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Elke pages
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For Elke

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V. AUGUSTINE

Ormond

the powers within the Darkness came to its outer boundaries and perceived the Light. They were immediately seized with envy and jealousy, and in desire for the better they opened the attack. The Light was forced by this attack to take action, but the peaceable world could find no way with which to repel the attack—no weapons, nothing warlike or aggressive. God was therefore forced to create a new divine hypostasis more suitable for combat, the figure called the Primal Man. The Persian Manichaeans called this figure "Ormazd," which in the Zoroastrian system was the name of the god of light himself (Ahura Mazda), the opponent of Ahriman, the god of darkness. The existence of this precosmic god Anthropos, or Man, was one of the major Gnostic secrets, a key mythological element in the metaphysic of salvation.¹²

The Primal Man, God's first begotten, was defeated, however, and Satan devoured part of his light. As a result, the parts of Darkness and Light were mixed together for the first time. The devourer was also affected by what he devoured, for Light began to act as a poison on him—some versions even make the defeat a deliberate sacrifice to procure this end. Thus the immediate threat to Light was converted into a delayed victory. The five assistants of Primal Man were also devoured (and eventually became the stuff of psyche, soul, which acts as a barrier within man, corrupted as it is by its material environment but protecting the pneuma, spirit, the original Light). Meanwhile Primal Man was himself rescued by the redeemer, the spirit of light—an event which was for the Manichaean what the crucifixion was to a Pauline Christian: the symbolic archetype and guarantee of his salvation. One Manichaean, on meeting another, would repeat the gesture by which the forces of Light reached into Darkness and saved the primal sacrifice—that is, they shook hands.

The other parts of Light, however, which now form the soul, were too closely mixed with Darkness, so that another ruse was necessary following this cosmic battle—the creation of the visible world. The whole cosmos was created for redemption in order to unmix what had been mixed like the seeds of Psyche's task. The mixed parts were taken by the Living Spirit (another manifestation of Light) and made into matter and soul-stuff. Thus all the parts of nature around us come from the impure cadavers of the powers of evil. "the world is an embodiment of the Arch-Ahriman."¹³ The world so created was a prison for the powers of darkness and a place of purification for the soul-stuff, likewise but temporarily im-

¹² See above, Chapters 12 and 18, and Irenaeus, *Adv. haer.* 1.12.4, 1.30.1.

¹³ Persian Manichaean text quoted in Jonas 1970:224.

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prisoned. So creation itself, when properly understood, was a redemptive ploy of God, not of a Satanic demiurge.

The enemy now thinks up a truly devilish countertrick to prevent the Light from being separated, since this would mean the final defeat of Darkness, once it had conceived this proud desire for the Light. Having thus caught sight of the divine form, the Prince of Darkness decides to create a more effective prison for the divine Light, something made in its own image (Gen. 1.27). He therefore creates Adam and Eve to entrap permanently a particularly large part of the Light. Man now becomes the major battlefield of the two forces, exactly as he had been for Zarathustra, for the Qumran Jews, or for the writers of the possession stories in the gospels. But this common human experience of division may be differently interpreted, and to gain release from the struggle, each of the redemption religions requires one to know the right story. In the Manichaean account, Light is seeking its own restoration, and Darkness is seeking its very survival.

Eve has the special purpose of seducing Adam and making reproduction the most formidable device in Satan's armory, since it disperses the Light and prolongs the captivity indefinitely: "the whole world was filled with their lust." It thus becomes desperately important for the powers of Light to warn Adam. A messenger is sent, called Jesus, but Adam "falls asleep," Eve appears to him, and it is too late. Consequently, Jesus as "serpent" shows Adam the tree of knowledge, so that he can begin the process of the salvation of Light from this further degradation. This revelation was renewed by Seth, Enoch, Noah, Buddha, Zarathustra, Jesus Christ, and now the final messenger, Mani.

The cosmic myth will reach its conclusion in the last time, as the following apocalyptic psalm makes clear:

In a moment the Living Spirit will come . . . he will succour the Light. But the counsel of death and the Darkness he will shut up in the dwelling that was established for it, that it might be bound for ever. There is no other means to bind the Enemy save this means; for he will not be received to the Light because he is a stranger to it; nor again can he be left in his land of Darkness, lest he may wage a war greater than the first. A new Aeon will be built in the place of the world that shall dissolve, that in it the powers of Light may reign, because they have performed and fulfilled the will of the Father entire, they have subdued the hated one. . . . This is the Knowledge of Mani, let us worship him and bless him.¹⁴

¹⁴ Psalm quoted in Jonas 1970:235. On this Coptic collection of Manichaean psalms, almost contemporary with Augustine, see also P. Brown 1967:46.

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The Manichaean system, it will be evident, shows remarkable parallels to myths we have referred to earlier. Apart from the obvious resonance with the Qumran texts (the battle of the sons of Light and Darkness), it adapts, for example, the Babylonian idea that the world is made from the body of Tiamat and that man is made from her consort Kingu's blood, a motif echoed also in Snorri's account of Scandinavian mythology and transformed in the Orphic context into a myth that Dionysus was devoured by the Titans and mankind fashioned from the resulting mixture.¹⁵ In retrospect, "mixing" looks like the most influential idea developed in the Yahwistic, Enoch, and Gnostic traditions. Each stage of the Manichaean plot is a repetition with variation of the initial situation, the desire of darkness for light or mixing.

In some of their forms, these opening moves in the cosmogonic myth are derived directly from the lustful Watchers of the Enoch books. Indeed, the sons of darkness are actually referred to by their Aramaic title, 'irin, Watchers, as well as by the Greek translation, *egregoroi*.¹⁶ In Mani's adaptation, the chief difference is that the myth has been definitely pushed back to cosmogony, so that now rebellion and creation are the same story. We can recognize a Gnostic transformation of the Watcher myth, for example, in the following episode. The divine Messenger sails in his light ship (the moon) across to the middle of the heavens, and there "revealed his forms, male and female, and was seen by all the archons, the sons of Darkness, males and females. And at the sight of the Messenger, who was beautiful in all his forms, all the archons became filled with lust for him, the males for the form of the female, and the females for the form of the male."¹⁷ The male archons, excitable crew that they are, ejaculate at the sight, and the spilled sperm, now called "sin," which is actually some of the light they have been holding back on, falls to earth.

Here another even more archaic complex of motifs occurs in Manichaean transformation: the rebellion of the sea, the beast, and the trees. Some of the sperm falls in the sea ("the moist part" of the earth), where it becomes "a hateful beast in the likeness of Sakla, the Prince of Darkness." A "great rebellion" springs from it, and Adamas, the Primal Man and

¹⁵ ANET 66-69 (*Enuma Eliš*, Tablet iv, lines 129-43, vi, lines 5-33); see J. Harrison 1922:490-500; Young 1966:35; S. Thompson 1955-58: Motifs A625, 1200, 2611. On the garments of light in Gnostic contexts, see Puech 1978: vol. 2, 118-22. On "mixing," see above, Chapters 6 and 8, and Layton (ed.) 1981: vol. 1, 734-56.

¹⁶ Henning 1977: vol. 1, 341. See above, Chapter 8 n. 18.

¹⁷ A. V.W. Jackson 1932:241.

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champion of Light, is sent to fight and kill it. The other part falls on dry land, five trees spring up, and the sin becomes their fruit.¹⁸ The trees are thus linked to Adam and Eve but symbolically represent vegetal life in general, while the beast in the sea is animal life. Together they make up the living world of rebellious, lust-generated matter that so repels the fastidious Manichee. The beast is to be rejected, since he will reproduce himself through lust, but the trees acquire other connotations from the myth tradition. Their fruit, the "sin," is a concentrated source of light, given its origin, and so a good Manichaean will eat vegetables and fruit, but not meat, in order to reincorporate the light particles.

