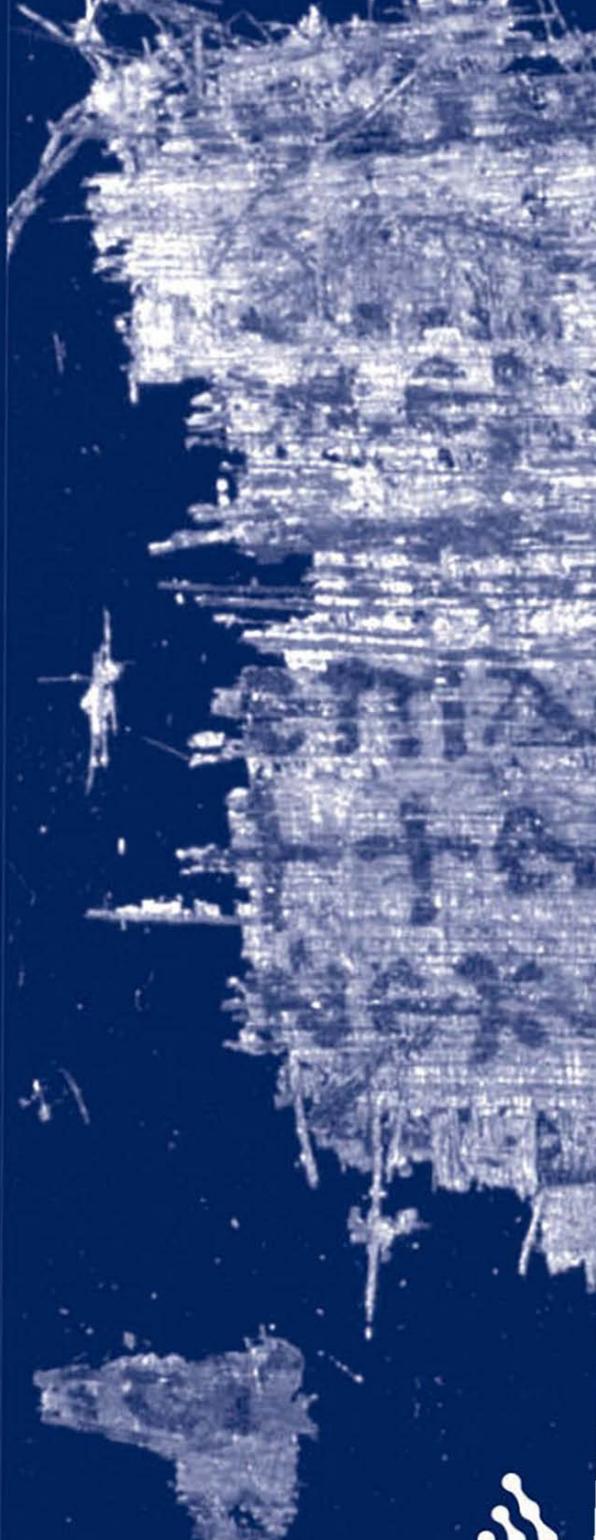


# JESUS

in the  
Manichaean  
Writings

MAJELLA  
FRANZMANN



Jesus  
in the  
Manichaean Writings

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Jesus  
in the  
Manichaean Writings

Majella Franzmann

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*For Werner Sundermann  
and the 'Turfan Team'*

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## Contents

<i>Preface</i>	ix
<i>Abbreviations</i>	xi
1 <i>Manichaean Christology</i>	1
1 Previous studies in Manichaean Christology	2
2 Manichaean Christology in detail	7
3 The current study	11
2 ' <i>I, Mani, apostle of Jesus Christ</i> '	15
1 Mani as apostle of Jesus Christ	15
2 Mani as Paraclete	19
3 Jesus and the Heavenly Twin of Mani	21
4 Jesus as Mani's personal saviour and model	23
3 <i>Jesus the Splendour</i>	27
1 The origin and nature of Jesus the Splendour	27
2 Jesus the Splendour as saviour-revealer	31
3 Jesus the Splendour and the soul in the hour of death	42
4 Imagery for Jesus the Splendour as saviour	44
5 General descriptions of Jesus the Splendour	47
6 A saved saviour?	48
4 <i>Jesus the Apostle of Light</i>	51
1 The origin and nature of Jesus the Apostle	51
2 Jesus the Apostle as revealer, teacher and wonder-worker	60
3 Jesus the Apostle as founder of a church	63
4 Jesus the Apostle as guide and defender of souls at the hour of death	64
5 Events in Jesus's 'lifetime'	66
6 The 'passion-resurrection' story	67
7 Resurrection and appearances, gift of the Holy Spirit, ascension	81
8 Conclusion of contact with the world	84
5 <i>Jesus the Judge</i>	89
1 Jesus the Judge at the endtime	90
2 The action of judgement	93
3 Associated imagery: bridegroom and king	96
4 The ascent of the Judge	97

<i>Interim Summary 1: Jesus – Splendour, Apostle and Judge</i>	99
1 Jesus the Splendour and Jesus the Apostle	99
2 Jesus the Splendour and Jesus the Judge	103
3 Jesus the Apostle and Jesus the Judge	104
4 Jesus – Splendour, Apostle and Judge	104
6 <i>The Immanent and Suffering Jesus (Patibilis)</i>	107
1 Jesus of Light who descends and is trapped	109
2 Jesus who suffers, rises and saves	112
3 Jesus who is liberated from the world	116
7 <i>Jesus the Youth</i>	119
1 Emanation of Jesus the Youth	119
2 Jesus the Youth who weeps and cries out in the world	120
3 The Youth/Little One	121
4 The final gathering	122
8 <i>Jesus the Moon</i>	125
1 The moon as object of veneration or god	125
2 The moon associated with Jesus the Splendour and Jesus the Apostle	126
3 Jesus the Moon	128
<i>Interim Summary 2: Jesus – Patibilis and Youth</i>	131
<i>Final Summary: Six Jesus Figures – One Jesus</i>	133
1 Jesus the Splendour and Jesus Patibilis	133
2 Jesus the Apostle and Jesus Patibilis	136
3 Jesus the Splendour, Jesus the Apostle, Jesus the Judge and Jesus Patibilis	137
9 <i>Conclusion</i>	141
<i>Bibliography</i>	147
<i>Indexes</i>	157

## *Preface*

This present work is my second study of Jesus from texts of the early centuries CE. These texts represent or interpret Jesus but do not belong to the mainstream ('orthodox') Christian tradition. The first study appeared in 1996 as *Jesus in the Nag Hammadi Writings* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark). The bulk of the initial research for this second study was funded by a Large Grant of the Australian Research Council during 1996–98. The Alexander von Humboldt Foundation, to whom I owe an enormous debt of gratitude for research support over many years, provided financial assistance in 1997 for me to attend the fourth International Manichaeic Conference in Berlin, where I first broached the subject of the Manichaeic Jesus with colleagues. The University of New England granted two periods of study leave in 1997 and 2001 which were used partly to work on the project, and the Faculty of Arts at UNE provided a small grant in 2001 towards putting the finishing touches to the manuscript.

I dedicate this work to Professor Werner Sundermann, former Director of the Institut für Turfanforschung of the Berlin–Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften, who together with his colleagues always gave me a warm welcome in Berlin and generously made time to help with my many questions.

I remember with gratitude Professor Hans-Joachim Klimkeit who was a gracious host to me on a number of occasions in Bonn, especially during an extension of my Humboldt Fellowship in 1995, and who continued to encourage me in this project up to the time of his death.

Professor Sundermann and Dr Siegfried Richter (Münster) read parts of the manuscript in draft form and provided invaluable feedback. However, I take full responsibility for the work and the opinions expressed in it.

Dr Jeffery Hodges, employed by the University of New England as a research associate for the Australian Research Council project during 1996–98, did extensive bibliographical work and a considerable part of the collection, reading and initial summaries of texts. Dr Joan Relke gave invaluable assistance with editing several drafts of the manuscript, checking and correcting references, and collecting extra bibliographical material. Kevin Kaatz generously helped with the collection of bibliographical material on many occasions. Toni Tidswell was a tower of strength through the proofreading 'marathon' and indeed through the entire writing process.

Finally I would like to thank most sincerely Geoffrey Green of T&T Clark (Continuum), who continues to encourage me to publish with his company.

M. Franzmann  
University of New England  
March 2002

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## Abbreviations

### 1 Manichaean texts

Unless otherwise specifically noted, the following versions of texts have been used in each case. I have used Klimkeit's list of abbreviations in *Gnosis on the Silk Road* as a guide.

<i>BBB</i>	Henning (ed.), <i>Ein manichäisches Bet- und Beichtbuch</i> .
<i>CMC</i>	Cameron and Dewey (eds), <i>The Cologne Mani Codex</i> .
H.	Chinese Hymn Roll in Schmidt-Glinzer, <i>Chinesische Manichaica</i> .
Her	Psalms of Heracleides.
<i>Hom.</i>	Polotsky (ed.), <i>Manichäische Homilien</i> .
<i>HR II</i>	Müller (ed.), <i>Handschriften-Reste II</i> .
<i>Keph.</i>	Polotsky and Böhlig (eds), <i>Kephalaia: I. Hälfte</i> (Coptic); Gardner (ed.), <i>Kephalaia</i> (English).
<i>Keph. II</i>	Funk (ed.), <i>Kephalaia (I): Zweite Hälfte</i> .
MM II, III	Henning and Andreas (eds), 'Mitteliranische Manichaica aus Chinesisch-Turkestan II, III'.
<i>PsB</i>	Allberry (ed.), <i>Manichaean Psalm Book: Part II</i> .
<i>PsB I</i>	Giversen (ed.), <i>Psalm Book Part I</i> .
<i>SR</i>	Klimkeit, <i>Gnosis on the Silk Road</i> .
TracPell.	Tractate Pelliot in Schmidt-Glinzer, <i>Chinesische Manichaica</i> .
<i>Türk. Man. I, II, III</i>	Le Coq (ed.), <i>Türkische Manichaica aus Chotscho I, II, III</i> .
WL I	Waldschmidt and Lentz, <i>Die Stellung Jesu</i> .
WL II	Waldschmidt and Lentz, 'Manichäische Dogmatik'.

## 2 Other primary texts

### Augustine of Hippo

- c. Faust.* *contra Faustum manichaeum*; Migne PL 42, cols 207–518 (Latin); Stothert, ‘Reply to Faustus the Manichaeon’ (English)
- c. Fel.* *acta contra Felicem manichaeum*; Jourjon, ‘Contra Felicem Manichaeum’ (Latin and French)
- c. Fort.* *acta contra Fortunatum manichaeum*  
*Disput. I* *Disputation of the First Day*  
*Disput. II* *Disputation of the Second Day*; Jourjon, ‘Contra Fortunatum Manichaeum’ (Latin); Newman, ‘Acts or Disputation Against Fortunatus the Manichaeon’ (English)
- c. Sec.* *contra Secundinum manichaeum*; Jolivet, ‘Contra Secundinum Manichaeum’ (Latin and French)
- haer.* *de haeresibus*; Migne PL 42, cols 21–50 (Latin); Müller, *De Haeresibus* (English)
- II mor.* *Liber Secundus: de moribus manichaeorum*; Migne PL 32, cols 1345–1378 (Latin); Gallagher and Gallagher (eds), *Saint Augustine: The Catholic and Manichaeon Ways of Life*, 65–117 (English)

### Christian Scriptures

- |       |                                  |
|-------|----------------------------------|
| Matt  | Gospel of Matthew                |
| Lk    | Gospel of Luke                   |
| Jn    | Gospel of John                   |
| Acts  | Acts of the Apostles             |
| Rom   | Letter to the Romans             |
| 1 Cor | First Letter to the Corinthians  |
| 2 Cor | Second Letter to the Corinthians |
| Gal   | Letter to the Galatians          |
| Eph   | Letter to the Ephesians          |
| Phil  | Letter to the Philippians        |
| Col   | Letter to the Colossians         |
| 1 Tim | First Letter to Timothy          |
| 2 Tim | Second Letter to Timothy         |
| Heb   | Letter to the Hebrews            |
| 1 Jn  | First Letter of John             |

### Jewish Scriptures

- |     |                   |
|-----|-------------------|
| Gen | Book of Genesis   |
| Is  | Book of Isaiah    |
| Lev | Book of Leviticus |

**Nag Hammadi writings**

Hyp. Archons            The Hypostasis of the Archons

**3 Publications**

<i>ABD</i>	<i>Anchor Bible Dictionary</i>
<i>AEPHE.R</i>	<i>Annuaire de l'École Pratique des Hautes Etudes – Section des Sciences Religieuses</i>
<i>AoF</i>	<i>Altorientalische Forschungen</i>
<i>APAW</i>	Abhandlungen der (K.) Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften
<i>APAW.PH</i>	———. Philosophisch-historische Klasse
<i>Aug(L)</i>	<i>Augustiniana</i> (Louvain)
<i>BBAW</i>	Berlin–Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften
<i>BDB</i>	Brown, Driver, and Briggs, <i>Hebrew and English Lexicon</i>
<i>BSAC</i>	<i>Bulletin de la Société d'Archéologie Copte</i>
<i>BSOAS</i>	<i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies</i>
<i>ByZ</i>	<i>Byzantinische Zeitschrift</i>
<i>EaW</i>	<i>East and West</i>
<i>EeT(O)</i>	<i>Église et théologie</i> (Ottawa)
<i>JRH</i>	<i>Journal of Religious History</i>
<i>JSOT</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the Old Testament</i>
<i>MIOF</i>	<i>Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung</i>
<i>NGWG.PH</i>	<i>Nachrichten (von) der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften (zu) Göttingen – Philologisch-Historische Klasse</i>
<i>NHMS</i>	Nag Hammadi and Manichaean Studies
<i>NHS</i>	Nag Hammadi Studies
<i>NPNF</i>	A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers
<i>NRCC</i>	<i>Náboženská revue církve československé</i>
<i>NT</i>	<i>Novum Testamentum</i>
<i>OLZ</i>	<i>Orientalische Literaturzeitung</i>
<i>Or.</i>	<i>Orientalia. Roma</i>
<i>OrChr</i>	<i>Oriens Christianus</i>
<i>RHR</i>	<i>Revue de l'histoire des religions</i>
<i>SPAW(.PH)</i>	<i>Sitzungsberichte der Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften – Philosophisch-Historische Klasse</i>
<i>Symb.</i>	<i>Symbolon</i> (Basel)
<i>ThLZ</i>	<i>Theologische Literaturzeitung</i>
<i>ThQ</i>	<i>Theologische Quartalschrift</i> (Tübingen)
<i>TRE</i>	<i>Theologische Realenzyklopädie</i>
<i>VigChr</i>	<i>Vigiliae Christianae</i>
<i>ZKG</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte</i>

*ZNW**Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft (21, 1922ff.) und die Kunde der älteren Kirche**ZPE**Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik**ZRGG**Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte*

## *Manichaean Christology*

Prior to the last quarter of the twentieth century, works on Manichaean Christology were few, although major Manichaean texts, such as the Homilies, Psalm Book and Kephalaia, were published in German or English editions from the mid 1930s to 1940. Of course, some early scholars like Polotsky were not convinced that the Christian elements within Manichaeism were central to that system but rather an addendum resulting from increasing Manichaean contact with Christianity through missionary activity. This might account for a certain lack of interest. Also, perhaps, like the Nag Hammadi texts discovered a little later in the mid-twentieth century, Manichaean writings were not valued as sources of important information about the development of Christologies to complement those Christologies that emanated from the mainstream Christian tradition. This present work recognizes that Christian elements and the Jesus figure have a central place in Manichaeism, and that they are important in any understanding of the development of Christologies, whether within mainstream Christianity or within associated (heterodox) groups.

Before presenting my own interpretations of the Manichaean Jesus, I need to consider what those before me have proposed.<sup>1</sup> I have divided this material into two sections: the first deals with the more general question of Manichaean Christology, its origins and its relative importance for the Manichaean system as a whole; and the second investigates the work of Christology in some detail – the classification of Jesus figures, the relative importance of individual figures to the Christology, and the possibility of an essential unity underlying the figures. My own interpretations will focus on the essential unity of the Jesus figures.

I use the term 'Jesus figure/s' frequently throughout this study, rather than simply writing 'Jesus', for a number of reasons. First, it recognizes that what is studied in the texts is either one character or various characters called Jesus thus 'figure/s' is equivalent to 'character/s'. Second, both for this study and for many others, in the initial stages at least, it is not clear how many Jesus figures are to be understood. Using the term 'figure' distances the scholar from

---

<sup>1</sup> Some material in this and later chapters appeared in an earlier draft as a paper to the 4th International Conference of Manichaean Studies, published as 'Jesus in the Manichaean Writings – Work in Progress', in *Studia Manichaica. 13. Internationaler Kongress zum Manichäismus, Berlin, 14-18 Juli 1997*, ed. Ronald E. Finnerick, Werner Sundermann and Peter Zieme. BBAW, Berichte und Abhandlungen Sonderband 4. Akademie Verlag, Berlin, 2000: 220-46.

making a too hasty decision on how many Jesuses there are, whether all of them are meant as 'real' characters or whether some are simply functions of one central Jesus character, and whether some act as little more than allegorical/metaphorical elements. Finally, the term sounds better to the ear than the rather awkward 'Jesuses'.

## 1 Previous studies in Manichaean Christology<sup>2</sup>

Some early Manichaean studies, for example, that of Baur in 1831,<sup>3</sup> contain sections on Jesus. In the first half of the twentieth century, studies specifically dedicated to Jesus in Manichaeism were carried out by Waldschmidt and Lentz,<sup>4</sup> and by Rose, who completed a dissertation on Manichaean Christology in 1941, though it remained unpublished until 1979. Apart from reviews of Waldschmidt and Lentz, articles specifically concerned with Jesus were published by Wesendonk, Peterson and Klima.<sup>5</sup>

In the second half of the twentieth century a great gap remained in major studies until the publication of the revised version of Rose's thesis in 1979,<sup>6</sup> followed shortly afterwards by the completion of Gardner's thesis in 1983, unfortunately never published,<sup>7</sup> though some content from it appeared in his 1988 work on the docetic Jesus and in the 1991 work on Jesus and the passion of the Living Soul.<sup>8</sup> Again, apart from these more specific works, others have taken forward the discussion within more general studies, or in shorter articles: Asmussen in 1958, Ries in 1964 and 1994, Ort in 1969, Geerlings in

<sup>2</sup> I leave aside from consideration those 'studies' of Manichaeism by Christian heresiologists.

<sup>3</sup> Ferdinand Christian Baur, *Das Manichäische Religionssystem nach den Quellen neu untersucht und entwickelt*. Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen, 1928 (reprint of Tübingen, 1831).

<sup>4</sup> Ernst Waldschmidt and Wolfgang Lentz, *Die Stellung Jesu im Manichäismus*. APAW.PH 4, Berlin, 1926.

<sup>5</sup> Otto Gunther von Wesendonk, 'Jesus und der Manichäismus', *OLZ*, 30 (1927): cols 221-7; Erik Peterson, 'Jesus bei den Manichäern', *ThLZ*, 53 (1928): 241-50; Otakar Klima, 'Zmímka o Jezísi Kristu v manichejské literatúre (Eine Erwähnung Jesu Christi in der manichäischen Literatur)', *NRCC*, 17 (1946): 241-3.

<sup>6</sup> Eugen Rose, *Die manichäische Christologie*. Otto Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 1979.

<sup>7</sup> Iain M.F. Gardner, 'Manichaean Christology. The Historical Jesus and the Suffering Jesus with particular reference to Western texts (i.e. texts from a Christian environment), and illustrated by comparison with Marcionism and other related movements', PhD Thesis, Manchester University, 1983. My thanks to Iain Gardner for making a copy of his thesis available to me for this project.

<sup>8</sup> Iain M.F. Gardner, *Coptic Theological Papyri II, Edition, Commentary, Translation, with an Appendix: The Docetic Jesus*, vols 1-2, Verlag Brüder Hollinek, Vienna, 1988; and 'The Manichaean Account of Jesus and the Passion of the Living Soul', in *Manichaica Selecta. Studies presented to Professor Julien Ries on the occasion of his seventieth birthday*, ed. Alois van Tongerloo and Søren Giversen, International Association of Manichaean Studies in conjunction with the Centre for the History of Religions, Louvain, 1991.

1972, Morano in 1982, Klimkeit in 1986 and 1996, and Dubois in 1995.<sup>9</sup> What characterizes these works is their restriction to selections of texts from either Eastern or Western traditions rather than a consideration of all available texts. Certainly, Rose was criticized for putting all the texts together indiscriminately for his study, but no further attempt has been made to find a methodologically sound route through the predicament of a multitude of texts from different times and places.

### 1.1 The religious origin of Manichaeism

The studies already listed exhibit, for the most part, either of two major points of view regarding the basic religious origin of Manichaeism: that it originates in Iranian religion (Zoroastrianism/Zurvanism) or in Christianity. Here, the priority is origin rather than influences, since even a basic Christian origin does not preclude Iranian influences, even strong influences.

For those holding the first viewpoint, those Christian elements that appear in Manichaeism and among the writings of the Church Fathers on Manichaeism are secondary elements within a basically Iranian-influenced religion. Polotsky provides the most spirited argument for this position, suggesting that Mani and those Manichaeans who were in close contact with Christians pushed the figure of Jesus into the foreground.<sup>10</sup> Although not denying that Pauline and Johannine Christologies influenced Mani, Polotsky sees them as only two among the many syncretistic elements Mani attempted to weave together.

Polotsky suggests that Mani began by proposing two figures – Jesus the Splendour within the myth and Jesus Christ within religious history – but

<sup>9</sup> Jes Peter Asmussen, *X<sup>th</sup>astvaunft. Studies in Manichaeism*, Munksgaard, Copenhagen, 1965; Julien Ries, 'Jésus-Christ dans la religion de Mani. Quelques éléments d'une confrontation de saint Augustin avec un hymnaire christologique manichéen copte', *Aug(L)*, 14 (1964): 437-54, and 'Jésus la Splendeur. Jésus patibilis. Jésus historique dans les textes manichéens occidentaux', in *Gnosisforschung und Religionsgeschichte: Festschrift für Kurt Rudolph zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Holger Preißler and Hubert Seiwert, diagonal-Verlag, Marburg, 1994, 235-45; L.J.R. Ort, 'Jesus and Mani – a comparison', in *Liber amicorum. Studies in Honour of Professor Dr C. J. Bleeker*, E.J. Brill, Leiden, 1969, 126-39; Wilhelm Geerlings, 'Der manichäische "Jesus patibilis" in der Theologie Augustins', *ThQ*, 152 (1972): 124-31; Enrico Morano, 'The Sogdian Hymns of *Stellung Jesu*', *EdW N.S.*, 32.1-4 (1982): 9-43; Hans-Joachim Klimkeit, 'Jesus's Entry into *parinirvāna*. Manichaean Identity in Buddhist Central Asia', *Numen*, 33.2 (1986): 225-40, and 'Jesus, Mani and Buddha as Physicians in the Texts of the Silk Road', in *Atti dei Convegni Lincei 127: Convegno internazionale sul tema: La Persia e L'Asia Centrale da Alessandro al X Secolo, in collaborazione con l'Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente (Roma, 9-12 novembre 1994)*, Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Rome, 1996, 589-95; and Jean-Daniel Dubois, 'Vie de Jésus et vie de Mani au coeur des débats entre chrétiens orthodoxes et manichéens', in *Discours religieux dans l'Antiquité. Actes du colloque Besançon 27-28 janvier 1995*, ed. M.-M. Mactoux and E. Geny, Centre de Recherches d'Histoire Ancienne, Annales Littéraires de l'Université de Besançon 578, Besançon, 1996, 177-87.

<sup>10</sup> Hans Jakob Polotsky, 'Manichäismus', in *Collected Papers by H.J. Polotsky*, ed. E.Y. Kutscher, Magnes Press, Hebrew University, Jerusalem, 1971, 711; see also the later article by J. Kevin Coyle, 'The Cologne Mani-Codex and Mani's Christian Connections', *EcT(O)*, 10 (1979): 184-5.

realized early that in order to win over Christians to his thinking he needed to soften the sharp division between his two Jesus figures by assigning the position of Son of God to the second, 'historical' character. As Son of God, however, this character could not be truly human or have a body; he could come only in an appearance of humanity (*Keph.* 12. 24–6). Polotsky proposes that this was basically a secondary and disorganized concession born of the missionary effort, evidenced by the fact that the second ('historical') Jesus character remains extrinsic to the Manichaean system, and that his role within the hymnic literature, both Coptic and Iranian, has no real relationship to basic Manichaean premises. Conflict with Christians finally forced the Manichaeans to work critically, exegetically and dogmatically with Old and New Testaments, though it is not clear whether Mani himself or his followers promoted this theological argument with Christianity.<sup>11</sup>

Against Polotsky, Quispel argues that the use of the New Testament was not just a response to the controversies over missioning among Christians, but that Mani would not have conceived of himself as the Paraclete, would not have interpreted his vision of his double in this fashion, unless he had already had a thorough knowledge of the Gospel of John and the writings of Paul.<sup>12</sup> In other words, Mani was already well-versed in the New Testament, and was so steeped in it that it became basic to his new system.

The *CMC* seems at least to set Mani quite clearly and primarily within a field of influence that was basically Christian or Jewish-Christian:

He wrote [thus again and] said in the Gospel of his most holy hope: 'I, Mani, an apostle of Jesus Christ through the will of God, the Father of Truth, from whom I also was born, who lives and abides forever, existing before all and also abiding after all. All things which are and will be subsist through his power. For from this very one I was begotten; and I am from his will. From him all that is true was revealed to me; and I am from [his] truth. [The truth of ages which he revealed] I have seen, and (that) truth I have disclosed to my fellow travelers ...' (*CMC*, 65.20–67.2)

Böhlig argues that, because Mani uses Jesus as an authority in his arguments with the Elchasaites in the *CMC*, the Elchasaites were Jewish Christians rather than a pagan group with Christianity grafted onto it. He holds that the astrology, magic and reverence for the elements could have been readily adopted from the pagan surroundings, but that the saviour figure as a central

<sup>11</sup> Polotsky, 'Manichäismus', 712–13.

<sup>12</sup> Gilles Quispel, 'Mani The Apostle of Jesus Christ', in *Gnostic Studies II*, Publications de l'Institut Historique-Archéologique Néerlandais de Stamboul/Uitgaven van het Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul (PIHANS), Amsterdam 1975, 230–7. For a recent view on the influence of Paul, see Iain M. F. Gardner (ed.), *Kellis Literary Texts. Vol. 1. Edited by Iain Gardner with contributions by S. Clackson, M. Franzmann and K.A. Worp*. Dakhleh Oasis Project: Monograph 4, Oxbow Monograph 69, Oxbow, Oxford, 1996, 84–90.

idea is harder to adopt from an outside group.<sup>13</sup> These arguments are not enough to prove that Mani understood himself and his visionary experiences entirely within a Christian context, since he left this group to find his own way and preach his own distinct message; however, the *CMC* reveals his ideas concerning Jesus, who is his saviour, the authority he gives to the words of the saviour, his understanding of Jesus the Splendour, who protects him, and his self-identification as the Apostle of Jesus Christ, by the will of God, the Father of Truth. These ideas sufficiently set him at least in a preliminary Christian context, no matter how his thinking might have changed thereafter.

It is difficult to conclude then with Koenen that Mani was simply using the rhetoric of Christological statements in the New Testament and that his mythos was flexible enough to sound 'Christian' when necessary.<sup>14</sup> It is difficult, too, to accept Widengren's statement in the introduction to his edition of works on Manichaeism in 1977, made well after the beginning of publication in 1970 of Henrichs' and Koenen's work on the Cologne Mani Codex, that the Christian elements in Manichaeism are merely to do with literary style ('Stilelementen'), the Manichaean Jesus occupying a position already supplied by the Zoroastrian system. For Widengren, too much had been made of the occurrence of the name 'Jesus' in Manichaean texts.<sup>15</sup>

Prior to Polotsky, Waldschmidt and Lentz proposed that Manichaeism is based on Christianity, writing that the figure of Jesus is fundamental to and pervasive throughout Manichaeism.<sup>16</sup> The major 'Jesus works', after Waldschmidt and Lentz, hold the same viewpoint. Rose maintains that Manichaeism grew from heretical Christian roots and itself constituted a definitively Christian heresy.<sup>17</sup> Böhlig thinks that Christianity provided the impetus and core of Mani's religious system.<sup>18</sup>

Rose's monograph attempts to show Jesus in the central role as saviour in the Manichaean system. Pedersen agrees with Rose, that 'the redeemers who intervene in relation to man can be grouped in relation to Jesus as the central redeeming figure and can be understood as manifestations of Jesus', against Colpe's view, that 'the gods of Manichaeism are only hypostatizings of the

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<sup>13</sup> Alexander Böhlig, 'Der Synkretismus des Mani' in *Gnosis und Synkretismus. Gesammelte Aufsätze zur antiken Religionsgeschichte*, Vol. 2, ed. Alexander Böhlig, J.C.B. Mohr (Siebeck), Tübingen, 1989, 498-9.

<sup>14</sup> Ludwig Koenen, 'Wie Dualistisch ist Manis Dualismus?', in *Carl-Schmidt-Kolloquium an der Martin-Luther-Universität 1988*, ed. Peter Nagel, Abt. Wissenschaftspublizistik der Martin-Luther-Universität, Halle-Wittenberg, Halle (Salle), 1990, 251-7.

<sup>15</sup> Geo Widengren, 'Einleitung', in *Der Manichäismus*, ed. Geo Widengren, Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, Darmstadt, 1977, xxvii n. 44.

<sup>16</sup> WL I, 11, 20.

<sup>17</sup> Rose, *Die Manichäische Christologie*, I 6; see also Alexander Böhlig, 'Manichäismus', in *TRE*, 22 (Berlin, 1992): 34.

<sup>18</sup> Alexander Böhlig, 'Zur Religionsgeschichtlichen Einordnung des Manichäismus', in *Gnosis und Synkretismus Gesammelte Aufsätze zur antiken Religionsgeschichte*, Vol. 2, ed. Alexander Böhlig, J.C.B. Mohr (Siebeck), Tübingen, 1989, 471-2; see also Alexander Böhlig, 'Der Manichäismus und das Christentum' in *Gnosis und Manichäismus. Forschungen und Studien zu Texten von Valentin und Mani sowie zu den Bibliotheken von Nag Hammadi und Medinet Madi*, ed. Alexander Böhlig and Christoph Marksches, Walter de Gruyter, Berlin/New York, 1994, 9-10, nn. 29-32.

one redeeming power, the Light, and therefore a single redeemer cannot be expected to be central'. Pedersen admits that Colpe is 'logically right', but adds that 'the question is rather whether Mani himself connected his own mission and his message so closely with Jesus that it was only possible for the earliest Manichees to understand Jesus as the central redeemer'.<sup>19</sup>

Gardner thinks that the primary roots of Manichaeism are to be located in oriental Christianity, especially Jewish-Christian, Gnostic and 'Gnosticizing' groups.<sup>20</sup> One of the telling points for Gardner, regarding the centrality of Jesus and Christianity to Manichaeism, is that among the light messengers who take the form of apostles in the earliest strata of Manichaeism, only Jesus and Mani are clearly defined.<sup>21</sup>

Behind the issue of the origin of Manichaeism lies the question of Jesus's importance for Mani himself. I have already introduced the question above in speaking of the *CMC*, and deal with it in more detail in the following chapter. For now, I move on to the relative importance of the Christology within the Manichaean system as a whole.

## 1.2 The importance of Christology for Manichaeism

Questions of origin aside, and given the fact that Jesus figures are found within the Manichaean system, it is necessary to determine the importance of Christology to the entire Manichaean system. Coyle suggests that those who claim the centrality of Jesus to the whole Manichaean system need to be careful how they understand the term 'centrality':

If they mean that Jesus appears in and has a revelatory role in all types of Manichaean literature, the position is unassailable. If, on the other hand, they mean that Jesus is absolutely essential to Manichaeism as such, then we must be more cautious in tendering agreement.<sup>22</sup>

He sums up by noting that 'the basic idea of Jesus in Manichaeism seems to be that he is a *messenger*, who comes bearing *gnōsis*. He is the forerunner of Mani, a bearer of partial revelation which only Mani can make complete. If anyone is central to Manichaeism, it is not Jesus (or Buddha), but Mani himself.'<sup>23</sup> This argument is put into question, however, when Mani himself is presented as a kind of second Jesus, at least in the interpretations of his death. I deal with this in the following chapter.

The majority of scholars find the Jesus figures or Christology in general to be significant within the Manichaean corpus of writings, and their findings

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<sup>19</sup> Nils Arne Pedersen, 'Early Manichaean Christology, primarily in Western Sources', in *Manichaean Studies. Proceedings of the First International Conference on Manichaeism, August 5-9, 1987*, ed. Peter Bryder. Plus Ultra, Lund, 1988, 160.

<sup>20</sup> Gardner, 'Manichaean Christology', 186-7.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, 100, n. 6.

<sup>22</sup> Coyle, 'The Cologne Mani Codex', 190.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, 192.

are not fuelled in the main by concerns of Christian theology or New Testament study. Those who argue for an origin for Manichaeism in Christianity also argue for the importance of the Christology within the system. Waldschmidt and Lentz hold Jesus as fundamental to and pervasive throughout Manichaeism,<sup>24</sup> and Rose sees Christology in the central position in Manichaean dogmatics, with Jesus representing the towering godly saviour in Manichaean belief and the personal lives of his believers.<sup>25</sup> Moreover, Rose sees the figure of Jesus playing as important a role for Manichaeism as it does for Christianity.<sup>26</sup>

Gardner holds that the life history of Jesus (the Apostle) is important in its 'shape' and significance for the great themes Mani introduces into his religion – for example, divine loss, suffering, healing and syzygy:<sup>27</sup> 'the Manichaean account of the history of the divine light in mixture with evil matter would be rendered meaningless if the figure of Jesus, and the traditional images of his life-story, were to be removed'.<sup>28</sup>

As we move into the early years of the twenty-first century, the current general consensus is that Manichaeism has its origin in one stream of early Jewish Christianity, no matter to what extent its further development was influenced by Iranian elements, and that the figure of Jesus is of central or at least great significance to the Manichaean system.

## 2 Manichaean Christology in detail

### 2.1 Classification of Jesus figures

In this section, I simply outline the variety of suggestions by scholars regarding the number and identity of the Jesus figures within the Manichaean texts, keeping in mind their tendency to work in either the Western or the Eastern texts, but not in both. Also, some scholars, when categorizing figures, were perhaps only considering those in which they were particularly interested. Thus, in his work on Chinese texts, Bryder identifies only two roles for Jesus – Jesus the Splendour, who gave *gnōsis* to Adam, and Jesus the eschatological Judge, who will separate the righteous from the sinners.<sup>29</sup> One cannot imagine that these constitute the sum total of the figures that Bryder encountered.

Scholars' totals for the number of Jesus figures range from three to six. The various positions can be summarized as follows:

Burkitt proposes three figures ... Jesus as the redeemer, the sufferer, and the

<sup>24</sup> WL I. 11. 20.

<sup>25</sup> Rose, *Die Manichäische Christologie*. xvi.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, 1-6.

<sup>27</sup> Gardner, 'Manichaean Christology', 186-7.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, i.

<sup>29</sup> Peter Bryder, *The Chinese Transformation of Manichaeism. A Study of Chinese Manichaean Terminology*, Lund University, Löberöd, 1985. 79

nourisher.<sup>30</sup> Conze, Boyce, Ries, Klimkeit, Heuser and Lieu also recognize three – Jesus the Splendour, the redeeming god; Jesus Patibilis; and Jesus the Messiah/historical Jesus.<sup>31</sup>

Polotsky identifies two Jesus figures – Jesus the Splendour and Jesus Christ (the historical Jesus) – but proposes that Jesus Patibilis be added as a reconciliation point between the mythological and the historical figures.<sup>32</sup>

While Rudolph notes a threefold form of the redeemer – Jesus the Splendour, the historical Jesus, and Jesus Patibilis<sup>33</sup> – he also refers to four different Jesus figures: the former three plus the boy Jesus.<sup>34</sup> He does not say how the fourth figure relates to the other three, although in an early work, he presents the Boy as the alter ego of Jesus the Splendour.<sup>35</sup>

While Rose identifies three Jesus figures – Jesus Patibilis, the historical Jesus and a cosmic Christ – he further speculates on the role of Jesus as Apostle of Light and as Judge of the World.<sup>36</sup> He also suggests the necessity of distinguishing among different perspectives toward Jesus – Jesus as ‘saved saviour’ and Jesus as ‘saving saviour’; Jesus the Splendour, Jesus the Prophet and Jesus the Judge; and, finally, the Jesus of the economy of salvation, who came to Adam, and the Jesus of the sacramental mystery, who works in the present lives of the Manichaeans.<sup>37</sup> Henrichs cites Rose’s idea that Mani ‘differentiated sharply between the historical Jesus, whose life and preaching are described in the Gospels, and several divine hypostases of the same name,

<sup>30</sup> F.C. Burkitt, *The Religion of the Manichees. Donellan Lectures for 1924*, Cambridge University Press, London, 1925, 42.

<sup>31</sup> Edward Conze, ‘Buddhism and Gnosis’, in *Le Origini dello Gnosticismo: Colloquio di Messina 13–18 Aprile 1966*, ed. Ugo Bianchi, E.J. Brill, Leiden, 1967, 664–5; Mary Boyce, *A Reader in Manichaean Middle Persian and Parthian*, Vol. 2, 2nd edn, E.J. Brill, Leiden, 1975, 10; Julien Ries, ‘Un double symbole de foi gnostique dans le *Kephalaion* un de Médinet Mâdi’, in *Nag Hammadi and Gnosis: Papers read at the First International Congress of Coptology (Cairo, December 1976)*, ed. Robert McLaren Wilson, E.J. Brill, Leiden, 1978, 145–6, and ‘Les Titres néotestamentaires du Christ dans la liturgie gnostique de Médinet Mâdi’, in *Studia Biblica 1978, III. Papers on Paul and Other New Testament Authors. Sixth International Congress on Biblical Studies, Oxford, 1978*, vol. 3, ed. Elizabeth A. Livingstone, JSOT Press, Sheffield, 1980, 322–3; Hans-Joachim Klimkeit, ‘Das Kreuzessymbol in der zentralasiatischen Religionsbegegnung’, *ZRGG*, 31.1 (1979): 101–2; Manfred Heuser, ‘The Manichaean Myth According to the Coptic Sources’, in *Studies in Manichaean Literature and Art*, Manfred Heuser and Hans-Joachim Klimkeit, NHMS 46, E.J. Brill, Leiden, 1998, 68; Lieu, *Manichaeism in the Later Roman Empire*, 161.

<sup>32</sup> Polotsky, ‘Manichäismus’, 712.

<sup>33</sup> Kurt Rudolph (ed.), *Gnosis und Gnostizismus*, Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, Darmstadt, 1975, 156–7. This seems to assume some inner unity as well as the idea that Jesus Patibilis is a redeemer. In another earlier work, Kurt Rudolph (‘Rose: Die manichäische Christologie, Wiesbaden 1979’, review, *ThLZ*, 107 (1982): 447) had noted the five functions of Jesus in Rose’s work and seemed to accept his distinctions among all five figures.

<sup>34</sup> Rudolph, *Gnosis*, 339.

<sup>35</sup> Kurt Rudolph, ‘Gnosis und Manichäismus nach den koptischen Quellen’, *Koptologische Studien in der DDR. Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift Martin-Luther-Univ. Halle-Wittenberg*, 1965, 173.

<sup>36</sup> Rose, *Die Manichäische Christologie*, 59, 63–4.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, 58.

who are key figures in Mani's theology'. Thus we must count Henrichs logically in this section.<sup>38</sup>

Although Klimkeit's earlier work recognized three Jesus figures, in his later work, he notes and appears to accept Rose's fivefold division.<sup>39</sup>

Sundermann proposes six Jesuses in Manichaeism – Jesus the Splendour, Jesus Patibilis, the Historical Jesus (an apostle of light), the eschatological Jesus (a judge), Jesus the Child and Jesus the Moon.<sup>40</sup> He points out that most aspects of Jesus can be replaced by more exact mythological entities: Jesus the Splendour by the Great Nous, Jesus Patibilis by the World Soul, Jesus the Child by the Enthymesis of Life, and Jesus the Moon by the moon.<sup>41</sup>

In relation to the redeemer, Jesus 'as Nous', Gardner notes three major appearances: to Adam, in Judea and at the eschaton.<sup>42</sup> But Gardner also lists a number of elements in Manichaean Christology: Jesus as prophet; Jesus as liberating teacher; Jesus as giver of word and grace; Jesus as Moon God; Jesus as the bleeding flesh; and Jesus as the All,<sup>43</sup> some of which elements, but not all, would also belong to Gardner's redeemer figure.

## 2.2 Relative importance of Jesus figures

The issue of which figure of Jesus stands at the heart of the Christology is generally answered as either the cosmological figure of Jesus the Splendour or the historical Jesus. Those who hold to the former include Polotsky and Rudolph. They both emphasize Jesus the Splendour as the mythological correlation of the Nous – a central idea of the Manichaean system.<sup>44</sup> Polotsky adds that what remains after taking out the figure of Jesus the Splendour is just a religious founder who stands on the same level as the Buddha, Zarathustra and finally Mani.<sup>45</sup>

To Waldschmidt and Lentz, Manichaeism presents a completely uniform view of the saviour Jesus, but they fail to make any distinctions among Jesus figures, and it is not possible to know if they mean Jesus the Splendour or the historical Jesus as Saviour.<sup>46</sup>

Two main proponents of the historical Jesus as the key to Manichaean Christology are Rose and Gardner. Rose believes that Mani started with this

<sup>38</sup> A. Henrichs, 'The Timing of Supernatural Events in the Cologne Mani Codex', in *Codex Manichaicus Coloniensis: Acti del Simposio Internazionale (Rende-Amantea 3-7 settembre 1984)*, ed. Luigi Cirillo and A. Roselli, Marra, Cosenza, 1986, 184-5.

<sup>39</sup> Hans-Joachim Klimkeit, 'Rose, Eugen, *Die manichäische Christologie*, Studies in Oriental Religions 5, Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz, 1979, xii, 199 p.' (review), *Numen*, 29 (1982): 274.

<sup>40</sup> Werner Sundermann, 'Christ in Manichaeism', in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, vol. 5, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1992, 537-8.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, 536.

<sup>42</sup> Gardner, 'Manichaean Christology', 86-7.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, 326-31.

<sup>44</sup> Polotsky, 'Manichäismus', 712 and Rudolph, 'Rose Review', 446-7.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.* Polotsky, 712.

<sup>46</sup> WL I, 78.

Jesus in order to build his system, and that the 'macrocosmic Christ' is secondary in the Manichaean system.<sup>47</sup> For Gardner, the historical Jesus is central and basic to Manichaeism, with his crucifixion at the very centre.<sup>48</sup> For Mani, the life of Jesus, and in particular the crucifixion, provided the image of the suffering of the Living Soul in the world of matter. Thus, crucifixion is at the core of Manichaean thought, signifying both the 'glorification and degradation' of the Living Spirit, which is both victorious and suffering.<sup>49</sup>

Gardner seems to suggest that the images of suffering and chained bondage were drawn from historical events in the lives of Jesus and Mani in order to enable Mani and his followers to speak of the suffering Christ crucified in the whole universe.<sup>50</sup> In an earlier work, Klimkeit similarly suggests that the Manichaeans used the historical Jesus less as a soteriological figure than as a prototypical one, particularly as a prototype of Jesus Patibilis.<sup>51</sup> Rudolph, too, investigates the role of Jesus Patibilis and agrees that the identification of the suffering Light in the world as Jesus originates in the passion of Jesus in orthodox Christianity. He adds that, while Mani himself in the *CMC* used the image of Jesus Patibilis, it is nevertheless an accommodation to Christian relations.<sup>52</sup>

### 2.3 The question of an essential unity of the Jesus figures

Scholars have given various connections or equivalences between the various Jesus figures. Some connections are made via another cosmic figure. Thus the connection made between Jesus the Splendour and the Primal Man by Waldschmidt and Lentz, Polotsky, Lieu and Klimkeit,<sup>53</sup> and the connection between Jesus the Moon and the Primal Man by Klimkeit,<sup>54</sup> or between the historical Jesus and the Primal Man by Pétrement,<sup>55</sup> could lead to the connection between Jesus the Splendour, Jesus the Moon and Jesus the Apostle. In this section I do not deal with connections via other cosmic figures, nor with the conclusions of scholars such as Waldschmidt and Lentz, who inadvertently imply a unity to the Jesus figures by not clearly distinguishing among the various figures of Jesus.

In his criticism of Polotsky's exclusive focus on Jesus the Splendour that we have noted above, Rose suggests that Polotsky is only half right. What his theory needs to complete it, he says, is the extra dimension of the passive,

<sup>47</sup> Rose, *Die Manichäische Christologie*, 64-5 and 16; see also his Chapter 7.

<sup>48</sup> Gardner, 'Manichaean Christology', 186-7.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, 326-31.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, 293-4.

<sup>51</sup> Klimkeit, 'Das Kreuzessymbol', 101.

<sup>52</sup> Rudolph, 'Rose Review', 447.

<sup>53</sup> *WL I*, 15; Polotsky, 'Manichäismus', 707; Lieu, *Manichaeism in the Later Roman Empire*, 250-1; *SR* 35-6, 38-9.

<sup>54</sup> Klimkeit, 'Das Kreuzessymbol', 109.

<sup>55</sup> Simone Pétrement, *A Separate God: The Christian Origins of Gnosticism*, Harper, San Francisco, CA, 1990, 111.

suffering Jesus. For Rose, Mani's God was both the Saviour Jesus the Splendour, who brought salvation through *gnōsis* to Adam (and further through him to all people in all historical times), and the suffering Jesus, who, as the Apostle of Truth in his historical existence, brought the same *gnōsis* to all those who believe in the crucified Light in the world.<sup>56</sup> Though there are many figures named or not named as Jesus, who nevertheless represent Jesus, Rose holds that these are really only hypostasizations of the one Manichaean-interpreted Gnostic Christ. These many forms thus cannot be clearly delineated from each other, nor can their blending be avoided.<sup>57</sup>

Gardner accepts Rose's view of the unity of Jesus, though he is not in agreement with every point.<sup>58</sup> Boyce too suggests that it is difficult to keep the various conceptions of Jesus wholly distinct.<sup>59</sup> In a later work, Gardner concludes that the unity of the Manichaean figure of Jesus lies in the use of the life of the historical Jesus as the paradigm by which Manichaeans formed their understanding of 'Jesus', in particular their understanding of the figure of Jesus Patibilis.<sup>60</sup>

Contrary to these views, Lieu notes that in Manichaean controversies, the figures of Jesus were not always kept distinct but that in the genuine Manichaean writings, they were clearly discernible as separate figures.<sup>61</sup> Pedersen rejects the view that all of the Manichaean Jesuses constitute one unified figure, and clearly distinguishes between Jesus as redeemer and Jesus as redeemed. In rejecting the term redeemed redeemer ('*salvator salvandus*'), Pedersen makes Jesus Patibilis quite distinct from Jesus the Splendour and his hypostases.<sup>62</sup>

### 3 The current study

The 'dialogue' between the Manichaean Faustus and Augustine, in *c. Faust. XX* illustrates the central question under discussion in this study. Faustus briefly outlines his beliefs about the threefold naming of the one God, including some detail concerning the Son of God, Christ and the mortal Jesus:

We worship, then, one deity under the threefold appellation of the Almighty God the Father, and his son Christ, and the Holy Spirit. While these are one and the same, we believe also that the Father properly dwells in the highest or principal light, which Paul calls 'light inaccessible,' and the Son in his second or visible light. And as the Son is himself twofold, according to the apostle, who speaks of

<sup>56</sup> Böhlig ('Manichäismus', 33) similarly appears to accept the unity of the Jesus performing these various activities, though interestingly, he does not mention Jesus the Apostle.

<sup>57</sup> Rose, *Die Manichäische Christologie*, 60.

<sup>58</sup> Gardner, 'Manichaean Christology', 6.

<sup>59</sup> Boyce, *Reader*, 10.

<sup>60</sup> Gardner, 'The Manichaean Account of Jesus', 85.

<sup>61</sup> Lieu, *Manichaeism in the Later Roman Empire*, 161; see also *SR*, 69.

<sup>62</sup> Pedersen, 'Early Manichaean Christology', 162, 175.

Christ as the power of God and the wisdom of God, we believe that His power dwells in the sun, and His wisdom in the moon. We also believe that the Holy Spirit, the third majesty, has His seat and His home in the whole circle of the atmosphere. By His influence and spiritual infusion, the earth conceives and brings forth the mortal Jesus, who, as hanging from every tree, is the life and salvation of men. Though you oppose these doctrines so violently, your religion resembles ours in attaching the same sacredness to the bread and wine that we do to everything . . . (Augustine, *c. Faust.* XX, 2).

Augustine replies later to this outline by asking:

Once more, how many Christs do you make? Is there one whom you call the mortal Christ, whom the earth conceives and brings forth by the power of the Holy Spirit; and another crucified by the Jews under Pontius Pilate; and a third whom you divide between the sun and the moon? Or is it one and the same person, part of whom is confined in the trees, to be released by the help of the other part which is not confined? (Augustine, *c. Faust.* XX, 11).

Augustine cannot accept what Faustus, a Manichaean bishop, has clearly stated, that the Manichaeans worship one God, of whom the Christ is the second appellation, who has a twofold nature, understood in two ways – as the power and wisdom of God, and as the Son of God and the mortal Jesus – but understood basically nevertheless as a unity. While the explanation may be somewhat complicated, there seems little reason to doubt Faustus's sincerity in putting forward his belief. I intend to show in the following chapters that Faustus is indeed correct in his summation of Manichaean belief in Jesus.

The study presents several difficulties. Rose himself struggled with three major difficulties in studying Manichaean Christology: first, the texts deal more with cosmology than Christology; second, the Christological elements might possibly have developed later in the history of the Manichaean system, partly under the influence of the orthodox Church; and third, the texts present a very varied and confusing picture of Jesus.<sup>63</sup> Rose came under criticism for his work from scholars such as Klimkeit, who suggested that Rose painted an idealized picture, one constructed of facts from various times and places, not taking into account that Manichaeism developed differently in the East than in the West.<sup>64</sup>

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<sup>63</sup> Rose, *Die Manichäische Christologie*, 55–8. Earlier in this work, Rose also presents a detailed overview of problem areas encountered by earlier scholars in studying Manichaean Christology (pp. 7–15), areas such as differentiating texts by form and dating (p. 9); considering the entire context by including non-missionary and even non-Manichaean sources (pp. 9–12); avoiding the pressure of the canonical perspective of the *Fihrist* reports (p. 12), and the overevaluation of the importance of the Turfan discoveries (p. 12); avoiding over-rationalization of the mythology that ignores the presence of the mythical elements at the earliest strata of Mani's thinking (p. 13).

<sup>64</sup> Klimkeit, 'Rose Review', 274; see also Gardner, 'Manichaean Christology', 6.

One of the major difficulties in this study is with the available sources: their relative dating and provenance, the dependence of some sources on others, and the use of early material within later sources. For example, the Western and Eastern texts cannot simply be divided in order to determine the differences among the various Jesus figures, except in the one case of Jesus the Moon. Here the supposed figure of Jesus the Moon is the final step in the formulation of hypostases of Jesus, however many of them can be considered to be the complement of those hypostases. The construction of Jesus the Moon is quite clear in provenance, namely Central Asia, as the Manichaean mission moves further east from its point of origin. Apart from this, no clear distinction appears among the descriptions of the Jesus figures in the two bodies of texts, although certainly distinctions are apparent with regard to smaller details such as the buddhicization of the cosmic figures involved in action. I have organized the texts in such a way that I can speak of differences where they occur, but, as I demonstrate later, this is not a frequent occurrence.

With regard to the dating of texts, a relative history of development can be determined from Mani's letters, the *CMC*, and possibly the *Shābuhragān* from Mani himself, to the *Kephalaia*, the *Psalm Book* and the *Homilies*. While these texts surely contain material attributable to Mani, they also show signs of later additions and editing, despite Mani's injunction that his teaching should not be altered and thus distorted, as happened with apostles before him.<sup>65</sup> Other texts from Mani are known, but only from fragments. While a relative history of the earlier texts can be traced, this study can only rely on the more detailed work of others when it comes to questions about later additions and editing in these texts and their relative dating in comparison to later Manichaean texts.

