Constructions of Gender in Late Antique Manichaean Cosmological Narrative

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Dedication

For my parents, Peter and Brenda Towers, of blessed memory and for my beloved

children, Ned, Grace and Lily.

Abstract

The religion of Manichaeism emerged from third-century Persian Mesopotamia from the self-styled prophet and apostle of Christ, Mani. Through missionary endeavours, Manichaeism proliferated throughout the Roman Empire, Asia and China between the third and eighth centuries, before succumbing to persecution from rival faiths.

Mani's dramatic cosmological mythology forms the core of Manichaean practice and soteriology. This thesis explores the constructions of gender in Mani's mythology and its development in subsequent Manichaean literature. The analysis considers constructions of gender embedded in six portraits of Manichaean cosmological figures. Gendered roles, attributes and epithets are explored, revealing hierarchical systems of roles and relations.

Chapter one considers the characterisation of the Manichaean Father of Light, as a masculine-gendered figure with authority over the social structures of family and kingdom. His rule exemplifies the correct exercise of masculine authority. This is polarised by the portrait of the Chief Archon in chapter two, whose characterisation develops from a military aggressor to a tyrannical ruler. Chapter three explores the two conflicting personae of the Manichaean First Man as battle-ready warrior and suffering victim. Chapter four addresses the gender construction of the Manichaean Mother of Life as paradigm of idealised motherhood and archetype of female supplication. Chapter five explores the Manichaean demoness Ăz as a hamartiological symbol, which mirrors the Jewish construct of the *yetzer hara* (the evil inclination). In chapter six, the seductive display of the Maiden of Light is explored in the context of theories of male gaze.

This thesis establishes the central influence of Jewish and Judaeo-Christian literature and culture upon the development of Mani's thought concerning gender construction. This is contextualised by Mani's adoption of the prevailing social structures of Zoroastrian-Sasanian society.

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First and foremost, I must express my deep gratitude to Dr. Nicholas Baker-Brian, without whose unstinting support, encouragement and faith, this thesis would have been neither started nor finished. Thank you for sharing your erudition, scholarship, patience, humour and compassion with me. Thank you for challenging me intellectually and for sharing this journey with me.

To my wonderful friends, thank you all. Big thank yous particularly to Becca Swainston, my invaluable chauffeur, waffle-sharer and soul sister, for all the positivity you bring wherever you go. To Ruth, thank you for proof-reading, encouragement and always for your kindness. To Dot, thank you for all your support and the deep compassion you bring to everything you touch. To Richie, a late-comer to the Towers madness, thank you for your enthusiasm, for sustaining me with marmalade and thank you for still being here.

To Ned, Grace and Lily, this is for you, with all my love always.

Table 1: Abbreviations

Title	Abbreviation
Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles	*Acts*
Āthār ul-bākiya of Al-Bīrūnī	*Āthār*
Babylonian Talmud	*B. Talmud*
Book of Esther	*Esther*
Book of Judith	*Judith*
Book of Susanna	*Susanna*
Cologne Mani Codex (P. Colon. inv. nr. 4780)	CMC
Commemorative inscription of Shāpūr I at Ka'ba-ye Zartosht	SKZ
Contra Epistulam Quam Vocant Fundamenti	*C. Ep.*
Contra Faustum Manichaeum	*Contra Faustum*
Damascus Document	CD
De Haeresibus ad Quodvultdeum	*De Haer.*
De Moribus Ecclesiae Catholicae et de Moribus Manichaeorum	*De Moribus*
De Natura Boni Contra	*De. Nat. Bon.*
Epistula Fundamenti	*Ep. Fund.*
Ethiopic Book of Enoch	I *Enoch*
The Greater Bundahišn	*G. Bundahišn*
Hebrew Book of Enoch	*3 Enoch*
Hymn of the Pearl	*Hymn*
The Kephalaia of the Teacher: Berlin Kephalaia Codex	1 Ke. in footnotes
The Kephalaia of the Wisdom of my Lord Mani: Dublin Kephalaia Codex	2 Ke. in footnotes
Liber Scholiorum, Theodore bar Khonai	*Lib. Schol.*
Mādayān Ī Hazār Dādestān (Book of a Thousand Judgements)	*Mādayān*
Manichaean Homilies	*Man. Hom.*
Mishnah tractate Sotah	*M. Sotah*
Secret Book According to John	*Ap. John*
The Sermon on the Great War	*Sermon*
Slavonic Book of Enoch	*2 Enoch*
Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs	12TP
- Testament of Asher	*T. Asher*
- Testament of Benjamin	*T. Benjamin*
- Testament of Joseph	*T. Joseph*

- Testament of Judah	*T. Judah*
- Testament of Reuben	*T. Reuben*
Tosefta tractate Sotah	*T. Sotah*
4 Maccabees	*4 Macc.*

Table 2: Contents

Constructions of Gender in Late Antique Manichaean Cosmological Narrative.

1: Introduction: Thesis Overview

The religion of Manichaeism was born in the heartland of third-century Persian Mesopotamia from the self-styled prophet and apostle of Christ, Mani. Born in a rural community on the banks of the river Nahr Kuta between Babylon and Nippur, Mani identified himself as a Babylonian. [1] The religion of Manichaeism spread through missionary endeavours throughout the Roman Empire and Central Asia until finally succumbing to persecution from rival faiths in the eighth to ninth centuries CE.

Mani's dramatic cosmological mythology lay at the core of Manichaean doctrine and discipline. Described by Henri-Charles Puech as "cette double doctrine des Deux Principes et des Trois Temps ou Trois Moments" (the double doctrine of two principles and three times or three moments), Mani's doctrine propounded the existence of two primordial principles of darkness and light. Engaged in a cycle of macrocosmic and microcosmic battle and redemption, the microcosmic site of this conflict is the human body. [2] Throughout his expositions of his creation mythology, Mani adopts gendered terms such as father, mother, brother, son and daughter for the divinities of the Kingdom of Light. Mani discusses his use of these gendered terms in an important passage from one of his writings, the *Treasure of Life*. This passage is quoted by the tenth-century historian and polymath Al-Bīrūnī in *Ketāb taḥqiq mā le'l-hend India* (The book confirming what pertains to India, whether rational or despicable):

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[1] Tardieu, M. and DeBevoise, M. B. (trans.) (2008), *Manichaeism*. (Urbana; Chicago: University of Illinois Press), pp.1-2.

[2] Puech, H-Ch. (1949), *Le Manicheisme. Son Fondateur, Sa Doctrine*. (Paris: Editions du Sud), p. 74.

The shining warriors are termed "maidens," "virgins", "fathers," "mothers," "sons," "brothers," and "sisters" because this is the style followed in the books of the prophets. (Nevertheless) in the region of delight there is neither male nor female: sexual organs are lacking. All of them bear living bodies. As divine bodies, they do not differ from one other with regard to frailty or vigor, or to length or shortness, or to form or appearance: (they are) like identical lamps lit from a single prized lamp; it alone supplies them. However, the reason for this terminology (is due to) the contention of the Two Realms." [3]

This passage indicates that Mani's adoption of gendered terminology for the divinities of the Kingdom of Light is an explanatory narrative technique. The gendered state of the human body is posited as a transient consequence of the cosmic struggle between the primordial Kingdoms of Light and Darkness. The transience of sex and gender mirrors the portrayal of the sexlessness of the spiritual realm in *Galatians* 3:28 which claims: "In Christ… there is no male nor female." [4] The Gnostic *Gospel According to Thomas* also describes the eradication of the feminine gender in the kingdom of heaven. [5]

Kevin Coyle has identified two central research questions relating to the study of gender in Manichaeism. [6] The first research question concerns the construction of gender roles in the

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[3] Al-Bīrūnī, *Taḥqīq mā lil-hind* 19.2-9. In Reeves, J. C. (2011), *Prolegomena to a History of Islamicate Manichaeism* (Comparative Islamicate Studies). (Sheffield; Bristol: Equinox), p.110. All citations from Al-Bīrūnī in this thesis are taken from Reeves 2011.

[4] *Galatians* 3.28:

[5] "For every female (element) that makes itself male will enter the kingdom of heaven." *The Gospel According to Thomas*, logion 114. In Layton, B. (1987), *The Gnostic Scriptures: A New Translation with Annotations and Introductions*. (Yale: Yale University Press), pp. 376-399. (p. 399).

[6] Coyle, K. C. "A Prolegomena to the Study of Women in Manichaeism." In Coyle, K. C. (2009), *Manichaeism and Its Legacy*. (Leiden; Boston: Brill), pp. 141- 154.

Manichaean community. [7] The second question addresses constructions of gender in Manichaean cosmological mythology. This thesis will address this second area of research through the presentation of six portraits of gendered mythological figures, each of whom plays a central role in the Manichaean cosmological myth. Recurrent themes and motifs in these characterisations will be identified and cross-currents between them will be explored. Patterns of attributions, roles and behaviours associated with gender will be identified and discussed.

The focus on gender in this thesis requires a preliminary summary of the development of gender as an academic area of study. The study of gender originated in the fields of Sociology, Anthropology and Psychology in the 1950s. The term "gender role" was defined by John Money et al. in 1955 as follows:

> By the term, gender role, we mean all those things that a person says or does to disclose himself or herself as having the status of boy or man, girl or woman, respectively. It includes, but is not restricted to sexuality in the sense of eroticism. Gender role is appraised in relation to the following: general mannerisms, deportment and demeanor, play preferences and recreational interests; spontaneous topics of talk in unprompted conversation and casual comment; content of dreams, daydreams, and fantasies; replies to oblique inquiries and projective tests; evidence of erotic practices and, finally, the person's own replies to direct inquiry. [8]

Money's definition of gender role focuses upon the performance of gender through speech, action and sexual behaviour. This inscribes the social and psychological construction of gender.

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[7] Kristionat, J. (2013), *Zwischen Selbstverständlichkeit und Schweigen. Die Rolle der Frau im frühen Manichäismus* (Oikumene 11; Studien zur antiken Weltgeschichte 11). (Mainz: Verlag Antike).

[8] Money, J., Hampson, J. G, and Hampson, J. "An Examination of Some Basic Sexual Concepts: The Evidence of Human Hermaphroditism." *Bulletin of Johns Hopkins University*, 97/4, (1955), pp. 301–19.

Historically, gender research has distinguished the social construction of gender from biological sex, the latter of which has been viewed as an *a priori* and binary ontological category. Recent scholarship, pioneered by Judith Butler, has challenged this model. Butler challenges both the binary composition of sex and the priority of sex over gender:

> Gender is not to culture as sex is to nature; gender is also the discursive/cultural means by which "sexed nature" or "a natural sex" is produced and established as "prediscursive," prior to culture, a politically neutral surface *on which* culture acts.[9]

In his research on the development of masculinities in Judaism from the Second Temple period onwards, Daniel Boyarin reinforces the social construction of both sex and gender, defining gender studies as the investigation of: "the praxis and process by which people are interpolated into a two- (or in some cultures more) sex system that is made to seem as if it were nature, that is, something that has always existed." [10] The construct of sex as *a priori* to gender is also challenged by Thomas Laqueur, who argues for the primacy of gender over sex in pre-renaissance philosophical thought. [11] Laqueur identifies historical evidence for a one-sex model, which constructs women as failed men. Raewyn Connell underscores the symbiosis between gender construction and social order and the centrality of reproductive processes to this dependence: "Gender is a way in which

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[9] Butler, J. (1990), *Gender Trouble, Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (Routledge Classics). (New York: Routledge), p. 7.

[10] Boyarin, D. "Gender." In Taylor, M. C. (1998) (ed.), *Critical Terms for Religious Studies*. (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press), pp. 117-135, (p.117).

[11] Laqueur, T. (1992), *Maxing Sex*: *Body and Gender from the Greeks to Freud.* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: First Harvard University Press).

social practice is ordered. In gender processes, the everyday conduct of life is organised in relation to a reproductive arena, defined by the bodily structures and processes of reproduction." [12]

Modern scholarship has not only deconstructed the categories of sex and gender, but emphasises the essential transitivity and illusory nature of gender. Judith Butler writes:

> Gender is an identity tenuously constituted in time, instituted in an exterior space through a stylized repetition of acts. The effort of gender is produced through the stylization of the body and, hence, must be understood as the mundane way in which bodily gestures, movements, and styles of various kinds constitute the illusion of an abiding gendered life. [13]

Feminist studies of gender have focused upon the intersection between gender role and patriarchal culture. Toril Moi has highlighted the binary systems embedded in patriarchy, in which the male voice is subject and the female is pushed to the margins of the social world of linguistic communication and intersubjective relations:

> If patriarchy sees women as occupying a marginal position within the symbolic order then it can construe them as the limit or harder-line of that order. From a phallocentric point of view, women will then come to represent the necessary frontier between man and chaos, but because of their very marginality they will also always seem to recede into and merge with the chaos of the outside. Women seen as the limit of the symbolic order will in other words share in the disconcerting

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[12] Connell, R. W. (2005), *Masculinities*. (Cambridge: Polity Press), p. 71.

[13] Butler 1990, p. 191.

properties of all frontiers: they will be neither inside nor outside, neither known nor unknown. [14]

Raewyn Connell also recognises the embeddedness of strong cultural opposition between masculine and feminine in patriarchal gender orders, which is commonly expressed as dichotomies and negations. [15]

Feminist research has explored the subject-object gender relations implicit in narrative texts. Feminist film critic Laura Mulvey has identified the expression of inter-sex power relations through the female as object of male gaze. [16] Her interpretation of the psychoanalytic theory of Jacques Lacan has been adopted and absorbed into feminist biblical scholarship. [17] Feminist theory has also identified the use of the female as symbol of otherness or difference in male discourse. [18]

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[14] Moi, T. "Feminist, Female, Feminine." In: Belsey, C. and Moore, J. (1989) (eds.), *The Feminist Reader: Essays in Gender and the Politics of Literary Criticism*. (Malden; MA: Blackwell Publishers Inc.), pp.117-132.

[15] Connell 2005.

[16] Mulvey, L. "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema." In Caughie, E. and Kuhn, A. (1992) (eds.), *The Sexual Subject: A reader in Sexuality.* (London; New York: Routledge), pp. 22-34.

[17] Lacan, J. and Zizek, S. (ed/trans.) (2003), *Critical Evaluations in Cultural Theory.* Vol. 1: *Psychoanalytic Theory and Practice*. (London; New York: Routledge). For feminist biblical scholarship, see, for example, Bach, A. (1997), *Women, Seduction and Betrayal in Biblical Narrative.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press). Also: Glancy, J. A. "The Accused: Susanna and Her Readers" in Brenner, A. (1995) (ed.), *Feminist Companion to Esther, Judith and Susanna* (The feminist companion to the Bible). (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press), pp. 288-302. Bal. M. "Reading the Gaze: The Construction of Gender in 'Rembrandt. '" In Melville, S. and Readings, B. (1995) (eds.), *Vision and Textuality*. (London: Macmillan), pp. 147-173. Levine, A. "Hemmed in on every side, Jews and Women in the Book of Susanna." in Brenner 1995, pp. 303-324.

[18] See: Moi, T. (1985), *Sexual/Textual Politics*, *Feminist Literary Theory* (New Accents), second edition. (London; New York: Routledge), pp. 149-166. Newsom, C. A. "Woman and the Discourse of Patriarchal Wisdom: A Study of

The study of masculinity has developed in part in response to the vast body of feminist commentary on gender and patriarchal culture. Central to the study of masculinity is the identification by Joseph Vandello et al. of masculinity as a "precarious" state. Elusive and tenuous, masculinity is "hard won and easily lost." [19] The male thus constantly strives to achieve, maintain and demonstrate masculinity. Raewyn Connell's models of hegemonic and subordinate masculinities will be used here to explore constructions of masculinity in Manichaean cosmological narrative. Hegemonic masculinity, temporally and culturally variable, is defined by Connell as "the currently most honored way of being a man." [20] Within a given social group, hegemonic masculinity is aspired to by many, but achieved by an elite minority. [21] Developments in Connell's theory recognise the development of co-existent subordinate masculinities in response to marginalisation and subordination. [22] Subordinate masculinities are frequently assimilated to femininity. [23] Daniel Boyarin's study of the development of Jewish models of masculinity recognises the importance of the adoption of tactical masculinities as oppositional manoeuvres or forms of resistance to oppressive authority. [24]

Proverbs 1-9." In Bach, A. (1998) (ed.), *Women in the Hebrew Bible*: *A Reader*. (New York; London: Routledge), pp. 85-98.

[19] Vandello, J. et al. "Precarious Manhood." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 95/6, (2008), pp. 1325–1339.

[20] Connell, R. W. and Messerschmidt, J. W. "Hegemonic Masculinity: Rethinking the Concept." *Gender & Society*, (Dec. 2005), pp. 829-859 (p.829).

[21] Ibid.

[22] Ibid.

[23] Connell, R.W. (2000), *The Men and the Boys*. (Cambridge: Polity Press), p. 31.

[24] Boyarin, D. (1997), *Unheroic Conduct: The Rise of Heterosexuality and the Invention of the Jewish Man* (Contraversions: Critical Studies in Jewish Literature, Culture, and Society). (Berkeley: University of California Press).

In this thesis, the author's cultural history views sex as binary (male; female) and considers gender to be a social construction which is secondary to biological sex. These cultural factors may influence interpretation and presentation of material. Gender in Manichaean texts will be identified by abstract nouns (he, she) and gendered terms of reference such as father, mother, son and daughter.

1.i: Review of Previous Literature

The literature cited above demonstrates the penetration of gender studies into the field of religious studies. The study of the representation of femininity in Gnostic mythology and its impact upon the development of female asceticism is exemplified by a series of essays in Karen King's *Images of the Feminine in Gnosticism*. [25] These essays address the two research areas of feminine-gendered hypostases in Gnostic literature and aspects of asceticism amongst female Gnostic communities. Jorunn Buckley explores the ambivalent characterisation of the feminine-gendered spirit Ruha, who appear both as redeemer and corrupter in Mandaean mythology. [26]

Research in Manichaeism has taken forward Kevin Coyle's challenge, with the emergence of recent literature related to the roles and representations of women within the Manichaean community. [27] Kevin Coyle has himself dipped an exploratory toe in the water with papers relating to the role of women in the Manichaean missionary endeavour and the representation of Mary

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[25] King, K. L. (1988) (ed.), *Images of the Feminine in Gnosticism*. (Pennsylvania: Trinity Press International).

[26] Buckley, J. J. (1986), *Female Fault and Fulfilment in Gnosticism* (Enduring Editions). (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press). Eadem., "A Rehabilitation of Spirit Ruha in Mandaean Religion." *History of Religions*, 22/1 (Aug. 1982), pp. 60-84.

[27] Coyle 2009, "A Prolegomena to the Study of Women in Manichaeism," loc. cit.

Magdalene in Coptic Manichaean literature. [28] Antti Marjanen also has addressed the role of Mary Magdalene as transmitter of knowledge to the apostle Peter and her role as "the paragon of a faithful believer." [29] Marjanen further suggests an identification of Mary Magdalene with the spirit of wisdom. [30] Jessica Kristionat's study of female historical Manichaean figures has established that women were admitted to the higher tier of the Manichaean elect, but were barred from official roles within the male-dominated hierarchy of the Manichaean church. [31] Kristionat argues that there is no evidence of sex differentiation in the roles of the Manichaean Elect, which included asceticism, prayer, public teaching and preaching. Majella Franzmann, exploring letters between family members of the fourth-century Manichaean community of Kellis in Egypt, offers speculation about the family and community roles of a female Manichaean named Tehat. [32] Nicholas Baker-Brian has explored Augustine of Hippo's manipulation of rumours concerning the treatment of women within the Manichaean community as a strategy of invective in his anti-Manichaean rhetoric. [33]

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[28] Coyle, K. C. "Women and Manichaeism's Mission to the Roman World." In Coyle 2009, pp. 187- 205. Also: Coyle, K. C. "Rethinking the "Mary's" of Manichaeism." In Coyle 2009, pp. 173-186. Idem., "Mary Magdalene in Manichaeism?" In Coyle 2009, pp. 155-172.

[29] Marjanen, A. S. "Mary Magdalene in the Manichaean Psalm-book." In Marjanen, A. S. (1996), *The Woman Jesus Loved: Mary Magdalene in the Nag Hammadi Library and Related Documents* (Nag Hammadi and Manichaean Studies 40, Philosophia Antiqua). (Leiden; New York; Koln: Brill), pp. 203-215 (p. 212).

[30] Ibid., p. 215.

[31] Kristionat 2013.

[32] Franzmann, M. "Tehat the Weaver. Women's Experience in Manichaeism in 4th Century Roman Kellis." *Australian Religion Studies Review,* 20, (2007), pp. 17-26.

[33] Baker-Brian, N. "Women in Augustine's anti-Manichaean writings: Rumour, rhetoric, and ritual." In Vinzent, M. (2013) (ed.), *Studia Patristica*, vol. 70: *Papers presented at the sixteenth International Conference on Patristic Studies held in Oxford* 2011. Volume 18: *St Augustine and his Opponents.* (Leuven: Peeters), pp. 499-520.

Manichaean studies have thus progressed in relation to the role of women in the Manichaean community. However, research concerning the construction of gender within Manichaean cosmological mythology is sparse. Such research is confined to an exploratory paper by Majella Franzmann concerned with the gendered themes and roles of the Mother of Life. [34] Themes identified by Franzmann relate to broad stereotyped feminine imagery, such as birth, pregnancy and lust. [35] Franzmann's paper represents an important preliminary excursus into this area, but is concerned primarily with methodology.

Manichaean studies have yet to catch up with the recent advances in Jewish and Judaeo-Christian gender studies discussed above. In particular, there is a marked absence of research related to the construction of masculinity. Males are represented as a norm against which female difference is measured. This thesis seeks to redress this imbalance by offering equal analysis of constructions of masculinity and femininity in Manichaean cosmological narrative.

This thesis is the first major study of constructions of gender in Manichaean mythology, as opposed to the roles of women in the Manichaean community or their representation by the non-Manichaean community. Six portraits of gendered figures from Manichaean cosmological mythology will be presented. These figures have been selected for their centrality to late antique Manichaean cosmological narrative, whilst achieving a balance of gender, age and role. The polarisation embedded in Mani's cosmology will be explored.

Baker-Brian, N. ""... Putrid Boils and Sores and Burning Wounds in the Body" (The Kephalaia of the Teacher 70.175.17-18): The Valorization of Health and Illness in Late Antique Manichaeism: Introduction: Health and the Manichaean Body." *Harvard Theological Review*, 109/3, (July 2016), pp. 422-446.

[34] Franzmann, M. "Mothers, Virgins and Demons: Reading Beyond the Female Stereotypes in Manichaean Cosmology and Story." *Humanities Australia*, 1, (2010), pp. 56-63.

[35] Ibid., p. 157.

A significant and innovative finding of this thesis is the central influence upon Mani's constructions of gender of the Second Temple Jewish and Judaeo-Christian literary traditions. This may be explained in large part by the Judaeo-Christian environment of Mani's childhood and youth. This is a novel and unexpected finding in the context of the antipathy to the Old Testament and Jewish faith apparent in Manichaean literature. It cannot be established with any degree of certainty which texts were accessible to or accessed by Mani, thus claims of direct textual influence are not made. However, themes and imagery from the Judaeo-Christian literature permeate Manichaean literature.

1.ii: Content and structure of Dissertation

The first three chapters of this dissertation will explore the characterisations of three masculine-gendered figures in Manichaean cosmological narrative. Chapter one will address the characterisation of the masculine-gendered divinity designated Father and King in Manichaean cosmological mythology. His characterisation will be considered in parallel with the Sasanian construction of hegemonic masculinity embodied in the monarch. The chapter will explore parallels in representation between the Manichaean Father and the Sasanian monarch, which mark the monarch as the earthly counterpart of the Divine. Historical evidence reveals that fame, authority and abundance were considered markers of idealised masculinity in Sasanian court culture. The characterisation of the Manichaean Father serves as a paradigm of masculine rulership and authority over family and kingdom, foregrounding the welfare of subjects and kingdom or family over the desires of the self. The idealised portrait of masculine rulership embodied in the Manichaean Father is polarised by the characterisation of the rulership of the masculine-gendered ruler of the Kingdom of Darkness. In contrast to the Manichaean Father, the ruler of the Kingdom of Darkness is portrayed as a military aggressor, motivated by lust for power and domination. This portrayal is epitomised in his characterisation as a cannibal, reflecting prevailing representations

of the outsider as uncivilised, savage and invasive. Texts composed after Mani's death develop the characterisation of the chief ruler from alien invader to tyrannous and deceitful ruler. This chapter argues that this shift in characterisation reflects the persecution of the Manichaean community following the rejection and death of Mani during the reign of King Bahrām I. The figures of the Manichaean Father and the ruler of the Kingdom of darkness thus reveal polarised characterisations of masculine rulership.

The third chapter explores an apparent paradox in the characterisation of the Manichaean First Man, which reveals two conflicting personae of battle-ready warrior and helpless victim. The characterisation of the First Man as battle-ready warrior is synchronous with the hegemonic masculinity of martial power, strength and dominance upheld at the Sasanian court. However, this characterisation is compromised by narrations of his helplessness and suffering in defeat. This paradox will be considered in the context of Raewyn Connell's concept of hegemonic and subordinate masculinities. It will be argued that the shift in the First Man's characterisation from valiant warrior to weeping victim reflects the emergence of a parallel subordinate construction of masculinity which enveloped the endurance of suffering as a valid expression of masculinity. The historical and cultural circumstances of the persecution of the Manichaean faithful related to these developments will be discussed. The representation of Isaac as a willing participant in haggadic representations of the *Aqedah* (the "binding" of Isaac by his father Abraham in *Genesis* 22) will be explored as an example of a parallel restructuring of masculinities in the context of oppression. This demonstrates the challenge to maintain "precarious" masculinity under pressure and the development of an alternative construction of masculinity as method of resistance to oppression.

The fourth chapter will explore the gendered status and roles of the Manichaean Mother through her characterisation in Manichaean literature. Her characterisation as the Wisdom of the Manichaean Father reveals creativity, nurturance, protection and weaponry as attributes of maternal wisdom. These attributes echo and extend maternalistic imagery applied to Sophia, the

feminine-gendered personification of wisdom found in Judaeo-Christian Wisdom Literature. The maternal attributes of the Manichaean mother are polarised by the portrayals of the Manichaean Eve and the demoness Ăz, Mother of the demons. The liminal positions of the polarised figures of the Mother of Life, Ăz and Eve will be explored as contrasting symbols of idealised and chaotic motherhood.

The Manichaean Mother also serves as prototype of imprecation and supplication to masculine authority. This gendered role will be discussed in the context of an emerging focus upon female supplication in Jewish haggadic literature and Syriac Christian liturgy. It will be argued that the centrality of the supplicatory act to her characterisation promotes a model of female subordination to male authority.

Chapter five will present a study of Manichaean hamartiology as represented by the feminine-gendered demoness Ăz. Her characterisation as inner proclivity to sin residing in the human body mirrors the Jewish representation of the relation between humanity and sin embodied in the *yetzer hara*, the "evil inclination," a concept which first emerges in *Genesis* but undergoes significant development in Second Temple literature, to become enshrined as a central hamartiological concept of rabbinical discourse. This chapter thus intends to offer a glimpse of the possible ancestry of the Manichaean hamartiological figure Ăz in the construction of sin embodied in the *yetzer hara*. Both portray an inner proclivity to sin resident in the human body from its inception. This proclivity is expressed and experienced as a demonic entity which requires control or expulsion from the human body. Thirdly, an increasing focus upon sexual desire as intrinsically sinful emerges. An emergent feminine-gendering of sexual desire is shared by Jewish Second Temple literature.

The final chapter will explore the characterisation of the feminine-gendered Maiden of Light, whose sexually enticing display to the archons appears to conflict with her epithets of purity

and wisdom. This chapter will explore this paradox in the context of narrative portrayals of male gaze upon the female form as expression of male sexual desire in biblical and Second Temple Jewish and Judaeo-Christian literature, in which the female who seeks male gaze is perceived as a threat to patriarchal order and authority. Invitation to transgressive sexual activity is embodied by the figure of the adulteress. However, a counter-narrative emerges in Judaeo-Christian literature which permits and extols the female seeking of male gaze with patriarchal consent and authority. Gnostic literature, as exemplified by *The Secret Book of John* and *The Reality of the Rulers*, portrays the evasion of the male sexual gaze and grasp through feminine illusion and trickery. This chapter argues that the display of the form of the Maiden of Light may be interpreted in the context of the development of the construction of male gaze and its manipulation by the female in Second Temple literature.

The following section will offer an overview of Mani's life, his teachings and sources used in this thesis.

2: The Life of Mani

2.i: Mani's Birth and Youth

In *The Chronology of the Ancient Nations* (henceforward *Āthār*), the tenth-century historian and polymath Al-Bīrūnī records Mani's account of the date and place of his birth from the chapter of the *Šābuhragān* entitled "On the Coming of the Prophet." [36] Mani states that he was born in a village named Mardinu in Southern Mesopotamia in the "year 527 of the era of the Babylonian astronomers," which equates to 216 CE. [37]

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[36] Al-Bīrūnī, *Āthār* 118.12-21. Cited by Reeves 2011, p. 27-28.

[37] Ibid., p. 28.

The *Kitâb al-Fihrist* of Ibn Al-Nadim recounts numinous signs prior to Mani's birth: his mother experienced visions during her pregnancy and his father received a series of divine messages. [38] This reflects mystical religious traditions attached to the birth of a prophet or religious figure, parallels with which may be found in the mythology surrounding the birth of Zoroaster, Muhammed and Christ. [39] Eighth-century Chinese sources, influenced by mythology surrounding the birth of Buddha, describe Mani's birth from his mother's breast. [40] These texts emphasise the purity of Mani's mother, Maryam, as a reflection of the nature of her unborn child. [41] The *Kitâb al-Fihrist* of Al-Nadim further recounts that Mani's mother, Maryam, was descended from the royal Parthian house of the Arsacids.[42] This is not emphasised in Western sources, reflecting the prevailing conflict between the Roman and Persian Empires. [43]

During Maryam's pregnancy, Mani's father, Patik, is reported to have joined a male religious sect. [44] According to sources, Mani joined his father in a Judaeo-Christian baptising sect of Elchasaite origin at an early age and spent his formative years there. This environment was critical to the development of Mani's theology, particularly in terms of his rejection of certain of the sect's beliefs and practices. The chief Manichaean source concerning Mani's time in this sect is the

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[38] Ort, L. J. R. (1967), *Mani: A Religio-historical Description of His Personality.* (Leiden: Brill).

[39] Ibid. See also: De Jong, A. "The Cologne Mani Codex and the Life of Zarathustra." In Harman, G. (2014) (ed.), *Christians and Zoroastrians. Religious Dynamics in a Sasanian Context.* (Piscataway: NJ; Gorgias Press), pp. 129-147.

[40] Lieu, S. N. C. (1992), *Manichaeism in the Later Roman Empire and Medieval China*. (Tübingen: J.C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck)). See also: Gardner, I. and Lieu, S.N.C. (2004), *Manichaean Texts from the Roman Empire*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).

[41] Ort 1967.

[42] Ibid.

[43] Ibid.

[44] Ibid. See also Tardieu and DeBevoise 2008.

Cologne Mani Codex (henceforward CMC), a Greek "life of Mani" translated from a Syriac original, which will be discussed in detail below. [45]

According to the CMC, Mani's refusal to comply with the sect's teachings and practices relating to ritual ablution caused friction between Mani and his community, resulting in Mani's expulsion from the community. The first matter relates to the interpretation of bodily purity in light of the sect's practice of ritual ablution. The CMC reports that members of the community criticise Mani: "Likewise, the washing by which we wash ourselves he destroys and does not wash himself like us, nor does he wash his food as we do." [46] Likewise, they comment: "He makes of no avail [the washing] in the way it is practiced [by us]." [47] Mani objects to water purification with a two-fold argument. The first of these is that the body is intrinsically polluted and therefore washing is futile:

> Now the fact that you wash in water each day is of no avail. For having been washed
> and purified once and for all, why do you wash again each day? So that also by this
> it is manifest that you are disgusted with yourselves each day and that you must
> wash yourselves on account of loathsomeness before you can become purified. And
> by this too it is clear most evidently that all the foulness is from the body. [48]

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[45] Pearson, B. A., Cameron, R. and Dewey, A. J. (1979) (trans./eds.), *The Cologne Mani codex (P. Colon. inv. nr. 4780): Concerning the origin of his body* (Early Christian literature series 3: Texts and Translations Number 15). (Montana: Scholars Press). For discussion of this text, see section 3.v.i, pp. 59-61.

[46] CMC, loc. cit., p. 71.88.8-16.

[47] Ibid., p. 73.89.26.

[48] Ibid., p. 67.83-20.

Mani's subsequent claim is that the human body is so polluted that it contaminates the purity of the water in which it bathes. In support of this argument, Mani conjures the image of Elchasai himself, the claimed founder of the Law of the sect:

> For Elchasai, the founder of your Law, points this out: when he was going to bathe in the waters, an image of a man appeared to him from the source of the waters, saying to him: "Is it not enough that your animals injure me, but do you [yourself] also mistreat [me without reason] and profane my waters?" So Elchasai [marvelled and] said to it: "Fornication, defilement, and impurity of the world are thrown into you and you do not refuse (them), but are you grieved with me?" It said to him: "Granting that all these have not recognised me (as to) who I am, you, who say that you are a servant and righteous, why have you not guarded my honor?" And then Elchasai was upset and did not bathe in the waters. [49]

Without doubt, Mani's cosmological mythology reveals the influence of his upbringing in the Baptist sect, both in terms of the beliefs he rejected and the beliefs he carried forward with him. This influence will be at the forefront of this thesis.

The CMC relates that Mani left the Judaeo-Christian community of his upbringing at the age of twenty-four at the instruction of his spiritual twin, which "set him apart from the law in which his body was reared." [50] Between 240-242 CE, Mani appears to have travelled to India. *Chapter* one of the *Kephalaia* presents this as a preliminary missionary endeavour:

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[49] CMC 94-10-95.14, loc. cit., p. 77.

[50] Ibid. 8.73.1, loc. cit., p. 57.

In the last years of Ardash[ir] the king I came out to preach. I crossed to the country

of the Indians. [I]/ preached to them the hope of life. I chose in that place / a good

election." [51]

The trajectory and nature of Mani's travels remain a matter of scholarly speculation. Manichaean

sources such as the *Kephalaia* portray Mani's travels in hagiographical style as a first triumphal

missionary endeavour. A further Parthian fragment M48 describes Mani's encounter with and

conversion of the Shah of Turan. [52] Werner Sundermann claims that this text reveals historically

accurate terminology indicative of missionary work. [53] However, Max Deeg and Iain Gardner

suggest that Mani's travels may represent a period of further religious instruction and expansion:

"the years after this date still belonged to the formative period of his religious system; and that

what came to be stylised as a mission journey by the Manichaeans themselves was rather an

'educational' trip." [54] A further debate concerns the religious doctrine described in accounts of

Mani's travels and subsequent influence on the development of his theology. It has been assumed

that Buddhism was the chief influence upon Mani's theology. However, Deeg and Gardner have

challenged this assumption with the suggestion that the surviving evidence better matches Jainism.

[55] The influence of Buddhism and Jainism on Mani's thought, however, is beyond the scope of

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[51] I Ke. 1.15.24-27, loc. cit., p. 21.

[52] M48. Cited by Henning, W. B. (1936), "Ein manichäisches Bet- und Beichtbuch." *Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, (Papers I), (1937a), pp. 417-55.

[53] Sundermann, W. "Mani, India and the Manichaean Religion." *South Asian Studies*, 2, (1986), pp. 11-19. See also: Idem. "MANICHEISM iv. MISSIONARY ACTIVITY AND TECHNIQUE." *Encyclopædia Iranica*, (2009), online edition. Available at: [http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/manicheism-iv-missionary-activity-and-technique] (Accessed on 27 May 2015). See also: Lieu 1992, pp. 70–85; Ort 1967.

[54] Deeg, M. and Gardner, I. "Indian Influence on Mani Reconsidered: The Case of Jainism." *International Journal of Jaina Studies,* 5/2, (2009), pp. 1-30, (p. 12-13). See also discussion of Baker-Brian 2011, pp. 66-76.

[55] Ibid.

this thesis. Following his return to Persia, Mani found favour at the court of King Shāpūr I. The following section will discuss the influence of the Sasanian court upon Mani's writings.

2.ii: At the Court of King Shāpūr I

Upon his return to Persia, Mani found favour at the court of King Shāpūr I. According to the *Kitâb al-Fihrist* of Al-Nadim, Mani was granted an introduction to King Shāpūr I by the King's brother, Firuz: [56]

> Mani wandered through the land for forty years prior to being with Sābūr. Then he won over (to his teachings) Firuz, the brother of Sābūr. Ardašīr, and Firuz introduced him to his brother, Sābūr… Mani presented him with numerous requests, a few of which were that he should support his followers in the lands and in the rest of the provinces of the empire, and that they might travel wherever they might wish throughout the provinces. Sābūr granted him all that he requested, so that Mani propagated (his messages) to India, China, and the peoples of Khurasan. [57]

Chapter one of the *Kephalaia* purports to record Mani's account of his first meeting with King Shāpūr I. However, the historicity of this passage is compromised by the redactors' aggrandisation of the figure of Mani:

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[56] Al-Nadim, The *Kitâb al-Fihrist.* All translations of this text in this thesis are taken from: Reeves, J. C. (2011), *Prolegomena to a History of Islamicate Manichaeism* (Comparative Islamicate Studies). (Sheffield; Bristol: Equinox). An English translation of the *Fihrist* by Bayard Dodge is available. See: Dodge, B. (1970) (trans./ed.), *The Fihrist of Al-Nadim: A Tenth-Century Survey of Muslim Culture*. (Records of Civilization Sources & Study). (New York; London: Columbia University Press).

[57] Ibid., p. 38-39.

Yet, also, in the year [that Ar/da]shir the king died Shāpūr his son became king… I a[pp]eared before Shāpūr the king. He rece/i[v]ed me with great ho[nou]r. He gave me permission to journey in [… / … pr]eaching the word of life. I even spent some year[s/…] him in the retinue; many years in Pers[i]a, in the country of the Parthians… [58]

Mani's acceptance by King Shāpūr I is attested by Al-Bīrūnī in the *Āthār*, which recounts: "His power did not diminish but grew under Ardašīr, his son Sābūr (Shāpūr) and Hurmuz his son until the reign of Bahrām b. Hurmuz." [59] *Chapter* seventy-six of the *Kephalaia* also recounts that Mani continued to receive a series of summons to his court from King Shāpūr. [60]

An extract from the tenth-century *Dēnkard* ("Acts of the religion") ascribes a compilation of religious doctrines to Shāpūr I. The *Dēnkard*, which Phillipe Gignoux describes as an apology for dualism in the monotheist Islamic milieu of tenth-century Persia, contains fifty chapters which deal with the refutation of false doctrines, including Manichaeism: [61]

(he) collected the non-religious writings on medicine, astronomy, movement, time, space, substance, accident, becoming, decay, transformation, logic and other crafts and skills which were dispersed throughout India, Roman and other lands, and collated them with the Avesta, and commanded that a copy be made of all those (writings) which were flawless and be deposited in the Royal Treasury. And he put

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[58] 1 Ke. 1.15.29- 16.1, loc. cit., p. 21.

[59] Al-Bīrūnī, *Āthār* 208.12. Cited by Reeves 2011, p. 42.

[60] 1 Ke. 76.183.10-26, loc. cit., p. 193.

[61] On the *Dēnkard*, see: Gignoux, P. "DĒNKARD." *Encyclopædia Iranica*, VII/3, (1994), pp. 284-289.

forward for deliberation the annexation of all those pure (teachings) to the Mazdaean religion. [62]

Paul Dilley identifies the context of Shāpūr's collection as the reclaiming of Zoroastrian beliefs and texts lost during the rule of Alexander the Great. The reassembly of these materials can thus be identified with a reclaiming of Zoroastrian cultural heritage, which was considered to have been disseminated into other religious traditions. The enterprise may thus be construed as a nationalistic reclaiming of lost heritage as opposed to an interest in non-Zoroastrian religious traditions. [63] Thus, Shāpūr's apparent interest in Mani's teachings may be linked to this compendious initiative. Adam Becker warns of the dangers of ascribing a modern liberalist interpretation to accounts of Shāpūr's "religious tolerance" and the anachronistic bifurcation of religion and state. [64] Furthermore, Manichaean accounts of Shāpūr's support of Mani's mission should be considered in the context of their hagiographical style and intent.

Mani's predominant motivation for the establishment of good relations with King Shāpūr I appears to have been the procurement of protection for himself and his followers across Shāpūr's empire. [65] The text entitled the *Šābuhragān* (lit. "Book dedicated to Shāpūr"), written and

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[62] *Dēnkard*, cited by Shahbazi, S. (2002), "Shapur I: History." *Encyclopædia Iranica*, online edition. Available at [http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/shapur-i] [Accessed 23/02/2017].

[63] Dilley, P. "Religious Intercrossing in Late Antique Eurasia: Loss, Corruption, and Canon Formation.*" Journal of World History* (*Official Journal of the World History Association*), 24(1), (2013), pp. 25-70.

[64] Becker, A. "Political Theology and Religious Diversity in the Sasanian Empire." In Herman, G. (2014) (ed.), *Jews, Christians and Zoroastrians. Religious Dynamics in a Sasanian Context* (Judaism in Context). (Piscataway: Gorgias Press), pp. 7-25.

[65] Dilley 2013.

dedicated to King Shāpūr I by Mani, bears witness to this need to impress Shāpūr. [66] This text will be discussed in detail below. [67]

2.iii: Mani's Fall from Grace

Mani continued his mission during the short-lived rule of Hormizd I (273-274 CE), successor to Shāpūr I. However, Mani subsequently fell from favour in the reign of Bahrām I, under whom the powers of the Zoroastrian clergy, led by the priest Kartīr, increased. This increase in power represented a move towards the establishment of Zoroastrianism as the state religion. [68] In 276 CE, Mani was accused of heresy and imprisoned. The fourth-century anti-Manichaean heresiological text *Acta Archelai*, attributed to the otherwise unknown Hegemonius, claims that Mani's demise was caused by his failure to heal a relative of Bahrām I. [69] Walter Henning has identified Manichaean Parthian/Middle Persian texts which describe a confrontation between Mani and Bahrām I. [70] In M3, Mani defends himself from Bahrām's verbal attack by reference to his role as a court physician and healer:

> "I have done you no harm. (Rather), I have always done good to you and your
> family. And many and numerous are your servants from whom I have (cast out)

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[66] Piras, A. "Mani." In Jones, L. and Gale, T. (2005) (eds.), *Mircea Eliade's Encyclopaedia of Religion*, vol. VIII, (second edition). (Detroit: Macmillan Library Reference), pp. 5646-5650.

[67] See section 3.v.ii, pp. 61-62.

[68] Shahbazi, S. "BAHRĀM I." *Encyclopædia Iranica*, vol. III/5, (1988), pp. 514-522.

[69] Hegemonius, *Acta Archelai* (The Acts of Archelaus) (Manichaean Studies 4), trans. Vermes, M. (2001), (Turnhout: Brepols), pp. 78-79.

[70] Henning, W. B. "Mani's Last Journey." *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, vol. 10/4, (1942), pp. 941-953.

male and female demons. And many are those whom I have freed from various

kinds of fever and ague. And many are those who died, and I [revived] them…" [71]

Mani was subsequently chained and imprisoned, where, according to the Coptic *Manichaean*

Homilies and the *Manichaean Psalm-book*, he died after twenty-six days. [72] Psalm 225 in the

Manichaean Psalm-book describes his twenty-six days and nights in chains:

> How many days of fear, my father, did you endure;
>
> Until you had cut and severed the race of frightful men!
>
> Twenty-six days in all, and the nights of them,
>
> You did spend in chains in Belapat… [73]

As observed by Lodewijk Ort, Manichaean literature reveals different traditions concerning

Mani's death. [74] The death of Mani is described in hagiographical style in the Coptic *Manichaean*

Homilies (henceforward *Man. Hom.*), which emphasise Mani's suffering and identify his death

with the Christian terminology of "crucifixion." [75] Furthermore, *Man. Hom.* report that in his last

moments in prison, Mani was comforted by three female followers.

> The three female (catechumens) of the faith (went) in to him… they sat by him and
>
> wept over him (and put their) hands on his eyes. They closed them because they

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[71] M3. In Klimkeit, H-J. (1993), *Gnosis on the Silk Road: Gnostic Texts from Central Asia*. (Australia: HarperCollins),
p. 214.

[72] The reference to twenty-six days may be found in *Man. Hom.* 60.10-15, in Gardner and Lieu 2004, p. 89.

[73] Psalm 225, *Manichaean Psalm-book*, p. 16.24-27.

[74] Ort 1967, p. 194.

[75] See: "The part of the recitation about the Crucifixion." *Man. Hom.* 42.9-85.34. In Gardner and Lieu 2004, pp.
80-84.

were swollen. For when his soul departed… They kissed his mouth…weeping over

him …[76]

This mirrors the tradition of the three female lamenters of Christ at the foot of the cross in *John* 19:25. This comparison with the crucifixion of Christ is made explicit not only in *Man. Hom.*, but in the Parthian text M4570, (c. 240-700 CE) translated from a Syriac original, which Werner Sundermann suggests reveals the influence of the *Diatesseron*:

> … and he (Mani?) was unconscious and died. Such was the *parinirvana* of (our) father, as was written. No one should contemplate on anything more wonderful… as we all know when Jesus the Messiah, the lord of us all, was crucified; it was attested about him that they seized him like an evil-doer. [77]

A further Manichaean tradition focuses upon the peace of Mani's passing from the body and his ascension to the Kingdom of Light, embracing the Buddhist terminology of *parinirvana*. This is exemplified by the Middle Persian text M5569:

> Just like a sovereign who takes off armour and garment and puts on another royal garment, thus the apostle of light took off the warlike dress of the body and sat down in a ship of light and received the divine garment, the diadem of light and the beautiful garland…. And he left the whole herd of righteousness (i.e. the Manichaean community) orphaned and sad, because the master of the house had entered *parinirvana*, and his house… *parinirvana* [78]

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[76] *Man. Hom.* 59.1-11. In Gardner and Lieu 2004, p. 87.

[77] M4570 v.4a.18. In Sundermann, W. "Christliche Evangelien Texte in der Uberlieferung der iranisch-manichâischen Literatur." *Mitteilungen des Instituts fur Orientforschung*, vol. 14, (1968), p. 389-394. Translation from Gardner and Lieu 2004, p. 94.

[78] M5569. In Gardner and Lieu 2004, p. 88.

The Buddhist concept of *parinirvana* relates to the passing from the karmic state of rebirth by one who has reached *nirvana* in life. [79] Mani's passing was commemorated by the Manichaean community annually by the "Festival of the Bema." Two psalms in the *Manichaean Psalm-book*, named the *Psalms of the Bema*, are devoted to this commemorative occasion. [80] Following Mani's death, the guiding of the Manichaean community fell to his close disciples.

Historically, research on the spread of the Manichaean faith during and following Mani's life has postulated the existence of two Manichaean literary traditions. The Coptic texts from Medinet Madi and Nag Hammadi have been regarded as evidence of a western tradition, in contrast to an eastern literary tradition represented by Middle Persian, Parthian and Sogdian texts from Turfan. The Coptic and Middle Persian texts have been perceived as demonstrating a distinct literary style to the Turfan texts. This is exemplified by the Coptic *Kephalaia of the Teacher* which, as discussed by Timothy Pettipiece, reflects an erotapokritic tradition of question and answer in contrast to the hagiographical style of the Turfan texts. [81]

The proposal of a geographico-religious divide is theoretically supported by Al-Bīrūnī's *Āthār*, in which Mani appears to draw geographic-religious distinctions:

> Apostles of God have constantly brought wisdom and deeds in successive times. In one era they were brought by the apostle al-Bud (i.e., the Buddha) to the land of India, in another (era) by Zardusht (i.e., Zoroaster) to Persia, and in another (era) by Jesus to the West. Now this revelation has descended and this prophecy is

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[79] Keown, D. *Oxford Dictionary of Buddhism*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press), p. 212.

[80] Psalms 225 and 226, *Manichaean psalm-book*, pp. 14.18-20.17.

[81] Pettipiece, T. (2009), *Pentadic Redaction in the Manichaean Kephalaia* (Nag Hammadi and Manichaean Studies). (Leiden; Boston: Brill).

promulgated during this final era by me, Mani, the apostle of the God of truth to Babylonia. [82]

This is supported by the Middle Persian/Parthian versions of text M2, which distinguish two missions initiated by Mani. [83] M2 describes the undertaking of a mission to the west of the Sasanian Empire by Mār Addā (with Patteg and a scribe) and a mission to the east by Mar Ammo. [84]

However, as discussed by Jason BeDuhn, recent scholarship concerning the *Kephalaia of the Wisdom of my Lord Mani* suggests that the two traditions may be tied closer together than previously assumed. This text shares hagiographical features with the Eastern (Turfan) texts, relating encounters at the Sasanian court between Mani and the sage Goundesh, who is named in the Turfan texts. These agonistic disputes mirror the question and answer format of the *Kephalaia*. Furthermore, in common with the Turfan texts, the *Kephalaia of the Wisdom of my Lord Mani* describes Mani as an incarnation of the Buddha. [85] Whilst this does not resolve all the issues, BeDuhn identifies a "common overall scheme or at least impetus" between the two *Kephalaia* codices. [86]

Having reviewed Mani's birth, life and death, the following section will explore and discuss the primary sources used in this thesis.

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[82] Al-Bīrūnī, *Āthār*, 207.15-18. Cited by Reeves 2011, pp. 102-103.

[83] M2. In Reeves 1993, pp. 202-204.

[84] M2 1.2 a., loc. cit., p. 202-203.

[85] BeDuhn, J. "Parallels between Coptic and Iranian Kephalaia: Goundesh and the King of Touran." In Gardner, BeDuhn and Dilley 2014, pp. 52-74.

[86] Ibid., p.74.

3: Thesis Sources

This section will offer an overview of the chief sources used in this thesis. These will be divided into subsections according to the religious origin of the text, although these subsections overlap. Subsections reflect the proposed influences upon Mani's thinking and the subsequent development of Manichaean doctrine. Direct textual influence is not claimed, as it cannot be determined to which specific texts Mani may have had access. The sections will be divided into Jewish Sources, Judaeo-Christian sources, Christian sources, Zoroastrian-Sasanian sources and Manichaean sources. Finally, significant Islamic and Christian commentaries on Mani's life and the Manichaean doctrine will be discussed.

Throughout this thesis, recurring themes from Jewish Second Temple literature arise in relation to Mani's constructions of gender and sin. It will be argued that this reflects Mani's exposure to a range of Jewish Second Temple literature in the context of his upbringing in the Judaeo-Christian community. Echoes and mirrors of Jewish themes concerning gender and sin recur in Manichaean texts, revealing patterns of cultural continuity. This finding, which is central to this thesis, is surprising given the anti-Jewish flavour and the rejection of the Hebrew Bible found in some Manichaean writings. This supports the research of John Reeves, who predicates a developmental progression from early Jewish literature through Gnostic literature to Manichaean mythology. [87] This reflects the prevalence of Second Temple literature in the ideas of Gnosticism from the second century onwards, as exemplified by the *Book of Giants* which will be discussed below. [88]

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[87] Reeves, J. C. (1992), *Jewish Lore in Manichaean Cosmogony: Studies in the Book of Giants Traditions* (Monographs of the Hebrew Union College 14). (Cincinnati: Hebrew Union). Idem. (1996), *Heralds of That Good Realm: Syro-Mesopotamian Gnosis and Jewish Traditions*. (Leiden; New York; Koln: Brill).

[88] See section 3.i.i, pp. 36-40.

Mani's time in the Sasanian court environment is reflected in the emergence of Zoroastrian themes, theogony and demonology in his writings. [89] An understanding of Zoroastrian doctrine and mythology is therefore central to this dissertation. The degree of the reliance and relation between Zoroastrian and Manichaean doctrine is contested. Geo Widengren claims a strong Mesopotamian origin on Zoroastrian mythology. [90] Werner Sundermann has identified specific elements of Zoroastrian mythology in Mani's dualist doctrine. [91] The Zoroastrian texts relevant to this thesis, although finally redacted in the late Sasanian era, are deemed to reflect an earlier oral tradition. However, the late date of redaction of these texts creates uncertainty concerning direction of influence between Manichaean and Zoroastrian doctrine. Charles Zaehner proposes that Zoroastrian doctrine has primacy over Manichaean mythology and doctrine. [92]

3.i: Jewish Sources

3.i.i: The *Book of Enoch* and the *Book of Giants*

Possibly the most influential example of early Jewish apocryphal literature is the *Book of Enoch*, (henceforward I *Enoch*), which comprises a number of pseudepigraphical Enoch traditions, dating

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[89] Sundermann, W. "Zoroastrian Motifs in Non-Zoroastrian Traditions." *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,* 18/2, (2008), pp. 155-165.

[90] Widengren, G. (1946), *Mesopotamian Elements in Manichaeism* (King and Saviour II) (Studies in Manichaean, Mandaean, and Syrian-gnostic religion). (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells Boktryckeri Ab). Idem. (1951) *The King and the Tree of Life in Ancient Near Eastern Religion* (King and Saviour IV). (Studies in Manichaean, Mandaean, and Syrian-gnostic religion). (Uppsala: Lundequist).

[91] Sundermann, W. "How Zoroastrian is Mani's dualism?" In Cirillo, L. and van Tongerloo, A. (1997) (eds.), *Atti del terzo congresso internazionale di studi "Manicheismo e oriente cristiano antico"* (*Arcavacata di Rende, Amantea, 31 agosto-5 settembre 1993*) (Manichaean Studies 3). (Louvain: Brepols), pp. 343-60.

[92] Zaehner, R. C. (1955), *Zurvan: A Zoroastrian Dilemma.* (New York: Biblo and Tannen).

from the last three centuries BCE. I *Enoch*, originally composed in Aramaic, was translated into Greek and thence to Ge'ez, the ancient language of Ethiopia, in which it has survived. [93]

Chapters 6-36 of I *Enoch* (the *Book of Watchers*) comprise an account of the rebellion of a group of angels (watchers) and their subsequent judgement. [94] This text, which dates to c. 200 BCE, sits in the *Book of Giants* tradition, which emerged in second temple apocalyptic Jewish writings as an interpretation of *Genesis* 6.1-4. The text relates the descent to earth of a group of angels who have sexual relations with human women, breeding a generation of greedy and destructive giants. When the earth proves insufficient for their appetite, the giants devour human men and women. [95]

> When human beings began to increase in number on the earth and daughters were born to them, the sons of God saw that the daughters of humans were beautiful, and they married any of them they chose…The Nephilim were on the earth in those days—and also afterward—when the sons of God went to the daughters of humans and had children by them. They were the heroes of old, men of renown. [96]

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[93] Nickelsburg, G. W. E. (1981), *Jewish Literature between the Bible and the Mishnah: An Historical and Literary Introduction*. (Philadelphia: Fortress Press), pp. 46-55.

[94] Charles, R. C. (2007) (trans./ed.), *The Book of Enoch*. (Mineola; New York: Dover Publications).

[95] Michael Tuval offers a review of instances of the appearance of the *Book of Giants* tradition in Jewish texts originally composed in or translated into Greek at an early stage. This includes the Septuagint, the *Wisdom of Solomon*, 3 *Maccabees*, *Baruch*, 3 *Baruch*, *Ben Sira* and the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. See: Tuval, M. ""Συναγωγὴ γιγάντων" (*Prov* 21:16): The Giants in the Jewish Literature in Greek." In Goff, M. and Stuckenbruck, L. T. and Morano, E. (2016) (eds.), *Ancient Tales of Giants from Qumran and Turfan Contexts, Traditions, and Influences* (Antike Geschichten von Riesen aus Qumran und Turfan. Kontexte, Traditionen und Einflüsse). (Tubingen: Mohr Siebeck), pp. 41-57.

[96] *Genesis* 6.1-4.

Mani's familiarity with the *Book of Giants* tradition is indicated by the inclusion of a *Book of Giants* amongst his canon of works in both Manichaean literature and secondary commentaries upon Manichaeism. [97] A Sogdian *Book of Giants* dating between 600-900 CE written by Mani has been identified by Walter Henning, who suggests that Mani's *Book of Giants* was originally composed in Syriac and subsequently translated by Mani's disciples into a variety of languages, including the Sogdian version. [98] A further Sogdian/Parthian text (M 813/I) has been translated by Enrico Morano. [99]

The textual trajectory of Mani's *Book of Giants* is a complex issue. The eighteenth-century scholar Isaac de Beausobre was the first to identify a connection between the Manichaean *Book of Giants* and I *Enoch*. [100] Initially, Mani's *Book of Giants* was considered to be a rewrite of the Enochian *Book of Watchers*. However, Józef Milik's findings of Aramaic fragments of a *Book of Giants* at the Qumran site confirm the existence of an Aramaic vorlage for Mani's version of the *Book of Giants*. [101] Mesopotamian elements are evident in the Qumran *Book of Giants*. For example, the Qumran fragments recast the Mesopotamian epic hero Gilgamesh as an evil giant,

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[97] Henning, W. B. "The Book of the Giants." *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, 11/1,* (Feb. 1943), pp. 52-74. Idem., (2007), *The Book of Giants: The Fallen Angels and their Giant Sons*. (Forgotten Books).

[98] Idem.

[99] See also Morano, E. ""If they had lived …" A Sogdian-Parthian Fragment of Mani's Book of Giants." In Sundermann, W., Hintze, A. and de Blois, F. (2009) (eds.), *Exegisti monumenta Festschrift in Honour of Nicholas Sims-Williams* (IRANICA. Herausgegeben von Maria Macuch, Band 17). (Harrassowitz Verlag: Wiesbaden), pp. 325-330.

[100] de Beausobre, I. (1734-39), *Histoire de Manichée et du Manicheisme*, 2 vols. (Amsterdam).

[101] Milik, J. T. (ed.) (1976), *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumrân Cave 4*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press).

suggesting that the author worked with an Aramaic version of the epic of Gilgamesh. [102] This has been interpreted as evidence of a Mesopotamian origin of the Qumran *Book of Giants*. [103] John Reeves interprets this as an anti-Mesopotamian polemic. [104] However, Matthew Goff argues that this is more accurately interpreted as "an exercise in creative adaptation of Gilgamesh motifs." [105] However, Jeffrey Cooley proposes that this may reflect a Hellenistic tradition. [106] As noted by Walter Henning, Mani's dualist cosmology does not allow for the emergence of evil from good. Hence, the giants are recast as demons in Mani's version of the *Book of Giants*. [107]

John Reeves' extensive exploration of the *Book of Giants* tradition establishes the central role of Judaeo-Christian cosmology in Mani's teachings, acquired from his upbringing in a Judaeo-Christian sect as discussed above. [108] In support of Reeves, Oktor Skjærvø suggests that

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[102] Goff, M. "Gilgamesh the Giant: The Qumran Book of Giants' Appropriation of "Gilgamesh" Motifs." *Dead Sea Discoveries*, 16/ 2 (2009), pp. 221-253.

[103] Reeves, J. C. "Utnapishtim in the Book of Giants?" *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 112, (1993), pp. 110-115.

[104] Reeves 1992.

[105] Goff 2009.

[106] Cooley, J. L. "The Book of Giants and the Greek Gilgamesh." In Arnold, B. T, Erickson, N. and Walton, J. H. (2014) (eds.), *Windows to the Ancient World of the Hebrew Bible: Essays in Honor of Samuel Greengus*. (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns), pp. 67-80.

[107] Henning 1943.

[108] Reeves 1992; 1996. Also: Sundermann, W. "GIANTS, THE BOOK OF." *Encyclopædia Iranica*, X/6, (2001), pp. 592-594.

Mesopotamian elements and names (such as the hero Sām) in the Manichaean *Book of Giants* may be understood as secondary additions to or translations of an original Judaeo-Christian text. [109]

3.i.ii: The *Book of Judith*

The *Book of Judith* (henceforward *Judith*) is considered to have been composed during the Hasmonean period (142-163 BCE) but post-150 BCE, although some evidence of influence from the Persian period is apparent. [110] The text survives in Greek, but is believed to have been written originally in Hebrew. George Nickelsburg subscribes to the view that *Judith* should be placed in the Jewish Wisdom literature genre. [111] *Judith* combines historical fact with fiction. However, as discussed by George Nickelsburg, the sequence of historical events is confused, placing the return from exile before Nebuchadnezzar's invasion of Jerusalem in 597 BCE. [112] *Judith* is set in the "the twelfth year of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar" in a fictional city, Bethulia, which is commonly understood as a metaphor for Jerusalem. [113] Likewise, Nebuchadnezzar is understood to represent

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[109] Skjærvø, O. "Iranian Epic and the Manichean "Book of Giants." Irano-Manichaica Iii." *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*. 48/1-2, Zsigmond Telegdi Memorial Volume (1995), pp. 187-223. See also: Sundermann 2001.

[110] "Book of Judith." In Coogan, M., Brettler, M. Z., Newsom, C. A. and Perkins, P. (2007) (eds.), *The New Oxford Annotated Bible with the Apocrypha: New Revised Standard Version.* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press), pp. 32-52. For dating, see: Xeravits G. Z. G. and Xeravits, G. G. (2012), *A Pious Seductress: Studies in the Book of Judith* (Deuterocanonical and Cognate Literature Studies 14). (Berlin: De Gruyter).

[111] Corley, J. "Judith." In Aitken, J. K. (2015) (ed.), *T&T Clark Companion to the Septuagint*. (Bloomsbury: T&T Clark), pp. 222-236, (p. 223). Nickelsburg, G. "The Book of Judith." In Nickelsburg 1981, pp. 105-109.

[112] Nickelsburg 1981.

[113] *Judith* 1.1-2, loc. cit., p. 33.

the tyrannical Antiochus IV. [114] The text reports that Bethulia, as an important point of entry into Judaea, has been blockaded by Nebuchadnezzar's forces, headed by General Holofernes. The blockade has deprived the inhabitants of Bethulia of food and water. From this besieged community, an unlikely heroine emerges. The widow Judith, reputed for her chaste and secluded lifestyle, exchanges her mourning robes for the alluring clothes of a seductress in an attempt to save her people. This text demonstrates the emergence of feminine wisdom and guile as tactics for the weakening and defeat of the enemy of the Jewish nation.

3.i.iii: The *Book of Susanna*

The *Book of Susanna* (henceforward *Susanna*) sits in the corpus of *Daniel*. The accepted dating of the Greek *Daniel* to 100 BCE identifies this as the *terminus ad quem* for the composition of *Susanna*. [115] George Nickelsburg dates the text between 323-150 BCE. [116] The text relates the tale of Susanna, virtuous wife of the respected Joachim, whose beauty catapults her into a male conspiracy of desire and violence. The narrative, which intertwines the themes of male gaze, sexual desire and adultery, considers woman as object of the male sexual gaze. The text warns of the hazards of female visibility through the entrapment and *sotah* ordeal of Susanna. Male gaze is portrayed as voyeuristic and punitive control.

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[114] Nickelsburg 1981.

[115] "The Book of Susanna." In Coogan et al. 2007, pp. 194-197. For dating, see Nickelsburg 1981, pp. 23-24.

[116] Ibid.

3.i.iv: The *Book of Esther*

Three versions of the *Book of Esther* are extant. In addition to the original Masoretic Text (henceforward MT), which Jon Levinson suggests dates between the fourth and third centuries BCE, two Greek recensions survive. [117] These consist of a version preserved in the *Septuagint* dating to 114 BCE (known as the B-text or LXX) and a shorter Greek version, known as the Alpha-text or Lucianic recension (henceforward L). Of particular significance to this thesis are six passages from the Septuagint (Addition D), for which no Hebrew vorlage can be found. [118]

The *Book of Esther* is set in the Persian diasporic community under the rule of King Ahasuerus (Xerxes). The text narrates the rise of the beautiful Jewess Esther, ward of her uncle Mordecai, who is placed by Mordecai before King Xerxes and subsequently selected as the king's favourite. Esther's display of feminine vulnerability and supplication to the king secures the release of the Jewish nation from annihilation.

3.i.v: 4 *Maccabees*

4 *Maccabees* (henceforward 4 *Macc.*) which appears in the Greek Septuagint, has been dated to c. 50 CE [119] The author, although unknown, was evidently a devout Jew who sought to reconcile Jewish history and theology with Hellenistic philosophical concepts. [120] 4 *Macc.* relates the torture

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[117] Levinson, J. D. (1997). *Esther*: *A Commentary* (Old Testament Library). (Louisville; London: Westminster John Knox Press).

[118] Queen-Sutherland, K.M. "Additions to Esther." In Mills, W. E. and Wilson, R. F. (2002) (eds.) *The Deuterocanonicals/Apocrypha* (Mercer commentary on the Bible, vol. 5). (Macon, Ga: Mercer University Press), pp. 27- 34.

[119] Helyer, L. R. (2002), *Exploring Jewish Literature of the Second Temple Period: A Guide for New Testament Studies*. (Illinois: Intervarsity Press), pp. 402-412, (p. 404).

[120] deSilva, D. A. (1998), 4 *Maccabees* (Guides to the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha). (London: A&C Black).

and execution of Rabbi Eleazar and the seven Maccabean brothers by the Seleucid ruler Antiochus IV during the Maccabean revolt (167-160 BCE). The tyranny of Antiochus IV is intended as a metaphor for the contemporaneous oppression of the Jewish people under Roman occupation. The passages of significance to this chapter relate to the torture and execution of the seven brothers who refuse to submit to Antiochus' demands to partake of food that has been sacrificed to Greek gods. 4 *Macc.* is central to the discussion of reconstructions of gender in the context of persecution.

3.i.vi: The *Mishnah*

The *Mishnah* comprises the recording and transmission of Jewish oral teachings of the Tannaim (literally "repeaters") from the second century BC to mid-second century CE. [121] The *Mishnah* forms part of the canon of Judaism and is described by Jacob Neusner as the "first holy book in Judaism after the scriptures." [122] The *Mishnah* forms the core and foundation of the ensuing Babylonian and Palestinian Talmuds. [123] It is considered to have been completed by the end of the second century CE. [124] The origin of the title *Mishnah* reflects the oral transmission of Jewish law, deriving from the Hebrew stem "to repeat," hence meaning "to teach by means of repetition." [125] Neusner proposes that the precipitating event for the composition of the *Mishnah* was the

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[121] Ibid.

[122] Neusner, J. (1995), *The Classics of Judaism: A Textbook and Reader*. (Kentucky: Westminster John Knox Press), p. 26.

[123] Danby, H. (1933), *The Mishnah: Translated from the Hebrew with Introduction and Brief Explanatory Notes*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press), intro., p. xiii. See also: Neusner 1995, p. 28.

[124] Neusner, J. "The Canon of Rabbinic Judaism." In Neusner, J. and Avery-Peck, A. J. (2003) (eds.), *The Blackwell Companion to Judaism*. (Oxford; Victoria Australia: Blackwells Publishing Ltd.), pp. 93-111.

[125] Danby 1933.

destruction of the Jerusalem temple as cultic centre in 70 CE and the loss of self-government. [126]

Hence, the *Mishnah* preserves material no longer relevant to Jewish practice, such as material relating to the holiness of the Jerusalem temple.

Mythology surrounding the *Mishnah* should be distinguished from historical evidence. [127] The *Mishnah* states that the oral law was delivered at Mount Sinai to Moses in combination with the written law and was subsequently handed down through the generations and prophets. The composition of the *Mishnah* is attributed to rabbi Judah the patriarch. [128] However, scholars have challenged the mythology surrounding the *Mishnah*. Jacob Epstein, who has produced several editions of the *Mishnah*, has challenged the claim of single source and authorship. [129] Jacob Neusner supports this view, suggesting that the *Mishnah* cannot be claimed as a singular entity and demonstrates separate collections and traditions. [130] Furthermore, Neusner notes that the subsequent addition of *gemera* (commentary and interpretation upon the *Mishnah*) reflects the evolving and fluid nature of the *Mishnah* tradition. [131]

The content of the *Mishnah* reflects the historical concerns and questions of the authors. [132] Selectivity is evident in the material of the *Mishnah*, some of which repeats scripture but some of

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[126] Ibid., p. 34.

[127] Neusner, J. (2003) (ed.), *The Modern Study of the Mishnah*. (Oregon: Wipf and Stock).

[128] Ibid.

[129] Bokser, B. M. "Jacob N. Epstein's *Introduction to the Text of the Mishnah*." In Neusner 2003, pp. 1-13.

[130] Neusner 1995.

[131] Ibid.

[132] Neusner, J. (1991), *The Mishnah: A New Translation* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press), p, 28.

which applies scripture to a particular problem. [133] As Neusner states: "All of scripture is authoritative. But only some of scripture is relevant." [134]

The *Mishnah* comprises six divisions which cover Pentateuchal law and its application to daily life. These are: agricultural practice and labour (Division *Zeraim*: Seeds); feast days (Division *Moed*: Festival); laws affecting women (Division *Nashim*: Women); property rights and legal proceedings (Division *Nezikin*: Damages); the holy things of the temple (Division *Kodashim*: Holy Things) and purity laws (Division *Tohorot*: Purities). Within each division, sixty-three further subdivisions (tractates) address specific legal rulings. The Division *Nashim* (Women*)* is of particular importance to this thesis. This deals with all matters relating to women within Jewish law, such as cultic roles and purity. Within this division, Tractate *Sotah* addresses the judgement of the wife suspected of adultery by her husband stipulated in *Numbers* 5. Tractate *Sotah* will be discussed in detail in the context of the construction of femininity in Manichaean texts.

3.i.vii: The *Tosefta*

The *Tosefta* comprises a further redaction of Jewish oral law. [135] Date of composition and priority over the *Mishnah* are contested. [136] The term *Tosefta,* meaning "supplement" or "addition," suggests that the *Tosefta* is an addition to the *Mishnah*. This is the position taken by Jacob Neusner,

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[133] Ibid.

[134] Danby 1933, p. xl.

[135] The translation of the *Tosefta* used in this thesis is from: Neusner, J. (2002) (trans./ed.), *The Tosefta, Translated from the Hebrew with a New Introduction.* (Massachusetts: Hendrickson Publishers).

[136] See discussion of Gurevich, E. (2010), *Tosefta Berachot: Translated into English with a Commentary*. (New Jersey: KTAV Publishing House.), intro, pp. 6-29.

who describes the *Tosefta* as a "first Talmud" of the *Mishnah* [137] and "a collection of statements to supplement the rules of the Mishnah." [138] Nathan Lopes Cardozo suggests that the *Tosefta* was intended as an extension of the *Mishnah*, but may be construed as an independent document. [139] Eliyahu Gurevich notes that the *Tosefta* adds, supplements and, on occasions, dissents from the rulings of the *Mishnah*. [140] The *Tosefta* appears to be a Tannaitic document, deriving mostly from the same sages quoted in the *Mishnah*. [141] However, Jacob Neusner suggests that the *Tosefta* may be pseudepigraphically attributed to earlier sages. [142] Neusner proposes that the final redaction of the *Tosefta* occurred around two hundred years after the *Mishnah*. [143] Scholars propose the end of the third century CE as the date of final redaction. [144] Authorship of the *Tosefta* is also contested; whilst is has been attributed to the *tanna* Rabbi Chiya bar Abba, *Talmud Sanhedrin* (86a) attributes anonymous passages to Rabbi Nechemyah. [145]

The *Tosefta* mirrors the six divisions of the *Mishnah*, within which the tractates are subdivisions. The tractate of particular significance to this thesis is the *Tosefta Tractate Sotah*

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[137] Houtman, A. (1996), *Mishnah and Tosefta: A Synoptic Comparison of the Tractates Berakhot and Shebiit*, vol. 1. (Mohr Siebeck GmbH & Company K). See also Tomson, P. J. and Schwartz, J. J. (2014) (eds.), Jews *and Christians in the First and Second Centuries: How to Write Their History*. (Brill: Leiden).

[138] Neusner, J. and Sarason, R. S. (1986) (eds.), *The Tosefta*, *Translated from the Hebrew,* vol. 1: *First Division Zera'im* (*The Order of Agriculture*). (New York: KTAV Publishing House), p. 1.

[139] Lopes Cardozo N. T. (1998), *The Written and Oral Torah: A Comprehensive Introduction*. (Maryland: Jason Aronson Inc. Publishers).

[140] Gurevich 2010, intro, pp. 6-29.

[141] Ibid.

[142] Neusner and Sarason 1986.

[143] Ibid.

[144] Tomson and Schwartz 2014; Neusner and Sarason 1986.

[145] Lopes Cardozo 1998, pp. 197-198.

(henceforward *T. Sotah*), which comments upon and interprets the performance of the ritual judgement of the wife suspected of adultery by her husband as stipulated in *Numbers* 5.

3.i.viii: The *Babylonian Talmud*

Shai Secunda describes the Babylonian Talmud (henceforward *B. Talmud*) as "an expansive meditation on the Hebrew Bible, earlier rabbinic sources, and virtually anything else that engaged the imagination of the creators." [146] *B. Talmud* is structurally organised as *gemera*, rabbinical commentary and analysis of the *Mishnah*. According to Jacob Neusner, *B. Talmud* is the primary source for Jewish law and theology. [147] *B. Talmud* is distinct from the *Yerushalmi* (Palestinian Talmud), which diverges in date of redaction and place of origin. The *Yerushalmi* was redacted in Palestine between 360-370 CE. In contrast, *B. Talmud* was edited in Sasanian Mesopotamia between the fifth to seventh centuries CE. [148] Hence, around two hundred years pass between the redaction of the two *Talmuds*. [149] Furthermore, argumentation in *B. Talmud* is multi-layered and complex in comparison to the *Yerushalmi*. These further layers represent the historical and cultural concerns of the *stammaim*, the anonymous redactors of *B. Talmud*. [150] *B. Talmud* has, according to Shai Secunda, "a distinctively Mesopotamian flavour." [151] It reflects developments in

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[146] Secunda., S. (2014), *The Iranian Talmud, Reading the Bavli in Its Sasanian Context* (Divinations: Rereading Late Antique Religion). (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press), p. 2.

[147] Neusner, J. (1970), *The Formation of the Babylonian Talmud: Studies in the Achievements of Late 19th and 20th Century Historical and Literary-Critical Research*. (Leiden: Brill).

[148] Rubenstein, J. L., (2005), *The Culture of the Babylonian Talmud*. (Baltimore; London: John Hopkins University Press).

[149] Ibid.

[150] Ibid.

[151] Ibid., p. 10.

Babylonian Jewish culture during the period between the amoraim and the stammaim, including developments in the method of study between the amoraim and the stammaim. The amoraim studied in small groups with one master. By the fifth to sixth centuries, larger groups were established, being precursors of the rabbinic academies. This environment was increasingly competitive and combative. [152]

Evidently *B. Talmud* postdates the life of Mani. Citations from *B. Talmud* in this thesis, therefore, will be used to demonstrate continuity and development in Jewish thought from earlier rabbinic sources such as the *Mishnah* and the *Tosefta*, particularly in relation to constructions of gender.

3.i.ix: 4 *Ezra*

4 *Ezra* is a Jewish apocalypse set within 2 *Esdras*, which in its present form is a Christian text dating to date c. 100 CE [153] The text was originally composed in Hebrew and translated into Greek during the second century CE. The Hebrew original and Greek translation have been lost, but the text remains in a variety of languages. [154]

2 Esdras ascribes itself to Salathiel, builder of the first Jerusalem temple. In 4 *Ezra*, Salathiel is identified with the scribe and seer Ezra. The text consists of a series of mystical revelatory exchanges between Ezra and the angel Uriel. With a fictional setting of 557 BCE, Babylon is used as a metaphor for Rome and exile as a metaphor for the suffering of the Jewish people under Roman occupation. [155] Written in the aftermath of the destruction of the Jerusalem

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[152] Rubenstein 2005.

[153] Nickelsburg 1981, pp. 287-293.

[154] Ibid.

[155] Ibid., pp. 287-293.

Temple in 70 CE, the text explores the experience of divine abandonment. As discussed by James Charlesworth, the text shifts from a perception of the enemy as Rome to an acceptance of division and conflict within the human body. [156]

3.ii: Judaeo-Christian Literature

3.ii.i: The *Secret Book of John*

Dylan Burns has argued that Mani was acquainted with Gnostic texts. [157] This is particularly likely given Mani's upbringing in a Judaeo-Christian sect as discussed above. Gnostic mythology is therefore discussed throughout this thesis. One of the most significant texts for the study of Gnostic creation mythology is the text known as the *Apocalypse of John* (*The Secret Book of John,* henceforward *Ap. John*). This contains the longest version of the Gnostic myth. [158] Four Coptic versions of this text survive, comprising a shorter and longer recension. [159] These are considered to have been translated from Greek originals. The fifth-century text, named *Berlin Codex Berolinensis Gnosticus 8505,* was discovered in Egypt by Carl Schmidt in 1896, but not published until 1955. [160] By this time, three further versions of the text dating to the fourth century had

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[156] Charlesworth, J. H. "The Triumphant Majority as Seen by a Dwindled Minority: The Outsider According to the Insider of the Jewish Apocalypses, 70-130." In Charlesworth, J. H., Neusner, J., Frerichs, E. S. and McCracken-Flesher, C. (1985) (eds.), *To see ourselves as others see us: Christians, Jews, Others in Late Antiquity* (Scholars Press Studies in the Humanities). (Chico CA: Scholars Press), pp. 285-315.

[157] Burns, D. M. (2014), *Apocalypse of the Alien God: Platonism and the Exile of Sethian Gnosticism*. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press).

[158] The translation used in this thesis will be from Bentley Layton 1987, pp. 28-51.

[159] King, K. L. (2006), *The Secret Revelation of John.* (Cambridge, Massachusetts; London: Harvard University Press).

[160] Markschies, C. (2003), *Gnosis: An Introduction*. (London; New York: T & T Clark International). See also: Meyer, M. W. (2007), *The Nag Hammadi Scriptures: The International Version.* (New York: HarperOne).

emerged from the Nag Hammadi corpus (NH codices I, II and IV). [161] A version of the *Apocalypse of John* was known to the second-century Bishop of Lyons, Irenaeus, who refers to it in his anti-Gnostic text *Against heresies*, written in 180 CE. [162] The version known to Irenaeus appears to be a shorter recension of a later fourth century Coptic version. [163]

Karen King locates the origin of the text in a "Greek-speaking, pluralistic, urban environment boasting a flourishing and fluid intellectual life." [164] Scholars concur that this was most likely an Alexandrian school environment between the first and second century CE. [165] As observed by Birger Pearson, the text, which is monotheistic, shows knowledge of Jewish literature and may be understood as a *midrash* of *Genesis* 1.27 and 2.7. [166] However, the text also shows attempts to reconcile platonic themes and has links to Egyptian hermetic texts. [167]

The text itself is wrapped in the frame of a revelation to John, son of Zebedee, by the post-resurrection Christ, following John's confrontation by a Pharisee at the Jerusalem Temple. This frame is believed to be a later Christian redaction. Within this frame, the text explains the origins of evil, suffering and the human and divine worlds, ending with soteriological instruction concerning how to gain knowledge and enter the spiritual realm.

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[161] King 2006.

[162] Irenaeus, *Against heresies* 1.29. In Layton 1987, pp.166-169.

[163] Markschies 2003.

[164] King 2006 p. 16.

[165] Ibid 2006.

[166] Layton, B. "The Hypostasis of the Archons, or "The Reality of the Rulers."" *The Harvard Theological Review*, 67/4 (Oct. 1974), pp. 351-394+396-425.

[167] Ibid.

3.ii.ii: The *Reality of the Rulers* (The *Hypostasis of the Archons*)

The *Reality of the Rulers* (The *Hypostasis of the Archons*) survives as a single Coptic codex recovered from Nag Hammadi (codex *Cairensis Gnosticus* II). [168] The Coptic text is considered to be a translation from a Greek original. Both author and date of composition are not known. However, the handwriting of the manuscript has been dated to the first half of the fourth century. [169] Bentley Layton suggests a date of pre-350 CE. [170] The text, described by Bentley Layton as: "a Christian gnostic rewriting of *Genesis* and the Prophets" presents as a *midrash* of *Genesis* 1-6. [171] Roger Bullard concludes that the text was compiled from two or three sources of apocalyptic, eschatological and soteriological content, with the later addition of a Christian Gnostic beginning and end frame. [172]

A predominant theme of the text is the existence of the archons. This theme is introduced with a quotation of *Ephesians* 6.12 at the start:

> The great apostle – referring to the authorities of the darkness – told us that "our contest is not against flesh and [blood]; rather, the authorities of the world and the spiritual hosts of wickedness." [I have] sent (you) this because you inquire about the reality [of the] authorities. [173]

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[168] The translation of the *Reality of the Rulers* used in this thesis is by Bentley Layton 1987, pp. 68-76.

[169] Layton 1974.

[170] Ibid., p. 65.

[171] Layton 1974, p. 364. See also: Bullard, R.A. Introduction to "The Hypostasis of the Archons." In Robinson, J. (1996) (ed.), *The Nag Hammadi Library in English* (Coptic Gnostic Library Project). (Leiden: Brill), pp. 161-162.

[172] Bullard, R. A. (1970), *The Hypostasis of the Archons: The Coptic Text with Translation and Commentary*, (Berlin: de Gruyter), pp. 1-3.

[173] *Reality of the Rulers* 86.21-27, loc. cit., p. 68.

