Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen
zum Neuen Testament 63

Samuel N. C. Lieu

Manichaeism in the Later Roman Empire and Medieval China

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Begründet von Joachim Jeremias und Otto Michel
Herausgegeben von
Martin Hengel und Otfried Hofius

63

Manichaeism in the Later Roman Empire and Medieval China

by

Samuel N. C. Lieu

2. edition, revised and expanded

J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck) Tübingen

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To Judith

and Esther

Contents

Preface

Ever since the discovery of genuine Manichaean texts from Tun-huang and Turfan at the beginning of this century, the study of Manichaeism has been an interdisciplinary one, drawing together classicists, orientalists, theologians and historians. A trans-cultural survey of the history of Manichaeism therefore requires no justification. Mani, the founder of the religion, had intended that it should be preached in every part of the known world. Any attempt, therefore, at a missionary history of Manichaeism must inevitably involve the crossing of the boundaries of established academic disciplines. I have based my research, as far as I am able, on a study of the original sources in Greek, Latin, Syriac, Middle Persian, Parthian and Chinese. Since I have no first-hand knowledge of the sources in Sogdian, Uighur and Arabic, the history of the sect in Muslim Iraq and in the Uighur Kingdom of Qočo can only be sketched in outline. However, although the main focus of the book is on the history of the sect in the Later Roman Empire and China (from late T'ang to early Ming), I have provided the readers with what I hope is an adequate introduction to the principal tenets of Mani's teaching and the main facts about his life. The successful decipherment of the *Cologne Mani Codex* which contains accounts of the formative years of Mani's life has brought about revolutionary changes to the study of Manichaeism and most standard introductory works or articles in reference books are now seriously in need of revision. A great deal of new material on the history of the sect has also come to light through the continuing publication of Manichaean texts from Turfan and from archaeological finds in China. This work endeavours to show how this material has broadened and deepened our knowledge of the missionary history of this extraordinary gnostic world religion.

This book grew out of a doctoral dissertation in Literae Humaniores for the University of Oxford which was completed in 1981. I am greatly indebted to my three supervisors who at various stages offered me indispensable help and guidance. Prof. Peter R. L. Brown has consistently nurtured my interest in the interdisciplinary study of history. His own signal contributions to the study of Manichaeism and the age of Augustine have been a constant source of illumination. Dr Sebastian Brock introduced me to the complex world of early Syriac Christianity. His immense learning on the subject was an invaluable asset to me and his willingness to find time to deal with my problems, no matter how trivial, was exemplary. Prof. P. van der Loon undertook the arduous task of checking and improving my translations from Chinese sources and saved me from innumerable careless errors. He also kindly drew my attention to a hitherto unnoticed passage in the Taoist Canon on Manichaeism in south China which provides some interesting new information.

Prof. Mary Boyce acted as my unofficial external supervisor on the Iranian aspects of the work and I am grateful to her for taking the trouble to read and comment on substantial parts of the work. I have learned much from her about the history and culture of Sassanian Iran as well as Manichaeism. Prof. Hans-Joachim Klimkeit has been a constant source of encouragement and advice. I

would like to thank him in particular for his translations into English of a Manichaean historical text in Uighur. Similarly, I would like to express my sincere gratitude to Dr and Dr (Mrs) G. Stroumsa for supplying me with a translation from the Arabic of a section of the *Annales* of Eutychius which deals with Manichaeism in Roman Egypt. To my colleague, Mr Charles Morgan, I owe a special debt for the many hours we spent wrestling with the tortuous Greek of Titus of Bostra. The staff of the Inter-Library Loans division of the University of Warwick Library have been indefatigable in securing loans of obscure oriental texts from both British and foreign libraries. Without their help the work would certainly have much longer to accomplish. Mrs Janet Bailey, our Joint School Secretary, kindly undertook to type a substantial part of the final draft of my polyglottal manuscript, and I am greatly indebted to her skill and patience.

The original research for this work was greatly facilitated by my election to a Junior Research Fellowship at Wolfson College, Oxford, which provided me with a stimulating academic environment for two years (1974-76). Two of the College's Senior Fellows, Sir Ronald Syme and the late Sir John Addis, both took considerable interest in my work and imparted freely of their considerable learning and mature judgement. It is indeed sad that the work was not completed before Sir John's sudden death in 1983.

Many fellow Manichaean scholars have kept my knowledge of the subject up to date by generously sending me their publications. I am particularly grateful to regular communications from Professors Asmussen, Boyce, Henrichs, Klimkeit, Koenen and Ries, and from Drs Coyle, Sundermann, Stroumsa and Zieme. Mr Lin Wu-shu not only sent me his own works on Manichaeism but those of other Chinese scholars and has kindly translated two of my earlier articles on the subject into Chinese for publication in the People's Republic of China.

My wife Judith has shared with me many of the joys and excitements of my research. Despite pressures of motherhood and her own academic work, she has found time to be my most valuable help and critic. Her loving care has sustained me throughout the writing of the book and has made the experience of it immensely enjoyable. My parents too gave me much encouragement and support, and to my late father especially I owe my love of the study of history.

The publication of this book was made possible by a generous grant from the British Academy. I would also like to thank the Research and Innovation Fund of Warwick University for a further subvention towards the cost of publication and the Spalding Trust for a grant towards the cost of preparing the final manuscript.

The Nuffield Foundation deserves to be mentioned although it has not directly funded the research for this book. It has generously supported my research into two related areas: Romano-Persian relations and the comparative study of Byzantine and Chinese (Buddhist) hagiography. Both these projects yielded much useful background information for this book and I would like to thank the many scholars who have assisted me with them, especially Mrs Marna Morgan, Mrs Doris Dance and my wife Dr Judith Lieu. Much of the first edition of the book was written during our three happy years of residence at Queen's

College, Birmingham, and we both owe much to the friendship of its staff and students as well as its excellent library facilities.

Preface to the Second Edition

The kind invitation by Prof. Martin Hengel to me and my wife to spend an academic year at Tübingen Universität as Humboldt Stipendiaten in 1989-90 not only provided me with the time but also with excellent facilities to expand and update my work. My wife and I would like to record our heartfelt thanks to Prof. Hengel and his wife for their generous hospitality. I would also like to thank him for offering to publish the second edition of my work in the monograph series of which Prof. Hengel is the joint-editor. The unstinting support of the Humboldt Stiftung, in the provision both of a Stipendium and of travel grants, enabled me to use the excellent library facilities in more than one academic institution in both the Federal Republic of Germany and the then German Democratic Republic. I am particularly grateful to Prof. Böhlig for much helpful discussion on Manichaean texts in Coptic and for the kind hospitality shown to us by him and his wife while we were in Tübingen. I am grateful too to Dr Sundermann of the Akademie der Wissenschaften (Berlin) for an invitation to lecture at the Akademie and for much helpful discussion on Manichaean texts in Middle Iranian. We would also like to thank him and his wife for their kindness during our brief stay in Berlin. I am grateful too to Dr Sundermann's colleague, Dr Thilo, for showing me the then unpublished fragments of Chinese Manichaean texts from Turfan.

To Mrs Jean Dodgeon and Mrs Sheila Vince I owe an enormous debt for their help with the task of proof-reading. Their alertness has saved me from a host of embarrassing errors and I alone am responsible for those which have gone undetected. I would also like to thank Dr Iain Gardner of Edith Cowan University, Western Australia, Dr Erica Hunter of the Oriental Faculty of Cambridge University and my colleague Frank Beetham for much helpful advice, especially on points of translation from Coptic, Syriac and Classical texts. Since returning from Germany, I have become co-director of the Data Base of Manichaean Texts and Dictionary of Manichaean Terms and Concepts projects. To my co-directors, Dr Peter Bryder (Lund) and Prof. Aloïs van Tongerloo (Leuven), and their wives, I would like to express my gratitude for their support and hospitality. I have been able to derive much useful material from the project for the preparation of the text of this second edition and I would like to thank the main grant-givers of the project, i.e. the British Academy, the Royal Swedish Academy of History and Letters, the Society of Antiquaries (London), the Spalding Trust, and the Committee for Research and Innovation of Warwick University for their generous support. Finally, I would like to thank Dr Rachel Parkin and Mr. Ian Drummond of Computer Services of Warwick University for the help which they have offered me in the production of the camera-ready manuscript of this book. The generous provision of a machine-readable version of the *Codex Manichaicus Coloniensis* by Prof. L. Koenen

(Ann Arbor, Michigan and Köln) greatly eased the task of type-setting the citations from the *Codex* in the foot-notes. I am also grateful to his colleague at Köln, Dr Cornelia Römer, for enabling me and my wife to examine parts of the *Codex*. Finally I would like to thank the editor(s) of the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* for permission to reproduce a long citation from Prof. D. N. MacKenzie's translation of Mani's *Šābuhragān* in the second chapter of this book and Penguin Books (London) for permission (by arrangement) to reproduce Map 4, "The Silk Road from China to the Roman Orient", from W. Willetts *Chinese Art*, I (London, 1958) as Map 2 in this book.

Information concerning a new discovery of Manichaean texts at Kellis in Egypt by archaeologists working under the leadership of Dr Jeffrey Jenkins of Melbourne University, Australia, reached me when the manuscript of this second edition was already in the final stages of completion. As it will be several years before the texts are fully accessible to scholars, I have decided to proceed with the publication of this second edition in the hope that it will be of use to scholars working on the newly discovered texts.

Samuel N. C. Lieu
Warwick University
December, 1991

Abbreviations

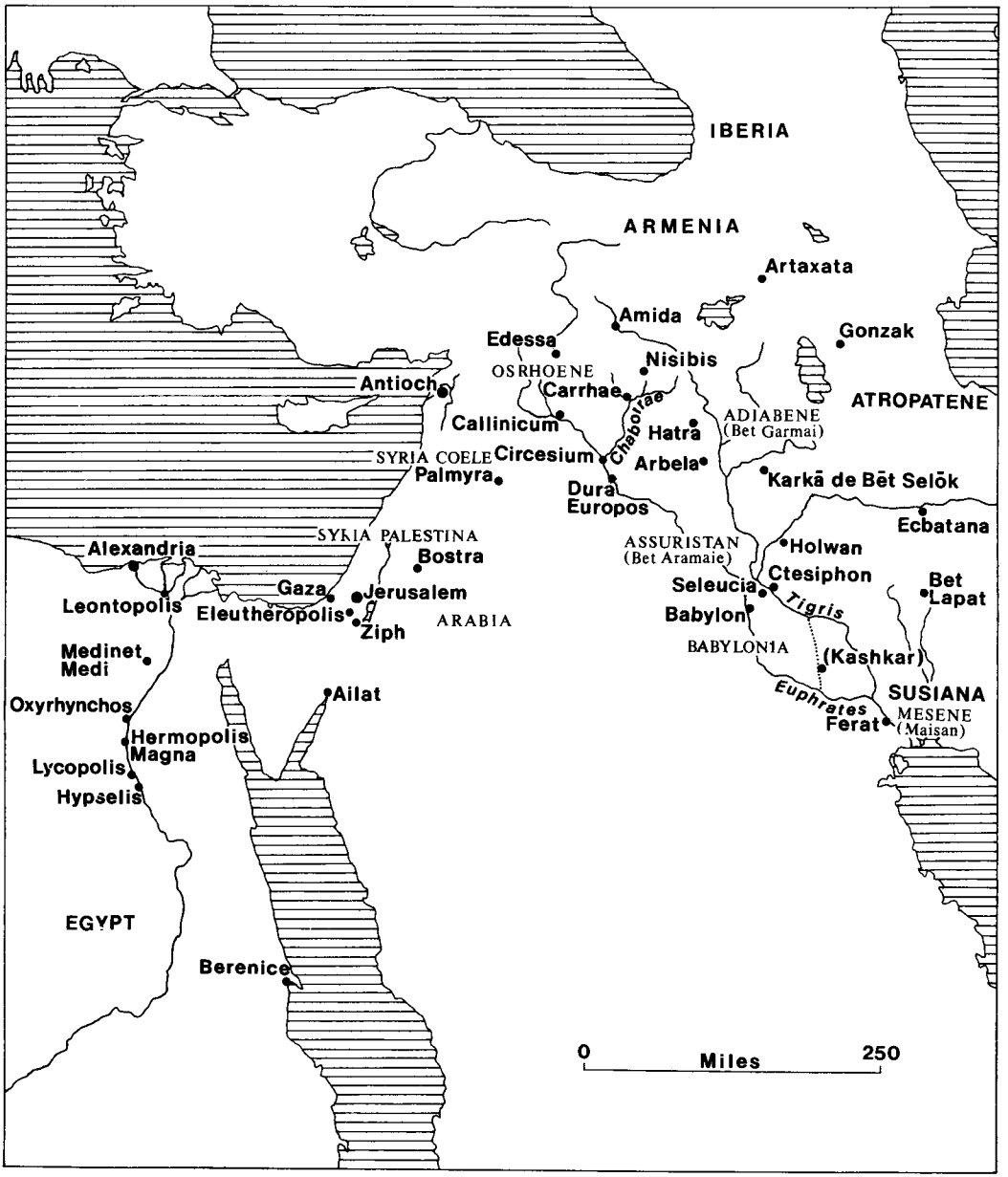
ACO	*Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum*, ed. E. Schwartz *et al.* (Strassburg, 1914 ff.)
ADAW	Abhandlungen der deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften (Berlin, 1947 ff.)
AE	*L'Année Épigraphique*, published in *Revue Archéologique* and separately, Paris, 1888 ff.).
Alex. Lyc.	Alexander Lycopolitanus (see Bibliog. I. b. 2)
Amm. Marc.	Ammianus Marcellinus (see Bibliog. I. b. 2)
AMS	*Acta Martyrum et Sanctorum*, ed. P. Bedjan, 7 vols. (Paris, 1890-97)
ANRW	*Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*, edd. H. Temporini *et al.* (Berlin, 1972 ff.)
AoF	*Altorientalische Forschungen* (Berlin)
APAW	Abhandlungen der königlichen preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (Berlin, 1815-1907; philosoph.-hist. Kl., 1908-49)
Arab.	Arabic
Aram.	Aramaic
Ath.	Athanasius (see Bibliog. I. b. 2)
Aug.	Aurelius Augustinus (see Bibliog. I. b. 2)
BBB	W. B. Henning, *Ein manichäisches Bet- und Beichtbuch*, APAW 1936, X.
BEFEO	*Bulletin de l'École Francaise d'Extrême-Orient.*
BSO(A)S	*Bulletin of the School of Oriental (and African) Studies*
Catalogue	M. Boyce, *A Catalogue of the Iranian manuscripts in Manichaean Script in the German Turfan collection* (Berlin, 1960)
CCSG	Corpus Christianorum, Series Graeca (Turnhout, 1977 ff.)
CCSL	Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina (Turnhout 1967 ff.)
CFHB	Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae (Washington, D.C. etc. 1967 ff.)
CHI III	*Cambridge History of Iran*, Vol. III, ed. E. Yarshater, 2 parts, (Cambridge, 1983).
Chin.	Chinese
CJ	*Codex Justinianus* (see Bibliog. I. b. 2)
CMC Atti 1984	*Codex Manichaicus Coloniensis, Atti del Simposio Internazionale (Rende-Anatea 3-7 settembre1984)*, edd. L. Cirillo and A. Roselli (Cosenza, 1986)
CMC Atti 1988	*Codex Manichaicus Coloniensis, Atti del Secondo Simposio Internazionale (Cosenza 27-28 maggio 1988)*, ed. L. Cirillo (Cosenza, 1990).

