

NORM,

4-22-03

HERE IS MORE GRIST
FOR OUR DISCUSSIONS.

YOUR IDEAS HAVE MUCH
IN COMMON WITH
MANICHEISM — many
differences too.

BUT I CAN SEE THAT
TECHNOLOGY WOULD BE
LOATHED BY MANI

SEE YOU THURSDAY

Mike

- courage must
be central in
NM's system

- man more good
than evil: does
this mean God is winning at present?

- Saints

- demons

- evil as privative, nothingness

cent son engaged in; nevertheless, the dialogue is carefully constructed and does not exhibit the rambling nature of historical discourse. The period during which Augustine wrote his dialogues is also the period in which he was most interested in the liberal arts as a useful instrument for turning the mind away from its customary attachment to the corporeal and toward its proper concern with the incorporeal; this interest in the liberal arts — particularly grammar — is quite evident in *De magistro*. *De magistro* is unique among Augustine's dialogues in that it is the only extant dialogue mentioned by name in the *Confessions*; it is the only one concerning which Augustine does not make any corrections in the *Retractationes*; it is the only one in which Adeodatus is the primary interlocutor; and it is the only one which seems to have its roots in conversations that took place in Africa rather than Italy. Furthermore, while it was not the last dialogue Augustine finished, it seems to have been the last one he began.

Most commentators divide the dialogue into three sections. The first two parts articulate a basic problem that arises with the use of signs: on the one hand, it seems that human beings need to use signs in order to teach any reality to other human beings; on the other hand, human beings cannot understand the meaning of those signs used by teachers unless they already know the realities to which the signs refer. This paradox is resolved in the third part of the dialogue with the introduction of Augustine's doctrine of the "inner teacher." The reality to which the sign refers is known not through the sign itself but through consulting the inner teacher, Christ, who thus turns out to be the ground or possibility upon which human knowing is based. Because of its extended treatment of signs, *De magistro* is often paired by Augustine scholars with *De doctrina Christiana*. During the Middle Ages the epistemological problems posed by the dialogue were of significant interest; in contemporary times, again because of its treatment of signs, the dialogue has attracted the interest of philosophers of language.

→ Christology; Knowledge; Mind

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DOUGLAS KRIES

Mani, Manicheism

Mani's Life

Personal details about Mani are sparse, and reports about him by enemies of Manicheism are in some instances contradictory, if not simply fabricated. We are fortunate, though, to possess Manichean documents, thanks to a number of discoveries, notably in northwest China (Turkestan) at the beginning of this century and in Egypt (Medinet Madi) in the 1930s. Mention should also be made of a fourth-century Latin text discovered in 1918, near Tabessa (Algeria) and now in Paris, of a fourth- or fifth-century Greek manuscript from Egypt (known as the Cologne Mani Codex and titled "On the Becoming of His Body") containing Mani's early life, and of writings in various languages from a Manichean settlement, also of the fourth century, under excavation in Ismant el-Kharab (Egypt) since the mid-1980s.

Mani was born in Babylonia, then under Persian control, on 14 April 216. His family belonged to the Elchasaites, a branch of Jewish Christianity through which Mani may have become acquainted with (besides Christianity) some of the gnostic ideas we find in his system. At the age of twelve he received a divine revelation, and another at twenty-four. These left him convinced that the revelations of previous

religious founders, notably Buddha, Zoroaster, and Jesus, though authentic, were incomplete, and that it was Mani's task to bring to the world the fullness of revelation through what he called the "Religion of Light." It is for this reason that Mani's followers referred to him as the one in whom the Paraclete resides. Mani habitually styled himself "apostle of Jesus Christ."

After the second revelation, in 242 or 243 Mani embarked on a journey which took him as far as India. He returned to Persia and presented himself before Shapur, king of Persia, to publicly announce his divine mission. The king was encouraging (so much so that Mani dedicated his first writing to him), and the new revelation was thus permitted to spread over the next thirty years. But in 274, doubtless under pressure from the official Magian religion, Mani incurred the displeasure of the new king, Bahram I, who had him executed on 26 February 277.

Mani had already sent out missionaries (they reached Egypt, among other lands), but when his death sparked a wave of persecutions against his followers, Manicheism's spread eastward and westward became more pronounced. In the east Mani's successors at the head of the religion settled on Ctesiphon as their headquarters. Manicheism became the state religion of the Uigurs in Chinese Turkestan from 762 until about 840. From there it went still further east, into China, Siberia, and Manchuria. Moving west, it passed through Syria and Cappadocia and reached Carthage, Rome, and Egypt toward the end of the third century. From there it entered North Africa.

In Roman territory Manicheism soon encountered opposition from successive governments, beginning with Diocletian's (284-305). The primary objection to the movement from the civil authorities' standpoint seems to have been its origins in Persia, Rome's longtime archenemy. The first literary attack on Manichean doctrines came from a pagan philosopher, Alexander of Lycopolis (in Egypt). But it was not long before orthodox Christians also began to voice their opposition to Manichean writings, beliefs, and practices. Notable among these opponents are Ephrem (the Deacon) of Nisibis in Syria, the author (Hegemonius?) of the "Acts of Archelaus," Serapion of Thmuis (Egypt), Titus of Bostra (Syria), Epiphanius of Salamis (Cyprus), and the Africans Marius Victorinus and Augustine. These all hail from the fourth or early fifth centuries. Other anti-Manichean writers would follow, notably the Syrians Severus of Antioch (sixth century) and Theodore bar Khoni (eighth century) and

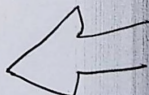
the Arabs Ibn Wadih al-Ya'qubi (ninth century), an-Nadim (tenth century), al-Beruni (eleventh century), and al-Sharastani (twelfth century). There is no evidence for western Manicheism after the sixth century, but some of its ideas lived on in "neo-Manichean" groups such as the Paulicians, Bogomils, and Albigenians.

Mani's Religion

Over the past two and a half centuries a great deal of discussion has taken place about Manicheism's exact relationship to Christianity. Augustine himself refers at various times to Manichees as a sect, heretics, or schismatics, which means that he thought of Manicheism as a distortion of Christianity. His Manichean opponents consistently refer to themselves as Christian, indeed as belonging to the only authentic form of Christianity. During the nineteenth and first half of the twentieth centuries, the view predominated that Manicheism was mainly inspired by Eastern religions such as Buddhism and Zoroastrianism. However, since the discovery of Manichean documents like the Cologne Mani Codex, scholarship now leans toward the view that Manicheism, and Mani himself, were more strongly influenced by some form of Christian ideas than by any other source. Still, the Christian elements were emphasized to a greater or lesser degree by the religion's proponents according to the religious traditions of the geographical region they sought to proselytize.

Manicheism endured from the third century to at least the seventeenth, and eventually spread over an area stretching from North Africa to China. Though its belief system is highly complex and is couched in allegory and symbol, its main tenets seem to have been held by Manichees everywhere, although there were differences on less essential points, attributable to the passage of time, regional adaptations, or both. For the purposes of this volume, it will be useful to describe the essentials of Manicheism insofar as Augustine probably knew it.

The teaching of this religion starts with a question basic to all religious systems: Why does evil exist? Manicheism's answer comes in the shape of a radical dualism. It proposes a cosmogony, or explanation of the world's origins, in three moments or phases. In the first of these, two coeternal principles exist completely separated from each other. One, the good, displays only agreeable qualities (peace, intelligence, and so on) and dwells in the realm of light, which is made up of this principle's substance. This principle is God, or the "Father of Greatness." The



other principle is intrinsically evil and disagreeable. Often called "matter," or Satan, this principle inhabits the realm of its own substance, which is darkness. On three sides the two realms are infinite, but a fourth side of each touches the other realm.

The second (or middle) moment refers to the present condition of everything. It began when, during the turmoil which endlessly takes place in the realm of darkness, the evil principle rose to the area bordering on the realm of light. Seeing that light, the dark principle desired it, and thereupon invaded the light-realm. As a defense, the good principle evoked (the preferred Manichean term) the "Mother of Life." She in turn evoked the "Primal Human," who was charged with defending the light-realm. Both entities were composed of the good principle's own light-substance. After a long battle the evil principle overcame the Primal Human and captured his light, though some of the evil principle's forces (demons, both male and female) were in turn captured by forces of the light-realm. This is how light and darkness, good and evil, first became mixed.

This explanation was to furnish the arsenal of Manicheism's opponents with a two-edged sword: first, it fueled the argument that God, the good principle, could be threatened, and finally diminished, since all light, wherever found, is in essence the divine substance; and secondly, it opened to ridicule the view of two absolutely opposed first principles, one of which (evil) had to have something in common with the other (good) to explain its attraction. The evil could therefore not be entirely evil, nor the good (by its vulnerability) entirely good.

Now the good principle sent other beings to free the Primal Human. In this they succeeded, but some particles of light remained mixed with the dark. It is of this mixture of light and dark elements that our present, visible world is constituted, such that whatever we find pleasing in it is attributable to the presence of entrapped light, and whatever is disagreeable is due to the dark which is the light's prison.

To provide a way of freeing this imprisoned light, the good principle took two steps. First, the Father of Greatness created a mechanism for liberation of the light. This includes the moon and sun, which were considered to comprise uncontaminated light-substance and to serve as collector stations ("light-ships") for light which had been freed; they would then pass that light back to the realm of light. The material creation was thus an act of necessity, a means for the light-substance to regain what it had lost.