In the following brief passage, taken from the prototype of Christian attacks on Mani, Hegemonius' *Acta Archelai*, we find most of our basic myths amalgamated into Mani's system: "Hence also some of the angels, refusing to obey God's counsel, resisted his will; and one of them fell like a flash of lightning upon the earth [becoming the devil], while others, beset by the serpent-dragon [*a dracone*], united with the daughters of men."¹⁹ The various echoes are a sign of Mani's syncretism, but they also testify to the persistence of ancient myth in Gnostic guise. And, although it was the most extreme of the various ascetic and dualist systems that flourished in the centuries that gave birth to Christianity, Mani's mythological scheme continued to reappear, under the names of various "heresies"—Paulician, Bogomile, Cathar, Waldensian—since it provided the only fully reasoned defense of the ascetic, world-despising tendency that was partially absorbed into Christianity without its accompanying justification. The monastic life of the Manichaean elect within their established churches, modeled perhaps on Buddhist practice, had a strong impact on the Christian monastic orders.²⁰ And the most important and brilliant of all the church fathers, Augustine, spent nine years of his life as a follower of this system.

¹⁸ Stroumsa 1984:156-58, citing the recently published Cologne Mani Codex; cf. Milik 1976:320-36, Gruenwald 1983.

¹⁹ Hegemonius, *Acta Archelai* 36.3, quoted in Stroumsa 1984:29.

²⁰ A. V. W. Jackson 1932:225-40; Henning 1943-46:53.

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MANICHAEAN DUALISM AND AUGUSTINIAN DIALECTIC

1. Heresy and Opposition

FOR THE spiritually tormented young man that we get to know in the first books of Augustine's *Confessions*, the piety and asceticism of the Manichaean elect held a strong appeal. The elaborately rationalized myth that showed that the inner man, the spirit, was untarnished and a part of the divine substance offered an especially attractive system of belief to a young intellectual troubled by the demands of the flesh. "I have known my soul and the body that lies upon it, that they have been enemies since the creation," says the Manichaean Psalmbook.¹ Both God and the young man's soul were thus protected from guilty implications. Neither was responsible for evil, and both were part of a cosmic redemptive scheme.

Though this myth preserved the innocence of the deity, the more mature Augustine realized that it left him powerless to redeem more than a small part of the cosmos or of a human self. It thus divided both cosmos and self irrevocably. A Manichaean could never be a whole being, and it was just this wholeness that Augustine sought. Though the Manichaean system apparently relieved him of responsibility ("not I was sinning, but some other nature within me," as Paul put it), Augustine rejected it because "in truth I was a complete whole: it was my impiety that divided me against myself."² Augustine's theory of sin was, paradoxically, the way in which he learned to understand this wholeness.

Like its Manichaean counterpart, this theory had to be a complete explanation both of the individual psychology of the believer and of the cosmos in which he found himself. For the orthodox Christian, such an account of the cosmic structure had to be chiefly an exegesis of the scriptures in which this structure was revealed, and especially of the first three chapters of Genesis. Out of the need to construct a satisfactory understanding of his own sinful nature, Augustine was thus led to apply his enormous

¹ Quoted in P. Brown 1967:49.

² Augustine, *Confessions* 8.10; the translation is normally Warner 1963.

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P 397, 398

in order to grasp this theory we must take account of the important changes through which it passed as his thought developed. At each stage he was engaged in a dialogue. He was concerned not only to construct a coherent system that would explain the tension between man and God and the complicated relationship of psychology to cosmology, but also eager to refute a heresy by a superior philosophical argument.

2. The Theory of Sin

Augustine's theory of sin evolved first out of his opposition to the Manichaean views he had so recently espoused. The actual center of the theory was the distinction between sin and evil. For Augustine, sin precedes and is the cause of evil; for Mani, evil causes sin. Indeed, for Mani both sin and evil are manifestations of the power of darkness—symbolically a more inclusive, prior, and as Augustine recognized in Genesis, a more imaginatively effective term.

The core of the early theory of sin and its correlate, virtue, was not the nature of human action considered in itself but the end to which one acts. He attacked the asceticism of the Manichaeans by reminding them of that "vile miscreant," Catiline, who could endure cold, thirst, and hunger—all "to gratify his fierce and ungoverned passions."⁷ Asceticism in itself was no virtue. Why, even the Manichaeans themselves (he tells us in a typical use of the opponents' argument against themselves), when told how many Catholic women were virgins, would reply, "So are mules." Virtue was human action directed toward God, sin was action directed toward the self.

At the same time, Augustine also tried to refute the Manichaean and generally Gnostic notion that matter itself is evil. He firmly insisted that evil is corruption, not substance. If the poison of a scorpion's sting were in itself evil, for example, then the scorpion itself would suffer most. Rather, what we call evil is merely the disagreement of the elements and humors with each other, and we should not call it evil at all. "What is truly and properly an evil is hurtful both always and to all." Yet hellebore, for example, is sometimes a food, sometimes a medicine, as well as a poison.

We who live in air die under earth or under water, while innumerable animals creep alive in sand or loose earth, and fish die in our air. Fire consumes

⁷ *De moribus* 2.13.27, trans. in Schaff (ed.) 1887: vol. 4, 76.

our bodies, but, when suitably applied, it both restores from cold and expels diseases without number.⁹

If the Manichaeans were right, then fire, air, earth, and water could never do any good. The basis of Augustine's argument here is an optimistic and entirely Greek respect for the created cosmos, its beauty and order. Indeed, in an early treatise, *De pulchro et apto*, his first complete work, now lost but referred to in the *Confessions*,⁹ he apparently described the glories of nature in largely Platonic terms. Though this attitude never left Augustine completely, it was severely modified when he came to contemplate later "the sufferings of new-born babies."¹⁰

This early line of argument, attractive as it was to the recent convert, only goes to prove that evil is not matter. Augustine still had to account for suffering and sin. His early attempt to do so was the notion of *consuetudo*, the power of custom or habit. By this means he opposed the Manichaean theory of the presence of evil in man. Augustine's major concern in this anti-Manichaean phase was to show that man himself, not a celestial power, is responsible for sin, that "sinning takes place only by an exercise of the will."¹¹ Man may freely choose whether or not to sin. The will is free.

Later, however, his views were profoundly altered, and Augustine came to see the inadequacy of this theory to his own felt experience. He had to admit the bondage of the will, despite his continued opposition to Manichaeism. Though he attempted to defend his earlier statement, together with the similar notions set forth in his treatise *De libero arbitrio*, against the Pelagian charge that he had reversed himself, his defense produces such complicated Latin that it has resisted the best efforts of translators and interpreters alike. He had forgotten the dialectical nature of his own thought. The most charitable comment on this passage of the *Retractions* is probably that of his Victorian translator and admirer, Alfred Henry Newman:

His efforts to show the consistency of this earlier with his later modes of thought are to be pronounced only partially successful. The fact is that in the anti-Manichaean time he went too far in maintaining the absolute freedom of the will and the impossibility of sin apart from personal will in the

⁹ *De moribus* 2.8.12-13.

⁹ *Confessions* 4.13-15. See Courcelle 1950.

¹⁰ P. Brown 1967:393-96. See Hick 1966:43-95 for a review of these theories.

¹¹ *De duabus animabus* 10.14.

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sinner; while in the anti-Pelagian time he ventured too near to the fatalism that he so earnestly combatted in the Manichaeans.¹²

The major change in Augustine's thought, and one that has affected the entire subsequent history of the church, was the invention of the doctrine of original sin. Intellectually the theory was derived from his reading of Ambrosiaster's commentary on Paul, and although the controversy with the Donatists sharpened the focus of Augustine's thinking on the point,¹³ it must have coincided with a profound emotional change. He thought he read the idea in Paul's language at Romans 5.12: "Sin came into the world through one man and death through sin, and so death spread to all men in that [because] all men sinned, *eph' hōi pantes hēmarton*." The last phrase Augustine persistently mistranslates as *in quo omnes peccaverunt*, in whom [Adam] all men sinned.¹⁴ He refers to Ambrose as his authority for arguing that all men born of sexual intercourse are thereby tainted with original guilt, but the idea of the solidarity between all men and Adam is probably influenced by both the Stoic and Neoplatonic notion of "*spermatikoi logoi*," seedlike words, which are all contained in the divine Logos,¹⁵ and even more by the Gnostic and Manichaean idea, contained in the Adam book tradition, of the Primal Man, or the god Anthropos, Man. Augustine insists on the idea that all seed is Adam's seed and so guilty of Adam's sin.

