

**The Manichaean Church:  
Its Name and Identity in the Roman Empire**

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[Redaction]

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## Abstract

There is a substantial body of scholarship published on Manichaean doctrine, and recently several works have appeared, attempting to define its practices. Studies of the Church, however, have mostly been limited to general comments regarding the division between the Elect and the Catechumens, or the numbering of the hierarchy, as preserved in sources as varied as Augustine in fifth century North Africa and the eighth century Chinese documents from Turfan. Where dedicated studies exist, they are usually devoted to the Church in its eastern manifestation, after it had achieved a measure of temporal power. This dissertation considers the Manichaean Church in the context of sources from the Roman Empire. Manichaean documents, primarily the three major texts of the Coptic Medinet Madi 'library', will constitute the basis of this examination, although a selection of heresiological sources will also be employed, especially the extensive writings of Augustine of Hippo. Firstly, the still-traditional acceptance of the name 'Manichaean' in modern scholarship will be examined, dubious because originally conferred on it by opponents.

The dissertation will also touch on the rather thorny issue of Manichaean identity, particularly as regards their understanding of themselves in relation to Christianity. Next it will investigate the names Manichaeans appear to have ascribed to themselves. Language concerning the 'Church', as well as terms defining the relationship of followers to the institution, will be examined, and in addition, a selection of other names described as being chosen by Manichaeans for themselves in the heresiological literature will be analysed. This dissertation is thus a significant original contribution to scholarship, in that it contributes to a more nuanced understanding of the Manichaean Church, which has long been a *desideratum* in the research.

## Preface and Acknowledgements

Like so many doctoral dissertations, this thesis has changed its subject a number of times since its original conception as an examination of Mani's influence on Muhammad. It then focussed on Manichaean self-identity, before becoming a larger examination of the Church in both its eastern and western manifestations. This became far more manageable when the eastern material was cut so the western texts could be considered on their own merits, but finally returned to an examination of the Church's self-identity. As a product of these earlier iterations I presented a paper at the meeting of the International Association of Manichaean Studies in Flagstaff in August 2005, and I thank the attendees for their many helpful comments. This paper, 'Manichaean Sects According to Greek and Latin Heresiological Sources: Revisiting the *Codex Theodosianus* and Augustine', is due to be published in the proceedings of the conference by Brepols next year. Heavily revised material from this paper has been incorporated into the section 'Other Names Attributed to Manichaeans in the Heresiological Literature'.

For guiding me through these oscillations I would like to thank first and foremost my supervisor, Associate Professor Iain Gardner. Australia has the unique good fortune of housing several experts on Manichaeism, and it was indeed providential that I ended up in the same department as an eminent scholar of Manichaeism and editor of the Manichaean texts from Kellis. He has always been there to suggest studies relevant to my research, or provide material not otherwise easily available (or even in publication). I would also like to thank the rest of the Department of Studies in Religion at the University of Sydney for their support and advice, and for encouraging such a collegial atmosphere between themselves and postgraduate students. Particular thanks are due to Dr Carole Cusack for her endless assistance during my years of study with the department, and especially for helping me to actually submit my thesis on time. Her dedication has gone well above and beyond the call of duty.

I would like to thank those scholars involved in the production of the *Corpus Fontium Manichaeorum* series. The study of Manichaeism has long been (and will no doubt remain for some time) the necessary preserve of specialists in ancient languages. In an effort to allow comparisons between texts from wildly divergent languages, however, the major texts are being re-edited and provided with European

translations. For the Australian student of Religion who, unlike a student of History, is not required to have knowledge of French or German let alone ancient languages, this can still present a barrier. I am infinitely grateful, then, that the three major western Manichaean texts are now available in English translation: grateful that C. R. C. Allberry was Canadian so that his translation of the Manichaean *Psalm-Book II* was Anglophone;<sup>1</sup> that Iain Gardner decided to expand his translation of the *Kephalaia* from a few selected passages intended for inclusion in he and Samuel Lieu's collected *Manichaean Texts in the Roman Empire* (which has itself been indispensable)<sup>2</sup> into a complete translation published in the *Nag Hammadi and Manichaean Studies* series;<sup>3</sup> and lastly that Nils-Arne Pedersen's English translation of the Manichaean *Homilies* was published in 2006,<sup>4</sup> supplementing Polotsky's German translation. A multi-volume dictionary of Manichaean terms is also well under way, and without the first volume *Texts from the Roman Empire* this thesis would certainly not have been possible.<sup>5</sup>

I thank the staff of the Inter-Library Loans section of Fisher Library, whose expertise in locating arcane titles was not intimidated by anything I requested, including works in Farsi and Japanese. My wonder at their skill will never cease. I would like here to formally thank the federal government for the Australian Postgraduate Award I received from 2004 to 2007.

I would like also to thank my parents David and June for their support when this stipend finished, as well as their general support over the years of my admittedly often esoteric university study and, indeed, over the length of my life. Finally I would like to thank my fiancée Catherine Raffaele. Her support of my study, and of me, has

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<sup>1</sup> C. R. C. *Manichaean Manuscripts in the Chester Beatty Collection, Vol. II: A Manichaean Psalm-Book, Part II*, W. Kohlhammer, Stuttgart, 1938.

<sup>2</sup> I. Gardner & S. Lieu *Manichaean Texts from the Roman Empire*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2004.

<sup>3</sup> I. Gardner (tr.) *The Kephalaia of the Teacher: The Edited Coptic Manichaean Texts in Translation with Commentary* (Nag Hammadi and Manichaean Studies 37), E.J. Brill, Leiden, 1995.

<sup>4</sup> N.-A. Pedersen *The Manichaean Coptic Papyri in the Chester Beatty Library: Manichaean Homilies with a number of hitherto unpublished fragments* (Corpus Fontium Manichaeorum: Series Coptica II), Brepols, Turnhout, 2006.

<sup>5</sup> S. Clackson, E. Hunter & S. Lieu (eds) *Dictionary of Manichaean Texts I: Texts from the Roman Empire* (Corpus Fontium Manichaeorum: Subsidia II), Brepols, 1998.

not wavered since we met in the first year of my postgraduate study and, indeed, she has yet to see me in any other condition. I thank her for her help in reading French, and for many other reasons, but most importantly for the fact that this thesis would probably not have seen the light of day if it were not for her constant encouragement.

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## Chapter 1: Introduction

### 1.1 Introduction and summary of chapter

This thesis is an examination of sources for the identity of the Manichaean Church, with a view to establishing the relative status of the names and terminology used to describe Manichaeism in both insider and outsider texts. In this dissertation 'Manichaeism' is understood to comprise two elements; the teaching and the Church. Caution is necessary concerning the issue of regarding Manichaeism as a *religion*. That Mani may have been deliberately creating what we call a 'religion' is not at issue here. Therefore, when considering what name Mani gave to his religion, one really needs to ask two questions. The first question is what name Mani gave his own message. The religion which scholars call 'Manichaeism', Tardieu has noted, "les manichéens appelaient, au moyen de collectifs abstraits, voie, justice, intellect, élection, vérité, etc."<sup>6</sup> This, however, refers to his *teachings*. Thus, the second question is what name Mani gave his followers. While an exploration of the first question may be a valuable exercise for Manichaean Studies, it is with the second question that this thesis will concern itself.

This research project will be a significant original contribution to scholarship, as there is no book-length study of either Manichaean identity or of the terminology describing the Manichaean Church. This introductory chapter contains a brief exposition of Mani's teachings and the penetration of Manichaeism in the Roman world. This is followed by a consideration of religious identity in Late Antiquity, some analysis of the problems of studying Manichaeism, an explanation of the methodology employed in this study, and a list of primary sources which have been utilised. This expository material provides the foundation for subsequent chapters.

### 1.2 A brief sketch of Manichaean teachings

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<sup>6</sup> M. Tardieu 'Une définition du Manichéisme comme *secta christianorum*', A. Caquot & P. Canivet (eds) *Ritualisme et vie intérieure: Religion et culture. Collques 1985 et 1987*, Beauchesne, Paris, 1989 (167-177), 168. Cf. J. P. Asmussen 'Mani and the Manichaean Answer to Man's Search for Why', *Ultimate Reality and Meaning* 4:2, 1981 (122-143), 122: "Mani's religion, 'Justice' as it was called".

<sup>7</sup> Tr. M. Laffan in I. Gardner & S. Lieu *Manichaean Texts from the Roman Empire*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2004, 46-47.



Mani (216 - c. 272-276) was raised in a heterodox baptist community in Babylon, or southern Iraq. This community was ostensibly Jewish Christian with some Gnostic features, such as the belief in recurring incarnations of heavenly apostles, one of whom was a docetic Christ. At the age of 12 Mani received a revelation from his divine "Twin", and at the age of 24 he received another which led him to leave the baptist sect of his youth and preach a new gospel. This trait of receiving religious revelations appears to have run in the family; according to an-Nadim's *Fihrist* (which includes a biography of Mani), his father was in the inner sanctum of an undefined (presumably pagan) temple when he received a call to purity, in response to which he joined the baptist religious community.<sup>7</sup>

This new gospel was, according to Mani, the same as that which had come with Zoroaster to Persia, the Buddha to the East, and Jesus to the West. Mani was the final in this lineage of divine prophets, the difference being that he – unlike his predecessors – would not leave this world without deliberately establishing a church and writing scriptures with his own hand. In this sense, many have commented that Mani was the first founder to be so deliberate in establishing a religion<sup>8</sup> – other prophets simply taught for the length of their lives and had religions established by their disciples post-humously.

So what was this new gospel? Mani asserted that there had always been two powers in the universe: one of Light, and one of Darkness. Each version of Manichaean originary mythology is slightly different, but the following is a broadly accurate summary.<sup>9</sup> When the King of Darkness assailed the Kingdom of Light, the King of Light realised he had to retaliate somehow, without corrupting his own pure realm. Through evoking a first emanation (the Mother of Life, from whom proceeds the Primal Man and the Five Sons), he armoured himself against attack. The Darkness swallowed the Primal Man and the Five Sons, and the Mother of Life called to her

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<sup>8</sup> I. Gardner & S. Lieu *Manichaean Texts from the Roman Empire*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2004, 1. See now, however, I. Gardner 'Marginal notes towards an understanding of Mani's religious development and the archaeology of Manichaean identity', C. M. Cusack & C. H. Hartney (eds) *Religion and Retribution: Studies in Honour of Garry W. Trompf*, Brill, Leiden (in press).

<sup>9</sup> The standard source of Manichaean cosmogony is the Syriac Theodore bar Khoni's (eighth century) *Scholia*: tr. A. Yohannan in A. V. W. Jackson *Researches in Manichaeism: With Special Reference to the Turfan Fragments*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1932, 222-254.

unconscious son, the Primal Man. The call was itself a deity (the Appellant), and awoke the Primal Man; his response, another deity (the Respondent), stimulated the Father of Greatness (King of Light) to evoke the second emanation, the Friend of Light (who evoked the Great Ban, the Living Spirit, thence his Five Sons). The Father of Greatness's third evocation was the Messenger (who in turn evoked the Twelve Virgins). At this stage of the conflict, the King of Light tricked the chaotic demons into creating Adam and Eve (which they did in an orgy of incest and cannibalism, transmitting the divine Light through their seed) to whom Jesus was sent to give them knowledge of the true origin of their souls (which was the remnant of the stolen Light).<sup>10</sup> It is important that nothing specifically is said about the relation of Jesus to the Father of Greatness, but he is generally interpreted as a liberating fulfilment of the Primal Man. After a great battle, the good gods crafted the universe out of the slain bodies of the Dark powers. This creation was a giant engine, the purpose of which was to distil the Light from the world and send it back to heaven.

This Light was found in all living things, so for the Manichaean destruction of any life was harmful to God. It was particularly present in anything with seeds such as fruit and, in order to assist the return of the Light to heaven, a special class of Manichaeans maintained a personal purity through celibacy, poverty, abstinence from alcohol, and non-violence so that they could eat these fruits and liberate the Light, which was then sent back to heaven on the wings of their prayers. In the west they referred to this eating of their god as "crucifying Christ", as indeed this is how they often imagined the Light trapped in matter: as Christ.

A final comment concerns those texts defined canonical by Mani. Very little of Mani's original canon survives, but for the purpose of this dissertation only two canonical texts are of significance. These are the remnants of his *Epistles* and the few remaining extracts of his *Living Gospel*.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> For the figure of Jesus of Splendour in the Coptic sources see P. van Lindt *The Names of Manichaean Mythological Figures: A Comparative Study on Terminology in the Coptic Sources*, Otto Harrasowitz, Wiesbaden, 1992c, 133-148.

<sup>11</sup> For the various lists of Mani's canon, see most recently Gardner & Lieu (2004), 153-156.

### 1.3 The spread of Manichaeism

Mani's own missionary travels covered a geographical area bounded by the Indus in the east, and Persian Mesopotamia in the west. The church he established engaged enthusiastically in missionising, and in his lifetime Mani dispatched missionaries as far afield as Egypt and Transoxiana. Later, his followers took the Manichaean gospel deep into the Roman Empire, and by the seventh century it had reached the Pacific coast of China.<sup>12</sup> In its Roman context Manichaeism first penetrated Egypt, and textual and material evidence has been recovered from Dalmatia (modern Czech Republic) and, most importantly, Africa, in the locality of Carthage where it achieved its most famous convert Augustine of Hippo. Literary accounts suggest there were Manichaean communities in Gaul and Palmyra, although no direct evidence survives.<sup>13</sup>

Augustine's conversion to Catholic Christianity encapsulates the fate of Western Manichaeism; it came into profound conflict with Christianity and, after a brief period of appearing to flourish, entered a decline which ended with the last reliable accounts of Manichaeism in the former Roman Empire in the early to mid-sixth century.<sup>14</sup> From Augustine, it appears that the chief attraction of Manichaeism was its theodicy; proponents of the religion would ask potential converts *Unde Malum?* (whence evil?), and the dualistic solution, which separated evil from God and gave it an independent origin (the King of Darkness), supplied a rational and philosophically defensible position. The eventual eclipse of Manichaeism was the result of the close relationship between the Catholic Christian church and the Imperial authority. It is worth noting that Diocletian persecuted Manichaeans before he persecuted Christians; by the mid-sixth century the efforts of the Eastern Emperor

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<sup>12</sup> S. Lieu *Manichaeism in the Later Roman Empire and Medieval China*, J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), Tübingen, 1992 [second edition], 230.

<sup>13</sup> Augustine mentions Manichaeans in Gaul: *De Natura Boni* 47, J. Zycha (ed.) *Sancti Aureli Augustini* (Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum 25/2), Tempsky, Wien, 1892. The conversion of Queen Zenobia of Palmyra's sister is in the unedited Manichaean *Acts* codex: see C. Schmidt & H. J. Polotsky 'Ein Mani-Fund in Ägypten: Originalschriften des Mani und seiner Schüler', *Sitzungsberichte der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, philos.-hist. Klasse* 28, 1932 (4-90), 28.

<sup>14</sup> S. Lieu (1992), 207-218.

Justinian, in his reconquest of the West, were conclusive in eradicating Manichaeism from the Roman world.

#### 1.4 Religious Identity: problems in studying Late Antique history and religion

That such a period as “Late Antiquity” can be coherently delimited is now a fairly uncontroversial claim, given the roughly one hundred years of scholarship on the subject. It should be remembered, however, that like all disciplines the study of Late Antiquity is imbricated in the contemporary concerns of those scholars working within it. As Liebeschuetz has noted, “the collapse of so much of the pre 1914 world in the Great War proved a great stimulus to research on the Late Roman period, because the Great War and the fall of the Roman Empire were seen as parallel disasters”.<sup>15</sup> Similarly the so-called “Age of Anxiety”<sup>16</sup> attributed to the religious conscience of this age must be reconsidered in light of the *fin de siècle* and immediately after, and peoples’ concerns regarding the “death” of God.<sup>17</sup> Studies in the last three decades have similarly found themselves concerned with multiculturalism given our own worries about the “harmonious coexistence of different cultures” in the context of Globalisation and, more recently, the resurgence of fundamentalist ideologies and anxieties surrounding the War on Terror.<sup>18</sup> It is no surprise, then, to find these concerns reflected in our imaginings of the past.

Rather than choose between either a synchronic or diachronic approach to the history of Manichaeans throughout time, in this dissertation it is proposed that a balance be struck between the two. A synchronic approach is one in which an history is viewed as a series of entirely unique moments in time, whereas a diachronic approach is one where a distinct developmental line can be traced for something

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<sup>15</sup> J. H. W. G. Liebeschuetz ‘The birth of Late Antiquity’, *Antiquité Tardive* 12, 2004 (1-18) = *idem. Decline and Change in Late Antiquity*, Ashgate, Aldershot, 2006 (§XVI), 8.

<sup>16</sup> R. Rémondon *La Crise de l'Empire Romain*, Presses Universitaires de France, Paris, 1964 (97-114); and E. R. Dodds *Pagan and Christian in an Age of Anxiety*, Cambridge University Press, London, 1965

<sup>17</sup> See F. Nietzsche (tr. R. J. Hollingdale) *Thus Spoke Zarathustra*, Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1969.

<sup>18</sup> J. H. W. G. Liebeschuetz ‘Late Antiquity, The Rejection of “Decline” and Multiculturalism’, G. Crifò & S. Giglio (eds) *Atti dell'Accademia Romanistica Costantiniana, XIV Convegno Internazionale in Memoria di Giuglielmo Nocera*, Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane, Napoli, 2003 (639-652) = *idem. Decline and Change in Late Antiquity*, Ashgate, Aldershot, 2006 (§XVII), 644.

through history. In the case of Manichaean history, the question of a continuity for Manichaeism is a complex one. However, as there is a definite continuity of some sort throughout the life of the texts identified as Manichaean, it is appropriate that a diachronic view be taken of the religion's history. This is effected through a series of synchronic vignettes, that will be arranged according to the chronology of the texts discussed. The issues of identity which are crucial for this dissertation are intimately connected with the interpretation of surviving textual sources from within and without Manichaeism.

The problematic question of the religious self-identity of Manichaeans requires that attention be paid to what religious identity might be generally, and also to the specific historico-theological context of the Manichaean community in the Roman Empire. Manichaeism may have only lasted in the Roman world for three or four centuries, but it had an enormous impact on the civilisation it encountered there. But what was the religious climate it entered into? How varied was such a religious climate across the territories of the Empire? And how much did they themselves change over time? The world Mani's missionaries entered in the late third century was significantly different to that of three hundred years later, and Manichaeans were dealt with in an accordingly different manner.

Some writers view the Late Antique Mediterranean world as caught up in an 'Age of Anxiety',<sup>19</sup> and understand the subsequent flourishing of religious diversity culminating in the triumph of Christianity as a series of attempts at finding an antidote to this. While it is tempting to regard this period as special in history, one must be certain that this is not simply due to the lucky accident that we have from these centuries a wealth of information unrivalled in historical studies until the thirteenth century.<sup>20</sup> Nevertheless, there is indeed a puzzling myriad of religions and cults vying for individuals' souls during these centuries, and the individual was a peculiar target for religions of the ancient world. Richard North has seen the preceding religious

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<sup>19</sup> Rémondon (1964); Dodds (1965); W. H. C. Frend *Martyrdom and Persecution in the Early Christian Church*, Blackwell, Oxford, 1965; F. Millar *Römische Reich und seine Nachbarn*, Frankfurt am Main, 1966 = *idem.* (tr. D. Berciu) *The Roman Empire and its Neighbours*, Weidenfeld & Nicholson, London, 1967 (139-148); P. Brown 'Approaches to the Religious Crisis of the Third Century A.D.', *English Historical Review* 83, 1968 (542-558) = *Religion and Society in the Age of Saint Augustine*, Harper & Row, New York, 1972 (74-93).

<sup>20</sup> P. Brown *Religion and Society in the Age of Saint Augustine*, Harper & Row, New York, 1972, 9.

context as being one of local cults, specifically those he refers to as “embedded in the city-state”.<sup>21</sup> In other words, one generally worshipped whomever the local gods were. In the Age of Anxiety this moved to a context perhaps better viewed as being composed of voluntary spiritual associations concerned with making sense of the “absurdity of human experience”.<sup>22</sup>

The precise nature of the Age of Anxiety, and its historical context has been extensively investigated. Like North, Peter Brown has also characterised this period as the spontaneous ‘coagulation’ of people into religious groups: “The sudden flooding of the inner life into social forms: this is what distinguishes the Late Antique period, in the third century CE men had thought more dark (because more private) thoughts than in any later age.”<sup>23</sup> What had brought on this “sudden flooding of the inner life into social forms”? Michel Foucault traces this to the development of autobiographical writing, from the Classical *ὑπομνήματα* to the “self-writing” of Christian ascetics;<sup>24</sup> and under this new understanding of the self, according to Brown, people “needed to find a new focus in the solidarities and sharp boundaries of the sect, monastery, the orthodox Empire.”<sup>25</sup> North suggests that this world may be imagined as a market-place of religions,<sup>26</sup> to borrow a model from Berger’s *The Social Reality of Religion*,<sup>27</sup> although he cautions against pushing this analogy too far.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> R. North ‘The Development of Religious Pluralism’, J. Lieu, J. North & T. Rajak (eds) *The Jews Among Pagans and Christians: In the Roman Empire*, Routledge, London & New York, 1992 (174-193), 178. North traces this view of Late Antiquity as representing something altogether different in the history of religions to A. D. Nock’s *Conversion*, Oxford University Press, London & New York, 1933; but admits that even that rests on presuppositions of its own.

<sup>22</sup> North (1992), 178.

<sup>23</sup> Brown (1972), 13.

<sup>24</sup> M. Foucault ‘L’écriture de soi’, *Corps écrit* 5, 1983 (3-23); *idem*. ‘Les techniques de soi’, D. Defert & F. Eward (eds) *Dits et écrits: 1954-1988*, Gallimard, Paris, 1994 (IV 783-813). For a critique of this thesis as simplistic, c.f. E. Castelli *Martyrdom & Memory: Early Christian Culture Making*, Columbia University Press, New York, 2004, 69-103.

<sup>25</sup> Brown (1972), 13.

<sup>26</sup> North (1992), 178.

<sup>27</sup> P. Berger *The Social Reality of Religion*, Faber, London, 1969.

<sup>28</sup> North (1992), 179.

One obvious issue in the study of Late Antiquity is the contrast between inherited religious identity and the rebirth of identity occasioned by conversion to a missionary religion. The following is a brief catalogue of certain types of religious identity which were manifest in the Roman world at the time of Manichaeism's origin. The Roman Republic and Empire had been religiously polytheistic and pluralistic, with an elastic ability to subsume the pantheons of conquered peoples in syncretic formulations.<sup>29</sup> From approximately 200 BCE, when the Phrygian 'Great Mother' Cybele entered Rome after being hailed as the source of victory during the Second Punic War, mystery religions were available as a supplement to the civic religion of the Roman state. The cults of deities such as Cybele, Isis, Mithras, Dionysos and Demeter offered personal initiation, devotion and salvation to spiritual seekers who sought more intense religious experiences than were afforded by the state cult. The oft-cited vision of Lucius at the end of *The Golden Ass*, when Isis restores him to human form expresses this special appeal of the mystery religions:

Only remember, and keep the remembrance fast in your heart's deep core, that all the remaining days of your life must be dedicated to me, and that nothing can release you from this service but death. Neither is it aught but just that you should devote your life to her who redeems you back into humanity. You shall live blessed. You shall live glorious under my guidance; and when you have travelled your full length of time and you go down into death, there also, on that hidden side of earth, you shall dwell in the Elysian fields and frequently adore me for my favours. ... More, if you are found to merit my love by your dedicated obedience, religious devotion, and constant chastity, you will discover that it is within my power to prolong your life beyond the limit set to it by Fate.<sup>30</sup>

The religious identity of the initiates of mystery cults was constructed from rebirth through initiation rites, a theology which concentrated on salvation and a blissful afterlife granted by a loving saviour deity, and close communal bonds between

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<sup>29</sup> R. L. Fox *Pagans and Christians*, Penguin, London, 1988, 35.

<sup>30</sup> Apuleius of Madauros *The Golden Ass (Metamorphoses)*, 11: cited in M. W. Meyer (ed.) *The Ancient Mysteries: A Sourcebook of Sacred Texts*, University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 1999 [1987], 180.

initiates. Magic, miracles, visions and self-transformation are crucial aspects of this self-identity and world-view.<sup>31</sup>

Pagan identity is more difficult to pinpoint, in that paganism was a multi-layered phenomenon. The world of local cults and folk practices has been mentioned above, but paganism also embraced the formal, politically-significant civil religion of Rome, and the adherence to philosophical positions such as Platonism, Cynicism, Stoicism and Epicureanism. ‘Conversion,’ in the sense of a reorientation of life, might just as likely be made to a philosophical system as to a religion.<sup>32</sup> In Late Antiquity there are recorded examples of Christians apostatising to philosophical systems, or of a continuum of belief which incorporated philosophy as a meaning-making aspect of life: Peregrinus to Cynicism, Emperor Julian to Platonism, and even Augustine from Manichaeism to Christianity (via Platonism).<sup>33</sup> Perhaps the most important tendency in Late Antique paganism and philosophical commitment is the fact that both were moving to a position of unity, which facilitated the spread and eventual dominance of Christianity. Prior to his promotion of Christianity, Constantine (sole emperor from 312-337 CE) worshipped Sol Invictus, the Unconquered Sun, a single pagan deity which gained popularity from the 270’s. As Fox notes, such an imperial patron deity “expressed the power of a supreme god or ruler... [and] had older roots in art and philosophy.”<sup>34</sup> During the brief attempt of Emperor Julian to reinstate paganism as the official religion of the Empire in the 360s, he formulated an intellectual unification of all varieties of pagans under the rubric of ‘theurgy’ (the invocation of the gods) following the advice of the philosopher Iamblichus. Theurgy had as its goal “self-unification and illumination by the gods”.<sup>35</sup> This process was closely related to Plotinian philosophy, and was in fact very remote from traditionally understood paganism.

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<sup>31</sup> K. B. Stratton ‘The Mithras Liturgy and the *Sepher Ha-Razim*’, R. Valantasis (ed.) *Religions of Late Antiquity in Practice*, Princeton University Press, Princeton & Oxford, 2000 (303-315), 306.

<sup>32</sup> Nock (1933), see chapter ‘Conversion to Philosophy’.

<sup>33</sup> Fox (1988), 271, 544.

<sup>34</sup> Fox (1988), 593.

<sup>35</sup> P. C. Miller ‘Shifting Selves in Late Antiquity’, D. Brakke, M. L. Satlow & S. Weitzman (eds) *Religion and the Self in Antiquity*, Indiana University Press, Bloomington and Indianapolis, 2005 (15-39) 24-25.



In conclusion, it is difficult to disagree with the current scholarly tendency to view 'paganism' as an artificial construct, an intellectual marriage of philosophical tendencies which attempted to counter the challenges of monotheistic religious identity. North states this plainly, "we should look on paganism quite simply as a religion invented in the course of the second to third centuries AD, in competition and interaction with Christians, Jews and others, who were seeking to convert its members to their own causes."<sup>36</sup> It is this exclusive, monotheistic religious identity (both Jewish and Christian) that is to be investigated next.

One obvious difference between Jewish monotheistic identity and that of Christians was that Judaism was in general an inherited religious status, whereas Christianity was an actively proselytising faith which relied on converts for its members, at least in its early phase. Judaism had posed significant problems for the Greco-Roman world, at least politically, in that attempts to set up images in the Second Temple in Jerusalem or to otherwise sully the incorporeal, absolute deity of the Jews had resulted in rebellions and war.<sup>37</sup> In 70 CE the Second Temple was demolished by the Roman army under the generalship of Titus, son of Emperor Vespasian, and its treasures were taken as booty to Rome. This traumatic event accelerated the Jewish diaspora and forced the transition from the priestly temple cult to rabbinic Judaism. In addition it inspired the rebellions of Eleazar ben Ya'ir at Masada and of Simon bar Kokhba in 132 CE.<sup>38</sup> However, after this period of intense anti-Roman activity the Jewish presence in the Roman world became less evident, and Jews were viewed more as a race with identifiable religious beliefs and practices, rather than a distinctive religion in the modern sense.<sup>39</sup>

Early Christians, like the Jews among which they originated, divided the world into which they came between Jews and Gentiles (ἔθνικὸς) or 'Greeks' (Ἕλληνας). When the early Christians began to identify as something other than Jews, they expressed this by distinguishing themselves as something in between these two races

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<sup>36</sup> North (1992), 188.

<sup>37</sup> *1 & 2 Maccabees*, in A. Jones (gen. ed.) *The Jerusalem Bible*, Darton, Longman & Todd, London, 1974 [1966].

<sup>38</sup> M. Goodman *Rome and Jerusalem: The Clash of Ancient Civilizations*, Penguin, London, 2008 [2007], 456-457, 488-489.

<sup>39</sup> North (1992), 190.

(Gal. 3.28). But despite a strength and unity that was to see Christianity persist until today, there was a plurality of early Christianities that was sometimes something other than just heretical divergence. When Paul writes to the Corinthians he castigates members of the community for their continuing devotion to idols (*I Cor.* 8), something not generally comprehended within Christianity. Further, archaeological evidence reinforces this sense of plural and inclusive Christian identity; one tomb inscription from around 313 for a young Christian woman who was probably married to a polytheist warns against offering idolatrous sacrifices on her tomb, and records that “among believers she was a believer, among ‘others’ she was a pagan.”<sup>40</sup> This diversity also affects early Christian speculations and prescriptions regarding the body and sexuality, which draws attention to the fact that shared theological commitment did not result in uniform cultural assumptions.<sup>41</sup>

Our understanding of this diversity of Christian identities is in part due to the wealth of texts concerning Christianity preserved throughout the tradition’s two thousand year history. One is given pause when one considers the possible diversity that might have existed within a religion equally as geographically widespread, such as Mithraism was at one point, if the written sources were comparably rich. Roman attitudes to Christianity were hardening at the time when Judaism was becoming less visible. The characterisation of Christians as disloyal, bad citizens concretised in the early second century. Pliny the Younger, the governor of the Roman province of Bithynia, wrote to Emperor Trajan in 113 CE:

Those who denied that they were or had been Christians, when they invoked the gods in words dictated by me, offered prayer with incense and wine to your image, which I had ordered to be brought for this purpose together with statues of the gods, and moreover cursed Christ - none of which those who are really Christians, it is said, can be forced to do - these I thought should be discharged. Others named by the informer declared that they were Christians, but then denied it, asserting that they had been but had ceased to be, some three years before, others many years, some as

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<sup>40</sup> H.Remus ‘The end of “paganism”’, *Studies in Religion / Sciences Religieuses* 23:2, 2004 (191-208), 200. Cf. *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, G. Reimer, Berlin, 1893-1998, VI 30463.

<sup>41</sup> ‘Introduction’ in Brakke, Satlow & Weitzman (2005), 6.

much as twenty-five years. They all worshipped your image and the statues of the gods, and cursed Christ.<sup>42</sup>

Christian identity was therefore constituted by conversion and baptism, by the acceptance of salvation from sin through Christ's death and resurrection, and by the avoidance of worshipping idols or partaking in pagan practices. The civil requirement of emperor worship was something that Christians could not, in conscience, do. Thus it was a reasonably reliable test of religious allegiance. However, it is worth noting that there were occasional exceptions to this stern avoidance of pagan practices; when Rome was besieged by Alaric the Visigoth in 410 CE, Bishop Innocent I consented to "certain Etruscan diviners" performing their pagan rites in order to save the city, although they were never carried out because he refused to allow them to be performed in public.<sup>43</sup> This incident draws attention to a pragmatism among Christians, even those who were high-ranking clergy, and is particularly interesting because it post-dates Theodosius I's late fourth century edicts making Christianity compulsory and paganism illegal.

Next it is important to consider the religious identity of those who were identified as heretics by mainstream Christianity. Until Christianity attained dominance in the Roman world, a proliferation of 'heretical' Christianities flourished. Later, it was possible for the Catholic Church to persecute heretics, but until the fifth century at least this was not common. Sometimes what separated 'heretics' from mainstream Christianity was difficult to discern; theologians were aware of doctrinal nuances that ordinary believers failed to register. For example, Cyril of Jerusalem found it necessary to warn believers to beware in Syria, lest they should enter a Marcionite church by mistake (*Catechetical Lectures* 4:4), and as Koschorke notes, Gnostics often "lived in fellowship with catholic Christians – and that was much more frequent and lasting than is generally assumed".<sup>44</sup> The issue of heretical identity is

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<sup>42</sup> Pliny the Younger 'Letter to Trajan', at <http://www.earlychristianwritings.com/text/pliny.html> (acc. 28/08/08).

<sup>43</sup> Sozomen *Hist. Eccl.* 9.6.3-6 P. Schaff & H. Wace (ed.) *Socrates* (Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers Series 2, Volume 2), Eerdmans, Grand Rapids MI, 1976.

<sup>44</sup> K. Koschorke 'Gnostic Instructions on the Congregation', Bentley Layton (ed.) *The Rediscovery of Gnosticism: Proceedings of the International Conference on Gnosticism at Yale, New Haven, Connecticut, March 28-31, 1978*, E. J. Brill, Leiden, 1981 (II 757-769), 765.

most important for this thesis in the sense that Manichaeism (which has earlier been described as a separate religion) was often perceived as a heresy by Christian writers, and Manichaeans were thus treated as dissenting Christians. There is a significant difference between internal religious identity, which involves relating to ‘others’ within your religion (who may be defined as heretics, or otherwise deviant) and external religious identity, which is relating to others outside your religion (who may be defined as heathens or otherwise ‘outsiders’). As an added complication, somewhere between the two types of religious identity exist apostates (who had once been insiders but had voluntarily left the fold).

Evidently, the nature of Christianity in the second and third centuries was such that it is a mistake to speak of orthodoxy and heresy. In the Aramaic-speaking world, the Christianities of Mani, Marcion, Bardaisan and Tatian may at one point have been considered as valid as any other. In this sense Manichaeans could quite reasonably consider themselves as Christians, and the oft-mentioned Iranian and Indian elements in the religion were easily explained to Western adherents by the inclusion of Zoroaster and Buddha as Manichaean apostles; indeed, the universality and truth of Mani’s message was thus reinforced for them.

When considering Manichaean religious identity itself (that is, what Manichaeans thought they were and how they functioned in relation to other religious groups), the eastern origin and early history of the religion mean that useful sources tend to be from the Aramaic-speaking regions of Mesopotamia/Babylonia. In the third-century Persian inscription on the Kabayi Zardusht, Mani’s contemporary and opponent, the Zoroastrian Karder the Magian names the “sectarians” that he persecuted. These include Jews, Christians, Manichaeans, Sabaeans (usually identified as Mandaeans), Brahmans and Samanaeans (usually identified as Buddhists).<sup>45</sup> This list indicates the diversity of religions existing in Mani’s world, and suggests that Manichaeans were identified by their divergence from Zoroastrianism, which Karder wished to establish as supreme. Further, Christian texts offer evidence for the neutral treatment of some Gnostic and Manichaean figures. An

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<sup>45</sup> H. Bailey ‘Note on the Religious Sects Mentioned by Kartir (Karder)’, E. Yarshater (ed.) *The Cambridge History of Iran – Volume 3(2): The Seleucid, Parthian and Sasanian Periods*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1983 (907-908), 907.

example of this is the *Chronicon Edessenum*, which mentions Marcion's leaving of the Catholic Church, but comments on both Bardaisan and Mani neutrally.

Another issue of significance for a religious community is that of language. Manichaeism eventually traversed very large geographical expanses, and the Aramaic-speaking heartland receded in importance for those Manichaeans at the extremities. Local translations of scriptures were common, and Yoshida has observed that the "Manichaeans of Chinese Turkestan had no real knowledge of Aramaic and pronounced the few clichés which they had preserved according to their own interpretation of the written text."<sup>46</sup> However, although there are no detailed studies on the topic, several scholars have mentioned in passing the possibility that Aramaic had a lengthy life as a church language within Western Manichaeism. Also with regard to Western Manichaeism, Brown's characterisation of the religion as "a missionary religion in a world of shrinking horizons" is undoubtedly accurate.<sup>47</sup> Mani died in the late third century; by the late fourth century Christianity was the only legal religion in the Roman world. For a missionary religion like Manichaeism, this situation was a death sentence, as there was no available pool of converts for Manichaean missionaries to win over.

### 1.5 Methodological issues in the study of Manichaeism

There are general problems associated with studying the discipline of History of Religions which are pertinent to this dissertation on Manichaeism. Scholars these days tend to speak of their work as adopting either a *synchronic* or *diachronic* approach, as discussed above. A synchronic approach looks at history in a series of vignettes that are not necessarily connected to each other. In the case of Manichaeism, the champions of this view are scholars such as F. Decret, who has often restricted his research to Manichaeism in Late Antique North Africa, and to a lesser extent the studies of W. Sundermann, P. Bryder and P. van Lindt.<sup>48</sup> This approach has much to

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<sup>46</sup> Y. Yoshida 'Manichaean Aramaic in the Chinese Hymnscroll', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London* 46:2, 1983 (326-331), 329.

<sup>47</sup> P. Brown 'The Diffusion of Manichaeism in the Roman Empire,' *Journal of Roman Studies* 59, 1969 (92-103), 98.

<sup>48</sup> W. Sundermann 'Namen von Göttern, Dämonen und Menschen in iranischen Versionen des manichäischen Mythos', *Altorientalische Forschungen* 6, 1979 (95-133); P. Bryder *The Chinese*

commend it, as the study exists almost entirely in a sphere where the relationships between texts are obvious, and often differences rather than similarities are emphasised in order to bring out the local colour. This is the usual field of the specialist.

A diachronic view of history, on the other hand, looks at the progression of something through history: over time it may adapt and change significantly, but enough of something essential remains in order to still be considered the same *thing*. This approach looks for similarities rather than differences and, although it keeps the differences in mind when done well, often resorts to generalities which dismiss them. That is not to say that synchronic readings are useless, far from it. Conclusions drawn from diachronic readings are necessary for synchronic historians to do their work. For instance, the archaeologists excavating the necropolis at Kellis in the Libyan desert where a Manichaean household has been identified have apparently asked the editor of their Manichaean texts, Iain Gardner, about Manichaean funerary practices, so they can keep a look out for any graves.<sup>49</sup> Unfortunately no research has been done into Manichaean funerary practices, but such a study would need to include data gathered from the full breadth of the religion's history due to its scanty nature.<sup>50</sup>

To some degree, all study of history could be seen as diachronic. A close examination of Roman North Africa in the third quarter of the fifth century might seem as synchronic as possible, but this definition still relies on the assumption of a Rome longer-lived than that period defining the North Africa in question. The only thing we could consider untainted by synchronic concerns is the geography itself, and one could quite safely carve out a section of pre-Dynastic Egypt, compare it to Napoleonic Egypt, and remain inviolate against the generalisations of diachronic historians. Surely enough, there would be little to connect the two other than geography. Of course neither approach is taken to its absolute extreme like this, and more than anything should be seen as representing a 'tendency' or 'emphasis'.

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*Transformation of Manichaeism: A Study of Chinese Terminology*, Bokförlaget, Stockholm, 1985; and P. van Lindt *The Names of Manichaean Mythological Figures: A Comparative Study on Terminology in the Coptic Sources*, Otto Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 1992.

<sup>49</sup> Pers. comm.

<sup>50</sup> See also S. Richter *Die Aufstiegspsalmen des Herakleides: Untersuchungen zum Seelenaufstieg und zur Seelenmesse bei den Manichäern* (Sprachen und Kulturen des Christlichen Orients 1), Reichert Verlag, Wiesbaden, 1997.

Undoubtedly any history could be seen as adhering simultaneously to both, although each would be to a smaller or greater degree. The very study of Manichaeism itself presupposes the diachronic development of a definable entity called “Manichaeism” that scholars can trace through history and across the world, no matter how localised one views it.

Some of the greatest difficulties in studying Manichaeism arise from certain assumptions, inherited from the one and a half millennia of Christian polemical literature that have been so influential on its modern study. However, while this issue is far from being resolved it has been almost entirely eclipsed by the (admittedly enviable) problem of the enormous quantity of primary data discovered over the last century. The unearthing of tens of thousands of leaves of manuscripts from locations spread widely across the world is an undoubted boon for scholars, but at the same time, scholars were suddenly tasked with deciphering and relating texts that might have come from completely different geographical, cultural and temporal communities.

Historians trained in source criticism know how to look for certain distinguishing features of texts such as date or genre to assist them in establishing the relationships between texts. Most of them, however, have only to deal with a small handful of languages that are related to one another in some more direct way. A medievalist may need to dip occasionally into Late Antique, or even Classical history to compare earlier iterations of this or that facet of their chosen speciality, but this is usually not reaching too far for them, given that they might only be reading Latin or at worst Greek texts; languages they already undoubtedly use. Even if they examine contemporary languages from beyond European civilisation such as Arabic, it still remains that they are contemporary and usually neighbouring, and so share some of the concerns of their age.

Students of Manichaeism, however, must negotiate multiple relationships between bodies of literature that not only have provenances spanning the world but are also separated by centuries.<sup>51</sup> One might justifiably argue that a religion such as Christianity can be studied as a millennia-old, world wide phenomenon without too

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<sup>51</sup> R. Lim ‘Unity and Diversity Among Western Manichaeans: A Reconsideration of Mani’s *sancta ecclesia*,’ *Revue des Études Augustiniennes* 35, 1989 (231-250), 247n.65.

much trouble and, indeed, this is true. The difference between Christianity and Manichaeism, however, is that there are far fewer holes in Christianity's historical record. Assumptions are made at a much lower risk of error, not to mention the existence of the living tradition which holds scholars in check. In the case of Manichaeism scholars must rely on varying accounts of doctrine and practice to keep themselves honest.

But the looming monolith of Christian history and Christian academic research creates problems for Manichaean scholarship. It has already been noted that Late Antique commentators often failed to distinguish Manichaeism as a separate religion, regarding it as a Christian heresy. Scholarship is supposed to be a vastly different enterprise to heresiology, but Gardner's assertion that Manichaean Studies "has still not properly dealt with the ambivalence between seeing it as an independent religion, and as an authentic alternative Christianity", is fair, even given his explanation that this is due to the evidence arising from "diverse stages and cultural contexts along the path of community development."<sup>52</sup> Due to their unexamined assumptions, scholars of Manichaeism may be responsible for the misrepresentation of Mani's teaching and community. At one end of the spectrum is the view that Manichaeism is an identifiable separate religion; and the other end is Lim's assertion that Manichaeism in Late Antiquity is an entirely artificial construct, created initially by Christian commentators and perpetuated by modern scholars. Manichaeans, he argues, thought of themselves as Christians, called themselves Christians, and were therefore Christians.<sup>53</sup>

### 1.5.1 Identifying Manichaeism

The diversity of primary sources created by recent discoveries leads to problems that tax not only linguistic skills but also methodology. That a definable link called "Manichaeism" exists between all these (very diverse) texts may seem obvious at first; they are all Manichaean religious texts after all. There is little room in this model for notions of local and historical variations, however, and under closer

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<sup>52</sup> Gardner (2007a), 7.

<sup>53</sup> R. Lim 'The *Nomen Manichaeorum* and Its Uses in Late Antiquity', E. Irinichi & H. M. Zellentin (eds) *Heresy and Identity in Late Antiquity* (Texts and Studies in Ancient Judaism 119), Mohr Siebeck, Tübingen, 2008 (143-167), 165.



scrutiny this position becomes more untenable. To discover links between texts requires looking for commonalities, often overlooking differences. As Lim has pointed out:

... inasmuch as the comparative study of Manichaean material, especially in regards to matters of doctrine, cosmology and symbolism, has yielded significant insights toward our understanding of Manichaean ideas, the process itself virtually guarantees that its results will be consonant with the beginning assumption. That is to say, a consistent and coherent social entity called “Manichaeism”, together with its attendant systems of ideas emerges with comforting predictability.<sup>54</sup>

Any study begins with a question, and usually also an attendant assumption. Just how innocent some of our assumptions are remains to be seen, but only so much scepticism and self-questioning can be entertained; the task of a dissertation requires that a position be delineated and supporting arguments advanced. There must be some reasonable assumptions we are able to make. Certainly there seem to be enough commonalities between what have been identified as Manichaean texts to allow some fundamental bases. This immediately begs the question, however, of how exactly those texts were identified as Manichaean in the first place.

This identification of material as being Manichaean has become all the more important with the discovery in 2005 in a village of Fujian that has a mural including Mani among its pantheon, of a family who have a statue of Mani as part of their home shrine. Questions have already been raised regarding the authenticity of this worship as Manichaean,<sup>55</sup> although the situation is complicated by the fact that the village lies at the base of a hill on which stand the remains of an old shrine identified as being genuinely Manichaean (it is inscribed with a quotation from a Manichaean text), and there are enough roughly contemporary records both Manichaean and otherwise to suppose that there were Manichaeans in this area at the time).

### 1.5.2 Past identification of Manichaean texts

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<sup>54</sup> Lim (1989), 232.

<sup>55</sup> M. Franzmann, I. Gardner & S. Lieu ‘A Living Mani Cult in the Twenty-first Century’, *Rivista di Storia e Letteratura Religiosa*, 2005 (VII-XI); and S. Lieu “‘The Last of the Muni-chaean’: Report of the Quanzhou (Zayton) Project 2005’, *Manichaean Studies Newsletter* 20, 2005 (13-19), where he contradicts the optimism he expressed only a few months earlier.

The history of identifying material as Manichaean goes back to its first 'discovery' as preserved in long quotations in the works of the early Church Fathers. These were recognised by virtue of the fact that they were explicitly identified as such in the polemical sources they were reproduced in; long passages of heretical texts were cited and their claims refuted line by line, ironically preserving them for posterity. Unfortunately the reliability of these extracts will always be somewhat in question, unless proven by comparison with authentic Manichaean texts, as the Church Fathers were extremely hostile to the religion. The medieval Islamic encyclopedists were perhaps even more extensive in their employment of Manichaean texts and, in comparison to their Christian predecessors, their motivations came less from the poisoned pen of the polemicist than the bookish reflex of the archivist. They are thus even more helpful to scholars, who have less work to do untangling possible textual corruptions. Authors such as an-Nadim and al-Biruni even appear to have made reliable (though scanty) quotations from Mani's own canonical texts in Arabic translation.<sup>56</sup> When examining the texts found at Turfan and Dunhuang, an-Nadim proved indispensable for F. W. K. Müller and others in identifying a large body of the Iranian texts as Manichaean. It was an-Nadim's detailed description of the mythology that was to prove most useful, as this was paralleled in many of the texts.

Not three decades later seven codices of ostensibly Late Antique Christian character came to light out of Egypt. Carl Schmidt was shown the manuscripts while in the middle of proof-reading Holl's edition of Epiphanius' *Panarion*, and recognised the title of one of the codices, the *Kephalaia*, as a text noted in Epiphanius as a Manichaean scripture. Closer examination of the codices yielded many more Manichaean names and allusions, and, though somewhat diminished by time and misadventure, the codices still make up the single largest find of Manichaean material so far.<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>56</sup> F. de Blois 'New Light on the Sources of the Manichaean Chapter in the *Fihrist*', A. van Tongerloo & L. Cirillo (eds) *New Perspectives in Manichaean Studies: Vth International Congress of Manichaeism – Napoli 2001. Proceedings* (Manichaean Studies 5), Brepols, Lovanii & Neapoli, 2005 (37-45), 37.

<sup>57</sup> See further C. Schmidt & H. J. Polotsky 'Ein Mani-Fund in Ägypten: Originalschriften des Mani und seiner Schüler', *Sitzungsberichte der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, philos.-hist. Klasse* 28, 1932 (4-90).

There are also some personal letters from Egypt that were considered to be Christian when first discovered but were later revealed to be crypto-Manichaean, hiding behind their shared language. These were identified as Manichaean by their careful use of Manichaean terminology (such as greeting formulae, and so on) that the authors had employed, knowing any unexpected readers would just as easily construe them as Christian.<sup>58</sup>

### 1.5.3. Future possibilities

Scholars might also be inclined to consider something Manichaean if it were to venerate Mani himself (as seems to be the case with the statue from Fujian), which was also how the *Cologne Mani Codex (CMC)* was first suspected as something other than a Christian text; a suspicion confirmed by the similarity of its narrative of Mani's early life to that used in *an-Nadim*.<sup>59</sup> If this was the only criterion for the identification of something as Manichaean, however, many other texts no-one really considers to be Manichaean would need to be included. The *risalat* (letters) of the Ikhwan as-Safa (Brothers of Purity), for example, venerate Mani as a great teacher along with a familiar roster of such other luminaries (Plato, Jesus and so on). However, these have not been seriously considered Manichaean since the time of their production, when the Brothers were rather generally condemned as dualists. This leaves the possibility, then, that there is very little that is actually Manichaean about our domestic statue in Fujian, as Mani may have been so intimately incorporated into the local pantheon in the intervening centuries as to remain unrecognisable by whatever time the family in question adopted him for their own worship. An obvious comparison here would be with Islamic texts which speak reverently of Jesus.<sup>60</sup>

More concretely, Lim has suggested criteria based on what Mani himself valued to support religious continuity, and the identification of texts and artefacts as 'Manichaean'. Part of the Middle Persian version of the 'Ten Advantages of the Manichaean Religion' details:

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<sup>58</sup> I. Gardner, A. Nobbs & M. Choat 'P. Harr. 107: Is This Another Manichaean Letter?', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 131, 2000 (118-124).

<sup>59</sup> A. Henrichs 'The Cologne Mani Codex Reconsidered,' *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 83, 1979 (339-367).

<sup>60</sup> See, for example, T. Khalidi (ed. & tr.) *The Muslim Jesus: Sayings and Stories in Islamic Literature*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge MA, 2001.

Secondly: The older religions (remained in order) as long as there were holy leaders in it; but when the leaders had been led upwards, then their religions became confused and they became slack in commandments and pious works, and by (V) greed and fire (of lust) and desire were deceived. However, my religion will remain firm through the living [scriptures (?)], (... Tea)chers, the Bishops, the Elect and the Hearers; and of wisdom and works will stay on until the end.<sup>61</sup>

Lim distills from this account two criteria of identity; the “twin pillars”<sup>62</sup> of an established hierarchy and canonical scriptures. This dissertation accepts his twin pillars and investigates identity and the terminology used to describe the Manichaean Church in the light of them.

### 1.6 Reasons for concentrating on technical terms

The primary method for eking out markers of self identity within Late Antique Western Manichaeism will be in the identification and evaluation of technical terms. There are many oft-used words and turns of phrase employed in Manichaean texts to indicate various aspects of the Church, so the challenge for this dissertation is in determining if they are utilised as specifically technical terms or are intended more descriptively. There is also the question of evolution in the use of various terms. It is not surprising that technical terms may have their origins in vaguer, more generic usage. This complicates the evaluation of terms in our data, and requires a careful chronology of the source texts. It also raises the issue of change from the time of Mani and his successors to the later Church, and the development of such traditions as that which Gardner designates as ‘scholastic’ in the *Kephalaia*.

This study will begin with a review of modern literature treating issues of Manichaean identity, after which will be a broader discussion of the terms ‘Manichaean’ and ‘Christian’ as employed by Manichaeans themselves. Next the term ‘Church’ itself will be examined in detail, and P. van Lindt’s study on the

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<sup>61</sup> S. Lieu in Gardner & Lieu, 2004, 109. Lieu, unlike J.-P. Asmussen *Manichaean Literature: Representative Texts Chiefly from Middle Persian and Parthian Writings* (Persian Heritage Series 22), Scholars’ Facsimiles & Reprints, Delmar, 1975, chose not to include Andreas and Henning’s suggestion of *Schriften* in the quoted text.

<sup>62</sup> Lim (1989), 233.

comparative terminology associated with mythological figures in the Coptic Manichaica has served as a basic model for this.<sup>63</sup>

### 1.6.1 Primary Sources Consulted

This thesis, then, by nature of its scope must necessarily be diachronic in its approach. Within that approach, however, attention will be paid to the synchronic by a careful understanding of the context in which we find our sources. Specifically, it is proposed that the many sources consulted be grouped according to several criteria of context. In this way it is hoped that some of the more common pitfalls besetting a diachronic approach can be avoided or, at the very least, minimised.

On preliminary examination of the raw data, the most clearly definable relationships between texts are those of geographical region, followed secondly by language, and lastly by date. While one might think language would be the most easily definable group it must still be considered secondary to region, as other languages in the surrounding areas tended to share particular technical terms. Middle Persian, Parthian and Sogdian words were all borrowed by the Uighur and Chinese texts, and it is possible in this way to speak of “Eastern texts”. Similarly, besides any pre-existing historical relationships between the languages used to write Manichaean texts in the Mediterranean world, they were all written by communities subject to Roman rule and culture. Thus, it is possible to speak of “Western texts”. This was the model used by J. BeDuhn to organise texts in his *The Manichaean Body*,<sup>64</sup> although that was a monograph much broader in its scope than this undertaking. BeDuhn also grouped texts in the Semitic languages of Syriac and Arabic under the rubric “Central texts”, partly because they came from the heartland of Manichaeism (Mani considered himself a “man from Babel”, and the seat of the Archegos was said to be there), but also because they bridge the divide between the Western and Eastern bodies of text.

There are more reasons than simply content and historical difference to regard these western and eastern “traditions” as divided. The languages of Syriac and Middle Persian are often considered to be Manichaean ‘church languages’ for the West and East respectively, in spite of translations into the vernacular by the Manichaeans

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<sup>63</sup> P. van Lindt *The Names of Manichaean Mythological Figures: A Comparative Study on Terminology in the Coptic Sources*, Otto Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 1992c.

<sup>64</sup> Johns Hopkins, Baltimore, 2000.

themselves. The discovery at Kellis of Coptic-Syriac reading exercises may indeed indicate an early Manichaean mission from the Levant,<sup>65</sup> but an alternative theory is that Syriac, as the Manichaean language of Mani's scriptures, was learnt by the clergy in the same way that even now theology students learn Greek and Latin in the seminary.<sup>66</sup> Similarly Middle Persian, as a more useful *lingua franca* in the eastern mission than Syriac, could have been employed as the church language there. It was, after all, the language of Mani's *Sabuhrgan*, regarded by most scholars as one of his canonical texts. This theory loses strength when it is considered that the Turkic materials were nearly all translated from Sogdian; however, the assumption then becomes that the missionaries were Sogdian speakers and carried scriptures in that language.<sup>67</sup>

A closer examination of the texts yields another criterion, however: that of authenticity. Surely the words of Mani and his close circle of disciples should have priority over those of opponents of the religion, or even of believers a thousand years removed from him? Certainly historians are aware of such a concern in their readings and comparisons of the literature, BeDuhn among them, but they tend to deal with them on a case by case basis. For this project however, it is proposed that authenticity be prioritised over the other relationships from the beginning. The following list contains a description of the texts deployed in this thesis, with reference to the issue of authenticity

### 1.6.3 Texts traceable to Mani

Unfortunately this group of texts is small, not only because it includes just seven books, but because there are so few remnants of them today. To compound this problem we rely heavily for these texts on their quotation in later works, many of which are Christian or Islamic. These few fragments have been analysed in careful detail, however, and the most recent editions can more or less be treated as primary texts.

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<sup>65</sup> Gardner (ed.) *Kellis Literary Texts: I* (Dakhleh Oasis Project: Monograph 4), Oxbow Monograph, Oxford, 1996, vii

<sup>66</sup> Gardner (1996), 101.

<sup>67</sup> L. Clark 'The Turkic Manichaean Literature', in P. Mirecki & J. BeDuhn (eds) *Emerging from Darkness: Studies in the Recovery of Manichaean Sources*, Brill, Leiden, 1997 (89-141), 95-96.

*Epistles*: These can be seen as roughly analogous to their Pauline counterparts and, indeed, appear to have been written in direct imitation of them. They are primarily pastoral and ecclesiastic in concern, and give us considerable insight into the personal lives of Mani and his inner circle. There are also texts such as the *Fundamental Epistle*, however, which contain important doctrinal exegesis. While there are remnants of the canonical epistles in Coptic from both Medinet Madi and Kellis, we rely on fragments from Augustine and Evodius for the *Ep. Fund.* and a Middle Persian version of the *Epistle of the Seal*.