An introductory frame is followed by mythological narrative, in which the authorial voice merges with the feminine-gendered voice of Norea, daughter of Eve, who challenges the archons. [174] The name Norea (also Orea) is associated with Greek Gnosticism and indicates contact with Semitic Gnosticism. [175] Following Norea's confrontation with the archons, the luminary Eleleth repeats and elaborates upon the author's creation mythology, offering reassurance of salvation.

3.ii.iii: The *Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs*

The *Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs* (henceforward 12TP) forms part of a patriarchal narrative tradition and may be placed in the Jewish wisdom tradition. [176] The authorship and date of 12TP are contested; George Nickelsburg argues that 12TP is a Jewish text with later Christian interpolations. [177] However, Graham Twelftree and Marinus de Jong argue that the heavy prevalence of Christian material in the texts suggests Syrian Christian authorship. [178] Composition is thus estimated as between c. 75-200 CE.

12TP are comprises a series of twelve pseudepigraphical testaments, each of which is attributed to one of the sons of the biblical Jacob, the founding patriarchs of the twelve tribes of

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[174] Ibid.

[175] Pearson, B. A., "Revisiting Norea." In King 1988, pp. 265-275.

[176] All translations from 12TP in this thesis are taken from: Charles, R. C. (1908) (trans./ed.), *The Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs* (Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge). (Suffolk; San Francisco: Richard Clay and Sons Ltd).

[177] Nickelsburg 1981.

[178] Twelftree, G. H. "Exorcism and the Defeat of Beliar in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs." *Vigiliae Christianae* 65, (2011), pp. 170-188.

Israel. [179] The testaments make reference to the characterisations and experiences of the twelve patriarchs in *Genesis*, which are presented as confession and warning to the sons of the patriarchs.

The testaments are united by two common themes. Firstly, the texts describe the powers of external cosmic demonic and spiritual forces. The demon Beliar rules over seven "spirits of deceit," each of which controls a specific internal organ of the human body. [180] The *Testament of Reuben* lists these seven spirits as lust (fornication), greed (insatiability), anger (aggression), obsequiousness, pride, deceit, lying and injustice. Mixed with these all is the "Spirit of Error". As noted by Graham Twelftree, Beliar's adverse power is experienced as intrapersonal and interpersonal disharmony and struggle, requiring exorcism. [181]

Secondly, 12TP is pervaded by a dualist anthropological and ethical doctrine, describing two possible paths for humanity, leading either to God or the demon Beliar. This is most clearly expressed in the *Testament of Asher*: "Therefore all things are by twos, one over against the other. For there are two ways of good and evil, and with these are the two inclinations in our breasts discriminating them." [182] 12TP is a significant text for the analysis of the development of Jewish hamartiology.

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[179] The testaments are attributed to Reuben, Simeon; Levi; Judah; Issachar; Zebulun; Dan; Naphtali; Gad; Asher; Joseph and Benjamin.

[180] *T. Reuben* II. 1- III.8, loc. cit., pp. 26-27.

[181] Twelftree 2011.

[182] *T. Asher* 1.4, loc. cit., p. 87.

3.iii: Christian Sources

3.iii.i: The *Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles/Hymn of the Pearl*

The *Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles* (henceforward *Acts*) purports to recount the missionary activities of the apostles following the Pentecost and includes the *Acts of Peter*, the *Acts of Andrew*, the *Acts of Thomas*, the *Acts of Paul* and the *Acts of John*. [183] The earliest version survives in Syriac, and a further version is extant in Greek. The popularity of the *Acts* amongst the Manichaean community is demonstrated by five references to the *Acts* in the *Manichaean Psalm-book*. [184] According to Kevin Coyle, the popularity of the *Acts* reflects shared aspects of ideology and practice, encompassing missionary activity, encratism, reverence for apostolic figures and endurance of suffering. [185]

The *Hymn of the Pearl* (henceforward *Hymn*) is embedded in the *Acts of Thomas*, (c. 200-225 CE), but is believed to pre-date the *Acts*. Authorship of the *Hymn* is unknown, but Jung Hoon Kim argues for a dating during the Parthian Empire (247 BCE-224 CE). [186] Hans Drijvers prefers this late date of composition, suggesting possible sources as the parables of the pearl (Matthew 13:45-46) and the prodigal son (Luke 15:11-32). [187] As observed by Jung Hoon Kim, the *Hymn* mixes folklore with gnostic mythology, assuming the form of a "symbolic epic." [188]

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[183] Wright, W. (1871), *Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles*, vol. II: *The English Translations – Primary Source Edition*. (London; Edinburgh: Williams and Norgate).

[184] Myers, S E. (2010), *Spirit Epicleses in the Acts of Thomas* (*Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament*: Vol. 281). (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck)).

[185] Coyle, K. C. "The Gospel of Thomas in Manichaeism?" In Coyle 2009, pp. 123-140, (p. 126).

[186] Kim, J. H. (1998), *The Significance of Clothing Imagery in the Pauline Corpus*. (New York; London: T & T Clark).

[187] Ibid.

[188] Ibid., p. 71.

3.iv: Zoroastrian and Sasanian Sources

3.iv.i: The Inscription of Shāpūr I at the Ka'ba-ye Zartosht at Naqš-e Rustam

Foremost amongst surviving historical evidence of Shāpūr I's religio-political identity and ideology is his trilingual commemorative inscription upon the Ka'ba-ye Zartosht at Naqš-e Rustam (henceforward SKZ). [189] The inscription is commonly known as the *Res Gestae Divi Saporis* (The Things Accomplished by the Divine Shāpūr), following Mikhail Rostovtzeff. [190] Written in Middle Persian, Parthian, and Greek, SKZ dates to the latter half of Shāpūr's rule (241–273 CE), most probably c. 262 CE. The trilingual format echoes inscriptions of Ardašīr I, (also written in Middle Persian, Parthian, and Greek) and Achaemenid inscriptions (written in Old Persian, Elamite, and Babylonian). [191] The carving of the Parthian inscription is attributed to "Hormizd, the scribe, son of Shirak, the scribe." [192] Scholarly opinion diverges concerning the number of scribes used. Zeev Rubin notes conceptual difficulties in translation which suggest a single scribe for all three

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[189] The translation of SKZ used in this thesis is by Frye, R. N "The Inscription of Shapur I at Naqsh-e Rostam in Fars." In Frye, R. N. (1983), *The History of Ancient Iran* (Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft. Abt. 3 Teil 7). (München: C. H. Beck), pp. 371-373.

[190] Rostovtzeff, M. I., "Res gestae divi saporis and Dura." *Berytus*, 8, (1943), pp. 61-64.

[191] Humbach, H. "EPIGRAPHY i. Old Persian and Middle Iranian epigraphy." *Encyclopædia Iranica*, VIII/5, (1998), pp. 478-488.

[192] SKZ, loc. cit., p. 373.

languages. [193] Walter Henning proposes that a different translator, possibly of Roman origin, carved the Greek inscription. [194]

The matter of the intended audience of SKZ also remains a matter of discussion. Matthew Canepa proposes that the placement and position of SKZ suggests an internal audience of the Sasanian Elite. [195] This is consistent with references to the internal affairs of Shāpūr, such as lists of members of his entourage and family by name and position. Furthermore, descriptions of the Roman Emperors as allies of the Zoroastrian demon, "the lie," would be understood by an internal Zoroastrian audience. However, the trilingual scripts of the inscription suggest that the intended audience may have been external to the Sasanian Empire. Here, a distinction should be made between the language of the monarch and the languages in which he considered his propaganda would have been most effective. Whilst Middle Persian was the language of reception of the Sasanian King, the use of Parthian and Greek reflect the languages of conquered regimes. The Parthian language, used by deposed Arsacid rulers, reminded of the Sasanian conquest of the Arsacid rulers. The Greek inscription may have been intended as a reference to the defeat of Seleucid rule. However, the Greek inscription may have been read by Roman dignitaries and delegates who attended Shāpūr's court, who may have transported Shāpūr's propaganda messages

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[193] Rubin, Z. "Res Gestae Divi Saporis: Greek and Sasanian Anti-Roman Propaganda." In Adams, J. N., Janse, M. and Swain, S. (2002) (eds.), *Bilingualism in Ancient Society: Language Contact and the Written Text*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press).

[194] Henning, W. B. "The Great Inscription of Shapur I." *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 9, (1939), pp. 823-850.

[195] Canepa, M. (2010), *The Two Eyes of the Earth: Art and Ritual of Kingship between Rome and Sasanian Iran*. (Berkeley; Los Angeles; London: University of California Press).

home. [196] Zeev Rubin reflects that Greek-reading merchants from the Roman Empire also travelled to Persia. [197]

As Zeev Rubin has observed, the chief messages relayed by Shāpūr I through SKZ relate to military dominance and divine mandate to rule. [198] Military dominance is established through the representation of Rome as tributary to Shāpūr. As discussed by Matthew Canepa, Shāpūr uses his relationship with Rome to sculpt his identity as *šāhān šāh ērān udAnērān* (king of kings of Eran and non-Eran). [199] Shaul Shaked notes that the term *Anērān* was a common epithet with different connotations according to context. [200] In a political context, it designated a person of non-Iranian ethnicity. When used by the Zoroastrian priesthood, the term designated a non-Zoroastrian. [201] At SKZ it appears to refer to territories not considered part of Eran as a claim of territorial dominance.

Divine mandate to rule is indicated by the claim of a close relationship of reciprocal service between Shāpūr and the gods, expressed by the Middle Persian term *dastgerd* (Middle Persian: made by hand, handiwork) of the gods. [202] Shāpūr's claim to divine descendancy with the self-designation: "Shāpūr… whose lineage is from the gods" further contributes to his claim of divine mandate to rule. [203]

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[196] Ibid.

[197] Rubin 2002.

[198] Ibid.

[199] Canepa 2010, p. 54.

[200] For discussion of *anērān*, see Shaked, S. "Religion in the late Sasanian Period Eran; and other Religious Designations." In Curtis, V. S. and Stewart, S. (2008) (eds.), *The Sasanian Era* (The Idea of Iran vol. 3). (London; New York: I. B. Tauris), pp.103-117.

[201] Ibid.

[202] This term will be discussed in detail in section 5.i. (pp. 85-89) of this thesis.

[203] SKZ, loc. cit., p. 371.

3.iv.ii: The *Bundahišn*

The Pahlavi *Bundahišn*, (meaning "Primal Creation") constitutes the primary surviving source for Zoroastrian primordial mythology. [204] The *Bundahišn* is extant in two recessions; the shorter *Indian Bundahišn* and the Pahlavi *Great(er)* or *Iranian Bundahišn*. The *Greater Bundahišn* (henceforward *G. Bundahišn*) comprises a redacted compilation of Zoroastrian texts of divergent and indeterminate age, with final redaction occurring c. 800-900 CE [205] This late date of redaction undermines certainty regarding direction of influence between Zoroastrian and Manichaean mythology. However, Charles Zaehner argues for the primacy of Zoroastrian mythology. [206]

3.iv.iii: The *Yašts*

The *Yašts* are a group of twenty-one hymns in praise of the *yazatas* (divinities) of the Zoroastrian pantheon. Each *Yašt* is devoted to a specific divinity and may be recited by any member of the Zoroastrian community. [207] The composition of the *Yašts* is of varying date. Some verses of the *Ābān Yašt* appear to be pre-Achaemenian. [208] Other verses appear to have been composed in the reign of Artaxerxes II (404-359 B.C.). Yet further verses appear to be late Zoroastrian additions of unknown date. [209]

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[204] All translations of the *Bundahišn* are by West E. W. (2012) (trans./ed.), *The Bundahishn*. (US: Createspace Independent Publishing Platform).

[205] MacKenzie, D. N. (1989), "Bundahišn." *Encyclopædia Iranica* IV/5, pp. 547-551. Available at: [http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/bundahisn-primal-creation] (Accessed on 23 June 2015).

[206] Zaehner 1955.

[207] Hintze, A. (2014), "YAŠTS." *Encyclopædia Iranica*, online edition. Available at: [http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/yashts] (Accessed 22 June 2017).

[208] Boyce, M. "ĀBĀN YAŠT." *Encyclopædia Iranica*, I/1, (1982), pp. 60-61.

[209] Ibid.

3.iv.iv: The *Yasna*

The Yasna is described by Jens Krainath as the "Zoroastrian temple ritual par excellence." [210] Scholarly knowledge of the ritual has been confined to images and textual resources, as opposed to experience of the ritual itself. The term Yasna is used not only for the temple ritual, but for the text recited during the ritual (denoted here as *Yasna*), which survives in Younger Avestan. The use of "we" as opposed to "I" in the *Yasna* indicates the communal engagement or reference to the community in the recitation of the prayers, which comprise worship and praise of the divinity Ahura Mazda and his spiritual or physical creations. [211] The text, which consists of seventy-two chapters, is a composite text of scholar-priests. Full recitation of the texts lasts approximately two and a half hours duration. [212] The text is considered to have been composed some time after the death of Zarathustra, as the majority of its composition is in the Younger Avestan dialect. [213] Current manuscripts date to c. 1100-1200 CE. [214]

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[210] Krainath, J. "Meta-Theoretical Parameters for the Analysis and Comparison of Two Recent Approaches to the Study of the Yasna." In Stausberg, M. (2004) (ed.), *Zoroastrian Rituals in Context*. (Leiden: Brill), pp. 99-136 (p. 99).

[211] Ibid., p. 311.

[212] Malandra, W. W. "YASNA*." Encyclopædia Iranica*. Available online: [http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/Yasna] (Accessed on 20 September 2016).

[213] Ibid.

[214] Ibid.

3.iv.v: The *Vendīdād*

A further important Zoroastrian-Sasanian source is the *Vendīdād* ("The Law repudiating the Demons"), which forms part of the 21 *nasks* (books) of the Pahlavi *Avesta*. [215] The *Vendīdād* is dated by Mary Boyce to the Parthian Period, although final redaction of the Pahlavi *Avesta* is thought to have occurred during the late Sasanian period (c. 800-900 CE). [216] The *Vendīdād* is concerned with laws of purity and prescribed rituals to protect or divert the human body from pollution such as corpse contamination and menstrual blood. [217]

3.iv.vi: The *Selections of Zādspram*

The *Selections of Zādspram* (henceforward *Zādspram*) was composed by the ninth-century Zoroastrian scholar and author Zādspram, although it is considered to contain significantly earlier material. [218] The text is an important source for information on Zurvanism, which has been construed by scholars both as a "heresy" or an elaboration on classical Zoroastrianism. Zurvanism

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[215] Kellens, J. "AVESTA i. Survey of the history and contents of the book." *Encyclopædia Iranica*, III/1, 1987, pp. 35-44. The translations from the *Vendīdād* in this thesis are taken from: Darmesteter, J. (ed.) Müller, F. M. (trans.) (1965), *The Zend Avesta, The Vendīdād* (*The Sacred Books of the East*, vol iv). (India: Motilal Banarsidass).

[216] Boyce, M. (1996), *A History of Zoroastrianism*, vol. 1: *The Early Period* (Handbook of Oriental studies). (Leiden: Brill), p. 295.

[217] Malandra, W. W. (2006), "VENDĪDĀD." *Encyclopædia Iranica*. Available at: [http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/vendidad-parent] (Accessed on 10 January 2017). See also: Mendoza Forrest, S. K. (2011), *Witches, Whores, and Sorcerers: The Concept of Evil in Early Iran.* (Austin: University of Texas Press).

[218] *Selections of Zādspram*, in Zaehner 1955. Also: Zaehner, R. C. (2011), *The Dawn and Twilight of Zoroastrianism.* (Literary Licensing Company). See also: Gignoux, P. (2005), "ZĀDSPRAM." *Encyclopædia Iranica*, online edition. Available at: [http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/zadspram] (Accessed 20 September 2016).

is important to the study of Manichaean cosmology because of its popularity during the reign of Shāpūr I, who appears to have been conversant with Zurvanism. [219]

The chief divergence of Zurvanism from classical Zoroastrian doctrine lies in the naming of the primary deity as Zurvan, god of infinite time and space, as opposed to Ohrmazd. According to Zurvan creation mythology recounted in *Zādspram*, Zurvan wishes for a son and vows that his first-born shall rule. After many years of making sacrifices for this purpose, Zurvan experiences doubt that he will produce a son. From his doubt the evil spirit Ahramen is conceived, thrusting himself forward to claim kingship before his benevolent twin Ohrmazd. [220] Zurvan, not recognising Ahramen as his son, remains bound by his oath to give rulership to his first-born. [221] However, he stipulates that Ahramen will rule for nine thousand years, during which time he will battle with Ohrmazd for eventual supremacy. [222] Elements of this mythology are evident in the Middle Persian *Šābuhragān*, written by Mani for Shāpūr I. This text adopts the Zurvan pantheon and includes accommodations to Zurvan mythology. These accommodations are also evident in Manichaean Middle Persian and Parthian literature which postdates Mani's death.

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[219] Yarshater, E. (1983), *The Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. 3: *The Seleucid, Parthian and Sasanian Periods.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), pp. xliii -xlvi.

[220] *Zādspram*, cited by Zaehner 1955, p. 207-208. For citation and further discussion, see section 9, p. 152.

[221] Ibid.

[222] Ibid.

3.v: Manichaean Sources

3.v.i: The *Cologne Mani Codex*

The *Cologne Mani Codex* (henceforward CMC) is a Greek Manichaean work translated from a Syriac original, entitled *περί τῆς γέννης τοῦ σώματος αὐτοῦ* (On the Origin/Birth of his Body). [223] The CMC mixes historical, biographical and hagiographical information in the style of a "life" of Mani. [224] The text which dates between 500-600 CE, is divided into sections, each of which is attributed to an established early follower of Mani (i.e. Abiēsoûs, Anâ, Innaîos, Koustaîos, Timótheos, Baries), identified as a "teacher." [225] The historicity of these attributions is beyond doubt. [226] The naming of these authors dates the composition of the original Syriac text to the third century, following Mani's death. [227]

The CMC is invaluable as a source concerning the identity and origin of the sect of Mani's upbringing. It attests to a certain Alchasaios as the "founder" (ἀρχηγός) of the sect [228] and refers to members as "the Baptists" (Βαπτιστές). [229] The name Alchasaios is considered to be a corruption

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[223] Pearson et al. 1979; Sundermann 1992; Henrichs 1973; 1979; 1981 and Koenen 1990.

[224] Ibid.

[225] Pearson et al. 1979.

[226] Henrichs 1979.

[227] Sundermann 1992; Henrichs 1979.

[228] CMC, loc. cit., p. 77.94.10-12.

[229] For example: CMC, loc. cit., p. 10.6.8; p. 12.10.11; p. 14.11.4. On Mani and the Elchasaites, see: Cirillo, L. "L'apocalypse d'Elkhasaï: son rôle et son importance pour l'histoire du judaïsme." *Apocrypha*, 1, (1990), pp. 167-179. Idem. "Livre de la révélation d'Elkasaï." In Bovon. F. and Geoltrain, P. (1997) (eds.), *Écrits Apocryphes Chrétiens* (Bibliothèque de la Pléiade 442). (Paris: Gallimard), pp. 827-872. Idem. "From the Elchasaite Christology to the Manichaean Apostle of Light: Some Remarks about the Manichaean Doctrine of the Revelation." In van Tongerloo, A. and Cirillo, L. (2005) (eds.), *Il Manicheismo: Nuove Prospettive della Richerca. Atti del Quinto*

of Elchasai, suggesting that the sect was in some form Elchasaite. References to mythology surrounding Elchasai are attributed to Mani in narration of his disputes with the community.[230] However, Albert Henrichs suggests that these references to Elchasai may be superimposed or secondary to the CMC. [231] The referential framework of the term *Elchasai* is highly ambiguous. Translated as "hidden power," scholarly discussion centres on the historicity of such a figure, whether as author of the revelatory book described by Hippolytus or founder of a religious movement. [232]

Congresso Internazionale di Studi sul Manicheismo (Dipartimento di Studi Asiatici, Università degli Studi di Napoli "L'Orientale"; Napoli, 2-8 settembre 2001) (Manichaean Studies 5). (Turnhout: Brepols), pp. 47-54. Idem. "Elchasaiti e Battisti di Mani: i limiti di un confronto delle fonti." In Cirillo, L. (1986) (ed.), *Codex Manichaicus Coloniensis. Atti del Simposio Internazionale (Rende –Amantea 3-7 settembre 1984)* (Studi e ricerche 4). (Cosenza: Marra), pp. 97-139. Jones, F. S. "The Genre of the Book of Elchasai: A Primitive Church Order, Not an Apocalypse." In Özen, A. (1996) (ed.), *Historische Wahrheit und Theologische Wissenschaft: Gerd Lüdemann zum 50 Geburtstag*. (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang GmbH, Internationaler Verlag der Wissenschaften), pp.87-104. Klijn, A. F. J. and Reinink, G. J. "Elchasai and Mani." *Vigiliae Christianae*, 28(1), 1975, pp.277–289. Luttikhuizen, G. P. (1985), *The Revelation of Elchasai. Investigations into the Evidence for a Mesopotamian Jewish Apocalypse of the Second Century and its Reception by Judeo-Christian Propagandists.* (Tubingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck)). Idem. "The Baptists of Mani's Youth and the Elchasaites." In Luttikhuizen, G. P. (2006), *Gnostic Revisions of Genesis Stories and Early Jesus Traditions*. (Leiden: Brill), pp.170-84. Nicolotti, A. "A Cure for Rabies or a Remedy for Concupiscence? A Baptism of the Elchasaites." *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 16(4), (2008), pp. 513-534. Ries, J. "La doctrine de l'âme du monde et des trois sceaux dans la controverse de Mani avec les Elchasaïtes." In Cirillo 1986, pp. 169-191. Also: Henrichs 1973.

[230] CMC, loc. cit., pp. 76-79.94; 10-99.8.

[231] Henrichs 1979.

[232] See: Fossum, J. "Jewish-Christian Christology and Jewish Mysticism." *Vigiliae Christianae,* 37/ 3 (Sep. 1983), pp. 260-287. See also: Flusser 1969; Jackson 1990.

Scholars diverge in their interpretation of the location of the Elchasaite movement in late antique religion, but it is commonly agreed to be a form of "Gnostic Judaeo-Christianity." [233] Gerard Luttikhuizen locates the Elchasaite belief system within the syncretistic Syrian Judaeo-Christians Baptist movement. [234] David Flusser places the Elchasaites amongst a number of apocalyptic Christian groups between 100-150 CE and suggests Ebionite influence. [235] Albertus Klijn and Gerrit Reinink emphasise the missionary component of the sect and suggest that the movement took many different forms, possibly adopted only later by Judaeo-Christians. [236] Stanley Jones suggests that the *Book of Elchasai* should be interpreted as a guide to church order, which may have influenced Mani's framework for the Manichaean church community. [237]

3.v.ii: The *Šābuhragān*

The *Šābuhragān*, dated to c. 240 CE, is the only established composition of Mani's to have been written in the Middle Persian language and is perhaps unique in its design to impress at a high political level. [238] The *Šābuhragān* is referred to in Al-Bīrūnī's *Āthār* as "al-shābūraqān (i.e., the Šābuhragān), which is the one he composed for Sābūr (Shāpūr) b. Ardašīr." [239] Various Zoroastrian features in the *Šābuhragān* reflect Mani's need to demonstrate the compatibility of his doctrine with the Zoroastrian faith and culture of King Shāpūr. Firstly, Mani utilises the nomenclature of the Zoroastrian/Zurvan pantheon for his Manichaean divinities. Secondly, the text divides human

[233] Luttikhuizen 1985, p. 9.

[234] Ibid.

[235] Flusser, D. "Salvation Present and Future." *Numen*, 16/2, (Sep. 1969), pp. 139-155.

[236] Klijn and Reinink 1975.

[237] Jones 1996.

[238] Daryaee, T. (2014), *Sasanian Persia: The Rise and Fall of an Empire*. (London; New York: Tauris).

[239] Al-Bīrūnī, *Āthār* 207.14-15. Cited by Reeves 2011, p. 102.

society into the traditional Persian social groupings of house, village, tribe and land. [240] Thirdly, the text uses the Zoroastrian hamartiological triad of "thought, word and deed," established as early as the *Gathas* which are attributed to Zarathustra. [241] Fourthly, classes of demon and creature from Zoroastrian mythology and folklore, such as *parig* (Middle Persian: witch), appear. [242]

As discussed by Nicholas Baker-Brian, the *Šābuhragān* matches and mirrors the imperial aspirations of King Shāpūr I by emphasising the universal applicability and appeal of the Manichaean faith. [243] Touraj Daryaee identifies Shāpūr's need for a universal religion in order to cement loyalty to king and state in the context of his imperial aspirations. [244] In Middle Persian fragments believed to be extracts from the *Šābuhragān*, Mani claims the superiority of his teachings:

> This religion which was chosen by me is in ten things above and better than the other religions of the ancients. Firstly: The older religions were in one country and one language; but my religion is of the kind that it will be manifest in every country and in all languages, and it will be taught in far away countries. [245]

3.v.iii: *Mir. Man.* I

A collection of Middle Persian fragments from Turfan (M 98/99 I, M 7980–7984), edited by Friederich Andreas and Walter Henning, reveals the absorption of elements of Zoroastrian doctrine

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[240] For example, see: MacKenzie and Mani 1979, pp. 500-534, (p. 505.30-40; p. 513.200-210; p. 515.260).

[241] Nanavutty, P. (1999), (trans.) *The Gathas of Zarathustra*. (Grantha Corporation).

[242] E.g. MacKenzie, D. N. and Mani 1979, p. 513.210-212. For explanation of the MP term *parig*, see Mendoza Forrest 2011, p. 63.

[243] Baker-Brian 2011.

[244] Daryaee 2014.

[245] Gardner and Lieu 2004, p.109.

and nomenclature in the presentation of Manichaean cosmological mythology. These texts, collectively known as *Mir. Man.* I, are considered to be further extracts from or closely related to the *Šābuhragān*. [246] Mary Boyce and Manfred Hutter concur that *Mir. Man.* I shares terminology with the *Šābuhragān*. [247] David McKenzie also notes that specific phrases appear in both sets of texts. [248] Mary Boyce finds evidence of late Middle Persian/Parthian pronunciations and orthography of the third century CE, suggesting an earliest possible date of 300 CE onwards. [249] As a possible further composition by Mani, *Mir. Man.* I thus constitutes a text of major importance to the study of Mani's cosmological mythology. The texts recount Mani's vision of the protological events leading to the creation of the first man and woman through the medium of Zoroastrian theogony and demonology. *Mir. Man.* I would thus offer a protological counterpart to the eschatological narrative of the *Šābuhragān* to form a fuller exposition of Mani's doctrine for Shāpūr I.

3.v.iv: The Letters of Mani

Under Shāpūr's protection, Mani and his close disciples undertook missionary work throughout the Sasanian Empire and at the borders of the Roman Empire. It is considered that Mani's letters

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[246] Andreas, F. C. and Henning, W. B. (1932) (eds.), *Mitteliranische Manichaica aus Chinesisch-Turkestan*. (Gebundene Ausgabe 1. De Gruyter).

[247] The translation of *Mir. Man* I used in this thesis is taken from Klimkeit 1993, pp. 225-235. Middle Persian version available in: Boyce, M. (1978), *A Reader in Manichaean Middle Persian and Parthian: Texts with Notes* (ACTA Iranica). (Leuven: Peeters). See also: Hutter, M. (1992), *Manis Kosmogonische Sabuhragan-Texte. Edition, Kommentar und Literaturgeschichtliche Einordnung der Manischäisch-Mittelpersischen Handschriften M 98/99 I und M 7980–7984* (Studies in Oriental Religions. Band 21). (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz).

[248] Mackenzie 1979 and 1980.

[249] Boyce 1978.

were written during this mission to the Sasanian Empire (c. 240-276 CE) [250] According to the tenth-century *Āthār* of Al-Bīrūnī, Mani and his followers wrote a considerable number of epistles. [251] The *Kitâb al-Fihrist* of Al-Nadim provides a detailed list of fifty-three letters attributed to Mani and his followers, but does not distinguish Mani's letters from those written by his followers. [252] Of particular significance to this thesis is the letter known as the *Epistula Fundamenti* (henceforward *Ep. Fund.*), fragments of which are preserved in the *Contra Epistulam Quam Vocant Fundamenti* (henceforward *C. Ep.*) and *De Natura Boni Contra Manichæos*, (henceforward *De. Nat. Bon.*) of Augustine of Hippo. [253] Further fragments survive in the writing *De Fide Contra Manichaeos* of Augustine's fellow bishop and correspondent, Evodius. [254] Fragments of *Ep. Fund.* have also been found at the site of a fourth-century Manichaean community at Medinet Madi in Egypt. [255] In *C. Ep.*, Augustine claims that the epistle was the most read Manichaean text. Following Madeleine Scopello, *fundamentum* may be interpreted as a reference to the first principles of Manichaean doctrine. [256] Augustine's identification of the text as "foundational" implies that the letter was of primary importance in the North African

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[250] Gardner, I. "Once More on Mani's Epistles and Manichaean Letter-Writing." *Journal of Ancient Christianity*, 17/2, pp. 291–314.

[251] Reeves 2011, p. 10.

[252] Al-Nadim, *Fihrist*, loc. cit., p. 115.

[253] For date of composition of these texts, see Table of Sources.

[254] All citations from *Ep. fund.* are taken from Stein, M. (2002) (trans./ed.), *Manichaica Latina*, vol. 2: *Manichaei epistula fundamenti* (Papyrologica Coloniensia 27/2). (Paderborn: Schöningh Ferdinand Gmbh).

[255] Feldmann, E. (1987), *Die 'Fundamenti' der nordafrikanischen Manichder. Versuch einer Rekonstruktion*. (Altenburge: Akademische Bibliotek).

[256] Scopello, M. "L'Epistula fundamenti à la lumière des sources manichéennes du Fayoum." In van Oort, J., Wermelinger, O. and Wurst, G. (2001) (eds.), *Augustine and Manichaeism in the Latin West: Proceedings of the Fribourg-Utrecht International Symposium of the IAMS*. (Leiden; Boston; Köln: Brill), pp. 205-229.

Manichaean communities with which Augustine was familiar. [257] Augustine states that the text contains almost all of the Manichaean belief system (ubi totum pene quod creditis continetur) [258] and that it promises to enlighten (illuminati) those who read. [259]

The letter is addressed to a certain Pattig (Latin: Patticius) whom Mani addresses as "most dear brother." (frater dilectissime). [260] The Middle Persian text M2 states that a follower named Patteg accompanied Mār Addā when entrusted by Mani with a mission to the Roman Empire. [261] M2 recounts that Pattig stayed for a year and then "returned to the Apostle" Mani. [262] Sogdian texts refer to Patteg as "the teacher" and "one of the twelve," identifying him as one of the inner circle of Mani's disciples. [263] These texts reveal that Patteg was a close and trusted disciple of Mani.

Augustine reports that the epistle seeks to answer a question from Pattig concerning the nature of the creation of Adam and Eve. Pattig seeks to know whether Adam and Eve were born from the word or from the body: (utrum verbo sint iidem prolati, an primogeniti ex corpore.) [264] As discussed by Madeleine Scopello, this question relates to the Judaeo-Christian doctrine of divine creation from the word, as received from *Genesis* and Johannine doctrine, reflecting the Judaeo-Christian audience of the letter. [265] The intention of the letter would thus be to aid the

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[257] Van Oort, J. (2013), *Jerusalem and Babylon. A Study of Augustine's City of God and the Sources of his Doctrine of the Two Cities*. (Leiden-Boston: Brill).

[258] Augustine of Hippo, *Contra Ep*. 46. Latin text in Stein 2002, p. 6.

[259] *Ep. Fund.* fr. 5. Latin text in Stein 2002, p. 8.

[260] *Ep. Fund.* fr. 1, loc. cit., p. 20.

[261] M2. Cited by Klimkeit 1993, pp. 202.

[262] M2 I, ibid., p. 202.

[263] So. 13.941 and So. 14.285, ibid., p. 203.

[264] *Ep. fund.* fr. 1, loc. cit., p. 20.

[265] Scopello 2001.

dissemination of Manichaean doctrine and mythology in the context of Pattig's role as missionary to the Western Roman Empire. In the letter, Mani expounds the primordial events leading to the creation of the first human couple.

Mani's letters are named amongst a canon of texts composed by Mani. These texts are allegorised as remedies in the *Manichaean Psalm-book:*

There are two and twenty compounds in his antidote:

His Great Gospel, the good tidings of all them that are of the light.

His water-pot is The Treasury, the treasure of life:

In it there is hot water, there is some cold water also mixed with it.

His soft sponge that wipes away bruises is The Treatise.

His knife for cutting is The Book of the Mysteries.

His excellent swabs are The Book of the Giants.

The splints for every cure is the book of his Epistles.

... that is hot, the two Psalms, the weeping ...

there is a cure also that is cool, his Prayers and all his lessons. [266]

Unfortunately, only fragmentary remains of these texts have survived. However, citations from these texts may be found in the works of a variety of commentators on the Manichaean faith, including Christian witnesses such as Severus of Antioch, Augustine of Hippo and Ephrem of Syrus. Islamic authors include Theodore bar Khonai and Ibn al-Nadim. The reliability of these

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[266] Allberry, C. R. C. (1938), *A Manichaean Psalm-Book. Including psalms by Syrus, Heraclides and Thomas. A transcription and translation of the Coptic text. With plates (Manichaean Manuscripts in the Chester Beatty Collection,* vol. 2. (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer), p. 46.20–47.4.

sources is compromised by their heresiological perspective. A selection of Mani's letters also survive amongst the documents found at the site at Kellis. [267]

Shāpūr I's patronage of Mani was continued under the reign of his successor Hormizd, who ruled for a year between 270-271 CE. Following the death of Hormizd, Bahrām I succeeded to the throne. Following a dispute with Bahrām, Mani was imprisoned and died in chains.

3.v.v: The Coptic *Kephalaia*

Surviving Manichaean texts document Mani's fall from favour and death. Following the death of Mani, the persecution of the Manichaean community escalated under the auspices of the Zoroastrian priest Kartīr, who was elevated to the position of chief priest (*mowbedān mowbed*) by Bahrām II (274-293 CE). Kartīr received new titles and ranks, becoming magnate and "judge" of the whole empire. [268] It is in the context of persecution that subsequent literature emerged from the Manichaean community. The content of these sources reflects the dramatic reversal in the circumstances of the Manichaean community, which battled to preserve its identity and survive under persecution.

At the site of a fourth-century Manichean community at Medinet Mani in the Dahkleh oasis in Egypt, seven Coptic codices were discovered in the 1920s. The codices date from c. 400 CE and are translated from Syriac originals that are believed to date back to the first generations of

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[267] Gardner, I. (1999), *Coptic Documentary Texts from Kellis*, vol. 1. (Dakhleh Oasis Project Monograph 9). (Oxford: Oxbow Books); Gardner, I., Alcock, A. and Funk, W-P. (2014), *Coptic Documentary Texts from Kellis*, vol. 2: P. Kellis VII. (Dakhleh Oasis Project Monograph 16). (Oxford: Oxbow Books).

[268] See discussion of Wiesehofer, J. (2006), *Ancient Persia from 550 BC to 650 AD*. (London; New York: Tauris), p. 175.

the Manichaean church. [269] This collection of texts is preserved in part in Dublin and in part in Berlin, after division and sale. Amongst these codices, two versions of the *Kephalaia* (the chapters) have survived. [270] The first and larger codex, housed at Berlin, is entitled *The Kephalaia of the Teacher.* This codex is commonly known as the *Berlin Kephalaia* (henceforward the Berlin *Kephalaia*; 1 Ke. in footnotes). [271] The text takes the form of a didactic series of questions and answers between Mani ("the Teacher") and disciples, who seek clarification concerning doctrinal and cosmological issues from Mani. [272] This stylised format of question and answer resembles a variety of Wisdom literature from Greek philosophy to engagement in debate at the Sasanian court and is identified by Timothy Pettipiece as an example of erotapokriseis. [273] The text is attributed to members of Mani's immediate circle of disciples following his death and it appears to represent a systematisation, redaction and elaboration of the more elusive or abstruse elements of Mani's teachings. [274]

The second *Kephalaia* codex is chiefly concerned with Mani's time at the Sasanian court. Housed at the Chester Beatty library in Dublin, this text is known as the Dublin *Kephalaia* Codex

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[269] Gardner and Lieu 2004, p. 38.

[270] van Tongerloo, A. "COPTIC MANICHAEAN TEXTS." *Encyclopædia Iranica*, vol. VI/3, (1993), pp. 260-264. Gardner, I. *An Introduction to the Chester Beatty Kephalaia Codex*.

[271] All citations from 1 Ke. are taken from: Gardner 2016.

[272] Gardner, I. "An Introduction to the Chester Beatty Kephalaia Codex." In Gardner, BeDuhn and Dilley 2014, pp. 1-12.

[273] Pettipiece 2013.

[274] Pettipiece 2009. Also: Pettipiece, T. "Coptic Answers to Manichaean Questions: The Erotapokritic Nature of the Kephalaia." In Bussières, M-P. (2013) (ed.), *La littérature des questions et réponses dans l'antiquité profane et chrétienne: de l'enseignement à l'exégèse: Actes du séminaire sur le genre des questions et réponses tenu à Ottawa les 27 et 28 septembre 2009.* (Brepols: Turnhout), pp. 51-61.

(henceforward the Dublin *Kephalaia*; 2 Ke. in footnotes) and continues to be studied and translated. [275]

3.v.vi: The Coptic *Manichaean Psalm-book*

The Coptic *Manichaean Psalm-book*, dating to c. 400 CE, was also recovered from Medinet Mani. It contains a variety of liturgical psalms and hymns for community use. [276] The psalms are of varied authorship. Two psalms are attributed to Mani himself. [277] The *Psalm-book* includes the *Psalms of Thomas*, The *Psalms of Heracleides*, The *Psalms to Jesus* and the *Psalms of the Bema*. The latter were used at the annual celebration of the "Festival of the Bema," which marked the death and ascension of Mani. Torgny Saeve-Soederbergh observes that the *Psalms of Thomas* bear significant parallels with the Mandaean psalms, which predate the *Manichaean Psalm-book*. [278] As observed by Henri-Charles Puech, the Manichaean community viewed music as a divine gift and its performance as a demonstration of piety. A rich culture of music and poetry is reflected in the *Manichaean psalm-book*. [279] The *Manichaean Psalm-book* is important as a source concerning Manichaean cosmological mythology, narrations of which are embedded in the Psalms. As a liturgical text, it is evident that both tiers of the Manichaean community would have heard the words of the psalms and therefore indicates familiarity with the cosmological mythology contained in them.

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[275] Gardner, BeDuhn and Dilley 2014.

[276] *Manichaean Psalm-book:* see Allberry 1938.

[277] Gardner and Lieu 2004, p. 164.

[278] Saeve-Soederbergh, T. (1949), *Studies in the Manichaean Psalm-book, Prosody and Mandaean Parallels.* (Uppsala: Almqvist och Wiksells Boktryck).

[279] Puech, H-Ch. (1945), *Histoire Générale des Religions*, vol. III: *Le Mandeisme*. (Paris), p. 110.

3.v.vii: The Coptic *Manichaean Homilies*

The Coptic *Manichaean Homilies* were found at Medinet Madi in the Faiyum Oasis in Egypt. [280] The texts, which date between 275-350 CE, comprise four papyri, each of which contains a meditative homily attributed to a member of Mani's inner circle of disciples. Composed in Lycopolitan, a sub-dialect of Coptic, the original language of composition is debated. *Man. Hom.* are considered to be translations from either Syriac or Greek, or, as suggested by Nils Pedersen, a combination of both. [281] The first homily is a lament on the death of Mani attributed to Samaios. The second, the *Sermon of the Great War* (henceforward *Sermon*) is composed by Koustaîos and constitutes a meditation on the *Šābuhragān.* [282] Nicholas Baker-Brain describes the *Sermon* as: "a sustained meditation on Mani's teachings about the great and final conflict presaging the end of times." [283] The *Sermon* has a strong apocalyptic-eschatological tone and elements. The third homily is concerned with the "crucifixion" of Mani and the fourth describes his ascension to heaven. [284] Michel Tardieu describes the content of *Man. Hom.* thus: "These four pieces are to Mani's last years what the CMC is to his early years." [285] In terms of the genre of *Man. Hom.*, Nils Pedersen refers to the definition of Martin Doerne of the homily in Christian literature, as: "a community sermon: a teaching, admonitory and consolatory discourse linked to the reading (the

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[280] Pedersen, N. A. (2006), *Manichaean Homilies with a Number of Hitherto Unpublished Fragments*. (Corpus Fontium Manichaeorum, vol. 2: The Manichaean Coptic Papyri in the Chester Beatty Library). (Brepols: Turhout).

[281] See discussion in Pedersen, N. A. (1996), *Studies in the Sermon on the Great War: Investigations of a Manichaean-Coptic Text from the Fourth Century.* (Aarhus: Aarhus University Press), ch. 2 pp. 30-152.

[282] Pedersen 1996.

[283] Baker-Brian 2011, p. 66.

[284] Tardieu and DeBevoise 2008, p. 52.

[285] Ibid.

pericopes)." [286] However, the texts are evidently intended for a Manichaean (as opposed to a Christian) audience. [287]

3.vi: Islamic Commentaries on Manichaeism

3.vi.i: The *Kitâb al-Fihrist* of Ibn Al-Nadim

The *Kitâb al-Fihrist* (henceforward the *Fihrist*), or "Catalogue" was composed by Ibn Al-Nadim, an encyclopaedist and book-seller who lived in Baghdad c. 932-990 CE. [288] The *Fihrist* is considered to have been composed c. 987-988 CE, shortly before Al-Nadim's death. The *Fihrist* comprises an encyclopaedic catalogue of all Arabic literature available at the time of his writing and contains an important chapter relating to religions considered by the author to be non-monotheistic, including Manichaeism. As noted by Nicholas Baker-Brian, the *Fihrist* has been considered the fullest heresiological account of Manichaeism in any ancient tradition. However, Al-Nadim's account of Manichaeism is undoubtedly coloured by the Islamic tradition from within which he writes. [289]

The *Fihrist* contains information concerning Mani's cosmogonical and eschatological teachings, his commandments, writings and a history of the Manichaeans during the Islamic era. The *Fihrist* lists seventy-six letters by Mani and his followers. Amongst Mani's works, the Fihrist lists the *Book of Secrets*, the *Book of Giants*, the *Book of the Duties of Auditors* and the *Book of*

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[286] Pedersen 1996, p. 156.

[287] Ibid.

[288] Sellheim, R., Zakeri, M. de Blois, F. and Sundermann, W. "FEHREST." *Encyclopædia Iranica*, vol. IX/5, (1999), pp. 475-483.

[289] Baker-Brian 2011, p. 43.

the Duties of the Elect. [290] It is evident that Al-Nadim had access to Arabic translations of some of Mani's works, including those of the eighth-century translator and civil servant Ibn Al-Muqaffa (c. 759 CE). [291] Francois de Blois has recently proposed that a major source for this chapter is a lost text of Abū ʿĪsā Warrāq, a ninth-century mu'tazilah theologian, which contained citations from Mani's works, including the *Šābuhragān* and his *Gospel*. [292] Additional sources for the *Fihrist* cannot be identified with certainty. [293]

The *Fihrist* contains significant details relating to Mani's birth and early life. The material concerning Mani's birth, described by Michel Tardieu as "little more than hearsay evidence," appears to be drawn from the Manichaean hagiographical tradition. [294] Material relating to Mani's upbringing amongst the baptising sect, which al-Nadim identifies as the *moḡtasela* (the washers) has proved invaluable to the interpretation of the Cologne Mani Codex.

3.vi.ii: The *Āthār ul-bākiya* of Al-Bīrūnī

An important source on Manichaeism is provided by the tenth-century polymath, scholar and court astrologer Abū Rayḥān Al-Bīrūnī (973-1048 CE). [295] Born in Chorasmia in western Central Asia, Al-Bīrūnī was a prolific Arabic writer with a Muslim perspective. However, despite his Islamic

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[290] Sellheim et al. 1999.

[291] See discussion in Baker-Brian 2011, p. 43.

[292] De Blois, F. "New Light on the Sources of the Manichaean Chapter in the Fihrist." In van Tongerloo and Cirillo, 2005, pp. 37-45.

[293] Sellheim et al. 1999.

[294] Tardieu and DeBevoise 2008, p. 1. See also discussion of Baker-Brian 2011, pp. 43-46.

[295] Bosworth, C. E. "BĪRŪNĪ, ABŪ RAYḤĀN i. Life," *Encyclopædia Iranica*, vol. IV/3, (1989), pp. 274-276. For information on Chorasmia in the Islamic era, see: Bosworth, C. E. "CHORASMIA ii. In Islamic times." *Encyclopædia Iranica*, vol. V/5, (1991), pp. 516-517.

perspective, Al-Bīrūnī's commentary on Manichaeism emphasizes Mani's reliability. [296] Al-Bīrūnī's *Āthār* provides valuable insight into Manichaean doctrine. [297] Al-Bīrūnī appears to have had access to a number of Mani's books. Specifically, he mentions Mani's *Gospels*, the *Treasury of Life*, the *Book of the Giants*, the *Book of Books* and the *Šābuhragān*, from which he quotes verbatim. [298] Al-Bīrūnī reports that he had looked for Mani's *Book of Mysteries* for more than forty years before discovering it. [299] The *Āthār* also includes autobiographical material relating to Mani, including details of his fall from grace and demise. [300] Further information regarding Manichaean doctrine may be found in Al-Bīrūnī's study of India, the *Ketāb taḥqīq mā le'l-Hend men maqūla maqbūla fi'l-ʿaql aw marḏūla* (The book confirming what pertains to India, whether rational or despicable) composed between 900-1000 CE. [301]

3.vii: Christian Commentaries on Manichaeism

3.vii.i: The Anti-Manichaean Works of Augustine of Hippo

Born in 354 CE in Thagaste in North Africa, Augustine of Hippo was raised as a Christian. He encountered Manichaeism at the age of twenty in Carthage and claims to have spent nine years

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[296] de Blois F. "BĪRŪNĪ, ABŪ RAYḤĀN vii. History of Religions." *Encyclopædia Iranica*, vol. IV/3, (1989), pp. 283-285.

[297] All translations from the *Āthār* are taken from Reeves 2011. A translation by Edward Sachau is available. See: Sachau, C E. (1879), *The Chronology of the Nations: An English Version of the Arabic Text of the Athār ul-bākiya of Albiruni or "Vestiges of the Past," Collected and Reduced to Writing by the Author in AH 390-1, AD 1000*. (London; W. H. Allen and co.).

[298] de Blois 1989.

[299] Ibid.

[300] Ort 1967.

[301] All citations from this text in this thesis are by Reeves 2011.

subsequently as a Manichaean auditor. [302] Disenchanted with the faith, Augustine converted to Christianity and rose to the position of bishop in Hippo. Forthwith Augustine devoted a considerable amount of words lampooning and disparaging the Manichaean faith and community. Indeed, many of his works are devoted purely to this end. [303] His "auto-biographical" book *Confessions*, written in 400 CE, contains anti-Manichaean propaganda and polemic. [304]

Augustine's anti-Manichaean writings quote passages from Mani's works, including *Ep. Fund.* and *Treasure of Life*. Augustine has been considered the chief source for the study of Manichaeism until the discovery of Manichaean literature at Medinet Mani and Turfan. However, the extent of his knowledge of Manichaean doctrine is questionable in view of his position in the lower echelon of the Manichaean community. [305] Furthermore, as observed by Nicholas Baker-Brian, his accounts of the behaviour of the Manichaean community are replete with "rumour and rhetoric," raising doubt concerning the historicity of his claims. [306] However, Augustine's writings

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[302] Brown, P. (2000), *Augustine of Hippo: A Biography, Revised Edition with a New Epilogue.* (Berkeley; Los Angeles: University of California Press).

[303] Augustine of Hippo, (387-8 CE), *On the Morals of the Catholic Church*, (De Moribus Ecclesiæ Catholicæ); (387-8 CE), *On the Morals of the Manichæans* (De Moribus Manichæorum), (388 CE), *On Two Souls, against the Manichæans* (De Duabus Animabus, contra Manichæos); (397-398/9 CE), *Acts or Disputation against Fortunatus the Manichæan* (Acta seu Disputatio contra Fortunatum Manichæum); (396 CE); *Against the Epistle of Manichæus called Fundamental,* (Contra Epistolam Manichæi quam vocant Fundamenti); (400 CE), *Reply to Faustus the Manichæan* (Contra Faustum Manichæum, Libri XXXIII); (398 CE), *Concerning the nature of good, against the Manichæans* (De Natura Boni Contra Manichæos); (428-429 CE), *De Haeresibus ad Quodvultdeum.*

[304] Augustine of Hippo, *Confessions*, trans. Pine-Coffin, R. S. (1961). London: Penguin Books.

[305] Coyle, K. C. "What Did Augustine Know about Manichaeism when He Wrote His Two Treatises De moribus?" In Coyle 2009, pp 251-264.

[306] See Baker-Brian 2013, "Women in Augustine's anti-Manichaean writings…" and idem. (2013), "Between Testimony and Rumour: Strategies of Invective in Augustine's De moribus manichaeorum." In: Quiroga Puertas, A.

remain a valuable source for the study of Manichaeism. In particular, his claims of the abuse of women within the Manichaean community will be discussed in this thesis.

3.vii.ii: The *Liber Scholiorum* of Theodore bar Khonai

A further major Christian source for the study of Manichaeism is the *Liber Scholiorum* (Book of Scholia, henceforward *Lib. Schol.*) of the eighth- to ninth-century Nestorian teacher and bishop of Kahkar, Theodore bar Khonai. [307] The text is considered to have been composed in 791-92 CE. [308] *Lib. Schol.* contains eleven discourses (Syriac: mēmrē) concerned with biblical and anti-heretical commentary, including Manichaeism. [309]

The primary source for the commentary on Manichaeism contained in the *Lib. Schol.* appears to be a Syriac translation of the *Anakephalaiōsis*, the summary of the fourth-century *Panarion* of Epiphanius of Salamis. [310] Furthermore, the *Lib. Schol.* quotes directly from a Syriac work of Mani's named the "Circular letter concerning the two principles," which may be identical with *Ep. Fund.* [311] This source is particularly important as it is composed in Syriac and thus preserves the terms used by Mani.

J. (2013) (ed.), *The Purpose of Rhetoric in Late Antiquity. From Performance to Exegesis*, (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck), pp. 31-53.

[307] All citations from *Lib. Schol.* in this thesis are by Reeves 2011.

[308] Asmussen, J. P. "BAR KŌNAY, THEODORE." *Encyclopædia Iranica*, vol. III/7, (1988), pp. 737-738.

[309] A translation and commentary of *Lib. Schol.* is provided by Franz Cumont. See: Cumont, F. (1908), *Recherches sur le Manichéisme, vol. I: La Cosmogonie Manichéenne d'après Théodore bar Khoni*. (Brussels: Lamertin).

[310] Burkitt, F. C. (1925), *The Religion of the Manichees, Donnellan Lectures for 1924*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).

[311] Haardt, R. and Hendry, J. F. (trans.) (1971), *Gnosis: Character and Testimony*. (Leiden: Brill).

Table 3: Sources

Manichaean Texts		
Coptic Texts		
Title	**Date**	**Author**
Kephalaia of the Teacher	c. 400 CE	Various
Kephalaia of the Wisdom of my Lord Mani	c. 400 CE	Various
Manichaean Homilies	275-350 CE	Various
Manichaean Psalm-book	400 CE	Various
P. Kell. Copt. 25	350-370 CE	Members of Makarios family
P. Kell. Copt. 26	350-370 CE	Members of Makarios family
P. Kell. Copt. 53	350-370 CE	Mani
P. Kell.Copt.54	350-370 CE	Mani
Middle Persian/Parthian Manichaean Texts		
Title	**Date**	**Author**
M2	c. 600-900 CE [312]	Unknown
M2 1	c. 600-900 CE	Unknown
M2c	c. 600-900 CE	Unknown
M3	c. 600-900 CE	Unknown
M33 II $_+$ M 367	c. 600-900 CE	Unknown
M49 ii	c. 600-900 CE	Unknown
M98 I	c. 600-900 CE	Unknown
M101b.	c. 600-900 CE	Unknown
M216c	c. 600-900 CE	Unknown
M507	c. 600-900 CE	Unknown
M538 +75	c. 600-900 CE	Unknown
M738	c. 600-900 CE	Unknown
M798a Rii-Vii	c. 600-900 CE	Unknown

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[312] Dating is largely uncertain for the majority of the Middle Persian/Parthian fragments. For discussion, see: Sundermann, W. (1986-1987), "Studien zur kirchengeschichtlichen Literatur der iranischen Manichäer" I. *Altorientalische Forschungen* 13/1, (1986), pp. 40-92; idem. "Studien zur kirchengeschichtlichen Literatur der iranischen Manichäer" II. *Altorientalische Forschungen*, 13/2, (1986), pp.239-317; idem. "Studien zur kirchengeschichtlichen Literatur der iranischen Manichäer" III. *Altorientalische Forschungen*, 14/1, (1987), pp. 47-107.

Middle Persian/Parthian Manichaean Texts (cont.)		
M801	c. 600-900 CE	Unknown
M1750	c. 600-900 CE	Unknown
M4500 +M5566 + M4501	c. 600-900 CE	Unknown
M5262	c. 600-900 CE	Unknown
M6232	c. 600-900 CE	Unknown
M7984 I R ii 33-V ii + M 7982 R + V + M 7983 I R + V:120.	c. 600-900 CE	Mani [313]
Šābuhragān	c. 240 CE	Mani

Greek Manichaean Texts		
Title	**Date**	**Author**
P. Colon. inv. nr. 4780	500-600 CE	Various
P. Kell.Gr. 97	c. 400 CE	Unknown

Latin Manichaean Texts		
Title	**Date**	**Author**
Epistula Fundamenti	c. 240-276 CE	Mani
Tebessa Codex.	c. 400 CE	Unknown

Sogdian Manichaean Texts		
Title	**Date**	**Author**
M 178 II.	600-900 CE	Unknown
S9 + S13	600-900 CE	Unknown
So. 13.941 + So. 14.28	600-900 CE	Unknown
So. 13.941 + So. 14.285	600-900 CE	Unknown
So. 14285	600-900 CE	Unknown
So.13.941	600-900 CE	Unknown
So. 14285	600-900 CE	Unknown
The Book of Giants	600-900 CE	Mani
Xw'stw'nyft S'nk.	600-900 CE	Unknown

Zoroastrian/Sasanian Texts		
Gathic Zoroastrian-Sasanian Texts		
Title	**Date**	**Author**
The Gathas of Zarathustra	c. 1278 [314]	Zoroaster [315]

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[313] On attribution of these fragments to Mani, see section 3.v.ii, pp. 56-57.

[314] This reflects the date of manuscript, rather than date of text composition.

[315] This text is traditionally attributed to Zoroaster in Zoroastrian doctrine.

Younger Avestan Zoroastrian/Sasanian Texts		
Ābān Yašt (*Yašt* 5)	c. 1278 [316]	Unknown
Frawardīn Yašt (*Yašt* 13)	c. 1278	Unknown
Bahrām Yašt (*Yašt* 14)	c. 1278	Unknown
Yasna 29	c. 1278 [317]	Unknown
Yasna 30	c. 1278	Unknown
Yasna 31	c. 1278	Unknown

Middle Persian/Parthian Zoroastrian/Sasanian Texts		
Title	**Date**	**Author**
Inscription of Kartīr at Naqš-i Rajab	224-239/40 CE	Kartīr
Inscription of Shāpūr I at Ka'ba-ye Zartosht (SKZ) [318]	c. 262 CE	Shāpūr I
Inscription at Sar Mashhad	290-293 CE	Bahrām II

Pahlavi Zoroastrian/Sasanian Texts		
Title	**Date**	**Author**
The Greater Bundahišn	800-900 CE	Unknown
Dādestān ī Mēnōg ī Xrad	c. 700 CE	Unknown
Dēnkard	c. 1000 CE	Ādurbād Ēmēdān and Ādurfarnbag ī Farroxzādān
Kār-Nāmag Ī Ardašīr Ī Pābagān	Post-706 CE	Unknown
Mādayān Ī Hazār Dādestān	c. 700 CE	Farroxmard i Wahrāmān
Rivāyat of *Ēmēd ī Ašawahištān*	c. 1000 CE	Ēmēd ī Ašawahištān
Selections of Zādspram	800-900 CE	*Zādspram*
Vendīdād	800-900 CE	Unknown

Jewish Texts		
Hebrew Jewish Texts		
Title	**Date**	**Author**
Babylonian Talmud tractate Berakhot.	c. 500 CE	Various

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[316] See p. 335.

[317] This date reflects the date of manuscript, although date of composition is earlier. For discussion, see: Malandra,

W. W. (2006), "YASNA." *Encyclopædia Iranica*, online edition. Available at

[http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/Yasna] (Accessed on 20 September 2016).

[318] Inscription is tri-lingual: Greek, Parthian and Middle Persian. See section 3.iv.i, pp. 46 for discussion.

Babylonian Talmud tractate *Ketubot*	c. 500 CE	Ravina; Rav Ashi; Rabbi Jehudah ha-Nasi
Babylonian Talmud tractate *Nedarim*	c. 500 CE	Various
Babylonian Talmud Yevamot	c. 500 CE	Various
Babylonian Talmud Yoma	c. 500 CE	Various
Genesis Fragment Targum	0-100 CE	Unknown
Genesis Rabbah	c. 450 CE	Unknown
Mishnah tractate Sotah	Pre-300 CE	Rabbi Jehudah ha-Nasi
Targum of Pentateuch	100-200 CE	Onqelos the Proselyte [319]
Tosefta tractate Berakhot	Pre-300 CE	Unknown
Tosefta tractate Sotah	Pre-300 CE	Unknown
The Community Rule	Pre-75 CE	Unknown
Damascus Document	100 BCE -100 CE	Unknown
Plea for Deliverance 11Q5 XI	c. 500 CE	Unknown
4 Q184	Unknown	Unknown
Yerushalmi (*Palestinian Talmud) tractate Berakhot*	Pre-400 CE	Unknown
Yerushalmi (*Palestinian Talmud*) tractate Sotah*	Pre-400 CE	Unknown

Judaeo-Christian Texts

Ethiopic Judaeo-Christian Texts

Title	Date	Author
1 *Enoch*	250-200 BCE	Unknown

Slavonic Texts

Title	Date	Author
2 *Enoch*	1300-1800 CE [320]	Unknown

Hebrew Texts

Title	Date	Author
3 *Enoch*	400-900 CE	Unknown

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[319] Written under the guidance of Rabbi Eleazar and Rabbi Joshua. See: Flesher, P. V. M. and Chilton, B. D.

(2011), *The Targums: A Critical Introduction*. (Leiden; Boston: Brill), p. 229.

[320] Dates of the three surviving recensions of 2 *Enoch*. See: Macaskill, G. (2013), *The Slavonic Texts of 2 Enoch*

(Studia Judaeoslavica). (Leiden; Boston: Brill.), p. 11.

Greek Judaeo-Christian Texts		
Title	**Date**	**Author**
Book of Baruch.	200 CE	Unknown [321]
Book of Esther	114 BCE	Unknown
Book of Judith	150-142 BCE	Unknown
Book of Susanna	323-150 BCE	Unknown
Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs	200-175 BCE	Unknown
Wisdom of Sirach	c. 196-175 CE	Sirach
Wisdom of Solomon	c. 75-100 CE	Unknown
4 *Ezra*	c. 100 CE	Unknown [322]
4 *Maccabees*	0-50 CE	Unknown
Syriac Judaeo-Christian Texts		
Title	**Date**	**Author**
Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles	150-240 CE	Unknown
Hymn of the Pearl (Hymn)	247 BCE-225 CE	Unknown
Greek (Coptic) Judaeo-Christian Texts		
Title	**Date**	**Author**
Codex Berolinensis 8502	400-500 CE	Unknown
Reality of the Rulers	300-350 CE	Unknown
Thunder - Perfect Intellect	Pre-350 CE	Unknown
The Secret Book of John	0-200 CE	Unknown
Christian Texts		
Syriac Christian Texts		
Title	**Date**	**Author**
Madrashe on the Nativity	350-373 CE	Ephrem of Syrus
Commentary on Genesis	c. 373 CE	Ephrem of Syrus
Commentaries on Manichaeism		
Latin Commentaries on Manichaeism		
Title	**Date**	**Author**
Confessiones (Confessions)	400 CE	Augustine of Hippo
Contra Epistulam Quam Vocant Fundamenti	396 CE	Ibid.
Contra Faustum Manichaeum	397-398/399 CE	Ibid.

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[321] Text ascribed to Baruch, scribe of Jeremiah. See: Schmitt, J. J. "Baruch." In Dunn, J. D. G. and Rogerson, J. W. (2003) (eds.), *Eerdmans Commentary on the Bible*. (Michigan: Eerdmans Publishing co.), pp. 799-802.

[322] 2 *Esdras* ascribes itself to Salathiel, builder of the first Jerusalem temple. In 4 *Ezra*, Salathiel is identified with the scribe and seer Ezra. See section 3.i.ix, pp. 47-48 for discussion.

Contra Felicem Manicheum	404 CE	Ibid.
De Haeresibus ad Quodvultdeum)	428-429 CE	Ibid.
De Moribus Ecclesiae Catholicae et de Moribus Manichaeorum	387-388 CE	Ibid.
De Natura Boni	398 CE	Ibid.
Adversus haereses	c. 180 CE	Irenaeus of Lyons

Syriac Commentaries on Manichaeism		
Title	**Date**	**Author**
Homiliae Cathedrales 223	512-518 CE	Severus of Antioch
Liber Scholiorum	791-92 CE	Theodore bar Khonai
Prose Refutations of Mani Marcion and Bardaisan.	363-373 CE	Ephraim of Syrus

Arabic Commentaries on Manichaeism		
Title	**Date**	**Author**
Āthār ul-bākiya of Al-Bīrūnī (The Chronology of the Ancient Nations)	900-1000 CE	Al-Bīrūnī
Ketāb taḥqiq mā le'l-hend India (History of India)	900-1000 CE	Al-Bīrūnī
Kitâb al-Fihrist	987-988 CE	Al-Nadim

Historical Texts		
Greek Philosophical-Historical Texts		
Title	**Date**	**Author**
The Sophists at Dinner	c. 200 CE	Athenaeus
De ceremoniis aulae bizantinae	c. 956-959 CE	Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus
Lives of Stoic Philosophers	c. 230 CE	Diogenes Laertius
The Histories	c. 440 BCE	Herodotus
Antiquities of the Jews	c. 93-94 CE	Josephus
The Jewish War	c. 75 CE	Josephus
Timaeus	c. 450 BCE	Plato
Moralia	c. 100 CE	Plutarch

Chapter One: The Manichaean Father and King

4: Introduction: The Manichaean Father and King

This chapter will explore the characterisation of the masculine-gendered godhead and primary divinity of Manichaean cosmological mythology, commonly designated father or king (henceforward the Manichaean Father or the Father). Raewyn Connell's model of hegemonic masculinity will be employed as a heuristic tool for the interpretation of the characterisation of the Manichaean Father. The titles of father and king will be explored as masculine-gendered terms which denote power and authority in the social and political domains of family and kingdom respectively. The semantic range of the terms father and king will be contextualised by historical evidence of the Sasanian constructions of family and kingdom. It will be argued that historical evidence of the Sasanian model of masculinity, embodied in the Sasanian monarch, foregrounded wealth, entourage and abundant territory as indicators of idealised masculinity. The hypostatisation of the emanations of the Manichaean Father as sons, jewels and diadems in Manichaean cosmology embraces this construction of masculinity. This achieves the representation of the Father as a powerful masculine figure, mirroring the historical evidence for Sasanian hegemonic masculinity.

The Sasanian construction of hegemonic masculinity was communicated by visual and ritual representations of powerful rulership employed in part as imperial propaganda. [323] This model is

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[323] The definition and semantic range of the term "propaganda" is contested. Garth Jowett and Victoria O'Donnell propose the following definition: "The deliberate, systematic attempt to shape perceptions, manipulate cognitions, and direct behaviour to achieve a response that furthers the intent of the propagandist." (Jowett, G. S. and O'Donnell, V. (2012), *Propaganda & Persuasion*. (US: Sage Publications), p. 7). Dennis Rohatyn proposes: "The organised attempt through communication to affect belief or inculcate attitudes in a large audience in ways that circumvent or suppress an individual's adequately informed, rational, reflective action." (Rohatyn, D. A., "The Propaganda Imperative." In Rohatyn, D. A. (1997), *Philosophy History Sophistry.* (Amsterdam; Australia: Rodopi), pp. 73-96.

emulated in the characterisation of the Manichaean Father and is achieved through the borrowing and adaptation of Sasanian court imagery and ideology. Parallels in the representation of the Manichaean Father and the Sasanian monarch are concordant with the Sasanian model of king as earthly counterpart and mirror of the Divine.

Connell identifies hegemonic masculinity as temporally and culturally fluid. [324] Aspired to by many, hegemony is achieved by an elite minority. In Sasanian ideology, the monarch embodies idealised masculinity. [325] However, males may be complicit with hegemony and draw a patriarchal dividend from the system without achieving hegemonic masculine status. [326] Hegemonic masculinities function within patriarchal cultures and perpetuate the subordination of socially marginalised groups, such as women. Recent adaptations to Connell's theory recognise that such groups may form co-existing subordinate masculinities in response to this marginalisation. [327]

The characterisation of the Manichaean Father will be explored in parallel with the contemporaneous Sasanian construction of hegemonic masculinity embodied in the historical evidence for the Sasanian monarchy, exemplified by Shāpūr I. Mani's presence at Shāpūr's court forms a significant part of Mani's literary characterisation in Manichaean texts. [328] His presence at court appears to have been motivated in part by a desire to secure protection from Shāpūr I for the Manichaean community and its missionary endeavours. This chapter will argue that the importance of maintaining this relationship significantly influenced and shaped Mani's adoption

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On Sasanian propaganda, see Canepa 2010. Also: Shayegan, M. R. (2011), *Arsacids and Sasanians. Political Ideology in Post-Hellenistic and Late Antique Persia*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).

[324] Connell and Messerschmidt 2005, p.829.

[325] Ibid. p. 832.

[326] Ibid.

[327] Connell and Messerschmidt 2005. See also Connell 2005, p. 76.

[328] Gardner, BeDuhn and Dilley 2014. Also: Ort 1967.

of the language and ideology of the Sasanian monarchy. Hence the characterisation of the Manichaean Father reveals a politically-motivated construction of masculinity which is synchronous with the hegemonic masculinity of the Sasanian court, which foregrounded abundant wealth, entourage and territory as expressions of masculine power. The characterisation of the Manichaean Father seeks not only to mirror but to surpass the magisterial symbolism surrounding the Sasanian monarch. This mirroring is consistent with the Sasanian religio-political paradigm of the relation between king and god, as expressed through the concepts of divine election (*xvarenah*) and the existence of parallel spiritual and material worlds (*mēnōg* and *gētīg*). These concepts will be explained in the first part of this chapter.

It should be noted that military power and authority form a significant aspect of Sasanian hegemonic masculinity. However, these elements of masculinity do not predominate in the characterisation of the Manichaean Father. Instead, they are subverted into the characterisation of the Manichaean First Man, who will be the focus of the second chapter of this dissertation. This absence of martial characterisation is synchronous with the detached and separate nature of the Manichaean Father to be discussed below in this chapter. The detachment of the Manichaean Father from corporeality and materiality offers an alternative construction of masculinity for the Manichaean Elect, who strive to achieve purity in the material world. Raewyn Connell's model of masculinities predicates the emergence of such alternative masculinities within minority social groups. [329]

The Gnostic model of emanation is adopted to express the relationship of the Father to the further Manichaean divinities. However, the Gnostic model of emanation is manipulated to assimilate imagery relating to Sasanian ideology. The centrality of *xvarenah* (divine election) to the Sasanian ideology of kingship involves a portrayal of the monarch as *dastgerd* (Middle Persian: made by hand, handiwork) of the gods. This relationship is enacted through Sasanian service to

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[329] Connell and Messerschmidt 2005. See also Connell 2005.

cult and shrines. In return, the gods award victory and success. The emergence of imagery of *xvarenah* in Manichaean texts reflects the assimilation of this model of masculinity into the characterisation of the Manichaean Father.

The characterisation of the Manichaean Father reveals powerful and authoritative rulership to be core traits of idealised masculinity. It will be argued that the four-fold attributes and five limbs of the Father in Manichaean sources such as the Coptic *Kephalaia* act as indications of the appropriate exercise of masculine rulership and power, which prioritise the protection of family and kingdom over the desires of the self.

This chapter will be divided into three parts. The first part (5: The Zoroastrian-Sasanian Ideology of Kingship) will consider four Middle Persian concepts embedded in the religio-political representation of Sasanian kingship. These concepts are embedded in the Manichaean characterisation of the Father and recur in discussions of kingship in this chapter. An analysis of the concept of *xvarenah* (divine election to kingship) will be followed by a discussion of the twin Middle Persian terms *mēnōg* and *gētīg*, which denote the Zoroastrian-Sasanian concept of two parallel and co-existent worlds and states of being. Finally, the Middle Persian term *dastgerd* will be explored. This denotes a reciprocal relationship of service between monarch and gods in Zoroastrian-Sasanian ideology.

The second part of this chapter (6: The Kingship of the Manichaean Father) will explore the characterisation of the Manichaean Father as king in Manichaean cosmological mythology. The first section (6.i: The Aeons in Gnostic Mythology) will offer a preliminary excursus into the origins of the term aeon in Gnostic mythology. Section 6.iii (The Aeons of the Manichaean Father) will consider the attribution of a multitude of aeons to the Manichaean Father. Imagery of the aeons as sons, jewels and diadems will be discussed as representations of the entourage, wealth and abundant territory of the Manichaean Father. This achieves concordance with the Sasanian

masculine hegemony embodied in the Sasanian monarch as abundance of territory, entourage and material wealth. It will be argued that this shared imagery establishes the Manichaean Father as a powerful ruler and source of abundance, in keeping with the hegemonic masculinity exemplified by the Sasanian monarch. Furthermore, this mirroring achieves concordance with the Sasanian-Zoroastrian model of the divine as spiritual prototype (*mēnōg*) of the earthly monarch (*gētīg*).

The following section (6.iv: Seclusion) will introduce the motifs of seclusion and detachment in the characterisation of the Manichaean Father. These motifs are reflected in Manichaean texts by references to the existence of a wall between the Kingdom of Light and the Kingdom of Darkness and the veiling of the Father. Section 6.v (The Wall) explores references in Manichaean sources to a wall which protects the Kingdom of Light from visibility. Parallels with the architectural privacy of the Sasanian family will be explored. Section 6.vi (The Veil) considers references to the veiling of the Manichaean Father in the context of court rituals of invisibility surrounding the Sasanian king. It is argued that this parallel invisibility creates concordance between the divine and earthly monarchs, in keeping with the Sasanian-Zoroastrian model of the monarch as the earthly counterpart and mirror (*gētīg*) of the divine *mēnōg*. Furthermore, the veil of the Manichaean divinity represents detachment from the conflict with the Kingdom of Darkness, establishing a masculine paradigm for the Manichaean Elect of whom ascetic detachment from worldly concerns is required. The following section (6.vii: The Five Limbs) will explore the Father's fourfold epithets of divinity, power, light and truth and the five limbs of mind, thought, insight, counsel and consideration. The Gnostic and Zoroastrian mythological origins of these epithets will be discussed. It will be argued that these define and circumscribe the exercise of masculine kingship, prioritising the welfare of subjects and kingdom over the desires of the self.

The third part of this chapter (7: The Manichaean Father) will explore the characterisation of the Manichaean divinity as father of the divine family in the context of the Persian-Sasanian construction of the social nexus of family and its attendant roles, powers and responsibilities. It

will be argued that the title of father denotes a masculine-gendered relation of power and authority over others. The first section (7.i: The Sasanian Family in Antiquity) will review historical evidence of the Sasanian construction of the family. The following section (7.ii: The Divine Family: Emanation and Patrilineality) will outline the model of emanation used in Mani's cosmology. The origins of the model of emanation in Gnostic mythology, exemplified by *Ap. John*, will be explored. Mani's adaptation of the model to encompass Sasanian elements will be discussed. The emergence of feminine-gendered imagery in the Manichaean model of emanation will be discussed in the context of the patriarchal and patrilineal structure of Sasanian society. It will be argued that the Manichaean model of emanation achieves concordance with the Sasanian social structure of patrilineality. Finally, the conclusion of this chapter will draw together the findings of this chapter.

5: The Zoroastrian-Sasanian Ideology of Kingship

As discussed above, Mani successfully sought to procure the protection of Shāpūr I for his missionary endeavours across the Sasanian Empire. His presence at the court of Shāpūr I formed an important part of his literary persona. [330] This section will explore four Middle Persian concepts embedded in the religio-political representation of Sasanian kingship. The integration of these four Middle Persian terms into Manichaean cosmology is particularly apparent in the characterisation of the Manichaean Father in Mani's writings, reflecting Mani's attempt to synchronise Manichaean cosmology with Sasanian ideology. The use of these concepts in Manichaean cosmological narrative sought to reinforce the Zoroastrian-Sasanian construction of the monarch as divinely elected to kingship and earthly mirror of the divine. This section will commence with a discussion of the concept of *xvarenah* (divine election to kingship), which was central to the

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[330] See section 2.ii, p. 27-29.

Sasanian monarchy's claim to rulership. This will be followed by a discussion of the twin Middle

Persian terms *mēnōg* and *gētīg.* These terms denote two parallel and co-existent worlds and states

of being, one of which is material and visible, the other being invisible and spiritual. Finally, the

Middle Persian term *dastgerd* will be explored. This term denotes a reciprocal relationship of

service between monarch and the gods in Zoroastrian-Sasanian ideology.

5.i: *Xvarenah***: Divine Election to Rule**

The concept of divine election to rule, expressed in the Middle Persian concept *xvarenah*

(khvarenah), was central to the religio-political ideology built around Sasanian kingship. Mary

Boyce defines *xvarenah* as the "hypostasis of glory or divine grace which accompanies kings and

great men who are just." [331] Charles Zaehner suggests an interpretive translation of "that for which

you are created; the fulfilment of god's purpose… A constituent of divine and human nature which

conferred upon man his 'proper function.'" [332] Gerard Gnoli identifies the appearance of *xvarenah*

as a magical or spiritual power in the Zoroastrian *Avesta.* [333] The Middle Persian term *xvarenah* is

thought to relate etymologically to the Middle Persian noun *xṷar/n* (sun), indicating luminosity or

radiance. [334] The concept of *xvarenah* is embedded in Zoroastrian mythology and Sasanian

dynastic ideology, although the direction of influence is unclear. In the Avestan *Yašt* 14 (*Bahrām*

Yašt), the Zoroastrian yazata Verethraghna, meaning "victory" or "smashing of opposition," is

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[331] Boyce, M. (1990), *Textual Sources for the Study of Zoroastrianism*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press), p. 29.

[332] Zaehner 2011, pp. 151-152.

[333] Gnoli, G. (1999), "FARR(AH)." *Encyclopædia Iranica*, online edition. Available at:

[http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/farrah] (Accessed 31 January 2016).

[334] Ibid.

portrayed as endowed with the most *xvarenah* of all the gods. [335] Verethraghna has ten animal incarnations, including ram, boar, horse and eagle. Verethraghna's strong association with *xvarenah* is indicated by surviving Sasanian coinage, on which these animals appear as symbols of divine election in royal headgear. [336]

Symbols of divine endowment of *xvarenah*, as indications of divine election to kingship, are a core and recurrent feature of Sasanian iconographic depictions of investiture. These symbols include a ring-form, cydaris or nimbus shape over the head of the elected king. [337] This is exemplified by the investiture relief of the first Sasanian king, Ardašīr I, at Naqš-e Rustam, described by Matthew Canepa as "the first and the most potent Sasanian expression of this concept." [338] Ardašīr (Ardashir), mounted upon a horse, receives a nimbus or cydaris from the Zoroastrian divinity Ohrmazd. This imagery also appears in Shāpūr I's investiture scene at the rock-relief at Naqš-e Rajab, which displays a winged god presenting a ring-form or nimbus to Shāpūr. [339]

Literary references to *xvarenah* form an important element in Zoroastrian and Sasanian mythology, in which religious and political ideologies entwine. In these sources, *xvarenah* often assumes the animal form of an eagle or ram. This is exemplified by the narration of the "golden age" of the mythological first Persian king Yima in *G. Bundahišn*. [340] Although initially endowed

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[335] Cohn, N. (2001), *Cosmos, Chaos and the World to Come*: *The Ancient Roots of Apocalyptic Faith.* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press), p. 111.

[336] Lerner, J. (2009), "Animal Headdresses on the Sealings of the Bactrian Documents." In Sundermann 2009, p. 220.

[337] Rose, J. et al. "INVESTITURE." *In Encyclopædia Iranica,* XIII/2, (2004), pp. 180-188.

[338] Canepa 2010, p. 59.

[339] Ibid.

[340] West 2012.

with *xvarenah*, King Yima loses this when he allows falsehood to enter his mind. *Xvarenah* flies away from him in the form of a bird:

> We worship mighty… Khvarenah…., who for a long time accompanied shining Yima … before he lied, before he brought the lying untrue word into his mind. Then when he bought the lying untrue word into his mind, Khvarenah was seen to depart from him in the shape of a bird… Yima wandered sad, cast into dejection he hid upon the earth... Khvarenah went from shining Yima… in the shape of a hawk. [341]

This extract reveals *xvarenah* to be impermanent and easily lost; *xvarenah* comes from god, to whom it seeks to return. [342] The importance of *xvarenah* to the achievement of kingship is also evident in the late Sasanian *Kârnâmag î Ardashîr î Babagân* (*Book of the Deeds of Ardashir son of Babag)*, which contains mythical tales of the first Sasanian king Ardašīr I. [343] The text, which was composed post-706 CE, is described by Mary Boyce as:

> a short prose work, simple in style, probably written in Pars towards the end of the Sasanian period. It too was evidently the work of priests, and a comparison of it with Firdausi's rendering shows how effectively Zoroastrian elements were obliterated in the Muslim redaction. The *Kârnâmag* contains some historical details; but its generally romantic character has been explained as due to contamination with legends of Cyrus the Great, still current then in Pars. [344]

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[341] Boyce 1984, p. 30.

[342] Gnoli 1999.

[343] Cereti, C. G. "KĀR-NĀMAG Ī ARDAŠĪR Ī PĀBAGĀN." *Encyclopædia Iranica*, XV/6, (2012), pp. 585-588.

[344] Boyce, M. "Middle Persian Literature." In Spuler, B. (1968) (ed.), *Iranian Studies* (Handbook of Oriental Studies, vol. 1 part 2). (Leiden; Koln: Brill), pp. 31-66.

The text uses mythological terms to relate the passing of kingship from the last Arsacid King Ardawan to the first Sasanian King Ardašīr. Upon discovering that Ardašīr has absconded from his court with a beautiful maiden, Ardawan pursues him with an army of four thousand men. Upon enquiry, reports of Ardašir's speedy flight and pursuit by an eagle, symbolic of *xvarenah*, are given:

> He asked: "Those two horsemen who came towards this side, what time did they pass?" The men said: "Dawn, when the sun brought rays, they passed by just like a whirlwind! And a very big eagle [ram] was following them [was running from their behind], which (there) could not be a more beautiful (one) than that. We know that until now, they traveled many frasangs (of) land, and you cannot seize (him)." [345]

Ardawan asks his advisor about the eagle and is advised: "That glory of rule… has not arrived to him, but it is necessary that we should hasten, it may be possible, that before that glory arrives, it may be possible for us to seize [him]." [346] Eventually reports that the eagle has caught up with Ardašīr are received. His high-priest advises him:

> May you be immortal! Ardashir shall receive the glory of the Kays. It is not possible to seize (him) by any means. Thereafter, do not hold trouble (for) yourselves and horses, and do not trouble the horses, and do not ruin (them). Call for the remedy of Ardashir by other means. [347]

Ardawan perceives that he will no longer be victorious over Ardašīr and returns home. In this text, the endowment of *xvarenah* upon Ardašīr represents divine ordination of the passing of political

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[345] Kassock, Z. J. V. (2013) (trans./ed.), *Karnamag i Ardashir i Papagan: A Pahlavi Student's 2013 Guide.* (Kassock Pahlavi Reproductions of Kassock bros. Publishing Company), ch. 3.9-10, pp. 18.

[346] Ibid., ch. 3.15, p. 19.

[347] Ibid., ch. 3.20, p. 20.

power from the Arsacid to the Sasanian monarchy. The concept of *xvarenah* was central to the Sasanian claim to rulership and established a relationship between the divine and the Sasanian monarchy. This claim of divine approval will be significant to discussions of the Manichaean representation of the Manichaean godhead as king.

5.ii: *Gētīg* and *Mēnōg*

The Middle Persian twin concepts of *gētīg* (boney, from: "bone") and *mēnōg,* (mental or spiritual, from *man*: "to think") designate and distinguish between two parallel and synchronous worlds and states of being. *Mēnōg* pertains to a realm that is spiritual and ordinarily invisible to the human eye. [348] Jes Asmussen describes *mēnōg* as "an active, invisible power of the body." [349] *Gētīg* is a manifestation of the spiritual power of *mēnōg*, describing the tangible and visible. The term *mēnōg* is also comparative; for example, the god Ohrmazd is endowed with more *mēnōg* than the other deities. [350] The distinction between these two concepts expresses the concept that everything in the material world has a counterpart that is not visible, and conversely, that the spiritual world stands in a relationship of complementarity and parallelism to the visible and material world. [351] These

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[348] Shaked, S. "GĒTĪG AND MĒNŌG." *Encyclopædia Iranica,* X/6, (2001), pp. 574-576.