Works about the Manichaeans, either describing their beliefs or (supposedly) quoting them directly, come from their opponents, chiefly the former Manichaean auditor, Augustine. The degree of worth of Augustine's works is debatable, from the point of view of the polemical context in which the data is presented, and from the point of view of how much Augustine actually knew or understood as an auditor. Though of all the Church Fathers who wrote against the Manichaeans, Augustine was probably the closest to them because of his earlier status as auditor, this in itself could be more of a hindrance than a help to a clear and proper presentation of Manichaean belief and praxis. His closeness to the Manichaean experience is not necessarily a good reason for using him in an uncritical way. He may have learnt

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<sup>65</sup> Iain M.F. Gardner ([ed.], *The Kephalaia of the Teacher. The edited Coptic Manichaean texts in translation with commentary*, NHMS 37, E.J. Brill, Leiden, 1995, xix) notes that the *Kephalaia* belongs to the first generation of Manichaeism after the death of Mani (late third century), for a reference in *The Sermon of the Great War* (*Hom.* 18.6) mentions it. Gardner concludes that the *Kephalaia* has its basis in the aural memory of the disciples of Mani: A 'not strictly restricted text', yet it does not serve as proselytizing material 'for the scriptural allusions and sequences presuppose an extensive grasp of the macrotext'. Gardner thus places its use within the circle of the elect, who employ it for argument and demonstration among believers – much like the Hadith literature in Islam (xxiii–xxiv).

just enough to misunderstand thoroughly.<sup>66</sup> Moreover, it is always difficult to take entirely seriously the words of any of Augustine's opponents, since Augustine probably deliberately constructed opposing statements for his adversaries in order to counteract them or ridicule them from the point of view of his own orthodox understanding.

Within the Manichaean texts themselves, the problem of identifying the various Jesus figures is perhaps the hardest problem that presents itself to the scholar. In cases where it is unclear whether Jesus is meant or not, I have been guided to some extent by earlier scholars such as Mary Boyce. Where differentiating one Jesus figure from another is necessary, I have made the decision in the end, albeit by a fairly simple means which is by no means foolproof. Where detail of activity in a text or within the larger context of a text precedes mention of a Jesus, praised or named, I have generally opted for the particular Jesus who is primarily associated with that activity. Thus, for example, the one who comes to Adam is Jesus the Splendour; the Jesus who has followers in the world and who preaches and works miracles is Jesus the Apostle; and the Jesus who judges between sinners and the righteous is Jesus the Judge. What becomes apparent while working through the Jesus figures is their differentiation by an event or a time, rather than by their attributes, titles or imagery, the latter seeming to fit all of them. Once this is recognized, it becomes easy to suggest that the same character appears in various guises in various events or times. The Jesus figures are named for the events, not for themselves *per se*, but where lengthy passages describe different activities apparently in relation to one Jesus, the process of naming Jesus figures according to events in which they act breaks down.

In the study that follows, I begin with the influence of Jesus upon Mani and his understanding of himself and the origins and working of the world and cosmos, including also an outline of how the later community continued to see Mani and Jesus, linking the two in a very strong way especially in the description of Mani's death. Thus I provide support at the very beginning for the idea that the person of Jesus is a very complex figure of extreme importance to Mani and the Manichaeans. From there I work through the variety of Jesus figures and their presentation within the Manichaean system. I have chosen to cover the six Jesus figures which are the largest number proposed by scholars, so as to provide the broadest basis for analysis and interpretation. I conclude with a theory of the unity of the Jesus figures, arguing for one Jesus within the Manichaean system.

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<sup>66</sup> Ries ('Jésus-Christ dans la religion de Mani', 453-4) defends the credibility of Augustine's presentation of Manichaean doctrine, especially the centrality of Jesus (and other Christian elements) in that doctrine; see also François Decret, *L'Afrique manichéenne (IV<sup>e</sup>-V<sup>e</sup> siècles), Etude historique et doctrinale. I. Texte, II. Notes*, Vol. 1, Etudes Augustiniennes, Paris, 1978, 270-3; and Johannes van Oort, *Mani, Manichaeism and Augustine. The Rediscovery of Manichaeism and Its Influence on Western Christianity*, Georgian Academy of Sciences, Tbilisi, 1996. For the opposing view, see J. Kevin Coyle, 'What Did Augustine Know About Manichaeism When he Wrote his Two Treatises *De moribus*?', in *Augustine and Manichaeism in the Latin West*, ed. Johannes van Oort, Otto Wermelinger, Gregor Wurst, Proceedings of the Fribourg-Utrecht Symposium of the International Association of Manichaean Studies (IAMS), 2001, E.J. Brill, Leiden, 43-56.

## 'I, Mani, Apostle of Jesus Christ'

Jesus is a figure of immense importance for Mani and for those who interpret the life of Mani subsequent to his death. Mani would probably have wanted that importance to continue within the religion he founded, for in founder religions,<sup>1</sup> the central inspiration of the founder is also the central inspiration intended for the community of believers, whether the community eventually distorts that inspiration or not. However, while I assert the importance of Jesus for Mani and the early Manichaean community, the figure of Jesus is not necessarily *the* central aspect of the entire Manichaean system.

Previous scholarly considerations of the importance of Jesus for Mani can generally be grouped under four intimately related major headings: Mani as Apostle of Jesus Christ; Mani as Paraclete; Jesus and the Heavenly Twin of Mani; and Jesus Christ as the personal saviour of Mani.

### 1 Mani as Apostle of Jesus Christ

The *CMC* provides another ground for affirming that Jesus occupies a central position for Mani, with one of the key passages citing the beginning of Mani's gospel:

He wrote [thus again and] said in the Gospel of his most holy hope: 'I, Mani, an apostle of Jesus Christ through the will of God, the Father of Truth, from whom I also was born, who lives and abides forever, existing before all and also abiding after all.' (*CMC* 65.20–66.11)<sup>2</sup>

The general scholarly consensus is that Mani used the title, 'Apostle of Jesus Christ', for himself from the beginning. The relative significance of the

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<sup>1</sup> One primary distinction made in the study of religions is between founder and emergent (or 'ethnic') religions. Douglas Pratt (*Religion: A First Encounter*, Longman Paul, Auckland, 1993, 44) defines the former: 'A "founder" religion clearly has an individual identified as the one from whom the religion effectively started, or arose in response to that figure.'

<sup>2</sup> See also the recently published version from Kellis: [(1) Mani, the Ap[osto]le of [Je]su[s] Chrestos, a[nd] all the other bre[th]ren who are w[ith] me ...]. Iain M.F. Gardner, 'Personal Letters from the Manichaean Community at Kellis', in *Atti del Terzo Congresso Internazionale di Studi 'Manicheismo e Oriente Cristiano Antico'*, Arcavacata di Rende Amantea 31 agosto 5 settembre 1993, ed. Luigi Cirillo and Alois van Tongerloo, Brepolis, Louvain/Naples, 1997, 80.

title is pointed out, for example, by Rose, who notes, in relation to its use in the Turfan texts (e.g. M 17 'I, Mani, the Apostle of Jesus the Friend, in the love of the Father . . .'),<sup>3</sup> that it would not be significant for the Manichaean mission in Central Asia but is used anyway.<sup>4</sup>

Gardner suggests that Mani's use of the title should be linked with the structure of his teaching in the Kephalaia (which recalls the canonical gospels) and with his own and his followers' use of parables, either biblical or similar to them.<sup>5</sup> Heuser also makes this point and stresses the complete authority that Mani gives to the words of Jesus in the gospels, the only difference being that Mani sees himself as having come to complete Jesus's message rather than simply to proclaim the message first revealed to Adam by Jesus the Splendour.<sup>6</sup>

Böhlig notes how Mani uses the commandments of Jesus, 'the Saviour', as an authority in his arguments with the Elchasaites concerning purity, recorded in the *CMC* (83.20–85.1).<sup>7</sup> Gardner comments on *CMC* 91.19–93.23 that in this passage Mani considers Jesus an unimpeachable authority, for he says that he would never invalidate the commandments of the Saviour.<sup>8</sup> Although, in the defence, citations from Elchasai are more numerous (*CMC* 94.1–99.9), Betz considers that the proofs from the Jesus tradition seem to have a higher authority, and this is not only for Mani but also for the Elchasaites.<sup>9</sup> Betz also suggests that Mani's defence here resembles the defence of Jesus in the Sermon on the Mount (Matt 5:17), as well as Paul's self-defence in Gal 2:15–21 and Rom 3:31. Tardieu observes a general resemblance between this passage and others (82, 84–5, 87, 90, 90–91, 93 and 97) to Jesus's controversies with the Jews.<sup>10</sup>

It is not just Mani's use of teachings of Jesus *per se*, and thus their obvious authority for him, which should be noted. Above all, clearly Mani used both teachings and parables when outlining some of the most important concepts for the life of the community, such as the call to believers to follow him at the

<sup>3</sup> *HR II*, 26; my translation of the German.

<sup>4</sup> Rose, *Die Manichäische Christologie*, 30.

<sup>5</sup> Gardner, 'Manichaean Christology', 229.

<sup>6</sup> Heuser, 'The Manichaean Myth according to the Coptic Sources', 68.

<sup>7</sup> Böhlig, 'Der Synkretismus des Mani', 498–9. Within the same context (*CMC* 84.9–85.4), Luigi Cirillo ('"Hermae Pastor" and "Revelatio Manichaica": Some Remarks', in *Studia Manichaica: II. Internationaler Kongress zum Manichäismus, 6–10. August, St Augustin/Bonn*, ed. Gernot Wießner and Hans-Joachim Klimkeit, Otto Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 1992, 194–6) argues that Mani understands the commandments of the Saviour within a threefold connection of revelation, obedience to revealed commandments, and salvation. See also Hans Dieter Betz, 'Paul in the Mani Biography (Codex Manichaicus Coloniensis)', in *Codex Manichaicus Coloniensis. Atti del Simposio Internazionale (Rende-Amantea 3–7 settembre 1984)*, ed. Luigi Cirillo and A. Roselli, Marra, Cosenza, 1986, 229. As Ludwig Koenen ('From Baptism to the Gnosis of Manichaeism', in *The Rediscovery of Gnosticism. Proceedings of the International Conference on Gnosticism at Yale, New Haven, Connecticut, March 28–31, 1978. Vol 2: Sethian Gnosticism*, ed. Bentley Layton, E.J. Brill, Leiden, 1981, 737–9) points out, this three-stage process is more complicated than is usually thought of in Gnosticism, where gnosis alone suffices to save.

<sup>8</sup> Gardner, 'Manichaean Christology', 116.

<sup>9</sup> Betz, 'Paul in the Mani Biography', 230–31.

<sup>10</sup> Michel Tardieu, *Le Manichéisme*, Presses universitaires de France, Paris, 1981, 13, 15–19.

various levels of the Manichaean community structure,<sup>11</sup> and the judgement of souls at the end. As well, he used them for the understanding of the cosmological activity which impinges upon them, for example, the coming of apostles and the saviour, and the suffering of Jesus with them.

Pedersen also stresses the authority that Mani gives to Jesus and his commandments, although he notes that Mani consistently subordinates himself to Jesus, calling himself the apostle of Jesus Christ, thus comparing himself not to Jesus but to Paul.<sup>12</sup> However, whether Pedersen considers that Mani imitated Jesus or imitated Paul is unclear when he writes, on the one hand, that 'in relation to the historical Jesus Mani seems to have occupied the more independent position of the one who completes the previous revelation',<sup>13</sup> and on the other, that Mani subordinates himself to the historical Jesus as well, for he modeled his own life after that of Jesus.<sup>14</sup> Certainly Mani's use of the term 'saviour' appears to place Jesus in a higher position for Mani than the other apostles, including himself. Gardner suggests that Mani's lower status *vis-à-vis* Jesus is obscured by devotional language about Mani.<sup>15</sup> The later community appears to consider to some extent that Mani is on a par with Jesus (e.g. *PsB* 37.26–29, *M* 801,<sup>16</sup> *Keph.* 101.26–33).

The idea of an *imitatio Pauli* that we find in Betz and Pedersen is also proposed by Rose, who suggests that Mani modelled himself after Paul, whose letters formed much of Mani's own understanding of Jesus, but considered that the other disciples had falsified Jesus's teachings.<sup>17</sup> Certainly in *CMC* 60.12–62.9, Mani appeals to Paul as an authority for the type of visions/revelations that Mani himself professed to have. He places Paul in a series of figures (Adam, Sethel, Enosh, Shem, Enoch) receiving the truth. Whereas the other figures receive visions through the help of 'angels', Paul receives his through Jesus Christ (cf. 2 Cor 12:2–5 and Gal 1:11–12).

Böhlig goes further than the idea of a mere imitation of Paul and argues that Pauline Christology especially was the basis for the development of Mani's religious thought. He suggests that Mani took the figure of Jesus and split him into various Manichaean figures, not all of whom have the name of Jesus, though all are recognizably 'Christological' figures,<sup>18</sup> such that Man-

<sup>11</sup> Lieu (*Manichaeism in the Later Roman Empire*, 88–9), suggests that the controversy of Mani with the Elchasaites in *CMC* 90.8–99.9 may indicate an early view of Mani's that Jesus himself had commissioned an elect who would preach and be fed alms by hearers, and that he did likewise.

<sup>12</sup> Pedersen, 'Early Manichaean Christology', 161, n. 12.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, n. 13.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, 162, nn. 16, 17, 18.

<sup>15</sup> Gardner, 'Manichaeism Christology', 119.

<sup>16</sup> *BBB*, 20.

<sup>17</sup> Rose, *Die Manichäische Christologie*, 31; see also, e.g., Böhlig, 'Der Synkretismus des Mani', 500–1, and Julien Ries, 'Le Codex de Cologne et les débuts de l'enseignement de Mani', in *Studia Manichaica; II. Internationaler Kongress zum Manichäismus, 6–10. August, St Augustin/Bonn*, ed. Gernot Wießner and Hans-Joachim Klimkeit, Otto Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 1992, 177, who cites 1 Cor 1:1, 2 Cor 1:1, Eph 1:1 and 3:1, and 1 Tim 1:1.

<sup>18</sup> Alexander Böhlig, 'The New Testament and the Concept of the Manichaean Myth', in *The New Testament and Gnosis. Essays in honour of Robert McL. Wilson*, ed. A.H.B. Logan and A.J.M. Wedderburn, T&T Clark, Edinburgh, 1983, 96.

ichaeon myth is a re-formed Christology.<sup>19</sup> The myth takes the soteriological work of Jesus within salvation history and reformulates it in cosmological guise.<sup>20</sup>

Polotsky gives a different interpretation. He proposes two grounds for Mani's intentional stress on his succession to Jesus as his apostle, something Mani does for no other 'prophet': first, Jesus was the only earlier founder whose proclamation Mani had an authentic concrete knowledge of, and second, in the course of his work, Mani was forced to adapt his proclamation more to the Christian group than he had originally foreseen. In a rather circular argument with regard to the latter point, Polotsky suggests that Mani found it necessary to take great care not to belittle or infringe on the position that Jesus had assumed in Christian consciousness in order to secure his own position as Apostle of Jesus bringing a new teaching.<sup>21</sup>

Finally, Jesus's importance for Mani in his role as apostle and teacher can be found in Mani's use of the Jesus figure to explain the processes of salvation. In the eschatological sections of the *Shābuhragān*, the first sections concern the coming of the god Xradeshahr, who is also described as the one who first gave wisdom and knowledge to the first human being (M 473 I//Ar/17–23),<sup>22</sup> thus making him equivalent to Jesus the Splendour, as developed in the following chapter. The equivalence to at least one further Jesus figure is supported by the scene of the final judgement by Xradeshahr, which is heavily reliant on the scene of Jesus's eschatological judgement in Matt 25:31–46. That the *Shābuhragān* is generally held to have been written by Mani himself<sup>23</sup> means that the importance of the Jesus figure in this text must go back to the origins of Manichaean dogma (unless later scribes inserted the identification of the two). Commenting on the identification of Xradeshahr with Jesus, as well as other Christian elements within the work, Nyberg writes that Mani would have had no other reason than the centrality of his belief in Jesus as saviour for placing Jesus at the centre of this work, given that the work is written to appeal to Zoroastrians and addressed to Shāpūr I within an Iranian context.<sup>24</sup> While not stating that the figure of Jesus is central to the

<sup>19</sup> Alexander Böhlig, 'Neue Initiativen zur Erschliessung der koptisch-manichäischen Bibliothek von Medinet Madi', *ZNW*, 80 (1989): 256–9.

<sup>20</sup> Böhlig, 'Zur Religionsgeschichtlichen Einordnung', 474–5.

<sup>21</sup> Polotsky, 'Manichäismus', 711.

<sup>22</sup> David Neil MacKenzie, 'Mani's *Shābuhragān*', *BSOAS*, 42.3 (1979): 504–5 (verse numbers according to MacKenzie's continuous numbering of the text).

<sup>23</sup> See, e.g., Samuel N.C. Lieu, 'Manichaean Art and Texts from the Silk Road', in *Studies in Silk Road Coins and Culture*, ed. Katsumi Tanabe, Joe Cribb and Helen Wang, British Museum, London, 1997, 278.

<sup>24</sup> Henrik Samuel Nyberg, 'Forschungen über den Manichäismus', in *Der Manichäismus*, ed. Geo Widengren, Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, Darmstadt, 1977, 20; see also Böhlig, 'Zur Religionsgeschichtlichen Einordnung', 471–2; Pedersen, 'Early Manichaean Christology', 160–61; and Manfred Hutter, 'Mt. 25:31–46 in der Deutung Manis', *NT*, 33.3 (1991): 277–8. Ludwig Koenen ('Manichaean Apocalypticism at the Crossroads of Iranian, Egyptian, Jewish and Christian Thought', in *Codex Manichaicus Coloniensis. Atti del Simposio Internazionale (Rende-Amantea 3–7 settembre 1984)*, ed. Luigi Cirillo and A. Roselli, Marra, Cosenza, 1986, 303–4) also finds this fact remarkable and cites the same kind of interweaving of New Testament quotations with Iranian terms and ideas in the *CMC*.

work, Lieu does remark that the Judaeo-Christian background of Mani’s thought remains obvious in the text, despite the necessity for Mani to assimilate elements of his teachings to Zoroastrianism, given that he was preaching and teaching at the sufrage of a Zoroastrian monarch.<sup>25</sup>

## 2 Mani as Paraclete

The second important title ascribed to Mani is the Paraclete. Waldschmidt and Lentz see the logical equivalence of Mani as apostle, the one sent, and as the Paraclete.<sup>26</sup> Many either view the title of Paraclete as a self-designation of Mani or are unsure when such a development might have taken place.<sup>27</sup> Certainly, whichever is the case, Gardner suggests there is a tendency to elevate Mani, and the ‘occasional docetic trace in the language (about Mani) is merely imitative of Jesus’.<sup>28</sup> If the Kephalaia can be taken in any sense to give the teaching of Mani accurately, then the following passage suggests that the title goes back to Mani himself, although at what stage of his career is unknown:

[Wh]e[n] the church of the saviour was raised to the heights, my apostolate began, which you asked me about! From that time on was sent the Paraclete, the Spirit of truth; the one who has co[me] to you in this last generation. Just like the saviour said: When I go, I will send to you the Paraclete. (*Keph.* 14.3–7)

That the community also used this term for Mani can be seen from references such as *PsB* 9.4–5: ‘Let us bless our Lord Jesus who has sent us the Spirit of Truth’; and *PsB* 20.21–4: ‘Thou did come in peace, o Spirit of Truth, the Paraclete, whom Jesus sent . . . our Lord Mani.’

Clearly, Mani also sees this self-designation in direct relation to Jesus, as the Paraclete is reported in the Gospel of John, providing one more indication that Jesus was a central figure at least in Mani’s understanding. A similar passage reliant on Jn 16:7–14 appears in the Eastern text M 1828, so that the title of Paraclete for Mani can be supported from both Western and Eastern texts, with a similar basis for the title in the Gospel of John.<sup>29</sup> In the

<sup>25</sup> Lieu, *Manichaeism in the Later Roman Empire*, 78.

<sup>26</sup> WL I, 59–60.

<sup>27</sup> Kurt Rudolph (‘Rose Review’, 446) wrote earlier that the identification of Mani as the Paraclete was a position held not by Mani but by his later followers, but in a later work (‘Mani und der Iran’, in *Manichaica Selecta. Studies presented to Professor Julien Ries on the occasion of his seventieth birthday*, ed. Alois van Tongerloo and Søren Giversen, International Association of Manichaean Studies in conjunction with the Center for the History of Religions – BCMS, Louvain, 1991, 309) he writes that Mani himself possibly took the title upon himself.

<sup>28</sup> Gardner, ‘Manichaean Christology’, 118, n. 4.

<sup>29</sup> Werner Sundermann, ‘Der Paraklet in der Ostmanichäischen Überlieferung’, in *Manichaean Studies. Proceedings of the First International Conference on Manichaeism, August 5–9*, ed. Peter Bryder, Plus Ultra, Lund, 1988, 204–5.

Kephalaia passage at least, Mani legitimizes his own role as the proxy of Jesus, the apostle having preceded him, by identifying himself as the foretold Paraclete, an attempt at legitimation that Ries also notes.<sup>30</sup> Polotsky, as might be expected, sees Mani's use of the title as the means of reconciling or substantiating his position within the Christian context of the Manichaean mission. The idea that the Paraclete had already come at Pentecost was countered by citing 1 Cor 13:9f.<sup>31</sup>

Böhlig presents the Paraclete as Mani's alter ego, which eventually comes to be totally identified with Mani himself, Mani coming to see himself as the Paraclete through the Gospel of John.<sup>32</sup> If this is so, then *Keph.* 14.3–7 represents a later development in Mani's thinking about the Paraclete. In the passage, the Paraclete is not said to be sent to Mani, but 'to you', that is, the community, and the logical sequence of Jesus's apostolate followed by Mani's, in parallel with Jesus's going and sending of the Paraclete, must be read as presenting Mani and the Paraclete in equivalent parallel.

Böhlig's picture is rather complex, since he suggests that Mani also sees the Paraclete as his Heavenly Twin, and, in Elchasaite terms, presents himself as a new appearance of Jesus Christ, one who will reform the sect. As Böhlig notes himself, these self-understandings are not entirely consistent,<sup>33</sup> although it seems to me that the idea of the double when put together with the idea of the soul as a mirror image could go some way to ameliorate the inconsistency.

Giversen points to *PsB* 56.15–17 to identify Jesus as the Paraclete:<sup>34</sup>

Come, my Lord Jesus, the Saviour of souls . . .  
Thou art the Paraclete whom I have loved since my youth.

This is difficult to reconcile with passages like *Keph.* 14.3–7 which suggest that Jesus *sent* the Paraclete, unless two figures or aspects of Jesus are differentiated in this action: one who sends the Paraclete and the other who is the Paraclete. If some figure of Jesus rather than Mani is the Paraclete, then possibly, as Böhlig suggests, the Paraclete is Mani's alter ego, perhaps also to be understood as Mani's Heavenly Twin, who eventually becomes identified with Mani.

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<sup>30</sup> Julien Ries, 'L' *enkrateia* et les Motivations dans les *Kephalaia* coptes de Medinet Mâdi', in *La Tradizione dell'Enkrateia: Motivazioni Ontologiche e Protologiche. Atti del Colloquio Internazionale Milano, 20–23 aprile 1982*, ed. Ugo Bianchi, Edizioni dell'Ateneo, Rome, 1985, 373.

<sup>31</sup> Polotsky, 'Manichäismus', 711–12.

<sup>32</sup> Böhlig, 'Zur Religionsgeschichtlichen Einordnung', 473; see also (Alexander Böhlig), 'Die Bedeutung des CMC für den Manichäismus', in *Codex Manichaicus Coloniensis. Atti del Simposio Internazionale (Cosenza 27–28 maggio 1988)*, ed. Luigi Cirillo, Marra, Cosenza, 1990, 49, nn. 54–5.

<sup>33</sup> Böhlig, 'Der Synkretismus des Mani', 500–1.

<sup>34</sup> Søren Giversen, 'Le Paraclete et la connaissance de Dieu', in *Gnosticisme et monde héliénistique. Actes du colloque de Louvain-la-Neuve (11–14 mars 1980)*, ed. Julien Ries, Yvonne Janssens and Jean-Marie Sevrin, Institut Orientaliste, Université Catholique de Louvain, Louvain-la-Neuve, 1982, 204.

### 3 Jesus and the Heavenly Twin of Mani

The *CMC* describes two life-changing visions experienced by Mani, in which he encounters his Heavenly Twin. In *CMC* 18.1–17, the Twin seems to be sent by Jesus (‘the most blessed Lord . . . sent to me’). Mani’s use of ‘Lord’ in reference to Jesus in *CMC* 92.18 and 107.4, and possibly 61.4, would support the interpretation of the term in 18.11 as applied to Jesus. In *CMC* 69.9–20, Mani says that his Father sent out the Twin to him. By arguing that the Father is Jesus, citing 18.15 as comparison, Quispel holds that the Twin is the Paraclete.<sup>35</sup> However, not every character sent by Jesus should necessarily be interpreted as the Paraclete. Where Jesus is referred to as the Father of the Apostles (*Keph.* 80.18–19), not each apostle sent is considered to be the Paraclete.

On the other hand, *PsB* 42.22–3, which occurs within a psalm addressed to Mani, appears to identify Jesus with the Twin: ‘We bless thy Light-familiar, Christ, the author of our good’. Ort emphasizes the point by his translation of ‘Twin-Spirit of Light’.<sup>36</sup> In *PsB* 166.33 it appears that Jesus the Splendour is the Twin: ‘Twin of the Perfect one’.

The idea of Jesus the Splendour as the Twin can also be supported by Peterson’s comparison of Chapters 148 and 7 of the Kephalaia, where he arrives at the following lists of third-evocation deities in soteriological and cosmological sequences respectively:<sup>37</sup>

#### *Chapter 148*

Third Messenger  
Column of Glory  
Light Companion  
Good Tree  
Light Nous

#### *Chapter 7*

Third Messenger  
Column of Glory  
Jesus the Splendour  
Maiden of Light  
Light Nous

If the sequences are meant to be identical figures, then perhaps there is, after all, an argument that the Light Companion, Mani’s Twin, is identical to Jesus the Splendour.

Ort states that a similar identification of Jesus with the Twin is never met with in Middle Persian or Parthian texts, only in the Coptic texts; therefore, it

<sup>35</sup> Quispel, ‘Mani, The Apostle’, 235. A. Henrichs and Ludwig Koenen (‘Ein griechischer Mani-Codex [P. Coln. inv. nr. 4780]’, *ZPE*, 5.2 (1970): 183–5) think that Mani uses the expression ‘my Father’ to refer to the Light Nous. In the following chapter Jesus the Splendour is also identified with the Nous. Kurt Rudolph (‘Mani und die Gnosis’, in *Manichaean Studies. Proceedings of the First International Conference on Manichaeism, August 5–9, 1987*, ed. Peter Bryder, Plus Ultra, Lund, 1988, 191) identifies the ‘most blessed [Father]’ as either the Third Messenger or Jesus the Splendour.

<sup>36</sup> L.J.R. Ort, *Mani: A Religio-Historical Description of his Personality*, E.J. Brill, Leiden, 1967, 78.

<sup>37</sup> Erik Peterson, ‘C. Schmidt und H. J. Polotsky. Ein Mani-Fund in Ägypten’, *BvZ*, 34 (1934): 384.

cannot have originated from Mani, but instead from propaganda.<sup>38</sup> However, the possible identification of Jesus as the Twin of Mani is evidenced in the Persian hymn M 842:

Welcome, my great stature,  
 Welcome, my bright form,  
 Welcome, my shining appearance!<sup>39</sup>

Conversely, a hymn in praise of the Bema within the Bema liturgy, M 801, reads:

We worship Jesus, the Lord, the Son of Greatness, who had sent you,  
 blessed one, to us.  
 We worship the exalted Maiden (of Light), the bright Twin, who was  
 your comrade and companion in every battle.<sup>40</sup>

In a 1980 work, Klimkeit identifies the Twin as 'a female form of the Jesus principle, a type of *shakti* of Jesus'.<sup>41</sup> However, in his notes in *Gnosis on the Silk Road*, he writes that 'The Twin and the Maiden are perhaps named together because they both appear at the time of death'.<sup>42</sup> The parallel structure, though, demands that the Maiden of Light and the Twin are identical, just as Jesus and the Son of Greatness are identical. That Jesus and the Maiden are two separate figures might be supported from their appearance, for example, in *PsB* 20.31, but Klimkeit's concept that they are meant to represent male and female unified principles of a saving figure might well be correct. I return to this concept in the following chapter.

Betz turns to Pauline Christological language to argue for the Twin as Jesus. He sees a parallel between Mani and Paul in the description of Mani's vocation, which follows from a sudden epiphany of the Twin (*CMC* 17.11–16). The Twin, 'that most beautiful and greatest mirror-image of [my person]' (13–16), flies down suddenly and appears to Mani. Betz considers that 'the verb form ὠφθη undoubtedly points to 1 Cor 15:5–8, where it designates the series of Christ's appearances before the apostles, culminating with Paul', and the description of the Twin 'appears to be connected with Paul's concept of Christ as the εἰκὼν (see esp. Rom 8:29; 1 Cor 15:49; 2 Cor 3:18; 4:4; Col 1:15; 3:10)'.<sup>43</sup> Betz goes on to suggest that the narrative about Mani's vocation, which follows in 18.14–19.7, is based on Gal 1:15–16, further supporting his argument that the Twin in relation to Mani takes the same role

<sup>38</sup> Ort, *Mani. A Religio-Historical Description*, 78–9.

<sup>39</sup> Walter Bruno Henning, 'Mitteliranisch', in *Iranistik*, Handbuch der Orientalistik. 1. 4, 1, ed. B. Spuler, E.J. Brill, Leiden, 1958, 103; *SR*, 124.

<sup>40</sup> *BBB*, 27; *SR*, 137.

<sup>41</sup> Hans-Joachim Klimkeit, 'Stupa and parinirvāna as Manichaean Motifs', in *The Stupa: Its Religious, Historical and Architectural Significance*, ed. Anna L. Dallapiccola and Stephanie Zingel-Avé Lallemand, Franz Steiner Verlag, Wiesbaden, 1980, 233.

<sup>42</sup> *SR*, 137, 143, n. 17.

<sup>43</sup> Betz, 'Paul in the Mani Biography', 223.

as Christ in relation to Paul.<sup>44</sup> Further, the passage in *CMC* 69.17–20: ‘so that he might redeem and ransom me [from] the error of the people of that law’, is reminiscent of Gal 3:13 and 4:5, though the ‘error of the law’ for Mani refers to the Elchasaites, ‘from which the Twin (Syzygos) liberated him, just as Christ appeared to Paul and liberated him from the Jewish law (Gal 1:16)’.<sup>45</sup>

If Jesus is the Heavenly Twin, then this only serves to reinforce how enormously important he is to Mani and the life-changing spiritual process Mani experienced as a result of his vision of the Twin. It also reinforces the idea of Mani’s life as an *imitatio Christi*.

#### 4 Jesus as Mani’s personal saviour and model

It is important to consider more besides the titles and the use by Mani and his followers of the sayings and parables of Jesus. Mani himself seems to have considered that Jesus the Splendour either personally cared for his protection or cared for him through commanding intermediaries such as Light-angels and powers to keep him safe, as seen from *CMC* 11.7–14. He describes the protection offered to him by Jesus the Splendour in the Persian psalm M 842 R 1–4, 7–9, and in M 842 R 18–V 13,<sup>46</sup> he speaks of Jesus the Splendour as ‘my strong shield and my trusty sword of speech and hearing . . . my well-prepared armor, which is all alertness . . . comrade and companion in all battles’.<sup>47</sup>

Rose believes that the title ‘Apostle of Jesus Christ’ and other elements within the *CMC* indicate that Mani had a sense of having been saved personally by Jesus, and this experience sets off his search for an adequate system to express this salvation.<sup>48</sup> At least some sense of personal relationship between Mani and Jesus certainly could have given rise to the presentation of Mani’s life as a kind of *imitatio Christi*, whether by Mani or by the later community.<sup>49</sup>

*Imitatio Christi* is quite clear in *CMC* 107.12–14, where Mani speaks of walking in the world ‘according to the image of our Lord Jesus’. Koenen rightly comments that the *CMC* is ‘a work that makes Mani’s life as parallel to the life of Jesus as possible’.<sup>50</sup> There are numerous examples where Mani quotes Jesus’s words from the canonical gospels, but where he applies them to himself, it is clear that he is linking himself strongly with Jesus. For example, in *Keph.* 90.18–19, he echoes the words of Jesus in Jn 4:14–15:

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, 220.

<sup>46</sup> Henning, ‘Mitteliranisch’, 104; *SR*, 124.

<sup>47</sup> Both Boyce (*Reader*, 169) and Klimkeit (*SR*, 124), following her, incline to think this is addressed to Jesus the Splendour.

<sup>48</sup> Rose, *Die Manichäische Christologie*, 54.

<sup>49</sup> ‘. . . especially with regard to the manner of their missionary activity, their founding of a Church, and their passion’ (Heuser, ‘The Manichaean Myth According to the Coptic Sources’, 69); see also Gardner, ‘Manichaean Christology’, 229.

<sup>50</sup> Koenen, ‘Manichaean Apocalypticism’, 295

On your account I will give vision to they who see! I will make the living fountain overflow for the thirsty, that they may drink and [!]iv[e].

Imitation could mean various things: that one is called to the same role as the one who is being imitated (e.g. Paul's call story in Acts 22:17–21 as partial imitation of Jeremiah's story); that one is to surpass the one imitated (e.g. stories about Jesus imitate stories about John the Baptist in Lk 1–2, but Jesus is clearly greater than John in each case); it might be the highest form of flattery; or that one is transformed into the one who is imitated, or experiences exactly what the one imitated experienced. The latter idea in relation to imitating Christ is found in Paul's letters – Rom 6:3–4 and Phil 3:10–11: 'I want to know Christ and the power of his resurrection and the sharing of his sufferings by becoming like him in his death, if somehow I may attain the resurrection from the dead.'

The Manichaean Jesus remained a powerful model beyond Mani himself. The community too, seeks after Jesus as a model for itself (*PsB* 170.18) and presents him as the cornerstone of the building of the Manichaean spiritual life (*PsB* 188.25–7). That Jesus is used by later Manichaean tradition as a model for descriptions of Mani only serves to support the view that Jesus is a central entity for the entire system. Of course it is not clear in every case whether Mani's interpretation or the community's interpretation is under scrutiny. In the end, perhaps the only interpretations which clearly have emanated from the community rather than Mani are those which relate to Mani's death and its aftermath.

Manichaean sources record that Mani died in prison. In the *Homilies*, after his trial, he is put into chains – around his feet and his throat and perhaps more (the text is corrupt) (*Hom.*, 48.20–23) – and remains in prison for 26 days in chains before he dies (*Hom.* 60.11–14). The *PsB* repeats the same information: that he was loaded with chains in prison – six neck-chains alone (18.30–19.1,6) – and that it was 26 days from the day he was bound to the 'day of the cross' (19.3–5). His body was brought out into the city and his head cut off and his body hung up amid the crowd (19.29–31).

The term 'crucifixion' encompasses the display of a corpse of someone previously executed in some other way.<sup>51</sup> While it seems clear that Mani actually died of maltreatment in prison and his body was later hung up for all to see, the tradition appears to focus more on the hanging of his body after death in order to find the strong connection to Jesus – in other words, his *death* is described as crucifixion in the very same sources which describe his actual death through maltreatment. *Hom.* 45.9 relates that he comes finally to Belapat 'the place of the crucifixion'. *Hom.* 60.2–3 calls the day of his death the day of his crucifixion. *Hom.* 75.30–31 says after he had been crucified, he ended the mystery of his apostleship, just as 11.15 states that Jesus ended his mystery on the cross.<sup>52</sup> *PsB* 19.21 relates that he was cruelly crucified.

<sup>51</sup> Gerald G. O'Connor, 'Crucifixion', *ABD*, 1 (1992): 1208b.

<sup>52</sup> A passage strongly reminiscent of the crucifixion (?) of Jesus the Splendour in the mystery of the Primal Man (*Keph. I* 302.27–8).

*Keph.* 156.12–16 turns to Jn 15:13, and implies that like Jesus in death, Mani gives up his life for his friends:

... the apostle too shall gi[ve] his [own] self for his church. [And, again], due to th[is], the church too calls him ‘love’. [So] is it written: There is no love greater than this, for someone [to give himself] to death for his friend.

The passages which describe the events leading up to Mani’s death are also strongly reminiscent of canonical accounts of the lead-up to the death of Jesus. *Hom.* 44 is reminiscent of Luke’s gospel from 9:51 onwards, with the recurring theme of Jesus setting his face for Jerusalem and making his way inevitably there prior to the passion and death, always implying that he was going to suffer. As Mani goes about seeing his people for the last time, he speaks about his crucifixion, telling them to look and take their fill of seeing him because he is going to remove himself bodily from them (*Hom.* 44.17–20). In Belapat, he is taken before the king and condemned (*Hom.* 45.22). *PsB* 15.9–12 says that he is condemned by the Magi, priests of the fire, who are brothers of the Jews, the murderers of Christ (cf. also *PsB* 43.13–21, and *Hom.* 11.15–21). The text goes on to say that the charge they bring is that he leads men astray (15.25–26). In prison he weeps over his sufferings and prays (*Hom.* 93.13; 52.4; 54.29; 56.19), a scene reminiscent of canonical accounts of Jesus in the Garden of Gethsemane.

While Mani’s death scene emphasizes his physical suffering and grief, the moment of death is also a moment of vision. *PsB* 19 tells us that he was gazing at his familiar (Heavenly Twin) with eyes of light, beholding his glorious father who was waiting for him, opening before him the gate unto the height. He spread out his hands to pray, bent his knees in worship, that he might divest himself of the image of the flesh and put off the garment of manhood (19.22–28). If *PsB* 64.12–13 captures the kind of experience Mani had at death, it supports the theory of Jesus as the Heavenly Twin:

The joyous Image (εἰκών) of Christ – thou shalt have thy fill of it now; go thy way therefore victoriously to thy city of Light.

Could the description of the open arms and bent knees also intend to imply crucifixion? Peter Brown notes that the Christian martyr, and later the holy man, was often ‘shown in the pose of the Crucified. This identified him not only with the sufferings of Christ, but also with the unmoved constancy of his election and the certainty of his triumph’.<sup>53</sup> *Hom.* 54 also hints at the moment of vision, but the text is too corrupt to say exactly what is described. What is of interest is the apparent description of the dissolving of Mani’s body as the moment of death comes, as he bends (his knees?) and stretches out his arms (54.16–26).

As Jesus ascended after death, so too does Mani (*Hom.* 75.32). After death,

<sup>53</sup> Peter Brown, *The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity*, SCM Press, London, 1981, 72.

Mani becomes an object of prayer and supplication for the community. He is considered as a god. The Eastern Manichaean texts state this most prominently. One particularly clear example is provided by T II D 259, 260:

Oh bright Sun God . . .  
Oh bright Moon God!

...  
Bright in appearance is my Father, the Buddha Mani.<sup>54</sup>

Here, by implication, Mani could be identified as Jesus the Splendour (the Sun and Moon God). The Turkish hymn TM 419 refers to Mani as 'my kind God', 'my beautiful, noble God'.<sup>55</sup> Other texts also refer to him as the future Buddha, Maitreya, and even Christ and God: for example, M 801 – 'Master Maitreya, Maitragar Maitr Caitr, God Christ, Mani'ū, Mani'ī, Mani'ā-Xaios, Savior, God Mār Mani!'.<sup>56</sup> Others may name him as the New Jesus and god (H. 152), and he could be intended as equivalent to Jesus the Judge in *PsB* 17.1, 'my Lord Mani, the judge of this Universe'.

## 5 Conclusion

Whatever position the later Manichaean community took in its interpretation of the figure of Jesus, it cannot be denied that both Mani and the early Manichaean community saw Jesus as a figure of immense significance. Mani's self-designations as Apostle of Jesus Christ and Paraclete are clear witnesses to his appreciation of that significance. His use of sayings and commandments attributed to Jesus, and of imitation of styles of teaching such as parables, further supports this perception of Mani's closeness to Jesus. That the early community must have been influenced to a great degree by Mani's appreciation and imitation of Jesus is surely borne out by their descriptions of his death as an *imitatio Christi*. Most of all, if Jesus can be understood as the one whom Mani knows as his Heavenly Twin, then this experience shapes and sets an indelible mark upon his career as an Apostle of Light. But who is this Jesus with whom Mani is so personally involved? The chapters that follow consider the detail and complexity of six possible answers or aspects of an answer to that question.

<sup>54</sup> Annemarie von Gabain and Werner Winter, *Türkische Turfantexte IX: Ein Hymnus an den Vater Mani auf 'Tocharisch' B mit alttürkischer Übersetzung*, Akademie Verlag, Berlin, 1958, 10–11; *SR*, 285.

<sup>55</sup> *Türk. Man. II*, 7–8; *SR* 286.

<sup>56</sup> *BBB*, 19; *SR*, 134.

## *Jesus the Splendour*

The decision to begin with Jesus the Splendour in the study of the Manichaean Jesus figures has its precedent in the history of Manichaean scholarship. Most lists of the Jesus figures begin with this character. While the reasons are not always obvious, it seems logical for at least two reasons: first, even a cursory glance at the Manichaean texts reveals that the most developed of the six figures are Jesus the Splendour and Jesus the Apostle, so it makes sense to begin with either of these two. Second, three of the six figures appear in order within a very closely connected line of salvific events – Jesus the Splendour, Jesus the Apostle, and Jesus the Judge – so it seems logical to deal with Jesus the Splendour before Jesus the Apostle, and thereafter with Jesus the Judge.

In this chapter, as in those which follow, I outline as comprehensively as possible the origin, nature, characteristics, and key activities of a Jesus figure, consulting both Western and Eastern Manichaean texts. In the first instance, the data collected on Jesus the Splendour will be used to compare this figure with the other two figures of this first set of three, that is, Jesus the Apostle and Jesus the Judge.

### **1 The origin and nature of Jesus the Splendour**

The texts are not explicit about the place of origin of Jesus the Splendour, although presumably it is the heavenly region, since he is described as the son of, or emanating/coming from, ‘the greatness’ (e.g. *Keph.* 28.26–28; 37.27–28), the Father of Greatness (e.g. *Keph.* 72.28–73.3), or, simply, the Father. *Keph.* 49.29 states that ‘[the fifth greatne[ss] who came from the Father is Jesus the Splendour’. T. Kell. 22 I 33–35 also intimates this origin: ‘I worship and glorify the offspring of the majesty, the enlightening mind, king-chr(is)t’<sup>1</sup> as does H. 44, which refers to him as the compassionate son of the praised Lord of Light. Shābuhragān text M 7984 II V ii 13 16 says that the Lord of Paradise, that is, the Father of Greatness, created three gods, though only two are named – Rōshnshahr and Xradeshahr.<sup>2</sup> The equivalence of the latter with Jesus the Splendour is discussed below.

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<sup>1</sup> R. Geoffrey Jenkins. ‘The Prayer of the Emanations in Greek from Kellis (T. Kellis 22)’, *Le Muséon*, 108 (1995): 256 (Greek on 250).

<sup>2</sup> Manfred Hutter. *Manis kosmogonische Šabuhragan Texte. Edition, Kommentar und lit-*

*Keph.* 72.28–73.3 describes how the Father of Greatness sculpts a host of divine figures, among them Jesus the Splendour:

Also, at that time, he sculpted the [Amb]assador, with Jesus the Splendour and the Vi[r]gi[n] of Lig[ht] and the Pillar of Glory, and the gods who [came from them. All these the Father of Greatness sculpted at] a single time. They came for[th of] one another, one after one . . .

Is it possible that the text implies in  $\lambda\gamma\epsilon\iota\ \alpha\beta[\alpha\lambda\ \bar{\eta}]\ \eta\upsilon\omicron\epsilon\phi\eta\gamma\ \upsilon\omicron\epsilon\ \mu\eta\eta\zeta\alpha\ \upsilon\omicron\epsilon$  ‘they came forth of one another, one after one’ (73.2–3), that Jesus the Splendour, together with the Virgin of Light and the Pillar of Glory, also actually emanates from the Third Messenger?<sup>3</sup> This interpretation is supported by *Keph.* 35.7–10, 13–14, which states that the Third Messenger came out of the Father, and that ‘he too summoned and sent out of him ( $\alpha\chi\tau\bar{\eta}\nu\alpha\gamma\ \alpha\beta\alpha\lambda\ \bar{\eta}\mu\alpha\zeta$ ) three powers’ (35.9), the Pillar of Glory, Jesus the Splendour and the Virgin of Light.

‘Firstborn’ and ‘only-begotten’ are two qualifiers of Jesus the Splendour as son of the Father. The title ‘Firstborn’ is found in the response of the Psalm of Jesus 264, but also explicitly with the person of Jesus in *PsB* 91.20 ‘O Firstborn, Jesus’; in *PsB* 151.4–5 ‘Jesus . . . Firstborn of the Father of the Lights’; and in *PsB* 166.24; 167.19, 21 ‘Firstborn of the Father’.<sup>4</sup> It is also found in *M* 28 II V II 35: ‘Welcome, original one and primeval firstborn one’,<sup>5</sup> as well as in P. Kell. Gr. 91.2–4: ‘the firstborn word’.<sup>6</sup> The descriptor ‘only-begotten’ appears in *PsB* 60.8: ‘[Jesus] the only-begotten, the son of God on high’, and in *PsB* I, 97.9: ‘Let us praise our Christ, this only-begotten son.’<sup>7</sup>

Several references in Augustine’s *c. Sec.* give his version of the origin of Jesus the Splendour. In 581, 5, he reports or interprets Secundinus’s assertion that Jesus Christ is the Firstborn not to mean that he assumed a human nature and became by adoption the Firstborn of many brothers. He understands it to mean that, since he is the Firstborn from the ineffable and holiest Majesty, therefore others will be engendered by the Father after him, over whom he rules as king, and that all the brothers have the same substance as

*eraturgeschichtliche Einordnung der manichäisch-mittelpersischen Handschriften M 98/99 I und M 7980–7984*, Otto Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 1992, 38–9.

<sup>3</sup> English translations use variously Third Messenger or Third Ambassador.

<sup>4</sup> See the associated image in *PsB* 151.24: ‘O Jesus, the first rose of the Father’. André Villey (ed.), *Psalmes des errants. Écrits manichéennes du Fayûm*, Sources gnostiques et manichéennes 4, Les Éditions du Cerf, Paris, 1994, 280) notes the expression ‘firstborn of the Father’ is normally reserved for the Primal Man.

<sup>5</sup> *MM* II, 318; *SR* 66.

<sup>6</sup> Iain M. F. Gardner and Klaas Worp, ‘Section C: Greek Texts’ in *Kellis Literary Texts*, Vol. 1, ed. Iain M. F. Gardner, Dakleh Oasis Project: Monograph No. 4, Oxbow Books, Oxford, 1996, 134 (Greek text 132).

<sup>7</sup> See Iain M. F. Gardner, ‘A Manichaean Liturgical Codex found at Kellis’, *Or.*, 62.2 (1993): 47–51.

the Father.<sup>8</sup> The same concept of Jesus as eldest of brothers is found in H. 44, where the hymnist asserts that he is the eldest brother of all Buddhas.

That Jesus the Splendour emanates ultimately (when also possibly via the Third Messenger) from the Father or the Greatness, and is the son of God, implies that he is of the same being as the Father, and is intimately connected with him. *PsB* 185.9 says that the Father's name is Jesus's glory. In many texts, Jesus the Splendour is addressed as God and Lord. In the Parthian hymn M 369, he is 'our God', 'ruler, god . . . life-giver'.<sup>9</sup> In the Parthian hymn M 42 R I 11, he is addressed as God by the Boy.<sup>10</sup> He is the 'Splendour-God' in II/5 of Sogdian hymn Ch/U 6827 [= T II 2090];<sup>11</sup> and 'God Christ', in T III D III 267 R II 16.<sup>12</sup>

The Eastern texts often refer to him as Buddha (as well as god) or one of the Buddhas, as demonstrated above, and this indicates some equation with the Western idea of deity. The term is used above all in the Chinese Hymn Scroll, mostly just within the title 'Buddha Jesus' or 'Jesus the Buddha'. Various concepts are combined with that, for example in H. 76, where he is the all-knowing king of the law. Possibly he is the Buddha of Light in H. 25, the sun and moon, whom the mother of the Mara kings and other demons try to overshadow or overcome.

As expected, such a figure is immortal, as described in the Parthian hymn M 369 V 1-3:<sup>13</sup>

Praised, living, vigilant and immortal are you, Oh (blessed) sign,  
Spirit and (beautiful) form, Lord Jesus the Splendour!

The closing hymn of TracPell., T.85c26-86a4 (/P.586), calls him the ocean of immortality for all living things (v. 8) and the one who gives eternal Life to the dead (v. 13).<sup>14</sup> In *Keph.* 35.13-14, he is the one through whom eternal life shall be given. In the heading of the Persian hymn M 28 II, he is the 'life-giver'.<sup>15</sup> Perhaps the strongest image of his immortality is found in the Tree of Life, an image used in *PsB* 116.7 and H. 7-8, 12 and 72.<sup>16</sup> H. 75 best puts all of these together in referring to him as the great Holy One, who is the hoped-for eternal Life, the eternally blooming Tree, the one who is able to reawaken the dharma-Nature. In *PsB* 185.10 22, he is also the fruit of the Tree of Life, so that those who know him shall not taste death. *Keph.* 20.3-5

<sup>8</sup> See also 579, III and 582, VI.

<sup>9</sup> WL I, 118; *SR.* 64.

<sup>10</sup> MM III, 879.

<sup>11</sup> Werner Sundermann, 'Eine Liste manichäischer Götter in sogdischer Sprache', in *Tradition und Translation: Zum Problem der interkulturellen Übersetzbarkeit religiöser Phänomene: Festschrift für Carsten Colpe zum 65. Geburtstag*, Walter de Gruyter, Berlin/New York, 1994, 457.

<sup>12</sup> MM III, 868.

<sup>13</sup> WL I, 118; *SR.* 64; see also Sogdian M 306 that follows in WL I, 119.

<sup>14</sup> WL I, 60 also agrees this is Jesus the Splendour.

<sup>15</sup> MM II, 312; WL I, 35 also note the frequent use of the concept of life-giver for Jesus.

<sup>16</sup> Helwig Schmidt-Glintzer (*Chinesische Manichaica mit textkritischen Anmerkungen und einem Glossar*, Otto Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 1987, 109) tentatively suggests the tree is itself Jesus, and cites WL I, 30 on this.

also, within Mani's exposition of the parable of the two trees in Lk 6:43–44, says that 'the fruits of the good tree are glorious Jesus the Splendour, the father [of] all [the apo]st[ol]es'.

Evident here is either a reinterpretation of the Tree of Life in the Book of Genesis, which is said by the serpent to give knowledge and life rather than the death promised by the Jewish God (Gen 3:4–5), or the amalgam of this tree in Gen 3 from the Tree of Life and the Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil in Gen 2:9. This is supported by texts describing the revelation which Jesus the Splendour gives to Adam, as dealt with in detail below. The most telling for the purpose here comes from Augustine's *haer.* 46, 147–153, where Jesus the Splendour is said to be the Serpent who speaks to Adam and Eve, and illuminates them 'so that they might open the eyes of knowledge, and discern good and evil'. Life or immortality and knowledge or wisdom go together in both the image of the serpent and the image of the tree, a concept in relation to the tree image supported by Arnold-Döben's argument that in H. 7–8, Jesus acts as a Tree of Knowledge for the five sons of light, the sons of the Primal Man.<sup>17</sup> Immortality and holiness are combined as his attributes in the Iranian hymn M 90 v. R2c,<sup>18</sup> and he is very frequently referred to as the Great Holiness or Holy One, especially in the Chinese sources.<sup>19</sup>

Most characters associated with the heavenly realm are connected in some way with light. For Jesus the Splendour, this is especially so, given his title. He is generally connected with light, or brightness, sometimes presented as light itself. *PsB* 42.22–23 describes him as the 'Light-familiar' of Mani. In *PsB* 166.23, the psalmist asks Jesus, the mighty Light, to enlighten him. In the Parthian text M 369, he is the 'best-loved' and '[most] noble' of the beings of light, the 'ardent, bright and glorious one'.<sup>20</sup> In H. 12, his boundless light lights up the whole world. He is called the Light-Son in H. 146 and 151, where he appears in a trinity including the compassionate Father and the pure Wind of the Law.<sup>21</sup> The same trinity occurs in TracPell. T.83 a12–a15 (*P.*556), in a quote from, presumably, Mani's *Synaxies of the Living Gospel*, where the Light-Son is said to be the splendour of the sun and moon (a15). In H. 25, as noted above, Jesus the Splendour, as Sun and Moon, is called the Buddha of Light. Finally, Faustus also alludes to the Father and Son and their relationship to Light, including the dwelling of Christ in the sun and moon:

[W]e believe also that the Father properly dwells in the highest or principal light, which Paul calls 'light inaccessible,' and the Son in his second or visible light. And as the Son is himself twofold, according to the apostle, who speaks of Christ as the power of God and the

<sup>17</sup> Victoria Arnold-Döben, *Die Bildersprache des Manichäismus*, E.J. Brill, Cologne, 1978, 35–6.