*Living Gospel*: Unlike the gospels from the New Testament, Mani's *Living Gospel* appears to have been composed in the form of an epistle (thus its opening line "I, Mani, Apostle of Jesus Christ"). Aside from a section preserved in Middle Persian,<sup>71</sup> the main source for this is the *CMC* (see below), which contains several citations from the *Gospel*.

#### **1.6.4 Texts traceable to Mani's disciples**

This group includes texts that attribute much of their content to Mani or his immediate disciples but were, for whatever reason, written down at a later date by another. They are not the written word of Mani himself but purport to record his teachings accurately. For our purposes they can be considered: 'The words of Mani; with a grain of salt.' As such, Mani will often be presented as a speaker in these texts. This group includes texts such as the Greek *Cologne Mani Codex (CMC)*, the Coptic *Kephalaia*, and the *Homilies*.

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<sup>71</sup> D. N. MacKenzie "I, Mani...", H. Preissler & H. Seiwert (eds) *Gnosisforschung und Religionsgeschichte, Festschrift für Prof. Kurt Rudolph*, Marburg, 1994 (183-198), 185-190.

*Cologne Mani Codex*: While often referred to as a “biography”, the *CMC* is more properly deemed an ecclesiastical history. Its first, extant, half is essentially an anthology of anecdotes about Mani’s life attributed to a series of witnesses from his inner circle of Disciples. These were later organised and edited by an anonymous anthologist into a chronological re-telling of the events of his life: his early years, vocation and missionary work. The remaining half, however, appears to have been a history of the church’s fate immediately following his martyrdom. This is evidenced in the title adopted by scholars for the text from the headers of its pages: *On the Origin of His Body*, referring to the Church as Mani’s “body”.

*Kephalaia*: This sentiment of recording the unwritten teachings of Mani is explained by words put into his mouth in the *Kephalaia of the Teacher*.

The world has not permitted me to write down ... to me all of it; and if you, my childr[en and my discip]les, write all my wisdom ... the questions that you have asked me ... and the explanations (ἐρμηνεία) that I have made clea[r to you from time to tim]e; the homilies, the lessons, that I have proclaimed with the Teache[rs to] the Archegoi, together with the Elect and the Catechume[ns; and] the ones that I have proclaimed from time to time! Th[ey] are [not] writt[en. Y]ou must remember them and write them; gather them i[n differ]ent places; because much is the wisdom that I ha[ve ut]tered [to you].<sup>72</sup>

The *Kephalaia* exists in two parts: the *Kephalaia of the Teacher* which is housed in Berlin, and the Dublin *Kephalaia of the Wisdom of My Lord Mani*. The Dublin *Kephalaia* remains largely unedited, although a few fragments have been published by Michel Tardieu. Tardieu has suggested that the Dublin codex is quite different in character, and represents a far more ‘eastern looking’ work, that betrays significant Persian influence.<sup>73</sup> As such, it will not be generally employed in this dissertation.

*Homilies*: These sermons were found in the same group of codices from Medinet Madi in Egypt that contained the *Kephalaia*. There are four homilies attributed to Mani’s Disciples: the ‘Sermon on Prayer,’ the ‘Sermon on the Great War,’ the

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<sup>72</sup> *Keph.* 6.16-27.

<sup>73</sup> M. Tardieu ‘La diffusion du bouddhisme dans l’empire Kouchan, l’Iran et la Chine, d’après un kephalaion manichéen inédit’, *Studia Iranica* 17, 1988 (153-182).



‘Section of the Narrative about the Crucifixion,’ and ‘Salmaios’s Lament.’ For this dissertation the second and third of these texts will be examined in most detail, as they are the best preserved in the codex. The ‘Sermon on the Great War’ treats the persecution the Manichaeen Church, arguing that it will suffer before its ultimate ascension to supreme power in the world. The ‘Narrative about the Crucifixion’ tells of Mani’s imprisonment and death, and briefly discusses the fate of the Church under his two immediate successors, Sisinnios and Innaios.<sup>74</sup>

*Acta*: The unpublished *Acta* codex is a history of the early Manichaeen church. Like the *CMC*, its contents are attributed to the sayings of Mani’s inner circle of Disciples. Very little investigation has been done into its authorship, provenance, and so on.

### 1.6.5. Community Texts

This category includes texts that were written by Manichaeans, but are removed enough in time for them to be seen as the result of developments on the early religion practiced by Mani and his Disciples; differing enough to warrant their own group.

*Psalms-Book II*: This collection of psalms preserved in a codex also originating at Medinet Madi was no doubt intended for liturgical use by a Manichaeen community. They are organised according to a series of groups, one of which, the Psalms of Thomas, has been demonstrated to contain significant parallels with Mandaean texts.<sup>75</sup> Other groups include the Bema Psalms, dedicated to the most important Manichaeen festival of the Bema,<sup>76</sup> the Jesus Psalms, glorifying this vital figure, and the mysterious Psalms of the Wanderers (ΣΑΡΑΚΩΤΩΝ). There are also several groups attributed to one Herakleides. The first ‘volume’ of psalms is as yet unedited.

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<sup>74</sup> Hom. 79-85.

<sup>75</sup> T. Säve-Söderbergh *Studies in the Coptic Manichaeen Psalm-Book: Prosody and Mandaean Parallels* (Arbeten Utgivna med Understöd av Vilhelm Ekmans Universitetsfond Uppsala 55), Almqvist & Wiksells Boktryckeri AB, Uppsala, 1949.

<sup>76</sup> G. Wurst ‘Strukturelle Textanalyse und Gattungskritik manichäischer Psalmen am Beispiel des Bemapsalmes Nr. 239’, Gernot Wiessner & Hans.-Joachim Klimkeit (eds) *Studia Manichaica: II. Internationaler Kongress zum Manichäismus. 6.-10. August 1989 St Augustin/Bonn*, Otto Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 1992 (266-284).

*Kellis Letters*: The letters from House 4 at Kellis represent a rare opportunity for the study of Manichaeism. They consist of letters between the members of the pious 'Makarios' family (so-named for the clan's patriarch), of whom one is a young initiate in the Manichaean hierarchy. While some of the letters are from members of the Elect many are between or addressed to lay members of the religion, which give us invaluable insight into the concerns of rank-and-file Manichaeans. With a religion as doctrinally complex as Manichaeism, it is easy to forget that there is more to the religion than intricate cosmologies and arcane dietary practices. These letters remind us that ordinary lay members enjoined each other to have faith in and take strength from the Father of Greatness, or even admonished their children to dedicate sufficient time to scriptural studies. This often serves to illustrate a wide gulf between Manichaean teaching and practice but, in the absence of a living community to observe, provides a much-needed foil to the often over-theoretical study of the religion. Also preserved at the same site were several literary texts of Manichaean provenance, including psalms parallel to the *Medinet Madi Psalm-Book II* and a leaf that incorporates allusions to the *Acts of John*.

*Tebessa Codex*: The *Tebessa Codex* represents the only actual Manichaean source written in Latin. Apparently addressed to the Catechumens, it is completely unconcerned with the elaborate hierarchies often associated with Manichaeism, and only deals with the relationship between Catechumens and Elect.

### **1.6.6 Polemical texts**

This dissertation will also employ texts written by several non-Manichaeans, which have been consulted for their inclusion of citations from Manichaean texts, or reliable treatments of certain aspects of Manichaean history. Augustine of Hippo, who was himself a Manichaean for approximately a decade, debated vigorously with his former co-religionists once he returned to the Catholic Church. His popularity throughout the middle ages ensures that these debates were preserved in numerous manuscripts. Particularly relevant for this study are his debates with Felix, Fortunatus

and Faustus, his *De Haeresibus* and his quotations of the Manichaean *Epistula Fundementi*.<sup>77</sup>

### **1.7 Conclusion and summary of chapter**

In this dissertation ‘Manichaeism’ will be understood to comprise two elements; the teaching and the Church. This thesis is an examination of sources for the identity of the Manichaean Church, with a view to establishing the relative status of the names and terminology used to describe Manichaeism in both insider and outsider texts. This study is an important contribution to Manichaean Studies as no book-length study currently exists treating either Manichaean identity or the terminology describing the Manichaean Church. This introductory chapter sketched Manichaean origins, teachings, expansion and eventual eclipse in the Roman world. Questions of religious identity were investigated and a catalogue of the most important primary sources for the project supplied. This leads on to the concerns of Chapter 2, which provides a detailed literature review from the field of Manichaean Studies.

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<sup>77</sup> See further K. Kaatz ‘What did Augustine Really Know About Manichaean Cosmogony? Manichaeans’, A. van Tongerloo & L. Cirillo (eds) *New Perspectives in Manichaean Studies: 17th International Congress of Manichaeism – Napoli 2001. Proceedings* (Manichaean Studies 5), Brepols, Lovanii & Neapoli, 2005 (191-202).

## Chapter 2: Literature Review

### 2.1 Introduction and summary of chapter

In this chapter the basic trajectory of Manichaean Studies is examined and summarised. This is important for locating the present project in the context of existing studies. Greater attention is paid to issues of identity and naming of the Manichaean Church in scholarship to date. This involves care in disentangling Manichaeism from both Christianity and ‘Gnosticism’.<sup>78</sup> The relationship of Manichaeans and Christians is examined in detail in the bulk of this dissertation. The issue of Manichaeism’s relationship to Gnosticism is less easy to clarify. At present there is no published scholarship on this topic, although publication of an article by J. BeDuhn is eagerly anticipated. However, certain basic observations concerning the geographical origins of Gnostic teachers and the mission fields they worked in, in addition to their relationships with members of other religions such as Judaism and Christianity, can assist in filling in the picture somewhat. Of particular interest is the geographical proximity of Mani’s homeland to areas occupied by Aramaic speaking Mandaeans. Mandaeism remains the only surviving Late Antique Gnostic religion in the contemporary world.

### 2.2 Manichaean Studies

The evolution of Manichaean Studies has been examined in microscopic detail by scores of scholars. For its early development, from the patristic works by Christian heresiologists to its use as ammunition in the post-Reformation Catholic-Protestant polemic, the excellent study by J. Ries is crucial.<sup>79</sup> The landmark work that for many

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<sup>78</sup> The problems associated with use of the term ‘Gnosticism’ are many and varied. I point the reader to the two excellent and exhaustive studies on the topic: M. Wilson *Rethinking “Gnosticism”: An Argument for Dismantling a Dubious Category*, Princeton University Press, Princeton NJ, 1996; and K. L. King *What is Gnosticism?*, Belknap, Cambridge MA, 2003.

<sup>79</sup> J. Ries ‘Introduction aux Études Manichéennes: Quatre siècles de recherches’, *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses* 33, 1957 (453-482), esp. 470-472. See also *idem*. ‘Introduction aux Études Manichéennes: Quatre siècles de recherches II. Le Manichéisme considéré comme grande religion orientale (XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle)’, *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses* 35, 1959, (362-409), 388-391, for an history of 19th century scholarship and the rise of the interpretation of Manichaeism as fundamentally Oriental.

marks the beginning of modern Manichaean Studies, however, was the two-volume collection of Patristic witnesses completed by the eighteenth century Huguenot scholar I. de Beausobre.<sup>80</sup> Scholarship of the nineteenth century continued to explore Manichaeism, with the excellent study of F. C. Baur emphasising Indian and Iranian influences on the religion,<sup>81</sup> but it was the publication in 1862 of the chapter on Manichaeism from an-Nadim's *Fihrist*, a tenth century Muslim encyclopedia, that brought a new focus to the field.<sup>82</sup> Aside from using what appear to have been genuine Manichaean sources,<sup>83</sup> an-Nadim and other Muslim authors generally had a more even-handed tone than the Church Fathers, and are devoid of much of the hostility that characterises the Christian heresiological literature. P. Alfaric argued that this is because these authors (as well as some later-discovered Chinese ones) were less concerned than the Christian writers by Manichaeism's successful diffusion. He cautioned, however, that their lack of concern regarding matters of Christian doctrine should not understate its important place in the formation of Manichaeism.<sup>84</sup>

The dawn of the twentieth century brought the emerging discipline of archaeology into contact with Manichaeism, with the recovery of a massive corpus of texts in Chinese and Central Asian languages from the medieval Central Asian towns of Turfan and Dunhuang. F. W. K. Müller was able to identify many of these texts as Manichaean, but unfortunately the archaeological context in which the texts were found lent little to the study, as in the libraries Nestorian Christian and Buddhist texts were among the Manichaean ones. As such, subsequent study was primarily textual in nature. The Manichaean missionary technique of reinterpreting its terminology according to the local religious language makes it difficult to discern the level of

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<sup>80</sup> I. de Beausobre *Histoire critique de Manichée et du manichéisme*, J. F. Bernard, Amsterdam, 1734-9.

<sup>81</sup> F. C. Baur *Das Manichäische Religionssystem nach den Quellen neu untersucht und entwickelt*, Tübingen, 1831. Cf. Ries (1959), 365-371.

<sup>82</sup> G. Flügel *Mani: Seine Lehre und seine Schriften*, Neudruck, Ausgabe, 1862.

<sup>83</sup> F. de Blois has identified nearly all of the Islamic commentators on Manichaeism as being dependent on Abu 'Isa al-Warraq's report: 'New Light on the Sources of the Manichaean Chapter in the *Fihrist*', A. van Tongerloo & L. Cirillo (eds) *New Perspectives in Manichaean Studies: Vth International Congress of Manichaeism – Napoli 2001. Proceedings* (Manichaean Studies 5), Brepols, Lovanii & Neapoli, 2005 (37-45).

<sup>84</sup> P. Alfaric *Les Écritures Manichéennes*, Paris, 1918, I 128.

Zoroastrian and Buddhist influences on these Chinese texts, as the content appears at least superficially infused with these religions. Indeed, early interpretations of the character of Manichaeism argued that it was a Zoroastrian reform group. Chief among the exponents of this theory was R. Reitzenstein, a classical scholar unversed in the relevant Central Asian languages.<sup>85</sup> He argued that the Manichaean Primal Man (*Urmensch*) was Oriental in origin (in this case, the rather imprecise designation 'Oriental' is taken to mean Iranian, rather than the Semitic sources he also discusses).<sup>86</sup> Reitzenstein's agenda is perhaps best encapsulated with a comment he made on the future of History of Religions scholarship, that it was:

to demonstrate on the one hand the Oriental origin, and on the other hand the stages of the occidentalizing of this thought-world by the Jewish, the Greek and finally the general Western feeling. It is not Christian by birth, but it has become Christian through powerful religious personalities.<sup>87</sup>

While certainly admitting Western dependence upon Eastern sources, Reitzenstein's agenda has been described by Karen King as an intention to "chart the intellectual colonization of the Orient by the West."<sup>88</sup> As one can see, identifying the character of Manichaeism is easily made subject to the motives of its commentators.

The other significant Manichaean manuscript find of the early twentieth century was from Egypt. Seven Coptic codices came to light on the international market in 1929, later supposed to have originated at Medinet Madi. These were largely devoid of any Iranian references, aside from a few mentions of Zoroaster as a

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<sup>85</sup> R. Reitzenstein 'Iranische Erlösungsglaube', *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* 20, 1921 (1-23), 3n.1 and 7. He relied primarily on translations by Müller, F. C. Andreas and M. Lidzbarski.

<sup>86</sup> Although a discussion of Orientalism in Manichaean studies would be potentially relevant here, particularly in relation to the *Religionsgeschichteschule*, it is unfortunately beyond the scope of this thesis. To begin with, see R. King *Oriental Theory and Religion: Postcolonial Theory, India and 'The Mystic East'*, Routledge, London, 1999.

<sup>87</sup> *Hellenistic Mystery Religions*, Pickwick, Pittsburgh, 1978 [orig. ed. 1910], 421.

<sup>88</sup> K. King (2003), 87.

member of Mani's line of apostolic succession.<sup>89</sup> Indeed, the texts are filled with Christian ideas and imagery, confirming the work of scholars such as C. W. S. Mitchell, F. C. Burkitt, and H. H. Schaeder (himself a dissenting student of Reitzenstein), who looked to Syrian Christianity for the sources of Manichaeism. Burkitt, with only the few scraps of Syriac material then at hand, elucidated the Mesopotamian origins of Manichaeism with almost prophetic insight, especially given that his discussion predated the discovery of the *Cologne Mani Codex* by quite some time. Noting that one of the documents from Turkestan described Mani as 'from Babel', Burkitt inferred that the language spoken by Mani must in fact have been Aramaic and not Persian, as the nearby Mandaeans speak a similar dialect. On Syriac in particular, he notes that:

To us Syriac is so 'oriental' a language that it requires a certain effort of mind to remember that to an inhabitant of Babylonia the chief seats of Aramaic civilization lay to the West, in the direction of the Roman Empire. Greek influence, if we are to find it in Manichaeism, will have come to Mani through a Syriac channel.<sup>90</sup>

This shift in focus, moving Mani from Persia to the Aramaic West as it did, was a change from the idea of Indo-European origins to Semitic ones. The picture of Mani that Burkitt left us with was of an Aramaic speaker who probably came into contact with Hellenistic ideas via Syriac intermediaries. Given the information discovered in Mitchell's publication of Ephraim's *Prose Refutations*,<sup>91</sup> these Syriac channels can be taken to include Marcion and Bardaisan. Rather than some pan-Indo-European theologumena, Burkitt's Manichaean gnosis is distinctly Syrian.

The Medinet Madi codices, aside from several being damaged, destroyed, or lost in the Second World War, have given us a Western, Roman voice for Manichaeism, in contrast to the Eastern texts from Turfan and Dunhuang. The

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<sup>89</sup> The unedited Dublin *Kephalaia*, however, seems to exhibit some Iranian influence: cf. M. Tardieu 'La diffusion du bouddhisme dans l'empire Kouchan, l'Iran et la Chine, d'après un kephalaion manichéen inédit', *Studia Iranica* 17, 1988 (153-182).

<sup>90</sup> F. C. Burkitt *The Religion of the Manichees: Donellan Lectures for 1924*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1925, 74. Burkitt was ahead of his time even in his use of 'oriental' in inverted commas!

<sup>91</sup> C. W. S. Mitchell (ed.) *S. Ephraim's Prose Refutations of Mani, Marcion and Bardaisan*, Williams & Norgate, London, 1912-1921.

examination of the extent of its Christian character will be resumed in the next chapter; the following is a review of studies devoted to the identity and structure of the Manichaean Church.

### 2.3 Gnosticism and Manichaeism

Gnosticism and Manichaeism have often been grouped together because of a 'family resemblance', in that both religious systems are dualistic, acosmic, have emanationist cosmologies, and flourish during Late Antiquity in both the Eastern and Western Roman world and beyond. Further, both Gnosticism and Manichaeism have close relationships with Christianity, sharing certain key figures from the Biblical tradition including Adam and Eve, Seth, Enoch, Sophia and Jesus. Within this dissertation Manichaeism is not particularly identified as a Gnostic religion. However, it is important to investigate the resemblances between the two religious positions, as Mani post-dated the Gnostics. It is herein argued that Mani self-identified as a Christian, but that this Christianity was deeply influenced by Gnosticism, as Mani's Christian mentors included Marcion and Bardaisan, whose Christianity was considered suspect in the eyes of Catholic Christians.

Like Manichaeism, the academic study of Gnosticism was for many years handicapped by the fact that Gnostic texts were preserved only in the works of second century Christian heresiological writers such as Irenaeus of Lyons, Hippolytus, Tertullian and Epiphanius of Salamis.<sup>92</sup> In the second century Marcion, an innovative theologian whose relationship to Gnosticism proper is still disputed, consciously sought to establish a Church which had a creed, scriptural canon, and an institutional format. Marcion originated in Sinope on the Black Sea, and his birth date is unknown but is speculatively set at approximately 100 CE. He arrived in Rome in 139/140 and joined a local Christian congregation. Under the influence of a Syrian Gnostic called Kerdon his teachings departed from orthodox Christianity, though he retained Christian identity and his canon consisted only of texts which are still regarded as canonical: ten Pauline epistles and *Luke*. This canon was, in fact, the first Christian

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<sup>92</sup> K. Rudolph (tr. P. W. Coxon, K. H. Kuhn & R. McL. Wilson) *Gnosis: The Nature and History of Gnosticism*, Harper Collins, New York, 1987 [first Engl. ed. 1984], 9-25.



canon ever proposed. After 144 Marcion broke with the mainstream Christian community of Rome.<sup>93</sup>

Marcion's teachings were dualistic, positing that the Old Testament God was not the true God. This Old Testament God was instead the creator of the material world and the harsh judge of mankind. Marcion referred by contrast to the Good and 'Alien' God, who sent his son Jesus (who was not a full human incarnation, as in orthodox Christianity, but rather only appeared to be in the flesh) to save humanity from the cruel judgement of the Old Testament God. For Marcion, Paul's message regarding Christ's work of salvation was central to Christianity: this is understood as a pure act of mercy in contrast to the legal redress required by the Old Testament God.<sup>94</sup> What separates Marcion's teachings from 'Gnosticism' proper is that Man is completely corrupt and does not possess the divine spark, there is no elaborate mythological speculation, and he acknowledges only the authority of selected biblical texts. There are, however, instructive parallels with Mani, not least of which is his exposure to Syrian Gnosticism through Kerdon, a docetic Christ, the deliberate establishment of a Church body in direct contra-distinction to the Catholic Church, and an admiration of Paul's (upon whose epistles Mani modelled his own) ascetic discipline. Mani is also named with Marcion and Bardaisan as the only representative of earliest Christianity in the *Chronicon Edessenum*.<sup>95</sup>

The elaborate mythological speculation now regarded as characteristic of Gnosticism emerges with the teachings of Valentinus, a near contemporary of Marcion who was probably from Alexandria. Like Marcion his birthdate is unknown, but generally given as 100 CE, and the two men are both said to have died around 160 CE. The theology of Valentinian Gnosticism is found in a number of the Nag Hammadi codices, and will be represented here by the *Tripartite Tractate*. This text expounds the relation of the Father God and the Son, and intriguingly states that the Church existed in a heavenly form before the creation of the material world. This is a

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<sup>93</sup> A. von Harnack (tr. John E. Steely & Lyle D. Bierma) *Marcion: The Gospel of the Alien God*, Labyrinth Press, Durham NC, 1990 [tr. of *Marcion: das evangelium vom fremden Gott. Eine monographie zur Geschichte der Grundlegung der katholischen kirche* 1st ed. 1921; 2nd ed. 1924], 15-20.

<sup>94</sup> Rudolph (1987), 313-316.

<sup>95</sup> K. King *What is Gnosticism?*, Belknap Press, Cambridge MA & London, 2003, 113.

simpler *Pleroma* (i.e. godhead) than in many Gnostic texts. For Valentians the first creation is the emanation of the Aeons from the Father:

The Father brought forth everything, like a little child, like a drop from a spring, like a blossom from a vine, like a flower, like a <planting> [...], in need of gaining nourishment and growth and faultlessness. He withheld it for a time. He who had thought of it from the very beginning, possessed it from the very beginning, and saw it, but he closed it off to those who first came from him. (He did this,) not out of envy, but in order that the aeons might not receive their faultlessness from the very beginning and might not exalt themselves to the glory, to the Father, and might think that from themselves alone they have this. But just as he wished to grant that they might come into being, so too, in order that they might come into being as faultless ones, when he wished, he gave them the perfect idea of beneficence toward them.<sup>96</sup>

Gnostic cosmologies attribute the creation of the material world to a 'fall', usually the result of ignorance and error. In the *Tripartite Tractate* one of the Aeons called 'the Logos' fell into error, despite his good intentions, when he over-reached himself and brought forth defective creation. This parallels the role played by Sophia in many other Gnostic texts:

The Logos himself caused it to happen, being complete and unitary, for the glory of the Father, whom he desired, and (he did so) being content with it, but those whom he wished to take hold of firmly he begot in shadows and copies and likenesses. For, he was not able to bear the sight of the light, but he looked into the depth and he doubted. Out of this there was a division - he became deeply troubled - and a turning away because of his self-doubt and division, forgetfulness and ignorance of himself and <of that> which is.<sup>97</sup>

The resultant defective creation shifts the focus of the text to the hostilities between the Light (the spiritual realm of the Father and the unfallen Aeons) and the Darkness (the defective creation itself). The Logos then splits into two; his higher, masculine self returns to the Pleroma and intercedes for his lower feminine self, which remains trapped in the creation. His higher self later emanates the Saviour.

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<sup>96</sup> *Tripartite Tractate* 62.6-33, in J. M. Robinson (ed.) *The Nag Hammadi Library in English*, HarperCollins, San Francisco, 1990, 65.

<sup>97</sup> *Tripartite Tractate* 77.12-26, in Robinson (1990), 73.

The one who appeared was an assault for the two orders. Just as the beings of thought had been given the name "little one," so they have a faint notion that they have the exalted one, he exists before them, and they have sown within them an attitude of amazement at the exalted one who will become manifest. Therefore, they welcomed his revelation and they worshipped him. They became convinced witnesses to <him>. They acknowledged the light which had come into being as one stronger than those who fought against them. The beings of the likeness, however, were exceedingly afraid, since they were not able to hear about him in the beginning, that there is a vision of this sort. Therefore they fell down to the pit of ignorance which is called "the Outer Darkness," and "Chaos" and "Hades" and "the Abyss." He set up what was beneath the order of the beings of thought, as it was stronger than they. They were worthy of ruling over the unspeakable darkness, since it is theirs and is the lot which was assigned to them. He granted them that they, too, should be of use for the organization which was to come, to which he had assigned them.<sup>98</sup>

The third and fourth parts of the *Tripartite Tractate* concentrate on issues of salvation, and characterise human beings as of three types. Pneumatics respond to the Saviour, Hylics reject him utterly, and between these extremes are Psychics, who initially hesitate but later come to the Saviour. Attridge and Pagels characterise this text as a remarkable revision of Valentinian cosmology intended to be a systematic theology, and which has a broad appeal to "the church as a whole".<sup>99</sup>

A classic dualistic Gnostic myth such as that outlined above has certain clear resemblances to Manichaean cosmology. These include the remote God, emanationist creation, dualism between Light and Darkness, the pronouncedly sexual nature of the mythology,<sup>100</sup> and the division of humanity into three categories, two of which are responsive to salvation. It has been argued that Valentinian Gnosticism was known in Mesopotamia (chiefly through a mention of his teachings by Aphrates), and therefore

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<sup>98</sup> *Tripartite Tractate* 89.8-90.1, in Robinson (1990), 79.

<sup>99</sup> Attridge and Pagels 'Introduction' to the *Tripartite Tractate*, in Robinson (1990), 60.

<sup>100</sup> For a Freudian reading of the cosmogony, see G. Casadio 'Gender and Sexuality in Manichaean Mythmaking', Alois van Tongerloo & Søren Giversen (eds) *Manichaica Selecta: Studies Presented to Julien Ries on the occasion of his seventieth birthday*, Lovanii, 1991 (43-47).

it is certainly possible that Mani was specifically influenced by his cosmological speculations.<sup>101</sup>

We do know that Mani was familiar with the works of Bardaisan of Edessa (154-222 CE), as the contents provided by an-Nadim for Mani's *Book of Mysteries* report such sections as 'Mention of the Bardesanites', 'The Doctrines of the Bardesanites about the Spirit and the Body', and 'Refutation of the Bardesanites about the Spirit of Life'.<sup>102</sup> The very title of Mani's *Book of Mysteries* was reputed by Ephraim the Syrian to be derived from a book of the same name by Bardaisan himself,<sup>103</sup> and al-Biruni has preserved some of the aforementioned refutation of Bardaisan by Mani.<sup>104</sup>

The Mandaeans remain to be considered briefly, as they are a Gnostic religion who were probably to be found in Mesopotamia during Mani's lifetime. As there are significant problems dating the earliest Mandaean texts, it is sufficient for this dissertation to note that Mandaeans occupy a similarly contested space between Christianity and Gnosticism. Their primary religious practice is repeated baptism, purportedly taught by their founder John the Baptist.<sup>105</sup> Yet Mandaean theology features an intense dualism between Light and Darkness, which is reminiscent of both Manichaeism and Gnosticism, and features some of the biblical figures employed by those systems. There are obvious parallels between the Mandaeans and the baptist group in which Mani was raised.<sup>106</sup>

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<sup>101</sup> A. Böhlig 'Zum Selbstverständnis des Manichäismus', J. Duchesne-Guillemin, W. Sundermann & F. Vahman (eds) *A Green Leaf: Papers in Honour of Professor Jes P. Asmussen* (Acta Iranica 28, Deuxième Série: Hommages et Opera Minora 12), E. J. Brill, Leiden, 1988 (317-338).

<sup>102</sup> An-Nadim *Fihrist*, in Gardner & Lieu (2004), 155.

<sup>103</sup> Ephraim the Syrian *Contra haereses*, cited in S. Lieu 'An Early Byzantine Formula for the Renunciation of Manichaeism – The *Capita VII Contra Manichaeos* of Zacharias of Mitylene', in *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum* 26, 1983 (152-218), 198. See also H. J. W. Drijvers (tr. G. E. van Baaren-Pape) *Bardaisan of Edessa*, Assen, 1966, 163.

<sup>104</sup> Al-Biruni *India*, 55: E. C. Sachau (ed. & tr.) *Alberuni's India: An Account of the Religion, Philosophy, Literature, Geography, Chronology, Astronomy, Customs, Laws and Astrology of India About AD 1030*, London, 1964 [1888].

<sup>105</sup> E. Lupieri (tr. C. Hindley) *The Mandaeans: The Last Gnostics*, Eerdmans, Grand Rapids MI, 2002 [Italian ed. 1993], 69-70.

<sup>106</sup> J. J. Buckley 'Mani's Opposition to the Elchasaites: A Question of Ritual,' P. Slater & D. Wiebe (eds) *Traditions in Contact and Change: Selected Proceedings of the XIVth Congress of the*

It may be unhelpful to struggle overly with the possible classification of Manichaeism as a Gnostic religion. This exposition has been concerned to demonstrate that not only are there resemblances between Manichaeism and Gnosticism, but surviving testimonies confirm that the transmission of Gnostic ideas to Mesopotamia and Mani's acquaintance with such ideas are real possibilities and not mere speculation.

## 2.4 Self-Identity

Studies on the Manichaean Church itself have tended to precipitately analyse the institutional hierarchy, with little or no attention paid to self-identity, or to the simple fact that there is only sparse evidence of the community actually referring to themselves as 'Manichaeans'. Chapter 5 of Bryder's *The Chinese Transformation of Manichaeism: A Study of Chinese Terminology*, entitled 'The Manichaean Principle of Identity',<sup>107</sup> utilises an understanding of the term first found in Asmussen's study on the *X'āstvānīft*,<sup>108</sup> which he used to describe the Manichaean concept of divine emanations being simultaneously considered their ultimate source; i.e. all major and minor Manichaean divinities can be identified to some extent with the supreme Manichaean god the Father of Greatness.

Drijvers made a brief note of Manichaean "Selbstverständnis" as being one of conflict, evidenced in their pre-occupation with cosmic wars. He cites the 'Sermon on the Great War' and Chapter 18 of the *Kephalaia* ('Concerning the Five Wars that the Sons of Light waged with the Sons of Darkness') in support of this.<sup>109</sup> A. Böhlig's 'Zum Selbstverständnis des Manichäismus',<sup>110</sup> promisingly began by describing

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*International Association for the History of Religions*, Wilfrid Laurier University Press, Ontario, 1983 (323-336).

<sup>107</sup> Bryder (1985), 124-127.

<sup>108</sup> J.-P. Asmussen (tr. Niels Haislund) *X'āstvānīft: Studies in Manichaeism* (Acta Theologica Danica 7), Prostant apud Munksgaard, Copenhagen, 1965, 12.

<sup>109</sup> H. J. W. Drijvers 'Conflict and Alliance in Manichaeism,' H. G. Kippenberg, H. J. W. Drijvers & Y. Kuiper (eds) *Struggles of Gods: Papers of the Groningen Work Group for the Study of the History of Religions*, Mouton, Berlin, 1984 (99-124), 99 & 119n.4.

<sup>110</sup> A. Böhlig 'Zum Selbstverständnis des Manichäismus', *A Green Leaf: Papers in Honour of Professor Jes P. Asmussen* (Acta Iranica 28, Deuxième Série: Hommages et Opera Minora 12), E. J. Brill, Leiden, 1988 (317-338).

Manichaean self-understanding of its relationship to the world in an examination of Chapter 77 of the *Kephalaia* on ‘the Four Kingdoms’.<sup>111</sup> The paper is mostly concerned, however, with an evaluation of Valentinus’ influence on Mani, and so has little bearing on Manichaean self-identity. A. van Tongerloo came more to the point in his paper ‘L’identité de L’église Manichéenne Orientale’.<sup>112</sup> Noting the distinct absence of studies devoted to the subject of Manichaeans’ name for themselves, he wrote this short paper in an effort to encourage others to do likewise. While devoted to Middle Iranian and Uighur texts, van Tongerloo recognised the importance of the word ‘Church’ to refer to the Manichaean faithful.

In his article ‘Jesus’s entry into Parinirvāna: Manichaean Identity in Buddhist Central Asia’, Klimkeit at first used the term “identity” to describe Manichaeans’ choice of words when translating technical terms: for example the Christian-contextualised concept of “crucifixion” in western Manichaeism became the more eastern-friendly *parinirvana* (final release into *nirvana* in Buddhist terminology), and so on.<sup>113</sup> More importantly for our purposes, however, he explains that these choices of translation served to protect the essence of Manichaeism in transmission: specifically that which remained constant for Manichaeans in central Asia after they had adopted numerous elements from Buddhism.<sup>114</sup>

S. Lieu’s seminal *Manichaeism in the Later Roman Empire and Medieval China* briefly discusses identity under the sub-heading ‘The self-identity of Chinese Manichaeism’.<sup>115</sup> Like Klimkeit, he describes the preservation of essential Manichaean concepts through careful translation of technical terms. Particularly interesting is his contrast of Manichaeism’s success in China in comparison to the other two “western religions” that tried their hands in that country: Nestorian Christianity and Zoroastrianism. He suggests that Nestorianism was more vulnerable to attack than Manichaeism because it adopted fewer Buddhist terms than

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<sup>111</sup> *Keph.* 188.30-190.10.

<sup>112</sup> A. van Tongerloo ‘L’identité de L’église Manichéenne Orientale (env. 8<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C.) – La Communauté des Croyants: ir. hnzmn/‘njmn, ouig. ančm(a)n’, *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica* 12, 1981 (265-272). The Middle Iranian terms in his subtitle are equivalent to ἐκκλησία.

<sup>113</sup> H.-J. Klimkeit ‘Jesus’s entry into Parinirvāna: Manichaean Identity in Buddhist Central Asia’, *Numen* 33:2, 1986 (225-240), 225-227.

<sup>114</sup> Klimkeit (1986), 228.

<sup>115</sup> Lieu (1992), 261-262.

Manichaeism, thus preserving a stronger external identity. Nestorians were accordingly “attacked as an easily identifiable group”,<sup>116</sup> while Manichaeans were more fluidly constituted. Lieu still emphasises, however, that Manichaeism’s essential concepts remained in Chinese translation, and many key terms in Chinese texts were just transliterated from Middle Iranian languages.<sup>117</sup>

Lieu approached this issue more directly in his ‘Self-Identity of Manichaeans in the Roman East’.<sup>118</sup> This paper was delivered to a conference on identity in the antique eastern Mediterranean and was divided into several sections under sub-headings that functionally acted as implicit glosses of the subject matter, as the paper was really just a brief overview for a non-specialist audience. It is worth treating each heading and its contents briefly in order to better understand the points Lieu was attempting to establish. Section 1 bears the heading “An air of exotic illegality”, and describes both the letter circulated by a late third/early fourth century orthodox Egyptian bishop (possibly Theonas) warning his brethren against this new “mania” preserved in *P. Ryl. 469*,<sup>119</sup> as well as the rescript issued against them by Diocletian around the same time.<sup>120</sup> Of the letter, Lieu observed that the bishop was worried the faithful might be misled by this new religion that “purported to be a superior understanding of the Christian message”, but which was really a “dangerous interpretation of Pauline teaching.” Diocletian’s rescript, on the other hand, while it repeatedly acknowledged that Manichaeans invited disaster from the gods due to their impiety (against the Roman gods), appeared more concerned by the possibility that they represented a “fifth-column” of the Persian army, and thus a military threat. It went on to prescribe various punishments for those found guilty of this error, and Lieu brought this back to the sub-heading through the example of Augustine of Hippo, as one attracted to Manichaeism not only *in spite* of possible punishment, but even *because* of it. He cites Augustine’s reminiscence that he “hated security and a path

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<sup>116</sup> Lieu (1992), 261.

<sup>117</sup> Lieu (1992), 262.

<sup>118</sup> S. N. C. Lieu ‘The Self-Identity of Manichaeans in the Roman East’, G. Clarke (ed.) *Identities in the Eastern Mediterranean in Antiquity: Proceedings of a Conference held at the Humanities Research Centre in Canberra 10-12 November, 1997* (Mediterranean Archaeology 11), 1998a (205-227).

<sup>119</sup> C. H. Roberts *Catalogue of the Greek and Latin Papyri in the John Rylands Library, Manchester*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1938, III 38-46.

<sup>120</sup> *Collatio Mosaicarum* 16.3.

without snares”<sup>121</sup> and asserts that, while Manichaeism was indeed illicit, the laws against were not really enforced until the sixth century. Augustine could thus indulge in such clandestine activities with little fear of reproach.<sup>122</sup> Presumably the “exotic” appeal is due to its oriental heritage.

Section 2 “A heretical sect with an imposed identity” deals with the biography of Mani in the *Acta Archelai* and its legacy in Christian heresiology. Here the image of Manichaeism as a Persian cult is reinforced with the vivid description of Mani carrying a Babylonian book and resplendent in a motley array of bright colours reminiscent of “an old Persian artificer or military commander.”<sup>123</sup> Presumably Lieu’s sub-heading refers to the subsequent effect this had, of Manichaeism being identified as a syncretic Persian religion, composed of concepts borrowed from other religions. A quotation from Alexander of Lycopolis’ comparatively understated account of the sect reaching Egypt by way of missionaries named Papos and Thomas introduces the next section. Indeed, section 3 “A religion of the book – the rediscovery of genuine Manichaean texts” revisits this Persian imaging of the religion in the wake of the primary documents unearthed in the twentieth century. The prevalence of the name ‘Jesus’ in the Turfan texts, as well as the undeniably Mesopotamian character of Mani’s thought as deciphered by Mitchell from the Ephraim palimpsest, proved to scholars such as Burkitt that “the first Manichaean missionaries in the Roman Empire ... were Syrians, not Iranian Magi.” Manichaeism was not “a new form of Iranian syncretism” but instead a “distinctive form of Christianity”.<sup>124</sup> This appeared to be confirmed by the distinctively Christian character of the Medinet Madi codices.

Section 4 “A prophetic religion” presumably takes its lead from the instances of Mani being visited by his Divine Twin, and acting as a mouthpiece for plants, water and bread to the members of the baptist sect in which he grew up. Furthermore, he acted as a prophet of these teachings to the Persian emperors from Shapur I to Vahram I. The relevance of the accounts of Mani’s martyrdom quoted here are less easy to explain, although the Parthian version’s comparability to the crucifixion of Jesus probably indicates that Lieu is positing a relationship with Christianity. Section

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<sup>121</sup> *Conf.* 3.1.2-3.

<sup>122</sup> *Conf.* 4.1.4-5.

<sup>123</sup> *Act. Arch.* 14.3.

<sup>124</sup> Lieu (1998a), 211; Burkitt (1925), 111-119.



5 “A missionary religion *par excellence*” notes the early success Manichaeism had with royalty in Turan and Palmyra, but claims that the account in Michael the Deacon’s *Life of Porphyry* of the bishop’s debate with Julia the Manichaean “shows clearly that Manichaeism was propagated as a superior form of Christianity.”<sup>125</sup> Section 6 “A self-professed Christianity” notes the self-identification of Mani with Paul, and compares the rather distant roles of Zoroaster and the Buddha in the Turfan texts to the central place of Jesus in the Medinet Madi texts to argue that Manichaeans viewed themselves as Christians. Lieu also invokes Christian elements in the personal letters from the Egyptian site of Kellis to support this claim.

Section 7 “Sect imbued with a totalitarian gnosis” describes the intricate Manichaean cosmogony and its shaping of the religion’s ethic. Lieu here raises the issue that Manichaeans were forced to accept their gnosis as literal in quite a totalitarian manner, and quotes Alexander of Lycopolis’ account of its difference to the traditions of interpreting Hellenic myth more allegorically.<sup>126</sup> Lieu almost confuses matters by citing the “polytheistic” ‘Prayer of the Emanations’ from Kellis,<sup>127</sup> but explains this as the subsequent development of a community enjoying a freedom from persecution that others in their faith did not have the luxury of. He brings the focus back to Christian origins by noting the section of *Romans* (2.6-2.29) found in House 3.<sup>128</sup>

Section 8 “An evolving self-identity or a changing perception?” concludes the paper by reiterating the issues raised in each section, and points out the fact that the majority of material comes from fourth century Egypt and later fourth to fifth century North Africa problematizes any attempt to follow development of the religion’s self-identity. While the subject matter may have been diluted for a lay audience, Lieu has argued his point that the origins of Manichaean self-identity are to be found in Christianity. Indeed, the proceedings in which his conference paper is published has at the end of the volume reproduced the abstract for the paper, where he asserts that Mani “considered himself an Apostle of Jesus Christ” and that Manichaeism “saw

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<sup>125</sup> Lieu (1998a), 221.

<sup>126</sup> Alex. Lyc. 10.16.9-10.17.2.

<sup>127</sup> P. Kell. Gr. 98 in *Kell. Lit. Texts II*, 111-128.

<sup>128</sup> P. Kell. Copt. 6 in *Kell. Lit. Texts I*, 81-90.

itself as a true form of Christianity”.<sup>129</sup> The issue of whether this diagnosis is accurate is dealt with in Chapter 3.

One brief note remains to be made concerning the end of this paper. Lieu rather abruptly asks: “At what point did the sect demythologize its beliefs or was the demythologized version, so beloved as an easy target for Christian polemics, purely the invention of orthodox Byzantine churchmen?” Perhaps discussion of this point had been included in the actual delivery of the paper at the 1997 conference and omitted in the written version published a year later, but it can be found in his 1993 paper ‘Manichaeism in Early Byzantium’, where he suggests the Manichaeism of Photeinos in debate with Paul the Persian was such a “demythologized version”.<sup>130</sup> Lieu notes that Photeinos “began from the premise that Manichaean dualism (especially between spirit and body) was no longer intellectually acceptable and had to be proved by means of syllogism”,<sup>131</sup> and suggests that such a demythologised Manichaeism “might have been developing since the fourth century in the Greek East which had a stronger tradition of philosophy than the Latin West.”<sup>132</sup> More than just “demythologized”, Photeinos appears to be attempting to engage in terms acceptable to Christian philosophical argument.

This modernised interpretation of Manichaean principles is contrasted to the very literal understanding of their cosmogony which Lieu later categorised as “totalitarian gnosis”. Indeed, he cites in a Byzantine context Simplicius’ observation that “they do not think it right to understand any of the things they say allegorically”<sup>133</sup> and “they do not use them as myths nor do they think that they have

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<sup>129</sup> Reproduced in Graeme Clarke (ed.) *Identities in the Eastern Mediterranean in Antiquity: Proceedings of a Conference held at the Humanities Research Centre in Canberra 10-12 November, 1997* (Mediterranean Archaeology 11), 1998, 290-291.

<sup>130</sup> *disp. Phot.*, PG 88.529A-551C; S. Lieu ‘Manichaeism in Early Byzantium: Some Observations’, L. Cirillo & A. van Tongerloo (eds) *Atti del Terzo Congresso Interazionale di Studi “Manicheismo e Oriente Cristiano Antico”: Arcavacata di Rende – Amantea 31 agosto-5 settembre 1993* (Manichaean Studies III), Brepols, 1997 (217-234), 227.

<sup>131</sup> Lieu (1997), 225.

<sup>132</sup> Lieu (1997), 227.8

<sup>133</sup> *in Epict. Ench.* 27; Lieu (1997), 226.

any other meaning, but believe that all the things which they say are true”,<sup>134</sup> although this charge goes back to Alexander of Lycopolis.<sup>135</sup> Lieu next discusses the case of Agapius whose doctrine, as described by Photius, sounds generally Manichaean, but “honoured and preached the body of Christ and Christ crucified, and the Cross and baptism and entombment of Christ and the resurrection of the dead, which were not Manichaean. Though he waged a truceless war against the ever-Virgin Mary, says Photius, he nevertheless spoke of her as the mother of Christ.”<sup>136</sup> While these caveats seem to preclude Agapius from being Manichaean, it should be noted that the religion’s position on these points is perhaps not as clear-cut as traditionally thought, and could feasibly have evolved over time. It is certainly conceivable that they reinterpreted themselves according to contemporary Christian discourse. Lieu also notes that we do not know whether Agapius confessed in his *Heptalogue* that he was a Manichaean, or if it was others who did this on his behalf: an important distinction. He concludes his paper with the suggestion that “The demythologizing tendencies of the last few centuries would have also lessened the sect’s loyalty to the original writings of Mani which could hasten the sect’s loss of self-identity.”<sup>137</sup> Lieu is important in the evolving scholarship on Manichaean identity as he is a pioneer in establishing this discourse, however, his contribution ‘The Self-Identity of Manichaeans in the Roman East’ does not enter into a deeper discussion of the issues he raises, probably due to the paper’s non-specialist audience. One contribution of lasting significance is his emphasis on the Christian character of Manichaean identity. This thesis will provide further, detailed arguments to support and extend this position.

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<sup>134</sup> Lieu (1997), 226.

<sup>135</sup> Discussing Manichaean mythology: “they do not even mean this allegorically” (μηδὲ ταῦτα μέντοι δι’ ὑπονόας λέγουσιν). c. *Manich.* 10; ed. A. Brinkmann *Alexandri Lycopolitani contra Manichaei Opinionones Disputatio*, Teubner, Leipzig, 1895, 16.

<sup>136</sup> On Manichaeism’s nuanced understanding of the life and death of Jesus see M. Franzmann *Jesus in the Manichaean Writings*, T. & T. Clark, London, 2003, 51-87. We should also remember that Uighur Manichaeism adapted to a more sedentary, monied life: *Manichaeism in Central Asia and China*, E. J. Brill, Leiden, 1998b, 87-97; while Sogdian Manichaeans were scandalised at the worldly, modern ways of their “Syrian” brethren: H.-J. Klimkeit *Gnosis on the Silk Road: Gnostic Texts from Central Asia*, Harper Collins, San Francisco, 1993, 261.

<sup>137</sup> Lieu (1997), 233-34.

Next we will analyse Coyle's 'Foreign and Insane: Labelling Manichaeism in the Roman Empire'.<sup>138</sup> This paper is primarily concerned with a discussion of the various pejorative descriptions of the sect by its enemies. Coyle begins with a wider discussion of appellation. It is useful to reproduce here the theoretical basis he gives in the introduction:

The labels groups give to themselves (*ab intra*) are obviously meant to express self-identity; those bestowed on them by others (*ab extra*) express observations or seek to impose a conflicting identity. Three factors are thus at work when a religious group is labelled: the motive behind the labelling (*ab intra* or *ab extra*); the context of an *ab extra* discourse that is always descriptive and may be polemical; and the context of an *ab intra* discourse that has either triggered the polemic/description or is a defence (counter-discourse) against perceived polemics.<sup>139</sup>

In dealing with the term "Manichaeon" he notes that they never call themselves by that name, although he does give the two exceptions in the *Kephalaia* that "really signify 'Mani' or 'of Mani' since, as found there, they could mean either Mani or his followers". The instances he refers to at *Keph.* 100.23 is "I, a single Manichaios", a term somewhat characteristic of Mani in that text,<sup>140</sup> while that at *Keph.* 273.15 ("every elect [Manich]aeon person") is, he admits, a reconstruction.<sup>141</sup> Like Lieu, Coyle observes the emphasis given in the early accounts of Mani's Persian background and contrasts this with the emphasis Manichaeans themselves usually gave to Mani's 'Babylonian' origin.

Coyle discusses the polemicist's favourite pun on Mani/μανία as well noting that, while Manichaeism was attacked as a novelty in Diocletian's rescript, the Patristic literature generally portrayed it as nothing more than unoriginal syncretism. Adjunct to this is a discussion of Manichaeism as 'heresy,' and the ambivalence of the Church Fathers regarding what exactly constituted a heresy. In other words, by calling Manichaeism a *Christian* heresy did they accidentally give it the positive status

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<sup>138</sup> J. K. Coyle 'Foreign and Insane: Labelling Manichaeism in the Roman Empire', *Studies in Religion / Sciences Religieuses* 33:2, 2004 (217-234).

<sup>139</sup> Coyle (2004), 217.

<sup>140</sup> Cf. *Keph.* 184.3 *et passim*. It may be significant, however, that Mani generally uses the shorter version of his name ('Mani') instead of the longer '(Manichaios)'.  
<sup>141</sup> Coyle (2004), 218. Cf. Gardner (1995), 278 n.146. See Chapter 3, "Manichaeon or Christian?"

associated with Christianity, while simultaneously besmirching their own name? Coyle goes on to agree with Lieu on the issue of western Manichaeans considering themselves Christian, although he asserts that it was really only in the Latin-speaking world that they actually went so far as to use it as a label.<sup>142</sup>

Coyle returns to official legislation against Manichaeism up to and beyond its fifth-century decline in the West, and makes the interesting observation that legislative and Christian discourses by this point overlapped and fuelled each other. Lastly, Coyle opines that Manichaean polemical discourse against Christianity is “more muted” than that it directed against Judaism and Zoroastrianism. He even goes so far as to state that “With respect to Christianity, Manichaeans tended to target ideas rather than specific personalities, but in general the objective was less to attack the tenets of others than to advance their own.”<sup>143</sup> In terms of the scholarly debate on Manichaean identity, Coyle’s major contribution is twofold; he offers supporting evidence for the location of Manichaean identity as belonging to the Christian context, but his analysis of the relationship between the orthodox Christian discourse on Manichaeism and the imperial legislation designed to eradicate it shows clearly that, despite the fact that Manichaeans regarded themselves as part of Christianity, Christians sought to expel them from the Christian community, through both theological and institutional means. Somewhat disappointingly, his promising mention of Manichaean polemic against other religions does not really chart any new ground.

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<sup>142</sup> We will discuss his comments further in Chapter 3.

<sup>143</sup> Coyle (2004), 228. Cf. F. Decret: “Plus à l’aise, comme le constatait Augustin, sur le terrain de la polémique anti-catholique que dans la défense de leur propre doctrine”. ‘Le manichéisme présentait-il en Afrique et à Rome des particularismes régionaux distinctifs?’, *Augustinianum* 34, 1994 (4-50), 27. Coyle (2004), 228. Indeed, Lim has described Manichaeism as a religion involved in “the systematic ‘debunking’ of the self-understanding of other traditions, including Christianity, Judaism, Zoroastrianism and Buddhism, and Manichaeans typically employed ‘disputing’ as a means of religious propaganda and persuasion”: R. Lim “‘By word or by deed?’ Two modes of religious persuasion in Late Antiquity”, M. Dillon (ed.) *Religion in the Ancient World: New Themes and Approaches*, Adolf M. Hakkert, Amsterdam, 1996 (257-269), 266. Cf. R. Lim ‘Manichaeans and Public Disputations in Late Antiquity’ *Recherches Augustiniennes* 26, 1992 (233-272) = *idem. Public Disputation, Power, and Social Order in Late Antiquity*, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1995 (70-108), 71: “Disputation was central to Manichaean religious identity from the inception of the movement.”

Richard Lim has written several studies relevant to identity, all advocating to a greater or lesser degree a more nuanced understanding of Manichaeism than is the norm. His 1989 paper 'Unity and Diversity Among Western Manichaeans: A Reconsideration of Mani's *sancta ecclesia*'<sup>144</sup> examines the relationship between Mani's idea of Manichaeism and the historical realities of its instantiations in Rome and North Africa in the fourth century. Noting Mani's evident concern with the corruption of past religions, Lim argues that he "contrived to provide for the eventuality of his own departure by proclaiming a formulation of the guarantors of his religion's orthodoxy" in the text known to scholars as 'Ten Advantages of the Manichaean Religion' (Lim quotes the Middle Persian recension). This has been discussed in Section 1.5.3 "Future Possibilities" and, as noted there, Lim distils from it two criteria: the "twin pillars"<sup>145</sup> of an established hierarchy and a canon of scriptures. The majority of his paper is devoted to the former.

After admitting the evident similarity between the organisational system as outlined both by Augustine and the Chinese *Compendium*, Lim begins to examine it more closely. He suggests that the various numberings of clerics in each order did not reflect reality but should instead be seen "as part of an ideological formulation that was more concerned with the proper situation of authority on a highly theoretical level".<sup>146</sup> This would also give adherents a rough understanding of the proportion of each order to the next. He sees this ideological formulation as part of a "normative orthodox self-definition",<sup>147</sup> and asserts that the tendency among scholars of accepting such an idealised description means they overlook the "fundamental tension between the situations in local Manichaean communities and the universalistic pretensions of Mani's version of the religion." In examining the roles of Felix, Fortunatus, Faustus, and those involved in the experiment in Constantius the Roman Hearer's *domus*, Lim tries to show that "within the rubric of the 'something' we call Manichaeism"<sup>148</sup> there is significant diversity. For example, he draws attention to the Mattarians (those who

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<sup>144</sup> R. Lim 'Unity and Diversity Among Western Manichaeans: A Reconsideration of Mani's *sancta ecclesia*', *Revue des Études Augustiniennes* 35, 1989 (231-250).

<sup>145</sup> Lim (1989), 233.

<sup>146</sup> Lim (1989), 236.

<sup>147</sup> Lim (1989), 236n.18.

<sup>148</sup> Lim (1989), 243.

sleep on mats) and posits the existence of a group utilising a “fundamentalist” understanding of Manichaean scriptures.<sup>149</sup>

Manichaean texts, too, were utilised by various groups for different purposes according to Lim. “Books”, he observes, “are notoriously portable and mobile. Different people may own and use them”.<sup>150</sup> This may be the case, but there is evidence that books were rare and expensive in Late Antiquity, and the issue of the extent of Manichaean lay literacy has not been satisfactorily explored. With regard to other types of local diversity, Augustine reports that the Manichaeans in Paphlagonia and Gaul interpreted the cosmogonic myth related in Mani’s *Thesaurus* to mean that they should commit cannibalism,<sup>151</sup> and Manichaeans accused of a similar crime in Carthage said that these acts were instead committed by members of a schismatic group called ‘Catharists’ (the Purifiers). They could not deny, however, Augustine’s accusation that all of them venerated the same writings of Mani,<sup>152</sup> and Lim even notes Jerome’s jibe that Vigilantius’ teachings were as popular among weaving-women as Mani’s *Thesaurus*<sup>153</sup> (although this is probably more an implication that it was just as full of old wives’ tales).<sup>154</sup> Moreover he observes that the diffusion of these texts among Manichaean communities was uneven, and reasons that even Mani’s scriptures may have been appropriated by those who either considered themselves or were considered by others to be outside Mani’s followers. Lim sees the greatest scope for the study of local diversity in Manichaeism, then, in the role of the Hearers. Their voluntary (rather than imposed) role in its propagation, particularly among “inexperienced catholic Christians”, was “a result of their realization and conviction that Manichaean ideas afforded them a more enlightened form of

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<sup>149</sup> See A. Wearing ‘Manichaean Sects According to Greek and Latin Heresiological Sources: Revisiting the *Codex Theodosianus* and Augustine’, paper presented at the IAMS meeting in Flagstaff 2005, currently in press with Brill. See also Chapter 3 of this dissertation.

<sup>150</sup> Lim (1989), 243.

