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<b>How Concrete is an African Theology Today</b>	<b>1</b>
<i>Bénézet Bujo</i>	
<b>The value of Scriptural and Historical evidence in the Debate within the Roman Catholic Church concerning the ordination of women</b>	<b>13</b>
<i>Rodney Moss</i>	
<b>Augustine and Manichaeism in Roman North Africa</b>	<b>32</b>
<i>Johannes van Oort</i>	
<b>List of Contributors</b>	<b>52</b>



# How Concrete is an African Theology Today?

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BÉNÉZET BUJO

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## INTRODUCTION

It is surprising that some people – even scholars - African and non-African alike still ask whether one can really speak of "An African Theology". According to some, the little that has been done, has been the work of non-Africans. Others are saying that African Theology is dead or irrelevant. The two books we will launch today, try, each in a different way, to address these issues.\*

## AFRICAN THEOLOGY IN THE 21<sup>ST</sup> CENTURY

One cannot correctly understand the theological and philosophical movement in Black Africa unless one goes back to the so-called *négritude* movement which started in the 30's with Aimé Césaire, Léopold Sédar Senghor and Léon Gontran Damas who were students at Sorbonne in the Quartier Latin in Paris (France). The origin of this movement had been a social/racial discrimination against Black students in Paris. In their reaction to this situation, the Founders of the *négritude* movement started becoming aware of specific African values and that these values could be of service to the whole of humanity. It seemed to these Founders that the West usually paid attention to a nation only as far as it showed a specificity of thought and arts, like music, sculpture, choreography, and so on.

This *négritude* movement influenced many writers especially in the French speaking area of Africa. For example: Bernard Dadié (Ivory Coast) and Mongo Beti (Cameroon). Mongo Beti especially, has touched on the problem of inculturation in his novel *Le Pauvre Christ de Bomba* = The Poor Christ of Bomba. According to him, the missionary Fr Drumont from Bomba, failed to understand the African culture, and, as a consequence, the people did not understand the Gospel either. Christianity should first of all try to analyse the traditional faith of the local people and show the impact of the Good News of

Christ on concrete life in a concrete context. This is what Fr Drumont failed to do and understand.

In the footsteps of the Founders of the *négritude* movement, theologians began to reflect on the same problem: How can the Gospel of Christ be proclaimed in a specifically African way? Already in the Belgian colonial period, a Protestant Christian, Kimbangu, the Founder of the Kimbangu Church, pointed out:

Christianity seems to us as a 'white' religion. Its founder is a white God. Its leaders are whites and the Christian laws are in favour of Whites. The Whites are always at the top and we at the bottom. The earthly happiness and the everlasting salvation, both, belong to them. We are continuously in frustration and despair!<sup>1</sup>

These words of Kimbangu show clearly how urgently we need a true inculturation and African theology. The African theologians have not been afraid of their task. Before Vatican II, after Placide Tempels had written his famous "Bantu Philosophy" (1945), theologians and philosophers like Vincent Mulago and Alexis Kagame started work in order to elaborate a systematic thought in theology and philosophy from an African point of view.

The first Manifesto of African theologians supporting a genuine African Christianity took place in 1956, with the book: *Des Prêtres Noirs S'interrogent* = African Priests Are Questioning Themselves. This book, however, does not deal with a systematic thought, but underlines the urgency of African theology in all the areas.

The first public dispute on a systematic African theology took place in 1960 at the Catholic Faculty of Theology of Kinshasa, the so-called "Tshibangu-Vanneste debate". Tshibangu, at that time still a student, pleaded for a theology "of African colour", whereas Vanneste, his Dean of study, defended the thesis that there cannot be an African theology, but the African theologians must try to attain the universal truth, lest they condemn themselves to remain second-rate theologians.<sup>2</sup> This debate has been a challenge for many theologians, and today we can say that Vanneste did not have much support for his radical thesis.

We hope that the book *African Theology in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century* (2003) shows clearly that there is already an African theology which cannot be honestly ignored. In order to show that this is the case, we have gathered the "portraits" of those theologians who can be considered "pioneers".

African Theology, which before Vatican II was yet discussing the method to take for its growth, developed very fast after the Council. At the Western theological level, the Council has confirmed the endeavours of theologians like Marie Dominique Chenu and Gustave Thils who already in the 50's suggested the theology of earthly realities. This was confirmed in a very special way in the Pastoral Constitution *Gaudium et Spes*. Indeed, Vatican II has strongly emphasised the importance of the cultures of all nations. What is much more important for us, is the declaration of the Decree on the Church's Missionary Activity *Ad Gentes* which clearly states that the young churches "borrow from the customs, traditions, wisdom, teaching, arts and sciences of their people everything which could be used to praise the glory of the Creator, manifest the grace of the Saviour, or contribute to the right ordering of Christian life"<sup>3</sup>. It is only in this way, according to Vatican II, that "it will be more clearly understood by which means the faith can be explained in terms of the philosophy and wisdom of the people, and how their customs, attitude to life and social structures can be reconciled with the standard proposed by divine revelation".<sup>4</sup>

African theologians have been encouraged by this magisterial teaching to deepen Revelation in order to elaborate a Christianity which is truly African. Nevertheless, in the first years after Vatican II, the theologians were still speaking of adaptation or stepping-stones as preparation for the Gospel. It is the discussion at the Roman Synod of 1974 which helped to think systematically of a new method. The African Bishops and theologians who were present at this Synod, asked the Church in Africa to go beyond a theology of adaptation and of stepping-stones. The time had come, they said, to elaborate a theology which is able to incarnate the Christian faith or to inculturate it. This appeal of the synod challenged the theologians to go beyond the *négritude* movement. African theology cannot be limited to the claim of Black identity or to the discussion on the possibility of a scientific theology, for it is now necessary to deal with the existential problems in politics and economics, whilst not forgetting the scourge of AIDS in Africa. It is time to ask why the Christian faith south of the Sahara has not yet become familiar to the people.

In order to give an answer to this question, Fr. Engelbert Mveng introduced a new category into the African theological discourse. He speaks of "*anthropological poverty*."<sup>5</sup>

According to him, the poverty in Black Africa is not only a socio-economic phenomenon. It is rather a problem of the destruction of the very deep roots of the African humanity, which has completely traumatised the Blacks who are nobody in this world. From this point of view, African poverty is not only material, it is total, it is an anthropological poverty.<sup>6</sup> Such a poverty cannot be overcome through improving material conditions alone, because it is not only an economic problem. What is at stake is the dignity of the human being as a whole, including cultural values. The Church in Africa must be creative and propose a new theology which embraces all dimensions. The question which is then decisive is: who is Jesus Christ for the Africans: "Who do you say I am?" (Mt 16:15). This question is central in the elaboration of a specific African Christology. The theologians are asking further for a new ecclesiology which can present a Church better understood by the Africans. African Theology also deals with a new sacramental theology, like marriage, Eucharist, sacrament of penance... Another question which is increasingly discussed is the problem of the foundation of ethics. How far is moral theology (founded on the natural law) valid and universal?

All these different reflections and questions have led, for instance, the theologians to elaborate a new concept of Christology as answer to the question "Who do you say I am?" (Mt 16:15). Jesus Christ is considered in the new African theology as Healer, Elder Brother, Ancestor or Proto-Ancestor. The most elaborated Christology is the one of Christ as Ancestor and Proto-Ancestor. If African theologians are speaking of "ancestor" it is necessary to determine exactly what this concept means. We are not speaking of all the dead in general. Only the dead who have been virtuous according to the judgement of the community have to be taken into consideration: exemplarity is very important if one has to be called "ancestor". From this point of view it is not true that the Africans are continuously in fear of their ancestors. These, beside God, are rather a source of life and they seek our company. Furthermore they are interested in the well-being of their descendants. The dead who come back to frighten or to punish the living cannot be considered ancestors. If one understands this correctly, it cannot be theologically wrong to give Jesus Christ the title of "Ancestor", because this title means that he is the source of life. To make this more clear, it is better to call Jesus Christ not only an Ancestor but the Proto-Ancestor because he is not simply one of the traditional African ancestors, but goes beyond them: all the ancestors depend on him, since he is the Proto-Ancestor who transmits the life which is coming through

Jesus Christ. Indeed, Jesus came so that we "might have life and have it more abundantly" (Jn 10:10). Furthermore, the proto-ancestorship is completely in accordance with the Pauline teaching of First Adam and Second Adam (1 Cor 15: 45ff.). Jesus Christ is the First-Born of the dead, the Head of the Body which is the Church (Col 1: 18). Yes, he is the First-Born of all creation (Col 1:15) and the first fruits of those who have fallen asleep (1 Cor 15:20). The concept "Proto-Ancestor" is the best title we can give to express this whole Pauline teaching. All other titles we mentioned above can somehow be reduced to this one. Indeed, if it is true that the African ancestor is the source of life, Jesus can be considered Healer, Master of initiation, Elder Brother or Chief only from the viewpoint of abundance of life. That is the reason why until now the "ancestor Christology" seems to have drawn more attention than other models, because the latter are included in the ancestorship.

It must be emphasised that this Christology is not only something theoretical, but has impact on concrete, modern life in today's Africa. The internalisation of ancestorship can be very relevant for instance in socio-economic and political life in modern Africa. As already said, what is central in African tradition is the concept of life as the ancestors have taught us. The whole political or socio-economic life should then be at the service of life in plenty: bribery, corruption, dictatorship, war and the scourge of AIDS in Africa are a contradiction to true life as foreseen by our ancestors. To call Jesus Christ Proto-Ancestor means, for Christians, to go beyond the traditional ancestor and to fight against all that is destroying life and to heal Africa through the initiation Blood of Christ on the Cross (cf. Col 1:20).

*African Theology in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century* will not deal only with Christology, but also with a new concept of ecclesiology. Since the African Synod it has become usual to speak of Church as Family. Even here we have to stress that the concept of "family" is not to be understood in the Western way of nuclear family, but the African family embraces three dimensions: the living, the dead and the not-yet-born. This family develops through good relationships with each other. Any tension within this family destroys life and fosters death, but it is possible to look for reconciliation through palaver and other rites. Members who are causing trouble and tension in the family are destroying the life force, they are eating life and deserve the name of sorcerers and wizards because they are bewitching the family and killing it. So the Church as family should be united through the charity of Christ that alone can enable the family to protect and to encourage the life force of all the members: the living, the dead and the

not-yet-born. That this is of burning actuality can be shown if we describe briefly the concept of African morality as it is elaborated in the book on Fundamental Moral Theology which will be launched today.

### ***Foundations of an African ethic***

The problem of the foundation of the African ethic must take into account the fundamental concepts of morality in order to discuss their universality. In doing so it is important to discuss the validity of natural law, the concepts of discourse ethics and communitarianism as it is understood in North America. If we study carefully all these philosophical streams, it seems then that:

- 1) the starting point of an African ethic is not the natural law, but the community.
- 2) The discourse ethic has some similarities with the African ethic, but still stresses the role that reason has to play in the foundation of ethical norms.
- 3) Communitarianism has more resemblance to the African ethic, but it insists on the individual as the decision making subject.

What is the fundamental principle of the African ethic? It is not the Cartesian *Cogito ergo sum* (I think, therefore I am) as one can find it in Natural Law, in discourse ethics and somehow also in communitarianism. The African ethic is based on *cognatus sum, ergo sumus* (I am related, therefore we are, we exist). The way to find out ethical norms and to put them into practice cannot be realised through an individual knowledge, but everything has to be realised within the community and together with the community. This is what we call PALAVER, where everybody expresses him/herself, so that at the end the community can find consent.

Let us emphasise that the community and the relationship (*cognatus sum ergo sumus*) that we are speaking about involve not only the visible community, but also the dead and the not-yet-born. Only together with the dead and not-yet-born can we really exist. In the same way, the dead and the not-yet-born cannot exist without the visible community.

As one can easily understand, this concept of community might enable us not only to elaborate a new morality for Africa, but also a new understanding of Christian eschatology. Indeed, in classic Christian theology we have learnt that after death one is completely happy in contemplating God, no matter what happens to the living on earth. This bliss or happiness and conception of the world to come, is a very individualistic thing. For us

Africans, on the contrary, the dead cannot be completely happy without a sound relationship with the living on the earth. Further, even in the afterlife, the dead are still growing in their personality. Yes, even in the life after death, the dead can be persons only if there is a good relationship between them and the living. On the other hand, the living need not only their relatives in the earthly community, but they can truly be persons if at the same time they keep in touch with the dead.

The concept of community in Africa can contribute not only to the working out of a new understanding of eschatology, but it can help us in almost all areas of theology. Let us give a few examples: As already noted, ecclesiology cannot be understood rightly in Africa unless we start with the concept of the family. Sacramental Theology and the Theology of Grace can be incarnated if they take into consideration the three-dimensional community as we have explained.

In the following consideration we will not continue this reflection which concerns different theological branches, but we rather want now to ask the question of how African theology could be taught if it is true that the future of Christianity in Africa depends on good inculturation.