CMC	Codex Manichaicus Coloniensis (see Bibliog. I. b. 2)
CMC Concordanze	*Codex Manichaicus Coloniensis, Concordanze*, (edd.) L. Cirillo, A. Concolino Mancini and A. Roselli (Cosenza, 1985)
coll.	*Lex Dei sive Mosaicarum et Romanarum legum collatio* (see Bibliog. I. b. 2)
Copt.	Coptic
Copt./Gr.	Coptic word of Greek origin
CSCO	Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium (Paris, Louvain etc. 1903 ff.)
CSEL	Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum (Vienna, 1866 ff.)
CSHB	Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae, 49 vols. (Bonn, 1828-78)
CT	*Codex Theodosianus* (see Bibliog. I. b. 2)
Cyr. H.	Cyrillus Hierosolymitanus (see Bibliog. I. b. 2)
Cyr. S.	Cyrillus Scythopolitanus (see Bibliog. I. b. 2)
EI	*Encyclopaedia Iranica*, edd. E. Yarshater *et al.* (London, 1982 ff.)
Epiph.	Epiphanius Constantensis (see Bibliog. I. b. 2)
EPRO	*Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'Empire Romain* (Leiden)
Eth.	Ethiopic
Eus.	Eusebius Caesariensis (see Bibliog. I. b. 2)
FHG	*Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, ed. C. Müller, 5 vols. (Paris, 1841-70).
FIRA	*Fontes Iuris Romani Anteiustiniani*, ed. S. Riccobono *et al.*, 3 vols. (Florence, 1968)
FTTC	*Fo-tsu-t'ung-chi* (see Bibliog. I.c)
GCS	Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte (Leipzig 1897-1941; Berlin and Leipzig, 1953; Berlin 1954 ff.)
GGM	*Geographici Graeci Minores*, ed. C. Müller, 2 vols. (Paris, 1855 and 1861)
Gnosis, III	A. Böhlig and J. P. Asmussen (edd. and transs.), *Die Gnosis*, III, *Der Manichäismus* (Zürich and Munich, 1980)
Gr.	Greek
[Hegem].	[Hegemonius], *Acta Archelai* (see Bibliog. I. b. 2)
Hieron.	Hieronymus (see Bibliog. I. b. 2)
HJAS	*Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*
HO	*Handbuch der Orientalistik* (Leiden and Cologne, 1952 ff.)
Hom.	*Manichäische Homilien*, ed. and trans. H. J. Polotsky (Stuttgart, 1934)
HR ii	F. W. K. Müller, *Handschriften-Reste in Estrangelo-Schrift aus Turfan, Chinesisch-Turkistan* II, aus den Anhang zu den APAW, 1904, pp. 1-117.
Hymn-Cycles	M. Boyce, *Manichaean Hymn-Cycles in Parthian* (Oxford, 1954)
Io. D.	Iohannes Damascenus (see Bibliog. I. b. 2)

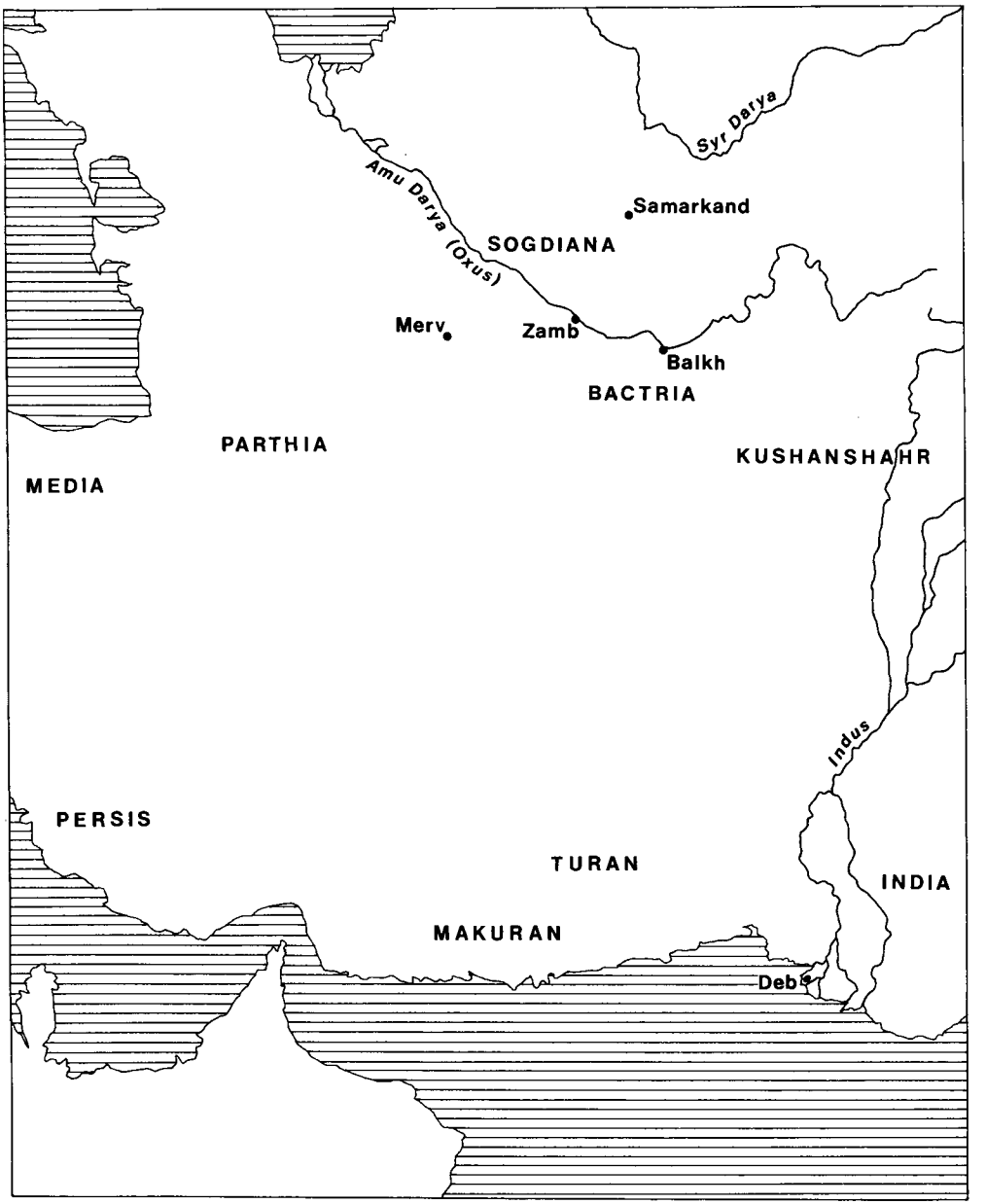
Iren.	Irenaeus Lugdunensis (see Bibliog. I. b. 2) '
JRAS	*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (London)
JRS	*Journal of Roman Studies*
JTS	*Journal of Theological Studies*
Keph.	*Kephalaia*, edd. and transs. H. J. Polotsky and A. Böhlig (Stuttgart, 1940 ff.)
KKZ	M. L. Chaumont, 'L'inscription de Kartir à la "Ka'bah de Zoroastre" (texte, traduction commentaire)', *Journal Asiatique*, CCXLVIII (1960) pp. 339-80
KPT	W. Sundermann, *Mittelpersische und parthische kosmogonische und Parabeltexte der Manichäer*, Berliner Turfantexte IV (Berlin, 1973)
KNR	Kerdir's Inscription at Naqsh-i Rustam ed. and trans. D. N. MacKenzie in *Iranische Denkmäler*, Reihe 2, Lief. 13 (Berlin, 1989) pp. 35-61.
KSM	P. Gignoux, 'L'inscription de Kartîr à Sar Mašhad', *Journal Asiatique*, CCLVI, (1968) pp. 387-418
Lat.	Latin
lib. pontif.	*liber pontificalis* (see Bibliog. I. b. 2)
Mahrnâmag	F. W. K. Müller, *Ein Doppelblatt aus einem manichäischen Hymnenbuch (Mahrnâmag)* APAW, 1912
Mani-Fund	C. Schmidt and H. J. Polotsky, 'Ein Mani-Fund in Ägypten', *SPAW*, 1933, I, pp. 4-90
Mansi	J. D. Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova et Amplissima Collectio*, 31 vols. (Florence, 1759-98)
MCPCBL	*The Manichaean Coptic Papyri in the Chester Beatty Library*, ed. S. Giversen, Facsimile Edition, 4 vols., Cahiers D'Orientalisme XIV-XVII, Geneva, 1986-88)
MGH (Auct. Ant.)	*Monumenta Germaniae Historica (Auctores Antiquissimi)*, 15 vols. (Berlin, 1877-1919)
MM i-iii	F. C. Andreas and W. B. Henning, *Mitteliranische Manichaica aus Chinesisch-Turkestan I*, SPAW X, 1932, pp. 175-222; II, ibid. 1933, VII, pp. 294-363 and III, ibid. 1934, XXVII, pp. 848-912
MMTKGI	W. Sundermann, *Mitteliranische manichäische Texte kirchengeschichtlichen Inhalts*, Berliner Turfantexte XI (Berlin, 1981)
MNCHPT	*Mo-ni-chiao hsia-pu tsan* (see Bibliog. I.c)
MNKFCFIL	*Mo-ni kuang-fo chiao-fa i-lüeh* (see Bibliog. I.c)
MTT	P. Zieme, *Manichäisch-türkische Texte*, Berliner Turfantexte V (Berlin, 1975)
MZL	O. Klíma, *Manis Zeit und Leben* (Prague, 1962)
NHC, NHL	*Nag Hammadi Codices*, cf. *The Nag Hammadi Library in English*, ed. J. M. Robinson (Leiden, 1977)
NHS	*Nag Hammadi Studies* (Leiden)
NT Apoc. Eng.	E. Hennecke, *New Testament Apocrypha*, ed. W. Schneemelcher, trans. and ed. R. McL. Wilson, 2 vols. (London, 1963-65)