<sup>151</sup> *De Natura Boni* 47.

<sup>152</sup> *De Haer.* 46.10.

<sup>153</sup> Jerome *adv. Vigilant.* 6.

<sup>154</sup> Lim, however, is more inclined to accept the credibility of this assertion. “We know, however, that many Manichaean texts reached an even wider audience. Jerome reports that many women in Spain, especially in Lusitania, were fond of reading the *Thesaurus* together with works by Marcion and Basilides, and other so-called gnostic authors.” Lim (1989), 245.

Christianity.” He even suggests, using the example of Victorinus who was both Catholic sub-Deacon and crypto-Manichaean Hearer, that Manichaeism and Catholic Christianity were not mutually exclusive, and that not all Hearers were necessarily attracted to Manichaeism because of its position on theodicy; it is possible that the promise of contact with holy figures was attractive enough to them. He also sees the possibility of studying diversity in the differences of the “philosophical Manichaeism” of Augustine and Faustus and the “‘fundamentalist’ wing which favored the literal readings of Manichaean and other texts, composed of people who were perhaps neither particularly well-educated nor wealthy”.<sup>155</sup>

Lim’s paper should be interpreted in part as a defence of Decret’s *L’Afrique manichéenne* (1978), and its characterisation of North African Manichaeism as a local variant, distinct in many ways. Lim is responding to Tardieu’s criticism of this view in his ‘Vues nouvelles sur le manichéisme africain?’ (1979),<sup>156</sup> where he asserts that “Les manichéens, fussent-ils africains, restaient des manichéens, s’affichant comme tels et parfaitement repérables. L’‘indigénisation’, si tant est qu’un tel vocable ait un sens à cette époque, n’était que de surface.”<sup>157</sup> Lim ultimately also concludes that, despite this diversity, “the tenacious hold of the more stable and universal ideology of the higher unity of the Manichaean church is still in place in the knowledge of the ‘actors’.” However, he insists that matters are not as simple as they often portrayed, and that for Manichaeans “there was much blurring of categories that are generally accepted, both in terms of the perceptions of others and in the formation of self-identities.” His final word on Manichaeism is that it “was certainly not a construct fabricated by Christian polemicists and scholars alone”.<sup>158</sup>

Lim’s 1995 monograph *Public Disputation, Power, and Social Order in Late Antiquity* devotes its third chapter to Manichaeans.<sup>159</sup> Beginning with Mani himself, Lim notes that from the beginning Manichaeism’s religious identity was bound up in

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<sup>155</sup> Lim (1989), 248. Lim loosely notes in connection with this the arguments of P. Brown *Augustine of Hippo: A Biography*, Faber & Faber, London, 1967, 55-56. Brown, however, is referring to the ascetic Elect, in comparison to the rather more worldly rhetors of Augustine’s Manichaean circle.

<sup>156</sup> M. Tardieu ‘Vues nouvelles sur le manichéisme africain?’, *Revue des Études Augustiniennes* 25, 1979 (249-255).

<sup>157</sup> Tardieu (1979), 250.

<sup>158</sup> Lim (1989), 249.

<sup>159</sup> Lim (1995), 70-108.



disputation, as “Mani’s kerygma brought into question the very legitimacy of the religious self-understanding of Jews, Christians, Zoroastrians, and Buddhists.”<sup>160</sup> The *CMC* recounts how at twenty-four he openly disputed what Lim calls the two “central pillars”<sup>161</sup> of the baptists’ self-understanding: the tradition of Elchasai and the value of ablution. This humiliated the baptists to the extent that they wanted to attack him physically. Such debate was to characterise the missionary journeys of Mani and his followers, although this was hardly the Manichaean *modus operandi* but simply something unavoidable.<sup>162</sup> When Augustine was initially attracted to Manichaeism it was as “what he and many others regarded as a more rigorously rational form of Christianity.”<sup>163</sup> As in the conclusion to his 1989 essay, Lim surmises that the Manichaean critique of the Old Testament offered an alternative to Catholicism that many found more rational. This “rationality” is chiefly concerned with the origin of evil and the Manichaean doctrine of its sequestration from the activity of the Father of Greatness. Lim suggests that in this manner Manichaean discourse was “arguably more critical than constructive”, which meant that it existed “in a close dialectical relationship with that which they sought to criticize”.<sup>164</sup> Lim concludes this study by depicting the walls closing in around Manichaeism in the face of increasing Catholic power in the Roman empire. With this rise “increased social closure was needed to reflect the new imperial identity” and the grand debates of old were “no more than showcases for exhibiting, for the edification of all Christian subjects as well as the marginalized Other, the wide gulf between sanctioned and illegitimate religious self-identifications.”<sup>165</sup>

Finally, this very year Lim has published a paper that has a direct bearing on this dissertation. ‘The *Nomen Manichaeorum* and Its Uses in Late Antiquity’<sup>166</sup> examines the use of the name ‘Manichaean’ by Manichaeans themselves. Much of

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<sup>160</sup> Lim (1995), 73.

<sup>161</sup> Lim (1994), 74. This is reminiscent of Lim’s identification of the “twin pillars” of Manichaeism, *supra*.

<sup>162</sup> Lim (1995), 75.

<sup>163</sup> Lim (1995), 88.

<sup>164</sup> Lim (1995), 89.

<sup>165</sup> Lim (1995), 106.

<sup>166</sup> Lim (2008), 143-167.

this discussion will have a direct bearing on the points raised in Chapter 3 “Manichaean or Christian?”, so his various arguments will be dealt with in more detail there. It is worth mentioning here, however, his note that Diocletian’s rescript of 302 CE, which persecuted Manichaeans before he commenced persecuting Christians, “did much to reify the identity of Manichaeans.”<sup>167</sup> This may have led them to publicly obscure their identity, which caused the emperors to advise their agents to be on the look out for them masquerading under the name ‘Encratites’, ‘Apotactitans’, ‘Hydroparastatans’ or ‘Saccoforians’. Lim suggests, however, that actual Manichaeans may not have committed this dissimulation, but that instead these names might have represented actual groups whose detractors sought to denigrate them by the implication of a relationship with Manichaeism.<sup>168</sup> He notes that ascetics of all colours were often labelled Manichaean “regardless of whether they themselves participated in a Manichaean self-identity or not.”<sup>169</sup> The underlying reason for Diocletian’s persecution of Manichaeans and Christians was their lack of Roman civic virtue (although the Manichaeans were also feared because of their origins in Persia).

Lim cites also the case of Victorinus, a late fourth century crypto-Manichaean exposed by Augustine.<sup>170</sup> Lim deconstructs Augustine’s version of the events, however, and notes the peculiarity that, while Victorinus does indeed admit to being a Manichaean Hearer, this role is then defined by Augustine in an extensive gloss for his reader of a familiar summary of his own knowledge of Manichaean practice and doctrine which, Lim notes, at no point Victorinus himself affirmed, or even indicated awareness of. Augustine relies on these events, seeming to readers unremarkable because they confirm stereotypes of Manichaeans, and indeed of the Hearer as a strict Manichaean rank rather than one who simply ‘listens’ to their doctrines.<sup>171</sup> Lim suggests the possibility that Victorinus was simply a heterodox Christian who, when acting in his role as sub-Deacon of the church at Malliana, expounded some of these ideas to the Catholics there. This leads Lim to ask “in what manner was Victorinus a Manichaean?”, and ultimately to consider the possibility that Augustine was not so

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<sup>167</sup> Lim (2008), 150.

<sup>168</sup> Lim (2008), 152.

<sup>169</sup> Lim (2008), 153.

<sup>170</sup> Aug. *Ep.* 235.

<sup>171</sup> Lim (2008), 155, 161-164.

much the “discoverer” of Manichaeans as the “inventor” of them. He describes the role Augustine played in eliciting a confession from the ‘Catharist’ Eusebia as that of inquisitor,<sup>172</sup> and notes that he adopted a similar technique to that used on Victorinus in the case of the Manichaean Viator, whom he condemns by association with another elaborate gloss on the tenets of Manichaeism.

In describing this technique, Lim notes that it is “as lawyerly in its argumentation as it is suspect”.<sup>173</sup> Augustine was concerned, Lim reminds us, with delineating the boundaries between Manichaeism and Catholicism, particularly as the Pelagian Julian of Eclanum was still able to accuse the now Bishop Augustine of still being a Manichaean.<sup>174</sup> In the section on Manichaeism in his *Public Disputation* monograph, Lim had connected this with Augustine’s public abjuration of Mani alongside the Manichaean Felix, from which he deduced that Augustine still felt he had to convince many of his new allegiance.<sup>175</sup> Augustine even implies that while himself a Hearer, he was not truly aware that he had departed Christianity. While he was to later consider the two roles incompatible, Lim notes Augustine’s observation that, while his Manichaean community celebrated the paschal feast, they did so with little interest in comparison to the Bema festival.<sup>176</sup> Lim concludes that the community “was having its cake and eating it too”, and that they shared with docetics and gnostics the view that they were “‘superior’ Christians”.<sup>177</sup> He ends his paper with a reminder that “In Late Antiquity, the *nomen Manichaeorum* was after all a label used less for making selves than for marking the religious Other.”<sup>178</sup> It is indubitable that classifications of who is ‘within’ of necessity prescribe those who are not as ‘without’. Yet it is questionable whether this genuinely invalidates the self-identity which is advanced to exclude the Other. In contrast with the conclusion to his 1989 paper that stated Manichaeism “was certainly not a construct fabricated by Christian

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<sup>172</sup> Lim (2008), 157.

<sup>173</sup> Lim (2008), 158.

<sup>174</sup> Lim (2008), 162.

<sup>175</sup> Lim (1995), 101.

<sup>176</sup> Aug. c. Ep. Fund. 8.

<sup>177</sup> Lim (2008), 163.

<sup>178</sup> Lim (2008), 167.

polemicists and scholars alone”,<sup>179</sup> the 2008 paper suggests the possibility that “it was Augustine’s writings and others like them that helped to create the seemingly solid edifice we now call the Manichaean church.”<sup>180</sup> Lim should not be seen as a complete iconoclast, however, but more of a devil’s advocate regarding modern interpretation of Manichaean sources.

Finally, a paper by I. Gardner is soon due to be published entitled ‘Marginal notes towards an understanding of Mani’s religious development and the archaeology of Manichaean identity’.<sup>181</sup> Here, perhaps more than anywhere else, Mani’s own Christian identity is argued. Gardner’s hypothesis is that the self-definition by Manichaeans of their religion as independent of Christianity is “a peculiar trajectory of development, (which would in many ways have astonished its originator)”.<sup>182</sup> He also argues for the establishment of an archaeology of Manichaean texts, and that in terms of the subject of his paper it is possible to identify “a stratigraphy based on the *Epistles* and the *Kephalaia*.”<sup>183</sup> In particular, Gardner attempts to follow the development of Manichaean notions of the Holy Spirit, from Mani’s letters through various chapters of the *Kephalaia*,<sup>184</sup> although he gives the same treatment to the notion of ‘evocations’ of deities.<sup>185</sup>

## 2.5 Conclusion and summary of chapter

This literature review has summarised the basic trajectory of Manichaean Studies and expounded the current state of scholarship on identity. The issue of Manichaeism’s relationship to Gnosticism has been briefly investigated and the question of how

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<sup>179</sup> Lim (1989), 249.

<sup>180</sup> Lim (2008), 167.

<sup>181</sup> I. Gardner ‘Marginal notes towards an understanding of Mani’s religious development and the archaeology of Manichaean identity’ in Cusack and Hartney (eds), Brill, Leiden, in press. As this paper is not yet in print, I am unable to refer to specific page and note numbers. I will, however, refer to those page and note numbers available in my own copy (starting with [1]). My thanks to Associate Professor Gardner for making a copy of this paper available to me.

<sup>182</sup> Gardner, in press, [1n.1].

<sup>183</sup> Gardner, in press, [3].

<sup>184</sup> Gardner, in press, [3-5].

<sup>185</sup> Gardner, in press, [5-7].

Manichaean self-identity was constructed in terms of their relationships with members of other religions such as Judaism and Christianity, has been explored. This material forms the foundation for the investigation of Manichaean identity in Chapter 3 “Manichaean or Christian?” which is the substantial original contribution of this thesis.

## **Chapter 3: Manichaean or Christian?**

### **3.1 Introduction and summary of chapter**

In this chapter it is argued that, while it is definitely true that Manichaeans could self-identify as Christians (and indeed there is evidence that some did), it is also indubitable that they were in no way restricted from self-identifying as Manichaeans. This position has not been argued in the scholarly literature to date, which has been largely dominated by the desire to establish either a separate Manichaean religion which carries with it a distinct self-identity, or Manichaeism as a Christian sect within which members self-identified primarily as Christians. This binary limitation of the possible self-identity of Late Antique Manichaeans can be attributed to the scholarly desire to trace the origin of Mani's teachings, in terms of identifying certain elements as 'Christian', 'Gnostic', 'Zoroastrian' and so on. It is here argued that, although elements of Mani's teachings do resemble teaching of a range of religions, that simply identifying them as such does not materially contribute to solving the question of the religious self-identification of Mani's followers, or even of Mani himself.

This is bolstered by the well-attested fact that founders of 'revelatory' teachings generally deny that the origins of their doctrines lie in existing religions, and assert that they were received as a whole in a divine revelation. This chapter argues that there is one chapter of the *Kephalaia* in which Mani names his followers for himself in a manner analogous to Christians being named for Christ. This is viewed as significant because it established a justification internal to the movement for the use of 'Manichaean' as a legitimate marker of identity. Indeed, this chapter will discuss and evaluate several instances of such a use of the term 'Manichaean' within the religion.

### **3.2 Scholarly opinions regarding the use of 'Manichaean' or 'Christian' as designators**

There has been a distinct shift in scholarship towards support for a primacy of Christian elements in Manichaeism. From the early days of the Patristic heresiologists to the Oriental origins ascribed to it in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and back again to Schaefer and Burkitt's emphasis on Christian elements, depictions of Manichaeism as a Christian sect seem to have come almost full circle. Here I will

focus on more recent studies and consider the work of three scholars: Samuel Lieu, Iain Gardner and Richard Lim. In the abstract for Lieu's 'Self-Identity of Manichaeans in the Roman East'<sup>186</sup> he asserts that Mani "considered himself an Apostle of Jesus Christ" and that Manichaeism "saw itself as a true form of Christianity".<sup>187</sup> He sees the account of the debate with Julia the Manichaean in Michael the Deacon's *vita Porphyri* as showing "clearly that Manichaeism was propagated as a superior form of Christianity".<sup>188</sup> He raises Mani's identification of himself with Paul, and argues that the central place of Jesus in the Medinet Madi texts is greater than the roles of Zoroaster and the Buddha in the Turfan texts, who are much more distant figures. Christian elements in the Manichaean letters from Kellis are invoked to support this claim.<sup>189</sup>

The literature accruing around these letters is growing quickly, but there are a few remarks that warrant our special attention. As early as 1993, shortly after he had joined the Dakhleh Oasis Project, Gardner noted that of the Manichaean community there we have no reason to believe they would have called themselves "Manichaeans" in the sense that their opponents sought to label them as heretics", and that the term itself as currently employed by scholarship originated in heresiological discourse. When these letters are viewed next to the evidence from Augustine "it would seem that, in the Roman Empire at least, they would have promoted themselves as the true church of Jesus Christ, as followers of the Spirit; indeed, as *the* Christians."<sup>190</sup> In his introduction to *Kellis Literary Texts I*<sup>191</sup> he notes that for most believers "Manichaeism would have been a kind of higher and more effective Christianity",<sup>192</sup> and suggests that the religion's apparent success in the rather remote Dakhleh Oasis may have been due to it "presenting itself as in truth

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<sup>186</sup> Lieu (1998a).

<sup>187</sup> Reproduced in Clarke (1998), 290-291.

<sup>188</sup> Lieu (1998a), 221.

<sup>189</sup> Lieu (1998a), 223-224, under the sub-heading "A Self-Professed Christianity".

<sup>190</sup> I. M. F. Gardner 'Personal Letters from the Manichaean Community at Kellis', in L. Cirillo & A. van Tongerloo (ed.s) *Manicheismo e Oriente Cristiano Antico: Arcavacata di Rende – Amantea 31 agosto-5 settembre 1993 (Manichaean Studies 3)*, Brepols, 1997 (77-94), 89.

<sup>191</sup> I. Gardner *Kellis Literary Texts I (Dakhleh Oasis Project: Monograph 4)*, Oxbow Monograph, Oxford, 1996.

<sup>192</sup> Gardner (1996), ix.

Christian” to an area “not yet or only lightly evangelised” by more orthodox Christians.<sup>193</sup> His section on religion in the introduction to *Coptic Documentary Texts from Kellis I*<sup>194</sup> reiterates this in the context of the letters it was published alongside: “Whilst one could argue that Christian terminology was a garb, or missionary technique, adopted by them; we are more inclined to regard the ‘Christian’ references as intrinsic to the system.”<sup>195</sup> He also draws attention to the possibility that references in the Greek documents to καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία may indicate evidence of Christians trying to distinguish themselves from Manichaeism, which also employed the term ἐκκλησία (see further on this Section 4.5 below).<sup>196</sup> Most recently he has published the remains of a codex containing the *Epistles* of Mani which, he claims, evidence “an authentic Christian voice”, and concludes that Manichaeism was really “an alternative Christianity, with its own traditions and heritage and concerns about how to be a good servant of God the Father and the Lord Jesus Christ.”<sup>197</sup>

Another solution to this tension of identities was raised by Lim in his ‘Unity and Diversity Among Western Manichaeans’.<sup>198</sup> Using the example of Victorinus, who was said by Augustine to have been both Catholic sub-Deacon and crypto-Manichaean Catechumen, Lim offers the possibility that Manichaeism and Catholic Christianity were not, for everyone, mutually exclusive. He suggests that perhaps not all Catechumens were attracted to Manichaeism because of its position on theodicy, but that the promise of contact with the holy figures of the Elect might have been attractive enough to them.<sup>199</sup> Lim returns to this idea in his ‘*Nomen Manichaeorum* and Its Uses in Late Antiquity’<sup>200</sup> and says that when scholars draw on “a god’s eye view of ‘Manichaeism’ as a stand-alone universal religion”<sup>201</sup> they overlook local

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<sup>193</sup> Gardner (1996), xi.

<sup>194</sup> I. Gardner, A. Alcock & W.-P. Funk *Coptic Documentary Texts from Kellis I* (Dakhleh Oasis Project: *Monograph 9*), Oxbow, Oxford, 1999.

<sup>195</sup> Gardner, Alcock & Funk, 73.

<sup>196</sup> Gardner, Alcock & Funk, 72n.76 & 74.

<sup>197</sup> I. Gardner *Kellis Literary Texts: Volume 2* (Dakhleh Oasis Project: *Monograph 15*), Oxbow Books, Oxford, 2007, 7.

<sup>198</sup> Lim (1989).

<sup>199</sup> Lim (1989), 248.

<sup>200</sup> Lim (2008), 143-167.

<sup>201</sup> Lim (2008), 163.



understandings of Mani's teachings as Christian. If they paid more attention to such diversity, however, they "could give due consideration to the possibility that not all religious identities were regarded as exclusive and that being a follower of Mani would have been for many just another – indeed a more rigorist – way to follow Christ's teachings."<sup>202</sup> He discusses instances of Manichaeans presenting themselves as Christians, citing particularly Mani's self-address in his *Epistles*.<sup>203</sup> Lim asserts that this went beyond outward appearances, however, and that Manichaeans actually understood themselves (exclusively) as Christians. The "*nomen Manichaeorum*", on the other hand, was employed by Catholic opponents who constructed the image of an "alien Other",<sup>204</sup> to have something more tangible to refute than a mere difference of scriptural interpretation.<sup>205</sup> The form of Mani's name "Manichaios", utilised both for his followers and as an epithet of the founder, he even attributes to opponents, although in support of this he cites only a brief note by Schmidt and Polostky which actually only states that in the Medinet Madi codices the Greek 'Manichaios' was equivalent to Augustine's 'Manichaeus'.<sup>206</sup> This is in disagreement with the standard explanation of its being a combination of the shorter 'Mani' to which the Manichaeans merely added the Syriac *hayyā* 'to live' (giving the title 'Living Mani'),<sup>207</sup> in direct response to or perhaps even in anticipation of the popular Christian pun on its Greek form Μάνης, which they treated as if it was the word

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<sup>202</sup> Lim (2008), 163-164.

<sup>203</sup> Lim (2008), 147.

<sup>204</sup> Lim (2008), 147.

<sup>205</sup> This is reminiscent of Lieu's explanation of the relative successes of Manichaeism and Nestorianism in China. See Chapter 2 "Literature Review".

<sup>206</sup> Lim (2008), 149&n.27; C. Schmidt & H. J. Polotsky 'Ein Mani-Fund in Ägypten: Originalschriften des Mani und seiner Schüler', *Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, philos.-hist. Klasse* 28, 1932 (4-90), 26n.5: "In unsern Papyrusbüchern lautet der Name des Manes stets Manichaios = Manichaeus bei Augustin. Das muss bei der Erklärung des Namens berücksichtigt werden."

<sup>207</sup> See J. Tubach, & M. Zakeri 'Mani's Name', Johannes van Oort, Otto Wermelinger & Gregor Wurst (eds) *Augustine and Manichaeism in the Latin West: Proceedings of the Fribourg-Utrecht International Symposium of the IAMS (Nag Hammadi and Manichaean Studies 49)*, E. J. Brill, Leiden, 2001 (272-286), 281; first suggested by H. Schaeder 'Urform und Fortbildungen des manichäischen Systems', F. Saxl (ed.) *Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg 1924-1925*, B. G. Teubner, Leipzig, 1927 (65-157), 88n.1.

μαρείς ‘mad’.<sup>208</sup> Lim also suggests that the religious affiliation *Μανιχέα* inscribed on Bassa’s tombstone was “a way to refer to a philosophically inclined Christian who has chosen to follow the superior teachings of Mani.”<sup>209</sup> This is also how he interprets the declaration of Secundinus<sup>210</sup> and confession of Victorinus (see the following section).<sup>211</sup>

(Perhaps a note should be made here on Mani’s name itself. While the longer form *Manichaios* is generally understood to indicate ‘Living Mani’, its various etymologies have been explored in a paper by J. Tubach and M. Zakeri.<sup>212</sup> In disagreement with A. Adam’s suggestion that Mani came from *mānā* ‘vessel’,<sup>213</sup> however, they propose to understand *mānā* in its Mandaic use of a “terminus technicus for the prima causa of all things, otherwise called the ‘King of Light’ or ‘Father of Greatness’.”<sup>214</sup> Furthermore, they understand the suffix as being instead an abbreviation of *kasyūtā* ‘concealment’. The name itself is an honorific, which explains its use as an epithet like ‘Christos’ in the Coptic texts, and ‘Mani’ is simply a shortened pet name of this.<sup>215</sup>)

We should not, then, find Manichaean texts describing Christians as outsiders. Chapter 105 of the *Kephalaia*,<sup>216</sup> however, is concerned with explaining the similarities Mani’s own followers share with the ‘Christian people’ (**ΝΡΩΜΕ ΝΧΡΙC[ΤΙΑΝ]ΟC**), most involving the invocation of the names of their respective founders. This comparison would not be possible, one would imagine, without an inherent distinction between the groups already being understood.

Once again he speaks: Chris[tia]n people [...] / sow in the universe for t[h]ree [things  
...]/

<sup>208</sup> Tubach & Zakeri (2001), 272-274.

<sup>209</sup> Lim (2008), 160.

<sup>210</sup> Lim (2008), 143-144, 160.

<sup>211</sup> Lim (2008), 156.

<sup>212</sup> Tubach & Zakeri (2001), .

<sup>213</sup> A. Adam *Texte zum Manichäismus*, Walter de Gruyter, Berlin, 1969, 76n.4.

<sup>214</sup> Tubach and Zakeri (2001), 283.

<sup>215</sup> Tubach and Zakeri (2001), 283-284.

<sup>216</sup> ‘Concerning the Three Things that are great with Mankind, as they are running all the time, in that they [...]’.

The first: If the person will spe[ak the name of Christ] 259 on everything he may lay his hand to construct.

The [sec]/ond: They will call people who love him by hi[s name]; / and bestow his name upon their children and children's [child]/ren.

The third saying: They will swear by hi[s fo]rtune and his surety; namely all these who are under hi[s a]uthority.

And I, Manichaios, who sits before you, / I have sown these three graces; by the grace that was [re/war]ded to me from the Father. For, by the wisdom that I [have manif]est/ed, by the truth that I have revealed and by the truth and [sw]<sup>10</sup>eetness wherein I have taught people, I have received [fa]/me and a good reputation<sup>217</sup> with they who are counted to me. Also, by my good and useful tea[ch]ings / that I have revealed; s[e]e, / people who love me are c[a]lled of my name! Also, by the aposto<sup>15</sup>[la]te of my father, who sent me to the world, they w[ho] / are mine accept me for themselves.

Behold, they swear by m[y fort]une / [i]n every place and every city! Who is as great as I in / the universe? Or who was active in this creation / the way I myself have been been active, other than my brothers the apo<sup>20</sup>stles who were before me? For indeed those t/oo were active and laid foundations in the world. / Indeed, due to this, every one who will believe in me and also be persuaded / to my word can become with me inheritors in the new / aeon.<sup>218</sup>

On the second point, that Christians “will swear by his fortune (εὐδαιμονία) and his surety”,<sup>219</sup> Mani responds that they will do the same by his fortune,<sup>220</sup> although he drops the ‘surety’ (ΟΥΧΕΙΤΕ). The third point asserts that Christians are named after Jesus, as Mani says “They will call people who love him by his name; and bestow his name upon their children and children’s children.”<sup>221</sup> In the same way, Mani says “people who love me are called of my name”.<sup>222</sup>

It is perhaps strange that he does not appear to respond to the first claim, that a Christian “will speak the name of Christ on everything he may lay his hand to

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<sup>217</sup> See below for a discussion of this term.

<sup>218</sup> *Keph.* 258.27-259.23.

<sup>219</sup> *Keph.* 259.4-5.

<sup>220</sup> *Keph.* 259.15.

<sup>221</sup> *Keph.* 259.2-4.

<sup>222</sup> *Keph.* 259.13.

construct.”<sup>223</sup> It may be, however, that he makes such a response when he asks “who was active in this creation the way myself have been active, other than my brothers the apostles who were before me? For indeed those too were active and laid foundations in the world.”<sup>224</sup> If so, the Coptic translator of this chapter may be making some inscrutable point by distinguishing the ‘construction’ (CMNT) of the Christians from Mani’s being ‘active’<sup>225</sup> (M̄NTAΩIPE) in ‘this creation’ (TICΩWNT), and his predecessors being similarly ‘active’ in ‘laying foundations’ (θεμέλιος).

Mani also describes his ownership of his followers in similar but subtly different terms than that of the ‘Christian people’ by Jesus. He refers to them as “all these who are under his authority (ἐξουσία)”,<sup>226</sup> whereas Mani’s own people are “they who are counted to me”.<sup>227</sup> Of note also is the comparison that the ‘Christian people’ are under Christ’s ἐξουσία while Mani says that “they who are mine accept me (ΩΑΠΤ) for themselves.”<sup>228</sup> It may be that the author of this chapter is attempting to distinguish the two groups in some way, although it should be noted that the Greek ἐξουσία appears in other Manichaean texts in both positive as well as negative contexts.<sup>229</sup>

It is also interesting that the sowing of the ‘Christian people’, as defined here, is described using the verb CITE. Mani’s sowing, on the other hand, uses the verb XO.<sup>230</sup> Böhlig reads *Keph.* 259.10-11 as “a seed and a good sowing (OY[CTI]/EPMA M̄N OYCIT NOYQE)”, but in his English translation of the *Kephalaia* Gardner suggested the alternative possibility of C†NOYQE (‘perfume’).<sup>231</sup> He has since

<sup>223</sup> *Keph.* 258.31-259.1.

<sup>224</sup> *Keph.* 259.17-20.

<sup>225</sup> Polotsky has “kräftig”. H. J. Polotsky *Manichäische Handschriften der Sammlung A. Chester Beatty Band I: Manichäische Homolien*, W. Kohlhammer, Stuttgart, 1934.

<sup>226</sup> *Keph.* 259.5-6.

<sup>227</sup> *Keph.* 259.11.

<sup>228</sup> *Keph.* 259.14-15.

<sup>229</sup> See S. Clackson, E. Hunter, S. Lieu & M. Vermes (eds) *Dictionary of Manichaean Texts I: Texts from the Roman Empire* (Corpus Fontium Manichaeorum: Subsidia II), Brepols, 1998, 17, 68.

<sup>230</sup> *Keph.* 259.7.

<sup>231</sup> Gardner (1995), 264n.137.

amended this reading to “I have received good fame and a good reputation”, in light of its use in the Kellis letters.<sup>232</sup> This distinction of **CITE** and **ΧΟ**, then, may be another way of differentiating ‘Christians’ from the churches of Mani and his predecessors. In Chapter 1, for instance, where he describes the sowing of the previous apostles’ churches including the ‘Church of the Saviour’ (Jesus), **ΧΟ** is also used. If this was indeed the case, however, it would seem strange that Mani had linked the name Christ with this group. This could be explained by the fact that the chapter does not link Christ with the group, but simply states that they invoke his name.

That Mani considered the Christian Church to have been different from his own is evident in Chapter 1 (‘Concerning the Advent of the Apostle’). Mani speaks here to his disciples about the continuous presence of churches accompanying the well-known register of his apostolic predecessors. In giving the example of a farmer who sows seeds even as he harvests the current crop, he shows that in the same way the world is never without a means of salvation. Mani lists these apostles as from Seth to Enosh, Enoch to Shem, Buddha and “Aurentes and the remainder too [of the fathers] (**ΠΚΕÇ/[Ε]Π[Ε ΝΝΙ·Α]ΤΕ**)<sup>233</sup> / who were sent to the orient” to Zoroaster, and Zoroaster to Jesus. Curiously, the only churches mentioned in this chapter are those of Jesus and Mani, but it should be noted that churches corresponding to the apostleships of Zoroaster and the Buddha had been discussed in the preceding, introductory chapter of the *Kephalaia*.<sup>234</sup> Jesus chose “his twelve / [and] his seventy-

<sup>232</sup> I. Gardner ‘A letter from the Teacher: Some comments on letter-writing and the Manichaean community of IVth century Egypt’, Louis Painchaud & Paul-Hubert Poirier (eds) *Coptica-Gnostica-Manichaica: Mélanges offerts à Wolf-Peter Funk* (Bibliothèque Copte de Nag Hammadi: Section “Études” 7), Peeters, Louvain, 2006a (317-323), 322.

<sup>233</sup> Funk’s suggested reading of *Keph.* 12.15-16 in I. Gardner ‘Some Comments on Mani and Indian Religions According to the Coptic *Kephalaia*’, A. van Tongerloo & L. Cirillo (eds) *New Perspectives in Manichaean Studies: Vth International Congress of Manichaeism – Napoli 2001. Proceedings* (Manichaean Studies 5), Brepols, Lovanii & Neapoli, 2005 (123-135), 129. See this paper for discussion of the ‘figure’ of Aurentes.

<sup>234</sup> Zoroaster: *Keph.* 7.27-33; Buddha: *Keph.* 7.34-8.7. These are also treated in Dublin *Kephalaia* fasc. ed. pl. 299.1-11; M. Tardieu ‘La diffusion du bouddhisme dans l’empire Kouchan, l’Iran et la Chine, d’après un kephalaion manichéen inédit’, *Studia Iranica* 17, 1988 (153-182), 163-164; Gardner (2005), 129-130; & Dublin *Kephalaia* fasc. ed. pl. 140.3-15; Gardner (2005), 131-132.

two”,<sup>235</sup> and this community of apostles is referred to as “the church of the saviour” ([Τ]ΕΚΚΛΗCΙΑ ΜΠ̄CΩ̄Ρ̄)<sup>236</sup> because of its founder Jesus. The apostles who were “not faint-hearted”<sup>237</sup> after he “rose up to [the heights]” (ΑΖΡΗῙ Α[ΠΧΙCΕ]) but, nevertheless, “[while] / the apostles stood in the world, [Pau]/l the apostle [reinforced them]”<sup>238</sup> and “gave power to the apostles. He made [them] stro[ng]”.<sup>239</sup> When Paul and the apostles had also gone up,<sup>240</sup> however, “all mankind began to stumble. They le[ft righteousness / b]ehind them; and the path which is narrow and sticky. They preferred to go on the road which is broad.” The Church of the Saviour was to have another moment of greatness when

in the last church, a righteous [m]an / of truth app[ea]red, belonging to the kingdom. He reinforced [... / ...] they cared for the church of our master according to [their capacity; bu]t they too were raised up to the lan[d / of light].<sup>241</sup>

This “righteous man” (ΑΥΔΙΚΑΙΟC Ν[Ρ]Μ / Μ̄ΜΗC) or rather ‘men’, as the narrative switches to plural after the lacuna, “belonging to the kingdom” (ΕΦΗΤ ΑΤ̄Μ̄ΝΤ̄Ρ̄Ρ̄Ο), have been variously identified as any combination of Marcion, Bardasian,<sup>242</sup> Elchasai, or even just “his disciples”.<sup>243</sup> Regardless, as with Paul their fortification (†ΜΕΤΕ) of the “church of our master” (ΝΤΕΚΚΛΗCΙΑ

<sup>235</sup> *Keph.* 12.27-28.

<sup>236</sup> *Keph.* 13.22.

<sup>237</sup> *Keph.* 13.16.

<sup>238</sup> *Keph.* 13.18-20.

<sup>239</sup> *Keph.* 13.21.

<sup>240</sup> *Keph.* 13.17-18; 13.25.

<sup>241</sup> *Keph.* 13.30-34.

<sup>242</sup> H.-J. Polotsky and A. Böhlig (eds and trs) *Kephalaia. Seite 1-243* (Manichäische Handschriften der staatlichen Museen Berlin), Kohlhammer, Stuttgart, 1940, 13 note to ll. 30 sqq. J. Ries believes “sans doute” these two are Marcion and Bardaisan: ‘Aux Origines de la Doctrine de Mani: l’Apport du Codex Mani’, *Le Muséon* 100, 1987 (283-295), 284.

<sup>243</sup> E. B. Smagina ‘Die Reihe der manichäischen Apostel in den koptischen Texten’, G. Wiessner & H.-J. Klimkeit (s) *Studia Manichaica: II. Internationaler Kongress zum Manichäismus. 6.-10. August 1989 St Augustin/Bonn*, Otto Harassowitz, Wiesbaden, 1992 (356-366), 365-366.

ΜΠΝΧΑΙ'C) was short-lived. After they too were raised up,<sup>244</sup> “little by little, the church perished (ΩΧΝΕ)”<sup>245</sup> until eventually “the church of the saviour was raised to the heights”.<sup>246</sup> It was at this point, however, that Mani’s own apostolate began.<sup>247</sup> This passage shows us that Manichaeans saw that the church founded by Jesus – the Church of the Saviour – had a definite end, despite successive reinvigorations by Paul and the ‘righteous men’. This ‘last church’ (ΤΖΑΗ ΝΕΚΚΛΗCΙΑ) is superseded by Mani’s own, and it is seen as different to Christianity in the same way the latter is different to Buddhism or Zoroastrianism.

There is only one other instance of the term ‘Christian’ in western Manichaean texts and it occurs, unfortunately, in an extremely fragmentary passage of the ‘Section of the Narrative about the Crucifixion’ in the *Homilies* (42.9-85.34). This is in the narrative of Mani’s suffering and death, and the section from *Hom.* 72.4-73.34 deals with the institution of the Bema festival.<sup>248</sup> It appears to discuss the ordinance of fasting in relation to the festival, and seems to compare the fasting practices of Christians (ΝΧΡΗCΤΙΑΝΟC)<sup>249</sup> and other sects (ΝΔΟΓΜΑ)<sup>250</sup> with those of the Manichaeans.

his Bema that ...<sup>5</sup> ... persecutor, and the enemies ... also ... that he set down ... apostle there. In the generation ... feast-days and [observances of rules ...] Christians, they shall make...<sup>10</sup> ... fast because of him. In the month ... [crucified] him in it ... but what shall we do, for they [...] ? They shall mingle their fast ... the sects fast, they sin ...<sup>15</sup> ... find their hands being spread out ... my cattle. The cattle ... them, for we fast ... the sects. They cause their sins ... also from their fast. They shall<sup>20</sup> ... greatly. In the blessed feast-[days] and observances of rules [ ... appear] in it. Until now ... but they walk in them ... find ... blessed, and ...<sup>25</sup> ... of the good ... the

<sup>244</sup> *Keph.* 13.34.

<sup>245</sup> *Keph.* 13.34-35.

<sup>246</sup> *Keph.* 14.3.

<sup>247</sup> *Keph.* 14.3-4.

<sup>248</sup> Gardner and Lieu (2004), 93. Cf. G. Wurst *Das Bemafest der ägyptischen Manichäer*, Altenberge, 1995, *passim*.

<sup>249</sup> *Hom.* 72.9.

<sup>250</sup> *Hom.* 72.14, 18; 73.12.

trumpet ... observance of rules ... 73 ... year, every year ... [4 lines illegible] ... of the fire ... fast that makes ... do them. The idols in the ... 10 ... hindrance there.

There is one ... fast, and they spread their beds ... These are the feasts of the sects ... world, the ones who shall fast ... they shall sin and stumble by ...<sup>251</sup>

While horribly lacunose, this passage appears to describe the negative aspects of Christians' and other sects' fasting ordinances ("They shall mingle their fast",<sup>252</sup> "the sects fast, they sin",<sup>253</sup> "They cause their sins",<sup>254</sup> "they shall sin and stumble"<sup>255</sup>) in comparison to Manichaean ones. Even if these negative aspects are only to be read as applying to the other (non-Christian) sects, it remains that, after describing the fasting rituals of the Christians, the speaker asks "but what will we do"? before going on to detail the Manichaean fast ("The other fast (which ...) / is excellent")<sup>256</sup> as something superior and, most importantly, entirely separate from the Christian one.

The variant Χρηστιανός here is an interesting one. The use by Christians of Χρηστός as a variant of Χριστός is attested in Christian texts, as indeed is the use of Χρηστιανός by Christians to designate themselves. While Tertullian complained that pagans are mistaken when they call Christians by the name 'Chrestians',<sup>257</sup> epigraphic evidence would seem to suggest otherwise. Anderson understands the phrase Χρηστιανοὶ Χρηστιανῶ ('Christians to Christians' or 'Christians to a Christian'),<sup>258</sup> inscribed in the late third century on a funeral stela in Phrygia, to indicate the religious affiliation "not only of the deceased, but also of the surviving members of

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<sup>251</sup> *Hom.* 72.4-73.14.

<sup>252</sup> *Hom.* 72.13.

<sup>253</sup> *Hom.* 72.14.

<sup>254</sup> *Hom.* 72.18.

<sup>255</sup> *Hom.* 73.14.

<sup>256</sup> *Hom.* 73.16-17.

<sup>257</sup> *Apol.* 3: *perperam Chrestianus pronuntiatur a vobis.*

<sup>258</sup> J. G. C. Anderson 'Paganism and Christianity in the Upper Tembris Valley', W. M. Ramsay (ed.) *Studies in the History and Art of the Eastern Provinces of the Roman Empire*, Hodder & Stoughton, London, 1896 (181-227), 218. Also 215, 221, 222. Cf. also J. R. S. Sterrett *The Wolfe Expedition to Asia Minor during the Summer of 1885* (American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Papers 3, 1884-1885), Boston, 1888, inscription 555 (Apollonia).



the family”.<sup>259</sup> He also notes the variant Χρειστιανός,<sup>260</sup> and attributes to this the greatest antiquity in the region, followed by Χρηστιανός with Χριστιανός being the latest and most rare. It should be noted, however, that other criteria lead him to conclude that the local Christians may have been Montanist in character.<sup>261</sup>

The Manichaean use of χρῆστος for Christ is noted by Alexander of Lycopolis: “Christ however, whom they do not even know, but whom they call *chrestos* (good), introducing a new meaning instead of the generally received one by changing the *i* into *e*, they hold to be Intellect”.<sup>262</sup> In Manichaean texts χρῆστος occurs in its more general usage of ‘good’ elsewhere in the *Homilies* and in the *CMC*,<sup>263</sup> and is also the name of a possible Manichaean in one of the Kellis letters.<sup>264</sup> It is only used as an alternative for Χριστός, however, in several newly published texts from the Kellis codex of Mani’s *Epistles*. The ‘Epistle of the Ten Words’ opens with the familiar address “[Mani the living, the] apostle of / Jesus Chrestos”<sup>265</sup> and a few lines later the prayer formula begins “The peace (that comes) from God / the Father, and our lord Jesus / Chrestos”.<sup>266</sup> There are also instances of this variant in the unnamed epistle that follows (“in the graces of Chrestos”)<sup>267</sup> and the so-called ‘Enemy Letter’ (“by the graces of our lord Jesus Chrestos”).<sup>268</sup> It is interesting that the

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<sup>259</sup> Anderson (1896), 197.

<sup>260</sup> Anderson (1896), 214, 216.

<sup>261</sup> Anderson (1896), 202. After W. M. Ramsay *The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1895, 490-491, 536-537.

<sup>262</sup> *c. Manich.* 24. Tr. P. W. van der Horst and J. Mansfeld *An Alexandrian Platonist Against Dualism: Alexander of Lycopolis’ Treatise ‘Critique of the Doctrines of Manichaeus’*, E. J. Brill, Leiden, 1974, 91-92; ed. Brinkmann (1895), 34.18 sqq.

<sup>263</sup> *Hom.* 55.16 ‘great *tr[easure]*’; *CMC* 24.9 “he (ie. the *syzygos*) is a good and *useful* counsellor”; tr. Gardner & Lieu (2004). My emphases.

<sup>264</sup> “Chrestos (Χρηστος), son of Sophos” mentioned in a Kellis letter that may be from the Manichaean woman Tehat: *P. Kell. Copt.* 43.48. On the latter’s links to the Manichaean family of Makarios cf. Gardner, Alcock & Funk (1999), 253; and further M. Franzmann ‘Tehat the Weaver: Women’s Experience of Manichaeism in Fourth Century Roman Kellis (2006 Penny McGee Memorial Lecture)’, *Australian Religious Studies Review* 20:1, 2007 (17-26).

<sup>265</sup> *P. Kell. Copt.* 53 12:01-02.

<sup>266</sup> *P. Kell. Copt.* 53 12:06-08.

<sup>267</sup> *P. Kell. Copt.* 53 44:21-22.

<sup>268</sup> *P. Kell. Copt.* 53 72.20-22..

form  $\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$  does not occur in the Kellis *Epistles* at all, nor does the abbreviated *nomen sacrum*  $\chi\bar{\rho}\mathbf{C}$ , although it should be noted that in the extant Medinet Madi *Epistles* codex the form  $\chi\bar{\rho}\mathbf{C}$  is always found.<sup>269</sup> This is not to say, however, that it is definitely an  $\iota$  and not an  $\eta$  being abbreviated and, apart from a few exceptions,<sup>270</sup> Manichaean sources generally use some form of *nomen sacrum* (and thus without  $\iota$ ) for ‘Christ’.<sup>271</sup> This leaves the possibility that there are further cases where it is  $\chi\rho\eta\sigma\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$  that is understood by the abbreviation. It remains, however, that nowhere else in Manichaean texts is the form ‘Chrestian’ attested.

If Manichaeans used the form  $\chi\rho\eta\sigma\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$  to denote Christ as a means of distinguishing themselves, then it would seem strange to see them applying it to other sects in the form ‘Chrestians’. It is also peculiar that while the *Kephalaia* and *Homilies* use different spellings of ‘Christian’ both appear as designations of a non-Manichaean sect and, while the first few letters of  $\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\iota\alpha\nu\acute{o}\varsigma$  at *Keph.* 258.27 are indeed uncertain,  $\iota$  is the only definite among them. It seems most probably that, like Christians, Manichaeans themselves played with both variants of ‘Christ’ and also that, like pagan authors, they employed both  $\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\iota\alpha\nu\acute{o}\varsigma$  and  $\chi\rho\eta\sigma\tau\iota\alpha\nu\acute{o}\varsigma$  when discussing Christians.

### 3.3 Manichaean

Our first question, then, should be: are there any instances of Manichaean self-appellation as “Manichaean”? Indeed, it is the term most used to discuss the religion in the sources at our disposal, and is even today the name that scholars who, though they might be beginning to prefer the title ‘Religion of Light’, tend to generally use. But what is the basis of this designation? What does the term mean to us when we use it? In relation to the religion in question, modern usage simply employs it to define one who adhered to Manichaeism (the teaching of Manichaeus). We have seen

<sup>269</sup> W.-P. Funk *A Work Concordance to Unedited Coptic Manichaean Historical Texts*, Quebec City, 1993 (unpublished); Gardner (2007a), 79 (note to ll. 12:02-8).

<sup>270</sup>  $\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$  is written in full in *Keph.* 117.30-31; 182.20; 271.25; *Ps.-Bk II* 42.22; 43.14; 106.31.

<sup>271</sup> The exception is *Teb. Cod.* col. 36.13, although J. BeDuhn and G. Harrison ‘The Tebessa Codex: A Manichaean Treatise on Biblical Exegesis and Church Order’, P. Mirecki & J. BeDuhn (eds) *Emerging from Darkness: Studies in the Recovery of Manichaean Sources*, Brill, Leiden, 1997, 57, do gloss the MS’s  $\chi\rho\iota$  as “Chr(ist)i”.

polemicists use the name derisively, but without their vicious pun on Μάνης this is a fairly neutral term that need not arouse any suspicion of malice on the part of those who use it, until associated with the usual accusations against heresies. The application of the term sounds natural in the ears of one accustomed to the discourse of Christianity, in the case of which the adherent of a particular religion is called by an adjectival form of the name – or at least an epithet – of its founder: i.e. *Christ-ians*. This is not uncommonly applied by Christians (and, subsequently, western scholars) to other religions: *Zoroastr-ian* (or, for some scholars, *Zarathushtr-ian*), *Buddh-ist*, and (the now less popular) *Mohammed-an*. Accordingly, we discover that “Manichaeans” are almost without exception only referred to as such by outsiders, although a few cases must be dealt with.

Regarding Manichaean texts themselves, if we can indeed accept at face value Mani’s declaration that “people who love me are called of my name” (*Keph.* 259.13) we should have no problem finding instances of this. Of the literature, however, the *Kephalaia* itself is the only one that contains anything like a term of this sort. At *Keph.* 271.15 the crucial word is restored to read “every elect Manichaean person (ΡΩΜΕ ΓΑΡ ΝΙΜ ΝΕΚΛΕΚΤΟC Μ[ΜΝΧ]ΔΙΟC)”. This reading by Böhlig is particularly intriguing, although Gardner notes that his reconstruction “should be treated with caution. This form of self-designation does not occur elsewhere in the text”<sup>272</sup> of the *Kephalaia* nor, for that matter, anywhere at all in the Coptic Manichaica. Suffice it to say that the normal way of rendering Mani’s own name in the *Kephalaia* was the shortened form ΠΜΝΧC<sup>273</sup> or, in the case of *Keph.* 100.23 ΟΥΜΑΝΧC ΝΟΥΩΤ (“a single Mani”). This last is peculiar in that it appears to include an Δ that the others do not.<sup>274</sup> The longer –αῖος ending is more common in

<sup>272</sup> Gardner (1995), 278n.146. While A. Böhlig (ed. & tr.) *Kephalaia: Zweite Hälfte. Seite 244-291* (Manichäische Handschriften der staatlichen Museen Berlin), Kohlhammer, Stuttgart, 1966 and Gardner’s word-index (p.306) have ΜΜΝΧΔΙΟC with supralinears over Μ and Χ; although for some reason he drops them when he glosses the word Μ[ΜΝΧ]ΔΙΟC at 278n.146.

<sup>273</sup> *Keph.* 17.21, Ch. 76 (mult.) & 259.6.

<sup>274</sup> *Keph.* Ch. 76 (mult.).

the other Medinet Madi codices and the texts from Dakhleh, although when doing so they usually use include the first **ⲁ** and **ⲓ** as well for the full **ⲙⲀⲚⲒⲬⲀⲒⲐⲐⲐ**.<sup>275</sup>

Coyle has pointed out that instances of *ⲙⲁⲛⲓⲬⲁⲓⲟⲥ* can “signify ‘Mani’ or ‘of Mani’ since ... they could mean either Mani or his followers.”<sup>276</sup> In the context of *Keph.* 271.15 this could result in Mani saying the words “every elect person of Mani” or, in the case of *Keph.* 100.23, “I, a single Manichaean (**ⲁⲛⲀⲔ ⲐⲎⲘⲀⲚⲒⲬⲀ ⲛⲐⲐⲐⲐⲐ**)”. While both are theoretically possible the current reading in the *ed. princ.* of the *Kephalaia* continues to be the most satisfactory, especially since in the case of that at *Keph.* 100.23 the phrase “I, a single Mani” is characteristic of the narrative style in *kephalaion* 76.<sup>277</sup> In this chapter Mani emphasizes his own uniqueness in response to the wish expressed by a disciple that they be given two Manis who can respond separately to both their own needs and Shapur’s demands. Mani explains the events of his initially disastrous missionary journey, and concludes that the world cannot stand even one Mani! While it is possible that each of these was meant to be read “single Manichaean”, this would require a momentous overhaul in our understanding of Manichaean use of *nomina sacra*. In short, we shall have to see if these readings will be improved by Wolf-Peter Funk in the final fascicle of his completed edition of the remaining conserved leaves of the Berlin *Kephalaia*, which will include an addenda and corrigenda to Polotsky and Böhlig’s editions and a complete word index for the entire codex.<sup>278</sup>

Perhaps more promising is the inscription found engraved on a broken headstone at Salona in Dalmatia (modern Czech Republic) that reads “Bassa the

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<sup>275</sup> See Clackson, Hunter, Lieu and Vermes (1998), 184; as well as the indices in *Copt. Doc. Texts from Kell. I* (1999) and *Kell. Lit. Texts II* (2007).

<sup>276</sup> Coyle (2004), 218.

<sup>277</sup> *Keph.* 184.3, 6, 17; 187.27; 188.6, 13.

<sup>278</sup> W.-P. Funk ‘The Reconstruction of the Manichaean *Kephalaia*’, Paul Mirecki & Jason BeDuhn (eds) *Emerging from Darkness: Studies in the Recovery of Manichaean Sources*, Brill, Leiden, 1997 (144-159), 148-150. Funk’s editions of quires 13-16 have already been published: *Kephalaia I: Zweite Hälfte. Lieferung 13/14* (Manichäische Handschriften der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin: Herausgegeben im Auftrage der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin I), Kohlhammer, Stuttgart, 1999; *Lieferung 15/16*, 2000. The final fascicle, covering quires 17-18, is in preparation.

Virgin, a (female) Manichaean from Lydia” (Βάσσα παρθένος Λυδία Μανιχέα).<sup>279</sup> In conjunction with an epigraphical dating between the late third and early fourth century, Kugener and Cumont place the inscription just before Diocletian’s rescript (302 CE).<sup>280</sup> Their argument is that so public a declaration of faith would have been unwise after this point, although it should be pointed out that the rescript was addressed specifically to Julianus, Proconsul of Africa: far removed from Dalmatia in Europe. Scopello, however, has suggested that some time during the reign of Constantine (324-337 in the east) or Julian (355-363) would not be improbable either.<sup>281</sup> The religious tolerance of these later periods would obviously have been more amenable to Manichaeism.

In their brief study on this inscription Kugener and Cumont raise and answer a series of objections to reading the inscription in this way. They suggest the criticism that noting one’s religious affiliation instead of a religious office is unusual for epitaphs of this period, but rebut this by observing that such affiliations were known for Christians in Phrygia which, like Lydia where Bassa was from, was in Asia Minor.<sup>282</sup> They also suggest that the term παρθένος derives from Bassa’s status as an *electa*. On the curious spelling Μανιχέα Kugener and Cumont simply observe that it is obviously meant to be read as Μανιχαία,<sup>283</sup> and Scopello agrees that this spelling would be expected.<sup>284</sup> While we have no reason to believe that Μανιχέα is necessarily

<sup>279</sup> First reported in F. Bulič ‘Il manicheismo a Salona’, *Bullettino di archeologia e storia dalmata* 29, 1906 (134-136). The most exhaustive study is that of M. Scopello ‘Bassa la Lydienne’, *idem. Femme, Gnose et Manichéisme: De l’espace mythique au territoire du réel*, E. J. Brill, Leiden, 2005b (293-315). M.-A. Kugener and F. Cumont consider that its broken base would have continued the epitaph: ἐνθάδε κίται (‘lies here’): *Recherches sur Le Manichéisme. III: L’Inscription de Salone*, H. Lamertin, Bruxelles, 1912, 175.

<sup>280</sup> Kugener and Cumont (1912), III 176.

<sup>281</sup> Scopello (2005b), 314.

<sup>282</sup> F. Cumont ‘Les inscriptions Chrétiennes de l’Asie Mineure’, *Mélanges d’archéologie et d’histoire* 15, 1895 (245-299), 256; Anderson (1896), 214ff. More recently see C. Pietri ‘L’usage de *christianos* dans l’épigraphie’, *idem. Christiana Respublica: éléments d’une enquête sur le christianisme antique* (Collection de l’École Française de Rome 234), École Française de Rome, Roma, 1997, III 1583-1602. It is probably significant that such attestations come from rural south-west Phrygia, while those in the urban north-western areas are more conciliatory towards pagans: Anderson, (1896), 201.

<sup>283</sup> Kugener and Cumont (1912), III 176: “Μανιχέα étant écrit évidemment pour Μανιχαία.”

<sup>284</sup> Scopello (2005b), 307n.69: “On s’attendrait plutôt à l’orthographe μανιχαία.”

a term Bassa would have used to refer to herself, one is left wondering who other than Manichaeans would have gone to the trouble of inscribing this affiliation on a headstone for her (let alone organising her burial in the first place). If it was a local Manichaean community, we have here one point towards the notion that this was an actual term of Manichaean self-appellation. In Marcus Diaconus' *vita Porphyrii Gazensis* Julia is a nun accompanied by helpers<sup>285</sup> and, indeed, Bassa would have found it difficult to feed and shelter herself otherwise without contravening the *tria signacula*. This still leaves the possibility, however, that 'Manichaean' was a term with which only the Elect were honoured as Bassa bears the title παρθένος, a term reserved for that rank.

Alternatively, it is perhaps possible that Bassa was a lone Manichaean in Salona<sup>286</sup> – whether she was the vanguard of a mission there or for some other reason we cannot yet know – and, in the absence of a Manichaean community, the (presumably neutral) local *non-Manichaean* community took the care to bury and identify her.<sup>287</sup> Indeed, Lieu describes those who committed her body to the earth as “the friends of Bassa”, who “were clearly not in fear of being tracked down as associates of a persecuted sect.”<sup>288</sup> Perhaps these same people used to provide her with alms, but one wonders of what religious affiliation they may have been. There is one case of Christians burying a Manichaean: Marcus Diaconus notes that, after the Manichaean Julia was struck down during her debate with the Porphyry he “ordered her body to be placed in a shroud and buried, out of pity for human nature; for he was extremely merciful.”<sup>289</sup> In commenting on this passage, however, M. Scopello notes

<sup>285</sup> Marcus Diaconus *vita Porph. Gaz.* 88: H. Grégoire and M.-A. Kugener (eds) *Vie de Porphyre, évêque de Gaza* (Collection Byzantine), Belles Lettres, Paris, 1930.

<sup>286</sup> One is reminded of Coyle's suggested reading ΟΥΜΝῪΧ̅ ΝΟΥΩΤ̅ (“a single Manichaean”), and its repetition in Chapter 76 of the *Kephalaia* among Mani's narrative of his own unsuccessful missions to various countries. It is tempting thus to understand this as Mani preparing his disciples for the adversity they would face in their own missions to the world.

<sup>287</sup> Although Porphyry was said to have ordered Julia's burial out of Christian mercy: *vita Porph. Gaz.* 90.

