MANICHAEISM IN AUGUSTINE'S SERMONS: THE CASE OF SERMO 182

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ABSTRACT

This article, for the first time, analyses one of Augustine's sermons in order to find out to what extent he was acquainted with Mani and his teachings. Once again, it turns out that the former Manichaean *auditor* was very well acquainted with Manichaean belief and practice. One piece of data in *sermo* 182, namely that Manicheans could make polemical use of the expression *Libera nos a malo* in the Lord's Prayer, even seems to be unique.

Keywords: Augustine, Manichaeism, sermons, Augustine's *sermo* 182, the Lord's Prayer, 1 John 4:1-3, 'docetism', doctrine of evil

1. INTRODUCTION

In the past years, I have analysed a number of Augustine's writings in order to find out to what extent he was acquainted with Mani and his teachings.[1] In this search, I

1 Abbreviations follow PAC (Prosopographie chrétienne du Bas-Empire) and PLS (Patrologiae Latinae Supplementum). Cf. André Mandouze, Prosopographie de l'Afrique Chrétienne (vol. 1 of Prosopographie chrétienne du Bas-Empire; Paris: Éditions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1982), 303-533; Adalberto Hamman, Patrologiae Latinae Supplementum (4 vols.; Paris: Éditions Garnier Frères, 1960), ff.

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focused on a number of his specific anti-Manichaean works,[2] as well as on writings such as the *Confessions*[3] and the *City of God*.[4] In all cases my conclusion was that, from his early years onwards, Augustine was very well acquainted with Manichaean belief and practice. While this conclusion runs counter to the opinion of an esteemed specialist such as Kevin Coyle,[5] my recent findings have only served to confirm my original view.[6] Indeed, in Manichaean matters Augustine always turns out to be a trustworthy and, sometimes, even unique witness.[7] When he speaks of his ignorance of certain Manichaean practices, or shows amazement at some doctrines, this should be first and foremost understood in the context of his polemics.[8] There was

2 Johannes van Oort, 'Mani and Manichaeism in Augustine's *De haeresibus.* An Analysis of *haer.* 46,1,' in *Internationaler Kongreß zum Manichäismus, Berlin, 14.-18. Juli 1997* (vol. 4 of *Studia Manichaica*; eds. Ronald E. Emmerick, Werner Sundermann and Peter Zieme; Berichte und Abhandlungen der Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 4; Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2000), 451-463; Van Oort, '*Secundini Manichaei Epistula:* Roman Manichaean "Biblical" Argument in the Age of Augustine,' in *Augustine and Manichaeism in the Latin West. Proceedings of the Fribourg – Utrecht International Symposium of the IAMS* (eds. Johannes van Oort et al.; Leiden: Brill, 2001 [repr. 2012]), 161-173; Van Oort, 'Heeding and Hiding their Particular Knowledge? An Analysis of Augustine's Dispute with Fortunatus,' in *Die christlich-philosophischen Diskurse der Spätantike* (ed. Therese Fuhrer; Stuttgart: Steiner Verlag, 2008), 113-121.

3 Johannes van Oort, 'Augustine's Criticism of Manichaeism: The Case of *Confessions* III, 6, 10 and Its Implications,' in *Aspects of Religious Contact and Conflict in the Ancient World* (ed. Pieter W. van der Horst; Utrecht: Faculteit der Godgeleerdheid, Universiteit Utrecht, 1995,) 57-68; Van Oort, 'Young Augustine's Knowledge of Manichaeism. An Analysis of the *Confessiones* and Some Other Relevant Texts,' *Vigiliae Christianae* 62 (2008): 441-466.

4 Johannes van Oort, 'Manichaeism in Augustine's *De ciuitate Dei*,' in *Il 'De ciuitate Dei': L'opera, le interpretazioni, l'influsso* (ed. Elena Cavalcanti; Rome: Herder, 1996), 193-214.

5 See e.g. John K. Coyle, 'What Did Augustine Know about Manichaeism When He Wrote His Two Treatises 'De moribus'?" in *Augustine and Manichaeism in the Latin West. Proceedings of the Fribourg –Utrecht International Symposium of the IAMS* (eds. Johannes van Oort et al.; Leiden: Brill 2001 [repr. 2012]), 43-56, and Johannes van Oort, 'Saint Augustine's Manichaean Legacy,' *Augustinian Studies* 34 (2003): 1-22; both studies reprinted in John K. Coyle, *Manichaeism and Its Legacy* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 251-263 and 307-328.

