

Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen  
zum Neuen Testament 63

Samuel N. C. Lieu

Manichaeism in the  
Later Roman Empire  
and Medieval China



**Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen  
zum Neuen Testament**

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

The author would like to thank Manchester University Press for permission to publish this revised and expanded version of the First Edition published by them in 1985 with a grant from the British Academy.

*Die Deutsche Bibliothek – CIP-Einheitsaufnahme*

*Lieu, Samuel N. C.:*

*Manichaeism in the later Roman empire and medieval China /*

by Samuel N. C. Lieu. – 2. ed., revised and expanded. –

– Tübingen: Mohr, 1992

(Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament; 63)

ISBN 3-16-145820-6 978-3-16-157325-5 Unveränderte eBook-Ausgabe 2019

NE: GT

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The book was printed by Gulde-Druck in Tübingen on acid-free paper from Papierfabrik Gebr. Buhl in Ettlingen and bound by Heinr. Koch in Tübingen.

Printed in Germany.

ISSN 0340-9570

**To Judith  
and Esther**



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## 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 Qoço 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 *Litterae 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 Française 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 settembre 1984)*, 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).

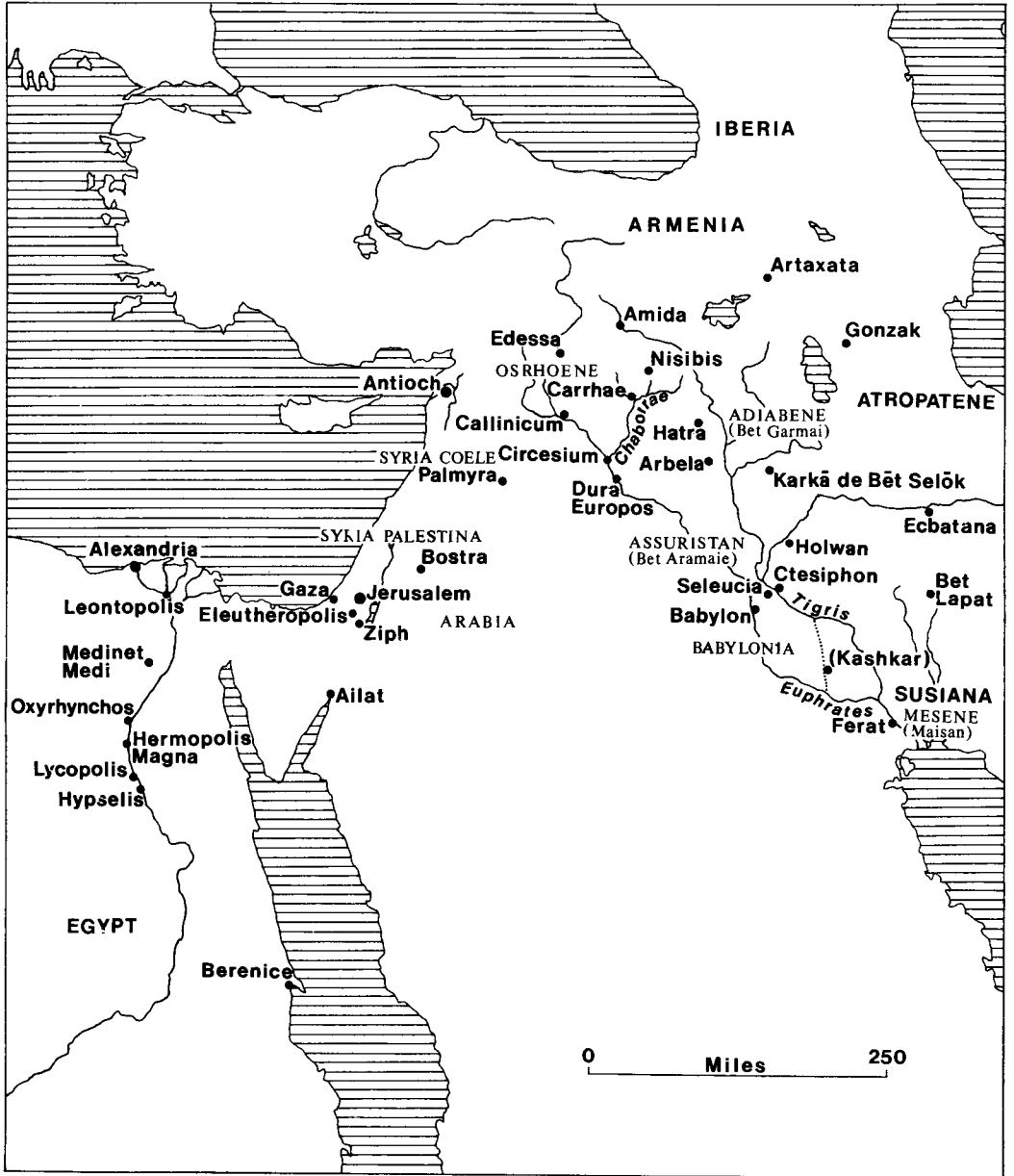
- CMC** Codex Manichaicus Coloniensis (see Bibliog. I. b. 2)  
**CMC Concordanze** *Codex Manichaicus Coloniensis, Concordanze*, (edd.) L. Cirillo, A. Concolino Mancini and A. Roselli (Cosenza, 1985)  
**coll.** *Lex Dei sive Mosaicarum et Romanarum legum collatio* (see Bibliog. I. b. 2)  
**Copt.** 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** Kerdîr's Inscription at Naqsh-i Rostam 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. Klîma, *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)