<sup>288</sup> Lieu (1992), 126.

<sup>289</sup> Ἐπέτρεψε δὲ ὁ ἐν ἅγιος Πορφύριος περισταλῆναι αὐτῆς τὸ σῶμα καὶ ταφῇ παραδοθῆναι, ἐλέησας τὴν ἀνθρωπείαν φύσιν· ἦν γὰρ καθ' ὑπερβολὴν εὐσπλαγῆχος: *vita Porph. Gaz.* 90.13-16.

that such burial was a prescribed Christian mercy.<sup>290</sup> It seems unlikely, however, that this is what happened in Salona: use of the title *παρθένος* ('virgin') attests to that, as a common accusation in Christian anti-Manichaean polemic was that the Manichaean *electae* were far from chaste.<sup>291</sup> A more fanciful explanation could be provided by Scopello's exploration of the etymology of the name Bassa: "Notons aussi que le βάσσος, -εος (τὸ) ... est l'équivalent de βάσσαρα, le renard (ἀλώπηξ). Or le terme βάσσαρα assume en Thrace signification particulière, car il désigne le vêtement en peau de renard porté par les habitants lors des bacchanales. Le terme βάσσαρα peut indiquer la femme impudente, la courtisane."<sup>292</sup> Could it be possible that a Christian bishop went to the trouble of punning on the name Bassa 'the fox; impudent woman, courtesan' by juxtaposing it with 'virgin'? This explanation seems highly unlikely.

There may be another solution, however. If we entertain Lim's suggestion that in Late Antiquity "not all religious identities were regarded as exclusive",<sup>293</sup> and that for some Christians the mere possibility of contact with a holy person (ie. an Elect) would have been enough incentive for them to become a 'Hearer',<sup>294</sup> we may be able to understand how she survived. Indeed, it seems hard to believe that if a charitable

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<sup>290</sup> M. Scopello 'Julie, Manichéenne d'Antioche (d'après la Vie de Porphyre de Marc le Diacre, ch. 85-91), *Antiquité Tardive* 5, 1997 (187-209) = *idem. Femme, Gnose et Manichéisme: De l'espace mythique au territoire du réel*, E. J. Brill, Leiden, 2005a (269-291), 209.

<sup>291</sup> See for example Augustine *de Haeresibus* 46.73, in which the Eusebia, "some kind of Manichaean nun" (*Manichaeam quasi sancitimonialam*), is accused of being anything but a 'virgin'.

<sup>292</sup> Scopello (2005b), 295.

<sup>293</sup> Lim (2008), 163-164.

<sup>294</sup> Although this implies a much more casual understanding of the term Catechumen than is generally understood: Lim (1989), 248. Lim cites in connection with this *Teb. Cod. col. 4.1-5 (et carent sectarum curis quia peregrini et alieni genae mundo sint)* although, while he seems to think that it "is concerned with the possibility that lay 'Manichaeans' or catechumens would play host to ascetics from other sectae", it seems to be rather a reference to *Luke* 16.9: *ibid.*, 248n.68. Cf. the improved reading of R. Merkelbach 'Der Manichäische Codex von Tebessa', Peter Bryder (ed.) *Manichaean Studies: Proceedings of the First International Conference on Manichaeism: August 5-9, 1987 (Lund Studies in African and Asian Religions Vol. 1)*, Plus Ultra, Lund, 1988 (229-264), 237; and P. Alfarcic 'Un Manuscrit Manichéen', *Revue d'Histoire et de Littérature Religieuses* 6 n. s., 1920 (62-98), 66-67, who, while Lim quotes this version, also recognises the parallel in *Luke* and makes no comment about such concerns.

Christian layperson came upon an ostensibly Christian nun begging for alms they would simply have left her to starve. Moreover, if they said they came from distant Lydia, even if they said they preached a strange gospel according to a certain Manichaios, the Christian may have been none the wiser. It should be noted, however, that the Christian community at Salona seems to have itself originated in Syria.<sup>295</sup> Even then, if Bassa's headstone is indeed to be dated before Diocletian's rescript, knowledge of Manichaeism (not to mention its status as a 'heresy') may not yet have reached Salona. If it was such a community who erected the headstone it may even account for the curious spelling Μανιχέα. It would seem rather ironic if Bassa was in fact the recipient of Christian alms, as Augustine reports that Manichaean Catechumens were themselves forbidden from giving alms to outsiders, for doing so would condemn the divine light within to perdition.<sup>296</sup>

In the year 405 or 406 CE there was an exchange between the Catholic Augustine and the Manichaean Secundinus. A letter from the Manichaean had occasioned a long response from Augustine in the form of a treatise,<sup>297</sup> to which our letter was itself a rejoinder. In it Secundinus states that he had read this and the bishop's various other works, and decided that, while skilled in rhetoric, it did not indicate that Augustine left Manichaeism for Catholic Christianity but had rather left it for the simple love of words. "I found everywhere a supreme orator and almost a god of complete eloquence, but nowhere did I discover a Christian (*nusquam vero comperi christianum*)."<sup>298</sup> Nor did he leave them to follow philosophy for, as Secundinus continues "I found someone armed against everything, but affirming nothing (*affirmantem vero nihil*)."<sup>298</sup> He continues his attack by implying that Augustine's recent persecution of Manichaeism was not from fervent belief but

<sup>295</sup> See references at Scopello (2005b), 312n.95.

<sup>296</sup> *Conf.* 8.10.18; *mor Manich.* 15. Cf. Zach. Mity. *C. VII* 7.187-188 and Ephraim: J. J. Overbeck *S. Ephraemi Syri, Rabulae episcopi Edesseni, Balaei aliorumque Opera selecta e codicibus syriacis manuscriptis in museo Britannico et biblioheca Bodleiana asservatis primus*, Clarendon, Oxford, 1865, 51.11-12; J.C. Reeves 'Manichaean Citations from the Prose Refutations of Ephrem', Paul Mirecki and Jason BeDuhn (eds) *Emerging from Darkness: Studies in the Recovery of Manichaean Sources*, Brill, Leiden, 1997 (217-288), 260.

<sup>297</sup> *Aug. c. Secund.* 25.2.

<sup>298</sup> Secundinus *ad sanct. Aug. ep.* (CSEL), 895. On the adoption by Secundinus of the name 'Christian' see the following section.



merely an intellectual pursuit, and that in his anti-Manichaean polemic “under the name of Manichaeus (*sub Manichaei nomine*) you are attacking Hannibal or Mithridates.” Augustine, suggests Secundinus, had “never been a Manichaean, and never been able to discover the unknown mysteries of his secret (*nunquam fuisse Manichaeum, nec ejus te potuisse arcana incognita secreti cognoscere*)”. Coyle interprets this as the “single unequivocal exception”<sup>299</sup> to Manichaeans avoiding the name for themselves. Secundinus continues that he would have preferred it if, when Augustine “left Manichaeus (*Manichaeo recedens*)”, he had joined the Academy or become an historian rather than going “over to the Jewish tribes with their barbaric customs (*isses ad Judaeorum gentes barbaras moribus*)” as he described Catholic Christianity. Lim infers from all this that Secundinus is here affirming his own Manichaean identity, labelling it under the “*nomen Manichaeorum*”, a term Lim has used in the title of his paper and which is adapted from the term *nomen Christianum* in early Christian apologetic literature.<sup>300</sup> Perhaps he even reads it in Secundinus’ words, that Augustine had been attacking Mithridates and Hannibal “under the name of Manichaeus (*sub Manichaei nomine*)” or, rather, ‘under the Manichaean name’.<sup>301</sup>

Perhaps most striking about this letter is the candour with which Secundinus admits his religious affiliation. This is in stark contrast to the Manichaean letters from Kellis, where the correspondents voice their hope for a future *παρρησία* (‘freedom of speech’) which they seem never to have attained. *P. Kell. Copt.* 20, written to Maria in Kellis from her husband (or brother?) Makarios who is with her son Matthaïos in the Nile Valley, expresses this wish: “This is my prayer at all times: That freedom (*παρρησία*) will come about for us, to come and see you again while we are in the body”,<sup>302</sup> and similarly in *P. Kell. Copt.* 25 Matthaïos writes to her “God grant us that we may see the image of each other in freedom (*παρρησία*) and with a smiling face.”<sup>303</sup> While allowing the possibility that this freedom may be from something so

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<sup>299</sup> Coyle (2004), 218.

<sup>300</sup> Cf. Tertullian *Apologia* 3; Minucius Felix *Octavius* 28.1-6; Athenagoras *Legatio* 2.24; and further J. Lieu *Christian Identity in the Jewish and Graeco-Roman World*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2004, 250-259 & 267-268. See further on this below.

<sup>301</sup> It appears also at *de Haer.* 46.9 (see below).

<sup>302</sup> *P. Kell. Copt.* 20.6-9; cf. 22.10.

<sup>303</sup> *P. Kell. Copt.* 25.24-26.

mundane as work commitments in the Valley, Gardner has linked it convincingly to references in other letters of persecution (διωγμός).<sup>304</sup> The anonymous sender of *P. Kell. Copt.* 31 seemed to be so fearful of discovery that they insisted the recipient destroy the letter once it had been read: “Do not let it stay with you, it may fall into somebody’s hands”.<sup>305</sup> When introducing this letter later in the volume Gardner suggests that this may instead indicate that it was a circular letter intended for all members of the community “reminiscent of modern ‘chain’ letters”,<sup>306</sup> which was intended to be passed on by the recipient to others. In his note to l. 54 he even notes that the Coptic reads more literally “Do not let it stay with you *and fall* into somebody’s hands”<sup>307</sup> which, if the ‘chain’ letter theory is correct, is perhaps more appropriate.

Gardner soon returns, however, to the interpretation of it evidencing persecution, and it is perhaps significant that this letter comes from a group he has collected together on account of their anonymity, “a real surprise in a culture where many personal letters seem to be little more than a list of greetings.”<sup>308</sup> This anonymity may be due to a later date for these letters indicating, as Gardner suggests in one hypothesis, a time of increased persecution (he posits a date in the 380’s for the similarly anonymous *P. Kell. Copt.* 32).<sup>309</sup> Alternatively, it may have been a common practice by the upper echelons of the hierarchy to protect these most valuable of the Church’s members. This seems to hold particularly true for the Teacher mentioned in the Kellis archive who, while often mentioned, is never given a name, and is cited by

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<sup>304</sup> *P. Kell. Copt.* 22.73, and more vaguely 37.13-22. Gardner, Alcock & Funk (1999), 81.

<sup>305</sup> *P. Kell. Copt.* 31.54. Gardner’s original reading of the as-yet unpublished letter P81E (a) ended with the similar “Apa Lysimachos says, ‘Do not save this!’”: Gardner, Alcock & Funk (1999), 81n110. In a more recent paper, however, he has changed this opinion. “There is here a phrase that we previously supposed read: ‘Do not save this!’; i.e presumably referring to the letter itself. However, this can not be correct. The meaning must be something more prosaic, such as: ‘We will not be staying here’.” I. Gardner ‘The Letters of Philammon to Theognostos recovered from House Three at Ismant el-Kharab (IVth Century C.E. Kellis)’ (paper read at the International Conference of the Dakhleh Oasis Project, May 2006b; in preparation), n.30.

<sup>306</sup> Gardner, Alcock & Funk (1999), 207.

<sup>307</sup> Gardner, Alcock & Funk (1999), 213.

<sup>308</sup> Gardner, Alcock & Funk (1999), 207.

<sup>309</sup> He admits that this is highly conjectural: Gardner, Alcock & Funk (1999), 208.

Gardner as a possible author of *P. Kell. Copt.* 33.<sup>310</sup> Augustine had complained that Manichaeans bearing complaints could not locate their Bishop, so well was he concealed,<sup>311</sup> and as we will see in the case of Victorinus (after 395), one condition of his conversion to the Catholic Church was that he provide not only the names of Manichaeans in Malliana, but all of Africa. Augustine has preserved such an abjuration of Manichaeism, signed by the convert Felix (Cresconius?)<sup>312</sup> who, in due process of his renunciation, appended the names of those Manichaeans he knew.<sup>313</sup> In the face of this persecution, such a practice of anonymity by the Teacher – the highest-ranking Manichaean in Egypt – and certain other Elect would have been extremely sensible. Secundinus was then indeed bold to deliver such self-incriminating evidence into the hands of a known enemy of Manichaeans, although perhaps he considered his location in Rome was sufficiently distant from Hippo. This also after various imperial edicts had been issued by Gratian and Theodosius in the 380's instituting the punishments of Manichaeans,<sup>314</sup> and had even gone so far as to warn officials to be on the lookout for them hiding under different names (*sub simulatione fallaci eorum scilicet nominum*).<sup>315</sup> Secundinus, however, unlike the longed-for παρηγοία of the Kellis letters, gives gratitude in the present to the holy trinity “because they have given me the opportunity to greet freely (*securus salutarem*) your excellent holiness”.

How are we to regard reports of Manichaeans describing themselves as such from polemical works? Ch. 15 in Book 4 of Macarius Magnes' *Apocriticus* (297-302)<sup>316</sup> deals with the heretics foretold in *Matt.* 24.5, where Jesus warns “For many

<sup>310</sup> Gardner, Alcock & Funk (1999), 208. He also suggests Apa Lysimachos.

<sup>311</sup> Aug. *de mor. Manich.* 70.

<sup>312</sup> S. and J. Lieu “‘Felix Conversus ex Manichaeis’ – a case of mistaken identity?”, *Journal of Theological Studies* 23:1 n. s., 1981 (173-176) = S. Lieu *Manichaeism in Mesopotamia and the Roman East*, E. J. Brill, Leiden, 1994 (153-155), 155.

<sup>313</sup> Aug. *act. Felix* (CSEL 25/2, 801-52).

<sup>314</sup> CT 16.5.7, 9 & 11.

<sup>315</sup> CT. 16.5.7.3..

<sup>316</sup> For this rather controversial dating, which contradicts the ca. fifth century consensus among certain German scholars, see T. W. Crafer ‘Macarius Magnes, a Neglected Apologist’, *Journal of Theological Studies* 31, 1907 (401-423), esp. 415-420. Aside from historical details, his argument is based also on the posited power relationship between Macarius and his pagan opponent.

will come in my name, claiming, 'I am the Christ,' and will deceive many." Macarius begins, "At once I can tell you of Manes from Persia who imitates the name of Christ".<sup>317</sup> Somewhat paradoxically, however, he also says of Manichaeans and other heresies that

All these and those who affected them, appropriating to themselves the name of Christianity, wrought unspeakable error in the world, and have taken numberless spoils and captives. Moreover, as these are Anti-christs, or contrary to God, their followers are no longer willing to bear the name of Christian, but like to be called, after the name of their leaders, Manichaeans, Montanists, Marcionists, Droserians, and Dositheans.<sup>318</sup>

Macarius' argument here seems to rest on the idea that Manichaeism was nothing more than a Christian heresy, but his claim that they prefer the name Manichaeian is interesting. He gives us no clue as to his source for this piece of information so we should be cautious in attributing much veracity to this claim,<sup>319</sup> but it is notably reminiscent of Mani's claims in Chapter 105 of the *Kephalaia*.

In his *Historia Ecclesiastica* (326-30) Eusebius of Caesaria refers to Manichaeism as a heresy and, while not naming Mani himself, announces him in a now-familiar way: "the madman (μανείς), named after his demonic heresy (δαιμόνωσης αίρέσεως)". While this rather forced reversal of the naming order (Mani named after Manichaeism) is no doubt solely to elicit his pun, Eusebius goes on to attribute the name Manichaeian to Mani's followers: "Because of him the profane name of the Manichaeans (τὸ Μανίχηναιων δύσσεβες ὄνομα) is now pronounced by many."<sup>320</sup>

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<sup>317</sup> *Apocr.* 4.15, ll. 6-7. C. Blondel (ed.) *Macarii Magnetis quae supersunt, ex inedito codice edidit*, Klincksieck, Paris, 1876; T. W. Crafer (tr.) *The Apocriticus of Macarius Magnes*, Macmillan, London, 1919, 128-9.

<sup>318</sup> *Apocr.* 4.15, ll. 18-21.

<sup>319</sup> Indeed, as Macarius has been overlooked in Patristic scholarship he has also been overlooked in Manichaeian research, and a study on his possible source(s) is wanting. If such an early date is indeed attributable to the *Apocriticus*, one wonders which of our known sources would have been available to him.

<sup>320</sup> *Hist. Eccl.* 7.31

If we examine polemical texts more closely we come up with other, more detailed instances. In her debate with Porphyry of Gaza (ca. 400 CE), Julia is said by Marc the Deacon to have “confessed to the abominable heresy of those known as Manichaeans”.<sup>321</sup> Later he restates this within the narrative: “Porphyry sent for her and questioned her about herself, her origins and the doctrine she followed. The woman gave her country of birth and declared that she was Manichaean (ὅτι Μανιχαία ἐτύγχαμεν ὡμολόγησεν).”<sup>322</sup> As the declaration is merely paraphrased rather than quoted, it might be explained as nothing more than a gloss on the part of Marcus Diaconus for any number of alternatives. If a Manichaean *electa* declared ‘that she was a Christian’ it is to be expected that he might record this differently. We need not condemn this as subterfuge, however, as he does not attribute this to a direct quotation from the mouth of Julia. It may be significant that in the Georgian recension of the *vita*, translated from a Syriac version itself dependent on a Greek edition earlier than our own text, Julia is described as a “female philosopher”.<sup>323</sup> While this gives us no real reason to doubt that the debate was indeed with a Manichaean, it should be noted that Marcus’ rather brief description of the religion in the short narrative is so general that it could be applied to many ‘heresies’. This presents the possibility, however small, that in the original version Porphyry’s debate was indeed with a pagan.<sup>324</sup>

Returning to the declaration of Manichaean identity Lim notes that

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<sup>321</sup> Marcus Diaconus *vita Porphyrii Gazensis* 85.1-2. Tr. S. Vince and S. N. C. Lieu in Gardner and Lieu (2004), 126. The historicity of the ‘Manichaean episode’ has been called into question by some scholars who consider it an interpolation into the original *vita* by (Pseudo-) ‘Marcus’, although this has not really been noted in Manichaean Studies: see esp. Grégoire and Kugener (1930), lxxxvii-lxxxviii. The edition of the Georgian recension of the text seems to reinforce this (on which see below).

<sup>322</sup> Marc. *vita Porph. Gaz.*: 87.4; Vince and Lieu, *loc. cit.*, 127.

<sup>323</sup> Lim (2008), 159; P. Peteers (ed.) ‘La vie géorgienne de Saint Prophyre de Gaza’, *Analecta Bollandiana* 59, 1941 (65-217), 196: His Latin translation renders her confession in Ch. 85 as “*quae cultrix erat spurcorum idolorum*”. Her declaration in Ch. 87 is missing as in the narrative she is not allowed to respond to Porphyry’s question before being seized by those present. Peteers discusses these differences further from 85-88 which is where he describes her as “une propagandiste de la philosophie et de la païenne religion”, 85.

<sup>324</sup> G. G. Stroumsa ‘Gnostics and Manichaeans in Byzantine Palestine’, *Studia Patristica* 18:1, 1985 (273-278), 97.

it only arises as a direct response to a specific, posed question regarding whose teachings she was in fact following. She may therefore be described as a Manichaean in the sense that she followed the teachings of Mani, rather than held active membership in a socio-religious institution called the Manichaean 'church'. It is unfortunate that his longer account of the debate is no longer extant.<sup>325</sup>

What is curious is that Marcus had just previously gone to some pains to depict Manichaean missionaries as cloaking their religion in Christianity, and that they even "claim to be Christians",<sup>326</sup> so we should be somewhat wary of believing that she actually used the name "Manichaean" when referring to herself in response to a direct question. While it may be possible that she did indeed use the term herself, unfortunately there is too much supposition involved to warrant serious consideration.

Victorinus, a subdeacon in the Catholic Church and crypto-Manichaean, had according to Augustine confessed "that he was indeed a Manichaean hearer but not an elect" (*auditorem sane Manichaeorum, non electum se esse confessus est*),<sup>327</sup> and "confessed that he was a Manichaean hearer" (*se Manichaeorum auditorem esse confessus est*).<sup>328</sup> After Victorinus told Augustine that he had believed intolerable blasphemies and taught them vigorously, Augustine refused his request to be lead back to the Catholic way and had him confined and then exiled. Lim suggests that Augustine's account of the events is "suspiciously lacunose", noting that he had failed to interrogate Victorinus properly, nor gotten him to divulge the names of other Manichaeans "a common enough line of questioning in such proceedings". Nor was he condemned for possessing Manichaean texts, although Lim acknowledges that Victorinus, as a Catechumen, would not have had access to them.<sup>329</sup> This list of accusations is somewhat odd, considering that after he had Victorinus exiled Augustine wrote to Deuterius confessing (*fateor*) that he had been so violently shocked (*vehementer exhorruī*) by Victorinus' duplicity that he had forsaken his duty

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<sup>325</sup> Marc. *vita Porph. Gaz.*: 88.17-20; G&L (2004), 128n.32.

<sup>326</sup> Marc. *vita Porph. Gaz.*: 86. On this, see the following section.

<sup>327</sup> Aug. *Ep.* 237.1. A Goldbacher (ed.) *CSEL* 57, Vienna, 1911; W. Parsons *St Augustine: Letters* (Fathers of the Church Series 32), Catholic University of American Press, Washington DC, 1953, V 180.

<sup>328</sup> Aug. *Ep.* 236.3.

<sup>329</sup> Lim (2008), 155.

of mercy to allow repentance, and not even taken the time to observe due process. He urged Deuterius: “If he seeks an opportunity for repentance, let him be believed if he will make known to us the other Manichaeans whom he knows, not only at Malliana but in the whole province.”<sup>330</sup> Lim seems instead to be more concerned with questioning Victorinus’ identity as a Manichaean, and suggests rather that he was a simple (Catholic?) Christian with heterodox leanings, which Augustine conveniently labelled ‘Manichaean’. “Could it be that Victorinus simply regarded himself as a Christian and therefore saw nothing amiss in holding forth on his own views on good and evil while discharging his duties as subdeacon?”<sup>331</sup> In fact, Lim suggests, Augustine may be regarded “not so much as a ‘discoverer’ of Manichaeans as the ‘inventor’ of them”, and that “the *nomen Manichaeorum* was invoked principally to serve the agenda of the self-identified orthodox group.”<sup>332</sup> He further explains Augustine’s “lacunose” statement by suggesting that Victorinus’ public confession was agreed upon in advance to avoid a public trial and serious consequences,<sup>333</sup> although this does not really explain his ignoring Augustine’s following warning to Deuterius. It seems as though Augustine was genuinely taken aback by Victorinus’ revelation.

There is a report in Augustine’s *de Haeresibus* in which a certain Manichaean named Viator is being interrogated in relation to accusations of the celebration of an obscene eucharist. Augustine says of the Manichaeans being questioned that “they deny that they do this, claiming that some others do it, using the name of the Manichaeans (*sub nomine Manichaeorum*)” (46.9).<sup>334</sup> When the Manichaean Viator is questioned, he

claimed that those who commit such acts are properly called Catharists (*proprie Catharistas vocari*). Nevertheless, though he asserted that there are other groups of the Manichaean sect divided into Mattarii and especially Manichaeans (*cum alias ejusdem manichaeae sectae partes in Mattarios, et specialiter Manichaeos*) he could

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<sup>330</sup> Ep. 236.3.

<sup>331</sup> Lim (2008), 156.

<sup>332</sup> Lim (2008), 156.

<sup>333</sup> Cf. Lim (1995), 100-101: where he suggests that Felix’s anathematism of Mani and his teachings was “prearranged” with Augustine.

<sup>334</sup> Gardner and Lieu (2004), 144.

not deny that all of these three forms (*formas*) were propagated by the same founder and that all of them are, generally speaking, Manichaeans (*omnes generaliter manichaeos esse*).<sup>335</sup>

The question of the division of Manichaeism into sects is beyond the scope of this dissertation, but for the purpose of the present enquiry we could reasonably suppose that of any division, at least in North Africa, the group named “Manichaeans” would have been those who were most victorious in any dispute of doctrine or practice. They had earned the right (whether by sheer weight of numbers or some other reason we are not aware of) to a normative claim of the name ‘Manichaean’ over and against the defeated. They felt no need to splinter-off from the mainstream of the religion under a new name; indeed, they *were* the mainstream of the religion.

While this may appear to be a logical conclusion, the argument rests on the initial assumption that ‘Manichaean’ would have been the name the various factions were fighting for and, consequently, would have been their collective name in the first place. We have by no means established yet that this point can be taken for granted. Again, unfortunately, Augustine does not quote Viator, but merely paraphrases him. Like the report of Julia in Marcus Diaconus, we can not be sure that Augustine does not here merely ‘translate’ some other term into one with which his readers would be better acquainted (not to mention more comfortable with), even if we ignore the question of exactly how much of the account is true. The figure of Viator is not attested in any other source,<sup>336</sup> although in commenting on this figure Decret has suggested that, given his power to speak at the tribunal and broad knowledge of what he describes as a religion cloaked in secrecy, he may have been a Manichaean of some hierarchical office (*initié*).<sup>337</sup>

From Victor of Vita’s *History of the Vandal Persecution* comes the strange story of Clementianus: “One of them, a monk of theirs called Clementianus, was

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<sup>335</sup> *De Haer.* 46.9.

<sup>336</sup> Despite a lack of corroborating evidence one is tempted to suspect, given the apparently itinerant nature of Manichaean hierarchical duties, that the name Viator (‘traveller’) would have been popular among the Manichaean Elect. It may also have been an adjectival appellation given in later life, rather than given at birth or initiation into the Church.

<sup>337</sup> F. Decret *L’Afrique Manichéenne (IV<sup>e</sup>-V<sup>e</sup> siècles): Étude historique et doctrinale*, Étude Augustiniennes, Paris, 1978, I 375-6.



found to have a piece of writing on his thigh: ‘Mani, the disciple of Jesus Christ’ (*Manichaeus discipulos Christi Iesu*).<sup>338</sup> While the context implies this motto was a tattoo on Clementianus’ thigh, Lim, bizarrely, states that “Clementianus had inscribed on his own femur bone the ... words”.<sup>339</sup> It appears that Lim has chosen to understand the words *scriptum habens in femore* as pertaining to a post mortem inscription on Clementianus’ thigh bone, rather than tattooed on the skin of his thigh in life as is usually understood.<sup>340</sup> How exactly Clementianus would have “inscribed on his own femur bone” the words is unknown, but Lim confirms this supposition by also describing the act as “self-marking”. Even if we assume the word “bone” to be a mistake, the very choice of the verb “inscribe”, as well as the seemingly mocking use of quotation marks when describing the motto as “‘tattooed’”<sup>341</sup> seem to indicate that Lim is cribbing from Lieu’s description of “inscribed appropriately on his thigh” in the first edition of his *Manichaeism in the Later Roman Empire and Medieval China*.<sup>342</sup> In his second edition Lieu has amended this to simply “‘tattooed’ on his thigh”,<sup>343</sup> but Lim truly seems to believe the words to have been inscribed on bone.

Clementianus’ fate is unknown, although Victor tells us that in the years following Huneric’s accession in the 480’s he punished “many” (*multos*) Manichaeans by burning and “more” (*plurimos*) by exiling them across the sea.<sup>344</sup> If the minority were burned and the majority exiled, one could infer from this that it was the Elect who were executed at the stake while Catechumens suffered only exile.

<sup>338</sup> Victor Vitensis *Hist. pers. Africae* 2.2 (Migne PL 58.201D-202C): *De quibus repertus est unus, nomine Clementianus, monachus illorum, scriptum habens in femore Manichaeus discipulos Christi Iesu*. Engl. Tr. J. Moorhead *Victor of Vita: History of the Vandal Persecution*, Liverpool University Press, Liverpool, 1992, 24.

<sup>339</sup> Lim (2008), 160.

<sup>340</sup> M. Gustafson ‘*Inscriptia in fronte: Penal Tattooing in Late Antiquity*’, *Classical Antiquity* 16:1, 1997 (79-105), 98n.114.

<sup>341</sup> Lim (2008), 161.

<sup>342</sup> S. Lieu *Manichaeism in the Later Roman Empire and Medieval China* Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1985, 164. “appropriately” because it would usually have been covered by clothing? This was perhaps not so much ‘appropriate’ as it was ‘sensible’.

<sup>343</sup> S. . Lieu *Manichaeism in the Later Roman Empire and Medieval China*, J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), Tübingen, 1992 [second edition], 203.

<sup>344</sup> Victor Vitensis *Hist. pers. Africae* 2.1 (Migne PL 58.201D): *ex quibus multos incendit, plurimos autem distraxit navibus transmarinis*.

Clementianus, as “a monk of theirs” (*monachus illorum*), was presumably one of the Elect,<sup>345</sup> and would by this reasoning have been burnt. This means that there would very likely have been an exposed femur bone to be inscribed with the motto, for someone to see it, and for Victor to hear of it, and one can well imagine such a thing would have been treasured by other Manichaeans as a relic. This is all sheer fancy, however, and it is most likely that Lim’s interpretation is simply mistaken and Clementianus had tattooed the motto on this thigh.

Lieu translates *discipulus* as “Apostle” as this motto is so reminiscent of Mani’s own epistolary address,<sup>346</sup> although it should be noted that the corresponding Latin from the *Ep. Fund.* reads, more expectedly, *Manichaeus apostolus Iesu Christi*.<sup>347</sup> Lim takes this opportunity to offer alternative interpretations of the motto, similar to Coyle’s suggested readings of ΜΑΝΙΧΑΙΟΣ in the *Kephalaia*, although he suggests the two possible ways it can be read are ‘I am a Manichaean, a disciple of Jesus Christ’ or ‘Manichaeus is a/the disciple of Jesus Christ’. “If the latter, then this tattooed message should be interpreted not as a clear declaration of Manichaean religious self-identity but rather as a forceful declaration of *Christian* self-identity on the part of those who followed the teachings of Mani.”<sup>348</sup> The latter understanding recalls Lim’s indication earlier in the paper that he considered Mani’s epistolary address as evidence of his self-identification as Christian.<sup>349</sup> Indeed, given Mani’s declaration of his own apostleship it seems hardly debatable in the context of his *Epistles* as received in western texts, but this by no means precludes a different understanding of Mani in later Manichaean tradition. Lim’s own opinion is further confused by his interpretation of the first possibility he had provided (‘I am a Manichaean, a disciple of Jesus Christ’) as “an unequivocal declaration of the man’s

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<sup>345</sup> Decret considers he was an Elect: (1978), I 359.

<sup>346</sup> Lieu (1992), 203.

<sup>347</sup> *Ep. Fund.* frg. 1 = Aug. *c. Ep. Fund.* 5.10-11 & *c. Fel.* 1.1. E. Feldman (ed.) *Die ‘Epistula Fundamenti’ der nordafrikanischen Manichäer: Versuch einer Rekonstruktion*, Akademische Bibliothek, Altenberge, 1987. It should be noted that J. Zycha’s edition of *c. Fel.* 1.14 has the formula written with *Christi Iesu*, the order seen on Clementianus’ tattoo (*CSEL* 25/2), while Migne has the more common and intuitive *Iesu Christi*, either by use of a different MS or his own correction.

<sup>348</sup> Lim (2008), 161.

<sup>349</sup> Lim (2008), 147.

own Manichaean religious identity”.<sup>350</sup> Why Mani’s declaration of himself as a disciple of Jesus should make him a Christian, while Clementianus’ declaration of the same would mark him as a Manichaean is mystifying. Regardless, its obvious similarity to Mani’s epistolary address would seem to indicate that it was a reference to the founder himself, worn as a badge of honour – though presumably obscured by clothing – by a crypto-Manichaean.

Thus it seems that the will of Mani that his followers should take his name as expressed in Chapter 105 of the *Kephalaia* was upheld by some. These cases are in a distinct minority, however, with many of them at best entirely theoretical or disputed, and at worst utterly untenable. In editing the Coptic documentary texts from Kellis Gardner noted that Mani is never directly named,<sup>351</sup> and the only two times he is referred to he is called ‘the Paraclete’.<sup>352</sup> He compares this, however, with the similar dearth of references in the *Kephalaia*, where it generally only occurs when Mani is quoted as referring to himself. There is the further ambiguity of most of these attestations being found in connection with expressions of simultaneous Christian identity. We should examine instances of Christian self-identification further.

### 3.4. Christian

Regarding evidence of Manichaeans calling themselves Christians, in the *Acta Archelai* (330-348?)<sup>353</sup> the titular bishop relates how, while in captivity in the last stage of his life, Mani had his disciples bring Christian books to him, and it was only at this point that Christian elements entered Manichaeism.

He also tried to advance his own assertions from our books ... by attacking some statements in them, and altering others, and only by adding the name of Christ. He

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<sup>350</sup> Lim (2008), 161.

<sup>351</sup> Gardner, Alcock & Funk (1999), 80.

<sup>352</sup> *P. Kell. Copt.* 19.9; 35.27; and in Greek *P. Kell. Gr.* 28.29. Cf. however the reference to the Τόπ(ος) Μανι at *KAB* 320.513: R. S. Bagnall *The Kellis Agricultural Account Book: P. Kell. IV Gr. 96* (Dakhleh Oasis Project: Monograph 7), Oxbow, Oxford, 1997.

<sup>353</sup> S. Lieu ‘Fact & Fiction in the *Acta Archelai*’, P. Bryder (ed.) *Manichaean Studies: Proceedings of the First International Conference on Manichaeism: August 5-9, 1987 (Lund Studies in African and Asian Religions Vol. 1)*, Plus Ultra, Lund, 1988a (69-88) = *idem. Manichaeism in Mesopotamia and the Roman East*, E. J. Brill, Leiden, 1994 (134-152), 136.

pretended to adopt that name, so that in all the cities when they heard the holy divine name of Christ they would not abhor or banish his disciples.<sup>354</sup>

While there is little historical value in this passage regarding the Manichaean understanding of their debt to Christianity, we can see here that it does claim they adopted a Christian guise when preaching, presumably not only adopting the name of Christ for his teachings but also that of ‘Christian’ for himself and his followers. Epiphanius said similarly of Mani that “He merely mouths the name of Christ” (μόνον Χριστοῦ σεμνύνεται ὄνομα λόγῳ),<sup>355</sup> probably borrowing the phrase from the Greek version of the *Acta Arch.* John Chrysostom (d.406) also accused them of pretending to be Christian: “Do not, when thou hearest that a man is not a Heathen nor a Jew, straightway believe him to be a Christian; but examine also into all the other points; for even Manichaeans, and all the heresies, have put on this mask, in order thus to deceive the more simple.”<sup>356</sup>

Returning once again to Marcus Diaconus, as mentioned above he says of the Manichaeans that they “claim to be Christians”. This is in the context, however, of a description of their docetism. Marc has found another way to involve the Manichaeans with puns as he notes that, while Julia had confessed (ὠμολόγησεν) she was a Manichaean, Manichaeans “also confess (ὁμολογοῦσιν) Christ, but claim (λέγουσιν) that he was only apparently (δοκῆσει) incarnate. As well as that, they who claim to be Christians (λέγονται Χριστιανοί) themselves only appear (δοκῆσει) to be so.”<sup>357</sup> Lim wonders whether Julia was in this way similar to Secundinus, in that she was “a Christian who regarded Mani’s teachings as a superior, more philosophical brand of the Christian truth”.<sup>358</sup>

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<sup>354</sup> *Acta Arch.* 65.5; tr. M. Vermes *Hegemonius Acta Archelai (The Acts of Archelaus) (Manichaean Studies IV)*, Brepols, Turnhout, 2001. Coyle says that *Acta Arch.* 61.6 has “Mani claiming to be a true Christian”, but these are in fact the words of Archelaus: (2004), 224. If there is any reference here to Mani’s teaching, it is in Archelaus’ dismissal of “the secondary explanations of my Lord Jesus Christ our Saviour.”

<sup>355</sup> *Pan.* 66.88.2.

<sup>356</sup> *Hom. Hebr.* 8.8.

<sup>357</sup> v. *Porph. Gaz.* 86.1-2; tr. S. Lieu and S. Vince in Gardner and Lieu (2004), 127.

<sup>358</sup> Lim (2008), 159.

This condemnation of the Manichaeans as a heretical deviation from Christianity generated a certain ambivalence for Christian writers. They often sought to classify Manichaeism as syncretic, and thus an unoriginal concoction of previous teachings. Mani is depicted as having stolen ideas from Christianity in the *Acta Archelai*, and also in Cyril of Jerusalem,<sup>359</sup> Ephraim<sup>360</sup> and Marcus Diaconus<sup>361</sup> all claimed Manichaeism was the culmination and combination of all previous heresies. Asserting plagiarism from Christianity, however, lead to the unfortunate but inevitable conclusion that Manichaeism was itself a Christian heresy. Worried that they might in this way unintentionally confer a level of prestige – however minor – on Manichaeism by this association with Christianity, several writers were careful to distinguish Manichaeism from other heresies. Cyril of Jerusalem gave his accusation of Manichaeism’s unoriginal quality the caveat of adding “Manes is not of Christian origin, God forbid! nor was he like Simon cast out of the Church”,<sup>362</sup> and Coyle sees Augustine’s singling out of the Manichaeans from among other heresies (‘heretics, and especially Manichaeans’) as indicative of this also.<sup>363</sup> Moreover, while Epiphanius prescribed conversion as the treatment for many heretics in his *Panarion*, Manichaeism needed to be destroyed.<sup>364</sup>

When we come to the Manichaean Faustus of Milevis’ *Capitula de christiana fide et veritate* of (386-390),<sup>365</sup> we have here in the title a definite allusion to his own Christian identity. We also uncover a much richer description of the understanding one Manichaean had of his own Christianity, as Augustine quoted the *Capitula* in extenso in his own refutation and thus preserved it for us. It is largely an argument for

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<sup>359</sup> *Catech.* 6.20; 21. Cyril is himself dependent on the *Acta Arch.*

<sup>360</sup> *Hymn. c. Haer.* 22.21-22; ed. Beck; tr. S. H. Griffiths, ‘The thorn among the tares: Mani and Manichaeism in the works of Ephraem the Syrian’, *Studia Patristica* 35, 2001 (395-427), 416-420.

<sup>361</sup> *vita Porph.* 86.12-13.

<sup>362</sup> *Catech.* 6.21.

<sup>363</sup> *Ep.* 64.3; *de Gen. c. Manich.* 2.25.38; *enn. in Ps.* 123.14. Coyle (2004), 225. Coyle discusses Augustine’s use of the terms ‘heresy’, ‘sect’ and ‘Manichaean’ in his *Augustine’s “De Moribus Ecclesiae Catholicae”: A Study of the Work, Its Composition and Its Sources* (Paradosis: Contributions to the History of Early Christian Literature and Theology 25), Fribourg University Press, Fribourg, 1978, 329-330.

<sup>364</sup> Compare for example *Pan.* 47.3.4 (Encratites) and 66.88.4 (Manichaeans).

<sup>365</sup> Coyle (2004), 224.

the abandonment of the Old Testament scriptures in response to a series of questions from opponents. Faustus takes up this issue in Chapter 1 by describing the dependence on the Old Testament as having caused inconsistencies in Catholicism, and by which it is composed of “the errors of Judaism and semi-Christianity”.<sup>366</sup> Augustine replies to this that, if they are semi-Christian, then the Manichaeans are pseudo-Christian.<sup>367</sup>

In Chapter 5 Faustus responds to a question from his opponents who had asked if he believed the Gospel. He first responds by asking that he be judged on this matter by his deeds: his belief in the Gospel should be evident in his good conduct. He then refers to Jesus’ response in *Matt.* 11.2-6 when asked by John if he was Christ:

Jesus properly and justly did not deign to reply that He was; but reminded him of the works of which he had already heard: “The blind see, the deaf hear, the dead are raised.” In the same way, I might very well reply to your question whether I believe the gospel, by saying, I have left all, father, mother, wife, children, gold, silver, eating, drinking, luxuries, pleasures; take this as a sufficient answer to your questions  
...<sup>368</sup>

This enigmatic refusal by Faustus to respond directly to his opponents may at first appear to indicate a reluctance to admit that Manichaeans went under the name Christian. He is, however, arguing on the basis of the ascetic virtues of the Elect, a common tactic for Manichaean debaters, as Fortunatus had similarly tried (unsuccessfully) to include it in the terms of his debate with Augustine.<sup>369</sup>

Faustus argues for the greater debt Christianity has to Hellenistic culture than to Judaism, and in Chapter 13 says “Those whom the Gentiles call poets were our first religious teachers, and from them we were afterwards converted to Christianity.”<sup>370</sup> Here is another fairly clear identification by the Manichaeans with the term Christian. Like the Catholic Church Faustus also exhibits a strong opinion on the misuse of the name ‘Christian’, although in Chapter 19 it is not by the Catholics but the Nazareans.

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<sup>366</sup> c. *Faust.* 1.2: tr. *NPNF*.

<sup>367</sup> c. *Faust.* 1.3.

<sup>368</sup> c. *Faust.* 5.1.

<sup>369</sup> c. *Fort.* 1.

<sup>370</sup> c. *Faust.* 13.1.

He does, however, blame the Catholic veneration of Jewish scripture as having caused such groups. In Chapter 19 he says that

the Nazareans, or Symmachians, as they are sometimes called ... practise circumcision, and keep the Sabbath, and abstain from swine's flesh and such like things, according to the law, although they profess to be Christians. They are evidently misled as well as you, by this verse in which Christ says that he came not to destroy the law, but to fulfill it.<sup>371</sup>

Here Faustus is taking issue with the fact that Jewish Christians such as the Nazareans “profess to be Christians”, although he lays the blame for this squarely at the feet of the Catholics and other ‘Judaising’ understandings of the Gospel. Evident in this passage, however, is the value Faustus places on the name Christian. In the following section he says “I give unceasing thanks to my teacher, who prevented me from falling into this error, so that I am still a Christian”.<sup>372</sup> This is an unequivocal statement by a Manichaean that he is a Christian if ever there was one.

Chapter 20 features a long exposition on the division of the world's religions which, though it is possible that not all Manichaeans may have employed this same division, may speak for much of North African Manichaeism. Faustus had been asked by his opponents “if we are a sect or separate religion, and not Pagans, or merely a schism of the Gentiles”.<sup>373</sup> He takes this as an opportunity to deconstruct the terms of the accusation inherent in the question, and expound on the nature of sects (*sectae*) and schisms (*schismata*). In doing so he turns the argument on its head and thus accuses his Catholic opponents of the same crime.<sup>374</sup>

As to your calling us a schism of the Gentiles, and not a sect, I suppose the word schism applies to those who have the same doctrines and worship as other people, and only choose to meet separately. The word sect, again, applies to those whose

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<sup>371</sup> *c. Faust.* 19.4.

<sup>372</sup> *c. Faust.* 19.5. He confirms that this teacher was his founder and not Adimantus when he concludes “The wise instruction of Manichaeus saved me from this danger.”

<sup>373</sup> *c. Faust.* 20.1.

<sup>374</sup> *c. Faust.* 20.1.

doctrine is quite unlike that of others, and who have made a form of divine worship peculiar to themselves.<sup>375</sup>

In Faustus' interpretation of the terms being using in the debate, he sees a *secta* as the larger body, composed of many *schismata*. One *schisma* has much in common with another; they only differ in that they choose to worship separately from each other for some reason. Tardieu points out that for Faustus the term *schisma* had the pejorative value of deviance, while the term *secta* had no such negative connotations.<sup>376</sup> Using this model, Faustus' opponents seem to have asked him if Manichaeism was a *schisma* of the *secta Gentium*, perhaps one of the *schismata Paganorum*. "If this is what the words mean," argues Faustus "in our doctrine and worship we have no resemblance to the Pagans."<sup>377</sup> He signals that he is about to turn this against the Catholics,<sup>378</sup> but first presents an account of the Pagans and compares it to Manichaeism.

The Pagan doctrine is, that all things good and evil, mean and glorious, fading and unfading, changeable and unchangeable, material and divine, have only one principle. In opposition to this, my belief is that God is the principle of all good things, and *Hyle* of the opposite. *Hyle* is the name given by our master in divinity to the principle or nature of evil. The Pagans accordingly think it right to worship God with altars, and shrines, and images, and sacrifices, and incense. Here also my practice differs entirely from theirs: for I look upon myself as a reasonable temple of God, if I am worthy to be so; and I consider Christ his Son as the living image of his living majesty; and I hold a mind well cultivated to be the true altar, and pure and simple prayers to be the true way of paying divine honors and of offering sacrifices.<sup>379</sup>

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<sup>375</sup> c. *Faust.* 20.3.

<sup>376</sup> M. Tardieu 'Une définition du Manichéisme comme *secta christianorum*', A. Caquot & P. Canivet (eds) *Ritualisme et vie intérieure: Religion et culture. Collques 1985 et 1987*, Beauchesne, Paris, 1989 (167-177), 168.

<sup>377</sup> c. *Faust.* 20.3.

<sup>378</sup> c. *Faust.* 20.3.

<sup>379</sup> c. *Faust.* 20.3.



Thus, due to a fundamental difference in doctrine and practice, the Manichaeans cannot be classified as Pagan. “Is this being a schism of the Pagans?”<sup>380</sup> Faustus asks rhetorically. Peculiarly, aside from the familiar Manichaean argument against belief in evil originating from one sole principle (*monarchiae opinio*),<sup>381</sup> Faustus chooses to focus on opposing the overt ritualism of Pagans with the interiorised worship of his own religion.<sup>382</sup>

Using this same definition of Pagan doctrine and ritual, Faustus identifies the Jews (*schisma Iudaeorum*) and the Catholics themselves (*schisma Catolicae*) as *schismata* of the *secta Gentium* also. The Manichaeans, however, are for Faustus, unrelated to any of these groups.

Even in relation to you, we are not properly a schism, though we acknowledge Christ and worship Him; for our worship and doctrine are different from yours. In a schism, little or no change is made from the original; as, for instance, you, in your schism from the Gentiles, have brought with you the doctrine of a single principle, for you believe that all things are of God. The sacrifices you change into love-feasts, the idols into martyrs, to whom you pray as they do to their idols. You appease the shades of the departed with wine and food. You keep the same holidays as the Gentiles; for example, the calends and the solstices. In your way of living you have made no change. Plainly you are a mere schism; for the only difference from the original is that you meet separately. In this you have followed the Jews, who separated from the Gentiles, but differed only in not having images. For they used temples, and sacrifices, and altars, and a priesthood, and the whole round of ceremonies the same as those of the Gentiles, only more superstitious. Like the Pagans, they believe in a single principle; so that both you and the Jews are schisms of the Gentiles, for you have the same faith, and nearly the same worship, and you call yourselves sects only because you meet separately.<sup>383</sup>

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<sup>380</sup> *c. Faust.* 20.3.

<sup>381</sup> See *c. Faust.* 20.4, following.

<sup>382</sup> Tardieu judges this “un démarquage évident de l’idéologie stoïcienne du culte interieur”: (1989), 171. On this interiority of worship in Manichaeism see J. D. BeDuhn *The Manichaean Body: In Discipline and Ritual*, Johns Hopkins, Baltimore, 2000.

<sup>383</sup> *c. Faust.* 20.4.

This leads Faustus to the conclusion that “The fact is, there are only two sects, the Gentiles and ourselves.”<sup>384</sup> As for the Catholics, “You, again, are not a sect in relation either to truth or to error. You are merely a schism and a schism not of truth, but of error.”<sup>385</sup> So what was the name of this sect alongside the Gentiles? Faustus does not name them here. Tardieu believes Faustus to have understood them as the *secta Christianorum*, presumably taking his cue from the declaration at *c. Faust.* 19.5 (although see on *c. Faust.* 31.2 below). He charts Faustus’ model of *sectae* and *schismata* in a complicated table,<sup>386</sup> not all the terms of which can be found in *c. Faust.* 20, which his article has mostly limited itself to. In this table he has placed above all others the two *sectae*: *Gentium* and *Christianorum*. Beneath the *secta Gentium* are the *schismata Paganorum*, from which stem the *schisma Iudaeorum* and *schisma Catolicae*. The *schisma Catolicae* is seen to have stemmed to some extent from the *schisma Iudaeorum* as well. The *secta Christianorum*, however is not divided into *schismata*, although a concession is given to the *schisma Catolicae* as it has a connection to it by way of the intermediary of “*semmiudaei/semichristiani*”, which are themselves placed under the *secta Gentium*, keeping the *secta Christianorum* whole and undivided. The debt, presumably, is thought to be entirely one way, the *semmiudaei/semichristiani* dependent on the *secta Christianorum*, although for some reason the arrow indicating a relationship between the groups (which normally goes from parent *secta/schismata* to dependent *schisma*) here points from *semmiudaei/semichristiani* to *secta Christianorum*. This thesis maintains that this is a mere oversight, however, and that in fact it was intended to point the other way. Tardieu nowhere mentions the *semmiudaei/semichristiani* in his actual discussion, so perhaps they are better ignored, as they have no direct bearing on this capitulum.

Finally, in Chapter 31, Faustus reiterates this separation but has slightly altered the terms of his argument.

It should also be observed that, ... there are three religions in the world which, though in a very different manner, appoint chastity and abstinence as the means of

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<sup>384</sup> *c. Faust.* 20.4.

<sup>385</sup> *c. Faust.* 20.4.

<sup>386</sup> Tardieu (1989), 169.

purification of the mind, the religions, namely, of the Jews, the Gentiles, and the Christians ...<sup>387</sup>

Although he has changed the number of sects and now classified them as ‘religions’ (*tres religiones*), Faustus is still basically using the Christian theory of the ‘Third Race’, under which the two ‘races’ existing at the time of Jesus, the Jews and the Gentiles, are joined by the Christians,<sup>388</sup> a theory which is thus itself entirely dependent on Jewish discourse. Thus Faustus’ *Capitula* utilises an essentially Christian discourse to argue for a separation from Judaism. Tardieu sees Faustus’ technique of critiquing ritualism as paralleling that of Mani himself, as recounted in his dispute with the baptist community in which he grew up.<sup>389</sup> There Mani deconstructed the rituals of the community by judging them incompatible with their own founders and traditions,<sup>390</sup> thus causing the characteristically Jewish Christian baptists to ask “Will you then go to the Greeks?”<sup>391</sup> to which, as Tardieu points out, neither Mani nor the compilers of the *CMC* respond.<sup>392</sup> Faustus’ argument also appears to mirror Mani’s dispute by his distinction between the *secta Christianorum* and *secta Gentium*, in which we should recognise the opposition of his own religion to all other *schismata* in the world.<sup>393</sup> Quoted in the *CMC* is a fragment from Mani’s *Living Gospel* in which he says “All the secrets which my father gave me, I have hidden and sheltered from the sects (δογμάτα) and gentiles (ἔθνη) and indeed the world”.<sup>394</sup> Like Faustus, Mani’s missionary journeys in the *CMC* are depicted as a struggle of his teachings against those of the sects of the world.

I differ from Tardieu, however, in attributing Faustus’ technique to the example of Mani. In the first capitulum Faustus admitted his debt to Adimantus, who

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<sup>387</sup> *c. Faust.* 31.2.

<sup>388</sup> *Gal.* 3.28; *Col.* 3.11.

<sup>389</sup> Tardieu (1989), 172.

<sup>390</sup> *CMC* 79.14-101.10.

<sup>391</sup> *CMC* 80.16-18.

<sup>392</sup> Tardieu (1989), 173.

<sup>393</sup> Tardieu (1989), 168.

<sup>394</sup> *CMC* 68.6-11.

is thought to have himself been dependent on the *Antitheses* of Marcion.<sup>395</sup> This link between Manichaeism and Hellenised Christianities such as Marcionism is reflected in the estimation of the heresiologists. Epiphanius concluded his chapter on Manichaeism by observing of Mani that “the man is a heathen (Ἕλληνη), and his sect teaches heathen religion (Ἑλληνισμῶν),”<sup>396</sup> and similarly Socrates Scholasticus (after 439 CE) had called Manichaeans ‘gentile Christians’ (ἑλληνίζων χριστιανισμός lit. ‘Greek-speaking’),<sup>397</sup> presumably after the manner of Marcion. The arguments in Faustus’ *Capitula* would seem to have more in common with this tradition than any independent technique of Mani’s.

This distinction between Christianities is also found in the letter of Secundinus. Lim is indeed correct in understanding Secundinus to have generally portrayed himself as a Christian: two examples of this are his invocation of the Holy Trinity<sup>398</sup> and his comparison of Mani to Paul.<sup>399</sup> It may also be seen when, in his estimation of Augustine’s writings, he accuses “nowhere did I discover a Christian (*nusquam vero comperi christianum*).”<sup>400</sup> Coyle certainly understands this to be Secundinus having “co-opted the ‘Christian’ label” for himself,<sup>401</sup> and he does indeed appear to be comparing himself to Augustine and asserting his superior Christianity. When Faustus called himself a Manichaean, Lim says, he did so “while

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<sup>395</sup> W. H. C. Frend ‘The Gnostic-Manichaean Tradition in Roman North Africa’, *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 4:1, 1953 (13-26), 20.

<sup>396</sup> *Pan.* 66.88.2.

<sup>397</sup> *Hist. Eccl.* 1.22. Cf. Émil de Stoop *Essai sur la Diffusion du Manichéisme dans l’Empire Romain* (Receuil de Travaux publiés par la Facultés de Philosophie et Lettres 38), E. van Goethem, Gand, 1909, 29.

<sup>398</sup> Secundinus *ad sanct. Aug. ep.* (CSEL), 893.

<sup>399</sup> Secundinus *ad sanct. Aug. ep.* (CSEL), 894: *hoc Paulus, hoc ipse testatus Manichaeus*. For discussion of Christian scriptural quotations, see J. van Oort ‘*Secundini Manichaei Epistula: Roman Manichaean ‘Biblical’ Argument in the Age of Augustine*’, J. van Oort, O. Wemelinger & G. Wurst (eds) *Augustine and Manichaeism in the Latin West: Proceedings of the Fribourg-Utrecht Symposium of the International Association of Manichaean Studies* (Nag Hammadi and Manichaean Studies 49), Brill, Leiden, 2001 (161-173).

<sup>400</sup> Secundinus *ad sanct. Aug. ep.* (CSEL), 895.

<sup>401</sup> Coyle (2004), 224.

maintaining a claim to being a Christian, indeed, a Christian of a superior disposition.”<sup>402</sup>

In conclusion, the sections 3.3 Manichaeism and 3.4 Christian have charted the use of these two terms within the Manichaean community in the Late Antique West. This involved a close reading of sources from inside and outside of the religion, where Manichaeans both claimed and were designated as Manichaean, and both claimed and were designated as Christians. The trajectories charted in these sections should not be perceived as parallel, but rather as overlapping and interacting at multiple points. There is no reason, according to the internal logic of Manichaeism, that adherents should not have used the name for themselves, although this hardly proves that they did. As Coyle observes, even if Mani had invented the term himself its Persian-sounding origin and resultant pun on *Maveis* could have discouraged them from using it.<sup>403</sup> With regard to asserting Christian identity, the Edict of Milan (313 CE) “enabled the sect to pass itself off both as a form of reformed Christianity and of enlightened paganism.”<sup>404</sup> This may have been desirable a decade after the rescript of Diocletian; it is undeniable that there were strong motives among Manichaeans in the Roman Empire to pass as Christians after the Theodosian laws (380 and later).

If the Manichaeans indeed considered themselves as the true Christians, what form did that Christianity take? While it is admitted that there are variant forms of Manichaeism, it is undeniable that, even (especially?) in Mani’s time, Christianity also took many forms. Since the delivery of F. C. Burkitt’s Donnellan lecture in 1925 in which he styled Manichaeism as primarily Syro-Christian in character,<sup>405</sup> the Christianity inherent in Manichaeism has been similarly identified as having its origins in that region. Having said that, Syrian Christianity is itself problematic to identify. Mani’s sources for Christianity are at least four-fold: there is the question of his upbringing amongst the Jewish Christian baptists; Tatian’s *Diatessaron* is seemingly evident in Mani’s gospel quotations; and then there are the influences of

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<sup>402</sup> Lim (2008), 143.