The theory of inherited guilt, and the correlative theories of predestination and the bondage of the will, now made Augustine's position very hard to distinguish, at least existentially, from the Manichaean. The difference lay only in the story of origins. Adam's sin, not primal darkness or God's fallibility, was the original cause. The result was a world very like the Manichaean, ruled by a dark tyrant whose power was evident in the inevitability of sin.¹⁶

The mistrust of the body, evident throughout Augustine's life, in the *Confessions* as well as the anti-Pelagian tracts, comes very close to Mani's position that man should abstain from sexual contact because that is how evil is passed along. Pelagian opponents who accused Augustine of Man-

¹² Schaff 1887: vol. 4, 102n.

¹³ TeSelle 1970:256-66; P. Brown 1967:233-43.

¹⁴ Rom. 5.12; Augustine, *De nuptiis et concupiscentia* 1.3.8, 2.5.15; *Contra Julianum* 1.3.10, 1.4.11. See Patrides 1966:97-101, Te Selle 1970:158-65, and Rist 1972:230-35, who rather belittles the shift in Augustine's thought.

¹⁵ Rist 1972:231.

¹⁶ *City of God* 20.8.41; *Contra Julianum* 6.21.67. See P. Brown 1967:244, 395.

ichaeism and defended the goodness of human sexuality had a strong case. Augustine maintained throughout the Pelagian controversy that the pursuit of Christian marriages could easily be polluted by the venial sin of sexual desire. The Pelagian attack stung him, however, to repeat his old argument that sinless sex was the property of man and woman before the Fall. Then the body's members were under the control of the will and did not uncannily rise (or fall), as they do under the present dispensation. He also developed a more elegantly scholastic series of distinctions to clarify his differences from Manichaean asceticism. Concupiscence might well be equivalent to original sin, he argued, but "only if it is seen as something within the soul."¹⁷ What makes it sin, apparently, is not the desire itself—after all, animals have that, and it is natural—but the privation of love involved. The soul turns inevitably away from God when it inclines to the gratification of the body, and the proper Platonic ordering of the elements of the soul is disturbed. It is the sense of shame that makes it sin or, to put it scholastically, the material element in original sin is concupiscence but the formal element (what makes it sin) is guilt, the sense that one is turning away from God. One then views the gift of God, the body and the self, as greater than the giver.

Augustine thus justified and extended his central idea, based on the Platonic model and parallel to the Irenaean idea of apostasy, that all sins are subsumed within the first sin: pride.¹⁸ But the problem that the Pelagians raised is equally important: once we have a theory of inherited guilt, original sin, then every human act becomes sinful, whatever its putative object. What then can man do about this? Augustine's answer is frightening, profound, and desperate. Like the author of Job he answers: nothing. Unlike Job, however, he believes in a God who does more than afflict—a good God who offers prevenient grace.

3. *The City of Sin and the City of Grace*

"He cast upon them the fierceness of his anger, wrath, indignation and trouble, by sending evil angels among them." Augustine quoted these words of Psalm 78 in two of his attacks on the young and brilliant Pelagian, Julian of Eclanum.¹⁹ This dreadful sense of human bondage brought

¹⁷ *Contra Julianum* 3.10.22. See TeSelle 1970:316–18.

¹⁸ *De libero arbitrio* 3.76; *City of God* 14.13.1. See TeSelle 1970:109–11 and Rist 1972:241–43.

¹⁹ Ps. 78.49; *Contra Julianum* 5.3.8, 6.8.31.

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Augustine, and the church after him, very close to the Manichaean and generally Gnostic view of the cosmos as a prison. It mattered little to Julian that this terrifying vision was, for Augustine, the punishment by an angry God for the unspeakable crime of Adam, not the outcome of the war of the two kingdoms. For Julian, human life was essentially the same in both the Manichaean and the Augustinian views: horrible suffering and domination by evil angels.

Though the controversy with Julian was cut short by Augustine's sudden death, its outcome had already been decided. The world-view set forth earlier in the *City of God* would dominate medieval Christendom.²⁰ Despite the gloomy Manichaean pessimism that a Pelagian could read there, this work was an effort to counter both the Platonic (and Pelagian) and the Manichaean tendencies in Christian tradition. To the Manichaeans Augustine offered a complex theory of evil as the negation of good; to the Pelagians he emphasized the power of sin. Here at last—or so the Latin church came to feel—was a coherent Christian system, a cosmology that would outdo the Manichaean in speculative subtlety and the just recognition of evil yet at the same time preserve the Greek (and Jewish) sense of the created beauty of the universe and the goodness of the material of which it is made.

By means of this system, Augustine brought to its culmination the narrative tradition that Paul had initiated by setting the fall of Adam next to the Redemption. He was deeply influenced by Ambrosiaster's commentary on Paul and by Irenaeus' development of the Pauline theory of correspondence between these two poles of the Christian mythology. We have considered at length some of the difficulties that faced the church in articulating this crucial correspondence, in particular the problem posed by the double Pauline theory of redemption. Was it Adam's sin or the devil's tyranny that occasioned Christ's mission? The key to the Augustinian resolution of the problem was frank acceptance of the theory that "all men, even new-born infants, are involved in the common destiny of the human race, entirely apart from their own decisions."²¹ What the common destiny of the race meant, since Adam fell, was bondage to the devil. The first letter of John, we saw, alludes to the birth of Cain from the devil. What Augustine found there was a spiritual allegory of Adam's ancestry:

²⁰ P. Brown 1967:340-97; see also Hick 1966:96-102.

²¹ TeSelle 1970:258.

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Adam was created by God, but when he consented to the devil he was born of the devil, and all whom he begot were like himself. We are born with desire, and even before we add our own guilt we are born of that damnation. . . . Therefore there are two births, that of Adam and that of Christ, the one casting us down to death, the other raising us up to life; the one bearing with it sin, the other freeing us from sin.²²

Just as Adam was twice born, of God and of the devil, so all Christians, in the doctrine of John's gospel, must be twice born. One birth, the physical birth, is of the devil ("inter faeces et urinam nascimur"); the second, the spiritual birth of baptism in Christ, is of grace.

So Augustine was able to preserve and articulate the dialectical tension at the heart of Christianity, and the cosmic system he created depends on this tension: a monochristic faith in an evidently divided universe. Once he became a Christian, Augustine insisted on a monist universe created and sustained by the power of the one true God. Yet at the same time he was drawn repeatedly to emphasize the split in the nature of things. He even came to teach that this split between light and darkness, between the good and evil angels, took place on the very first day of creation when God, according to the fourth verse of Genesis, "divided the light from the darkness." Since these first verses of Genesis describe the actions of God, Augustine has to be very sure that he does not impute the creation of evil to God. What God made was the angels, and their substance, like everything else created by God, as the text of Genesis often insists, was good. Some of these angels, however, whether created equal with the others or not, turned away, and were thus themselves responsible for their punishment in darkness. So when he discusses the "Fiat Lux" passage, Augustine writes:

"The true Light, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world" [John 1.9]—this Light lighteth also every pure angel, that he may be light not in himself, but in God; from whom if an angel turn away, he becomes impure, as are all those who are called unclean spirits, and are no longer light in the Lord, but darkness in themselves, being deprived of the participation of Light eternal. For evil has no positive nature; but the loss of good has received the name "evil."²³

The first evil will had no efficient cause, but a deficient one, since it loved its own power and not the giver of that power. It was thus deficient in love.

²² *Tractatus in Johannis evangelium* 4.11. See above, Chapter 17.1.

²³ *City of God* 11.9. Quotations are from the translation of Dods 1950.

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In the grand scheme of the *City of God*, this division becomes the origin of the two cities, the heavenly and the earthly, whose contrary natures and tendencies explain the whole of cosmic and human history.²⁴ Despite the strong debt to Manichaeism,²⁵ this opposition preserves and extends the ethical and eschatological dualism of Paul, and denies the ultimate cosmological dualism of Mani. The metaphor of two cities, like the Irenaeian idea of apostasy as a state of mind, enables Augustine to avoid both the total opposition of body and spirit of the Gnostic heresy, and also the dangerous helplessness implicit in the popular idea of a cosmic redemptive battle fought out literally between Christ and Satan. The two cities are two universal tendencies in human and cosmic history.²⁶ In this way Augustine could preserve the importance of Paul's theory that redemption is liberation, without obscuring the central idea that what we are liberated from is ourselves.