The second step was to send the "Third Messenger" to the demons captured in the cosmic battle and to entice them into releasing their captured light-particles by appearing to each in the form of a desirable being of the opposite gender. The light thus released was sent on its way to the light-realm via the moon and sun. The particles of dark-substance which came out of the demons were allowed to fall to the visible earth.

Seeing these developments and their purpose, the evil principle retaliated by creating a rival to the Primal Human. This was accomplished by having a male and female demon mate, and their union produced Adam, the first earthly human. Adam was the world in miniature, a microcosm, since he contained within himself both light (soul) and matter (body). Later the demons mated again and produced Eve, the first woman. She was of a composition similar to Adam's, although she seems to have contained less light than he. The first human parents therefore, far from being a creation of God, resulted from evil's initiative, and were intended to keep as much light entrapped in the visible world as possible, chiefly by generating offspring.

To counter evil's new tactic, "Jesus" was sent from the light-realm to reveal divine knowledge (*gnosis*) to Adam and Eve. This Jesus is not precisely the one central to orthodox Christianity, for Manicheism seems to propose several entities called "Jesus" or "Christ." Augustine knew of at least three (*c. Faust.* 20.11): Jesus the Splendor, identified with light freed and deposited in the moon and sun (which were therefore objects of reverence); the suffering Jesus, who is the light trapped in our material world; and Jesus, "Son of God," who came to earth in human appearance and who only appeared to suffer and die at Pilate's hands. None of these Christs is in fact a savior, except insofar as one or the other is the bearer of saving knowledge. On the other hand, the Jesus of Christian orthodoxy was considered false, the devil in disguise. It was he who was truly nailed to the cross, since he had a physical body — unthinkable for a being sent from the light-realm on a saving mission. Since human flesh has evil origins and comes about through procreation (an act which emulates the demonic origin of Adam and Eve), Manicheism's "true Jesus" could not have been born of Mary, nor indeed been born at all. This teaching was, of course, one of the main points of contention between Manicheism and orthodox Christianity.

The release of light from matter was to continue in this world through the agency of full members of

the Manichean religion. These were the Elect (perfect, or holy, ones). Their ranks included both women and men; however, it seems that only men belonged to the upper hierarchical levels of presbyters (such as Fortunatus); bishops (like Faustus), possibly sometimes referred to as deacons; and teachers (of whom Adimantus was probably one). Some eastern Manichean documents also mention other titles, such as singers and scribes, but these may have had limited functions, connected with cult or the arrangements of community living. The other main division in Manicheism was that of Hearers, or catechumens, and also included both men and women.

The third and final cosmogonical moment involves the return to the order of the first moment. It will occur when as much light as possible has been released from matter through the agency of the Elect. At that future time a great fire will erupt to complete the process. The universe will then disappear, and the evil principle and all its substance will be forced to withdraw into the realm of darkness and again be completely separated from the light-realm. But the restored order will not be exactly what it was at the beginning, for some of the light will remain entrapped in the dark-realm and will therefore be forever lost. This, as adversaries were eager to point out, implies the eternally wounded or diminished condition of the good principle.

Asceticism

In the Manichean perspective each living being on the earth is a microcosm of the pristine battle, for each contains both matter and light-substance. That is especially true of human beings, as the Manichees' reworking of the creation myth makes clear. All humans are called to remove themselves as far as possible from the consequences of this mixed condition. Not all, of course, respond to the call, or are even aware of it. The Manichees are those who have clearly heard the call and know the true response. Among these fortunate members of the human race, some, the Elect, are also the instruments whereby the release of light from its material prison is effected. This is their most sacred task, which they carry out through digestion, for one of the paradoxes of the religion is that, though all human bodies have a demonic origin, some are the immediate instruments of salvation, that is, of light's release. As this light was seen to be in all things in varying degrees (meat and wine, e.g., contained none), the diet prescribed for the Elect consisted mainly of certain grains, vegetables, and fruits, as well as some spices

and juices, all identified by their bright color as containing more light. (Augustine mentions some of these in *mor.* 2.13.29-2.16.53 and *c. Faust.* 5.10.)

In essence, then, the real saviors in Manicheism are the Elect (a point Augustine scores several times). This is why they were required to practice a rigorous asceticism, for they, more than all other members of the human race, had to be as uninvolved with matter as possible while carrying out their task of releasing as much light as they could. The ascetical code the Elect had to follow consisted of three "seals" and five "commandments." The commandments were: not to lie, not to kill, to eat no meat, to remain pure (essentially, from sexual relations), and to own nothing. The "seal of the mouth" ordained vigilance over one's senses, abstention from blasphemy, and the avoidance of prohibited foods. The "seal of the hands" imposed vigilance over one's actions and forbade the killing of any living thing (whose light-particles were identified with the "suffering Jesus" suspended on the "cross of light"), including harvesting their own food. The "seal of thought" meant not thinking anything out of harmony with the realm of light and the light-freeing process.

Since they had to be models of aloofness from this world, the Elect had to observe frequent prayer (seven times a day) and fasting (about a quarter of the days in the year, including the month preceding Manicheism's principal feast day). Since they could have no family ties nor own anything, it was assumed (at least in western forms of Manicheism) that they would be perpetual wanderers. And since they could kill nothing, not even collect their own food, others had to do this for them. This task fell upon the Hearers and constituted their primary religious duty. Hearers were therefore subject to a less demanding behavioral code. They had to avoid lying, murder, theft, adultery, and the neglect of their religious tasks; but they could do manual labor, could own property, and were permitted to "kill," that is, harvest and prepare the food they offered to the Elect. Their own diet was less restrictive. They had to observe fewer fasts (fifty days of the year, probably on Sundays) and less frequent prayer (four times a day). They could also marry (though procreation was discouraged even for them).

At death, the Elect's destiny was to have his or her own light-substance start its journey back to the light-realm; that of the Hearer was to be reincarnated as an Elect, and so at last become eligible for salvation. All physical bodies, as well as the light entrapped in non-Manichees, were destined for hell.

Sacred Writings

One of Mani's claims to be a revealer was that he was the first religious founder to leave writings of his own. Various sources ascribe seven works to his authorship: *Shapurakan*, *Book of the Giants*, *Great (or Living) Gospel*, *Treasure*, *Pragmateia* (possibly the same as the *Great Letter to Pattik*), *Mysteries*, and *Letters*. These constituted the Manichean canon, but only the last five seem to have been known to the Manichees with whom Augustine associated. Mani is also credited with having prepared a picture book which explained his teachings to the unlettered. None of these works has survived in its entirety, although we have excerpts from some of them.

Since it considered matter to be synonymous with evil and saw the material creation as a work of necessity rather than of love, Manicheism repudiated the presentation of creation found in Genesis, along with its creator God (identified with the principle of evil). It went on to reject the Old Testament itself as well as everything it considered "Jewish interpolations" in the New Testament. The proof of the evil origin of the rejected scriptures lay in their content, for they presented a god who was subject to anger, jealousy, revenge, and the like, and who encouraged acts of immorality, such as the slaying of enemies, polygamy, and procreation.

Nevertheless, Manichees did attribute a revelatory (albeit imperfect) character to what remained of the New Testament after "decontamination." They felt a special affinity for Paul, and probably share responsibility for the renewed interest in Pauline literature which took place in the Roman Empire during the fourth century. Manicheism also made use of some of the pseudepigrapha, particularly those in use among gnostics, such as the Acts of Thomas and the Acts of Peter, which they sometimes revised for their own purposes.

Cultic Practices

We possess a great many Manichean liturgical texts (psalms, prayers, readings), but little information on how liturgies themselves were conducted. We know that Manichees repudiated water baptism but held frequent penitential rites, perhaps every Monday, which was the weekly holy day. At the weekly service Hearers and Elect appear to have gathered separately. Manicheism's principal liturgical feast was the Bema, observed on the day of Mani's death. The Bema celebration seems to have centered on a chair or throne (*bema* in Greek), usually with Mani's portrait placed upon it. According to a Coptic source (the ninth Kephalaion), the Bema

feast was also the occasion when new Elect and Hearers were inducted into the community. The ceremony of initiation of Elect consisted of five steps (reflecting the general importance of that number in the religion): a sign of peace was given to the candidate, who then took the right hand of each Elect present. Next, the presider led the candidate to the center of the ceremonial space (*ekklesia*) which represented the universal Manichean church. There the candidate exchanged a kiss with, and made a sign of veneration to, each Elect. Finally, there came the *cheirotomia*, the imposition of the presider's right hand on the head of the candidate, the act which officially made the candidate an Elect. Essentially the same rite took place for admitting an Elect to a hierarchical grade. We do not possess information on the rite for admitting Hearers.

According to the same Coptic source, the emphasis on the right hand was intended to recall elements of the cosmogonical myth: before the Primal Human goes into battle, the "Mother of Life" places her right hand on him, then clasps his hand with hers. The Living Spirit does the same after the Primal Human's rescue and return. The purpose of the rite was therefore eschatological: it signified both the sending of the Elect to carry out his or her task of freeing the light and the Elect's welcome into the light-realm after death. Though this description of the rite and its interpretation derive from a single source, there is no reason to think it does not apply to Manichees of other times and places.