<sup>403</sup> Coyle (2004), 218.

<sup>404</sup> Gardner and Lieu (2004), 110.

<sup>405</sup> F. C. Burkitt *The Religion of the Manichees*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1925. Some commentators have even gone so far as to describe Manichaeism as “essentially Semitic”: I. M. F. Gardner & S. N. C. Lieu ‘From Narmouthis (Medinet Madi) to Kellis (Ismant el-Kharab): Manichaean Documents from Roman Egypt’, in *Journal of Religious History* 86, 1996 (146-169), 168.

both Marcionite and Bardesanite Christianity. While both Tatian and Marcion were condemned as heretics in Rome, each left a legacy that gained immense popularity in Syria, hotbed of heterodoxy that it was even centuries after the ‘establishment of orthodoxy’ through the various synods of the fourth century. Indeed, while the *Chronicon Edessenum* mentions Marcion’s leaving of the Catholic Church, both Bardaisan and Mani are mentioned in neutral terms. Evidently the nature of Christianity in second and third century Syria was such that it is a mistake to speak in clear terms of orthodoxy and heresy. Mani, Marcion, Bardaisan and Tatian were all representatives of Christianity in some fashion. In this sense Manichaeans could quite reasonably consider themselves as Christians.

Do we call Jesus a Jew because of the reverence he paid to the Torah and Patriarchs? Many do. But do we then also call his followers Jews because they retained the discourse of Judaism in order to diffuse his teachings among Jewish communities? Again, some may also indeed view early Christianity a Jewish sect. If in this way Mani was a Christian and his followers also, why then do eastern versions of their texts ‘translate’ so many Christian elements into those of other religions?<sup>406</sup> To sum up, on a sliding scale it is clear that there are four basic ways of interpreting this evidence. These are:

- 1) Mani considered himself a Christian therefore so also are all of his followers, in the same way that followers of Paul’s teachings are Christian;
- 2) Mani considered himself a Christian but his followers understood this to mean something else, and used the doctrine of past apostles to create a new religion in which Christianity was but a garment for their own teachings;
- 3) Mani himself numbered Christ just one among the past apostles but chose to garb his teachings in Christianity when teaching in Christian lands, while some of his followers – particularly among the less-informed Catechumens – lost touch with this and considered that they actually were Christian; and finally
- 4) Mani himself numbered Christ just one among the past apostles but chose to garb his teachings in Christianity when teaching in Christian lands, as did his followers.

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<sup>406</sup> P. Bryder ‘Transmission Translation Transformation: Problems concerning the Spread of Manichaeism from one culture to another’, G. Wiessner & H.-J. Klimkeit (eds) *Studia Manichaica: II. Internationaler Kongress zum Manichäismus. 6.-10. August 1989 St Augustin/Bonn*, Otto Harassowitz, Wiesbaden, 1992 (334-341).

These are extreme examples, however, because of the rational way they are constructed as arguments, detached from the lived experience of Mani and Late Antique Manichaeism. Furthermore, they do not take into account any theory of heresies or allude to the status of apostates. It is entirely possible, for instance, that Mani considered himself to be a Christian in a place and time where that term was not so restricted. Like Paul, Mani brought many changes to his version of the Christian Church. Like so many other Christianities, however, before long it too became marginalised.

### 3. 5. Other Names Attributed to Manichaeans in the Heresiological Literature

Patristic sources also claim that the Manichaeans went by several other names. These include names based on supposedly Manichaean leaders, divergent practices, or more obscure etymologies. The following is a list of some of the more important names, with brief commentary on their status in contemporary scholarship.

*Akouanitans*: Epiphanius begins his chapter on Manichaeism by stating that “The Manichaeans <are> also called Akouanitans ( Ἀκουανῖται) after a veteran (οὐέτρανος) from Mesopotamia named Akouas ( Ἀκούας) who practiced the profession of the pernicious Mani at Eleutheropolis”.<sup>407</sup> He gives the time of their preaching as beginning in about the fourth year of Aurelian’s reign (273/4). This Akouas is usually identified as being the Mar Zaku from Manichaean Parthian literature, there identified as a Teacher and one of Mani’s disciples.<sup>408</sup> The most recent translator of the *Panarion* has suggested, however, that he may just have been a local missionary.<sup>409</sup> Indeed, the notion of someone from Mani’s inner circle being a soldier seems rather far-fetched, as killing was antithetical to Manichaean precepts. Thus Lieu’s first assumption that such a soldier may have come into contact with Manichaeism while a prisoner of war in Persia seems less convincing than Tardieu’s

<sup>407</sup> *Pan.* 66.1.1. I have adapted Williams’ rendering of “Akvas” to “Akouas”: F. Williams (tr.) *The Panarion of Epiphanius*, E. J. Brill, Leiden, 1994, 219.

<sup>408</sup> M 6 (*Mir.Man.* III 865 & n.3) & M 104 (*Mir.Man.* III 882). Cf. Albert Henrichs & Ludwig Koenen ‘Ein Griechischer Mani-Codex’, *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 5:2, 1970 (97-216), 131n.86.

<sup>409</sup> Williams (1994), 219n.2.

suggestion that the Latin designation *veteranus* may have indicated his position as the head of a Manichaean community,<sup>410</sup> which Lieu himself recognises as a possibility.<sup>411</sup> Tardieu situates this term in the same context as Coptic **ⲒⲗⲗⲐ** and Greek γέρων, indicating the head of a religious community or even the superior of a monastery.

Epiphanius should have had some expertise on the matter, as he had himself built and administered a monastery in Eleutheropolis, his place of birth. Indeed, given his association with this Palestinian city, and the absence of similar information in any other source, we can only deduce that Epiphanius knew of this Akouas and his Akouanitans from personal experience with local traditions. We should also note the importance of this early a date attributed to Manichaeism in the Roman Empire by local witnesses, which Lim understands as when it was “first identified as a distinctive group” there.<sup>412</sup> A more fanciful explanation is the possibility that this group had translated the terminology associated with the Manichaean Church in a different manner to what was later to become usual, and that what we see here is in fact an employment of the Greek ἀκούω (‘to hear’) instead of the standard κατηχέω (pass. ‘to be instructed’). It is notable that the *Tebessa Codex* uses both the standard term for this group in Latin *auditor* as well as *catechumenus* and, indeed, Zacharias of Mitylene’s *C. VII* refers to Manichaean ‘hearers’ (ἀκροαταῖς).<sup>413</sup>

*Encratites, Apotactites, Hydroparastatans, and Saccophorians: The Codex Theodosianus* contains legislation forbidding Manichaeans from hiding behind the names Encratites (‘self-controlled’), Apotactites (‘renunciates’), Hydroparastatans (‘those who substituted water for the eucharist’), and Saccophorians (‘sack-cloth wearers’).<sup>414</sup> While we do not know whether they actually did so, it is significant that when these groups were named once more a year later in *CT* 16.5.9 and a year again after that at 16.5.11 they were mentioned *alongside* the Manichaeans rather than being described as pseudonymous Manichaeans. This would seem to indicate that by this

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<sup>410</sup> Tardieu (1979), 253.

<sup>411</sup> S. Lieu (1992), 96. Cf. Stroumsa (1985), 275.

<sup>412</sup> Lim (2008), 149.

<sup>413</sup> *C. VII* 2.54.

<sup>414</sup> *CT* 16.5.7.



time they were regarded as sects independent to both Manichaeism and one another. Lim suggests that “the emperors had simply given up on trying to determine the interrelationship of these groups”,<sup>415</sup> and that their association with Manichaeans in *CT* 16.5.7 may in the first place have simply been the result of detractors of genuine individuals or groups of those names who sought to besmirch their names by implication with Manichaeism.<sup>416</sup> The *CT* is the only text where all four groups are mentioned together, other than in Timothy the Presbyter of Constantinople’s *De Rec. Haer.*, who seems to have used the Code as his source.<sup>417</sup> We should not assume, however, that the emperors were uninterested in the details of Manichaeism. Ammianus Marcellinus reports that a certain Strategius was commissioned by Constantine to investigate the Manichaeans,<sup>418</sup> although Woods has suggested that these were in fact Arians.<sup>419</sup>

Of the individual names, the Encratites have been described by heresiologists since Irenaeus,<sup>420</sup> and were said to have originated with Saturninus and Marcion. They abstained from marriage, meat and wine, and were apparently reformed by Tatian, who introduced the doctrine of Aeons and a denial of Adam’s salvation.<sup>421</sup> Eusebius held that they were later lead by Severus under whom they were renamed Severians, and they used their own interpretations of the Law, Prophets and Gospels, while rejecting the *Acts*, Paul, and his epistles.<sup>422</sup> Macarius Magnes named Encratites, Apotactites and Eremites as the children of the Manichaeans.<sup>423</sup> The Apotactites,<sup>424</sup> Hydroparastatans<sup>425</sup> and Saccophorians<sup>426</sup> themselves only ever appear mentioned in

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<sup>415</sup> Lim (2008), 153.

<sup>416</sup> Lim (2008), 152.

<sup>417</sup> *PG* 86.16c.

<sup>418</sup> *Amm. Marc. Res Gest.* 15.13.1-2.

<sup>419</sup> D. Woods ‘Strategius and the “Manichaeans”’, *Classical Quarterly* 51:1, 2001 (255-264).

<sup>420</sup> *Haer.* 1.28.1; *Clem. Alex. Paed.* 2.2, *Strom.* 1.15 & 7.17; *Hipp. Ref. Haer.* 8.13; Eusebius *Hist. Eccl.* 4.28-9; Basil of Caesarea *Ep.* 188.1, 199.47 & 236.4; Epiphanius *Pan.* 47; Macarius Magnes *Apocr.* 3.43.

<sup>421</sup> Irenaeus *Haer.* 1.28.1.

<sup>422</sup> *Hist. Eccl.* 4.29.4-5

<sup>423</sup> *Apocr.* 3.43.

<sup>424</sup> Basil *Ep.* 199.47; Epiphanius *Pan.* 61.1.1; Macarius Magnes *Apocr.* 3.43.

<sup>425</sup> Basil *Ep.* 188.1 & *Canon* 32 from the Council of Trullo.

connection with the Encratites, and to some extent can be considered no more than terms to describe the practices of the latter group.<sup>427</sup>

It is uncertain whether there were any such groups which identified themselves by these names. Amongst a general discussion of how heresies were named Clement of Alexandria commented that the Encratites were given their name (προσαγορεύονται), presumably by opponents, due to their behaviour.<sup>428</sup> Hippolytus said that they called themselves Encratites,<sup>429</sup> while in Epiphanius' passage on the so-called 'Apostolics' he mentioned that they preferred to call themselves (ωνόμασαν βούλονται) Apotactites, since they practiced the renunciation of property. He went on to explain that this was because they were an offshoot of the doctrines of Tatian, the Encratites, the Tatianists and the Purists (Καθαροί)<sup>430</sup>. Similarly, in *Rescr. Acac. Paul.* 5.6 he glossed the section in *Pan.* 61 (on the Apostolics) by adding that they were "also called Apotactites, with whom the so-called Saccophorians are associated" (οἱ καὶ Ἀποτακτικοί, οἷς συνάπτονται οἱ καλούμενοι Σακκοφόροι). In a discussion on ascetic heretics, Macarius Magnes referred to the Encratites and Apotactites as names certain ascetic heretics would rather be called than Christians.<sup>431</sup> So while it is unclear as to whether the Encratites took that name for themselves or had it applied to them by their opponents, 'Apotactite' is depicted as a name that was used by one or more groups as a term of *self*-identity.

Most Patristic authors make no specific comment on relationships between the groups, although Basil defined the Manichaeans as heretics while he called the Encratites and Hydroparastatans 'schismatics'.<sup>432</sup> Baptism by the Encratites' was to be considered valid on the ground that they still belonged to the Church despite their

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<sup>426</sup> Basil *Ep.* 199.47 & Epiphanius *Resc. Acac. Paul.* 5.6 (glossing *Pan.* 61).

<sup>427</sup> P. Beskow 'The Theodosian Laws Against Manichaeism', P. Bryder (ed.) *Manichaean Studies: Proceedings of the First International Conference on Manichaeism: August 5-9, 1987* (Lund Studies in African and Asian Religions 1), Plus Ultra, Lund, 1988 (1-11), 9. Indeed, Basil identified them with the Encratites, although he did so over two separate epistles: *Ep.* 188.1 & 199.47. He also connected them to the Cathari (188.1).

<sup>428</sup> *Strom.* 7.17.

<sup>429</sup> *Ref. Haer.* 8.13.

<sup>430</sup> *Pan.* 61.1.1-2. On the Cathari see the discussion of the Catharists below.

<sup>431</sup> *Apocr.* 3.43.

<sup>432</sup> *Ep.* 188.1. The Cathari were also classed as schismatics.

differences. Indeed, Basil mentioned that he himself had ordained as bishops two men baptised as Encratites: Izois and Saturninus.<sup>433</sup> Epiphanius prescribed ‘truth’ (ἀλήθεια) as the antidote to the poison of the Encratites,<sup>434</sup> whereas the Manichaeans had been crushed “by the power of God, the club of truth” (τοῦ θωοῦ δυνάμει τῷ ξύλῳ τῆς ἀληθείας).<sup>435</sup> Similar to his prescription for the Manichaeans, but unlike that for the Encratites, Epiphanius concludes his account on the Apotactites in *Pan.* 61 by prescribing not tolerance but destruction.

While there are no Apotactites, Hydroparastatans or Saccophorians mentioned in Manichaean texts, ἐγκρατής is used, along with παρθένος, as an honorific in the Coptic texts to denote those who had known lust but later rejected it. There is mention in the Coptic sources of a class of people known as the ‘Continent’ (ἐγκρατής). Chapter 98 of the *Kephalaia* ‘What is Virginal (παρθένος); or, otherwise, what is Continent?’ deals with this in some detail.

And also, what is called ‘virginal’ in the flesh, is a man if he has [ne]ver joined himself to a woman, has not been defiled by intercourse. However, [i]n contrast, what is called ‘continent’, is the man who has a woman in the world. Afterwards, he cleanses himself from her [and] renounces her. And because of this he [...] and he becomes an holy contin[en]t one.<sup>436</sup>

So in the Coptic Manichaean texts this was a technical term that denoted those who had known lust but later rejected it. This placed them at a middle point in what seems to have been a fixed hierarchy with the ‘Virginal’ (those who have never known lust) at the top, followed by the ‘Continent’ in the middle and the ‘Married’ (ἐγκαμός) on the bottom rung.<sup>437</sup> In commenting on the Manichaean ἐγκρατής, Pedersen further specified that the term could indicate an Elect who had left their

<sup>433</sup> Unfortunately these two figures are not mentioned in any other source.

<sup>434</sup> *Pan.* 47.3.4.

<sup>435</sup> *Pan.* 66.88.4.

<sup>436</sup> *Keph.* 249.21-27: I. Gardner *The Kephalaia of the Teacher: The Edited Coptic Manichaean Texts in Translation with Commentary*, E.J. Brill, Leiden, 1995b.

<sup>437</sup> This seems to be borne out by their usage in the *Kephalaia*, *Homilies* and *Ps.-Bk II* (see esp. *Ps.-Bk II* 179-181).

spouse, or a Catechumen who abstained from intercourse with their spouse.<sup>438</sup> It would seem, however, that the Encratites – and, indeed, all of their affiliated groups – of heresiological sources have no connection with Manichaeism beyond some rather general similarities of ascetic practice.

*Mattarians*: In reference to Constantius' failed establishment of a Manichaean 'monastery' at Rome (384-388), Augustine mentions what he characterises as a faction that had splintered off (*schisma*) from Faustus' group (*societas*). According to Augustine the Mattarians were so-named because, in contrast to what he saw as the excesses of Faustus and his brethren, they lived in relative austerity and slept on simple mats.<sup>439</sup> Lim has pointed out that the veracity of this claim is supported by the "off-handed way" it is introduced and that, given the infamous outcome of Constantius' experiment, any introduction of false-hoods into the story would not have gone unnoticed by Augustine's readers.<sup>440</sup> While he does not directly praise the Mattarians Augustine at the very least considers them favourably in opposition to Faustus' camp, although Lim still considers the epithet itself to have been pejorative in origin.<sup>441</sup> From the way they are mentioned in this passage, however, we could be forgiven for assuming that this group separated from Faustus' representation of a mainstream Manichaeism only after (even as the direct result of) the Roman experiment. Again, however, we are given no real information about the group: the term *mattarii* ('those of the mats') simply seems to imply that members of this group had no fixed abode, and so carried a bedroll with them.

About thirty years later, however, Augustine mentions the Mattarians again, recording that a certain Manichaean named Viator denied accusations levelled at he and his co-religionists in Carthage, naming instead the members of another Manichaean group (*secta*), the Catharists, as the real perpetrators.<sup>442</sup> Viator asserted that there were other groups of Manichaeans, divided into Catharists, Mattarians, "and

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<sup>438</sup> N.-A. Pedersen *Studies in The Sermon on the Great War: Investigations of a Manichaean-Coptic text from the fourth century*, Aarhus University Press, Aarhus, 1996, 218.

<sup>439</sup> *c. Faust.* 5.5.

<sup>440</sup> Lim (1989), 243.

<sup>441</sup> Lim (1989), 242.

<sup>442</sup> *De Haer.* 46.10.

especially Manichaeans” (*et specialiter Manichaeos*). In this case we would appear to be receiving information on Manichaean sects from an actual Manichaean source (Viator); albeit one filtered through Augustine. Decret, writing on Viator, considers that given his status as a well-informed member of a religion that at the time was extremely concerned with secrecy he must have been some kind of initiate.<sup>443</sup> Furthermore, being the only Manichaean mentioned by name in this controversy he may have been chosen by the Manichaean Church to be the official representative in defending it. This leads Decret to suggest that Viator was an Elect of some office. This argument is convincing, and only adds veracity to Augustine’s report.

On the practice of the Mattarians in general, we have the support of Epiphanius who reported that the Manichaeans sleep on reed mattresses in remembrance of the fact that the Persian emperor had Mani flayed with a reed.<sup>444</sup> One could interpret the similarly matter-of-fact way in which Epiphanius makes this claim to indicate a piece of common knowledge regarding a general practice of theirs. Such an hypothesis does not rule out, however, the possibility that at some point in the late 4th century a group emphasising this practice splintered-off from the main group: particularly after the spectacular failure of the Roman experiment.

*Catharists:* As mentioned, Augustine also quoted this Viator as mentioning another sect, the Catharists. After Augustine related that Manichaeans celebrate their eucharist with human semen, he cites the Manichaean Viator as denying that they did this, claiming that others did so using the name of “Manichaeans”.<sup>445</sup> He identified these people more specifically as Catharists, and Augustine glosses the name as ‘Purifiers’ (*quasi Purgatores*).<sup>446</sup> Augustine had elsewhere referred to Manichaean claims of internal schisms on this point, specifically in relation to accusations of orgies and cannibalism.<sup>447</sup> Unfortunately, he had only mentioned the denial of guilt by Manichaeans, who instead blamed these crimes on ex-members who had formed

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<sup>443</sup> F. Decret *L’Afrique Manichéenne (IV<sup>e</sup> – V<sup>e</sup> siècles): Étude historique et doctrinale*, Étude Augustiniennes, Paris, 1978, I 375-6.

<sup>444</sup> *Pan.* 66.12.2.

<sup>445</sup> *De Haer.* 46.9.

<sup>446</sup> *De Haer.* 46.10.

<sup>447</sup> *De Natura Boni* 47.

schisms (*schisma fecisse*). It is interesting, however, that he seems to refer to cases as far removed from one another as Carthage, Paphlagonia and Gaul. In the case of the latter two, Augustine reports that they defended their practices by recourse to the descriptions of demonic cannibalism featured in the cosmogonic myth outlined in Mani's *Thesaurus*.<sup>448</sup>

Augustine obviously differentiates this group from the *Cathari* described in *De Haer.* 38, who had named themselves as a claim regarding their purity. They forbade second marriage and refused penance following the heretic Novatus: thus they were also known as Novatians.<sup>449</sup> There is, however, a Manichaean reference to a group called the 'Cathari' in the *Kephalia* (44.27):

Recount to us, our master, of these five words that are procl[aim]ed in the sect of the Baptis[ts ... they] occur in other sects. [Also, thei]r name is proclaimed by they [w]ho are called 'Purified Ones' (Καθαροί), as they say this '[First] Life' and the 'Second Life' [...] make a heart together with the mind [...] and the l[aw ...]

Gardner notes that the terms "First" and "Second Life" are characteristically Mandaean,<sup>450</sup> so it could be that while heresiologists used the name Cathari exclusively in relation to the Novatians, Manichaeans may have used it to indicate one or more Syro-Mesopotamian baptist groups. It would explain why Viator used the term "Catharists" when naming the Manichaean schism; he might have wished to avoid confusion with the Cathari.

*Hilarians and Olympians*: In the *Capita VII Contra Manichaeos* of Zacharias of Mitylene (ca. 527) he proclaims that he anathematizes "all the Manichaeans whether they be Hilarians or Olympians" (εἴτε Ἰλαριανούς εἴτε Ὀλυμπιανούς).<sup>451</sup> In his study on this work Lieu notes that the names Ἰλάριανος and Ὀλύμπιανος appear in the Greek *Long Formula of Abjuration* as disciples of Mani, but are unattested in genuine Manichaean works or even the lists of Manichaean disciples given by Peter of

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<sup>448</sup> *De Haer.* 46.10. Cf. Lim (1989), 245.

<sup>449</sup> On 'Cathari' as the name the Novatians gave themselves, see Eusebius *Hist. Eccl.* 6.43.1; Basil *Ep.* 188.1; and Epiphanius *Pan.* 59.6.

<sup>450</sup> *Ibid.*, 50.

<sup>451</sup> *C. VII* 7.220-221.

Sicily or Photius.<sup>452</sup> From this he deduces that the compiler of the *Long Formula* had simply borrowed the names of founders of these sects from the *C. VII* and included them in a list of otherwise authentic Manichaean disciples “in order to increase their number to about twelve.”<sup>453</sup> As these groups or persons do not occur in other texts, however, we know nothing else about them. Lieu suggests that they may have been “heretical sects who were branded as Manichaeans at the time when our text was compiled or they were splinter groups from the main body of the Manichaeans.”<sup>454</sup> As we have seen in the Theodosian Code, this confusion is not at all improbable.

*Daristhenes*: Like Epiphanius, John Malalas appears in his *Chronographia* (after 574) to record an alternative first arrival of Manichaean missionaries in the Roman Empire:

During his (sc. Diocletian’s) reign a certain Manichaean by the name of Bundos appeared in the city of Rome. He broke away from the teaching of the Manichaeans and put forward his own doctrine. He taught that the Good God engaged in battle with the Evil (one) and triumphed over him. One should therefore honour the victor. He returned to teach in Persia. The doctrine of the Manichaeans was called that of the Daristhenes by the Persians, which in their own language means that of the good (God).<sup>455</sup>

The dating of the arrival of the first Manichaean missionary to Rome as during the reign of Diocletian seems to agree with other sources, although the name Bundos is otherwise unknown. Elsewhere Malalas writes that ‘Darasthenos’ was the surname of the Persian emperor Kawad I (488-531), who was a supporter of Mazdakism.<sup>456</sup> In his study of Mazdakism under this emperor A. Christensen proposed that the etymology

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<sup>452</sup> *PG* 1.1468B 10: Lieu (1994), 294-295.

<sup>453</sup> Lieu (1994), 295.

<sup>454</sup> *Ibid.* Cf. P. R. Coleman-Norton *Roman State and Christian Church: A Collection of Legal Documents to A.D. 535*, S.P.C.K., London, 1966, III 1226, who apparently identifies the ‘Hermeiecians’ of *Codex Justinianus* 1.5.5 (dependent on *CT* 16.5.65) as one of two Manichaean “sects” along with the Saccophorians, although they seem only to be one of many groups numbered alongside the Manichaeans.

<sup>455</sup> *Chron.* XII: Ed. L. Dindorf *Chronographia* (*Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae*), Bonn, 1831, 309.19-310.2; tr. S. Lieu in Gardner and Lieu (2004), 117.

<sup>456</sup> *Chron.* XVIII; 429.11-12.

of the name Daristhenes (Δαρισθεῖνων) may have been from the term *dryst-dyn* ('right religion' in Manichaean Middle Persian), a term Zoroastrians used for themselves in the Pahlavi form *vēh-dēn* ('true religion'). Similarly, Bundos (Βουνδος) could reflect not a name but a title, and Pahlavi *bowandag* translates as 'perfect'. He concludes from this that the Bundos indicated in the *Chronographia* was not a Manichaean but the founder ascribed to Mazdakism in an-Nadim's *Fihrist: Zaradust*. He concludes from all this that Mazdakism arose from a Manichaean sect two centuries its senior, and that the Byzantine authors discuss Mazdakites under the name Manichaeans with good reason.<sup>457</sup> Lieu disputes this argument's reliance on a conception of Manichaeism as inherently Iranian (and thus Zoroastrian) in origin, and also questions Malalas' knowledge of authentic Persian sources. He emphasises Malalas' abuse of the term 'Manichaean' elsewhere, pointing out that at one point he uses it to describe Marcion.<sup>458</sup> Similarly, when he describes the execution of 'Manichaeans' by Justinian, he notes that among them was the wife of a certain Erythrius. John of Nikiu claimed, however, that this Erythrius was a follower of Masedes (i.e. Mazdak) and so, presumably, was his wife.<sup>459</sup> It appears that Malalas has confused Mazdakites with Manichaeans here, too.

In conclusion, it seems unlikely that Manichaeans would have adopted the names Encratites, Apotactites, Hydroparastatans and Saccophorians, as there would seem to be little value in eschewing the name of one persecuted group for that of another infamous in Christian circles. Similarly, Lieu seems to be correct in deeming John Malalas' ascription to Manichaeans of the name Daristhenes as due to his confusion of them with the Mazdakites. The case of the Akouanitans in Eleutheropolis is intriguing, as Epiphanius here preserves a tradition from an unknown source. As noted above, his own origin and activity in that city would seem to indicate he became personally familiar with it from among the locals, although it can be presumed that other authentic traces of Manichaeism would have been preserved in his treatment of it if they were still present in his time. The Mattarians and Catharists are particularly intriguing given the fact that the existence of both is attributed to a Manichaean speaker, and seem to represent genuine schisms from a greater Manichaean Church.

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<sup>457</sup> A. Christensen *Le règne du roi Kawādh I et le communisme mazdakite*, Copenhagen, 1925, 97-99.

<sup>458</sup> Lieu (1994), 131

<sup>459</sup> John of Nikiu *Chronicle* XC, 55; Lieu (1994), 116-117.



The Mattarians are attested in both Rome and Carthage, and the description of the Catharists in Carthage is certainly similar to that of Manichaeans in Paphlagonia and Gaul described in *De Natura Boni* 47. We should be cautious in accepting Augustine's account of these latter groups, however, as such Thyestean banquets are so popular a topos in heresiological literature (and, indeed, was something Pagans had accused the early Christians of) as to be rendered unbelievable. Augustine seems to have used these accusations as a means of detracting from Mani's *Thesaurus*, as the mythological depictions therein of demonic orgies and cannibalism could be construed as type for their excesses.

### **3.6 Conclusion and summary of chapter**

In conclusion, this chapter, through a close reading of sources from within and without the religion, has charted the trajectories of identification with the terms 'Manichaean' and 'Christian'. It has established that these trajectories should not be perceived as parallel, but rather as overlapping and interacting at multiple points. Further, evidence that Manichaeans self-identified both as Manichaeans and as Christians is adduced. This leads to the conclusion that both are equally valid designators, although while both could have been equally attractive to member of the religion in the Late Antique West the term 'Christian' seems to have had greater favour. This conclusion is rooted in the fact that third century Christianity, as Mani knew it, was a varied and substantially unregulated entity, and Manichaeism too underwent changes from Mani's initial preaching and establishment of institutional structures to the later adumbrations of his followers. It is possible, then, to reject the call of scholars who desire an either/or solution as to whether Mani's Church was Manichaean or Christian, and to argue for a both/and interpretation.

## Chapter 4: The Manichaean Church

### 4.1 Introduction and summary of chapter

In the absence of an obvious sectarian name, several authors have noted that Manichaeans instead preferred to refer to their ‘Church’.<sup>460</sup> The importance of the term ἐκκλησία in the *Kephalaia* was noted by Schmidt and Polotsky in their description of the discovery of the Medinet Madi codices and,<sup>461</sup> while no one has yet undertaken a study of its use in Western texts, A. van Tongerloo noticed this absence and wrote a short paper to initiate such study in the eastern Manichaica.<sup>462</sup>

It must be remembered that in Classical Greek literature the word ἐκκλησία originally denoted simply an ‘assembly’ and, while later becoming synonymous in both Christianity and Manichaeism with what we now understand as a ‘Church’, we should be mindful that instead of denoting a particular building it may in fact be indicating a group of believers. Testimonia from the texts will be reproduced and discussed to discern just what the term ἐκκλησία meant in a Manichaean context. Evidence for the term ‘Holy Church’ will be treated separately. For the purposes of this study I will use Church with a capital ‘C’ when denoting the body of Manichaean believers in general. When discussing an actual church building or specific church body (Elect, Catechumens, etc.) I will use a lower case ‘c’.

### 4.2 Church: ἐκκλησία

The Kellis codex of Mani’s *Epistles* codex affords us a new opportunity to glimpse the Church as he himself saw it, although unfortunately there are only a few specific references to the word. In the ‘Epistle of the Ten Words’<sup>463</sup> he employs the term ‘Church of the faithful’ (Ν̄Τ̄ΕΚΚΛΗCΙΑ Ν̄Ν̄ΠΙCΤΟC),<sup>464</sup> and continues:

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<sup>460</sup> Lim (1989); Coyle (2004), 225.

<sup>461</sup> Schmidt and Polotsky (1932), 42n.1: “Der Begriff der ἐκκλησία = Kirche, Religion spielt in den Kephalaia eine große Rolle. Seine Kirche bezeichnet Mani mit dem Epitheton ‘die heilige’ (mittelpers. *dēn yoždahr*, türk. *arīg nom*).”

<sup>462</sup> A. van Tongerloo ‘L’identité de L’église Manichéenne Orientale (env. 8<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C.) – La Communauté des Croyants: ir. hnzmn/’njmn, ouig. ančm(a)n’, *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica* 12, 1981 (265-272). The Middle Iranian terms in his subtitle are equivalent to ἐκκλησία.

<sup>463</sup> Or ‘sickness letter’: see Gardner (2007a), 82.

<sup>464</sup> *P. Kell. Copt.* 53 33:22-23.

For there are people of this kind / in (Church) who are not strong; rather, they look / for excuses and empty words 34 that they have heard in the Church [from / time to time (?)].<sup>465</sup>

This seems to imply that there was an actual church building in which these people were able to hear such “excuses and empty words”. Unfortunately we can not be absolutely certain, given the rather vague context, that he did not intend a more casual assembly of believers. At an undefined point later in the letter Mani reminisces for his recipients:

How I laboured in the congregations of / the sects at the time when there was yet no Catechumen or Church. You have become people made better by blessed poverty. Now, since you have been bringing forth Catechumens and Churches / – you proclaimed and they listened to you – / you are obliged the more now to perfect the blessing of this poverty, / by which you will gain the victory over the / sects and the world.<sup>466</sup>

It is interesting that Mani seems to consider the Catechumens and the Church separately. Perhaps this is simply a distinction between individuals and the collective, although it can be assumed that in the letter he is speaking to one of the Elect. Interesting also is the juxtaposition of Mani’s Church with “the congregation of the sects (NCAΥΖÇ N̄N̄ΔOΓMA)”. At first it might seem as if the Coptic translator of the *Epistles* is trying to differentiate the ἐκκλησία of Mani from the ‘congregations’ of other sects by using the native Coptic CAΥΖÇ. Mani himself apparently designates his own group with the same term earlier in the letter, however, when he refers to the “congregation of the holy ones (ÇAΥΖÇ N̄N̄EṬOYABE)”.<sup>467</sup> Also significant is that the recipients themselves have been “bringing forth Catechumens and Churches – you proclaimed and they listened to you”. Evidently they had been preaching with some matter of success, and Church was something produced by a missionary’s preaching.

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<sup>465</sup> P. Kell. Copt. 53 33:23-34:02.

<sup>466</sup> P. Kell. Copt. 53 51:04-14.

<sup>467</sup> P. Kell. Copt. 53 31:12. This term will also be dealt with later.

In the un-named letter which may follow the ‘Epistle of the Ten Words’ Mani refers again to the Catechumens, this time as “protectors of the Church” (ΝΝΑΥ[ΤΕ] ΝΤΕΚΚΛΗCΙΑ).<sup>468</sup> It appears that Mani was worried the Elect would not comport themselves suitably in the presence of the Catechumens, and so sent them two of his Epistles: ‘the conducts of righteousness’ and ‘the judgement of righteousness’. “If you love me, hurry / your brothers towards these two letters; / also all the brothers who are in the Church[es / ...]”.<sup>469</sup> Although the text cuts off at this point, it seems curious that Mani would differentiate between the ‘brothers’ that are presumably with the recipient and those “who are in the Churches”. Perhaps the lost text would have given the sense ‘brothers who are in the Churches nearby’, or something of the sort. It is also possible that the recipient was at the time lodging with Catechumens, which would justify Mani’s exhortation to honour the ‘protectors of the Church’, and that those Elect with him should do likewise. That the Catechumens are protectors of the Church need not imply that the ‘Church’ was the Elect, either; through their service to the Elect and the Light they in turn liberate, the whole Manichaean Church is served.

In the unpublished Medinet Madi codex of the *Epistles*, there are a few discussions of the Church by Mani. The letter ‘The Second Epistle to Ctesiphon: the one about the vigils (παννυχισμοί)’ is addressed to numerous recipients, including “Sethel, / [the deacon (?)]” and perhaps even Sisinnios.<sup>470</sup> Although this epistle is fragmentary, on p. 76 we can read:

[... the] Church(es ?) in which you are, they [rest ?] / on the angels who are in them.  
 For, [... / ...] on each one who will go astray to [... / ...] and will trust in her. She will  
 be [... / ...] her and the place that [... / ...] by greeting (/kiss) [...]<sup>471</sup>

It may seem rather premature to try to judge the subject of this section before an *editio princeps* is established, but in its current form it appears to discuss matters of conduct and their impact on Church activity. The ‘angels’ that are in the Church may be an as yet unknown term for the Elect (cf. ‘holy ones?’), but more probably refer to the light

<sup>468</sup> P. Kell. Copt. 53 71:01.

<sup>469</sup> P. Kell. Copt. 53 72:22-73:01.

<sup>470</sup> Funk (1993), 187n.9.

<sup>471</sup> MM Ep. 76.4-9.

particles engendered by the Elect's meal and prayers as described in Ch. 80 of the *Kephalaia* 'The Chapter of Fasting, for it engenders a Host of Angels'. This may indicate a building in which such prayers were performed, but could apply just as easily to the angels residing with a community. 'The Second Epistle to Sisinnios' seems to have been written by Mani in response to complaints his successor had made regarding an argument he was having with a Deacon. While itself very fragmented, it is noteworthy that in it Mani refers both to "my Church"<sup>472</sup> and "our Church".<sup>473</sup> Lastly, in the same epistle he discusses Aurades the Deacon whom Mani praises both for his ἀσκησις and that he is willing to "devote himself to the Church."<sup>474</sup> These all refer to the Manichaean Church as a greater body. The fragmentary remains of the two versions we currently possess of Mani's *Epistles* provide no definite sense of a 'church' as a building, although there are several instances where this may be the case. There are, however, repeated references to Mani's religion using the term 'Church', although it is also used to refer to individual Manichaean communities.

There are a few occurrences of the word ἐκκλησία in the *CMC*. In the course of the major revelation to Mani by his *syzygos* he is given a vision of his Church replete with its hierarchy of Teachers, Bishops, Elect and Catechumens, and told of "everything that would happen so that this Church of mine (τὴν ἐμὴν / ἐκκ[λησίαν]) would be revealed".<sup>475</sup> To accomplish this Mani beseeches the *syzygos* for a series of abilities, "So that the Church will continue [to grow]".<sup>476</sup> The only other occurrence of the word (other than in the context of the 'assembly of the holy', treated separately below) is when Patticius is depicted preaching "in [the assembly of] the baptists" (ἐκ/[κλησῖαι τῶν βα]πτιστῶν).<sup>477</sup> Overall we are left with a sense of the term 'Church' being used to indicate Manichaeism as a whole, and as in Mani's 'Second Epistle to Sisinnios' he refers to 'his' Church.

The 'Sermon on the Great War' in the Manichaean *Homilies* refers at several points to the fate of the Church in the end times. It separates this fate into two periods:

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<sup>472</sup> *MM Ep.* 101.21.

<sup>473</sup> *MM Ep.* 102.20.

<sup>474</sup> *MM Ep.* 103.17.

<sup>475</sup> *CMC* 35.10-13.

<sup>476</sup> *CMC* 36.13-14.

<sup>477</sup> *CMC* 140.14-15.

that of the Church during the persecution and that of the Church after its victory, and there are occasional references back to the time of persecution during the second time. From the time of persecution there are repeated references to ‘weeping’, and on p. 14 the suffering of Mani’s Church is likened to that of previous Apostles’ Churches: “All the / Ap[os]tles have suffered, weeping (PIME) together with their Churches / in each generation.”<sup>478</sup> Similarly, of his own Church Mani declares:

Yet from now on and henceforth until the da[y of the] / great war is sorrow (? ΘΗΒΕ for ΖΗΒΕ) and [... / ...] the holy ones and the believers, those of this Chur[ch] / of this election, all those who belong to [my l]ord’s / assemblies.<sup>479</sup>

The “Church of this election (ΝΑΪΕΚΚΛΗϸ[Ι/Α] ΝΪΜΝΤCΩΤΪ)” would seem to indicate the Elect, although it may be a reference to Mani’s having also chosen his Catechumenate. It may also be significant that the text next mentions “my lord’s assemblies (ΑΝϸΑΥΖC Μ[Π/ΑΧ]ΑΙϸ)”, which may have been added to distinguish between the two church orders or simply been a reiteration of the previous term. On p.16 he goes into more detail regarding those for whom he weeps:

[Listen (?)] to my Church, how it weeps! Listen to my / [...], how it weeps for its children and / [...] who will see this great war! / [... m]y beloved ones, who are hungry and thirsty [... / ... the] holy one that proclaims these weepings / [...] through the mouth of my Chur[c]h. He said: / [...] the remembrance of my good children / [...] I shed tears / [...] my begotten. I weep over m[y / 3 lines lost / ... m]y Presbyters [... / ...] be scattered. I weep for my Churches, that [... / ...] which will be left. They will leave them [... / ...] and they desert the security (?) of the believers.<sup>480</sup>

The specificity related to these events could be seen as acting, in part, in service to an enumeration of the Manichaean hierarchy, although in more figurative language than usual: presumably the lacuane preserve other ranks leading up to the mention of Presbyters. The figure of “the holy one that proclaims these weepings [...] through the mouth of my Church” is curious, however. Is this an archetypical member of the Elect

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<sup>478</sup> Hom. 14.16-18.

<sup>479</sup> Hom. 15.18-22.

<sup>480</sup> Hom. 16.5-20.

who weeps on behalf of Mani, or a figure such as the Light Mind, the deity who resides in the Church? Also interesting is the fact that Mani seems to refer to the Church as his ‘begotten’ (ΖΠΟ), a term that does not appear anywhere else and seems antithetical to the general Manichaean attitude to procreation. It is somewhat reminiscent, however, of the header used throughout the *CMC*: ‘On the Origin (γέννησις) of His Body’, which is generally understood to refer to the birth of the Manichaean Church and its history outlined in the text.

Mani continues in the ‘Sermon’: “I weep [for] my [prayer]-times / [which will] cease being [...] in every Church”.<sup>481</sup> This certainly sounds like something that would happen in a building of some sort, although it does not rule out the possibility of it occurring among a more general ‘assembly’ of believers. Lastly, Mani describes the distribution of the world’s peoples into four parts,<sup>482</sup> apparently separated according to their fates in the Great War. The first are those who were slain, the second are those who committed suicide, the third are those who survived by hiding and the fourth are those who were taken prisoner. Mani continues: “for / its part, [the C]hurch also will make [...]”,<sup>483</sup> and appears to go on to describe the fates of four corresponding parts of the Church. Unfortunately the text becomes very fragmentary at this point, although it appears that it may describe various methods of martyrdom, especially as of the second group he says: “T[he]re is one[who] will [... / ...] he will be burned in the fire.”<sup>484</sup>

More useful for our purposes is the description of the Church after its victory, as this can, to some extent at least, be seen as an idealised situation for the Church in the Manichaeans’ own time. The narrative begins with a description of the Church’s restoration to the world after the Great War. Following a gap of 6 lines at the end of p. 22, the text reads: “[... 23 Ch]urch, and they will (?) once a[gain] recover their memory / [a]nd study in the books of the wisdom.”<sup>485</sup> Even though the persecution is over and the Church restored the people are to weep once more, this time over all that

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<sup>481</sup> *Hom.* 18.11-12.

<sup>482</sup> *Hom.* 19.11.

<sup>483</sup> *Hom.* 19.16-17.

<sup>484</sup> *Hom.* 19.19-20.

<sup>485</sup> *Hom.* 22.34-23.1

was lost and the sins they were forced to commit in the time of persecution.<sup>486</sup>  
However,

[There is] / also [o]ne who will remain pure and not be defiled, – (some) among [the men / a]nd among the women. They will [again] know one an[other] / like this, whether they belong to the world or to the Churc[h.]<sup>487</sup>

Presumably “they who belong to the world” (ΝΑΠΚΟCΜΟC) but “remain pure and undefiled” are those who, though they have not yet heard Mani’s teachings, have remained pure by their own nature; flawed only in their lack of the true faith. These, too, will get to “know” those belonging “to the Church” (ΝΑΤΕΚΚΛΗC[ΙΑ]), undoubtedly joining with them.

The Manichaean scriptures, too, will be rediscovered: “these books that are written in its name [... / ... b]less them with the love that [... / ...], as it is the power of God [... / ...] cause them to bring them to the Church.”<sup>488</sup> The scriptures are enumerated, before the narrative continues: “You will find [them, reading] them publicly (παρρησία)”.<sup>489</sup> While this may indicate the possibility that a church building was not necessary when reading texts before the Great War, and that they may have instead been able to read them outside while still in an ‘assembly’, this passage should be understood in the wider discussion of the term παρρησία described in the previous chapter. The very fact that this practice is specified as happening in public after a future victory seems to be distinguishing it from the preceding practice of doing so indoors, no doubt still current when the sermon was composed.<sup>490</sup> Indeed, in *P. Kell. Copt.* 25 the author Matthaïos writes to his mother Maria about his brother Piene regarding just this practice: “For he (the Teacher) loves him (Piene) very much, and makes him to read in the Church.”<sup>491</sup> The office of Reader (ἀναγνώστης) is

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<sup>486</sup> *Hom.* 23.2-7.

<sup>487</sup> *Hom.* 23.9-12.

<sup>488</sup> *Hom.* 24.28-31.

<sup>489</sup> *Hom.* 35.14-15.

<sup>490</sup> Cf. *Hom.* 30.32-33: “You will find them singing psalms and [...] / hymn[s ...] publicly (παρρησία) in the presence of [...]”.

<sup>491</sup> *P. Kell. Copt.* 25.46. Two of the three instances of the word ‘Church’ in the letters of the Kellis community refer specifically to the ‘Holy Church’.



mentioned elsewhere in the ‘Sermon on the Great War’ and the ‘Narrative about the Crucifixion’,<sup>492</sup> which also make it sound like an activity that would occur in a building. In this way the *puli* reading prophesied in the ‘Sermon’ would have been understood by its audience as a proud, secure contrast to the more clandestine reading necessary in at least the author’s own, persecuted time.

The Church itself will be nearly destroyed in the Great War, but this is to be followed by a period of great strength.

[... the / Chur]ch was crushed, being in distress, [for it had] no [place] / where it could stand firm, nor did it have [any ... in the / wo]rld, as it had no place [... the / m]ultitude of the sects and their-kin [... at] that / [ti]me, however, [righteousness will hold (?) 26 the position] in which the Magi are now, for they / [ar]e the rulers in the world. At that time the / [...] them greatly. Righteousness will rule, and they will / [be ash]amed.<sup>493</sup>

Mani’s religion (‘righteousness’) after the Great War will rule over other sects in the same way as the Magi currently rule over others (written as this was during a time of persecution by the Persian Empire). While the Church may have been “crushed” ( $\lambda\alpha\chi\bar{\zeta}$ ) and had “no place where it could stand firm” ( $\tau\omega\kappa \alpha\rho\epsilon\tau$ ) during the Great War, afterwards it will hold a position of power. Indeed, as the text continues: “Henceforth, after the wa[r, the / C]hurch will not be weak ( $\beta\omega\beta$ )”,<sup>494</sup> and “The Ch[ur]ch / will not cease remaining ( $\mu\eta\eta$ ), so that there are / [som]e among us who will be found at that time / [un]til the Antichrist.”<sup>495</sup> This sentiment is summed up in the following passage:

They will find the [...] of his mysteries / [in the] wisdom of my lord Mannichaios and his / [Ch]urch. ... They will find the Churches / [...] they will find these things after the war. Indeed, the Church will not be obstructed after this time, / [fr]om now until

<sup>492</sup> *Hom.* 12.20; 17.15; 22.20; 30.28; 74.24. On this role see Pedersen (1996), 164 and n.38; and now I. Gardner ‘The Letters of Philammon to Theognostos recovered from House Three at Ismant el-Kharab (IVth Century C.E. Kellis)’, paper read at the International Conference of the Dakhleh Oasis Project, May 2006b (forthcoming).

<sup>493</sup> *Hom.* 25.30-26.4.

<sup>494</sup> *Hom.* 27.28-30.

<sup>495</sup> *Hom.* 28.1-2.

the day of Jesus and until / all the [flesh]es wear away. The *Gospel* and the *Im[age]* / and the treasures which the Church has fashioned / [...] of the holy ones which it (i.e. the Church) has built [... / ... the tre]asures which it has left in the world.<sup>496</sup>

Again the strength of the Church is reaffirmed: “it will not be obstructed (**ΧΩΛΕ**)”. This language will resurface later in some of our other texts.

The place of Mani’s Church will so overtake that of the Magi and other sects, that: “The temples of the gods of this world will become / [a dwelling-plac]e for the Elect and the H[oly] Church.”<sup>497</sup> Similarly, “The Churc[h]es / and [the] Catechumen’s houses will be like / schools.”<sup>498</sup> While this may seem to be nothing more than a blurring of the distinction between sacred and profane uses of buildings, the fact that after the Great War the Churches and Catechumen’s houses will be used as schools may tell us something about the uses of these structures in the first place (and we should note that the word ‘Church’ does seem to indicate an actual structure in this context). If they were not being used as schools before the Great War, it seems probable that Churches were used as a residence for the Elect who will after the War live in the “temples of the gods”, leaving room for them and houses to become schools. That the Elect lodged with Catechumens has always been suspected, but it was also assumed that they would otherwise have lived in monasteries. It may be, however, that a more figurative understanding of both ‘dwelling-place’ (**[ΜΑ ΝΟΥΠ]Ε**) and ‘Holy Church’ are employed here, and that this simply indicates that it is in this place where the Elect are to be found in this time.

It was mentioned that in the time of persecution the Elect would leave the ‘security of the believers’ (**ΜΠΖΑΝ ΝΜΠΙCΤΟC**),<sup>499</sup> but the Catechumens themselves have a significant role to play in the resoration of the Church. While it seems that this role is addressed on p. 29, the remaining context is too fragmentary to easily interpret.

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<sup>496</sup> *Hom.* 28.8-10 & 12-19.

<sup>497</sup> *Hom.* 26.12-13.

<sup>498</sup> *Hom.* 30.29-31.

<sup>499</sup> *Hom.* 16.20.

Indeed, the fourth [...] / is [t]his: Its root will be taken from the Ch[urch ... / ...] brought down (?), for the horns which are entrusted (?) [...] / wh]ile the Catechumens see their [...] / [...] and they will be passionate in the[ir] good. / Indeed, [Right]eousness will be established in everything<sup>500</sup>

What is clear, however, is that they are to be rewarded for their service at the time of Judgement. The description of this reward mirrors *Mt 25.32-33*: “[... Cate]chume[n ... / ...] they have served h[is] Chur[ch / ...] in hi[s] [...] / [...] on hi[s] left sid[e ...]”.<sup>501</sup> Presumably the text in the lacuna mentioned those non-believers who would be placed on Christ’s left side and judged, as we are soon told that he comes “[...] to judge the races and to justify his Chur[ch / when he] comes to separa[te] the goats and set them apart / [from h]is sheep.”<sup>502</sup>

The ‘Section of the Narrative about the Crucifixion’ is concerned with Mani’s martyrdom and the fate of the Church immediately afterwards. Among a numbering of Mani’s last days we discover that “On the third day [...] / [...] he confirmed his Church / un[til the Sab]bath.”<sup>503</sup> The word ‘confirmed’ (ϠΡ̄Χ) also has the sense of ‘strengthened’, and is reminiscent of the ‘reinforcing’ (†ΜΕΤΕ) of Jesus’ church by Paul and the ‘righteous men’ in the *Kephalaia*.<sup>504</sup> It seems that Mani’s caution in doing so at this time was well-placed, as not long afterwards “They caught him and crucified [him / ... and the]y scattered (ΧΡΑΡΕ) his assemblies (CAYZC̄) [...] / [...] his beginning also, namely his Church [...]”.<sup>505</sup> It is curious that Mani’s Church seems here to be referred to as ‘his beginning’ (ZH). Satan is seen as partly responsible for the instigation of this scattering, and seems to be the one indicated in the phrase “He dist[urbed (ϠΤΑΡ[ΤΡ̄]) ... / ...] his (i.e. Mani’s) Ch[urch ...]”.<sup>506</sup> The grief (ZHBE) caused by this is summed up by the mourning of the Manichaean women Banak, Dinak and Nušak, who ask

<sup>500</sup> *Hom.* 29.19.

<sup>501</sup> *Hom.* 37.7-8.

<sup>502</sup> *Hom.* 35.27.

<sup>503</sup> *Hom.* 60.6. The ‘sabbath’ here is included to indicate a particular date and or length of time.

<sup>504</sup> *Keph.* 13.19 & 13.31. See below.

<sup>505</sup> *Hom.* 74.17.

<sup>506</sup> *Hom.* 74.22.

where [are] the thousands whom you have chosen, and the ten thousands who have [believed / i]n you? For the sake of the truth, indeed, and the uprightness which you [brought to / the] earth, all the worlds need to grieve over you in the mids[t of your] / Churches and wee[p / pub]licly in your congregations<sup>507</sup>

In these last two extracts there seems again to be a differentiation between ‘Church’ and ‘congregation’ (CAYZC̄), which are further contrasted by the implicitly private grieving in the churches as opposed to the “public” weeping in the congregations. The ‘Narrative about the Crucifixion’ concludes on a more positive note, however, and appears to have been written in a time of relative peace between the Manichaeans and the Persian emperor. Its last word on the Church is fragmentary:

The Chur[ch ...] / in all its places. A multitude [... / ...] retribution in their body [... / Chur]ch looked intently at them and [..., while it] / stood firm and remained. The other de[nier]s [... / ...] after them. They wanted to do iniq[ui]ty [... / what [...]? It is the stumbling-stone [... / all [the w]orld[s]. It is the [... / all of them. It will not waver until the day [...]<sup>508</sup>

This appears to give an account of the Church after its persecution by Vahram II, and seems to relate a peace brokered with the latter by Sisinnios’ successor Innaios. It is interesting that such language used of the present time as “stood firm and remained (APETC ECMHN)” and “It will not waver” (CAXIM) is similar to that used in the ‘Sermon on the Great War’ for the Church of the future. In this case the Church itself has become the ‘stumbling-stone’ (XPAT) for its opponents.

The final instance of the word ‘Church’ in the *Homilies* comes from a newly edited fragment which was included in Pedersen’s recent edition. Based on its orthography he suggests that these fragments belong with the final section of the *Homilies*, ‘Salmaios’ Lament’.<sup>509</sup> Our fragment reads:

he called the Teachers / [...] whole flock. He had brought / [... C]hurch that is near to him, while he said / [...]while I have not yet departed (?). Indeed, when they came /

<sup>507</sup> *Hom.* 59.13-17.

<sup>508</sup> *Hom.* 85.17-21.

<sup>509</sup> Pedersen (2006), 22.

[...] them, he groaned and wept, saying / [...] my children, I [...] go [... / ...] strong [...] do not grieve because of / [...] not [...], but I will / [...] the little [... / following 3 lines lost]<sup>510</sup>

While the preceding passages discussed would seem to indicate that Mani's followers certainly did not listen when he enjoined them "do not grieve (λυπεῖν)", it appears that in his example their own grieving may have had a model, as in this fragment Mani is said to have 'groaned' (ϠΤΒΘ) and 'wept' (ΠΙΜΕ).

The *Kephalaia* contains the highest concentration of usages of 'Church' of any western Manichaean text. Even the Introductory chapter says of the Buddha: "He cho[se] his chur[c/hes, and] perfected his churches."<sup>511</sup> The use of the plural 'churches' seems odd here, but will be explained presently. It is curious that the author has chosen to use the word 'perfect, finish' (ϠΩΚ) in this context, as the Buddha and the other 'fathers of Righteousness' did not leave their followers scriptures: something Mani is said to have regarded as a fatal flaw. This oversight meant that their teachings were able to be and were corrupted and, predictably, Mani prophesies "know that their righteousn[ess] and their Chu[r/ch] will pass aw[ay] from the world".<sup>512</sup>

Chapter 1 'Concerning the Advent of the Apostle' recounts Mani's response to a question from his disciples about his apostolate, "before he had yet chosen h[is Church]".<sup>513</sup> Mani responds with an explanation of his predecessors, and likens these Apostles establishing their churches to a farmer sowing his crops.

[A]ll the Apost[les] / who are on occasion sent to the world re[semble] / farmers; while their churches, which they choose, [are] / like Pa[rm]uthi and Paophi. For the way Parmuthi [occ/u]rs not in all the months of the year; nor [does Paophi / ...] in all of them.<sup>514</sup>

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<sup>510</sup> *Hom.* 1B.8.

<sup>511</sup> *Keph.* 8.2-3.

<sup>512</sup> *Keph.* 8.9-10.

<sup>513</sup> *Keph.* 9.20.

<sup>514</sup> *Keph.* 9.24-29:

The following text contains many lacunae at crucial points, and it is unclear as to how exactly the churches they chose are like the Egyptian months of Parmuthi (27th March – 25th April) and Paophi (28th September – 27th October), especially when the most obvious analogy would be between the Apostles' churches and the seeds sown by the farmers. Judging by the differentiation of these two months, however, it appears that Mani is actually distinguishing between the two orders of his predecessors' and his own Churches: "They [...] to the [whole] created order; [and they] choose a selection of the [..., as t]hey make [... / ...] the Elect and the Catechumens."<sup>515</sup> Amongst a further section of lacunose text occurs the sentence: "[... makes the f]orm of his Church free, and [... / ...] of the flesh, whose form[s] he had made free / [...]"<sup>516</sup> Van Lindt has discussed this word 'form' (μορφή) extensively elsewhere,<sup>517</sup> but in sum his argument regarding its use here concerns the two forms that the Elect and Catechumens each have. He connects this with Ch. 90, where we find a clearer discussion:

Now, this is how it is for you to understand (about) the souls of the [Ele]/ct and the Catechumens that shall receive the hop[e of] / God and enter the land of the living. / So that their forms could be chosen in the heights: before / he is born in this human flesh and befo[re the A]/postle is manifested in the flesh, still abid[ing ...] **225** he shall choose the forms of his entire Church and make th[em] / free, whether of the Elect or of the Catechume[ns]. / Now, when he chooses the forms of the Elect and [the] / Catechumens, and makes them free from abov[e], / afterwards he shall come down immediately and choose them.<sup>518</sup>

This also explains the reference to the Buddha choosing his church-*es*, as Mani undoubtedly distinguished between the church bodies of his community as well.<sup>519</sup> Thus, while the Buddha may have perfected the two bodies of his Church, his

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<sup>515</sup> *Keph.* 10.12-14.