<sup>18</sup> WL II, 555.

<sup>19</sup> H. 14, 15, 34, 39, 42, 63, 65, 67, 68, 69, 71, 75, 82, 213, 262, 309, 313, and 352; TracPell. T.83 a21, 85 c27, 86 a8, and 86 a21 (listed in Schmidt-Glitzner, *Chinesische Manichaica*, 161).

<sup>20</sup> WL I, 118; SR. 64.

<sup>21</sup> Schmidt-Glitzner, *Chinesische Manichaica*, 146, and WL II, 529, identify this figure as Jesus.

wisdom of God, we believe that His power dwells in the sun, and His wisdom in the moon ... (c. *Faust*. XX, 2).

Other images involving light appear in *PsB* 166.25, 27, 28, 35: 'Lamp of all the Aeons ... Flower of the Mother of the Lights ... Light of the Beloved one ... Father of the Mind of Light', and *PsB* 167.10: 'Our Stair that goes to the Light'. In Persian hymn M 36 V 8–10, Jesus is the Bridegroom of Light to the sisters, the holy virgins.<sup>22</sup> In *PsB* 22.9, he is Jesus the Dawn, and, more extensively in T II D 169 I 1, 5–8, he is possibly meant to be presented as the dual sun–moon god:

The God of the Dawn has come,  
 ...  
 (All)-seeing Sun God, protect us!  
 Visible Moon God, redeem us!  
 God of the Dawn,  
 Fragrant, sweet,  
 Bright, shining...<sup>23</sup>

Perhaps he is God of the Dawn because he is like the sun or the new day, as indicated in *PsB* 151.11–12:<sup>24</sup>

Who will not rejoice when the sun is about to rise on him?  
 Thou art a perfect day, being like unto thy Father in the skies.

and in the Persian hymn M 28 II R I 34–R II 2:

Welcome, true Logos, great lamp and bountiful light!  
 Welcome, new ruler and new day!<sup>25</sup>

The characteristics that Jesus the Splendour portrays as a divine being who contains or emanates life and light, find their expressions also within the key activities of saving and revealing, in which he is engaged. I discuss these activities in detail in the following section.

## 2 Jesus the Splendour as saviour–revealer

The 'grand plan' of salvation carried out by Jesus the Splendour comprises a number of activities: descent into the world or lower cosmic regions; salva-

<sup>22</sup> MM II, 325 6; SR 93.

<sup>23</sup> *Türk. Man.* II, 9; SR 290 (although Klimkeit identifies the God of the Dawn as the Great Builder).

<sup>24</sup> In *Keph.* 25.30–33 he is the fourth day, the twelve hours of which are the twelve wisdoms.

<sup>25</sup> MM II, 314; SR. 65.

tion, revelation and restoration; ascent and glorification; and further revelation through intermediaries

## 2.1 Descent

Descent into the world for Jesus the Splendour is described in a number of ways and for a number of purposes, the latter generally including revelation and/or struggle against the powers of darkness. Some cosmic activities are also connected with descent, but these too are linked with providing a way for others to come to salvation into the Light. *Keph.* 151.28–152.17 sums up the basic revelatory role of Jesus the Splendour – he is the revealer who manifests and reveals everything, both external and internal, both above and below, about the hidden aeons and the ships of light that are seen. In this way, he is like the tongue, which is outside the body, but reveals what is happening to the body both inside and outside, including its pain and sickness. He also reveals the beating and wounding of the Living Soul, and information about its cleansing and healing.

Where the ‘mechanics’ of Jesus’s descent are given in detail, various garments, forms, or vehicles are also mentioned. A number of possibilities explain why such things are used. Perhaps they actually enable him to move through certain ‘places’; perhaps they help him to communicate with the beings who are in those places; or perhaps by using them, he can remain unnoticed whilst there. It could be that, for the most part, the appearance of garment, vehicle, or form is meant to correspond to the appearance of beings who are ‘resident’ in each particular place. Thus in *Keph.* 61.17–28, Jesus the Splendour comes to reveal his image in order to purify the light, descending to the world by taking on first the form of angels, obviously while moving through the various levels of the heavens, until finally he takes on the form of flesh.<sup>26</sup> If Klimkeit is correct that the Turkish hymn TM 296 might also refer to Jesus the Splendour, then one of the garments of Jesus the Splendour as he descends to redeem souls from Hell and to enlighten believers is Nom Qutī (the Great Nous) (296/R/7–9).<sup>27</sup>

T. Kell. 22 I 35–39 describes a two-part descent through heavenly regions into the earth:

... king-chr(is)t, the one who has come forth from the outer aeons into the upper region, and from there to this lower creation ...<sup>28</sup>

<sup>26</sup> Gardner (‘Manichaean Christology’, 104–5) notes that Jesus here takes on the role of the Third Messenger/Maiden of Light (by revealing his image to purify the light) and the Living Spirit (by creating the universe – i.e., setting the earth and all its fastenings in order). This taking on of the roles of other gods shows that Jesus the Splendour’s place in the realm above is not fixed, which shows that he does not fit so logically there. Gardner also notes a cosmological task performed by Jesus in *Keph.* 94.1–11, which also shows his tendency to take over roles more appropriate to other gods.

<sup>27</sup> *Türk. Man.* III. 36: SR, 291.

<sup>28</sup> Jenkins, ‘The Prayer of the Emanations’, 256 (Greek 250).

A similar description of descent appears in *Keph.* 36.30–37.28, though in much greater detail. Jesus, the Son of Greatness, comes to the worlds and unveils the Greatness. To journey in the universe, he makes use of ten vehicles in the ‘zone’ and thereafter four in the flesh. The ten vehicles are: the light ship (sun); the ship of the First Man (moon); the Pillar of Glory; the summons (call), which is likened to a garment that he put on; obedience (response), which is like a garment upon the first garment; living air, where he appears to have been anointed; living wind; light; living water; and living fire. Clearly, these are the means of moving through the heavenly regions: some as vehicles as we would understand them, such as ships, and others as garments, which are more properly like forms.<sup>29</sup> The next four vehicles make up the ‘holy church’, as he manifests himself in the world of flesh: the holy brothers, the pure sisters, the male catechumens and the female catechumens.

In some cases the garment might differ from that which is found in those places – that is, Jesus returns to a former garment, perhaps his original garment, such as a garment of Light. This could be the case in the Parthian hymn M 104/R/1–14, where Satan plans to burn the world with fire but is defeated at the hands of the noble ruler, Son of Greatness, who ‘changed his garment and appeared before Satan in his power’, with the result that heaven and earth are shaken and Satan falls into the deep.<sup>30</sup>

The most surprising of all the garments is described in *Keph.* 94.1–11, where Jesus takes on a specific body. He descends to the depths of the cosmos, where he assumes Eve’s body. Böhlig suggests the body belongs to some kind of higher Eve,<sup>31</sup> but this seems to go against the context of the passage, since shortly before that, the abortions beget Adam and Eve (93.29–30), and surely the ‘earthly’ Eve is intended here. Tardieu opts for the earthly Eve, interpreting the action as no more than the metaphorical use of the body of Eve, making clear for the reader that Jesus took on flesh. For Tardieu, Eve is synonymous with the carnal nature of the body of flesh, giving other examples of this idea from the *Kephalaia*, such as 14.25, which says that the Church is clothed in flesh, or *Keph.* 271.23, which states that the elect are clothed in this body.<sup>32</sup> What remains unclear from Tardieu’s argument is how, in one case, the flesh of believers can be real. when in this case, the body is apparently meant as a metaphor.

<sup>29</sup> Anton Baumstark (‘Ein “Evangelium”-Zitat der manichäischen Kephalaia’, *OrChr.* 12, 3rd series (1937): 179–80), suggests that an Aramaic original lies behind the passage and that the term translated into Coptic as *MANTEXO* and *ΖΑΦΙΑ* (Greek loan word in Coptic), ‘carriage’/‘vehicle’, was the word *ܩܫܐ*, which can mean ‘ship’ and ‘garment’. Böhlig (‘Der Synkretismus des Mani’, 488–9) accepts Baumstark’s analysis, noting that the Syriac word gives the passage a unity allowing the wordplays that let the original Syrian writer move from the meaning of ‘ship’ to ‘garment’. However, the meaning for *ܩܫܐ* as ‘ship’ seems to stretch the idea of a ‘vessel’ or ‘utensil’ rather too far: BDB 1099b.

<sup>30</sup> MM III, 881–2; SR, 71.

<sup>31</sup> Alexander Böhlig, ‘Zum Selbstverständnis des Manichäismus’ in *Gnosis und Synkretismus. Gesammelte Aufsätze zur antiken Religionsgeschichte*, Vol. 2, ed. Alexander Böhlig, J.C.B. Mohr (Siebeck), Tübingen, 1989, 546–8.

<sup>32</sup> Michel Tardieu, ‘Gnose et manichéisme’, *AEPHE.R. Vème section*, 91 (1982–83): 373. Tardieu goes so far as to assume the provenance for Jesus’s clothing with Eve from the Gospel of Mani, since *Hom.* 68.12–13 explicitly refers to the name of Eve and associates it with flesh.

The text itself seems to imply that Eve's body is needed so that Jesus can undertake work in the world, and yet the task of restoration described here is hardly work that one would consider suitable to the lowest of fleshly bodies.<sup>33</sup> Possibly another tradition about the earthly Eve, apart from the one that Tardieu uses of her carnality, is found at least in Sogdian hymn M 129 r 10–11, in which Jesus takes possession of Eve's body, described as strong and shining.<sup>34</sup> While the activity described of Jesus is different in this latter text, the description of the body of Eve is here the issue.

## 2.2 Salvation, revelation and restoration

Chapter 18 of the Kephalaia delineates five wars that are waged between the Sons of Light and the Sons of Darkness. *Keph.* 59.19–28 describes the fourth war, which Jesus the Splendour wages against rebels from above and below, prior to bringing knowledge to Adam. Victory in this war appears linked with extracting light from the enemy and purifying it by the image of the Third Messenger (v. 21). However, possibly the enemy is also purified, since their chains are loosened (v. 22). Within the context of the war or the victory, he constructs something (vv. 24–5), through some kind of contest he humiliates others (v. 26), he gives hope to Adam (vv. 27–8) and he perhaps returns to his light ship (v. 28). These activities fulfil the will of his Father, the Greatness (v. 27). The same action seems to be understood in H. 218, where the great Holy One, as a general, is victorious in the war against the Maras.<sup>35</sup> *Keph.* 80.18–19 names him as the eighth judge in connection with this action against the rebels, whereby he descends and makes a judgement, apparently between the steadfast and the convicted.

In similar fashion, Jesus the Splendour acts on behalf of the Living Soul, who has been left behind in the world. *PsB* 172.18–25 sets the struggle and liberation in terms of the shepherd who searches for the sheep bound to the tree:

Who is this that seeks? Who is this that is sought?  
 The sheep that is bound to the tree for which its shepherd searches . . .  
 The sheep bound to the tree is the Love that died: the  
 Wisdom that reveals is the shepherd that seeks after it.

<sup>33</sup> Eugenia B. Smagina ('Die Reihe der manichäischen Apostel in den koptischen Texten'. in *Studia Manichaica. II. Internationaler Kongress zum Manichäismus, 6–10 August, St Augustin/Bonn*, ed. Gernot Wießner and Hans-Joachim Klimkeit, Otto Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 1992, 364) comments upon this passage that the godlike form of Jesus the Splendour incarnates in Eve in order to teach Adam about the heavenly origin of his soul. If this is so then it has a strong connection with the Nag Hammadi text, *Hyp. Archons* 89.11–17, but the Kephalaia passage only speaks of Jesus's assuming Eve's body for the restoration work. While the text is damaged, it still does not seem to allow for Smagina's interpretation.

<sup>34</sup> Werner Sundermann, 'Eva Illuminatrix', in *Gnosisforschung und Religionsgeschichte: Festschrift für Kurt Rudolph zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Holger Preißler and Hubert Seiwert, diagonal-Verlag, Marburg, 1994, 318–19.

<sup>35</sup> Schmidt-Glintzer (*Chinesische Manichaica*, 113) notes that WL I. 13, identify this general with Jesus.

Further aid for the Living Soul or the individual soul – liberation from the armour of the demons, the entanglement of the forms and vestures of the world and the binding of the beasts – is requested of Jesus the Splendour in *PsB* I. 136, 189.28–190.20.<sup>36</sup>

Further descriptions of entry into the world imply a degree of struggle, both against his own enemies and against the enemies of the church. As indicated above, in the example of the Parthian hymn M 104, Jesus the Splendour, the Son of Greatness, defeats Satan. The timing of this descent is unclear, and Gardner suggests that it refers to the eschatological return of Jesus in power.<sup>37</sup> Certainly the parallels which he draws elsewhere, between this passage and *PsB* 172.15–27, make that a distinct possibility,<sup>38</sup> but I am more inclined to ascribe this to the tussle with the powers at the moment of crucifixion where Jesus changes from his fleshly garment to his former garment of light or power, or where the fleshly garment is realized for what it is – a sham – and the real garment of glory is revealed (strongly reminiscent of canonical Johannine Christology). He subsequently defeats Satan and disturbs the powers of heaven and earth. I describe similar activity of Jesus the Apostle in the following chapter. Clearly the passage from the Parthian hymn conflates the two figures, Jesus the Splendour and Jesus the Apostle.

Certain adaptations appear in the myth in which Jesus the Splendour is conflated with the Primal Man. In the descent in *Keph.* II 302.25–27, where Jesus the Splendour is certainly conflated with Jesus the Apostle, Jesus the Splendour comes into the world, reveals himself, and is crucified (?) by the enemy who stands against him. Although the text is somewhat damaged, the implication is fairly clear that this happened in the mystery of the Primal Man as he moved out with his holy body, that is his five sons, against the enemy (302.27–30).<sup>39</sup>

Jesus is described as descending for other reasons, predominantly involving activity that conflates him with figures such as Jesus the Apostle or Jesus the Judge, and this creates uncertainty at times regarding which descent is meant. While the action of crucifixion or judgement at the end of the world might more usually belong to these other figures, they cannot be ignored for Jesus the Splendour, and I include them here, as well as below in the discussion in Interim Summary 1.

<sup>36</sup> Gregor Wurst, 'A Dialog between the Saviour and the Soul (Manichaean Psalm Book, Part I, No. 136)', *BSAC*, 35 (1996): 150–53.

<sup>37</sup> Gardner, 'Manichaean Christology', 246.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, 33.

<sup>39</sup> Walter Bruno Henning ('Ein manichäischer kosmogonischer Hymnus', *NGWG.PH.* 1932: 222; Henri-Charles Puech, 'La Conception Manichéenne du Salut', in *Sur le Manichéisme et autres essais*, Flammarion, Paris, 1979, 46). Lieu (*Manichaeism in the Later Roman Empire*, 250–51), and Klimkeit (*SR* 42, n. 30) have noted the conflation of the two figures of Ohrmizd, i.e. the Primal Man, and Jesus the Splendour in the Iranian texts, following Mary Boyce's observation that in Zurvanism Ohrmizd is the son of Zurvan, the highest God, and thus Ohrmizd becomes synonymous with the son of God who brings gnosis to Adam. See also in the Sogdian hymn, Pur Karam, a hymn of praise to Jesus the King: 'The Saviour, the dear son of God Zurvan, merciful Lord over the whole world', in Morano, 'Sogdian Hymns', 36–7.

*Keph.* 93.29–94.11 describes the same action as *Keph.* 59.19–28, although some argument exists about just how many descents are involved.<sup>40</sup> The three mentions of an assumption by Jesus (of ‘them’ in 93.32 and of Eve in 94.3–4 and 8–9) makes three descents possible, unless these are simply three versions of the same event. Whatever the number of descents, this passage contains much more detail about, and focus on, the construction or restoration activity, rather than on the struggle or revelation to Adam. Because an earthquake has caused damage to the paths and the springs of wind, water and fire, Jesus descends to straighten the tracks of the wind, water and fire and opens the springs for them, setting in order the path of their ascent (94.1–6, 9–10). Similarly, again, the Sogdian hymn M 129 r 8–15 relates that Jesus takes possession of Eve’s strong and shining body, and from there takes, binds and imprisons the abortions, gives Adam religion, brings a great deal of Light out of the whole world, and sends it to paradise, taking the first fruit of it for himself.<sup>41</sup>

The revelation given to Adam (and Eve?) receives more emphasis in other texts. In images of gardening, reminiscent of New Testament passages,<sup>42</sup> the coming of Jesus the Splendour to Adam is described in *Keph.* 53.18–54.9. Here Jesus cuts down bad trees, burns them and plants good trees to produce good fruit. Likewise, in coming to Adam and Eve, he destroys and burns the powers until he reaches ‘the form of the flesh of Adam and Eve’. The destruction of the bad trees mirrors the destruction caused by Jesus the Splendour in the fourth war against the rebels, which occurs just prior to his advent to Adam.<sup>43</sup>

Other references can be found in Augustine’s *hæc.* 46, 147–153, noted above, which equate Jesus the Splendour with the Serpent who speaks to Adam and Eve, and in Theodore bar Konai’s *Scholia*. In the latter text, the revelation by which Adam is raised up and eats of the tree of life results in his

<sup>40</sup> Böhlig (‘Zum Selbstverständnis’, 546–8) holds that the text records two descents of Jesus being sent down as a warrior against evil. In the first, he opened the springs of wind, water and fire. In the second, he restored the firmness of the underpinnings of the earth. Tardieu’s (‘Gnose et manichéisme’, 373) suggestion of three rather than two descents seems reasonable, although what he understands as happening in each descent seems to ask too much from the passage, especially his reading of the first descent as the moment of incarnation by Mary (= Eve) which ends with the salvation of the mind of Adam (= Manichaean interpretation of the resurrection).

<sup>41</sup> Sundermann, ‘Eva Illuminatrix’, 318–20. Sundermann points out that Jesus the Splendour is the protagonist here, for he gives Adam religion (p. 320).

<sup>42</sup> Victoria Arnold-Döben (‘Die Symbolik des Baumes im Manichäismus’, *Symb.*, 5 (1980): 14–15) cites Matt 3:10 and Lk 6:43.

<sup>43</sup> Tardieu (*Le Manichéisme*, 52) and Erich Feldmann (*Die ‘Epistula Fundamenti’ der nordafrikanischen Manichäer: Versuch einer Rekonstruktion*, Akademische Bibliothek, Altenberge, 1987, 128, n. 66) speculate that the revelation of the angel Balsamos to Adam in *CMC* 48.16–49.14 should be seen as another reference to the revelation by Jesus the Splendour. This could make sense in that the Splendour takes on the forms of angels while descending, and as seen above, at least Faustus considers that he could have appeared as an angel. However, none of the other texts concerning the revelation to Adam and Eve have Jesus the Splendour in the form of an angel.

understanding of how his soul has been shackled by the one who sculpted him (Yaldabaoth?) and enslaved by the rebels (the abortions?).<sup>44</sup>

*Keph.* 267.18–268.27 summarizes the saving revelation given by Jesus the Splendour in various ways and at various times. The first part of the text is damaged but clearly mentions activity of Jesus ‘outside in the great universe’, after which he comes to give revelation to Adam and Eve. There follows revelation to the generations of the good/believers by the apostles, about who they are (the race of light: 268.5), what the darkness and light are, how these have come to exist, how light has conquered the power of darkness (268.6–11), and finally how Jesus came to the province of death in order to save believers swallowed into the gate of the underworld, and how he will bind the rebels in a great fetter (268.12–19).

Similarly, the eschatological portions of the *Shābuhragān* present the same kind of various descents of Jesus the Splendour linked to revelation:

Then Xradeshahr . . . - he who first [gave] that male creation, the original First Man, wisdom and knowledge, and (who) afterwards from time to time and from [age] to age sent wisdom and knowledge to mankind . . . (M 473 I/Ar/17–22)<sup>45</sup>

Xradeshahr is generally held to represent Jesus the Splendour because he brings revelation to Adam.<sup>46</sup>

In the Eastern texts, the idea of multiple descents for Jesus is caught up in the concept of multiple appearances of the Buddha in the world, as TM 164 (and 174)/R?/11–14 illustrate, though it is difficult to know whether all the figures named are meant to be interpreted as Buddhas:

Jesus, Kanig and the God Vahman, the angels that guard the Law, the . . . Buddhas that have descended repeatedly . . .<sup>47</sup>

Jesus the Splendour is not just the revealer to Adam, but to the whole universe and all humankind. T. Kell. 22 I 43–45 states that he revealed the way of truth to the whole universe and gave the interpretation ‘with all voices’.<sup>48</sup> In the greater scheme of things described in *PsB* I 189.28–190.20, Jesus the Splendour, father of the soul, consoles the soul who cries out in

<sup>44</sup> Quoted in Jason David BeDuhn, *The Manichaean Body: In Discipline and Ritual*, The Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, MD, 2000, 89.

<sup>45</sup> MacKenzie, ‘Mani’s *Shābuhragān*’, 505.

<sup>46</sup> See, e.g. WL I, 21; Jes Peter Asmussen, *Manichaean Literature, Representative Texts Chiefly from Middle Persian and Parthian Writings*, Scholars’ Facsimiles and Reprints, Delman, New York, 1975, 103–6; MacKenzie, ‘Mani’s *Shābuhragān*’, 522, following notes of Sundermann; Ludwig Koenen, ‘Manichaean Apocalypticism’, 302; and Manfred Hutter, ‘Mt. 25:31–46’, 277–8. Boyce (*Reader*, 64, 77), however, considers the identity of Xradeshahr is uncertain, since he could represent the Great Nous: ‘[T]he function of bringing enlightenment to Adam is usually assigned to Jesus, whereas the sending of gnosis to his descendants through the prophets is the work of the Great Nous.’

<sup>47</sup> *Türk. Man.* III, 42: SR, 358.

<sup>48</sup> Jenkins, ‘The Prayer of the Emanations’, 256 (Greek 250).

distress to him by revealing that it has been thrown over the enemies in the world so as to illumine and bind them, giving it the knowledge of the mysteries so that it will be exalted to mix with the angels on high and become luminous as it was originally in the bridal-chambers of joy, that it must die in the world (i.e. work hard and overcome lust [190.17–18]) in order to live with Jesus forever.<sup>49</sup>

For the individual believer, revelation involves knowledge and wisdom which open the eyes of the believer's soul (see also *PsB* 89.6) to the Light of his glory and 'the things that are hidden and that are visible, the things of the abyss and the things of the height' (*PsB* 86.15–25). Jesus himself is apprehended by searching and by knowledge: 'O Jesus, the true hope, whom I got for myself in knowledge' (*PsB* 88.23–24); 'When I seek thee I find thee within illumining me' (*PsB* 151.28). Part of the revelatory teaching also involves commandments, often described like garments put on by the believer (*PsB* 59.30–31; 85.27–28; 88.29–30). A litany in *PsB* 166.23–167.22 includes some of the best examples of titles referring to Jesus and his illumination of believers. Here he is named as 'Our enlightening Reason, Our perfect Thought, [Our] good Counsel, Wisdom of the Wise, Knowledge of the Enlighteners' (166.39–167.2, 8–9).

Revelation means life for the believer: being awakened by Jesus from sleep is like a resurrection from the dead, according to the Persian hymn M 28 II R I 28–31.<sup>50</sup> In *Keph.* 36.30–37.28, too, Jesus's unveiling of the Greatness involves enlivening, redeeming, and giving victory to those who are his own. Further to giving life, H. 85 states that Jesus's illumination of the believer results in a separation of the believer from preferences and passions in order to stand with a quiet heart before the gate of the true law, to strive zealously for nirvana that rises above the great sea.

The 'gardening' revelatory activity, which Jesus carries out for Adam, is similar to that required of him in H. 67–70 in order to rescue the hymnist, who is variously described as a mustard seed of the Light, a grapevine and a fruitbearing field. The rescue involves removing thorns, cutting down and burning poisonous trees and unwinding strangulating vines, all analogies for the evil of the Maras, so that the believer can grow, bloom and bear fruit.

Jesus comes to bring revelation or salvation to believers because they are already his kin, with whom he has previously dwelt in the Light, as *PsB* 86.2–9 states, although the same psalm implies that he makes believers his kin as he saves them from the powers which the sects serve. Perhaps it means he restores them to kinship. Certainly his love or compassion should also be considered here, not just the fact that he is sent. His love and friendship with believers are strongly emphasized, particularly by the title, Jesus the Friend, occurring mostly in Eastern Manichaean texts.<sup>51</sup> Perhaps the most important witness is the Sogdian and Persian M 17, which uses the title within the

<sup>49</sup> Wurst, 'Dialog between the Saviour and the Soul', 150–53.

<sup>50</sup> MM II, 314.

<sup>51</sup> Werner Sundermann ('Namen von Göttern, Dämonen und Menschen in iranischen Versionen des manichäischen Mythos', *AoF.* 6 (1979): 103, n. 246) notes the Splendour is often called 'Jesus the Friend' in Parthian. See also Burkitt, *The Religion of the Manichees*, 31.

beginning of Mani's Epistle, 'I, Mani, the Apostle of Jesus the Friend', as noted in the previous chapter.<sup>52</sup>

Jesus is the believer's kin – father, mother and brother (e.g. *PsB* 86.2–9; *M* 28 II V II 4–5),<sup>53</sup> a kinship made necessary because Jesus has made the believer a stranger without kin: 'I became a stranger in the world for thy name's sake, my God' (*PsB* 60.28–29). In *H.* 44 and 46 he is the father of the soul who cries to him.<sup>54</sup> In *TracPell.* T.85 c27 (/P.586) he is the compassionate father and mother of all living beings. In *PsB* 151.24–5 he is the great lover of humankind, the kindly one of the Gods. *M* 311 describes his throne as full of love.<sup>55</sup>

*Keph.* 25.30–31 describes Jesus the Splendour as dwelling in his Church. In fact, in *PsB* 185.14–15, Jesus, the Maiden, and the Mind are said to be 'the perfect Church', and as *PsB* 164.13–15 states, 'fair are they to love (?) within'. *M* 36 V 8–10, as noted above, describes Jesus as the Bridegroom of Light to the sisters, the holy virgins.<sup>56</sup> Indeed he is the bridegroom for the entire Church, as Faustus states in *c. Faust.* XV 1. He is a rich bridegroom for a poor bride, who, though she is poor, scorns the riches and gifts of inferior lovers, in particular the Old Testament and its author (i.e. the Jewish god). This representation of the inferior lover clearly owes something to the earlier gnostic tradition of the god Yaldabaoth. Another link occurs perhaps in *M* 28 II V I 11–13, where the sinners proclaim, 'We are who we are, and no one is like us',<sup>57</sup> which is reminiscent of Yaldabaoth's haughty declaration in *Hyp. Archons* 94.21–2: 'It is I who am God; there is none other apart from me.'<sup>58</sup>

Believers, too, are with Jesus the Splendour in war and struggle. The psalmist in *PsB* 112.28–29 declares that he has been sent by Jesus down to the war. *TracPell.* T.86 a14 (/P.587) describes believers as fitted out with the armour of wisdom for war against evil, so they will have an overwhelming victory. In the Chinese sources, the enemies of believers are typically Eastern demons, most prominently the male and female Maras, and with them, the devil of greed (*H.* 23–25, 43).

In each case Jesus the Splendour is the victor. A summary statement about him as the victor is found, for example, in *Keph.* 36.30–37.28: '[h]e has killed, bound, and destroyed they who are strangers to him'.

<sup>52</sup> *HR II.* 26.

<sup>53</sup> *MM II.* 316.

<sup>54</sup> In *H.* 44 also, he is Father of the Light Nature and Mother of Wisdom. Schmidt-Glinterz, (*Chinesische Manichaica*, 142 [*lien-min mu*], 168 [*tz'u-pei fu*]) also wonders if the father and mother in *H.* 13 might be Jesus.

<sup>55</sup> *HR II.* 67; Asmussen, *Manichaean Literature*, 107.

<sup>56</sup> *MM II.* 325–6; *SR.* 93.

<sup>57</sup> *MM II.* 316; *SR.* 66.

<sup>58</sup> Bentley Layton, 'The Hypostasis of the Archons', in *Nag Hammadi Codex II, 2-7 together with XIII, 2\**, *Brit. Lib. Or.4926(1)*, and *P. Oxy. I.* 654, 655, *NHS* 20 (2 vols). Vol. 1, ed. Bentley Layton, Brill, Leiden, 1989, 252–3.

### 2.3 Ascent and glory

Much more detail exists concerning the various descents of Jesus than his subsequent ascents. Each instance of ascent generally tells little more than that he ascends back to his light ship (after the fourth war, *Keph.* 59.28) or to the heights (after revelation to Adam, *Keph.* 56.26). *Keph.* 61.17–28 says simply that, at the end of his activity, Jesus ascends to rest in the Light.

Regarding his normal place of habitation in the heights, two passages in the *Kephalaia* describe his throne. While listing the eighteen thrones which exist in the outer aeons and in the damaged world (81.24–28), beginning with the Father of Greatness, *Keph.* 82.20–21 says that '[t]he eighth throne is that of Jesus the Splendour, who [is] the releaser and redeemer [of] all souls'. This may be connected to the earlier statement that he is the eighth judge. *Keph.* 82.32–83.1 says also that he has a throne in the moon, along with thrones for the First Man and the Virgin of Light.

The *Šābuhragān*, M 519 I, M 473 I, M 475 a I, M 477 I, and M 482 I (Ar/17-Dr/10),<sup>59</sup> depicts the god *Xradeshahr*, Jesus the Splendour, as a judge of humankind at the end of the world. *Hom.* 37.13–26 also depicts a judgement scene for Jesus the Splendour. In H. 131, Jesus the Splendour as judge is *Yenmo*, the leader,<sup>60</sup> the King of Justice,<sup>61</sup> the compassionate Thought, the Truth. He is named the all-knowing King of the Law (and King of Hearts), Buddha Jesus in H. 75–76. As King, he knows how to distinguish between truth and lie, light and darkness, good and evil, the just and the wicked (T. Kell. 22 I 46–49).<sup>62</sup>

The Parthian text M 2 relates the final salvation of the Light, when the Living Soul has been finally gathered up and returned to the realm of Light, with the exception of some fragments of light that could not be saved. The various Light gods (the 'jewels', the 'messengers' and the 'battle-seeking gods'), including Jesus the Splendour, praise the Lord of Paradise.<sup>63</sup>

### 2.4 Further revelation through intermediaries

Jesus the Splendour also brings revelation indirectly by sending or emanating further messengers for those in the world. Thus his revelation is achieved partly through the Light Nous, who is sent as a letter to the church (*Keph.* 182.20–27). But of all the holy ones who have appeared in the world, as *TracPell.* T. 85 c27 (/P.586) states, he is the only true redeemer of the three worlds. The Parthian text M 42,<sup>64</sup> a dialogue between the soul (characterized as a Boy or Youth), and the redeemer, summarizes what has happened from

<sup>59</sup> Mackenzie, 'Mani's *Šābuhragān*', 504–11.

<sup>60</sup> Schmidt-Glintzer, *Chinesische Manichaica*, 176.

<sup>61</sup> *WL* I, 12–13, note the use of this term for Jesus (line 152), a term they note refers to a figure who appears at the time of death to judge the soul or accompany it to the realm of light (lines 99, 255 and 394). It is also connected to death in the *TracPell.* T. 85 c 8–9 (/P. 584).

<sup>62</sup> Jenkins, 'The Prayer of the Emanations', 256 (Greek 250).

<sup>63</sup> *MM* III, 849–53; *SR*, 255.

<sup>64</sup> *MM* III, 878–81.

the time when the world was plunged into turmoil and the Boy left to suffer there, left behind by Jesus the Splendour to endure in the world so that souls might gain their salvation through the Boy. Although the Splendour ascends from the world and leaves the Boy there, he instructs the Great Nous to send messengers.<sup>65</sup> The messengers are then named, or alluded to – Zarathustra, Buddha Shakyamuni, Jesus, Mār Mani – and their coming and activity are summarized.

That Jesus the Splendour is ultimately the source from which the four are sent can be derived also from Mani's understanding of his apostleship from him, as demonstrated in the previous chapter. M 801 322–324 also attests that Jesus the Splendour sent Mani to the believers.<sup>66</sup> The Parthian text M 90 R 2a describes Jesus as the leader of those sent, 'chief of the messengers',<sup>67</sup> while *Keph.* 44.6–8 describes him as 'the beginning of [all] the deliverers'. Jesus the Splendour is also known as the 'father of the apostles' in *Keph.* 20.4–5 and *Keph.* 80.18–19.

Jesus models his activity of emanation on the Second Father, the Third Messenger,<sup>68</sup> from whom he himself is sometimes said to emanate, as indicated above, just as in turn, Jesus the Splendour acts as a pattern for the activity of emanation by the Fourth Father, the Light Mind (*Keph.* 36.1–3). Jesus is the source of emanation or summoning of the Light Mind (Nous), the great Judge,<sup>69</sup> and the Youth (*Keph.* 35.21–34; see also *Keph.* 61.17–28 for his formation of Jesus the Youth). In *Keph.* 155.22–25, Jesus also summons the Great Thought, here presented within the metaphorical image of the third rock, which he sets in the Church. Images of fatherhood or a tree and its fruit describe emanation in *PsB* 116.7–12 of the Light Nous as fruit or son from Jesus the Splendour, Tree of Life and Father (see also *PsB* 166.35). Similarly H. 7–8 contains an image of Jesus the Splendour as the eternally blooming tree from the blossoms of which emanate Buddhas.

That the revelation brought by the one who is emanated derives ultimately from Jesus the Splendour is well illustrated in the case of the Light Nous. The latter issues as a letter of peace and revelation from Jesus the Splendour to the Church, bearing wisdom and some intimation of things still to come (*Keph.* 182.20–183.4).

<sup>65</sup> Boyce (*Reader.* 171) notes that 'since the Great Nous also is an emanation of Jesus, this verse makes the identity of the god who speaks almost certain'.

<sup>66</sup> *BBB* 27.

<sup>67</sup> *WL* II. 555.

<sup>68</sup> The modelling could actually be explicitly intended. In an interesting parallel, a text on the consecration of a new Manichaean king, TM 47 R 9 15 (*Türk. Man.* III. 35; *SR.* 357) relates the going/death of one king and the rising of another, which could be a paradigm for the Third Messenger and the rise of Jesus the Splendour:

As our king, the *Iduq-quit* descended like the sun, all of us, the poor and common people, became sad and sorrowful. But as the bright moon appeared in splendor in place of the sun, so did our king, the *Iduq-quit* Avluç?, appear at (that) place.

<sup>69</sup> Carl G. Schmidt and Hans Jakob Polotsky ('Ein Mani-Fund in Ägypten', in *Collected Papers by H.J. Polotsky*, ed. E.Y. Kutscher, Magnes Press, Hebrew University, Jerusalem, 1971, 682) state that the Great Judge is identical with the Judge of Truth, and since he is an emanation of Jesus, it can be supposed that in him Jesus's judging capacity is hypostasized.

### 3 Jesus the Splendour and the soul in the hour of death

Many psalms contain requests for help from Jesus as Saviour, often at the moment of death and passage (hopefully) into the Light, eternal kingdom, also referred to as his bride-chambers (e.g. *PsB* 79.17–20). In many cases, the identity of this Jesus is unclear, whether the Splendour or the Apostle, since many passages simply refer to the Saviour – a title used of both figures.

From those texts where the figure is clearly Jesus the Splendour, a multitude of references to him reveal him as the one who gives eternal life to the dead (*PsB* 59.17–18; *TracPell.* T.86 a3 [P.586]), the one who releases souls from among the dead, delivers them, leading them into eternal life (T II D II 169, M 680, and TM 383 v. 9),<sup>70</sup> or the one who provides a way out of the world by his illumination (*Hom.* 6.18–19; *TracPell.* T.86 a4 [P.586]) [Jesus as the Light-Gate];<sup>71</sup> *PsB* 59.29 [Jesus as ‘the door of life eternal’]; see also *PsB* 81.2, 6–7). Jesus the Splendour also provides the way for the souls to reach the Light by digging a river whose waters contain the roots of Light;<sup>72</sup> but this river tests those ships that sail on it:

Jesus dug a river in the world; he dug a  
river even he of the sweet name. He dug it with the spade  
of Truth, he dredged it with the basket (?) of wisdom, the stones (?)  
which he dredged from it are like  
drops (?) of incense; all the waters that are in it  
are roots [of] Light (?) and . . . three ships  
sail, they voyage in the river of testing: one  
laden, one half-freighted, the third empty,  
there being nothing in it. (*PsB* 217.19–27)

A number of the Persian (and Parthian) hymns mention Jesus sometimes in conjunction with the Maiden of Light and the great Vahman, in the role of Saviour. Thus M 801 165–71 says that this trinity raises the Church from the dead;<sup>73</sup> M 31 I V 1–2 speaks of ‘the three who are to come, the redeemers of our souls’,<sup>74</sup> who constitute this same trinity.

In T. Kell. *Copt.* 2.110–13, the Third Messenger sends Jesus the Splendour, ‘the apostle of light, the redeemer of souls’ to the soul on the point of death.<sup>75</sup>

<sup>70</sup> Morano, ‘Sogdian Hymns’, 37.

<sup>71</sup> *WL* I, 34, 35, note the Johannine sound of this expression ‘light door’, which here operates as a means of salvation, and they note that ‘door of salvation often refers to Jesus’.

<sup>72</sup> Perhaps the digging of a river is related to the mythical descent of Jesus the Splendour to the depths of the cosmos, where he assumed Eve and released the springs, which is recounted in *Keph.* 94.3–6.

<sup>73</sup> *BBB.* 23.

<sup>74</sup> *MM* II, 328; *SR.* 94.

<sup>75</sup> Iain M.F. Gardner, ‘Section A: Coptic Texts’, in *Kellis Literary Texts*, Vol. 1, ed. Iain M.F. Gardner, Dakleh Oasis Project: Monograph No. 4, Oxbow Books, Oxford, 1996, 14 (Coptic 13).

Where the soul prays for help and salvation, some passages with light imagery might be directed to Jesus the Splendour, for example:<sup>76</sup>

Come to me, O living Christ; come to me, O Light [of day] (*PsB* 55.16–17)

Jesus my Light, whom I have loved, take me in unto thee. (*PsB* 85.23–24)

Death is frequently and variously described as casting away something which hinders or enwraps the body, such as the bonds of the world, the garment of the guile of the Archons, the body or the fire of lust, and drunkenness and error. Psalm 250 contains various descriptions of these hindrances (the plasma of the earth [59.2]; the world [59.8]; the guile of the Archons [59.9]), but moves on to describe the subsequent washing of the believer in the 'holy waters', cleansed by the Saviour's members and made spotless (59.25–27). *M* 564 R 2a–5a describes similar activities: the one who washes away filth and great sinfulness from the soul, purifying it by bathing, being its mediator, protector and true refuge; the guide who leads it away from sin; and the redeemer and saviour who leads out of woe.<sup>77</sup> The washing could imply baptismal imagery, or at least a cleansing which brings immortality. *PsB* 76.9–12 provides a similar image of cleansing, but this time in conjunction with the bride-chambers of the height and clothing in a robe. The robe is also mentioned ('My robe is ready, that I may return to my Father rejoicing'; *PsB* 154.30) and cleansed in a later psalm, together with an image of the seal (155.3–4), but here the link to baptismal imagery is questionable, since the robes are washed, not the person: 'I have received my washed clothes, my robes that grow not old' (*PsB* 155.10). The two themes of baptismal or purifying water and the bride-chamber are brought together in *PsB* 79.29–30: 'Purify me, my bridegroom, o Saviour, with thy waters ... that are full of grace.'<sup>78</sup>

The idea of cleansing and fitting with a new garment might find a parallel in the idea of Jesus the Splendour, who brings the New Man into being by destroying the Old Man. *The Sermon on the Light-Nous* relates that the second day is the New Man and its twelve hours are the twelve virgins. Jesus the Splendour uses the twelve virgins to clothe the soul, which he cleanses

<sup>76</sup> Examples of others which are indistinct in their referent are:  
Aid me, my Lord, and save me (*PsB* 88.24)

[Jesus] the only-begotten save me (*PsB* 59.1)

[Save] me, o blessed Christ, the Saviour of the holy souls (*PsB* 75.11–12)

Save me, o my Saviour, merciful and good (*PsB* 76.27).

<sup>77</sup> *MM* II, 321; *SR*, 50–51. Klimkeit (*SR*, 50) identifies this redeemer figure simply as Jesus. See also a similar baptismal or cleansing theme in *H*, 71

<sup>78</sup> The theme is quite frequent; see, e.g., *PsB* 81.13–14: 'I have become a holy bride in the bride-chambers of Light that are at rest, I have received the gifts of the victory.'

from its old nature.<sup>79</sup> TracPell. T.84 a15–a18 (/P.566) also speaks of the same activity, although identifying the twelve hours as the twelve kings of light rather than the twelve virgins.<sup>80</sup> While the making of the new man must be prior to death, because at death the new and old man are separated,<sup>81</sup> nevertheless the action itself is a close parallel to what appears to happen at death.

In a strange twist, the psalmist asks to become the garment of Jesus the Splendour (in the second example, addressed as the Nous):

[My] Lord Jesus, come and wear me until I purify the body (?) of the First Man. (*PsB* 162.25–26)

O Father, [O] Mind of Light, come and wear me [until I have recited the woe of the] Son of Man.  
My Lord Jesus,] come and [wear] me until [I] purify the body of the First] Man. (*PsB* 178.1–4)

Some texts add an extra dimension to the activity of redemption by reference to reincarnation. In the Parthian M 38 V, the believer requests redemption from the cycle of rebirth from a trinity of redemption, Jesus, the Maiden of Light, and Mār Mani.<sup>82</sup> Similarly, M 311 contains a request for salvation from *samsāra*.<sup>83</sup> In H. 74, the one who eats of the imperishable fruits of the Tree of Life, who is Jesus, will forever be brought out from the river of birth and death (see also H. 63).

## 4 Imagery for Jesus the Splendour as saviour

### 4.1 Jesus as hunter/fisherman/boatsman

*Keph.* 28.26–34 calls Jesus the Splendour the third hunter, but the imagery is more consistent with a fisherman, whose hunting weapon is a net by which he catches souls out of the world, an ocean of error, and brings them into his ship, the church. This same image is found in a prayer to Jesus in TracPell. T.86 a19–a20 (/P.588) to fish the believers out of the great sea with the Light net and to set them in the ship of precious stone. Earlier in the same text, he is depicted as the skilful and wise steersman, the compassionate hand that saves from the jaws of fire (T.86 a2–3 [/P.586]). The peril represented by the sea seems to be described especially in view of the moment of death as a journey

<sup>79</sup> Werner Sundermann, *Der Sermon vom Licht-Nous. Eine Lehrschrift des östlichen Manichäismus; Edition der parthischen und soghdischen Version*, Akademie Verlag, Berlin, 1992, 63.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.* (107–8, n. 40a 3). Sundermann compares the Sermon to the Chinese version.

<sup>81</sup> See *c. Faust.* XXIV, 1, where Faustus argues that there are two births, the second of which is birth out of error and into faith, which Paul has spoken of as putting off the old man and putting on the new, this happening by receiving the truth.

<sup>82</sup> *HR II*, 77.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, 67.

by boat, but the soul is safe with Jesus: 'In the midst of the sea, Jesus, guide me. Do not abandon us that the waves may not seize us. When I utter thy name over the sea it stills its waves' (*PsB* 151.8–10),<sup>84</sup> and as the final mooring place and safe harbour: 'the mooring-harbour of life: they that moor in thee are saved from their enemies' (*PsB* 60.24–25). Although which Jesus is meant in the second of the two passages is unclear, it compares easily to what has been said already of Jesus the Splendour.

Movement into the ship of Jesus (in *Keph.* 64.3–4, 'the ship of living waters where he lives'; i.e. the moon) is not necessarily associated with the violence of being fished out of the terrifying sea. In *PsB* 151.31–152.8, souls (the holy ones and maidens, those who are pure), simply embark in the ship of Jesus, who is the steersman. He brings the souls like passengers to the harbour of immortals, laden with 'garlands and gay palms', and returns for those who have been left behind.

#### 4.2 Jesus as protector

Protection is already generally portrayed by the image of the strong hand of the steersman and Jesus as the safe harbour above. A number of other passages describe the peril surrounding the believer and the way in which Jesus protects and guides in the midst of the peril. Already discussed is Jesus the Splendour as the shepherd who seeks the Living Soul in the world. H. 65–66 repeats the image for Jesus and the believer, where the soul describes itself as a lamb of the Light, crying out with tears because the wolves and beasts who tear at it have seized it and carried it away from the good shepherd of Light. The soul calls for the great Holy One (i.e. Jesus the Splendour) to have compassion and take it and set it in the Light-herd, free to wander without fear in the hills and woods of the Law and the lovely mountains.<sup>85</sup> Whatever happens, the saviour does not desert the believer, but constantly enlivens him/her: 'he has sated me from his fountain that is full of lives' (*PsB* 75.26–27). Clearly, believers felt they could call upon Jesus constantly for help: 'Jesus my true guard, mayest thou guard me: Firstborn of the Father of the Lights, mayest thou guard me' (*PsB* 151.4–5).

Mani provides a model for believers to trust in the protection of Jesus the Splendour. Mani was convinced of the personal care afforded him by Jesus the Splendour, as noted in the previous chapter. Of course the greatest care for Mani is shown by the sending of the Twin, perhaps by Jesus (*CMC* 18.1–17), a question considered in the previous chapter.

Protection is naturally sought in culturally specific ways. Thus many of the

<sup>84</sup> Villey ([ed.], *Psaumes des errants*, 281) notes the New Testament episode of Jesus's calming of the sea (cf. Matt 8:23–27; Mk 4:35–41; Lk 8:22–25).

<sup>85</sup> Other references to Jesus as shepherd are not clearly described for a particular Jesus figure. Arnold-Döben (*Die Bildersprache*, 77) says of the reference in H. 217 to a chief shepherd, that all the envoys of light who care for the soul are so described in the Chinese Manichaica, so that one can't be sure who is meant. Some of the Manichaean elect are also called shepherds of the Light-Herd; e.g. M 104 R 15 17: 'Protect, now, too, the Teacher Mar Zaku, the great keeper of your radiant herd', in MM III, 882: *SR*, 71.

Chinese hymns ask for protection against Maras and ghosts/spirits (e.g. H. 35, 46 and 48), the latter verse also asking for help against the Mara-birds. Protection against the hordes of Maras is again described in the image of the saving hand of Jesus (H. 39). Interestingly, in H. 76, a prayer for protection of the Buddha-nature against the bonds and dirt of the world, presents a parallel request for health and happiness for the body of flesh.

#### 4.3 Jesus as healer/exorcist

The description of Jesus as physician, whether for spiritual or physical healing, often appears in Manichaeism. Again the figure of Jesus to whom the image refers is not always clear, so many passages cannot be considered here. Richter notes that the image is applied to Jesus the Splendour, the Nous, Jesus the Apostle of Light and Mani.<sup>86</sup> He also identifies a parallel in Berna Psalm 219 and notes that in *PsB* 145.6 Jesus the Splendour is called a physician.

Healing of a physical nature is often inseparably bound up with spiritual healing or forgiveness of sins, as is obvious in H. 76 (as noted above), in which the psalmist prays in two parallel requests that Buddha Jesus allow his fleshly body to be always healthy and happy, and that he allow his Buddha-nature to be without fetters and filth.

Further healing may be associated with resurrection. In M 801 171–175, Jesus the Splendour, the Maiden of Light, and the great Vahman are called ‘great physicians, the healers of the highest Self’, within the context of their redeeming and raising from the dead.<sup>87</sup> Further in the same text, Jesus is described as ‘the life-giving mother of those who have died on account of the wounds and the gall of greed and sensual desire, who is the physician for those who have lost their senses because of weakness of the body’ (186–197).<sup>88</sup> The final description, ‘He himself became sight for the blind, hearing for the deaf’ (197–199),<sup>89</sup> seems to link Jesus the Splendour to a description more usual for Jesus the Apostle.

The Persian hymn M 28 II V II refers to Jesus as the (new lord and) new physician (22–23), the physician who is complete healing (11–12).<sup>90</sup> The same description of ‘new physician’ for Jesus can be found in Sogdian hymn M 306 R 3 in conjunction with titles such as ‘new day’ (R 2), ‘new Lightmaker’ (R 4) and ‘new Redeemer’ (R 4).<sup>91</sup>

<sup>86</sup> Siegfried Richter. *Exegetisch-literarkritische Untersuchungen von Herakleidespsalmen des koptisch-manichäischen Psalmenbuches*, Oros Verlag, Altenberge. 1994. 223.

<sup>87</sup> *BBB*, 23; *SR*, 135.

<sup>88</sup> He is also the ‘mother of life’ in P. Kell. Gr. 91.7–9; Gardner and Worp, ‘Greek Texts’, 134 (Greek text 133).

<sup>89</sup> Henning translates *qr'n* as ‘die Tauben’ (*BBB* 23; see *qr* [‘Taub’] in the Wörterverzeichnis, *BBB* 111b). Klimkeit’s translation of ‘dumb’ has been amended to deaf.

<sup>90</sup> *MM* II, 317.

<sup>91</sup> *WL* I, 119.

## 5 General descriptions of Jesus the Splendour

Apart from the salvific activity of Jesus the Splendour and the descriptions of his attributes that relate directly and strongly to that, other more general descriptions of attributes should be noted. Many texts contain passages which give long lists of titles or images for him in a kind of litany, piling one title or image upon another to great overall effect. A good example is provided by *PsB* 166.23–167.2, which summarizes a number of relationships Jesus has with other heavenly figures (Firstborn of the Father, Lamp of all the Aeons, Flower of the Mother of the Lights, Light of the Beloved One, Ordinance of the Builder, Strength of the Leader, Power of his five Sons, Father of the Mind of Light), as well as essential aspects of his that make him relevant for believers (Our enlightening Reason, Our perfect Thought, [Our] good Counsel, Our blessed Intention).

Some of the attributes ascribed to Jesus relate directly to the spiritual life of believers. Thus he is both the source of living wine and the living wine itself, which is his love and gladness (not the drunkenness of error in the world) (*PsB* 151.6 7, 13–15). Likewise, he is the source of living water, to whom the mysteries of the Father have been revealed (*PsB* 185.3–5).

Notably, some Eastern texts speak of the sacred meal of Jesus: ‘sacred meal of the Radiant Friend’ (i.e. Jesus the Splendour) in Parthian hymn IB 4974 R I 21–22;<sup>92</sup> and ‘Welcome, foundation of the worlds and (sacred) meal of many’ in the Persian hymn M 28 II R II 2–4.<sup>93</sup> It is also found implicitly in the description of sweet and good-tasting food and drink which keeps believers free from hunger and thirst in TracPell. T.86 a17 (/P.588). I refer to this link between Jesus the Splendour and Jesus Patibilis in Chapter 6 and in the Final Summary.

He is also a treasure-house for believers, which seems to mean that he brings forth wisdom as treasure for believers. This is clear, for example, in the image of the Tree of Life, adorned with many incomparable and wonderful jewels, giving wisdom through its fruits. It is an unailing treasure-house with all kinds of wish-jewels, which he gives out to the poor and needy, as found in H. 7–8, 12, 14, and in verses already cited above.<sup>94</sup>

Much is made of Jesus’s sweetness and beauty. Perhaps the images of Jesus the Splendour as a flower attempt to capture this also: ‘Jesus is the holy flower of the Father’ (*PsB* 59.15–16); ‘Flower of the Mother of the Lights’ (*PsB* 166.26); ‘Joyous flower of the holy kingdom’ (*PsB* I, 189.15); ‘Jesus, the first rose of the Father’ (*PsB* 151.24). Those who partake of him in whatever way are brought joy, grace (esp. *PsB* 151.20, 22), and rest (*PsB* 185.24–25).<sup>95</sup> Some of the best examples come from *PsB* 167.4–7, 12–17: he is ‘Love of the

<sup>92</sup> WL II, 558; SR, 79.

<sup>93</sup> MM II, 314; SR, 65.

<sup>94</sup> See also the image of the riches of Jesus the Splendour in TracPell. T.86 a2 ( P.586), where he is described as a mountain of scent built from pure precious jewels.

<sup>95</sup> See also Jesus the Splendour as the source of soothing music, which frees from care; TracPell. T. 86 a17 a18 ( P.588).