6 See e.g. Johannes van Oort, 'Augustine and the Books of the Manicheans,' in *A Companion to Augustine* (ed. Mark Vessey; Oxford: Blackwell, 2012), 188-199, where I improved and expanded some earlier findings; and, in particular, Van Oort, 'God, Memory and Beauty: A "Manichaean" Analysis of Augustine's *Confessions*, Book 10,1-38,' in *Augustine and Manichaean Christianity.* Selected Papers from the First South African Conference on Augustine of Hippo, University of Pretoria, 24-26 April 2012 (ed. Johannes van Oort; Leiden: Brill, 2013), 155-175.

7 Here I may only refer to *haer*. 46,1, where A. speaks of Manicheans who called 'Manis' 'Mannich(a)eus, doubling the letter N, as if he were one who pours out manna' (*geminata N litera, Mannich(a)eum uocant, quasi manna fundentem*). We had to wait until the discovery of the *Cologne Mani Codex* (about 1969; first preliminary publication 1970) to see this confirmed.

8 In the public disputation with the Manichaean presbyter Fortunatus, the newly ordained Catholic presbyter A. (before a public mainly consisting of Catholics and Donatists) feigns ignorance of several tenets of Manichaean practice and belief; see *c. Fort*. 2 ff. On this feigned amazement as a rhetorical strategy, see further Van Oort, 'Heeding and Hiding'.

indeed some increase in his knowledge, such as in the case of the 'semen eucharist' practiced by certain Manicheans,[9] as well as after the *Capitula* of Faustus came to his knowledge.[10] These instances do not essentially change the general picture, however. My (first ever) analysis of one of his sermons seems to further confirm my earlier findings.

2. SERMO 182: ITS LIKELY DATE AND PLACE OF DELIVERY

Although *sermo* 182 is interesting in several respects, my focus will be on its 'Manichaean' content. Scholarly literature dates the sermon to about 417.[11] When we look at its twin, *sermo* 183, this date, or even a somewhat later one, appears to be quite likely.[12] The end of the second decade of the fifth century may look rather late for explicit anti-Manichaean polemic in Augustine's life.[13] After his conversion to Nicene Christianity in 386, however, Manichaeism was an enduring threat.[14] In his *uita Augustini* Possidius tells the story of a certain Manichaean merchant Firmus, who was converted while listening to a sermon containing criticism of Manichaeism.[15] Although Possidius' *uita* is not a regular chronological narrative, the place of the

9 See *haer*. 46, 9-10, which seems to confirm a rite long suspected by A. to have been performed (cf. *mor.* 2,66; *c. Fort*. 3).

10 *C. Faust*. 1,1: '*hic* [sc. Faustus] *quoddam uolumen edidit aduersus rectam christianam fidem et catholicam ueritatem. quod cum uenisset in manus nostras lectumque esset a fratribus, desiderauerunt et iure caritatis, per quam eis seruimus, flagitauerunt, ut ei responderemus*'. In translation: 'He published a volume against the correct Christian faith and Catholic truth. After it came into our hands and was read by the brothers [sc. of A.'s clerical monastery in Hippo], they desired and demanded by the law of charity by which we are their servants, that we would reply to the work'.

11 Pierre-Patrick Verbraken, *Études critiques sur les sermons authentiques de saint Augustin* (Steenbrugis-Hagae Comitis: In abbatia s. Petri/Martinus Nijhoff, 1976), 97-98: 'après 416 et vers 417 (Monceaux); après 416 (Kunzelmann; Beuron)'.

12 Verbraken, *Études*, 98: 'après 416 et vers 417 (Monceaux); après 416 (Kunzelmann); peut-être vers septembre 417 (de Plinval); après 416 (Beuron); 417 ou 419? (la Bonnardière)'.

13 See e.g. E. Hill's first annotation to his English translation of the sermon in Edmund Hill, *The Works of Saint Augustine, A Translation for the 21st century*, *Sermons III,5 (148-183) on the New Testament* (Hyde Park, NY: New City Press, 1992), 336.

14 See the overview of the main sources (from *The Morals of the Catholic Church and the Morals of the Manichaeans* begun in 387/8 until *On the Heresies* dated to 428-430) in Johannes van Oort, 'Manichaean Christians in Augustine's Life and Work,' *Church History and Religious Culture* 90 (2010): 505-546; cf. e.g. Van Oort, 'Manichaeism in Augustine's'.

15 Possidius, *uita Augustini* 15, ed. Herbert T. Weiskotten, *Sancti Augustini Vita Scripta a Possidio Episcopo* (Princeton-London: Princeton University Press/Oxford University Press, 1919), 72-77.

story suggests a rather late date as well.[16] Other accounts,[17] sermons[18] and letters[19] indicate that Manichaeism was Augustine's enduring concern.