## **TEACHING THEOLOGY IN THE 21<sup>ST</sup> CENTURY IN AFRICA**

Here I can describe very briefly the way I understand the teaching of theology in Black Africa. It seems to me that three points should be emphasised:

### ***Theology As Ministry***

It is not at all a luxury to study, to teach or to write theology, but it is a very important ministry in the Church. As St Paul teaches in 1Cor 12:4-11: "There are many different gifts, but it is the same Spirit; there are many different ways of serving, but it is always the same Lord. There are many different forms of activity, but in everybody it is the same God who is at work in them all. The particular manifestation of the Spirit granted to each one is to be used for the general good." (vv.4-7). He concludes by saying: "Now Christ's body is yourselves, each of you with a part to play in the whole"(v. 27). In the Church as body of Christ we have Apostles, Prophets, Teachers, Healers and so on. St Paul then is asking: "Are all of them apostles? Or prophets? Or teachers? Or miracle-workers? Or healers...?" (vv.27ff.). The answer is of course "NO". And here we have the question of being theologians in the Church. If we have received this function, we should take it seriously. Paul also says to the

Romans: "Since we have gifts that differ according to the grace given to us, let us exercise them: if prophecy, use it in proportion to the faith; if it is a gift of practical service, let us devote ourselves to serving; if one is teacher, he should teach..." (Rom 12: 6-8). The late Cardinal Joseph Albert Malula, Archbishop of Kinshasa, drew attention to a certain widespread mentality that automatically links academic titles with a predestination to the episcopacy. Being a bishop is a different form of ministry to being a theologian, but the two need not be opposed, because both are to be used for the general good in the Church as Body of Christ. Not everybody in the Church can dedicate him/herself to research. A bishop for instance, even if he has an academic degree, does not have time to deepen his understanding of all the problems that arise in the Church and society. He needs collaborators to whom he can listen. A theologian should be such a collaborator; he/she should love his/her "job" as ministry, and after having done research in an area, he/she should submit the results to the bishop in order to have a dialogue with him. The bishop, in turn, should listen and put the good results into practice in his diocese. That means in the end that bishop and religious superiors should especially encourage theological research in their dioceses and congregations.

Last but not least: Theology is not to be separated from faith. We cannot study or teach theology as we study and teach other sciences. A very interesting and important text of Thomas Aquinas deserves our attention. In his Commentary on the Letter to the Hebrews he says that there are two kinds of perfection. One is the intellectual life and the other the emotional life. Emotional perfection is the result of the charity that we have if we are totally united with God. This is the specificity of the teaching of Holy Scripture that it does transmit to us not only speculative things as does for instance geometry, but also, what Holy Scripture teaches are things which need our agreement through emotion. Indeed, in other sciences it is required to be perfect only at the intellectual level, but in the sacred sciences both are required, intellectual and emotional perfection.<sup>7</sup> In this connection we can rightly say that theology is a reflected and reflecting faith.

### ***Themes of African Theology***

Our task as theologians today is to speak in our context of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. This context has many dimensions. But it is sure that, for example in Africa, all these dimensions are invaded by African mentality and culture, even if we do not see them clearly. It could be too quick and too superficial to think that

African culture and mentality have been completely swept away by so-called modernity. Our task is to listen to the people in order to discover the very deep basis of their thought and behaviour. This means it is more than necessary today to discover the potentialities of African culture that are still alive. Here we can mention among others the problem of witchcraft, of healing and of marriage. African theologians should not focus only on ethnic details, but must discover the foundation of the African way of thinking, which might be common to many other ethnic groups. In doing this we can become aware of the way in which the different ethnic groups around Black Africa can get in touch in order to have a dialogue among themselves at an African cultural level. Indeed, it is my conviction that a dialogue at African cultural level could be easier than a dialogue between African and non-African cultures. For instance: If an African can be taught that Adam is our ancestor who is important to understand Christ as the second Adam, it will be, in my opinion, much easier to talk about the African ancestors as a fundamental concept for the inculturation of our faith.

Another point that is worth emphasising is the ecumenical dimension of African theology. So far, there are not many African theologians who are doing research on this. Nevertheless, it seems to me that the dialogue between different confessions in Black Africa could be easier if we remain at the level of African culture. For instance, the problem of ancestor veneration is a common basis for African theologians, so that the question concerning the veneration of all Saints in the Catholic Church can be better understood by our African Protestant brothers and sisters. Even the question related to the veneration of Mary, the Mother of God, could be better understood in the African context because of the importance of a mother in Africa.

### ***The Problem of Theological Languages***

Until now, we African theologians, have mostly written our theology in European languages: English, French, German and so on. But African theology can be truly African only if we start to write and to teach our theology in African languages, because our theology cannot avoid having concepts rooted in our culture. Besides, our theology has to be brought to our people, to all African Christians.

For example, the concepts of "father", "mother", "brother-sister", "son-daughter"...are different from those in the West. This can deeply influence our theological concepts and thinking. For example, if one is speaking of the

Church as Family, it does not have the same content in Africa as it has in the West. Similarly, the concept of "incest" among some ethnic groups can be completely different from the Western understanding. Where the Church allows the marriage between two relatives, some ethnic groups understand this as incest and can thus claim to be morally better than the Church who, according to their culture, is immoral in allowing incest.

We can mention also the concept of poverty. According to many African communities poverty means first of all relationship to each other. Poverty is not essentially material, but it means lack of relationship. One is poor especially if one does not have relatives or friends. Even if somebody is materially rich, he or she is poor if he/she does not have any family member and friend. In this sense all orphans are poor. This emphasis on relationship can be found in some languages in Black Africa where they do have the verb "to have". Instead of "to have" people express this idea by saying "to be with". For instance in Kiswahili, we say: *Kuwa na*; in Lingala we have the expression *Kuzala na*, in Kilendu people say: *Kü na*. All these terms mean: TO BE WITH! Indeed, all that we have is in order to have and to create relationship, and it is not possession in an individualistic manner.

These few examples have been enumerated to show that African theologians still have a difficult but a beautiful task to express their theology in African languages. If it is true that theology is a reflected and reflecting faith, it has to do with prayer as dialogue with God. This prayer in Africa must be in African languages, because the language in which we are praying is not neutral for the incarnation of faith.

To sum up: At all African faculties of theology we should think of introducing at least some courses in African languages, which at the moment only represent our cultural areas. The beginning might be difficult, but this is the price to pay for a true inculturation.

## **CONCLUSION**

From what has been said, it appears that African theology has its own specificity and that theologians in the 21<sup>st</sup> century no longer need to discuss the possibility of an African theology as they did in the 1960s, because this theology is already there, though it has to be elaborated further. This, however, is not specific to African theology, because all theologies in the world need further development and maturity.

If African theology has to sink deeper roots in the African Church this process will depend not only on theologians, but also on the bishops as those who are responsible for the proclamation of the Gospel in their dioceses. They should therefore, involve themselves in the inculturation process, so that they can develop an inculturated praxis at the concrete, catechetical and pastoral level which can finally fulfill the wish of Pope Paul VI to the Bishops in Kampala in 1969: "Africans, you can and you must have an African Christianity".

## NOTES

1. See the quotation in M. Hebga, Un malaise grave, in: *Personnalité africaine et Catholicisme*, Paris 1963, 8.
- \* Book Launch at St Augustine College, 25 November 2003: Bujo, B. *Foundations of an African Ethic*, 2003: Johannesburg: Pauline Publications, Bujo, B. & Maya, J.I. (ed). *African Theology: The Contribution of the Pioneers*, 2003: Johannesburg: Pauline Publications.
2. See the texts in B. Bujo & J. I. Muya (ed.), *African Theology in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century. The Contribution of the Pioneers*, Nairobi 2003, 183-199.
3. *Ad Gentes* nr. 22.
4. *ibid.*
5. See E. Mveng, *L'Afrique dans l'Eglise. Paroles d'un croyant*, Paris 1985, 74-83; 203-213 etc.
6. Cf. *ibid.* 209-210.
7. Cf. Super Hebr. C. 5 lect. 2 n. 273: "Ista autem perfectio duplex est: una est perfectio secundum intellectum [...] Alia est perfectio secundum affectum, quam facit charitas, quae est cum aliquis totaliter Deo inhaere [...] Hoc enim habet sacrae scripturae doctrina, quod in ipsa non tantum traduntur speculanda, sicut in geometria, sed etiam approbanda per affectum [...] in aliis ergo scientiis sufficit quod homo sit perfectus secundum intellectum, in istis vero requiritur quod sit perfectus secundum intellectum et affectum".



# The Value of Scriptural and Historical Evidence in the debate within the Roman Catholic Church concerning the Ordination of Women

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\*RODNEY MOSS

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## INTRODUCTION

In the Apostolic Constitution, *Reserving Priestly Ordination to Men Alone* (*Ordinatio Sacerdotalis*), Pope John Paul II claimed to affirm that the Church has no authority to confer priestly ordination on women. In claiming that the Church *cannot* do something or that it has no *authority* to do something is to consign a particular teaching to the *deposit of faith* i.e. to declare that it belongs directly to divine revelation or matters intrinsically linked to and dependant upon revelation. It is, then, a matter that the Church has discerned and not generated on her own authority.

This article will examine carefully these claims by appealing to the sources of revelation in Catholic theology, that is, scripture and tradition. What light do these sources throw on the possible ordination of women? Is the scriptural evidence said to favour the exclusive admission of males to the priesthood clear and explicit? Given that the Church is rooted in time, in historical circumstances, is there evidence of women exercising ordained ministry or even the priesthood? Or given the importance of culture is the exclusion of women from ordained ministry determined by the cultural circumstances of the time? After considering the evidence from scripture and tradition, what theological concerns need to be addressed? Further, what is the canonical status of *Ordinatio Sacerdotalis*? Is it an infallible statement and hence not open to change and modification or is it a disciplinary prescription, a matter of law? Finally, are there sociological factors such as new and

constructive ways in which women are contributing to the life, mission and ministry of the Church, which will provide the magisterium with a new lead and a new impetus to a re-examination of the issue?

## **SCRIPTURAL EVIDENCE**

Scripture provides a paucity of evidence on the subject of the position of women within the community of both Israel and the Church for it is never a principal subject addressed by the biblical texts. Moreover, the New Testament tradition never speaks of Jesus as ordaining the Twelve or anyone else as either apostles or disciples. It is clear that the Twelve were never regarded as priests or even as bishops. The roots of ordination are found in the Pastoral Epistles.<sup>1</sup> Certainly, then, neither the Gospels nor the Acts implied the ordination of female followers of Jesus. Notwithstanding, Jesus' teaching and his attitude to women was novel and counter-cultural.<sup>2</sup> However, there is no word in the Gospels about the risen Christ sending women to testify to or proclaim the resurrection. Nevertheless, in the Pauline epistles especially, women are clearly associated with various charismatic-style ministries such as prophecy and service of various kinds.<sup>3</sup> Mention must be made of Junias or Junio in Romans 16:7. In the works of John Chrysostom he clearly identifies her as a woman:

It is certainly a great thing to be an apostle; but to be outstanding among the apostles- think what praise that is! She was outstanding in her works, in her good deeds; oh! and how great is the philosophy of this woman, that she was regarded as worthy to be counted among the apostles.<sup>4</sup>

It needs to be mentioned that Paul uses the term "apostle" more loosely than Luke. He does not confine it to the Twelve. Tradition, moreover, would regard the Samaritan woman and especially Mary Magdalene, "the apostle of apostles" as apostles in the wider sense.<sup>5</sup> In turning our attention to early Christian prophets there is fairly substantial evidence in the New Testament that it was a widespread community phenomenon.<sup>6</sup> The Corinthian community is replete with the evidence of a widespread prophetic ministry<sup>7</sup> and the mention of women who pray and prophesy during worship provides unmistakable evidence that women exercised prophetic functions in the early communities.

Teaching in the New Testament involved not only the explicit group of teachers but also the apostles, prophets, bishops, presbyters, deacons and widows. In the Acts of the Apostles there is a tradition about a woman teacher,

Prisca, who was said to be the teacher of Apollos.<sup>9</sup> In the Pastoral epistles (second century) there is a restriction on teaching with a general prohibition on the teaching of women.<sup>10</sup> This gives evidence for an active participation of women in Church teaching and worship. The prophet filled an important office within the community. She was not merely someone inspired. Indeed, St. Paul placed the prophet between the apostle or the teacher.<sup>11</sup>

Right from the Apostolic age the Church had known deaconesses. This is clearly expressed in 1 Timothy.<sup>12</sup>

Deacons must be men of grave behaviour; they must be examined and if found blameless may afterwards serve as deacons. The women must be of grave behaviour, not slanderers, temperate, in every respect, faithful. Deacons must be married only once.<sup>13</sup>

There is also the case of Phoebe, “Phoebe, our sister, who is a servant (*diakonis*) of the Church at Cenchraea”<sup>14</sup>. In her monumental epigraphical and literary study, *Women officeholders in Early Christianity*, Ute Eisen has women present in all church offices from New Testament times: from the Apostle, Junia, to the deacon Phoebe. However, her attempts to find an early form of the office of bishop<sup>15</sup> in the heads of house churches is at best anachronistic. No clear forms of ministry, as was implied earlier, are evident in New Testament times. They emerge embryonically in the Pastoral epistles but there is an attempt to reduce drastically the role and function of women in these communities.<sup>16</sup> In concluding this section *The Biblical commission Report: Can Women be Priests?* will be used to summarise the scriptural position:

As a matter of fact, we see in the Acts of the Apostles and the epistles that the first communities were always directed by men exercising the apostolic power...[A]ll that we know of those who held the role of leadership in the communities leads us to the conclusion that this role was always held by men (in conformity with Jewish custom).<sup>17</sup>

The same Report concludes its findings with these solemn words: “It does not seem that the New Testament by itself alone will permit us to settle in a clear way and once and for all the problem of the possible accession of women to the presbyterate”.<sup>18</sup>

## **HISTORICAL EVIDENCE**

This section will examine the ministerial role that women played in the early church; investigate whether women were ever ordained in the early Church, assess the fluid situation in the Middle Ages and conclude with an assessment of the “experiment” with women priests in the Czech silent church. A. von Harnack wrote in the first edition of his *Expansion of Christianity in the First Three Centuries*:

Anyone who reads the New Testament attentively, as well as those writings which succeed it, cannot fail to notice that in the apostolic and sub-apostolic ages women played an important role in the propagation of Christianity and thought in Christian communities.<sup>19</sup>

This role of women in the early church has already been noted in the first section of this paper. It can be safely established that in the primitive church, women held at least two offices: they functioned as an order of widows and deaconesses<sup>20</sup> and as prophets. In this latter office they were accorded recognition in public worship. However, as official teachers and preachers of the Word, women became controversial.<sup>21</sup> Meanwhile, the office of widows grew in importance and is listed after the three male orders, only to wane at the end of the fourth century to be replaced by deaconesses.<sup>22</sup>

From the third century on, women were systematically restricted in the exercise of ministry in the Church. Anne Carr observes that

[O]ne can discern the delineation of what some have described as “two traditions”. There is an earlier tradition, which includes Jesus’ own innovation in relation to women in treating them as disciples and equals....Another, second tradition [emerges] in which the early church appears to have accommodated itself to the dominant attitudes of its religious, sociopolitical and cultural environments.<sup>23</sup>

The reasons for the new subservient roles accorded to Christian women are complex and varied. Among the more important are: the patristic association of women with matter; flesh and evil and sexuality as polluting;<sup>24</sup> the biological “inferiority” of women became a dominant Christian pattern in a society where the general situation of women was inferior<sup>25</sup> and the ascendancy of the idea of an hierarchic ordering of creation in which, while the man is made in God’s image, woman is made in the image of man.<sup>26</sup> So, slowly the pattern in the early Church of a vigorous female public involvement in the life of the Christian community was replaced by the development of an institutionalised, fixed and hierarchical structuring of the Christian ministry.

