

HIDDEN IN PLAIN SIGHT: OBSERVATIONS ON THE ORIGINS OF THE ENNEAGRAM

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Erratum

The article “Hidden in Plain Sight: Observations on the Origin of the Enneagram” by Virginia Wiltse and Helen Palmer was first published in the 2009 edition of the *Enneagram Journal*. At the time of publication, we were already aware of a problem with the article, so the *Journal* was issued with an erratum page that contained Fig. 1 of the article.

Earlier this year, the authors contacted me, as the IEA board member responsible for publications. In addition to Fig. 1, there were three other major errors in the way the article was printed:

- Footnote 42 was omitted, which led to all subsequent footnotes being off by one,
- The first sentence on p.110 “In inviting his reader to parse the symbolic number 153 using Pythagorean mathematics, Evagrius was unaware of the importance of the number Nine to the Pythagoreans.” should read “It is hard to imagine that the Evagrius who invited his reader to parse the symbolic number 153 using Pythagorean mathematics, was unaware of the importance of the number Nine to the Pythagoreans.”
- On p.113, part of the caption of Fig. 4 was placed in the text itself, directly above the figure.

After consulting with the authors, the editors and a scientific journal editor from Wiley Publications, we agreed that the appropriate solution is to reprint the entire article as an *erratum* in this issue of the journal, rather than just to print an *erratum* listing the errors themselves. Based on feedback to the original article, the authors requested that they be allowed to update the figures used in the article, to aid clarity. The editors were happy to accommodate this request.

We have all learned from this experience and I have worked with the current editorial and production team to improve the editorial process, so that such a problem does not reoccur in this or future editions of the journal.

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Abstract

The search for Enneagram origins has produced many insights but few substantial answers. Where did the diagram come from? Why just nine Types? Why a nine-pointed star with a gap at the bottom? And why this specific order of the types around the star? This article will contend that answering these questions requires following a trail that leads backwards to a time before the life of the fourth-century monk Evagrius of Pontus and the Christian desert tradition. The authors will use clues left in the work of Evagrius to piece together a puzzle that crosses cultures and centuries to reveal both the diagram and the template of archetypal personalities that illuminate the nine types. While we do not yet have all the answers we seek, the authors conclude that Evagrius has hidden in plain sight the information we need to further our search for the source of modern Enneagram studies.

Introduction

The Egyptian desert to which Evagrius of Pontus committed himself in the fourth century of the Common Era was not far from Alexandria, the central hub of scholarly learning for the entire ancient world at that time. The trade network known as the “Silk Road” had connected the Far East to the lands of the Mediterranean for centuries, fostering the exchange of culture at the port city of Alexandria as well as the exchange of commodities. The Mouseion, the precursor to the modern university, and its extraordinary library were founded there. For Ptolemy, the general of Alexander the Great to whom the north of Egypt was ceded following Alexander’s death, the library became a personal mission. He—and later his son—endeavored to gather at Alexandria all the great texts of the world, a task furthered by the city’s prime location. Consequently, the library at Alexandria housed an unparalleled collection of Egyptian, Hebrew, Persian and Babylonian writings. These works dealt with mathematics and astronomy, natural science and literature. A team of scholars translated these ancient treasures into Greek. Among those texts was the *Septuagint*, the first Greek translation of the Hebrew Scriptures.

Diverse philosophical and spiritual traditions were thus thriving in Alexandria before and during Evagrius’s lifetime. Neo-Pythagoreans argued that numbers held the keys to understanding reality and cosmic harmony. Neo-Platonist philosophers debated the topic of how human beings can attain to a higher life. Buddhist missionaries arrived in Alexandria in the third century before the Common Era bringing with them their Indian heritage, and Buddhist and Hindu monastic communities had been established in Alexandria by the time it became part of the Roman Empire in 31 BCE.¹

Learned men of the early Common Era, Jewish and Christian scholars among them, respectfully acknowledged the wisdom of other spiritual and philosophical traditions. The first-century Jewish historian Philo of Alexandria commented, for

example, on the “very numerous companies of virtuous and honourable men” of many cultures who searched for truth:

Among the Persians there is the body of the Magi, who, investigating the works of nature for the purpose of becoming acquainted with the truth, do at their leisure become initiated themselves and initiate others in the divine virtues by very clear explanations. And among the Indians there is the class of the gymnosophists, who, in addition to natural philosophy, take great pains in the study of moral science likewise, and thus make their whole existence a sort of lesson in virtue.²

Philo himself was well-respected among the intellectuals of Alexandria including the early Christian scholars Clement and Origen whose writings played an important role in the first centuries of the Common Era.³ Both of these prominent theologians worked to reconcile in thought and in writing their knowledge of Greek philosophy, the Jewish roots of Christianity, and the words and ways of Jesus of Nazareth.

Clement acknowledged the wisdom of Jewish and Greek learning and also the value of the teachings of the Egyptians, the Chaldeans, the Druids, the Samaneans, the Celts, the Magi from Persia and the Gymnosophists of India.⁴ Philo, Clement and Origen had enormous respect for Pythagorean spiritual teachings as did other Alexandrian scholars of the early Common Era, and the instructors at the Christian catechetical school in Alexandria were known for their affinity with Pythagorean philosophy.⁵ Clement, in fact, took pride in Pythagoras’s connection to Egypt.⁶

Patristics scholar Jean Gribamont has asserted that, given this melting pot milieu, it is “unlikely” that similarities in Buddhist, Jewish and Christian asceticism are “accidental.”⁷ To that point, others have noted similarities among such counter-cultural groups as the Pythagoreans, the Essenes and the early Christian ascetics.⁸ There is evidence that when Philo referred to the *therapeutae* as ascetic companies of healers in the desert outside of Alexandria, he was referring not only to the Essene communities, but to ascetic philosophers of other cultures as well.⁹ As early as the beginning of the twentieth century, scholars were considering the influence of Indian thought on Christian apocryphal texts.¹⁰ By the fourth century of the Common Era, many of those who pursued a holy life in the Egyptian desert were, like Evagrius of Pontus, well-educated and well-familiar with the rich and complex spiritual and philosophical thinking of their day.¹¹

Indeed, the contemplative method of Evagrius of Pontus has been described by some scholars as reminiscent of Theravada Buddhism or comparable to vipassana meditation.¹² Others have called Evagrius’s method “a sort of Christian yoga,” and still others note the “tantric” quality of some of the exercises he prescribes.¹³

The Importance of Evagrius in the History of the Enneagram

In order to understand why Evagrius offers us a critical link in the history of the Enneagram, it is important to recognize that the learned Evagrius represented the varied intellectual and spiritual streams that intersected in Alexandria. As a respected spiritual adept himself, Evagrius had no doubt received advanced teachings reserved for the spiritually mature. As we shall point out, he had been instructed in the sacred mathematics of Pythagoras, itself a synthesis of the ancient wisdom of Egypt and Mesopotamia.

There is no surprise in this when one considers Evagrius's background. Evagrius spent his life in Asia Minor and Egypt, the very places where Pythagoras received his own advanced training. Evagrius grew up in the region of Pontus in Cappadocia, what is today modern Turkey. There, the Babylonian Magi were esteemed for their astronomical abilities and their communities thrived through the fifth century of the Common Era.¹⁴

Pythagoras himself had become privy to the religious secrets of the Babylonian Magi during his years in Asia Minor. He was said to have learned "perfect worship of the gods with them, and reached the highest point in knowledge of numbers, music, and other mathematical sciences."¹⁵ The Neo-Pythagorean Iamblichus reported that Pythagoras also spent years in Egypt where he studied astronomy and geometry under the tutelage of the Egyptian priests of Heliopolis, Memphis, and Diopolis. Among the Pythagorean precepts that were embraced by early Christian teachers was this: "by contemplating the order and beauty of heaven the soul could begin to absorb its wondrous harmonies which reflected the nature of God himself."¹⁶ Evagrius explicitly espoused this belief.

In recent years, the work of Evagrius has attracted the attention of the Enneagram community as it became clear that his map of eight thoughts that act as impediments to prayer match eight of the nine cognitive/emotional habits associated with the Enneagram personality styles. There are at least two places where Evagrius alludes to nine *logismoi* or habits of mind. In his treatise *On the Vices Opposed to the Virtues*, Evagrius lists nine pairs: gluttony and abstinence (Type Seven), fornication and chastity (Type Eight), avarice and freedom from possessions (Type Five), sadness and joy (Type Four), anger and patience (Type One), acedia and perseverance (Type Nine), vainglory and freedom from vainglory (Type Three), jealousy and freedom from jealousy, pride and humility (Type Two).¹⁷ In the *Skemmata*, Evagrius wrote: "The first thought of all is that of love of self; after this, the eight."¹⁸ Despite the lack of a consistent presentation of a ninth vice, the parallels between the eight *logismoi* of Evagrius and the passions of eight of the nine Enneagram types are unmistakable.

What more might he have to teach us about the Enneagram? Evagrius, like other spiritual masters of his day, had a decided tendency towards "musterion," the recognition that certain precepts must be hidden in their sacred writings from all

but mature initiates.¹⁹ One way to transmit sacred teachings was by veiling them in symbolism or hiding them in metaphors. Evagrius, in fact, argued that God used the physical reality of the manifest world as a metaphor to reveal divine secrets.

According to Evagrius, creation was the metaphor through which God drew humankind back to its original state of union with divine reality, a union that was lost before the human being was born.²⁰ Evagrius expressed his belief in creation as a metaphor in the *Letter to Melania*: “the sensible and corporeal creation is indicative of the intelligible and incorporeal creation just as visible things are a symbol of invisible things.”²¹

He was also convinced that by examining the visible creation one could recognize the invisible creation, but he warned emphatically that this enterprise had to be kept confidential: “these bold matters are too powerful to be written on paper.”²² Evagrius did cite Scripture, however, to underscore his point: “The heavens are telling the glory of God and the firmament shows forth the work of his hands.”²³ In short, important truths about God’s design for humanity have been hidden behind the symbols of creation. It is in the heavens, we will argue, that the search for the origins of the Enneagram must begin.

Melania, to whom the letter referenced above was addressed, and Rufinus of Aquileia were longtime friends of Evagrius. Melania and Rufinus had visited the desert monasteries of Egypt together, had founded monasteries in Jerusalem, and had befriended Evagrius when he arrived there. They also encouraged his monastic vocation.²⁴ Evagrius wrote the treatise called the *Chapters on Prayer* towards the end of his life, addressing it most likely to Rufinus.²⁵

The Prologue to the *Chapters on Prayer* has always been intriguing to scholars. This odd text is replete with number symbolism and references to geometry and the cycles of time. Could Evagrius, the earnest proponent of keeping secrets from those who were not spiritually mature, have been transmitting important information for his old friend to decipher? We will argue that some of the secrets that Evagrius felt “should not be learnt by everyone” are encrypted in the Prologue to the *Chapters on Prayer*.²⁶ We will demonstrate that, via numerical and geometrical symbols, Evagrius points us to the origins of the Enneagram diagram, a diagram that can be directly verified by anyone who looks skyward to witness the dramatic interactions of the sun, the moon with its twin nodes, and the five wandering planets following their paths. This contemplation of the heavens opened for Evagrius and for other ancient people a portal that enabled them to participate in a greater reality.