NTApok.[5]	W. Schneemelcher (ed.), *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen in deutscher Übersetzung*, 5. Auflage der von Edgar Hennecke begründeten Sammlung, 2 vols. (Tübingen, 1987 and 1989).
OGIS	*Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae*, ed. W. Dittenberger, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1903-5)
Or.	Origenes (see Bibliog. I.a.2)
Pe.	Middle Persian
PG	*Patrologiae cursus completus, series Graeco-Latina*, edd. J. P. Migne *et al.*, 162 vols. (Paris, 1857-66)
PL	*Patrologiae cursus completus*, series, Latina, edd. J. P. Migne *et al.*, 221 vols. (Paris 1844-64) and 5 Suppl. (1958-74)
PLRE, I	A. H. M. Jones, J. R. Martindale and J. Morris, *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*, I (Cambridge, 1971)
PO	*Patrologia Orientalis*, edd. R. Graffin and F. Nau (Paris, 1907 ff.)
Pos.	Possidius (see Bibliog. I. b. 2)
PS	*Patrologia Syriaca*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1893-1926)
Ps.-Bk.	*A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, I, Pt. 2, ed. and trans. C. R. C. Allberry (Stuttgart, 1938)
PSCTC	*Po-ssu-chiao ts'an-ching* (see Bibliog. I.c)
Pth.	Parthian
PW	A. Pauly, *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, ed. G. Wissowa (Stuttgart 1893 ff.)
RÉA	*Revue des études arméniennes* (Paris).
Reader	M. Boyce, *A Reader in Manichaean Middle Persian and Parthian*, Acta Iranica IX (Tehran-Liège, 1975)
RLByz.	*Reallexikon der Byzantinistik*, ed. P. Wirth (Leiden, 1969 ff.)
Šb.	*Šābuhragān*, ed. D. N. MacKenzie, 'Mani's *Šābuhragān*', *BSOAS* XLII/3 (1979), pp. 500-34 and 'Mani's *Šābuhragān* - II', *ibid.* XLII/3 (1980), pp. 288-310.
SC	*Sources Chrétiennes* (Paris, 1940 ff.)
SEG	*Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* (Berlin, 1923ff.).
SHA	*Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (see Bibliog. I. b. 2)
SHYCK	*Sung-hui-yao chi-kao* (see Bibliog. I.c)
SKZ	Inscription of Shapur at the Ka'ba of Zoroaster (see Bibliog. I. b. 2: *Res Gestae Divi Saporis*)
Sogd.	Sogdian
SPAW	*Sitzungsberichte der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin* (Berlin, 1882-1921; philos.-hist. Kl., 1922-49)
T	*Taishō shinshu daizōkyō*, (The Tripitaka in Chinese, Tokyo, 1924-29)
TAVO	Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients (Wiesbaden)
Tert.	Tertullianus
Texte	A. Adam, *Texte zum Manichäismus*, Kleine Texte für Vorlesungen und Übungen, CLXXV, 2nd edn. (Berlin, 1969)
Thdt.	Theodoretus Cyrrhensis (see Bibliog. I. b. 2)
TMC i-iii	A. von Le Coq, *Türkische Manichaica aus Chotscho*, I, APAW, 1911; II, ibid. 1919 and II, ibid. 1922

Traité 1911 and 1913	E. Chavannes and P. Pelliot, 'Un traité manichéen retrouvé en Chine', *Journal Asiatique*, 10^{e} sér., XVIII (1911) pp. 499-617 and *ibid.* 11^{e} sér., I (1913) pp. 99-199 and 261-392
TTT i-v and Index	W. Bang and A. von Gabain, 'Türkische Turfantexte I', *SPAW*, 1929, pp. 241-68; II, *ibid.* 1929, pp. 441-30; III, ibid. 1930, pp. 183-211, IV, *ibid.* 1930, pp. 432-50; V, *ibid.* 1931, pp. 323-56, 'Analytischer Index', *ibid.* 1931, pp. 461-517
TTT ix	A. von Gabain and W. Winter, *Türkische Turfantexte IX, Ein Hymnus an den Vater Mani auf 'Tocharisch' B mit alttürkischer Übersetzung*, ADAW 1956, II (Berlin, 1958)
TU	Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur (Leipzig and Berlin).
W.-L. i-ii	E. Waldschmidt and W. Lentz, *Die Stellung Jesu im Manichäismus*, APAW 1926, 4; 'Manichäische Dogmatik aus chinesischen und iranischen Texten', *SPAW* 1933, 13, pp. 480-607.
ZDMG	*Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*
ZNW	*Zeitschrift für neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der alteren Kirche*
Zos.	Zosimus Historicus (see Bibliog. I. b. 2)
ZPE	*Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*
ZRGG	*Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte*



The Near East in the Time of Mani


Syr Darya
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Indus
PERSIS
TURAN
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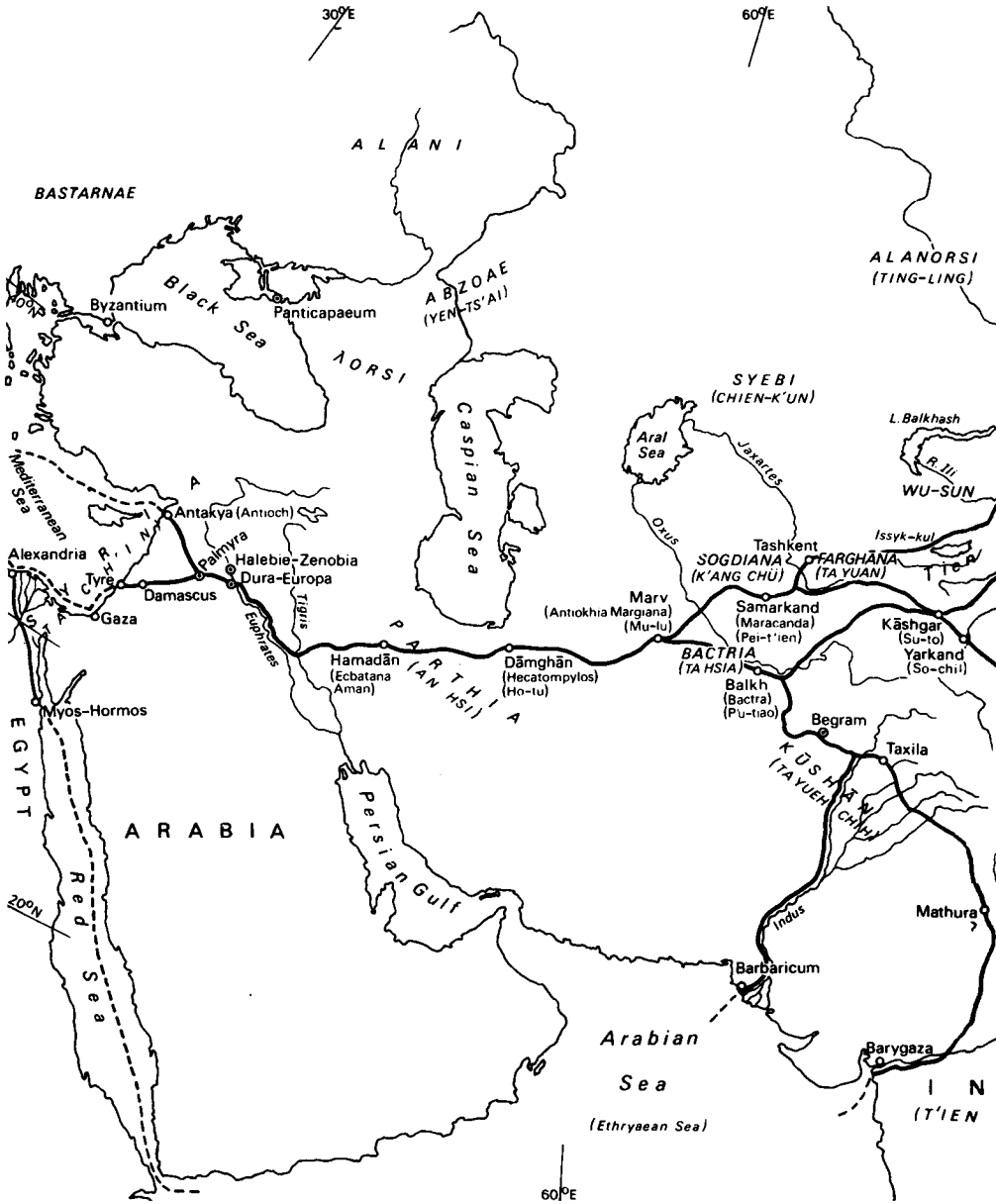
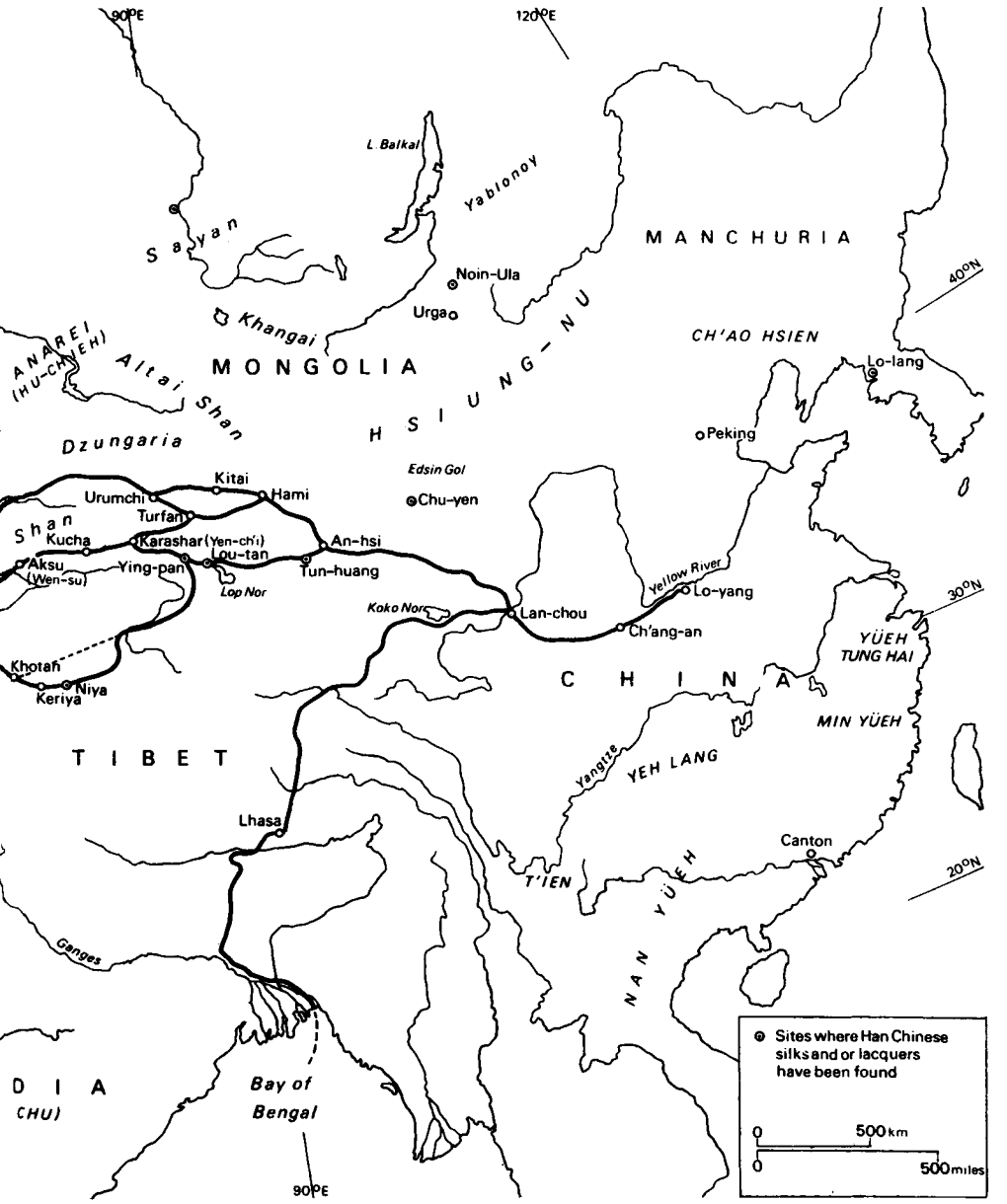