[349] Asmussen, J. P. (1988), "ĂZ." *Encyclopædia Iranica*, III/2, (1988), pp. 168-169.

[350] Shaked, S., *Dualism in Transformation. Varieties of Religion in Sasanian Iran* (Jordan Lectures in Comparative Religion 16). (London: School of Oriental and African Studies), p. 146 ft. 32.

[351] Shaked, 2012. See also idem., "Some Notes on Ahramen, the Evil Spirit, and His Creation." In Urbach, E. E., Zwi Werblowsky, R. J. and Wirdzek. C. H. (1967) (eds.), *Studies in Mysticism and Religion Presented to Gershom G. Scholem on his Seventieth Birthday by Pupils, Colleagues and Friends.* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, The Hebrew University), pp. 227-34; Idem., "The Notions mēnōg and gētīg in the Pahlavi Texts and their Relation to Eschatology." *Acta Orientalia,* 33, (1971), pp. 59-107; Idem., "Qumran and Iran: Further Considerations." *Israel Oriental Studies,* 2, (1972), pp. 433-46. Idem., "Iranian Influences in Judaism." In Davies, W. D., Finkelstein, L. (1984) (eds.),

twin concepts should be understood within Persian dualist cosmology, which predicates two contrasting but complimentary realms. One is invisible; the other is material and thus accessible to the human senses. Shaul Shaked explains that Persian dualism describes the cosmos as: "consisting essentially of two aspects, perhaps two modes of being, one that is mental and cannot be experienced by the senses, and the other material, or, as it was called in the ancient Iranian period, 'boney' or 'osseous', tangible and visible." [352]

The twin concepts of *mēnōg* and *gētīg* are important to the interpretation of Zoroastrian-Sasanian ideology concerning the relation between the divine and earthly realms. This is evident in the construction of the Sasanian monarch as earthly counterpart of the Divine. This is exemplified in the investiture scene of Ardašīr I at Naqš-e Rustam, which reveals mirror-image symmetry between Ardašīr and the Zoroastrian god Ohrmazd, who share display identical size and pose. [353] However, the subordinate role of Ardašīr is indicated by his gesture of submission and deference to Ohrmazd. The scene portrays Ardašir's victory over Ardawan as analogous to Ohrmazd's forthcoming victory over Ahriman at the eschaton. [354] Here the *gētīg* realm mirrors and foreshadows the events of the *mēnōg* realm. This is exemplified by SKZ, upon which Shāpūr I identifies himself as: "Shāpūr… whose lineage is from the gods." [355]

Cambridge History of Judaism, vol. I: *Introduction, The Persian Period.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), pp. 308-442. Idem., (2004).

[352] Shaked 2005, p. 10.

[353] Canepa 2010, p. 59.

[354] Ibid.

[355] Frye 1983, p. 371.

5.iii: *Dastgerd*: Handiwork of the gods.

Shāpūr I's inscription at SKZ further extends this ideology to encompass a close relationship of reciprocal service between Sasanian monarch and god. This is expressed by the Middle Persian term *dastgerd* in Shāpūr I's inscription at SKZ. Here Shāpūr I awards himself the title *dastgerd* (Middle Persian, literally: made by hand, handiwork) of the gods. The term is translated by Richard Frye as "ward." Philippe Gignoux explains this concept as both honorific and toponym, translating it as possession, creation or creature. [356] Shāpūr demonstrates his role as *dastgerd* by attending and extending the fire cults of the gods. In response, the gods lend support to his military ventures, awarding fame, bravery and territory. This indicates a reciprocity between monarch and the gods:

> We searched out for conquest many other lands, and we acquired fame for heroism, which we have not engraved here, except for the preceding. We ordered it written so that whoever comes after us may know this fame, heroism and power for us. Thus, for this reason, that the gods have made us their ward (*dastgerd*), and with the aids of the gods we have searched out and taken out so many lands, so that in every land we have established many Bahram fires and have conferred benefices upon many magi-men, and we have multiplied the cult of the gods… [357]

The honoured but subordinate role intended by the term *dastgerd* is indicated by Shāpūr's further award of the title *dastgerd*- Shāpūr ('dastgerd' of Shāpūr) to his wife Dēnag (Dinak). [358]

The Sasanian monarch, as embodiment of hegemonic masculinity, thus propagates ideology of divine election to rule demonstrated through a reciprocal relationship between the divine and

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[356] Gignoux, P. "DASTGERD." *Encyclopædia Iranica*, VII/1, (1994), pp. 105-106.

[357] SKZ, loc. cit., p. 372.

[358] Ibid., p. 373.

earthly realms. His victories are evidence of a reciprocal and aspirational relationship of service and reward for emulation.

The next part of this chapter will explore imagery of wealth, entourage and territorial abundance in the representation of the Manichaean Father in the context of the Zoroastrian-ideology of kingship discussed above. The allegorisation of the aeons as sons, garlands and jewels of the Father imbues the Father with a large entourage and wealth. This is concordant with the hegemonic Sasanian model of masculinity embodied in the Sasanian monarch which foregrounds wealth and entourage as indicators of elite masculinity. This part will commence with a preliminary analysis of the Greek and Gnostic origins of the term aeon.

6. The Kingship of the Manichaean Father

6.i: The Aeons in Gnostic Mythology

This section will offer a preliminary excursus of the historical usage of the Greek term aeon. This will be followed by an exploration of parallels between the Manichaean and Gnostic model of aeons exemplified by *Ap. John*. Manichaean cosmology elaborates upon the Gnostic model of aeons, incorporating images of wealth and territorial abundance concordant with the ideology of hegemonic masculinity as wealth and territorial abundance embodied in the Sasanian monarch. This parallel will be interpreted in the context of the twin Persian concepts of *mēnōg* and *gētīg,* which describe and differentiate between two simultaneous spiritual and material worlds. The Manichaean model of the Father as ruler of limitless territories thus acts as the spiritual (*mēnōg*) prototype and mirror of the corporeal (*gētīg*) Sasanian monarch, in concordance with the Zoroastrian-Sasanian model of kingship.

A preliminary excursus into the origins of the term aeon and its development in Gnostic mythology is required. The Greek term αιών designated a long period of time such as an epoque or era and, in the plural, indicated eternity. In pre-Gnostic Greek religion, the hypostasis "Aion"

became an object of worship. [359] Hans Jonas observes that the term αιών developed an additional spatial component in Hellenistic Gnosticism, defining the aeon as the "two-fold aspect of the cosmic terror." [360] As Jonas suggests, this development may reflect Greek contact with Zurvanism, which incorporated the elements of infinite time and space into the supreme divinity, Zurvan. Bentley Layton identifies the Gnostic application of the term aeon as realm, eternities, places, extents of time and abstractions with names. [361] Hans Jonas defines the aeon in Gnostic cosmological mythology as a "class name for all categories of either divine, semi-divine or demonic beings." [362] Roelof Van den Broek defines the Gnostic construct of the aeon as the "hypostasised aspects of the highest, unknowable god, with a spatio-temporal dimension." [363] The most detailed account of the Gnostic myth survives in the longer recession of *Ap. John*. [364] This text thus serves as a suitable example of the Gnostic referential context of the term. In *Ap. John*, four aeons, described as "luminaries," are borne forth from the monad who rules over the pleroma. The luminaries, described as the four powers of intelligence, loveliness, perception and prudence, each stand with two further aeons, forming a total of twelve aeons. The twelve aeons are both abstract aspects of creation and hypostasised angels. The angel Harmozel (Loveliness) stands with the aeons Truth and Form. Ōroiael (Perception) stands with Afterthought and Memory. The angel Daueithai (Intelligence) accompanies Love and Ideal Form. Finally, Eleleth (Wisdom or Prudence) stands with Perfection and Peace. [365] The twelve divine aeons are mirrored

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[359] Jonas, H., (2001), *The Gnostic Religion: The Message of the Alien God and the Beginnings of Christianity*. (Boston: Beacon Press), p. 53.

[360] Ibid.

[361] Layton 1987, p. 14.

[362] Jonas 2001, p. 53.

[363] Van den Broek, R. (2013), *Gnostic Religion in Antiquity*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), p. 160.

[364] *Ap. John*. In Layton 1987, pp. 23-51.

[365] Ibid., 7.30-8.28, pp. 33-34.

in the formation by Ialdeboath of twelve powers inside a "luminous fiery blaze," which are set as rulers over the heavens and the abyss. [366] Figure 1 below sets out the Gnostic model of emanation in *Ap. John*:

6.ii: Figure 1: The Gnostic Model of Emanation according to Ap. John.

Monad			
Intelligence	Loveliness	Perception	Prudence
Love: Ideal Form	Truth: Form	Afterthought: Memory	Perfection: Peace
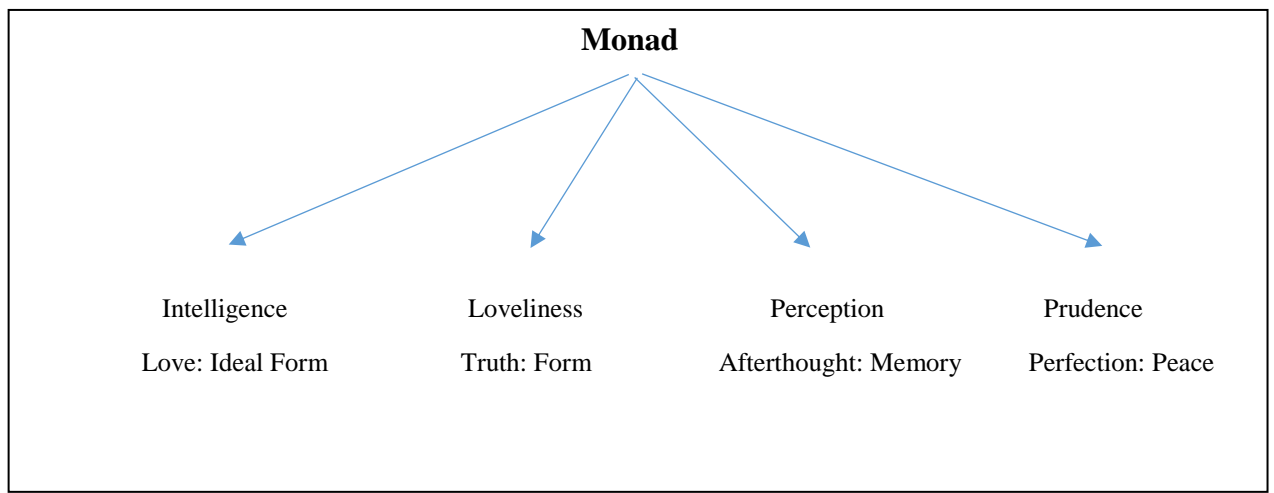
6.iii: The Aeons of the Manichaean Father

According to Coptic Manichaean sources, the Manichaean Father dwells in twelve aeons of light. This is exemplified by *Chapter* twenty of the *Kephalaia*, which tells: "the Noῦς, however, who is the Father, who dwells in the Greatness, is established in the Aeons of Light" and describes the Father as "the Great Noῦς of all the glorious aeons." [367] *Chapter* twenty-one describes "all the aeons of greatness." [368] The *Manichaean Psalm-book* describes fourteen aeons; one of these may be understood to be the "New Aeon," which is constructed following the First Man's rescue

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[366] Ibid., 19.25 - 20.4, p. 37.

[367] 1 Ke. 20.19-20; 20-21, loc. cit., p. 66.

[368] 1 Ke. 21.64.31, loc. cit., p. 67.

from the Kingdom of Darkness. [369] The *Manichaean Psalm-book* attributes further aeons to the Father through references to "the aeons of the aeons." [370] Paul van Lindt observes that this occurs only in the *Manichaean Psalm-book.* [371]

The twelve aeons of the Father are polarised by the five aeons or storehouses of the ruler of the Kingdom of Darkness, which are listed in the *Manichaean Psalm-book* as follows:

But the kingdom of darkness consists of five store-

houses, which are smoke and fire and

wind and water and darkness; their counsel

creeping in them and [inciting]? them to

make war with one another. [372]

Manichaean texts mirror the Gnostic model of twelve aeons as a spatio-temporal concept. A spatial element is indicated by descriptions of the aeon as the abode of the Father of Greatness. This is exemplified by *Chapter* four of the *Kephalaia*, which states that the Father is established "in the middle of the aeons of his greatness in his living kingdom." [373] A Parthian abdecarian hymn (M6232) describes the Kingdom of Light as "a place full of blossoms, with countless lands, houses and thrones." [374] This portrayal of the twelve aeons as abodes indicates spatial abundance.

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[369] See discussion of Van Lindt, P. (1992), *The Names of Manichaean Mythological Figures: A Comparative Study on Terminology in the Coptic Sources* (Studies in Oriental Religions). (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag), p. 30.

[370] Idem.

[371] Idem.

[372] *Manichaean Psalm-book,* p. 9.17-21.

[373] 1 Ke. 4.25.14-15, loc. cit., p. 29. See also 1 Ke. 29.81.31, p. 83.

[374] M6232 recto, Klimkeit 1993, pp.32-33 (p. 33).

Spatial and territorial abundance is an important theme in Shāpūr I's self-legitimisation as powerful ruler. This is indicated by the inscription of SKZ, which emphasises his imperial success and possession of many lands:

> And I [hold?] the lands: Persis, Parthia, Khuzistan, Mesene, Assyria, Adiabene, Arabia, Azerbaijan, Armenia, Georgia, Segan… Arran [Albania], Balasakan, up to the Caucasus mountains and the Gates of Albania, and all of the mountain change of Pareshwar, Media… And these many lands, and rulers and governors, all have become tributary and subject to us. [375]

The possession of many lands, indicating power and wealth, thus forms a central aspect of the Sasanian perception of powerful kingship. This is further exemplified by Shāpūr's self-identification at SKZ in Middle Persian as *šāhān šāh ērān udAnērān* (king of kings of Eran and non-Eran). [376] Here *Anērān* (non-Eran) refers to territories not considered part of Eran as a claim of territorial wealth. The attribution of twelve aeons to the Manichaean Father emulates and mirrors the Sasanian model of territorial possession as evidence of powerful kingship. However, Manichaean cosmology describes the aeons of the Manichaean Father as limitless, therefore exceeding the land-locked states of Shāpūr I. Thus, the Sasanian monarch's territory is merely a shadow or microcosm of the divine Kingdom of Light. This achieves a mirroring between the divine rulership of the Manichaean Father and the earthly rulership of the Sasanian monarch. This indicates an assimilation of the Sasanian-Zoroastrian construction of the divine kingdom as spiritual (*mēnōg*) prototype of the earthly (*gētīg*) world to Manichaean cosmology. [377]

The following section will explore imagery in Manichaean sources of the aeons as the sons of the Manichaean Father. This indicates the presence of a large entourage around the

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[375] SKZ, loc. cit., p. 371.

[376] SKZ, Middle Persian, cited by Canepa 2010, p. 54.

[377] Ibid.

Manichaean Father, mirroring the historical evidence of the importance of a large entourage to the status of the Sasanian monarch. This mirroring achieves concordance with the Sasanian-Zoroastrian model of the Sasanian monarch as earthly shadow (*gētīg*) of the divine and spiritual (*mēnōg*) as discussed above.

The hypostisation of the aeons in Mani's cosmology as sons, abodes, jewels and diadems will be interpreted in the context of the hegemonic Sasanian masculinity embodied in kingship, which foregrounded territorial and material wealth as evidence of achieved masculinity. The portrayal of the Manichaean Father as originator of a large entourage and limitless territory is consistent with this Sasanian model of masculinity and achieves synchrony between the divine Father and the Sasanian monarch. This enables the identification of the Manichaean Father as a masculine-gendered figure of power and authority.

The metaphor of the relation of the Manichaean Father to the aeons as father to sons is evident in the *Coptic Manichaean Psalm-book,* which describes him as "the Father of all the Aeons." [378] According to Charlotte Baynes, the filial metaphor for aeons occurs only in the writings of Basilides in the first century CE. [379] Although it is not impossible that the Manichean imagery of sons for aeons reflects a borrowing from Basilides, the metaphor is consistent with the Manichaean identification of the Father of Greatness as source and originator of all divine beings and exemplifies the familial metaphor applied to the divine beings of the Kingdom of Light. The metaphor of the aeons of the Father as sons establishes the Father as source of a large family. This is concordant with the construction of the Sasanian monarch as founder of a large

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[378] Psalm CCLI, *Manichaean Psalm-book,* p. 60.30.

[379] Baynes, C. A. (1933), *A Coptic Gnostic Treatise contained in the Codex Brucianus-Bruce MS. 96. Bod. Lib. Oxford. A translation from the Coptic: transcript and commentary, with Photographs of the Text*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press), p. 74.

dynasty. This mirroring between the Sasanian monarch and the Manichaean Father achieves the construction of the Manichaean Father as the divine and superior prototype for the Sasanian monarch. This is consistent with the Persian-Sasanian ideology of the relation between god and king.

When contextualised by the understanding of Persian-Sasanian family as a social hierarchical structure of power relations, the metaphor of the aeons as sons of the Father reveals a relationship of power, further reinforcing the characterisation of the Father as a figure of great authority and honour. Furthermore, the twelve sons signify a large entourage, the importance of which to Sasanian monarchy as evidence of power and authority is apparent in the inscription of Shāpūr I at SKZ, which lists the members of his entourage by name and position. The list, which contains over sixty names, commences as follows:

> Among those who live under the rule of King of Kings Shapur. Ardashir king of Adiabene, Ardashir king of Kerman, Dinak queen of Mesene ward of Shapur, Hamazasp king of Georgia, Prince Valash son of Papak, Prince Sasan who is adopted by the Farrak family, Prince Sasan who is adopted by the Kiduk family, Prince Narseh son of Peroz, Prince Narseh son of Shapur, Shapur bidakhsh, Papak chiliarch, Peroz chief of cavalry, Ardashir Varaz, Ardashir Suren, Narseh lord of Andegan, Ardashir Karen, Vahunam framadär, FrTk satrap of Gundeshapur, Sritoy son of Shahimust, Ardashir joy of Ardashir,' Pazihr 'valiant of Shapur,' Ardashir satrap of Qom, Chashmak 'brave of Shapur,' Vahunam 'joy of Shapur,' Tir-mihr chief of fortress of Shahrkart, Zik master of ceremonies, Artaban of Demavend, Gondofarr Abgan 'who seeks combat,' Pabish 'Perozshapur' son of Shanbit [380]

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[380] SKZ, loc. cit., p. 373.

The large volume of space dedicated to Shāpūr's entourage in the inscription reveals the importance of a large entourage and dynasty as a reflection of prestige. A large entourage reflected glory on the king. Equally, to be listed among the entourage was deemed a great honour. The imagery of the Manichaean Father with multiple aeons thus mirrors the Sasanian monarch with large entourage, signifying power and authority. This achieves concordance with the Zoroastrian-Sasanian model of the monarch as earthly counterpart of the divine, as expressed by the twin terms *gētīg* and *mēnōg*.

The aeons of the Father are allegorised as jewels in a Manichaean Parthian hymn. Originally composed in Syriac, the hymn is attributed to Mani and entitled *The Praise of the Lesser Ones* (M538 and 75). This hymn describes the aeons as "worlds of Light," which are "appointed as jewels." [381] This imagery is echoed visually in a soteriological Manichaean wall painting which survives from the Uygur era at a shrine at Bezeklik. [382] The painting, which dates between the sixth and fourteenth centuries CE, appears to depict the Manichaean paradise as a beautiful garden with trees and pools of water, inhabited by winged angelic beings. The painting portrays a group (believed to be Manichaean auditors) who pray to a tree which represents the Kingdom of Light. [383] The tree has three trunks and is decked with twelve jewels, which are believed to represent the twelve aeons. The metaphor of the aeons as jewels echoes the Sasanian displays of visual wealth as significant indications of powerful kingship. [384] Jewels played a

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[381] *The Praise of the Lesser Ones.* M538 and 75. In Klimkeit 1993, p. 30.

[382] Gulácsi, Z. (2015), *Mani's Pictures: The Didactic Images of the Manichaeans from Sasanian Mesopotamia to Uygur Central Asia and Tang-Ming China*. (Leiden: Brill), ch. 6 pp. 229-233.

[383] Ibid., p.338 ft. 44. See also: Klimkeit, H-J. "Manichaean Art on the Silk Road." In Heuser, M. and Klimkeit, H-J. (1998) (eds.), *Studies in Manichaean Literature and Art*. (Leiden; Boston; Köln: Brill), pp. 300-314.

[384] Canepa 2010.

significant part in inter-imperial encounters as visual displays of powerful kingship. [385] This is exemplified by accounts of the visual delights of the court of later Sasanian monarchs such as Khosrow I (501–579 CE). A carpet called "the Spring of Khosrow" was considered to serve as an indoor garden during winter. Made of silk, the carpet was bedecked with jewels. [386] Envoys were received in this room to be impressed by the dazzling bejewelled display. [387] The parallel use of jewels as an indicator of wealth at the Sasanian court and in Manichaean texts further indicates the shared ideology of kingship as wealth and abundance.

Symbolism of garlands and diadems are also used to describe the twelve aeons in Manichaean sources. In the *Coptic Manichaean Psalm-Book*, the aeons are described as "a garland of renown of the Father of the Lights." [388] A further example may be found in a Parthian hymn on the Father of Light (M 730 R and Vii), dating between the seventh and eighth centuries CE, which describes the aeons as "twelve diadems of Light." [389] This imagery echoes the Sasanian ideology and iconography of kingship, in which the diadem is a symbol of *xvarenah*, (divine election to rule). The shared imagery of *xvarenah* embedded in descriptions of the aeons establishes the Sasanian monarchy as earthly counterpart of the Divine. This may be understood in terms of the twin Persian terms *mēnōg* and *gētīg* which describe two parallel spiritual and material worlds and states of being. [390]

This section has discussed imagery of wealth, entourage and territorial abundance attached to the aeons of the Manichaean Father. This imagery mirrors the hegemonic masculinity

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[385] Ibid., p. 11.

[386] Ibid., p. 185.

[387] Ibid., p. 147.

[388] Psalms of Heracleides, *Manichaean Psalm-book,* p. 199.13-15.

[389] Klimkeit 1993, p. 31.

[390] Shaked 2004.

embodied in the Sasanian monarch, thus constructing a paradigm of the divine Manichaean Father as the spiritual prototype of the earthly monarch. However, his wealth, territory and entourage are a mere shadow of the divine. This is consistent with the Zoroastrian-Sasanian construction of earthly rulership as a mirror of the divine, whilst imbuing the Sasanian monarch with divine attributes designed to flatter. This is central to Mani's attempt to secure protection for his mission through the Sasanian Empire and a place of importance at the Sasanian court.

The following section will examine the separate existence and nature of the Manichaean Father as further mirrors of Sasanian kingship. The first part of this section will consider the spatial seclusion of the Manichaean Father evident in descriptions of a protective wall surrounding the Kingdom of Light. This will be discussed in parallel with architectural evidence of the spatial seclusion of the Sasanian king as indication of prestige. This reveals a construction of a parallel between the divine and earthly rulers. The second part of this section will explore the invisibility of the Manichaean Father represented by veiling. The Sasanian ritual veiling of the king will be considered.

Fig. 1   **The Manichaean Model of Emanation**

The Father of Greatness

Mother of Life Splendour	Beloved of the Lights	Third Messenger	Jesus the
First Man	Living Spirit	Column of Glory	
Five sons emanations	Five Sons	Further Emanations	Further

1ˢᵗ Emanation Level   **2ⁿᵈ Emanation Level**   **3ʳᵈ Emanation Level**   **4ᵗʰ Emanation Level**
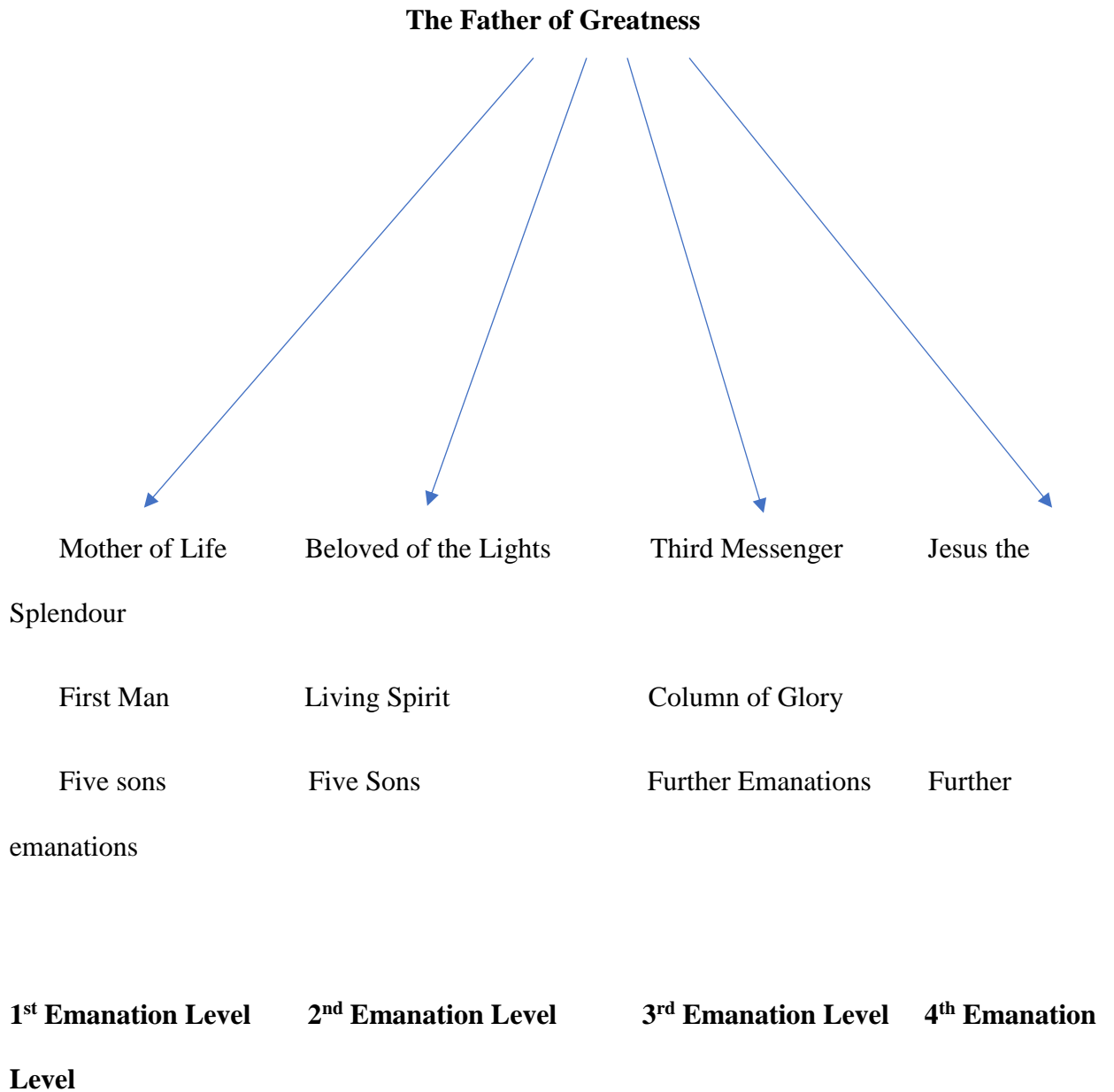
Model Taken and adapted from Klimkeit, H-J. *Studies in Manichaean Literature and Art*, p. 56.

6.iv: Seclusion

This section will discuss the secluded and separate existence and nature of the Manichaean Father of Greatness. The first part of this section will explore the spatial seclusion of the Kingdom of Light in terms of a wall around the Kingdom, which guards it from the sight of the Kingdom of Darkness. This separation is expressed in terms of the seclusion of the Father and the Kingdom of Light from the vision of the powers of darkness. The metaphor of the "tree of life," which hides its beauty from the jealousy of others, is also used to express this seclusion. It will be argued that the spatial seclusion of the Father mirrors the architecture of the Sasanian court, which was designed to protect the privacy of king and family. The second part of this section will discuss the separate nature of the Father, as indicated by texts which refer to his veiling. It will be argued that this mirrors the ritual veiling of the Sasanian king as a reflection of his prestige. These parallels with Sasanian court ritual and propaganda add to the characterisation of the Manichaean Father as a powerful and authoritative ruler, mirroring the Sasanian hegemonic masculinity embodied in the monarch as earthly counterpart of the Divine.

6.v: The Wall

This section will discuss claims in Manichaean sources of the existence of a wall separating the Kingdom of Light from the Kingdom of Darkness. This affords privacy and seclusion to the Kingdom of Light, which seeks to hide its beauty from the Kingdom of Darkness. It is argued that this further emulated the Sasanian model of hegemonic masculinity embodied by the monarch, which foregrounded spatial privacy and seclusion as demonstrations of the prestige of Sasanian rulership. Court rituals which protected the visibility of the king will be discussed. It will be argued that this achieves concordance with the Zoroastrian-Sasanian model of the monarch as earthly mirror and shadow of the divine.

A Greek Manichaean doxological text named *The Prayer of the Emanations* describes the establishment of a wall which hides the Kingdom of Light from the view of the Kingdom of Darkness. The text was discovered at the site of the fourth-century Manichaean community at Kellis and dates to c. 400 CE. The prayer states: "And a wall (τεῖχος) for the aeons of light established itself." [391] The Greek term τεῖχος is frequently used to designate a wall for a city or town and so implies protection and defence. [392]

A theme of separation as modesty emerges in citations from an unknown Manichaean text by the Christian monk and bishop Severus of Antioch (c. 446-542) in *Homily* 223. This describes the metaphor of the tree of life for the Kingdom of Light. The text, suggested by Iain Gardner and Samuel Lieu to be the *Pragmateia*, describes how the Tree of life hides its radiance and beauty from the opposing "tree of Evil," in order not to inspire jealousy:

> And it (i.e. the good) is not seen in the southern region, and that is because it is hidden in that which is its bosom (the region of light); for God has built a wall around that place.
>
> Its light and its grace are invisible, so that it does not give the evil tree… an occasion for desire; and so that it should not be the cause for it to be provoked and harassed and to get into danger, but it is enclosed in splendour and gives no occasion because of its goodness. [393]

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[391] P.Kell.Gr. 97 B.I r1-5 in Gardner, I. (2007), *Kellis Literary Texts*, vol. 2 (Dakhleh Oasis Project Monograph 15). (Oxford: Oxbow Books), pp. 94-110 (p.103).

[392] Strong, J. (2007), *Strong's Exhaustive Concordance of the Bible* (updated version). (Massachusetts: Hendrickson publishers), p. 1675, no. G5038.

[393] Severus of Antioch, *Homiliae Cathedrales* 223.154.22-156.28. In Gardner and Lieu 2004, pp. 161-162.

The Tree of Light has roots in *Genesis* 2, which describes a tree of life and tree of the knowledge of good and evil which are placed in the middle of the Garden of Eden. [394] Following the breaking of the command not to eat from the Tree of Knowledge, access to the Tree of Life is withdrawn by the placing of a cherubim and flaming sword at the east of the Garden. [395]

The books of the prophets use the tree of life as an image for the messianic age. *Ezekiel* describes trees with healing leaves and abundant never-failing fruit. [396] *Proverbs* 3 describes Wisdom as a tree of life: "She is a tree of life to those who lay hold upon her; those who hold her fast are happy." [397] As discussed by Ingvild Gilhus, this association between wisdom and the Tree of life is continued in the Gnostic text *The Reality of the Rulers*. [398] In this text, the Tree of life brings immortality, coming into existence only after Eve's transformation to a spiritual being in order to escape the clutches of the lustful archons. [399] Gilhus identifies the Tree of life as a symbol

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[394] *Genesis* 2.9.

[395] *Genesis* 3.24. For further discussion see "Tree of Life." In Ryken, L., Wilhoit, J. C. and Longman III, T. (2010) (eds.), *Dictionary of Biblical Imagery.* (Illinois: IVP Academic, Intervarsity Press), pp. 889-890. Also: Hirsch, E. G. and Barton G. "A Tree of Life." In *Jewish Encyclopedia*, online edition. Available at: [http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/14492-tree-of-life] (Accessed on 23 April 2017). Also: New World Encyclopedia contributors, "Tree of Life (Judeo-Christian)." *New World Encyclopedia*, online edition. Available at: [http://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/p/index.php?title=Tree_of_Life_(Judeo-Christian)&oldid=968780] (Accessed 23 April 2017).

[396] *Ezekiel* 47.12

[397] *Proverbs* 3.18.

[398] Gilhus, I. S., "The Tree of Life and the Tree of Death: A Study of Gnostic Symbols." *Religion*, (17), 1987, pp. 337-353.

[399] *Reality of the Rulers*, loc. cit., 89.17-28, p. 71. See section 3.ii.ii, pp. 49-50 of this thesis for further discussion of text.

of the duality of man in Gnostic mythology. [400] The Tree of life is polarised by the Tree of death and is associated with the feminine spirit of instruction. However, the Tree of life has darker connotations in the Gnostic text *Ap. John*, in which it is a death-bringing archontic device: "their food is bitter… their trees are impiety, their fruit is incurable poison, and their promise is death." [401] [402] In the Gnostic *Gospel according to Philip*, the tree of Life is associated with resurrection: "but the tree of life is in the midst of paradise, and from the olive tree comes chrism; and from the latter comes resurrection." [403]

The Tree of Life also appears in apocryphal Jewish literature such as the Ethiopic *Book of Enoch* (2 *Enoch*) and the Slavonic *Book of Enoch* (3 *Enoch*). 2 *Enoch* describes the Tree of Life as "indescribable for pleasantness and fine fragrance, and more beautiful than any (other) created thing that exists… And it covers the whole of Paradise." [404] Likewise, 3 *Enoch* states: "this tree cannot be described for its excellence and sweet odor." As discussed by Andrei Orlov, in Jewish lore the Tree of Life is the abode of God. [405] The Greek version of the *Apocalypse of* Adam places the throne of God with the Tree of Life. [406] This is echoed in 2 *Enoch* "And in the midst of them was the Tree of Life, at that place where the Lord takes a rest when he goes into paradise." [407] The Tree of Life was also a common Mesopotamian symbol for kingship. [408] In Mandaean texts, the

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[400] Gilhus 1987.

[401] *Ap. John* 21.19-24, loc. cit., p. 45.

[402] 3 *Enoch* 8:3. Ibid., p. 22.

[403] *Gospel according to Philip*, logion 80, Layton 1987, p. 345.

[404] 2 *Enoch* 8:3-4 cited by Orlov, A. (2011), *Dark Mirrors*: *Azazel and Satanael in Early Jewish Demonology*. (Albany: State University of New York Press), p. 22.

[405] Ibid., pp. 22-23.

[406] Ibid., p. 22.

[407] Ibid., p. 23.

[408] Widengren 1951; 1946.

Tree of Life is identified with the saviour figure. [409] In Manichaean cosmological narratives, the Tree of Life is polarised by the Tree of Death, as symbol of the source of evil in the Kingdom of Darkness.

The metaphor of the Tree of Life appears as a metaphor for the Manichaean Father in the Coptic *Manichaean Psalm-book*. [410] As discussed by Hans-Joachim Klimkeit, a wall painting believed to be of Manichaean origin discovered at the Bezeklik Thousand Buddha caves in Turfan is also considered to use the metaphor of the tree of life to portray a wall surrounding the Kingdom of Light. [411] The painting, which dates between the 6th and 14th centuries, portrays a group (believed to be Manichaean auditors) who pray to a tree with three forked trunks. The lower part of the tree is covered, either by a vessel or behind the back of a throne and hence hidden from visibility. This would correspond with the wall at the boundary of the two kingdoms. [412] The existence of a wall between the two kingdoms is also discussed in the fourth-century Christian anti-Manichaean *Acta Archelai*, attributed to Hegemonius. This text, originally in Greek but surviving in Latin, relates two fictitious encounters between Mani and Archelaus, Catholic bishop of Carchar in Roman Mesopotamia. [413] The text claims the following argument between Manes and his critics:

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[409] Widengren 1946.

[410] Psalm CCLV, *Manichaean Psalm-book,* p. 66.27.

[411] Klimkeit, H-J. (1982), *Manichaean Art and Calligraphy* (Iconography of Religions). (Leiden: Brill), p. 31.

[412] Ibid.

[413] For further information, see: BeDuhn, J. and Mirecki, P. (2007) (eds.), *Frontiers of Faith, The Christian Encounter with Manichaeism in the Acts of Archelaus* (Nag Hammadi and Manichaean Studies 61). (Leiden; Boston: Brill).

The judges said: Tell us, Manes, who marked out the boundaries for each kingdom, and who built the wall in the middle? For Archelaus demands that questioning be given a high importance in this discussion.

Manes said: God who is good, and has nothing in common with evil, placed the firmament in the middle, so as to make the wicked one alien and separated from himself." [414]

The seclusion and protection afforded by the wall to the Kingdom of the Light mirrors the practice of spatial privacy accorded to the Persian king in Achaemenid and Sasanian architecture. [415] The prestige and importance of the king were reflected in a social and structural system of invisibility and separation, reflected in architecture, court ritual and monarchic ideology. The King and family occupied a palace with a secure and private space at the terrace rear of the palace, which was hidden by high fortifications and well-guarded. [416]

The parallel spatial and personal seclusion of the Manichaean Father and the Sasanian King is concordant with the Sasanian-model of heaven as the prototype (*mēnōg*) of the earthly kingdom (*gētīg*). The spatial seclusion of the Kingdom of Light thus appears to serve two particular functions. Firstly, it establishes that the Kingdom of Light does not seek to display its beauty and hence cannot be charged with inciting conflict with the Kingdom of Darkness. Secondly, it establishes concordance with Sasanian ideology which views the Sasanian monarch as earthly counterpart of the Divine. The following section will discuss the secluded existence of the Manichaean Father represented by references to his veiling. It will be argued that this mirrors court

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[414] Hegemonius, *Acta Archelai,* loc. cit., pp. 78-79.

[415] Canepa 2010.

[416] Llewellyn-Jones, L. (2013), *King and Court in Ancient Persia 559-331 BCE* (Debates and Documents in Ancient History). (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press), p.107.

propaganda and ritual surrounding the Sasanian monarch, intended to imbue him with prestige, mystique and power.

6.vi: The Veil

The spatial separation accorded to the Kingdom of Light is mirrored by the Father's seclusion from the corporeal world. This is exemplified in the *Manichaean Psalm-book*, in which the *Psalm to the Trinity* designates him "a hidden one from everlasting" and "the Father that is hidden." [417] The *Psalms of the Bema* describe the Father as "the hidden one." [418] The distance of the Father of Greatness from the corporeal world is expressed by references to a veil of separation which removes him from visibility. The Father is invisible even to the Manichaean faithful, who long for the revelation of his image. This is evident in the *Psalms to Jesus*, in which the faithful implore: "The beautiful image (Greek loan word: εἰκών), my Father, - reveal it to me … and thy unsullied brightness." [419] and "reveal thy face to me, o holy and unsullied brightness." [420] The *Psalms to Jesus* reveal that the veiling of the Father of Greatness occurred at the time of the conflict with the forces of darkness and the consequent mixture of light and darkness:

> Let me see thy image, my holy father, which I saw
>
> Before the worlds was created, before the Darkness
>
> Presumed to stir up envy against thy aeons. [421]

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[417] Psalm to the Trinity. *Manichaean Psalm-book,* p. 115.12-13.

[418] Psalms of the Bema. Ibid., p. 1.7-8.

[419] Psalm to Jesus CCLII. Ibid., p. 61.14.

[420] Ibid., p. 61.27.

[421] Psalm to Jesus CCLXIII. Ibid., p. 79.24-26.

Man. Hom. predict that the veil will be removed from the Father at the end of time, when the light stolen from his Kingdom is restored:

> The veils will be rolled back and gathered, and he unveils to them his image! The entire light will be immersed in him! They will go in to the treasury. They will also come forth from him in glory. [422]

In the *Manichaean Psalm-Book*, the revelation of the image is associated with the journey of death: "Disperse the dark cloud that is before my eyes, That I may be able to cross rejoicing to thy honoured Habitations." [423] Nils Pedersen identifies the origin of the reference to the veil in two Jewish traditions. The first of these relates to the Jewish doctrine of a veil that covers God as a reflection of sanctity. The second reflects Jewish mystical tradition. [424] However, Pedersen proposes a further purpose to the veiling, which is unique to Manichaean doctrine. In *De fide Manichaeos*, Evodius identifies the veil as a method of evading the sight of the suffering of the soul and entanglement with materiality:

> For having lost part of himself, he is in mourning, as Mani would say; He has a veil (*velum*) before Himself to soothe His pain so that He should not see the corruption of His own part. For today the divine substance which he mentions, is subject to the race of Darkness like clay to a potter. This is written in their first book of the Treasury. [425]

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[422] *Man*. *Hom*. 41.13-17. In Gardner and Lieu 2004, p. 21.

[423] Psalm to Jesus CCLII. *Manichaean Psalm-book,* p. 62.21-23.

[424] Pedersen, N. A. "The Veil and Revelation of the Father of Greatness." In van den Berg, J. A. et al. (2011) (eds.), *In Search of Truth: Augustine, Manichaeism and Other Gnosticism. Studies for Johannes van Oort at Sixty* (Nag Hammadi and Manichaean Studies 74). (Leiden: Brill), pp 229-234.

[425] Evodius*, De fide contra Manichaeos* 13, cited by Pedersen 2010, p. 229.

Charles Zaehner notes a possible Zurvan influence upon the portrayal of the invisibility of the Manichaean Father. According to Zurvanite mythology, the god Zurvan is detached from cosmic events. Having set in motion the cosmic battle between his twin sons Ahramen and Ohrmazd, he withdraws. Having handed his sons weapons for their battle and set temporal limits upon the conflict, Zurvan remains aloof from the cosmic events that follow. [426]

The detachment of the Manichaean Father is significant to the formation of masculinities within the Manichaean community, which consisted of the two echelons of elect and auditor. Each was bound by separate codes of behaviour, but was dependent upon the other. The bodies of the elect were honed for their daily task of the release of divine light through abstinence from sex, alcohol and a minimal vegetarian diet. The elect, distanced from these aspects of material existence, depended upon the alms-giving of the auditors, who provided the materials for the daily salvific ritual meal of the elect. In return, the worldly involvement of the Manichaean auditors was expiated through this service to the elect. The task of the elect required the achievement of bodily purity through adherence to the three seals of hand, mouth and breast as a sealing of the body from contamination. The three seals are discussed by the ex-auditor Augustine of Hippo in his anti-Manichaean polemic *On the Morals of the Manichaeans* (*De Moribus Manichaeorum*, henceforward *De Moribus*):

> What then are those three symbols? That of the mouth, that of the hands, and that
> of the breast. What does this mean? That man, we are told, should be pure and
> innocent in mouth, in hands, and in breast. [427]

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[426] Zaehner 1955, pp. 21-22.

[427] Augustine of Hippo, *De Mor.* 10.19. In Schaff, P. (2007) (ed.), *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers* vol. 4*: St. Augustine: The Writings Against the Manichaeans, and Against the Donatists.* (New York: Cosimo Classics), p. 74.

According to Augustine, the three seals apply to the Elect but not the auditors. [428] The three seals are described in detail in *chapter* eighty of the *Kephalaia*:

> Know [and] / understand that the first righteousness a per[son] / will do to make
>
> truly righteous is this: he can embra/[ce] continence and purity. And he can also
>
> acquire 'the rest [of the] hands', so that he will keep his hand still before the Cross
>
> of Li[gh/t]. The third is purity of the mouth, so that he will / keep his mouth pure of
>
> all flesh and blood; and do not taste / at all of the 'wine' name, nor fermented drink.
>
> This is the first righteousness. If a person will do it in his bo[dy], he is pronounced
>
> righteous by all mankind. [429]

These precepts are listed in the *Manichaean Psalm-book* as commandments of honour:

> This is the honour of the paraclete-spirit, the honour
>
> of Fasting, Praying and Alms-giving; the honour of the commandment
>
> that we lie not, the honour of the commandment that
>
> we kill not, the honour of the commandment that
>
> we eat no flesh, the honour of the commandment that
>
> we make ourselves pure, the honour of the commandment of
>
> blessed poverty; the honour of Humility and Kindness. [430]

Jason BeDuhn describes the body of the Manichaean elect as a holy site which is demarcated and sealed through disciplinary regimes:

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[428] For example, see: Augustine of Hippo, *De Moribus* 2.15.36, loc. cit., p. 31.

[429] 1 Ke. 80.192.3- 16, loc. cit., p. 201.

[430] *Manichaean Psalm-book* 33.17-23.

Reducing all other contact with the world to nil, the Manichaean elect compresses his or her engagement with the world to the single point of ingestion... Manichaean disciplinary regimens, therefore, incorporate not only means of personal purification, but also techniques of exorcising, demarcating, and sealing a holy site. [431]

The *Tebessa Codex*, so-called because of its discovery near Tebessa in North East Tunisia, appears to be the only surviving original Latin Manichaean text. Composed between 400-500 CE, it contains explanatory material regarding the two echelons of the Manichaean community. [432] The author, drawing from and adapting the text of *Hebrews* 11.13, describes the Manichaean elect as "strangers in the world:" "They (i.e. the elect) lack the cares of the sects, (ut careant sectarum curis) because they are transitory visitors (peregrini) and strangers in the world (alienigenae mundo)." [433]

A lesser degree of worldly detachment was expected of Manichaean auditors, who were required to turn their attention away from the world and turn their attention on the elect. *Chapter* ninety-one of the *Kephalaia* teaches that the auditor must "withdraw his consideration from the world and set his heart on the holy church" [434] and has "placed all his treasure in the e[l]ect male and female." [435] Nicholas Baker-Brian describes the Manichaean community as "a relatively

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[431] BeDuhn, J. (2000), *The Manichaean Body: In Discipline and Ritual*. (Baltimore; London: The John Hopkins University Press), p. 125.

[432] *Tebessa Codex*. Translation and text from: BeDuhn, J. and Harrison, G. "The Tebessa Codex: A Manichaean Treatise on Biblical Exegesis and Church Order." In Mirecki, P. A. and BeDuhn, J. D. (1997) (eds.), *Emerging from Darkness: Studies in the Recovery of Manichaean Sources* (Nag Hammadi and Manichaean Studies 43). (Leiden; Koln: Brill), pp. 33-88.

[433] Tebessa Codex Column 4 (1.2), loc. cit. p. 41. The text of *Hebrews* 11.13 reads "quia peregrini et hospites sunt supra mundum."

[434] 1 Ke. 91.229.4-5, loc. cit., p. 236.

[435] 1 Ke. 91.229.9-10, ibid, p. 237.

closed and cohesive social group exiting within the confines of a larger society, to which it nevertheless maintained real and attachments." [436] This indicates that a degree of withdrawal from engagement with the world was a core aspect of Manichaean membership at both echelons of the community. This detachment is modelled by the Manichaean Father, whose detachment and separation offers an expression of masculinity and model of engagement with the material world.

The detachment and separation of the Manichaean Father mirrors rituals of engagement with the monarch in the Sasanian court. Invisibility and veiling governed the social and political encounters of the Sasanian King as part of imperial propaganda intended to increase the prestige and mystery surrounding the monarch. The importance of the veil in Sasanian court ritual is evident from the role of *pardadar* or "keeper of the curtain" amongst the King's retinue, who was employed to protect the King from visibility with a silk veil. The importance of this position at the Sasanian court is indicated by the fact that only a relative or member of the nobility was permitted to hold this title. [437] The custom of veiling extends back to the Achaemenid period and is noted by Heraclides, who recounts that the king dined alone, hidden from view. Elected guests were permitted to sit outside the king's dining area, separated by a veil, keeping the king hidden from sight. Select guests were then summoned to drink with the king to discuss important political matters. [438] Particularly important are shared inter-imperial rituals surrounding approach to the enthroned king by foreign envoys, which acted as mutual communications and demonstrations of power and authority. D*e ceremoniis aulae bizantinae*, commissioned by the tenth-century Emperor Constantine VII and composed c. 956-959 CE, records court ceremonial protocol involving

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[436] Baker-Brian, N. "Mass and Elite in Late Antique Religion: The Case of Manichaeism." In Evans, R. (2017) (ed.), *Mass and Elite in the Greek and Roman Worlds: From Sparta to Late Antiquity*. (London; New York Routledge), pp. 165-184, (p. 182).

[437] Canepa 2010, p. 301.

[438] Llewellyn-Jones 2013. See also Canepa 2010.

emissaries between the fifth and sixth centuries. [439] It describes the Roman-Sasanian ritual of the unveiling of the Emperor to the foreign envoy in his throne room (*konsistorion*). This carefully staged encounter involves the performance by the envoy of *proskynesis* (prostration or bowing to the floor) to the Emperor. Matthew Canepa believes that the practice of *proskynesis* entered Sasanian court-ritual in emulation of Roman practice: [440]

> When the veil has been raised, the envoy throws himself to the ground (inside the purple marble) [disk, inlaid on the floors], renders proskynesis and stands up. After he comes inside the door, he throws himself down again and renders proskynesis. He does this again in the middle of the konsistorion and then kisses the [emperor's] feet, and then goes to stand in the middle [of the konsistorion] and, having given over the letter, speaks the greetings of his emperor. [441]

The expectation of separation applied equally to female members of the royal family, whose modest behaviour was deemed a reflection of the honour of the king. Removal from public gaze was achieved through facial veiling and spatial demarcation. The rarity of the opportunity to see a female member of the royal family is reflected in Plutarch's *Moralia*, composed c. 100 CE, which reports that Artaxerxes II's wife, Stateira, was popular with the public because she travelled in a carriage with open curtains:

> What gratified the Persians the most was the sight of… Stateira's carriage, which always appeared with its curtains up, and thus permitted the women of the people

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[439] Gillett, A. (2003), *Envoys and Political Communication in the Late Antique West* 411–533 (Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought: Fourth Series 55). (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).

[440] Canepa 2010.

[441] Constantine VII, *De ceremoniis aulae bizantinae* (The Book of Ceremonies) 1.89, cited by Canepa 2010, p. 137.

to approach and greet the queen. This made her the beloved of the common folk.
442

The custom of the protection of king and his family from public gaze established an aura of mystique around the monarchy and was an important aspect of imperial propaganda. This spatial separation is mirrored in the Manichaean doctrine of the secluded existence of the Father. This succeeds in building a representation of the Manichaean Father as the heavenly archetype of Sasanian monarchy. A shared portrayal of power and prestige as spatial separation is evident. This parallel is consistent with the Persian ideology of the twin states of *mēnōg* and *gētīg*. The Manichaean Father thus constitute the heavenly *mēnōg* of which the Sasanian king is *gētīg*. However, the powers of the Manichaean Father exceed those of his earthly counterpart; the Sasanian monarch is shielded merely by palace architecture. In contrast, the lands of the Manichaean Father are worthy of separation. This may be interpreted as a critique of the imperialist aspirations of the Sasanian dynasty, whose power and prestige are but a meagre shadow of the Manichaean Father and his lands.

This section has discussed the separate nature and spatial existence of the Manichaean Father in parallel with Sasanian court ritual and architecture. The separate nature of the Father is expressed in Manichaean literature through references to a veil which removes him from visibility. Spatial separation is indicated by a wall that separates the Kingdom of Light from the Kingdom of Darkness. The wall is intended as protection from the envious desire of those outside the kingdom, who may be provoked by the beauty of the Father's lands. This is an important aspect of Manichaean mythology, which teaches that the attack from the Kingdom of Darkness is unprovoked. Historical evidence indicates that invisibility and privacy formed an important aspect

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[442] Plutarch's *Lives,* Artaxerxes 5.6, trans. Perrin, B. (1926), (The Loeb Classical Library, vol. 11: *Aratus. Artaxerxes. Galba. Otho. General Index*). (Massachusetts: Harvard University Press), p. 136.

of the propaganda and aura-building ritual surrounding the Sasanian monarch. This is reflected in the architecture of Sasanian monarchy, which protected the visibility of king and his family. Court practice further enhanced the aura of power and prestige attached to the king through his ritual veiling and unveiling. These parallels establish the Manichaean Father as a masculine-gendered figure of power and authority, corresponding to the hegemonic model of masculinity embodied in the Sasanian monarch. Furthermore, the detachment of the Manichaean Father serves as an alternative model of masculinity for the interaction of the Manichaean Elect with the material world. Bound by the "three seals," the actions of the elect are limited to achieve bodily purity. This is consistent with Raewyn Connell's model of masculinities, which describes the development of such alternative masculinities within minority social groups. [443]

The following part of this chapter will explore the role of the five spiritual limbs of the Manichaean Father, with which he exercises his rule. This reveals that masculine rulership should place the protection of subjects and kingdom at its core. This should override the needs and drives of the self.

6.vii: The Five Limbs

This section will explore indications of the nature of the rulership of the Manichaean Father in Manichaean literature. The use of the authority and powers of the Father are tempered by the four attributes of divinity, power, wisdom and light and five spiritual "limbs" or "members" of mind, thought, insight, counsel and consideration. The spiritual limbs of the Father set boundaries for the exercise of masculine power and authority, which foregrounds the welfare of kingdom and family over the desires of the self. This hierarchy of need exemplifies idealised masculine rulership.

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[443] Connell And Messerschmidt 2005.

The four attributes of the Manichaean Father of divinity, power, wisdom and light relate to the epithet of the Father as "four-fold" or "four-faced". Timothy Pettipiece believes this to be a designation of Eastern Manichaeism, suggesting that the only evidence of this concept in Western Manichaean doctrine is the Greek epithet τετραρπόσωπος (four-faced), which appears in anti-Manichaean Greek abjuration formulae. [444] However, the epithet "four-faced" also appears in the *Manichaean Psalm-book.* [445] According to Pettipiece, this epithet should be construed as "a Zurvanite flourish or accommodation," borrowed from the Zurvan doctrine of the four-fold nature of the divinity Zurvan. [446]

The Father of Greatness exists in the five "limbs" or "members" of mind, thought, insight, counsel and consideration. These limbs are also described as the elements of living air, light, wind, water, as exemplified by *Chapter* twenty-one of the *Kephalaia*. The *Psalms of Heracleides*, describing the departure of the First Man from the Kingdom of Light, connects each of the Father's limbs with specific elements of the Kingdom of Light:

> I left the Intelligence (νοῦς) guarding the Father, the joy of the Land of Light….
>
> I left the Reason guarding the Faith, the Aeons surrounding the Father…
>
> I left the Thought guarding the Perfection, the breath of life which surrounds
>
> the Father…
>
> I left the Counsel guarding the Endurance, carrying
>
> Life to all the Aeons.
>
> I left the Intention being the foundation and base to the Land

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[444] See also Pettipiece, T. "Many Faced Gods: Triadic (Proto-)Structure and Divine Androgyny in Early Manichaean Cosmogony." In *Open Theology*, 1, (2015), pp. 245–254.

[445] *Psalms of Heracleides*, *Manichaean Psalm-book,* p. 191.11.

[446] Pettipiece, T. "The Faces of the Father: "Pentadization" in the Manichaean Kephalaia (Chapter 21)." V*igiliae Christianae,* 61, (2007), pp. 470-477.

of Light. [447]

Theodore bar Khonai uses the Hebrew term *shekinah (*root*:* שָׁכַן to dwell, inhabit) for the five limbs which are named as mind, knowledge, intellect, thought, and reflection. The term *shekinah*, denoting the presence, dwelling or radiance of God, developed post 70 CE: [448]

> The Good entity dwelt in the Region of Light, and he terms him the Father of Greatness, and he says that there were dwelling (there) in addition to him (the Father) his five 'shekinahs': mind, knowledge, intellect, thought, (and) reflection. The Evil entity he terms the <King> of Darkness, and he says that he dwelt in the Land of Darkness with his five 'aeons': the aeon of smoke, the aeon of fire, the aeon of wind, the aeon of water, and the aeon of darkness. He says that when the <King> of Darkness contemplated ascending to the Region of Light, those five *shekinahs* (there) became agitated, and he says that at that time the Father of Greatness took thought and said: 'I will not send from my worlds any of these five *shekinahs* to do battle because they were created by me for tranquillity and peace. Instead, I myself will go and do battle.' [449]

Here the Father seeks to protect the aeons (*shekinahs*) from the threat of the Kingdom of Darkness, deciding to do battle himself. The protection of the aeons thus predominates in the actions of the Father. This willingness to battle demonstrates the appropriate exercise of masculine authority in the social contexts of family and kingdom. The former Manichaean auditor Augustine of Hippo ridicules this aspect of the Manichaean myth in his literary disputation with Faustus the Manichaean, *Contra Faustum Manichaeum* (henceforward *C. Faustum*):

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[447] Psalms of Heracleides, *Manichaean Psalm-book,* p. 200.19-28.

[448] Stroumsa, G.G. and Emanuel, S. (trs.) (2009), *The End of Sacrifice: Religious Transformations in Late Antiquity*. (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press).

[449] Theodore bar Konai, *Lib. Schol,* loc. cit., p. 147.

> What good news is there in telling us that, in the conflict against some strange hostile nation, God could protect his own Kingdom only by sending part of His own nature into the greedy jaws of the former and to be so defiled, that after all those toils and tortures, it cannot all be purged? [450]

Augustine's critique of Manichaean doctrine underscores the importance of the protection of the kingdom as the primary duty of the Manichaean Father in Manichaean cosmology. This is consistent with the evidence provided by Theodore bar Khonai. This model of rulership prioritises the safety and tranquillity of nation over personal welfare and gain.

This section has considered the five limbs of mind, thought, insight, counsel and consideration of the Manichaean Father. The origin of these terms may be found in Gnostic mythology. The protective actions of the Father exemplify the application of wisdom to the masculine-gendered roles of Father and King, revealing a paradigm of idealised masculinity as the prioritisation of the welfare of kingdom and family over personal welfare and gain. This reveals that masculine rulership should place the protection of territory and inhabitants at its core and in preference to personal greed and desire for territorial expansion.

6.viii: Interim Conclusions: The Manichaean King

This part of the chapter has explored the characterisation of the Manichaean godhead as king, using Raewyn Connell's model of hegemonic masculinity as a heuristic tool. Historical evidence indicates that the hegemony embodied by the Sasanian monarch foregrounds wealth, entourage and abundant territory as indicators of idealised masculine. The Manichaean characterisation of the aeons of the Father as sons, abodes, diadems and jewels creates an image of the divine which

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[450] Augustine of Hippo, *Contra Faustum* 2.6. In Schaff, P. (2007) (ed.), *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, *First Series,* vol. 4*: St. Augustine: The Writings Against the Manichaeans, and Against the Donatists.* New York: Cosimo Classics, pp. 145-345, (pp. 158-159).

mirrors the accomplishments of the Sasanian monarch. This achieves concordance with the Sasanian-Zoroastrian construction of the relationship between the divine and the material worlds. This construction is expressed with the Middle Persian twin concepts of *mēnōg* and *gētīg*. *Mēnōg* designates an invisible world or state of being, which exists parallel to the visible world and state of *gētīg*. The shared attributes of kingship of the Sasanian monarch and the Manichaean Father establishes him as the divine prototype and mirror of the Sasanian monarch. The Manichaean Father, however, exceeds the wealth and territorial abundance of the Sasanian monarch. The assimilation of Sasanian-Zoroastrian ideology to Manichaean cosmology reflects the importance of the Sasanian court environment to Mani's literary persona and to the success of the Manichaean mission in the Sasanian Empire.

Further parallels between the Manichaean divinity and the Sasanian monarch emerge in the references to the spatial seclusion of the Kingdom of Light, which is guarded from the sight of the Kingdom of Darkness. This seclusion is expressed through references to a wall that separates the two kingdoms and the metaphor of the "tree of life," which modestly hides its beauty from sight. This mirrors the architectural privacy afforded to the Sasanian monarch and his family.

Manichaean sources also indicate the detachment of the Manichaean Father through references to his veiling. This mirrors the court ritual and protocol of visibility and invisibility surrounding the Sasanian king, who was veiled from the public eye as a reflection of his power and authority. These parallels with Sasanian court ritual and propaganda add to the characterisation of the Manichaean Father as a powerful and authoritative ruler, mirroring the Sasanian hegemonic masculinity embodied in the monarch as earthly counterpart of the Divine. The separate nature of the Manichaean Father's existence acts as an alternative model of masculinity for the two echelons of the Manichaean community, of whom varying levels of detachment from the material world were required. The Manichaean elect, tasked with the preparation and purification of the body for the cleansing of divine light through strict disciplinary regimes, were governed by the "three seals"

which required abstinence from meat, alcohol and sexual relations. [451] The Manichaean auditors, on whom the elect relied for daily alms-giving, were required to turn their attention from worldly matters to the care of the elect. The separate existence and nature of the Manichaean Father reflect the development of an alternative to hegemonic masculinity. This is consistent with Connell's theory of hegemonic and subordinate masculinities.

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[451] 1 Ke. 80.192.3- 16, loc. cit., p. 201. See also: Augustine of Hippo, *De Moribus* 10.19. In Schaff 2007, p. 74.

7: The Manichaean Father

This section will explore the attribution of the title of father to the primary Manichaean divinity in Manichaean sources. The title of father will be considered in the context of the Persian-Sasanian construction of the social nexus of family and its attendant roles, powers and responsibilities. It will be argued that the title of father denotes a masculine-gendered relation of power and authority over others within the social hierarchical structure of the family. The first section of this chapter will discuss historical evidence of the Persian-Sasanian construction of the family. The second section will explore the employment of the doctrine of emanation in Manichaean sources as the origin of the further members of the divine family. Parallels with the model of emanation in Gnostic mythological texts will be explored. It will be argued that the model of emanation in Manichaean sources achieves the establishment of the Manichaean divine family as patriarchal and patrilineal in concordance with Persian-Sasanian society. The Manichaean Father is thus established as a masculine-gendered divinity imbued with authority and power over members of the divine family.

7.i: The Sasanian Family in Antiquity

This section will consider historical evidence of the prevailing social structure of family in contemporaneous Persian-Sasanian society through historical evidence provided by core legal and wisdom texts in conjunction with Sasanian monarchic architectural inscriptions and carvings. An important historical source concerning Sasanian family law is the Pahlavi law book, the *Mādayān Ī Hazār Dādestān* (*Book of a Thousand Judgements*, henceforward *Mādayān*), which dates from 700 CE. Compiled by Farroxmard i Wahrāmān, this text is unique amongst legal texts as it deals

purely with juridicial issues independently of religious matters. [452] The text comprises a lengthy exposition of legal cases collected from court records, transcripts, testaments and commentaries. [453] The Pahlavi *Dādestān ī Mēnōg ī Xrad* (*Judgments of the Spirit of Wisdom*) dates to 900 CE and sits amidst the Persian wisdom genre. [454] The *Dādestān ī Mēnōg ī Xrad* consists of sixty-three chapters, in which the mythical character Dānāg (Pahlavi: knowing, wise) questions Mēnōg ī Xrad (the personification of Wisdom) concerning matters of law and wisdom. The Pahlavi *Rivāyats* (Arabo-Persian: narration, exposition, exegesis) constitute a further textual source. Dating to 1000 CE, these deal with issues related to the law and ritual purity. The *Rivāyats* comprise a question and answer format. The answers in each *Rivāyat* are attributed to individual Zoroastrian priests. [455] The *Rivāyat* of Ēmēd ī Ašawahištān is of particular significance, as this deals with issues of family law, such as proxy marriage, inheritance, guardianship and next-of-kin marriage. [456] The late date of composition of these Pahlavi sources poses a problem for the study of the early Sasanian period, although the texts are believed to reflect earlier oral traditions.

Available evidence indicates that Persian-Sasanian society was both patriarchal and patrilineal in structure, sharing features with patriarchal Greek and Roman cultures. However, as discussed by Maryam Dezhamkhooy, the emergence of Zoroastrianism during the Sasanian period as the predominant faith of the Sasanian Empire influenced the shaping of patriarchy. [457] The

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[452] Macuch, M. (2005), "MĀDAYĀN Ī HAZĀR DĀDESTĀN." *Encyclopædia Iranica*, online edition. Available at: [http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/madayan-i-hazar-dadestan] (Accessed on 11 August 2017).

[453] Ibid.

[454] Tafażżolī, A. "DĀDESTĀN Ī MĒNŌG Ī XRAD." *Encyclopædia Iranica*, VI/5, (1993), pp. 554-555.

[455] Shaki, M. "ĒMĒD Ī AŠAWAHIŠTĀN." *Encyclopædia Iranica*, VIII/4, (1998), pp. 413-414.

[456] Ibid.

[457] Dezhamkhooy, M. "An Introduction to Gender Structure and Social Inequality in the Sasanian Empire, Iran." *Archaeological Science Journal*, 1/1, (May 2012), pp. 1-4.

family, which was a core structure of Zoroastrian-Sasanian society, comprised a broad network of members related either through kinship, marriage, proxy marriage (to be discussed below) or adoption. [458] Adoption permitted the formation of alliances between aristocratic families unrelated through kinship. The Sasanian family unit was part of a larger paternal unit based upon patrilineality. [459] The importance of patrilineality to the Sasanian dynasty is indicated by representations upon surviving Sasanian rock-reliefs, upon which kings are frequently sculpted with fathers and sons. [460]

The Persian-Sasanian family was headed by the patriarch to whom the wife was expected to defer. This relationship of deference is reflected in depictions on Sasanian rock-reliefs of royal females who are placed in positions of submission or deference to the male. This is exemplified by King Bahrām II's rock-relief at Sar Mashhad, which depicts him fighting a lion. His queen stands behind him and he holds one of her hands in a gesture of protection. [461] A further example of the portrayal of female submission is a silver plate dating from the Sasanian era, which is considered to portray King Bahrām V with his feet on his queen's body. [462] Furthermore, on his rock-relief at SKZ, Shāpūr I bestows the honorific title of "*dastgerd-Shāpūr*" upon his wife, Dēnag. [463] As discussed above, the Middle Persian term *dastgerd* may be translated as "handiwork" or "instrument," indicating a close but deferential relationship. [464] As discussed by

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[458] Ibid.

[459] Ibid.

[460] Herrmann and Curtis 2011.

[461] Ibid.

[462] Ibid.

[463] SKZ, loc. cit., p. 373.

[464] Gignoux 1994. See section 5.iii, pp. 96-97.

Maryam Dezhamkhooy, these examples are indicative of a social expectation of female subordination and submission to the male. [465]

The Pahlavi *Avesta* describes the ideal wife as of good origin, loyal, reputable, good-natured and modest. She should respect her father and ancestors, and acknowledge her husband as her chief. [466] Women, particularly of the lower classes, were regarded as male property. According to Sasanian law, a girl became marriageable at the age of nine years and was to be given in marriage before the age of twelve years. [467] The *Mādayān* reveals that women, although often ranked with slaves and children, enjoyed limited freedoms such as the right of consent to marriage. [468] Upon her marriage, a woman retained any property possessed prior to her marriage. [469] Within marriage, the mother's role was purely reproductive and she had no rights of ownership over her husband's property. [470] If her husband died without a son, the wife fell under an obligation to provide a male successor in order to ensure patrilineality. In this circumstance, the wife would be loaned for a proxy marriage (*xwedodah)* to a suitable male to provide a male heir. [471] The marriage could be

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[465] Dezhamkhooy 2012.

[466] Ibid. Also: Secunda, S. "The Construction, Composition and Idealization of the Female Body in Rabbinic Literature and Parallel Iranian Texts." *NASHIM: A Journal of Jewish Women's Studies and Gender Issues,* 23, (2012), pp. 60-86.

[467] Williams, A. V. (1990), *The Pahlavi Rivayat Accompanying the Dadestan 1 Denig, Part II: Translation, Commentary and Pahlavi Text* (Historisk-filosofiske Meddelelser 60:2 Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab. The Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters). (Copenhagen: Munksgaard), ch. 34 b1-3 p. 61.

[468] Dezhamkhooy 2012.

[469] Shaki, M., Mir-Hosseini, Z. and Wakin, J. "FAMILY LAW." *Encyclopædia Iranica*, IX/2, (1999), pp. 184-196.

[470] Ibid.

[471] Shaki, Mir-Hosseini, and Wakin, 1999. See also: Shaki, M. "ČAKAR." *Encyclopædia Iranica*, IV/6, (1999), pp. 647-649.

broken upon the achievement of a male successor. According to the Pahlavi *Rivāyats*, the wife was required to demonstrate obedience to her husband three times daily:

> The wife of *padixsay* (status) should consult her husband three times every day saying: "What do you require when I think and speak and act, for I do not know what is required when I think and speak and act, tell (me), so that I will think and speak and act as you require?" Then she must do everything that the righteous husband tells her, and she should refrain from tormenting and afflicting her husband. [472]

Family relations were strictly governed by mutual responsibilities established by law, moral codes and social convention. [473] The patriarch was responsible for the guardianship (or appointment of a guardian) of all children or females in the family. [474] Children were considered his property. As no law of primogeniture was followed, the family patriarch named a male successor and guardian for children prior to or upon his death. [475] Various types of filial relation were recognized and shared equal rights of inheritance: legitimate, illegitimate, adopted and children born by proxy marriage (*xwedodah*). [476] In cases where a father died intestate, the eldest son was obligated to assume guardianship of the family, trusteeship of the family's sacred fire and administration of the paternal estate when he reached the age of maturity. [477] The father was considered guardian and owner of his children, who were obligated to obey him. The Pahlavi *Rivāyats* indicate that if a

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[472] Pahlavi *Rivāyats*, loc. cit., ch. 39 b2, p. 68.

[473] Payne, R. E. (2015), *A State of Mixture: Christians, Zoroastrians, and Iranian Political Culture*. (Oakland: University of California Press), p. 67.

[474] Shaki, Mir-Hosseini and Wakin 1999.

[475] Ibid.

[476] Ibid.

[477] Dezhamkhooy 2012.

child failed in filial duties or disobeyed the father three times, punishment by death was permissible. [478] The *Mādayān* relates a further duty of proxy marriage upon the sister of a deceased brother if he had left no wife and children of his own or had been her partner or guardian. [479]

This section has demonstrated the patriarchal and patrilineal nature of the family in Persian-Sasanian society. The legal-historical evidence of the mutual duties and responsibilities of the family in Sasanian society reveals that the designation of father in Manichaean texts should be interpreted as a gendered social relation of power and authority over wife, children and household, with accompanying duties of protection and guardianship.

The following section will discuss the title of father in Manichaean sources in the context of the adoption of the emanationist model for the origin of the divine family. The adoption of the title father establishes the Manichaean divinity as a masculine-gendered figure of authority within the social nexus of the divine family and may be considered an expression of masculine power. Parallels with the Gnostic model of emanation, from which this derives, will be discussed. The Manichaean elaboration upon the emanationist model allows concordance with the patriarchal and patrilineal structure of the Persian-Sasanian family. This concordance is reinforced by the Manichaean Father's absorption of feminine-gendered imagery of pregnancy and birthing.

The metaphor of the aeons of the Father as sons establishes the Father as source of a large family. This is concordant with the construction of the Sasanian monarch as founder of a large dynasty. This mirroring between the Sasanian monarch and the Manichaean Father achieves the construction of the Manichaean Father as the divine and superior prototype for the Sasanian

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[478] Pahlavi *Rivāyats*, loc. cit., ch. 34 c5, p. 62. See discussion in: Shaki, M. "CHILDREN iii. Legal Rights of Children in the Sasanian Period." *Encyclopædia Iranica,* V/4, (1991), pp. 407-410.

[479] Ibid.

monarch. This is consistent with the Persian-Sasanian ideology of the relation between god and king.

7.ii. The Divine Family: Emanation and Patrilineality.

This section will discuss the attribution of the title of father to the primary masculine-gendered divinity of Manichaean sources. This title establishes him as a masculine-gendered figure of authority. Examples of the use of the title of father include the foundational letter *Ep. Fund.*, in which he is named "god the father" (*deus pater*) [480] and the "father of the blessed light" (*lucis… beatissimae pater*). [481] The Greek *Cologne Mani Codex* which, as discussed in the introduction, mixes historical, biographical and hagiographical information in the style of a "life" of Mani, designates him the "Father of truth" (τον πατρός τῆς άληθειας). [482] *Chapter* nine of the *Kephalaia* titles him "the father, the Lord of the totality" [483] and "the Father, the King of the Light." [484] The title of father establishes authority over other members of the divine family.

The primary and monadic essence of the Manichaean Father is expressed in Manichaean texts by references to the Father as the first, original or superior one of the gods. This is exemplified by the Coptic *Psalms of the Bema*, in which the Father is described as "the first of the Gods, the hidden one, whose light is revealed." [485] A Parthian translation of an Aramaic hymn attributed to

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[480] *Ep. fun*. fr. 2.5.15, loc. cit., p. 169.

[481] *Ep. fun*. fr. 3.1, loc. cit., p. 28. Translation in Gardner and Lieu 2004, p. 170.

[482] CMC, loc. cit., p. 53. See section 3.v.i, pp. 60-62.

[483] 1 Ke. 9.40.10, loc. cit., p. 45.

[484] 1 Ke. 5.18, ibid., p. 11.

[485] Psalm CCXIX, *Manichaean Psalm-book*, p. l.7-8. Also "The Original One" in Psalm CCXX, ibid., p. l.7.

Mani entitled *Praise of the Great Ones* (M 40 R) venerates the Manichaean Father as "the Living One and the First One, the Original One. The Superior One, the Ruler of Light, the Zealous One among the holy beings and the Strong One." [486] The primary and unitary nature of the Manichaean Father mirrors the Neo-platonic model of the monadic divinity in Gnostic mythology. This is exemplified by *Ap. John*, which describes the monad as follows:

> The unit (monad) since it is a unitary principle of rule, has nothing that presides over it. […] god and parent of the entirety […] presides [over] incorruptibility, existing [in] uncontaminated light, toward which no vision can gaze. This [is] the invisible spirit…[487]

The successive members of the divine family are produced from the Manichaean Father through the process of emanation. [488] In *Ep. Fund.*, the Latin noun *evocare* (to call forth, to summon) is used to express the process of emanation. [489] As observed by Iain Gardner, the Greek *Prayer of the Emanations,* which survives from the fourth-century Manichaean community at Kellis, designates the emanations with the Greek term *προβολαί*. (Greek root: *προβάλλω*: thrust forward, put forth (as of branches), produce). [490] This term underlines the self-origin of the emanations and the autonomy of the act of emanation. A citation in Augustine's *Contra Felicem*, suggested by Iain

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[486] *Praise of the Great Ones* (M40 R) in Klimkeit 1993, p.30.

[487] *Ap. John* 26.28 in Layton 1987, p.29.

[488] Psalm CCLXIII, *Manichaean Psalm-book*, p. 50.l; Psalm CCXLVIII, ibid., p.57.31; Psalm to the Trinity III, ibid., p.115.7.

[489] Stein 2002, p. 34.

[490] Strong 2007, p. 1663, concordance No. G4261. *Prayer of the Emanations* (*T. Kell. 22*) in Gardner 2007, pp. 111-128. See also Gardner, I. "Manichaean Ritual Practice at Ancient Kellis: A New Understanding of the Meaning and Function of the so-called 'Prayer of the Emanations.'" In van den Berg et al. 2011, pp. 245-262.

Gardner and Samuel Lieu to be from Mani's *Treasure of Life,* describes the Manichaean Father as co-substantial with his emanations, which are described here as his powers:

> Know that our blessed father is identical with these powers of his, which for a necessary purpose he transforms into the undefiled likeness of boys and virgins. He uses these as his proper instruments, and by them accomplishes his will. [491]

The origin of the emanations from the monadic unit of the Manichaean Father is described in the Middle Persian *Hymn on the Realm of Light*: "…Those worlds … (and) messengers that have come into being from Him, all with souls in one accord bring [praise] to that bright form and wonderful epiphany…" [492] In Manichaean literature, the emanations are also hypostasised as a number of gods. This leads to a perhaps disingenuous accusation of polytheism from Augustine of Hippo in *Contra Faustum*. [493] This text was written by Augustine from Roman North Africa in his response to the book of the Manichaean bishop, Faustus of Milevis:

> Besides, there are countless principalities, and hosts of gods, and troops of angels, which you say were not created by God, but produced from His substance. You are thus convicted of worshipping gods without number; for you cannot bear the sound doctrine which teaches that there is one Son of one God, and one Spirit of both. [494]

The first emanation from the Manichaean Father is the Mother of Life. *Chapter* twenty-four of the *Kephalaia*, which describes her emanation from the Manichaean Father, elucidates upon the Manichaean model of emanation:

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[491] Augustine of Hippo, *Contra Felicem* 2.5. In Gardner and Lieu 2004, p. 159.

[492] *Verses from a Hymn on the Realm of Light* (M5262) in Klimkeit 1993, p. 31.

[493] Augustine of Hippo, *Contra Faustum*, loc. cit., pp. 145-345.

[494] Ibid. XV.5., loc. cit., p. 215.

> Listen also to this, how I would teach you it. At the time when the Mother of Life
>
> was called from the Father of Greatness, / when she expelled herself and came down
>
> by her [o]wn [wish], / from the heights of the Father to the earth, [she would spend
>
> / thousands of] years and many ten thousands until she reached the earth. [495]

In this *chapter* of the *Kephalaia*, the process of emanation from the Manichaean Father includes a period of gestation within or coexistence with the Father which is suggestive of pregnancy. This is combined with imagery of expulsion and descent which evokes the process of birth. This feminine-gendered imagery establishes the Father as source of the Mother of Life.

The adoption of the doctrine of emanation permits the absorption of feminine-gendered imagery by the masculine-gendered Manichaean Father, who thus emerges as both mother and father to the Mother of Life. Deidre Good notes that feminine birthing imagery appears in Gnostic texts such as the *Tripartite Tractate*. [496] This feminine-gendered imagery may represent either the absorption of feminine traits into the masculine or a reconfiguration of fatherhood. [497] The establishment of the Manichaean Father as parent and origin of the Mother of Life establishes patrilineality for all successive emanations.

The emanation of the Manichaean Mother of Life mirrors the emanation of Ennoia (the Barbēlō) as first power and first thought of the Divine in *Ap. John*:

> And its thinking produced something, and the thinking was disclosed, standing
>
> [plainly] in its presence in the brilliance of its light. This is the first power, which

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[495] 1. Ke. 24.71.17-23, loc. cit., p. 73.

[496] Good, D. J. "Gender and Generation: Observations on Coptic Terminology, with Particular Attention to Valentinian Texts." In King 1988, pp. 23-40.

[497] Ibid.

exists prior to all (others), and which was shown forth out of its thinking, that is, the perfect forethought of the entirety… this is the power, the glory of the Barbēlō. [498]

Barbēlō is considered to be a hypostatisation of the tetragrammaton (YHWH), translatable as "in four is god." [499] In *Ap. John*, both masculine and feminine-gendered imagery describes Barbēlō, creating gender ambiguity and suggesting androgyny. Barbēlō is titled: "the womb of everything… the Mother-Father, the first man (Anthropos), the holy Spirit, the thrice-male, the thrice-powerful, the thrice-named androgynous one." [500] Feminine imagery of birthing is also used for Barbēlō, who "gives birth" to a divine spark.

As will be discussed in chapter five of this dissertation, the gender of the Manichaean Mother of Life is unambiguously feminine. Her emanation is fulfilled in order that she herself may emanate the Primal Man, thus producing a divine triad of Father, Mother and Son. Timothy Pettipiece suggests that this reflects an original triadic structure and that further emanations were originally divided between these three divinities. [501] Support for a triadic model may be found in *Lib. Schol.*, in which Theodore bar Khonai reports a triadic structure of emanation, in which the Father evokes the Mother of Life, who in turn evokes the First Man: "He says that the Father of Greatness evoked the Mother of Life, and the Mother of Life evoked the Primal Man, and Primal Man evoked his five sons, like a man who puts on armor for battle." [502] The triadic model provides a spiritual and asexual prototype for human generation. The Manichaean divine triad is consistent with the structure of emanation in Gnostic mythology exemplified by *Ap. John*.

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[498] *Ap. John* III.26-36, loc. cit., p. 31.

[499] See King, K. L. "Sophia and Christ in the Apocryphon of John." In King 1988, pp. 158-176.

[500] *Ap. John*, 5.6-10, loc. cit., p. 31.

[501] Pettipiece 2015.

[502] Theodore bar Khonai, *Lib. Schol.*, loc. cit., p. 147.

The Gnostic and Manichaean protological models diverge in their attribution of the source of evil as a flaw amidst the hypostases. Whilst Gnostic mythology posits the occurrence of a divine error in the divine hierarchy, the cosmological dualism of Manichaeism evades the necessity of the occurrence of a flaw which derives ultimately from the divine source.

Mani's dualist and emanationist cosmology evades the mingling of the divine with sexual desire and reproduction. This separation is central to Manichaean doctrine, which claims sexual desire and activity as demonic in origin. [503] The emanationist model, which evades the sexual model of generation, is consistent with the Manichaean doctrine of the demonic origin of human sexuality, which will be discussed in section twenty-four of this dissertation. [504] The divine beings of the Kingdom of Light are thus uncontaminated by the corrupting sexual drives of the demons of darkness.