We will argue as well that Evagrius’s *logismoi*—and the Enneagram personality types—also have “heavenly” origins in the worldwide body of creation myths verified in this paper by our focus on the Greek planetary gods. We believe that we can convincingly show that the origins of the Enneagram are much earlier than previously surmised and far more universal.



The Significance of 153

In his 1952 French translation of Evagrius's Prologue to the *Chapters on Prayer*, J. Muyldermans pointed out that Evagrius's allegory on the number 153 and his mystical speculations regarding mathematical realities offered a little-known window into the work of this desert father.²⁷ In the Prologue, Evagrius cited the number 153 as a symbolic number drawn from the Gospel of John (21:11) and its allusion to the miraculous catch of 153 fish. He was not alone among the early Christian scholars who recognized 153 as a number of interest. Saints Jerome and Augustine, contemporaries of Evagrius, also advanced interpretations of its meaning and so did Saint Gregory the Great somewhat later. The specificity of the number seemed to signal to these scholars that it had symbolic significance.²⁸

When Evagrius explored 153 as a symbolic number, he approached it from the point of view of one who found spiritual significance in sacred geometry. He cited the number's varied meanings, including the triangle and hexagon implied within it, figures emblematic of the Trinity and boundaries of the cosmos:

... in dividing my saying[s] on prayer into 153, I am catering for you a ‘fish-[dinner]’ from the gospels, to delight you with a symbolic number in which you will find both a triangular and a hexagonal form.[These] signify both: reverent knowledge of the Trinity; and the boundaries of the orderly arrangement of the universe.²⁹

The number 153 is also notable for its relationship to the number Nine. The geometric figures of the three-sided triangle and the six-sided hexagon cited by Evagrius combine to produce a figure with nine points. In addition, 153 is a multiple of the remarkable number Nine, a number that possesses properties unlike any other number. One such unusual property is this: the sum of the digits which form the multiples of Nine are themselves always multiples of Nine. Witness the case of the number 153 where $17 \times 9 = 153$ and $1+5+3 = 9$. Evagrius seemed to draw attention to the relationship between the numbers Nine and 153 by noting that 153 is a triangular number and then suggesting nine ways – three sets of three – in which the number 153 might be interpreted.

If you obtain a hundred and fifty-three by adding up many numbers, since it is a triangular number, consider it to mean: *praktiké*, *physiké*, and *theologiké*; or faith hope, and love; or gold, silver, and precious stones.³⁰

Evagrius’s reference to John’s Gospel in the Prologue may allude to something else as well.³¹ In citing the triangle and the hexagon in reference to the symbolic number 153, Evagrius has provided two geometric shapes inherent in the *tetractys*, the sacred symbol of the Pythagoreans.

The *tetractys* is produced by trisecting a circle to form an equilateral triangle and then trisecting the sides of the equilateral triangle. The resulting figure is comprised of nine dots forming its perimeter and a tenth dot in the center (see Fig. 1). If the interior notches of the trisected sides are connected, the result is a hexagon resting inside an equilateral triangle.³² If the *tetractys* is viewed three-dimensionally, it depicts a geometric solid of sphere, pyramid and cube.(see Figs. 2, and 3). Evagrius pointed to this three-dimensional aspect of the figure also, it seems, when he noted that the composition of the number 153 included the spherical number 25.³³ He then noted that “the wise knowledge of this age . . . resembles the number twenty-five because of the spherical nature of time.”³⁴ To the Pythagoreans, their sacred figure represented the formula $1+2+3+4=10$, ten being considered the embedded perfect number found by adding ten dots top to bottom in four tiers. The significance of the *tetractys* has been well summarized: “Now the whole figure: circle, triangle, hexagon, and the ten points comprise in toto UNITY and demonstrate the oneness of things.”³⁵ This would include a unity reflected in, among other things, the passage of time, the movement of the heavens, mathematical concepts and human realities.

Evagrius opened his treatise on how to pray by inviting his reader to look behind the symbols of language and number and geometric shape. It seems that he was also inviting his reader to explore the *tetractys*. Should we not take that invitation seriously?

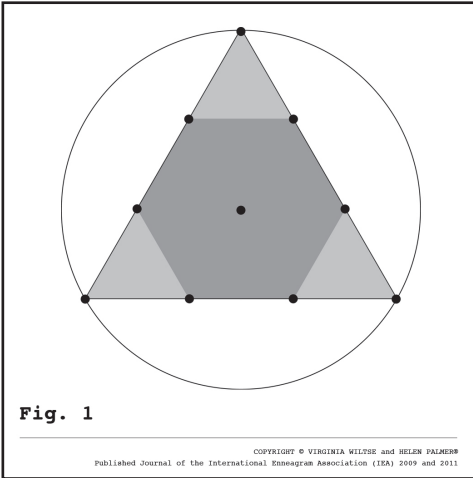


Fig. 1 *Inherent in the Pythagorean tetractys are the shapes of both the equilateral triangle and the hexagon. They are inscribed in a circle representing the universe itself.*

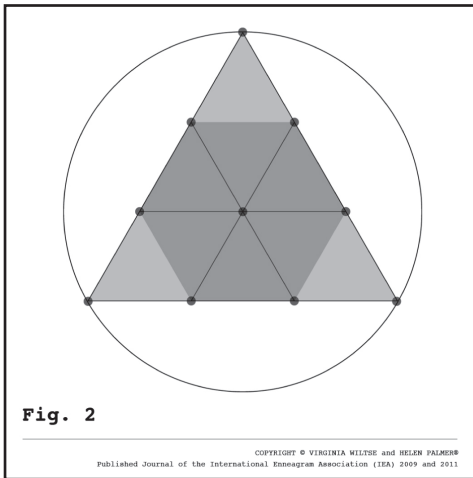


Fig. 2 *The ten dot-points of the tetractys also demonstrate the creation of a geometric solid. Six dots are used to define the hexagon. Trisecting the hexagon makes six triangles. Joining all ten dots makes nine triangles. Focusing attention on the central dot gives a three-dimensional glimpse of the hexagonal cube.*

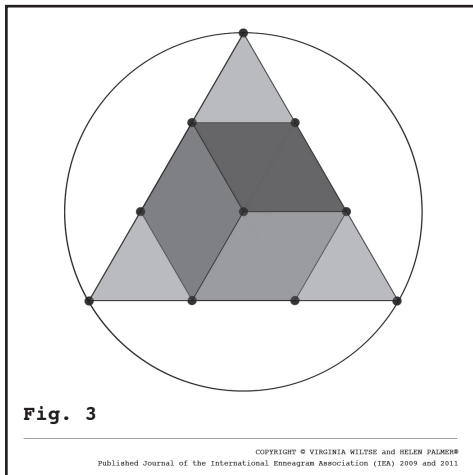


Fig. 3 *As a figure that demonstrates the creation of a three-dimensional geometric solid, the tetractys contains a hexagonal cube enclosed in a pyramid surrounded by a sphere.*

As we have noted, Evagrius, in suggesting that his reader parse the symbolic number 153 using Pythagorean mathematics, also pointed to the importance of the number Nine. Fragments from the work of Iamblichus indicate that, for Pythagoras, the number Nine, the *ennead*, was considered “the greatest of the numbers within the decad” for “everything circles around within it.” The *ennead*, according to Iamblichus, was known as the number that “brings completion.”³⁶

In her inquiry into the mysteries of Egyptian religion, Jane Sellers noted that all the important numbers in both ancient Egypt and Babylon “have digits that reduce to that amazing number 9.”³⁷ The number Nine also abounds in the creation stories of Greek mythology.³⁸ It was linked by ancient people to the cycles of time and the activities of the heavens.

Time and its markers in the sky

In exploring the number Nine and its relationship to the passage of time, two intriguing models emerge. The first of these derives from the lunar cycle. It was the oldest timekeeper for ancient people and was originally based on the moon’s three nine-day phases: waxing, full and waning. In early Babylon, the course of the moon through the heavens was tracked by assigning the moon’s daily path of travel to one of 27 “lunar mansions.”³⁹ For ancient sky watchers, observing the path of the moon was the easiest way to map the sky and determine the pathway followed by the sun, moon and other wandering planets, and the easiest way to divide the heavens. The moon takes just over 27 days to complete the circuit of the zodiac, moving to a different place in the sky each night – a little more than 13 degrees – until it makes its way back to the place where it started. The lunar mansions refer to the nightly positions of the moon as it completes a full cycle.⁴⁰ Pythagoras certainly acquired this information from his Babylonian tutors.

When the Greek writer Hesiod wrote *Work and Days*, he was using a *Lunaria*. His references to both the “ninth of the mid-month” and the “first ninth” of the month are indicative of the connection between the lunar cycle and the number Nine.⁴¹ For the Romans, the Kalends signaled the new Moon; the Nones occurred nine days later, and the days of the full Moon known as the Ides followed the Nones by nine days as well.⁴²

The diagram below represents the complete lunar cycle of twenty-seven days with the twenty-eighth day indicating the day when the moon is not visible (see Fig. 4). Important religious and sacred rituals were coordinated with the lunar cycle in antiquity and this continues to be the case today.⁴³ The lunar cycle is used to set the dates for Passover, Easter and Ramadan, a reminder of its past religious significance. One cannot help but notice that the gap at the bottom representing the “dark of the moon” resembles the gap at the bottom of the familiar Enneagram diagram.

If we impose the Enneagram diagram over the model of the lunar cycle, other relationships also appear (see Fig. 5). The moon chart is divided into three

sections of nine moons each, reminding us of the head-, heart-, and body-based triads within today's Enneagram system. Dividing the 27 lunar positions into nine type placements yields three distinct sub-placements for each type. This division reminds us of three sub-types for each of the nine types. It cannot be coincidental that we can connect the dots of the *tetractys* in such a way that it too displays the lunar model with its gap at the bottom (see Fig. 6). Within the *tetractys*, then, we see the Enneagram triangle of Types Three, Six and Nine, along with the familiar hexagonal matrix of Types One, Four, Two, Eight, Five and Seven.