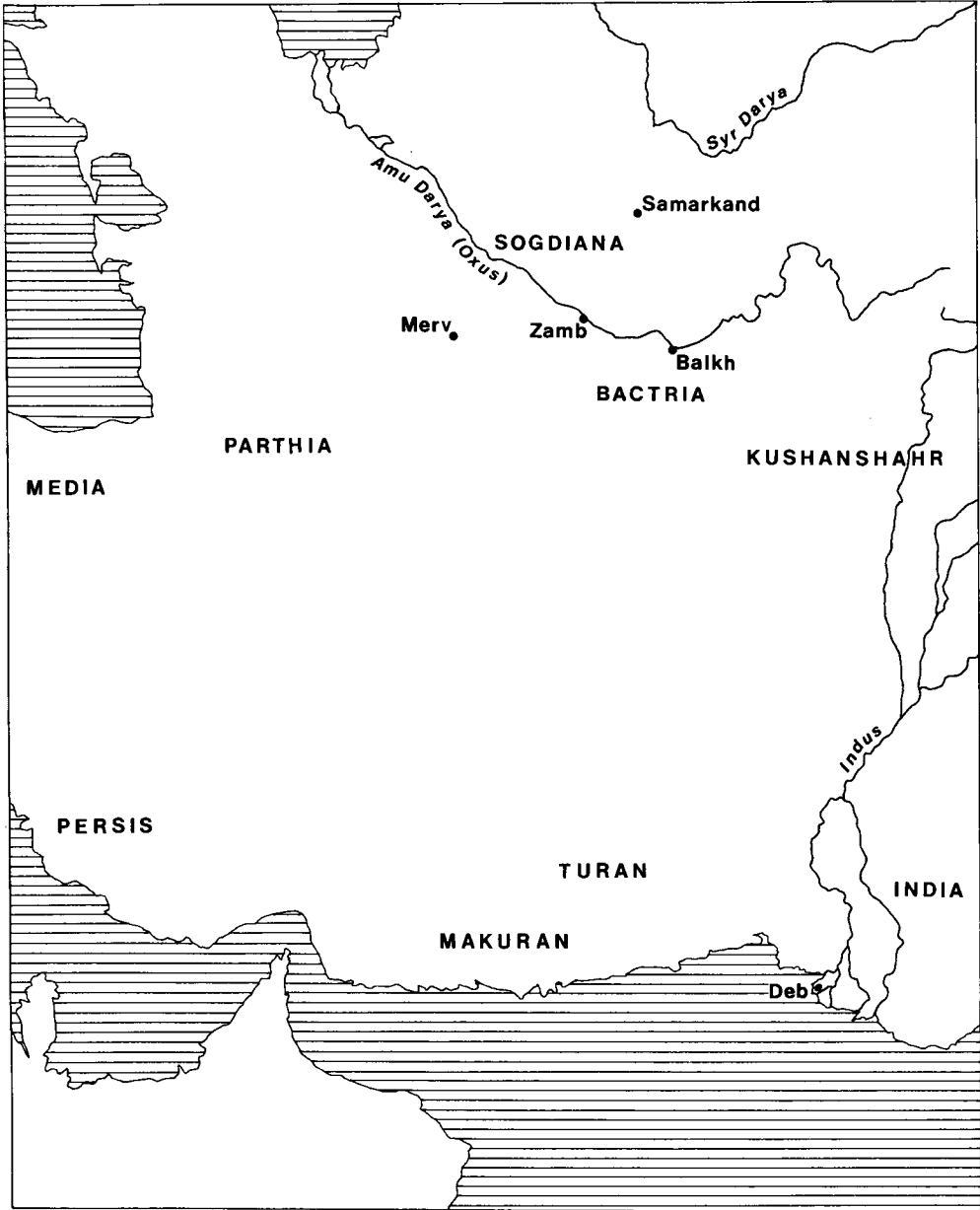


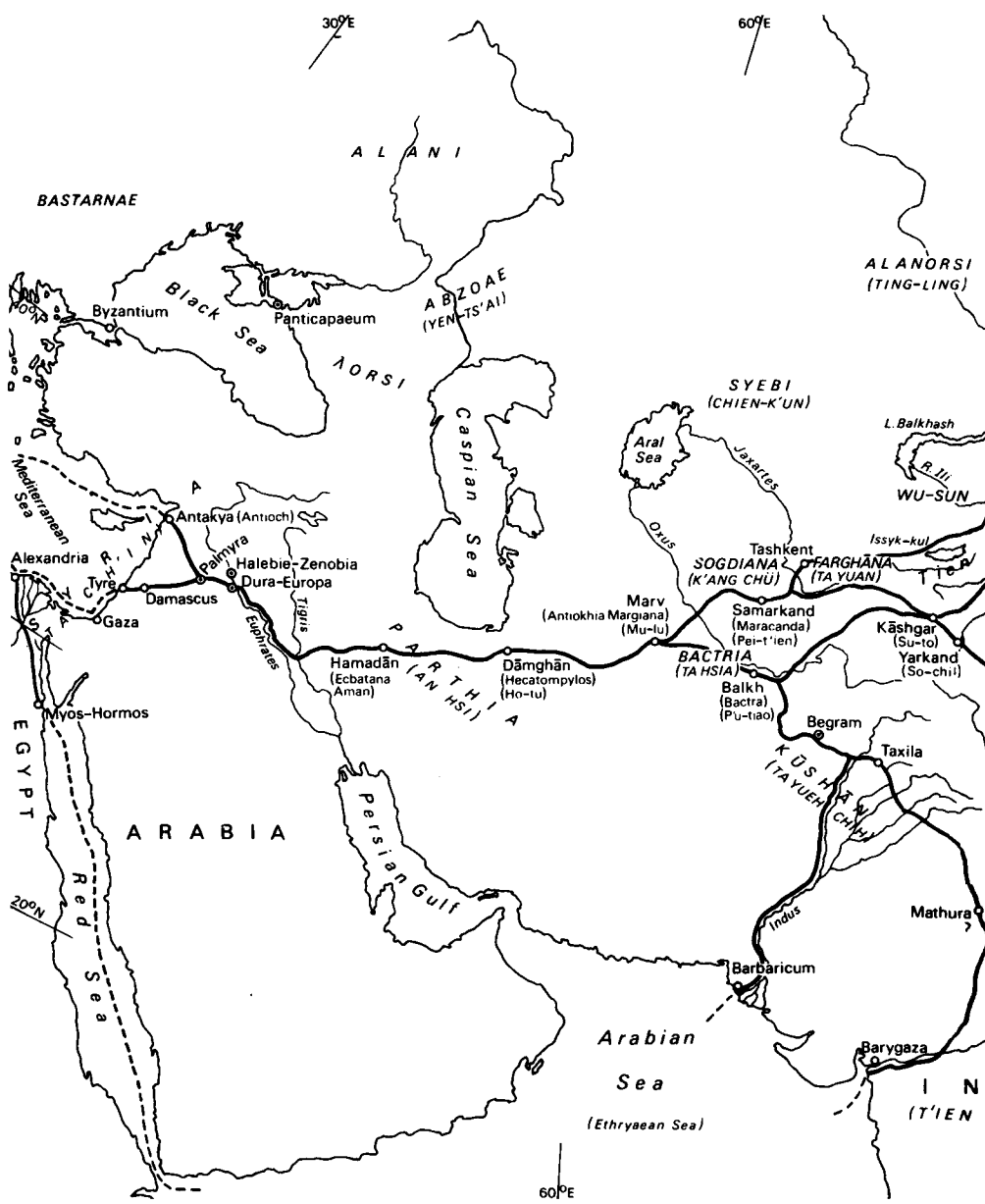
- NTApok.<sup>5</sup> W. Schneemelcher (ed.), *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen in deutscher Übersetzung*, 5. Auflage der von Edgar Hennecke begründeten Sammlung, 2 vols. (Tübingen, 1987 and 1989).