What distinguishes this Augustinian dualism from the Manichaean is essentially the account of the origin of things. On the one hand is a lapsed monism, on the other an original duality. But the Valentinian myth of the demiurge tells a similar story of a divine being whose ambition led him astray, so Augustine also insists on a second or divine perspective, according to which the apparent duality of the earthly city may be seen as a part of the divine, and already fully unified, structure. Even hell fits. Most of the time we are bound by the dualistic perspective of the earthly city we inhabit and so cannot see the role of sin in the total scheme. But we are also granted moments of illumination, of grace, which assure us even of the beneficence of evil according to the divine and eternal pattern. From this point of view there is no real battle between opposing forces since the substance of the one apparent force, evil, is illusory.

Not only is this an extremely powerful illusion, however, but it is even a necessary illusion for the present constitution of human life in the earthly city. It is at this point that, the Pelagians argued, Augustine contradicts himself. Though evil as substance may be illusory, its effects are very real, leading even to eternal damnation. What is more, argued Augustine, we are born with a sinful nature, in bondage to sin, and only grace can liberate us. Our own efforts are worth nothing, since they originate in sin. Many people are predestined, like the fallen angels, never to escape this illusion, so that for them the earthly city—a temporary abode for the elect who experience grace—becomes an eternal hell. Like the two births of the Chris-

²⁴ *City of God* 11.19-20.

²⁵ Adam 1952, but cf. Rist 1972 and J. B. Russell 1981:196-208.

²⁶ P. Brown 1967:320.

an genuine peace that we are not fighting a war, we are not fighting a war. It is still the same, but it is not a war. It is a point where we are not fighting a war.

⑦

D.T. Augustine is so wonderful I wonder that I feel no inner amusement in disagreeing with him but I must admit that his notion that evil is illusory. In fact, I

tian, these people die two deaths: one to the body, the second to God. Ever since the first day of creation, their separation from the light is eternal.²⁷

To the Pelagian, or to the unsympathetic modern, Augustine's position may seem like no more than an ugly and ultimately untenable compromise between doctrines of his opponents. To the Pelagian he argued the inescapable reality of sin, the bondage imposed by the earthly perspective, the separation from God; to the Manichaean he argued the insubstantiality of evil, the divine perspective, derived mostly from the Neoplatonic tradition. Indeed, ever since this paradox was first fully enunciated by Augustine, Christian culture has been continually tempted to separate yet again the two linked perspectives; to argue, like the liberal seventeenth-century churchmen among whom the anonymous *Letter of Resolution Concerning Origen* of 1661 stirred a sympathetic response, that hell and the devil were not eternal;²⁸ or, like the many medieval and strongly Manichaean heretics, Bogomils, Paulicians, Cathars, to argue that the world itself was damned together with all, or almost all, its inhabitants²⁹—a position that had at times its attractions for Augustine and for Calvin. Yet one could argue that the church has kept its power because it retained both perspectives:

The two complementary ideas at the very core of Christian culture—that humanity was basically saved by Christ's coming, and that since the exile from Paradise every human being is basically condemned if we consider his natural status alone and set grace aside—should be considered jointly. . . . in order to counteract the jaunty optimism or the despair that could result if they were dealt with separately.³⁰

Once Augustine first developed the theory of original sin, sometime between 400 and 406,³¹ he was deeply concerned with keeping both dangers constantly in view. The twin threats of despair and of excessive optimism would be continually denounced until the end of his life. Both these dangerous emotional states derive, he believed, from a misapprehension of the relationship of man and God. It was through the doctrine of sin and grace that he tried to articulate the correct relationship and thus transform

²⁷ See below, Chapter 25, but also the general discussion in Hick 1966.

²⁸ Walker 1964:124–26.

²⁹ Nigg 1962:177–91; Loos 1974.

³⁰ Kolakowski 1974:8.

³¹ Courcelle 1950; TeSelle 1970:258–66.

these psychological states. The idea of sin was necessary to counter the perverse idea that evil had any independent substance; the idea of grace was essential to oppose the notion that man could be saved by his own efforts. Both heresies denied the distance of man from God and thus failed to read correctly the situation of man within the cosmic structure. The heretics misunderstood the relationship of psychology to cosmology.

It was Augustine's early contact with the Manichaeans which had led him to perceive the importance of this relationship. Once he had undergone the psychological change described in the *Confessions*, he had to reassess the cosmology in which he had previously believed; the Manichaean cosmology no longer corresponded to psychological truth. But he now understood also the error that had led him to be a Manichaean "Auditor" for nine years. It was the same error that had caused the fall of the angel and the fall of man: the illusion that the soul and God have the same nature. This assumption of equality with God is the typical form of pride. Even in the *City of God*, written many years after he abandoned the Manichaean church, he continued to denounce it for this error, the real source of all its other misapprehensions:

The Manichaeans would not drivel, or rather rave, in such a style as this, if they believed the nature of God to be, as it is, unchangeable and absolutely incorruptible, and subject to no injury; and if moreover they held in Christian sobriety, that the soul which has shown itself capable of being altered for the worse by its own will, and of being corrupted by sin, and so, of being deprived of the light of eternal truth—that this soul, I say, is not a part of God, nor of the same nature as God, but is created by him, and is far different from its creator.¹¹

Because they have turned from God to the self, and believe they find the divine (and evil) substance in themselves, they are blind to the distance that separates them from God. Their doctrine prevents them from understanding the world from any but the fallen point of view, sunk as they are in darkness. They cannot experience the goodness of God and the illumination that it brings. The Christian and the Manichaean points of view are the equivalent of the two cities, the heavenly and the earthly, the eternal and the temporal, the world of God and the world of Satan.

Evil appears to have substance only while man is ensnared in the earthly, self-centered point of view. If he can let go of the self and turn back toward God, then the substance of evil naturally evaporates. "For no

¹¹ *City of God* 11.22.

→ D.T. and this is true. But it also applies to the falling that served to the D.O. offers membership in his force.

→ * This is the cardinal error in Augustine.

nature at all is evil; this is a name for nothing but the want of good."³³ Conversion is a vision, accorded by God's grace, which makes possible this second, cosmic point of view. Once he is thus enlightened, Augustine can understand that everything, even darkness and sin, has its place within the divine structure. Evil, which had before seemed equal with good, is now seen to be a function of the selfish will and has its use.

Even the wicked will is a strong proof of the goodness of [the devil's] nature. But God, as he is the supremely good Creator of good natures, so is he of evil wills the most just ruler; so that, while they make an evil use of good natures, He makes a good use even of evil wills. Accordingly, He caused the devil (good by God's creation, wicked by his own will) to be cast down from his high position, and to become the mockery of his angels—that is, He caused his temptation to benefit those whom he wishes to injure by them.³⁴

Similarly man's evil, sin, becomes the grounds for the reception of grace.

The theory of sin and grace, with its concomitant doctrines of the two points of view and the two cities, the heavenly and the earthly, the divine and the merely human, did not come all at once to Augustine. He developed it only with great difficulty out of his constant wrestling with Manichaeism, and his gradual understanding of the story of his own life. Until he could understand the structure of his life and its relationship to the structure of sin and grace, of light and darkness, that operates everywhere and at once, he was always in danger either of Pelagian optimism or Manichaean pessimism. Even when he had found the way to reconcile the two in an understanding of the entire cosmic pattern, it was still possible to misinterpret his writings in one direction or the other, even for the two points of view to get confused yet again. The very nature of controversy is to force the participants to an extreme statement of their point of view which endangers, though it may not destroy, the balance of the dialectic.

³³ *City of God*, cf. 14.13. See also Rist 1972:233–35. For a different but often persuasive view, see J. B. Russell 1981:200–208.

³⁴ *City of God* 11.17.

D.T. and
this is ~~important~~
grotch, for
it leads us
away from the
one which
is ~~the one~~
and the D.T.
that on that
and the
Creator is
enter the
context on
fluctuating
but generally
equal terms.

D. T. file

Mis.

Satan Expiring 159

to the Devil as literary personage was permanently fixed by Goethe. There have been exceptions, but writers wishing their theological Devils to be taken seriously as personifications of evil have had, since *Faust*, to overcome powerful resistance.