The (unidentified) sermon bringing about Firmus' conversion was, without a doubt, delivered at Hippo.[20] As far as I can see, neither *s*. 182 nor its twin contains an indication which would exclude Hippo. The pseudo-Augustinian *Testimonium de Manichaeis sectatoribus*[21] reveals that two of the Manicheans active in the region of Caesarea (present-day Cherchel in Algeria) came 'from Hippo.'[22] There is a fair chance that this text may be dated to the last decades of Augustine's life.[23]

However, *s.* 182 could have been delivered in Carthage as well.[24] As is well known, Augustine frequently preached in Roman Africa's capital.[25] Like Hippo, Carthage in particular was known for its many Manichaean inhabitants.[26] Moreover, several Carthaginian sermons contain anti-Manichaean invectives.[27] Apart from these two cities, another location might have been the scene of action as well.[28] Based on the reasons just indicated, however, first Hippo[29] and, secondly, Carthage seem to be the most obvious locations. Linguistic reasons may further plea for Hippo, since the sermon is characterised by a rather simple and colloquial style, which may be considered as typical of addressing one's own congregation. The promise made at the end to return to the theme in another sermon, however, might be used in favour of a Carthaginian congregation.[30]

16 Cf. *PAC*, s.v. Firmvs 2.

17 E.g. the story of the Manichaean women Eusebia and Margarita, which should be dated to 421, in *haer*. 46 (cf. Possidius, *Vita Aug.* 16). More on the story related in *haer*. 46, 9, see Johannes van Oort, 'Manichaean Women in Augustine's Life and Works,' *Vigiliae Christianae* 69 (2015) (forthcoming).

18 E.g. *s*. 1 and 12; *en. in Ps.* 25 and 140; *s. Mai* 95.

19 E.g. *ep*. 36,27.29; 55,6; 236; 165,1; 166,7.

20 Cf. the reaction of the brothers of A.'s monastery in Hippo mentioned by Possidius, *Vita Aug.* 16.

21 *PLS* 2, Paris: Éditions Garnier Frères 1960, 1389.

22 '*...Paulum et sororem suam qui sunt Hippone...*' 'Hippone' is 'from Hippo' and not 'at Hippo' as, for instance, stated in the relevant articles ('Maria 2' etc.) in *PAC*.

23 When the Theodosian and other laws against the Manichaeans were in force. Further on the *Testimonium*, its contents and date in Van Oort, 'Manichaean Women,' forthcoming.

24 A possibility not excluded by *s*. 183.

25 See e.g. Othmar Perler, *Les voyages de saint Augustin* (Paris: Études Augustiniennes, 1969), esp. 205-405, the chapter on A.'s travels during his episcopate.

26 See e.g. *conf*. 3, 10 ff.; 5,3 ff. and *haer*. 46 (cf. Possidius, *uita* 16).

27 Specifically *s*. 153, but also many other Carthaginian sermons (e.g. *s*. 152,4.6; 155,10.11; etc.).

28 See e.g. Perler, *Voyages*, 205-405, for several other cities and minor places where A. delivered sermons, though none of these was notable for its Manichaean inhabitants.

29 Also the place where a sermon like *En. in Ps*. 140 (with its extensive anti-Manichaean section) has been delivered. As a rule, it is dated to 414-415, thus roughly the same time as *s.* 182. *En. in Ps.* 140 might be proof of (some recent and special?) Manichaean activity in Hippo Regius.

30 See the translation in Hill, *Works*, 336 n. 1.

3. THE SERMON'S SUBJECT: THE DISTINCTION OF THE SPIRITS

Based on 1 John 4:1-3, the sermon's subject is the distinction of the spirits. Because the confession that 'Jesus Christ has come to the flesh' (1 John 4:3) is the criterion for this distinction, it is the Manicheans who become the target. At the end of §2, after full quotation of 1 John 4:3, it runs:[31]

> *Interim ergo, carissimi, repellite ab auribus uestris omnem praedicatorem, disputatorem, scriptorem, susurratorem qui negat Iesum Christum in carne uenisse. Ergo repellite Manichaeos a domibus, ab auribus, a cordibus uestris. Manichaei enim Christum in carne uenisse apertissime negant. Spiritus ergo illorum non sunt ex Deo.*
>
> In translation:[32] So, meanwhile, dearly beloved, turn your ears away from every preacher, debater, writer, whisperer who denies that Jesus Christ has come to the flesh. So turn the Manichaeans away from your houses, your ears, your hearts. The Manichaeans, you see, deny quite openly that Christ has come in the flesh. So their spirits are not from God.