Beloved', 'Faith of the Faithful', 'Perfection of the Perfect', 'Endurance of the Enduring', 'Chest of Goodness', 'Ark of Salvation', 'Comfort of them that weep', 'Joy of them that grieve', 'Gladness of the glad' and 'Compassion of the compassionate'.

Clearly words such as 'chest' and 'ark' characterize Jesus as the receptacle and source of good things. This is made explicit in the Parthian hymn M 369 R 5–7: 'Give to us, Lord, of your good gifts, for you are the beginning of all good gifts.'<sup>96</sup> Indeed, Jesus himself is a gift – the first gift that was given (*PsB* 59.15).<sup>97</sup>

While Jesus the Splendour is included in lists of attributes for various Light beings, a long list of attributes of Jesus himself is given in the hymn entitled by Klimkeit 'Primeval Voice',<sup>98</sup> where Jesus is the primeval or original source (?) of such attributes as voice, word, wisdom, love, faith, patience, meekness, equanimity, kindness and light.

## 6 A saved saviour?

Finally, I must add very briefly a reference to the Persian hymn M 28 II V II 22–28, in which Jesus seems to be addressed as one who has been redeemed (24–26):

Welcome, new lord and new physician. Welcome, new redeemer and new redeemed one. Welcome, new God, noble lustre and great light.<sup>99</sup>

From the context of the long litany of titles for Jesus the Splendour, clearly both 'redeemer' and 'redeemed one' are addressed to him. In an earlier verse of the same hymn, M 28 II V II 1, he is bid welcome as the 'liberated sovereign'.<sup>100</sup> To these could be added the frequent attribute of compassion ascribed to Jesus the Splendour, which carries overtones of suffering with those for whom he has compassion. Granted, only one explicit text speaks of his redemption; however, the possibility that he is believed to be redeemed must have been taken seriously.

On the other hand, the text from *PsB* 172.18–25, already quoted above, sets the redeemed, or the one needing redemption, apart from the one who redeems, the Shepherd, Jesus the Splendour:

Who is this that seeks? Who is this that is sought?  
The sheep that is bound to the tree for which its shepherd searches . . .

<sup>96</sup> WL I, 118; SR, 64.

<sup>97</sup> WL I, 35, note the expression 'gift', which also refers to Jesus in M 172 I R 4 as well as in T II K V 19 and M 855 R 1b.

<sup>98</sup> WL I, 84–93; SR, 67–8.

<sup>99</sup> MM II, 317–18; SR, 66.

<sup>100</sup> MM II, 316; SR, 66.

The sheep bound to the tree is the Love that died: the Wisdom that reveals is the shepherd that seeks after it.

## 7 Conclusion

Jesus the Splendour has a divine origin and nature, and is himself the origin for further divine beings. Light is his place of habitation, an essential aspect of his nature and his gift. He is above all a revealer and life-giver. As revealer, he has made multiple descents from the heavenly realm, including to Adam, to Mani and to individual believers who seek him and his wisdom. As life-giver, he is especially protective of those in the throes of death, guiding them on the right path to the Light, giving life, judging and resurrecting them. He also judges all nations at the end of the world. He is a cosmic warrior, struggling with and overcoming cosmic foes in order to bring his revelation. As the wise shepherd, he seeks out and liberates the Living Soul. For believers, he is a revealer, friend and kinsman, and for the inner elect he is the Bridegroom of the Light.

In the following chapter, I introduce Jesus the Apostle. I have noted already several times in this chapter where some conflation or overlapping of these two figures of Jesus the Splendour and Jesus the Apostle might occur. Before a true comparison can be made between the figures, a more detailed summary of the figure of Jesus the Apostle is necessary.

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## *Jesus the Apostle of Light*

Siegfried Richter's use of the title 'Jesus the Apostle of Light' (shortened for convenience in this study to 'Jesus the Apostle'), rather than 'the historical Jesus', is appropriate here,<sup>1</sup> even though I am concerned in part with events that are generally ascribed, within canonical Christian scriptures, to the historical Jesus. (Needless to say, problems arise even in using the term 'the historical Jesus' for all sections of the canonical Christian scriptures.) However, using the title 'Jesus the Apostle of Light' to designate just one of the Jesus figures in the Manichaean texts presents its own problems, for even Jesus the Splendour could be rightfully called an apostle of Light. In the end the choice is made on the grounds of respect for the Manichaean tradition itself – that is, using the title which best fits the most frequent characterization of this figure.

### 1 The origin and nature of Jesus the Apostle

Manichaeism and the mainstream Christian tradition agree on one aspect of the origin of Jesus the Apostle – he is the one sent by the Father, for example, *PsB* 124.25: 'Glory to thee, Jesus, and to thy Father that sent [thee]', and *Keph.* 12.28–29: 'He did the will of his Father, who had sent him to the world.'

Where and what is Jesus the Apostle before he is sent to the world? *PsB* 120.27 says that he is the one 'that is in everything, in whom everything is'. The psalm continues that he is the one higher (?) than heaven and earth (122.19), 'far from the whole world' (122.28), 'the ineffable and impalpable one' (121.4), and the hidden one (121.17). He is the light of the world (121.19–23), the son of God (121.11 and 15), the son of the kingdom (121.13) and the son of the Father (121.17). He is in his Father and his Father hidden in him; his begetting is bound up with the Father (121.25–27). The holy womb that conceived him is the Luminaries (121.31). *PsB* 122.15 addresses him: 'thou fillest the universe, thou art before thyself'. Much of this is reminiscent of the hymn to the Logos in *Jn* 1:1–5,<sup>2</sup> plus other passages such as *Jn* 10:30 and 38, and appears to posit a heavenly pre-existence with the Father for Jesus the

<sup>1</sup> See, e.g., Siegfried Richter's use of the title in his 'Christology in the Coptic Manichaean Sources', *BSAC*, 35 (1996): 117, n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> See perhaps also Jesus the Apostle as the Word of God in *PsB* 5.21: 'Bestow on us, o Word of God, the forgiveness of sins.'

Apostle.<sup>3</sup> Although the text of *PsB* 126 is damaged, what appears to be the conclusion of this long psalm underscores the incomprehensibility of Jesus the Apostle: he wonders (126.3), his secrets (126.5), his mysteries (126.8), his marvels (126.9), his depth (deeper than the abyss) (126.13–14) and his breadth (126.15–16).

*Keph.* 12.34–13.1 too, states that Jesus the Apostle is the son of God '[The Jew]s themselves took hold of the son of Go[d]', within a passage describing the events of the passion (12.29–13.5). Concerning the identity of the father of Jesus, however, Manichaeism and the mainstream Christian tradition are not in agreement, as the polemical Persian hymn M 28 I R II 24–37 indicates:

They call the son of Mary, the son of Adonai, the seventh one. If he (Adonai) is the Lord of all, why did he crucify his own son?<sup>4</sup>

If the father of Jesus the Apostle is not Adonai, then who is he? As discussed in the previous chapter, Jesus the Splendour is said to be the origin of all those apostles who are sent, including Jesus the Apostle. In this sense then, Jesus the Splendour could be thought to be the father of Jesus the Apostle. Burkitt (and later Gardner) points out that Jesus the Apostle holds a peculiar position: he is the last of the prophets before Mani and yet he is much more; he is a divine being, never human, and Mani regards himself as *his* apostle.<sup>5</sup>

The Parthian hymn M 42 says that Jesus the Apostle comes after the Buddha in the line of those sent to help the Boy/the Living Soul, but the text actually says at this point that Jesus had mercy for a second time, sending the four pure winds to help the Boy, binding the three winds and destroying Jerusalem with the steeds of the demons of wrath (V I 65–71).<sup>6</sup> The involvement of struggle is clear from the description of the cup of poison and death, which appears to be poured out over the Boy by Iscariot and the sons of Israel at the time of Jesus's fight with Jerusalem (V I 72–77).<sup>7</sup>

If this is the manner by which Jesus has mercy for a second time, then the appearance of Jesus the Apostle is none other than a *reappearance* of that Jesus who came for the first time as the Splendour to Adam. This is implied in *Keph* 179.8–12, among other texts, where Matter envies the blessed Christ, father of all the apostles (i.e. Jesus the Splendour), including envy of his '[endurance upon] the wood of the cross'.

<sup>3</sup> Richter (*Exegetisch-literarkritische*, 228–30) connects various references in this psalm to the Gospel of John and concludes that the closeness of the Psalms of Heraclides to this gospel supports the close connection to the psalm's presentation of a pre-existent Christ with the Gospel of John.

<sup>4</sup> *HR II*, 94–5; *SR* 127.

<sup>5</sup> Burkitt, *The Religion of the Manichees*, 38; Gardner, 'Manichaeism Christology', 118.

<sup>6</sup> *MM III*, 880; *SR* 125. See also H. 138: 'der Erretter von Qualen, der Neue Jesus, Seine vier reinen Erlösungswinde' ('the rescuer from agonies, the new Jesus, his four pure winds of salvation'). Both Boyce (*Reader*, 172, n. 10) and Klimkeit (*SR*, 130, n. 20), following Boyce, find the connection here between the coming of Jesus the Splendour to Adam and the coming of Jesus the Apostle. Klimkeit (*SR*, 130, n. 21) adding that he interprets the four pure winds as probably the four gospels.

<sup>7</sup> *MM III*, 880–81.

If this is the case, then both texts imply that the father of Jesus the Apostle must be the Father of Greatness, that is, the father of Jesus the Splendour, as seen in the previous chapter. In fact in *Keph.* 12.19–20, Jesus the Apostle, here referred to as Jesus the Christ, is called the Son of Greatness. The titles of ‘Firstborn’ and ‘Only-begotten’, usually applied to Jesus the Splendour, occur once in *PsB* 91.20, 24, where the one addressed appears to be Jesus the Apostle, who aids the soul at the moment of death. In *Hom.* 68.30, possibly the one named as ‘the son of our God’ is the same as Jesus the Apostle, who appears in the previous verses. The strongest support is provided in *PsB* 191.13–14, the verses of which follow on from an interpretation of the passion event for Jesus the Apostle:

Glory and honour to Amen, the Father of Greatness.  
Blessing and holiness to Jesus, the son of Amen.

I deal further with the question of the equivalence of Jesus the Splendour and Jesus the Apostle in Interim Summary I.

Certainly, who he is, the kind of being he is, and the manner of his coming into the world are firmly tied to his origin in the Father. He is a spiritual being and Lord for the Manichaeans. In a long passage about the machinations of Satan, both against Jesus and against his followers, Secundinus argues that his community of believers (or Manichaeans as a whole) have only escaped because they follow a spiritual Lord. If he were not so, their hope is in vain (*c. Sec.* 575, 4).

How can a spiritual being from the realm of Light come into the world to which he is sent? As discussed with regard to Jesus the Splendour in *Keph.* 36.30–37.28, in his coming, he takes on various forms or vehicles in order to work here, including vehicles in the flesh. A certain process demands the use of vehicles, garments or various forms even to the point of assuming the body of Eve, however that might be understood. Her VI (*PsB* 193.13–197.8) describes the descent of Jesus the Apostle in similar fashion:

He passed the powers by taking their likeness.  
He mocked the principalities by likening himself to them.  
The powers and the dominions, – he darkened them all.  
He did these things on high, floating (?) in the skies. (193.27–30)

This description concludes with a statement that, following descent to earth, he, a God, becomes man (194.2), takes on the likeness (*ⲓⲉⲓⲛⲉ*) of the flesh (194.1), the likeness of a man (*ⲟⲩⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲛⲓⲣⲟⲙⲉ*), referring to the latter as a garment of slavery (*ⲟⲩⲥⲭⲓⲛⲁ ⲛⲉⲗⲁⲟⲩⲁⲛ*; 194.3). The passage is clearly dependent on Phil 2:5–11. Since the details of how the likeness of flesh is taken on are not given, certain possibilities must not be ruled out. Richter thinks that this psalm presupposes that Jesus was not born of a woman; rather he came through descent and change of form.<sup>8</sup> However, arguing from similar descriptions presented in Phil 2:5–11 to those presented here – he

<sup>8</sup> Richter. ‘Christology in the Coptic Manichaean Sources’. 120.

changed his form and came as a human being and, even further, took the form of a slave – further supposes that the Phillipians passage argues that Jesus was not born of a woman, but only changed his form. I cannot imagine that Paul intends this, given other passages such as Rom 1:3: ‘his (God’s) Son who was descended from David according to the flesh’. Support for the idea that Jesus the Apostle was not born of a woman needs to come from other texts, such as *PsB* 52.23–26, although strictly speaking, to make the argument watertight, it is necessary to know that all wombs are corrupt to the Manichaeans:

He was not born in a womb corrupted: not even the mighty were counted worthy of him for him to dwell beneath their roof, that he should be confined in a womb of a woman of low degree (?).

The Parthian Crucifixion hymn M 24 R 3–10 also describes a change of form and appearance for Jesus, seemingly so that he could become visible:<sup>9</sup>

Jesus Christ [ . . . out of?]  
 compassion became visible. Understand,  
 ye all Believers, the truth of  
 the Christ. Be aware and  
 fully recognize his  
 mystery: he changed his form and appearance.  
 There were five things at his coming  
 and the whole world stood astonished.

The astonishment of the earth can be compared to the darkening of the powers and dominions, which will happen again at his crucifixion. As his descent, so his ascent – both make the cosmic powers uneasy or disturbed.

In *Keph.* 12.21–27, too, the teaching seems consciously to depend on Phil 2:5–11:

[The advent] of Jesus the Christ our master: He came [ . . . . ] in a spiritual one, in a body [ . . . . ] as I have told you about him. I [ . . . ] him; for he came without body! Also his apostles have preached in respect of him that he received a servant’s form, an appearance as of men. He came below. He manifested in the world in the [s]ject of the Jews.

He has a servant’s form (**ΟΥΜΟΡΦΗ ΝΓΑΟΥΣΑΝ**) and an appearance like that of men (**ΟΥΣΧΗΜΑ ΝΘΕ ΝΝ[Ι]ΡΩΜΕ**). Van Lindt compares *PsB* 194.1ff. with this passage and concludes that **ΣΧΗΜΑ** refers to an outer shape or material form, in contrast to **ΜΟΡΦΗ**, which never seems to signify an ‘outward form’ in

<sup>9</sup> Enrico Morano, ‘A Survey of the Extant Parthian Crucifixion Hymns’, in *Studia Manichaica. IV. Internationaler Kongreß zum Manichäismus, Berlin, 14–18. Juli 1997*, ed. Ronald E. Emmerick, Werner Sundermann and Peter Zieme, BBAW, Berichte und Abhandlungen Sonderband 4, Akademie Verlag, Berlin, 2000, 400–402.

Manichaean texts, but should be understood here more as ‘the mode of being a servant’.<sup>10</sup> In contrast, Pedersen speaks of both **ΜΟΡΦΗ** and **ΣΧΗΜΑ** as representing the ‘phantasmal body’ of Jesus, which does not consist of matter.<sup>11</sup> In the end, all the shades of meaning which scholars perceive in the use of these terms might not have mattered so much to the Manichaean believer. All the terms used in connection with the changes which Jesus undergoes in his descent are fairly synonymous in their intent – they are all means by which his spiritual body or self is hidden from the world, whether that be a notion of outer covering/mask or a different role that will confuse those expecting a heavenly Light-god.

Gardner notes of the Kephalaia passage that here Mani explicitly states that Jesus came without a body, unlike all of the other apostles,<sup>12</sup> but this is surely too simple and exclusive an interpretation. The passage appears to say that Jesus the Christ came down in some way in a body, perhaps a spiritual body (*Keph.* 12.21–22). Tardieu takes this approach in his reconstruction of 12.21–24, suggesting that the adjective **ΝΑΤΣΑΡΖ** (‘not fleshly’) should follow **ΖΗ ΟΥΣΩΜΑ** (‘in a body’) in verse 22 so that it reads: ‘He came in a spiritual one, in a (not fleshly) body.’ Thus the passage simply affirms that Jesus the Christ comes in a spiritual body rather than a fleshly body.<sup>13</sup> However, according to Funk, the unedited Dublin Kephalaia pl. 191, 12 has: ‘hinein in das Fleisch des Menschseins in der Art eines Men[schen]’ (‘here, in the flesh of humanity, in the way of a human’) within a damaged passage concerned with the coming of Jesus into the world.<sup>14</sup> In conjunction with this idea, when Jesus the Splendour is said to take on vehicles of flesh, the brothers and sisters, the catechumens of the church, provide the last stage of these vehicles. In seemingly similar fashion, *Keph.* 14.3 (‘[Wh]e[n] the church of the saviour was raised to the heights’) and 14.24–25 (‘when the church assumed the flesh’) could well imply that Jesus the Apostle assumes the flesh just as the church assumed the flesh, and that the church was raised up in his rising. If this is so, then this possibly further supports the suggestion that he takes flesh just as any of his followers takes flesh.

In one other passage, too, his appearance shocks or disturbs. In *PsB* 196.20–26, in the context of the descent into Hell, Death seeks Jesus, but does not find what it expects among those of the dead – he has no flesh, no blood, no bones, no sinews, no likeness of Death, which is fire and lust. All he finds is a figure, a **ΣΧΗΜΑ**, like a mask (**ΠΡΟΣΩΠΙΟΝ**) (196.26). I deal with this

<sup>10</sup> Paul van Lindt, ‘**ΜΟΡΦΗ** in the Coptic Manichaean Texts’, in *Actes du IV<sup>e</sup> Congrès Copte, Louvain-la-Neuve, 5–10 septembre 1988. II. De la Linguistique au Gnosticisme*. Vol. 2, Peeters Press, Louvain-la-Neuve, 1992, 296. Van Lindt’s understanding of **ΜΟΡΦΗ** is based on Bultmann’s formulation in Rudolf Bultmann, *Theologie des Neuen Testaments*, 5th edn, Tübingen, J.C.B. Mohr, 1965, 193.

<sup>11</sup> Pedersen, ‘Early Manichaean Christology’, 171.

<sup>12</sup> Gardner, ‘Manichaean Christology’, 95, 224–5.

<sup>13</sup> Michel Tardieu, ‘Wiederherstellungen in den Berliner Kephalaia’, in *Carl-Schmidt-Kolloquium an der Martin-Luther-Universität 1988*, ed. Peter Nagel, Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg Wissenschaftliche Beiträge 1990/23 (K 9), Halle (Saale), 1990, 237–8.

<sup>14</sup> Wolf-Peter Funk, ‘Zur Faksimileausgabe der koptischen Manichaica in der Chester-Beatty-Sammlung’, *I. Or.*, 59 (1990): 528.

passage later in the discussion about the passion and death of Jesus, but here I am concerned simply for the meaning of the **СХИМА**. Richter interprets the **СХИМА** here as that which offers simultaneously the possibility of suffering in the passion, the untouchableness of his godliness and the possibility of deception or illusion.<sup>15</sup> But a further question needs to be considered. If the context of the passage is the descent into Hell, subsequent to the completion of the crucifixion, that is, the death of Jesus the Apostle, then is this particular **СХИМА** something which is put on at the time of the descent into Hell, just as various forms and appearances have been put on for the various stages of the descent from the heavens? In the world, he has the (outward) appearance of a man; perhaps in Hell he puts on a mask of Death as his outward appearance, and beyond this mask Death finds nothing to link such a likeness to himself. Since this could be the case, I leave this use of **СХИМА** aside from the deliberations here concerning the event of Jesus the Apostle's entry into the world.

Richter also compares the description of Jesus's body or form in *PsB* 194.1–3 with the description of the action on the body of Mani at death in *PsB* 19.26–28: 'I might divest myself of the image (**ἰκῶν**) of the flesh and put off the vesture (**СХИМА**) of manhood.' He then adds the description of Mani in *CMC* 21.10–12, that he was 'begotten into this fleshly body'. Richter concludes that – in the psalm, the terms **ἰκῶν** and **СХИМА** describe how Mani is a vessel of the Nous, his inner being of 'Nous-ness' separated from his transitory body, which is the image or vesture over that Nous. Perhaps this inner being of Mani is actually the spiritual body of Jesus whose apostle he is, if the very damaged text of *PsB* 130.25, which appears to call the one who was stretched out in the tree (the word 'cross' occurs in v. 23) the 'body in Mani', can be so interpreted. For Richter, the implication of the first two passages on Mani is that, in relation to Jesus, the term **СХИМА** describes a type of substance or material form without which being human is scarcely thinkable.<sup>16</sup>

The 'body' of Jesus the Apostle can also be thought of in a slightly different 'physical' way than presented above, as implied in *PsB* 121.32: 'The trees and the fruits – in them is thy holy body.' The description follows directly from the statement that the Luminaries are the holy womb which conceives him, and it occurs within a Psalm to Jesus which speaks of Jesus the Apostle (and also seems to allude to Jesus the Splendour). I consider this description of his being in the world in Chapter 6.

To sum up: Jesus the Apostle has a heavenly origin and thus no fleshly body, but rather a spiritual body perhaps of Light, given that the womb which bore him is the Luminaries or his emanation from the Father of Greatness. In order to come into contact with the physical world, he takes on an appearance, an image, or a mask of the fleshly body, which does not change his inner spiritual body of Light, and, if the concept of **ΜΟΡΦΗ** is a separate notion from **СХИМА** – which is not at all clear – then he also takes on a form or modality of being human or being a slave, which means he acts in this certain way to the outside observer. Clearly, the Manichaeans found the

<sup>15</sup> Richter, *Exegetisch-literarkritische*, 236.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 234.

inspiration for this description in Phil 2:5–11, although without necessarily adopting Paul's further understanding of what incarnation meant or entailed for Jesus the Apostle.

It is important to note that the words 'appearance' or 'likeness' do not necessarily imply that the garment of flesh over the spiritual body is not real, cannot be affected by physical conditions.<sup>17</sup> Otherwise the reality of the spiritual body itself is brought into doubt in *PsB* 129.27, where, in reference to Jesus the Apostle, the Saviour, he is the likeness (**εἶμα**) of the Father.

It might help to see the arguments about incarnation in conjunction with Fortunatus's debate with Augustine about the incorruptibility of the Father in *c. Fort. Disput. I*, 3. Fortunatus's profession provides a basic argument for the incorruptibility of the entrance of Jesus the Apostle into the world:

And our profession is this very thing: that God is incorruptible ... that nothing corruptible proceeds from Him ... But that He sent forth a Saviour like Himself; that the Word born from the foundation of the world, when He had formed the world, after the formation of the world came among men ...

Speaking of the total dissimilarity between such things as death and life, soul and body, Fortunatus says in *Disput. I*, 14:

Hence truly it follows from the reason of things that there are two substances in this world which agree in forms and in names, of which one belongs to corporeal natures, but the other is the eternal substance of the omnipotent Father, which we believe to be God's substance.

A little further on he again refers to two natures:

You assert that according to the flesh Christ was of the seed of David, when it should be asserted that he was born of a virgin, and should be magnified as Son of God. For this cannot be, unless as what is from spirit may be held to be spirit, so also what is from flesh may be known to be flesh. Against which is the authority of the Gospel in which it is said, that 'flesh and blood shall not inherit the kingdom of God, neither shall corruption inherit incorruption'.

Faustus (*c. Faust. III*, 1) also presents a number of points against an incarnation of Jesus the Apostle. The simplest argument concerns the discrepancies he finds between the genealogies of the Gospel of Luke and the

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<sup>17</sup> Richter (*ibid.*, 270–71) supports the interpretation here by stating that *PsB* 196.20–26, where death could not find flesh and blood, does not mean that the saviour did not come in true flesh; rather, he came in a form that could be understood as another kind of flesh than what is normal, or one with an outward structure taking the place of flesh. However, as I have argued, it would be better not to have to use this passage for support since another change in appearance (a disguise) appears in *PsB* 196.9, prior to the descent into Hell or death.

Gospel of Matthew, together with the fact that neither the Gospel of Mark nor the Gospel of John mentions David, Mary or Joseph:

John says, 'In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God,' meaning Christ. Mark says, 'The gospel of Jesus Christ, the Son of God,' as if correcting Matthew, who calls him the Son of David. Perhaps, however, the Jesus of Matthew is a different person from the Jesus of Mark. This is my reason for not believing in the birth of Christ . . . In any case, however, it is hardly consistent to believe that God, the God of Christians, was born from the womb.

The argument proceeds further in VII, 1, where Faustus declares many reasons why he cannot believe in the genealogy of Jesus: primarily because Jesus never speaks of it himself in the gospels; and secondarily because the gospel writers cannot be counted as witnesses to the fact of his birth, nor assert that they heard about it from him:

. . . He never declares with His own lips that He had an earthly father or descent, but on the contrary, that he is not of this world, that He came forth from God the Father, that He descended from heaven, that He has no mother or brethren except those who do the will of His Father in heaven.

In several places Faustus considers the concept of Jesus as the Son of David. In XI, 1, he refers to Paul's statement in Rom 1:3-4:

Assuredly I believe the apostle. And yet I do not believe that the Son of God was born of the seed of David according to the flesh . . . For this seems to be Paul's old belief about Jesus, when he thought, like everybody else, that Jesus was the son of David. Afterwards, when he learned that this was false, he corrects himself; and in his Epistle to the Corinthians he says: 'We know no man after the flesh; yea, though we have known Christ after the flesh, yet now henceforth know we Him no more.'

In the next verse he adds: 'Therefore, if any man be in Christ, he is a new creature; old things are passed away; behold, all things are become new.'

In XXIII, 2, in the context of speaking of the infancy narrative in the Gospel of Matthew, Faustus states (although he goes on to deny that the son of Mary could have been the son of David, given her lineage):

I will, for the present, suppose that this person was right in saying that the son of David was born of Mary . . . It appears from this, that what was born, as is supposed, of Mary thirty years before, was not the Son of God, but what was afterwards made so by baptism at the Jordan, that is, the new man, the same as in us when we were converted from Gentile error, and believe in God.

And in the following book, XXIV, 1, he states again concerning two births, which I take to be the origin of two natures:

For there are likewise two times of our nativity; one when nature brought us forth into this light, binding us in the bonds of flesh; and the other, when the truth regenerated us on our conversion from error and our entrance into the faith.

He supports this idea by quoting Jesus in the Gospel of John: 'That which is born of the flesh is flesh; and that which is born of the Spirit is spirit', just as Fortunatus has done. This idea might be supported further by his statement in *c. Faust.* XXIX, 1:

As to what you frequently allege, that Christ could not have appeared or spoken to men without having been born, it is absurd; for, as our teachers have shown, angels have often appeared and spoken to men.

That Faustus did hold to the two natures for Jesus might be construed from his claim in VII, 1 that Jesus emanated from the Father and descended from the heavens in the form of a human being of about 30 years of age. Jesus might have not taken part in the first birth (i.e. fleshly birth), but was born into a spiritual body, perhaps at the time of the baptism, at about age 30.

If this is so, then a clue to how Jesus the Apostle could be on the earth and communicate with human beings is provided, since there must be some way to bridge the divide between heavenly and earthly, just as there must have been for Jesus the Splendour, who comes to Adam, and in that event, assumes Eve or the church under various forms (vehicles) in the flesh. I have discussed much of this under the descent of Jesus the Splendour. It appears that Jesus the Apostle cannot be discussed without reference to this concept of change of form/appearance or adoption of form/appearance for Jesus the Splendour. The body of Eve which Jesus the Splendour takes on must be a material shape or have something of matter if the link is to be made between heavenly and earthly, no matter what Böhlig thinks about a heavenly Eve. What bridges the two natures makes it possible for the heavenly to come into the world; makes it possible for the heavenly to suffer in the world; makes it possible for the heavenly to communicate liberating insight to believers in the world, although the believers, too, somehow possess some kind of appearance or shape of their own in which their Light natures exist; and makes it possible for the heavenly to undo the connection to the world and thus to return to the heavenly region, and not be caught irretrievably in the nets of flesh.

Notwithstanding the issue of a corrupted womb or any kind of physical womb as a point of origin for Jesus the Apostle in the human world, little difficulty arises in proposing the concept of a fleshly vehicle enabling him to gain entry at whatever point entry occurs. Both Faustus and *Keph.* 36.27–37.27, if they can be believed, imply a physical form which was capable of suffering and being hung on a cross and pierced. I return to this point below when considering the passion stories for Jesus the Apostle.

## 2 Jesus the Apostle as revealer, teacher and wonder-worker

In *Keph.* 267.18–268.27, one of Mani's disciples asks why the son of the Living God would come to the world (*Keph.* 267.23–24), the one who was revealed in the world, suffered and was crucified (267.24–27). Mani replies by giving information first about the descent of Jesus the Splendour to Adam and Eve, and the giving of further revelation through the apostles, who came generation by generation, obviously combining the activity of the Splendour with the historical Jesus as the same figure. The general revelation by the apostles is also linked to the same activity by believers, 'the race of life', in *Psb* 57.15–16:

The Saviour and his apostles and they that belong to the race of life revealed the Darkness and the essence of the Enemy.

The work of an apostle is above all revelation, and Jesus the Apostle is one in the line of those sent for this work, though he has a special place, as noted previously. The line of apostles is variously presented. The Parthian hymn M 42 says that Jesus the Apostle comes after Zarathustra and the Buddha Sākyamuni. Zarathustra comes to Persia and reveals the truth, choosing the 'limbs' of the Boy/the Living Soul from among the beings of Light of the seven regions (R II 36–42). Satan sends out demons to attack (presumably Zarathustra), but apparently they hurt the Boy instead, distorting wisdom as a result (R II 43–50). The Buddha, who gives (skilful) means and wisdom, opens the door of salvation for fortunate souls in India, enters Nirvana and commands the Boy (the Living Soul) to wait for Maitreya (R II 50–V I 64).<sup>18</sup> Other texts similarly describe the line of apostles – Persian hymn M 101 mentions Buddha and Christ, and perhaps Sītīl and Zarathustra, although the text is damaged;<sup>19</sup> *Keph.* 12.15–21 includes Buddha, Aurentes and others, from Zarathustra up to Jesus, the Son of Greatness, 'our master'. *Hom.* 11.3–22 mentions Zarathustra, Jesus and Mani.

Despite the line of apostles from these texts, Jesus the Apostle is not necessarily automatically included within any description of the activity of the line of apostles. In *Keph.* 73.25–74.6, all the saviours and apostles of greatness (and teachers?) do not have knowledge of certain cosmological events (such as the time preceding the emanation of divinities), until they are 'sculpted in heaven'. However, if Jesus the Apostle is a further appearance of Jesus the Splendour, or even Son of the Father, then his 'sculpting' has already taken place prior to descent.

Clearly, Jesus is a special case, even just considering the titles referring to him as Son of Greatness and master. *Keph.* 101.26–34 reports that Mani, too, considers both himself and Jesus as special cases, in that only himself and Jesus, the Son of Greatness, father of the apostles, have been able to perform some kind of extraordinary activity (not described). The fact that Mani

<sup>18</sup> MM III, 879–80.

<sup>19</sup> Walter Bruno Henning, 'The Book of the Giants', *BSOAS*, 11 (1943): 62–3.

mentions doing whatever it is in 'this hard generation' could point to the manner of suffering and death of both himself and Jesus.

That others such as Zarathustra and the Buddha are also called apostles makes them special too, in the sense of being perhaps a little more than the ordinary human. This is certainly implied in the description of the sending of apostles, but Faustus's argument with Augustine about Jesus as a prophet also makes it clear:

What, then, shall we point to? Shall it be that passage which you often quote where the God of Moses says to him: 'I will raise up unto them from among their brethren a prophet like unto thee?' But the Jew can see that this does not refer to Christ, and there is every reason against our thinking that it does. Christ was not a prophet, nor was He like Moses: for Moses was a man, and Christ was God; Moses was a sinner, and Christ sinless; Moses was born by ordinary generation, and Christ of a virgin according to you, or, as I hold, not born at all: Moses, for offending his God, was put to death on the mountain; and Christ suffered voluntarily, and the Father was well pleased in Him. If we were to assert that Christ was a prophet like Moses, the Jew would either deride us as ignorant or pronounce us untruthful. (c. *Faust.* XVI, 4)<sup>20</sup>

Jesus's actions as apostle are also described in a way which is close to the canonical accounts, in the sense that he teaches in parables (see esp. the parable of the good and bad tree [*Keph.* 17.2–9; 19.21–25; 21.23–26] and related imagery/sayings such as the axe laid to the bad tree [*Keph.* 58.18–19]), and he performs signs and wonders (*Keph.* 7.18–27). Both activities are strongly connected, as Richter points out in regard to *PsB* 194.23–29. Here Jesus brings wisdom and life to the sin-dead, heals the blind, and the unhearing, as the 'voice of his cry' goes into the world. Richter suggests that the blind could stand for the unknowing/ignorant souls to whom the Saviour brings truth, and similarly, the unhearing for the souls who do not hear. Only through Jesus's healing are these souls in a position to hear his cry and to follow him.<sup>21</sup> However, the Manichaeans understood Jesus as a physical healer/wonder-worker as well. In the Sogdian text So. 18.222 (= TM 389c), Mani heals Nafshā, the sister of Queen Tadi, after she has prayed to Jesus for help.<sup>22</sup> That the healing is meant to discredit adherents of other religions does not negate the fact that Jesus is clearly the example for the activity of healing.

Many passages refer to something Jesus has commanded or taught, and I have presented some of these in Chapter 2. General reference to the commandments of Jesus/the Saviour (e.g. *CMC* 84.20–85.4; *PsB* 16.4; 51.20–21;

<sup>20</sup> In XVII, 1, Faustus rejects Christ's declaration that he came to fulfil the prophets, on the grounds that it is found only in Matthew, who was not present when the words are purported to have been spoken.

<sup>21</sup> Richter, *Exegetisch-literarkritische*, 240–41.

<sup>22</sup> Werner Sundermann (ed.), *Mitteliranische manichäische Texte kirchengeschichtlichen Inhalts*, Akademie Verlag, Berlin, 1981, 42.

177.2–6) and gospel sayings are sprinkled liberally through Manichaean texts, often introduced by ‘the Saviour says’ or something similar (e.g. *Keph.* 201.29–31; 210.31–32; 223.3–5; 229.10–15; 264.3–12; and passim Persian texts M 399 and M 1738).<sup>23</sup> The Turkish text T II D 173b, 2 provides a good example of a mixture of canonical sayings of Jesus, reworked into their Manichaean context,<sup>24</sup> and sayings from other sources:

And the Messiah Buddha . . . deigned to say this: ‘Hide your hidden treasure without being miserly against the holy Church, with a liberal heart, in faith, without doubting.’ And furthermore he deigned to say the following: ‘Whoever strives for the sake of the body will, as requital and gain, die by the body. (But) whoever sows good seed for the sake of the soul will receive as recompense eternal life in the Realm of the Gods.’ And furthermore he deigned to say this: ‘Throw away this (your) evil possession which belongs to the demons, and give it as alms to a very needy elect. (But) you (yourself) go hungry, you (yourself) endure pain and thus fill your treasure-house in eternity. And with your whole heart believe this: the reward for (a piece of) bread and a cup of water (given as alms) will never vanish, but is sure.’

And in the scripture he deigned to say, ‘The auditors are not all alike. (For) there are “perfect auditors”. Furthermore there are those of good disposition. Then there are those who (just) accept the Law (religious teaching) . . .’<sup>25</sup>

Faustus too refers to teachings of Jesus, both to support Manichaean vegetarian practice and to show that Jesus is opposed to Moses:

. . . Christ, who taught that all food is alike, and though he allowed no animal food to his own disciples, gave full liberty to the laity to eat whatever they pleased, and taught that men are polluted not by what goes into the mouth, but by the evil things which come out of it. In these and many other things the doctrine of Jesus, as everybody knows, contradicts that of Moses (c. *Faust.* XVI, 6).

<sup>23</sup> On the introductory phrases and their possible relation to both canonical and apocryphal Christian works, see, e.g., Werner Sundermann, ‘Christliche Evangelientexte in der Überlieferung der iranisch-manichäischen Literatur’, *MIOF*, 14.3 (1968): 403–4; Hans-Joachim Klimkeit, ‘Die Kenntnis Apocrypher Evangelien in Zentral- und Ostasien’, in *Manichaica Selecta. Studies presented to Professor Julien Ries on the occasion of his seventieth birthday*, ed. Alois van Tongerlo and Søren Giversen, International Association of Manichaean Studies in conjunction with the Center of the History of Religions, BCMS, Louvain, 1991, 153–5; Henri-Charles Puech, ‘Saint Paul chez les Manichéens’ in *Sur le Manichéisme et autres essais*, Flammarion, Paris, 1979, 156–7.

<sup>24</sup> See also, e.g., the reworking of the synoptic parable of the sower in Parthian M 500c in Asmussen, *Manichaean Literature*, 99, where what is harvested (clearly from the good soil) is the Nous, but what comes from the stony ground in the desert is the evil thought.

<sup>25</sup> *Türk. Man.* III, 11–12; *SR*, 326.

Faustus reports Jesus's own assertion that he came not to destroy the Law and the prophets but to fulfil them, but he interprets this saying as an attempt to pacify the Jews, who would be enraged if he said he had come to destroy the Law. For Faustus, Jesus used the word 'law' only in a general sense, so he was not being deceitful in what he said (*c. Faust. XIX, 1*), and it is true that at his coming 'Jesus was both in body and mind subject to the influence of the law and the prophets' (XIX, 4). The latter remark must somehow relate to the difficult situation for the Saviour of being in the world and should not be understood in any neutral or positive sense.

That not all the sayings attributed to Jesus were acceptable to Mani or the Manichaeans can be seen within Faustus's reported argument. Within the discussion noted above concerning Jesus's possible role as prophet, Faustus employs a canonical parable to support his (and Manichaeism's) way of dealing with the spurious nature of some of the sayings attributed to Jesus:

For my part, as a Manichaean, this verse has little difficulty for me, for at the outset I am taught to believe that many things which pass in Scripture under the name of the Saviour are spurious, and that they must therefore be tested to find whether they are true, and sound, and genuine; for the enemy who comes by night has corrupted almost every passage by sowing tares among the wheat. (*c. Faust. XVIII, 3*)

### 3 Jesus the Apostle as founder of a church

In several Kephalaia passages, the descriptions of apostles include their revelation to a church which belongs to them, and to which they bring salvation (which may negate the later statement in TracPell. that only Jesus is the true saviour?). In M 42, certainly, Zarathustra is clearly sent to a specific region, the Buddha to another, supporting the idea that the various apostles saved people in various geographical regions. *Keph. 11.35–12.4* describes the process:

The apostles are like [t]his [also]. N[o]w, when the apostle will be raised up to the heights, he and his church, and they depart from the world; at [t]hat instant another apostle shall be sent to it, to another chu[r]ch...].

The relationship between the saving apostle and his church is extremely close. Of course, images indicate this for the church of Jesus ('[the] church of the saviour'; *Keph. 13.22; Keph. 11 347.12–13*): Jesus is their shepherd ('I also am one of thy [sheep], My true Shepherd has found [me]'; *PsB 175.5–6*), or the owner of an orchard in which they are his trees ('I am a tree in thy orchard of Light (?); I have given fruit to thy husbandmen'; *PsB 175.8–9*). Certain groups of members of the church are also significant among the vehicles of flesh taken on by Jesus the Splendour in *Keph. 37.14–19*, but which action must also involve Jesus the Apostle:

... he came and manifested in the flesh. He chose the holy church in four vehicles. One is all the holy brothers. The second is the pure sisters. The third is all the catechumens, the sons of the faith. The fourth is the catechumens, the daughters of the light and truth.

That the members of the church could come from the heavenly realm is intimated in *Keph.* 271.22–23, which speaks of the church itself assuming flesh. In a sense then, the relationship is more easily maintained if all parties to it are originally spiritual and heavenly, their flesh something which has been assumed.

As well as general descriptions of church and members, more explicit references to canonical details of choosing followers are found. *Keph.* 12.26–28 reports that he ‘manifested in the world in the [s]ject of the Jews’, and that ‘he chose his twelve [and] his seventy-two’. The disciples he chooses are described in *PsB* 194.5–6 as stones (for the foundation of the church?) and pearls (the symbol of gnosis and wisdom), and they include the women Mariam (‘the Spirit of Wisdom’, v. 19), Martha, Salome and Arsenoe (194.4–22). Peter, Andrew, Thomas and the blessed John (‘the example of celibacy’) are named as ‘apostles’ in *c. Faust.* XXX, 4.

By giving the church the ritual for the agape of the elect (*Keph. II* 346.17–26; 347.9–13), Jesus the Apostle provided it with a spiritual means of continuing after his resurrection/ascension. That believers feel that Jesus the Apostle is still able to help them in the everyday after his resurrection is clear, for example, from *PsB* 150.21–31:

Let us give ourselves to him and he is able (?) to guide us.  
 Guide my eyes that they look no evil look.  
 Guide my ears that they hear not a ... word.  
 Guide my nostrils that they smell not the stink of lust.  
 Guide my mouth that it utter no slander.  
 Guide for me my hands that they serve not Satan.  
 Guide for me my heart that it do (?) no evil at all.  
 Guide for me my Spirit in the midst of the stormy sea.  
 Guide my New Man, for it wears (?) [the] mighty image.  
 Guide my feet that they walk not in the way of Error.  
 Guide my soul that ... sin.

#### 4 Jesus the Apostle as guide and defender of souls at the hour of death

In the previous chapter I dealt with the difficulty of assigning certain passages that ascribe the saving and guiding of the soul at death to either Jesus the Splendour or Jesus the Apostle. Very few texts refer to Jesus the Apostle explicitly, and generally he is indicated by the mention of the cross or activities specific to him. This means of course that I am reserving the cross (not the Cross of Light which I will deal with in Chapter 6) for him rather than for some other Jesus figure.

*PsB* 90.25–31 depicts the soul as the good thief, crucified on the right side of Jesus, receiving a blessing or promise at the hour of death that he will be in paradise with Jesus:

I heard the power of thy living cry, I followed thee, I put down the nets of Error, I took the nets from the man in unto life, I let the dead bury the dead, I stepped in with thy cross, I hung to the right of thee, because I received the blessing: henceforth take me with thee to the Paradise of the holy Gods.

That the soul is itself crucified, or becomes strongly associated with the cross, in some way emphasizes the cross as key element in the saving action of Jesus:

I have borne thy yoke, I have bound my ... unto thy cross, I have given my members up ... (*PsB* 92.5–7)

*PsB* 123.29, 33 and 35 portray the cross as the ship of Jesus by which souls are ferried above, and the judgement seat from which souls are judged:

[Thou madest] the cross a Bema for thyself, thou gavest judgement from it ...  
Thou madest the cross a ship for thyself, thou wast the sailor on it ...  
... the cross was a ship, the souls were passengers ...

Both cross and judgement come together also in *PsB* 49.23–25, again with the story of the good thief:

A robber was saved upon the cross because he did but confess thee;  
thou didst forget all the sins that he had committed, thou didst remember his good.

The good thief is mentioned again in *c. Faust*. XXXIII, 1, to exemplify Jesus's pardon and deliverance, together with other examples of the deliverance of the Old Testament patriarchs, and the pardoning of publican, harlots and the woman caught in adultery. Faustus says that this deliverance, or at least that of the patriarchs, 'was the work of our Lord Christ, and the result of His mystic passion'.

Forgiveness, subsequent to repentance, is a key aspect of the salvific activity of Jesus, with passages drawing the emphasis from sayings and actions known from canonical sources, though adapted for the Manichaean context. *PsB* 39.19–22 is a good example of this emphasis:<sup>26</sup>

Lo, the amnesty of the forgiveness of sins has come: it is Jesus, who giveth repentance unto him that repents.  
He stands in our midst, he winks unto us secretly,  
saying: 'Repent, that I may forgive you your sins.'

<sup>26</sup> Much of the psalm depends on New Testament passages about sin, quoting or alluding mostly to Matt 5:22, 23, 25, 44, 48; 7:1; 22:39.

Judgement and forgiveness are also included in events that equate with the canonical idea of a 'Last Judgement', and I deal with this point below.

### 5 Events in Jesus's 'lifetime'

Apart from the sayings and events of the descent/taking on flesh, and the passion and resurrection narratives, allusions to other events within the life of Jesus the Apostle are scattered throughout the texts. For example, *Keph.* 264.10–14 numbers the days spent in three different activities: 50 days when he fasted and was tempted by the devil (10–12), seven days in the house of Simon the leper (12–13), and three days in the tomb among the dead (13–14).

A passage about attitudes to eating and purification in *CMC* includes the Last Supper (92.4–9); his eating (or at least reclining at table) with tax collectors and idolators (92.11–14); the occasion on which he ate at the house of Martha and Mary, where Martha complained that her sister did nothing to help, and Jesus responded that Mary had chosen the good portion, which would not be taken from her (92.14–93.2); and Jesus's sending out of his disciples to preach (93.14–23; see also disciples sent out as sheep among wolves, *c. Fort. Disput. II*, 22). The passage also vaguely refers to the women who accompanied Jesus and the disciples in order to see to their needs (93.5). In *CMC* 107.1–22, in speaking of how and why he himself came, Mani provides a summary of the kind of work or action undertaken by Jesus the Apostle which has been a model for him. The Lord Jesus walked the world, 'cast the sword, division, and the knife of the Spirit onto the earth'.<sup>27</sup>

Just as Faustus did not accept all the sayings of Jesus found in the New Testament, so Mani also refuses to accept all the information it contains about events. He speaks of possible misinformation about events in the life of Jesus, spoken either by apostles and others before reaching perfection or by crafty and malicious opponents.<sup>28</sup> Such misinformation includes 'the shameful birth of Jesus from a woman, his being circumcised like the Jews, his offering sacrifice like the Gentiles, his being baptized in a humiliating manner, his being led about by the devil in the wilderness, and his being tempted by him in the most distressing way' (*c. Faust.* XXXIII, 3). Apart from these examples, the Manichaeans believe everything in the gospels,

... especially the mystic nailing to the cross, emblematic of the wounds of the soul in its passion; as also the sound moral precepts of Jesus, and his parables, and the whole of his immortal discourse,

<sup>27</sup> Koenen ('Manichaeism Apocalypticism', 296, n. 43) lists the background passages as Matt 13.37 and 10.34; 2 Cor 6.16 (= Lev 26.12) and Eph 6.17.

<sup>28</sup> 'A compilation of rumors and beliefs, made, long after their departure, by some obscure semi-Jews, not in harmony even with one another, and published by them under the name of the apostles, or of those considered the followers of the apostles, so as to give the appearance of apostolic authority to all these blunders and falsehoods' (*c. Faust.* XXXIII, 3).

which sets forth especially the distinction of the two natures, and therefore must undoubtedly be his. (*c. Faust. XXXII, 7*)

## 6 The 'passion-resurrection' story

### 6.1 Suffering/crucifixion/burial

The reason Christ came into the world, according to Felix, is to deliver us from the snare of death, that is, what is contrary to, or comes from what is contrary to, God. If nothing is contrary to God, if God has no adversary, then there would be no need for the Christ to come, no need for baptism, no need for the eucharist, no need for Christianity (*c. Fel. I, XIX, 533*). While Jesus the Apostle is a guide and saviour for souls at the hour of death, the passion story represents, in many ways, the real deliverance from the snare of death.

Richter writes that the important role of the passion story in Manichaeism can be judged by the great number of reports about it in Coptic and other languages, quoting Rose (as well as Gardner and Sundermann), that these reports occur, not just in polemical texts, but also in the original Manichaean literature.<sup>29</sup> The passion story should not be separated from the other activities of Jesus the Apostle which I have outlined above. *Keph. 267.24–27* makes it clear that part of Jesus's revelation in the world is through this suffering and crucifixion:

He has been reve[ale]d therein! He suffered tribulation and persecution. They hung h[im] on the cross, and his enemies perpetrated against him the tor[ment] and shame of their evil-doing.

#### 6.1.1 The events

Several fairly detailed summaries of the events within the passion-resurrection story of Jesus the Apostle appear in Eastern and Western Manichaean texts. *PsB 195.23–196.8* relates considerable detail, though not in the same order as the canonical accounts: the opposition of the scribes; the bribe to Judas and his apparent accusation of Jesus; the judgement of Jesus among the scribes and his deliverance to 'the judge' (presumably here Pilate because of what follows); the crucifixion of Jesus at the sixth hour; his crowning as king with a garland; his clothing in a robe of purple, with a reed put in his hand; his drinking vinegar and myrrh; being pierced with a spear; and the darkening of the sun.

Morano combines a number of Parthian texts (M 104, M 459, M 734, M 891, M 1951, M 390, M 5861), which have undergone a number of attempts

<sup>29</sup> Richter, *Exegetisch-literarkritische*, 258 and n.155.

at edition and translation, into one 'Great Parthian Crucifixion Hymn'.<sup>30</sup> Again numerous details of the passion story occur, beginning with a date of the fourteenth of Mihr,<sup>31</sup> and moving through descriptions of the machinations against Jesus both by heavenly and earthly evils; the pouring of the poison upon the sons below and the preparation of the cup of death; the gathering of false witnesses against him; the betrayal of Jesus via a bribe by the Iscariot; his appearance before the Jewish assembly, which also appears to include a gathering of demons; his appearance before Caiaphas the High Priest and his subsequent torment; his appearance before Pilate and the questioning regarding his kingship; his appearance before King Herod (who also puts on a garment), followed by the clothing in a garment, crowning with thorns, mock veneration and torment; and the Romans' coming three times before him and three times falling down before his beauty and miraculous power.<sup>32</sup> In what Morano admits is a very fragmentary piece at the conclusion,<sup>33</sup> heaven and earth are wounded in relation to words about the crucifixion of Jesus's pupils and words about a cup, which could refer to the earlier cup of death.

The Parthian text M 42 contains one or two elements similar to the beginning of the previous longer crucifixion hymn. Where Jesus appears in the world as apostle, he struggles against the three winds and destroys 'Jerusalem with the steeds of the demons of wrath', and at the same time, the cup of poison and death is poured over the Boy (= the Living Soul) by Iscariot and the sons of Israel (V I 65-77).<sup>34</sup>

The Parthian hymn M 4570 also includes a great deal of detail. At his crucifixion, Jesus was seized like a sinner, clothed in a robe, forced to hold a stick, humiliated and then led to the cross. After a short passage on those who followed Jesus and were tortured and killed, the hymn returns to the passion, this time concentrating on the Jews and their bid to get rid of Jesus, seeking false witnesses, and the High Priest's demand for his oath that he is the Christ, the Son of God, the Blessed One. Jesus's reply is partly missing, but appears to be close to the canonical account. After damaged text, Jesus's reply takes up his prophecy concerning the Son of Man sitting on the right hand of Divine Power, when he comes from heaven in a chariot, after which the High Priest tears his garment and charges him with blasphemy, punishable by death. The name Pilate occurs in the last damaged lines.<sup>35</sup>

Although very damaged, *Hom.* 68.21-30 still presents references to the humiliation of Jesus, the crucified robber, his being given gall to drink, his

<sup>30</sup> Enrico Morano, 'My Kingdom is not of this World: Revisiting the Great Parthian Crucifixion Hymn', in *Proceedings of the Third European Conference of Iranian Studies, held in Cambridge, 11th to 15th September 1995*, ed. Nicholas Sims-Williams, Dr Ludwig Reichert Verlag, Wiesbaden, 1998, 134-6.

<sup>31</sup> Boyce (*Reader*, 127) notes that 'The date given in the hymn for the death of Jesus is mechanically "translated" from the 14th of the Syriac month Nisan to the 14th of the Iranian month Mihr.'

<sup>32</sup> This is somewhat reminiscent of Jn 18:6 although the context is very different here.

<sup>33</sup> Morano, 'My Kingdom is not of this World', 138.

<sup>34</sup> MM III, 880-81; SR, 124-5.

<sup>35</sup> Sundermann (ed.), *Mitteliranische manichäische Texte*, 76-9.

clothing being divided, and his blood flowing over the soldiers' lances. *PsB* 142.12–15 includes the crowning with thorns, the humiliation, crucifixion, and the giving of wine, vinegar and myrrh.

Many passages include the bare minimum of detail. Thus *PsB* 57.6 and 14 say that he was slain and crucified. *PsB* 51.15–16 says that God came and gave himself up to death for them (humankind?). *PsB* 129.18–24, although damaged, refers to his going to the Mount with his disciples, the whole night of suffering (presumably in the Garden of Gethsemane), nailing and blood. Parthian hymn M 4574 V i 5–V ii 9 states that Pilate did not find him deserving of death, but he was nevertheless crucified with the sinners, and an inscription in Greek and Latin hung on the cross proclaiming him 'Jesus of Nazareth, king of the Jews' declared that no sin was found in him.<sup>36</sup> Several other passages refer briefly to the part that Pilate plays in the events, and I deal with them separately below, in the section concerning responsibility.

Some passages deal with the events of the passion in terms of struggle and victory rather than in the terms found in the canonical accounts. *Hom.* 11.6–8 speaks of him on the battleground, where he triumphs over and shames his opponents, as well as his completing his mystery on the cross (11.15). The triumph of his driving error out of Jerusalem, and his destruction of the city, are, however, linked to the passion, his torture and his giving himself up (11.11–14).