Mephistopheles is partly a Christian devil, partly an ironic commentator on society, partly a spokesman for secular, progressive humanism; mostly, says E. C. Mason, he is "simply a one-sided insistence on the seamy side of human life."⁵² He has the ironic, aloof, critical, cold, judgmental qualities of the academics whom Goethe despised, characteristics that Faust shared but of which he was purged by his suffering. Mephisto's slick intelligence and superficial charm allow him to manipulate people, but on a deeper level he is a fool, for he fails to grasp that the essential reality of the cosmos is the power of love. He is foolish enough to make a bet against the all-knowing deity; he begins by playing the fool in heaven and ends by lusting after the angels. His combination of wisdom and stupidity is summed up when he admits that for thousands of years he has been resisting the irresistible power of God.⁵³

Essentially blind to reality, Mephistopheles tries to negate and destroy it. He denies the value of existence and declares that the purpose of creation is to be destroyed. He hates beauty, freedom, and life itself; he causes the deaths of individuals and advocates ruinous social policies that destroy multitudes.⁵⁴ This nihilism is the essence of evil, and it comes indirectly from God (ll. 342-349). Like the traditional Devil, Mephisto is a liar and cheater, a master of illusion who repeatedly shifts his shape, appearing as a dog, a scholar, a knight, a fool, a magician, and a general. With sophistry, flattery, and gossip he sows doubt and distrust; he uses his magic to instill illusions, hallucinations, and dreams; as counselor of state he creates false wealth, and as a general he destroys armies by committing illusory troops to battle.⁵⁵ The spirit of chaos and disorder in the natural world, he also promotes disorder in society by disrupting justice.⁵⁶ He delights in cruelty and suffering.⁵⁷ He tempts

Goethe's
genius.

52. E. C. Mason, "The Paths and Powers of Mephistopheles," in *German Studies Presented to Walter Horace Bruford* (London, 1962), p. 93.

53. Ll. 1776-1784. For Mephisto's intelligence, see ll. 1362-1378, 6172, 10,075-10,076; foolishness, ll. 339, 1675; the riddle in ll. 4743-4750, 11,780-11,800.

54. Ll. 1338-1384, 1851-1867, 3711, 6255-6256, 6954-6962, 11,350-11,369, 11,544-11,550, 11,596-11,603.

55. Ll. 1506-1606, 1868-2050, 2300-2366, 2901-2912, 3050, 5985-6027, 8027, 10,547-10,781.

56. Ll. 1379-1384, 4611, 5465-5470, 6203-6208.

57. Ll. 3543, 3711, 11,350-11,369, 11,545-11,554, 11,636-11,707.

and threatens in his efforts to corrupt and is most pleased with the despair of the innocent.⁵⁸ Incapable of grasping what love means, he promotes coarseness and brutality in sexual relations.⁵⁹ He opposes social reforms and crushes a revolution against tyranny.⁶⁰ He regrets his unfallen past but refuses to repent, falling into the sin of despair.⁶¹ Yet he speaks for Goethe in his ironic comments on philosophers, professors, fanatics, generals, clergymen, bureaucrats, politicians, and exploitative rulers.⁶²

After a dedication and a prelude, the poem opens with the "Prologue in Heaven," where the Lord is surrounded by his heavenly courtiers, led by Raphael, Gabriel, Michael, and Mephistopheles. The setting immediately recalls the Book of Job, with Mephistopheles playing the part of Satan. The angels praise God for the beauty of the cosmos. But Mephistopheles shifts the focus from the cosmos as a whole to the condition of humanity. In spite (or because) of the alleged harmonies of the cosmos, humanity is wretched, brutish, unhappy, and unreliable. God reproaches him for this negativism, but Mephisto persists, pitying the human race: "I feel such compassion for their wretched lives that I hesitate to afflict them any more myself" (ll. 297-298). The Devil's presence in the heavenly court and his influence upon the Lord indicates that evil is part of God's design, inherent in humanity, the cosmos, and God himself. The Devil's role in the heavenly court is ironic, almost that of a heavenly jester or fool who cleverly indicates the failings of his Master. His disagreement with God over humanity hints at an Enlightenment rebellion against the tyrant, a Promethean sympathy for humans against the gods, and a proto-Romantic rebellion against abstract justice in the name of feeling and mercy. Yet the Devil also serves the Lord well. The Lord not only tolerates but ordains the evil that Mephistopheles plans, and he even confesses a little fondness for the Devil: "I have never hated you; of all the spirits who deny me, I blame the rogue the least. The activity of humans all too quickly slackens into laziness, so I give them a companion to push them and work on them and act as Devil" (ll. 337-343).

As the Lord had once called Satan's attention to Job as an example of a just and uncorruptible man, he now draws Mephistopheles' attention

58. Ll. 2321, 3543, 6792.

59. Ll. 2031-2036, 2513, 2603-2604, 4136-4143, 5775-5796, 6208, 6979-6983.

60. Ll. 4772-5064, 6063-6172, 10,242-10,344.

61. Ll. 1776-1784, 10,075-10,094, 11,809-11,816.

62. Ll. 4076-4095, 6587-6591, 7847-7950, 10,313-10,320, 10,783-11,042.

D.T.
→ and
in their
society,
the
↓ was
were
innocent
for they
believed
in the
man
that
society
was good
and
anti-
Samuelian
was
yet
disorder
Our
campaign
convinced
them of
nothing
less than
the desire
to destroy
the nation
that society
was good.

Techniques and tactics

card 406

1950

America

I am at present working in America full time. (which ^{may help to} ~~will explain my~~

occasional cultural references to the US even though ^{one is} ~~I am~~ writing about

(Hitler.) Just as the rise and fall of Germany was crucial to the ^{30's} ~~O.O.'s~~ need,

~~his~~ ^{his} ~~Q's~~ ^{Q's} attention is on
now ~~something of the same may be said of~~ America.

Techniques and tactics

Scene

card 176

Year? 1930? CK book

It is amazing how much we are like all of you ⁱⁿ ~~or~~ certainly ~~in most~~ ways. We

~~can~~ ^{do} ~~certainly~~ feel such ~~positive~~ emotions as enthusiasm, compassion, ^{or} ~~some~~

~~species of~~ loyalty, ~~and~~ I have even felt a touch of happiness at decent actions

exercised by people I would otherwise not admire. For example, Ribbentrop.

(See book, Hitler's Diplomat, p. 304) Ribbentrop, this sick ^{would be} rich swine, was

nonetheless rising to the occasion. I could have stopped him. I could have

caused his pen to blot out the additional zero. But I was touched by his

cheek. Indeed, he was trembling as he did it. Indeed, I had to laugh at the

remnant of his religious training which obviously still existed in him.

Scene

God, karma, the O.O., soul, spirit

card 342

1943

*Unjust death
and karma*

~~Death concerns God and the devil much less than karma.~~ Unjust or

outrageous death displeases God more than Satan because it disturbs the

orderly processes of karma. No other explanation can probe as deeply into

the manifold reasons for the Final Solution.

Book 3, Part 14 - the possible realm of wandering spirits.

Spaziff
↓
*Sad look and hand, for how shall I relate
 To human sense the invisible aspects
 Of wandering spirits ... ?*

An epejialh

Title file

card 410

Look up!

Lords of the World. Part I, line 32, Paradise Lost

The Tyranny of Heaven, Part I, line 124

- Sole reigning holds
the tyranny of Heaven

One of the banished crew, Part 4, line 574

One of the banished crew
I fear, little ventures from the deep, to raise
new troubles

Book 5, lines 564-6, the invisible exploits of warring spirits.

Epejialh

task
Sad task and hard, for how shall I relate
To human sense the invisible exploits
OF warring spirits - ... ?

1908 Vienna

Daily entrance

card 33

The art is to enter their minds subtly while they are asleep, so subtly that they do not know they are in communion with a spirit other than themselves.

1908, Vienna

Card 355

Jens

AH standing on the pit, or the gallery (check on that) sees an elegant Jewess
 in one of the boxes. She's a Rothschild, he hears, and is furious. How dare
 they appear so elegantly in public when their relatives in the east wear dirty
 clothing, smell bad, and live in the miasma of beggary and cowardice. How
 does she dare to be so grand?

