BEAUSOBRE, *Histoire* I, p. xxxi, and II, pp. 491 and 496-500.

²⁰⁶ So the Chinese document published by CHAVANNES-PELLIOT, *Un traité* I, p. 555, and II, p. 361.

²⁰⁷ Sharastani gives the number 1468 (HAARBRÜCKER, *Scharastānis* I, p. 290), as do An-Nadim (FLÜGEL, *Mani*, p. 90; KESSLER, *Mani*, p. 392f.) and Al-Murtada (Kessler, *op. cit.*, p. 353), who also mentions 1460 years. But 1468 is sustained in a passage from Mani's *Shāpūragān*, in Turfan fragment M 470 (MÜLLER, *Handschriften-Reste* II, p. 19) and in the *Kephalaia* (24, in SCHMIDT, p. 75). On the significance of this particular number, cf. Charles J. OGDEN, "The 1468 Years of the World-Conflagration in Manichaeism" in *Dr. Modi Memorial Volume*, Bombay, 1930, pp. 102-105; also ADAM, *Texte*, p. 24, n. 3, and Flügel, *op. cit.*, pp. 237-240. There is also a reference to the Great Fire in HENNING's publication of *The Book of the Giants*, pp. 68 and 72.

²⁰⁸ Augustine, *Faust.* XXI,16 (pp. 587-590); Ephrem (MITCHELL, *S. Ephraim's Prose Refutations* I, pp. xxx, XLVII and LXXV); An-Nadim (FLÜGEL, *Mani*, p. 90; KESSLER, *Mani*, p. 393); and Al-Murtada (Kessler, *op. cit.*, p. 353).

²⁰⁹ Cf. *Acta Archelai* 11 (BEESON, *Hegemonius*, p. 18.9), Theodoret of Kyrrhos (PG 83/380), An-Nadim (FLÜGEL, *Mani*, p. 100f.) and Evodius, *De fide* 5 (CSEL 25,2/953.10). According to some authors some Manichaeans held that those Light-particles which could no longer be separated from Darkness would be forever lost: cf. Augustine, *Faust.* II,5 (p. 258.26) and *Secund.* 20 (p. 936.21); also An-Nadim (Flügel, *op. cit.*, p. 90). Sharastani (HAARBRÜCKER, *Scharastānis* I, p. 289) and Simplicius (DÜBNER, *Theophrasti Characteres*, p. 76). But this creates the problem that if some Light can be eternally lost then part of God himself would be condemned to hell, as Augustine was quick to point out: cf. *Adimant.* 7 (p. 127.15: "Etiam sua membra simul cum ipsa gente puniturum esse non dubitant dicere"), *Fel.* II,7 (p. 835.12) and *epist.* 236,2 (p. 525.5);

God of Light appears in person accompanied by his eons and the souls of the perfect.²¹⁰ Then the angels who support the eight earths and ten heavens will withdraw from their charge, and all will collapse into ruins.²¹¹ After a final, all-consuming conflagration, the absolute separation of the two co-eternal Principles and their kingdoms takes place once more.²¹²

Conclusion: Manichaeism and Augustine

Augustine is one of the few Latin sources we possess for our knowledge of Manichaeism, and of all non-Manichaean sources he is the most prolific. But is he reliable? This question has been discussed since Spangenberg published his study in 1578, using for his basic documentation Augustine's writings concerning Manichaeism.²¹³ Spangenberg accepted Augustine's data and accusations without question;²¹⁴ but in the XVIII century Isaac de Beausobre sought to demonstrate that Augustine was not reporting Manichaean doctrine and practices in a manner that merited trust. He had never been more than a "Hearer";²¹⁵ therefore, concluded De Beausobre, he could never have had direct access to Manichaean writings, writings which De Beausobre believed to have for the most part existed only in languages unknown to Augustine.²¹⁶

also the *Commonitorium* 6 (CSEL 25,2/981.8). On this contradiction and the resulting confusion even among Manichaeans, cf. JACKSON, *The Doctrine*, especially pp. 232-234; PUECH, *Le manichéisme*, p. 85; ASMUSSEN, *Xuastvanift*, p. 15f.; and ALFARIC, *L'évolution*, p. 158.

²¹⁰ Cf. Augustine, *Faust.* XV,5 (p. 425.13); also JACKSON, *A Sketch*, pp. 182-195.

²¹¹ So the *Acta Archelai* (11, in BEESON, *Hegemonius*, p. 18.13). Cf. also Epiphanius, *Panarion* 66:31 (HOLL, *Epiphanius*, p. 70); An-Nadim (FLÜGEL, *Mani*, p. 90); and Sharastani (HAARBRÜCKER, *Scharastânis* I, p. 289f.). It is substantiated by a Turfan fragment (MÜLLER, *Handschriften-Reste* II, pp. 17-19). Cf. the remarks of JACKSON, *A Sketch*, pp. 194-196.

²¹² Epiphanius, *Panarion* 66:31 (HOLL, *Epiphanius*, p. 70); substantiated by a Chinese source (CHAVANNES-PELLIOT, *Un traité* II, pp. 114-116) and a Coptic "psalm" (ALLBERRY, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, p. 215.2).

²¹³ Cf. above, n. 23.

²¹⁴ As is implied in the title of the book itself (given fully in the bibliography).

²¹⁵ Cf. below, n. 223.

²¹⁶ DE BEAUSOBRE, *Histoire* I, pp. 227-231, 426 and 436f., and II, p. 745. Cf. RIES, *Introduction* I, pp. 473-477. De Beausobre was violently attacked by the Augustinian GIORGI (*Alphabeticum Thibetanum Missionum Apostolicarum commodo editum*, published at Rome in 1762), who was the first to point to the presence of Manichaeism in non-Christian *milieux*. Cf. RIES, *op. cit.* II, p. 364; also CHAVANNES-PELLIOT, *Un traité* II, pp. 312-314.

To this it can only be said that Latin translations of Manichaeian works did, indeed, exist, as Augustine clearly tells us²¹⁷ and as the quotations contained in some of his writings attest.²¹⁸ The only point on which De Beausobre was possibly correct is that Augustine may not actually have read any of these works while still a "Hearer"; but even this is uncertain, for the *Confessions* relate how he *studied* (whether by reading them himself or listening while they were read he does not say) the "writings of Mani":

Refracto itaque studio, quod *intenderam* in Manichaei litteras...²¹⁹

At any rate Baur, whose *Das manichäische Religionssystem* continues to be an indispensable reference-work on Manichaeism, did much in the XIX century to dispel suspicions earlier cast on the veracity of Augustine and other opponents of the religion.²²⁰ In our own century Baur's work has been supplemented by Alfaric and others who have demonstrated the basic agreement that exists between this data and the information provided by the discoveries of Turkestan and Egypt.²²¹ A comparison of Augustine's data with both Manichaeian and anti-Manichaeian sources makes us perceive that, so far at least as its African expression is concerned, his picture of Manichaeism is essentially accurate.²²² Since in most cases his works treating Manichaeism were not meant to be a mere precautionary guide for faithful Christians, but to be read by Manichaeians, there would have been little to gain in distorting the facts. Not having been himself a full member of the religion, some of its secrets would have been closed to him;²²³ but Augustine would not have seen the need to give a completely detailed

²¹⁷ Augustine, *conf.* V,6:11 (p. 97.20): "(Faustus) et suae sectae si qua uolumina *latine* atque conposita conscripta erant... inde suppetebat eloquium..."

²¹⁸ Cf. above, p. 21f. and nn. 81 and 82.

²¹⁹ Augustine, *conf.* V,7:13 (p. 99.6). Cf. ALFARIC, *L'évolution*, p. 217, and DE MENASCE, *Augustin manichéen*, p. 83.

²²⁰ Cf. ALLBERRY, *Manichaeian Studies*, p. 338 (writing in 1938): "Augustine emerges clearly as the most important of the secondary sources, and the Tübingen book of F.C. Baur, based four-square on him, is still, after more than a century, among the best books on Manichaeism in existence." Cf. also RIES, *Introduction* II, pp. 365-369.

²²¹ Cf. ALFARIC, *L'évolution*, especially pp. 215-225, and both volumes of *Les écritures*.

²²² Cf. ALLBERRY, *Manichaeian Studies*, p. 337.

²²³ As Augustine admits (*Fort.* 3, p. 84.25): "De moribus autem uestris plene scire possunt, qui electi uestri sunt. nostis autem me non electum uestrum, sed auditorem fuisse." On this cf. PUECH, *Le manichéisme*, pp. 91 and 191, n. 391, and VÖÖBUS, *Manichaeism*, pp. 8-11.

account of their own religion to Manichaeans who knew more about it than he. His works therefore constitute an *accurate* picture of Manichaeism *as he had known it* - but not necessarily a complete one.²²⁴ Indeed, his information enjoys a special authority because, of all anti-Manichaean authors, he alone had once belonged to the religion.²²⁵

For this reason he was able to see on what basic theses Manichaean doctrine rested, and to direct his attack primarily to them. The basic points of his polemic are (1) the immutability of God (cf. lines 310-324; 400-402 and 415-430);²²⁶ (2) moral evil as the result of man's free will;²²⁷ (3) evil as the absence of the good a substance should have;²²⁸ (4) the relationship between reason and authority, knowledge and faith.²²⁹

²²⁴ Cf. DECRET, *Aspects*, p. 31 (emphasis his): "Ces oeuvres anti-manichéennes constituent un *témoignage véritable* sur le manichéisme qu'Augustin a bien connu, mais *non sur tout* le manichéisme."

²²⁵ This was first pointed out by SPANGENBERG (*Historia*, f. 55r): "Sed inter omnes nemo sancto Augustino solertius & copiosius, Manichaeis contradixit, ut qui omnia illorum fundamenta nosset, & inter ipsos misere seductus, ultra novennium versatus esset." For a more modern expression of this, cf. FRENCH, *The Gnostic-Manichaean Tradition*, p. 24: "With his knowledge and sympathy for his former creed, he was able to point out its weaknesses and actually convince its adherents of their errors by citing his own experience. That Manichaeism failed to survive in the West as an organised religion may be due largely to Augustine's writings and controversies in the years 387-399."

²²⁶ Cf. also Augustine, *conf.* VII,2:3 (p. 142f.) and *ut. cred.* 36 (p. 46f.).

²²⁷ Regarding his accusation that Manichaeism taught that moral evil is the result of the individual's evil nature gaining the upper hand in its struggle with the good nature (cf. above, n. 184), Augustine says (*enarr.* 140,12, p. 2033.9): "Non ego peccaui, sed gens tenebrarum. quae est ista gens tenebrarum? quae bellum gessit cum deo, et ipsa peccat, cum tu peccas? ipsa, inquit, quia conmixtus sum illi." He elaborates on this in *haer.* 46 (c. 38): "Peccatorum originem non libero arbitrio uoluntatis, sed substantiae tribuunt gentis aduersae: quam dogmatizantes esse hominibus mixtam, omnem carnem non dei sed malae mentis perhibent esse opificium, quam a contrario principio deo coaeterna est. carnalem concupiscentiam, qua caro concupiscit aduersus spiritum, non ex uitata in primo homine natura nobis inesse infirmitatem, sed substantiam uolunt esse contrariam, 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 quando caro concupiscit aduersus spiritum et spiritus aduersus carnem." Cf. also *conf.* V,10:18 (text below, n. 443), VII,3:5 (p. 144f.), VII,16:22 (p. 161.18) and X,4:5 (p. 229f.), *Faust.* XXII,22 (p. 614.21), *duab. an.* 10 (p. 63f.) and *Fort.* 11:20 (p. 99.20); also Evodius, *De fide* 9 (CSEL 25,2/954.13).

²²⁸ Cf. below, p. 120f.

²²⁹ Cf. below, Chapter III.

But if De Beausobre's accusations against Augustine's veracity have been disposed of, in their place has arisen a contrary notion: that it was only long after his baptism, if ever, that Augustine ceased being under the influence of Manichaeism.²³⁰ It is true that he remained attached to the religion for nine years²³¹ and therefore one could hardly have expected him to completely shed its influence overnight; and it is true that he made his break with Manichaeism only after his disappointing encounter with Faustus and then only with great difficulty.²³² But it is also true that Augustine in *mor. I* reveals himself to be fully a Christian²³³ and that, so far as he is concerned, the elements of genuine Christianity which it had taken on did not conceal Manichaeism's essentially non-Christian character. This he clearly affirms in lines 587-591 (cf. also 298-301, 657-658, 1015-1017 and 1219-1220):

Si autem in uobis esset caritas, de qua nunc agitur, uel etiam si fuerit aliquando, quantum cognoscendae ueritatis magnitudo desiderat, aderit deus qui ostendat uobis *neque apud Manicheos esse christianam fidem*, qui ad summum apicem sapientiae ueritatisque perducit...²³⁴

So he had repudiated Manichaeism; but what had led him to join it in the first place? To understand his reasons we must understand something both of Augustine the man and of the reasons for Manichaeism's proliferation. Harnack at the turn of the century raised the question, "How are we to explain the rapid spread of Manichaeism, and the fact that it really became one of the great religions?" His conclusions in this regard are still valid:

What gave it strength was that it united an ancient mythology and a thorough-going materialistic dualism with an exceedingly simple spiritual worship and a strict morality. On comparing it with the Semitic religions of nature we perceive that it was free from their sensuous *cultus* ... Manichaeism was thus able to satisfy the new wants of an old world. It offered revelation, redemption, moral virtue and immortality, spiritual benefits on the basis of the religion

²³⁰ So FRENCH, *The Gnostic-Manichaean Tradition*.

²³¹ Cf. Commentary, 612.

²³² Cf. Augustine, *conf.* V,7-10 (pp. 98-108).

²³³ Cf. below, pp. 135-143.

²³⁴ Cf. also *Faust.* I,3 (p. 253.6: "Sicut ergo uestra intentio est semichristianos, quos decipiatis, inquirere, sic nostra intentio est pseudochristianos uos ostendere...") and XX,3 (p. 537.3: "...non sectam, sed schisma gentium"), *epist. fund.* 8 (p. 202.7), and the texts gathered by NÖRREGARD, *Augustins Bekehrung*, p. 29, n. 2.

of nature. A further source of strength lay in the simple yet firm social organization which was given by Mani himself to his new institution. The wise man and the ignorant, the enthusiast and the man of the world, could all find acceptance here, and there was laid on no one more than he was willing to bear. Each one, however, was attached and led onward by the prospect of a higher rank to be attained, while the intellectually gifted had an intellectual inducement in the assurance that they did not require to submit themselves to any authority, but would be led to God by pure reason. Thus adapted from the first to individual requirements, the religion also showed itself able to appropriate from time to time foreign elements. Originally furnished from fragments of various religions, it could increase or diminish this possession without rupturing its own elastic framework. And, after all, great adaptability is just as necessary for a universal religion as a divine founder in whom the highest revelation of God may be seen and revered. Manichaeism, indeed, though it applies the title "redeemer" to Mani, has really no knowledge of a redeemer, but only a physical and gnostic process of redemption; on the other hand, it possesses in Mani the supreme prophet of God. If we consider in conclusion that Manichaeism gave a simple, apparently profound, and yet convenient solution of the problem of good and evil, a problem that had become peculiarly oppressive to the human race in the 2nd and 3rd centuries, we shall have named the most important factors which account for the rapid spread of the system.²³⁵

In the case of its activity in the Roman Empire, there seems little doubt that the ground had been prepared by Mithraism, which was popular among the military,²³⁶ and which also offered a God of Light, a rigid moral code, cogent explanations of the beginning of the universe, and the promise of final salvation and immortality to its faithful.²³⁷

²³⁵ HARNACK, *Manichaeism*, p. 576. Cf. also ALFARIC, *Les écritures* I, pp. 55-91; ASMUSSEN, *Xuastvanift*, p. 14f.; BARDY, *Manichéisme*, cc. 1864-1872; CUMONT, *La propagation*, pp. 39-43; FREND, *The Gnostic-Manichaean Tradition*; PUECH, *Le manichéisme*, p. 69 and p. 148, n. 257 (with bibliography); RIES, *Manichaeism*, p. 154f.; DE STOOP, *Essai*, pp. 2-4, 102-119; and WIDENGREN, *Mani*, pp. 118-132.

²³⁶ So HARNACK, *op. cit.*, p. 572; BAUR, *Das manichäische Religionssystem*, pp. 91-94, 354-356; and KESSLER, *Mani*, p. 153f.

²³⁷ It is not completely without reason that Archelaus accuses Mani (*Acta Archelai* 40, in BEESON, *Hegemonius*, p. 59.27): "O barbare sacerdos Mithrae et conlusor, solem tantum coles Mithram locorum mysteriorum inluminatorem..." Cf. DE STOOP, *Essai*, p. 36f. For recent summaries and bibliographies of Mithraism, cf. J. DUCHESNE-GUILLEMIN, "Mithras and Mithraism," in NCE 9, p. 982f.; and Francis Redding WALTON, "Mithraism," in *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (Chicago-London, 1969), pp. 603-605.

And in the case of North Africa, there was much in Manichaeism to appeal to the inhabitants:

Pour comprendre le succès que le manichéisme obtint en Afrique, il faut se rappeler l'origine sémitique des habitants: le facteur de la race a eu ici son importance. Nulle part, le manichéisme ne trouva un milieu plus favorable que chez cette population subtile, raffinée, aimant la critique et la discussion. Le montanisme y avait préparé le terrain à l'ascèse manichéenne, laquelle ne put manquer de trouver des enthousiastes parmi ces hommes d'un zèle outré, dont Tertullien est resté le type le plus accompli...²³⁸

Augustine shared the temperament of his people, and we should not be surprised that so brilliant an intellect as his could have been won over to Manichaeism's strange allegories (with which, however, he always had difficulty)²³⁹ when even men steeped in Neoplatonism were converted to them.²⁴⁰ The reasons for this have already been touched upon in the citation from Harnack: the system appealed to intellectuals, pretending as it did to base itself on reason alone, offering a 'scientific' explanation for the nature of things,²⁴¹ denying the necessity for submitting intellect to authority,²⁴² and using the 'snob appeal' of "enlightenment" and "full knowledge."²⁴³ Where Augustine was concerned there was this and much more. There was first of all an apparent solution to the question *unde malum?*²⁴⁴ There was the genuine friendliness he experienced among other members of the religion;²⁴⁵ there was the irresistible attraction of a creed which prac-

²³⁸ DE STROOP, *Essai*, p. 89; cf. also — especially on the Numidian temperament — W.H.C. FRENCH, *The Donatist Church*, Clarendon, Oxford, 1952, pp. 25-140.

²³⁹ Cf. Augustine, *conf.* V,3-6 (pp. 90-98).

²⁴⁰ Cf. Alexander of Lycopolis, Λόγος 5 (PG 18/417); also HARNACK, *Manichaeism*, p. 577; and GRESSMANN, *La religion*, pp. 260f. and 269.

²⁴¹ Cf. *Commentary*, 669.

²⁴² Cf. below, p. 100.

²⁴³ Cf. above, pp. 24-26.

²⁴⁴ Augustine, *conf.* III,7:12 (p. 53.19).

²⁴⁵ As he mentions a number of times: cf. *conf.* IV,8:13 (p. 74f.) and *duab. an.* 11 (p. 66.6). Augustine set great store on friendship and seems always to have been in need of *socii* (cf. *conf.* VI,16:26, p. 139.16: "...nec esse sine amicis poteram beatus..."), of being surrounded by people who could show him *amor* or *amicitia*. This partly explains why he took a new concubine almost as soon as he had sent the former one away (*conf.* VI,15:25, p. 138.10); it also explains his strong emphasis on community life in *mor. I* (cf. below, Chapter V) and his own preference for it in both his life-style and his writings. On this cf. Marie Aquinas McNAMARA, *Friendship in Saint Augustine*, The University

tically denied personal responsibility for sin;²⁴⁶ there was the possibility of achieving salvation without having to sacrifice a great deal for it;²⁴⁷ there was even a solution to apparent "contradictions" in Scripture, such as the differences visible between the genealogies of Matthew and Luke.²⁴⁸ And perhaps more than anything else it was the possibility of becoming a "true Christian" which drew Augustine to Mani's religion.²⁴⁹

Manichaeism had drawn Augustine to itself, but it could not hold him. He had been anxious to meet Faustus because the difficulties he saw in the system had revealed themselves at an early date;²⁵⁰ difficulties which will be spoken of later but which we may sum up here as the Manichaeans' inferior approach to philosophy²⁵¹ and to Scripture.²⁵² Still, it would be less than realistic to deny the influence Manichaeism initially exercised upon him, or the extent to which he had placed his hopes in it as a solution to his problems. This goes a long way toward explaining the number of years and amount of effort he spent in combatting his erstwhile coreligionists.

Press, Fribourg (Switz.), 1958 (Studia Friburgensia, N.S. 20). She does not, however, mention *amicitia* as one of the factors that drew Augustine into Manichaeism.

²⁴⁶ Cf. above, n. 227.

²⁴⁷ Cf. Augustine, *ut cred.* 2 (p. 4.26): "...ut me in illo gradu quem uocant Auditorum tenerem, ut huius mundi spem atque negotia non dimitterem."

²⁴⁸ Cf. Augustine, *serm.* 51,6 (c. 336); also *Faust.* III,1 (p. 261.22).

²⁴⁹ As JOLIVET points out (*Saint Augustin*, p. 29), had it been merely a *philosophical* system Augustine was looking for, he could have chosen from any number of them. Yet he had found Cicero's *Hortensius* inadequate because "it did not contain the name of Christ" (*conf.* III,4:8, p. 48.23). That this judgment reflects Augustine's true feeling at the time of which he writes is supported by the manner in which he subsequently turned to *Scripture* in his search for Truth (*conf.* III,5:9, p. 50.4). Cf. HOLL, *Augustins innere Entwicklung*, p. 5: "Augustin hatte also wohl nicht das Gefühl, vom Christentum selbst abzustellen, wie er zum Manichäismus überging. Er meinte **nur**, einer Form des Christentums sich zuzuwenden, die im Unterschied von **der katholischen** seinem Wahrheitsdrang freie Betätigung verstattete." Whatever Augustine thought he was looking for at the time, he always believed that he would retrieve it in the religion with which he associated his childhood, and therefore in later years he would always speak of a *return* to his (Catholic) Faith. Cf. Du Roy, *L'intelligence*, p. 28, n. 2; CADIOU, *Notes*, p. 609; and THIMME, *Augustins Selbstbildnis*, p. 24.

²⁵⁰ Almost as soon as he had joined, if we are to take literally what he says in *conf.* V,6:10 (p. 96.4): "*Et per annos ferme ipsos nouem ... nimis extento desiderio uenturum expectabam istum Faustum.*"

²⁵¹ Cf. below, pp. 100-102.

²⁵² Cf. below, pp. 150-154.

A second explanation is the general social significance of Manichaeism. The vast territory over which its traces have been found is an impressive testimony to its proselytising force; and the large accumulation of anti-Manichaean literature and legislation in both the West and the Orient testifies to the threat it was felt to pose, not only to orthodox Christianity, but to other established religions and to the very fabric of society. For Manichaeism's ascetical principles forbade its full adherents to do military service, to marry, to beget children, even to work - in short, it forbade all the activities whereupon an ordered society depends.²⁵³ These ascetical principles we must later examine, for they are part of the reason why Augustine was moved to write "De moribus."

²⁵³ Cf. LEGGE, *Western Manichaeism*, p. 88f., DE STOOP, *Essai*, pp. 39-42, and CUMONT, *La propagation*, p. 42f. In the West a further cause for enmity on the part of civil authorities very probably was to be found in Manichaeism's origins in "Persia" - Rome's implacable enemy. There is a hint of this in Augustine's accusation to Faustus (*Faust.* XII,45, p. 374.23): "Sed uidelicet uetat nos Faustus de uero Christo Hebraeis prophetis credere, qui de falso Christo *Persarum* erroribus credidit." Cf. also XIII,2 (p. 379.14). The edict attributed to Diocletian (cf. above, n. 124) makes the implication stronger: "Manicheos audiuiumus nuperrime ueluti noua et inopinata prodigia in hunc mundum *de Persica aduersaria* ... et scaeuas leges *Persarum* ... inficere ... ad hanc inauditam et turpem atque per omnia infamem sectam uel ad doctrinam *Persarum*..." On this cf. DOUAIS, *Saint Augustin contre le manichéisme* II, p. 208f.; KADEN, *Die Edikte*, p. 56f.; BROWN, *Religion*, pp. 94-108; and SESTON, *L'Egypte manichéenne*, p. 368, who extends the same motive to later edicts ("Serait-ce par précaution que Constantin et Valentinien les persécutèrent peu de temps avant d'entreprendre une guerre persique?").

CHAPTER II

THE BEGINNING OF AUGUSTINE'S RESPONSE: "DE MORIBUS"

With *mor. I-II* Augustine first began dealing with his former co-religionists. Such is the implication he himself provides in the *Retractationes*:

Iam baptizatus autem cum Romae essem nec tacitus ferre possem Manicheorum iactantiam de falsa et fallaci continentia uel abstinentia, qua se ad inperitos decipiendos ueris Christianis, quibus conparandi non sunt, insuper praeferunt, scripsi duos libros, unum de moribus ecclesiae catholicae et alterum de moribus Manicheorum.²⁵⁴

These few lines give the following information: (1) they attest to Augustine as the author of the work; (2) they list it as his first explicitly anti-Manichaean work; (3) they affirm that he wrote it while still in Rome - the first work of his post-baptismal period; (4) they affirm that he wrote it because of the Manichaeans' false and deceitful (practice of) continence and abstinence. Yet we shall see that, while true, none of the last three points presents a complete picture.

Authenticity

Since it has the testimony of the *Retractationes* to support it, the Augustinian authorship of "De moribus" has never been questioned. Not only does Augustine there give the work's title and *incipit*, he gives some extracts from it as well.²⁵⁵ But he could not have

²⁵⁴ Augustine, *retr.* I,6 (7):1 (p. 28.11). Cf. Commentary, 2-5.

²⁵⁵ Cf. *retr.* I,6 (7):6 (p. 34.10: "Hoc opus sic incipit: *In aliis libris satis opinor egisse nos*"). Cf. the citations contained in *retr.* (cited in Commentary, 245-246, 498, 694, 821-823, 887-888 and 1053-1059).

considered it to be a very important work, since nowhere else does he quote it, nor (with the possible exception of *epist.* 18)²⁵⁶ even allude to it. However, Augustine's testimony is not the only one we have: we have seen that Possidius listed it as the first among Augustine's anti-Manichaean works;²⁵⁷ and Possidius' *Elenchus* (written in 431) is directly dependent on an *Indiculum* drawn up by Augustine himself.²⁵⁸

Two letters of Paulinus of Nola, one written in 395 to Alypius²⁵⁹ and the other to Augustine at around the same time,²⁶⁰ possibly refer to "De moribus" (although the allusions are very vague). The next certain reference dates from 530, the date of Eugippus' *Excerpta ex operibus sancti Augustini*, which contain several quotations of this work.²⁶¹ In the VII century Isidore of Seville quoted from the section on ascetical life in his *De ecclesiasticis officiis* (as is usual with him, without naming his source).²⁶² This brings us to within two centuries of the oldest extant manuscript.

²⁵⁶ Augustine, *epist.* 18,1 (p. 45.2): "Misi aduersum Manicheos libros quos paratos et emendatos mittere potui."

²⁵⁷ Cf. above, p. 13.

²⁵⁸ So WILMART, *Operum*, p. 160: "On rendrait finalement à Possidius pleine justice en disant que son *Indiculum* reste pour nous, en dépit de ses fautes et de ses lacunes, une *image* de l'*Indiculum* d'Augustin." Cf., also BARDY, *Les Révisions*, pp. 21 and 36-38. DE GHELLINCK notes (*Patristique* II, p. 212) that Possidius did not follow the chronological order of Augustine's *Indiculum*, but arranged his *Elenchus* in 10 categories according to subject-matter. This does not, however, mean that the works *within* each of these categories are not chronologically arranged. On the date of Possidius' *Elenchus*, cf. DE GHELLINCK, *op. cit.*, p. 212. Augustine mentions the *Indiculum* in *retr.* II, 68 (41):1 (p. 179.15), and BARDY's opinion (*op. cit.*, p. 23) is that *retr.* is based on it. Cf. also WILMART, *op. cit.*, pp. 158-160.

²⁵⁹ Paulinus, *Epistula* 3,2 (CSEL 29/14.14 = *epist.* 24 inter augustinianas, p. 74.13): "Accepimus enim insigne praecipuum dilectionis et sollicitudinis tuae, opus sancti et perfecti in domino Christo uiri fratris nostri Augustini libris quinque confectum..." On this COURCELLE remarks (*Recherches*, p. 29, n. 3): "Ces cinq livres sont très probablement le *De vera religione*, le *De Genesi contra Manichaeos libri II*, le *De moribus ecclesiae catholicae* et le *De moribus Manichaeorum*, réunis en un *corpus*." According to this theory, then, this "Pentateuch," as Paulinus also calls it (cf. below, n. 260), would have been written in response to the five writings of Mani known in North Africa: cf. above, p. 22; also Goldbacher's note in CSEL 58/13.1.

²⁶⁰ Paulinus, *Epist.* 4,2 (CSEL 29/20.9 = *epist.* 25 inter augustinianas, p. 79.17): "...cum hoc Pentateucho tuo contra Manicheos me satis armaueris."

²⁶¹ In CSEL 9,1/50f. (= lines 448-467 and 796-823) and 128-130 (= lines 55-74; 84-88; 172-174; 330-331; 184-186; 167-169; 48-49; 209-214, 217-227; 338-339; and 349-366).

²⁶² The citations are all in II,16 of Isidore's work, which FRANK (*Isidor*,

Literary tradition

a) *Manuscripts*, arranged chronologically (+ indicates that a ms. also contains *mor. II*; * indicates a ms. with only fragments or excerpts of *mor. I*; ** means that a ms. should contain the entire text, but is incomplete):

IX-X century:

*Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 1750.

**Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 1923.

X-XI century:

**Tours, Bibliothèque Municipale, 284.

XI century:

+Angers, Bibliothèque Municipale, 293.

**Arras, Bibliothèque Municipale, 420.

Metz, Bibliothèque Universitaire, 138.

Schaffhausen, Stadtbibliothek, 35.

+Troyes, Bibliothèque Municipale, 1085.

Vendôme, Bibliothèque Municipale, 122.

XI century (end):

+Rome, Biblioteca Vaticana, Reg. lat. 107.

p. 29, n. 1) dates between 598 and 615. By citation or reference he notes allusions in II,16:3 (PL 83/795 A) to lines 1087-1090; 11 (c. 799 B) = 1105-1110; 12 (800 A) = 1111-1113; 13 (c. 800 A) = 1113-1123; 14 (c. 800 B) = 1123-1125 and 1127-1132; 15 (800 C) = 1132-1141; 17 (c. 801 B) = 1143-1152 and 1181-1184. The identification of the *De moribus* passages was first made by A.C. LAWSON in 1937, in an unpublished doctoral dissertation, *The Sources of the De ecclesiasticis officiis of S. Isidore of Seville*, copy in the Bodleian Library at Oxford (Ms. Engl. Theol. C 56). He notes (dissertation, p. 107) a reference not mentioned by Frank: lines 1073-1075, in Isidore, II,16:3 (c. 795 A). There is one further reference noted by neither Frank nor Lawson: lines 1076-1079, also in II,16:3 (c. 795 A). Lawson also sees (in his dissertation, p. 145) a connection between Isidore II,24:4 and *mor. I*, §§ 1 and 16, but I fail to perceive any similarity. Finally, in Isidore II,16:4 (c. 795 B: "...tertium genus est anachoretarum, qui iam coenobiali conuersatione perfecti includunt semet ipsos in cellulis, procul ab hominum conspectu remoti, nulli ad se praebentes accessum, sed in sola contemplatione dei uiuentes"), Frank sees, for the first part, a reference to Cassian's *Conlationes patrum* (XVIII,4:13-14: "...secundum anachoretarum, qui prius in coenobii instituti iamque in actuali conuersatione perfecti solitudinis elegere secreta"), but gives no source for the second part, which is lines 1088-1092: "qui secretissimi penitus ab omni hominum conspectu ... perfruentes colloquio dei ... et eius pulchritudinis contemplatione beatissimi..."

XI-XII century:

- +Angers, Bibliothèque Municipale, 286.
- +Padua, Biblioteca Universitaria, 1584.
- *Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 2154.

XII century:

- +Bamberg, Staatliche Bibliothek, Kirchenväter 25.
- +Cambridge, Trinity College Library, 76.
- Laon, Bibliothèque Municipale, 132.
- +Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 1907.
- +Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 2037.
- Reims, Bibliothèque Municipale, 401.
- +Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale, 476.
- +Saint-Omer, Bibliothèque Municipale, 206.
- +Tours, Bibliothèque Municipale, 270.
- +Troyes, Bibliothèque Municipale, 40.
- Troyes, Bibliothèque Municipale, 846.

XII century (end):

- +Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College, 126 (64).
- +Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, 623.

XII-XIII century:

- Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 2038.

XIII century (beginning):

- +Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 316.
- Cambridge, Sidney & Sussex College, 94.

anno 1215:

- *Rome, Biblioteca Vaticana, Vat. lat. 10664.

XIII century:

- +Assisi, Biblioteca Comunale, 84.
- Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, 70 (Phill. 1696).
- +Boulogne-sur-Mer, Bibliothèque Municipale, 49.
- +*Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College, 100 (52).
- Durham, Cathedral Library, B.III.2.
- +*London, British Museum, Royal 7.B.IX.
- +Mons, Bibliothèque de l'Université de l'Etat, 13/160.
- *Montpellier, Bibliothèque Inter-universitaire, H 413.
- +Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, 631.
- +Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 1910.
- +Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 15302.
- +*Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, 214.

- Rome, Biblioteca Vaticana, Vat. lat. 12996.
- *Tortosa, Biblioteca de la Catedral, 230.
- *Tours, Bibliothèque Municipale, 247.
- Troyes, Bibliothèque Municipale, 860.

XIII century (second half):

- +Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodl. 132.

XIII century (end):

- +Oxford, Merton College, XXXVI.
- +Rome, Biblioteca Angelica, lat. 159.

XIII-XIV century:

- +Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, 633.
- Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 1909.

anno 1300:

- Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, 1982.

XIV century (beginning):

- +Erlangen, Universitäts-Bibliothek, 163.
- +Lincoln, Cathedral Chapter Library, 208.
- +London, British Museum, Royal 5.C.IV.
- +Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodl. 568.
- +Padua, Biblioteca Universitaria, 1119.

XIV century:

- +Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, 49-62.
- +Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, 312-320.
- Durham, Cathedral Library, B.II.19.
- +Durham, Cathedral Library, B.II.27.
- +Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodl. 238.
- Oxford, Merton College, I.
- Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, 307.
- +Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 1950.
- **Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 2045.
- **Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 2728.
- Reims, Bibliothèque Municipale, 128.
- *Toledo, Biblioteca del Cabildo, 15-4.
- *Valencia, Biblioteca Universitaria, 620.

anno 1438:

- +Rome, Biblioteca Vaticana, Vat. lat. 446.

anno 1453:

- +Cesena, Biblioteca Malatestiana, D.IX.III.

anno 1468:

London, Lambeth Palace Library, 50.
Mantua, Biblioteca Comunale, D.III.3.

anno 1476:

+Trier, Stadtbibliothek, 159.

anno 1484:

London, Sion College, ARC L 40.2/L 23.

XV century:

Aberdeen, King's College Library, 7.
+Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, 1235-1253.
*Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, 11733-11739.
+Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College, 69 (36).
+Cambridge, Trinity College, 164.
Cambridge, University Library, Ff.II.32.
Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, Laur. Pluteus XII,
cod. XIII.
Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, Med. Fesul. XXII.
Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, R.68 sup.
+Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, 350.
+Rome, Biblioteca Vaticana, Vat. lat. 445.
+Rome, Biblioteca Vaticana, Vat. lat. 493.
Rome, Biblioteca Vaticana, Vat. lat. 502.
+Rome, Biblioteca Vaticana, Vat. lat. 4223.
+Rome, Biblioteca Vaticana, Vat. lat. 7084.
Windsor, Eton College, 47.
+Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, Guelph. 18.2. Aug. 2°.

b) *Editions*, arranged chronologically:

Bartholomäus von Unkel, *De moribus Ecclesiae catholicae*, Cologne, 1480 (?).
Eusebius Conradus and Thaddaeus Ugoletus, *Augustini opuscula*, Angelus
Ugoletus, Parma, 1491.
Peregrino Pasquale, *Plurima opuscula sancti augustini*, Venice, 1491.
Jodocus Badius Ascensius, *Secunda pars opusculorum Divi Augustini qua
hec continentur... De moribus ecclesie catholice lib. I*, Jehan Petit,
Paris, 1502. ff. li-lxiii^v.
Johannes Amerbach (Amorbach), *Secunda pars librorum divi Aurelij Augus-
tini quos scripsit iam baptizatus*, Basel, 1507.²⁶³

²⁶³ The *editio princeps* of Augustine's collected works (cf. DE GHELLINCK, *Patristique* III, pp. 371-377), repr. at Paris, 1515.

Erasmus Roterdamus, *D. Aurelii Augustini Hipponensis Episcopi omnium operum*, t. I, Froben, Basel, 1529, pp. 519-540.²⁶⁴
 J. Gymnicus, *De moribus ecclesiae catholicae, liber I*, Cologne, 1529.
 Theologi Lovanienses, *S. Aurelii Augustini Hipponensis Episcopi opera quae reperiri potuerunt omnia...*, t. I, Plantin, Antwerp, 1576.²⁶⁵
Bibliotheca Patrum ascetica, sive, veterum Patrum de christiana ac religiosa perfectione opuscula, t. V, Frederic Léonard, Paris, 1664.
 Maurists (= Bénédictins de Saint-Germain des Prés, Congrégation de Saint-Maur des Fossés), *Sancti Aurelii Augustini Hipponensis Episcopi opera omnia*, t. I, Muguet, Paris, 1679, cc. 687-716.²⁶⁶ All subsequent editions to date have been based on this one.²⁶⁷

c) Translations:

English:

Stothert, Richard, "On the Morals of the Catholic Church, On the Morals of the Manichaeans," in *The Works of Aurelius Augustine*, ed. Marcus Dods, vol. 5 (Writings in Connection with the Manichaean Heresy), T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1872, pp. 1-96; revised by Albert H. Newman for *A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church* (ed. Phillip Schaff), First Series, vol. IV, The Christian Literature Co., Buffalo, 1887 (repr. by Wm. B. Eerdmans, Grand Rapids, 1956), pp. 37-89; *mor. I* repr. in *Basic Writings of Saint Augustine* (ed. Whitney J. Oates), vol. I, Random House, New York, 1948, pp. 319-357.

²⁶⁴ Repr. 1537 (Augsburg), 1543 (Basel), 1551 (Venice), 1555 (Paris), 1556 (Basel), 1562 (Lyons), 1569 (Basel), 1570 (Venice), 1571 (Paris) and 1579 (Basel). On this edition, cf. DE GHELLINCK, *Patristique* III, pp. 377-391.

²⁶⁵ Repr. by Duval in Paris: 1586, 1603, 1609, 1614, 1626, 1635, 1636, 1648, 1654, 1655, 1664; Lyons: 1586 and 1665; Hierat, Cologne: 1616 and 1618. Cf. DE GHELLINCK, *Patristique* III, pp. 392-403.

²⁶⁶ The first volume was reprinted in 1689; the second edition appeared in 1700 (Amsterdam), and thereafter went through several reprints: 1729 (Venice), 1753 (Naples), 1756 (Venice), 1797 (Venice), 1834 (Venice). This edition was revised in 1836 (*mor I* appears in vol. II, Gaume, Paris, cc. 1115-1156).

²⁶⁷ Most notably, the edition of Migne (PL 32/1309-1344) published in 1845; also *Sancti Aurelii Augustini Hipponensis Episcopi opuscula, quibus institutio universae theologiae comprehenditur in usum candidatorum theologiae: collecta ex editione Patrum Congregationis S. Mauri*, t. I, Madrid, 1730, pp. 419-480; Armand Benjamin CAILLOU, *Sancti Aurelii Augustini Hipponensis Episcopi opera omnia*, t. 27 (Collectio selecta ss. Ecclesiae Patrum, t. 134), Paris, 1836, pp. 491-545; and H. HURTER, *S. Aurelii Augustini Hipponensis Episcopi de Ecclesia Christi opuscula selecta*, London-Milan-Paris, 1874 (= *Sanctorum patrum opuscula selecta ad usum praesertim studiosorum theologiae*, vol. 27), pp. 36-127.

Gallagher, Donald A. and Idella J., *The Catholic and Manichaeic Ways of Life*, Catholic University of America Press, Washington, 1965 (Fathers of the Church, vol. 56).

French:

Arnauld, Antoine, *Traduction du Livre de saint Augustin des Moeurs de l'Eglise Catholique, avec des sommaires de la doctrine contenuë dans chaque chapitre*, Vitre, Paris, 1644 (*mor. I only*).²⁶⁸

Du Bois, Philippe Goibaud, *Les deux livres de s. Augustin, de la Véritable Religion et des Moeurs de l'Eglise catholique, traduits en françois, sur l'édition latine des Pères Bénédictins de la Congrégation de S. Maur avec des notes et de nouveaux Sommaires des Chapitres*, Coignard, Paris, 1690 (*mor. I only*).

Raulx - Poujoulat, "Des moeurs de l'Eglise catholique et des manichéens," in *Oeuvres complètes de saint Augustin traduites pour la première fois en français*, t. 3 (Les Lettres: Troisième et quatrième séries - Traités philosophiques), Guérin, Bar-le-Duc, 1865, pp. 491-545.

Péronne - Vincent - Ecalte - Charpentier - Barreau, *Oeuvres complètes de saint Augustin traduites en français et annotées...*, vol. 3, Vivès, Paris, 1873, pp. 495-593.

Roland-Gosselin, Bernard, "Les moeurs de l'Eglise Catholique," in *Bibliothèque Augustinienne* (ed. Fulbert Cayré), 1ère Série (Opuscules), vol. I; first edition: Paris, 1936, pp. 30-123 (*mor. I only*, some passages omitted); second edition (complete): Paris, 1949, pp. 134-367.

German:

Stolberg, Friedrich Leopold, *Zu zwei Schriften von der wahren Religion und von den Sitten der katholischen Kirche*, Aschendorff, Münster (1803?), pp. 227-327 (*mor. I only*).²⁶⁹

Keseling, Paul, *Christliches Ethos. Des Aurelius Augustinus Buch "Von den Sitten der katholischen Kirche"*, Regensburg/Münster i. Westf., 1948 (*mor. I only*).

Italian:

Neno, Adeodato, *Dei costumi della Chiesa Cattolica e dei Manichei*, Tipografia Fiorentina, Florence, 1935 (Biblioteca Agostiniana, 15).

Bassi, Domenico, "Costumi della chiesa cattolica, costumi dei manichei," in *Utilità di credere*, Società Editrice Internazionale, Turin, 1936 (Corona Patrum Salesiana, Serie Latina, vol. 3), pp. 120-411.

²⁶⁸ Followed by the Latin text (= Theologi Lovanienses). Six subsequent editions: 1647, 1652, 1657, 1675 (Fricx, Brussels), 1720 (Pralard, Paris) and 1725.

²⁶⁹ Repr. twice: 1803 (Waldech, Münster-Leipzig) and 1818 (Sitten).

Japanese:

Kenji, Kumagaya, *Katorikku Kyôkai no Dôtoku*, Sôbun-Sha, Tokyo, 1963.

Spanish:

Prieto, Teófilo, "De las costumbres de la iglesia católica," in *Obras de San Agustín en edición bilingüe* (ed. Victorino Capánaga), vol. IV (Obras Apologéticas), Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, Madrid, 1948, pp. 260-357.

Date and place of writing

If we take literally the information provided by the passage from *retr.* quoted earlier in this chapter, the task of determining the date of "De moribus" is simplicity itself. Augustine says that he wrote it when already baptised but while still at Rome. He had received baptism in Milan on the night of April 24/25, 387.²⁷⁰ In the summer of that year he set out with his mother and some friends for Africa, travelling to Ostia by way of Rome.²⁷¹ It is unlikely that on this occasion the group stayed in Rome for very long: they would have been anxious to sail from Ostia before the Mediterranean became closed to traffic for the winter;²⁷² the uncertain political situation had also to be considered.²⁷³ The phrase, "cum Romae essem" can therefore only refer to Augustine's longer sojourn at Rome after the death of his mother; "De moribus" would therefore have been completed between November 387 and August 388.²⁷⁴

Yet very few have accepted this conclusion.²⁷⁵ The Maurists objected

²⁷⁰ On the date, cf. above, n. 20.

²⁷¹ Cf. PERLER, *Les voyages*, p. 145.

²⁷² PERLER, *Les voyages*, p. 146: "La navigation était pratiquement interrompue du 11 novembre au 10 mars." Cf. also E. DE SAINT-DENIS, "Mare clausum," in REL 25 (1947), pp. 196-214, and J. ROUGÉ, "La navigation hivernale sous l'Empire romain," in REA 54 (1952), pp. 316-325.

²⁷³ About this time Maximus the Usurper invaded Northern Italy: cf. Othmar PERLER, "Augustinus und das Todesdatum des Augustus Magnus Maximus von Trier," in *Festschrift für Alois Thomas*, Trier, 1967, pp. 289-296; also his *Les voyages*, p. 145f., and PALANQUE, *Saint Ambroise*, pp. 191-193.

²⁷⁴ In *Petil.* III,25:30 (p. 185.22) Augustine says that he did not return to Africa until after the death of Maximus. This took place on August 27, 388: cf. COURCELLE, *Recherches*, p. 227 (who says that Augustine returned to Rome from Ostia in the summer of 387) and PERLER, *Les voyages*, pp. 147 and 152 (who is the one to suggest that the second sojourn in Rome began only in November). Cf. also TILLEMONT, *Mémoires*, p. 956f.

²⁷⁵ The exceptions are DECRET (*Aspects*, p. 13, n. 6: "Cet ouvrage a été

to it in their edition of 1679,²⁷⁶ and subsequent authors, for the same reasons, have generally proposed Africa as the place, and late 388 or early 389 as the date, in which both books of "De moribus" were brought to completion.²⁷⁷ The reasons generally given are:

1. The opening words of *mor. I* speak of *alii libri*, in which a defense against the "Manichaean attacks" has already been made.²⁷⁸
2. In both *mor. I* (lines 1172-1173: "Romae etiam plura cognoui") and *mor. II*²⁷⁹ Augustine implies that, as he writes, he is no longer in Rome.
3. He also speaks in *mor. II* of having *recently* been in Carthage.²⁸⁰ But before the return to Africa in 388 Augustine had not been near Carthage in five years,²⁸¹ and he must therefore be alluding to a stopover on his return from Italy to Thagaste in that year.²⁸²

écrit à Rome, avant son retour en Afrique, donc avant l'automne 388"), DOUAIS (*Saint Augustin contre le manichéisme I*, p. 395: "fin de l'année 387"), MANNUCCI (*S. Agostino*, p. 288: "già nel 388 in Roma") and possibly COURCELLE (*Recherches*, p. 178, n. 1: "écrit à Rome en 388"; but on p. 218, n. 7 he says: "écrit en 388/389").

²⁷⁶ Cf. their *Admonitio* in PL 32/1309: "Verum haec non efficient ut dubia sit fides Augustini dicentis se jam baptizatum, cum Romae esset, sequentes libros scripsisse, adeoque sub finem anni Christi 387, quo ad illam urbem se recepit, aut certe initio insequentis, cujus magnam partem ibi est commoratus. Ista vero hoc pacto conciliari possunt, ut eorum librorum scriptio Romae facta dicatur, publicatio vel perfectio in aliquod tempus dilata."

²⁷⁷ Cf. PL 32/1309: "scripti versus initium anni Christi 388, vulgari forte anno 389"; TILLEMONT, *Mémoires*, Note IX, p. 963f.; BARDENHEWER, *Geschichte*, vol. IV, p. 464; BARDY, *Les Révisions*, p. 566 (Note complémentaire 12); DE BRUYNE, *Saint Augustin reviseur*, p. 524; ZARB, *Chronologia operum*, pp. 31f. and 87; MONCEAUX, *Saint Augustin et saint Antoine*, p. 66; MAYER, *Die Zeichen II*, pp. 47-49; and PERLER, *Les voyages*, p. 433.

²⁷⁸ Cf. below, pp. 69-76.

²⁷⁹ Augustine, *mor. II*, 20:74 (c. 1376): "Romae autem me absente quid gestum sit, totum longum est explicare ... et ego quidem postea Romae cum essem, omnia uera me audisse firmaui."

²⁸⁰ Augustine, *mor. II*, 12:26 (c. 1356): "Illud uero nondum dictum erat, quod nuper apud Carthaginem audiui."

²⁸¹ PERLER, *Les voyages*, p. 134: "C'est au printemps 383 au plus tôt, mais plus probablement avant les tempêtes d'automne de la même année qu'Augustin quitta Carthage pour gagner l'Italie."

²⁸² PERLER, *Les voyages*, p. 148f.: "En 388 à Carthage, Augustin compléta encore un peu ses informations à propos des manichéens... En été 388, Carthage ne fut... qu'une étape dans le voyage qui ramenait Augustin dans sa patrie: débarqué vers le milieu d'août ou peu après, le maître ne s'arrêta que quelques jours dans la métropole d'Afrique, soit juste le temps de se reposer des fatigues de la traversée et de refaire ses forces avant de s'engager sur la grand-route Carthage-Sicca Veneria-Thagaste et de regagner ainsi sa ville natale."

But have we in fact any right to consider *mor. I* and *mor. II* as belonging together, and can we therefore determine the date of *mor. I* from what we are told in *mor. II*? Might not the two have been written separately — at different times if not in different places — and been afterwards put together for the sake of convenience? In a sense, that is precisely what happened.

Augustine's attitude to his two books "De moribus" is ambivalent - and unique. He puts them together in *retr.* as two books of a single work, and yet each book has its own title, a phenomenon that occurs nowhere else in his writings.²⁸³ The manuscript tradition, taking its cue from *retr.*, follows the same procedure.²⁸⁴ But towards the end of *mor. I* (line 1271-1272: "alio uolumine ostendere institui") Augustine refers to *mor. II* — it can be no other — as a *uolumen*, separate from *mor. I* (line 1364: "huius uoluminis").

This is significant because, while Augustine uses "liber" either in the sense of "a self-contained work" (when the work comprises only one "liber")²⁸⁵ or in that of "part of a larger work" (when the work is composed of two or more "libri"),²⁸⁶ he seems to restrict *uolumen* to Blaise's definition of "ouvrage (entier, pas trop grand)."²⁸⁷ So at the outset, while *mor. I* is still in writing, *mor. II* is considered to be a separate *uolumen* and only later does it come to be looked on by Augustine as the second of "duo libri." Yet in *retr.* Augustine mentions them together, without distinguishing the dates on which they were written. Hence the two works may not have been *written* at exactly the same time (the phrase "alio uolumine ostendere institui" seems to indicate a decision, not yet carried out, to write *mor. II*), but there is no reason to think that they were not *published* together.

²⁸³ Cf. *retr.* I,6 (7):2 (p. 29.1: "In eo igitur, qui est de moribus ecclesiae catholicae...") and 8 (p. 33.10: "In alio libro, cuius est titulus: de moribus Manichaeorum..."). Possidius also puts the two books together in his *Elenchus* (cf. above, p. 13), indicating that this is how he found them grouped in Augustine's *Indiculum* (cf. above, p. 59).

²⁸⁴ Cf. the list of mss., above, pp. 60-63. Whenever *mor. I-II.* are found together in a ms., they are always listed one right after the other. Although it frequently happens that *mor. I* is found alone (doubtless because *mor. II* was thought to have little or no 'inspirational' value), in only a single case (Vendôme, 129) do we find *mor. II* unaccompanied by *mor. I*.

²⁸⁵ Cf. *retr.* I,7(8):1 (p. 34.16): "...totus liber nomen accepit, ut appelleretur de animae quantitate."

²⁸⁶ Cf. *retr.* I,3:1 (p. 19.10): "...duos etiam libros de ordine scripsi..."

²⁸⁷ BLAISE, *Dictionnaire*, p. 859. Cf. Augustine, *Petil.* III,40:47 (p. 200.17): "(Petilianus) illud autem olim dimisit omnino nec nobis dicere uoluit.. nec usque ad finem uoluminis sui aliquando dicturus est..."

To determine this date of publication, we must return to Augustine's mention of "other books" at the outset of *mor. I* (lines 2-6):

In aliis libris satis opinor egisse nos quemadmodum Manicheorum inuentionibus, quibus in legem, quod uetus testamentum uocatur, imperite atque impie feruntur, seseque inter imperitorum plausus, inani iactatione uentilant, possimus occurrere: quod breuiter etiam hic commemorari a me potest.

Here we are faced with a contradiction, because in *retr.* Augustine lists "De moribus" as the first of those works which concern Manichaeism, whereas the opening words of *mor. I* affirm that it has already been dealt with "in other books." What are these "alii libri"? Certainly the reference is not to some work now lost, because no tradition of an early lost Augustinian work "contra Manicheos" exists, and Augustine himself never mentions one.

The contradiction can be resolved if we accept Bardy's theory that the *Retractationes* tend to list works chronologically, not according to when they were completed, but according to when they were begun.²⁸⁸ Thus Augustine lists *lib. arb.* between *quant.* and *Gen. c. Man.*, both of which were completed in 389 at the latest,²⁸⁹ but explicitly says that the second and third books of this work were not completed until after he had returned to Africa and was already a priest.²⁹⁰ There seems, in that case, no reason for doubting Augustine's listing of "De moribus" as the first work to directly concern

²⁸⁸ So BARDY, *Les Révisions*, p. 41, and WUNDT, *Zur Chronologie*, p. 128.

²⁸⁹ Cf. below, pp. 72-76.

²⁹⁰ Augustine, *retr.* I,8(9):1 (p. 37.2): "Et quoniam constituit inter nos diligenter ratione discussa malum non exortum nisi ex libero uoluntatis arbitrio, tres libri, quos eadem disputatio peperit, secundum et tertium in Africa iam Hippone Regio presbyter ordinatus, sicut tunc potui, terminaui." DU ROY (*L'intelligence*, pp. 236-239) thinks that *lib. arb.* was written at Rome, up to and including II,16:44 (= II,171, p. 80.4). He bases this conclusion on Augustine's terminology - a difficult criterion, since it is practically impossible to know to what extent Augustine amended the section done at Rome prior to final publication. As an exception, *mus.* is listed in *retr.* after *Gen. c. Man.*, therefore among the works completed in Africa, even though it had been begun at Milan (*retr.* I,10(11), pp. 52-56). But it seems then to have been in a very rough form: cf. *retr.* I,5(6):1 (p. 27.12): "Per idem tempus, quo Mediolani fui baptismum percepturus, etiam disciplinarum libros conatus sum scribere ... sed earum solum de grammatica librum absoluere potui, quem postea de armario nostro perdidi, et de musica sex uolumina, quantum adtinet ad eandem partem, quae rythmus uocatur. sed eosdem sex libros iam baptizatus iamque ex Italia regressus in Africam scripsi; *incoaueram* quippe *tantummodo* istam apud Mediolanum disciplinam."

Manichaeism,²⁹¹ provided we accept this as meaning the first work *begun*. When exactly this took place remains uncertain, but it could not have been much before the end of 387. Monnica died before November 13, while Augustine was still in his thirty-third year.²⁹² Still grief-stricken over the loss, it is unlikely that Augustine would have begun writing immediately upon his subsequent return to Rome. It would also have taken some time to fix his resolve to write a book he had not previously intended to write,²⁹³ and it would have taken still further time to acquaint himself with the Scriptures sufficiently to reply to their abuse by the Manichaeans.²⁹⁴ Even supposing that Monnica had died already by summer's end, we would still, with these considerations in mind, have to posit a *terminus a quo* for "De moribus" close to the end of 387 or the beginning of 388.²⁹⁵

Finding a *terminus ad quem* is somewhat more complicated. Since Augustine had already departed from Rome and had recently (*nuper*) been at Carthage at the time of writing *mor. II*,²⁹⁶ he must have completed (or at least retouched) "De moribus" at Thagaste, which had been his destination on leaving Italy.²⁹⁷ In Thagaste he spent three years, establishing a communal life there with some of his friends,²⁹⁸ a fact which permits a conjecture: since *mor. I*'s last five chapters

²⁹¹ Even though other works had already touched upon the subject. Cf. *quant.* 33:71, which hints that by this time *mor. II* is in the planning stage (c. 1074: "Non enim audienda est nescio quae impietas rusticana plane, magisque lignea quam sunt ipsae arbores quibus patrociniū praebebat, quae dolore uitem quando uua decerpitur, et non solum sentire ista cum caeduntur, sed etiam uidere atque audire credit: *de quo errore sacrilego alius est disserendi locus*." Cf. also *ord.* II,17:46 (p. 149). The closing words of the passage from *quant.* may be taken to refer to *mor. II*,17:55 (c. 1368f.).

²⁹² Cf. *conf.* IX,11:28 (p. 219.25): "Ergo die nono aegritudinis suae, quinquagesimo et sexto anno aetatis suae, tricensimo et tertio aetatis meae, anima illa religiosa et pia corpore soluta est."

²⁹³ This inference can be drawn from the fact that he was at Rome, and "iam baptizatus," therefore during the second sojourn, when he learned of those Manichaean deceptions which were to provoke him to write *De moribus*: cf. *retr.* I,6(7):1 (text, above, p. 58). The mention of a single book in line 25 ("hic liber") strengthens the impression that originally Augustine intended writing only "book I."

²⁹⁴ Cf. *retr.* I,6(7):2 (p. 29.4): "...scripturarum, in quibus nondum adsuetus eram."

²⁹⁵ Cf. above, n. 276.

²⁹⁶ Cf. above, n. 280.

²⁹⁷ Cf. above, n. 256 (if "De moribus" is among the books referred to); also Possidius, *Uita s. Augustini* 3:2 (text below, n. 298).

²⁹⁸ Possidius, *Uita s. Augustini* 3:2 (PL 32/36): "Ac placuit ei percepta gratia

(lines 1076-1365) concern the *practice* of Christian asceticism, about which nothing is said at the beginning of the work, where Augustine's stated purpose is to discuss Christian *teaching* on the moral life;²⁹⁹ and since these five chapters give special attention to community (or, as we say today, "religious") life among Christians: in them we possibly have an addition to a work originally intended to stop with the eulogy of the Church that ends at Chapter XXXI (line 1075). If these chapters represent an addition, the likeliest explanation for their presence is that they were inspired by Augustine's projected or already achieved establishment of a community of his own at Thagaste. Assuming that Augustine established this community immediately upon his arrival,³⁰⁰ and allowing for the completion of *mor. I* and the redaction of *mor. II*, we come to a date that cannot be earlier than the end of 388.³⁰¹

But before "De moribus" there were the "alii libri," which must have already made their appearance, since their author's opinion in *mor. I* is that he has already sufficiently dealt with Manichaean objections to the Old Testament ("In aliis libris *satis* opinor egisse nos quemadmodum Manicheorum inuentionibus, quibus in legem, quod uetus testamentum uocatur ... feruntur ..."). He could hardly pretend to have dealt with them sufficiently had these "other books" not yet been published. These books are described as dealing with Manichaean objections to the Old Testament, and (with one exception) no modern author who has sought to identify them has suggested any candidate other than *Gen. c. Man.*³⁰²

cum aliis ciuibus et amicis suis deo pariter seruientibus ad Africam et propriam domum agrosque remeare. ad quos ueniens, et in quibus constitutus, ferme triennio, et a se iam alienatis curis saecularibus, cum iis qui eidem adhaerebant, deo uiuebat, ieiuniis, orationibus, bonisque operibus, in lege domini meditans die ac nocte."

²⁹⁹ Cf. below, p. 77.

³⁰⁰ PERLER (*Les voyages*, p. 432) dates the founding in the autumn of 388. Cf. below, p. 225.

³⁰¹ ALFARIC (*L'évolution*, p. 85, n. 3) thinks that 390 is the date "où le De moribus Manichaeorum a sans doute paru," but he offers no arguments for this assertion.

³⁰² So the Maurists in their *Admonitio* (PL 32/1309); also ZARB (*Chronologia operum*, p. 31f.) and BARDY (*Les Révisions*, p. 566). The exception is Mlle LA BONNARDIÈRE, who thinks (*Le livre de la Sagesse*, p. 19, n. 2) that *ut. cred.* is meant. Her argument is that in the added first paragraph Augustine wishes to entrust biblical exegesis only to the *doctores*: "Or rien de tel ne se trouve dans le *De Genesi contra Manichaeos*. Augustin dit aussi, dans cette même page, qu'il va brièvement (*breviter*) rappeler une argumentation antérieure. Or pareille argumentation se trouve amplement développée dans le *De utilitate*

In *retr.* Augustine reports that he wrote this work after resettling in Africa:

Iam uero in Africa constitutus scripsi duos libros De Genesi contra Manicheos.³⁰³

He goes on to say that, although in works previously listed he had already touched upon certain points of doctrine with the Manichaeans in mind,³⁰⁴ *Gen. c. Man.* was the *first* work written *openly* against them:

Quamuis enim superioribus libris quidquid disputaui... aduersus Manicheos nostra uigilaret intentio, isti tamen duo libri *apertissime* aduersus eos editi sunt in defensionem ueteris legis...³⁰⁵

The way in which the sentence is balanced shows a desire to clearly distinguish between earlier writings in which Augustine had the Manichaeans in mind ("*Quamuis enim superioribus libris ... aduersus Manicheos nostra uigilaret intentio*")³⁰⁶ and the present writing, which is *apertissime* (openly, expressly) against them ("*isti tamen duo libri apertissime aduersus eos editi sunt*"). In *Gen. c. Man.* we have the identity of the *alii libri*, wherein Augustine defended the Old Testament against the Manichaeans.³⁰⁷ Or so it would appear. But the first paragraph of *Gen. c. Man.* itself presents a complication:

credendi." She compares the opening of *mor. I* to *ut. cred.* 6:13 (p. 17.10), and concludes by suggesting that Augustine's anti-Manichaean "Pentateuch" (cf. above, p. 59) consisted of *mor. I-II*, *Gen. c. Man.*, *uera rel.* and *ut. cred.* But it must be pointed out that there are *two* "libri" in *Gen. c. Man.* and that, since Paulinus speaks of *five* "libri" altogether (cf. above, n. 259), there is something wrong with La Bonnardière's arithmetic, since she has presented a solution with *six*. A second objection also has to do with the word "liber": *ut. cred.* consists of only one "book." If *mor. I* is referring to it in the first line, what is meant by "in *aliis libris*"? Thirdly, Augustine does not say that the main point of these "alii libri" is that exegesis should be left to the *doctores* (cf. lines 7-9), but that in those books he feels he has adequately dealt with Manichaean attacks on the Old Testament (lines 2-5): and *Gen. c. Man.* concerns that book of the Old Testament which formed a prime target for Manichaeism (cf. below, p. 146).

³⁰³ Augustine, *retr.* I,9(10):1 (p. 47.10).

³⁰⁴ Cf. above, n. 291.

³⁰⁵ Augustine, *retr.* I,9(10):1 (p. 47.11). Cf. also *Gen. ad litt.* VIII,2 (p. 232.11): "Nam et ego contra Manicheos, qui has litteras ueteris testamenti non aliter quam oportet accipiendo errant, sed omnino non accipiendo et detestando blasphemant, duos conscripsi libros recenti tempore conuersionis meae..."

³⁰⁶ Cf. above, n. 291.

³⁰⁷ Compare the passage from *retr.* (above; cf. also Commentary, 2-5)

Placuit enim mihi quorundam uere christianorum sententia, qui cum sint eruditi liberalibus litteris, tamen *alios libros nostros, quos aduersus Manicheos edidimus*, cum legissent, uiderunt eos ab inperitioribus aut non aut difficile intellegi, et me beneuolentissime monuerunt ut communem loquendi consuetudinem non desererem, si errores illos tam perniciosos ab animis etiam inperitorum expellere cogitarem.³⁰⁸

If *Gen. c. Man.* is the first work written *apertissime* against the Manichaeans, and if *mor. I* can already refer to "other books" written to defend the Old Testament against them, how can *Gen. c. Man.* then speak of "our other books, which we have published against the Manichaeans"? It seems to me that Augustine is thinking of books written earlier, with the Manichaeans in mind, but not written against them explicitly (*apertissime*). *Acad.*, for instance, is dedicated to Romanianus, whom Augustine had converted to Manichaeism, and whom he was trying to win back;³⁰⁹ and we can see Manichaean allusions in other early works.³¹⁰ At any rate, it cannot be "De moribus" that Augustine is speaking about in *Gen. c. Man.*: for these other books "quos aduersus Manicheos edidimus" would be, his Christian friends had told him, beyond the ability of the Manichaeans to grasp, and they counselled him to write in plain language ("et me beneuolentissime monuerunt ut communem loquendi consuetudinem non desererem"). But there is nothing very mystifying about the language of "De moribus,"³¹¹ especially in regard to Scripture, where Augustine maintains a simple treatment of its language. These other books which were beyond the range of the Manichaeans better describe the style of the anterior works.

Hence, if *Gen. c. Man.* is the first work written *apertissime* against

with *mor. I*'s opening lines: "In aliis libris satis opinor egisse nos quemadmodum Manicheorum inuentionibus, quibus in legem, quod uetus testamentum uocatur..."

³⁰⁸ Augustine, *Gen. c. Man.* I,1:1 (c. 173).

³⁰⁹ Augustine, *Acad.* I,1:1 (p. 3.4).

³¹⁰ Cf. above, n. 291.

³¹¹ Cf. MAYER, *Die antimanichäischen Schriften*, p. 385f.; also THIMME, *Augustins geistige Entwicklung*, p. 8: "Unter jenen anderen kann aber nicht De mor. zu verstehen sein, denn diese Schrift ist genau so populär gehalten und ebensogut für den kirchlichen Laienverstand geschrieben — man beachte nur die Häufung von Schriftstellen! — wie De Gen c. Man., sondern nur die ganze bisherige Schriftstellerei, besonders De quant. an. und De lib. arb. I, in welcher des Materialismus, Sensualismus und Fatalismus, wenn auch ohne ausdrückliche Polemik gegen die Manichäer, zurückgewiesen wurde." The opposing view is held by PELLAND, *Cinq études*, p. 15, n. 2.

the Manichaeans;³¹² if on the other hand "De moribus," while listed before it in *retr.*, speaks of "alii libri" already written against them; if "De moribus" itself is obviously written *apertissime* against the Manichaeans: then the logical conclusion is that *retr.* lists these works according to when they were begun, not completed. This means that Augustine began "De moribus" at Rome, but that it was unfinished by the time he left for Africa; once in Thagaste, he turned his attention to the problem of the Old Testament (specifically, Genesis), wrote and published *Gen. c. Man.*, and then turned his attention once more to "De moribus." This pushes the publication of "De moribus" back even later, to at least early in 389.

Two further conclusions come from this. The first is that the opening paragraph would then be an *addition* to *mor.* I's original form, which in all likelihood began with the words (line 21):

Quoniam duae maximae sunt...

The preceding "sed" would have been added as the *liaison* with the first paragraph (§ 1) which, if we do not accept the theory of a later addition, leaves us with a contradiction. In that opening paragraph he says that he will deal with Manichaean notions on the Bible only *briefly*, because this has already been treated in the "alii libri"; but when we come to § 2, we find that Scripture is going to be one of his major considerations:

Sed quoniam duae maximae sunt illecebrae Manicheorum...; una, cum scripturas reprehendunt, uel quas male intellegunt uel quas male intellegi uolunt; altera, cum uitae castae et memorabilis continentiae imaginem praeferunt: hic liber congruentem catholicae disciplinae sententiam nostram de uita et moribus continebit ... et ea de scripturis assumam testimonia, quibus eos necesse sit credere, de nouo scilicet testamento ... *nec omnino ullam relinquam testem sententiam productam de apostolica disciplina, cui non de ueteri testamento similem comparem...*³¹³

³¹² Cf. THIMME, *loc. cit.*: "Also muss De Gen. c. Man. als Augustins erste populär gehaltene Streitschrift gelten."

³¹³ Augustine begins other works with "quoniam," notably *quant.* (c. 1035: "Q. uideo te abundare otio...") and *bon. con.* (p. 187.3: "Q. unusquisque homo humani generis pars est..."); also *enarr.* 129 (p. 1889), *epist.* 207 (p. 341.4) and *sermo* 256 (c. 1190), *serm.* 270 (c. 1237) and *serm.* 335 (c. 1470). The Paris ms., Bibliothèque Nationale, *fonds latin* 1909 begins chapter I with the words, "sed quoniam," thus making the preceding paragraph into an introduction. Du Roy (*L'intelligence*, p. 21) would like to consider § 3 (lines 41-54) also as a later addition, but (with the exception of the "doxology," which he does not mention: cf. Commentary, 52-54) I see no reason to accept this theory.

The other conclusion is that, if Augustine began *Gen. c. Man.* after beginning "De moribus," but completed and published it *before* completing "De moribus," then he may have also done so with other works. Such seems to be the case with *De quantitate animae*, also begun at Rome,³¹⁴ The fact that it is listed in *retr.* after *mor. I-II* may mean that it was begun after this work, but it seems logical to suppose that it preceded "De moribus" in publication. The work's whole tone places it with the more philosophically-oriented writings of Cassiciacum and Milan, especially with the sister-work on the soul, *De immortalitate animae*, rather than with the works "contra Manicheos." Its preoccupation with Classical literature (it has many references, where *mor. I-II* and *Gen. c. Man.* have almost none) and its dearth of Scriptural allusions (it contains only two direct quotations, Ps. 50:12 and Deut. 6:13, both of which are cited in *mor. I*) also suggest that it belongs in a direct line with the earlier works and heighten its contrast to the works on Manichaeism. It therefore seems that *quant.* and not *mor. I-II* (as the order in *retr.* would have us believe) is the first work actually *completed* after Augustine's baptism,³¹⁵ *Gen. c. Man.* being the second, and *mor. I-II* — although the first *begun* — only third:

³¹⁴ Augustine, *retr.* I,7(8):1 (p. 34.10): "In eadem urbe scripsi dialogum, in quo de anima multa quarentur ac disserentur ... ex hac una inquisitione totus liber nomen accepit, ut appellaretur de animae quantitate."

³¹⁵ Cf. BECKER, *Augustin*, pp. 62-104. DU ROY (*L'intelligence*, p. 256), as a result of his studies of the trinitarian formulae in *quant.*, sets the work after *mor. I* and *lib. arb.* But I do not see such formulae anywhere in *quant.* except the final section (34:77, cited below, p. 247), and I do not perceive how the "première attribution du titre de 'Charité' à l'Esprit" (cf. below, p. 247: "...incommutabilem caritatem...") represents a development over similar passages in *mor. I*, in which Augustine's emphasis on Rom. 8:29 (the Son to whose image we must become conformed, quoted twice) is a further precision of the vaguer "image of God" to which we must be reformed in *quant.* 28:55 (text in Commentary, 838-839), and in which the reference to Col. 3:9-10 (lines 633-641) with its association to I Cor. 15:47-49, in a discussion of the redeeming act of Christ as counter-weight to the sin of Adam, equally represents a development over the brief "exegesis" of Col. 3:9-10 in the same passage of *quant.* (c. 1067: "...sed ab his potius ad se ipsam colligat et repuerascat deo: quod est 'nouum hominem' fieri, 'ueterem exuto'...").

Order in retr. (= order of inception): Order of actual completion :

inmort. *inmort.*

("libri disciplinarum": never completed)

quant.

Gen. c. Man.

mor. I-II

lib. arb.

Motives in writing

If reliance on *retr.* can mislead us about the date of "De moribus," no more can we wholly depend on *retr.* for an accurate picture of *why* Augustine wrote it,³¹⁶ There Augustine says that he wrote it while at Rome, against the deceit practiced by Manichaeans on "true Christians" with regard to abstinence and continence - hence, one would assume, against Manichaeism in its Roman form. But *retr.* was written long after "De moribus" and must be taken here *cum granu salis*. In the *Confessions* Augustine says that the austerity of the Manichaeans was widely known and attracted many;³¹⁷ he does

316 Two 'psychological' factors underlying all of Augustine's work on Manichaeism are disillusionment over its failure to solve his personal dilemmas (cf. above, p. 56), and his desire to attempt redress for having brought others into it: Alypius (cf. below, n. 317), Romanianus (*Acad.* I,1:3, p. 5.21), Honoratus (*retr.* I,13, p. 65.6), and others not named: cf. *conf.* IV,1:1 (p. 63.7: "...per idem tempus annorum nouem ... seducebamur et seducebamus...") and IV,4:7 (p. 69.2: "Nam et a fide uera, quam non germanitus et penitus adolescens tenebat, deflexeram ego eum in superstitiosas fabellas et perniciosas, propter quas me plangebatur mater. mecum iam errabat in animo ille homo et non poteram anima mea sine illo"). Later Augustine was to experience great difficulty in trying to extricate those whom he had led into this "superstition": cf. *Acad.* II,3:8 (p. 28f.), *uera rel.* 36-39 (p. 12) and *ut. cred.* 1:2 (p. 4.11). JOLIVET conjectures (*Saint Augustin*, p. 157f.) that "De moribus" was written at the request of Pope Siricius or some other Church authority: "Il est ... tout naturel de conjecturer que Sirice, mis au courant par Augustin, ou par ses amis catholiques, des antécédents du jeune rhéteur converti, ait songé à lui demander une réfutation de ce manichéisme que ses anciennes relations avec la secte lui avaient permis de connaître de si près et de juger à bon escient." Jolivet's interesting conjecture cannot, unfortunately, be accepted as more than that. We have no proof that Augustine had any personal contact whatsoever with Pope Siricius; this does not prove, of course, that no such contact existed, but if the invitation of the bishop of Rome or of some other highly placed Catholic had been the incentive to write "De moribus," Augustine would have mentioned it in *retr.*, when giving the circumstances that produced this work.

³¹⁷ Augustine, *conf.* VI,7:12 (p. 126.19): «(Alypius) et audire me rursus

not say that they were hypocritical in practising it or that there was anything morally reprehensible in their practices. Yet he makes insinuations in *mor. I* and outright accusations in *mor. II*. To understand this change, we have to refrain from giving total credence to the information of *retr.*, and we have to avoid thinking of *mor. I-II* as a single work, written all together within a short time-period in unchanging circumstances.

It has already been mentioned³¹⁸ that Augustine's declared purpose in dealing with Scripture is not the same in the first paragraph of *mor. I* as it is in the second, and that this phenomenon can be explained by viewing § 1 as an addition to the original text. Another change is noticeable in regard to Augustine's treatment of asceticism. In § 1 he does not mention ascetical practices at all, whereas in *retr.* the "Manicheorum iactantia de falsa et fallaci continentia uel abstinentia" is professed to be the sole cause of *mor. I-II*, and nothing whatever is said about Scripture's defense. But in § 2 (where, as said previously, the text of *mor. I* in all probability originally began) both motives are given and Augustine in reply declares his intention of presenting the "Catholic teaching on life and mores," and of showing how this teaching is supported by the New Testament with its parallels in the Old.³¹⁹

Nothing, however, is said in § 2 either about Catholic practice "de uita et moribus" or about excesses in Manichaeian morality, and no mention is made of these points in *retr.* Yet Augustine devotes the last five chapters of *mor. I* to the first point, and all of *mor. II* to its counter-point - Manichaeian morality in both teaching and practice. At some time, it seems, Augustine decided to go beyond the intention he declared in § 2, and to directly attack Manichaeian morality. The polemics of *mor. II* are in sharp contrast to *mor. I*, and in style and tone the two books are not at all two parts of the same work, but separate works. *Mor. I* is conciliatory: the author is not seeking to convert, but to dissuade his intended readers from attacking the Old Testament (lines 629-631); in *mor. II* his purpose is to persuade them to "relinquish their error."³²⁰ In *mor. I*

incipiens illa mecum superstitione inuolutus est amans in Manicheis ostentationem continentiae, quam ueram et germanam putabat. erat autem illa uecors et seductoria, pretiosas animas captans nondum uirtutis altitudinem scientes tangere et superficie decipi faciles, sed tamen adumbratae simulataeque uirtutis."

³¹⁸ Cf. above, p. 74.

³¹⁹ Text on p. 74.

³²⁰ Augustine, *mor. II*, 2:4 (c. 1358): "Non me tamen scripsisse paenitebit quod aut quisquam in uobis tandem non iniquo iudicio consideret, uestrumque relinquat

not one word is said about Manichaean excesses, dealt with in four paragraphs of *mor. II* and all attributed to hearsay evidence.³²¹ This element of second-hand information is important. In 391 or 392 he was to admit to Fortunatus that when as a Hearer he had been present at Manichaean prayer-meetings, he had never noticed anything amiss, except that Christianity was denounced and services were held facing the sun; in fact, he says, "whoever raises any question of morals against you, raises it against your Elect: but what those of you who are Elect do among yourselves, I have no way of knowing."³²² This is an odd admission from someone who had offered such explicit details only two or three years before!

What brought him to write these details was that he was told of them - first at Rome, then at Carthage, on his return from Rome.³²³ Why this should have moved him to repeat the slanders without at least checking their veracity remains a mystery, but apparently he considered the credibility of his sources as sufficient.³²⁴ In any case, we must consider *mor. II* as written sometime after the original draft of *mor. I*, after he had begun using different scriptural versions,³²⁵ after he had completely forgotten his earlier intention of comparing Old and New Testament quotations.

He had already forgotten it by the time he wrote the last five chapters of *mor. I*. Not once in those chapters does he cite or allude to the Old Testament. They seem to form a sort of appendix to the rest of the work, a bridge leading to *mor. II*. Their changes from the earlier chapters - their avoidance of comparisons with the

errorem." Cf. MAYER, *Die antimanichäische Schriften*, p. 283f. The title often found in mss. — "De moribus ecclesiae catholicae contra Manicheos" — has no textual basis.

³²¹ Augustine, *mor. II*, 19:68-72 (c. 1374f.). Cf. above, nn. 279 and 280; also *nat. boni* 47 (p. 887.2: "...non tantum in Paphlagonia, sed etiam in Gallia, sicut a quodam Romae christiano catholico audiui").

³²² Augustine, *Fort.* 3 (p. 85.1): "Itaque quamuis et orationi uestrae interfuerim, ut interrogasti, utrum separatim uobiscum habeatis aliquam orationem, deus solus potest scire et uos. ego tamen in oratione, in qua interfui, nihil turpe fieri uidi, sed solum contra fidem animaduerti quam postea didici et probaui, quod contra solem facitis orationem. praeter hoc in illa oratione uestra nihil noui conperi. quisquis autem uobis obponet quaestionem aliquam de moribus, electis uestris obponet. quod autem inter uos agatis, qui electi estis, ego scire non possum."

³²³ Cf. above, p. 67.

³²⁴ Cf. *mor. II*, 20:74 (c. 1376): "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."

³²⁵ Cf. below, pp. 173f. and 179-183.

Old Testament, their lessened Scriptural emphasis, their accent on Christian moral *practice* rather than *principles* - lead one to suspect that they are a later addition to a work that originally came to an end with the eulogy of the Church in Chapter XXX.

Although the *Retractationes* give the impression that Augustine was dealing in "De moribus" with *Roman* Manichaeans, the fact that at least *mor. II* was certainly written in Africa must leave this impression dispelled. The African *milieu* for the latter part of *mor. I* is sustained by an allusion in lines 1260-1262 - that is to say, in the part that seems to have been added to the original ending. There Augustine gives a brief description of the *refrigerium* and its abuses. But writing to Bishop Aurelius of Carthage shortly after he had been ordained to the priesthood in 391, Augustine urged the abolition of the custom of the memorial meal for the deceased in North Africa. One of his arguments was that in Italy (and elsewhere) this custom either had never existed or else had been rooted out:

Haec si prima Africa temptaret auferre, a ceteris terris imitatione digna esse deberet; cum uero et per Italiae maximam partem et in aliis omnibus aut prope omnibus transmarinis ecclesiis, partim quia numquam facta sunt, partim quia uel orta uel inueterata sanctorum et uere de uita futura cogitantium episcoporum diligentia et animaduersione extincta atque deleta sunt, (HERE THERE IS A LACUNA) dubitare quo modo possumus tantam morum labem uel proposito tam lato exemplo emendare? ³²⁶

If in Italy the custom was on the wane in 391, it was probably so two years previously when Augustine spoke of its abuses in *mor. I*. On the other hand, it was at that time well entrenched in North Africa,³²⁷ and it is consequently about a North African phenomenon that Augustine appears to be writing.

General content

In a passage in the *Confessions* Augustine gives what could justly serve as a resumé of *mor. I*. Speaking of the conclusions to which

³²⁶ Augustine, *epist.* 22,1:4 (p. 57.9). It is true that in *epist.* 29,10 (p. 120.22) Augustine says that the practice continued at Rome (St. Peter's). But if in *mor. I* he had been thinking of anywhere but Africa, he could have replied that the Roman instance was in spite of the bishop, just as the practice was outlawed at Milan. In Africa no such argument could as yet be produced, since no interdict had been imposed.