Is there, nevertheless, any historical evidence for the exercise of the ordained ministry of women in the early church? As mentioned earlier, some of the most recent research has been done by Ute E Eisen in her monograph *Women Office Holders in Early Christianity*. She provides evidence, mainly epigraphical, of women present in all Church offices.

Eisen gives examples of women from the primitive church who were given the title of apostle: Thecla and Nino (from the Georgian tradition)<sup>27</sup> in particular who assumed central importance in the proclamation of the Christian message. She shows an active women's prophetic movement in New Testament times<sup>28</sup> but notes a decline in prophetic activity (both male and female) from the end of the second century. As teachers of theology she names Theodore and Marcella.<sup>29</sup>

There is some evidence of the exercising of the presbyterate by women up until the sixth century. I refer first to the epistle of Pope Gelasius I (492-496) who explicitly confronts the problem of the priesthood of women and attests that women were sacerdotally active in Southern Italy and Sicily.<sup>30</sup> Eisen cites canon 11 of the Synod of Laodicea (first half of the fourth century) as attesting to ordained women presbyters, called *presbytides*, acting as presidents of their congregations.<sup>31</sup> From a much later period (ninth and tenth centuries), further evidence is provided by Atta, bishop of Vercelli, who states that the ancient Church allowed women to exercise ordained ministry due to the scarcity of labourers:

Many were the crops and few the labourers (Mt 9,37), women too received the sacred orders for the helping of men as is attested in Rom.16,1 "I command you to my sister Phoebe, who is in the Ministry of the Church which is in Cenchræ".<sup>32</sup>

Eisen is her least convincing in the treating of female bishops. She mentions *Theodora episcopa*, the mother of Pope Pascal I, whose case, she admits, remains puzzling as the function she performed was obscure.<sup>33</sup> Mention was made earlier of her tenuous suggested link between the house churches and the episcopate.<sup>34</sup> While admitting a well known fact that heretical groups such as the Montanists certainly had women bishops, she fails in my opinion, to provide convincing evidence of women exercising the office of bishop in the Great Church.<sup>35</sup>

The problem associated with the ordination of women in the Middle Ages is compounded by a lack of precision with which the term *ordinatio* was used. Numerous examples could be given<sup>36</sup> but perhaps only one need be cited.

In 1123 Pope Callistus 11 granted a privilege to the convent of the holy Saviour and St. Julia in Prescia and took the occasion to remind the abbesses that the bishop had the right to ordain abbesses, nuns and all other clerics moved to take sacred orders.<sup>37</sup> None of the numerous sources provided distinguished the ordination of deaconesses, abbesses, and nuns from that of priests or deacons. Indeed, *ordinatio* could be used to describe

[N]ot only the ceremony and/or installation of bishops, priests, deacons and sub-deacons but also of porters, lectors, exorcists, acolytes, canons, abbots, abbesses, kings, queens and empresses.... The term could [apply] also to the consecration or establishment of a religious order or of a monastery or even to the admission to the religious life.<sup>38</sup>

As can be noted from the above, *ordinatio* did not necessarily have even a sacramental meaning.

How are we then to understand *episcopa* and *presbytera*? Many scholars have assumed that these were wives to a bishop or priest.<sup>39</sup> However, there are contemporary dissenters<sup>40</sup> and suggestions are made that both offices may have been independent clerical positions. Nevertheless, the role of *episcopae* and *presbyterae* in the early medieval Church remains unclear.

The role played by abbesses in this period is clearer, then, than that of all other ministeries exercised by women. They certainly exercised functions later reserved to priests and deacons – they heard their nuns’ confessions, preached, baptised children brought to the monasteries and read the gospel at Mass.<sup>41</sup>

In addressing the debates of twelfth century canonists Macy argues that while the majority of canonists confirmed that women could not be ordained to orders, a minority agreed that women had once been ordained but that this had later been disallowed.<sup>42</sup> He concludes,

For over 1200 years then the question of the validity of women’s ordination remained at least an open question. Some popes, bishops and scholars accepted such ordinations as equal to those of men: others did not.<sup>43</sup>

What conclusions may we draw from the medieval period? First, that some medievals including popes and bishops considered deaconesses and abbesses sacramentally ordained in the sense applied to other clerics. So women could be considered to be ordained clergy, though not on the same level as bishops or priests. Secondly, according to Macy “[w]hat cannot be said *historically* is that christianity has never officially recognized women’s ministry or that that ministry had no cultic function”.<sup>44</sup>

We jump several centuries to look at the debate over the ordination of women in the clandestine church in Czechoslovakia during the Communist era. Several women were ordained by the clandestine bishop, Felix M Davidek (1921-1988). He founded an unofficial ecclesiastical organization, *Koinates*, where new forms of ecclesiastical life (including ordination of married men) were developed, influenced by Vatican II, Teilhard de Chardin and Davidek's own original approaches.<sup>45</sup>

Davidek concluded, after having been heavily influenced by Jan Peter's *The Place of Women in Ecclesiastical Office* that, exegetically, there were no conclusive arguments preventing women from taking priestly office: that the prohibition on priestly ordination for women was a result of certain historical developments and therefore devoid of universal and perpetual value and that women could fulfill their redemptive functions in a broader more Biblical context within the priesthood.<sup>46</sup> Davidek organized a synod and prepared a draft on the position of women in the church and their possible ordination. It can be summarised under the following points: ordaining women is a sign of an opportune moment or *kairos* enabling women to take part in the management of the church; in this time of persecution it was defensible on pastoral sociological grounds; cultural-anthropological factors affecting women point to a shift in the process of evolution and the tradition of the Church demonstrates that in the first centuries of Christianity women performed baptisms, brought the eucharist to the sick and had their place in the clerical hierarchy.<sup>47</sup>

At the end of 1970 Davidek ordained Ludmíla Javorová as a priest. Altogether he was said to have ordained six women priests and six women deacons. However, according to Peter Fiala and Jirř Hanus

[It] remained in the end only an isolated attempt that nobody else in the hidden church either repeated or developed....[T]he ordination of women in *Koites* remained a symbolic act and a precedent that was not put to practical use within the community, its implications passing to a large extent unexplained.<sup>48</sup>

Before drawing conclusions from the scriptural and historical evidence for the ordination of women some theological factors need to be considered.

## **THEOLOGICAL CONCERNS**

The contemporary position of the magisterium of the Roman Catholic Church is to reject the possibility of the ordination of women on two bases: tradition and theology.

Both *Inter Insigniores* (15 October 1976) and *Ordinatio Sacerdotalis* (22 May 1994) testify to the “constant and universal tradition of the church”.<sup>49</sup> How is this “tradition” to be understood? Is it an essentially static set of revealed truths or a dynamic process of gaining deeper insights into the mysteries of faith guided by the Spirit? Vatican II certainly taught the latter view<sup>50</sup> but made a distinction between the “deposit of faith” expressed in different languages at different times (tradition with a capital T) and customs and practices which vary in different ages and different cultural milieux. A critic such as Anne Carr would accuse *Inter Insigniores* of “...a view of tradition in which the church can do nothing that has not always been done since Jesus established the exact structure of church life and practice.”<sup>51</sup> This is a gross misunderstanding of the position of the magisterium and a failure to distinguish between Tradition and tradition as mentioned above. *Ordinatio Sacerdotalis*, on the contrary, wishes to place the question of the ordination of women correctly or incorrectly (I will, in a nuanced way, say, incorrectly) within the deposit of faith and not to be seen as mere custom or practice or subject to mere disciplinary force.<sup>52</sup>

What does it mean then, to say that a teaching “belongs to the deposit of faith”? It is to affirm that it belongs to that which the church has received from Christ. In this instance, it means simply that Christ freely chose to select only men to be his apostles. This choice was not a cultural accommodation: the debate from as early as the second century and continuing into the Middle Ages was part of the Tradition, the constant practice of the Church to which John Paul II says the Church is bound. Charles Donahue<sup>53</sup> argues that

Any attempt to argue that women are to be ordained priests must deal with three unmistakable facts in the tradition: that Jesus, whose attitudes and behaviour towards women were distinctively counter-cultural, did not choose any women among the Twelve; that the official witnesses of the Resurrection were all men even though men had not been the first witnesses of the Resurrection and that both men and women receive the Holy Spirit, but only men proclaimed the kerygma.<sup>54</sup>

Donahue further provides some examples of ordinances that say that the Church has no power to do something and yet show that these ordinances do have a clear sustaining power.<sup>55</sup>

However, he provides, in my opinion, an excellent solution to the degree of binding power to be accorded to *Ordinatio Sacerdotalis*. He writes

The law about the ordination of women, we might suggest, stands at the awkward intersection between discipline which can be changed tomorrow if the proper authority wills and the infallible propositions of the magisterium which cannot be changed at all.<sup>56</sup>

The argument from tradition suggests that there are certainly arguments in favour of not ordaining women as the practice under discussion is of venerable antiquity. However, they are not the last word on the subject.

The second argument to play an important role in the rejection of the ordination of women is theological ie. the typological interpretation of the sacrament of ordination to the priesthood or the priest as a direct representative of Christ. *Inter Insigniores* the church's official teaching on the ordination of women, teaches that the priest acts *in persona Christi*, in the person of Christ.<sup>57</sup> He becomes a sacramental sign of Christ, a sign that must represent what it signifies, by natural resemblance. This means that the priest must be a man. The issue now is theological anthropology, that is, the Christian understanding of the nature of the human person. "Do women share the same nature as men, or is their humanity essentially a different mode of human being?"<sup>58</sup> Further, are women, too, created in the image and likeness of God? Is personhood to be reduced to biological sex so that women's physiology makes them incapable of bearing any resemblance to Christ?<sup>59</sup>

However, surely the unity of human nature created in the image and likeness of God, is the basis of any theological anthropology? Biological differences are surely accidental characteristics of persons. "Personhood belongs to every human being by virtue of a singular and unique relationship to God who created him or her 'in his image' ".<sup>60</sup> Moreover, if the Divinity and the Word made flesh are ideal models for imitation by both male and female persons, then one would have to find both masculine and feminine characteristics in these models.

The Logos that for us became incarnate.....in the form of a (particular) man, the whole of human nature in its sexual duality, so that he could operate as an archetype on the basis of gender...[So][t]he president of the eucharistic assembly is 'the image of Christ' neither the male gender nor the human of

Christ, but rather the incarnate Logos who is ‘high priest forever after the order of Melchizedek’(Heb 6: 20) <sup>61</sup>

In the incarnation the Logos assumed in full our fallen human nature. “What is not assumed is not saved”.<sup>62</sup> Logically, then, if God assumed only maleness, then women is not saved. The Word became flesh, then, as human.

*Inter Insigniores* justifies the maleness of the priest via the notion of the “representation” of Christ by invoking the *in persona Christi* axiom.<sup>63</sup> Is the priestly “representation of Christ” part of the tradition of the church? I would argue, not. First, the Council of Trent makes no mention of it, secondly, Aquinas has a rather instrumental view of priestly power<sup>64</sup> and Pius XII’s encyclical *Mediator Dei* states that “the minister at the altar, in offering a sacrifice in the name of all his members, represents Christ, the Head of the Mystical Body”.<sup>65</sup> Even here the priest is indirectly identified with Christ for he speaks of the priest as the “minister of Christ” who as minister is “inferior to Christ”.<sup>66</sup> *Inter Insigniores* takes the notion of representation literally rather than metaphorically. It has a view of the sacraments as “representing what they signify by natural resemblance”.<sup>67</sup> On this basis then *Inter Insigniores* affirms the necessity of a “ ‘natural resemblance’...between Christ and his minister”.<sup>68</sup> The obvious conclusion follows: only a man can represent Christ as the celebrant of the eucharist.<sup>69</sup>

Dennis Ferrara<sup>70</sup> suggests a deconstruction followed by a retrieval to solve the “representation” problem. If the sacraments are ecclesial mediations of Christ’s grace, then the priest can be viewed as “minister and representative of the church in celebration of the sacraments”<sup>71</sup>. However, the Eucharist is the very word of Christ, so that in the words of Aquinas “So great is the dignity of this sacrament that it is not confected except in the person of Christ”.<sup>72</sup> This means, that, although the Eucharistic Word is uttered by the priest *in persona Ecclesiae*, the priestly word is sacramentally identified with Christ.<sup>73</sup> The Word, not the minister, is identified with Christ. What, in this viewpoint, requires that the priestly function be exercised by a man?