The introducing 'interim' indicates that, first and foremost, the beloved listeners will be warned against the Manicheans. At the end of the sermon (§7) other heresies also come into view and their teachings are dealt with in the twin sermon 183.[33] Augustine's speaking of 'every preacher (*praedicator*), debater (*disputator*), writer (*scriptor*) and whisperer (*susurrator*)' excellently fits the various Manichaean activities. Manichaeans such as Fortunatus, Felix, and Faustus were well known for their preaching, debating, and writing;[34] the Manichaean auditor Secundinus for his

31 Latin text according to Shari Boodts, ed., *Sancti Aurelii Augustini Sermones in epistolas apostolicas* II, id *est sermones* CLVII-CLXXXIII *secundum ordinem vulgatum insertis etiam sermonibus post Maurinos repertis* (Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina XLI, Bb; Turnhout: Brepols, 2015), forthcoming. My sincere thanks to Dr Shari Boodts for putting this new edition at my disposal.

32 Translation in accordance with Hill, *Works*, with some changes partly based on the new Latin edition.

33 Cf. Robert Dodaro, '*Omnes haeretici negant Christum in carne uenisse* (Aug., *serm.* 183.9.13): Augustine on the Incarnation as Criterion for Orthodoxy,' *Augustinian Studies* 38 (2007): 163-174.

34 On the preachers and debaters Fortunatus and Felix, see among the most recent studies (all with extensive bibliography) François Decret and Johanness van Oort, *Sanctus Augustinus, Acta contra Fortunatum Manichaeum* (Corpus Fontium Manichaeorum, Series Latina, vol. 2; Turnhout: Brepols, 2004); Jason D. BeDuhn, 'Did Augustine Win His Debate with Fortunatus?' in *'In Search of Truth:' Augustine, Manichaeism and Other Gnosticism. Studies for Johannes van Oort at Sixty* (ed. Jacob A. van den Berg et al.; Leiden: Brill, 2011), 463-479; G. Sfameno Gasparro, 'The Disputation with Felix: Themes and Modalities of Augustine's Polemic,' in *'In Search of Truth': Augustine, Manichaeism and Other Gnosticism. Studies for Johannes van Oort at Sixty* (eds. Jacob A. van den Berg et al.; Leiden: Brill, 2011), 519-544; on the preacher/debater/writer Faustus, Gijs M. van Gaans, 'The Manichaean Bishop Faustus: The State of Research after a Century of Scholarship,' in *Augustine and Manichaean Christianity.* Selected Papers from the First South African Conference on Augustine of Hippo, University of Pretoria, 24-26 April 2012 (ed. Johannes van Oort; Leiden: Brill 2013), 199-227.

discursive letter.[35] The Manicheans' typical clandestine way of acting, indicated by their being 'whisperers,'[36] may be illustrated by the case of Victorinus of Malliana who, as a Catholic cleric, secretly spread his Manichaean belief.[37] The activity of being a *susurrator* reminds one of 2 Timothy 3:6, the text referred to in *s.* 265D (= *Morin* 17), which is on the same topic against the Manicheans as our sermon.[38] This *s. Morin* 17, moreover, is usually dated to the years 417-418[39] and, exactly in the context of its reference to 2 Timothy, diversifies the Manichaean activity as speaking (*dicere*), discussing (*iactare*), preaching (*praedicare*) and teaching (*docere*).[40]

4. THE MANICHAEANS' DENIAL OF CHRIST'S INCARNATION AND THEIR DOCTRINE OF 'TWO NATURES'

Augustine's main objection against the Manicheans is that they deny that Jesus Christ has come in the flesh (*negat Iesum Christum in carne uenisse*; *Christum in carne uenisse apertissime negant*). As a rule, this opinion is termed 'docetism' by the Nicene Christian authors and forcefully repudiated as opposing Catholic belief. We will not enter into the difficult question whether this term is correct in the case of the opponents in 1 John 4.[41] In the case of the Manicheans, the qualification likewise has its serious problems.[42]

In the next section (§3) Augustine comes, first, to the Manichaean doctrine of the 'two natures.' As we will see, this doctrine is rightly considered to be central to Manichaean belief. It is introduced and further elaborated as follows:

35 See e.g. Van Oort, '*Secundini*; Andreas Hoffmann, 'Secundinus in der Diskussion mit Augustinus über das *malum*,' in: *'In Search of Truth:' Augustine, Manichaeism and Other Gnosticism. Studies for Johannes van Oort at Sixty* (eds. Jacob A. van den Berg et al.; Leiden: Brill, 2011), 481-517.

36 On *susurrator*, cf. Christine Mohrmann, *Die altchristliche Sondersprache in den Sermones des hl. Augustin* (Nijmegen: Dekker & Van de Vegt, 1932), 110 fn. 1.

37 *Ep*. 262.