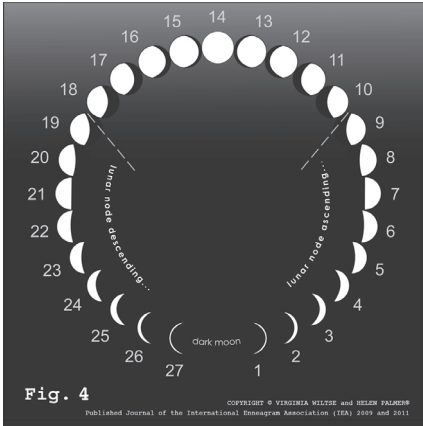


Fig. 4 *The complete lunar cycle included 27 days when the moon was visible plus a 28th day when it was not visible.*

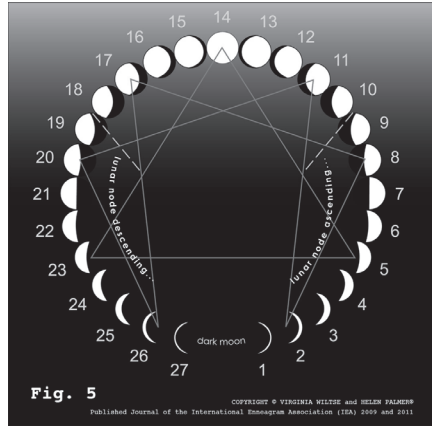


Fig. 5 *The Enneagram diagram imposed over the model of the lunar calendar.*

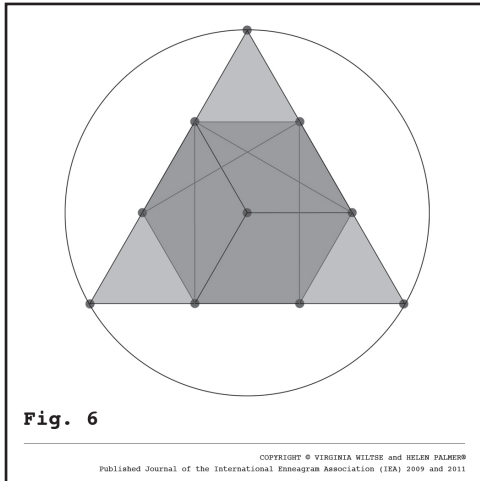


Fig. 6 *The points of the tetractys can be connected in such a way as to reflect the Enneagram's six-point interconnected matrix of Types 1,4,2,8,5 and 7. The large equilateral triangle (light gray in the figure at left) represents Enneagram Types 3, 6, and 9 and symbolizes the moon's three phases.*

The geometric dance of the planets

In addition to the lunar cycle, there was another celestial model in the ancient world that drew attention to the number Nine. According to Hesiod, the Greeks received their gods from the Egyptians, who honored among their most revered deities the Divine Ennead of Heliopolis. This pantheon of nine was certainly known to Pythagoras who studied astronomy, mathematics and geometry with the Egyptian priests of that city. The Divine Ennead represented nine independent aspects of the godhead, all flowing from a single central divinity.⁴⁴ This pantheon of nine likely originated in the sightings of Egyptian priests whose temples were astronomical observatories. What other information besides the measure of the heavens using the cycle of the moon could the Egyptian priests discover as they watched the vast darkness of the desert sky?

These Egyptian priests witnessed the movements of the planets and the interactions among them. In addition to the sun and moon, there were five planets called “wanderers”—Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Venus and Mercury. The moon was unique among this group because it was the only one that changed its shape as it traveled. Its half-full, full and half-empty phases prompted ancient people to consider it as a triune entity. As they watched the sky, ancient people noted when and where the planets came together and when they separated. This dance of the nine celestial bodies was marked in stories handed down through generations. As De Santillana and Von Dechend proposed in their study on archaic astronomy and myth, “the main source of myth is astronomy.”⁴⁵

Keith Critchlow, a specialist in geometry and an architectural proportionist, believes that ancient people also perceived the patterns created over time as planets traversed the heavens, patterns that included triangles, hexagons, and enneagons.⁴⁶ He has argued that they used those patterns as templates that enabled them to create advanced architecture long before complex measuring tools were available. Critchlow found compelling evidence for the intelligence of so-called primitive people in artifacts like the Bush-Barrow breastplate unearthed at a Bronze Age archaeological site in England (see Fig. 7).

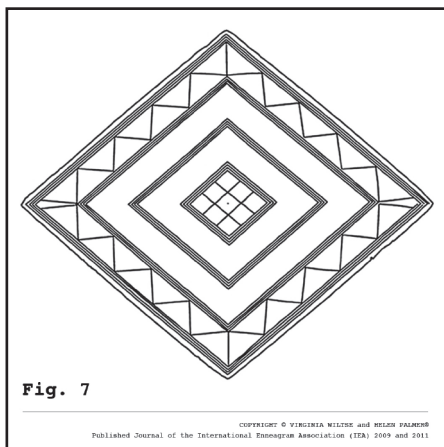
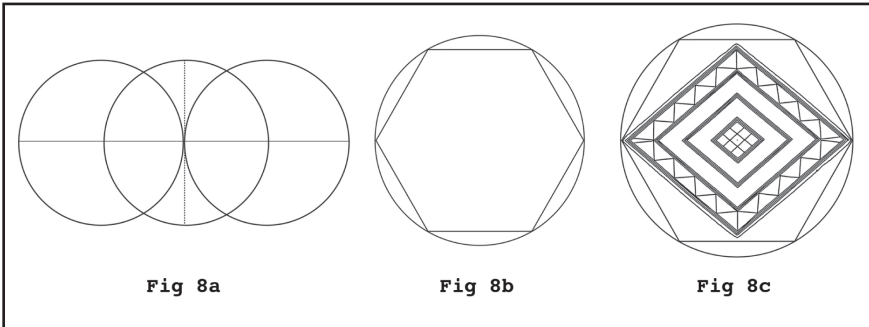


Fig. 7

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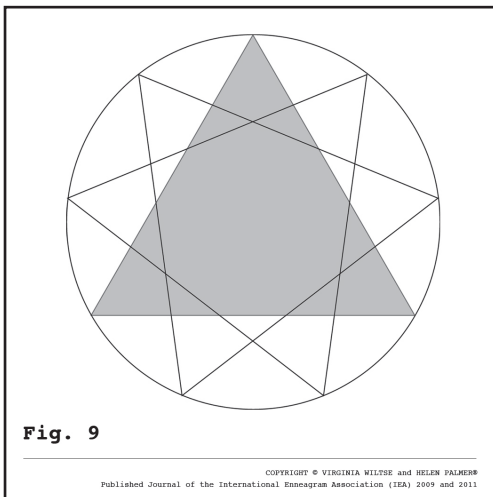
Fig. 7 The Bush Barrow Breastplate with its nine-notched sides as a template for the creation of larger projects.⁴⁷

The drawings below modeled on the work of Stonehenge researcher Anthony Johnson show how the template could have been created using circles and a hexagon (see Figs. 8a, 8b, 8c).⁴⁸



Critchlow believes that the Bush-Barrow breastplate was patterned after geometric figures formed by the planets, and that these figures provided proportional guidance for the creation of larger projects. According to Critchlow, templates like the Bush-Barrow breastplate would have enabled early monument builders to divide circles into nine portions with geometric precision.⁴⁹

What observation might have inspired both the nine-notched Bush-Barrow breastplate and the myth of the Divine Ennead? While there are many geometric relationships among the planets that give rise to different figures and different myths, we will look at one that is pertinent to the Enneagram. An enneagon is created by the three equilateral triangles formed over a sixty-year period by the conjunctions (the apparent touching of two planets in the same part of the heavens) of the planets Jupiter and Saturn.⁵⁰ In the diagram below (see Fig.9), the inner triangle represents the figure made during a cycle when Jupiter and



*Fig. 9 The enneagon produced by the Jupiter-Saturn transit over 60 years.*⁵²

Saturn meet at the same point in the sky three times during a twenty-year cycle thus creating an equilateral triangle. The two other triangles are formed, one in each of the next two twenty-year cycles, as Jupiter and Saturn seem to follow each other against the backdrop of the band of fixed stars. This phenomenon, observed and charted by ancient astronomers, was certainly known to the temple priests of Egypt as it was to other astronomers in antiquity. There is scholarly evidence that the star followed by the Babylonian Magi to Bethlehem, was a triple conjunction (or triple meeting) of Saturn and Jupiter.⁵¹ The dots of the *tetractys* can also be connected so as to display the equilateral triangles of the Jupiter-Saturn cycle (see Fig. 10).

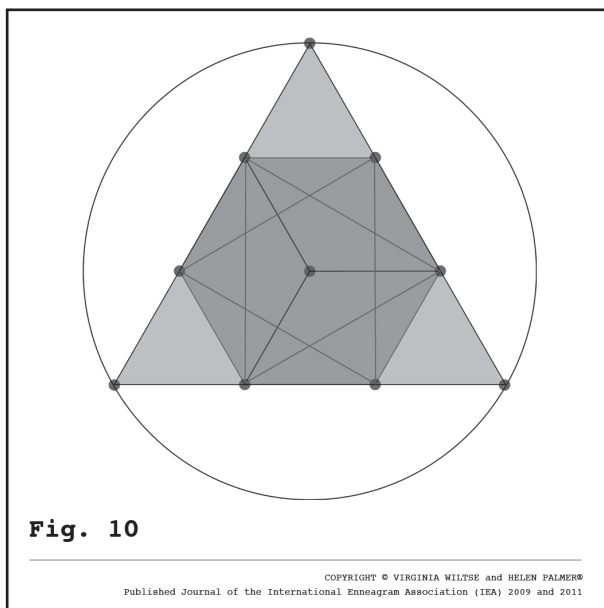
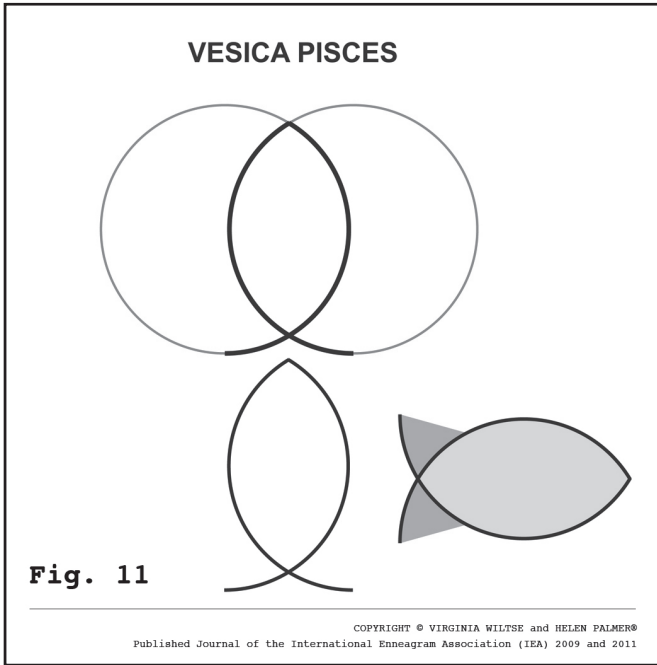


Fig. 10 We can connect the points of the hexagon within the tetractys so as to reflect the equilateral triangles created by the Jupiter-Saturn cycle.