<sup>516</sup> *Keph.* 10.24-25.

<sup>517</sup> P. van Lindt 'μορφή in the Coptic Manichaean Texts', M. Rassart-Debergh & J. Ries (eds) *Actes du IV<sup>e</sup> Congrès Copte. Louvain-la-Neuve, 5-10 septembre 1988* (Publications de l'Institut Orientaliste de Louvain 41), Université Catholique de Louvain, Louvain-la-Neuve, 1992a (II 292-299), 294-295.

<sup>518</sup> *Keph.* 224.28-225.5.

<sup>519</sup> Indeed, that is why in the preceding discussion I have translated ἐκκλησία with a small 'c', to indicate 'church bodies' rather than Church.

message was flawed in that it was susceptible to interpolation by later followers. To refer to the greater ‘Church’ as encompassing both grades, Mani here distinguishes it with the phrase “his entire Church (ΝΤΕῪΕΚΚΛΗCΙΑ ΤΗΡC) ... whether of the Elect or the Catechumens”.

We also see here that the heavenly form of the Apostle will choose the souls of the Elect and Catechumens even before they are born “in the flesh” (Ϡῆ ἸCΑΡϠ), and he will go on to do once more when they are both manifested materially. In this way he makes them ‘free’ (ῬῆϠΕ). According to the the analogy of the farmer in Ch. 1, the seeds are the forms of the Elect and Catechumens. Mani explains this by continuing his analogy: “for when he will [... / ...] that moment he shall begin [... t]end / [...] it reaches Parmuthi also, he may harvest it [... / ...] toil for the fruits of Paophi [...]”.<sup>520</sup> While fragmentary, this section appears to discuss a farmer who, at the same time as harvesting in Parmuthi, sows seeds of a different crop that will themselves be ready to harvest six months later, rather than having to wait a full year. This is also related back to the Church, and how the two bodies are first “chosen in the heights”:

Again, this too is [how] the Apostl[es ... / ...] from the beginning of the moulding of humanity [... / ... a]s I have t[ol]d you, that when they [... / ...] before everything he shall [... / ...] free above first.<sup>521</sup>

It seems that, according to the *Kephalaia*, the fate of one’s soul was already decided “before everything”; “in the heights”. When discussing the similar teaching in Ch. 90, Gardner notes that this “evidences a firmly deterministic view of salvation”.<sup>522</sup>

Mani continues the discussion in Ch. 1 by explaining his relationship to the Paraclete promised by Jesus.<sup>523</sup> Mani was asked to

[...] preach on behalf of the Paraclete of truth, that he / [...] he came to manifest the one whom he had known [... / ...] the appointed time of all these years, as they [... / ... from] Jesus until now [... / ... / ...] until he [... / ...] and he makes them free. Yet,

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<sup>520</sup> *Keph.* 10.26-29.

<sup>521</sup> *Keph.* 10.30-34.

<sup>522</sup> Gardner (1995a), 231.

<sup>523</sup> *Keph.* 14.6-7.

when the Church as/sumed flesh, the season arrived to redeem the souls; like / [the  
mont]h of Parmuthi that cereal shall ripen i[n], / to be harvested.<sup>524</sup>

It is interesting that again we have a reference to the believers being made ‘free’, once more before a subsequent assumption of ‘flesh’, in this case the fate of the Manichaean Church itself. While the Church itself may be clothed in flesh and the world in order to save those similarly bound, this state is still a negative thing. When the ‘form’ of the person “[will be] born in the flesh, he (i.e. the heavenly Apostle) shall come down to it at once”,<sup>525</sup> and

[He] shall continue in the world at this time [...] / him, corresponding to the season when the world will come to his [...] / when the season will mature he is raised up from the world and he leaves his Church {behind} and goes forth.

This explains why the months of Parmuthi and Paophi are employed as analogies for the Apostles’ churches: the time in which he chooses them is referred to as a ‘season’ (καίρος). This ‘season’ is the length of time the Apostle’s Church will remain “in the flesh”, after which he and it are raised up to a final rest.<sup>526</sup> The past Apostle, however, must sow the seed of his succeeding Church for, while this section is fragmentary,<sup>527</sup> the following analogy of a tree that is never bare of fruit is preserved.<sup>528</sup> Mani elucidates this further:

The Apostles are like [t]his [also]. N[o]w, 12 when the Apostle will be raised up to the heights, he and his Church, and they depart from the world; at t[h]at instant / another Apostle shall be sent to it, to another Ch/[urch ...]<sup>529</sup>

This is the main reason that Mani has chosen the months of Parmuthi and Paophi for his lesson, so that he can make the analogy of the farmer sowing seeds even while

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<sup>524</sup> *Keph.* 14.18-27.

<sup>525</sup> *Keph.* 11.1.

<sup>526</sup> *Keph.* 11.6-16.

<sup>527</sup> *Keph.* 11.20-23.

<sup>528</sup> *Keph.* 11.26-27.

<sup>529</sup> *Keph.* 11.35-12.4.



harvesting to yield two crops in the same year.<sup>530</sup> There is an overlap so the world will never be without a righteous Church.

Mani lists several previous Apostles in this chapter,<sup>531</sup> but does not pause to describe their conformity to the model outlined except in the case of Jesus. This Church is somewhat more complicated, however, and while founded by its Apostle Jesus is not immediately succeeded by another Apostle's Church, but rather periodically 'reinforced' (†ΜΕΤΕ) by others. It is interesting that both 'his twelve' and Paul are called 'Apostles' (ἀπόστολος),<sup>532</sup> and this indicates a looser usage of the term in the chapter than the technical Manichaean sense of a 'Church founder'.<sup>533</sup> It should be noted that all of these figures were still 'raised to the heights', in the manner of the previous founders. Perhaps more intriguing is that the Twelve do not themselves 'reinforce' Jesus' Church, but require Paul to do so. Later it was once more 'reinforced' by the 'righteous man' or 'men'. I am careful to differentiate here because, even though the narrative switches to the plural after a lacuna (14 letters), the only activity attributed to these plural people is that they "cared for the church of our master according to their capacity."<sup>534</sup> Gardner notes that the term  $\overline{\text{P}}\text{TAK}$ , interpreted here to mean 'cared for', may instead have the sense of 'carved', ie. "to separate the righteous Christians from the falsifiers."<sup>535</sup> Polotsky & Böhlig translate "operierten", and Kasser suggests "prendre soin de",<sup>536</sup> both of which seem to be the sense when the same term is employed again at *Keph.* 218.6. The *Dictionary of*

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<sup>530</sup> It would not be entirely unprofitable to examine symbols associated with the Church. On the Living Tree see: G. Widengren *Mesopotamian Elements in Manichaeism: Studies in Manichaean, Mandaean and Syrian-Gnostic Religion* (King and Saviour 2), Uppsala, Leipzig, 1946, 123-157. Numerous relevant symbols are included in V. Arnold-Döben *Die Bildersprache des Manichäismus* (Arbeitsmaterialien zur Religionsgeschichte 3), E. J. Brill, Köln, 1978: relevant to this topic are the tree (7-44), the shepherd and flock (71-77), and the bridegroom and bride (78-85).

<sup>531</sup> *Keph.* 12.10-19.

<sup>532</sup> *Keph.* 13.19-20.

<sup>533</sup> Cf. also *Keph.* 12.24-26: "Also his apostles have preached / in respect of him that he received a servant's form, an appearance as of men."

<sup>534</sup> *Keph.* 13.32-33.

<sup>535</sup> Gardner (1995), 19n.4.

<sup>536</sup> R. Kasser *Compléments au Dictionnaire Coptique de Crum*, Publications de l'Institut français d'Archéologie orientale, Cairo, 1964, 50.

*Manichaeen Texts I* suggests here, however, ‘strengthen’,<sup>537</sup> based on W. Westendorf’s *Koptisches Handwörterbuch*,<sup>538</sup> which would be more in keeping with the sense of **†ΜΕΤΕ**.

The uniqueness of Jesus’ Church among those of the other Apostles is emphasised by a series of epithets attached to it, particularly two references to it as “the Church of the Saviour (**ΤΕΚΚΛΗCΙΑ ΜΠ̄CΩ̄Ρ**)”.<sup>539</sup> It is also referred to as “the Church of our Master (**ΝΤΕΚΚΛΗCΙΑ ΜΠΝΧΑΙ’C**)”,<sup>540</sup> which occurs again in Ch. 2 as “the Church of my Master (**ΤΕΚΚΛΗCΙΑ [ΜΠ]ΑΧΑΙC**)” and is reminiscent of the term “congregations of our lord (**ΑΝCΑΥC ΜΠΑΧΑΙ’C**)” used for Mani’s Church in the ‘Sermon on the Great War’.<sup>541</sup> Most significant, however, is a reference to it as “the last Church (**ΤΖΑΗ ΝΕΚΚΛΗCΙΑ**)”,<sup>542</sup> which has the sense of ‘final’ rather than ‘preceding’. Chapter 2 refers to the “[Chur]/ch of God (**[ΕΚΚΛΗ]/CΙΑ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ**)”<sup>543</sup> and, while this may seem to be a Manichaean epithet for Jesus’ Church, is in fact used here in connection with an allusion to the words of Paul in *I Cor.* 15.9.<sup>544</sup>

It may be that Mani is detailing the constant need to shore up Jesus’ Church to emphasise the completeness of his own Church and, indeed, when describing the localised nature of past revelations, Mani has an almost superior tone as in Ch. 151 he says

In / this first matter my Church surpasses the first / Churches: Because the first Churches / were chosen according to place, according to city. My Chur/ch, mine: It

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<sup>537</sup> Clackson, Hunter, Lieu and Vermes (1998), 127.

<sup>538</sup> W. Westendorf *Koptisches Handwörterbuch*, Carl Winter, Heidelberg, 1965-1977, 227n.2.

<sup>539</sup> *Keph.* 13.22, 14.3.

<sup>540</sup> *Keph.* 13.32.

<sup>541</sup> See above, *Hom.* 15.18-22.

<sup>542</sup> *Keph.* 13.30.

<sup>543</sup> *Keph.* 19.7-8.

<sup>544</sup> Polotsky & Böhlig (1940) give the Greek of *I Cor.* 15.9 as: διώκειν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ θεοῦ. Cf. *Keph.* 196.25-26.

is provided for it to go out from all cities, / and its good news attains every country.<sup>545</sup>

More generally, however, this historic detail can be seen as Mani's solution to the fact that the relative roles of Jesus, Paul and others in the Christian Church presented a problem to Mani's model of Apostles and their Churches. Undoubtedly this was something Mani struggled with, and his ambivalence over the word 'Apostle' seems to stand as a testament to this. The narrative regarding the advent of Mani's own Church features little in the way of special language regarding his Church, other than to refer to it as his 'Holy Church', a term that is to be dealt with separately below. Put simply, Mani explains that after "the Church of the Saviour" had ascended to the heights his own "Apostolate" (ἀποστολή) began.<sup>546</sup>

Chapter 10 describes how the First Man created the the divine archetypes for five important Manichaean gestures, or practices: the Peace, the Right Hand, the Kiss, the Salutation, and the laying on of hands (for some reason this last is not referred to in the chapter title). In the same way that the Light Mind has performed these gestures and through the performance of which he nominates someone to be saved, that person will themselves perform them: "With the right hand he receives the k[iss of lo]/ve and becomes a child of the C[hurch] (ΟΥΩΗΡΕ ΝΤΕ[ΚΚΛΗCΙΑ])".<sup>547</sup> In Chapter 38 'Concerning the Light Mind and the Apostles and the Saints' Mani begins by re-emphasising the distinction between his revelation (ἀποκάλυψις) and his Church (ἐκκλησία), when he says: "My en[tire] revelati[on], / which I have unveiled, I have declared to my Chu[r]/c[h]."<sup>548</sup> This chapter is devoted to describing how the Light Mind is the guardian of the body in which the New Man has come to dwell. He explains the Light Mind's watch over the Old Man by an analogy with the respective watches over the districts of the universe of the five sons of the Living Spirit against demonic rebellion. In describing the rebellions in the watch-district of the Adamant of Light he says: "they persecute the Churches. They kill the / Apostles and the righteous in the watch-district of the Adam[ant] / of Light, time after time, and from generation

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<sup>545</sup> *Keph.* 371.14-19: ed. Funk (2000); tr. Gardner, in Gardner and Lieu (2004), 266.

<sup>546</sup> *Keph.* 14.3-4.

<sup>547</sup> *Keph.* 40.33-34.

<sup>548</sup> *Keph.* 90.8-10.

to generation.”<sup>549</sup> In this case ‘Churches’ should be understood to be the larger institutions associated with Mani and past Apostles. He also describes the appropriate response of Church members should an individual’s ‘Old Man’ rebel in his body.

When the sign of his foolishness (**ΜΝΤΣΕΒΕ**) will be [dis]/played, and his reputation spreads further in the Church, the [wis]/e ones of the Church shall gather to him; so [that] they might set right his [heart]<sup>550</sup>

Sin is a pernicious influence, however, and in describing how it can take away his love of the Church (**ΝΤΑΓΑΠΗ ΝΤΕΚΚΛΗΣΙ/Α**) and replace it with hatred (**ΜΑΣΤΕ**), making his friends and loved ones as enemies to him, we see evidence of the Manichaean regard for apostates. The poor disciple, who had originally only asked Mani to explain how the Old Man could continuously rebel after having apparently been chained by the Light Mind, is being treated to an explanation of how sin, that can be so dire as to cause someone to leave the fold, arises in the first place. Such a person is thus ‘disturbed’ (**ΨΤΑΡΤΡ**) and “shall / [himse]lf become a vessel of loss (**ΟΥΣΚΕΥΟΣ [ΖΩ]Ψ ΝΤΕ ΠΑΣΕ**), and he separates fr[om] / the Church (**ΝΨΠΩΡΧ ΑΒ[ΑΛ] Ν/ΤΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑ**”).<sup>551</sup> In Ch. 103 we discover the fate of such people: “Also other inquit/[ous] people who shall be found in the Church; it excludes / them with a legal excommunication (**ΨΩΩΤ ΑΒΑΛ**), on account of their foolishness (**ΜΝΤΣΕΒΕ**).”<sup>552</sup> Mani finally concludes Ch. 38 with a list of accomplishments his works and leadership (**ΜΝΤΛΕΜΗΨΕ**) have achieved, the fifth and final of which is his establishment of the Church. The text says he has given his children his “emblems of authority”<sup>553</sup> (**ράβδος** ‘staff’), but unfortunately the following seven letters are missing and we are at a loss as to what he may have meant. Initially it appears he may have been indicating symbols of succession possessed by

<sup>549</sup> *Keph.* 93.6-8.

<sup>550</sup> *Keph.* 98.26-28. See also *Keph.* 97.30-32.

<sup>551</sup> *Keph.* 99.10-12.

<sup>552</sup> *Keph.* 257.25-27.

<sup>553</sup> *Keph.* 101.19. Polotsky (1940) translates “Stäbe”.

the Archegos,<sup>554</sup> but when the text begins again it reads “and the great springs of wisdom”, undoubtedly indicating that something more figurative is here intended. Mani concludes “I have made my Church strong (ΧΡΟ), and appointed in it / all [goo]d things that are beneficial to it in every matter.”<sup>555</sup>

In Chapter 73 ‘Concerning the Envy of Matter’ Mani explains how Matter has at various points envied the beings of the Kingdom of Light. These have included the First Man, the Ambassador, Adam, and Christ with his congregations (CAYZC̄). In the same way it has envied Mani too, “For it wishes now, at the end, to be / god in its old land”,<sup>556</sup> but “it also envied all my righteousness (ΑΤΑΔΙΚΑΙΟ/ΣΥΝΗ ΤΗΡC̄) and my entire Church (ΤΑΕΚΚΛΗCΙΑ ΤΗΡC̄) and the whole assembly of the Catechumens (ΤCAYZC̄ ΤΗΡC̄ / [N]ΝΑΚΑΤΗΧΟΥΜΕΝΟC).”<sup>557</sup> This comes across as a listing of his various church bodies, with ‘all his righteousness’ and the ‘whole assembly of the Catechumens’ composing together the ‘entire Church’, as in Ch. 90. The ordering of the three is strange, however, and we should be cautious in interpreting the passage in this way as the term ‘entire Church’ appears in the middle. In this way it might be considered a separate church body on a par with the other two. Alternatively, his ‘righteousness’ may rather refer his teachings, but the numbering ‘all’ (ΤΗΡC̄) would be odd in this case, and would seem to indicate the Elect in distinction from the Catechumens. This requires further consideration. Mani continues to describe Matter’s intolerance for the virtuous: “They who are in truth (ΝΡΜ̄ΜΗΕ),

<sup>554</sup> Cf. the ‘Narrative about the Crucifixion’ (*Hom.* 67.9-15), where the object carried by Mani’s followers and laid with his bones is considered by O. Klima to be the relic of his hand, in reference to the Parthian text M 5569 V 40: *d(s)t ’wyst’ m*; whereas W. Sundermann has translated the same as ‘staff’: O. Klima ‘Manichäische Homilien S. 67. (Ein Beitrag zur Interpretation der koptisch-manichäischen Bruchstücke von Medinet Madi)’, *Archiv Orientalní* 20, 1952 (53-56); W. Sundermann *Mitteliranische manichäische Texte kirchengeschichtlichen Inhalts* (Berlin Turfantexte XI), Akademie-Verlag, Berlin, 1981, 30-31. Pedersen (2006) notes that the Coptic word for staff Ϩ(Ε)ΡΒΩΤ is itself feminine and would agree with the suffix in ll. 9, 14 and 15, but argues that the term is unattested in Manichaean texts. It should be noted, however, that Crum cites Ϩ(Ε)ΡΒΩΤ as an attested translation for ῥάβδος: Crum (1939), 702a.

<sup>555</sup> *Keph.* 101.22-23.

<sup>556</sup> *Keph.* 179.17-18.

<sup>557</sup> *Keph.* 179.19-21.

being perfect in / [the] faith (ΕΥΧΗΚ Ζῆ / [Π]ΝΑΖΤΕ).<sup>558</sup> This envy “it casts upon the entire kindred of life (ΑΤΡΕΙΤΕ ΤΗΡῚ ΝΤΕ ΠΩΝῚ) / from the very beginning until my time, from m/e too to my Church.”<sup>559</sup> These two terms may also be names the Manichaeans considered for themselves.

Chapter 80 ‘The Chapter of the Commandments of Righteousness’ outlines the precepts to be upheld by the Elect and the Catechumens. In this way it describes the expectation that the Catechumens “will give a child to the [Ch]/urch for the (sake of) righteousness”.<sup>560</sup> They are also expected to “build a dwelling (ΝΑΚῶΤ ΝΟΥΜΑΝῶΩΠΤΕ) or construct some pl[ace] (ΝῶCMN ΟΥΤΟ[ΠΟC]); / so they can become for him a portion of alms in the Holy Ch[urch].”<sup>561</sup> It may be that the author of this chapter chose to differentiate the Church from the ‘Holy Church’, because the building the Catechumen was expected to construct was itself hoped to be a church building. It is tempting also to consider that the term τόπος here may here have some technical value reflected by the Τόπ(ος) Μανι mentioned as being somewhere near Kellis. Also concerned with the construction of a Church is Chapter 81, although it uses a slightly different understanding of the word in the narrative of Mani being queried by the Archegos of a Church of fifty Elect.<sup>562</sup> The term Archegos seems to be used here simply to indicate the ‘leader’ of a particular Church, rather than Mani’s successor as leader of the greater Manichaean Church. Whether his Church can be understood to mean a single Manichaean community in the sense of a ‘parish’, or one to have more sense of a sort of ‘diocese’ we cannot be sure. If we had some sense of the size of a typical Manichaean community we may have a better idea of what is intended here, but as it is we have no real idea whether the number fifty should be considered large or average. The fact that he does not mention Catechumens is also interesting, although as the title of this chapter is ‘of Fasting, for it engenders a Host of Angels’ it is to be expected that it would be mainly concerned with the activities of the Elect. Indeed, the Archegos seems to consider the number of

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<sup>558</sup> *Keph.* 179.27-28.

<sup>559</sup> *Keph.* 180.17-19.

<sup>560</sup> *Keph.* 193.5-6.

<sup>561</sup> *Keph.* 193.12-13.

<sup>562</sup> *Keph.* 193.33-34.

Elect under his guidance quite large, as he feels warranted in bemoaning the weight of responsibility on his shoulders as regards their generating so many ‘angels’. The Archegos is concerned about his own fallibility, and worries for the fate of any Church works (**ΠΖΩΒ ΝΤΕΚΚΛΗCΙΑ**)<sup>563</sup> he might perform while in a state of sin. “Suppose I have si/[n] at the time when I shall proclaim (**ΤΕΟΥΟ**) some word by my [mou/th] concerning the building (**ΚΑΤ**) a Church or alms”.<sup>564</sup> Several times he and Mani mention ‘preaching’ (**ΤΑΨΕΑΙΨ**) and ‘building’ (**ΚΩΤ**) the Church together in the same breath,<sup>565</sup> and at one point Mani calls the result of these the “Chu/r[c]h of God” (**ΝΤΕΚΚΛΗ/Ç[Ι]Α ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ**).<sup>566</sup> While this Archegos may not be Mani’s successor *per se*, in this function he is like him as preserved in the introductory narrative to Ch. 108 is the epithet for Mani “builder of the Church” (**ΠΚΩΤ / ΝΤΕΚΚΛΗCΙΑ**).<sup>567</sup>

The functions of alms in the work of the Church also make up part of the subject of Chapter 85. One of the disciples questions Mani about the damage he may cause to the Cross of Light if one of his superiors commands him to travel to another country “about a godly matter (**ΟΥΖΩΒ ΝΝΟΥΤΕ**) [...] of the Church”,<sup>568</sup> or a “Teacher [of the] Church where I am (**ΟΥCΑΖ [ΝΤ]ΕΚΚΛΗCΙΑ ΕΨΝΖΗΤÇ**), or / some of the foreign brethren, may [ask me] about a portion of al[m]/s”<sup>569</sup> and he carries them to the Church.<sup>570</sup> Mani responds that “Every Elect and righteous person who walks on a path / due to the work of God (**ΠΖΩΒ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ**)”<sup>571</sup> does no sin. In this way, says Mani, “he is like the doctor, namely the Elect / person who encourages alms-giving and gathers it / in, bringing it to the Church (**ΝΨCΩΗΖ**

<sup>563</sup> *Keph.* 196.15.

<sup>564</sup> *Keph.* 196.11-13.

<sup>565</sup> *Keph.* 196.7-9, 196.25-26, 196.29-30.

<sup>566</sup> *Keph.* 196.25-26. Cf. *Keph.* 19.7-8.

<sup>567</sup> *Keph.* 261.18-19.

<sup>568</sup> *Keph.* 208.22.

<sup>569</sup> *Keph.* 208.23-25. Cf. *Keph.* 208.27-28.

<sup>570</sup> *Keph.* 208.28.

<sup>571</sup> *Keph.* 209.13-14.

Μ̄ΜΑϚ / ΑΖΟΥΝ ΕΦΕΙΝΕ Μ̄ΜΑϚ ΑΤΕΚΚΛΗϚΙΑ)”.<sup>572</sup> The alms themselves are “like the person who is [ill], because the power of the ene/my is mixed in with it”. They too are “gathered (ΑΖΟΥΝ) / to the C[h]urch.”<sup>573</sup> The implication in this chapter is certainly that “the Church” in question was a definite location, to which the disciple could carry alms. The question of whether this was a specific building or simply the Manichaean community remains although, as the group receiving alms could only be the Elect, it seems odd that simply the term ‘Church’ would be used to refer to them. One should be cautious with this interpretation, however, as in a fragmentary line from Ch. 93 Mani reassures a Catechumen who worries that he too will wound the alms in the act of gathering them. Mani answers that in the Church they will receive their healing.<sup>574</sup>

Chapter 91 is Mani’s explanation of how a Catechumen may attain heaven in one lifetime without the need for reincarnation. He explains that there are those “who master / self-control and have even [kept the flesh] of animals away from / their mouths. They are eager for fasting and prayer each / day; helping the Church with what has come into their hands / [i]n alms.”<sup>575</sup> It is interesting that, while prayer and fasting are considered virtuous, the Catechumen is only considered to be ‘helping’ (βοηθεῖν) the Church when he gives it alms. The disciples seem to consider the Church as composed of both church orders when they ask Mani a question “concerning the person who shall [...] / and come into the Church [...] are Elect [and] / Catechumens.”<sup>576</sup>

There are few references to the term ‘Church’ without the epithet ‘Holy’ in the remaining chapters of the *Kephalaia*. In Chapter 109 ‘Concerning the Fifty Lord’s Days; to what Mysteries do they correspond? Or the Second Fifty; to whose Sign are they?’ Mani says that one set of fifty are for the Elect and the other for the Catechumens.

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<sup>572</sup> *Keph.* 212.11-12.

<sup>573</sup> *Keph.* 212.12-15.

<sup>574</sup> *Keph.* 238.15-17.

<sup>575</sup> *Keph.* 229.23

<sup>576</sup> *Keph.* 231.14-16.



And I, I have b[estowed them] / on the entire Church (ΤΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑ ΤΗΡΣ) with these fifty days in which / the Ca[te]chum[e]ns fast, after the myster/y of the First Man. And the other fifty, after the sign of / the s[ec]ond man who was revealed in the Church.<sup>577</sup>

It is interesting that the earlier cosmic figure of the First Man is the type for the Catechumens, while the Elect are assigned to Jesus, “the s[ec]ond man who was revealed in the Church.”<sup>578</sup> This probably has more to do, however, with Mani emphasising the emulation of the lifestyle of Jesus by the Elect. Ch. 115 ‘The Catechumen asks the Apostle: will Rest come about for Someone who has come out of the Body, if the Saints pray over and make an Alms-offering for him?’ deals with the practice of a Catechumen having the Elect perform a ‘memorial’ (ᾤΤΙΜΕΟΥΕ) to ameliorate a deceased loved one’s sins.<sup>579</sup> Thus the Elect “performs a remembrance in the Church / on his behalf”,<sup>580</sup> in exchange for an offering of alms. Lastly, the proper observances for the ἐκκλησία are spelled out in Ch. 122 ‘Concerning the “Assent” and the “Amen”’:

[when] / the congregation will beseech an entreaty wi[th] / a questi]on, and they all answer and say ‘verily an[d] / ame]n’, they shall seal the entreaty that the congregatio[n] has /as[ked] for and besought.<sup>581</sup>

Gardner has here translated ἐκκλησία as ‘congregation’, presumably to emphasise that this chapter refers to the correct conduct of a specific assembly of people, rather than any more figurative definition.

As the Dublin *Kephalaia* remains unedited I will refrain from commenting on the few published and disputed leaves, except to note that on p. 438 it appears to discuss the succession of Sisinnios as Archegos of the Manichaeon Church. Significant to our purpose are the words attributed to Mani in connection with this:

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<sup>577</sup> *Keph.* 264.15-19.

<sup>578</sup> *Keph.* 264.19.

<sup>579</sup> *Keph.* 277.26-27.

<sup>580</sup> *Keph.* 279.15-16.

<sup>581</sup> *Keph.* 292.4-8.

First (?) he said to them, 'I order [you to / follow (?)] Sisinnios, the (man) from Khaskhar, my (?) [... /...] Let him be great over the whole of my Church [and] / all [the ...] as well. Take my great Gospel, [the ... / ... of] foundation, and the letter that I have [sealed (?) / ...], and my tunic, and bring them to [... / ...] leader (archegos) in my Church and [...]'<sup>582</sup>

The phrase 'over the whole of my Church' (ΑΧΝΤΑΕΚΚΛΗCΙΑ ΤΗΡ[C]) is equivalent to 'entire Church', although in what may be a more specialised usage. Intriguing too are what appear to be Mani's tokens of leadership: his *Living Gospel*, two texts that appear to be the 'Fundamental Epistle' and the 'Epistle of the Seal', and his tunic.<sup>583</sup>

Among the Bema Psalms in the edited second codex of the Manichaean *Psalm-Book*, in Ps. 225 the Church is referred to as the 'daughter of the Paraclete'.<sup>584</sup> Ps. 226 seems to be referring to the Elect when it mentions "these that are the Church, [...] that / watch over her night and day",<sup>585</sup> especially given the preceding narrative. In Ps. 227 Mani seated on the Bema is described as "judge of the Church" (ΜΝΠΚΡΙΤΗΣ ΝΤΕΚΚΛΗCΙΑ).<sup>586</sup> In the same psalm the singers go on to describe themselves as the Paraclete's Church,<sup>587</sup> and Mani himself begins to say "my Churches are all (ΝΑΕ[ΚΚΛΑCΙΑ Τ]ΗΡΟΥ) like",<sup>588</sup> although the following analogy is lost. In Ps. 241 the congregation sings to Mani that on his journeys "Thou didst seek out thy beloved, thy Church, until / thou hadst found her."<sup>589</sup> It also refers to "thy Church which is in the / world (ΤΚΕΚΚΛΗCΙΑ ΕΤΖΝΠΚΟ/[CΜ]ΟC)."<sup>590</sup> Particularly curious is the phrase immediately following which also concerns the

<sup>582</sup> *Keph. (D)* 438.9-15; ed. and tr. Funk, pers. comm. to users of 'Funk (1993)', 1994.

<sup>583</sup> Funk (1994) notes that in the Parthian M 5569 the insigniae of succession are Mani's copies of the *Living Gospel* and *Ardhang* and his tunic: *ibid.*, n. 13. Cf. the comment above on *Keph.* 101.19: *supra*, 19n.97.

<sup>584</sup> *Ps.-Bk II* 14.20.

<sup>585</sup> *Ps.-Bk II* 20.13-14.

<sup>586</sup> *Ps.-Bk II* 21.1.

<sup>587</sup> *Ps.-Bk II* 21.7.

<sup>588</sup> *Ps.-Bk II* 21.30.

<sup>589</sup> *Ps.-Bk II* 43.3-4.

<sup>590</sup> *Ps.-Bk II* 44.4-5.

Church: “Do not leave thy beloved, that she lose not the savour of the salt which / [...]”.<sup>591</sup> This phrase seems to be a reference to *Mt* 5.13, although Mani’s Church will not lose its flavour because of what appears to be an iteration of the Manichaean hierarchy (the following text is lacunose). It may be that the psalmist is asserting that this institutional pillar of Manichaeism was considered a bulwark against the ‘loss of flavour’ Jesus cautioned against in the Sermon on the Mount. Interestingly, a Manichaean prayer of praise (an amulet?) preserved in Greek at Kellis glorifies the “salt of the church” (τό / ἅλας τῆς ἐκκλησίας) among a series of veneration of the Light World and its inhabitants.<sup>592</sup> The Jesus Psalms contain only two references to the ‘Church’ without the epithet ‘Holy’. In Ps. 250 we are told that “Jesus is the / resurrection of them that have died in the Church”,<sup>593</sup> and in Ps. 251 the Church seems to be mentioned in connection with “Jerusalem of the skies”,<sup>594</sup> undoubtedly a reference to *Gal*. 4.26 and the “Jerusalem above” that “is free”.

The Psalms of the Wanderers, however, contain many references to the word Church. ‘Wanderers 4’<sup>595</sup> sees the community bless Sethel, and says of Mani the Paraclete: “[His] Church blesses thee, / the Elect in their perfection, / the Catechumens and the [...]”.<sup>596</sup> Here we see the Church as composed of both the Elect and the Catechumens, although it should be noted that the lacuna appears to have included another group with a name 5 letters long. Wanderers 11 sings of weaving a garland for the ‘holy ones’: “Holy hearts, holy minds, may we build / into a Church (ΚΩ[Τ / Δ]ΥΕΚΚΛΗCΙΑ).”<sup>597</sup> This is echoed in Wanderers 21 “the Church is a garland for which they gather in every corner: / the garland-weaver (?) who weaves it casts roses / [...]”.<sup>598</sup> The garland-weaver is not explicitly identified, although it is

<sup>591</sup> *Ps.-Bk II* 44.6-7. Cf. *Ps.-Bk II* 183.25: “the Faith that loses not its savour”.

<sup>592</sup> *P. Kell. Gr.* 91.15-17.

<sup>593</sup> *Ps.-Bk II* 59.17-18.

<sup>594</sup> *Ps.-Bk II* 61.2.

<sup>595</sup> On this taxonomy of the unnumbered psalms, see S. Richter *Die Aufstiegspsalmen des Herakleides: Untersuchungen zum Seelenaufstieg und zur Seelenmesse bei den Manichäern* (Sprachen und Kulturen des Christlichen Orients I), Reichert Verlag, Wiesbaden, 1997, 100-101.

<sup>596</sup> *Ps.-Bk II* 145.15-17.

<sup>597</sup> *Ps.-Bk II* 153.16-17.

<sup>598</sup> *Ps.-Bk II* 166.12-13.

most probably Jesus. Wanderers 16 describes the sweetness of the various Manichaeic deities and teachings, and asks “What honey is so sweet as this name, Church?”<sup>599</sup> Wanderers 17 equates the three days of Jesus’ ‘resurrection’ with the Cross of Light, which rises in three powers:

The sun and the moon and the Perfect Man, – these three  
powers are the Church of the Great World.  
Jesus, the Maiden, and the Mind which is in their midst, – [these]  
three powers are the Church of the Little World.<sup>600</sup>

Presumably the “Church of the Great World” (ΤΕΚΚΛΗCΙΑ ΜΠΝΑΒ ΝΚΟCΜΟC) is that in the Kingdom of Light, while the “Church of the Little World” (ΤΕΚΚΛΗCΙΑ ΜΠΚΟΥΙ ΝΚΟCΜΟC) refers to the Church in the corporeal realm. While the other four are often connected with the Church, the inclusion of the Sun and Moon is peculiar.<sup>601</sup>

Wanderers 18 says that “[5] are the commandments which God laid upon the 5 / [...] which he appointed in the Church.”<sup>602</sup> The lacuna would appear to have been the church bodies to whom were given five commandments, and so large a number can only be understood as referring to the ‘five’ rungs of the Manichaeic hierarchy. It goes on to discuss the “perfect Church”:

Lo, the Church has been revealed again, even  
[as] it is; but it is renewed (ΠΒΠΡΕ) from time to time.  
Ours is [to] believe and to be a single heart and to  
[...] perfect Church.  
One, [two] three is the perfect Church: for many  
Are called, few are they that are chosen.<sup>603</sup>

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<sup>599</sup> *Ps.-Bk II* 158.27.

<sup>600</sup> *Ps.-Bk II* 160.16-19.

<sup>601</sup> Cf. *Keph.* 245.1-7.

<sup>602</sup> *Ps.-Bk II* 161.21-22.

<sup>603</sup> *Ps.-Bk II* 162.5-10.



in fact the name of Manichaeism, and it is indeed frustrating that this “name” is not spelled out in the psalm. Most likely we can find our solution to the ‘three’ in Wanderers 37, when we see again our trinity that in Wanderers 17 composed the ‘Church of the Little World’: “Jesus, the Maiden, the Mind, – they are the perfect / Church.”<sup>606</sup>

Discussion of the Church in Wanderers 26 is concluded by the its equation with love (ἀγάπη),<sup>607</sup> which is echoed also in Wanderers 36: “[I] loved the Love that changes not, the Church of my / Spirit (ΤΕΚΚΛΗCΙΑ ΝΤΕ ΠΑ / ΠΝΑ).”<sup>608</sup> Wanderers 19 calls the First Man “[the] Church of the Father” ([Τ]ΕΚΚΛΗCΙΑ ΜΠΙΩΤ),<sup>609</sup> and in Wanderers 22 Jesus is referred to as “Security (?) of the Church” (ΠΖΠΑΝ ΝΤΕΚΚΛΗCΙΑ),<sup>610</sup> an epithet reminiscent of that apparently applied to the Catechumens in the ‘Sermon on the Great War’.<sup>611</sup> Wanderers 31 is dedicated to ‘the Commandment’ (ἐντολή), and says that “It was a path in the Perfect Man, it was a king (?) in the Church (ΑCΡΡΡΟ [ΖΝ]ΤΕΚΚΛΗCΙΑ).”<sup>612</sup> Wanderers 36 says of the Holy Spirit that “He has [brought] the cup of water, he has given it to his Church also”,<sup>613</sup> a rather obscure reference that may indicate the ‘springs of wisdom’ (considered an ‘emblem of authority’?) in Ch. 38 of the *Kephalaia*.<sup>614</sup> In Wanderers 37 Jesus is “the apparel of the Aeons (ΠΕΝΔΥΜΑ ΝΝΑΙΩΝ), which is the robe / of the Church (ΝCΤΟΛΗ [ΝΤΕΚΚΛΗCΙΑ]).”<sup>615</sup> This is reminiscent of the preceding psalm, which says “The holy Spirit has come unto us, [we] have found five holy (?) / garments (ΝΩΤΗΝ Ε[ΤΟ]Υ/[ΑΒΕ]).”<sup>616</sup>

<sup>606</sup> *Ps.-Bk II* 185.14.

<sup>607</sup> *Ps.-Bk II* 171.22.

<sup>608</sup> *Ps.-Bk II* 183.23.

<sup>609</sup> *Ps.-Bk II* 163.8. Cf. *Ps.-Bk II* 178.15.

<sup>610</sup> *Ps.-Bk II* 166.36.

<sup>611</sup> *Hom.* 16.20.

<sup>612</sup> *Ps.-Bk II* 177.16.

<sup>613</sup> *Ps.-Bk II* 184.7.

<sup>614</sup> *Keph.* 101.20.

<sup>615</sup> *Ps.-Bk II* 185.6.

<sup>616</sup> *Ps.-Bk II* 184.6.

The 4Herakleides<sup>617</sup> psalms contain only two mentions of the Church. The trinity of the ‘perfect Church’ from the Psalms of the Wanderers is transformed in 4Herakleides 4 from ‘Jesus, the Maiden, and the Mind’ into “The Father, the Son, the holy Spirit, – this is the perfect / Church.”<sup>618</sup> Also, and perhaps curiously for Manichaeism, in 4Herakleides 6 it says of Jesus “First he found Peter, the foundation of his Church (ΤΟΝΤΕ ΝΤΕΩΚΚΛΗΣΙΑ).”<sup>619</sup> Lastly, the only instance of the word ‘Church’ in the Thomas psalms is in the partially retained title of Thomas 13 “[...] the Church unto (?) the Apostle.”<sup>620</sup> Van Lindt has commented on the more Christian colour of *Psalm-Book II*, especially when viewed in comparison to the *Kephalaia*.<sup>621</sup> The Wanderers Psalms stand out then, at least in the case of the passages mentioned above, for their more specifically Manichaean terminology.

There are also some references in the remaining leaves of the Manichaean *Acts* codex. On p. 25 the female Catechumen Anûshak asks Mani who it is that will give them remission for their sins when he is dead. Mani replies

Do not weep, / [my daughter. The remission] of sin will be carried on (/taken away  
?) / [for the sake of the] Church. However, my Mind and my / [Spirit (?) ... the]  
Church [...] still pray [...] by means of / [the one who (?) takes the] sin away. And he  
will forgive (?) you / [your sins].<sup>622</sup>

Here Mani enjoins the Catechumens to keep seeking remission in the usual way which seems to involve the Elect, who undoubtedly do so in return for alms rendered. Finally, p. 53 seems to recount Mani’s missionary journeys in various countries of the Jordan and Arabia.

He entered again at Queen Thadamor’s (palace) and was / well received. Teacher  
Abiesu left [... (?)] / in that place (?), together with some other brothers. They made a

<sup>617</sup> For this enumeration, see Richter (1997).

<sup>618</sup> *Ps.-Bk II* 190.25.

<sup>619</sup> *Ps.-Bk II* 194.7.

<sup>620</sup> *Ps.-Bk II* 218.9.

<sup>621</sup> Van Lindt (1992b), see esp. 222.

<sup>622</sup> *Acts* 25.31-36; ed. & tr. Funk (1993).

great / [...] Church at that place. / Teacher [...]n sent Deacon Sethel, the [...] / and (?)  
Abi]zachias to Abira, at the watch-tower. They [...] / [...] Church in that place [...] <sup>623</sup>

This seems to record the establishment of Churches at places such as Palmyra ('at Queen Thadamor's palace') and Abira(n).<sup>624</sup> Here the 'Church' seems to be used in the sense of 'community'.

Finally, the *Tebessa Codex* makes mention several times of the Latin form *ecclesia*. This is not surprising, as the text is ostensibly an apology for the division in the Manichaean Church between Elect and Catechumens. In col. 5 the text refers to them as "two ranks (*duo gradus*), founded on the same faith in the same Church (*una fide in eade[m] / ecclesia*)";<sup>625</sup> and in col. 17 "two ranks of the church" (*duos ecclesiae / gradus*).<sup>626</sup> Both of these refer to the greater Manichaean Church as a whole. In col. 29 there is an allusion to *II Cor.* 8.18-19, where Paul told the Corinthians that he had sent Titus to them. The version in col. 29 reads:

'We have sent with him the brother, whose praise is not only in the preaching of the gospel throughout all the Churches but who furthermore has been appointed by the Churches as (our) companion in this charitable work which we are accomplishing for the glory of God.'<sup>627</sup>

The other two uses of *ecclesia* in the *Teb. Cod.* appear to be as 'Holy Church' (see below), but this last instance may refer either to buildings or simply communities.

From this analysis of terms it can be concluded that the Manichaean 'Church' consisted of a number of interrelated elements. Mani's teachings make it clear that he deliberately establishes an institutional Church with designated roles and structures. Chief in importance to this structure is the division between the Catechumens and the

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<sup>623</sup> *Acts.* 53.21-27.

<sup>624</sup> M. Tardieu 'L'Arivée des Manichéens à al- Hira', Pierre Canivet and Jean-Paul Rey-Coquais (eds) *La Syrie de Byzance à Islam: VIIe-VIIIe siècles. Actes du Colloque international Lyon - Maison de l'Orient Méditerranéen Paris – Institut du Monde Arabe 11-15 Septembre 1990*, Damas, 1992 (15-24).

<sup>625</sup> *Teb. Cod.* col. 5.4-8.

<sup>626</sup> *Teb. Cod.* col. 17.16-17.

<sup>627</sup> *Teb. Cod.* col. 29.3-13.



Elect. The Elect were responsible for the liberation of Light particles from vegetation (chiefly fruit) through their ritual eating and the subsequent prayers that they offered. The Catechumens were charged with providing the Elect with food in the form of alms (a division resembling that of the laity and the *sangha* in Theravada Buddhism). These roles were supplemented by an intricate hierarchy which, in these relatively early texts, does not appear to be intimately connected with discussions of the Church. Members of this hierarchy were chosen only from among the clerical ranks of the Elect, and it included functionaries such as missionaries, administrators and readers in the Church. Later texts appear to present a more refined and elaborate vision of this hierarchy. The term ‘Church’ might also refer to physical structures, the possible existence of which is to be discussed below.

#### 4. 3. Congregation: ԸԱԿՉԸ

As briefly touched on in their discussion in the previous section, the Kellis *Epistles* use the term ԸԱԿՉԸ twice. In the ‘Epistle of the Ten Words’ Mani refers to the “congregation of the holy ones” (ԸԱԿՉԸ ՆՆԷՏՕՅԱԲԷ),<sup>628</sup> although unfortunately this fragment is isolated and there is little context with which to understand it. The approving use here of the epithet ‘holy’ certainly seems to exclude the possibility that Mani refers to a group outside his own sect, as he does later in the same letter. He recounts to his recipient of “How I laboured in the congregation of / the sects (ՆԸԱԿՉԸ / ՆՆԱՕՐՄԱ) at the time when there was yet no / Catechumen or Church.”<sup>629</sup> While this ‘congregation’ is undoubtedly non-Manichaean, it is curious that Mani ‘laboured’ among them. Gardner draws a link here with *1 Thess.* 6.9 which is also utilised in *Teb. Cod.*,<sup>630</sup> although it should be pointed out that in that case the Thessalonian communities in which Paul was preaching seemed already to have converted to Christianity. It is also reminiscent of Mani being found in the *CMC* at Nasēr among the ἐκκλησίαι τῶν ἁγίων,<sup>631</sup> which Henrichs and Koenen have suggested may have been a group of – or at least related to – the baptists among

<sup>628</sup> *P. Kell. Copt.* 53 31:12.

<sup>629</sup> *P. Kell. Copt.* 53 51:4-6.

<sup>630</sup> *Teb. Cod.* col. 49.6-15.

<sup>631</sup> *CMC* 111.15-16.

whom Mani was raised. They suggest that Mani may have initially preached his revelation to the Baptists of his youth, in the same way that Stephen and Paul began their preaching in Jewish synagogues.<sup>632</sup> There is also appears to be a similarity between the *CMC*'s ἐκκλησία τῶν ἁγίων and the **CAΥΖC̄ N̄NETOYABE** from the Epistle of the Ten Words'.

In the 'Sermon on the Great War' Mani appears to be differentiating between the Elect and Catechumens when he says: "the holy ones and the believers, those of this chur[ch] / of this election, all those who belong to [my l]ord's / assemblies",<sup>633</sup> as also noted in the previous section. The initial comparison of 'holy ones' (**ΜΠΤΕΟΥΑΒΕ**) and 'believers' (**ΜΠΙCΤΟC**) is seemingly reinforced by the comparison immediately following between 'those of this Church of this election' (**ΝΑ†ΕΚΚΛΗCΙΑ N̄†MNTCΩTΠ̄**) and 'those who belong to my lord's assemblies' (**ΑΝCΑΥΖC̄ ΜΠΑΧΑΙ'C̄**). After the persecution "The assemblies will multiply greatly; they will si[t / in the] palace[s] of the kings"<sup>634</sup> and, as this comes after a description of how the Elect will in the future occupy the lavish temples currently dedicated to pagan gods,<sup>635</sup> it can be assumed that the Catechumens are the 'assemblies' indicated here. So the 'Sermon', at least in this section, may differentiate between the Elect and Catechumens by the respective terms ἐκκλησία and **CAΥΖC̄**.

In the 'Narrative about the Crucifixion' Mani's faithful Catechumen women Banak, Dinak and Nušak contrast the two terms when they declare that "all the worlds need to grieve over you in the mids[t of your] / Churches (**Q̄N̄ TMHT[Ε N̄NEK]/ΕΚΚΛΗCΙΑ**) and wee[p / pub]licly in your congregations (**Q̄N̄ NEKCAΥΖC̄**); for you have given testimony to thousands!"<sup>636</sup> Rather than seaprating the Elect and Catechumens, itt may be that the terms are differentiated thus because 'Church' here indicates an actual building while the 'congregation' is a more 'public' (παρρησία), out-doors gathering of faithful. If so, this might mean that the phrase 'in

<sup>632</sup> A. Henrichs and L. Koenen 'Der Kölner Mani-Kodex (P. Colon. inv. nr. 4780) ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗΣ ΓΕΝΗΣ ΤΟΥ ΣΩΜΑΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ Edition der Seiten 99,10-120' 44, 1981 (201-318), 276.

<sup>633</sup> *Hom.* 15.20-22.

<sup>634</sup> *Hom.* 26.13-14.

<sup>635</sup> *Hom.* 26.11-12.

<sup>636</sup> *Hom.* 59.15-17.



[Once aga]in the enlightener speaks to his disciples, whil[e / he si]ts in the congregation of the Church:

Ch. 70: [ΠΑΛ]ΙΝ Ζ̄Ν ΟΥΕ Ν̄ΝΧΥ ΠΑΠΟCΤΟΛΟC Ζ̄ΜΕCΤ' ΑΠΙ/[Τ]̄Ν Ζ̄Ν ΤΕΚΚΛΗCΙΑ Ζ̄Ν ΤΜΗΤΕ Ν̄ΤCΑΥΖ̄C ΠΑ.ΧΕϞ ΑΝΕϞ / ΜΑΘΗΤΗC ΧΕ<sup>643</sup>

[Aga]in, on one of the occasions, the apostle is sitting do/[w]n in the Church in the midst of the congregation. He says to his / disciples:

Ch. 98: ΠΑΛΙΝ ΑΝ ΕΡΕ ΠΑΠΟCΤΟΛΟC Ζ̄ΜΕCΤ ΑΠΙΤΝΕ Ν̄ΟΥΧΥ Ζ̄Ν / ΤCΑΥΖ̄C ΝΤΕϞΕΚΚΛΗCΙΑ ΠΑ.ΧΕϞ ΑΝΕϞΜΑΘΗΤΗC / ΧΕ<sup>644</sup>

Once more, the apostle is sitting down one time in / the congregation of his Church. He says to his disciples/:

This seems to be so common that it is often incorporated into the narrative itself, as when the situation is reversed:

ΠΑΛΙΝ ΑΝ Α ΚΕΜΑΘΗΤΗC ΟΥΝ ΠΑΠΟCΤΟΛΟC ΕϞΧΩ Μ̄ΜΑC / ΑΡΑϞ ΑΙ'CΩΤΜΕ ΑΡΑΚ ΠΑΧΑΙ'C ΕΚΧΩ Μ̄ΜΑC Ζ̄Ν ΤCΑΥΖ̄C / Ν̄ΤΕΚΚΛΗCΙΑ ΧΕ<sup>645</sup>

Onc[e] again another disciple questioned the apostle, saying / to him: I have heard you, my master, say in the congregation / of the Church, that

Similar also is:

Ch. 61: ΝΕΡΕ ΠΑΠΟCΤΟΛΟC ΟΥΝ ΑΖΕ ΑΡΕΤῶ ΖΙΧΝ ΤΚΡΙΤΗC Ε/ΡΕ ΚΕΨΑΜΤ ΜΜΑΘΗΤΗC ΝΤΕϞ ΑΖΕ ΑΡΕΤΟΥ ΖΑΤΗϞ Ζ̄Ν[ΑΡ]/ΧΗΓΟC Ν̄ΤΕϞΕΚΚΛΗCΙΑ<sup>646</sup>

So the apostle was standing there on the quay, w/ith also three disciples standing by him, [le]/aders of his Church.

Interestingly, this chapter begins with a seemingly redundant description of Mani visiting Shapur.

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<sup>643</sup> *Keph.* 169.27-29: I have altered 'among' (Ζ̄Ν) here to 'in'.

<sup>644</sup> *Keph.* 248.13-15: 'among' = 'in'.

<sup>645</sup> *Keph.* 208.15-17.

<sup>646</sup> *Keph.* 153.6-8

ΠΑΛΙΝ ΔΝ ΖΝ ΟΥΕ ΝΝ̄CHY ΝΤΑΡΕ ΠΑΠΟCΤΟΛΟC ΩΕ ΝΕϞ [Α]/ΖΟΥΝ  
 ΖΙΤΕΖΗ Ν̄CΑΠΩΡΗC Π̄ΡΡΟ ΔϞ† ΝΕϞ ΟΥΔΑCΠΑC[ΜΟC] / ΔϞΝΑΥΖϞ ΔϞΕΙ  
 ΑΒΑΛ ΖΙΤΕΖΗ Ν̄CΑΠΩΡΗC Π̄ΡΡΟ<sup>647</sup>

Once again, at one of the times when the apostle entered [in] / to the presence of King Shapur. He gave him a greet[ing], / turned, and went away from before King Shapur.

The only discernible reason for this is to provide an explanation for Mani's presence in Ctesiphon, as the waters of the Tigris are the catalyst of this chapter's teaching. Both the previous introductions and that to Ch. 61, however, are reminiscent of text in the general narrative of Ch. 76:

Π̄Ν̄ΧΑΙ'C ΤΩΚ ΑΡΕΤϞ ΑΒΑΛ ΔϞΒΩΚ ΩΑ CΑΠΩΡΗC Π̄ΡΡΟ ΜΝΝCΩC  
 ΔϞΝΑΥΖϞ ΔϞΕΙ ΑΤΕϞΕΚΚΛΗCΙΑ<sup>648</sup>

Our master stood / up and went to Shapur the king. Afterwards / [he] returned and came back to his Church.

ΔϞΝΑΗΖϞ ΔΝ ΔϞΕΙ ΑΤΕΚΚΛΗCΙΑ<sup>649</sup>

Again he retu[r]ned and came to the Church.

It remains for these introductions and those to other chapters in the *Kephalaia* to be scrutinised in a larger study of the relationships between chapters, especially addressing the question of whether particular uses of terminology indicate separate 'scholastic traditions' (to borrow a phrase from Gardner). In the case of Ch. 61 it may indicate evidence of the scribe or a previous editor combining narratives from a number of sources. For our purposes here, however, it remains that in the wider tradition Mani was, unsurprisingly, expected to be found in the Church. These introductory 'formulae' also introduce an interesting flexibility between the Greek term ἐκκλησία and the Coptic CAYZĀ 'congregation, gathering'. For the sake of this argument I consistently use 'Church' for ἐκκλησία and 'congregation' for CAYZĀ but it should be remembered that, at least etymologically, both words have the same basic meaning.

<sup>647</sup> *Keph.* 152.24-26.

<sup>648</sup> *Keph.* 183.16-18. Gardner translates ἐκκλησία here as 'congregation'.

<sup>649</sup> *Keph.* 183.23: 'congregation': Gardner.

*Keph.* 23.18: 𐩶𐩢 𐩲𐩪𐩠𐩺𐩪𐩣 𐩢𐩲𐩦𐩬𐩬𐩠𐩨𐩪

“in the congregation of the Church”

*Keph.* 169.28: 𐩶𐩢 𐩲𐩦𐩬𐩬𐩠𐩨𐩪 𐩶𐩢 𐩲𐩢𐩢𐩲𐩦 𐩢𐩲𐩪𐩠𐩺𐩪

“in the Church in the midst of the congregation”

*Keph.* 248.13-14: 𐩶𐩢 𐩲𐩪𐩠𐩺𐩪 𐩢𐩲𐩦𐩬𐩬𐩠𐩨𐩪

“in the congregation of his Church”

*Keph.* 208.16-17: 𐩶𐩢 𐩲𐩪𐩠𐩺𐩪 𐩢𐩲𐩦𐩬𐩬𐩠𐩨𐩪

“in the congregation of the Church”

It appears, however, that the term 𐩪𐩠𐩺𐩪 is used to indicate an actual assembly of people, while ἐκκλησία designates more generally the Manichaean Church as we understand it. This is not to say that these introductions never refer to the ‘congregation’ on its own, and there are in fact more (fourteen) instances where only the ‘congregation’ is mentioned.<sup>650</sup> It does not appear that there is a distinction being made between the Elect and the Catechumens as ‘Church’ and other members as ‘Congregation’ respectively, as, while most of these introductions concern questions asked by Mani’s ‘disciples’ who are identified as Catechumens or as not belonging to any particular church order, although in at least one case the enquirer is an Elect (Chapter 81). It appears, however, that while the term ἐκκλησία could be used to indicate the Manichaean community, the same can not be said of its Coptic equivalent 𐩪𐩠𐩺𐩪; at least according to these introductions.

In Chapter 73 Mani explains that Matter envied not only the First Man, Ambassador and Adam, but

The fourth time / [it en]vi[ed] all the firs[t-bo]rn and the first f[a]thers; an[d] the blessed Christ who is father of / all the [Apostles]. Again, he too, it envied his / [endurance upon] the wood of the cross. It envied [the] fa/[thers of r]ighteousness. It was jealous of the [... / ...] all congregations of [... th]eir love over him<sup>651</sup>

<sup>650</sup> *Keph.* Ch. 8: 36.31-31; Ch. 27: 77.25; Ch. 65: 158.26-27; Ch. 67: 165.27-28; Ch. 69: 166.32-167.1; Ch. 72: 176.14-15; Ch. 81: 193.26-27; Ch. 83: 200.13-14 & 201.6-8; Ch. 87: 216.33-217.1; Ch. 93: 239.6-7; Ch. 95: 240.16-17; Ch. 98: 248.13-14; Ch.115: 270.31-271.1.