→ Anti-Manichean Writings; Heresy, Schism

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Following Scripture, Augustine refers to companions of the devil as *daemones* or bad angels (*ep.* 147.11; *Matt.* 25:41). All angels were created good. They were given help, without which they could not persevere. But by their own wills, bad angels sinned out of pride and disobedience (*Jo. ev. tr.* 42.10). They attempted to become equal to God (*s.* 361). These angels fell and became *daemones*, inhabiting the air (*en. Ps.* 94.6; *ench.* 9). Augustine does not know the precise number of angels, good or bad, but speculates that human beings were created to replace the bad angels in the heavenly city (*ench.* 9; *civ. Dei*), a question which Anselm treated more extensively nearly seven centuries later in *Cur Deus homo?*
→ Angels; *Civitate Dei*, *De*; Devil; *Divinatione daemonum*, *De*; Theurgy

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Devil (*diabolus*). Augustine uses the term "devil" (*diabolus*) well over 2,300 times, and many more if cognates or synonyms are included. The word is found throughout the corpus, but occurs most prominently in his *Sermones* and *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, the anti-Manichean works, and the anti-Pelagian works. Frequently Augustine refers to "the devil and his angels," a phrase taken from Matthew 25:41. The devil is an "unclean spirit" (*nupt. et conc.* 1.23), the "prince of daemons and aerial powers" (*en. Ps.* 73.16; *Matt.* 9:34; *Eph.* 2:2), and the "prince of the powers of darkness" (*ep.* 217.3). According to Augustine, the word derives from Greek (which in actuality translates a Hebrew word). In Latin, the word means *accusator*, in English "accuser" or "slanderer" (*qu.* 4.49; *s.* 29). Augustine is careful to distinguish his doctrine of the devil from the Manichean teaching of a substantial principle of evil (*Jo. ev. tr.* 42.10; and the anti-Manichean works in general).

The devil was a good angel, happy but with foreknowledge of his own future evil deed and eternal punishment (*ep.* 73.3). Lucifer was the first angel to

fall (*Jo. ev. tr.* 3.7). The devil is the first of all sinners (*ep.* 105.4). He and his angels were ontologically good (*vera rel.* 13) but fell by their own will, by the sins of pride (*lib. arb.* 3.25), disobedience (*Jo. ev. tr.* 42.10), and envy (*ep.* *Jo.* 5). By that sin these fallen angels were excluded from the vision of God (*ep.* 147.11) and now inhabit the air (*Gn. litt.* 3.10; *qu.* 4.29) as in a prison (*en. Ps.* 148.9), perhaps with other lower beings who preceded them there (*Gn. litt.* 11.26). Scripture records the fact of the angelic fall (*Gn. litt.* 11.20) but fails to record when it happened. Perhaps it occurred before time (*Gn. litt.* 11.14). Because of this sin, eternal fire has been prepared for the devil and his angels (*Jo. ev. tr.* 14.8 and 109 other times; cf. *Matt.* 25:41). Saved human beings will take the place of the fallen angels (*ench.* 9).

Throughout Augustine's works, as in Scripture, an antinomy exists between Christ and the devil. The devil is pictured as a roaring lion seeking whom he may devour (*ep.* 78.5; 140.16 and 37 other times; cf. 1 *Pet.* 5:8), a serpent (*s.* 73), the north wind (*adn. Job* 26), a wolf (*Jo. ev. tr.* 46.7; *s.* 137), Goliath (*en. Ps.* 33.1.4; cf. 1 *Sam.* 21:9), Ashur (*en. Ps.* 82.8; cf. *Gen.* 10:11), and the king with 20,000 soldiers (*s.* 301A; cf. *Luke* 14:31). The devil is Satan (*en. Ps.* 96.12), the "king of demons" (*en. Ps.* 90.2.9), the "prince of Babylon" (*civ. Dei* 11.15), the "father of the impious" (*ep.* 157.3), the "prince of this world" (*Jo. ev. tr.* 41.7; cf. 1 *Cor.* 2:6), the "prince of death" (*Jo. ev. tr.* 51.2), the "father of a lie" (*Jo. ev. tr.* 42.13), the "prince of all lies" (*c. Cresc.* 1.11), the "prince of all sins" (*c. ep. Pel.* 3.3.4) the "ruler of darkness" (*ep. Jo.* 1), the "hammer of the entire world" (*en. Ps.* 97.6; *Jer.* 50:32), the ruler over the spirit of Juno and Hercules (*s.* 71), the sower of bad seed (*f. et op.* 17.31; *Matt.* 13:39), "the prince of the powers of the air" (*agon.* 5.5; cf. *Eph.* 2:2), and the strongman of the parable (*civ. Dei* 20.7; cf. *Luke* 14:31). Augustine is aware of other biblical names for the devil, including Beelzebub (*Matt.* 9:34; 12:24; *Luke* 11:15) and Belial (2 *Cor.* 6:15). The devil was the great tempter of Job (*en. Ps.* 120.11). He is the head of his own body which has many members, similar to Christ and his body (*doc. Chr.* 3.37; *Gn. litt.* 11.24; *s.* 144), and the ruler of the city of man (*en. Ps.* 26.2; 61.6). The devil at times symbolizes the innumerable multitude of the impious (*civ. Dei* 20.7). The chief characteristic of the devil is his cleverness (*astutia*: *Jo. ev. tr.* 8.6; cf. *Gen.* 3:1). *Daemones* with their leader the devil seek to block people's return to God (*doc. Chr.* 2.23). He makes suggestions to humans which humans then think to be their own (*Jo. ev. tr.* 55.4). But God can use the malice of the devil

deified by his grace and not born of his substance. For he justifies, who is just of himself and not from another, and he deifies, who is god of himself and not by participation in another. But he who justifies himself deifies, because he makes sons of god by justifying. 'For to them gave he power to become sons of god' (John 1:12). If we have been made sons of god, we have been made gods; but this is by grace of adoption and not of the nature of our begetter" (*en. Ps.* 49.1.2: "Manifestum est ergo, quia homines dixit deos, ex gratia sua deificatos, non de substantia sua natos. Ille enim justificat, qui per semetipsum non ex alio justus est; et ille deificat, qui per semetipsum non alterius participatione deus est. Qui autem justificat, ipse deificat, quia justificando filios dei facit. Dedit autem eis potestatem filios dei fieri [Jn 1, 12]. Si filii dei facti sumus et dii facti sumus; sed hoc gratiae est adoptantis, non naturae generantis"; cf. *en. Ps.* 58; s. 1.7: "The teacher of humility and sharer of our infirmity has deigned most specially to commend His humility to us, giving us participation in His divinity, descending to that end, that He might both teach and be the Way" [Doctor autem humilitatis, particeps nostrae infirmitatis, donans participationem suae divinitatis, ad hoc descendens ut viam doceret et via fieret . . . maxime suam humilitatem nobis commendare dignatus est]). It is this conception of Christ the Mediator, who makes his chosen people children of God and coheirs by grace, which makes the idea of deification acceptable for Augustine: deification is nothing more, but also nothing less, than *υιοθεσία*. St. Paul's sonship by adoption. So Augustine can tell his congregation: "Therefore as He Himself is the Selfsame and cannot in any way be changed, by participating in His divinity we too shall be made immortal in eternal life; and this pledge has been given to us by the Son of God, as I have already told you: that before we should be made partakers of His immortality, He should Himself be made a partaker of our mortality. For just as He was mortal, not of His nature but of ours, so we shall be immortal, not of our nature but of His" (*en. Ps.* 146.5.11: "igitur si ipse idem ipse est, et mutari ex nulla parte potest; participando eius divinitatem erimus et nos immortales in vitam aeternam. Et hoc nobis pignus datum est de filio dei, quod iam dixi sanctitati vestrae, ut antequam efficeremur particeps immortalitatis ipsius, fieret ipse prius particeps mortalitatis nostrae. Sicut autem ille mortalitas, non de sua substantia, sed de nostra, sic nos immortales, non de nostra substantia, sed de ipsius").

Full adoption and deification, however, only take place after death, at the resurrection. "Our full

adoption as sons will take place in the redemption of our body. We now have the first fruits of the spirit (Rom. 8:29), by which we are indeed made sons of God. In other respects, however, since we are not yet finally saved, we are therefore not yet fully made new, not yet sons of God but children of the world" (*pecc. mer.* 2.8.10).

→ Christology; Grace; Image Doctrine; Mysticism; Predestination

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The Gnostic World View: A Brief Summary of Gnosticism



GNOSTICISM IS THE TEACHING based on Gnosis, the knowledge of transcendence arrived at by way of interior, intuitive means. Although Gnosticism thus rests on personal religious experience, it is a mistake to assume all such experience results in Gnostic recognitions. It is nearer the truth to say that Gnosticism expresses a specific religious experience, an experience that does not lend itself to the language of theology or philosophy, but which is instead closely affinitized to, and expresses itself through, the medium of myth. Indeed, one finds that most Gnostic scriptures take the forms of myths. The term "myth" should not here be taken to mean "stories that are not true", but rather, that the truths embodied in these myths are of a different order from the dogmas of theology or the statements of philosophy.

In the following summary, we will attempt to encapsulate in prose what the Gnostic myths express in their distinctively poetic and imaginative language.

The Cosmos

All religious traditions acknowledge that the world is imperfect. Where they differ is in the explanations which they offer to account for this imperfection and in what they suggest might be done about it. Gnostics have their own -- perhaps quite startling -- view of these matters: they hold that the world is flawed because it was created in a flawed manner.

Like Buddhism, Gnosticism begins with the fundamental recognition that earthly life is filled with suffering. In order to nourish themselves, all forms of life consume each other, thereby visiting pain, fear, and death upon one another (even herbivorous animals live by destroying the life of plants). In addition, so-called

natural catastrophes -- earthquakes, floods, fires, drought, volcanic eruptions -- bring further suffering and death in their wake. Human beings, with their complex physiology and psychology, are aware not only of these painful features of earthly existence. They also suffer from the frequent recognition that they are strangers living in a world that is flawed and absurd.