- OGIS *Orientalis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae*, ed. W. Dittenberger, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1903-5)
- Or. Origenes (see Bibliog. I.a.2)
- Pe. Middle Persian
- PG *Patrologiae cursus completus, series Graceco-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 Altertums-wissenschaft*, 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
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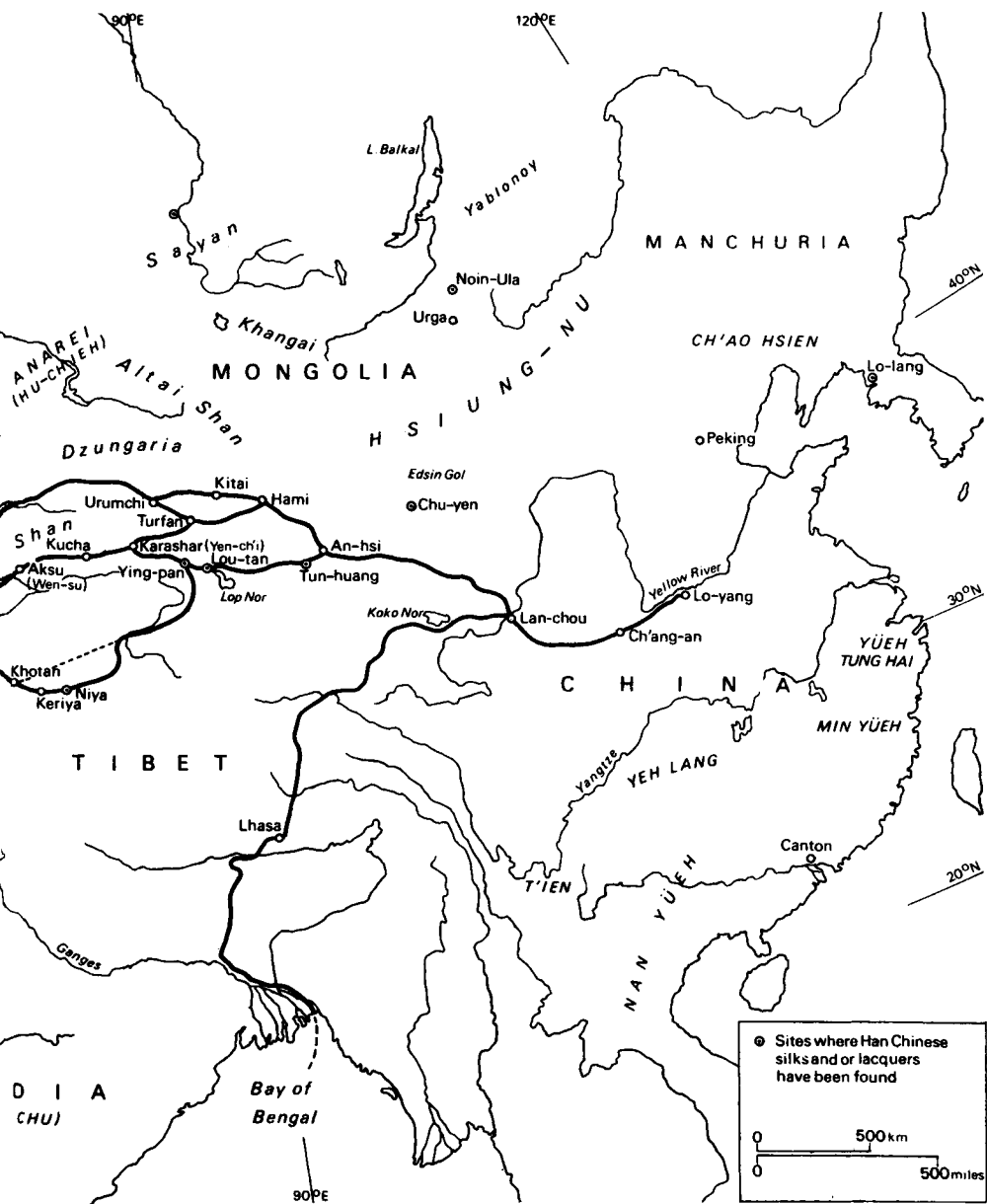