<sup>651</sup> *Keph.* 179.8-14.

It seems that the congregations are those of Christ as, even though they appear after a mention of the ‘fathers of righteousness’, the text refers to the love of the congregations “over him” (sg.). In the same way Mani himself was the object of Matter’s envy, and “it also envied my righteous/ness and my entire Church (ΤΑΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑ ΤΗΡ̄) and the whole assembly / [of] my Catechumens (ΤΣΑΥΖ̄ ΤΗΡ̄ ΝΝΑΚΑΤΗΧΟΥΜΕΝΟΣ).”<sup>652</sup> In Ch. 87 Mani elucidates this group and tells us that the ‘assembly of the Catechumens’ is like the ‘good earth’ in which the gardener (presumably himself) will plant ‘a good tree’, in this case the ‘Holy Church’. Mani also emphasises its size relative to the ‘Holy Church’: “See how large is the assembly of the Cate/chumens!”<sup>653</sup> This certainly seems to separate the ‘assembly’ of the Catechumens from the ‘(Holy) Church’ of the Elect (see further below). Ch. 76 gives a negative context to ‘congregation’, when Mani relates how in Mesene “the swarm of demons” (ΤΣΑΥΖ̄C̄ ΝΝΔΔΙΜΩΝ)<sup>654</sup> did not allow him to preach in peace. In Ch. 103 ‘Concerning the Five Wonders that the Light Mind shall display in the Elect’ the third wonder of the Elect “is his preaching [...] peace / of heart for the assembly of his brethren (ΤΣΑΥΖ̄C̄ ΝΝΕΨC̄ΝΗΥ)”.<sup>655</sup>

Of the Bema psalms, Ps. 221 is fragmentary but refers at one point to “the bitter assembly” (ΤΣΑΥΖ̄C̄ ΕΤ̄C̄ΑΨ̄Ε).<sup>656</sup> The doxology at the end of Ps. 223 glorifies the Paraclete, “our Lord / Mani and all his holy congregation ([ΜΝΤΕΨC̄ΑΥ]Ζ̄C̄` ΤΗΡ̄C̄` ΕΤΟΥΑΒ̄Ε).”<sup>657</sup> In the Jesus psalms, Ps. 250 contains an interesting plea to the Mind:

O Mind that subdues the Matter, spread thy mercy  
upon my spirit. I will anchor in thy congregation, I the new (?) man,  
and receive all the gifts which thou hast promised

<sup>652</sup> *Keph.* 179.19-20.

<sup>653</sup> *Keph.* 218.3-4.

<sup>654</sup> *Keph.* 186.14.

<sup>655</sup> *Keph.* 257.21.

<sup>656</sup> *Ps.-Bk II* 6.28.

<sup>657</sup> *Ps.-Bk II* 31.16-7.

[me], which are the victory in thy eternal kingdom.<sup>658</sup>

It appears that, according to this psalm at least, the New Man was seen as being able to inhabit not just one of the faithful but an entire congregation at once. Psalm 252 beseeches Jesus to “Sever the nets of fear and [...] the company of these / foolish men; and do thou guard thy sheep of Light from the wild destructive / wolves.”<sup>659</sup> Allberry has left a gap here in the text because he does not understand the meaning of the word  $\Psi\Omega\Upsilon\Upsilon$  in this context. It seems possible that the singers may here refer to themselves, and are asking Jesus to “*suffer* the company of these foolish men” ( $\bar{\text{N}}\text{K}\Psi\Omega\Upsilon\Upsilon \text{A}\text{T}\text{C}\text{A}\text{Y}\text{Z}\bar{\text{C}} \bar{\text{N}}\text{N}\text{I}\text{A}\text{T}/\text{Z}\text{H}\text{T}$ ), in the same way that one might modestly refer to himself as a ‘lowly sinner’. This seems unlikely, however, as the ‘foolish’ are identified as the Jews in Ps. 220,<sup>660</sup> and Vahram II in Ps. 225,<sup>661</sup> where also the Magians are called ‘brothers of the Jews’ in their persecution of Mani.<sup>662</sup>

Among the Psalms of the Wanderers, Wanderers 2 uses martial imagery to discuss the Five sons of the Primal Man: “The whole assembly which assembled ( $\text{T}\text{C}\text{A}\text{Y}\text{Z}\bar{\text{C}} \text{T}\text{H}\bar{\text{P}}\bar{\text{C}} \text{E}\text{T}\text{A}\text{Z}\omega\text{O}\Upsilon[\text{Z}])$  / The army ( $\text{M}\text{A}\text{T}\text{E}\bar{\text{O}}\text{T}\text{E}$ ) which made the war.”<sup>663</sup> In Wanderers 12 “The assembly of the eagles, – they that draw my heart to the skies”<sup>664</sup> is probably to be identified as the ‘band of angels’ (? ἀγγελική) of the preceding line. It is odd that  $\text{C}\text{A}\text{Y}\text{Z}\bar{\text{C}}$  does not occur in the edited letters of the Kellis community, especially since the term ἐκκλησία is itself used sparingly.

In conclusion, ‘congregation’ and ‘Church’ are distinguished in Manichaean texts only in that ‘ecclesia’ is sometimes employed as a technical term, whereas ‘congregation’ is always more general in application.

#### 4. 4. A note regarding Manichaean church buildings in the Roman world

<sup>658</sup> *Ps.-Bk II* 59.11-14.

<sup>659</sup> *Ps.-Bk II* 61.24-26.

<sup>660</sup> *Ps.-Bk II* 4.12.

<sup>661</sup> *Ps.-Bk II* 15.27

<sup>662</sup> *Ps.-Bk II* 15..12.

<sup>663</sup> *Ps.-Bk II* 137.48-49. The same lemma is used for this group in 4Herakleides 7 (*Ps.-Bk II* 201.7-8, 11), although the Greek φοσσᾶτον is used instead.

<sup>664</sup> *Ps.-Bk II* 155.6.



The existence of actual, physical Manichaean church buildings is not attested in the archaeological record, and remains, along with the question of the possible existence of Manichaean monasteries, a contested subject. It is true that while in Eastern Manichaean texts monasteries are well attested and, indeed, characteristic of the Manichaean Church, there is very little evidence for either monasteries or church buildings in the West. This is due in no small part to the temporal success Manichaeism had under the Uighur Khagans, who patronised the religion and bequeathed them much land. These structures have in part survived to today, as have some documents associated with them.<sup>665</sup> No such thing can be said of Western Manichaeism, however, which was heavily persecuted and is generally thought to have relied on conducting church services in the houses of the faithful, in a similar situation to that described for the Christian Church in New Testament texts. The ‘*domus* experiment’ outlined in Augustine is certainly presented as an exceptional situation. According to this anecdote, a wealthy and pious Manichaean Catechumen named Constantius desired to establish a monastery for the Elect to practice their food rituals. Having donated a house for the purpose, a Bishop was found to oversee the community and enforce the monastic rule laid down by Mani in one of his epistles. Unsurprisingly, Augustine claims that the Elect were variously exposed as flouting the rules of the house, and Constantius disbanded the monastery in disgust before converting to Catholic Christianity,<sup>666</sup> but for our purposes this anecdote suffices to inform us that such an establishment was an exception.

Reference has already been made to Chapter 81 of the *Kephalaia*, in which the church overseen by an ‘Archehos’, consisting of fifty members of the Elect, is described. Gardner has suggested that this may be a source contributing to our understanding of the Manichaean monastery,<sup>667</sup> which was presumably occupied by Elect most probably cloistered away from the Catechumens. He cites a letter from

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<sup>665</sup> S. Lieu ‘Precept and Practice in Manichaean Monasticism’, *Journal of Theological Studies* 32:1, 1981 (153-162); (heavily revised for) *idem. Manichaeism in Central Asia and China*, E. J. Brill, Leiden, 1998b (76-97).

<sup>666</sup> For this episode, see Augustine *de Morib. Manich.* 70-74 & *c. Faust.* 5.5.

<sup>667</sup> I. Gardner “‘He has gone to the monastery ...’”, R. E. Emerick, W. Sundermann & P. Zieme (eds) *Studia Manichaica IV: Internationaler Kongreß zum Manichäismus, Berlin, 14-18 Juli 1997*, Akademie Verlag, Berlin, 2000 (247-257), 255.

Kellis which contains the enigmatic phrase “He has gone to the monastery”.<sup>668</sup> Nothing further can be said with any certainty about Manichaean monasteries or the physical remains of Manichaean Church buildings in the West, but there is one further point that should be discussed.

When Ephraim of Syria refers to Manichaeans in his *Hypatius* he uses the term ‘School of Mani’ (ܒܝܬ ܡܢܝ *byt Mny*).<sup>669</sup> The word *byt* also appears in Ephraim to discuss both prisons<sup>670</sup> and the ‘House of Life’.<sup>671</sup> One wonders if this term may indeed have a Manichaean provenance, as Ephraim seems to have been dealing with Manichaean sources in their original Aramaic. Indeed, the Kellis Syriac/Coptic bilinguals feature the term ‘House of the Interpreter’ (ܒܝܬ ܡܢܝܦܫܘܬܐ *byt pšwr*), although as the bilinguals are often no more than lists there is little context with which to interpret it, and in this case a Coptic translation is not provided. The term *byt Mny* is reminiscent of the Τόπος) Μανι mentioned in the *Kellis Account Book*,<sup>672</sup> of which Gardner has discussed the possibility that the latter place was the monastery in the Kellis environs.<sup>673</sup> He noted the possible situation of a monastery at Tenida, but also the impracticality of its distance (around twenty kilometres from Kellis). He then suggested that there may have been an establishment closer which acted as a half-way house, and cited in connection with this the toponyms ΒΑΙΤ<sup>674</sup> and ΟΥΑΙΤ<sup>675</sup> mentioned in the Kellis letters, noting a possible connection with the word ΑΥΗΤ ‘monastic congregation’.<sup>676</sup> It seems possible, if perhaps a little fanciful, that it may in

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<sup>668</sup> *P. Kell. Copt.* 12.6.

<sup>669</sup> *Hyp.* 27.299, tr. Reeves (1997), 225. Mitchell (1921) translates “Manichaeans”.

<sup>670</sup> *Hyp.* 2.37-38: “that prison, the tormentor of Darkness”: Reeves (1997), 225; *Hyp.* 5.14: “if Darkness craftily fashioned (the body) to be a prison for the soul”: Reeves (1997), 252.

<sup>671</sup> *Hyp.* 27.29 “it is on account of its purity that it (the sun) goes and comes every day to the ‘house of life’”: Reeves (1997), 250; *Hyp.* 179.3: “the moon, as befits their insanity, they greatly magnify and term it ‘Ship of Light’ which conveys a cargo of their ‘refinings’ to the ‘house of life.’”: Reeves (1997), 248.

<sup>672</sup> *KAB* 320.513.

<sup>673</sup> Gardner (2000), 247-257.

<sup>674</sup> *P. Kell. Copt.* 46.1.

<sup>675</sup> *P. Kell. Copt.* 48.3.

<sup>676</sup> Crum (1939), 21b.

fact be the Syriac loanword *byt* ('house'), and that the Greek word τόπος was simply employed by a book keeper uninterested in the significance of their Aramaic heritage. While ἐκκλησία is generally rendered in Syriac Christian texts using ܐܕܗܬܐ ('*edhta*),<sup>677</sup> it should be remembered that this terminology in Mani's time was far from concrete. Murray has noted the long and complex history shared by Syriac Christianity with its Jewish neighbours, and presumably Mani would have been anxious to distance himself from any such terminology.<sup>678</sup> In discussing the "assembly of the saints" Mani is found with this assembly at Nasēr (see below), S. and J. Lieu adopt the suggestion of Henrichs and Koenen that these people might have been baptists related to those Mani was raised amongst. Their interest lies with the community Mani encounters in the following passage, who are designated by the term συναγωγή, and they suggests that the Syriac original for the Mani biography may have employed the word ܟܢܘܫܬܐ (*knūšta*),<sup>679</sup> which would be consonant with use in Syriac literature. Neither of these terms, however, occur in the scant Manichaean sources in Syriac.

#### 4.5. Holy Church: ἅγια ἐκκλήσια, ܛܝܟܟܠܗܘܘܘܐ ܥܛܘܘܘܘܒܥܥ, *sancta ecclesia*

Certain modern authors have referred to the Manichaean Church as Mani's *sancta ecclesia*,<sup>680</sup> but is there any justification for this usage? Are there actually any instances of the term 'Holy Church' in Manichaean texts, was this a term

<sup>677</sup> Henrichs and Koenen (1981), 275.

<sup>678</sup> R. Murray *Symbol of Church and Kingdom*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1975, 18. According to Murray, on the other hand, the Jews distanced themselves from the *Peschitta* when it began to be Christianised by terms such as '*edhta*.'

<sup>679</sup> S. and J. Lieu 'Mani and the Magians (?): CMC 137-140', A. van Tongerloo and S. Giversen (eds) *Manichaica Selecta: Studies presented to Professor Julien Ries on the occasion of his seventieth birthday*, Louvain, 1991 (203-223) = Samuel Lieu *Manichaeism in Mesopotamia and the Roman East*, E. J. Brill, Leiden, 1994 (1-21), 14.

<sup>680</sup> P. Brown 'The Diffusion of Manichaeism in the Roman Empire,' *Journal of Roman Studies* 59, 1969 (92-103), 99; note also the subtitle to R. Lim's 1989 article 'Unity and Diversity Among Western Manichaeans: A Reconsideration of Mani's *sancta ecclesia*': *Revue des Études Augustiniennes* 35, 1989 (231-250) discussed further below.

Manichaeans genuinely used to identify themselves, and what are the implications if this is the case?

We have mentioned the moment in the narrative of the *CMC* when Pattikios arrived in the town of Nasēr and found Mani among the “[as]sembly of the s[aints]” ([ἐκ]/κλησίαι τῶν ἁ[γίων]).<sup>681</sup> Henrichs and Koenen have suggested that this expression should be understood as designating the Manichaean Church, which has here been transferred anachronistically to its early history.<sup>682</sup> Alternatively, they propose also that this group at Nasēr may have been related to the baptist community Mani grew up in, and that this was a term of self-designation which Mani then adopted for the early Manichaean community. As these communities seem to have been his primary base of preaching this would have made sense, in the same way that Stephen and Paul preached in the synagogues.<sup>683</sup> It should be noted also that the editors advise extreme caution for this restoration, asserting that the term was attested nowhere else in Greek Manichaean texts.<sup>684</sup>

While this may have been the case in 1981, however, several leaves have since been found at Kellis belonging to a Greek Manichaean codex.<sup>685</sup> One of these, *P. Kell. Gr. 97 A.I* features the phrase ἀγία ἐκκλησία.<sup>686</sup> There is not enough of the papyrus extant to decipher the exact character of this text, and while its archaeological context and heavy quotation of the *Acts of John* originally seemed to suggest it contained some kind of a Manichaean version of that work, its recent editors consider rather that

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<sup>681</sup> The reading of the last word is uncertain and Henrichs and Koenen (1981), 218 also suggested ἀ[νδρῶν] or ἀ[δελφῶν] as possible alternatives.

<sup>682</sup> “...erscheint daher zunächst als ein Ausdruck des manichäischen Kirchenverständnisses, der anachronistisch auf die Anfänge der Kirche übertragen ist.” Henrichs and Koenen (1981), 276.

<sup>683</sup> “Er begann seine Mission in Täuferkreisen, und er wird deren religiöse Versammlungen so, wie Jesus und z.B. Stephanus und Paulus in Synagogen predigten, für seine Zwecke benutzt haben.”: Henrichs and Koenen (1981), 276.

<sup>684</sup> They suggest also the alternatives ἀ[νδρῶν] or ἀ[δελφῶν], Heinrich and Koenen (1981), 218.

<sup>685</sup> G. Jenkins ‘Papyrus 1 from Kellis: A Greek text with affinities to the Acts of John’, J. N. Bremmer (ed.) *The Apocryphal Acts of John*, Pharos, Kampen, 1995 (197-216); I. Gardner and K. A. Worp ‘Leaves from a Manichaean Codex’, *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 117, 1997 (139-155). Now published as *P. Kell. Gr. 97*, ed. Gardner, Choat & Worp in *Kellis Literary Texts II*.

<sup>686</sup> *P. Kell. Gr. 97 A.I v*, l. 14.

it simply draws upon the same tradition utilised by the compiler of the Greek *Acts of John* as we have them. It should be noted that the remaining leaves of the codex (A.II-B.III) appear to have no textual relationship to either the first leaf or the *Acts of John*. The allusions in *P. Kell. Gr. 97* A.I v seem to agree with *Acts of John* 84.

It seems peculiar that at no point does the term *ἀγία ἐκκλησία* appear in the Greek *Acts of John* nor, in fact, does the word *ἐκκλησία* appear at all. While the terms *συνάγογη* and *συνήδριον* are both used neither appear in Ch. 84.<sup>687</sup> When first commenting on this leaf Gardner and Worp noted that one of the Manichaean Herakleides psalms assumes knowledge of the *Acts of John*, particularly 4Herakleides 4,<sup>688</sup> and in this psalm the similar term “perfect Church” (*ΤΕΚΚΛΗCΙΑ ΕΤΧΗΚ*) is found.<sup>689</sup> A study of the *Acts of John* published by Lalleman a year after Jenkins’ original paper commented that the Johannine allusions quoted in *P. Kell. Gr. 97* A.I v are more theologically developed than the Greek *Acts of John*, and that “liturgical formulas have been added”. Lalleman notes *ἀγία ἐκκλησία* as an example of this.<sup>690</sup> The logical conclusion from this is that the tradition drawn upon by the scribe was included in a codex for Manichaean liturgical use, with some alterations made to favour specific Manichaean terminology such as *ἀγία ἐκκλησία*. This is similar to the case of the received version of the Syriac *Acts of Thomas*, which seems at one point in its redaction history to have been adapted for Manichaean usage.<sup>691</sup>

The Coptic Manichaica offer us a much more complete context in which to look for terms such as this and, indeed, the Coptic equivalent of *ἀγία ἐκκλησία* – *ΤΕΚΚΛΗCΙΑ ΕΤΟΥΔΒΕ* – appears in much less fragmentary usage. The term only occurs once in the *Homilies* (1 in 31 instances of the word ‘Church’, or 3.23%), and appears to refer to the Catechumens when on p. 26 of the ‘Sermon on the Great War’ it seems to juxtapose the terms “the Elect and the H[oly] / Church” (*ἸΝΕΚΛΕΚΤΟC*

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<sup>687</sup> *Act. Joh.*: 26.1 (*συνάγογη*); 56.11 (*συνήδριον*). E. Junod and J.-D. Kaestli (eds) *Acta Iohannis* (Corpus Christianorum Series Apocryphorum I), Brepols, Turnhout, 1983.

<sup>688</sup> *Ps.-Bk II* 189.30-191.17: Gardner & Worp (1997), 140n.7.

<sup>689</sup> *Ps.-Bk II* 190.25-6.

<sup>690</sup> P. J. Lalleman *The Acts of John: A Two-Stage Initiation into Johannine Gnosticism*, Peeters, Leuven, 1998, 8 & n.16.

<sup>691</sup> W. Sundermann ‘Mani, India and the Manichaean Religion’, *South Asian Studies*, 1986 (11-19), 12.

· ΜΝΤΕΚΚΛΗCΙΑ Ε/[ΤΟΥΑΒΕ]),<sup>692</sup> although this could refer in a more circumspect manner to ‘the Elect and their assembly’. There may be another usage on p. 28 when it refers to: “the treasures which the Church has fashioned / [...] of the holy ones (ΝΝΕΤΟΥΑΒΕ) which it (i.e. the Church) has built”,<sup>693</sup> although this more probably refers again to the ‘angels’ created by the Elect’s fasting and prayers.

The edited *Kephalaia* contains the most instances of ΤΕΚΚΛΗCΙΑ ΕΤΟΥΑΒΕ of our Coptic sources, which should come as no real surprise: weighing-in as it does at 292 pages,<sup>694</sup> in comparison to the 234 of *Psalm-Book II* and 96 of the *Homilies*. Of the 156 instances of the word “Church” in the *Keph.*, only 46 are designated “Holy” (29.48%). In Ch. 1 Mani seems to identify the Holy Church as the Elect when he says “[I have chosen] you (pl.), the good election (ΤΜΝΤCΩΤΠ ΕΤΑΝΙΤ), the [H]oly Chur/c[h] that I was sent to from the Father”,<sup>695</sup> although it should be noted that even the Catechumens can on occasion be referred to as Mani’s ‘chosen’ (see below). Ch. 2 informs us that, while the fruit of the ‘good tree’ is Jesus the Splendour,

the taste of the fruit of the [good] tree / [is the] Holy [C]hurch, in her Teachers and her / [...] the C[atech]umens. Behold, this is the [good] tree / [... / ... / ... bad [f]ruit / [... r]jevea[l] to you [... / ...] it has five limbs. / [They are consideration, counsel, insight, tho/ught, mind. I]ts consideration is the Ho[ly] Church.<sup>696</sup>

The passage goes on to describe these five limbs of the tree, which in summation are: 1) Consideration = Holy Church, 2) Counsel = Pillar of Glory, 3) Insight = First Man, 4) Thought = Third Ambassador, 5) Mind = Father of Greatness. The author has clearly organised them in this way to exhibit an ascending order, with the Holy Church occupying the bottom rung before continuing up the ladder of emanations.

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<sup>692</sup> *Hom.* 26.12-13.

<sup>693</sup> *Hom.* 28.17-8.

<sup>694</sup> Unless otherwise indicated I have not included Funk’s (1999-2000) newly edited leaves (292-440), as there is not yet any index.

<sup>695</sup> *Keph.* 16.3-4.

<sup>696</sup> *Keph.* 20.5-14.

He then returns to the Holy Church, although a lacuna in the text makes interpretation of this next mention especially difficult.

[... Also] the min[d] is the Father who dwells in great/[ness, who is perfe]ct in [the] aeons of light.

[...] this one, for the souls that ascend and attain / [H]oly [...]; together even with the alms that the Cate/[chumen]s give, as they are purified in the [Holy] Church; / [...] everything. It is consideration that shall [...]<sup>697</sup>

The lacunae here are unfortunately all at critical junctures, but Polotsky and Böhlig's restoration of 'Church' after the 'Holy' in l. 22 makes no real sense aside from the fact that there is only space for 6 letters. The reference to the alms given by the Catechumens being purified in the Holy Church would seem to imply that the Elect are intended by the term here.

Chapter 3 explains the nature of these three aspects in the context of the trinities of deities from each of a series of five realms ("five Chur[ches]" (ΤΤΕ ΝΕΚΚΛ[ΗCΙΑ]). From the "Glorious One" come the Father, the Great Spirit and "all the gods"; from the "ship of living fire" come the Living Spirit, the Mother of Life and again "all the gods"; from the "ship of living waters" come the Mind of the Father, the Virgin of Light and "all the gods"; and from the "elements" come the Pillar of Glory, the Five sons of the Living spirit and the 5 sons of the First Man. Lastly, we are given a description of the 'trinity' in the Holy Church.

Now, moreover, happiness, wis[dom and power ex/ist] in the Holy Church. Great, glorious [happines]/s is the Apostle of Light [who has been s]/ent from the Father. Wisdom [is the Archegoi / and] the Teachers who travel in the Holy Church, [proclaiming] wisdom and truth. Great [power is ... 25 ... ] all [the] Elect, the Virgins and the C[ontinent; / together with the] Catechumens who are in the [Holy] Church.<sup>698</sup>

This 'trinity', then, is composed of the Apostle, the Archegoi with the Teachers, and the Elect with the Catechumens. It seems strange that the Catechumens are explicitly included in the Holy Church (ΤΕΚΚΛΗCΙΑ [ΕΤΟΥΛΒΕ]), and we should be

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<sup>697</sup> *Keph.* 20.19-24.

<sup>698</sup> *Keph.* 24.29-25.2.

cautious in accepting the restoration. This system of ‘trinities’ is similar to the description in Ch. 20 of the five Fathers and their ‘greatnesses’. The Father of Greatness has the great earth, the Third Ambassador has the ship of living fire, Jesus the Splendour has the ship of living waters, the Pillar of Glory’s ‘greatness’ is lost in a lacuna and, lastly, “Again, [the] Li[ght] Mind shall be / [called] ‘father’. His gre[atness] is the Holy [Church]; / because[e] he lives [and is established i]n it.<sup>699</sup>

Chapter 5 ‘Concerning the Four Hunters of Light and Four of Darkness’ tells us that the third hunter is Jesus the Splendour, whose ship is the Holy Church.<sup>700</sup> In Chapter 7 ‘Concerning the Five Fathers’ we discover that Jesus the Splendour is also the third father, and that “The first power whom he summoned is the Light Min[d], / the father of all the apostles, the eldest of [a]ll the Churches; / the one whom Jesus had appointed corresponding to our pattern in the Holy Chur[ch]”.<sup>701</sup> In Chapter 8, ‘Concerning the Fourteen Vehicles that Jesus has boarded’, after Jesus boarded the first ten

He chose the Holy Church in four vehic/les. One is all the holy brothers. The second is the / pure sisters. The third is all the Catechumens, / the sons of the faith . The fourth is the Catechu/mens, the daughters of the light and truth.<sup>702</sup>

Again we seem to have the Catechumens included in the Holy Church alongside the Elect. While it is the Holy Church of Jesus that is here discussed, it could also be understood to serve as a model for Mani’s own. Chapter 87, however, says that the Holy Church simply “exists in two forms (πρόσωπον): in the brothers (**NCAN**) and / the sisters (**NCWNE**).”<sup>703</sup>

Chapter 9 describes four important Manichaean gestures: ‘Peace’, ‘Right Hand’, ‘Kiss’, ‘Salutation’, and laying on of hands, which it explains by analogy with the divine archetype of the First Man. Similarly, in our own time the Light Mind chooses those who are to be saved with these same gestures, although the narrative

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<sup>699</sup> *Keph.* 64.8-10.

<sup>700</sup> *Keph.* 28.30.

<sup>701</sup> *Keph.* 35.21-4.

<sup>702</sup> *Keph.* 37.15-9.

<sup>703</sup> *Keph.* 217.12-13.



switches confusingly between their being performed by the Light Mind and their being performed by the person wishing to join the Church. As the First Man had performed the Salutation by making obeisance to “the God of truth and all the aeons [of light] 39 who belong to the household of his people”,<sup>704</sup> so too of the Light Mind: “With the kiss he shall receive salutation, and make obeisance (ἄκροβυσσῶν) to the God / of truth. Also, he makes obeisance to the Holy Church [...] / the hope of the faith, good works.”<sup>705</sup> These gestures are being performed here by the person wishing to join the Church. That he performs ‘obeisance’ to the Holy Church after the God of Truth would seem to make the Holy Church identical or at least parallel to ‘all the aeons of light who belong to the household of his people’, who were similarly treated by the First Man in the divine realm.

Ch. 15 mentions “the twelve spirits of error that [came] / about from the twelve signs of the zodiac”<sup>706</sup> and that “They are estab[lished agai]nst the second living man, w/ho dwells in the [H]oly Chur[ch].<sup>707</sup> This echoes the teaching of Ch. 5, and the ‘fourth night’ of the twelve zodiacal signs behind “the twelve sects”,<sup>708</sup> who oppose the ‘fourth day’, Jesus the Splendour “who dwells in his Church”.<sup>709</sup> Ch. 28 names the ‘Twelve Judges of the Father’, the eleventh of which is the Light Mind who “[choos]es the Holy C[hur]/ch”.<sup>710</sup> Of the eighteen thrones of the Fathers in Ch. 29 the ninth is “for the [A]postle in the Holy Church. The Apo/stle who has come to you at this time sits up[on it]; / thus, [as jud]ge of righteousn[ess]. They shall proclaim [true] judgem[ent] / every t[ime]!”.<sup>711</sup> This throne undoubtedly doubles as a reflexion of the Bema.

There is a remarkable gap in mentions of ‘Holy Churches’ from Chapters 30 to 57, although this may be because these chapters are primarily cosmological in nature, and do not discuss the ecclesiastical deities (although it may stem from the redaction

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<sup>704</sup> *Keph.* 38.33-39.1.

<sup>705</sup> *Keph.* 41.1-3.

<sup>706</sup> *Keph.* 48.34-35.

<sup>707</sup> *Keph.* 49.1-2.

<sup>708</sup> *Keph.* 27.15-16.

<sup>709</sup> *Keph.* 25.30-31.

<sup>710</sup> *Keph.* 80.34-35.

<sup>711</sup> *Keph.* 83.8-12.

history of the *Kephalalaia*). In Chapter 58 Mani recounts ‘The Four Powers that grieve’, the third of which is himself. The source of his grief is “the Holy Church that I / chose in the name of my Father (**Ϟ̅ ΠΡΕΝ ΜΠΑΙΪΩΤ**).”<sup>712</sup>

I have freed it from the / slavery of the authoritarians, and placed in it / the Light Mind. Always, as I see i[t i]n / tribulation and persecution and being afflicted by its enem[ies], / I will be sad on its behalf.<sup>713</sup>

Chapter 62 ‘Concerning the Three Rocks’ uses almost Petrine imagery when it says that the third rock is the ‘Great Mind’ (**ΠΝΑΒ ΜΜΕΥΕ**, see below), rather than the Light Mind or even Peter,<sup>714</sup> which was “summoned / from Jesus, the glorious one. He set it in the Holy Church. / The Church gathered upon it (**ΤΕΚΚΛΗCΙΑ CΩΥΖ ΑΖΟΥΝ ΑΧΩΦ**), and has lived in / [it]. It has stood firm, with a true fixity (**ΑCΤΩΚ ΑΡΕΤC Ϟ̅Ν ΟΥΤΩΚ ΑΡΕΤΦ**), for ever.”<sup>715</sup> It seems almost as if Mani is switching here between ‘Holy Church’ and ‘Church’ as equivalent terms. Similarly, in Chapter 63 Mani teaches that ‘Love’ is “the beginning of / all the righteousness and the divine that dwells in / the Holy Church”.<sup>716</sup> He then goes into a description of the ‘Church’, and describes Mani’s sacrifices for it with an allusion to *Jn* 15.13, and the example of one who dies for sake of a friend.<sup>717</sup> Mani explains that “the Mind and the Church, a single body is also their likeness”,<sup>718</sup> and this analogy is stretched to include a discussion of the divine forms and their role in the Church: “While in the body, in the Church here; so in the / spirit, in the heights above.”<sup>719</sup>

The narrative of Chapter 75 echoes the vision of the Church which Mani’s syzygos gave him in the *CMC*,<sup>720</sup> when the Living Spirit gave a similar revelation

<sup>712</sup> *Keph.* 148.9-10.

<sup>713</sup> *Keph.* 148.10-14.

<sup>714</sup> Cf. *Ps.-Bk II* 194.7.

<sup>715</sup> *Keph.* 155.22-5.

<sup>716</sup> *Keph.* 156.7-9.

<sup>717</sup> *Keph.* 156.12-16.

<sup>718</sup> *Keph.* 156.11.

<sup>719</sup> *Keph.* 156.18-19.

<sup>720</sup> *CMC* 35.10-13.

(‘letter of peace and greeting’) to the First Man. In this way “The Light Mind also, which came from the beloved Chris/t and was sent to the Holy Church, is a / letter of peace too”.<sup>721</sup> He goes on to explain that:

This creation also [...] / this light product, that shall be generated from the Holy Church / and go to [...] is [a letter] / too; since all the [g]ood works tha[t the] Holy Ch/urch performs are written down in i[t].<sup>722</sup>

The prayer on which the liberated Light generated by the ritual meal of the Elect is sent to the Father of Greatness is thus itself a letter back to Heaven, and one in which are recorded the deeds of members of the Holy Church. It could be that, as the light product is made only by the Elect who ‘crucify’ the light particles and send them back to Heaven in prayers, that they are designated here. On the other hand, it is the Catechumens who make the meal possible by their ‘good works’ (alms-giving). In Chapter 76 Mani describes the difficulty he had on his missionary journeys, and tells his disciples to pray that he will find somewhere strong to establish his Church: “[on that d]ay, that will happen [ ... / ...] he might do the will of the living ones [in the] / Holy [Ch]u[rch].<sup>723</sup> The designation ‘living ones’ (ΕΤΑΝΟ) here most likely describes the light particles liberated by the Elect in their meals.

Chapter 80 ‘The Chapter of the Commandments of Righteousness’ outlines the three ‘works’ performed by the Catechumenate. Firstly in fasting, prayer and alms-giving; secondly by giving a child to the Church; and thirdly “A person will build a dwelling or construct some p[lace]; / so they can become for him a portion of alms in the Holy Ch[urch].”<sup>724</sup> These three ‘works’ are considered

great alm[s that he] / gives as a gift for the H[oly] Church [...] / which these alms will achieve. Also, that Cate[chu]men / himself, who gave them, he can [... / ...] as he shares in them. The Catechumens who will give [...] / have great lo[ve ther]ein, and a share of eve[ry] grace / and good in the Holy Church.<sup>725</sup>

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<sup>721</sup> *Keph.* 182.20-2.

<sup>722</sup> *Keph.* 182.27-31.

<sup>723</sup> *Keph.* 188.14-16.

<sup>724</sup> *Keph.* 193.12-13.

<sup>725</sup> *Keph.* 193.11-21.

Here we begin to see evidence of a more complicated understanding of the Church than a simple Elect-Catchumen dichotomy. The Holy Church is not mentioned in the foregoing discussion of the commandments of the Elect, although this may be due to the author expecting the audience to infer it from this. It seems, however, to indicate here not simply another name for the Elect but to designate their function as recipients of the alms which they are to convey back to heaven. This also seems to be sense of the following extract from Chapter 83, where Mani gives a description of the formation of pearls and their harvesting by divers.

This is also what the Holy Church is like. / It shall be gathered in from the living soul, / gathered up and brought to the heights, raised from the s/ea and placed in the flesh of mankind; while the flesh / of mankind itself is like the shell and the pearl-shell.<sup>726</sup>

The language of this analogy is rather confused but seems to indicate that, as the pearl (and ‘pearl-shell’) forms in the shell and is harvested from the sea by divers, in the same way the Holy Church forms in the ‘Living Soul’ (light particles),<sup>727</sup> and is placed in the flesh where it will be taken up to heaven by the “light diver”.<sup>728</sup> This situation of the Holy Church *within* the ‘Soul’ of light particles is interesting, and here the term seems almost to designate a store-house of liberated light particles (before their ascension on prayers?).

As described above, Chapter 85 likened the alms to an ill person, and the Elect who gathered them in (by encouraging alms-giving) is likened to a doctor. The medicine he applies to the alms (gathering by the Catechumens and mastication by the Elect) causes them pain, but this is necessary in the same way that certain medicines or treatments may cause an ill person discomfort. So too, he continues, is “the Holy Church / that the Apostle shall establish in the world” a doctor.<sup>729</sup> In this case the Elect is the ill person, and the uncomfortable medicine is prayer, self-control,

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<sup>726</sup> *Keph.* 204.5-9.

<sup>727</sup> van Lindt (1992c), 57n.1.

<sup>728</sup> *Keph.* 204.19.

<sup>729</sup> *Keph.* 212.22-3.

“withdrawal, wo[unds] / and lashings, the discipline of the chains”,<sup>730</sup> and other presumably ascetic practices lost in lacunae. In Ch. 87 Mani explains that alms rendered by other sects are wasted, and that “[There is no] / rest nor open door that they can come out by and find an / opportunity to go to the God in whose name they were given; ex/[ce]pt only the Holy Church wherein the com[m]/andments of alms (NENT[O/Λ]ΑΥΕ ΝΤΜ̄ΝΤΝΑΕ) are established”.<sup>731</sup> He also says that the Holy Church “is the place of re[st] / for all alms that shall rest therein; / and it becomes a doorway for them and a conveyance to that land / of rest.”<sup>732</sup> The Holy Church itself is the ‘good tree’ planted in the earth of ‘the assembly of the Catechumens’ (ΤCΑΥΖC̄ ΖΩΩC̄ Ν̄ΝΚΑΤΗΧΟΥΜΕΝΟC̄):

For it is like good earth, since i/t also shall receive to it the Holy Church. / It shall provide for it, and give it rest from all its deeds and sufferings. It shall become a place of rest for it, / [s]ince it (i.e. the Holy Church) rests in it (i.e. the assembly of the Catechumens) everywhere. The place wher[e]/in there are no Catechumens does not have the Hol[y] Church / resting there.<sup>734</sup>

This is identical to the relationship of the Holy Church to the alms: “Again, this is how the [Ho]ly Church / shall become the place of rest for the alms of the Cat[e]/chumens”.<sup>735</sup> It seems significant that here Catechumens are seen as a necessary requirement for the existence of the Holy Church, although Mani stops short of saying they are included within it.

Chapter 91 discusses how a virtuous Catechumen may escape to the Kingdom of Light without the need for reincarnation as an Elect. Such a Catechumen “has withdrawn his consideration from the world and set his / he[art] on the Holy Church”, and cares not for his worldly household but is also one “in [wh]om there is solicitude and concern and love for the Saints (N̄NETOYΑΑΒΕ), / c[are]s about the Church as

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<sup>730</sup> *Keph.* 212.27-28.

<sup>731</sup> *Keph.* 217.6-10.

<sup>732</sup> *Keph.* 217.17-20.

<sup>734</sup> *Keph.* 218.4-10.

<sup>735</sup> *Keph.* 218.27-29.

for h[is] house.<sup>736</sup> There is the same casual switch from ‘Holy Church’ to ‘Church when Mani says of such a Catechumen that it is the “the Mind that is in the Holy Church” which ‘steers’ them towards itself.<sup>738</sup> In the same way it steers “these who sh[all] come in to the Church, whether / h[i]s children of his wife, or a relative / of his.”<sup>739</sup> He explains that all other Catechumens will achieve salvation through metempsychosis, which he apparently wrote about in his *Thesaurus*. On account of this teaching, he says, “it is right for the Catechumen to pray at / all times for repentance and the forgiveness of sins from Go/d and the Holy Church”.<sup>740</sup> Here, as with the case of the prayers for the dead outlined in Ch. 115, the Elect act as intermediaries between the Catechumens and the heavens. This practice of the Catechumen’s praying and asking for forgiveness from the Holy Church is also reminiscent of the ‘obeisance’ they are told to render it in Chapter 9. Returning to the discussion of sins in Chapter 91, Mani continues: “He shall be absolved from four of them by / [the] protection of the Holy Church, but the faith / [and the] love of the Elect.”<sup>741</sup> The relationship of the true believer is defined when Mani says

Every person who has received the hope / [and the fa]ith and has separated the light from the darkness, and has perceiv/e[d the] mysteries of the living soul, he has received the right hand of pe/a[ce] from the Light Mind who dwells in the Holy / Church.<sup>742</sup>

Chapter 96 is about the ‘Three Earths’ and their ‘fruit’. The first of these is the mundane earth, upon which farmers harvest actual fruit. The second earth is “the Living Soul, the holy one” (ΤΨΥΧΗ ΕΤΑΝΖ ΤΕΤΟΥΑΑ[ΒΕ]), whose farmers are the Sun and Moon. By harvesting this second earth they gather the light particles back to Heaven. The third earth, however, “is this Holy Church with i[t]s / Elect and its

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<sup>736</sup> *Keph.* 229.4-8.

<sup>738</sup> *Keph.* 229.29.

<sup>739</sup> *Keph.* 230.3-4.

<sup>740</sup> *Keph.* 230.26-8.

<sup>741</sup> *Keph.* 233.21-5.

<sup>742</sup> *Keph.* 232.3-7.

Catechumens. The farmer who toi/lis over it is this Light Mind.”<sup>743</sup> Its fruits are not specified, but presumably they are the souls of believers. Rather than viewing these three as proceeding in an ascending order, most likely the first earth is at the opposite end of the spectrum to the second, with the third providing a bridge between them. In Chapter 102 Mani mentions “The Light Mind that shall come and be reve/[aled] of the Holy Church, and assumes the faithful / [and the Ele]ct”.<sup>744</sup> Chapter 115 explains that when a Catechumen gives alms to the Holy Church in order to have them perform intercessory prayers for a deceased loved one, “He shall make a rest for the Holy Church”<sup>745</sup> by this alms-giving. The Holy Church themselves in turn provide a rest for both the “children of the [Chu]/rch”<sup>746</sup> (ΩΗΡΕ ΝΤΕ[ΚΚΛ]Η[CIA]) and the “Living Soul”,<sup>747</sup> on top of the intercession for the deceased “that they shall perform [on] his behalf / in the Holy Church.”<sup>748</sup> This intercession is called both a “sin-entreaty” (ΝΟΥΤΩΒΖ Ν/[ΝΑ]ΒΕ)<sup>749</sup> and “the petition of the Hol[y] Church” (ΠCΑΠCΠ ΝΤΕΚΚΛΗCΙΑ ΕΤΟΥΑ[ΒΕ]).<sup>750</sup> In this chapter there is also the description of the Holy Church as something that “assumes (φορεῖν) the flesh (σάρξ) is established in [pray/er, and] entreaty above [a]ll, and the pure request [...] / him and the son, the Christ.”<sup>751</sup> We can probably understand the lacuna as saying something resembling ‘of the Father’.

Chapter 121 concerns an encounter with a presbyter from the mysterious ‘Sect of the Basket’, and Mani uses this opportunity to describe the metaphor of souls hanging on a tree in the universe. If one believes his revelation “they shall be placed in the basket, w[h]ich / [is] the Holy C[h]urch!”<sup>752</sup> Chapter 122 says of the twin deities Summons and Obedience:

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<sup>743</sup> *Keph.* 245.8-10.

<sup>744</sup> *Keph.* 255.27-30.

<sup>745</sup> *Keph.* 277.11.

<sup>746</sup> *Keph.* 277.13-14.

<sup>747</sup> *Keph.* 277.14.

<sup>748</sup> *Keph.* 279.17-18.

<sup>749</sup> *Keph.* 279.16.

<sup>750</sup> *Keph.* 277.3.

<sup>751</sup> *Keph.* 271.23-25.

<sup>752</sup> *Keph.* 289.20-21.

They are purifiers of the Living Soul, be[ing] he/[Ip]ers and bestowers of remembrance for it, be it either in [... / ...] in the tree or in the creation of flesh [... / ... the] Holy [C]hurch [... / ...] the earth [... summ]ons and the obedience that / [...] the portals [...] in the Holy Church<sup>753</sup>

They are thus able to assist the Living Soul because, in their performance as the Assent and Amen, the congregation will each day bring forth a ‘sculpture’ of light particles that ascends to the Light World.<sup>754</sup>

*Ps.-Bk II* has a strange dearth of instances of **ΤΕΚΚΛΗCΙΑ ΕΤΟΥΑΒΕ**, and only 3 out of 53 ‘Churches’ are ‘Holy’ (5.66%). Of the Bema psalms, in Ps. 224 the congregation sings

Lo, thy Holy Churches have spread out to the four  
corners of the world. Lo, thy vine trees have filled (?)  
every place. Lo thy sons have become famous in all lands.  
Lo, thy Bema has been firmly established in every place (?) [like a] river  
Now that flows in the whole earth.<sup>755</sup>

It is unclear if these “Holy Churches” are communities of Elect, or Manichaeans generally. The doxologies at the end of Bema Pss. 228 and 233 feature similar glorifications of the Holy Church along with Mani the Paraclete:

Glory to the Father who sent thee for the salvation of thy  
Holy Churches. Implore him.

Glory and victory to the Paraclete, our Lord, our Light  
Mani, and the soul of Mary. Implore him.<sup>756</sup>

Glory to thee, o Paraclete; victory to our Lord  
Mani and all his holy congregation ([CAY]ZC') and the

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<sup>753</sup> *Keph.* 291.20-25.

<sup>754</sup> *Keph.* 292.9-25. Cf. A. Böhlig ‘Ja und Amen in manichäischer Deutung’, *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 58, 1986 (59-70).

<sup>755</sup> *Ps.-Bk* 13.20-22. The metaphor of the tree is well-known, but the river is an uncommon ecclesiastical symbol in Manichaean texts.

<sup>756</sup> *Ps.-Bk* 24.12-13.



upright Bema and the soul of the blessed Mary.<sup>757</sup>

Lastly, Wanderers 17 sings that: “One is the Mind that is to come, that reveals, gathering (?) / in, choosing his Holy Church.”<sup>758</sup>

The anonymous ‘fathers’ who wrote the letters *P. Kell. Copt.* 31 and 32 addressed them to Manichaean women in Kellis. *P. Kell. Copt.* 31 writes to:

My loved daughters, who are greatly revered by me: The members of the Holy Church, [the daughters] of the Light Mind, they who [also are numbered] with the children / of God; the favoured, blessed, God-loving souls; my *shona* children.<sup>759</sup>

Similarly, *P. Kell. Copt.* 32 is addressed to

The daughter of the Holy Church, the Catechumen of the faith; the good tree whose faith never withers, which is your love that emits radiance every day.<sup>760</sup>

Their actual membership in the Holy Church is uncertain: *P. Kell. Copt.* 31 refers to the recipients as “members” (μέλος ‘limbs’) of the Holy Church, and the recipient of *P. Kell. Copt.* 32 is a “daughter” of the Holy Church. Each of these qualifiers serves to distance them at one remove from the Holy Church itself.

The assumption by Brown and Lim that the Manichaean Church was referred to as the *sancta ecclesia* is no doubt based on the Manichaean *Ep. Fund.* (Feld. frg. 11; Stein frg. 8.1)<sup>761</sup> as preserved in Evodius *de Fide* 5:<sup>762</sup> “the holy church and its elect”<sup>763</sup> (*sanctam ecclesiam atque electos*). Brown cites Evodius in support of his

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<sup>757</sup> *Ps.-Bk* 31.16-18.

<sup>758</sup> *Ps.-Bk* 160.6-7.

<sup>759</sup> *P. Kell. Copt.* 31.2.

<sup>760</sup> *P. Kell. Copt.* 32.2.

<sup>761</sup> Feldmann (1987); M. Stein *Manichaica Latina: Band 2 – Manichaei epistula fundamenti* (Papyrologica Coloniensia XXVII/2, Ferdinand Schöningh, Paderborn, 2002, 36.

<sup>762</sup> J. Zycha (ed.) (CSEL XXV/2), 1894, 953.2.

<sup>763</sup> Gardner and Lieu (2004), 171.

claim that the “*sancta ecclesia* of Mani was limited to the Elect”,<sup>764</sup> as does Lim,<sup>765</sup> but is this reflected in the texts of Latin Manichaeans?

In col. 20 of the *Teb. Cod.* the curious phrase “Church, indeed holy” ([*e*]cclesiae nimi[rum / s(an)ctae]) Occurs. The preserved part of the column reads in full:

[...] not as destroying the dignity of the Elect, but so that the Auditors also recognize the mode and rule of the discipline of their own Church, indeed [holy?], and also of its apostles; and there are two levels of it and therefore the names of the people indeed have been two-fold; but all, all, are called disciples [...]<sup>766</sup>

As the preceding columns and following lines are missing<sup>767</sup> we must be careful of any assumptions we make regarding this passage, but it would appear that it refers to a Church composed of both Catechumens and Elect as that which is “indeed holy”. Perhaps most frustrating is the tantalising phrase “but all, all, are called disciples ...”, after which the following text is missing.<sup>768</sup> It is possible that this phrase would have given us at least one Manichaean name for their faith, but while one might be tempted to consider the phrase “disciples of Mani” as a possibility it should be noted that his name does not appear anywhere else in the extant leaves. More likely it read “disciples of the Lord”. ‘Holy Church’ also occurs in the extremely fragmentary col. 48, which we may be able to reconstruct by its apparent allusion to *I Tim.* 3.15: “Let us dwell (?) in God’s holy house, that is to say in the Holy Church. Let us be led(?) to

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<sup>764</sup> P. Brown ‘The Diffusion of Manichaeism in the Roman Empire,’ *Journal of Roman Studies* 59, 1969 (92-103), 99.

<sup>765</sup> Lim (1989), 246n.59.

<sup>766</sup> I cite here the translation of BeDuhn and Harrison (1997), 49-50. M. Vermes in Gardner and Lieu (2004) translates simply “church”, although there is no space in that context for him to explain this deviation. As such, I have retained BeDuhn and Harrison’s reading, which is based on Merkelbach’s (1988) edition.

<sup>767</sup> Alfarcic (1920), followed by R. Merkelbach (1988), and Decret ‘Aspects de l’Eglise Manichéenne’, A. Zumkeller (ed.) *Signum Pietatis: Festgabe für Cornelius Petrus Mayer OSA zum 60. Geburtstag*, Augustinus, Würzburg, 1989 (123-51), restores here the text of *II Thess.* 3.10, which would indeed be in keeping with the current theme. BeDuhn and Harrison (1997) agree.

<sup>768</sup> Even if the Pauline quotation suggested above is restored to Col. 20 L. 19 and Col. 21 L.1, there is still room for one or two words at the end of Col. 20 L. 18.

the lord by spiritual things, refusing all things of the flesh. (Let us strive?) towards the peace (of the just?).” So it may be that the *Tebessa Codex* contained use by Latin Manichaeans of the term ‘Holy Church’, but unfortunately there is no definite evidence of this.

In considering use of the term ‘Holy Church’ in the Kellis letters, Gardner suggests that “It could be that the community gave this a loaded meaning; whereas, for comparison, reference to the καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία in Kellis documents may be supposed to refer to Christians.”<sup>769</sup> This καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία appeared in *P. Kell. Gr.* 58, a fragment from some sort of contract. The witness to this contract is described as “Aurelius Harpokrates, priest of the Catholic Church (πρεσβύτερος καθολικῆς ἐκκλησι[ας]).”<sup>770</sup> In commenting on this contract, its editor noted that the use of this term in 337 is “the earliest occurrence in the Kellis papyri and early in the papyri in general.”<sup>771</sup> There are two other such occurrences in the Greek papyri from Kellis, one dating from 352<sup>772</sup> and the other probably comes from some time in the second half of the 4th century.<sup>773</sup> We should bear in mind, however, that Christian use of this term was used in several ways. Wipszycka notes Lampe’s differentiation between its designation of variously 1) the ‘universal’ Christian Church; 2) the orthodox confession as opposed to its heretical variants; or 3) a claim to be the most important Church (building) in any given area (the main subject of her study).<sup>774</sup> It is the second point that interests us here, and we should note the study on Augustine’s *De moribus ecclesiae catholicae* by J. K. Coyle. He observes that in this text Augustine adopted

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<sup>769</sup> I. Gardner, A. Alcock and W.-P. Funk *Coptic Documentary Tests from Kellis: Volume 1: P. Kell. V (P. Kell. Copt. 10-52; O. Kell. Copt. 1-2)* (Dakhleh Oasis Project: Monograph 9), Oxbow, Oxford, 1999, 74. Associate Professor Gardner has since informed me that the opinion of W.-P. Funk (current editor of the Berlin *Kephalaia*) is that Mani seems to have referred generally to his ‘Church’, whereas later Manichaean tradition referred to the ‘Holy Church’, pers. comm.

<sup>770</sup> *P. Kell. Gr.* 58.8.

<sup>771</sup> K. A. Worp *Greek Papyri from Kellis I*, Oxbow, Oxford, 1995, 159. Wipszycka gives the examples of *P. Oxy.* XVIII 2344 (dated to 336); *SB* 9622 (dated to 343); *P. Oslo* III 13 (dated to 346); and *P. Abinn.* 55 (dated to 351): E. Wipszycka ‘ΚΑΘΟΛΙΚΗ et les autres épithètes qualifiant le nom ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑ: Contribution à l’étude de l’ordre hiérarchique des églises dans l’Égypte Byzantine’, *Journal of Juristic Papyrology* 24, 1994 (191-212), 198.

<sup>772</sup> *P. Kell. Gr.* 24.3.

<sup>773</sup> *P. Kell. Gr.* 32.21.

<sup>774</sup> Wipszycka (1994), 202-203.

the qualifying epithet *ecclesiae catholicae* to differentiate it from the Manichaean Church,<sup>775</sup> to which he had also dedicated the accompanying work *De moribus Manichaeorum*. This distinction, Coyle reminds us, was also to play an important part in the controversy with the Donatists.<sup>776</sup>

Thus, it can be seen that an ascription of the name 'Holy Church' to the entire Manichaean community is problematic. From the sources, the Holy Church appears to be an ecclesiastical body concerned with the production of Light particles, a process in which the Catechumens were unable to participate. While evidence that the term applied only to the Elect is great, however, it is by no means conclusive, as we have also seen numerous instances which explicitly include the Catechumens and others which may do so implicitly. There are also the oscillations during Mani's speeches in the *Kephalaia* between simply 'Church' and 'Holy Church'. As should perhaps be expected, it may be that words that Mani used in a general sense during his lifetime came to take on a more technical sense in the hands of his successors after his. The startling scarcity of the term in community texts such as the *Homilies* and *Psalm-Book* would seem to suggest that it was not in wide usage, and in this case the Kellis letters could represent a more localised preference. It was such a general term that it can not be seen as the exclusive name by which the Manichaeans referred to themselves.

#### 4.6. Names associated with relationships

In the Kellis Manichaean letters Gardner identified several terms that he considered implied sectarianism.<sup>777</sup> These are mainly centred around terms indicating relationships, such as 'children of the living family'<sup>778</sup> and 'children of the living God'.<sup>779</sup> The Elect

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<sup>775</sup> J. K. Coyle *Augustine's "De Moribus Ecclesiae Catholicae": A Study of the Work, Its Composition and Its Sources* (Paradosis: Contributions to the History of Early Christian Literature and Theology 25), Fribourg University Press, Fribourg, 1978, 304n.16.

<sup>776</sup> *Ibid.* Cf. L. de Mondadon 'Bible et Église dans l'apologétique de saint Augustin', *Recherches des Science Religieuse* 2, 1911 (441-457), 449; F. Hofmann *Der Kirchenbegriff des hl. Augustinus in seinen Grundlagen und in seiner Entwicklung*, Hueber, Munich, 1933, 73-74.

<sup>777</sup> Gardner, Alcock & Funk (1999), 74.

<sup>778</sup> *P. Kell. Copt.* 22.5.

<sup>779</sup> *P. Kell. Copt.* 31.4-5.

may be indicated by the term ‘the brotherhood’,<sup>780</sup> and the Catechumens by ‘they who give rest’.<sup>781</sup> For individual members the terms ‘daughter of the holy church’,<sup>782</sup> ‘members of the holy church’,<sup>783</sup> ‘daughters of the Light Mind’,<sup>784</sup> ‘good member of the Light Mind’,<sup>785</sup> and ‘child of righteousness’<sup>786</sup> are all attested. Such terms are similar to those attested in Manichaean literary sources in Coptic, and the following is a survey of these and others as used in the *Epistles*, *Homilies*, *Kephalaia*, and *Psalm-Book II*. Rather than angling in the texts for these specific terms, it is worthwhile trawling them more widely for terms indicating base relationships to see what comes up associated with them. These include the terms ‘Race’, ‘Generation’, ‘Kindred’, and ‘Children’.

*Race* (γένος): In one of the extracts from Mani’s *Living Gospel* in the *CMC* Mani tells us “Hope I have proclaimed to the immortal race (γένει τῶι ἀθανάτῳ)”.<sup>787</sup> In one of Mani’s *Epistles* from the Kellis codex, Mani refers to he and his followers in a more circumspect manner as “they who have been chosen from every race and kin” (ΝΕΤΕΖΑΥΣΑΤΠΟΥ ΚΑΤΑ ΓΕΝΟC ΓΕΝΟC).<sup>788</sup>

Similarly, in the *CMC* Mani is recorded as saying of God that he hoped “(through) me 109 he might let the truth of his (own) knowledge be visible among the religions and peoples (τῶν δογματῶν ἔ [μέ]/σω καὶ τῶν γενῶν)”.<sup>789</sup> In the ‘Sermon on the Great War’ we are told of Mani that “he is before this w[ho]le / rac[e], this tribe (φυλή) of men that cause wrath and are destroyers [...]”.<sup>790</sup>

<sup>780</sup> *P. Kell. Copt.* 25.56.