³²⁷ Cf. the article of QUASTEN, *Vetus superstitio*.

the return to the Faith of his childhood had brought him, he addresses his God:

Iam itaque me, adiutor meus, illis uinculis solueras, et quaerebam, unde malum, et non erat exitus. sed me non sinebas ullis fluctibus cogitationis auferri ab ea fide, qua credebam et esse te et esse incommutabilem substantiam tuam, et esse de hominibus curam et iudicium tuum et in Christo, filio tuo, domino nostro, atque scripturis sanctis, quas ecclesiae tuae catholicae commendaret auctoritas, uiam te posuisse salutis humanae ad eam uitam, quae post hanc mortem futura est.³²⁸

All these points (with the exception of the problem, *unde malum*, treated at the beginning of *mor. II*) are emphasised in *mor. I*. Only indirectly, in fact, is there any *attack* on Manichaeism as such: Augustine is much more concerned with exposing the groundwork for Christian morality, with showing the beliefs of true Christians concerning the way they must behave, and with showing how those beliefs are put into practice. At the same time he will vindicate the legitimacy of the Old Testament against the Manichaeans' attacks (§ 1, probably a later addition),³²⁹ showing that these beliefs of Christians are firmly grounded in Scripture, for the New Testament passages which serve as moral guidelines have their counterpart in the Old, as Augustine will show by comparing quotations (§ 2). However, because the Manichaeans claim to repudiate all authority and to rely on reason alone, he will reverse the method he would prefer and begin, not with the authority of Scripture, but with reason (§ 3).

He therefore commences with a commonly accepted principle: all men desire happiness (§ 4). The happiness they desire consists in the attainment of the highest possible good (§ 5), which for Man has to be something which perfects body and soul together, or the soul alone (§ 6). However, the soul being superior to the body (§ 7), the highest good can be considered as what brings perfection necessarily to the soul, if not both soul and body (§ 8). In terms of this life, that which brings happiness or perfection to the soul is virtue (§ 9): but virtue has meaning only insofar as it leads to God, who is the highest good, since he alone is the good higher than which there is no other and since, once possessed, he cannot be lost against one's will (§ 10).

³²⁸ Augustine, *conf. VII*,7:11 (p. 152.3).

³²⁹ Cf. above, p. 74.

At this point, Augustine begins to prepare for his referral to Scripture. If God is the highest good, he is also supreme Truth and Wisdom (§ 11), seeking to bring men to himself, as the continuity of salvation-history bears out (§ 12). This continuity is a thread that runs through both Testaments of the Bible: the God of which both speak is the same God, and the guide for Christian living (the Great Commandment to love God and neighbour) given by Jesus is *verbatim* in the Old Testament (§ 13). In the following passages (§§ 14-17) Augustine elaborates on both these points. Next he demonstrates the need for union with God, the highest good; both Old and New Testament speak of the necessity of loving this highest good by allowing no other good to replace it and distract Man from his real goal (§§ 18-19). Nothing else can equal God, for the simple reason that he is creator of all that exists besides himself (§§ 20-21). In an excursus (probably added)³³⁰ Augustine proceeds to discuss the triune nature of God and its connection with the Great Commandment: that love whereby we are to love God means conformity to the Son, who is the image of God (§ 22); and the love whereby we become conformed is the Spirit (§ 23). Hence, when we speak of loving God (who is Being itself), we are speaking of loving God as Three-in-One (§ 24).

All virtue can be defined as our love for God, and the classic division of four cardinal virtues means nothing else than four different aspects of this love (§ 25). Around the theme of the practice of virtue Augustine makes a further comparison of Old and New Testament passages (§ 26), and this gives him a chance to show how God is referred to already in Old Testament passages in terms of the rôles of each of the Persons (§§ 27-31a). Then he picks up once more the theme of God as the object of Man's love, as the Wisdom all men seek (§§ 31b-32). It is through the Christian faith that men perceive God in this light - a faith that the Manichaeans do not have, for they lack charity (§ 33) and deny the basic harmony which exists between the Old and New Testaments (§ 34). Here Augustine leaves these (again, probably added)³³¹ themes to return to a discussion of virtue: if God alone can be truly loved, he alone can be enjoyed (*frui*) as a legitimate object of love; everything else may be used (*uti*) insofar as it does not turn us away from him: and this describes the virtue of temperance (§§ 35-37). Hence the only legitimate philosophy ("desire and love

³³⁰ Cf. below, p. 241.

³³¹ Cf. below, p. 242.

for wisdom") is that which has as its object God, who is Wisdom itself; what passes for "wisdom" among some philosophers — the investigation of "the nature of things" — is false (§§ 38-39).

Hence "philosophy" and "virtue" belong together. Fortitude involves regarding death not as something to be feared but as the means whereby one is definitively united to God (§§ 40-41). Job (§ 42) and the mother of the seven Macchabees (§ 43) are examples of how the Old Testament was capable of encouraging fortitude (therefore virtue) to a high degree. In its application to God, the virtue of justice means loving God with that love which is his due (§ 44), and prudence means guarding oneself against the temptation to allow lesser creatures to replace the Creator as the ultimate object of that love (§ 45). Then follows a brief summary of what has thus far been said concerning these four virtues and their object: God, the highest good, that Truth knowledge of which brings happiness; and happiness in turn means "eternal life" (§§ 46-47).

Now Augustine turns his attention to the other part of the Great Commandment: we must not only love God, we also have to love men (§ 48). All men are entitled to our love, because all have been created in the likeness of the Creator (§ 49). From this follow the *officia societatis humanae*, the obligations to the human community. We can fail in these obligations either by doing harm to someone or by failing to give needed help where we can (§ 50); and, if we fail, we fail in love of God as well (§ 51). Since Man is both body and soul, the love of neighbour must be directed to both these aspects: whatever brings help to the corporal aspect we can place under the general heading of "medicina," just as whatever contributes to the well-being of the soul can be generally termed "disciplina" (§ 52). "Medicina" takes, for the Christian, the form of the "corporal works of mercy" (§§ 53-54), whereas "disciplina" is that whereby one dispels the miseries of his neighbour's soul (§ 55): this latter is divided into "coercitio" and "instructio." The two are complementary, just as in the Old Testament the accent is on fear (*timor*) and in the New love (*amor*), but the first is a prelude to the second and the two overlap (§§ 56-58). By denying this the Manichaeans in fact deny part of the Christian tradition, since so much in the Old Testament can be found in the New (§ 59). To support their denial, the Manichaeans must resort to accusations, saying that these Old Testament elements are in fact interpolations (§§ 60-61). But the Church bases herself upon the whole Bible when she so admirably regulates the various facets of the life of

Man (§ 62) and thus concretely demonstrates the harmony that exists between the Old Testament and the New (§§ 63-64).

After the eulogy of the Church, Augustine tacks on (probably as a prelude to *mor. II*, therefore an addition)³³² the long exposé on those Christians who put their beliefs into practice in a more complete manner. There are those who live in solitude, allowing nothing to distract them from their contemplation of God (§§ 65-66); there are those who live a life in common, and we find this kind of life practised among both men (§ 67) and women (§ 68); and, lest we think that such Christians are to be found only far away from the rest of mankind, Augustine shows how Christian life is practised to perfection among the clergy who serve the city-dwellers (§ 69); among the latter are to be found whole communities of men and women dedicated to God (§ 70). For these the guiding principle is the Great Commandment, and one perceives charity in everything they do (§§ 71-73). The asceticism of the Manichaeans cannot begin to compare with this (§ 74), and their only defense is to point out Christians who do not live up to Christian standards (§ 75). But among so many who call themselves Christian, it should not be too surprising to find some who are flawed; at any rate, the Manichaeans should concentrate on correcting their own faults — faults which Augustine proposes to expose in another work (§§ 75-76) — and admit that some of the 'faults' they see among Christians are actually practices permitted by the Manichaeans' favorite New Testament writer, Paul (§§ 77-80).

Style and terminology

As Du Roy remarks, it is "impossible, en effet, de séparer chez Augustin l'oeuvre et la vie."³³³ Augustine the man shines through, even in the relatively dry, philosophical *Dialogues*; he is even more clearly seen in "De moribus," where his personal involvement with what he writes automatically excludes a detached treatment of subject-matter. In any case detachment does not suit his temperament. Dry-as-dust treatises are simply not Augustine's *forte*: the personal element always creeps in, and it glares when his former coreligionists are involved. This is seen not only in the frequent use of the first person (as in the opening lines),³³⁴ but can sometimes be read

³³² Cf. above, p. 78.

³³³ Du Roy, *L'intelligence*, p. 20.

³³⁴ Cf. Du Roy, *loc. cit.*: "L'antiquité chrétienne n'a jamais fourni d'écrits

into his statements in the third person (cf. lines 374-375, 394-399 and 1272-1276).

It can also be seen in the *enthusiasm* with which he greeted every new influence on his life and threw himself into every new project. Speaking in *b. uita* of the reading of Cicero's *Hortensius* at the age of nineteen, he says:

Ego ab usque undeuicensimo anno aetatis meae, postquam in schola rhetoris librum illum Ciceronis, qui Hortensius uocatur, accepi, *tanto amore succensus sum, ut statim ad eam me ferre meditarer.*³³⁵

The *Confessions* report the experience in much the same terms:

Uiluit mihi *repente* omnis uana spes et immortalitatem sapientiae concupiscebam *aestu cordis incredibili* et surgere coeperam, ut ad te redirem.³³⁶

The description in both cases is much the same: fired by love ("tanto amore") or desire ("concupiscebam"), Augustine's reaction is immediate ("statim," "repente"), and he seeks to do something with his new-found motivation ("et surgere coeperam, ut ad te redirem," "ut ad eam me ferre meditarer"). When he speaks of his first encounter with "the books of the Platonists," the "incredible warmth of heart" becomes "an incredible fire":

Et quoniam nondum aderat ea flamma, quae summa nos arreptura erat, illam qualem *aestuabamus* arbitramus esse uel maximam, cum ecce tibi libri quidam pleni, ut ait Celsinus, bonas res Arabicas ubi exhalarent in nos, ubi illae flammulae installarent pretiosissimi unguenti guttas paucissimas, *incredibile*, Romaniane, *incredibile et ultra quam de me fortasse et tu credis* — quid amplius dicam? — etiam mihi ipsi de me ipso *incredibile incendium* concitarunt. quis me tunc honor, quae hominum pompa, quae inanis famae cupiditas, quod denique huius mortalis uitae formentum atque retinaculum commouebat? prorsus totus in me cursim redibam.³³⁷

Again there is the resolution to abandon his former way of life, this time precisely stated: wealth, honours and marriage will no longer hold him back.

plus 'engagés', d'oeuvres qui soient, plus que celles d'Augustin, écrites à la première personne."

³³⁵ Augustine, *b. uita* 1:4 (p. 91.13).

³³⁶ Augustine, *conf.* III,4:7 (p. 48.20).

³³⁷ Augustine, *Acad.* II,2:5 (p. 26.19).

In every case we find Augustine reacting swiftly to the new impression and resolving to make a change in his life. In the case of Manichaeism, it was to join the religion, which, he says, he did within a few days after encountering it.³³⁸ Later he would say that his surrender was not complete, that he always maintained some reserve.³³⁹ To the extent that he did not fully accept all the tenets, and that he did not engage in full membership (which would have exacted from him more than he was willing to give), this is doubtless true. On the other hand, this does not exclude the impression that, for a time at least, he sincerely believed Manichaeism was the panacea he was looking for, and he must have placed a great deal of expectation in it. How else explain the deception he felt afterwards, a deception which for a long time helped keep him from fully accepting another religion, that of Christ?³⁴⁰ And how else explain the bitterness that still lingers on in *mor. I*, some five or six years after he began drifting away (lines 29, 586-587, 611-614)? That in a sense he *did* once give himself completely over to Manichaeism is in full keeping with his reaction to Cicero's *Hortensius*, to "the books of the Platonists," to the "common life,"³⁴¹ and to the final great step in his search for answers: Christianity.³⁴²

Augustine's intensity of feeling also shows up in the somewhat disorganised appearance of *mor. I*. Sometimes he addresses the Manichaeans in the singular (cf. line 264), sometimes in the plural (cf. line 609). After declaring his intention not to describe the case of Job (line 739), he proceeds to do so anyway, in a passage equal in length to his discussion of the Macchabees. Subject-matter is not carefully arranged: when he comes to discuss the cardinal virtues, he first presents them, then goes off on a long tangent about the need to love God, only to bring himself back to the first subject with a start, as though waking from a revery (line 615). In the

³³⁸ Cf. above, n. 9.

³³⁹ Cf. b. *uita* 1:4 (p. 91.18): "Nam et superstitio quaedam puerilis me ab ipsa inquisitione terreat et, ubi factus erectior illam caliginem dispuli mihi que persuasi docentibus potius quam iubentibus esse cedendum, incidi in homines, quibus lux ista, quae oculis cernitur, inter summe diuina colenda uideretur. non adsentiebar sed putabam eos magnum aliquid tegere illis inuolucris, quod essent aliquando aperturi." Cf. also *conf.* VIII,7:17 (p. 185.2) and *ut. cred.* 1:2 (p. 4.14).

³⁴⁰ Cf. *conf.* VI,4:6 (p. 119.18).

³⁴¹ Cf. below, p. 237.

³⁴² Cf. the description of his final struggle in the famous garden scene at Milan in the *Confessions* (partly cited below, n. 710).

middle of that tangent he has interjected passages about the Trinity - which he began discussing before breaking off to introduce the four virtues.

If the work shows disorganisation, it also reveals haste. At least eight times (lines 5-6, 107-109, 150-153, 544, 791-792, 932, 963-964, and 1096-1097) Augustine pleads lack of time or space as his reason for not more fully entering into some subject. This does not mean that he lacks confidence: he often refers to certain statements as truths that everyone knows or ought to know (cf. lines 56, 148). If anything, he is over-confident: his enthusiastic description of Christian ascetical life, for instance, is nothing if not idealistic.³⁴³

It is in his language that we see most clearly the rhetor at work. Although the Classical allusions are few and indirect — the prime interest here is neither literary nor even polemical, but an exposé of Christian beliefs put into practice — Augustine still continues using his literary devices;³⁴⁴ but at the same time he strives for a style that will be both lucid and simple for readers who at any rate do not seem well-versed in Classical literature. In fact, he avoids treating certain subjects on the grounds that the Manichaeans would be unable to understand them (lines 545, 549-550). This desire for clarity partly explains why we find some twenty definitions in this work; but another reason seems to be that, in some cases at least, Augustine himself is still becoming accustomed to familiar words now seen in a Christian perspective (just as his Scriptural quotations are largely determined by verbal correspondences and their explanation remains rudimentary, betraying unfamiliarity with explaining the Bible):

1. *beatum esse*: "ad tale bonum peruenisse quo amplius non potest" (line 81).
2. *deus*: "id ipsum esse" (lines 436-437).
3. *fortitudo*: "amor facile tolerans omnia propter quod amatur" (lines 457-458); "amor omnia propter deum facile perferens" (line 464; cf. lines 712-714 and 801-802).
4. *frui*: "habere quod diligis" (line 68).³⁴⁵

³⁴³ Cf. below, pp. 231-236.

³⁴⁴ Most of them are pointed out by KESELING in the notes to his translation (pp. 129-151) and will not be discussed here. Cf. also Joseph FINAERT, *L'évolution littéraire de saint Augustin*, Société d'Édition "Les Belles Lettres," Paris, 1939 (Collection d'Études Latines, Série Scientifique, XVII), *passim*.

³⁴⁵ Augustine always defines it (along with *uti*) in terms of *will* (that is, *love*): cf. *doct. christ.* I,8 (p. 10.5; "Frui est enim amore inhaerere alicui rei propter se ipsam; uti autem, quod in usum uenerit ad id quod amas optinendum

5. *gloria (diuina)*: "optima et summa et late patens fama" (lines 440-441).
6. *homo*: "anima rationalis mortali atque terreno utens corpore" (lines 875-876; compare 94-95).³⁴⁶
7. *intelligibilis res*: "quae tantum intellegendo (animus) innotescit" (lines 380-381); "quod intellegentia sola capitur" (384).
8. *iustitia*: "amor soli amato seruiens, et propterea recte dominans" (lines 458-459); "amor deo tantum seruiens, et ob hoc bene imperans ceteris quae homini subiecta sunt" (lines 464-466). Cf. lines 776-777 and 802.³⁴⁷
9. *medicina*: "quidquid omnino corporis uel tuetur uel instaurat salutem" (lines 879-880).
10. *mors (spiritalis)*: "non diligere deum" (line 353).³⁴⁸
11. *philosophia*: "amor studiumque sapientiae" (lines 673-674).³⁴⁹
12. *praeceptum*: in *mor. I* always means the Great Commandment,³⁵⁰ except in line 1364, where he proposes to discuss (in *mor. II*) the Manichaeian "praecepta."
13. *prudentia*: "amor ea quibus adiuuatur ab eis quibus impeditur, sagaciter seligens" (lines 459-460); "amor bene discernens ea quibus adiuuetur in deum, ab his quibus impediri potest" (466-467). Cf. also lines 802-803 and 871.³⁵¹
14. *religio*: "(id quod habetur ab eo) qui saltem animis nostris diuina prouidentia consuli existimet" (lines 182-183).³⁵²
15. *scientia rerum*: "quod de corporibus per imaginationes quasdam concipit anima" (lines 668-669).³⁵³

referre, si tamen amandum est"); also I,79 (p. 28.21); *quaest.* 30 (c. 19: "Frui ergo dicimur ea re de qua capimus uoluntatem"); *trin.* X,11:17 (p. 330.22: "Vti est enim adsumere aliquid in facultatem uoluntatis; frui est autem uti cum gaudio non adhuc spei sed iam rei"); and *ciu. dei* XI,25 (p. 549.14: "Nec ignoro, quod proprie fructus fruentis, usus utentis sit, adque hoc interesse uideatur, quod ea re frui dicimur, quae nos non ad aliud referenda per se ipsa delectat; uti uero ea re, quam propter aliud quaerimus..."). Cf. HULTGREN, *Le commandement*, pp. 144-150; HOLTE, *Béatitude*, pp. 275-281; and DUCHROW, *Christenheit*, p. 201f.

³⁴⁶ Cf. Commentary, 94-95 and 875-876.

³⁴⁷ Cf. the long treatment of *iustitia* by Cicero, *De officiis* I,20f.

³⁴⁸ Cf. *uera rel.* 58 (p. 16.27): "Nulla uita est quae non sit ex deo, quia deus utique summa uita est et ipse fons uitae, nec aliqua uita in quantum uita est malum est, sed in quantum uergit ad mortem. mors autem uitae non est nisi nequitia..."

³⁴⁹ Cf. Commentary, 673-674.

³⁵⁰ Compare *ench.* 32:121 (p. 113.3: "Omnis itaque praecepti finis caritas est, id est, ad caritatem refertur omne praeceptum"). Cf. Commentary, 835-862.

³⁵¹ However, in lines 781-782 a different definition is given: "(illa uirtus) ad quam dignoscentia pertinet appetendorum et uitandorum." On this cf. DEMAN, *Le traitement*, p. 67.

³⁵² Cf. Commentary, 1254-1255.

³⁵³ Cf. Commentary, 669.

16. *sensibilia*: "quod per oculos, uel aures, uel olfactum, uel gustum, uel tactum, quasi quamdam notitiam (animus) sui praebet" (lines 382-383); "omnia quae corporeus sensus attingit" (lines 649-650).
17. *temperantia*: "amor integrum se praebens ei quod amatur" (lines 456-457); "amor deo sese integrum incorruptumque seruans" (line 463). Cf. lines 617-618 and 800.
18. *uirtus*: first proposed in the secular sense (line 358: "quae aliquam potestatem in hoc mundo habet"), this is immediately discarded for the classic philosophical definition (line 360: "animi nostri rectissima affectio"),³⁵⁴ whence it is but a short (but important) step to defining it as "summus amor dei" (line 452).³⁵⁵
19. *uita aeterna*: "ipsa cognitio ueritatis" (line 819).
20. *uita beata*: "fructus bonitatis (dei)" or "ueritatis contemplatione perfrui, eique penitus adhaerere" (lines 620-622).³⁵⁶

For the definitions of other words commonly employed in *mor. I* we must search in Augustine's other works, keeping in mind that his terminology is, as Gilson remarks, "assez flottante":³⁵⁷

- 1) *anima*: the life-giving principle of anything that lives, therefore 'soul' in the general sense, that whereby any living substance is moved.³⁵⁸
- 2) *animus*: the soul of Man, "substantia quaedam rationis particeps, regendo corpori accommodata."³⁵⁹ *Animus* is therefore the rational faculty of the *anima*: all living creatures have an *anima*, but only

³⁵⁴ Cf. CICERO, *De inuentione* II,53:159: "Uirtus est animi habitus naturae modo atque rationi consentaneus." Cf. also *quaest.* 31:1 (cited in the following note).

³⁵⁵ Therefore *uirtus* leads to the *beata uita* (line 451). But here Augustine has broken with the definition ("recta ratio") found in earlier works: cf. *sol.* I,6:13 (c. 876), where virtue is simply the reason purified of the sensible ("recta uel perfecta ratio" cf. also *ut. cred.* 12:27, p. 34.10). In *quaest.* 31:1 (c. 20) this general definition is applied to the four cardinal virtues, without any mention of the *amor* which defines them in *mor. I*:

Uirtus est animi habitus naturae modo atque rationi consentaneus. quare omnibus partibus eius cognitis tota uis erit simplicius honestatis considerata. habet igitur partes quatuor: prudentiam, iustitiam, fortitudinem, temperantiam.

prudentia est rerum bonarum et malarum neutrarumque scientia...

iustitia est habitus animi, communi utilitate conseruata, suam cuique tribuens dignitatem...

fortitudo est considerata periculorum susceptio et laborum perpessio...

temperantia est rationis in libidinem atque in alios non rectos impetus animi firma et moderata dominatio.

³⁵⁶ On this, cf. HOLTE, *Béatitude*, pp. 197-200.

³⁵⁷ GILSON, *Introduction*, p. 56, n. 1.

³⁵⁸ Augustine, *inmort.* 3:3 (c. 1022).

³⁵⁹ Augustine, *quant.* 13:22 (c. 1048); cf. also *inmort.* 7:12 (c. 1027).

Man has an *animus*. However, Augustine often uses the two terms interchangeably when speaking of Man.³⁶⁰

- 3) *auctoritas*: is applied in different ways in *mor. I*, but always in contrast to *ratio*: generally it means a force outside the individual which compels his mind to assent to something. In *ord.* Augustine makes a distinction between divine and human authority:

Illa ergo auctoritas diuina dicenda est, quae non solum in sensibilibus signis transcendit omnem humanam facultatem sed et ipsum hominem agens ostendit ei, quo usque se propter ipsum depresserit, et non teneri sensibus, quibus uidentur illa miranda, sed ad intellectum iubet euolare simul demonstrans, et quanta hic possit et cur haec faciat et quam parui pendat. doceat enim oportet et factis potestatem suam et humilitate clementiam et praeceptione naturam, quae omnia sacris, quibus initiamur, secretius firmitusque traduntur, in quibus bonorum uita facillime non disputationum ambagibus sed mysteriorum auctoritate purgatur.³⁶¹

- 4) *caritas* is defined, in the sense it receives in *mor. I*, in *doct. christ.*: "motus animi ad fruendum deo propter ipsum et se atque proximo propter deum".³⁶² The addition of the "neighbour" is a change from the much more Platonist definition *caritas* receives in *sol.*, where it is the virtue whereby the soul's power of sight ("aspectus animae") desires to see and enjoy God ("qua uidere perfruique desideret").³⁶³ In *mor. I* *caritas* is usually interchanged with *amor* and *dilectio*, when the love spoken of refers to God (his love for us or our love for him);³⁶⁴ but *caritas* always refers to God (even in "*caritas proximi*" in line 853, where the love is still God-centered: cf. lines 858-864), whereas *amor* and *dilectio* can also be applied to lesser things.³⁶⁵

³⁶⁰ The notion of *animus* is found in Plotinus, *Enn.* VI,7:5 (BRÉHIER VI,2, p. 73f.). On the notions of both *anima* and *animus* in Augustine, cf. JOLIVET, *La doctrine*, p. 97; ALFARIC, *L'évolution*, pp. 451-482; DU ROY, *L'intelligence*, p. 192, n. 5; GILSON, *L'introduction*, p. 56, n. 1; and NASH, *The Light of the Mind*, p. 63.

³⁶¹ Augustine, *ord.* II,9:27 (p. 166.9). Cf. LÜTCKE's commentary on this text, *Auctoritas*, pp. 119-123 (and pp. 13-109 for the use of *auctoritas* in Classical literature); also LÖHRER, *Der Glaubensbegriff*, pp. 81-101; DUCHROW, *Sprachverständnis*, pp. 73-81; and the Indices in HOHENSEE, *The Augustinian Concept*, esp. pp. 23-32.

³⁶² Augustine, *doct. christ.* III,37 (p. 89.12).

³⁶³ Augustine, *sol.* I,6:13 (c. 876).

³⁶⁴ Cf. below, n. 949.

³⁶⁵ Cf. BURNABY, *Amor Dei*, pp. 85-110; HOLTE, *Béatitude*, pp. 261-263; MAUSBACH, *Die Ethik I*, pp. 174-184. Hélène PÉTRÉ (*Caritas*, p. 96) is therefore not correct when she says "Pratiquement aussi bien que théoriquement il efface toute différence entre les trois mots." Cf. also HULTGREN, *Le commandement*, p. 126: "dans ces premiers ouvrages, il emploie sans distinction les termes *amor*, *dilectio* et *caritas*."

- 5) *contemplatio*: in *mor. I* clearly has the Plotinian sense of a spiritual union between Man's *intellectus* and the Divine as intelligible.³⁶⁶
- 6) *disciplina*: at times retains its meaning of 'learning' or 'the process of becoming acquainted with' something in that operation of the mind which precedes knowledge (cf. lines 482-483 and 499). Elsewhere it means 'self-control' (as in line 132) or even 'correction' (= *censura*, as in lines 922 and 1051). But most of the time we find Augustine joining the word to *catholica*, to mean 'the Church's system of teachings and practices' (in which all Catholics must believe; cf. *fides*, below). Only in this *catholica disciplina* can true Christian belief and moral practice be found (lines 589-592), because this *disciplina* alone is based on that of the Apostles (lines 25-36).³⁶⁷
- 7) *fides* (*credere*): in *mor. I* is usually employed in the Pauline sense of assent to things unseen (lines 649-656, with the citation of II Cor. 4:18), or in the sense of assent to the *catholica disciplina*.³⁶⁸
- 8) *intellectus*, *intellegentia*: when applied to Man, are often interchanged. In later writings *intellectus* is thought of as a faculty of the soul³⁶⁹ constituting the interior vision whereby the mind perceives the truth revealed to it by the divine light.³⁷⁰ Rare in the Dialogues, *intellegentia*

³⁶⁶ Plotinus, *Enn.* VI,9:8 (BRÉHIER VI,2 p. 183.27): ...καὶ πλεόν, ὥς τὸ νοοῦν παρῆναι ὁμοιότητι καὶ ταυτότητι καὶ συνάπτειν τῷ συγγενεῖ οὐδενὸς διεργοντος. Cf. ARNOU, *Le désir*, pp. 235-258; also Commentary, 1091-1092.

³⁶⁷ Cf. also *Gen. c. Man.* I,17:28 (c. 186) and *Gen. imp.* 1 (p. 459.11). On the notion of *disciplina* in Augustine, cf. MARROU, *Doctrina*, and *Saint Augustin*, pp. 555-558; Walter DÜRIG, "Disciplina. Eine Studie zum Bedeutungsumfang des Wortes in der Sprache der Liturgie und der Väter," in *Sacris Erudiri* 4 (Steenbrugge, 1952), pp. 245-279; and Otto MAUSCH, *Der lateinische Begriff DISCIPLINA. Eine Wortuntersuchung*, Paulus-Druckerei, Fribourg, 1941 (Diss., Philosophisch-historische Fakultät, University of Basel).

³⁶⁸ However, the sense of *fides* and *credere* varies a great deal. In *sol.* I,6:13 (c. 876) it retains the philosophical view of "that virtue whereby the soul's power of sight ("aspectus animae") believes itself to be so in possession of the object to which that sight must be converted, that, once clearly perceived, that object will bring happiness" ("qua credat ita se rem habere, ad quam conuertendus aspectus est, ut uisa faciat beatum"). It can also mean: 1) knowledge acquired from someone's authority (*Acad.* II,6:15, p. 34.9); 2) confidence in the data of the senses or in the laws of logic (*Acad.* III, 17:39, p. 77.19); 3) assent to the truth of what is said (*praed.* 2:5, c. 963), on the basis of an authority that is either identified with or represents the one speaking (*quant.* 33:76, c. 1076; *Acad.* II,3:9, p. 29.25). When 'faith' means the theological virtue, the authority would then be God. Cf. LÖHRER, *Der Glaubensbegriff*, and (for the relation of *fides* to *intellectus*) GILSON, *Introduction*, pp. 31-47.

³⁶⁹ *Ioh. euang.* XV,4:19 (p. 157.30): "...sic in anima nostra quiddam est quod intellectus uocatur."

³⁷⁰ Cf. *enarr.* 32,II,s. 2 (p. 269.4: "Occultus uisus intellectus uocatur") and *lib. arb.* I,59 (p. 18.12: "Intellegere autem quid est nisi ipse luce mentis

is sometimes confused there with "soul",³⁷¹ but is usually distinguished from *mens*.³⁷²

- 9) *mens*: the superior part of the *animus*, it is that faculty which adheres to any intelligible object, especially God;³⁷³ to it *intellegentia* and *ratio* naturally belong.³⁷⁴
- 10) *mores*: cannot be translated here by any terms so narrow as 'ethics', 'customs', 'morals', and still less by 'mores', which in English has a sociological connotation all its own.³⁷⁵ Since Augustine's intent in *mor. I* is to demonstrate how Catholics live up to the moral standards (particularly the Great Commandment) imposed on them by their Faith, and since his implication (clearly stressed in *mor. II*) is that the Manichaeans fail to live up to theirs, *mores* is best translated in this work as "beliefs in practice".³⁷⁶
- 11) *natura*: is defined in *mor. II*:

Nam et ipsa natura nihil est aliud, quam id quod intellegitur in suo genere aliquid esse. Itaque ut nos iam nouo nomine ab eo quod est esse uocamus 'essentiam', quam plerumque 'substantiam' etiam nominamus; ita ueteres qui haec nomina non habebant, pro 'essentia' et 'substantia' 'naturam' uocabant.³⁷⁷

This explains why the word *essentia* makes no appearance in *mor. I*: in *mor. II* it is a "new word," which in *uera rel.* will be applied to God as more suitable than *substantia*.³⁷⁸ But *substantia* and

inlustrius perfectiusque uiuere?"). In *Acad.* III,19:42 (p. 79.21) Christ is the *diuinus intellectus*, but no such identification is made in *mor. I*, where Christ is the divine *sapientia*, *uirtus* or *ueritas*. On this cf. KÖNIG, *Augustinus philosophus*, pp. 121-123.

³⁷¹ Cf. *sol.* II,19:33 (c. 901): "...anima nostra, id est intellegentia nostra."

³⁷² Cf. *epist.* 3 *ad Nebridium* 4 (p. 8.10) and *epist.* 4,2 (p. 10.16). On *intellectus* cf. VAN DER LINDEN, *Ratio*, p. 18; DUCHROW, *Sprachverständnis*, pp. 15-20; GILSON, *Introduction*, p. 56, n. 1; DU ROY, *L'intelligence*, p. 119, n. 1.

³⁷³ Cf. *quaest.* 7 (c. 13).

³⁷⁴ Cf. *ciu. dei* XI,2 (p. 513.2). On the relationship between *intellectus*, *mens* and *ratio*, cf. NASH, *The Light of the Mind*, pp. 64-66, and O'MEARA, *St. Augustine's View*, pp. 340-343.

³⁷⁵ Cf. the observation of the GALLAGHERS in the introduction to his translation, p. xi.

³⁷⁶ Cf. DEMAN, *Héritage*, p. 713: "Le titre de l'opuscule se réfère à la partie finale (xxx,62-xxxiii,73). Pour recouvrir la totalité du contenu, il est à entendre des mœurs que requiert, voire de l'organisation de la vie morale qu'impose la foi chrétienne, non seulement des exemples de vertu que produit à qui la regarde l'Église catholique."

³⁷⁷ Augustine, *mor.* II,2:2 (c. 1346). Cf. also 4:6 (c. 1347). But the word itself is already in *inmort.* (c. 11:18, c. 1030).

³⁷⁸ Augustine, *uera rel.* 60 (p. 17.15: "...prima atque summa essentia") and 61 (p. 17.18: "...summa essentia esse fecit omne quod est, unde et essentia dicitur"). Cf. also 76 (p. 21.2) and *trin.* VII,5 (p. 260f.).

- natura* are both applied to him here, and there seems to be a distinction, although it is not clear in what it consists (cf. line 429).³⁷⁹
- 12) *ordo*: defined twice in *ord.*, means for Augustine that whereby all things move which have been made by God, or whereby God moves all that is.³⁸⁰
- 13) *ratio*: the soul's power of 'sight' ("aspectus"),³⁸¹ by which truth is perceived,³⁸² the faculty of the mind which is able to relate and distinguish what is learned.³⁸³
- 14) *sapientia*: is defined in *Acad.* as "rerum humanarum diuinarumque scientia";³⁸⁴ but true *sapientia* concerns "human things" only insofar as they direct the *sapiens* to God (hence Augustine's denigration of "scientia rerum").³⁸⁵
- 15) *scientia*: as has been seen, when used to define *sapientia* it can mean "knowledge of divine or of human things"; usually, however, it is limited to the knowledge of truth of an inferior order, and means the rational cognition of *temporal* things.³⁸⁶ Thus it is usually

³⁷⁹ The distinction is not yet clear in *uera rel.*: cf. 41 (p. 13.9): "Omnis enim res uel substantia uel essentia uel natura, uel si quo alio uerbo melius enuntiatur simul habet haec tria."

³⁸⁰ Augustine, *ord.* I,10:28 (p. 140.12: "Ordo est ... per quem aguntur omnia, quae deus constituit") and II,4:11 (p. 154.5: "Ordo est, quo deus agit omnia quae sunt").

³⁸¹ Cf. above, n. 368.

³⁸² Cf. *inmort.* 6:10 (c. 1026): "...quo per se ipsum, non per corpus, uerum intuetur; aut ipsa ueri contemplatio, non per corpus; aut ipsum uerum quod contemplatur."

³⁸³ Augustine, *ord.* II,11:30 (p. 168.16): "...mentis motio ea, quae discuntur, distinguendi et conectendi potens." Cf. also II,18:48 (p. 180.18): "Hunc igitur ordinem tenens anima iam philosophiae tradita primo se ipsam inspicit et, cui iam illa eruditio persuasit aut suam aut se ipsam esse rationem, in ratione autem aut nihil esse melius et potentius numeris aut nihil aliud quam numerum esse rationem, ita secum loquetur: ego quodam meo motu interiore et occulto ea, quae dicenda sunt, possum discernere uel conectere et haec uis mea ratio uocatur." Cf. LÖHRER, *Der Glaubensbegriff*, pp. 102-106; O'MEARA, *St. Augustine's View*, pp. 339f. and 344; and VAN DER LINDEN, *Ratio*, pp. 19-32.

³⁸⁴ Augustine, *Acad.* I,6:16 (p. 16.14). He ascribes this definition to Cicero (cf. *De officiis* II,5; *Tuscul.* IV,57). In *Acad.* I,7:20 (p. 18.14) he defines *sapientia* (= "humanarum rerum scientia") in terms of the four cardinal virtues ("Illa est humanarum rerum scientia, quae nouit lumen prudentiae, temperantiae decus, fortitudinis robur, iustitiae sanctitatem").

³⁸⁵ On *sapientia* cf. VAN DER LINDEN, *Ratio*, pp. 14-17; MARROU, *Saint Augustin*, pp. 564-569; and especially Fulbert CAYRÉ, "La notion de Sagesse chez saint Augustin," in *L'Année Théologique* 4 (Paris, 1943), pp. 433-456, who has found no less than 31 different meanings for *sapientia* in Augustine!

³⁸⁶ Cf. *quant.* 17:53 (c. 1065): "Itaque cum ille mentis aspectus, quem rationem uocamus, coniectus in rem aliquam, uidet illam, scientia nominatur."

a second book, which will be much more polemic in style, since it will seek to expose these Manichaeian excesses.

As a 'bridge' between the two works, Augustine adds five more chapters to *mor. I*. These will show how the more dedicated Christians live, and will serve as a contrast to the *exposé* he plans in *mor. II*.

Then he returns to *mor. I-II*: but the appearance of *Gen. c. Man.* has necessitated the addition of a new paragraph to begin *mor. I*.

Soon after arriving in Thagaste, he begins this second work (*mor. II*). Since *mor. I* has not yet been published, he decides to put the two together, because of their similarity in title. But each book retains its own title, since the two have been written at different times and for different purposes.

Augustine interrupts *mor. I-II* to write and publish *Gen. c. Man.*

(Anticipating the Excursus): Shortly before the completion of *mor. I-II* Augustine reads a translation of the treatise of Didymus the Blind, *De spiritu sancto*. He perceives its Plotinian inspiration, and a similarity with *mor. I* as to terminology and concepts, and is moved to add some 'trinitarian' passages to *mor. I*.

Obviously, this table remains in the realm of conjecture. It can only be hoped that further research will eventually expose its errors and/or accuracies. So long as we are conjecturing, however, the following 'outline' (simplified: in *mor. I* there is a great deal of overlapping) may help the reader to more clearly see the elements of these conjectures. Passages thought to be an addition to the original text are indicated by surrounding them with square brackets ([]). The numbers between parentheses (§) refer to paragraphs:

Introduction:

[A. Purpose of the book: a brief response to Manichaeian attacks on the Old Testament (§ 1)]

- B. Manichaeian methods for catching the unwary: (§ 2)
 - 1. finding fault with Scripture;
 - 2. making a show of their own chastity and abstinence.
- C. Method of *mor. I*:
 - 1. To present Catholic teaching on life and morals, rather than simply attack the Manichaeians.
 - 2. To present New Testament passages in support of this teaching, but only passages which the Manichaeians accept.
 - 3. To compare these passages with similar passages in the Old Testament, so that:
 - a. the Manichaeians may perceive that their own way of living is not Christian;
 - b. they may understand that no part of Scripture may legitimately be rejected.
 - 4. Although it is more proper to begin with authority, here for the sake of his Manichaeian readers Augustine's arguments will begin with reason (§ 3).

I. Catholic moral teaching: arguments from reason:

- A. The nature of happiness (§ 4):
 - 1. All men desire to be happy.
 - 2. One is not entirely happy who
 - a. does not have what he loves, or
 - b. has what he loves, but finds it harmful, or
 - c. does not love what he has.
 - 3. He is perfectly happy who both loves and possesses whatever is Man's highest good.
- B. The nature of Man's highest good: what it is not (§ 5):
 - 1. It is not anything inferior to Man.
 - 2. It is not anything equal to Man.
 - 3. It is not anything than which a higher good exists.
 - 4. It is not anything Man can lose against his will.
- C. The nature of Man (§ 6):
 - 1. He is not body alone,
 - 2. but soul and body together, or soul alone.
- D. The nature of Man's highest good: what it is:
 - 1. It is something which pertains to body and soul together, or to the soul alone (§ 7).
 - 2. But for the body the highest good is the soul, whence it receives all it has, including life.
 - 3. For the soul (or the body considered together with the soul), the highest good is what perfects it (§ 8).
- E. The nature of virtue: that which gives perfection to the soul:
 - 1. Virtue is not identified with the soul (§ 9).
 - 2. Rather, either it is something outside the soul, or at least

it is that habit or disposition which the soul of the wise man has acquired.

3. How virtue is acquired (§ 10):

a. Not by following a wise man (for he can be lost against one's will),

b. but by following God (which means to live well) and by attaining to him (which is to live both well and happily).

F. The nature of Man's knowledge of God:

1. It is not something which can be grasped by the senses, but only by the mind (§ 11).

2. To properly prepare the mind means to refer to those whom we consider wise.

3. But in this there is a point past which reason cannot go: the search for such wisdom therefore requires an appeal to the Scriptures (§ 12).

II. Catholic moral teaching: arguments from Scripture:

A. God:

1. He is the final end and highest good of Man, whom men must love above all else (§ 13).

a. New Testament passages in support of this affirmation.

b. Old Testament passages (§§ 14-15).

2. He is one: the God of the Old Testament is the same as that of the New (§ 16).

3. He is immaterial and immutable (§ 17).

4. He is the happiness Man is striving to reach, and which nothing else must be allowed to supplant (§§ 18-21).

[5. The Trinity:

a. Christ, the Power and the Wisdom of God, joins us to the Father (§ 22).

b. This union with the Father is achieved through the Holy Spirit (§ 23).

c. To speak of loving God is therefore to speak of loving him in his triune nature (§ 24).]

B. The four cardinal virtues:

1. *In genere*, they are four expressions of Man's love for God (§ 25).

[a. Demonstration of the harmony between the Old and New Testaments (§§ 26-32).

b. In contrast to the Manichaeans, the Catholic Church recognises that truth proceeds from both Testaments, not from the New alone (§§ 33-34).]

2. *In specie*:

a. Temperance guards the integrity of Man's love for God (§§ 35-36).

- 1) This love must go beyond sensible things (§ 37).
 - 2) It excludes even an excessive curiosity regarding whatever is inferior to God (§§ 38-39).
 - b. Fortitude bears this love up in its trials (§§ 40-41).
 - 1) Old Testament examples:
 - a) Job (§ 42).
 - b) The mother of the seven Macchabees (§ 43).
 - 2) Old Testament passages which encourage fortitude.
 - c. Justice directs us to love God above all else (§ 44).
 - d. Prudence distinguishes what can be legitimately desired from what must be avoided (§ 45).
- C. The Great Commandment:
1. To love God above all else (§§ 46-47).
 2. To love our neighbour as ourselves.
 - a. If we love God, we also love our neighbour and ourselves (§ 48).
 - b. This is because Man was created in God's likeness (§ 49).
 - c. Service to our neighbour:
 - 1) Negative aspects:
 - a) We fail in the obligation to love our neighbour when we do him harm or do not help him when we can (§ 50).
 - b) Then we also fail in the obligation to love God, whom we do not love if we do not love our neighbour (§ 51).
 - 2) Positive aspects:
 - a) *Medicina*: service to the body of our neighbour (§§ 52-54).
 - b) *Disciplina*: service to the soul of our neighbour (§§ 55-56).

Conclusion:

- A. Harmony of the Scriptures (§§ 57-58).
- B. Integrity of the Scriptures (§§ 59-61).
- C. Praise of the moral teaching of the Church (§§ 62-64).

[Appendix: Catholic moral teaching in practice:

- A. Those who live the Church's moral teaching to the full:
 1. Anchorites (§§ 65-66).
 2. Cenobites (§§ 67-68).
 3. Members of the clergy (§ 69).
 4. Laity banded together in communities (§ 70).

B. Defense of some practices:

- 1. Abstinence is motivated by charity, not by contempt (§§ 71-74).**
- 2. The practices of certain lax or ignorant Catholics are not the norm, but occur in spite of the Church (§ 75).**
- 3. The renunciation of marriage and possessions is a counsel, not a command (§§ 76-80).]**

CHAPTER III

THE FRAMEWORK OF THE RESPONSE: "RATIONEM PRAECEDIT AUCTORITAS"

From the human standpoint, what brought Augustine to Christianity³⁹¹ may be expressed in five words: *a search for the truth*.³⁹² If

³⁹¹ Many commentators of Augustine (such as DERISI, LE BLOND and PETERS) divide the spiritual development of the young Augustine into several stages or "conversions": 1) the conversion to philosophy, with the reading of Cicero's *Hortensius* (*b. uita* 1:4, p. 91.13; *conf.* VI,11:18, p. 132.14; and cf. the passages gathered by BECKER, *Augustin*, pp. 90-104, TESTARD, *Saint Augustin*, pp. 11-39 and MARROU, *Saint Augustin*, pp. 161-179) at the age of 19, followed a year later by the reading of Aristotle's *Categories* (*conf.* IV,16:28, p. 85.17); 2) the conversion to the "philosophy of the Platonists" with the reading of the "libri Platoniorum" (cf. below, p. 104 and n. 412); and 3) the conversion to Christianity, or *return* to the Faith of his childhood, as many authors now prefer to understand it (cf. above, n. 249). On the controversial dating of this third "conversion" cf. below, p. 122.

³⁹² Cf. *mor. I*, lines 14-21. Ernst HAENCHEN (*Die Frage nach der Gewissheit beim jungen Augustin*, Kohlhammer, Stuttgart, 1932, Tübinger Studien zur systematischen Theologie, 1) prefers to limit Augustine's motivation to a need for the security of certitude. This is to deny Augustine's own accounts: in *conf.* he makes it plain that the certitude he sought was about the accessibility of *truth*: cf. III,6:14 (p. 51.14: "O *ueritas*, *ueritas*, quam intime etiam tum medullae *suspirabant tibi...*"), VI,1:1 (p. 113.13: "(Monnica) inuenit me perclitantes quidem grauiter *desperatione indagandae ueritatis* ... nulla ergo turbulenta exultatione trepidauit cor eius, cum audisset ex tanta parte iam factum quod tibi cotidie plangebatur ut fieret, *ueritatem me nondum adeptum...*") and VIII,5:11 (p. 179.1: "Et non erat iam illa excusatio, qua uideri mihi solebam propterea me nondum contempto saeculo seruire tibi, quia *incerta mihi esset perceptio ueritatis; iam enim et ipsa certa erat*"). This is not merely a projection of Augustine the Bishop on his earlier life (cf. below, p. 122f.), for the Dialogues are also full of this sense of having at last come to the truth, or of truth's all-importance for Man: cf. *epist. 1 ad Hermogenianum* 1 (p. 2.3: "...reducendi mihi uidentur homines ... in spem reperiendae *ueritatis*"), *sol. II*,17:31 (c. 900: "Quid enim aliud quam *ueritatem* inuenire desidero?") and *lib. arb. I*,10 (p. 5.28: "...nisi mihi amor inueniendi *ueri* opem diuinam in-

in *mor.* I he constantly refers to the theme of truth,³⁹³ if he insists on the necessity for Man to come to it (line 589), he is only speaking from personal experience. One of the attractions Manichaeism had held out to him was the promise of truth's attainability:

Et dicebant "ueritas et ueritas" et multum eam dicebant mihi...³⁹⁴

Added to this promise was the Manichaean insistence that truth could be attained by the reason alone, that no teaching should be accepted on faith, that only that should be believed which could withstand the scrutiny of reason, untrammelled by the constraints of authority - particularly the authority of the Christian Scriptures:

...se dicebant terribili auctoritate separata mera et simplici ratione eos, qui se audire uellent, introducturos ad deum et errore omni liberaturos. quid enim me aliud cogebat annos fere nouem sprete religione, quae mihi puerulo a parentibus insita erat, homines illos sequi ac diligenter audire, nisi quod nos superstitione terreri et fidem nobis ante rationem imperari dicerent, se autem nullum premere ad fidem nisi prius discussa et enodata ueritate? ³⁹⁵

"Fides ante rationem": to someone like Augustine, whose rhetor's soul was in any case offended by the Bible's unrefined manner of

petraisset, emergere inde atque in ipsam primam quaerendi libertatem respirare non possem"). On this cf. FEMIANO, *Riflessioni*, pp. 9-13; also BOYER, *L'idée*, p. 9: "À chaque page de saint Augustin on lit le mot de vérité. C'est tantôt la vérité qu'il désire et qu'il cherche, tantôt la vérité qu'il contemple ou qu'il montre, ou bien, c'est la vérité qui lui parle par les mille voix des créatures, la vérité dont il espère, pour l'autre vie, la vue béatifiante." Still less can Augustine's motivation be reduced to some need to quiet a guilty conscience, which is the inference of LOGOZ (*Saint Augustin*, p. 64): "Le fil rouge qui traverse toute sa jeunesse et relie le passé et l'avenir" is "*une conscience* qu'il ne put réduire au silence." No one can deny that conscience played a strong part in moving Augustine to seek answers; but conscience must take second place to the search for truth, a search which led him to philosophy, to Manichaeism, to Neoplatonism, to Christianity. In the earliest writings we do not perceive a remorseful conscience so much as an intelligence on a quest. On *truth* in these early writings, cf. MEIJER, *De sapientia*, pp. 19-40, and ZUM BRUNN, *Le dilemme*, pp. 19-24.

³⁹³ Cf. the references to *ueritas* in the Indices, p. 449.

³⁹⁴ Augustine, *conf.* III,6:10 (p. 50.20). Cf. also III,6:14 (p. 51.14): "O ueritas, ueritas, quam intime etiam tum medullae animi mei suspirabant tibi, cum te illi sonarent mihi frequenter et multipliciter uoce sola et libris multis et ingentibus!" For further references on the influence of "truth" on Augustine's attraction to Manichaeism, cf. DE STOOP, *Essai*, pp. 10-16, and NAVILLE, *Saint Augustin*, pp. 26-28.

³⁹⁵ Augustine, *ut. cred.* 1:2 (p. 4.12). Cf. FEMIANO, *Riflessioni*, pp. 25-36.

expression,³⁹⁶ the Manichaeans' insistence on reason alone and their own objections to Scripture³⁹⁷ struck a responsive chord: the drawback of Monnica's religion was that it insisted on "faith before reason." Manichaeism, it appeared, could offer something better.³⁹⁸

He was soon to find that truth is not as easily discovered through reason alone as he had been led to expect. Even the Manichaeans demanded acceptance for some of their tenets solely on the basis of authority:

Ex hoc tamen quoque iam praeponens doctrinam catholicam modestius ibi minimeque fallaciter sentiebam iuberi, ut crederetur quod non demonstrabatur — siue esset quid, sed cui forte non esset, siue nec quid esset — quam illic temeraria pollicitatione scientiae credulitatem inrideri et postea tam multa fabulosissima et absurdissima, quia demonstrari non poterant, credenda imperari.³⁹⁹

The authority on which they occasionally were forced to rely was the same one they denied: "Scripture," a term which sometimes referred to Mani's writings,⁴⁰⁰ sometimes to their "doctored" version of the Bible, the "authority" of which provokes Augustine's protest in *mor. I* (lines 990-993):

³⁹⁶ Cf. *conf.* III,5:9 (p. 50.4): "Itaque institui animum intendere in scripturas sanctas et uidere, quales essent. et ecce uideo rem non conpertam superbis neque nudatam pueris (cf. Iac. 4:6; I Pet. 5:5), sed incessu humilem, successu excelsam et uelatam mysteriis, et non eram ego talis ut intrare in eam possem aut inclinare ceruicem ad eius gressus. non enim sicut modo loquor, ita sensi, cum adtendi ad illam scripturam, sed uisa est mihi indigna, quam Tullianae dignitati conpararem." No doubt one of the offenses to his sensibilities came from the "barbarisms" that were to be found in many of the current versions. Cf. Jerome's comment in his *Praefatio in quattuor euangelia* (PL 29/527 A): «...uel a uitiosis interpretibus male edita, uel a praesumptoribus imperitis emendata peruersius, uel a librariis dormitantibus addita, aut mutata...» On peculiarities of pre-Vulgate Latin versions of the Bible (e.g. Graecisms, corrupt conjugations, wrong use of cases) cf. RÖNSCH, *Itala*; MÉCHINEAU, *Latines*, cc. 97-99; MOHRMANN, *Les emprunts*, p. 198f.; and MONCEAUX, *La Bible*, p. 169. It is interesting that Augustine's attitude eventually changed to the point where he felt that textual fidelity was more important than elegance: cf. *doct. christ.* III,15 (p. 83.4) and 28-30 (p. 124.7).

³⁹⁷ These objections will be dealt with in Chapter IV.

³⁹⁸ Cf. above, n. 249.

³⁹⁹ Augustine, *conf.* VI,5:7 (p. 120.9). Cf. also V,3:6 (p. 93.16: "Ibi autem credere iubebar, et ad illas rationes numeris et oculis meis exploratas non occurrebat et longe diuersum erat"; also *epist. fund.* 14:18 (p. 210f.) and the observations of DE MONDADON, *Bible et Église*, pp. 220-225.

⁴⁰⁰ Cf. above, pp. 19-22. On Mani's authority among his followers, cf. *conf.* V,5:9 (p. 95.20).

Illud uero quis ferre possit, quod nos notissimis ac iam in manibus omnium libris constitutis credere uetant, et *his quae ipsi proferunt, imperant ut credamus?*

His perception of the flaws in Manichaeism, capped by the disastrous meeting with Faustus, badly shook his faith in Manichaeism and he determined to leave it.⁴⁰¹ At the same time, he had come to distrust the power of unaided reason to lead to *any* kind of truth:

Tunc uero fortiter intendi animum, si quo modo possem certis aliquibus documentis Manichaeos conuincere falsitatis ... sed non poteram. uerum tamen de ipso mundi huius corpore omnique natura, quam sensus carnis attingeret, multo probabiliora plerosque sensisse philosophos magis magisque considerans atque comparans iudicabam. itaque Academicorum more, sicut existimantur, *dubitans de omnibus* atque inter omnia fluctuans Manichaeos quidem relinquendos esse decreui, non arbitrans eo ipso tempore *dubitationis meae* in illa secta mihi permanendum esse, cui iam nonnullos philosophos praeponebam.⁴⁰²

These "certain philosophers" were the representatives of the skeptical "New Academy" ⁴⁰³ whose teachings — possibly after a brief sojourn with Stoicism ⁴⁰⁴ — Augustine now embraced:

⁴⁰¹ Cf. above, p. 7.

⁴⁰² Augustine, *conf.* V,14:25 (p. 112.4). Cf. NÖRREGAARD, *Augustins Bekehrung*, pp. 111-124.

⁴⁰³ This "School," which Augustine attacks in *Acad.*, was chiefly represented through Carneades of Cyrene (219-129 B.C.) and by the Academicians of Cicero's *Academica*: cf. Augustine, *Acad.* III,7:14 (p. 55.23), *b. uita* 1:4 (p. 91.25), and *epist. 1 ad Hermogenianum* (pp. 1-3); also ALFARIC, *L'évolution*, pp. 349-358; BOYER, *L'idée*, pp. 27-31; JOLIVET, *Saint Augustin*, pp. 52-55; and VACA, *Estudio*, pp. 79-81. On Cicero's influence on Augustine, cf. DU ROY, *L'intelligence*, pp. 25-29; BECKER, *Augustin*, pp. 32-37; NÖRREGAARD, *Augustins Bekehrung*, pp. 25-28; O'MEARA, *Historicity*; PETERS, *Augustins erste Bekehrung*; STROUX, *Augustinus und Ciceros Hortensius*; KÖRNER, *Augustinus zwischen Tagaste und Mailand*; and TESTARD, *Saint Augustin I* (Cicéron dans la formation et dans l'oeuvre de saint Augustin).

⁴⁰⁴ So THIMME, *Augustins geistige Entwicklung*, p. 160: "Es ist möglich, den ziemlich vollständigen Abriss einer stoischen Ethik aus Augustins Erstlingschriften zusammenzustellen." Cf. ALFARIC, *L'évolution*, p. 233f.: "Tout l'attirait vers eux. Leur dialectique subtile lui était d'un précieux secours dans sa profession de rhéteur. Leur physique lui présentait l'âme comme une parcelle de la substance divine mêlée à la matière. Leur morale surtout lui apprenait à se détacher des choses sensibles et à vivre par l'esprit. Pour Fauste de Milève et sans doute aussi pour tous ceux de ses partisans qui avaient quelque culture, Sénèque était, après Cicéron, la grande autorité. Les coreligionnaires d'Augustin l'orientaient donc plutôt vers le Portique. Aussi les thèses de son traité *De*

Etenim suborta est etiam mihi cogitatio, prudentiores illos ceteris fuisse philosophos, quos Academicos appellant, quod de omnibus dubitandum esse censuerant nec aliquid ueri ab homine comprehendere posse decreuerant.⁴⁰⁵

The Skeptics thus denied any certain knowledge at all whereby a man's life could be guided. Truth might exist, but it was unattainable. The most one might expect would be guidance by the *ueri simile*, and Wisdom must consist in the search for truth;⁴⁰⁶ since truth itself could not be found in this life, happiness must be seen as consisting in the *search* for it, not in its attainment.⁴⁰⁷

Augustine did not remain a party to this philosophy for long:⁴⁰⁸

pulchro et apto concordaient-elles dans l'ensemble avec celles que des disciples de Zénon formulaient sur la même sujet. Ce Manichéen était, au point de vue philosophique, un Stoïcien." Cf. also *ibid.*, pp. 259-269, and VERBEKE, *Augustin et le stoïcisme*, who demonstrates that Augustine had some awareness, but no deep knowledge, of Stoic principles, and that one can perceive references to these principles in *Acad.* III,9:18 (p. 59.28), and *conf.* V,10:20 (p. 107.3) and VII,1:1 (p. 141.12). Of the Latin Stoics Augustine had read at least Varro by the time he wrote *mor. I*: cf. *ord.* II,12:35 (p. 172.27) and 20:54 (p. 185.3) and *quant.* 19:33 (c. 1054). Cf. also Alfarić, *op. cit.*, p. 19, n. 2 and pp. 230-233, 441-449, 518 and 509, n. 2; and Commentary, 89-128. On Varro in Augustine's later writings cf. Jean PÉPIN, "Crítica agustiniana de la teología de Varrón," in *August.* 4 (1959), pp. 155-187.

⁴⁰⁵ Augustine, *conf.* V,10:19 (p. 106.4). Cf. also VI,11:18 (p. 132.22) and *trin.* XIV,19:26 (p. 458.55); ALFARIĆ, *L'évolution*, pp. 270 and 415-428; LE BLOND, *Les conversions*, pp. 99-102; NASH, *The Light of the Mind*, pp. 12-23; and L. CILLERUELO, "El escepticismo de San Agustín" in *Arbor. Revista General de la Investigación y la Cultura*, t. 7, no. 19 (Madrid, 1949), pp. 29-46.

⁴⁰⁶ Augustine, *Acad.* III,1:1 (p. 45.18): "Nam et ceteri philosophi sapientem suum eam (= ueritatem) inuenisse putauerunt et Academici sapienti suo summo conatu inueniendam esse professi sunt idque illum agere sedulo, sed quoniam uel lateret obruta uel confusa non emereret, ad agendam uitam id eum sequi, quod *probabile ac ueri simile* occurreret."

⁴⁰⁷ Augustine, *Acad.* I,3:7 (p. 8.26): "Placuit enim Ciceroni nostro *beatum esse, qui ueritatem inuestigat, etiam si ad eius inuentionem non ualeat peruenire*. — Ubi hoc, inquit, Cicero dixit? — Et Licentius: Quis ignorat eum affirmasse uehementer *nihil ab homine percipi posse nihilque remanere sapienti nisi diligentissimam inquisitionem ueritatis*, propterea quia, si incertis rebus esset adsensus, etiamsi fortasse uerae forent, liberari errore non posset, quae maxima est culpa sapientis? quam ob rem si et sapientem necessario beatum esse credendum est et *ueritatis sola inquisitio* perfectum sapientiae munus est, quid dubitamus existimare *beatam uitam etiam per se ipsa inuestigatione ueritatis posse contingere*?" Cf. HOLTE, *Béatitude*, p. 90f. On the connection between the search for truth and the *beata uita* in Augustine, cf. GERCKEN, *Inhalt*, p. 58, n. 260.

⁴⁰⁸ Here I am following the opinion expressed by COURCELLE (*Les premières "Confessions,"* pp. 163-165) who prefers the information Augustine gives in

he had begun to understand that doubt is an affirmation of the existence of the doubter; ⁴⁰⁹ he could not understand why Man should pursue the happy life, if one of the things he remains uncertain about is what awaits him after death; ⁴¹⁰ he perceived that even in everyday matters men frequently resort to the authority of testimony, which presupposes the possibility of communicating truth.⁴¹¹ In this frame of mind, prior to the *Gartenerlebnis* of Milan, Augustine read "some books of the Platonists":

Procurasti mihi per quendam hominem inmanissimo tyfo turgidum quosdam Platoniorum libros ex graeca lingua in latinam uersos.⁴¹²

"*Libri Platoniorum*"

This and similar allusions to "Plato" or "Plotinus" in the early works of Augustine and in the *Confessions*⁴¹³ have stimulated a long debate not yet concluded, revolving around two main questions: What is the identity of the "libri Platoniorum"? Was Augustine therefore converted in 386 to Christianity, as the *Confessions* would have

ut. cred. 8:20 (p. 24.28) and *conf.* V,7:12 (p. 98.6) to that given in *b. uita* 1:4 (p. 91.25). However, we should not conclude from this that Augustine's skepticism was a passing fancy: cf. MANDOUZE, *Saint Augustin*, p. 104f.

⁴⁰⁹ Augustine, *sol.* II,1:1 (c. 885). Cf. GERCKEN, *Inhalt*, p. 59; MANDOUZE, *Saint Augustin*, p. 269f.; and BOYER, *L'idée*, pp. 45-54.

⁴¹⁰ Cf. *conf.* VI,11:19 (p. 133.16). BOYER (*L'argument*, p. 131) reduces the motives that led Augustine to abandon skepticism to two: "le désir de la vérité et la crainte des jugements de Dieu."

⁴¹¹ Cf. *conf.* VI,5-7 (p. 120.15): "Deinde paulatim tu, domine, manu mitissima et misericordissima pertractans et componens cor meum, consideranti, quam innumerabilia crederem, quae non uiderem neque cum gererentur adfuissem, sicut tam multa in historia gentium, tam multa de locis atque urbibus, quae non uideram, tam multa amicis, tam multa medicis, tam multa hominibus aliis atque aliis, quae nisi crederentur, omnino in hac uita nihil ageremus, postremo quam inconcusse fixum fide retinerem, de quibus parentibus ortus essem, quod scire non possem nisi audiendo credidissem..." Cf. also *quaest.* 48 (c. 31: "Credibilium tria sunt genera. alia sunt quae semper creduntur, et numquam intelleguntur: sicut est omnis historia, temporalia et humana gesta percurrans"), *epist. fund.* 18 (p. 215) and *ut. cred.* 10:24 (p. 30.25) and 12:16 (p. 34.1). On this factor in Augustine's evolution to Faith, cf. BOYER, *L'idée*, pp. 33-45; LÖHRER, *Der Glaubensbegriff*, pp. 161-164; LÜTCKE, *Auctoritas*, pp. 99-103; and WARFIELD, *Augustine's Doctrine*, pp. 354-358.

⁴¹² Augustine, *conf.* VII,9:13 (p. 154.4); cf. also VII,20:26 (p. 165.15: "Sed tunc lectis libris Platoniorum..."). These works were in a translation by Victorinus: cf. *conf.* VIII,2:3 (text, below, p. 113).

⁴¹³ References to *conf.* are above, n. 412. Cf. also *Acad.* III,9:18 (p. 59.23) and 20:43 (p. 80.2) and *b. uita* 1:4 (dealt with below, nn. 415 and 419).

us believe, or only to the philosophical school represented by these "libri"? These questions will receive only a brief discussion here, for there is little point in exploring a terrain traversed so many times already.⁴¹⁴

Virtually everyone accepts Augustine's reference to "Platonici" as either to Plato himself⁴¹⁵ or else to one or both of the major personalities of Middle Platonism. Of the latter group, Courcelle frames the question this way:

À propos de tout Père de l'Église qui a lu des Néo-Platoniciens: Eusèbe, Basile, Cyrille d'Alexandrie, Grégoire de Nysse, Grégoire de Nazianze, saint Ambroise, Synésius et bien d'autres, revient la même question touchant les sources: Plotin ou Porphyre?⁴¹⁶

So far as Augustine is concerned, Courcelle's solution (and that of others) is that "libri Platoniorum" means works of *both* Plotinus and Porphyry, read by Augustine at Milan.⁴¹⁷ Alfarić, Theiler and

⁴¹⁴ For brief surveys concerning the discussion on the first question, cf. O'MEARA, *Augustine and Neo-Platonism*, pp. 95-99, and on the second question: *ibid.* pp. 91-95; NÖRREGAARD, *Augustins Bekehrung*, pp. 1-23; COURCELLE, *Recherches*, pp. 8-10 and 93-96; DAOUST, *Raison*, pp. 38-40; KÖNIG, *Augustinus philosophus*, pp. 11-15; LODS, *Questions*, pp. 25-35, and *À propos*, pp. 53-56; TOLLEY, *The Idea*, pp. 17-24; and GARVEY, *Saint Augustine*, pp. 1-38.

⁴¹⁵ So ROLFES (*Hat Augustin Plato nicht gelesen?*) and BRAGA (*S. Agostino ha letto Platone?*) who both prefer to read *Platonis* into the controversial passage of *b. uita* 1:4 (cf. below, n. 419). This is also the interpretation of ALFARIC (*L'évolution*, pp. 231, 375, n. 4 and 516) and BOYER (*Christianisme*, p. 80, n. 1), who hold that, besides Porphyry (cf. below, n. 418), Augustine had by this time also read at least the *Phaedo* and *Timaeus*.

⁴¹⁶ COURCELLE, *Litiges*, p. 225 (repeated *verbatim* in *Les Confessions*, p. 27). In considering other representatives of this "School," most modern authors exclude Jamblicus: cf. CONNOLLY, *The Platonism* I, p. 46; ALFARIC, *L'évolution*, p. 375; GRANDGEORGE, *Saint Augustin*, p. 41; HENRY, *Plotin et l'Occident*, p. 69, and *Augustine and Plotinus*, p. 7; COURCELLE, *Recherches*, pp. 208-210; PORTALIÉ, *Augustin*, c. 2326; NÖRREGAARD, *Augustins Bekehrung*, p. 108; and THEILER, *Porphyrios*, p. 3f. For an exception, cf. JOLIVET, *Saint Augustin*, p. 105. HARNACK (*Lehrbuch*, p. 32f.) and Nörregaard (*op. cit.*, pp. 240-242) speculate that at this period Augustine may have been influenced directly by Victorinus' own writings; DU ROY (*L'intelligence*, p. 41) and Alfarić (*op. cit.*, p. 375, n. 2) think it possible that he had read Victorinus' version of the *Treatise on the Gods* by Jamblicus. But neither of these theories has any direct evidence to support it. Courcelle has shown (*Les lettres*, pp. 158-177, cf. also Nörregaard, *loc. cit.*) that Augustine had at this period not yet read anything by Apuleius.

⁴¹⁷ COURCELLE, *Les lettres*, pp. 126, 161-167 and 176; *Litiges*, p. 228; *Les Confessions*, pp. 27-31; *Quelques symboles*, p. 70; and *Recherches*, p. 157 (where

O'Meara would limit the reference to Porphyry alone,⁴¹⁸ whereas Henry and a large group of supporters would rather see a reference only to Plotinus' *Enneads*.⁴¹⁹

None of these positions is without drawbacks. Augustine makes it plain that the "libri" he read were Latin translations of some Greek original ("ex graeca lingua in latinam uersos"): this is to be expected, considering his knowledge of Greek at the time.⁴²⁰ But

he specifically names the *Enneads* and Porphyry's *De regressu animae*). His position is shared by DU ROY (*L'intelligence*, pp. 61-72), GRANDGEORGE (*Saint Augustin*, pp. 39-41), NÖRREGAARD (*Augustins Bekehrung*, pp. 104-108); PORTALIÉ (*Augustin*, c. 2271); and PÉPIN (*Une nouvelle source*).

⁴¹⁸ Cf. ALFARIC, *L'évolution*, p. 375; THEILER, *Porphyrios*, especially p. 2, n. 4 and p. 4, and his review of Courcelle's *Recherches*; and O'MEARA, *A Master-Motif*, p. 314f., and *Augustine and Neo-Platonism*, pp. 97 and 101-111, and cf. his article, "Neoplatonism in the Conversion of Saint Augustine," in *Dominican Studies. A Quarterly Review of Theology and Philosophy* 3 (Oxford-London, 1950), pp. 331-343.

⁴¹⁹ HENRY insists (*Plotin et l'Occident*, pp. 20f., 42-62, 69-77, 82-89 and 94-103; *Augustine and Plotinus*, p. 8f.) that the phrase in *b. uita* 1:4 (p. 92.8) must read, "lectis autem Plotini (not 'Platoni') paucissimis libris," and he concludes from this (against Theiler: cf. above, n. 418) that this meant that Augustine had read the *Enneads* directly (in translation), not some commentary of the *Enneads* by Porphyry. Compare COURCELLE, *Litiges*, p. 227: "N'est-il plus vraisemblable que Victorinus ait traduit quelques traités des *Ennéades*, plutôt qu'un commentaire?" Those in agreement with Henry decidedly constitute the "School" with the largest membership: cf. BARDY, *Chronique*, p. 430; BARION, *Plotin und Augustinus*; JOLIVET, *Essai*, pp. 93-101; MAYER, *Die Zeichen* I, pp. 127-140; O'CONNELL, *St. Augustine's Early Theory*, pp. 1-20; PERLER, *Der Nus*, pp. 3-5; BOYER, *La conversion*, p. 409; SWITALSKI, *Neoplatonism*, pp. 81-88; THIMME, *Augustins geistige Entwicklung*, p. 14f.; and the references given below, n. 425.

⁴²⁰ This knowledge improved after he became bishop, when closer acquaintance with the language would have been called for by exegetical and theological needs; but at this time in his life he probably continued to think of Greek only as a subject once learned in school and with unpleasant associations (cf. *conf.* I, 14:23, p. 20.20). Such is the conclusion of practically all those who have treated this question: cf. CLAUSEN, *Aurelius Augustinus*, pp. 30-40; BARDY, *La culture*, pp. 24-31; BECKER, *Augustin*, pp. 120-138; BRAGA, *S. Agostino ha letto Platone?*, p. 158-160; COURCELLE, *Les lettres*, pp. 137-153; DRÄSEKE, *Zur Frage*, pp. 548-552; HENRY, *Plotin et l'Occident*, pp. 133-137; MARROU, *Saint Augustin*, pp. 27-46 and 418-421 (complemented by the 'Retractatio', pp. 631-637); and SMITH, *Augustine*, pp. 321-323. Cf. also the articles dedicated to this question: Berthold ALTANER, "Augustinus und die griechische Sprache," in *Pisciculi. Studien zur Religion und Kultur des Altertums, Franz Josef Dölger zum sechzigsten Geburtstage dargeboten*, Münster, 1939 (= *Antike und Christentum, Ergänzungsband* I), pp. 19-40; P. GUILLOUX, "Saint Augustin savait-il le grec?", in *RHE* 21 (1925), pp. 79-83; and S. SALAVILLE, "La connaissance du grec chez saint Augustin," in *Echos d'Orient* 21 (Paris, 1922), pp. 387-393.

it is doubtful that a Latin translation then existed for any of Plato's works except the *Phaedo*.⁴²¹ As regards Porphyry, no commentary by him on the *Enneads* of Plotinus survives in Greek or, Theiler's affirmations notwithstanding, in some Latin translation supposedly made by Victorinus,⁴²² and any attempt to prove that Augustine read anything by Porphyry prior to 400 (the date of *De consensu euangelistarum*) rests on indirect evidence.⁴²³ Finally, though we know that Victorinus did translate at least some of the *Enneads*, that translation is no longer extant; moreover, if by "libri Platonicorum" Augustine means Plotinus alone, passages in his early works which can be taken to reflect Neoplatonist thought are far from being a textual reproduction of the *Enneads*.

The assertion of GOURDON (*Essai*, p. 10) that "n'ayant jamais pu vaincre les premières difficultés de cette langue, il garda pour elle de l'aversion, et ne la cultiva jamais" is not to be taken seriously.

⁴²¹ This was a translation made by L. Apuleius Afer: cf. ALFARIC, *L'évolution*, p. 231, and BRAGA, *S. Agostino ha letto Platone?*, p. 160, n. 3. HENRY does not think that Augustine ever read anything by Plato "sauf peut-être le Timée" (*Plotin et l'Occident*, p. 125f.). A similar view is taken by GRANDGEORGE (*Saint Augustin*, p. 53), THEILER (*Porphyrios*, p. 3), THIMME (*Augustins geistige Entwicklung*, p. 14) and COURCELLE (*Les lettres*, pp. 156-159).

⁴²² ALFARIC (*L'évolution*, p. 375, n. 3) also had this view, against which are DRÄSEKE (*Zur Frage*, p. 555f.), O'CONNELL (*St. Augustine's Early Theory*, pp. 20-26) and MAYER (*Die Zeichen I*, p. 130, n. 149).

⁴²³ THEILER himself admits (*Porphyrios*, pp. 4-6) that it cannot be shown that Augustine read any of Porphyry's surviving works; but COURCELLE believes (*Recherches*, p. 157; *Les lettres*, pp. 164-168) that he read the *De regressu animae* at this date. MARROU (*Saint Augustin*, 'Retractatio', p. 634, n. 14) is in agreement with him, but DUTOIT (*Augustin*, p. 38) thinks Augustine could have read it only much later, after acquiring the ability to read it in the original Greek. These differences may never be resolved, for *De regressu animae* survives only in the Latin fragments given by Augustine himself in *ciu. dei* (collected by J. BIDEZ, *Vie de Porphyre le philosophe néo-platonicien avec les fragments des traités ΠΕΡΙ ΑΓΓΑΜΑΤΩΝ et De regressu animae*, Librairie Scientifique, Ghent, 1913, pp. 27*-44*). *De consensu euangelistarum* (I,15:23, CSEL 43/22.4) is the first occasion on which Augustine actually names Porphyry. He names him again (besides *ciu. dei*) in *epist. 102 ad Deogratias* 8 (p. 551.5) and *retr. II,57:1* (p. 168.7): but these are all later writings, and there is nothing which proves that he read anything of Porphyry until long after he had returned to Africa. Not even early allusions to a "return of the soul" (*Acad. II,9:22*, p. 39.8; *sol. I,1:5*, c. 872) prove the contrary, as is admitted even by CONNOLLY (*The Platonism I*, p. 53), who otherwise follows Courcelle: "It is impossible from the few fragments which remain, to find any trace of *De regressu animae* in Augustine's 'Ascent' to God... Consequently it is to the *Enneads* we must go to find the Platonic elements of his 'Ascent' to God." The same admission is made by ALFARIC (*L'évolution*, p. 375, n. 3), who is also an advocate of the 'Porphyrian' theory. Cf. also below, n. 445.

Nevertheless, those modern authors who identify the *Enneads* with the "libri Platoniorum" seem to have the most tenable position. They point out the peculiarities of Victorinus' methods of translation which, judging from what we still possess, could more correctly be called "paraphrases";⁴²⁴ they point out the parallels between Augustine and Plotinus;⁴²⁵ and they insist that whatever in Augustine can be traced to Porphyry can also be accounted for by attributing it to Plotinus.⁴²⁶ It is therefore principally to Plotinus that we shall look for echoes of the "philosophical" passages in *mor. I.*⁴²⁷

⁴²⁴ Cf. JOLIVET, *Saint Augustin*, p. 123f.: "Les traductions qu'Augustin eut en mains des textes néo-platoniciens avaient été faites par un chrétien, Marius Victorin., et comme elles étaient des paraphrases assez libres plus qu'une traduction serrée, il est à croire que le texte latin avait plus ou moins transposé au sens chrétien les écrits néo-platoniciens. Augustin trouvait donc déjà préparée l'adaptation nécessaire." He repeats this position in *Essai*, p. 93, n. 3. It is contested by BARION (*Plotin und Augustinus*, p. 48, n. 34) but advocated by many others, including ALFARIC (*L'évolution*, p. 374, n. 4): "La traduction dont parle Augustin est malheureusement perdue. Mais Victorin en avait fait une autre, celle de l'*Isagoge* de Porphyre, dont d'assez nombreux fragments nous ont été conservés par Boèce (*In Porphyrium a Victorino translatus libri duo*, P.L., t. LXIV, c. 9-70). C'est moins une version proprement dite qu'une paraphrase du texte grec. Le traducteur y commente et y modifie même quelquefois les idées de l'auteur. L'oeuvre dont parlent les *Confessions* présentait sans doute le même caractère." On p. 518f. Alfarc is even more specific: "Déjà la traduction qu'(Augustin) a utilisée pouvait contenir des inexactitudes. Elle est complètement perdue et nous n'avons sur elle aucun renseignement qui nous permette d'en apprécier la valeur. Mais nous possédons une autre version du même auteur, celle de l'*Isagoge* de Porphyre, qui nous a été conservée en partie par Boèce. Victorin n'y traduit pas verbalement le texte grec, il le paraphrase d'une façon assez libre et il en modifie quelquefois les idées. Il a dû appliquer d'autant plus le même procédé aux *Ennéades* que la doctrine en était moins rigide et le texte moins clair."

⁴²⁵ O'CONNELL (*The Plotinian Fall*) compares a number of texts of Augustine and Plotinus, as do SWITALSKI (*Neoplatonism*, pp. 89-105), LOESCHE (*De Augustino platonizante; Plotin und Augustin*), and (especially for later writings of Augustine) GRANDGEORGE (*Saint Augustin, passim*). Cf. also O'CONNELL, *St. Augustine's Early Theory*, pp. 1-20; BARION, *Plotin und Augustinus*; JOLIVET, *Saint Augustin*, p. 103-128; and ALFARIC, *L'évolution*, pp. 400-414.

⁴²⁶ Cf. O'CONNELL, *Ennead VI,4-5*, p. 12.

⁴²⁷ Compared texts will be found in the Commentary. HENRY thinks (*Plotin et l'Occident*, pp. 78-119, 128 and 207) that in 386 Augustine had read *Enneads* I,6 and perhaps IV,2 and V,1, but that by 415 he had read *all* the *Enneads* - in Greek. Both O'CONNELL (*Ennead VI,4-5*, p. 4) and COURCELLE (*Recherches*, p. 157) agree with Henry's list for 386, but O'Connell thinks that VI,4-5 should be added to it, and of course Courcelle would add Porphyry's *De regressu animae* (cf. above, n. 423).

The influence of Ambrose

Alfaric and Courcelle⁴²⁸ have argued well that Augustine was initially directed to the "libri Platoniorum" (which we must understand as indicating solely, or at least primarily, the *Enneads* of Plotinus) through the preaching of Ambrose - that Ambrose is not, certainly, the "homo inmanissimo tyfo turgidus" from whom Augustine eventually acquired these writings,⁴²⁹ but that he initially sparked Augustine's interest in the "Platonici."⁴³⁰ The proponents of this theory point out the strong Plotinian influence in many of Ambrose's extant sermons,⁴³¹ some of which Augustine undoubtedly heard.⁴³²

⁴²⁸ ALFARIC, *L'évolution*, pp. 366-372; COURCELLE, *Recherches*, pp. 93-138.

⁴²⁹ Identified by COURCELLE (*Les lettres grecques*, p. 126; *Recherches*, pp. 153-156; *Quelques symboles*, p. 70; *Les premières "Confessions,"* pp. 165-169), and DUTOIT (*Augustin*, p. 39f.) with Manlius Theodorus, to whom Augustine dedicated *b. uita* (cf. 1:1, p. 89.3 and *retr.* I,2:2, p. 18.10); but DU ROY (*L'intelligence*, p. 64) thinks that some unknown non-Christian is meant.

⁴³⁰ Cf. COURCELLE, *Litiges*, p. 231 (in a response to BOYER's *compte-rendu* of the first edition of *Recherches*, in *Doctor Communis* 4 (Rome, 1951), pp. 109-111): "Je n'ai jamais prétendu que les sermons d'Ambroise aient converti Augustin au néo-platonisme; ils lui en ont seulement révélé l'existence et l'ont incité, de ce fait, à se procurer les *libri Platoniorum* qui devaient allumer en lui l'incroyable incendie."

⁴³¹ Cf. the studies by COURCELLE (*Litiges*; *Plotin et Saint Ambroise*; *Recherches*, pp. 106-138; also *Nouveaux aspects*); HADOT (*Platon et Plotin*); SOLIGNAC (*Nouveaux parallèles*); and the worthwhile article of Lorenzo TAORMINA, "Sant'Ambrogio e Plotino," in *Miscellanea di studi di letteratura cristiana antica* 4 (Catania, 1954), pp. 41-85.

⁴³² Cf. SOLIGNAC, *Les Confessions* I, p. 147, n. 2 (referring to Courcelle's work): "...en plusieurs endroits Augustin semble utiliser les textes plotiniens tels qu'il les a reçus par l'intermédiaire de la prédication ambrosienne; la liste de ces passages est impressionnante et pose une question que seule, à notre avis, l'hypothèse de Courcelle résout pleinement jusqu'à présent. Sans doute, dans l'excellente mémoire auditive d'Augustin, les formules entendues d'Ambroise, et les formules lues dans Plotin se sont-elles fondues en un seul souvenir." COURCELLE believes (*Recherches*, pp. 93-138; *Plotin et saint Ambroise*, pp. 46-52 and 55) that Augustine was present at the preaching of *Exameron*, *De bono mortis* and *De Isaac uel anima*, and that from these he would have received many Plotinian ideas. He dates *Exameron* in 386, and the other two works in the same year. PALANQUE (*Saint Ambroise*, pp. 176f., 437f. and 519f.) first dated *Exameron* at Holy Week of 387 (April 19-24) but later accepted Courcelle's view (cf. *Nouveaux aspects*, p. 234, n. 8). IHM (*Studia Ambrosiana*, p. 14) had dated it "post a. 386," WILBRAND (*Zur Chronologie*) in 386 or 387, DUDDEN (*The Life*, p. 680) in "perhaps April, 387"; and RAUSCHEN (*Jahrbücher*, p. 491) after 388. Palanque (p. 540f.) dates both of the other works in circa 391, Wilbrand in 386 or 387, Dudden (p. 682) after 390, Rauschen (p. 494) after 388. Both Ihm (p. 16) and HADOT (*Platon et Plotin*, p. 203) also place *De Isaac* in 386.