*PsB* 196.8 records the darkness that comes with the apparent death of Jesus. With the change of appearance in the following verse, Richter interprets this verse to signal the end of the crucifixion.<sup>37</sup> Gardner too suggests that the following verses refer to the descent into Hell,<sup>38</sup> but I suggest that the descent really happens from verse 15 onwards, and that 9–14 provides detail about what happens at the crucifixion in terms of his victory in this struggle:

He disguised himself from those murderers, he was caught up from  
 their presence.  
 He fettered them of the sky by the fear of his light.  
 He caught them of the air by the power of his angels.  
 He bound them of the earth by the marvel of his cross.  
 He demolished their temple, he rent their veil also.  
 He dug up its stones, searching for its demons.

### 6.1.2 Who is responsible?

*Keph.* 12.29–13.5 identifies the enemies of Jesus the Apostle as the Jews, Satan, Judas and the soldiers, who are all associated with the passion, crucifixion and struggle. While Satan is the instigator ('the evil one awoke envy in the sect of the Jews. Satan went in to Judas the Iscariot, one am[ong] the

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, 80–81.

<sup>37</sup> Richter, *Evangelisch-literarkritische*, 258.

<sup>38</sup> Gardner (ed.), *Coptic Theological Papyri II*, 76.

twelve of Jesus': *Keph.* 12.29–32), the Jews are clearly labelled as those who carry out the arrest, judgement, condemnation, crucifixion and burial (*Keph.* 12.34–13.5).

In the Parthian Crucifixion Hymn, the passion is above all a story of the struggle between Jesus, on the one hand, and the demons of wrath (8, 32), the Lord of evil doctrine who clothes himself in a garment of deception (9–10), the twelve thrones above (11–12), the slanderer (= Satan? 16), and Satan (20–23, 83) on the other. The agents of the evil ones are the Jews (14–15, 'the servants of the Highest God', 28–29, 31, 39, 82–83 'the race of Israel the race of Satan'); Iscariot, who is like a horse ridden by Satan (22–23), rejecting righteousness and sacrificing his own Lord and teacher for the bribe he is offered by the Jews (27–30); Caiaphas the High Priest (42–44); and King Herod with the Jews (58, 64–71).<sup>39</sup>

The Persian polemical hymn M 28 I more explicitly identifies the higher power which is responsible. Here, clearly, Adonai, the God of Marcion, is responsible for the crucifixion, while acting through the Jews.<sup>40</sup> The same evil God is described in more detail in *PsB* 57.3–18, where the crucifixion of Jesus is his second evil deed, the first being to lead Adam astray:

When Adam and Eve were created and put in Paradise, who was it that ordered them: 'Eat not of the Tree', that they might not distinguish the evil from the good? Another fought against him and made them eat of the Tree. [He] cries out in the Law saying: 'I am God ...' ... who then led Adam astray and crucified the Saviour? (*PsB* 57.7–11, 13–14)

In *Hom.* 11.3–21, already dealt with above, Error is considered to live in Jerusalem, and this can be linked with the general tenor of passages in the passion story identifying the Jews as the enemy.<sup>41</sup> In the Parthian text M 734 V, 'Caiaphas, the High Priest, and all the Jews ... clothed themselves in malice and wrath.'<sup>42</sup> In Parthian M 4570 R i 16, those who tormented him by clothing him in a robe and venerating him say to him 'King, our Christ!'<sup>43</sup> which, Sundermann points out, indicates that they are Jews rather than Romans.<sup>44</sup> Later in the same piece, the Jews, namely the teachers, priests, scribes, and the religious leaders, 'desired to remove him from the world' and deliberated how to kill him (V i 5–12). The account of their witness at his trial as given in the canonical accounts follows (V i 13–22).<sup>45</sup> *PsB* 15.12, 43.19–20, and 122.33 also refer to the Jews as the murderers of Christ/God. *PsB* 43.14 mentions Herod as the one who crucified Christ.

<sup>39</sup> Morano, 'My Kingdom is not of this World', 134–6.

<sup>40</sup> *HR II*, 94–5.

<sup>41</sup> The general opposition of the Jews to Jesus is spoken of by Faustus: 'Every one knows that the Jews were always ready to attack Christ, both with words and with actual violence' (c. *Faust.* XIX, 1).

<sup>42</sup> Sundermann, 'Christliche Evangelientexte', 397–8; *SR*, 72.

<sup>43</sup> Sundermann (ed.), *Mitteliranische manichäische Texte*, 77; *SR*, 72.

<sup>44</sup> Sundermann, 'Christliche Evangelientexte', 390–94.

<sup>45</sup> Sundermann (ed.), *Mitteliranische manichäische Texte*, 77–8; *SR*, 73.

Of course, amongst those responsible, Judas Iscariot is given a special place as the betrayer although, as seen above, he is another agent of Satan (*Keph.* 19.1–6). Iscariot and Satan are linked very strongly in the Sogdian text TM 393:

The fourth calumniator was Iscariot who slandered Christ, and the (fourth) sinner, (was) Satan, the hard-hearted one, who spoils the Christian religion.<sup>46</sup>

While the Jews are made responsible for the suffering and death, it appears as if the Manichaeans deliberately edited the canonical accounts to exonerate Pilate, as the canonical Gospel of Luke had already done to some extent. In the Parthian text M 132, for example, under pressure from the Jews, Pilate sends Jesus to Herod, who instigates the clothing with the garment, the crowning with thorns, and the accompanying humiliation.<sup>47</sup> Further, Pilate himself knows that the Jews are to blame, as indicated in the Parthian hymn M 18: ‘The captains and soldiers received this order from Pilate, “Keep this secret well. And the Jews themselves are responsible.”’<sup>48</sup>

Several other texts also emphasize Pilate’s not finding fault with Jesus. Already noted above, the Parthian text M 4574 V ii 7–9 says that Pilate finds no fault in Jesus, although here, unlike in the canonical texts, Pilate’s declaration relates to the inscription written and hung on the cross.<sup>49</sup> In fact in the Parthian fragment M 4525, Pilate says he will release Jesus, but although the text is damaged, the implication is still discernible that the Jews want Jesus killed.<sup>50</sup> Further in *Hom.* 91.28–32, Pilate, while condemning Jesus, speaks in his favour and as a consequence receives forgiveness for his sins.

All those responsible listed here, the enemies of Jesus the Apostle, stand in direct contrast to those whom Jesus saves by his passion and struggle:

He has made alive, has redeemed, and given the victory to [th]ese who are his. Conversely, [h]e has killed, bound, and destroyed they who are strangers to him. (*Keph.* 37.22–24)

### 6.1.3 How are we to understand passages which describe the suffering and death of Jesus the Apostle?

I have already argued above that the fleshly body of Jesus, though described as an ‘image’ or ‘appearance’, must be considered as ‘real’ in its physical

<sup>46</sup> Walter Bruno Henning, ‘The Murder of the Magi’, in *Walter Bruno Henning: Selected Papers II*, ed. Mary Boyce and Ilya Gershevitz, E.J. Brill/Bibliothèque Pahlavi, Leiden/Téhéran-Liège, 1977, 141–2, 144.

<sup>47</sup> *HR II.* 36, and Sundermann, ‘Christliche Evangelientexte’, 394–5. Sundermann recognizes the Manichaeans’ extensive attempt to exculpate Pilate (396–7).

<sup>48</sup> *HR II.* 34; *SR* 70.

<sup>49</sup> Sundermann (ed.), *Mitteliranische manichäische Texte*, 81.

<sup>50</sup> Sundermann, ‘Christliche Evangelientexte’, 400.

properties as the reality of his spiritual body. Some passages appear to offer unequivocal statements about the suffering of Jesus in the passion:

[T]hey have forgotten God, who came and gave himself up to death for them. Jesus (do not forsake me). (*PsB* 51.15–16)

This and other passages which seem to describe a real suffering and death for Jesus the Apostle present a problem for those scholars who consider that the Manichaean Jesus is docetic.<sup>51</sup> I deal with only two of the proposed solutions for this problem in what follows.

Gardner notes, for example, the seemingly non-docetic language of *PsB* 142.10–16, but avoids the problem by suggesting that such writing is characteristic of Manichaean devotional language, while the metaphysical principle takes precedence in any attempt to understand how Manichaeism genuinely understood Jesus's 'body'.<sup>52</sup>

The question must be asked, however, why any dogmatic/doctrinal difference should arise between devotional and other kinds of writing for a religious group. Why would a group understand one thing while at prayer or in worship and another entirely while debating the finer points of theology? Granted a continuum of belief always exists in any religious community, from absolute literalism through to metaphysical or esoteric understandings of doctrine, but I do not think this is what Gardner means here. Richter too suggests the unlikelihood that some statements would be made in the hymns but be rejected in the *Kephalaia*.<sup>53</sup>

Villey notes the same passage, and he recognizes its non-docetic character. However, he argues that a more attentive examination of the context of the passage proves that the orthodoxy is only apparent. The passage is framed by two remarks which diminish and make commonplace in some way the sufferings of Christ – the remark about the blessed who have endured suffering (*PsB* 142.10), and the remark about all the apostles who have endured suffering (*PsB* 142.17). Thus no special redemptive privilege is attributed to the passion of Christ; it is simply one example among others of the constancy of the apostles of Light in their exposure to the evil principle. In fact Jesus's death isn't even mentioned.<sup>54</sup> In professing to follow Rose in pointing out a tendency to contradiction (i.e. the paradoxical-type statements), Villey avoids the problem in a way that is similar to Gardner's, although not along the same lines of division. He says that the Manichaeans could not admit absolutely to the real death of Jesus, because of his divine transcendence. On the other hand, they wanted to use the suffering as an example. Thus, for

<sup>51</sup> See, e.g., Sundermann, 'Christliche Evangelientexte', 388; Rose, *Die Manichäische Christologie*, 124–7; Jan Heldermaun, 'Zum Dokerismus und zur Inkarnation im Manichäismus', in *Manichaica Selecta. Studies presented to Professor Julien Ries on the occasion of his seventieth birthday*, ed. Alois van Tongerloo and Søren Giversen. International Association of Manichaean Studies in conjunction with the Centre of the History of Religions – BCMS, Louvain, 1991, 108.

<sup>52</sup> Gardner, 'Manichaean Christology,' 240–44.

<sup>53</sup> Richter, *Exegetisch-literarkritische*, 234.

<sup>54</sup> Villey (ed.), *Psaumes des errants*. 223–4.

Villey, the suffering and cross of Christ, whether real or apparent, have no redemptive value, but are only a paradigm of the cosmic crucifixion of the Light, mixed and imprisoned in everything that exists.<sup>55</sup>

Undoubtedly, the crucified Jesus is a paradigm for later situations of suffering, both of Mani and those who follow after him. However, the use of the paradigm for the event of the passion also works in a kind of reverse way. Chapter 3 dealt with the passage in *Keph. II* 302.25–30, in which Jesus the Splendour is said to be crucified in the world (although ‘crucified’ is reconstructed in the damaged text), and that this happened in the mystery of the Primal Man, who went out against the enemy in the beginning, and did so with his holy body, composed of his five sons (i.e., the Living Soul). Here a symbolic identity exists between Jesus the Splendour and the Living Soul, but also between the suffering of Jesus the Splendour as Jesus the Apostle and the suffering of the Living Soul. A similar symbolic identity occurs in *c. Faust. XXXII, 7*: ‘especially the mystic nailing to the cross, emblematic of the wounds of the soul in its passion’. This discussion of the symbolism in the passion activity becomes even more important for the consideration of the suffering Jesus in Chapter 6.

In any case, concerning Villey, and also the idea of suffering for the Primal Man, Jesus the Splendour, and Jesus the Apostle, the question arises: Of what use is a paradigm for those who are suffering, if the suffering described in the paradigm is not real in at least some physical sense? Surely the comfort of the paradigm (and I agree it was a paradigm for Manichaean suffering) for those who suffer physically is that Jesus the Apostle himself suffered physically, but his heavenly nature was not affected. Therefore, he could move beyond death just as the Manichaean soul could also triumph over death. As Richter suggests, *PsB* 142.12–16 and *Hom.* 68.24–29 both presuppose Jesus’s real suffering during his passion, for these two sources place Jesus within a tradition of suffering apostles, and to place him in the series if he had not suffered would be absurd.<sup>56</sup>

In order to make a judgement about the way in which suffering and death could be understood for Jesus the Apostle, passages which offer interpretation as well as detail must be examined first in order to understand how the Manichaeans themselves understood the passion story.

### *1. The marvel of his coming into the world and his cross*

In *PsB* 120.1–18, the writer reflects on the impossibility of comprehending the Lord, and then tells of the marvels of his begetting and his cross (120.19). The psalm that follows is an exposé of these very marvels. To begin with, the psalmist lists what is thought about these events (perhaps by mainstream Christianity) and what is believed to have been done to Jesus by various enemies unnamed (simply ‘they’) – he is thrown into a filthy womb (120.25; 122.23), he is hung on a cross (121.6), these being the two most disgusting from his point of view. But these things must have happened only in

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, 224.

<sup>56</sup> Richter, ‘Christology in the Coptic Manichaean Sources’, 121–2.

appearance, not in reality; as he ascended, he shamed them (121.8). In passages dealt with above in the section concerning his origin, the psalmist gives the reasons for not believing these things to be real: the one thrown into the womb, he is the one 'that is in everything, in whom everything is' (120.27), the one higher than heaven and earth (122.19); the one who supposedly appeared to the Magi, he is 'far from the whole world' (122.28); the one hung on a cross, he is 'the ineffable and impalpable one' (121.4); and the one who was buried, he is the hidden one (121.17). He is the light of the world; if he was in a womb, who gave light to the world for nine months? (121.19–23). The holy womb that conceived him is the Luminaries (121.31), and his holy body (presumably in the world) is in the trees and fruits (121.32).

His cross also appears to triumph, although the text of *PsB* 123 is very damaged. Here, words and phrases associated with the cross appear to suggest the fall of the enemies and the triumph of Jesus: 'garland' (123.3), 'thy cross, the enemy being nailed to it' (123.5),<sup>57</sup> and 'cross, he burst the gates' (123.7). Further down the page, the victory is clearer:

[By] thy renown thou didst go up: Death cried out and lamented.  
(123.27)

[Thou madest] the cross a Bema for thyself, thou gavest judgement from it. (123.29)

Thou madest the cross a ship for thyself, thou wast the sailor on it.  
(123.33)

... the cross was a ship, the souls were passengers. (123.35)

[Thou didst] go to the Mount of Olives, thou wast found excelling the sun. (123.37).

While the nature of his birth or origin might be in contention, no debate occurs about the fact that he is hung on the cross, however that can be interpreted. The reason given for either a misinterpretation or true interpretation of the event is the heavenly nature and relationship of Jesus to the Father. He did not have a fleshly body, did not originate in a filthy womb – he is the light of the world, having originated in the Luminaries; he is in his Father and his Father in him.<sup>58</sup> This latter reason is given again below as the means for understanding his passion.

In a similar way, although the one who speaks is not clear, *PsB* 175.16 and 27–30 deal with the same themes of begetting and the cross, to some extent:

I did not make my Lord be born in a womb defiled.

I took up my cross, I followed thee.

I left the things of the body for the things of the Spirit.

<sup>57</sup> Gardner ('Manichaean Christology', 263–8) sees this as referring to the third of three possibilities for understanding the crucified Jesus, which can be found in Gnostic sources in general: (1) as an insubstantial form of Jesus; (2) as the carnal or false Jesus, son of David/Mary; and/or (3) as evil's own form, Satan or the Prince of Darkness.

<sup>58</sup> Note again the dependence on the Gospel of John: Light of the World (Jn 8:12) and 'I am in the Father ...' (Jn 14:10).

I despised the glory of the world,  
because of thy glory that passes not away.

## 2. Otherness that suffers 1: Jesus the Apostle as king and victim

*PsB* 195.23–196.8 relates considerable detail about the passion, though not in the order of the canonical accounts:

Envy filled the scribes, they rose against the shepherd.  
They persuaded the traitor, they gave silver for Him.  
He accused him before them, they thinking that he is a man.  
They judged him among them, in the midst of them all.  
They delivered him to the judge, sin was not found in him.  
They brought his death upon themselves and his victorious blood.  
They hanged him to the cross at the sixth hour of the day.  
They went that they might kill him, they made him a king. . .  
They put a garland on his head because he humbled their kings.  
They put a cloak upon him because he stripped (?) their authorities.  
They put a robe of purple upon him because he destroyed their desire.  
They put a reed in his hand because he wrote of (?) their sins.  
They made him drink vinegar and myrrh for the sign (?) of their grief.  
They pierced him with the spear because he destroyed their ?  
The sun withdrew his light, it wore the *athalia*.

From 196.1–7, as Richter notes, the first part of the verse links with the New Testament accounts, but the second part gives an assessment of the action as a kind of allegory. Thus, for example, in 196.1, in the actually killing of Jesus the Apostle, he is made king.<sup>59</sup> In each case, for those who can understand these interpretations, Jesus is the real power in the world below and the world above. This is strongly reminiscent of the paradox of the cross put forward by the Gospel of John – the moment of annihilation on the cross is really the moment of glory – the truth of which is only visible to those who can see with the eyes of faith.<sup>60</sup> That Jesus is a power beyond the comprehension of those who rise against him is intimated in phrases such as, ‘they thinking that he is a man’ (195.25), and ‘sin was not found in him’ (195.27); in other words he is not a man like those men who are sinful and under the control of the powers of the world.

Despite his otherness, however, other aspects of this passage assume that Jesus died: ‘his death’, ‘his victorious blood’ (195.28); ‘they hanged him to the cross’ (195.29); and ‘they pierced him with the spear’ (196.7). Otherness, in relation to ordinary humanity, is not a means by which Jesus avoids suffering,

<sup>59</sup> Richter. *Evangelisch-literarkritische*. 257. See Richter’s lengthy commentary on this psalm, 257–9.

<sup>60</sup> Other links to the same gospel are provided by the details of the crowning before the clothing with the robe and the piercing with the spear. Alexander Böhlig (‘Die Bibel bei den Manichäern’, *Evang.-Theol. dissertation*, Westfälische Landesuniversität zu Münster i.W., 1947, 55) would also see an allusion to Jn 8:6–9 in 196.5 where it is possible that Jesus writes the sins of the potential stone-throwers on the ground.

just as those electi/electai, who are also ‘other’, or strangers in the world, suffer after him, and those before him have suffered. In Parthian hymn M 42 R II 43–50, a similar situation occurs for Zarathustra, who descends to Persia and is attacked by Satan and his demons:

Before the gods were able to return the attack, they had hurt you, Oh beloved one, and wisdom was distorted.<sup>61</sup>

### 3. *The ultimate paradox*

The most intriguing of the Manichaean material about Jesus the Apostle and the passion is found in the so-called ‘Amen’ hymn of *PsB* 190.21–191.14. After an introductory passage stating that the beloved son ‘gave himself to death for us (?)’ (190.22),<sup>62</sup> the section 191.4–8 presents Jesus’s revelation about ‘his wonders’ to his apostles on the Mount of Olives in a series of seemingly paradoxical statements about the suffering event:

Amen, I was seized; Amen again, I was not seized.  
 Amen, I was judged; Amen again, I was not judged.  
 Amen, I was crucified; Amen again, I was not crucified.  
 Amen, I was pierced; Amen again, I was not pierced.  
 Amen, I suffered; Amen again, I did not suffer.

Many have turned to other writings to try to ascertain the interpretation of these antitheses, most notably the Acts of John or various Nag Hammadi texts.<sup>63</sup> However, Richter rightly points out that, despite the similarity in some of these parallels, particularly the Acts of John, the parallels move from two different Christologies.<sup>64</sup> To avoid the danger of relying on other texts to give a meaning to the antitheses, it is more helpful to look to the passage itself. The two verses which follow the five antitheses devoted to the passion events give the clue to their meaning:

Amen, I am in my Father; Amen again, my Father is in me.  
 But thou desirest the fulfilment of Amen: I mocked the world, they could not mock me.

Jesus is able to overcome their torture because he is in the Father and the

<sup>61</sup> *MM* III, 880; *SR*, 125.

<sup>62</sup> Richter (*Exegetisch-literarkritische*, 125) notes parallels to *PsB* 51.15–16 and Jn 15:13.

<sup>63</sup> See, e.g. Gardner, ‘Manichaean Christology’, 268–75; Helderman, ‘Zum Dokerismus’, 107; Julien Ries, ‘Dieux cosmiques et Dieu biblique dans la religion de Mani’, in *Collectanea Augustiniana. Mélanges T.J. van Bavel*, ed. Bernard Bruning, M. Lamberigts, and J. van Houtem, Heverlee, Leuven, 1991, 764; Birger A. Pearson, ‘Anti-heretical Warnings in Codex IX from Nag Hammadi’, in *Essays on the Nag Hammadi Texts – in Honour of Pahor Labib* (NHS 6), ed. Martin Krause, Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1975, 147.

<sup>64</sup> Richter, *Exegetisch-literarkritische*, 139–40.

Father in him. This explanation for paradox has appeared several times before and will be repeated in the following section.

The paradox only occurs here because each part of the double statements is true. Without question, the first part of the verse must be taken as true, just as the second part of the verse must also be taken as true. The verse concerning his Father shows this to be so: it is true that he is in his Father; it is also true that his Father is in him. The other verses must be interpreted similarly.

Richter supports this view, and suggests that the seeming paradox results from a concept of two natures of Jesus. Although he uses the text of *PsB* 196.20–26 to provide the explanation for the paradox,<sup>65</sup> a text which I have rejected in an earlier section because of uncertainty about the detail of this change of appearance at death for Jesus the Apostle, nevertheless the idea of the **ⲥⲭⲏⲙⲁ** in other passages does support the view of two natures. Richter characterizes the schema as a kind of bridge that allows the suffering, even while it keeps the divine untouched.<sup>66</sup> Thus Jesus's suffering could be understood because he has a human **ⲥⲭⲏⲙⲁ**, and his not suffering could be understood because he is an untouchable god.<sup>67</sup>

Richter further supports the concept of two natures by investigating passages similar to *PsB* 191.4–8 in the Nag Hammadi writings,<sup>68</sup> and by citing the earlier work of Tröger and Voorgang, who both suggest that the two-nature concept or schema is found much more frequently than docetism, if docetism can be said to occur at all.<sup>69</sup> Voorgang denies that the psalm is docetic, since in docetism, the suffering and death would devolve onto one of the various persons constituting the saviour. In a two-nature concept, the saviour is differentiated only in an intrapersonal way – thus the suffering and death happens to one component of a single saviour.<sup>70</sup> Although in his 1996 work on the Psalms of Herakleides, Richter once again deals with this passage along with other non-docetic-sounding Manichaean texts, and concludes that all the texts presuppose that Jesus suffered during his passion,<sup>71</sup> he does not rule out a docetic tendency altogether; rather he suggests docetism operates here only in the widest sense, as defined by Norbert Brox. For Brox, docetism, in the widest sense, occurs in a Christology in which Jesus is other than he appears to be. He appears to be human (with bodily birth, life, body, and violent bodily death), but is a being of another (spiritual, totally 'other')

<sup>65</sup> Richter, 'Christology in the Coptic Manichaean Sources', 125–6.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, 126.

<sup>67</sup> Richter, *Evangelisch-literarkritische*, 270, n. 204.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, 137–8. In summing up his findings about Manichaean Christology partly based on his study of Her VI, and comparison to Nag Hammadi texts, Richter (*ibid.*, 277) recognizes an influence on Manichaeism from a type of Syrian Egyptian gnosis in its Christian impression.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, 270. Richter (*ibid.*, 267, n. 190 and 191) uses Karl-Wolfgang Tröger, 'Doketistische Christologie in Nag-Hammadi-Texten', *Kairos*, 19 (1977): 47 and Dietrich Voorgang, *Die Passion Jesu und Christi in der Gnosis*, NHMS 33, E.J. Brill, Leiden, 1991, 243. See also Richter, 'Christology in the Coptic Manichaean Sources', 127.

<sup>70</sup> Voorgang, *Die Passion Jesu*, 252.

<sup>71</sup> Richter, 'Christology in the Coptic Manichaean Sources', 120–22. The four texts are *PsB* 142.12–16; *Hom.* 68.24–9; *Keph.* 267.23–7; *PsB* 193.13–197.8.

type that is not adversely affected by contact or 'clothing' with bodiliness.<sup>72</sup> Richter sums up what might be understood from the antitheses: (1) the suffering of the saviour is real, although his nature is godly and unable to suffer; (2) the appearance or *σχημα* which he wears enables the suffering, but is different to the type of outer covering for a nature born in flesh. Accordingly, a human birth is rejected and the godly purity completely preserved; and (3) nevertheless, the possibility still exists of speaking about a humanity in the limited or restricted sense of the specific humanity of Jesus the Apostle of Light.<sup>73</sup>

4. *The Son of Man who suffers: the Son of God who enters parinirvāṇa*

Richter's interpretation of the previous passage is supported by the Parthian Crucifixion Hymn, which offers information about what really happens.<sup>74</sup> As already noted above, this hymn depicts the passion as a struggle between Jesus and the demons of wrath, the Lord of evil doctrine, and the twelve thrones above, with their agents the Jews and Iscariot (22–23). While the passion is a means to salvation and a triumph for Jesus the Apostle in this sense, it is not possible to disregard the very real suffering described of him. He is tortured with deadly pain and torment (44–45), a cup of death is prepared (14, see also 81 which appears to be an allusion to the prayer in Gethsemane 'let this cup pass from me'), poison is poured out (but apparently upon creation below, the Sons; 12–14), and heaven and earth are wounded (80). However, the Jesus who struggles and suffers is titled the Son of Man (7–8). His death is his entry into parinirvāṇa as Son of God (4–5), apparently the means by which salvation comes for souls (2) and the way opened for those followers of his who will also be killed or crucified (77–79). This seems to reiterate a teaching about two natures for Jesus the Apostle, that lies beneath the understanding of his suffering, passion and death.

While he does not make exactly the same point, I think Richter means something similar when he notes the end of *PsB* 193.13–197.8 where 197.1 and 7 address Jesus directly as God:

... me in thee, my Saviour, my God.

...

Glory to thee, my God, and thy Father on high.

Richter makes the point that by naming Jesus as God rather than Son of God, the psalmist emphasizes the unity of Jesus with the Father.<sup>75</sup> After the passion, Jesus the Apostle, who pre-exists as the *Nous*, exists as a God in the kingdom of Light. Of course this also strengthens the point that a very close

<sup>72</sup> Richter, 'Christology in the Coptic Manichæan Sources', 122–3. Norbert Brox, 'Doketismus - eine Problemanzeige', *ZKG*, 95 (1984): 309, quoted in Richter, *Exegetisch-literarkritische*, 272.

<sup>73</sup> Richter, *Exegetisch-literarkritische*, 272.

<sup>74</sup> Morano, 'My Kingdom is not of this World', 134–6.

<sup>75</sup> Richter, *Exegetisch-literarkritische*, 275.

link, if not equivalence, exists between Jesus the Apostle and Jesus the Splendour.

5. *Otherness that suffers 2: Jesus the Apostle and those who precede and follow him*

I have already dealt briefly with the issue of the similarity between Jesus the Apostle and other apostles/electi/electai who suffer like him. The idea is taken up in *PsB* 142.10–11, 16:

All the blessed that have been have endured these pains,  
down to the glorious one, the Beloved, Jesus, our Lord.

...

All these things which he suffered he endured for our sake.

This passage occurs in the context of recounting the tortures of the various apostles from Adam down to Mani. Such emphasis on his suffering would strengthen the solidarity of the community in its suffering (cf. *PsB* 143.20–31). It certainly states that the suffering is for their sake.

*Hom.* 14.17–31, too, refers to the sufferings of ‘all apostles’ from Adam until the present, with their churches in each generation, abused, crucified and beaten in every city, their blood poured out on the ground, animals eating their flesh, though it does not specifically name Jesus as one of these. Her VI also describes the solidarity of Jesus with others in his suffering. Those who respond to Jesus’s ‘cry’ leave all for him and take up the missionary effort, taking their cross upon them (*PsB* 195.8), enduring all kinds of hardship and persecution for this, though they are given paradise in the end (194.30–195.22). The Parthian hymn M 4570 R ii 1–24 too, within the context of the details of Jesus’s crucifixion, speaks of those who follow Jesus and are tortured and killed.<sup>76</sup>

6. *The argument from the Augustinian sources*

As might be expected, the argument about the interpretation of the suffering of Jesus the Apostle finds its most prolonged exposé in the disputes between various Manichaeans and Augustine. The focus of the Manichaean argument about the possible suffering and death of Jesus the Apostle starts from an understanding of the incarnation, and I have already dealt with that from the Augustinian sources, to some extent, in the first section of this chapter.

Felix says that the reason for Christ’s coming into the world is to deliver us from the snare of death, that is, what is contrary, or comes from what is contrary, to God. Interestingly, Felix’s argument seems tied to the belief that God can actually be hurt, as Felix asks why God would send his son if nothing could be hurtful to God (c. *Fel.* II, IX, 541). If Felix thinks that God can be hurt, then there should be no problem that God’s son could suffer

<sup>76</sup> Sundermann (ed.), *Mitteliranische manichäische Texte*, 77.

also. For Felix, the problem seems to be not so much that Christ has been crucified but why this should have happened (*c. Fel.* II, X, 542).

Faustus's argument moves from Jesus's birth and possible suffering to Jesus's possible death:

Christ, you say, could not have died, had He not been born. I reply, If He was born, He cannot have been God; or if He could both be God and be born, why could He not both be born and die? . . . for He might have suffered without having been born, or He might have been born, and yet never have suffered; for you yourselves acknowledge that with God nothing is impossible, which is inconsistent with the denial that Christ could have suffered without having been born. (*c. Faust.* XXVIII, 1)

In *c. Faust.* V, 5, and XIV, 12 Augustine accuses Faustus of saying that Christ feigned his death, yet he also writes in XX, 11: 'If this is the case, and you allow that Christ suffered under Pontius Pilate, though it is difficult to see how he could have suffered without flesh, as you say he did . . .'

According to Augustine, Faustus argues in XXVI, 1–2 that it is possible for Jesus to die even if he were not man, just as it was possible for Elias not to die, even if he were a man. At the conclusion of the long argument, Faustus says: 'As regards our own belief, it is no more true that Jesus died than that Elias is immortal.' Later in XXIX, 1 he says, 'In fine, we hold that He suffered in appearance, and did not really die . . .'

Yet in an earlier passage, XIV, 1, this seems not to be his intention at all. Within the context of discussing Moses's curse of anyone who hangs on a tree, Faustus states that Christ the Son of God hung on a tree for our salvation, that he was injured, and that Peter and Andrew also died in this way.

The key to the paradox in Faustus is once again the concept of two natures in Jesus the Apostle, and this becomes clear in XXXII, 7, where he states that the Manichaeans believe everything in the gospels,

. . . especially the mystic nailing to the cross, emblematic of the wounds of the soul in its passion; as also the sound moral precepts of Jesus, and His parables, and the whole of His immortal discourse, which sets forth especially the distinction of the two natures, and therefore must undoubtedly be His.

The same idea of two natures occurs in Augustine, *c. Sec.* 575, 4, in which Secundinus outlines the events of the passion – the cross, crowning with thorns, giving of vinegar to drink, piercing his side with a lance, and the blasphemy from the one crucified on the left – but then attests at the same time that, if the Saviour had been carnal, all hope would have been cut off in his race. The events seem real enough, but perhaps he means that the Saviour is not carnal; he is more than that.

Looking further at the disputations between Augustine and Fortunatus, Fortunatus puts forward the same idea. In *c. Fort. Disput.* I, 7, he says that Manichaeans are of the same mind as Paul as set out in Phil 2, and that as a consequence:

We have this mind therefore about ourselves, which we have also about Christ, who when He was constituted in the form of God, was made obedient even unto death that He might show the similitude of our souls. And like as He showed in Himself the similitude of death, and having been raised from the midst of the dead showed that He was from the Father, in the same manner we think it will be with our souls, because through Him we shall have been able to be freed from this death . . .

In summary, perhaps all that can be said is that evidence for a two-nature explanation of the suffering and death of Jesus the Apostle can be found in the Augustinian sources, keeping in mind that sections of text appear to contradict this view. Richter suggests that North African Manichaeism came to a docetic understanding of the suffering and death of Jesus the Apostle, but argues that it is not inherent in early Manichaeism but, rather, a case of the development and movement outwards over time that lies behind different answers to the basic Christological questions.<sup>77</sup>

### 7 Resurrection and appearances, gift of the Holy Spirit, ascension

Both *Keph.* 13.5–6 and 264.13–14 report briefly that Jesus was in the tomb three days, suggesting that he was ‘among the dead’. These seem to imply that he appeared dead at least so as to be placed in a tomb, and being among the dead means, at least in some way, that he went into the abode of the dead. Did he pass through death in order to get there? The Parthian hymn M 18 also gives a brief summary in Jesus’s words from Lk 24:6–7: ‘They will hand me over and crucify me, on the third day I will rise from among the dead.’<sup>78</sup>

*PsB* 196.15–31 goes much further, giving detail about what happens in the abode of the dead, how he destroys its fortifications and means of keeping the dead imprisoned – he opened the closed doors (15), broke the doors and bars (16), shone his Light into the darkness (17–18), and broke the sepulchres and tombs (29). Thus not only can he escape the abode of the dead (20), but he can also revive the righteous (30) and bring these prisoners of death with him as he escapes (21).

Three means are described by which he triumphs in the abode of the dead. First, his Light clearly endures even as he is crucified (17–18), adding further support to the idea of a *cxhma* that suffers but without an inner Light or nature being affected. Second, he summons his armies/his host (19–20), though no more information is provided as to who these are and from whence they come to his aid. Third, he deceives Death by what constitutes him (22–27), as dealt with in the previous section, and Death is grieved and ashamed

<sup>77</sup> Richter, *Exegetisch-literarkritische*, 236.

<sup>78</sup> *HR II*, 35.

(27–28), clearly fundamentally disturbed and weakened (see also, e.g., M 104 R 3–8 for the similar disturbance to Satan and Sammael).<sup>79</sup> On leaving the abode of the dead with the righteous (and his armies presumably), he goes with them to the Father and sits on his right hand among the Living (30–31).

On the question of Jesus's descent into the abode of the dead, Gardner notes the traditional imagery of the descent in M 104, but he also writes that the event had little significance for Manichaeism as a whole, for it has little relevance for Manichaean salvation history.<sup>80</sup> However, without the descent into Hell and victory over death, then the Manichaeans have no means to deal with the necessity of their gaining victory over death and rising with Jesus in the ship of light, which is the cross. While it may not come into Manichaean texts to any great extent, it must nevertheless be considered important in the whole scheme of salvation, at least in the Western tradition.

The resurrection is clearly implied in the escape of Jesus from the abode of the dead and his sitting among the living with the Father in *PsB* 196.20, 31. *Keph.* 13.6 states directly that, after three days in the tomb, he arose from among the dead. While the latter is one of the few passages to refer directly to his rising, passages which deal with his appearance, or the message of the angels at the empty tomb, must imply the resurrection or even refer to it outright (e.g. M 3511, 3–4).<sup>81</sup>

Generally, the appearance of angels at the empty tomb to the women, or to Mary Magdalene specifically, as recorded in the canonical sources, is covered in Manichaean texts, although a brief mention of an appearance to the disciples occurs in *Keph.* 13.6–7 ('he came towards his disciples, and was visible to them'), an appearance to Peter occurs in the Parthian M 6281, 6–11,<sup>82</sup> and possibly Peter and John are implied in M 2753 V 2–6.<sup>83</sup> Passages either name or imply the presence of the women disciples to whom the angels speak (M 3511, 4 and M 2753 R 3).<sup>84</sup>

An appearance to Mary Magdalene is described in M 7200–1 V 5, although the text is very damaged.<sup>85</sup> Much more detail comes from *PsB* 187.2–37, which relies heavily on Jn 20:11–18, though with its own Manichaean adaptations.<sup>86</sup> The canonical warning not to touch Jesus (2–6) is expanded to include the command to know Jesus:

Mariam, Mariam, know me: do not  
[touch me].  
[Stem] the tears of thy eyes and know me that I am thy

<sup>79</sup> MM III, 881–2.

<sup>80</sup> Gardner, 'Manichaean Christology', 245–6, and Gardner (ed.), *Coptic Theological Papyri II*, 76.

<sup>81</sup> Sundermann, 'Christliche Evangelientexte', 401.

<sup>82</sup> Morano, 'Survey', 408–9.

<sup>83</sup> Sundermann, 'Christliche Evangelientexte', 402–3.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, 401–2.

<sup>85</sup> There are words about a grave and a body, 'Mary and I' turning to every side and something hidden, something about brothers and the stone. Morano, 'Survey', 414–15.

<sup>86</sup> Richter (*Exegetisch-literarkritische*, 55–6) notes the parallels in detail.

master. Only touch me not, for I have not yet seen the face of my Father.<sup>87</sup>

Significant among what is said to Mary as a comfort in her grieving is vv. 7–8, a shorthand for the previously presented longer description of the descent into Hell/the abode of the dead:

Thy God was not stolen away, according to the thoughts of thy littleness: thy God did not die, rather he mastered death.

The Parthian hymn M 18 R 8–15 and V 2–12 includes four women in conversation with the angels at the empty tomb – Mary, Salome and Arsenoe, with Mary Magdalene – and is influenced by the canonical account of Lk 24:1–12.<sup>88</sup> In V 4–5, the command, ‘Seek not the Living One among the dead’ (cf. Lk 24:5), is strongly reminiscent of the themes of *PsB* 196.15–31 above.

The Parthian hymn M 6281, 5–9 uses an interesting play on stone imagery (for the stone that blocks the tomb; for Cephaz [‘the Rock’]) in reporting Mary’s (Mariam’s) word to Peter concerning the resurrection:

a stony place in the world and all will become stony  
the stony place (was) the son of the fathers (?) Simon Cephaz when  
he heard that word from Mariam remembered  
his Lord’s speech and with joy ran to  
Jesus...<sup>89</sup>

As far as the resurrection accounts *per se* are concerned, the Manichaean texts follow the canonical traditions closely, especially when describing the women at the tomb who speak with angels about what has happened in accordance with what has been foretold, and in the command to the women to take the word of the resurrection to the male disciples.

When it comes to the post-resurrection appearances, *Keph.* 13.7–10 displays the canonical tradition about the gift of the Holy Spirit and the missioning of the disciples to the world:

He laid upon them (i.e. his disciples) a power. He breathed into them his Holy Spirit. [He sen]t them out through the whole world, that they would preach [the grea]tness.

Post-resurrection revelation, similar to that found in other Gnostic texts

<sup>87</sup> Several scholars note the importance of the relationship between Mary and Jesus here: Gardner, ‘Manichaean Christology’, 248–9, as well as in M 18, *ibid.*, 248–9, together with the downplaying of Peter’s role of tending the sheep; Siegfried Richter, ‘Untersuchungen zu Form und Inhalt einer Gruppe der Herakleides-Psalmen’, in *Studia Manichaica. II. Internationaler Kongress zum Manichäismus, 6–10. August, St. Augustin/Bonn*, ed. Gernot Wießner and Hans-Joachim Klimkeit, Otto Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 1992, 258–9, and Richter, *Evangelisch-literarkritische*, 56.

<sup>88</sup> *HR* II, 34–5.

<sup>89</sup> Morano, ‘Survey’, 408–9.

from Nag Hammadi, occurs in *PsB* 190.30–31. The setting is the Mount of Olives, where Jesus reveals the glory and wonders of his passion. At first glance, it might be thought to represent the beginning of the passion story in the garden (this appears rather in *PsB* 129.18–21); however, it seems to me that the scene for the revelation of the glory/wonders is about to be given in the form of the ‘litany of paradox’ in *PsB* 191.4–11, and thus the timing must be the interval between the (canonically termed) resurrection and ascension, when further revelation is given.

Resurrection and ascension, as found in canonical Christian sources, are not always delineated in the Manichaean texts. *Keph.* 13.10, however, clearly places Jesus’s ascent to the heights after his post-resurrection appearances to the disciples. Those texts which speak of his ascension/resurrection as a *parinirvāṇa* are dealt with in the following section.

### 8 Conclusion of contact with the world

Certain Eastern Manichaean texts describe the resurrection as the *parinirvāṇa* of Jesus, clearly under the influence of traditions about the *parinirvāṇa* of the Buddha. Thus the Parthian hymn M 104 R 18-V 22, ‘Awake, brethren, you chosen ones, on this day of the salvation of souls, the fourteenth (day) of the month of Mihr, on which Jesus, the Son of God, entered *parinirvāṇa*!’, indicates an understanding of the resurrection as the ultimate moment of Jesus’s leaving the world.<sup>90</sup>

Rouwhorst notes that ‘*parinirvāṇa*’ is normally used for death and is mostly concerned with a type of ascension to heaven.<sup>91</sup> Because Rouwhorst wants to link M 104 with Mani’s Bema festival commemoration of Jesus’s entry into *parinirvāṇa*, held at the time of the Quartodeciman celebration of Easter (i.e. Easter celebrated upon the Passover, at the time of the full moon), he suggests that the hymn emphasizes more Jesus’s ascent to heaven than his resurrection.<sup>92</sup> However, this puts the emphasis in the wrong place. Jesus’s *parinirvāṇa* at the time of the Passover links it to the Johannine Christian canonical tradition of his death and resurrection rather than his ascension, as understood from the canonical tradition. Rouwhorst also assumes that the Manichaeans would want deliberately to delineate resurrection and ascension, which I find debatable.

M 5569 R 1–21, which discusses Mani’s entrance into *parinirvāṇa*, can give some idea of how this event might have been understood for Jesus the Apostle:

And in great joy he flew up, together with the bright gods that accompanied him on the right and the left, to the sound of harps and

<sup>90</sup> MM III, 882; *SR*, 71.

<sup>91</sup> G.A.M. Rouwhorst, ‘Das manichäische Bemafest und das Passafest der syrischen Christen’, *VigChr*, 35 (1981): 408, n. 25.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*, 398, 400–401, 404 and 408, n. 24.

songs of joy, in divine miraculous power, like a swift (bolt of) lightning and a bright, quick apparition, to the Column of Glory, the path of Light, and the chariot of the Moon, the meeting place of the gods. And he stayed there with the god Ohrmizd, the Father. He left behind the whole flock of the righteous (the Manichaean community), orphaned and sad, for 'the master of the house' had entered parinirvāṇa.<sup>93</sup>

Mani rises up and stays with the god Ohrmizd (the Primal Man), in the moon. That the moon is either the final resting place of Mani, or a place in which he waits a considerable time, can be found at the conclusion of a similar account in M 5 V II 91–100: 'The Noble Lord (= Mani) fulfilled the promise which he gave us (when he said): "For your sake I will wait above in the water chariot (= the moon); I will send you help at all times."<sup>94</sup> The moon is also the residence of Jesus the Splendour. If Jesus the Apostle also rises to the moon as he experiences parinirvāṇa, it might also be understood as his return to his former place of residence, since I have suggested above that Jesus the Apostle and Jesus the Splendour are identical.

M 5 provides another clue to the process of shedding the body and revealing the inner nature of Light during the process of parinirvāṇa. Here the description is in relation to Mani's parinirvāṇa, but the disturbance of the heavens and the earth, and the words of parting/blessing to followers, sound somewhat similar to the descriptions of ascension of Jesus the Apostle:

[W]hen he stood in prayer, he cast off the base garment of the body. (Then), shining, like a flash of lightning, he ascended. The chariot shone brighter than the light of the Sun, and the angels answered, saying, 'Hail' to the righteous God. The house of the heavens burst (out) and fell down, the earth trembled, a mighty voice was heard and men who saw these signs were perplexed and fell on their faces. It was an hour of grief and a day of sorrow when the Messenger of Light entered parinirvāṇa. He left behind him the leaders that tend the community, and he bade farewell to the whole great flock. (V I 61–90)<sup>95</sup>

The Parthian parable of the farmer, M 6005, presents the conclusion of Jesus the Apostle's contact with the world as a gathering of the harvest:

He gathers in that wheat, and he takes (it) to the vessel from which it had come. And he goes to his house from which he had come, for he has accomplished the task for which he had come, and (because) he has reaped and gathered in what he had come for, and because that which is stored in his vessel . . .

<sup>93</sup> MM III, 860 61; SR. 215.

<sup>94</sup> MM III, 864; SR. 86.

<sup>95</sup> MM III, 864; SR. 86.

While the harvest is gathered, others will come after him, perhaps to sow their own crop and gather a harvest. In the same text, Jesus as the farmer cautions that the followers must be careful of those who will take his name falsely:

Furthermore he said, 'Take heed that no one leads you astray, for many shall come in my name, saying, "We are Jesus's [disciples?], and his time [has come]."' And many [will deceive them].<sup>96</sup>

In *Keph.* 14.3–27, Mani identifies himself as the one to follow Jesus the Apostle, the Saviour, in the role of the Paraclete promised by Jesus. At the conclusion of this passage, the redemption of the church is once more presented as a harvest: 'Yet, when the church assumed the flesh, the season arrived to redeem the souls; like [the mont]h of Parmuthi that cereal shall ripen i[n], to be harvested' (24–27). However, it is unclear whether this is the church of Mani or the church of Jesus the Apostle.

While in Christian canonical sources the resurrection and ascension are not the conclusion of Jesus's contact with the world, since he is said to come again at the end of the world for judgement, I deal with this idea of another coming in the following chapter on Jesus the Judge. I argue for the equivalence of Jesus the Apostle and Jesus the Judge in Interim Summary 1.

## 9 Conclusion

Jesus the Apostle of Light is a heavenly being, son of the Father, whose nature is associated with Light. His major activity is to descend to the world for the purpose of revelation and founding a church, an activity undertaken by assuming a physical form or appearance. As a result of coming into the world, he is confronted by enemies, both cosmic and earthly forces, under whom he appears to suffer and be crucified. Because he combines in himself both a divine and human nature, he suffers and at the same time does not suffer. In the end he is victorious over his enemies, shatters their power on the earth, in the heavens, and in the underworld, liberating others to follow him in his return to the Father and the realm of Light. From this heavenly position, he continues to guide and defend souls at the hour of death.

Apart from the details borrowed from the canonical Christian tradition about the historical Jesus that have been applied to Jesus the Apostle, one gains an overwhelming impression here of the overlap between the activities and titles and attributes of Jesus the Splendour and Jesus the Apostle: both have a divine origin in the Father and a nature that is bound essentially with the Light; their major activity includes descent for revelation, protection of the soul at the hour of death and an intimate connection with living Man-

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<sup>96</sup> Werner Sundermann (ed.), *Mittelpersische und parthische kosmogonische und Parabeltexte der Manichäer. Mit einigen Bemerkungen zu Motiven der Parabeltexte von Friedmar Geissler*, Schriften zur Geschichte und Kultur des Alten Orients (Berliner Turfantexte 4), Akademie Verlag, Berlin, 1973, 107–8; *SR*, 194.

ichaeon believers, and cosmic struggle against the forces of Darkness. I will pursue the link between these two figures further in Interim Summary I.

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## *Jesus the Judge*

Jesus the Judge is the third in the chronological series of the Jesus figures who descend from the realm of Light: Jesus the Splendour who comes to Adam and Eve; Jesus the Apostle who comes to form a church and to save the righteous; and Jesus the Judge who comes to make a judgement between the righteous and sinners at the end of the world. To this series of three I could also add the Jesus who comes to Mani as Twin, although I have not designated this figure separately in my deliberations. The activity of the first three is clear – or perhaps better said, the three descents and activities of Jesus in these three guises are clear – and the identification of one Jesus under these three guises will be discussed in some depth in the following Interim Summary I. Thus I should reiterate here that naming three figures, since three characters appear in the texts in these situations, does not necessarily mean they are three distinct characters in reality.

Jesus the Judge might not be the only judging figure within Manichaean texts. In *Keph.* 117.22–31, within a list of seven characters, the third character is a just judge who comes to preside over the judgement of the righteous and sinners. This judge originates before sin multiplies and makes a kingdom in the flesh, before the separation of acquitted and condemned (22–23). A throne is created for the judge and placed in the living atmosphere (25). Immediately following this description, a parallel passage speaks of the Christ, the fourth character, who comes prior to the display of the error and offence of the sects in the universe, in order to render their error harmless (28–31). While some connect these two characters, it is not clear from the passage that the same figure is described.<sup>1</sup> Are these two judges and are there two stages of judgement, or is just one judge the saviour in two guises, who instigates two stages of judgement?

More than two judges might exist. *PsB* 83.1–14, for example, greets a righteous judge, ‘son of Christ’, a saviour, to whose cross something has been nailed. The reference to a cross and the use of the title ‘saviour’ seem to imply Jesus the Apostle, and yet, the title, ‘son of Christ’, seems strange in this case. I have already discussed briefly in the preceding chapter that Jesus the Splendour is said to be the origin of all those apostles who are sent, including Jesus the Apostle, and in this sense, he is the father of Jesus the Apostle. So possibly, this judge might be Jesus the Apostle, or the third appearance of Jesus: Jesus the Judge.

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<sup>1</sup> See, e.g., for the connection, Michel Tardieu, ‘Gnose et manichéisme’, *AEPHE.R. Vème section*, 90 (1981 82): 332–3 and Villey (ed.), *Psaumes des errants*, 324–5.

*Hom.* 32.20–33.7 prophesies the coming of a great king, in a time that Mani has foreseen. Baumstark identifies the expression ‘the great king’ as a reference to the eschatological Jesus.<sup>2</sup> Koenen first distinguishes between the two, suggesting that the passage presents the community’s expectation of a coming of the great king as a ‘forerunner of Jesus the Splendour’, thus also equating Jesus the Splendour and Jesus the Judge.<sup>3</sup> However, Koenen eventually argues that both figures are identical.<sup>4</sup> If the great king is the same as the third character mentioned above, as a judge who comes before Jesus, how he can come before sin multiplies is not clear, if the time after his coming represents the idyllic time for the church.

Whatever the answer to the question about the number of the judges and their identification, clearly, judging activity is attributed to a Jesus figure. If two or more discrete characters are judges, then clear differentiation of the characters is not always possible in passages that refer simply to a judge, and this chapter is concerned only with passages which, to some degree, clearly identify the judge as Jesus.

### 1 Jesus the judge at the endtime

Despite the possible confusion and lack of clarity about the characters, clearly the Manichaeans believed in a coming of Jesus at the endtime, when all flesh passes away, at the ‘day of Jesus’,<sup>5</sup> the phrase appearing to refer to the coming of Jesus after a period of peace and power for the Manichaean community following the Great War (*Hom.* 27.2–4; 28.14–16; 29.12–15). It is a ‘second coming’ or parousia in the conventional Christian understanding, although speaking of one Jesus character in many guises must include the coming of the judge actually as a third coming from the point of view of the Manichaean community – following the coming of Jesus the Splendour and Jesus the Apostle. Notably, Christianity’s description of the return of the historical Jesus in his parousia does not present this as the advent of another character, but rather as the advent of the same (although changed by the resurrection) character.

Signs of this return of Jesus are enumerated in the Persian hymn S 9 R ii 33f, which Boyce entitles ‘A hymn concerning the Second Coming of Jesus’.<sup>6</sup> The Lord and Friend, Son of the most Beloved, great Redeemer and Teacher is asked to speak of the time of his coming and the signs of his appearing at the end (1–2). The question is prompted by persecution of the community by

<sup>2</sup> Anton Baumstark, ‘H.J. Polotsky, Manichäische Homilien, Stuttgart 1934’, *OrChr*, 10, 3rd series (1935): 262.

<sup>3</sup> Koenen, ‘Manichaean Apocalypticism’, 297–8. Iain M.F. Gardner (‘The Eschatology of Manichaeism as a Coherent Doctrine’, *JRH*, 17.3 [1993]: 268) follows Koenen.

<sup>4</sup> Koenen, ‘Manichaean Apocalypticism’, 313–14.

<sup>5</sup> The parallels to the Old Testament ‘Day of the Lord’/‘Day of Yahweh’ (e.g. Amos 5:18–20; Is 13:9–10; Joel 2:1–2) and the New Testament ‘Day of the Son of Man’/‘Day of Jesus Christ’ (e.g. Lk 17:24, 30; 1 Cor 1:8; 2 Cor 1:14; Phil 1:6,10) are obvious.