The Silk Road from China to the Roman Orient (from R. Willets, *Chinese Art)*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Urga
Khangai
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Lo-lang
ANAREI (HU-CH'I-EH)
Altai Shan
MONGOLIA
HSIUNG-NU
Dzungaria
Peking
Edsin Gol
Chu-yen
Kitai
Hami
Urumchi
Turfan
Shan
Kucha
Karashar (Yen-ch'i)
An-hsi
Lou-tan
Aksu (Wen-su)
Ying-pan
Lop Nor
Tun-huang
Yellow River
Lo-yang
30°N
Koko Nor
Lan-chou
Ch'ang-an
YÜEH TUNG HAI
Khotan
Niya
Keriya
CHINA
MIN YÜEH
TIBET
Yangtze
YEH LANG
Lhasa
Canton
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Ganges
Bay of Bengal
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Sites where Han Chinese silks and or lacquers have been found
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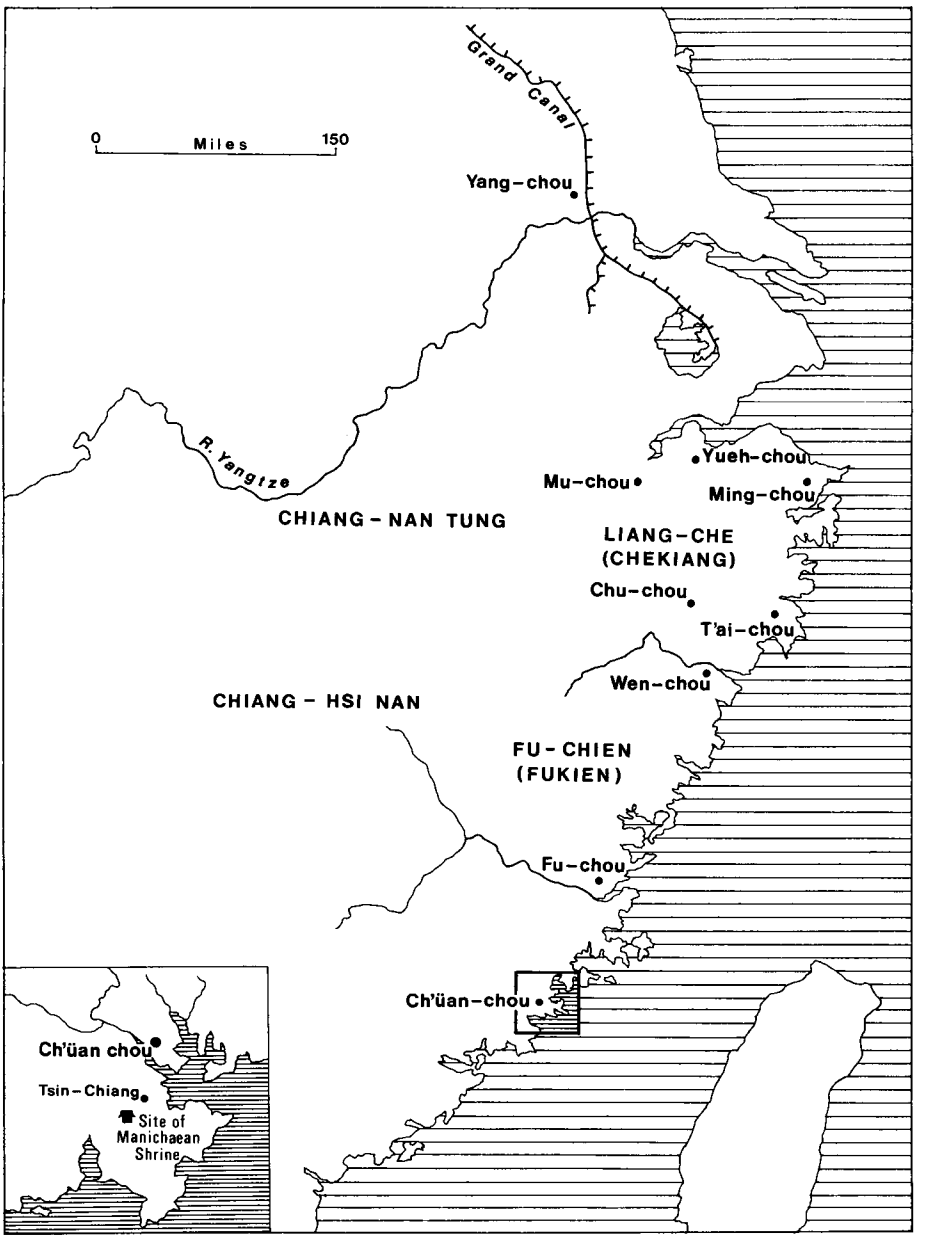
0 500 miles



Map of South China showing places mentioned in Chapter IX

Chapter One

The Gnosis of Mani

(1) Mesopotamia in the Late Parthian Period

The social and political history of Mesopotamia, the Land of the Two Rivers, in the pre-Islamic period is characterised by periodic changes of hegemony.[1] The cycle of ancient empires which earned the region the epithet of 'the Cradle of Civilisation' was completed by the coming to power of the Persians under Cyrus the Great (559-529 B. C.). In its heyday the Achaemenid Empire held complete sway over the Near East from the foothills of the Hindu Kush to the straits of the Bosporus and the sandy wastes of Libya. This first ever world empire was brought abruptly to an end by the brilliant victories of Alexander of Macedon, especially his defeat of Darius at Gaugamela (331 B. C.) which gave him control of Mesopotamia and Iran.[2] After his death Greek political domination and cultural influence were maintained in the region by the Seleucids who, after the treaty of 278 B. C. with Macedon, were confirmed in their possession of the eastern provinces of Alexander's empire.[3] Seleucus I Nicator (*c.* 358-281 B. C.) founded a new and important city on the right bank of the Tigris some ninety miles north-east of the ancient city of Babylon.[4] Throughout the Hellenistic period, the city of Seleucia was a thriving outpost of Greek culture as well as being a prosperous river-port and the administrative capital of the eastern half of the Seleucid empire.[5] Although Greek culture in Mesopotamia was largely an urban affair and enjoyed mainly by the upper echelons of society, it contributed to the region's cosmopolitan outlook and laid the foundations for westward diffusion of oriental ideas and cultural influences, especially those of a religious nature, from the more Hellenised regions of the Near East such as Syria, Palestine, Asia Minor and Egypt.[6]

The Parthians who became overlords of Mesopotamia *c.* 141 B. C. were determined to preserve the social and economic structure of the region and to this end they openly expressed their admiration for Greek culture, especially in

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[1] Cf. Larsen, 'The tradition of empire', pp. 77-90 and *PW*, *s. v.* 'Mesopotamien', cols. 1134.51-1140.10 (Schachermeyr).

[2] On Alexander in Mesopotamia, see esp. Schachermeyr, *Alexander in Babylon*, *passim*, and Berve, *Alexanderreich*, I, pp. 258-59, 260-63, 292-96.

[3] Justinus, XXV,1,1. Cf. *PW*, *s. v.* 'Antiochos I (21) Soter', col. 2453.19-31 (Wellmann).

[4] Appianus, *Syriaca* 58. Cf. Hopkins, *Topography*, pp. 149-50, *PW*, *s. v.* 'Seleukeia (am Tigris)', cols. 1160.18-1162.26 (Streck) and Oppenheimer, *Babylonia Judaica*, pp. 207-223.

[5] Cf. Hopkins, *Topography*, pp. 154-55 and *PW*, *art. cit.*, cols. 1164,44-1166,38 and 1169,31-1170,35. See also Neusner, *History*, I, pp. 6-10.

[6] On the limitations of Hellenism in Mesopotamia and especially the acceptance of non-Greek elements by royal administration, see Sherwin-White, 'Seleucid Babylonia', pp. 15-30.

the fields of art and architecture.[7] Documents and inscriptions of this period found in Dura Europos, Susa and Avrōmān show that Greek remained in use as an administrative language in former Greek colonies of Mesopotamia and the adjacent parts of Iran.[8] The importance of the Greek communities and their culture within the Parthian empire was clearly recognised by the Arsacids, who chose to strike coins with legends in a debased Greek alphabet which displayed among others the title of 'Philhellenos'.[9] The propaganda value of Parthian cultural policy towards the Greeks in the Near East, however, diminished rapidly as the Greeks of Europe and Asia Minor found a new champion of Hellenism in the emergent power of Rome. The initial conflict between the Roman and Parthian empires saw the complete defeat of Crassus near Carrhae in 53 B. C. and the severe mauling of Mark Antony's legions in Media seventeen years later.[10] The victories brought Parthian control to Upper Mesopotamia and for much of the early part of the Common Era Rome remained on the defensive. The disaster which befell Crassus served as a salutary warning against ill-conceived ventures across the Euphrates.

Within Mesopotamia, the metropolis of Seleucia was little affected by the change of hegemony. The city was not stormed and suffered nothing more serious than verbal reprimands from the Parthians when her inhabitants were accused of aiding the Seleucids and later the Romans.[11] She was even spared from having a Parthian garrison as the Arsacids appreciated her strategic and economic importance by establishing their winter capital at the former Greek settlement of Ctesiphon on the opposite bank of the river.[12] From there, they could enjoy the cultural life and the economic benefits which the Greek city had to offer. A much-quoted example of the popularity of Greek culture among the Parthian royals is that it was in the middle of a performance of Euripides' *Bacchae* at the court that the severed head of the defeated Crassus was brought on stage as part of the mutilated limbs of Pentheus.[13] The city minted its own coins and retained its political institutions into the first century A. D. According to Tacitus, Seleucia still possessed a senate of three hundred citizens chosen for their wealth and wisdom as late as the last years of Tiberius (Augustus from 14-31 A. D.). Tacitus' remark that when the senate and the people were at one they were united in their contempt for the Parthians and when they were at odds with each other they played the Parthians to their advantage testifies to the level of

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[7] On this, see esp. Neusner, *History*, I, pp. 16-23 and *idem*, 'Parthian political ideology', pp. 40-59.

[8] Dura Europos: Welles *et al.* (edd.), *Parchments and Papyri*, docs. 18-20, 22, 24 etc., p. 98ff. Susa: Welles, *Royal Correspondence*, Doc. LXXV, pp. 299-306. Avrōmān: Minns, 'Parchments', pp. 29-30 and Nyberg, 'Pahlavi Documents', p. 209.

[9] See e.g. McDowell, *Coins*, p. 61 ff. See also Welles *et al.* (edd.), *Parchments and Papyri*, doc. 18, line 1, p. 100.

[10] Crassus: Plutarchus, *Crassus* 14,4-27,2, edd. Lindskog and Ziegler, and Dio Cassius, XL,21-4; Antony: Plutarchus, *Antonius* 38,2-52,3, edd. Lindskog and Ziegler.

[11] Strabo, *geographia* XVI,1,16, Diodorus Siculus, XXXIV,19 and Plutarchus, *Crassus* 32, 1-6, edd. Lindskog and Ziegler. Cf. Debevoisse, *Political History*, p. 22, esp. n. 99.

[12] On Ctesiphon, see esp. Oppenheimer, *Babylonia Judaica*, pp. 198-207.

[13] Plutarchus, *Crassus* 33,1-5, edd. Lindskog and Ziegler.

autonomy which the city enjoyed despite the closeness of the Parthian capital.[14] Greek culture continued to flourish in former Hellenistic foundations in Parthian-held Mesopotamia and they may have even attracted Greek immigrants from adjacent parts of the Roman empire.[15]

For most of the first century A. D., Armenia and the upper reaches of the Euphrates rather than Mesopotamia, were the scene of military confrontation between Rome and Parthia.[16] Trajan's annexation of Arabia and the Nabataean kingdoms in 105, of Armenia in 114, and his lightning invasion of Mesopotamia resulted in a major southward shift of Rome's eastern frontiers.[17] By means of a well co-ordinated two-pronged attack, Trajan threw the Parthian defences in Mesopotamia completely off-balance.[18] His capture of Ctesiphon and his eventual arrival at the head of the Persian Gulf showed the vulnerability of this important region of the Parthian empire to a determined Roman thrust down the Euphrates. Although Rome soon withdrew from Babylonia, her control over Upper Mesopotamia was now much firmer. Under the Antonines, Ctesiphon was once more raided by Roman forces, but of much greater strategic significance was the absorption of the kingdom of Osrhoene centred round the city of Edessa (ancient and modern Urfa), which became a Roman province after the successful eastern campaigns of Lucius Verus in 163-6.[19] At the same time, Nisibis with its surrounding territory of Mygdonia became a Roman city and was later rewarded with the title of *colonia* by Septimius Severus.[20] Edessa also became a *colonia* before 213/4, as indicated by a dated Syriac manuscript from Dura Europos.[21] The latter, itself an important Hellenistic foundation, passed into Roman control in 165 and became one of Rome's line of watch-posts on the Euphrates which kept open both the important trade route to Palmyra and the invasion route to the Parthian capital.[22] This gradual extension of Roman power into Upper Mesopotamia gave Rome several vantage-points from which she could launch attacks against Parthian held Babylonia and the Trans-Tigritanian territories. The brief flag-showing campaign of Septimius Severus in 197/8 led once more to the flight of the Parthian court from Ctesiphon, and the ease with which this phase of the campaign was concluded provides ample proof of the superior position which

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[14] Tacitus, *annales*, VI,42.

[15] Cf. Welles, 'Population', p. 274.

[16] Cf. Chaumont, 'L'Arménie', pp. 101-23, Debevoisse, *Political History*, pp. 175-202 and Dillemann, *Haute Mésop.*, pp. 268-72.

[17] Dio Cassius, LXVIII,17,2 *ad fin.*, Fronto, *principia historiae*, 15, Arrianus, *Parthica*, frags. 41-78, ed. Roos, and Eutropius, VIII,3,1-2.

[18] Cf. Bertinelli, 'I Romani oltre l'Eufrate', pp. 7-22.

[19] Dio Cassius, (Reliq.) LXXI,2,3, ed. Boissevain, iii, pp. 247-48 (= Xiph., pp. 258,31-259,3). Cf. Drijvers, 'Hatra etc.', pp. 875-76.

[20] Dio Cassius, LXXV,3,2, ed. Boissevain, iii, p. 340,19-21. Cf. *PW*, *s. v.* 'Nisibis', cols. 737,43-738,14 (Sturm).