38 I.e., according to the various editions, on the 'Manichaeorum error de carne Christi.'

39 Cf. Verbraken, Études, 182 (without indication of the possible place of its delivery).

40 *S. Morin* 17, 2 (*Miscellanea Agostiniana*, Roma: Tipografia Poliglotta Vaticana 1930, 659; cf. *PLS* 2, 704): '*... dicite, et iactate, et praedicate, et docete, et domos penetrate, et captivas ducite mulierculas oneratas peccatis ...*'.

41 See e.g. (both with focus on 1 John) the still leading article by Norbert Brox, 'Doketismus – eine Problemanzeige,' *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 95 (1984): 301-314, as well as the most recent treatment in Geoffrey S. Smith, *Guilt by Association. Heresy Catalogues in Early Christianity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014).

42 Among the most recent studies, see e.g. Jason BeDuhn, 'The Manichaean Jesus,' in *Alternative Christs*, (ed. Olav Hammer; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 51-70, esp. 65-66. In view of the (seemingly) contradicting sources, BeDuhn concludes that, in the case of 'Docetism,' we are apparently asking the wrong questions not keeping in mind the premises of Manichaeism which, for instance, did not share a matter-spirit duality characteristic of Western forms of Christianity under Platonic influence.

> *Hic uideo unde uelit lupus obrepere; agnosco et, quantum ualeo, deuitandum esse demonstro. Hinc, in eo quod dixi uel potius ab apostolo dictum commemoraui, quia* omnis spiritus qui negat Iesum Christum in carne uenisse, ex Deo non est – *insidiatur Manichaeus in hoc uerbo et dicit mihi: "Ecce* spiritus qui negat Iesum Christum in carne uenisse, ex Deo non est*; unde est igitur? Si ex Deo non est," inquit, "unde est? Numquid enim potest esse nisi aliunde? Si ergo," inquit, "ex Deo non est et aliunde est, uides duas esse naturas.*
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> In translation: Here I can see what way the wolf would like to slink by: I can recognise it, and to the best of my ability I will show you how to ward it off. It's here, in what I've said, or rather what I've recalled the apostle saying: that *every spirit which denies that Jesus Christ has come in the flesh is not from God*. The Manichaean lies in wait at this word, and says to me: 'There you are; *the spirit which denies that Jesus Christ has come in the flesh, is not from God*; so where is it from, then? If it's not from God', he says, 'where is it from? Can it be there at all, I mean, unless it is from somewhere else? So if', he says, 'it's not from God, and is from somewhere else, you can see here the two natures.'

In approaching his main issue, Augustine focuses on the doctrine of the 'two natures', one being good, the other bad. It is here that he sees the wolf—reminiscent of John 10:14?[43]—creeping in, namely with the teaching that all things which do not come from God and belong to the good, come from the adverse nature,[44] i.e. evil. A few sentences later, he expresses this Manichaean view again: 'And straightaway the Manichaean says: 'And where is it from? If it is not from God, it is from somewhere else. If it's from somewhere else, I have established that there are two natures.'[45]

The doctrine of two 'natures' or 'substances' is indeed essential to Manichaeism,[46] as Augustine well knew.[47] As in so many other cases, he retorts by stressing here that, in essence, all nature is good. 'Let the fault be cured, the nature set free. The fault is not a nature, but the enemy of nature.'[48] In Augustine's view, there is no bad nature, but 'illness' of nature.[49] The required 'medicine harries faults, not nature.'[50] With an ingenious reference to Psalm 150:6 ('Let every spirit praise the Lord') Augustine

43 And is it reminiscent of Matthew 18:12 as well? Manichaean Psalms often speak of 'the wolf' and, for instance, in Psalm 273 the Matthean context is primary. Cf. C. R. C. Allberry ed., trans., *A Manichaean Psalm-Book* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1938), 93. Elsewhere (e.g. Allberry, *Manichaean Psalm-Book*, 198, 9-10) it is again John 10 which seems to be the main source. As is well known, apart from the corpus Paulinum, the Manichaean writings contain many (conflated) 'Biblical' quotes, in particular from the NT Gospels of Matthew and John, but also from Tatian's *Diatessaron* and, for instance, the *Gospel of Thomas*.

44 For the term *natura contraria*, see e.g. Fortunatus in *c. Fort.* 21; 22; 29; 34.

45 *S.* 183, 3: '*Et Manichaeus continuo:* "*Et unde est? Si ex Deo non est, aliunde est. Si aliunde est, docui duas esse naturas.*"'

46 The doctrine of two 'natures' belongs, together with the doctrine of the three 'moments' or 'times', to Manichaeism's basic doctrines.