Many religions advocate that humans are to be blamed for the imperfections of the world. Supporting this view, they interpret the Genesis myth as declaring that transgressions committed by the first human pair brought about a "fall" of creation resulting in the present corrupt state of the world. Gnostics respond that this interpretation of the myth is false. The blame for the world's failings lies not with humans, but with the creator. Since -- especially in the monotheistic religions -- the creator is God, this Gnostic position appears blasphemous, and is often viewed with dismay even by non-believers.

Ways of evading the recognition of the flawed creation and its flawed creator have been devised over and over, but none of these arguments have impressed Gnostics. The ancient Greeks, especially the Platonists, advised people to look to the harmony of the universe, so that by venerating its grandeur they might forget their immediate afflictions. But since this harmony still contains the cruel flaws, forlornness and alienation of existence, this advice is considered of little value by Gnostics. Nor is the Eastern idea of Karma regarded by Gnostics as an adequate explanation of creation's imperfection and suffering. Karma at best can only explain how the chain of suffering and imperfection works. It does not inform us in the first place why such a sorrowful and malign system should exist.

Once the initial shock of the "unusual" or "blasphemous" nature of the Gnostic explanation for suffering and imperfection of the world wears off, one may begin to recognize that it is in fact the most sensible of all explanations. To appreciate it fully, however, a familiarity with the Gnostic conception of the Godhead is required, both in its original essence as the True God and in its debased manifestation as the false or creator God.

Deity

The Gnostic God concept is more subtle than that of most religions. In its way, it unites and reconciles the recognitions of Monotheism

and Polytheism, as well as of Theism, Deism and Pantheism.



In the Gnostic view, there is a true, ultimate and transcendent God, who is beyond all created universes and who never created anything in the sense in which the word “create” is ordinarily understood. While this True God did not fashion or create anything, He (or, It) “emanated” or brought forth from within Himself the substance of all there is in all the worlds, visible and invisible. In a certain sense, it may therefore be true to say that all is God, for all consists of the substance of God. By the same token, it must also be recognized that many portions of the original divine

essence have been projected so far from their source that they underwent unwholesome changes in the process. To worship the cosmos, or nature, or embodied creatures is thus tantamount to worshipping alienated and corrupt portions of the emanated divine essence.

The basic Gnostic myth has many variations, but all of these refer to Aeons, intermediate deific beings who exist between the ultimate, True God and ourselves. They, together with the True God, comprise the realm of Fullness (Pleroma) wherein the potency of divinity operates fully. The Fullness stands in contrast to our existential state, which in comparison may be called emptiness.

One of the aeonial beings who bears the name Sophia (“Wisdom”) is of great importance to the Gnostic world view. In the course of her journeyings, Sophia came to emanate from her own being a flawed consciousness, a being who became the creator of the material and psychic cosmos, all of which he created in the image of his own flaw. This being, unaware of his origins, imagined himself to be the ultimate and absolute God. Since he took the already existing divine essence and fashioned it into various forms, he is also called the Demiurgos or “half-maker” There is an authentic half, a true deific component within creation, but it is not recognized by the half-maker and by his cosmic minions, the Archons or “rulers”.

The Human Being

Human nature mirrors the duality found in the world: in part it was made by the false creator God and in part it consists of the light of the True God. Humankind contains a perishable physical and psychic component, as well as a spiritual component which is a fragment of the divine essence. This latter part is often symbolically referred to as the "divine spark". The recognition of this dual nature of the world and of the human being has earned the Gnostic tradition the epithet of "dualist".

Humans are generally ignorant of the divine spark resident within them. This ignorance is fostered in human nature by the influence of the false creator and his Archons, who together are intent upon keeping men and women ignorant of their true nature and destiny. Anything that causes us to remain attached to earthly things serves to keep us in enslavement to these lower cosmic rulers. Death releases the divine spark from its lowly prison, but if there has not been a substantial work of Gnosis undertaken by the soul prior to death, it becomes likely that the divine spark will be hurled back into, and then re-embodied within, the pangs and slavery of the physical world.

Not all humans are spiritual (pneumatics) and thus ready for Gnosis and liberation. Some are earthbound and materialistic beings (hyletics), who recognize only the physical reality. Others live largely in their psyche (psychics). Such people usually mistake the Demiurge for the True God and have little or no awareness of the spiritual world beyond matter and mind.

In the course of history, humans progress from materialistic sensate slavery, by way of ethical religiosity, to spiritual freedom and liberating Gnosis. As the scholar G. Quispel wrote: "The world-spirit in exile must go through the Inferno of matter and the Purgatory of morals to arrive at the spiritual Paradise." This kind of evolution of consciousness was envisioned by the Gnostics, long before the concept of evolution was known.

Salvation

Evolutionary forces alone are insufficient, however, to bring about spiritual freedom. Humans are caught in a predicament consisting of physical existence combined with ignorance of their true origins, their essential nature and their ultimate destiny. To be liberated

from this predicament, human beings require help, although they must also contribute their own efforts.

From earliest times Messengers of the Light have come forth from the True God in order to assist humans in their quest for Gnosis. Only a few of these salvific figures are mentioned in Gnostic scripture; some of the most important are Seth (the third Son of Adam), Jesus, and the Prophet Mani. The majority of Gnostics always looked to Jesus as the principal savior figure (the Soter).

Gnostics do not look to salvation from sin (original or other), but rather from the ignorance of which sin is a consequence. Ignorance -- whereby is meant ignorance of spiritual realities -- is dispelled only by Gnosis, and the decisive revelation of Gnosis is brought by the Messengers of Light, especially by Christ, the Logos of the True God. It is not by His suffering and death but by His life of teaching and His establishing of mysteries that Christ has performed His work of salvation.



The Gnostic concept of salvation, like other Gnostic concepts, is a subtle one. On the one hand, Gnostic salvation may easily be mistaken for an unmediated individual experience, a sort of spiritual do-it-yourself project. Gnostics hold that the potential for Gnosis, and thus, of salvation is present in every man and woman, and that salvation is not vicarious but individual. At the same time, they also acknowledge that Gnosis and salvation can be, indeed must be, stimulated and facilitated in order to effectively arise within consciousness. This stimulation is supplied by Messengers of Light who, in addition to their teachings, establish salvific mysteries (sacraments) which can be administered by apostles of the Messengers and their successors.

One needs also remember that knowledge of our true nature -- as well as other associated realizations -- are withheld from us by our very condition of earthly existence. The True God of transcendence

is unknown in this world, in fact He is often called the Unknown Father. It is thus obvious that revelation from on High is needed to bring about salvation. The indwelling spark must be awakened from its terrestrial slumber by the saving knowledge that comes "from without".

Conduct

If the words "ethics" or "morality" are taken to mean a system of rules, then Gnosticism is opposed to them both. Such systems usually originate with the Demiurge and are covertly designed to serve his purposes. If, on the other hand, morality is said to consist of an inner integrity arising from the illumination of the indwelling spark, then the Gnostic will embrace this spiritually informed existential ethic as ideal.

To the Gnostic, commandments and rules are not salvific; they are not substantially conducive to salvation. Rules of conduct may serve numerous ends, including the structuring of an ordered and peaceful society, and the maintenance of harmonious relations within social groups. Rules, however, are not relevant to salvation; that is brought about only by Gnosis. Morality therefore needs to be viewed primarily in temporal and secular terms; it is ever subject to changes and modifications in accordance with the spiritual development of the individual.

As noted in the discussion above, "hyletic materialists" usually have little interest in morality, while "psychic disciplinarians" often grant to it a great importance. In contrast, "Pneumatic spiritual" persons are generally more concerned with other, higher matters. Different historical periods also require variant attitudes regarding human conduct. Thus both the Manichaean and Cathar Gnostic movements, which functioned in times where purity of conduct was regarded as an issue of high import, responded in kind. The present period of Western culture perhaps resembles in more ways that of second and third century Alexandria. It seems therefore appropriate that Gnostics in our age adopt the attitudes of classical Alexandrian Gnosticism, wherein matters of conduct were largely left to the insight of the individual.

Gnosticism embraces numerous general attitudes toward life: it encourages non-attachment and non-conformity to the world, a "being in the world, but not of the world"; a lack of egotism; and a respect for the freedom and dignity of other beings. Nonetheless, it

appertains to the intuition and wisdom of every individual "Gnostic" to distill from these principles individual guidelines for their personal application.

Destiny

When Confucius was asked about death, he replied: "Why do you ask me about death when you do not know how to live?" This answer might easily have been given by a Gnostic. To a similar question posed in the Gnostic Gospel of Thomas, Jesus answered that human beings must come by Gnosis to know the ineffable, divine reality from whence they have originated, and whither they will return. This transcendental knowledge must come to them while they are still embodied on earth.

Death does not automatically bring about liberation from bondage in the realms of the Demiurge. Those who have not attained to a liberating Gnosis while they were in embodiment may become trapped in existence once more. It is quite likely that this might occur by way of the cycle of rebirths. Gnosticism does not emphasize the doctrine of reincarnation prominently, but it is implicitly understood in most Gnostic teachings that those who have not made effective contact with their transcendental origins while they were in embodiment would have to return into the sorrowful condition of earthly life.