As we consider the geometry of the heavens and a template made from a triangle, a hexagon, and a circle, recall again Evagrius's use of the number 153 in the Prologue to the *Chapters on Prayer*. In Greek mathematics, the number 153 was related to the measurement of the circle and the creation of the figure known as the *vesica pisces* which is formed when two circles overlap (see Fig. 11).⁵³



The measurement of the circle links the value of π (pi) to the relationship between the fraction 265/153 and the $\sqrt{3}$.⁵⁴ The *vesica* became associated in antiquity with the hexagon as symbolic of order on earth and with the measure of time and the circle of the heavens.⁵⁵ In the Prologue, Evagrius specifically mentions the cyclical nature of time and its relationship to the heavens: “For week after week, month after month, year after year, [time] rolls on from season to season, as we see in the movements of sun and moon, spring and summer, and the rest.”⁵⁶ In citing the number 153, symbolic of the measure of the circle, and the hexagon, each symbolic of the boundaries of the universe, Evagrius has pointed again to the sacred geometry of the heavens.

Planetary gods and their personalities

It is hard to miss the resemblance between Evagrius’s description of the eight *logismoi* that impede a praying state of mind and eight of the nine Enneagram types. But did these archetypal vices originate in his practice of self-observation and his work as a spiritual director? Perhaps Evagrius, who pointed to the heavens where we found diagrams similar to the Enneagram, looked to the heavens to create his guidelines for the aspiring ascetic as well. If so, then the nine Enneagram types also have a heavenly home.

Nearly a century ago, scholars hypothesized that Egyptian Christian ascetics, Evagrius of Pontus among them, had adapted the pagan list of vices associated

with the Greek planetary gods and made that list acceptable to Christian orthodoxy as a litany of capital sins.⁵⁷ A more recent study tracking the vices and virtues as they appear in the literature of antiquity seems to confirm that self-observation and spiritual counseling were not the sole sources of Evagrius's list of troublesome thoughts.⁵⁸

Essential to the Pythagorean tradition, argued Gerald Bostock, “is the belief that the macrocosm, meaning the universe, is seen in the microcosm, namely man, and the harmony of the spheres can be reflected in man himself.”⁵⁹ This belief, echoed in early Christian writers like Clement and Origen, directs our attention again towards the heavens and the planets that populate them. It prompts us to consider how the planetary gods are reflected in the human person, and how the Enneagram personality types and Evagrius's *logismoi* fit into the picture.

By the time of Evagrius, the visible planets had been named for the gods of the Greeks: Kronus (Saturn), Helios (Sun), Selene (Moon), Ares (Mars), Hermes (Mercury), Zeus (Jupiter), and Aphrodite (Venus). The same gods who “oversaw” the planets also reigned over the days of the week.⁶⁰ The historian Herodotus reported that the Greeks originally received their gods from the Egyptians, and he indicated that Hesiod and Homer described the gods in detail to the Greek people.⁶¹ Pythagoras, it was said, sang these myths to his disciples.⁶² A scholar like Evagrius certainly was familiar with Hesiod's *Theogony*, the *Homeric Hymns*, *The Iliad* and *The Odyssey*.

One does not have to venture too deeply into Greek mythology to notice that the vices of the Greek planetary gods mirror Evagrius's eight thoughts and, as well, the familiar Enneagram Personality Types. If myth indeed originates with astronomy, we will find resonance between the personalities of these gods and the astronomical characteristics of the planets in the heavens. We provide here only the briefest of comparisons illustrating how the astronomy of the planets and the vices of the Greek planetary gods compare to the Enneagram types and the descriptions in Evagrius's *Praktikos*.

The planet Saturn (Kronus), for example, is the one whose position is most distant from the warmth of the Sun. In mythology, Saturn is sometimes pictured with a jagged sickle. While the modern-day association is to “Father Time,” the sickle is, in fact, a reference to his emasculation of his father. Once Saturn reigned over a Golden Age of harmony among man and beast but in his desire to retain autonomy, he swallowed up his own children. He lost a battle to Zeus and was relegated to life in the netherworld.⁶³ Plutarch believed this myth to be a metaphor for the hoarding of time and, indeed, Saturn/Kronus was a god of increase and decrease.⁶⁴ The inclination to be distant and to hold fast to one's own time and space is reminiscent of the Enneagram Type Five. It corresponds with the passion of avarice in the work of Evagrius. In the *Praktikos*, Evagrius associated avarice with time—a “lengthy old age”—and with the shame associated with having to accept help from others.⁶⁵

Jupiter (Zeus) is the largest and most commanding of the planets. Not surprisingly, he the most autonomous of the Greek gods and is considered “greatest” and “all-seeing.”⁶⁶ From the mythological perspective, Jupiter is limitless in his capacities and is his own authority. His appetite for pleasure precludes tedious commitment and is reflected in the number of offspring sired by various mothers including Ares, Hermes, Athene, Dionysus, Hephaistos, the nine Muses, Persephone and many others.⁶⁷ Jupiter’s hapless wife Juno (Hera) complained bitterly in myth about his lack of commitment for, “Well she knew his tricks.”⁶⁸ Evagrius associated the passion of gluttony with the monk’s concern about the limits imposed by his ascetism.⁶⁹

Venus/Aphrodite, the brightest of the planets, was always associated with the attraction of the feminine as Morning and Evening Star. In the *Homeric Hymns* she excited passion, desire and lust in the hearts of both men and gods.⁷⁰ She was famous in myth for her magic girdle that aroused desire and also for her vengeful anger when she perceived herself to be slighted.⁷¹ Myth relates, for example, that Venus created prostitution as an act of angry revenge against the Propoetides who insulted her.⁷² Her connection with lust, creative life force and passion seem to reflect the vice of Enneagram Type Eight. Evagrius identified the “demon of fornication” which assailed those who practiced abstinence from sexual desires.⁷³

The planet Mars/Ares, perhaps because of its red coloring, became associated with war and bloodshed. In myth, the god Mars had a reputation for anger and smoldering resentment. In the *Iliad*, he stirred anger in the hearts of the Trojans. The *Iliad* also described him as quarrelsome and eager for battle⁷⁴ and the *Homeric Hymns* referenced his “warlike strength” as a “commander of right-minded men,” qualities we associate with Type One.⁷⁵ In the *Praktikos*, Evagrius cited how quickly the vice of anger arose and, in particular, the way it turned to resentment over time.⁷⁶

The swiftest moving of the planets is Mercury/Hermes whose orbit is completed in only 88 days. In myth, Mercury’s winged sandals allowed him to travel rapidly as Zeus’s herald between the heights of Olympus and the depths of the underworld.⁷⁷ The *Homeric Hymns* described him as special for Mercury only was the “appointed messenger to Hades.”⁷⁸ Our word *mercurial* comes from the myth of Mercury. In his uniqueness, Mercury reminds us of Type Four and the access to a range of emotions demonstrated by those who inhabit that type. Evagrius, in discussing the problem of sadness, notes how longing can grip the mind with thoughts of past pleasures then “plunge” one into sorrow over pleasure that has passed away.⁷⁹

The Sun/Helios, the bringer of both gentle warmth and searing heat, is indispensable for life on earth. The *Homeric Hymns* described him as “tireless” in his service to the world.⁸⁰ Myth also associated Helios with pride. Unable to put a limit on his giving, Helios allowed his son Phaethon to drive his powerful sun-chariot across the sky. Phaethon was destroyed because Helios could not say no to a request from his son. Helios’s lament that he was unappreciated makes

him a likely match for Type Two.⁸¹ The Evagrian description of the vice of pride was built on the refusal to acknowledge God as one's helper and a dismissive attitude towards those who do not offer recognition.⁸²

The Moon/Selene, traversed the night sky and her image changed on a daily basis. Her light was the reflected light of another (the Sun). In myth, Selene lit the night, the time of slumber, and governed the nine months of childbirth which could be calculated by her cycles. An Orphic Hymn noted that she rode a wide circuit through the night shining her light on men and women until it dissipated.⁸³ She would be matched with Enneagram Type Nine whose energy is spent reflecting the agendas of others. The number Nine, in fact, was so specifically connected with the moon by ancient people that mythologist Robert Graves christened it the number of "lunar wisdom."⁸⁴ Evagrius's description of the vice of acedia turned on the inability of the monk to initiate timely action and on thoughts that dissipated his energy by their focus on others.⁸⁵

In antiquity, as earlier mentioned, the moon was sometimes considered to be a triune deity for it appeared in the heavens in three aspects: the waxing, full, and waning moon. Selene was often pictured wearing a crown with two horns. The horns of the crown designated the moon's waxing and waning aspects. The moon's three phases were sometimes depicted in mythology as three feminine forms: maiden, mother, and crone. This three-fold nature of the moon reminds us of the inner triangle of the Enneagram diagram.

It would not take too much imagination to see Enneagram Type Three in the moon goddess in her maiden phase, the active and competitive young Artemis who loved to hunt and shoot. The Homeric Hymn to Artemis describes her energy – how she draws her bow, engages in the chase and then at the end of the day, leads the dances. It also describes a certain ability to adapt herself to the situation. For example, Artemis wears the garment of the huntress while in the mountains, but puts away her arrows and slips into a beautiful dress when she decides to dance with the Muses.⁸⁶ Artemis was one of only three goddesses said to be immune to the wiles of Aphrodite. This favor was granted by special request from her father Zeus, thus enabling the goddess to avoid some of the messy emotional entanglements that plagued other gods and goddesses.⁸⁷ In Evagrius's system of troublesome thoughts, Artemis, goddess of the hunt, would be paired with vainglory, which he associates with the quest for the esteem of others.⁸⁸

It is not difficult to see Type Six in the waning moon represented by Juno/Hera, the wife of Jupiter/Jesus who was known to be suspicious of her philandering husband, often with good reason. In the Iliad she accuses him of deceiving her and he admonishes her, "do not always question each detail nor probe me."⁸⁹ Later he asserts, "You are always full of suspicion." Given her husband's many paramours, it is not surprising that one attribute often associated with Juno/Hera in myth is jealousy. Evagrius does not offer a counterpart for this element of the planetary model in most of his various lists of vices. As noted earlier, in his

treatise *On the Vices Opposed to the Virtues*, Evagrius proposed jealousy as a ninth vice, but he was inconsistent on this point.

It would appear that in antiquity certain universal archetypes of human behavior became identified with the planets in stories that had astronomy as their foundation. Consciously or unconsciously, Evagrius may have made the connection between what he knew of Greek literature and what he heard from those who sought his advice as a spiritual director (see Fig. 12). If indeed they are anchored in Greek mythology, the Enneagram types originated well before the beginning of the Common Era. Research that explores the Egyptian, Babylonian and Indo-Iranian origins of the planetary deities might lead us even further back in time.