Whether one accepts this theory or not,⁴³³ the paramount influence of Ambrose on this period of Augustine's life is undeniable.⁴³⁴ For two years (384-386) Augustine regularly heard the Bishop of Milan explain the Scriptures;⁴³⁵ from him the future Bishop of Hippo received baptism;⁴³⁶ to Ambrose he always pays high tribute when he refers back to those days in Milan;⁴³⁷ and of all the Church Fathers Ambrose is, after Cyprian, the one whom Augustine most frequently quotes.⁴³⁸

Among other sermons of Ambrose that Augustine may have heard Courcelle (*Recherches*, p. 98) names *De interpretatione Iob et David*, which he dates in 387 (agreed to by Palanque, pp. 520-522, who sets it on or about June 15 of that year; but both Rauschen, pp. 293-310, and Dudden, p. 687, prefer to think that it was preached in 388 or 389), *Expositio in euangelium secundum Lucam* (Courcelle, *op. cit.*, p. 213f., thinks Augustine may have heard I,5-6 and 24-27, II,56 and 93-94, and IV,76; however, Palanque, p. 535, dates all of these particular homilies in or about 377, except for the last-named, which he thinks may have been preached in 383 or 384. But Palanque dates in 386 — he finds nothing for 387 — V,41-82, VII,1-86 and 196-248, and VIII, 1-36; he dates VIII,57-96 in 384), *De Iacob et beata uita*, which Courcelle (*Recherches*, p. 98; *Nouveaux aspects*, p. 223f.) sets in February 386 (the year agreed to by Palanque, p. 514f.; Hadot, p. 203; and Dudden, p. 683; Rauschen places it after 388) and *De officiis ministrorum* (cf. SANCHIS, *Pauvreté*, p. 27, n. 78; Dudden, p. 695, placed it "after the Spring of 386," and Ihm, p. 26f., simply after 386; Wilbrand and Palanque, pp. 452-455 and 526f., in 389; and Rauschen, pp. 246 and 274, "frühestens in der zweiten Hälfte dieses Jahres, wahrscheinlich aber in späteren Jahren").

⁴³³ It is attacked by THEILER in his review of the first edition of COURCELLE's *Recherches*, pp. 117-122, and by Christine MOHRMANN in her review, p. 250f.

⁴³⁴ On Ambrose's influence, cf. MAYER, *Die Zeichen* I, pp. 115-127; COURCELLE, *Recherches*, pp. 85, 92, 211-222, 250-257 and the whole of Chapter III; DUCHROW, *Christenheit*, pp. 203-206; and JOLIVET, *Saint Augustin*, pp. 59-67. It must be borne in mind that Ambrose's contribution was to Augustine's *intellectual* conversion: the *moral* conversion was to come through a different medium. Cf. DUDDEN, *The Life* I, p. 331, and COURCELLE, *Litiges*, p. 237f.

⁴³⁵ Augustine, *conf.* VI,3:4 (p. 117.19: "Et eum quidem in populo uerbum ueritatis recte tractantem (II Tim. 2:15) omni die dominico audiebam..."), VI,4:6 (p. 119.14: "...saepe in popularibus sermonibus suis dicentem Ambrosium laetus audiebam: littera occidit, spiritus autem uiuificat...") and VIII, 6:13 (p. 180.12: "...frequentabam ecclesiam tuam, quantum uacabat ab eis negotiis..."). Cf. MAYER, *Die Zeichen* I, p. 115f.

⁴³⁶ Augustine, *epist.* 36,14:32 (p. 62.3): "...uenerandus Ambrosius, a quo baptizatus sum, Mediolanensis episcopus." Cf. also Commentary, 1348-1349.

⁴³⁷ Cf. the passages referred to in the preceding note; also *conf.* V,13:23 (p. 110.4: "Et ueni Mediolanum ad Ambrosium episcopum, in optimis notum orbi terrae, pium cultorem tuum..."), IX,5:13 (p. 206.21: "Et insinuaui per litteras antistiti tuo, uiro sancto Ambrosio..."); also *Iul.* I,3 (c. 465) and *epist.* 147 *ad Paulinum* 23:52 (p. 328.15).

⁴³⁸ Some of these quotations are listed by FERRETTI, *L'influsso*, p. 25.

From Ambrose he had come to discover that Scripture need not be taken in a purely literal manner, and that passages which on the surface might seem to be absurd or immoral were not necessarily so; ⁴³⁹ through him he came to see that a basic harmony exists between the Old and New Testaments; ⁴⁴⁰ through him he was enabled for the first time to conceive of a God without a corporal substance, ⁴⁴¹ to think of the human soul as immaterial, ⁴⁴² to attribute to Man a free will that makes him responsible for his own acts. ⁴⁴³

⁴³⁹ Augustine, *conf.* V,14:24 (p. 111f.) and VI,3:4 (p. 117.20); and *ut. cred.* 8:20 (p. 25.15). Cf. COURCELLE, *Recherches*, pp. 97 and 102; R.H. MALDEN, "Saint Ambrose as an Interpreter of Holy Scripture," in JTS 16 (1915), especially pp. 513-522; MANRIQUE, *Interpretación*, pp. 161-164; and Johann Baptist KELLNER, *Der heilige Ambrosius, Bischof von Mailand, als Erklärer des Alten Testaments. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der biblischen Exegese*, Manz, Regensburg, 1893.

⁴⁴⁰ Cf. *conf.* V,14:24 (p. 111f.); also VI,4:6 (text above, n. 435); also HAHN, *Das wahre Gesetz*, especially pp. 454-470. Sometimes Ambrose preached on this point with the Manichaeans in mind: cf. *Expositio in ps.* 118,1:8 (CSEL 62/10.3): "Multi uolunt ambulare in uia, sed non usque ad finem. non ambulant Iudaei usque ad finem, qui non usque ad Christum ambulant, non ambulat Manichaeus in uia, qui legem refutat..."

⁴⁴¹ Cf. *conf.* V,10:19 (p. 106.15): "...pigrius me faciebat (familiaritas Manicheorum) aliud quaerere praesertim desperantem in ecclesia tua, domine caeli et terrae, creator omnium uisibilium et inuisibilium, posse inueniri uerum, unde me illi auerterant, multumque mihi turpe uidebatur credere figuram te habere humanae carnis et membrorum nostrorum liniamentis corporalibus terminari." Compare Ambrose, *Exameron* VI,7:40 (CSEL 32,1/231.17): "Quid est deus? caro an spiritus? non caro utique, sed spiritus, cuius similis caro esse non potest, quia ipse incorporeus et inuisibilis est, caro autem et comprehenditur et uidetur." For other texts in Augustine, and a commentary, cf. MAYER, *Die Zeichen* I, pp. 99-103.

⁴⁴² Augustine, *conf.* VI,3:4 (p. 117.22): "Vbi uero etiam conperi ad imaginem tuam hominem a te factum ab spiritalibus filiis tuis, quos de matre catholica per gratiam regenerasti, non sic intellegi, ut humani corporis forma determinatum crederent atque cogitarent, quamquam quomodo se haberet spiritalis substantia, ne quidem tenuiter atque aenigmate suspicabar tamen gaudens erubui non me tot annos aduersus catholicam fidem, sed contra carnalium cogitationum figmenta latrasse. eo quippe temerarius et inpius fueram, quod ea quae debebam, quaerendo discere, accusando dixeram. tu enim, altissime et proxime, secretissime et praesentissime, cui membra non sunt alia maiora et alia minora, sed ubique totus es et nusquam locorum es, non es utique forma ista corporea. tamen fecisti hominem ad imaginem tuam (cf. Gen. 1:26), et ecce ipse a capite usque ad pedes in loco est."

⁴⁴³ Up to this point Augustine had accepted the Manichaean teaching that we sin *against* our will: cf. *conf.* V,10:18 (p. 105.7): "Adhuc enim mihi uidebatur non esse nos, qui peccamus, sed nescio quam aliam in nobis peccare naturam et delectabat superbiam meam extra culpam esse..." Cf. above, n. 227.

This is not to say we find in Augustine's early writings no more than a faithful reflection of the thoughts of Ambrose. The problem is not to find a means of separating the two, but to discover where an Ambrosian influence possibly exists. It is too much to expect a *textual* fidelity of these early writings of Augustine to the sermons of Ambrose that are still extant: one cannot picture Augustine present at the bishop's preaching and taking copious notes which he took home and copied into his own works. We do not even find direct quotations from Ambrose until late in Augustine's life.⁴⁴⁴ It is more realistic to think of him as impressed by various points in the sermons, which he might later recall (however unconsciously) or whose echoes he might find in the sources upon which Ambrose had drawn.⁴⁴⁵ Thus, to assert that in an early work Augustine is without question drawing directly from a given work of Ambrose is, to say the least, risky: even if the borrowing were conscious, Augustine would be relying on memory going back, in the case of *mor. I*, at least an entire year. Then, too, we must not forget that only a fraction of Ambrose's sermons are extant and that the dating of even these is controversial; one cannot say *with certainty* that Augustine was present at any of them,⁴⁴⁶ nor that what sermons remain were left unaltered between the time they were delivered and their distribution in written form.⁴⁴⁷ A much safer course is to conclude that, if in

COURCELLE (*Recherches*, pp. 100-102) makes a comparison between texts of Augustine and sermons of Ambrose he thinks Augustine may have heard (cf. above, n. 432). Cf. also HUHNS, *Ursprung*, especially pp. 33-39 and 61-78.

⁴⁴⁴ In the opinion of FERRETTI (*L'influsso*, pp. 33 and 78), the first certain passages from Ambrose (*Expos. in euang. Luc.*) occur in 413-414 (*epist. 147 ad Paulinum* 6:18, p. 289.7), although he thinks (*op. cit.*, p. 36) that Augustine shows familiarity with Ambrose's works in 396 and ("con probabilità") that he had already read some of them by 402-403. For parallels between the *Expos. in euang. Luc.* and Augustine's exegetical works (beginning with *serm. dom.*, dated between 393 and 396), cf. Piero ROLLERO, "L'influsso della 'Expositio in Lucam' di Ambrogio nell'esegesi agostiniana," in *AM I*, pp. 211-220.

⁴⁴⁵ Thus, in regard to Plotinian elements, DU ROY (*L'intelligence*, p. 60) says: "Il ne semble pas qu'Augustin ait pris conscience de ces emprunts, mais ils l'auront préparé inconsciemment à lire Plotin dans la perspective chrétienne de saint Ambroise." This is also the likely explanation for "Porphyrian" elements in Augustine's works - that he found them in other authors, such as Ambrose: cf. Heinrich DÖRRIE, "Das funffach gestufte Mysterium. Der Aufsteig der Seele bei Porphyrios und Ambrosius," in *Mullus. Festschrift Theodor Klauser*, Aschendorff, Münster, 1964 (= *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum, Ergänzungsband I*), pp. 79-82.

⁴⁴⁶ Cf. above, n. 432.

⁴⁴⁷ So PALANQUE, *Saint Ambroise*, p. 437.

the extant sermons of Ambrose we find echoes of Augustine's early works, we can say that Augustine *may have* heard or read these sermons, or that the same ideas appeared in other works of Ambrose, now lost, but with which Augustine *may have* been acquainted. This is supposed wherever in the commentary on *mor. I* references to Ambrose appear.

A similar cautionary word must be said about references to Plotinus. Nowhere can it be said with certainty that when 'Plotinian' themes appear in the early works of Augustine, Augustine is reporting conclusions drawn from a personal reading of the *Enneads*, that he is not simply repeating what he heard from a secondary source.⁴⁴⁸

The intervention of Simplicianus

Ambrose is not, at any rate, Augustine's sole secondary source of "Platonic" inspiration. A meeting with the priest Simplicianus was to show him that the philosophy of the "Platonists" could be accepted as closer to Christianity than any other:

Perrexī ergo ad Simplicianum, patrem in accipiēda gratia tua tunc episcopi Ambrosii et quem uere ut patrem diligebat. narraui ei circuitus erroris mei. ubi autem commemorauī legisse me quosdam libros Platoniorum, quos Uictorius quondam rhetor urbis Romae, quem christianum defunctum esse audieram, in latinam linguam transulisset, gratulatus est mihi, quod non in aliorum philosophorum scripta incidissem plena fallaciarum et deceptionem secundum elementa huius mundi (Col. 2:8), in istis autem omnibus modis insinuari deum et eius uerbum.⁴⁴⁹

It was probably Simplicianus who first pointed out to Augustine the significance of Col. 2:8 in the Christian polemic against all philosophies but one - that of the "Platonici."⁴⁵⁰ Ambrose, it is true,

⁴⁴⁸ Cf. MADEC, *Saint Ambroise*, p. 171: "Réserve faite d'une commune inspiration plotinienne, le 'néoplatonisme' audacieusement métaphysique de Marius Victorinus n'a pas grand-chose de commun avec le 'néoplatonisme' moralisant d'Ambroise; et le 'néoplatonisme' d'Augustin sera lui-même différent de l'un et de l'autre."

⁴⁴⁹ Augustine, *conf.* VIII,2:3 (p. 171.6). Cf. also VIII,1:1 (p. 169.16): "Et inmisisti in mentem meam uisumque est bonum in conspectu meo pergere ad Simplicianum, qui mihi bonus apparebat seruus tuus et lucebat in eo gratia tua."

⁴⁵⁰ Augustine uses the passage in the same sense already in *ord.* I,11:32 (p. 143.25: "Nam ne quid, mater, ignores, hoc Graecum uerbum, quo philosophia nominatur, Latine amor sapientiae dicitur. unde etiam *diuinae scripturae*,

frequently uses this passage of Paul in the same context; so, for that matter, do many other authors.⁴⁵¹ But Simplicianus, the instrument of the conversion of the Neoplatonist Marius Victorinus to Christianity,⁴⁵² the tutor of Ambrose in the Faith ("patrem in accipienda gratia tua tunc episcopi Ambrosii")⁴⁵³ and quite possibly in Neoplatonism as well,⁴⁵⁴ may well have been, if not the direct source for Augustine's own employment of this passage,⁴⁵⁵ at least (via Ambrose) the indirect inspiration. But whenever Ambrose applies the text, he does so in a blanket condemnation of *all* philosophies;⁴⁵⁶ it is therefore more likely that Simplicianus is the source here,⁴⁵⁷ for he it was who pointed out an important exception: the philosophy of the "Platonici," of Neoplatonism, is not to be numbered among those which are full of "fallacies and deceptions *secundum elementa huius mundi*." ⁴⁵⁸

quas uehementer amplecteris, *non omnino philosophos, sed philosophos huius mundi uitandos atque inridendos esse praecipiunt*"); cf. also *conf.* III,4:8 (p. 49.12); *ciu. dei* VIII,10 (p. 369.16); *serm.* 160,3 (c. 874) and 197,6 (c. 1024), and *epist.* 149,25 (p. 371.4) and 30 (p. 375.23).

⁴⁵¹ Cf. Commentary, 671-675.

⁴⁵² Augustine, *conf.* VIII,2:3-5 (pp. 171-174). Cf. COURCELLE, *Recherches*, pp. 168-174. SOLIGNAC (*Les Confessions* II, pp. 529-536) posits the existence at Milan of a whole "school" of Christian Neoplatonists, a *cercle milanais*, which would have included Ambrose, Simplicianus, Manlius Theodorus and, earlier, Victorinus.

⁴⁵³ If this is how this expression of Augustine and the remarks of Ambrose in his *Epist.* 27 *ad Simplicianum* (2, PL 16/1084 A: "In eo tamen quoniam et ueteris affectum amicitiae. et quod plus est, paternae gratiae amorem recognosco") are to be interpreted. Such is the understanding of PALANQUE (*Saint Ambroise*, p. 22); but, as DUDDEN (*The Life*, p. 57) and MADEC (*Saint Ambroise*, p. 170) remark, this interpretation is far from certain.

⁴⁵⁴ So COURCELLE, *Recherches*, p. 172: "(Augustin) n'ignorait peut-être pas qu'Ambroise tenait de Simplicien sa culture plotinienne." Cf. also *ibid.*, p. 137 and, for further information on the relationship between Ambrose and Simplicianus, pp. 151 and 254; also MADEC, *Saint Ambroise*, p. 63, and SOLIGNAC, *Les Confessions* II, p. 531f.

⁴⁵⁵ MADEC (*Saint Ambroise*, p. 207) maintains some reserve on this: "C'est peut-être trop dire; car il n'est pas exclu que ce soit Augustin lui-même qui ait illustré la distinction par des allusions à *Coloss.* 2,8." But cf. n. 457, below.

⁴⁵⁶ Cf. MADEC, *op. cit.*, pp. 92-95.

⁴⁵⁷ Such is the interpretation of HOLTE (*Béatitude*, p. 147), and even MADEC (*op. cit.*, p. 207) concedes that "Il reste, en tout cas, que Simplicianus faisait une distinction entre les philosophies; et il n'est pas sans intérêt de constater qu'Augustin l'a suivi, plutôt qu'Ambroise, sur ce point important."

⁴⁵⁸ Thus the influence of the future Bishop of Milan on the future Bishop of Hippo is greater than ALFARIC is willing to admit. Cf. *L'évolution*, p. 384,

The true philosophy

It is the same distinction, using the same Pauline verse, that Augustine makes in *mor. I* (lines 671-675):

Cauete ne quis uos seducat per philosophiam.
Et quia ipsum nomen "philosophiae" si consideretur, rem magnam
totoque animo appetendam significat, si quidem philosophia est amor
studiumque sapientiae, cautissime apostolus, ne ab amore sapientiae
detertere uideretur, subiecit, Et elementa huius mundi.

He goes on to label advocates of those philosophies which address themselves to "the elements of this world" as "curiosi" (lines 670-679), as seekers after vainglory (line 666) and vain knowledge (line 681), filled with pride (line 679) but ignorant of God (line 676). These are the philosophers who occupy themselves exclusively with the "knowledge of things" (lines 668-687).⁴⁵⁹

But, though in other writings of this period he attacks the same philosophers in similar terms,⁴⁶⁰ he always makes an exception of that philosophy to which he ascribes his intellectual release from Manichaeism,⁴⁶¹ the philosophy wherein, he says, he believes he has

n. 1: "Ce Simplicien succéda en 397 à Ambroise sur le siège épiscopal de Milan. Augustin, devenu, vers la même époque, évêque d'Hippone, lui adressa, peu après, pour répondre à 'diverses questions' ... La place importante qu'il lui donne dans le récit de sa conversion s'explique par ces circonstances nouvelles bien plus que par les rapports qu'il a eus autrefois avec lui, car ceux-ci paraissent avoir été assez peu importants." The judgment by COURCELLE on this, that "il faut dire exactement le contraire" (*Recherches*, p. 170) is much nearer to the facts; but it may be going too far to say with him (*Litiges*, p. 232) that "le principal artisan de la conversion catholique d'Augustin fut le prêtre Simplicien": as Augustine tells it, it was the narrative of *Pontitianus* which pushed him past the final obstacles to full acceptance of the Faith. Cf. below, n. 709 and p. 208f.

⁴⁵⁹ Cf. also lines 184 and 700-703; also *ord.* I,11:32 (text above, n. 450) and Commentary, 669. TESTARD (*Saint Augustin I*, p. 58) feels this whole section "paraît être une relation autobiographique implicite."

⁴⁶⁰ Cf. *b. uita* I:3 (p. 91.4) and *uera rel.* 1 (p. 3.3). Cf. O'CONNELL, *St. Augustine's Early Theory*, pp. 93-99.

⁴⁶¹ Cf. *Acad.* I,1:3 (p. 5.19): "Ipsa (philosophia) me nunc in otio, quod uehementer optauimus, nutrit ac fouet, ipsa me penitus *ab illa superstitione*, in quam te mecum praecipitem dederam, liberauit ipsa enim docet et uere docet nihil omnino colendum esse totumque contemni oportere, quidquid mortalibus oculis cernitur, quidquid ullus sensus attingit. ipsa uerissimum et secretissimum deum perspicue se demonstraturam promittit et iam iamque quasi per lucidas nubes ostentare dignatur." On Augustine's employment of Neoplatonism against the Manichaeans, cf. NEWMAN, *Introductory Essay*, pp. 28-31.

found the highest ideal to which one can attain,⁴⁶² the harbour whereby one enters into the happy life,⁴⁶³ the "most holy shrine" which the initiated enter through golden doors,⁴⁶⁴ the "true and solid dwelling-place,"⁴⁶⁵ the fatherland wherein one finds peace, repose and an end to his longings.⁴⁶⁶ This is the philosophy which can be defined as "the love and zeal for wisdom" (lines 673-674). There is therefore no question of repudiating *true* philosophy:

Nam quisquis omnem philosophiam fugiendam putat, nihil nos uult aliud quam non amare sapientiam.⁴⁶⁷

But *God* is *Wisdom* itself (lines 402 and 413); and since happiness is to be found in him alone (lines 174-175, 330-331, 346-349, 448-450, 618-622, 796-799)⁴⁶⁸ and since any true philosophy must lead to happiness,⁴⁶⁹ then nothing but God himself can be the ultimate goal of philosophy (lines 651-656).⁴⁷⁰

⁴⁶² Cf. *Acad.* I,1:3 (p. 5), II,2:3 (p. 25) and 3:8 (p. 28f.) and III,20:43 (p. 79f.).

⁴⁶³ Cf. *Acad.* I,1:1 p. 3.10) and *b. uita* 1:3 (p. 90.20) and 5 (p. 92.18); also GERCKEN, *Inhalt*, p. 14f.

⁴⁶⁴ Cf. *ord.* I,11:31 (p. 143.2).

⁴⁶⁵ Cf. *ord.* I,3:9 (p. 127.14).

⁴⁶⁶ Cf. *b. uita* 1:2 (p. 89f.).

⁴⁶⁷ Augustine, *ord.* I,11:32 (p. 144.3).

⁴⁶⁸ Cf. HULTGREN, *Le commandement*, pp. 29-34.

⁴⁶⁹ This theme is already in *Acad.*: cf. I,8:23 (p. 20.20: "Quae si propterea tibi uitiosa uisa est, qui complexa est eum, quem non possumus uocare sapientem, quaeso, utrum eam probes, si sapientiam rerum humanarum diuinarumque scientiam dicamus, sed earum, quae ad beatam uitam pertinent") and II,2:4 (p. 26.5: "Nam cum praesens praesenti tibi exposuissem interiores metus animi mei uehementerque ac saepius adsererem nullam mihi uideri prosperam fortunam, nisi quae otium philosophandi daret, nullam beatam uitam, nisi quod in philosophia uiueretur...") and all of *b. uita*. Augustine continues the idea up to the end of his life: cf. BOYER, *Christianisme*, p. 94f. and GILSON, *Introduction*, pp. 1-11. The original inspiration is perhaps Cicero: cf. *De finibus* II,27:86: "Omnis summa philosophiae ad beate uiuendum refertur, idque unum expetentes homines se ad hoc studium contulerunt."

⁴⁷⁰ Already hinted at (in Plotinian terms) in *Acad.* III,19:42 (p. 79.17): "Non enim est ista huius mundi (cf. Col. 2:8 and above, n. 450) philosophia, quam sacra nostra meritissime detestantur, sed alterius intellegibilis." In *epist. 3 ad Nebridium* 2 (p. 6.21) he is still hesitant on this point (indicating that the letter was written before *Acad.*?): "Et ideo fortasse merito philosophi in rebus intellegibilibus diuitias ponunt, in sensibilibus egestatem." In *sol.* (I,1:6, c. 872) he is more definite ("...iubeasque me dum hoc ipsum corpus ago atque porto, purum, magnanimum, iustum prudentemque esse, perfectumque amatorem perceptoremque sapientiae tuae, et dignum habitatione, atque habita-

often says⁴⁷⁷ — is not simply an absolute negation. He is a positive reality, infinite in power, in content, in excellence. He is the absolute standard of measurement, transcending all that is measured or numbered - in fact, the source of all measure.⁴⁷⁸ He is also at the head of the scale of all being, beyond even existence, and is therefore the supreme existence - Being itself.⁴⁷⁹ The One is so absolute that no predicate, not even that of existence, can really be applied to him, for he is infinite in every respect,⁴⁸⁰ without any limit whatsoever,⁴⁸¹ eternal and unchangeable.⁴⁸²

⁴⁷⁷ Cf. ARMSTRONG, *Plotinus*, Preface, p. xvi, n. 1: "Though the terms for One and Good are both neuter in Greek, Plotinus when speaking about his First Principle, even in passages where these neuter terms are used, passes over quite naturally from neuter to masculine pronouns and adjectives."

⁴⁷⁸ Plotinus, *Enn.* I,8:3 (BRÉHIER I, p. 117.13); cf. INGE, *The Philosophy* I, p. 167f. 'One' must be understood as the *negation* of all number (cf. *Enn.* V,5:6, Bréhier V, p. 97f.): cf. Inge, *op. cit.* II, p. 108: "For Plotinus the One is the source from which the differentiation of unity and plurality proceeds; it is the transcendence of separability rather than the negation of plurality ... When we call the Absolute the One, we intend thereby only to exclude the notion of discerptibility."

⁴⁷⁹ Cf. Plotinus, *Enn.* I,7:1 (BRÉHIER I, p. 108.19) where the Good is called ἐπέκεινα οὐσίας, a term borrowed from Plato's *Republic* (VI, 509b); hence it is ἐπέκεινα καὶ ἐνεργείας καὶ ἐπέκεινα νοῦ καὶ νοήσεως, "also beyond act, intelligence or thought." Cf. Commentary, 346-349 and 436-437; also BARION, *Plotin und Augustinus*, pp. 69-76; INGE, *The Philosophy* II, pp. 109-116; and SWITALSKI, *Neoplatonism*, p. 5f.

⁴⁸⁰ Plotinus, *Enn.* VI,5:12 (BRÉHIER VI,1, p. 211.7). Cf. INGE, *The Philosophy* II, pp. 116-118.

⁴⁸¹ Plotinus, *Enn.* IV,3:8 (BRÉHIER IV, p. 74.38) and VI,7:17 (Bréhier VI,2, p. 89.12). Cf. ARNOU, *Le désir*, pp. 178-181; LOESCHE, *De Augustino plotinizante*, pp. 37-42; and the qualification expressed by ARMSTRONG, *Plotinus*, Preface, p. xvii: "He [Plotinus] is very careful to exclude all ideas of a quasi-spatial sort about this transcendence. The One is not a God "outside" the world. Nor is He remote from us, but intimately present in the centre of our souls; or rather we are in Him, for Plotinus prefers to speak of the lower as in the higher, rather than the other way round; body is in soul, and soul in Intellect, and Intellect in the One (he is quite aware that whichever way we put it we are using an inadequate spatial metaphor). The hierarchical order of levels of being does not imply the remoteness of the One, because they are not spatially separate or cut off from each other; they are really distinct, but all are present everywhere. And just because the One is not any particular thing He is present to all things according to their capacity to receive Him."

⁴⁸² Plotinus, *Enn.* IV,4:10-12 (BRÉHIER IV, pp. 111.1-29, 112.16-28 and 113.32-49). On this Plotinian idea in Augustine, cf. GEIGER, *C. Marius Victorinus*, pp. 23-31; MUNZ, *Sum qui sum*, pp. 147-149; and MAYER, *Die Zeichen* II, pp. 109-130 and 226-233.

Through his philosophy, then, Plotinus seeks to bring his own soul and the souls of others into union with the One.⁴⁸³ This is to be done through the rediscovery of one's true self in a *return* to Intellect (νοῦς)⁴⁸⁴ which is "the light of the mind."⁴⁸⁵ This return to Intellect consists in turning away from the external world and its distractions, and concentrating all one's powers inwardly, so that, through the most rigorous intellectual and moral discipline (κάθαρσις),⁴⁸⁶ one removes all obstacles to the true Self and, thus prepared, waits for the One to manifest his presence, waits for the moment when he may ascend to him who is the Good.⁴⁸⁷

This brief presentation does not, of course, give all the aspects of Plotinus' thought; but it is enough to show that his view of God — and of Man's approach to God — has its reflection in *mor. I.*⁴⁸⁸ God alone truly is, "uere summeque est,"⁴⁸⁹ God is at the summit of the hierarchy of being, Being itself (line 437),⁴⁹⁰ and the source

⁴⁸³ Plotinus, *Enn.* VI,9:3 (BRÉHIER VI,2, p. 175). Cf. INGE, *The Philosophy* II, pp. 125-163; also P. HENRY, "La dernière parole de Plotin," in *Studi classici e orientali* 2 (Pisa, 1953), pp. 113-130; and Paul AUBIN, "L' 'image' dans l'oeuvre de Plotin," in *RSR* 41 (1953), pp. 370-372.

⁴⁸⁴ Plotinus, *Enn.* I,6:3-3 (BRÉHIER I, pp. 98-100), V,8:11 (Bréhier V, p. 148f.) and VI,9:7 (Bréhier VI,2, p. 181f.). Cf. CONNOLLY, *The Platonism* II, p. 35f., and INGE, *The Philosophy* I, p. 161f.

⁴⁸⁵ Taking the notion from Plato (*Republic* VII, 519), Plotinus often speaks of the "eye of the soul" (cf. *Enn.* I,6:9, BRÉHIER I, p. 106.25; V,8:3, Bréhier V, p. 138) which, when opened, perceives a light and is guided by this light to the Good, also called "Sun" (I,7:1, Bréhier I, p. 109.25).

⁴⁸⁶ Plotinus, *Enn.* I,2:4-5 (BRÉHIER I, pp. 55-57), IV,8:7 (Bréhier IV, p. 224f.) and VI,7:36 (Bréhier VI,2, p. 110.3). Cf. ARMSTRONG, *Plotinus*, Preface, p. xxvii; INGE, *The Philosophy* I, pp. 200-205, and II, p. 178; ARNOU, *Le désir*, pp. 198 and 233; and SWITALSKI, *Neoplatonism*, pp. 8-14. On the Plotinian κάθαρσις cf. EBOROWICZ, *Le sens*, p. 231; BOYER, *L'idée*, pp. 267-278; and NÖRREGAARD, *Augustins Bekehrung*, pp. 191-195.

⁴⁸⁷ Plotinus, *Enn.* I,6:7 (BRÉHIER I, p. 103f.). Cf. also I,1:12 (p. 47f.) and 6:9 (p. 105f.), with the comment of ARNOU, *Le désir*, p. 237f.; and HOLTE, *Béatitude*, p. 60, and NÖRREGAARD, *Augustins Bekehrung*, pp. 201-224.

⁴⁸⁸ For the compared teachings of Plotinus and Augustine on God and his attributes, cf. GRANDGEORGE, *Saint Augustin*, pp. 57-84; NEWMAN, *Introductory Essay*, p. 28; and PORTALIÉ, *Augustin*, c. 2345f. Further details of Plotinian thought — and of differences with Augustine — are given later in this chapter and throughout the Commentary.

⁴⁸⁹ Augustine, *lib. arb.* II,153 (p. 75.18). Compare line 437 ("Est enim uere summeque deus...") and *inmort.* 11:18 (c. 1030: "...quae maxime summeque est"). On Augustine's notion of God in his early writings, cf. ALFARIC, *L'évolution*, pp. 483-506.

⁴⁹⁰ Cf. Commentary, 436-437.

of all that is good (line 871), all that has life (lines 355-356).⁴⁹¹ All other beings participate in the hierarchy of being according to the extent to which they themselves possess being;⁴⁹² it then follows that evil is merely the lack of being (= goodness) anything which *is*, according to its own nature, ought to have.⁴⁹³ The emphasis in *mor. I* is not on this negative aspect — that is reserved for *mor. II*⁴⁹⁴ — but on the positive one of the divine immutability and infinity (lines 310-324, 415, 428-430, 1024-1028)⁴⁹⁵ and of the necessity for Man to pursue his Highest Good (lines 70-71, 77-83, 229-230), whose supreme goodness is reflected in his creation (lines 203-206, 277-301, 701-703).⁴⁹⁶ In other words, everything, insofar as it *is*,

⁴⁹¹ Cf. *b. uita* 4:35 (p. 115.5) and *ciu. dei* VIII,9-10 (p. 368f.) and compare Plotinus, *Enn.* I,6:7 (BRÉHIER I, p. 103f.).

⁴⁹² Cf. Commentary, 436-437.

⁴⁹³ Compare Plotinus, *Enn.* I,8 (BRÉHIER I, pp. 115-130) and III,6:6 (Bréhier III, pp. 102-104), and cf. GRANDGEORGE, *Saint Augustin*, p. 55: "Tout en reconnaissant comme essentiellement chrétienne la doctrine qui nie l'existence indépendante du principe du mal, on peut croire que le fond métaphysique de la polémique de saint Augustin contre le Manichéisme est emprunté au moins indirectement au néo-platonisme. Il définit le mal, comme Plotin et tous les Alexandrins, une simple défaillance du bien, et démontre avec eux que le bien faisant tout l'être des choses, le mal comme mal ne peut exister véritablement." However, it should be kept in mind that Plotinus himself tended to identify privation with *matter*: cf. *Enn.* I,8:11 (Bréhier I, p. 126f.); also INGE, *The Philosophy* I, pp. 128-150. The idea that evil is only the privation of a good a thing ought to have, but without an independent existence of its own, is really not Plotinian but Aristotelian. Cf. *conf.* VII,12:18 (p. 159.3): "Ergo quaecumque sunt, bona sunt, malumque illud ... non est substantia, quia, si substantia esset, bonum esset. aut enim esset incorruptibilis substantia, magnum utique bonum, aut substantia corruptibilis esset, quae nisi bona esset, corrumpi non posset." Cf. also III,7:12 (p. 54.1), *epist. fund.* 40 (p. 245f.) and *Secund.* 15 (p. 927.23), and compare Ambrose, *De Isaac uel anima* 7:60 (CSEL 32,1/683-685). Cf. also BEZANÇON, *Le mal*; COURCELLE, *Recherches*, p. 124f.; DERISI, *Determinación*, pp. 279-281; NAVILLE, *Saint Augustin*, pp. 52-54; JOLIVET, *Essai*, pp. 112-122; BOYER, *L'idée*, pp. 160-165; and Felice M. VERDE, "Il problema del male da Plutarco a S. Agostino," in *Sapienza. Rivista di filosofia e di teologia* 11 (Rome, 1958), pp. 231-268.

⁴⁹⁴ Augustine, *mor. II*,1:1 (c. 1345), 5:7 (c. 1347f.), 7:9 (c. 1349) and 8:11 (c. 1349f.). Cf. also *epist. fund.* 25 p. (223f.); but the idea is present already in *lib. arb.* I,10 (p. 5.23) and *ord.* II,17:46 (p. 179.5). Cf. the remarks of Du Roy, *L'intelligence*, p. 183, n. 4.

⁴⁹⁵ Cf. Commentary, 310-324.

⁴⁹⁶ Cf. *Gen. imp.* 1:3 (p. 460.6: "Esse autem omnia quae fecit deus bona ualde: mala uero non esse naturalia"); also *Gen. c. Man.* II,29:43 (c. 220) and *conf.* VII,18:24 (p. 163.13).

is good,⁴⁹⁷ and evil cannot exist apart from some created substance:⁴⁹⁸ certainly it is not to be attributed to some non-existent Principle of Evil which co-exists with God (lines 277-281).⁴⁹⁹

The knowledge of God, the knowledge of the human soul: these are the predominant themes of all Augustine's thought.⁵⁰⁰ In this respect *mor. I* is no different from any of Augustine's works (lines 384-390):

Ergo cum etiam *deus* dignis animis *notus* non nisi per intellegentiam possit esse, cum tamen sit ipsa qua intellegitur mente praestantior; quippe qui creator eius atque auctor est; uerendum erat ne *animus humanus*, eo quod inter inuisibilia et intellegibilia numeratur, eiusdem se naturae arbitraretur esse, cuius est ipse qui creauit; et sic ab eo superbia decideret, cui caritate iungendus est.

Within the order of created being, then, Augustine addresses himself primarily to Man (line 89) and, within Man, to his soul (lines 138-139, 148-150) which, when in union with God, is the high point

⁴⁹⁷ Cf. *nat. boni* 2 (p. 856.2: "...omnem naturam, id est, omnem spiritum et omne corpus naturaliter bonum esse"); also 13 (p. 860); *Gen. c. Man.* I,16: 25-26 (c. 185); *lib. arb.* III,126 (p. 120.23); and *conf.* VII,12:18-14:20 (pp. 158-160). Thus even Satan, who is not a god rivalling the God of goodness, but a creature, to the extent that he *is*, is good: cf. *uera rel.* 70 (p. 19.18).

⁴⁹⁸ Cf. *conf.* VII,12:18 (text above, n. 493).

⁴⁹⁹ Cf. above, n. 497. Not even suffering can be attributed to a Principle of Evil, but rather it must be seen as the privation of happiness which God permits in order to chastise the sinner and turn him once more towards God: cf. lines 1030-1031, and compare *b. uita* 3:20-4:33 (pp. 104-114) and *uera rel.* 78-80 (p. 21.10).

⁵⁰⁰ Two passages always cited in this context are *sol.* I,2:7 (c. 872): "A(u)gustinus): Deum et animam scire cupio. R(at)io): Nihilne plus? A: Nihil omnino"; and *ord.* II,18.47 (p. 180.10): "(Philosophiae) duplex quaestio est, una de anima, altera de deo. prima efficit, ut nosmet ipsos nouerimus, altera, ut originem nostram. illa nobis dulcior, ista carior, illa nos dignos beata uita, beatos haec facit, prima est illa discentibus, ista iam doctis. hic est ordo studiorum sapientiae, per quem fit quisque idoneus ad intellegendum ordinem rerum, id est ad dinoscendos duos mundos et ipsum parentem uniuersitatis, cuius nulla scientia est in anima nisi scire, quomodo eum nesciat." Cf. also *sol.* I,15:27 (c. 883) and II,1:1 (c. 885: the famous prayer, "Deus semper idem, nouerim me, nouerim te"). On the Plotinian source for this division, cf. BRÉHIER, *La philosophie*, p. 23: "Tous les interprètes s'accordent à reconnaître chez Plotin la co-existence de deux ordres de questions: le problème religieux, celui de la destinée de l'âme, le moyen de la restaurer dans son état primitif; et le problème philosophique, celui de la structure et de l'explication rationnelle de la réalité." Cf. also GERCKEN, *Inhalt*, pp. 54-69, and PORTALIÉ, *Augustin*, c. 2322f.

of the created order,⁵⁰¹ and which essentially belongs to the world of the intelligible ("inter inuisibilia et intellegibilia numeratur").⁵⁰² Just as for Plotinus, the purpose of Man's existence on earth is to contemplate the supreme Beauty.⁵⁰³ This the soul accomplishes by being purified of material preoccupations (lines 640-648, 697-698, 746-752, 1021-1028, 1074-1075),⁵⁰⁴ in order to free itself for the ascent to the One (lines 726-734, 1056-1060),⁵⁰⁵ who is the light which illumines the mind (lines 186-199, 331-335, 390-391, 649-652).⁵⁰⁶

Neoplatonist or Christian?

The second part of the debate over Augustine's "Platonism" concerns the question: Was Augustine converted in 386 to Christianity, or only to Neoplatonism? Or, put another way: no one denies that he was *baptised* thereafter into the Christian religion; but where did he stand in regard to *faith*? The answers that various modern authors have proffered can be divided into three categories:

1) Alfarić brought attention to this problem by his assertion that until 391 Augustine's real loyalties were to the Neoplatonist philosophy; in that year he would have been forced to make a definite commitment to Christ because of his impending ordination to the Catholic priesthood.⁵⁰⁷ The corollary of this position is a denial of the basic

⁵⁰¹ Cf. Commentary, 346-349 and 356-357.

⁵⁰² Cf. also lines 380-384 and *b. uita* 1:4 (p. 92.4).

⁵⁰³ Cf. Commentary, 1091-1092.

⁵⁰⁴ Cf. *sol.* I,1:2-3 (c. 870: "Deus, qui nisi mundos uerum scire noluisti... quem nemo inuenit, nisi purgatus"), 5-6 (c. 872: "Iube, quaeso, atque impera quidquid uis, sed sana et aperi aures meas, quibus uoces tuas audiam. sana et aperi oculos meos, quibus nutus tuos uideam ... si autem est in me superflui alicuius appetitio, tu ipse me munda et fac idoneum ad uidendum te") and 6:12 (c. 877: "Ergo animae tribus quibusdam rebus opus est, ut oculos habeat quibus iam bene uti possit, ut aspiciat, ut uideat. oculi sani mens est ab omni labe corporis pura, id est, a cupiditatibus rerum mortalium iam remota atque purgata"). Cf. also *b. uita* 3:18-19 (p. 103f.), *serm. dom.* II, 3:11 (p. 102.250), *mus.* VI,15:50 (c. 1189), *uera rel.* 202 (p. 52.7), and especially *conf.* VII,10:16 (p. 157.4): "Et inde admonitus redire ad memet ipsum, intraui in intima mea... intraui et uidi qualicumque oculo animae meae, supra eundem oculum animae meae, supra mentem meam lucem inconmutabilem (cf. I Tim. 6:16), *non hanc uulgarem et conspicuam omni carni...* sed aliud, aliud ualde ab istis omnibus."

⁵⁰⁵ Cf. also *b. uita* 4:36 (p. 116.5), *sol.* I,1:5 (c. 872), and *ag. christ.* 13:14 (p. 117f.). On the stages of this ascent in Augustine's teachings, cf. Commentary, 924-938. Cf. also below, n. 561.

⁵⁰⁶ Cf. Commentary, 186-199.

⁵⁰⁷ Cf. ALFARIĆ, *L'évolution*, p. 399: "Moralement comme intellectuellement

historicity of the *Confessions*, which would then have to be considered as a theological meditation on the mystery of salvation - mixed, it is true, with some historical data, but primarily a projection onto his earlier life of the (by then) thoroughly christianised outlook of the Bishop of Hippo; one would have to refer rather to the *Dialogues* in order to form an accurate picture of Augustine's religious and philosophical state in Milan and Cassiciacum.⁵⁰⁸

2) Boyer takes the directly opposite view: the *Confessions* deserve credence for their historicity, and (even allowing for a continued period of hesitation after the *Gartenerlebnis*) Augustine was definitely converted in Milan to Christianity.⁵⁰⁹

3) Between these two views Courcelle takes a middle position.

c'est au Néoplatonisme qu'il s'est converti, plutôt qu'à l'Évangile." Also his introduction, p. viii: "Quand il a reçu le baptême, il accordait si peu d'importance à ce rite que, dans les écrits de cette époque, où il parle fréquemment de lui-même et de tout ce qui l'intéresse, il n'y fait jamais la plus lointaine allusion. Il était alors assez peu catholique. Sans doute il acceptait la tradition chrétienne, mais il ne la considérait que comme une adaptation populaire de la sagesse platonicienne. Ce n'est que longtemps plus tard qu'il est arrivé à donner à la foi le pas sur la raison." Alfarić's view was proposed already by Jean LE CLERC († 1736) in a commentary on the *Confessions* (cf. PL 47/204-218), and at the end of the last century by Gaston BOISSIER ("La conversion de saint Augustin," in *Revue des deux mondes* 85 (Paris, 1888), pp. 43-69), HARNACK (*Augustins Confessionen*, Ricker, Giessen, 1888, pp. 13-17 and 28f.; *Lehrbuch*, pp. 63, n. 1 and 123, n. 4) and GOURDON (*Essai*), who says Augustine was not Christian until 400!; it was later sustained by WUNDT (*Ein Wendepunkt* and *Augustins Konfessionen*), BECKER (*Augustin*, pp. 9-17, 46f. and 51) and THIMME (*Augustins geistige Entwicklung*, esp. pp. 21f. and 152-159; *Grundlinien*; and, with modifications, *Augustins Selbstbildnis*).

⁵⁰⁸ Recent bibliographies on the debate over the historicity of the *Confessions* can be found in MANDOUZE, *Saint Augustin*, p. 24, n. 1; LÖHRER, *Der Glaubensbegriff*, pp. 24-26; and SOLIGNAC, *Les Confessions* I, pp. 55-84.

⁵⁰⁹ BOYER's position, stated notably in *Christianisme* (cf. also *L'argument; La conversion* and *Le retour*), had been taken already in 1892 by Friedrich WÖRTER (*Die Geistesentwicklung des hl. Aurelius Augustinus bis zu seiner Taufe*, Schöningh, Paderborn), in 1896 by GRANDGEORGE (*Saint Augustin*, p. 3), in 1905 by LOGOZ (*Saint Augustin*, pp. 498-520 - basically an attack on Boissier and Gourdon) and in 1909 by PORTALIÉ (*Augustin*, cc. 2273-2275); it is shared by BARDY (*Chronique*), BARION (*Plotin*, pp. 44-46), DUTOIT (*Augustin*, p. 40f.), HENRY (*Plotin et l'Occident*, pp. 66-68; *Augustine and Plotinus*, p. 10f.), HOLL (*Augustins innere Entwicklung*), JOLIVET (*Saint Augustin*, pp. 35 and 146-151; *Essai*, p. 101), KÖNIG (*Augustinus philosophus*, p. 131), DE LABRIOLLE (*Dans quelle mesure*, pp. 666-670), LE BLOND (*Les conversions*, especially, p. 89f.), LODS (*À propos*), LOTHER (*Augustins Entwicklung*), MARROU (*Saint Augustin*, pp. 176-179), TOLLEY (*The Idea*, p. 24), FEMIANO (*Riflessioni*), and GARVEY (*Saint Augustine*, especially pp. 218-240).

He considers Augustine to have been strongly under the influence of Neoplatonism at the time of the *Gartenerlebnis*; but no less does he believe that in 386 Augustine was converted to the *Gospel* - that it was a conversion worked by the grace of God and not by philosophy alone. It would therefore, he thinks, be more correct to avoid opposing Neoplatonism and Christianity to one another, as though they were mutually exclusive, and to say that the sermons of Ambrose "avaient pu orienter Augustin vers une formule de *néo-platonisme chrétien*." ⁵¹⁰

The scope of the present work does not require that we determine exactly when Augustine sincerely embraced Christianity. However, the close study of *mor. I* imposes two inescapable conclusions: first, that its author devotes a large part of his work to philosophical themes, and reveals in them a strong Neoplatonist influence; and secondly, that he is, by the time he writes this work, fully permeated with the Christian faith. This does not imply that the same cannot be said of even earlier works; that is not the objective here. It *does* imply that Alfarić is wrong: Augustine did not wait until his ordination in 391 to make a full commitment to Christianity, but was already a Christian in the complete sense of the word when he wrote *mor. I*.⁵¹¹ He had long ceased to think of either God or

⁵¹⁰ COURCELLE, *Litiges*, p. 229 (emphasis mine). Cf. also *Les premières "Confessions,"* and *Recherches*, pp. 138 and 251-253. Courcelle's position is accepted by O'MEARA (*Augustine and Neo-Platonism*, pp. 99-101) and MANDOUZE (*Saint Augustin*, p. 111). BOYER remarks (*Le retour*, p. 2): "Que les sermons d'Ambroise aient préparé Augustin à goûter et à accepter beaucoup d'idées plotiniennes; que cette ferveur néo-platonicienne, tout en l'éclairant, ait plutôt retardé sa conversion morale; qu'il ait eu à cette époque une idée fausse de la personne du Christ, tout cela est certain et je suis heureux de le voir affirmé et illustré par M. Courcelle." But then he adds that the statement quoted (*Litiges*, p. 229) "est peut-être encore trop dire... Il suffit que les sermons de l'évêque l'aient *habitué* à un langage et à quelques thèmes généraux qu'il retrouva dans Plotin." Cf. also LODS, *À propos*, p. 64: "Quant à la thèse si suggestive soutenue par M. Courcelle avec tant d'érudition, selon laquelle saint Augustin aurait rencontré à Milan un christianisme déjà teinté de platonisme, elle n'explique pas, malgré ses qualités, ce qui nous semble capital, comment et à quel moment le futur docteur est arrivé à la certitude de son salut personnel."

⁵¹¹ So LOGOZ (*Saint Augustin*, p. 507): "*De moribus Ecclesiae catholicae et de moribus Manichaeorum* (388-389) est une oeuvre toute pénétrée de l'esprit catholique. Le philosophe disparaît derrière le croyant, la pensée religieuse devient plus sûre d'elle-même et à chaque page on pressent le dogmaticien et le Père de l'Eglise." So also LÖHRER (*Der Glaubensbegriff*, p. 76: "Auch in der Schrift *De moribus* ist das kirchliche Denken Augustins schon stark

the soul as corporal substances,⁵¹² and this shows up quite clearly now (lines 316-321, 546-548, 682-686); so, too, does his rejection of the notion that the human soul is part of the divine substance.⁵¹³ There is no longer any question of an irreconcilable dichotomy between Paul and the Old Testament,⁵¹⁴ nor of Scripture's divine origin;⁵¹⁵ and Jesus Christ is not merely "a man of outstanding wisdom,"⁵¹⁶ but the Son of God Incarnate through whom we are freed (lines 635-636),⁵¹⁷ Wisdom itself, Truth itself (lines 409-411, 478-482, 502-507, 515-516, 553, 976-977),⁵¹⁸ "through whom the Father himself is known" (line 553).

ausgeprägt"), and PORTALIÉ (*Augustin*, c. 2273). THIMME holds (*Die geistige Entwicklung*, pp. 226-243) that with the first anti-Manichaean writings — *mor. I-II*, *Gen. c. Man.*, *uera rel.* — Augustine's "Catholicism" begins in earnest. BECKER, who sides with Alfarc in placing Augustine's definitive conversion at a date after the Milan sojourn (cf. above, n. 507), sees the turning-point in his orientation as the death of his mother, and for that reason views *mor. I-II* as Augustine's first genuinely Christian work (*Augustin*, pp. 56-58).

⁵¹² Cf. above, p. 111.

⁵¹³ Cf. below, p. 137.

⁵¹⁴ Cf. below, p. 187f.

⁵¹⁵ Cf. below, p. 150f.

⁵¹⁶ Cf. *conf.* VII,19:25 (p. 164.1): "Ego uero aliud putabam tantumque sentiebam de domino Christo meo, quantum de excellentis sapientiae uiro." Cf. O'CONNELL, *St. Augustine's Early Theory*, pp. 258-267; DU ROY, *L'intelligence*, pp. 88-95; SOLIGNAC, *Les Confessions* I, pp. 693-698 ("La christologie d'Augustin au temps de sa conversion"); COURCELLE, *Recherches*, p. 173, n. 4 and *Les Confessions*, pp. 33-42 (where he ascribes this view of Augustine to Porphyry); and KÖNIG, *Augustinus philosophus*, pp. 126-130.

⁵¹⁷ Cf. Commentary, 211. In *conf.* V,10:20 (p. 107.23) Augustine describes his difficulties in assenting to this doctrine: "Ipsum quoque saluatorem nostrum, unigenitum tuum, tamquam de massa lucidissimae molis tuae porrectum ad nostram salutem ita putabam, ut aliud de illo non crederem nisi quod possem uanitate imaginari. talem itaque naturam eius nasci non posse de Maria uirgine arbitrabar, nisi carne concerneretur. concerni autem et non coinquinari non uidebam, quod mihi tale figurabam. metuebam itaque credere incarnatum, ne credere cogerer ex carne inquinatum." Cf. also VII,19:25 (p. 165.8): "Ego autem aliquanto posterius didicisse me fateor, in eo quod uerbum caro factum est quomodo catholica ueritas a Fotini falsitate dirimatur." The Incarnation is clearly affirmed already in *Acad.* III,19:42 (p. 79.19): "...cui animas multiformibus erroris tenebris caecatas et altissimis a corpore sordibus oblitus numquam ista ratio subtilissima reuocaret, nisi summus deus populari quadam clementia diuini intellectus auctoritatem usque ad ipsum corpus humanum declinaret atque submitteret..." Cf. also *ord.* II,5:16 (p. 157.27) and *quant.* 33:76 (c. 1077); and NÖRREGAARD, *Augustins Bekehrung*, pp. 163-166.

⁵¹⁸ Cf. Commentary, 410-411.

On these points *mor. I*'s presentation can hardly be called profound, but it is perfectly orthodox. And nowhere does Augustine more clearly show his firm Christian conviction than in the theme which begins the work and winds all through it: the relation of reason to authority.

"Authority before reason"

As soon as the preliminaries are out of the way, he loses no time in broaching the subject (line 41):

Unde igitur exordiar? ab auctoritate, an a ratione? ⁵¹⁹

In direct opposition to the Manichaean assertion that nothing should be accepted on faith alone, he affirms that there are two ways of coming to truth: reason *and* authority - but authority come first (lines 41-44; cf. also lines 824-825):

Naturae quidem ordo ita se habet, ut cum aliquid discimus, rationem praecedat auctoritas. Nam infirma ratio uideri potest, quae cum reddita fuerit, auctoritatem postea, per quam firmetur, assumit.

The reason for this is that the order of nature ("naturae ordo") has determined that the human reason, when it finds itself weak in the process of learning something, turns to authority for support. The mind of Man is used to the darkness, to the night of sin. The clarity of perception reason should have is lacking; its vision requires the light of truth which authority brings to it (lines 44-49, continued in 184-199):

Sed quia caligantes *hominum mentes consuetudine tenebrarum*, quibus *in nocte peccatorum uitiorumque uelantur*, perspicuitati sinceritatisque *rationis aspectum* idoneum intendere nequeunt; saluberrime comparatum est, *ut in lucem ueritatis* aciem titubantem ueluti ramis humanita-

⁵¹⁹ On the relationship of reason to authority in Augustine, cf. — besides the articles of DAOUST, BOYER (*L'argument*), DE MONDADON, CUSHMAN, WARFIELD, REARDON, and O'MEARA (*St. Augustine's View*) — BOYER, *L'idée de vérité*; DU ROY, *L'intelligence*, pp. 47-51 and 109-148; KÖNIG, *Augustinus philosophus*, pp. 131-136; LÜTCKE, *Auctoritas*, esp. pp. 182-195; HOLTE, *Béatitude*, pp. 303-334; GERCKEN, *Inhalt*, pp. 30-51; NASH, *The Light of the Mind*, pp. 24-38; HULTGREN, *Le commandement*, pp. 3-11; LÖHRER, *Der Glaubensbegriff*, esp. pp. 101-110 and 155-160; NAVILLE, *Saint Augustin*, pp. 98-119; PORTALIÉ, *Augustin*, cc. 2337-2341; HOFMANN, *Der Kirchenbegriff*, pp. 1-22 and 36-48; and HÖK, *Augustin*, p. 104f. (especially for *mor. I*).

tis *opacata inducat auctoritas...* Sed quo pacto sequimur quem non *uidemus*; aut quomodo *uidemus*, qui non solum homines, sed etiam insipientes homines sumus? Quamquam enim non oculis, sed *mente cernatur*, quae tandem mens idonea reperiri potest, quae cum *stultitiae nube obtegatur*, ualeat *illam lucem* uel etiam conetur haurire? *Confugiendum est igitur ad eorum praecepta, quos sapientes fuisse probabile est.* Hactenus potuit *ratio* perducī. Versebatur namque, non ueritate certior, sed consuetudine securior, in rebus humanis. At *ubi ad diuina peruentum est*, auertit sese; intueri non potest, palpitāt, aestuat, inhiat amore, *reuerberatur luce ueritatis*, et *ad familiaritatem tenebrarum suarum*, non electione, sed fatigatione conuertitur. Quam hic formidandum est, quam tremendum, ne maiorem inde concipiat anima imbecillitatem, ubi quietem fessa conquirīt. Ergo *refugere in tenebrosa* cupientibus *per dispensationem ineffabilis sapientiae*, nobis *illa opacitas auctoritatis* occurrat, et mirabilius rerum, uocibusque librorum ueluti signis temperatioribus ueritatis, *umbrisque blandiatur.*

The notion of a possible dual way to truth, but in which the way of authority would take precedence over that of reason, was by this time nothing new to Augustine: he touches on the theme in his very first work,⁵²⁰ and elaborates on it in other Dialogues.⁵²¹

⁵²⁰ Augustine, *Acad.* III,20:43 (p. 80.10): "Nulli autem dubium est *gemino pondere* nos impelli ad discendum *auctoritatis* atque *rationis*."

⁵²¹ Cf. *ord.* II,5:16 (p. 157.16: "*Duplex enim est uia, quam sequimur, cum rerum nos obscuritas mouet, aut rationem aut certe auctoritatem*") and especially II,9:26 (p. 165.10):

"Ad discendum item necessario *dupliciter* ducimur, *auctoritate* atque *ratione*. tempore *auctoritas*, re autem *ratio* prior est.

aliud est enim, quod in agendo anteponitur, aliud, quod pluris in appetendo aestimatur.

itaque quamquam bonorum *auctoritas* imperitae multitudini uideatur esse salubrior, *ratio* uero aptior eruditīs.

tamen, quia nullus hominum nisi ex imperito peritus fit, nullus autem imperitus nouit, qualem se debeat praebere docentibus et quali uita esse docilis possit, euenit, ut omnibus bona magna et occulta discere cupientibus non aperiat nisi *auctoritas* ianuam. quam quisque ingressus sine ulla dubitatione uitae optimae praecepta sectatur, per quae, cum docilis factus fuerit, tum demum discet et quanta *ratione* praedita sint ea ipsa, quae secutus est ante *rationem*, et quid sit ipsa *ratio*, quam post *auctoritatis* cunabula firmus et idoneus iam sequitur atque comprehendit, et quid intellectus, in quo uniuersa sunt — uel ipse potius uniuersa — et quid praeter uniuersa uniuersorum principium. ad quam cognitionem in hac uita peruenire pauci, ultra quam uero etiam post hanc uitam nemo progredi potest. qui autem sola *auctoritate* contenti bonis tantum moribus rectisque uotis constanter operam dederint aut contemnentes aut non ualentes disciplinis liberalibus atque optimis erudiri, beatos eos quidem, cum inter homines uiuant, nescio quo modo appellem, tamen inconcusse credo, mox

He affirms it again in later writings;⁵²² but in this first work in which he directly confronts Manichaeism he chooses to set aside — for the time being — what he believes is the natural order: he will begin, in view of a creed that professes belief in nothing but reason, with arguments taken from reason (lines 49-52):

Sed quoniam cum his nobis res est, qui omnia *contra ordinem et sentiunt, et loquuntur, et gerunt, nihilque aliud maxime dicunt, nisi rationem prius esse reddendam, morem illis geram; quod fateor in disputando uitiosum esse, suscipiam.*

The arguments from reason he then invokes are three basic postulates: all men desire to be happy (line 56); Man is composed of body and soul (line 94); the soul of Man is perfected through virtue (line 148). These affirmations and the discussion surrounding them are drawn from his readings in Neoplatonism and other sources;⁵²³ but his discomfort at being constrained to argue only from reason becomes apparent in the ratio to arguments from authority: in a work of nearly 1400 lines he is appealing to the "opacitas auctoritatis" by line 197 and to the "uerae religionis fides" by line 208. At the same time he begins referring to scriptural themes: fallen Man (line 201), the continuity of salvation-history (lines 210-212), Creation (line 204). By line 219 he is quoting Scripture directly. Proportionately, therefore, only a small percentage of *mor. I* is devoted exclusively to "philosophical" themes.

Not that Augustine himself would have seen any validity in such a distinction: for him true philosophy and theology are one. He does not recognise a Faith/Philosophy dichotomy, since true philosophy is concerned with the same object as Faith, and that object is Truth.⁵²⁴

ut hoc corpus reliquerint, eos, quo bene magis minusque uixerint, eo facilius aut difficiliter liberari."

For a commentary on this passage, cf. DU ROY, *L'intelligence*, pp. 126-143; also LÖHRER, *Der Glaubensbegriff*, p. 108f.

⁵²² Cf. *mor. II*, 17.55 (c. 1369: "Animam autem hominis, quanto sapientior corpore excesserit, tanto utilius excedere ueritas docet, et *ratione* subtilissima et *auctoritate* latissime peruagata") and *uera rel.* 57 (p. 16.20: "Quae uera esse perspexeris, tene, et ecclesiae catholicae tribue; quae falsa, respue, et mihi qui homo sum ignosce; quae dubia, crede donec aut respuenda esse aut uera esse aut semper credenda esse *uel ratio doceat uel praecipiat auctoritas*").

⁵²³ Cf. Commentary, 55, 56-57, 94-95.

⁵²⁴ So ADAM, *Die geistige Entwicklung*; BOURKE, *Augustine's Quest*; PORTALIÉ, *Augustin*, c. 2322; JOLIVET, *Saint Augustin*, p. 159; MANDOUZE, *Saint Augustin*, pp. 251f. and 499-501; GILSON, *Introduction*, p. 44; MARROU, *Saint Augustin*,

Hence if *mor. I* still retains some of the heavily philosophical orientation of earlier works; if it begins with a presentation from the standpoint of reason; if we find a mixture of philosophical and scriptural terminology (lines 217-222, 334-337, 468-518, 640-643, 649-654, 693-703); it is not simply a case of the Bible undergoing a "philosophical interpretation."⁵²⁵ The true basis of certitude, in Augustine's view, is the authority of Christ (lines 217-218).⁵²⁶ It had become possible for him to attain to truth because of Christ, who is Truth.⁵²⁷

For in the aftermath of his skeptical period Augustine had concluded to the need for some kind of revelation.⁵²⁸ The authority for such revelation could be either human or divine; but, as he recognises in *ord.*, a human authority can err. The authority of revelation would therefore have to be divine:

Auctoritas autem partim diuina est, partim humana, sed uera *firma* summa ea est, quae diuina nominatur... *humana uero auctoritas plerumque fallit*...⁵²⁹

pp. 377-380 (complemented by "Retractatio," pp. 638-643); and especially GERCKEN, *Inhalt*, pp. 45-51, who concludes his remarks by observing (emphasis his): "Das können wir als zweites Wesensmerkmal der augustinischen Philosophie feststellen, dass sie von der Theologie nicht geschieden, sondern *eingebaut* ist in die christliche Lehre. Sie bildet also *kein selbst-ständiges System*. Aufbauend auf dem Fundament der Autorität, des Glaubens hat sie zum Ziel die *rationelle Durchdringung der Glaubenswahrheiten*. Norm und Richtschnur bleibt für sie immer der christliche Glaube." KÖNIG, on the other hand (*Augustinus philosophus*, p. 19) agrees that Augustine does not distinguish between philosophy and theology - until his ordination: "Vor seiner Priesterweihe fasst er christlichen Glauben und philosophisches Denken ... als Einheit auf; für den Presbyter und Bischof Augustin dagegen gilt das nur noch in eingeschränkter Masse: in gewissen Sinne hat er dann sogar der später geläufigen Trennung von Philosophie und Theologie vorgearbeitet."

⁵²⁵ The phrase is KÖNIG's (*Augustinus philosophus*, pp. 136-138).

⁵²⁶ Cf. *Acad.* III,20:43 (p. 80.11): "Mihi ergo certum est nusquam prorsus a Christi auctoritate discedere; non enim reperio ualentiorē."

⁵²⁷ Cf. HOLTE, *Béatitude*, pp. 77-96.

⁵²⁸ Cf. *conf.* V,14:25 (p. 112.16: "...quibus tamen philosophis, quod sine salutari nomine Christi essent, curationem languoris animae meae committere omnino recusabam") and *ut. cred.* 8:20 (p. 25.2: "Saepe rursus intuens, quantum poteram, mentem humanam tam uiuacem, tam sagacem, tam perspicacem, non putabam latere ueritatem, nisi quod in ea quaerendi modus lateret, eundemque ipsum modum ab aliqua diuina auctoritate esse sumendum"). Cf. LÜTCKE, *Auctoritas*, pp. 84-88.

⁵²⁹ Augustine, *ord.* II,9:27 (p. 166.3). Cf. also *uera rel.* 129 (p. 33.25: "Nam ipsi rationi purgatoris animae, quae ad perspicuam ueritatem peruenit, nullo modo auctoritas humana praeponitur. sed ad hanc nulla superbia per-

So faith *includes* philosophy when "philosophy" is understood, not as the "scientia rerum" of the philosophers who limit their investigations to "the elements of this world," but as "amor studiumque sapientiae,"⁵³⁰ which ultimately means "amor studiumque *Christi*" (lines 559-562):

Amore petitur, amore quaeritur, amore pulsatur,
amore reuelatur, amore denique in eo quod reuelatum
fuerit permanetur. Ab hoc *amore sapientiae* diligentiaque quaerendi,
non deterremur ueteri testamento...⁵³¹

Philosophy is not, then, opposed to Faith: true philosophy is *fides quaerens intellectum*, and is absolutely necessary for the seeker after truth :

...nam ipsum uerum non uidebis nisi in philosophiam totus intraue-
ris.⁵³²

The opposite of philosophy is *stultitia*: the *stulti* are those who do not possess *sapientia* (lines 157-169, 310-313, 324-329, 394-396, 415-416),⁵³³ therefore do not possess *Christ* (lines 400-403).⁵³⁴ If

ducit"), and *men.* 20:41 (p. 462.20); and the commentaries of HOHENSEE (*The Augustinian Concept*, p. 377f.) and LÜTCKE (*Auctoritas*, pp. 110-118).

⁵³⁰ Cf. above, p. 115f.

⁵³¹ Also the interpretation of HOLTE, *Béatitude*, p. 104.

⁵³² Augustine, *Acad.* II,3:8 (p. 29.8). Cf. also *uera rel.* 5:26 (p. 9.29): "Sic enim creditur et docetur quod est humanae salutis caput, non aliam esse philosophiam, id est sapientiae studium, et aliam religionem..."; and *serm.* 118,1 (c. 672: "praecedit fides, sequitur intellectus"). Cf. HOLTE, *Béatitude*, pp. 381-386.

⁵³³ Cf. *b. uita* 4:28 (p. 110.10: "Est ergo animi egestas, inquam, nihil aliud quam *stultitia*. *haec est enim contraria sapientiae* et ita contraria, ut mors uitae, ut beata uita miseriae, hoc est sine aliquo medio"); also *ut. cred.* 12:27-13:28 (p. 34.29).

⁵³⁴ Possibly the idea was inspired by Rom. 1:22 ("dicentes enim se esse *sapientes stulti* facti sunt"), quoted in *conf.* VII,9:14 (p. 156.8) and VIII,1:2 (p. 171.3); or by I Cor. 1:20-21 ("Vbi sapiens? ubi scriba? ubi conquisitor huius saeculi? nonne *stultam* fecit deus *sapientiam huius mundi*? nam quia in *dei sapientia* non cognouit mundus per *sapientiam* deum: placuit deo per *stultitiam* praedicationis saluos facere credentes"). Cf. *b. uita* 4:34 (p. 114.17: "Accepimus autem auctoritate diuina dei filium nihil esse aliud quam *dei sapientiam*"), *epist.* 14 *ad Nebridium* 4 (p. 34.13: "Item quaeris, utrum summa illa ueritas et summa sapientia, forma rerum, per quam facta sunt omnia, quem filium dei unicum sacra nostra profitentur, generaliter hominis, an etiam uniuscuiusque nostrum rationem contineat") and *lib. arb.* II,153-154 (p. 75.10: "...iam ipsa ueritas deus est ... nam si te hoc mouet quod apud sacrosanctam disciplinam Christi in fidem recepimus, esse patrem sapientiae, memento nos etiam hoc in fidem accepisse, quod aeterno patri

there is any opposition to be made to *auctoritas*, it is not in *philosophia* but in *ratio*.⁵³⁵ But the relationship between the two is not Augustine's preoccupation in *mor. I*: he is more interested in offsetting the Manichaean claim to rely on reason alone. For him it is by *auctoritas* (*Christi*) that one is brought to wisdom (through the soul's purification)⁵³⁶ and the consequent dispelling of the mind's 'darkness' (lines 44-49, 184-199: cf. above, p. 126),⁵³⁷ through the acquisition of virtue (lines 148, 451, 487-488),⁵³⁸ summed up in the Supreme Commandment (lines 217-223):

Audiamus ergo quem finem bonorum nobis, *Christe, praescribas*; nec dubium est quin is erit finis, quo *nos summo amore tendere iubes*: Diliges, inquit, dominum deum tuum. Dic mihi etiam, quaeso te, qui sit diligendi modus: uereor enim ne plus minusue quam oportet, inflammer desiderio et amore domini mei. Ex toto, inquit, corde tuo. Non est satis. Ex tota anima tua. Ne id quidem satis est. Ex tota mente tua.

For the first time in his writings, Augustine clearly emphasises the words of Christ in Matt. 22:38-40 as the basis for all Christian morality.⁵³⁹ God is the object to whom all Man's love must ultimately be directed (lines 821-823):

aequalis sit quae ab ipso genita est sapientia"); also *quaest.* 25 (c. 17: "Sapientia dei hominem ad exemplum, quo recte uiueremus, suscepit").

⁵³⁵ Cf. O'MEARA, *St. Augustine's View*, p. 339, n. 6: "The term *philosophia* is not as satisfactory in the contrast with *auctoritas* as is *ratio*."

⁵³⁶ Cf. *Expos. epistulae ad Galatas* 36 (CSEL 84/104.17: "Manifestum est enim, quamdiu per fidem ambulamus, non per speciem, nondum nos cognouisse deum sed *ea fide purgari*, ut opportuno tempore cognoscere ualeamus") and *ut. cred.* 15:33 (p. 42.1: "...ut commotorum auctoritate hominum prius uita moresque purgarentur...") and 34 (p. 43.13: "Homini ergo non ualenti uerum intueri, ut ad id fiat idoneus purgarique se sinat, *auctoritas praesto est*"); also LÖHRER, *Der Glaubensbegriff*, pp. 203-207; THIMME, *Augustins geistige Entwicklung*, pp. 44-54; LÜTCKE, *Auctoritas*, pp. 93-96; and WARFIELD, *Augustine's doctrine*, p. 370f.

⁵³⁷ Cf. Commentary, 186-199.

⁵³⁸ According to *doct. christ.* I,22 (p. 13.21), good *mores* are a sign that purification has taken place and *uirtus* been acquired: "Quapropter, cum illa ueritate perfruendum sit quae incommutabiliter uiuit, et in ea trinitas deus, auctor et conditor uniuersitatis, rebus quas condidit consulat, *purgandus est animus*, ut et perspicere illam lucem ualeat et inhaerere perspectae. quam purgationem quasi ambulationem quandam et quasi nauigationem ad patriam esse arbitremur. non enim ad eum, qui ubique praesens est locis mouemur, sed bono studio bonisque moribus."

⁵³⁹ Cf. HULTGREN, *Le commandement*, pp. 9 and 65. The only definite

Quid ergo agendum est, quid quaeso, nisi ut eum ipsum quem cognoscere uolumus, prius plena caritate diligamus?

But, as Christ has said, to truly love God implies truly loving oneself and truly loving other men (lines 828-844):

Non enim fieri potest ut se ipsum, qui deum diligit, non diligit: immo uero solus se nouit diligere, qui deum diligit. Si quidem ille se satis diligit, qui sedulo agit, ut summo et uero perfruatur bono: quod si nihil est aliud quam deus, sicut ea quae dicta sunt docuerunt, quis cunctari potest, quin sese amet, qui amator est dei? Quid? Inter ipsos homines nullumne esse amoris uinculum debet? Immo uero ita debet, ut nullus certior gradus ad amorem dei fieri posse credatur, quam hominis erga hominem caritas. Promat nobis ergo alterum praeceptum ipse dominus, de uitae praeceptis interrogatus: non enim contentus fuit uno, qui sciret aliud deum esse, aliud hominem; atque interesse tantum, quantum inter eum qui creauit, et id quod ad creatoris similitudinem creatum est. Dicit ergo secundum praeceptum esse: Diliges proximum tuum tamquam te ipsum. Te autem ipsum salubriter diligis, si plus quam te diligis deum. Quod ergo agis tecum, id agendum cum proximo est; hoc est, ut ipse etiam perfecto amore diligit deum. Non enim eum diligis tamquam te ipsum, si non ad id bonum ad quod ipse tendis, adducere satagis.

Love is the framework of all Christian living; in *mor. I* Augustine never strays far from the word.⁵⁴⁰ But the love of which he speaks is founded squarely on the command (*auctoritas!*) of Christ (lines 548-559):

Quare uobiscum modo sic agendum est, non ut ea iam intellegatis, quod fieri non potest; sed ut intellegere aliquando cupiatis. Facit enim hoc simplex et pura caritas dei, quae maxime spectatur in moribus, de qua multa iam diximus: quae inspirata spiritu sancto

Manichaeian reference I have found to the Great Commandment is in two Coptic "psalms": cf. ALLBERRY, *A Manichaeian Psalm-Book*, pp. 40.4 ("Man, thou lovest thy life: love thy neighbour as thyself") and 177.24:

May we moor, may we moor to compassion.

May we moor, may we moor to kindliness.

May we moor, may we moor to love for God.

May we moor, may we moor to love for men.

⁵⁴⁰ The references are too many to list here. Cf. *amare, amor, caritas, diligentia, diligere* in the Indices, pp. 438, and 440. On love as the basis of morality in Augustine, cf. PORTALIÉ, *Augustin*, cc. 2432-2438, and SOLIGNAC, *Les Confessions II*, pp. 617-622.

perducit ad filium, id est, ad sapientiam dei, per quam pater ipse cognoscitur. Nam si sapientia et ueritas non totius animi uiribus concupiscatur, inueniri nullo pacto potest. At si ita quaeratur, ut dignum est, subtrahere sese atque abscondere a suis dilectoribus non potest. Hinc est illud, quod in ore habere etiam uos soletis, quod ait: Petite, et accipietis; quaerite, et inuenietis; pulsate, et aperietur uobis. Nil est occultum, quod non reuelabitur.

But if authority precedes reason, even to the point of being the foundation of *mores* (cf. line 846), what part has reason to play in the process of coming to the truth? This is not a problem that Augustine dwells on in *mor. I*; but the indications we find there become clear when compared with some of his other writings. Reason is perfectly capable of arriving at some truth on its own (cf. above, p. 127: "Hactenus potuit *ratio* perducī"; also line 122).⁵⁴¹ There are even a few individuals who have been able to attain to total truth solely by an enlightened intellect.⁵⁴² But they are few, indeed: most human beings remain in need of the guidance of authority; otherwise they could not grasp truth at all (lines 184-189).⁵⁴³

⁵⁴¹ Cf. GRANDGEORGE, *Saint Augustin*, pp. 26-28 and 43-45. Augustine believed that the ancient philosophers had been able to arrive at *some* truth on their own: cf. *serm.* 68,2:3 (c. 439) and 241,1:1 (c. 1133f.).

⁵⁴² Cf. *sol.* I,1:2 (c. 869), *ord.* II,9:26 (text above, n. 521), *ut. cred.* 8:20-10:24 (pp. 24-31), *epist. fund.* 5 (p. 196.5); also *doct. christ.* I,93 (p. 32.17: "Homo itaque fide spe et caritate subnixus eaque inconcusse retinens non indiget scripturis nisi ad alios instruendos"). As an example of this claim he proposes the desert monks; doubtless he is thinking of Antony: cf. *doct. christ.*, prol., 7-8 (p. 4.25: "...recordentur se tamen per homines didicisse uel litteras nec propterea sibi ab Antonio sancto et perfecto Aegyptio monacho insultari debere, qui *sine ulla scientia litterarum scripturas et memoriter audiendo tenuisse et prudenter cogitando intellexisse praedicatur...*") and compare Athanasius' *Uita s. Antonii* 3 (in the translation of Evagrius, PG 26/845, PL 73/128 C: "*Auditioni etiam scripturarum ita studium commodabat, ut nihil ex eius animo laberetur; sed uniuersa domini praecepta custodiens, memoriam pro libris haberet*"). Cf. LÜTCKE, *Auctoritas*, pp. 78-88.

⁵⁴³ Cf. *ord.* II,13:88 (p. 174.11: "Uerum quoniam plerumque stulti homines ad ea, quae suadenter recte utiliter et honeste, non ipsam sincerissimam quam rarus animus uidet ueritatem, sed proprios sensus consuetudinemque sectantur, oportebat eos non doceri solum, quantum queunt, sed saepe et maxime commoueri"); *quant.* 7:12 (c. 1042: "His [imperitioribus] ergo utilissimum est excellentissimae auctoritati credere et secundum hoc agere uitam"); *ut. cred.* 10:24 (p. 29.10: "Cum res tanta sit, ut deus tibi ratione cognoscendus sit, omnesque putas idoneos esse percipiendis rationibus, quibus ad diuinam intellegentiam mens ducitur humana, an plures, an paucos? paucos, existimo") and 16:34

This is not to say that when *auctoritas* is in operation *ratio* has become valueless. For at best authority can present the truth only in a veiled manner; the truth is more clearly perceived when *auctoritas* receives the cooperation of *ratio*:

... ad mores uitamque optimam non iam sola fide sed certa ratione perducit.⁵⁴⁴

To what *auctoritas* enjoins us to believe *ratio* brings enlightenment, that we may understand what we believe (lines 662-663):

Non enim nunc de fide, sed de uita dicere institui, per quam meremur scire quod credimus.⁵⁴⁵

However, *ratio* can only bring enlightenment (*uisio*) after it has itself been purified:

Quam ob rem ipsa quoque animae medicina, quae diuina prouidentia et ineffabili beneficentia geritur, gradatim distincteque pulcherrima est. Tribuitur enim in *auctoritatem* atque *rationem*.

Auctoritas fidem flagitat et rationi praeparat hominem, ratio ad intellectum cognitionemque perducit.

Quamquam neque *auctoritatem* *ratio* penitus deserit, cum consideratur cui credendum sit;

et certe summa est ipsius iam cognitae atque perspicuae ueritatis *auctoritas*.

Sed quia in temporalia deuenimus et eorum amore ab aeternis impedimur, quaedam temporalis medicina, quae *non scientes, sed credentes* ad salutem uocat, *non naturae et excellentiae, sed ipsius temporis ordine prior est*.⁵⁴⁶

(p. 42.19: "Sola est auctoritas, quae con mouet stultos, ut ad sapientiam festinent"). Cf. LÜTCKE, *Auctoritas*, pp. 64-78 and 89: "Dieser Gedanke des Anstosses, eines Anstosses, den die Seele braucht, um bereit zu werden für das Streben zur Weisheit, zieht sich durch alle Schriften Augustins"; also O'CONNELL, *St. Augustine's Early Theory*, pp. 243-250; and FEMIANO, *Riflessioni*, pp. 83-87.

⁵⁴⁴ Augustine, *ord.* II,19:50 (p. 182.8). Cf. also *lib. arb.* I,2:4 (p. 5f.). On faith as a precondition for knowing, cf. NAVILLE, *Saint Augustin*, p. 97f.; CADIOU, *Notes*, pp. 600-607; and LÜTCKE, *Auctoritas*, pp. 188-192.

⁵⁴⁵ Cf. *ut. cred.* 11:25 (p. 32.22: "Quod intellegimus igitur, debemus rationi, quod credimus, auctoritati"), *sol.* I,3:8 (c. 873: "Omne autem quod scimus, recte fortasse etiam credere dicimur; at non omne quod credimus, etiam scire") and *nat. boni* 24 (p. 865.25: "Quae nostra fides habet et utcumque ratio uestigauit diuinarum scripturarum munienda sunt, ut qui ea minore intellectu adsequi non possunt, diuinae auctoritati credant et ob hoc intellegere mereantur").

⁵⁴⁶ Augustine, *uera rel.* 122-123 (p. 32.2). However, this *uisio* is not absolutely necessary for salvation: cf. *quant.* 7:12 (c. 1042), *ut. cred.* 11:25

So authority takes precedence over reason in the order of time (*temporis*); reason, on the other hand, precedes authority in the order of nature and excellence (*naturae et excellentiae*),⁵⁴⁷ clarifying what the mind first received from authority,⁵⁴⁸ and in turn preparing the mind to acquiesce to that authority.⁵⁴⁹ Between the two there is, consequently, a basic accord; *ratio* and *auctoritas* do not really conflict: rather, they supplement one another (lines 444-448):

Non arbitror cum de moribus et uita fit quaestio, amplius esse requirendum, quod sit hominis summum bonum, quo referenda sunt omnia. Id enim esse patuit, et *ratione* quantum ualuimus, et ea quae nostrae *rationi* antecellit *auctoritate* diuina, nihil aliud quam ipsum deum.⁵⁵⁰

Conclusion: Neoplatonism in the service of the Faith

This principle he applies to his use of the Neoplatonist philosophy. Augustine's own *ratio* informs him that not everything he finds in Plotinus can be reconciled to what he has been told by the *auctoritas*

(p. 32.22) and 12:27 (p. 34.23) and *conf.* XI,31:41 (p. 310.6): "Qui intellegit, confiteatur tibi (domine), et qui non intellegit, confiteatur tibi."