1908

*Methods and
flexibility*

unnumbered 4

The Addi-Gustl relationship: no sex between then until the last night before

Gustl leaves for Linz. That is why, on his return, all hotted-up, there's no

Adolf. How could he ever run the world, I kept telling him, if he kept

diddling around with boys? It could be said that I, a devil of the second rank,

was nonetheless active in keeping our Adolf from becoming a confirmed

homosexual, which is a perfect example—since many homosexuals are

created by us to a great extent—of how our methods are always flexible and

our pride is to be all things to all men and, *— goes without saying —* of course, ~~to~~ all women.

Vienna, 1908

Jews + the O.O.

Card 235

I knew that the O.O. had a number of His agents working with some of the

Jews to make them look worse and more greedy in ^{*to Austrian*} ~~German~~ eyes. From the

reports I received at some distance, it was the same old story: some were a

lot easier and some were a lot more difficult to invest ^{*and/or to*} and infest.

Vienna, 1910

Card 340

The possibility of the character, a young Jew, who reads ^{Weininger} ~~Voyning~~ and believes in the ~~N~~SDAP in the early '20s and argues with his fellow Jews.

This, of course, could be the young Jew who has the affair with Geli Raubel,

~~but for that~~---but it's too early to decide how to develop that theme.

This card is premature. Better stuff later

1910, Vienna

Card 369

If you believe in God, but not a hereafter, neither a heaven nor a hell, then you are for practical purposes obeying the same logic as a non-religious materialist. You believe life is all you have and so make the most of it. This is another fault, as AH sees it, with the Jews. His own beliefs are not far from that. Deal with this contradiction or else the card, #369, is not usable.

*(Too much ^{dedication} accompanied
by too little ~~in the way~~
of insight)*

Vienna, 1910

card 220

Jews

The Jews were seen as irretrievably middle-class and therefore parasitic.

They did not farm, they did not hunt, they were neither soldiers nor athletes

and, to make matters worse, all too many were either radicals or even worse,

communists. ~~and~~ ^{and} the rest were intellectuals ^{and} professors, ^{and doctors.} The irony was

that Hitler fits ^{many} ~~every~~ one of these Jewish categories. DT observes as

much. *that is why becoming a good soldier is so important to him.*

Vienna, 1910

card 350

The mediocrity of the Germans, the inferiority complex, was at the heart of their emphasis of the glories of being German. What did I care of their Goethe and Schiller and Wagner? I wanted Shakespeare and Racine and Voltaire.

(The above card is valueless unless it can be attached to something of reasonable insight and purpose.)

Vienna 1910

card 314

year.
a sub-essay at most,

The Jews were particularly vulnerable because they were ~~no~~ *in both extremes of class* divided. If you

hated capitalists, you could hate Jews. If you hated Marxists, you could hate

Jews. Since human nature (after centuries of effort on our part) hated every

question that could not be answered in ten seconds, the tendency for most

humans was to dislike Jews. They were too complicated. So the answer ~~is~~

both rich and poor. After all,
 They were bad across the divide because radical Jews and capitalist Jews were

Return is
 both materialists (it was ~~equal~~ to saying that the similarity between good and

evil is greater than ~~the~~ *the* their differences because good and evil are both spiritual.)

How we used to entertain ourselves with the stupidities of the Dummkopf's

human creation.

Vienna 1910

card 237

A scene in Vienna where AH travels with a ^{Newman} Jew to see a Hebrew school and is repelled by the odors and the lack of nature. "Evil seeds," he thinks. It could be that it reminds him of his own schooldays. The contrasts and similarities. The section from Table Talk about his schooldays could occur here.

yes, but on what page is it?
C.K.
It had to do with teachers who needed a bath and were harsh in spirit.

1910 (before 1910 or 1911 train's delivery)

card 149

Jews

(see card 220) (change to present or future from reading Adolf. "You need

Hitler goes from anti-Semitism to a short pro-Jewish period where he has

Jewish friends at the mens' shelter and visits a synagogue or a Hebrew

school. He is intrigued. For one hour he contemplates becoming a Jew as his

curse upon the establishment that ^{has dared to} ~~rejected~~ him. *(During the week up ^{Newman?} ~~there~~)*

After a few days, however, he comes to a second recognition that his political

future is in anti-Semitism. In his rage at this reversal, he himself triggers vast

intensities in himself, courtesy of DT who has ~~his orders~~ *played*
him back and forth.

Mannerheim, 1910 or 1011 (men's shelter)

Card 291

Occultists

DT acts as a scourge to prevent occultists from reaching Adolf. "You need none of them," he tells AH. "I provide for all such powers in lively matters, whereas they will only poison you with ~~their~~ paranoid broodings. Headaches, incense, and the visitations of their occult farts are all you can expect from ~~their~~ seances," I also told him. Naturally, I did not speak to him as such. I infiltrated his thoughts in the depths of ^{But in} his sleep. ~~In~~ truth, I did not like occultists very much. I never knew for ^{which devil on an occasion, which angel} whom they were working and I

wasn't at all certain they knew either. *That of course, was even worse. Our function was not to live in confusion ~~and chaos~~, but rather to create it in others.*

men's shelter, Vienna, 1910-12

card 115

False facts.

occasionally I would pass a false fact

I would distill new facts and pass the essence into his brain. Lenin, I

informed him, was indubitably a Jew. ^{He} he could count on that. ~~(tape 2, side 1~~

~~ends.) (Which was, of course, a total lie.)~~ ^{whole} And then there were the grand

ladies in Roosevelt's family who had indulged in hanky-panky with Jews,

ditto for Churchill. Not provable ~~that~~ that they're Jewish, I told him, but likely.

You can tell the breed of an animal by the way it moves, the people it likes.

(In high society, there are myriads of Rothschild bastards. Recognize this—

since all the men in direct ^{descent} ~~descent~~ were obliged to marry Jewish cousins on

the one hand, they ^{also} ~~felt~~ free to philander with every attractive non-Jewish

female they could not marry. Bastards all over the place, especially the

Roosevelts ^{and the Rothschilds.}

Vienna 1910

card 376

Working in harmony

The beginning of success came when our minds began to work as one. It
 was like riding a fine horse who turned even as you thought of turning him,
 or for those who know nothing of horses, it was like driving an automobile
 with your fingertips.

1910, men's shelter

Card 43

He would cry out to me in his sleep, knowing I was there, even as he did not

know I existed but for the knowledge ^{that} he had ~~that~~ ^{who} someone would answer his

questions. Indeed, he saw himself as that someone. So he would ask, "Why

is there a life without a woman for me, ~~and~~ a woman into whom I can put ~~so~~

many feelings?"

And I would answer (also in his sleep), "You have so much and you will

have more. Look at all the men who have women and nothing else.

Recognize, selfish beast, there is some price you must pay. Do you want to

pay the price?"

"Yes, yes."

1914-1918

Card 243

~~recommends that I look up Keegan, p. 175, et seq, plus p. 195~~

~~For Elke
talk to me first~~

1916

card 107

The speeches that he gives to his fellow soldiers can be drawn from some of
 the late Hapsberg sections of Mein Kampf ✓

1916

card 375

Suicide: On that day in the war, when he was close to deserting, I had to
 save him. Such were my orders. Usually, the O.O. likes suicides, desertions,
 bankruptcies—whatever depressed the Lord with a ^{general} reminder of human waste.

But in this case, it would be our waste, and I know that I for one, would have ~~had to~~
~~been ready to brood over~~ ^{a broader} ~~resented~~ the amount of work I had had to put into him.

1917. WWI

card 352

(see p. 332 in Mein Kampf)

After the debacle when he cannot fire a shot, he then proceeds to force

himself to shoot at possible targets across no-man's-land in the hope he is

hitting someone and he ^{begins to have} ~~has~~ fantasies of large murder and slaughter.

1918

card 152

Hated & sweetness

The mustard gas did smell like the iodoform Dr. Bloch had used with his mother. His eyes, I told him, were not unlike her breasts—a thought which has to be expanded. See Kershaw, p. 103, also Odin's sacrifice of an eye, which DT feeds him.