Comparison Between the <i>Logismoi</i> of Evagrius and the Planetary Gods	
AVARICE	= SATURN
PRIDE	= SUN/HELIOS
ACEDIA	= FULL MOON/SELENE
ANGER	= MARS
SADNESS	= MERCURY
GLUTTONY	= JUPITER
LUST	= VENUS
VAINGLORY	= WAXING MOON/ARTEMIS
MISSING from Evagrius:	
FEAR/DOUBT	= WANING MOON/HERA

Fig. 12

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Myth, Astronomy and Family Dynamics

Mythology also seems to confirm particular relationships that are relevant to both the Enneagram and the diagrams that surfaced in exploring the *tetractys*. The nine-pointed diagrams composed of three, closed equilateral triangles, is patterned on the enneagon created by the 60-year Jupiter-Saturn cycle through the heavens. We believe that this diagram is reflected in the myth that describes the Golden Age of the Greek gods and that it represents a “holistic” Enneagram.

During the mythological Golden Age, men “lived like gods without sorrow of heart, remote and free from toil and grief.”⁹⁰ Saturn/Kronus oversaw this age in which humans and gods alike lived in peace. In the Golden Age myth, there was a familial relationship between Saturn, Venus and the Sun. Saturn ruled the heavens and was responsible for the birth of Venus who sprang from the foam in the ocean. Hyperion, the father of the Sun, was Saturn’s brother and assisted him

in overcoming the oppressive sky-god Ouranus, the first ruler of the universe, and bringing about the Golden Age.⁹¹ If we were to relate the mythology of the planetary gods to the Enneagram, this family story would link Types Five (Saturn), Eight (Venus) and Two (Sun). Another family group, in the background in this story involves Jupiter, Saturn's son, and Jupiter's own two sons Mars and Mercury. This planetary triad would link Enneagram Types Seven (Jupiter), One (Mars) and Four (Mercury). The Moon triad of Types Nine (Selene), Three (Artemis) and Six (Hera) forms the third grouping. That diagram is reflected in the figure below (see Fig. 13):

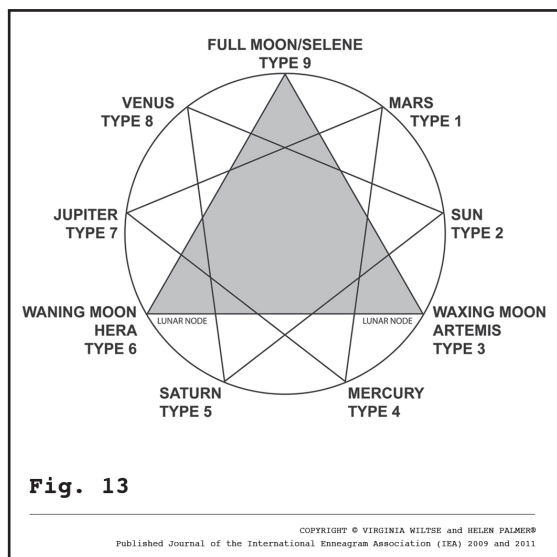


Fig. 13 The Enneagram of the Golden Age based on the Jupiter-Saturn transits might be called the Enneagram of Human Harmony.

In the “Enneagram of Human Harmony” all three centers of human experience (head, heart and gut) are accessible to every type.

The second diagram is patterned on the lunar cycle and has the gap at the bottom. It is the familiar one that is known as the “process Enneagram.” It too presumes the presence of the lunar triad, emblematic of continuity and change. From the perspective of ancient astronomers, it reflects the relationships among Saturn, Jupiter and Mars, the “outer” or superior planets, so called because their orbits lay outside the orbit of the Earth. The diagram also reflects the relationship between Venus and Mercury, which were considered to be inferior planets because their orbits around the Sun lay inside the orbit of the Earth. Venus and Mercury also orbit the Sun more quickly than the Earth. Thus, astronomically, they stood in special relationship to the Sun.

Evagrius referenced the superior and inferior planets in the *Kephalaia Gnostica* noting: “The fact that some of them are united to the interior of the shadow of the earth, others outside of it, and others to the separating limit, provides

information concerning their orders and concerning the government which has been confided to them by God.”⁹² Evagrius clearly believed that the heavenly bodies were intended by God to serve in an instructional capacity.

We believe that this second diagram reflects the aftermath of what is known in Greek myth as the “War of the Titans.” According to Hesiod, war broke out when Saturn resisted handing over power to his son Jupiter. This precipitated a rupture in the heavens and the severing of certain Golden Age alliances.⁹³ Jupiter and Saturn became locked in battle with each other. Once Jupiter prevailed, he relegated Saturn and the other defeated gods to the netherworld.⁹⁴ The Sun, which had once been on the side of Saturn, was intimidated by Jupiter’s lightning bolts and abandoned Saturn. In the underworld where Saturn was imprisoned, there was no contact with the Sun. In short, the connection between Saturn and the Sun was severed and a connection between Saturn and Jupiter replaced it.

These interactions might be diagrammed to look like the figure below which now displays a connection among the superior planets, Saturn, Jupiter and Mars, and a connection to the Sun by the inferior planets, Venus and Mercury (see Fig. 14):

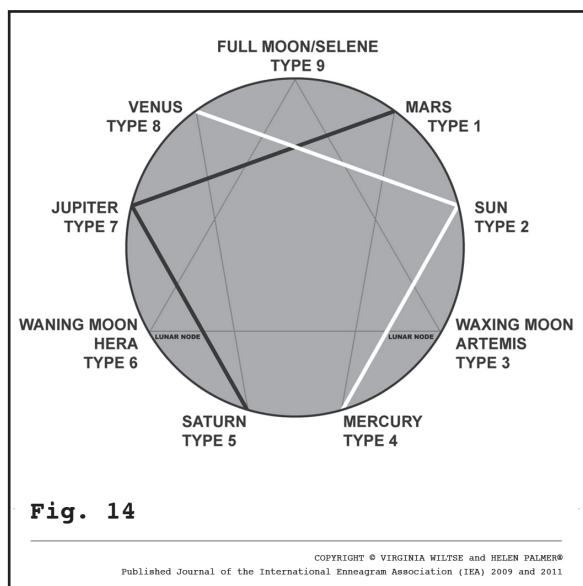


Fig. 14 The diagram expresses the consequence of the War of the Titans between Jupiter and Saturn and its outcome that Saturn has no contact with the Sun. We know it as the “process” Enneagram or Enneagram of the Passions.

The dark place at the bottom of the circle would underscore Saturn’s relegation to the netherworld and the placement of Mercury at the edge of the underworld as the only god who moves freely between the heavens and the dark. This diagram seems to confirm that the “process” Enneagram reflects a certain rupture in the dynamics of human development even as the War of the Titans represents

a rupture in the Golden Age dynamics of the heavens and the onset of what became known as the Silver Age.

The Neo-Pythagorean Plotinus, a contemporary of Origen's, authored a series of essays called *The Ennead*. In this work he admonished the reader that: "All teems with symbol; the wise man is the man who in any one thing can read another, a process familiar to all of us in not a few examples of everyday experience."⁹⁵ Evagrius of Pontus cultivated in abundance the ability to "look through" metaphors to see the reality behind them.⁹⁶ His eight *logismoi* may be metaphors for an insightful way of viewing the lessons of the heavens.

Soul Journeys and Heavenly Rulers

The idea that the planetary gods served as archetypes for human beings is one of the themes of the *Poimandres*, a tractate in the *Hermetic Corpus*.⁹⁷ According to the *Poimandres*, a divine craftsman ordained that the seven planets share their essence with humanity and seven archetypal human beings were created as a result.⁹⁸ (If we reconstructed this account in the language of the Enneagram, we might say that human beings are born with a predisposition to a particular personality type.) According to the *Poimandres*, the human being relinquished the vices associated with the planetary spheres after death in a seven-step ascension process. The vices having been handed back, the soul arrived at an eighth stage bringing its true self only and, in the ninth stage, the soul "came to be within god," and shared the divine essence itself.⁹⁹ This material, which likely originated in Egypt, seems to link the planetary archetypes to a vice-to-virtue conversion.

The concept that the planets had a role in advancing the individual's relationship with God was part of a spiritual tradition that long pre-dated Evagrius and was already present in pre-Socratic Greece.¹⁰⁰ The handing over of vices associated with the planetary gods was part of the mysteries of Mithras, mysteries associated with the secret rites of the Babylonian Magi. The ascendant soul "abandoned to the Moon its vital and nutritive energy, to Mercury its desires, to Venus its wicked appetites, to the Sun its intellectual capacities, to Mars its love of war, to Jupiter its ambitious dreams, to Saturn its inclinations."¹⁰¹

This journey of the soul was also cited in literature. The grammarian, Maurus Servius Honoratus, in his *Commentary on the Aeneid of Vergil*, referenced the vices associated with certain planetary gods:

... the souls draw down with them the inertia of Saturn, the anger of Mars, the lust of Venus, the longing for advantage of Mercury, the desire for authority of Jove (Jupiter): which things make for disquieted souls ...¹⁰²

Conversely, Macrobius, in his *Commentary on the Dream of Scipio*, articulated the positive qualities the soul gathered from the planetary gods in its descent:

From Saturn it acquires reason and understanding, or what is called the logical and contemplative faculty; from Jupiter it receives the power to act, or executive power; Mars gives it the valour required for enterprise, and a burning zeal; from the Sun it receives the senses and the power of invention, that make it feel and imagine; Venus moves it with desires; from the sphere of Mercury it takes the power to express and enunciate what it thinks and feels; finally, from the sphere of the Moon, it acquires the strength needed to propagate by the generation and increase of bodies. . .¹⁰³

The similarities among the attributes of the planetary gods, the *logismoi* of Evagrius, and the vices of the Enneagram types are unmistakable.