⁵⁴⁷ Cf. also *ord.* II,9:26 text above, n. 521).

⁵⁴⁸ Cf. *trin.* XV,2:2 (p. 461.26): "Fides quaerit, intellectus inuenit, propter quod ait propheta: Nisi credideritis, non intellegitis (Is. 7:9)." Cf. MANDOUZE, *Saint Augustin*, pp. 265-271. LÖHRER, notes (*Der Glaubensbegriff*, p. 72) that Augustine uses the verse from Isaiah "als eine Art leitmotiv" already in *lib. arb.* I,11 (p. 6.7) and *mag.* 11:37 (p. 46.25).

⁵⁴⁹ In three ways: (1) Only a creature with the ability to reason is also capable of belief (*serm.* 43,7:9, c. 275f.; *ord.* II,5:16, p. 157.18); (2) Before one can believe, one must at least know what is to be believed (*serm.* 43,3-4, c. 255f.; *praed.* 2:5, c. 963); (3) Before belief, reason is often called upon to place a value-judgment on the authority which demands belief (*ut. cred.* 31, pp. 38-40). Cf. also the whole of *epist.* 120, and the commentaries of LÜTCKE (*Auctoritas*, pp. 192-194), REARDON (*The Relation*, p. 290f.) and WARFIELD (*Augustine's Doctrine*, pp. 383f. and 392-394).

⁵⁵⁰ Hence ROBERTS can say (*Augustine's Earliest Writings*, p. 163) that "Augustine never abandoned the general principle of a concordat between faith and reason." HOFMANN (*Der Kirchenbegriff*, p. 36) gives a similar view: "Die Frage lautete jetzt für ihn nicht mehr: Glaube oder Vernunft, sondern Glaube und Vernunft"; also WARFIELD (*Augustine's Doctrine*, p. 389): "The fact of primary importance to note here is that with Augustine faith and reason are never conceived of as antagonists, contradictories, but always as coadjutants, co-operating to a common end." Cf. also LÜTCKE, *Auctoritas*, pp. 184-186; DOUAIS, *Saint Augustin contre le manichéisme* I, p. 424; NAVILLE, *Saint Augustin*, p. 96f.; DAOUST, *Raison*, p. 45; LEGRAND, *Saint Augustin*, p. 369; and DUCHROW, *Sprachverständnis*, pp. 105-109.

of Christ.⁵⁵¹ The course he must choose is then beyond doubt: for him the Plotinian ideas are a way of expressing the Christian Faith (and not the reverse), and therefore when a conflict arises between them it is the former — Neoplatonism — which must undergo adaptation or, when even this is impossible, be set aside:

Quod autem subtilissima *ratione* persequendum est — ita enim iam sum affectus, ut quid sit uerum *non credendo solum sed etiam intellegendo* apprehendere impatienter desiderem — *apud Platonicos me interim quod sacris nostris non repugnet, reperturum esse confido.*⁵⁵²

He therefore does not hesitate to affirm the Incarnation,⁵⁵³ which he did not find in his reading of the Neoplatonists.⁵⁵⁴ He refuses

⁵⁵¹ I cannot escape the impression that to a large extent Augustine initially rejected certain elements of Plotinism, not because he found them to be in conflict with the Catholic faith, but because they too nearly approached similar elements in Manichaeism. The theory could apply only to his early Christian years, but at any rate merits a study of its own.

⁵⁵² Augustine, *Acad.* III,20:43 (p. 80.13). Cf. the commentary of HOLTE on this passage (*Béatitude*, pp. 74-76); also *b. uita* 1:4 (p. 92.4): "Sed ne in philosophiae gremium celeriter aduolare, fateor, uxoris honorisque inlecebra detinebar, ut, cum haec essem consecutus, tum demum me, quod paucis felicissimis licuit, totis uelis, omnibusque remis in illum sinum raperem ibique conquiescerem. lectis autem *Plotini* paucissimis libris ... conlataque cum eis, quantum potui, etiam *illorum auctoritate, qui diuina mysteria tradiderunt*, sic exarsi, ut omnes illas uellem ancoras rumpere, nisi me nonnullorum hominum existimatio conuoueret." In connection with *b. uita* DUTOIT notes (*Augustin*, p. 44) that already there is what he calls "le glissement du plan de la *ratio* au plan de l'*auctoritas divina*." Even ALFARIC (*L'évolution*, p. 519), referring to the *Dialogues*, makes a similar admission: "Profondément convaincu, depuis sa conversion, de la vérité du Christianisme, il s'est dit qu'aucun désaccord ne pouvait surgir entre cette religion et la véritable philosophie. En conséquence, sur certains points qui demeuraient obscurs dans les *Ennéades* et au sujet desquels la tradition catholique s'exprimait plus clairement, il a interprété les conceptions néo-platoniciennes conformément à l'enseignement officiel de l'Eglise." Alfaric's purpose is to reduce the choice to a search for *clarity*; but others who have noticed instances where a choice was made have based it correctly on *faith*: cf. LÖHRER, *Der Glaubensbegriff*, p. 81f., who observes (p. 37): "Die Wirkung dieser Erzählung für die Erfahrung der *auctoritas* ist um so bedeutsamer, als Augustinus bis jetzt sehr stark Individualist war." Cf. also HOLL, *Augustins innere Entwicklung*, p. 9; HOFMANN, *Der Kirchenbegriff*, pp. 81-99 ("Die Begründung der Autorität der Kirche im Kampf gegen den Manichäismus"); LÜTCKE, *Auctoritas*, pp. 123-128; MONCEAUX, *L'évolution*, p. 251f.; and PORTALIÉ, *Augustin*, c. 2326. For further differences between Neoplatonism and Augustine's thinking, cf. GRANDGEORGE, *Saint Augustin*, pp. 11-13 and 44-50; FEMIANO, *Riflessioni*, pp. 63-76; and SWITALSKI, *Neoplatonism*, pp. 106-109.

⁵⁵³ Cf. above, p. 125.

⁵⁵⁴ Cf. *conf.* VII,9:14 (p. 154.23): "Item legi ibi, quia uerbum, deus, non

to accept the Plotinian divine being as meaning the three hypostases (ἐν, νοῦς, ψυχὴ) distinct from but subordinate to one another;⁵⁵⁵ instead he insists on the equality of the three divine Persons of the Christian Trinity.⁵⁵⁶ Nor does created being, as Plotinus (and Manichaeism) would have it, share in the divine essence:⁵⁵⁷ creatures are not to be confused with their Creator (lines 376-379 and 399-403).⁵⁵⁸

ex carne, non ex sanguine neque ex uoluntate uiri neque ex uoluntate carnis, sed ex deo natus est; sed quia uerbum caro factum est (Ioan. 1:14) et habitauit in nobis, *non ibi legi*"; and 21:27 (p. 167.19): "Quid faciet miser homo? quis eum liberabit de corpore mortis huius nisi gratia tua per Iesum Christum dominum nostrum (Rom. 7:24f.), quem genuisti coaeternum, et creasti in principio uiarum tuarum (Pr. 8:22), in quo princeps huius mundi (Io. 14:30) non inuenit quicquam morte dignum, et occidit eum; et euacuatum est chirophragum quod erat contrarium nobis (Col. 2:14)? *hoc illae litterae non habent.*" Cf. also *epist. 118 ad Dioscorum* 17 (p. 681.23) and *ciu. dei* IX,16 (p. 431.1).

⁵⁵⁵ Plotinus, *Enn.* I,7:2 (BRÉHIER I, p. 109.1) and V,1:1-8 (BRÉHIER V, pp. 15-26). Cf. ARNOU, *Le désir*, pp. 113-117, and BARION, *Plotin*, pp. 89-98. DAHL (*Augustin*, pp. 30-73) thinks Augustine may have accepted the Plotinian subordination of hypostases in earlier works. Cf. DUCHROW, *Christenheit*, p. 200, and GARVEY, *Saint Augustine*, pp. 56-66.

⁵⁵⁶ Cf. below, p. 244.

⁵⁵⁷ Plotinus, *Enn.* II,3:13-18 (BRÉHIER II, pp. 37-45). Cf. ARNOU, *Le désir*, pp. 162-176, and BARION, *Plotin*, pp. 118-127. Manichaeism had a similar teaching: cf. below, n. 562; also *Fel.* II,20 (p. 849.30): "Manichaeus dicit quia polluta est *pars dei*, et Christus dicit quia polluta est anima..." Cf. also DECRET, *Aspects*, p. 218f.

⁵⁵⁸ In these texts — and probably also in *sol.* I,1:2 (c. 869), and *quant.* 34:77 (c. 1077f.) — Augustine seems to reject the Plotinian "Universal Soul": cf. *Enn.* II,1:5 (BRÉHIER II, p. 10f.) and 9:4 (p. 115f.); IV,3:8 (Bréhier IV, p. 72.4 and 9 (pp. 231-235); V,1:2 (Bréhier V, pp. 16-18); and VI,4:4 (Bréhier VI,1, pp. 181-183). On exactly what this "Universal Soul" signified for Plotinus, cf. ARNOU, *Le désir*, pp. 118-121 and 182-187; ARMSTRONG, *St. Augustine*, pp. 3-9; INGE, *The Philosophy* I, pp. 205-213; and NASH, *The Light of the Mind*, p. 50f. VERBEKE (*Augustin et le Stoïcisme*, p. 79) thinks Augustine may have accepted the theory as late as *inmort.*, while PORTALIÉ contends (*Augustine*, c. 2331, citing as examples both *inmort.* 15:24 and *mus.* VI,14:44) that "la cosmogonie platonicienne lui a fait adopter au début la fameuse thèse de l'âme universelle qui fait du monde un immense animal." However, Vernon J. BOURKE, who has studied this problem in an article entitled "St. Augustine and the Cosmic Soul," in *Giornale di metafisica* 9 (Genoa, 1954), pp. 431-440, concludes by saying: "The only historically justifiable conclusion to make at the end of this reading of Augustine's texts on the cosmic soul is that he consistently refused either to affirm or deny its existence. All that we can say is that St. Augustine was definitely opposed to any divinization of the world soul, if there is such a soul." Manichaeans tended to speak of a "world-soul," meaning all human souls together, which their portions of Light-elements:

When he considers Man, Augustine hesitates over the problem of the relationship between soul and body (cf. lines 91-96, 120-122, 138-139, 649-654 and 875-877);⁵⁵⁹ he shares Plotinus' view of a body *ruled* by the soul,⁵⁶⁰ but cannot envisage Man as a pre-existing pure soul which has denigrated itself to the point of "coming down" and becoming united with corporality:⁵⁶¹ the body is not evil, but belongs to Man *qua* Man (lines 113-118, 122-129, 875-877 and 934-936).⁵⁶² The difficulties we encounter with our bodies stem, not

cf. BAUR, *Das manichäische Religionssystem*, pp. 112-117; HENRICHS-KOENEN, *Ein griechisches Mani-Codex*, p. 166; and PUECH, *Le manichéisme*, p. 154, n. 275.

⁵⁵⁹ Even much later he finds it difficult to explain. Cf. *ciu. dei*, X,29 (p. 497f.).

⁵⁶⁰ Cf. Commentary, 103-106.

⁵⁶¹ Plotinus, *Enn.* I,1:12 (BRÉHIER I, p. 47.22), IV,8:1 (Bréhier IV, p. 216f.) and 4.5 (pp. 220-223), V,1:1 (Bréhier V, p. 15f.) and VI,4:14 (Bréhier VI,1, p. 194f.). Cf. ARNOU, *Le désir*, pp. 204-211, and INGE, *The Philosophy* I, pp. 254-264, who cautions (p. 259) that "there is a want of firmness and consistency in this part of his philosophy." Sometimes Plotinus speaks of God *willing* the soul's 'descent' to the material world, at other times of its 'coming down' of its own volition; but in either case Plotinus would say that the ensuing union with a material body was a "demotion" for the essentially spiritual soul. In earlier writings Augustine may have subscribed to a "fall of the soul" theory: cf. *retr.* I,1:8 (p. 15.5: "...cum agerem de animo dixi: *Securior rediturus in caelum*. iturus autem quam rediturus dixissem securius, propter eos qui putant animos humanos pro meritis peccatorum suorum de caelo lapsos siue deiectos, in corpora ista detrudi"), which is a reference to *Acad.* II,9:22 (p. 39.8: "...(animum) *quasi in regionem suae originis rediens...* triumphaturum de libidinibus atque ita temperantia uelut coniuge accepta regnaturum esse praesumit securior redditurus in caelum"); the idea is continued in *mor. I* (line 397): "Dilectione igitur *redit* (animus) in deum." That Augustine *did* subscribe to the theory is the opinion of PÉPIN (*La connaissance*, p. 236f.) and O'CONNELL (*The Plotinian Fall*; also *St. Augustine's Early Theory*, and especially *St. Augustine's Confessions. The Odyssey of Soul*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge (Mass.), 1969, in which the Plotinian "Fall" and "Return" of Man are posited as the framework of Augustine's best-known work); against this are JOLIVET (*La doctrine*, pp. 452-455; and an article entitled "San Agustín y la pre-existencia platónica de las almas," in *August.* 1 (1956), pp. 49-51), and GILSON (*Introduction*, pp. 94-96).

⁵⁶² In the thought of Plato, the body is not evil by nature but, like all elements of the visible world, has been created by God. Yet it is viewed as the source of all evil which affects the soul in an adverse manner (cf. *ciu. dei* XIV,5, p. 10) and withholds the soul from achieving its true destiny (*ibid.* XIII,18, p. 640). Plotinus' view is that the body is evil because the world is essentially defective (*Enn.* I,2:1, BRÉHIER I, pp. 51-53; 6:5, p. 100f.; 6:7, p. 103f.; 8:4, p. 118f.; and 8:8, p. 123f.). Cf. HOLTE, *Béatitude*, p. 38; also ARNOU, *Le désir*, pp. 31-41. For Augustine to have agreed with Plotinus on this would have also implied agreement with the Manichaeans, for whom

from an inherently evil nature, but from Adam's Fall (lines 199-206, 626-635 and 715-718).⁵⁶³ Death's purpose is not to rid the soul forever of its body,⁵⁶⁴ but to resurrect and transform both components of Man (lines 617-618 and 721-722).⁵⁶⁵

Clearly, Augustine counts himself among those Christian thinkers who, far from opposing "philosophy" to "faith," prefer to put the former to work in the service of the latter⁵⁶⁶ - an attitude he was later to make explicit:

Philosophi autem, qui uocantur, si qua forte uera et fidei nostrae accommodata dixerunt, *maxime Platonici*, non solum formidanda non sunt, sed ab eis etiam tamquam iniustis possessoribus *in usum nostrum uindicanda*.⁵⁶⁷

the body, being from a demonic source (cf. above, pp. 41-43), was therefore essentially evil: cf. Ephrem (MITCHELL, *S. Ephraim's Prose Refutations*, I, pp. xxxi — where the body is "the prison-house of the soul," — 5 and 122); Serapion (10-12, CASEY, *Serapion*, p. 33.17); the Turfan fragments in HENNING, *Ein manichäisches Bet- und Beichtbuch*, pp. 44f. and 217; and Augustine, *Faust.* XX,17 (p. 557.2): "Neque enim in lignis solum et in herbis aut *in membris humanis*, sed etiam in pecorum carnibus eum (= deum) contaminantibus et pollutibus *uinculis* conligatum esse censetis. ipsa uero *anima* uestra, cui deo laudem dicat, cuius particulam se ipsam in tenebrarum gente *captam teneri* conclamans quid aliud quam uituperat deum, quem sibi alio pacto aduersus hostes suos consulere non potuisse testatur, nisi partium suarum tanta corruptione et tam turpi captiuitate?" Cf. also XX,22 (p. 565.28): "Sed Manichei *corpora humana* opificium dicunt esse gentis tenebrarum et *carceres*, quibus uictus inclusus est deus."

⁵⁶³ Cf. NÖRREGAARD, *Augustins Bekehrung*, pp. 186-189. For Augustine's later teaching on original sin, cf. PORTALIÉ, *Augustin*, cc. 2392-2398. Here the notion is as much against Manichaeism as it is against Neoplatonism: cf. BUONAIUTI, *La prima coppia*. Even NAVILLE admits (*Saint Augustin*, p. 92) the Christian character of Augustine's ideas on the "Fall" at this period: "Cette idée est spécifiquement chrétienne. Il n'y a de chute proprement dite ni dans le platonisme ni dans la philosophie alexandrine. L'analogie de cette doctrine avec la procession des âmes de Platon et surtout la descente des âmes de Plotin est beaucoup plus apparente que réelle."

⁵⁶⁴ Plotinus (*Enn.* III,6:6, BRÉHIER III, p. 104.71) says that the true awakening of the soul consists in rising *from* the body, not *with* it: ἡ δ' ἀληθινὴ ἐγρήγορσις ἀληθινὴ ἀπὸ σώματος, οὐ μετὰ σώματος, ἀνάστασις. The Christian antithesis, of course, is the resurrection.

⁵⁶⁵ Cf. Commentary, 721.

⁵⁶⁶ Cf. on this HOLTE, *Béatitude*, pp. 111-190; also ARNOU, *Platonisme des Pères*, cc. 2294-2322.

⁵⁶⁷ Augustine, *doct. christ.* II,144 (p. 75.9). Augustine then gives the analogy of Israel's despoilment of the Egyptians, using the gold and silver of their idols while repudiating their idolatry, and he adds: "Quod eorum tamquam aurum et argentum quod non ipsi instituerunt sed de quibusdam

As Courcelle points out,⁵⁶⁸ it is perhaps too much to say with Alfaric and Henry that Augustine later turned from being an adept of Neoplatonism to being its adversary;⁵⁶⁹ the opinion expressed by Augustine in *uera rel.* in 390 would find an echo in 410 and still later in 425.⁵⁷⁰ To Neoplatonism Augustine owed both his intellectual

quasi metallis diuinae prouidentiae, quae ubique infusa est, eruerunt, et quo peruerse atque iniuriose ad obsequia daemonum abutuntur, cum ab eorum misera societate sese animo separat, debet ab eis auferre christianus ad usum iustum praedicandi euangelii, uestem quoque illorum, id est, hominum quidem instituta. sed tamen accommodata humanae societati qua in hac uita carere non possumus, accipere atque habere licuerit in usum conuertenda christianum." HENRY (*Plotin et l'Occident*, pp. 96-103) sees in the "spoils of Egypt" in *conf.* (e.g. VII,9:15, p. 156.9) references to the Egyptian origins of Plotinus. On Augustine's use of Plotinus where there is no conflict with Christian teaching, cf. GERCKEN, *Inhalt*, p. 30f.; LE BLOND, *Les conversions*, p. 127; PORTALIÉ, *Augustin*, c. 2272; LOTHER, *Augustins Entwicklung*; and JOLIVET, *Essai*, p. 100f.: "Ce n'était pas Augustin qui devenait Néoplatonicien, mais Plotin qui devenait chrétien: Augustin le transformait en sa propre substance... Ce n'est pas la doctrine chrétienne qui doit se convertir aux doctrines étrangères, si hautes soient-elles, mais celles-ci qui doivent être converties, en tout ce qu'elles ont de bon, à la vérité chrétienne. Si donc le témoignage des *Confessions*, comme on ne peut guère en douter, doit être tenu pour véridique, il faut admettre que, dès 386, époque où il connut Plotin, la ferveur néoplatonicienne de saint Augustin était suffisamment éclairée, et qu'il avait nettement conscience d'"utiliser" Plotin, plutôt que de se livrer à lui." Cf. also *ibid.*, pp. 159-198; and the comment of DEMAN (*Héritage*, p. 719) concerning *mor. I*: "Ainsi assistons-nous, avec le traité qui nous occupe, à ce délicat agencement qui est la condition d'un type nouveau de savoir: tirer de telle sorte avantage de la philosophie que celle-ci ne ramène pas à ses limites propres la pensée chrétienne; affirmer de telle sorte la vérité chrétienne qu'on ne se prive pas de mettre à son service la philosophie."

⁵⁶⁸ COURCELLE, *Les lettres grecques*, p. 168.

⁵⁶⁹ ALFARIC, *L'évolution*, p. viii; HENRY, *Plotin et l'Occident*, p. 90.

⁵⁷⁰ Dates referring to *epist.* 118 and *ciu. dei* respectively: cf. above n. 471. But it is nonetheless true that, as GRANDGEORGE (*Saint Augustin*, p. 152f.) remarks, the importance of Neoplatonism for Augustine gradually diminished: "Le néo-platonisme fut ... un trait d'union. Il servit à dégager saint Augustin du manichéisme et à le conduire à une doctrine plus pure, plus parfaite et qui pouvait donner une solution aux problèmes que Plotin avait vainement essayé de résoudre ... Ainsi le rôle du néo-platonisme est bien déterminé. Ce fut pour saint Augustin une doctrine transitoire; ce ne fut ni le point de départ, ni le point d'arrivée. Son action fut à la fois négative et positive: négative, car elle contribua à lui faire abandonner le point de vue manichéen; positive, car ce fut un agent considérable de sa conversion. Plus et mieux que toute autre philosophie ne l'aurait pu faire, elle contribua à former son esprit, à le diriger vers le christianisme auquel la tendance de son esprit devait l'amener. À partir de ce moment, son influence ne saurait plus aller qu'en diminuant, car ses raisons d'agir ont en grande partie disparu." Cf. also THIMME, *Augustins geistige Entwicklung*, p. 236.

adjective *honestā*, where the Septuagint (which has no var. for this word) has πλοῦτος, translated in the Vulg. as "diuitiae." Augustine gives the parallel rendering ("honestius") for the Greek comparative πλουσιώτερον (Jerome's *locupletius*). Augustine's copy of *Wisdom* must have been faulty indeed: not only does *honestā* (there is no var. in *mor. I*'s mss.) come nowhere near translating πλοῦτος (= wealth, richness), but to agree with the Greek substantive it ought to read "honestas." The omission of the last letter can be ascribed to a copyist's error; the word itself is not so lightly dismissed. But where Augustine has *honestius* the Septuagint offers the var. τιμιώτερον (= more honourable: *honestius*!). It is possible that the same tradition which substituted this word for πλουσιώτερον had paralleled the change by replacing πλοῦτος with τιμιότης; but it is also possible that in being copied πλοῦτος was wrongly heard as ἀπλότης (= honesty) or even as the more similar-sounding adjective ἀπλοῦς. This is as far as conjecture can bring us, but it shows the interest offered by *mor. I*, not only for our knowledge of pre-Vulgate versions of the Latin Bible, but even for insights on variations in the Septuagint, in this particular case all the more significant when we note that Sap. 8:5 is quoted nowhere else in the Latin Fathers, not even in Augustine.

(5) Of *Matt. 6:24* Milne remarks that the rendering *non potestis* (where the Vulg. has *nemo potest*) "is obviously an anticipation of the final clause of the verse - 'non potestis Deo servire et mammonae'." ⁶⁶⁵ I find this unacceptable. If Augustine is merely anticipating, he does it three more times,⁶⁶⁶ and we find the same "anticipation" in Tertullian, Cyprian, Ambrose and Jerome.⁶⁶⁷ This has to be more than a coincidence; in all likelihood there was a family of manuscripts which carried this reading, although no known *codex* of the Latin Gospels carries any reading but *nemo potest*.

(6) In *Matt. 10:26* we seem at first glance to have precisely the sort of "anticipation" spoken of by Milne. The Vulg. rendition

⁶⁶⁵ MILNE, *A Reconstruction*, p. xxii.

⁶⁶⁶ In *serm. dom. II*, 17:56 (p. 148.1244), *enarr. 40*, 3:3 (p. 451.35) and *serm. 162*, 3 (c. 888).

⁶⁶⁷ Tertullian, *De anima* 16 (CCL 2/803.45); Cyprian, *De lapsis* 27 (CSEL 3,2/257.2); Ambrose, *Epist. 17*, 14 (PL 16/964); Jerome, *Altercatio Luciferiani* 5 (PL 23/160 A), *Epistula 14*, 6 (CSEL 54/53.14), and *Hom. in Mattheum* 18:7-9 (CCL 78/506.110).

is: "*Nihil enim est opertum, quod non reuelabitur et occultum quod non scietur*," and no Latin *codex* gives a reading similar to *mor. I*'s. Yet there are compelling reasons for believing that Augustine is basing himself on a version, and not on an "anticipation." He precedes his citation in *mor. I* with the accusation (lines 556-557): "Hinc est illud, quod *in ore habere etiam uos soletis*." What he obviously means is that the Manichaeans were in the habit of citing this verse and the accompanying one, Matt. 7:7 (perhaps together, as Augustine does). What he does *not* mean is that the Manichaeans customarily cited Matt. 10:26 in the form given in *mor. I* - an assertion I make for two reasons:

(a) In four of his other writings⁶⁶⁸ Augustine has a similar word-arrangement for this verse; yet only one of those writings is directed to Manichaeism, and it differs from *mor. I*:

- *Gen c. Man.* II,21:32 (c. 213): "Nihil est enim occultum quod non manifestabitur."
- *De gratia et libero arbitrio* 23:45 (PL 44/910): "Nihil est enim occultum quod non reuelabitur."
- *Ioh. euang.* LIII,7 (p. 455.9): "Nihil est occultum quod non reueletur."
- *Quaestiones in Mattheum* 13:51 (PL 35/1374): "...ut nihil sit occultum quod non reueletur."

(b) Gaudentius of Brescia offers a reading ("*Non erit aliquid occultum, quod non reuelabitur, nec absconditum, quod non scietur*")⁶⁶⁹ from which Augustine could conceivably (and consistently) have taken but the first half. But a number of authors quote Matt. 10:26 in a shortened form:

- Tertullian, *De paenitentia* 6:10 (CSEL 76/154.62): "Nihil occultum quod non reuelabitur."
- Id., *De uirginibus uelandis* (CSEL 76/99.25): "Nihil occultum quod non reueletur."
- Pseudo-Ambrose, *Sermo* 46,3 (PL 17/694 B): "...quibus nihil est occultum quod non reueletur."
- Nicetas of Remesiana (= Pseudo-Ambrose), *De lapsu uirginis consecratae* 6:26 (PL 16/374 B): "Nihil occultum quod non reuelabitur."
- Jerome, *Commentarium in Isaiam* 7:20 (CCL 73/289.49): "Nihil enim occultum quod non reuelabitur."

⁶⁶⁸ Only once in any work ascribed to Augustine (the controversial *Speculum* 25, CSEL 12/163.9) does the full wording of the verse appear.

⁶⁶⁹ Gaudentius, *Tractatus* 5:10 (CSEL 68/46.11).

- Id., *Tractatus de Ps.* 81 (CCL 78/83.31): "Nihil occultum, quod non reuelabitur."
- Hilary of Poitiers, *Commentarium in Mattheum* 10:16 (PL 9/972 B): "Nihil est occultum, quod non reuelabitur."

This tradition of a shortened form of the verse Matt. 10:26, extending to the VIII century,⁶⁷⁰ indicates that Augustine is not merely shortening a longer verse, nor that only the Manichaeans employed it in a shortened form, but that a reading as Augustine gives it in *mor. I* actually existed in some version.⁶⁷¹

(7) Matt. 11:27, on the other hand, represents both an "anticipation" and a mixed quotation. No Gospel *codex* includes *unigenitus* in the verse, as Augustine does; nowhere else does Augustine himself include the word when citing this verse; nowhere else (with one exception)⁶⁷² does he cite the verse in a shortened form; and no *codex* of the Latin Gospels offers the verse in a form which greatly differs from the Vulgate.⁶⁷³ Thus Milne is right in concluding⁶⁷⁴ that Augustine is "welding" this verse to some other - probably John 1:18.

d) ...some conjectures...

(1) Ziegler noted in 1879 that in *mor. I-II* Augustine was using some version of Paul's letters which he later rejected or simply revised.⁶⁷⁵ The beginnings of this revision — for Ziegler, represented by the fragments of Freising which he edited in 1876 and coded

⁶⁷⁰ In the VI century, Pseudo-Cassiodorus (= Primasius Adrumetanus), *Expositio in I Tim.* 5:25 (PL 68/669 D: "Nihil occultum, quod non reueletur"). In the VIII century, Pseudo-Hieronymus, *Breuiarium in ps.* 81 (PL 26/1063 A: "Nil occultum quod non reuelabitur").

⁶⁷¹ Possibly the wording of this version was preferred to the Vulgate or similar versions in cases where the latter might have been open to Gnostic misinterpretation. Augustine himself seems to have this in mind when he says elsewhere in *mor. I* (lines 819-821): "Quam ob rem uidete quam sint peruersi atque praeposteri, qui sese arbitrantur *dei cognitionem tradere, ut perfecti simus...*"

⁶⁷² Augustine, *enarr.* 18, sermo 1:8 (p. 103.7): "Nemo nouit patrem nisi filius." Compare *trin.* VII,3:4 (p. 251.18): "Nemo nouit filium nisi pater, et nemo nouit patrem nisi filius..."

⁶⁷³ The only exception appears to be Jerome, *Commentarium in Hieremiam* 3:3,2 (CCL 74/121.2): "Nemo cognoscit patrem, nisi filius."

⁶⁷⁴ MILNE, *The Reconstruction*, p. xvii.

⁶⁷⁵ ZIEGLER, *Die lateinischen*, pp. 28, 53f., 59 and 69.

as *r*⁶⁷⁶ — appear, he thinks, in *Gen. c. Man.* This would mean that Augustine came across his new version (or better, began a revision of his own) between the date of publication of *mor. I-II* and that of *Gen. c. Man.* Thus De Bruyne, who re-edited the Freising fragments in 1921,⁶⁷⁷ sums up Ziegler's position:

Ziegler ... admettait qu'Augustin dans ses premiers écrits, y compris le *De moribus eccl. cath. et de moribus Manich.* (écrit à Rome au commencement de 388) ne connaissait pas encore le texte représenté par *r*. Celui-ci apparaît dans les citations du *De Genesi contra Manichaeos* (écrit à Tagaste en 389). C'est donc entre ces deux dates qu'Augustin rencontra cette version qu'il employa jusqu'à la fin de sa vie. Les variantes, pas très fréquentes, s'expliquent, soit parce que le texte a été mal transmis par les copistes ou mal publié par les éditeurs, soit parce qu'Augustin cite de mémoire ou adapte à sa pensée des citations généralement courtes, soit enfin parce qu'il y fit quelques retouches, comme il fait lui-même observer dans plusieurs écrits. L'unité de la Bible d'Augustin depuis 389 n'en reste pas moins assurée. L'origine de ce texte doit être cherchée, non en Afrique, mais en Italie, car il s'éloigne des citations de Tertullien et de Cyprien, pour se rapprocher des citations de Jérôme, d'Ambroise, de Rufin et de la Vulgate.⁶⁷⁸

Going on to express basic agreement with Ziegler's conclusions, De Bruyne then offers a few observations of his own. He correctly notes that the Pauline citations of *mor. I-II* are not *r*. He feels, however, that the long citation Rom. 14:1 - 15:3 in *mor. II* (14:32) is identical with the Vulgate "à part quelques variantes insignifiantes." This does not mean that it was the Vulgate itself, but some very similar pre-Vulgate version. De Bruyne concludes this from the absence of *Hebrews* in Augustine's version; from the closeness of *mor. I*'s Rom. 14:2-4, 6, 12-15 and 21 to the Vulgate; and from the same work's citation of Rom. 8:28-29, 35-36, 38-39, which "paraissent à mi-chemin entre l'Ambrst et la Vulgate." From all this he formulates the theory that Augustine's citations (of Rom.) in *mor. I-II* represent neither corrected texts made by copyists according to the Vulgate, nor the Vulgate itself (which Augustine would have later given up for *r*):

...une troisième explication paraît plus plausible: Augustin a connu

⁶⁷⁶ Cf. ZIEGLER, *Italafragmente*.

⁶⁷⁷ Cf. DE BRUYNE, *Les fragments*.

⁶⁷⁸ DE BRUYNE, *ibid.*, p. xxiii f.

et adopté en Italie un texte latin qui différait peu de la Vulgate, un texte précurseur de la Vulgate.⁶⁷⁹

It is not this conclusion that bothers me so much as the manner in which De Bruyne arrives at it. For one thing, both he and Ziegler seem to have overlooked the possibility that the publication of *Gen. c. Man.* could have *preceded* that of *mor. I-II*; and that possibility could render null and void their statement that Augustine abandons or revises the version employed for *mor. I-II* when he begins *Gen. c. Man.*, where his revision or new version *r* first appears. Nor do the two authors appear to have noted the presence of *two* copies of Paul in *mor. I* and the difference in texts between *mor. I* and *mor. II*. There is very little, in fact, which allows them to conclude to the rejection in *Gen. c. Man.* of the version(s) employed in *mor. I-II*. No direct citation in *mor. II* is also in *Gen. c. Man.*; and of the quotations in common with *mor. I*, we find that:

(a) Sir. 2:5, Sir. 27:6 and Matt. 22:37-38 are exactly the same in both instances.

(b) Matt. 7:7, John 1:3 and I Cor. 15:54 are only indirect quotes in *Gen. c. Man.*, but the resemblances to *mor. I* are nonetheless strong.

(c) Four verses in common then remain:

Gen. c. Man.

mor. I

Matt. 10:26

II,21:32 (c. 213): Nihil est enim occultum quod non manifestabitur.	Nil est occultum, quod non reuelabitur.
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Mat. 22:40

II,23:36 (c. 215): In quibus duobus praeceptis tota lex pendet, et prophetae.	In his duobus praeceptis tota lex pendet, et omnes prophetae.
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Rom. 5:3-4

II,23:25 (c. 214): scientes quoniam tribulatio patientiam operatur, patientia autem probationem.	...tribulatio patientiam operatur, patientia probationem...
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⁶⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. xxix. Cf. also his *Saint Augustin reviseur*, pp. 523-544.

I Cor. 11:19

I,1:2 (c. 173): Oportet haereses esse, ut probati manifesti fiant inter uos. Oportet multas haereses esse, ut probati manifesti fiant inter uos.

II,25:38 (c. 216): Nam oportet etiam haereses esse, ut probati manifesti fiant inter uos.

If we keep in mind that the most recent edition of *mor. I-II* or of *Gen. c. Man.* is that of the Maurists, even these few differences prove little. Some mss. of *mor. I* omit *omnes* in Matt. 22:40; in the case of *I Cor. 11:19*, the Maurists themselves mention that 13 mss. of *Gen. c. Man.* read *multas*,⁶⁸⁰ and that two mss. of *mor. I* omit it,⁶⁸¹ so that it is uncertain that the two writings do not in fact contain the same version. In Rom. 5:3-4 the single difference is the inclusion of *autem* in *Gen. c. Man.*, and this word may not even belong to the scriptural text, but may have been interposed by Augustine. The only significant differences, in fact, are in *Matt. 10:26*; (and who can say that one instance of its citation or the other is not from memory?).

It may, of course, be objected that both Ziegler and De Bruyne are thinking only of Pauline texts, not of the whole Bible. But if Augustine were in the process of revising his text of Paul at this period, he would have been doing the same for other parts of the Bible as well. Yet that is not my chief objection here. That *r* actually represents a revised text made by Augustine himself may be the case; that neither *mor. I* nor *mor. II* has texts in agreement with *r* cannot be denied.⁶⁸² But it cannot be proved that *Gen. c. Man.* represents the beginning of those revisions Augustine made and which later became *r*, when we see that *Gen. c. Man.* precedes *mor. I-II* in publication, but that there is a change of copies between *mor. I* and *mor. II*, and that neither is *r*;⁶⁸³ it cannot, therefore,

⁶⁸⁰ PL 34/173: "Mss. tredecim. oportet multas haereses esse."

⁶⁸¹ PL 32/1324: "Codex Vaticanus et Cisterciensis omittunt, multas, quam vocem habent alii plerique tum scripti tum excusi; jamque observavimus reperiri apud mss. in eadem Apostoli sententia relata libro primo de Genesi contra Manichaeos, cap. I."

⁶⁸² For the latest commentary on *r* and Augustine's connection with it, cf. Hermann Josef FREDE, *Altlateinische Paulus-Handschriften*, Herder, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1964 (= *Vetus Latina. Aus der Geschichte der lateinischen Bibel*, 4), pp. 106-120.

⁶⁸³ Best illustrated by Rom. 14:12-15 and 21, common to *mor. I*, *mor. II* and the Freising fragments (= *r*, published by DE BRUYNE, *Les fragments*, p. 3):

be proved that Augustine had rejected the copy of Paul he was using by the time he left Rome for Africa, as Ziegler maintains,⁶⁸⁴ since we know that *mor. I-II* was finished in Africa and that it is contemporary with *Gen. c. Man.*; and it cannot be proved by II Cor. 11:2-3, as De Bruyne attempts,⁶⁸⁵ that *Gen. c. Man.* marks the beginning of a change, for the simple reason that the verses are cited there for the first time. If there is such a change, why could it not also be taking place in *mor. II* and (if the *mor. II* text of Paul is the same as one of the two copies used for *mor. I*) even in *mor. I*? And what is there to show that the text of Paul's letters employed for *Gen. c. Man.* is not in fact the same one used for *mor. II* and probably for part of *mor. I* as well?

mor. I

Itaque unusquisque nostrum pro se rationem reddet. non ergo amplius iudicemus inuicem, sed hoc iudicate magis, ne ponatis offendiculum fratri uel scandalum. scio et confido in domino Iesu quia nihil commune per ipsum, nisi ei qui existimat quid commune esse, illi commune est. nam si propter escam frater tuus contristatur, iam non secundum caritatem ambulas...

Bonum est, fratres, non manducare carnes neque bibere uinum neque in quo frater tuus offenditur.

Igitur unusquisque nostrum pro se rationem reddet. non ergo amplius *inuicem iudicemus*, sed hoc *magis iudicate* ne ponatis offendiculum *aut scandalum fratri*. scio et *certus sum* in domino Iesu quia nihil commune per *illum*, nisi ei qui *putat aliquid esse commune*, illi commune est. nam si propter esca(m?) frater tuus *tristatur*, iam non secundum caritatem ambulas...

Bonum est non manducare carnem neque bibere uinum neque in quo frater tuus offenditur.

mor. II, 14:32

Itaque unusquisque nostrum pro se rationem reddet deo. non ergo amplius inuicem diiudicemus, sed hoc iudicate magis, ne ponatis offendiculum fratri uel scandalum. scio et confido in domino Iesu quia nihil commune per ipsum, nisi ei qui existimat quid commune esse, illi commune est. si enim propter cibum frater tuus contristatur, non iam secundum caritatem ambulas...

Bonum est non manducare carnem et non bibere uinum, neque in quo frater tuus offenditur.

This shows that *r* sometimes differs from *mor. I*, sometimes from *mor. II*, and sometimes (italicised words) from both, in either wording or word-order. Logically, *mor. II* has a text used later than *mor. I*; yet it does not seem to be any closer to *r* than is *mor. I*. In fact, in some important respects it is farther away.

⁶⁸⁴ ZIEGLER, *Die lateinischen*, p. 59: "Die fehlerhafte Ausgabe, welche er zu den obengenannten Schriften (= *mor. I-II*), beizog, hat er wahrscheinlich noch vor seiner Rückkehr nach Africa ... mit besseren Handschriften vertauscht."

⁶⁸⁵ DE BRUYNE, *Les fragments*, p. xxixf. II Cor. 11:2-3 is quoted in *Gen. c. Man. II, 13:19* (c. 206).

(2) A work begun at Rome and completed in Africa would, we might think, contain versions of Scripture that can be traced to one or the other, or even to both.⁶⁸⁶ But the texts themselves point to a different source:

(a) In the Old Testament, *Wisdom*, *Ecclesiastes*, *Proverbs* and *Sirach* seem to have been translated from the Septuagint. *Deuteronomy*, *Proverbs*, *Ecclesiastes* and *Wisdom* do not correspond to the Vulgate, but *Sirach* is in full accord with it (meaning that it is at variance with *Codex X*).⁶⁸⁷ This points to an "African" (= "homogeneous with the Biblical text used by S. Cyprian")⁶⁸⁸ Latin version of *Sirach* and excludes an "African" version for *Wisdom*, if one accepts the reasoning of Monceaux:

Pour le troisième livre d'Esdras, pour la *Sagesse*, pour *Sirach* ou l'*Ecclésiastique*, pour les *Macchabées*, les citations de saint Cyprien coïncident mot pour mot avec la Vulgate; quand par hasard elles s'en écartent, c'est par de très légères variantes. Nous savons justement que ces divers ouvrages, alors exclus de la Bible ... n'ont été ni traduits ni révisés par saint Jérôme, et que les anciennes traductions sont restées en usage. Ce sont les versions africaines qui l'ont emporté, pour ces livres-là; elles ont été définitivement admises dans la Vulgate de l'Eglise catholique, sans doute à cause de l'autorité de saint Cyprien.⁶⁸⁹

This does not mean that Augustine only began using *Sirach* after returning to Africa, but that he employed a Latin translation of it that had its origins there.

⁶⁸⁶ So LAGRANGE, *Les rétractations*, p. 375.

⁶⁸⁷ Cf. *Biblia sacra iuxta latinam vulgatam versionem ad codicum fidem* iussu Pauli P.P. VI, cura et studio monachorum Abbatiae Pontificiae Sancti Hieronymi in Urbe, Ordinis Sancti Benedicti edita, Typis Polyglottis Vaticanis, Rome, 1964, p. XVIII: "Utrum ad vulgatam an veterem latinam versionem pertineat codex X quaeri potest, cum vias peculiarissimas teneat, frequenterque gradiatur ... cum augustiniana recensione ... Iam in libris ab Hieronymo translatis idem codex X varias lectiones Veteris Latinae introducere non dubitat, et in prologis ipsis textum sancti Hieronymi libere emendat."

⁶⁸⁸ BURKITT, *The Old Latin*, p. 13. Cf. also MONCEAUX, *La Bible*, p. 119: "Chez saint Cyprien apparaissent, nettement constitués et avec tous leurs caractères spécifiques, les textes 'africains' proprement dits. Les textes de ce groupe ont été seuls en usage dans le pays jusqu'à la seconde moitié du IV^e siècle; même après le grand travail de saint Jérôme, ils sont restés l'un des principaux éléments des recueils locaux de livres sacrés. Le trait commun de tous ces textes c'est précisément leur affinité avec la Bible de saint Cyprien."

⁶⁸⁹ MONCEAUX, *op. cit.*, p. 172.

On the *Psalms* no more can be said than that they agree completely with the Vulgate (Gallican) and Roman Psalters.⁶⁹⁰ They do not correspond to the Hebrew.

To seek more precision on Augustine's Old Testament texts in *mor. I* is not possible. There is simply not enough material for comparison. Though a few of Augustine's citations are found word for word in Ambrose,⁶⁹¹ the latter does not cite very many that are also found in "De moribus," none of whose Old Testament texts agrees with Tertullian, Cyprian, the Ambrosiaster or (apart from the Psalms) Jerome.

(b) In the New Testament: the Gospel text is not the Vulgate, but something quite close, perhaps a version related to the one from which Jerome made his revision at Rome in 384.⁶⁹² But the resemblance to Ambrose is even stronger than it is to Jerome.⁶⁹³

It is when we come to Paul that we run into the largest complications in trying to find to which textual family Augustine's choice leans. One complication is the presence of the two copies already discussed.⁶⁹⁴ Another is that, in spite of the dominant position of Pauline texts in the work — there are 47 instances (including repetitions) in which Augustine quotes 'Paul', against 15 for the Gospels and only 25 for the entire Old Testament — there is nothing which definitively links them to any known version. The Pauline text is not Tertullian's version nor that of Cyprian,

⁶⁹⁰ Cf. Robert WEBER, *Le Psautier Romain et les autres anciens psautiers latins*, Libreria Vaticana, Vatican City, 1953 (Collectanea Biblica Latina, 10).

⁶⁹¹ Deut. 6:4 in *De fide* I,1:6 (CSEL 78/7.9); Deut. 6:13 in *De fide* V,3:48 (p. 235.84); Ps. 50:12 in *De apologia David* I,14:64 (CSEL 32,2/344.9) and 15:73 (p. 348.4); Ps. 72:28 in *De Cain et Abel* I,2:5 (CSEL 32,1/341.20); Ps. 115:15 in *De bono mortis* 3:8 (CSEL 32,1/708.18); Eccl. 1:2 (as a variant) in *Expositio in euang. Luc.*, prol., 2 (CSEL 32,4/4.15).

⁶⁹² Cf. VACCARI, *Alle origini*, pp. 23 and 162; CAVALLERA, *Saint Augustin et le texte biblique*, p. 415, n. 2; and MONCEAUX, *La Bible*, p. 104f.

⁶⁹³ I do not understand how MILNE can declare (*The Reconstruction*, p. xi) that until about 400 Augustine relied principally for his Gospels on Old Latin versions of type *k* (= Codex Bobiensis, IV century, African, published by John WORDSWORTH, W. SANDAY and H.J. WHITE in *Old Latin Biblical Texts*, vol. II [Portion of the Gospels According to St. Mark and St. Matthew], Oxford, 1886), and that such a version is discernible already in *mor. I*. If Augustine ever used a *k*-type version it must have been after the completion of *mor. I*, for in the four Gospel passages it contains in common with Codex Bobiensis (Matt. 6:24, 7:6-7, 7:10 and 7:26) there is not even remote agreement between the two.

⁶⁹⁴ Cf. above, p. 173f. Under 'Paul' I include here the Pastoral Letters.

and so an "African" family may be ruled out. It is not the Ambrosiaster nor the Vulgate, but, as De Bruyne says,

quelque chose entre les deux; en un mot, c'est un texte précurseur de la Vulgate.⁶⁹⁵

He also notes correctly that it is not the translation of Paul supposedly made by Jerome in 384; for (apart from Rom. 5:3, Rom. 8:35 and I Cor. 7:7) the citations *mor. I* has in common with Jerome's *Letter 22*, already known to Augustine,⁶⁹⁶ are not identical (these are Rom. 5:4, 8:38-39, 14:4 and 14:21; I Cor. 6:13 and 17; Gal. 1:10; and I Tim. 6:10); nor is there any consistent agreement with texts in other works of Jerome. Thus Rome must also be disqualified as one of the two possible sources suggested by De Bruyne; and we are left to consider his other suggestion - Italy.⁶⁹⁷

If Italy, then most logically Milan or its surroundings, the only area in Europe outside of Rome in which Augustine spent any appreciable length of time. The only reliable yardstick we have for determining this source of *mor. I*'s version of Paul is a comparison with the same verses in works of Ambrose, and in so doing we find that, of the texts shared with the Bishop of Milan:

— only Rom. 8:35 is identical in both but disagrees with the Vulgate;

— Rom. 5:3, I Cor. 1:23-24, 6:11, 6:17-18, 6:20, 7:4-5 and 15:47 agree in both and with the Vulgate;

— Ambrose in citing Rom. 5:4-5, 8:20, 8:39 and I Cor. 6:13 agrees sometimes with *mor. I* and sometimes with the Vulgate;

— Ambrose in I Cor. 15:49 and Eph. 3:19 agrees sometimes with *mor. I* and sometimes with another version that is not the Vulgate;

— in his citations of Rom. 8:29, I Cor. 15:22, 15:48 and Eph. 3:18 Ambrose agrees with the Vulgate but not with *mor. I*;

⁶⁹⁵ DE BRUYNE, *Saint Augustin reviseur*, p. 524.

⁶⁹⁶ This point will be discussed in the following chapter (pp. 211-215).

⁶⁹⁷ DE BRUYNE, *loc. cit.*: "Il y cite plusieurs longs passages de Saint Paul, le texte en est sûrement emprunté à un manuscrit d'Italie ou de Rome." Cf. also SCHILDENBERGER, *Die Itala*, p. 101: "Die Bekanntschaft AU's mit dem Mailänder Text ist nun allerdings mehr als wahrscheinlich, da ja dort seine Bekehrung und Taufe erfolgte. Doch kannte er ebenso sicher auch andere in Italien gebräuchliche Texte, so z.B. den römischen; denn in Rom begann er 388 sein erstes theologisches Werk 'De moribus ecclesiae catholicae et de moribus Manichaeorum'."

— in Rom. 8:28, 8:36, 8:38 and 14:2, I Cor. 6:12, 6:15, 6:19, 7:1, 7:7, 7:14, 15:55, II Cor. 4:16, 4:18, Eph. 3:16, Col. 2:18 and I Tim. 6:10 he agrees with neither *mor. I* nor the Vulgate.

Like Augustine's text, Ambrose's is something pre-Vulgate, but a version that marks a stage not far removed in the process toward the Vulgate itself.⁶⁹⁸ It is not Ambrose's version of Paul that Augustine is using; but, since the latter's version is neither "African" nor "Roman," an "Italian" version seems the logical choice. The same process of elimination leads us to Northern Italy as the source for the Gospel text. It would not then be a surprise were someone eventually to discover that the same can be said for part or all of the Old Testament texts in *mor. I* as well.⁶⁹⁹

e) ...and a few conclusions

The most striking fact revealed in a study of *mor. I*'s biblical texts is the predominance of works attributed to Paul. In this Augustine is setting the stage for his other works on Manichaeism: any such work that uses the Bible to a fair degree, beginning with *mor. II* and *Gen. c. Man.*, allows Paul to play the dominant rôle. Why this should be so is explained in *mor. I*: of the New Testament books, the Manichaeans preferred the Gospels and Paul's Letters (lines 215-217):

Videamus quemadmodum ipse dominus in *euangelio* nobis praeceperit esse uiuendum; quomodo etiam *Paulus apostolus*: *has enim scripturas illi condemnare non audent.*

Why Paul should have been especially liked⁷⁰⁰ becomes clear if one is prepared to read him through Manichaean eyes: then one can perceive, as they did, a repudiation of the flesh (in favour of

⁶⁹⁸ H.J. FREDE, *Altlateinische Paulus-Handschriften* (cf. above, n. 682), pp. 144-149, thinks Ambrose's version resembled the Monza ms., i-2/9.

⁶⁹⁹ So already ZIEGLER, in a rather sweeping statement (*Die lateinischen*, p. 59): "Aus Allem geht hervor, dass Augustinus die Bibel nicht in seiner Heimat, sondern in Italien, also auch nicht nach einem africanischen, sondern nach einem italischen Texte studirt hat, und nichts ist natürlicher, als dass er diesem italischen Texte auch später treu geblieben ist... So ergibt sich mit grösster Wahrscheinlichkeit dass Augustinus seine lateinische Bibel von Italien nach Africa gebracht hat."

⁷⁰⁰ As Faustus affirms (Augustine, *Faust.* XI,1, p. 313.4): "Apostolum accipis? et maxime." Cf. also *Gen. c. Man.* I,2:3 (c. 175): "Certe et ipsi Manichei legunt apostolum Paulum et laudant et honorant."

the spirit);⁷⁰¹ of the "old law" (i.e. Old Testament);⁷⁰² and of "Judai-
sers" among the new Christian communities.⁷⁰³ Whether this fondness
for Paul was limited to African Manichaeans, as Frend thinks,⁷⁰⁴
is hard to say; but their predilection was not Augustine's sole reason
for being so partial to him in *mor. I*.

In the course of his journey to faith Augustine had tried to read
Paul, with negative results;⁷⁰⁵ later on, when his intellect had as-
sented to Christianity, but with moral obstacles still remaining, he
picked up Paul again,⁷⁰⁶ this time reading him in the light of the
preaching of Ambrose.⁷⁰⁷ Then he saw that the divergences between
the Apostle and the Old Testament were more apparent than real⁷⁰⁸
and, at the decisive moment in the *Gartenerlebnis*, it was Paul,

⁷⁰¹ Cf. BAUR, *Das manichäische Religionssystem*, p. 375.

⁷⁰² Cf. ALFARIC, *Les écritures* II, p. 164.

⁷⁰³ Cf. TRECHSEL, *Ueber den Kanon*, p. 38f.: "Paulus war überhaupt der Lieblings-Schriftsteller derjenigen Partheyen im Christenthum, welche eine vorzugsweise idealistische Geistesrichtung verfolgten; so war er ja im Grunde die einzige Autorität des Marcion, so wie auch nachher die einzige der Paulicianer, welche Letztern dagegen den Petrus, diesen Repräsentanten der judaisirenden Richtung, und seine zwey Briefe durchaus nicht als Glaubensnorm anerkennen wollten."

⁷⁰⁴ FREND, *The Gnostic-Manichaean Tradition*, p. 21f. He notes that the Latin Manichaean document from Tebessa published by ALFARIC (*Un manuscrit*) "is practically a list of Pauline quotations." But SESTON (*L'Egypte manichéenne*, p. 364) goes too far in concluding that without Paul "Mani n'eût point existé."

⁷⁰⁵ Augustine, *Acad.* II,2:5 (p. 27.10): "Respexi tantum, confiteor, quasi de itinere in illam religionem, quae pueris nobis insita est, et medullitus implicata: uerum autem ipsa me ad se nescientem rapiebat. itaque titubans, properans, haesitans arripio apostolum Paulum. neque enim uere isti, inquam, tanta potuissent, uixissentque ita ut eos uixisse manifestum est, si eorum litterae atque rationes huic tanto bono aduersarentur. perlegi totum intentissime atque cautissime."

⁷⁰⁶ Augustine, *conf.* VII,21:27 (p. 166.22): "Itaque audissime arripui uenerabilem stilum spiritus tui et prae ceteris apostolum Paulum, et perierunt illae quaestiones, in quibus mihi aliquando uisus est aduersari sibi et non congruere testimoniis legis et prophetarum textus sermonis eius, et apparuit mihi una facies eloquiorum castorum, et exultare cum tremore (Ps. 2:11) didici." On this cf. DOUAIS, *Saint Augustin et la Bible* I, p. 62: "C'est aux Epîtres de saint Paul, qui comblèrent pour lui les lacunes de la philosophie platonicienne sur l'incarnation et la rédemption, c'est-à-dire sur le péché et la grâce, qu'il dut de se rapprocher des Ecritures." Cf. also COURCELLE, *Recherches*, p. 176; HOLL, *Augustins innere Entwicklung*, pp. 33-49; O'MEARA, *A Master-Motif*, p. 316; and THIMME, *Augustins Selbstbildnis*, p. 49.

⁷⁰⁷ Cf. *conf.* VI,3:3-4:6 (pp. 116-120); also COURCELLE, *Recherches*, p. 102.

⁷⁰⁸ Augustine, *conf.* VII,21:27 (partly quoted above, n. 706). Cf. COURCELLE, *op. cit.*, p. 177.

whom Augustine was then reading,⁷⁰⁹ who exercised the definitive rôle :

La lecture d'une page de l'Épître aux Romains lui porta, on peut le dire, le coup de grâce.⁷¹⁰

Augustine, then, had his own predilection for the apostle who had influenced him so strongly. In these early years of his Christian life there was probably also a strong feeling of kinship for one who, like himself, had undergone an experience which had completely changed the course of his life.⁷¹¹ And in these early years, when the move away from strongly "philosophical" thinking was not yet complete, it was natural for Augustine to favour those parts of Scripture in which he perceived a "reasoned faith," a faith expressed in "philosophical" terms.⁷¹² His candidate from the New Testament is Paul;

⁷⁰⁹ Augustine, *conf.* VIII,6:14 (p. 181.5): "Quodam igitur die ... ecce ad nos domum uenit ad me et Alypius Ponticianus quidam, ciuis noster, in quantum Afer, praeclare in palatio militans ... et forte supra mensam lusoriam, quae ante nos erat, adtendit codicem: tulit, aperuit, inuenit *apostolum Paulum*, inopinate sane; putauerat enim aliquid de libris, quorum professio me conterebat. tum uero arridens meque intuens gratulatorie miratus est, quod eas et solas prae oculis meis litteras repente conperisset."

⁷¹⁰ DE MONDADON, *Bible et Église*, p. 212. Cf. *conf.* VIII,12:29 (p. 194.13): "Et ecce audio uocem de diuina (uicina?) domo cum cantu dicentis et crebro repetentis quasi pueri an puellae, nescio: "tolle lege, tolle lege." statimque mutato uultu intentissimus cogitare coepi, utrumnam solerent pueri in aliquo genere ludendi cantitare tale aliquid, nec occurrebat omnino audisse me uspiam repressoque impetu lacrimarum surrexi nihil aliud interpretans diuinitus mihi iuberi, nisi ut aperirem codicem et legerem quod primum caput inuenissem ... itaque concitus redii in eum locum, ubi sedebat Alypius: ibi enim posueram codicem *apostoli*, cum inde surrexeram. arripui, aperui et legi in silentio capitulum, quo primum coniecti sunt oculi mei: non in comisationibus et ebrietatibus, non in cubilibus et inpudicitiiis, non in contentione et aemulatione, sed induite dominum Iesum Christum et carnis prouidentiam ne feceritis in concupiscentiis (Rom. 13:13-14). nec ultra uolui legere nec opus erat. statim quippe cum fine huiusce sententiae quasi luce securitatis infusa cordi meo omnes dubitationis tenebrae diffugerunt."

⁷¹¹ Cf. HOLL, *Augustins innere Entwicklung*, p. 33: "Er fühlte sich auch persönlich zu Paulus hingezogen: Paulus hatte, wie er selbst, eine Bekehrung erlebt, ja ein Wort des Paulus hatte ihm in der Entscheidungstunde den letzten Stoss gegeben."

⁷¹² Cf. DE MONDADON, *Bible et Église*, p. 213: "Sans doute, nous le voyons dans ses ouvrages du début, aussitôt après la crise, invoquer comme décisive l' 'autorité' du Christ et l' 'autorité' des écrivains sacrés. Mais là non plus il n'appuie nulle part son récent catholicisme à des preuves scripturaires. Il se

from the Old Testament it is the *Book of Wisdom*, whose title would have been sufficient to entice him to open its pages.⁷¹³

Second to *Wisdom* in length of quotation are the *Psalms*, a phenomenon which may again be explained by the meaning they had for Augustine. When he turned once more to reading Paul, with his new understanding, he turned to the Psalter as well,⁷¹⁴ and he incorporated its recital into the schedule at Cassiciacum.⁷¹⁵ Next in popularity to Paul in the New Testament comes *Matthew*, who also seems to have enjoyed great use among the Manichaeans of Africa.⁷¹⁶ *Mark* is never quoted in *mor. I*, *Luke* is cited only once, and the direct quotations from *John* amount to only five. The scarcity of quotations in this latter case is not because John was not much used by Manichaeans — he was — but because Augustine probably did not as yet feel equal to the task of dealing with a work so

contente de creuser les pages inspirées afin d'en extraire une philosophie - plus exactement, une 'sagesse'." This is the method he is still following in *mor. I*, though his use of Scripture has been vastly extended. Still, we cannot conclude, as does THIMME (*Grundlinien*, p. 192) that the decisive reading of Paul in the *Gartenerlebnis* served only to confirm Augustine's philosophical principles. Such a theory does not explain why, if Augustine saw in Scripture no more than an agreement and ratification of Plotinus, that fact should have been sufficient to bring him into the Catholic Church.

⁷¹³ Mlle LA BONNARDIÈRE (*Le livre de la Sagesse*, p. 24f.) says that in *mor. I* the title of the book seems to be unknown to him. That depends on how we are to understand the introduction to the pericope Sap. 8:1-7 (line 485): "...illud quod in uetere (testamento) dictum est *de sapientia*." Anyway, it is obvious that *Sapientia* is the subject of the book from 1:4 on (Vulg.: "Quoniam in maleuolam animam non introibit *sapientia*"). But she concludes that Augustine probably did not read it first-hand: "Le nom de Salomon n'apparaît pas une seule fois, ne serait-ce pas l'indice qu'Augustin cite de seconde main?" I see no reason to agree with her on this point, for it must lead to a self-contradiction: the *Speculum*, whose Augustinian authorship she accepts (cf. above, n. 651), states in its preface to "De libro sapientiae" that the author is unknown (CSEL 12/113.5).

⁷¹⁴ Cf. *conf.* VII,10:16-14:20 (pp. 238-241).

⁷¹⁵ Cf. *conf.* IX,4:8 (p. 202.14): "Quas tibi, deus meus, uoces dedi, cum legerem *psalmos* Daud, cantica fidelia, sonos pietatis excludentes turgidum spiritum, rudis in germano amore tuo, catechumenus in uilla cum catechumeno Alypio feriat, matre adhaerente nobis muliebri habitu, uirili fide, anili securitate, materna caritate, christiana pietate! quas tibi uoces *dabam in psalmis illis* et quomodo in te *inflammabar ex eis* et *accendebar eos recitare*, si possem, toto orbi terrarum..."

⁷¹⁶ In Augustine's *entretiens* with Faustus, Felix and Fortunatus, *Matthew* is quoted even oftener than Paul. Cf. the tables given by DECRET, *Aspects*, pp. 169-172, and Decret's own conclusions, p. 173.

vulnerable to a Gnostic interpretation.⁷¹⁷ Even the passages he cites receive no more than a brief comment.

Noticeably absent (except for a few possible allusions) are the *Acts of the Apostles* and the *Letter to the Hebrews*. The *Acts* do not appear to have been held in high regard by the Manichaeans;⁷¹⁸ and by its very name *Hebrews*, with its strong basis in the Old Testament, would have ensured itself of Manichaean disdain.⁷¹⁹

I John and *II Thessalonians* are referred to only once. *Philippians*, *I* and *II Peter*, *James*, *Jude*, *Revelation* and, of the Pastorals, *II Timothy* and *Philemon* receive no attention at all; one is led to wonder whether the Manichaeans ever made use of them.⁷²⁰

At the beginning of his work Augustine states that he will only take from the New Testament what the Manichaeans find acceptable in it (lines 31-35); through an examination of *mor. I*'s biblical texts,

⁷¹⁷ On this cf. Rudolf BULTMANN, "Die Bedeutung der neuerschlossenen mandäischen und manichäischen Quellen für das Verständnis des Johannesevangeliums," in ZNW 24 (1925), pp. 100-146.

⁷¹⁸ So RIES, *La Bible chez Augustin*, p. 238, and TRECHSEL, *Ueber den Kanon*, p. 49. Still, they must have used them, for Faustus makes allusions to Acts 10:11-15 (*Faust.* XXI,3, p. 758.21-759.2), 13:33 (XXIII,2, p. 708.23) and 15:29 (XXXI,2, p. 75.85; XXXII,3, p. 763.2); although in *ut. cred.* 3:7 (p. 9.16) Augustine says: "Nihil mihi uidetur ab eis inpudentius dici uel, ut mitius loquar, incuriosius et inbecillius quam scripturas diuinas esse corruptas, cum id nullis in tam recenti memoria extentibus exemplaribus possint conuincere. si enim dicerent eas sibi penitus accipiendas non putasse, quod ab his essent conscriptae, quos uerum scripsisse non arbitrarentur, esset utcumque tergiuersatio eorum rector uel error humanior. hoc enim de illo libro fecerunt, qui 'Actus apostolorum' inscribitur."

⁷¹⁹ So TRECHSEL, *Ueber den Kanon*, pp. 40-44; ALFARIC, *Les écritures* II, p. 165; and DE BEAUSOBRE, *Histoire* I, p. 292, who notes that Augustine never accuses the Manichaeans of rejecting *Hebrews*, "ce qui pourroit bien venir de ce qu'elle n'avoit point d'autorité, ou très-peu en Occident du tems de ce Père." This observation has been justified by subsequent studies. Cyprian never quotes *Hebrews* (cf. MONCEAUX, *La Bible*, p. 122, n. 2), and it perhaps did not belong to the "African" Bible (cf. DE BRUYNE, *Les fragments*, p. xxxix). Even Jerome had his doubts about an epistle that was manifestly not written by Paul himself, and many Christians saw no point in reading a work whose specific intention was to address converts from Judaism (cf. DECRET, *Aspects*, p. 162f.). De Bruyne maintains (*op. cit.*, p. xxix) that Augustine's "Italian" text did not contain *Hebrews*. And so the allusions to *Hebrews* in *mor. I* (vague, at any rate) must be regarded as very uncertain. Decret (*op. cit.*, p. 172) sees a reference to *Hebrews* (1:2?) in *Faust.* XXIII,2 (p. 708.13: "Filius meus es tu; ego hodie genui te"), but Faustus explicitly ascribes this citation to *Luke* (3:22, followed by verse 23).

⁷²⁰ Cf. DECRET, *op. cit.*, p. 174. Felix quotes only *I John* (1:5, *Fel.* II,15, p. 844.13) out of all the Catholic epistles.

we therefore obtain some idea of what was acceptable to them and what was not. In regard to Matt. 7:7 and 10:26 Augustine affirms that these were favorite quotations among them (lines 556-557: cf. above, p. 178), and we do in fact find Matt. 7:7 quoted in a Coptic "psalm,"⁷²¹ although there is no known instance of Matt. 10:26 in Manichaean writings. Thus Augustine has in *mor. I* contributed to our knowledge of the Manichaean Bible: through him we learn that the Western Manichaeans were in the habit of quoting Matt. 10:26, probably usually with Matt. 7:7. Augustine also hints (lines 939-940) that the Manichaeans made frequent use of Matt. 22:37-39, although the only known instance of a Manichaean use of this passage is a Coptic "psalm."⁷²² A few of *mor. I*'s other New Testament references can also be found in Manichaean works;⁷²³ but, compared to the total number of direct citations given by Augustine, they are very few. For those we do not find in the Manichaean works themselves, we would not know that the Manichaeans — those, at least, of Africa and Rome — had ever employed them, if Augustine in *mor. I* had not told us so.

⁷²¹ Cf. ALLBERRY, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, p. 134.30.

⁷²² Cf. following note.

⁷²³ Matt. 6:24 (Allberry, *op. cit.*, p. 97.30), Matt. 11:27 (*ibid.*, p. 122.11), Matt. 15:11 (*Faust.* XVI,6 and XVIII,2, pp. 445.22 and 491.19), Matt. 22:37-39 (cf. above, n. 539), John 14:6 (*Fort.* 3, p. 86.2), I Cor. 1:23 (Allberry, *op. cit.*, p. 86.30), I Cor. 1:24 (*Faust.* XX,2, p. 536.15), I Cor. 15:49 (Allberry, *op. cit.* p. 150.29), II Cor. 4:16 (*ibid.*, p. 155.8), Gal. 1:10 (*ibid.*, p. 40.18-19), Eph. 3:16 (*Faust.* XXIV,1, p. 717.15), I Tim. 6:10 (*Fort.* 21, p. 102.10) and Tit. 1:15 (*Faust.* XXXI,1, p. 756.2). In the Coptic Manichaean "psalms" we also find a few quotations from the Old Testament Psalter: 33:9 (Allberry, *op. cit.*, p. 158.18), 50:12 (*ibid.*, p. 159.21-22) and 99:3-4 (*ibid.*, p. 156.1-2). Cf. SCHEFTELOWITZ, *Die Entstehung*, p. 34. The use of the Psalms may have been confined to Egypt. The Manichaeans whom Augustine is addressing refused to acknowledge the Psalms even when they were cited by Paul, as the example of Psalm 43:22 quoted in Rom. 8:36 suggests (lines 244-247): Augustine immediately adds that the Manichaeans look on the verse as an 'interpolation'.

CHAPTER V

MANICHAEAN ASCETICISM AND AUGUSTINE'S RESPONSE

Two major influences, one negative and the other positive, moved Augustine to pen the five closing chapters (lines 1076-1365) of *mor. I*. The negative influence is named in *retr.*, where he says that it was the pretensions of Manichaeans at Rome to practise genuine asceticism which moved him to write; he repeats this at the beginning of *mor. I* (lines 21-25).⁷²⁴ The positive influence is Augustine's personal interest in the Christian ascetical life which played such an important rôle in the final stage of his conversion. For this he had been psychologically prepared by his recognition of the need for authority in the life of Man.⁷²⁵ When Simplicianus recounted the conversion of Marius Victorinus,⁷²⁶ when Pontitianus told of the life of Saint Antony (himself converted by the *auctoritas* of Scripture to the ascetical life)⁷²⁷ and of the effect of a copy of Antony's *Uita* on two courtiers and their fiancées at Trier,⁷²⁸ and when he further described the forms of Christian asceticism then being practiced in Milan and elsewhere,⁷²⁹ Augustine accepted these *exempla* as an *auctoritas* which he was able to complement with another: the *auctoritas* of Scripture. The combination of these forces proved to be the key making Augustine capable of full assent to the authority of the Catholic Church.⁷³⁰ It is in the light of these two influences

⁷²⁴ The two texts are compared in Commentary, 2-5.

⁷²⁵ Cf. above, p. 104.

⁷²⁶ Augustine, *conf.* VIII,2:3-4:9 (pp. 171-177).

⁷²⁷ Cf. *conf.* VIII,6:14 (below, p. 208) and 12:29 (Commentary, 1105-1116).

⁷²⁸ Augustine, *conf.* VIII,6:15 (p. 182.6).

⁷²⁹ Augustine, *conf.* VIII,6:15. This passage is treated later in this chapter.

⁷³⁰ HALLIBURTON tends to understate the influence of Pontitianus' recital on Augustine (*The Inclination*); the texts plainly reveal its connection both to Augustine's conversion (preluded by such influences as Ambrose and Simplicianus) and to his decision to live as perfect a Christian life as possible.

that Chapters XXXI-XXXV of *mor. I* must be read: against the negative *exemplum* of Manichaeian asceticism, Augustine intends to propose the authority of genuinely Christian *exempla*, of those who live the evangelical counsels to the full.⁷³¹

A "negative exemplum": Manichaeian asceticism

In *mor. I* Augustine does not go into the subject of Manichaeian ascetical principles; nor does he do more than hint that these principles are not always practised:⁷³² that comes in *mor. II*. But chapters XXXI-XXXV serve as the introduction to *mor. II*, as a contrast to the manner in which the Manichaeians practice their asceticism, which serves as a background for Augustine's "positive examples" of Christian ascetics.

In the religion of Mani, individual salvation is closely linked to a severe asceticism.⁷³³ Good being identified with Light and Evil with Darkness/Matter with which particles of Light have become entwined,⁷³⁴ the entire material universe is basically negative, meant by the God of Light only to serve as the means whereby those who belong to the "Religion of Light" may free the Light and allow it to return to its true home.⁷³⁵ But just as the material universe — the macrocosm — is full of the tension between mixed Light and Darkness, so Man — the microcosm — is the replica of this situation in miniature: created by demons to contain as much im-

The account in *conf. VIII* of Augustine's reaction to Pontitianus' recital runs from 7:16-12:29, ending with the passage cited in n. 710. Cf. below, p. 239.

⁷³¹ On the authority of *exemplum* in Augustine, cf. LÜTCKE, *Auctoritas*, pp. 72-76, and COURCELLE, *Recherches*, p. 187.

⁷³² Even then the main idea is that Christians and Manichaeians practice asceticism for different reasons, not that Manichaeians do not practice it: cf. Commentary, 1227-1240.

⁷³³ Cf. POLOTSKY, *Manichäismus*, c. 264: "Die Hauptformen des Kultus sind Gebot und Fasten." Very few commentaries exist on Manichaeian asceticism as such: the first "treatise" was six pages in a License of Theology dissertation in 1852 (Wilhelm Julius MANGOLD, *De monachatus Originibus et causis*, Elwert, Marburg, pp. 42-47); ALFARIC treated it (from the sources then available) in *L'évolution*, pp. 126-243; Karl HEUSSI devotes three pages to it in *Die Ursprung des Mönchtums*, Mohr, Tübingen, 1936, pp. 287-290; and ASMUSSEN discusses various points in *Xuastvanift*, which is a presentation and commentary of the Manichaeian confession-formula of that name (cf. above, p. 17). For another Manichaeian treatise on asceticism, cf. CHAVANNES-PELLIOT, *Un traité I*, pp. 569-585.

⁷³⁴ Cf. above, p. 37.

⁷³⁵ Cf. above, pp. 37-41.

prisoned Light in himself as possible, Man is torn this way and that by the tension between these two forces within himself.⁷³⁶ It then follows that the only possible salvation for him, and the only way of freeing the entrapped Light-particles, lies in the most rigorous abstinence from all that pertains to Matter/Darkness:

The physical and the ethical are not distinguished, and in this respect the character of the system is thoroughly materialistic; for when Mani coordinates good with light, and evil with darkness, this is no mere figure of speech, but light is actually good, and darkness evil. From this it follows that religious knowledge involves the knowledge of nature and her elements, and that redemption consists in a physical process of freeing the element of light from the darkness. Under such circumstances ethics becomes a doctrine of abstinence in regard to all elements which have their source within the sphere of darkness.⁷³⁷

For one wishing to live the full Manichaean life, the ascetical program was divided into five commandments and three seals.⁷³⁸ One of the Coptic "psalms" speaks of

The honour of the commandment that we lie not; the honour of the commandment that we kill not; the honour of the commandment that we eat no flesh; the honour of the commandment that we make ourselves pure; the honour of the commandment of blessed Poverty.⁷³⁹

The three seals (meaning the three principles of abstinence whereby the full members, the Elect, were sealed) are named by Augustine in *mor. II: signacula oris, manuum et sinus*.⁷⁴⁰ Manichaean documents

⁷³⁶ Cf. above, p. 41 and n. 184.

⁷³⁷ HARNACK, *Manichaeism*, p. 573. Cf. also CUMONT, *La propagation*, p. 41: "Pour la première fois en Occident, une théologie imposait un idéal strictement ascétique. Elle plaçait l'excellence de la vertu dans une continence rigoureuse, une abstinence sévère, un dénûment complet. Elle attira à elle ces âmes qui trouvent une joie mystérieuse à mépriser toutes les joies de la nature."

⁷³⁸ So Turfan fragment M 174 (in WALDSCHMIDT-LENTZ, *Manichäische Dogmatik*, p. 555): "...mit den fünf trefflichen Geboten des guten Friedens und mit den drei herrlichen Siegeln."

⁷³⁹ ALLBERRY, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, p. 33.18. Cf. also HENNING, *The Book of the Giants*, p. 63; and *Ein manichäisches Bet- und Beichtbuch*, p. 14; WALDSCHMIDT-LENTZ, *Manichäische Dogmatik*, p. 548; and Turfan fragment T III D 2604 (BANG-GABAIN, *Türkische III*, p. 199f.).

⁷⁴⁰ Augustine, *mor. II*, 10:19 (c. 1353): "...ut ore ... et manibus et sinu castus et innocens sit homo ... sed cum os, inquit, nomino, omnes sensus qui

confirm this, speaking of three seals of mouth, hands, thoughts.⁷⁴¹ Augustine goes on to describe the prohibitions to which the three seals are applied: the first seal enjoins watch over the senses and prohibits blasphemous speech and the eating of unclean food;⁷⁴² the second enjoins watch over one's actions and prohibits the destruction of plants and animals;⁷⁴³ and the third enjoins abstinence from all those thoughts not in harmony with the nature of the world of Light.⁷⁴⁴

To understand the practical consequences of these 'commandments' and 'seals', one must understand how seriously the Manichaeans took their own cosmogony. They saw the entire physical world as made up of mixed Darkness and Light; to 'abstain' meant therefore to refrain from doing anything to impede freeing the Light-particles or from doing anything that might harm the Light still trapped. The criterion between 'evil' acts and 'good' ones was therefore quite simple: whatever helps in the liberation of Light is permitted, whatever impedes it is forbidden. This in turn determines whether one's own salvation is being furthered or hindered. To inflict pain on any entrapped Light would constitute a sacrilege, since when anything containing Light suffers, God himself suffers through the cutting or crushing of Light-particles: this is *Iesus patibilis*, "Jesus, who hangs on a tree," as the Coptic "Psalms" say.⁷⁴⁵ The commandment against killing refers not only to homicide, but to the attack on any life, which would be to attack the life of God himself. One could

sunt in capite, intellegi uolo; cum autem manum, omnem operationem; cum sinum, omnem libidinem seminalem ... quid enim absurdius, quam ut cum tria dicantur signacula, oris, manuum, et sinus...?" Cf. also An-Nadim (FLÜGEL, *Mani*, p. 95).

⁷⁴¹ Cf. ALLBERRY, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, pp. 115.31 ("The seal (σφραγίς) of the mouth for the sign of the Father, the peace of the hands for the sign of the Son, the purity of virginity for the sign of the Holy Spirit") and 116.16 ("Let us seal our mouth that we may find the Father, and seal our (?) hands that we may find the Son, and guard our purity that we may find the Holy Spirit"); also Turfan fragment M 32 (in MÜLLER, *Handschriften-Reste* II, p. 63: "O Siegel vollkommenes meiner Hand, Mundes und Gedanken") and BANG, *Manichäische Laien-Beichtspiegel*, pp. 229-231.

⁷⁴² Augustine, *mor.* II,11:20 (c. 1354) and 13:27 (c. 1356) and *Faust.* VI,6 (p. 292.14).

⁷⁴³ Augustine, *mor.* II,17:54 (c. 1368); cf. also Alberuni (in SACHAU, *Chronology*, p. 190).

⁷⁴⁴ Augustine, *mor.* II,18:65 (c. 1372f.) and *Faust.* VI,3 (p. 286f.) and XXII,30 (p. 624).

⁷⁴⁵ ALLBERRY, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, p. 155.24. Cf. above, p. 45 and n. 194.

not, therefore, harm any animal or bird,⁷⁴⁶ nor any vegetation: to tear a plant out of the ground would be tantamount to deicide;⁷⁴⁷ whoever was guilty of injuring a tree in any way, even of plucking a fruit or leaf from its branches, was liable to severe punishment;⁷⁴⁸ the work of a farmer naturally involved countless murders, since by reaping he did violence to the "Cross of the Light" and the Divine Victim fastened to it,⁷⁴⁹ and by sowing he encouraged propagation and thus prolonged the captivity of Light in Matter.⁷⁵⁰ One was not even supposed to dig in a field or garden, touch buds or flowers, nor walk where anything grows, lest a plant be stepped on and crushed.⁷⁵¹

Since the perfect Manichaean was obliged to do absolutely nothing which could in any way harm the Light or impede the process of its liberation, and since the very air, soil and stones can feel, hear and think,⁷⁵² he was in fact obliged to a life of almost total inactivity. He could perform no manual labour,⁷⁵³ had to shun military service⁷⁵⁴ and hunting.⁷⁵⁵ He was to renounce all earthly love, including that for parents, relatives and children;⁷⁵⁶ and of course sex and marriage were absolutely forbidden.⁷⁵⁷ He might own no property,⁷⁵⁸

⁷⁴⁶ Augustine, *mor.* II,17:54 (cc. 1368-1372); *Acta Archelai* 10 (BEESON, *Hegemonius*, p. 16.2); Martan Farrux, *Shkand-vîmanîk-Vishâr* (DE MENASCE, *Une apologétique*, p. 255); CHAVANNES-PELLIOT, *Un traité* II, pp. 361 and 363; and HENNING, *Ein manichäisches Bet- und Beichtbuch*, p. 33.

⁷⁴⁷ Augustine, *Faust.* VI,4 (p. 288.26) and XVI,28 (p. 473.25); and Theodoret, *Haereticarum fabularum compendium* I,26 (PG 83/380).

⁷⁴⁸ Augustine, *mor.* II,17:54 (cc. 1368-1371). Cf. *conf.* III,10:18 (p. 59.19), *haer.* 46 (c. 37), *Faust.* XVI,9 (p. 447.23); also CHAVANNES-PELLIOT, *Un traité* II, p. 361; and HENNING, *Ein manichäisches Bet- und Beichtbuch*, p. 33.

⁷⁴⁹ Augustine, *haer.* 46 c. 37) and *enarr.* 140,12 (p. 2034); cf. also HENRICHs-KOENEN, *Ein griechisches Mani-Codex*, p. 152; and DE MENASCE, *Une apologétique*, p. 229.

⁷⁵⁰ Martan Farrux, *Shkand-vîmanîk Vishâr* (DE MENASCE, *Une apologétique*, p. 255) and *Acta Archelai* 10 (BEESON, *Hegemonius*, p. 16.7).

⁷⁵¹ HENNING, *Ein manichäisches Bet- und Beichtbuch*, p. 35; HENRICHs-KOENEN, *Ein griechisches Mani-Codex*, p. 146f.

⁷⁵² Cf. above, n. 194.

⁷⁵³ Augustine, *haer.* 46 (c. 37).

⁷⁵⁴ One of the accusations of Faustus against Moses was that he had engaged in warfare (*Faust.* XXII,5, p. 595.14).

⁷⁵⁵ HENNING, *Ein manichäisches Bet- und Beichtbuch*, p. 33.

⁷⁵⁶ Cf. the *apologia* of Faustus (*Faust.* V,1-2, p. 271f.); also the quote from the Coptic "psalm", below, p. 203f.

⁷⁵⁷ Cf. Commentary, 1345-1346.