## **CONCLUSION**

*Ordinatio Sacerdotalis* claims that as far as the Roman Catholic Church is concerned the last word involving the issue of the priestly ordination of women has been spoken: “I declare that the Church has no authority whatsoever to confer priestly ordination on women and that this judgement is

definitively to be held by all Christ's faithful."<sup>74</sup> Further, it is stated that the truth of the above is

...founded on the written Word of God, and constantly held and applied in the Tradition of the Church, [as] it has been set forth infallibly by the Ordinary Universal Magisterium...the Reply specifies that this doctrine belongs to the deposit of faith of the Church.<sup>75</sup>

However, what is the status of a document such as *Ordinatio Sacerdotalis*?

Charles Donahue suggests

There seems to be some consensus, reinforced by an interpretative document that was issued with the Apostolic Constitution, that *Ordinatio Sacerdotalis* was not intended to be an infallible statement. Despite the fact that the Pope chose the most solemn form of papal document, and despite the fact that he invoked his ministry of confirming the brethren in their faith, he did not employ the language of a solemn *ex cathedra* statement.<sup>76</sup>

However, the matter is more complicated and hence unresolved. Under the pontificate of John Paul II there has been a vast expansion of what is known as the ordinary universal magisterium.<sup>77</sup> What, however, is the precise authoritative status of the teaching of the ordinary universal magisterium? Do the "non-defined" yet definitive dogmatic teachings have the same status as defined dogma? Canon 750 would say, yes.<sup>78</sup> However, there is a lack of clarity. Canon 749 para 3 states: "No doctrine is understood to be infallibly defined unless this is manifestly demonstrated". Does a defined doctrine, then, offer a higher degree of certitude than a non-defined dogma? There is an even more serious issue involved: the exercise of the ordinary universal magisterium does not involve a clear defining act. The eminent theologian, Francis Sullivan, would propose three criteria for discerning whether a teaching has been taught infallibly by the ordinary universal magisterium: episcopal consensus (how? episcopal conferences; episcopal synods?), the consensus of theologians and the *consensus fidelium*?<sup>79</sup> If Sullivan is correct, then *Ordinatio Sacerdotalis* could neither be regarded as infallible nor the last word on the subject.

Moreover, the tradition of the Church concerning women, apart from the question of ordination, is changing rapidly. Women in various ministries and women in theology are affecting the life of the Church to such a degree that Catherine La Cugna notes

An unusual situation prevails in the Roman Catholic Church, then, in which thousands of women are in fact ministers, and hundreds are theologians, yet obstacles remain in the way of full participation of women in church life.<sup>80</sup>

La Cugna, further, mentions three ironies connected with not ordaining Catholic women: first, the high number of professional women theologians who hold tenured positions in colleges, universities and seminaries across the United States; secondly, that most feminist theologians are Roman Catholic and thirdly the present restriction on women's ordination promotes a breach between theology and pastoral practice.<sup>81</sup>

Finally, this paper has sought to demonstrate that scripture and tradition as sources in the current debate on women's ordination provide indecisive evidence: scripture in relation to ordained ministry is almost pre-foundational; tradition, while dynamic and evolving has until recently been circumscribed by societal pressure and prevented from taking a more objective and nuanced theological position on the possible role of women in ordained ministry i.e. the theological significance of gender is a very contemporary issue. Canonically, too, I have endeavoured to show that the issue is not closed in spite of *Ordinatio Sacerdotalis*. The venerable and ancient tradition of ordaining only men cannot easily be changed: however, the last word has yet to be uttered. Thus, the ultimate decision has yet to be made and only the Universal Church by a threefold consensus: bishops, theologians and the faithful (*sensus fidelium*) and confirmed by the magisterium guided by the Holy Spirit can do this. Scripture and Tradition alone will not decide the issue. Sound reasons, scriptural and theological (including tradition) support either position. However, the ordained ministry cannot operate independently of the faith and life of the Church: the increasing equality of rights among the adult members of the church may lead in the future to the full participation of women in all areas of Church life and decision-making especially in the ordained ministry.

## NOTES

1. 1Tim.3:1-13; 2 Tim.1:6. No cultic or liturgical role is assigned to presbyter-bishops in the Pastoral Epistles.
2. Mark 16:7; Luke 8:2-3; Luke 10:38-42; John 4:5-30; John 20:1-18.
3. 1 Cor. 11: 4; 1 Cor. 12:4; 1 Tim. 3:11.
4. In *epis. Ad. Rom. Homil.* 31,2 [M.P.G. 60, 669-70] Scholarly opinion is not unanimous that Junias or Junio was a woman.
5. Bible Commission Report: *Can Women be Priests*, p.329.
6. See 1 Cor. 11-14; women prophets Luke 2:36; Acts 21:9; prophetic work of women Luke 1: 41-45; 46-55; Acts 2: 17-18.
7. 1 Cor. 11-14.
8. Also in Acts 2:9 the four daughters of Philip from Cesarea are described as prophets.
9. Acts 18:26.
10. 1 Tim 2:12.
11. 1 Cor. 12:28-29.
12. 1 Tim. 3:18-22.
13. "The word 'deacon' is here used in a technical sense. It also seems clear that by 'the women' in question, who are clearly distinguished from the wives of deacons while the description of them is parallel to that of deacons, we must understand *deaconesses*. It indicates a ministry which forms part of the ordained ministry itself" [Jean Danielou, *The Ministry of Women in the Early Church*, 1974 Faith Press, Leighton Buzzard, p. 14].
14. Romans 16:1. The word *diakonias* applied to Phoebe does not carry with it a precise ministerial function. It has here the general sense of "servant" which is normal in the New Testament (cf. Ephesians 6:23). Later the function will become more precise.
15. Eisen, U.E. *Women Office Holders in Early Christianity*, p.206. She mentions Prisca as the head of such a Church. 1 Cor. 16:9.
16. 1 Tim.2:11-12. Joseph A Fitzmyer commenting on this passage and 1Cor.14: 33b-36 observes: "Whether they are authentically Pauline or not, they have obviously much to do with the dogmatic tradition that has developed in the Church, at least in terms of ordination" [*America*, December 28<sup>th</sup>, 1966, p.12].
17. Biblical Commission Report: *Can Women be Priests?* In Swidler A & Swidler S (eds.) *Women Priests*, 1977, New York/Ramsay: Paulist Press, p.393.
18. *Ibid.*

19. van Harnack, A. *Expansion of Christianity in the First Three Centuries*. Vol 2, 217.
20. 1 Tim. 5:9, Rm. 16:1.
21. 1 Cor. 11:5.
22. Meagher, K “Women in Relation to Orders and Jurisdiction”, p.24.
23. Carr, A *Transforming Grace*. Christian Tradition and Women’s Experience, 1988 (1996), New York: Continuum, pp. 46-47.
24. See: Rene van Eyden, “The Place of Women in Liturgical Functions”, in *Concilium* 4(1968), p.75.
25. “[W]oman’s salvation was attained through the submission of herself to man in marriage and child bearing --- [or] she overcame her female nature through the spiritual transcendence of virginity”. [Carr, A *Transforming Grace*. Christian Tradition and Women’s Experience, p. 47.
26. “We are told in Genesis that man was made in God’s image. The woman is made in the image of man, for she derived from him, was dependent on him, and, so to say, his ‘opposite number’, his fellow creature and his partner ----[and] whereby a principle of hope and fulfillment is joined to a principle of authority or hierarchy”. [Yves Congar, *Lay People in the Church*, 1965, Westminster, Maryland: Newman Press, p.284].
27. Eisen, W.E. *Women Office Holders in Early Christianity*, pp.53-54.
28. *ibid.*, pp.68-70.
29. *ibid.*, p.72. The prophetic movement remained very strong in heretical groups such as the Montanists and the Gnostics.
30. “Nevertheless, we have heard to our annoyance that divine affairs have come to such a low state that women are encouraged to officiate at the sacred altars, and to take part in all matters imputed to the officers of the male sex, to which they do not belong” [Epistle of Gelasius 1, xxxvi].
31. Eisen, U.E. *ibid.*.p.121. The evidence that we do have of women exercising the presbyterate is negative in tone. Does this not suggest a general non-acceptance of female ordination by the Great Church.
32. *Epistola* 8; P.L. 134.a-c.
33. Eisen, U.E. *ibid.*, pp.200-201.
34. p.4.
35. Scholarship has interpreted *episcopa* as wives of bishops. She can unconvincingly state: “Other Latin inscriptions from Italy and Dalmation *make it probable* that women were active bishops in the fifth and sixth century” [emphasis mine], p.290.

36. See: Macy, G. "The Ordination of Women in the Early Middle Ages" in *Theological Studies* 61 (2000), pp.482-489.
37. *Epistola*.222 in P.L. 163. 1284a-b.
38. Macy, G. *ibid.*, p.487.
39. This suggestion is made in the *Summa Parisiensis* (12<sup>th</sup> century) and in Guido de Boysio's *Rosarium super decretum* (written between 1296 and 1300).
40. See: Eisen, U. *ibid.*, p.200.
41. Macy, G. *ibid.*, pp.496-497.
42. *ibid.*, pp.498-499.
43. *ibid.*, p.500.
44. *ibid.*, p.507.
45. Fialo, P & Hanus, J "Women's Ordination in the Czech Silent Church" in *The Month* 31 (1998), p.282.
46. *Ibid.*, p.284.
47. *Ibid.*
48. *ibid.*, p.290.
49. *Ordinatio Sacerdotalis* para. 4.
50. *Dei Verbum* para. 8.
51. Carr, A *Transforming Grace*. Christian Tradition and Women's Experience, pp. 56-57.
52. "Wherefore, in order that all doubt may be removed regarding a matter of great importance, a matter which pertains to the Church's *divine constitution itself*, in virtue of my ministry of the brethren (cf. Lk.22:32) I declare that the Church has no authority whatsoever to confer priestly ordination on women and that this judgement is to be definitely held by all the Church faithful" [*Ordinatio Sacerdotalis*, para.4].
53. Donahue, C. "Theology, law and women's ordination", in *Commonweal* 122 (1995).
54. *ibid.*, p.13.
55. *ibid.*, While Jesus taught the indissolubility of marriages, Paul allowed a convert to Christianity who could not live with their pagan spouse to divorce and remarry a Christian. Pope Innocence III refused to dissolve unconsummated marriages unless one party chose to enter religious life; later canonists in the Middle Ages extended this privilege to all unconsummated marriages.
56. *Ibid.*, p.16.
57. *Inter Insigniores*, section 5.
58. Carr, A. *Transforming Grace*. Christian Tradition and Women's Experience, p.49.
59. La Cugna, C.M. "Catholic Women s Ministers and Theologians", p.245.

60. Yorkarinis, C. “A patristic basis for a theological anthropology of women in their distinctive humanity” p.589.  
Yorkarinis summarises the patristic views concerning sexual differentiation as follows:
- “ a) Gender is a distinctive characteristic added as a last touch to human nature, which properly belongs to the creation of a lower order.  
b) The sexes, male and female, are not elements or characteristics which belong to the life of God. Sex is God’s provision in his capacity to foresee the fall. Under new conditions, these will be activated as the reproductive ability to secure the survival of the human race.  
c) In the prelapsarian situation, the existence of distinction was unnoticed. Adam and Eve had no consciousness of their difference as we understand it, because they were living as angels.  
d) Gender as division, as a sign of the opposite, creates conditions of conflict and irreconcilable strife” p.594.
61. Kallis, A “Presiding at the Eucharist in the context of the theology of icons: Questions about the ecclesiastical representation of Christ by the Priesthood”, p. 719.
62. St. Gregory Nazianzen, *letter 101, to Cledonious*.
63. *Inter insigniores* No. 5.
64. Aquinas speaks of sacraments in general as “configuring” (*configurantur*) the Christian Faithful to Christ (ST3, q63) but this *confuratio* is not *similitudo*; it is rather similar to the way in which a soldier is marked with a sign of his leader. Cf. instrumental character of representation.
65. *Mediator Dei* No. 93. For complete text: AAS 39 (1947) pp.521-595.
66. *Ibid.*, No. 84.
67. *ibid.*, No. 5.
68. *ibid.*
69. *ibid.*
70. Feirara, D.M. “In personal Christi: Towards a second naivete” in *Theological Studies* 57 (1996), pp.65-81.
71. *ibid.*, p.67.
72. S.T. 3, q.82, a.1.
73. Ferraira, D.M., *ibid.*, p.75.
74. *Ordinatio Sacerdotalis* para. 4.
75. Letter of October 28, 195 Regarding the S.C.D.F. Response on *Ordinatio Sacerdotalis* para. 11.

76. Donahue, C “Theology, law and women’s ordination” in *Commonweal*, 122, pp.12-17.
77. See: *Lumen Gentium*, para. 25. There seems to be an official exercise of the infallibility of the Pope *ex cathedra* and an unofficial exercise when all the bishops dispersed throughout the world in communion with the Bishop of Rome are agreed among themselves on a teaching concerning faith and morals.
78. Those things are to be believed by divine and catholic faith which are contained in the word of God as it has been written or handed down by tradition, that is, in the deposit of faith entrusted to the Church and which are at the same time proposed as divinely revealed either by the solemn *magisterium* of the church, or by its ordinary and universal *magisterium*, which is manifested by the common adherence of Christ’s faithful under the guidance of the sacred *magisterium*. All are therefore bound to shun any contrary doctrines.
79. Gaillardetz, R.R. “The Ordinary Universal Magisterium: Unresolved Questions” in *Theological Studies* 63 (2002), p.463.
80. La Cugna, C.A. “Catholic Women as Ministers and Theologians” in *America*, 167 (1992), p.239.
81. *ibid.*, p.245.