The metaphor of the Father as a father to the aeons is evident in the *Coptic Manichaean Psalm-book,* which describes him as "the Father of all the Aeons." [505] According to Charlotte Baynes, the only other appearance of a filial metaphor for aeons in contemporaneous literature occurs in the writings of Basilides in the first century CE. [506] It is plausible that the Manichean imagery of aeons as sons is borrowed from Basilides. However, the metaphor is consistent with the Manichaean identification of the Father of Greatness as source and originator of all divine beings and constitutes an example of the use of the familial metaphor for the divinities of the Kingdom of Light. When contextualised by the understanding of Persian-Sasanian family as a social hierarchical structure of power relations, the metaphor of the aeons as the sons of the Father

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[503] This will be discussed further in chapter 4.

[504] See section 24.iv, p. 293-302.

[505] Psalm CCLI, *Manichaean Psalm-book*, p. 60.30.

[506] Baynes 1933, p. 74.

reveals a relationship of power, which reinforces the characterisation of the Father as a figure of great authority and honour.

7.iii: Interim Conclusions: The Manichaean Father and the Divine Family.

This section has discussed the attribution of the title father to the Manichaean godhead in the context of the Persian-Sasanian construction of family. Historical evidence indicates that the family was a core structure of Persian-Sasanian society. Patriarchal and patrilineal in structure, Sasanian society shared features with Greek and Roman patriarchal cultures. Sasanian patriarchy, as observed by Maryam Dezhamkhooy, was shaped by the establishment of Zoroastrianism as the predominant faith of the Sasanian Empire. [507] The family consisted of a broad nexus of relationships of kinship, marriage, proxy marriage or adoption. Familial relations were bound by law, morality and social convention. [508]

Mani's adoption of the Gnostic model of emanation is exemplified by parallels between the Manichaean Mother of Life and the Gnostic figure Ennoia (the Barbēlō) as first power and first thought of the core divinity. [509] The doctrine of emanation allows the Manichaean Father to absorb both maternal and paternal roles in the generation of the divine family, establishing him as source of all members of the divine family. The establishment of the Manichaean Father as origin of the Mother of Life establishes patrilineality for the successive emanations.

The historical evidence of the mutual duties and responsibilities of the family in Sasanian society reveals that the designation of father in Manichaean texts should be interpreted as a gendered social relation of power and authority over wife, children and household, with

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[507] Dezhamkhooy 2012.

[508] Payne 2015, p. 67.

[509] *Ap. John*, loc. cit.

accompanying duties of protection and guardianship. The adoption of the title father establishes the Manichaean divinity as a masculine-gendered figure of authority within the social nexus of the divine family as an expression of masculine power. The Manichaean adoption of the emanationist model allows concordance with the patriarchal and patrilineal structure of the Persian-Sasanian family without the demonic associations of human reproduction. However, the divine triad of mother, father and son provides an immaterial prototype (*mēnōg*) of the human generation of the family (*gētīg*).

8: Conclusions: The Manichaean Father and King

This chapter has explored the gendered characterisation of the Manichaean Father within the heuristic framework of Raewyn Connell's concept of hegemonic masculinity. It is argued that the hegemonic model of masculinity contemporary to Mani was embodied in the Sasanian monarch, Shāpūr I, who represented idealised masculinity. Mani sought to establish a harmonious relationship with Shāpūr I in order to secure the protection of his faith and followers in the Sasanian Empire and his presence at the court of Shāpūr formed an important aspect of Mani's literary characterisation. The architecture, art and court ritual surrounding the Sasanian monarch presented a masculine figure imbued with power, authority and divine election (*xvarenah*) to rule. The masculine authority and power of the Sasanian monarch were signified by demonstrations of wealth and territorial abundance. The Sasanian model of masculinity as authoritative rulership is mirrored in the Manichaean characterisation of the Manichaean Father, whose wealth, entourage and abundant territory are reflected in imagery of the aeons as sons, dominion, jewels and garlands. This chapter has argued that the characterisation of the Manichaean Father mirrors the representation of the Sasanian monarch as a powerful and authoritative masculine-gendered figure with abundant territory, wealth and entourage. This is concordant with the historical evidence for the Sasanian construction of masculinity embodied in the monarch, Shāpūr I. However, the wealth

and power of the Manichaean Father exceeds that of the Sasanian monarch. The earthly wealth of the Sasanian monarch is hence merely an echo of the divine world. This is concordant with the Sasanian-Zoroastrian conceptual model of the twin worlds of *mēnōg* and *gētīg*. The parallels between the representations of the Manichaean Father and Sasanian king achieve the melding of Manichaean cosmology with the Sasanian-Zoroastrian ideology of the king as earthly counterpart of the Divine.

The spatial separation of the Kingdom of Light from the Kingdom of Darkness by a wall mirrors the architecture of the Sasanian court. Furthermore, the veiling of the Manichaean divinity in Manichaean establishes concordance with the rituals of visibility and invisibility surrounding the Sasanian monarch. The detachment of the Manichaean Father from the conflict with the Kingdom of Darkness provides an alternative model of masculinity for the Manichaean elect, of whom ascetic detachment from worldly concerns was required to prepare the body for the task of the purification of light. Raewyn Connell's model of masculinities allows for the development of such alternative masculinities within minority social groups.

The Sasanian hegemonic construction of masculinity focused on the king as embodiment of powerful and authoritative rulership. The nature of the Manichaean Father's exercise of power is indicated by the four epithets of divinity, power, light and truth and the five limbs of mind, thought, insight, counsel and consideration. These reveal the manner in which the Manichaean Father exercises his authority and hence represent the ideal of masculine authority.

Manichaean sources further indicate that the Father's rulership prioritises the protection of subjects and kingdom over the desires of the self. The Manichaean Father exemplifies idealised masculine rulership, which prioritises the welfare and protection of subjects and kingdom over the self.

The second part of this chapter has considered the attribution of the title of father to the Manichaean divinity in the context of historical evidence of the Sasanian construction of the

family. Historical evidence reveals the patriarchal and patrilineal structure of the Sasanian family. The title of father thus signals a relation of power and authority over members of the household and reciprocal duties of protection and honour. Mani's adoption and adaptation of the Gnostic model of emanation reveals a strongly patrilineal system which is concordant with the Sasanian family structure. The appearance of feminine-gendered birthing imagery in descriptions of the process of emanation from the Father reinforces the patrilineal structure of the divine family. The masculine-gendered title of father signals masculinity as power and authority over his family.

In conclusion, the attribution of the titles of father and king to the Manichaean divinity reflect gendered power relations of authority over others within the social structure of family and kingdom. Mani skilfully adopts and adapts Gnostic and Sasanian-Zoroastrian models to achieve concordance with the contemporaneous social constructions of family and kingdom. These social systems are patriarchal and patrilineal in structure in harmony with the prevailing systems in Sasanian-Zoroastrian culture and society. The Manichaean father and king thus represents idealised masculinity as power and rulership over other males and females within structured and well-defined social systems. The following chapter will consider the characterisation of the chief ruler of the Kingdom of Darkness in Manichaean cosmological narrative. His characterisation reveals a portrait of the abuse of masculine authority which polarises the structured and considered nature of the rule of the Manichaean Father.

Chapter Two: The Manichaean Chief Archon

9: Introduction: The Rule of Power

This chapter will explore the characterisation of the masculine-gendered ruler (henceforward the chief archon) of the Kingdom of Darkness in Late Antique Manichaean cosmological mythology. The key primary Manichaean texts concerning the chief archon attributed to Mani are *Ep. fund.* and the *Šābuhragān*. [510] However, the most detailed description of the chief archon may be found in the didactic *Kephalaia*, believed to have been written by the first generation of Mani's inner circle of disciples after his death. [511] The significance and influence of the differing contexts, genres and intended audiences of these texts will be discussed in relation to the varied nuances in the characterisation of the chief archon.

This chapter will consist of a detailed analysis of the characterisations of the chief archon as representation of masculine-gendered power in the *Ep. Fund.*, the *Šābuhragān* and the *Kephalaia*. It will be argued that the *Ep. Fund.* portrays the chief archon as a military leader who seeks to invade alien territory, motivated by lust for power and domination. Descriptions of savagery and cannibalism reveal a portrait of the chief archon as an uncivilised, foreign aggressor. The analysis of the *Šābuhragān* will argue that the portrayal of the chief archon as masculine-gendered evil in this text should be interpreted in the context of its dedication to Shāpūr I and Mani's need to illicit his protection. The *Šābuhragān* entwines Manichaean doctrine with Zoroastrian ideology through the identification of the chief archon with the Zoroastrian evil spirit Ahramen. The chief archon in

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[510] All citations of *Ep. fund* in this study are from Stein, M. (2002), (trans./ed.), *Manichaica Latina*, vol. 2: *Manichaei epistula fundamenti* (Papyrologica Coloniensia 27/2). (Paderborn: Schöningh Ferdinand Gmbh). English translation from Gardner and Lieu 2004, pp.168-172.

[511] Pettipiece 2009. See also: idem. "Coptic Answers to Manichaean Questions: The Erotapokritic Nature of the Kephalaia." In Bussières, M-P. (2013) (ed.), *La Littérature des Questions et Réponses dans l'antiquité Profane et Chrétienne: De l'enseignement à l'exégèse*. (Turnhout: Brepols), pp. 51-61.

this text is thus identifiable as external threat to divinely ordained rule. Mani argues for the protection of the Manichaean community by fusing the pericope of *Matthew* 25.31-46 with the Zoroastrian ethic of care towards the pious needy. The followers of Ahramen are characterised as greedy, materialistic and tyrannous toward the religious, which results in their eternal punishment. Tyranny in this text is reflected in inequality in social relations between the religious and their persecutors.

The exploration of the characterisation of the chief archon in the *Kephalaia* reveals a shift from his characterisation as a territorial aggressor to a portrait of a tyrannous ruler over the five realms of darkness. The text reveals a polemic against masculinity as the abuse of power through oppressive rulership. This shift in characterisation reflects the change of circumstances of the Manichaean community following the rejection and death of Mani during the reign of King Bahrām I. The persecution experienced by the Manichaeans redefines and sharpens the community's characterisation of the chief archon, revealing an identification of masculine-gendered evil as tyrannical rule.

9.i.i: Invasion

This section will explore the theme of invasion in Mani's *Ep. Fund*. The chief archon rules over five chaotic lands. The characterisation of the inhabitants of the Kingdom of Darkness reveals a trope of the foreigner as uncivilised and unruly. Titles and language employed for the chief archon introduce a military aspect to his characterisation. Motivated by greed and power, the chief archon seeks to possess the Kingdom of Light and deceitfully persuades his people to collaborate with him.

The first cosmological reference in *Ep. Fund*. describes the delights and beauty of the spiritual Kingdom of Light. This is contrasted with a polluted land which is geographically placed below and to one side of the illustrious Kingdom of Light (*Iuxta unam vero partem ac latus illustris*

illius). [512] This dark land is both deep and of immense size (*tenabrum terra profunda et immense magnitudine*). [513] The Kingdom of Darkness is portrayed as a land of perpetual shadows and darkness, beset by violent winds, swirling waters, fire, smoke and gloom. The kingdom is structured into five lands, each of which has a ruler. These five realms are the kingdoms of fire, smoke, water, darkness (gloom) and winds. *Ep. Fund.* identifies the ruler of the Kingdom of Smoke as absolute leader of the five realms of darkness. This joint leadership of realm and overall territory mirrors the structure of Sasanian rulership, which commonly titled a regent as both local and global leader. *Ep. Fund.* refers to the chief ruler of this land as both *princeps* and *dux*. [514] Whilst both nouns denote authority and leadership, an implicit military interpretation may also be inferred. The term *dux* may be translated as general or commander of an army, although *princeps* may also be used as a military term. Furthermore, the text tells that the chief archon has surrounded himself with innumerable *principes*, (*princeps omnium et dux habens circa se innumerabiles principes*) which also may refer to specific troops and so may also be interpreted as having a military reference. [515] This military terminology is arguable a matter of translation from the original Syriac. However, a militaristic interpretation is supported by the appearance of military language in the Middle Persian *Mir. Man.* I and *Šābuhragān*, both of which contain the Middle Persian term *areštar* (captain) to describe the chief demons. [516] Furthermore, the narration of Manichaean creation mythology contained in the *Fihrist* of Al-Nadim uses the Arabic term *al-sindid* for the

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[512] *Ep. Fund.* 2.8.24-25, loc. cit., p. 24.

[513] Ibid.

[514] Ibid. E.g. fr. 2.8. l.29 and l.32, loc. cit., p. 26.

[515] Ibid. fr. 2.8, p. 26.

[516] MacKenzie 1979, pp. 513.212.

chief archon, which may be translated as "gallant commander" or "valiant captain." [517] The verbs applied to the chief archon in *Ep. Fund*. imply the exercise of authority with coercion: the chief archon commands (*impellare*) and summons (*evocare*). [518] The militaristic language and emphasis on the geographical proximity of the two kingdoms in *Ep. Fund*. sets the scene for a territorial challenge or dispute.

Spying the light emitted from the Kingdom of Light, the chief archon conspires with his subjects to seize the Kingdom of Light. By deception, the chief archon persuades his subjects to entrust to him the light they possess within them. He indicates the potency of the light, which moves the pole and trembles with considerable power (*concutit plurimas potestates*). [519] He offers the opportunity to escape from the kingdom of darkness and shared rulership (*per quam regnare poterimus*). [520] Dissatisfied with his own lands of perpetual shadow, the *princeps* seeks other and better lands to rule.

The characterisation of the chief archon's subjects is marked by language which defines them as uncivilised, bestial and savage; they are described as a *genera pestifera* (destructive, baleful, noxious, pernicious, pestilential) and *saeva* (savage). [521] They all descend from the same source, implying incestuous and indiscriminate sexual relationships, but there is no sense of family or inter-relatedness. Instead, relationships are described in terms of power relations. The uncivilised nature of the inhabitants is mirrored by the chaotic and unruly elements of the five realms. This characterisation reflects the prevailing trope of the foreign as uncivilised and unruly.

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[517] Reeves, J. C. "*Manichaica Aramaica?* Adam and the Magical Deliverance of Seth." *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 119/3, (Jul. - Sep. 1999), pp. 432-439, (p.433 and ft. 6).

[518] E.g. *Ep. Fund*. 6.5.15 loc. cit., p. 32 and 6.8.24, p. 34.

[519] Ibid 6.1.3, p. 32.

[520] Ibid. 6.2.5, p. 32.

[521] Ibid. 2.8.26, p. 24.

Central to this portrayal is a reference to the chief archon's cannibalism, which will now be explored in detail.

9.i.ii: Cannibalism

Having commanded the inhabitants of his five realms to copulate and reproduce, the chief archon accepts the tribute of their young and devours (*devorare*) them, acquiring the wickedness and cunning mentality possessed by them: (*Sed multo magis astutiae et pravi sensus ex fera genitorum mente*). [522] The chief archon then commands his spouse to unite with him, sowing the abundant evil (*abundantiam malorum*) he has acquired into her. [523] It is from this brew of cannibalism and copulation that Adam and Eve are generated by his spouse.

The chief archon's act of cannibalism should be considered in the context of the reception of cannibalism by a late antique audience. For this purpose, a brief analysis of historical and mythological treatments of cannibalism will follow. Firstly, Andrew McGowan's analysis of cannibalism in the *Histories* of Herodotus will be discussed. [524] This will be followed by an account of an act of cannibalism in Josephus' *The Jewish Wars* as explored by Benjamin Isaac. [525] Despite the vast geographical, temporal and cultural differences between these texts, parallels in subtext may be identified. Finally, anthropophagy in I *Enoch* and *G. Bundahišn* will be explored.

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[522] Ibid.6.8.23, p. 32.

[523] Ibid.6.8.25, p. 34.

[524] McGowan, A. "Eating People: Accusations of Cannibalism against Christians in the Second Century." *Journal of Early Christian Studies*, 2(4), (1994), pp. 413-442, (p. 426).

[525] Isaac, B. "The Ancient Mediterranean and the Pre-Christian Era." In Lindemann, A. S. and Levy, R. S. (2010), (eds.), *Antisemitism: A History*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press), pp. 34-46.

As discussed by Benjamin Isaac, cannibalism was a common *topos* in the representation of a foreign nation as an indication of sub-human or monstrous status. [526] Andrew McGowan observes that cannibalism is ascribed to those deemed to live far from the "civilized" world; thus behavioural liminality mirrors geographical liminality. [527] Despite geographical distance, the foreigner remains a potentially contaminating and dangerous threat in the imagination of a society which considers itself as civilized.

The *Histories* of Herodotus, composed c. 440 BCE, is written for a fifth-century BCE Greek audience and describes the origins and course of the Persian wars. [528] The political context of the text is thus Persia as a foreign military threat. Herodotus recounts several cases of anthropophagy amongst the Persians, which are distinguished by causation. These tales sit amidst fantastical descriptions of peoples with two heads, four-legs, or goats' feet. The first subgroup reports anthropophagy as a social custom. Amongst the people of the *Massagetae*, Herodotus claims anthropophagy is practiced with human sacrifice as a privileged religious funerary ritual in old age:

> Human life does not come to its natural close with this people; but when a man
> grows very old, all his kinsfolk collect together and offer him up in sacrifice;
> offering at the same time some cattle also. After the sacrifice they boil the flesh and
> feast on it; and those who thus end their days are reckoned the happiest. If a man

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[526] Ibid.

[527] McGowan 1994, p. 426.

[528] Rawlinson, G. (trans.) and Griffith, T. (intro.) (1996), Herodotus. *The Histories*. (Hertfordshire: Wordsworth Editions Ltd.).

dies of disease they do not eat him, but bury him in the ground, bewailing his ill

fortune that he did not come to be sacrificed. [529]

Herodotus also describes a group whom he calls the *Androphagi* (man-eaters), whose cannibalism

reflects the lawlessness and barbarity of their society:

The manners of the Androphagi are more savage than those of any other race. They

neither observe justice, nor are governed, by any laws. They are nomads, and their

dress is Scythian; but the language which they speak is peculiar to themselves.

Unlike any other nation in these parts, they are cannibals." [530]

Herodotus offers two further accounts of anthropophagy which fall into the category of an

exceptional circumstance caused by a dominating and zealous leader. A section of the *Histories*

describes a case of cannibalism enacted in revenge upon a disloyal subject by the tyrannical

Median King Astyages. [531] Following a dream that his daughter, Manda, would produce a son who

would overthrow him, Astyages orders his courtier Harpagus to expose her child at birth. The

reluctant Harpagus agrees but instead entrusts the child, Cyrus, to a shepherd and his wife who

have just experienced a stillbirth. Ten years later, Astyages discovers that Cyrus is alive and takes

his revenge upon Harpagus. Having killed Harpagus' son, Astyages feeds him to Harpagus at a

banquet. This example of anthropophagy may be classed as an example of tyrannous ruling.

In an account of the Persian Emperor Cambyses II's military campaign against Ethiopia,

Herodotus recounts that Cambyses' poor military planning resulted in cannibalism amongst his

troops. [532] Cambyses II, outraged by the failure of his spies to fool the Ethiopians, undertook an

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[529] Herodotus, *Histories* 1.216, loc. cit. p. 96.

[530] Ibid 4.106, p. 342.

[531] Ibid. 1.108-119, pp. 51-57.

[532] Ibid. 3.25- 26, pp. 235-236.

assault upon the Ethiopians with insufficient preparation. Deprived even of grass to eat in the desert, the troops drew lots, killed and ate one in ten of each other. Herodotus appears to attribute responsibility for this to Cambyses, whose irrationality and emotion caused his troops to commit an act alien to their nature. Herodotus narrates that Cambyses II abandoned his campaign, fearing that his troops would become cannibals. Both these cases of anthropophagy involve a leader of Persian origin, ruled by desire for regal or military power. This achieves the presentation of the Persian people and their rulers as alien to Greek mores.

Albert Harrill describes cannibalism as a "wartime topos of horror," which is commonly associated with factionalism. [533] He exemplifies this with a case of cannibalism described in the *Jewish Wars* of Josephus, composed c. 75 CE. [534] As a Jewish apologist and Roman sympathiser, Josephus relates this incident as demonstration of the suffering caused by resistance to Roman rule during the siege of Jerusalem in 70 CE. It is a sinister tale of starvation, maternal desperation and madness, which sits well with Albert Harrill's identification of cannibalism as a metaphor for factionalism. [535] Josephus explains that during the siege of Jerusalem, the Jewish people inside the city walls are starving. A Jewish mother, Mary of Bethezuba, has had all food stolen by guards. Hungry and despairing, she kills, roasts and eats half of her baby son. In this extract Mary speaks to her son before killing him:

> "Poor little mite!" she cried. "In war, famine and civil strife, why should I keep you
>
> alive? With the Romans there is only slavery, even if we are alive when they come;
>
> but famine is forestalling slavery, and the partisans are crueller than either. Come,

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[533] Harrill, J. A. (2008), "Cannibalistic Language in the Fourth Gospel and Greco-Roman Polemics of Factionalism (John 6: 52-66)." *Journal of Biblical Literature,* 127(1), pp. 133-158.

[534] Flavius Josephus, *The Jewish War*, trans. Williamson, G. A., Smallwood, E.M. (ed.) (1981), (London; New York: Victoria; Ontario; Auckland: Penguin Books Ltd).

[535] Harrill 2008, p. 136.

you must be food for me, to the partisans an avenging spirit, and to the world a tale,

the only thing left to fill up the measure of Jewish misery." As she spoke, she killed

her son, then roasted him and ate one half, concealing and saving up the rest. [536]

Josephus attributes responsibility for the hopeless situation of the Jews to the rebels' refusal to

submit to Roman power; Mary's child is the sacrifice paid. [537]

A creditable source for Mani's use of the *topos* of cannibalism in *Ep. Fund.* may be the

Jewish apocalypse, I *Enoch*. [538] Chapters 6-36 of I *Enoch* recount the descent to earth of a group

of angels, whose sexual desire for human women results in the generation of greedy and

destructive giants. In this text the insatiable greed of the giants is a reflection of the profane *mixis*

of the fallen angels and human women. When their greed cannot be sated, the giants turn against

humans, devouring them and each other:

> And they became pregnant, and they bare great giants, whose height was three
>
> thousand ells: Who consumed all the acquisitions of men. And when men could no
>
> longer sustain them, the giants turned against them and devoured mankind. And
>
> they began to sin against birds, and beasts, and reptiles, and fish, and to devour one
>
> another's flesh, and drink the blood. [539]

As discussed in the introduction of this thesis, Mani's familiarity with the *Book of Giants* tradition

has been confirmed by the finding of a Sogdian *Book of Giants,* the original of which was written

by Mani, which adapts the narrative to Manichaean cosmology. [540] Furthermore, the Middle

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[536] Flavius Josephus, *The Jewish War* IV.207, loc. cit., pp. 353-354.

[537] Harrill 2008.

[538] This text has been discussed in detail in the introduction of this thesis. See section 3.i.i, p. 30-34.

[539] I *Enoch*, loc. cit., ch. VII.2-5, p. 35.

[540] See section 3.i.i, p. 30-34.

Persian collection of texts *Mir. Man* I. ascribed to Mani reveals a rewriting of the fallen angels of I *Enoch* as demons, whose monstrous abortions fall to earth and become huge as a result of eating fruit and trees from the human world. [541] This indicates a strong possibility that I *Enoch* was Mani's source for the cannibalism of the chief archon in *Ep. Fund*. In both texts the themes of insatiable greed and cannibalism define a genus that is lawless, savage and beyond control.

In conclusion, historical and mythological sources represent anthropophagy as, quoting Albert Harrill, "a traditional way of thinking about threats to society." [542] This threat may be intrinsic or external to society. [543] As external threat, the *topos* of cannibalism is employed to demonstrate the alien nature of a foreign civilisation and feeds fantasies of monstrosity. The portrayal of cannibalism within a society signifies a divided or factionalised civilisation. As identified by Kelly Watson, cannibalism is used to portray a society out of control. [544] The appearance of the cannibalism of the chief archon in *Ep. Fund*. contributes to Mani's portrayal of the Kingdom of Darkness as divided against itself, governed by insatiable greed and lust for power. The cannibalism of the chief archon marks him as outside civilised society and reinforces the asceticism of the Manichaean elect, whose vegetarian diet polarises his cannibalism.

The following section will explore parallels within *Ep. Fund*. with *Ap. John*, which constitutes the fullest surviving account of Gnostic creation mythology. [545] In *Ep. Fund*. the chief

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[541] This will be discussed in detail in section 24.iv, pp. 296-306.

[542] Harrill 2008, p. 136.

[543] Ibid.

[544] Watson, K. L. (2015), *Insatiable Appetites: Imperial Encounters with Cannibals in the North Atlantic World* (Early American Places). (New York; London: New York University Press).

[545] *Ap. John*, loc. cit.

archon's words and actions transmute and subvert the creation narrative of *Genesis*, identifying him as a monstrous demiurgal figure in the style of Gnostic creation narrative.

9.i.iii: The Gnostic Demiurge

This section will explore key elements in *Ep. Fund*. which reveal a subversion of the text of *Genesis* which mirrors Gnostic creation mythology. As discussed above, the stated focus of *Ep. Fund*. is the origin of the first man, Adam. The description of the tumultuous Kingdom of darkness discussed above recalls the chaos and darkness described in *Genesis* 1:2 prior to the creation of the earth. The chief archon's desire for the light emanating from the Kingdom of Light may be interpreted as a subversion of the divine command of *Genesis* 1.3 "Let there be light," reattributing the words to the chief archon. The bizarre commandment of the chief archon to his subjects to copulate may be interpreted as a dark rendition of *Genesis* 9:7: "As for you, be fruitful and multiply," which is transformed into a coercive order. Furthermore, *Ep. Fund*. describes the chief archon's intention to create a form from the image seen from the Kingdom of Light. He promises his subjects: "With it I shall make an image of that great one that has appeared in glory." [546] This may be construed as an interpretation of *Genesis* 1:26: "Let us make man in our image." The chief archon can be identified with the arrogant and ignorant demiurge of Gnostic mythology, who seeks to rule for the satisfaction of his own desires. John Reeves perceives a developmental progression from the myth of the fallen angels in I *Enoch* through Gnostic mythology to its ultimate and strongest expression in a dualist form in Manichaean mythology. [547] Reeves argues that the secondary Gnostic form of the myth replaces the fallen angels with the demiurgal figure of Ialdeboath,

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[546] *Ep. Fund*., fr. 9. Translation in Gardner and Lieu 2004, p. 170.

[547] Reeves 1996.

offspring of the flawed wisdom-figure Sophia. [548] The demiurgal characterisation of the chief archon of Manichaean cosmological mythology is the tertiary and final version of the myth. [549] The darker demiurgal portrait in Mani's mythology reflects his dualist cosmology, in which evil is essentially and originally distinct from the divine hierarchy, as opposed to an aberration from within. John Reeves' argument is supported by the narrative similarities between the process of the invasion of the Kingdom of Light by the powers of darkness as described in *Ep. Fund.* and the discussion of the angels in I *Enoch*:

> And Semjaza, who was their leader, said unto them: "I fear ye will not indeed agree to this deed, and I alone shall have to pay the penalty of a great sin." And they all answered him and said "let us all swear an oath, and all bind ourselves by mutual imprecation not to abandon this plan but to do this thing." Then sware they all together and bound themselves by mutual imprecation upon it." [550]

This pericope should be compared to an extract from *Ep. Fund.*, in which the chief archon seeks to persuade his subjects to follow his plan:

> Then he spoke in his wanton deceit to those who were with him: "What do you make of that powerful light rising up (over there)? See, how it sets the heavens in motion and convulses most of the powers. It is better therefore that you give over to me whatever light you have in your power. With it I shall make an image of that great one that has appeared in glory. Through that image we shall be able to rule and we shall at last be freed of this sojourn in the darkness. [551]

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[548] *Ap. John.*, loc. cit.

[549] Reeves 1992.

[550] I *Enoch*, loc. cit., vi.3-4, pp. 34-35.

[551] *Ep. Fund.* fr. 9. Translation in Gardner and Lieu 2004, p. 170.

Both these pericopes identify the origin of sin as forbidden desire, signalling the beginning of the rule of chaos through the defiance of divine order. I *Enoch* depicts sexual desire as the harbinger of the pollution of the human race with bloodshed, war and magical enchantments. *Ep. Fund.* identifies the origin of sin as desire for dominion and power, catalysed by envy and desire for the divine light glimpsed from behind the borderlines. This reflects Mani's construction of greed and lust as the origins of sin upon earth and the markers of the beings of the realms of darkness.

9.iv: Interim Conclusions: The Chief Archon in *Epistula Fundamenti*.

In conclusion, Mani's characterisation of the chief archon of the Kingdom of Darkness in *Ep. Fund.* reveals a masculine-gendered military figure who seeks to invade and overpower another territory. Narrative descriptions of his repugnant cannibalistic and sexual acts mark him as aggressive, uncivilised and savage. The rejection of the behaviour of the "other" is a significant factor in the formation of group identity and cohesion, representing extreme behaviours to be avoided by the group. The espousal of a vegetarian regime and life of sexual continence of the Elect represent the antithesis of the bizarre and repugnant behaviours reported of the inhabitants of the kingdom of darkness. This characterisation combines with a Gnostic characterisation of him as a demiurgal figure whose creative acts are inspired by pervasive greed and desire. This is achieved by the subversion of the creation narrative of *Genesis*, which attributes the divine creative words and acts to the chief archon, mirroring the characterisation of the demiurgal figure Ialdeboath in *Ap. John*.

In *Ep. Fund.* Mani constructs a portrait of the origin of sin through the metaphor of the military aggressor. His characterisation is darker than the Gnostic Ialdeboath of *Ap. John*, whose origins remains from the divine wisdom-figure Sophia. In contrast, the chief archon of *Ep. Fund.* is borne of darkness and corporeality, an outsider and alien to the divine realm which he seeks to

invade and possess. The threat of evil thus lies beyond the divine; it remains close enough to invade but beyond the reach of salvation.

10: The Characterisation of the Chief Archon in Mani's writings

10.i: The Characterisation of the Chief Archon in the *Epistula Fundamenti*

Ep. Fund. is addressed by Mani to a certain Pattiq (Latin: Patticius), who is believed to have been Mār Addā's companion on his mission to the Roman Empire. [552] As discussed in the introduction of this dissertation, Augustine of Hippo reports that *Ep. Fund*. was considered by the Manichaean community to be a "foundational" text, containing an exposition of the Manichaean account of primordial events for the Manichaean mission to the Roman Empire led by Mār Addā. [553] *Ep. Fund*. commences with a Pauline-style greeting and blessing to Pattiq, who seeks direction as to the origin of the first man Adam.

This part of the chapter will be divided into three sections, each of which evaluate a dimension of the portrayal of the chief archon in *Ep. Fund*. The first section considers the theme of invasion in *Ep. Fund*., suggesting a reading of the chief ruler as an imperialistic military figure. The second section explores the reference to the chief archon's act of cannibalism in *Ep. Fund*. in the context of classical and contemporaneous historical accounts and mythology relating to anthropophagy. The third section will consider the influence of Gnostic mythology on the characterisation of the chief archon in *Ep. Fund.*

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[552] M2 I; M216c and M1750; So.13.941 and So.14.285. Cited by Klimkeit 1993, pp. 202-203.

[553] Scopello 2001, pp. 205-229. For discussion, see section 3.v.iv, pp. 63.

10.ii: The Characterisation of the Chief Archon in the _Šābuhragān_: The Destructive Spirit Ahramen

The surviving content of the _Šābuhragān_ is chiefly eschatological, consisting of a detailed account of the Great Fire which occurs at the time of the Restoration (Middle Persian: _prsggyrd_). In this text, Mani identifies the chief archon of the Kingdom of Darkness as Ahramen, the Zoroastrian evil or destructive spirit who pits himself against Ohrmazd, the Manichaean First Man. [554] The adoption of Zoroastrian nomenclature for the Manichaean pantheon reflects the cultural context of the text which is indicated by Mani's dedication of the text to Shāpūr I. This enables Mani to access and utilise the Sasanian ideology of the imperial enemy as ally of the evil spirit Ahramen. This ideology is embedded in the _Šābuhragān_, which seeks to present Manichaean followers as worthy of state protection and to align those who refuse support with Ahramen's evil-doers upon earth. It will be argued that this is achieved by fusing the Zoroastrian ethic of mercy and generosity to the worthy poor with the eschatological pericope of _Matthew_ 25.31-46.

Important Zoroastrian sources concerning the evil spirit Ahramen are _G. Bundahišn_ and _Zādspram_. This section will explore narratives surrounding Ahramen in _G. Bundahišn_ and _Zādspram_. According to _G. Bundahišn_, humanity is the creation of the benevolent deity Ohrmazd. However, the good creation of Ohrmazd is plagued by the evil assaults of the destructive spirit Ahramen. _G. Bundahišn_ portrays Ahramen as bent upon the destruction and corruption of humanity by leading humanity astray from the worship of Ohrmazd through false and deceptive thoughts, words and deeds:

> He does not think, nor speak, nor act for the welfare of the creatures of Ohrmazd; and his business is unmercifulness and the destruction of this welfare, so that the creatures which Ohrmazd shall increase he will destroy; and his eyesight does not

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[554] Eastburn, G. (2015), _The Esoteric Codex: Zoroastrianism_. (North Carolina: LULU Press), p. 2.

refrain from doing the creatures harm… and by their devotion to witchcraft he seduces mankind into affection for himself and dissatisfaction to Ohrmazd, so that they forsake the religion of Ohrmazd, and practice that of Ahramen. He casts this into the thoughts of men, that this religion is naught, and it is not necessary to be steadfast in it. [555]

Ahramen is accompanied by a host of demons, who blight humanity and the other good creations of Ohrmazd. Foremost amongst these is the demon *drwg* (Middle Persian: "the Lie") which represents the deception practised by Ahramen. *G. Bundahišn* explains that the demon *drwg* constitutes thought, deed or speech which misattributes the good creations of Ohrmazd to Ahramen. *G. Bundahišn* describes the entanglement of the first man and woman with *drwg* as follows:

And, afterwards, antagonism rushed into their minds, and their minds were thoroughly corrupted, and they exclaimed that the evil spirit created the water and earth, plants and animals, and the other things as aforesaid. That false speech was spoken through the will of the demons, and the evil spirit possessed himself of this first enjoyment from them; through that false speech they both became wicked, and their souls are in hell until the future existence. [556]

According to *Zādspram*, Ahramen shows a propensity to aggression and warfare from the womb onwards, whence he bursts forth in order to usurp his twin's rightful kingship:

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[555] *G. Bundahišn* 28.2-6, loc. cit., p. 73.

[556] Ibid.15.8-9, loc. cit., p. 38.

When Ahramen heard this, he ripped the womb open, emerged and advanced towards his father. Zurvan, seeing him, asked him: "Who art thou?" And he replied: "I am thy son, Ohrmazd." [557]

Ahramen's aggressive nature is predetermined by his origin from the religious doubt of his father, Zurvan. This moment of doubt breeds a creature of evil. *Zādspram* relates Zurvan's doubt:

"What use is this sacrifice that I am offering, and will I really have a son called Ohrmazd, or am I taking all this trouble in vain?" And no sooner had this thought occurred to him than both Ohrmazd and Ahriman were conceived – Ohrmazd because of the sacrifice he had offered, and Ahriman because of the doubt." [558]

The Zoroastrian concept of *drwg* is central to the *Šābuhragān*, which claims that at the time of the Restoration "[At that] time the Lie (?) will be ... in the world." [559] Deceit is practised by the demons upon humanity. However, the deceit propagated by Ahramen and his demons is to be revealed at the end of time: "them [and] all (the universe) it will become known that Āz [and] Ahriman and the demons and witches [and] demons of wrath, Mazan demons and arch-demons ..." [560]

The *Šābuhragān* describes the proliferation of the powers of *drwg* as false prophets deceive humanity into false religion, claiming: "'We are the agents of the gods. [You should go] in this path of ours.'" [561] This path involves following the false teachings of Ahramen and neglect of

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[557] Zaehner 2011, p. 208.

[558] Ibid., p. 207.

[559] *Šābuhragān,* Mackenzie 1980, p. 297.19-20.

[560] *Šābuhragān,* Mackenzie 1979, p. 513.210-212.

[561] Ibid., p. 505.10.

personal religious duties, which are listed as failure to enter the religious community or to perform ritual acts necessary for personal salvation.

In the *Šābuhragān* the concept of *drwg* is associated with lack of mercy and care for the religious. As "deceitful enemies of the religious," evil-doers have "distressed (them) and had no mercy on them." [562] The religious have been discredited, distressed, pursued, persecuted, and exiled. [563] Thus, *drwg* is fused with the pericope of Matthew 25.31-46.:

> You evil-doers were *materialistic and greedy, evil-doing and *acquisitive,
>
> and I complain about you, for I was hungry and thirsty and you did not give
>
> (me) food, and I was naked and you did not clothe me, and I was ill and you
>
> did not cure me, [and] I was a captive and an exile and you did not receive me
>
> in (your) house(s). [564]

The identification of *drwg* with failure to support the religious constitutes Mani's chief argumentation in support of the protection of his faith and followers. The text further compounds causing distress to the religious with sinful behaviour towards the gods. The god Xradevahr (Jesus the Splendour) tells the sinners: "You, (by) those (things) which the religious have *recounted - there(by) you have harmed me [and] I had reason to complain of [you]. And you are sinners, for you have been deceitful enemies of the religious, and you have distressed (them) and had no mercy on them. And [towards] the gods you are sinful and guilty." [565] This is repeated in the text and

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[562] Ibid., p. 509.126-129.

[563] Ibid., p. 519.342-343.

[564] Ibid., p. 509.101-111.

[565] *Šābuhragān,* Mackenzie 1979, p. 509.120-123.

constitutes a strong persuasive argument in favour of the support of the religious. [566] This is a clear adaptation of *Matthew* 25.31-46.

Mani's argument appeals to the strong ethic of care for the needy intrinsic to Zoroastrianism. This has roots in *Yasna* 29, *The Lament of Gaush Urva*, in which the soul of Gaush Urva, the primordial cow attacked by the forces of Ahrimen, pleads for care:

> To you, O Divine Powers, Gaush Urva cried out in anguish:
>
> "For whom have You brought me into being?
>
> Who shaped me?
>
> Wrath and Rapine, Aggression and Violence crush me.
>
> No one is my protector
>
> Except You, O Lord,
>
> So reveal to me the caring herdsman." [567]

Piloo Nanavutty observes that Gaush Urva represents the plight of all living creatures on the earth, including humanity. In the *Vendīdād,* the Zoroastrian duty of care to the poor and religious is cited as a righteous deed worthy of divine protection: "He shall have given sovereignty to Ohrmazd, [that is, he shall have made Ohrmazd lord and sovereign over his own person] who gives protection to the poor [nourishment; that is, who gives them help and justice]." [568] The duty to protect the

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[566] Ibid., p. 509 l.120.

[567] *Yasna* 29.1. In Nanavutty, P. (1999) (trans.), *The Gathas of Zarathustra*. (Ahmedabad: Grantha Corporation), p. 68.

[568] *Videvdad* (*Vendīdād*) 8.19.E. Cited by Moazami, M. (2014), *Wrestling with the Demons of the Pahlavi Widēwdād*: *Transcription, Translation and Commentary by Mahnaz Moazami*. (Leiden; Boston: Brill), p. 231.

needy also emerges in *Zādspram*, in which Zoroaster (Zardusht) is portrayed as demonstrating the essential elements of religious practice:

> He came to a group of people who were famed locally for great knowledge. And he questioned them: "What greatly advantages the soul?" And they said: "To feed the poor, to give fodder to cattle, to carry wood to fire…and to worship many devs with the Word…" Then Zardusht fed the poor, and gave fodder to cattle, and carried wood to fire… But never did Zardusht worship any dev whatsoever with the Word. [569]

Zoroastrian religious law, as recorded in book six of the tenth-century encyclopaedic *Dēnkard*, stipulates a duty of support and charity for the worthy poor:

> The powerful means are not harmful to that man or to [other] people. In whatever comes about he is *driyosan jadag-gow* advocate for the poor and does good to them. He praises the poor and acts in such a manner that [his] wealth and riches are open to all men, and that they hold them as their own and are confident. [570]

Generosity toward the worthy poor was believed to drive away *niyāz*, the demon of want released upon humanity by Ahramen. [571] It is thought that this duty was overseen by a class of learned clergy (the *driyosan*). Given the late date of the redaction of the *Dēnkard*, the formalisation of this

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[569] *Zādspram* 13.16. 20(3). Cited by Boyce 1984, p. 75.

[570] *Dēnkard* VI.142. Cited by Nasr, S. N. (1999), *An Anthology of Philosophy in Persia*: Volume I. (Oxford: Oxford University Press), p. 75.

[571] Shaki, M. and Algar, H. "DARVĪŠ." *Encyclopædia Iranica*, VII/1, (1994), pp. 72-76.

duty into law cannot be retrojected with any degree of certainty. However, the roots of this ethic are apparent in early Zoroastrian thought.

The *Šābuhragān* contains a key term that describes the characteristics of the followers of Ahramen. They are identified as *tncyy*, (Middle Persian root: *tn;* body). [572] This is translated by David MacKenzie as "materialistic," although he notes a further interpretation of "grieving for the body." [573] This suggests a preoccupation with the body and its needs and desires. This contrasts with the religious who are soul-loving: *rw'npry* (from *rw'n:* root; soul). [574] Those preoccupied with the body are *"zyg* and *"zg'm*; lustful and acquisitive (MP root: *''z* greed; lust). [575] They are also evil-doing (*mrdyhng'n*), tyrannous and oppressive (*st(m)[b](g)*). [576] David MacKenzie notes that the term *'st(m)[b](g)* is a compound form from an old word for "man-eater." [577] This root is interesting in light of the portrayal of the chief archon as cannibal in *Ep. Fund.* discussed earlier in this chapter. The assimilation of the term man-eater to the tyrannous reveals a possible interpretation of cannibalism as signifier of tyranny in the Sasanian imagination. Tyranny in the *Šābuhragān* is associated with social and religious dominance between members of different faiths, demonstrated by failure to give aid and to divert companionship.

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[572] Mackenzie 1979, pp. 525-526 ft. 103.

[573] Ibid., p. 526 ft. 103.

[574] Mackenzie 1980, p. 355.142.

[575] Ibid., p. 519.352.

[576] Ibid., p. 518.343.

[577] Ibid., p. 524 ft. 44.

10.iii: Interim Conclusions: The Characterisation of the Chief Archon in Mani's writings.

Mani's chief writings concerning the chief archon are *Ep. Fund.* and the *Šābuhragān*. In *Ep. Fund.*, the titles *dux* and *princeps* suggest a chief military figure. Military themes continue with the description of the chief archon's plans to invade the kingdom of Light, which are motivated by lust for territory and power. The characterisation of the chief archon thus reveals a construction of masculine-gendered evil as invasive lust for territorial dominance and power.

In *Ep. Fund.*, the description of the chief archon as a cannibal reflects the prevailing *topos* of the foreign as a threat to society and civilisation. This is reinforced by imagery and language that identifies the chief archon and his subjects as savage, cruel and uncivilised. Mani includes and subverts into this characterisation elements of the *Genesis* creation narrative in a Gnostic interpretative style. However, the demiurgal figure of the chief archon in *Ep. Fund.* is darker than the Gnostic figure Ialdeboath, who has divine origins.

In the *Šābuhragān*, Mani seeks to demonstrate uniformities between Manichaean and Zoroastrian doctrine. The chief archon thus assumes the name of the Zoroastrian evil spirit Ahramen. His characterisation mirrors the portrait of Ahramen in *G. Bundahišn* as a corrupting force, bent on the deception of humanity through the propagation of the demon *drwg* (the Lie). Throughout the *Šābuhragān*, the chief archon is associated with the Zoroastrian demons, greed and lust. The text of the *Šābuhragān* focuses upon the events of the Restoration (*prsggyrd*) and the final battle between Ahramen and Ohrmazd, when the deceit that has been practiced on humanity by Ahramen shall be revealed. This deceit encompasses leading astray from the worship of Ohrmazd and failure to show care to the needy religious. This accommodation to Zoroastrianism should be interpreted in the context of Mani's need to secure protection from Shāpūr I. It is evident that the "religious" is intended to refer to the Manichaean faithful. Mani's argumentation in support of his followers fuses the pericope of *Matthew* 25.31-46 with the Zoroastrian ethic of care for the pious poor and religious. This ethic has roots in early Zoroastrian philosophy and becomes

embedded in Zoroastrian law, as revealed by the tenth-century *Dēnkard*. A representation of tyranny as a socio-religious relation of dominance over the vulnerable is demonstrated by the ill-treatment of and refusal of support to the religious.

11: Development of the Characterisation of the Chief Archon in the Coptic *Kephalaia*

This section will address the characterisation of the chief archon in the Coptic *Kephalaia*, which contains the most detailed and developed account of him in Manichaean literature. As discussed above, the *Kephalaia* is a didactic text written by the first generation of Mani's close circle of disciples following his death. [578] It is difficult to ascertain to what degree the *Kephalaia* reflects Mani's ideology; whilst a level of loyalty to Mani's ideology may be assumed, the pentadisation of the material betrays a further level of redaction of Mani's mythology.

This section will explore the corporeality, form and sensory nature of the body of the chief archon. The tyrannical and deceitful nature of his rule over the subjects of his five realms of darkness will be discussed.

11.i: The body of the Chief Archon in the Coptic *Kephalaia*

In *Chapter* twenty-seven of the *Kephalaia*, the corporeality of the chief archon is central to his characterisation. This section will explore the possible implications of this emphasis and consider related material from Zoroastrian and Judaeo-Christian sources. *Chapter* twenty-seven recounts that the body of the chief archon is monstrous in appearance, being a composite of different animal parts.

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[578] See section 3.v.v, pp. 66-67.

Cons[id]er the ruler, the leader of all the powers / [of dark]ness. Now f[ive forms]

exist in his body, corresponding to / (the archetype) [of the five] creations that exist

in the five / [wo]rlds of darkness. Indeed, his head is lion-faced, wh[ich] came about

from [the] world of fire. His wings and his / [shoulders] are eagle-faced, after the

likeness of the children of the wind. / [His hands] and [h]is feet are daemons, after

the likeness / [of the children] of the [w]orld of smoke. His belly is [dragon]-faced,

/ [after the likeness of the] world of darkness. His tail [is the] form of the fish, which

belongs to [the world of the ch]ildren of water. [579]

The chief archon is an amalgam of the five species which dwell in the five realms of darkness. Four of these species are identical with the taxonomy in an eschatological pericope of the *Šābuhragān*, which describes the destruction of all animals at the end of time: "and animals and trees and winged birds and water creatures and reptiles of the earth will *disappear from the world and go [to hell]." [580] This taxonomy follows the species classification of *Genesis* 1, which lists winged animals, swimming animals, crawling animals and four-footed animals as the creations of God. [581] The dragon-faced belly of the chief archon appears to refer to the reptile species. The pentadisation of Manichaean doctrine evident in the *Kephalaia*, as discussed by Timothy Pettipiece, requires a fifth category to be included and this would explain the inclusion of the "demon- and devil-faced." [582] The description of the multi-faceted body of the chief archon fits into the genre of a fantastical tale of an alien genus, as found in the *Histories* of Herodotus discussed above. [583]

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[579] 1 Ke. 27.77.28-78.1, loc. cit., p. 79.

[580] Mackenzie 1980, p. 511.172.

[581] *Genesis* 1:11-13.

[582] Pettipiece 2009.

[583] See section 9.i.ii, pp. 146-147.

According to *Chapter* six of the *Kephalaia*, the body of the chief archon is made of gold. [584] The rulers of the individual realms of the Kingdom of Darkness are made from lesser forms of metals. [585] Gold, as a precious metal, marks the chief archon as most significant amongst the rulers of the five realms. However, the Coptic *Manichaean Psalm-book* warns that the desire for gold is a mark of ungodly avarice: "They that are of God seek not after gold and the possessions of this world." [586] Gold is thus a symbol of materiality. In *Chapter* six of the *Kephalaia*, gold is represented as the most durable of metals. The solid and metallic body of the chief archon not only signifies his corporeality but, as the most durable form of matter, embodies power and indestructability.

> T[his] is the manner [of] the body of the ruler of Sm[oke]. He is h/[ar]der than every
> [ir]on, copper and steel and / [lea]d; as there is no cleaver at all, nor any iron
> implement, can […] him and cut him. For Matter, his fashioner, has formed him /
> […] strong and hard. [587]

In Zoroastrian literature, metal has a strong positive association with the exercise of sovereignty through weaponry. This is represented by the masculine-gendered divinity Šahrewar (Xšaθra), meaning "dominion to be chosen" or "choice/desirable/best dominion." [588] According to *G. Bundahišn*, Šahrewar chose metal from the sky as his creation. [589] Šahrewar's sovereignty over metal allows legitimate power to be exercised through weaponry. Šahrewar's function is to

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[584] 1 Ke. 6.33.2, loc. cit., p. 36.

[585] 1 Ke. 6.33.2-36, loc. cit., p. 37.

[586] Psalm CCXXV, *Manichaean Psalm-Book*, p. 16.13.

[587] 1 Ke. 6. 31. 13, loc. cit., p. 35.

[588] Malandra, W. W. (2013), "ŠAHREWAR." *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, online edition. Available at:
[http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/sahrewar] (Accessed 30 March 2017).

[589] Ibid.

intercede before Ohrmazd on behalf of the disenfranchised. [590] His demonic antagonist is Savar (Sāwul dēw), the leader of the demons. *G. Bundahišn* characters Savar as: "misgovernment, oppressive anarchy, and drunkenness." [591]

The identification of the chief archon with metal in *Chapter* six of the *Kephalaia* appears to subvert the positive Zoroastrian representation of metal as protector of the vulnerable and disenfranchised. This subversion of religious ideology is foreshadowed by the reconfiguration of the ancient Vedic war-gods attributed to Zoroaster, as discussed by Mary Boyce. [592] Mary Boyce suggests that Zoroaster's personal experience of the violence inflicted upon the peasant class by the warrior class, venerators of the war-gods, was formative upon this reconfiguration. [593] The Gathic *Yasnas* inform that the war-gods, having chosen the aggressive impulse *aesma*, persuade and lure humanity to warfare and conflict through evil intent and wrong-thinking: "The Daevas chose not rightly, because the deceiver came upon them as they consulted, so that they chose the worst purpose. Then together they betook themselves to wrath (*aesma*) through whom they afflicted the life of man." [594] In *Mir. Man* I, *aesma* (wrath) is adopted by Mani as an essential component of sin, forming a hamartiological triad with lust and greed, described by Werner Sundermann as the Manichaean "spirituality of the body" (Middle Persian *mēnōgīh ī tan*),

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[590] Ibid.

[591] *G. Bundahišn* 28.9, loc. cit., p.74.

[592] Boyce, M. (2001), *Zoroastrians: Their Religious Beliefs and Practices* (The Library of Religious Beliefs and Practices). (Oxford; New York: Routledge).

[593] Ibid.

[594] *Yasna* 30.6. In Boyce 2001, pp. 21-22.

incorporating wrath, greed and lust. [595] From the Middle Persian root *aesh*, (to rush forward) *aesma* is frequently translated as wrath, but is indicative of violent forward movement. [596] *Aesma* can thus be understood as the urge to violent action rather than purely wrath or anger.

The *Kephalaia* shares with I *Enoch* a dark association between metal and illegitimate violence. In 1 *Enoch*, the corrupting angel Azazel shares forbidden heavenly knowledge of antimony with humans, leading to the formation of weapons:

> And Azazel taught men to make swords, and knives, and shields, and breastplates,
> and made known to them the metals [of the earth] and the art of working with them,
> and bracelets, and ornaments, and the use of antimony… [597]

The humans employ this knowledge to forge weapons with which they inflict violence upon one another:

> And then Michael, Uriel, Raphael, and Gabriel looked down from heaven and
> saw much blood being shed upon the earth, and all lawlessness being wrought
> upon the earth… "Thou seest what Azazel hath done, who hath taught all
> unrighteousness on Earth and revealed the eternal secrets which were
> (preserved) in heaven, which men were striving to learn." [598]

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[595] Sundermann, W. (2009), "MANICHEISM I. GENERAL SURVEY." *Encyclopædia Iranica*, online edition. Available at: [http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/manicheism-1-general-survey#pt1] (Accessed on 25 June 2015).

[596] Asmussen, J. P. "AĒŠMA." *Encyclopædia Iranica*, I/5, (1983), pp. 479-480.

[597] I *Enoch* VII.1, loc. cit., p.35.

[598] Ibid. IX 1-6, p.36.

The alignment of metal with bloodshed and warfare signifies a characterisation of the chief archon as bellicose and aggressive. His aggression commences with his plan to invade the Kingdom of Light and ends with his eventual defeat in the final battle following the Restoration. The chief archon may be interpreted as the personification of the hamartiological concept *aesma*, the impulse to aggression.

4.ii: Foul to the Senses

Chapter six of the *Kephalaia* portrays the chief archon as offensive to each of the five human senses. He is dark and repulsive to the eyes; he smells offensive to the nose; he burns hot to the touch and his taste is as bitter as his soul:

> Now, [th]ere are five other properties in him. The first is his [dark]ness. The second
>
> is his putridity. The third is h[i]s ugliness. The fourth is his bitterness, his own soul.
>
> / The fifth is his burning, which burns like an / iron as if poured out from fire. / [599]

Likewise, the sounds which he emits are powerful and elemental, inducing terror in his subjects:

> He terrifies by his cry, he is frightful. He frightens his powers with his [s]ound;
>
> bec[a]/use when he speaks, being like thunder / in the clouds he resembles the […]
>
> of the rocks […] / When he cries out and […] and calls […] over his powers, they
>
> shall tremble and to[tter a]nd fall underf[oot] [600]

The foul odour of the chief archon may be traced to mythology surrounding the Zoroastrian evil spirit Ahramen, frequently referred to as *Gan(n)āk Mēnōg*, "the Stinking Spirit." [601] Jacques Duchesne-Guillemin explains that foul smell is emphasised in Zoroastrian mythology because of

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[599] 1 Ke. 6. 31.11-13, loc. cit., p. 35.

[600] 1 Ke. 6.32.19-25, loc. cit., p. 36.

[601] Duchesne-Guillemin, J. "AHRIMAN." *Encyclopædia Iranica*, I/6-7, (1984), pp. 670-673.

its associations with the feared contaminants of Zoroastrian doctrine, such as death, illness, filth, and foul food. [602] Ahramen represents the antithesis of Ohrmazd, who, according to *Zādspram*, is radiant and sweet-smelling. [603] In *Zādspram*, this sensory antithesis enables Zurvan to distinguish between them when Ahramen attempts to usurp his brother's rightful position as king. Upon encountering his son Ahramen, Zurvan questions his identity: "Zurvan said to him: "Who are you?" "I am your son Ohrmazd," said he. Zurvan said to him "My son is radiant and fragrant. You are dark and wicked."" [604] Furthermore, according to *Yasna* 31, the fate of the unrighteous after death is sensorily disturbing and deceptive, consisting of foul food and cries of woe; darkness gives a false impression of isolation:

Whoever clings to the Followers of Truth

His dwelling shall be the light.

But for you,

O worshippers of falsehood,

A long life of darkness, foul food and woeful wailings –

To such an existence

will your evil conscience

lead you through your deeds. [605]

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[602] Ibid.

[603] *Zādspram.* Cited by Zaehner 2011, p. 208.

[604] Ibid.

[605] *Yasna* 31.20. In Boyce 2001, p. 87.

According to Manichaean doctrine, the senses purvey significant information regarding the spiritual nature of a substance. Bright colour in fruit and vegetables signifies an abundance of light to be released by the Manichaean elect in their ritual meal. This belief is discussed by Augustine of Hippo in *De Moribus*, in which he lampoons the Manichaeans reliance on sense information. As discussed by Nicholas Baker-Brian, Augustine ridicules the concept of a divinity detectable by the senses. Knowing the vegetarian regime of the Manichaean elect, Augustine taunts and teases with the image of a succulent roast pig which, according to the senses, fulfils the criteria for a light-filled food:

> A young pig roasted – (for your ideas on this subject force us to discuss good and evil with you as if you were cooks and confectioners, instead of men of reading or literary taste) is bright in colour, and agreeable in smell, and pleasant in taste. Here is a perfect evidence of a presence of the divine substance. You are invited by this threefold testimony, and called on to purify this substance by your sanctity. Make the attack. Why do you hold back? [606]

However, Manichaean doctrine concerning sense perception is more complex than Augustine allows. The senses may deceive and lead astray through the offering of pleasure. The duality intrinsic to sense perception is reflected in the ritual "closing of the senses" practised by the Elect. Through the senses, demonic forces may gain entry and bring temptation to the human body, rendering it unfit for the purification of light. Likewise, the body of the chief archon is sensorily confusing and deceptive, possessing the ability to change his form as he desires:

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[606] Augustine of Hippo, *De Moribus* 2.16.41. In Schaff 2007, p. 80. For commentary on this argument, see Baker-Brian 2013.

For when it pleases him to move, he spreads all his limbs / out and walks. When it

comes to mind, he withdraws his limbs and takes them in, and is rolled to his

companions; and he falls to the ground like a grape and a /great iron ball! [607]

The chief archon uses his limbs to deceive, create illusion and induce fear. His corporeal

limbs contrast with the spiritual limbs of the Manichaean Father, as discussed above. [608]

11.ii: The Rule of Terror

Two types of tree emerge as metaphors in Manichaean cosmological texts. The "Tree of Life"

describes the Kingdom of Light and its divinities. The "Tree of Death" is employed as a metaphor

for the Kingdom of Darkness and its inhabitants. An example of the metaphor of the tree appears

in a citation from an unknown Manichaean text by Severus of Antioch, which Iain Gardner and

Samuel Lieu suggest may be Mani's work, the *Pragmateia*. [609] This expresses the division between

the chief archon and his people, who constantly fight against each other:

The tree of death is divided into many (trees). War and embitterment exist in them.

They are strangers to peace and are full of all wickedness and never have good

fruits. It (the tree of death) is divided against its fruits and its fruits too stand against

the tree. They are not at one with the one who produced them, but they all produce

the worm for the destruction of their place. [610]

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[607] 1 Ke. 6.32.15-20, loc. cit., p. 36.

[608] See section 6.v, p. 119-122.

[609] Severus of Antioch, *Homiliae Cathedrales* 223.162.6-11. In Gardner and Lieu 2004, p. 160.

[610] Severus of Antioch, *Homiliae Cathedrales* 223.162.6-13. In Gardner and Lieu 2004, p. 162.

The description of the Tree of Death as divided against itself reflects the division between the chief archon and his subjects. *Chapter* six of the *Kephalaia* describes the strategies that the archon employs to subdue his restless subjects. The chief archon further confuses and manipulates his subjects by the practice of the dark art of magic, through which he becomes invisible to his subjects. Thus he spies upon them and astounds them with his sudden appearance:

> The second, that he wounds / [an]d he kills by the word of his magic arts. His recitation and / hearing, all his foolish instruction, make magic / and invocations for him. When it pleases him, he can make an invocation [ov]er himself, and by his magic arts be hidden from his company/[ions]. Again when it pleases him, he can be manifested over his powers / and appear to them; so that these enchantments nowadays, which people utilise (?) […] this world, are the mysteries / of the King of Da[rkness]. [611]

Suspicion, mistrust and secretive plotting mark the leadership of the realms of darkness. Whilst his subjects plot to ensnare him in their various languages, they are unaware that he understands every word:

> The third, that the King of the realms of Darkness knows the [co]/nverse and language of his five worlds. He understands / everything he hears from their mouths, as they address one another; each one of them in his language. [Every] design they will consider against him, every snare they debate with one another to bring upon him, he knows them! He can also understand the gesturing they signal /between one another. [612]

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[611] 1 Ke. 6. 31.17-24, loc. cit., p. 35.

[612] 1 Ke. 6.32.1-8, loc. cit., p. 36.

The chief archon rules over his subjects through fear, deceit and tyranny for his own personal gain and satisfaction. This is a revisiting and adaptation of the theme of tyranny found in the *Šābuhragān*, which now relates to rulership. An identification with contemporaneous rulers is clearly made in *Chapter* six of the *Kephalaia*. This identification may be interpreted as a critique of the oppressive and persecutory practices of Sasanian rule:

> The spirit of the King, of the realms of Darkness, is this one who reigns / today in the principalities and authorities of the earth and the entire universe. I mean these who reign over the entire creation, / humiliating mankind with tyranny, according to their heart's desire. [613]

The chief archon rules the five realms of darkness through fear, deceit and manipulation. The terror imbued by his destructive presence is described in a Middle Persian Abdecarian hymn which dates between the seventh and eighth century. This hymn repeats the themes evident in the *Kephalaia* of sensory disgust; the demon is "hideous" and "ugly." Furthermore, the demon is depicted as subjugating the people of the realms of darkness through fire, destruction and fear. His subjects "rush upon him" in a demonstration of *aesma*. The hymn describes a kingdom divided against itself, ruled by fear and cruelty:

> The hideous demon… and the (ugly) form
>
> He scorches, he destroys, … and he terrifies…
>
> The bellicose Prince of Darkness has subjugated the five pits of death through… great terror and wrath.

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[613] 1 Ke. 6.33.5-9, loc. cit., p. 37.

He flies on wings as of air. He swims with fins as in water. And he crawls like a being in darkness.

He is armed on his four limbs, to repel the children of fire, rushing upon him like the beings of hell.

Poisonous springs gush forth from him, and he exhales [smoky fog]; (his) [claws] and teeth are [like] daggers… [614]

The *Kephalaia* paints a picture of a tyrannous ruler, suspicious and brutal. His subjects are divided against him and themselves. This reveals a shift from the characterisation of the chief archon in the writings of Mani as a territorial aggressor. In the *Kephalaia*, the chief archon's tyranny is directed towards his own subjects, upon whom he practices trickery and deceit. This adaptation reflects the change in socio-political circumstances of Manichaean community following Mani' death, as Kartīr and the Zoroastrian priesthood gathered power.

The chief archon's portrayal as an imperial aggressor in *Ep. Fund*. transmutes to reveal a tyrannical ruler who oppresses his subjects through fear, deceit and tyranny for the satisfaction of his own needs and desires. This represents a revisiting and adaptation of the theme of tyranny found in the *Šābuhragān*, which the *Kephalaia* explores in relation to the exercise of masculine authority. This shift of paradigm reflects the change in the experience of Sasanian rule following the loss of the protection and religious freedom experienced during the reign of Shāpūr I and the immense impact of persecution upon the Manichaean faith. A coded critique of Sasanian government may be found in *Chapter* six of the *Kephalaia*, which identifies the tyranny of the chief archon with prevailing rulers.

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[614] M507 Abdecarian Hymn, Klimkeit 1993, p. 36.

11.iii: Interim Conclusions: The Characterisation of the Chief Archon in the Coptic

Kephalaia

This section has explored the development of the characterisation of the chief archon in the Coptic *Kephalaia*, which focuses jointly upon the two themes of his corporeality and the nature of his rule over his subjects. A clear shift emerges from his characterisation in Mani's writing as greed-driven territorial aggressor to fearful and tyrannous ruler in the *Kephalaia*. In contrast to the spiritual limbs of the Manichaean Father, the limbs of the chief archon are corporeal, being composed of composite parts of the five species of the Kingdom of Darkness. His gold body marks his importance amongst the creatures of darkness, who are formed from lesser metals. His metal body suggests a connection with the Zoroastrian divinity Šahrewar (Xšaθra), symbolic of the exercise of sovereignty through weaponry. This suggests a subversion of Zoroastrian-Sasanian ideology and signals a characterisation of the chief archon as aggressive and bellicose. The rejection of weaponry implicit in his characterisation is shared with the mythology of I *Enoch*, in which forbidden knowledge is brought to earth by angels.

The *Kephalaia* describes the chief archon as sensorily confusing and offensive. This mirrors the characterisation of the repugnant evil spirit Ahrimen in Zurvan mythology. The Manichaean teaching that the senses purvey significant information regarding spirituality reveals the spiritual corruption of the chief archon. The nature of the chief archon's rule is marked by tyranny, coercion and control. He confuses and manipulates his restless subjects with his invisibility, through which he induces fear and spies. His rulership is characterised by suspicion and mistrust.

12: Final Conclusions

This chapter has explored the characterisation of the masculine-gendered chief archon of the Kingdom of Darkness in Manichaean mythology. In *Ep. Fund.*, the use of military titles reveals a

characterisation of the chief archon as a power-hungry military aggressor. Mani draws upon the prevailing *topos* of cannibalism which represents the foreign as savage and uncivilised. Contemporaneous historical narratives of anthropophagy reveal associations with political factionalism and division within society.

The characterisation of the chief archon in the *Šābuhragān* should be interpreted in the context of the text's dedication to Shāpūr I, from whom Mani sought protection for his followers. The text's adaptation to Zoroastrian doctrine is revealed by the adoption of the Zoroastrian pantheon. The chief archon is identified with the Zoroastrian evil spirit Ahramen, who seeks to lead astray and destroy humanity through *drwg*, the demon of deception and falsehood.

The surviving content of the *Šābuhragān* is chiefly eschatological and addresses the Restoration (*prsggyrd*) which is to occur before the final battle between Ohrmazd and Ahramen. The text describes the forthcoming judgement and condemnation of evil-doers on earth, who are portrayed as followers of Ahramen. These evil-doers have been overcome by greed and materialism, demonstrated through cruelty and neglect towards the religious. Mani's argumentation relies upon a fusion of the pericope of *Matthew* 25.31-46 with the Zoroastrian ethic of compassionate duty towards the pious needy and the religious. This ethic has roots in the early Zoroastrian *Gathas*. By the tenth century CE, it was formalised in religious law in the *Dēnkard*. The *Šābuhragān* thus reveals the followers of Ahramen to be those who persecute and torment the Manichaean community, predicting eternal condemnation for them. The chief archon in this text is merged with the Zoroastrian evil spirit Ahramen, whose followers practice greed and materialism. The appearance of the Middle-Persian term 'st(m)[b](g ("man-eater") as tyranny confirms a contemporaneous construct of anthropophagy as an expression of tyranny. In the *Šābuhragān*, tyranny is a social and religious relation of dominance over others which is expressed through failure to show support and compassion to the religious.

The Coptic *Kephalaia*, composed and redacted by Mani's followers in the wake of his death, focuses upon the nature of the internal leadership of the chief archon, emphasising the tyrannous and oppressive nature of his rule. His subjects secretly plot to overthrow him, but through deception, trickery and the dark arts, he succeeds in maintaining his dominance. The *Kephalaia* reflects the experience of a persecuted population under the domination of a controlling and oppressive ruler. The characterisation of the chief archon as *aesma* reflects the Manichaean hamartiological triad of lust, wrath and greed. This portrait of masculine evil identifies the motivation, expression and methods employed to gain and maintain dominance over others. Through the rule of the chief archon a portrait of the abuse of masculine authority emerges.

In both Mani's writing and subsequent texts, the characterisation of the chief archon focuses upon his role as ruler and invader. The shift in emphasis from external aggressor to tyrannous ruler should be interpreted in the context of the change in socio-political status of the Manichaean community following Mani's death and the commencement of rigorous persecution instigated by the increasingly powerful chief priest Kartīr. The Manichaean portrait of masculine-gendered evil embedded in the chief archon reveals a study of the nature of masculine power, its acquisition, usurpations and abuses.

Chapter Three: The Manichaean First Man: The Conundrum of the Defeated Warrior

13: Introduction: The Conundrum of the Defeated Warrior

In Manichaean cosmological mythology, the masculine-gendered divinity titled the "First Man" (or Primal Man) plays a critical role in the mythological drama. The Manichaean First Man is the first emanation of the Mother of Life according to the will of the Father of Greatness. His emanation is necessitated by a threat from the creatures of darkness, who conspire to invade the Kingdom of Light. The First Man, who himself emanates five sons, is dispatched to battle in the Kingdom of Darkness. This first battle results in a preliminary defeat; the First Man is captured and imprisoned in the abyss, where he languishes and laments his fate before his rescue is instigated by the Mother of Life. His five sons, relinquished into the jaws of the powers of darkness, are lost and mixed in the corporeal world. These lost divinities constitute the cosmic suffering "Living Soul," which remains entrapped and awaits release to its divine origins. The First Man's failed mission and consequent loss of his five sons thus form the core rationale of Manichaean doctrine and practice, which seek to secure the release and return of the "Living Soul" to its divine origins through the strict disciplinary and alimentary regimes of the Manichaean elect. [615]

Two paradoxical models of masculinity pervade the portrayal of the Manichaean First man. A characterisation as battle-ready warrior emerges in narrations of his preparations for departure to the abyss. This characterisation is congruent with the hegemonic martial construction of masculinity prevalent at the Sasanian court. [616] The Roman masculine-gendered concepts of

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[615] BeDuhn 2000, pp. 25-208.

[616] Mcdonnell, M., (2006), *Roman manliness: "Virtus" and the Roman Republic*. (New York: Cambridge university press). See also: Williams, C. A. (1999), *Roman Homosexuality: Ideologies of Masculinity in Classical*

virtus (manly excellence) and *imperium* (dominion over self and others) combined to build a construction of masculinity described by Daniel Boyarin as the masculinity of the phallus, which foregrounded penetration, domination and power over others as masculine attributes. [617] Myles McDonnell identifies *virtus*, which encompassed courage, strength and discipline, as a primarily martial concept. [618] Military metaphors of the honour and dignity of the *vita militaris* (military life) played a significant role in the ethic of manliness on an individual and a wider imperial and socio-political level. [619]

The martial characterisation of the First Man is compromised by his defeat and the loss of his five sons. Portrayals of his imprisonment in the abyss are permeated with helplessness, suffering and vulnerability. Furthermore, the *Kephalaia* and *Manichaean Psalm-book* both present conflicting accounts of his fate following his rescue from the realms of darkness. Some pericopes reintroduce his characterisation as battle-ready warrior with descriptions of celebratory reunions with the Father and Mother. Other texts describe his exile to the "New Aeon" (or "New Earth"), where he grieves for his lost sons.

This chapter will approach the paradox of the competing characterisations of the Manichaean First Man from the perspective of recent research in the field of gender studies. The characterisation of the First Man has not hitherto been explored within this framework. Raewyn Connell's model of hegemonic and subordinate masculinities will be employed as an heuristic tool for the interpretation of the competing masculinities in the characterisation of the

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Antiquity. (New York: Oxford: Oxford University Press), pp.132 -142. Kuefler, M. (2001). *The Many Eunuch*: *Masculinity, Gender Ambiguity, and Christian ideology in late antiquity*. (Chicago; London: University of Chicago), pp. 37-70.

[617] Boyarin 1997, p. 82.

[618] Mcdonnell 2006, p. 5.

[619] Ibid.

Manichaean First Man. This chapter will argue that the construction of the First Man as battle-ready warrior intentionally mirrors the hegemonic masculinity of the elite Sasanian court embodied in king and prince. The inclusion of subordinate masculinities in Connell's model of masculinities will be employed to interpret the opposing characterisation of the First Man as suffering victim.

The research of Talmudic scholars such as Ishay Rosen-Zvi, Michael Satlow and Daniel Boyarin concerning the development of Jewish masculinities will be used as historical contextualisation for the interpretation of the Manichaean material. Using Michel Foucault's model of Roman masculinity as dominance, power and penetration, Daniel Boyarin identifies transformations in masculinities throughout the Roman Empire during the second century CE as tactical and oppositional manoeuvres to the Roman model of masculinity as "activity and dominance." [620] Boyarin observes that this resistance includes the absorption into masculinities of feminine-gendered characteristics and experience such as penetrability, passivity and pain: [621]

> … new gender paradigms were forming throughout the empire and Jews and
>
> Christians were playing important roles in such formations. Both early rabbinic

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[620] Boyarin 1997. For femininity as penetrability, see Foucault, M. and Hurley, R. (trans.) (1998), *History of Sexuality*, vol. 2: *The Use of Pleasure.* (London: Penguin Books).

[621] For examples of pain as feminine traits in the Judaeo-Christian tradition, see *Genesis* 3:16; *Lamentations* 1:1-11 (Jerusalem as suffering widow); *Lamentations* 1:12-22 (Jerusalem as a lamenting daughter); *Isaiah* 13:8; *Jeremiah* 22:23; *Jeremiah* 4:31; *Micah* 4:10 (Zion as a woman in labour). For discussion of the feminisation of the rabbinical body, see Boyarin 1997, ch. 2 pp. 81-126. On femininity as passivity in western philosophy, see: Allen, P. (1997), *The Concept of Woman: The Aristotelian Revolution, 750 B.C. – A.D. 1250.* (Michigan; Cambridge: Eerdmans Publishing Co).

Jews and early Christians resisted the Roman imperial power through "gender bending." [622]

This chapter will argue that the First Man's shift in characterisation from valiant warrior to weeping victim represents an example of the emergence of a subordinate masculinity in response to the marginalisation and persecution of the Manichaean community following the death of Mani. His imprisonment and defeat are reframed as a prototype and exemplar of endurance in circumstances of oppression. The concept of endurance first emerges in the community letters of Mani in the context of Mani's experience of betrayal from within the community. In these letters, Mani offers his practice of long-suffering and endurance as exemplae for emulation in cases of community dissent. However, in later Manichaean literature such as the Coptic *Psalm-book*, endurance is lauded as a response to persecution from outside the community.

The Manichaean adoption of the Greek philosophical virtue of endurance as laudable masculine behaviour is consistent with Daniel Boyarin's identification of the emergence of masculinities which challenge the construction of masculinity as dominance and power amongst Jews and early Christians. [623] However, the Manichaean construction of endurance as a virtue has a distinctive Manichaean tone, described by Iain Gardner and Samuel Lieu as the "the most characteristic tone of the Manichaean ethic, its very summation of life lived in this world." [624]

This chapter will comprise three parts. Part one will explore martial imagery in the characterisation of the First Man in the context of the prevailing model of hegemonic masculinity at the Sasanian court, which foregrounded martial prowess and conquest as indicators of masculinity. The first section (14.i: The Warrior) will explore the martial imagery embedded in

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[622] Boyarin 1997, p. 6.

[623] Ibid.

[624] Gardner and Lieu 2004, p. 241.

Manichaean narrations of the First Man's preparation for his descent to the Kingdom of Darkness. The second part (14.ii: Sasanian Martial Masculinity) will survey historical evidence of the hegemonic martial masculinity of the Sasanian court. It will be argued that the characterisation of the Manichaean First Man as battle-ready warrior mirrors the aspirational hegemonic masculinity of the elite Sasanian court.

Part two of this chapter (15: Descent and Defeat) will explore the characterisation of the First Man as suffering victim and the loss of his five sons in his battle with the creatures of the Kingdom of Darkness. in the context of Gnostic mythology and the early Syriac hymnic traditions. The first section (15.i: Defilement and Exile) will explore divine figures in Gnostic and mythology who experience defilement or exile as a consequence of interaction with materiality. The second section (15.ii: Dressing and Undressing: The Hymn of the Pearl) will explore the metaphor of the clothing and divestment for the emanation and theft of the First Man's five sons in the context of the Syriac hymnic tradition, exemplified by the *Hymn of the Pearl*. It will be argued that the metaphor of divestment signifies a loss of identity and masculinity.

Part three of this chapter (16: Endurance and Masculinity) will explore the emergence of the Greek philosophical virtue of endurance (Coptic: ϩⲩⲡⲟⲡⲙⲟⲛⲏ) as a construction of masculinity in Manichaean literature. Section one (16.i: Endurance and Self-control in the *Aqedah* in Second Temple literature) will explore the restructuring of masculinities presaged by the reinscription of the characterisation of Isaac in haggadic representations of the *Aqedah* (the "binding" of Isaac by his father Abraham in *Genesis* 22). It will be argued that the characterisation of Isaac as willing participant in his impending sacrifice signals the formation of a subordinate masculinity as a consequence of oppression under Roman occupation. Section two (16.ii: Endurance in 4 *Maccabees*) will discuss the centrality of the Stoic concept of endurance in the hagiographical text of 4 *Macc.*, which extols endurance as a form of political resistance to persecution, symbolised by

the tyrannical Antiochus. This exemplifies the emergence of subordinate masculinities in marginalised groups as a form of political resistance. This text reveals "gender bending" in female and male characters, who assume opposite gendered characteristics.

After a brief introduction to the emergence of endurance as a masculine trait in Manichaean literature (16.iii: Endurance in Manichaean Literature), section 16.iv (Endurance in Mani's Letters) will explore the emergence of endurance as a prized masculine trait in the letters of Mani, who offers his own experience of betrayal from within the community to model endurance as a response to conflict within the Manichaean community. The following section will explore the subsequent adoption and development of endurance in Manichaean literature as an expression of masculinity by the Manichaean community. It will be argued that the applicability of endurance is extended to encompass the endurance of persecution from outside the community, following Mani's imprisonment and death. The First Man offers the prototypical paradigm of endurance, mirroring the state of the besieged Manichaean community. This reflects the emergence of the concept of endurance as a subordinate masculinity which parallels transformations in masculinities in early Jewish and Christian literature. The Manichaean construction of endurance, however, reveals a distinctive interpretation of the suffering of life in the body.

14.i: The Warrior

This section will explore the imagery of battle-ready warrior and hunter attached to the Manichaean First Man found primarily in the *Kephalaia* and the *Manichaean Psalm-book*. Martial imagery emerges primarily in accounts of the First Man's preparations to descend from the Kingdom of Light in order to battle with the creatures of Darkness, revealing a model of masculinity as martial strength and power. It will be argued that the warrior-hunter imagery attached to the First Man intentionally mirrors the hegemonic martial masculinity prevalent at

the Sasanian court. This section will be followed by an exposition of historical evidence of the hegemonic martial masculinity of the Sasanian court embodied in the Sasanian king and prince.

Emanated by the Mother of Life, the Manichaean First Man is dispatched to battle with the creatures of the Kingdom of Darkness who seek to invade the Kingdom of Light. [625] The key primary sources for the mythology surrounding the Manichaean First Man's descent are the Coptic *Manichaean Psalm-book* and the *Kephalaia*. *Chapter* fifty-eight of the *Kephalaia* ("Concerning the Five Wars that the Sons of Light waged with the Sons of Darkness) constructs his encounter with the powers of the Kingdom of Darkness as the first war:

> [The first w]ar is that of the First living [Man, which [he / waged against the] King
>
> of the realms of Darkness, an[d] all the rule[r]s that had come / [forth from] the
>
> five worlds of […] ... [626]

In parallel, the Manichaean First Man is characterised as the first warrior and first hunter. For example, *Chapter* five of the *Kephalaia* names the First Man as "the first hunter." [627] *Chapter* eleven of the *Kephalaia* describes him as "the beginning of / a]ll the trappers and hunters is the First Man." [628] The *Manichaean Psalm-book* names him "the first warrior… first hero" and "the great warrior, … our father, the first man." [629] This characterisation of the First Man mirrors the Zoroastrian conception of Zoroaster as the first warrior, which appears in the *Frawardīn Yašt* (*Yašt* 13). In this prayer, Zoroaster is worshipped as the prototypical warrior, priest and prophet:

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[625] 1 Ke. 9, loc. cit., pp. 42-47.

[626] 1 Ke. 58.5-10, loc. cit., p. 62.

[627] 1 Ke. 5.28.8, loc. cit., p. 32; also 5.28.34-35, p. 32 and 9.28.7-8, p. 43.

[628] 1 Ke. 11.43. 34-35, loc. cit., p. 49.

[629] *Manichaean Psalm-book*, p. 137.13-18.

We venerate the recompense (ashi) and the fravashi of just Zarathustra Spitima,

the first who thought what was good, the first who said what was good, the first

who did what was good; the first priest, the first warrior, the first herdsman; [630]

The Manichaean First Man may be construed as a primordial archetype of Zoroaster and thus offers a challenge to his title of first warrior. This is consistent with the patterning evident in the *Kephalaia*, which seeks to establish the events of primordial time as prototypes for human action.

Accounts in the *Manichaean Psalm-book* and the *Kephalaia* of the descent of the First Man to battle are redolent with martial references and imagery. This is exemplified by one of the *Psalms of Thomas* in the *Manichaean Psalm-book*, which portrays the First Man as a keen warrior who willingly leaps and races into the abyss:

The little one among the tall stepped in.

He took up arms. He armed his waist.

He leapt and raced into the abyss.

He leapt and got to their center to battle them. [631]

Chapter nine of the *Kephalaia* establishes divine approval and blessing for the First Man's military endeavours through the actions of the Mother of Life, who blesses and arms her son herself prior to his departure: "The first laying on of hands is the one that the Mother of Life bequeathed upon the head of the First Man. She armed him and made him mighty. She laid hands

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[630] *Yašt* 13 (*Frawardīn Yašt*) 13.87-89, cited by Boyce 1990, p. 71.