⁷⁵⁸ Cf. Commentary, 1346-1347.

might not even build the most primitive shelter for himself.⁷⁵⁹ He was expected to lead the life of a ceaseless wanderer,⁷⁶⁰ sleeping on a mat on the ground,⁷⁶¹ possessing no more than food for a day and clothing for a year.⁷⁶² He had to fast on days amounting to more than a quarter of the year.⁷⁶³

No secular activity was permitted to him; the prime positive task he had was to liberate Light-particles, and this was to be done through eating the fruits and vegetables wherein they are principally held captive.⁷⁶⁴ The process of digestion would free the entrapped Light and permit it to escape and come together in a body of Light within the body of the Manichaean, whence it would eventually return to the Kingdom of Light via the two "Light-ships" and the "Column of Glory."⁷⁶⁵

The diet was a limited one, decided on the basis of how much Light a food was thought to contain. Basically it consisted of bread, often eaten with salt; but the perfect Manichaean could not

⁷⁵⁹ *Acta Archelai* 10 (BEESON, *Hegemonius*, p. 16.9). Cf. also CHAVANNES-PELLIOT, *Un traité* I, p. 573f. The rule seems to have been primarily designed to prevent the Elect from living solitary lives apart from Hearers: cf. *ibid.* II, p. 110, n. 1, and the confession-formula in HENNING, *Ein manichäisches Bet- und Beichtbuch*, p. 43f.: "(Da) ich in eines Hörers Haus menschliche Gestalt und Erscheinungsform empfangen habe..."

⁷⁶⁰ Cf. ALLBERRY, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, p. 175.2 (text, below, p. 203f.); CHAVANNES-PELLIOT, *Un traité* I, p. 572f.; HENNING, *Ein manichäisches Bet- und Beichtbuch*, p. 33; VÖÖBUS, *History*, p. 116; and DE STOOP, *Essai*, p. 35, n. 2.

⁷⁶¹ In *Faust.* V,5 (p. 278.1) Augustine refers to Manichaean ascetics as *mattarii*; cf. also *haer.* 46 (c. 36). DE STOOP believes (*Essai*, p. 121f.) that Augustine meant only the community of Constantius at Rome (cf. below, n. 834), but Epiphanius' phrase, διὸ αὐτοὶ οἱ Μανιχαῖοι ἐπὶ καλάμοις τὰς κοίτας αὐτῶν ποιοῦνται (*Panarion* 66:12,2, in HOLL, *Epiphanius*, p. 33.14), indicates otherwise.

⁷⁶² So Faustus (Augustine, *Faust.* V,1, p. 271.16); this is repeated by Al-Murtada (in KESSLER, *Mani*, p. 354) and Alberuni (in SACHAU, *Chronology*, p. 190) and is confirmed by Turfan fragment M 371 (in MÜLLER, *Handschriften-Reste* II, p. 33) and by a Chinese ms. (in CHAVANNES-PELLIOT, *Un traité* I, p. 576).

⁷⁶³ "Sieben Tagen in jedem Monat" says An-Nadim (in FLÜGEL, *Mani*, pp. 95 and 97). Cf. Commentary, 1248-1249.

⁷⁶⁴ Cf. CHAVANNES-PELLIOT, *Un traité* I, p. 582: "Les aumônes qu'ils reçoivent, ils en font une oeuvre méritoire"; cf. also p. 539 and II, pp. 271-274 and 341, n. 1; HENNING, *The Book of the Giants*, p. 64; Augustine, *Faust.* II,5 (p. 258.17), XIII,6 (p. 384.6) and XXXI,4 (p. 759) and *haer.* 46 (c. 35); also PUECH, *Le manichéisme*, p. 191, n. 389 and VÖÖBUS, *Manichaeism*, p. 8f.

⁷⁶⁵ Cf. above, pp. 37-39.

⁷⁶⁶ POLOTSKY, *Manichäische Homilien*, p. 57.

bake his own bread, nor even break it, lest he pain the Light in it.⁷⁶⁷ He was also permitted to eat certain cereals, fruits and vegetables, especially those whose bright colour showed that they contained a high concentration of Light-particles.⁷⁶⁸ But he could eat no foods held to be "polluted" (lines 1189-1190, 1211-1213, 1227-1228, 1235-1240): wine, considered to be the "Gall of the Princes of Darkness,"⁷⁶⁹ was especially *tabu* (lines 1230-1231), as were meat (lines 1227-1228),⁷⁷⁰ dairy products, and eggs.⁷⁷¹

Strictly applied, the end result of Mani's ethical ideals for the full Manichaeon would have meant death by starvation. While this might hasten the individual's final journey to the Kingdom of Light, it was in the long run an undesirable state of affairs, for it would discourage "vocations" to the ranks of the "perfect," and soon no one would have been left to carry on Mani's teaching and to help in the process of liberating the Light. A distinction was therefore made between "perfect" and "imperfect" believers:⁷⁷² the "perfect" (cf. Augustine's irony in lines 821 and 1354-1357), usually called "Elect" or "faithful," had to strictly adhere to the prescribed asceticism; but the "imperfect," usually known as "Hearers" or "catechumens,"⁷⁷³ were permitted to follow a more relaxed code.

⁷⁶⁷ *Acta Archelai* 10 (BEESON, *Hegemonius*, p. 16.15), and Ephrem (in MITCHELL, *S. Ephraim's Prose Refutations* I, p. xxx). Being one of the Five Pure Elements, the use of fire was forbidden to the Elect: cf. MÜLLER, *Handschriften-Reste* II, p. 98, and DE MENASCE, *Une apologétique*, p. 229f.

⁷⁶⁸ The *Commonitorium* lists a whole series of these (CSEL 25,2/980.13) and Augustine mentions melons and cucumbers (*Faust.* V,10, p. 283.7) and various seasonings (*mor.* II,13:30, c. 1358).

⁷⁶⁹ Cf. above, p. 40.

⁷⁷⁰ Compare the words of Faustus (*Faust.* VI,1, p. 284.16): "...quia omnem carnem inmundam existimen"; also XX,13 (p. 552.23) and XXX,1 (p. 748.15); *mor.* II,13:27 (c. 1356), 15:36-37 (c. 1361) and 17:62 (c. 1371); An-Nadim (in FLÜGEL, *Mani*, p. 95); VON LE COQ, *Türkische* III, pp. 53-63; and CHAVANNES-PELLIOT, *Un traité* II, pp. 111, 320, 322, 348f., 358, 361 and 363. Cf. Commentary, 1227-1240.

⁷⁷¹ Augustine, *haer.* 46 (c. 37) and *mor.* II,16:39 (c. 1362). Cf. CHAVANNES-PELLIOT, *Un traité* II, p. 269, n. 2.

⁷⁷² PUECH (*Le manichéisme*, p. 88f.) notes that the division into "perfect" and "imperfect" believers is found in all Gnostic systems. Cf. also CADIOU, *Notes*, p. 607f.: "À ce titre, comme à beaucoup d'autres, le manichéisme était réellement une gnose."

⁷⁷³ DE BEAUSOBRE disagreed (*Histoire* I, p. 251) that the Hearers could be identified with "catechumens": "Les Auditeurs n'étoient point Catéchumènes comme plusieurs se le sont imaginez. Ils différoient des Elus, comme les Laïques différent des Prêtres & des Moines. Du reste ils assistoient au Culte comme les autres." Cf. also II, p. 763. De Beausobre's assertion, which

Conclusion: manifestations of a personal preference

Augustine had felt an attraction to a 'common' life with friends since before his conversion.⁹¹⁷ Sometime shortly after arriving in Milan he and others had projected a sort of "philosophical community" in which all would live together, sharing their goods. The plan had to be given up because of the opposition of wives and fiancées of some of the prospective candidates,⁹¹⁸ but the idea itself remained, doubtless nourished by some of the accounts he heard:⁹¹⁹ how the Neoplatonist Manlius Theodorus had given up a world of honours to seek a philosophical country retreat;⁹²⁰ and how the Neoplatonist Marius Victorinus had embraced Christianity and, as a consequence, been forced into retirement.⁹²¹ These, together with the descriptions of Pontitianus,⁹²² must have played a major rôle in Augustine's decision immediately after the *Gartenerlebnis* to withdraw to Cassiciacum⁹²³ where the Platonic concept of a "philosophic life," the Ciceronian "cultured leisure" and the prayer-work-study cycle of the Christian "Pachomian" monks all became combined.⁹²⁴

⁹¹⁷ Cf. *Acad.* II,2:4-6 (pp. 25-27) and *sol.* I,12:20 (c. 880). On Augustine's fascination for the common life, cf. COURCELLE, *Recherches*, pp. 178-187 and MONCEAUX, *Saint Augustin et saint Antoine*, p. 69f.

⁹¹⁸ Augustine, *conf.* VI,14:24 (p. 137.10). Following ALFARIC, COURCELLE (*op. cit.*, p. 179) sees in this aborted experiment the attempt of an Augustine not yet free of Manichaeism to emulate the Manichaean experiment at Rome (cf. above, n. 834); cf. also MANDOUZE, *Saint Augustin*, p. 191f. Against this is ZUMKELLER, *Das Mönchtum*, p. 37, n. 8.

⁹¹⁹ He may have gathered more ideas about a 'philosophic' community from reading about Plotinus' project for realising the 'ideal' community of Plato's *Republic* (Porphyry, *Vita Plotini* 12, BRÉHIER I, p. 14.3). On the tradition of asceticism among non-Christians at this period, cf. MONCEAUX, *Saint Augustin*, p. 63f.; also BECKER, *Augustin*, p. 46f.

⁹²⁰ On Manlius Theodorus and the concept of *otium*, cf. COURCELLE, *Recherches*, p. 155f.; HALLIBURTON, *The Inclination*, p. 334f.; and MANDOUZE, *Saint Augustin*, p. 194.

⁹²¹ Augustine, *conf.* VIII,5:10 (p. 178.1).

⁹²² Cf. above, pp. 208-211.

⁹²³ Cf. *conf.* IX,5:7-12 (pp. 206-223); also BECKER, *Augustin*, pp. 46-48.

⁹²⁴ MERLIN (*Saint Augustin*, p. 9) terms Cassiciacum "une véritable ébauche de vie monastique... Tous les principaux éléments s'y retrouvent nettement marqués: vie commune, prières et oraisons prolongées, éloignement du monde, parfaite chasteté, travaux manuels, travaux intellectuels, sans oublier le devoir de l'instruction des ignorants." On the tradition of "withdrawing from the world" while remaining surrounded by friends, cf. Jacques FONTAINE, "Valeurs antiques et valeurs chrétiennes dans la spiritualité des grands propriétaires terriens à la fin du IV^e siècle occidental," in *Epektasis. Mélanges patristiques offerts au Cardinal Jean Daniélou*, Beauchesne, Paris, 1972, pp. 571-595.

This is as close as Augustine ever came to taking the concept of "flight from the world" literally (cf. lines 697-698: "hunc mundum fugere, et refugere in deum"); perhaps what he had seen at Milan and Rome demonstrated to him that "to flee from the world" is essentially a state of mind, not of geographical location.⁹²⁵ It is significant, in any event, that when the opportunity came for organising a community of his own he chose to do so, not in a remote, uninhabited area, but on family land in his hometown.⁹²⁶

He had never thought of a hermit's life for himself; his deep-rooted need for friendship would in any case have prevented it.⁹²⁷ It is the cenobitic life that interests him in *mor. I*; the anchoritic he glosses over in a few short phrases, framed mostly in philosophical terms and ending with a phrase that describes himself more than the Manichaeans (lines 1103-1104: "si hoc excedit nostram tolerantiam"):

Des leçons de saint Antoine et de son exemple, il n'avait guère retenu que le principe même de l'ascétisme. Au contraire, toutes les idées d'Augustin, comme ses tendances, le poussaient vers le cénobitisme.⁹²⁸

Just as he expresses admiration for the hermetical life, but has no personal inclination to live it himself, so the admiration he ex-

⁹²⁵ But in all these elements it is easy to see a copy of Plotinus' own community (cf. above, n. 919). Cf. MAUSBACH, *Die Ethik* I, pp. 222-249, 351-372 and 434-442; MANDOUZE, *Saint Augustin*, p. 200; and ZUMKELLER, *Das Mönchtum*, pp. 246-255. On the concept of "flight from the world" in Ambrose, cf. ROBERTI, *S. Ambrogio*, pp. 149-152.

⁹²⁶ Cf. Possidius, *Vita s. Augustini* 3:4 (PL 32/36): "Ac placuit ei percepta gratia cum aliis ciuibus et amicis suis deo pariter seruientibus ad Africam et propriam domum agrosque remeare. ad quos ueniens, et in quibus constitutus, ferme triennio, et a se iam alienatis curis saecularibus, cum iis qui eidem adhaerebant, deo uiuebat, ieiuniis, orationibus, bonisque operibus, in lege domini meditans die ac nocte. et de iis quae sibi deus cogitanti atque oranti intellecta reuelabat; et praesentes et absentes sermonibus ac libris docebat."

⁹²⁷ Cf. above, n. 245.

⁹²⁸ MONCEAUX, *Saint Augustin et saint Antoine*, p. 69. Cf. also p. 88, and ZUMKELLER, *Das Mönchtum*, p. 41: "Augustinus war kein Freund der Isolierung. Gewiss liebte er Beschaulichkeit und Stille, aber stets suchte er sie im Kreis von Gleichgesinnten. Von Anfang an galt deshalb seine uneingeschränkte Hochschätzung dem Lebensideal der Zönobiten." LORENZ sees in the *mor. I* phrase "a mild criticism by Augustine of the anchorite way of life" (*Die Anfänge*, p. 51, n. 13). Modern authors agree that Augustine's own life-style as lived in Hippo is based on the Pachomian: cf. Lorenz, *op. cit.*, pp. 46-69; Monceaux, *op. cit.*, pp. 76-79; and MERLIN, *Itinéraire*, pp. 34-53.

presses for the rigid fasting of Rome does not necessarily reflect Augustine's own practice. His tendencies seem to have been toward a mitigated asceticism, so far as fasting is concerned: ⁹²⁹ he had no intention of letting himself be likened to the Manichaeans.

Yet he became convinced that (for himself) to become Christian must involve the renouncement of marriage, wealth and honours ⁹³⁰ - seemingly a Manichaean attitude. In a sense, Manichaeism at Augustine's entrance into the Catholic Church still exercised an influence on his psyche: as a Manichaean, he had tried to live as an "ordinary believer," and it had not worked. No one knew better than he what obstacles were constituted to Plotinus' "contemplation of the One" by the lust for glory, wealth and women.⁹³¹ This time, he must have told himself, if he were to embrace Catholicism it would have to

⁹²⁹ Cf. Possidius, *Uita s. Augustini* 22 (PL 32/51f.); also ZUMKELLER, *Das Mönchtum*, pp. 84-86 and 256-277. Perhaps Augustine is following Plotinus, who had the same attitude on this: cf. INGE, *The Philosophy* II, pp. 166-171.

⁹³⁰ As COURCELLE (*Recherches*, p. 201, n. 1) points out, Rom. 13:13, which plays a key rôle in the final moments of the *Gartenerlebnis* (text above, n. 710) "justement prêche la continence." Cf. *conf.* VIII,12:30 (p. 196.2): "Conuertisti enim me ad te, ut nec uxorem quaererem nec aliquam spem saeculi huius..."; and *sol.* I,10:17 (c. 878):

R(atio). Diuitias nullas cupis?

A(ugustinus). Hoc quidem non nunc primum. nam cum triginta tres annos agam, quatuordecim fere anni sunt ex quo ista cupere destiti, nec aliud quidquam in his, si quo casu offerrentur, praeter necessarium uictum liberalemque usum cogitavi...

R. Quid honores?

A. Fateor eos modo ac pene his diebus cupere destiti.

R. Quid uxor?...

A. Quantumlibet uelis eam pingere atque cumulare omnibus bonis, nihil mihi tam fugiendum quam concubitus esse decreui ... quam ob rem satis, credo, iuste atque utiliter pro libertate animae meae mihi imperaui, non cupere, non quaerere, non ducere uxorem.

Cf. ZUMKELLER, *Das Mönchtum*, p. 40f., and ALFARIC, *L'évolution*, p. 389, n. 3.

⁹³¹ Cf. *sol.* I,11:19 (c. 879f.):

R(atio). Credo propterea tibi hoc uideri, quia quamuis ista optare posses, non tamen propter se ipsa, sed propter aliud expetenda uiderentur.

A(ugustinus). Hoc est quod dicere cupiebam: nam quando desiderauit diuitias, ideo desiderauit ut diues essem, honoresque ipsos, quorum cupiditatem modo me perdomuisse respondi, eorum nescio quo nitore delectatus uolebam: nihilque aliud in uxore semper attendi, cum attendi, nisi quam mihi efficeret cum bona fama uoluptatem. tunc erat istorum in me uera cupiditas, nunc ea omnia prorsus aspernor: sed si ad illa quae cupio, non nisi per haec mihi transitus datur, non amplectenda appeto.

Cf. also *conf.* VI,6:9 (p. 122.7: "Inhiabam honoribus, lucris, coniugio..."), VIII,1:2 (p. 170.1), 5:11 (p. 178.19), 6:13 (p. 180.8), 7:17 (p. 184.20).

be on the level of those who try to follow Christ perfectly. Having refused to enter into the ranks of the Manichaean *electi*, he would make an all-out effort to be an "electus" of Christ⁹³² - not for the Manichaean reason that renouncement of this world's goods constituted in itself the holiness he sought; not because Christians who did not renounce "the world" were any less Christian than those who did — in *mor. I* he announces very clearly where he stands on those points — but because for him, personally, there could be only one way: to literally clear aside everything which blocked his path to God, the only valid object of Man's yearnings (lines 812-813):

Vita enim aeterna est totum praemium, cuius promissione gaudemus.

⁹³² Cf. MANDOUZE, *Saint Augustin*, p. 176f.: "On n'a pas dit, ou on n'a pas assez dit, que ce qui a retardé la 'conversion' d'Augustin — ou plus exactement ce qui en a été tout à la fois le frein et le stimulant — c'est le refus catégorique d'être un chrétien moyen, un chrétien faisant à la chair des concessions qu'Augustin était bien placé pour imaginer. Augustin n'a accepté d'entrer dans l'Eglise que le jour où il s'est cru capable, la grâce aidant, d'y devenir 'parfait'." Some go so far as to say that Augustine's final "conversion" was at the same time a conversion to the "monastic" life: so MERLIN, *Saint Augustin*, p. 5. ZUMKELLER, in the first edition of *Das Mönchtum* (1950, p. 10) said "Sein Übertritt zum Christentum war eine Conversio im völlsten Sinn: Bekehrung zum Mönchtum," but suppressed this statement in the second edition.

EXCURSUS

THE SOURCE FOR THE DIGRESSION ON THE TRIUNE GOD

Toward the end of Chapter XII Augustine interrupts his discussion on the attainment of the happy life (through *uirtus*, primarily expressed in the Great Commandment) to prepare to make, for the first time in the work,⁹³³ explicit mention of God as *triune*. This comes in lines 409-428 with the mention of each of the Persons, then runs to nearly halfway through Chapter XIV, whereupon Augustine returns to his earlier discussion on the happy life. In Chapter XV he begins to discuss the four cardinal virtues, but halts at § 27 to re-enter the trinitarian theme, permitted this time to run unbroken to the end of Chapter XVIII, closing with a discussion of Christ as "sapientia" (I Cor. 1:24, punctuated by a long passage from the Book of Wisdom) and of the Spirit as "caritas." At the beginning of Chapter XVIII he goes back once more to his discussion of the cardinal virtues. This interweaving of themes, and the manner in which he closes this trinitarian section (line 615), which is not referred to again, give it all the earmarks of a later addition to the pristine text; for by marking off these trinitarian passages we find that the texts surrounding them run in a continuous theme:

Original arrangement

to line 399 (theme: coming to God through virtue, i.e. love).

lines 441-478: continuation of the theme of coming to happiness through virtue = love: the four

Additions

lines 399-441: coming to God the Father through conformity to the Son, achieved through *caritas* = the Spirit.

⁹³³ He has implicit trinitarian formulae elsewhere: cf. below, p. 245 f., and Du Roy, *L'intelligence*, pp. 209-236.

cardinal virtues defined in terms of love.

lines 478-614: the Son as *sapientia*, illustrated by Scripture (especially the Old Testament); the Spirit as *caritas* (illustrated especially by Eph. 3:14-19).

line 615: "Sed tempus est ad illas uirtutes quatuor reuerti..."

It is not very difficult to understand Augustine's purpose in including these added passages. They serve to highlight the surrounding theme by showing the rôle of each of the Persons of the Trinity in the moral life of Man.⁹³⁴ More, they serve to offset what Augustine terms (lines 578-579) the Manichaeans' "ineptiae fabellarum et uanissimae imaginationes corporum." For the Manichaeans, too, proclaimed the worship of God as Father, Son and Holy Spirit, as Faustus of Milevis professes:

Igitur nos patris quidem dei omnipotentis et Christi filii eius et spiritus sancti unum idemque sub triplici appellatione colimus nomen.

This seems like a perfectly orthodox statement; but, as Faustus goes on to explain the Manichaean "trinity," we begin to understand what Augustine means by "absurd fairy-tales and fanciful bodied beings":

Sed patrem quidem ipsum lucem incolere credimus summam ac principalem, quam Paulus alias inaccessibilem uocat, filium uero in hac secunda ac uisibili luce consistere. qui quoniam sit et ipse geminus, ut eum apostolus nouit Christum dicens esse dei uirtutem et dei sapientiam, uirtutem quidem eius in sole habitare credimus, sapientiam uero in luna. necnon et spiritus sancti, qui est maiestatis tertia aeris hunc omnem ambitum sedem fatemur ac diuersorium.⁹³⁵

⁹³⁴ Cf. CAVALLERA, *Les premières formules*, p. 101: "Augustin, à la différence des Pères grecs notamment, aime moins à envisager successivement chacune des personnes que le Dieu vivant un en trois personnes, le Dieu-Trinité comme il dit, auquel il rapporte tous les attributs divins, notamment ceux qui se manifestent dans les rapports avec les hommes." Cf. also PERLER, *Der Nus*, pp. 78-81 and 106-118.

⁹³⁵ Augustine, *Faust*, XX,1 (p. 536.9). JACKSON observes (*The Fourfold Aspect*, p. 292) that actually Faustus is promulgating the Manichaean "four-faced God": the Father (*pater*), his Light (*lux*), his Power (*uirtus*) and his Wisdom (*sapientia*): cf. above, p. 32.

The rôle of I Cor. 1:24 in this "profession of faith" explains the frequency with which Augustine cites it when speaking of Christ: he probably — at least in the early writings — always had this Manichaeian exegesis in mind, with its identification of Paul's *uirtus* with a sun-dweller and his *sapientia* as an inhabitant of the moon. It is likely, in fact, that Augustine's first knowledge of I Cor. 1:24 was due to Manichaeism,⁹³⁶ whose "exegesis" went on to interpret I Tim. 6:16 ("...qui solus habet immortalitatem et lucem inhabitat inaccessibilem quem nullus hominum uidit...") as a reference to the "Father of Greatness," the first and invisible light,⁹³⁷ the secondary and visible lights being, of course, the sun and moon. As to the Spirit, there does not seem to be any Pauline support for him: he is simply said to have his seat and dwelling ("sedes ac diuersorium") in the air.

Augustine's first ideas on the Trinity thus probably came to him from a Manichaeian source;⁹³⁸ how far away from that source he

⁹³⁶ Cf. also *Faust*. XX,8 pp. 542-544). LA BONNARDIÈRE suggests (*Le livre de la Sagesse*, p. 33, n. 49) that Augustine's use of the verse might have originated in anti-Arian circles at Rome or Milan.

⁹³⁷ Cf. above, n. 935.

⁹³⁸ It is the opinion of GRONDIJS (*Numidian Manicheism*, p. 23) that Manichaeans of the West professed belief in a trinity only in order to conform to the decree of Theodosius against the Arians (*Cod. Theod.* XVI,1:2, in MOMMSEN-MEYER, *Theodosiani*, p. 833): "Cunctos populos ... in tali religione uolumus uersari ... ut secundum disciplinam apostolicam euangelicamque doctrinam patris et filii et spiritus sancti unam deitatem sub parili maiestate, et sub pia trinitate credamus." On this decree, cf. VAN DER LOF, *Der numidische Manichäismus*, pp. 121-125. Grondijs might seem to have support in a Coptic text which enjoins the followers of Mani to worship God in a trinitarian sense (ALLBERRY, *A Manichaeian Psalm-Book*, p. 33.18: "The Original One, who is excellent and worthy to ... we (?) glorify him; the Son and the Holy Spirit also, we worship them in Truth"; cf. also pp. 14.8, 115f. and the doxology on p. 191.13); but Turfan and Chinese documents also speak of a "trinity": cf. CHAVANNES-PEL-LIOT, *Un traité I*, p. 556 ("...le Père de la Lumière, le Fils de la Lumière et le Vent de la Loi Pure. Le Père de la Lumière, c'est le Vénérable de la Lumière sans supérieur du monde de la Lumière. Le Fils de la Lumière, c'est l'éclat du soleil et de la lune. Le Vent de la Loi Pure, c'est *Houei-ming* (Lumière bienfaisante)"); Turfan Fragments M 17 (MÜLLER, *Handschriften-Reste II*, p. 26: "...Preis und Lob dem Vater und dem Sohne und dem Geiste...") and M 172 (*ibid.*, p. 103: "Preis und Lob dem Vater und dem auserwählten Lufthauch, dem hl. Geiste..."); and WALDSCHMIDT-LENTZ, *Manichäische Dogmatik*, p. 556f. ("Gepriesen möge sein das Oberhaupt der Religion (Gemeinde) mit dem Segen des Vaters, Sohnes und heiligen Geistes"). SCHAEDEER (*Urform*, p. 154) believes that Manichaeism's "trinitarian" teaching originates with Mani himself. That seems quite possible: the "profession of faith" of Faustus shows remarkable similarity with these Eastern texts. What possibly happened was that the

has travelled in *mor. I* is shown in his assertion that, because all three Persons share the same substance (lines 429, 435-437, 439-440)⁹³⁹ all are unchangeable and immovable (lines 400-401, 415, 427-430), all are equally the object of Man's love (lines 435-436); but especially it is shown in the use he makes of the Old Testament. There, of course, Mani's followers would have perceived no trinitarian teaching.⁹⁴⁰ In *Gen. c. Man.* Augustine begins to attack this view with his emphasis on the participation of all three Persons in Creation;⁹⁴¹ but here he limits himself to a demonstration of how, since the Old Testament speaks of the true God, it must also speak of him in his triune nature (lines 510-533; note the *italicised* verbal correspondences):⁹⁴²

Deinde, cum Paulus dicat filium dei esse "*dei sapientiam*"; et ipse dominus, Nemo *nouit* patrem, nisi unigenitus filius; quid potuit a propheta *congruentius* dici, quam illud quod dictum est, Et tecum *sapientia* quae *nouit* opera tua, quae affuit tunc cum orbem terrarum faceres, et sciebat quid placitum esset oculis tuis?

Quod autem Christus est *ueritas*, quod idem ostenditur cum "*splendor patris*" nuncupatur; non est enim quidquam in *circuitu* solis, nisi *splendor* ipse quem gignit: quid ergo potuit apertius et clarius ex uetere testamento huic sententiae *consonare*, quam illud quod dictum est, *Veritas* tua in *circuitu* tuo?

Postremo dicit ipsa *sapientia* in euangelio, Nemo uenit ad

Manichaeans who first came into contact with Christian regions noticed the similarity between their "Four-faced God" (cf. above, n. 935) and the Christian Trinity and simply made the necessary adaptations - not to escape the law of Theodosius but to facilitate proselytisation. The first contacts and consequent adoption of the Christian trinity would logically have been in Syria (cf. above, p. 28), whence it could have travelled eastward again into Persia and eventually China. This process seems more probable than the idea of Van der Lof (*op. cit.*, p. 125) that "trinitarian" formulae in Manichaeism show evidence of the influence of Christianity on Mani himself.

⁹³⁹ The theme is already explicit in *b. uita* 4:35 (p. 115.17) and is a refutation of the Manichaean idea about *two* substances. Cf. the declaration of Fortunatus in Augustine, *Fort.* 18, p. 96.3): "Trado ego *duas* substantias fuisse: in lucis substantia habere deum, ... fuisse uero contrariam naturam tenebrarum." Cf. also above, p. 32f.

⁹⁴⁰ Cf. above, p. 146f.

⁹⁴¹ Cf. Du Roy, *L'intelligence*, pp. 24-26, and PELLAND, *Cinq études*, pp. 158-160. This theme is developed further in *Gen. imp.* 1 (p. 459.14). Cf. also *nat. boni* 24-26 (p. 866.14) and *Adimant.* 1 (p. 115f.).

⁹⁴² Mlle LA BONNARDIÈRE points out (*Le livre de la Sagesse*, pp. 25-28) that this is the first time Augustine employs the method *secundum analogiam*.

patrem, *nisi per me*: dicit propheta, Sensus tuum ergo quis scit, *nisi tu dederis sapientiam*? Et paulo post, Et quae tibi placent, didicerunt homines, et *per sapientiam* sanati sunt. Dicit Paulus, Caritas dei *diffusa* est in cordibus nostris *per spiritum sanctum* qui datus est nobis: dicit propheta, *Sanctus enim spiritus* disciplinae *effugiet* dolum. Ubi enim dolus, caritas nulla est. Dicit Paulus, Conformes fieri *nos* imaginis filii dei: dicit propheta, Signatum est super *nos* lumen uultus tui, domine. Ostendit Paulus deum esse *spiritum sanctum*, et ideo non esse creaturam: dicit propheta, Et miseris *spiritum sanctum* de altissimis. Solus enim deus altissimus, quo nihil est altius. Ostendit Paulus trinitatem istam unum deum esse, cum dicit, *Ipsi gloria*: dicitur in ueteri testamento, Audi, Israel, dominus deus tuus, deus unus est.

In earlier writings, where trinitarian allusions and formulae sometimes appear, Augustine's views are still strongly Neoplatonist in flavour;⁹⁴³ here, however, there is a noticeable departure, manifest in the manner in which he cites Rom. 11:36,⁹⁴⁴ to positively assert God's triune nature (lines 435-440):

Deum ergo diligere debemus trinam quamdam unitatem,
 patrem
 et filium
 et spiritum sanctum,
 quod nihil aliud dicam esse, nisi id ipsum esse. Est enim uere sum-
 meque deus,
 ex quo omnia,
 per quem omnia,
 in quo omnia:

⁹⁴³ Cf. the texts cited on p. 246 f.; also *ord.* II,5:16 (p. 157.20): "Nullumque aliud habet negotium, quae uera et, ut ita dicam, germana philosophia est quam ut doceat, quod sit omnium rerum principium sine principio quantusue in eo maneat intellectus quidue inde in nostram salutem sine ulla degeneratione manauerit, quem unum deum omnipotentem cum quo tripotentem patrem et filium et spiritum sanctum, ueneranda mysteria, quae fide sincera et inconcussa populos liberant..." On the trinitarian "theology" of Augustine's early writings, cf. CAVALLERA, *Les premières formules*, pp. 97-102; DAHL, *Augustin und Plotin*, pp. 30-73; BARION, *Plotin und Augustinus*, pp. 98-106; GEIGER, *C. Marius Victorinus*, pp. 53-61; GRANDGEORGE, *Saint Augustin*, pp. 85-99; NÖRREGAARD, *Augustins Bekehrung*, pp. 157-163; LOESCHE, *Plotin*, p. 344; NAVILLE, *Saint Augustin*, p. 122f.; and PERLER, *Der Nus*, pp. 118-125.

⁹⁴⁴ Already employed in *sol.* I,1:3 (c. 869).

haec uerba Pauli sunt. Quid deinde subicit? Ipsi gloria. Sincerissime omnino. Neque enim ait, "ipsis": nam unus est deus.⁹⁴⁵

This is, in fact, the first instance of an *explicit* treatment of the Trinity by Augustine. The allusions elsewhere in *mor. I*⁹⁴⁶ more closely resemble those in earlier works:

mor. I, lines 330-335

Secutio igitur dei, *beatitatis* appetitus est: consecutio autem, ipsa *beatitas*. at eum sequimur diligendo, consequimur uero, non cum hoc omnino efficiamur quod est ipse, sed ei proximi, eumque

b. uita 4:34 (p. 114.22)

Ueritas autem ut sit, fit per aliquem summum *modum*, a quo procedit et in quem se perfecto conuertit. ipsi autem summo *modo* nullius alius modus inponitur; si enim summus *modus* per summum modum

⁹⁴⁵ Du Roy (*L'intelligence*, pp. 479-483) has collected all the Augustinian passages in which Rom. 11:36 appears and concludes that Augustine's use of it is nearly always trinitarian. He notes, too, the unique form in which the verse appears in *mor. I*. To explain this, he does not propose a variant in the biblical text, but sees it as "un condensé doxologique de Ro. XI,36 d'origine liturgique peut-être" (p. 483). The explanation has merit, but does not explain why the wording makes its appearance again once every few years: in *mor. I* (where it is *always* in the same form) and the contemporary *quant.* (cf. text below, p. 247) and again around the same time in *epist. 11 ad Nebridium* 3 (p. 26.29); then not until 392 or 393 (*duab. an.* 9, p. 61.15); again a few years later (*enarr.* 5,3, p. 20.18, preached possibly in 395); and once thereafter, around 414 (*trin.* V,8:9, p. 211.33).

⁹⁴⁶ Du Roy (*L'intelligence*, p. 211) sees a trinitarian allusion in § 3 (lines 41-54) and a possibly later addition in lines 42-43 which might, he says, be taking the place of an original text affirming the primacy of *reason*. The basis for his allegation is the trinitarian allusion he perceives in lines 46-49 ("perspicuitati ... inducat auctoritas"), basing it on a comparison with *ord.* II,9:26 (text above, n. 521), which for him is also trinitarian (*op. cit.*, p. 127). Against this are the following points: (1) If lines 42-43 are an addition ("Naturae quidem ordo ita se habet, ut cum aliquid discimus, *rationem praecedat auctoritas*"), then so are lines 823-825 ("Unde illud extollitur, quod *ab initio* satagimus, nihil in ecclesia catholica salubrius fieri, quam ut *rationem praecedat auctoritas*"); (2) VAN DER LINDEN (*Ratio*, pp. 25-29) does not see a reference to Son and Spirit in every Augustinian passage which happens to contain the terms *ratio* and *intellectus* together; GILSON (*Introduction*, p. 57) sees in these terms no more than two faculties of the human soul; (3) if the terms are to be interpreted in Du Roy's sense, then one aspect, the First Person, is missing entirely from the context; and (4) if the terms are to be interpreted in Du Roy's sense, this means that Augustine views (in lines 46-49, at least) the Spirit as no more than the supreme *ratio* - in other words, as an aspect of Plotinus' "World Soul." Possibly this was the case for *Acad.* III,19:42 (text above, n. 517); but, even if it were, nothing would be proved in the case of *mor. I*.

mirifico et intellegibili *modo* con-
tingentes,
eiusque *ueritate*
et sanctitate
penitus illustrati atque comprehensi.
ille namque ipsum lumen est; nobis
autem ab eodem illuminari licet.

lines 1028-1029

...neque confundens
quod aeternitas,
quod *ueritas*,
quod denique pax ipsa distinguit,
nec rursum separans quod maiestas
una coniungit.⁹⁴⁷

lines 776-778

Hanc ergo iustitia uitae regulam da-
bit huic amatori de quo sermo est,
ut deo quem diligit, id est
summo bono
summae *sapientiae*,
summae paci,
libentissime seruiat.

lines 460-462

Sed hunc amorem non cuiuslibet, sed
dei esse diximus, id est
summi boni,
summae *sapientiae*,
summaeque concordiae.⁹⁴⁸

modus est, per se ipsum *modus* est.
sed etiam summus *modus* necesse est
ut uerus *modus* sit. ut igitur *ueritas*
modo gignitur, ita *modus ueritate*
cognoscitur. neque igitur *ueritas* si-
ne *modo*, neque *modus* sine *ueritate*
umquam fuit. quis est dei filius?
dictum est: *ueritas*. quis est
qui non habet patrem? quis alius
quam summus *modus*? quisquis igi-
tur ad summum *modum* per *ueri-
tatem* uenerit, *beatus* est.

quant. 34:77 (c. 1077)

Diuine ac singulariter in ecclesia
catholica traditur nullam creaturam
colendam esse animae ... ipsum tan-
tummodo rerum quae sunt omnium
creatorem, ex quo omnia,
per quem omnia, in quo
omnia, id est inconmutabile prin-
cipium, inconmutabilem *sapientiam*,
inconmutabilem caritatem, unum
deum uerum atquem perfectum.

⁹⁴⁷ Cf. *sol.* I,1:4 (text below, n. 948), where *aeternitas* does not yet seem to be an attribute of the Father in particular; also *doct. christ.* I,5:5 (text below, n. 948), *conf.* VII,10:16 (p. 157.14: "Qui nouit *ueritatem*, nouit eam (= lucem inconmutabilem), et qui nouit eam, nouit *aeternitatem*. caritas nouit eam. o aeterna ueritas et uera caritas et cara aeternitas! tu es deus meus [cf. Ps. 42:2] tibi suspiro die ac nocte [Ps. 1:2]") and *quaest.* 23 (c. 16): "...omne aeternum *aeternitate* est, et omne pulchrum pulchritudine, et omne bonum bonitate. ergo et omne sapiens sapientia, et omne simile similitudine... nam et anima *aeternitatem* uel intellegitur uel creditur consequi sed aeterna *aeternitate* participatione fit. non autem ita aeternus deus, sed quod ipsius aeternitatis est auctor."

⁹⁴⁸ In *sol.* I,1:4 (c. 871), *concordia* is not yet a title proper to the Spirit ("...una aeterna uera substantia ... ubi summa *concordia*, summa euidencia, summa constantia, summa plenitudo, summa uita"). Compare *doct. christ.* I,5:5 (p. 11.5):

It is not, however, until the added sections that in *mor. I* Augustine specifically names Christ as *sapientia* or as *ueritas* (lines 409-411), or the Spirit as *caritas dei* (lines 422-425),⁹⁴⁹ or that he clearly spells out what he considers to be the function particular to each of the Persons: God, considered as the ultimate object of Man's desires, as *summum bonum*, is the Father;⁹⁵⁰ as that truth, virtue and wisdom whereby the Father is known, he is the Son;⁹⁵¹ and as the peace, harmony, sanctification and love whereby we become eligible to attain to God he is the Spirit.⁹⁵²

Eadem tribus aeternitas, eadem incommutabilitas, eadem maiestas, eadem potestas.

in patre unitas,

in filio aequalitas,

in spiritu sancto unitatis aequalitatisque concordia.

Cf. below, n. 952.

⁹⁴⁹ It is not always clear elsewhere in *mor. I* whether the expression *caritas dei* means our love for God or God's love for us (therefore the Holy Spirit). BURNABY simplifies when he says (*Amor Dei*, p. 89): "The *caritas Dei* from which nothing can separate us is our love for God: 'in Jesus Christ,' it is Christ's love for God, in which the Spirit makes us participators." (In a footnote he identifies this love of Christ for God with the *νοῦς ἐρῶν* of Plotinus: cf. *Enn.* VI,7:35.) Cf. also p. 99: "We are prepared to find that when Augustine speaks of the love of God (for which he uses the phrases *amor Dei* and *caritas Dei* indifferently), the genitive is always objective in default of a note to the contrary: he means our love for God and not God's love for us."

⁹⁵⁰ So DU ROY, *L'intelligence*, p. 223f. On p. 247 he says that *summum bonum* can, in *lib. arb.*, be taken to always mean the Father, "nulle part cependant ce n'est explicite." His affirmation is supported by comparing a passage in *lib. arb.* with *mor. I*:

mor. I, lines 552-553

...quae inspirata spiritu sancto perducit ad filium, id est, ad *sapientiam* dei, per quam pater ipse cognoscitur.

lib. arb. II,141 (p. 72,19)

Immo uero quoniam in ueritate cognoscitur et tenetur summum bonum, eaque ueritas *sapientia* est, cernamus in ea teneamusque summum bonum eoque perfruamur.

The *ueritas* whereby the *summum bonum* is known is identified in *lib. arb.* with that *sapientia* whereby in *mor. I* the Father is known, and Du Roy's equation, *summum bonum* = *pater*, appears correct.

⁹⁵¹ The verses John 14:6 and I Cor. 1:24 are associated already in *b. uita* 4:34 (p. 114.15). Cf. BOYER, *L'idée*, pp. 98-107.

⁹⁵² Cf. DU ROY, *L'intelligence*, p. 217, n. 1. Mlle Hélène PÉTRÉ, who discusses these terms in her study (*Caritas*), nowhere mentions that any of them serves as a title for the Spirit in Augustine's works. In the use of these titles Augustine seems to say that *the Spirit himself* is that bond which enables both Testaments of Scripture to combine and form a single whole:

The titles given to the Spirit all have their origin in Paul (Vulg.):

Rom 1:7: Gratia uobis et *pax* a deo patre nostro et domino Iesu Christo.

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- | | | |
|-------|------------|---|
| line | 602: | "...uidete testamenti utriusque <i>concordiam</i> ..." |
| lines | 608-609: | "Salus animi et uia beatitudinis utrarumque scripturarum <i>pace</i> monstratur..." |
| lines | 961-963: | "Discutiamne uerba singula ueteris testamenti, ut in his <i>summam</i> cum euangelio esse <i>concordiam</i> peruicacibus indoctisque demonstrem?" |
| lines | 1060-1061: | "Quae duae uoces unius dei in duobus testamentis <i>signatae</i> , <i>sanctificationem</i> animae <i>concordi</i> attestazione declarant..." |

Compare *Adimant.* 7 (text in Commentary, 924-938), and note the presence of the "seal" in the last passage from *mor. I*, quoted above; that in itself is not sufficient to prove that Augustine means the *Spirit* when he applies these terms to the basic agreement between Old and New Testaments, but lines 767-770 make his intention clear: "Immo uero et haec, et alia plura perceperat, quae *uno sancto dei spiritu*, ut in istis noui testamenti, sic in illis, qui soli adhuc erant, libris diuina praecepta fortitudinis conscripta sunt." Later on Augustine was to make it clear that he envisioned the Holy Spirit as being the unifying bond between Father and Son (cf. *doct. christ.* I,5:5, text above, n. 948) or between all true believers: cf. *ciu. dei* X,3 (p. 449.20: "Huius (= dei) enim templum simul omnes (cf. I Cor. 3:16) et singuli templa sumus, quia et omnium *concordiam* et singulos inhabitare dignatur") and *conf.* XII,11:12 (p. 318.2: "Nec inuenio, quid libentius appellandum existimem caelum caeli domino (Ps. 113:16) quam domum tuam contemplantem delectationem tuam (cf. Ps. 26:4) sine ullo defectu egrediendi in aliud, mentem puram *concordissime* unam stabilimento *pacis* sanctorum spirituum"). It appears, then, that if in *mor. I* he had not meant to say that the *Spirit* performs this unifying function for Scripture's two parts, he would have used some word other than *concordia* - possibly the substantive form of the verb he usually employs in this context, *congruere*. Cf. LA BONNARDIÈRE, *Le livre de la Sagesse*, p. 28f.: "Le terme même d'*analogia* est très rare dans l'oeuvre d'Augustin. Trois fois, il l'applique à la relation qui existe entre les deux Testaments, dans trois textes anciens des années 388-393: *De musica* VI,17 (57); *De utilitate credendi* 3 (5); *De Genesi ad litteram imperfectus liber* 2 (5). Augustin traduit la valeur d'harmonie par le mot *congruentia*, terme qui lui est plus familier que celui d'*analogia*. Nous l'avons déjà reconnu dans le *De moribus ecclesiae catholicae* I et dans le *De utilitate credendi*. En 394, Augustin va en faire un emploi systématique, en utilisant aussi les synonymes *consonantia*, *conuenientia*, *concinentia*, dans le *Contra Adimantum*, qui mériterait d'être appelé un 'De duorum testamentorum congruentia.' A chacune des antinomies et dissonances dénoncées par Adimante entre l'Ancien et le Nouveau Testament, Augustin oppose la convergence de leurs harmoniques." Augustine had already employed the verb *consonare* in this context in *mor. I* (lines 256 and 519). As he also employs *congruere* (cf. lines 25, 236, 251 and 536), the substantive *concordia* (not mentioned by La Bonnardière; the corresponding *concordare* does not appear in *mor. I*) seems to imply a special application - to the rôle of the Spirit.

Rom 5:5: cf. above, p. 245.

Gal. 5:22: *Fructus* autem spiritus est *caritas*, gaudium, *pax*, patientia, benignitas, bonitas, longanimitas...

I Thess. 3:13: ...ad confirmanda *corda* uestra sine querela in *sanc-titate* ante deum et patrem nostrum in aduentu domini nostri Iesu Christi cum omnibus sanctis eius. amen.

II Thess. 2:13: ...elegerit uos deus primitias in salutem in *sanctifi-catione* spiritus et in fide ueritatis.

But as Augustine does not employ Rom. 1:7 anywhere else in the early works;⁹⁵³ as the first citation of Gal. 5:22 is in the contemporary *Gen. c. Man.*, but in a context that does not allude to the Spirit;⁹⁵⁴ and as Augustine never directly cites I Thess. 3:13

HAHN (*Das wahre Gesetz*, p. 457) points out that in Ambrose there are traces of the idea that it is the Spirit who unites the two Testaments, although Ambrose usually reserves this function to the operation of Father and Son (*ibid.*, p. 455f.).

⁹⁵³ He explicitly ascribes this title of the Spirit to Rom. 1:7 in *Epist. ad Rom. inchoata expositio* 11 (PL 35/2095): "Quod autem apostolus gratiam et *pacem* a deo patre et domino Iesu Christo dicit, non adiungens etiam spiritum sanctum; non mihi alia ratio uidetur, *nisi quia ipsum donum dei spiritum sanctum intel-legamus*: gratia porro et *pax*, quid aliud est quam donum dei? unde nullo modo dari hominibus gratia potest qua liberamur a peccatis, et *pax* qua re-conciliamur deo, *nisi in spiritu sancto*." Compare also *uera rel.* 55:113 (p. 80.26):

...unius substantiae trinitatem, unum deum
a quo sumus,
per quem sumus,
in quo sumus;
...principium ad quod recurrimus
et formam quam sequimur
et *gratiam* qua reconciliamur;
unum quo auctore conditi sumus
et similitudinem eius per quam ad unitatem formamur
et *pacem* qua unitate adhaeremus;
deum qui dixit fiat
et uerbum per quod factum est omne quod substantialiter et naturaliter
factum est
et donum *benignitatis* eius...;
unum deum quo creatore uiuimus,
per quem reformati sapienter uiuimus,
quem *diligentes* et quo *fruentes* beate uiuimus;
unum deum
ex quo omnia,
per quem omnia.
in quo omnia,
ipsi gloria in saecula saeculorum.
amen.

⁹⁵⁴ Augustine, *Gen. c. Man.* II,25:38 (c. 216). The application is to the

and II Thess. 2:13 in any of his writings:⁹⁵⁵ we must infer that the attribution of these titles does not originate with his own reading of Paul. The decisive way in which he speaks of the Spirit is, in fact, quite in contrast with his earlier views. So, too, is there a new element in the manner in which he employs Scripture. For the first time (except for the brief allusion in lines 309-310 and 328) he introduces the Book of Wisdom into his writing,⁹⁵⁶ and to each of the Persons he applies a (hitherto unquoted) passage from the Psalms:⁹⁵⁷

- Father: Ps. 72:28: *Mihi autem adhaerere deo bonum est* (473).
- Son: Ps. 88:9: *Veritas tua in circuitu tuo* (519-520).
- Spirit: Ps. 4:7: *Signatum est super nos lumen uultus tui, domine* (527-528).

The sudden introduction of the Wisdom passages, which we find only in the trinitarian sections, and the confident manner in which he compares Old and New Testament passages on such a difficult subject as God's triune nature, cannot do otherwise than make us suspect, not only outside influences, but outright borrowings.⁹⁵⁸ Perceiving the same phenomenon (he is thinking specifically of *mor. I*'s linking of Ps. 4:7 with Rom 8:29), Du Roy suggests that "c'est très probablement par l'enseignement d'Ambroise ou même par la lecture du *De Spiritu sancto* qu'Augustin a reçu cette doctrine traditionnelle de l'Esprit, à moins que ce ne soit par une source grecque."⁹⁵⁹ This is a shrewd observation. Augustine's "theology" in these passages points to an Eastern source and, assuming that he did not receive it directly from some other anti-Arian,⁹⁶⁰ he could have had direct recourse to Ambrose's work:

delights of the Garden of Paradise. But by 390 (*uera rel.*) he is making a definite application of the text to the Spirit: cf. above, n. 953. Possibly there are references in lines 478 ("fructum caritatis") and 620 ("a fructu bonitatis eius") of *mor. I*.

⁹⁵⁵ Cf. A.-M. LA BONNARDIÈRE, *Les Epîtres aux Thessaloniens, à Tite et à Philémon* (Biblia Augustiniana, A.T.), Études Augustiniennes, Paris, 1964. The first time he quotes from anywhere in *Thess.* is in 394 (*Adimant.*).

⁹⁵⁶ Cf. LA BONNARDIÈRE, *Le livre de la Sagesse*, p. 29.

⁹⁵⁷ Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 30.

⁹⁵⁸ Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 33: "Le texte d'Augustin demeure unique, mais sa structure n'en trahit pas moins une source précise."

⁹⁵⁹ DU ROY, *L'intelligence*, p. 227.

⁹⁶⁰ Even in the West the anti-Arian movement appears to have been vigorous at this time. Cf. PALANQUE, *Saint Ambrose*, pp. 49 and 139-164.

In Ambrose's time the doctrine of the Holy Ghost had not been defined with precision in the Western Church. Some theologians identified the Holy Ghost with the Word; others regarded Him as merely a Divine power or gift: others, while ascribing to Him a distinct Personality, maintained that He is subordinate to the Father and the Son. Ambrose was the first Western writer who handled the subject in a separate treatise, wherein the Catholic doctrine concerning the Third Person of the Trinity is clearly expounded. It is true that this work, *De Spiritu Sancto*, has little claim to originality. The bulk of its material is borrowed from the writings of Athanasius, Basil, and Didymus. Yet the work is important, inasmuch as it presented to Western Christians, still undecided in their views on this great subject, a lucid Latin summary of the conclusions arrived at by the profound divines of the East.⁹⁶¹

Leaving aside for the moment the possibility that this work is a direct source, we focus on the identity of the possible "source grecque" spoken of by Du Roy. He suggests the "Ἐκθεσις τῆς πίστεως" of Gregory the Wonderworker;⁹⁶² the problem, as he himself admits, is that the translation by Rufinus of this short profession of faith does not pre-date 402,⁹⁶³ and Du Roy's conjecture of some earlier translation remains at best unconvincing,⁹⁶⁴ as is remarked by La Bonnardière⁹⁶⁵ who, after investigating possible sources on her own (on the basis of the Wisdom citations), is forced to conclude:

Aucune de nos trois pistes de recherches, "florilège" antimanichéen

⁹⁶¹ DUDDEN, *The Life* II, p. 571f. *De spiritu sancto* was composed by Ambrose in 381: cf. *ibid.*, p. 699; PALANQUE, *op. cit.*, p. 503f.; and RAUSCHEN, *Jahrbücher*, p. 10.

⁹⁶² Text in PG 10/985-987.

⁹⁶³ Cf. Rufinus' translation of Eusebius' *Historia ecclesiastica* in GCS 9/2, 953-956.

⁹⁶⁴ DU ROY, *L'intelligence*, p. 227, n. 2: "Quoiqu'Augustin n'ait pu bénéficier de la traduction de Rufin qui est postérieure à 402 (Cf. Th. Mommsen, *Einführung zu Rufin*, dans GCS, IX, 3, p. CCLI), il aurait pu connaître une autre traduction: nous en avons effectivement conservé une d'un anonyme que F. Kattenbusch, *Das apostolische Symbol*, I, p. 339, n. 2, suppose être moins récente. Ce texte est cité par C.P. Caspari, *Alte und neue Quellen zur Geschichte des Taufsymbols und der Glaubensregel*, p. 16-17. Qu'Augustin se soit inspiré ou non de cette profession de foi, les rapprochements que nous avons été amené à faire accusent le caractère très oriental de la théologie trinitaire du *De mor.* et rendent souhaitable une étude plus poussée des sources de cet écrit."

⁹⁶⁵ LA BONNARDIÈRE, *Le livre de la Sagesse*, p. 33, n. 48: "Les rapprochements soulignés sont pleins d'intérêt, mais la profession de foi de Grégoire le Thaumaturge ne présente aucune citation textuelle de versets bibliques, et particulièrement aucune citation de la *Sagesse*."

milanais ou romain, profession de foi antiarienne, programme de lectures catéchuminales, ne nous a permis d'aboutir à une conclusion ferme. Nous croyons cependant que des documents de cet ordre ont joué un rôle essentiel dans l'initiation biblique d'Augustin et qu'ils expliquent la richesse scripturaire du *De moribus ecclesiae catholicae* I. C'est dans ce contexte que doit se comprendre la présence du *Livre de la Sagesse* dans l'écrit romain de 388.⁹⁶⁶

She could have added that whatever elements Gregory's work has in common with *mor. I* — creative rôle of the Son, the Spirit as *sanctitas* or *sanctificatio*, the nature of the Trinity as *inuertibilis* and *immutabilis* — can also be found in another "source grecque" investigated neither by her nor by Du Roy. This is one of the sources of Ambrose's work on the Spirit, the *De spiritu sancto* of Didymus the Blind.⁹⁶⁷ If we compare both Didymus and Ambrose with the similar passages of *mor. I*, we find that the resemblances are stronger between Augustine and Didymus than between Augustine and Ambrose, whose statements are not nearly as compact and whose language is not as similar. Italicised words in *mor. I* are those in common with both Ambrose and Didymus, or Didymus alone. Only *mor. I*'s expression "semper manere" is in common with Ambrose alone:

Didymus, <i>De spiritu sancto</i> 8 (PG 39/1040 C, PL 23/110 B)	<i>mor. I</i> , lines 399-402 (= Ambrose, <i>De spiritu sancto</i> II,1:16 (CSEL 79/94.16) beginning of the first trinitarian section)
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Qui igitur implet uniuersas creaturas, quae tamen possunt uirtutem et sapientiam capere, non est ex his quae ipse complet.

Quam ob rem nosse debet se esse creaturam. debet enim creatorem suum credere sicuti est, inuiolabili et incommutabili SEMPER MANERE natura "ueritatis" atque "sapientiae."

De filio legisti Christum dei uirtutem esse adque sapientiam. legimus etiam quia uirtus est pater, sicut scriptum est: Uidebitis filium hominis sedentem ad dexteram uirtutis (Matt. 26:24). hic utique uirtutem patrem dixit cuius ad dexteram filius sedet, sicut habes: Dixit dominus domino meo: sede ad dexteram meam (Ps. 109:1). uirtutem etiam spiritum sanctum ipse dominus nuncupauit dicens: Accipietis uirtutem adueniente in uos spiritu sancto (Act. 1:18).

dentem ad dexteram uirtutis (Matt. 26:24). hic utique uirtutem patrem dixit cuius ad dexteram filius sedet, sicut habes: Dixit dominus domino meo: sede ad dexteram meam (Ps. 109:1). uirtutem etiam spiritum sanctum ipse dominus nuncupauit dicens: Accipietis uirtutem adueniente in uos spiritu sancto (Act. 1:18).

III,4:18 (p. 158.6)

Sed et filius et dextera et uirtus dicitur. itaque si uerba nostra pendamus, nulla potest sine uirtute esse perfectio. et ideo caueat, ne putent — quod nefas dictum est — semiperfectum in sua substantia patrem perfectionem accepisse per filium, et desinant coaeternum filium patri negare. quando enim non fuit dei uirtus?

⁹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 34.

⁹⁶⁷ Cf. Faller's preface to Ambrose, CSEL 79/17*f.

Didymus 5 (PG, 1036 C, lines 415-418
PL, 107 B)

Si igitur (spiritus sanctus) sanctificator (var.: *sanctificatio*) est, non mutabilis,

...uirtutem quae inuolabilis et inuicta est, sapientiam cui stultitia non succedit, ueritatem quae conuerti atque aliter quam semper est sese habere non nouit. per hanc ipse cernitur pater; dictum est enim: Nemo uenit ad patrem, nisi per me. huic haeremus per *sanctificationem*.

lines 427-434

sed *immutabilis substantiae* ostenditur. *immutabilem* autem *substantiam dei* tantum, et unigeniti filii eius, manifestissime tradunt diuina eloquia conuertibilem et mutabilem omnem *creaturarum* substantiam praedicantia. ergo quoniam *substantia spiritus sancti* non conuertibilis, sed *inconuertibilis* demonstrata est, non erit *creaturae* ὁμοῖον esset quippe et *creatura immutabilis*, si cum patre poneretur et filio, eandem habens *inconuertibilitatem*. omne enim quod alieni boni capax est, ab hac substantia separatur. tales autem sunt cunctae *creaturae*: *deus* uero cum bonus sit, fons et principium bonorum est...

Nulla modo autem redintegrari possemus per *spiritum sanctum*, nisi et ipse SEMPER et integer et *incommutabilis* PERMANERET. quod profecto non posset, nisi *dei* naturae esset ac ipsius *substantiae*, cui soli *incommutabilitas* atque ut ita dicam, inuertibilitas (var. *inconuertibilitas*) semper est. *Creatura* enim neque hoc ego, sed idem Paulus clamat, uanitati subiecta est. neque nos potest a uanitate separare, ueritatique connectere, quod subiectum est uanitati. et hoc nobis *spiritus sanctus* praestat: *creatura* igitur non est. quia omne quod est, aut *deus*, aut *creatura* est.

Ambrose III,15:95
(p. 190.15)

Quis est dominus, qui corda nostra in sanctificatione confirmet? *sanctificatio* enim gratiae spiritalis est, sicut et infra dixit: In sanctificatione spiritus et fide ueritatis.

I,5:98 (p. 58.90)

Dicit Iohannes de deo: Ex hoc cognoscimus quia manet in nobis de spiritu, quem dedit nobis (I Io. 4:13). quod autem MANET, SEMPER est *nec mutatur*. ergo si *mutationem non habet*, aeternitatem non habet, et ideo *sanctus spiritus* sempiternus est, *creatura* autem obnoxia uitio ideoque mutabilis. quod autem mutabile est, esse non potest sempiternum. et ideo non potest *spiritus sancti* et *creaturae* esse consortium, quia sempiternus est *spiritus sanctus*, *creatura* autem omnis in tempore est.

III,15:105 (p. 194.15)

Sic et lex docuit: Audi Istrahele, dominus deus tuus dominus est, hoc est *immutabilis* semper, SEMPER unitate PERMANENS potestatis, semper idem, nulla accessione, nulla diminutione mutatus.

Neque enim alia dilectio est saluatoris super his qui amantur, et alia dilectio patris ... hanc *dilectionem* fructum esse *spiritus sancti*, contestatur apostolus, sicut et gaudium et pacem quae a patre ministratur et filio, dicens: Fructus autem spiritus, gaudium, pax, caritas. quae *caritas* effusa est in cordibus credentium per *spiritum sanctum*. Caritas quippe, ait, dei diffusa est in cordibus uestris in spiritu sancto.

Sanctificati enim plena et integra *caritate* flagramus, qua sola efficitur ut a deo non auertamur, eique potius quam huic mundo conformemur: Praedestinavit enim, ut ait idem apostolus, conformes nos fieri imaginis filii eius. fit ergo *per caritatem* ut conformemur deo, et ex eo conformati atque configurati, et circumcisi ab hoc mundo, quae nobis debent esse subiecta. fit autem hoc *per spiritum sanctum*. Spes enim, inquit, non confundit; quoniam caritas dei diffusa est in cordibus nostris per spiritum sanctum gaudium, pax, pax qui datus est nobis.

Sed uideamus, utrum bonitatem habeat, cum fons sit principiumque bonitatis. sicut pater bonitatem habet et filius habet, ita etiam bonitatem habet spiritus sanctus. quod etiam apostolus docuit dicens: Fructus autem spiritus est pax caritas, gaudium, patientia, bonitas.

I,12:130-131 (p. 71.46)

Sicut enim una est *caritas* patris et filii, ita hanc *caritatem* dei supra effundi et fructum esse *sancti spiritus* declarauimus, quia fructus est spiritus, caritas, gaudium, pax, patientia.

Besides the scattered nature of his passages, Ambrose is further from Augustine than is Didymus in other important respects: he avoids the term *in(con)uertibilitas*; he avoids the *creatura/deus* contrast, making it one of *Spirit/creature*, without bothering to mention the Spirit's consubstantiality. In fact, nearly all of the points of similarity between Ambrose and Augustine can be explained by a common borrowing from Didymus. The only exception is the phrase *(per-)manere semper*, and Augustine might have heard this in a sermon of Ambrose without having read his *De spiritu sancto*.⁹⁶⁸

Ambrose draws a little nearer to Augustine in the matter of Scriptural citations - but not much. Of these citations:

- (1) Ps. 72:28, Ps. 88:9, Matt. 7:7, Matt. 10:26, Rom. 8:20, 8:29, 8:35 and I Cor 11:19 appear in neither Ambrose nor Didymus.

⁹⁶⁸ As in *De Isaac uel anima* 7:79 (text, Commentary, 659-665). The phrase is also in *b. uita* 2:11 (text in Commentary, 84-88).

- (2) Deut. 6:14, Matt. 11:27, John 1:3, 1:4 and 14:6 and Rom. 11:36 appear only in Ambrose, but in different contexts.⁹⁶⁹
- (3) Nothing of *mor. I*'s Wisdom passages appears in Ambrose, except once in a vague reference,⁹⁷⁰ whereas Didymus cites Wis. 9:17, in a way that could explain how Augustine was moved to read the book for himself.⁹⁷¹
- (4) Similarly, Ambrose gives only a small section of Eph. 3:16,⁹⁷² whereas Didymus gives a longer part of Eph. 3:16-17.⁹⁷³
- (5) On the other hand Ambrose has the citation from Ps. 4:7,⁹⁷⁴ while Didymus quotes a section of it found in neither Ambrose nor Augustine.⁹⁷⁵ But this imposes no necessary conclusions,

⁹⁶⁹ Deut. 6:4 in III,15:105 (text above, p. 245); Matt. 11:27 in II,11:123 (p. 134.57: "Nemo nouit filium nisi pater, neque patrem quis nouit nisi filius, et cui uoluerit filius reuelare"); John 1:3 in I,2:27 (p. 28.7: "Omnia per ipsum facta sunt"); John 1:4 in I,14:141 (p. 75.8: "Uita erat lux hominum"); John 14:6 in III,11:73 (p. 180.36: "Ego sum uia ueritas et uita"); and Rom. 11:36 in II,9:89 (p. 122.36, without "ipsi gloria").

⁹⁷⁰ Wisdom 9:13-17 in II,11:126 (CSEL 79/135.81-94). The only citations from Wisdom in Ambrose's *De spiritu sancto* are: 1:4 in III,11:70 (p. 179.15) and 17:128 (p. 204.90); 1:7 in I,7:87 (p. 52.66); 7:21 in II,9:92 (p. 123.57); 7:22 in III,6:36 (p. 165.23), 18:135 (p. 207.28) and 22:169 (p. 221.36); 7:23 in III,6:36 (p. 165.25); 7:25 in III,18:135 (p. 208.32); and 7:26 in I,14:143 (p. 76.22) and III,12:87 (p. 186.11).

⁹⁷¹ Didymus, *De spiritu sancto* 26 (PG 39/1057 B, PL 23/127 B): "Et in libro qui Sapientia inscribitur, ab his qui diuina charismata consecuti sunt, uox gratias deo proferens destinatur. Quae autem in caelis sunt, quis inuestigauit? uoluntatem autem tuam quis cognouit: nisi quod tu dedisti sapientiam, et spiritum sanctum misisti de excelsis? et sic correctae sunt semitae eorum, qui super terram erant: et placita tibi edocti sunt homines." The only other citations from Wisdom in Didymus are: 1:6 in 58 (PG, 1081 C; PL, 150 A); 6:26 in 21 (PG, 1052 B; PL, 122 A); 11:27 in 46 (PG, 1073 C; PL, 142 B, where it is cited as 11:29); and 15:3 in 21 (PG, 1052 B; PL, 122 A, where no reference is given). Mlle LA BONNARDIÈRE (*Le livre de la Sagesse*, p. 25) does not think Augustine read Wisdom firsthand in preparation for *mor. I*: "Le nom de Salomon n'apparaît pas une seule fois, ne serait-ce pas l'indice qu'Augustin cite de seconde main?" But it can be pointed out that Didymus doesn't give Solomon's name, either: are we to conclude that he, too, is quoting it secondhand?

⁹⁷² Ambrose, *De spiritu sancto* II,9:99 (CSEL 79/124.98): "Confortari per spiritum eius."

⁹⁷³ Didymus, *De spiritu sancto* 24 (PG 39/1055 A; PL 23/124 D): "Per fidem quippe habitare Christum, in interiori homine, in spiritu ait apostolus, ita scribens: In spiritu, in interiori homine habitare Christum per fidem in cordibus uestris."

⁹⁷⁴ Cf. below, n. 980.

⁹⁷⁵ DIDYMU, *op. cit.*, 25 (PG 39/1056 A; PL 23/125 D): "Dedisti laetitiam in corde meo."

because none of Augustine's other Psalm-quotes come from Ambrose or Didymus, indicating an additional source.

- (6) We have seen, moreover, that Ambrose quotes I Cor. 1:24; however, Didymus cites it directly elsewhere in his work.⁹⁷⁶
- (7) Both also cite Rom. 5:5;⁹⁷⁷ but shortly after his citation Didymus links it to Rom. 8:38-39, which is missing in Ambrose.
- (8) We have also seen that both Ambrose and Didymus cite Gal. 5:22. Didymus does not cite II Thess. 2:13, as Ambrose does, but seems to refer to it (*sanctificatio*). However, Ambrose refers to I Thess. 3:13 (p. 254): "Quis est dominus, qui *corda nostra in sanctificatione confirmet?*") and elsewhere cites Rom. 1:7,⁹⁷⁸ both of which are missing in Didymus.
- (9) Didymus makes only one reference to the notion of the Spirit as *seal*,⁹⁷⁹ which Ambrose mentions often.⁹⁸⁰

⁹⁷⁶ DIDYMUS, *op. cit.*, 21 (PG 39/1052 A; PL 23/122 A).

⁹⁷⁷ Ambrose quotes it directly, *op. cit.*, I,3:40 (CSEL 79/30.15): "Diffusa est caritas dei in cordibus nostris per spiritum sanctum, qui datus est nobis." Didymus links it with Rom. 8:38-39 in 11 (PG 39/1043 C; PL 23/114 B): "Caritas dei diffusa est in cordibus uestris (var.: nostris) per spiritum sanctum qui datus est nobis..."

⁹⁷⁸ Ambrose, *op. cit.*, I,12:126 (CSEL 79/69.1): "Ergo cum una uocatio sit, una etiam gratia est; denique scriptum est: Gratia uobis et pax a deo patre et domino Iesu Christo. ecce habemus quia patris et filii una est gratia et pax fructus est spiritus, sicut ipse apostolus docuit dicens: Fructus autem spiritus caritas, gaudium, pax, patientia."

⁹⁷⁹ DIDYMUS, *op. cit.*, 5 (PG 39/1037 B; PL 23/108 A): "Beatus quoque apostolus ad Ephesios scribens ait: In quo et credentes signati estis spiritu promissionis sancto, qui est pignus hereditatis nostrae (Eph. 1:13-14). si enim *signantur* quidam *spiritu sancto*, formam et speciem eius assumentes: ex his est spiritus sanctus, quae habentur, et non habent: habentibus illum *signaculo eius* impressis. ad Corinthios (sic) quoque idem scribens, Nolite, inquit, contristare spiritum sanctum, in quo signati estis (Eph. 4:30): *signatos* esse contestans eos qui susceperant communionem *spiritus sancti*. quomodo enim disciplinae, et uirtutis assumptor, *signaculum* et figuram (ut ita dicam) in suum sensum recipit eius scientiae, quam assumpsit: sic et is, qui *spiritus sancti* particeps efficitur, per communionem eius fit spiritualis pariter et sanctus."

⁹⁸⁰ Cf. the citation of Ps. 4:7 in I,6:78-80 (CSEL 79/48.20): "*Sancto* igitur *spiritu signati sumus*, non in natura, sed a deo, quia scriptum est: Qui unxit nos deus et qui signauit nos et dedit pignus spiritum in cordibus nostris (II Cor. 1:21-22). *signati* ergo *spiritu* a deo *sumus*. sicut enim 'in Christo morimur, ut renascamur' (cf. I Cor. 15:22), ita etiam *spiritu signamur*, ut splendorem atque imaginem eius et gratia tenere possimus, quod est utique *spiritale signaculum*. nam et si specie signamur in corpore, ueritate tamen in corde *signamur*, ut *spiritus sanctus* exprimat in nobis 'imaginem caelestis' (cf. I Cor. 15:49) effigiem. quis igitur

- (10) Only Ambrose alludes to the *image* contained in Augustine's Rom. 8:29.⁹⁸¹

Hence Ambrose cannot be entirely discounted as a possible source: it is not a question here of *aut ... aut*, but of *et ... et*. Not even Didymus can be *definitely* posited here as one of the sources.⁹⁸² Neither he nor Ambrose seems willing to speak of the *operatio* applied by Augustine to the Son (lines 478-484, 491-493, 499-502); instead Didymus and Ambrose apply the term to the Spirit or to all three Persons together.⁹⁸³ This missing element, as well as the texts from Scripture (and their comparison) found in neither Ambrose nor Didymus, must be a warning against too quickly affirming, "Ambrose and/or Didymus." All that can be concluded from the above demonstration is: if it comes to a choice between the two, then more probably Didymus than Ambrose. But *if* Didymus is a source, we have a plausible explanation for Augustine's addition of the trinitarian sections to his original text. For it was in 389 that Jerome's translation of the *De spiritu sancto* made its appearance,⁹⁸⁴

audet dicere discretum a deo patre et Christo esse *spiritum sanctum* cum per ipsum ad imaginem et similitudinem dei (cf. Gen. 1:26) esse mereamur ... atque ut sciamus cordis nostri magis hoc quam corporis esse *signaculum*, docet propheta, qui dicit, Signatum est in nobis lumen uultus tui, domine. dedisti laetitiam in corde meo." Cf. also I,14:149 (p. 78.67): "Lumen, sicut supra diximus: Signatum est in nobis lumen uultus tui, domine. quod est ergo lumen signatum nisi illius *signaculi spiritalis*..."

⁹⁸¹ Cf. preceding note.

⁹⁸² Augustine does not make a definite citation from Didymus' work until 419: cf. *Quaestiones in Heptateuchum* II,25 (CSEL 28,3/106.6): "Commendatur enim fortasse trinitas et, quod uerum est, summi philosophi gentium, quantum in eorum litteris indagatur, sine spiritu sancto philosophati sunt, quamuis de patre et filio non tacuerint, quod etiam Didymus in libro suo meminit, quem scripsit de spiritu sancto." The reference is to *De spir. sancto* 2 (PG 39/1033 C; PL 23/105 A) and 21 (PG, 1051 B; PL, 121 C). The statement Augustine makes in 405 in *epist. 82 ad Hieronymum* 3:23 (p. 376.3: "...Originem uero ac Didymum reprehensos abs te lego in recentioribus opusculis...") is not to be taken to mean, as COURCELLE thinks (*Les lettres grecques*, p. 194) that "il assure ... ne connaître que par ouï-dire Origène et Didyme," but that he has just heard about Jerome's attacks on them.

⁹⁸³ Cf. DIDYMUS, *De spiritu sancto* 10-11 (PG 39/1042 C; PL 23/113 A) and 24 (PG, 1054 C; PL, 124 B); Ambrose, *De spiritu sancto* III,4:22-23 (CSEL 79/160.37) and I,12:131 (p. 71.52).

⁹⁸⁴ ALTANER, *Augustinus und Didymus*, p. 117. He sees a possible influence on Augustine by this work of Didymus, as early as 388: "Dass jedoch Augustinus die Didymusschrift schon in der ersten Periode seiner literarischen Wirksamkeit

is only to be had in him (cf. *Faust.* XX,5, p. 539.19: "Deus, cuius solius participatione beatus homo fieri potest"). But the perfect achievement comes only with the vision of God at the end of this life (cf. *ciu. dei* XIX,4, p. 373.10: "Respondebit [ciuitas dei], aeternam uitam esse summum bonum ... propter illam proinde adipiscendam ... recte nobis esse uiuendum"). In the work of that name Augustine had believed that the *beata uita* is already attainable by some favoured souls in the present life, but he finds fault with this view in *retr.* I,2 (cf. Commentary, 1091-1092). The happy life therefore consists in *ultimately* possessing God: cf. *quaest.* 54 (c. 38). The reason is that God, as the perfect Good, will bring the ultimate fulfillment to Man, who is mutable, because God alone is immutable and, to be happy, Man the mutable needs an ultimate Good that will be permanent and cannot be taken from him against his will (cf. Commentary, 84-88).

(336) *primumque*, var. *proximumque*.

(338) *Paulus*, var. *apostolus*.

(339) *angeli*, var. *angelus*, which is probably the correct reading (cf. line 356). Manichaean writings are full of references to angels: cf. Turfan ms. M 4 (MÜLLER, *Handschriften-Reste* II, pp. 55-58).

(341) *poterit nos separare*, var. *separabit nos*.

(342) *procedunt*, var. *cooperantur* (= Vulg.). Cf. Commentary, 226.

(346-349) *quis ... quam deum*. In Augustine's view of the hierarchy of being (adapted from Plotinus: cf. *Enn.* IV,8:6, BRÉHIER IV, p. 223f.; V,2:1-2, Bréhier V, pp. 33-35; and ARNOU, *Le désir*, p. 112) the superior exists to rule the inferior. In the case of Man, if he seeks his true goal in God through obedience to him, then whatever is inferior to Man will in turn render him obedience. But when Man turns to inferior things as ends rather than means, he disobeys God and the inferior likewise becomes disobedient to him. Thus he becomes unhappy (lines 394-396: "Quanto ergo magis longe *discedit a deo*, non loco, sed affectione atque cupiditate *ad inferiora* quam est ipse, tanto magis *stultitia* miseriaque *completur*"), for any end but the true one can never satisfy him, and ultimately the things he should have possessed have, by being made into an end, become his possessor (lines 1298-1299: "...demonstraueruntque infidelibus a se potius illa omnia, quam se ab eis esse possessos"): cf. *Gen. imp.* 1 (p. 460.8).

Thus the soul is meant to *rule* its inferiors (including the body:

cf. *Commentary*, 103-106); in turn, it must let itself be ruled by God (lines 384-386: "Ergo cum etiam deus dignis animis notus non nisi per intellegentiam possit esse, cum tamen sit ipsa qua intellegitur mente praestantior"): cf. *mus.* VI,5:13 (c. 1170: "Oportet enim animam et regi a superiore, et regere inferiorem. superior illa solus deus est, inferius illa solum corpus"). Hence God alone is superior to the human soul (line 365: "...et nihil est ipso deo melius"; cf. *inmort.* 15:24, c. 1033: "nec inuenitur aliquid quid sit inter summam uitam, quae sapientia et ueritas est incommutabilis et id quod ultimum uiuificatur, id est corpus, nisi uiuificans anima"; *quant.* 36:30, c. 1079: "Deus igitur summus ac uerus lege inuiolabili et incorrupta, qua omne quod condidit regit, subicit animae corpus, animam sibi..."; and *quaest.* 46.2, c. 31: "Sed anima rationalis inter ea quae sunt a deo conditae, omnia superat") and nothing surpasses God in perfection (line 530: "Solut enim deus altissimus, quo nihil est altius"; cf. *lib. arb.* II,6:14, p. 51.20: "Non enim mihi placet deum appellare quo mea ratio est inferior, sed quod est nullus superior"). But since no creature is higher than the human soul *when it is in communication with its true end* (cf. CONNOLLY, *The Platonism* III, pp. 128-133), not even the angels surpass it (lines 356-357: "Non separat angelus: non enim est angelus, cum inhaeremus deo, nostra mente potentior"; cf. *quant.* 34:78, c. 1078).

(348) *esse ... quod.* Some mss. omit *esse*, and some add to *quod: nos.*

(350) *bono*, var. *bonum* or *uero*.

(353) *diligit*, var. *diligimus*.

(355-356) *nemo inde ... aquam.* Compare these lines with Ambrose, *De Isaac uel anima* 8:78-79:

mor. I

Nemo inde separat pollicendo uitam:
nemo enim ab ipso fonte separat
pollicendo aquam.

lines 870-872

Non enim ad haec satis est uoluntas
bona, sed opus est magna quadam
ratione atque prudentia, qua nemo
uti potest, nisi deus ille fons omnium
bonorum id tribuerit.

De Isaac 8:78 (CSEL 32,1/697.5)

Uitae enim fons est summum illud
bonum, cuius nobis accenditur caritas
et desiderium...

8:79 (p. 699.15)

...et ut plenius definiamus quid sit
bonum, uita est bonum, quia semper
manet, dans uiuere et esse omnibus,
quia fons est omnium uitae
Christus...

RAUSCHEN (*Jahrbücher*, p. 494) places this homily after 388; DUDDEN (*The Life* II, p. 682), after 390; and PALANQUE (*Saint Ambroise*,

p. 540f.), in or about 391. But WILBRAND (*Zur Chronologie*) chooses to date it in 386-387, and IHM (*Studia*, p. 16), HADOT (*Platon et Plotin*, p. 203) and COURCELLE (*Recherches*, pp. 122 and 152; *Plotin et S. Ambroise*, p. 46f.) have decided that it was delivered in 386, Courcelle going so far as to say that this series of sermons and those in *De bono mortis* were surely heard by Augustine in Milan. Certainly he was aware later of the *De Isaac* (cf. *Iul.* I,9:44, c. 671), but the problem is one of fixing his first acquaintance with it. There are resemblances in *mor.* I (cf. also the text comparison with the same passage in Commentary, 725-734) — the comparison between the *fons* and *uita*, the accent on the *good* — but Augustine does not choose to mention Christ here at all, and his context is a commentary on Rom. 8:38-39, which is not mentioned by Ambrose. One cannot therefore say anything more than that Ambrose (here or in some other homily) *might* be Augustine's inspiration - if there is not a source common to them both.

(356-357) *non separat ... potentior*. If we take the mention of heaven's creation as referring to the creation of both angels and human souls (cf. Commentary and lines 281-282), that and the assertion here that they are not higher than Man's *mens* when it adheres to God are the only elements in Augustine's "angelology" at this point (cf. NAVILLE, *Saint Augustin*, p. 91, n. 6). For his later teaching on angels, cf. COUTURIER, *La structure*, p. 546f.; B. LOHSE, "Zu Augustins Engellehre," in ZKG 70 (1959), pp. 279-291; and (especially for *ciu. dei*) PORTALIÉ, *Augustin*, c. 2355f.

(367) *forte*, omitted in some mss.

(369) *depellat errorem*, var. *depellerat errorem* or *depellatorem*.

(373) *numquam deseruissem*, var. *non quam deseruisse*.

(374-375) *ubique totus*. O'CONNELL (*St. Augustine's Early Theory*, pp. 32-64) traces this expression (which here appears for the first time in Augustine's writings and which he uses frequently later on, e.g. in *haer.* 86, PL 42/47) to Plotinus' πανταχοῦ ὅλον, found in *Enn.* VI,5:4 (BRÉHIER, VI,1, p. 202.1):

Ἴδὲ δὲ εἰ βούλει, καὶ τόνδε· τὸν θεὸν οὐ πῇ μὲν εἶναι, πῇ δ' οὐκ εἶναι φαμεν. Ἔστι γὰρ ἀξιούμενον τε παρὰ πᾶσι τοῖς ἐννοιαν ἔχουσι θεῶν οὐ μόνον περὶ ἐκείνου, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ πάντων λέγειν θεῶν, ὡς πανταχοῦ πάρεισι, καὶ ὁ λόγος δέ φησι δεῖν οὕτω τίθεσθαι. Εἰ οὖν πανταχοῦ, οὐχ οἶόν τε μεμερισμένον· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἔτι πανταχοῦ αὐτὸς εἴη, ἀλλ' ἕκαστον αὐτοῦ μέρος τὸ

μὲν ὥδι, τὸ δὲ ὥδι ἔσται, αὐτός τε οὐχ εἷς ἔτι ἔσται, ὥσπερ εἰ τμηθεῖη τι μέγεθος εἰς πολλά, ἀπολλύμενόν τε ἔσται καὶ τὰ μέρη πάντα οὐκέτι τὸ ὅλον ἐκεῖνο ἔσται· πρὸς τούτοις δὲ καὶ σῶμα ἔσται. Εἰ δὴ ταῦτα ἀδύνατα, πάλιν αὖ ἀνεφάνη τὸ ἀπιστούμενον ἐν πάσῃ φύσει ἀνθρώπου ὁμοῦ τῷ θεὸν νομίζειν καὶ πανταχοῦ τὸ αὐτὸ ἅμα ὅλον εἶναι.