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# Augustine and Manichaeism in Roman North Africa

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JOHANNES VAN OORT

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## INTRODUCTION

This year, on 13 November 2004, it will be exactly 1650 years ago that St. Augustine was born in present day Thagaste in Roman North Africa. Now, here in Johannesburg, nearly at the other side of the so fascinating African continent, we have a kind of primeur: this evening we are, in all likelihood, the first to celebrate his 1650<sup>th</sup> commemoration year. In my view, it is a fine opportunity, and even a great honour, to celebrate it exactly here, at this St. Augustine College of South Africa. For, the church father Augustine was *an African*, and during many centuries this fact has often been neglected and time and again been forgotten. I don't know exactly how *you* picture St Augustine to yourself. As a rule people think that he was a kind of prelate, a bishop with an impressive mitre, and a crozier, and cloaked in a stately gown. It is *in this way* that he has been visualised over the centuries. There is a famous painting in the Vatican library, the oldest one we have, that already visualizes Augustine in this manner. The portrait dates from the time of Pope Gregory the Great, that is from about 600. And all of us know of such pictures: during the Middle Ages Augustine became all the more weighty and even pompous. However, I'm convinced that pictures of this kind, although they are beautiful and even charming because they always represent Augustine as a person who has a heart in his hand, a heart that has been pierced by an arrow: 'Thou hast pierced my heart with Thy word and I started loving You...' <sup>1</sup>, may lead us astray and thus are wrong for two reasons. The first reason is that we know that Augustine never wore such beautiful garments but that, as a bishop who was at the same time a monk, he was dressed very humbly. And the second reason, which is here, this evening at this St Augustine College in Africa, all the more important, the second reason is that all these pictures represent Augustine as a white man, as a 'Blanke'. But was he? It is all the more conceivable that he was *not* a white person but ... a Black or at least a person with a more or less

dark skin. Augustine was born in Thagaste, in the inland part of North Africa, in those parts of the Roman province of Numidia in which - until these very days - the Berbers are living; and most of these Berbers are black persons. Four years ago, when I first visited Thagaste and saw the population,<sup>2</sup> I once again became aware of this fact. Augustine is a boy from the inland part of Africa and thus, most probably, he was in some way a more or less black or coloured person, in all likelihood, of Berber extraction. And even without visiting Thagaste we could be aware of that fact, for the name of his mother is a Berber name. There are still many people who think that the name of Augustine's mother is Monica, but that is incorrect. Her real name is *Monnica*, with double n, and, although she was an ardent Christian - in the name *Monnica* we still hear the name of a Berber godhead, *i.e.*, *Mon*, who is mentioned in so many inscriptions in Thagaste and its surroundings.

Thus, Augustine was a man from Africa. But there is another aspect that will be highlighted this evening and that is perhaps even more important to us. I mean the fact that Augustine was not only an African, but that for many years he was a Manichaean as well. In this commemoration lecture I will stress this latter fact in particular; for in modern research it is here that we are making *new* discoveries that enable us to see Augustine in *new* perspectives. Certainly, Augustine was born in Roman Africa and, without a doubt, he became the most influential Father of the Western Church. But the life of this African was inextricably interwoven with Manichaeism,<sup>3</sup> that is: with a gnostic kind of Christianity that stemmed from a certain Mani who lived from 216-276 in present-day Iraq. Mani, thus we know since the discovery of the Cologne Mani-Codex a few years ago<sup>4</sup>, was brought up in a Jewish-Christian sect; in the Cologne Mani-Codex he is reported to have received special revelations from his heavenly Twin or Double or Guardian Angel and so he became a Gnostic Christian who established a *new* Gnostic-Christian Church. This Church rapidly expanded from Iraq to the Atlantic in the West and as far as the Pacific in the East. It was in the year 373 that Augustine as a student in Carthage, the capital of the Roman province Africa, became an ardent follower of the Manichaeans. He became one of their *auditores*, and he stayed with them for more than ten years, until he returned to the Catholic Church in Milan in 386. This is a very important aspect of the life *and* of the theology of St. Augustine. During the formative years of his life, from his nineteenth year onwards, during the period of life when one's personality is particularly shaped, in *those* years he was a gnostic Christian. We even venture to say that,

without a thorough knowledge of the so-called 'Religion of Light', in any case in its Latin and predominantly *African* manifestation, Augustine's theology is hardly conceivable. From his nineteenth up to and even beyond his twenty-eighth year he was a Manichaean 'hearer'. In many of the writings after his return to the Catholic Christian Church, he was involved in a conflict with his former co-religionists and, at the same time, with his own Manichaean past. This period began with *De moribus ecclesiae catholicae et de moribus Manichaeorum* (started in 387 in Rome and finished in Africa) and came to a provisional conclusion in his *De natura boni* (finished after 404). Apart from many *excursus* in his letters, sermons and major works - for instance in his famous *De ciuitate Dei*<sup>5</sup> -, it was near the end of his life, in his writings against the Italian bishop Julian of Eclanum, that he had again to struggle against the charge of still being a Manichaean. '*Si mutabit Aethiops pellem suam aut pardus varietatem, ita et tu a Manichaeorum misteriis elueris*', Julian states<sup>6</sup> : If it might be possible that an Aethiops could change his skin (and all of us know it is impossible) and if it could be possible for a leopard to change his spots (which is impossible as well), *then* it would be possible for you to wash away the dirt of the Manichaean mysteries. This is without any doubt a venomous and virulent remark, probably even a racist one: *Aethiops* seems to mean here African, *black African*<sup>7</sup>. But, all the same, this invective came from a Catholic colleague, a bishop in Italy who was well educated and, for instance, well informed about Greek theology. We shall not comment on the possible truth of such a charge at this point; it is significant in itself that such a charge *could* be made. However, it is possible to go further and see wider perspectives. If it is true that the theology of the most important Father of the Catholic Church was influenced by Manichaeism - and this *is* true, for it is clear that, already in his very need to react, Augustine's theology was indeed influenced by Manichaeism, *then* we may even go further and say that without Manichaeism, universal Christian Catholic theology can not truly be comprehended.

To approach the main stages of our far-reaching theme as clearly as possible, I wish to discuss two important questions:

- I) First, to what extent was Augustine initially as an *African* Manichaean and later on as an *African* Catholic bishop, acquainted with Manichaeism and in what form did this Manichaeism manifest itself to him?
- II) Secondly, what can be said about the lasting significance of this Manichaeism for Augustine?

As regards our first point, we must first of all stress the fact that the *young* Augustine, the hearer, the *auditor* Augustine, was already well acquainted with Manichaeism. This has to be emphasized: because, even today, there are still some theologians who do not take note of this fact or even deny it. They say, for instance, that in his youth Augustine was *not* interested in theological questions and that, therefore, his interest in Manichaeism was only superficial. And there are others who maintain that, on the one hand, there was the *auditor* Augustine, who was misled by the Manichaeans but did not really know what it was all about; and that, on the other hand, there was the *older* Augustine who demonstrated his immense knowledge of Manichaeism only after he had become a presbyter and a bishop. But this way of looking at this matter does not match the facts. Already a careful reading of the *Confessions* is sufficient to give another picture. In Book V of this famous work, Augustine emphatically says that - when as an *auditor* he began to doubt the Manichaeans' allegations concerning the movements of the celestial bodies (the eclipses of sun and moon, etc.) - he compared his knowledge gained "in the books of secular wisdom" "with the sayings of *Mani* who wrote copiously and foolishly on these matters" and that (sc. in the writings of the African Manichaeans) he did not notice any rational account (*ratio*)<sup>8</sup>. A little further on, in Book V, he also says, that "their books (that is: the Manichaeans' books) are full of immensely lengthy fables about the heaven and stars and sun and moon"<sup>9</sup>. All this *could* be a case of reasoning in retrospect, dating from the time Augustine wrote his *Confessions*. Yet this is not the case, because the time when Augustine was a Manichaean hearer is obviously meant here, that is the time around 381/382 when he finally met the famous Manichaean bishop Faustus who originated from present-day Mila in Algeria. He also says that certain questions were involved, some of which he had already read about elsewhere (*quas alibi ego legeram*), and some of which were discussed in the books of Mani (*ut Manichaei libris continebantur*)<sup>10</sup>. Immediately after this, Augustine clearly says in Book V: "In consequence the enthusiasm (*studium*) I had for the writings of Mani (*litterae Manichaei*) was diminished"<sup>11</sup>.

It should be noted that Augustine speaks only with reticence about his knowledge of Manichaean writings here. A similar reticence can be observed, for example, in his dispute in Hippo in 392 with the local Manichaean priest Fortunatus: Augustine only reluctantly admits that he is familiar with Manichaean doctrine and myth and that he attended the Manichaean liturgy (*oratio*).

More evidence of his knowledge of Manichaean writings can be found in the highly interesting remark of the *African* Catholic bishop (it was not the Italian bishop Ambrose as still many will have it) to whom Monnica turned for help in her sorrows about her son. He says to the troubled mother that her son *legendo*, “*by reading* will discover what an error and how vast an impiety it all is”<sup>12</sup>.

This “reading” (*legendo*) can only refer to Manichaean books current amongst the African Manichaeans; because, in the same passage, it is explicitly said that this African bishop, when he was a small boy - we now know as a *puer oblatus*, like once Mani himself as it is told in the CMC<sup>13</sup> - had been given to the Manichaeans by his (we may suppose: Manichaean) mother and that he had not only *read* (again: *legere*!) nearly all their books but had even copied them. Significantly, we also read that, to this African bishop, it had become clear “without argument or proof of anyone” (*nullo contra disputante et convincente*) that the Manichaean sect (*secta*!) ought to be avoided.<sup>14</sup> By implication it is said here: Augustine, too, has to go this way; *by reading* he will discover the Manichaean *error* and *impiety*.

For all these reasons it should be clear that, as an *auditor*, and already during his first period in Africa, Augustine had become thoroughly acquainted with Manichaeism. That he could discuss it at the highest possible level with Faustus may furnish an additional proof of this fact. His impressive knowledge of Manichaeism also becomes evident from the first works that he wrote after his conversion to the Catholic Christian Church: his *De moribus* of ca.388-390,<sup>15</sup> his disputation with Fortunatus of 392,<sup>16</sup> and several other works dating from these years. In particular, his *Contra Faustum* of ca. 400 398-404 is still a *Fundgrube* to anyone studying Manichaeism.<sup>17</sup> In this case Augustine actually read new texts, namely Faustus’ *Capitul*. But this new information does *not* explain all his knowledge that he so evidently displays here. Apparently, it was then the occasion to put aside his reticence.

Nevertheless, it was not in the first place the Manichaean *doctrine*, some system or other that Augustine tried with some success to fathom. It was the Manichaean *piety* that originally attracted him. Typically, Augustine speaks several times about the Manichaean *error* (namely of their mythological system) on the one hand, and of their *piety/impiety* on the other hand. Initially, he did not know very much about their seemingly rational system, but he was particularly attracted by their (Christian) *piety*.

He says this explicitly in a well-known passage in Book III of the *Confessions*: “... I fell among arrogant fools, very carnal and garrulous, in whose mouths were the devil’s snares and birdlime concocted with the addition of syllables of Your name and of the Lord Jesus Christ and of the Paraclete (...). These names were never out of their mouths ...”<sup>18</sup>. Thanks to the many discoveries of Manichaean texts in the Near East, the Far East and the West, thanks to studies like those by Ernst Waldschmidt and Wolfgang Lentz<sup>19</sup>, by Eugen Rose<sup>20</sup>, thanks in particular to the discovery of the *Cologne Mani Codex*, we know how central this Christian element was in Manichaeism. This not only goes for Manichaeism in Roman Numidia, as it once has been stated by the Dutch scholar Lodewijk Hermen Grondijs (although this Utrecht professor rightly stressed the many parallels between Manichaean and Catholic Christianity in ancient Algeria)<sup>21</sup>. But this Christian element was even a part of its original form, its *Urform*, not simply a central element in its later developments, *Fortbildungen*<sup>22</sup>. It was not only an ‘*Anstrich*’, a layer of varnish as was stated by the famous liberal Christian ‘*Dogmenhistoriker*’ Adolf von Harnack,<sup>23</sup> but was part of its original substance.

It is neither my task nor my intention to comment further on this characteristic of Manichaeism at this point. I wish only to stress that it was a Manichaeism of *this* kind that Augustine encountered in Carthage (and later on in Rome and e.g. Hippo) and that only *in this way* does he describe it. Nowhere in his thirty-three *opuscula*, *quaestiones* and *tractatus* against the Manichaeans, nowhere in his *Confessions* or *City of God* does Augustine consider Manichaeism as anything but a *Christian* religion. To be sure, this religion is a *pestilentissima haeresis*<sup>24</sup>, a religion that is spreading thousands of fables, etc. However, it was, is and still remains a *Christian* religion as far as he is concerned. Completely in agreement with this, Augustine, in his debates on African soil with Manichaean opponents such as Bishop Faustus, Doctor Felix or Presbyter Fortunatus, never disputes their claim to be Christians. On the contrary, he accepts this claim; to mark the difference he refers to himself as a ‘*christianus catholicus*’ and to *his* Christian Church as the ‘*ecclesia catholica*’<sup>25</sup>.