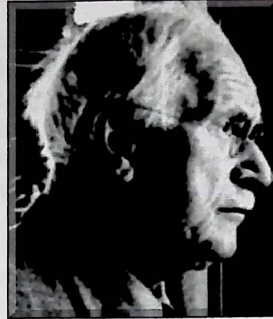
In regard to salvation, or the fate of the spirit and soul after death, one needs to be aware that help is available. Valentinus, the greatest of Gnostic teachers, taught that Christ and Sophia await the spiritual man -- the pneumatic Gnostic -- at the entrance of the Pleroma, and help him to enter the bridechamber of final reunion. Ptolemaeus, disciple of Valentinus, taught that even those not of pneumatic status, the psychics, could be redeemed and live in a heavenworld at the entrance of the Pleroma. In the fullness of time, every spiritual being will receive Gnosis and will be united with its higher Self -- the angelic Twin -- thus becoming qualified to enter the Pleroma. None of this is possible, however, without earnest striving for Gnosis.

Gnosis and Psyche: The Depth Psychological Connection

Throughout the twentieth Century the new scientific discipline of depth psychology has gained much prominence. Among the depth

psychologists who have shown a pronounced and informed interest in Gnosticism, a place of signal distinction belongs to C. G. Jung. Jung was instrumental in calling attention to the Nag Hammadi library of Gnostic writings in the 1950's because he perceived the outstanding psychological relevance of Gnostic insights.

The noted scholar of Gnosticism, G. Filoramo, wrote: "Jung's reflections had long been immersed in the thought of the ancient Gnostics to such an extent that he considered them the virtual discoverers of 'depth psychology' . . . ancient Gnosis, albeit in its form of universal religion, in a certain sense prefigured, and at the same time helped to clarify, the nature of Jungian spiritual therapy." In the light of such recognitions one may ask: "Is



Gnosticism a religion or a psychology?" The answer is that it may very-well be both. Most mythologems found in Gnostic scriptures possess psychological relevance and applicability. For instance the blind and arrogant creator-demiurge bears a close resemblance to the alienated human ego that has lost contact with the ontological Self. Also, the myth of Sophia resembles closely the story of the human psyche that loses its connection with the collective unconscious and needs to be rescued by the Self. Analogies of this sort exist in great profusion.

Many esoteric teachings have proclaimed, "As it is above, so it is below." Our psychological nature (the microcosm) mirrors metaphysical nature (the macrocosm), thus Gnosticism may possess both a psychological and a religious authenticity. Gnostic psychology and Gnostic religion need not be exclusive of one another but may complement each other within an implicit order of wholeness. Gnostics have always held that divinity is immanent within the human spirit, although it is not limited to it. The convergence of Gnostic religious teaching with psychological insight is thus quite understandable in terms of time-honored Gnostic principles.

Conclusion

Some writers make a distinction between "Gnosis" and "Gnosticism". Such distinctions are both helpful and misleading.

Gnosis is undoubtedly an experience based not in concepts and precepts, but in the sensibility of the heart. Gnosticism, on the other hand, is the world-view based on the experience of Gnosis. For this reason, in languages other than English, the word Gnosis is often used to denote both the experience and the world view (die Gnosis in German, la Gnose in French).

In a sense, there is no Gnosis without Gnosticism, for the experience of Gnosis inevitably calls forth a world view wherein it finds its place. The Gnostic world view is experiential, it is based on a certain kind of spiritual experience of Gnosis. Therefore, it will not do to omit, or to dilute, various parts of the Gnostic world view, for were one to do this, the world view would no longer conform to experience.

Theology has been called an intellectual wrapping around the spiritual kernel of a religion. If this is true, then it is also true that most religions are being strangled and stifled by their wrappings. Gnosticism does not run this danger, because its world view is stated in myth rather than in theology. Myths, including the Gnostic myths, may be interpreted in diverse ways. Transcendence, numinosity, as well as psychological archetypes along with other elements, play a role in such interpretation. Still, such mythic statements tell of profound truths that will not be denied.

Gnosticism can bring us such truths with a high authority, for it speaks with the voice of the highest part of the human -- the spirit. Of this spirit, it has been said, "it bloweth where it listeth". This then is the reason why the Gnostic world view could not be extirpated in spite of many centuries of persecution.

The Gnostic world view has always been timely, for it always responded best to the "knowledge of the heart" that is true Gnosis. Yet today, its timeliness is increasing, for the end of the second millennium has seen the radical deterioration of many ideologies which evaded the great questions and answers addressed by Gnosticism. The clarity, frankness, and authenticity of the Gnostic answer to the questions of the human predicament cannot fail to impress and (in time) to convince. If your reactions to this summary have been of a similarly positive order, then perhaps you are a Gnostic yourself!

+ Stephan A. Hoeller (Tau Stephanus, Gnostic Bishop)

torines, the Dominicans, the Order of Hermits of St. Augustine, and the Servites.

Certainly, one of the reasons the *Rule* was adopted by so many religious communities was its flexibility and generality. Indeed, when the *Rule* was "discovered," few people thought of it as a *regula* at all. As is well known, the *Rule* actually gives relatively little concrete guidance on the organization of the community or the structure of the daily timetable. Consequently, it was almost everywhere augmented by local "customals," or detailed compilations of the customs and practices of a particular monastery, particularly with regard to the celebration of the divine office and other daily activities.

By the beginning of the twelfth century, those clergy who were observing the common life and who had adopted the *Rule* came to be known as canons "regular" (*canonici regulares*). Given the great flexibility of the *Rule*, some houses of canons regular chose to be active and some contemplative. The active communities attached to a cathedral were usually engaged in assisting the bishop with work in his diocese, while other active houses had parochial responsibilities or ran hospitals or chapels. Nonetheless, many houses of canons were reluctant to undertake the cure of souls. In practice they were virtually indistinguishable from strictly enclosed and separated, contemplative monastic houses. Partly under the influence of the Cistercian Order, the Order of Prémontré (also known as the "White Canons") followed this contemplative path, as did the famous abbey of St. Victor at Paris.

With the advent and immense popularity of the mendicant ideal in the thirteenth century, the *Rule* came to be adopted by some of the most powerful and influential religious institutes in medieval history. The Order of Preachers ("Dominicans") was the first mendicant order to adopt the *Rule*. Dominic was a canon regular of Osma cathedral living according to the *Rule* when he established a community at Toulouse, which served as the headquarters of a new order dedicated to preaching and poverty. At about the same time the Fourth Lateran Council (1215), alarmed at the growth of religious experimentation, decreed that newly founded communities were to adopt an existing, already approved rule. Not surprisingly, Dominic chose the Augustinian *Rule* for his nascent order, so that, canonically speaking, the Order of Preachers was a branch of the canons regular.

Formed from a number of North Italian congregations of hermits, the Augustinian Friars are one of several religious organizations (the Carmelites are

another) which originated as an eremitical contemplative order that found itself powerless to resist the appeal of the mendicant ideal. After diverse Italian eremitical communities were united under the leadership of St. John Buoni of Mantua (d. 1249), Pope Alexander IV formally instituted them as the Order of Friars Hermits of St. Augustine. The new order modeled its constitutions on those of the Dominicans and observed the *Rule*. Like the Franciscans and Dominicans, the Augustinians quickly moved into the cities, where they undertook an active apostolate, and into the scholastic milieu of the universities, though some eremitical communities continued.

The *Rule* was also adopted by many congregations of women, including the Canonesses Regular of St. Augustine, Bridgettines, Dominicans, Ursulines, and Visitation Nuns. A number of "mixed" orders of men and women (like the English Gilbertines) also adopted the *Rule*. Given its widespread use by so many congregations, male, female, and mixed, and active and contemplative, it is hard to resist the conclusion that the *Rule* of St. Augustine was the most adaptable of all the ancient monastic rules. It is also hard to disagree with the judgment of R. W. Southern, who pronounced it "the most prolific of all medieval religious Rules" (1982, 249). Given the abiding influence and size of the medieval orders who observed it, and of the congregations who adopted it in the early modern period, it may well be the most widely observed rule in the history of the church.

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KEVIN MADIGAN

Religion Although a substantial part of the *City of God* deals with the gods of antiquity, inasmuch as the first five books of this work are concerned with demonstrating how pagan religion is dead, Augustine nowhere dignifies the cults of the gods of Rome

with the notion of religion. That word he reserves for "true religion," which is always dependent on the special revelation of the Judeo-Christian dispensation. The gods of Rome are rather to be thought of as demons, personifications of fables, natural forces, or dead heroes. "Hence it is clear . . . that this 'civil' theology has invited wicked demons and unclean spirits to take up residence in those senseless images and by this means to gain possession of the hearts of the stupid" (*civ. Dei* 7.27; see also 7.17.33 and 8.24).

"True religion" for Augustine is best described in his own words in the beginning of his book on the subject, *On True Religion*. "The way of every good and blessed life is to be found in the true religion wherein one god is worshipped and acknowledged with purest piety to be the beginning of all things, originating, perfecting and containing the universe" (*vera rel.* 1).

Several points are made in this definition which both illustrate and confirm Augustine's personal experience as a seeker of truth, a philosopher, whose ardent longings for answers regarding the ultimate meaning of life and its various problems found satisfying answers only through the act of faith in the revealed truths taught by the Church Catholic. These points are: (1) the only way toward happiness (the "good and blessed life") is through the practice of religion; (2) the explicit acknowledgment of monotheism is an absolute requirement for "true religion"; (3) since the one and only God is the originator and perfecter of all the universe contains, it follows that this one God is also the inherent teleology toward which the universe as process is ultimately ordered. Religion in Augustine's thought is then the most important component in his philosophy of history, and the prime determinant of all moral activity. Indeed, within the vast arena of historical time and space, where the forces of good and evil — exemplified and idealized in the twin notions of the city of man and the city of God — act out their parts, each makes a claim for the allegiance of every individual soul; their ultimate destiny will be determined by the realization or negation of religious and moral values.