The resemblance in terminology is not enough, of course, to show that Augustine is directly dependent on Plotinus. For one thing, the contexts are different: Augustine is speaking here about false knowledge, i.e. knowledge that does not have God for its object; Plotinus, on the other hand, is discussing the God who, to be God, must be indivisible and without limit: otherwise he would be a "body" (σῶμα); cf. also II,2:1 (Bréhier II, p. 21.39) where it is the "Universal Soul" that is πανταχοῦ ὅλη. Further, the expression *ubique totus* is found frequently in Latin literature, both pagan (cf. Macrobius, *Commentarium in somnium Scipionis* I,17:11: "Immo semper eam repperit quia *ubique tota, ubique perfecta est*"); and Christian (cf. Du Roy, *L'intelligence*, p. 469f., who gives all the *loci*; also MADEC, *Saint Ambroise*, p. 65, n. 228): Augustine might have taken it from Wisdom 7:24 ("Omnibus enim mobilibus mobilior est sapientia; adtingit autem *ubique* propter suam munditiem"), perhaps through Ambrose, who uses the expression in connection with a discussion of Wisdom 7:22-8:1 in *De spiritu sancto* I,5:72 (CSEL 79/45.91) and *De fide* I,16:106 (CSEL 78/46.47). Ambrose's source in turn is (at least for *De spiritu sancto*) Basil's *De spiritu sancto* 9:22 (PG 32/108 C: Οὐ προσθήκαις αὐξανόμενον, ἀλλὰ πλήρες εὐθύς, ἐν ἑαυτῷ ἰδρυμένον. καὶ πανταχοῦ ὄν ... ὅλον ἐκάστω παρὸν, καὶ ὅλον ἀπανταχοῦ ὄν). Augustine's motive in using this expression is probably to refute the Manichaean teaching that not God but *evil* is present everywhere in the world: cf. *Fort.* 22 (p. 107.10: "Si ergo *utrobique* mala conuersantur et nequitiae habentur, iam non solum est malum in nostris corporibus, sed *in toto mundo*..."). This Manichaean idea is what makes O'CONNELL think Augustine had read this section of Plotinus (*Ennead* VI,4-5, p. 2): "Even a cursory reading of that treatise would have left a deep and lasting impression on Augustine. For there is little doubt that the difficulty of conceiving God's omnipresence as at the core of all creaturely participation in him, is what Augustine is ultimately alluding to in the *Confessions*, as the *maxima et prope sola causa inevitabilis erroris meae* [Conf. V,10:19]." Hence — given the widespread background of the term — one cannot accuse Augustine of betraying pantheistic tendencies in this term. It has not even been definitively demonstrated that

Plotinus was pantheistic (cf. JOLIVET, *Essai*, pp. x-xii). Pantheism is certainly not Augustine's intention, as we learn from *conf.* VI,3:4 (text, n. 442), where the confession of God as both *ubique totus* and *prasentissimus* means that he is never far removed from Man, created in his own image and likeness, when Man cries out to him. On this theme of divine omnipresence in Augustine, cf. O'Connell's entire article; also Stanislaus J. GRABOWSKI, *The All-Present God. A Study in St. Augustine*, Herder, St. Louis, 1954.

(380-384) *et si ... capitur*. Cf. *lib. arb.* II,56 (p. 51.30):

(Ratio) si nullo adhibito corporis instrumento neque per tactum neque per gustatum neque per olfactum neque per aures neque per oculos neque per ullum sensum se inferiorem, sed per se ipsam cernit aeternum aliquid et incommutabile, simul et se ipsam inferiorem et illum oportet deum suum esse fateatur.

(384-386) *cum etiam ... praestantior*. In *Acad.* III,11:26 (p. 67.2) Augustine alludes to the same idea, with a hint as to its source:

...et Epicureus uel Cyrenaici et alia multa fortasse pro sensibus dicant, contra quae nihil dictum esse ab Academicis accepi. sed quid ad me? si uolunt ista et si possunt, etiam me fauente rescindant. quidquid enim contra sensus ab eis disputatur, *non contra omnes philosophos ualet*. sunt enim qui omnia ista, quae corporis sensu accepit animus, opinionem posse gignere confitentur, scientiam uero negant, *quam tamen uolunt intellegentia contineri remotamque a sensibus in mente uiuere. et forte in eorum numero est sapiens ille quem quaerimus*.

Since for Augustine the only philosophers worthy of the name are the "Platonists" (cf. above, pp. 104-126), it can be inferred that the ideas he is dealing with here (the superiority of the mind over the senses, the consequent need for it to divorce itself from the "sensibilia" in order to concentrate on God, reservation of the power to know God to the *intellegentia* alone) are of Neoplatonic origin, and Plotinus offers some indications. Cf. *Enn.* IV,3:11 (BRÉHIER IV, p. 78.14):

Ἦν δὴ νοῦς ἐκεῖνος ὁ ἐκεῖ ἥλιος — οὗτος γὰρ ἡμῖν γινέσθω παράδειγμα τοῦ λόγου — ἐφεξῆς δὲ τούτῳ ψυχὴ ἐξηρητημένη μένοντος νοῦ μένουσα. Δίδωσι δὲ αὕτη τὰ πέρατα αὐτῆς τὰ πρὸς τοῦτον τὸν ἥλιον τούτῳ τῷ ἡλίῳ, καὶ ποιεῖ διὰ μέσου αὐτῆς κάκεῖ συνῆφθαι ὅλον ἐρμηνευτικὴ γενομένη τῶν τε ἀπ' ἐκείνου εἰς τοῦτον καὶ τῶν τούτου εἰς ἐκεῖνον, ὅσον διὰ ψυχῆς εἰς ἐκεῖνον φθάνει.

Cf. also IV,3:13 (Bréhier IV, p. 81.23-25). Following him, Augustine (after making the distinction between *mens* — *id quod intellegit* — and *intellegentia* — *id quo intellegitur*) says that it is the *intellegentia* which actually comes to know God, because it is superior to *mens*. Cf. also the distinction between νοῦς and ψυχὴ in *Enn.* I,8:15 (Bréhier I, p. 130).

(386) *qui*, omitted in some mss.

(387) *inuisibilia*, var. *uisibilia*.

(388) *numeratur*, var. *numeretur* or *numerantur*.

(390-393) *fit enim ... similior*. Cf. Commentary, 838-839.

(393) *similior*, var. *melior*.

(393-394) *ipsa ... deus est*. THEILER (*Porphyrios*, p. 30) sees a Porphyrian influence in these lines.

(395) *discedit ... sed affectione*. This picks up the thought interrupted at line 361. Cf. *inmort.* 15:24 (c. 1033): "...corpori anima tamen non localiter iungitur..."; *conf.* I,18:28 (p. 26.2): "In affectu ergo libidinoso, id enim est tenebroso atque id est longe a uultu tuo"; *mus.* VI,13:40 (c. 485): "...longe a se facere deum, non locorum spatio, sed mentis affectu?" Cf. Plotinus, *Enn.* VI,5:12 (BRÉHIER VI,1, p. 212.26): Εἰ δ' ἀπῆλθες οὐκ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ (αὐτὸ γὰρ πάρεστιν) οὐδέ ποι (τότε;) ἀπῆλθες, ἀλλὰ παρῶν ἐπὶ τὰ ἐναντία ἐστράφης. Cf. also HOLTE, *Béatitude*, p. 237f.

(396) *magis*, omitted in some mss.

(397) *dilectione ... deum*. For *dilectione* there is a var.: *dilectio*, and for *deum*: *dominum*. This is the balance to the idea in line 395 that the soul is separated from God "non loco, sed affectione."

(399-441) *quam ob rem ... fama*. Possibly a later addition to the text: cf. above, p. 241.

(410-411) *uocatis ... dei sapientiam*. This is the first time Augustine directly cites the verse, though it appears in an oblique form in line 169: cf. *Acad.* II,1:1 (p. 24.10: "Oro autem ipsam summi dei uirtutem atque sapientiam. quid est enim aliud, quam mysteria nobis tradunt dei filium?); *b. uita* 4:25 (p. 108.16: "...ut quidquid agit non agat nisi ex uirtutis quodam praescripto et diuina lege sapientiae"); and 4:34-35 (p. 114.16):

Quae est autem dicenda sapientia nisi quae dei sapientia est? accepimus autem etiam auctoritate diuina dei filium nihil

esse aliud quam dei sapientiam, et est dei filius profecto deus ... illa est igitur plena satietas animorum, haec est beata uita, pie perfecteque cognoscere, a quo induceris in ueritatem, qua ueritate perfruaris, per quod conectaris summo bono.

Cf. *ord.* II,19:51 (p. 182.27), where the Father is "pater ueritatis"; also *quant.* 33:76 (c. 1076: "...peruenturas per uirtutem dei atque sapientiam ad summam illam causam..."). On this cf. the remarks of PERLER, *Der Nus*, pp. 109-115; also DU ROY, *L'intelligence*, p. 155, n. 5, who thinks that in the use of the two terms, "uirtus atque sapientia," there may be a Plotinian influence. But while Augustine may have learned from Neoplatonist circles how to employ the Pauline verse (cf. its use by Victorinus, *Aduersus Arium* I,1:27, PL 8/1060 C), he seems to be always aware of its biblical origin, for he never varies the order in which the two terms appear, and doubtless he knew of its existence already through Manichaeism: cf. above, p. 243.

(411) *ego sum ueritas*. Augustine's first reference to this verse is in *b. uita* 4:34 (p. 114.21); cf. also the allusion in the prayer at the beginning of *sol.* (I,1:3, c. 571: "Deus, qui nos reuocas in uiam...", on which cf. Commentary, 209).

(415) *inuiolabilis*, var. *incommutabilis*.

(416-417) *ueritatem ... non nouit*. On the theme in Augustine of Christ as the *ueritas* whereby the Father is known, cf. DU ROY, *L'intelligence*, pp. 154-161.

(419) *sanctificati*. Possibly a reference to I Cor. 6:11, which is cited much later in the text (line 1304); but more likely it refers to I Thess. 3:13: cf. above, p. 250f.

(420) *deo ... auertamur*, var. for *deo: domino*; for *auertamur: reuertamur*. On the *auersio/conuersio* theme, cf. Commentary, 722-723.

(423) *configurati ... hoc mundo*, var. for *configurati: figurati* - an improbable reading, as it spoils the alliteration. The phrase, *circumcisi ab hoc mundo*, is possibly inspired by Gal. 6:14-15: "Mihi autem absit glorari, nisi in cruce domini nostri Iesu Christi, per quem mihi *mundus* crucifixus est, et ego *mundo*. in Christo enim Iesu neque *circumcisio* aliquid ualet neque praeputium, sed noua creatura." But since Paul is speaking *against* circumcision, Augustine may be depending here on a faulty memory for his phrase. The only parallel expression outside the New Testament is in Ambrose, *De Abraham* II,11:79 (CSEL 32,1/631.16: "Circumcide igitur te

non carne, sed uitio carnale..."; and p. 632.7: "...se circumcidere a peccatis...").

(429-430) *quod ... semper est*. This continues the idea of lines 400-403. Compare Ambrose, *De Abraham* II,11:86 (CSEL 32,1/636.24): "Simul quia cadunt ante *deum* omnia et mutantur et transeunt, *sola illa immutabilis stat semper substantia*." But cf. above, pp. 253-255.

(430) *inuertibilitas*. The Maurists note two variants for this word, *inconuertibilitas* and *inconuersibilitas*, and I have found a third, the adjective *inconuertibilis*. But the adjective must be disallowed, because the context requires a substantive. This cannot be *inconuersibilitas*, which makes no sense; on the other hand, *inconuertibilitas* fits much better than the Maurists' choice (which is never used by Augustine, as far as I know), and it agrees with lines 313-315 ("Iam uero aliquid eius substantiae atque naturae commutationem uel *conuersionem* quolibet modo pati posse...") and 416 ("...ueritatem quae *conuerti* atque aliter quam semper est...").

(436-437) *id ipsum esse*. On this definition for God, cf. n. 479. It is Plotinus' τὸ ὄν (cf. *Enn.* III,6:6, BRÉHIER III, pp. 102-104), but in *inmort.* 7:12 (text, Commentary, 722-723) Augustine's phrase seems to mean "being" *par excellence*. The definition of God in terms of being constitutes the starting-point for *mor. II* (1:1, c. 1345: "...illud summum bonum ... quod summe ac primitus esse dicitur. hoc enim maxime esse dicendum est") and is repeated throughout his writings: cf. *enarr.* 101 *serm.* 2,10 (p. 1445.43: "Esset tibi nomen *ipsum esse*, nisi quidquid aliud tibi comparatum inueniretur non esse uere?") and *serm.* 7,7 (c. 66: "Sic sum quod sum, sic sum *ipsum esse*..."). Behind Augustine's emphasis is the refutation of the Manichaean teaching that the divine is divisible (cf. Commentary, 310-324), and is possibly one of the elements he had gained from Ambrose's teaching: on God as *esse* in Ambrose, cf. MADEC, *Saint Ambroise*, p. 63f. (However, the definition of God as *ipsum esse* is also in Victorinus: cf. *Aduersus Arium* I,4:19, PL 8/1127 B; also *De generatione uerbi diuini* 4, c. 1022 A).

The term *id ipsum* was later to take on significance in Augustine's theology as a name for God (cf. SOLIGNAC, *Les Confessions* II, pp. 550-552), and he was to say that all being is a hierarchy divided into three levels: God, rational soul, body. Cf. *nat. boni* 1 (p. 855.21):

Omnis quippe natura aut spiritus aut corpus est. spiritus inconmutabilis deus est, spiritus mutabilis facta natura est, sed corpore

melior; corpus autem spiritus non est, nisi cum uentus, quia nobis inuisibilis est, et tamen uis eius non parua sentitur, alio quodam modo spiritus dicitur.

Cf. KÖNIG, *Augustinus philosophus*, pp. 28-32 and 42-51. The three-fold division comes from Plotinus, who bases his view of Man's composition on the necessity of a being between the realm of the purely intelligible and that of the purely sensible: cf. *Enn.* II,9:1 (BRÉHIER II, p. 111f.) and IV,8:3-4 (Bréhier IV, pp. 220.2-221.4 and 221.30-35); also Commentary, 346-349. For both Plotinus and Augustine immutability is the criterion of the reality any being possesses. In other words, the more immutable a being, the more it *is*: cf. *serm.* 7,6 (c. 66); also ZUM BRUNN, *Le dilemme*, especially pp. 43-75; and BUSHMAN, *St. Augustine's Metaphysics*, p. 289f.: "The more perfect the unity or the ordering of the parts, the more reality possessed by an object, the less mutability, the greater the participation in the eternal *ratio*, the clearer the reflection of divinity and thus the higher its position in the hierarchy of being." Hence God, because he alone truly *is*, is alone truly immutable (cf. Commentary, 310-324). The human soul, which has begun to be but will not cease to be, is mutable in time but not in space (the meaning of lines 394-395: "Quanto ergo magis longe discedit [animus humanus] a deo, *non loco* sed affectione atque cupiditate..."); hence to turn away from God is to "tend toward non-being" (cf. *quaest.* 21, c. 16: "Omne autem quod deficit ab eo quod est esse deficit et tradit in non esse"; also *uera rel.* 58, p. 17.1).

The body is mutable in both time *and* space: cf. *Gen. ad litt.* VIII,20 (p. 259.2: "...spiritus creatus mouet se ipsum per tempus et per tempus ac locum corpus; spiritus autem creator mouet se ipsum sine tempore ac loco, mouet conditum spiritum per tempus sine loco, mouet corpus per tempus et locum"); also *uera rel.* 51-52 (p. 15.19):

...unum deum colens; qui nisi permaneret inconmutabilis, nulla mutabilis natura remaneret. mutari autem animam posse, *non* quidem *localiter* sed tamen temporaliter, suis *adfectionibus* quisque cognoscit. corpus uero et temporibus et locis esse mutabile, cuius aduertere facile est.

(439-440) *neque enim ... deus*. In 418 Augustine will employ Rom. 11:36 in exactly the same way to combat Arianism: cf. *epist.* 238 *ad Pascentium* 3:20 (p. 548.10).

(446) *ualuimus*, var. *uoluimus* or *potuimus*.

(451) *quod si ... nos ducit.* Cf. Plotinus, *Enn.* I,7:3 (BRÉHIER I, p. 110.20): ... τῇ δὲ ἀρετῇ ἐν ἀγαθῷ γίνεσθαι τὴν ψυχὴν ...

(452-460) *namque ... sagaciter seligens.* The four-part division of the cardinal virtues is Socratic in origin and possibly came to Augustine through Stoicism (cf. Cicero, *De finibus* I,16:50 and 51: the latter passage is a translation of Plato, *Phaedrus* 250d). At any rate, it was well-known ("ut nomina in ore sunt omnium"): Plotinus (*Enn.* I,2:6-7, BRÉHIER I, p. 57f.) gives it, but tends to define the virtues in terms of νοῦς, whereas Ambrose makes *justice* the basis of his definition (*De Abraham* II,10:68, CSEL 32,1/624.9),

eo quod fons sit *iustitia* ceterarum uirtutum, quae uirtutes alias inluminet. *prudentia* enim sine iustitia nocet, *fortitudo* quoque, nisi eam iustitia temperet, intolerabilis insolentia est furori quam rationi proprior, dominationi quam libertati, sobrietas et *temperantia* priuata bona sunt nec ulli usui, nisi iusta erga deum reuerentia et fideli mente pietatem colas: iustitia sola est, quae uirtutes omnes conplectitur et condemnat omnes.

Cf. LÖPFE, *Die Tugendlehre*, pp. 96-99 and 129-151. But though Ambrose often speaks of the four cardinal virtues (cf. *De uirginitate*, 18:114, PL 16/295 B; *De officiis ministrorum* II,9:49, PL 16/116 B; *De paradiso* 3:14-18, CSEL 32,1/273.24 - 277.14; *Expositio in ps.* 118,11:11, CSEL 62/239.21; *Expos. in euang. Luc.* V,64-68, CSEL 32,4/207.21 - 208.24; VIII,40, p. 410.6; *De Isaac uel anima*, text in Commentary, 138-143), he never arrives at a definition of them strictly in terms of love, which Augustine seems to have derived from no one but himself: cf. DEMAN, *Héritage*, pp. 722-724 and *Le traitement*, p. 65f.; MAUSBACH, *Die Ethik* I, pp. 207-218; and HOLTE, *Béatitude*, pp. 251-261. On this HULTGREN (*Le commandement*, p. 196) observes: "Il n'est pas du tout certain ... qu'Augustin ait connu en 388, lorsqu'il composait son *De moribus*, exposition des principes essentiels de son éthique avec le commandement d'amour comme point central, les écrits d'Ambroise sur les mêmes sujets... Ce qu'on sait, en revanche, c'est qu'Augustin était déjà avant sa conversion un fidèle auditeur des sermons d'Ambroise. Il paraît probable, qu'Ambroise avait déjà exposé dans ces sermons la conception qu'il devait par la suite développer dans ces écrits. Ce qu'il faut retenir de cette hypothèse, c'est qu'Augustin a pu se faire une idée générale de la conception chrétienne d'Ambroise avec les éléments alexandrins et stoïciens adoptés par celui-ci." Of these writings of Ambrose Hultgren seems to be thinking in particular of *De fuga*

saeculi and *De officiis ministrorum* (cf. *Le commandement*, pp. 264-281). There are certainly resemblances (cf. Commentary, 697-698 and 846), but *De fuga* is a later work (PALANQUE, *Saint Ambroise*, p. 549f., puts it in Autumn, 394) and the date of *De officiis*, while uncertain, does not seem to be earlier than near the end of 389 (*ibid.*, p. 526f.; but cf. n. 432). But it remains true that Ambrose sometimes mentions love as the basis of Christian behaviour (cf. Löpfe, *op. cit.*, pp. 82-84) and that in his teaching on the four cardinal virtues he displays a definite break with earlier pagan philosophers (cf. DUDDEN, *The Life II*, pp. 523-530), preferring to think (though his expression is vague) of the *officia societatis* as somehow needing to be motivated by love: cf. *De officiis* I,50:252-253 (PL 16/100 A). Thus Ambrose may have been that bridge Augustine would have needed to come to a clear definition of his own. As Dudden (*op. cit.*, p. 530) says of the virtues in Ambrose's thinking, "Prudence is now the knowledge of God expressing itself in practical piety; justice is transfigured into selfless altruism; courage becomes patience of soul; temperance takes the form of mild and gracious modesty. Such conceptions are strongly different from those of Cicero and the earlier moralists. Ambrose, in fact, has taken the virtues admired by paganism and refashioned them into something new and Christian. It is only the retention of the classical terminology which hinders us from perceiving instantly the revolutionary nature of the change so unobtrusively accomplished." In *epist.* 155 (3:12-4:13, p. 442.7) Augustine would later define these virtues in terms of Psalm 72:28's *adhaerere deo* - love's primary function (cf. Hultgren, *op. cit.*, pp. 150-152). Ambrose also makes use of Ps. 72:28, but not in connection with the cardinal virtues (cf. *De fuga* 2:6, CSEL 32,2/166.19: "...quia Leuitae fugitantes sunt mundi huius, ut placeant deo, relinquunt patriam parentes filios omnem cognationem, ut adhaereant uni deo"). For other references to the four virtues in Augustine's works, cf. Deman, *Le traitement*, pp. 79-87; also HÖK, *Augustin*, pp. 123-130.

(455) *uis*, var. *uestris* or *nostris* or *suis*. For the phrase, "ita sit in mentibus uis" the Maurists mention variant readings from three mss. which I have not yet identified: *sit effectus in mentibus uestris* in "Codex Theodoricensis"; *ita sit notitia in mentibus uestris* in "Arnulfensis"; *ita esset effectus in mentibus uestris* in "Cisterciensis."

(458-459) *iustitia ... recte dominans*. The purpose of justice is to relate Man properly to God ("*amor soli amato seruiens*"; cf.

lines 464-465: "*amorem deo tantum seruientem*"). It is thus that Man becomes rightly ordered to himself, to other men and to material things ("*et propterea recte dominans*"). Like the other virtues, justice prepares Man for the vision of God through obliging him to love God to the full extent of his capacity (lines 218-219: "*nec dubium est quin is erit finis, quo nos summo amore tendere iubes*") and by forbidding any creatures — including oneself — to distract from this duty to love totally (cf. lines 397-406). However, this does not mean that a legitimate love of self or of other human beings is excluded: cf. lines 840-847 ("*Te autem ipsum salubriter diligis, si plus quam te diligis deum. quod ergo agis tecum, id agendum cum proximo est; hoc est, ut ipse etiam perfecto amore diligat deum ... ex hoc praecepto nascuntur officia societatis humanae, in quibus non errare difficile est*"). The first step in loving one's neighbour is a negative one: we must begin by wishing them no harm (lines 847-849), but this is not enough. The genuine Christian attitude to the neighbour must be that of love and must take outward expression (line 855). Hence the emphasis on the "corporal works of mercy" (lines 890-895) which the Manichaeans, with their asceticism forbidding virtually all physical activity to the "perfect," permitted only to the "less-than-perfect": cf. above, pp. 197-201.

(460) *seligens*, var. *eligens* or *seligans* or *se ligans* or *se iungens*.

(468) *ducatur*, var. *dicatur* or *doceatur*.

(471) *deo nos ... subiunctos*. Vulg.: "Omnia subiecta sunt sine dubio praeter eum qui subiecit ei omnia." Some mss. omit *debere*, and others have *subiectos* (= Vulg.?) for *subiunctos*.

(478-614) *cumque ... uanitatemque cernetis*. Probably a later addition: cf. above, p. 242.

(484) *concinere*, var. *continere*.

(491) *aliud*, var. *adhuc*.

(498; cf. also 505): *sobrietatem enim ... uirtutem*. Cf. *retr.* I,6(7): 3 (p. 29.17):

Et paulo post testimonium posui de libro Sapientiae secundum codicem nostrum, in quo scriptum erat: *sobrietatem enim sapientia docet et iustitiam et uirtutem*, et secundum haec uerba disserui res quidem ueras, sed ex occasione mendositatis inuentas. quid enim uerius, quod sapientia doceat ueritatem contemplationis, quam nomine sobrietatis significatam putauī, et actionis probitatem, quam per duo

alia intellegi uolui, per iustitiam atque uirtutem, cum codices eiusdem interpretationis ueriores habeant: *sobrietatem enim et sapientiam docet et iustitiam et uirtutem?* his enim omnibus latinus interpres quattuor illas uirtutes, quae maxime in ore philosophorum esse adsolent, nominauit, sobrietatem appellans temperantiam, prudentiae inopem nomen sapientiam, fortitudinem uero uirtutis uocabulo enuntians, solam iustitiam suo nomine interpretatus est. has autem quattuor uirtutes in eodem libro Sapientiae suis nominibus appellatas, sicut a Graecis uocantur, longe postea repperimus in codicibus graecis.

(503) *idem propheta*, var. for *idem*: *ipse*; for *propheta*: *per prophetam*.

(513) *congruentius*, var. *conuenientius* or *apertius*.

(515-518) *quod autem ... gignit*. In these lines the Maurists saw a reference to Heb. 1:3 (Vulg.: "...qui cum sit *splendor gloriae* et figura substantiae eius"), but it might also refer to Jn. 1:14 ("Et uidimus *gloriam* eius, gloriam quasi unigeniti a patre plenum gratiae et ueritatis"). In any case the allusion remains unclear and Augustine probably has it from a secondary source. Equally unclear is line 517, which may be inspired by Ezek. 1:4 (Vulg. "...et ignis inuoluens et *splendor* in circuitu eius"), Ezek. 1:27 ("...uidi quasi speciem ignis *splendentis* in circuitu") or Acts 26:13 ("...de caelo supra *splendorem solis* circumfulsisse me lumen"). DU ROY (*L'intelligence*, p. 225, n. 4) has pointed out the frequency of the phrase, *splendor patris*, in Ambrose: cf. *De spiritu sancto* II,12:38 (CSEL 79/140.79) and *De incarnationis dominicae sacramento* 8:81 (CSEL 79/265.21).

(526) *dolum*. A few mss. have *fictum* (= Vulg.).

(529) *miseris*, var. *miserit* or *misit*.

(532-533) *audi ... unus est*. Augustine uses the verse in a trinitarian sense: "one God" means a single substance. Ambrose also makes use of the same verse to show that only one God is being spoken of (cf. *Expositio in euang. Luc.* VIII,66, where it is cited in conjunction with Rom. 11:36; also X,4-5, CSEL 32,4/425.6 and 456.9, and above, p. 254), but his intent in all of these cases is to demonstrate the substantial unity of Christ with the Father.

(540) *uberius*, var. *uerius*.

(541) *dispositione*, var. *dispensatione*.

(542) *auditores*. Doubtless Augustine means to include himself among the Hearers who have been "deceived and ensnared," just as

he speaks in line 586 of having been a "dog" while a Manichaean. In *haer.* 46 (c. 38) he names five ranks in the Manichaean hierarchy, and the titles as he gives them are confirmed for Eastern Manichaeism by An-Nadim (in FLÜGEL, *Mani*, p. 95) and by a number of Turfan documents. As transliterated and translated from Middle Persian by MÜLLER (*Ein Doppelblatt*) the five ranks (given here with the equivalents in Augustine and An-Nadim) are, in ascending order:

<i>Augustine</i>	<i>An-Nadim</i>	<i>Turfan</i>
1) <i>auditor</i> (catechumen)	Zuhörer	niyošag (Hörer)
2) <i>electus</i> (full member)	Wahrhaftiger	xrōh xvān (Erwählter)

This constitutes the principal division; but some *electi* exercise teaching or 'priestly' functions, and these are divided into:

3) <i>presbyter</i> (elder)	Verwaltender	mahistag (Presbyter)
4) <i>episcopus</i> (disciple)	Dienender	'ispasag (Bischof)
5) <i>magister</i> (apostle)	Lehrer	hamōzāg (Lehrer)

Concerning these five ranks we possess the following information:

(1) *Mor.* I's mention of only *auditores* and *electi* (line 1268) is not due to what FRENZ (The Gnostic-Manichaean Tradition, p. 22, n. 3) terms "an African expedient," even though only these two ranks are mentioned in the Latin document of Tebessa (in ALFARIC, *Un manuscrit*). The Coptic manuscripts frequently mention the other ranks, and Fortunatus and Faustus, both North Africans, were included among the higher *electi* (cf. below).

(2) There was no limitation on the number of *auditores* or of simple *electi*. In Syriac the term for an "Elect" seems to have been ܐܪܡܝܐ ('righteous', or 'upright one'), as can be deduced from the feminine form ܐܪܡܝܐ given by Ephrem (in MITCHELL, *S. Ephraim's Prose Refutations* I, p. 128.2). On this cf. VÖÖBUS, *History*, p. 112f., and MORARD, *Monachos*, p. 377, n. 2. On the Chinese equivalent, cf. Clément HUART, "Le second grade de la hiérarchie manichéenne," in JA, X^e Série, no. 19 (1912), p. 229f. Felix belonged to this rank: cf. Possidius, *Uita s. Augustini* 16 (PL 32/47: "Cum quodam etiam Felice, de numero eorum quos electos dicunt Manichei...").

(3) From Ephrem's term it can be deduced that there were also *electae* and therefore also *auditrices*. We find frequent mention of women Manichaeans in the Turfan documents (cf. HENNING, *Ein*

manichäisches Bet- und Beichtbuch and *Mitteliranische II*; also Müller, *op. cit.*, pp. 14 and 34) and in such sources as the *Second Greek Formula of Abjuration* (PG 1/1468: Ἀναθεματίζω ... πάντας τοὺς ἀρχηγούς αὐτῶν, καὶ διδασκάλους, καὶ ἐπισκόπους, καὶ πρεσβυτέρους, καὶ ἐκλεκτοὺς, καὶ ἐκλεκτὰς, καὶ ἀκροατὰς, καὶ μαθητάς ...).

To what extent women actively participated in the religion's system is unclear, but there is no record that a woman ever held one of the three higher ranks. On the passage from the *Second Greek Formula*, cf. WALDSCHMIDT-LENTZ, *Manichäische Dogmatik*, pp. 592-594.

(4) The rank of *presbyter* (Greek πρεσβύτερος) was held, as Augustine tells us in *haer.*, by 360 *electi*. This number is confirmed by the Turfan documents (cf. Henning, *Ein manichäisches Bet- und Beichtbuch*, p. 24 and *Mitteliranische II*, p. 324). Fortunatus was one of these (Augustine, *Fort.*, prol., p. 85.5: "...aduersus Fortunatum Manichaeorum *presbyterum*"; cf. also *retr.* I,15, p. 82.1: "Eodem tempore *presbyterii* mei, contra Fortunatum quemdam Manicheorum *presbyterum* disputavi..."). On this rank in Eastern Manichaeism, cf. GAUTHIOT, *Quelques termes*, pp. 62-65.

(5) Those who held the rank of *episcopus* (ἐπίσκοπος) numbered 72. This number is also mentioned in the Coptic "psalms" (cf. ALLBERRY, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, pp. 22.24 and 44.8) and in the Eastern Manichaean sources (cf. Waldschmidt-Lentz, *op. cit.*, pp. 487-557; Henning, *Ein manichäisches Bet- und Beichtbuch*, p. 24, and *Mitteliranische II*, p. 324; and Gauthiot, *op. cit.*, pp. 62-64). Faustus of Milevis belonged to this rank (cf. *conf.* V,3:3, p. 90:17: "...quidam Manichaeorum *episcopus*, Faustus nomine"). Sometimes there is mention of "deacons," but it is unclear whether these were assistants who accompanied the *episcopi*, as seems to have been the case for the West (cf. Augustine, *haer.* 46, c. 38: "Habent etiam *episcopi* *diaconos*"), or whether this is another name for the *episcopi* themselves, as in the document published by Müller, *op. cit.*, p. 17. (Müller has in any case erred in calling the simple *electi* xrōh̄xvān: I do not know Middle Persian, but the study of other documents has convinced me that the term for *electus* in that language ought to be *vixîdag*, as in Müller's article, pp. 22 and 25f., and in his *Handschriften-Reste II*, p. 72). Henning (*Mitteliranische II*, p. 324, n. 5) thinks that the "deacons" were indeed assistants to the *episcopi*, even in the East, and he places them as a separate rank between the *presbyteri* and the ordinary *Elect*.

(6) There were 12 who held the rank of *magister* (διδάσκαλος), Augustine says, and this is a number repeated many times in the Manichaean documents: cf. Allberry, *op. cit.*, pp. 22.24 and 44.8;

Waldschmidt-Lentz, *op. cit.*, p. 487; VON LE COQ, *Ein manichäisches Buchfragment*, pp. 147 and 150; and Henning, *Mitteliranische II*, p. 301, n. 2. On this rank, cf. Gauthiot, *op. cit.*, p. 62; PELLLOT, *Les traditions*, p. 203; and CHAVANNES-PELLLOT, *Un traité I*, pp. 569, n. 2 and 570, n. 1.

(7) A thirteenth *magister* held the position of Mani's successor as head of the religion. It seems that this rank is being referred to in the *Greek Formula's* mention of ἀρχηγός. The Arab writers called the one holding this position *Imam* (cf. An-Nadim in Flügel, *op. cit.*, p. 97), and he is also referred to in Waldschmidt-Lentz, *op. cit.*, p. 593 and in Henning, *Mitteliranische II*, p. 327.

(8) The numbers given by Augustine for the three highest ranks are mentioned together in the document published by HALOUN - HENNING (*Compendium*, p. 195). Augustine also mentions that the *episcopi* are ordained by *magistri*, and that *episcopi* in turn ordain *presbyteri*; there is confirmation of this in Turfan document M 21 (Henning, *Mitteliranische II*, p. 329: "Von den Lehrer bringt man einen neuen Bischof"). An-Nadim says that each of the five ranks was also designated as "Sons": *auditores* were "Sons of Insight," *electi* were "Sons of Mystery," *presbyteri* were "Sons of Understanding," *episcopi* were "Sons of Knowledge" and *magistri* were "Sons of Meekness." On these designations, cf. POLOTSKY, *Manichäismus*, c. 248f.

(9) In some Turfan documents (cf. Henning, *Ein manichäisches Bet- und Beichtbuch*, pp. 24 and 28, and *Mitteliranische II*, p. 324f.) there is mention of some further ranks (singers, etc.) but these appear to be for some specific (probably liturgical) purpose, and are only mentioned in Eastern Manichaeism.

For further information on the Manichaean hierarchy, cf. BURKITT, *The Religion*, p. 106; Chavannes-Pelliot, *op. cit.* I, p. 73, n. 1 and II, p. 196f.; Flügel, *op. cit.*, pp. 293-299; JACKSON, *Researches*, p. 165; KLIMA, *Manis Zeit*, pp. 495-497; and LEGGE, *Western Manichaeism*, pp. 83-86; also the bibliography supplied by PUECH, *Le manichéisme*, p. 180, n. 362.

(544) *multas*, omitted in some mss.

(557-558) *petite ... aperietur uobis*. The first Augustinian reference to this verse is in *Acad.* II,3:9 (p. 29.25: "Nam mihi uel potius illi credite, qui ait: quaerite et inuenietis"). Cf. also *sol.* I,1:3 (c. 571).

(559) *reuelabitur*, var. *reueletur*.

(566) *inuenitur*, var. *inuenietur* (= Vulg.).

(567) *laborabit*, var. *laborauit* or *laborauerit*.

(572) *dilectio est*: omitted in some mss.

(577) *se*, var. *sed*.

(587) *refellendi*, var. *repellendi* or *repellendo* or *referendi*.

(589) *ostendat*, var. *ostendit*.

(591) *beate*, var. *beatissime*.

(595) *uobis*, var. *nobis*.

(600) *scientiae caritatem*, var. *scientiam caritatis*.

(600-601) *omnem plenitudinem*, var. *omni plenitudine*.

(603) *aperientem*, var. *apperentem* or *sapientem*.

(609) *monstratur*, var. *monstrantur*.

(612) *nouem annis*. On six other occasions Augustine asserts that nine years was the length of his membership in Manichaeism: (1) *mor.* II,19:68 (c. 1374): "*Nouem annos* totos magna cura et diligentia uos audiui..." (2) *conf.* III,11:20 (p. 61.21): "Nam *nouem ferme anni* secuti sunt, quibus ego in illo limo profundi (Ps. 68:3) ac tenebris falsitatis, cum saepe surgere conarer et grauius alliderer, uolutatus sum..." (3) *conf.* IV,1:1 (p. 63.7): "Per idem tempus *annorum nouem*, ab undeicensimo anno aetatis meae usque ad duodetricesimum, seducebamur et seducebamus..." (4) *conf.* V, 6:10 (p. 96.4): "Et per *annos ferme ipsos nouem*, quibus eos animo uagabundus audiui, nimis extento desiderio uenturum expectabam istum Faustum." (5) *ut. cred.* 2 (p. 4.14): "Quid enim me aliud cogeat *annos fere* (*ferme?*) *nouem* sprete religione, quae mihi puerulo a parentibus insita erat, homines illos sequi ac diligenter audire..." (6) *epist. fund.* 10 (p. 206.7): "...sed tamquam ipse a uobis discere studeam, quod *nouem annis* non potui." Augustine thus never wavers from saying that it was a full *nine years* (with the possible exception of *ut. cred.*). COURCELLE attempts (*Recherches*, p. 78), but unconvincingly, to turn these nine years into ten.

(617) *innectimur*, var. *inuectimur*.

(618-619) *coercendis*, var. *cohaerendis*.

(621) *sedes ueritatis*. The majority of mss. read: *fides ueri*. The Maurists deduce their reading from another variant, *sedes ueri*, as answering the need for a substantive in the context; but their ex-

pression seems to have no precedent. Tentatively, I would propose that *fides ueri* is an error for *fides ueritatis*, which we find in II Thess. 2:13: "...in fide ueritatis..." Cf. the same expression in Ambrose, *De Abraham* I,2:3 (CSEL 32,1/503.1: "simplex ueritatis fides") and II,3:10 (p. 572.2: "Inpressus est enim typus iste ualidus in anima eius et manifesta fides ueritatis"); also Jerome, *Comm. in Mattheum* II,13.31 (CCL 77/107.854): "Ad primam quippe doctrinam fidem non habet ueritatis hominem deum..."

(624) *Radix omnium malorum*. The majority of mss. add *est* to either *radix* or *malorum*.

(625) *se*, omitted in some mss.

(631) *adnuerit ... ergo*, var. for *adnuerit*: *adiuuerit*; for *ergo*: *enim*.

(632) *esse*, omitted in some mss.

(633-641) *exuamus ... in deo renouari*. Vulg.: "...expoliantes uos ueterem hominem cum actibus suis induite nouum, qui renouatur in agnitionem dei secundum imaginem eius qui creauit." The verse is referred to already in *sol.* I,1:3 (c. 871) in terms of *being* ("Deus qui nos conuertis. deus qui nos eo quod non est *exuis*, et eo quod est *induis*") and in *quant.* 28:55 (c. 1066: "...sed ab his potius ad se ipsam colligat et repuerescat deo: quod est 'nouum hominem' fieri, 'ueterem exuto'..."). The passage was later to play an important rôle in Augustine's deliberations on Man as "imago dei." MOHRMANN (*Comment*, p. 388) offers the "exegesis" given by Augustine in lines 641-643 on Paul's expression "exuere ueterem hominem" to illustrate her opinion that "dans ses premiers travaux, saint Augustin donne parfois l'impression de parler une langue étrangère quand il adopte des termes techniques de la langue des chrétiens." But was this term so "foreign"? The Manichaeans also liked to speak of the "old" and "new" man: cf. Faustus' words in *Faust.* XXIV,2 (p. 719.9):

Nam cum "exuite uos et induite" dicit (Paulus), tempus utique credulitatis significat; cum uero hominem nouum a deo creari testatur, tum indicat ueterem nec ab ipso esse nec secundum eum formatum ... necnon et ad Colossenses id ipsum denuo dicit: expoliate ueterem hominem cum actibus eius et induite nouum, qui renouatur in agnitione dei secundum imaginem eius, qui creauit eum in uobis.

Cf. also the *Kephalaia* 114 (BÖHLIG, p. 269) and the Chinese ms.

published by CHAVANNES-PELLIOT (*Un traité I*), p. 540 ("Le corps charnel est appelé aussi le 'vieil homme' ") and p. 546 ("Parfois il arrive que le vieil homme entre en lutte avec l'homme nouveau qui est sage; cela est semblable à (ce qui s'est passé) lorsque, pour la première fois, le démon de la convoitise décida d'envahir le monde de la lumière"); cf. also pp. 546-551. On the "old/new man" theme in Manichaeism, cf. SCHMIDT-POLOTSKY, *Ein Mani-Fund*, p. 23, n. 1; WALDSCHMIDT-LENTZ, *Manichäische Dogmatik*, p. 547f. and *Die Stellung*, p. 31f.; and SCHAEDEER, *Urform*, p. 93, n. 1, who believes that this theme was originally inspired by the Pauline verse.

(636) *liberandos*. Mlle MOHRMANN gives the following explanation for the use of *liberare* at this period in Augustine's works instead of *saluare* (*Comment*, p. 387f.): "Dans les années qui suivent le baptême, saint Augustin ne se familiarise pas seulement, d'une manière objective, avec l'idiome des chrétiens, il s'efforce aussi de surmonter les scrupules d'ordre linguistique et stylistique qui rendaient parfois difficile, pour l'ancien rhéteur, l'adoption de tel ou tel terme particulier. Nulle part on ne voit mieux cette antipathie à l'égard du néologisme que dans la manière dont saint Augustin s'oppose, pendant de longues années, à l'usage du mot *salvator*... Il semble qu'on ait dû surmonter certaines difficultés d'ordre psychologique et stylistique avant que *salvator* devienne, à la fin du IV^e siècle, un terme vraiment courant. Cela explique les scrupules que saint Augustin semble avoir eus au début vis-à-vis de ce néologisme. Dans le *De vita beata*, 36, il emploie *liberator*, mot classique appliqué parfois à Jupiter. Ce terme typiquement païen, on le trouve encore dans le *Contra Fortunatum*, 2, conférence tenue en 392 avec le manichéen Fortunat. Dans ce cas, on pourrait être tenté de dire que c'est son adversaire qui l'entraîne à employer ce terme, mais cette supposition est réfutée par le fait que, s'adressant, en 393, aux évêques africains réunis en concile à Hippone, il préfère, dans *De fide et symbolo*, 6, au mot chrétien un autre terme païen, à savoir *reperator*. Ces témoignages ne nous laissent pas de doute: ce n'est qu'assez tard que saint Augustin se décide à adopter définitivement le néologisme chrétien *salvator*." In *Les emprunts* (pp. 201-205) Mohrmann goes on to show that *saluator*, which makes its appearance in *serm.* 299,6 and *trin.* XIII,10, was even then a recent addition to Augustine's vocabulary. Until then the preferred word is *liberator*: cf. *mor.* II,10:22 (c. 1355): "Quid quod *liberator* dicitur Iesus, quod et ipse in euangelio clamat: Si uos filius liberauerit tunc uere liberi eritis."

(636) *nouum*. *dicit namque alio loco*, var. *nouum dicit. namque alio loco dicit...*

(640) *ueterem*, some mss. add: *hominem*.

(642) *corporeas*, var. *corporales*.

(645) *canentem*, var. *dicentem*.

(646) *innoua*, var. *renoua* (= Vulg.).

(649-654) *illecebrae ... cuncta significantur*. On the distinction, "sensibilia/intellegibilia," cf. already *Acad.* III,17:37 (p. 76.7) where it is ascribed to "Plato":

Sat est enim ad id quod uolo, Platonem sensisse duos esse mundos, unum intellegibilem, in quo ipsa ueritas habitaret, istum autem sensibilem, quem manifestum est nos uisu tactuque sentire.

Cf. also *mag.* 39 (p. 47.25: "Namque omnia, quae percipimus, aut sensu corporis aut mente percipimus; illa sensibilia, haec intellegibilia siue ut more nostrorum auctorum loquar, illa carnalia, haec spiritalia nominamus"), and *epist.* 4,1 (p. 10.3). In *ciu. dei* VIII,6-7 (pp. 364-366) Augustine gives definitions for the "sensibilia" and the "intellegibilia" that are clearly Platonic in origin. The same distinction is also found in Plotinus (cf. *Enn.* IV,3:28, 5:2, 5:4, 7:9 and 8:7, BRÉHIER IV, pp. 97.9-21, 156.1-6, 160.1-49, 205.1-29 and 224.1), who says that as much as possible one must withdraw oneself from the body, which can only hinder the soul's ascent to God (*Enn.* I,2:5, Bréhier I, p. 56.4: Τὸ χωρίζειν ἀπὸ σώματος ἐπὶ πόσον δυνατόν ... συνάγουσαν πρὸς ἑαυτήν; compare line 715: "corpus homini grauissimum uinculum est"). Hence it is necessary to separate oneself from all sensible things (*Enn.* III, 6:16, Bréhier III, p. 117f.); the eyes of the body must be closed, so that the "eye of the soul" may be opened (*Enn.* I,6:8, Bréhier I, p. 104.4). On the "flight of the soul," cf. Commentary, 712-724.

(653) *significantur*, var. *dampnantur* or *deputantur* or *nominantur* or *denominantur*.

(657-658) *qui solem ... putant*. Of the Manichaeans Augustine asserts in *conf.* V,7:12 (p. 98.10): "Libri quippe eorum pleni sunt longissimis fabulis de caelo et sideribus et sole et luna." Elsewhere (III,6:10, p. 51.6) he indirectly refutes the sun- and moon-worship he ascribes to them:

Et illa erant fercula, in quibus mihi esurienti te inferebatur sol et

Simplicius (in DÜBNER, *Theophrasti Characteres*, p. 72): Πόση δὲ καὶ ἡ περὶ τοῦτο ἄλλοκοτία, τὸ ἐκ πάντων τῶν ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ μόνους τοὺς δύο φωστῆρας τιμᾶν, τῆς τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ μοίρας λέγοντας αὐτούς

Within the Manichaean documents themselves there are passages which appear to support the accusation. The *Kephalaia* (80, SCHMIDT, p. 192f.) say, "Das Beten (aber ist dies): Er (= der Katechumen) soll zu Sonne und Mond den grossen (Leuchtern) beten." The Chinese ms. published by WALDSCHMIDT-LENTZ (*Die Stellung*, p. 102) speaks of sun and moon as 'gods' ("...und Sonne und Mond, die Lichtgötter..."), as do many of the Turfan documents, e.g. BANG, *Manichäische Hymnen*, p. 5: "Schauender Sonne-Gott, Du uns schuetze! (Wieder) sichtbar werdender Mond-Gott, Du uns erloese!" Cf. also — the list is not exhaustive — Turfan fragments M 470 (MÜLLER, *Handschriften-Reste* II, p. 20), T III D 2605 (BANG-GABAIN, *Türkische* III, p. 197), T II D 171 (VON LE COQ, *Türkische* I, p. 24), T II D 169 (*ibid.* II, p. 9f.), T M 140 (*ibid.* III, p. 8), T M 291 (*ibid.*, p. 7f.), T M 47 (*ibid.*, p. 34f.), and the *Khuastuanift* (RADLOFF, *Chuastvanit*, p. 15 and *Nachträge*, p. 890f.; VON LE COQ, *Dr. Stein's*, pp. 283, 288, 291 and 293, and *Chuastuanift*; and ASMUSSEN, *Xuastvanift*, p. 195f. whose text is given above, p. 200 which appear to ascribe divinity to the sun and moon themselves. On the basis of such sources ALFARIC was led to conclude (*Les écritures* I, p. 36) that "les deux grands Luminaires apparaissent comme des véritables divinités, éminemment secourables aux hommes."

We have, therefore, a contradiction between such assertions as that made by *mor. I* and those that claim that the sun and moon were not in themselves objects of worship but only the god(s) which they represented. It was a contradiction the Manichaeans themselves did little to dispel. In another Turfan ms. (M 176, in Müller, *op. cit.*, p. 60) Jesus is called "Vollmond"; and to the question, "Cur solem colitis?", Faustus replies (Augustine, *Faust.* XX,1) that Manichaeans worship the Trinity, the Father being the inaccessible light spoken of by Paul in I Timothy 6:16, and Christ being the *uirtus* and *sapientia* of I Corinthians 1:24, inhabiting respectively the sun and the moon (text, above, p. 242). Based on this distinction, the solution to the problem would seem simple enough: we would only need to say that sun and moon were never considered as gods, but as containers of divinity, as is implied in a Coptic "psalm" (ALLBERRY, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, p. 144.26): "The sun and the moon glorify thee, all the Gods that are in them, the helmsmen that dwell with them." Even among Manichaeism's adversaries there were some who accepted the distinction; Alexander of Lycopolis says

that for the Manichaeans the sun and moon are the *way* leading to God (Λόγος 5, PG 18/417 A): Τιμῶσι δὲ μάλιστα ἥλιον καὶ σελήνην, οὐκ ὡς θεοὺς, ἀλλ' ὡς ὁδὸν δι' ἧς ἔστι πρὸς Θεὸν ἀφικέσθαι. This is almost *verbatim* what we find in the Manichaean citation in Alberuni (SACHAU, *Alberuni's India* II, p. 169): "The other religious bodies blame us because we worship sun and moon, and represent them as an image. But they do not know their real natures; they do not know that sun and moon are our *path*, the door whence we march forth into the world of our existence (into heaven), as this has been declared by Jesus." But in his response Faustus goes on to admit (*Faust.* XX,1, p. 536.3) that some kind of cult of the sun and moon does, indeed, exist:

Uidear fortasse excusationis causa id fingere aut diuinorum, quod absit, luminum erubescere culturam ... de qua si quaerendum alias putaueris, audies quamuis nec illud ad praesens minus firmum sit argumentum, quod uel tu uel quilibet alius rogatus, ubinam deum suum credat habitare, respondere non dubitabit: in lumine, ex quo cultus hic meus omnium paene testimonio confirmatur.

Thus sun and moon are, according to Faustus, venerated for what they represent, and do not seem to be worshipped directly in themselves. Unfortunately, Faustus attempts to illustrate this distinction with an example that does not clarify the issue (*ibid.*, p. 536.21: "...quapropter et nobis circa uniuersa et uobis similiter erga panem et calicem par religio est..."; from this VAN DER LOF, *Der numidische Manichäismus*, p. 126, wrongly concludes that Faustus himself accepted "vollständig" the Christian Eucharist). Faustus' example brings from Augustine the retort (*Faust.* XX,13, p. 552) that the Manichaean is trying to equate his own attitude toward sun and moon with the Catholic view of the Bread and the Cup of the Eucharist because Manichaeans think of Christ (= *Iesus patibilis*) as *imprisoned* in everything. In other words Faustus — and certainly not he alone among his coreligionists — has fallen into the error of believing that Catholics themselves think of Eucharist as *containing* "Iesus patibilis," meaning that Jesus would *reside* or *be trapped in* the Eucharistic elements. From this is easy to see how on the other hand Catholic Christians, hearing from Manichaeans that the latter's attitude to the sun and moon was similar to their own thoughts on the Eucharist (meaning, as the Manichaeans saw it, that Jesus must reside or be trapped therein), would have turned this around and concluded that, *if* Manichaeans regarded sun and moon as they themselves regarded the Eucharist, in which the Bread and Cup were

identified with Jesus, then sun and moon must be *identified* with the deity.

Thus there would have been misunderstanding on both sides. But (at least in later years) Augustine himself seems to have grasped the distinction the Manichaeans were attempting to make, vague though it might have been. It is on sources in which the Manichaeans themselves present their thinking, and not on passages such as those in *mor. I*, that we must rely if we expect to understand exactly what was meant by "sun- and moon-worship." A word on the *Khuastuanift* passage referred to above should put an end to the matter. VON LE COQ had already pointed out in 1911 (*Dr. Stein's*, p. 300, n. 8) the difficulty of translating terms which might mean either "the divine sun and moon" or god of the sun and moon; and, as Asmussen was later to remark (*op. cit.*, p. 194), even if the latter is really meant, it remains unclear whether this means that the sun and moon themselves are the gods referred to or whether we ought to take such an expression to mean something along the lines of "the gods who sit in the two palaces of light" (cf. above, p. 39). Obviously there is ambiguity here, which Asmussen (*ibid.*, pp. 205-208) thinks was intentional. If that is the case, one can see how (especially if the ambiguity was already present in the religion's *Urform*) even Manichaeans themselves would have been uncertain as to how to render this and similar expressions into the new languages which their proselytisation encountered. The reason for Faustus' confusion in his defense may be due not so much to a misunderstanding of the Christian Eucharist as to a distinction in his own religion of which even he was not certain. Cf. the remarks of DECRET, *Aspects*, pp. 226-232.

(659-665) *uetiti autem ... necessitatem*. The language employed here is definitely Plotinian (cf. Commentary, 649-654), but there is also a passage in Ambrose's *De Isaac uel anima* (8:79, CSEL 32,1/698.16, immediately following the citation in Commentary, 697-698) which expresses the same ideas as those in *mor. I*:

Adsuescamus oculos nostros uidere quae dilucida et clara sunt, spectare uultum continentiae et temperantiae omnesque uirtutes, in quibus nihil scabrum, nihil obscurum et tortuosum sit. et ipsum spectet quis et conscientiam suam; illum oculum *mundet*, ne quid habeat sordium; quod enim uidetur non debet dissonare ab eo qui uidet, quoniam "conformes nos deus imaginis uoluit esse filii sui" (cf. Rom. 8:29). cognitum igitur nobis est illud bonum nec longe est ab unoquoque nostrum; in ipso enim uiuimus et sumus et mouemur; ipsius enim et genus

sumus (Act. 17:28) ... ipsum est bonum quod quaerimus, solum bonum (cf. Marc. 10:18; Luc. 18:19); *nemo enim bonus nisi unus deus*. hic est oculus, qui magnum illud et uerum decorem intuetur. solem nisi sanus et uigens oculus non aspicit, nec bonum potest uidere nisi anima bona. fiat ergo bonus qui uult uidere dominum et quod est bonum. huius boni similes simus et secundum id operemur quae bona sunt. hoc est bonum, quod supra omnem operationem est, supra omnem mentem atque intellectum. ipsum est quod semper manet et *ad ipsum conuertuntur omnia*, in quo habitat plenitudo diuinitatis (Col. 2:9).

On the date of *De Isaac*, cf. n. 432. Courcelle notes in regard to this passage (*Plotin et saint Ambroise*, p. 39f.) that Ambrose has a tendency to substitute "Good" for "Beauty" in his discussions on the Plotinian "One," and this is also Augustine's inclination: in *mor. I*, God is (with one exception: cf. line 1091) not "pulchritudo" but "summum bonum."

(661-662) *sed erit ... requiretur*. Possibly a reference to *uera rel.*, written shortly afterward (cf. above, p. 14).

(667) *placere uellem*, var. *placare uelim* or *placerem* (= Vulg.).

(668) *est ... imaginationes*, var. for *est*: *et*; for *corporibus*: *corpore* or *pecoribus*; for *imaginationes*: *imagines*.

(669) *rerum scientiam*. Augustine is speaking about the uselessness of philosophical systems that concentrate on the knowledge of things (of this world), but what he really has in mind is the Manichaean teaching on *gnôsis-anamnesis-metanoia*, as we can infer from the words of Fortunatus (in Augustine, *Fort.* 20, p. 99.20):

Nam quia inuiti peccamus et cogimur a contraria et inimica nobis substantia, idcirco *sequimur rerum scientiam*. qua *scientia* admonita anima et *memoriae pristinae reddita recognoscet* ex quo originem trahat, in quo malo uersetur, quibus bonis iterum *emendans*, quod nolens peccauit, possit per *emendationem* delictorum suorum bonorum operum gratia meritum sibi *reconciliationis* apud deum conlocare.

Cf. HOLTE, *Béatitude*, pp. 298 and 312. The term itself, *rerum scientia*, is common in Latin literature: cf. Ambrose, *De officiis ministrorum* II,2:4 (PL 16/104 A: "Itaque philosophi uitam beatam, alii in non dolendo posuerunt, ut Hieronymus: alii in *rerum scientia*, ut Herillus, qui audiens ab Aristotele et Theophrasto mirabiliter laudatam esse *rerum scientiam*, solam eam quasi summum bonum posuit"), who bases himself on Cicero, *De finibus* V,25:73 ("Saepe ab Aristotele, a Theophrasto mirabiliter laudata per se ipsa *rerum scientia*"); however,

Cicero himself seems usually to prefer the expression, "*cognitio rerum*" (cf. *Lael.* 86 and *Tusc.* V,9) and to reserve the phrase, "*scientia rerum*," as a definition for prudence (cf. *De officiis* I,153: "...quam prudentiam Graeci φρόνησιν dicunt ... quae est *rerum* expetendarum fugiendarumque *scientia*"). Cf. GERCKEN, *Inhalt*, pp. 80-94, and LABHARDT, *Curiositas*, p. 220.

(670; cf. also 679) *curiosi*. THEILER (*Porphyrus*, p. 36) and LABHARDT (*Curiositas*, p. 222f.) see in the triad *curiosi(tas)* — *superbia* (line 679) — *cupiditas* (line 682) a reference to Porphyry's triad of passions (*superbia/uoluptas/curiositas*) which seems to have an echo in *Gen. c. Man.* (text below). They argue that *curiosi* and *curiosissime* invoke Porphyry's φαντασία (on which cf. Theiler, *op. cit.*, p. 37f.) through being linked with the *imagines corporeae* of line 685 (cf. also *epist.* 7, pp. 13-18, and *epist.* 9, p. 20.10) and the *imaginationes* (*imagines?*) of line 668. But O'CONNELL rejects this theory (*St. Augustine's Early Theory*, p. 21f.), and his position has more plausibility: "Augustine is given little if any credit for creative originality; his intellectual project is viewed as transmitting faithfully the riches of Porphyrian philosophy. It never seriously enters Theiler's mind that he might have found elements of such a thesis as *membra disiecta* in Plotinus and subtly transposed them in forging his personal synthesis." In *Ennead VI,4-5*, p. 20f., O'Connell points out that "Porphyry's rejection of the imagination is at least partially a construct of Theiler's, starting from the condemnation of imagery he finds in Augustine's *De vera religione*." His own position (*St. Augustine's Early Theory*, pp. 173-182) is that the three elements of the "triad" are to be found (possibly after having been fortified for Augustine by I John 2:16: "concupiscentia carnis, concupiscentia oculorum et superbia uitae") in Plotinus; cf. the parallels he gives, *op. cit.*, pp. 177-179.

For Augustine *curiosus* and *curiositas* always have a pejorative sense: cf. Labhardt, *op. cit.*; also MARROU, *Saint Augustin*, pp. 148-151 and 278-280; MAYER, *Die Zeichen* I, p. 88, n. 157; and R. JOLY, "Curiositas" in *L'antiquité classique* 30 (Louvain, 1961), p. 40. Thus in *ut. cred.* 9:22 (p. 26.28) he contrasts *curiosus* with *studiosus* and makes it refer to someone eager to know "things that are none of his business":

Sed scis etiam curiosum non nos solere appellare sine conuicio, studiosum uero etiam cum laude, quam ob rem adtende, si placet, etiam inter haec duo quid tibi distare uideatur. id certe respondes, quod quamuis uterque agatur magna cupiditate noscendi, curiosus

tamen ea requirit, *quae nihil ad se adtinent*, studiosus autem contra quae ad sese adtinent requirit.

Whatever is "none of his business" is whatever does not lead to God (and therefore constitutes a "superstitio": cf. Commentary, 1254-1255); hence we find Augustine saying in lines 366-368: "Non separat altitudo neque profundum: etenim si haec uerba *scientiae* forte altitudinem uel profundum significant, *non ero curiosus, ne seiungar a deo.*" From this we see that there is a direct link between *curiositas* and *rerum scientia*: *curiositas* refers to the search after all "vain" knowledge (line 681: "uanae cognitionis cupiditate"): compare *mus.* VI,13: 39 (c. 1184: "Auertit denique *amor uanissimae cognitionis* talium *rerum*... et ex his *curiositas* nascitur ipso curae nomine inimica securitati, et uanitate impos ueritatis"). *Curiositas* is therefore in direct opposition to the only permissible *amor cognitionis*, which is to say, to philosophy (*amor studiumque sapientiae*: cf. Commentary, 673-674). For the only knowledge which is not "vain" is that which leads to God, which is why in *Gen. c. Man.* (II,26:40, c. 217) Augustine explicitly identifies the *curiosi* referred to in *mor. I* as the Manichaeans; all their "allegory" is intimately concerned with the "elements of this world" (cf. Commentary, 671-675):

Et ille quidem serpens, id est ille error haereticorum, qui temptat ecclesiam, contra quem incantat apostolus, cum dicit, *Metuo ne sicut serpens Euam seduxit astutia sua, sic et sensus uestri corrumpantur* (II Cor. 11:3); ille ergo error pectore et uentre serpit, et terram manducat. non enim decipit, nisi aut *superbos*, qui sibi arrogantes quod non sunt, cito credunt quod summi dei et animae humanae una eademque natura sit; aut *desideriis carnalibus implicatos*, qui libenter audiunt quod quidquid lasciue faciunt, non ipsi faciunt, sed gens tenebrarum; aut *curiosos*, qui terrena sapiunt, et spiritualia terreno oculo inquirunt.

(671-675) *cauete ... huius mundi*. On the usage of Col. 2:8 in earlier Christian literature, cf. MADEC, *Saint Ambroise*, pp. 200-207, who observes that it would naturally have caught the attention of Christian writers, since it is the only instance in the whole Bible in which *philosophia* is mentioned. (For the list of citations, cf. VL, vol. 24,2, pp. 400-403; also HOLTE, *Béatitude*, pp. 144-152.) Its application here is almost certainly against the Manichaean teaching on the "five elements" (cf. above, p. 35), indicated by the passage from *Gen. c. Man.* cited in Commentary, 669; cf. also *conf.* III,6:10 (p. 50.20):

Et dicebant (Manichei): "ueritas 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 mundi*, creatura tua, de quibus etiam uera dicentes philosophos transgredi debui prae amore tuo...

Col. 2:8 appears with great frequency in Ambrose (cf. the passages listed by Madec, *op. cit.*, p. 92, n. 392), notably in *Exameron* I,6:23 (CSEL 32,1/21.1):

De natura autem et qualitate substantiae *caeli* quid enumerem ea quae *disputationibus* suis *philosophi* texuerunt? cum alii compositum *caelum* ex quattuor *elementis* adserant, alii quintam quandam naturam noui corporis ad constitutionem eius inducant atque adfingant aetherium esse corpus...

This passage, which has strong resemblances to this section of *mor. I* (lines 671-683) and deals both with the "quattuor elementa" (earth, air, fire and water) and "philosophy," closes with the admonition (compare line 773):

Nobis autem satis est ad salutem non disputationum controuersia, sed praeceptorum ueritas nec argumentationis astutia, sed fides mentis. ut "seruiamus creatori potius quam creaturae" (Rom. 1:25), qui est deus benedictus in saecula. amen.

On the date of *Exameron*, cf. n. 432. From both this passage and that of *conf.* (quoted above) we can infer that every time Augustine speaks generally of "creatures" in *mor. I*, he means the "elementa huius mundi." On Simplicianus as Augustine's possible source for the use of Col. 2:8, cf. above, p. 113.

(673) *totoque*, var. *totamque*.

(673-674) *philosophia est amor studiumque sapientiae*. Augustine often uses *amor sapientiae* or *studium sapientiae* (but usually the former) to define what he means by "philosophy": cf. *Acad.* II,3:7 (p. 28.3: "Quid est enim philosophia? *amor sapientiae*"); *ord.* I,11:32 (p. 143.25: "Nam ne quid, mater, ignores, hoc Graecum uerbum, quo philosophia nominatur, Latine *amor sapientiae* dicitur"); *uera rel.* 26 (p. 10.1: "*sapientiae studium*"); *conf.* III,4:8 (p. 49.6: "*Amor autem sapientiae nomen graecum habet philosophiam*..."); VI,11:18 (p. 132.14: "Et ego maxime mirabar satagens et recolens, quam longum tempus esset ab undeicensimo anno aetatis meae, quo feruere coeperam *studio sapientiae*..."); VI,12:21 (p. 135.3: "Prohibeat me sane Alypius ab uxore ducenda cantans nullo modo nos posse securo otio simul in *amore sapientiae* uiuere, sicut iam diu desideraremus,

si id fecissem"); *ciu. dei* VIII,1 (p. 353.16: "...sed cum philosophis est habenda conlatio; quorum ipsum nomen si Latine interpretemur, *amorem sapientiae* profitetur"). However, only once (*Iul.* IV,14:72, c. 774) does Augustine use *both* elements of the definition together ("Obsecro te, non sit honestior gentilium, quam nostra christiana quae una est uera philosophia, quando quidem *studium uel amor sapientiae* significatur hoc nomine").

The probable source for his definition is Cicero: cf. *De finibus*, *passim*, but especially II,2:5 ("Quid enim est ... optabilius sapientia, quid prasetantius, quid homini melius, quid homini dignius? hanc igitur qui expetunt, philosophi nominantur, nec quidquam aliud est φιλοσοφία, si interpretari uelis, praeter *studium sapientiae*") and *De legibus* I,58 ("...a cuius [= sapientiae] *amore* Graeco uerbo philosophia nomen inuenit"): cf. VERBEKE, *Augustin et le stoïcisme*, p. 68f.; also N. STANG, "Philosophia, philosophus bei Cicero," in *Symbolae Osloenses* 11 (Oslo, 1932), pp. 82-93. *Philosophia* appears (outside Col. 2:8) for the first time in Latin Christian literature in Tertullian's *Apologeticum* (46:2, CSEL 69/105.11); cf. also his *De praescriptione haereticorum* 7 (CSEL 70/9.4); *De anima* 6:7 (CCL 2/789.60) and 6:8 (p. 789.65); and *De pallio* 6:1 (CSEL 76/124.3) and 6:2 (p. 125.10). On the use of φιλοσοφία in early Greek Christian writing, cf. Gustave BARDY, "'Philosophie' et 'Philosophe' dans le vocabulaire chrétien des premiers siècles," in *Mélanges Marcel Viller*, Toulouse, 1949, pp. 1-12 (= *Revue d'Ascétique et de Mystique* 25, nos. 98-100, pp. 97-108).

(675-686) *sunt enim ... infligit*. TESTARD (*Saint Augustin* I, pp. 55-58), comparing these lines with *conf.* IV,13:20-25 (pp. 80-85), sees in them an attempt to counteract ideas which had been expressed in *De pulchro et apto*. Since that work is lost, Testard's theory must remain in the realm of the purely hypothetical; by the time Augustine penned this passage of *Confessions*, he couldn't even remember how many books his first writing had contained (*conf.* IV, 13:20, p. 80.15: "...et scripsi libros 'de pulchro et apto,' puto, duos aut tres; tu scis, deus (Ps. 68:6): nam excidit mihi. non enim habemus eos, sed aberrauerunt a nobis nescio quo modo"). Too, since the *Confessions* are farther removed in time from *De pulchro et apto* than is *mor. I*, it seems more likely that the language in *conf.* is not some sort of summary or reminiscence of *De pulchro* (Augustine never indicates that it is), but is borrowed from some other source, if it is not the inspiration of the moment.

(679-682) *unde tanta ... cupiditate*. Cf. the parallel in *epist.* 10

ad Nebridium 2 (p. 24.8): "Magna secessione a tumultu rerum labentium, mihi crede, opus est, ut non duritia, sed audacia, non *cupiditate inanis gloriae*, non superstitiosa credulitate fiat in homine nihil timere." On *superbia*, cf. HOLTE, *Béatitude*, p. 248f.

(681) *uanae cognitionis*, var. *uanae* (or *uagae*) *cogitationis*.

(687) *cauendum esse a simulacris*. Vulg.: "Filioli, custodite uos *a simulacris*."

(688) *nihil mundi huius diligere*. Vulg.: "Nolite *diligere mundum* neque ea quae in mundo sunt." The qualification of "mundi" with "huius" is probably a reminiscence of Col. 2:8. Augustine uses the phrase "hoc mundus" often: cf. the Index, p. 444.

(689) *mundo*, var. *saeculo* (= Vulg.).

(691) *plura*, var. *plures*.

(694) *uanitantium*. Some mss. have the var. *uanitatum* (= Vulg.), but according to retr. I,6(7):4 (p. 30.15) *uanitantium* is the correct reading :

Item quod posui de libro Salomonis: *uanitas uanitantium*, dixit *Ecclesiastes*, in multis quidem codicibus legi, sed hoc graecus non habet; habet autem: *u a n i t a s u a n i t a t u m*, quod postea uidi, et inueni eos latinos esse ueriores, qui habent *u a n i t a t u m*, non *u a n i t a n t i u m*. ex occasione tamen huius mendositatis quaecumque disserui, uera esse ipsis rebus apparet.

Augustine refers to the same version in *quant.* 33:76 (c. 1076) where he gives a brief "exegesis" which recalls lines 700-705 (" 'Uanitas' enim est *fallacia*, 'uanitantes' autem uel *falsi*, uel *fallantes*, uel utrique intelleguntur"). He is still employing the same version in *conf.* VIII,11:26 (p. 192.4). O'CONNELL observes (*Ennead* VI,4-5, p. 38, n. 2) that "there is every reason for thinking" that whenever Augustine speaks of *uanitas* he means the world of images; this seems borne out by the mention of "imagines corporeae" in line 685 and the contrast between *uanitas* and *ueritas* in lines 613-614.

(696) *perpendantur*, var. *pendantur* or *appendantur*.

(697-698) *hunc mundum fugere, et refugere in deum*. Here there is already a hint of the "flight of the soul" spoken of in lines 726-728 (cf. also lines 188-196: "*Confugiendum* est igitur ad eorum praecepta ... ergo *refugere* in tenebrosa cupientibus..."). In *ord.* II, 19:50 (p. 182.15) the idea of *flight* is expressed in terms of im-

mortality ("...a mortali ad immortale *fugiendum* est"); cf. also *sol.* I,1:2 (c. 870: "Deus qui paucis ad id quod uere est *refugientibus*...").

The notion of "fleeing the world" is inspired in Augustine's case by Plotinus (cf. *ciu. dei* IX,17, text in Commentary, 838-839): cf. NÖRREGAARD, *Augustins Bekehrung*, pp. 197-201. But Augustine may have heard of it first from Ambrose: cf. *De fuga saeculi* 7:37-38 (CSEL 32,2/193.8):

Fugiamus ergo malitiam saeculi huius, in quo dies ipsi inquit mali sunt (Eph. 5:16), et *fugiamus* inpigre ... hoc est enim *fugere*, scire quo tendas, abluare se a saeculo, abluare a corpore, ne iterum frustra se aliquis extollat, et inflata mente carnis suae non teneant caput, et dicatur de his: *fugerunt et non uiderunt* (Iob 9:25). sed hoc est *fugere* hinc, mori "elementis huius mundi" (Col. 2:8), abscondere uitam *in deo* (cf. Col. 3:3), declinare corruptiones, non adtaminare cupiditates, nescire quae sunt *mundi* istius...

Cf. also *De Isaac uel anima* 8:79 (CSEL 32,1/698.12):

Sed quae est *fuga*? non utique pedum, qui sunt corporis; isti enim quocumque currunt in terra currunt et de solo ad solum transeunt. nec nauibus *fugiamus* aut curribus aut equis, qui obligantur et cadunt, sed *fugiamus* anima et oculis aut pedibus interioribus.

There immediately follows the passage cited in Commentary, 659-665. Further examples of this theme in Ambrose are given by HULTGREN, *Le commandement*, pp. 264-270.

(699) *alio*, var. *ad alia*.

(700) *uanitantes* ... *huiusmodi*, var. for *uanitantes*: *uanitates* (= Vulg.); for *huiusmodi*: *huius mundi*.

(703) *subiectae*, var. *subiecta*.

(707-709) *ut eorum* ... *affectu*. On Augustine's notion of *frui*, cf. above, p. 86. The origin for the *frui/uti* distinction (cf. line 665: "utendum autem his ad huius uitae necessitatem") lies in Middle Platonism, coming to him perhaps by way of Varro or Cicero; but it is also in Plotinus: cf. *Enn.* I,4:4 (BRÉHIER I, p. 74.23). On the *frui/uti* distinction in Augustine, cf. BURNABY, *Amor Dei*, pp. 113-115; DEMAN, *Le traitement*, pp. 99-111; and Fulbert CAYRÉ, "Frui et uti," in *L'Année Théologique* 10 (Paris, 1949), pp. 50-53.

(712-724) *amor namque* ... *desiderabit*. Several themes run together in this passage, only one of which (Death is not to be feared) will

be treated here; the others (*corpus-uinculum, antiquum peccatum, reformatio, conuersio*) will be considered in the following sections. In *sol.* II,13:23 (c. 896) Augustine recounts the terror death had formerly held for him:

O multum beatos, quibus siue ab ipsis, siue abs quolibet, non esse metuendam mortem, etiam si anima intereat, persuasum est. at mihi misero nullae adhuc rationes, nulli libri persuadere potuerunt.

Cf. also I,9:16 (c. 877f.), II,14:26 (c. 897) and *conf.* VI,11:19 (p. 133.16). In *mor. I* Augustine views death as a good, because it permits the definitive return of the soul to God, to the eternal happiness where it will suffer no more inconvenience ("sine ulla molestia"). A similar notion (possibly inspired by Plotinus: cf. CUMONT, *Lux perpetua*, pp. 345-360) is to be found already in *b. uita* 4:25 (p. 107.17: "non igitur metuit sapiens aut mortem corporis aut dolores") and soon receives elaboration, in *sol.* I,7:14 (c. 876):

Sed dum in hoc corpore est anima, etiam si plenissime uideat, hoc est intelligat deum; tamen quia etiam corporis sensus utuntur opere proprio, si nihil quidem ualent ad fallendum, non tamen nihil ad nos ambigendum, potest adhuc dici fides ea qua his resistitur, et illud potius uerum esse creditur. item quod in ista uita, quamquam deo intellecto anima iam beata sit; tamen, quia multas *molestias* corporis sustinet, sperandum est ei post mortem omnia ista incommoda non futura. ergo nec spes, dum in hac est uita, animam deserit.

In two other passages contemporary with *mor. I* Augustine returns to this theme, first of all in *epist. 10 ad Nebridium* 2 (p. 23.20):

Profectiones ergo, quas quietas et faciles habere nequeas, per totam cogitare uitam non est hominis de illa una ultima, quae mors uocatur, cogitantis de qua uel sola intellegis uere esse cogitandum ... cur interdum et cum loquimur, mortem non formidamus, cum autem non loquimur, etiam cupimus? tibi dico, non enim hoc cuilibet dicerem, tibi, inquam, dico, cuius itinera in superna bene noui, tune, cum expertus saepe sis, quam dulce uiuat, cum amor corporeo animus moritur, negabis tandem totam hominis, uitam posse intrepidam fieri, ut rite sapiens nominetur?

Finally, in terms which more closely recall the lines of *mor. I*, Augustine deals with the same theme in *quant.* 23:73 (c. 1075):

In hoc tamen praeclaro actu animae inest adhuc *labor*, et contra huius mundi *molestias* atque blanditias *magnus* acerrimusque *con-*

flictus (compare line 724: "sed restat cum dolore *magna conflictio*"). in ipso enim purgationis negotio subest *metus mortis* saepe non magnus, saepe uero uehementissimus...

Ambrose often speaks of death as something desirable, notably in the conclusion to *De Isaac uel anima* (CSEL 32,1/699.21), and of course in *De bono mortis*, in which there is also a linking of the themes, "flight of the soul," *corpus-uinculum* and *resurrectio/reformatio* (texts in Commentary, 715-716) and in which we perceive the inspiration for *Expositio in euang. Luc. VII,36-43* (CSEL 32,4/298.1), preached at the beginning of 386 (PALANQUE, *Saint Ambroise*, p. 535):

Vna est igitur *mors*, qua copula corporis et animae separatur, non formidabilis, non *timenda*, cum discussio quaedam nostri uidentur esse, non poena, non *metuenda* fortibus, desideranda sapientibus, miseris expetenda, de qua dictum est: *quaerunt homines mortem et non inuenient eam* (Apoc. 9:6). est et alia, quae saecularium adferat interitum uoluptatum, in qua non natura, sed delicta moriuntur. hanc mortem subimus consepulti in baptismo et mortui cum Christo ab "elementis huius mundi" (Col. 2:8) ... est et tertia mors, quando Christus, qui est uita nostra, nescitur ... dulcis illa uita est, quae non habet mortem; haec enim uita corporis habet mortem sorte naturae, quae plerumque *etiam desideratur* ... ad hanc uitam, fratres, festinemus, maesti in saeculo, quia *peregrinamur a domino* (II Cor. 5:6); qui enim non peregrinatur a corpore peregrinatur a domino. multo autem melius dissolui a corpore (cf. Phil. 1:23) et adhaerere deo (cf. Ps. 72:28), ut et nos unum caput simus apud omnipotentem deum et unigenitum dei filium uideamus per resurrectionis gloriam in naturae claritatem adsumti et inuiolabili concordia animosum foedere.

(715) *inter.* Some mss. add: *haec.*

(715-716) *corpus homini grauissimum uinculum est.* On the soul as "chained" to the body, cf. Plotinus, *Enn.* IV,8:4 (BRÉHIER IV, p. 221.21-30) - apparently the source for this entire passage (lines 715-724):

mor. I

Sed inter omnia quae in hac uita possidentur, *corpus homini grauissimum uinculum est*, iustissimis dei legibus, *propter antiquum peccatum*, quo nihil est ad praedicandum notius, nihil ad intellegendum secretius. hoc ergo *uinculum* ne con-

Enneads

Ἐνθα καὶ συμβαίνει αὐτῇ τὸ λεγόμενον πτερορρυῆσαι καὶ ἐν δεσμοῖς τοῖς τοῦ σώματος γενέσθαι ἁμαρτούσῃ τοῦ ἀβλαβοῦς, τοῦ ἐν τῇ διοικήσει τοῦ κρείττονος, ὃ ἦν παρὰ τῇ ψυχῇ τῇ ὅλῃ· τὸ δὲ πρό

cutiatur atque uexetur, laboris et doloris; ne auferatur atque perimatur, mortis terrore animam quatit. amat enim illud ui consuetudinis, *non intellegens*, si bene atque scienter utatur, resurrectionem reformationemque eius ope ac lege diuina sine ulla molestia iuri suo subditam fore: sed cum se hoc amore *tota in deum conuerterit*, his cognitis mortem non modo contemnet, *uerum etiam desiderabit*.

τοῦ ἥν παντελῶς ἄμεινον ἀναδραμούση· εἰληπταίου πεσοῦσα καὶ πρὸς τῷ δεσμῷ οὔσα καὶ τῇ αἰσθήσει ἐνεργούσα διὰ τὸ κωλύεσθαι τῷ νῷ ἐνεργεῖν καταρχάς, τεθᾶφθαι τε λέγεται καὶ ἐν σπηλαίῳ εἶναι, ἐπιστραφεῖσα δὲ πρὸς νόησιν λύεσθαί τε ἐκ τῶν δεσμῶν καὶ ἀναβαίνειν, ὅταν ἀρχὴν λάβῃ ἐξ ἀναμνήσεως θεᾶσθαι τὰ ὄντα.

Striking as the resemblances are, however (cf. also *Enn.* IV,8:1, Bréhier IV, pp. 216.1-11 and 217.28-33), it is unlikely that Plotinus is Augustine's *direct* source - or at least the *only* direct source, for clearly Augustine's statement contains elements found nowhere in Plotinus: both speak of a conversion, and both refer to a "Fall," but *mor. I* adds the distinctive element that the Fall was required by divine law. Nor does he make any reference to the Plotinian Universal Soul nor to Plotinus' tomb or cave, and he has placed his discussion within the context of a view of death expressed with *resurrectio* - as un-Plotinian a notion as one can find. If Plotinus has been consciously employed here at all, it can only have been insofar as he served Augustine's ends: there could be no question of a slavish repetition. Hence he also rejects the Plotinian repudiation of the body (cf. *Enn.* IV,8:1, Bréhier IV, p. 217.31, with the qualifications noted in n. 562), just as he rejects in general the Platonic theme of the body as "prison-house" (Plato, *Phaedo*, 62b; *Cratylus*, 400c; cf. COURCELLE, *Tradition*, pp. 430-433), although sometimes referring to the idea of the body as "tomb of the soul" (cf. Plato, *Gorgias*, 493a; *Cratylus*, 400b-c; *Phaedo*, 82e; the passages in Augustine are given by COURCELLE, *Le corps-tombeau*, p. 118f., and *L'âme en cage*, pp. 113-115). But his emphasis on the body's goodness (or at least non-evil nature) is already present and would become more clear-cut in future writings (cf. *nat. boni* 15-18, pp. 20-23), though he would continue to think of it as the soul's "temporary dwelling-place" (cf. *serm.* 36,10, c. 219f.; *Ioh. euang.* VIII,2, p. 82f.) or "instrument" or "servant" (cf. *trin.* XI,2, pp. 334-340; *ciu. dei* X,6, p. 455.17).