[21] Cf. Welles *et al.* (edd.), *Parchments and Papyri*, doc. 28, line 4, p. 146.

[22] *Ibid.*, pp. 5-10 and 22-46. See also *idem*, 'Population', pp. 253-54.

Rome now enjoyed on the Euphrates frontier.[23] His son Caracalla, who desired to emulate the exploits of Alexander the Great, was leading an expedition against Parthian-held Adiabene when he fell to the dagger of an assassin at Carrhae. His praetorian prefect, Opelius Macrinus, who contrived his murder, was forced to take the field against the Parthian king Artabanus IV (old numbering V) near Nisibis after failing to negotiate a peaceful withdrawal of the Roman forces. The ensuing battle was a long drawn-out affair with crippling losses to both sides. Artabanus finally agreed to disengage after learning that his arch-enemy Caracalla was, in fact, dead.[24]

Artabanus's pyrrhic victory at Nisibis was one of a series of disasters for the Parthians. Artabanus was the younger son of Vologeses V (reigned 190/1-206/7) and at the time of the Roman invasion he was contending for the Parthian throne against his elder brother, Vologeses VI, then reigning in Ctesiphon.[25] Frequent defeats by the Romans had not enhanced the reputation of the Arsacid dynasty. The intercontinental trade in silk and other exotics from which the Parthians derived considerable profit could hardly escape from the adverse effects of military set-backs along the frontier. As the Arsacids had never exercised strong central control over the provinces, the danger of secession was always present. A minor prince of Pars (Persis) by the name of Papak had declared independence from the Parthians *c.* 205-6 when Parthian attention was directed westward by the invasion of Septimius Severus.[26] Although he died two years later, his secession was not fully suppressed and he was succeeded first by his (eldest?) son Shāpūr and later by Ardashīr. The latter wasted no time in turning the secession into a full-scale revolt against the Arsacids, justifying his action by claiming vengeance for the wrongs suffered by the Iranian people since the defeat of Darius III at the hands of Alexander of Macedon.[27] Whether ancient Iranian national history could have survived so many centuries of Greek and Parthian rule to re-emerge as a rallying call is hard for us to ascertain.[28] However, his appeal to patriotism might have struck a chord of approval among the more conservative elements of the Iranian society who did not entirely approve of the liberal outlook of the cultural and religious policies of their Parthian overlords. After conquering the neighbouring

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[23] Dio Cassius, LXXXV,2-4, p. 339,1-340,7 and LXXV (Reliq. LXXVI),9,1-13,2, pp. 346,16-350,6, Herodianus, III,4, 7-5, 2 and 9, 1-12 and *SHA*, *Septimius Severus*, 15-16.

[24] Dio Cassius, LXXVII (= Reliq. LXXVIII),18,1-LXXVIII,27,5, pp. 396,28-435,18, ed. Boissevain, Herodianus, IV,10,1-15,9, and *SHA*, *Ant. Carac.*, 6,1-7,2 and *Opel. Macr.*, 8,1-2. On the Roman Wars of the last Arsacids, see especially Bivar, 'Political history', pp. 95-7 and Frye, *History*, pp. 243-44.

[25] Cf. 'Artabanus', *EI* 2.649b-650a (Schippmann).

[26] The *Chronicon Ecclesiae Arbelae*, ed. Kawerau, pp. 22,2-23,7 (text) and pp. 41-2 (trans.) speaks of a war of suppression by the Parthians against the Persians during the reign of Vologeses V. Cf. Frye, 'Political History', pp. 117-8. The uncertainty over the authenticity of this source, however, limits its usefulness to our reconstruction of the history of the last years of Arsacid rule. See below, Chapter Two, note 17.

[27] Ṭabarī, *Annales*, pp. 813-14, trans. Nöldeke, pp. 3-4. Cf. 'Ardašīr I, History', *EI* 2.372a-373a (Wiesehöfer).

[28] Cf. Yarshater, 'Were the Sasanians heirs to the Achaemenids?', *passim*, esp. p. 521 *ad fin.* See also Frye, 'Bābak', *EI* 3.298b-299a.

principalities one by one, Ardashīr finally challenged Artabanus to battle on the plain of Hormizdagān (mod. Gulbāyagān, between Isfahān and Nihāwand).[29] The result was a resounding victory for the rebels. According to al-Ṭabarī, the Arab historian who chronicled the rise of the new dynasty, Ardashīr came out of his own lines to kill Artabanus with his own hands.[30] In the same battle, his son Shāpūr also distinguished himself in valour. On that day (28 April, 224?)[31] the title of Shahanshah (king of kings) passed to Ardashīr and a new Persian dynasty, that of the Sassanians (named after a remote ancestor Sasan, who was said to have been a superintendent of a fire temple at Istakhr), was inaugurated.

Ardashīr followed the example of his Parthian predecessors in establishing a major administrative centre near to the city of Seleucia. The latter had now been eclipsed in importance by Ctesiphon. It had ceased to be a river port because some time towards the end of the first century the Tigris changed its course after a violent storm. Instead of flowing between the Hellenistic city and a hillock called Cōchē, the Tigris carved a new channel to the east of the hillock leaving a dry valley between it and Seleucia.[32] It seems that by the time of the invasion of Septimius Severus in 197/8 both Hellenistic Seleucia and the ancient city of Babylon were sparsely populated ruins.[33] However, the geographical advantages formerly enjoyed by Seleucia were appreciated by Ardashīr who founded a royal city bearing his name, Veh-Ardashīr, between the Tigris and Seleucia with its fort on the hillock of Cōchē.[34] The new city had a river frontage and together with Ctesiphon it formed a new conurbation which, although sometimes still called Seleucia-Ctesiphon, was more commonly referred to as the 'Twin Cities' (Syr. *mdynt' trtyhyn* ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܬܪܬܝܗܝܢ, Ar. *al-Mada'in*). At some stage before mid-fourth century, Veh-Aradshīr-Cōchē was the victim of a major flood with the Tigris carving a new channel through the city.[35] It was the most important of all urban centres in the Sassanian empire, yet it was not the permanent venue of the court. The Sassanians made extensive use of provincial capitals like Hamadan, Istakhr, Bishāpūr, *etc.* as centres of

[29] Ṭabarī, *Annales*, pp. 814-8, trans. Nöldeke, pp. 4-13. Cf. Christensen, *L'Iran*, pp. 84-96, Widengren, 'Establishment', pp. 733-745 and Frye, *History*, pp. 292-93

[30] Ṭabarī, *Annales*, pp. 819, trans. Nöldeke, p. 14.

[31] The date of the battle (or the day on which the rule of the Parthians ceased: 27th Nisan of the year 535 Sel.) is given only in the controversial *Chronicon Ecclesiae Arbelae*, p. 30,6-8, ed. Kawerau: ܠܡܙܢܝ ܘܡܥܒܠܐ ܒܢܝܫܐ ܘܫܢܝ. ܒܗܘܢ ܐܪܕܟܠܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܗܘܐ ܘܬܠܬܝܢ. ܘܡܠܟܘ ܠܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܦܪܣ. Cf. trans. p. 50. See also important discussion by Altheim-Stiehl in *ibid.*, pp. 15-16 and Widengren, 'Establishment', p. 744.

[32] Cf. Fiey, *Jalons*, pp. 40-42, esp. figs. I-III.

[33] Dio Cassius, (Reliq.) LXXI,2 (= Xiph., p. 259,2-3), p. 248. Cf. Hopkins, *Topography*, p. 161.

[34] Ṭabarī, *Annales*, p. 819, trans. Nöldeke, pp. 15-16. Cf. Fiey, *Jalons*, p. 44, fig. III.

[35] Cf. Oppenheimer, *Babylonia Judaica*, pp. 226-234 and Matthews, *Ammianus*, pp. 140-143. On Tigris floods recorded in Manichaean sources see e.g. *CMC* 109,14-20, edd. Koenen and Römer (cf. *ZPE* 1981, p. 217): π[εριε]|πατήcαμεν δὲ [μέχρι]|[16]c οὗ φθάcωμεν [εἰc Κτη]|ιcιφῶντοc π[ερῶντεc]. | ὁπηνίκα δὲ [οὔcηc πλή]|ρηc τῆc θαλ[άccηc οὐ προή]|[20]ειν and *Keph.* LXI, pp. 152,27-153,11. See below, pp. 76-7.

imperial administration, a custom so well-known that it is even mentioned in the Chinese dynastic history of the Wei (220-64, compiled in the sixth century).[36] The picture we sometimes get of the Sassanian empire as a highly articulated bureaucracy centred on the Twin-Cities and foreshadowing the Ummayad caliphate with its administrative tentacles emanating from Baghdad was a later development brought about by the reforms of Chosroes I (531-79).[37]

The years immediately after Hormizdagān saw the conquest of the eastern territories of the Parthians by Ardashīr. Abrašahr, Merv, Balkh, Chwārizim came under his suzerainty and he also received the submission of rulers from territories further east: Kūshānshāhr, Makūrān and Tūrān.[38] Having settled the affairs in the east to his satisfaction, Ardashīr turned his attention to his western frontiers and began to make forays across the Tigris which because of earlier Roman victories had become the boundary between the two empires instead of the Euphrates. However, his efforts to incorporate the kingdom of Armenia which was then ruled by a branch of the Arsacids into his new empire were successfully resisted.[39] He then directed his attention to readjusting his frontier with the Romans, claiming that the entire mainland facing Europe contained by the Aegean Sea and the Propontis Gulf belonged to him by ancestral right in view of his claims to be a direct descendant of the Achaemenids.[40] A contemporary Roman historian, Dio Cassius, speaks of a general lack of discipline and widespread demoralisation among the Roman troops in Mesopotamia, and large numbers of them went over to the enemy.[41] He besieged the key frontier city of Nisibis and overran parts of Cappadocia before he was checked by a full-scale offensive launched against him in 231-33 by Alexander Severus along three main invasion routes.[42] Ardashīr's gains in the west were thenceforth limited. His forces raided the garrison town of Dura Europos on the Euphrates in 239 as indicated by epigraphical evidence[43] and captured, probably in the same campaign, Carrhae and Nisibis.[44] But his left flank was exposed to attack by forces from the semi-independent Arab kingdom of Hatra on the Tigris which had remained loyal to the Parthians. Its garrison was now augmented by detachments of Roman troops, as indicated by Latin

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[36] *Wei-shu*, 102.2271.

[37] Cf. Frye, *Golden Age*, p. 8.

[38] Ṭabarī, *Annales*, pp. 819-20, trans. Nöldeke, pp. 17-18. Cf. Widengren, *art. cit.* pp. 745-56.

[39] Dio Cassius (Reliq.) LXXX,3,3 and Zonaras, XII,15, p. 572,18-19.

[40] Herodianus, VI,2,1-3,7. Cf. Dodgeon and Lieu, *Eastern Frontier*, p. 16. On Alexander Severus and Ardashīr, see esp. Potter, *Prophecy*, pp. 370-80.

[41] Dio Cassius (Reliq.) LXXX,4,1-2, pp. 475,11-476,7.

[42] Herodianus, VI,5,1-6,6, *SHA*, *Sev. Alex.*, 50,1-55,3 and Zonaras, XII,15, pp. 572,22-573,2. For other sources and commentary, see Felix, *Quellen*, pp. 29-39.

[43] *SEG* 7 (1934) 743b, lines 17-19 (Greek graffito from the house of Nebuchelus). See also *AE* 1948, 124 (Greek epitaph found in a private house in the northwestern part of the Agora complex in Dura Europos dedicated to Julius Terentius, tribune of the Twentieth Cohort of Palmyrenes, who was probably killed in the fighting).

[44] Georgius Syncellus, *chron.* A. M. 5711, p. 674,3-4 and 5731, p. 681,6-9, CSHB and Zonaras, *annales* XII,15, pp. 572,20-571,2, CSHB. See commentary in Felix, *Quellen*, p. 40.

military inscriptions found among the ruins of the city.[45] Hatra, which had earlier defied the triumphant armies of Trajan and Septimius Severus, held out for nearly a decade. It succumbed in the end to Shāpūr, son of Ardashīr, and then only through treachery and after a siege which lasted four years.[46]

(2) The Teachings of Mani

[When I was four and] twenty years old, in the year in which Dariadaxir [i.e. Ardashīr], the King of Persia, subjected the city of Hatra, and in which Sapores [i.e. Shāpūr], his son, assumed the mighty diadem, in the month of Pharmuthi on the [eighth] day according to the moon [i.e. 18/19 April, 240], the most blessed Lord had compassion on me and called me to his grace and [immediately] sent to me [from there] my Syzygos [i.e. divine twin]... He is the one who is mindful of and informs (us) of all excellent counsels that come from our Father and from the good Right (Hand) which is from the beginning.[47]

The speaker of these words and the claimant to the special divine revelation they implied was Mani, a native of Babylonia, who founded a world religion at the time when the political fortunes of the Sassanian dynasty were in the ascendant. The religion which bears his name, Manichaeism, not only found followers within Mesopotamia but also in the adjacent parts of the Roman empire and Iran within the lifetime of the founder (216-274 or 276). In the century which followed his death the religion achieved amazing missionary success in the Roman empire and came to be attacked at first as a subversive foreign religion and later as one of the most pernicious forms of Christian heresy. Although it was largely wiped out by severe persecution in the fifth and sixth centuries, it left a legacy of fear and hatred among mediaeval churchmen both in the Latin West and the Greek East. The term 'Manichaean' was used by church leaders to stigmatise the teachings of a number of Christian heretics such as the Messalians, the Paulicians and the Bogomils in Byzantium and the Paterenes and the Cathars or Albigensians in the west who had in common the view that the human body is intrinsically evil and therefore cannot be the creation of a good God. In the East, Manichaeism had established a firm base in eastern Iran

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45 Cf. Oates, 'Three Latin inscriptions', pp. 39-43 and improved texts in Drijvers, 'Hatra *etc.*', pp. 825-27. See also 'Ardašīr I, History', *EI* 2.374a/b (Wiesehöfer).