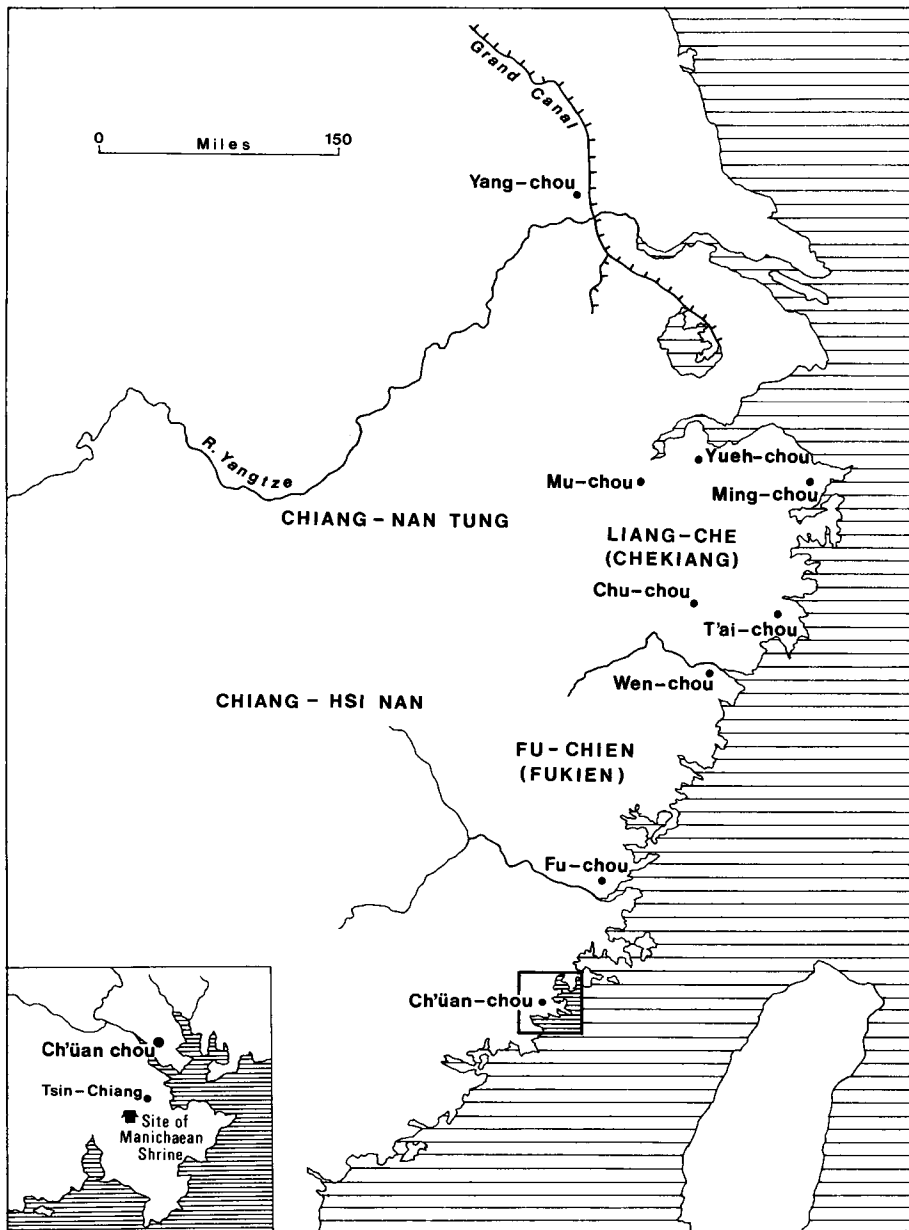
The Near East in the Time of Mani





The Silk Road from China to the Roman Orient (from R. Willets, *Chinese Art*)





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.<sup>1</sup> 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 Bosphorus 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.<sup>2</sup> 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.<sup>3</sup> 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.<sup>4</sup> 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.<sup>5</sup> 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.<sup>6</sup>

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

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

<sup>3</sup> Justinus, XXV,1,1. Cf. *PW*, s. v. 'Antiochos I (21) Soter', col. 2453.19-31 (Wellmann).

<sup>4</sup> 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.

<sup>5</sup> 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.