The tradition that the soul was instructed by heavenly powers was also represented among Christian writers. Clement of Alexandria, for example, wrote about a secret tradition passed orally from the apostles. One scholar has proposed that this tradition “concerned in large measure the mysteries of the heavenly worlds” and that Clement gave witness to an “internalization of the cosmic ladder” by which the soul ascends to union with God.¹⁰⁴

Without naming individual planets, Origen ascribed a positive role to them as teachers on the soul’s journey. He was the first Christian theologian to consider astronomy and theology together; he insisted that astronomy be taught in his classrooms, and he was familiar with the identification of the planets with angels.¹⁰⁵

Evagrius was undoubtedly familiar with the idea of the transit of the soul through the planetary spheres. While he does not connect the vices and virtues to specific planets, in the *Kephalaia Gnostica*, he pointed to a transformative process for the soul seeking union with God, one that involved the sun, moon and planets when he wrote that, “the intelligible ‘stars’ are reasoning natures to which it has been confided to illuminate those who are in the darkness.”¹⁰⁶ The idea that the heavens participated in the spiritual maturation process of the human soul has a well-documented history.¹⁰⁷

Conclusion

In recent years, scholars have traced the influence of Evagrius’s ascetic teachings and that influence is impressive. His immensely practical descriptions of the impediments to prayer, as transmitted through his disciple John Cassian, ultimately became the cornerstone for Christian monastic life in all of Western Europe.¹⁰⁸ Evagrius’s synthesis on the ascetic life was handed down throughout Eastern Christendom in the Syrian, Coptic and Armenian monasteries of Asia Minor, and it influenced the great Byzantine writers, the Hesychast movement, the Church in Ethiopia, and the Russian Orthodox Church. Through Babai the Great, the teachings of Evagrius passed into late Persian monasticism and from there, scholars tell us, his teachings “decisively influenced the spirituality of the

Persian Sufis, a group already primed to incorporate the message into their own lineage of symbolic understanding.”¹⁰⁹

If this summary seems reminiscent of early speculation on the history of the Enneagram diagram, it is not by accident. George Gurdjieff acknowledged that he found sources that informed his own theories about the Enneagram in the monasteries of Asia Minor – the very places where the teaching of Evagrius crossed paths with other world traditions.

The Prologue to the *Chapters on Prayer* directs attention to another side of Evagrius, a Christian monk who was also a Pythagorean, with all the cross-cultural wisdom that the term implies. He reveals himself to be a contemplative who recognized that the spiritual life could be advanced by looking to the heavens and considering the very structure of God’s creation as a symbolic macrocosm that is mirrored in the microcosm of human dynamics and the human aspiration for spiritual advancement. In the Prologue to the *Chapters on Prayer*, Evagrius used numbers to express “the decipherable orderliness of creation,” and as a metaphor through which he could share the sacred secrets of the heavens.¹¹⁰

Two Enneagram diagrams are encrypted among the Pythagorean symbols in the Prologue to the *Chapters on Prayer* and both are encoded in the *tetractys*. One, which is comprised of three equilateral triangles, replicates the Jupiter-Saturn cycle and reminds us of harmony and balance and what we as human beings might attain to. The other, based on the monthly transit of the moon, draws a dynamic map of interactions among archetypal forces, and speaks to us of ordinary life as we must face it en route to spiritual maturity. If we combine these diagrams with Evagrius’s insights on the quieting of the passions, on the dynamic and inter-related nature of thoughts and emotions, on the importance of practicing self-awareness, and on the core issue of “converting” vice to virtue, we have a fairly accurate fourth-century replica of today’s Enneagram studies. What more perfect place could there be than the beginning of a treatise on prayer for Evagrius to position his final lesson about the contemplative journey?

Look at the night sky with a full moon overhead. Imagine the heavens divided into sectors presided over by planetary divinities that represent the archetypal aspects of human consciousness. Bring the image inside yourself as an object of contemplation. The macrocosm of the heavens reveals the microcosm of the human person. Evagrius assured Melania: “The heavens are telling the glory of God.” They have also been hiding the origins of the Enneagram in plain sight since time began.

Authors' Note

We want to emphasize that we see this work as a beginning – not an ending – of the search for Enneagram origins. The potential for additional scholarly work is vast, and we are eager for scholars whose proficiencies differ from ours to take up specific threads in this essay and pursue them. Additional scholarly work is warranted, for example, on the observations of the night sky made by other ancient cultures, on the division of the night sky into nine portions by early people, on connections to the diagram from the perspectives of Daoist, Buddhist, Hindu, Judaic and Islamic teaching, on the significant impact of Pythagorean teachings on the monks of the Christian desert, and on links between the Enneagram and the ancient motif of the journey of the soul through planetary qualities of being. We hope for – and we look forward to – the scholarly development of ideas that we could only mention in passing in this initial essay.

Endnotes

¹ See Gardner Murphy, “The Mathematical View of Life’s Mind: Pythagoras” in *Psychological Thought from Pythagorus to Freud* (New York: Harcourt Brace and World, 1968), 3-22; Guy G Stroumsa, *Hidden Wisdom* (New York: E.J. Brill, 1996), especially 27-45; and Karen Armstrong, *A History of God* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1993), 92.

² *The Works of Philo Judaeus, the contemporary of Josephus*, translated from the Greek by Charles Duke Yonge (London, H. G. Bohn, 1854-1890), 74.
<http://www.earlychristianwritings.com/yonge/book33.html> accessed 5-24-2009. The word *gymnosophist* is a reference to Indian ascetics who wore little clothing.

³ Clement refers to Philo as a Pythagorean. See, for example, Clement of Alexandria, *Stromateis* Book One 15:71, trans. John Ferguson (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America, 1991), 77.

⁴ *Stromateis* Book One 15:71, trans. Ferguson, 76.

⁵ Robert M. Grant, “Early Alexandrian Christianity” in *Church History*, 40:2 (Jun., 1971), 138. (Cambridge University Press on behalf of the American Society of Church History) Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3162366> Accessed: 5-24-2009.

⁶ *Stromateis* Book One 15:66, trans. Ferguson, 72.

⁷ Jean Gribamont, “Early Christianity” in *Christian Spirituality*, eds. Bernard McGinn and John Meyerdorff (New York: Crossroad, 1992), 91.

⁸ See, for example, J.N. Bremmer, “Symbols of Marginality from Early Pythagoreans to Late Antique Monks” in *Greece & Rome*, Second Series, 39:2 (Oct., 1992), 205-214 (Cambridge University Press on behalf of The Classical Association) Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/643268> Accessed: 5-24-2009.

⁹ See Joan E. Taylor and Philip R. Davies, “The So-Called Therapeutae of “De Vita Contemplativa”: Identity and Character” in *The Harvard Theological Review*, 91:1 (Jan., 1998), 3-24 (Cambridge University Press on behalf of the Harvard Divinity School) Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1509786> Accessed: 5-24-2009.

¹⁰ See, for example, Louis H. Gray “Brahmanistic Parallels in the Apocryphal New Testament” in *The American Journal of Theology*, 7:2 (Apr., 1903), 308-313 (The University of Chicago Press) Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3153734> Accessed: 5-24-2009.

¹¹ The monks who formed the communities in Nitria and Kellia, where Evagrius spent his monastic career, were educated and sophisticated. Their monastic establishments were based on “long-established Hellenistic *paideia*” and their curriculum was adapted from the writings of such formidable early Christian teachers as Clement and Origen. See Robin Darling Young, “Evagrius the Iconographer” in *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 9:1 (2001), 55-56.

¹² David E. Linge, “Leading the Life of Angels: Ascetic Practice and Reflection in the Writings of Evagrius of Pontus” in *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 68:3 (September 2000), 561.

¹³ See Linge, 540, 560. Linge cites the work of Patristic scholar Hans Urs von Balthasar who argued that the teachings of Evagrius are, “essentially closer to Buddhism than to Christianity.” His suggestion about the “tantric” quality of some of Evagrius’s practices is a reference to various passages in the *Antirrhetikos*. See also Armstrong, 221.

¹⁴ Franz Cumont, *The Mysteries of Mithra*, trans. Thomas J. McCormack (New York: Dover, 1903, 1956), 11. “These communities, in Cappadocia at least, were destined to survive the triumph of Christianity and to be perpetuated until the fifth century of our era, faithfully transmitting from generation to generation their manners, usages, and modes of worship.” Cumont cites St. Basil as a reference and Basil was one of Evagrius’s teachers, 28.

¹⁵ See Iamblichus, *On the Pythagorean Way of Life*, trans. John Dillon and Jackson Hershbell (Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1991), 4:19.

¹⁶ Gerald Bostock, “Origen and the Pythagoreanism of Alexandria” in *Origeniana Octava* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2003), 466, 473-474. Origen was well-versed in Pythagorean and Platonic teachings for he had been schooled in Greek literature as well as in sacred Scripture. He made sacred mathematics, geometry and astronomy part of the curriculum he taught his pupils. He was familiar with Plato and with the work of such Pythagorean writers as Numenius, Moderatus, and Nicomachus. See Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, trans. Christian Frederick Cruise (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1991), VI: 2 and VI:19, drawing on the work of Porphyry. For insight into Origen’s love of astronomy, see also Alan Scott, *Origen and the Life of the Stars* (Oxford: Clarendon

Press, 1991), 75. This extraordinary study places Origen's love of astronomy within the larger context of his time.

¹⁷ Evagrius of Pontus, *On the Vices Opposed to the Virtues in Evagrius of Pontus: The Greek Ascetic Corpus*, trans. Robert E. Sinkewicz (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 60. For one perspective on the integration of the nine vices see David Burke in "The Enneagram of Evagrius of Pontus" in *The Enneagram Journal* (Summer 2008), 77-103.

¹⁸ Evagrius Ponticus, *Skemmata*, trans. William Harmless in William Harmless, "The sapphire light of the mind: the Skemmata of Evagrius Ponticus," *Theological Studies* 62:3 (Sept. 2001), 22. Full-text source: WilsonSelectPlus_FT accessed 6/7/2003.

¹⁹ See, for example, Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata* V:IV in *The Ante-Nicene Fathers*, eds. Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson, (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing company, 1983), and "Origen of Alexandria, On First Principles" in *Origen: Classics of Western Spirituality*, trans. Rowan A. Greer, (Mahweh, NJ: Paulist Press, 1979) 2:2 and 3. See Stroumsa, 112. Stroumsa cites both Clement and Origen. Evagrius was well familiar with their work.

²⁰ Michael Parmentier, "Evagrius of Pontus: Letter to Melania" in *Bijdragen tijdschrift voor filosofie en theologie* 46 (Amsterdam, 1985), 7. Parmentier provides an excellent summary of Evagrius's cosmology in the introduction to his translation of the letter.

²¹ *Letter to Melania*, III:98-100.

²² *Letter to Melania*, IV:133.

²³ *Psalms* 19:1, quoted in *Letter to Melania*, III:74-75.

²⁴ Evagrius was born in 345 in Cappadocia, part of today's modern Turkey. He was ordained a lector by the great Cappadocian, Basil of Caesarea, and was ordained a deacon by Basil's friend and classmate, Gregory Nazianzus, another of the revered Cappadocians. Evagrius came to the Egyptian desert via a monastery in Jerusalem where he had been immersed in the works of the brilliant second-century theologian Origen as a consequence of time spent with the devout Roman matron Melania and her friend Rufinus of Aquileia. Both had visited the desert monks of Egypt who were also well familiar with the work of Origen. See *Coptic Palladiana II: The Life of Evagrius* (Lausiac History 38), trans. Tim Vivian, in *Coptic Church Review* Spring 2000), 8-23. Recent scholarship indicates that Antony of Egypt, much revered as the father of monasticism, was himself an Origenist who shaped the Egyptian monastic tradition adopted by Evagrius. At Melania's recommendation, Evagrius joined a monastic community in the Egyptian desert.