Although it is possible to argue on the basis of Augustine's works against the Pelagians that salvation is due to divine election rather than to anything that human beings can effect, one may not lose sight of the fact that true religion — both its beliefs and practices — is the human component of correspondence to election and predestination.

In Augustine's thought it is not possible to separate the idea of religion from the notion of happi-

ness, nor from the notion of truth as actively desired. Since the desire for happiness, "the blessed life," is the root of all human activity, the desire for happiness lies also at the basis of all religious activity. "All philosophers in common in their studies, their questionings, their arguments, their lives have sought to apprehend the happy life. This was the one cause of philosophizing; but in this matter, I think, we Christians are at one with the philosophers. If I were to ask you why you have believed in Christ, why you have become Christians, every man will answer truly, 'For the sake of happiness'" (*s.* 150.4).

It is likewise impossible to separate Augustine's idea of religion from the active pursuit of truth. From Neoplatonism, especially as known to him through Plotinus, Augustine assumed the validity of the "Platonic ascent," an experience mentioned by him a number of times as a means of rising mentally from the material and intellectual worlds to a certain knowledge and experience of God at the summit of all actual and possible worlds. The conversation he had with Monnica, his mother, in the window at Ostia shortly before her death (*conf.* 9.23, 24), is the most well known of these descriptions. "We advanced step by step through all bodily things up to the sky itself, from which the sun, moon, and stars shine out over the earth, and we ascended still farther in our interior cogitation, conversation, and admiration of Thy works and came to our own minds. Then, we transcended them, so that we might touch that realm of unfailling abundance in which Thou feedest Israel eternally on the food of truth. . . . And, while we were so speaking and panting for it, we did touch it a little, with an all-out thrust of our hearts." (See also *vera rel.* 29.72, 73.)

Having come to the notion of God as pure and unchangeable spirit through Plotinus, Augustine finds to his delight that the quest of all philosophy — truth — is satisfied through this quasi-mystical contemplation of the divine beauty and truth. ". . . I saw clearly and was certain that what can be corrupted is worse than that which cannot . . . and that a thing which suffers no change is better than that which is mutable" (*conf.* 7.1). ". . . I entered into my innermost parts under Thy guidance. I was able, because Thou didst become my helper. I entered in and saw with the eye of my soul . . . the immutable light, above this same eye of my soul, and above my mind. . . . The knower of the truth knows this, and the one who knows it knows eternity. Love knows it.

O eternal truth, and truthful love, and beloved eternity! Thou art my god!" (7.16).

It is from this lofty height of the absolute certitude of God's existence and supernal dignity that the basic truths of Christianity, learned in his childhood and never completely forgotten during his peregrinations in philosophy and with Manicheism, are eventually reinterpreted as a Christian pastor and theologian. Thus, Augustine's religion is hardly that of a disembodied Platonic soul. "This is the Christian religion. . . . And the whole gospel given through Christ is this, brethren, and nothing else: the resurrection — resurrection not only of soul but of body. Both were dead, the body from infirmity, the soul from iniquity. . . . The soul can rise again only in virtue of Christ's godhead: the body only in virtue of his manhood" (*Jo. ev. tr.* 23.5-6). And, in the conclusion of *On True Religion* (113): "Let religion bind us then to the one omnipotent god, because no creature comes between our minds and him whom we know as the father and the truth, i.e., the inward light whereby we know him. For which reason we venerate also that very truth, of which no part is dissimilar to him, who is the form of all things that have been made, and which are dependent on him as they strive towards unity."

In one chapter of *The City of God* Augustine, in dialogue with the thoughts of Porphyry, illuminates wonderfully the place of Christianity as a world religion. Porphyry had stated that while it would seem that there should be some universal way of liberating the human soul, he had not been able to find it nor any believable historical record of such a way to salvation among the various sects. Augustine answers these forlorn thoughts with the statements: "This [only] is religion, which provides a universal way of liberating the soul. Indeed this is certainly the royal way, which alone leads to the kingdom, not tottering with some temporal reputation, but secure with the stability of eternity. . . ." (*civ. Dei* 10.32.1). While Porphyry would not believe in the Christian religion because of the persecutions which he thought would eliminate it, Augustine argued that it is precisely because of the persecutions and the martyrs that this religion is strengthened. "This then [Christianity] is the universal way of liberating the human soul, given by the divine mercy to all nations" (*civ. Dei* 10.22.2). "Are not the martyrs witnesses of Christ, and do they not give testimony to the truth? For if we were to think more carefully, when the martyrs give testimony, he [Jesus] gives testimony to himself. He indeed dwells in the mar-

tyrs, that they might give testimony to the truth" (*s.* 128.2.3).

Then there is the vast panorama of biblical history beginning with Abraham, who received the message that in his seed all nations would be blessed, and which culminates in the words of the Savior: "I am the way, the truth, and the life" (John 14:6). Augustine continues this thought, citing the prophecy: "And in the last days there shall be made manifest the mountain of the house of the Lord, prepared on the summit of the mountains . . . and all the nations will come to it . . ." (Isa. 2:2-3). "Therefore this way is not just that of one people, but of all peoples. . . . What could be found more striking than this history?" (*civ. Dei* 10.22.2-3). "The principal argument for following this religion is history" (*vera rel.* 3.4).

One must not, however, understand Augustine's apologetic for the Christian religion as simply justified by its historicity. While that venerable factuality may provide answers to Porphyry's vain searching, in his *On the Usefulness of Believing* Augustine develops the powerful argument for Christianity from the moral virtue practiced by its adherents. Indeed, it is the church which possesses the "crown of authority" here. For when it comes to the practice of heroic virtues, "Few practice these. . . . And yet [when practiced] the nations approve, the nations applaud, the nations favor and, finally, the nations love such persons. . . . This is the work of divine providence, wrought through the prophecies of the prophets, through the humanity and teaching of Christ, through the journeys of the apostles, through the sufferings, the crosses, the blood and the death of the martyrs, through the admirable lives of the saints, and in all these, at opportune times, through miracles worthy of such great deeds and virtues" (*util. cred.* 17). The true religion, while founded in history and confirmed in prophecy, is ultimately convincing on the basis of witness through the person of Jesus, the lives of its members, and the death of its saints and martyrs.

→ Christian Worship; Church; Church and State; *Civitate Dei*, De; God; Jesus Christ; Jews, Judaism; Mani, Manicheism; Theurgy

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PAUL SCHRODT



July 28, 2004

Norman Mailer
627 Commercial Street
Provincetown, MA 02657

Dear Norman Mailer,

It was good of you to send a note on *The Sins of the Fathers*.

To spare you, perhaps we can let the note also cover *The Light of the World*, which deals with the miracles of Christ.

That depletes my inventory of papers on Christ — I hope they may be of interest.

Sincerely,

Robert J. Gillooly

THE LIGHT OF THE WORLD

Reflections on the Miracles of Christ



Robert Gillooly

*The woods of Arcady are dead
And over is their antique joy;
Of old the world on dreaming fed;
Grey Truth is now her painted toy.*

W. B. Yeats

Introduction

In earlier days, the Bible was thought to have been written by the hand of God or inspired by the Holy Spirit, and therefore its stories were held to be true in every respect. And if some of the stories seemed improbable, they were nevertheless accepted because they came from Holy Scripture.

That mind-set has changed in recent years, however, and the Bible stories that inspired our childhood are now widely recognized as religious myth: The Garden of Eden; The Tower of Babel; Noah and the Ark; Jonah and the Whale; Moses in the Bulrushes, and more. Scholars discovered that these stories did not originate with the Bible but were based, in whole or in part, on the mythology of more ancient civilizations. The Garden of Eden story, for example, was known to several civilizations that preceded the Biblical version, and had included such details as a talking snake and a fruit with marvelous properties.

In *Myths To Live By*, Joseph Campbell noted that many Old Testament stories were fictional and often corresponded to the founding legends of other religions:

Today, we know — and know right well — that there was never anything of the kind: no garden of Eden anywhere on this earth, no time when the serpent could talk, no prehistoric “Fall,” no exclusion from the garden, no universal flood, no Noah’s Ark. The entire history on which our leading occidental religions have been founded is an anthology of fictions. But these are fictions of a type that have — curiously enough — a universal vogue as the founding legends of other religions, too. Their counterparts have turned up everywhere — and yet, there was never such a garden, serpent, tree or deluge.

Although many stories in the Old Testament have come under question, there has been relatively little said of those in the New Testament — the miracles of Christ. In an unending sequence Christ was said to have walked on water, fed the multitudes, changed water into wine, healed the blind, stared down the devil and raised the dead. And his personal history included a virgin birth, a nature both human and divine, a return from the dead and an ascension into Heaven. And we now await his Second Coming.

Of course the majority of Christians readily accept the miracles of Christ, yet there are some who would describe them as religious pageantry — an elaborate and colorful display to attract nonbelievers to the fold. And it is true that many of the miracles of Christ bear a close, if not fatal, resemblance to more ancient miracles, those which are today regarded as superstitious fancy.

The following pages, then, address the interesting question of whether the miracles of Christ were real, or instead were drawn from an inventory of ancient religious myth.

A Bright Star

The story of Jesus often begins as the Magi wend their way through the desert night, guided by the Star of the Nativity. And certainly a bright star was an apt symbol to announce the coming of Christ, the Light of the World.

The origin of the idea, however, goes further back in time. Ancient religions often chose to associate the coming of their godlike figures with stars and meteors, which provided a poetic accompaniment to their appearance and suggested that Heaven itself had heralded their coming.