<sup>6</sup> 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.<sup>7</sup> 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.<sup>8</sup> 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'.<sup>9</sup> 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.<sup>10</sup> 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.<sup>11</sup> 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.<sup>12</sup> 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.<sup>13</sup> 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

<sup>7</sup> On this, see esp. Neusner, *History*, I, pp. 16-23 and *idem*, 'Parthian political ideology', pp. 40-59.

<sup>8</sup> 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.

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

<sup>10</sup> 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.

<sup>11</sup> 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.

<sup>12</sup> On Ctesiphon, see esp. Oppenheimer, *Babylonia Judaica*, pp. 198-207.

<sup>13</sup> Plutarchus, *Crassus* 33,1-5, edd. Lindskog and Ziegler.

autonomy which the city enjoyed despite the closeness of the Parthian capital.<sup>14</sup> 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.<sup>15</sup>

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.<sup>16</sup> 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.<sup>17</sup> By means of a well co-ordinated two-pronged attack, Trajan threw the Parthian defences in Mesopotamia completely off-balance.<sup>18</sup> 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 Osroene 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.<sup>19</sup> 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.<sup>20</sup> Edessa also became a *colonia* before 213/4, as indicated by a dated Syriac manuscript from Dura Europos.<sup>21</sup> 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.<sup>22</sup> 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-Tigris 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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<sup>14</sup> Tacitus, *annales*, VI,42.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Welles, 'Population', p. 274.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Chaumont, 'L'Arménie', pp. 101-23, Debevoise, *Political History*, pp. 175-202 and Dillemann, *Haute Mésop.*, pp. 268-72.

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

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Bertinelli, 'I Romani oltre l'Eufrate', pp. 7-22.

<sup>19</sup> 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.

<sup>20</sup> Dio Cassius, LXKV,3,2, ed. Boissevain, iii, p. 340,19-21. Cf. *PW*, s. v. 'Nisibis', cols. 737,43-738,14 (Sturm).

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Welles *et al.* (edd.), *Parchments and Papyri*, doc. 28, line 4, p. 146.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 5-10 and 22-46. See also *idem*, 'Population', pp. 253-54.

Rome now enjoyed on the Euphrates frontier.<sup>23</sup> 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, Opellius 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.<sup>24</sup>

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.<sup>25</sup> 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.<sup>26</sup> Although he died two years later, his secession was not fully suppressed and he was succeeded first by his (eldest?) son Šāpūr 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.<sup>27</sup> 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.<sup>28</sup> 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

<sup>23</sup> 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.

<sup>24</sup> 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.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. 'Artabanus', *EI* 2.649b-650a (Schippmann).

<sup>26</sup> 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.

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

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



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).<sup>36</sup> The picture we sometimes get of the Sassanian empire as a highly articulated bureaucracy centred on the Twin-Cities and foreshadowing the Ummayyad caliphate with its administrative tentacles emanating from Baghdad was a later development brought about by the reforms of Chosroes I (531-79).<sup>37</sup>

The years immediately after Hormizdagān saw the conquest of the eastern territories of the Parthians by Ardashīr. Abrašāhr, Merv, Balkh, Chwārizim came under his suzerainty and he also received the submission of rulers from territories further east: Kūshānshāhr, Makūrān and Tūrān.<sup>38</sup> 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.<sup>39</sup> 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.<sup>40</sup> 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.<sup>41</sup> 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.<sup>42</sup> 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<sup>43</sup> and captured, probably in the same campaign, Carrhae and Nisibis.<sup>44</sup> 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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<sup>36</sup> *Wei-shu*, 102.2271.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. Frye, *Golden Age*, p. 8.

<sup>38</sup> Ṭabarī, *Annales*, pp. 819-20, trans. Nöldeke, pp. 17-18. Cf. Widengren, *art. cit.* pp. 745-56.

<sup>39</sup> Dio Cassius (Reliq.) LXXX,3,3 and Zonaras, XII,15, p. 572,18-19.

<sup>40</sup> 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.

<sup>41</sup> Dio Cassius (Reliq.) LXXX,4,1-2, pp. 475,11-476,7.

<sup>42</sup> 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.

<sup>43</sup> *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).

<sup>44</sup> 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.<sup>45</sup> 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.<sup>46</sup>

## (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.<sup>47</sup>

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

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

<sup>46</sup> Tabari, *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.