[631] Psalms of Thomas III, *Manichaean Psalm-book*, p. 204.24-28. For discussion of authorship of Psalms of Thomas, see: Forrester Church, F. and. Stroumsa, G. G. "Mani's Disciple Thomas and the Psalms of Thomas." *Vigiliae Christianae*, 34(1), (1980), pp. 47-55.

on him, and sent him to the battle…" [632] The actions of the Mother of Life provide the primordial archetype of the human act of blessing. Themes of maternal affection entwine with ceremonial language to establish divine approval:

> The first peace is the one that the gods and the [an]gels in the land / of light gave to the First Man; when he comes out against the enemy. The gods and the angels / were walking with him; escorting him, giving to him their peace and / power, and their blessing and fortification. This is the first / peace that the gods and the angels gave to the First / Man, as he comes forth from the aeon of light. [633]

The investment of the First Man with imagery of battle and weaponry creates a clearly martial figure. This is apparent in two Middle Persian doxological hymns in honour of the Dominions of Light, in which the First Man is assimilated to the Zurvan god Ohrmizd. The Middle Persian hymn M 798a extols him: "You, oh Lord, will I praise! You are the great one eager for battle, [of the same] nature in all battles, conqueror of foes and liberator of friends. [634] The second Middle Persian hymn (M738) describes the First Man as "this …. Mighty …. warlike one" who is "convulsed in battle." [635]

This martial characterisation is consistent with a hegemonic construction of masculinity as martial power and strength. A subtype of this characterisation may be found in the representation of the First Man as hunter, through references to the tools of hunting and fishing, such as nets, arrows, spears and snares. This is evident in *Chapter* eighteen of the *Kephalaia*, which teaches:

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[632] 1 Ke. 9.39.16-39.5, loc. cit., p. 44.

[633] Ibid. 9.38.14-19, loc. cit., p. 43.

[634] M 798a Rii-Vii, Klimkeit 1993, p. 80.

[635] M 738, Ibid., p. 38.

"He hunte[d them with] his net… which is [the] Living Soul. He [… /…] in the snare and…" [636]

Here the First Man's net is a metaphor for his five sons, the Living Soul. *Chapter* four of the Kephalaia describes the First Man as a snare for the creatures of darkness: "they laid a snare for him through the Fi[rst Man." [637] *Chapter* one hundred and twenty-nine of the *Kephalaia* uses imagery of fishing and snaring to describe the First Man's battle:

> Just like a marsh, / of which the fish and birds are snared in a net, a/nd only the
>
> waters are left behind and the reeds and / the plants that grow in it, this is also the
>
> case with the store/ [houses of] death. The [First] Man snared their counsels and
>
> [their k]in that were [in them], and the storehouses / [t]hat were in it. [638]

Manichaean eschatology gives the First Man a martial role at the eschaton (Frašegird), when he takes his revenge on the creatures of darkness. In the *Manichaean Psalm-book*, the First Man speaks of his forthcoming victory:

> Then I will strike my foot on the earth
>
> And sink their darkness down.
>
> I will smite their height with my hand
>
> And shake their firmament.
>
> And the stars shall shake down like [leaves].
>
> And I will uproot the Darkness and cast it out. [639]

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[636] 1 Ke. 18.58.10-15, loc. cit., p. 62.

[637] 1 Ke. 4. 21-22, loc. cit., p. 30.

[638] 1 Ke. 129.21-27, loc. cit., p. 138.

[639] *Manichaean Psalm-book*, p. 217.9-10.

The following section will review historical evidence of the martial hegemonic construction of masculinity at the elite Sasanian court. The significance of the Zoroastrian-Sasanian war-god Verethraghna as a martial archetype will be discussed. It will be argued that the martial characterisation of the Manichaean First Man intentionally mirrors the martial Sasanian model of masculinity.

14.ii. Sasanian Martial Masculinity

This section will discuss historical evidence of the Sasanian model of masculinity as martial power and strength in surviving Sasanian art, iconography and imperial propaganda. These sources reveal the importance of images of victory and conquest in the propagation of the identity of the Sasanian dynasty as embodiment of hegemonic masculinity. It will be argued that the martial characterisation of the Manichaean First Man mirrors the hegemonic Sasanian model of masculinity as martial prowess and conquest.

Surviving commemorative images of Sasanian conquest in battle carved upon rock reliefs are an important source concerning the iconography of Sasanian kingship. A rock relief at Naqš-i-Rustam depicts Ardašīr I on horseback above the dead body of the defeated Arsacid king, Ardawan. Ohrmazd, also on horseback, hands a symbol of sovereignty to Ardašīr, as a symbol of divine election to rule. [640] The inscription describes Ardašīr as *šāhān šāh* (King of Kings) of *Ērānšahr* (*Iranshah*) and a people entitled *Ērān* (Iranians). [641] This title indicates supremacy over other Persian rulers.

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[640] Daryaee 2014.

[641] Ibid.

Martial conquest is central to the political identity of Shāpūr I. This is reflected by a series of rock-reliefs which celebrate his victories over three Roman Emperors. Shāpūr's victory over Emperor Gordian III is commemorated at Bišāpur II, which portrays Gordian prostrate beneath the horse of Shāpūr. The latter wears Ardašir's crown and receives Emperor Marcus Julius Philippus ("Philip the Arab") with benediction. [642] At Naqš-i-Rustam, a relief celebrates the victory of Shāpūr I over Philip the Arab, who kneels in subjection to Shāpūr, with arms outstretched towards him in a gesture of submission. [643] The largest rock-relief (Bišāpur III) depicts Shāpūr I with the three defeated Roman emperors, Gordian III, Valerian and Philip. Shāpūr is flanked by four rows of mounted Persian dignitaries and a further four rows of tribute-bearers. [644] These architectural images of victory and subjection of the enemy in battle reveal martial strength and conquest to be core attributes of Shāpūr's kingship.

The construction of masculinity as martial strength and power is reflected in the favoured sports of the Sasanian king and his entourage. Aptly described by Matthew Canepa as "sublimated combat," hunting, riding, archery and jousting afforded an opportunity for the demonstration of martial prowess *ex situ*. [645] Hunting as sublimated combat continues into late tenth- to eleventh-century Persian poetry. The poet Ma'sud Sa'd speaks to his patron, Sultan Ma'sud: "You are a king-hunter, and when no kings are left, of necessity you hunt lions." [646] The

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[642] Shahbazi 2002.

[643] Canepa 2010, p. 63.

[644] Herrmann and Curtis 2011. See also: Shahbazi 2002.

[645] Ibid., p. 137.

[646] Hanaway, W. L., Jr. "The Concept of the Hunt in Persian Literature." *Boston Museum Bulletin,* 69/355-356, (1971), (Persian Carpet Symposium), pp. 21-69, (p. 26).

poet Farrokhi flatters his patron Mas'ud of Ghazna in parallel style: "On the day of battle you take every king, on hunting day you take every lion." [647]

The hunt was deemed an essential part of a prince's education. The hunt and slaughter of the lion was deemed the apex of the royal hunt, the final lethal strike being the prerogative of the King. [648] The lion-hunt also appears as a symbol for investiture, as exemplified by a carving at Tan-i-Sarvak in Elymais. [649] The carving, believed to date to the late second century CE, depicts the effortless slaughter of a lion by a male figure with the inscription: "This is the image of… ascending the throne." [650]

As discussed by Prudence Harper, the propagation of visual representations of equestrian hunt also form a central image in Sasanian dynastic art. [651] This is exemplified by a silver bowl dating to the late third century CE depicting the Sasanian king Narseh (293-302 CE), son of Shāpūr I and titled the "great king of Armenia," hunting an ibex. [652] A further dish depicts Narseh hunting on horseback with a sword, quiver and bow which he brandishes in a gesture of victory. Three dead animals, two gazelles and a mouflon, are engraved around the sides of the dish. [653] These images of hunted animals mirror the iconography of martial conquest.

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[647] Ibid.

[648] See Llewellyn-Jones 2013, ch. 5 pp. 127-150.

[649] Harper, P. "Image and Identity: Art of the early Sasanian Dynasty." In Curtis, V. S. and Stewart, S. (2008) (eds.), *The Sasanian Era*, vol. 3: *The Idea of Iran*. (London: Tauris), pp. 71-85.

[650] Ibid., p. 76.

[651] Ibid.

[652] Ibid.

[653] Ghirshman, R. "Notes Iraniennes IX. Une Coupe sassanide à scène de chasse, de la Collection M. Foroughi." *Artibus Asiae,* 22/1-2, 1959, pp. 48-52.

The identification of activities such as hunting as indicators of the hegemonic masculinity of martial strength and conquest at the Sasanian court is indicated by a Middle Persian text (M3) which purports to report an angry encounter between Mani and a Sasanian King. The identity of the king is contested, but Iain Gardner suggests him to be Bahrām I. [654] Here, the King frames his rejection of Mani in the context of his failure to participate in the court's masculine-gendered sports and roles: "And in anger he spoke thus to the Lord: "Ah, what need of you as you go neither fighting nor hunting. But perhaps you are needed for this doctoring? And you do not even do that."" [655] The condemnation of Mani implicit in the King's comment is indicative of the centrality of martial prowess to the Sasanian construction of masculinity. In the king's eyes, Mani is not a true man and thus unsuited to the competitive and combative culture of court life.

The Zoroastrian worship of the war god Verethraghna further indicates the significance of martial strength and power to Sasanian kingship. Verethraghna, meaning "victory" or "smashing of opposition" is worshipped in the Avestan *Yašt* 14 (*Bahrām Yašt*), where he is portrayed as the best-armed, the strongest and endowed with the most *xvarenah* (divine election) of all the gods:

> We sacrifice unto Verethraghna, made by Ahura.
>
> Zarathushtra asked Ahura Mazda: "Ahura Mazda, most beneficent Spirit, Maker of the material world, thou Holy One!
>
> Who is the best-armed of the heavenly gods?"
>
> Ahura Mazda answered: "It is Verethraghna, made by Ahura, O Spitama Zarathushtra!"

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[654] Gardner, I. "Mani's Last Days." In Gardner, BeDuhn and Dilley 2014, pp. 159-204.

[655] M3 cited by Gardner and Lieu 2004, p. 84.

Verethraghna, made by Ahura, came to him first, running in the shape of a

strong, beautiful wind, made by Mazda; he bore the good Glory, made by

Mazda, the Glory made by Mazda, that is both health and strength.

Then he, who is the strongest, said unto him:

 "I am the strongest in strength; I am the most victorious in victory; I am the

most glorious in glory; I am the most favouring in favour; I am the best giver

of welfare: I am the best-healing in health-giving." [656]

Verethraghna has ten animal incarnations, including ram, boar, eagle, horse and eagle.
Verethraghna's strong association with *xvarenah* is indicated by surviving Sasanian coinage, on
which these animals appear as symbols of divine election in royal headgear. [657] This indicates
the important role of Verethraghna to divine election to kingship and hence the importance of
martial power to Sasanian kingship. The identification of the First Man as first warrior and hunter
aligns him with Verethraghna, endowing him with *xvarenah*, strength and power which are core
attributes of Sasanian kingship.

14.iii: Interim Conclusions: The Warrior

This section has explored the martial imagery of battle-ready warrior and hunter attached to the
Manichaean First Man. This imagery mirrors the hegemonic masculinity of martial strength and
power prevalent at the Sasanian court. It is argued that the martial imagery attached to the First
Man in the *Kephalaia* and the *Manichaean Psalm-book* seeks to establish the First Man as the

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[656] *Yašt* 14 (*Bahrām Yašt*). 1.1-4. In Darmesteter, J. (ed.) Müller, F. M. (trans.) (1965), *The Zend Avesta*, *The Vendīdād* (*The Sacred Books of the East*, vol iv). (India: Motilal Banarsidass), pp. 231-232.

[657] Lerner 2009, p. 220.

primordial prototype of warrior and hunter. The following part of this chapter will explore the opposing characterisation of the First Man as defeated and impotent victim, following his defeat and imprisonment by the creatures of the Kingdom of Darkness. The next section will explore the humiliation of the First Man at the hands of the demons of darkness, who strip him of his armour and imprison him in the abyss. The defeat of the First Man will be explored through the metaphor of clothing in the context of the early Syriac hymnic tradition exemplified by the "*Hymn of the Pearl*." in which the metaphor of dressing and divestment forms a central metaphor for identity. It is argued that the defeat of the First Man challenges his status as battle-ready warrior and embodiment of masculinity.

14: Descent and Defeat

14.i: Defilement and Exile

In parallel with the hunter-warrior imagery attached to the First Man runs a characterisation of the First Man as defeated, vulnerable and impotent. In the *Psalms of Thomas*, the First Man voices his anguish as he languishes in the abyss:

> The youth groaned and wept in the pit
>
> which is at the bottom of Hades;
>
> The youth groaned and wept,
>
> his cry [to the great brightness went] up…" [658]

In this psalm, the reversal in the fortunes of the First Man is reflected grammatically in the transformation of the First Man from sentence subject to object; he is attacked as opposed to

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[658] *Manichaean Psalm-Book*, p. 209.13-21.

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battle-ready; hunted as opposed to hunter. The spears and armour of the demons of the Kingdom of Darkness become the focus of the psalm:

"The false gods that have rebelled

have taken their armour against me.

The goddesses, the daughters of shame, have set up their armour against me.

The goddesses, the daughters of shame, have set up their spears." [659]

Following his rescue from the realms of darkness, the First Man is not restored fully to the Kingdom of Light, instead remaining aboard the "Ship of Light," where he continually sifts and releases redeemed light to its divine origin as he grieves for his lost sons. *Chapter* fifty-eight of the *Kephalaia* describes his grief: "[The s]econd sad one who is troubled [of] heart is the First Man, whose / [great]ness and kingdom is established in the li[ght]ship / […] And he too is troubled of heart because of his five sons, who are set in the midst of dan/ger." [660] This lonely and bereft figure, exiled from his home and grieving for his lost sons, reinforces the First Man's characterisation as vulnerable and impotent. This characterisation conflicts with the portrayal of the First Man as exemplar of martial hegemonic masculinity.

The First Man shares a similar fate to other mythological figures in Judaeo-Christian literature who are compromised by their interactions with materiality. This section will explore the defilement of the fallen angels in I *Enoch* and the feminine-gendered Sophia of Gnostic mythology, who are exiled from their home and defiled following contact with corporeal or material forces.

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[659] *Manichaean Psalm-book*, p. 209.21-28.

[660] 1 Ke. 58.147.31-148.2, loc. cit., p. 155.

An early paradigm of the defilement of spiritual mythological figures by contact with corporeality exists in the Jewish apocryphal text I *Enoch*. As discussed above, I *Enoch* constitutes an important example of apocalyptic Jewish pseudepigraphia of the Second Temple era. [661] Chapters 6-36 (*The Book of Watchers*) describes the descent to earth of angels tasked with watching the human world. The angels, succumbing to their sexual desire for human women, defile themselves:

> And it came to pass when the children of men had multiplied that in those days were born unto them beautiful and comely daughters. And the angels, the children of heaven, saw and lusted after them, and said to one another: "Come, let us choose us wives from among the children of men and beget us children" … And all the others together with them took unto themselves wives, and each chose for himself one, and they began to go in unto them and to defile themselves with them [662]

The illicit union between angels and human women results in a generation of murderous and greedy giants who devour and destroy all around them, including humans. [663] The monstrous dimensions and behaviour of the giants reflects the forbidden nature of their origin. As punishment, the angels are bound and held in captivity, forced to watch the destructions of the giants they have bred. The defilement of the angels may be interpreted as a divine form of *mixis*, the forbidden mixing of different species. The defiled angels, for whom Enoch acts as an intermediary, are not permitted to return, but are separated from God.

A further significant example of the corruption of a spiritual being occurs in Gnostic mythology related to the feminine-gendered wisdom figure Sophia, the fullest exposition of

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[661] Charles 2007.

[662] I *Enoch* VI.11, loc. cit., p. 34.

[663] See section 3.i.ii, pp. 36-39.

which may be found in *Ap. John.* [664] According to *Ap. John*, Sophia wishes to beget without divine consent. The product of her self-originating thought is the malformed and serpentine Ialdeboath, in whom her divine light is confined. Discovering her error, Sophia experiences regret and repents:

> Then the mother began to move. She knew about the lack when the radiation of her light diminished. And she grew darker, for her consort had not come into harmony with her… And in the darkness of her unacquaintance, forgetfulness came over her. And she began to be ashamed, moving back and forth. And she did not rashly try to return, but rather she went back and forth. [665]

Although Sophia's repentance is accepted, she is unable to return to the *plemora* (entirety) and is confined instead to a lower aeon until she rectifies her error. [666] The creation of Adam and Eve by her distorted offspring Ialdeboath enmeshes Sophia's light further in matter. Karen King observes: "What is superior has become dominated by what is inferior, thereby effecting a reversal of proper hierarchical rule which can result in calamity." [667] The demotion of Sophia mirrors the status of the First Man, whose lost Soul must be released from the jaws of darkness before his final victorious return to the Kingdom of Light.

14.ii: Dressing and Undressing: The Hymn of the Pearl

The Coptic *Manichaean Psalm-book* and the *Kephalaia* express the changed status of the First Man following his defeat through the metaphor of clothing. Dressed and armed for battle before

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[664] *Ap. John*, pp. 28-51.

[665] *Ap. John* 13.24-26, loc. cit., p. 38.

[666] *Ap. John* 14.9-11, loc. cit., p. 39.

[667] King 2006, p. 102.

his departure, the First Man's clothing is stolen from him during his defeat by the creatures of darkness. In these texts, the metaphor of clothing is used to relate the First Man's emanation of his five sons and their subsequent theft. The *Psalm of Thomas* adopts the metaphor of a "holy robe," for the First Man's five sons:

> They took arms against me,
>
> They rose, they took arms against me, making war with me, making war with me,
>
> Fighting for my holy robe,
>
> For my enlightening light, that it might lighten their darkness, [668]

The Manichaean *Psalm-book* emphasises the purity of the First Man's garments, describing them as: "The armour that was not stained. The clothing which was not defiled, which is upon the body… Man." [669] *Chapter* one hundred and twenty-six of the *Kephalaia* identifies his garments (sons) with the five light elements. The first garment is his daughter, the "living fire," who is weakened in battle:

> when the [first] / man came forth [agai]nst the ene[my… …] garment […] the darkness with the garment / [of] living fire, with that garment he withered / the tumescence [/] of the enemy…[y]et si[n]ce the living fire was weakened, because of this / he added [to it another fou]r garments…" [670]

Chapter one hundred and twenty-nine of the *Kephalaia* again identifies the first clothing of the First Man as living fire: "at the time when the First Man was sent / to the war in the first garment

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[668] Psalms of Thomas II, *Manichaean Psalm-book,* p. 205.12-16.

[669] *Manichaean Psalm-book,* p. 137.40-41.

[670] 1 Ke. 126.23-127.7, loc. cit., p. 135. See discussion of van Lindt 1992, p. 54; 66; 174; 175; 184.

of /[living fire]." [671] The garments are personified as weeping in *Chapter* one hundred and forty-eight of the *Kephalaia*:

> The garments, the sons of the First Man, wept bitterly three times. / then they were silent… [The] second time that they wept is [when the]ir father, the First Man, [ascend]ed from the [abyss] / of darkness and left them behind; that is the time when he stripped [them off] / and left them below. [672]

The centrality of the metaphor of clothing to the characterisation of the First Man is demonstrated by the survival of the imagery into Manichaean literature as late as 800-900 CE. This is exemplified by a Parthian abecedarian hymn (c. 700-900 CE) concerning the First Man, which relates that the First Man "clothed the enemy with (his) five sons." [673] A further possible example of the clothing metaphor is suggested by Gabor Kósa, who identifies an image of the First Man naked amongst the demons in a Chinese cosmological painting, believed to mirror the *ikwn* painted by Mani. [674] The late dating of the painting attests to the longevity of the metaphor in Manichaean doctrine.

The metaphor of clothing in Manichaean cosmological mythology will now be considered in the context of the Syriac hymnic tradition, in which clothing imagery features heavily. The earliest example of this is the *Hymn of the Pearl*, in which acts of dressing and divesting are a central metaphor. [675] The following section will discuss the metaphor of clothing in this text and its

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[671] I Ke. 53.129.5-6, loc. cit., p. 137.

[672] 1 Ke. 148.24-149.8, loc. cit., pp. 156-157.

[673] M710 and M5877. In Klimkeit 1993, p. 37.

[674] Kósa, G. "Translating the Eikon." In Laut, J. P. and Röhrborn, K. (2014) (eds.), *Vom Aramäischen zum Alttürkischen: Fragen zur Übersetzung von Manichäischen Texten. Vorträge des Göttinger Symposiums vom 29/30. September 2011.* (Berlin: de Gruyter), pp. 49-84.

[675] Wright 1871. See section 3.iii.i, pp. 53-54.

significance to the interpretation of the metaphor in Manichaean texts concerning the clothing of the First Man.

Albertus Klijn describes the *Hymn* as "the most famous piece of poetry in Syriac literature." [676] The *Hymn of the Pearl* is embedded in *Acts*, in which it is titled *The Hymn of Judas Thomas the Apostle in the country of the Indians*. This text purports to recount the missionary activities of the apostles following the Pentecost. The popularity of the *Acts* amongst the Manichaean community is demonstrated by five references to the *Acts* in the Coptic *Manichaean Psalm-book*. [677] Authorship of the *Hymn* is unknown, but the text is believed to pre-date the *Acts* (c. 200-225 CE) and assigned a date of 274-224 BCE. [678]

The *Hymn* narrates the tale of a prince who is dispatched from his kingdom by his parents to Egypt in order to recover a pearl from the jaws of a serpent/dragon. His parents confiscate his regal garments, a "shining" or "dazzling" purple robe and cloak, before his departure: "And they took off from me the glittering robe, which in their affection they had made for me, and the purple toga, which was measured (and) woven to my stature." [679] The prince's loss of clothing, which he replaces with the disguise of native clothing, coincides with forgetfulness of his royal origins and mission to rescue the pearl:

> I dressed in their dress, that they might not hold me in abhorrence…I forgot that I
>
> was a son of kings, and I served their king; and I forgot the pearl, for which my

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[676] Klijn, A. F. J. "The *Hymn of the Pearl*, h. 108-113." *Vigiliae Christianae*, 14/3, (Sep. 1960), pp. 154-164.

[677] Myers, S E. (2010), *Spirit Epicleses in the Acts of Thomas* (*Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament*: Volume 281). (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck)).

[678] Kim, J. H. (1998), *The Significance of Clothing Imagery in the Pauline Corpus*. (New York; London: T & T Clark). See section 3.iii.i, p. 53-54.

[679] *Hymn*, loc. cit., p. 239.

parents had sent me, and because of the burden of their oppressions I lay in a deep

sleep. [680]

A speaking missive from his parents reminds the prince of his royal origins and duty to recover

the pearl. Having rescued the pearl, the prince is rewarded with the return of his robe, prior to a

triumphant reconciliation with realm and parents. The prince, his clothing and the pearl are the

three central metaphors of the *Hymn*. Robert Young argues that to seek a unitary system of

interpretation for the *Hymn* a simple "key to unlock the true meaning beneath the veil of literality"

is both anachronistic and reductive. The symbolism of the narrative is multi-layered. [681]

Sebastian Brock suggests that the clothing symbolism of the *Hymn* may be interpreted in the

light of later Syriac Christian texts. [682] This is exemplified by the works of Ephrem of Syrus. His

Commentary on Genesis (c. 373 CE) reveals an exegesis of the Eden narrative in *Genesis* 3, which

suggests that God clothes Adam and Eve in "garments of light" to cover their nakedness. When

they are banished from Eden, these are replaced by "clothes of skin," reflecting a fall in spiritual

status. [683] This exegesis has roots in the haggadic *Genesis Rabbah*, which interprets the reference

to Adam's garments of skin in *Genesis* 3 as garments of light:

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[680] Ibid., p. 240.

[681] Young, R. D. "Notes on Divesting and Vesting in The Hymn of The Pearl." In Aune, D. E. and Young, R. D.
(2007) (eds.), *Reading Religions in the Ancient World: Essays Presented to Robert McQueen Grant on his 90th
Birthday*. (Leiden; Boston: Brill), pp. 201-214, (p. 209).

[682] Brock, S. "Clothing metaphors as a means of Theological Expression in Syriac Tradition." In Schmidt, M. and
Geyer, C. F. (1982) (eds.), *Typus, Symbol, Allegoric bei den Östlichen Vätern und ihren Parallelen im Mittelalter*.
(Regensburg: Friedrich Pustet), pp. 11-40.

[683] Ephrem of Syrus, *Commentary on Genesis* 33. In McVey. K., Mathews, E. G. and Amar, J. P. (1994) (trans./eds.),
*St. Ephrem the Syrian. Selected Prose Works: Commentary on Genesis, Commentary on Exodus, Homily on our
Lord, Letter to Publius*. (Washington: The Catholic University of America Press), p. 122.

> And the Lord God made for Adam and his wife garments of skin ('or), and clothed
>
> them' (III, 21). In R. Meir's Torah it was found written, 'Garments of light (or): this
>
> refers to Adam's garments, which were like a torch [shedding radiance], broad at
>
> the bottom and narrow at the top. [684]

In *Madrashe on the Nativity* (c. 350-373 CE), Ephrem uses the metaphor of clothing to portray Christ's incarnation in the human body. Christ, as the second Adam, reverses Adam's loss of spiritual grace and redeems from his transgression, so that humanity may once again wear the garments of light. [685] In Ephrem's work, the metaphor of clothing signals a transformation in spiritual status. The application of this imagery to the interpretation of the *Hymn* reveals that the prince's robe is a metaphor for his royal status and identity. This interpretation is borne out by the text, which relates the prince's self-knowledge and status with the wearing of the robe. Gazing at his robe, the prince recognises both the robe and his true self: "on a sudden, when I received it, the garment seemed to me to become like a mirror of myself. I saw it all in all, and I too received all in it, for we were two in distinction and yet again one in likeness." [686] The prince's robe is central to his royal identity and brings self-recognition.

The application of this interpretation to the metaphor of the clothing of the Manichaean First Man suggests that the theft of his clothing signals the loss of his warrior identity. In terms of the Sasanian hegemonic masculinity as martial prowess and conquest, this reveals a loss of hegemonic status. In its stead, a powerless and suffering figure emerges. The following section

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[684] *Genesis Rabbah* 20.12. Cited by Orlov 2011, p. 52.

[685] Ephrem of Syrus, "Madrashe on the Nativity" 23.13. Cited by Brock, S. (1992), *The Luminous Eye: The Spiritual World Vision of Saint Ephrem the Syrian* (revised edition) (Cistercian Studies). (Kalamazoo, Michigan: Cistercian Publications), p. 85.

[686] *Hymn*, loc. cit., p. 243.

will seek to contextualise this change in characterisation through the introduction of the construct of endurance of suffering as a masculine trait in the writings of Mani and its subsequent development in community texts. The theme of endurance originates in the community letters of Mani, in which Mani offers his endurance of betrayal from within the Manichaean community as a paradigm for the resolution of conflict between community members. It will be argued that this reveals the emergence of a subordinate form of masculinity in response to the social marginalisation and persecution of the Manichaean community following the death of Mani. Endurance is absorbed into the Manichaean ethos in the context of persecution to become a core element of Manichaean ethical ideology and an alternate form of masculinity.

14.iii: Interim Conclusions: Descent and Defeat

This part of the chapter has discussed the emergence of a characterisation of the Manichaean First Man as vulnerable and impotent, following his defeat. Imprisoned in the abyss, the First Man grieves for his five sons. This characterisation challenges the portrayal of the First Man as the prototypical archetype of masculine martial strength and power. The changed status of the First Man is expressed through the metaphor of the theft of his clothing. This metaphor is a repeated motif in the early Syriac hymnic tradition, of which the *Hymn* is the earliest example. Analysis of this text reveals that the metaphor of divestment indicates loss of spiritual status and identity. The application of this interpretation to the theft of the First Man's clothing reveals the loss of his status and identity as battle-ready warrior. According to Connell's model of masculinities, this indicates a failure to achieve the Sasanian hegemonic masculinity of martial prowess and conquest.

The following part of this chapter will explore the development of an alternate subordinate masculinity in which the suffering and endurance of the Manichaean First Man is

reconfigured positively as an admirable masculine response to oppression and persecution. The persecution and marginalisation of the Manichaean community following Mani's death in prison gives historical context to the development of endurance as a subordinate masculinity and the emergence of the Manichaean First Man as prototype of this form of masculinity.

15: Endurance and Masculinity

This part of the chapter will reframe the shift in the characterisation of the Manichaean First Man from battle-ready warrior to weeping victim discussed above using Connell's model of hegemonic and subordinate masculinities as an heuristic tool. [687] It will be argued that this shift represents the adoption of a subordinate masculinity in response to the Manichaean community's experience of persecution following the death of Mani. The adoption of the Greek philosophical virtue of endurance as a masculine trait is introduced in the letters of Mani and undergoes subsequent expansion to become a core element of Manichaean ethics. The prior emergence of endurance (ὑπομονή) and self-control (σωφροσύνη) in Judaeo-Christian discourse on martyrdom as a form of political resistance and group cohesion will be used as historical contextualisation for the interpretation of the Manichaean material. However, the Manichaean construction of endurance has a unique and distinctive interpretation of the struggle of life in the body.

Talmudic scholar Daniel Boyarin identifies reconfigurations in constructions of masculinity in Second Temple Jewish literature as resistance to the hegemonic Roman model of masculinity as activity, dominance, power and violence. [688] Boyarin identifies that "… new gender paradigms were forming throughout the empire and Jews and Christians were playing important roles in such formations. Both early rabbinic Jews and early Christians resisted the

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[687] Connell And Messerschmidt 2005.

[688] Boyarin 1997.

Roman imperial power through "gender bending." [689] This resistance includes the masculine performance of "symbolic enactments of "femaleness,"" such as retirement to private spaces, exclusive devotion to Torah study and asceticism. [690] Michael Satlow identifies the themes of suffering and sorrow as intrinsic to the rabbinical construction of masculinity, describing *Torah* study as "the rabbinic form of askesis par excellence." [691] Self-restraint, like war, is constructed as a masculine activity. [692]

In early Christian martyrological texts, endurance is applied to the experience of pain through torture. Stephanie Cobb identifies the social functions of demonstrations of endurance of torture as a masculine virtue in early Christian martyrology: "Christians embody their social identity by wholly participating in their own deaths; they perform masculinity - indeed they perform Christianity itself – through strength, volition, endurance and self-control." [693] Stephanie Cobb argues that the adoption of Greek philosophical concepts and identification with the noble deaths of the Greek philosophers in early Christian martyrological texts maintain and increase social status, offering Christians a "well-trod path to claiming masculinity as a group characteristic." [694]

Section one (16.i: Endurance and Self-control in Jewish Literature) will explore reconfigurations in constructions of masculinity in Second Temple literature presaged by the

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[689] Ibid., p. 6.

[690] Ibid., p.78.

[691] Satlow, M. L. ""Try to Be a Man": The Rabbinic Construction of Masculinity." *The Harvard Theological Review*, 89/1, (Jan. 1996), pp. 19-40 p. 221.

[692] Ibid.

[693] Cobb, S. L. (2008), *Dying to be Men: Gender and Language in Early Christian Martyr Texts*. (New York: Columbia University Press), p. 68.

[694] Cobb, S. (2016), *Divine Deliverance: Pain and Painlessness in Early Christian Martyr Texts*. (Oakland: University of California Press).

reinscription of Isaac in the *Aqedah* (the "binding" of Isaac by his father Abraham in *Genesis* 22) as a willing participant in his sacrifice. In haggadic literature and the *Jewish Antiquities* of Flavius Josephus, Isaac's request to Abraham to bind him represents the mastering of fear. The second section (16.ii: Endurance in 4 *Maccabees*) will explore the adoption of the Greek philosophical virtue of endurance (ὑπομονή) as a core masculine virtue in 4 *Macc.,* in which the fearlessness of Isaac is invoked as ideal of masculinity in the context of the torture of seven Maccabean brothers and their mother. The willing sacrifice of Isaac is central to the martyrological ideology embedded in 4 *Macc.*, in which the roots of an emerging construction of masculinity as the endurance of suffering may be found. [695]

The third section will explore the emergence of the theme of endurance in Manichaean literature, commencing with a discussion of its origins in the community letters of Mani, in which endurance is extolled as a response to dissent and criticism from a member of Mani's community. The theme of endurance is expanded in later Manichaean texts to encompass group response to persecution following the death of Mani. It will be argued that the suffering of the Manichaean First Man is invoked as the prototype of endurance. This indicates the development of a subordinate masculinity of endurance as a response to marginalisation and persecution and a rejection of the Sasanian hegemony of martial prowess and conquest. The Manichaean construction of endurance has a unique and distinctive interpretation of the suffering of life in the body.

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[695] See: Moore S. D. and Anderson, J. C. "Taking It like a Man: Masculinity in 4 Maccabees." *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 117/2, (Summer 1998), pp. 249-273.

15.i: Endurance and Self-control in the *Aqedah* in Second Temple literature

This section will explore transformations in Jewish literature from the first century CE onwards of the representation of Isaac in the *Aqedah* of *Genesis* 22. The texts to be discussed include early *haggadah*, exemplified by the *Targum* and Flavius Josephus' *Jewish Antiquities*. Isaac's transformation from nescient victim to willing participant in his imminent sacrifice in these texts signals the emergence of Hellenistic concepts in early rabbinic teachings. This is consistent with Daniel Boyarin's identification of the development of subordinate masculinities in early rabbinic philosophy which challenge the Roman hegemony of masculinity as power, dominance and activity. [696]

Endurance emerged as a masculine virtue in the Stoic school of Greek philosophy of Zeno of Citium (335–263 BCE). [697] Stoicism predicated the four cardinal virtues of Wisdom, Courage, Justice and Temperance. Endurance was one of four subordinated virtues of Courage, which included self-control, magnanimity, good counsel and presence of mind. Wisdom was construed as knowledge of what is good and bad; Courage was defined as choosing what therefore ought to be chosen. In *Lives of Stoic Philosophers*, composed c. 230 CE, the third century doxographer Diogenes Laertius relates the Stoic construction of the role of endurance in achieving the four cardinal virtues:

> For they say that the man who possesses virtue is able both to perceive and to put
> into practice what must be done. But what ought to be done must be chosen, and
> endured, and held to, and distributed so that if a man does some things by deliberate

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[696] Boyarin 1997.

[697] Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of Stoic Philosophers*, trans. Yonge, C. D. and Seddon, K. (ed.) (2007), *A Summary of Stoic Philosophy: Zeno of Citium in Diogenes Laertius* (Book Seven). (US: Lulu Press).

choice, and some in a spirit of endurance, and some by way of just distribution, and

some patiently, then he is wise, and courageous, and just, and temperate. [698]

Géza Vermès identifies the first instance of a transformation in the characterisation of Isaac in the *Genesis Fragment Targum*, dating to the first century CE, which is believed to be either a gloss or aide-memoire for the *Pentateuchal Palestinian Targums*. [699] The *Genesis Fragment Targum* elaborates upon *Genesis* 22.8, in which Abraham hides his intention to sacrifice Isaac from him, claiming that: "God himself will provide the lamb for the burnt offering, my son." [700] In the *Genesis Fragment Targum*, a confession by Abraham of his intention to sacrifice Isaac is added: "At all events, God will provide himself the lamb, O my son; and if not, my son, Thou art for a burnt-offering, my son." [701] This addition transforms Isaac from nescient victim to knowing participant to his own sacrifice. His willingness to participate is indicted by a further addition to *Genesis* 22.8, which changes from "So they went both of them together" to "So they went both of them together - one to slaughter and the other to be slaughtered." [702]

Isaac's characterisation as willing participant in his imminent sacrifice is epitomised in his request to Abraham to "bind him securely," to prevent him from struggling. In *Fragment Targum* 12, Isaac requests: "bind my hands properly that I might not struggle in the time of my pain and disturb you and render your sacrifice unfit and be cast into the pit of destruction in the world to come." [703] Isaac's request to be bound also appears in the *Codex Neofiti* of the *Targums*, which

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[698] Diogenes Laertius, "Lives of Stoic Philosophers" 7.126. In Yonge and Seddon 2007, p. 87.

[699] Vermès, G. "Redemption and Genesis 22: The Binding of Isaac and the Sacrifice of Jesus." In Vermès, G. (1973), S*cripture and Tradition in Judaism: Haggadic Studies*. (Leiden: Brill), pp. 193-227.

[700] *Genesis* 22.8.

[701] *Genesis Fragment Targum*, cited by Vermès 1973, p. 194.

[702] Ibid.

[703] *Targum* 12 cited by Vermès 1973, p. 194.

dates between the pre-Christian era and 200 CE. Here Isaac asks: "Bind me properly that I may not kick (resist) you and your offering be made unfit." [704] This theme is expanded in the midrashic *Genesis Rabbah*. The teaching is attributed to the fourth generation Amora sage Rabbi Isaac, who lived in the late third century CE. The text dates to the fourth century CE. [705]

> R. Isaac said: When Abraham wished to sacrifice his son Isaac, he said to him: Father, I am a young man and am afraid that my body may tremble through fear of the knife and I will grieve thee, whereby the slaughter may be rendered unfit and this will not count as a real sacrifice; therefore bind me very firmly. [706]

Here Isaac's request to be bound firmly is explained by his fear of the knife. Isaac seeks to supress his fear in order to be a worthy sacrifice. The mastering of fear was considered an important component in the battle to subdue the emotions in Hellenistic thought. A further reference to Isaac's request to be bound appears in the fragmentary 4Q225 from Qumran, (c. 100 BCE-100 CE) which describes the sacrifice of Isaac. This text, although fragmentary, appears to contain the words "Tie me well." [707]

In *Genesis Rabbah*, Isaac's desire to suppress his fear is complimented by the portrayal of Abraham as a paradigm of self-control. Abraham demonstrates self-control by mastering his paternal affection for Isaac through religious obedience, claiming to have "suppressed (my)

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[704] *Fragment Neofiti,* ibid., p. 194.

[705] McNamara, M. (2010) (trans./ed.), *Targum and Testament Revisited: Aramaic Paraphrases of the Hebrew Bible: A Light on the New Testament* (Biblical Resource, Second Edition). (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans).

[706] *Genesis Rabbah* 56.8. Cited by Gerhart, M. and Udoh, F. (2007) (eds.), *The Christianity Reader*. (Chicago; London: The University of Chicago Press), p. 192.

[707] Martinez, G. F. "The Sacrifice of Isaac in 4Q225." In Martinez, G. F. and Tigchelaar, E. J. C. (2007) (eds.), *Qumranica Minora II: Thematic Studies on the Dead Sea Scrolls.* (Leiden: Brill), pp. 131-144.

feelings of compassion in order to do Thy will." [708] Abraham's religious devotion overcomes his compassion for his son. Religious devotion thus assumes the position of reason in the battle between affect and reason.

A parallel model emerges in *Jewish Antiquities* (c 93-94 CE), written by the Jewish historian and apologist Flavius Josephus. In this text, Josephus offers Isaac as an exemplar of religious devotion and filial obedience. Isaac's religious virtue is fused with the Greek concept of reason through the use of concepts such as justice and injustice (δίκαιος and ἄδικον):

> not worthy (δίκαιος) to be born at first, if he should reject the determination of God,
>
> and of his Father, and should not resign himself up readily to both their pleasures, since
>
> it would have been unjust (ἄδικον), if he had not obeyed, even if his father alone had
>
> so resolved." [709]

Additionally, Josephus seeks to present Abraham as an exemplum of self-control by juxtaposing his emotional ties to his son with his ability to overcome these with reason:

> Now Abraham greatly loved (ὑπερηγάπα) Isaac, as being his only begotten
>
> (μονογενῆ) and given to him at the borders of old age, by the favor of God. The
>
> child also endeared himself to his parents still more, by the exercise of every virtue,
>
> (πᾶσαν ἀρετὴν) and adhering to his duty to his parents, and being zealous in the
>
> worship of God … Now Abraham thought that it was not right to disobey God in
>
> any thing, but that he was obliged to serve him in every circumstance of life, since

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[708] *Genesis Rabbah* 56.10 cited by Gerhart and Udoh 2007, p. 192.

[709] Flavius Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities*, 1.13.222-226, trans. Whiston, W. (2006), *Jewish Antiquities* (Wordsworth Classics of World Literature). (Hertfordshire: Wordsworth Editions Ltd.), p. 107.

all creatures that live enjoy their life by his providence, and the kindness he bestows

on them. [710]

Josephus makes an addition to the text of *Genesis* 22.8, attributing to Abraham a clause which establishes Abraham's use of reason: "He said that God himself would provide a victim, since he can provide plentifully for people in need, and deprive others of what they already have, if they confide in it too much." [711] However, at this point, Abraham does not confess his intention to Isaac, as in the *Targum*.

The transformation of the characterisation of Isaac from nescient victim to willing participant in Jewish literary representations of the *Aqedah* marks the emergence of a model of masculinity that embraces the feminine-gendered embracing of pain and suffering. This is mirrored by the reconstruction of Abraham as paradigm of self-control. This transformation of Isaac is used as a motivational exemplum of endurance in the martyrological text 4 *Macc.*, which will be discussed in the following section. In 4 *Macc.*, the Stoic masculine virtue of endurance (ὑπομονή) is central to the narration of torture and martyrdom, bolstering the reconstruction of masculinity in the face of oppression.

15.ii: Endurance in 4 *Maccabees*

This section will discuss the construction of endurance (ὑπομονή) as a core masculine trait in 4 *Macc.* [712] This text, which appears in the Greek Septuagint, has been dated to the mid-first century CE [713] The author, although unknown, was evidently a devout Jew familiar with Hellenistic

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[710] Ibid. 1.13.222-226, pp. 29-30.

[711] Ibid. 1.13.227, p. 30.

[712] 4 *Macc.*, loc. cit., pp. 362-383.

[713] Helyer 2002, 402-412, (p. 404).

philosophical concepts. [714] 4 *Macc.* relates the torture and execution of Rabbi Eleazar and the seven Maccabean brothers by the Seleucid ruler Antiochus IV during the Maccabean revolt (167-160 CE). The tyranny of Antiochus is intended as a metaphor for the contemporaneous oppression of the Jewish people under Roman occupation. The passages of significance to this chapter relate to the torture and execution of the seven brothers who refuse to submit to Antiochus' demands to partake of food that has been sacrificed to Greek gods. The brothers' resistance is assimilated to the Hellenistic masculine-gendered virtue of endurance (ὑπομονῇ). Their demonstrations of religious piety are thus presented as paradigms of the supremacy of Reason (λογισμὸς) over the emotions (σπλάγχνα). Throughout the text, the masculine-gendering of endurance is reinforced by the pairing of endurance (ὑπομονῇ) with manly courage (ἀνδρείᾳ) [715] and conquest (νίκα). [716]

The invocation of Isaac as a willing sacrifice is central to the martyrological ideology embedded in 4 *Macc.*, in which the roots of an emerging construction of masculinity as the endurance of suffering may be found. [717] 4 *Macc.* develops the narratives of 1 and 2 *Macc.* but is, to quote George Nickelsburg, "transposed into the key of Greek philosophy." [718] As discussed by David deSilva, this is achieved through the twinning of the great universal principle Reason (λογισμὸς) with religious piety (εὐσέβεια) throughout the text. [719] Equally significant is the representation of endurance and self-control as admirable masculine responses to torture and execution, which reinscribes the martyrs' behaviour; David deSilva remarks: "the martyrs' endurance of brutal tortures is transformed from a fearful and degrading experience into a feat of

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[714] deSilva 1998.

[715] 4 *Macc.*, loc. cit., 1.11, p. 363 and 15.30, p. 380.

[716] Ibid. 9.30 p. 374.

[717] See Moore and Anderson 1998.

[718] Nickelsburg 1981.

[719] deSilva 1998, pp. 13-14.

'noble bravery.'"[720] Endurance is characterised as an active and combative performance which effects transformation for community, self and oppressor. [721] The effectiveness of endurance as a reversal of the power dynamic between dominator and dominated is identified by one of the Maccabean brothers: "To the tyrant he said, "Do you not think, you most savage tyrant, that you are being tortured more than I, as you see the arrogant design of your tyranny being defeated (νικώμενον) by our endurance for the sake of religion?" (διὰ τὴν εὐσέβειαν ἡμῶν ὑπομονῆς) [722] Stephanie Cobb notes that endurance reinforces adherence to core group behaviours and beliefs, thus ensuring group survival in times of crisis. [723]

In 4 *Macc.*, the invocation of Isaac's willing sacrifice achieves the transformation of torture and execution into the glory of martyrdom. The brothers invoke the endurance (ὑπέμεινεν) of Isaac as inspiration: "Remember whence you came, and the father by whose hand Isaac would have submitted (ὑπέμεινεν) to being slain for the sake of religion (εὐσέβεια)." [724] Furthermore, the mother of the seven brothers invokes Isaac as an ancestral paradigm of fearlessness in death: "when Isaac saw his father's hand wielding a sword and descending upon him, he did not cower (οὐκ ἔπτηξεν)." [725]

As discussed by Stephen Moore and Janice Capel, the characterisation of the mother reveals a further significant aspect of gender construction in 4 *Macc.* [726] Her exhortation to her sons to endure is lauded in masculine-gendered language. The text attributes her with manly courage

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[720] Ibid., p. 82.

[721] Ibid.

[722] 4 *Macc.* 9.30, loc. cit., p. 374.

[723] Cobb 2008.

[724] Ibid.13.12, p. 377.

[725] Ibid. 16.20, p. 381.

[726] Moore and Capel 1998.

(ἀνδρειώσας); [727] she is acclaimed with martial imagery as a "soldier of God in the cause of religion" (δι᾽ εὐσέβειαν θεοῦ στρατιῶτι); [728] she has achieved the conquering of a tyrant (τύραννον ἐνίκησας); [729] she is "more powerful than a man" (δυνατωτέρα εὑρέθης ἀνδρός) through the overcoming of her maternal compassion (σπλάγχνα). [730] The mother's demonstration of masculine-gendered courage (ἀνδρεία) is also employed as a tool with which to challenge masculine behaviour: "Do not consider it amazing that reason had full command over these men in their tortures, since the mind of woman despised even more diverse agonies." [731] The implication is that if even a woman may overcome a state of emotional extremity and submit to reason, how much easier it must be for a man. 4 *Macc.* thus reveals a reversal in the characterisation of laudable gendered responses to oppression. The male is praised as suffering and submitting to torture; the female is portrayed as conquering a tyrant. This exemplifies Daniel's Boyarin identification of "gender bending" as a form of resistance to marginalisation and persecution. [732]

As discussed by Stephen Moore and Janice Capel, 4 *Macc.* portrays endurance (ὑπομονῇ) as a laudable masculine response to persecution and torture. [733] This represents a shift in the gendering of endurance, which, as argued by Johannes Vorster and Antti Marjanen, is traditionally gendered as a feminine trait. [734] The masculinisation of these virtues achieves male submission to

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[727] 4 *Macc.* 15.23, loc. cit., p. 380.

[728] Ibid. 16.14, p. 381.

[729] Ibid.

[730] Ibid.

[731] Ibid. 14.11, p. 378.

[732] Boyarin 1997, p.6.

[733] See discussion of Moore and Anderson 1998.

[734] Marjanen, A. "Male Women Martyrs: The Function of Gender-Transformation Language in Early Christian Martyrdom Accounts." In Seim, T. K. and Økland, J. (2009) (eds.), *Metamorphoses: Resurrection, Body and*

authority without emasculation. These responses are internalised, moving the focus of the text away from the external confrontation with Antiochus, whose brutality is equalled by the tyranny of the human emotions.

The emergence of endurance as a masculine-gendered characteristic in 4 *Macc.* reveals the destabilising effect of persecution on gender construction and the fluidity of masculinity under pressure, as identified by Vandello et al. [735] This is consistent with Daniel Boyarin's identification that reformations in masculinities and "gender-bending" may constitute a form of political resistance to oppression. [736] The following section will explore the emergence of the construction of endurance as a masculine trait in Manichaean literature, commencing with the letters of Mani. It will be argued that the development of endurance to encompass persecution in subsequent Manichaean literature reveals the emergence of a subordinate masculinity which challenges the Sasanian hegemony of masculinity as martial prowess and conquest. The suffering of the First Man embedded in Manichaean mythology offers the prototypical paradigm of endurance.

15.iii: Endurance in Manichaean Literature

This section will explore the theme of endurance in the writings of Mani and its subsequent development in the texts of the Manichaean community. It will be argued that Mani offers his personal experience of long-suffering and endurance as exemplae for the management of inter-personal strife within the Manichaean community. The theme of endurance is developed by the Manichaean community to encompass the experience of persecution from without. Endurance

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Transformative Practices in Early Christianity. (Berlin; New York: De Gruyter), pp. 231-247. Vorster, J. N. "The Blood of Female Martyrs as the Sperm of the Early Church." *Religion and Theology*, 9/1, pp.8 – 41.

[735] Vandello et al. 2008. See also: Vandello and Bosson 2013. See section 1, p. 15.

[736] Boyarin 1997, p. 6.

thus becomes, quoting Iain Gardner and Samuel Lieu, the "the most characteristic tone of the Manichaean ethic, its very summation of life lived in this world." [737] It will be argued that the emergence of endurance as a core construct in Manichaean ideology represents the development of a subordinate masculinity in response to the experience of marginalisation and persecution in Sasanian Persia and beyond. This mirrors parallel contemporaneous developments in Jewish and early Christian masculinities identified by Daniel Boyarin as tactical and oppositional manoeuvres to the Roman imperial phallus of activity and dominance. [738] The Manichaean construction of endurance has a unique and distinctive interpretation of the suffering of life in the body.

15.iv. Endurance in Mani's letters

The theme of endurance is introduced by Mani himself in two pastoral letters to his community. Dating to 350-370 CE, the letters survive in Coptic from the site of a fourth-century CE Manichaean community at Kellis in Egypt (*P.Kell. Copt*. 53 and *P.Kell. Copt*. 54). As discussed by Nicholas Baker-Brian, In these letters, Mani's self-identification with the practices of long-suffering (Coptic: ⲙⲛⲧⲁⲡⲟϩⲧ) and endurance (Coptic: ⲩⲡⲟⲙⲟⲛⲏ) emerge as important aspects of his "pastoral persona." [739] Mani's accounts of his suffering and endurance relate to dissent and betrayal from within the Manichaean community. In *P.Kell. Copt*. 53, Mani compares his betrayal by a close member of his community to Christ's experience of betrayal in *John* 13.18:

> I myself also, this thing has happened to me: One who eats salt with me at the
> evening table, my garments upon his body, All these things I have endured from

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[737] Gardner and Lieu 2004, p. 241.

[738] Boyarin 1997, p. 82.

[739] Baker-Brian 2016.

my children and my disciples; they whom I saved from the bondage of the world

and the bondage of the body. I took them from the death of the world. I, all these

things I have borne and endured from time to time, from many people [740]

In *P.Kell. Copt*. 53, Mani offers his 'long-suffering' (ⲙⲛⲧⲁⲡⲟϩⲧ) as an exemplum for his community to emulate in their relations with one another. [741] Nicholas Baker-Brian observes that Mani's experience of suffering is represented as enabling the "spiritual ennobling of the individual and the community more generally." [742] Endurance and "bearing up" are associated with wisdom and life:

If you wish to make yourself like me: Bear

Up like the wise shall bear, so that you

Will live. I reveal to you, my child,

My loved one: whoever wishes life, and life added

To his life, long-suffering

Is what befits him; because without long-suffering

He will not be able to live. For long-suffering

Has everything in it. [743]

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[740] P.Kell.Copt. 53 41.5-19 in Gardner 2007, p. 47.

[741] Ibid. e.g. 44.13; 15, p. 53.

[742] Baker-Brian 2013, p. 9.

[743] P.Kell.Copt. 53.44.09-16 in Gardner 2007, p. 75.

This passage transmutes the passive state of endurance into a life-enhancing and active choice, which masculinises those who practice it. In Mani's letters, endurance is exhorted as a positive spiritual response to suffering caused by internal community strife.

15.v: Endurance in Manichaean Literature

The construct of endurance as a positive spiritual response to conflict is developed in the *Manichaean Psalm-book* to include persecution from outside the Manichaean community. The *Psalm of Endurance* exemplifies this development, enshrining endurance in the context of cosmic conflict through the medium of the mythology surrounding the First Man. [744] In this psalm, the First Man's defeat and imprisonment are presented as prototypical exemplae of masculine endurance. Endurance is hypostasised and attends him as he descends to battle with the Kingdom of Darkness:

> The first man, he was sent out to the fight,
>
> And endurance came to him
>
> He left his land of light behind him, he went out to the Land of
>
> Darkness and Endurance came to him.
>
> He left also his men behind him, he went out to the field – (?)
>
> … and endurance came to him. [745]

The characterisation of the First Man here shifts from keen hunter-warrior to encompass obedience to command and endurance, emerging as a prototype of endurance. His endurance is applied to the

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[744] Psalm of Endurance, *Manichaean Psalm-book,* p. 141-143.34.

[745] Ibid., 141.4-9.

experiences of battle, exile from home and isolation. His endurance provides a primordial template upon which the present suffering and endurance of the Manichaean community may be mapped. The suffering of the First Man is thus transformed into a paradigm of endurance as a masculinised response to persecution from external agencies.

The *Psalm of Endurance* proceeds with further exemplae of endurance drawn from biblical, apocryphal and Manichaean literature. [746] Personae from *Acts* feature significantly, including Thecla, the female disciple of Paul. [747] This may appear to challenge the claim of the masculinisation of endurance in Manichaean literature. However, a passage in the *Psalms of Heraclides* places Thecla amongst a group of female figures from *Acts* whose renunciation of the female body and sexuality signals the rejection of femininity. Maximilla appears in the *Acts of Andrew*; Drusiane and Aristobula are found in the *Acts of John*. As "despiser of the body" and "lover of God," Thecla's femininity is sublimated into spirituality:

> A despiser of the body is Thecla, the lover of God. A shamer of the serpent is
> Maximilla the faithful… A champion in the fight is Aristobula the enduring one...
> A … that loves her master is Drusiane, the lover of God. [748]

[746] For specific works see Coyle 2009, p. 226.

[747] On Thecla, see: Ely, J. "Why Thekla Does Not See Paul: Visual Perception and the Displacement of Erōs in the Acts of Paul and Thekla." In MarÃlia P., Pinheiro, F., Perkins, J. and Pervo, R. (2013) (eds.), *The Ancient Novel and Early Christian and Jewish Narrative: Fictional Intersections, 3–19*. (Groningen: Barkhuis), pp. 3–19. Also: Grant, R. M. "The Description of Paul in the Acts of Paul and Thecla." *Vigiliae Christianae*, 36/1 (March 1982), pp. 1-4. Stichele, C. V. and Penner, T. (2009), *Contextualizing Gender in Early Christian Discourse: Thinking Beyond Thecla*. (London/New York: Bloomsbury T&T Clark).

[748] Psalm of Endurance, *Manichaean Psalm-book*, p. 192.25-193. 3. 94 See discussion of "manly women" in Haines-Eitzen, K. (2012), *The Gendered Palimpsest: Women, Writing, and Representation in Early Christianity*. (New York: Oxford University Press), pp. 124-126.

Likewise, Maximilla is portrayed as a "shamer of the serpent." This allusion to the Eden narrative of *Genesis* 3 reveals a rejection of the powers of female sexuality. [749] Masculine agonistic imagery is used to describe Aristobula, the "champion of God," echoing the counter-gendered characterisation of the mother in 4 *Macc.* [750] The female figures in this psalm are thus masculinised through their rejection of the body and female sexuality. Furthermore, recent studies of early Christian martyrological texts have identified the literary deconstruction of the gender of female martyrs through the choice of continence and rejection of the feminine-gendered roles of wife and mother. [751] Female sexuality is sublimated into spiritual faith. Martial imagery is employed in narrations of battles with aggressive male sexuality.

The Manichaean faithful are included amongst those who have endured suffering, sharing the promise of eschatological reward as true inheritors of the crown of endurance. Suffering is introduced as a redemptive experience with the male kinship terms of brothers, sons and fathers:

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[749] Gábor, K. "The protagonist-catalogues of the apocryphal Acts of Apostles in the Coptic Manichaica - a re-assessment of the evidence," in Luft, U., Bechtold, E., Gulyás, A. and Hasznos, A. (2011) (eds.), *From Illahun to Djeme, Papers Presented in Honour of Ulrich Luft* (BAR International Series 2311). (Oxford: Archaeopress), pp. 107-120, (p.111).

[750] Ibid.

[751] See, for example: Clark, E. A., "Sex, Shame, and Rhetoric: En-Gendering Early Christian Ethics." (1990 Presidential Address). *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, 59/2 (Summer 1991), pp. 221-245. Dunn, S. "The Female Martyr and the Politics of Death: An Examination of the Martyr Discourses of Vibia Perpetua and Wafa Idris." *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, 78/1 (March 2010), pp. 202-225. Pettersen, A. "Perpetua: Prisoner of Conscience." *Vigiliae Christianae*, 41/2 (June 1987), pp. 139-153. Shaw, B. D. "The Passion of Perpetua." *Past & Present*, 139, (May 1993), pp. 3-45. Tilley, M. A., "The Ascetic Body and the (Un)Making of the World of the Martyr." *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, 59/3, (Autumn, 1991), pp. 467-479.

"We also, my brothers, have our part of suffering, we shall join in their suffering and rest in their rest…We are true sons, the heirs of their fathers." [752]

The emergence of endurance as a central theme in the *Psalm of Endurance* mirrors the valorisation of endurance in early Christian martyrological literature, marking the emergence of the endurance of pain and torture as a defining feature of Christian identity. Brent Shaw identifies the central role of the tortured Christian body as the site of "active resistance" in the struggle with Roman power:

> In the power struggle between Christians and the Roman state, and in the passions of the martyrs, the consciously elaborated ideology of hypomonê took on greater and greater significance, until it came to have a commanding presence in Christian perceptions of the body. [753]

As discussed by Paul Middleton, the valorisation of endurance in Christian martyrological literature is paired with the use of agonistic masculine imagery, such as athletic, gladiatorial and military imagery, with the imperishable crown as reward. [754] Stephanie Cobb observes that these martyrological texts focus on endurance in preference to the moment of death. [755] As Cobb

[752] *Manichaean Psalm-book* 143.20-24.

[753] Shaw, B. D. "Body/Power/Identity: Passions of the Martyrs." *Journal of Early Christian Studies*, 4/3, (Fall 1996), pp. 269-312, (p. 309).

[754] Middleton, P. (2006), *Radical Martyrdom and Cosmic Conflict in Early Christianity* (The Library of New Testament Studies). (London; New York: T &T Clark).

[755] Cobb 2016; eadem., 2008. Perkins, J. (1995), *The Suffering Self: Pain and Narrative Representation in the Early Christian Era.* (London: Routledge). Castelli, E. A. (2004), *Martyrdom and Memory: Early Christian Culture Making* (Gender, Theory, and Religion). (New York; Chichester: Columbia University Press). ClarkWire, A. "The Social Functions of Women's Asceticism in the Roman East." In King 1988, pp. 308-323. Schüssler Fiorenza, E. (1988), "A

observes, it is the purpose of endurance rather than endurance itself that is valued. [756] Furthermore, Johannes Vorster observes that Christian martyrological literature demonstrates an absorption of the female experience of endurance into valorised masculine behaviour:

> Endurance, strictly speaking, belonged to the world of the female, because it was a virtue associated with passivity and more specifically with giving birth and the pain that had to be endured during this process. Even though this was hailed as a female virtue, what provided it with status was the male component, because 'endurance' suggested a measure of self-control, which was not a distinctive feature of the female body. Yet, the bodies of males were not usually associated with the passivity of lying down and surrendering one's s body to something that had to be endured. Their bodies were modelled on standing erect, inflicting pain and dying on the battlefield; female bodies were seen as suffering bodies, lying prone, giving birth in bed. [757]

Vorster observes that this "gender-bending" is mirrored by the employment of the gladiatorial model to achieve the entry of the imperfect female body into the male world of martyrdom. [758]

The significance of endurance in early Christian martyrological literature is mirrored by the emergence of the First Man as prototype of endurance in Manichaean texts. This may be understood to reflect the persecution faced by the Manichaean community following the death of

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Response to 'The Social Functions of Women's Asceticism in the Roman East' by Antoinette ClarkWire." Ibid., pp. 324-328.

[756] Cobb 2016.

[757] Vorster 2002, p. 24.

[758] Ibid., p. 26.

Mani, which continued with the execution of his successor Sinnaios. [759] A key instigator of the persecution of Manichaeism in the Sasanian Empire was the Zoroastrian priest Kartīr. Listed amongst the court entourage of Shāpūr I as an *ehrpat* (theologian) Kartīr's ascension to power as chief priest (*mowbedān mowbed*) appears to have occurred during the reigns of Hormizd I, Bahrām I and II. [760] Four surviving rock reliefs in the province of Fars bear inscriptions by Kartīr which proclaim his achievements during the reigns of the above monarchs. This is exemplified by an inscription on the Ka'ba-ye Zartosht by Kartīr, in which he lists his achievements and claims these were done: "by me for the gods and Shāpūr, king of kings." [761] Amongst these achievements, Kartīr lists the rise to pre-eminence of the Zoroastrian faith and the persecution of rival faiths, including the Manichaeans (*Zandik*). The inscription aligns rival faiths with the Zoroastrian evil spirit Ahramen and their adherents with *devs* (Middle Persian: followers of Ahramen):

> And in country upon country and place upon place throughout the whole empire the works of Ohrmazd and the gods superior became, and (to) the Mazdayasnian religion and magi-men great dignity… there was, and the gods and water and fire and small cattle great contentment befell, and Ahramen and the devs great beating

[759] For chronology of Manichaeism after Mani, see Tardieu and DeBevoise 2008, p. 91.

[760] See Gignoux, P. H. and Litvinsky, P. A. "Religions and Religious Movements 1." In Litvinsky, B. A., Guand-Da, Z. and Shabani Samghabadi, R. (1999) (eds.), *History of Civilizations of Central Asia: The crossroads of civilizations*: A.D. 250 to 750, vol. 3. (New Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publishers Pvt. Ltd.), pp. 403-420. Sprengling, M. "Kartīr, Founder of Sasanian Zoroastrianism." *The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, 57(2), (1940), pp. 197-228, (p. 204). Sprengling, M. "From Kartīr to Shahpuhr I." *The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, 57(3), (1940), pp. 330-340.

[761] Sprengling 1940, "Kartīr, Founder of Sasanian Zoroastrianism," p. 240. See also: Frye, R.N. "The Middle Persian Inscription at Sar Mashhad." *The Harvard Theological Review*, 42(1) (1940), pp. 69-70. Hutter, M. "Manichaeism in the Early Sasanian Empire." *Numen*, 40(1), (1993), pp. 2-15.

and hostile treatment befell, and the teaching of Ahramen and the devs from the empire departed and Jews and Buddhist monks and Brahmins and Nazarenes and Christians and [MKTK-y] and *Zandik* within the empire were driven out… And idol destruction and dwelling of the devs and burning down… [762]

References to the persecution of the Manichaean community survive in the *Sermon*. [763] This is exemplified by a passage which describes the persecution of true religion through the ages by a feminine-gendered hypostisation, Error (Coptic: *Plane*). The persecution of the Manichaean community by *Plane* is described through the images of music and doves:

She stopped the melody of the psalms in [the] m[outh (?) . .] | [. . . . .] the strings which glorify with (?) the lutes . . . | . . . she killed the doves . . |. . . which coo about the mysteries of God. / she opened (?) their dovecotes and she released them. She dipped | [her hands in the] blood of their young. [764]

The persecution suffered by the Manichaean community precipitated the development of endurance, modelled by Mani, as a subordinate masculinity. Endurance thus became a central construct in Manichaean ideology and a defining aspect of the Manichaean construction of masculinity.

A key aspect of the Manichaean construction of endurance relates to the experience of life in the body. Manichaean literature is permeated by expressions of contempt for the human body as a corpse, prison and poison. The *Manichaean Psalm-book* describes the human body as "the

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[762] Sprengling 1940, "Kartīr, Founder of Sasanian Zoroastrianism," p. 205.

[763] Pedersen 1996.

[764] Ibid., p. 237.12.3 ff.

offspring of hell" [765] and "the creature of the darkness." [766] The Middle Persian text M131, translated by Walter Henning, describes the body as an "edifice of horror…. stronghold of death …. poisonous form." [767] The Sogdian confessional texts S9 and S13, dating between 600-900 CE, describe the body as "this body of death" (MP. *nasah*: corpse), constructed by the demon of greed, Ăz. [768] The *Chinese hymn-scroll* portrays corporeal life as a poisonous and boiling sea of fire: "this poisonous fiery sea of my carnal body/ In which the uprising waves and boiling ripples never cease for a moment." [769] This contempt for the body suggests a Gnostic influence encased in Manichaean dualism. The Manichaean construction of endurance thus deviates from the Judaeo-Christian martyrological portrayals of endurance as a response to pain and torture to encompass a further ontological element. The imprisonment of the Manichaean First Man and his stolen sons provides the archetype of the imprisonment of the divine in the human body.

15.vi: Interim Conclusions: Endurance in Manichaean Literature

This part of the chapter has considered the Manichaean First Man as the prototype of endurance as a masculine trait in Manichaean literature. It is argued that this is consistent with reconfigurations in constructions of masculinity in Jewish *haggadah* and early Christian martyrological literature. The adoption of Hellenistic philosophical concepts in *haggadah* is presaged by the reinscription of Isaac in the *Genesis* 22 narrative of the *Aqedah* (the "binding" of Isaac by his father Abraham) as a willing participant in his sacrifice in Targum. This reinscription

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[765] *Manichaean Psalm-book*, p. 99.4.

[766] *Manichaean Psalm-book*, p. 159.31.

[767] M131. Cited by Coyle 2009, p. 107.

[768] S9 + S13 R ii 30. Cited by Klimkeit 1993, pp. 38-39.

[769] *Chinese hymn-scroll* 19. Cited by BeDuhn 2000, p. 106.

of Isaac is also evident in Josephus' *Antiquities of the Jews*. In 4 *Macc.,* the fearlessness and endurance of Isaac are invoked as ideals of masculinity in the context of torture.

The theme of endurance in Manichaean literature is introduced in the community letters of Mani, in which Mani offers his endurance of betrayal from within the community as an exemplum for the management of dissent within the community. The theme of endurance is expanded in later Manichaean texts to encompass persecution from outside the community. This indicates the development of a subordinate masculinity as a response to marginalisation and persecution and a rejection of the Sasanian hegemony of martial prowess and conquest. The Manichaean construction of endurance has a distinctive interpretation of the suffering of life in the body.

16. Final Conclusions

The mythology surrounding the Manichaean First Man forms a core part of Manichaean cosmological narratives. The emanation of the Manichaean First Man by the Mother of Life, according to the will of the Father of Greatness, is necessitated by a threat of invasion from the Kingdom of Darkness. The First Man, emanated in order to battle with the creatures of darkness, departs to the Kingdom of Darkness with his five sons as armour. This first battle results in a preliminary defeat; the First Man is captured and imprisoned in the abyss, where he languishes and laments his fate. His five sons, stolen by the creatures of darkness, are lost and mixed in the corporeal world.

This chapter has explored the conflicting characterisations of the Manichaean First Man as battle-ready warrior and suffering victim implicit in Manichaean literature. Connell's model of hegemonic and subordinate masculinities offers a framework to interpret these competing

characterisations of the Manichaean First Man. [770] Reconstructions of gender in Jewish *haggadah* and early Christian martyrological literature offer historical contextualisation for the conflicting characterisations of the First Man.

The First Man's characterisation as a battle-ready hunter-warrior is particularly marked in narrations of his preparations for departure to the Kingdom of Darkness, which establish the First Man as the prototype of the warrior-hunter. The construction of masculinity embodied in this characterisation mirrors the Sasanian hegemonic masculinity of martial prowess and conquest.

Following his defeat and imprisonment in the abyss, the First Man laments and grieves for his five sons. This characterisation reveals feminine-gendered traits of powerlessness and suffering which challenge the portrayal of the First Man as the prototype of masculine martial prowess and power. His exile from home and loss of status have been explored through the Judaeo-Christian and early Syriac hymnic tradition. I *Enoch* narrates the exile of a group of angels who defile themselves through sexual relations with human women. *Ap. John* recounts the defilement and exile of the feminine-gendered wisdom figure Sophia as a consequence of her interaction with materiality. It is argued that the First Man shares characteristics with these figures. The early Syriac hymnic tradition, exemplified by the Syriac *Hymn*, has been explored as an example of the use of the metaphor for clothing. The *Hymn* indicates that clothing and divestment serve as metaphors for loss of status and identity. This suggests that the loss of the First Man's clothing or armour (his five sons) signifies a loss of his status and identity as battle-ready warrior. This indicates the loss of Sasanian hegemonic masculinity as martial prowess and conquest.

The shift in the First Man's characterisation is consonant with parallel reconfigurations in gender construction and "gender bending" in Jewish *haggadah* and early Christian martyrological discourse. This is exemplified by the reinscription of Isaac in the *Aqedah* of *Genesis* 22 as willing

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[770] Connell and Messerschmidt 2005.

participant in his imminent sacrifice in haggadic literature and Flavius Josephus' *Jewish Antiquities.* Isaac's desire to overcome his fear of sacrifice is expressed through his request to Abraham to bind him well. The fearlessness of Isaac is invoked in 4 *Macc.*, in which the Greek philosophical virtue of endurance (ὑπομονή) is extolled as a core masculine virtue in the context of torture and execution. This text demonstrates "gender-bending" in male and female characters who assume each other's gendered characteristics in the battle with the tyrannical Antiochus for control of their bodies. This text presages the emergence of a construction of masculinity as the endurance of suffering in Judaeo-Christian discourse.

The construction of endurance as a prized masculine virtue in Manichaean literature commences in the community letters of Mani. Here Mani extols endurance as a response to betrayal or dissent from within the community. Endurance as a masculine virtue is expanded in in the *Manichaean Psalm-book* to encompass oppression and persecution from outside the community. This indicates the development of a subordinate masculinity as a response to marginalisation and persecution and a rejection of the Sasanian hegemony of victory and domination. The Manichaean construction of endurance has a distinctive interpretation of the suffering of life in the body. The endurance of the First Man offers the prototypical exemplum of endurance, marking the development of an alternate subordinate masculinity in response to oppression.

The parallel transformations in the Manichaean and early Judaeo-Christian models of masculinity in response to oppression and persecution demonstrate the vulnerability and fluidity of masculinity under pressure and may be construed as a form of resistance. The mythology of the First Man's endurance of impotence and loss of status is reframed to offer a model to a Manichaean community oppressed and persecuted from without. His suffering mirrors the experience of the besieged Manichaean in the corporeal life, becoming a paradigm for emulation.

Chapter Four: The Manichaean Mother of Life

17: Introduction

The first emanation of the Manichaean Father is the feminine-gendered divinity entitled "Mother of Life" or "Mother of the Living" (Coptic: Ⲧⲙⲟ ⲙⲉⲏ ⲙⲡⲱⲛϭ). [771] In Sogdian and Parthian texts, she appears additionally as the "Mother of the Righteous." [772] The characterisation of the Mother of Life in Manichaean sources is rich and complex. Majella Franzmann observes that her characterisation "goes beyond what might be considered particular to a mother, to attributes of a much more complex character." [773] This chapter will explore the gendered status and roles of the Mother of Life (henceforward the Manichaean Mother), through an exploration of her characterisation in Manichaean literature. The first section of this chapter will place and consider the Manichaean Mother within the Judaeo-Christian Wisdom literature tradition, exemplified by the *Book of Proverbs*, the *Wisdom of Solomon*, the *Book of Baruch* and the *Wisdom of Sirach*. It will be argued that the characterisation of the Manichaean Mother as the wisdom of the Father of Greatness mirrors the feminine-gendered characterisation of Wisdom (Sophia) in Judaeo-Christian

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[771] "The second greatness poured out and was manifested. It was revealed from the first / greatness. It is the Mother of Life, the Great Spirit." 1. Ke.16.49.21, loc. cit., p. 54. Also 1 ke.7.34.27, p. 38. Only four examples of "Mother of the Living" exist in the *Kephalaia* and *Manichaean Psalm-book*. For further details, see discussion of van Lindt 1992, p. 42.

[772] M 178 II. Cited by Henning, W. B. "A Sogdian Fragment of the Manichaean Cosmogony." *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 12, (1947-48), pp. 306–318.

[773] Franzmann, M. (2007), "Beyond the Stereotypes: Female Characters and Imagery in Manichaean Cosmology and Story." The Trendall Lecture 2007. *Australian Academy of Humanities Proceedings 2007*. Available online at: [http://www.otago.ac.nz/religion/staff/articles/trendall.pdf] (Accessed 23 March 2017).

Wisdom literature in the domains of creativity, nurturance and protection. A further construction of wisdom as a weapon is apparent in Manichaean literature. This construction of Wisdom is significant to the two areas of Manichaean praxis of missionary work and the agonistic discursive encounters of Mani at the Sasanian court. The next section of this chapter will contrast the maternal style of the Manichaean Mother with the antithetical maternal styles of the demoness Ăz and her daughter Eve in Manichaean literature. It will be argued that Ăz and Eve polarise the maternal style of the Manichaean Mother, revealing polarised symbols of chaotic and idealised motherhood respectively.

The second part of this chapter will explore the Manichaean Mother's act of intercession to the Father of Greatness on behalf of her beleaguered son, the First Man. This is a further significant element in the characterisation of the Manichaean Mother. The identification of her intercession as prototype of prayer will be discussed in the context of an emerging focus upon female supplication in Jewish haggadic literature and Syriac Christian liturgy. It will be argued that this act of supplication promotes a model of feminine subordination to masculine authority which is consistent with a prevailing patriarchal model of masculine dominance and feminine submission to masculine authority. The necessity of male consent for female action mirrors the gender hierarchy of Gnostic mythology, exemplified by *Ap. John*, in which divine harmony is dependent upon this gendered hierarchical structure.

18. The Feminine Gendering of Wisdom in Judaeo-Christian literature

Manichaean sources identify the Mother of Life as the wisdom of the Father of Greatness. This is a particularly strong theme in the *Kephalaia*, in which she is identified with wisdom as instruction, judgment and insight. *Chapter* three of the *Kephalaia* explains that three triads of Wisdom, Power and Happiness exist at different levels of divinity. The Mother of Life is identified with Wisdom

at the second level of the "Ship of Living Fire." [774] *Chapter* twenty-four identifies the Mother of Life with instruction:

> When [the] Fath]er called her he established her in the place he pleased, / [to] establish her there as the instruction of the people that / […] many […]; and she examined everywhere that / […] a blink of an eye, or like a […] bir[d … / …] [775]

Chapter twenty-five of the *Kephalaia* describes the "advent of five fathers from five limbs of the Father." [776] Here the Mother of Life derives from the insight of the Father. [777] *Chapter* twenty-eight appoints her as the judge of the archons, whom she uses to create the heavens:

> [the th]ird judge [is the] Mother of Life, the Great Spirit, [she who beauti]fied and set up [the] heavenly part of [the un]iverse, [according to / her] pleasure; which […] her. She j[udged] the rulers / abov]e; she f[ettered] and set them firmly in the place / [that is fitting for them. [778]

These epithets of wisdom as instruction, judgment and insight follow in the footsteps of a rich heritage of Judaeo-Christian Wisdom literature, in which Wisdom is personified by the feminine-gendered Sophia, examples of which will be discussed below. This section will offer a preliminary excursus into factors significant to the formation of the feminine-gendering of the personification of wisdom in Judaeo-Christian Wisdom Literature, before exploring in detail aspects of the characterisation of the Mother of Life as Wisdom.

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[774] 1 Ke. 3.24.12-15, loc. cit., p. 27.

[775] 1 Ke. 24.71.30-72, loc. cit., pp. 73-74.

[776] 1 Ke. 25.76.15-76.25, loc. cit., p. 77.

[777] 1 Ke. 25. 76.21, loc. cit., p. 77.

[778] 1 Ke. 28. 29-34, loc. cit., p. 81.

18.i: Woman Wisdom: The Feminine Gendering of Wisdom in Judaeo-Christian Wisdom Literature

This section will offer a brief exploratory excursus into potential influences upon the feminine gendering of wisdom in Judaeo-Christian Wisdom literature. The nouns denoting wisdom in both Hebrew and Greek are feminine-gendered (Greek: σοφία; Hebrew: hokhmah). However, this constitutes neither a sufficient nor necessary condition for the feminine-gendering of the hypostisation of wisdom in antique religion. The commonality of feminine-gendered wisdom divinities in the antique world, exemplified by the Greek Athena and Minerva, Egyptian Isis and Persian Anāhīd/Anāhitā, implies this to be more than a matter of grammar. The parallels between the characterisations of these figures attest to interfaith contact and contest. [779] This cultural collision is exemplified by the characterisation of Sophia in the *Wisdom of Solomon*. [780] This text, attributed by the author to King Solomon, is believed to have been composed originally in Greek in first-century Alexandria with a *terminus ad quo* of the late first century BCE. [781] As discussed by John Kloppenborg, the dominant culture of Isis-worship of first-century Alexandria is reflected by additions to the characterisation of Sophia which reflect aspects of Isis. Kloppenborg interprets these parallels in characterisation as a response to the challenge to Alexandrian Judaism of a rival religious figure. [782] The *Wisdom of Solomon* fuses Jewish wisdom imagery with the Stoic concept of *logos*, transforming Wisdom into the "breath of the power of God." [783] This assimilation of

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[779] Schroer, S. "The Book of Sophia." In Schüssler Fiorenza, E. (1994) (ed.), *Searching the Scriptures*, *A Feminist Commentary*, vol. 2. (New York: The Cross Road Publishing Company), pp. 17-38 (p. 34).

[780] Kloppenborg, J. S. "Isis and Sophia in the Book of Wisdom." *The Harvard Theological Review*, 75/1, (Jan. 1982), pp. 57-84.

[781] Glicksman, A. T. (2011), *Wisdom of Solomon 10: A Jewish Hellenistic Reinterpretation of Early Israelite History through Sapiental Lenses.* (Deuterocanonical and Cognate Literature Studies 9). (Berlin; Boston: DeGruyter).

[782] Kloppenborg 1982, p. 67.

[783] *The Wisdom of Solomon* 7:25. In Coogan et al. 2007, pp. 70-99, (p. 80).

Hellenistic concepts bears witness to the proximity and acculturalisation of Hellenic philosophy to the Jewish Wisdom tradition in first-century Alexandria. [784]

In her study of the *Wisdom of Solomon*, Silvia Schroer identifies the feminisation of Wisdom as a "stylistic device," intended to enhance the accessibility and familiarity of the abstract concept of wisdom. [785] This relies upon the reader's recognition and identification of stock feminine-gendered figures such as mother and wife. As identified by Susan Ashbrook Harvey, these stereotypes appeared commonly in folklore, theatre and literature throughout antiquity, reflecting prevailing gender roles. [786] These figures, therefore, cannot be wrenched from the culture in which they are embedded. In *The Body and Society*, Peter Brown has famously adopted and adapted Lévi-Strauss's construct of "using women to think with" to interpret the female figures in *Acts*. [787] Brown notes a "deeply ingrained tendency" of men in antiquity to use women to "think with." [788] However, any interpretation of such "thinking" must identify the specific cultural and literary context within which this "thinking" occurs. This chapter will endeavour to identify contextual elements and influences upon the characterisation of the Manichaean Mother.

Judaeo-Christian Wisdom literature employs a variety of feminine-gendered roles such as mother, wife, sister or bride to express the nature of wisdom, shifting between woman as a living

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[784] Collins, J. J. "Jewish and Hellenic Worlds and Christian Origins." In Sanneh, L. and McClymond, M. J. (2016) (eds.), *The Wiley-Blackwell Companion to World Christianity*. (West Sussex: John Wiley& Sons Ltd.), pp. 21-31.

[785] Schroer 1994, p. 32.

[786] Harvey, S. A. (2010), *Song and Memory, Biblical Women in Syriac Tradition* (The Pere Marquette Lecture in Theology). (Milwaukee: Marquette University Press).

[787] Brown, P. (2008), *The Body and Society*, *Men, Women, and Sexual Renunciation in Early Christianity* (Columbia Classics in Religion). (New York: Columbia University Press), p. 153.

[788] Ibid.

being and a symbol. Carol Newsom's study of *Proverbs* 1-9 distinguishes between the use of woman as a culture-specific symbol and a universal metaphor, arguing that Woman Wisdom functioned historically as a root metaphor. [789] Newsom identifies the centrality of patriarchal culture to this metaphor, in which the male dominates discourse as speaker, self and subject; the silent female emerges textually as other and object. [790] In her discussion of *Proverbs* 1-9, Carol Newson discusses Julie Kristeva's identification of the marginality and liminality of women, as expanded by Toril Moi to encompass the appearance of feminine-gendered figures in Wisdom literature. [791] These figures stand at the extreme of boundaries, holding, signifying and sometimes clinging to the extreme limits as expressions of the chaotic possibilities of breaching them. [792] These feminine figures thus act as idealised models of exhortation or warnings of the extremes of the feminine possibility:

> If patriarchy sees women as occupying a marginal position within the symbolic order, then it can construe them as the *limit* or borderline of that order… It is this position that has enabled male culture sometimes to vilify women as representing darkness and chaos… and sometimes to elevate them as representatives of a higher or purer nature… In the first instance the borderline is seen as part of the chaotic wilderness outside and in the second it is seen as an inherent part of the inside: the part that protects and shields the symbolic order from the imaginary chaos. [793]

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[789] Newsom 1998.

[790] Ibid.

[791] Moi 1985.

[792] Ibid., p. 166.

[793] Ibid., p. 166.

Moi's analysis is synchronous with Peter Brown's identification of woman as a "gateway… weak link and a bridgehead" in antique thought. [794] The permeable and vulnerable bodies of women "allowed in what men did not permit to enter." [795] This liminality is exemplified by *Proverbs* 1-9, in which Sophia is polarised by a chaotic and unruly adulteress, who represents apostasy, otherness and transgression. [796] Sophia and the adulteress represent polarised liminal, social and ethical points. Sophia offers refuge from the chaotic descent to Hell symbolised by the illicit sex offered by the adulteress. The following section will explore the characterisation of the Mother of Life as creative wisdom in light of this discussion.