²⁵ John Eudes Bamberger, *Evagrius Ponticus: The Praktikos & Chapters on Prayer* (Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 1981), 51.

²⁶ Letter to Melania, I:4-5.

²⁷ J. Muyldermans, trans., *Evagriana Syriaca: Textes inédits du British Museum et de la Vaticane* (Louvain, 1952), 39-40. “Nous voudrions nous arrêter un instant à la section du Prologue qui traite du symbolisme des nombres. Il s’agit en l’espèce de l’allégorie du nombre 153 emprunté à l’Évangile (JOH. XXI, 111). On trouve mêlées dans ce passage des spéculations de la mystique avec des réalités mathématiques d’après les procédés en usage chez les Alexandrins. . . .” “... le passage en question présente un des aspects moins bien connu de son œuvre.” The Prologue contains many symbolic references. We will concentrate here on only a few of them.

²⁸ This interest in the number 153 is noted in Ethelbert Bullinger, *Number in Scripture* (Grand Rapids, MI: Kregel Publications, 1894, 1967), 273-274.

²⁹ Evagrius of Pontus, Prologue to the *Chapters on Prayer*, trans. Luke Dysinger at http://www.ldysinger.com/Evagrius/03_Prayer/00a_start.htm.

³⁰ Evagrius of Pontus, Prologue to the *Chapters on Prayer*, trans. Luke Dysinger. The triangular number 153 is formed by adding $1+2+3+4+5+6 \dots +17 = 153$. It is graphed by a series of dots that form a triangle such that one dot forms the top row, two dots the second row, and so on until seventeen dots form the triangle’s base.

³¹ There is a similar story about a miraculous catch of fish that occurs in the life of Pythagoras, although no number is attached to that catch. See Iamblichus, *On the Pythagorean Way of Life*, trans. John Dillon and Jackson Hershbell (Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1991) 8:36.

³² See, for example, William J. Tucker, *Harmony of the Spheres: the Real Numerology, A Reconstruction of the Lost Theory of Pythagoras* (Sidcup, Kent, UK: Pythagorean Publications, 1966), 10-11.

³³ A *square number* is one that can be depicted as a square of evenly spaced dots. The number 25, for example. A *circular number* is a square number whose last digit is the same as its root. Again, the number 25 ($=5^2$). A *cube number* can be depicted by evenly spaced dots forming a cube. A *spherical number* is a cube number whose final digit repeats the final digit of the side number. It will always end in 1, 5, or 6. The number 216 ($=6^3$) is an example. See the excellent Glossary of Greek mathematical terminology that appears in Robin Waterfield’s translation of Iamblichus, *The Theology of Arithmetic*, (Grand Rapids, MI: Phanes Press, 1988). While sometimes the terms *circular* and *spherical* are used interchangeably, the Greek mathematician Nicomachus differentiated between them. According to Nicomachus, the number 25 would be circular and not spherical. Evagrius, however, specifically cites the number 25 as spherical and connected with the measure of time. See Muyldermans, 44.

³⁴ Evagrius of Pontus, Prologue to the *Chapters on Prayer*, trans. Luke Dysinger.

³⁵ Tucker, 10-11.

³⁶ Iamblichus, *The Theology of Arithmetic*, 105-106. Iamblichus calls attention to the fact that the rites of the Curetes, mythological gods assigned to care for the infant Zeus, were described by Pythagoras as triple triads – three rites, each with three parts. We encounter heavenly triple triads among the angels in the *Celestial Hierarchy* of Pseudo-Dionysius. See *the Complete Works of Pseudo-Dionysius*, trans. Colm Luibheid (New York: Paulist Press, 1987). See also Denis Labouré, “The Seven Bodies of Man in Hermetic Astrology,” 4, trans. Michael Edwards, <http://www.skyscript.co.uk/7bodies.html>, accessed 2-4-07, 7.

³⁷ Jane Sellers, *The Death of Gods in Ancient Egypt: An Essay on Egyptian Religion and the Frame of Time* (London: Penguin, 1992), 205. A Great Year, for example, was believed to include 25,920 regular years. The original Egyptian calendar had 360 days. Sellers proposed that the numbers 72, 432, 2,160, and 25,920, were all indicative to ancient people of the concept of the Eternal Return and “were sacred revealers of a universe mathematically constructed by a creator god beyond knowing,” 193.

³⁸ The nine Muses, for example, were born after Zeus lay nine nights with their mother. Hesiod, *Theogony*, II.36-52, trans. Evelyn-White. http://ancienthistory.about.com/library/bl/bl_text_hesiod_theogony_1.htm, accessed 2-18-2007. It took nine days for an anvil to fall from heaven to earth and nine more to fall from earth to the underworld. Hesiod, *Theogony*, II.713-735.

³⁹ Philip Yampolsky, “The Origins of the 28 Lunar Mansions” in *Osiris* 9 (1949), 62-83. While the title of the article is “The Origin of the Twenty-Eight Lunar Mansions,” the first sentences of the article indicate: “Common to the early astronomical concepts of China, India and Arabia, was a division of the planetary path into twenty-seven or twenty-eight parts, each part being indicated by a star or asterism. . . . Inasmuch as the moon completes her sidereal revolutions from one star back to the same star in between twenty-seven and twenty-eight days, it is probable that the initial purpose of this system was to indicate, perhaps chiefly for astrological reasons, the position of the moon on any given day.” The author footnotes the fact that in India the mansions refer to the twenty-seven equal divisions of the ecliptic.

Scholarly debate on where this method of tracking moon cycles originated seems to favor early Babylon, preceding even the Vedic period in India. In later years, depending on the culture and the date, the number of lunar mansions was increased to 28. Two extensive scholarly articles on this topic are Yampolsky’s and Stefan Weinstock, “Lunar Mansions and Early Calendars” in *Journal of Hellenic Studies* LXIX (1949), 48-69. According to Weinstock, “the Indians received the lunar mansions from the Babylonians and passed them on, as it seems, to the Far East,” 56. This topic could benefit from some fresh scholarly inquiry.

⁴⁰ For a complete description of this phenomenon, see Dennis Harness, *The Nakshatras* (Twin Lakes, WI: Lotus Press, 1999), xiii-xiv.

⁴¹ Hesiod, *Work and Days*, 810-813. <http://www.sacred-texts.com/cla/hesiod/works.htm>

⁴² The Roman year of ten months duration featured 38 *nundinae* (literally, ninth day). This way of marking time called for seven ordinary days with a *nundinae* on each end. Thus, the *nundinae* recurred every ninth day and marked a relationship between the numbers seven and nine.

⁴³ Weinstock, 69.

⁴⁴ The Divine Ennead of Heliopolis was the most prominent pantheon of nine. In other parts of Egypt, however, other enneads of gods were invoked as well. In the Pyramid Texts, “the earliest known body of religious writings preserved anywhere in the world,” according to mythologist Joseph Campbell, the myth of the creation of the Divine Ennead is inscribed on the walls of nine tombs. Theirs is a divine genealogy of gods related to and created by Atum. While the presence of a Divine Ennead is remarkable, even more so are some of the texts invoking the nine gods for, in the Third Millennium B.C.E., they make an unmistakable connection between psychology and spirituality, between the physical, mental and emotional centers of experience: “When the eyes see, the ears hear, and the nose breathes, they report to the heart. It is the heart that brings forth every issue, and the tongue that repeats the thought of the heart. Thus were fashioned all the gods: even Atum and his Ennead.” See Joseph Campbell, *The Masks of God: Oriental Mythology* (New York: Penguin, 1962), 84-86.

Egyptologist James Breasted called this “the dawn of conscience” for his translations indicated to him “the fundamental assumption that mind or thought is the source of everything.” See James Breasted, *The Dawn of Conscience* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1933), 37. Breasted’s translations of ancient texts indicated that Egyptians of this era called on the Divine Ennead for protection and for blessing. See *Ancient Records of Egypt/ Historical Documents*, edited and translated by James Henry Breasted (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1927). See, for example, Vol. 1:71, translation of the Palermo Stone; Vol. 2:635, translation of the New York Obelisk; and Vol. IV:382, translation of the Papyrus Harris as examples.

Breasted found that these early texts also revealed a connection between human behavior and its consequences: “(As for) him who does what is loved and him who does what is hated, life is given to the peaceful and death is given to the criminal.” See Breasted, 35. More than two thousand years before the Common Era, then, we have written evidence of religious beliefs organized around nine aspects of the divine, beliefs that acknowledged different centers of experience as well as a sense of both virtue and vice.

⁴⁵ Giorgia de Santillana and Hertha von Dechend, *Hamlet’s Mill: An Essay Investigating the Origins of Human Knowledge and Its Transmission through Myth* (Boston: David R. Godine, 1977), 3.

⁴⁶ Keith Critchlow, *Time Stands Still: New Light on Megalithic Science* (London: Gordon Fraser, 1979), 9. This book contains a wealth of information that is of interest to an Enneagram researcher including numerous astronomical and mathematical references.

Critchlow also argues that direct experience, knowledge born of intuition, played a significant role in the abilities of early civilizations to translate what they observed in the heavens into mathematically precise monuments without the tools for calculation that we rely on today.

⁴⁷ Drawing from the Normanton Down Barrow Cemetery website, <http://www.stone-circles.org.uk/stone/normantondown.htm>, accessed 5-3-09.

⁴⁸ Figs. 8a, 8b and 8c are modeled on original drawings that appear at Anthony Johnson, *Solving Stonehenge* (Thames and Hudson), <http://www.solvingstonehenge.co.uk/page3.html> accessed 5-2-09.

⁴⁹ Critchlow, 113-121.

⁵⁰ See Critchlow, 160-163 for a detailed discussion of how the enneagon is created. Critchlow specifically uses the sample of the $2/9^{\text{th}}$ rhomb and the enneagon in his discussion.

⁵¹ See, for example, Michael R. Molnar, *The Star of Bethlehem: The Legacy of the Magi* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1999).

⁵² Fig. 9 is modeled on an original that appears in Critchlow, 163.

⁵³ Thomas Heath, *A History of Greek Mathematics* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1921), ii:52. The discovery is attributed to the brilliant mathematician Archimedes who taught in Alexandria in the third century B.C.E. There is some evidence, however, that this knowledge was in use in the construction of the pyramids, thus dating it much earlier.

⁵⁴ Heath's translation of Archimedes' work does not indicate any significance for the number 265.