<sup>781</sup> *P. Kell. Copt.* 15.28, 16.41, 17.53, 35.47, 36.14.

<sup>782</sup> *P. Kell. Copt.* 32.12.

<sup>783</sup> *P. Kell. Copt.* 31.2-3.

<sup>784</sup> *P. Kell. Copt.* 15.3-4.

<sup>785</sup> *P. Kell. Copt.* 15.3-4.

<sup>786</sup> *P. Kell. Copt.* 14.6, 15.2-3, 19.1-2.

<sup>787</sup> *CMC* 67.6. Tr. Cameron and Dewey. J. and S. Lieu (1994) translate “undying generation”, and I have used the older translation to differentiate from γενεά (see following).

<sup>788</sup> *P. Kell. Copt.* 53 82:08.

<sup>789</sup> *CMC* 108.23-109.

<sup>790</sup> *Hom.* 10.24-25.

In the ‘the Narrative about the Crucifixion’ we are told that the Apostle (will?) “[...] go to (?) the heights with these / [...] from [h]is race (ΖΜ [Π]ΕΦΓΕΝΟΣ).”<sup>791</sup> In Chapter 112 of the *Kephalaia* Mani says that Jesus sent the Apostles to ‘the good’ to give five revelations, the first being that “they belong to the race of light (ΑΠΓΕΝΟΣ ΜΠΟΥΑΙΝ[Ε]).”<sup>792</sup> He reiterates this at the end of the chapter with slightly different language: “They have been counted to the race of faith and truth, this / living one that enlightens (ΑΠΓΕΝΟΣ ΜΠΝΑΖΤΕ ΝΤΕ ΤΜΗΕ ΠΙΠΕ/ΤΑΝΖ ΕΤΤΡΟΥΑΙΝΕ).”<sup>793</sup> Chapter 119, whose title is lost, concerns a description of the First Man as μονογενής. While highly fragmentary, Mani appears to be exhorting his disciples (the Elect?) to model themselves after the First Man, and likens them to him in the following words: “Again, just as the only begotten ones from your [onl/y] begotten race (ΜΠΕΤΝΓΕΝΟΣ ΜΜΟΝΟΓΕΝΗΣ).”<sup>794</sup>

There is one brief instance of this term in 3Heracleides 284 in *Psalm-Book II*. The singers seem to refer to non-Manichaeans when they refer to: “[The] whole [...] of the bodily race (ΜΠΓΕΝΟΣ ΝΣΩΜ[ΑΤΙΚΟΝ]) / [...] not upon it at all in the hour of judgement”.<sup>795</sup> Lastly, in one of the Coptic/Syriac bilinguals there is a reference to “the race/s who are perfect in the presence of their Father (ΝΓΗΝΙΟΣ ΕΤΧΗΚ’ ΑΒΑΛ ΝΑΖΡῆ ΠΟΥΓΙΩΤ)”.<sup>796</sup> The Syriac parallel here unfortunately retains only “the presence of their Father”,<sup>797</sup> and the context is uncertain. The preceding line refers to “they who went down”<sup>798</sup> which may refer to celestial entities descending to the earthly realm, while the following line mentions “they who are man, namely [their] brotherhood”.<sup>799</sup> Franzmann and Gardner, the editors of this *tabula*, consider ll.

<sup>791</sup> *Hom.* 60.29-30.

<sup>792</sup> *Keph.* 268.5

<sup>793</sup> *Keph.* 268.20-21.

<sup>794</sup> *Keph.* 286.3-44.

<sup>795</sup> *Ps.-Bk II* 107.13-14

<sup>796</sup> *T. Kell. Syr. / Copt.* 2.137.

<sup>797</sup> *T. Kell. Syr. / Copt.* 2.138.

<sup>798</sup> *T. Kell. Syr. / Copt.* 2.136.

<sup>799</sup> *T. Kell. Syr. / Copt.* 2.139.

134-143 to consist of “various descriptors of the community as the perfect race”.<sup>800</sup> It appears, then, that the Manichaeans did indeed consider themselves to constitute a separate ‘race’. In this way they resembled the Christians who differentiated themselves as neither Jew nor Greek. Manichaeans were the ‘immortal race’, the race of light, faith and truth. They stood in the presence of the Father, arrayed in opposition to the other ‘bodily’ races of the world.

*Generation* (𐤎𐤋𐤏𐤕 (yldta) and 𐤎𐤋𐤏𐤕 ('lmo), γενεά, **MHCE**): After the reference to “the race/s who are perfect in the presence of their Father”, the same Kellis bilingual also refers to the “joyful birth” (𐤎𐤋𐤏𐤕𐤎𐤋𐤏𐤕).<sup>801</sup> The Coptic translation provided for this is “the new birth” (**TMHCE N̄B̄P̄PE**), and Franzmann suggests that the scribe may have simply mistaken 𐤎𐤋𐤏𐤕 ‘new’ (*hdwt*) for the similar 𐤎𐤋𐤏𐤕 (*hdt*) ‘joyful’.<sup>802</sup>

Ephraim seems to retain Manichaean terminology when he notes that Manichaeans referred to their past Apostles as “Heralds of that Good One to the world”,<sup>803</sup> with 𐤎𐤋𐤏𐤕 (*lmo*) here indicating also ‘this generation’. The *CMC* employs similar language, when it refers to how Mani “might free the souls from ignorance by becoming Paraclete and leader of the apostleship in this generation (κορυφαῖος / τῆς κατὰ τήνδε τὴν / γενεάν ἀποστολῆς).”<sup>804</sup> The *Kephalaia* is more specific, and refers to those now living in the world as “this last generation (†ΓΕΝΕΑ Ν̄ΖΑΗ)”<sup>805</sup> and “this hard generation (†ΓΕΝΕΑ ΕΤΧΑΒΑΑΤ)”.<sup>806</sup>

As indicated in the aforementioned Kellis bilingual, to indicate Manichaeans as the ‘new generation’ the Coptic **MHCE** was employed. This is borne out by its use in the ‘Sermon on the Great War’ where, particularly in reference to those living in

<sup>800</sup> Franzmann and Gardner, in Gardner (1996), 126.

<sup>801</sup> *T. Kell. Syr. / Copt.* 2.141.

<sup>802</sup> Franzmann and Gardner, in Gardner (1996), 117n.349.

<sup>803</sup> Ephraim *Mani* 208.29.

<sup>804</sup> *CMC* 17.5-7.

<sup>805</sup> *Keph.* 14.6; 147.10; 179.16.

<sup>806</sup> *Keph.* 101.28.

the triumphant time after persecution, it mentions “the one belonging to the new generation (ΤΑΤΜΗCΕ ΝΒΡΡΕ)”.<sup>807</sup> The tone in the *Kephalaia* is more pessimistic when it comes to this word, however, and ΜΗCΕ is generally utilised to refer to demonic offspring,<sup>808</sup> although it should be noted that in the case of Ch. 55 this product is Adam and Eve.<sup>809</sup> Thus the term ‘generation’ seems in certain usage to have held a special significance to Manichaean identity, and ‘this (current) generation’ was singled out as the last and final to whom an Apostle would be sent.

*Kindred* (ⲕⲗⲟⲩⲏ ⲉⲥⲣⲃⲧⲏ, *šrbt’*), ΠΕΙΤΕ): The Mani Epistle previously mentioned has him refer to he and his followers with the following words: “All of us have been / chosen, the children of this living kindred (ΝΩΗΡΕ ΝΤΡΕΙΤΕ ΕΤΑΝΩ) / they who have been chosen from every race and kin (ΚΑΤΑ ΓΕΝΟC ΓΕΝΟC / ΖΙ ΠΕΙΤΕ ΠΕΙΤΕ)”.<sup>810</sup> Gardner notes in connection with this a further occurrence in the unedited *Synaxeis* codex: ΝΩΗΡΕ ΝΤΡΕΙΤΕ ΕΤΑΝΩ. There is also the similar “children of the kindred of light” (ΝΩΗΡΕ ΝΤΡΕΙΤΕ [ΕΤΟ]ΥΑΒΕ).<sup>811</sup> It appears significant that his followers constitute the ‘children of the living kindred’, and not the ‘living kindred’ themselves.

In the Kellis bilinguals there is a reference to ⲕⲗⲟⲩⲏⲧⲏ (*šrbtk*) “your kindred”, which is translated with the Coptic ΤΕΚΡΕΙΤΕ.<sup>812</sup> This is from side b of *T. Kell. Syr. / Copt.* 1, that contains a collection of terminology the relationship between which remains unclear. The editors note only that such terms occur frequently in the Medinet Madi codices.<sup>813</sup> From *T. Kell. Syr. / Copt.* 2, a section containing

<sup>807</sup> *Hom.* 26.24. Cf. *Hom.* 27.22; 28.7.

<sup>808</sup> *Keph.* 108.6.

<sup>809</sup> *Keph.* 136.16.

<sup>810</sup> *P. Kell. Copt.* 53 82:06-09.

<sup>811</sup> Gardner (2007a), 83: S. Giversen (ed.) *The Manichaean Coptic Papyri in the Chester Beatty Library, II. Homilies and Varia. Facsimile Edition* (Cahiers d’Orientalisme 15), Patrick Cramer, Geneva, 1986, vi 17a l. 5 & 23b, l.17

<sup>812</sup> *T. Kell. Syr. / Copt.* 1.35

<sup>813</sup> Franzmann and Gardner, in Gardner (1996), 110.



terminology that also has no clear links, comes the phrase  $\text{ܕܒܢܝ ܫܪܒܬܗܘܢ}$  (*ayk dbny šrbthūn*) “so that the sons of their kindred”.<sup>814</sup> Again the children (or, in this case, ‘sons’) are specified, and not the ‘kindred’ themselves, although this is translated into Coptic as simply “to their kindred” ( $\text{ΑΤΟΥΡΕΙΤΕ}$ ).<sup>815</sup> In Ch. 173 of the *Kephalaia*, Mani refers to the envy that Matter ‘casts upon’ him, and “that it casts upon the entire kindred of life ( $\text{ΑΤΡΕΙΤΕ ΤΗΡ̄ ΝΤΕ ΠΩΝ̄}$ ) / from the very beginning until my time, from m/e too to my Church.”<sup>816</sup> The ‘kindred of life’ referred to here does not refer just to Mani’s Church, but also to himself, his predecessors, and their entire camp. Thus the previous instances where ‘children of the living kindred’ was specified are not invalidated.

Similarly, of the Jesus Psalms Ps. 248 refers to Jesus “The Saviour and his apostles and they that belong to the race of life ( $\text{ΑΤΡΕΙΤΕ ΜΠ[Ω]Ν̄}$ )”.<sup>817</sup> In this way Jesus’ apostles are considered part of Mani’s *successio apostoli*, as outlined in Ch. 1 of the *Kephalaia*. In Ps. 268 the singers promise Jesus that the reason they have not blasphemed is because he gave them knowledge of the “separation of these two races, that of Light and / Darkness ( $\text{Ν̄ΤΡΕΙΤΕ ̄ΝΤΕ ΤΑΠΟΥΑῙΝΕ Μ̄Ν / ΤΑΤ̄Κ̄ΕΚ̄Ε}$ ).”<sup>818</sup> In Wanderers 2 the Father of Greatness is referred to as “Father of all our race” ( $\text{ΠΙΩΤ' Ν̄Τ̄Ν̄ΡΕΙ'ΕΤΕ ΤΗΡ̄}$ ).<sup>819</sup>

In *P. Kell. Copt.* 22 Makarios refers to the recipient (his wife Maria) and those with her as “children of the living family ( $\text{Ν̄ΩΗΡΕ Ν̄ΝΡΕΙΤΕ ΕΤΑΝ̄}$ )”.<sup>820</sup> Gardner notes also in connection with this the address in *P. Kell. Copt.* 30 to “children

<sup>814</sup> *T. Kell. Syr. / Copt.* 2.127.

<sup>815</sup> *T. Kell. Syr. / Copt.* 2.126.

<sup>816</sup> *Keph.* 180.17-19.

<sup>817</sup> *Ps.-Bk II* 57.15.

<sup>818</sup> *Ps.-Bk II* 86.17-18.

<sup>819</sup> *Ps.-Bk II* 136.18.

<sup>820</sup> *P. Kell. Copt.* 22.5. Gardner translates “living race” in his translation of the letter (p. 178), but “living family” in both his list of titles in the Prosopography (p. 51) and discussion of religion (p. 74). I have retained “family” here to keep with the general usage of  $\text{ΡΕΙΤΕ}$  as outlined in this section.

who are among [our (?)] kindred ( $\bar{N}/N\omega\eta\pi\epsilon \epsilon\tau\zeta[\bar{N} \tau\bar{N}]\rho\epsilon\iota\tau\epsilon$ )”.<sup>821</sup> Thus the ‘kindred of life’ seems to refer more generally to heroic figures from Manichaean history, while rank-and-file Manichaeans are ‘children of the living kindred’. The ‘kindred of life’ also appear to be intended under the name ‘kindred of light’, who are mentioned in opposition to the ‘kindred of darkness’.

*Brethren* (ⲛⲁⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓ, ἄδελφός, **CNHY**, *frater*): The Coptic term **CAN** ‘brother’ may well indicate an honourific for the Elect or Manichaeans in general, but the term is so vague and recurs so frequently that it is difficult to untangle. For the purpose of this study, then, we shall examine those instances where this term appears on the plural **CNHY**. In the Kellis *Epistles* Mani begins his ‘Epistle of the Ten Words’ with the words “[Mani the living, the] apostle of / Jesus Chrestos, and all the brothers / who are with me; to / ---s, my loved one, and all the brothers who are with you”,<sup>822</sup> an address that just seems to generally indicate all the Manichaean faithful with them. In the ‘sickness letter’, however, Mani exhorts his recipient to “Bear up under your brethren whom you / serve ( $\omega\bar{M}\omega\epsilon$ )”,<sup>823</sup> which may indicate that he ‘ministers’ to the Catechumens, who would be the ‘brethren’ in this case. Alternatively, he may be a leader of fellow Elect. Lastly, in another epistle Mani refers his recipient to a further two regulatory epistles of his when he tells him “If you love me, hurry / your brothers towards these two letters ( $\omega\tau\pi\prime / \text{NET}\bar{N}\text{C}\bar{N}\text{H}\bar{Y} \omega\alpha \uparrow\epsilon\pi\text{I}\sigma\text{T}\text{O}\lambda\eta \text{C}\bar{N}\text{T}\epsilon$ ); / also all the brothers who are in the Chur[/ches ...]”.<sup>824</sup> *P. Kell. Copt.* 54 also seems to preserve the words of Mani when it quotes “man [can not / remain] without the seal [of] the love [of / his] brotherhood and that of his redeemer ( $\tau\text{C}\phi\text{R}\alpha\text{G}\text{I}\text{C} \bar{N}[\text{T}\epsilon] \uparrow\alpha\text{G}\alpha\text{P}\eta [\bar{N}/\text{T}\epsilon\phi\text{M}]\bar{N}\text{T}\text{C}\bar{A}\bar{N} \cdot \text{M}\bar{N} \text{T}\epsilon\text{P}\epsilon\phi\text{R}\epsilon\phi\zeta[\omega\text{T}]\epsilon$ ).”<sup>825</sup> Gardner notes that the term is used in a more abstract way here than in *P. Kell. Copt.* 25 (see below).

<sup>821</sup> *P. Kell. Copt.* 30.5.

<sup>822</sup> *P. Kell. Copt.* 53 12:01-05.

<sup>823</sup> *P. Kell. Copt.* 53 42:14-15.

<sup>824</sup> *P. Kell. Copt.* 53 72:23-73:01. There may also be a mention of it in the fragment at *P. Kell. Copt.* 53 186:02-03:  $\text{M}\bar{N} \bar{N}\epsilon\text{P}\text{I}\text{C}\uparrow[\text{O}\lambda\alpha\gamma\epsilon / \text{N}]\epsilon\tau\bar{N}\text{C}\bar{N}\text{H}\bar{Y}$ .

<sup>825</sup> *P. Kell. Copt.* 54.61.

*T. Kell. Syr. / Copt. 2* may preserve a Manichaean Aramaic term in l. 140 where it reads ܠܗܘܬܐ ܠܗܘܬܐ (*alḥwta sgnata*), “of their great (ie. ‘many’) brotherhood”). This is translated on l.139 with Coptic ΜΝΤCΑΝ: “they who are many, namely [their] brotherhood”. This also occurs in the section the editors believe may contain “descriptors of the community”. In fact, when read in conjunction with the aforementioned descriptor on the preceding ll. 136-137 “the race/s who are perfect in the presence of their Father (ΝΓΗΝΙΟC ΕΤΧΗΚ’ ΑΒΑΛ ΝΑΖΡῆ ΠΟΥΙ’ΩΤ)” it is reminiscent of the opening address from the *Ep. Fund.*: “May the peace of the invisible God and knowledge of the truth be with the holy and beloved brothers (*fratres sancti et carissimi*)”,<sup>826</sup> and may indicate phrases from the opening address to Mani’s *Epistles* in their original Syriac.

In the *CMC* Baraies refers to his audience as “brothers”,<sup>827</sup> but later defines them and himself as “children of our father’s spirit”,<sup>828</sup> undoubtedly indicating Mani as the ‘father’ in this case. For his part, the voice attributed to Mani refers to his followers as his own ‘brethren’. The words on p. 121 “I went [to the brothers in] Ganzak”<sup>829</sup> are indicated as a direct quote of Mani, and when he takes no reward from the father of the girl he healed on p. 123 but “took from him only the daily [food for] the brothers who were (with) me”,<sup>830</sup> he undoubtedly refers to alms for his ‘brothers’ the Elect. The ‘Section of the Narrative about the Crucifixion’ uses an ecclesiastic sense when, on p. 83, it discusses “three presbyters [...] Apket and Abesira, the brethren”.<sup>831</sup> It can be presumed that these three were martyred with Sisinnios “and the other brethren who had been crucif[i]ed with him.”<sup>832</sup>

In Chapter 8 of the *Kephalaia* Mani enumerates the first two vehicles of Jesus’ Holy Church “One is all the holy brothers (NCNHΥ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΕΤΟΥΑΒΕ). The

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<sup>826</sup> *Ep. Fund.* frg. 3.

<sup>827</sup> *CMC* 63.17

<sup>828</sup> *CMC* 72.9.

<sup>829</sup> *CMC* 121.8.

<sup>830</sup> *CMC* 123.11.

<sup>831</sup> *Hom.* 83.8.

<sup>832</sup> *Hom.* 83.20.

second is the / pure sisters (Ν/ϞΩΝ ΕΤΤΟΥΒΑΙΤ).<sup>833</sup> In Ch. 9 the First Man becomes a type for the Archegos when “He received this great laying on of hands that he may become leader / of his brethren the new aeon (ΝΑΡΧΗΓΟΣ / ΝΝΕϞΩΝΗΥ ΖΜ ΠΑΙΩΝ ΝΒΡΡΕ).<sup>834</sup> Ch. 38, which describes the role the Light Mind plays in defeating sin in the body of the Elect, refers to the suggestion to to correct his behaviour offered by his “brethren and his helpers (ΝΝΕϞΩΝΗΥ ΜΝ ΝΕϞΒΟΗΘΟΣ).<sup>835</sup> If the Elect at fault refuses “He separates from his teacher and his brethren (ΑΠΕϞϞΑΖ ΜΝ ΝΕϞΩΝΗΥ).<sup>836</sup> In the closing narrative for Ch. 66 Mani refers to his audience as “my brothers and loved ones (ΝΑΜΕΡΕΤΕ),<sup>837</sup> and in Ch. 119, where he appears to be addressing just the Elect, “my brothers and my limbs (μέλος).<sup>838</sup>

In Ch. 81 the reluctant Archegos begs Mani “Consent and [acquie]sce with me, that I may withdraw to pray[er. / ...] that I may walk in the midst of my brothers lik[e] / the elders (πρεσβύτερος).<sup>839</sup> In Ch. 85 the Elect concerned he might harm the Cross of Light relates to Mani “Sometimes, also, a Teacher [of the] Church where I am, or / some of the foreign brethren (ΝϞΝΗΥ ΩΜΜΟ), may [ask me] about a portion of al[m]/s, concerning some food that they need.”<sup>840</sup> These alms, he continues, are to be “brought to the Church, the br[others] / and the sisters can take their sufficiency of it.”<sup>841</sup> Ch. 87 informs us that “the Holy Church / exists in two forms: in the brothers and / the sisters. Indeed, when these alms reach the Holy / C[h]urch, they shall be [redeem]ed through it and purified and r[est] therein”,<sup>842</sup> clearly denoting the Elect. In Ch. 103 Mani describes the ‘Five Wonders’ the Light Mind shall confer on

<sup>833</sup> *Keph.* 37.16-17.

<sup>834</sup> *Keph.* 40.15-16.

<sup>835</sup> *Keph.* 98.3.

<sup>836</sup> *Keph.* 98.18.

<sup>837</sup> *Keph.* 165.18.

<sup>838</sup> *Keph.* 285.21. Cf. *Keph.* 213.3, which is also addressed to the Elect.

<sup>839</sup> *Keph.* 194.28-30.

<sup>840</sup> *Keph.* 208.23-25.

<sup>841</sup> *Keph.* 208.28-29.

<sup>842</sup> *Keph.* 217.11-15.



weariness of doing good.”<sup>851</sup> The Catechumens are also intended when it references *I Thes.* 5.12-13 in col. 40: “We ask you however, brothers, that you acknowledge those who work among you and are over you in the Lord and reprove you.” BeDuhn & Harrison see this as the author defining what the Elect do as ‘work’, although at pains not to add a negative sense to the Manichaean term ‘rest’ for the activity of the Elect, which he does through the exploration of what Paul means by ‘work’ immediately following.<sup>852</sup> Like the Christians, then, Manichaeans adopted terms of brotherhood to refer to one another, although sometimes it applied specifically to the Elect, as one might use the honourific ‘Brother’ to refer to a Christian monk today. From our sources, however, we have gathered several specific epithets relating to the term ‘brethren’: Holy Brothers and Pure Sisters, Brethren of the New Aeon, Brothers of the Body and Brothers of the Spirit.

*Child* (παῖς/υἱός, **ΩΗΡΕ**, *filius*): In Mani’s *Living Gospel*, we have previously mentioned that Mani said “Hope I have proclaimed to the immortal race”. Immediately before this he also said “I preached peace to the children of peace (ἐιρήνης / παισίν)”.<sup>853</sup> We have also mentioned the term “living kindred” in one of the *Kellis Epistles*, although it should be noted that Mani includes himself with his followers when he refers to them as “the children of this living kindred”.<sup>854</sup> In what is possibly a Mani epistle ‘On Agape’ he is concerned that there be no division among his followers, and anxious that ‘the Teachers will love the Teachers’, and so on. If they do so, he says “you will all become children of [a] / single undivided body (Ν̄ΖΙΝΩΗΡΕ Ν̄Ν[ΟΥ]/CΩΜΑ ΝΟΥΩΤ Ν̄ΑΤΠΩΡ.Χ).”<sup>855</sup>

A section in the *CMC* attributed to Baraies begins, perhaps in the words of the Teacher himself: “As for us, brethren, who as children of our father’s spirit (παῖδες τυγχάνον/τες τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ πατρὸς) have heard and hearkened to those things, and have rejoiced because of them”.<sup>856</sup> It is possible here that their

<sup>851</sup> *Teb. Cod.* col. 37.8.

<sup>852</sup> *Teb. Cod.* col. 40.11. BeDuhn & Harrison (1997), 75-76.

<sup>853</sup> *CMC* 67.4-5.

<sup>854</sup> *P. Kell. Copt.* 53 82:07.

<sup>855</sup> *P. Kell. Copt.* 54.53-54.

<sup>856</sup> *CMC* 72.9-15.

“father’s spirit” is Mani’s twin the Paraclete, and that Baraies indicates himself and his brethren as the ‘children’ of Mani. Elsewhere in the *CMC* Mani says he embarked on so extensive a missionary journey

so that through me believers could be separated from unbelievers and be chosen, the good seed from amongst the weeds, the children of the kingdom ([ο]ι τῆς βασιλείας παῖδες) from the children of the enemy (τοῦ δυσμενοῦς / παίδων) and the descendants of the heights (οἱ τοῦ ὕψους / [ἐ]κγονοι) from the offspring of the depths (τοῦ βάθους / [γε]νημάτων); thus through me the Father might separate his own from strangers.<sup>857</sup>

Finally, the section beginning on p. 114 is attributed to “Kustaios, the son of the treasure of life (ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ / Θεσαυροῦ τῆς Ζωῆς)”.<sup>858</sup> This is undoubtedly a reference to Mani’s canonical text the *Treasury of Life*,<sup>859</sup> but seems to employ the same sort of language.

In the ‘Sermon on the Great War’ is the term “my good children (ἸΝΝΑΨΗΡΕ ΕΤΑΝΙΤ) / [...]”, attributed to an actual quotation of Mani. Among a more general dirge he says also “I weep for my [orpha]ned / ch[ildren] (ἸΝΝΑΨ[ΗΡΕ ἸΝΟΡΦΑ]/ΝΟC), these lonely strangers, for w[ho will lo]ok / after them? At [whose] tabl[e] will they eat?”<sup>860</sup> The reference to them as ‘strangers’ (ΨΜΜΑΙ) and concern for their eating habits indicate that he is indicating the Elect. The ‘Narrative about the Crucifixion’ also seems to be referring to the Elect when it says of Mani: “First he gave orders about his children [... / ...] habit, while they walk with him. [... / ...] righteousness on my behalf, in that they [... / ...] become Archegos after him.”<sup>861</sup> The reference to the post of Archegos presumably precludes the inclusion of Catechumens, although it is possible that another term indicating the Catechumens was lost in the lacunae. Mani definitely included the Catechumens on p. 57: “He said to them: ‘[... / ki]sses from me to the El[ect and the / Cate]chumens, my children

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<sup>857</sup> *CMC* 108.4-16.

<sup>858</sup> *CMC* 114.6-7.

<sup>859</sup> Henrichs and Koenen (1981), 285n.410.

<sup>860</sup> *Hom.* 17.12-14

<sup>861</sup> *Hom.* 50.26-29.

[...]”.<sup>862</sup> Similarly, after the female Catechumens Banak, Dinak and Nushak proclaim their grief for Mani, the author says “[Oh, children of / ri]ghteousness ([**ΝΩΗΡΕ ΝΤ/ΔΙ]ΚΑΙΟCΥΝΗ), bless those women!”<sup>863</sup>**

In ‘Salmaios’ Lament’ is what seems to be a description of the persecution suffered by various bodies of the Church. Among these is a reference to “[...] you, my great children (**ΝΑΝΑΒ ΝΩΗΡΕ)** [...] / also [...] my small childre[n (**ΝΝΑΚΟΥ΄ ΝΩΗΡ[Ε]**) [...]”,<sup>864</sup> which certainly seems to refer separately to the Elect and Catechumens respectively. In the Introduction to the *Kephalaia* also, Mani exhorts “my childr[en and my discip]/les (**ΝΑΩΗΡ[Ε ΜΝ ΝΑΜΑΘΗ]/ΤΗC**), write all my wisdom [...]”.<sup>865</sup> This is similar to Bema Ps. 226, where Mani says that while he was in prison “Those sinners, all of them did not allow me to see my / children and my disciples ([**Ω]ΗΡΕ ΜΝΝΑΜΑΘΗΤΗC**) and my shepherds and my bishops”<sup>866</sup>

In Ch. 1, after a description of Sethel the first born son of Adam and Sem the son of Noah, Mani refers to “[the Christ], the son of greatness (**ΠΩΗΡΕ ΝΤΜΝΤΝΑΒ**).”<sup>867</sup> This term also occurs twice in Chapter 8,<sup>868</sup> and in Chapter 112 Jesus is called “the son of the Living God (**ΠΩΗΡΕ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΕΤΑΝΩ**)”.<sup>869</sup> In Ch. 18. Mani describes the five wars waged by “Sons of Light” (**ΝΩΗΡΕ ΜΠΟΥΑΙ΄ΝΕ**) with the “Sons of Darkness (**ΝΩΗΡΕ ΜΠΚΕΚΕ**)”,<sup>870</sup> referring to battle of the five sons of the First Man.

In Ch. 8 he refers to the four vehicles of the Holy Church, although in this case it is that of Jesus. We may see in this, however, a model for Mani’s own Church. After the Elect men and women, “The third is all the Catechumens, / the sons of the

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<sup>862</sup> *Hom.* 57.22-23.

<sup>863</sup> *Hom.* 59.21-22.

<sup>864</sup> *Hom.* 95.14-15.

<sup>865</sup> *Keph.* 6.17-18.

<sup>866</sup> *Ps.-Bk II* 19.9-10.

<sup>867</sup> *Keph.* 12.20.

<sup>868</sup> *Keph.* 36.31; 37.27.

<sup>869</sup> *Keph.* 267.24.

<sup>870</sup> *Keph.* 58.2-3 *et passim*.



faith (ΝΩΗΡΕ ΜΠΝΑΖΤΕ). The fourth is the Catechumens, the daughters of the light and truth (ΝΩΗΡΕ ΜΠΟΥΑΙ'ΝΕ ΜΝ ΤΜΗΕ).<sup>871</sup> Ch. 65 contrasts this when Mani sums up his lesson by telling his disciples “You are the children of d/[ay and] the children of the light (ΝΩΗΡΕ ΜΠΖΟ/[ΟΗΕ ΜΝ] ΝΩΗΡΕ ΜΠΟΥΑΙ'ΝΕ).”<sup>872</sup> He contrasts these with “the children / [of the night a]nd the children of darkness (ΝΩΗΡΕ ΝΤΑϷ / [ΝΤΟΥΩΗ Μ]Ν ΝΩΗΡΕ ΜΠΚΕΚΕ).”<sup>873</sup> In Ch. 79 the third benefit bestowed by the fasting of the Elect is that “Th[at] person shall make every deed a holy one; / the mystery of [the children] of light (ΠΜΥΩΤΗΡΙΟΝ Ν[ΝΩΗΡΕ] ΜΠΟΥΑΙ'ΝΕ) [i]n whom there is neither corruption / nor [...] the food, nor wound it. / [Rat]her, they are holy, [there is nothing] in them that defiles, as they li/[ve] in peace.”<sup>874</sup>

In Ch. 9's explanation of the importance of the various Manichaean gestures, it informs us that when the person receives the ‘peace’, he “becomes a child of peace (ΟΥΩΗΡΕ ΝΕΙΡΗΝΗ). Afterwards he is elected to the faith.”<sup>875</sup> Furthermore “With the right hand he receives the k[iss of lo]/ve and becomes a child of the C[hurch (ΟΥΩΗΡΕ ΝΤΕ[ΚΚΛΗΣΙΑ]) ...]”.<sup>876</sup> Similarly, Ch. 115 describes that when a Catechumen provides alms “He shall make rest for the Holy Church”, and “The [...] children of the [Chu]r/ch (ΩΗΡΕ ΝΤ[ΕΚΚΛ]Η/ΣΙΑ) rest upon it.”<sup>877</sup> Ch. 80 uses similar language when it enjoins the Catechumens to “give a child to the [Ch]/urch for the (sake of) righteousness (([Ο]ΥΩΗΡΕ ΝΤ[ΕΚ]/ΚΛΗΣΙΑ ΑΤΔΙΚΑΙΟΣΥΝΗ)”.<sup>878</sup> Perhaps it is stretching it to see similar language in Ch. 68 when Mani refers to “all my children, / the righteous Elect (ΝΑΩΗΡΕ ΖΩΩΥ

<sup>871</sup> *Keph.* 37.17-18.

<sup>872</sup> *Keph.* 163.30-31.

<sup>873</sup> *Keph.* 163.31-32.

<sup>874</sup> *Keph.* 191.21.

<sup>875</sup> *Keph.* 40.29.

<sup>876</sup> *Keph.* 40.33-34.

<sup>877</sup> *Keph.* 277.13-14.

<sup>878</sup> *Keph.* 193.5-6.

ΤΗΡΟΥ / ΝΕΚΛΕΚΤΟΣ ΝΔΙΚΑΙΟΣ)".<sup>879</sup> He says further: "Every one of you who loves me, let him love all my children, the / blessed Elect (ΝΑΨΗΡΕ ΤΗΡΟΥ Ν/ΕΚΛΕΚΤΟΣ ΝΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΣ), for I am with them."<sup>880</sup>

Ch. 38 discusses how the Light Mind will release the 'members of the soul' from sin. He will shape and purify them "and construct a new man of them, a child [o]/f righteousness (ΟΥΨΗΡΕ [Ν]/ΤΕ ΤΔΙΚΑΙΟΣΥΝΗ)".<sup>881</sup> In Ch. 81 he promises the doubting Archegos "you will go to this great [and] of rest wi[th the] / children of the living ([Ν]/ΨΗΡΕ ΝΝΕΤΑΝΩ)".<sup>882</sup> We have already discussed Ch. 105, and it refers to this subject in a rather more circumspect manner when it says of Christ that Christians "bestow his name upon their children and children's [child]/ren",<sup>883</sup> presumably the name 'Christian'. So too, says Mani, should his followers with his name. Lastly, Mani uses imagery of the fruit of the Tree of Life in Ch. 121 when speaking to the presbyter of another sect: "you call yourself the so[n of] the bas/ket (ΕΚΜΟΥΤΕ ΔΡΑΚ ΞΕ ΠΩΗΡ[Ε Ν]ΤΝΟ/ΒΕ)".<sup>884</sup> The very fact that he was able to use symbolic language familiar to his own teachings may indicate that this was a term Manichaean themselves used at one point. This is highly speculative, however.

In *Psalm-Book II*, Bema Ps. 220 similarly uses ΨΗΡΕ to refer to other sects, as when it refers to the Jews as "children of error (ΝΨΗΡΕ ΝΤΕ ΤΠΛΑ/[ΝΗ])".<sup>885</sup> This is echoed in Ps. 241 when the Magians are referred to as the "children of fire (ΝΨΗΡΕ ΝΤΣΕΤΕ)".<sup>886</sup> It may be that the Manichaeans themselves are indicated rather than deities when in Ps. 229 they sing that Mani in his role as the Paraclete is the "joy of the Gods, rest of the angels, / the entire will of the powers of the Light, the

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<sup>879</sup> *Keph.* 166.2-3.

<sup>880</sup> *Keph.* 166.10-11.

<sup>881</sup> *Keph.* 96.26-27.

<sup>882</sup> *Keph.* 195.18-19.

<sup>883</sup> *Keph.* 259.3-4.

<sup>884</sup> *Keph.* 289.11-12.

<sup>885</sup> *Ps.-Bk II* 4.22.

<sup>886</sup> *Ps.-Bk II* 43.15.

trust / of the sons of the kingdom (ΝΝΩΗΡΕ ΝΤΜΝΤΡΡΟ).”<sup>887</sup> As Mani is the ‘joy of the Gods’ (ΠΡΕΩΕ ΝΝΝΟΥΤΕ) in Ps. 237, so too are his followers the “sons of joy (ΝΩΗΡΕ ΜΠΟΥΡΑΤ)”.<sup>888</sup> In Pss. 230 and 231 the singers even refer to themselves as “the children of the Paraclete, our Lord Mani (ΝΩΗΡΕ ΜΠΠΚΛ̄C ΠΝΧΑῙC ΠΜΝ[ΧC])”,<sup>889</sup> and Ps. 225 personifies the Church when it praises (or sings in the person of?) “[...] thy daughter, the Church, O Paraclete (ΝΤ[ΕΚ]ΩΕΡΕ ΤΕΚΚΛΗCΙΑ ΠΠΑΡΑΚΛΗΤΟΣ)”.<sup>890</sup> Ps. 235 the congregation exhorts itself: “Let us all sing, my blessed brethren, the / children of the Light (ΝΩΗ/[ΡΕ Μ]ΠΟΥΑῙΝΕ)”.<sup>891</sup> They are also referred to by this term twice in Ps. 249.<sup>892</sup> There may be an epithet of the Archegos preserved in Ps. 241, when they sing to Mani “Thou didst appoint Sisinnios Archegos over thy children (ΝΑΡΧΗΓΟΣ ΑΧΝ̄ΝΕΚΩΗΡΕ).”<sup>893</sup>

Jesus Psalm 276 seems to indicate the congregation when it says “[Gather all of you, o] sons of the Mind ([ΝΩ]ΗΡΕ ΜΠΠΝΟΥC)”, although it may be that, if the Light Mind is indicated, the ‘sons’ could be his emanations as noted in Ch. 7 of the *Kephalaia*: Apostle of Light, syzygos, and Form of Light.<sup>894</sup> The imperative phrase recurs again later in the psalm, when it says “Gather all of you, o souls that [...]”.<sup>895</sup> 4Heracleides 280 ends with a slight variation on the familiar Maria doxology:

Glory to thee, o God, the Glorious one, Christ, Saviour that  
 abidest, the giver of joy. Victory to the God-loving soul,  
 the daughter of Light (ΤΩΕΡΕ ΜΠΟΥΑῙΝΕ ΜΑΡΙΑ), Mary, and all his

<sup>887</sup> *Ps.-Bk II* 24.26-28.

<sup>888</sup> *Ps.-Bk II* 37.25.

<sup>889</sup> *Ps.-Bk II* 26.2; 27.18-19.

<sup>890</sup> *Ps.-Bk II* 14.20.

<sup>891</sup> *Ps.-Bk II* 32.14-15.

<sup>892</sup> *Ps.-Bk II* 58.15, 24.

<sup>893</sup> *Ps.-Bk II* 44.10.

<sup>894</sup> *Ps.-Bk II* 96.6.

<sup>895</sup> *Ps.-Bk II* 97.3.

The “God-loving soul, the daughter of the Light” here is Maria, while “all his Elect” is obviously in agreement with Christ.

In Wanderers 3 when the congregation proclaims “We are true sons (ΖΝΨΗΡΕ ΜΜΗΕ), the heirs of their Fathers”,<sup>897</sup> it seems that they indicate by ‘Fathers’ all of Jesus’ Apostles, who had been enumerated in the foregoing part of the psalm. Wanderers 9 refers to Jesus as “the living wine, the child of the true vine (ΠΨΗΡΕ ΝΤΒΩ ΝΕΛΑΛΕ ΜΜΗΕ),”<sup>898</sup> and marries the symbol of the vine with that of the Tree of Life when in Wanderers 13 it mentions “Jesus that hangs to the tree, / Youth, son of the dew (ΠΨΗΡΕ ΝΤ΄Ι΄ΩΤΕ)”.<sup>899</sup> Wanderers 17 says of the congregation “[The sons of faith ([ΝΨ]ΗΡΕ ΜΠΝΑΖΤΕ), – they shall see faith: lo, [...].”<sup>900</sup> Wanderers 19 sings “[...] make music, sons (?) only of the Paraclete (ΨΗΡΕ ΜΜΕΤΕ ΜΠΠΚΛ̄C̄), they that have / [...] thee, [...] weeping daily for thy wounds. / Thou art the two-edged axe wherewith they cut **163** the bitter root.”<sup>901</sup>

When Thomas Ps. 1 ‘Concerning the Father and all his Aeons and the Stirring of the Enemy’ refers to “One of the Sons of Light (ΑΟΥΕ ΖΝΝΨΗΡΕ ΜΠΟΥΑΙ΄Ν[Ε])”<sup>902</sup> it indicates a deity. He and his “rich brethren (CΝΗΥ [ΝΡ]ΜΜΑΟ)” are all “Sons of Light”,<sup>903</sup> and he his counterpart in the Kingdom of Darkness in “the Son of Evil (ΠΨΗΡΕ ΜΠΠΕΘΑΥ)”.<sup>904</sup> In Thomas 5 the First Man says “I am not of the / sons of the world (ΨΗΡΕ ΝΤΟΙΚΟΥΜΕΝΗ) that I should fall

<sup>896</sup> *Ps.-Bk II* 101.32-34.

<sup>897</sup> *Ps.-Bk II* 143.23.

<sup>898</sup> *Ps.-Bk II* 151.6.

<sup>899</sup> *Ps.-Bk II* 155.25. Cf. Wanderers 23 (*Ps.-Bk II* 167.64).

<sup>900</sup> *Ps.-Bk II* 159.27.

<sup>901</sup> *Ps.-Bk II* 162.29-163.1.

<sup>902</sup> *Ps.-Bk II* 204.7. Cf. Thomas 2 (205.18-19, 24; 206.9, 27; 207.2).

<sup>903</sup> *Ps.-Bk II* 204..9. Cf. Gardner ‘Searching for traces of the ‘utria in the Coptic Manichaica’, paper presented at ARAM international conference on the Mandaeans, July 2007b (to be published in *ARAM*).

<sup>904</sup> *Ps.-Bk II* 204.12 *et passim*.

into the snares / and be caught.”<sup>905</sup> Thomas 13 contains the continual refrain “Do [not please me] / with your lips: the children of the lip (ΝΩΗΡΕ ΝΤ̄ΣΠΑΤΟΥ) are blotted / out, the children of the heart (ΝΩΗΡΕ Μ̄ΠΖΗΤ) abide.”<sup>906</sup> This indicates an exhortation to ‘practise what one preaches’. There are further a number of psalms who are only preserved as headings in the index, although these have been truncated. These include Ps. 47: [ΧΑΙΡΕ ΠΑΩΗΡΕ],<sup>907</sup> Ps. 109 [ΝΩ]ΗΡΕ ΝΤΡΕῙΤΕ,<sup>908</sup> Ps. 190 ΝΩΗΡΕ Μ̄ΠΠ̄Κ̄Λ̄Σ,<sup>909</sup> and from the ‘Vigil’ (παννυχισμός) psalms, Ps. 208 ΝΩΗΡΕ Μ̄ΠΟΥΑῙ[ΝΕ]<sup>910</sup> and Ps. 210 Ω ΠΩΗΡΕ ΠΡΕϞ[...].<sup>911</sup>

As already noted, there are several references of this sort among the Kellis letters. *P. Kell. Copt.* 14, found not in House 3 as is the case with most of the other Manichaean material but rather in the North Building, refers in a very fragmentary opening address to “[the child of] righteousness ([ΠΩΗΡΕ ΝΤΔΙ]ΚΑΙΟΣΥΝΗ)”.<sup>912</sup> Its Manichaean authorship is garnered from this reference and its “particularly effusive style”.<sup>913</sup> The term appears also in *P. Kell. Copt.* 15 and 19,<sup>914</sup> and in the latter case the sender Makarios admonishes his son Matheos with a quote from Mani: “just as the Paraclete has said: ‘The disciple of righteousness is / found with the fear of his teacher upon him (even) while he is far from him.’”<sup>915</sup> In *P. Kell. Copt.* 22 Makarios refers to the recipient (his wife Maria) and those with her as “children of the

<sup>905</sup> *Ps.-Bk II* 211.10-12.

<sup>906</sup> *Ps.-Bk II* 220.1-3, 7-8, 13-15, 19-21.

<sup>907</sup> *Ps.-Bk II* 229.b17.

<sup>908</sup> *Ps.-Bk II* 230.b18.

<sup>909</sup> *Ps.-Bk II* 232.a15.

<sup>910</sup> *Ps.-Bk II* 232.b5.

<sup>911</sup> *Ps.-Bk II* 232.b7.

<sup>912</sup> *P. Kell. Copt.* 14.6.

<sup>913</sup> Gardner, Alcock & Funk, 137.

<sup>914</sup> *P. Kell. Copt.* 15.2; 19.1.

<sup>915</sup> *P. Kell. Copt.* 19.9.



of the Paraclete, Children of Faith, Children of the Lip and Children of the Heart, Children of the Light Mind, Children of God, Children of the Holy Church. There is also some terminology that may to be peculiar to Manichaeism: Jesus is referred to as the Son of Greatness, Son of the Living God, Child of the True Vine and Son of the Dew; Jews are called the Children of Error and the Magians the Children of Fire; and worldly people are called Sons of the World. Terms such as Children of Light and Darkness appear to fit more closely with a Semitic context for Manichaeism, although it should be noted that given the predominance of the Psalms of Thomas as source (which is Aramaic and possibly Mandaean) this Semitic flavour is not unexpected, and should not be seen as characteristic of the Manichaean Church in other regions.

This extended treatment of terminology describing relationships within the Manichaean Church reveals certain important factors. The majority of terms are derived from the biological family, and thus present the Manichaean Church as the spiritual (or true) family of its members in a manner similar to that of the Christian Church. There are a few terms which extend beyond the immediate familial context, such as 'race', 'kindred' and 'generation'; most distinctive of these are Living Race and Family of Peace, indicating the special quality of participation in the divine life experienced by Manichaean believers, as well as Manichaean ideals. The vast majority of special terminology comes, however, from epithets associated with the terms 'brethren' and especially 'children'. It should be noted that although it is difficult to discern the precise technical value of many of these names designating relationships, this section aims to be an important contribution to scholarship, in that such a list has not, to date, been collated by any scholar of Manichaean Studies.

#### **4.7 Conclusion and summary of chapter**

In the absence of a sectarian name, several authors have noted that Manichaeans instead preferred to refer to their 'Church'. In Classical Greek literature the word ἐκκλησία originally denoted simply an 'assembly' and, while later becoming synonymous in both Christianity and Manichaeism with what we now understand as a 'Church', we should be mindful that rather than denoting a particular building more often it referred to a group of believers. This chapter has reviewed primary source evidence for the use of the terms 'Church', 'congregation', 'Holy Church', and a large collection of terms denoting relationships that could exist between the members of the Manichaean Church. The Greek term ἐκκλησία does indeed seem to have been used

most often to designate the Manichaean community, but had little value as a distinguishing name in the wider, non-Manichaean community. The native Coptic word  $\text{CAY}\bar{\text{C}}$  appears to have little value independent of the Greek  $\text{\textit{\kappa\textit{\kappa\textit{\lambda\textit{\eta\textit{\sigma\textit{\iota\textit{\alpha}}}}, and was often used interchangeably when referring more generally to a Manichaean congregation. It was not generally used to refer to the Manichaean Church as a whole, however. As regards the term Holy Church as a specifically Manichaean name, it appears to have been used in this way in a few instances, especially among the Kellis community, but is generally used to refer to the Elect specifically. In Mani's own time it seems to have had no technical value at all. Terms revolving around human relationships were also important to the composition of Manichaean identity. Through terms such as 'race', 'generation' and 'kindred' they differentiated themselves from the rest of the world, while they used terms such as 'brethren' and especially 'children' to refer to one another. The prevalence of these last two in Manichaean texts may indicate their comparative importance, although it may simply be that the literature is more concerned with relationships internal to the religion than those external to it. Despite the expository nature of much of the material contained within, this chapter has strived to be an original contribution to scholarship, in that this undertaking (to list terms from sources specifically dealing with the Manichaean Church in the West and to collate the meanings and contexts associated with them) has not been done to date. I hope that my findings will provide a valuable foundation for further scholarly researches as a result.$



## Chapter Five: Conclusion

### 5.1. Aims and objectives of this dissertation

This thesis has concerned itself with discussing the identity and names of the Manichaean Church, as evidenced in its sources from the Roman world. The resulting investigation has been a significant original contribution to scholarship, as previous examinations of the Manichaean Church have been overly concerned with a reproduction of listings of the Church hierarchy, and even then have usually relied on the more extensive evidence from the Church in its eastern form to the detriment of consideration of western Manichaeism. A monograph-length study dedicated to the Manichaean Church in the Roman Empire has long been wanting among research concerning the religion, and to date only several short papers have been written regarding the topics encompassed here. This thesis has aimed to establish a foundation for future scholarship on the subject, using those most basic markers of religious self-identity: the names of adherents of the religion, as used both for outsiders externally and with co-religionists internally.

To accomplish these objectives this dissertation has utilised a range of Manichaean sources originating in the Roman world. Chief among these are the published Medinet Madi Coptic texts: the *Homilies*, *Kephalaia*, and *Psalm-Book II*, although the *Cologne Mani Codex* and *Tebessa Codex* have also been employed. Mani's own scriptures the *Living Gospel* (partially quoted in the *CMC*) and the recently edited remnants of his *Epistles* have also been utilised where possible, which has allowed for an understanding of some of Mani's own conceptions of (and intentions for) his Church, while also uncovering the earliest history of the Church from his lifetime. Where possible these texts have been treated as discrete works, rather than discussing them in the context of the codex in which they happen to have been preserved. In this way a greater detail of variety in the tradition has been given. For the purposes of this thesis the term 'Manichaeism' itself was divided into two: its teachings and its Church, as the texts themselves discuss the religion through these separate terms of reference. The Manichaean Church was the subject of this dissertation.

Through an evaluation of the current state of research on the western Manichaean Church, this thesis has been situated in the context of similar, overlapping or complementary studies regarding Manichaeism in general. In many ways

the history of the study of Manichaeism parallels that of Gnosticism and, as a result, its conclusions are often tied to biases contemporary with their authors. These biases have been discussed and disentangled.

The difficult issue of the Christian self-identity of Manichaeans was necessarily treated in connection with this, as there were attestations of Manichaeans explicitly identifying themselves as both ‘Manichaeans’ and ‘Christians’. Instances of both have been discussed and evaluated, and there is also a brief excursus on other names for Manichaeism regarded in Christian heresiological texts as originating with Manichaeans themselves. In connection with this chapter comments have been made regarding some more generalised aspects of Manichaean religious self-identity, and these issues are situated within a Christian context, as it represented the dominant religious discourse in the Roman Empire.

The use of the term ‘Church’ (ἐκκλησία) in Manichaean sources has been investigated in detail, and the ramifications of this for our knowledge of Manichaean liturgical practice was discussed. In connection with this was an examination of the native Coptic word ⲬⲀⲮⲚⲤ, frequently occurring in the Medinet Madi codices, as well as the term ‘Holy Church’. This last has been treated by some scholars as designating the Manichaean Church as a whole, and its general use in Manichaean texts has been evaluated in this study. Finally, terms of Manichaean self-designation deriving from relationship terms have been listed and discussed. These terms of reference included Race, Generation, Kindred, Brethren and Children. Such terms have been noted in addresses from the Kellis letters, and the literary sources are examined for numerous parallels.

## **5.2. Conclusions reached as a result of the thesis research**

The historical trajectory of research into Manichaeism can largely be viewed as mirroring that of Gnostic Studies, in that it can also be viewed as strongly reflecting its students’ biases. This tendency among scholars of Gnosticism has been noted and discussed extensively by commentators such as M. Wilson and K. King, and an updated version of J. Ries’ study of Manichaean scholarship would

complement this well.<sup>925</sup> The earlier search for the Iranian origins of Manichaeism has largely been cast aside in favour of its Christian origins and, while this more current vein of scholarship is attributable to no analogous bias *per se*, it can be recognised as a definite trend in modern studies of the religion. The current research on the Manichaean Church in the west is wanting in several areas and, as this dissertation addresses the fundamental concern of its name and identity, the majority of studies examined in Chapter 2 were those concerning Manichaean self-identity. This thesis was situated in the context of these over-lapping or complementary studies regarding aspects of Manichaeism associated with its Church.

The question of Manichaeans' self-identification as Christian was discussed in this context, and this dissertation concluded in overall agreement with the authors mentioned (Gardner, Lieu and Lim) that there is a justifiable argument for situating Manichaeans within a wider model of plural 'Christianities'. It is my contention, however, that this Christianity must not be regarded as exclusive without further evidence. Chapter 105 of the *Kephalaia* is particularly important in this respect, as it appears to record a teaching by Mani that justifies the use of his name as a label by his followers. This may well have been developed as part of a Manichaean 'scholastic' discourse that did not progress much further, and the *Kephalaia* itself contains no unequivocal attestation of this label although a few possible exceptions were discussed. Instances of Manichaeans identifying themselves as either 'Manichaeans', 'Christians' or both were listed and evaluated, as well as a discussion of other names regarded in Patristic sources as having been adopted by Manichaeans. Of these, the names Akouanitans, Mattarians and Catharists warrant further study, as the respective sources for Epiphanius and Augustine do not seem overly tainted by their authors' polemics. Finally, in conclusion this chapter discussed the questions arising from a picture of 'Manichaean' Christian identity. It was argued that trajectories of the use of these names should not be seen as parallel, but rather inter-weaving and inter-secting at multiple points.

An extensive study of the term ἐκκλησία as used in Manichaean texts was undertaken, and the native Coptic term ⲬⲀⲚⲚⲤ was discussed in connection with

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<sup>925</sup> Ries (1955), Ries (1957). See also M. Tardieu *Études Manichéennes: Bibliographie critique 1977-1986. Extraits revus et complétés, d'Abstracta Iranica vol. I à X avec introduction et index* (Abstracta Iranica 4), Institute Français de Recherche en Iran, Téhéran-Paris, 1988.

this. The possibility of church buildings was briefly re-examined, as well as the ramification this has on the question of Manichaean monasteries in the west. The term 'Holy Church' was also assessed and, rather than designating the Manichaean Church as a whole as has been suggested by some scholars, it was judged to most likely designate the Elect. Finally the terms utilising references to relationships in the Kellis letters were found to be paralleled by similar use in the literary texts, with Brethren and Children especially significant.

### **5.3. Future directions for research into the Manichaean Church and Manichaean identity**

As is the nature of a dissertation of this sort, the scope of its research has been necessarily limited to those issues directly relevant to the argument. There are many avenues, however, of future research that are now open to scholars. The most obvious of these is a comparable study of Manichaean names and identity in the eastern literature, as evidenced in Uighur, Chinese, and Middle Iranian texts. It would be equally profitable to examine the names associated with Mani's teachings because, as was discussed in the Introduction to this thesis, these names did not always agree with the names his followers used for themselves.

The language depicted in the section on "Relationships" in Chapter 4 draws attention to the importance of symbolic representation and its importance for discussions of the Manichaean Church. G. Widengren has discussed the use of symbolism associated with the Tree of Life in Manichaean texts,<sup>926</sup> and V. Arnold-Döben has published a monograph on common symbols utilised in the sources,<sup>927</sup> including another discussion on the Tree,<sup>928</sup> the Shepherd and Flock,<sup>929</sup> and the Bridegroom and Bride.<sup>930</sup> These symbols recur frequently in association with the Church, and a study of their use in this respect would be most profitable indeed.

The structure and administration of the Manichaean Church is itself deserving of serious study. Lists of the hierarchical ranks are generally taken at face value, and

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<sup>926</sup> Widengren (1946), 123-157.

<sup>927</sup> Arnold-Döben (1973).

<sup>928</sup> Arnold-Döben (1973), 7-44.

<sup>929</sup> Arnold-Döben (1973), 71-77.

<sup>930</sup> Arnold-Döben (1973), 78-85.

their differences over-looked in an effort to compare apparently equivalent terms between texts from both eastern and western Manichaeism. While such comparisons can indeed be edifying, they often obscure what may be important variations. It further remains for a close examination of these Church roles to be undertaken, as the Coptic texts evidence a relatively fluid interpretation of these titles which parallels to some extent those of the comparable roles of Bishop, Presbyter and Deacon in the early Christian communities of the New Testament. Mani's successors were indeed designated by the name Archegos, but so was the head of the fifty fasting Elect in Chapter 81 of the *Kephalaia* who is depicted in dialogue with and thus contemporary with Mani. Nor is the office of Deacon clearly understood, and this function may in the west have even been discharged by the Catechumens. This is not to mention the minor ecclesiastic functions of attested roles such as the Reader, Cantor (ψάλτης),<sup>931</sup> and so on.

There are also more simple questions about the day to day running of the Church, as well as questions regarding the realities of communication between communities, and how these were utilised by the leadership to enforce their authority. Any such studies would need to consider the important differences between the texts, and separate investigation into the western and eastern Churches would be advisable.

In this way a new body of research investigating the Manichaean Church can now be embarked upon. This thesis, an original contribution to scholarship, has laid the foundation for a consideration of the names the Manichaean Church adopted for itself, and what sort of an impact this had on their constructions of self-identity in the primarily Christian context of the Roman Empire in Late Antiquity. Further discussions of the Manichaean Church must now necessarily follow.

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<sup>931</sup> Hom. 61.9.

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