47 See e.g. *c. Fort.* (392); *c. ep. Man.* (end 396/early 397); etc.

48 Ibid: '*uitium sanetur, natura liberetur. Vitium natura non est, sed naturae inimicum est*.'

49 Ibid.: '*languidum intelligo*.'

50 Ibid..: '*Medicina uitia persequitur, non naturam*.'

has 'personalised' the issue and, at the same time, fully applied it to his topic of the discernment of the spirits: '*Every spirit which does not confess that Jesus Christ has come in the flesh is not from God*'. Insofar as it does not confess that Christ has come in the flesh, to that extent it is not from God; because this error which does not confess that Christ has come in the flesh is not from God.'[51]

The issue of nature's 'illness' and 'fault' is subsequently explained by the Christians' regeneration in baptism: 'Brothers, why it is that we are born again? Since we were born well, why it is that we are born again? It means that the nature which had been corrupted is being restored; the nature which had fallen is being lifted up; the nature which was lying there deformed, is being reformed by grace.'[52] There is no bad nature, but only corruption, i.e. fall and deformation of the good nature. Finally—and with typically anti-Manichaean pointers—the congregation is reminded of the fact that only the Creator is 'that nature' which is 'unchangeable, unpollutable, liable to neither regress nor progress, neither falls lower to become less, nor rises higher to become more.'[53] At the same time, the listeners are warned not to confuse Creator and creation: 'To be sure, creation is good, but totally unequal to the Creator.'[54] One is, in actual fact, adhering to the devil when putting the Founder on a par with his foundation.[55]

5. THE HUMAN SOUL IS NOT A PARS DEI AND EVIL IS NOT A *SUBSTANTIA*

This last remark provides an easy transition to the next anti-Manichaean topic at the beginning of §4, namely the inequality of the soul with God. The whole paragraph provides an excellent insight into Augustine's manner of argumentation. Apart from the soul theme, the issue of evil not being a substance is dealt with again. Here we even learn that the Manicheans could polemically use a sentence from the Lord's

51 Ibid.: '*Omnis spiritus qui non confitetur Christum in carne uenisse, ex Deo non est. In quantum non confitetur Christum in carne uenisse, in tantum ex Deo non est, quia iste error qui non confitetur Christum in carne uenisse, ex Deo non est*.'

52 Ibid.: '*Fratres, quid est quod renascimur? Si bene nati sumus, quid est quod renascimur? Natura quae corrupta fuerat, reparatur; natura quae lapsa fuerat, erigitur; natura quae deformis iacebat, gratia reformatur*.'

53 Ibid.: '*Solus enim creator, solus creator (...) sola illa natura immutabilis, incontaminabilis, nec defectui, nec profectui obnoxia, nec cadit, ut minus sit, nec transcendit, ut plus sit ...*'.

54 Ibid.: '*Creatura uero bona, sed creatori impar ualde*.'

55 Ibid.: '*Vis adhaerere diabolo desertori, si aequare contendis condita conditori*.'

Prayer to prove their doctrine of the existence of an evil nature.[56] The main passage is worth an extensive quote:

> *Agnoscat anima conditionem suam: non est Deus. Cum se anima putat Deum, offendit Deum (...) Deus, quando malas animas damnat, non se damnat; si autem anima hoc est quod Deus, se damnat. Demus honorem Deo nostro, fratres, cui clamamus:* Libera nos a malo. *Et si susurret tibi, ut in oratione inuenias temptationem, et dicat tibi: "Quid est quod clamasti:* Libera nos a malo*? Certe non est malum?" responde illi: "Ego sum malus et si liberauerit me a malo, ero de malo bonus. Liberet me a me, ne incurram in te." Hoc dic Manichaeo: "Si Deus liberauerit me, non incurro in te, quia si Deus liberauerit me a me malo, ero bonus; si bonus ero, sapiens ero; si sapiens ero, non errabo; si non errabo, a te decipi non potero. Liberet ergo Deus me a me et non incurro in te. Meum est enim uitium ut errem et credam tibi, quoniam anima mea impleta est illusionibus. Non sum mihi ipse lumen, nam si essem, numquam errassem. Ideo pars Dei non sum, quia substantia Dei, natura Dei, errare non potest. Ego autem erro..."*
>
> In translation: Let the soul acknowledge its condition: it isn't God. When the soul thinks that it is God, it offends God. (...) when God condemns bad souls, he doesn't condemn himself; if, though, the soul is the same as what God is, he does condemn himself. Brothers, let us give real honour to our God, to whom we cry out: *Deliver us from evil*. And if the Manichaean should whisper to you, to present you with a temptation even in the Lord's prayer, and say to you: 'What's this you've cried out, *Deliver us from evil*? Is there really not such a thing as evil?,' answer him like this: 'I am evil, and if he delivers me from evil, from being evil I will become good. Let him deliver me from myself, in case I should get mixed up with you.' Say this to the Manichaean: 'If God delivers me from myself, I won't get mixed up with you; because if God delivers me from me as evil, I will be good; if I'm good, I will be wise; if I am wise, I won't go wrong; if I don't go wrong, it won't be possible for me to be deceived by you. So let God deliver me from myself, and I won't get mixed up with you. You see, the fault is mine, that I should go wrong and believe you, because my soul is filled with illusions. I am not my own light; if I were, I would never have gone wrong. That's why I am not part of God, because the substance of God, the nature of God, cannot go wrong. But I am wrong...'