⁵⁵ Robert Lawlor, *Sacred Geometry* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1982), 35. "Thus the square root of 3 is linked to the formative process, and this connection is further clarified when one observes the relationship of the Vesica and the square root of 3 to the hexagon, which is the symmetry of order for the measure of the earth, the measure of time (through the 360 degrees of the Great Circle of the heavens) . . . The Vesica is also a form generator in that all the regular polygons can be said to arise from the succession of vesica constructions."

⁵⁶ Evagrius of Pontus, *On Prayer*, Dysinger online translation.

⁵⁷ See Morton W. Bloomfield, "The Origin of the Concept of the Seven Cardinal Sins," *The Harvard Theological Review*, 34:2 (Apr., 1941), 121-128 (Cambridge University Press on behalf of the Harvard Divinity School) Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1508127> Accessed: 27/02/2009 16:59. Bloomfield cites the work of Zielinski (1905) and Gothein (1907). Bloomfield notes that the connection between the vices and the

planetary gods disappears for centuries after the time of Evagrius and reappears again in the early Middle Ages.

⁵⁸ See William H. Brashear, *Wednesday's Child is Full of Woe* (Vienna: Österreichische Verlagsgesellschaft C. & E. Dworak, 1998), especially Ch. 2.

⁵⁹ Bostock, 474.

⁶⁰ The gods of the weekdays are as follows: Sunday = Sun, Monday = Moon, Tuesday = Mars (from the French *mardi*), Wednesday = Mercury (from the French *mercredi*), Thursday = Jupiter (from the Norse *Thor*), Friday = Venus (from the French *vendredi*), and Saturday = Saturn.

⁶¹ Herodotus, *Euterpe* 2:53,4. http://ancienthistory.about.com/library/bl/bl_text_herodotus_2.htm accessed 2-15-09.

⁶² Iamblichus, 25:111.

⁶³ Hesiod, *Theogony*, II: 453-491, trans. Hugh G. Evelyn-White. <http://www.sacred-texts.com/cla/hesiod/theogony.htm>, accessed 2-15-09. Saturn, the furthest planet in distance from the Sun, was also slowest, taking almost 30 years to complete its orbit. In her inquiry into the mysteries of Egyptian religion, Jane Sellers notes the importance of Saturn's 30-year transit around the zodiac for calculating the passage of time and, potentially, for marking the division of the sun's path into 360 parts. She proposes that the 60-year pattern of Saturn-Jupiter conjunctions may have underpinned the base-60 numbering system developed in ancient Babylon, a system that ultimately was widely used in the ancient world for astronomical measuring. Sellers, 193-207.

⁶⁴ *Plutarch's Morals: Theosophical Essays*, tr. by Charles William King, [1908], <http://www.sacred-texts.com/cla/plu/pte/pte04.htm>, accessed 3-29-09.

⁶⁵ *Praktikos, III Avarice: 9*. See *Evagrius of Pontus: The Greek Ascetic Corpus*, trans. Robert Sinkewicz (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 98.

⁶⁶ "Hymn to Zeus," *The Homeric Hymns*, trans. Charles Boer (Dallas, TX: Spring Publications, 1987).

⁶⁷ Hesiod, *Theogony*, II:403.

⁶⁸ Ovid, *Metamorphosis I: 609*, trans. A.D. Melville (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986). In his work on the Greek myths, Robert Graves indicates that Ovid, writing at the beginning of the Common Era, was reflecting much earlier sources.

⁶⁹ *Praktikos, I Gluttony: 7*, Sinkewicz translation, 98.

⁷⁰ "Hymn to Aphrodite," *Homeric Hymns*, Boer trans.

- ⁷¹ Homer, *Iliad* 14.187, <http://www.theoi.com/Olympios/Aphrodite.html> accessed 5-2-2009.
- ⁷² Ovid, *Metamorphosis* X 233-238.
- ⁷³ *Praktikos, II Fornication: 8*, Sinkewicz translation, 98.
- ⁷⁴ Homer, *The Iliad* 5:27 and 5:699, trans. Samuel Butler, <http://classics.mit.edu/Homer/iliad.5.v.html> accessed 3-29-2009.
- ⁷⁵ “To Ares,” in *The Homeric Hymns, A Verse Translation* by Thelma Sargent (New York: W.W. Thornton & Company, Inc., 1973).
- ⁷⁶ *Praktikos, V Anger: 11*, Sinkewicz translation, 99.
- ⁷⁷ *Orphic Hymn Number 56 to Terrestrial Hermes*, <http://www.theoi.com/Text/OrphicHymns2.html#56>, accessed 2-15-2009.
- ⁷⁸ “Hymn to Hermes,” *The Homeric Hymns*, Boer trans.
- ⁷⁹ *Praktikos, IV Sadness: 10*, Sinkewicz translation, 98.
- ⁸⁰ “Hymn to the Sun,” *The Homeric Hymns*, Boer trans, 82.
- ⁸¹ Ovid, *Metamorphosis* II: 52-3; 385-394.
- ⁸² *Praktikos, VIII Pride: 14*, Sinkewicz translation, 100.
- ⁸³ *Orphic Hymn 9 to Selene* (trans. Taylor) <http://www.theoi.com/Selene.html> accessed 4-30-2009.
- ⁸⁴ Robert Graves, *The Greek Myths: I* (London:Penguin, 1955, 1988), 14.
- ⁸⁵ *Praktikos, VI Acedia: 12*, Sinkewicz translation, 99.
- ⁸⁶ “Hymn to Artemis (II),” *Homeric Hymns*, Boer trans.
- ⁸⁷ “Hymn to Aphrodite,” *Homeric Hymns*, Boer trans. Artemis was one of only three goddesses said to be immune to the wiles of Aphrodite. The others were Hestia and Athene.
- ⁸⁸ *Praktikos, VII Vainglory: 13*, Sinkewicz translation, 100.
- ⁸⁹ Homer, *Iliad* 1. 536 - 570 ff (trans. Lattimore), <http://www.theoi.com/Olympios/Hera.html> accessed 5-6-2009.
- ⁹⁰ Hesiod, *Work and Days*, 109 ff (trans. Evelyn-White), at <http://www.theoi.com/Titan/TitanKronos.html>, accessed 5-6-2009.

⁹¹ Hesiod, *Theogony*, II: 116-138, 371-374.

⁹² Evagrius of Pontus, *Kephalaia Gnostica*, III: 37, trans. L. Dysinger at http://www.lldysinger.com/Evagrius/02_Gno-Keph/00a_start.htm accessed 3-29-2009.

⁹³ Hesiod, *Theogony*, II: 53-103.

⁹⁴ Hesiod, *Theogony*, II: 664-712.

⁹⁵ Plotinus, *The Enneads*, 2:3:7. <http://classics.mit.edu/Plotinus/enneads.2.second.html>, accessed 2-8-2009.

⁹⁶ See Augustine Casiday, “Gabriel Bunge and the study of Evagrius Ponticus” in *St. Vladimir’s Theological Quarterly* 48:2-3, 271, where Casiday cites the work of Father Luke Dysinger, a Benedictine theologian.

⁹⁷ *The Hermetic Corpus: Tractate I: Poimandres*, trans. Benton Layden, in *The Gnostic Scriptures* (New York: Doubleday, 1987), Historical Introduction, 447. The Hermetic Corpus derives its name from the Greek god Hermes whose Egyptian equivalent was Thoth, the god of learning. According to one tradition which dates from the third century B.C.E., the teachings originated in Egypt and were engraved on tablets and transmitted by a succession of family members, and ultimately kept in Egyptian temples. Layden, in his commentary on the translation, indicated that the earliest versions of the *Poimandres* may date from the end of the first century B.C.E. while surviving texts are copies probably made in the second or third centuries of the Common Era.

⁹⁸ *The Hermetic Corpus: Tractate I: Poimandres* 9, 16.

⁹⁹ *The Hermetic Corpus: Tractate I: Poimandres* 24-26. In the upward ascent, the soul handed over: first, “the agencies of growth and waning away;” second, “the means of evil action;” third, “the deception of desire;” fourth, “avarice;” fifth, “impious arrogance and the rashness of recklessness;” sixth, “evil pretexts for wealth;” and seventh, “plotting falsehood.” The vices having been handed back, the soul arrived at an eighth sphere bringing its true self only and entered into praise and rejoicing with other like souls. Finally, the like souls arrived at the ninth level: “in an orderly manner they ascend to the parent and personally hand themselves over to become powers, and by becoming powers they come to be within god. Such is the good end of those who possess acquaintance: to become god.”

¹⁰⁰ Ioan Petru Culianu, *Psychanodia I* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1983), 10.

¹⁰¹ Franz Cumont, *The Mysteries of Mithra*, trans. Thomas J. McCormack (New York: Dover, 1903, 1956), 145.

¹⁰² Maurus Servius Honoratus, *Commentary on the Aeneid of Vergil*, 6:714 <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/cgi-bin/ptext?lookup=Serv.+A.+6.714>, accessed 2-16-09. "...animae trahunt secum torporem Saturni, Martis iracundiam, libidinem Veneris, Mercurii lucri cupiditatem, Iovis regni desiderium: quae res faciunt perturbationem animabus, ne possint uti vigore suo et viribus propriis..."

¹⁰³ Macrobius, *Commentary on the Dream of Scipio*, as quoted in Denis Labouré, "The Seven Bodies of Man in Hermetic Astrology," 4, trans. Michael Edwards, <http://www.skyscript.co.uk/7bodies.html>, accessed 2-4-07.

¹⁰⁴ Bogdan Bucur, "The Other Clement of Alexandria: Cosmic Hierarchy and Interiorized Apocalypticism" in *Vigiliae Christianae* (2006) 60:252, 261.

¹⁰⁵ Bostock, 466, and Alan Scott, *Origen and the Life of the Stars* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), xv-xvi, 60.

¹⁰⁶ Evagrius of Pontus, *Kephalaia Gnostica*, III: 62 trans. L. Dysinger, http://www.ldysinger.com/Evagrius/02_Gno-Keph/00a_start.htm, accessed 3-29-09.

¹⁰⁷ See, for example, Culianu, *Psychnodia I* and also M.A. Elfrink, *La Descente De L'Âme D'Après Macrobe* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1968).

¹⁰⁸ See John Eudes Bamberger, *Evagrius Ponticus: The Praktikos and Chapters on Prayer*, xlviii-lx, and Aidan Kavanaugh, "Eastern Influences on the Rule of Saint Benedict" in *Monasticism and the Arts*, ed. Timothy Gregory Verdon (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1984), 57.

¹⁰⁹ Bamberger, li. Bamberger cites A. Guillaumont and C. Rice who are quoting Babai the Great of Persia.

¹¹⁰ William Harmless, S.J., "'Salt for the Impure, Light for the Pure': Reflections on the Pedagogy of Evagrius Ponticus" in *Studia Patristica* XXXVII (2001), 520.