19.ii: Interim Conclusions: The Feminine Gendering of Wisdom

The grammatically feminine gendering of wisdom in the Greek and Hebrew languages is insufficient to explain the prevalence of feminine-gendered wisdom divinities in the antique world. Furthermore, emergent parallels in the characterisations of these figures reveal interfaith contact. This is exemplified by reflections of the Greek Isis of first-century Alexandria in the characterisation of Sophia in the *Wisdom of Solomon*, which fuses imagery traditional to Jewish Wisdom literature with Greek philosophical concepts.

The use of feminine figures as symbols for and embodiment of wisdom reflects cultures in which stock feminine-gendered figures (such as mother and wife) proliferated in folklore, theatre and literature. These exemplify a tendency, identified by Peter Brown, to "use women to think with." [797] These stock characters exemplify the use of the feminine to signify the boundaries of

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[794] Brown 2008, p. 153.

[795] Ibid.

[796] *Proverbs* 1-9.

[797] Brown 2008, p. 153.

acceptable behaviour, acting both as idealised models and warnings of the extremes of the feminine. The liminal positioning of these female characters is exemplified by the polarisation of Wisdom with the adulteress of *Proverbs* 1-9, whose social and sexually deviant behaviour threatens chaos and destruction. Wisdom offers refuge from the chaos engendered by interaction with the adulteress. The following section will discuss the characterisation of the Manichaean Mother as Wisdom in Manichaean literature.

19: The Mother of Life as Wisdom

19.i: The Mother of Life as Creative Wisdom

This section will focus upon the Manichaean Mother as the embodiment of creative wisdom, revealed in her dual roles as cosmic creator and source of the First Man. It will be argued that the portrayal of wisdom as creativity mirrors and expands upon the feminine-gendered imagery of Wisdom as creation in Judaeo-Christian Wisdom Literature.

The creative wisdom of the Manichaean Mother is evident in her fabrication of the cosmos. *Chapter* seventeen of the *Kephalaia* describes the erection of the cosmos by the Manichaean Mother and Living Spirit as the arena for the redemption of light: "came the Living Spirit with the Mother of Life, they set in order the things of the world, they erected… the Father of Life and the Mother of the Living set in order…" [798] This is repeated by Theodore bar Khonai in *Lib. Schol*., which describes the fabrication of heaven and earth by the Manichaean Mother from the flayed skins and bodies of the archons: "The mother of the Living spread out the heaven with their skins and made eleven heavens and they threw the bodies of these to the Earth (land) of Darkness and

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[798] 1 Ke. 17.56.5-15, loc. cit., p.60. See also 1 Ke. 16.53.10-12, p. 57; 19.63.28-30, p. 64.

made eight earths." [799] The Manichaean Mother also appears as creator of the cosmos in the Sogdian didactory text M178 II, dating between 600-800 CE, which teaches: "Thereupon at once … (the Living Spirit) and the Mother of the Righteous Ones began to plan how to arrange this world. They began to fashion it." [800] Upon inspection, the cosmos is found to be created "with [great] wisdom." [801] This connects the creativity of the Mother Life with the cosmic plan of the universe's creation.

The attribution of cosmic creation to the Manichaean Mother mirrors imagery attached to the feminine-gendered personification of wisdom in *Proverbs*, in which Sophia participates in and witnesses the divine act of creation. Chapter three of *Proverbs* recounts: "By wisdom the Lord laid the earth's foundations, by understanding he set the heavens in place; by his knowledge the watery depths were divided, and the clouds let drop the dew." [802] In Chapter eight of *Proverbs*, Wisdom herself proclaims her presence at creation: "When He prepared the heavens, I was there; when He set a compass upon the face of the deep…" [803] Sophia is thus both an attribute and attendant of the Divine. These representations of the presence or aide of Sophia at the creation mark her as secondary and subsidiary to the creative Divine. This is consistent with the prevailing gender economy of the primacy of masculinity over the feminine. In terms of gender hierarchy, these portray the feminine role as secondary and subsidiary to the masculine creative act. The following section will explore the representation of the Manichaean Mother as protective and nurturing Wisdom in relation to her son, the First Man.

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[799] Theodore bar Khonai, *Lib. Schol*., loc. cit., p. 143.

[800] M178 II. In Klimkeit 1993, pp. 235-236.

[801] 1 Ke. 16.53.10, loc. cit., p. 57.

[802] *Proverbs* 3:19-20.

[803] *Proverbs* 8:27.

19.ii: The Mother of Life as Protective and Nurturing Wisdom

The relationship between the Mother of Life and her son, the First Man, is portrayed in terms which denote maternal protection and nurture. This section will explore the characterisation of the Mother of Life as protection and nurture, revealed by accounts of her affectionate relationship with her son. It will be argued that this mirrors and extends parallel imagery in Judaeo-Christian Wisdom literature of Wisdom as a sustaining and protective force. The polar characterisations of motherhood of the Manichaean demoness Ăz and her daughter Eve will be explored.

The portrayal of the Manichaean Mother as a nurturing and protecting maternal force is evident in narrations of her relationship with her son, the First Man. In *Chapter* nine of the *Kephalaia*, the Mother of Life supplies the archetypal first kiss and first blessing to her son before his descent to the abyss: "The first kiss is this one with which the Moth[er] of Life embrac/ed the First Man; as he separates from her, coming / down to the contest." [804] The Manichaean Mother also provides the second kiss upon his return from battle, providing the prototype of the kiss between friends parting or greeting:

> Also, this second ki[s]s is the one with which the [Father o]f Life and the Mother
> of the Living / embraced the F[ir]st Man, when he ascended / from the struggle.
> Again, this kiss occurs / among mankind, as they make to embrace their companions
> with it; whether then [they] / go away from home and be far from their friends, or
> else [if] they approach one another, according to the mystery of (the First Man). [805]

In the Coptic *Psalms of Herakleides*, the First Man, described as the "flower of the Mother of the Lights," is assured that the Mother is watching over him. [806] Furthermore, the Manichaean

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[804] 1 Ke. 9.21, loc. cit., p. 43.

[805] 1 Ke. 9.39.24-31, loc. cit., p. 45.

[806] *Psalms of Herakleides*, *Manichaean Psalm-book*, pp. 166.26.

Mother's concern for her absent son and his children is demonstrated by a portrait of her grief in *Chapter* fifty-eight of the *Kephalaia*, as she watches over her suffering children:

> The first who grieves is the first M/other of Life, she is sad because of her children who are s/et in affliction, for they were conjoined with the darkness and the / [poi]son. They have been bound with the entire ruling power. For what was she grieving, / watching over them taking these afflictions? Whenever she might [s]ee them and how suffering is brought upon them, she shall grieve and be unhap[py] on account of them. [807]

The Manichaean Mother's maternal role contains a marked element of separation from her son. The *Kephalaia* consistently entwines themes of affection and separation as the First Man departs to battle, providing a paradigm of maternal separation from the son. It is also her duty to equip him for his battle and bless his venture. This is noticeable in *Chapter* nine of the *Kephalaia* cited above, which describes her response to the departure of the First Man with blessing and kiss. [808] Idealised motherhood thus encompasses endurance of separation with equanimity and the struggle of concern for the absent child. This too builds into the picture of Manichaean motherhood.

Imagery attached to Sophia as Mother in Judaeo-Christian Wisdom literature encompasses protection and rescue. For example, *Proverbs* describes Sophia watching over those she loves: "Do not forsake wisdom, and she will protect you; love her, and she will watch over you." [809] In the *Wisdom of Solomon*, images of Sophia's protection and rescue are found in narrations of her deliverance of the biblical figures Adam and Noah. Wisdom "protected the first-formed father of

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[807] 1 Ke. 58. 147.25-31, loc. cit., p. 155.

[808] 1 Ke. 39.3-5, loc. cit., p. 234.

[809] *Proverbs* 4:6.

the world, when he alone had been created; she delivered him from his transgressions" [810] and defended Noah from the flood, "steering the righteous man by a paltry piece of wood." [811] Sophia "rescued from troubles those who served her." [812] Sophia rescued the Jewish nation from Egyptian slavery by entering the soul of Moses, drowning the enemy and providing protection and healing to the wounded. [813] This imagery of maternal protection and rescue is mirrored in the construction of the Manichaean Mother as Wisdom, which encompasses the rescue of the First Man from the powers of darkness. His rescue is achieved through communication with the First Man, hypostasised as the gods "Call and Answer," who symbolise the relation between the human plea for salvation and the divine response granted. In *Lib. Schol*., Theodore bar Khonai relates the events surrounding the First Man's rescue:

> And the call and the answer accompanied each other in ascending towards the Mother
> of Life and the Living Spirit, and the Living Spirit reclothed the call and the Mother
> of Life reclothed the answer, her beloved son, and they descended towards the earth
> of darkness, where the primal man and his sons were dwelling. [814]

The Manichaean Mother thus provides a portrait of idealised mother that encompasses protection, nurture and rescue through her role as the hypostasis of wisdom. These familiar themes from the construction of wisdom in Jewish Wisdom literature are entwined with the necessity of separation from the son in the characterisation of the Manichaean Mother. This emphasis on separation is a significant and unique development in the portrayal of the nurturing mother.

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[810] *Wisdom of Solomon* 10:1 in Coogan et al. 2007, p. 83.

[811] Ibid. 10.4, p. 83.

[812] Ibid. 10.9, p. 83.

[813] Ibid. 10.15-21, p. 84.

[814] Theodore bar Khonai, *Lib. Schol*., loc. cit., p. 148.

The characterisation of the Mother of Life as archetype of maternal protection and rescue substantiates Toril Moi's identification of the elevation of a feminine-gendered figure as representation of a higher nature which protects, rescues and defends from the threatened chaos of the forces of darkness. [815] As a representation of idealised motherhood, she stands at the apex of maternal action and attributes.

This section has explored the characterisation of the Mother of Life as the Wisdom of the Father. Her attributes as protection, nurture and rescue mirror and repeat the characterisation of wisdom in Judaeo-Christian Wisdom literature. The following section will argue that this characterisation of wisdom is extended in Manichaean mythology to encompass the metaphor of wisdom as a weapon. The application of this metaphor in relevant domains of Manichaean praxis will be discussed.

19.iii: Wisdom as Weapon

As discussed above, the descriptions of the Mother of Life's affection and blessings in *Chapter* thirty-nine of the *Kephalaia* reveal a protective dimension to her characterisation as wisdom which mirrors the personification of Wisdom in Judaeo-Christian Wisdom literature. However, the Mother of Life's protection extends further to encompass provision of weaponry to the First Man. This section will explore the association of the Mother of Life with armour and battle strategy in the context of Manichaean texts which use the metaphor of wisdom as weapon.

As discussed above, *Chapter* nine of the *Kephalaia* recounts the role of the Mother of Life in the First Man's preparations for battle. [816] As she bids him farewell, she provides a blessing,

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[815] Ibid., p. 166.

[816] See section 14.1, pp. 184-189.

kiss and laying on of hands, which serve as prototypes for human behaviour in the context of Manichaean ritual praxis and social encounters. These demonstrations of maternal affection are entwined with the provision of arms and armour to the First Man. The association of the Manichaean Mother with battle and arms is explored by Majella Franzmann, who identifies a warrior aspect to her characterisation. [817] This interpretation is consistent with the texts. However, it is important to contextualise this reading within the characterisation of the Mother of Life as wisdom and, more specifically, within the Manichaean construction of wisdom.

In an extract of the *Šābuhragān* preserved in Al-Bīrūnī's *Āthār*, Mani presents wisdom as a universal phenomenon, embodied in a series of revelations throughout history to regional prophetic figures, of which he is the last:

> Apostles of God have constantly brought wisdom and deeds in successive times. In one era they were brought by the apostle al-Bud (i.e. the Buddha) to the land of India, in another (era) by [Zardasht] to Persia, and in another (era) by Jesus to the west. Now this revelation Thereupon this revelation has descended and this prophecy is promulgated during this final era by me, Mani, the apostle of the God of truth to Babylonia. [818]

Within the Sasanian court, the pursuit of wisdom was an agonistic activity, marked by agonistic performances against rival sages, through which political ascendancy was achieved. These encounters, succinctly described by Paul Dilley as "the performance of wisdom through courtly dialogue," echoed masculinise court activities, such as hunting and riding. [819] Manichaean sources

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[817] Franzmann 2007.

[818] Al-Bīrūnī, *Āthār* 207, loc. cit., pp. 102-103.

[819] Dilley, P. "Mani's Wisdom at the Court of the Persian Kings: The Genre and Context of the Chester Beatty Kephalaia." In Gardner, BeDuhn, and Dilley 2014, pp. 15-51, (p. 30).

describe Mani's engagement and success in these disputations during his time at court. A group of Sogdian fragments, identified by Nicholas Sims-Williams, recount the telling of parables by Mani to a succession of magi at the court of Prince Ptw. [820] This suggests a hierarchical structure in which access was gained through victory in contest to successively higher sages and finally the king. [821] Superior wisdom was acknowledged with silence or verbal obeisance. [822] The Dublin *Kephalaia* describes Mani's encounters at court with the sage Goundesh, whom he vanquishes with wisdom parables. Goundesh acknowledges defeat thus: "From now on [I will be your] disciple, because there is no wiser man." [823] Talmudic sources also recount the engagement of rabbis in disputations with Zoroastrian magi in late antique Mesopotamia. [824]

The construction of wisdom as a weapon emerges in the Parthian and Middle Persian versions of the historical text M2, which recounts the mission of Mār Addā and Patig/Pattek to the Roman Empire. The Middle Persian version of M2 tells:

> They (Adda and Patteg) went to Rome (the Roman Empire). They observed (literally, saw) many disputes among the religions. Many elect and auditors were chosen. Patteg was there for a year. Thereafter he returned to the Apostle. Then the Lord (Mani) sent three scribes, the *Gospel* and two other scriptures to Adda, and he gave him the commandment, "Do not take them (the scriptures) further away, but remain there like a merchant who accumulates his treasures." Adda strove greatly

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[820] Sims-Williams, N. "The Sogdian Fragments of Leningrad." *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 44, (1981), pp. 231-40.

[821] See discussion of Dilley 2014.

[822] Ibid.

[823] 2 Ke.369 11-12/ G243. Dilley 2014, p. 43.

[824] Secunda 2014, p. 58.

in these areas, he founded many monasteries and chose many elect and auditors. He wrote scriptures and used wisdom as his weapon. [825]

The text above reveals the importance of wisdom as a weapon in the establishment of the Manichaean church in the Roman Empire. The Parthian version of M2 reinforces the significance of agonistic discourse to the Manichaean missionary movement:

(and) he employed (?) [wisdom] to answer the (other) religions. In many [ways] he formed and fashioned it [to be a weapon] against [all the] religions. And he [routed (?)] all the doctrines and put them to shame, [as] one [with] mighty arms… [826]

These two versions of M2 describe wisdom as a combative activity against competing faiths in the context of Manichaean evangelism. The employment of the metaphor of wisdom as a weapon in this context clarifies the combative element of wisdom embedded in the characterisation of the Manichaean Mother. This is exemplified in Manichaean mythologoumena by the Mother of Life's provision of arms to the son in preparation for battle.

The metaphor of wisdom as a weapon in the contexts of agonistic discourse in the court and in the Manichaean missionary endeavour represents an extension of the Judaeo-Christian representation of wisdom as nurture, protection and rescue. A combative and defensive element is introduced, which is not apparent in the Judaeo-Christian Wisdom literature. The common theme to the application of this metaphor is the efficacy of wisdom for the defeat of error, embodied both as demonic entity in mythology and rival faith in missionary and court context. Wisdom may be interpreted here as religious knowledge and argument. This is consistent with the representation of the Mother of Life as instruction in *Chapter* twenty-four of the *Kephalaia*, as discussed. [827] A

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[825] M2 (Persian), Klimkeit, pp. 202-203.

[826] M2 (Parthian), ibid., p. 203.

[827] See section 19, pp. 231-232.

parallel conception of wisdom as a weapon may be found in *Chapter* nineteen of the *Vendīdād*, which describes the temptation of Zoroaster (Zarathustra) by the evil spirit Angra Mainyu. [828] Zoroaster declares that he will repel the evil creations of Angra Mainyu through the weapon of the Word of Ahura Mazda:

> Again to him said the Maker of the evil world, Angra Mainyu: "By whose Word wilt thou strike, by whose Word wilt thou repel, by whose weapon will the good creatures (strike and repel) my creation, who am Angra Mainyu?" Spitama Zarathushtra said in answer: "The sacred mortar, the sacred cups, the Haoma, the Word taught by Mazda, these are my weapons, my best weapons! By this Word will I strike, by this Word will I repel, by this weapon will the good creatures (strike and repel thee), O evil-doer." [829]

While no direct influence can be claimed between these texts, it is worth noting that the concept of holy wisdom as a weapon was continued in Sasanian Persia.

19.iv: Manichaean Antithetic Portrayals of Mothering: Ăz and Eve

This section will explore two portraits of motherhood in Manichaean mythology which polarise the protective and nurturing Mother of Life. Firstly, the demoness Ăz, mother of the demons and the first human couple, corrupts and controls by imbuing them with her own demonic drives. Secondly, the Manichaean Eve displays maternal rejection and cruelty towards her son, Seth**.** This is significant given the unique salvatory role of Seth in Gnostic mythology. Eve's rejection of her

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[828] Malandra, W. W. (2015), "VENDĪDĀD i. Survey of the history and contents of the text." *Encyclopædia Iranica*, online edition. Available at: [http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/vendidad-parent] (Accessed on 10 January 2017).

[829] *Vendīdād*, Fargard 19.8-9, loc. cit., p. 97.

son thus marks her as antagonistic to the generation of the pure race of Seth. It will be argued that these characterisations of Ăz and her daughter Eve provide antithetical portraits of motherhood to the idealised Mother of Life.

The maternal behaviour of the Manichaean demoness Ăz constitutes a major theme in the collection of Middle Persian texts known collectively as *Mir. Man* I. [830] Scholarly opinion concurs that this collection of texts may represent an eschatological portion of the *Šābuhragān*, the Middle Persian edificatory text written and dedicated by Mani to Shāpūr I. [831] This suggests the texts to be a tradition that extends back to Mani himself. A further valuable source is the Middle Persian cosmogonical hymn, the *Excellent Verses of Salvation*, (S13 and S9). [832] The liturgical nature of this text indicates that this version of the Manichaean myth would have been accessible to both levels of the Manichaean community.

The *Excellent Verses of Salvation* names the Manichaean demoness Ăz the "wicked mother of all the demons" (*mād čē dēwān*). [833] The hymn describes Ăz teaching "lewd behaviour" and "copulation" to her demonic offspring:

> And just as Ăz herself, from the very beginning, had taught lasciviousness and mating to the demons and she-devils, the demons of wrath, monster demons and arch-demons in that Hell of Darkness, her own habitation, so she continued to teach lasciviousness and mating to the demons and she-devils, the demons of wrath, monster demons and archdemons in that Hell of Darkness, her own habitation, so she continued to teach lasciviousness and mating to the other male and female monster demons and archdemons that had fallen from the firmament to earth. (Her

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[830] See section 3.v.iii, pp. 64-65.

[831] Hutter 1992.

[832] S13 +S9. Cited by Klimkeit 1993, pp. 38-39.

[833] Ibid., p. 38.

aim was) that they be excited and unite with intertwined bodies and bring forth

dragon offspring which she (Ăz) would take away, devour and then form from them

the two (first human) beings, male and female. [834]

Ăz forms the first two humans, Adam and Eve, to be material copies of the divine images of the

Third Messenger. Overcome by rage at the removal of these seductive images, Ăz plans to satiate

her lustful desires. *Mir. Man* I. describe her plan: "Then that Ăz who had been deceived was filled

with great wrath; she desired to advance (in her cause) and thought…" [835] Ăz forms Adam and

Eve from the impure secretions of her demonic offspring. She then takes up residence within,

whence she satiates her own appetites. The *Excellent Verses of Salvation* indicate the corrupt

material of the human body: "Ăz, [that] evil mother of all demons, grew angry, and she stirred up

great turmoil to aid her own soul. And from the impurity of the demons and from the filth of the

she-demons she fashioned this body and entered into it herself." [836] According to *Mir. Man*. I, Ăz

further pollutes her creation with destructive propensities and drives:

> And in it (the body) she also sowed desire and lust, covetousness and (the urge to)
>
> mate, enmity and slander, envy and sinfulness, wrath and impurity, darkening (of
>
> the mind) and unconsciousness, hostility to religion and doubt (regarding the faith),
>
> (the urge) to steal and lie, to rob and to do evil deeds, obstinacy and falsehood,
>
> vengefulness and conceit (?), anxiety and grief, sorrow and pain, poverty and want,
>
> illness and the infirmity of old age, offensiveness and thievishness. [?]. [837]

The human body is consequently imbued with destructive, demonic drives and desires. *The*

Excellent Verses of Salvation state that the body is "filled… with hate and sin, anger and

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[834] Ibid., p. 232.

[835] Ibid., p. 232.

[836] S9 + S13 R ii 30. Cited by Klimkeit 1993, pp. 38-39.

[837] *Mir. Man* I, loc. cit., p. 233.

vengeance." [838] In a further act of control, Ăz conceals Adam's divine origins from him. She creates him: "as though blind and deaf, senseless and confused, so that he might not know his origin and family…" [839] Adam's ignorance of his divine origins in Manichaean mythology mirrors the deception of Adam by the demiurge Ialdeboath in Gnostic mythology. This is exemplified by *Ap. John*, in which the demiurge Ialdeboath ensures that Adam and Eve will not recall their divine origins: "And they were given water of forgetfulness by the first ruler, so that they might not know themselves and realize where they had come from." [840]

In *Mir. Man* I, Ăz seeks to control her creations by appointing a dragon to guard them: "He (the dragon) should guard them and not allow anyone to take them away from us." [841] This desire to control and possess her offspring contrasts with the construction of separation from the child as a positive maternal trait which pervades accounts of the Mother of Life and her son.

The Manichaean portrayal of the mothering of Ăz portrays a cruel and selfish mother who consciously poisons and pollutes her offspring, demonic and human, with sinful drives in order to satiate her own desires. She controls, possesses and deceives them in order to ensure that they remain with her. This contrasts sharply with the characterisation of the Mother of Life as nurturing, protecting and allowing separation. Placed at polar extremes, the Mother of Life and the demonic Ăz represent idealised and deviant motherhood respectively. As will be discussed, this has repercussions for the perception of the role of motherhood in the Manichaean community.

A further portrait of motherhood in Manichaean cosmological mythology appears in an account of the Manichaean myth contained in the *Fihrist* of the tenth-century Islamic bibliographer

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[838] S9 + S13 R ii 30, loc. cit., p. 39.

[839] Ibid.

[840] *Ap. John*, 25.7-8, loc. cit., p. 47.

[841] *Mir. Man* I, loc. cit., p. 234.

Ibn Al-Nadim. [842] This version of the Manichaean myth, as highlighted by John Reeves, is also contained in three Middle Persian fragments. [843] This describes the impregnation of Eve by the chief archon (Arabic: Al-Sindid: commander, captain) and the consequent birth of Cain and Abel. Following this, Eve is instructed to seduce Adam and subsequently gives birth to her son, the radiant Seth. [844] As discussed above, radiance is an indicator of the endowment of *xvarenah* (divine election) in Sasanian iconography and ideology. [845] Seth's radiance mirrors Zoroastrian mythology in the *Dēnkard* surrounding the birth of Zoroaster, which describes a luminous radiance emanating from his mother during her pregnancy, indicating the nature of the child within her. [846] Furthermore, the pattern of parentage of Cain, Abel and Seth in this account mirrors the pattern of the Gnostic texts *Ap. John* and *The Reality of the Rulers*, in which Cain and Abel are the product of the defilement of the earthly Eve by the first ruler and Seth is the only true son of Adam and Eve. [847] The text thus indicates a Gnostic Sethian tradition, in which Seth is a salvatory figure and founder of the pure race. [848]

Following Seth's birth, the chief archon observes that Seth differs from his sons, Cain and Abel and instructs Eve to reject him:

> Al-Sindid then taught Eve magical syllables in order that she might infatuate Adam.
>
> She proceeded to act (by) presenting him with a garland from a flowering tree, and

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[842] See section 3.vi.i, pp. 71-72.

[843] Ibid.

[844] Reeves 1999, pp. 432-439, (p.433 and ft. 6).

[845] See section 5.i, pp. 88-92.

[846] See discussion of Boyce 1996, p. 279.

[847] *Ap. John*, loc. cit., pp. 23-51. *The Reality of the Rulers*, loc. cit., pp. 65-76.

[848] Stroumsa G. G. (1984), *Another Seed. Studies in Gnostic Mythology* (Nag Hammadi Studies 24). (Leiden: Brill). Also: Burns 2014.

when Adam saw her, he lustfully united with her, and she became pregnant and gave birth to a handsome male child of radiant appearance. When Al-Sindid learned about this, he was distressed and fell ill, and said to Eve, 'This infant is not one of us; he is a stranger.' Then she wished to kill him… [849]

Eve's rejection of Seth is represented by her refusal to feed him. This contrasts with the nurture provided by the Manichaean Mother. The maternal role of nurture and protection is modelled by Adam, who removes Seth from Eve. The text thus presents Adam as provider of the required and expected maternal response that Eve neglects. This shift of gendered behaviour reinforces the deviancy of Eve's rejection of her infant. Forging a protective magical circle to protect Seth from demonic forces, Adam prays for food for Seth. Adam's intervention and imprecation ensures Seth's survival. This version of the Manichaean myth may thus be viewed as an extension of Gnostic mythology with a further vilification of Eve, who conspires with the demons to seduce Adam and rejects Seth:

but Adam seized him and said to Eve, 'I will feed him cow's milk and the fruit of trees!' Thus taking him he departed. But al-Sindid sent the archons to carry off the trees and cattle, moving them away from Adam. When Adam saw this, he took the infant and encircled him within three rings. He pronounced over the first (ring) the name of the King of the Gardens, over the second the name of Primal Man, and over the third the name of the Living Spirit. He spoke to and implored God, may His name be glorified, saying, 'Even though I have sinned before you, what offense has this infant committed?' Then one of the three (invoked deities) hurried (to Adam bearing) a crown of radiance, extending it in his hand to Adam. When Al-Sindid and the archons saw this, they departed (and went) away." He [Mani] said, "Then

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[849] Ibid., p. 433.

there appeared to Adam a tree called the lotus, and milk flowed from it, and he fed

the boy with it. [850]

The Manichaean portrait of Eve recounted in the *Fihrist* reveals Eve as the ally of the demons. She entraps Adam with seductive magic and rejects her radiant child Seth by refusing to feed him. This rejection, given the significant role of Seth as redeemer in Sethian Gnostic mythology, reveals Eve's opposition to the generation of the pure race of Seth. In contrast Adam assumes the role of protector and nurturer. The rejecting behaviour of Eve contrasts with the nurture and protection provided by the Manichaean Mother in Manichaean mythology.

19.v: Interim Conclusions: The Mother of Life as Wisdom

This section has explored the characterisation of the Mother of Life as wisdom in Manichaean literature. This characterisation reveals parallels with the Judaeo-Christian Wisdom literary tradition of feminine wisdom as creativity, protection and nurture. The creativity of the Mother of Life is evident in her shared role with the Living Spirit as cosmic creator. This mirrors the construction of Sophia as observer and subsidiary aide to divine creation in *Proverbs*. This subsidiary role follows a gender economy of the primacy of the masculine over the feminine. The characterisation of the Manichaean Mother as protective and nurturing wisdom is evident in narrations of her relationship with her son, the First Man, whom she prepares for battle. Her affectionate farewell to him, narrated in *chapter* nine of the *Kephalaia*, provides the archetypal first kiss and first blessing. In his absence, she grieves and watches over him from afar.

The Manichaean Mother's protection and nurture of the First Man encompasses his rescue from imprisonment by the creatures of darkness. This mirrors the characterisation of Wisdom (Sophia) as rescue in the *Wisdom of Solomon*. The Mother of Life thus represents wisdom as a

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[850] Ibid., p. 433.

protective and nurturing force which mirrors the Judaeo-Christian Wisdom literary tradition. However, an additional and unique emphasis on maternal tolerance of separation emerges in Manichaean narrative.

The characterisation of the Mother of Life as protective and nurturing wisdom is polarised by the feminine-gendered figures of the Manichaean demoness Ăz and her daughter Eve. Ăz, the cruel and selfish mother of the demons and creator of Adam and Eve, controls and corrupts her offspring with her own drives and desires by residing within them. This invasion polarises the tolerance of separation demonstrated by the Mother of life. In parallel her daughter, Eve, rejects and abandons her radiant son, Seth at the instruction of demonic forces. The portraits of motherhood provided by Ăz and Eve sharpen the portrayal of the Mother of Life as maternal protection and nurture.

A further construction of wisdom as a weapon emerges in the characterisation of the Manichaean Mother of Life. This is evident in *Chapter* nine of the *Kephalaia*, in which the Mother of Life arms and prepares her son prior to his departure for battle. This reveals a development of the characterisation of Wisdom as protection and nurture in Judaeo-Christian Wisdom literature. This development should be contextualised by Mani's experience of the performance of wisdom as an agonistic activity at the Sasanian court. A further instance of wisdom as a weapon emerges in Manichaean literature relating to the Manichaean mission to the Roman Empire. The Middle Persian and Parthian versions of the historical text M2, which recount the travels of Mār Addā and Patig/Pattek, describe the use of wisdom as a weapon in verbal confrontations with rival faiths in the context of the Manichaean mission to the Roman Empire. The construction of wisdom as a weapon is shared with Zoroastrian mythology and represents a development of the Judaeo-Christian wisdom tradition.

The following section will explore the portrayal of the Mother of Life as the archetype of prayer and supplication to the Father of Greatness in Manichaean cosmological narratives. It will

be argued that this mirrors parallel developments in talmudic representations of Hannah's prayer in 1 *Samuel* 1.13-19. The gender hierarchy and roles embedded in the Mother of Life's intercession will be discussed.

20: The Mother of Life as First Prayer

This section will explore the characterisation of the Mother of Life as the model of prayer in Manichaean ritual. It will be argued that, through her intercession, the Mother of Life becomes the archetype of religious supplication and communication. Her representation as the archetype of religious supplication emerges from her intercession to the Father of Greatness on behalf of her son, the First Man. This section will explore the intercession of the Mother of Life in depth and will argue that this mirrors a similar contemporaneous development in Jewish literature, in which the prayer of Hannah in 1 *Samuel* 1.13-19 becomes an exemplar of supplicatory practice. The significance of the role of supplication in terms of gender hierarchy will be discussed.

Chapter eleven of the *Kephalaia* describes the Mother of Life as "the beginnings of all blessings and of all prayers." [851] Her intercession to the Father of Greatness on behalf of her beleaguered son, the First Man, provides the archetypal first prayer. *Chapter* sixty-five of the *Kephalaia* relates her intercession:

> I will inst/[ruct y]ou how it is that they shall / [beseech] their entreaty from the
>
> first ones; or in what form / [they shall en]treat [their req]uest, they who have
>
> asked for it […]every thing. The Great Spirit, the Mother of Life, she begged and
>
> pra]yed and besought and glorified and praised the first established on[e; who] is

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[851] 1 Ke. 11.43.29, loc. cit., p. 49.

the Father. She [beso/ught] him an entreaty. She claimed of him a request. [she /

received a great gift; she and the many powers / [wi]th her. [852]

A Manichaean abecedarian hymn in Parthian dating between the seventh and eighth century gives voice to her prayer: "Then He (the First Man) prayed to the Mother of the Living, and she implored the Father of Greatness, saying "The fair son who does no harm, why has he been imprisoned among the demons?" [853] The communication of the First Man's distress is placed in the mouth of the Mother of Life and secures the consent of the Father of Greatness to his rescue. Hence the Mother of Life's prayer for her son provides the paradigm of human imprecation for salvation. *Chapter* one hundred and fifteen of the *Kephalaia* describes her entreaty as the prototype for the prayers of the saints over the deceased:

> See [no]w, I have taught you [the fi]/rst entreaty that the Mother of Life besought
>
> by [her] / prayer. They granted her entreaty. Thi[s] also is the case [with the prayer]
>
> that the faithful saints […o]/ver the one who has been released from his body. They
>
> shall be granted their / entreaty just as the Mother of Life was given the entreaty
>
> th[at sh]e / besought on behalf of the First Man. she was given the First Man / by
>
> the entreaty for which she besought the Father. [854]

The next section will explore the emergence of the valorisation of Hannah's prayer (1 *Sam* 1.13-19) in Talmudic representations and a parallel pattern in the late antique Syriac Christian tradition.

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[852] 1 Ke. 115.271.27-272.3, loc. cit., p. 278.

[853] M33 II R ii with M 367 V. In Klimkeit 1993, p. 49.

[854] 1 Ke. 115.273.9-15, p. 279.

20.i.: Female Supplication in Jewish Literature

The identification of the Mother of Life as the prototype of prayer mirrors the emergence of reverence for female supplication in Jewish talmudic literature. [855] This is exemplified by talmudic commentary on the prayer of the biblical matriarch, Hannah, in 1 *Sam* 1.13, which is affirmed as a paradigm of silent prayer. The pericope from 1 *Samuel* 1.13 reads: "Hannah was praying in her heart, and her lips were moving but her voice was not heard. Eli thought she was drunk."

In *Tosefta Berakhot* (Pre-300 CE) Hannah's prayer is cited as an exemplar of silent prayer: "Lest one think that he must pray out loud, Scripture specifies [to the contrary] in the case of Hannah, as it says, *Hannah was speaking in her heart* (1 Sam 1.13)." [856] Hannah's prayer as a paradigm is developed significantly in *B. Talmud tractate Berakhot,* in which thirteen matters are established by her prototypical prayer in relation to prayer (*Tefillah*):

> R. Hamnuna said: How many most important laws can be learnt from these verses
>
> relating to Hannah! *Now Hannah, she spoke in her heart*: from this we learn that
>
> one who prays must direct his heart. *Only her lips moved*: from this we learn that
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> he who prays must frame the words distinctly with his lips. *But her voice could not*
>
> *be heard*: from this, it is forbidden to raise one's voice in the *Tefillah. Therefore Eli*

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[855] Baskin, J.R. "Why were the Matriarchs Barren?": Resolving the Anomaly of Female Infertility. In Baskin, J.R. (2002), *Midrashic Women, Formations of the Feminine in Rabbinic Literature*. (Hanover: Brandies University Press), pp. 119-140. Also: van der Horst, P. W. "Silent Prayer in Antiquity." *Numen*, 41/1, (Jan. 1994), pp. 1-25.

[856] *Tosefta tractate Berakhot* 3.6 C. In Neusner, J. and Sarason, R. S. (1986) (trans./ed.), *The Tosefta*, *Translated from the Hebrew,* vol. 1: *First Division Zera'im* (*The Order of Agriculture.*) (New York: KTAV Publishing House), p. 13.

thought she had been drunken: from this, that a drunken person is forbidden to say

the *Tefillah*. [857]

Hannah's prayer reveals an association between intercession and childlessness. This is stipulated in *Genesis Rabbah* (c. 450 CE), in which the barrenness of the biblical matriarchs is attributed to the Divine desire to hear their prayers. The *Song of Songs* is cited as the divine voice of approval:

> Why were the matriarchs barren? R. Levi said in R. Shila's name and R. Helbo in
>
> R. Johanan's names: Because the Holy One, blessed be He, yearns for their prayers
>
> and supplications. Thus it is written, "O my dove, in the cranny of the rocks,
>
> /Hidden by the cliff" (Song of Songs 2:14): Why did I make you barren? In order
>
> that, "Let Me see your face, /Let me hear your voice" (Song of Songs 2:14). [858]

This argumentation is repeated in *B. Talmud* tractate *Yevamot*, which also explains that the matriarchs were barren because "the Holy One, blessed be He, longs to hear the prayer of the righteous." [859] In the *Yerushalmi* (*Palestinian Talmud*), Hannah's prayer exemplifies a ruling concerning the correct volume of prayer:

> One might think that he must raise his voice and pray. It was stated concerning
>
> Hannah, *Hannah was speaking in her heart (1 Sam 1:13).* One might think that he

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[857] *B. Talmud tractate Berakhot* 31 a-b. In Epstein, I. (1948) (ed.), *The Babylonian Talmud* (Seder Zer'aim I, Berakoth). (London: The Soncino Press), p. 191.

[858] *Genesis Rabbah* 45:4. Cited by Baskin 2002, p. 132.

[859] *B. Talmud tractate Yevamot* 64. In Epstein, I. (1936) (ed.), *The Babylonian Talmud*, (Seder Nashim I, Yebamoth I). (London: The Soncino Press), p. 429.

may just meditate [during prayer]. [On the contrary,] Scripture states, *Only her lips moved* [ibid.]. How is that done? One whispers with his lips. [860]

This reverence for the imprecatory female voice in haggadic literature may have been influential upon the emergence of a parallel pattern in late antique Syriac Christian tradition between the fifth to sixth century onwards. [861] As discussed by Susan Ashbrook Harvey, female biblical figures such as Sarah, Eve, Tamar, Ruth and Rahab were granted a voice in late antique Syriac liturgy which was not present in biblical narrative. [862] A distinctive feature of Syriac liturgy was the performance by female choirs of *madrahe* (doctrinal hymns) and *soghyatha* (dialogue hymns) which gave voice to the experience of female biblical figures in rhetorical or liturgical form. This pattern is mirrored by the appearance of a sixth-century Syriac collection entitled the *Book of Women*, in which narrations of the stories of Ruth, Esther, Judith and Susanna are joined by an account of Thecla's experiences as disciple of Paul. [863]

Female intercession plays a central role in Gnostic creation mythology, as exemplified by *Ap. John*, in which exemplae of the necessity of Divine consent to harmony and critical to the narrative. [864] The approved model is modelled by the first emanation of the Invisible Spirit, Barbēlō

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[860] *Yerushalmi* (*Palestinian Talmud*) *tractate Berakhot*, 4.1-7 In Zahavy, T. (trans.) and Neusner, J. (ed.) (1989), *The Talmud of the Land of Israel, A Preliminary Translation and Explanation,* vol 1: *Berakhot.* (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press), p. 149.

[861] Harvey 2010.

[862] Ibid.

[863] See doctoral dissertation of Burris, C. (2010), (Doctoral Dissertation). *The Reception of the Acts of Thecla in Syriac Christianity: Translation, Collection, and Reception*. (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina).

[864] *Ap. John,* loc. cit.

(meaning "virgin"). Through her request to the Invisible Spirit, Barbēlō succeeds in acquiring forethought (prognosis):

> And the emanation, that is, *the* Barbēlō, made a request of the invisible virgin spirit, that it be given prior acquaintance (*prognosis*). And the spirit consented. And *when* it had *consented*, prior acquaintance became disclosed. [865]

Barbēlō's successful acquisition of foreknowledge through request contrasts with the independent and unapproved mental act of Sophia, who seeks to produce without consultation or entreaty:

> She wanted to show forth within herself an image, without the spirit's [will] and her consort did not consent. And she (wished to do so) without his pondering for the person of her maleness did not consent… she pondered without the will of the spirit and without acquaintance with that being which was in harmony with her. [866]

Sophia's failure to request consent results in the generation of the deformed and monstrous Ialdeboath. Her error is rectified only through her repentant prayer, as recounted in *Ap. John:*

> But when the mother learned that the garment of darkness had not come to exist perfectly, she knew accordingly that her consort had not been in harmony with her and she repented with much weeping. And the entreaty of her repentance was heard, and all the fullness lifted up praise on her behalf unto the invisible virgin spirit, and it consented. [867]

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[865] *Ap. John* 5.10-15, loc. cit., p. 31.

[866] *Ap. John* 10.25-34, loc. cit., p. 35.

[867] *Ap. John* 13.32-14.1, loc. cit., p. 38.

The requirement of consent and representation of female prayer in *Ap. John* conforms to a patriarchal model of masculine authority and feminine submission.

The Manichaean model of the Mother of Life's first prayer conforms to a patriarchal model of masculine dominance and feminine subordination to masculine authority. Notably, the Mother of Life's imprecation relates to her role as mother and protector of young, establishing the domestic sphere as a feminine concern, in contrast with the public and broader domain of male activity. The establishment of her prayer in the *Kephalaia* as the prototype of intercession mirrors the emergence of reverence for female prayer in haggadic and Talmudic Jewish literature.

20.ii: Interim Conclusions: The Mother of Life as First Prayer

This section has explored the characterisation of the Mother of Life as a model of feminine intercession in Manichaean narrative. The Mother of Life's imprecation to the Father of Greatness relates to her role as a protective and nurturing mother.

Through her intercession on behalf of her son, the First Man, the Mother of Life provides an archetype of religious supplication. This element of her characterisation mirrors a development in Jewish *haggadic* literature, in which the prayer of Hannah in 1 *Samuel* 1.13 is cited as an exemplum of supplicatory practice. This marks an emergent reverence for female prayer in haggadic and talmudic literature, which may have been influential upon the entry of the female voice into late antique Syriac Christian liturgy and literature. The performance of *madrahe* and *soghyatha* by female choirs gives voice to previous silent female biblical figures. The developing reverence for the female voice is reflected by a sixth-century Syriac collection entitled the *Book of Women*, narrates the experiences of Ruth, Esther, Judith and Susanna and Thecla, disciple of Paul.

The necessity of masculine consent to feminine action is embedded in Gnostic cosmological mythology. This is exemplified by *Ap. John.*, in which the feminine-gendered Barbēlō makes a request to the Invisible Spirit in order to acquire further emanations. In contrast, the unapproved thought and action of Sophia engenders cosmic disorder.

The Mother of Life's imprecation to the Manichaean Father reveals a gendered hierarchy of feminine submission to masculine authority. This is consistent with a patriarchal model of male dominance and female subordination.

21: Conclusions: The Mother of Life

This chapter has explored the gendered characterisation of the Manichaean Mother of Life. As first emanation of the Manichaean Father, she herself emanates the First Man who is tasked with battling the powers of darkness. The Manichaean Mother's identification as the wisdom of the Father reveals parallels with the feminine-gendered personification of wisdom, Sophia, in Judaeo-Christian Wisdom literature. The parallels discussed here encompass creativity, maternal nurture, protection and rescue. These parallels may be explained by Mani's upbringing in a Judaeo-Christian sect, where Mani appears to have become acquainted with a variety of Jewish and Judaeo-Christian literature.

The construction of the Manichaean Mother's maternal characteristics is imbued with a particularly Manichaean interpretation and character. Embedded in the myth of the Mother of Life and her son is an expectation of the preparation, acceptance and blessing of the son's departure from home to fulfil his duties. Furthermore, the maternal task does not end here; the continued vigilance and eventual rescue of the First Man instigated by the Mother of Life witness to the longevity of the maternal role. The Manichaean portrayal of nurturing motherhood is textually intertwined with the experience of separation. The Mother of Life provides the paradigm

of the maternal response to this separation, modelling acceptance, blessing and continued care as a desirable response.

The protective and nurturing characteristics of the Mother of Life are sharply polarised by the Manichaean portraits of the mothering styles of the demoness Ăz and her daughter Eve. The demoness refuses to allow separation from her children, Adam and Eve. Furthermore, she creates them corrupted and sullied, as a source of sexual pleasure to herself and her demon progeny. The human body, from within which she satiates her desires, is thus corrupted by her demonic drives. The portrait of Eve evident from Middle Persian fragments and a parallel account from the *Fihrist* of al-Nadim reveals a mother who rejects and abandons her son to die. The maternal role of protection is assumed by Adam, who finds milk to feed his son and protects with magical symbols.

The contrast between these maternal figures provides polarised portraits of motherhood. The Mother of Life, as representation of idealised motherhood, stands at the apex of desirable action. The Manichaean Eve and the demoness Ăz take up the position of negligent and self-centred maternity, warning of the extreme possibilities of the maternal role. This recalls the model of Toril Moi, who understands the liminality of such polarised figures as warning and ideal, reflecting a culture that both fears and demonises the excesses of the feminine.

The metaphor of wisdom as a weapon should be considered within Mani's conception of wisdom as a universal phenomenon manifested throughout the ages by specific prophets, of which he viewed himself as the final embodiment. Mani partook of the Sasanian court environment within which wisdom was a performative and agonistic pursuit, victory in which was required to ensure ascension at court amongst the sages. This involved engagement in agonistic performances, leading to defeat or submission. The metaphor of the Mother of Life as a weapon thus provides an exemplar of the necessity and efficacy of wisdom in order to combat the dark forces of the material world. The maternal role in this battle would seem to be the instruction, nurturance, protection and

vigilance over the male child who is dispatched to consort with the error of the material world. Her role is circumscribed by masculine authority and control. Independent action without masculine consent is not approved or permitted.

The intercession of the Mother of Life on behalf of the First Man is presented as a prototype of prayer on behalf of the souls of the departed dead. It thus has a salvatory focus. This mirrors a developing reverence for female prayer in Jewish haggadic and Talmudic literature, within which the prayer of Hannah is presented as a paradigm of silent prayer. The voice of the Mother of Life is hierarchically ordered and contained; she acts only with the consent of the Father to whom she intercedes, mirroring Gnostic creation narrative which embeds the necessity of feminine submission to masculine authority for cosmic harmony. The nature of imprecation itself requires considerable elements of obeisance and glorification. In conclusion, the characterisation of the Mother of Life reveals a hierarchically-ordered relationship between the feminine and masculine consistent with the prevailing patriarchal culture of late antique Sasanian society.

Chapter Five: The Manichaean demoness Ăz and the *Yetzer Hara*

22: Introduction: The Manichaean Demoness Ăz and the *Yetzer Hara*

This chapter will present a study of Manichaean hamartiology as represented by the feminine-gendered demoness named Ăz in Eastern (Middle Persian, Parthian and Sogdian) Manichaean texts. It will be argued that her characterisation as inner proclivity to sin residing in the human body mirrors the Jewish representation of the relation between humanity and sin embodied in the *yetzer hara*, the "evil inclination," a concept which first emerges in *Genesis* but undergoes significant development in Second Temple Jewish literature to become enshrined as a central hamartiological concept of rabbinical discourse. This chapter thus intends to offer a glimpse of the possible ancestry of the Manichaean hamartiological figure Ăz.

This chapter will be divided into two main sections. The first section will explore the biblical origin and development of the Jewish hamartiological concept of the *yetzer hara* in Second Temple literature and rabbinical texts. The second section will explore the origins and development of the demoness Ăz in Manichaean literature. This will commence with an overview of the origins of Ăz in Zoroastrian creation mythology, followed by an analysis of her characterisation in Mani's writings. The texts to be explored will be *Ep. Fund, Šābuhragān* and *Mir. Man.* I. Finally, the conclusion will argue that the portrayal of Ăz in these texts mirrors the construction of sin embodied in the *yetzer hara* in five aspects. Firstly, both the *yetzer hara* and the Manichaean Ăz represent sin as an inner propensity intrinsic to humanity from its inception.

Secondly, this proclivity is expressed and experienced as an invasive demonic entity which requires expulsion from the human body. In Manichaean literature this is built into the characterisation of Ăz as a demonic entity resident in the human body. This is mirrored by the representation of the *yetzer hara* as a demonic force in 12TP and the texts from Qumran. Thirdly, Jewish Second Temple literature and Manichaean texts reveal tools which may be used to combat

the powers of sin. 12TP reflects a developmental stage in the concept of the *yetzer hara* in which it is polarised by the *yetzer tov* (good inclination). However, in further Second Temple and rabbinical literature, *Torah* emerges as the chief weapon to subdue the *yetzer hara*. In Manichaean literature, the powers of the demoness Ăz are combatted by the ritual "closing of the senses," which prevents outer demons from melding with the demonic forces within the human body. Furthermore, *Torah* as a weapon to subdue the *yetzer hara* is mirrored in Manichaean literature by the salvatory nature of Manichaean gnosis and faith. In the *Šābuhragān*, the demons greed and lust are polarised by Manichaean gnosis, which acts as protection for the Manichaean faithful.

The fourth doctrinal parallel between the *yetzer hara* and the demoness Ăz as representations of sin is an emergent emphasis upon the perils of excessive sexual desire. This is evident in Manichaean texts which reflect an increasing sexualisation of the demoness Ăz, who corrupts both demons and humans with her sexual urges and knowledge. Ishay Rosen-Zvi's identification of a new gender economy in Second Temple literature, which attributes the female with responsibility for the male struggle with sexual desire, mirrors this development in the demoness Ăz. This parallel in doctrine relates to a further fifth parallel, which is the feminine gendering of sexual desire and temptation in both traditions, in which portraits of pernicious female sexuality are apparent.

22.i: The *Yetzer Hara*: The History of a Jewish Hamartiological Concept

At the core of rabbinical hamartiology is the concept of the *yetzer hara*, usually translated as "the evil inclination," deriving from the Hebrew root verbs *ytzr*, (to create or fashion) and *ra`a`*, (to be bad, evil, displeasing, sad or injurious). [868] The term *yetzer hara* identifies a definite object

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[868] H7489, Strong 2007, p. 1575.

(*the* evil inclination) as opposed to an indefinite object (*an* evil inclination). Ishay Rosen-Zvi deems translations of the *yetzer hara* as inclination, tendency, disposition, instinct or desire to lack reference to "a reified object, a thing, residing within the body." [869] This observation will be significant in the forthcoming discussion. For the purposes of this paper, the *yetzer hara* will be translated as the evil inclination.

This part of the chapter will explore the biblical roots of the *yetzer hara* and the development of the concept in Second Temple literature. This part will consist of three sections. The first section (23.ii: The Biblical Origins of the *Yetzer Hara*) will explore the biblical origins of the *yetzer hara* in the creation narrative of the book of *Genesis*, where it appears as a nascent concept as explanation for the divine decision to flood the earth. The second section (23.iii: The *Yetzer Hara* in Second Temple Literature) will examine key developmental aspects in the representation of the *yetzer hara* in Second Temple Jewish literature. These texts demonstrate a construction of the *yetzer hara* as a demonic entity requiring expulsion from the human body. Dualist structures are reflected in the polarisation of the *yetzer hara* by *Torah* and the *yetzer hatov* (the good inclination), which also reside in the human heart. Finally, the *yetzer hara* emerges as explanation for dilemmas of theodicy concerning human responsibility for sin. The further development of the concept of the *yetzer hara* in rabbinical texts will be discussed, in which an association with the human sexual impulse emerges. [870] The third section (23.iv: The Demonic Feminine) will explore the emergence of a new gender economy, which attributes responsibility for the masculine struggle with sexual desire to the feminine. Examples of this "new economy of gender" are evident in 12TP and the Qumran text 4Q184. The feminine as a symbol of temptation

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[869] Rosen-Zvi, I. "Two rabbinical Inclinations? Rethinking a Scholarly Dogma." *Journal for the Study of Judaism,* 39, (2008), pp.1-27 (pp. 1-2).

[870] Rosen-Zvi, I. "Refuting the Yetzer the Evil Inclination and the Limits of Rabbinic Discourse." *Journal for Jewish Thought and Philosophy,* 17, (2009), pp. 117-142.

to sexual transgression, encompassing intent to corrupt and lead astray in these texts will be discussed.

22.ii: The Biblical Origins of the *Yetzer Hara*

As discussed by Piet van der Horst, the concept of the *yetzer hara* derives from three verses in *Genesis*, the first of which illustrates Ishay Rosen-Zvi's argument that the concept denotes formation or fashioning. [871] In *Genesis* 2:7 the verb *ytzr* is used to denote the divine formation of Adam. The two further verses in *Genesis* in which the *yetzer* appears are both embedded in the flood narrative. In *Genesis* 6:5 the *yetzer hara* emerges as justification for God's decision to flood the earth, following the birth of the *Nephilim* from the sons of god and human women. In *Genesis* 8:21 God accepts the permanence and omnipotence of the evil inclination in Man, pledging never again to destroy the earth. This verse portrays the *yetzer hara* as taking root early in life in the human heart where it resides permanently. The evil inclination may be interpreted either as an innate human disposition or an independent entity that lives parasitically in the human heart.

22.iii: The *Yetzer Hara* in Second Temple literature

In Second Temple literature, a representation of the *yetzer hara* as an external demonological power emerges. Ishay Rosen-Zvi indicates that the *yetzer hara* first emerges as an independent demonic entity in surviving texts from Qumran. [872] These texts appear to be the surviving library of a religious community which inhabited Qumran between 200 BCE-73 CE. Scholarly consensus believes this was most likely to have been the Essene community. Most of the

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[871] Rosen-Zvi 2008.

[872] Rosen-Zvi, I. (2011), *Demonic Desires: "Yetzer Hara" and the Problem of Evil in Late Antiquity* (Divinations Rereading Late Ancient Religion). (Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press).

surviving texts pre-date the destruction of the Jerusalem Temple. Ida Fröhlich argues that the usage of the term *yetzer hara* in the Qumran texts reflects the ethical and anthropological dualism and demonological belief system of the community. [873] Anthropological dualism is evident in the *War Scroll* and *Community Rule* which identify two categories of men. [874] The "Sons of Light" are those who are faithful to the community ethic. The "Sons of Darkness" have been led astray from the community and do not follow sectarian values. [875] Cosmological dualism is illustrated by the two polarised categories of spirit at work upon humanity, the "Spirit of Truth" and the "Spirit of Error." [876]

The community's demonological belief system is demonstrated by texts which include the *yetzer hara* as a force requiring expulsion from the human body. The sectarian liturgical adaptation of *Psalm* 51, the *Plea for Deliverance* (11Q5 XIX), categories the *yetzer hara* with demons and evil spirits: "Let not a satan rule over me, nor an unclean spirit; neither let pain nor evil inclination have power over my bones." [877] In the sectarian text *Barkhi Nafshi* (4Q434–438), Eibert Tigchelaar notes the appearance of the Hebrew verb *gaar*: (to rebuke or drive with rebukes), which commonly denotes exorcism of spirits or demons. In this prayer, the supplicant

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[873] Fröhlich I. "Theology and Demonology in Qumran Texts." *Henoch,* 32(1), (2010), pp. 101-129.

[874] See discussion of May, H.G. "Cosmological Reference in the Qumran Doctrine of the Two Spirits and in Old Testament Imagery." *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 82/1, (Mar. 1963), pp. 1-14.

[875] *The War Scroll.* In Vermès, G. (2011), *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English* (7th Edition). (London: Penguin Books Ltd.), pp. 163-187.

[876] Flusser, D. and Yadin, A. (2007), *Judaism of the Second Temple Period: Qumran and Apocalypticism.* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans).

[877] *Plea for Deliverance* 11Q5 XI. Cited by Tigchelaar, E. J. C. (2008), "The evil inclination in the Dead Sea Scrolls, with a re-edition of 4Q468i (4QSectarian text?)." In Houtman, A., de Jong, A. and van de Weg, M. (2008) (eds.), *Empsychoi Logoi - Religious Innovations in Antiquity: Studies in Honour of Pieter Willem van der Horst.* (Leiden; Boston: Brill), pp. 347-357, (p. 350).

describes release from the powers of the *yetzer hara*: "The evil inclination [you] have driven with rebukes [from my innermost parts and the spirit of ho]liness you have set in my heart." [878] This text reveals that divine power is required to overcome the *yetzer hara*. A further reference to the *yetzer hara* appears in the *Damascus Document* (henceforward CD). This text has been identified with the religious community at Qumran. [879] This identification rests on the comparison of mediaeval fragments with surviving fragments of CD at Qumran, dating to c. 100 BCE. [880] CD contains an introduction to community law and gives details of the history and punishment of Israel and the emergence of a new covenant community. The text warns of apostates and apostasy. [881] In CD, lustful eyes are associated with a guilty *yetzer* (inclination), which appears to reside in the heart: "And now, sons, listen to me so that you can walk perfectly in all His ways and not follow after thoughts of the guilty inclination and after eyes of lust." [882]

12TP is pervaded by a dualist anthropological and ethical doctrine, describing two paths available to Man, which lead either to God or the demon Beliar. External cosmic forces, such as demons and spirits, constitute a unifying theme throughout 12TP. The demon Beliar rules over seven "spirits of deceit," each of which influences a specific organ of the human body and hence controls the internal human body. [883] 12TP reveals a developmental phase in which the *yetzer hara* is polarised by a good inclination (*yetzer hatov*), which also resides in the human heart. This is evident in the *Testament of Benjamin* (*T. Benjamin*) and the *Testament of Asher* (*T. Asher*), both

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[878] Ibid., p. 351.

[879] Davies, P. R. (1983), *The Damascus Covenant: An Interpretation of the 'Damascus Document.'* (Sheffield: JSOT Press).

[880] Nickelsburg 1981, pp. 122-123.

[881] Ibid.

[882] *Damascus Document* 2.14-16. In Vermès 2011, p. 130.

[883] *T. Reuben* II. 1- III.8, loc. cit., pp. 26-27.

of which describe the existence of two polarised *yetzarim*. Possession of two inclinations is the mark of the demon Beliar. *T. Benjamin* states: "And in like manner the works of Beliar are twofold, and there is no singleness in them." [884] *T. Asher* likens this to those who serve two masters: "But from wickedness flee away, destroying the (evil) inclination by your good works; for they that are double-faced serve not God, but their own lusts, so that they may please Beliar and men like unto themselves." [885] The coexistence of two conflicting *yetzarim* creates a dangerous ethical duality. The dangers of this are listed in *T. Benjamin* as the possession of "two tongues, of blessing and of cursing, of contumely and of honor, of sorrow and of joy, of quietness and of confusion, of hypocrisy and of truth, [of poverty and of wealth]." [886] *T. Asher* reveals that this duality may be avoided by rooting out the *yetzer hara* from the heart with the *yetzer hatov*. [887]

A parallel model of polarisation is evident in 4 *Ezra*. [888] However, in this text the *yetzer hara* is defeated not by the *yetzer hatov* but by *Torah*, also placed in the human heart. Written in the aftermath of the destruction of the Jerusalem Temple in 70 CE, the text's portrayal of the *yetzer hara* is embedded in an exploration of perceived divine abandonment. 4 *Ezra* describes the victory of the *yetzer hara* over *Torah,* which has been ousted from the human heart, allowing the *yetzer hara* to proliferate: "The disease became permanent; the Law was in the people's heart along with the wicked root, and that which was good departed and the wickedness remained." [889] The *yetzer hara* leads humanity away from *Torah* towards apostasy and transgression.

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[884] *T. Benjamin*, loc. cit., pp. 102-108.

[885] *T. Asher* 3.1, loc. cit., p. 88.

[886] *T. Benjamin* 6.1, loc. cit., p. 104.

[887] *T. Asher,* loc. cit., pp. 87-90.

[888] 4 *Ezra* (ch. 3-14 of 2 *Esdras*) in Coogan et al. 2007, pp. 325-356.

[889] 2 *Esdras* 4 3:22, loc. cit., p. 326.

In 4 *Ezra*, the *yetzer hara* provides resolution to two central issues of theodicy. Firstly, Ezra challenges the implantation of the evil inclination in Adam, leading to the inevitability of sin:

> But you didn't take away from them the inclination to do evil so that your Law might bear fruit in them. The first Adam, burdened with this inclination, disobeyed you and was overcome, but so were all those descended from him. [890]

Secondly, Ezra questions why God has not restrained Adam from transgression: "It would have been better if the earth had not produced Adam, or else, when it had produced him, had restrained him from sinning. For what good is it to all that they live in sorrow now and expect punishment after death." [891] Ezra states that humanity would have been better uncreated than to live, sin and suffer without understanding. [892] Ezra's dilemmas arise in the context of the oppression of the Jewish people by Babylon (a metaphor for Rome). The angel Uriel's response portrays the evil inclination as a parasitic organism which grows and works within the human body. It is a "seed" implanted originally in Adam's heart, leading to the first disobedience, which has since multiplied and generated sin in humanity. "For a grain of evil seed was sown in Adam's heart from the beginning, and how much ungodliness it has produced." [893] The placing of the seed of the *yetzer hara* in Adam's heart thus explains the origin of sin upon earth. Uriel reveals Babylon (Rome) to be the tool of divine punishment, because of the sins of the *yetzer hara*. As discussed by James Charlesworth, the *yetzer hara* is portrayed as the enemy within a divided self. [894] This internal division emerges as the rationale for divine abandonment. The fate of Israel lies within the

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[890] Ibid. 3.20, p. 324.

[891] Ibid. 7.46-48, p. 337.

[892] Ibid. 4.12, p. 325.

[893] Ibid. 4.30, p. 326.

[894] Charlesworth 1985.

individual; the internalisation of responsibility thus creates a shift in the locus of control from without to within and hence the possibility of positive change.

Second Temple literature thus reveals significant developments in the construction of the *yetzer hara* as a demonological entity experienced as an intrapersonal force. The *yetzer hara* requires expulsion from the human heart, either by divine exorcism, the *yetzer tov* or *Torah*. The *yetzer hara* opposes and overpowers each of these. In rabbinical texts these themes are consolidated and the *yetzer hara* becomes a focal hamartiological concept.

The next section will explore examples of the feminine as a symbol of sexual temptation in 12TP and a demonic development of the adulteress of *Proverbs* 7 in Qumran text 4Q184. The emergence of female intent to corrupt and lead astray will be discussed.

22.iv: The Demonic Feminine

In his evaluation of 12TP, Ishay Rosen-Zvi identifies a "new economy of gender." The female symbolises sexual temptation and is attributed with responsibility for the male struggle with the evil inclination. [895] This is exemplified by *T. Reuben*, which elaborates on Reuben's adultery with his father's concubine Bilhah, described in *Genesis* 35:22. *T. Reuben* portrays Reuben struggling with the temptation of his sexual impulses as the naked Bilhah lies naked and drunk before him:

> Pay no heed to the face of a woman, nor associate with another man's wife, nor meddle with affairs of womankind. For had I not seen Bilhah bathing in a covered place, I had not fallen into this great iniquity. For my mind taking in the thought of the woman's nakedness, suffered me not to sleep until I had wrought the abominable

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thing. For while Jacob our father had gone to Isaac his father, when we were in Eder,
near to Ephrath in Bethlehem, Bilhah became drunk and was asleep uncovered in her
chamber. Having therefore gone in and beheld nakedness, I wrought the impiety
without her perceiving it, and leaving her sleeping I departed. [896]

T. Reuben represents Bilhah as the instigator of Reuben's sexual desire through references to her
drunkenness and nakedness. This new gender economy is further exemplified by *T. Joseph*, in
which Joseph is represented as a paradigm of sexual self-control under constant siege from the
wiles of the highly sexualised Aseneth. [897]

Text 4Q184 of the Qumran scrolls reveals the personification of sin in the form of a "wicked
woman" or "seductress." [898] This text falls into the genre of Jewish Wisdom literature. In particular,
there are clear thematic and linguistic parallels with the figures of the adulteress and the Strange
Woman of *Proverbs*. These parallels have focused discussion upon the "seductress" of 4Q184 as
an elaboration of the adulteress in *Proverbs* 7, which describes the attempts of an adulteress to
seduce a foolish youth to sexual pleasure. [899] However, as noted by Rick Moore, the wicked woman
of 4Q184 is attributed with intention; she plans to bring down humanity; seeking to "cause the
humble to rebel against God." [900] Moore describes this as a magnification of the intent of the

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[896] *T. Reuben* III.10-15, loc. cit., p. 27.

[897] *T. Joseph,* loc. cit., pp. 91-101.

[898] For translations of 4Q184, see: Allegro, J. M. ""The Wiles of the Wicked Woman": A Sapiential Work from
Qumran's Fourth Cave." *Palestine Exploration Quarterly,* 96, (1964), pp. 53–55. Also: "The Seductress." In Vermès
2011, pp. 417-418.

[899] Bird, P. A. "The Harlot as Heroine: Narrative Art and Social Presupposition in Three Old Testament Texts."
Semeia, 46, (1989), pp. 19-39.

[900] Moore, R. D. "Personification of the Seduction of Evil: "The Wiles of the Wicked Woman."" *Revue de
Qumran*, 10, (1979-81), pp. 505-519.

adulteress from an individual to a cosmic level. [901] Imagery in 4Q184 indicates a shift from a human to a demonic figure. Scott Jones describes her as the "darker progeny" of the adulteress of *Proverbs* 7, highlighting demonic imagery in her characterisation. [902] This is exemplified by the darkness of her clothing, which is described as "shades of twilight." [903] As a liminal time between day and night, twilight signals transgression and danger. Further association with night-time emerges in her abode as "couches of darkness" and her "dominions in the midst of the night." [904] Ida Fröhlich draws attention to the language of delivery and withdrawal in 4Q184, reading here a characterisation of a human witch. [905] Michael Lesley draws together the disparities between 4Q184 and *Proverbs* by reference to the hamartiology of *Isaiah* 59, in which sin is portrayed as a force that overwhelms humanity, including the righteous. Lesley concludes that the seductress of 4Q184 is an amalgam of the adulteress and "strange woman" of *Proverbs* and the hamartiological representation of sin in *Isaiah* 59. [906] Furthermore, he identifies terminology shared between *Isaiah*

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[901] Ibid.

[902] Jones, S.C. "Wisdom's Pedagogy: A comparison of Proverbs VII and 4Q184." *Vetus Testamentum*, 53, (2003), pp. 65-81.

[903] 4Q184. In Vermès 2011, p. 417.16.

[904] Ibid., p. 417.20-21.

[905] Fröhlich, I. "Women as Strangers in Ancient Israel: The Harlot of 4Q184." In Xeravits, G.G. and Dusek, J. (2009) (eds.), *The Stranger in Ancient and Mediaeval Tradition*, *Papers Read at the First Meeting of the JBSCE*, *Piliscsaba* 2009 (Deuterocanonical and Cognate Literature Studies 4). (Berlin: De Gruyter), pp. 139-159.

[906] Lesley, J. "Exegetical Wiles: 4Q184 as Scriptural Interpretation." Forthcoming, in a somewhat altered version, in Brooke, G. J., Falk, D. K., Tigchelaar, E. J. C. and Zahn, M. M. (eds.), *The Scrolls and Biblical Traditions: Proceedings of the Seventh Meeting of the IOQS in Helsinki.* Leiden: Brill. Available online at: [https://www.academia.edu/1625699/Exegetical_Wiles_4Q184_as_Scriptural_Interpretation] (Accessed 15 February 2017).

59 and 4Q184 which suggests an identification as the demon Lilith. This identification is upheld by Joseph Baumgarten. [907]

4Q184 presents a highly sexualised feminine-gendered symbol of temptation to sin. This is apparent from the focus upon her body, clothing and ornamentation. Rick Moore observes a descending motion weaving through the text, commencing with descriptions of eyes and lips down to her feet, echoing the descent of her victims to hell. [908] This theme of descent is exemplified in lines 10-11: "Her legs go down to work wickedness and to walk in wrong-doings." [909] The sexual emphasis of this characterisation should be considered in the context of the male ascetic community in which it was engendered. Magen Broshi, describing the sect as "defined by its gynophobia," finds her presence to be anomalous. [910] However, her disparity in gender and sexual mores empowers her as a symbol of threat and otherness. The presence of intent to seduce and corrupt is a significant development in the portrayal of female sexuality, which corresponds with Rosen-Zvi's identification of an emergent gender economy of female temptation to sin. [911] The emergence of female sexuality as a demonic force set upon the destruction of mankind will be significant to the discussion of the Manichaean demoness Ăz, whose characterisation reveals a parallel pattern of female sexuality as source of corruption.

The chaos caused by the rule of immoderate sexual desire is evident in Jewish Talmudic commentary. This is best exemplified by a parable in *B. Talmud tractate Yoma*, which envisions

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[907] Baumgarten, J. M. "On the Nature of the Seductress in 4Q184." *Revue de Qumran*, 15, (1991-1992), pp. 133–143.

[908] Moore 1979-81, pp. 505-519.

[909] 4Q184. In Vermès 2011, p. 417.10-11.

[910] Broshi, M. "Beware the Wiles of the Wicked woman: Dead Sea Scroll Fragment Reflects Essene Fear and Contempt for women." *Biblical Archaeological Review*, 9/4, (1983), pp. 44-46.

[911] Rosen-Zvi 2006.

the Sages response when offered the opportunity to be rid of the *yetzer hara*. The sages merely

blind the *yetzer hara* in one eye and release it. As discussed by Daniel Boyarin, this demonstrates

that sexual desire is necessary to existence for the continuation of the human species, but requires

regulation and control:

> Thereupon they said: "What shall we do now? Shall we kill him? The world would
>
> then go down. Shall we beg for half-mercy? They do not grant 'halves' in heaven.
>
> - They put out his eyes and let him go. It helped inasmuch as he no more entices
>
> men to commit incest. [912]

This section has explored the emergence of the feminine as a symbol of temptation to sexual

transgression, which encompasses conscious intent to corrupt in order to lead astray spiritually.

Examples of this "new economy of gender" are evident in 12TP and the Qumran text 4Q184.

22.v: Interim Conclusions: The *Yetzer Hara*

The first part of this chapter has explored the development of the Jewish hamartiological construct

of the *yetzer hara.* Originating in the verses of *Genesis*, the existence of the *yetzer hara* is offered

as explanation for the Divine destruction of the earth by flood. The concept undergoes significant

transformation in Second Temple literature, in line with doctrinal developments during this period.

The Second Temple literature discussed classes the *yetzer hara* as a demonic entity residing in the

human heart. It may be overcome by a polarising power, such as the *yetzer hatov* or *Torah*, which

also reside in the human heart. 12TP suggests that the *yetzer* hara is polarised by a *yetzer hatov*

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[912] *Babylonian Talmud tractate Yoma* 69 b. In Epstein, I. (1938) (ed.), *The Babylonian Talmud*, (Seder Mo'ed, Yoma).
(London: The Soncino Press), p. 328.

(good inclination) which has the task of routing the evil inclination from the human heart. The coexistence of these *yetzarim* causes a dangerous moral duality.

4 *Ezra* addresses issues of theodicy raised by the creation of man with an intrinsic propensity to sin. *Torah*, also placed in the human heart by the divine hand, is the divine gift to overcome this natural propensity to sin. The dominance of the *yetzer hara* leads astray towards apostasy and provides explanation for the suffering of the nation of Israel under Roman occupation.

In the surviving fragments from the Qumran site, references to the *yetzer hara* are embedded in an ethical and anthropological dualism in line with the sect's doctrines which encompasses the existence of demons and evil spirits. The categorisation of the *yetzer hara* with such beings is implied by the language of exorcism and expulsion. The sect uses gendered and sexualised personification to warn of the dangers of temptation to sin. As a predominantly male ascetic community, the female is used as a metaphor for the seductive powers of the "other" as threat to community righteousness. Intent to corrupt is expressed through sensory imagery of the female body and clothing.

The following part of this chapter will explore the origins of the Manichaean demoness Ăz in Zoroastrian and Zurvan creation mythology, her characterisation in Mani's writings and subsequent Manichaean literature will be discussed.

23: The Manichaean Demoness Ăz

This part of the chapter will explore the characterisation of sin embodied by the Manichaean demoness Ăz. Following an overview of the role of the demons Ăz and Jēh in Zoroastrian cosmological mythology, the characterisation of the Manichaean demoness will be considered in writings attributed to Mani. A feminine-gendered demon appears in *Ep. Fund.*, the *Šābuhragān* and *Mir. Man.* I. Over the course of these three texts, the characterisation of the demoness

undergoes considerable development to become a focal expression of the Manichaean hamartiological triad of greed, wrath and lust of demonic origin. As a representation of an internal propensity to sin of demonic origin, Ăz mirrors the Jewish conception of sin embodied in the *yetzer hara*.

23.i: The Zoroastrian Demons Ăz and Jēh

The characterisation of Ăz in Manichaean mythology may be illuminated by an overview of the role of two demons in Zoroastrian cosmological mythology. The ambiguously-gendered Ăz, demon of insatiable greed and gluttony, will be discussed, followed by the feminine-gendered demoness Jēh, who rouses the evil spirit Ahramen from a sleep of despair. This section of the chapter will provide an overview of the most significant aspects of these Zoroastrian demons and the roles ascribed to them in Zoroastrian mythology.

The primary source of Zoroastrian primordial mythology is *G. Bundahišn*, meaning "Primal Creation." [913] Direction of influence between Zoroastrian and Manichaean mythology is both complex and contentious. Charles Zaehner believes that Zoroastrian demonology precedes Manichaeism, arguing for the primacy of Zoroastrian mythology. [914] Hence the Zoroastrian Ăz would precede the Manichaean demoness.

The Zoroastrian demon Ăz is of indeterminate gender, as Pahlavi does not specify noun gender. Charles Zaehner retrojects the feminine gender of the Manichaean Ăz as evidence of the

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[913] West 2012.

[914] Zaehner 1955.

gender of the Zoroastrian Ăz. [915] In contrast Jes Asmussen suggests that the Zoroastrian Ăz may originally have been an hermaphrodite. [916] However, most translations assume male gender.

In *G. Bundahišn*, Ăz is listed as one of many demons who serve the evil spirit Ahramen, who seeks to destroy the good creations of the divinity Ohrmazd. *G. Bundahišn* describes Ahramen thus: "He does not think, nor speak, nor act for the welfare of the creatures of Ohrmazd; and his business is unmercifulness and the destruction of this welfare…" [917] For this purpose Ahramen looses plagues upon humanity, which include greed, lust and senility, all of which may be experienced at an intrapsychic and cosmic level. As one of the plagues loosed by Ahramen upon humanity, Ăz attacks Man's *xvarenah*, (divine election), the purpose for which he/she has been created. [918] This duality reflects the twin Persian concepts of *gētīg*, which encompasses the material, visible, and tangible; and *mēnōg*, which refers to the mental, invisible, and intangible. [919] An elaborate system of purification rituals, as specified in the *Vendīdād*, serve to avert the multifarious demonic forces that attack the mortal world in forms including illness, contamination and death. [920] The triadic nature of Ahramen's destructiveness is mirrored by human sin in thought, word or deed. Chief of such sin is thought, speech or act that claims Ahramen as the creator of the material world. This is evident from *Chapter* fifteen of *G. Bundahišn*, in which the first man and woman, Mashye and Mashyane, exclaim that "the evil spirit created the water and earth, plant and

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[915] Zaehner 2011.

[916] Asmussen 1988, pp. 168-169.

[917] *G. Bundahišn*, ch. 28, p. 73.

[918] Zaehner 1955. A discussion of the Persian religio-political concept of *xvarenah* may be found in section 5.1, pp. 88-92.

[919] Shaked 2001, pp. 574-576.

[920] *Vendīdād*, loc. cit.

animals, and the other things… through that false speech they both became wicked, and their souls are in hell until the future existence." [921]

G. *Bundahišn* portrays Ăz as the insatiable demon of greed who devours everything, until nothing remains and he is forced to swallow himself.

> The demon Ăz is he who swallows everything, and when, through destitution, nothing has come he eats himself; he is that fiendishness which, although the whole wealth of the world be given up to it, does not fill up and is not satisfied; as it says, that the eye of the covetous is a noose, and in the world it is naught. [922]

Jes Asmussen observes that in Zoroastrian Middle Persian texts, the representation of Ăz as gluttony is polarised by contentment: "As an abuse of a natural and legitimate function, it is the most serious menace to pious striving in the service of Ahura Mazda." [923] This reveals that both deficiency and excess interfere with *xvarenah*.

G. *Bundahišn* also relates Ăz to sexual greed, which causes a man to commit adultery with another's wife: "… the power of the demon Ăz is owing to that person who, not content with his own wife, snatches away even those of others." [924] However, deficiency in sexual drive is equally the work of Ahramen's demons. G. *Bundahišn* tells that the first couple sacrifice to the gods and subsequently lose their sexual desire, forgetting that human sexuality is divinely ordained and necessary for the continuation of Ohrmazd's good creation:

> Owing to them they both became so dry-backed that in fifty winters they had no desire for intercourse, and though they had had intercourse they would have had no

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[921] G. *Bundahišn* 15.9, loc. cit., p. 38.

[922] G. *Bundahišn* 28.27, p. 76.

[923] Asmussen 1988.

[924] G. *Bundahišn* 27, p. 36.

children. And on the completion of fifty years the source of desire arose…

Afterwards, it became their mutual wish that the satisfaction of their desires should

be accomplished, as they reflected thus: "Our duty even for those fifty years was

this." [925]

Sexual excess and deficiency are thus equally contrary to Ohrmazd's plan for his creation. This

may explain the absence of a Zoroastrian demon associated with sexual desire. However,

menstruation is contaminating.

Zurvan creation mythology and eschatology develops the importance of Ăz and an

ambivalence exists in the relationship between Ahramen and Ăz. In the ninth century Zurvan text

Zādspram, Zurvan hands Ahramen an ambiguous and dangerous tool that may serve him in his

aim to corrupt humanity, yet may also prove the tool of his self-destruction:

Pondering on the end [Zurvan] delivered to Ahramen an implement [fashioned]

from the very substance of darkness, mingled with the power of Zurvan, as it were

a treaty, resembling coal (?), black and ashen. And as he handed it to him, he said:

"By means of these weapons, Ăz (concupiscence) will devour that which is thine,

and she herself shall starve, if at the end of nine thousand years thou hast not

accomplished that which thou didst threaten, to demolish the pact, to demolish

Time." [926]

Zādspram likens Ăz to a "black and ashen garment" which is "like unto fire, blazing, harassing all

creatures." [927] Zurvan prophesies the demise of Ahramen through Ăz, which is both a weapon

against humanity and Ahramen himself: "by means of these weapons Ăz will devour that which is

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[925] Ibid 17.19-21, p. 39.

[926] *Zādspram*, cited by Zaehner 1955, p. 114. On Zādspram, see Gignoux 2005.

[927] Ibid., p. 132.

thine, thy creation; and she herself will starve; for she will no longer obtain food from the creatures of Ohrmazd." [928] The Zurvan conception of the self-destructive cycle of gluttony and greed is encapsulated in *Zādspram*: "like a frog that liveth in the water; so long as it defileth the water, it liveth by it, but when the water is with-drawn from it, it dieth, parched. [929]

> *G. Bundahišn* predicts the defeat of Ahramen and Ăz by Ohrmazd at the end of nine thousand years. Preceding this time, the power of Ăz declines; humanity requires less nutrition:

> So, likewise, in the millennium of Hoshedarmah, the strength of will thus diminish,
> when men will remain three days and nights in superabundance through one taste
> of consecrated food… And for ten years before Soshyant comes they remain
> without food, and do not die. [930]

The Zoroastrian demon Ăz thus undergoes significant development in Zurvan doctrine. Ăz is portrayed as an ambivalent weapon with the power to destroys its bearer, before destroying itself. This is a commentary upon the insatiable nature of greed, which is characterised by self-destructive excess. Sexual deficiency and sexual excess are equally threatening to humanity. However, human sexuality is divinely-ordained.

The second Zoroastrian mythological figure of significance to the Manichaean Ăz is the feminine-gendered demon Jēh who makes a brief appearance in *G. Bundahišn*. Jēh appears at the point in the narrative when Ahramen, having been shown by Ohrmazd the image of the righteous man who will cause his eventual demise, falls into a despairing slumber of three thousand years.

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[928] Ibid.

[929] Zaehner, R. C. "Zurvânism: The Religion of Zurvan, the God of Infinite Time and Space." Available online at: [http://www.cais-soas.com/CAIS/Religions/iranian/zurvanism.htm] (Accessed on 23 June 2015).

[930] *G. Bundahišn* 30.1, p. 82.

Despite the efforts of his hoard of demons, Ahramen is roused only by the fierce and vengeful words of Jēh:

> When the Destructive Spirit saw that he himself and the demons were powerless on account of the righteous Man, he swooned away. For three thousand years he lay in a swoon… till the accursed Whore came after the 3000 years had run their course and she cried out [saying]: "Arise O our father, for in the battle [to come] I shall let loose so much affliction on the Righteous Man and the Toiling Bull that, because of my deeds, they will not be fit to live. I shall take away their *khwarr*; I shall afflict the water, I shall afflict the earth, I shall afflict the plants, I shall afflict all the creation which Ohrmazd has created." And she related her evil deeds so minutely that the Destructive Spirit was comforted, leapt up out of his swoon and kissed the head of the Whore; and that pollution called menstruation appeared on the whore.

As reward, Ahramen promises Jēh whatever she desires. Jēh responds: "Give me desire for man that I may seat him in the house as my lord." The image of a young man appears to Jēh. [931] Interpretations of this narrative conflict. Charles Zaehner argues that the image of the youth is provided by Ohrmazd in order to ensure the propagation of his good creation; female sexual desire is required by Ohrmazd to ensure the proliferation of the human species. [932] However, Albert de Jong believes that consistency of narrative suggests that Ahramen provides this image. [933] Much hangs on the translation of Jēh as either woman or whore. Albert De Jong argues for a translation

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[931] Zaehner 1955, p. 184.

[932] Ibid.