Apart from his main argument against the Manichaean view that the soul is a *pars Dei*, Augustine stresses that the soul is full of 'illusions' (*illusiones*). This brings to mind his polemic against the Manicheans elsewhere.[57] In a highly sophisticated reasoning he then states that, because—according to his Manichaean opponent—he errs, his soul errs, which according to the Manichaean theory of the soul's consubstantiality

56 It is for the first time ever that I found such a reference, either in A.'s works or any other (Manichaean or anti-Manichaean) source. In an email on 4 September 2014 Nils Arne Pedersen (Aarhus) was so kind as to confirm my finding. He wrote: 'The only indication in the Manichaean manuscripts is, as far as I know, in the unpublished first part of the Coptic Psalm-Book. Peter Nagel and I made transcripts of some parts of it in the 1990s, and we read "give us the bread daily" on what is planche 198, line 14 in Giversen's facsimile edition. This corresponds to Luke 11:3.' If all this is correct, then it is again proof of A.'s profound knowledge of Manichaeism. For further proof of this strikingly profound knowledge, see n. 3 above.

57 E.g. *c. Faust.* 15,7 (*illusiones*); cf. e.g. *conf.* 3,10 (*phantasmata*; *figmenta*).

with God leads to strange opinions in 'theology' proper. Augustine enumerates a number of these opinions, all of which have more or less striking parallels in his other anti-Manichaean works. 'Had the nature of God gone wrong? Had the nature of God descended to impurity? Was the nature of God committing adultery? Was the nature of God going in for unlawful debauchery? Was the nature of God blind and not knowing where he was going? Was the nature of God being overwhelmed under outrageous and shameful deeds?'[58] In fact, the belief of the Manicheans in the soul's consubstantiality with God and, consequently, their 'theology' proper, is reduced to absurdity. This *reductio ad absurdum* gives rise to only one concluding remark (with ensuing exhortation): 'Be ashamed of yourself, give honour to God.'[59]

6. FURTHER ANTI-MANICHAEAN ARGUMENTS

Some of these anti-Manichaean items are repeated in the next two sections (§§5-6). In §5 Augustine first emphatically remarks that 'you cannot be your own light.'[60] Anti-Manichaean, too, is his statement that evil things are in existence, but 'they can change, and they will become good; because these evil things are evil by defect, not by nature.'[61] The real meaning of 'Deliver us from evil' is identified as 'Deliver us from darkness.'[62] Moreover, we 'ourselves' are the darkness from which we should be delivered: 'From ourselves, if there are any remnants of darkness in us, until we are totally turned into light.'[63] In §6 it is noted that 'nature is to be healed in you, not cut in two'.[64] The notion that we ourselves are darkness is repeated and followed by the fully anti-Manichaean observation: 'A person who can say, "God can be spoiled," could anything be deeper than darkness like that?'[65] The whole line of reasoning in this section is against the Manicheans and they are, of course, in view when Augustine states: 'You accept the apostle'; 'you read the apostle.'[66] The reference is to the apostle Paul, whose writings (although highly emendated)

58 *S.* 182, 4: '*Errauerat ergo natura Dei? Ierat in immunditiam natura Dei? Adulteria committebat natura Dei? Stupra illicita faciebat natura Dei? Caeca nesciebat qua iret natura Dei? Facinoribus et flagitiis obruebatur natura Dei*?' Cf. the repeated reasonings in, e.g., *mor*. 2; *c. Fort*., *c. Fel*. and, not least, *c. Faust*.

59 Ibid.: '*Erubesce, da honorem Deo.*'

60 *S.* 182, 5: '*Lumen tibi esse non potes: non potes, non potes*.'

61 Ibidem: '*Sunt mala, sed mutantur et ipsa erunt bona, quia ipsa mala uitio sunt mala, non natura*.'

62 Ibid.: '*Quid est,* libera nos a malo? *Nonne possemus et possumus haec uerba dicere: "Libera nos a tenebris?*"'

63 Ibid.: '*A quibus tenebris? A nobis ipsis si quae in nobis sunt reliquiae tenebrarum, donec in totum lux efficiamur*.'

64 *S.* 182, 6: '*Natura in te sananda est, non separanda*.'