CK, ~~spont~~
 ↓ *inches*
 X-ray

1919 (in green ink)

DT (in red ink)

Perhaps serving as a spy in red barracks in 1919 is when AH in effect signs

his Faustian pact. A young Communist like Jeff ^{Mr}—a full pornographer—

inflamed him.

yes!
Perhaps the
photographer
killer - huh.

stet

1919

card 96

When the time comes for AH to lie about his Iron Cross, First Class, DT encourages him. To convince a brave man to lie about his best acts and make them even larger than they ^{were} is exactly what is needed to bind him back to me.

~~and close.~~

*This has been read in my section and
It can be added with Card T2
22-106*

1919

card 158

Treaty of Versailles

It would be my assumption that our presence during the writing of the Treaty of Versailles was crucial to AH's needs for it succeeded in eventually converting a militant German labor force over from internationalism to nationalism, from Marxism to National Socialism. Without the Treaty of Versailles, my assignment to Adolf would have been fruitless.

*this has been read in an earlier card,
It can be added to Card 72
P 2-106*

1919

card 177

(note: re-write)

He was not Jewish in his ancestry, but I did my best to make it impossible for

him to be certain of the fact, ^{since} ~~the~~ primary need for my purposes was to

keep widening the ^{pool} void of fundamental certainty within him. ~~Ally~~

My manipulations were balanced on the ^{this} fulcrum ^{Enlarge} had established: the void in

his soul, even as he expands in every
other direction. *that can be fed*

by his new and inviolable top-root.
Anti-Semitism.

*Done already
with the early
chapters*

1919

Card 168

(note to myself: re-write)

Jews

On the Jews: Since they had spent ten centuries in the ghetto, they did not till

land. Peasants distrusted them as being people of the mind, not of the body.

Since ^{peasants} they did not know the Jewish religion except to fear it, ^{they} peasants saw

^{the Jews} them as material ^{it is} people of the mind, rather than souls and bodies given to ^{the themselves}

cultivation, harvest, ~~judgment~~, and God.

Adolf was really

Needless to say, ~~my little wolf not only believed the Jews were evil but would~~

~~have pretended to even if he did not for his war was~~ to remove all complexity

of mind. ^{Adolf would now be} ~~Make~~ mind the enemy. Upper-mind, ~~that is~~ Extraordinary mind.

Let there be but one extraordinary mind, his own.

banal

1919-1922

card 258

Religion or blood

The early years for AH, 1918-1922, there are arguments among Nazis like

Dieter ~~Echart~~ ^{Eckhart}, and Rosenberg over when the evil of Jews began—what was

the turning point? Much discussion of Houston Chamberlain.

Only if their substance

the real argument is:
are the Jews evil by their
culture or their blood?

Eckhart convinces him that there
is no ^{real} political harvest w/o blood.

1919-1923

card 288

Different kinds of demon

A note to the effect that violent demons are opposed to subtle demons like

himself—all the vices, however, have their representatives.

*Röhm
Streicher
et al.*

Get good details or drop it.

Card 188

Himmeler

Faust, lines 3526-27HA lives these three lines. It excuses him to himself with the girls. (The

lines, of course, have to be looked up to see if the passage belongs in the '20s'

or the '30s.)

also 3499-3500

Oh, you, I
Dear Heinrich, must feel
that way too.

→ Margaret to Faust

Und das Frist mir ins Herz hinein;
Dir, Heinrich, muss es auch so seinAnd that eats at my heart
You, Heinrich, must feel like that too.HA virtually marries his wife
because her name is Margaret.→ If one is proud and obeys + tradition
then they must rely on his submission

card 189

Himmler

at the end of Part I, Faust, Himmler sees himself as Faust saying goodbye to

Gretchen (the name of Himmler's wife). CK the name of his wife

originally—it's Margarette[?]. CK number of years he was courting

Margarette[?].

1920s

Card 191

Faust, pp. 202-3

Himmier expresses the idea on p. 203 but does not mention that Goethe is the

source.

Unfortunatly, the
"The reflect with which we are born,
is unfortunately never part of the question."

~~The laws and state~~ ^{disease}
See p203 - laws as an inherited ~~disease~~
H. mentions it to Hitler.

? Worth working up?

1922-25

Card 211

Money in the inflation.

As the inflation burgeoned, so did the value of money shrink until it was not

even worth what it cost to produce it, and then ~~did~~ inflation still increased until

money it was not even worth the cost of the paper ~~itself~~ *it was printed upon.*

The shock was as great as if God the Father had come to earth in the form of

a giant of heroic proportions *who* ~~and~~ then decomposed into a puddle of mud,

It before the eyes of everyone.

early
1923

Houston Chamberlain

card 264

Relations between AH and Houston Chamberlain. In Vienna, he tries to read the Foundations of the 19th Century but is put off by the favorable remarks about Jews. Only later, after much prodding by Rosenberg, does he agree to meet Chamberlain in Beyreuth—it changes both their lives and indirectly sends AH to Landsberg (Chamberlain approval leaves AH manic). Before meeting him, AH looks upon HC as a “wandering scholar.” Later, he feels he has encountered a genius.

1923

card 262

DT on Houston Stewart Chamberlain: "He was a powerful intellect, an

astoundingly strong and clear mind, a very good writer, and a petty shit. He

was born into the best levels of British society and yet acted like a ~~prodigious~~ ^{young}

~~man who was~~ ^{snout} ~~brown-nose who was~~ ^{and snout} looking to worm his way up into society."

~~(On snout and warm)~~

Chamberlain, 1923, with AIT and how he learned his own ideas in something

for period.

*This is a shame, but might afford
that using rough formulation for a
dialogue between AIT + HSC.*

early
1923

Card 362

~~The race ideas belong to God; the condemnation of the Jews to the devil~~

~~That would create a chaos in which God's ideas would be lost.~~ *God's* The basic

notion for the DK was that the different races, ~~that the different animals, with~~ *much like His animals would*

compete for their places in existence, the Egyptians, the Jews, the Assyrians

and the Greeks being some of His early choices for favorite species. Get into

Chamberlain, 1923, with AH and how he blows his own ideas in searching

for power.

*This note is lame, but might afford
the very rough foundation for a
dialogue between AH + HSC.*

1923

Hitler's speech in court

Card 292

Eike

Look up Werner Maser—Hitler, Legend, Myth and Reality, p. 125—for his

speech in court in 1923

Essential

*also Xerox the relevant section
in Maser. It is as I suspected,
it runs on from p. 125. ~~still~~ still,
~~the whole of it~~
Xerox all of it.*

1923

card 259

p. 208 in Heiden. In later years, Hitler's caution and indecisiveness comes

from the recollections of the imperfect intimations before the putsch of 1923.

(Influenced subliminally by Houston Chamberlain)

Elke

Find the xerox, or xerox p 208.

the putsch of 1923

~~Putsch~~

Putsch

card 69

DT is either for it or against it—yet to be decided. Sees its failure in advance

but thinks AH may need the peace of prison. Also, if he enters the putsch

against his ^{own} ~~other~~ judgment, I will have more leverage upon him in the future. *(inspired by me)*

~~This feels bad. . . this feels good~~ *(will be able to/ closely)* ~~I could~~ tune his instinct *is* (when he ~~was~~ in a

dilemma.

Finally, I encouraged him to march in the putsch by fortifying all those

impulses instincts that told him *he was* they were due to fail, and *But you may ask, what?* (if he had been killed in the

march? Well, the most difficult aspect of our work *is* ~~was~~ that we *can* ~~could~~ not *yet*

control every rifle bullet, *far* ~~far~~ from it. Some of our richest potential cases

card 69 p. 2

were lost in World War I, a time of great disappointment for all. To the

Dummkopf and to ourselves.

~~1924~~

1950

Card 373

DT quotes Hitler passages that are used by Black leaders in America but

might be a post-war card. See, for example, p. 426, MK—~~such passages are~~

~~bound~~

↑
Look up
and xerox.

Elle

1924

card 382

Hitler on his own.

History is as alive to him as a balance sheet ~~is~~ for a stock trader. It is not just

that he reads between the lines, (which of course he does) but ~~even~~ ^{that} more he

believes in the ~~periodicity of history~~, the recurrence of phenomena to which

one must be attentive.