<sup>6</sup> Boyce, *Reader*, 101–2; *SR*, 39–40.

the 'irate potentate' (2–3). The questioner, perhaps a soul or the Living Spirit according to Boyce,<sup>7</sup> is eager to know what reward exists for those who are currently persecuted, and is eager for some reassurance that the sinners, who now exalt themselves, will be subjugated (3). The Son of the Most Beloved answers with a prophecy about an endtime, in which the sinners will be vanquished, persecuted themselves and forced to do penance, while the 'Family of Peace' will be rewarded with prosperity and protection, and will laugh where they now weep (4). Moreover, the false teaching currently operating will be taken over by the righteous religion (4). Finally, the questioner is told to lament and give honour and praise because the time is close when persecution will be rewarded by eternal life (5).

The false teachings are only mentioned in passing here, but another passage from TM 180 R 5–11 details a picture of the perpetrator of the false teaching.

His law and his nature are strife. The sign and the mount of that son of a demon will be a bull. There are no tricks and no kinds of magic in this world which he does not know. By the power of Simnu (the Devil) he will be able to do everything.<sup>8</sup>

Having infiltrated the community, he claims to be the Buddha Maitreya, the true Son of God, and appeals with this message to false elect, whom he commands to worship him. However, he is really the son of a demon and a false Maitreya (R 11-V 16).<sup>9</sup> Perhaps the writer wants to offer some excuse for the community's belief in the false teacher, since the passage notes that the community has waited such a long time for the coming of the Son of God, the Buddha Maitreya.

The most extensive treatment of the endtime and the coming, however, comes from the *Shābuhragān*, beginning with the preaching of the false prophets and the way the righteous are led astray into the path of evil deeds, followed by the announcement of the great sign that will appear not only on the earth but also in the heavens, portending the coming of the god *Xradeshahr*, previously identified as Jesus the Splendour in Chapter 3, but here performing the activity of Jesus the Judge. This is the god who first gave wisdom and knowledge to the first human being, and who, from time to time, gave the same to humankind. He appears again in the last age before the renewal, coming with all the gods and the righteous (M 519 I [vv. 1–3 and 25–27], and M 473 I [vv. 4–24]).<sup>10</sup> A great call goes out into the world. All the gods of various houses, villages and tribes bless him, all the rulers of the world pay him homage, and the lustful and tyrannous men repent. Then he sends out messengers who bring everyone, righteous (elect and auditors), and

<sup>7</sup> Boyce, *Reader*, 101.

<sup>8</sup> *Türk. Man. II*, 454: SR, 327.

<sup>9</sup> *Türk. Man. II*, 454–5.

<sup>10</sup> MacKenzie, 'Mani's *Šābuhragān*', 505. Verses are from MacKenzie's continual numbering through the reconstructed text of the assembled hymns.

evil, before him to pay him homage (M 473 I [vv. 28–48]).<sup>11</sup> At this stage the righteous may point out those who have harmed them, and then they receive bliss at the right hand of Xradeshahr (M 475 a I [vv. 49–63]).<sup>12</sup> In this sense, while the scene owes much to Matt 25:31–46, it emphasizes and extends the legal process, with condemnation from those who have been harmed, not just punishment meted out by the judge for good or evil deeds, or for omission to do good.<sup>13</sup> For the evildoers, who are set on his left hand:

You shall not have a complete resurrection, nor shall you become wholly bright, for [that] sin that you have committed and that suffering caused by deceit which you have brought about, that you [have done] to the Son of Man (M 475 a I [vv. 67–71]).<sup>14</sup>

For those, presumably the auditors, who have helped the righteous/religious (elect), there follows the conversation from the Gospel of Matthew about Jesus being naked and hungry, ill, bound, and captive, and a service done to the elect being a service done to Jesus. Their reward is paradise (M 475 a I and M 477 I [vv. 73–99]).<sup>15</sup> The second part of Matthew's scene follows for the evildoers on the left, who are eventually seized and cast into Hell by angels (M 477 I [vv. 100–129]).<sup>16</sup> Following the judgement, Xradeshahr sets the world in order in a new creation in which time comes to an end, pain and sorrow and distress disappear, mild rain falls, and trees, grass, fruits and plants grow. In the world, contentment reigns, and humankind listens to 'the religion'. This is the Renewal, and at this time, Xradeshahr ascends to his own place (M 477 I, M 482 I and M 477 b [vv. 121–164]).<sup>17</sup>

No cosmic enemies appear to threaten the judge who, as the powerful king, comes to judge both gods and worlds of humans. Those who are friends or enemies must be counted among those he judges: that is, the righteous and the sinners. Again descent and activity are characterized by dualism – of the light and darkness, of sinners and righteous. The idea of a compassionate Jesus the Judge, who suffers as the righteous/religious suffer, is also found elsewhere in H. 131, where Jesus is referred to as the compassionate Thought, the truth, and the judging King of Righteousness.

*Hom.* 35–39 contains similar material. Here the Judge of Truth,<sup>18</sup> the King of the Virgins, comes to make righteous his church and to judge the clans. The trumpets of truth sound, the drum is beaten, and its sound is heard in each world; the worlds, all peoples and all tongues, and all the gods, assemble before him like sheep before the shepherd and worship him. His Bema is set

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 505–6.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 506–7.

<sup>13</sup> Koenen ('Manichaean Apocalypticism', 301–2) also notes an influence from Daniel and the apocalypses of I Enoch 46, Elias and IV Esdras.

<sup>14</sup> MacKenzie, 'Mani's Säbuhragän', 506–7; *SR*, 243.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 506–9.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 508–9.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, 508–11.

<sup>18</sup> Baumstark ('H.J. Polotsky, Manichäische Homilien', 262) calls attention to the 'King of the Lights' title in 39.9, identifying the judge as Jesus.

up amidst this gathering and he dispenses judgement. At this stage, the great Splendour, that is, Jesus the Splendour, the King of Kings, opens his mouth. Each one understands his judgement – from every land and every tongue. Four clans are before him. Then he judges between those sheep on his right – the elect and the catechumens – who go to the Land/Kingdom of Light/Life, and those rams on his left – the cursed ones, who, for a moment, think that they will receive the same reward as those on the right, but are ordered into the fire, for they did not help him when he hungered and thirsted. The text is damaged, but clearly repeats the Matthean judgement scene as does the *Shābuhragān*.

Other passages can be associated with this theme of the return of Jesus the Splendour or Jesus the Apostle at an endpoint, but they do not always include a clear judging action, although final cleansing and forgiveness can take place, along with the gift of victory. Eastern texts, for example, speak of the coming of Jesus as the Buddha Maitreya. T II Y 55, T II Y 63d, and T II Y 59e speak of the Maitreya Buddha, as ‘our refuge and hope, our all merciful father, god of gods’ (ll. 46–47),<sup>19</sup> the one who comes down to this world at a time when believers are completely cleansed and forgiven (after begging forgiveness) of all that remains to be cleansed. The Buddha Maitreya gives the blessing or seal for Buddha-Nature, along with a throne and victory, and freedom from the last vestiges of every kind of passion and the last vestiges of sins of every kind, and finally parinirvāṇa – the joys of full rest, eternal, continual, peaceful parinirvāṇa (ll. 48–61). While some scholars debate whether this passage refers to Jesus or perhaps Mani,<sup>20</sup> given that original material intended for Jesus is taken over for the character of Mani subsequently, as discussed in Chapter 2, the original intention here is possibly to describe the coming of Jesus as the Maitreya Buddha.

## 2 The action of judgement

Several passages examined above describe the activity of judging for this figure. Here I want to detail the actual processes of judgement, including examination of those who come before the judge; the separation of the righteous and sinners, usually to right and left of the Bema of the judge; the reward or punishment meted out; and possibly the further purification of the righteous before their reward or final judgement.

Even prior to these activities, the judge might be the object of prayer as the time of death draws near. *Hom.* 53.3–8, although fragmentary, implies that Mani himself prays to the Judge of the worlds, the father of the orphans, and the spouse of mourning widows, as his saviour at the moment of his own death. This passage, appealing to the Judge of the worlds, might or might not

<sup>19</sup> Willi Bang(-Kaup) and Annemarie von Gabain, ‘Türkische Turfan-Texte IV. Ein uigurisches Sündenbekenntnis’, *SPAW (PH)*, 1930: 443. My translation of the German: ‘unsre Zuflucht und Hoffnung, unser allbarmerherziger Vater, der Göttergott.’

<sup>20</sup> See *ibid.*, 441 and *SR*, 325.

refer to Jesus the Judge, although given the context of Mani's death described in terms of an *imitatio Christi*, and based on reports of earlier martyr deaths, calling on Jesus as Judge would be likely.

Two terms for 'judge' are used – **ΚΡΙΤΗΣ** and **ΔΙΚΑΣΤΗΣ**. The latter is used for effect in *PsB* 45.25–27, where the link is made between the judge and the justice (**ΔΙΚΑΙΟΣΤΗΗ**) he metes out. The character of Jesus the Judge has the attributes that one would expect in a just judge (if indeed the judge of *Keph.* 117.22–31, which describes the origin of a just judge to preside over the judgement of the righteous and sinners, refers to Jesus) – first and foremost, impartiality. *PsB* 7.22–24 describes the Bema of Christ, in which there is no respect of persons. Moreover, he is a judge who knows what is in the hearts of those who come to judgement: *PsB* 12.5–7, 13–18 exhorts believers to glorify the Lord of their life who is the judge, Jesus the king on high who sits on the Bema, knowing what believers have thought and said and done, by day or by night, and to implore him to forgive their sins.

As noted above, H. 131–134 lists several attributes of Jesus the Judge: he is Yen-mo (= Leader),<sup>21</sup> the good consideration (H. 131), the compassionate Thought (H. 132), the Truth, the judging King of justice (H. 133). Waldschmidt and Lentz note the use of the term 'King of justice' for Jesus in H. 152, a term they state refers to a figure who appears at the time of death to judge the soul or accompany it to the realm of Light (H. 99, 255, and 394). It is also connected to death in TracPell. T. 85 b 29-c 20 (/P. 584). They also compare this term to a similar one in the Iranian texts M 10 and T II D 178, 'bogrōshtēgor', which can mean 'God who makes justice'.<sup>22</sup> T II D 173a R 3–18 adds a number of features about the nature and appearance of the King who must come after the persecution of the community: he is a gracious Father, a beneficent King; his image is eternally merciful, beautiful, spotless, and bright; his countenance is loving, radiant, living; and he is a gracious, royal God, with an eternally perfect, sinless nature.<sup>23</sup>

Other passages refer to a judge who might or might not be Jesus, as discussed above, although some treat these figures as Jesus. These passages give similar descriptions: he is judge of truth who does not favour anyone (*Keph.* 288.15–18); he is the judge of truth who deals with the soul after it leaves the body (*Hom.* 6.27); he does not gaze at those to be judged with an evil glance, not even the sinner (*PsB* 104.27–32); and he is the judge with a face full of joy (*PsB* 100.27). The details of the process of judgement and separation occur in a number of passages. T II D 178 6–12 describes the Just Judge who appears as in a mirror, seizes the impure soul, and then proceeds to weigh that soul. When the scales dip, the sinful deeds of the soul are heard.<sup>24</sup> *Keph.* 16.14–17 describes the simple separation to right and left of the church and sinners (?), while *Keph. II* 344.8–26 describes the separation of the old and the new man within the believer. When the soul comes out of the body and is judged, it is given its reward for good works and receives victory and the

<sup>21</sup> Schmidt-Glintzer, *Chinesische Manichaica*, 176.

<sup>22</sup> WL I, 12–13.

<sup>23</sup> *Türk. Man. I*, 10–11; SR, 347.

<sup>24</sup> *Türk. Man. II*, 461; SR, 292. WL I, 63–4, identify this judge with Jesus.

appearance/form of its saviour. At the same time, as the new man (i.e. the soul) comes out of the body, the old man comes out as well. It is judged and then given over to be chained.

According to the account of Felix's dispute with Augustine (*c. Fel.* II, II, 536–537), this view of separation is based in two scriptural passages – Matt 13:27–28 and Matt 25:31–41:<sup>25</sup> first, the teaching about good and bad trees, which Mani reiterates frequently; and, second, the coming of Christ at the end of time to sit on the throne and judge the nations, separating them as a shepherd separates sheep and goats. Those who represent the goats are those who have carried the name of Christ, but have not done his works – they are sent to eternal fire with the devil and his angels. They are the enemies of God.

When finally saved, the soul receives succour, joy and rest as a reward (e.g. *PsB* 92.24–26), as well as wisdom (e.g. *PsB* 111.19–20). *PsB* 100.27–31 describes the judge as purifying the believer prior to setting him/her on the path towards Truth:

He will appear unto thee, even the Judge, with a face full of joy; he will wash thee also and purify thee with his pleasant dews. He will set thy foot on the path of Truth and furnish thee with thy wings of Light, like an eagle hovering, ascending out of his air.<sup>26</sup>

In the Eastern texts, the soul's leaving of the world is linked with the rewards for perfection. H. 393–397 describes the day of judgement when human beings will leave their abominable bodies of flesh. The ship of precious stones stands ready, the Buddhas, saints, and the wise all gather about, and the good deeds shine out. The person is taken before the King of Righteousness, who seems to be judge (?) and giver of rewards, and the person is adorned with a flower crown, neckchains of precious stones, and many sorts of wonderful clothes and pieces of jewellery. He leaves that place where the King lives and enters into the land Lu-she-nas. The rewards sometimes also include a concept of cleansing. In H. 29–32, the believer prays to Jesus Buddha for forgiveness of sins in the midst of suffering in the poisonous fiery sea, for the gift of the 'water of emancipation' as well as crowns and clothes, for purification of his/her nature and adornment of the body, and for a 'heart and nature always bright and pure'.<sup>27</sup> TracPell. T.86 a15 (*P.*588), too, speaks of adornment with crowns or diadems and wonderful garments so that the believer attains perfection.

Finally, very strong connections are made between the Bema and Jesus, such that the Bema is addressed as an entity that is waiting for Christ, who will judge sinners through the Bema (*PsB* 26.15–16). The Bema is said to be glorious and blessed in *PsB* 25.24–26, reigning until the end of the world, until Jesus comes to sit on it and judge the nations. In both these cases, the

<sup>25</sup> See also Augustine, *c. Sec.* 576. 5.

<sup>26</sup> Similar action of washing takes place in *PsB* 79.29 (with waters full of grace) and *PsB* 103.34 5 (with the dews of the Column of Glory), but who the saviour figure is or which Jesus figure it might be is unclear.

<sup>27</sup> English transl. from BeDuhn. *The Manichean Body*. 110.

waiting appears to be during the time preceding the parousia of Jesus the Apostle. In *PsB* 34.22–24, the Bema must be set up so that Jesus the Judge can sit on it and carry out judgement.

### 3 Associated imagery: bridegroom and king

Apart from the title or name of Buddha Maitreya, already discussed briefly above, the major images or titles used of Jesus the Judge are Bridegroom and King. Possibly, the image of the bridegroom in *PsB* 191.18–192.1, taken with little variation in the main detail from the canonical parable of the wise and foolish virgins (Matt 25:1–13), represents the ‘bridegroom’ judge who comes at the end. Significantly, the parable occurs in the Gospel of Matthew just prior to the judgement scene dealt with above (Matt 25:31–46). I have already used the parable with reference to Jesus the Apostle in Chapter 4, and have spoken of similar imagery there and in Chapter 3 on Jesus the Splendour. This is just one more connection between these three figures, which I deal with in the following Interim Summary 1.

The five wise virgins are ready to greet the Bridegroom–Judge, having brought sufficient oil for their lamps to watch in the night. They go in with the Bridegroom, presumably to the wedding feast. The five foolish virgins are absent, having gone to the market to buy oil, since they have run out. When they return and knock to be let in, he will not open the door for them, saying he does not know them: ‘You received my name, but you did not do my works. Depart far from me, you workers of iniquity’ (*PsB* 191.30–192.1). They clearly represent Christians who have received the name of the Bridegroom, but have not acted according to his commands.

The Bridegroom who judges also appears in *PsB* 154.1–21. It is Jesus the King, the Bridegroom, the Light Nous:

The Bride is the Church, the Bridegroom is the Mind of Light.  
The Bride is the soul, the Bridegroom is Jesus. (5–7)

Once again, the parable of the five wise and five foolish virgins from the Gospel of Matthew provides the basis of the psalm, although this time set within a differently styled piece: of statement, question, explanation, and exhortation.

[Lo, the] wise virgins, they do put oil into their [lamps]. . .  
Lo, the Bridegroom has come: where is the Bride who is like him? . . .  
. . .  
My brethren, let us purify ourselves from all pollutions,  
for [we know not] the hour when the Bridegroom shall summon us.  
May he come and summon us and find our heart justifying us,  
that we may receive the Beloved that is to come and judge the whole  
world,  
and that we may be numbered among those on the right hand and  
inherit the Kingdom. (1–4, 8–12)

Here, the Beloved who is to come and judge the world can logically be differentiated from Jesus the King, but the psalm also implies the equation of the Bridegroom and the Beloved – the imagery is too similar to suggest otherwise.

#### 4 The ascent of the Judge

Some descriptions of the judgement itself imply that the process takes place where humans are still enchained in flesh (e.g. *Hom.* 86.11–12), which could mean that judgement occurs in the world in some way. From whichever place the judgement occurs, it is certainly prior to ascension to the Light or descent to Hell for those judged in the passages based on the Matthean scene. Judgement also ends with the ascent of the judge Xradeshahr in the *Šābuhragān* (M 482 I and M 477 b [vv. 159–164]).<sup>28</sup> Presumably he ascends to the realm of Light, ‘his own place’. The section ends with the statement, ‘Then it will be the time of the Renewal of the cosmos of earth and heaven’, followed by the description of the religious ascent to paradise, while all else disappears from the earth and goes to Hell (M 482 I [vv. 169–176]).<sup>29</sup>

#### 5 Conclusion

Jesus the Judge is a heavenly figure whose throne is above the realm of the world, and he returns to the heavenly realm after judging all the nations and renewing the world. His major activity is the judgement at the endtime, although some passages could also refer to a prior judgement or assistance to souls on the point of death. While both Jesus the Splendour and Jesus the Apostle have had to struggle against cosmic enemies, no such emphasis occurs in the texts for the Jesus who comes as Judge. The enemies of the righteous, the false prophet and others seem to be completely overwhelmed by his appearing. The frequent use of the title King for the Judge adds to this picture of might.

While the righteous are rewarded in the judgement, more is implied by texts which suggest that the Judge is so compassionate that he suffered with those who suffered because they are righteous. The connection in love and compassion made between the Judge and the righteous is further emphasized by the use of the image of bridegroom for the Judge.

While the figure of a judge can be found in the texts, with one of the key texts at least – the *Šābuhragān* – it is Xradeshahr/Jesus the Splendour who is the judge. Perhaps this Judge is simply another function of Jesus the Splendour, rather than a truly defined character in his own right.

<sup>28</sup> MacKenzie, ‘Mani’s *Šābuhragān*’, 510–11.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid*

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## Interim Summary I

### *Jesus – Splendour, Apostle and Judge*

The three figures of Jesus – Splendour, Apostle and Judge – are closely connected in a ‘chronological’ line of descents into the world, and Chapters 3–5 have occasionally drawn out equivalences or similarities between these figures. At this stage, prior to a study of the remaining three figures, it would be of benefit to summarize more clearly the equivalences between these first three figures. To clear the decks here, so to speak, will provide a foundation from which to attempt to establish equivalence between these three and the remaining three figures to follow in Chapters 6–8.

The first conclusions now can be drawn on the equivalence of Jesus the Splendour, Jesus the Apostle and Jesus the Judge. Not only do a number of texts clearly ascribe actions normally associated with one of these three figures to just one Jesus, but numerous examples illustrate the same action being taken by two of these figures, or the use of the same titles and images for two or all three of them.

In many passages it is difficult to say which of these three figures is meant. I do not examine these passages, but rather only those where clearly two or three of the figures are treated together or given the same activities. In other words, I am not speculating how the figures might be connected where no explicit or fairly good evidence demonstrates a connection.

Of course other overlapping occurs: for example, Jesus the Splendour with the Third Messenger or the Primal Man (Ohrmizd in the Parthian texts) and Jesus the Splendour with the Nous, but I do not consider these other cosmic characters in detail. What I consider here is the equivalence of each of the three: Jesus the Splendour and Jesus the Apostle, Jesus the Splendour and Jesus the Judge, Jesus the Apostle and Jesus the Judge, and then the proposition that all three are equivalent.

### **1 Jesus the Splendour and Jesus the Apostle**

These two figures constitute the major concern for most scholars of Manichaean Christology. Rose thinks Mani left believers with the problem of making the connections between a mythological Jesus the Splendour, a saviour of community piety, and Jesus the Apostle.<sup>1</sup> Some, like Gardner, feel it necessary to argue for a cosmic aspect only for Jesus the Apostle in order to

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<sup>1</sup> Rose. *Die Manichäische Christologie*. 79.

make the connection with Jesus the Splendour. For Gardner, Jesus the Splendour and Jesus the Apostle are 'Redeeming Gods', that is, those gods who have their origin outside of the cosmos and who never mix with matter.<sup>2</sup> On their connection, he writes:

... the redeemer Jesus (Nous) needs to be separated into different figures, or at least roles ... The redeemer Jesus has cosmological functions (= Jesus Splendour); descends to Adam (= Jesus Splendour); and descends to Palestine in the first century AD as one of a line of historical messengers, which includes also the Buddha and Mani.<sup>3</sup>

I argued in Chapter 4, however, that the matter of physicality and suffering for Jesus the Apostle is not an insuperable problem, at least not for the Manichaeans.

Of all the texts treated so far in Chapters 3 and 4, the sixth Psalm of Heraclides (*PsB* 193.13–197.8) most strongly demonstrates the equivalence of Jesus the Splendour and Jesus the Apostle. The psalm begins with a list of titles and images used of Jesus the Splendour (193.17–26), and moves on to describe the descent of Jesus, a God who becomes man, by changing through various forms until he takes on the likeness of flesh (193.27–194.3). I have dealt with this passage already in Chapter 4. Clearly here Jesus the Splendour, Light-god, descends to take on human likeness in his role as Jesus the Apostle.

Based on Asmussen's statement that 'everything in the Realm of Light is at the same time an "expression" of the Father of Light and the Father of Light himself',<sup>4</sup> Richter suggests that here there is no sending forth but rather God himself comes to the world.<sup>5</sup> Böhlig too earlier stated that Mani's Christology unifies rather than divides Jesus the Apostle and Jesus the Splendour, and that this psalm proves the significance of the historical Jesus for Mani.<sup>6</sup>

Richter proposes the following sequence of events in the psalm:<sup>7</sup>

transcendence/union with the Father (1–12);  
 descent (13–16);  
 incarnation/taking form (17–19);  
 being human (20–84);  
 development of godly might and taking off the form (85–106);  
 ascent (to sit on the right side) (107–108).

For Richter, the transcendent pre-existent character is Jesus the Splendour (arguing from Alexander of Lycopolis's identification of Jesus with the Nous),

<sup>2</sup> Gardner, 'Manichaean Christology', 85.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 86–7.

<sup>4</sup> Asmussen, *χ<sup>α</sup>ἁστὴν ἀντίφ.*, 12.

<sup>5</sup> Richter, *Exegetisch-literarkritische*, 224.

<sup>6</sup> Böhlig, 'Neue Initiativen', 256–7.

<sup>7</sup> Richter, *Exegetisch-literarkritische*, 225 (my trans.).

and that the incarnated form is Jesus the Apostle.<sup>8</sup> Chapter 3 also presents the identification of Jesus the Splendour with the Nous. Richter goes further to suggest that the Nous ‘becomes human’ in the form of Jesus the Apostle.<sup>9</sup>

*PsB I*, Psalm 136 also begins with an invocation to Christ who is the Nous, clearly Jesus the Splendour (189.11–16), but further on in this psalm, this same Christ appears to be identical with Jesus the Apostle, the one who must be identified as the speaker in 190.19–20:

[...] as I have already said in my scriptures:  
‘He who dies in the world shall live with me forever.’

*Keph.* 61.17–28 follows a similar initial pattern to the Psalm of Heracleides, providing a summary of the action of Jesus the Splendour, who reveals his image in order to purify the light, and descends to the world by taking on the form of angels until finally he takes on the form of flesh.<sup>10</sup> Similarly, the detailed description of the descent of Jesus the Splendour into the world in *Keph.* 36.30–37.28 demonstrates that, after assuming the ten heavenly vehicles (36.31–37.13), he takes on four vehicles in the flesh, and these comprise the holy church by which he manifests himself in the world of flesh (37.14–19).<sup>11</sup>

Most significant however of all the Kephalaia passages is II 302.25–30. If the reconstruction of ‘crucified’ in line 27 is correct, then Jesus the Splendour came and revealed himself in the world and was crucified by the enemy, who resisted him – a clear identification of Jesus the Splendour with Jesus the Apostle.

Further identification of Jesus the Splendour and Jesus the Apostle occurs in texts which summarize a number of entries for the one Jesus figure and include at least the first revelation to Adam (and sometimes Eve), as well as the later revelation to disciples in first-century Palestine. A somewhat vague reference in *PsB* 57.7–14 links revelation to Adam and Eve and the crucifixion of the Saviour, both in terms of friends and foes of both Adam and Eve and the Saviour. A more explicit connection is made in *Keph.* 267.18–268.27, which instructs that Jesus’s salvation of the world included both revelation to Adam and Eve and the sending of apostles to the good, generation by generation – and this Jesus is the one who was crucified.<sup>12</sup> The Parthian hymn M 42 also implicitly includes at least two descents of a Jesus figure, the Boy/Youth in this hymn referring to Jesus’s having pity for a second time,

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.. 225.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.. 225 6.

<sup>10</sup> This passage is cited as identifying Jesus the Splendour and Jesus the Apostle by Gardner (‘Manichaeism Christology’, 104 5) and Feldmann (Die *‘Epistula Fundamenti’*, 88–9). Richter (*Exegetisch-literarkritische*, 225–6, n. 24) speaks of the figures as closely bound together. Gardner (‘Manichaeism Christology’, 72, n. 2) also cites for the same connection *Keph.* 54. 4–8; 56. 23–6; 59. 27ff; 93. 29 34; 268. 2; 267. 23 7.

<sup>11</sup> Gardner (‘Manichaeism Christology’, 105) suggests a connection to *Keph.* 94.1–11 where Jesus descends and assumes Eve’s body.

<sup>12</sup> Pedersen (‘Early Manichaeism Christology’, 169) also cites this passage as identifying Jesus the Splendour and Jesus the Apostle.

obviously referring to the appearance of Jesus the Apostle in the world.<sup>13</sup> Rose takes this to mean that the first time pity was shown it was to Adam by Jesus the Splendour.<sup>14</sup> Thus, Jesus the Splendour and Jesus the Apostle are the same character. Augustine too appears aware of the connection of the two, although caution must always be exercised with his information. In *haer.* 46, 147–153, the Christ, as the serpent of the Genesis account, brings knowledge to Adam and Eve, and also comes in simulated appearance of flesh and feigns death and resurrection.

Apart from these texts, I note again, as in Chapter 3, M 801, in which Jesus the Splendour is addressed but whose attributes include that 'he himself became sight for the blind, hearing for the deaf' (197–199),<sup>15</sup> apparently referring to the healing activity of Jesus the Apostle.

Another possible connection between Jesus the Splendour and Jesus the Apostle concerns Jesus the Apostle's entry into *parinirvāṇa*, which resembles Mani's in his ascent to the moon.<sup>16</sup> Either Jesus the Apostle, like Mani, ascends to be in the same place as Jesus the Splendour, or Jesus the Apostle returns to his role as the redeemer in the moon (that is, as Jesus the Splendour himself), prior to his third descent as Jesus the Judge.

I have already demonstrated in earlier chapters the difficulty of identifying some Jesus figures with any certainty because of the use of the same titles or descriptions for two or more Jesus figures. The difficulty may be of Western scholarship's making. For Manichaeans believers the (apparent) difficulty could have its source in at least three possible situations: (1) the figures are equivalent; (2) the Manichaeans were not concerned with this seeming imprecision; (3) the setting in which the texts were used made the particular Jesus figure clear, or a teacher made it clear which figure was being described. The imprecision cannot actually be used as a definite basis for any of these interpretations, since scholars who are concerned with it come to different conclusions as to its meaning. Thus Klimkeit uses a study of titles from Eastern Manichaeans texts to state that Jesus the Splendour and Jesus the Apostle are two figures that must be distinguished:

The suffering and death of Jesus were not important to the Manichaeans as real events . . . Rather, they were important as images of the suffering of the 'Living Soul', dispersed throughout the world and bound to hyle (matter), yearning to be liberated. But even then the hymns can refer to Jesus of Nazareth as 'the Son of God' or 'the Son of Greatness'. Apparently the image of the transcendent savior, coming from the World of Light and termed 'Jesus the Splendor,' influenced the understanding of the historical Jesus, even though the two were clearly distinguished dogmatically.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>13</sup> MM III, 880.

<sup>14</sup> Rose, *Die Manichäische Christologie*, 104–5; see also Boyce, *Reader*, 172, n. 10; and *SR*, 124 and 130, nn. 20, 21.

<sup>15</sup> *BBB*, 23.

<sup>16</sup> Asmussen, *Manichaean Literature*, 55–6.

<sup>17</sup> *SR*, 69.

Klimkeit takes up the same point in a later work, noting, under the influence of Alexander Böhlig, that the Manichaeans often use the same terms for Jesus the Splendour and Jesus the Apostle drawn from biblical sources: saviour, mediator (1 Tim 2:5, Heb 8:6, 9:15, 12:24), door (Jn 10:2,9), doctor (Matt 9:12),<sup>18</sup> Holy One (Phil 3:20, 2 Tim 1:10), and the one who frees from sin (1 Jn 1:7).<sup>19</sup>

Similarly, Sundermann investigates lists of Manichaean names among the elect and laity, and finds that the name of Jesus occurs rather often among the laity – a fact that is something of an exception since they generally do not take the name of deities.<sup>20</sup> He also notes that the Aramaic form of respectful address, *Mār*, occurs only in addressing human beings and never gods. However, Jesus the Splendour proves to be an exception, addressed as *Mār* in M 369, M 306, and M 5785. Sundermann remarks that this might have occurred because the cosmic figure of Jesus the Splendour has its origin in a person within human history, that is, Jesus the Apostle (the historical Jesus).<sup>21</sup>

## 2 Jesus the Splendour and Jesus the Judge

General judging activity is associated with Jesus the Splendour, though not always explicitly referring to judgement at the eschaton. *Keph.* 80.18–19, for example, names Jesus the Splendour as the eighth judge and father of all the apostles. Though the title of judge is not explicitly mentioned in *PsB* 217.19–218.8, already quoted in relation to Jesus the Splendour, nevertheless the Jesus figure here appears to judge the worth of the ship (soul) that comes on his river of testing without a proper cargo.

While Heuser does not identify Jesus the Splendour with Jesus the Apostle, he does equate Jesus the Splendour with Jesus the Judge in *Hom.* 37.13–26, where, according to Heuser, ‘Jesus the Splendour returns as ruler and judge at the end of the ages.’<sup>22</sup> The clearest connection, however, occurs in the *Shābuhragān*. Here the God Xradeshahr is described as the one who gives wisdom and knowledge to Adam (that is, Jesus the Splendour) and afterwards, from time to time, to humankind (that is, at least once as Jesus the

<sup>18</sup> Richter (*Exegetisch-literarkritische*, 223) notes a number of other points about the terminology of the sixth Heraclides psalm, most notably that the term ‘physician’ in Manichaean texts is applied to Jesus the Splendour, the Nous, Jesus the Apostle of Light, and Mani. He notes a parallel in Bema Psalm 219 and also that in 145.6, Jesus the Splendour is called a physician.

<sup>19</sup> Hans-Joachim Klimkeit, ‘The Use of Scripture in Manichaeism’, in *Studies in Manichaean Literature and Art*, Manfred Heuser and Hans-Joachim Klimkeit, NHMS 46, E.J. Brill, Leiden, 1998, 115–16.

<sup>20</sup> Werner Sundermann, ‘Iranische Personennamen der Manichäer’, *Die Sprache: Zeitschrift für Sprachwissenschaft*, 36.2 (1994): 263.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, 250, n.31.

<sup>22</sup> Manfred Heuser, ‘The Manichaean Myth,’ 86; see also Franz Cumont, ‘Homélie manichéennes’, *RHR*, 107 (1935): 120

Apostle) (M 473 I/Ar/17–22),<sup>23</sup> and comes in the last age also just before the renewal, proceeding to judge the righteous and the evildoers (that is, Jesus the Judge) (M 519 I, M 473 I, M 475 a I, M 477 I, and M 482 I/[Ar/17–Dr/10]).<sup>24</sup>

### 3 Jesus the Apostle and Jesus the Judge

Further to the previous section on the Shābuhragān, the connection between Jesus the Apostle and Jesus the Judge seems clear with Xradeshahr's use, within the process of judgement, of the citation from Matt 25:31–46 amongst other things (M 475 a I and M 477 I [vv. 49–129]),<sup>25</sup> and also the reference to Xradeshahr's coming in various times to humankind after his first coming to Adam and Eve.

Also important is the fact that the synoptic imagery of Jesus the Bridegroom (see Chapters 3 and 5) is applied to the eschatological judging aspect of Jesus, and thus also connects Jesus the Judge and Jesus the Splendour with Jesus the Apostle.

### 4 Jesus – Splendour, Apostle and Judge

Two scholars take the connection of Jesus the Splendour and Jesus the Apostle further to include Jesus the Judge. Gardner proposes three moments of entry of the redeemer figure, Jesus the Splendour, into history: 'The descent to Adam, to Palestine, and as final Judge, are to be placed on the same level as within history.'<sup>26</sup> In his general presentation of a unified Jesus, Rose speaks of distinguishing among different perspectives on Jesus, among them Jesus the Splendour, Jesus the Prophet, and Jesus the Judge.<sup>27</sup>

Vague reference to an equivalence of all three Jesus figures – Splendour, Apostle, and Judge – is made in *PsB* 91.17–92.26 ('firstborn' [91.20]; 'thy yoke ... thy cross' [92.5–6]; 'my Judge' [92.18]), but is hampered by the debilitated state of the text.

The clearest text for the equivalence of all three is the Shābuhragān, as demonstrated above. Since this text was quite possibly written by Mani himself, this means that the identification of the three figures in this text goes

<sup>23</sup> MacKenzie, 'Mani's Šābuhragān', 504–5; *SR*, 242.

<sup>24</sup> Mackenzie, 'Mani's Šābuhragān', 504–11. Manfred Hutter ('Das Erlösungsgeschehen im manichäisch – iranischen Mythos. Motiv- und traditionsgeschichtliche', in *Das manichäische Urdrama des Lichtes. Studien zu koptischen, mitteliranischen und arabischen Texten*, ed. Karl Matthäus Woschitz, Manfred Hutter and Karl Penner, Herder, Vienna, 1989, 218) considers the identity of Jesus the Judge as Jesus the Splendour here as indisputable.

<sup>25</sup> MacKenzie, 'Mani's Šābuhragān', 506–9.

<sup>26</sup> Gardner, 'Manichaeen Christology,' 86–7; see also Hans-Joachim Klimkeit and Helwig Schmidt-Glintzer (eds), *Japanische Studien zum Östlichen Manichäismus*, Otto Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 1991, 3, 5–6; and Pètrement, *A Separate God*, 111.

<sup>27</sup> Rose, *Die Manichäische Christologie*, 55–8.

back to the origins of Manichaeism. This seems to clinch the idea that the several Jesuses are not a later development within Manichaeism, but rather that Mani himself ascribed to one Jesus many different activities under a variety of guises and times. At least with these first three figures, Mani intended one Jesus, not three.

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*The Immanent and Suffering Jesus (Patibilis)*

Of the three Jesus figures which remain to be studied – Jesus Patibilis, Jesus the Youth, and Jesus the Moon – Jesus Patibilis is the most developed across Western and Eastern texts, followed by Jesus the Youth. Jesus the Moon really only appears in Eastern texts. The order of study for the remaining three figures is thus clear, and follows this order of priority.

I have called this chapter ‘The Immanent and Suffering Jesus (Patibilis)’ in order to inspire further reflection on the title, ‘Jesus Patibilis’, generally used in Manichaean studies, and taken from a single reference in a non-Manichaean work, that is, from the ‘dialogue’ of Augustine with Faustus the Manichaean bishop (c. *Faust.* XX, 2). This common title is used so blithely that it has become a fixture. I want to erode the strength of that fixture and spur a reconsideration about what is meant when using this term, following in the spirit of Gregor Wurst, who recently challenged Manichaean scholars in similar fashion to reinterpret ‘patibilis’ as ‘capable of suffering’, rather than ‘suffering’.<sup>1</sup> Whilst I differ from Wurst in thinking that this Jesus should be understood as suffering, as Jesus the Apostle should be understood as suffering, I agree that the use of the term ‘patibilis’ requires serious rethinking.

Two questions need to be asked from the beginning. First, does the title Jesus Patibilis imply that mortality/capability of suffering is the only aspect of this Jesus figure worth considering, or that he is the only Jesus figure to display aspects of mortality/capability of suffering? The very nature of the term ‘patibilis’ defines him, and to some degree suggests a clear distinction between at least two irreconcilable Jesus figures – one who does not suffer and one who suffers – inspiring a great deal of discussion about the distinction that seemingly must be made between Jesus Patibilis and, for example, Jesus the Splendour, who is thought incapable of suffering.

Second, the question must be asked whether this figure indeed suffers and, if he does, how that is to be understood, and how his suffering might be different from the suffering which other Jesus figures experience. If descriptions of the suffering of Jesus the Apostle are trivialized by saying that the descriptions must of necessity be understood to mean something else, or that they cannot be taken literally, then why cannot the same be said about this

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<sup>1</sup> Gregor Wurst, ‘Bemerkungen zum Glaubensbekenntnis des Faustus von Mileve (Augustinus, *Contra Faustum* 20,2)’, in *Studia Manichaica IV. Internationaler Kongreß zum Manichäismus, Berlin, 14-18 Juli 1997*, ed. Ronald E. Emmerick, Werner Sundermann and Peter Zieme. BBAW, Berichte und Abhandlungen Sonderband 4. Akademie Verlag, Berlin, 2000, 649.

figure? Also, how can suffering be understood for this figure if it is taken literally? What constitutes suffering according to the Gnostic view? Are the discussions only about physical suffering, or are they *even* about physical suffering at all? Is the suffering psychological or emotional? If it is psychological or emotional, then why would this kind of suffering not be possible for a cosmic figure? Surely a sense of a psyche is present for Jesus the Splendour or other cosmic figures who exert a will to action and a purpose in carrying out action, for example, the compassion for the trapped saviour that drives the rescue operation.

This second question is taken up to some extent in Augustine's dialogues with various Manichaeans, as discussed below. Augustine seems unable to see the logic or orthodox theology in the claim that the Living Soul is of God, yet able to fall into pollution, therefore requiring cleansing and redemption. Augustine's problem is how a heavenly figure can suffer and whether suffering necessitates that this figure be different from other heavenly figures who do not appear to suffer. An inability similar to Augustine's can beset modern scholars, who must therefore not give in to the temptation to rethink or represent Manichaean theology to suit their own beliefs.

One problem continues to dog the understanding of Jesus Patibilis, as it has the understanding of other Jesus figures – that is, phrases or lines which seem most clearly to identify one of the Jesus figures occurring within a passage seeming to describe another Jesus figure. While this is not necessarily an overwhelming difficulty with the three Jesus figures already encountered in Chapters 3–5, with regard to the two figures of Jesus Patibilis and Jesus the Youth/Child, the difficulty of the 'redeemed redeemer' debate presents itself. Thus, for example, I have noted already *PsB* 121.31: 'The trees and the fruits – in them is thy holy body', which occurs within a passage speaking of Jesus the Apostle (and also seems to allude to Jesus the Splendour), but contains no clear distinction between Jesus Patibilis and Jesus the Apostle.

I am tempted to begin this chapter by investigating many passages concerning the Living Soul as well as those which explicitly refer to Jesus Patibilis, considering the general consensus about the equivalence of the two. The Parthian hymn M 6650 [= T II K], for example, equates the two figures in its opening stanza, within a chiasmic structure (A B B' A'):

You, Oh Soul, would we praise, our bright Life!  
 You would we praise, Jesus Messiah!  
 Merciful savior, look upon us!  
 Worthy are you of honor, redeemed Soul of Light!<sup>2</sup>

I have already noted that other equivalences have been made between, for example, Jesus the Splendour and the Nous, but I have not gone further than the Jesus figure in each case. I continue to do likewise here. The understanding of Jesus Patibilis will be limited to what is actually said of him, rather than what is said of the Living Soul, or will be limited to passages in which the allusions to Jesus Patibilis seem strong, including those from

<sup>2</sup> WL I, 115; SR, 51.

Augustine's letters and dialogues. Despite the general consensus that these figures are identical, the great majority of the references to this 'character' or 'activity' within the texts concern the Living Soul, with far fewer references, direct or apparent, by allusion to Jesus. Most of the passages about the Living Soul do not refer to Jesus by name, and so to extrapolate something about Jesus Patibilis, I am forced to rely on passages such as the one above, which imply that he is synonymous with the Living Soul – not an approach which I would prefer to take in order to be precise about the identity of this figure.

### 1 Jesus of Light who descends and is trapped

The Living Soul who is Jesus the Messiah is given praise, as noted above, in Parthian hymn M 6650. The hymn provides information both about the activity of this character and what kind of figure the hymn deals with. I discuss the latter detail first and consider the activity later below. This hymn says that the Living Soul or Jesus is associated primarily with light. The Soul, or 'Soul of Light', is frequently referred to as bright – 'bright Life', 'bright shining limb', 'bright Soul of the gods that shines in the darkness' – or radiant – 'radiant Soul', 'divine radiant Soul'. It is also the 'splendour and glory of the ... worlds of Light'. So while Jesus here is addressed as Saviour and in images of light, as redeemed or saved as the Living Soul, as a 'valiant god eager for battle', and as a 'weapon and battlement of the gods', little real emphasis is placed on suffering, and the question arises again as to the exclusive use of the title 'Patibilis' to describe him.

*PsB* 172 gives further information on the origin, descent, and entrapment of the Living Soul in clearly Christological imagery, from which the figure of Jesus Patibilis can perhaps be extrapolated. *PsB* 172.4–5 describes a power from the height, which is eaten by the believer. In *PsB* 172.6–9 the Light goes down, and it tastes death. In imagery of shepherding, the Love that died, the sheep bound to the tree, is the Living Soul (24–27), a passage already dealt with in relation to Jesus the Splendour, the shepherd:

The sheep bound to the tree is the Love that died: the  
Wisdom that reveals is the shepherd that seeks after it.  
He that ate the sheep is the devouring fire, the God  
of this Aeon that led the whole world astray.

Of course binding to the tree leads to associations with the crucifixion of Jesus the Apostle. In *PsB* 155.19–38 a kind of litany of praise contains the attributes and images linked to the idea, not only of the sheep bound to the tree, but also of one who exists within trees and vegetation, here associated also with an image of the Youth, who might be the equivalent of Jesus the Youth, discussed in the following chapter:

My giver of rest to every man, my God, I will glorify thee.  
Corner-stone unchanging, unaltering.

Foundation unshakeable,  
 sheep bound to the tree,  
 treasure hidden in the field,  
 Jesus that hangs to the tree,  
 Youth, son of the dew,  
 milk of all trees,  
 sweetness of the fruits,  
 eye of the skies,  
 guard of all treasures,  
 . . . that bears the universe,  
 joy of all created things,  
 rest of the worlds  
 Thou art a marvel to tell.  
 Thou art within, thou art without.  
 Thou art above, thou art below,  
 that art near and far,  
 that art hidden and revealed,  
 that art silent and speakest too.

Again, while some activity implies suffering for this figure, this is by no means a sorrowing psalm over a suffering figure. This figure is the cornerstone, a treasure, sweetness and nourishment and life-giving, the joy and rest of created things. A very positive aspect comes from phrases such as 'joy of all created things'. The elucidation of the marvel that he is, in parallel statements about universal and immanent existence – he is within and without, above and below, near and far, hidden and revealed – is reminiscent of the paradoxical 'Amen psalm' noted in relation to Jesus the Apostle in Chapter 4.

I have already noted, in Chapter 4, the long descriptions in *PsB* 120–126 about a Jesus figure displaying elements of several of the figures I am dealing with. The origin of this Jesus, discussed in general as Jesus the Apostle, is said to be in the Light or, more specifically, in the Luminaries: 'Thy holy womb is the Luminaries that conceive thee' (*PsB* 121.30–33). The very next line suggests a direct link to Jesus Patibilis: 'The trees and the fruits – in them is thy holy body'; although, again, no explicit statement suggests suffering, the context implying that this Jesus is in everything.

How he came to be in the trees and fruits is also described by Augustine, who charges Faustus with the belief that Jesus Christ is the son of the Primal (or First) Man (*c. Faust.* II, 4), caught up in the world and the darkness as a result of the mixing of the Primal Man through his conflict with the race of darkness.

. . . your fabulous Christ, the son of your fabulous First Man not as announced by a star, but as bound up in all the stars. For you say that he mingled with the principles of darkness in his conflict with the race of darkness, that by capturing these principles the world might be made out of the mixture. So that, by your profane fancies, Christ is not only mingled with heaven and all the stars, but conjoined and compounded with the earth and all its productions – a Saviour no more, but needing to be saved by you, by your eating and disgorging Him. (II, 5)

Further in XX, 2, of the same work, Augustine records Faustus's manifesto, which includes an assertion about the character Manichaeans refer to as Jesus Patibilis:

By His (i.e. the Holy Spirit's) influence and spiritual infusion, the earth conceives and brings forth the mortal Jesus (*patibilem Iesum*), who, as hanging from every tree, is the life and salvation of men. Though you oppose these doctrines so violently, your religion resembles ours in attaching the same sacredness to the bread and wine that we do to everything.

Augustine emphasizes the way in which the Christ has been mixed with the darkness of matter and has lost his saving power; in fact, he needs to be saved. On the other hand, Faustus emphasizes the life and salvation that the mortal Jesus is, and the sacredness which his presence gives to everything. While the physical details of the location of Jesus Patibilis are much the same in intention, the interpretations and emphases are radically different. While an emphasis on suffering comes from the Manichaean side also, this emphasis should not be taken as the only point of meaning for Manichaeans. This should be taken into account in the inevitable discussion, when it comes to Jesus Patibilis, about the possibility of a redeemed redeemer in Manichaeism. Could the one who is redeemed, Jesus Patibilis, really be the same figure as the one who redeems, Jesus the Splendour?<sup>3</sup> Some of the basis for a negative argument on the redeemed redeemer, using ideas about real suffering and saving activity, begins to break down very quickly when the cosmic origin of Jesus Patibilis is revealed, since this characteristic of, say, Jesus the Splendour, is sometimes used to suggest that he could not possibly suffer. Putting that together with the emphasis on Jesus Patibilis as life and salvation for believers weakens the argument against a redeemed redeemer even further.

The idea of the mortal Jesus conceived in and brought forth from the earth is also found perhaps in *CMC* 96.3–10, where Elchasaï takes the soil from the earth which has spoken to him, kisses it, places it on his breast, and says: 'This is the flesh and blood of my Lord.' In H. 252–254, the five Lights, or the sons of Light, that is, the sons of the Primal Man left behind in the darkness, are described as the flesh and blood of Jesus.<sup>4</sup> The use of terms like 'flesh' and 'blood' does not necessarily indicate that this Jesus should be thought of in some kind of physical way, but rather that he embodies the sons of the Primal Man, himself, in his composite way, *the* son of the Primal Man. In *c. Fort. Disput. I*, 19, Fortunatus asserts that 'flesh and blood shall not inherit the kingdom of God, neither shall corruption inherit incorruption', quoting the authority of the Gospel against Augustine, who asserted that, 'according to the flesh, Christ was of the seed of David'. When the crowd reacts against him, Fortunatus states that 'the Word of God has been fettered in the race of darkness'. Clearly then, if Manichaeism speaks of the flesh and blood of Jesus

<sup>3</sup> For the affirmative, see e.g. Villey (ed.), *Psalmes des errants*, 307.

<sup>4</sup> See *WL* I, 59, on the five Lights as the five sons of the Primal Man.

in reference to Jesus Patibilis, the one fettered in the darkness, it cannot be taken literally, since flesh and blood in a human physical sense (like the seed of David) cannot inherit the kingdom.<sup>5</sup>

As well as the image of the Word, which also appears to be equivalent to Jesus Patibilis in the darkness, the image of the Cross of Light makes the link between Jesus the Apostle who suffers on the cross and Jesus Patibilis as the Living Soul:

Once [again] the apostle speaks: All the faithful who believe this tr[uth] shall live by three great mighty things.

...  
The third: They a[ct] with restraint and charity to the Cross of Light, which g[rie]ves in the totality, being present in what is visible and what is not vis[ib]le. (*Keph.* 268.19–20, 24–27)

Wurst takes this point further to show that at least Psalms 123 and 126 in *PsB I* make this link even more explicit: that the crucified Jesus the Apostle is a parable or type of the Living Soul in the world (*PsB I* 169 and 175).<sup>6</sup>

## 2 Jesus who suffers, rises, and saves

While some texts imply suffering for this Jesus figure, and I present these as I consider various aspects of the figure, no doubt Augustine finds his major emphasis here, urged on by the thought of deity caught up in corruption. He takes up the point, referring to the conception of the mortal Jesus in *c. Faust.* XX, 11, asking why the earth might be the place of conception rather than the Virgin Mary, since trees and plants grow in gardens watered by the filthy drains of cities. The crucial point, of course, is whether the Spirit can keep its integrity no matter where it is. As Augustine asks: 'Do you reply that the Holy Spirit preserves His incorruptible purity everywhere? I ask again, Why not also in the virgin's womb?' The same kind of question about pollution is posed by Augustine further in the passage:

And if all trees are the cross of Christ, as Faustus seems to imply when he says that Jesus hangs from every tree, why do you not pluck the fruit, and so take Jesus down from hanging on the tree to bury

<sup>5</sup> In a dialogue between Christ and the Living Soul in *PsB I* (Wurst, 'Dialog', 150–53), the Word is said by Christ to have played a part in the entrapment of the Living Soul:

... The busy word, the invincible power, he threw thee upon them all and thou didst illumine them. He spread thee over them in ten thousand shapes. He bound ten thousand races through thee – that is the reason for thy mixing with them. (189.29–33)

<sup>6</sup> Wurst, 'Bemerkungen zum Glaubensbekenntnis', 654.

Him in your stomach, which would correspond to the good deed of Joseph of Arimathea, when he took down the true Jesus from the cross to bury Him? Why should it be impious to take Christ from the tree, while it is pious to lay Him in the tomb?

Augustine also argues that the Manichaeans must hold that Jesus is indeed defiled, because otherwise they would not have to eat him in order to purify him.

In the long section in *II mor.* XVI, he derides Manichaean ideas further by lampooning the idea that the presence of God is detected in vegetables and in fruit because of their colour and sweetness of taste and good smell. For example, in XVI, 41, 'In colour alone the excrement of an infant surpasses lentils; in smell alone a roast morsel surpasses a soft green fig; in taste alone a kid when slaughtered surpasses the plant which it fed on when alive.'

Augustine returns repeatedly to this question of the pollution of God and the relationship of the Living Soul/Jesus Patibilis to God. A good example is the long polemical passage in *II mor.* XI, 21:

But when you begin to relate your fables, that God is corruptible, and mutable, and subject to injury, and exposed to want and weakness, and not secure from misery, this is what you are blind enough to teach, and what some are blind enough to believe. And this is not all; for, according to you, God is not only corruptible, but corrupted; not only changeable, but changed; not only subject to injury, but injured; not only liable to want, but in want; not only possibly, but actually weak; not only exposed to misery, but miserable.

Augustine seems to lack understanding of a theology that sees the compassion of God in real terms of actually suffering with those who suffer within the darkness of the world, as *PsB* 149.20–21 suggests when the saviour assures the Living Soul:

... all afflictions  
thou hast endured, I am with thee, enduring them.

While Jesus Patibilis might suffer with the believers, he is also the means by which they rise. *PsB* 159–160 speaks of the resurrection of the Christ/Jesus. A Pauline influence appears in the first passage, 159.23–26:

The holy heart is Christ: if he rises in us,  
we also shall rise in him.  
Christ has risen, the dead shall rise with him. If we believe  
in him, we shall pass beyond death and come to life.

What follows is a reflection on how this passing beyond death to life might be accomplished and what concepts can be understood. Believers wear a body, which is related to Darkness (159.31), but the soul within is the First/Primal

Man (160.1).<sup>7</sup> Just as the Primal Man was victorious in the macrocosmos (the Land of Darkness), so will he also be victorious in the microcosmos of the body of the believer, purifying the believer (160.2–3). He will be aided by the Paraclete-Spirit just as he was previously aided by the Living Spirit (160.4–5). How can this resurrection of Christ mean something and be powerful for the believer? The answer is clear. The resurrection of Jesus the Apostle is active or mirrored in the Cross of Light that rises in three powers just as Jesus rose in three days (160.14–15).