Andrew Dickson White noted the old-world belief that stars and meteors presaged happy events, "especially the births of gods, heroes and great men." And it became something of an unspoken tradition for such figures to first appear on earth amidst or announced by heavenly lights. The sacred books of India recount that the births of Krishna and Buddha were announced by heavenly lights.

In China, sacred books noted the appearance of heavenly lights before the birth of Yu, the founder of the first dynasty, and also of the wise man, Lao-tse. Jewish legend has a star appearing before the birth of Moses, and when Abraham was born, the occasion was marked by a new star in the east. The tradition of heavenly lights was found in Greek and Roman legend as well, such as in the birth of various Caesars. And, of course, the sacred books of Christianity report that a star, rising in the east, heralded the coming of Christ.

As heavenly lights presaged happy events, so did eclipses foretell tragedy. The Greeks believed that darkness befell the earth on the death of Prometheus, Hercules and Alexander the Great. The Romans believed the world was dark for six hours at the death of Romulus and the lights went out again when Julius Caesar died. One of the Christian legends surrounding the Crucifixion reported six to nine hours of darkness over the globe and Jewish tradition noted a three day period of darkness when the books of the Law were translated into Greek — a profanity.

So in the ancient world the coming of great men and godlike figures was often presaged by heavenly lights, and their going accompanied by a global darkness. The star that heralded the coming of Christ appears to have followed this ancient tradition.

A Virgin Birth

One of the most common ideas in ancient folklore is found in the supernatural birth of great men and gods. Their coming was often heralded by heavenly lights and their arrival marked by a virgin birth, further evidence of their extraordinary nature.

A virgin birth was said to occur when a mortal woman was somehow impregnated by a divine father — in a supernatural rather than a natural manner. Thus Alexander the Great, whose father was said to be the god Zeus, was the product of a virgin birth. Similarly, the Greek philosopher Plato, the Greek mathematician Pythagorus, and the Roman emperor Augustus were thought by

many to be sons of the god Apollo, and therefore products of a virgin birth. And even though these same births could be proved natural, with human fathers in evidence, many people chose to believe that such greatness in a man must be the result of a celestial father.

Religious leaders were also often associated with the miracle of a virgin birth, supporting their claim to divinity or something close to it. In his second coming, Buddha was said to have been born miraculously, and virgin births were also ascribed to the god Horus in Egypt, Krishna in India, and Zoroaster, the prophet and founder of Zoroastrianism.

Other virgin births predating Christ included that of Attis, a Roman vegetation-god and Mithra, an Indo-Iranian sun-god. Attis was said to be born of the virgin Nana and Mithra's divine sun born of a goddess the Semites called the Heavenly Virgin. Both Attis and Mithra overlapped the coming of Christ, and at one time Mithra even threatened to overwhelm his Christian rival. The competition set Mithra (the Unconquered Sun) against Jesus (the Sun of Righteousness) in a rivalry in which both contestants were born of virgins and on the same date, December 24 — Mithra being the prior claimant.

So, in pre-Christian times many lands lay claim to the virgin birth of their culture heroes. However, they were then obliged to explain the process by which their hero had arrived, and a number of memorable accounts came forth. In the case of Buddha, he was said to have entered his mother's womb in the shape of a white elephant. Fo-hi, who founded the Chinese Empire, was said to have been conceived by a virgin who ate a flower clinging to her bathing garment. Attis, the Roman vegetation-god, was conceived when his virgin mother put a ripe almond in her bosom. And the mortal virgin Danae was impregnated by Zeus, who presented himself to her in the form of a shower of gold.

In classical antiquity, then, there was a history of great men and gods arriving by way of a virgin birth. And the mythologist, Joseph Campbell, noted that the Christian doctrine of a virgin birth was clearly linked with the ancient Greek tradition. Campbell made the point during an interview and referred only to the Gospel According to Luke, possibly because of textual variants in Matthew, one of which contained the antithetical thought that "Joseph begat Jesus."

Campbell: ... the virgin birth comes into Christianity by way of the Greek tradition. When you read the four gospels, for example, the only one in which the virgin birth appears is the Gospel According to Luke, and Luke was a Greek.

Moyers: And in the Greek tradition there were images, legends, myths of virgin births?

Campbell: Oh, yes — Leda and the swan, Persephone and the serpent, and this one and that one and the other one. The virgin birth is represented throughout.

Campbell refers here to the Greek god, Zeus, who lent considerable weight to the Greek tradition of virgin births in disguising himself as a swan to seduce Leda, as a snake to seduce Persephone, as a hummingbird in the case of Hera and as a white bull with Europa. His affairs with other women, not all producing progeny, were numerous enough to require an alphabetical listing in some scholarly annals.

The virgin birth of Christ, then, followed the Greek tradition in that it was a god, the Holy Spirit, that breathed the figurative seed of Christ into the Virgin Mary's womb, but departed from the Greek tradition — as exemplified by the amorous Zeus — in that there was no suggestion of sexuality connected with the event.

For in the early Church, the Christian Fathers' notion of sanctity called for the renunciation of life and sex, the world and the flesh, in favor of the transcendent kingdom of God. In short, sex had the coloring of sin. Tertullian is said to have thought of women as "the Devil's gateway" and St. Augustine believed that original sin was transmitted to succeeding generations by sexual intercourse. Origen, a prominent theologian in the second century, emasculated himself as a youth, and as part of his renunciation of the world taught lifelong virginity, including abstinence from sexual intercourse by married persons. So

the ascetic impulses of the Church Fathers gave further impetus to the idea of a virgin birth — a birth that was spiritual, not physical.

Thus in the best tradition of classical antiquity, but with no concession to sexual imagery, a god begat a man-god through the agency of a mortal woman. And Jesus was born of Mary.

A Living God

Although it may be natural for Christians to think of Christ's divinity as a unique occurrence, he was not alone in this distinction. Individuals who in themselves combined the human and divine have graced the pages of religious history from early times, and Christ was but one in the procession.

The concept of a man-god began when certain charismatic individuals demonstrated exceptional abilities, or lay claim to them, and were thereby able to gain ascendancy over their fellow men. It was the same enabling circumstance that brought forth high priests, magicians and medicine men in early societies.

The Golden Bough offers some examples of man-gods which speak to the enterprise of individuals who aspire to the divine kingdom, the dependency of people on godlike figures and perhaps the sheer momentum of a religious belief as it travels through the centuries:

- According to the early Portuguese historian, Dos Santos, the Zimbos, or Muziambas, a people of South Eastern Africa, "do not adore idols or recognize any god, but instead they venerate and honor their king, whom they regard as a divinity and they say he is the greatest and best in the world. And the king says of himself that he alone is god of the earth, for which reason if it rains when he does not wish it to do so, or it is hot, he shoots arrows at the sky for not obeying him."

- A Hindoo sect, which has many representatives in Bombay and Central India, holds that its spiritual chiefs or Maharajas, as they are called, are representatives or even actual incarnations on earth of the god Krishna ... a peculiar rite called Self-devotion has been instituted, whereby his faithful worshipers make over their bodies, their souls, and, what is perhaps still more important their worldly substance to his adorable incarnations.
- A register of all the incarnate gods of the Chinese empire is kept in the Li fan yuan or Colonial Office at Peking. The number of gods who have thus taken out a license is one hundred and sixty. Tibet is blessed with thirty of them, Northern Mongolia rejoices in nineteen, and Southern Mongolia basks in the sunshine of no less than fifty-seven. The Chinese government, with a paternal solicitude for the welfare of its subjects now forbids the gods on the register to be reborn anywhere but in Tibet.
- And to this day in India all living persons remarkable for great strength or valour or for supposed miraculous powers run the risk of being worshiped as gods. Thus, a sect in the Punjab worshiped a deity whom they called Nikkal Sen. This Nikkal Sen was no other than the redoubted General Nicholson, and nothing that the general could do or say damped the ardour of his adorers. The more he punished them, the greater grew the religious awe with which they worshiped him.

The concept of living gods flourished in an ancient world that posted no boundaries on religious beliefs. In Babylonia, a long succession of rulers were deified in their lifetime following the death of Sargon in 2800 B.C. The ancient kings of Egypt claimed divine authority over all lands and nations. The Aztec king, Montezuma, was worshipped as a man-god during his reign. Brahmin priests were considered to be human gods, with the power to control the immortal gods — and if necessary to create new ones. Buddha, who was not viewed as a god during his lifetime, was proclaimed a human god by the Mahayanists following his death. In the year 646 the emperor of Japan was recognized as a man-god and ruler of the universe, and the Dalai Llama of Lhasa, Tibet, has long been regarded as a living god whose divine and immortal spirit, at death, is born again in a child.

Living gods, then, were sprinkled like stardust over the ancient world and so paved the way for the coming of Christ. In 307 B.C., Athenians gave divine honors to Demetris Poliorcetes and his father, while alive, under the title of the Savior Gods. The Roman senate enrolled Julius Caesar among the gods after his assassination in 44 B.C., and some parts of the Roman Empire deified Augustus, Caesar's successor, while he was still alive. In the first century, the emperors Caligula and Domitian claimed godhood while alive, following which all of the early Roman emperors were considered for a place among the gods.

Thus human gods were familiar figures in the Roman Empire — before and after the coming of Christ — with many well-known names in evidence. During his life, nevertheless, Christ was recognized as a man-god only by his followers and not by the Jewish religious establishment nor by the Roman government. It was in the fourth century, under the emperor Constantine, that Christianity became the state religion of the Roman Empire and Jesus proclaimed a man-god by the Roman Senate.