46 Ṭabarī, *Annales*, pp. 827-30, trans. Nöldeke, pp. 33-40. Cf. Drijvers, *art. cit.*, pp. 827-88 and Tubach, *Im Schatten des Sonnengottes*, pp. 236-38. That the city fell to treachery appears to be confirmed by the lack of signs of violent destruction among the extant remains. Cf. Milik, *Dédicaces*, p. 355.

47 *CMC* 17,23-19,18, pp. 10-12, edd. Koenen and Römer (cf. *ZPE*, 1975, p. 21): [ὅτε δὲ τεσσάρων καὶ εἴ]|[18,(1)]κοσι ἐτῶν ὑπῆρξα [ἐν] | τῶι ἔτει ὧι ὑπέταξεν Ἄτραν τὴν πόλιν Δαριάρ|[(4)]δαξαρ ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς Περκίδος, ἐν ὧι καὶ Σαπώρης | ὁ βασιλεὺς ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ | διάδημα μέγιστον ἀνε|[(8)]δήσατο, κατὰ τὸν μῆνα | τὸν Φαρμοῦθι ἐν τῇ ἡμ|έραι τῆς σελήνης ὁ μα|καριώτατος κ(ύ)ρ(ιο)ς ἐσπλ[αγ]|[(12)]χνίσθη ἐπ' ἐμὲ καὶ ἐκ[ά]|λεσεν εἰς τὴν αὐτοῦ χά|ριν καὶ ἀπέστειλέν μοι | [...]..υς σύζυγόν |[(16)] [μου τὸν ἐν δόξῃ μ]εγάλη | [---(octo lineae perierunt) |[19,(2)] [ὁ] μνήστωρ καὶ μη[νυτὴς] | πασῶν ἀρίστων συμβο[υ]|[(4)]λιῶν τῶν ἐκ τοῦ π(ατ)ρ(ὸ)ς τοῦ | ἡμετέρου καὶ τῆς ἀποπρὸ πρώτης δεξιᾶς ἀγαθῆς.

by the end of the fourth century and from there it would eventually be conveyed even further eastwards along the Silk Road to Bactria, Tochara and the Tarim Basin. In the eighth century it became the state religion of the Uighur Turks, one of the main military powers on the northern frontiers of China. Under their patronage the religion enjoyed greater diffusion in China. After the eclipse of the first Uighur empire in the ninth century, the religion continued to thrive in the Tarim Basin until the rise of Genghis Khan. In China it also survived as a secret religion in the southern coastal regions and traces of it can be found in the province of Fukien as late as the sixteenth century. The geographical spread of Manichaeism over the Eurasian land-mass rivals that of Islam and Christianity and its success is all the more remarkable in that it was achieved without military conquest and enforced conversions or the accompaniment of more advanced technology.

The principal elements of Mani's teaching are contained in a canon of seven works which he wrote in the Aramaic dialect of southern Mesopotamia. They are: (1) the *Living Gospel*, (2) the *Treasure of Life*, (3) the *Pragmateia*, (4) the *Book of Mysteries*, (5) the *Book of the Giants*, (6) the *Letters*, (7) *Psalms and Prayers*.[48] In addition, he made a summary of the main points of his teaching in Middle Persian which he presented to Shāpūr I, with whom he had a particularly cordial relationship. This work, the *Šābuhragān*, was so important that one sometimes finds it listed in the canon in place of *Psalms and Prayers*.[49] None of these works has survived in a complete form, but a considerable number of citations from them can be found in the writings of the Church Fathers and in Syriac and Arabic writers who used them to demonstrate the absurdity of Mani's teaching. Fortunately, we are now no longer entirely reliant on these polemical writers for information on Mani's teaching and the text of his works. The extant corpus of genuine Manichaean texts has grown considerably since the end of the last century. From 1904-14, in four expeditions to Central Asia, German archaeologists led by Professors Albert von Le Coq and A. Grünwedel brought back to Berlin from sites of ruined Manichaean monasteries at Turfan in Sinkiang (China) several thousand fragments of Manichaean texts. These once constituted handsomely bound and beautifully illuminated manuscript codices but they had been mutilated by zealous Islamic conquerors in the fourteenth century. The texts are written in a number of Central Asian languages but Middle Persian, Parthian, Sogdian and Uighur predominate.[50] In 1905 came the news of the discovery of a large hoard of manuscripts, mostly Chinese Buddhist texts, by Aurel Stein in the Temple of the Thousand Buddhas at Tun-huang. Among them were three Manichaean texts in Chinese as well as a long confessional for the Manichaean Hearers in Uighur.[51]

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[48] *Keph.* I, p. 7, 23-6, *Hom.* p. 25,2-6 and *MNKFCFIL*, 1880b,14-21. Cf. Tardieu, *Le Manichéisme*, pp. 64-7.

[49] See, e.g. al-Nadim, *Fihrist*, trans. Dodge, p. 798; Flügel, *Mani*, p. 103. Cf. Polotsky, *Abriss*, cols. 244,63-245,5.

[50] See esp. *Catalogue*, pp. ix-xxi. On fragments of Manichaean texts in Chinese from Turfan, see now Thilo, 'Einigie Bemerkungen', *passim*.

[51] Cf. Lieu, 'New light' pp. 401-05.

The West too made its contributions to this growing body of Manichaean texts. A Latin Manichaean manuscript was found in a cave near Tebessa (Theveste) in Algeria in 1918.[52] More significantly, a sizeable collection of Manichaean codices in Coptic was shown to Professor Carl Schmidt in 1930 by an Egyptian dealer in Cairo, and their place of origin was eventually traced to Medinet Madi in the Fayoum near the former Hellenistic military settlement of Narmouthis.[53] The find, totalling some two thousand leaves, contained: (1) the *Letters* of Mani, (2) the *Psalm-Book*,[54] (3) the *Kephalaia of the Teacher* (i.e. Mani),[55] (4) the *Kephalaia of the Wisdom of my Lord Mani* ,[56] (5) *Synaxes (commentary?) on the Living Gospel*, (6) a historical work which gave a life of Mani and the early history of the sect, (7) the *Homilies*,[57] (8) some unidentifiable leaves.[58] Part of this find was acquired by the Chester Beatty collection in London (now Dublin), but the greater part of it went to the Prussian Academy in Berlin. The *Letters* and the historical work which were housed in Berlin were unfortunately lost in the chaotic aftermath of the second world war before they could be properly examined and studied.[59]

These newly discovered texts have greatly enriched our knowledge of Manichaeism, although they have not yielded a canon of Mani's writings. The loss of the *Letters* from Berlin has deprived us of possessing a canonical work in its entirety. However, the texts from Turfan have so far yielded a number of fragments from the canonical works, especially from the *Book of the Giants*

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52 Cf. Alfaric, 'Un manuscrit', *passim*. Text reproduced in *PL Suppl.* 2.1378-88 and new critical edition by Merkelbach, 'Der manichäische Codex von Tebessa' in Bryder (ed.) *Manichaean Studies*, pp. 235-64.

53 Cf. *Mani-Fund, passim*

54 The second and better preserved part of the *Psalm-Book* containing the end of Ps. 218 and numbered Psalms from 219 to 289 as well some unnumbered collections form the monumental edition (and translation) of C. R. C. Allberry, *Manichaean Manuscripts in the Chester Beatty Collection, Vol. II, A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, Pt. II (Stuttgart, 1938). The first part of the *Psalm-Book*, down to Ps. 218, is now available in a facsimile edition: Giversen, *MCPCBL* III. See esp. pp. viii-ix of the introduction on the division of the manuscript.

55 *Keph.* I-CXXII ed. and trans. H.-J. Polotsky and A. Böhlig, *Manichäische Handschriften der Staatlichen Museen Berlin, Kephalia*, Vol. 1 (Lief. 1-10, Stuttgart, 1940) and Vol. 2, ed. and trans. A. Böhlig (Lief. 11/12, Stuttgart, 1966). A fuller version of *Keph.* CXXII can be found in A. Böhlig, 'Ja und Amen', *ZPE* 58 (1985) pp. 59-70 and reprinted in *idem*, *Gnosis und Synkretismus*, ii, pp. 638-53.

56 Facsimile edition in Giversen, *MCPCBL* I. See esp. p. XIX and Tardieu, 'Un Kephalaion manichéen inédit', pp. 159-162, for the distinction between the Berlin and Dublin versions of the *Kephalaia*. See also Tardieu, *art. cit.* pp. 163-64 for an edition and trans. of pl. 299,2-12 of the 'Dublin' *Kephalaia*.

57 Ed. and trans. H. -J. Polotsky, *Manichäische Handschriften der Sammlung A. Chester Beatty, Bd. I, Manichäische Homilien*, (Stuttgart, 1934). Facsimile edition: Giversen, *MCPCBL* II.

58 Cf. Böhlig, *Mysterion*, pp. 182-87.

59 Cf. *Gnosis* III, p. 47.

and the quasi-canonical *Šābuhragān*.[60] No doubt, when it is fully published, the *Synaxes* on the *Living Gospel* in Coptic will shed some light on the text of the *Living Gospel* itself.[61] On the other hand, the new texts, even if most of them are not of canonical status, are genuine writings of the sect and touch upon many fundamental aspects of its doctrines and history. The *Kephalaia (of the Teacher)*, for instance, purports to be a record of Mani's discourses with his inner circle of disciples and a Manichaean work by the title of *Kephalaia* is listed by Epiphanius as one of the most important works of the sect.[62] The *Psalm-Book* has furnished us with one of the finest anthologies of Manichaean poetry and the *Homilies* contain much new information on the early history of the sect. These genuine Manichaean writings allow us to reconstruct many important aspects of the original teaching of Mani without fear of misrepresentation by the sect's enemies. Surprisingly, these texts have shown that some of the polemicists, especially Augustine and Theodore bar Kōnī, have been remarkably accurate in their presentation of Mani's teaching.

Cosmic history is conceived by Mani as being divided into three epochs: Beginning, Middle and End (Lat. *initium, medium et finis*, Gr. ἀρχὴ καὶ μεσότης καὶ τέλος, Copt. ϩⲟϭⲓⲧⲉ, ⲙⲏⲧⲉ, ϩⲁⲏ).[63] Within this three-fold division a complex drama involving the two primordial principles, Light and Darkness, unfolds itself. This drama is central to Mani's teaching as it explains how the enlightened souls of men which are of divine origin came to be clothed in the body of matter which is evil. Our sources on the detailed unfolding of this drama are exceedingly rich, but one testimony which is regarded as being of exceptional value is a collection of extracts from an unknown Manichaean work preserved in the *Book of Scholia* of Theodore bar Kōnī, Nestorian Bishop of Kashkar in Bēt Arāmāiē in the eighth century.[64] As the extracts are in Syriac, they are the closest extant source we have to the original writings of Mani in the Aramaic of Babylonia. Many of the names of the deities and demons, as well as technical terms found in the extracts, are probably the very ones which Mani himself used. The authenticity of these extracts has been borne out by comparison with similar passages in genuine Manichaean writings, especially

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[60] Cf. Henning, 'Book of the Giants', *passim*, *KPT*, texts 20-22, pp. 76-79, Sundermann, 'Manis Gigantenbuch', pp. 495-98 and MacKenzie, 'Mani's *Šābuhragān*, I-II'.

[61] On this still unpublished work, see Böhlig, *Mysterion*, pp. 222-27 and esp. Mirecki, 'The Coptic Manichaean *Synaxeis Codex*', *passim*.

[62] *haer.* LXVI, 2, 9, GCS XXXVII (Epiph. iii), p. 18,13.