To what extent Manichaean Christendom, on the one side, and Catholic and Donatist Christendom, on the other side, once resembled each other in North Africa may be illustrated by one final example. In August 392, Augustine, the then recently ordained Catholic presbyter in Hippo Regius, had

to debate with the Manichaean presbyter Fortunatus who resided in the same town and was a student friend of Augustine during his years in Carthage. Fortunatus gave this *professio*: 'Our profession is this very thing: that God is incorruptible, lucid, unapproachable, untenable, impassible; that He inhabits His own eternal Light; that nothing that is corrupt proceeds from Him, neither darkness, demons, Satan (...). But that He sent forth a Saviour like Himself; that the Word born from/since the foundation of the world,<sup>26</sup> when He had formed the world (*mundus*), after the formation of the world (*mundus*) came among men; that He has chosen souls worthy of Himself according to His own holy will (...); that under His leadership those souls will return hence again to the kingdom of God according to the holy promise of Him who said: "I am the way, the truth, and the door"; and "No one can come to the Father, except through me"'. Etc.<sup>27</sup>

On first hearing this, one would say: this is orthodox Christian belief. And certainly it claimed to be genuine and independent *Christian* belief. We are a *secta*, Faustus characteristically declared, not a *schisma* of the pagans or the Jews.<sup>28</sup> The word *secta* implies here that there is a *professio*, a profession with a way of life of its own, as Africans like Tertullian and Cyprian once proclaimed the new *secta christiana*.<sup>29</sup>

For more than ten years the African Augustine became familiar with this *secta* of *veri Christiani*; not as an outsider, but to a far-reaching extent as a well-informed insider.

Did this Manichaeism, then, leave lasting traces in Augustine's theology? We have already indicated that it certainly did. Augustine's antithetical attitude is already a clear indication of this.

Let us first consider some of these *antithetical* traces. It is notable that, in the years after his conversion, Augustine repeatedly tried to produce an adequate interpretation of *Genesis*: especially its Creation narratives. All these endeavours are clearly anti-Manichaean interpretations: first his *De Genesi contra Manichaeos* of the years 388-390; then his *De Genesi ad litteram liber imperfectus* of 393; after that his Genesis-interpretation in Books XI-XIII of the *Confessiones*; and finally his *De Genesi ad litteram libri XII* of the years 401- finished in 414. But elsewhere, too, for instance in his *City of God*, we find this anti-Manichaean interpretation of *Genesis*. Against the gnostic opinion repudiations, the intrinsic goodness of the creation had to be defended, the goodness of its Creator and, in the end, the legitimacy of the entire Old Testament. Anyone who reads an early work of Augustine, such as *De utilitate*

*credendi*<sup>30</sup> of 391 , will be impressed by his power of reasoning.

There is, however, a drawback to this anti-Manichaeism attitude. Augustine's reaction to Manichaeism did not only affect his exegesis, but he was also led to a remarkable conservatism in regard to the text of the Bible and its translations. For many years he held on to the inspiration of the Septuagint; at first he was even unfavourably disposed towards Jerome's new translation from the Hebrew.<sup>31</sup> Not until the last decade of his life did he modify somewhat his opinion on the inspiration of the Septuagint and could he appreciate Jerome's new translation. But, by then, the Manichaeans seem to have been defeated.

There are some other aspects of Augustine's attitude towards the Scriptures that must be considered in the light of his Manichaean past. In his exegesis, his emphasis on the harmony among the Evangelists and his special interest in the genealogies of Jesus in *Matthew* and *Luke* are pronounced.<sup>32</sup> Furthermore, he wanted to make a sharp distinction between canonical and apocryphal books.<sup>33</sup> His emphasis on the truth of the Scriptures may also be explained as a reaction to Manichaean criticism. It was no coincidence that the first Western synods to deal with the fixing of the canon were held in the African cities of Hippo (393) and Carthage (397 and 419); Augustine took an active part in them.<sup>34</sup> Thus it was not in the least on the basis of anti-Manichaeism polemic that the canon of the Bible of the Western Church was established.

The extent to which his anti-Manichaeism influenced Augustine in these years can also be seen from another notable fact. Before the winter of 395, Augustine provided his friend Paulinus of Nola and his wife Therasia with a work consisting of five books directed against the Manichaeans. This work, which they received through the intermediary Alypius, Augustine's bosom friend and formerly fellow Manichaean who was baptized together with him by Ambrose in Milan and who became the Catholic bishop of his and Augustine's home town Thagaste,<sup>35</sup> was explicitly characterized as an anti-Manichaean Pentateuch.<sup>36</sup> It was a Pentateuch directed against the Pentateuch of the Manichaeans who, for their part, and in any case in Africa, had combined Mani's books into a kind of Pentateuch.<sup>37</sup>

Notwithstanding all this evident anti-Manichaeism, there is *also* another side to the picture. One may ask whether there is not also a positive way in which Augustine - consciously or subconsciously- was influenced by the Manichaeans of his time and world.

A small but significant fact may be our first point. When quoting Bible texts from memory, Augustine sometimes seems to quote Tatian's harmony of the Gospels, the so-called *Diatessaron*.<sup>38</sup> This may be seen as a relic of his Manichaean past. According to Gilles Quispel, it might even be possible that he betrays some knowledge of the *Gospel of Thomas*.<sup>39</sup> As is well known, especially from the Central Asian Manichaean texts, the Manichaeans used both Tatian's *Diatessaron* and the *Gospel of Thomas*.<sup>40</sup> Here then, thousands of miles removed from Turfan, we seem to have an African echo of this.

But there is more and, perhaps, even better evidence. In view of Augustine's emphasis on Christ as the *Christus medicus*,<sup>41</sup> one may ask whether his Manichaean past influenced this emphasis in particular. Among the Manichaeans, Christ was venerated as a physician,<sup>42</sup> and Mani was also described in this way.<sup>43</sup> As far as I can see, this motif appears in Augustine's works - and especially in his sermons - more often than could be expected for biblical reasons. Explicitly anti-Manichaean, however, is Augustine's remarkable exegesis of *Rom.* 8, 19-23.<sup>44</sup> The apostle Paul speaks here of "the groaning of creation"; he says *inter alia*: "For the creation waits with eager longing for the revealing of the sons of God" (v. 19), and: "We know that the *whole* creation has been groaning in travail together (i.e., together *with us*) until now..." (23). Here the apostle Paul clearly has in view the *whole* creation (*Antidotus*□), the *whole* cosmos of men and animals and plants, of sun and moon and stars. The Manichaeans understood this very well; so this was one of the reasons why (in any case in Africa) they spoke of the *Jesus patibilis*, the "*patibilem Jesum qui est vita ac salus hominum, omni suspensus ex lingo*".<sup>45</sup> To the former Manichaean Augustine, such an idea was intolerable and thus, led on by his anti-Manichaean sentiment, he says that Paul would have meant only rational creation, *in casu* only human beings. That may be seen to be a serious limitation of Paul's cosmic view, and this limitation seems to have brought unfavourable consequences to the history of the Western Church that, unlike so many Greek Fathers, ran the risk of forgetting the cosmic implications of Christ's redemption by speaking only of the individual soul's salvation from sin.<sup>46</sup>

There is, however, also another side to the matter. With Wilhelm Geerlings, among others, one may point to Augustine's emphasis on Christ as a teacher, *Christus magiste*.<sup>47</sup> In the Gnostic religion of Manichaeism, Christ is described first and foremost as a teacher and illuminator, the one who gives the

divine and redeeming *gnosis*.<sup>48</sup> This may well be another example of a positive influence of Manichaeism, as it may be present in Augustine's emphasis on Christ as the Wisdom of God and Christ as the Illuminator. In these instances, however, it is very difficult to distinguish between a possible (Neo) Platonic influence and a possible Manichaean influence. Or might we not simply say: One can read all this in the Pauline letters? Not least, the Manichaeans, however, read their Paul!<sup>49</sup>

Nevertheless, I would like to close by discussing one more fact, one important item of which I would say: this is almost certainly influenced by Manichaeism. Here I mean Augustine's attractive piety. As far as I can see, nowhere in the Western Church before 400 do we find such a sensitive, tender and pious experience of God and his Christ as in Augustine and among the Manichaeans. We have already mentioned that this Manichaean piety seems to be one of the main reasons for Augustine's joining the Manichaeans. He says this explicitly in Book III of his *Confessiones*.<sup>50</sup> There he also relates: "*et cantabam carmina*".<sup>51</sup> This refers without any doubt to the Manichaeans' pietistic psalms and hymns: the songs such as have been discovered in Egypt in particular.<sup>52</sup> Themes present in these 'psalms'<sup>53</sup> seem to recur in Augustine's writings, for instance the problem of Christ being the Light of the cosmos and his being in the womb of a woman at the same time. We find almost the same wording in one of Augustine's sermons as we do in one of the Coptic Psalms<sup>54</sup>: "the Word of God by whom all things were made, how can it be included in a woman's womb?"<sup>55</sup> Only once in his *Confessiones*, does Augustine use the word *antidotum*, namely when he refers to the biblical Psalms as an anti-Manichaean antidote;<sup>56</sup> as far as I can see, only once this very same word *Antidotos* occurs in a similar characteristic sense in the Coptic Psalms.<sup>57</sup> It becomes increasingly apparent that, to a far-reaching extent, the *Confessiones* is an anti-Manichaean work, from its first sentence *Magnus es Domine et laudabilis valde* up to and including its last three books which mainly try to give an anti-Manichaean explanation of *Genesis*.<sup>58</sup> In the first sentence, we can hear a polemic against the Manichaean Father of Greatness. Immediately after that, in Book I, Augustine argues against the Manichaeans' materialistic view of God.<sup>59</sup> Again and again he speaks of God's *clamare* and his *vox* and *vocatio*;<sup>60</sup> this may be compared with the pivotal role of the Manichaean Call and Answer. One who is familiar with the Manichaean texts and their terminology will read Augustine's *Confessiones* with new eyes. At the same time, however, it will become clear to such a reader that

Manichaeism influenced this work not only in a polemical way, but also in a positive way - if indeed these two manners may be sharply distinguished. Just as the Manichaean *auditor* makes a full confession of his sins once a year, at the feast of the Bema,<sup>61</sup> so does it happen in this work that is unique in world literature. The prevailing tone, the *cantus firmus* of the *Confessiones* is gnostic-Manichaean. Here the emphasis is placed on the antithesis of the transitory world of things and the everlasting divine world; on the disunity of temporality and the unity of eternity; on the Call of the Word from the eternal world of Light into the darkness of temporality; on the dualism of the material world as an alien country and the World of Light as the soul's true homeland.<sup>62</sup>

The extent to which the *Confessions* are thetically and antithetically influenced by Manichaeism should be analysed in detailed studies. I'm still working on this subject and it is also interesting that presently a new book on the *Confessions*, written by the young African scholar Anne-Maré Kotzé, is being printed in the Netherlands in order to be published in the famous series Supplements to VC. The original title of her dissertation prepared at the University of Stellenbosch is: *The protreptic-paraenetic Purpose of Augustine's Confessiones and its Manichaean Audience*.<sup>63</sup> Dr Kotzé has further proven a number of my findings in regard to the Manichaean and anti-Manichaean element in the *Confessions*. The many discoveries in the field of Mani's religion present a unique opportunity to study Augustine from new perspectives. Again and again it turns out how important certain texts are for the study of Augustine, namely the Manichaean texts from Algeria like the Tebessa Codex,<sup>64</sup> and also those from Egypt and even Central Asia. Elsewhere I have examined some details concerning Augustine's doctrine of the two *civitates* and also concerning his view of sexual concupiscence and original sin.<sup>65</sup> One can see some striking parallels with Manichaeism: as regards this point, Julian of Eclanum seems to be right. But with regard to Augustine's 'pietistic', tender, appealing experience of God - which was so influential in later centuries, first and foremost in the Western Middle Ages, but also in the seventeenth century and later on<sup>66</sup> - we should now consider whether Manichaeism did not offer a positive influence, a new and constructive contribution to world civilization. Here, then, we may have a fine example of both a Manichaean Christian and a Catholic Christian 'Africanity', which became of universal importance.