In the centuries following, some Christians believed that Christ was simply a manifestation of the fact that God was incarnate in every Christian, and they therefore adored each other — Tertullian noted that this was the belief in Carthage during the second century. Along this line, the disciples of Saint Columbia worshiped him as an embodiment of Christ and Sir James Frazer adds that "in the eighth century Elipandus of Toledo spoke of Christ as a 'god among gods' meaning that all believers were gods just as truly as Jesus himself."

Perhaps the status of human gods has been further confused by the extraordinary powers attributed to the Christian saints. Literally thousands of Christians saints (and those of other religions) are said to have performed miracles that are godlike in every respect. If Christ exercised his powers as a human god to raise Lazarus from the dead, Saint Xavier was said by one of his biographers to have raised more than a dozen people from the dead. And various Christian saints were said to have walked on water, healed lepers, given sight to the blind, produced food miraculously — in short, to have performed all of the miracles attributed to Christ and more for good measure. To some, the result of such stories is to call into question both the miracles of Christ and the miracles of the saints — which are the basis for his godhood and their sainthood.

All in all, the concept of a man-god was not a difficult proposition for the ancient Romans to accept. There had been numerous precedents, and in Christ's time religion had offered up any number of improbable beings. For example, the Roman public believed that the vegetation-god Attis, one of Christ's contemporaries, was born of a virgin, reared by a he-goat, and following his second death turned into a pine tree. And Christ's other rival, Mithra, whose divine sun was virgin-born, was himself thought to have emerged from a rock, not as a baby but as a young man, fully formed. It was an age of innocence.

A Resurrection

Joseph Campbell once noted that the ancient world was "chock-full" of tales of resurrections: "modern scholarship, systematically comparing the myths and rites of mankind, has found just about everywhere legends of virgins giving birth to heroes who die and are resurrected." The Aztecs of Mexico, and in the pre-Christian past the Buddhists and Jains, the resurrection of Osiris in Egypt, Tammuz in Mesopotamia, Adonis in Syria and Dionysus in Greece were among others who gave to the early Christians models for the resurrection of Christ.

The concept of a resurrection had its remarkable beginning when early people noted that in the change of seasons the earth's vegetation died and later in the year came back to life — a resurrection. Animals and humans were later

thought to be part of this eternal process, and so vegetables, animals and humans were all joined in the concept.

It follows that the resurrection concept was closely associated with vegetation-gods. The Egyptian god, Osiris, whose death and resurrection were celebrated as early as 1500 B.C., governed many aspects of life including the sun, fertility, vegetation and especially corn. The Greek god, Dionysus, was best known as a personification of the grape vine — his resurrection was celebrated with drunken revelry. Persephone was the daughter of Demeter, a corn-goddess with yellow tresses, and in the spring of each year rose from the underworld for a renewed existence on earth. Adonis was a vegetation-god worshipped in Greece as early as the seventh century B.C. His passing occurred in the fall of each year and his resurrection in the spring. In Egypt and Phoenicia, as well, Adonis died annually but then came back to life and ascended into heaven.

In *The Golden Bough*, Frazer notes that in the case of Adonis: "when we reflect how often the church has skillfully contrived to plant the seeds of the new faith on the old stock of paganism, we may surmise that the Easter celebration of the dead and risen Christ was grafted upon a similar celebration of the dead and risen Adonis." This took place in the Greek-speaking part of the current world; in the Latin-speaking parts the date of Attis' death and resurrection had already been chosen as the date on which Christians were to celebrate Easter.

The resurrection of Attis, the vegetation-god, dated to about 200 B.C. and was observed by Romans each year with a period of mourning followed by a joyous celebration — not unlike the Christian observance in later years. Frazer describes the pagan event: "The sorrow of the worshipers was turned to joy. For suddenly a light shone in the darkness; the tomb was opened; the god has risen from the dead; and as the priest touched the lips of the weeping mourners with balm, he softly whispered in their ears the glad tidings of salvation. The resurrection of the god was hailed by his disciples as a promise that they too would issue triumphant from the corruption of the grave. On the morrow, the twenty-fifth day of March, which was reckoned the vernal equinox, the divine resurrection was celebrated with a wild outburst of glee." Interestingly, Attis combined a divine father and son in his person.

The striking similarity between the resurrection of Attis and that of Christ did not go unnoticed at the time, and Christians defended their position in the controversy by referring to the subtleties of Satan, as noted in *The Golden Bough*:

In point of fact it appears from the testimony of an anonymous Christian, who wrote in the fourth century of our era, that Christians and pagans alike were struck by the remarkable coincidence between the death and resurrection of their respective deities, and that the coincidence formed a theme of bitter controversy between the adherents of the rival religions, the pagans contending that the resurrection of Christ was a spurious imitation of the resurrection of Attis, and the Christians asserting with equal warmth that the resurrection of Attis was a diabolical counterfeit of the resurrection of Christ. In these unseemly bickerings the heathen took what to a superficial observer might seem strong ground by arguing that their god was the older and therefore presumably the original, not the counterfeit, since as a general rule an original is older than its copy. This feeble argument the Christians easily rebutted. They admitted, indeed, that in point of time Christ was the junior deity, but they triumphantly demonstrated his real seniority by falling back on the subtlety of Satan, who on so important an occasion had surpassed himself by inverting the usual order of nature.

Of course the idea of a bodily resurrection had its fascination for a society that was a continuing witness to death and the decay of the body, and accordingly his followers claimed for Christ the capability of a renewed existence — a resurrection. It also served to confirm his standing as a god among gods, and all that remained, as proof of Christ's divinity, was his ascension into Heaven.

An Ascension

The ascension of gods or great men represented their passage from a natural to a spiritual order. And since in mythology the distant sky, or heaven, was seen as the abode of the gods, an ascent was necessarily an uplifting event.

Following his resurrection, the great god Osiris chose not to resume his earthly duties but instead ascended into heaven. Adonis, also, ascended into heaven in the presence of his Egyptian and Phoenician worshipers, and the ascent of Mithra's soul through the seven spheres was taught in the Mithraic mysteries. On the death of Attis, however, having turned into a pine tree he was unable to ascend.

A number of saints were said to have been transported, while alive, to the world beyond the grave. Legend said that Enoch was carried by angels into heaven, where the Lord received him. Elijah was said to have been transported to heaven by a chariot of fire, successor to the legend that he was lifted to heaven in a whirlwind. Assumptions after death included that of Hercules, who was carried to heaven in a chariot drawn by four horses, the earth not being a suitable resting place for one so godlike. Similar reasoning resulted in the assumption of the Virgin Mary, which was announced by the Church in the seventh century.

One of the more compelling stories involved Moses, about whom it was said that God descended to earth to personally claim Moses' soul and escort him to Heaven. They went up hand in hand.

It was probably to be expected, then, that Jesus was said to have ascended into Heaven. An early depiction showed Jesus standing on a hill as the hand of God emerged from a cloud and drew him heavenward. Perhaps the last word on his ascension belongs to Joseph Campbell, who in a lecture once noted that had Jesus ascended at the speed of light he would not have cleared our own galaxy by the year 2000.

All in all, ascensions were a fitting end to lives which were said to be miraculous in every respect.

A Perspective

It was a very different world in ancient times, a world inhabited by bizarre creatures and marked by extraordinary events. Gods filled the ancient skies and demons lurked in a shadowy underworld, their awesome activities controlling human affairs.

All natural events were thought to be the work of invisible spirits, and so the corn crop was the bounty of a yellow-haired goddess who appeared in the spring only to disappear in the fall, the sun was pulled across the sky each day by a god in his horse-drawn chariot, and the wind rose when a wind-god puffed out his cheeks and blew mighty gusts across the land.

When Christianity came upon the scene it embraced the ancient belief that all natural events were orchestrated by invisible spirits. Thus rain fell when angels opened the windows of Heaven, which contained a great cistern, and the moon and stars were hung in the heavens each night by the giant hand of God. Christianity also adopted such old-world figures as ghosts, witches, fairies, dragons, imps and demons to meet the varied circumstances of Christian living.

The ancient world, then, was fraught with superstition, which Webster defines as a belief resulting from ignorance, fear of the unknown or a false conception of causation. It was an age in which miracles were common occurrences rather than a breach of the natural law, because in those days there was no natural law to breach. Science had not yet come into its own and placed boundaries on the imaginings of men. And it was in this milieu that the coming of a man-god, Christ, was announced and in time accepted.

Of course, Christ had followed a long procession of man-gods in the ancient world, many of whom were said to have performed prodigies and who shared with Christ the tradition of a virgin birth, a divine nature, a resurrection and an ascension. And so it appears that the miracles surrounding Christ, including his divine nature, were very likely modeled on the miracles of more ancient cultures — and are therefore mythical. In this respect the miracles of the Old and New Testaments share a common heritage.

If this is so, and the age of religious miracles is past, we will no doubt feel a sense of loss, a certain sadness, for many mythical beliefs are said to come from our psyches and often reflect our hidden longings. The miraculous powers of Christ, then, may be an outward expression of the powers we would wish for ourselves — and therefore something we want to believe in, in spite of our rational nature.

Or perhaps our penchant for the miraculous is simply the need for an occasional flight of fancy, to add a little splash of color to an otherwise humdrum existence. Whatever the reason, we shall miss the gaudy images of days gone by, when Attis turned into a pine tree, Mithra emerged from a rock and man-gods roamed the world.

*The woods of Arcady are dead
And over is their antique joy;
Of old the world on dreaming fed;
Grey Truth is now her painted toy.*