[63] (Lat.) Aug., *c. Fel.* I,6, p. 807,15-16: ... et in ipsis apostolicis unum quaero, qui me doceat de initio, de medio, de fine. (Gr.) *CMC* 132,10-16, edd. Koenen and Römer, p. 94: ἐξέφηνα ⁞12 [δὲ αὐτοῖς] τὴν διάστασιν ⁞ [τῶν δύο] φύσεων ⁞ [καὶ τὰ περὶ ἀρχ]ῆς καὶ με[σότητος καὶ] τέλους ⁞16 [.... .... ..]ειν τοὺς ⁞ [--- (cf. *ZPE* 1982, p. 24) (Copt.) *Ps.-Bk.* p. 11,30-31: ⲡⲉⲧⲁϥϭⲱⲗⲡ̄ ⲛⲉⲛ ⲁ⁞ⲃⲁⲗ ϩ]ⲁⲑⲟϭⲓⲧⲉ ⲧⲙⲏⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲑⲁⲏ '(The Spirit of Truth) who has revealed to us the Beginning, the Middle and the End.'

[64] Theod. b. Kōnī, *Lib. Schol.* XI, pp. 313,10-318,4. Kashkar was an ancient city and is also mentioned in Mandaean documents. It was situated on the ancient course of the Tigris and later supplanted by al-Wāṣiṭ, founded *c.* 703 on the opposite bank by Hajjaj, the famous viceroy of Iraq in the reign of the Umayyad Caliph 'Abd-al Malik. Cf. Le Strange, *Lands*, p. 39.

those in Coptic. The latter are fundamental to the reconstruction of the details but important too are extracts from another unnamed Manichaean work, probably the *Book of the Giants*, cited by Severus, the Monophysite patriarch of Antioch (*c.* 465-538) in one of his *Cathedral Homilies*. Originally delivered in Greek, the homilies have come down to us in a number of Syriac translations of which those by Jacob of Edessa (*c.* 640-708)[65] and Paul of Callinicum[66] (Bishop of Edessa from 510) are the most easily available.

In the first of the three scenes of this cosmic drama, i.e. the Former Time, there existed before the creation of heaven and earth, two principles (Syr. *kynyn* ܟܝܢܝܢ) one good and the other evil. The good principle dwells in the Region of Light (Syr. *'tr' dnwhr'* ܐܬܪܐ ܕܢܘܗܪ) and he is called the Father of Greatness (Syr. *'b' drbwt'* ܐܒܐ ܕܪܒܘܬ, Copt. ⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲁⲩ).[67] (In the version preserved by Severus, the good principle is represented by the Tree of Life (Syr. *'yln' dḥy'* ܐܝܠܢܐ ܕܚܝ) which occupies the regions of east, west and north).[68] The Father of Greatness possesses a four-fold majesty which consists of Divinity, Light, Power and Wisdom (Copt. ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ ⲧⲅⲁⲙ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲧⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ, cf. Pth. *bg, rwsn, zwr, jyryft*).[69] Hence in Greek sources he is known as the Four-Faced (τετραπρόσωπος) Father of Greatness'[70] and in Coptic as the four-faced God (ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩϩ).[71] Besides him, the Region, or Kingdom, of Light is inhabited by the Twelve Aeons arranged about his flower-crowned throne in groups of four each.[72] From them come the Aeons of Aeons to the number of 144.[73] These are all hypostases of the Father and together they dwell in the 'unbegotten air' of the 'unbegotten land'.[74] Acting as the Father's consort is the Great Spirit who instills life into the Kingdom. This idyllic land of light is depicted by a Manichaean psalmist:

> The Kingdom of Light consisted of five Greatnesses,
> these are the father and his twelve Aeons
> and the Aeons of the Aeons, the Living Air,

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[65] *Hom.* CXXIII, ed. and trans. Brière, *PO* XXIX (1961) pp. 152-77. The relevant parts of the homily have been edited and translated by Kugener–Cumont, *Recherches* II, pp. 89-150.

[66] Ed. and trans. (Latin) by Rahmani, *Studia Syriaca*, IV, textus, pp. ٥٩-٦٣, versio, pp. 38-69.

[67] (Syr.) Theod. b. Kōnī *Lib. Schol.* XI, p. 313,14-16; (Copt.) *Ps.-Bk.* p. 50,30.

[68] *Hom.* CXXIII p. 152,15-16, ed. Brière. Cf. Thdt., *haer.* I, 26, *PG* 83.377B.

[69] (Copt.) *Ps.-Bk.* p. 134,6-7 M 176 V 12-13, (Pth.) *HR* ii, pp. 61-2 (= *Reader*, dv 1, p. 193).

[70] <Zach. Mytil.> *capita vii c. Manich.* III (59), p. xxxiv. Cf. Lieu, 'Byz. Formula', p. 200.

[71] Cf. *Ps.-Bk.*, 191,11.

[72] Aug., *c. Faust.* XV, 5, CSEL 25/1, p. 425,16-20. See also sources cited in Lieu, *art. cit.*, p. 200 and Tardieu, 'Conception', pp. 263-66.

[73] <Zach. Mytil.>, *capita vii c. Manich.* III (62), p. xxxiv. Cf. Lieu, *art. cit.*, p. 200.

[74] Aug., *c. Fel.* I, 18, CSEL 25/2, p. 823,22-3.

> the Land of Light; the Great Spirit blows in them
> and feeds them with its Light.[75]

The Kingdom of Light is composed of five elements (στοιχεία), Air, Wind, Light, Water and Fire (ἀήρ, ἄνεμος, φῶς, ὕδωρ, πῦρ) and has also five dwellings, (Syr. *škynt'* ܫܟܝܢܬ) which are Intelligence, Knowledge, Reason, Thought and Deliberation (Syr. *hwn'* ܗܘܢ, *md"* ܡܕ݂ , *r'yn'* ܪܥܝܢ, *mḥšbt'* ܡܚܫܒܬ, *tr'yt'* ܬܪܥܝܬ, Copt. ⲛⲟⲩⲥ, ⲙⲉⲉⲩ, ⲥⲃⲱ, ⲥⲁⲙⲛⲉ, ⲙⲁⲕⲙⲉⲕ).[76] With attributes such as these it is not surprising to learn from the *Fihrist* of al-Nadim that the spiritual qualities of the Kingdom of Light are love, faith, fidelity, benevolence and wisdom.[77] In the Severan version of the cosmogony, the Tree of Life is adorned with all that is beautiful and is filled and clad with all good things. It stands fast and does not vacillate in its nature.[78]

The evil principle in its primordial manifestation is the exact antithesis of the good. Its realm is the infernal mirror image of the Kingdom of Light. Instead of being bedecked with flowers and luxuriating in life-giving air, the kingdom of Darkness has a lunar landscape: cut up by deep gulfs, abysses, pits, quagmires, dikes, fens and pools. It is also smothered by smoke, the 'poison of death'.[79] It too consists of five worlds (*'lm'* ܥܠܡ) which are caverns (or 'store-houses', Gr. ταμιεῖον and Copt. ⲧⲁⲙⲓⲟⲛ) and in them are five types of devilish creatures: the world of Smoke (*tnn'* ܬܢ) is inhabited by bipeds, of Fire (*nwr'* ܢܘܪ) by quadrupeds, of Wind (*rwḥ'* ܪܘܚ) by flying things, of Water(s) (*my'* ܡܝ) by swimming things and of Darkness (*ḥšwk'* ܚܫܘܟ) by reptiles.[80] The Kingdom of Darkness is not even united under one ruler but each of its sub-worlds has its own archon in the form of an animal - demon, lion, eagle, fish and dragon.[81] The term 'Prince of Darkness' (*ml'k ḥšwk'* ܡܠܟ ܚܫܘܟ lit. 'Ruler of Darkness') is a collective designation for these five evil archons.[82] Hence in some sources he is described as a monster which has the head of a lion, the body of a dragon, the wings of a bird, the tail of a great fish and the feet of a beast of burden.[83] The term πεντάμορφος (in five shapes) is aptly used to describe this collective personification of evil by the neo-Platonist

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[75] *Ps.-Bk.*, p. 9,12-16, trans. Allberry.

[76] [Hegem.], *Arch.* VII, 3, GCS XVI, p. 10,6-8 = Epiph., *haer.* LXVI,25, 5, pp. 54,10-55,2 and Theod. b. Kōm, *Lib. Schol.* XI, p. 313,16-17. Copt. *Ps.-Bk.* p. 120,3-11.

[77] al-Nadim, *Fihrist*, trans. Dodge, p. 777, Flügel, *Mani*, p. 86.

[78] Sev. Ant., *Hom.* CXXIII, p. 154,7-18. See also *Ep. Fund.* frag. 5a (*ap.* Aug., *c. epist. fund.* 13, p. 209,11-29), ed. Feldmann, p. 12 and *comm.*, pp. 36-43 and Decret, *Aspects*, pp. 214-16.

[79] al-Nadim, *Fihrist*, trans. Dodge, pp. 787-88, Flügel, *Mani*, p. 94.

[80] Theod. b. Kōm, *Lib. Schol.* XI, p. 313,19-21.

[81] *Keph.* VI, p. 30,17-31,2.

[82] Theod. b. Kōm, *Lib. Schol.* XI, p. 313,18. Cf. Puech, *Essais*, pp. 128-31.

[83] al-Nadim, *Fihrist*, trans. Dodge, p. 778; Flügel, *Mani*, p. 86.

Simplicius.[84] However, the Prince is also the archon of the bipeds in the world of Smoke. In the same way that the Father of Light is one of the five Greatnesses of the Kingdom of Light, the Prince of Darkness is part and parcel of his realm and yet provides it with its mind and source (Lat. *mens et origo*).[85] The inhabitants of the five worlds of Darkness are divided into two sexes and they are overcome by lust and desire. The smoke which is the 'poison of death' rises from a pit whose bottom, which is violence, seethes with turbid mud and is covered over with a layer of dust and with the ingredients of the elements of Fire, of the Dark Wind, and of the Turbid Water.[86]

Out of the five worlds or caverns spring five trees which together constitute the Tree of Death (*'yln' dmwt'* ܐܝܠܢ ܕܡܘܬ), the symbol of Matter (*hwl'* ܗܘܠ = ὑλή). It is as unlike the Tree of Life as a king is unlike a pig. The one, says Mani, moves in a royal palace in chambers fitting for him. The other wallows in dirt, feeds on filth and takes pleasure in it and is like a snake creeping round its den. Among its many branches are war and cruelty and they are strangers to peace, filled with every wickedness, and never have good fruits. Its relationship with its branches and fruits is a classic example of a 'house divided against itself' for the Tree of Death stands in opposition to its fruits and the fruits in opposition to the tree. They are not at one with him who produced them, but they all produce the maggot (Syr. *ss'* ܣܣܐ = Gr. σῆς) for their own destruction.[87] Each of the individual parts also seeks to destroy what is near by. As the psalmist puts it:

> But the Kingdom of Darkness consists of five store-
> houses, which are Smoke and Fire and
> Wind and Water and Darkness; their Counsel
> Creeping in them and inciting [?] them to
> make war with one another.[88]

The two realms, though contiguous, are separate and distinct in this first period of cosmic history. Theoretically, their spheres of influence do not overlap. The Kingdom of Light extends to the north, east and west while that of Darkness expands southwards and downwards. On the other hand, Darkness does drive a wedge through the realm of Light, and Darkness being unregulated passion is in a constant state of agitation or random motion (ἄτακτος κίνησις), a term used by the Manichaeans in Roman Egypt, with its various warring factions converging

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[84] Simplicius, *in Epict. encheirid.* 27, p. 72,16, ed. Dübner: πεντάμορφον τὸ κακὸν ἀναπλάττοντες, ἀπὸ λέοντος, καὶ ἰχθύος, καὶ ἀετοῦ, καὶ οὐ μέμνημαι τίνων ἄλλων συγκείμενον, καὶ ὡς τοιοῦτον εἰπόν τι δεδοικότες. See also Aug., *mor. manich.*, IX,14 *PL* 32.1352

[85] *Ep. Fund.* frag 6b (*ap.* Aug., *c. epist. fund.* 15, p. 212,18-22) ed. Feldmann, p. 15 and comm. *ad loc.*, pp. 43-4, for full references to other parallels in Augustine's writings.

[86] al-Nadim, *Fihrist*, trans. Dodge, p. 787; Flügel, *Mani*, p. 94.

[87] Sev. Ant., *Hom.* CXXIII, p. 150,9-10; p. 152,16-17, 20-3 and p. 163,6-18, ed. Brière.