Besides the differences between himself and Plato/Plotinus, a further reason for rejecting one or the other as Augustine's direct source for this passage in *mor. I* is that his philosophical elements can also be found — along with the same Christian expression — in at least

two works of Ambrose: *De Iacob et beata uita* I,7:27 (text in Commentary, 801) and *Expositio in euang. Luc.* VII,143-144 (p. 346.12), preached, according to PALANQUE (*Saint Ambroise*, p. 535), after 387:

Dum corporis natura tentatur, anima male sana conpatitur. quae si adpetentiam corporis refrenasset, in ipso ortu esset extincta origo peccati, quam uelut uirili infusam corporis motu madefacta anima etiam sui uigore corrupto alienis *grauis oneribus* parturiuit ... ex his itaque diuersarum cupiditatum motus adoleuit. sed ubi in se *anima* redit, deformis partus pudore conuenta degeneres abiurat heredes abdicans motus, exposita *peccatum*. caro quoque *grauium laborum* defaenerata sorte et usura iniurae miserabilis fatigata ubi se cupiditatibus suis, quas sibi ipsa generauit, tamquam sentibus mundi *doluit* esse confixam, ueterem hominem festinat exuere (cf. Col. 3:9), ut se sibi *auferat*, ne inprudam parentem successio peritura destituat.

Ambrose is also fond of referring to the corporal "chains": cf. *Expos. in euang. Luc.* VII,57 (CSEL 32,4/305.15: "...animi eius mentisque uestigium *mortalibus uinculis* censuit exuendum") and the frequent allusions in *De bono mortis*, e.g. 2:5 (CSEL 32,1/706.8):

Sunt enim uelut *uincula quaedam corporis huius* et quod est *grauius uincula* temptationum, et ad iniuriam captiuitatis adstringunt *quadam lege peccati* (cf. Rom. 7:23). denique in exitu ipso uidemus quemadmodum anima decedentis paulatim soluat se *uinculis carnis* et ore emissa euolet tamquam carcereo corporis huius exuta gurgustio.

Here Ambrose has linked the *corpus-uinculum* theme with the "flight of the soul" and the "law" referred to by *mor. I*, and in a following passage he speaks of separation from the *molestiae* of this world (cf. Commentary, 712-724):

Quid igitur *in hac uita* aliud iusti agunt nisi ut exuant se huius corporis contagionibus, quae uelut *uincula* nos ligant, et se ab his *molestiis* separare contendant, renuntient uoluptatibus atque luxuriae, *fugiant* flammam libidinum?

(716-717) *propter antiquum peccatum*. The doctrine on original sin was one of those Augustine later recalled having discovered through Ambrose (cf. *conf.* VII,3:5, p. 144.8: "Et intendebam, ut cernerem quod audiebam, liberum uoluntatis arbitrium causam esse, ut male feceremus..."). This theme appears many times in Ambrose's preaching: cf. the texts gathered by HUH, *Ursprung*, pp. 79-91; also *De bono mortis* 2:5 (text in Commentary, 715-716), *De Noe et arca* 10:34-35 (CSEL 32,1/434f.) and *Expositio in euang. Luc.* VII,73

(CSEL 32,4/313.6), preached, according to PALANQUE (*Saint Ambroise*, p. 535) at the beginning of 386:

Caue ergo ne ante nuderis, sicut Adam ante nudatus est mandati caelestis custodia destitutus et exutus fidei uestimento et sic letale uulnus accepit, in quo omne genus occidisset humanum...

But the expression, *antiquum peccatum*, is not found in Ambrose, nor anywhere in Christian Latin literature apart from Augustine. It was perhaps suggested to him by Cicero's phrase in *De finibus* IV,8:20 ("...alia quaedam dicent, credo, magna *antiquorum* esse *peccata*..."), but there is an obvious gulf separating Cicero's "sins of our ancestors" from Augustine's "sin of Adam." The closest equivalents in Christian writers are in Cyprian's *Epist.* 64,2:5 (CSEL 3,2/720.20: "...nisi quod secundum Adam carnaliter natus contagium *mortis antiquae* prima natiuitate contraxit...") and in Jerome's *Epist. 3 ad Rufinum* 5 (CSEL 54/16.19: "Quas hunc diabolum nectere credis tricas, quas parare arbitraris insidias? forsitan *antiquae fraudis* memor famem suadere temptabit?"). In the latter case, the context is different: Jerome is speaking of Christ's temptation in the desert. On the other hand, Cyprian's expression makes its appearance in *Iul.* I,2 (c. 643):

Saepe incutis legentium sensibus Manicheae pestis horrorem: quasi malum naturale cum Manicheis sapiat, qui dicit infantes secundum Adam carnaliter natos, contagium *mortis antiquae* prima natiuitate contrahere, et ob hoc secunda indigere, ut per lauacrum regenerationis (cf. Tit. 3:5) prius *peccati originalis* remissione purgentur...

The expression, *antiquum peccatum*, was one that Augustine continued using, in one form or another, all his life: cf. *nupt.* I,17:19 (p. 232.2: "Non enim est (carnis concupiscentia) ex naturali conubio ueniens bonum, sed ex *antiquo peccato* accidens malum") and 23:26 (p. 239.6: "Hic est fructus eius ex *antiqua immunditiae stirpe*..."); also *conf.* VII,21:27 (p. 167.16: "...et iuste traditi sumus *antiquo peccatori* praeposito mortis..."). But the concept of original sin makes no appearance in Augustine's writings that precede his baptism, and seems to have been one with which he was still experiencing difficulties as he wrote *mor. I* (lines 717-718: "quo nihil est ad praedicandum notius, *nihil ad intellegendum secretius*"); but this does not mean that he regarded it at the time only in a philosophical light, as BURNABY would have it (*Amor Dei*, p. 88), "in what appears to be a vague reference, suggestive of Origen's theory, to a pre-mundane fall of the soul." Here the context is definitely the sin of *Adam* (cf. lines 626-635 and 789), by whose transgression death

has been imposed upon us (cf. the reference to I Cor. 15:22 in lines 628-629), through God's just laws (line 716), and by divine law whoever makes proper use of the body will experience its resurrection as well as the soul's "reformation" (lines 721-722: cf. below). In any case it is not absolutely certain that Augustine ever held the Plotinian theory of the "fall of the soul" (cf. n. 561). For his later teaching on original sin, cf. BESTMANN, *Qua ratione*, pp. 38-50, and MAUSBACH, *Die Ethik* II, pp. 148-207.

(721) *resurrectionem reformationemque*. Just as Augustine does not yet seem to have fully grasped the notion of original sin, this single mention of "resurrection" (not of Christ, but of the faithful: cf. I Cor. 15:22, cited in lines 628-629) points to similar difficulties with this particular concept. That he has a bodily resurrection in mind can be inferred from the reference to "resurrectio carnis" in *quant.* 33:76 (c. 1077), where he explicitly says that he does not understand it; as the theme of *De immortalitate animae* indicates, it is the destiny of the *soul* which occupies most of his attention. In *mor. I* and *quant.* Augustine's intent is to counter its rejection by Manichaeism (cf. *haer.* 46, c. 37; *Adimant.* 12, p. 140.26; *Faust.* V,10, p. 283.3, and XI,3, p. 317.10), although he does not pay any close attention to the Catholic dogma in his writings until *uera rel.* (67, p. 18.25: "Inde iam erit consequens ut post mortem corporalem, quem debemus primo peccato, tempore suo atque ordine suo hoc corpus restituatur pristinae stabilitati..."): cf. O'CONNELL, *St. Augustine's Early Theory*, p. 204.

Here his prime concern is with the *soul*, and it is to the soul that the second term, "reformatio," refers. By its connection with "resurrectio" we can infer that it, too, alludes to something which takes place after death, to the completing process (denoted by the prefix *re-*) of an earlier *formatio*. This first *formatio* is linked to the divine act of creation. In *Gen. ad litt.* I,4 (p. 8.1) it means that act of God in the Creation-process whereby form was given to a hitherto "unformed" spiritual creature (meaning angels and human souls - what Augustine understands by *caelum* in the Creation-account):

Vt in eo quod scriptura narrat: Dixit deus: Fiat, intellegamus dei dictum incorporeum in natura uerbi eius coaeterni, reuocantis ad se imperfectionem creaturae, *ut non sit informis, sed formetur* secundum singula, quae per ordinem exsequitur. in qua conuersione et *formatione*, quia pro suo modo imitatur deum uerbum, hoc est dei filium semper patri cohaerentem plena similitudine et essentia pari, qua ipse et pater unum sunt, non autem imitatur

hanc uerbi formam, si auersa a creatore *informis* et imperfecta remaneat...

Cf. also I,9 (p. 12f.) and (in a less evolved form) *conf.* XIII,2:2-3 (pp. 345-347) and *quant.* 28:55 (c. 1066: "Vnde fit ut homo eius clementia reformandus sit, cuius bonitate ac potestate formatus est"). Augustine's idea is therefore that *creatio* does not of itself bring the "spiritual creature" totally into its being, but that the latter remains imperfect and unformed until the act which completes *creatio* — *formatio* — has taken place. Cf. ZUM BRUNN, *Le dilemme*, p. 93f.; also SOLIGNAC, *Les Confessions* II, p. 616: "La *formatio*, qui lui apporte cette pleine consistance, se fait dans un acte à la fois *effectuant* et *rationnel*, un acte où la créature concourt à sa propre réalisation en ratifiant son rapport essentiel au créateur et en s'établissant ainsi effectivement dans sa destination. Aussi la *formatio* de l'esprit humain est-elle tout à la fois de l'homme et de Dieu..." But whereas for angels this *formatio* takes place in a single act, which is sufficient once for all, "la *formatio* de l'esprit humain n'est pas donnée une fois pour toutes (cf. *Confess.*, XIII,x,11; xii, 13-xiv,15); en réalité, elle doit se répéter à chaque moment de l'existence de l'esprit; elle sous-tend de la sorte, au moins sur le plan de l'implicite, l'existence entière selon son développement historique... Pour l'homme, en tout cas, la *formatio* exige que soit incessamment reconnu et consenti le rapport de la créature à Dieu."

This means that *reformatio* is the final step in the process begun by *creatio* and seconded through a (for Man, constantly repeated) *formatio* which brings Man more deeply into his being, which is to say nearer to God; *reformatio* constitutes the final recognition by the soul of its true relationship to God and, without any hesitation on its part, complete and definitive acceptance of that relationship (lines 721-722: "eius ope ac lege diuina sine ulla molestia iuri suo subditam fore").

But since Augustine does not further develop this idea in *mor. I*, where (except for *quant.* 28:55, quoted above) it makes its first appearance, we must conclude that the concepts, *formatio/reformatio* — if not the terms — are new to him, and that he has not worked out their implications. This he begins to do seriously in *uera rel.* (65, p. 18.15), in a passage preceding his first serious look at the idea of corporal resurrection (also cited above, p. 372); in this passage, the *reformatio* is thought of as accomplished through a trinitarian action:

Si autem dum in hoc stadio uitae humanae anima degit, uincat

eas quas aduersum se nutriuit cupiditates fruendo mortalibus, et ad eas uincendas gratia dei se adiuuari credat, mente illi seruiens et bona uoluntate, sine dubitatione reparabitur et a multis mutabilibus ad unum inconmutabile reuertatur, reformata per sapientiam non formatam, sed per quam formantur uniuersa, fruiturque deo per spiritum sanctum, quod est donum dei (cf. I Cor. 2:15).

We also find the *reformatio* concept in Ambrose, who in *De sacramento regenerationis siue de philosophia* (fragment cited by Augustine, *Iul.* II,5:14, c. 683) links it to that of the *corpus - uinculum* ("Beata igitur mors quae nos peccato eripit, ut *reformat* deo. qui enim mortuus est, iustificatus est a peccato [Rom. 6:7]"); his inspiration for this comes in part from Origen's Διάλεκτος πρὸς Ἑρακλείαν 25 (Sources Chrétiennes, vol. 67, p. 104: Οὗτος μακάριος ὁ θάνατος ἀποθνήσκει τις τῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ). If MADEC (*Saint Ambroise*, p. 324) is correct, *De sacramento* was written at the latest in 386, and Augustine could therefore have already studied it in Milan. But Ambrose mentions the *reformatio* theme in other works as well: cf. *Expositio in euang. Luc.* VII,234 (CSEL 32,4/387.3: "Fuit Adam et in illa fuimus omnes: periit Adam et in illo omnes perierunt. homo igitur et in illo homine qui perierat *reformatur* et ille ad similitudinem dei factus et imaginem diuina patientia et magnanimitate reparatur"), preached "peu après février 386" (PALANQUE, *Saint Ambroise*, p. 535); cf. also X,95 (p. 491.21), dated by Palanque (*loc. cit.*) between 378 and 380:

Ager enim secundum diuina praecepta mundus hic omnis est (cf. Matt. 13:38), figulus autem ille qui nos *formauit* a limo, de quo habes in ueteri testamento quia finxit deus hominem de limo terrae (Gen. 2:7), *formandi per naturam, reformandi per gratiam* habens pro suo arbitrio potestatem. nam etsi propriis uitiis conruamus, per illius tamen misericordiam resumta mentis spiritu secundum Hieremiae oracula (18:2-4) *reformamur*.

Hence from Ambrose Augustine could have already acquired the notion's general outlines, without yet understanding its details. For a further treatment of *formatio/reformatio* in Augustine's thinking, cf. Solignac, *loc. cit.*; also LADNER, *St. Augustine's Conception*, pp. 871-873.

(722-723) *sed cum se hoc amore tota in deum conuerterit*. Some mss. omit *se*. For *tota* there is the var. *totum*, and for *conuerterit*: *conuertit*.

Conuersio (Plotinus' ἐπιστροφή: cf. *Enn.* IV,8:4, cited in Com-

mentary, 715-716), with its link to *formatio*, constitutes for Man "un retour à son Principe" (SOLIGNAC, *Les Confessions* II, p. 616). In Plotinus it is applied to the νοῦς, which, in a return toward the One, becomes (through ἐπιστροφή) what it truly is (*Enn.* V,2:1, BRÉHIER V, p. 33.10). The same thing may be said of the individual soul which, in order to achieve the fulfillment of its being, in order to attain to the Good which it does not automatically possess, must be purified (lines 726-727: "super omnem carnificinam libera") through the removal of all earthly distraction (lines 728-731) and the opening of itself to God ("se tota in deum conuerterit"): cf. *Gen. ad litt.* I,5 (p. 8.24):

Creatura uero quamquam spiritalis et intellectualis uel rationalis, quae uidetur esse illi uerbo propinquior, potest habere *informem* uitam ... *auersa* enim a sapientia incommutabili stulte ac misere uiuit, quae *informitas* est. *formatur* autem *conuersa* ad incommutabile lumen sapientiae, uerbum dei.

Cf. also I,4 (p. 8.5: "In qua *conuersione* et *formatione* quia pro suo modo imitatur deum uerbum, ... non autem imitatur hanc uerbi formam, si *auersa* a creatore *informis* et imperfecta remaneat..."). *Auersio* is thus the refusal of the rational creature to turn to his Creator, to the "unchangeable light of Wisdom" (which is Christ), who alone can bring him out of his imperfect state: *auersio*, in other words, is the refusal to go through the progressive stages of *formatio* and is therefore ultimately a rejection of *reformatio*. Cf. *inmort.* 7:12 (c. 1027):

At enim *auersio* ipsa a ratione per quam stultitia contingit animo, sine defectu eius fieri non potest (animus): si enim magis est ad rationem *conuersus* eique inhaerens, ideo quod inhaeret incommutabili rei quae est ueritas, quae et maxime et primitus est; cum ab ea est *auersus*, id ipsum esse minus habet, quod est deficere.

So long as he remains in this life, Man can lose God by turning away from him (cf. line 420; also *inmort.* 12:19, c. 1031: "Sapientiam uero, quia *conuersione* habet ad id ex quo est, *auersione* illam potest amittere. *conuersioni* namque *auersio* contraria est"). It is this *auersio* which, when freely willed, is the cause of moral evil (cf. *lib. arb.* II,204, p. 88.10: "Motus ergo ille *auersionis*, quod fatemur esse *peccatum*..."): cf. ZUM BRUNN, *Le dilemme*, pp. 43-45. THEILER (*Porphyrios*, pp. 43-45) thinks the *auersio/conuersio* couplet in Augustine can be traced to Porphyry, but, as we have already seen and as HENRY says (*Plotin*, pp. 70-73), it can probably be more directly traced to Plotinus (Henry thinks in *Enn.* VI,4-5). For Plotinus one

turns *toward* God (ἐπιστροφεῖν) through the light of the νοῦς (cf. *Enn.* V,3:8, Bréhier V, pp. 58-60) and by *love/eros*: for Augustine, on the other hand, it is through being drawn to the Wisdom which is Christ, a movement which requires the primacy of will/love in the sense of the Great Commandment (therefore *agapè*). Hence Solignac can conclude (*loc. cit.*) that for Augustine "la *conversio* est ainsi une réplique de la *creatio*: elle est une auto-crédation, ou du moins cette auto-crédation est-elle un moment essentiel et nécessaire de la dialectique du rapport de l'homme à Dieu."

(725-734) *nihil est ... perferunt*. This passage, with its reference to the "flight of the soul," is unquestionably of Platonic origin: cf. Plato, *Phaedrus* 246a-249c; also *Theaetetus* 176a-b (... διὸ καὶ πειρᾶσθαι χρὴ ἐνθένδε ἐκεῖσε φεύγειν ὅτι τάχιστα· φυγὴ δὲ ὁμοίωσις θεῷ κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν. ὁμοίωσις δὲ δίκαιον καὶ ὅσιον μετὰ προνήσεως γενέσθαι). Plotinus takes up the theme in *Enn.* IV,8:1 (BRÉHIER IV, p. 217.37); cf. COURCELLE, *Nouveaux aspects*, p. 228f., and *Quelques symboles*, pp. 66-73; also THEILER's review of Courcelle's *Recherches* (p. 119f.); and Adhémar d'ALÈS, "Les ailes de l'âme," in *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses* 10 (Louvain, 1933), pp. 63-72. The notion is also strongly present in Ambrose, and a text-comparison reveals some interesting parallels between himself and *mor. I*:

Ambrose, *De Isaac uel mor. I*

anima 3:8 (CSEL 32,1/647.22)

Ergo et haec *anima* oscula uerbi multa desiderat, ut inluminetur diuinae cognitionis lumine.

4:11 (p. 651.1)

(Paulus) sciebat se *raptum* in paradisum, sed siue *extra corpus* siue *raptum* in corpore nesciebat (cf. II Cor. 12:3-4). adsurrexerat enim *anima* eius *de corpore* et se a uisceribus et uinculis *carnis* abduxerat atque eleuauerat... *anima* ergo bona contemnet uisibilia et insensibilia nec consistit in eis nec in despiciendis his inmoratur et residet,

Nihil est tamen tam durum atque ferreum, quod non *amoris igne* uincatur. 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. nisi uero amatores auri, amatores laudis, amatores feminarum, amatoribus suis *deus* sinet esse fortiores; cum ille non amor, sed congruentius *cupiditas* uel libido nominetur. in qua tamen apparet quantus sit impetus *animi* ad ea quae diliguntur indefesso *cursu* per immania quaeque ten-

Ambrose, *De uirginitate*

17:107 (PL 16/293 C)

Itaque adhaerens deo (Ps. 72:28), et imaginis in se referens caelestis effigiem, ubi *cursus* suos ab equorum perturbatione placidauerit, in illum aethereum purumque locum plausu spiritalium euecta *pennarum*, despicit omnia quae in hoc mundo sunt et aeternis intenta uirtutibus *supra* mundum labitur ... discite ergo in hoc mundo *supra* mundum esse: et si corpus geritis, *uolitet* in uobis *ales* interior.

17:110 (c. 294 B)

Vnum igitur nos esse uult dominus, ut *supra* mun-

sed ascendit ad illa aeterna et inuisibilia et plena miraculis puro sensu se piaie mentis adtol-
lens.

8:66 (p. 688.12)

Itaque licet intellegibili spectaculo uidere unamquamque *animam* cum summo certamine ad caelum *rapi*.

dentis, argumentoque nobis est, quam sint omnia perferenda, ne deseramus *deum*, si tanta illi ut deserant, perferunt.

dum simus omnes, ut una sit *castitas*, una uoluntas, una bonitas, una gratia. his enim alitur et augetur *animae* uolatus. ergo non pigrescamus, sed de terrenis consurgamus: ea est enim natura *pennarum*, ut agitando se uirtutem capiant. eo iuuatur uolatus, quo *anima* delecta-

8:77 (p. 695.8)

Bona igitur *caritas* habens *alas ignis* ardentis, quae *uolitat* per pectora et corda sanctorum et exurit quicquid materiale atque terrenum est, quicquid uero sincerum est probat et quod contingerit suo *igne* meliorat ... bonae *alae caritatis*, uerae *alae*, quae *uolitabant* per ora apostolorum; et *alae ignis*, quae purgatum sermonem loquebantur ... sumamus igitur has *alas*, quae sicut *flammae* ad superiora dirigant, exuat unusquisque *animam* suam inuolucris sordidioribus et quasi aurum *igni* adprobet (Sir. 2:5) deterfam luto, sic enim purgatur *anima* ut aurum optimum. *pulchritudo* autem *animae* sincera uirtus et decus uerior cognitio superiorum, ut uideat illud bonum, ex quo pendent omnia, ipsum autem ex nullo. eo igitur uiuit atque intellectum accipit.

tur, quae si semper *deum* sequatur et in domo domini habitare desideret (Ps. 26:4), et eius delectatione pascatur ac miraculis uirtutum alatur caelestium; foris relinquet inuidiam, quae extra chorum est angelorum, foris *cupiditates* corporis, quae templum dei maculare non debent.

18:115 (c. 296 A)

Est ergo et iuxta Daud, *alis* spiritalibus *anima* fulta, quam eousque uolucrum nobis uoluit declarare, ut alibi quoque diceret: Anima nostra sicut passer erepta est de laqueo uenantium (Ps. 123:7). et alibi: In domino confido, quomodo dicitis animae meae: Transmigre in montem sicut passer (Ps. 10.2). habet igitur *alas anima* suas, quibus se possit libera leuare de terris. *alarum* remigium non materialis compago *pennarum*, sed continuus ordo bonorum factorum est; qualis ille dominicus, cui bene dicitur: Et in umbra alarum tuarum sperabo (Ps. 56:2) ... procul a militiae honoribus, procul ab aestibus mundi; ne quod fabulae ferunt, aestu solis cera resoluta Icareos uolatus *penna* relabente destituat. nam licet grauitas dictorum absit; poetico tamen sole declarare uoluerunt prudentiam maturitati tutos esse uolatus per saeculum, iuuenilem uero leuitatem obnoxiam *cupiditatibus* mundi, refluentibus *pennis*, per obliuia ueritatis, meritorum compage resoluta, maiore pernicie in terram relabi.

On the date of these two works, cf. n. 432 (*De Isaac*) and Commentary, 138-143 (*De uirginitate*). Neither of these contains all

the elements we find in *mor. I*; with it they have in common the necessity for the soul to "rise" beyond the carnal, to be freed, to be swept up in "fire," in love. Cf. also *De bono mortis* 2:5 (text in Commentary, 715-716) and 5:16 (CSEL 32,1/717.20):

Abducamus nos a corporis nexu, relinquamus omnia quaecumque terrena sunt, ut cum uenerit aduersarius, nihil in nobis inueniat suum. contendamus ad illud aeternum, ad illum diuinum *pennis dilectionis* et remigio *caritatis*. surgamus hinc, hoc est de saecularibus atque mundanis.

Here Ambrose is referring to an "ascent of the soul" after (physical) death, but the similarity of language is nonetheless striking. He goes on to speak of the soul as an eagle (*aquila*) which flies (*uolet*) beyond the clouds and must avoid the snare of gold (*laqueus auri*) and the glue of silver (*uiscum argenti*). Cf. also *Expositio in ps. 118*, 14:34 (CSEL 62/320.21: "Sed *anima deo* deuota quaesitum diu tenendo et non dimittendo dilectum pretioso *caritatis* diuinae se uestituit inuolucro ... et ideo haec *anima* candida ascendit e terris..."). But — at least in *De Isaac* — the "wings" represent the two testaments of the Scriptures, and *caritas* is explicitly identified with *Christ* (cf. OTTEN, *Caritas*, p. 443f.). Moreover, the fire in Ambrose is one of purification; Augustine thinks of it as a "fire of love" (*ignis amoris*), which is, as usual, his basic theme, whereas Ambrose prefers to concentrate on *virtue*. This does not mean that Ambrose should be discounted as the direct source here; Augustine could have built his own thought with Ambrose as the starting-point, just as he had been going through an evolution since speaking of the soul's "wings" in a much more intellectualised manner: cf. *Acad. II*, 3:7 (text in Commentary, 1091-1092) and *sol. I*, 14:24 (c. 882), where it is a question of flying out of the darkness of the Platonic "cave" into the light:

Penitus esse ista sensibilia fugienda, cauendumque magnopere, dum hoc corpus agimus, ne quo eorum uisco *pennae* nostrae impediantur, quibus *integris* perfectisque opus est, ut ad illam lucem ab his tenebris *euolemus*: quae se ne ostendere quidem dignatur in hac cauea inclusis, nisi tales fuerint ut ista uel effracta uel dissoluta possint in aures suas euadere.

In *mor. I* what makes the soul's "flight" possible is the *amor castus*; undoubtedly this is a step toward Augustine's later identification of the "wings" as the two aspects of the charity commanded by Christ (*enarr. 149*, 5, p. 2182.11: "Qui ergo in hac uita gemunt, et desiderant illam patriam, currant *dilectione*, non pedibus corporis: non quaerant

naues, sed *pennas*; *duas alas caritatis* adprehendant. *quae sunt duae alae caritatis? dilectio dei et proximi.*" Compare this passage with *ciu. dei* IX,17, which is attributed to Plotinus: text in Commentary, 838-839).

On the further history of the image of the "flight of the soul" in ancient literature, cf. COURCELLE, *Tradition*, especially I, p. 387f. (Ambrose) and II, pp. 396-401 (Ambrose and Augustine); also his *Flügel*, cc. 51-60.

(726) *rapiet*, var. *rapit*.

(726-727) *carnificinam*, var. *carnificiam* or *carnificam* or *carnalitatem*.

(727) *libera*, var. *liberam*, so that it would agree with *carnificinam* - but such a reading deprives the passage of its meaning.

(728) *nisi*, var. *non* or *num* or *numquid* or *neque*.

(732) *indefesso*. Many mss. have: *deflexo*.

(735) *auctoritates*, var. *auctoritatis*.

(739) *rabide saeuiunt*. Cf. Virgil, *Georgicon* II,151: "...rabide tigres et saeua leonum..."

(739-754) *neque ... uirum tamen*. On the use of the example of Job in patristic writing, cf. Paul DHORME, *Le livre de Job*, Études Bibliques, Paris, 1922, pp. clxxvi-clxxviii. For Augustine, Job was later to become the example of Man required to undergo suffering and death in order to be able to experience the resurrection: cf. *Adnotationum in Iob liber* (PL 34/825-886), *Sermo ad catechumenos* 3:9-10 (PL 40/632) and *De fide et symbolo* 5:11 (PL 40/178). Here Job is used as an example of the virtue of *fortitudo*; the idea for using illustrations for his presentation on this virtue is probably modelled on Cicero, who gives the examples of Torquatus and Decius when speaking of the same virtue (*De finibus* II,19:60-62). Cf. also Augustine's use of Job in *De patientia* 11:9 (CSEL 41/672).

(745) *dum*, var. *cum*.

(756-759) *quae cum ... praeceperat*. This example of Old Testament martyrdom was probably chosen to be an attack on those Manichaean leaders who permitted their followers to dissimulate or even deny their religion under persecution, in order that the secrets of the religion might be kept: cf. GRONDIJS, *Analyse*, p. 392f., and *Numidian Manicheism*, p. 22.

(759) *praeceperat*, var. *receperat*.

(772-773) *apostolus ... creatori seruiunt*. Vulg.: "...et coluerunt et seruierunt creaturae potius quam creatori..." On the later importance of this verse for Augustine, cf. COURCELLE, *Recherches*, p. 176f.

(778) *paci*, var. *pacientiae* or *potentiae*.

(785-786) *dum lumen habetis*. This phrase is omitted from the quotation by many mss.

(789-790) *serpentem perniciem*. Some mss. have the reading, *serpentis* for *serpentem*. In *Gen. c. Man.* II,26:39-40 (text partly cited in Commentary, 670), the serpent of the Fall is identified with heresy in general and Manichaeism in particular, and we may infer that this is what is meant by the introduction of the *serpens* here.

(792) *disputarem ... si*, var. for *disputarem: disputare*. Some mss. omit *si*.

(801) *nullis frangatur incommodis*. Compare this phrase and lines 718-719 ("hoc ergo uinculum [corporis] ne concutiatur atque uexetur, laboris et doloris; ne auferatur atque perimatur, mortis terrore animam quatit") with Ambrose, *De Iacob et beata uita* I,7:27 (CSEL 32,2/21.18):

Nulla tempestas, nullum profundum periculum, nullus terror mortis aut poenae uim caritatis inminuit; in his enim probamur, in his beata uita est, etiamsi multis periculis inundetur. non enim frangitur sapiens doloribus corporis nec uexatur incommodis, sed etiam in aerumnis beatum manet.

On the date of *De Iacob*, cf. n. 432. There are strong resemblances as well to Plotinus' *Enn.* IV,7 and 13. Cf. also the similarities in Augustine's *inmort.* 5:7 (c. 1025): "Namque aut secundum corporis passionem, aut secundum suas, anima dicitur immutari. secundum corporis, ut per aetates, per morbos, per dolores, labores, offensiones, per uoluptates."

(802) *nulli alii*, var. *nullis aliis*.

(806-807) *calumniamini? nescitis quanta*, var. *calum(p)niam inicitis. quanta* or *calum(p)niam inuertitis* (or *inuectitis*). *quid tanta*.

(807) *laccessatis*, var. *laceratis*.

(812-814) *uita ... dignus est*. The inspiration for this idea is probably biblical - either the Beatitudes or Christ's promise to the thief on the cross. Both are found in Ambrose: cf. *De officiis ministrorum* II,1:3 (PL 16/103 C: "Nam qui ab hominibus quaerit, habet

mercedem suam; qui autem a deo, habet *uitam aeternam*, quam *praestare* non potest nisi auctor aeternitatis, sicut illud est: *Amen, dico tibi, hodie mecum eris in paradiso* (Luc. 23:43)"); also *De Iacob et beata uita* I,7:28 (CSEL 32,2/21.23), which immediately follows the passage cited in Commentary, 801:

Neque enim aduersa corporis *uitae* beatae *munus* inminuunt neque de eius aliquid suauitate delibant, quia non in delectatione corporis *uitae* beatitudo est, sed in conscientia pura ob omni labe peccati et in eius mente qui cognoscit ... habet ergo in se *remunerationem* suam qui sequitur Iesum et in suo affectu *praemium* et gratiam. etiamsi dura sustineat, beatus tamen est suis moribus, beatus ipsis periculis, sicut dominus definiuit dicens: *beati qui persecutionem patiuntur propter iustitiam* (Matt. 5:10).

(821) *ut perfecti simus*, var. *ut perfectissimi* or *in perfectissimis*. But the Maurist reading appears to be the correct one, because the reference is to the Gnostic-Manichaean idea of a *gnôsis* which makes its adepts perfect already in this life: the *electi* were sometimes called *perfecti* (cf. above, p. 199), and Augustine intends an irony here.

(821-823) *quid ergo ... diligamus*. Cf. *retr.* I,6(7):4 (p. 41.4):

Quod autem dixi: *eum ipsum, quem cognoscere uolumus*, hoc est deum, *prius plena caritate diligamus*, melius diceretur: *sincera* quam *plena*, nisi forte putatur caritatem dei non futuram esse maiorem, quando uidebimus *facie ad faciem* (I Cor. 13:12). sic itaque hoc accipiatur, tamquam *plena* dicta sit, qua maior esse non possit, quamdiu ambulamus per fidem; erit enim plenior, immo plenissima, sed per speciem.

A few mss. which contain the reading *sincera* for *plena* have obviously been altered on the basis of the *retr.* passage.

(824) *satagimus*, var. *sategimus* or *satigemus* or *satis egimus*.

(829) *solus*, var. *solum*.

(833) *amoris uinculum*. Ambrose has a similar expression (but with the substitution of *caritas*, which he considers to be more suitable when speaking of Christian love than *amor*: cf. OTTEN, *Caritas*, p. 446f.): in *De Isaac uel anima* 8:66 (CSEL 32,1/688.20) the context is the *quadrige* (cf. Commentary, 138-143) and the four cardinal virtues ("Isti equi sunt subiecti fidei iugo adstricti *uinculo caritatis*..."); and in *De uirginitate* 13.77 (PL 16/285 D) Christ is bound to men

by "the chain of love" ("Quibus igitur Christus tenetur? non iniuriae nexibus, non restium nodis: sed *uinculis caritatis*, mentis habenis stringitur, et animae tenetur affectu"). Augustine uses the metaphor of "chains" often: cf. the word *uinculum* in the Indices (below, p. 449).

(835-862) *promat nobis ... in bonum*. In this development of the theme he has just announced (line 835: "hominis erga hominem caritatem"), Augustine deals with justice as that virtue whereby Man responds to the command of Christ to love other men, and for the first and only time in *mor. I* he enters into a brief discussion of the social obligations. On this discussion DEMAN (*Héritage*, p. 724f.) makes the following observations: "Il reste que la justice proprement dite manque en fin de compte d'avoir été traitée. Les explications que nous avons entendues sont loin de recouvrir la totalité des *officia societatis humanae* que nous avait annoncés l'auteur. Il est de plus, dans les rapports intéressant la société humaine, une règle du droit que ne sont pas destinées à supplanter les entreprises de la charité. Peut-être la justice est-elle vertu profane par excellence; et c'est pourquoi elle aurait davantage résisté à l'effort auquel vient de nous faire assister saint Augustin. Son agencement avec l'amour du prochain restera l'une des difficultés de la théologie. Il ne peut nous surprendre que saint Augustin ne l'ait point surmontée. Cette imperfection de son opuscule ne laisse pas du moins de nous instruire de l'une des conditions au prix desquelles est à construire la science chrétienne des mœurs." Cf. also his *Le traitement*, p. 66. While it is true that both here and farther on in *mor. I* Augustine attributes the success of the Christian way of life to charity alone and appears to ignore the social aspects of *iustitia* properly so-called, he is not avoiding the issue to the extent to which Deman would have us believe, because:

1) Augustine does not see in justice (nor in any other virtue) anything less than a form of *amor*, which is directed to both God and neighbour. He would find it not only absurd but impossible to think solely in the cold, intellectual terms of the Scholastics' "giving every one his due": any "virtue" devoid of *amor* can no longer be considered a *uirtus*.

2) *Iustitia* was that *uirtus* most closely identified by earlier philosophers with the *uita beata* itself: cf. Seneca, *De uita beata* V,3 ("Beata ergo uita est in recto certoque iudicio stabilita et inmutabilis") and VI,2 ("Beatus ergo est iudicii rectus; beatus est praesentibus qualiacumque sunt contentus amicusque rebus suis; beatus est is cui omnem habitum rerum suarum ratio commendat"). But for Augustine what counts is *uirtus* as the *way*, as the means toward the God

who is Man's goal and in whom Man's *uita beata* consists; and since all *uirtus* is based on love, even the proper possession of things, *iustitia*, is a manifestation of *amor* (lines 751-752: "multo enim mirabilius est non inhaerere istis, quamuis possideas, quam omnino ea non possidere").

3) In any case *mor. I* was not meant to be a treatise on the social virtues, which is why Augustine feels no obligation to dwell on them at length. He nevertheless gives some indications about his thought in the way he speaks of the relationship that must exist between Christians (lines 1032-1053) and in his emphasis on the "corporal works of mercy" (lines 880-896).

(837) *uno, qui sciret, var. hunc quid scire.*

(838-839) *id quod ... creatum est.* One of Augustine's purposes in saying that we are made "in the likeness of God" is to assert that all men were created equal in God's sight, whence follows the obligation to love all our fellow-men. But he is also seeking to affirm the Genesis teaching on Creation in the face of its denial by the Manichaeans, who said that such passages would impose an anthropomorphic concept of divinity: if Man, they said, is made "in the image and likeness of God," then God must also be "in the image and likeness of men" and would therefore have to possess a human body. Cf. *Acta Archelai* 16 (BEESON, *Hegemonius*, p. 27.6) where Mani is reported as saying:

Et quomodo mihi quisquam dicet quia ad imaginem dei factus est pater noster Adam et ad similitudinem, et similis est ei qui fecit eum? quomodo omnes qui eo generati sumus similes ei sumus? immo uero e contrario plurimae nobis sunt formae, diuersi uultus ferentes effigiem ... quod si non sumus similes in signaculo, sed est in nobis differentia, quomodo non probatur principium nos et materiae esse facturam? secundum enim ipsorum formam et similitudinem et imaginem etiam nos existimus formae diuersae.

This is the only place in *mor. I* that Augustine refers to the problem, probably because he treats it at great length in the contemporary *Gen. c. Man.*: cf. e.g. I,17:27 (c. 186):

Illam maxime quaestionem solent Manichei loquaciter agitare et insultare nobis, quod hominem credamus factum ad imaginem et similitudinem dei. attendunt enim figuram corporis nostri et infeliciter quaerunt, utrum habeat deus nares et dentes et barbam et membra etiam interiora, et cetera quae in nobis sunt necessaria. in deo autem talia ridiculum est, immo impium, credere, et ideo negant hominem factum esse ad imaginem et similitudinem.

But why does Augustine limit himself here to saying that Man is only "*ad similitudinem*," without saying anything about *image*? It cannot have been that he was unaware of this concept's rôle in Creation, for he alludes to it already in *sol.* I,2:4 (c. 872: "*Fecisti hominem ad imaginem et similitudinem tuam...*"), and when in *quant.* 2:3 (c. 1037) Evodius makes the same omission ("*Sed quemadmodum ipse immortalis immortale quiddam fecit ad similitudinem suam; sic et nos immortales a deo facti, ad similitudinem nostram quod facimus, immortale esse deberet*"), Augustine himself is quick to reply:

Recte diceret, si *ad eius imaginem* pingeres tabulam, quod in te immortale esse credis; nunc uero in ea exprimis similitudinem corporis, quod profecto mortale est ... quomodo nec *imago* corporis tui potest ualeat; sic anima non mirandum est si potentiam tantam non habet, quantum ille ad cuius similitudinem facta est.

Thus, as Augustine understands it, Creation "in God's image and likeness" applies to the *soul* of Man, which like God is immaterial and which has received immortality from God. In *conf.* VI,3:4 (p. 117.23) he informs us that he had learned about this interpretation from Ambrose:

Vbi uero etiam conperi ad imaginem tuam hominem a te factum (Gen. 9:6) ab spiritualibus filiis tuis, quos de matre catholica per gratiam regenerasti, non sic intellegi, ut humani corporis forma determinatum crederent atque cogitarent, quamquam quomodo se haberet spiritalis substantia, ne quidem tenuiter atque in aenigmate suspicabar, tamen gaudens erubui non me tot annos aduersus catholicam fidem, sed contra carnalium cogitationum figmenta latrasse.

Ambrose himself attacks the Manichaean position explicitly in a long commentary on Genesis 1:26 (from which the reference under discussion is probably taken) in *Exameron* III,7:31-9:42 (CSEL 32,1/79-87), dated probably in 386 (cf. n. 432); but even if Augustine was not present at this particular homily, he makes it clear in the *Confessions* that already in Milan he was aware of the concept of Man made "to the image of God," which Ambrose also deals with elsewhere (e.g. in *Expositio in euang. Luc.* VII,234, cited in Commentary, 721). Yet in *mor. I* Augustine avoids speaking of Man as *imago* (except in the citation of Rom. 8:29, which may have been added later to the text: cf. above, pp. 245 and 251).

To understand why he limits himself to speaking of *similitudo*, we need to recall some earlier lines (390-393) of this work:

Fit enim [animus humanus] deo *similis* quantum datum est, dum illustrandum illi atque illuminandum se subicit. et si maxime ei propinquat subiectione ista qua *similis* fit, longe ab eo fiat necesse est audacia qua uult esse *similior*.

This indicates that at this period Augustine thinks of Creation "ad similitudinem" not so much as a past event as a present/future one; true, Man was made "in God's image and likeness," but lost these through Adam's sin: cf. *conf.* VII,16:22 (p. 161.12):

Et iustitia tua displicet iniquis, nedum uipera et uermiculus, quae bona creasti, apta inferioribus creaturae tuae partibus. quibus et ipsi iniqui apti sunt, quanto dissimiliores sunt tibi, apti autem superioribus, quanto similiores fiunt tibi.

The idea seems to take its origin in Ambrose, *Exameron* VI,7:42 (CSEL 32,1/234.5, which must be read in conjunction with the preceding paragraph of the same work, partly quoted below): "Secundum hanc imaginem Adam ante peccatum, sed ubi lapsus est, deposuit imaginem caelestis, sumpsit terrestris effigiem." Having once lost the divine *imago/similitudo*, Man must now attempt to regain them, to *become (fieri) like* God (cf. *conf.* XII,7:7, p. 314.3: "...tanto a te longius, quanto dissimilius"); God's likeness is now the goal after which the human soul must strive (the meaning of *reformatio*: cf. Commentary, 721). This meaning takes precedence over the notion of the model after which Man (= his soul) was created: cf. *quant.* 28:55 (c. 1067: "Uellem hinc plura dicere, ac me ipsum constringere ... atque ita *deo fieri*, quod ait Horatius, *A m i c u m m a n c i p i u m d o m i n o .* quod omnino non potest, nisi ad eius *reformemur* imaginem..."). This, too, was the teaching of Ambrose: cf. his *De fuga saeculi* 4:17 (CSEL 32,2/178.3), where the idea is linked to "flight from the world" (cf. Commentary, 697-698):

Accedamus itaque fidei suffragio subnixi et eius remigiis eleuati ad illam sedem gratiae, *fugientes* hoc saeculum et eius contagionem. hoc est autem *fugere*: abstinere a peccatis, *ad similitudinem* et imaginem dei formam uirtutum adsumere, extendere uires nostras ad imitationem dei secundum mensuram nostrae possibilitatis. uir enim perfectus imago et gloria est dei. hoc est igitur *similem* esse dei: habere iustitiam, habere sapientiam et uirtute esse perfectum. deus enim sine peccato, et ideo qui peccatum fugit ad imaginem est dei.

This connection between *becoming like* God and *flight* from earthly things is found in Plato: cf. *Theaetetus*, 176a-b (Greek text in Commentary, 725-734):

Therefore it is necessary to *fly* from here to there as quickly as possible. But *to fly is to become like God* insofar as this can be done: and becoming like him is to become just and holy through insight.

The same ideas appear together in Plotinus, as Augustine tells us in *ciu. dei* IX,17 (p. 434.20):

Vbi est illud Plotini, ubi ait: *Fugiendum* est igitur ad carissimam patriam, et ibi pater, et ibi omnia. quae igitur, inquit, classis aut *fuga?* *similem deo fieri.*

This is a free rendering of two combined texts in Plotinus, *Enn.* I,2:3 (BRÉHIER I, p. 54.5: compare Ambrose, *De Isaac uel anima* 8:79, in *Commentary*, 697-698):

Λέγων δὴ ὁ Πλάτων τὴν ὁμοίωσιν τὴν πρὸς τὸν θεὸν φυγὴν τῶν ἐντεῦθεν εἶναι... Πῶς οὖν λέγομεν ταύτας καθάρσεις καὶ πῶς καθαρθέντες μάλιστα ὁμοιούμεθα ...,

and I,6:8 (Bréhier I, p. 104.6):

Ἰδόντα γὰρ δεῖ τὰ ἐν σώμασι καλὰ μήτοι προστρέχειν, ἀλλὰ γνόντα ὥς εἰσιν εἰκόνες καὶ ἔχνη καὶ σκιαί, φεύγειν πρὸς ἐκεῖνο οὐ ταύτα εἰκόνες Φεύγωμεν δὴ φίλην ἐς πατρίδα, ἀληθέστερον ἢ τις παρακελεύοιτο. Τίς οὖν ἡ φυγή; καὶ πῶς ἀναξόμεθα; ... πατρίς δὴ ἡμῖν, ὅθεν περ ἤλθομεν, καὶ πατήρ ἐκεῖ. Τίς οὖν ὁ στόλος καὶ ἡ φυγή; οὐ ποσὶ δεῖ διανύσαι· πανταχοῦ γὰρ φέρουσι πόδες ἐπὶ γῆν ἄλλην ἀπ' ἄλλης· οὐδέ σε δεῖ ἵππων ὄχημα ἢ τι θαλάττιον παρασκευάσαι, ἀλλὰ ταῦτα πάντα ἀφεῖναι δεῖ καὶ μὴ βλέπειν, ἀλλ' οἷον μύσαντα ὄψιν ἄλλην ἀλλάξασθαι καὶ ἀνεγεῖραι, ἣν ἔχει μὲν πᾶς, χρῶνται δὲ ὀλίγοι.

Hence Augustine is working within the framework of Platonic thought on Man who must *become like God*: on this theme in Plotinus, cf. Hubert MERKI, 'ΟΜΟΙΩΣΙΣ ΘΕΩ *von der platonischen Angleichung an Gott zur Gottähnlichkeit bei Gregor von Nyssa*, Paulus-Verlag, Fribourg, 1952 (Paradosis. Beiträge zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur und Theologie, VII), pp. 17-25. For Plotinus, Man far from God (= in sin) dwells in the "regio dissimilitudinis," whence he ascends to likeness with the One through *κάθαρσις* (cf. *Enn.* I,8:13, Bréhier I, p. 127.16; also McCool, *The Ambrosian Origin*, pp. 68-72; and Merki, *op. cit.*, p. 19). Augustine speaks often of the "regio dissimilitudinis" (cf. *conf.* VII,10:16, text in *Commentary*, 186-199; also *ciu. dei* IX,17, immediately following the passage cited above; and the passages noted by SOLIGNAC, *Les Confessions* II, pp. 689-693, where a bibliography on this theme

is also given; COURCELLE, *Recherches*, Appendice VII, pp. 404-440; and MAYER, *Die Zeichen* I, pp. 350-352).

But for Augustine this "*similis deo fieri*" is possible, not because of Plato's "insight," but because of *charity*. For the *imago* whereof Genesis speaks is the same as that spoken of by Paul in Rom. 8:29 (referred to above, p. 384); in other words, that *image* according to which we are to become like God is the Son of God, God's only true image: cf. *quant.* 28:55 (c. 1067: "Quod omnino fieri non potest, nisi ad eius reformemur imaginem, quam nobis ut pretiosissimum quiddam et carissimum custodiendam dedit..."). This, too, is an idea present in Ambrose: cf. *Exameron* VI,7:41 (CSEL 32,1/232.21: "*Imago dei est solus ille qui dixit: Ego et pater unum sumus* (Io. 10:30), ita *habens similitudinem patris*, ut diuinitatis et plenitudinis habeat unitatem ... et bene addidit *sumus* quia semper esse diuinum est, ut coaeternum credas quem putabas esse *dissimilem*") and *Expositio in euang. Luc.* X,49 (CSEL 32,4/474.10: "*Solus enim Christus est plena imago dei* (Col. 1:15) propter expressam in se paternae claritudinis unitatem (Col. 3:10); iustus autem homo *ad imaginem dei* est, si propter imitandam diuinae conuersationis *similitudinem* mundum hunc dei cognitione contemnat uoluptatesque terrenas uerbi perceptione despiciat quo alimur in uitam"). In Ambrose, too, Man's Creation "*ad imaginem dei*" is taken to mean a movement *toward God*. Since this is Augustine's understanding of "*ad similitudinem*" it can be inferred that he has a similar understanding regarding "*ad imaginem*": Man was created according to an image and likeness which was diminished by sin; now he must become like God, whose perfect image is the Son. (Cf. HOLTE, *Béatitude*, p. 217: "...influencé par le langage de l'Ecriture, Augustin tend, semble-t-il, à n'employer les termes *imago* et *similitudo* que pour désigner le Christ et l'homme." As an example of this, cf. *quaest.* 5:14, c. 33.) Man must therefore be in a movement *toward* ("*ad imaginem*") God's image: but Augustine has avoided this aspect here, probably because he had not yet worked out its implications. MARKUS seems correct in his observation ("*Imago*," p. 142) that Augustine's first considerations of the *imago/similitudo* theme were "characterised by a reluctance to call man God's image *tout court*... Yet, even later on, Augustine's language might fluctuate: he might, at times, allow himself to speak as if man's dereliction were total and the image of God wiped entirely from his soul. His fundamental intention, however, is clear and explicitly stated: man has never lost the image of God so entirely that there is nothing left in him to be reformed; the image is deformed and in need of re-formation,

not lost. Image and likeness are there at the beginning — both at man's primordial beginning in his paradisaal integrity, and at his own individual beginning disfigured by sin — and at the end. What changes is the degree of likeness between the image and the original." Markus' entire article should be read in this connection; cf. also LADNER, *St. Augustine's Conception*, pp. 873-876, and Mayer, *op. cit.*, pp. 271-284 and II, pp. 467-470; and J. HEIJKE, *St. Augustine's Comments on "Imago Dei" (An Anthology from all his Works exclusive of the De Trinitate)*, New York, 1960 (= Classical Folia, Supplement III).

(840) *tamquam*, var. *sicut* (= Vulg.).

(844) *adducere satagis*, var. *adducis*.

(846) *ex hoc ... societatis humanae*. Cf. the similar idea expressed in Ambrose, *De officiis ministrorum* I,50:252 (PL 16/100 A):

Et lex dicit: Diliges dominum deum tuum, diliges proximum tuum (cf. Deut. 6:5; Lev. 19:18). pulchrum est enim ut gratiam tuam atque officia in societatem humani generis conferas.

On the date of this work, cf. n. 432. HULTGREN (*Le commandement*, p. 257f.) sees in the entire section of *mor. I* on the *uita socialis* (lines 846-905) the influence of Cicero; but cf. his further remarks, *ibid.*, pp. 271-275, and HOLTE, *Béatitude*, p. 170, who points out the strong presence of Cicero's *De officiis* in the work of Ambrose with a similar title. Augustine could therefore display traces of Cicero in this regard without having read him directly. As a third possible source for this section of *mor. I*, Hultgren (*op. cit.*, p. 195) proposes that "nous nous trouvons devant l'intéressante hypothèse que l'intérêt accru pour la vie sociale que l'on note dans la seconde partie du *De moribus* doit être attribué à l'influence de Varron. Il nous faut seulement regretter que l'on dispose de si peu de matériaux pour établir une comparaison entre l'éthique sociale d'Augustin et celle de Varron."

(852) *et quanti ponderis*. On the "pondus auctoritatis" in Augustine, cf. LÜTCKE, *Auctoritas*, pp. 155-160.

(859) *quasi cunabula caritatis dei*. This expression forms part of Augustine's view of himself as "newborn in the Faith": cf. Commentary, 1053-1054. In *ord.* II,9:26 (text, n. 521) it is *auctoritas* which is a "cradle"; in *doct. christ.* II,40 (p. 44.22) Faith nourishes her "little ones" whom she places in the "cradle of temporal things"

("...fides uero in rerum temporalium quibusdam *cunabulis* quasi lacte alit paruulos..."), and this appears to have paved the way for *conf.* V,5:9 (p. 95.12) where charity is the mother who nourishes Man's infirmity which is "cradled in Faith" ("Sed etiam talis infirmitas in *fidei cunabulis* a caritate matre sustinetur...").

(862) *procedunt*, var. *cooperantur* (= Vulg.). Cf. Commentary, 226.

(864) *citius*, omitted in some mss.

(868) *instituto et benigno*. In many mss. there is the reading: *institutum et benignum* (or *benigne*).

(871-872) *ille fons omnium bonorum*. To *ille* some mss. add: *qui est*. On God as the source of good, cf. Commentary, 355-356.

(873) *temptabimus*. Most. mss. have the perfect tense, *temptauimus*.

(875-876) *homo igitur ... corpore*. Compare the definition in lines 94-95, which is linked to this one by lines 876-877 ("partim ergo corpori, partim uero animae hominis benefacit qui proximum diligit"). In *trin.* XV,7:11 (p. 474) both definitions are given together ("Homo est enim sicut ueteres definierunt *animal rationale, mortale*... quod si etiam sic definiamus hominem, ut dicamus, 'Homo est substantia rationalis, constans ex anima et corpore...'). The present definition is also found in *ord.* II,11:31 (p. 169.2: "illud nos mouere debet, quod ipse homo a ueteribus sapientibus ita definitus est: *homo est animal rationale mortale*") and in *quant.* 25:47 (c. 1062, where it is exactly the same as in *ord.*) and *epist.* 166,6:16 (p. 569.11). It comes originally from Plato's *Alcibiades* 130a, but probably reached Augustine *via* Plotinus: cf. *Enn.* VI,7:5 (BRÉHIER VI,2, p. 74.23): Καὶ εἶη ἂν ὁ Πλάτων τοῦτον ὀρισάμενος, προσθεὶς δὲ τὸ χρωμένην σώματι, ὅτι ἐποχεῖται τῇ ἥτις προσχρῆται πρῶτως σώματι, ἡ δὲ δευτέρως. Plotinus elaborates on this in *Enn.* I,1:3 (Bréhier I, p. 39.1), where he says that the body is the soul's *instrument*:

Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐν σώματι θετέον ψυχὴν, οὐσαν εἴτε πρὸ τούτου, εἴτ' ἐν τούτῳ, ἐξ οὗ καὶ αὐτῆς ζῶον τὸ σύμπαν ἐκλήθη. Χρωμένην μὲν οὖν σώματι οἷα ὀργάνῳ οὐκ ἀναγκάζεται δέξασθαι τὰ διὰ τοῦ σώματος παθήματα, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ τὰ τῶν ὀργάνων παθήματα οἱ τεχνῖται· αἰσθησιν δὲ τάχ' ἂν ἀναγκαίως, εἴπερ δεῖ χρῆσθαι τῷ ὀργάνῳ γινωσκούσῃ τὰ ἔξωθεν παθήματα ἐξ αἰσθήσεως· ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸ χρῆσθαι ὁμασίην ἐστὶν ὁρᾶν.

Plotinus goes on to say that the human soul employs the body to receive exterior sensations - but always as an *instrument*. Sight,

for example, is the soul making use of the bodily eyes. Being invisible, the soul cannot really be said to be *in* the body, which is visible (*Enn.* IV,3:20-21, Bréhier IV, pp. 87-89): it is more correct to say that body is *in* soul, which is as a pilot to his ship (*ibid.*, p. 88.5-89.21). Not being material, the soul cannot be said to "fill up" vacant spaces within the body, but should rather be regarded as that which makes Man to be Man (= rational), for which purpose it makes use of the body. That Plotinus is Augustine's source here is borne out by the appeal to a theory of sensation in *quant.* (23:41, c. 1058) to demonstrate how Man is an "anima utens corpore" and how *sensus* should be understood as that "quo anima per corpus utitur." Precisely the same ideas on sensation have appeared earlier in *mor. I* (lines 649-652):

Illecebrae autem corporis sitae sunt in his omnibus quae corporeus sensus attingit, quae a nonnullis etiam sensibilia nominantur: in quibus maxime lux ista uulgaris excellit, quia et *in ipsis sensibus nostris, quibus anima per corpus utitur*, nihil est oculis praeferendum...

Hence it is not the body which senses, but the soul senses through the body. The same thought is expressed in the contemporary *epist.* 9 *ad Nebridium* 3 (p. 20.25) and will still be present in 414 (cf. *Gen. ad litt.* XII,24, p. 416.25; also BOYER, *L'idée*, pp. 187-198; GILSON, *Introduction*, pp. 73-77; and NASH, *The Light of the Mind*, pp. 39-59). This theory fits in well with Augustine's intention here, which is to show that God alone can be enjoyed (*frui*) and that anything else, including the body, may be only used (*uti*): cf. lines 862-869 and n. 345.

The definition of Man as a soul *using* a body was common among Christian adepts of Neoplatonism: cf. Victorinus, *Aduersus Arium* I,44 (PL 8/1075 A: "*Homo est anima utens corpore uel corpus animatum*") and Ambrose, *De bono mortis* 6:25 (CSEL 32,1/726.7: "...auari anima subdita est luxuriae corporali, iusti autem *anima utitur corpore ut instrumento aut organo*..."). On this cf. GEIGER, *C. Marius Victorinus Afer*, pp. 98-102.

(878-880) *medicinam nunc ... salutem*. The double definition of health (for body *and* soul) follows on the definition of Man and is meant to lead up to the emphasis on "love of neighbour" as concerned with both these aspects. Doubtless Augustine is also asserting the basic goodness of the body against Manichaeism, which denied the use of medicine to its *electi*: cf. Commentary, 1237-1238; also CHAVANNES-PELLIOT, *Un traité* II, pp. 160 and 354f., and HENNING, *Ein manichäisches Bet- und Beichtbuch*, p. 33.

A further factor here is that the Manichaeans called their founder "Medicine"; in a Chinese document (Chavannes-Pelliot, *op. cit.* II, p. 131) he is "Roi suprême de la médecine" and (*ibid.*, p. 355) "médecine suprême." They often spoke of Jesus as the divine *medicus*: cf. WALDSCHMIDT-LENTZ, *Die Stellung*, pp. 37, 96, 118f. and 121; also HENNING, *Mitteliranische* II, pp. 313 and 317, and especially *Ein manichäisches Bet- und Beichtbuch*, p. 23 ("...Jesus, der Beleber ... und der Arzt für die, die durch die Krankheiten des Körpers bewusstlos werden. Er sah für die Blinden, hörte für die Tauben..."). How much influence this idea in Manichaeism had on Augustine's own thinking is difficult to say, because Christ as Good Physician was a common concept in Christian circles as well. Cf. Ambrose, *Expositio in euang. Luc.* VII,207 (CSEL 32,4/375.15: "...etiam aduersus errorem remedia tibi *bonus medicus* demonstraui..."). Augustine employs this idea when he says (*epist. fund.* 3, p. 195.5) that he had been saved from Manichaeism through the aid of "the all-merciful physician" ("...qui me ... clementissimo medico uocanti blandientique subieci"); and already in *sol.* I,15:25 (c. 882) he is speaking of the divine *pulchritudo* as a *medicus* who cures the ailing soul, while shortly after *mor.* I, in *uera rel.* (93 and 122, pp. 24.24 and 32.3), he compares the divine Providence to the *ars medicinae*. On this theme in Augustine cf. MAYER, *Die Zeichen* I, pp. 264-267; and Rudolph ARBESMANN, "The Concept of 'Christus medicus' in St. Augustine," in *Traditio. Studies in Ancient and Medieval History, Thought and Religion* 10 (New York, 1954), pp. 1-28.

(887) *humaniter*, var. *humiliter*.

(887-888) *misericordes ... dolore turbentur*. Cf. *retr.* I,6(7):4 (p. 31.10):

Item quod dixi de his, qui subueniunt indigentibus, quia *misericordes uocantur, etiam si sapientes usque adeo sint, ut iam nullo animi dolore turbentur*, non sic accipiendum est, tamquam definierim in hac uita esse tales sapientes; non enim dixi: cum sint, sed dixi: *etiam si sint*.

For *etiam si* there is a var., *et si*, but the reading as the Maurists give it is attested to twice in this passage from *retr.*

(889-890) *condolentis ... concedat*, var. for *condolentis: condolescentis*; for *concedat: contendat* or *credat*.

(905) *inferre*, var. *proferre*.

(906) *ipsi*, omitted in many mss.

(907) *ad*, var. *aliud* or *aliquid*.

(915) *docemus*, var. *dicemus* or *dicimus*.

(920) *si altius rerum originem repetas*. A reminiscence from Virgil: cf. *Georgicon* IV,285-286 ("...*altius* omnem expediam prima *repetens* ab *origine* pergam"); also *Aeneidos* I, 372 ("...*si* prima *repetens* ab *origine* pergam") and VII,371 ("...*si* prima domus *repetatur origo*").

(923-924) *duo distribuitur*, var. *duobus tribuitur*.

(924-938) *coercitio ... diligit deum*. The "opposition" between the Old and New Testaments was a traditional one: cf. Ambrose, *Expositio in euang. Luc.* IX,21 (CSEL 32,4/445.24: "Alii sunt enim terrores prophetici, aliae apostolicae suasiones: in utroque tamen unius uerbi est disciplina"). Though here Augustine is attempting to show that the God of both Testaments is one and the same ("In his duobus deus ipse, cuius bonitate atque clementia fit omnino ut aliquid simus, duobus testamentis uetere et nouo, *disciplinae* nobis regulam dedit"; cf. also lines 31-37), he was later to realise that to insist on the divine unity while drawing a line of fear/love neatly between the Testaments could not but weaken his argument. Hence he would adjust his ideas and say simply that God shows both love and anger, mercy and severity in each of the Testaments, and would attempt to diminish the confusion that arises when one insists too much on the aspect of fear in the Old and of love in the New: cf. *Adimant.* 7 (p. 128.9: "...qua concordia utriusque testamenti satis ostenditur, non esse saeuum deum, sed unumquemque in se saeuire peccando... in bonitate et in seueritate misericordiam et iustitiam dei testamentum utrumque praedicare") and 17 (p. 166.27):

Nam haec est breuissima et apertissima differentia duorum testamentorum, timor et amor ... potest ergo esse dilectio in uindicante. quod unusquisque in filio suo probat, cum eum in mores pessimos defluentem seuerissima coercitione constringit et tanto magis, quanto magis eum diligit ... conpescant potius temeritatem suam et non decipiant inperitos, quibus aut non uacant legere aut nolunt legere aut peruerso animo legunt et non intendunt et misericordiam et seueritatem dei utriusque testamenti litteris commendari.

But an insistence on the "dichotomy" between the two is not in any case Augustine's main intent here, which is rather to show that there are various steps in the process whereby one comes to love (or "ascends to") God (cf. lines 725-734). In other words, virtue has degrees (line 936: "Agit ergo his gradibus, quod ad animam pertinet"). This is to offset the Stoic contention that all virtue (and

therefore all vice) is equal, because the reason does not, any more than does a straight line, admit to degrees of differentiation; one merely acts directly in accordance with or directly against one's reason, but never to a more or less degree. To which Augustine would later reply (*epist.* 103,3, pp. 587-590; 104,4:13 and 17, pp. 591f. and 594f.; and 167,1:3-6:20, pp. 589-608; also *Contra mendacium* 15:31, CSEL 41/511f.) that without different degrees of virtue there could not be different degrees of culpability, and all, no matter how small or how great their crimes, would be equally guilty. Cf. NAVILLE, *Saint Augustin*, p. 105, and VERBEKE, *Saint Augustin et le stoïcisme*, p. 72.

Realising from personal experience that one does not convert from a state of not loving God to one of loving him in one complete and full act, Augustine posits the couplets, *coercitio/instructio*, *timor/amor*. The first two terms are of legal origin, *coercitio* having originally referred to the State's power of sanction, hence to the authority of the courts to enforce laws and punish violators. By Augustine's time the word had come to mean, in Christian literature, both the Church's right to force apostates to recant and (in the case of recalcitrants) her right to appeal to the State's power of *coercitio*: cf. TLL 3, cc. 1437-1439; also Ernst Ludwig GRASMÜCK, *Coercitio. Staat und Kirche im Donatistenstreit*, Röhrscheid, Bonn, 1964 (Bonner Historische Forschungen, 22), pp. 10-16. Augustine himself was later to argue that it is justifiable to use force on heretics (specifically, the Donatists) in order to bring them to change their minds: cf. *epist.* 185 (pp. 1-44); also MANDOUZE, *Saint Augustin*, pp. 366-390, and BROWN, *Religion*, pp. 260-278 ("St. Augustine's Attitude to Religious Coercion") and 301-331 ("Religious Coercion in the Later Roman Empire: the Case of North Africa"). It is not, then, so much a question of *contrasts* as of *complements*: *coercitio* is not in itself enough to bring one to love God, for *instructio* is also needed, that one may know who it is that he is supposed to love. Similarly, *fear* in itself is insufficient; the only valid purpose it has is to turn us toward God (in his works one often finds the citation of Ps. 110:10 and/or Proverbs 9:10: "Initium sapientiae timor domini"): one fears God that one may learn to love him (lines 937-938: "ut primo timeat, deinde diligat deum"), hence it can be said that whoever fears God has already begun to love him, provided, of course, he does not remain indefinitely at that level. For whoever acts only out of fear of punishment is no lover of virtue (lines 1064-1079; also Commentary, 458-459). That to present a *complement* and not a *contrast* is the intention here can be more clearly seen when we turn to a similar passage in *uera rel.* (122, p. 32.3):

...ipsa quoque *animae medicina*, quae diuina prouidentia et ineffabili beneficentia geritur, gradatim distincteque pulcherrima est. tribuitur enim in auctoritatem atque rationem. auctoritas fidem flagitat et rationi praeparat hominem. ratio ad intellectum cognitionemque perducit.

For a further discussion on the fear/love couplet in Augustine, cf. MAUSBACH, *Die Ethik* I, pp. 184-190 ("Die Furcht Gottes und ihr Verhältnis zur Liebe"), and HULTGREN, *Le commandement*, pp. 83-86.

(940) *conuenit*, var. *aduenit*.

(944) *merae*, var. *mirae*.

(945) *quam importunissime*, var. *quamquam oportunissime*.

(946) *prolata negent, ubi scriptum est*, var. *prolata negent, ibi esse scriptum* or *prolata. negent ibi esse scriptum*.

(950-951) *containeri negent*, var. *containeri. negent*.

(957) *laccessere*, var. *latescere* or *lacerare*.

(978) *omnes*, omitted in some mss., which would bring the verse into conformity with Vulg.

(980) *scriptum*, var. *Christum*, which is the less probable reading in the present context, although it cannot be completely discounted, because the Manichaeans maintained that the Christ of Christians was false: cf. above, p. 45.

(982-984) *simulacrorum cultores ... dicere*. If by "simulacrorum cultores" Augustine means those pagan philosophers who wrote against Christianity, his claim is not quite true. Porphyry appears to have made the charge in *Κατὰ Χριστιανῶν* that the New Testament had been tampered with by followers of Jesus (cf. DE LABRIOLLE, *La réaction païenne*, pp. 251-255, and MADEC, *Saint Ambroise*, p. 333; also T.W. CRATER, "The Work of Porphyry Against the Christians, and Its Reconstruction," in JTS 15 [1914], pp. 360-395 and 481-512, and A.B. HULEN, *Porphyry's Work Against the Christians*, Scottdale, 1933). However, in fairness to Augustine it must be said that he does not seem ever to have read the work (cf. COURCELLE, *Les lettres grecques*, p. 175, n. 8). As to others who "hated the name of Christ" but refrained from making this accusation, cf. De Labriolle, *op. cit.*, p. 128.

(985) *mandati*, var. *nacti* - the more probable reading, judging by the context.

(990) *rationem*, var. *rationem*.

(994) *quaeue*. Most. mss. have *quae uere*.

(995) *auctoritatis exaggeratione cogis in fidem*. This is one of the most difficult phrases to decipher in *mor. I*, as the multiplicity of var. attests :

1. "auctoritatis exaggeratione cogis in finem"
2. "auctoritatis exaggerare rationem cogis in finem"
3. "auctoritatis exaggerare ratione cogis in finem"
4. "auctoritatis ratione cogis exigere in fidem."

The Maurist reading is their own conjecture, based on var. (1) and (4). Disagreeing with the Maurists, HOHENSEE (*The Augustinian Concept*, p. 38) instead proposes "auctoritatis exaggerare rationem cogis infidum," basing himself therefore on var. (2). His argument for deriving *infidum* from *in finem* is that there is then a parallel to *inuito* (in the same line). Certainly it can be agreed with him that *finem* must be rejected, since the whole context is one of Faith, *fides* (cf. the references to *credere* in line 992, and to *dubitare* in lines 993, 997 and 998). On the other hand, Hohensee's *infidum*, although it appears as a synonym for *incredulus* (as he points out) in Acad. II,9:22 (p. 39.15: "Sed propter memoriam, quae infida custos est excogitatorum"), *b. uita* 5:26 (p. 109.16: "Quo metu frangebatur illudque uulgare satis adserebat infidum hominem malo suo esse cor-datum") and *doct. christ.* I,35 (p. 17.16: "...ubi de fructu suae conuer-sionis infidus est"), results in a very awkward grammatical arrange-ment and leaves the preceding *et* without anything to explain its presence. The same may be said of the mss. readings, and until a more plausible variant or conjecture presents itself, we ought to agree with LÜTCKE (*Auctoritas*, p. 164, n. 820) that "Mignes [= the Maurists'] Konjektur ist sicher am sinnvollsten. Dass aus *exag-geratione exaggerare rationem* wird, ist leicht durch Hörfehler zu erklären." Lütcke then points out the parallel in Tertullian's *Aduersus Marcionem* (IV,9, CSEL 47/444.1: "Sed adicit (Iesus) etiam auc-toritatem suam exaggeratam testimonii pondere").

(1021-1022) *ecclesia ... uerissima*. It is possible that Augustine acquired the idea of "ecclesia mater" from Ambrose: cf. *Expos. in euang. Luc.* II,86 (CSEL 32,4/91.7: "Mater ergo uiuentium (cf. Gen. 3:20) ecclesia est, quam aedificauit deus ipso summo angulari lapide Christo Iesu...") and *De uirginibus* I,6:31 (PL 16/197 C: "Sic sancta ecclesia immaculata coitu, fecunda partu, uirgo est castitate, mater est prole"). The concept was popular in North Africa, as we find it

frequently in Tertullian: *Ad martyras* 1:1 (CSEL 76/1.3: "...quae uobis et domina *mater ecclesia* de uberibus suis et singuli fratres ... subministrant"), *De monogamia* 7:9 (CSEL 76/58.64: "Uiuuit enim unicus pater noster deus et *mater ecclesia*..."), and *De oratione* 2:6 (CCL 1/258.14: "Ne *mater* quidem *ecclesia* praeteritur..."). Cyprian, too, makes reference to it: cf. *De catholicae ecclesiae unitate* 6 (CSEL 3,1/214.23: "Habere non potest deum patrem qui *ecclesiam* non habet *matrem*") and *Epistula* 74,7 (CSEL 3,2/804.23: "...ut habere quis possit deum patrem, habeat ante *ecclesiam matrem*"). On this theme in North Africa and elsewhere, cf. Joseph Conrad PLUMPE, *Mater Ecclesia. An Inquiry Into the Concept of the Church as Mother in Early Christianity*, Catholic University of America Press, Washington, 1943 (The Catholic University of America Studies in Christian Antiquity, 5).

Assuming that *quant.* was already completed at Rome (cf. above, pp. 75 and 93), we would have to conclude that North Africa is not Augustine's direct source for the concept here, for in that work it already makes its appearance (33:76, c. 1077: "Tunc agnoscemus quam uera nobis credenda imperata sint, quamque optime ac saluberrime apud *matrem ecclesiam* nutriti fuerimus..."). Perhaps, then, Rome (if not Milan: cf. the citations from Ambrose, above) is the location of Augustine's acquaintance with this theme, even though the first instance we have of the theme of *mater ecclesia* there is in the *Epigrammata* of Pope Damasus (cf. Plumpe, *op. cit.*, p. 128f.), who died in 384; this indicates that the theme was not yet very popular there.

For further studies on the *mater ecclesia* concept in Augustine (he uses it often in other works, e.g. in *conf.* VI,3:4, text in Commentary, 838-839), cf. HOFMANN, *Der Kirchenbegriff*, pp. 264-267; Paola RIVETTI, "Sant'Agostino e l' 'Ecclesia Mater'," in AM II, pp. 827-834; and Rafael PALMERO RAMOS, "*Ecclesia Mater*" en San Agustín. *Teología de la imagen en los escritos antidonatistas*, Ediciones Cristianidad, Madrid, 1970, especially pp. 131-168.

(1023) *castissime*, var. *cautissime*.

(1023-1024) *nullam nobis ... inducens*. A parallel of *quant.* 34:77 (c. 1077: "Ideoque diuine ac singulariter in *ecclesia catholica* traditur, *nullam creaturam colendam esse animae ... sed ipsum tantummodo rerum, quae sunt, omnium creatorem, ex quo omnia, per quem omnia, in quo omnia* [Rom. 11:36]...").

(1026) *excludens*, var. *credens*.

(1034-1045) *tu feminas ... facis*. Although Col. 3:18-4:1 contains

similar language, Eph. 5:22-6:9 with its extra detail seems to be the passage on which this resumé is based:

Epistula Pauli ad Ephesios (Vulg.) *mor. I*

Mulieres uiris suis subditae sint...

Tu *feminas uiris suis*, non ad explendam libidinem, sed ad propagandam prolem, et ad rei familiaris societatem, casta et fidei obedientia *subicis*.

uiri, diligite uxores uestras, sicut et Christus dilexit ecclesiam ... ita et *uiri debent diligere uxores* suas ut corpora sua. qui suam *uxorem diligit* se ipsum diligit...

tu *uiros coniugibus*, non ad illudendum imbecilliores sexum, sed sinceri *amoris* legibus praeficis.

filii, obedite parentibus uestris in domino...

tu *parentibus filios* libera quadam seruitute *subiungis*, *parentes filiis pia dominatione* praeponis...

et uos *patres* nolite ad iracundiam prouocare *filios* uestros, sed *educate* illos *in disciplina et correptione domini*.

serui, obedite *dominis* carnalibus cum timore et tremore ... non ad oculum seruientes, quasi hominibus placentes, sed ut serui Christi, facientes uoluntatem dei ex animo, cum bona uoluntate seruientes, sicut domino et non hominibus, scientes quoniam unusquisque quodcumque fecerit bonum hoc recipiet a domino ...

tu *dominis seruos*, non tam conditionis necessitate quam officii delectatione doces adhaerere.

et uos, *domini*, eadem facite illis remittentes minas, scientes quia et illorum et uester *dominus* est in caelis, et personarum acceptio non est apud eum.

tu *dominos* seruis, summi dei communis *domini* consideratione placabiles, et ad consulendum quam coerendum propensiores facis.

Augustine refers to the same Pauline passage in *Faust.* V,9 (p. 282.3):

Neque enim illi soli, qui ut sint perfecti uendunt uel dimittunt omnia sua et sequuntur dominum (cf. Matt. 19:21), pertinent ad regnum caelorum, sed huic militiae christianae propter quoddam quasi commercium caritatis subiungitur etiam quaedam stipendiaria multitudo, cui dicitur in fine: *esuriui et dedistis mihi manducare* et cetera (Matt. 25:35). alioquin damnandi erunt illi, quorum domos tam diligenti et sollicita cura componit, apostolus monens *mulieres subditas esse uiris suis, uiros diligere uxores suas; filios obtemperare parentibus, parentes filios nutrire in disciplina et*

correptione domini; seruos oboedire cum metu dominis carnalibus, dominos quod iustum est et aequum seruis praestare.

As in *mor. I*, the use of this passage in *Faust.* has a dual purpose: to give praise to the Church and to combat the Manichaean ascetical principles, according to which the only way of attaining salvation was to renounce everything having to do with "matter" (cf. above, pp. 194-196). Augustine goes into this again in lines 1184-1356 (compare also the passages from *Faust.* in the Commentary on these lines).

In *mor. I* for the first time Augustine speaks of the ends of marriage, and a comparison with later works shows that his thinking on this remains consistent: in 400 (*bon. con.* 3:3, p. 190.10) and again later in 410 (*nupt. I*, 4:5, p. 215f.) the ends of marriage are *prolis* and *societas*. His emphasis on these has to be understood in the light of his conviction that he personally had to lead a celibate life, and of the Manichaean rejection of both the marriage act and of the conception of offspring (cf. n. 187 and Commentary, 1345-1346).

For a brief treatment of Augustine's views on marriage, cf. ROLAND-GOSSELIN, *La morale*, pp. 151-161, and MAUSBACH, *Die Ethik I*, pp. 314-326.

(1050) *cohortatio*, var. *co(h)ercitio* or *co(h)ertio*.

(1053-1059) *iam uero ... consumens*. Some mss. omit *haec* (line 1053) and others substitute *iam* for it, and in still others we find the var. *delectatio* for *dilectio* (line 1053). But *retr.* confirms the reading of the Maurists in these two instances. Other var. are: *factus idoneus* for *factum idoneum* (lines 1054-1055); *quanto* or *quantum* for *quanta* (1055) and *exutis* for *exustis* (1057). Both *quanta* and *exustis* are also confirmed by *retr.* which in the Maurist edition (I,6(7):5, PL 32/593) gives the text of *mor. I* (with the exception of the inversion of "purgato atque sanctificato," line 1058). But Knöll's rendering (CSEL 36/31.16) has a number of differences:

Alio loco, ubi dixi: *Iam uero, cum haec humana dilectio inhaerentem uberibus suis nutrierit et roborauerit animum, sequendo deo factus est idoneus; ubi enim maiestas ex tanta parte, quanta animi, dum terrae huius inhabitator est, sufficit, aperire se coeperit, tantus caritatis ardor innascitur et tantum diuini amoris consurgit incendium, ut exustis omnibus uitiis in homine sanctificato atque purgato satis appareat, quam diuine dictum sit: ego sum ignis consumens*, possunt putare Pelagiani istam perfectionem in hac mortali uita me dixisse posse contingere. sed hoc non putent. ardor quippe caritatis sequendo deo factus idoneus et tam magnus, ut uitia cuncta con-

sumat, in hac uita nasci et crescere potest, perficere uero, propter quod nascitur, ut nullum insit homini uitium, non consequenter hic potest, quamuis tanta ista res eodem ardore caritatis perficiatur, ubi perfici et quando perfici potest, ut, quemadmodum lauacrum regenerationis (cf. Tit. 3:5) purgat a reatu omnium peccatorum, quae humana traxit natiuitas et contraxit iniquitas, ita illa perfectio urget ab omnium labe uitiorum, sine quibus esse non potest humana in hoc saeculo infirmitas. sicut accipiendum est etiam quod dixit apostolus: Christus dilexit ecclesiam et semet ipsum tradidit pro ea, mundans eam lauacro aquae in uerbo, ut exhiberet sibi gloriosam ecclesiam non habentem maculam aut rugam aut aliquid eius modi (Eph. 5:25, 27). hic est enim lauacrum aquae in uerbo, quo mundatur ecclesia. sed cum tota dicat, quamdiu hic est: dimitte nobis debita nostra (Matt. 6:12), non utique hic est "sine macula aut ruga aut aliquid huius modi," ex eo tamen, quod hic accipit, ad illam gloriam, quae hic non est, perfectionemque perducitur

The changes Knöll introduces into the Maurist text are therefore: *suis* for *tuis* (line 1054), *nutrierit* for *nutriuerit* (1054), *factus est idoneus* for *factum idoneum* (1054-1055), *animi* for *homini* (1055), and *in homine sanctificato atque purgato* for *et homine purgato atque sanctificato* (1058). With the single exception of the var. *factus* (without *est*) *idoneus*, none of these changes is supported by the mss. of *mor. I*. Supposing that Knöll did not choose badly from among his mss. of *retr.* (his edition has received mixed reviews: cf. BARDY, *Les Révisions*, p. 254), Augustine would therefore have to have corrected his text as he copied into the latter work. This hardly seems likely: he was worried about a Pelagian misinterpretation of what he had written in *mor. I*, and would therefore have been careful to give the text in the form in which it had been circulating for the previous 35 years. Of course, it is always possible that Augustine's library maintained a copy with corrections; but such corrections would have had to extend to other parts of *mor. I*, because the reading as Knöll gives it does not fit the context. His *suis* contrasts with the second-person form of address to the Church begun at line 1021 and continuing to line 1075; *factum idoneum* is a smoother grammatical arrangement than is *factus est idoneus*, since it agrees directly with *animum*; *nutrierit* does not agree in tense with the accompanying *roborauerit*; and the substitution of *animi* for *homini*, besides having no justification in *mor. I*'s mss., changes the cases so that the dative *homini*, which in the Maurist edition serves as indirect object to *sufficit* (line 1056), now becomes the genitive

animi so that it modifies *parte* (1055): but then we have to ask, Is it only the *animus*, or Man (*homo*) as such, who is the "terrae huius inhabitator" (1055)? Knöll's version of these lines has therefore less to recommend it than does the Maurist edition.

The closing words of this passage are ascribed by Augustine to Scripture, without any further precision (lines 1058-1059: "satis appareat quam *diuine dictum sit: Ego sum ignis consumens*"). He seems to be quoting from memory, possibly basing himself on one or more of the following:

1. Deut. 4:24: "Dominus deus tuus *ignis consumens* est."
2. Deut. 9:3: "Scies ergo hodie quod dominus deus tuus ipse transibit ante te *ignis deuorans et consumens*."
3. Heb. 12:29: "Deus noster *ignis consumens* est."

The Maurists give only the first of these as a reference. Since Hebrews only repeats Deut. 4:24, and since it was probably unknown to Augustine at this time (cf. n. 719), it can be discounted as a source here.