Now it seems apparent how Jesus Patibilis as the Living Soul or the Cross of Light, which is the light bound in the trees or vegetation, is another aspect of that Jesus who also suffers as Jesus the Apostle and rises to be the saving Christ for the community – it is all a matter of the within and the without, the above and below, the macrocosm and the microcosm, as seen similarly for the Primal Man and the Living Spirit. The concept is reiterated in the final verse before the doxology (160.20–21):

The Kingdom of the heavens, – behold, it is within us, behold, it is outside us; if we believe in it we shall live in it for ever.

The rising of Jesus and the church could be the great act of union in the wedding feast: The wedding feast of the Bridegroom and the church, used of Jesus the Judge in the previous chapter, opens in *PsB* 158.19–31 with verses reminiscent of the Song of Songs, and of the image of Lady Wisdom in the Book of Proverbs. It relates back with its refrain, ‘Taste and know that the Lord is sweet’, also to the idea of the sweetness of Jesus Patibilis within the trees and fruits, as seen above. Again the aspect of suffering seems far from the mind of the psalmist:

Christ is the word of Truth: he that hears it shall live.  
 I tasted a sweet taste, I found nothing sweeter than the word of Truth.  
 I tasted a sweet taste, I found nothing sweeter than the name of God.  
 [I] tasted a sweet taste, I found nothing sweeter than Christ.  
 Where is there a kind mother like my mother, Love?  
 Where is there a kind father like my father, Christ?  
 What honey is so sweet as this name, Church?  
 Wisdom invites you, that you may eat with your Spirit.  
 Lo, the new wine has been broached: lo, the cups have been brought in.  
 Drink what you shall drink, gladness surrounding you.  
 Eat that you may eat, being glad in your [Spirit].

Descriptors in the Parthian hymn M 6650 (= T II K) for the Living Soul who

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<sup>7</sup> Gardner (‘Manichaean Christology’, 22–3) notes the poetic licence that allows the writer to call the soul in the body by the title of the Primal Man (160.1) even though the soul originates as the sons of the Primal Man.

is Jesus the Messiah refer either to salvific activity carried out on behalf of others, or the redemption of the Soul itself.<sup>8</sup> In regard to the former, Jesus is named as Messiah, as 'merciful saviour', and the Soul is described as the redeemed one who comes to the Church of Righteousness to purify believers and lead them to life, the one with the divine form, weapon and battlement of the gods, the valiant god eager for battle:

This redeemed Soul has come,  
It has come to this Church of Righteousness.  
Praise it forever, you elect,  
So that it may wondrously purify me  
And lead me to life.<sup>9</sup>

In a parallel statement, the gathering in and purification of the fettered Soul is described as the work of the auditors and elect:

This fettered Soul has arrived, gathered in . . .  
. . . from heaven and from the depths of the earth,  
And from all creation.  
Meritorious and blessed is the auditor who gathers the Soul together,  
And blissful is the elect who purifies it.

Thus a double aspect appears to be at work – that the Soul/Jesus is purified and gathered in by the community, and that in turn this Soul/Jesus purifies the community and leads it to life. The same idea appears in *PsB* 162.23–26, where Jesus Patibilis can be understood as the Son of Man or the body of the First/Primal Man,<sup>10</sup> and the Lord Jesus, the Mind of Light, as Jesus the Splendour:

[O] Father, O Mind of Light, come and wear me [until]  
I have recited the woe of the Son of Man.  
[My] Lord Jesus, come and wear me until I purify the  
body (?) of the First Man.<sup>11</sup>

Similarly in *c. Faust.* XX, 2, as noted above, Augustine records Faustus's manifesto, which includes an assertion that Jesus Patibilis, 'hanging from every tree, is the life and salvation of men'. In *PsB* 155.23, he is the one bound to and hung on a tree, but is also the hidden treasure.

<sup>8</sup> WL I, 115.16.

<sup>9</sup> WL I, 116; SR, 51.

<sup>10</sup> Gardner ('Manichaean Christology', 217) also notes this reference to Jesus Patibilis.

<sup>11</sup> This section is repeated, with a few variations and omissions, in *PsB* 177.32–179.1–4.

### 3 Jesus who is liberated from the world

I dealt with some aspects of the liberation of Jesus Patibilis/Living Soul in the world in the preceding section. In H. 252–254, within a context that speaks of believers' bodies as ships to carry the light particles out of the world, believers are urged to rescue the sons of Light, the powerless Jesus Patibilis trapped in the world (254),<sup>12</sup> out of the labyrinth of craving and passions. The writer uses the imagery of seeking treasure and pearls out of the dark and deep sea of suffering, washing and cleaning them from pollution and suffering, in order to return them to the King of Nirvana (252–253).

In *PsB* 87.16–88.13, in an address to Jesus, Light of the believer, the believer claims to have purified this Jesus:

I have purified thee, my God, from flesh and blood (?) ... The  
 Father, the King of the crowns, – I have made him pure from ...  
 These Lights that are on high – I have made them ferries for me ...  
 This power that supports the universe – I have guarded its freight ...  
 My Lord Jesus, thou art my trust ... I have hung to thy defence, I  
 have spurned the whole world. (87.18–26).

The refrain for the psalm, 'Do not forsake me in the desert of this world', perhaps implies that this Jesus is present to the believer in this world. Here at least, though, purification appears to be some kind of self-purification of the believer.

The process by which Jesus Patibilis is released or purified is outlined in detail in Augustine's *c. Faust.* II, 5 where he makes a nonsense of the belief in the release of light by the elect:

[T]hey subject Him (the Son of God) ... to such polluting contact with all material things, with the juices of all vegetables, and with the decay of all flesh, and with the decomposition of all food, in which He is bound up, that the only way of releasing Him, at least one great means, is that men, that is the Elect of the Manichaeans, should succeed in digesting their dinner.

In Chapter 3, I noted briefly the use of the concept of a sacred meal in relation to Jesus the Splendour. In the first two passages cited ('sacred meal of the Radiant Friend' and 'Welcome, foundation of the worlds and [sacred] meal of many'), Jesus the Splendour is both the meal, and perhaps also the one to whom the meal belongs, although the first passage could also refer to Jesus the Splendour as the 'substance' of the sacred meal. Given the role of Jesus Patibilis in the meal of the elect, which is surely what is meant by the

<sup>12</sup> Puech ('Saint Paul chez les Manichéens', 160–62) suggests that the section of the verse concerning the powerlessness of Jesus should be translated as 'Jésus lui-même témoigne ...' ('Jesus himself witnesses'), taking the ideogram not to be *wei* ('weak') but, rather, the very similar *tcheng* ('to witness').

sacred meal, the passages referring to Jesus the Splendour make a strong connection or equivalence between himself and Jesus Patibilis.

Augustine, in *c. Faust.* II, 5, outlines the final process of the gathering of light to free Jesus Patibilis: Christ is not entirely liberated by the activity of eating by the Manichaeans, but the tiny particles remaining in the excrement and so on, will be purified and released in the fire that will burn up the world. Even then, some extreme particles will remain, so defiled that they cannot be cleansed, and must stay forever in the darkness. Augustine uses this idea in XXI, 16 to suggest that the Manichaean God 'is guilty of the crime with which you charge the race of darkness – of injuring both friends and enemies ... But your god, with all the omnipotence and perfect excellence that you ascribe to him, dooms his enemies to eternal destruction, and his friends to eternal punishment.'

The *Shābuhragān* too, contains the description of the final purification and rising to the sun and moon of 'that Splendour of the gods which has remained in the cosmos of earths and heavens', a figure who rises then to become a god in the form of Ohrmezdby ( = the Primal Man) and goes to paradise (M 470 a vv. 291–301).<sup>13</sup>

#### 4 Conclusion

Clearly the major character in focus in much of this reflection is the Living Soul – its coming to the world, its entrapment within the darkness, and its subsequent suffering and need for redemption. In some cases, a figure of Jesus is used in conjunction with the Living Soul, or as a parable explaining what has happened to the Living Soul. Thus the crucifixion story about Jesus the Apostle explains how the Living Soul suffers in the world. As Wurst points out, the suffering of the mortal Jesus (Patibilis), the image chosen by Faustus in the midst of debate, is indeed only one possible way of using a Jesus figure to describe how the Living Soul and its activity are to be understood.<sup>14</sup> In this way, the crucified Jesus the Apostle and the suffering mortal Jesus (Patibilis) are intimately connected as types of the suffering of the Living Soul.

Jesus Patibilis is more than a suffering figure. As outlined in the various sections above, other possibilities of understanding Jesus Patibilis emphasize his rising and saving activity, his role as the source of joy and life for believers. In each case, however, as the immanent and mortal Jesus in the world, he stands as a type of the Living Soul. He is not mortal in the true sense, but mortal only in the sense that he is an image of how the Soul is entrapped, enfleshed, put to sleep, and made unconscious, while still remaining the Soul. He is capable of suffering only because he is mortal in this sense.

Although I have outlined the characteristics of Jesus Patibilis as if he were a discrete character, he cannot be understood in separation from the Living

<sup>13</sup> MacKenzie, 'Mani's *Shābuhragān*', 510–11.

<sup>14</sup> Wurst, 'Bemerkungen zum Glaubensbekenntnis', 655.

Soul; his whole 'existence', clearly, is to act as a descriptor or parable for the Living Soul. In other words, as Wurst stated, he is really no more than the personification of an allegory.<sup>15</sup> The suffering of Jesus the Apostle is the allegory for the suffering of the Living Soul; the suffering of Jesus the Apostle is personified in the character of Jesus Patibilis. From that point, Jesus Patibilis takes on various extra aspects of the Living Soul – immanence within the world; the Light substance within the elements of the sacred meal; the role of liberated and redeemed saviour.

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<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

## *Jesus the Youth*

Variouly termed Jesus the Child or Jesus the Youth, the name of this character is translated from the Coptic ΠΑΙΔΟΣ, and neither title is preferred or currently dominant in Manichaean studies, even in editions of Manichaean texts. In the present work, I use the title of Youth, following Gardner's usage in his translation of the Kephalaia.

An association between the Summons and Obedience and Jesus the Youth is noticeable in what follows. In keeping with what I have done before, this chapter considers only where Jesus the Youth appears explicitly or is strongly alluded to, rather than treating in any depth the Summons and Obedience and other associated characters.

In the following sections I investigate passages where a Youth appears. Not all such occurrences can be linked with the figure of Jesus the Youth, but all passages need to be studied in order to clarify any differentiations between characters.

### 1 Emanation of Jesus the Youth

*Keph.* 61.26–28 relates that Jesus the Splendour 'gave [the s]ummons and the obedience to the elements, he formed [J]esus the Youth'. It is unclear whether these are meant as equivalent statements, that is, that the Summons and Obedience (sometimes referred to as 'call' and 'response'/'answer') are identical to Jesus the Youth. Other passages, *Keph.* 61.28–30 and 63.2–5, inform that the Counsel (ΠΚΑΥΝΕ) of Life or Great Thought/Counsel is the Summons and Obedience. In *Keph.* 92.1–8, the Ambassador sets the Summons and Obedience in the five intellectuals of life (= the Living Soul). He also sets Jesus the Youth there, further described as 'the image of the living word, of the utterance and obedience'. As an image of the utterance and obedience, at least according to this text, Jesus the Youth is thus perhaps not equivalent to, but very closely associated with them, and thereby with the Counsel of Life. Perhaps an inkling appears here of an idea similar to that of Jesus Patibilis as the type or parable of the Living Soul. What Jesus Patibilis is to the Living Soul, Jesus the Youth is to the Summons and Obedience (the Counsel of Life), set within the Living Soul.

*Keph.* 35.27–34 similarly reports that 'the Youth' is called forth by Jesus the Splendour from himself, the Youth being the third of the group with the Light Mind and the Great Judge. Here mention is made of something established in the Summons and Obedience, although the meaning of the text

is not clear (35.29–30). While this passage makes no explicit mention of Jesus the Youth, most likely he is intended.

*PsB* 167.64 describes ‘the Youth, the son of the dew’, and I have already noted in the previous chapter the same phrase in *PsB* 155.25, immediately after a reference to the ‘Jesus that hangs to the tree’. The lines which follow (‘milk of all trees, sweetness of the fruits’) do not clearly refer to this character or to the earlier Jesus figure on the tree. The passage is also unclear about the identity of the dew, the point of origin for the Youth. Other images in the Psalm Book generally associate the dew with a gift from above, such as joy, or a heavenly washing or purification. In *PsB* 190.10 it gives sweetness to fruits, so the Youth as son of the dew in *PsB* 155.25 could be little more than an image for Jesus Patibilis, whose presence in trees and fruits is detected partly by sweetness. The whole context of these verses is ambiguous. It is not clear that two figures are to be delineated, nor, if this is the case, that the Youth is Jesus the Youth. Nothing here suggests any connection to the Summons and Obedience, which might have supported the equivalence. If only one figure is intended, then perhaps the Jesus who hangs on the tree, whom I have suggested is Jesus Patibilis, is simply imaged as a youth, who is in turn imaged as the sap of the trees and the sweetness of the fruits of the trees.

Finally, *PsB* 204.22–205.9, a section of the first Psalm of Thomas, provides an entrance into the world for a ‘little one’, who could be identified with Jesus the Youth through the connection to the same title in *PsB* 210.16, as discussed below, although no other imagery or detail suggests the connection.<sup>1</sup> In the former psalm, the little one, ‘small among them that are on high’ (204.23–24), the son of the Brightnesses and the Richnesses (= the sons of Light) (204.25), arms himself and descends into the abyss to humble the Son of Evil and his associates (204.24–29).

## 2 Jesus the Youth who weeps and cries out in the world

Knowing that the Counsel of Life is very closely associated with Jesus the Youth by its equation with the Summons and Obedience and its placement in the Living Soul, *Keph.* 178.1–5 provides further information that the Counsel of Life awakens, gives ease to and drives the various aspects of the Living Soul to movement. Part of the movement of the Living Soul must be understood to act within the community of the Manichaean church, since in this context, the elect actively seek to purify and release the Living Soul, as do the Summons and Obedience (*Keph.* 291.20–21). In fact the Summons and Obedience are at work when the believers utter the assent and the amen (*Keph.* 291.4–7).

The imagery of Summons and Obedience, Assent and Amen, associated

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<sup>1</sup> I will not discuss the possibility here that this is an influence from Mandaeism, where the Little One refers to Hibil-Ziwa, who may be partly the basis for the character of Jesus the Youth. See also the title used in *PsB* 216.1–13, seemingly for a prince who is cast into two rivers and thence into the sea, although the passage is unclear.

with Jesus the Youth, suggests that some active voice would be ascribed to him within the world or within the church. A character simply referred to as the Youth appears in the fourth Psalm of Thomas, *PsB* 209.13–210.16, entitled: ‘Concerning the First Man: That of the Cross of Light’. The Youth is in a pit at the bottom of Hades (209.13). He cries out, groans and weeps, apparently directing his crying to the ‘Great Brightness’ (209.14–15), telling all that has happened to him and who has moved against him (209.16–22). The Mighty One hears and sends an envoy, the Adamas of Light, to help the Youth and overcome those against him (209.22–210.12). As a result the Youth ascends to his Father, and the Father and the rich ones of Light greet him as the ‘little one’ (210.16). The title of the psalm implies that the Youth represents the suffering Cross of Light, which cries out for help (cf. *Keph.* 268.24–27), another way of describing the Living Soul, which suffers while trapped in the darkness.<sup>2</sup> In the previous chapter, I proposed the equivalence of Jesus Patibilis and the Living Soul. While I have not equated the Youth directly with the Living Soul, any real differentiation here is difficult to make.

A similar quandary exists for the Parthian hymn M 42, in which a Boy or Youth addresses the Saviour, Jesus the Splendour, in his distress at being left behind in the world like an orphan with armies attacking him.<sup>3</sup> Here the Boy/Youth appears to be the Soul. However, a link is suggested with Jesus the Youth via the idea that it is the voice of the Soul, or the activating principle of the Soul, the Counsel of Life, which cries out in distress.

If a close connection exists between Jesus Patibilis and Jesus the Youth, as intimated in *PsB* 155, then some connection could be made between the Youth who cries out and the suffering vegetation which cries out and complains of its wounds, as found in various stories in the *CMC*, for example, 6.7–10.15. This is particularly the case where Mani describes the injured vegetables as ‘[wailing] like human beings, and, as it were, like children’ (*CMC* 10.1–4).

### 3 The Youth/Little One

The title ‘Little One’ occurs in the seventeenth Psalm of Thomas, *PsB* 223.9–224.15. Here the character appears to make music to mock the world. A

<sup>2</sup> For the Youth as the Living Soul, see e.g. Geo Widengren, *Mesopotamian Elements in Manichaeism (King and Saviour II): Studies in Manichaean, Mandaean and Syrian-Gnostic Religion*, Uppsala University Press, Uppsala/Leipzig, 1946, 54–5; and Peter Nagel, *Die Thomaspsalmen des koptisch manichäischen Psalmenbuches*, Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, Berlin, 1980, 81–4.

<sup>3</sup> MM III, 878–81. Peter Nagel (‘Der Dialog im manichäischen Psalter’, in *Studia Manichaica. II. Internationaler Kongress zum Manichäismus, 6–10. August, St Augustin/Bonn*, eds. Gernot Wießner and Hans-Joachim Klimkeit, Otto Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 1992, 233), following Alexander Böhlig (‘Einleitung’ in *Die Gnosis. Bd. 3: Der Manichäismus*, ed. Alexander Böhlig and Jes Peter Assmussen, Artemis, Zürich, 1980, 58), analyses *PsB* 148.21–149.27 as a dialogue between a saviour and the soul trapped in matter, reminiscent formally and thematically of M 42.

conversation with Matter ensues. Matter states that the Little One who makes music is not of this world. The Little One replies that he is in the world, but will not continue to dwell in it because the world is bereft of life and hates him. He hates the world in return and destroys it, going to the house of his Father, the house of the living. When he reaches the Land they clothe him in Light and set a garland of victory on his head. While the focus is primarily on the mockery here and the music as the method, the destruction at the end perhaps connects this passage with *PsB* 204.26–205.8, which describes the descent and war of the Little One against the Son of Evil and his minions. He overcomes them, destroys their tent, fetters them, breaks their snares and bursts their nets, releasing all that was ensnared, then gathers his wealth and returns with it to the Land of Rest (204.30–205.8).

*PsB* 211.13–24, a section of the fifth Psalm of Thomas, tells a similar story to *PsB* 209.13–210.16, noted above, although the text is more damaged. Here the Youth makes music on the banks of the Euphrates ('in the scent of life which dwelt upon him' [211.17]) instead of weeping and crying out. Here the Living Soul tells the story of meeting the Youth as the Living Soul escapes from the snares of the evil ones in the world, which again complicates any attempt to understand how exactly the Youth is related to the Living Soul,<sup>4</sup> if this is indeed the same Youth. Nagel concludes that the Youth is not the same as the sorrowing child of *PsB* 209–210, nor the warring youth of *PsB* 204–205, but rather, the Light form appearing as a youth who comes to help the rising Soul to the Light.<sup>5</sup> Certainly this does not appear to be the crying Youth, but he could represent the same entity as the warring Little One, since he is a heavenly figure concerned with the salvation of the Soul. The Soul has already escaped; the Youth draws him out further with music, and is 'instrumental' in the Soul's movement further towards the Land of Light – in other words a different image with much the same meaning as the story of the warring Little One.

Another incident in which a youth plays music appears in the Persian parable M 46 of the seduced youth,<sup>6</sup> and certainly here he appears to be in the same situation as the Youth who weeps and cries out – duped by an old woman who makes him unconscious with wine, imprisoned by a king, and shut up behind three doors representing evil passions. He escapes after a bull hears his flute playing and crashes through the three doors.<sup>7</sup>

#### 4 The final gathering

If the Summons and Obedience, which are associated with the Youth, are part of the fourfold God, then the destiny of the Living Soul should include

<sup>4</sup> Gardner ('Manichaean Christology', 136) identifies this Youth as Jesus the Youth, noting the similar aspect of the fragrance in *PsB* 155.27.

<sup>5</sup> Nagel, *Die Thomaspsalmen*, 89, 91.

<sup>6</sup> Sundermann (ed.), *Mittelpersische und parthische kosmogonische*, 84–6; *SR*, 187–8.

<sup>7</sup> Both Asmussen (*Manichaean Literature*, 99) and Gardner ('Manichaean Christology', 46–7) identify the Youth as the Living Soul.

them as well. *Keph.* 175.28–176.8 states that included with the gathering of the five elements (light, fire, water, wind, air) are the Summons and Answer/Response. The latter two elements follow on from the first five, and all of them are taken up to the place of rest forever.

*Keph.* 28.34–29.11 also provides information on the end of the Call and Response, here in its guise as the Great Counsel:

[The fourth] hunter is the great counsel ... at the end, in the dis-soluti[on] of the universe, this very counsel of life [will] gather itself in and sculpt its soul in the Last [St]atue. Its net is its Living Spirit, becau[se] with its Spirit it can hunt after the light and the life that is in all [t]hings; and build it upon its body. Its ship, in which it [is est]ablished, is this light cloud whereby it itself trav[els] in the five elements...

In *Keph.* 54.9–24, the Great Counsel and the Summons and Obedience occur together at the beginning of the eschatological section:

T[hen the summons and the obed]ience, the great counsel that came [to] the el[emen]ts, which are set in conjunction. It [mixed w]ith them, i[t was es]tablished [i]n silence. It bears u[p ...] un[til the end t]ime when it can arise and stand [f]ir[m] in the g[reat] fire. It will gather to it its own soul, and se[cul]pt it in the Last Sta[t]ue. You will a[ls]o find it sweeps out and casts from it the polluti[on] that is foreign to it. However, the life and the li[gh]t that are in all things it gathers in to it, and builds upon its body. The time when this Last Statue will be perfect in all its limbs, then it can become free and ascend from that great struggle thr[ough] the Living Spirit its father, the one who comes and brings a [... ]limb. He brings it up from within this gathering(?), the melting do[wn] and destruction of all things.

However, while a great deal of information is given for the Summons and Obedience and the Counsel of Life, these texts contain nothing explicit about Jesus the Youth. The lack of material on Jesus the Youth emphasizes once again that there is less interest in him as a developed figure when compared to the detail on the entire 'history' of the Summons and Obedience.

## 5 Conclusion

Among the passages noted above, the Kephalaia contains the strongest sources for Jesus the Youth. *Keph.* 61.26–28 mentions Jesus the Youth unambiguously, although *Keph.* 35.27–34 represents a strong possible reference. The figure of the Youth in the Psalm Book remains unclear and somewhat ambiguous, especially in the Psalms of Thomas. Eastern texts do not explicitly mention Jesus the Youth, nor do they seem to imply such a figure. M 42 mentions a Youth but this is unlikely to be Jesus the Youth. I should add, that although Chinese sources know of the Summons and

Obedience as the gods Call and Answer/Response (e.g. H. 391), they contain no explicit reference or allusion to the figure of Jesus the Youth.

Richter provides some assistance in the attempt to differentiate the figure of the Youth and the figure of Jesus the Youth. Within a study of the Ascent Psalms (*'Aufstiegspsalmen'*) of Heracleides, Richter suggests a three-stage chronological development occurs in the texts: the figure of the Youth (who is not Jesus the Youth) in the Psalms of Thomas and M 42 belongs to the first stage; the figure of Jesus the Youth is developed in the second stage, which must have happened in parallel to the first stage; in the third stage, the first figure of the Youth is taken over totally by Jesus the Youth. For Richter, *Keph.* 35.27–34 provides the boundary – on the one hand, Jesus the Youth is not mentioned, but on the other hand he appears elsewhere in the Kephalaia related to the same Light being.<sup>8</sup> That a figure of a youth would appear in parables or in stories about the Soul in Richter's first stage is not surprising, given even earlier pre-Manichaean material such as the Hymn of the Pearl from the Syrian Thomas tradition, which uses the same archetypal image of a youth (this time a prince) who represents the Soul descended into the world, trapped, awakened and finally returned home.

The figure of Jesus the Youth is vague, of little interest for the texts, and is poorly developed within them. The interest in most texts is squarely on the Summons and Obedience or the Living Soul. As with Jesus Patibilis, the figure acts as one of many possible ways of describing what happens to the Living Soul or an aspect of the Living Soul. Even in comparison to the little developed figure of Jesus Patibilis, Jesus the Youth is weakly developed. I imagine that at some stage it must have become obvious to Manichaean teachers that the proliferation of personified images for key cosmic figures, using some aspect of the figure of Jesus, was making the whole system more and more confusing. Certainly it must have been so for some believers.

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<sup>8</sup> Siegfried Richter, *Die Aufstiegspsalmen des Herakleides. Untersuchungen zum Seelenaufstieg und zur Seelenmesse bei den Manichäern*. Sprachen und Kulturen des Christlichen Orients 1, Reichert Verlag, Wiesbaden, 1997, 171–3.

## *Jesus the Moon*

This chapter completes the study of the six Jesus figures. While very little can be said about the figure of Jesus the Moon, unlike the previous two figures, it is relatively easy to understand and also to outline a possible line of development for this figure.

As with Jesus the Youth and the image of a Youth within the Manichaean writings, an image of the moon is used apart from passages dealing with Jesus the Moon. Some of the passages which use the image of the moon are dealt with below.

### 1 The moon as object of veneration or god

The moon emerges in a number of contexts within the Manichaean writings. Veneration, honour, and praise are given to the moon in its role as an important feature of the Manichaean salvific system. This is not to suggest, however, that the moon is conceived necessarily as a god, but rather as the residence, throne or judgement seat of a god. Praise and honour of the moon can be found, for example, in *PsB* 32.22–23 ('the Luminary of the night is a holy Bema'), and *PsB* 35.23–24 ('The sun that gives light – honour it, and the moon [and the stars (?)] and the Perfect Man').

A moon god (sometimes named in a pair or a connected deity as 'sun-moon god' or 'sun and moon god') does appear in some of the Eastern texts (e.g. Pelliot Chinois 3049;<sup>1</sup> Ch/U 6818 v 5–6;<sup>2</sup> TM 289 V 17; M 798 R 9–10; T I D 51 a 3;<sup>3</sup> and T II Y 47<sup>4</sup>), although nothing identifies this god as Jesus. Zieme's translation in T II T 509 (Ch/U 6814), R 216 of 'Sonnen- und Mond-Götter' ('sun and moon gods') suggests that this conjunction is a convention for putting the two gods together.<sup>5</sup>

M 98 describes the vehicle of the Moon God as made out of wind and water with five walls, fourteen gates and five houses, three thrones, and five angels to collect souls.<sup>6</sup> TM 301, 3 speaks of the salvation found in the Moon

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<sup>1</sup> James R. Hamilton (ed.), *Manuscripts Ouïgours du IX<sup>e</sup>–X<sup>e</sup> Siècle de Touen-Houang*. Peeters, Paris, 1986, 44.

<sup>2</sup> Peter Zieme, *Manichäisch-türkische Texte*, Akademie Verlag, Berlin, 1975, 33.

<sup>3</sup> Peter Zieme, 'Beiträge zur Erforschung des X<sup>e</sup>astvanifi', *MIOF*, 12 (1966): 357–8.

<sup>4</sup> Bang(-Kaup) and von Gabain, 'Türkische Turfan-Texte. IV', 434–5.

<sup>5</sup> Zieme, *Manichäisch-türkische Texte*, 34.

<sup>6</sup> *HR II*, 38–9.

God,<sup>7</sup> and T II D 176 describes him raising the dead.<sup>8</sup> Zieme also notes the role of the Moon God in providing 'blessing' or 'charisma' to the ruler, and that this formula occurs repeatedly in the writings of Chinese historians referring to the Uighur Khans of the period from 744 to 840.<sup>9</sup>

Clearly the Moon God can be harmed by its enemies (as, e.g., in H. 25 by the Maras which overshadow it) and even by believers who do not act ethically but instead deceive (TM 303 [M 153] 1–11),<sup>10</sup> and thus the (Sun and) Moon God is intimately concerned with the process of forgiveness (e.g. TM 183).<sup>11</sup>

The popularity of the Moon God is well-attested in T II D 173c, 1, V 10–19. Here a disciple asks why, in the great gospel-book, the Moon God is praised and blessed first, before Zurvan, the Father of Greatness.<sup>12</sup>

## 2 The moon associated with Jesus the Splendour and Jesus the Apostle

The moon is connected with Jesus the Splendour principally as his throne and vehicle. Jesus the Splendour has a throne in the moon, along with the thrones for the First Man and the Virgin of Light (*Keph.* 82.32–83.1). His having a throne in the moon is perhaps also the idea behind the statement in *c. Faust.* XX, 2, that the Son's (Christ's) power is the sun, his wisdom the moon. The Kephalaia also informs us of a descent of Jesus the Splendour involving heavenly (and earthly) vehicles, one of which is the moon (*Keph.* 37.1–2).

The moon also functions as the ship steered by Jesus, effecting the first part of the journey of the souls to be ferried to the Light (*PsB* 151.31–152.7). Not only is he a helmsman, he is also the ship ('Jesus is a ship: blessed are we if we sail upon it' [*PsB* 166.11]). While he is not explicitly called the moon in the latter analogy, nevertheless a literal interpretation of the verse in such a way could help to explain the conflation of Jesus the Splendour and the moon within the Eastern texts. The same process could apply to the image of a chariot in M 801 S. 7 99–104, 109–110, which appears to refer to the Third Messenger and Jesus the Splendour:

... and the blissful ancestors who are themselves the bright chariots,  
the valiant hunters and the keen helmsmen, the praised messengers  
... the bright appearances, the best of gods, the great redeemers ...<sup>13</sup>

<sup>7</sup> *Türk. Man.* III, 505.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 477.

<sup>9</sup> Peter Zieme, 'Manichäische Kolophone und Könige', in *Studia Manichaica*, ed. Wießner and Klimkeit, 1992, 323.

<sup>10</sup> Albert August von Le Coq, 'Chuastuanift, ein Sündenbekenntnis der manichäischen Auditores', *APAW* 1910, 4 (Berlin, 1910): 574 5.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 582.

<sup>12</sup> *Türk. Man.* III, 474.

<sup>13</sup> *BBB*, 21; *SR*, 135.

*PsB* 2.21–26 presents Jesus as the one who brings light, like the moon or the sun:

The moon that tastes not sleep, the sun that raises up what has been refined, the seal and likeness of the image of the Father, the sign of joy, the exalted victory. Jesus, the physician of the wounded, the Redeemer of the living souls, the paths which the wanderers seek, the door of the treasure of lives.

TracPell. T.83 a14-a15 (/P.556), quoting from Mani's *Synaxies of the Living Gospel*, identifies the Son of Light with the 'splendour' of the sun and the moon, perhaps implying a connection with Jesus the Splendour.<sup>14</sup>

In TM 166 V 1–6, what might seem to be a reference to Jesus the Moon (*ay* is literally 'moon'), could just as easily be read as a hymn praising the light brought by Jesus the Splendour:

My God!  
 [You are] the new [day].  
 The bright new month (*ay*).  
 The newly raised year!  
 You are the new, mighty, radiant God!<sup>15</sup>

The association of Jesus the Apostle and the moon is much more tenuous than that of Jesus the Splendour and the moon. Apart from the idea that Jesus the Apostle might have risen to the moon at the moment of his *parinirvāṇa*, as already discussed in Chapter 4, there remains only the Sogdian hymn So. 18,224 (= TM 389d), discussed below under Jesus the Moon as healer. The prelude to prayer by Gabryab, R 5–17, sets the miracle squarely within an understanding of the miracles worked by Jesus the Apostle:

Then he (Gabryab) turned around and spoke to the Christians, 'Christ was a wonder-working Lord. He healed the blind as well as the lame and crippled (?) from their infirmities. Similarly he raised the dead to life. And usually the son has the appearance (?) of the father, and the disciple is similar to the teacher. If you are, now, indeed truly disciples of Christ and resemble Christ, step forth, all of you, and heal this girl from her illness, as Jesus said to his disciples, "On whom you lay your hand, on him will I bring better health through the hand of God."<sup>16</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Schmidt-Glintzer (*Chinesische Manichaica*, 146) also suggests that the Son of Light might refer to Jesus (cf. also H. 146 and 151).

<sup>15</sup> *Türk. Man.* III, 490; *SR*, 291.

<sup>16</sup> Sundermann (ed.), *Mitteliranische manichäische Texte*, 46; *SR*, 209–10.

### 3 Jesus the Moon

The sources provide little information regarding a figure of Jesus the Moon *per se*, and what little can be gleaned comes from the few Central Asian texts in which this character explicitly appears.<sup>17</sup> In M 176, Jesus the Moon rises as the New Moon from the 'New Paradise', bringing a new joy to the whole church.<sup>18</sup> Presumably, this means he rises from the paradise to which the souls are going. He is also termed the Full Moon, which he would become when acting as the ship of salvation, full of souls for the journey to the Light. In this hymn, he is asked for forgiveness, an activity that would precede or accompany the movement of the souls into paradise. He is also praised as the 'first of the gods', 'god', 'the noble Father', 'Lord of fair name', 'light of hearts'.

I have already noted in Chapter 2 the apparent reference to Mani as the Sun-Moon God in T II D 260,34; 259,17. Given the close link between Mani and Jesus the Splendour, the step to naming Mani in such a fashion is easy to follow.

#### 3.1 Jesus the Moon as saviour and ferryman

The most significant hymn dealing with the activity of Jesus the Moon is the Sogdian text made up of T II D II 169, M 680 and TM 383.<sup>19</sup> The hymn is entitled: 'Hymn in Praise of Jesus, the King: "We Would Fulfil"', and this hymn makes it clear that Jesus the Moon is, in effect, a sort of shorthand for the Jesus associated with the final activity of saving souls and taking them into the ship of the moon. The one who comes with salvation, who is the third Great One and beloved Son, is variously addressed with titles associated with life, light, redemption from the dead, entrance into the Light, kinship with believers (father, mother, and brother) and healing:

With mouths full (of praise) we would bless (thee),  
 Praise and honor to the great Moon of Light,  
 To the life-giver, the dear son of the god Zurvan,  
 To the merciful Lord of the whole world!  
 You we do invoke with a loud voice,  
 May your light enter our minds;  
 Your power is gathered in our limbs.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> A tenuous link can be made with a Western text in *Keph. II* 348.23, which identifies the Light Nous as a moon, and in Chapter 3, the link between Jesus the Splendour and the Light Nous is noted.

<sup>18</sup> *HR II*, 60-61; *SR*, 161. Klimkeit (*SR*, 161) identifies the New Moon here as Jesus the Splendour.

<sup>19</sup> *WL I*, 94-7.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, 94; *SR*, 63-4.

### 3.2 Jesus the Moon as healer

The Sogdian text So. 18,224 (= TM 389d) tells the story of Gabryab, disciple of Mani, who called on Jesus as he rose (as the moon) to heal a girl:

Then Gabryab, with his [disciples?], stood [in prayer and praise on] the fourteenth day of the month, and around the evening, when Jesus (the moon) rose, Gabryab continued to praise Jesus and said, 'You are a true God and a vivifier of souls; help me this time, beneficent Lord! Bring better health to this girl through my hand, so that your divinity may become manifest before all the people, and that (it may become clear) that we are the ones who are truly obedient to your commandments.' (R 23–34)<sup>21</sup>

## 4 Conclusion

It remains to show how other Jesus figures, especially Jesus the Splendour, and their activities relate to the figure of Jesus the Moon. Scholars have already made direct connections between Jesus the Splendour and Jesus the Moon,<sup>22</sup> as well as indirect connections of the same figures via a connection to the Primal Man.<sup>23</sup> All these examples – of Jesus's throne, vehicle, or ship as the moon; of Jesus as himself the moon; of the use of the moon in light imagery and metaphor for him as the Splendour – show how easily the imagery could lead to a concrete entity such as Jesus the Moon. I consider Jesus the Moon to be completely dependent on, and derived from, Jesus the Splendour in this manner. That such a development did occur in Central Asian Manichaeism is illustrated in an example given by Waldschmidt and Lentz, in which the Iranian hymn T I a R 4–6:

Wir wollen preisen Jesum, Jungfrau, Erkenntnis, Mari Mani samt den Gesandten. [We wish to praise Jesus, Virgin, Knowledge, Mari Mani together with the Envoys.]<sup>24</sup>

is reworked in the Turkish:

Wir beten zum Sonne- und Mond-Gott, zur Blitzgötten, Nom qutī, Mari Mani und den Propheten. (We pray to the Sun and Moon God, to the Lightning goddess, Nom qutī, Mari Mani and the Prophets.)<sup>25</sup>

<sup>21</sup> Sundermann (ed.), *Mitteliranische manichäische Texte*, 47: SR, 210.

<sup>22</sup> Rose, *Die Manichäische Christologie*, 26, 161; SR, 68, n. 2: 325; Sundermann, 'Namen von Göttern', 104 5; see 101 and 128, n. 184 6.

<sup>23</sup> SR, 35 6, 38 9: Klimkeit, 'Das Kreuzsymbol', 109. The connection of the moon to the Primal Man is made by WL I, 15; Polotsky, 'Manichäismus', 707; and Lieu, *Manichaeism in the Later Roman Empire*, 250 51.

<sup>24</sup> WL II, 551 (trans. mine).

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, 584 (trans. mine).

Burkitt further explains a possible source of confusion in the Turkish texts:

... it is not easy to express what the Manichees mean when they say 'God', for to them God is rather a substance than a person, using these contentious words in their modern connotation. *Tāngri* in Manichee Turkish is 'God', *kün* is 'day', *ai* is 'month'. The last two words mean 'sun' and 'moon' respectively, so that *kün ai tāngri* is 'Sun-Moon-God'. This expression occurs in the *Khuastuanift* more than half-a-dozen times, but it is never quite clear whether it means 'the divine sun and moon' or 'the god of the Sun and Moon': the two expressions coalesce in this Turkish and I doubt whether those who used the *Khuastuanift* distinguished between the two notions.<sup>26</sup>

From the study above, obviously even where Jesus the Moon occurs in Central Asian texts, such occurrences are rare. Whether that figure results from conflation with the residence, vehicles, or Light nature of Jesus the Splendour – which seems more likely – or simply results from a mistaken reading of the Turkish texts, I would state emphatically that he is not an important figure in Manichaeism, even where he occurs within Central Asian Manichaeism.

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<sup>26</sup> Burkitt, *The Religion of the Manichees*, 49-50.

## Interim Summary 2

### *Jesus – Patibilis and Youth*

In this second Interim Summary, I deal with the equivalence between Jesus Patibilis and Jesus the Youth. Since I have written on this point already at various stages within Chapters 6 and 7, I need here only to summarize and reiterate the main points. I do not include Jesus the Moon in my considerations, since Chapter 8 makes clear his equivalence to, development from, and complete dependence on Jesus the Splendour. Once the equivalence of Jesus Patibilis and Jesus the Youth is established, it provides another basis, together with the findings of Interim Summary 1, for discussing the entire group of Jesus figures in the Final Summary.

What becomes clear as regards the second group of three figures covered in Chapters 6–8 is the relative lack of detail and character development for them all. This is not surprising in the special case of Jesus the Moon, but clearly also for Jesus Patibilis and Jesus the Youth, no real working-out of their place and role is present in the entire Manichaean system – they are really only secondarily associated with the Living Soul and the Summons and Obedience, who are the primary figures. This suggests that they are little more than afterthoughts to the already established cosmic figures. They represent some aspect of the ‘Jesus story’ known to Manichaeans, which has been used to further explicate the nature of the Living Soul, what happens to it and how it suffers, how it strives to overcome that suffering, how it remains active in some way in the world, and how it succeeds in overcoming the world.

In a preliminary study I suggested that the names Jesus Patibilis and Jesus the Child/Youth represent two aspects of the Jesus trapped in the material world: passively suffering as Jesus Patibilis; actively supplicating as Jesus the Youth. Thus they comprise the passive and active sides of the Living Soul.<sup>1</sup> My further study has shown this division to be too simplistic, although aspects of it can be supported. Certainly passages about the soul, but not connected explicitly to either Jesus Patibilis or Jesus the Youth, illustrate both features previously named, but the passages are predominantly about the activity of the soul, and very little about its passivity. Many examples illustrate this point. The Parthian parable M 580 describes the soul as crying out and lamenting because of its maltreatment in the world.<sup>2</sup> In *PsB* 148.25–26, 29 the soul says to its saviour that it will be a champion for him, going out to fight, giving its body for the saviour’s body. In *PsB* 149.23–25 the saviour advises the soul to fast and remain virginal in order to vanquish the lion and

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<sup>1</sup> Franzmann, ‘Jesus in the Manichaean Writings’, 238

<sup>2</sup> Asmussen, *Manichaean Literature*, 34: *SR*, 193.

the serpent. The soul asks for the garlands (of victory) in *PsB* 149.27, because it has laboured in the fight. In *PsB I* 189.11–16, the soul cries out to Jesus the Splendour for mercy and release from the entanglements of the world. The saviour replies that the soul illuminates its enemies on earth in order to seize them and gain control over them (28–31). The overall picture then is of a very active, though suffering, soul. I already noted this in Chapter 6 – where Jesus Patibilis can be connected with the Soul, he is not in any predominant sense a passive figure.

In Chapter 6, I presented Jesus Patibilis as equivalent to the Living Soul, or perhaps more precisely as an image of the Living Soul. In Chapter 7, I presented Jesus the Youth as equivalent to, or the image of, the Summons and Obedience (the Counsel of Life), set within the Living Soul. What is unclear is the way in which the Soul and what is within the Soul can be thought of as discrete entities. Can the Soul be clearly differentiated from some inner voice or active aspect of the Soul? The texts themselves are not entirely clear about this, as I pointed out in Chapter 7. *Keph.* 54.9–11 and 63.2–3, for example, equate the Summons and Obedience with the Great Counsel, as does *Keph.* 61.29–31, but the latter also seems to add the Soul to the equation.

In conclusion then, both Jesus Patibilis and Jesus the Youth are rather vague figures, undeveloped to any extent, both acting as ways of imaging the existence of the Living Soul within the world and its release. They are simply extensions of the thinking about the Soul and how it deals with being in the world in a number of positive and negative senses. In this sense, they can be considered equivalent.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Villey ([ed.], *Psaumes des errants*, 307) appears to go a little further in conflating Jesus the Youth with Jesus Patibilis: 'Le *Jesus patibilis* - appelé aussi Enfant . . . dans les textes coptes et parthes - représente l'âme de lumière emprisonnée dans la création' ('Jesus Patibilis - also called Child . . . in the Coptic and Parthian texts - represents the Soul of Light imprisoned in creation' [my translation]).

## Final Summary

### *Six Jesus Figures – One Jesus*

I have already noted, in Interim Summary 1, the equivalence of Jesus the Splendour, Jesus the Apostle, and Jesus the Judge, and, in Interim Summary 2, the somewhat less explicit equivalence of Jesus Patibilis and Jesus the Youth. This final summary brings together those two sets of equivalences. Once again, as in Interim Summary 2, I do not include Jesus the Moon in my considerations, but accept his complete development from Jesus the Splendour.

As argued in Chapters 6 and 7 and Interim Summary 2, the figures of Jesus Patibilis and Jesus the Youth are not intended as fully developed Jesus figures in their own right. Of the two, Jesus Patibilis is by far the more developed. As might be expected, therefore, the links between Jesus Patibilis and the first three Jesus figures of Chapters 3–5 are far more in evidence than any link between these figures and Jesus the Youth. Thus, Jesus Patibilis is the focus of this summary.

Chapter 1 delineates the variety of findings of previous scholars concerning the Manichaean Jesus. The conclusions from this summary should establish beyond doubt that one Jesus is intended within the Manichaean system.

#### **1 Jesus the Splendour and Jesus Patibilis<sup>1</sup>**

Of all the possible connections, that between Jesus the Splendour and Jesus Patibilis is the most crucial, and the one which would confirm the theory of one Jesus figure if proven, since the equivalence of Jesus the Splendour, the Apostle and the Judge has already been established.

Many studies of these two figures characterize Jesus the Splendour as the transcendent cosmic character who saves or redeems and Jesus Patibilis as the one trapped in the world or matter who suffers and is saved. However, earlier chapters of this study should have made clear that these categories cannot be understood to be exclusive to either of these two characters. Several texts already noted put such exclusivity under question. In the Persian hymn M 28 II R I–V I, for example, Jesus the Splendour is welcomed as the liberated

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<sup>1</sup> The explicit connection of these two is also to be found in Hans-Joachim Klimkeit, 'Manichäische und buddhistische Beichtformeln aus Turfan. Beobachtungen zur Beziehung zwischen Gnosis und Mahayana'. *ZRGG*, 293 (1977): 216; Rose, *Die Manichäische Christologie*, 67–9; and Puech, 'La Conception manichéenne du salut', 48–9.

sovereign, and in M 28 II V I–V ii and M 612 V he is addressed as ‘liberated ruler and New Dispensation ... new redeemer and new redeemed one’. Further, in *PsB* 148.21–149.27, Jesus Patibilis fights for his own liberation, admittedly with his saviour as helper.

Being trapped in the world, and thus mixed with matter, also raises questions about the degree to which a character like Jesus Patibilis can be equivalent to Jesus the Splendour. Gardner, for example, notes that the human body of the Manichaean auditor is itself the body of the demon Az, such that, by corollary, Jesus Patibilis can be said to be intimately conjoined with the demons.<sup>2</sup> That this does not, however, preclude his equivalence with Jesus the Splendour is clear from the equivalence of Jesus the Splendour with the Primal Man (which is discussed below), who also is mixed with matter.

One basis for arguing for two aspects of a single Jesus character who redeems, and who suffers and is redeemed, appears within the contrasting descriptions for divinity in *PsB* 171.25–172.32, a psalm which also includes implicit reference to Jesus the Splendour and Jesus Patibilis, as noted in earlier chapters. The opening verses (171.26–28) describe God: ‘he that is hidden, that is revealed, he that is silent, [that speaks also]’. Thus God is characterized by seeming opposites, and the psalm continues to describe in statements of complementary opposites the various events of salvation: ‘The Darkness [went] up, but the Light went down’ (172.6); ‘[Death tasted] life, but life tasted Death’ (172.8–9); ‘Love grieved, but they of the Darkness made festival’ (172.12); ‘Who is this that seeks? Who is this that is sought?’ (172.18); ‘The sheep bound to the tree is the Love that died: the Wisdom that reveals is the shepherd that seeks after it’ (172.24–25). Love/light/life descends into the realm of darkness, tastes death, grieves, and is bound to a tree (i.e. the Living Soul or Jesus Patibilis). The psalm is a statement about a cosmic fall of enormous proportions. All those essential attributes of God experience or become the opposite of what he is, while the enemy – Darkness and Death – ascends and tastes life and rejoices. The Wisdom who seeks for what was fallen (i.e. Jesus the Splendour) is one more attribute of that God – God both falls and seeks after the fallen.<sup>3</sup>

A similar idea of complementary opposites lies within *Keph.* 151.28–152.17. Here, as noted in Chapter 2, Jesus the Splendour is the revealer *par excellence*, manifesting and revealing everything both external and internal, both above and below. He is like the tongue, which is outside the body, but reveals through speech what is happening to the body both inside and outside. He also reveals the suffering and redemption of the Living Soul. In this description, Jesus the Splendour is related to Jesus Patibilis, but seems nevertheless to be also, in some way like the tongue, outside of this one who suffers so that he can make revelations about him.

<sup>2</sup> Gardner, ‘Manichaean Christology’, 64.

<sup>3</sup> Gardner (*ibid.*, 32–3) suggests that here the ‘historical features of Christ have become universalized out of specific time and space, and made applicable to the totality of the divinity, whether needing to be redeemed or redeeming. In a sense Christ has been “divided” into the teacher/redeemer who is the untrapped God, and the crucified who is the trapped divine, the Living Soul.’

Connections can be made between Jesus the Splendour and Jesus Patibilis via material which concerns the Primal Man and the Perfect Man. Several times in Chapter 3, I outlined the conflation of Jesus the Splendour with the Primal Man.<sup>4</sup> As discussed in that chapter, if *Keph. II* 302.27–28 describes crucifixion for Jesus the Splendour, it happens in the mystery of the Primal Man, thereby linking Jesus the Splendour with the suffering of the sons of the Primal Man (i.e. the Living Soul). In other words, the mystery of the act of the Primal Man is re-enacted in the ‘crucifixion’ of Jesus the Splendour as Jesus the Apostle.<sup>5</sup>

*PsB* 59.1–60:6, which appears to address Jesus the Splendour, calls Jesus the Perfect Man in the Pillar (59.17). *PsB* 59.19 appears to equate the Perfect Man with the Primal Man, and in 59.11, with the Nous. As already noted above and in Chapter 3, Jesus the Splendour is strongly connected with both the Primal Man and the Nous. If Gardner is correct in identifying the Perfect Man in the Pillar (= Primal Man) with Jesus Patibilis,<sup>6</sup> this leads to the ultimate equation of Jesus the Splendour with Jesus Patibilis. Citing this psalm, together with *PsB* 88.12–13, Böhlig accounts for the two identifications of Jesus with the Primal Man and the Perfect Man as a Manichaean hermeneutic of the New Testament understanding of Jesus as the Son of God, who descends from heaven to suffer and die in order to save humanity (= Primal Man).<sup>7</sup> Jesus as a perfect man is found in Eph 4:11ff. (= Perfect Man).<sup>8</sup> In other words, Böhlig connects here for Manichaeism, as for ‘orthodox’ Christianity, the two aspects of Jesus as a cosmic and suffering redeemer.

Boyce supports this connection, and thus the idea of a saved saviour, more generally in the hymn S 13 and S 9 R ii 30, noting that:

all the Manichaean gods [are] in fact the ‘sons’ of the Father of Greatness. They are also, as beings of Light, of the same substance as the imprisoned Soul; and the link between the First Man and the Soul is particularly close, so that he is as it were himself both Saviour and the Soul that is to be saved.<sup>9</sup>

Henning goes on to speak in this same context of the saved saviour, completely identifying the Primal Man (with his five sons) or Jesus the Splendour with Jesus Patibilis.<sup>10</sup> Lieu also follows Boyce, but differentiates between this text and Western Manichaean texts, arguing that the representation of the

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<sup>4</sup> See, also on the conflation, Henning, ‘Ein manichäischer kosmogonischer Hymnus’, 222; Alexander Böhlig and Jes Peter Asmussen (eds), *Die Gnosis. Bd. 3: Der Manichäismus*, Artemis, Zürich, 1980, 122–3 and 323, n. 70, and Gardner, ‘Manichaean Christology’, 65.

<sup>5</sup> Klimkeit (*SR*, 17) also remarks on the close relation between Jesus the Splendour and the Primal Man, noting how the Primal Man takes on some of the redeeming functions of Jesus the Splendour in the Sogdian version of Huyadagman.

<sup>6</sup> Gardner, ‘The Manichaean Account of Jesus’, 78–9.

<sup>7</sup> Böhlig, ‘The New Testament and the Concept of the Manichaean Myth’, 91–2.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 97.

<sup>9</sup> Boyce, *Reader*, 101.

<sup>10</sup> Henning, ‘Ein manichäischer kosmogonischer Hymnus’, 222.

Soul in Iranian Manichaeism as both Saviour and Soul to be saved is similar to the dual role of Jesus in Western Manichaean texts: Jesus the Luminous (the Gnostic Saviour) and Jesus Patibilis (symbol of the suffering of the captured light particles).<sup>11</sup> Clearly, the passages above from the Psalm Book and Kephalaia demonstrate that the Western Manichaean texts cannot be so easily divided into those dealing with either Jesus the Splendour or Jesus Patibilis. These two figures are indeed also representations of two aspects of the one Jesus figure, just as Lieu represents the Soul in the Eastern texts as incorporating the two aspects of the saviour and the one requiring salvation.

## 2 Jesus the Apostle and Jesus Patibilis<sup>12</sup>

Given that both Jesus the Apostle and Jesus Patibilis take a variety of their aspects from the canonical accounts of the historical Jesus, not surprisingly a connection appears between Jesus Patibilis and Jesus the Apostle via certain events described of the historical Jesus. The resurrection of Jesus the Apostle in three days (following the canonical sources) is linked directly to the Cross of Light (Jesus Patibilis) in *PsB* 160.14–15:

Jesus has risen: he has risen in three days, the Cross  
of Light that rises in three powers.

*Hom.* 91.28–32 mentions the judgement scene of Jesus before Pilate. The passage occurs within the context of Mani's teachings on the Living Soul within plants. A follower had asked him why plants, having the Living Soul within, do not cry out when plucked from the earth. The context seems to link the silence of the Living Soul and the silence of Jesus the Apostle before Pilate, thus linking Jesus the Apostle with the Living Soul, Jesus Patibilis.