## NOTES

1. Conf. X,6,8 (ed. L. Verheijen, *Corpus Christianiorum Latinorum* 27, 63: 'Percussisti cor meum uerbo tup, et amaui te'.
2. For a personal account (with many interesting photographs), see the Internet site of James J.O'Donnell: Augustine.com. Meantime, the acts of the congress organized by the Haut Consiel Islamique d'Algerie have been published as *Saint Augustin: africanité et universalité. Actes du colloque international Alger – Annaba, 1 – 7 avilr 2000* (Paradosis. Études de littérature et de theologie ancienees 45/1 & 2) Fribourg (CH) / Editions Universitaires & Algér / Haut Conseul islamique d'Algerie 2003. Ana Arabic translation of the two volumes is said to appear in 2004.
3. Most important studies until 1970: P. Alfarcic, *L'Evolution intellectuelle de saint Augustine*, I, *Étude analytique*, Paris 1919; E. Buonaiuti, 'Manichaeism and Augustine's Idea of <<massa perditioionis>>', HTR 20(1927)117-127; A. Allgeier, 'Der Einfluß des Manichäismus auf die exegetische Fragestellung bei Augustin', in : M.Grabmann & J. Mausbach (Hrsg.), *Auerlius Augustinus*, Köln 1930,1-13; A. Adam, 'Der manichäische Ursprung der Lehre von den zwei Reichen bei Augustin', TLZ 77(1952)385-390 [= Adam, *Sprache und Dogma*, Gütersloh 1969, 133-140]; W.H.C. Frend, 'Manichaeism in the Struggle between Saint Augustine and Petilian of Constantine', *Augustinus Magister*, II, Paris 1954,858-866 [= Frend, *Religion Popular and Unpopular in the Early Christian Centuries*, London 1976, Ch. XIII] P.J. de Menasce, 'Augustin manichéen', in *Freundesgabe für Ernst Robert Curtius*, Berlin 1956,79-93; A.Adam, 'Das Fortwirken des Manichäismus bei Augustin', ZKG9(1958) 1-25 [= Adam, *Sprache und Dogma*, 141-166]; Th.E. Clarke, 'St Augustine and Cosmic Redemption', TS19 (1958)133-164; A.Adam, *Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte*, I Gütersloh 1965 (1970<sup>2</sup>) esp. 290-296. ---A selection of studies since 1970. F. Decret, *Aspects du manichéisme dans l'Afrique romain. Les controversies de Fortunatus, Faustus et Felix avec saint Augustin*, Paris 1970; W. Geerlings, 'Zur Frage des Nachwirkens des Manichäismus in der Theologie Augusstins', ZKTh 93(1971)45,60; *idem*, 'Der manichäische <<Jesus patiblis>> in der Theologie Augustins', ThQ 152(1972)124-131; Chr. Walter, *Der Ertrag der Auseinandersetzung mit den Manichäern für das hermeneutische Problem bei Augustin*, Diss. Masch. München 1972 . E. Feldmann, *Der Einfluß des Hortensius und des Manichäismus auf das Denken des jungen Augustinus von 373*, Diss. Masch. Münster 1975; F. Decret, *L'Afrique manichéenne (IV<sup>e</sup> - V<sup>e</sup> siècles). Étude historique et doctrinale*, Paris 1978; L. Koenen, 'Augustine and Manichaeism in Light of the Cologne Mani Docex', ICS 3 (1978) 154-195; E. Feldmann, 'Christus-Frömmigkeit der Mani-Jünger. Der suchende Student Augustinus in ihrem

<<Netz>>, in: E. Dassmann & K.S. Frank (Hsrg.), *Pietas. Festschrij für Bernhard Kötting* (JbAC, Erg. Bd. 8), Münster 1980, 198-216; E. A. Clark, 'Vitiated Seeds and Holy Vessels: Augustine's Manichaean Past' in: Clark, *Ascetic Piety and Women's Faith*, Lewiston-Queenston 1986, 291-349; J. van Oort, 'Augustine and Mani on *concupiscentia sexualis*', in: J. den Boeft & J. van Oort (ed.), *Augustiniana Traiectina*, Paris 1987, 137-152; *idem*, 'Augustine on Sexual Concupiscence and Original Sin', *Studia Patristica* XXII, Oxford-Leuven 1989, 382-386; F. Decret, 'Saint Augustin, témoin du manichéisme dans l'Afrique romain', in: C. Mayer & K.H. Chelius (Hsrg.), *Internationales Symposion über den Stand der Augustinus-Forschung*, Würzburg 1989, 87-97; H. Chadwick, 'The attractions of Mani', in: *Pléroma. Salus carnis. Homenaje a Antonio Orbe*, Santiago de Compostela 1990, 203-222; E. Rutzenhöfer, 'Contra Fortunatum, Disputatio: Die Debatte mit Fortunatus', *Aug (L)* 42(1992)5-72; S.N.C. Lieu, *Manichaeism in the Later Roman Empire and Medieval China*, Tübingen 1992<sup>2</sup>, esp 151-191. ---Most recent studies (with references to the most important recent secondary literature) in: J. van Oort, Otto Wermelinger & Gregor Wurst (eds.), *Augustine and Manichaeism in the Latin West. Proceedings of the Utrecht/Fribourg Symposium of the International Association of Manichaean Studies (IAMS)* Leiden-Boston-Köln 2001. ---A fairly complete overview of all studies from 1571-1996 in: G.B. Mikkelsen, *Bibliographia Manichaica. A comprehensive Bibliography of Manichaeism through 1996*, Turnhout 1997.

4. On this, see in particular *Mani, Manichaeism & Augustine. The Rediscovery of Manichaeism & Its Influence on Western Christianity*, fifth ed., Georgian Academy of Sciences/Tblisi, Georgia 2003, and 'New Light on Christian Gnosis', *Louvain Studies* 24 (1999) 21-39.
5. Cf. J. van Oort, 'Manichaeism in Augustine's *De ciuitate Dei*', in: E. Cavalcanti (ed.), *Il 'De ciuitate Dei': L'opera, le interpretazioni, l'influsso*, Roma 1995, 213-235.
6. *Opus imp. C. Iul.* IV, 42 (citing *Jer.* 13:23). Cf. e.g. II, 31-33.
7. Augustine will have been of Berber extraction; cf. W.H.C. Frend, 'A Note on the Berber Background in the Life of Augustine.' *JT* 43(1942)188-191 [= Frend, *Religion* [n.1], Ch. XIV].
8. *Conf.* V, 3,6 (CCL 27, 59-60): '...et conferebam cum dictis manichaei, quae de his rebus multa scripsit copiosissime delirans, et non mihi occurrebat ratio nex solistitorum et aequinoctiorum nec defectuum luminarium nec quidquid tale in libris saecularis sapientiae didiceram'.

9. *Conf* V, 8,12 (CCL 27, 63): ‘Libri quippe eorum pleni sunt longissimis fabulis de caelo et sideribus et sole et luna.’
10. *Conf.* V, 7,12 (CCL 27, 63).
11. *Conf.* V, 7,13 (CCL 27,63): ‘Refracto itaque studio, quod intenderam in Manichaei litteras..’. The works he wrote immediately after his baptism evidence Augustine’s early reading of Manichaean text; see e.g. *De mor, Man.* 12,25 (CSEL 90,110): ‘Non hoc sonant libri Manichaei; cavisse Deum ne invaderetur ab hostibus, saepissime ibi significatur, saepissime dicitur’.
12. *Conf.* III, 12,21 (CCL 27,39): ‘...ipse legendo reperiet, quis ille sit error et quanta impietas’.
13. As it is told in the *Cologne Mani Codex* and by the famous Muslim writer Ibn-a-Nadim in his *Fihrist*.
14. *Conf.* III, 12,21 (CCL 27, 39): ‘Simul etiam narravit se quoque parvulum a seducta matre sua datum fuisse manichaeis et omnes paene non legisse tantum verum etian scriptitasse libros eorum sibi que apparuisse nullo contra disputatione et convincente, quam esset illa secta fugienda: itaque fugisse’.
15. See e.g. J.K. Coyle & F. Decret in <<*De moribus ecclesiae catholicae et de moribus Manichaeorum*>> <<*De quantitate animae*>> di Agostino d’Ippona, Palermo 1991, 13-57 and 59-119.
16. Cf. E. Rutzenhöfer, ‘Contra Fortunatum Disputatio: Die Debatte mit Fortunatus’, *Aug* (L) 42(1992) 5-72.
17. As it was already seen by F.C. Baur, *Das manichäische Religionssystem nach den Quellen neu untersucht und entwickelt*, Tübingen 1831 (= repr. Göttingen 1928 & Hildesheim-New York 1973). A German translation of *C. Faust* is being prepared by W. Steinmann in collaboration with O. Wermelinger (Fribourg); Wermelinger is also preparing a new edition of the text for the series CSEL and a separate edition of the *Capitula* for the new series CFM.
18. *Conf.* III, 6,10 (CCL 27,31): ‘Itaque incidi in homines superbe delirantes, carnales nimis et loquaces, in quorum or laquei diaboli et viscum confectum commixtione syllabarum nominis tui et domini Iesu Christi et paracliti consolatoris nostri spiritus sancti. Haec nomina non recedebant de ore eorum...’. See for an analysis of this pivotal passage my ‘Augustine’s Criticism of Manichaeism: The Case of *Confessions* III, 6,10 and its Implications’, in P.W. van der Horst (ed.), *Aspects of Religious Contact and Conflict in the Ancient World*, Utrecht 1995, 57-68.
19. E.G. E. Waldschmidt & W. Lentz, *Die Stellung Jesu im Manichäismus*, Berlin 1926 (APAW4).

20. E. Rose, *Die manichäische Christologie*, Wiesbaden 1979; cf. Rose, 'Die manichäische Christologie', ZRGG 32 (1980) 219-231.
21. L.H. Grondijs, 'Numidian Manicheism in Augustinus' Time', *Nederlands Theologisch Tijdschrift* (1954-1955) 21-42; 'Analyse du manichéisme numidien an IV<sup>e</sup> siècle, *Augustinus Magister* III, Paris 1955, 391-410.
22. Cf. H.H. Schaeder, 'Urform und Fortbildungen des manichäischen Systems', Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg, IV, Leipzig 1927, 65-157 reprinted in: Schaeder, *Studien zur orientalischen Religionsgeschichte*, Darmstadt 1968, 15-107.
23. Cf. A. von Harnack, *Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte*, II, Tübingen 1909<sup>4</sup> (repr. Darmstadt 1964), 526. Harnack is speaking of Western Manichaeism, However, his remarks about possible Christian influences on the origins of Manichaeism and even on Mani himself (523, 524) turned out to be well founded.
24. *C. Cresc.* 4, 64, 79 (CSEL 25, 577-578).
25. E.g. *De util. cred.* 2 (CSEL 25,5); *C. ep. Fund.* 4 (CSEL 25,296).
26. Here Fortunatus is telling the main lines of the Manichaean cosmogonic myth. The phrase *natum a constitutione mundi* may also be translated as 'through (or:by) the foundation of the universe'.
27. *C. Fort.* 3 (CSEL 25, 85-86). It may be remarked in passing that in the Bible quotations brought up here (cf. *John* 14,6 and 10,7) we might have testimonies of the Manichaeans' use of Tatian's *Diatessaron*. For the Biblical and e.g. Diatessaronic quotations of Secundinus, the Roman Manichaean who was a contemporary of Fortunatus, see now J van Oort, '*Secundini Manichaei Epistula*. Roman Manichaean 'Biblical' Argument in the Age of Augustine' in: J. van Oort a.o. (eds.), *Augustine and Manichaeism* [n.1], 161-173.
28. E.g. *C. Faustum* XX, 3-4 (CSEL 25, 537-53).
29. Cf. e.g. Tertullian, *Apol.* 39.40: Cyprian, *Ep.* 27,3.
30. See esp. A. Hoffmann, *Augustins Schrift De utilitate credendi: Einleitung, Übersetzung, Kommentar*, Diss. Münster 1991, and *idem*, *Augustinus, De utilitate credendi / Über den Nutzen des Glaubens*, Freiburg-Basel-Wien etc. 1992.
31. See e.g. *Epp.* 28, 72 and 82.
32. Particularly in *De consensus evangelistarum*, dating from about 400.
33. E.g. in DCD XV, 23 (written about 420). Augustine's explicit mention of Enoch and the giants here seems to indicate his Manichaean past.
34. Cf. O. Perler, *Les voyages de saint Augustin*, Paris 1969, 215f. and 350f.

35. On Alypius, see e.g. A. Mandouze a.o., *Prosopographie du Bas-Empire*, I, *Prosopographie de l'Afrique chrétienne* (308,535), Paris 1982, 53-65 (p.56 for the letters under discussion, which A. Goldbacher dated before the winter of 394; cf. CSEL 58,13).
36. *Ep.* 25,2 (Paulinuys and Therasia to Augustine.; CSEL 33,79): 'Ideoque cum *hoc Pentateucho tuo cntra Manichaeos* me satus armaveris... '.
37. Augustine knew about such a corpus of writings, as it is evident from his debate with the Manichaean Felix (CSEL 25, 817): 'FEL. dixit: Et ego, si adtuleris mihi scripturas Manichaei, quinque auctores, quos tibi dixi, quicquid me interrogaveris, probo tibi. AUG. dixit: De ipsis quinque auctoribus est ipsa epistula, cuius aperuimus principium, et invenimus ibi scriptum: Manichaeus apostolus Christi Iesu... '.
38. e.g. G. Quispel, 'Mani et la tradition evangélique des judéo-chrétiens', RSR 60 (1972) 143-149; *idem*, *Tatian and the Gospel of Thomas*, Leiden 1975, 58-68. For Tatian's *Diatessaron* among the Manichaeans in general, see e.g. H.-Ch. Puech, 'Das Evangelium des Mani', in: W. Schneemelcher (Hsrg.), *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen in deutscher Übersetzung*, I Tübingen 1990<sup>6</sup>, 320-327 (with an important 'Nachtrag' by Schneemelcher, 327-329); W. Sundermann, 'Christliche Evangelientexte in der Überlieferung der iranisch-christlichen Literatur', MIO 14(1988) 386-405 (esp. 389-394); H.-J. Klimkeit, 'Die Kenntnis apokrypher Evangelien in Zentral- und Ostasien', in: A. van Tongerloo & S. Giversen (eds.), *Manichaica Selecta*, Lovanii 1991, 149-175 (esp. 151); G. Quispel, 'A Diatessaron Reading in a Latin Manichean Codex', *VigChr* 47(1993) 374-378; W.L. Petersen, *Tatian's Diatessaron. Its Creation, Dissemination, Significance, and History in Scholarship*. Leiden-New York-Köln 1994, esp. 398-403 and 441. Petersen also gives a unique and excellent overview of the history of scholarship (De Beausobre, Baumstark, Leloir and others).
39. G. Quispel, 'Saint Augustin et l'Évangile selon Thomas', *Mélanges d'histoire des religions offerts à Henri-Charles Puech*, Paris 1974, 375-378. For the *Gospel of Thomas* amongst the Western Manichaeans in general, see e.g. B. Blatz, 'Das koptische Thomasevangelium', in: Schneemelcher, *Apokryphen*, I [.37], 94 and 98.
40. Apart from the studies mentioned in n. 37, see for traces of Tatian's *Diatessaron* in the Manichaean texts from Central Asia e.g. H.J. Klimkeit, *Gnosis on the Silk Road. Gnostic Texts from Central Asia*, San Francisco 1993. 70 and 72 and *idem*, 'Apokryphe Evangelien' [n. 37], 153-158 for the *Gospel of Thomas*.