(1053-1054) *cum ... roborauerit animum*. The image of the Church as a mother (*mater ecclesia*: cf. Commentary, 1021-1022) who offers her lap to her faithful children (line 1066; cf. 580), nourishing and strengthening them with her breasts (already in lines 324-325), is a development over *Acad.* I,1:3 (p. 5:19; cf. also *b. uita* 1:4, p. 92.4), where it is *philosophy* in whose lap Augustine has taken refuge and at whose breasts he is nourished. This image revolves around the idea that "conversion consists in becoming a child again" (O'CONNELL, *St. Augustine's Early Theory*, p. 82) and is here expressed in an echo of Ps. 72:28 ("inhaerentem"): cf. also *conf.* XIII,22:32 (p. 370.9), with its echo of I Thess. 2:7. Augustine retains the image of the Church who "suckles her infants" throughout his life: cf. *Faust.* XV,3 (p. 420.16: "...appello in te paruulos tuos, fratres, filios, dominos meos, quos uel tamquam oua sollicitis *alis foues uel tamquam infantes lacte nutris*, sine corruptione *fecunda uirgo mater*") and *Tractatus in epistulam Iohannis ad Parthos* III,1, where the Church's breasts are identified as the Old and New Testaments (PL 35/1998: "Est autem *mater ecclesia*; et *ubera* eius duo testamenta scripturarum diuinarum"). The same idea can be found in Ambrose's *De obitu Valentiniani* 75 (CSEL 73/364.2).

(1063) *uictoriam*, var. *uictoria* (= Vulg.).

(1069) *qua grauius*, var. for *qua*: *quam*; for *grauius*: *graue* or *grauiter*.

(1074) *flagrantes*, var. *fragrantes*.

(1082) *ne uos ... imperitorum*. Cf. the similar language at the beginning of *mor. I* and in *retr. I*,6(7):1 (texts in Commentary, 2-5).

(1085) *continentiae*, var. *continentium*.

(1089) *qui ... certa*, var. for *qui*: *quod*; for *certa*: *digesta*.

(1090-1091) *perfruentes ... mentibus inhaeserunt*. In *Enn. VI*,9:3 (BRÉHIER VI,2, p. 175.26) Plotinus says that the *voûς* contemplates the One by that in itself which is no longer simply *voûς* but *voûς καθ'αυτός* (cf. also *Enn. V*,3:6, Bréhier V, p. 57.39; also ARNOU, *Le désir*, p. 220f.). Augustine picks up this idea (already a favorite with the Alexandrians: Arnou, *ibid.*, p. 219, n. 8) and adapts it to his Christianity: to "see" God, we must be pure of heart, as the Lord says (in Matt. 5:8): cf. *serm. dom. I*,4 (p. 11.239) and *Ioh. euang. LIII*,12 (p. 458).

The idea of *enjoying* God is often linked by Augustine with *adhering* to him (Ps. 72:28): cf. *lib. arb. III*,203 (p. 138.28: "Sed ad contemplandam ueritatis aeternitatem, ut ea *perfrui eique inhaerere* ualeamus, infirmitati nostrae uia de temporalibus procurata est") - a passage which shows that enjoying God is also not far removed from the notion of contemplation, which Augustine here refers to twice (lines 1078 and 1092). Cf. also *lib. arb. II*,141 (p. 72.19: "Immo uero quoniam in ueritate cognoscitur et tenetur summum bonum eaque ueritas sapientia est, cernemus in ea teneamusque summum bonum eoque *perfruamur*") and *conf. XII*,12:15 (p. 319.9: "...ut sine ullo defectu *contemplationis ... tua aeternitate perfruatur*").

(1091-1092) *et eius ... beatissimi*. With many another Christian author (cf. Gregorio PENCO, "La vita monastica come 'filosofia' nell'antica tradizione monastica," in SM 2 [1960], pp. 79-93), Augustine here envisions the monk as the "ideal philosopher," who literally removes himself from all earthly distraction in order to more perfectly contemplate the Divine. This is a development over the first association of "philosophia" with "philocalia" in *Acad. II*,3:7 (p. 28.1):

Philocalia ista uulgo dicitur, ne contemnas nomen hoc ex uulgi nomine. nam *philocalia* et *philosophia* prope similiter cognominatae sunt et quasi gentiles inter se uideri uolunt et sunt. quid est enim *philosophia*? *amor sapientiae*. quid *philocalia*? *amor pulchritudinis*.

In *Acad.* he continues his discussion of the relationship between the two in terms that echo *mor. I*'s lines 726-728: since for him Beauty and Wisdom are names for God, the contemplation of Beauty naturally goes hand in hand with love of Wisdom. For the love of Wisdom

frees the soul that it may fly out of the "dark cave" and concentrate all its energies on that contemplation:

Quid ergo *sapientia*? *nonne ipsa uera est pulchritudo*? germanae igitur istae prorsus et eodem parente procreatae; sed illa uisco libidinis detracta caelo suo et inclusa cauea populari uiciniam tamen nominis tenuit ad commonendum aucupem, ne illam contemnat. hanc igitur sine *pennis* sordidatam et egentem *uolitans libera* soror agnoscit sed raro *liberat*; non enim *philocalia* ista unde genus ducat, agnoscit nisi *philosophia*...

After *Acad.* the notion of *philocalia* next appears in *sol.* (I,7:14, c. 876), where "love of Beauty" is identified with love ("Caritati uero non solum nihil detrahetur, sed addetur etiam plurimum. nam et illam singularem ueramque pulchritudinem cum uiderit, plus amabit..."); cf. also *sol.* I,13:22 (c. 881), 14:25 (c. 882), *ord.* II,14:39 (p. 174.21) and 19:51 (p. 182.25), and *inmort.* 16:25 (c. 1034); also *quant.* 34:78-36:80 (c. 1079), where he describes seven grades of ascent through which Man must pass to reach the divine Beauty.

After *mor. I* Augustine continues speaking of the contemplation of this Beauty, but as time passes his ideas about it become increasingly less philosophical: cf. *uera rel.* 9-10 (p. 5.6) and 175 (p. 45.10); also *ench.* 1:5 (p. 50.48), and especially the famous "Sero te amaui, pulchritudo tam antiqua et tam noua" of *conf.* X,27:38 (p. 255.11). Finally, in *retr.* he returns to the *Acad.* passage in order to reject his assertion there that *philocalia* and *philosophia* automatically go together (I,1:7, p. 14.14):

In secundo autem libro prosus inepta est et insulsa, illa quasi fabula de *philocalia* et *philosophia*, quod sunt *germanae et eodem parente procreatae*. aut enim *philocalia* quae dicitur non nisi in nugis est et ob hoc *philosophiae* nulla ratione germana aut, si propterea est hoc nomen honorandum, quia latine interpretatum amorem pulchritudinis significat et est uera ac summa sapientiae pulchritudo, eadem ipsa est in rebus incorporalibus atque summis *philocalia*, quae *philosophia*, neque ullo modo sunt quasi sorores duae.

In the following chapter of *retr.* (I,2:2, p. 18.11, referring to *b. uita* 2:14) he would also reject another concept implied in *mor. I*, namely that a *direct* or *immediate* vision of God, bringing with it the *beata uita*, is possible in this life:

Displicet ... et quod tempore uitae huius in solo animo sapientis dixi habitare beatam uitam, quomodolibet se habeat corpus eius, cum perfectam cognitionem dei, hoc est, qua homini maior esse non

possit, in futura uita speret apostolus (cf. I Cor. 13:12), quae sola beata uita dicenda est...

Cf. also I,6(7):5 (text in Commentary, 1053-1059) where a further idea — that complete perfection is possible in the present life — is also rejected (HOLTE, *Béatitude*, pp. 270f. and 372, sees the beginnings of a change in this regard with *uera rel.*). Nevertheless, he would go on calling the monastic life the "foretaste of heaven" (cf. *ciu. dei* XIX,13, p. 395.13: "...pax caelestis ciuitatis ordinatissima et concordissima societas fruendi deo et inuicem in deo"). On this cf. HARNACK, *Lehrbuch*, pp. 134-139, and ZUMKELLER, *Das Mönchtum*, pp. 162-164.

On the distinction between mediate and immediate vision of God in Augustine's thinking, cf. ARNOU, *Platonisme*, c. 2387; LE BLOND, *Les conversions*, p. 158; NAVILLE, *Saint Augustin*, p. 57; and MARÉCHAL, *La vision*, pp. 191-198. Augustine takes his ideas on contemplation of the One / Beauty from Plotinus (*Enn.* VI,7:33, BRÉHIER VI,2, p. 106f.) who in turn takes it from Plato: cf. the *Banquet* (210e), in which Plato speaks of the Beauty one perceives during *ἔκστασις*. On *ἔκστασις* in Plotinus, cf. ARNOU, *Le désir*, p. 263, n. 2 and pp. 272-275; on contemplation in Plotinus and Augustine, cf. *ibid.*, p. 255f.; GERCKEN, *Inhalt*, p. 68; EBOROWICZ, *Le sens*; LOESCHE, *De Augustino plotinizante*, pp. 43-52; and E.J. TINSLEY, "Mysticism - Neoplatonic and Christian," in *The Hibbert Journal. A Quarterly Review of Religion, Theology and Philosophy* 53 (London, 1954), pp. 43-50. On the place of contemplation in Augustine's later views on religious life, cf. MANRIQUE, *La vida*, pp. 361-371, and BOYER, *L'idée*, pp. 229-233.

(1105-1116) *in communem ... opus est*. As SANCHIS (*Pauvreté monastique*, pp. 11 and 23-30) and VERHEIJEN (*La Règle* II, p. 110) point out, we are dealing here with an implicit reference to Acts 4:32-35. This is denied by GAVIGAN (*De vita monastica*, p. 33) and HENDRIKX (*Augustinus als monnik*, p. 350, n. 28), neither of whom gives any reasons. The parallels, however, seem to be quite clear :

mor. I

In communem uitam castissimam sanctissimamque congregati, simul aetatem agunt, uiuentes in orationibus, in lectionibus, in disputationibus; nulla superbia tumidi, nulla peruicacia turbulenti, nulla inuiden-

Actus Apostolorum (= Vulg.)

Multitudinis autem credentium erat cor unum et anima una,

tia liuidi: sed modesti, uerecundi, pacati, *concordissimam uitam* et intentissimam in deum, gratissimum munus ipsi offerunt, a quo ista posse meruerunt? *nemo quidquam possidet proprium,*

nemo cuiquam onerosus est. operantur manibus ea quibus et corpus pasci possit, et a deo mens impediri non possit. opus autem suum tradunt eis quos 'decanos' uocant, eo quod sint denis praepositi, *ut neminem illorum cura sui corporis tangat,* neque in cibo, neque in uestimento, *neque si quid aliud opus est.*

nec quisquam eorum quae possidebat aliquid suum esse dicebat sed erant illis omnia communia. et uirtute magna reddebant apostoli testimonium resurrectionis Iesu Christi domini et gratia magna erat in omnibus illis. *neque enim quisquam egens erat inter illos.* quotquot enim possessores agrorum aut domorum erant uendentes adferebant pretia eorum, quae uendebant et ponebant ante pedes apostolorum. *diuidebatur autem singulis prout cuique opus erat.*

We can even perceive a parallel between the early Christians, who lay the profits from the sale of lands and houses at the Apostles' feet, and the monks, who turn the product of their labours over to the 'decani'. However, to point to Acts 4:32-35 as the source here is to raise some problems. As Sanchis admits (*op. cit.*, pp. 11-22), it is not until 393 that Augustine clearly refers to the same passage (in *enarr.* 4,10, p. 19.7; cf. also *enarr.* 94,7, p. 1336.33), and not until about 400 does he employ it in a "monastic" context (in *cat. rud.* 23:42, p. 167.43). Sanchis (*op. cit.*, p. 23) recognises the dilemma in this long period of silence after *mor. I*, and is thus tempted to propose a later date for *mor. I*'s definitive publication: "Une solution facile consisterait à retarder l'achèvement complet de l'ouvrage jusqu'aux entours de 400, réservant pour un des derniers ajouts le paragraphe sur les moines d'Egypte. Strictement, rien ne s'y opposerait." But — as Sanchis goes on to admit — this is a rather extreme solution for what is not, after all, a very great problem. The allusion in *mor. I* could be based, not on a direct reading of Acts, but on a secondary source (say, a homily) which would then explain why the reference is so vague and why such a long period of time was to ensue before Augustine's first clear reference. Sanchis himself proposes (*op. cit.*, p. 8) that Pontitianus might have referred to it in the course of his recital (cf. above, pp. 113f.), perhaps when speaking of the conversion of Saint Antony to the eremetical life. Sanchis' arguments have support in the fact that Augustine refers to Antony's conversion as something he had only *heard* about, not read (cf. *conf.* VIII,12:29, p. 194.20: "*Audieram*

enim de Antonio, quod ex euangelica lectione, cui forte superuenerat, admonitus fuerit, tamquam sibi diceretur quod legebatur: Uade, uende omnia quae habes, da pauperibus et habebis thesaurum in caelis; et ueni, sequere me (Matt. 19:21), et tali oraculo confestim ad te conuersum"); moreover, Athanasius' *Uita s. Antonii* (2, PG 26/841f., PL 73/127) refers to Acts 4:32-35 in the same context (Evagrius' translation):

Post mortem autem parentum, annorum circiter decem et octo seu uiginti ... ad ecclesiam, ut solebat, occurrens, recordabatur quomodo et apostoli, omnibus spretis, secuti fuissent saluatorem: *et multi, ut legitur in Actibus apostolorum, facultatibus suis uenditis, pretia ad pedes eorum detulissent egentibus partienda*, quaeue aut quanta spes iisdem reposita esset in caelis. talia secum uolens, intrauit ecclesiam, et accidit ut tunc euangelium legeretur, in quo dominus dicit ad diuitem: Si uis perfectus esse, uade et uende omnia tua quaecumque habes et ueni, sequere me, et habebis thesaurum in caelo.

Verheijen offers a further reason for taking the passage in *mor. I* as an (at least indirect) allusion to Acts in his observation (*loc. cit.*) that when Augustine in later writings makes the same reference, especially when speaking about "religious life," his habit is to include the phrase *in deum*, which we also find here (lines 1109-1110): cf. *Faust.* V,9 (p. 281.8: "Quam multae fraternae congregationes *nihil habentes proprium, sed omnia communia*, et haec nonnisi ad uictum et tegumentum necessaria. *unam animam et cor unum in deum* caritatis igne conflantes!"); also *op. mon.* 16:17 (p. 559.3: "...etiam sanctis qui *omnia sua uendita distribuerant et Hierosolymis habitabant in sancta communione uitae, non dicentes aliquid proprium, quibus erant omnia communia, et anima una et cor unum in deum...*") and the *Regula ad seruos dei* (in Verheijen, *op. cit.* I, p. 417f.: cf. Commentary, 1187-1188):

Haec sunt quae ... praecipimus. primum, propter quod in unum estis congregati, ut *uni animes* habitetis in domo et sit uobis *anima una et cor unum in deum*. et non dicatis aliquid proprium, sed sint uobis *omnia communia et distribuatur unicuique* uestrum a praeposito uestro uictus et tegumentum, non aequaliter omnibus, quia non aequaliter ualetis omnes, sed potius *unicuique sicut cuique opus*. sic enim legitis in Actibus apostolorum, quia erant illis omnia communia et distribuebatur unicuique sicut cuique opus erat.

The phrase *in deum* is doubtless connected with the Plotinian 'ascent' to God: cf. line 397. Verheijen's remarks are supported by Tar-

cisius VAN BAVEL, who in his article " 'Ante omnia' et 'in Deum' dans la 'Regula Sancti Augustini'," in VC 12 (1958), pp. 162-165, concluded that, though *in deum* was not part of the scriptural text in whatever version Augustine was using, it is quoted in this form (or an equivalent) in 31 out of the 42 times that Augustine makes a free citation of the passage. This and two other factors indicate that, if Augustine was not *directly* acquainted with the passage when he wrote *mor. I*, he certainly had some knowledge of it, at least by the time he completed the work at Thagaste, and that he is definitely referring to this passage here in lines 1105-1116, for (1) another passage in *Faust.* (V,18, p. 250.15) closely recalls these lines while at the same time explicitly invoking the Acts ("Nonne omnes Christiani, qui excellentiore proposito diuitias suas communes faciunt *secundum id quod scriptum est in Actibus apostolorum*, ut distribuatur unicuique, sicut cuique *opus* est, et *nemo* dicat aliquid *proprium*, sed sint illis omnia communia...") and (2) in the *Uita s. Augustini* (5:6, PL 32/37) Possidius implies that already by the time of the return to Thagaste in 388 Augustine was planning a "common life" for himself and his friends, with Acts 4:32-35 as its basis:

Factus ergo presbyter monasterium intra ecclesiam mox instituit; et cum dei seruis uiuere coepit *secundum modum et regulam sub sanctis apostolis constitutam*: maxime ut *nemo quidquam proprium* in illa societate haberet, *sed eis essent omnia communia, et distribueretur unicuique sicut opus erat; quod iam ipse prior fecerat, dum de transmarinis ad sua remeasset.*

Cf. ZUMKELLER, *Das Mönchtum*, pp. 175f. and 182-184; also Prosper GRECH, "The Augustinian Community and the Primitive Church," in *Aug* 5 (1955), pp. 459-470.

(1108) *peruicacia turbulenti*, var. *pertinacia tribulenti*.

(1109) *pacati*, var. *placati*.

(1111-1113) *operantur ... non possit*. Cf. the parallel in lines 1176-1177. *Operari manibus* is an expression that appears frequently in *op. mon.*: cf. the references given by MANRIQUE, *La vida*, pp. 388-395; also *enarr.* 99,12 (p. 1400):

Sic et in illa uita communi fratrum quae est in monasterio: magni uiri sancti, quotidie in hymnis, in orationibus, in laudibus dei, inde uiuunt, cum lectione illis res est; *laborant manibus suis, inde se transigunt*; non auare aliquid petunt quidquid eis infertur a piis fratribus, cum sufficientia et cum caritate utuntur; nemo sibi usurpat

aliquid quod alter non habeat; omnes se diligunt omnes inuicem se sustinent.

Manual labour already had an important place in the schedule at Cassiciacum (cf. LORENZ, *Die Anfänge*, p. 51, n. 13) and had perhaps been impressed upon Augustine through the recital of Pontitianus: on its place in Egyptian monasticism, and its influence on its Western counterparts, cf. SPREITZENHOFER, *Die Entwicklung*, pp. 88-97.

The idea that *all* members of the community must work was to become part of the *Regula ad seruos dei* (VERHEIJEN, *La Règle* I, p. 429.153: "Ita sane, ut nullus sibi aliquid operetur, sed omnia opera uestra in commune fiant, maiore studio et frequentiori alacritate, quam si uobis singuli propria faceretis"). On the principle of work in Augustine's conception of religious life, cf. MAUSBACH, *Die Ethik* I, pp. 427-434, and ZUMKELLER, *Das Mönchtum*, pp. 190f. and 229-236.

(1113-1114) *decanos ... praepositi*. Both of these terms are of military origin, to which Jerome, from whom Augustine acquires them in their 'monastic' application (cf. above, p. 212f.) alludes in his *Commentarium in Isaiam* II,3:3 (CCL 73/44.6: "Vnde et *decanos* dicimus, *qui decem praesunt hominibus*"). On *decanus* cf. the articles of J. HERZOG (*Realencyclopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche*, vol. IV, Leipzig, 1898³, c. 564) and H.U. INSTINSKY (*Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*, vol. III, Stuttgart, 1957, cc. 603-611). Applied to monasticism, *mor. I* and Jerome's *Epistula 22 ad Eustochium* (cf. above, p. 212f.) are the only instances of its use prior to Benedict, although Cassian uses *decania* (modelled on Jerome's *decuria*) in *De institutis coenobiorum* IV,17 (CSEL 17/54.13 and 58.23).

The original meaning of *praepositus* was "the officer of a special detachment made up with men drawn from various regular units" (cf. Marcel DURRY, "Vocabulaire militaire. - *Praepositus*," in *Mélanges de philologie, de littérature et d'histoire anciennes offerts à Alfred Ernout*, Klincksieck, Paris, 1940, pp. 129-133). On the history of this word in monasticism, cf. ANTIN, *Le monachisme*, p. 77, n. 39. Augustine adapted it to the *Regula ad seruos dei* (text in Commentary, 1105-1116): cf. ZUMKELLER, *Das Mönchtum*, pp. 200-204.

(1114-1117) *ut neminem ... ualetudini*. The principle of eating only what was necessary to maintain bodily health had been already practised at Cassiciacum: cf. *sol. I*,10:17 (c. 879: "Sed omnino siue de cibo et potu, siue de balneis, ceteraque corporis uoluptate nihil interroges: *tantum habere appeto, quantum in ualetudinis opem con-*

ferri potest"). Therefore in *mor. I* Augustine is doing more than reporting an objective fact; he is expressing a personal conviction: to consume only what is necessary to the maintenance of good health is a rule he has made his own. This same rule is expressed in *ut. cred. 3* (p. 6.16: "...soloque uictu *ad ualeitudinem corporis necessario* contentus esse decreuerim..."). But there is more involved in that passage (as here) than the assertion of a personal mortification: against the Manichaean contempt for the body Augustine is asserting that it is something good, good enough to maintain properly (cf. Commentary, 1248-1249), though not to excess. The principle of taking *only* enough to maintain good health finally became a part of the *Regula* (VERHEIJEN, *La Règle I*, p. 421.25: "Carnem uestram domate ieiuniis et abstinencia escae et potus, *quantum ualetudo permittit. quando autem aliquis non potest ieiunare*, non tamen extra horam prandii aliquid alimentorum sumat, *nisi cum aegrotat*"). On the basis of *mor. I* we may say that this principle in Augustine's view of religious life has an Eastern ("Pachomian") origin.

(1118-1119) *facientes ... corporis postulat*. Another principle which appears in the *Regula ad seruos dei* (text in Commentary, 1105-1116) where, again, the basis is Acts 4:32-35: goods are to be distributed to the brethren, not in equal measure but according to the real needs of the individual. On this cf. SANCHIS, *Pauvreté monastique*, p. 14, and ZUMKELLER, *Das Mönchtum*, pp. 179-188.

(1119) *rationem*, var. *traditionem*, but Jerome's *Epistula 22*, on which this passage is based (cf. above, p. 212), suggests that *rationem* is the correct reading.

(1119-1122) *appellant ... uocant*. Many mss. suggest that these two words should be reversed, which would be in keeping with Jerome's *Epistula 22* (cf. Commentary, 1119).

(1120) *sanctissimi*, var. *sanctissimis*.

(1140-1143) *nullo modo ... incolunt*. According to the *Lausiaca History* (10:3, in BUTLER, *The Lausiaca History II*, p. 30.12) communities of monks in the Libyan desert or on nearby islands benefited from the generosity of the Egyptian monks, "for these other monasteries are poorer" (cf. LORENZ, *Die Anfänge*, p. 11). Nothing proves that the "needy" spoken of in *mor. I* were also monks, nor that they lived on islands. Augustine does not, however, say anything which would disprove these conclusions; he simply mentions *ships*, which can mean that foodstuffs are carried to islands, but could also mean that they are borne from one port to another along the Nile or on

the Mediterranean coast of Egypt and Libya. Still, he speaks of the assistance that is given as a fact which everybody knows ("re notissima"), which indicates that he got it from hearsay, since it is not found in Jerome's *Epistula* 22 (cf. above, p. 215). Without mentioning that they receive assistance, Jerome mentions island monastic communities in *Epistula* 3,4 (CSEL 54/16.11), 60,10 (p. 559.4, 77,6 (CSEL 55/44.6) and 118,5 (p. 443.1). So do Sulpicius Severus (Gallinaria, in *Uita s. Martini* 6:5, CSEL 1/116.27), Ambrose (*Exameron* III,23, CSEL 32,1/74f.) and, at a later date, Augustine himself (Capraria and Gorgona in *epist.* 48,4, p. 140.3; cf. also *enarr.* 96,4, p. 1357. The pagan poet Rutilius Namatianus makes a bitter attack on the monks inhabiting these two islands in *De reditu suo* I,439 and 515: cf. DE LABRIOLLE, *La réaction païenne*, pp. 470-478).

(1146-1148) *ad quas ... senum*. When he says that not even the most respected and proved "senes" are allowed to come any nearer to the women's residences than the entrance (*uestibulum*), Augustine seems to mean the superiors of the nearby male communities (cf. above, p. 206), for he uses the same adjectives to describe superioresses of women's communities at Rome (line 1182) and also tells how male superiors there are notable for their *grauitas* (line 1173). The mention of *iuuenes* here perhaps means simply "young monks," perhaps "any monk who is not a superior." In all cases the words he employs (*iuuenes*, *graues*, *senes*) are used elsewhere to denote a definite stage of male adulthood: cf. *quaest.* 58:2 (c. 42: "Sunt aetates sex etiam in uno homine: infantia, pueritia, adolescentia, *iuuentus*, *grauitas et senectus*"). In *quaest.* 64:2 (c. 55) we learn that a man was reckoned to have reached *senectus* with his sixtieth year; thus, presuming that Augustine is speaking here about a *physical* age, these male superiors would be "old men": but *senex* may simply be a term of respect, like the Coptic 𐩀𐩣𐩀𐩪.

(1149-1150) *lanificio ... fratribus tradunt*. In line 1182 Augustine uses a reference to Terence to speak in similar terms of work done by the women's communities at Rome who, it may be assumed, also made clothing for their male counterparts (*fratres*). The clothing of the Pachomian monks was of both wool and linen (cf. OPPENHEIM, *Das Mönchskleid*, pp. 57-65), as was that of Western monks (cf. GOUGAUD, *Les critiques*, p. 159, and SPREITZENHOFER, *Die Entwicklung*, pp. 63-68). In *serm.* 37,5 (c. 224) Augustine mentions that his own clothing and that of his *fratres* is made of the same materials: linen for underclothing, wool for the outer garments ("Hoc

concinere audeo ex ordine uestimentorum nostrorum; interiora sunt enim linea uestimenta, lana exteriora"). In two letters Jerome mentions woolspinning as a suitable occupation for women who would follow his guidance: cf. *Epistula 107 ad Laetam de institutione filiae* 10 (CSEL 55/300.23: "Discet et *lanam* facere...") and *Epist. 130 ad Demetriadem* 15 (CSEL 56/195.21: "...habeto *lanam* semper in manibus...").

(1150-1151) *resumentes*, var. *pr(a)esumentes*.

(1158-1159) *uita ... laudandos*, var. *uitam ... laudandam* or *uitas ... laudandas*.

(1159-1167) *quam enim ... tranquillum*. In a letter written to Nebridius shortly after his return to Thagaste (hence contemporary with *mor. I*), and again about two years later in another letter written to Bishop Valerius shortly before his priestly ordination, Augustine wrote of the pitfalls facing those in clerical orders, in much the same terms as for *mor. I*:

mor. I

Quam enim multos episcopos optimos uiros, sanctissimosque cognoui, quam multos presbyteros, quam multos diaconos, et cuiuscumodi ministros diuinorum sacramentorum, quorum uirtus eo mihi mirabilior et maiore praedicatione dignior uidetur, quo difficilius est eam in multiplici hominum genere, et in ista uita turbulentiore seruare! non enim sanatis magis quam sanandis hominibus praesunt. perpetienda sunt uitia multitudinis ut curentur, et prius toleranda quam sedanda est pestilentia. difficillimum est hic tenere optimum uitae modum, et animum pacatum atque tranquillum.

epist. 10,2 (p. 23.23)

Dedit quidem deus paucis quibusdam quos gubernatores ecclesiarum esse uoluit ut et illam (= mortem) non solum expectarent fortiter, sed alacriter etiam desiderarent et harum obeundarum labores sine ullo angore susciperent. sed neque his qui ad huiusmodi administrationes temporalis honoris amore raptantur neque rursum his qui, cum sint priuati, negotiosam uitam appetunt hoc tantum bonum concedi arbitror ut inter strepitus inquietosque conuentus atque discursus, cum morte familiaritatem quam quaerimus faciant: deificari enim utrisque in otio licebat.

epist. 21,1 (p. 49.10)

Ante omnia peto, ut cogitet religiosa prudentia tua nihil esse in hac uita et maxime hoc tempore facilius et laetius et hominibus acceptabilius episcopi aut presbyteri aut diaconi officio, si perfunctorie atque adulatorie res agatur, sed nihil apud deum miserius et tristius et damnabilius; item nihil esse in hac uita et maxime hoc tempore difficilius, laboriosius, periculosius episcopi aut presbyteri aut diaconi officio, sed apud deum nihil beatius, si eo modo militetur, quo noster imperator iubet.

The idea common to these three passages is the difficulties encountered by the clergy in the course of its ministry, especially in trying to maintain some measure of "peace of soul" in this troubled

world and in resisting the temptation to take seriously the adulation of men, to the detriment of service to God (cf. also *ciu. dei* XIX,19, p. 406.10). This confirms the impression that Augustine was telling nothing but the truth when about the year 425 (*serm.* 355,2, c. 1569) he said he had feared having to become a bishop ("*Vsque adeo autem timebam episcopatum*"). Some commentators see in this "fear" (and its consequence: the avoidance of all places that had a vacant bishopric, until the day when he was forcibly presented for ordination at Hippo) a modesty in Augustine stemming from a sentiment of personal unworthiness for so high a function. Doubtless that was part of the reason — these three texts manifest the high regard he has for the "*optimus uitae modus*" — but it is also plain that his desire to live a life of contemplation and retirement ruled out, in his own mind, that sort of life for himself. As MANDOUZE says (*Saint Augustin*, p. 216, emphasis his), "*depuis sa conversion, il avait toujours désiré disposer de son temps dans quelque retraite.*" Even before his conversion, in the aborted proposal to establish a community with some friends (cf. above, p. 237), he recalls in *conf.* VI, 14:24 (p. 137.10), "*Et multi amici agitaueamus anima, et conloquentes ac detestantes turbulentas humanae uitae molestias, paene iam firmaueramus remoti a turbis otiose uiuere.*" A cleric of whatever rank would have too much difficulty, he reasons in these passages, in keeping "a peaceful and tranquil soul," too many distractions that would interfere with "contemplation of the One." The clerical state might be the "*optimus uitae modus*"; but it was not, Augustine believed, the ideal state for him.

On Augustine's desire to withdraw himself from mundane pursuits and concentrate on contemplation, cf. HALLIBURTON, *The Inclination*; also COURCELLE, *Les Confessions*, pp. 21-26, and Georges FOLLIET, "Deificari in otio". *Augustin, Epistula 10,2*," in *RA* 2 (1962), pp. 225-236.

(1176) *Pauli apostoli auctoritate*. This could be either I Thess. 4:11 (Vulg.: "...operemini manibus uestris sicut praecepimus uobis") or II Thess. 3:10 (Vulg.: "Qui non laborat nec manducet"). Most likely the latter verse is referred to, as it receives close attention in *op. mon.* (texts listed by MANDOUZE, *Saint Augustin*, p. 233f.) and is referred to again in *enarr.* 99,12 (text in Commentary, 1111-1113); there appears to be no case of I Thess. 4:11 ever being cited by Augustine.

(1177-1180) *ieiunia etiam ... potu ducere*. Compare *epist.* 36 *ad Casulanum*, 8:18 (p. 48.24): "Uideat ergo, quanta afficiat contumelia,

ipsam quoque Romanam ecclesiam, ubi et his hebdomadibus, in quibus quarta et sexta et sabbato ieiunatur, tribus tamen continuis diebus, dominico scilicet ac deinde secunda tertiaque prandetur."

(1180-1184) *in feminis ... paratae*. Both SPREITZENHOFER (*Die Entwicklung*, p. 106) and MANRIQUE (*La vida*, p. 58) feel that one of these communities of women can be identified with Marcella's foundation in her home on the Aventine (cf. Jerome, *Epistula 108 ad Eustochium* 26, CSEL 55/344). For further examples of virgins living alone and in community in Rome and elsewhere, cf. LORENZ, *Die Anfänge*, pp. 6-8. This is the only time *uirgo* appears in *mor. I*. On its use in early Christianity, cf. GORDINI, *Forme*, p. 18f.; also pp. 33-37 (life-style of the *uirgines*) and 38-45 (*uiduae*). On the rôle of the superioress in such "home communities" as Marcella's, cf. Spreitzenhofer, *loc. cit.*: "In der ersten Zeit, wenigstens nicht im Zeitalter des heiligen Ambrosius, gab es an den Frauenklöster noch keine Priester, die durch ihren geistlichen Beruf auf dieselben einen leitenden Einfluss genommen hätten. Doch scheint bereits die Regel des heiligen Basilius einen Hauspriester der Nonnenklöster vorauszusetzen, der den Nonnen jedoch nur mit Wissen der Oberin Bussen oder sonstige Werke der Ascese auferlegen konnte. Desgleichen erscheint in Afrika zur Zeit des heiligen Augustinus ein Priester an der Seite der Oberin jedenfalls zur religiösen Leitung der Nonnen, wie es auch die Basilianerregel voraussetzt. Denn dieser Priester, der in Afrika als wirklicher Vorstand (*praeponendus*) erscheint, musste die Approbation des Bischofs haben. Von einer allgemeinen Einführung dieser Einrichtung in Italien kann aber für jetzt noch nicht die Rede sein."

(1182) *lana ac tela uictum quaeritantibus*. Cf. Terence, *Andria*, Act I, line 75 ("*..lana ac tela uictum quaeritans*"). This reference is pointed out by HAGENDAHL, *Augustine and the Latin Classics*, p. 257, n. 624.

(1182-1183) *grauissimae probatissimaeque*, var. *grauissime ac probatissime*.

(1183-1184) *non tantum ... mentibus*. Few mss. give the complete phrase, reducing it to *non tantum instruendis mentibus*.

(1187-1188) *meminerunt enim ... caritas*. Here begins a theme picked up again and elaborated in lines 1240-1246: in the religious life charity is (or should be) the motive for all one's actions. This, of course, is the import of the opening lines of the *Ordo*

(or *Disciplina*) *monasterii*, also called *Regula secunda* (in VERHEIJEN, *La Règle* I, p. 148): "Ante omnia, fratres carissimi, diligatur deus, deinde et proximus, quia ista sunt praecepta principaliter nobis data." It was this and other similarities which led Winfried HÜMPFNER ("Die Mönchsregel des heiligen Augustinus," in AM I, p. 224f.) to conclude that not only is the *Ordo Monasterii* of Augustinian authorship, but that it is contemporary to *mor. I*! But VERHEIJEN contends (*Remarques; La "Regula"; La Règle*) that only the *Regula ad seruos dei* (= *Regula tertia*) is by Augustine himself; to the *Regula secunda*, written by a disciple, he would have given his approval, adding the lines quoted above and the last sentence ("Haec autem in nomine Christi..."); cf. also Verheijen's "Les sermons 355-356 de saint Augustin et la 'Regula sancti Augustini'," in RSR 41 (1953) pp. 23-75; MANDOUZE, *Saint Augustin*, p. 170, n. 2; SANCHIS, *Pauvreté monastique*, p. 6f.; and ZUMKELLER, *Der klösterliche Gehorsam*, p. 266. On love as the basis for "religious life" in Augustine, cf. ZUMKELLER, *Das Mönchtum*, pp. 165-172; and MAUSBACH, *Die Ethik*, I, pp. 404-414.

(1188) *omnia munda mundis*. Augustine frequently uses this text against Manichaeans: cf. *Adimant.* 14 (p. 152.1), *Faust.* VI,3 (p. 286.24), VI,6 (p. 292.23), VI,7 (p. 294.17), VI,8 (p. 299.17), XVI,31 (p. 479.11), XXV,2 (p. 728.3) and XXXI,4 (p. 759.8), *epist.* 55,20:36 (p. 211.14) and *serm.* 12,12 (c. 105).

(1188-1189) *non quod ... exit*. Faustus was later to object to the Christian acceptance of the literal sense of this text by claiming that Jesus meant his words only for the "imperfect"; the "perfect" were bound to abstain (*Faust.* XVI,6, p. 445.16):

Haec ergo Iudaei fortiter crediderunt scribente Moyse idcircoque Christo iam credere non poterant indifferentiam docenti ciborum et a suis quidem discipulis omnia penitus remouenti, saecularibus uero uulgo concedenti omnia, quae possent edi, atque adseueranti, quod eos nihil in os intrans pollueret, quia quae de ore imprudenter procedant, ea sola sint, quae polluant hominem.

(1189-1190) *non reiciendis ... pollutis*. On the Manichaean prohibition of certain foods, cf. above, p. 198f.; also Commentary, 1227-1240.

(1191) *retinendae*, var. *retinendi se*.

(1193) *illas*, var. *has* (which would bring the verse into conformity with line 1311).

(1195) *carnes*, var. *carnem* (= Vulg.).

(1197-1203) *alius enim ... deo*. Possibly the use of this passage was inspired by its appearance in Jerome's *Epist.* 22 (37:2, CSEL 54/202.2), where Rom. 14:4 and 6 are cited (although not in the same version):

Nulli detrahas nec aduersus filium matris tuae ponas scandalum. tu quae est, ut alienum serum iudices? suo domino stat aut cadit. stabit autem; potens est enim deus statuere illum. nec si biduo ieiunaueris, putes te a non ieiunante esse meliorem. tu ieiunas et irasceris, ille comedit et forte blanditur; tu uexationem mentis et uentris esuriem rixando digneris, ille moderatus alitur et deo gratias refert.

Jerome's context and Augustine's are much the same: Jerome is warning the virgin Eustochium against thinking that fasting makes her automatically a better Christian than those who do not fast; Augustine has in mind the asceticism of the Manichaean Elect, who were distinguished from the *auditores* by their way of life, part of which was a series of strict fasts: cf. above, pp. 198 and 201. The only other time Augustine uses Rom. 14:2-4 and 6 together is (apart from the controversial *Speculum* 30, CSEL 12/206.12) in an anti-Manichaean context (*Adimant.* 14, p. 149.13).

(1202) *eum*, var. *illum* (= Vulg.).

(1206) *offendiculum*, var. *offensionem*.

(1221-1222) *nomen 'apostoli'*. *non*, var. *nomen*. *apostolus non* or *nomen. non*. But the form in the Maurist edition is the most likely, as it is well-known that Mani appropriated the title "Apostle" for himself: cf. above, p. 24f.

(1226) *licita sunt*, var. *licent* (= Vulg.).

(1227-1240) *ita multi ... libertatem*. Here Augustine underlines an important point: the difference between Christian and Manichaean ascetics is not so much that the latter abstain from meat and wine and the former do not, but that the Christians do so in order to control bodily impulses and as an example for more self-indulgent brethren. Manichaean "elect," on the other hand, avoid eating meat and drinking wine because these are considered "unclean" (cf. above, p. 199) and because to do so is a sign of the "perfect" as opposed to the "imperfect" *hearers*. Augustine elaborates on this difference in *Faust.* XXX,5 (p. 752.25):

Audi ergo, quod confiteris te non uidere, qua mente aut consilio

hoc aduersum uos capitulum proferamus. *non quod a carnibus abstineatis; nam hoc a quibusdam et primi patres fecerunt, sicut commemoras — non tamen ea damnandi, sed significandi gratia, quod non intellegitis, et unde iam quantum sufficere uidebatur, in superioribus partibus operis huius locutus sum — et christiani, non haeretici, sed catholici edomandi corporis causa propter animam in orationibus amplius humiliandam, non quod illa esse immunda credant, non solum a carnibus, uerum a quibusdam etiam terrae fructibus abstinent, uel semper, sicut pauci, uel certis diebus atque temporibus, sicut per quadragesimam fere omnes, quanto magis quisque uel minus seu uoluerit seu potuerit. uos autem ipsam creaturam negatis bonam et immundam dicitis, quod carnes diabolus operetur faeculentiore materia mali, ac per hoc eas tamquam immundiora et truculentiora dei uestri uincula exhorrentes abicitis. auditoribus autem uestris, quos tamquam distinctos a genere sacerdotum dixisti, secundum ueniam haec edenda conceditis: sicut quibusdam concedit apostolus secundum ueniam non omnem concubitum coniugalem, etiam qui fit sola causa generandi, sed eum, qui fit per incontinentiam, sed tamen cum coniuge. neque enim conceditur secundum ueniam nisi peccatum. hoc uos de omni carniū cibo sentitis, hoc et ipsi ab haeresi uestra didicistis et uestros auditores docetis; sed illis, quod sit agnoscendum, propter quod uobis necessaria ministrant, ut dixi, conceditis, non dicentes non esse peccatum, sed peccantibus ueniam largientes; uos autem ab omni tali tamquam mala et immunda contagione abstinetis.*

(1229) *sani temperant*, var. *salui temperant* or *aliis imperant*.

(1230) *eo se*, var. *eos* or *eos qui bibunt*.

(1235-1236) *ut ... infirmitates suas*. Vulg.: "Noli adhuc aquam bibere sed uino modico utere propter stomachum tuum et frequentes tuas infirmitates." Many mss. have *uarias* for *frequentes*. Since *frequentes* agrees with the Vulg., *uarias* is probably correct.

(1237-1238) *corporis ... pertinere nouerunt*. Vulg.: "Nam corporalis exercitatio ad modicum utilis est." Both this and the preceding scriptural reference are a charge against the Manichaean idea of mortification, which for the *electi* extended even to the use of medicine and of ordinary personal hygiene. Since (except for the purpose of releasing trapped Light-particles) the body was considered as an evil, therefore essentially worthless, organ, it was thought to be superfluous to attempt to save it in the case of illness or to pamper it in any way. A Turfan fragment clearly expresses this contempt for the body (HENNING, *Ein manichäisches Bet- und Beichtbuch*, p. 43): "In höherem und grösserem Masse, da ich in diesem

Schreckenswunderbau, diesem Todesschloss, dieser Giftgestalt, dem knochigen (?) Körper geboren bin..." As a consequence, medicine was forbidden: cf. Commentary, 878-880.

So, too, was water, because it was one of the Five Pure Elements (cf. Henning, *op. cit.*, p. 32: "Und ich quäle und verletzte zur jeder Zeit die fünf Elemente..."). Turfan fragment M 49 (in HENNING, *Mitteliranische* II, p. 307; cf. also I, p. 199) directs that water may not even be touched, and that even the *auditores* must attempt to defile it as little as possible. This agrees with the information provided by An-Nadim (in FLÜGEL, *Mani*, p. 94f.):

Wer, befiehlt Mânî, in die Religion eintreten will, dem liegt ob, dass er sich selbst prüfe, und wenn er sieht, dass er die Sinnenlust und die Habgier zu benähmen, dass Essen aller Art Fleisch, das Weintrinken und den ehelichen Beischlaf lassen und sich *des Schädlichen des Wassers*, des Feuers, der Zauberei und der Heuchelei zu entschlagen vermag, so trete er in die Religion ein.

It is therefore not surprising to find the *Acta Archelai* saying (10, BEESON, *Hegemonius*, p. 16.10): εἴ τις λούεται, εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ψυχὴν πῆσσει, nor to come across the remark of Augustine (*Faust.* XX,23, p. 567.6) that one difference between *electi* and *auditores* is that the latter wash. But a Chinese document written against Manichaeans is probably grossly exaggerating when it says (CHAVANNES-PELLIOT, *Un traité* II, p. 349) that the *electi* do wash - with urine!

(1243-1244) *quid ... quid*, var. *quis ... quis*.

(1245) *ita*, var. *hanc*.

(1248-1249) *istorum ieiuniis uestra ieiunia*. In the Manichaean scheme of mortification, fasting occupied an important place, as DE BEAUSOBRE rightly recognises (*Histoire* II, pp. 705-710 and 765-779). Even *auditores* had to keep fast on 50 days in the year (cf. *Kephalaia* 81 and 91, in SCHMIDT, pp. 193 and 233; confirmed in the *Khuastuanift*: cf. VON LE COQ, *Dr. Stein's*, p. 295 and *Chuastuanift*, p. 20; RADLOFF, *Chuastuanit*, p. 39, n. 79; and ASMUSSEN, *Xuastvanift*, p. 197). Apparently the *auditores* fasted on Sundays and the *electi* on Mondays: cf. HENNING, *Ein manichäisches Bet- und Beichtbuch*, p. 40 ("Auch bei der Montags-Ordnung beachte ich wohl die vier Gebote und die vier Hindernisse nicht mit dem rechten Eifer, so wie es von Gott befohlen ist"), but Chinese sources (in CHAVANNES-PELLIOT, *Un traité* II, p. 111, n. 2 and p. 172f.) say that Mani-

chaeans in general fast on Sundays (cf. also Augustine, *epist.* 36,5:12, p. 40.17 and *epist.* 236,2, p. 524.18). This leads Asmussen to theorise (*op. cit.*, pp. 224-226) that this may have constituted the original Manichaean law concerning fasting, and that all other fast-days would have been added later. In that case it could not have been very much later: Augustine says (*conf.* V,3:4, p. 91.14; *epist. fund.* 8, p. 202.10) in the IV century that the *electi* had to fast during the 30 days preceding the Bema-feast (cf. above, p. 27), and the contemporary *Kephalaia* (79-80, in Schmidt, p. 191f.) mention the frequency of the fasts of the Elect. That these fasts were frequent can be accepted also on the authority of Augustine, who says (*ut. cred.* 36, p. 47.7) that *electi* were recognisable by their pallid complexions and bony frames. An-Nadim (FLÜGEL, *Mani*, p. 95) says they fasted for seven consecutive days in each month, and a Chinese ms. (Chavannes-Pelliot, *op. cit.* II, p. 111) speaks of an even stricter fast ("Chaque jour ils mangent maigre"). For further information on Manichaean fasting, cf. Flügel, *op. cit.*, pp. 311-314; PUECH, *Le manichéisme*, p. 184, n. 367; ALFARIC, *Les écritures* I, p. 36f.; BANG, *Manichäische Laien - Beichtspiegel*, pp. 161-163 and 220-222; BÖHLIG, *Mysterion*, pp. 259-261; HENNING, *The Manichaean Fasts*; and Ernst BICKEL, "Das asketische Ideal bei Ambrosius, Hieronymus und Augustin," in *Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum, Geschichte und deutsche Literatur* 37, I. Abteilung, 7. Heft (Leipzig-Berlin, 1916), p. 459.

(1250) *modestiam modestiae*. Probably Augustine still has in mind the encounter with Faustus in 383 (cf. above, p. 7). Of Faustus' character MONCEAUX (*Le manichéen Faustus*, p. 3f.) makes the following summation: "C'était un excellent homme, qui à beaucoup de qualités joignait quelques travers. D'abord, une incommensurable vanité. Faustus était trop content de lui. Il aimait à parader en public. Il raffolait des succès de tout genre, succès oratoires ou succès mondains. Il se targuait de tenir en toute chose la vérité, de ne s'adresser jamais qu'à la raison. S'il consentait à discuter, c'était sur un ton tranchant, qui n'admettait guère la réplique. Tout en rendant ses oracles, il trahissait un dédain transcendant pour ses contradicteurs, qui lui semblaient de petits esprits, incapables de raisonner par eux-mêmes, esclaves de vaines traditions. Bref, il se croyait un grand homme, le grand homme de son temps, et le laissait trop voir." Cf. also DECRET, *Aspects*, pp. 51-70.

(1253) *beatitudinem*, var. *beatitatem*.

(1254-1255) *postremo quid ... intersit*. With the exception of the mention of the centaur (line 101) this reference to the Sirens is the only mythological allusion in *mor. I*. Augustine had made the same allusion in *b. uita* 1:4 (p. 92.14: "Itaque tantum me arripuit pectoris dolor, ut illius professionis onus sustinere non ualens, quae mihi uelificabam fortasse ad *Sirenas*, abicerem omnia et optatae tranquillitati uel quassatam nauem fessamque perducerem"); there, however, the context is that he seeks to withdraw from the "Sirens" of this world's distractions, especially of his rhetorical profession, and retire to some place of "tranquillity" (cf. Commentary, 1159-1167). In *mor. I* the contrast is rather between the "Sirens of superstition" and the "haven of religion," a contrast presented elsewhere in this work (lines 1257, 1261 and 1269). Jerome's *Epistula* 22 (6, CSEL 54/151.15) also speaks of Sirens ("...ne post trinitatis hospitium ibi daemones saltent et *Sirenae* nidificent..."), but Augustine's source here is probably the *Aeneid* (V,864) where Virgil uses the third-declension form ("...iamque adeo scopulas *Sirenium* aduecta subibat..."), a form also employed by Ambrose (cf. *De Iacob et beata uita* II,12:56, CSEL 32,2/68.18: "...cantus *sirenium* traherent audientem").

The reference to a "haven" also makes its first appearance in Augustine in *b. uita* (1:3, p. 90.19: "His autem omnibus, qui quocumque modo ad beatae uitae regionem feruntur, unus inmanissimus mons ante ipsum *portum* constitutus ... uitandus est"). In *mor. I* Augustine has combined the Sirens and the harbour whose obstacle they are, and has suppressed the "mountain of pride." The contrast, *religio/superstitio*, is common, particularly in Cicero: cf. *De deorum natura* I,42:71 ("Horum sententiae omnium non modo *superstitionem* tollunt, in qua inest timor inanis deorum, sed etiam *religionem*, quae deorum cultu pio continetur") and II,28:71 ("...maiores nostri *superstitionem* a *religione* separauerunt"), and *De diuinatione* II,72:148 ("...nec uero *superstitione* tollenda *religio* tollitur"). Cf. also Lactantius, *Diuinae institutiones* IV,28 (CSEL 19/390.20: "...*religio* ueri dei cultus est, *superstitio* falsi"). For Augustine "superstitio" means whatever deflects one from arriving at truth, therefore whatever promotes falsehood (cf. HOLTE, *Béatitude*, p. 188, and COURCELLE, *Recherches*, pp. 64-67). In this way he turns the tables on his former religion, whose members had taught him that Catholicism is a "superstitio" because it places faith before reason: cf. lines 969-970, 1234 and 1269; also *ut. cred.* 1:2 (text, above, p. 100) and *Acad.* I,1:3 (p. 5.20: "[Philosophia] me penitus ab illa *superstitione*, in quam te mecum dederam, liberauit").

(1255-1269) *nolite ... superstitione defenditis*. In *ut. cred.* 1:2 (p. 4.28) Augustine makes explicit what he is implying here: that the Manichaeans are more adept at attacking the beliefs of others than at defending their own ("...quod ipsos quoque animaduvertebam plus in refellendis aliis disertos et copiosos esse quam in suis probandis firmos et certos manere").

(1259) *noui multos ... adoratores*. From Faustus (Augustine, *Faust.* XX,4, p. 538.11) we know that the paintings and statues to be found in Catholic places of worship constituted an object of the Manichaean polemic ("...necnon et priores uestri Iudaei segregati etiam ipsi a gentibus sculpturas solum dimiserunt"): cf. also XX,15 (p. 555.8) and *Adimant.* 13 (p. 144). If the entire context here is the *refrigerium* (cf. Commentary, 1260-1262), then the *picturae* to which Augustine refers would be in burial crypts, near the Christian *sepulcra*, and they would then be (in paintings and mosaics) portrayals of biblical scenes and personages or portraits of popular saints (especially martyrs) or of the deceased themselves. (A popularised but comprehensive collection of the catacomb art can be seen in André GRABAR's *Le premier art chrétien* (200-395), Gallimard, Paris, 1966: cf. especially pp. 29-34, 38-42, 53, 85, 98-121, 209-225 and 229-236.)

From earliest times Christians held in reverence both the earthly remains and the last resting-places of their deceased: cf. (with the comments of DUDDEN, *The Life* I, pp. 308-316) Ambrose, *De uidiis* 9:54-55 (PL 16/250f.). It was the custom to gather at the grave on the anniversary of the deceased's death, to remember him with prayers and hymns (and in some places with the *refrigerium*: cf. Commentary, 1260-1262), especially with the Eucharist (cf. Augustine, *Faust.* XX,21, text below, p. 420), to place flowers at the tomb (Augustine, *ciu. dei* XXII,8, pp. 604.26 and 606.1), to light candles before it (Jerome, *Contra Uigilantium* 7, PL 23/345f.; *Epistula* 109,1, CSEL 55/352f.) and, in the case of those considered to have led holy lives (especially martyrs), to kiss the reliquaries (Jerome, *Contra Uigilantium* 4-5, c. 342f.; *Epistula* 46,8, CSEL 54/338.14). On these customs, cf. CUMONT, *Lux perpetua*, pp. 50-52 (their pagan origins) and H. LECLERCQ, "Défunts (Commémoration de)," in *DACL* 4,1, cc. 427-456.

Yet there was always the danger that in the minds of the people some kind of power would be attributed, not only to those considered to be now in heavenly glory, but even to their very relics and pictorial representations, which were consequently sometimes held in superstitious awe, as Augustine here acknowledges. He himself believed in the power of the martyrs' remains, even as a bishop (cf.

ciu. dei VIII,27, pp. 405-407, and XXII,8, p. 595); what he abhorred was the character of *worship* that ignorant Catholics bestowed on them and on their portraits, because this practice, aside from its unorthodox stance, invited attacks on the Church such as that of Faustus, bringing from Augustine the defense that "worship" should not be confused with "veneration" (*Faust.* XX,21, p. 562.12):

Quis enim antistitum in locis sanctorum corporum adsistens, altari aliquando dixit: offerimus tibi, Petre aut Paule aut Cypriane, sed *quod offertur, offertur deo*, qui martyres coronauit ... *colimus ergo martyres eo cultu dilectionis et societatis, quo et in hac uita coluntur sancti homines dei ... at illo cultu, quae graece λατρεία dicitur, latine uno uerbo dici non potest, cum sit quaedam proprie diuinitati debita seruitus, nec colimus nec colendum docemus nisi unum deum.* cum autem ad hunc cultum pertineat oblatio sacrificii, unde idolatria dicitur eorum, qui hoc etiam idolis exhibent, *nullo modo tale aliquid offerimus aut offerendum praecipimus uel cuiquam martyri uel cuiquam sanctae animae uel cuiquam angelo; et quisquis in hunc errorem delabitur, corripitur per sanam doctrinam, siue ut corrigatur, siue ut caueatur.*

Cf. also *serm.* 159,1 (c. 868) and *ciu. dei* XXII,10 (p. 613) for Augustine's view of the value of venerating the saints, as well as FRANTZ, *Das Gebet*, pp. 102-112; QUASTEN, *Vetus superstitio*, pp. 254-256; and VAN DER MEER, *Saint Augustin* II, pp. 289-326.

(1260-1262) *noui multos ... religioni*. In a few words Augustine provides some interesting information concerning the abuses of the custom of holding memorial meals for the dead, or *refrigeria*. In its more reprehensible form, which had brought on Manichaean attacks, this custom provided an excuse for its adherents to transform tombs into meal-couches ("super mortuos ... super sepultos se ipsos sepeliant"), to drink without moderation ("luxoriosissime ... bibant") and "exhibit" their food to the dead before consuming it themselves ("epulas cadaueribus exhibentes"), all the while attributing their gluttony and drunkenness to "religion" ("uoracitates ebrietatesque suas deputent religioni").

One cannot help connecting this account with the little anecdote Augustine relates about Monnica in the *Confessions* (VI,2:2, p. 114.17):

Itaque cum ad memorias sanctorum, sicut in Africa solebat, pultes et panem et merum adtulisset atque ab ostiario prohiberetur, ubi hoc episcopum uetuisse cognouit, tam pie atque oboedientior amplexa est, ut ipse mirarer, quam facile accusatrix potius consuetudinis suae quam disceptatrix illius prohibitionis effecta sit. non enim obsidebat spiritum eius uinulentia eamque stimulabat in odium ueri amor uini,

sicut plerosque mares et feminas, qui ad canticum sobrietatis sicut ad potionem aquatam madidi nausiant: sed illa cum attulisset canistrum cum sollemnibus epulis praegustandis atque largiendis, plus etiam quam unum pocillum pro suo palato satis sobrio temperatum, unde dignationem sumeret, non ponebat, et si multae essent quae illo modo uidebantur honorandae memoriae defunctorum, idem ipsum unum, quod ubique poneret, circumferebat, quo iam non solum aquatissimo, sed etiam tepidissimo cum suis praesentibus per sorbitiones exiguas partiretur, quia pietatem ibi quaerebat, non uoluptatem. itaque ubi comperit a praeclaro praedicatore atque antistite pietatis praeceptum esse ista non fieri nec ab eis qui sobrie facerent, ne ulla occasio se ingurgitandi daretur ebriosis, et quia illa quasi parentalia superstitioni gentilium essent simillima, abstinuit se libentissime et pro canistro pleno terrenis fructibus plenum purgationibus uotis pectus ad memorias martyrum afferre didicerat, ut et quod posset daret egentibus et sic communicatio dominici corporis illic celebraretur, cuius passionis imitatione immolati et coronati sunt martyres.

Three points in this anecdote are of interest here:

- (1) Monnica was continuing a custom she had long practiced in Africa ("sicut in Africa solebat"), where it seems to have taken the place of a Mass for the deceased ("plenum purgationibus uotis pectus ad memorias martyrum afferre *didicerat*, ut et quod posset daret egentibus et sic *communicatio dominici corporis illic celebraretur*").
- (2) Ambrose had proscribed the *refrigerium* in his diocese ("ubi hoc episcopum *uetsisse* cognouit ... itaque ubi comperit a praeclaro praedicatore atque antistite pietatis *praeceptum esse ista non fieri...*").
- (3) The reason for this prohibition was twofold: the danger of alcoholic abuse ("praeceptum esse ista non fieri nec ab eis qui *sobrie* facerent, *ne ulla occasio se ingurgitandi daretur ebriosis*") and the unsettling reminiscences of pagan practices ("et quia illa quasi parentalia *superstitioni gentilium* essent simillima").

Ambrose himself confirms that he had issued this prohibition, in *Expositio in ps. 118*, 8:45-50 (CSEL 62/178-182) and *De Helia et ieiunio* 17:62-63 (CSEL 32,2/448f.). The Church had long tolerated the practice (pagan in origin, as Augustine implies: cf. CUMONT, *Lux perpetua*, pp. 36-39) of holding memorial meals at the tombs of the dead, being reluctant to forbid a custom on which many of her people set great store and to engage in an action which might have deterred prospective converts (as Augustine himself notes in *epist. 29 ad Alypium* 9, p. 119.27). But with the custom came abuses, drunkenness in particular, as we can infer from its specific mention here, in the *Confessions* passage quoted above, and in *epist. 29:9* (p. 120.6): on this cf. Cumont, *op. cit.*, pp. 39-41;

GROSSI - GONDI, *Il Refrigerium*, p. 229f.; LECLERCQ, *Refrigerium*, c. 2189; DELEHAYE, *Refrigerare*, p. 386f.; and QUASTEN, *Vetus superstitio*, p. 256f. This is the only abuse Augustine explicitly mentions, but from the words of the Council of Elvira (*circa* 300), we can deduce that drinking was not the only danger (canon 34, in MANSI, *Sacrorum Conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio...*, t. II [Florence, 1760], c. 260: "Placuit prohiberi ne feminae in coemeterio peruigilent, eo quod saepe, sub obtentu orationis, scelera latenter committant").

Nor in *mor. I* does Augustine mention the second reason for Ambrose's prohibition of the custom - its traces of pagan origin. That is, he does not mention it *outright*: we may perhaps read it into his allusions to "superstition," but even then the main point is the abuse of drunkenness. Of the anecdote concerning Monnica in *conf.*, Quasten says (*op. cit.*, p. 259): "It seems to me that the order of the reasons is not accidental. The intemperance which often followed the meals at the martyrs' tombs was the main reason. Except for this Ambrose might have come to terms with the second objection, that the pagans venerated their dead in a similar manner. While the pagan character of the rite was at that time scarcely felt, the dominant thought was to commemorate the dead piously in accordance with old family customs. It is therefore likely that the second reason was added in order to better justify the comprehensiveness of the prohibition, which was issued for 'all, even for those who followed it with moderation.' If the second reason had been basic it would be necessary to ask why the pagan origin of this custom did not hurt Christian feelings earlier." Strangely enough, it was not any moral abuse that Faustus chose to mention when he later attacked the *refrigerium* (Augustine, *Faust.* XX,4, p. 538.6), but this pagan origin ("...sacrificia uero eorum [= paganorum] uertistis in agapes, idola in martyres, quos uotis similibus colitis, defunctorum umbras uino placatis et dapibus"). The reason for this becomes clear when we take note that Western Manichaeans had, strictly speaking, no liturgical rites, and therefore no external veneration of their dead: Faustus was against the whole concept of *refrigerium*, and not merely against its attendant abuses. Cf. WESENDONK, *Die Lehre*, p. 38: "Ähnlich wie dies beim Buddhismus der Fall ist, kann Manichäer nur sein, wer vom Geist der manichäischen Lehre wahrhaft erfüllt ist und nach ihren Satzungen lebt. Äusserliche Zeremonien oder Kundgebungen der Zuhörigkeit zur Gemeinde sind ohne Wert, da die den Kernpunkt bildende Mitarbeit an dem grossen Welterlösungswerk sich durch derartige Mittel eben nicht erfüllen lässt." But Wesendonk's evalu-

ation seems good only for Manichaeans of the West for, as he himself says (p. 43f.) there was apparently a cultual aspect to Manichaeism in the East. On this cf. CHAVANNES-PELLIOT, *Un traité* II, p. 108, n. 1, and pp. 113, 261-263, 266-268, 275-277, 284, 294-301 and 308; also p. 340, n. 3 (mention of incense) and GAUTHIOT, *Quelques termes*, p. 59f. (temples).

In the same passage in *Faust.* where he deals with Faustus' attack on the Catholic veneration of martyrs (cf. Commentary, 1259), Augustine also replies to the objection concerning the *refrigerium*. First, he admits that the abuse of drunkenness does, indeed, exist; but then he argues that one must not judge the discipline of the Church "by the indulgence of drunkards or the error of the weak" (*Faust.* XX,21, p. 563.22):

Qui autem se in memoriis martyrum inebriant, quomodo a nobis adprobari possunt, cum eos, etiamsi in domibus suis id faciant, sana doctrina condemnet? sed aliud est, quod docemus, aliud, quod sustinemus, aliud, quod praecipere iubemur, aliud, quod praecipimur, et donec emendemus, tolerare compellimur. alia est disciplina christianorum, alia luxuria uinolentorum uel error infirmorum. uerumtamen et in hoc ipso distant plurimum culpa uinolentorum et sacrilegorum.

Not every *refrigerium* ended in excess, of course, or the custom would never have been tolerated by Church authorities anywhere and Monnica would never have practised it. Quasten informs us (*op. cit.*, p. 258) that it was "a custom practised even in the best Christian families," and that the manner in which it was usually carried out contained nothing that could be termed reprehensible; it was simply looked on as a sort of *agapè* like those associated with the Eucharistic celebrations. On the usual procedure at these *refrigeria*, cf. VAN DER LEEUW, *Refrigerium*, pp. 130-133; also Grossi-Gondi, *op. cit.*, pp. 222-229, and his "Il rito funebre del 'Refrigerium' al sepolcro apostolico dell'Appia," in *Dissertazioni della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia*, Serie II, 14 (Rome, 1920), pp. 261-277.

But even if the custom was often innocently practised, and by the best families at that, many churchmen shared the feeling that the possible abuses outweighed any actual merits. Augustine felt this way even before entering their ranks, and so it is not surprising that immediately after his priestly ordination in 392 he began writing letters urging the extermination of a practice widespread in his part of the world: cf. *epist.* 22 *ad Aurelium* (pp. 54-62) and *epist.* 29 10 (p. 120.22); also Quasten, *op. cit.*, pp. 259-266 and VAN DER MEER, *Saint Augustin* II, pp. 351-367. For further articles on *refrigerium*

and its various meanings, cf. Van der Meer, *op. cit.*, pp. 327-351; Van der Leeuw, *op. cit.*; DE BEAUSOBRE, *Histoire* II, pp. 664-669 and 681-687; Leclercq, *op. cit.*, cc. 2179-2189, which is largely a paraphrase of Pierre DE LABRIOLLE's article, "Refrigerium," in *Bulletin d'ancienne littérature et d'archéologie chrétiennes* (Paris, 1912), pp. 214-219; Theodor KLAUSER, "Das altchristliche Totenmahl nach dem heutigen Stande der Forschung," in *Theologie und Glaube* 20 (Paderborn, 1928), pp. 599-608; and Alfons-Maria SCHNEIDER, *Refrigerium. I. Nach literarischen Quellen und Inschriften*, Waibel, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1928 (Inauguraldiss., Theologische Fakultät, Albert-Ludwigs-Universität).

(1264) *oppressique*, var. *oppressosque*.

(1266) *in uestra paucitate*. That at least in North Africa the Elect were few in number is confirmed by the Latin document discovered at Tebessa (in ALFARIC, *Un manuscrit*, p. 69):

(E)lec(ti?) discipuli ... appellati sunt (non) immerito. nunc et opibus pauperes *numero pauci* et per artem uiam incedunt (et) angusto tramit(i) destinati sunt (et) trahunt *pauc(issimos) fideles* qui regnum caelorum potiuntur, sicuti scriptum est multi quidem sunt uocati *pauci autem Electi*.

(1271-1272) *alio uolumine ostendere institui*. He means *mor. II*: cf. 13:27-30 (cc. 1156-1158) and 19:68-20:75 (cc. 1374-1378).

(1273-1274) *ipsa condemnat, et quos*. This phrase is omitted in many mss.

(1284-1290) *uos ... non uultis*. The point is that if the Manichaeans would stop reading Scripture in a spirit of partisanship and would begin reading it with sincere devotion, they would abandon Manichaeism and embrace the true religion. This is an idea often expressed in Augustine's anti-Manichaean works: cf. *Gen. c. Man.* I,3:5 (c. 176) and II,2:3 (c. 197); and *Faust.* XXXII,20 (p. 781f.) and XXXIII,7 (p. 793f.).

(1291-1292) *qui hoc ... utentes*. Vulg.: "...qui utuntur hoc mundo tamquam non utantur."

(1294-1299) *quot enim ... possessos*. Cyprian expresses a similar idea in *De habitu uirginum* 2 (CSEL 3,1/189.6); Augustine himself has a passage in *Faust.* V,9 (p. 281.1, already referred to in Commentary, 1105-1116) which is such a strong echo of *mor. I* that it suggests a direct dependence:

Contra Faustum

Quam multi autem in nostra communione ueraciter faciunt ista sublimiora praecepta euangelica, de quorum specie fallatis inperitos! *quam multi* homines *utriusque* sexus ab omni concubitu puri atque integri, *quam multi* rerum suarum distributores et *relictos*, *quam multi*

ieiuniis uel *crebris* uel *cotidianis* uel etiam *incredibiliter continuatis* corpus seruituti subicientes!

quam multae fraternae congregationes

nihil habentes *proprium*, sed omnia *communia*, et haec nonnisi ad *uic-*

tum et *tegumentum necessaria* unam animam et *cor unum in deum*

mor. I, lines 1294-1297

Quot enim tunc pecuniosi homines, *quot* patresfamilias rusticani, *quot* negotiatores, *quot* militares, *quot* primates urbium suarum, *quot* denique senatores, *utriusque* sexus, haec omnia uana et temporalia *relinquentes*, quibus utique quamuis uterentur, non detinebantur...

lines 1177-1180

ieiunia etiam prorsus *incredibilia* multos exercere didici, non *quotidie* semel *sub noctem* reficiendo corpus, quod est usquequaque usitatissimum, sed *continuum* triduum uel amplius saepissime sine cibo ac potu ducere.

lines 1103-1117

sed si hoc excedit nostram tolerantiam, quis non illos miretur et praedicet, qui contemptis atque desertis mundi huius illecebris, in *communem* uitam castissimam sanctissimamque *congregati*, simul aetatem agunt, uiuentes in orationibus, in lectionibus, in disputationibus; nulla superbia tumidi, nulla peruicacia turbulenti, nulla inuidia liuidi: sed modesti, uerecundi, pacati, *concordissimam* uitam et intentissimam *in deum*, gratissimum munus ipsi offerunt, a quo ista posse meruerunt? nemo quidquam possidet *proprium*, nemo cuiquam onerosus est. operantur manibus ea quibus et corpus pasci possit, et a deo mens impediri non possit. opus autem suum tradunt eis quos 'decanos' uocant, eo quod sint denis praepositi, ut neminem illorum cura sui corporis tangat, neque in *cibo*, neque in *uestimento*, neque si quid aliud *opus* est, uel quotidianae *necessitati*, uel mutatae, ut assolet, ualetudini.

lines 1240-1242

caritatis igne conflantes! atque in his omnibus professionibus quam multi fallaces et perditī deprehenduntur, quam multi etiam latent, quam multi primo recte ambulantes peruersa uoluntate cito deficiunt! quam multi in temptationibus inueniuntur, quod alio animo talem uitam adumbrata specie susceperunt, et *quam multi* humiliter et *fideliter* sanctum custodientes propositum usque ad finem perseuerant et salui fiunt! in quorum societate quasi dispares adparent; sed tamen eadem *caritate copulantur*, qui propter aliquam necessitudinem secundum *apostoli* exhortationem habent uxores tamquam non habentes et emunt tamquam non tenentes et *utuntur hoc mundo tamquam non utentes*.

caritas praecipue custoditur; *caritati* uictus, *caritati* sermo, *caritati* habitus, *caritati* uultus aptatur; *coitur in unam* conspiraturque *caritatem*.

lines 1290-1299

sunt in ecclesia catholica *innumera-biles fideles* qui *hoc mundo non utantur*, sunt qui '*utantur tamquam non utentes*', ut ab *apostolo* dicitur; quod illis temporibus iam probatum est, quibus ad idolorum cultum Christiani cogebantur. mortem pro salubri *fide* ac religione subierunt, demonstraeruntque infidelibus a se potius illa omnia, quam se ab eis esse possessos.

In *Faust.* Augustine then goes on to cite I Cor. 7:5-6 followed by 7:4, also in *mor. I* (lines 1326-1331); these verses are in turn followed by Eph. 5:22-6:9 (alluded to in *mor. I*: cf. Commentary, 1034-1045). In both cases he speaks of "religious" who gather together from all walks of life and are "joined together in charity." These textual similarities indicate something about Augustine's method of composition. In the *Faust.* passage we have what cannot be anything else than a resumé of sections in *mor. I* (with, of course, material added from elsewhere as well). It therefore appears that if in the course of framing an argument against a certain opponent Augustine could recall having dealt with the same subject earlier against the same opponent, it would have been perfectly natural (and a time-saver) if, instead of composing a whole new set of arguments, he had taken the earlier work and paraphrased it for his new book. *Mor. I* seems to have been so used in the composition of *Faust. V*, 9.

(1298) *demonstraueruntque*, var. *demonstraruntque*.

(1299) *a se ... possessos*. Compare lines 751-752 (= the *exemplum* of Job).

(1301-1302) *permittit hoc Paulus*. The immediate reference would be I Cor. 7:31, already referred to in lines 1291-1292 (cf. also 1348), but Augustine is also leading up to the long citation (I Cor. 6:12-7:7) soon to follow (lines 1309-1333), a source known to him already in

Milan prior to the *Gartenerlebnis*, as we learn from *conf.* VIII,1:2 (p. 170.5):

Iam enim me illa non delectabant prae dulcedine tua et decore domus tuae (Ps. 25:8), quam dilexi, sed adhuc tenaciter alligabar ex femina, *nec me prohibeat apostolus coniugari, quamuis exhortaretur ad melius maxime uolens omnes homines sic esse, ut ipse erat.*

Cf. also *Faust.* XXX,6 (p. 754.20) where the idea is the same but the reference is to I Cor. 7:38:

Iterum si ad uirginitatem adhortaremini, quemadmodum hortatur apostolica doctrina — qui dat nuptum, bene facit, et qui non dat nuptum, melius facit — ut bonum esse nuptias diceretis, sed meliorem uirginitatem, sicut facit ecclesia, quae uere Christi est ecclesia, non uos spiritus sanctus ita praenuntiaret dicens: prohibentes nubere. ille enim prohibet, qui hoc malum esse dicit, non qui huic bono aliud melius anteponit.

That the Manichaeans insisted that the New Testament forbade such earthly ties as marriage can be seen in the words of Faustus (Augustine, *Faust.* V,1, p. 271.11):

Ego patrem dimisi et matrem, uxorem, filios et cetera, quae euangelium iubet, et interrogas, utrum accipiam euangelium? nisi adhuc nescis, quid sit quod euangelium nuncupatur. est enim nihil aliud quam praedicatio et mandatum Christi.

Cf. also the Coptic "psalm" cited above, p. 203f.

(1339) *coniugii*, var. *coniungit*.

(1345-1346) *nolite ... non licere*. Augustine tells us in *Faust.* XXX,5 (text in Commentary, 1227-1240) that marriage was tolerated for the *auditores* (or "catechumens"), but not for the *electi* (or "perfect," or "faithful"). He mentions this prohibition again in *mor.* II,18:65 (c. 1373), *haer.* 46 (c. 37) and *Fel.* I,12 (p. 814.6). Alberuni says the same thing (SACHAU, *Chronology*, p. 190), and John Chrysostom asserts (*Commentarium in epist. ad Galatas* 3, PG 61/668) that some of the Elect underwent castration in order to eradicate concupiscence. The prohibition of marriage is confirmed by a Chinese Manichaean document (in CHAVANNES-PELLIOT, *Un traité* II, pp. 342 and 354).

Augustine adds that the *auditores*, though they could marry or possess a concubine, were expected to avoid procreation: cf. *Faust.*

XXX,6 (p. 754.27, immediately following the passage cited in Commentary, 1301-1302):

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 concumbere quam nubere prohibetis*. concumbitur enim etiam causa libidinum, *nubitur autem nonnisi filiorum*. nec ideo nos dicatis non prohibere, quia multos uestros auditores in hoc oboedire nolentes uel non ualentes salua amicitia toleratis.

The same affirmation is made in *Faust.* XV,7 (p. 429.25) and XX,23 (p. 567.4), *mor.* II,18:65 (c. 1373), *haer.* 46 (c. 37), and *Secund.* 21 (p. 938.25). There is an explicit confirmation that Hearers could marry in the Latin ms. from Tebessa (ALFARIC, *Un manuscrit*, p. 71). On the Manichaean view of marriage cf. also DE MENASCE, *Une apologétique*, p. 230; ORT, *Mani*, p. 66f.; and PUECH, *Der Begriff*, p. 255f.

(1346-1347) *catechumenis ... non licere*. The *Acta Archelai* (10, in BEESON, *Hegemonius*, p. 16.3) also state that the *electi* were not allowed to possess anything. Elsewhere Augustine says that it was permitted to the *auditores* both to own property (*Faust.* XX,23, p. 567.5) and to engage in commerce (*ibid.*, p. 567.6; *mor.* II,17:62, c. 1371). This finds confirmation in the Tebessa document, which says that Hearers have their own houses (ALFARIC, *Un manuscrit*, p. 73: "catechumen(i ue)ro qui parum ualerent in e(o perfectio)nis gradu ascendere in suis quidem domibus residebant") and that agriculture and money-lending, otherwise forbidden, are permitted to them (*ibid.*, p. 71f.).

(1348) *qui utuntur ... utentes*. Cf. Commentary, 1291-1292.

(1348-1349) *et illo ... hominis*. The Vulg. of Tit. 3:5 reads: "...secundum suam misericordiam saluos nos fecit per *lauacrum* regenerationis et *renouationis* spiritus sancti..." For *innouatio* in *mor.* I some mss. have *renouatio*, a var. inspired either by the Vulg. or by II Cor. 4:16, quoted in line 1352.

Ambrose often refers to baptism as "*lauacrum regenerationis*" (cf. MADEC, *Saint Ambroise*, p. 276f.), and Augustine probably acquired the use of the Pauline phrase from him. Twice, at any rate, he uses it to describe his baptism at Ambrose's hands: cf. *nupt.* I,35:40 (p. 251.12: "...beatus Ambrosius Mediolanensis episcopus, cuius sacerdotali ministerio *lauacrum regenerationis* accepi...") and *Iul.* I,3:10 (c. 645: "Sed adhuc audi alium excellentem dei dispen-

satorem, quem ueneror ut patrem: in Christo enim Iesu per euangelium ipse me genuit (cf. I Cor. 4:15) et eo Christi ministro lauacrum regenerationis accepi. beatum loquor Ambrosium...").

In other writings Augustine says that the Manichaeans ascribed no saving value to baptism (*haer.* 46, c. 38: "Baptismum in aqua nihil cuiquam perhibent salutis adferre nec quemquam eorum quos decipiunt baptizandum putant"), and that it was therefore considered to be superfluous: cf. *Contra duas epistulas Pelagianorum* II,2:2 (CSEL 60/462.21: "Manichei lauacrum regenerationis, id est aquam ipsam dicunt esse superfluum nec prodesse aliquid profano corde contendunt") and IV,4:5 (p. 525.17: "...baptismum ... quod Manichei dicunt omni aetate superfluum"). These allegations (supported by Timothy of Constantinople, PG 86,1/21 C: Τὸ βάπτισμα οὐ παραδέχεται) should hardly come as a surprise, since we know that, as one of the Five Sacred Elements, the use of water was forbidden (cf. Commentary, 1237-1238); but Felix seems to contradict these allegations when, while defending the teaching on the Two Eternal Principles, he asks (Augustine, *Fel.* I,19, p. 825.9), "Si aduersarius nullus contra deum est, *ut quid baptizati sumus?*" Furthermore, in *Petil.* III,17:20 (p. 177.26) Augustine speaks of "their baptism" (with the implication that it is received only by *electi*), and there are some allusions to "baptism" in the Coptic "psalms": cf. ALLBERRY, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, pp. 22.13 ("...the baptism of the gods thou shalt receive in the Perfect Man") and 139.22 ("The baptism of Life, the place of washing of souls").

Taking note of this seeming contradiction, PUECH (*Le manichéisme*, p. 181, n. 364) attempts to resolve it by claiming that references to a Manichaean "baptism" have nothing to do with any external rite, but are meant to be taken only in a figurative sense. ASMUSSEN (*Xuastvanift*, p. 228) agrees with this: "Baptism would be inconceivable in Manichaeism," he says, because the *gnôsis* was all-important, and any such references "can only be for purposes of mission and then exclusively in a figurative sense." Cf. also HENRICHS-KOENEN, *Ein griechisches Mani-Codex*, p. 127, n. 102 and p. 143, and VÖÖBUS, *Manichaeism*, p. 8. That the *gnôsis* was all-important is attested to in Mani's "Letter of the Foundation" (in Augustine, *epist. fund.* 5:6 and 11:12, pp. 197.10 and 206.18, here given together):

Manicheus apostolus Iesu Christi prouidentia dei patris. haec sunt salubria uerba ex perenni ac uiuo fonte; quae qui audierit et iisdem primum crediderit, deinde, quae insinuant, custodierit, numquam erit morti obnoxius, uerum aeterna et gloriosa uita fruetur.

nam profecto beatus est iudicandus, qui haec diuina instructus cognitione fuerit, per quam liberatus in sempiterna uita permanebit.

Nor is there any doubt about the close connection that existed between Manichaeism and the Gnostic religions (cf. above, p. 22f.) nor about the emphasis on the necessity of the knowledge transmitted by Mani for salvation (cf. above, p. 23f.). BAUR was aware of these factors, yet insisted on maintaining (*Das manichäische Religions-system*, pp. 273-279) that the Manichaeans did in fact have an external baptismal rite, but using something other than water. Baur's solution appears to be the most tenable, because Augustine is careful to say that it is baptism *with water* ("baptismus in aqua"; "*aquam ipsam dicunt esse superfluum*") that is rejected by the Manichaeans. Similarly, the *Kephalaia* (6, in SCHMIDT, p. 33) do not appear to be against baptism as such, but make a distinction for baptism *with water*:

Der Geist des Königs der Archonten des Wassers ist derjenige, der heutzutage herrscht in den Sekten des Irrglaubens, *welche taufen in der Wasser-Taufe*, indem ihre Hoffnung [und] ihr Vertrauen (gesetzt ist) *auf die Wasser-Taufe*.

On the other hand, WIDENGREN (*Mani*, pp. 101-104) still clings to belief in a Manichaean baptism with water, except that for him this baptism was a cleansing ritual which took place upon the death of an Elect; for one entering the ranks of the Elect, he says, the initiation rite consisted of other *electi* imposing their hands upon him. But BARDY (*Manichéisme*, c. 1882), KESSLER (*Mani*, p. 232f.) and FLÜGEL (*Mani*, p. 297) held that Manichaeans *baptised* the Elect at their initiation, Bardy going so far as to say (*op. cit.*, c. 1885) that this is why *auditores* were also called *catechumeni*. This is flatly contradicted by Augustine in *Petil.* III,17:20 (p. 177.26), where he says that "the name of catechumen is not bestowed among them on persons to denote that they are to be baptised at some future date, but the name is given to such as are also called Hearers, on the presupposition that these are unable to observe what are considered to be the higher and greater commandments, observed by those whom they think it proper to distinguish and honour with the name of Elect."

The following solution therefore seems to be the one which best co-ordinates the various sources on this point:

(1) The Manichaeans had a baptismal rite, but used some element other than water, which was forbidden. (ALFARIC, *L'évolution*,

p. 137, who agrees with Baur's position on this, suggests that the element they used was oil.)

(2) Since the *gnôsis* was all-important, this baptism cannot be considered as having had anything to do with the Manichaeian ideas on salvation.

(3) Rather, it served as an initiation rite, marking the passage of the individual from the ranks of the "imperfect" *auditores* to those of the "perfect" *electi*.

(1366) *Explicit ... moribus ecclesiae*. For this form, cf. Commentary, 1.

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