Jesus the Apostle is also linked with the Living Soul and thus to Jesus Patibilis in the Parthian hymn to the Living Soul M 6650 (= T II K), which identifies Jesus the Apostle (the Messiah) as the Living Soul (Jesus Patibilis) in parallel verses:

You, Oh Soul, would we praise, our bright Life!  
You would we praise, Jesus Messiah!<sup>13</sup>

Similarly, in the Parthian hymn to the Living Soul (M 83 I R 6–V 3, M 105a, M 200, and M 234), the redeemed soul is called Messiah and judge.<sup>14</sup> Waldschmidt and Lentz note this use of the term 'Messiah' for Jesus (citing it also in M 132 V 8–9), stating that it is never used for any other figure in the

<sup>11</sup> Lieu, *Manichaeism in the Later Roman Empire*, 250–51.

<sup>12</sup> François Decret (*Mani et la tradition manichéenne*, Seuil, Paris, 1974, 94–5) also supports this connection.

<sup>13</sup> WL I, 115; SR, 51.

<sup>14</sup> WL I, 117; SR, 44–5.

Manichaean pantheon – with the exception of a passage in T II D 115 R 5, where it is used in the plural to refer to the ‘light messiahs’ inhabiting paradise.<sup>15</sup>

Finally I cite the example of Fortunatus, who speaks of the Christ whom Christians say is the son of David (= Jesus the Apostle), and yet at the end of the dialogue scene, calls this Christ the Word of God, who ‘has been fettered in the race of darkness’, making a clear link between Jesus the Apostle and Jesus Patibilis (c. *Fort. Disput. I.* 19).

### 3 Jesus the Splendour, Jesus the Apostle, Jesus the Judge, and Jesus Patibilis

I have indicated individual connections between Jesus Patibilis and both Jesus the Splendour and Jesus the Apostle. In this final section I consider some passages in which connections are made between the most developed Jesus figures: the Splendour, the Apostle, the Judge, and Patibilis.

*PsB* 120–126 contains a long psalm to Jesus. Gardner writes that this psalm ‘casts great doubt on modern attempts to separate the conceptions of Jesus in Manichaeism’.<sup>16</sup> Indeed, here conceptions of Jesus Patibilis (e.g., 121.32: ‘The trees and the fruits – in them is thy holy body’) seem conflated with those of Jesus the Apostle (e.g., he is thrown into a filthy womb [120.25; 122.23], and he is hung on a cross [121.6]) and Jesus the Splendour (e.g., the one thrown into the womb, he is the one ‘that is in everything, in whom everything is’ [120.27], the one higher (?) than heaven and earth [122.19]; the one hung on a cross, he is ‘the ineffable and impalpable one’ [121.4]). Jesus the Splendour and Jesus the Apostle seem conflated in 121.15: ‘[The] son of God on high was hanged [to the cross]; and 121.17: ‘[The] son of the Father that is hidden – they gave him [burial].’ Jesus the Judge and Jesus the Apostle seem conflated in 123.27: ‘[By] thy renown thou didst go up: Death cried out and lamented’; 123.29: ‘[Thou madest] the cross a Bema for thyself, thou gavest judgement from it’; and 123.33: ‘Thou madest the cross a ship for thyself, thou wast the sailor on it.’

I used the Shābuhragān in Interim Summary 2 to illustrate the connection of Jesus the Splendour, Jesus the Apostle, and Jesus the Judge. It can also be used to illustrate a further connection of these three to Jesus Patibilis. Gardner notes the words of the judgement scene in the Shābuhragān that suggest some connection between Jesus the Judge and Jesus Patibilis, particularly the statements about being ‘bound’ and then ‘freed’.<sup>17</sup> But also the general comment can be made that this Jesus who judges speaks of a general kind of spiritual or physical suffering as well – of hunger and thirst, of poverty and illness, or captivity and alienation – and, moreover, the judge speaks of his own liberation by the helpers of the righteous (‘you loosed me’; ‘you set me free’):

<sup>15</sup> WL I, 35.

<sup>16</sup> Gardner (ed.), *Coptic Theological Papyri II*, 67.

<sup>17</sup> Gardner, ‘Manichaean Christology’, 293.

[And to the helpers] of the religious who stand on the right side he speaks thus, 'Welcome, you who have been [made] blessed of the Father of Greatness thereby, for I was hungry and thirsty [and] you gave me food. I was naked and you clothed me. I was ill and you cured me. I was bound and you loosed me. I was a captive and you set me free. And I was an exile and a wanderer and you gathered me to (your) house(s).' (M 475 a I [vv. 72-85])<sup>18</sup>

The hymn to Jesus the Splendour, M 28 II R I-V I,<sup>19</sup> presents a terminology more appropriate to Jesus Patibilis ('[sacred] meal of many'), possibly to Jesus the Apostle ('your name do we acknowledge, *Mam-sin*'),<sup>20</sup> and even to Jesus the Youth ('mighty God and sanctifying Voice' [*Xrostag*]).<sup>21</sup>

One of the few other links with Jesus the Youth is provided by two Kephalaia passages. In *Keph.* 61.17-28, Jesus the Splendour descends to the world by taking on the form of angels until finally he takes on the form of flesh – and he forms Jesus the Youth. *Keph.* 35.18-34 also presents Jesus the Splendour as the third father who emanates the third power of Jesus the Youth. The question arises: is something which is formed not the same as the one who forms it? Can what is emanated be the same as that from which it is emanated? In other words, as Jesus the Apostle comes from/is sent by Jesus the Splendour as a type of emanation of himself into the world, can Jesus the Youth be understood in the same way? By the connection of Jesus the Youth and Jesus Patibilis, by the connection of the latter with all three earlier figures of Jesus, little doubt exists that Jesus the Youth must also be seen as equivalent to Jesus the Splendour.

#### 4 Conclusion

More than enough evidence has been marshalled from the Manichaean texts to state confidently that Mani, and at least the early Manichaean community after him, believed in and revered one Jesus under many guises and within many different situations. I have shown that the unity of the Jesus figures can be traced both for the Eastern and for the Western texts. While the argument for unity may be slightly hampered by the little material available on Jesus the Youth, surely enough material exists to make the argument highly

<sup>18</sup> MacKenzie, 'Mani's Šābuhraġān', 506-7.

<sup>19</sup> MM II, 312-16; SR, 65-6.

<sup>20</sup> On the term *mam-sin* meaning 'messiah', Boyce (*Reader*, 124) writes: m'm wsyn: A puzzle. H. suggested very tentatively that the words might possibly represent an abbreviation of *mšyht*, which word, remarkably, does not occur in the hymn. In Syriac texts, *mšyht* is quite commonly abbreviated by the Syriac letters *mim* and *šin*; this abbreviation might have been made pronounceable with an inserted 'and', as *mym wšyn*, which, not understood by copyists, became corrupted as *m'm wšyn*.

<sup>21</sup> Klimkeit (SR, 68, n. 14) notes, as Sundermann suggests, that '*M'm-syn*, could be an unutterable "taboo-name" for Messiah.'

probable. With the analysis of each figure completed and the equivalences traced between the figures, I answer 'one', with a fair degree of surety, to Augustine's question to Faustus: 'Once more, how many Christs do you make?'

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## *Conclusion*

At the end of this analysis of the six Jesus figures, no doubt remains that one Jesus exists for Mani and, at least, for early Manichaeism. The material deals not with six nor even with two figures, but rather with one Jesus, who appears under a variety of descriptions and names. This discussion has considered both Western and Eastern texts and found that the equivalence of five of the figures (the minor figure of Jesus the Moon really only appears in the Eastern texts) pertains to them both. Not all six figures/names are found in texts from any one place. Added to that, the name 'Jesus Patibilis' does not occur in Manichaean texts at all, but I accept the use by Faustus (as recorded by Augustine) as valid.

One of the major texts supporting the conclusion of a unity of figures is the *Shābuhragān*. This text equates the four major figures of Jesus – Splendour, Apostle, Judge, and Patibilis – and could date back to Mani himself, making it more certain that Mani himself intended just one Jesus under many guises or roles.

Although I have isolated six Jesus figures by name, many of the texts simply call upon 'Jesus' without making a distinction. This has been one of the major difficulties with the research. Often little differentiation exists between figures; many times simply 'Jesus' is mentioned, or a reference to a figure that can only be 'Jesus' but with no further definition (there will clearly be much disagreement over passages I have assigned to one or other figure in the preceding chapters). That the Manichaeans themselves so often made no distinctions could indicate that such distinctions were unimportant, thus supporting my argument for one Jesus. Equally, the lack of distinctions could indicate that the texts were meant to complement teaching and any distinctions would have been clear to the initiated. A stronger argument lies in the undeniably persistent overlap of what is ascribed to each of the figures.

Not only the texts must be the guide. If Mani were so concerned that his followers should not distort his teaching/message, as so many disciples of previous Apostles of Light had done, and if he were concerned for clearly differentiated Jesus figures, then he was not very careful in his exposition of their nature or their origin, or their activity on behalf of believers. This above all argues for a unity of Jesus figures without differentiation, at least for Mani and for the early tradition. Of course what the later tradition did was not within Mani's power to control. But one might assume that in the short term at least a concern to follow his teachings closely would prevail. A tendency to misunderstand later could be the reason for the appearance of Jesus the Moon – either that or the missionaries in the Central Asian and Chinese region used their initiative here in constructing a figure that was needed for

the newer converts. Whatever the motivation, the process is clear, as I have outlined in Chapter 8.

Within the texts, the major focus is on Jesus as Splendour, Apostle and Judge. Jesus Patibilis, Jesus the Youth and Jesus the Moon cannot be considered properly developed figures in the same sense as these three. The figures of Jesus as Splendour, Apostle and Judge are also strongly linked through their saving descent into the world, as Gardner also writes: to Adam to impart *gnōsis*; to Palestine; and at the eschaton as King/Judge to gather in all of the Gnostic believers.<sup>1</sup> In each of these roles Jesus acts as a transcendent redeemer who enters into the world while still remaining separated from it in order to further the goal of rescuing the fragments of light from the world. In each case, Jesus's redemption centres on individual souls in the world rather than on cosmic activity.<sup>2</sup>

In his later (1991) work, Gardner concludes that the unity of the Manichaean figure of Jesus lies in the use of the life of the historical Jesus as the paradigm by which Manichaeans formed their understanding of 'Jesus' – in particular, their understanding of the figure of Jesus Patibilis.<sup>3</sup> However, I think the unity lies primarily in the use of the saviour sent – once, twice, three times into the world – and the focus is not on his suffering, but on his revelation. Suffering is only the result of saving activity linked to revelation. I find the basis for this, for example, in considering how Mani came to know Jesus in the first place. If his first real personal encounter came through the revelation of his Heavenly Twin, then his overwhelming impression would be of a cosmic revealer, and logically, I imagine, he worked out from this point to add other reflections about Jesus – thus revelation from a cosmic figure takes pride of place in his system and gives rise to the threefold descent of Jesus under various guises. Of course, the situation could have changed over time. At the time of Mani's suffering and death, he could have found strength or inspiration in the figure of the suffering Jesus of the canonical accounts. In the early days after Mani's death, the Manichaean community perhaps also found comfort and significance in this same Jesus. My overview of later reflections on Mani's death in Chapter 2 supports this view. This must inevitably have had its effect on additions to texts post-Mani.

One of the major problems in the study of Manichaean Christology, for Augustine through to modern scholarship, has been whether Manichaeism could accommodate the idea of divinity or transcendence merging with what is considered dirty, filthy or material, and if so, whether divinity is affected by this contact to the extent that it suffers or is at least capable of suffering. Can one Jesus figure be both 'cosmic' and 'mortal/capable of suffering', or is Manichaean dualism so literal or all-pervasive as to require at least two different distinct Jesuses. Whilst Stroumsa noted the radical nature of Manichaean dualism, nevertheless he agreed with Faustus that this dualism

<sup>1</sup> Gardner, 'Manichaean Christology', 86–7.

<sup>2</sup> See Henri-Charles Puech ('Der Begriff der Erlösung im Manichäismus', in *Der Manichäismus*, ed. Geo Widengren. Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, Darmstadt, 1977. 177) on this difference in relation to Jesus the Splendour and the Third Messenger.

<sup>3</sup> Gardner, 'The Manichaean Account of Jesus', 85.

'does not completely characterize the Manichaeic conception of God',<sup>4</sup> and also with Alexander of Lycopolis that 'the Manichaeic conception of the way the divine is dispersed in nature and immersed in it, appears as a crypto-stoicism of sorts'.<sup>5</sup> Sundermann, too, appears to soften a rigid dualism, following Beausobre, and holds that the Manichaeans, while adhering to docetism, interpreted Jesus's apparent suffering, death and resurrection to have a hidden inner meaning for the salvation history of humanity, the crucifixion signifying the suffering of the soul in the body and the resurrection signifying the freeing of the soul from the body.<sup>6</sup>

For many, the cosmic origin and existence of Jesus the Splendour precludes any idea of a mortal ('patibilis') existence or any kind of suffering. In my initial study of the Jesus figures I too thought a division of the Jesus figures into at least two types was necessary – a transcendent Jesus and a suffering Jesus.<sup>7</sup> The problem – often referred to as the 'redeemed redeemer' problem – faces any ancient or modern, orthodox or heterodox Christian system which tries to understand Jesus or make him accessible to its membership. Christians of the early mainstream tradition found it difficult to reconcile the redeemer and the redeemed in one personage, giving rise to a vast number of disagreements in early Christian history and beyond. They had the canonical texts about Jesus as their basis for debate, together with their community spiritual experience of Jesus, just as the Manichaeans did. Mainstream Christianity eventually decided, after great difficulty, on a Jesus who comprises the two quite distinct aspects of divinity and mortally suffering saviour, God and human. The Nag Hammadi writers solved it mostly as other heterodox (non-mainstream) Christians did by denying one aspect of the two for their Jesus. However, possibly the Manichaeans, like mainstream Christians, chose to live with seeming contradiction and complexity in their figure of Jesus – a Jesus who was both redeemer and redeemed. Must the Western scholarly penchant for logical argument and presentation rule the way for approaching perhaps what was never intended to be a logical system?

Other Manichaeic ideas show that Mani would not have had a problem with the seeming contradiction in principle. If, for Mani, the soul was immortal and cosmic but could be trapped in the world, would be saved in the end and escape the dirt and filth and terrible restraints of a seeming mortality, then so too could any other cosmic figure be immortal and cosmic and also suffer within the world. After Mani's death, surely the community would have seen no need to change this view. Mani the Apostle of Light, Apostle of Jesus, became a God/Buddha for the community, but only after they recognized his experience of real persecution and death. Community reflection on Mani gave him characteristics that belong to many or all of the

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<sup>4</sup> Gedaliahu G. Stroumsa, 'The Words and the Works: Religious Knowledge and Salvation in Augustine and Faustus of Milevis', in *Cultural Traditions and Worlds of Knowledge: Explorations in the Sociology of Knowledge*, Vol. 7, ed. S.N. Eisenstadt and F. Silver, JAI Press, Greenwich, 1988, 77.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 78.

<sup>6</sup> Sundermann, 'Christliche Evangelientexte', 388; see also Gardner, 'Manichaeic Christology', 240-44.

<sup>7</sup> Franzmann, 'Jesus in the Manichaeic Writings', 237-41

Jesus figures. As a single character, he shows how all the Jesuses can be considered as a unity, reinforcing my conclusion.

Finally, as mentioned in the Introduction, Sundermann points out that most of the aspects of Jesus could be replaced by more exact mythological entities: Jesus the Splendour by the Great Nous, Jesus Patibilis by the World Soul, Jesus the Child by the Enthymesis of Life, Jesus the Moon by the moon.<sup>8</sup> Perhaps, in the end, the Manichaean Jesus is not essential to the function and coherence of the entire Manichaean myth as such, but rather provides an indispensable lens through which to view it and appreciate its working.

One final point must be made. In the development of religions, or any ideological systems for that matter, obviously some believers will take the various details of the myths and theological systems literally, while others will take them metaphorically, and the rest will settle at various points between the two poles of literalism and allegory. Certain historical phases in religions might stress one or the other approach, and believers might or might not fall into line with the approach put forward by their religious teachers. In studying the Manichaean Jesus, allowance must be made for literal or allegorical approaches for both the Manichaeans and their Christian opponents, and the possibility for enormous misunderstanding between the two groups. Further to that, the same complexity of approaches must be allowed for scholars who attempt to analyse the Jesus figures. Can, for example, a scholar who holds a firm mainstream Christian belief about the real suffering and death of the Christian Jesus in a literal way deal sufficiently with the possibility that neither the suffering of Jesus the Apostle nor the suffering of Jesus Patibilis should be taken literally, or that one should be considered to suffer literally and the other allegorically? Can such a scholar, who presumably believes in the experience of death of Jesus as central to the entire Christian myth, deal with an idea that the revelation from Mani or Jesus, rather than their suffering, matters most in the scheme of things? The matter of scholarship is not as straightforward as it might appear.

Rose's earliest extensive work on Manichaean Christology argued for the unity of the Manichaean Jesus. My study brings the discussion full circle back to Rose's conclusion. In the end I would argue that Manichaean Christology knows one Jesus, who, like an actor, takes on costumes as well as various persona in order to effect certain kinds of results. He takes on certain character roles or, as I have chosen to put it, there are a variety of Jesus figures but one Jesus. This actor is not consumed by his roles to the extent that he loses his own persona – this is the consummate actor who is himself. He takes on costumes (σχήμα) or masks (προσωπῶν), such as that of an angel or a man, and acts out certain roles, such as the state (μορφή) of a slave, but he always remains himself, the Light being, behind the roles and the props. The roles and props are real enough in their own way. When he suffers, he suffers within the role, although he does not suffer as the Light being – thus he suffers and does not suffer. The key actors in the play who oppose him – Death and Darkness – cannot know who he is and are disturbed to find that

<sup>8</sup> Sundermann, 'Christ in Manicheism', 536.

when they attempt to see beyond the mask and costume they cannot recognize the Light being behind them. To his followers, however, he is recognizable as the revealing, saving, transcendent god: the compassionate and suffering-for-his followers Jesus.

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## *Index*

### 1. Manichaean Texts

Chinese Hymn Scroll			21
7-8	29-30, 41, 47	18.15	21
12	29-30, 47	21.10 12	56
14	47	60.12 62.9	17
23--25	39	61.4	21
25	126	65.20 67.2	4
29-30	126	65.20 66.11	15
29-32	95	69.9-20	21
35	46	69.17 20	23
39	46	83.20 85.1	16
43	39	84.20-85.4	62
44	27, 29, 39	91.19 93.23	16
46	39, 46	92.11 14	66
48	46	92.14 93.2	66
63	44	92.18	21
65-66	44	92.4 9	66
67-70	45	93.5	66
72	38	93.14 23	66
74	29	94.1 99.9	16
75-76	44	96.3 10	111
76	29, 40	107.1 22	66
85	46	107.4	21
99	38	107.12 14	23
131-134	94		
131	40, 92	Homilies	
146	30	6.18 19	42
151	30	6.27	94
152	26, 94	11.3 22	60
218	34	11.3-21	70
252--254	111, 116	11.6 8	69
255	94	11.11 14	69
391	124	11.15 21	25
393-397	95	11.15	24, 69
394	94	14.17 31	79
		27.2 4	90
		28.14 16	90
Cologne Mani Codex		29.12 15	90
6.7-10.15	121	32.20-33.7	90
10.1 4	121	35-39	92
11.7-14	23	37.13 26	40, 103
17.11-16	22	44.17 20	25
18.1-17	21, 45	45.9	24
18.11	21	45.22	25
18.14-19.7	22	48.20 23	24

52.4	25	M 42 R II 50–V I 64	60
53.3–8	93	M 42 V I 65–77	68
54.16–26	25	M 42 V I 65–77	52
54.29	25	M 46	122
56.19	25	M 83 I R 6–V 3	136
60.2–3	24	M 90 R 2a	41
60.11–14	24	M 90 R2c	30
68.21–30	68	M 98	27, 125, 151
68.24–29	73	M 101	60
68.30	53	M 104	33, 35, 45, 67, 82, 84
75.30–31	24	M 104 R 1–14	33
75.32	25	M 104 R 3–8	82
86.11–12	97	M 104 R 18–V 22	84
91.28–32	71, 136	M 105a	136
93.13	25	M 129 R 8–15	36
		M 129 R 10–11	34
		M 132	71
		M 132 V 8–9	136
		M 176	128
		M 200	136
		M 234	136
		M 306	103
		M 306 R 2–4	46
		M 311	39, 44
		M 369	29, 30, 103
		M 369 R 5–7	48
		M 369 V 1–3	29
		M 390	67
		M 399	62
		M 459	67
		M 470 a (vv. 291–301)	117
		M 473 I (vv. 4–24)	91
		M 473 I (vv. 28–48)	92
		M 473 I Ar 17–22	37, 104
		M 475 a I	92, 104
		M 475 a I (vv. 49–63)	92
		M 475 a I (vv. 67–71)	92
		M 475 a I (vv. 72–85)	138
		M 477 I	92
		M 477 I (vv. 49–129)	104
		M 477 I (vv. 73–129)	92
		M 477 b (vv. 121–164)	92
		M 477 b (vv. 159–164)	97
		M 482 I	92, 97
		M 482 I (vv. 169–176)	97
		M 519 I (vv. 1–3)	91
		M 519 I (vv. 25–27)	91
		M 564 R 2a–5a	43
		M 580	131
		M 612 V	134
		M 680	42, 128
		M 734	67
		M 734 V	70
		M 798 R 9–10	125
Hymns, Parables, and Narrative Texts			
Ch/U 6818 v 5–6	125		
Ch/U 6827 [= T II 2090] II/5	29		
IB 4974 R I 21–22	47		
<i>Khuastuunift</i>	130		
M 2	40		
M 5 V I 61–90	85		
M 5 V II 91–100	85		
M 10	94		
M 17	16, 38		
M 18	71, 81, 83		
M 18 R 8–15	83		
M 18 V 2–12	83		
M 24 R 3–10	54		
M 28 I	52, 70		
M 28 I R II 24–37	52		
M 28 II	28, 29		
M 28 II R I 28–31	38		
M 28 II R I 34 R II 2	31		
M 28 II R II 2–4	47		
M 28 II R I–V I	133, 138		
M 28 II V I–V ii	134		
M 28 II V I 11–13	39		
M 28 II V II 1	48		
M 28 II V II 4–5	39		
M 28 II V II 11–12	46		
M 28 II V II 22–28	48		
M 28 II V II 22–23	46		
M 28 II V II 35	28		
M 31 I V 1–2	42		
M 36 V 8–10	31, 39		
M 38 V	44		
M 42	29, 40, 52, 60, 63, 68, 101, 121, 123–4		
M 42 R I 11	29		
M 42 R II 36–42	60		
M 42 R II 43–50	60, 76		

M 801	17, 22, 26	T II D 173b, 2	62
M 801 165-171	42	T II D 173c, 1, V 10-19	126
M 801 171-175	46	T II D 176	126
M 801 186-199	46	T II D 178	94
M 801 197-199	102	T II D 178, 6-12	94
M 801 322-324	41	T II D 259	26
M 801 S. 7 99-104	126	T II D 259, 17	128
M 801 S. 7 109-110	126	T II D 260	26
M 842	22-3	T II D 260, 34	128
M 842 R 1-4	23	T II D II 169 42, 128	
M 842 R 7-9	23	T II T 509 (Ch/U 6814), R 216	125
M 842 R 18-V 13	23	T II Y 47	125
M 891	67	T II Y 55	93
M 1738	62	T II Y 59e	93
M 1828	19	T II Y 63d	93
M 1951	67	T III D III 267 R II 16	29
M 2753 R 3	82	TM 164 (and 174)/R?/11-14	37
M 2753 V 2-6	82	TM 166 V 1-6	127
M 3511, 3-4	82	TM 180 R 11-V 16	91
M 4525	71	TM 180 R 5-11	91
M 4570	68	TM 183	126
M 4570 R i 16	70	TM 289 V 17	125
M 4570 R ii 1-24	79	TM 296 R 7-9	32
M 4574 V i 5-V ii 9	69	TM 301, 3	125
M 4570 V i 5-22	70	TM 303 (M 153) 1-11	126
M 4574 V ii 7-9	71	TM 383	128
M 5569 R 1-21	84	TM 383, 9	42
M 5785	103	TM 393	71
M 5861	67	TM 419	26
M 6005	85		
M 6281, 5-9	83	Kellis Texts	
M 6281, 6-11	82	P. Kell. Gr. 91.2-4	28
M 6650 (= T II K)	108-9, 114, 136	T. Kell. 22 I 33 35	27
M 7200-1 V 5	82	T. Kell. 22 I 35-39	32
M 7984 II V ii 13-16, 27		T. Kell. 22 I 43-45	37
Parthian Crucifixion Hymn		T. Kell. 22 I 46 49	40
(M 104, M459, M734,		T. Kell. Copt. 2.110-113	42
M 891, M 1951, M 390,			
M 5861)	68, 70, 152		
(vv. 2, 4-5, 7-8, 12-14,		Kephalaia	1, 13, 16, 19-20, 33, 55,
22-23, 44-45, 77 81)	78		72, 119, 124, 147, 149, 154-5
Pelliot Chinois 3049	125	Chapter 7	21
S 9 R ii 30	135	Chapter 18	34
S 9 R ii 33f	90	Chapter 148	21
S 13	135	Dublin Keph. pl. 191, 12	55
So. 18.222 (= TM 389c)	61	7.18 27	61
So. 18.224 (= TM 389d R 5-17)	127	11.35 12.4	63
So. 18.224 (= TM 389d R 23-34)	129	12.15 21	60
<i>Synaxies of the Living Gospel</i>	30, 39, 127	12.19 20	53
T I a R 4-6	129	12.21 27	54
T I D 51 a 3	125	12.21 24	55
T II D 115 R 5	137	12.24 26	4
T II D 169 I 1, 5-8	31	12.26 28	64
T II D 173a R 3-18	94	12.28 29	51
		12.29 13.5	52, 69

12.29-32	70	80.18-19	21, 34, 41, 103
12.34-13.5	70	81.24-28	40
12.34-13.1	52	82.20-21	40
13.5-6	81	82.32-83.1	40, 126
13.6-7	82	90.18-19	23
13.7-10	83	92.1-8	119
13.10	84	93.29-94.11	36
13.22	63	93.29-30	33
14.3-27	86	94.1-11	33
14.3-7	19-20	94.1-6	36
14.3	55	94.3-4	36
14.24-25	55	94.8-10	36
14.25	33	101.26-34	60
16.14-17	94	101.26-33	17
17.2-9	61	117.22-31	89, 94
19.1-6	71	151.28-152.17	32, 134
19.21-25	61	155.22-25	41
20.3-5	29	156.12-16	25
20.4-5	41	175.28-176.8	123
21.23-26	61	178.1-5	120
25.30-31	39	179.8-12	52
28.26-34	44	182.20-183.4	41
28.26-28	27	182.20-27	40
28.34-29.11	123	201.29-31	62
35.7-10	28	210.31-32	62
35.13-14	28-9	223.3-5	62
35.18-34	138	229.10-15	62
35.27-34	119, 123-4	264.3-12	62
35.21-34	41	264.10-14	66
36.1-3	41	264.13-14	81
36.27-37.27	59	267.18-268.27	37, 60, 101
36.30-37.28	33, 38-9, 53, 101	267.23-27	60
37.1-2	126	267.24-27	67
37.14-19	63	268.19-20	112
37.22-24	71	268.24-27	112, 121
37.27-28	27	271.22-23	64
44.6-8	41	271.23	33
49.29	27	288.15-18	94
53.18-54.9	36	291.4-7	120
54.9-24	123	291.20-21	120
54.9-11	132	II 302.25-27	35
56.26	40	II 302.25-30	73, 101
58.18-19	61	II 302.27-30	35
59.19-28	34, 36	II 302.27-28	135
59.28	40	II 344.8-26	94
61.17-28	32, 40-1, 101, 138	II 346.17-26	64
61.26-30	119	II 347.9-13	64
61.26-28	123	II 347.12-13	63
61.29-31	132		
63.2-5	119	Psalm Book	1, 13, 35, 147, 149, 156
63.2-3	132	Part I	
64.3-4	45	123 (PsB I 169)	112
72.28-73.3	27-8	126 (PsB I 175)	112
73.25-74.6	60	136	35, 101

97.9	28	56.15-17	20
189.11-16	101, 132	57.3-18	70
189.15	47	57.6	69
189.28-190.20	35, 37	57.7-14	101
189.28-31	132	57.7-11	70
190.19-20	101	57.13-14	70
		57.14	69
Part II		57.15-16	47, 60
Amen Hymn (190.21-191.14)	76	59.2	43
Bema Psalm 219	46, 103	59.8-9	43
Psalms of Heracleides	77	59.15	47-8
Ascent Psalms	124	59.17-18	42
Psalm 6 (PsB 193.13-197.8)	53, 77, 79, 100	59.25-27	43
		59.29	42
Psalm of Jesus 264	28	59.30-31	38
Psalms of Thomas	123-4	60.8	28
Psalm 250	43	60.24-25	45
2.21-26	127	60.28-29	39
7.22-24	94	64.12-13	25
9.4-5	19	75.26-27	45
12.5-7	94	76.9-12	43
12.13-18	94	79.17-20	42
15.9-12	25	79.29-30	43
15.12	70	81.2	42
15.25-26	25	81.6-7	42
16.4	61	83.1-14	89
17.1	26	85.23-24	43
18.30-19.1	24	85.27-28	38
19.3-5	24	86.2-9	38-9
19.6	24	86.15-25	38
19.21	24	87.16-88.13	116
19.22-28	25	88.12-13	135
19.26-28	56	88.23-24	38
19.29-31	24	88.29-30	38
20.21-24	19	89.6	38
20.31	22	90.25-31	65
22.9	31	91.17-92.26	104
25.24-26	95	91.20-24	53
26.15-16	95	91.20	28
32.22-23	125	92.5-7	65
34.22-24	96	92.24-26	95
35.23-24	125	100.27-31	95
37.26-29	17	100.27	94
39.19-22	65	104.27-32	94
42.22-23	21, 30	111.19-20	95
43.13-21	25	112.28-29	39
43.14	70	116.7-12	41
43.19-20	70	116.7	29
45.25-27	94	120-126	110, 137
49.23-25	65	120.1-19	73
51.15-16	69, 72	120.25	73
51.20-21	61	120.27	51, 74
52.23-26	54	121.4	51, 74
55.16-17	43	121.6	73

121.8	74	151.28	38
121.17	51, 74	151.31-152.8	45
121.19-23	51, 74	151.31-152.7	126
121.25-27	51	154.1-21	96
121.30-33	110	154.30	43
121.31-32	74	155	121
121.31	51, 108	155.3-4	43
121.32	56	155.10	43
122.15	51	155.19-38	109
122.19	51, 74	155.23	115
122.23	73	155.25	120
122.28	51, 74	158.19-31	114
122.33	70	159-160	113
123.3	74	160.14-15	136
123.5	74	162.23-26	115
123.7	74	162.25-26	44
123.27	74	164.13-15	39
123.29	65, 74	166.11	126
123.33	65, 74	166.23	30
123.35	65, 74	166.23-167.22	38
123.37	74	166.23-167.2	47
124.25	51	166.24	28
126	52	166.25	31
126.3	52	166.27-28	31
126.5	52	166.33	21
126.8-9	52	166.35	31, 41
126.13-16	52	167.4-7	47
129.18-24	69	167.10	31
129.18-21	84	167.12-17	47
129.27	57	167.19	28
130.23	56	167.21	28
130.25	56	167.64	120
142.10-16	72	170.18	24
142.10-11	16, 79	171.25-172.32	134
142.12-16	73	172.4-5	109
142.12-15	69	172.15-27	35
142.17	72	172.18-25	34, 48
143.20-31	79	172.24-27	109
145.6	46	175.5-6	63
148.21-149.27	134	175.8-9	63
148.25-26	29, 131	175.16	74
149.20-21	113	175.27-30	74
149.23-25	131	177.2-6	62
149.27	132	178.1-4	44
150.21-31	64	185.3-5	47
151.4-5	28, 45	185.9-22	29
151.6-7	47	185.14-15	39
151.8-10	45	185.24-25	47
151.11-12	31	187.2-37	82
151.13-15	47	188.25-27	24
151.20	47	190.10	120
151.22	47	190.30-31	84
151.24-25	39	191.4-11	84
151.24	47	191.4-8	77

191.13-14	53	217.19-27	42
191.18-192.1	96	223.9-224.15	121
193.13-197.8	78, 100		
194.1-3	56	Shābuhraḡān (M 519 I, M 473 I,	
194.1ff	54	M 475 a I, M 477 I, M 482 I	
194.4-22	64	[Ar/17 Dr/10])	13, 18, 27, 37,
194.23-29	61		40, 91, 93, 97,
194.30-195.22	79		103-4, 117, 137, 141
195.8	79		
195.23-196.8	67, 75	Tractate Pellioit	
196.1-7	75	T. 83 a12-a15 (/P.556)	30
196.8	69	T. 83 a14-a15 (/P.556)	127
196.15-31	81, 83	T. 84 a15-a18 (/P.566)	44
196.20-26	55, 77	T. 85 b29-c20 (/P.584)	94
196.20	82	T. 85 c26-86 a4 (/P.586) v. 8	29
196.26	55	T. 85 c26-86 a4 (/P.586) v. 13	29
196.31	82	T. 85 c27 (/P.586)	39-40
204-205	122	T. 86 a2-3 (/P.586)	44
204.22-205.9	120	T. 86 a3-a4 (/P.586)	42
204.26-205.8	122	T. 86 a14 (/P.587)	39
209.13-210.16	121-2	T. 86 a15 (/P.588)	95
210.16	120	T. 86 a17 (/P.588)	47
211.13-24	122	T. 86 a19-a20 (/P.588)	44
217.19-218.8	103		

## 2. Non-Manichaean, Biblical, and Apocryphal Texts

Acts of John	76	1:1-5	51
Acts of the Apostles		4:14-15	23
22:17-21	24	10:2	103
1 Corinthians		10:9	103
13:9f	20	10:30	51
15:5-8	22	10:38	51
15:49	22	15:13	25
2 Corinthians		16:7-14	19
3:18	22	20:11-18	82
4:4	22	Gospel of Luke, 57, 71	
12:2-5	17	1-2	24
Colossians		6:43-44	30
1:15	22	9:51	25
3:10	22	24:1-12	83
Ephesians		24:6-7	81
4:11ff	135	Gospel of Mark	58
Galatians		Gospel of Matthew	58, 92, 96
1:11-12	17	5:17	16
1:15-16	22	9:12	103
1:16	23	13:27-28	95
2:15-21	16	25:1-13	96
3:13	23	25:31-46	18, 92, 96, 104
4:5	23	25:31-41	95
Genesis	102	Hebrews	
2:9	30	8:6	103
3:4-5	30	9:15	103
Gospel of John	4, 19, 20, 52, 58-9, 74-5	12:24	103

Hymn of the Pearl	124	Romans	58
Hypostasis of the Archons		1:3-4	58
94.21-22	39	1:3	54
1 John		3:31	16
1:7	103	6:3-4	24
Philippians		8:29	22
2	80	Song of Songs	114
2:5-11	53-4, 57	1 Timothy	
3:10-11	24	2:5	103
3:20	103	2 Timothy	
Proverbs	114	1:10	103

### 3. Works of Augustine

Acta Contra Fortunatum Manichaeum		XXIII, 2	58
Disputation of the First Day		XXIV, 1	59
3	57	XXVI, 1-2	80
7	80	XXVIII, 1	80
14	57	XXIX, 1	59, 80
19	111, 137	XXX, 4	64
Disputation of the Second Day		XXXII, 7	67, 73, 80
22	66	XXXIII, 1	65
Contra Faustum Manichaeum		XXXIII, 3	66
II, 4-5	110	Contra Felicem Manichaeum	
II, 5	116-17	I, XIX, 533	67
III, 1	57	II, II, 536-537	95
V, 5	80	II, IX, 541	79
VII, 1	58-9	II, X, 542	80
XI, 1	58	Contra Secundinum Manichaeum	
XIV, 1	80	575, 4	53, 80
XIV, 12	80	581, 5	28
XV 1	39	De Haeresibus	
XVI, 4	61	46, 147-153	30, 36, 102
XVIII, 3	63	Liber Secundus: de moribus manichaeorum	
XIX, 1	63, 70	XI, 21	113
XIX, 4	63	XVI	113
XX, 11	12, 80, 112	XVI, 41	113
XX, 2	11-12, 31, 107, 111, 115, 126		
XXI, 16	117		

### 4. General Terms and Names

Abortions	33, 36-7	angel/s	17, 32, 36-8, 59,
Adam	7-9, 11, 14, 16-18,		69, 82-3, 85, 92,
	30, 33-7, 40, 49, 52,		95, 101, 125, 138
	59-60, 70, 79, 89,	apostle/s,	4, 6, 9, 11, 13,
	100-1, 103-4, 142		15, 17-22, 25, 30, 37,
Adamas of Light	121		52, 55, 60-1, 63, 66,
Adonai	52, 70		72, 76, 79, 89, 101
agape	64	of Jesus	54, 64, 66
Alexander of Lycopolis	100, 143	of Light	9, 42, 51, 72, 141
Amen	53, 76	suffering of	72-3
Andrew	64, 80	Archons	34, 39, 43, 152

- Arseneo 64, 83  
 Augustine 11-14, 28, 30, 36, 57, 61, 79-80, 95, 102, 107-17, 139, 141-3, 148-9, 152, 155  
     worth of his works 13  
 Aurentes 60  
 Az 134  
  
 baptism 43, 67  
 Belapat 24-5  
 Bema 22, 46, 65, 74, 84, 92-5, 103, 125, 137  
 Boy 8, 29, 40-1, 52, 60, 68, 101, 121  
 bridal chambers 38, 42-3  
 Bridegroom 39, 43, 49, 96-7, 114  
 Buddha/s 3, 6, 9, 26, 29, 37, 41, 46, 52, 61, 63, 84, 95, 100, 151  
 Buddha Jesus 29, 40, 95  
 Buddha Maitreya 26, 60, 91  
     Jesus as 93, 96  
     Mani as 26, 143  
 Buddha-nature 46, 93  
 Buddha Sakyamuni 41, 60  
 Buddhicisation 13  
  
 Caiaphas 68, 70  
 Call 12, 16, 24, 33, 114  
     and Answer 124  
     and Response 119, 123-4  
 canonical Christian  
     sources/tradition 64, 68, 83, 4, 86, 143  
     about Jesus 25, 61, 67, 69-71, 75, 136, 142  
 Central Asia 3, 13, 16, 128-30, 141, 151  
 Cephas 83  
 Christianity 1, 3-7, 10, 14, 18, 20, 25, 67, 71, 73, 90, 135, 143-4, 148, 152  
 Column of Glory 21, 85, 95  
 Counsel of Life 119-21, 123, 132  
     = Enthymesis of Life 9, 144  
     cross  
         as Bema 65, 137  
         of Jesus 24, 52, 56, 59, 64-9, 71, 73-5, 80, 104, 112-13, 137  
 Cross of Light 64, 112, 114, 121, 136  
 crucifixion  
     of Jesus's pupils 68  
     of Light 7, 11  
 Darkness 60, 74, 87, 113, 134, 144  
     Sons of 34  
 David 18, 37, 54, 57-8, 74, 111, 137, 147, 152  
  
 Day of Jesus 90  
 Death 42, 3, 55, 64, 74, 81, 134, 137, 144  
 demons 29, 35, 39, 52, 60, 62, 68-70, 76, 78, 134  
 Devil 91  
     of greed 39  
 dharma-nature 29  
 docetism 2, 19, 72, 77, 81, 143  
  
**ene** 57, 78, 148  
 Elchasai 16, 111  
 Elchasaites 4, 16-17, 20, 23, 105, 80, 92  
 Enoch 17, 92  
 Enosh 17  
 Error 64-5, 70  
 eucharist 12, 67, 111  
 Eve 30, 33-4, 36-7, 42, 59-60, 70, 89, 101, 104, 33  
     body assumed by Jesus the Spendour 103, 36, 53, 59  
  
 Father of Greatness/the Greatness 27-29, 33-4, 40, 52-3, 56, 126, 138  
 Father of the Lights 28, 45  
 Father of Truth 4-5, 15  
 Faustus 11-12, 30, 36, 39, 44, 57-9, 61-3, 65-6, 70, 80, 107, 110-12, 115, 117, 139, 141-3, 155-6  
 Felix 67, 79, 95  
 First/Primal Man 33, 37, 40, 44, 110, 114-15, 121, 126, 135  
 Fortunatus 57, 59, 80, 111, 137, 152  
 four pure winds 52  
 fourth war 34, 36, 40  
  
 Gabryab 127, 129  
 Garden of Gethsemane 25, 69, 78  
 gentile/s 58, 66  
     *gnosis* 6-7, 11, 16, 35, 37, 64, 77, 142  
 Gnosticism 4, 6, 11, 39, 74, 83, 108, 121, 136, 142, 151, 154, 156  
 Gospel/s 4, 8, 15-16, 19-20, 23, 33, 52, 57, 8, 66, 74, 80, 111  
 Great Thought 41  
 Great War 13, 90  
  
 Hades/Hell, 32, 55, 57, 69, 82-3, 92, 97, 121  
 Heavenly Twin 4, 8, 15, 20-3, 25-6, 45, 142, 154  
     Jesus as 21-3, 25, 80

- Hell, *see* Hades  
Herod 68, 70–1  
 $\zeta\kappa\omega\eta/\epsilon\acute{\iota}\kappa\omega\nu$  22, 25, 56  
Historical Jesus 2, 4, 8–11, 17, 51, 60, 86, 90, 100, 102–3, 134, 136, 142, 149  
Holy Spirit 11–12, 81, 83, 111–12  
*imitatio Christi* 23, 26, 94  
*imitatio Pauli* 17  
India 60  
Israel  
    race of 70  
    sons of 52, 68  
Jeremiah 24  
Jerusalem 3, 25, 41, 52, 68–70, 152  
Jesus the Apostle (of Light), 7–8, 10–11, 14, 27, 35, 42, 46, 49, 51–87, 89–90, 93, 96–7, 99–104, 107–10, 112, 114, 117–18, 126–7, 133, 135–8, 144  
    Apostle of Truth, 11  
    baptism 58–9  
    birth/origin 36, 51–3, 57–59, 79–80, 100, 137  
    body 56, 72, 74  
    fleshly/mortal 11–12, 32, 53–9, 71, 101, 111–12, 117, 138  
    spiritual 54–5, 59  
    commandments 16–17  
    crucifixion 10, 12, 24, 35, 52, 54, 56, 67, 68–70, 79, 81, 101, 109, 117, 135  
    descent to the dead 82  
    first-born 53  
    God 78  
    Messiah 136  
    model for Manichaean community 24  
    only-begotten, 53  
    parables 63, 80, 96  
    paranirvana 84–6  
    passion and death 2, 7, 10–11, 17, 23, 25, 48, 52–3, 56, 59, 65–81, 84, 100, 102, 107, 118, 137, 142–4  
    prophet 8–9, 61, 63, 104  
    redeemed redeemer/saved saviour 8, 11, 108, 111, 135, 143  
    resurrection 64, 66, 81–4, 136, 143  
    saviour of Mani 15, 17, 23–26, 45  
    saviour of souls 20  
    sayings 16, 62  
    servant/slave 53–6, 144  
    son of God 52, 68  
    son of Amen 53  
    son of David 58  
    Son of Greatness 33, 53, 60  
    two natures 12, 57, 59, 67, 73, 77–8, 80–1, 143  
Jesus the Dawn 31  
Jesus the Friend 38  
Jesus the Judge 7–9, 14, 26–7, 35, 86, 89–97, 99, 102–4, 114, 133, 137  
    bridegroom 96–7  
    king 96–7  
Jesus the Messiah 8, 109, 115, 136  
Jesus the Moon 9–10, 13, 107, 125–31, 133, 141–2, 144  
Jesus Patibilis 3, 8–12, 47, 107–21, 124, 131–8, 141–2, 144, 149  
    Son of Man 115  
    suffering 107–14, 117–18, 144  
Jesus the Splendour 3, 5, 7–11, 14, 16, 18, 21, 23–4, 26–49, 51–3, 55–6, 59–60, 63–4, 73, 79, 85–6, 89–91, 93, 96–7, 99, 100–4, 107–9, 111, 115–16, 119, 121, 126–38, 142–4  
    ascent 40  
    Bridegroom of Light 31, 39  
    Buddha/Buddha of Light 29–30  
    dwelling in the moon 45  
    crucifixion? 135  
    eighth judge 103  
    father of the apostles 21, 30, 41, 52, 103  
    father of the soul 37, 39  
    fifth greatness 27  
    first-born 28, 45, 47  
    fruit of the Tree of Life 29  
    fruits of the good tree 30  
    God 29  
    Great Holiness 30  
    Holy One 29–30, 34, 45, 103  
    kin of believers 39  
    Light-Son 30  
    Logos 31  
    Mani's Light-familiar 21, 30  
    new redeemer and new redeemed 134  
    only-begotten 28, 43  
    saved saviour 48–9  
    Son of Greatness 35  
    suffering redeemer 135  
    Sun God 31  
    Sun-moon god 31, 125  
    Tree of Knowledge 30

- Tree of Life 29-30, 41, 44, 47  
 Jesus the Youth/Child 9, 41, 107, 109, 119-  
     25, 131-3, 138-9, 142, 144  
 Jew/s 12, 16, 25, 52, 54, 61,  
     63-4, 66, 68-71, 78  
 Jewish god 39  
 Jewish law 23  
 Johannine Christology 3, 35, 42, 84  
 John (the apostle) 19, 24, 52, 58, 64, 82  
 John the Baptist 24  
 Jordan 58  
 Joseph (father of Jesus) 58  
 Joseph of Arimathea 113  
 Judas/Isariot 52, 67-71, 78  
 Judea 9  
 judgment scene (Matthean) 93  
  
 Kanig 37  
  
 Lady Wisdom 114  
 Last Statue 123  
 Last Judgment 66, 93-6  
 Last Supper 66  
 Light 6, 21, 31-2, 38-9, 42, 45,  
     96-7, 109-10, 118, 122,  
     126, 128, 134  
     Sons of 34  
 Light-angels 23  
 Light being/s 145  
     Jesus as 144  
 Light Companion 21  
 Light god/s 40, 55, 100  
 Light Mind 41, 119  
 Light Nous 21, 40-1, 128  
 Little One 120, 2  
 Living Soul 2, 10, 32, 34, 5, 40, 45,  
     49, 52, 60, 68, 73, 102,  
     108-9, 112-14, 116-22,  
     124, 131-2, 134-6, 149  
     crucifixion 65  
     suffering 10, 34, 73, 117-18, 131, 134-6  
 Living Spirit 10, 32, 91, 114, 123  
 Luminaries 51, 56, 74, 110  
 Lu-she-nas 95  
     Magi 25, 71, 74, 150  
 Maiden/Maiden of Light 21-2, 32, 39,  
     42, 44, 46  
  
 Mani 3, 26, 30, 33, 37, 40, 1,  
     44-6, 49, 52, 55-6, 60-1, 63,  
     66, 73, 76, 79, 84-6, 89-93, 95,  
     97, 99, 100, 102-5, 117, 121,  
     127-9, 136, 138, 141-4, 147-55  
     Apostle of Jesus Christ/Jesus  
         the Friend 4-5, 15-19, 23, 26,  
             39, 56, 143, 154  
         crucifixion 24-5  
         death 6, 14, 24-5, 94, 142-3  
         founder 15  
         god 26  
         Gospel of 4, 15  
         imitation of Jesus 19  
         New Jesus/second Jesus 6, 26  
         parables 16  
         Paraclete 4, 15, 19-20, 21, 26, 86, 149  
         Paraclete-Spirit 114  
         Spirit of Truth 19  
 Manichaean dualism 142  
 Manichaean mission 1, 4, 12-13, 16,  
     20, 23, 79  
 Manichaean community, early 15, 26, 81,  
     138, 141  
     suffering 73  
 Mara kings 29  
 Maras 34, 38-9, 46, 126  
 Marcion 70  
 Mariam 64, 82-3  
 Martha 64, 66  
 Mary/Virgin Mary 8, 14, 35-6, 52, 58,  
     71, 74, 82-3, 112, 148  
 Mary Magdalene 82-3  
 Mary of Bethany 66  
 Messiah Buddha 62  
 Mind, *see also* Nous 31, 39, 96  
     of Light 44, 47  
 Moon God 9, 26, 31, 125-6, 128-9  
**НОРФН** 54-6, 144  
 Moses 61-2, 80  
 Mount of Olives 69, 74, 76, 84  
  
 Nafsha 61  
 Nag Hammadi 1, 5, 8, 34, 39, 76-7, 84,  
     143, 148-9, 152-4  
 New Man 43-4, 58, 64, 94  
 New Testament 4-5, 7-8, 17-18, 36, 45,  
     65, 6, 75, 90, 135, 147, 154  
 nirvana 60  
 Nom Qutī (= Great Nous) 32, 129  
 Nous/Great Nous 9, 21, 32, 37, 41,  
     44, 46, 56, 62, 78, 96, 99,  
     100-1, 103, 108, 128,  
     135, 144, 155  
  
 Obedience 16, 33  
 Ohrmezd bay 117  
 Ohrmizd 35, 85, 99  
 Old Man 43-4, 94-5  
 Old Testament 4, 39, 65, 90

- Palestine 100–1, 104, 142  
*parinirvāṇa* 3, 22, 78, 84–5, 93,  
 102, 127, 151  
 parousia 90, 96  
 Passover 84  
 Paul 4, 8–9, 11, 15–17, 22, 24,  
 30, 44, 54–5, 57–8, 62,  
 80, 116, 147, 152–5  
 Pentecost 20  
 Perfect Man 125, 135  
   as Jesus 135  
 Persia 3, 60, 76, 151  
 Peter 1, 3, 5–7, 19, 21, 25, 37,  
 54–5, 64, 80, 82–3, 107,  
 121, 125–6, 135, 147–9,  
 152–3, 155–6  
 Pilate 12, 67–9, 71, 80, 136  
 Pillar of Glory 28, 33  
 pollution of God 113, 142  
 Primal Man 10, 24, 28, 30, 35, 73,  
 85, 99, 110–11, 114–15,  
 117, 129, 134–5  
 ΠΡΩΨΠΙΟΝ 55, 144  
 pure Wind of the Law 30  
 reincarnation 44  
 Response 4, 15, 28, 33  
 Romans 68, 70  
 Roshnshahr 27  
 sacred meal 116, 138  
 Salome 64, 83  
 Sammael 82  
 Satan 33, 35, 53, 60, 64, 69–71,  
 74, 76, 82  
   race of 70  
 Secundinus 28, 53, 80  
 Sermon on the Mount 16  
 serpent  
   Christ as 102  
   Jesus the Splendour as 30, 36  
 Sethel 17  
 Shapur I 18  
 Shem 17  
 ship  
   cross of Jesus as 33, 65, 74, 82, 137  
   Jesus as 126  
   moon as 128  
   moon as Jesus's 126  
 Simnu 91  
 Simon Cephas 83  
 Sital 60  
 Son of God 4, 11–12, 28–9, 35,  
 51, 57–8, 78, 80, 84, 91,  
 102, 116, 135, 137  
 Son of Greatness 22, 33, 102  
 Son of Man 44, 68, 78, 92, 115  
 soul  
   passion of 66, 73, 80, 143  
 Summons 33, 123  
   and Answer/Response 123  
   and Obedience 119–20, 122–4, 131–2  
 sun and moon  
   Christ's dwelling 30  
 Sun and Moon God 26, 125–6, 130  
 Sun God 26  
 СХИМА 54–6, 77–8, 81, 144  
 Theodore bar Konai's *Scholia* 36  
 Third Messenger 21, 28–9, 32, 34,  
 41–2, 99, 126, 142  
 Thomas 64, 151  
 Tree of the Knowledge of  
   Good and Evil 30, 70  
 Turfan 16  
 Uighur Khans 126  
 Vahman 37, 42, 46  
   vehicles of flesh 55, 63  
 Virgin/Virgin of Light 28, 40, 126, 129  
 Word,  
   *see also* Logos 51, 57–8,  
   111–12, 137  
 World Soul,  
   *see also* Living Soul 9, 144  
 Xradeshahr 18, 27, 37, 40,  
 91–2, 97, 103–4  
 Yaldabaoth 37, 39  
 Yen-mo 40, 94  
 Youth 40–1, 101, 107–10,  
 119–24, 131–3, 138  
 Zarathustra 9, 41, 60–1, 63, 76  
 Zoroastrianism 3, 5, 18–19  
 Zurvan 35, 126, 128  
 Zurvanism 3, 35