41. See e.g. R. Arbesmann, 'Christ the *medicus humilis* in St Augustine's, *Augustinus Magister*, II Paris 1954, 623-629; *idem*, 'The Concept of *Christus medicus* in St Augustine's, *Traditio* 10 (1954) 1-28; P.C.J. Eijkenboom, *Het Christus-medicusmotief in de preke van Sint Augustinus*, Assen 1960.
42. See e.g. V. Arnold-Döben, *Die Bildersprache des Manichäismus*, Köln 1978, 98ff.; A. Böhlig, *Die Gnosis, III, Der Manichäismus*, Zurich & München 1980, 247, 249, 255ff. (= M28 II).
43. See e.g. L.J.R. Oort, *Mani: A religio-historical description of his personality*, Leiden 1967, 95-101; W.B. Oerter, 'Mani and Arzt? Zur deutung eines manichäischen Bildes', in: V. Vavrinek ed.), *From late Antiquity to Early Byzantium*, Praha 1988 219-223 (220-221).
44. See e.g. Th. E. Clarke, *The Eschatological Transformation of the Material World according to Saint Augustine*, Woodstock Md 1956 (= Excerpta ex dissertatione ad Lauream in Facultate Theologica Pontificiae Universitatis Gregoriana, Ch. VI: 'The Groaning of Creation'); cf. Clarke, 'Cosmic Redemption' [n.1].
45. Thus Faustus in Augustine's *Contra Faustum* XX, 2 (CSEL 25, 536).
46. But see the favourable example of the study of H. Berkhof, 'Christ and Cosmos', *NTT* 22(1968) 422-436.
47. W. Geerlings, *Christus Exemplum. Studien zur Christologie und Christusverkündigung Augustins*, Tübingen 1978, 257-258.
48. This is already his main function in the Manichaean myth; cf.e.g. Rose, *Christologie* [n. 19], esp. 76ff. The titles of teacher, illuminator, etc. are attributed to Mani as well; cf. e.g. Ort, *Mani* [n.43], 255. For the closely related function of the Manichaean Nous, see the essays in A. van Tongerloo & J. van Oort (eds.) *The Manichaean Proceeding of the International Symposium organised in Louvain from 31 July to 3 August 1991*, Louvanii 1995.
49. See e.g. J. Ries a.o., *Le epistole Paoline nei Manichei, i Donatisti e il primo Agostino*, Roma 1989, in particular the studies of F. Decret (L'utilisation des épîtres de Paul chez les Manichéens d'Afrique', 29-93, reprinted in Decret, *Essais ..* Roma 195, 55-106) and J. Ries ('Saint Paul dans la formation de Mani', 7-27). A certain influence of St Paul in Central Asia (in particular as regards the Manichaean sacred meal) has been demonstrated as early as 1958 by H.-Ch. Puech, 'Saint Paul chez les Manichéens d'Asie Centrale', reprinted in: *idem, Sur le manichéisme et autres essais*, Paris 1979, 153-161. The same Pauline influence underlies the Manichaean doctrine of the 'old' and the 'new' man, a doctrine not least evidenced in the texts from Central Asia; cf. e.g. H.-J. Klimkeit, 'Die manichäische lehre vom alten and neuen Menschen', in G. Wießner & H.-J. Klimkeit (Hrsg.), *Studia Manichaica*,

Wiesbaden 1992, 131-150. --- In this context I may stress that it seems to be no accident that in Augustine's conversion story as told in *Conf.* VIII the Pauline letters (and the struggle between 'flesh' and 'spirit!') play such a prominent role; the core of his conversion (or better: return) to the Catholic Christian Church is his new (i.e. Catholic) interpretation of Paul. This theme deserves a separate treatment. For the place of St Paul in Manichaeism in the Latin West see also Secundinus' *epistula* in which this Roman Manichean tries to recall Augustine back to his sect. The Pauline element abounds in this letter, in which, near the end, the former Manichean Augustine is even exhorted 'to renew Paul for our times' (*Ep. Sec. Ad Aug.*, CSEL 25, 899: '*temporibus nostris renova Paulum*'). Cf, my study mentioned in n. 26.

50. Cf. n. 17 for *Conf.* III, 6,10.

51. *Conf.* III, 7,13 (CCL 27,34).

52. C.R.C. Allberry, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, Part II, *Manichaean Manuscripts in the Chester Beatty Collection*, Vol. II, Stuttgart 1938. A facsimile edition of the first part has been published by S. Giversen: *The Manichaean Papyri in the Chester Beatty Library*, III, *Psalm-Book, Parts 1-2 (Cahiers d'Orientalisme, 16-17)*, Genève 1988. A new critical edition, first of Part II, is being prepared in Münster by M. Krause c.s. for the *Corpus Fontium Manichaeorum*. Up to now two volumes have been published: G.

Wurst, *Psalm Book Part II, Fasc. I: Die Bema-Psalmen* (CFM, Series Coptica, Vol. I, Pars 11, Fasc. 1) Turnhout 1996 and S.G. Richter, *Psalm Book II, Fasc II; Die Heracleides-Psalmen* (CFM, Series Coptica Vol. I, Pars II, Fasc. 2), Turnhout 1998. ---During the past years, important fragments of Manichaean Psalms have been discovered in Ismant el-Kharab (ancient Kellis) in Egypt; see e.g. I. Gardner, 'A Manichaean Liturgical Codex Found at Kellis', *Orientalia* 62(1993)30-59; I. Gardner and K. Worp, 'Leaves from a Manichaean Codex', *ZPE* 117 (1997)139-155; and the ongoing publications in the *Dakhleh Oasis Project Monograph* series, Oxford 1995ff.

53. This seems to be the technical term to denote these hymns; cf. e.g. the different sections in the Coptic Manichaean Psalmbook like 'Psalms of the Bema', 'Psalms to Jesus', 'Psalms of Heracleides', etc. ---A hitherto unnoticed remark in Augustine's *Confessions* seems to confirm this and, moreover, to speak of the threefold composition of the Manichaean Biblical Canon as composed of the Apostle, *the Psalms* and the Gospel; see *Conf.* VIII,10,24(CCL 27,128): 'Nam quaero a eis [sc. the Manichaeans], utrum bonum sit delectari lectione apostolic et utrum bonum sit delectari *psalmo sobrio* et utrum bonum sit evangelium disserere. Respondebunt ad singula: "Bonum". 'For a bipartite division of the Manichaean New Testament, see

- M. Tardieu, 'Principes de l'exégèse manichéenne du Nouveau Testament', in: *idem*(ed), *Les règles de l'interprétation*, Paris 1987,123-146.
54. Cf. the 'Psalm to Jesus' in Allberry, *Psalm-Book* [n.52], 120ff., e.g. 121, 19-20:'I] hear that thou didst say: "I am the light of the world"'; 121,29: 'Shall I lay waste a kingdom that I may furnish a women's womb?', and in particular, 129,20 'Then] who gave light to the world these nine months?'
55. *Sermo* 225,3 (MPL 38, 1097): 'Verbum Dei per quod facta sunt omnia, quomodo in utero includitur?'. Cf. e.g. *Tractoh. Ev.* 36,9; 40,6; 69,3; etc. and, for the same problem discussed in an anti-Manichaeic context, *Conf* IV,12,19.
56. *Conf.* IX,4,8 (CCL 27,137): 'Quas tibi, deus meus, voces dedi, cum legerem psalmos Daudid, cantica fidelia, sonos pietatis excludentes turgidum spiritum...Quam vehementi et acri dolore indignabar manichaeis et miserabar eos rursus, quod illa sacramenta, illa medicamenta nescirent et insani essent adversus *antidotum*, quo sani esse potuissent!'
57. Allberry, *Psalm-Book* [n.52], 46.
58. See, also for further substantiation and studies, 'Augustine's Criticism of Manichaeism' [n.18].
59. *Conf.* 1,3,3 in particular.
60. E.g. *Conf.* IV, 12, 19.
61. On this feast, see C.R.C. Allberry, 'Das manichäische Bema-Fest', *ZNW*37(1938)2-10; Puech, *Sur le manichéisme* (n. 49), 389-394; G.A.M. Rouwhorst, 'Das manichäische Bema-Fest und das Passafest der syrischen Christen', *VC* 35 (1981) 397-411 and, in particular, G. Wurst, *Das Bema-Fest der ägyptischen Manichäer*, Altenberge 1995.
62. See e.g. a passage like *Conf.* IV, 12, 19!
63. Meantime this book has been published as *Augustine's Confessions: Communicative Purpose and Audience* in the series *Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae*, Vol. 71, by Brill's Academic Publishers, Leiden-Boston 2004.
64. On this Manichaeic Codex from Tébessa in Algeria, see e.g. Jason Beduhn & Geoffrey Harrison, 'The Tebessa Codex: A Manichaeic Treatise on Biblical Exegesis and Church Order', in: P. Mirecki & Jason Beduhn (eds.), *Emerging from Darkness. Studies in the Recovery of Manichaeic Sources*, Leiden-New York-Köln 1997, 33-87. Beduhn and Harrison are preparing a new edition of this text from African soil for the Series Latina of the CFM.
65. Cf. J. van Oort, *Jerusalem and Babylon. A Study of Augustine's City of God and the Sources of his Doctrine of the Two Cities*, Leiden-New York-København-Köln 1991; *idem*, 'Civitas dei-terrena civitas: the Concept of the Two Antithetical Cities

*and Its Sources*', in : Chr. Horn (ed.) *Augustinus, De civitate dei* (Klassiker Auslegen, Bd. 11), Berlin 1997, 157-169; and the studies mentioned in n. 1.

66. For Augustine's mystical theology and its influence on subsequent authors, see now particularly the studies collected by F. van Fleteren a.o. (eds.), *Augustine: Mystic and Mystagogue*, New York etc. 1995. In this work of more than 650 pages, however, the name of Mani does not seem to occur. --- For Augustine's highly important influence on Western mysticism via subsequent authors and (not least!) via pseudepigraphical works, see – apart from the collective work just mentioned – e.g. M. de Kroon, 'Pseudo-Augustin im Mittelalter', *Aug (L)* 22 (1972) 511-530; E. Dekkers, 'Le succès étonnant des écrits pseudo-augustiniens au Moyen Age', in *Fälschungen im Mittelalter* (MGH, Schriften, Bd.33,V), Hannover 1988, 361-368; J. Machielsen, *Clavis Patristica Pseudepigraphorum Medii Aevi*, 1A, *Opera homiletica*, Turnholtii 1990; 2A-B, *Opera theologica, exegetica, ascetica, monastica*, Turnholtii 1994.

# List of Contributors

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**BENEZET BUJO** is a Professor of Moral Theology and Social Ethics at the University of Fribourg (Switzerland) and a priest of the Diocese of Bunia (East Congo). After his studies in Germany (Doctorate and Habilitation) he taught for many years at the Catholic Faculty of Theology in Kinshasa (Congo). He is also visiting lecturer at the Catholic University of Eastern Africa (Nairobi). At the ecclesial level, Bénézet Bujo collaborates on many commissions. He is a member of the Swiss National Commission of Justice and Peace. Furthermore, he is a member and vice-president of the Theological Commission of the Episcopal Conference of Switzerland.

**RODNEY MOSS** is Senior Lecturer and Co-Ordinator of Theology at St Augustine College of South Africa. His doctoral studies were in the area of Science and Religion and Early Christian History. He has published in the areas of Church History, Science and Religion and Theology. He has previously lectured at St Peter's Seminary, near Pretoria, St Joseph's Theological Institute, Cedara and is currently a part-time lecturer at St John Vianney Seminary, Pretoria

**JOHANNES VAN OORT** is a Professor of Church History (University of Utrecht), Professor of Patristics (University of Nijmegen), Honorary Professor of Patristics (University of Pretoria). He is the author of many books and articles including "*Mani, Manicheism and Augustine: the rediscovery of Manicheism and its influence on Western Christianity*".

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## **ABOUT ST AUGUSTINE COLLEGE OF SOUTH AFRICA**

The idea of founding a Catholic university in South Africa was first mooted in 1993 by a group of academics, clergy and business people. It culminated in the establishment of St Augustine College of South Africa in July 1999, when it was registered by the Minister of Education as a private higher education institution and started teaching students registered for the degree of Master of Philosophy and Doctor of Philosophy.

It is situated in Victory Park, Johannesburg and operates as a university offering values-based education to students of any faith or denomination, to develop leaders in Africa for Africa.

The name 'St Augustine' was chosen in order to indicate the African identity of the College since St Augustine of Hippo (354-430 AD) was one of the first great Christian scholars of Africa.

As a Catholic educational institution, St Augustine College is committed to making moral values the foundation and inspiration for all its teaching and research. In this way it offers a new and unique contribution to education, much needed in our South African society.

It aims to be a community that studies and teaches disciplines that are necessary for the true human development and flourishing of individuals and society in South Africa. The College's engagement with questions of values is in no sense sectarian or dogmatic but is both critical and creative. It will explore the African contribution to Christian thought and vice versa. Ethical values will underpin all its educational programmes in order to produce leaders who remain sensitive to current moral issues.

The college is committed to academic freedom, to uncompromisingly high standards and to ensuring that its graduates are recognised and valued anywhere in the world. Through the international network of Catholic universities and the rich tradition of Catholic tertiary education, St Augustine College has access to a wide pool of eminent academics, both locally and abroad, and wishes to share these riches for the common good of South Africa.