<sup>47</sup> *CMC* 17,23-19,18, pp. 10-12, edd. Koenen and Römer (cf. *ZPE*, 1975, p. 21): [ὅτε δὲ τεσσάρων καὶ εἴ]18.(1) [κοι ἐτῶν ὑπῆρξα [έν] | τῶι ἔτει ᾧ ὑπέταξεν "Ακτραν τὴν πόλιν Δαριάρι(4)δαξαρ ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς Περκίδος, ἐν ᾧ καὶ Καπῶρης | ὁ βασιλεὺς ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ | διάδημα μέγιστον ἀνεῖ(8)δήσατο, κατὰ τὸν μῆνα | τὸν Φαρμοῦθι ἐν τῇ ἡῶ ἡμέραι τῆς σελήνης ὁ μακίκαριώτατος κ(ύ)ρ(ι)ος ἐπλ[αγ]1(12)χνίθη ἐπ' ἐμὲ καὶ ἐκ[ά]λλεσεν εἰς τὴν αὐτοῦ χάριον καὶ ἀπέστειλέν μοι | [...].υς σύζυγόν 1(16) [μου τὸν ἐν δόξῃ μ]εγάλην | [---(octo lineae perierunt) 19.(2) [ὁ] μνήτωρ καὶ μη[νυτῆς] | πασῶν ἀρίστων κυμβο[υ]1(4)λιῶν τῶν ἐκ τοῦ π(α)τ(ῆ)ρ(ὸ)ς τοῦ | ἡμετέρου καὶ τῆς ἀποκρῶ 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*.<sup>48</sup> 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*.<sup>49</sup> 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.<sup>50</sup> 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 Tunhuang. Among them were three Manichaean texts in Chinese as well as a long confessional for the Manichaean Hearers in Uighur.<sup>51</sup>

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

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

<sup>50</sup> See esp. *Catalogue*, pp. ix-xxi. On fragments of Manichaean texts in Chinese from Turfan, see now Thilo, 'Einige Bemerkungen', *passim*.

<sup>51</sup> 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.<sup>52</sup> 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.<sup>53</sup> The find, totalling some two thousand leaves, contained: (1) the *Letters* of Mani, (2) the *Psalm-Book*,<sup>54</sup> (3) the *Kephalaia of the Teacher* (i.e. Mani),<sup>55</sup> (4) the *Kephalaia of the Wisdom of my Lord Mani*,<sup>56</sup> (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*,<sup>57</sup> (8) some unidentifiable leaves.<sup>58</sup> 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.<sup>59</sup>

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*

<sup>52</sup> Cf. Alfarcic, '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.

<sup>53</sup> Cf. *Mani-Fund*, *passim*

<sup>54</sup> 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 as 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.

<sup>55</sup> *Keph.* I-CXXII ed. and trans. H.-J. Polotsky and A. Böhlig, *Manichäische Handschriften der Staatlichen Museen Berlin, Kephalaia*, 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.

<sup>56</sup> 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*.

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

<sup>58</sup> Cf. Böhlig, *Mysterion*, pp. 182-87.

<sup>59</sup> Cf. *Gnosis* III, p. 47.



and the quasi-canonical *Šābuhragān*.<sup>60</sup> 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.<sup>61</sup> 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.<sup>62</sup> 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. ἀρχή και μεσότης και τέλος, Copt. 𐩨𐩣𐩬𐩨𐩥, 𐩠𐩨𐩥, 𐩨𐩠𐩨).<sup>63</sup> 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.<sup>64</sup> 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

<sup>60</sup> 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'.

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

<sup>62</sup> *haer.* LXVI, 2, 9, GCS XXXVII (Epiph. iii), p. 18,13.

<sup>63</sup> (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: ἐξέφωνα <sup>12</sup> [δὲ αὐτοῖς] τὴν διδασκαλίαν | [τῶν δύο] φύσεων | [καὶ τὰ περὶ ἀρχῆς καὶ μεσότητος καὶ] τέλους <sup>16</sup> [... ..] εἶναι τοὺς | [... (cf. *ZPE* 1982, p. 24) (Copt.) *Ps.-Bk.* p. 11,30-31: ΠΕΤΑΥΘΩΛΠ ΝΕΝ ΔΙΒΔΔ 𐩨𐩠𐩨𐩥 𐩠𐩨𐩥 𐩠𐩨𐩥

'(The Spirit of Truth) who has revealed to us the Beginning, the Middle and the End.'  
<sup>64</sup> 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-Wāṣīt, 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.

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