[933] De Jong, A. "Jeh the Primal Whore? Observations on Zoroastrian Misogyny." In Kloppenborg, R. and Hanegraaff, W. J. (1995) (eds.), *Female Stereotypes in Religious Traditions*. (Leiden: Brill), pp. 15-41.

as woman, whilst Charles Zaehner prefers the translation of whore, arguing from the Middle Persian derivation *jahi* (prostitute). [934]

The purpose of the appearance of Jēh is contested. In *G. Bundahišn* she supplies a demonic origin for menstruation, reflected in purification rituals including the segregation of menstruants, specified in the *Vendīdād*. The presence of Jēh may also explain the origin of sexual desire. Charles Zaehner argues that Jēh's cry: "Give me desire for man that I may seat him in the house as my lord," establishes the superiority of male over female. [935] These views may be unified by an understanding of Jēh as a feminine-gendered figure associated with female sexual desire and reproduction, which are hence demonic in origin. Described in *Zādspram* as the adversary of woman, Jēh would appear to be associated with menstruation rather than human sexuality. [936] *Zādspram* tells:

> When Ahriman rushed into creation, he had the brood of the demon Whore of evil religion as his companion even as a man has a whore woman as his bedfellow; for verily the whore is a demon: and he appointed the demon Whore queen of her brood, that is the chief of all the whore demons, the most grievous adversary of the Blessed Man. And [the demon Whore] of evil religion joined herself to [the Blessed Man]; for the defilement of females she joined herself to him, that she might defile females; and the females, because they were defiled, might defile the males, and (the males) would turn aside from their proper work. [937]

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[934] Zaehner 1955, p. 183.

[935] Ibid., p. 184.

[936] Ibid., p. 185.

[937] Ibid., p. 190.

The following section will explore the characterisation of the Manichaean demoness Ăz in Mani's writings, commencing with a discussion of the appearance of a feminine-gendered demon in *Ep. Fund.*

23.ii: The demoness in the *Epistula Fundamenti*

Extracts from the *Ep. fund.* survive in Latin in the anti-Manichaean writings of Augustine of Hippo and Evodius, Bishop of Uzalis. [938] *Ep. fund.* derives its title from the title of Augustine's writing against the letter, entitled *Contra Epistula Manichaei quam Vocant Fundamenti.* [939] A detailed exploration of *Ep. Fund.* may be found in the introduction of this dissertation. [940] In *Ep. fund.* an unnamed demoness plays an undistinguished minor role as receptacle of the chief archon's seed and hence generator of Adam and Eve:

> He called his own spouse to himself, springing from the same stock as himself, emitted, like the rest, the abundance of evils that he had devoured, himself also adding something from his own thought and power, so that his disposition became the former and arranger of all the things that he had poured forth; whose consort received these things as soil cultivated in the best way is accustomed to receive seed. For in her were constructed and woven together images of all heavenly and earthly powers, so that what was formed obtained the likeness, so to speak, of a full orb. [941]

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[938] Stein 2002.

[939] Ibid.

[940] See section 3.v.iv, pp. 64-67.

[941] Augustine of Hippo, *De Nat. Bon*. 46.884.29-886.17. In Schaff 2007, p. 364.

Here Mani echoes the metaphor of reproduction as the sowing of a fertile field used by Plato in *Timaeus*:

> At length the desire and love of the man and the woman, bringing them together and as it were plucking the fruit from the tree, sow in the womb, as in a field, animals unseen by reason of their smallness and without form." [942]

The role of the demoness in the narrative is purely functional and generative, lacking characterisation and name. The account of the generation of Adam and Eve in *Ep. Fund.* is repeated in Theodore bar Khonai's account of Manichaean cosmology in *Lib. Schol.*, in which the demon and his spouse are named as Ašaqlūn and Namroēl:

> And Ašaqlūn, son of the King of Darkness, said to the abortions: 'Give me your sons and daughters, and I will make for you a form like the one you saw.' They brought (them) and gave (them) to him. He ate the males, and the females he gave to Namroēl his wife. Namroēl and Ašaqlūn then united together, and she became pregnant from him and gave birth to a son, naming him Adam. She (again) became pregnant and bore a daughter, naming her Eve. [943]

According to *Ep. Fund.*, the first man and woman are generated from the sexual intercourse of archons. This constitutes a re-interpretation of the *Genesis* creation narrative which mirrors the Gnostic portrait of humanity as a cosmic error and construction by a blind and foolish demiurge. This is exemplified by *Ap. John*, in which the demiurge Ialdeboath creates the first man and woman as an act of self-gratification. [944] However, the demonic elements of greed and lust represent an

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[942] Zeyl, D. J. (2000) (trans.), Plato, *Timaeus*. (Indianapolis: Hackett), p. 88.

[943] Theodore bar Khonai, *Lib. Schol.*, loc. cit., p. 151.

[944] *Ap. John*, loc. cit., pp. 23-52.

additional Zoroastrian mythological element. However, caution should be applied to this suggestion, as the chronology of Zoroastrian and Manichaean mythology remains undetermined.

The stated intent of *Ep. fund.* is to establish the origin of Adam and Eve. However, it also contains clues to Mani's hamartiological doctrine. The origin of sin is demonic, embodied by the greed, wrath and lust of the demons. These, in turn, become the inherited demonic nature of humanity. The gluttony, cannibalism and sexual excess of the demons are external demonstrations of their intrinsic nature, which Ep. Fund. describes as "a surplus of evils." [945] Wrath, lust and greed are endemic and enmeshed in the human body from its creation. The human body thus inherits the drives of their demonic forebears, which are revealed in behaviour that demonstrates greed, lust and wrath. The Sogdian *Excellent Verses of Salvation* describe the formation of the human body from the excrement and aborted foetuses of the demons as follows: "And she (Ăz) caused this corpse to be made from the impurity of the demons and from the defilement of the fiends, and herself entered into it." [946]

The minor role played by the demoness in *Ep. Fund.* may be attributed to the literary context of the text of a western Christianised audience. Such a figure would be anomalous for this audience. The following section will explore the characterisation of the demoness in the *Šābuhragān*, in which considerable elaboration occurs.

23.iii: The demoness Ăz in the *Šābuhragān:* Personified Demon and Internal Force

The Middle Persian *Šābuhragān*, written by Mani and dedicated to Shāpūr I, reflects Mani's desire to secure Shāpūr's protection for the Manichaean faith. A discussion of the genre and context of this text appears in the introduction of this dissertation. [947] The *Šābuhragān* presents Manichaean

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[945] *Ep. Fund.* fr. 9, loc. cit., p. 171.

[946] *Excellent Verses of Salvation*. Cited by BeDuhn 2002, p. 104.

[947] See section 3.v.i, pp. 55-57.

mythology for and through the lens of the Zoroastrian milieu and thus adopts the Zoroastrian pantheon. The most significant Zoroastrian adaptation for this chapter is the absorption of the Zoroastrian demons of greed (*az*) and lust (*āwarzōg*) into Manichaean cosmological mythological narrative. [948] These demons are central to the hamartiology and soteriology of the *Šābuhragān* and will therefore be explored in depth. This exploration will commence with an explanatory note concerning the linguistic complexities of the translation and interpretation of these terms, before discussing the significance of Ăz to the hamartiology and soteriology embedded in the text.

In the *Šābuhragān* the gender of the demon Ăz is indeterminate, as the Middle Persian language (c. 300 BCE - 1000 CE) does not denote noun gender. A further method of detecting gender is through the identification of traditionally feminine-gendered epithets, such as mother, daughter, sister and wife. However, no such epithets are found in the *Šābuhragān*. [949]

In the *Šābuhragān*, the Middle Persian term for greed *az* appears as an adjective: greedy ("zg'm) and noun (”z: greed; az-kamagih: greediness). As a noun *az* encompasses both the cosmic demonic entity Ăz and the human psychological disposition to greed. The text shifts between these twin references of the term and are interpreted by David Mackenzie according to parse context. The double semantic fields of the term *az* reflect a conceptual continuity between *az* as a psychological internal characteristic and cosmic being, which is consistent with Persian cosmology. This duality is expressed by the Middle Persian terms *gētīg* (encompassing the material, visible, and tangible) and *mēnōg* (referring to the mental, invisible, and intangible). [950] As in Zoroastrian mythology, Ăz is thus equally an abstract inner propensity to sin and a cosmic demonic force for evil.

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[948] See Zaehner 2011.

[949] Beigi, H. (2011), *Fundamentals of Speaker Recognition*. (New York: Springer). The translation of the *Šābuhragān* used here is owed to David Mackenzie (1979 and 1980).

[950] See chapter one section 2.ii.ii, p. 16.

As an abstract noun, *az* is paired with lust, which appears as *'w[rz](w)g / pyys* (instructing to lust), *'wrzwg,* (desire, lust), *['](w)zm'h* (lust) and *"zygr* (lustful). [951] The contexts of theft and robbery in which the term *'wrzwg* appears suggest an alternative translation of acquisitiveness or materialism. [952]

As a demonic entity, the *Šābuhragān* repeatedly pairs Ăz with the Zoroastrian evil spirit Ahramen. [953] This pairing also appears in the Middle Persian fragment M49, attributed to Mani, in which he describes the enlightenment and wisdom endowed by his heavenly twin:

> And now, too, he himself goes with me, and he himself holds and protects me, and
>
> through his strength I fight with Ăz (the demon of greed) and Ahriman (the Hostile
>
> Spirit, the Devil). And I teach men wisdom and knowledge and I redeem them from
>
> Ăz and Ahriman. [954]

This pairing is consistent with Zoroastrian eschatology recounted in *G. Bundahišn*, in which Ahramen and Ăz are the last two remaining demons at the end of time. [955] However, the pairing of Ăz and Ahramen in the *Šābuhragān* suggests an elevation of Ăz from her meagre position in Zoroastrian mythology to the role of the spouse of Ahramen. The binding of the stolen light in the human body is ascribed to the demons Ăz and Lust: In the *Šābuhragān*, Ăz plays a primary role in the theft of the five sons (described as the five gods) of the First Man, who are seized by Ăz, Ahramen and their demonic cohorts:

> Together with those five gods who first, with their own Splendour had been seized
>
> by Ăz and Ahramen [and the male and] female demons ... Paradise ... and those five

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[951] E.g. Mackenzie 1980, p.289 l.564; p. 296.46.

[952] E.g. Ibid., p.289 l. 543; p. 297.46.

[953] E.g. Ibid., p. 296.45.

[954] M49 ii. In Klimkeit 1993, p. 216.

[955] *G. Bundahišn* 30.29, p. 86. See section 17.i., p. 123-131.

gods who [first? far from?] Paradise and the gods had been struck down by… Ăz

and Ahramen and the male and female demons [956]

Furthermore, the binding of the stolen light in the human body is ascribed to the demons Ăz and

Lust: "the light which Ăz and Lust bound in bone, sinew, flesh, vein (and) skin, and *seduced,

smothered?] with lust, copulation and evil thought, speech and deed…" [957] This is repeated in the

Middle Persian cosmological text M101, which recounts that Ăz "… bound [it in this corp]se, in

bone, nerves, [flesh], veins and skin, and herself entered into it." [958]

Greed and lust play a central role in the eschatology of the *Šābuhragān.* At the Restoration,

those who have chosen to "bear greed and lust" in the soul will share the prison of the demons

who engendered these sins:

> [when ? it] is the Restoration [then ? he will be] bound eternally in that prison with
>
> Ăz and Ahramen and the demons and witches, because [he was] materialistic and
>
> lustful, and he [followed] the false teaching of Ahramen, and he [did not perform]
>
> (the necessary religious) acts for his own soul. [959]

Mani subverts the eschatological parable of the division of the sheep from the goats in *Matthew*

25.31-46. This subversion seeks to elicit the protection of the elect; the redeemed are not only the

Manichaean faithful, but those who have shown hospitality and protection to them:

> And he who shall do the will of the gods [and] be a travelling-companion and helper
>
> [of the religious, and he] too who [is] well-disposed to them ... shall be... with the
>
> gods in Paradise... [960]

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[956] Mackenzie 1979, p. 515.241-250.

[957] Mackenzie 1980, p. 301.

[958] M101b. V. 1-10. Cited by BeDuhn 2000, p. 301.

[959] Mackenzie 1980, p. 296.44-47.

[960] Mackenzie 1979, p. 521.399-402.

Ăz and *āwarzōg* are responsible for the withholding of sustenance and protection from the Manichaean community; those who succumb to greed and lust are identified as those who ill-treat or persecute the Manichaean community. Mani presents the wisdom of his religion as a weapon for the subjugation of Ăz and greed, preventing the commission of sinful acts:

> But if you had [accepted] the wisdom and knowledge of the gods from us… then
>
> your bodies would not have [brought forth] Ăz and Lust. And [you would not have]
>
> kept company with robbers, thieves and… [961]

A soteriological triad is thus established between the Manichaean faith, the subjection of az and greed and individual salvation. [962] Those who have ignored the wisdom of the Manichaean faith have succumbed to the powers of lust and greed and oppressed the Manichaean faithful. The condemned bemoan their fateful ignorance:

> But if we had known, we would have believed that which was said to us, we would
>
> have accepted the religion and ... and we would have cast down Ăz [and ...] and to
>
> you we have been ... helpers.

To conclude, in the *Šābuhragān*, the gender of the demon Ăz cannot be assumed, due to the noun gender neutrality of the Middle Persian language and absence of gendered epithets. In this text, Ăz appears as macrocosmic and microcosmic concept, both as a demonic entity that "seizes" the five sons and as a psychological propensity within the individual human soul. The gnosis of the Manichaean faith is presented as a powerful weapon for the subjugation of the internalised demons Ăz and *āwarzōg*; this wisdom is ultimately salvatory. The twin concepts of *az* and *āwarzōg* thus

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[961] Mackenzie 1979, p. 519.351-360.

[962] Mackenzie 1979, p. 521.410-419: "And those other souls which shall bear Ăz and Lust in the body, and so long as earth and heaven stand shall not accept the wisdom and knowledge of Soul-gathering and not enter into the religious community, and shall not become wicked, but shall behave in (the exaction of) tribute and in battle, and shall also bestow on the religious good and pleasant …"

serve a political purpose in this text as persuasive tools to elicit the protection of the Manichaeans. The following section will address the characterisation of the demon Ăz in the Middle Persian texts *Mir. Man.* I in the light of this discussion.

23. iv: The demoness Ăz in *Mir. Man.* I

The Middle Persian cosmological texts (M7980-7984) are collectively named *Mir. Man.* I. These were originally translated into German by Friedrich Andreas and Walter Henning. [963] The texts may be found in Middle Persian in Mary Boyce's *Reader*. [964] The translation of *Mir. Man.* I used in this chapter is by Hans-Joachim Klimkeit. [965] *Mir. Man.* I offers the most elaborate extant portrait of the Manichaean demoness Ăz.

In *Mir. Man.* I, Ăz retains the Zoroastrian element of greed, but in addition becomes strongly identified with lust (*āwarzōg*) and wrath (*xišm* or *'smg*), reflecting the Manichaean hamartiological triad, described by Werner Sundermann as the Manichaean "spirituality of the body" (Middle Persian *mēnōgīh ī tan*), which incorporates fury, greed and lust (*xišm ud āz ud āwarzōg*). [966] Furthermore, Ăz is assigned the role of the former and corruptor of the human body. *Mir. Man.* I thus reflects significant developments in the characterisation of the demoness Ăz. These developments will now be examined in further detail, with particular attention to the complex interweaving of the hamartiological triad of greed, lust and wrath in her characterisation.

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[963] Andreas and Henning 1932.

[964] Boyce 1978.

[965] Text 2.2a-h. In Klimkeit 1993, pp. 225-236.

[966] Sundermann, W. (2009), "MANICHEISM I. GENERAL SURVEY." *Encyclopædia Iranica*, online edition. Available at: [http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/manicheism-1-general-survey#pt1] (Accessed on 25 June 2015).

Mir. Man. I commences with an account of the "Seduction of the Archons," although the pages describing the revelation of the images have not survived. The narrative thus commences at the point of the demons' ecstatic response to the erotic images of the Third Messenger. The male archons' seed, described as "lustful and phallophoric" falls to earth to form plant life. [967] The female demons spontaneously abort their foetuses, which form animal life. Hence plant life appears to be formed from the male demons' seed and animal life forms from the female demons' foetuses. At this point in the narrative, it appears that lust is gendered masculine, encapsulated in the plants and trees generated by the male seed. Furthermore, ingesting the plants causes lust to arise in the animals, implying that sexual desire is acquired from the masculine-generated plants. However, as observed by Mary Boyce, Ăz appears to be intermixed with both sets of demonic expulsions, invading and inhabiting vegetation: "Plants, flowers and herbs, both those without seed as well as every other type of vegetation, were sown and grown. And into them Ăz mixed her own self." [968]

> They devoured the fruits from the trees and grew bigger, more monstrous and more like archdemons. And from the fruits of the trees which they had devoured that Ăz …overcame them. And they were aroused by sensual lust and mated with each other. [969]

The representation of Ăz as greed is thus broadened to encompass sexual desire. Returning to the narrative of *Mir. Man.* I, the demoness Ăz is overcome by wrath (*xišm*), when the erotic images of the Third Messenger are removed: "Then that Ăz, the one who had been deceived, was filled with

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[967] "And like that lustful and phallophoric part Ăz fell from the sky… And she was together with all kinds of plants and monsters as her own Self." Translated by Boyce 1978, p. 65 ft. 15.

[968] Ibid., p. 228.

[969] *Mir. Man*. I, loc. cit., p. 229.

great wrath; she desired to advance (in her cause) and thought…" [970] Ăz plans to form permanent physical copies of the two images that have been removed in the form of the first man and woman: "he (the dragon) should guard them and not allow anyone to take them away from us…. May no-one come upon us and strike or bind us (to take them away); for these two children of ours have been formed and fashioned after the form and shape of the gods." [971]

Ăz assumes control following the humiliation of the chief archon by the Third Messenger. The shame of the chief archon is described in the Parthian abdecarian hymn M471, *Sadwēs and Pēsūs*: [972]

> The dark Demon of Wrath is
>
> Ashamed, for he was distraught
>
> And had become naked. He had
>
> Not attained to the higher, and
>
> Had been bereft of what he had
>
> Achieved.
>
> He left the body an empty shell
>
> And descended in shame.
>
> He covered himself in the womb
>
> Of the earths, whence he had

---

[970] *Mir. Man.* I., loc. cit., p. 232.

[971] Ibid., p. 234.

[972] Boyce, M. "Sadwēs and Pēsūs.*" Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies,* 13, (1951), pp. 907-915.

Risen in brutishness. [973]

The description of the shame of the demon suggests an Adamic motif. The realisation of his nakedness causes him to hide in shame, just as Adam hides his nakedness from God in the *Genesis* creation narrative. Adam's ejection from Eden is mirrored by the chief archon, who "descended in shame" and is "bereft of what he had achieved." [974]

The wrathful initiative attributed to Ăz mirrors the portrayal of the demoness Jēh in *G. Bundahišn* discussed above. [975] Both demonesses formulate a plan as a consequence of masculine despair and withdrawal from confrontation. Both portray the chaos engendered by feminine-gendered initiative. Ăz's plan entails the corruption of the human form as a receptacle for monstrous vice and a prison for the Living Soul. Ăz achieves her plan through taking residence within the chief archons, in whom she implants desire, wrath and greed to encourage them to copulate. Their demonic offspring act as clothing for Ăz, who takes up residence within the chief-demons and their offspring:

> Then Ăz clothed herself in (the substance of) all those offspring of the demons that had fallen down from the firmament to earth, (i.e.) those male arch-fiend and female arch-demons that were like lions, greedy and wrathful, sinful and thieving. And it made of these a covering and garment (for herself); (covering herself with) these she was avid. [976]

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[973] Mary Boyce comments: "Professor Henning tells me that this name occurs several times in Sogdian as well as in Parthian manuscripts for the mate of Saklon, i.e. for the great she-beast who bears Adam and Eve." Boyce 1951, p. 910.

[974] Thanks to Nicholas Baker-Brain for drawing this theme to my attention.

[975] See section 17.1, p. 125 ff.

[976] *Mir. Man.* I, *The Discourse on Gehmurd and Murdiyanag*, loc. cit., p. 232.

Ăz constructs the human body, binding the soul (the light stolen from the Kingdom of Light) within it and enmeshing further monstrous propensities to sin:

> And into it (the body) she also sowed desire and lust, covetousness and (the urge to) mate, enmity and slander, envy and sinfulness, wrath and impurity, darkening of the mind and unconsciousness, hostility to religion and doubt (regarding the faith) (the urge) to steal and to lie, to rob and to do evil deeds, obstinacy and falsehood, vengefulness and conceit. [977]

This list of monstrous vices corresponds with the seven "spirits of deceit" of the demon Beliar enumerated in *T. Reuben* of 12TP. [978] These are named as the spirit of fornication, insatiableness, fighting, obsequiousness, pride, lying, injustice (theft and rapacity) and sleep, leading to error and fantasy. In both texts, these demonically-created psychological states lead to sinful behaviour. The parallels here may reflect a common reliance upon I *Enoch* as source, in which the descending angels bring knowledge of warfare, fornication and greed. [979] A further parallel may be drawn with Zoroastrian doctrine. *G. Bundahišn* enumerates the plagues that the evil spirit Ahramen lets loose upon Gayomart as: "avarice, want, pain, hunger, disease, lust, and lethargy." [980]

Ăz is portrayed as the power without and within the archons who manipulates their actions. She is the force of darkness herself, embodying the Manichaean *mēnōgīh ī tan* of greed, lust and wrath, as described by Werner Sundermann. [981] This power is strongly sexualised through the introduction of Ăz as the embodiment of demonic sexuality and lasciviousness. She corrupts the

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[977] Ibid., p. 233.

[978] *T. Reuben* II.1-9, loc. cit., p. 26.

[979] I *Enoch*, loc. cit.

[980] *G. Bundahišn* 3.17, p.14.

[981] Sundermann 2009.

demons and their offspring with her sexual knowledge, teaching them how to copulate both in the darkness of hell and upon earth:

> And just as Ăz herself, from the very beginning, had taught lasciviousness and mating to the demons and she-devils, the demons of wrath, monster demons, and archdemons in that Hell of Darkness, her own habitation, so she continued to teach lasciviousness and mating to the other male and female monster demons and archdemons that had fallen from the firmament to earth. (Her aim was) that they be excited and unite with intertwined bodies and bring forth dragon offspring which she (Ăz) would take away, devour and then form from them two (first human) beings, male and female. [982]

This detailed account of the deviant activities of Ăz reveals the demonic origin of human sexuality. This contrasts with the portrayal of human sexuality as a divinely-ordained religious duty in *G. Bundahišn*. [983] Similarly, the Jewish tradition supports the sanctity of human sexuality. This is reflected in the divine command: "As for you, be fruitful and increase in number; multiply on the earth and increase upon it go forth and multiply." (*Genesis* 9.7). This is indicated by the Talmudic duty upon the man to reproduce. The Manichaean suspicion of human sexuality is demonstrated by the Sogdian historical prose texts So. 13 and So. 14, dating between 600-900 CE, which recount the missionary activities of Mar Ammo. Here Mar Ammo receives lengthy warnings from Mani regarding association with the female sex. [984]

The mixed representation of Ăz as greed and sexual desire may indicate that sexual greed is considered to be a subset of greed. This would mirror the construction of Ăz in *G. Bundahišn* as: follows: "… the power of the demon Ăz is owing to that person who, not content with his own

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[982] *Mir. Man.* I, loc. cit., p. 232.

[983] See section 14.i., p. 279-285.

[984] So. 13, 941 and So. 14, 285 in Klimkeit 1993, p. 203.

wife, snatches away even those of others." [985] The sexual characterisation of the demoness Ăz results in a strong feminine gendering of the origin and nature of human sexuality. This feminine gendering of sexuality continues in a passage in *Mir. Man.* I concerning the human creations of Ăz, which reveal that the female is created more sinful, lewd and lustful than the male: "… she would become (even more) thievish and sinful, lascivious and covetous, and (so that) she (the woman) would deceive this man by lust." [986]

Mir. Man. I appears to be an early example of the personification of the demoness Ăz as both external force and inner human proclivity to wrath, greed and lust. Through the metaphor of clothing, she is portrayed as an internal entity who manipulates and resides within the human body in order to satiate her own lustful desires. As inculcator of copulation to the demons, the first man and woman, her characterisation is strongly sexualised. This marks the introduction of sexual desire, the origin of which is demonic, as an important dimension to Manichaean hamartiology. This coincides with the emergence of the feminine gendering of Ăz in Manichaean mythology, marking sexual desire as a feminine gendered characteristic. The sexualised characterisation of Ăz in *Mir. Man.* I shares parallels with the mythology surrounding Jēh as recounted in *G. Bundahišn*. Charles Zaehner suggests that the absence of Jēh in Manichaean mythology may reflect an assimilation of her role as source of sexual desire into the Manichaean Ăz. [987]

The portrayal of the demoness Ăz as a feminine-gendered internal force is mirrored in the *Excellent Verses of Salvation*, which is considered as a shorter, later rendition of the content of Mir. Man. I. [988] In this text Ăz is elevated to the "evil mother of all demons," becoming a force

[985] See paragraph 1.10, p. 29. *G. Bundahišn* 27, p. 36.

[986] *Mir. Man.* I, loc. cit., p. 234.

[987] Zaehner 1955.

[988] S9 + S13, Reeves 1993, p. 39.

beyond the demons themselves. [989] In this text, Ăz fabrics and inhabits the human body, imbuing

it with hate, wrath and wickedness. An interesting adaptation in this text is a shift of emphasis

from the sexual origin of the human body to repeated imagery of the body as corpse, created from

the demons' corpses. Corpse contamination is, according to Zoroastrian doctrine, the primary

source of pollution and defilement and those contaminated require ritual purification, as prescribed

in the *Vendīdād*. [990] This corporeal imagery constitutes a further darkening of the perception of the

body which mirrors the Zoroastrian construction of the polluting effects of the corpse. The human

body, in which the soul is bound, is host to the demonic force of Ăz:

> Ăz, [that] evil mother of all demons, grew angry, and she stirred up great turmoil
>
> to aid her own soul. And from the impurity of the demons and from the filth of the
>
> she-demons she fashioned this body and entered into it herself. Then she formed
>
> the good soul from the five Light elements, the armor of the Lord Ohrmizd, (I.e.
>
> The First Man) and bound it within the body. She (Ăz) made him (the first man) as
>
> though blind and deaf, senseless and confused, so that he might not know his origin
>
> and his family… She fettered the soul firmly to the accursed body; she filled it with
>
> hate and sin, anger and vengeance. [991]

The theme of the human body as host to demonic powers is also apparent in *Chapter* seventy of

the didactic *Kephalaia*. These powers are described variously as inhabitants, magnates and archons

who battle each other within the body as they did originally in the Kingdom of Darkness:

> Understand that there exist many powers / in this body. They are the house-dwellers
>
> who are made the leade[rs] / in it. There are eight hundred and forty times ten

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[989] Ibid.

[990] *Vendīdād*, loc. cit.

[991] S9 + S13, loc. cit., p. 39.

thousand [ru]/lers made chiefs in the human b[o]dy!... when all these rulers come

creeping and [m]ov/[ing with] in the body, they will meet one another; and they

shall / beset and destroy one another… [992]

The significant connecting role played by the human senses between internal demons and external

temptation in Manichaean hamartiology emerges in the *Sogdian Community Confession*

(*Xw'stw'nyft S'nk*), which dates between 600-900 CE. [993] As discussed by Desmond Durkin-

Meisterernst, translation of Manichaean Parthian texts into Sogdian appears to have commenced

from 600 CE, which indicates this date as a *terminus post quem*. [994] This text forms part of the

Sogdian section of the *Bema handbook* M801 for the elect. [995] Confession appears to have formed

a core element in Manichaean religious practice for both elect and auditors, although different

levels of confession were required according to rank. Most Eastern Manichaean confessional texts

for the Elect are Sogdian; confessional texts for auditors survive primarily in Turkic, reflecting the

direction of the missionary movement. [996]

In the *Xw'stw'nyft S'nk*, the imprecator seeks forgiveness for sins attributed to the influence

of the "greed-breeding, shameless" Ăz who provokes contention in the human body, causing the

destruction of the soul. The five senses are described as gates through which sin may enter the

body:

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[992] 1 Ke. 70.175.6-15, p. 184.

[993] *Xw'stw'nyft S'nk*. Cited by BeDuhn 2000, p. 108.

[994] Durkin-Meisterernst, D. "Aramaic in the Manichaean Texts." In Macuch, M., Maggi, M., Sundermann, W.

(2007) (eds.), *Iranian Languages and Texts from Iran and Turan*: *Ronald E. Emmerick Memorial Volume*.

(Harrassowitz: Wiesbaden Verlag), pp. 59-74.

[995] Beduhn 2000, p. 49.

[996] Clark, L. "The Turkic Manichaean Literature." In Mirecki and BeDuhn 1997, pp. 89-141.

> Oh God, forgive my sins! Failing am I and sinning, indebted and a debtor –
> instigated by the greed-breeding, shameless Ăz, in thoughts, words and deeds, by
> the looking of the eyes, the hearing of the ears, the speaking of the tongue, the
> grasping of the hands, the walking of the feet… [997]

The closing of the gateway of the senses was an important practice for the Elect, although the ritual process to achieve this remains unknown. The *Xw'stw'nyft S'nk* confessional prayer refers to this practice: "Thus if (I have left) the eye open to seeing, the ear to hearing, the nose to smelling and the hand to touching and feeling unseemly things, (I am guilty)." [998] The doctrine of the senses as gateway to sin appears to originate from Mani's teaching, as attested by Middle Persian and Parthian versions of the historical text M2, which relate the experiences of Mār Addā and Pattiq/Pattek during the Manichaean mission to the Roman Empire. In M2, Mār Addā is instructed in a vision by Mani to recite the *Collecting of the Gates* from the *Treasury of the Living* when he encounters threat. [999]

The *Xw'stw'nyft S'nk,* mirrors the presentation of Ăz as the creator and corruptor of the human body in *Mir. Man*. I through the metaphor of the body as clothing for Ăz, who "has formed this body and is wrapped up in it." [1000] Described as "greed-breeding," Ăz is represented as both sexual and greedy. [1001] According to M801, internal demons collaborate with external demons through the senses. "(Through them), it brings the internal demons together with the external ones,

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[997] *Xw'stw'nyft S'nk*, loc. cit., p. 108.

[998] Ibid.

[999] M2 I and II. Cited by Klimkeit 1993, pp. 203-204.

[1000] *Xw'stw'nyft S'nk*, loc. cit., p. 108.

[1001] Ibid.

in the course of which a small part (of the soul) is destroyed day by day…" [1002] External temptation is joined to internal propensity to sin.

23.v: Interim Conclusions: The Manichaean Demoness Ăz

This section has explored the characterisation of the demoness Ăz in the *Ep. Fund*, the *Šābuhragān* and *Mir. Man* I. In *Ep. Fund*., an unknown demoness plays an undistinguished role as spouse of the chief archon and breeder of progeny, Adam and Eve, from his seed. Theodore bar Khonai repeats this account in *Lib. Schol.,* in which the demon and his spouse are named as Ašaqlūn and Namroēl. The *Šābuhragān*, composed in Middle Persian and dedicated to King Shāpūr I, demonstrates the absorption of the Zoroastrian demons of greed (*az*) and lust (*āwarzōg*) into Manichaean mythology. [1003] The gender of the demon Ăz in this text is undetermined, as noun gender in Middle Persian is neutral. The text shifts between the use of *az* as an abstract internal propensity to greed and Ăz as a cosmic demonic force. This double semantic field is consistent with the twin Persian cosmological concepts of *mēnōg* and *gētīg*. [1004]

In the *Šābuhragān*, Ăz is paired as a demonic entity with the evil spirit Ahramen, with whom she shares responsibility for the theft of the five sons of the First Man and the binding of divine light in the human body. As a common noun, *az* is paired with *āwarzōg* (greed).

Mir. Man. I, believed to have been composed by Mani as the eschatological content of the *Šābuhragān*, personifies the demoness Ăz as both an external force and inner human proclivity to sin. She resides within the human body, from where she satiates her lustful desires. The feminine-gendered Ăz teaches copulation to the demons and her children, Adam and Eve, revealing an increased sexualisation in her characterisation. This marks the emergence of sexual desire as a

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[1002] M801. Cited by BeDuhn 2000, p. 50.

[1003] See Zaehner 2011.

[1004] See section 5.ii, pp. 85-89.

hamartiological concept in Manichaean doctrine. The portrayal of the demoness Ăz as a feminine-gendered internal force is mirrored in the Sogdian *Excellent Verses of Salvation,* which elevates Ăz to the position of "evil mother of all demons." [1005] In this text, Ăz fabrics and inhabits the human body, imbuing it with hate, wrath and wickedness. This text demonstrates repeated identification of the human body with death and contamination, reflecting the influence of Zoroastrian doctrine.

The following conclusion will bring together the parallels between the demoness Ăz and the Jewish *yetzer hara* as representations of hamartiological ideology**.**

24: Conclusions: The Manichaean Demoness Ăz and the *Yetzer Hara*

The characterisation of the demoness Ăz in Mani's creation mythology offers an obscure glimpse into the Manichaean construction of the origin, nature and human relation to evil. This chapter has explored themes in Jewish and Manichaean hamartiology, expressed respectively by the *yetzer hara* and the Manichaean demoness Ăz, arguing that there are significant parallels between the two. To conclude, thematic representations of the *yetzer hara* shared with the Manichaean characterisation of the demoness Ăz will be summarised. Five specific parallels in hamartiological doctrinal will be discussed.

Both the *yetzer hara* and the Manichaean Ăz represent sin as an internal propensity intrinsic to humanity from its inception. Ishay Rosen-Zvi's describes the *yetzer hara* as "a reified object, a thing, residing inside a person." [1006] In *Genesis*, the residence of the *yetzer hara* in the human heart rationalises the divine destruction and purification of the earth by flood. [1007] Second Temple literature supports and develops this view of the *yetzer hara* as an innate proclivity to sin, living

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[1005] S9 + S13, loc. cit., p. 39.

[1006] Rosen-Zvi 2009, p. 1.

[1007] *Genesis* 6:5.

parasitically in the human heart. Through his portrait of Ăz in *Mir. Man.* I, Mani mirrors this Jewish hamartiological construction of an entity of independent existence within the body which leans towards sin. In *Mir. Man.* I, sin is intentionally bound into the nerves and sinew of the human body at its formation by the demoness Ăz. Sin thus pervades the fabric of the human body. Its residence is expressed through the metaphor of the body as clothing for the demoness Ăz. In Manichaean doctrine, this parasitic entity is formed from greed, lust and wrath.

A second parallel between the Jewish and Manichaean constructions of sin is the representation of sin as an invasive power of demonic origin. In the Jewish tradition, the invasion of human heart by the *yetzer hara* is particularly apparent in surviving texts from Qumran, which class the *yetzer hara* amongst spirits and demons and use the language of exorcism and expulsion. The demonisation of the *yetzer hara* is also central to 12TP, which describes "seven spirits of deceit" who serve the great demon Beliar, to whom humanity may fall prey. [1008] The *yetzer hara* is personified as the demon Beliar, but is experienced as an internalised intrapersonal power. [1009] Beliar's adverse power is expressed in terms of intrapersonal and interpersonal disharmony and struggle, requiring exorcism. [1010] In Manichaean creation mythology, this ideology is mirrored by the invasion and residence of the demoness Ăz in the human body, as recounted in *Mir. Man.* I. The demoness Ăz thus represents both an inner proclivity to sin and an external demonic force, originally of independent existence, which becomes resident in the human body. The Persian conceptual dualism of the worlds of *mēnōg* and *gētīg* supplies a suitable vehicle for the expression of this. Ăz is thus both an external force and a psychological characteristic. This mirrors the representation of man's relation to sin as the merging of inner human propensities with external cosmic forces represented in 12TP.

[1008] *T. Reuben* 1.1-20, loc. cit., pp. 26-27.

[1009] Rosen-Zvi 2011, p. 54.

[1010] Twelftree 2011.

The third aspect of shared ideology emerges in Jewish Second Temple literature and Manichaean texts which reveal tools which combat the powers of sin. 12TP reflects a developmental stage in the concept of the *yetzer hara* in which it is polarised by the *yetzer tov* (good inclination). However, in further Second Temple and rabbinical literature, *Torah* emerges as the chief weapon to subdue the *yetzer hara*, which seeks to lead astray from *Torah* towards apostasy and transgression. The battle between the *yetzer hara* and *Torah* is enacted within the human heart. [1011] The macrocosmic battle between the forces of good and evil is embodied in miniature within the human body. The importance of *Torah* as a weapon in the battle with the *yetzer hara* is mirrored in Manichaean literature by the salvatory nature of Manichaean gnosis and faith. In the *Šābuhragān*, Mani polarises the demonic powers of greed and lust with Manichaean gnosis. This is entwined with the protection and persecution of Manichaean followers; those who submit to greed and lust are identified as those who fail to provide sustenance and protection to Manichaean followers. Those who submit to greed and lust fail to heed the Manichaean salvatory message and are condemned. The struggle occurs within the body, the microcosmic site of the external macrocosmic battle. Furthermore, in Manichaean literature, the powers of the demoness Ăz are combatted by the ritual "closing of the senses," which prevents outer demons from melding with the demonic forces within the human body. The Sogdian *Excellent Verses of Salvation* illustrate the important role of the closing of the senses in the battle to subdue Ăz.

A fourth doctrinal parallel between the hamartiological depiction of the *yetzer hara* and the demoness Ăz is the representation of the human propensity to sin as excessive sexual desire. The chaos caused by the rule of immoderate desire is evident in the Talmudic parable of the Sages who are afforded the opportunity to be rid of the *yetzer hara*, but merely blind it in one eye and release it: desire is necessary to existence, but requires regulation and control. Manichaean doctrine shares

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[1011] 2 *Esdras* 4 3:22, p. 324.

this view of immoderate desire as the origin of sin through the rampant and chaotic activities of the demons, greed, wrath and lust, in the human body. Francis Burkitt comments: "I cannot doubt that Mani's point is, that the beginning of evil is unregulated desire." [1012]

A fifth significant feature shared between Manichaean and Jewish hamartiology is the feminine gendering of sexual sin. This is reflected in an increasingly sexualised portrayal of the demoness Ăz in *Mir. Man*. I. In this text, Ăz corrupts demons and humans alike with her sexual drives and knowledge. Through this characterisation of Ăz, sexual desire is incorporated into the Manichaean triangular doctrine of sin as greed, lust and wrath. The demonic origins of human sexuality are described in *Mir. Man.* I, in which the demoness Ăz imparts and implants sexual knowledge and desire to demons and humans alike, in order to further her plan to disperse and imprison the divine within the corporeal. This demonisation of sexuality is mirrored in Manichaean doctrine and practice, as demonstrated by So. 13 and So. 14, in which Mar Ammo receives warnings from Mani on the avoidance of the female sex. [1013]

The feminine gendering of sexual temptation in Second Temple literature is demonstrated by the Qumran text 4Q184, which reveals a highly-sexualized feminine-gendered personification of sin. The appearance of a feminine-gendered allegory for sin in a predominantly male community demonstrates the interdependence of allegory and doctrine. A key characteristic of the seductress of 4Q184 is intentionality; she consciously rallies her sexual powers to lure the righteous to their damnation. Ishay Rosen-Zvi identifies of a "new economy of gender" in Second Temple literature, in which the feminine becomes representative of sexual temptation and is attributed with responsibility for the male struggle with the evil inclination. [1014]

[1012] Burkitt 1925, pp. 20-21.

[1013] M2 text C. Cited by Klimkeit 1993, p. 203.

[1014] Rosen-Zvi 2006, p. 94.

These Manichaean and Jewish portraits of pernicious female sexuality reveal a fear of male disempowerment and loss of control. A significant factor to this is the danger of female intentionality. In Zoroastrian, Jewish and Manichaean mythology, female initiative and independent thought have diabolical consequences: the plan of the Zoroastrian demoness Jēh introduces the pollution of menstruation; the seductress of 4Q184 seeks to lead the righteous to Sheol; the unmitigated sexual desire implanted in the human body by the Manichaean demoness Ăz facilitates the entrapment and dispersion of the living soul. Intrinsic and parallel to the threat of female initiative is the theme of male sexual desire for the female as the path to hell. The diabolical feminine thus acts as a symbol of unmitigated sexual desire, particularly in the response that female sexuality elicits.

A central issue raised by this chapter concerns the adoption of the feminine gender for the demoness Ăz, as evident in *Mir. Man.* I, the *Excellent Verses of Salvation* and the *Xw'stw'nyft S'nk*. Charles Zaehner argues that the Manichaean Ăz has absorbed the role of the Zoroastrian Jēh as motivator and instigator of demonic action in the face of initial defeat by the forces of Light. This involves the forming and enactment of a plan in the face of masculine despair. In addition, Jēh's possible role as originator of female desire for the male may also have passed over into the characterisation of the Manichaean Ăz. This would support Charles Zaehner's position that Jēh is absent from Manichaean cosmology because her characteristics are subsumed by the Manichaean Ăz. [1015] A further possible factor related to the feminine gendering of Ăz in Manichaean cosmology is suggested by a close reading of the Middle Persian text *Mir. Man.* I, concerning the creation of the first human man and woman, in which Ăz forms Adam prior to Eve. This mirrors the role of Jēh as instigator of female sexual desire for the male form in *G. Bundahišn* through her request to Ahramen for desire for man.

[1015] Zaehner 1955.

The construction of sin embodied in the Manichaean Ăz reveals a Judaeo-Christian conception of sin wrapped in the clothing of the Zoroastrian pantheon. In both systems of hamartiology, the human body is portrayed as the microcosmic site for the battle between good and evil. Judaeo-Christian and Manichaean hamartiology share a parallel cosmological model, in which external temptation provokes an internal human conflict of demonic origin.

Chapter Six: The Maiden of Light: Gaze and Display in Manichaean Cosmology

25: Introduction: Gaze and Display in Manichaean Cosmological Narrative

At the core of Manichaean creation mythology is the episode known, following Franz Cumont, as "the Seduction of the Archons." [1016] This episode follows upon the theft of the divine light (the five sons, clothing or armour) of the First Man by the creatures of darkness. In order to release the stolen light held captive in the bodies of the archons, masculine and feminine forms of the androgynous Third Messenger are displayed to the archons. These images are intended to elicit a sexual response. At the sight of the feminine-gendered image of the Maiden of Light, the male archons ejaculate the divine light held in their bodies. The masculine-gendered image causes the pregnant female archons to miscarry, releasing further stolen light. Some of this light is purified by the Maiden of Light and restored to its divine origins. The remainder falls to earth to form animal and vegetable life in which divine light remains entrapped. The centrality of the myth of the "seduction of archons" to Manichaean doctrine and praxis is evident from the theme of the harvesting and restoration of divine light. This mirrors the purpose of the ascetic alimentary ritual practices of the Manichaean elect, which are claimed to enable the purification and release of divine light from its material bonds. The Maiden of Light, as redeemer and purifier of light, thus offers the prototype of the ascetic alimentary practices of the Manichaean elect.

It should be noted that Manichaean texts identify two divinities as the Maiden of Light. The first is the feminine aspect of the Third Messenger discussed above. The second Maiden of Light is identified as one of the five emanations of the First Man. [1017] As remarked by Paul van

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[1016] Cumont, F. and Kugener, M. A. (1912), *Recherches sur le Manichéisme.* (Bruxelles: Lamertin).

[1017] See discussion of van Lindt 1992, pp. 174-175.

Lindt, the function of the two figures is parallel. [1018] The subject of this chapter will be the Maiden of Light as the feminine aspect of the Third Messenger, whom Mary Boyce observes appealed as a distinct divinity, having "a vivid place in the imagination of the Manichaean worshippers." [1019]

Majella Franzmann argues that the sexual nature of the Maiden of Light's display challenges assumptions concerning the Manichaean perception of the nature of sexual purity:

> The episode inevitably raises a question mark over the nature of virginity and the positive spiritual aspects usually associated with virginity in the Manichaean texts, when the text presents a powerful cosmic female virginal character who takes her revenge on the dark forces in just the same way as they have used lust as a weapon against believers and forced the light into further entrapment in the corrupt flesh and the dark world. [1020]

Franzmann's observation focuses on the Manichaean perception of virginity and its positive spiritual attributes in the context of the mythological use of sexual desire as a weapon in the divine armoury. However, the display of the naked female form should be distinguished from virginity as a physical state of being.

A further problematic and disturbing reading of the revelation of the image of the Maiden of Light focuses upon the intention to sexually arouse. The Maiden of Light escapes the sexual grasp of the archons. However, the nature of her display remains problematic in terms of the intent to sexually arouse. This intention can be read in the context of modern academic definitions of pornography. Susan Hayward defines pornography as "any set of images that exist solely for the

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[1018] Ibid., pp. 174-175.

[1019] Boyce 1951, p. 710.

[1020] Franzmann, M. 2007.

purpose of sexual arousal and feature nudity and explicit sexual acts." [1021] It is this intention to cause sexual arousal that, according to Simon Hardy, distinguishes pornography from the more aesthetic erotica:

> Pornography is designed to sexually arouse the producer and/or audience, whereas erotica is whatever a given individual finds arousing; pornography induces a purely sexual response, whereas erotica combines sexual with emotional and aesthetic responses. [1022]

When presented in these terms, the intent to arouse and elicit a sexual response from the archons by the display of the naked female image of the Maiden of Light marks this aspect of the Manichaean myth as pornographic in nature and hints at the acceptability of the sexual exploitation of the feminine form lurking beneath the text.

This suspicion of the sexual exploitation of the feminine image embedded in the myth of the "seduction of the archons" may be interpreted as an indication of the exploitability of the female form within Manichaean praxis. This reading may have implications for the treatment of the Manichaean female, adding credence to Augustine of Hippo's hints and rumours of the sexual abuse of Manichaean women by the male elect within the ritual context. [1023] In his extensive anti-Manichaean propaganda, Augustine consistently embeds suggestions of the "monstrous" ritual

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[1021] Hayward, S. (2000), *Cinema Studies: The Key Concepts*, (Routledge Key Guides). (Routledge: New York), p. 273.

[1022] Hardy, S. "Pornography and Erotica." In Ritzer, G. (2007) (ed.), *The Blackwell Encyclopedia of Sociology*. (Malden; Oxford; Victoria: Blackwell Publishing), pp.3540-3542.

[1023] Baker-Brian 2013.

possibilities engendered by Manichaean mythology. [1024] This is exemplified by *De Haer.* which moves from a narration of the myth of the "seduction of the archons" to allegations of the violation (*violatam*) of young Manichaean female elect. [1025] In chapter 46.8 of *De Haer.,* Augustine, in shocked tone, sets outs the events of the "seduction of the archons" as follows:

> Certainly those books are, beyond any doubt, common to all Manichaeans, and in those books all those monstrous things have been written about the transformation of males into females and of females into males for attracting and releasing through lust the princes and princesses of darkness so that the divine substance held captive in them might be set free and escape from them. [1026]

This is swiftly followed with an account of allegations of scandalous rites involving the sexual exploitation of female Manichaean elect. In chapter 46.9, Augustine recounts details of a trial in which two Manichaean women (*quasi sanctimonialis*: so-called nuns) "confess" to having been coerced into taking part in a sexual ritual practice which involves the collection of light from human seed through sexual acts and spermatodulia (the ingestion of semen):

[1024] Augustine of Hippo. *De Haer.* trans. Teske, R. J. In Rotelle, J. E. (1995) (ed.), *The Works of Saint Augustine: A Translation for the 21st Century* (Part I – Books. Vol. 18: Arianism and other Heresies). (New York: New City Press), pp. 34-78.

[1025] Ibid., p. 43.

[1026] *De Haer.*, loc. cit. p. 44. For further discussion, see: Van Oort, J. "Human Semen Eucharist' Among the Manichaeans? The Testimony of Augustine Reconsidered in Context." *Vigiliae Christianae*, 70/2, (2016), pp. 193-216. Idem., "Another Case of Human Semen Eucharist Among the Manichaeans? Notes on the 'Ceremony of the Fig' in Cyril of Jerusalem's Catechesis VI." *Vigiliae Christianae*, 70/4, (2016), pp. 430-440.

> After she was examined and the facts were discovered … she likewise brought
> charges against the whole shameful wickedness in which wheat [flour] was spread
> underneath to catch and mingle with the seed of those having intercourse. [1027]

Here Augustine forms a connection between the myth of the "seduction of the archons" and the allegations of the abuse of Manichaean women. The truth of Augustine's suggestions is unverifiable - indeed Augustine admits them to be "a report rather than a fact." [1028] Nicholas Baker-Brian charts the growth of Augustine's claims against the Manichaeans from rumour to perceived fact. [1029] The allegations may be no more than examples of the rhetoric of sexual slander commonly used in interfaith propaganda, as explored by Jennifer Knust. [1030] However, Augustine need not demonstrate the veracity of his claims; in *De Moribus* he contends that the fantastical content of Manichaean mythology leaves the Manichaeans open to such allegations and suspicions:

> If you do not do this, as it is to be hoped you do not, still you see how open to
> suspicion your superstition is, and how impossible it is to blame men for thinking
> what your own profession suggests, when you maintain that you set free souls from
> bodies and from senses by eating and drinking." [1031]

Augustine's identification that Manichaean mythology *could* generate practice that permits the sexual exploitation of the female lies at the heart of this chapter's critique of the role of the Maiden of Light in the "seduction of the archons." It will be argued that the appearance of a pornographic

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[1027] Augustine of Hippo, *De Haer.* 46.9, loc. cit., p. 43.

[1028] Augustine of Hippo, *De Moribus* 2.19.68, loc. cit., p. 81.

[1029] Baker-Brian 2013.

[1030] Knust, J.W. (2001), *Abandoned to Lust: Sexual Slander and Ancient Christianity.* (New York: Chichester, West Sussex: Columbia University Press).

[1031] Augustine of Hippo, *De Moribus*, loc. cit., p. 87.

display of the feminine form in Manichaean mythology could admit the exploitation of the female in Manichaean praxis.

This chapter will address the characterisation of the Maiden of Light in the "seduction of the archons" in the context of Laura Mulvey's theory of male gaze. Mulvey identifies the gendered relations implicit in gaze, defining femininity as "to-be-looked-at-ness." [1032] In her essay "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema," Mulvey argues that women in film are the eroticised objects of male gaze:

> In a world ordered by sexual imbalance, pleasure in looking has been split between active/male and passive/female. The determining male gaze projects its phantasy onto the female figure which is styled accordingly. In their traditional exhibitionist role women are simultaneously looked at and displayed, with their appearance coded for strong visual and erotic impact so that they can be said to connote to-be-looked-at-ness. [1033]

The audience, identifying with the male subjective experience, share the pleasure derived from gaze on the female object. According to Mulvey, the male gaze may be voyeuristic (women are viewed as virtuous and beautiful) or fetishistic (women are viewed as excessively sexual beings). Mulvey's model draws upon the work of the French psychoanalyst Jacques Lacan, who develops Sigmund Freud's psychoanalytic theory relating to *schaulust*, (translated as scopophilia: pleasure in looking). [1034] Lacan develops Freud's theory to encompass a mirror stage, when the infant

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[1032] Mulvey 1992.

[1033] Ibid., p. 27.

[1034] Freud, S. and Strachey, J. (trans.) (2000), *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality*. (New York: Perseus Books), pp. 23; 58.

becomes aware of self as separate from the mother. A significant aspect of the theory of gaze, is the narrative technique of focalisation, which Mieke Bal defines as "the relation between the subject and object of perception." [1035] Clues within a text direct the perspective and attention of the reader. However, a text may confuse by allowing prurient gaze whilst claiming admonition. Thus, the reader may enjoy a voyeuristic "peek" with the author, whilst maintaining moral disapprobation.

Mulvey's model of male gaze and definition of the feminine as "to-be-looked-at-ness" has been employed by feminist biblical scholars such as Alice Bach, Jennifer Glancy and Amy Levine to interpret the male gaze and the female as "to-be-looked-at-ness" in Judaeo-Christian biblical and apocryphal literature. [1036] The violence implicit in the writings of the prophets, which describe Yahweh's exposure and degradation of the female body as a symbol of unfaithful Israel, are rejected by feminist scholars such as Jo Cheryl Exum and Altheyer Brenner. [1037] However, the exposure of the feminine form in the Manichaean myth of "the seduction of the archons" has not hitherto been approached from this perspective. This chapter will offer a radical reading of the Maiden of Light which sheds suspicion on the intent behind the Manichaean myth.

The first part of the chapter will focus on the characterisation of the Maiden of Light. Section one will introduce Manichaean and historical accounts of the myth of the "seduction of

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[1035] Bal 1995, p. 41.

[1036] See Bach 1997. Also: Glancy 1995. Levine 1995. Also: Bal, M. and Marx-MacDonald, S. (2002), *Travelling Concepts in the Humanities: A Rough Guide*. (Toronto; Buffalo; London: University of Toronto Press), p. 41.

[1037] Cheryl Exum, J. "Prophetic Pornography Revisited." In Thelle, R. I., Stordalen, T. and Richardson, M. E. J. (2015) (eds.), *New Perspectives on Old Testament Prophecy and History: Essays in Honour of Honour of Hans M. Barstad.* (Leiden; Boston: Brill), pp. 121-139. Also: Brenner, A. "Pornoprophetics Revisited: Some Additional Reflections." *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament,* 70, (1996), pp 63-86.

the archons." The second part of this section (27.ii: The Maiden of Light as Purity and Wisdom) will explore the apparent anomaly of the epithets of purity and wisdom attached to the Maiden of Light. It will be argued that these epithets collude with the acceptability of the representation of the feminine as "to-be-looked-at-ness" by the representation as feminine wisdom and association with purity.

The second part of this chapter (28. The Male Gaze in Biblical and Second Temple Literature) will give an overview of the applicability of Mulvey's theory of male gaze and the female as "to-be-looked-at-ness" in Biblical and Second temple literature. The first section (28.i: Male Gaze in Biblical Narrative and Second Temple Literature) will discuss male gaze upon the female body as an expression of male sexual desire in biblical literature. Section 28.ii (Male Gaze as Punitive Control: The *Sotah* Ritual) will explore developments in the representation of the gaze in Second Temple literature. The concept of "lustful eyes" as sinful, which emerges in Second Temple literature, combines with the emergence of a construction of the female as enticement to sin. The emergence of male gaze as punitive control of the female in *haggadah* of the *sotah* ritual (the trial by ordeal of a suspected adulteress prescribed in Numbers 5-11) will be explored. The merging of male control with pornographic elements in *haggadah* will be discussed. The third section (28. iii. The *Book of Susanna*) will discuss *Susanna* as an example of the dangers of the male gaze for women, but also the female responsibility to avoid visibility in order not to inflame the sexual desires of male members of the community. The *sotah* ritual embedded in the text exemplifies male gaze as control and punishment for female visibility. The fourth section (28. iv. The Limits of Male Gaze: Rabbinical Control), will explore rabbinical texts which place limits on the male gaze upon the female body and the privileging of the rabbinical gaze.

Section 29 (Seeking the Male Gaze) will explore two texts which feature a female who seeks and returns the male gaze in an acknowledgment of the self as a sexual subject. Section 29.i (The

Book of Judith) and section 29.ii (The *Book of Esther*) will explore these texts as examples of literature which permit and extol the female seeking of male gaze. The importance of male or divine approval and salvatory context as justificatory parameters for female display in these texts and the Manichaean myth of the "seduction of the archons" will be discussed. Section 30 (Image, Defilement and Illusion: Escaping Male Gaze in Gnostic Texts) will discuss *Ap. John* and *The Reality of the Rulers* as examples of Gnostic literature that portray the evasion of the male sexual gaze and grasp through feminine illusion and trickery. The conclusions will draw together this literature, arguing that the pornographic representation of the Maiden of Light in the "seduction of the archons" allows the possibility of the sexual exploitation of the female by the male in Manichaean praxis. This chapter argues that the role of the Maiden of Light in this episode in Manichaean mythology ushers in the possibility of the exploitation of the female in Manichaean praxis, or, at the minimum, enhances the credibility of allegations of the exploitation of female Manichaeans. Furthermore, the Maiden of Light's epithets of purity and wisdom appear to be in tension with this episode in Manichaean mythology.

26. The Maiden of Light and the "Seduction of the Archons"

26.i: The "Seduction of the Archons"

This section of the chapter will explore narrations of the Manichaean myth known as the "seduction of the archons." Accounts of and references to the myth survive in both Manichaean sources and historical testimonia concerning Manichaeism. An invaluable guide to these sources is provided by Franz Cumont. [1038] Historical testimonia frequently contain heresiological material and thus are less dependable as a source. The sexual nature of the "seduction of the

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[1038] Cumont 1908; 1912.

archons" was received with both ridicule and shocked disapprobation, explicitly linking the attractiveness of the form with the intent to sexually arousal the archons. Furthermore, whilst historical testimonia report the details of the myth, they lack the nuanced narratives of Manichaean sources.

A detailed account of the myth survives in the *Lib. Schol.* of the eighth- to ninth-century scholar and church historian, Theodore bar Khonai. The text draws attention to the attractiveness of the forms and links this explicitly to the arousal of the archons. Their sexual desire for the forms causes ejection of the divine light they have consumed:

> When the vessels moved and reached the midst of heaven, the Messenger then revealed his male and female forms and became visible to all the archons, the sons of Darkness, both male and female. At the appearance of the Messenger, who was attractive in all his forms, all of the archons became excited with desire, the males for the female image and the females for the male image. Due to their lust, they began to eject the light which they had consumed from the five luminous deities. [1039]

In his heresiological *Prose refutations of Mani, Marcion. and Bardaisan* (henceforward *Prose Refutations*), composed between 363-373 CE, Ephrem of Syrus recounts and rebuts aspects of the Manichaean myth. As John Reeves observes, Ephrem writes less than a century after Mani's death in Syriac, quoting directly from Mani's writings. [1040] In his *Prose Refutations*, Ephrem attacks the explicit sexual nature of the Manichaean myth. Refusing to relate the more shocking aspects of the myth, he accuses the Maiden of Light of harlotry and claims that she seeks the pursuit of the archons: "Was it not the Maiden of Light about whom they say that she revealed her beauty to the

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[1039] Theodore bar Khonai, *Lib Schol*, loc. cit., p.150.

[1040] Reeves, J. "Manichaean Citations from the Prose of Ephrem of Syrus." In Mirecki and BeDuhn 1997, pp. 217-288.

archons in order that their lust be aroused to pursue her?" [1041] This reinforces the construction of the seduction of the archons as a sexual display intended to arouse the archons:

> But it is not possible for pure mouths to speak as they do about the things after this so that we will not commit them to writing, but we will take refuge in such discourse as it is possible to use (and argue), that if that Virgin of Light appeared to him and made him offend by her purity, her folly is seen in this. And in what respect was the beauty or pleasantness or fragrance of the Virgin of Light different from that of that Luminous Earth? So that if there is a question of Passion, behold, as a harlot, she embraces the fornicator. [1042]

With a further quote from Mani's writings, Ephrem also repeats the Manichaean identification of the Maiden of Light as wisdom, which deceives the archons in order to plunder their hoards of captured light:

> "she revealed her beautiful form to the archons and the rulers and deceived them with it," so that when they became excited and (desired) to make a copy of what they saw, each of them yielded from their hoard (of light) whatever they possessed, and therefore their hoards were plundered of whatever they seized. [1043]

Within Manichaean narrations of the myth, specific points of focus emerge. Mieke Bal's exploration of focalisation reveals that textual or pictorial cues direct the gaze of the reader or

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[1041] Ibid., p. 240.

[1042] Ephrem of Syrus, *Hypatius* III. In Mitchell, C. W. (1912) (trans./ed.), *S. Ephraim's Prose Refutations of Mani Marcion and Bardaisan. Transcribed from the Palimpsest B.M. Add. 14623* vol. 1: *Fourth Discourse to Hypatius against False Teachings*. (London; Oxford: Text and Translation Society), p. lxii.

[1043] Idem., *Hypatius* II-V. Cited by Reeves, J. C. (1997), "Manichaean Citations from the Prose of Ephrem of Syrus." In Mirecki and BeDuhn 1997, pp. 217- 288, (p. 241).

viewer to salient features of the narrative and guide interpretation. [1044] A significant focal point in Manichaean narrative concerns the beauty or attractiveness of the Maiden of Light. This is exemplified in the Coptic *Manichean Psalm-book*, which identifies the "ineffable beauty" of the Maiden of Light. [1045] A passage claimed by Iain Gardner and Samuel Lieu to be from the *Treasure of Life* describes the "beautiful forms." [1046] Middle Persian and Parthian texts draw attention to the beauty of the display with terms such as *dīdan* (beautiful appearance), *pādgirb* (beautiful form) and *bām* (radiance). [1047] This focal point draws the audience into the archons' prurient gaze. The reader is encouraged to "peek" and admire the image, joining in the lustful gaze of the archons. Thus the narrative threatens to make the audience complicit with the archons.

A further focal point in Manichaean sources is the shame of the archons, which appears to be attached to their failure to gratify their sexual desire. The mixing of the themes of feminine beauty, male gaze and shame are evident in the Middle Persian and Parthian hymn M471, *Sadwēs and Pēsūs*. [1048] As observed by Mary Boyce, in this hymn the Maiden of Light assumes the name and characteristics of the Avestan rain-goddess Sadwēs. [1049] The hymn commences with the display of the image of "bright" Sadwēs (*c(y)hrg sdwys rwšn*) to the Demon of Wrath:

Bright Sadwēs shows her form

[1044] Bal 1995.

[1045] Psalms of the Bema CCXIX, *Manichaean Psalm-Book*, p. 2.27-29.

[1046] *Treasure of Life*. In Gardner and Lieu 2004, pp.159-160 (p. 159). Klimkeit, H-J. (1998), "The Fair Form, the Hideous form and the Transformed Form: On the Form Principle in Manichaeism." In Heuser and Klimkeit 1998, pp. 142-172, (p. 156.)

[1047] Eg. Klimkeit 1993, pp. 37; 57; 60.

[1048] Boyce 1951.

[1049] Ibid.

to the Demon of Wrath.

He cries out to her as his own (?),

he thinks she is the essence (of Light). [1050]

Frustration at the removal of the image of Sadwēs causes the demon to ejaculate. Sadwēs sifts the seed, returning the light to its divine origins and allowing the dregs to fall to earth to form plant and animal life. The hymn focuses on the shame of the naked demon, who has lost the divine light stored within him and descends in shame:

The dark Demon of Wrath is

Ashamed (*šfrsyd*), [1051] for he was distraught

and had become naked. He had

not attained to the higher, and

had been bereft of what he had

achieved …

He left the body an empty shell

[1050] Ibid., p. 912.

[1051] Parthian root: *šfrs-* to be ashamed. Durkin-Meisterernst, D. (2004), *Dictionary of Manichean Texts*, vol. III: *Texts from Central Asia and China*, part 1: *Dictionary of Manichaean Middle Persian and Parthian*, (Corpus Fontium Manichaeorum). (Turnhout: Brepols). Also: Boyce, M. (1975), *A Word-list of Manichaean Middle Persian and Parthian* (Acta Iranica 9a). (Leuven: Peeters), p. 84.

and descended in shame (*šrmgyft*) [1052]

The Middle Persian *Hymn to Narisaf Yazd* (M737), also ascribes shame to the demons. Here Narisaf is the Middle Persian name for the Third Messenger: "The darkness and dross exuded (?) by them you shake down to the world. The Yaksas and Demons become ashamed, but the Light was freed from bondage." [1053] This shame may be interpreted as a counter-gendering move, which seeks to exonerate the "shameful" behaviour of the display of the Maiden of Light, projecting shame instead onto the archons for their failure.

Central to the "seduction of the archons" is the Manichaean teaching that the revelation of the enticing images to the archons is a strategic move planned by the Manichaean Father. This is evident in an extract, believed by Iain Gardner and Samuel Lieu to be from Mani's *Treasure of Life*, which reveals the role of the Manichaean Father in the seduction: "He (the Father of Light) knows that all these hostile powers are easily taken in because of the deadly unclean lust that is congenital to them, and will yield to the beautiful forms they see." [1054] The Father's plan thus relies upon the knowledge of the lustful nature of the demons, which the text shares with the audience. The exhibition of the Maiden of Light is thus fore-planned and executed by the Father. This is significant to the construction of the relationship of the Maiden of Light to the Manichaean Father, demonstrating the obedience of a feminine-gendered divinity to the masculine-gendered. Furthermore, it introduces the trope of the advantages of a beautiful daughter which appears in other Manichaean literature. This is exemplified by a Manichaean parable translated by Walter Henning. This parable compares the spiritual gain achieved by the Manichaean hearers by

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[1052] Boyce 1951, p. 912. Parthian *šrmgyft*: ashamed. Parthian/Middle Persian root: *šrm* (shame, decency) Also: Durkin-Meisterernst 2004, p. 319.

[1053] Ibid., p. 915.

[1054] *Treasure of Life* cited by Gardner and Lieu 2004, p. 159.

provision of alms to the elect with a poor man who uses his daughter's beauty to his advantage. The father's investment in his daughter's beauty is rewarded by social advancement when he presents his daughter to the king and she is invited into his harem:

> The hearer that brings alms to the elect, is like unto a poor man to whom a pretty daughter has been born, who is very beautiful with charm and loveliness. That poor man fosters the beauty of that girl, his daughter, for she is very beautiful. And that beautiful daughter…, he presents her to the king. The king approves of her, and puts her into his harem. He has [several] sons by her… [1055]

The parallels between this parable and the apocryphal *Book of Esther* are evident and may reflect the source of the parable. However, the motif of a Father who displays his daughter also has parallels with the display of the Maiden of Light by the Manichaean Father.

A further simile for the display of the Maiden of Light appears in *Chapter* fifty-five of the *Kephalaia*. This teaching compares the display of the image to a woman, never seen by a man before, who is viewed when she leaves her chamber in order to help her brother. The display of her face and beauty is not "according to wantonness, in pride," but because of the need of her brother:

> This free woman shall […] leave the cha[mber] behind her and come to the street […] her head […] and she reveals her [face and her beauty…] because of her beloved broth[er]. This woman, on whom no man ever looked, nor did they ever see her fa[ce], as she neither desires nor rejoices […] leave her chamber behind her

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[1055] *The Book of Giants*, fr. f (189). In Henning 2007, p. 11.

> and come in the midst of mankind […] and everyone view her. The hones[t] men
> and the nobles, even the servants too, and the […]ook at her. [1056]

It is tempting to speculate about the identity of the woman in the text. The reference to a beloved brother in need recalls the narrative of the death of Lazarus in *John* 11.31, which describes Mary leaving her house to meet Jesus following the death of her brother Lazarus. However, this is mere speculation. The parable would appear to be designed to counter charges of immodesty or indecency in the Manichaean myth. However, it also provides a further example of the subordination of female to male in Manichaean thought.

This section has explored Manichaean accounts and historical testimonia relating to the role of the Maiden of Light in the myth of "the seduction of the archons." Historical testimonia focus upon the attractiveness of the image and the intent to sexually arouse which, as discussed above, meet the criteria for pornographic material. Heresiological accounts relate the myth with outrage or ridicule. Manichaean accounts of the myth reveal the focal points of the beauty of the feminine image and the shame of the archons. This allows the audience to share the gaze of the archons and "peek" at the sexually enticing image of the Maiden of Light. However, the texts refocus on the shame of the archons, justifying any voyeurism. The strategic planning of the display of the Maiden of Light by the Father reveals a structure of masculine dominance over the feminine. This is reflected in the parable above. The following section will address the epithets of purity and wisdom associated with the Maiden of Light. These epithets would appear to conflict with her enticing sexual display to the archons. It will be argued that the Maiden of Light's designation as the wisdom of the Father may be interpreted as a vindication of her sexually enticing display and protection from immodesty.

[1056] 1 Ke. 55.134.29-135.6, loc. cit., p. 142.

26.ii. The Maiden of Light as Purity and Wisdom

This section of the chapter will explore evidence of two facets of the characterisation of the Maiden of Light in Manichaean sources. Firstly, her portrayal as purity will be explored. Parallels with the characterisation of the Zoroastrian *yazatā* (divinity) Anāhīd as purity will be discussed. Secondly, the characterisation of the Maiden of Light as the wisdom of the Manichaean Father will be addressed.

The characterisation of the Maiden of Light as purity emerges from the account of the "seduction of the archons" in *Chapter* ninety-five of the *Kephalaia*. This chapter addresses the question: "What is cloud?" As explanation, the Apostle (Mani) describes a variety of ascending storm clouds which, accompanied by lightning and thunder, are attracted and purified by the revelation of the image of the Maiden of Light:

> So, the cloud shall ascend from fire [to] / the heavens towards the likeness of the Virgin
> of Lig[ht] tha[t] / she shall display to it. Its sign is the flas[hes that] / occur with
> lightning storms [...i]ts exchan[ge...] / And they shall be purified by her towards [...]
> the light that she shall reveal [... ...] the rulers shall be released by the lightning storms
> and they are f[re]/ed and sent. [1057]

The role of the Maiden of Light as purifier may reflect an assimilation with Ardwīsūr Anāhīd, (Middle Persian of Arədvī Sūrā Anāhitā, also named Anāhitā) the feminine-gendered Zoroastrian *yazatā* (divinity) of water, purification and fertility.[1058] She is the goddess of the great world river, (the Arədvī), which feeds the earth. [1059] She is glorified in the Avestan *Ābān Yašt* (*Yašt* 5), some

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[1057] 1 Ke. 95.240.26, loc. cit., p. 247.

[1058] Boyce, M., Chaumont, L. and Bier, C. "ANĀHĪD." *Encyclopædia Iranica*, I/9, (1988), pp. 1003-1011.

[1059] Boyce 1990 p. 11.

verses of which appear to be pre-Achaemenian. [1060] *Yašt* 5 associates Ardwīsūr Anāhīd with light, brightness and glory. [1061] She is described as *sūrā* (strong, mighty) *anāhitā* (undefiled, immaculate) and *arədvī* (humid and moist). [1062] She is also portrayed as a purifier of male sperm and the female womb:

> Arədvī Sūrā Anāhitā, increasing corn, just, increasing herds, just, increasing possessions, just … immense, far-famed, who is as great in her immensity as all these waters which flow forth upon the earth; who, mighty, flows forth from Mount Hukairya upon the sea Vourakasha – all the edges of the sea Vourakasha are turbulent… as Arədvī Sūrā Anāhitā pours forth upon them… She purifies the waters, she purifies the seed of males, the womb of females, the milk of females. [1063]

Created by Ahura Mazdā, Ardwīsūr Anāhīd aids in the cosmic struggle between good and evil. [1064] She controls clouds and rain and is portrayed riding a chariot driven by the four elemental white horses: rain, sleet, cloud and hail. [1065] Here there is an evident element of fertility myth.

The association of Ardwīsūr Anāhīd with fertility reveals a further parallel with the Manichaean characterisation of the Maiden of Light, who also has aspects of a fertility goddess. The Maiden of Light as fertility is evident in the Manichaean Middle Persian hymn "*Sadwēs and Pēsūs*," in which the Maiden of Light is identified with Sadwēs, the Middle Persian form of the

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[1060] Boyce, M. "ĀBĀN YAŠT." *Encyclopædia Iranica*, I/1, (1982), pp. 60-61.

[1061] *Yašt* 5 in Boyce 1990, p. 33.

[1062] Ibid.

[1063] Ibid.

[1064] Boyce 1982.

[1065] Ibid.

Avestan divinity Satavaesa. Mary Boyce indicates that the Avestan Satavaesa assisted in the bringing of rain to the earth. [1066] Whether this represents the assimilation of a fertility myth to the "seduction of the archons" is questionable. However, Mary Boyce supports unity of account. [1067] Whilst Franz Cumont recognised an identification of the Maiden of Light with Anāhitā, Mary Boyce remarks that the Parthians identified the Maiden of Light with her opponent, Satavaesa.[1068]

Elements of fertility mythology are also apparent in some heresiological versions of Manichaean cosmology. This is exemplified by the fourth-century *Acta Archelai,* attributed to Hegemonius, which contains an account of a fictitious encounter between Mani and Archelaus, bishop of Caschara in Mesopotamia. In this anti-Manichaean polemic, an account of the "seduction of the archons" is presented as fertility mythology:

> Now when the Maiden becomes invisible before their advance, the great ruler
>
> produces clouds out of himself, to darken the world in his anger, and if he strains
>
> much, like a man he sweats and grows tired, and his sweat is the rain… [1069]

The popularity of the *yazatā* Anāhitā under Sasanian rule is attested by her adoption as patron divinity. The rock relief at Nāqš-e Rostām also indicates that Shāpūr I named his daughter Adur-Anāhīd. [1070] The importance of the *yazatā* Anāhitā is reflected in surviving Sasanian archaeological reliefs, which depict her presence with Ohrmazd at the investiture of kings. [1071] This is exemplified by the depiction of the investiture of the Sasanian monarch Narseh (ruler 293-302 CE) upon the

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[1066] Boyce 1951.

[1067] Ibid.

[1068] Ibid.

[1069] Gardner and Lieu 2004, p. 184.

[1070] Frye 1984, p. 327.

[1071] Ibid.

rock relief at Nāqš-e Rostām. Here Anāhitā holds a diadem, symbol of divine election to rule. [1072] Under Sasanian rule, Anāhitā became known as "the Lady" and "the Maiden." [1073] These titles have evident parallels with the Manichaean Maiden of Light. [1074]

The second significant epithet of the Maiden of Light is that of the wisdom of the Father. This is particularly marked in the *Kephalaia*. *Chapter* twenty-five of the *Kephalaia* identifies the Maiden of Light with consideration, one of the five limbs of the Father. [1075] In *Chapter* seven of the *Kephalaia*, she is named "the glorious [ето neaj] wisdom [tcoqia]" [1076] and in *Chapter eleven*, she is "the beginning of every Wisdom of truth." [1077] *Chapter* three of the *Kephalaia* teaches that the Maiden is one of the three powers of happiness, wisdom and power, which dwell on the Ship of Light: "again, [h]appiness, wisdom and power exist in the s[hip of liv/ing waters…] the happiness the […/…] the Mind of the father. / Also wisdom [is the Vir/gi]n of [L]ight." [1078] On the Ship of Light, the Maiden of Light is enthroned as one of twelve judges:

> The ninth judge i[s the Vir]gin of Light, [she who took the heart] of the powers by [her] / image, gathering her own ones in to her. She mak[es] / a judgement on the ruler of the moist, and the ru[ler] / of the dry. [1079]

[1072] Kia, M. (2016), *The Persian Empire: A Historical Encyclopedia* (Empires of the World: vol 1). (California: ABC-CLIO), pp. 192-196.

[1073] Ibid.

[1074] Ibid.

[1075] 1 Ke. 25.23, loc. cit., p. 77. See section 5.vi, p. 112-115.

[1076] 1 Ke. 7. 35.15, loc. cit., p. 39.

[1077] 1 Ke. 11.44.9, loc. cit., p. 49.

[1078] 1 Ke. 3.19, loc. cit., p. 28.

[1079] 1 Ke. 28.80.26-29, loc. cit., p. 82.

Here the "ruler of the moist" and the "ruler of the dry" would appear to refer to the archons of sea and land respectively.

The characterisation of the Maiden of Light as wisdom and purity would appear to conflict with the revelation of her naked sexually-enticing form to the archons. Symmetry between the two can be achieved by reading the Maiden of Light's display within her characterisation as purity and wisdom, which reveals her seductive display as an exemplar of feminine wisdom. The planning and approval of her display by the Manichaean Father also portrays her obedience to patriarchal authority as wisdom. These two factors reveal contextual parameters which permit the female display.

26.iii: Interim Conclusions: The Maiden of Light and the "Seduction of the Archons"

The myth of the "seduction of the archons" is central to Manichaean doctrine. Within this myth, the Maiden of Light plays an essential role through her erotic display to the lustful male archons. This achieves the redemption of the divine light stored in their bodies through the ejaculation of semen. The Manichaean myth is met with revulsion and parody by heresiologists such as Ephrem of Syrus and Augustine of Hippo. These testimonia focus with disapprobation upon the attractiveness of the image and the intent to sexually arouse. The beauty of the Maiden's image is also a focal point in Manichaean accounts. Here, the audience shares the gaze of the lustful archons at the sexually enticing image. However, Manichaean texts refocus on the shame of the archons. This shame may be interpreted as a counter-gendering move, which exonerates the Maiden of Light from accusations of shaming and shameful behaviour, projecting this instead onto the archons.

The characterisation of the Maiden of Light as purity would appear to conflict with the revelation of her naked sexually enticing form to the archons. The epithet of purity may reflect

an assimilation with the Persian Zoroastrian divinity Ardwīsūr Anāhīd, patroness of water, purification and fertility. Furthermore, the Maiden of Light's designation as the wisdom of the Father may be interpreted as a vindication of her sexually enticing display and protection from immodesty. The Maiden of Light's display may thus be interpreted within her characterisation as purity and wisdom, which reveals her seductive display as exemplar of feminine wisdom and her purity to be unimpeached.

A central aspect of the Manichaean myth of the "seduction of the archons" is the teaching that the episode is planned and approved by the Father of Greatness in the *Treasure of Life*. Furthermore, Mani uses the trope of the public appearance of a free woman who seeks to help her brother to illustrate the acceptability of his plan. The submission of the Maiden of Light to the divine Father's will exemplifies feminine obedience to masculine authority, revealing a gender hierarchy of masculine dominance over feminine. The Maiden of Light's conformity to this hierarchy may be construed as a further exemplum of feminine wisdom.

In order to further elucidate the display of the Maiden of Light, the following section will explore the portrayal of male gaze in biblical and Second Temple literature in the context of the adoption of Laura Mulvey's model of gaze in recent feminist biblical scholarship.

27. Male Gaze

27.i. Male Gaze in Biblical Narrative and Second Temple Literature

This section of the chapter will discuss male gaze as symbol of sexual desire in biblical and Second Temple literature in the context of Laura Mulvey's model of the gaze as male-gendered and the female as object of the gaze. The sexual desire evoked by male gaze is considered transgressive only when associated with a forbidden sexual act, such as adultery. In Second Temple literature,

the construction of male sexual gaze as a challenge to the Greek virtue of self-control and as a path to sin emerges through the image of "lustful eyes." Ishay Rosen-Zvi identifies a "new economy of gender" in Second Temple literature, which attributes responsibility for the male struggle with sexual desire to female visibility. [1080] This section will outline themes in biblical narrative consistent with Laura Mulvey's model of the gaze as male-gendered and the female as object of the gaze. A woman who returns or seeks male gaze, embodied in the adulteress, constitutes a threat to patriarchal authority.

Ishay Rosen-Zvi identifies the centrality of male gaze to biblical narrative as an expression of sexual desire. [1081] Rosen-Zvi encapsulates this paradigm as follows: "a man "sees" a woman, "desires" or "loves" her beauty, and acts on this desire." [1082] The male is subject of these narratives – he sees, desires and takes. The female is thus a passive object of the gaze - she is seen, desired and taken. The gaze thus signifies action and possession.

The gendered power structure of the gaze is challenged when a female returns or seeks male gaze. This is exemplified by the sapiental text *Proverbs* 7.1-27, which recounts the attempted seduction of a young man. The pericope follows upon a paternal warning on the social disgrace and physical danger brought about by adultery. [1083] Carol Newsom identifies the masculine context of this pericope. The exchange occurs between father and son. The father also acts as the frame of the narrative, as he observes the encounter from a window. The female is thus doubly alien in the pericope, as outsider to male discourse and within the narrative. [1084] Her status as outsider is marked by social transgression: she seeks male gaze in places and at times which transgress

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[1080] Rosen-Zvi 2006, p. 67.

[1081] Ibid.

[1082] Ibid., p. 67.

[1083] *Proverbs* 6.32-33.

[1084] Newsom 1998.

contemporaneous gender mores: dressed as a "harlot," she emerges from her house at twilight. [1085] Her social defiance signals a threat to male authority, which is signified by her adulterous intention. This is expressed through her description as crafty, unruly, defiant, restless and brazen. [1086] The threat she poses is expressed through imagery of hunting, snaring and death: her male victim is compared to "a bird darting into a snare" and "an ox going to the slaughter." [1087] This masculine imagery of hunting and snaring reflects the reversal of the gender power relations of gaze, marking the woman as subject and the youth as object in the narrative. [1088] Caught in her gaze, the young man is trapped by temptation.

The threat embodied in the female adulteress is mirrored by the warnings concerning the "strange woman" in *Proverbs* 5.3-6, in which parallel imagery of violence and death appears. "But her end is bitter as wormwood, sharp as a two-edged sword. Her feet go down to death; her steps take hold on hell." [1089] The adulteress and the strange woman both represent a threat to patriarchal order. [1090] This relates to patrilineality and inheritance. The adulteress threatens uncertainty concerning paternity and, as discussed by Jonathon Klawans, the strange woman represents intermarriage, which is construed as a threat to genetic and community purity. [1091] These two female threats to male authority are combined and developed to create a demonic female in the

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[1085] *Proverbs* 7.10.

[1086] *Proverbs* 7.10-11.

[1087] *Proverbs* 7.22-24.

[1088] Menn, E. M. (1997), *Judah and Tamar (Genesis 38) in Ancient Jewish Exegesis: Studies in Literary Form and Hermeneutics.* (Leiden: Brill).

[1089] *Proverbs* 5.3-6.

[1090] Ibid.

[1091] Klawans, J. (2004), *Impurity and Sin in Ancient Judaism.* (Oxford: Oxford University Press). Also: Klawans, J. "The Impurity of Immorality in Ancient Judaism." *Journal of Jewish Studies,* 48, (1997), pp. 1-16.