[88] *Ps.-Bk.* p. 9,17-21, trans. Allberry.

to spill outside its boundaries.[89] The whole realm is permeated with the Instinct (Copt./Gr. ἐνθύμησις) of Death rather than the Spirit of Life.[90]

By a fortuitous combination of 'random motions', some demons (i.e. bipeds) came within sight of the upper regions and were captivated by what they saw. They desired to mingle with the Light and soon a full-scale invasion was under way with devils of all shapes and sizes and even incorporeal and intangible ones taking part. The entire mass of Darkness, or Matter which it symbolises, was now thoroughly aroused and ascended with its winds, its turbid waters, its phantoms and princes and powers all seeking to enter into the Kingdom of Light. This major incursion of Darkness into Light resulting from a minor border incident marks the beginning of the second epoch, i.e. the Present Moment, of Mani's cosmological drama.[91]

The Kingdom of Light was panic-stricken. Its five dwellings were intended for quiet and peace, not war. Some other instrument had to be found to oppose this invasion. The Father of Greatness therefore was compelled to face the enemy 'by himself' (or: 'by his own soul', Syr. *bnpšy* ,ܒܢܦܫܝ), namely, by means of new emanations or hypostases of himself. These emanations or, more precisely, evocations, become the good gods of the Manichaean system, but they are essentially parts of the Father, consubstantial with him, and evoked for performing certain specific tasks. They are not his generations as Mani consistently avoids the use of words which suggest sexual procreation when describing the Kingdom of Light. The first of these evocations is the Mother of Life (Syr. *'m'dḥy'* ܐܡܐ ܕܚܝ) who in turn evoked the Primal Man (*'nš'qdmy'* ܐܢܫܐ ܩܕܡܝ) who evoked as his five sons, Air, Wind, Light, Water and Fire, i.e. the five constituent elements of the Kingdom of Light and the wholesome opposites of the five worlds of Darkness. These five Light Elements are also sometimes designated as the 'Maiden' who is the soul of the Father. The Primal Man wore these Elements as his armour and set forth to battle, guided by an angel called Nḥšbṭ (ܢܚܫܒܛ) (vocalisation uncertain) who came to meet him with a victor's crown and shone the light before him.[92] The Prince of Darkness was delighted with seeing this delegation from the Kingdom of Light. 'What I sought far off', he congratulated himself, 'I have found close by.'[93] He armed himself with his own five infernal powers and joined in battle for a long time with the powers of Light. In the end, he mastered the Primal Man and laid him down to a drugged sleep while his five powers swallowed some of the Light Elements which formed the armour of the Primal Man.[94] Little did he know that he had fallen into a well-laid trap. The Father is like a good general who, when

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[89] Alex. Lyc., *c. Manich. opinion.* 2, p. 5,8, ed. Brinkmann.

[90] *Mani-Fund*, p. 78 and Polotsky, *Abriss*, col. 250,43-7.

[91] Sev. Ant., *Hom.* CXXIII, p. 166,1-3, ed. Briére. See also Aug., *mor. manich.*, IX,14 *PL* 32.1352

[92] Theod. b. Kōnī, *Lib. Schol.* XI, pp. 313,28-314,4.

[93] *Ibid.* p. 314,4-6.

[94] *Ibid.*, 7-13.

taken by surprise, is willing to sacrifice part of his forces in order to save his main forces for a battle on more favourable terms.[95] For:

> Like unto a shepherd that shall see a lion coming to
> destroy his sheep-fold: for he uses guile and takes
> a lamb and sets it as a snare that he may catch him
> by it [i.e. the lamb]; for by a single lamb he saves his
> sheep-fold. After these things he heals the lamb that
> has been wounded by the lion.[96]

In fact the psalmist sees the surrender of the Light Elements to the powers of Darkness as a central part of the strategy:

> He [i.e. the Primal Man] held her [i.e. the Maiden's]
> power fast, he spread her over them like
> nets over fishes, he made her rain down upon them
> like purified clouds of water, she thrust herself
> within them like piercing lightning. She crept in their
> inward parts (ⲥⲁⲛϩⲟϯⲛ), she bound them all, they not knowing it.[97]

Through their concupiscence and desire for the Light, the evil archons had now trapped portions of the Light Element within them, but it was they who were ensnared. As a Chinese Manichaean treatise on cosmogony puts it: 'The five classes of demons clung to the five Light Elements as flies cling to honey, like birds caught by bird lime or like fishes which have swallowed the hook'.[98] The fact that they were now satisfied meant that the invasion was at an end but they had also become dependent on the life-giving Light Elements for their existence. This gave the Father of Greatness the means to achieve their final enslavement and the redemption of the Light Elements.[99] In due course the Primal Man awoke from his death-like slumber and prayed to the Father seven times. The latter then set in motion a complex rescue plan which began with the evocation of a second series of deities. He first evoked the Friend of the Lights (Syr. *ḥbyb nhyr'* ܚܒܝܒ ܢܗܝܪܐ),[100] whose precise function in the plan is obscure, but it appears from the *Fihrist* that he was a pioneer who was instrumental in loosening the Primal Man from the chains of Darkness.[101] He in turn evoked

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[95] Simplicius, *in Epict. encheirid.* XXVII, p. 70,42-5. Cf. Aug., *c. Faust.* XX,17, p. 557,15-18.

[96] *Ps.-Bk.* pp. 9,31-10,5, trans. Allberry.

[97] *Ibid.*, p. 10,15-19, trans. *idem.* See also the numerous references to parallel material on this theme in Augustine's writings collected in Decret, *Aspects*, pp. 264-65, n. 3.

[98] *PSCTC*, p. 128b 3-4 (ms. lines 10-11), trans. *Traité* 1911, pp. 514-15 [16-17]. See also Thdt., *haer.* I,26, col. 377C/D and Tit. Bos., *adv. Manich.* I,17, p. 9,21-25, ed. Lagarde.

[99] Alex. Lyc., *c. Manich. opinion.* V, p. 5,21-25: πέμψαι οὖν τινα δύναμιν, τὴν ὑφ' ἡμῶν καλουμένην ψυχήν, ἐπὶ τὴν ὕλην, ἥτις αὐτῇ διὰ πάσης μιχθήσεται· ἔσεσθαι γὰρ τῆς ὕλης θάνατον τὸν μετὰ ταῦτά ποτε τῆς δυνάμεως ταύτης χωρισμόν. Cf. Polotsky, *Abriss*, col. 252,27-256, 6.

[100] Theod. b. Kōnī, *Lib. Schol.* XI, p. 314,14-15.

[101] Trans. Dodge, pp. 779-80; Flügel, *Mani*, p. 88.

the Great Builder (*bn rb'* ܒܢ ܪܒܐ) who in turn evoked the Living Spirit (*rwḥ' ḥy'* ܪܘܚܐ ܚܝܐ) with his five Sons who were his evocations: the Custodian of Splendour (*ṣpt zyw'* ܨܦܬ ܙܝܘܐ *lege* ܙܝܘܐ Adam)[102] from his intelligence, the Great King of Honour (*mlk' rb' d'yqr'* ܡܠܟܐ ܪܒܐ ܕܐܝܩܪܐ) from his knowledge, Adamas of Light (*'dmws nwhr'* ܐܕܡܘܣ ܢܘܗܪܐ) from his reason, the King of Glory (*mlk šwbḥ'* ܡܠܟ ܫܘܒܚܐ) from his thought and Atlas (*sbl'* ܣܒܠܐ) from his deliberation.[103] These deities came to the frontier of Darkness and the Living Spirit uttered a cry which took the shape of a sword and revealed the form of the Primal Man.[104] He said to him:

> Peace to you,
> the good man among the evil ones,
> the bright one in darkness,
> the god who lives among the beasts of fury
> who do not know their honour.

The Primal Man answered him saying:

> Come in peace,
> you who bring the merchandise
> of tranquillity and peace.

And he said to him:

> How fare our fathers,
> the sons of Light in their realm?

And the Call answered him:

> 'They are doing well.'[105]

The Call (Syr. *qry'* ܩܪܝܐ) and Answer (*'ny'* ܥܢܝܐ) were then transformed or hypostasised into a pair of divinities and together they ascended to the Living Spirit and the Mother of Life. The Call symbolises the message of redemption and the Answer, the willingness of man to be redeemed and his yearning for salvation. This act of self-redemption which is the prototype of all human salvation is made possible by the fact that the Primal Man is the embodiment of

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[102] Theod. b. Kōnī, *Lib. Schol.* XI, p. 314,17, emended by Adam, *Texte*, p. 19,41.

[103] Theod. b. Kōnī, *Lib. Schol.* XI, p. 314,15-20. Note the textual emendation suggested by Schaeder in Schaeder–Reitzenstein, *Studien*, p. 344, n. 25. On the Five Sons of the Living Spirit, see also Aug., *c. Faust.* XV,6, p. 428,5-13.

[104] Theod. b. Kōnī, *Lib. Schol.* XI, p. 314,22-24.

[105] *Ibid.* pp. 314,25-315,3: ܐܡܪ ܠܗ. ܫܠܡܟ ܠܛܒܐ ܕܒܝܬ ܒ̈ܝܫܐ. ܢܗܝܪܐ ܕܒܝܬ ܚܫܘܟܐ. ܐܠܗܐ ܕܥܡܪ ܒܝܬ ܚ̈ܝܘܬܐ ܕܪܘܓܙܐ ܕܠܐ ܝ̈ܕܥܢ ܐܝܩܪܗܘܢ. ܗܘ ܕܝܢ ܥܢܝܗ ܐܢܫܐ ܩܕܡܝܐ ܘܐܡܪ. ܬܐ ܒܫܠܡ ܡܝܬܝܬ ܛܥܢܐ ܕܫܝܢܐ ܘܫܠܡܐ. ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܕܐܝܟ ܠܒܢܝܟ ܐ̈ܒܗܝܟ ܒ̈ܢܝ ܢܘܗܪܐ ܒܡܕܝܢܬܗܘܢ. ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܩܪܝܐ. ܫܦܝܪ ܠܒܢܝܟ. Cf. Puech, *Essais*, pp. 39-40.

the divine intelligence or Nous. This innate divine faculty duly reminded him of his divine origin and this led to his cry for help. Through recognising the Call, the Nous is freed to return to the Kingdom of Light until the proper time for it to return to redeem the soul or souls (i.e. the five Light Elements) which remain in Darkness. The two hypostases, 'Call' and 'Answer' also combine to form the Instinct (Copt./Gr. ἐνθύμησις) of Life which, as the term suggests, is the opposite of the Instinct of Death which causes the various worlds of Darkness to be in a perpetual state of war with each other. While the Instinct of Death is a fashioner (Copt./Gr. ζωγράφος) of bodies, the Instinct of Life is the fashioner of the 'Last Statue' which will gather up all the unredeemed Light Elements after the final destruction of the world, i.e. the ultimate 'apokatastasis', and return them to the Kingdom of Light. Till then the exact salvific role of the Instinct of Life is not entirely clear. It seems to have acted as a surrogate for the absent Nous and as a preparation for the eventual recovery of the same by being the soul's innate disposition or natural feeling of belonging to the Kingdom of Light.[106] After this Instinct of Life had been articulated by the union of Call and Answer, the Living Spirit and the Mother of Life returned once more to the Kingdom of Darkness. The Living Spirit extended his right hand to the Primal Man who took it and was thus lifted out of his place of captivity. This grasping of the right hand is an important symbolic gesture of deliverance and Manichaeans gave each other the right hand when they met as a sign of their having been saved from Darkness.[107] As Mani himself explains in one of his *Kephalaia*: 'From the mystery of that right hand then arose the greeting with the right hand, which men give each other as an expression of respect ... '.[108]

The drama then centres on the redemption of the Light Elements which have been swallowed by the archons of Darkness and have therefore become mixed and sullied. This necessitated the creation of the universe which the Manichaeans called a place of refinement or 'hospital' for Light and a prison for Darkness.[109] The Living Spirit, accompanied by his five sons, once more descended, this time to do battle with the demons of Darkness and they were victorious. From the bodies of the demons they slew the Living Spirit created eight earths and from their excoriated skin, ten heavens (eleven, if the zodiac is also included). Out of their fragments (*prt'* ܦܪܛ) he compacted the earth and out of their bones the mountains.[110] He also chained some of the archons (*'rkwnṭ'* ܐܪܟܘܢܛܐ) or sons of Darkness who had devoured portions of the Light Elements to the firmament. While the heavens are held in place by the Custodian of Splendour, the earths are borne on the shoulders of Atlas.[111]

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[106] Cf. Polotsky, *Abriss*, col. 254,12-19 and Puech, *Essais*, p. 42.

[107] [Hegem.], *Arch.* VII,5, pp, 10,11-11,3 (= Epiph., *haer.* LXVI, 25,7, pp. 55,5-56,5).

[108] *Keph.* IX, p. 39,21-24: ⲟⲩⲃⲉ | [ⲡ]ⲙⲩⲥⲧⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ [ⲛ†]ⲟⲩⲛⲉⲙ ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲉⲩ ⲁ †ⲟⲩⲛⲉⲙ ⲯⲱⲡⲉ | ⲧⲉⲧⲯⲟⲟⲡ ϩⲛ̄ ⲧ[ⲙⲏⲧⲉ ⲛ]ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲩ† ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲥ ⲛⲛⲟⲩⲉⲣⲏⲩ | [ⲉ]ⲧⲥⲁⲓⲁⲓⲧ ⲉⲥ[. . .]ⲉⲩ.

[109] Cf. *Ps.-Bk.*, p. 10, 11. 25-9 and *PSCTC*, p. 1281b,4-6 (ms. line 13), trans. *Traité* 1911, p. 515 (17). See also Ephraim, *C. haer. ad Hypat.* IV, p. 101,5-17 (trans. i, p. lxxix).

[110] *Ibid.* p. 11,8-19. On this, see esp. Tardieu, *'Prāṭā* et *ādˈur'*, pp. 340-41.

[111] Theod. b. Kōnī, *Lib. Schol.* XI, p. 315,7-12.