*without a good example or too
this note cannot be used,*

1924

unnumbered

DT's last major assignment was Bismarck. So in his early connection to AH, he does not even consider Bismarck. It is only in Landsberg that he can consider the parallels. Indeed, it is only in Landsberg the DT admits to handling Bismarck.

a little more
Better get up on Bismarck

? a lot of work and not
 enough interest for
 it as yet.

1924

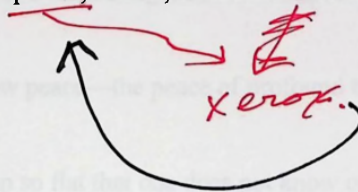
Card 279

Omniscience

Hitler's sense of omniscience is carefully cultivated by DT. He draws on ^{his} ~~the~~

~~expensive~~ pool of anticipatory knowledge to provide AH with excellent

prognostic instincts. See p. 277, Vol. II, Foundations of the 20th Century.



1924

Card 283

*Dogma**unguided searching about in the dogma.*

It is dogma that men want, not religion. (The latter disturbs their minds,

~~whereas~~ ^{to} dogma is a home for the connections between the brain and the

stomach—a sedative to dread and indigestion. Give ^{dogma} it the best of yourself

and you will always know peace—the peace of profound but non-paralyzing

depression. A depression so flat that one does not know one is in depression.

Peace is not given in a larger matter.

1924-1929

Goering

Card 214

Part of ^{Carin} ~~Karl~~ Goering's hatred of Jews was their wealth. ^(So for her) His hatred increased with every year ^{in the years} of the Goerings' poverty after the putsch.

1926

card 268

Concerning Goebbels: He too could be a reader of the Foundations and have discussions with AH. It does not all have to be in AH's head, but can be present also in Goebbels, Himmler, ~~Heidrich~~ ^g and ~~Rosenberg~~ ^h. Also Dieter Eckhardt.



To be kept in mind as a possibility.

1926 (9) 1925 after landerberg.

Card 270

Naturally, when the inflation was finally corrected, AH was furious. ~~There~~ ^{that}

would have been the first program for the nation if he had been elected—to
end inflation. Now his enemies had done it for him.

1928

Card 93

~~Via Goebbels?~~
~~or Streicher?~~

Just before Geli Raubal time is when AH studies the Berlin photographer

who murdered his models after he had photographed them.

*It is the trigger that kicks off
their affair.**There is another note back in the 1919
period where a possible use is
indicated. This one might be better.*

~~1925 (2)~~

1928

or 1929

Card 347

After AH finds Geli with Emil Maurice, he moves from romantic love to his

special predilections.

1938?
 1930s CK the year of the affair w/ Heine?
 Is it 1938

card 272

Flie

Goebbels

Private sex diaries which he shows to no one. He is turned on, for example,

Margala's
 by Margala's affair with H----- (his assistant—look up the name of H----- in Irving's
 I think it is Heinz. book on Goebbels)

1930s

card 273

Goebbels: To take the best of Goethe and use him for our needs and purposes will be no unworthy feat. (The trick for ~~NM~~ will be to find proper quotes in Goethe that Goebbels can use. Not automatic.)

?

A lot of time to do this.
Is it worth it?

No

Maybe - if the time.
Else - let's discuss

~~1930s~~

1933?

card 61

INFILTRATION

Even as I was to act upon Adolf in such a way that he could hardly have
 known how much of him was ~~me~~ ^{no longer separated from me,} so did I have intimations, but no more, of

how much I was being directed at any moment by the O.O. At times, of
 course, when I was bolder or more brilliant than my ^{customary} idea of myself, I would
 think, "Yes, it is ~~not me~~ ^{no longer me} but the Superior One. ^Σ He is speaking through me,"

yes, even as my little Adolf sometimes thought Jehovah was ^{on occasion} ~~sometimes~~

speaking through him, — he, Jehovah's replacement
 for the Jewish people.

~~1930s~~

1935

card 212

Goering's heavy breathing when he would look at a picture he liked. If the

painter had been alive, he would have embraced him. He could taste the

worth of the artwork. ~~Let no one say for Goering that money tastes bad.~~ ^{To} ~~never to steal~~

~~1930s~~ 1933-4 (just before takeover
of power)

card 1

Our Dialogues with angels are full of odd angles. Counter-espionage versus

counter-espionage. But we do become fond of one another (DT speaking, of

~~course)~~

*Now find one episode where there's
can be the sub-text.*

Perhaps the jockeying for power in 1932-33.

~~1931 on~~

1933

card 67

DT to AH: Now you only have to make one important decision a day. Let it

be the one whose time has come, ~~one that must be told that its time has~~

~~definitely not come.~~ The others can wait. Indeed, it was all I could do

myself. My powers were also set in limits. *I was beginning to wonder if I* ~~I~~ could not handle every

complexity myself.

1931

card 364

DT sees the Dummkopf as not all that different from Hindenberg. This

theme can be present under the meetings between Hindenberg and Hitler

from 1931 on and when AH hears she is going back to him, he wishes her

death. DT obliges him. Hence her iconography follows.

DT: We had the ability (if carefully guarded against abuse) of such
privileges of driving a man or woman to suicide. But the ^{in fact} ~~greatest~~ always

had to be functional. An epidemic of suicides might cause the DE from his

slumbers. In special cases, it is the strongest call one can make to the

godhead. In most cases, it is merely a last means in the dark.

1931

card 365

Geli Raubal turns on her Jewish lover in Vienna ^{because} ~~when~~ he likes to lick her and ~~she~~ calls him a Jewish pervert. Afterward, when AH, furious over Emil Maurice, gets into his darker inclinations, Geli falls in love all over again with the Viennese lover and when AH hears she is going back to him, he wishes her death. DT obliges him. Hence her iconography follows.

DT: We had the ability ^{the} (if carefully guarded against abuse of such privileges) of driving a man or woman to suicide. But the ^{intent} ~~purpose~~ always had to be functional. An epidemic of suicides might rouse the DK from his slumbers. In special cases, it is the strongest call one can make to the godhead. ^{situations, however,} In most ~~cases~~, it is merely a lost moan in the dark.

1932-34

Card 207

DT's fury at all the powers the DK has and how little He does use them—

which is parallel to AH and Hindenberg. DT uses that as an explanation for

AH's relations with Hindenberg.

1933-34

card 159

A scene with Hitler resenting Schacht with his superior German roots ^{and} ~~that~~ his

contempt for Hitler as "a late riser and lazy worker."

Schacht's comment has, of course,
been reported to him.

~~1933-35~~ 1934

card 240

DT: saying that AH had no use for the details of running the political

machine, but what he knew was that ordinary men could do it (Roger Donald

on the rank and file at Little Brown) *In fact, Hitler can go on at length about not disturbing the mediocrities with too many new ideas.*

1934

card 15

After AH has ~~had~~ ^{more impressive} Roehm killed, he is ~~stronger~~ in his relation with DT who

admits:

~~says~~, "By our logic, there is a hierarchy in murder." (We have to get into

that.) "But finally, to slay a ~~loyal~~ and veteran comrade, in treacherous

fashion, ^{is} ~~was~~ the ne plus ultra."

1934

Card 219

DT: Goering, with his brown papers, has taped Roehm going on and on

about how he loves his lover's ass. Hitler, being played that tape, that record,

and being reminded of Geli Raubal, decides to off Roehm. Hitler's thoughts

on not getting married ^{you follow *} — German women would have less fantasy life and

love him less if they didn't feel they had a chance of being his woman, at

least in their dreams.

*Goering agrees although
his secret thoughts were hardly secret.*

** He feels accused of being
homosexual every time his
unmarried state comes up*

Ascent

1934

Card 83

At (least)

~~Mephistopheles at least had Faust—a man with an interesting mind. I had~~

~~Hitler, a man with a low mind and a heart as cunning and selfish as a large,~~ *and ugly*

as a ~~ugly wolf-hound who was lacking even~~ *Adolf even lacked* ~~the wolf-hound's virtue, loyalty.~~

These were my thoughts in the worst moments.

~~Well, not altogether, but we will try not to anticipate.~~

~~1936~~ 1941

Unnumbered

A ukase from the O.O.: the elimination of the Jews is one move toward our

end-policy in relation to the DK. (~~tape ends~~)