65 Ibid.: '*Homo, qui dicis: "Corrumpitur Deus", aliquid his tenebris potest esse profundius?*'

66 Ibid.: '*Apostolum accipis … apostolum legis.*'

were accepted by Mani and his followers and stood side by side with their Gospel.[67] Augustine concludes with a reference to Ephesians 5:8, thus finely returning to the main theme of his sermon while at the same time summarising the light-darkness theme of the section:

> *Si autem credideris erroremque discusseris, audies ab apostolo:* Fuistis enim aliquando tenebrae; nunc autem lux. *Sed addidit* lux*, sed ubi?* In Domino*. Ergo tenebrae in te,* lux in Domino*. Quia non tibi potes lucere, accedendo illuminaris, recedendo tenebraris; quia non tibi lumen tu ipse es, aliunde illuminaris:* Accedite ad eum et illuminamini*.*
>
> But if you believe and shake off your error, you will hear from the apostle, *For you were once darkness, but now light*. He added *light*; but where? *In the Lord*. So darkness in you, light in the Lord. Because you can't light yourself up, by approaching you are enlightened, by drawing away you are darkened; because you yourself are not your own light, you are enlightened from elsewhere. *Approach him, and be enlightened* (Ps. 33:6).

These remarks in fact conclude the sermon's topic: the last sentences in which Augustine brings to an end his main argument against the Manicheans by—one final time—referring them to the incarnated Lord[68] in whom alone is the true light. What may strike one in particular is the final quote from Psalm 33:6 (Vulg., cf. LXX 33:6; Heb. 34:6 [Eng. 34:5]), for it is difficult to consider it a mere coincidence that this very same Psalm is quoted in the Manichaean Psalm book.[69] Elsewhere, we learn that this very same quote plays a part in Augustine's anti-Manichaean polemic.[70]

7. CONCLUSIONS

At the end of this analysis, our conclusions may be brief. *S.* 182 turns out to be a fine proof of Augustine's enduring concern with the Manichaean heresy. It is, moreover, an excellent testimony to his intimate knowledge of this gnostic form of Christianity. One piece of data provided by Hippo's bishop, namely that Manicheans could make polemical use of the expression *Libera nos a malo* in the Lord's Prayer, even seems to be unique. If we also take into consideration the vague reference in the still unedited part of the Coptic Manichaean Psalmbook,[71] we may perhaps conclude

67 Cf. above, n. 42. Perhaps the best introduction still is Michel Tardieu, 'Principes de l'exégèse manichéenne du Nouveau Testament' in *Les règles de l'interprétation* (ed. Michel Tardieu; Paris: Cerf, 1987), 123-146.

68 Cf. Ephesians 5:8.

69 Cf. the quote of Psalm 33:9 (Vulg., cf. LXX 33:9; Heb. 34:9 [Eng. 34:8]) in Allberry, *Manichaean Psalm-Book*, 158 line 8. Alexander Böhlig, *Die Bibel bei den Manichäern und verwandte Studien* (eds. Siegfried G. Richter & Peter Nagel; Leiden: Brill, 2013), 49, rightly considers this quote (and not 1 Peter 2:3!) to be the theme of the Manichaean hymn.

70 See e.g. *c. Fel.* 2,6 and already *conf.* 8,22. Second to its application to the Manichaeans, and in particular in A.'s later works, one finds the text especially applied to the Jews. See e.g. *adu. Iud.* 14 and 15; *Io. eu. tr.* 112, 6; etc.

71 Cf. n. 55.

that the Manicheans themselves prayed this sentence (or even the 'whole' of the Lord's Prayer in some version or another?). At the same time, however, it becomes clear from the very same §4 of *s.* 182, that any Biblical text which seems to hint at some *substantial* evil is summarily explained away by Augustine. In his view, evil is a *non-esse*. One may ask whether this (mainly Neo-Platonically inspired) reasoning does indeed match the full message of Scripture.[72]

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72 As is well known among NT exegetes, the most likely translation of the passage from Matthew 6:13 is 'but deliver us from the evil One (i.e., the Devil)', *tou ponêrou* in the Greek sentence *alla rhusai hêmas apo tou ponêrou* being understood as referring to the masculine *ho ponêros* (the evil One). The Jewish Encyclopedia, ('Lord's Prayer, The', n.p. Cited 10 October 2014. Online: http://jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/10112-lord-s-prayer-the), translates: 'But deliver us from the evil one [Satan].' Interestingly as well is that the *Nova Vulgata*, the official Latin Bible of the Roman Catholic Church, capitalises *Malum*, indicating that it is a reference to the Evil One (and not to *malum*, evil), thus deviating from a predominant Western Church tradition as most influentially expressed by Augustine to agree with the tradition predominant among the Greek and Syriac Church Fathers.

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