Qumran text 4Q184, as discussed above. [1092] The reversal of the gender power relations of male gaze in these texts indicates threat to patriarchal order and power. Alice Bach identifies the female subjectivity embedded in the female return of the gaze; the female refusal to drop the eyes signals knowledge of her sexual desirability and "desiring to be desired:"

> It is this refusal to drop their eyes that engenders fear in the hearts of men, who are accustomed to owning and directing the gaze… men do not simply look; their gaze carries with it the power of action and of possession that is lacking in the female gaze." [1093]

In Second Temple literature, the image of "lustful eyes" indicates the male struggle with sexual desire as a threat to self-control. This image recurs in two texts from the religious community at Qumran of differing dates. The *Damascus Document* (henceforward CD) has been identified with the religious community at Qumran. [1094] This identification rests on the comparison of mediaeval fragments with surviving fragments of CD at Qumran, dating to c. 100 BCE. [1095] CD contains an introduction to community law and gives details of the history and punishment of Israel and the emergence of a new covenant community. [1096] In CD, lustful eyes are associated with a guilty *yetzer* (inclination), which appears to reside in the heart. [1097] In this passage, the *yetzer*

[1092] See section 23.v, pp. 276-281.

[1093] Bach 1997, p. 131.

[1094] Davies, P. R. (1983), *The Damascus Covenant: An Interpretation of the 'Damascus Document.'* (Sheffield*:* JSOT Press).

[1095] Nickelsburg 1981, pp. 122-123.

[1096] Ibid.

[1097] See chapter 23.iii. pp. 269-70.

is associated with the Enochian myth of the fallen angels whose desire for human women causes them to transgress: [1098]

> And now, sons, listen to me so that you can walk perfectly in all His ways and not follow after thoughts of the guilty inclination and after eyes of lust. For many have gone astray due to these; brave heroes have stumbled because of them, from ancient times until now. Because they walked in stubbornness of their hearts, the Watchers of heaven fell; on account of it they were caught, since they did not keep the commandments of God. [1099]

The second text, the *Community Rule*, shares ideology with CD. However, the probability that these were texts from the same community is challenged by the absence of women in the *Community Rule*. [1100] This text also associates lustful eyes, heart and sin: "the master shall teach the saints to live according to the Book …that they may... no longer stubbornly follow a sinful heart and lustful eyes, committing all matter of evil." [1101] The reference to the heart here implies an association with the *yetzer hara*, as in CD.

The image of lustful eyes also recurs in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* (henceforward 12TP). This sapiental text consists of twelve pseudepigraphical testimonies by the twelve sons of Jacob prior to their death. Wisdom is passed from father to son, thus excluding

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[1098] See section 3.i.i, pp. 36-39.

[1099] *Damascus Document* 2.14-18. In Vermès 2011, p. 130.

[1100] Henze, M. 2005. *Biblical Interpretation at Qumran*. (Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature). (Michigan; Cambridge: Eerdmans Publishing Company), p. 58. Magness, J. (2004), "Women at Qumran?" *Debating Qumran: Collected Essays on Its Archaeology: Collected Essays on its Archaeology* (Interdisciplinary Studies in Ancient Culture and Religion 4). (Leuven; Paris; Dudley: Peeters), pp. 113-150.

[1101] *The Community Rule*. In Vermès 2011, p. 98.

the female. In the *Testament of Reuben*, (henceforward *T. Reuben*), vision is listed as the second of twelve spirits given to man at birth and is associated with sexual desire. "The second spirit is of sight, with which arises desire." [1102] However, the demonic Spirit of Fornication (*porneia*) uses the human senses to lead astray to sin. The *Testament of Judah* (henceforward *T. Judah*) warns of the effect of alcohol on vision and sexual desire. A repentant Judah, confessing to his transgressive sexual encounter with his daughter-in-law, Tamar (*Genesis* 38:12–23), warns that alcohol kindles sexual desire through the eyes:

> And now, my children… be not drunk with wine; for wine turneth the mind away from the truth, and inspires the passion of lust, and leadeth the eyes into error. For the spirit of fornication hath wine as a minister to give pleasure to the mind; for these two also take away the mind of man." [1103]

In the *Testament of Isaachar*, Issachar attributes his marital fidelity to abstention from alcohol. Issachar states that adultery occurs first with the eyes: "Except my wife, I have not known any woman. I never committed fornication in the haughtiness of my eyes; I drank not wine, to be led astray thereby." [1104]

In T. *Reuben*, Ishay Rosen-Zvi identifies a "new economy of gender," which attributes female visibility with responsibility for the male struggle with sexual desire. [1105] *T. Reuben* describes Reuben's struggle with sexual desire, after seeing the naked sleeping form of his father's concubine Bilhah, as described in *Genesis* 35:22.

[1102] *The Testament of Reuben* 2.3, loc. cit., p.26.

[1103] *T. Judah* 14.1-3, loc. cit., p. 54.

[1103] Ibid.

[1104] *T. Issachar* 7.3, loc. cit., p. 64.

[1105] Rosen-Zvi 2006, p. 74; p. 94.

> For had I not seen Bilhah bathing in a covered place, I had not fallen into this
> great iniquity. For my mind, dwelling on the woman's nakedness, allowed me
> not to sleep until I had done the abominable deed. [1106]

The references to Bilhah's drunkenness and nakedness indicate that she is viewed as the instigator of Reuben's sexual desire. This new gender economy is further exemplified by *T. Joseph*, in which Joseph is represented as paradigm of sexual self-control despite being constantly besieged by the highly sexualised Aseneth. [1107]

27.ii. Male Gaze as Punitive Control: The *Sotah* Ritual

This section will explore the representation of male gaze as punitive control in haggadic commentary on the *sotah* ritual, the trial by ordeal of a suspected adulteress described in *Numbers* 5.11-31. [1108] Laura Mulvey's theory of male gaze and Mieke Bal's discussion of the narrative technique of focalisation will be employed as heuristic tools. Focalisation is defined by Bal as: "the relation between the subject and object of perception." [1109]

In the ritual stipulated in *Numbers* 5.11-31, the term *sotah* denotes the suspected adulteress (Hebrew root: *satah*: to wander, stray, wander astray, err, to seduce, to cause to go astray). The *sotah* must drink "bitter waters" (water mixed with holy words and ash from the temple floor). [1110] Her innocence or guilt is indicated by her body's tolerance of the drink. The haggadic texts to be discussed are the *Mishnah Tractate Sotah* (henceforward *M. Sotah)* and the *Tosefta Tractate Sotah*

[1106] *T. Reuben* 1.3, loc. cit., p. 26.

[1107] *T. Joseph*, loc. cit., pp. 91-101.

[1108] For in-depth discussion of the *Sotah ritual*, see Bach 1998.

[1109] Bal and Marx-MacDonald 2002, p. 41.

[1110] *Numbers* 5.18; 24.

(henceforward *T. Sotah*), which interpret the performance of the ritual described in *Numbers* 5. The *Mishnah* comprises the recording and transmission of Jewish oral law according to the Tannaim and is considered to have been completed by c. 200 CE. [1111] Jacob Neusner describes the *Tosefta* (meaning additions or supplement) as a "first Talmud" of the *Mishnah*. [1112] The date of the *Tosefta* is uncertain, but the *terminus ad quem* of the final redaction is the latter part of the third century. [1113]

Haggadic commentary on the *sotah* ritual reveals increased sexualisation and brutalisation of the female body, introducing the death of the *sotah* as a possible outcome. Ishay Rosen-Zvi describes *M. Sotah* as "unparalleled in Biblical law," as the only ritual to ordain the public humiliation, shaming and stripping of a woman. [1114] The reader's gaze and judgement are guided by authorial focalisation, which moves between the Divine, the priest, the spectators and the brutalised body of the *sotah*. These focal points intertwine throughout the texts. Divine panoptic gaze, although hidden, decides the outcome of the ritual. The *sotah* herself is depersonalised and objectified. Reduced to body parts, she causes revulsion and horror, even in death. This section will explore the points of focalisation embedded in the haggadic texts.

The authority of masculine divine gaze, although hidden, suffuses the text. The success of the ritual depends on divine indication of the guilt or innocence of the suspected adulteress, thus deciding the outcome of the ritual. Ishay Rosen-Zvi notes that in this respect the *sotah* ritual resembles the red heifer ritual in *Deuteronomy* 21, used in cases of unsolved murder, which also

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[1111] Neusner 2003.

[1112] Houtman 1996, pp. 17.

[1113] Tomson and Schwartz 2014.

[1114] Rosen-Zvi, I. "Measure-for-Measure as a Hermeneutical Tool in Early Rabbinic Literature: The Case of Tosefta Sotah." *Journal of Jewish Studies*, 56/2, (Autumn 2006), pp. 269-286.

requires divine guidance. [1115] The omnipresence of the Divine in the *sotah* ritual may be interpreted in the context of Michel Foucault's interpretation of Jeremy Bentham's panopticon as machine of discipline and control. Power and control are exerted through permanent surveillance. [1116] In *T. Sotah*, the divine gaze upon the *sotah*'s transgressive sexual act is shared with reader and spectators through a "measure-for-measure" punishment of the imagined sexual acts of the adulteress. As described by Ishay Rosen-Zvi, these acts are publicly mirrored and inverted within the ritual:

> By that same measure by which man metes out [to others], they mete out to him. She primped herself for sin, the Omnipresent made her repulsive. She exposed herself for sin, the Omnipresent exposed her. With the thigh she began to sin, and afterward with her belly, therefore the thigh suffers the curse first, and afterward the belly. [1117]

This mirroring of the imagined sexual act gives both reader and spectators a voyeuristic "peek" at the alleged sexual transgression of the *sotah*. At this point, the divine gaze converges with the gaze of reader and spectators.

The second position of focalisation in the texts is the *sotah* herself, who is described with revulsion in terms of bodily parts. *M. Sotah* focuses on her eyes, hair, vein and breast, which bulge, swell and discolour as a result of the bitter waters: "She hardly has sufficed to drink it before her

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[1115] Rosen-Zvi, I. (2012), *The Mishnaic Sotah Ritual: Temple, Gender and Midrash* (Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism 160). (Leiden: Brill).

[1116] Foucault, M. and Sheridan A. (trans.) (1977), *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. (London: Penguin Books).

[1117] *Yerushalmi* (*Palestinian Talmud*) *tractate Sotah* 1.7 A-D. In Neusner, J. (1990) (trans./ed.), *The Talmud of the Land of Israel,* vol. 27: *Sotah* (Chicago Studies in the History of Judaism - The Talmud of the Land of Israel: A Preliminary Translation). (Chicago; London: The University of Chicago Press), p. 37.

face turns yellow, her eyes bulge out and her veins swell." [1118] This focus on body parts achieves the depersonalisation of the *sotah*, permitting the further degradation of her body. If a part of the *sotah* is considered "beautiful," it is hidden from public gaze. This discourages sympathy for the *sotah*, resulting in further depersonalisation:

> R. Judah says: "If she had pretty breasts, he did not let them show. And if she had pretty hair, he did not pull it apart.
>
> [If] she was clothed in white clothing, he put black clothes on her. [If] she had gold jewelry, chains, nose rings and finger rings on, they take them from her to put her to shame. [1119]

The final outcome of death, as described in *M. Sotah*, engenders no sympathy for the *sotah*, whose disgraced body becomes a source of fear and contamination to the public spectators: "And they say: "Take her away! Take her away!" so that the Temple court will not be made unclean [by her corpse]." [1120]

In *M. Sotah,* the gaze of the public spectator constitutes a further focal point in the *sotah* ritual. The imagined reaction of the spectators to the disgraced *sotah* embodies and guides the desired response of the reader. Hence reader and spectator merge under the author's pen. The public humiliation and exposure of the *sotah* acts both as a punishment and a method of social control through the inducement of fear to the female spectators. Furthermore, Sara Lev identifies the implicit sexual violence in these texts. She labels the sexual imaginings and watchings of priest

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[1118] *M. Sotah* 3:4 A, In Neusner, J. (1991), *The Mishnah: A New Translation*. (New Haven; London: Yale University Press), p. 451.

[1119] Ibid. 1.5 G-6 B, loc. cit., p. 448.

[1120] Ibid. 3:4 B-C, loc. cit., p. 451.

and crowd as "rabbinic pornography," reading the language of rape in *M. Sotah's* depictions of the ripping of clothes, exposure of breast and hair. [1121] This is exemplified by *M. Sotah* 1.5: "And a priest grabs her clothes - if they tear, they tear, and if they are ripped up, they are ripped up – until he lays bare her breast. And he tears her hair apart." [1122]

The *Mishnah* and *Tosefta* interpretations of the *sotah* ritual reveal male gaze as punitive control of the suspected adulteress. The position of the reader, guided by authorial focalisation, moves between titillation and censure. The grotesque accounts of the *sotah*'s body focus on parts of her body. This depersonalisation allows reader and spectator to join in the degradation of the *sotah*'s body, approving her punishment whilst enjoying a voyeuristic "peek" at her alleged sexual transgression.

An account of the *sotah* ritual is embedded in the text of *Susanna*. In this text, male gaze as voyeurism and punitive control emerge as central themes. The following section will explore this text within the framework of Mulvey's theory of male gaze.

27.iii. The *Book of Susanna*

The hazards of male gaze as punitive control and woman as object of the male gaze are enacted in the apocryphal text *Susanna*, which describes the entrapment and *sotah* ordeal of the protagonist Susanna. The text sits in the corpus of *Daniel*. The accepted dating of the Greek *Daniel* to 100 BCE identifies this as the *terminus ad quem* for the composition of *Susanna*. [1123]

[1121] Lev, S. "Sotah: Rabbinic Pornography?" In Ruttenberg, D. (2009) (ed.), *The Passionate Torah: Sex and Judaism.* (New York; London: New York University Press), pp. 7-24.

[1122] *M. Sotah* 1.5 E-F, loc. cit., pp. 448.

[1123] Nickelsburg 1981, pp. 23-24.

Susanna, who regularly bathes naked in her private gardens, is spied upon by two elders of her religious community. Amy-Jill Levine notes a focalisation on the physical beauty of Susanna at the start of the narrative with the statement that Susanna is "a very beautiful woman." This encourages the reader to share the elders' voyeuristic view of Susanna as a sexual object. [1124] Levine states: "once we see her as desirable, we are trapped: either we are guilty of lust or she is guilty of seduction." [1125] Jennifer Glancy, using Laura Mulvey's model of male gaze, observes that the text places the elders as active subjects of the narrative; they hide, watch and conspire. [1126] In contrast, Susanna, as sexual object, is passively seen, watched and desired. Susanna is thus not the subject of the narrative, but represents femininity as "passivity and to-be-looked-at-ness." [1127]

The two elders discover each other and conspire to entrap Susanna, whom they threaten with a public accusation of adultery unless she concedes to their sexual demands. Susanna must choose between submitting to rape or enduring the public shame of the *sotah* ritual, with a possible outcome of death. The text reinforces Susanna's virtue by her choice not to submit to the elders but to trust in the Divine:

> Susanna sighed deeply, and said, "I am hemmed in on every side. For if I do this thing, it is death for me; and if I do not, I shall not escape your hands. I choose not to do it and to fall into your hands, rather than to sin in the sight of the Lord." [1128]

This statement reveals the significance of divine panoptic vision to the text as a contrast to the voyeuristic gaze of the elders. This distracts the reader from the sexual gaze of the elders. God's

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[1124] *Susanna* 1.2, loc. cit., p. 194.

[1125] Levine 1995.

[1126] Ibid. 1.14, p. 195.

[1127] Glancy 1995, p. 288.

[1128] *Susanna* 1.2, loc. cit., p. 194.

knowledge of her innocence suffuses the text and ultimately will be realised through the young Daniel.

Following the elders' accusation of adultery, Susanna submits to the *sotah* ritual and endures the humiliation of public unveiling. Amy Levine notes that her public unveiling permits the elders, public and reader to "feast their eyes" on her face and body. [1129] All have now seen and experienced her as a sexual object. [1130] At this point of the narrative, male gaze as sexual titillation merges with punishment and judgement.

The panopticism of the Divine, in which Susanna has trusted, is represented by the young Daniel, who reveals inconsistencies in the elders' accounts. The gaze of the Divine thus acts as protection for the female. Susanna is thus spared execution, but has been publicly shamed.

Reading *Susanna* beside *M. Sotah and T. Sotah* reveals an ambiguity surrounding the nature of Susanna's crime. Susanna is proved innocent of adultery and spared execution, but endures the public humiliation of the *sotah* ritual. This textual ambiguity may be interpreted in the context of Ishay Rosen-Zvi's identification of a shift in gender economy in the Second Temple period, as discussed above, which attributes responsibility to the female for the male struggle with sexual drive. [1131] This gender economy finds Susanna guilty of inflaming the sexual desire of the elders by her visibility. *Susanna* reveals that male sexual desire, once aroused, demands satisfaction. Refusal to submit to male sexual desire risks public humiliation and punishment. It is therefore incumbent upon the female not to arouse male desire by her visibility. Innocent of adultery,

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[1129] *Susanna* 1.32, loc. cit., p. 196.

[1130] Levine 1995.

[1131] Rosen-Zvi 2006, p. 94.

Susanna is guilty of visibility. [1132] As commented by Amy-Jill Levine: "victims are not always innocent." [1133]

Susanna reveals not only the dangers of the male gaze for women, but also the female responsibility to avoid visibility in order not to inflame male sexual desire. The following section will explore a fear of the power and danger of male gaze reflected in rabbinical literature, which places firm limitations on the right of the male to gaze. This right is restricted to rabbis, who thus gain control over male gaze and the female body.

27.iv. The Limits of Male Gaze: Rabbinical Control

Whilst gaze is definitively the prerogative of the male, rabbinical texts place limits on and control male gaze. Talmudic direction exists regarding which parts of the female body may not be viewed, even in intimate circumstances, with a veto on the female genitalia. Looking at "that place" during the sexual act incurs a "measure-for measure" punishment in the conception of a baby who is blind:

> People are born lame because they [sc. Their parents] overturned their table; dumb,
>
> because they kiss "that place"; deaf, because they converse during cohabitation; blind
>
> because they kiss "that place." [1134]

[1132] Lev 2009.

[1133] Levine, A. "Sacrifice and Salvation: Domestication and Otherness in the Book of Judith." In Bach 1998, pp. 208-223, (p. 313).

[1134] *B. Talmud tractate Nedarim* 20 a-b. In Epstein, I. (1936) (ed.), *The Babylonian Talmud*, (Seder Nashim V, Nedarim). (London: The Soncino Press), p. 57. To "turn over the tables" may refer either to sexual dominance of the female in the sexual act or possibly anal sex. See: Boyarin, D. (1993), *Carnal Israel: Reading Sex in Talmudic Culture*. (Berkeley; Los Angeles; London: University of California Press), p. 110.

The correct behaviour is exemplified by the fastidious Rabbi Eliezer, who is rewarded with beautiful children:

Imma Shalom was asked: Why are thy children so exceedingly beautiful children? She replied: [Because] he [my husband] 'converses' with me neither at the beginning nor at the end of the night, but [only] at midnight; and when he 'converses', he uncovers a handbreadth and covers a hand breath, and is as though he were compelled by a demon. And when I asked him, What is the reason for this [for choosing midnight], he replied, So that I may not think of another woman, lest my children be as bastards." [1135]

Rabbi Eliezer's reluctance to look may reflect a fear of forming a mental image of or sexual fantasy about another woman. Eliezer considers this to be a form of adultery which would result in "illegitimate" children. Here "illegitimate" should be understood to signify that the baby conceived resembles the object of fantasy.

A further method of controlling male gaze upon the female body is established by the limitation of intimate examination and knowledge of the female body to the rabbi. However, this limitation on the rights of male gaze reveals and reinforces rabbinical control of the female body. In her study of the rabbinic interpretation of the biblical ritual inspection of skin afflictions, Mira Balberg comments:

Bodily semeia are meaningless unless perceived by a competent reader who knows what to look at and what to look for. Within this scheme, the question of who has that knowledge is inherently related to the question of who is qualified to do the looking: To be given the right of gaze, one has to prove oneself as a capable

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[1135] *B. Talmud tractate Nedarim* 20 a-b. In Epstein, I. (1936) (ed.), The Babylonian Talmud, (Seder Nashim V, Nedarim). (London: The Soncino Press), p. 57.

interpreter of visual data… Thus, the connection between sight and knowledge is bidirectional: One knows because one sees… but one also gets to see in the first place because one knows. [1136]

The rabbinic right to look at the female body as a form of control is exemplified by a *baraita* (teaching) in *B. Talmud tractate Ketubot*, which decrees the acceptable dimensions of the female body.

It was taught: R. Nathan said, It is a bodily defect if a woman's breasts are bigger than those of others. By how much? — R. Meyasha the grandson of R. Joshua b. Levi replied in the name of R. Joshua b. Levi: By It was taught [in a baraita]: R.

By how much? - Rav Meyasha the grandson of Rav Yehoshua b. Levi said in the name of Rav Yehoshua b. Levi: One handbreadth. [1137]

This teaching bears witness to a high degree of control and fascination with the female body in rabbinical thought and indicates the scrupulous observation and judgment undergone by the female body. As discussed by Shai Secunda, the measurements of the female body become a source of judgment on virtue and character. [1138] This suggests a male dis-ease with and fear of the excesses of female physicality and sexuality, which therefore require measurement and control.

This section of the chapter has explored the representation of gaze in Biblical and Second-Temple literature in the context of Laura Mulvey's model of male gaze, with particular reference

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[1136] Balberg, M. "Rabbinic Authority, Medical Rhetoric, and Body Hermeneutics in Mishnah Nega'Im." *Association for Jewish Studies Review,* 35/2, (November 2011), pp. 323–346, (p.329).

[1137] *B. Talmud tractate Ketubot* 75a. In Epstein, I. (ed.) (1952), *The Babylonian Talmud*, (Seder Nashim IV) (London: Soncino Press), pp. 471-472.

[1138] Secunda 2012.

to the narrative technique of focalisation as discussed by Mieke Bal. [1139] Focalisation directs the gaze of the reader to specific narrative points to guide the reader's judgement. In biblical literature, the gaze is gendered male and signifies sexual desire. The female is a passive object and recipient of the male gaze and its consequences. A female who seeks or returns male gaze, embodied in the adulteress, represents a threat to patriarchal order. Second Temple literature reveals a development in the construction of male gaze as a threat to male sexual self-control through the image of "lustful eyes." This combines with a new economy of gender, as identified by Ishay Rosen-Zvi, which attributes responsibility for male temptation sin to female visibility. The emergence of male gaze as voyeurism, control and punishment of the female is apparent in *haggadah* of the *sotah* ritual of *Numbers* 5, in which rabbi, reader and public share the spectacle of the public humiliation and stripping of the degraded body of the *sotah*. The dangerous consequences of the sexual male gaze for the female are enacted in *Susanna*, which reveals an obligation upon the female to maintain invisibility. The shaming of the virtuous Susanna in this text reveals her to be innocent of adultery, but guilty of visibility. Talmudic literature places limitations on the male right of gaze, allowing rabbinical control of male gaze and the female form.

The following section of this chapter will explore two texts which approve the seeking of the male sexual gaze. In the apocryphal text *Judith*, the defeat of the enemy of the Jewish people is achieved by the manipulation of the male gaze by the protagonist, Judith. [1140] It will be argued that the text approves Judith's actions on three levels. Firstly, as a widow she is no longer under male authority and therefore cannot bring dishonour on a male relative. Secondly, the text indicates divine approval of her action. Thirdly, the salvatory purpose of her display overrides a negative reading. It is argued that these elements of divine consent and salvatory purpose are mirrored in

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[1139] Bal 1995.

[1140] *Judith*. In Coogan et al. 2007, pp. 32-52.

Manichaean narrations of the "seduction of the archons." Section 29.ii (The *Book of Esther*) will explore themes of male gaze as objectification and control in the *Book of Esther*, which reveals parallel patterns of gender hierarchy to *Judith.* The *Book of Esther* also reveals salvatory context and male direction as parameters for the acceptability and desirability of the display of female beauty.

28: Seeking the Gaze

28.i: The *Book of Judith*

As a mixture of history and fiction, *Judith* is described as an example of "pious fiction" and George Nickelsburg identifies parallels with the Jewish Wisdom literature genre. [1141] *Judith* is believed to have been written originally in Hebrew, but survives in Greek. Although the text shows influence from the Persian period, date of composition is considered to have been during the Hasmonean period (142-163 BCE) and post 150 BCE. [1142] As George Nickelsburg observes, the text confuses the sequence of historical events, placing the return from exile before Nebuchadnezzar's invasion of Jerusalem in 597 BCE. [1143]

Judith is set in the "the twelfth year of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar" in a fictional city, Bethulia, which is commonly interpreted as a metaphor for Jerusalem. [1144] Likewise, Nebuchadnezzar is understood to represent Antiochus IV. [1145] The text reports that Bethulia

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[1141] Corley, J. "Judith." In Aitken, J. K. (2015) (ed.), *T&T Clark Companion to the Septuagint*. (Bloomsbury: T&T Clark), pp. 222-236, (p. 223). Nickelsburg, G. "The Book of Judith." In Nickelsburg 1981, pp. 105-109.

[1142] Xeravits and Xeravits 2012.

[1143] Nickelsburg 1981.

[1144] Ibid., p.70.

[1145] Ibid.

represents a significant point of entry into Judaea for Nebuchadnezzar's forces, driven by General Holofernes. The inhabitants of Bethulia, blockaded by Holofernes and his army, await attack without food and water. [1146]

Playing the role of a seductress, the widow Judith exchanges her mourning robes for the alluring clothes of a seductress to draw and manipulate the sexual gaze of General Holofernes. Judith penetrates the enemy ranks and subsequently saves her people by beheading Holofernes with his own sword, causing his troops to flee in terror. The victory cry: "Judith the daughter of Merari weakened him with the beauty of her countenance," places male weakness for female beauty at the heart of the narrative. [1147] The text of *Judith* is redolent with double imagery which equates male gaze not only with sexual desire, but also with martial conquest. Male gaze thus acts as a double metaphor for male sexual and territorial greed. The fictional Holofernes, whose eyes seek to dominate both kingdom and women, is the embodiment of this imagery. [1148]

It will be argued that the text approves Judith's actions on three accounts. Firstly, as a widow she is no longer under male authority and her actions therefore cannot bring dishonour upon a living male relative. Secondly, the text indicates that her actions are divinely approved and aided. Thirdly, the saving of the Jewish nation from death by famine or invasion overrides her actions. Her manipulation of the male sexual gaze may therefore be construed as an example of female wisdom.

As discussed by Amy Levine, Judith's widowhood identifies her as the most vulnerable of her community and thus marks her as in need of protection. Her widowhood thus acts as metaphor

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[1146] Ibid.

[1147] *Judith* 16.1, loc. cit., p. 537.

[1148] Ibid. 2:6, p. 525.

for the suffering of the Jewish nation under Roman rule. [1149] However, her widowhood is double-edged. With no husband, Judith is not under the authority of a male figure and therefore her actions will not bring shame upon them. The text frames her actions at beginning and end with repeated examples of her virtue and feminine modesty. As a widow, she has removed herself from the gaze of men, keeping herself "shut up" in the prescribed female private domain of the home. [1150] She hides her femininity and beauty with the sackcloth and ashes of a widow, thus evading male sexual desire and maintaining social invisibility. Furthermore, the text assures the reader of the temporary nature of Judith's transformation. Following her victory over Holofernes, Judith returns to her secluded life and widow's clothing, reclaiming her virtuous reputation by refusing all male suitors.

Divine approval of Judith's actions is a focal point of the narrative, with a description of the transformation of Judith from widow to seductress. This passage draws the reader into the intimate and private domain of the female body, as the reader considers the transforming body of Judith. The reader watches Judith as she bathes, anoints herself, dresses and adorns herself with jewellery:

> She bathed her body with water, and anointed herself with precious ointment. She combed her head, put on a tiara, and dressed herself in the festive attire that she used to wear… She put sandals on her feet and put on her anklets, bracelets, rings, earrings and all her other jewellery. [1151]

As exemplified by *Susanna*, biblical references to women bathing frequently herald danger to the woman. These fleeting moments in which a woman should be most private signal both vulnerability and desirability. Furthermore, in biblical and haggadic literature, the anointing and adornment of the female body for the male is frequently treated with disapprobation. This is exemplified by the adulteress of *Proverbs* 7, who is "dressed like a prostitute" and oils her bed and

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[1149] Levine 1999. See also: Xeravits and Xeravits 2012, p. 25.

[1150] *Judith* 8:5, loc. cit., p. 530.

[1151] Ibid.10:3-4, p. 532.

body with perfume. [1152] Disapproval of female adornment is also evident in *haggadah* of the *sotah* ritual of *Numbers* 5. In *T. Sotah*, the ritual is represented as a measure-for-measure punishment for female ornamentation: "She painted her face for him - therefore her face is made to turn yellow. She put blue on her eyes for him - therefore her eyes bulge out." [1153] Similarly, in *M. Sotah*, the beautifying effects of jewellery are counteracted by the ritual: "If she wore ornaments of gold chains and rings in her nose and on her fingers, they are taken away from her to make her look repulsive." [1154] However, *Judith* anticipates and negates disapprobation with clear textual indication of divine gaze upon and approval of her preparations:

> And the Lord also gave her more beauty: because all this dressing up did not proceed from sensuality, lent from virtue: and therefore the Lord increased her beauty, so that she appeared to all men's eyes incomparably lovely." [1155]

This demonstration of divine approval is central to the reader's interpretation of the scene and justification of her actions. As discussed by Alice Bach, the female "refusal to drop the eyes" reveals an empowering acknowledgment of the female self as a sexual subject. This self-knowledge is necessary to the success of Judith's plan to save the Jewish nation. [1156] Here "desiring to be desired" is met with divine approval. [1157] Judith's acknowledgment of her own sexual power is essential to the narrative.

[1152] *Proverbs* 7.10 and 7.16-17.

[1153] *T. Sotah* 3.3 C-D, In Neusner, J. (2002) (trans.), *The Tosefta, Translated from the Hebrew with a New Introduction*, Vol. II, (Massachusetts: Hendrickson Publishers), p. 839.

[1154] *M. Sotah* 1.4 E, loc. cit., p. 448.

[1155] *Judith* 10:4, loc. cit., p. 532.

[1156] Bach 1997, p. 131.

[1157] Ibid.

Further interpretations of this scene are possible; there are perhaps other meanings that the reader is intended to "see." Amy Levine reads priestly imagery and identifies a sacrificial theme in the text, arguing that the text portrays Judith as a counter-gendered priest and Holofernes as her sacrificial victim. [1158] The use of anointing oils as she prays intimates priestly pre-battle rites. [1159] Furthermore, Judith's clothing and ornamentation may be construed as armour and weapons, suggesting a warrior figure. This is supported by Judith's use of martial imagery in her prayer that her trickery (ἀπάτη) and speech (λόγος) may be wounds (τραῦμα) and bruises (μώλωπα) to the enemy. [1160]

Judith's beauty and assumed vulnerability enable her safe passage through the admiring enemy ranks to their leader Holofernes. When Judith is revealed before his face, (πρόσωπον) the text emphasises her visual impact upon all present, who are amazed at her beauty (ἐθαύμασαν πάντες). [1161] After three days, during which time Judith plays the part of a Jewish deserter, Holofernes arranges a pre-seduction banquet. His doomed attempt at seduction is motivated not only by her beauty, but by the shame of not possessing her. "For it would be a disgrace if we let such a woman go without having intercourse with her. If we do not seduce her, she will laugh at us." [1162] The text describes the scene of his attempted seduction:

> So she proceeded to dress herself in all her woman's finery. Her maid went ahead
> and spread for her on the ground before Holofernes the lambskins she had received
> from Bagoas for her daily use in reclining. Then Judith came in and lay down.

[1158] Levine 1999.

[1159] See *Exodus* 29:29; *Leviticus* 4:3; 1 *Samuel* 16:13; 2 *Samuel* 2:4.

[1160] *Judith* 9.13, loc. cit., p. 532.

[1161] *Judith* 10.23, loc. cit., p. 45.

[1162] *Judith* 12.12, ibid., p. 47.

Holofernes' heart was ravished with her and his passion was aroused, for he had

been waiting for an opportunity to seduce her from the day he first saw her. [1163]

However, following the feast, Holofernes' intention to bed Judith fails when he falls asleep drunk

upon his bed. With the deftness of a warrior, Judith decapitates the sleeping Holofernes with his

own sword, reinforcing the theme of self-sabotage. Furthermore, his beheading separates his eyes,

the source of his weakness, from his body. Holofernes will no longer gaze with desire upon

beautiful women or nations.

Judith reveals that the seeking and return of the male gaze is not merely permissible, but

laudable when the act has divine sanction and has a salvatory function for the community. This

paradigm is mirrored in Manichaean mythology, which places divine forethought and consent at

the centre of the myth of the "seduction of the archons." As discussed above, this is indicated in

Mani's *Treasure of Life*, which reveals the centrality of the planning and consent of the

Manichaean Father to the display of the Maiden of Light. [1164] This is consistent with the model

presented in *Judith*, in which divine approval countenances the display of female beauty. As

discussed above, Manichaean mythology projects the experience of shame onto the archons, who

fail to grasp the object of their desire. [1165] In *Judith*, Holofernes fear the shame of not possessing

Judith.

Judith's transformation from mourning widow to beautiful seductress presents female

deception and trickery as positive assets. However, her transformation from pious widow to

beautiful seductress is transient and illusory. The following section will explore the parameters of

the acceptability of female display in the *Book of Esther*.

[1163] *Judith* 12.15-16, ibid., p. 47.

[1164] See section 27.1, p. 322-327.

[1165] Ibid, p. 325.

28.ii. The *Book of Esther*

This section will consider the *Book of Esther* (henceforward *Esther*) as a literary example of displays of female beauty which are countenanced, directed and manipulated by male authority. Furthermore, female display is represented as salvatory for the community. The scenes of female display embedded in the text represent focal points of transformation for the individual and community. Through a staged display of female beauty and vulnerability, the protagonist Esther delivers her uncle Mordecai and the Jewish diasporic community from annihilation. Laura Mulvey's definition of the female as "to-be-looked-at-ness" and Mieke Bal's identification of focalisation as a narrative technique will be used as heuristic tools. [1166] *Esther* is set in the Persian Jewish diasporic community in the rule of Ahasuerus (Xerxes) and narrates the rise to power of the beautiful Jewess Esther through the machinations of her uncle, Mordecai. At his bidding, Esther uses her position as the king's favourite to secure the liberation of the Jewish community from execution.

Throughout the text of *Esther*, the reader's eye is repeatedly drawn to gaze on the physical beauty of the protagonist Esther. The narrative recounts that "The girl (Esther) was beautiful in appearance" [1167] and that "Esther found favor in the eyes of all who saw her." [1168] This repeated focalisation on Esther's beauty exemplifies Mulvey's definition of the female as "to-be-looked-at-ness" and draws the reader into considering Esther as an object of desire. [1169] Esther herself, as the political pawn of her uncle Mordecai, remains voiceless until towards the end of the text, where her voice represents a move from objectification to the embodiment of the self.

[1166] Bal 1995.

[1167] *Esther* 2.7, loc. cit., p. 57.

[1168] Ibid., 2.15, p. 58.

[1169] Mulvey 1992.

As remarked by Alison Thorne, *Esther* is marked by the rhythmic rise and fall of its protagonists. [1170] Esther's rise to power is consequent upon the fall from grace of the former Queen Vashti, whose downfall is caused by her refusal to submit to King Ahasuerus' (Xerxes) order to display herself to his guests:

> On the seventh day, when the heart of the king was merry with wine, he commanded …seven eunuchs who served in the presence of King Ahasuerus, to bring Queen Vashti before the king, wearing her royal crown, in order to show her beauty to the people and the officials, for she was beautiful to behold. But Queen Vashti refused to come at the king's command brought by his eunuchs; therefore the king was furious, and his anger burned within him. [1171]

Vashti's defiance not only humiliates the king, but threatens established gender hierarchy throughout the kingdom. This is voiced by the King's advisor: "Queen Vashti has not only wronged the king, but also all the princes, and all the people who are in all the provinces of King Ahasuerus. For the queen's behavior will become known to all women, so that they will despise their husbands in their eyes…" [1172] Male authority is reinstated by a decree throughout the land that "each man should be master in his own house." [1173]

The king commands that beautiful women be brought from throughout his kingdom and selected to be polished and oiled in his harem. The woman who pleases him the most will replace

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[1170] Thorne, A. "The Politics of Female Supplication in the Book of Esther." In Brownlee, V. and Gallagher, L. (2015) (eds.) *Biblical Women in Early Modern Literary Culture, 1550-1700: 1550-1700*. (Manchester: Manchester University Press), pp. 95-110.

[1171] *Esther* 1.10-12, loc. cit., p. 56.

[1172] *Esther* 1.16-19, loc. cit., p. 56.

[1173] Ibid. 2.22, p. 57.

Vashti as queen. Vashti's downfall is Mordecai's opportunity, as he places Esther before the king and she is selected to join his harem. Following a year's beautification in the king's harem, Esther is presented to him and selected as his favourite.

When Mordecai learns that his life is under threat and the Jewish community is to be annihilated, Mordecai sends instruction to Esther to make supplication to the king on behalf of the Jewish people. Mordecai urges the messenger Haman to convey his command to Esther: "charge her to go in to the king and plead for his favor in behalf of the people." [1174] This intervention involves personal risk to Esther; those who approach the King unbidden are punished by death. Initially reluctant to put herself at risk, Esther is urged again by a message from her uncle: "Remember," he said, "the days when you were an ordinary person, being brought up under my care… Call upon the Lord; then speak to the king in our behalf, and save us from death." [1175]

Before presenting himself to the king, for three days Esther replaces her royal crown with sackcloth and ashes, joining her people in a communal act of atonement. This rejection of royal clothing mirrors the imagery in *Judith*, in which clothes achieve the transformations of Judith between chaste widow and seductress.

As she prepares herself to approach the king, Esther prays for divine aide. This is the first point in the text in which the reader hears Esther's voice. Her prayer reveals her disgust at the accoutrements of royalty and her place in the king's bed:

[1174] Ibid. 3.8, p. 60.

[1175] Ibid.4.8, p. 60.

"You know my necessity - that I am under constraint, that I abhor the sign of my proud position, which is upon my head on days when I appear in public. I abhor it like a filthy rag, and I do not wear it on the days when I am at leisure." [1176]

The critical scene of supplication appears in addition D of the Septuagint version of *Esther*, which describes Esther's skilful enactment of Mordecai's instruction. She presents herself, radiant and beautiful, swooning and fainting in the arms of her maidservants:

She was radiant with perfect beauty, and she looked happy, as if beloved, but her heart was frozen with fear. When she had gone through all the doors, she stood before the king. He was seated on his royal throne, clothed in the full array of his majesty, all covered with gold and precious stones. He was most terrifying. Lifting his face, flushed with splendour, he looked at her in fierce anger. The queen faltered, and turned pale and faint, and collapsed on the head of the maid who went in front of her. [1177]

Esther's combination of beauty, vulnerability and supplication moves the King, who offers Esther whatever she should desire. Michael Fox describes this scene as "a deliberate use of feminine frailty." [1178] The text, however, is ambiguous concerning the veracity of Esther's vulnerability. Her display secures not only the deliverance of the Jewish people, but a reversal of the fates of her uncle and his enemy. The degree of autonomy of Esther's actions is contested. Esther Fuchs

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[1176] *Esther*, Addition C, 14.16-17, loc. cit., p. 62.

[1177] Ibid., addition D, 15.5-8, p. 62.

[1178] Fox, M. V. "Three Esthers." In Greenspoon, L. and White Crawford, S. (2003) (eds.), *The Book of Esther in Modern Research*. (London; New York: T & T Clark International), pp. 50-60, (p. 59).

perceives Esther as the agent of God and Mordecai, arguing that her actions stem from filial obedience to Mordecai. [1179]

Esther presents two models of male gaze. The gaze of the king follows the biblical paradigm of male gaze as sexual desire. To Mordecai, Esther's beauty represents the opportunity for political advancement. Despite her presence at court, Esther remains under Mordecai's vigilant authority. This reveals a model of male gaze as surveillance and control. Esther is thus objectified twice, as the object of the king's desire and Mordechai's political machinations. As identified by Michael Fox, Esther's objectification is demonstrated by the use of the passive tense to describe Esther's appearance at court: "Esther is 'taken'… along with the other beautiful virgins to the seraglio… put into the control of a eunuch, processed through a twelve-month beauty treatment, then 'taken' for one night to the king, who tries her out in bed." [1180]

Esther demonstrates the importance of male consent and approbation to the display of female beauty. Indeed, female beauty is presented as an asset to community and family. Female display is condoned in cases of threat to the community. This mirrors the structure of *Judith*, in which Judith's display of beauty to General Holofernes enables the defeat of the enemy forces.

Esther reinforces the patriarchal gender order of female submission to male authority. Female supplication is presented as a model for approaching male authority and a model for change of male behaviour. This text includes two examples of the manipulation of female display and demonstrates that this is countenanced and approved when masculine authority has approved the action in a situation of threat to the community. This part of the narrative is repeated in a Manichaean Sogdian parable discussed above, which uses the metaphor of the social advantages

[1179] Fuchs, E. "Status and Role of Female Heroines in the Biblical Narrative." In Bach, A. (1998) (ed.), *Women in the Hebrew Bible: A Reader*. (New York; Abingdon: Routledge), pp. 77-84, (p. 80).

[1180] Fox, M. V. (1991), *Character and Ideology in the Book of Esther* (Columbia: South Carolina Press), p. 852.

a beautiful daughter brings to her father to explain the spiritual assets acquired by the alms-giving of the Manichaean hearer. The appearance of this metaphor suggests that Mani may have been familiar with the text of *Esther*. However, the parable may reflect a prevailing trope of the blessings of a beautiful daughter. [1181]

29. Image, defilement and illusion: Escaping Male Gaze in Gnostic Texts

The theme of male gaze upon the female image emerges as a significant theme in Gnostic Sethian mythological texts such as *The Secret Book According to John* (henceforward *Ap. John*) and *The Reality of the Rulers*. [1182] In these texts, masculine sexual gaze is central to the emergence of human sin through the seed of Cain. Divine feminine purity is preserved from the grasp of the archons by the substitution of an identical physical form and the escape of the feminine spiritual element. Hence, a splitting occurs between spiritual and corporeal femininity. Divine feminine trickery and illusion emerge as methods to evade the lustful grip of the archons, achieving the preservation of the purity of the spiritual feminine.

In *the Reality of the Rulers*, the archons' gaze upon the spiritual Eve arouses their desire for her. However, the spiritual Eve evades their lustful grasp and preserves her purity. She leaves behind a corporeal "shadow" of herself in the form of the earthly Eve, whom the archons defile and impregnate:

> Then the authorities came up to their Adam. And when they saw his female
> counterpart speaking with him, they became agitated with great agitation and they
> became enamored of her. They said to one another, "Come, let us sow our seed in

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[1181] *The Book of Giants*, fr. f (189). See section 27.1, p. 322-333.

[1182] *Ap. John*, loc. cit. *The Reality of the Rulers*, loc. cit., pp. 65-76.

her" and they pursued her. And she laughed at them for their folly and their blindness; and in their clutches, she became a tree, and left before them a shadow of herself resembling herself; and they defiled [it] foully… [1183]

The bad seed of Cain is thus the result of a union between the earthly Eve and the archons. A parallel narrative occurs in *Ap. John*, in which the blind and foolish demiurge Ialdaboath (Aldaboath) sees and desires Eve, who possesses the divine Zoe (life) within her.

It (Aldaboath) found the female preparing herself for her male – he was master over her… and the first ruler saw the female virgin standing with Adam, and saw that the living, luminous afterthought had been shown forth within her. And Aldaboath became filled with lack of acquaintance. Now the forethought of the entirety learned of this, and sent certain beings, who caught life (Zoe) up out of Eve. And the first ruler defiled her. [1184]

Through divine forethought, Zoe evades Aldaboath's grasp. These two Gnostic texts follow the biblical pattern of male gaze as sexual desire and possession, but reveal that the male gaze may be evaded by illusion and trickery.

Cosmological mythology explores the origin of human life and generation. When the human reproductive act is viewed as divinely ordained, human sexuality exists in harmony with human spiritually. However, negative doctrinal constructions of the human body and sexuality result in a tension between physical reproductive processes and spirituality, which is reflected in narrative conflict between the spiritual and physical. The inescapable biological role of the

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[1183] *Reality of the Rulers*, loc. cit., 89.17-28, p. 71.

[1184] *Ap. John* 22:35-24.17, loc. cit., p. 47.

feminine in human generation creates a variety of narrative responses to the juxtaposition of the spiritual and physical aspects of the feminine.

The paradox of the physical and spiritual aspects of the feminine receives variable treatment in Gnostic mythology. *Thunder - Perfect Intellect* merges feminine-gendered epithets and elements in a paradoxical riddle:

> It is I who am the harlot and the holy.
>
> It is I who am the wife and the virgin.
>
> It is I who am the mother and the daughter
>
> I am the members of my mother.
>
> It is I who am the barren and who has many children.[1185]

In contrast, *Ap. John* exemplifies the splitting of the feminine attributes of purity and generation. In this text, the spiritual Eve evades the defilement of sexuality by deserting her earthly counterpart. The defilement of the earthly Eve by demonic forces removes both consent and sexual desire from the female, hence dissociating her from the sexual act. The Gnostic myth is clearly strongly influential on the Manichaean myth. However, the strong cosmological dualism and suspicion of the material body of Manichaean doctrine both requires and allows the separation of human sexuality from spirituality. The display of the Maiden of Light thus enables the separation of demonic materiality from the spiritual. However, the construction of the human body in the image of the Divine retains the narrative of *Genesis*.

The feminine-gendered divinity Sophia is central to Gnostic creation mythology. Sophia causes a catastrophic flaw in the cosmos by producing the ignorant and foolish demiurge

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[1185] *Thunder - Perfect Intellect* 1.15-22. In Layton 1987, pp. 80-85, (p. 80).

Ialdeboath (Aldaboath). Sophia's drama commences when she experiences a desire to show an image within herself. This may be interpreted as a desire to emulate the creative act of the divine One, whose exercise of will emanates the first principle Barbēlō. The emanation of Barbēlō is expressed as the formation of an image through gaze upon water:

> For it is this that gazes at its own self in its light around it, that is, the wellspring of living water, gives unto all the aeons; and in every way [thinks of (?)] its image, beholding it in the wellspring of the [spirit] and exercising will in its [watery] light, [that is,] the wellspring of the pure luminous water around it. [1186]

Sophia's wish to create is translated by Bentley Layton as follows:

> She wanted to show forth within herself an image, without the spirit's [will] and her consort did not consent. And she (wished to do so) without his pondering for the person of her maleness did not consent… she pondered without the will of the spirit and without acquaintance with that being which was in harmony with her. [1187]

Sophia acts without divine approval or the consent of her consort. Her failure to obtain consent causes the birth of the misshapen and monstrous Ialdeboath. An alternative translation of *Ap. John* is offered by Gilles Quispel:

> Sophia is said to have had a thought of her own. She wanted to reveal her image out of herself without the assent of her partner. She brought forth because of her

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[1186] *Ap. John* 3.4.21-24, loc. cit., p. 30.

[1187] *Ap. John* 10.25-34, loc. cit., p. 35.

wantonness. Her work came forth, incomplete and hateful in appearance, it did not resemble its mother. [1188]

The monstrous form of Ialdeboath holds up a mirror to Sophia's presumption. The text of *Ap. John* makes clear that the image produced by Sophia breaches the ordained hierarchical order and lacks the consent of the divine One. Sophia's defiance represents female action independent of male authority. All previous creative acts are engendered by female agreement to the male will. This is exemplified in *Ap. John* by the united creation of the divine spark from Barbēlō and the monad. The Gnostic myth thus establishes a template of the catastrophic consequences of the breaching of divine order, in which gendered relations of authority and submission are embedded.

John Reeves argues that the Manichaean myth of the "seduction of the archons" is a dualist development of the Gnostic myth of Sophia. The fact that the Maiden of Light's display is orchestrated by masculine-gendered authority redeems the Maiden from the shame of Sophia. This is consistent with John Reeves' view that the Manichaean myth of the "seduction of the archons" is a dualist version of the Gnostic myth. A further interpretation relates to the Maiden of Light as a hypostasis of the Father's forethought. In Gnostic mythology, exemplified by *Ap. John*, *pronoia* (forethought) is identified as Barbēlō, the first thought of the *plemora*:

> And its thinking produced something, and the thinking was disclosed, standing [plainly] in its presence in the brilliance of its light. This is the first power, which exists prior to all (others), and which was shown forth (?) out of its thinking, that is, the perfect forethought of the entirety. The light of this (thought) […] light, the

[1188] *Codex Berolinensis* 8502 cited by Quispel, G. "The Demiurge in the Apocryphon of John." in Van Oort, J. (2008), (ed.), *Gnostica, Judaica, Catholica: Collected Essays of Gilles Quispel*. (Leiden; Boston: Brill), pp. 43-76 (p. 51).

power of the […], that is, the image of the perfect invisible virgin spirit. This is the

power, the glory of the Barbelo…[1189]

As observed by Bentley Layton, the term *pronoia* is feminine-gendered in Greek. [1190] The Maiden of Light's display may thus be interpreted as a manifestation or hypostatisation of the Father's forethought. The Maiden of Light's feminine gender thus corresponds with the feminine-gendered *pronoia* in Gnostic mythology. In this respect, the Manichaean myth of the "seduction of the archons" follows the gendered relations of Gnostic mythology exemplified by *Ap. John*.

30: Interim Conclusions: Male Gaze in Biblical Narrative and Second Temple Literature

Biblical narrative follows a simple paradigm of male-to-female gaze which places the male as subject and female as the object of male gaze. This is consistent with Laura Mulvey's definition of the female as "to-be-looked-at-ness." [1191] Male gaze on the female body is considered transgressive only when a forbidden sexual act (such as adultery) ensues.

A woman who actively seeks male gaze constitutes a threat to patriarchal authority and social order. This is exemplified by the adulteress of *Proverbs* 7, whose seeking of the male sexual gaze reverses the established gender power relations of gaze. This reversal is expressed with the use of masculine imagery of hunting and snaring. Likewise, the threat posed by the "strange woman" of *Proverbs* 5 is established through the use of images of violence and death.

This gendered model of gaze becomes more nuanced in Second Temple literature. This is exemplified by 12TP, in which male gaze on and desire for the female body emerges as a threat to the masculine virtue of self-control. This loss of self-control is expressed by the metaphor of

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[1189] *Ap. John*, 15.26-34.36, loc. cit., pp. 30-31.

[1190] Ibid., p. 32 ft. c.

[1191] Mulvey 1992.

"lustful eyes." Furthermore, Ishay Rosen-Zvi identifies the emergence of a "new economy of gender" in Second Temple literature, which blames the male struggle with sexual desire upon female visibility. [1192] This is evident in haggadic commentary on the *sotah* ritual of *Numbers* 5, in which male gaze emerges as prurient and punitive control. This is enacted in *Susanna*, in which punitive control of Susanna's desirability and visibility is enacted through the humiliating public gaze upon the body of Susanna as *sotah*.

Judith reveals a narrative of the acceptability of the female seeking and return of male gaze in the context of threat to the community. Female illusion, trickery and guile are approved by the Divine in these circumstances. Gnostic mythology shares with *Judith* the acceptance of feminine trickery and illusion as methods to evade the lustful grip of the archons, achieving the preservation of the purity of the spiritual feminine.

31: Conclusion: Reviewing the Manichaean Myth of the "Seduction of Archons"

This chapter has explored the sexually-arousing display of the Maiden of Light to the archons in Manichaean mythology through the lens of Laura Mulvey's model of gaze. Mulvey genders gaze as male and defines the female as "to-be-looked-at-ness." As discussed by Mieke Bal, the technique of focalisation draws the reader's eye to a particular perspective, influencing judgment of the text. It is argued that the myth of the "seduction of the archons" in Manichaean mythology is problematic because of the stated intention to sexually arouse, which fits modern scholarly definitions of pornographic material. The possible repercussions of Manichaean mythology for suspicion of Manichaean praxis are highlighted by Augustine of Hippo in his anti-Manichaean writings, which include *De Moribus* and *De Haer.* In particular, Augustine picks upon the Manichaean myth of the "seduction of the archons," connecting it sequentially to rumours and

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[1192] Rosen-Zvi 2006, p. 74.

allegations of the sexual abuse of female Manichaean elect in Manichaean ritual practice. This chapter has argued that the role of the Maiden of Light in the "seduction of the archons" allows the possibility of the exploitation of the female in Manichaean praxis, or, at the minimum, enhances the credibility of allegations of the exploitation of female Manichaeans. Furthermore, the Maiden of Light's epithets of purity and wisdom appear to be in tension with this episode in Manichaean mythology.

Biblical scripture reveals that male gaze signifies sexual desire and possession. The female who seeks male gaze is portrayed as a threat to patriarchal authority. This is exemplified by the adulteress and strange woman in *Proverbs* 5-7. The adulteress introduces social discord through disruption of social relationships within the community and uncertainty regarding paternity. The strange woman represents pollution of genetic stock through exogamy. These threats are expressed through counter-gendered imagery of entrapment, hunting and snaring.

In Second Temple literature, the metaphor of "lustful eyes" introduces the theme of male gaze as a cause of sexual transgression. Ishay Rosen-Zvi identifies a new economy of gender, which portrays the female as responsible for the male struggle with sexual desire. [1193] A further dynamic of male gaze as punitive control emerges from haggadic literature relating to the *sotah* ritual of *Numbers* 5. This is exemplified by *Susanna*, which attests to the dangers of arousing male sexual desire, warning women to maintain invisibility, even in spaces deemed private.

In contrast to the above texts, *Judith* and *Esther* offer positive exemplae of the female manipulation of male gaze. However, specific parameters frame the acceptability of Judith and Esther's self-display. Firstly, masculine consent, divine or human, is essential to the acceptability of the female seeking of the male gaze. This parameter of acceptability is mirrored in the Manichaean myth of the "seduction of the archons," which reveals divine patriarchal consent and

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[1193] Rosen-Zvi 2006, p. 94.

approval for the display of the Maiden of Light as a strategy of the Manichaean Father. In contrast, the Gnostic myth of Sophia reveals the catastrophic consequences of failure to seek masculine and divine approval for the display of the feminine image. Sophia's desire to display an image without securing masculine consent results in a split in the divine hierarchy and the creation of the monstrous demiurge Ialdeboath.

The presence of threat to the Jewish nation constitutes the second parameter for the acceptability of self-display in *Judith* and *Esther*, which reveal that the male sexual gaze may be martialled as a weapon in situations of communal threat. This salvatory purpose is paralleled in the Manichaean mytheme by the need to liberate the divine light stolen by the archons from the Kingdom of Light. In these circumstances, illusion and trickery are portrayed as positive female traits for communal protection. This mirrors Gnostic mythology, in which trickery and illusion are employed to enable the escape of the spiritual Eve from the lustful grasp of the archons.

The characterisation of the Maiden of Light as wisdom and purity frames her sexual display to the archons, which is thus represented as an exemplar of feminine wisdom. The strategic planning of her display by the Manichaean Father presents feminine obedience to patriarchal authority as feminine wisdom. The presence in Manichaean texts of the elements of male consent and salvatory intention serve to protect the Maiden of Light from accusations of immodesty. However, this does not resolve the issue of the use of the feminine to sexually arouse.

The Manichaean myth of the "seduction of the archons" presents the acquiescence of a feminine-gendered divinity to a sexually-enticing display of her form at the instruction of the masculine-gendered Father. Salvatory intention and obedience to masculine authority are significant elements to the interpretation of the Manichaean myth. These criteria of acceptability, however, encourage suspicion of the exploitation of the female by the male in the context of Manichaean praxis, as identified by Augustine of Hippo. The likelihood of female sexual exploitation within the Manichaean community in the light of this discussion is a matter for further

research. However, the use of the feminine form for sexual arousal remains a problematic aspect of Manichaean mythology.

32: Conclusions

This dissertation has explored constructions of gender in Manichaean cosmological narrative, identifying the gendered epithets, roles and attributes of the divinities and demons of Mani's cosmology and its development in subsequent Manichaean literature. Six gendered portraits (three feminine-gendered, three masculine-gendered) have been drawn from Manichaean creation mythology and recurrent themes associated with gendered characterisations have been identified. The equal division of gendered characterisations is intended to provide a balance between discussions of masculinity and femininity. In this dissertation, feminine gender has been identified by the gendered relational terms mother, daughter and maiden. Masculine gender has been identified by terms such as father, son, king, brother. These terms are relational, identifying relationships to others within the social systems of family and kingdom.

Throughout the chapters of this thesis, two predominant influences upon Mani's constructions of gender have emerged repeatedly. Firstly, reflections of Jewish socio-cultural ideology and literature are evident in Mani's constructions of gender. This is distinct from Jewish religious doctrine which is overtly rejected by Mani. This research finding is concordant with what is known of Mani's upbringing in a Judaeo-Christian sect of Elchasaite origin. [1194] In this setting, Mani may have had exposure to a wide range of Jewish and Judaeo-Christian literature. Direct textual dependence cannot be claimed. Secondly, Mani's experience of the agonistic and masculine Sasanian court environment in the reign of Shāpūr I is reflected in the presentation of his material and reflected in emergent parallels between Mani's mythology and Sasanian court constructions of masculinity. His experience of this environment is related in the Dublin *Kephalaia* and further Middle Persian fragments.

[1194] See section 2.i., pp. 22-27.

The degree of influence of the gender roles of the mythological beings upon the structure of the Manichaean church and lives of followers is not known. However, Manichean cosmology was central to doctrine and practice, as demonstrated by the designation *fundamenti* by Augustine of Hippo to Mani's cosmological letter *Ep. fun.*, which was written in the context of the Missionary movement to the Roman Empire. [1195] It is evident that Manichaean mythology played a central role in Manichaean teaching.

This conclusion will draw together the research findings of this thesis. The first section will precis the research findings concerning constructions of masculinity reflected in the gendered characterisations of the Father of Greatness, the chief archon and the Manichaean First Man. These will be considered in light of Raewyn Connell's models of hegemonic and subordinate masculinities and the perception of manhood as a precarious and strived for state of being, as described by Vandello et al. [1196]The following section will provide an overview of research findings concerning constructions of femininity in Manichaean mythology, through the gendered characterisations of the Manichaean Mother of Life, the Maiden of Light and the demoness Ăz.

The hierarchy of feminine and masculine gender roles will be considered in the context of Mani's employment of the metaphors of the social structures of family and kingdom. It is argued that Manichaean cosmological mythology endorses the patriarchal social models of masculine authority over family and kingdom. Harmony is achieved within these social structures through adherence to hierarchical order and the prioritisation of the welfare of the whole system. Within this hierarchical structure, female action is permitted only with patriarchal consent and approval. Imprecation and subordination to male authority provide models for the acquisition of male

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[1195] See section 3.v.iv, pp. 64-67.

[1196] See section 1, pp. 11-16.

consent. Independent female action is thus not endorsed; female subordination to masculine authority is embedded in the hierarchy.

33: Constructions of Masculinity in Manichaean Cosmological Narrative

33.i. The Father of Greatness

Analysis of the characterisation of the Father of Greatness reveals significant parallels between Mani's portrayal of the kingship of the Manichaean Father and the Sasanian representation of the monarch. Court architecture, art and ritual combined to present the Sasanian monarch as a powerful masculine figure, imbued with authority and divine election to rule. An aura of prestige and mystery around the monarch was achieved through the practice of spatial privacy and seclusion. The powers of the Sasanian monarch were demonstrated by accumulation of territorial and material wealth. The Sasanian monarch represents hegemonic masculinity as authoritative rulership, power and divine election demonstrated by material wealth and abundance of territory and entourage.

The alignment of the Manichaean Father with the Sasanian monarch as paradigm of idealised masculinity in Manichaean cosmology achieves the portrayal of the Sasanian king as the earthly counterpoint of the Divine. This is harmonious with Sasanian-Zoroastrian ideology and reflects Mani's intention to secure protection for his faith from the Sasanian monarch Shāpūr I. However, the territorial wealth of the Manichaean Father exceeds that of the Sasanian monarch with his limitless lands. This may be interpreted as a polemic on Shāpūr's imperial policy.

Rulership over the social systems of kingdom and family emerge as core dimensions of the Manichaean and Sasanian constructions of masculinity. Manichaean texts explore the nature of the exercise of masculine authority through rulership. His rulership is exercised through the spiritual limbs of mind, thought, insight, counsel and consideration. Sources indicate that the Father's rulership prioritises the protection of kingdom and entourage over self. Harmonious rule is achieved by clear definition of role and hierarchical order. As a representation of idealised

masculinity, the Father represents powerful and authoritative masculine rulership which gives primacy to the welfare of and protection of kingdom and subjects over the desires of the self. His actions are defensive as opposed to aggressive.

33.ii: The Chief Archon

Mani's characterisation of the chief archon of the Kingdom of Darkness reveals an avaricious military figure who seeks to invade and possess further territory. Central to this construction is the revelation of the ruler's repugnant cannibalistic and sexual acts described in the *Ep. fun.*, which uses the prevailing trope of the other as alien and savage. In Mani's writing, the characterisation of the chief archon focuses upon his role as ruler of the Kingdom of Darkness and his desire to invade of the Kingdom of Light. The chief archon's aggression is directed externally towards the Kingdom of Light.

1 Ke. exemplifies a shift of emphasis in the characterisation of the chief archon in Manichaean literature which postdates Mani's death. In this text the portrayal of the chief archon focuses on the nature of his rule over his subjects, revealing a portrait of masculine-gendered evil as the abuse of masculine rulership and authority. He is portrayed as a tyrannous and aggressive ruler, who imbues fear into his subjects through the practice of deceit and magic. This creates suspicion and disunity amongst his subjects. This shift in characterisation should be interpreted in the context of the deterioration of the socio-political position and persecution of the Manichaean faith following Mani's death. The characterisation of the chief archon shifts from an outsider who seeks to invade to a tyrannous ruler who imbues fear into his subjects.

The characterisations of the Manichaean Father and the chief archon in Manichaean cosmological mythology reveal polarised portraits of the correct exercise and abuse of masculine rulership. The corporeal limbs of the chief archon contrast with the spiritual limbs of the Manichaean

Father, reflecting the nature of their rulership. The Manichaean Father places the welfare of his subjects at the core of his actions. In contrast, the chief archon rules through fear and deceit, seeking to satiate his own desires. This is summarised in table 4 below.

33.iii: Table 4: The Rulership of the Manichaean Father and the Chief Archon

Father	Chief Archon
Hierarchical rule creates harmony	Rules by fear, deceit and manipulation
Rule prioritises welfare of subjects	Driven by individual drives/desires
Acts defensively to protect territory and subjects	Displays martial aggression and seeks to invade
Harmony amongst subjects.	Chaotic rule; disunity and fighting between subjects.
Rules with spiritual limbs	Rules with corporeal limbs
Exemplifies exercise of masculine authority	Exemplifies abuse of masculine authority

33.iv: The Manichaean First Man

The characterisation of the Manichaean First Man, emanation of the Mother of Life and beloved son of the Father, moves from warrior to impotent captive, before his triumphant return to the Kingdom of Light at the eschaton. His characterisation as a keen warrior is consistent with the hegemonic masculinity of martial prowess at the Sasanian court. The characterisation of the First Man as impotent victim encompasses suffering and endurance. This occurs in the context of the oppression

and persecution of the Manichaean community in the aftermath of the death of Mani. According to Raewyn Connell's model of masculinities, this shift in characterisation to encompass endurance and suffering represents the development of a subordinate masculinity, reflecting adjustments to constructions of masculinity in a social group experiencing hardship and pressure. [1197]Parallel adaptations to models of masculinity occur in the representation of the *Aqedah* in Jewish Second Temple literature, such as 4 *Macc.* and subsequent Talmudic literature, in which Isaac transforms from nescient victim to willing participant in his own sacrifice. In this literature, Isaac is represented as a paradigm of courage in adversity and an exemplum for the endurance of suffering, achieving the transformation of execution into martyrdom. This transformation of the characterisation of Isaac demonstrates the fluidity of masculinities under pressure and, according to Daniel Boyarin, may be construed as a form of resistance.

The next section will outline the research findings concerning constructions of femininity embedded in the portraits of the Manichaean Mother of Life, the demoness Ăz and the Maiden of Light.

34: Femininity

34.i: The Mother of Life

In Manichaean cosmological narrative, the Mother of Life is identified as the wisdom of the Father of Greatness. This feminine-gendering of wisdom reveals the influence of the Judaeo-Christian Wisdom and Gnostic traditions, in which wisdom is personified by the feminine-gendered Sophia. The emergence of parallels with the Judaeo-Christian Wisdom tradition and Gnostic literature reflects Mani's upbringing in a Judaeo-Christian sect of Elchasaite origin, within which he may be presumed to have had exposure to a wide range of Jewish and Judaeo-Christian literature. Parallels

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[1197] See section 1, pp. 11-16.

with the feminine-gendered personification of wisdom in these traditions encompass wisdom as creativity, maternal nurture, protection and rescue.

Mani develops the Judaeo-Christian personification of wisdom beyond nurture and protection with the metaphor of wisdom as a weapon. This metaphor should be interpreted in the context of Mani's vision of wisdom as a universal phenomenon, manifested over time in varying geographical spaces by a series of prophets, of which Mani predicated himself to be the final. Additionally, at the Sasanian court, the performance of wisdom was an agonistic pursuit, victory in which ensured ascension at court. Mani's participation in these contests is attested in the Dublin *Kephalaia*. Wisdom is also commended as a weapon in the context of the Manichaean mission to the Roman Empire in the Middle Persian/Parthian texts M2. The metaphor of wisdom as a weapon thus expresses the protective and defensive force of wisdom in two contexts in which the Manichaean faith and followers are challenged. The maternal role in this battle appears to be the nurturance, protection and vigilance over the child who encounters such challenges. Whilst the combative nature of wisdom suggests a masculine-gendered activity, the feminine aspect of this lies in protection and defence.

The metaphor of the Mother of Life as wisdom is attached to her maternal role as mother of the Manichaean First Man. The Manichaean portrayal of nurturing motherhood embedded in the Mother of Life is textually intertwined with preparation for, acceptance and blessing of separation from the child. Furthermore, the maternal role of the Mother of Life extends beyond separation, involving the continued vigilance and eventual rescue of the First Man.

In order to secure protection for her son, the Mother of Life seeks the consent of the Manichaean Father through supplication and entreaty. The Mother of Life thus offers a paradigm of female prayer which mirrors the valorisation of female prayer in Jewish Second Temple and Talmudic literature. The supplicatory role of the Mother of Life demonstrates adherence to a

gendered hierarchical order of feminine subordination to masculine authority, in which masculine consent is required for feminine action. This mirrors the hierarchal order embedded in Gnostic literature, exemplified by the mythology surrounding the feminine-gendered personification of Sophia in *Ap. John*. In this text, Sophia's failure to seek masculine consent and approval for her desired action breaches divine order. [1198] This demonstrates the influence of the Jewish and Judaeo-Christian literary and cultural traditions upon Mani's thought concerning gender roles within hierarchical structure.

The portrait of idealised motherhood represented by the Mother of Life is polarised by the maternal styles of the demoness Ăz and her daughter, Eve. The protection and nurture provided by the Mother of Life contrasts with Ăz, mother of the demons, who creates Adam and Eve as a source of sexual pleasure for herself and her demon progeny. She corrupts the human body with the demonic drives of greed, lust and desire. From within the body, she satiates her desires. Furthermore, Ăz corrupts her children with her sexual knowledge, teaching the demons how to copulate. According to *Mir. Man* I, Ăz guards her human children fiercely, deceiving them concerning their divine origins and setting a guard over them. Separation from them is thus feared and refused.

A further portrait of vilified motherhood emerges from Middle Persian fragments and the *Fihrist* of al-Nadim concerning Eve, revealing a mother who rejects and abandons her son Seth to die. Eve's rejection of Seth marks her alliance with demonic forces. The chief archon, having spawned Cain and Abel with Eve, perceives the radiant Seth as a threat to himself and directs Eve to reject him. In these narratives, the maternal role of nurture and protection is assumed by Adam, who acquires milk to feed Seth and protects him from demonic activity with magical symbols.

The maternal behaviours of the Manichaean Eve and the demoness Ăz thus polarise the nurture and protection of the Mother of Life. These polarised positions, summarised in Table 5 below,

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[1198] See section 14.i, pp. 197-200.

exemplify Toril Moi's model of cultural representations of femininity, which place the feminine at the extreme borderlines of behaviour as social ideal and pariah. This polarisation demonstrates a cultural fear and demonisation of the potential excesses of the feminine.

34.ii: Table 5: Maternal Styles in Manichaean Cosmological Narrative

Mother of Life (Mother of First Man)	Ăz (Mother of Adam and Eve)	Eve (Mother of Seth
Protects and nurtures her son	Corrupts and inhabits her children	Refuses to sustain her s...
Allows separation from child	Prevents separation and controls	Rejects her son
Defends and provides protection.	Controls and inhabits	Causes risk to son's life
Instructs her son	Deceives her children	Rejects her son.

34.iii: The demoness Ăz

The demoness Ăz is significant in Manichaean cosmological narrative as a powerful hamartiological symbol. Parallels have been identified between the demoness Ăz and the Jewish construction of sin represented by the *yetzer hara*, which Ishay Rosen-Zvi defines as "a reified object, a thing, residing inside a person." [1199] Both the *yetzer hara* and the Manichaean Ăz represent sin as an internal

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[1199] Rosen-Zvi 2009, p. 1.

propensity to sin intrinsic to humanity from its inception. Second Temple Jewish literature develops this construction of the *yetzer hara* as an innate proclivity to sin, which lives parasitically in the human heart. In *Mir. Man.* I, the residence of sin within the human body is expressed through the metaphor of the body as clothing for the demoness Ăz, who inhabits the body to satiate her lustful drives of greed, lust and wrath. In *Mir. Man.* I, Ăz binds these drives into the nerves and sinew of the human body at its inception. Sin thus pervades the fabric of the human body. Second Temple Jewish literature develops the construction of the *yetzer hara* as demonic invasion of the human body. [1200] This is particularly evident in surviving texts from Qumran and 12TP. Texts from Qumran class the *yetzer hara* with spirits and demons which require exorcism and expulsion from the human body. The demonisation of the *yetzer hara* is central to 12TP, in which the *yetzer hara* is personified as the demon Beliar, in whose service seven "spirits of deceit seek to corrupt humanity. [1201] In 12TP, Beliar's power is expressed as intra- and interpersonal conflict which requires exorcism. [1202]

Manichaean creation mythology mirrors the Jewish demonisation of the human propensity to sin. This is exemplified by *Mir. Man.* I, which describes the invasion, residence and corruption of the demoness Ăz in the human body. Ăz represents both an inner proclivity to sin and an external demonic force of independent origin, which becomes resident in the human body. As a personification of sin, Ăz is both an external force and a psychological propensity. This mirrors the Jewish representation of humanity's relation to sin embodied in the *yetzer hara* as the merging of inner human propensities with external cosmic forces.

A further correspondence between the Jewish and Manichaean constructions of sin lies in the identification of tools which may be used to combat the powers of sin. Historically, 12TP

[1200] See section 22.iii, p. 270-274.

[1201] Ibid.

[1202] Ibid.

reflects a developmental stage in the concept of the *yetzer hara* in which it is polarised by the *yetzer tov* (good inclination). However, in further Second Temple and rabbinical literature, *Torah* emerges as the chief weapon to subdue the *yetzer hara*, which seeks to lead humanity astray towards apostasy and transgression. The battle between the *yetzer hara* and *Torah* is enacted within the human heart. The macrocosmic battle between the forces of good and evil is embodied in miniature within the human body. This is mirrored in Manichaean sources by the representation of Manichaean gnosis and wisdom as tools to subdue the demoness Ăz. Thus the characterisations of the Manichaean mother and the Maiden of Light as the wisdom of the Manichaean Father reveal polarised forces to the demoness Ăz, which are engaged in cosmic battle with her.

A further parallel between Jewish and Manichaean hamartiology is revealed by the emergence of the female gendering of sexual sin. The characterisation of the demoness Ăz in Manichaean literature reveals an increased emphasis on her sexual drives and knowledge, with which she corrupts humanity. This highly sexualised feminine gendering of sin parallels developments in Second Temple hamartiology, in which the female bears responsibility for leading to sin by awakening the male sexual drive. The construction of sin embodied in the Manichaean Ăz reveals a Judaeo-Christian construction of sin clothed in Zoroastrian terminology. This reflects the influence of the Jewish and the Judaeo-Christian culture and literary traditions on Mani's doctrine.

The sexualised characterisation of Ăz is polarised by the characterisation of the Maiden of Light as purity in Manichaean literature. The next section will summarise the findings concerning the role of the Maiden of Light in the Manichaean myth known as the "seduction of the archons." This myth will be explored in the context of models of male gaze upon the female form in Judaeo-Christian literature.

34.iv: The Maiden of Light

The Maiden of Light plays a central role in Manichaean cosmological mythology. Her enticing display to the lustful archons, described by Franz Cumont as the "seduction of the archons," secures the release of light stolen by the archons from the Kingdom of Light. The stolen light, held captive in the bodies of the demons, is released through the ejaculation of semen. The narrative of this aspect of the Manichaean myth follows the paradigm of male gaze as sexual desire which demands satisfaction. The sexually-arousing display of the Maiden meets the modern scholarly criteria for pornography. This raises suspicion regarding the treatment of women in Manichaean praxis. Such suspicions are repeatedly raised in the anti-Manichaean writings of Augustine of Hippo, who propagates a number of rumours concerning the alleged abuse of women in the Manichaean community. However, the Maiden of Light is characterised as the wisdom of the Manichaean Father and personifies purity. This thesis has sought to reconcile the ambiguous role of the Maiden in the "seduction of the archons" with her characterisation as wisdom and purity within the framework of Laura Mulvey's feminist theory of male gaze and the female as "to-be-looked-at-ness" using the lens of prevailing constructions of female-to-male display.

Analysis of male gaze in biblical literature identifies patterns of threat to patriarchal order and hierarchy in the female who seeks the gaze of a male. In *Proverbs* 5-7 the female who seeks male gaze poses a threat to masculine authority and patriarchal order through disruption of social relationships within the community. The sexual temptation of the "strange woman" of *Proverbs* 5 threatens the purity of genetic stock. The sexual threat posed by the adulteress of *Proverbs* 7 is expressed through counter-gendered imagery of entrapment, hunting and snaring.

In contrast to biblical literature, *Judith* and *Esther* offer positive exemplae of the female who seeks and manipulates male gaze. In these texts, female display emerges as valuable female traits. These texts portray male sexual desire as a weakness which may be manipulated by the female to secure communal protection. It is proposed here that the display of the Maiden of Light to the

archons in Manichaean mythology should be interpreted in the context of the models of gaze in *Judith* and *Esther.* In these texts, the display of feminine beauty is portrayed as an approved female behaviour when employed for protective communal purposes. However, two factors mark this behaviour as acceptable. Firstly, the display of the female is approved by a male authority, divine or human. The widow Judith seeks divine approval (gendered masculine) through prayer and supplication. In response, God increases her beauty. Esther is placed in front of the eyes of the king by her uncle, who holds authority over her. Gnostic mythology indicates that failure to seek patriarchal consent flouts patriarchal and divine order. This is exemplified by mythology concerning the feminine-gendered personification of wisdom, Sophia, in *Ap. John*, which relates the catastrophic consequences of Sophia's unapproved display of an image. Her failure to seek masculine approval for her actions causes a cosmic split and the creation of the monstrous demiurge Ialdeboath. Secondly, female display is justified where communal safety is at risk.

Gnostic mythology also describes evasion of the masculine gaze and grasp by feminine illusion and trickery. This is reflected in the escape of the spiritual Eve from the grasp of the lustful archons. The Maiden's erotic display is a significant and salvatory element in the battle to liberate the divine light from the bodies of the archons. Furthermore, the Maiden's display is planned by the Manichaean Father, revealing divine patriarchal consent for the act. The presence of the two elements of masculine consent and salvatory purpose acquits the Maiden of Light of accusations of immodesty. The Manichaean narrative thus mirrors the ideology embedded in *Judith* and *Esther* in which the male weakness for the sight of female beauty may be martialled as a weapon in the context of communal threat. Furthermore, the role of the Maiden as enabler of the Manichaean Father's plan secures her role as hypostasis of his wisdom.

The following final section will summarise the research findings concerning the social structures of the Kingdom of Light and consequent implications.

35: Hierarchy and Harmony

The structure of the kingdom of Light is described in terms of the hierarchical social systems of the kingdom and the family. The hierarchical order of these systems is well defined with prescribed gender roles. The masculine-gendered Father of Greatness holds authority over all others in the family and the kingdom. This indicates the endorsement of a patriarchal system of authority. The Manichaean Father demonstrates concern for the members of his family and kingdom and prioritises communal welfare over his own needs. His actions are defensive as opposed to aggressive with the aim of the protection of kingdom and family. Members of the system perform well-defined tasks.

The Mother of Life demonstrates obedience and submission to the will of the Father, indicating feminine subordination to masculine authority. She is an active agent in the cosmological drama, particularly in relation to interactions with her son, the First Man. However, she acquires prior consent for her actions from the Father through prayer and supplication. This reveals a model of masculine domination and female subordination. Feminine supplication and imprecation offer approved models of behaviour for the seeking of masculine consent.

The First Man, son and first emanation of the Father of Greatness and Mother of Life, demonstrates obedience to the will of the Father. This indicates the authority of father over son within the patriarchal family system. However, his actions are also guided by the Mother of Life, who prepares and arms him for his struggles with the Kingdom of Darkness. This indicates the significance of the role of the Mother in the nurture of the son and her centrality to family matters. The Mother of Life models nurture and care of the family. She acts as conveyor of information to the Manichaean Father, who makes decisions based on information brought to him. The feminine-gendered Maiden of Light also conforms to patriarchal authority. Her role as seducer of the archons in the episode known as the "seduction of the archons" is planned and approved by the Manichaean Father. This clearly gendered and structured hierarchy enables the divinities to maintain harmony

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and to act effectively as a unit, within which the component parts play specific roles. Unity of structure is evident from the identification of the divinities through relational roles to each other as father; mother; son and daughter. The disparate elements of the Kingdom of Light serve the social structures of which they are members.

In contrast, the social structures within the Kingdom of Darkness are ill-defined and chaotic. Rulership appears to pass between the masculine-gendered chief archon and the demoness Ăz, who acts independently of the chief archon. This failure to sustain a masculine-dominated hierarchy with a single leader creates imbalance and disunity. The usurpation of power by the female challenges the authority of the chief archon and his patriarchal order. This clearly mirrors the structure of authority endorsed in Gnostic mythology exemplified by *Ap. John*, in which Sophia's usurpation of independent thought without approval from masculine consent creates a cosmic divide.

The chief archon and the demoness Ăz are driven by the satiation of their individual desires in contrast to communal welfare. The rule of the three drives of greed lust and wrath, which form the Manichaean hamartiological triad, results in chaos and disunity of relationships within the Kingdom of Darkness. The behaviours of the rulers are mirrored by the creatures of the Kingdom of Darkness, who also seek to meet their individual desires. Social relationships are hence characterised by chaos, mutual aggression and mistrust. The uncontrolled sexual drives of the creatures of the Kingdom of Light, taught to them by the demoness Ăz, result in random sexual relations and consequently unstructured social relationships. This contrasts with the unified and identifiable family of the Kingdom of Light. These chaotic relationships are engendered by the demoness Ăz, who corrupts the creatures of darkness with her sexual knowledge. Fighting between the creatures of the Kingdom of Darkness is a further indication of the chaos caused by lack of social structure and ill-defined rulership.

The dysfunctional rulership of the chief archon is epitomised by his cannibalism. This action marks him as outside normative social systems and relations and results in further confusion in social relationships. His act is symbolic of the factionalism within the Kingdom of Darkness and conflict between its members. In place of the social structure of family, the creatures serve their individual drives and desires. The "children" (Adam and Eve) of the two archons are created in order to satiate the greed and lust of the archons. Ăz enters and controls her creation in order to satiate her own desires. This results in the corrupt and dysfunctional human body, which is driven by greed, lust and wrath.

The rulership of the chief archon provides a portrait of the abuse of authority. He rules his subjects through fear, manipulation and deceit, resulting in mutual mistrust and suspicion. Furthermore, relations between the inhabitants of the Kingdom of Darkness are marked by mistrust, deceit and abuse of authority.

The Kingdom of Light and the Kingdom of Darkness reveal polarised representations of social order and disorder respectively. Manichaean cosmology thus clearly endorses the social structures of family and kingdom and masculine authority in these domains, which are represented as creating social harmony and unity. Female usurpation of power is symbolic of social disorder. This is consistent with the prevailing structures of Sasanian society, from within which Mani's doctrine emerged.

35.i: Table 6: Social Structures of the Kingdom of Light and Darkness

Kingdom of Light	Kingdom of Darkness
Hierarchically structured social systems	Lack of structure in social systems
Patriarchal system of authority	Patriarchal authority challenged by female usurpation of authority. Divided rule
Obedience to masculine authority	Female challenge and assumption of rule
Female subordination and imprecation	Undirected female action
Prioritisation of welfare of system.	Prioritisation of individual drives of greed wrath and lust
Harmonious social relationships	Chaotic social relationships
System harmony	Disunity and factionalism
Harmonious and just rule	Abuse of power and authority
Nurture and protection	Fear, mistrust and deceit
Rules with spiritual limbs	Rules with corporeal limbs

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